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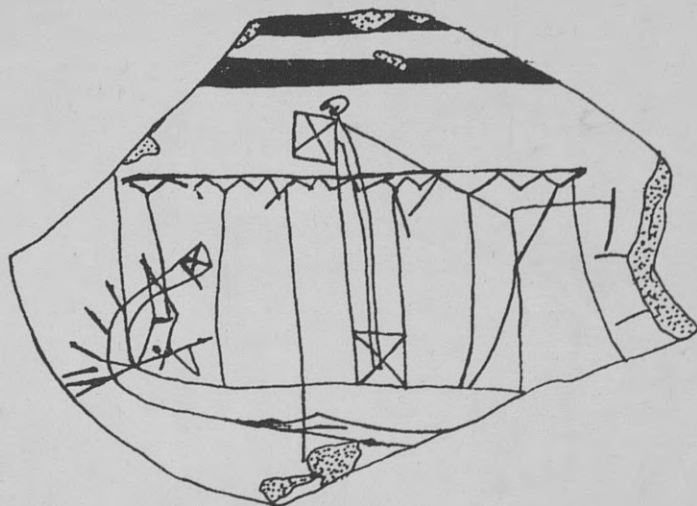
ANNALI DI ARCHEOLOGIA E STORIA ANTICA

DIPARTIMENTO DI STUDI DEL MONDO CLASSICO
E DEL MEDITERRANEO ANTICO

Nuova Serie N. 1

ΑΠΟΙΚΙΑ

SCRITTI IN ONORE DI GIORGIO BUCHNER



1994 Napoli

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ΑΠΟΙΚΙΑ

I PIÙ ANTICHI INSEDIAMENTI GRECI IN OCCIDENTE:
FUNZIONI E MODI DELL'ORGANIZZAZIONE POLITICA E SOCIALE

SCRITTI IN ONORE DI GIORGIO BUCHNER

[a cura di BRUNO D'AGOSTINO - DAVID RIDGWAY]

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[a cura di BRUNO D'AGOSTINO - DAM KIDWELL]

In copertina: Skyphos LG da Eretria con graffito raffigurante una nave (da A. Andreiomenou, AE 1983)

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Abbreviazioni

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

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

PRESENTAZIONE

Non c'è oggi studioso del mondo classico o del Mediterraneo antico che non conosca il nome e l'opera di Giorgio Buchner: pur nella vastissima gamma dei suoi interessi, egli soprattutto è e resterà sinonimo dell'euboica Pithekous-sai, e dell'autentica rivoluzione che questa scoperta ha portato in tutte le nostre nozioni riguardanti la Magna Grecia, e di conseguenza anche la Grecia arcaica da un lato, e dall'altro l'Italia antica. Questi sono fatti: ma il semplice riconoscimento di una grande impresa scientifica, benché di eccezionale portata, non dà un'idea dell'uomo stesso — come ci è offerta invece dalla sentita frase usata da uno dei colleghi che ha contribuito a questo volume, C.W. Neeft, nella dedica del suo Protocorinthian Subgeometric Aryballo (Amsterdam 1987):

To

Giorgio Buchner:

a meticulous excavator,
ever ready to share his
discoveries and insights
with the world.

Per innumerevoli studenti e studiosi queste brevi parole evocano preziosi ricordi dell'ineusabile pazienza e cortesia usata dallo scavatore di Pithekous-sai con tutti i visitatori, anche sconosciuti, e del piacere ch'egli ha sempre mostrato nello scambiare informazioni e idee con i colleghi. E i colleghi dovranno ammettere, in tutta sincerità, di aver sempre appreso da lui più di quanto non gli abbiano insegnato. Un altro degli autori che hanno collaborato a questo volume, Oswyn Murray, lo definisce molto acutamente come φιλόφιλος: «un uomo che per la sua modestia e generosità è diventato per tutti un amico».

Com'è noto, gli uomini modesti e generosi raramente riscuotono gli onori che meritano, e raramente — ed è il caso del Nostro — gradiscono l'attenzione che si accompagna agli onori. Ai curatori di questo volume è sembrato tuttavia impensabile di lasciar passare l'ottantesimo genetliaco di Giorgio Buchner senza esprimergli in alcun modo la generale ammirazione, l'affetto e la gratitudine. Ma come riconoscere il valore di tanta impresa, e di tale uomo?

Abbiamo scelto la forma del Festschrift a tema, puntando su un tema in particolare che i meticolosi scavi di Giorgio Buchner a Pithekoussai hanno contribuito più di ogni altra cosa a definire nei termini validi per la nostra generazione. Il risultato costituisce il primo tentativo cosciente e concorde di affrontare la sfida che la vita e l'opera di Giorgio Buchner presenteranno a lungo. Ci auguriamo che non gli dispiaccia, anche se ci rendiamo perfettamente conto che ancora una volta egli apprenderà dal nostro sforzo meno di quanto noi tutti abbiamo appreso e continuiamo ad apprendere da lui.

DAVID RIDGWAY e BRUNO D'AGOSTINO

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DAIDALOS AND PITHEKOUSAI

DAVID RIDGWAY

In 1966, I began work at Giorgio Buchner's invitation on what I later realized was the truly mammoth task of cataloguing the eighth- and seventh-century pottery from the graves that he had excavated in the Pithekoussai cemetery between 1952 and 1961. In 1979, our manuscript was submitted to the Editorial Committee of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, and began to acquire an almost mythical status that was not dispelled until its publication as *Pithekoussai 1* was at last achieved in 1993. The memories I have of working with the excavator of Pithekoussai in the late 'sixties and 'seventies are varied and vivid. None are happier than my recollections of our discussions (from which I learnt far more than he did) about "what life had really been like" at Pithekoussai in the second half of the eighth century B.C. Most of our conversations on this endlessly fascinating subject took place when I at least was expecting to talk about, and perhaps even finalize, the precise turn of phrase that I should employ in the description of one or other of the artefact-categories represented in what are now known as graves 132-723. Not surprisingly, the best of the discussions that we had instead were fuelled by the new discoveries in the second series of excavations in the Valle di San Montano, or at the then new site at Mazzola. The latter started life in our private frame of reference as *le case*: the stages by which it rapidly evolved into a *quartiere metallurgico*, and then a *complesso industriale suburbano* specializing in the working of base and precious metals, were marked by a number of singularly unprepossessing additions to the storerooms in Via Mezzavia. One of the most notable was an enigmatic bronze-bound disc of lead that weighed 8.79 g, stunningly

close ("praticamente identico" to the 8.72 g standard of the Euboic-Attic stater. Early jewellers' workshops, where silver and gold personal ornaments could be weighed before or after manufacture, thus became a real possibility: and the reference to (geologically impossible) "gold mines" in the translation of a locally famous passage in Strabo's account of Italy (5.4.9) could accordingly be emended to "the activities of goldsmiths"¹. Another piece was at first sight even less attractive than the lead disc: a twisted, battered and incomplete bronze fibula. The demonstrable fact that it must have fallen out of its mould («vedi le sbavature [casting-seams]!») proved once and for all that others like it in the cemetery did not have to be imported («questa l'hanno fatta QUI!»).

Over the years, I have been reminded many times of these and other conversations that Giorgio Buchner and I had about metalworking, but never more forcibly than when I read the first chapter of Sarah Morris' thought-provoking study of Daidalos². The following pages are the result, and I am well aware that their contents are more suited to an informal and unstructured exchange of views at the end of a day's work than they are to a paper in a learned journal. For this very reason, I hope that this modest note will pass muster as an appropriate – I do not say adequate – thank-offering and tribute to Giorgio Buchner, from one whose great privilege it was for many years to be recognized in Lacco Ameno and far beyond as his *guaglione di bottega*.

Daidalos was «born as a *hapax legomenon* [Il. 18. 592] occasioned by a simile»³. This is why the middle word of my title is "and" rather than "at".

¹ Thus Ridgway 1992, p. 31: a catch-all phrase that covers the possible manuscript readings χρυσῆα and χρυσία (see LSJ ss.vv.). N. Biffi has "botteghe diorefici": *L'Italia di Strabone*, Genova 1988, p. 113 with p. 295 note 465. See further P. Mureddu, 'Chryseia a Pithekoussai', in *ParPass* 27, 1972, pp. 407-9; G. Buchner, 'Early Orientalizing: aspects of the Euboean connection', in *IBR* 1979, p. 136. On the Mazzola site and its finds, including

those mentioned in the text, see: G. Buchner, 'Recent work at Pithekoussai (Ischia), 1965-71', in *AR* 1970-71, pp. 63-7; J.J. Klein, 'A Greek metalworking quarter: eighth-century excavations on Ischia', in *Expedition* 14, 1972 (Winter), pp. 34-9; Ridgway 1992, pp. 91-6, 99-100, 152.

² Morris 1992, pp. 3-35 ('Craft and craftsmen in epic poetry').

³ Morris 1992, p. 3.

Such a figure, hovering impractically in the no-man's land of metaphor between myth and history (whether social, political or economic), is a frankly improbable denizen of the seemingly inexhaustible reservoir of *Realien* that Giorgio Buchner has devoted his professional life to saving for posterity. Nor is it my purpose here to discuss the contribution that Pithekoussai might make to Morris' paradigm for the early, profound and all-pervading influence of the Near East on the origins of Greek arts and crafts – although, precisely because for her this influence is based on «human interaction in Mediterranean history»⁴ and on «traffic in commodities»⁵, I certainly believe that no future assessment of early Greeks overseas can afford to ignore her constructive and enviably well-informed integration of topics and even periods that are normally treated by separate disciplines and indeed professions. My own aim in what follows is simply to look again at crafts and craftsmen at Pithekoussai, and to do so in the light of Morris' survey of their counterparts in epic poetry. A good deal of speculation is undoubtedly involved, but I hope that it will not be regarded as wholly idle. After all, as Barry Powell has recently reminded us, the subject-matter of the *Odyssey* in particular must have had a special appeal for the seafaring Euboeans at home and abroad⁶ – perhaps even to the point that «in the eighth century B.C., in Pithekoussai, the song of the bard was a valuable commodity»⁷. Were there, I wonder, enough αἰδοί who were prepared to emigrate, or to undertake long, hazardous and uncomfortable overseas tours that included the Bay of Naples? If the answer to this question is in the negative, as I think it may well be, it is interesting to reflect that the claims of ownership and of credit for manufacture among the earliest surviving Greek inscriptions⁸ – at Pithekoussai as elsewhere – were occasioned by

the same social pressures that created the demand for portable epic texts that could be learnt (or read aloud?) by locally-based entertainers abroad. Whether or not Powell is right in supposing (and it is the central thesis of his book) that the Greek alphabet was actually invented, or rather adapted, for this very purpose by a single Euboean Palamedes, it cannot seriously be doubted that there were those at Euboean Pithekoussai who knew their Homer: and, well before the end of the eighth century, they will have savoured «Europe's first literary allusion»⁹, incised in the Chalcidian version of the Greek alphabet on the Rhodian kotyle that the world must now learn to call «Pithekoussai 168-9». It is my contention that contemporary Pithekoussans, whether as craftsmen or customers, will also have been in a good position to appreciate the many references to high-class and elaborate or ingenious craftsmanship that are signified by the 36 Homeric occurrences of «daidalic» (δαίδαλ-) words collected and reviewed by Morris with a wealth of non-Pithekoussan exegesis that will not be repeated here¹⁰.

As we have already seen, Daidalos himself makes only one fleeting appearance in the Homeric poems: «And the famous lame god elaborated a dancing-floor [χορός] on [the Shield of Achilles], like the dancing-floor which once Daidalos built in the broad space of Knossos for lovely-haired Ariadne» (*Il.* 18. 590-2)¹¹. This much discussed passage, which from the scholia onwards has qualified Daidalos for a variety of professions (including that of choreographer), need not detain us further – tempting though it is to speculate on the remote origin that it might provide for the Ndrezzata, the traditional dance of Buonopane¹². The incidence in the Homeric poems of daidalic words, on the other hand, is of considerable inter-

from the *Iliad* are by M. Hammond (Penguin Classics edition; Harmondsworth 1987); those from the *Odyssey* are by W. Shewring (World's Classics edition; Oxford 1980).

¹² It has been pointed out that although the Ndrezzata was clearly unknown to G. Iasolino (1588) and the names of its characters (e.g. Ntunino Nabbulione) are anything but Greek, the songs that accompany the dance «riecheeggiano espressioni ritmiche dell'antica lingua calcidese, importata dai greci a Pithekoussai: Trallera, trallera / titirà, llirà, llallera. / Pititum, tidum, tindera / apitindum e apitindera / Ndandà, ndadà, ndandera» (Monti 1980, pp. 797-802). It might be supposed that such linguistic traces in Ischia dialects are rendered all the more likely by the discovery of early Greek material beyond Lacco Ameno, e.g. at Cavagrado (Monti 1980, pp. 684-9 with figs. 179-82) and now at Punta Chiarito (C. Gialanella, elsewhere in this volume).

est to archaeologists, and not least to those at Pithekoussai. The words concerned are four:

A: δαῖδ'αλος (17 occurrences), *skilfully wrought, delicate, graceful*;

B: πολυδαίδαλος (10 occurrences), *highly, cunningly wrought* (of artefacts); *skilful* (of men: at *Il.* 23. 743 only);

C: δαίδαλα (7 occurrences), *pieces of skilful workmanship, ornaments* (singular at *Od.* 19. 227 only);

D: δαιδάλλων (2 occurrences), *elaborating skilfully, decorating*¹³.

In the following check-list, I have indicated the artefact that is qualified by the adjectives (A, B), appears in apposition to the noun (C), or is the object of the present participle of the verb (D): *Iliad* 3. 358 (B-θώραξ); 4. 135 (A-ζωστήρ); 4. 136 (B-θώραξ); 5. 60 (C-includes νῆες); 6. 418 (A-ἔντεα); 7. 252 (B-θώραξ); 8. 195 (A-θώραξ); 9. 187 (A-φόρμιγξ); 11. 32 (B-ἀσπίς); 11. 436 (B-θώραξ); 13. 331 (A-ἔντεα); 13. 719 (A-ἔντεα); 14. 179 (C-ornaments); 16. 222 (A-χηλός); 17. 448 (A-ἄρματα); 18. 379 (A-οὔρα); 18. 390 (A-θρόνος); 18. 400 (C-ornaments); 18. 479 (D-σάκος); 18. 482 (C-decoration); 18. 612 (A-κόρυς); 19. 13 (C-decoration); 19. 19 (C-decoration); 19. 380 (A-σάκος); 22. 314 (A-σάκος); 23. 743 (B-Σιδόνες); 24. 597 (B-κλισμός). *Odyssey* 1. 131 (A-θρόνος); 6. 15 (B-θάλαμος); 10. 315 (A-θρόνος); 10. 367 (A-θρόνος); 13. 11 (B-χρυσός); 17. 32 (A-θρόνος); 18. 295 (B-ὄρμος); 19. 227 (C-«a curious device»); 23. 200 (D-λέχος).

Given that the majority of Homeric δαίδαλ- words are found in the *Iliad* (27 occurrences) rather than the *Odyssey* (9), it is not surprising that armour constitutes by far the largest single category to which they are applied: five breastplates (θώραξ), four shields (ἀσπίς and σάκος), one association each with belt (ζωστήρ), chariot-gear (ἄρματα) and helmet (κόρυς), and three further references each to the category as a whole (ἔντεα) and to the decoration of the Shield (σάκος) and other arms of Achilles together account for exactly half the total number of occurrences of the four words listed above. As is well known, arms and armour are conspicuous by their absence from all the areas of Pithekoussai that have been investigated so far;

¹³ The definitions given here are the standard ones found ss.vv. in G. Autenrieth, *Homeric Dictionary* (tr. R. Keep)⁴, New York 1887, repr. London 1984.

¹⁴ L. Braccisi, 'Gli Eubei e la geografia dell'Odissea', in *He-speria* 3, 1993, pp. 11-23 (e.g. p. 15: «la rotta di Ulisse pare proprio disegnare la mappa archeologica dei siti di ritrovamenti euboici sulla rotta dell'occidente»).

and it is undoubtedly true that the subject-matter of the *Iliad* is reflected in everyday life at Pithekoussai to a significantly lesser degree than that of the *Odyssey*¹⁴. It does not, however, follow from this that Pithekoussan audiences were less interested than their contemporaries elsewhere in stirring stories of heroic clashes on the battlefield, or in detailed descriptions of the equipment that these required. On the contrary, and leaving aside the tradition that it was the Euboeans who first devised the bronze panoply of the hoplite¹⁵ (to say nothing of the complex question of the Lelantine War), the underlying daidalic themes of ingenious manufacture and elaborate decoration would surely have been particularly appreciated in a major industrial centre that probably derived more of its contemporary importance from the working of metal than it did from the manufacture of ceramics. There will have been many at Pithekoussai who understood the technical processes described, and who will have enjoyed displaying their specialized knowledge when the bard took his listeners through the construction-stages of the Shield of Achilles (*Il.* 18. 468-608, especially 468-77). And they will not have missed the point that it had been commissioned for a hero by a goddess (Thetis) from a god (Hephaistos) – a lame one, it is true, but a god nevertheless. To put it mildly, Pithekoussan metalworkers are unlikely to have been bored by hearing repeated references to the elevated status of their Homeric counterparts – and of the clients for whom they worked – in the world of Odysseus.

Outside the military sphere, the possible parallels between the heroic world and real life at Pithekoussai in the eighth century can be startlingly detailed. This is especially true of the four associations of δαίδαλ- words with items of personal adornment. Once again, we are in good company: the decorative elements (of precious metal? surely something more than mere embroidery, however elaborate?) applied by Athena to the robe she had made for Hephaistos' mother, Hera, who donned it to «fuddle the mind of Zeus» (*Il.* 14. 159-92); and the necklace of gold and amber beads

⁴ Morris 1992, p. 100.

⁵ Morris 1992, p. 101.

⁶ Powell 1991, p. 231.

⁷ Powell 1991, p. 195. A study of diachronic development in epic diction has independently dated the *Iliad* to 750-725 and the *Odyssey* to 743-713: R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns*, Cambridge 1982, p. 231.

⁸ Powell 1991, pp. 123-86. For notes on the examples published in *Pithekoussai* 1, see my review of Powell's book in *CR* 42, 1992, pp. 350-3. I have discussed elsewhere what I believe to be the somewhat different nature of what is now apparently the oldest surviving Greek inscription of all (not later than c. 770): 'Greek letters at Osteria dell'Osa', in *OpusRom* (in press).

⁹ Powell 1991, p. 167.

¹⁰ Morris 1992, pp. 3-35.

¹¹ The English translations given in the text of short passages

¹⁵ A.M. Snodgrass, *Early Greek armour and weapons*, Edinburgh 1964, pp. 202, 265 note 45. For other traditions of Euboean metal-working, see S.C. Bakhuizen, *Chalcis-in-Euboea, iron and Chalcidians abroad*, Leiden 1976; A. Mele, 'I Ciclopi, Calcondonte e la metallurgia calcidese', in *Nouvelle contribution à l'étude de la société et de la colonisation eubéennes*, Napoli 1981, pp. 9-33.

given to Penelope by Eurymachos, one of her suitors (*Od.* 18. 295-6: ὄρυμος). The second (and perhaps the first) of these passages could well have been used in sales talk by an astute jeweller (cf. the phrase «as given to Josephine by Napoleon», seen in a British jeweller's advertisement for a «limited edition» finger ring, 1994), not only at Pithekoussai and not only in the eighth century: Morris is obviously only too right to warn us that «archaeological realities correspond to these poetic descriptions in many details, without imposing an exclusive chronology on the composition of epic poetry»¹⁶ – or, we might add, an exclusive typology on the artefacts described.

On one occasion, however, I think that we might be justified in throwing caution to the winds in this respect. When Thetis visits Hephaistos to commission the Shield, the first stage of the negotiations takes the form of a polite conversation that permits the lame craftsman-god to recall his great obligation to her and to Eurynome, who had taken him in and nursed him after he had been thrown out of heaven (*Il.* 18. 394-409): «I lived with them for nine years, crafting [bronze] δαίδαλα in abundance – πόρπας τε γναμπτάς θ' ἔλικας κάλυκας τε καὶ ὄρυμους [401] – down there in the hollow cave, surrounded by the foam and roar of Ocean streaming endlessly on...». For a reasonably accurate archaeological reflection, indeed translation, of the line in which Hephaistos specifies the categories of bronze δαίδαλα that he made during his years of exile, I suggest that we need look no further than the items listed in Section D, «Ornamenti personali», of the *Indice analitico* that I was privileged to compile many years ago (and subsequently to revise) for *Pithekoussai* 1: ss. vv. 1. *fibula*; 4. *armilla*; 6d. *orecchino*; 6b. *collana*¹⁷. Of these, as I noted at the outset, the evidence for the local production of at least some bronze fibulas at Pithekoussai has long been particularly clear. In addition, we now know that certain unexpectedly intricate techniques (noticed by Dr. Buchner while we were reading the proofs of *Pithekoussai* 1) were regularly used in the production of the many *fibule di bronzo con arco rivestito* deposited in the San

Montano cemetery¹⁸. The fact that these techniques have not been observed in similar contexts elsewhere might or might not be an indication that they are exclusive to local Pithekoussan production: but the ingenious nature of the refinements concerned surely confirms that even such seemingly modest items as bronze fibulas can fully deserve the daidalic connotation that they are accorded at *Il.* 18. 401. And it does not seem too fanciful to infer that there were craftsmen and customers at Pithekoussai who will have enjoyed the specific reference in this passage to items perceived as contemporary and familiar; the former may have reflected, too, that even a god who was a craftsman had to spend years by the sea making bronze *ornamenti personali* before graduating to more conveniently-located premises and a better class of product.

One well-known piece of Homeric jewellery takes us further afield: the «curious device» on the golden clasp (or pin) of Odysseus' mantle, described by its owner to Penelope as having «two sheaths. In front was a δαίδαλον – a hound had a dappled fawn between its forepaws, holding it firm as it struggled. Everyone was amazed to see how the hound and the fawn both were gold, yet the one was gripping and throttling the fawn, and the other striving to break away and writhing with its feet» (*Od.* 19. 227-31). Fortunately, considerations of space exonerate me from the difficult task of finding something new to add to the considerable discussion that has already been devoted to this remarkable object. Morris is, alas, once again right to state firmly that «no extant pin demonstrates an archaeological prototype for this description, whose associations with Mycenaean and Orientalizing Greek art have been claimed with equal ferocity»¹⁹. All that needs to be stressed here is that the pin is made of gold, and that Homer's detailed description of it would almost certainly have been understood by an Iron Age audience as belonging to a magnificent personal ornament – and especially by an Iron Age audience at a centre where skill in gold-working has been invoked as a key element in the

case attested in silver as well as bronze at Pithekoussai. *Il.* 18. 401 recurs in the Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite*, 163, where Anchises undresses Aphrodite: it is thus possible that this combination of *ornamenti personali* amounts to a formula for female adornment.

¹⁸ *Pithekoussai* 1, p. 358 note 2 (ad 301-4); p. 381 note 3 (ad 325-12).

¹⁹ Morris 1992, p. 28.

inception of Orientalizing in the West²⁰. Not for nothing did Miss Lorimer, writing in the pre-Pithekoussai era, compare this piece to «a highly elaborate type of clasp peculiar to Etruscan art and dating to the first half of the seventh century... The earliest datable example... is that found in the Barberini tomb...»²¹. This made good sense when «trade between the Etruscans and Greeks, especially those of east Greece, [was] guaranteed by the occurrence of Etruscan bucchero on a number of Greek sites... This trade begins in the seventh century... Cumae... would be a natural depot» – for the iron from Elba that was probably «a major Greek import»²²; 44 years on, we know that some of it was worked at Pithekoussai²³.

Metalworkers, of course, were by no means the only specialized craftsmen at Pithekoussai. Those whose products we know best there, the potters, are represented in Homer by no more than a single simile (*Il.* 18. 600), an odd fact that effectively illustrates just how inappropriate it is to hope for any systematic and detailed (as distinct from incidental and indirect) reflection of contemporary life – whether of the Bronze or of the Iron Age – in epic poetry. By contrast, the Pithekoussan carpenters, whose products we know least about, could, like their metalworking confrères, derive a certain amount of job satisfaction from the application of Homeric δαίδαλ- words to no less than five items of furniture. On all nine occasions, we might suppose that the elaborate appearance of the products and the elevated contexts in which they occur will have been as flattering to the consumers as they were to the local producers of their presumably down-market local equivalents at Pithekoussai, where nothing in this category has survived. We are told, for example, that Thetis had had a chest (χηλός) or travelling wardrobe made for Achilles before he set off for the War, when (as mothers will) she thoughtfully filled it with «tunics and cloaks to keep the wind out and woolly blankets» (*Il.* 16. 220-4). Nausicaa's bedroom suite (θάλαμος) was clearly a triumph of the carpenter's art (*Od.* 6. 15-7), and so too was the magnificent bed (λέχος) that Odysseus made for Penelope and himself at their home on Ithaca (*Od.* 23. 181-204). This is a particularly interesting passage, from which Odysseus emerges as a hero who is also a

supremely skilled and versatile handyman: «I was the maker, no one else... I shaped the frame complete, inlaying [δαιδάλλων] it with silver and gold and ivory and stretching across it bright crimson oxhide». Whatever its other implications, this glimpse of Odysseus' home life might have had its own appeal in a pioneer community whose members will surely have had to turn their hands to unaccustomed activities; perhaps the same might be said of the occasion on which another hero, Achilles, displays an unexpected ability to give pleasure to his own heart by playing a daidalic-qualified lyre (φάρμιγξ) instead of having someone play it to him (*Il.* 9. 185-8).

The other items of daidalic furniture are all chairs, if that is not too mundane a term for the elaborately appointed seating arrangements (usually decorated with silver studs and provided with a footstool) that divine or heroic hosts reserve for visitors of similar rank: Hephaistos for Thetis, on the occasion of her visit to commission Achilles' armour (*Il.* 18. 389-90); Telemachos for Athena, disguised as Mentès (*Od.* 1. 130-1; she tells the «Temesa» story, which probably struck another chord in the Far West for reasons that have been rehearsed elsewhere²⁴); Circe for Odysseus, twice (*Od.* 10. 314-5; 366-7). Odysseus' home on Ithaca is well-supplied with these splendid θρόνοι (*Od.* 17. 31-3); Achilles' hut has a κλισμός, presumably more easily portable – but daidalic nevertheless (*Il.* 24. 596-8).

Under the heading of woodwork, it remains to notice a branch of carpentry that is of special relevance to the status of the Pithekoussans as Greeks overseas. The sad scene on the Pithekoussai Shipwreck Krater should remind us that shipyards were indispensable to this busy trading port, quite probably for construction and definitely for maintenance. We do not yet know where the Pithekoussan shipyards were situated (the possibilities are not endless), but it is safe to assume that those who worked in them, and those whose livelihood (and lives) depended on their skills, were deeply moved by the death in battle of Phereklos, son of Tekton («builder») and grandson of Harmon («joiner»; *Il.* 5. 59-68). Someone «who had the skill in his hands to make all δαίδαλα», and who had built Paris' ships, deserved a more digni-

¹⁶ Morris 1992, p. 27.

¹⁷ *Pithekoussai* 1, pp. 736-9. πόρπη=fibula: Lorimer 1950, p. 512 note 3. M.W. Edwards regards the use of χαλκεύω in line 400 as signifying metalwork generally, and not items specifically of bronze: *The Iliad: a commentary*, V: books 17-20, Cambridge 1991, p. 193. *Contra*: Morris 1992, p. 19. The word is unique in archaic epic, and I have preferred to see it as implying bronze personal ornaments (see text); all the items involved are in any

²⁰ See note 1, above: G. Buchner, in IBR 1979.

²¹ Lorimer 1950, p. 511f.

²² Lorimer 1950, p. 513.

²³ G. Marinelli, quoted by G. Buchner, 'Mostra degli scavi di Pithecusa', in *DialAr* 3, 1969, p. 97f.

²⁴ *Od.* 1. 180-4: P. Zancani Montuoro, 'Dov'era Temesa?', in *RendNap* 44, 1969, pp. 11-23; G. Maddoli (ed.), *Temesa e il suo territorio*, Taranto 1982; A.M. Snodgrass, 'The coming of the Iron Age in Greece', in M.L. Stig Sørensen-R. Thomas (eds.), *The Bronze Age - Iron Age transition in Europe*, Oxford 1989, p. 29 f.

fied end than that brought about by a spear-thrust from buttock to bladder.

The three remaining daidalic references will be dealt with below. Meanwhile, I suggest that the story so far justifies the following three propositions:

(i) δαῖδαλ- words in Homer are applied sparingly, a procedure that has the effect of emphasizing the conspicuous material value of the artefacts with which they are associated, and the exceptional skill and ingenuity that has gone into their manufacture²⁵;

(ii) the range of the daidalic artefacts and of the raw materials used in their manufacture, though wide, is reflected to a significant extent in the real life of the eighth century, authoritatively defined as the «first really busy period»²⁶ of East-West traffic (note that «to a significant extent» does not mean «exclusively», and «first really» does not mean «first ever»);

(iii) at Euboean Pithekoussai, a major reception point and clearing house for this eighth-century traffic, it seems clear enough that, just as Homeric «armour» might be represented to some degree by contemporary «metalwork in general», so the owners and makers of the latter, and of the other Pithekoussan products I have noted above, were anything but gods and heroes.

As it happens, one of the relatively few clear examples of the social status of a Pithekoussan individual is provided by a unique carpenter's tomb in the San Montano cemetery. Tomb 678²⁷, of the LG II phase, is a rare adult inhumation with goods – the rite usually reserved for children and young people (the majority of adult inhumations do not have any grave goods at all). The occupant was a male aged c. 21, and his grave goods included no fewer than six iron tools, all of them specifically suitable for woodworking: one axe, three chisels and two awls. Although the *corredo* is not small (it has fifteen elements in all), the ceramic and other associations of this tool kit can only be described as modest: an oinochoe and a bowl, both of impasto; two common local painted vases (a skyphos

and an aryballos); and two bronze fibulas, one of which – an unusual but rather battered specimen *con arco configurato* – looks as though it might have been discarded by someone else. There is nothing here to contradict the view that adults who did not rate a cremation burial under a tumulus were socially inferior to those who did. The latter would have included the most obvious patrons of the carpenter in 678: and the definition of their social status begs a number of delicate questions on which Nicolas Coldstream sheds valuable new light elsewhere in this volume.

For our present purposes, it is enough to conclude that the practices and products of the non-ceramic crafts at eighth-century Pithekoussai bear the same relation to their epic counterparts as the use of the cremation rite in the cemetery does to the funeral of Patroclus at *Il.* 23. 250-61. Of that, I have remarked that «there is no reason to assume that the participants in the more modest ceremonies in the Valle di San Montano were unaware of the epic version»²⁸. I am not for a moment suggesting that the wording of the Homeric poems in any respect governed or determined, or was itself governed or determined by, the way of life that was current when oral tradition solidified into written text, a transition that is now usually thought to be contemporary with the *floruit* of Euboean Pithekoussai²⁹. The physical act of telling the epic stories – *viva voce*, in public – constituted popular entertainment. It was part of the bard's function to capture, and keep, his audience's attention. This he achieved primarily, of course, by the sheer quality (and, increasingly, the familiarity) of the stories he had to tell; but luck also played its part, and not infrequently by references, or what were perceived as references, to the material circumstances and traditions that characterized the area where he was performing. In the version of the Homeric poems that has come down to us, such references may be comparatively recent Iron Age additions, or survivals from the Greek Dark Age: it is not surprising that some of them are equally recognizable in the typologies of both periods³⁰. And it is only to be expected that such perceptions should abound at eighth-century Pithek-

oussai, which is the end product of processes that were up and running throughout the tenth and ninth centuries.

With this in mind, I turn to the remaining three daidalic references in the Homeric poems. The first takes us once more to Hephaistos' workshop (*Il.* 18. 368-79), where Thetis finds him in the middle of «making a set of twenty tripods»; he still has to attach their daidalic «ears» (οὔατα: *i.e.* handles). The Homeric description of these creations features golden wheels, with their poetically inevitable «self moving» (αὐτόματοι) facility. There are as yet no metal tripods of this or indeed any kind at Pithekoussai, but it is hard to resist the comment that at least one Cypriot bronze tripod, admittedly humbler than the well-known wheeled stands, had reached Sardinia and been imitated there in circumstances that in the fullness of time seem to have attracted early Euboean interest³¹. Whether this Levantine connection was still appreciated at Pithekoussai in the second half of the eighth century is not clear: but some kind of resonance there, and then, is by no means impossible.

Tripods and cauldrons were among the handsome leaving gifts that were ordered for Odysseus by Alcinous, king of the Phaeacians (*Od.* 13. 10-15): «garments our guest has been given already – they are lying now in his polished coffer [another χηλός], and with them the χρυσὸς πολυδαίδαλος and the other presents brought by our nation's counselors». Morris believes that a piece of unworked gold is meant here: «Raw materials rarely attract such daidalic compliments, and presumably the bullion's potential for δαίδαλα, or the workmanship of gold objects implied by the adjective but not specified, accounts for this praise»³². I suggest that there is a rather better case for accepting once again the core δαίδαλ- concept of «elaborately wrought» and hence for understanding these two words as a set or selection of actual gold artefacts. They may thus be, or at Pithekoussai may have been perceived as, (up market?) versions of the items (χρυσία) made in the goldsmith's workshops (χρυσεία) at the Mazzola site, where Giorgio Buchner once achieved the rare feat of causing the standard translation of an

ancient author to be emended for archaeological reasons³³.

More Levantine connections are inherent in my final daidalic reference: Σιδόνες πολυδαίδαλοι (*Il.* 23. 743). It comes as a shock to find a δαίδαλ- word applied to people (not even Hephaistos' golden robot maids «looking like living girls» qualify for it: *Il.* 18. 417-8). In the context of eighth-century international trade, however, it is not wholly surprising that this distinction is reserved for the Levantine artificers of one of the prizes at the games that followed the funeral of Patroclus: «a mixing-bowl [κρητῆρς] of worked silver. It held six measures, and it was far the loveliest thing in all the world. Craftsmen from Sidon had fashioned it beautifully, then men of Phoenicia had carried it over the hazy sea and given it to Thoas when they anchored in his harbour: and Iason's son Euneos gave it to the hero Patroclus as the price for Lycaon son of Priam» (*Il.* 23. 741-7). The identity and function of Orientals and orientalia at Pithekoussai are reviewed by Sir John Boardman in another contribution to this volume, so I need not pursue them again here³⁴. One aspect of the silver krater described in the above passage must not, however, pass unremarked. Its travels from Sidon to Lemnos (where Thoas was king) had brought it into the hands of Euneos, who in his time «had given a special cargo of wine, a thousand measures, for the sons of Atreus, Agamemnon and Menelaos. From these ships the long-haired Achaeans bought their wine. Some paid in bronze, some in gleaming iron, some in hides, some in live oxen, some in slaves: and they made a generous feast» (*Il.* 7. 470-5). The quantity and typological variety of the amphoras re-used for *enchytrismos* burials at Euboean Pithekoussai suggest that similar occasions were not altogether unknown there. Intimately connected with, and arguably dependent on, this kind of trade was that in luxury goods like Patroclus' silver krater, which fits neatly into the distinguished category of «vessels [that] could take on a life of their own»³⁵ – the happy phrase that the late Martin Frederiksen used to describe the Greek experience of the exotic prestige items that found their way to the native Orien-

²⁵ Cf. Morris 1992, p. 30.

²⁶ J. Boardman, 'Al Mina and history', in *OJA* 9, 1990, p. 179. For a different view, see D. Ridgway - F.R. Serra Ridgway, 'Sardinia and history', in R.H. Tykot-T.K. Andrews (eds.), *Sardinia in the Mediterranean: a footprint in the sea*, Sheffield 1992, pp. 355-63.

²⁷ *Pithekoussai* 1, pp. 657-60 with pls. 189, 190 (tools), clxxxvi; Ridgway 1992, p. 48.

²⁸ Ridgway 1992, p. 50.

²⁹ See note 7, above.

³⁰ See further J. Whitley, *Style and society in Dark Age Greece*, Cambridge 1991, pp. 34-9; and, more generally, J.M. Hurwit, 'Art, poetry, and the polis in the age of Homer', in S. Langdon (ed.), *From pasture to polis*, Columbia, Miss.-London 1993, pp. 14-42.

³¹ F. Lo Schiavo-E. Macnamara-L. Vagnetti, 'Late Cypriot imports to Italy and their influence on local bronzework', in *BSR* 53, 1985, pp. 1-71, especially pp. 35-51 (tripods); S. Bafico, 'Greci e Fenici ad Alghero', in *Archeo* 74, 1991 (aprile), p. 18 (Euboean skyphoi).

³² Morris 1992, p. 26 (and see too pp. 41 f. and 67 note 12).

³³ See note 1, above. Perhaps it is worth noting that in real life gold could be accumulated in the form of scrap, as in the hoard of snippets retrieved from an LG house at Eretria: P.G. Themelis,

'An eighth-century goldsmith's workshop at Eretria', in R. Hägg (ed.), *The Greek Renaissance of the eighth century B.C.*, Stockholm 1983, pp. 157-65.

³⁴ See also D. Ridgway, 'Phoenicians and Greeks in the West: a view from Pithekoussai', in G.R. Tsetskhladze-F. De Angelis (eds.), *The archaeology of Greek colonisation*, Oxford 1994, pp. 35-46.

³⁵ M.W. Frederiksen, 'The Etruscans in Campania', in *IBR* 1979, p. 294 = *Campania*, London 1984, p. 73.

talizing *tombe principesche* in Campania, Latium and Etruria.

By then, the focus of the Euboean connection with the West had moved from Pithekoussai to Cumae: and this is not the place to follow it. One question, however, might be asked.

When Virgil's Trojans reached Cumae, they greatly admired the temple that Daidalos had dedicated to Apollo there (*Aen.* 6. 14-33); and they were particularly impressed by the pictures he had wrought in gold on its doors (32: *effingere in auro*). It is strange but true that Daidalos' Cumaeon masterpiece employs exactly the same artistic skills as those connected with his only appearance in the Homeric poems (at *Il.* 18. 590-2: above). Indeed, Virgil's tribute to Daidalos in *Aen.* 6 «could», as Morris points out, «be inspired by the Greek epic tradition, alone, uncomplicated by classical and Hellenistic biography and art criticism»³⁶. Could this story (14: *ut fama est*) be influenced by the same traditions that led Dionysius of Halicarnassus (7. 3. 1) to affirm that Cumae was founded directly by Chalcidians and Eretrians, with no mention of Pithekoussai? His omission, it will be recalled, has furnished his ancient and not a few of his modern successors with an excuse for ascribing to the

mainland colony much of the importance that should belong to its predecessor on Ischia³⁷.

As *καίμῃλια* go, a *sconclusionato discorso* and a question are not lavish. But I hope that the former may amuse the recipient; as for the latter, however rash, I claim that it at least has the merit of taking Pithekoussai seriously, and of doing so to an extent that would be unthinkable if Giorgio Buchner had not retrieved «la prima stazione dei Kymeï»³⁸ from the oblivion to which official lethargy had consigned it.

Supplementary abbreviations:

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|--------------|--|
| IBR 1979 | = D. Ridgway-F.R. Ridgway (eds.), <i>Italy before the Romans</i> , London-New York-San Francisco 1979. |
| Lorimer 1950 | = H.L. Lorimer, <i>Homer and the monuments</i> , London 1950. |
| Monti 1980 | = P. Monti, <i>Ischia: archeologia e storia</i> , Napoli 1980. |
| Morris 1992 | = S.P. Morris, <i>Daidalos and the origins of Greek art</i> , Princeton 1992. |
| Powell 1991 | = B.B. Powell, <i>Homer and the origin of the Greek alphabet</i> , Cambridge 1991. |
| Ridgway 1992 | = D. Ridgway, <i>The first Western Greeks</i> , Cambridge 1992. |

For those whose research is centred on metropolitan Greece in the Early Iron Age, the rich discoveries of Dr. Giorgio Buchner in Pithekoussai¹ have in so many ways illumined the record of the Euboean founding cities; *ex occidente lux*. In particular, finds of Late Geometric figured pottery at Pithekoussai have greatly helped us to recognise what is characteristically Euboean, not only in the homeland but also among the exports to the eastern Mediterranean². As for the general theme of this volume, the socio-political relevance of LG figured vessels in the Euboean tradition is abundantly clear. Unlike our surviving historical records bearing on Pithekoussai, often confused and mutually contradictory, these are contemporary documents; initially made for a Euboean social élite and bearing images acceptable to its members, their wide distribution bears witness to the trading and gift-giving activities of that élite over a wide area of the Mediterranean world.

A conference held in Naples in 1976, dealing with eighth-century Greek pottery from Magna Graecia³, invited a temporary exhibition of recent finds from the currently excavated colonial sites. Dr. Buchner's contribution to this display was especially memorable; it included a life-size photograph of the great Cesnola krater from Kourion, masterpiece of the Euboean LG style, over a metre high. Upon it he superimposed numerous sherds from Pithekoussai which closely matched the krater's three figured themes (fig. 1) – Tree of Life flanked by rampant animals, horse at the manger with pendent double axe, and grazing horse – as well as much of the krater's linear ornament.

PITHEKOUSSAI, CYPRUS AND THE CESNOLA PAINTER

J.N. COLDSTREAM

Here, then, was a graphic demonstration of Dr. Buchner's remark that the Cesnola krater was «veritable compendium»⁴ of his newly discovered local school of Euboean colonial figured pottery.

To account for this striking congruence of figured theme and style between two places at opposite ends of an expanding Greek world, let us enquire into some possible social and political explanations.

Self-evident, of course, is the common Euboean factor. The Cesnola painter had formed his style under Attic influence, owing an especial debt to the Dipylon Workshop in its later (LG Ib) stage⁵. The Attic workshop, however, had specialised in monumental vases decorated with funerary imagery, destined exclusively for the burials of the local nobility; its major works have therefore not been found outside Athens. Euboean figured pottery, on the other hand, very rarely carries any overt reference to death, and an overwhelming proportion of it has been found in settlements. Exports outside the homeland follow in the wake of Euboean commercial enterprise: figured vases, either from the Cesnola workshop or made under its influence⁶, are known from the settlements of Zagora on Andros, and Khania (Kydonia) and Vrokastro on Crete; others were offered as votives by Euboean travellers to the sanctuaries of Artemis on Delos, and of Hera on Samos. As for the workshop's figured kraters of which fragments have been found at Al Mina, these would have been among the possessions of wealthy traders from Euboea, if that site is thought to have included a resi-

³⁶ Morris 1992, p. 68.

³⁷ A. Mele, *Il commercio greco arcaico: prexis ed emporie*, Napoli 1979, p. 32. Servius *ad Aen.* 6. 14 gives Sardinia as an alternative first stop on Daidalos' flight from Crete: C. Saunders, *Virgil's primitive Italy*, New York 1930, p. 17 f.

³⁸ «E sarebbe gran cosa trovare la prima stazione dei Kymeï»: P. Orsi, in litt. 13 aprile 1913 (sic) to the then Superintendent «agli scavi» in Naples (*Pithekoussai* 1, p. 9 f).

¹ It is a great pleasure to offer these pages in a volume in honour of Dr. Giorgio Buchner on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. Ever since my first visit to him in February 1958 at Via San Montano 18, I have enjoyed his warm hospitality on many occasions; he has shared with me the excitement of his steadily increasing corpus of finds, and the thoughts which they invite.

² Coldstream 1971, pp. 1 ff.; Coldstream 1982, p. 27.

³ *La Céramique grecque ou de tradition grecque au VIII^e siècle*

en Italie centrale et méridionale (Cahiers du Centre J. Bérard 3), Naples 1982.

⁴ G. Buchner, in *AR* 17, 1971, p. 67.

⁵ Coldstream 1968 pp. 173 f.; Coldstream 1971, pp. 9 f.

⁶ Lists: in *BICS* 18, 1971, 8 f.; J. Boardman, in *Lefkandi* 1, pp. 74 ff.; J.R. Gisler, 'Erétie et le Peintre de Cesnola', in *Archaiognosia* (University of Athens, forthcoming).

SUMMARY

O. MURRAY, *Nestor's cup and the origins of the Greek symposium*.

The date of the advent of the reclining *symposium* in Greek culture has generally been placed in the late seventh century on the basis of the evidence of Alcman and Corinthian pottery, correlated with Near Eastern evidence. This article argues that development from Homeric feast to the archaic *symposium* should be placed at least a century earlier at the beginning of the Orientalizing period. Nestor's cup is already familiar with the pleasures of Aphrodite characteristic of the reclining *symposium*, and already demonstrates the sophisticated humour and self-consciousness of later sympotic poetry. The article shows that the poetry of the seventh century should be interpreted as sympotic poetry. The new date reinforces the view that the development of an aristocracy and of forms of the city-state in Italy are expressed in the adoption of Greek sympotic customs. The article concludes with a comparison between Greek and Phoenician customs of commensality, and speculates that the Greeks themselves may have first come into contact with the Phoenician *marzeah* in a trading context, perhaps on Ischia itself.

A.C. CASSIO, *Κεῖνος, καλλιστέφανος, e la circolazione dell'epica in area euboica*.

It has recently been suggested by S. West that the hexameters on Nestor's Cup are based on an epic tradition different from the Homeric one. The author maintains that arguments used to support this theory do not amount to proof, and that καλλιστέφανος Ἀφροδίτης not only points to a late stage in the epic diction, as already suggested by E. Risch, but also probably implies that the formula ἐυστέφανος Κυθήρεια was already in existence. Deviations from Homeric usage (as in the case of δῖον + consonant and κεῖνος at the end of a line) are easily accounted for by assuming either that those hexameters were composed especially for the Cup in a language strongly influenced by Euboean or that they are a local "translation" of some earlier epic. Those who believe that the epic language «acquired its definitive and normative form» in the Euboean area (M.L. West), should also take these deviations into account, as they do not seem to favour an unqualified acceptance of this theory.

D. RIDGWAY, *Daidalos and Pithekoussai*.

Following the recent suggestion (Powell 1991) that the Homeric poems could have been recited or read at Pithekoussai in the eighth century B.C., the incidence of Homeric δαῖδαλ- words (Morris 1992) is reviewed from the point of view of the putative Pithekoussan audience. It is established that local counterparts of the elaborately wrought artefacts, conspicuously valuable raw materials and social activities associated with these words are readily perceptible in the archaeological record of the first Western Greeks; and it is noted that

Virgil's account of Daidalos himself at Cumae (*Aeneid* 6. 14-33) mentions no skills other than those connected with the only Homeric reference to him (*Iliad* 18. 592).

J.N. COLDSTREAM, *Pithekoussai, Cyprus and the Cesnola painter*.

Were the early colonists of Pithekoussai led by an aristocracy? There are no obviously aristocratic burials among the c. 1300 graves so far excavated; but these graves comprise no more than 5% of the S. Montano cemetery. Sporadic finds there include some figured Geometric pieces displaced from areas as yet unexplored. These portray scenes in the repertoire of the Cesnola painter, as do many pieces from the settlement deposits of Pithekoussai.

The Cesnola painter, through his choice of figured themes, served a land-owning and horse-rearing aristocracy in the Euboean homeland; and his major figured vases were also acceptable to a princely élite in Cyprus. It would be strange if a corresponding élite did not emerge from the 95% of the Pithekoussan cemetery which still awaits excavation.

A.M. SNODGRASS, *The Euboeans in Macedonia: a new precedent for westward expansion*.

Since the rediscovery of Euboea as a leading regional centre of early Greece in the 1905's a consensus has grown up, according to which the early activity of the Euboeans as prospectors in the Levantine area led, more or less directly, to their leading role in western colonisation. This account involves a rather abrupt change of role from "travelling salesmen" to permanent settlers. Recent discoveries at the sites of Torone, Mende and Kouko, in the Chalkidike peninsula of Macedonia, have changed this picture radically by eliding the transition. We now learn that Euboeans had been involved, for centuries before the period of historical colonisation, in a long-drawn-out process of migratory movements to this part of the northern Aegean coast, attested by other kinds of evidence besides that of pottery exports. These discoveries throw some light on the nature and organisation of such "pre-colonial" movements; as such, they provide an entirely new background for the first western venture of the Euboeans at Pithekoussai and successor-settlements in the West.

J. BOARDMAN, *Orientalia and Orientals on Ischia*.

Pithekoussai 1 offers the opportunity to study in detail the orientalia from Ischia tombs, their possible origins, and the light they might shed on the sources of eastern visitors and influences. Consideration of the seals and scarabs, imported pottery, and graffiti, suggests that a major source, perhaps the major source, was north Syria and its hinterland, with Cyprus and Rhodes playing a major part in the transit of the traffic, while the major Phoenician city-ports played a secondary role and were busier elsewhere in the west.

R.F. DOCTER-H.G. NIEMEYER, *Pithekoussai: the Carthaginian connection. On the archaeological evidence of Euboeo-Phoenician partnership in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.*

The first part of this paper gives a historical outline of the study of Greco-Phoenician interrelations and more specifically of Pithekoussan-Phoenician relations. Special attention is drawn to the role of Giorgio Buchner as a protagonist in these studies and to the state of knowledge of Greco-Phoenician interrelations in the Phoenician Far West, i.e. the South of the Iberian Peninsula.

In the second part the material evidence for such interrelations is listed. In part this means a rediscussion of the archaeological evidence, excavated by Buchner in Pithekoussai and presented by him in 1979 at the colloquium *Phönizier im Westen* in Cologne, as well as evidence scattered in various publications. For a considerable part, though, "new" evidence is presented, stemming from the excavations of the Archaeological Institute of the University of Hamburg in the settlement of Carthage. It could be demonstrated that the relations between Carthage and the Central-Italian area were very strong in the second half of the eighth and the first half of the seventh century, and only later dwindled away.

M. TORELLI, *L'immaginario greco dell'oltremare. La lekythos eponima del Pittore della Megeira, Pausania I, 23, 5-6 e Pithecusa*.

The author examines the black-figure lekythos representing satyrs torturing an old Negro woman, eponymous of the Painter of the Hag, pointing out the connections of this scene with the passage in which Pausanias, explaining the *aition* of the "rock of the Silenus" on the Acropolis of Athens, tells the story of the rape of a barbarian woman, offered to satyrs populating the "islands of the outer sea". He then shows the affinities between the lekythos and Pausanias' tale, on the one hand, and the name of Pithekoussai, the "island of monkeys", on the other, as this name indicates a place at the limits of the world as it was known in that period, the abode of satyrs, men with animal behavior and features, and monkeys, animals with humanoid behavior and features, beings who live in an ἐσχατία well illustrated by an Attic cup, attributed to the Painter of Euegides, representing goats dancing to the music of a *syrtinx* played by a satyr (side A) and a *komos* of monkeys (side B).

M. GRAS, *Pithécusses. De l'étymologie à l'histoire*.

On the basis of a corrected etymology of the name "Pithekoussai" (from *pithekos*, "monkey") recently proposed by Peruzzi (*ParPass*, 1992), the author essays to shed light on the connections of the island of Ischia, during the 8th century B.C., with other halting stations of the Euboean world in the West, especially those on the northern coast of Tunisia (area of Tabarka), where

the literary sources indicate the existence of other Pithekoussai. The author thus attempts to find additional evidence of the strong cultural interrelations existing between the Greek environments of the West and the Phoenician world of Carthage before the Greek colonization. In the final part of the paper, the author suggests the possibility that the choice of the word *arimos* ("monkey") in Etruscan is connected to the beginning of the Orientalizing period.

M. BATS, *Les silences d'Hérodote ou Marseilles, Alalia et les Phocéens en occident jusqu'à la fondation de Vélia*.

This study intends to cut down to size the role of Marseilles in Phocaean colonization. It proposes a revision of the ancient texts concerning the flight of the Phocaeans towards Alalia and Marseilles in 545 B.C. and the naval victory over the Carthaginians. Up to that date, Marseilles was but a link in a Phocaean network in the West that was dismantled when Phocaea fell, its refugees came west and the battle of Alalia was fought. Marseilles and Vélia each made a claim, legitimated by oracles, to a part of the heritage of Phocaea, but only Marseilles succeeded in recreating for its own profit a network adapted to the new *emporía*.

K. NEEFT, *In search of wealth and status in the Valle di San Montano*.

The present contribution contains an attempt at seriation of the Geometric, Orientalizing and Archaic graves published in *Pithekoussai 1* as well as an analysis of the changes of their contents. Except for a decrease during the second quarter of the seventh century, the mean number of pots per grave appears to have gradually increased in the course of time. It is argued that the number of pots per grave is by large determined by a family's position on the wealth/status scale, as did the choice of metal for the personal accoutrements. Iron and rhomboid versions of fibulae are to be considered among the poor man's grave-gifts. The above decrease of mean number is tentatively connected with the volcanic eruption that caused the end of the first phase of the capanna at Punta Chiarito, and, possibly, the forge at Mezzavia/Mazzola. At about 590/585, there arose a temporary stop to the use of the Valle di San Montano as a necropolis.

C. GIALANELLA, *Pithecosa: gli insediamenti di Punta Chiarito. Relazione preliminare*.

The promontory of Punta Chiarito, with its steep cliffs overlooking the sea, lies a short distance to the west of small peninsula of S. Angelo, the southern extremity of the island of Ischia.

As a consequence of the fortuitous discovery of sherds of local Archaic amphorae, two brief excavation campaigns have been conducted at the foot of this promontory, bringing to light two settlements, certainly Greek.

The more ancient settlement, date to the second half of the 8th century B.C. by the imported pottery (Thap-

sos-type cups, LG Corinthian and EPC kotylai, plus a fragment of a spiral-decoration amphoriskos from the Etruscan-Latial area and numerous sherds of Attic SOS-type and Corinthian freight amphorae) was obliterated, no later than the beginning of the 7th century B.C., by an eruption that also destroyed other small agricultural settlements of the 8th century B.C., documented between Panza and S. Angelo. At Punta Chiarito, the eruptive materials sealed a long dry stone wall, probably pertaining to an enclosure, and another short segment of a slightly curving wall, which lies today at the top of a steep cliff overlooking the sea, and possibly belonged to a house.

The more recent settlement, dated between the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th century B.C., partially overlies the preceding one. Excavation has re-

vealed a sort of bench, made of dry stone masonry, delimiting a courtyard placed in front of a residential building with an oval plan. The settlement was destroyed by a dense mud-flow composed of tiny particles of Mt. Epomeo tuff. These volcanic formations cover most of the south side of the island, so thickly that the ancient layers of the 8th and 7th centuries are only visible in natural sections produced by erosion, or in artificial sections.

The village of Punta Chiarito must have been inhabited by a group of people whose economic activities included agriculture, livestock-raising, fishing and mollusc gathering, and who were familiar with the working of stone and horn, a community of medium social level, making use of fine table pottery and oil imported from Greece.

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