THE RELATIONS BETWEEN ACHAEA AND SOUTH ITALY DURING THE LATE HELLADIC AND EARLY HISTORICAL PERIODS. EVALUATION OF OUR KNOWLEDGE

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Abstract

The theory that the relations between Achaea and Italy had begun during the Late Mycenaean IIIB-C Periods was overturned by recent studies, which have transferred the beginning of these relations in the LH III A Period. Not only Italian products, mainly bronze weapons and ceramic were imported to Achaea but also Achaean products, mainly Mycenaean ceramic, was exported to Italy.
Achaea played a pivotal role in the relations between Greece and Italy, because, being located at the exit of Corinthian Gulf and constituting the northern endmost of western Peloponnese, offered the final anchorage to the ships from Corinthia and the Argolid, but also from Cyprus, Crete and the Aegean Sea, before sailing to the Ionian and Adriatic Seas and the first gate for the Italian imports to Greece.
These relations continued during the Geometric Period, when some important Achaean colonies were found in South Italy, as e.g. Sybaris, Croton, Caulonia, Metapontum and Paestum.
The trade between the two regions was flourishing even in the Hellenistic Period and the relations became more substantive during the Roman Period, when two Roman Colonies were found in Patras and in Dyme.

La teoria secondo cui le relazioni tra Acaia e Italia iniziarono durante il tardo periodo miceneo IIIB-C è stata ribaltata da studi recenti, che hanno retrodatato l'inizio di questi contatti nel periodo TE IIIA. Non solo i prodotti italiani, principalmente armi in bronzo e ceramica, venivano importati in Acaia, ma anche i prodotti achei, principalmente ceramica micenea, venivano esportati in Italia.
L'Acaia ha svolto un ruolo fondamentale nelle relazioni tra Grecia e Italia perché, essendo situata all'uscita del golfo di Corinto e costituendo l'estremità settentrionale del Peloponneso occidentale, offriva l'ancoraggio finale alle navi provenienti dalla Corinzia e dall'Argolide, ma anche da Cipro, Creta e dal Mar Egeo, prima di salpare verso il Mar Ionio e l'Adriatico. Di contro, è anche la prima porta per le importazioni italiane in Grecia.
Queste relazioni continuarono durante il periodo geometrico, quando nacquero alcune importanti colonie achee nell'Italia meridionale, come ad esempio Sibari, Crotone, Caulonia, Metaponto e Paestum. Il commercio tra le due regioni era fiorente già nel periodo ellenistico e le relazioni divennero più sostanziali durante il periodo romano, quando furono fondate due colonie romane a Patrasso e a Dyme.

Keywords

Achaea, Italy, Greece, Bronze Age, Geometric Era.

Acaia, Italia, Grecia, età del Bronzo, Periodo Geometrico.

1. Introduction

Some decades ago we believed that the earliest contacts between Achaea and South Italy (fig. 1) took place during the second half of the 8th century B.C., when the first Achaean colonies were founded in the Gulf of Taranto[1]. Later studies of some Greek and foreign archaeologists have pointed out that the relations between the two regions had begun during the Late Mycenaean IIIB-C Periods but quite recent studies had transferred the beginning of the relations in the LH III A Period.

2. The Prehistoric period

It is during the Post-Palatial Period, LH III C (1200-1060), when Achaea enjoyed its greatest prosperity in the Mycenaean age and Achaean Mycenaean vessels are found along the Albanian[2]

[1] *Vorrei ringraziare gli organizzatori per l'invito di partecipare come relatore a questo Convegno importante e perché mi hanno dato l'opportunità unica di vedere e conoscere la bella Acaya e l'interessante Rocavecchia* . I would like also to express my warmest thanks to my colleagues M. Gazis for revising my English text and for the photo 11, I. Moschos for the photos 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi for the photo 4, E. Kolia for the photos 14 and 20, A. Vordos, for the photo 19 and A. Gadolou for the photos 16 a, b and 23.

[2] Eder, Jung 2005, 489; Eder 2006, 557.

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and the Italian coasts of the Adriatic[3], as for example at Punta Meliso[4], Scoglio del Tonno[5] and Rocavecchia[6] in Apulia, but also in the region of Calabria, as for example along the Tyrrenian side[7]. Indicatively, the contributions of E. Fischer[8], R. Peroni[9], M. Betteli[10], M. Cultraro[11], M. Benzi and G. Graziadio[12], R. Gulielmino[13], C. Pagliara and R. Guglielmino[14], B. Eder[15], H. Jung[16], M. Mehofer[17], F. Iacono[18], L. Vagnetti[19], D. Tanasi[20], etc. for the study of the Achaean Pottery in Apulia or in Italy and Sicily more generally and of the Italian imports in Achaea, are very significant[21]. According to the earlier studies on Achaean Mycenaean presence in Italy, Giovanni Pugliese Caratelli distinguishes a clear Achaean Colonization during the Post-Palatial Period of the 12th century B.C.[22] and Catherine Morgan close relations of Calabria and Achaea during the same period[23]. Mycenaean pottery has been generally found near the sites of the posterior Achaean Colonies of the historic era in the Gulf of Taranto, as for example at Broglio di Trebisacce[24] or at Torre Mordillo[25] around the Achaean colony of Sybaris, which is displayed in the magnificent Archaeological Museum of Sybaris[26] or at different sites near Achaean Metapontum[27], as for example at Pisticci[28] or at Scanzano Jonico (Termitito)[29] but also in the region of Achaean Croton[30] as well as in the Tyrrhenian side of Calabria, as it is already referred to[31]. The earlier publications for the Mycenaean vessels of South Italy are referred to them as "Aegean" products or Mycenaean without a specific origin[32] or sometimes of Peloponnesian

3 Guglielmino 2005, pl. CLXVId; Jung 2006, 171, nn. 1196, 1199, 1204; Giannopoulos 2009, 115; Oikonomidis 2016.

4 Benzi, Graziadio 1996, 97-98, 125 ff.; Benzi 2001; Cultraro 2005, 17, 23-24; Jung 2006, 171-172; Eder 2006, 558; Eder 2009, 136; Jung, Moschos, Mehofer 2008, 86. In Punta Meliso we have the special case of locally made pottery of Achaean style, Giannopoulos 2009, 117.

5 Bettelli 2002, 72.

6 Guglielmino 1996, 270; Guglielmino 2005, 643, pl. CLXVId; Eder, Jung 2005, 490; Jung 2006, 146, n. 1024, 161, n. 1124, 1127, 1129, 162, n. 1137, 164, n. 1154 and 226; Eder 2006, 558; Eder 2009, 137; Jung, Moschos, Mehofer 2008, 86. The pottery of Roca has been critical in understanding the relations between Aegean and Apulia, Guglielmino *et Al.* 2010, 257. For the Achaean (region of Patras) vase from Roca, Guglielmino *et Al.* 2010, 273, n. 42.

7 A bronze Mycenaean vase of the Kallithea type (Kallithea: village near Patras in Achaea), was found at Metauros in Calabria toward the Tyrrhenian Sea, Agostino 2005, 33, 35, nn. 22, 36. Achaean vases also have been found at Punta di Zambrone, Jung *et Al.* 2015, *passim*.

8 Fischer 1988.

9 Peroni 1994.

10 Bettelli 2002; Bettelli 2011; Bettelli 2015.

11 Cultraro 2005, *passim*.

12 Benzi, Graziadio 1996.

13 Guglielmino 1996; Guglielmino 2005; Guglielmino 2009, where some vessels are pure Achaean, although they are characterized simply as "Aegean" or "Peloponnesian".

14 Pagliara, Guglielmino 2005.

15 Eder 2009.

16 Jung 2006; Eder, Jung 2005, *passim*; Jung 2015, 284; Jung *et Al.* 2015. Of special interest is the recent article of Matricardi, *et Al.* 2020, *passim*, where they analyse the Achaean pottery in Ionian Apulia and give the exact origin from the various sites of Achaea.

17 Jung, Mehofer 2005/2006; Jung, Mehofer 2013.

18 Iacono 2013.

19 Vagnetti 1999.

20 Tanasi 2004, 353 and Tabella 3, who distinguished a wave of Mycenaean Achaeans immigrants in Sicily in TE IIIA1-IIIB2 Period.

21 See recently Moschos 2009a, 380, n. 157 and *passim* for all the archaeologists who have dealt with the Achaean Mycenaean pottery in Italy. The 39th Convegno di Taranto contributed the most to the exploring generally the relationships between Mycenaean Greece and Italy, Taranto 1999; Papazoglou-Manioudaki, Paschalidis 2017, 453, publishing the Mycenaean settlement at Mygdalia, near Patras, mention again the presence of the Achaean Mycenan pottery in Sicily and the Italian peninsula. The Proceedings of the Conference HESPEROS 2017, conclude some other very interesting articles too for the contacts between Greece and Italy. Very important are the contributions to the thema of R. Jung, see Jung 2005/2006; 2006; 2008; with I. Moschos, 2011, 2013, with M. Mehofer, 2015, 2015, with M. Pacciarelli 2021 and Jung *et Al.* 2021. See also Arena 2015 and 2020 and Van de Berg 2012; 2015 and 2018.

22 Bettelli 2002, 12.

23 Morgan 2002, 110.

24 Bettelli 2002, 30, 165. One vase from this site is similar with a vase from Teichos Dymaion in Achaea, Jung 2006, 108 and a second one with a vase from Aigeira in eastern Peloponnese, Jung 2006, 120; Jung *et Al.* 2015, 71.

25 Bettelli 2002, 31. A cup from this site is similar to a cup from Aigeira, Jung 2006, 132, nn. 921, 926.

26 Bettelli 2002, 10-11.

27 Pugliese Carratelli 1990, 126; De Siena 2001, 16.

28 Bettelli 2002, 29, nn. 58, 59.

29 De Siena 2001, 16, fig. 9; Bettelli 2002, 29, n. 60.

30 Bettelli 2002, 32.

31 Bettelli 2002, 15; Agostino 2005, 32; Jung *et Al.* 2015, *passim*.

32 For example, Garbini 2000; Attema *et Al.* 2010, 94, 109, 111, 114 (Torre Mordillo, Broglio di Trebisacce, Salento, Rocavecchia, Sybaritide, Pontine region); Guglielmino 2012 (Roca); Even in recent publications, e.g. Crudo 2023, *passim*, the mycenaen pottery of Sybaris and of different sites in its



Fig. 1: Map of ancient Achaea and South Italy.

origin[33] or of Northern Peloponnese[34] or more specifically from north-western Peloponnesian workshops[35] without naming Achaea. Although Achaea is absent in the majority of these publications, nevertheless I have seen a lot of Mycenaean vessels in the Italian Museums of South Italy, which, prima facie look like as imports or local imitations of Achaean pottery[36]. Thus I agree with I. Moschos, who believes that there is need of re-examination of the Mycenaean pottery in Italy, after the recently approaching of the Achaean Mycenaean pottery[37]. It is strange that the majority of the monographs and articles on the Achaean Mycenaean pottery written by the Greek archaeologists during the last 30 years are almost missing as a comparative element in the articles for the Mycenaean pottery of Italy with some rare exceptions. Such an example is the study of E.A. Fischer, who compares the Mycenaean pottery from Apulia with the relevant pottery from western Greece and devotes some paragraphs to the Achaean vessels in Apulia[38] or the studies of R. Jung[39]. I suppose that the reasons for the absence or the non-use of the Greek Bibliography on the Achaean Mycenaean pottery in the comparative studies between the Italian and the Aegean pottery are two: 1. a significant number of the authors of such themes have no knowledge of the Greek language and thus they cannot use the Greek articles, and 2. they didn't believe that a peripheral Mycenaean region, such as Achaea, could have developed commercial or of other type contacts with Italy. Some of these archaeologists also ignore the articles for the Achaean Mycenaean pottery written in English or in other European languages by Greek archaeologists[40]. However, Achaea,

wider region is characterised simply as "mycenaean" without any exact origin.

[33] For example Graziadio, Guglielmino 2011, *passim*; Vagnetti *et Al.* 2009, *passim*.

[34] Guglielmino *et Al.* 2010, *passim*.

[35] Tanasi 2005, 564.

[36] For the imports, imitations and derivations of the "ceramiche figuline" in Italy during the Bronze Age, Bettelli 2009. For the "local imitations" and the "imports", with the relevant bibliography, Buxeda I Carrigós *et Al.* 2003, 263, 275. The Achaean pottery in Apulia belongs to the Achaean Mycenaean phase 5 that covers the greater part of the LH IIIC Late Period, Moschos 2009a, 354.

[37] Moschos 2009a, 375.

[38] Fischer 1988, 129-131

[39] See for example, Jung *et Al.* 2015; Jung 2017; Jung *et Al.* 2021, Jung, Pacciarelli 2021 and Jung 2021, *passim*.

[40] Indicatively only: Papadopoulos 1976, also the same 1979, 1981, 1991, 1995, 1999; Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1993, 1994, and 2010; Κολώνας 1998 and 2000; Παπάζογλου-

according to the last Greek publications, seems to have been a peripheral but dynamic center, mainly during the LH III C Period[41]. The period following the fall of the palaces was for Achaea a time of cultural flowering and economic prosperity[42]. Therefore I would agree with G.J. van Wijngaarden that "there is need of systematic, diachronic research programmes, in which the context of known Mycenaean imports will be compared with those of Aegean-type pots of certain local culture"[43], as for example of Achaea. Such an international, inter-scientific program with the title "Dissemination of war Technology in the Mediterranean at the End of the 12th Millennium" is conducted by R. Jung, I. Moschos and M. Mehofer in cooperation with Greek and Italian archaeologists and other scientists[44] and corresponds to a part of the total proposal of G.J. van Wijngaarden. Another equally important tool for the fulfillment of his proposal is the archaeometric approach for the investigation of the provenance of the ceramic products[45] or of the bronze products[46].

However it is hopeful that some recent articles have confirmed the relations between Italy and Achaea. For example, Fr. Iacono, examining the trade between Aegean and the West, among other conclusions, refers also to the Italian imports in Achaea during the LH III B-C periods, such as the Handmade Burnishing Ware[47] and the Naue II type swords and he concludes that Handmade Burnishing Ware was connected in some way with metal trade[48]. My colleague, a specialist in the Mycenaean Period, Ioannis Moschos investigated the relations, commercial and of other type, between Achaea and Southern Italy in a recent important study, «Evidence of Social Re-organization and Reconstruction in Late Helladic IIIC Achaea and Modes of Contacts and Exchange via the Ionian and Adriatic Sea»[49]. Moschos, in cooperation with R. Jung and M. Mehofer examined the peaceful contacts for the war between West

Μανιουδάκη 1998 and 2003; Πετρόπουλος 2000 and 2009, 2017; Moschos 2000 and 2002, 2008, 2009a, 2009b; Papadopoulos, Kontorli-Papadopoulou 2000a and 2000b, 2001, 2003; Papadopoulos J. 2001; Οικονομίδης 2006; Κολώνας, Γκαζής 2006; Μόσχος 2007 and 2017; Petropoulos 2007; Papadopoulou 2007; Jung, Μόσχος, Mehofer 2008; Giannopoulos 2008; Paschalidis, Mcgeorge 2009; Giannopoulos 2009; Γκαζής 2010 and 2012, 2017; Χριστακοπούλου-Σωμάκου 2010; Rizio 2010; Ακτύπη 2011 and 2014; Γάτση, Jung. Mehofer 2012; Kaskantiri 2016; Paschalidis 2016; Aktypi 2017; Anyone interested in the Achaean Mycenaean Period can find exhaustive bibliography in the above monographs and articles. A lot of information for the Mycenaean Achaea is also available in the Chronicles of the Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον, mainly from 1980 onwards. R. Jung, with an excellent knowledge of the Greek language, always refers to the Achaean Mycenaean pottery in Italy and Sicily with bibliographical references to Greek articles, e.g. Jung *et Al.* 2015; The achaean pottery is also included in Jung 2017, Jung *et Al.* 2021, Jung, Pacciarelli 2021 and Jung 2021, *passim*. Recently E. Arena, who also knows the Greek language very well, refers to the Mycenaean Achaean products and uses exhaustively all the articles written in Greek, even in rare and incredible publications, see Arena 2015, where he gives an excellent synthesis of all the available data for the Mycenaean Achaea, Arena 2020 and in particular Arena 2022. Van de Berg uses the Greek bibliography just as well as R. Jung and E. Arena and has studied systematically the Mycenaean Achaea and its relations with South Italy, Berg 2012, Berg 2015 and Berg 2018.

41 One of the first archaeologists who illustrated the significant role of Achaea in the Mycenaean Period is A. J. Papadopoulos, Papadopoulos 1991; Arena 2020, 38, doubts that the cause of the prosperity of Achaea during the LHIIIC period is the ultimate result of the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces and believes that the Mycenaean peripheries, as Achaea, which did not develop a palatial state or depend politically on faraway palaces, now, after the collapse of the palaces, had the chance for direct "access" to resources previously intercepted and monopolised by the palaces; For Mycenaean Achaea as "periphery" during the palatial period, see also Arena 2022, 7-69.

42 Eder 2006, 557; Eder 2007, 43; Moschos 2009a, 354; According to Rizio 2010, 6, Achaea, although a rich archaeologically region, was underrated; Papazoglou-Manioudaki, Paschalidis 2017, 453, believe that the last century of the Mycenaen world is a transformative period and a peak time for Western Achaea.

43 Wijngaarden 2008, 135.

44 *Krieg und Frieden zwischen Italien und Westgriechenland. Importe und Einflüsse aus Italien im mykenischen Achaia, in Ätolien und auf Kefalonia /Πόλεμος και Ειρήνη ανάμεσα στην Ιταλία και τη Δυτική Ελλάδα. Εισαγωγές και Επιδράσεις από την Ιταλία στη Μυκηναϊκή Αχαΐα, την Αιτωλία και την Κεφαλονιά*, Jung, Μόσχος, Mehofer 2008, 85, n. 1; Jung, Mehofer 2005/2006, 111, n. 1.

45 Such an archaeometric approach, using neutron activation analysis, petrographic analysis, X-ray diffraction and scanning electron microscopy, has been used for the Mycenaean pottery from Macedonia and from the plain of Sybaris (Broglio di Trebisacce and Rosa Russa), Buxeda I Carrigós *et Al.* 2003; Bettelli 2009, 18.

46 Kayafa 2006; Jung, Μόσχος, Mehofer 2008.

47 According to Iacono 2013, 64, during the Late Helladic III B2 and III C Periods "it is interesting to note that a relatively little explored area as Achaea presents more than one findspot" of Handmade Burnished Ware or Barbarian ware, which is a product of the central and western Mediterranean and mainly of Southern Italy.

48 Iacono 2013, 69-70. For the Handmade Burnishing Ware in LH Greece, see Romanos 2011 and especially for Achaea, 22, 29, 237.

49 Moschos 2009a.

Greece and Italy during the late Mycenaean years in a significant article in Greek "Φονεύοντας με τον ίδιο τρόπο (Killing in the same way)"[50]. They have proved, on the basis of the chemical composition of the objects, that during the last Mycenaean Period in the 12th century B.C., some bronze weapons, among other bronze objects, were imported in Achaea from South Italy and that the Mycenaean Greece and Mycenaean Achaea knew the Gulf of Taranto, the north westernmost part of the Ionian Sea, its large plains and the mines of the surrounding areas (figs 2, 3, 4). On the other hand some other bronze objects were made of Cypriot copper[51].



Fig. 2: A bronze spearhead from Mitopolis in Achaea of Italian origin.



Fig. 3: A bronze dagger of Pertosa type from Teichos Dymaion in Achaea.

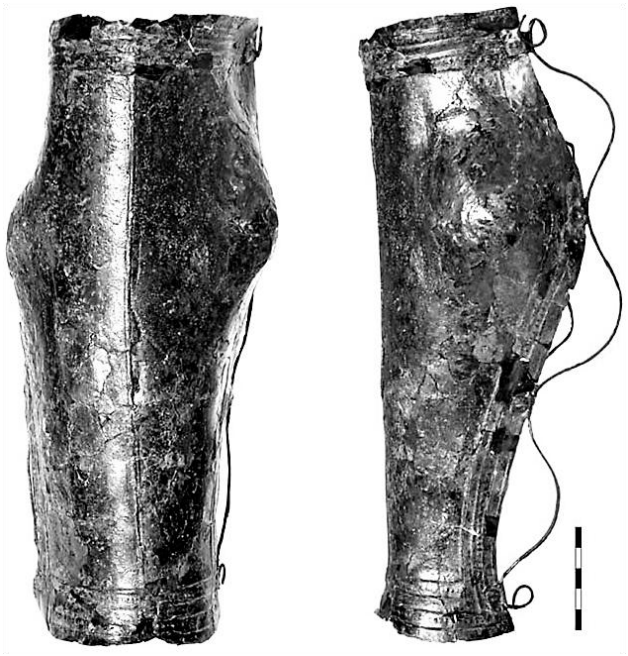


Fig. 4: A pair of greaves from Kouvaras in Acarnania of Italian origin.

Recently, R. Jung and his collaborators, decidedly contributed to the confirmation of the relations between Achaea and Italy through the excavation at the fortified settlement at Punta di Zambrone to the northeast of Tropea in western Calabria, where they found a series of ceramic products, common in Italy and in Achaea[52], mainly in different sites in western Achaea (Teichos Dymaion, Spaliareika-Lousika, Portes, Voudeni), and at Aigeira in eastern Achaea. A lead wheel also is common at Punta di Zambrone and at Teichos Dymaion. The parallel presentation of the products of Punta di Zambrone and of Achaea in their article revealed the important role of Achaea in the commerce with Italy during the Mycenaean Period.

Among the most characteristic bronze objects, probably import from Italy to Achaea, during the Late Helladic III C Period, in addition to other bronze weapons and objects[53], is without doubt the impressive number of Naue II (Allerona

[50] Jung, Μόσχος, Mehofer 2008, 85-107.

[51] Jung, Μόσχος, Mehofer 2008, *passim*; Rizio 2010, 11; Μόσχος 2017, 27-28; For the methods of exchange, the commerce, the trade routes, the sorts of transport and the long-distance contacts during the Late Bronze Age of the Aegean with the Adriatic and the Near East, Knapp 1998; Crielard 2000; Radina, Recchia 2003; Wagner-Hasel 2006; Martín 2008; Cazzella 2009; Kirigin *et Al.* 2009; Moschos 2009a; Zukerman 2010; Feldman, Sauvage 2010; Papadopoulos, A. 2012; Crielaard 2012; Sauvage 2012; Iacono 2013; Bettelli 2015; Coluccia, Iacono 2015; De Felice.

[52] Jung *et Al.* 2015, *passim*.

[53] Papadopoulos, Kontorli-Papadopoulou- 2000b; Giannopoulos 2009, 117-119.

Group[54]) swords[55] (fig. 5), totally 17[56], which reveals the prosperity and significant role of Achaea[57] but also the big number of warriors[58]. The Naue II type swords, according to Cultraro, is a class of swords which was developed in the Aegean as a modification of an earlier type, which was probably introduced from the Italian Peninsula through the Adriatic routes in the second half of the 13th century B. C.[59]. Recent chemical analyses of a Naue II Submycenaean sword from Kouvaras in Acarnania showed that it was rather imported from Italy[60].

A previous chemical analysis had shown that the Naue II swords from Greece and Albania could originate from copper minerals of the Aegean or the Balkan area[61]. 16 of the Achaean swords have been found in western Achaea, and only one in eastern Achaea (fig. 5), at Nikoleika in the *chora* of Mycenaean Helice, which belonged to the state of Mycenae[62]. The greaves from Kallithea and Portes in Achaea have parallels at Castellace in Calabria[63]. Similar greaves dated to the Submycenaean period were recently found at Kouvaras in Acarnania, a fact that shows the diffusion of this type of greaves of Calabria in the intermediate region of Western Greece between Italy and Achaea (fig. 4). Of Italian origin is also the spearheads from Mitopolis (fig. 2), with a striking similarity with spearheads from Lombardia[64], the dagger of Peschiera or Pertosa

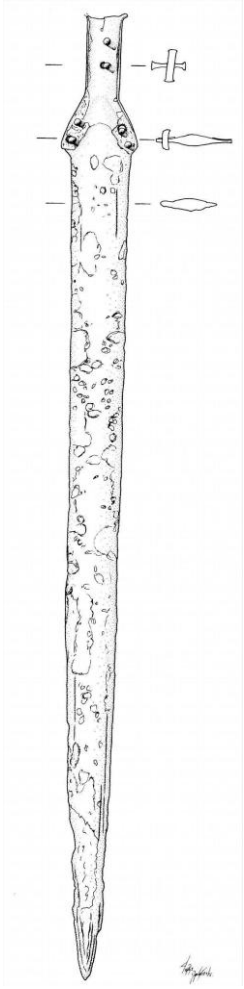


Fig. 5: Naue II sword from Nikoleika (Mycenaean Helice) in Achaea.

54 Jung, Μόσχος, Mehofer 2008, 86; Γάτση, Jung, Mehofer 2012, 253.

55 Πετρόπουλος 2000, 76, 90; Eder, Jung 2005, 491; Jung, Mehofer 2005/2006, 128; Jung 2006, 205 ·Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 157-161; Giannopoulos 2009, 117-118; Γάτση, Jung, Mehofer 2012, 254.

56 Moschos 2009a, 360, n. 71, 386; A new Naue II sword from Mygdalia, near Patras, raises the total number to 18, Papazoglou-Manioudaki, Paschalidis 2017, 458, pl. CLXXXIVa; Recently Arena 2020, 40-42, gives a new interpretation for the presence of Naue II swords in Achaea. According him, after the collapse of the palaces, "the Achaean chiefs being able to fully access to the Adriatic and Italian west-centred networks without any competition from the palaces, were capable of displaying their leading status, by choosing as a 'new' marker the most desirable weapon of their times: the 'exotic' Naue II sword. This, reflecting the capacity by the chiefs of forming relationships with contemporary Italian polities, more likely helped to affirm the leader authority within their polities, rather than to protect them against external enemies"; See also Arena 2015, 30.

57 Giannopoulos 2009, 117; Moschos 2009a, 360-361.

58 Giannopoulos 2008, 201-252.

59 Cultraro 2005, 19-20; The Naue II swords replaced the Aegean swords of types F and G, Eder, Jung 2005, 487; Jung, Μόσχος, Mehofer 2008, 92-94; Moschos 2009a, 352; For Naue II swords in Greece and Europe, Jung, Mehofer 2005/2006 and Jung 2011, 200-201; For a general overview of the Naue II swords or the simple type of the swords and its presence in Achaea, Molloy 2005; Molloy 2010; Molloy 2016, 350-355; Molloy 2018, 89, 92, 94, and Kellenbarger 2018.

60 Γάτση, Jung. Mehofer 2012, 259-261.

61 Koui *et Al.* 2006, 56.

62 Petropoulos 2007, 253, 262; Jung, Mehofer 2005/2006, 124; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 169; Jung, Μόσχος, Mehofer 2008, 92; Giannopoulos 2008, 81. For the Naue II swords from Achaea, Paschalidis, Mcgeorge 2009, 95-98 and Senn 2013.

63 With the characteristic S-wire fixing device, in the same form in a fragmented tomb from Calabria, Giannopoulos 2009, 119. Also Papadopoulos 1991, 32, Moschos 2002, 31, fig. 10/1 for Kallithea and Eder, Jung 2005 and Giannopoulos 2008, 207, 213 for Kallithea and Portes.

64 Papadopoulos 1979, 163-164; Avila 1983, 60; Jung, Μόσχος, Mehofer 2008, 91; Giannopoulos 2008, 37; Moschos 2009a, 350; Χριστακοπούλου-Σωμάκου 2010, 131-133; Bruno 2012, 346; Suchowska-Ducke 2016, 70. A spearhead of this type recently came to light at Mygdalia, near Patras,

type (fig. 3) from Teichos Dymaion[65], the "fenestrated razor" of the type "Scoglio del Tonno" and the hand-made tripod cup from Klauss, which show relations with north Italy[66] (fig. 6), the knife "Peschiera" type from Klauss[67] and the fibulae of the violin-bow class from Klauss (fig. 7) and Teichos Dymaion[68]. This type of fibulae probably derived from models of Northern Italy or of the



Fig. 6: The razor of the type Scoglio del Tonno from Klauss in Achaea.

Balkan Peninsula[69]. In addition to the Naue II swords from the tomb 2 of Spaliareika-Lousika, of Italian origin are also some other bronze objects



Fig. 7: The fibula of the violin-bow class from Klauss in Achaea.

from this tomb, as for example the Fontana di Papa type knife[70]. All the Italian various bronze imports, except the sword from Nikoleika, are found in western Achaea, the majority of them around Patras and Dyme[71] and are mainly found in the tombs of high-status males, as in those of the warriors[72].

E. Borgna, who is excavating the Mycenaean cemetery at Chatzi/Trapezà near Aighio in Eastern Achaea, examines in a recent article the relations of Achaea with Italy during the Mycenaean Period, the trade between the two regions and the Italian

Papazoglou-Manioudaki, Paschalidis 2017, 459, pl. CLXXXVa-b. The one half of a double schist mould used for the casting of whole-cast socket laurel leaf-shaped spearheads was found at the Mycenaean settlement of Stavros at Chalandritsa in central Achaea. Its characteristics can be traced in Central-Southeastern Europe as early as Bronzezeit B/Italian Middle Bronze Age I and down into the Iron Age, Soura 2017, 486-487.

[65] Eder, Jung 2005, 489. According to Cultraro 2005, 20, 21, this particular class of daggers is derived from northern Italian metalworking of "Bronzezeit D"; Moschos 2009a, 351. For the commerce of weapons between Mediterranean and Central Europe, Jung 2011. According to the chemical analysis of the dagger from Mitopolis it was a local product containing Cypriot copper and imitating the Italian products, Jung, Mehofer 2013, 182.

[66] Eder, Jung 2005, 489; Cultraro 2005, 22; Οικονομίδης 2006, 139-143; Jung *et Al.* 2008, 91; Giannopoulos 2008, 57; Moschos 2009a, 350, n. 158; Paschalidis, Mcgeorge 2009, 82-83; A razor of the type Scoglio del Tonno was recently found at the Mycenaean settlement at Mygdalia, near Patras, Papazoglou-Manioudaki, Paschalidis 2017, 458, pl. CLXXXIIIb-c.

[67] Paschalidis, Mcgeorge 2009, 86; For the Bronze Age metallurgy of Northern Italy, Ravaglia 2009. A new knife "Peschiera" type comes from Mygdalia, near Patras, Papazoglou-Manioudaki, Paschalidis 2017, 458, pl. CLXXXIVb-c.

[68] According to the chemical analysis of the fibula from Teichos Dymaion it also contains Cypriot copper and Jung, Mehofer 2013, 182, support that "the Pertosa dagger and the fibula demonstrate that bronze weapons and dress accessories foreign to the Mycenaean traditions and with exact parallels in Italy were produced at least since the beginning of the Post-palatial period in the Peloponnese".

[69] Cultraro 2005, 22. According to Pare 2008, 95, "Fibula production in Greece and Italy remained surprisingly similar until the mid 11th century B.C., suggesting that contacts across the Ionian Sea continued to be frequent, for example between Achaea and Apulia, and up the Adriatic coast via Albania" ·The dress fasteners, pins and fibulae are a group that testifies to a different aspect of the Mycenaean Culture and the societies of temperate Europe, Suchowska-Ducke 2016, 67-68.

[70] Πετρόπουλος 2000, 75-76; Giannopoulos 2008, 233-237; Van den Berg 2012, 42-44.

[71] Jung in all his publications; Arena 2015 and 2020; Berg 2012, 2015 and 2018, particularly pages 182-271 and *passim*. For the bronze circulation in the Northern Adriatic, Borgna 2009. For the transmission of metal types and artefacts forms east and west of the Adriatic, Molloy 2013. For the role of Adriatic for the Mycenaean centers, Oikonomidis 2016.

[72] Van den Berg 2012, 38-39 and *passim*. The bronze objects in Achaea had not only Italian origin but also Sicilian, as the razor from the settlement at Mygdalia near Patras, which corresponds to the "rasoi del tipo Pantelica" of Sicily, Papazoglou-Manioudaki, Paschalidis 2017, 457, pl. CLXXIXc-d. For the Achaean daggers and spears, Molloy 2016, 355-357. Some Early Geometric fibulae from Ano Mazaraki also seem as imports from Sicily, Baitinger 2013, 181-187, Abb. 37-44.

products in Achaea[73]. It is reasonable for Achaea to import bronze artefacts from Italy, because the metallurgy, and especially the production of bronze objects, flourished in Italy between Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age[74].

Bronze objects are not common only in Achaea and Italy but more generally in Greece and Italy and they belong to the so-called "koinè metallurgica"[75]. Some of these common products in Greece, in addition to some kind of pottery, as the Handmade Burnished Ware from Calabria, Basilicata and Apulia, are not always the result of the commerce, but according to Eder and Jung they conceal the migration of some people from Italy to Greece[76] and in any case confirm the existence of a transfer of military know-how from Italy - and probably from Southern Italy - to the Aegean[77]. Another theory is that some of these objects are the result of the "Gift exchange"[78].

Besides the Handmade Burnished Ware[79] a horned handle with a nose-like protrusion belonging to a large *impasto* cup from Teichos Dymaion in Western Achaea is characteristic of southern to central Italy and was specifically common in the Adriatic regions[80]. Italian impasto, besides Teichos Dymaion, also have been found at Aigeira in eastern Achaea[81].

Theodoros Giannopoulos, in a very important recent article [82], concludes that the earliest contacts between Achaea and Italy began in the 14th century B.C., in the LH III A2 Period. This early date of contacts is supported by an Italian bronze finger-ring terminating in a pair of antithetical spirals, found in a Mycenaean chamber tomb at Monodendri, 10 kilometers south-west of Patras. A similar bronze ring, but of the Geometric Era, was revealed in the Geometric Sanctuary at Ano Mazaraki (fig. 8).



Fig. 8: A Geometric bronze finger-ring from Ano Mazaraki (after Petropoulos).

The ring from Monodendri dates, according to the context of the tomb and mainly to the pottery, to the LH III A2 Period. Therefore, the ring is the earliest specimen of this finger-ring type hitherto known in Greece, the earliest specimens of which were dating to the LH IIIC Period, before the findings of the tomb at Monodendri in Achaea. On the other hand the discovery of such an Italian ring in a Peloponnesian tomb shows that the theory that no western elements or imports are attested in the Aegean up to LH IIIA Period[83], is not confirmed, although the presence of Mycenaean sherds of this Period found at Broglio di Trebisacce[84] for example or in Sicily[85] or of even earlier Period in the Tirreno Meridionale, in Vivara, in Agrigento[86], in Molinella sul Gargano, in

[73] Borgna 2013, 132-133, 136-138 and *passim*. E. Borgna also examines the technological transfer in the field of pottery production among Italy and Mycenaean Greece, Borgna, Levi 2015.

[74] Giardino 2005, 491-496.

[75] Italy, Sicily, the Aegean and Central Europe shared the same "koinè metallurgica", Giardino 2000, 102; Jung *et Al.* 2008, 92; Moschos 2009a, 377; Jung, Mehofer 2013, 175. For the copper production and the Mediterranean sea's trade of copper and other metals in the Bronze Age, Jones Rice 2007. For the importance of detailed technological characterization using complementary approaches, Doonan, Marks 2013; Borgna 2013, 128 and *passim*.

[76] Eder, Jung 2005, 487; Giardino 2000, 100; Naso 2000, 167. For the interpretation of H. Catling that "the introduction of Type II swords to the Aegean was military necessity that drove Mycenaean princes to hire warriors from outside Greece, who brought their own armouries with them", see Jung, Mehofer 2013, 175.

[77] Jung, Mehofer 2013, 182.

[78] See for example, Bachhuber 2003, 88; Wagner-Hasel 2006; Jung *et Al.* 2008, 92. For the "Gift exchange" in Egypt and in Homer, Jones Rice 2007, 11-12 .

[79] Giardino 2000, 117-137; Romanos 2011, 29, 237.

[80] Jung, Μόσχος, Mehofer 2008, 93; Jung, Mehofer 2013, 181.

[81] Borgna, Levi 2015, 125.

[82] Giannopoulos 2008, 188, Abb. 23; Giannopoulos 2009.

[83] Iacono 2013, 62.

[84] Buxeda I Carrigós *et Al.* 2003, 275.

[85] Tanasi 2004, 351.

[86] Bettelli 2009, 17-18.

Porto Perone near Taranto and in Capo Piccolo of Croton[87] was an indication for early contacts between Mycenaean Greece and South Italy. Four beads of the so-called lantern-type or wheel-shaped (fig. 9), made of glass-paste came also from the same tomb.



Fig. 9: Glass-paste beads of the so-called lantern-type from Monodendri in Achaea (after Th. Giannopoulos).

Twelve more specimens were found in a chamber tomb at Vryssari, today south Achaea but ancient north Arcadia. The total number of 16 beads consist the second largest concentration in Greece after that of Mycenae. According to L. Rahmstorf, this kind of beads was manufactured in Greece and was exported to other regions[88]. The finding of such beads in northern Italy shows that Achaea played a mediating role between Mycenae and northern Italy in LH III A2 Period[89]. The import of the Italian-type ring and the export of the lantern beads to Italy prove that Achaea had a sort of commercial relations with Italy, direct and indirect, from 14th century onwards. Th. Giannopoulos, following the route of such objects, suspects that the last station of Italian artefacts from Central Europe and Northern Italy was rather South Italy[90]. We can expand his theory specifying that the first entry to the Peloponnese was Achaea and rather Western Achaea in North-Western Peloponnese.

According to Fr. Iacono, "the western position of Achaea is not to be ruled out completely as an explanation for its notable importance during the post palatial period"[91]. I agree with his opinion and I should add that Achaea, being located at the exit of Corinthian Gulf and constituting the northern endmost of western Peloponnese (fig. 10) offered the final anchorage to the ships from Corinthia and the Argolid, but also from Cyprus, Crete and the Aegean Sea, before sailing to the Ionian and Adriatic Seas.



Fig. 10: Map of Peloponnese.

We know the route used for the exportation of the so-called wishbone handles pottery of the Late Middle Helladic-Early Mycenaean Period from Cyprus[92]: Cyprus, perhaps Rhodes, western Crete, Cythera, Messene[93] and finally Achaea[94]. On the other hand the Cypriot component in Western Achaea's context dating to an advanced post-palatial stage is attested from many places[95], such as from Krini near Patras[96], from Klauss also near Patras[97], from Spaliareika-Lousika[98] and Teichos Dymaion[99] near Dyme and from Portes, in South-western Achaea[100]. The Cypriot products

[87] From the end of the 17th century B.C., Οικονομίδης 2014, 12, 15.

[88] Rahmstorf 2005, 667.

[89] Giannopoulos 2009, 213.

[90] Giannopoulos 2009, 124. Northern Apulia was probably an important intermediary between Aegean and north-eastern Italy, Cazzella 2009, 159, 162, 164; Eder, Jung 2005, 490.

[91] Iacono 2013, 64.

[92] Stavropoulou-Gatsi, Karageorghis 2003; Πετρόπουλος 2009, 64-65. A bowl with a wishbone handle was found at Scoglio del Tonno near Taranto, Graziadio, Guglielmino 2011, 310.

[93] For the controlled by the palace bronze-working industry in Pylos that metalized copper from Cyprus, Jones Rice 2007, 40-44.

[94] Cazzella 2009, 164, Cazzella, Recchia 2009, figs. 1-4 and Russel 2011, 35, fig. 1.2, replace the coasts of western Peloponnese and Western Greece in the route to Italy with the western coasts of the Ionian Islands. For the sea routes of Achaea, see Moschos 2009a, 371-382.

[95] Papadopoulos 1985; Eder 2006, 568-570; Giannopoulos 2008, 160-166; Moschos 2009a, 375-379; Γάτση, Jung. Mehofer 2012, 262.

[96] Borgna 2009, 294.

[97] Paschalidis, Mcgeorge 2009, 83.

[98] Πετρόπουλος 2000, 75, 88, 89, figs. 33, 34; Giannopoulos 2008, 145, 160-166; Paschalidis, Mcgeorge 2009, 83.

[99] Papadopoulos 1979, 157; Eder 2006, 559.

[100] Moschos 2002, 26; Eder 2006, 559.

sometimes are found together with Cretan pottery[101]. The same route was later followed by the merchants of the Mycenaean Period[102]. So, it is not sure that the Achaean pottery in South Italy was actually direct Achaean exports by Achaean ships and Achaean merchants or indirect by foreign merchants, may be by Cypriot traders, who acted in that period[103] and bought the Achaean pottery in the harbors of Achaea as the latest cargo before sailing to Italy or by Mycenaean traders, who followed the route through the Corinthian Gulf[104]. Because the Achaean vessels in Italy were products of western Achaea, three harbors could accommodate the foreign ships and the export of the local products, the harbors at Patras, at Vrachneika[105] and at Teichos Dymaion with the impressive Mycenaean acropolis (fig. 11), an ideal base for enterprises towards the Italian peninsula[106].

Since the Achaean pottery is not found as a closed group or an exclusive product of Mainland Greece in Italy, except in the case of Rocavecchia, but it is encountered with products of other Mycenaean regions of Greece, I believe, because of the scarcity of other indications for the moment, that the Achaean commerce with Italy was mainly



Fig. 11: Teichos Dymaion in Achaea.

[101] For the relations between Achaea and Crete, Papadopoulos 1981; Giannopoulos 2008, 147, 186 for Spaliareika-Lousika. Moschos 2009a, 350, 354-5 detects a settlement of Cretan potters in the region of Olympia. For the Minoan or Cretan merchants, Bachhuber 2003, 43-49. However there is more generally a reverse course of Achaean LH III C exports to the Eastern Mediterranean, e.g. to Rhodes, Zervaki 2022, 240.

[102] Papadopoulos 1991, 32.

[103] Vagnetti 2000, 68-76; Graziadio, Guglielmino 2011, 309, 316, 319; Moschos 2009a, 372-373, 375, 379. For an early Cypriot agency in the post-palatial contacts between the Aegean and Italy, in particular the Adriatic Area, anticipating the Iron Age trade system, Borgna 2009, 289-290 and in the palatial age, 14th-13th century, Borgna 2009, 282; Eder 2006, 568-569 observes also direct contacts between Cyprus and Western Greece during the PG Period, which continue until the LG Period in Achaea. The Cypriots merchants co-existed with the Mycenaeans ones in the Mediterranean maritime routes, Stefani 2015, 155. For the Cypriot merchants, Bachhuber 2003, 18-19, 59-64 and *passim*. For the Cypriots copper traders Giardino 2000, 99; Jones Rice 2007, 4; Crielaard 1998. For the various sea-routes from Cyprus to Italy, De Gregorio 2014, 123-128.

[104] For the Mycenaean trade and the traders to South Italy and Sicily, Giardino 2000, 99; Vagnetti 2000; Bachhuber 2003, 14-17, 34-37, 49-59. For the Late Bronze Age exchange modes in the Eastern Mediterranean, see Papadopoulos, A. 2012.

[105] Πετρόπουλος 2009, 65.

[106] Giannopoulos 2009, 118; Γκαζής 2010; Γκαζής 2012; Γκαζής 2017; Jung, Mehofer 2013, 182, regard also Teichos Dymaion as the first landfall for a ship coming from the Ionian Sea and directed towards the Corinthian Gulf or the western coast of Peloponnese; Jung *et Al.* 2015, 78.

indirect, practiced by foreign merchants, rather Cypriots, and to a lesser extend direct by Achaean merchants, who possibly worked at the beginning as mariners in the foreign ships that anchored in their ports and gradually became merchants copying the route from Achaea to Italy[107]. It is also possible that the Achaean potters took part in these voyages.

According to Th. Giannopoulos "it is neither accidental nor surprising that in the last years more and more scholars regard LH IIIC Achaea as a front line and mediator in the contacts between the regions of the Adriatic and the Aegean and consider its extraordinary prosperity in this period as the reflection and outcome of this historical development"[108].

3. The Geometric Period

There is no sufficient indication that the contacts between Achaea and South Italy were continued during the Proto-Geometric and the Early Geometric Periods, when it is generally accepted that the relations between Italy and Greece were interrupted[109], although there are striking exceptions, as the pre-colonial contacts between Euboea and the Aegean with Italy during the second half of the 10th and the 9th century B.C.[110]. However long bronze pins in different places of Achaea, which show affinities with a class of pins of Northern Italy[111], indicate that the contacts were continued almost till the Sub-Mycenaean Period[112], while some Achaean submycenaean vessels have been recognized at Rocavecchia[113] and in the Argolid, a fact that according to B. Eder means that "the Submycenaean Achaean Period is a much more communicative than we tend to believe"[114]. On the other hand a few objects, as for example some types of fibulae, in the Sanctuary of Artemis Aontia on the Mount Panachaicos of Achaea, dated to the very Early Geometric Period, show Italian origin, but it is unknown whether they reached Achaea through direct or indirect trade[115].

In any case, although the Mycenaean sea routes were abandoned for a long period, their reminiscence would have been strong in the mariners of Achaea until the middle of the 8th century B.C., when the commercial travels were revived[116], not by the mariners of western Achaea, but now by the seamen of eastern Achaea[117], who re-discovered the economic resources of South Italy and established a series of primary and secondary colonies during the Late 8th and the 7th centuries , the most prevalent of which were

[107] Moschos 2009a, 379-380 sees on the contrary an active Achaean participation in the commerce with Italy.

[108] Giannopoulos 2009, 119, n. 21 with all the relevant bibliography; Eder 2006, 558. According to Eder 2007, 43, "Achaea played an important role in mediating contacts between the Adriatic region and the Greek Mainland"; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 169. Some of the papers presented during the Congress, 1200 B.C.E. A Time of Breakdown-a Time of Progress in Southern Italy and Greece, held in Rome in 2015, offer new information for the relations between Achaia and Italy, according to the abstracts. For the role of Adriatic during the Late Bronze Age, Oikonomidis 2016. For the role of the Ionian and the Albanian coast, Tsonos 2016.

[109] Eder 2006, 560, 562, 563; Bettelli 2011, 115.

[110] Pare 2008, 95.

[111] Cultraro 2005, 21.

[112] For the introduction of long pins in Greece, see Iacono 2013, 70.

[113] Jung 2006, 153-165; Eder 2009, 137.

[114] Eder 2009, 140.

[115] Early Geometric bow fibulae from Francavilla Marittima in Calabria and Pantalica in Sicily and Late Geometric fibulae common in Picene and Lucane, as for example Preložnik 2007, 124, figs. 1 and 2, have also been found at Ano Mazaraki as well as some Italian Late Geometric fibulae of the bow or the wire twisted types, Πετρόπουλος 2019, 327-328, figs. 15-20. Some other fibulae from Ano Mazaraki are similar with Baitinger 2013, 181-187, Abb. 37-44 and seem as imports from Sicily. Of special interest are the bronze parts of the musical instrument chalchophone or Apulian Sistrum found at Ano Mazaraki, Πετρόπουλος 2019, 331-332, which is very common in South Italy, mainly in Calabria and Basilicata, Colelli, Fera 2013, and particularly in Sybaris, the Achaean colony, a citizen of which obviously devoted it to Ano Mazaraki.

[116] Πετρόπουλος 2008, 13; Stefani 2015, 159. For the methods of transport, mainly by merchant ships, animals and carts, Chatzidimitriou 2010. For the trade routes, Panvini *et Al.* 2010. Bettelli 2015. For the sea route from Perachora/Corinth to Sicily through the Corinthian Gulf and the Ionian Sea during the Archaic Period, Verger 2011. For the role of the Corinthian Gulf for the external relations of Achaea with Corinth, Delphi and other settlements around the Gulf, Gadolou 2017b, 219-220. The presence of 6th-3rd century B.C. transport amphoras in the recently excavated seaport of the ancient city Voura, one of the three metropoleis of Sybaris, provided information about the role of the seaport as an important intermediate stop of transit trade in the Corinthian Gulf and about the trade relations with Panormos in Western Sicily and Ionian-Adriatic Sea, while some of the amphoras seem rather imports from Sybaris, Φίλης 2019, 506.

[117] Achaea was not a united country during the Prehistoric Period and the Early Historical Years. It consisted of two different parts, the western and the eastern ones, Petropoulos 2012a, Petropoulos 2016.

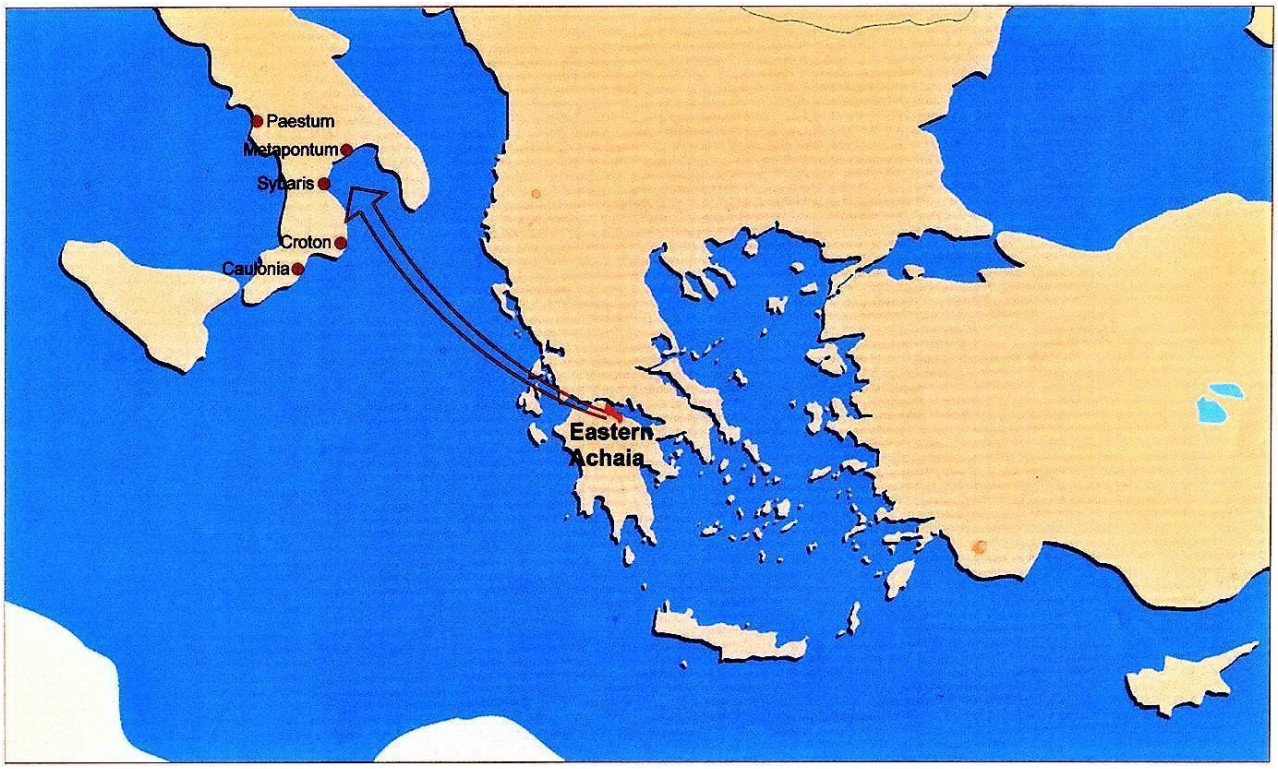


Fig. 12: The Achaean Metropoleis and their colonies.

Sybaris, Croton, Caulonia, Metapontum and Paestum[118] (fig. 12).

The earlier colony was *Sybaris*, co-founded by the Achaean cities of Helice, Voura and Aigai in 730/720 B.C., simultaneously with *Croton*, founded by Rhypes and *Caulonia*, founded perhaps by Aigion. It is reasonable to suppose that the people of Helice did not suddenly decide to travel to the west to establish a colony. It is obvious that some contacts, mainly of commercial character, had already been pre-existed and the merchants of Helice, Voura and Aigai had observed the advantages of the Gulf of Taranto and more specifically of the region of Sybaris. The same reasons impelled the colonists of the other two Achaean metropoleis, Rhypes and Aigion, to South Italy. The Achaean Geometric and Archaic pottery constitutes the strongest Achaean export product to South Italy and Sicily[119]. The ports of Aigion and Helice in Eastern Achaea play now the main role for the commerce and other contacts with Italy replacing the ports of Western Achaea of the Prehistoric Period.

Achaea and more precisely Eastern Achaea seems to be flourishing for a second time, after the LH IIIC Period, during the Middle-Late Geometric and Archaic periods. The population had increased and the foundation of colonies was a necessity[120]. On the other hand, eastern Achaea had a big contribution to the architecture of the temples[121]. Two impressive Late Geometric apsidal *hekatompedoi* temples were erected during the Late Geometric Period. The first temple (dedicated to *Artemis Aontia*) is located at Ano Mazaraki (Rakita) (figs 13, 21), a site which belonged to Aigion[122] and the second one (dedicated to

[118] Greco 2001, *passim*; Petropoulos 2002; Greco 2006, *passim*; Πετρόπουλος 2008; Πετρόπουλος 2011; Greco 2016; Greco 2019. Apart from the main achaean colonies, primary and secondary, which were real cities, as Sybaris, Croton, Caulonia, Metapontum and Paestum (Poseidonia), there were smaller secondary colonies too, as Laos and Skidros of Sybaris and Temessa of Croton, Greco 2001, 56-79 and *passim*, as well as settlements in the periphery of the achaean colonies influenced by them, as for example San Nicola di Amendolara, directly influenced by Sybaris, Colelli 2018, 90-94. According to E. Greco "as seems more likely, Greeks and natives lived side by side during the first stages in the life of the community (Sybaris) about to become a polis", Greco 2019, 293-294.

[119] Papadopoulos J. 2001; Jacobsen 2007, *passim*. For the ancient Greek navigation in the Adriatic during the Historical Era, see Kirigin *et Al.* 2009 and Tsonos 2016.

[120] Petropoulos 2002, 146.

[121] Πετρόπουλος 2012a; Petropoulos 2022.

[122] Petropoulos 2002; Vlachou 2017, 257; Gadolou 2017c, 280-281, 284; Petropoulos 2022, 294-295; Ακτύπη 2023. Three recent articles for the temple and its votives are under publication by M. Petropoulos and K. Aktypi: *I. The Geometric*

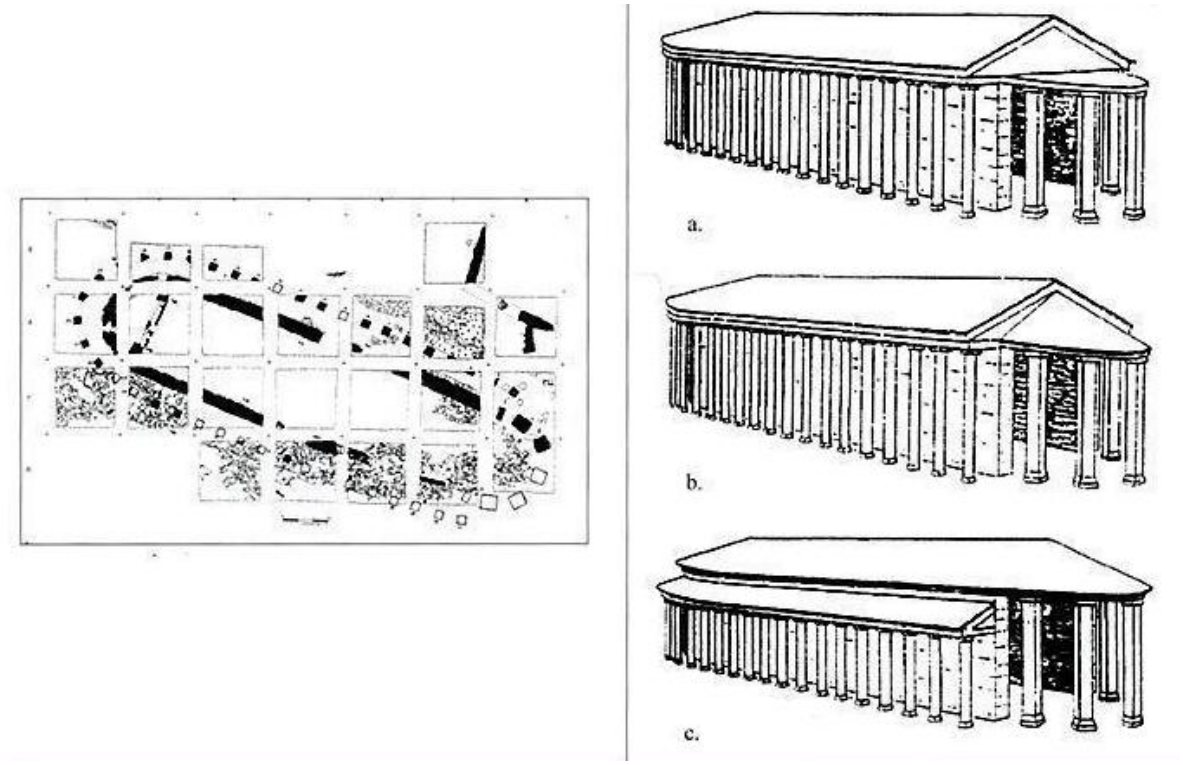


Fig. 13: Ano Mazaraki (Rakita): The temple of Artemis Aontia.

Poseidon Helikonios) at Nikoleika, a site which belonged to ancient Helice[123] (figs 14, 21). Stone bases in situ and fragments of clay models from Ano Mazaraki show that this early temple had an external wooden Doric colonnade (figs 15a,b, 21).

The temple at Nikoleika, excavated by my colleague E. Kolia, had no external colonnade. Two Late Geometric clay models from this excavation show two types of temple[124] (figs 16a,b, 21). The first, with the characteristic local impressed technique, has a saddle roof, while the second one, decorated in a combination of painted and impressed techniques, is a model of a roof of an apsidal temple.



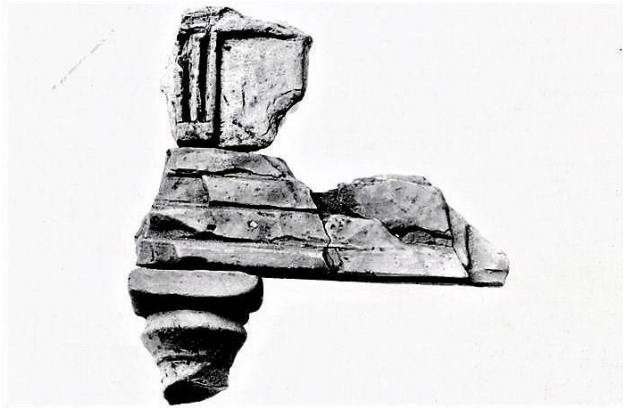
Fig. 14: Nikoleika, ancient Helice: The temple of Poseidon Helikonios.

temple of 'Artemis Aontia' at Achaea in Peloponnese, Greece. A sacred place and an idea, in the Congress *Landscape and Religion in the ancient Mediterranean*, organized by the Mediterranean Archaeology Australasian Research Community (MAARC), University of Melbourne, 28-30 January 2021. *II. Ιερό Αρτέμιδος Αοντίας στην Αχαΐα. Ευρήματα της Γεωμετρικής και Αρχαϊκής περιόδου από τον αποθέτη του ναού*, in Γ΄ Διεθνής Επιστημονική Συνάντηση, *Το αρχαιολογικό έργο στην Πελοπόννησο* (ΑΕΠΕΛ 3), Καλαμάτα 2-5 June 2021. *III. "... and give to me all mountains; and for city, assign me any, even whatsoever thou wilt...": The Geometric sanctuary of Artemis Aontia. From the mountains of Achaea to the Museum of modern Patras*, in *The Constant Participant. Constructing and Affirming Identity through Material Culture in Ancient Greek Sanctuaries and Modern Museums*, Congress organized by the Archaeological Institutions and Schools of Denmark, Finland and Holland, Athens, 8-10 May 2024. *IV*. Our oral presentation, *Artemis Aontia. A Geometric sanctuary in the heart of Achaia and its relations with other regions, in Interpreting the pottery record from Geometric and Archaic sanctuaries in the northern Peloponnese: Cult and votive practices, provenance, and production methods*, organized by the Austrian Archaeological Institute at Athens, 5-7 November 2020, was withdrawn from the Proceedings and will be published elsewhere.

123 Kolia 2011; Gadolou 2017c, 281-282, 284; Kolia 2019, 262-264; Gadolou 2019, 132-133; Hellner 2019; Petropoulos 2022, 295; Kolia 2024; Gadolou 2024.

124 Gadolou 2011b.

A



B



Fig. 15: a, b. Clay models from Ano Mazaraki.

A



B

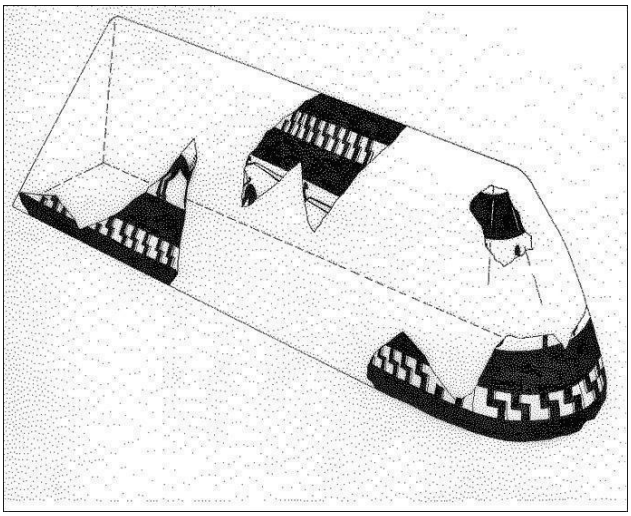


Fig. 16: a, b. Clay models from Nikoleika.

According to the excavator W. Alzinger an orthogonal temple dedicated to *Artemis and Iphigenia* was erected on the acropolis of Aigeira in 650 B.C.[125] (figs 17, 21). His opinion is not accepted by Anton Bammer[126], who believes that there are two orthogonal buildings antithetical situated.

The evolution of the early Achaean temples is represented by the orthogonal peripteros temple at Grekas, first half of the 6th century B.C. (figs 18, 21), partly excavated by myself and A. Vordos[127].

Late Geometric sherds in the deeper layers indicate the presence of an earlier temple under the archaic. The orthogonal peripteros temple on the plateau of Trapezà at the village of Koumari near Aigion (figs 19, 21), with a deeper layer of the Late Geometric pottery too, belongs possibly to ancient Rhypes and dates to the late 6th century B.C.

The temple and the architectural sculpture of excellent quality have recently published by the excavator Andreas Vordos[128].

The two archaic temples at Grekas and at Trapezà are located in the *chora* (territory) of ancient Rhypes and I suppose that the temple at Grekas must have been devoted to Hera, the main deity of the ancient city, the cult of which was transferred to its colony Croton.

[125] Alzinger 1985, 441.

[126] Bamer 2002, 241; Βόρδος, Κόλια 2008, 18-31 with full bibliography; Gadolou 2017c, 283, 284; Petropoulos 2022, 297-298. For a recent resumed research in the area of the acropolis with the archaic sanctuary, Gauss, Ruppenstein 2024.

[127] Πετρόπουλος 2011, 64; Petropoulos 2022, 296-297. According to newer observations the temple dates to the middle of the 6th century B.C., Βόρδος 2012.

[128] Vordos 2002, 227-231; Βόρδος 2003; Βόρδος 2006; Βόρδος, Κόλια 2008, 71-75; Βόρδος 2016; Βόρδος 2018; Vordos 2019a; Vordos 2019b; Borgna, Vordos 2019; Borgna *et Al.* 2019; Βόρδος 2020; Πετρόπουλος 2022, 296.

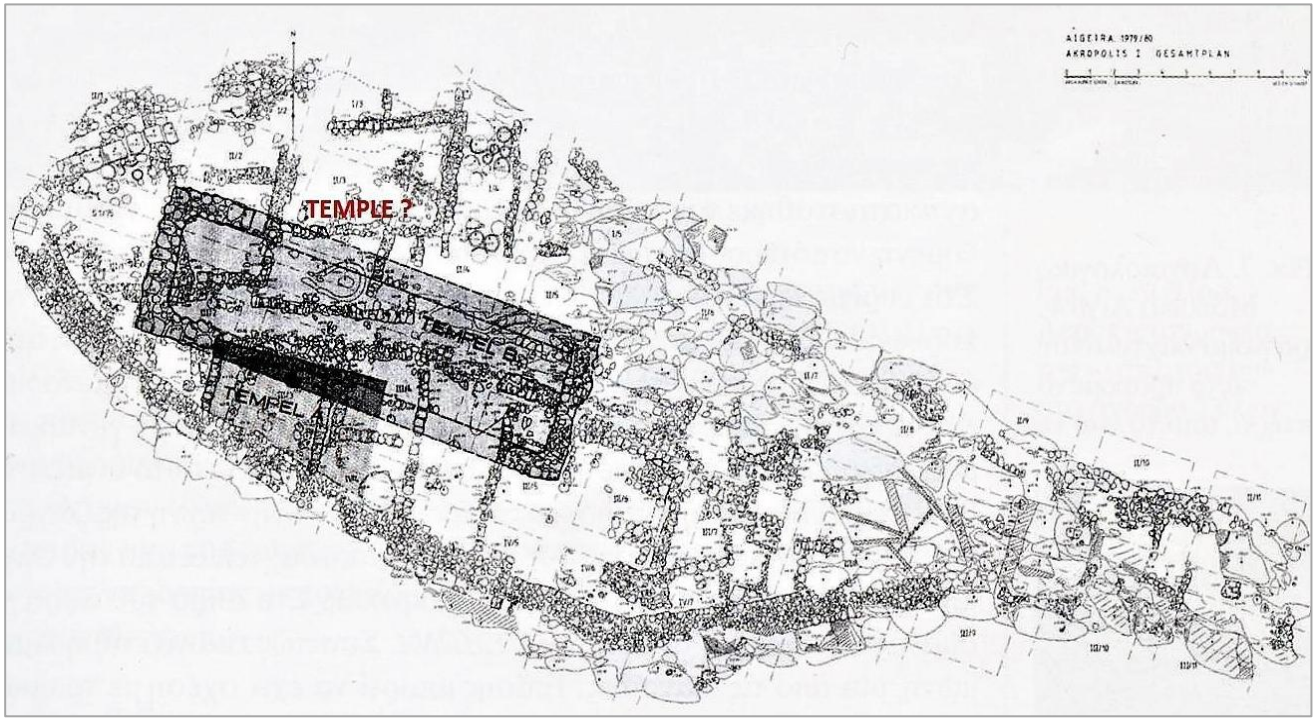


Fig. 17: Acropolis of Aigeira. Temple of 650 B.C. (after A. Bamer).

A hekatompedos orthogonal peripteros temple of the early 6th century B.C., partly excavated by E. Kolia, was found at Erimo Chorio, a site in the *chora* of ancient Voura[129]. Only a corner of this temple has been revealed. A deeper layer with Late Geometric pottery indicates also the presence of an earlier temple.

The evolution of the Achaean archaic temple's architecture winds up, for the moment, with the peripteros Doric *hekatompedon* temple at Mamousia (ancient Keryneia). It was excavated by Dr. E. Kolia and dates to the late 6th or to the early 5th century B.C. (fig. 20, 21)[130]. The architectural sculptures are of fine quality and, "despite being in a particularly fragmentary state of preservation, are obviously works of great artistic value, mirroring the advances in the sculpture of the early 5th century B.C., while the sculptor must have had a place among the important artists of the end

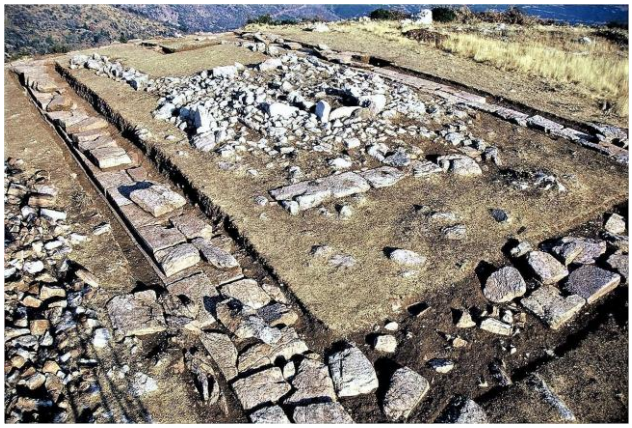


Fig. 18: Grekas: The peripteros temple of the early 6th century B.C.

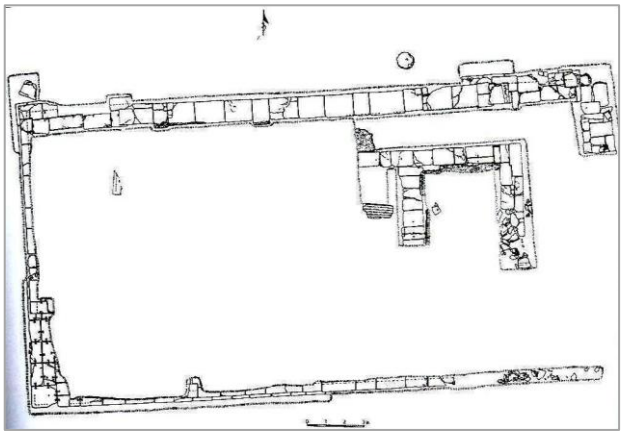


Fig. 19: Trapezà (ancient Rhypes?): The late Archaic temple.

129 Κόλια, Νεστορίδου 1999/2001; Κόλια 2007, 242; Petropoulos 2022, 297.

130 Κόλια 2005; Βόρδος, Κόλια 2008, 42-51; Kolia 2019, 264-265, with a short description of the architectonical sculptures. Petropoulos 2022, 298. LG pottery found in a trench southwest of the temple points to activities at the site prior to the construction of the archaic temple, Κόλια 2005, 143-147; Kanellopoulos, Kolia 2011, 137-176; Gadolou 2017c, 282.



Fig. 20: Mamousia (ancient Keryneia): The late Archaic temple.

of the Archaic and the beginning of the Classical period (490-480 P.C.)", according to the excavator.

Apart from their archaic style two more elements link the above temples with each other; the first is that they are all found around Aigion and Helice (fig. 21), the two most prominent cities of eastern Achaea during the Late Geometric and Archaic Periods. The temples' location suggests that they either belonged to the above cities, as the temple of Artemis Aontia at Ano Mazaraki, located at the borders of the *chora* of Aigion with Arcadia, and that of Nikoleika, located in the *chora* of ancient Helice or that they belonged to other, neighboring ancient cities. Thus the temple of Trapezà perhaps belongs to Rhypes and that of Grekas surely to Rhypes, the temple of Mamousia to ancient Keryneia, originally a village (*κώμη*) of ancient Voura, the temple of Erimo Chorio perhaps to Voura (or to Ascheion or to Kallistai) and the temple of Aigeira to the homonymous ancient city[131].

The second element is that these cities are located in eastern Achaea (fig. 22). It is to be noticed that no apsidal Geometric or Archaic temples have yet been found in western Achaea[132].

Another feature also differentiating the two parts of Achaea[133] is that only cities from eastern Achaea founded colonies in South Italy at the end of the 8th and during the 7th century B.C., despite the fact that western Achaea had already developed relations with Italy since the 12th century B.C., as it is suggested by the study of bronze weaponry from both regions[134]. It is of special interest the fact that all the archaic temples, except for the temple at Aigeira, belonged to cities, which found colonies in South Italy. A question arises then, if the temples of the Achaean colonies in South Italy were influenced by the early temples of their Achaean metropoleis. I believe that the answer cannot be given for the moment, since the excavations of all the Achaean temples, except of the temple of Aigeira, are still in progress, but I believe that the early wooden and the unsophisticated mud-brick temples on stone foundation of the sanctuary at Francavilla Marittima (temples V.c and V.d)[135], which belonged to the Achaean colony of Sybaris, must be re-examined in relation with the temples of Achaea and more specific with the temples of Ano

[131] Petropoulos 2012a, 192; 2016, 225; 2022, 298. For the formation of the religious landscapes in Achaea during the Early Historical Era, Gadolou 2017c. An apsidal LG building at modern Seliana, which is identified with the small ancient village (πόλισμα ούκ ἐπιφανὲς, Paus. VII, 26.10), of Phelloe and located on the eastern border of modern Achaea with Corinthia, is actually the newest revealed apsidal building of Eastern Achaea and is interpreted by the excavator "rather as a structure associated with tomb cult or veneration of ancestors pointing to hero cult (heroon=hero shrine), than a ruler's residence", Katsarou 2024. For the architectural remains and mainly for the Geometric pottery at Phelloe, Κατσαρού 2019.

[132]The fact, however, that no Geometric or Early Archaic apsidal temples have been found yet in western Achaea does not mean of course that no orthogonal temples were erected there in the archaic period. Dr. L. Papazoglou-Manioudaki brought recently to light at the site Mygdalia of the settlement Petroto near Patras (fig. 1) an Archaic orthogonal temple of the early 7th century B.C., built over the ruins of a megaron of a Mycenaean settlement. The temple consists only of a *peristasis*, of which 8 x 4 independent stone bases of local limestone are preserved, without a cella (fig. 16). This architecture form points out to the same sort of structures known in Aitolia, namely the temple of Apollo at Thermon and the sanctuary of Poseidon at Molykreion (Velvina) near Antirrhion, a fact that more than an oddity seems to be a tradition in Western Greece, Papazoglou- Manioudaki *et Al.* 2019, 202; Papazoglou-Manioudaki, Paschalidis 2021a, 484; 2021b, 389; Petropoulos 2022, 299.

[133] For the two parts of Achaia, Petropoulos 2012a and 2016.

[134] Moschos 2009a; Jung *et Al.* 2008, 95.

[135] Kleibrink 2010, 94-95. For a possibly different interpretation of the temples of the 8th and 7th century B.C. at Timpone della Motta, initially used as dwellings of the élite enotria society and later transformed into temples, Brocato 2022a. For the possible identification of an archaic temple at the same sanctuary as the temple of Athena, Brocato 2022b. For an update of the themes concerning the architecture of Western Achaeans in South Italy and the influence on it by Corinth and Argos, Aversa 2019. But G. Aversa does not take into account the recent excavations of the LG Achaean temples and the architectural elements of the temple at Trapezà of the 6th century B.C., as they have splendid published by Andreas Vordos, Βόρδος 2018 and Vordos 2019b. For the Achaean roofs of the Archaic period in the colonies, Rescigno 2019.

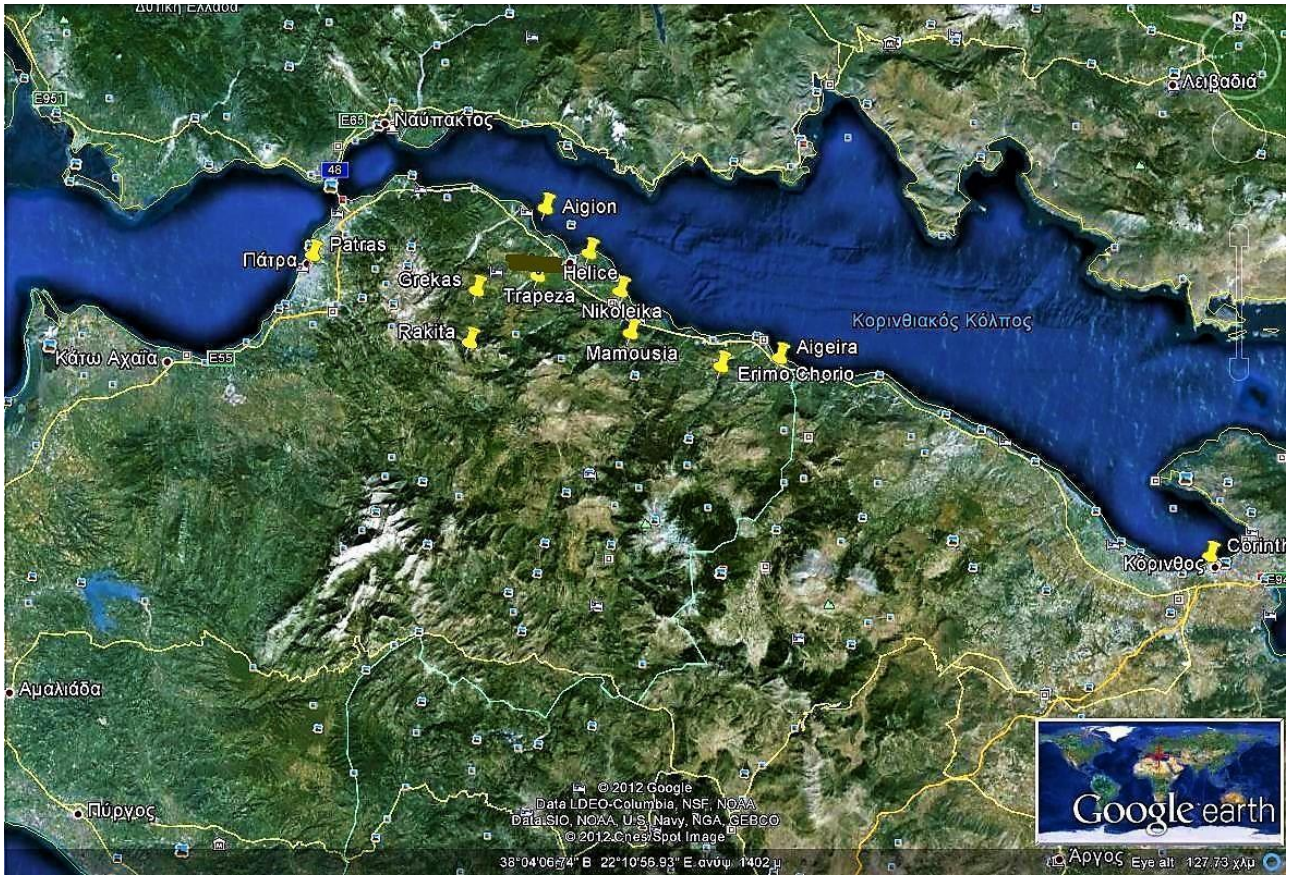


Fig. 21: Map of Eastern Achaea with the sites of the Geometric and Archaic temples.

Mazaraki and Nikoleika. It is worth noting that there are imported Geometric objects from Francavilla to the Santuary of Artemis Aontia in Achaea[136]. Although it is not sure the transplantation of the Achaean temples to South Italy, anyhow it is sure that the Achaeans transplanted the cults of their mother-cities in the colonies[137].

Finally I must add that Eastern Achaea also displays the creation of the Thapsos type vases, as Dr. A. Gadolou has argued[138] (fig.23). This pottery ware, which was possibly produced in Aigion and appeared simultaneously in the Achaean and the Corinthian Colonies of South Italy and Sicily[139], indicates the close relations between the two

[136] Πετρόπουλος 2019, 328, 331, 332, 334, 335, 337, 338, 342. The bronze diadems from Ano Mazaraki, Πετρόπουλος 2019, 325-326, figs. 5-10, are almost similar with those from Siracusa and Mendolito di Adrano of Sicily, Baitinger 2013, 214-217, Abb. 92-96 and 271-274, Abb. 152, and they are either imports from Sicily or local Achaean imitations. Of Italian origin are also Geometric and Archaic votives in other Greek Sanctuaries, Naso 2011, 39-41 and Baitinger 2013. Of great interest for the cult of Artemis-Diana in ancient Greece and Italy is the collective volume Casadio, Johnston 2021.

[137] Osanna 2002.

[138] Γκαδόλου 2008, 321; Gadolou 2011a, 46-47; Γκαδόλου 2011, 203-206; Gadolou 2012, 234-240; Gadolou 2024, 95-99. See also Tomay 2002; Luberto 2019, 433-434, 435. The recent excavation of an apsidal LG building and a LG cemetery at Seliana (ancient settlement of Phelloe), brought to light a huge number of Thapsos-type vases (the intact vases were over 100), a fact that impelled the excavator to place here the workshop of this kind of pottery, Κατσαρού 2019, 229-230.

[139] Tomay 2002; Γκαδόλου 2008, 330; Gadolou 2011a, 44; Gadolou 2012. For the Thapsos pottery in the Achaean colonies of South Italy, Luberto 2014, 2-3 and Luberto 2017, 193-196; Greco 2019, 293 (Sybaris); Balzanelli, Luberto 2019, 303, 314, 315 (Croton); Parra 2019, 413 (Caulonia). For the other pottery, local and imported, *passim*.
According to Luberto 2019, 433-434, "Kroton has yielded the most ancient and varied examples of Thapsos style pottery, while in Sybaris and Kaulonia the evidence is later in date". Luberto 2019, 436, also believes that the ethnic connotation attributed to the "Achaean Kantharoi" is not appropriate. For Achaean imports, mainly pottery, in Italy during the Geometric Period, Fletcher 2007, 15 (Metaponto), 51 (Pithecussai), 74 (Francavilla Maritima of Sybaris), 75 (Timmari and Alianello in Basilicata), and 84 (Leontini). For the Achaean pottery in the sanctuary of the Timpone della Motta at Francavilla Marittima, Charalambidou 2027, 108. For the Achaean pottery in the city of Sybaris and at Timpone della Motta but also in Lokroi Epizephyrioi, Savelli 2017, 530, 533, 535.

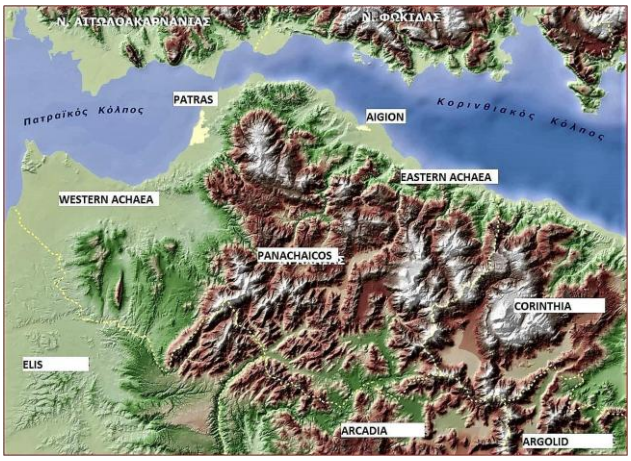


Fig. 22: Map of Eastern and Western Achaea.



Fig. 23: Achaean Thapsos type vases.

regions and constitutes one of the most exported Achaean products to Italy.

I wonder if the big number of the early Doric temples in a restricted area of Achaea is an indication that the Doric temple was born here, in such a remote part of eastern Achaea yet located at the center of the north Peloponnese (fig. 24).

In my opinion the evidences, a: earliest Doric temple with *peristasis* and b: continuous evolution of the architectural plan in the same area, confirm such a claim. As it appears Aigialeia seems to have actively contributed with original creations in the artistic and generally cultural production of the Late Geometric and Early Archaic periods, as it is proved by the early Doric temples of the Late 8th century B.C. and their evolution till the early 5th century B.C. and the production of the impressed (fig. 25) and Thapsos wares and the uninterrupted evolution of the fine painted ware from the Protogeometric down to the Early Archaic Era[140], leading to the assumption that it could have actually been the birthplace of the Doric style that was later transported to the Achaean colonies in South Italy.

4. Conclusions

The contacts between Achaea and Italy had surely begun during the LH IIIA Mycenaean Period, if not earlier[141], when western Achaea had initially developed its bi-directional relations. Achaean merchants and probably potters had traveled to South Italy. Jung and Mehofer ascribe on the contrary the presence of Italian-type impasto pottery in various contexts at the site of Teichos Dymaion to immigrants from South Italy[142]. L. Papazoglou-Manioudaki and C. Paschalidis, interpret the presence of Italian metal objects at the settlement of Mygdalia, near Patras, with regard to neighboring Clauss, where also Italian objects were found, as a possibility that local people had come in contact with foreign traders in

[140] Gadolou 2012, 240. For the significance of the early Achaean temples, Vlachou 2017, 255. For the role of the temple of Artemis Aontia as territorial marker and as the main center of a religious center, Γκαδόλου 2008, 328-331;

Vlachou 2017, 261; Gadolou 2017c, 281 and 284; Lang, Sieverling 2017, 417-418. For the development of the "extra-urban" sanctuaries, as the sanctuary of Artemis Aontia at Ano Mazaraki, into larger (supra) regional centers of communication and competition, Eder 2019, 38-41.

[141] According to a recent article by Dr Erophile Kolia and A. Spyroulias, the presence of the Cetina pottery at the site Keryneia in Eastern Achaea, shows early contacts of Achaea with Adriatic and Italy during the EH III period, namely to the end of the 3rd millennium B.C., but the scale of contacts is an issue difficult to be addressed, Kolia, Spyroulias 2017, 498- 501; Gazis 2017, 466, 467, comments the Cetina pottery at Teichos Dymaion and interprets the "Cetina phenomenon", spread along both sides of Adriatic, Malta and parts of the Peloponnese, as widespread contacts, both direct and indirect, arguably including population movements. For the presence of Cetina-type features at Keryneia and Teichos Dymaion in Achaea, Recchia, Cazzella 2017, 94, 99.

[142] Jung, Mehofer 2013, 182; Paschalidis, Mcgeorge 2009, 83, believe that there are immigrants from Italy at Klauss
in Achaea.



Fig. 24: The restricted area of the Early Doric temples of Eastern Achaea.

their own land or had travelled and got to know the shores across the sea and the customs prevailing there. The forenamed archaeologists believe that the Sicilian razor from Mygdalia strengthens the argument for direct interaction[143]. During the LH III C Period, when Achaea appears to have been one of the major successes of the post-palatial era, it functioned as the western gate to Greece for Italian products[144]. On the other hand Eastern Achaea replaced to a large extend Western Achaea in the relations with Italy during the Late Geometric and Archaic periods and this phenomenon is explained by the fact that until then there was a clear differentiation between the two parts of Achaea, as mentioned before[145]. Metal objects from Italy were imported to Achaean



Fig. 25: Local Geometric Impressed ware from Eastern Achaea.

sanctuaries, as for example to the sanctuary of Artemis Aontia at Ano Mazaraki and Achaean ceramic products were exported to Italy, as the Thapsos pottery[146]. Eastern Achaea flourished during the LG period and this reflects in the erection of the early temples. These temples seem, according to B. Eder, that played a significant role in the formation of ethnic identity and more specifically in the Greek identity[147]. The relations

[143] Papazoglou-Manioudaki and Paschalidis 2017, 460; For the migrations during the Late Bronge Age, Eder 2005. For the forced migrations during the 13th and early 12th century B.C. and the relations with the Sea People, Jung 2015.

[144] Van den Berg 2012, 33-34. Between 1250 and 1000 B.C. Achaea seems that has parallel with Argolis contacts with Italy, Van den Berg 2015.

[145] According to a recent article, it seems that Trapezà in Eastern Achaea had contacts with Italy during the later phase of the LH IIIC/SM period-advanced Final Bronze Age Period of Italy, namely during the 11th century B.C., when had an important role in the transmission of innovative ideas , social and ideological patterns and ritual practices from west to east, Borgna 2021, 577.

[146] Look at the notes 138 and 139. Geometric pottery was imported in Italy not only from Achaea but also from other regions of Greece, e.g. from Euboea, Attica, Corinth and Cyclades, Kourou 2004, *passim*. The presence of Achaean LG pottery in the intermediate region between Achaea and South Italy, as for example in Aitolia, Acarnania and Epirus, Lang, Sieverling 2017, 410, 413, shows the region through which the contacts between Achaea and Italy are detected. A number of archaeological sites and sanctuaries with certain artefacts of special and symbolic meaning, shows a symbolic sea voyage from Northern Peloponnese to the eastern coast of Magna Grecia, acrossing the Corinthian Gulf and the Ionian Sea, during the 8th century B.C., Gadolou 2019. For the formation of a cultural koine between the Corinthian Gulf communities, namely Achaea, Corinth, Phokis and Boeotia, Gadolou 2017a. In particular for Achaea, pp. 328-331. For the role of Achaea in the communications between the post-palatial and the Late Geometric periods, Arena 2022, 71-159.

[147] Eder 2019. For the excavations of recent revealed temples in Eastern Achaea, Kolia 2019. For a recent study of all the early temples of Achaea, except for the

between the now united Achaea and South Italy continued in later times[148], for instance during the Hellenistic Period, when silver jewelry are exported to Patras from Taras, thus Achaea continuing the tradition of imports of metal objects from Italy from the Prehistoric and Early Historic periods. However the relations particularly were strengtherned during the Roman Period, when two Roman colonies were established in western Achaea, the Colonia Iulia Augusta Dymaeorum at Dyme by Julius Cesar and the Colonia Augusta Achaica Patrensis at Patras by August, which is the favorite city of Cicero, who quite often visits it[149]. These relations continue to the present day. There is an Italian Quarter in Patras created during the 19th century AD by Italian refugees who immigrated to Greece due to civil strifes in Italy, while the fraternization of Achaean with Italian cities is continuous. Thus the fraternization between Italian Acaya with Kato Achaea of Achaea and Acayà in the local language (ancient Dyme) took place in 1990, of Paestum (Capaccio) with Aigion in 2006 and of Patras with Bari and Ancona in earlier time and quite recently (jointly with the peripheral village of Erymanthos) with Reggio Calabria in 2023.

But the most striking relations in modern times are the Collaborations (Συνεργασίες-Synergasies) between Italian and Greek archaeologists. The conference Gli Achei e l'identità etnica degli Achei d'occidente, organised by E. Greco in Paestum in 2001 and published in 2002[150] was the reason for two collaborations. The first Italo-Greek collaboration began in 2002 in Eastern Achaea or Egialea, the mother-land of the Achaean Geometric colonies in Magna Grecia and the results of the first five years and of the second four years programs have already been published[151]. The participation of the archaeologists of the Ephorates of Antiquities of Achaia and Arcadia in the excavation of the Achaian colony of Sybaris in South Italy from 2005 to 2012 was the second collaboration[152]. It was the first Greek excavation in Italy and is characterized as the only real Συνεργασία between Greek and Italian Ephorates of Antiquities in Italy[153].

temple at Ano Mazaraki, in relation to their pottery, *Interpreting the Pottery* 2024, 39-136.

148 Even in the 4th century B.C. Italian objects are identified in the Greek Sanctuaries, as for example in the Sanctuary of Olympia, Naso 2011.

149 Πετρόπουλος 1999, 38-39. It is now, during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, that imports of Italian pottery reappear in the Roman province of Achaea (mainly Peloponnese and Central Greece) after a long period of time, Bes *et Al.* 2021.

150 *Gli Achei* 2002.

151 Petropoulos *et Al.* 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006; Petropoulos *et Al*. 2009; Pontrandolfo *et Al.* 2016. The directors of the collaboration are A. Pontrandolfo (Dipartimento di Scienze del Patrimonio Culturale dell' Università degli Studi di Salerno), E. Greco (Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene), M. Petropoulos (Ephor of Achaea and Arcadia) and A.D. Rizakis (National Hellenic Research Foundation, Section of Greek and Roman Antiquity-KERA).

152 Πετρόπουλος 2012b; Petropoulos 2012b; Petropoulos 2015. This second collaboration was conducted by the Ephorates of Achaea and later of Arcadia (Director M. Petropoulos) with the Ephorate of Calabria through the National Archaeological Museum of Sibaritide (Director †S. Luppino) and the Italian Archaeological School at Athens with its Director prof. E. Greco as general Director of the excavation at Sybaris.

153 Scirpo 2016, 45-46.

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