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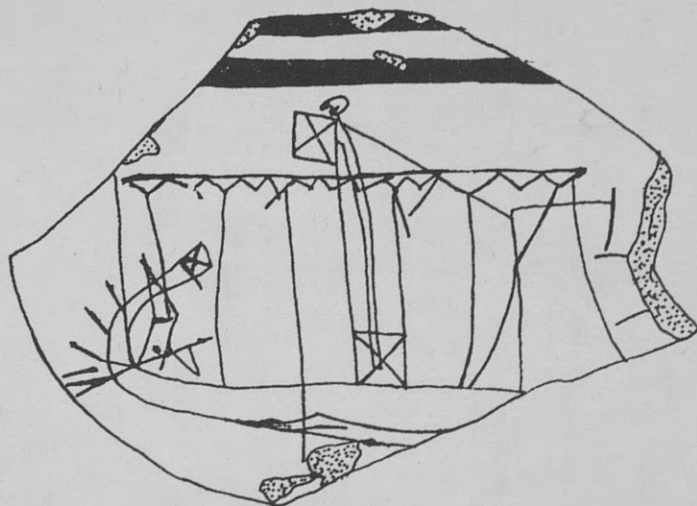
ANNALI DI ARCHEOLOGIA E STORIA ANTICA

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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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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IN SEARCH OF WEALTH AND STATUS IN THE VALLE DI SAN MONTANO

KEES NEEFT

Caro Maestro,

On your own wings, you have added an entire chapter to the history of the Greeks, Phoenicians, and Italy in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. You have always considered it your first duty to render the wealth of information yielded by your meticulous excavations in the Valle di San Montano necropolis readily accessible to others. An endless stream of scholars has derived benefit from this view that all sides concerned are only to profit if there be a free, truly academic exchange of information and ideas.

Now that at last the first results of your monumental work are at our disposal, they cry out for statistic analysis. On this head, I have deemed fit to provide your work with a tabulation¹ in contribution to the present volume in your honour. Pending the publication of the other graves and a more thorough evaluation of the several categories of material, its interpretation can only be of a tentative character. Yet, I hope it will enable you and others to cope with the evidence more easily.

Of the VIII-VI century graves published in

Pithekoussai 1, I will deal with the cremation and inhumation graves as one group (fig. 2), with the *enchytrismoi* as another (fig. 3). The following numbers of graves can be allotted to the various periods²; to facilitate the discussion I will include the numbers of pots for cremation and inhumation graves (fig. 1).

LATE GEOMETRIC PERIOD (LG I)

Slightly over 40% of the cremation and inhumation graves pertaining to the LG period³ do not contain pottery, more than half of them yielding personal accoutrements⁴, though (fig. 1). The mean number of pots per grave being 0.9 for the collectivity of graves, it is only 1.6 for those graves actually containing pots. As to preferences, the oinochoe was the prerequisite grave-gift, of which the local fabric occurs almost exclusively. However, in the family plot (?) 218-580-212-217 (excluding the earlier 216 and later 215) a distinct preference for lekythoi comes to light. The second

¹ The tables are an addition to the graphs compiled by Ridgway 1992, pp. 69 ff. The grounds covered by him will not be elaborated here.

² I have retained the Buchner-Ridgway dating of the graves except for graves 662 and 235 which, according to me, are both later EPC, 662 on account of the local aryballos, 235 on account of the type of handle of the local oinochoe.

The differences between the numbers of LG and EPC graves given in this scheme and in Ridgway 1992, p. 70, fig. 17 are caused by the fact that Ridgway has incorporated all the graves labelled LG I or LG II (=EPC here) in his LG numbers. These graves have here been distributed over these periods as follows:

	enchytrismoi	cremation/inhumation		
		without pots	pers. objects only	one pot
LG I-II	18	14	15	5
LG	2	3	5	2
EPC	16	11	10	3

The enchytrismoi labelled LG-MPC have all been allotted to the EPC period. As regards the cremation and inhumation graves the five labelled EPC-MPC have all but one been given to the EPC period. Moreover, I have also tabulated and indicated with an asterisk those destroyed graves of which the contents were found in the earth of the later graves.

Finally, in the few instances where a double deposition/cremation has been inventoried as a single entry, separate numbers have been given to each deposition/cremation.

For the dating of the periods based on the Protocorinthian aryballoi, see Neef 1987, p. 379 and *passim*. I have refrained from citing literature dealing with the various categories as it can easily be found by way of Ridgway 1992.

³ That is, cremation/inhumation graves nos. 1-67 labelled LG I, nos. 68-73 labelled LG I?, seven out of 74-93 (cf. note 2) labelled LG I-II, and nos. 94-97 labelled LG I; moreover, 13 graves without contents labelled LG I, two idem LG I?, and three out of 14 idem labelled LG I-II (cf. note 2). I have given nos. 94-97 their particular place because their numbers and types of grave-goods are typical of the LG II=EPC period.

⁴ Spindle-whirls, triangular disc, etc. I have taken as personal objects.

period	enchytrismo	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	>19	20	21	25	26	30	36	total
LG	13	18	23	43	10	3	4				1																	115
EPC	120	78	47	50	32	17	13	8	9	5	1	3	2	1	2	3					1		1		2			395
MPC	5	4	3	1	1	1	4		2		1	1							1					1				25
LPC-TR	9	4		11	5	2	1	1	2					1												1		37
EC	8	2		7	5	2	2	2	1		2	1	1						1		1						1	36
Total	155	106	73																									608

Fig. 1 - Distribution of the number of pots per grave in the various periods.

most important category of ceramics in LG graves embraces the drinking vessels, of which the local imitations slightly outnumber the Corinthian imports. Although all these local drinking vessels are Corinthianizing, they fall into categories different from those of the actual imports⁵. Leaving out of consideration the Corinthian kyathoi and kantharoi (which have not yet been attested in imitations in this period), the two Corinthian skyphoi belong to the Thapsos panel class, their local imitations to a variety with a black bowl and lines on the rim only. The Corinthian kotylai belong in part to the black variety and in part to the variety having sigmas in a tripartite handle-zone, their local imitations generally to the Aetos 666 type and, exceptionally, to the black variety⁶.

As to personal accoutrements, hairspirals and pendants⁷ are made of silver, barring a few items of gold and silver, electrum, and also bronze. Moreover, silver was used for sanguisuga and serpeggiante fibulae, bracelets, rings, and necklaces. Whenever they contain silver objects, the graves contain pots as well, excepting graves 420 and 432. In other words, out of the 23 LG graves merely containing personal objects, twenty have bronze objects exclusively, two have silver objects, and one an iron fibula. In contrast, out of the 24 graves

containing both pots and personal objects, nine have silver items only, six a mixture of silver and bronze objects, and eight bronze objects. This approach goes to show that pots evidently bore weight on the wealth/status scale. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that 15 out of the 16 rhomboid versions in the sanguisuga and navicella fibulae should occur in potless graves and, therefore, never occur by the side of silver accoutrements. It would seem that the rhomboid versions are the "Standa" versions of these types⁸.

Iron was used for rings and for all types of fibulae, except for the sanguisuga, but altogether on a small scale only. Iron personal accoutrements were only once found alongside silver objects (grave 220).

As the LG graves usually contain no more than one pot and as the pots found are of types not yet allowing of very accurate dating, the order of the graves can only be inferred from what stratigraphical indications we have. The present impossibility of precisely dating individual pots implies that, so far, the necropolis has not yielded conclusive information as to the moment when the Valle di San Montano came into use as a grave-yard. As yet, this moment can only be roughly labelled "third quarter of the eighth century B.C." ⁹.

⁵ Cf. however, the silver rhomboid sanguisuga fibula in grave 944, *AION ArchStAnt* 5, 1983, p. 5.

⁶ For the issue, see D. Ridgway, 'The foundation of Pithekoussai', in *Nouvelle contribution à l'étude de la société et de la colonisation eubéennes* (Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard 6), 1981, pp. 45-56; J.N. Coldstream, in *BSA* (forthcoming). As to the date of foundation of the settlement, the Gosetti dump and also the Mazzola site provide more useful information. Here, I think, I should emphasize that, in my opinion, Corinthian skyphoi having a reserved line at the interior are definitely LG and not MG. The skyphos remained in production after the introduction of the kotyle and the two shapes presumably shared a common development of their interior decorations: a line with groups of bars in MG and early LG, a reserved line slightly later in the LG period, from about 740 onwards.

⁷ A local imitation of a Thapsos class panel skyphos was found among the stray material, though; cf. *Pithekoussai* 1, p. 702, no. Sp. 4/3, pl. 245.

⁸ Cf., however, *AION ArchStAnt* 5, 1983, 3 bottom for an original Aetos 666 kotyle in grave 973.

⁹ Pendants, although abundant and frequently found with "female" fibulae, were sporadically found together with bracelets (inhumation graves 488 and 654*). Furthermore, they never occurred next to hairspirals in the inhumation graves. On the other hand, when pendants occur in cremation graves they are more often than not found next to hairspirals when the latter were in vogue (graves 166, 179, 208, 218, 228, not with hairspirals in graves 159 and 238). Hairspirals are apparently found with women in the age of 1/2 (grave 364) to 20-24 years (graves 650, 655A).

EARLY PROTOCOLINIAN PERIOD (LG II)¹⁰

The number of potless graves still exceeds 40% (fig. 1), but the share of graves only containing personal objects has diminished to about 2/5. The mean number of pots has risen to 2.5 for the collectivity of graves, to 4.6 for those containing pots. This seems to betray a more wealth-based articulation of the graves, and, more generally, of the society as a whole.

The increased number of pots in the EPC graves allows of a more satisfactory seriation of the graves than it is the case with the previous period. Besides stratigraphical indications, the following arguments have led me to the seriation proposed¹¹:

1. At first, local oinochoai of Corinthian shape (other types of local oinochoai are marked with an asterisk) had round handles, band-handles appearing at a later stage¹². The moment when this and a few more changes came about depended on the fashion of decoration¹³.

2. Slightly before band-handles became general, Corinthian kotylai of the slender EPC type had found their way to the graves. At first, their handles showed two lines, later only one.

3. Corinthian black kantharoi have never been found in juxtaposition to Corinthian kotylai, local imitations have. Apparently, the local imitations are (generally) later than their prototypes.

4. Local lekythoi of Euboean shape (index: type 12-i, here indicated with an asterisk) were never found in graves with Corinthian kotylai (except for

grave 208) and never in graves with Corinthian black kantharoi (except for grave 168).

5. Local lekythoi of Corinthian (or Boeotian-Euboean?) conical shape (index type 12-ii, here indicated with Δ) were only found once together with Corinthian black kantharoi (grave 355). The lekythoi type 12-ii are, therefore, more or less contemporary with local Euboeanizing lekythoi; indeed, half of the graves in which they were found also contained a local Euboeanizing lekythos.

6. The latter type was superseded by local "faked Corinthian" lekythoi (index: type 12-iv).

7. The production of local aryballoi seems to have come about slightly after the beginning of the EPC period.

8. The dimensions of the Corinthian aryballoi, especially the increase of the size of the mouth-plate and the decrease of the size of the foot, provide indications for their dating.

9. Pyxides became quite a common grave-gift in the late phase of EPC (but cf. grave 354).

10. Bowls became popular at the very end of the EPC period.

The increased number of pots in EPC graves is largely due to the massive influx of aryballoi¹⁴, the more universal deposition of drinking vessels, and to an increase of local figulina and impasto shapes. The gift of oinochoai, however, was generally limited to a single item per grave, as it had been before. As it was, affluence manifested itself mainly in the amount of oil-flasks, lekythoi and aryballoi. In the second half of the EPC period it also

¹⁰ Graves nos. 98-280 labelled LG II, no. 281 labelled LG II?, thirteen out of nos. 74-93 labelled LG I or LG II (cf. note 2); moreover, 42 graves without context labelled LG II, 21 *idem* labelled LG II?, 2 *idem* labelled LG-MPC, 2 *idem* labelled EPC-MPC, and 11 out of similar graves labelled LG I or LG II (cf. note 2).

¹¹ Already partly outlined by Neeft 1987, pp. 375 ff., cf. also, *ibidem*, pp. 304-305.

¹² See *AION ArchStAnt* 5, 1983, pp. 5-6.

¹³ On account of the decoration of the reserved strip on the neck, with the category characterized by a Corinthian shape at least three fashions are to be distinguished:

1. with chevrons between lines. This is the commonest variety of these local oinochoai of Corinthian shape. The round handle and the black paint at the back of the neck were retained until quite a late stage, but they ultimately gave way to a band handle and a continuous zone on the neck; the shoulder generally remained painted and a band sometimes broke the zone of lines at the widest diameter.

2. With a wavy horizontal line (indicated by > in the column) a. during the LG period, this variety still had paint on the

back of the neck and the handle was round (graves 519, 435, 205), entirely after the fashion of variety 1.

b. In the EPC period the decoration of the neck strip was expanded over the whole width of the neck and a wavy line also adorned the shoulder (graves 643 and 389, 325 probably also belonging to this variety). The inspiration for these innovations may have come from the black oinochoai with applied white decoration (graves 161, 414, and 469; cf. also 168-7, 149-1, 500-1, and the imports 515*-1 and 463-1). The handle was still round.

c. The oinochoe in grave 158A still shows the decoration of phase b, but the pot is provided with a band handle and there is a band at the maximum diameter amidst the lines. With the oinochoai in graves 354, 474, and 150, zigzags have superseded the wavy line on the shoulder.

3. Lines only (indicated by ↔ in the column).

The reserved zone for these lines runs around the whole neck. The handle is always round, the shoulder black.

Moreover, there is a group of oinochoai showing great dissimilarity of shapes that only have a small zone with lines at the widest diameter.

¹⁴ Ridgway 1992, p. 71 bottom.

showed in the increased amount of drinking vessels (mainly kotylai) per grave¹⁵.

Silver items still abounded in the first half of the EPC period (graves 98-204)¹⁶. This precious metal shone in the same items of accoutrements as in the LG period. However, hairspirals were more often made from bronze than before. Moreover, it is noteworthy that hairspirals and bracelets, each commonly deposited in pairs, should have ended up as single gifts in the early second half of the EPC period. Thus, silver became less and less predominant in the course of the EPC period.

Of the 47 graves without pots, 44 contained fibulae. Only one or possibly two of these graves (174 and 153, both defective cremation graves), contained fibulae made of silver. Fourteen (=1/3) of these 44 graves had rhomboid fibulae in contrast to 1/6 of the graves containing pots. Besides, rhomboid fibulae have been rarely found together with silver objects¹⁷. Again, the rhomboid version shows itself to be a poor man's grave-gift.

Iron had become slightly more common than in the LG period. The metal was mainly used for rings in the first and for fibulae in the second half of the globular period. It was found in 17 graves with pots and five without. Out of these 17, eight also contained rhomboid fibulae, these graves generally belonging to the richer rhomboid fibulae graves. Iron rings and fibulae apparently were also among the poor man's grave-gifts, though possibly so at a slightly less destitute level than the rhomboid fibulae. Again, iron rings and fibulae have been rarely found together with silver objects¹⁸.

Lyre Player seals continued to be given only for a short while in the EPC period¹⁹. At about the same time when these fell out of favour, steatite scarabs were superseded by faience ones, the only exceptions being graves 208, 498, and 463.

THE PERIOD 675-650 (MPC)²⁰

The number of potless graves still amounts to a third, but the share of graves merely containing

personal objects has shrunk to 1/7 (fig. 1). The mean number of pots has risen to 5.9 for the collectivity of graves, to 7.2 for those containing pots.

The pattern of pottery grave-gifts is the same as in the last phase of the EPC period. However, local aryballoi quickly ceased to be produced and bowls, pyxides, and impasto pottery lost popularity soon after. Skyphoi rose to be quite a regular grave-gift at the very end of the EPC period and remained so throughout the stage under discussion. The local oinochoai are invariably of the so-called Cumaean type, which arose with grave 656 (no. 266). Again, graves usually contained only one of them except for the richest, 271 and 272. The drinking vessels generally number one of a kind. Affluence mainly showed in the number of aryballoi, pyxides, and bowls.

In contrast to this substantial increase of the number of pots per grave there is a considerable decrease of the number of personal accoutrements after 670, the moment also when (silver) pendants and (their) faience scarabs fell out of favour. The richer graves, though, invariably contained fibulae or rings.

THE PERIOD 650-615 (MPC, LPC-TR)²¹

The number of potless graves now barely exceeds 10% and graves without pots but with personal accoutrements have disappeared altogether (fig. 1). Nevertheless, the mean number of pots for the collectivity of graves has diminished to 3.2 and for those containing pots to 3.7²².

The oinochoe – generally one – is the prerequisite grave-gift, the second seems to be the drinking vessel, all as in the LG period. After the local aryballoi, now also the Rhodian Kreis-und-Wellenband aryballoi fell out of fashion. Grave 137 is noteworthy for the absence of both oinochoe and aryballoi.

A similar appearance of poverty is to be observed with the personal accoutrements. Apart from one silver item (quite remarkably a diadem)

²⁰ Graves nos. 282-297 labelled MPC; moreover, four graves without pots labelled MPC.

²¹ Graves nos. 298-312 labelled MPC, 313-314 and 316-317 labelled MPC-LPC, 315 and 318-319 labelled LPC, and 320-321 labelled LPC-Cor.; moreover, four graves without pots.

²² If it had not been for grave 137, however, the latter mean number of pots would have been no more than 2.6.

¹⁵ That is, drinking vessels generally add up to one in the first half of the globular period, but cf. grave 137/27 (Neeft 1987, p. 304, fig. 179).

¹⁶ However, it should be pointed out that many EPC graves, especially those without pots, are difficult to date precisely.

¹⁷ I.e. graves 654* (pendant), 662 (pendants), 364 (hairspirals, rings), and 477 (spiral ring).

¹⁸ I.e. in graves 662 and 357.

¹⁹ Cf. Cumae, from which site only one Lyre Player seal has been published, Buchner-Boardman 1966, p. 59.

and for two rings, only fibulae are found. These are now generally of the bow type and made of iron, while in a few cases bronze sanguisuga and rhomboid navicella fibulae occur.

THE PERIOD 615-580 (EC-MC)²³

The number of potless graves is now 7% and again there are no graves having personal accoutrements exclusively (fig. 1). The mean number of pots per grave has risen to 6 for those containing pots, to 5.5 for the collectivity of graves. This increase is to be observed with all categories. There is often more than one tall pouring vessel now, conical lekythoi have become common again, and the drinking vessels even tend to outnumber the aryballoi. Among the last were imports from Etruria too. Imports from East Greece gained in popularity in the course of the period under discussion.

Fibulae are all made of iron and mainly belong to the bow type, but they may have fallen out of favour in a late stage of EC. Other personal accoutrements are rare, be it in bronze, silver or silver and gold, some of them were more at home a century or more ago²⁴. The two silver alabastra are noteworthy.

ENCHYTRISMOI (fig. 3)

Most *enchytrismo*i graves merely consist in a container for the corpse. Pottery, if added at all, occurred in small numbers and it mostly belonged to categories defying close dating. Dating of the *enchytrismo*i, therefore, can generally only be derived from the stratigraphical relation to the cremation and inhumation graves. This implies that not much weight is to be attached to the order within a period in which the graves are tabulated here.

The number of LG *enchytrismo*i, so far, is small. As containers, the local amphorae relate to Greek and to non-Greek import amphorae and to impasto pots as 2:1:1:1 (cf. below). This might imply that, at the earliest stage of the settlement, the production of the local grezza A and the Corinthianizing type with cylindrical neck had not yet started. The import amphorae are from a wide variety of places, the relatively great share of Ionian amphorae and the absence so far of Carthaginian and

Attic specimens are to be noted. Fibulae are not yet attested for LG *enchytrismo*i; pottery as a grave-gift is confined to chytrai.

In the EPC period, the local amphorae were twice as common as containers as the other categories together. As regards the imported amphorae, there are 1.5 times as many non-Greek amphorae as Greek ones, Attic amphorae making up half of this latter category. Again, it is noteworthy that local oinochoai should never have been found in *enchytrismo*i. Apparently, they rated higher than impasto jugs and jars as pouring vessels. Drinking vessels and, occasionally, oil/perfume flasks were given. Personal accoutrements are fairly common, bronze being their common metal with the exception of silver for rings in graves 721 and 560, the latter exceptionally rich. The arco rivestito type is generally found in pairs, the sanguisuga and navicella types in single items. Among the latter types, the rhomboid versions are twice as popular as the normal variety (grave 560 excluded), the numbers involved being small, though.

In the MPC and later periods, the tendency to use the local amphora as a repository for the corpiet became strong enough for other types to be limited to a single Chian amphora and an impasto basin. After the middle of the seventh century the local amphora type B superseded type A. Pottery and personal accoutrements were not given any more.

CONCLUSIONS

A considerable decrease of the number of graves is noticeable after the period of the globular aryballoi (fig. 1). Elsewhere in this volume, the recent excavations at Punta Chiarito will be paid due attention to. The scanty Corinthian material associated with the first phase was all found in the trodden floor of the first capanna, dating, therefore, its construction to 700-690. No Corinthian material pertaining to the occupation phase of this capanna has been found yet. Therefore, its destruction by the volcanic eruption cannot exactly be dated as yet, but the absence of (Corinthian) debris suggests a shortlived occupation. Risking to falsify history by mistakingly linking phenomena that have no bearing on each other, I would advance that this eruption (or one of its row) might very well be the one mentioned by Strabo 5. 4. 9.

²³ Graves 322-347 labelled Corinthian; moreover, two graves without pots.

²⁴ Pithekoussai 1, 304 *apud* grave 245, cf. above p. 150.

This eruption may equally well have caused the abandonment of the Mazzola site²⁵, the decrease of number of graves, and, as a retarded consequence, the general impoverishment of the graves cropping up a decade afterwards.

An earlier decrease of the number of graves – unless, of course, caused by the vicissitudes of excavation – is not so much noticeable from the material published in *Pithekoussai 1* and tabulated here as it is from the graves excavated 1965–1982²⁶. This first decrease took probably place shortly after the transition from LG to EPC. It can presumably be connected with the foundation of Cumae, which, in that case, is to be dated in the last decade of the eighth century²⁷.

A third decrease of the population occurred in the course of the Middle Corinthian period (destruction of the second capanna at Punta Chiarito, general abandonment of the Valle di San Montano necropolis)²⁸.

The prerequisite pot in the necropolis of the Valle di San Montano is the oinochoe, second in line is the drinking vessel. The number of oinochoai is generally one. This probably implies that oinochoe and drinking vessel had a function in the funeral ritual. As regards pots, affluence at first showed itself in the gift of pots at all (LG, also EPC), subsequently in the number of aryballoi and, after the middle of the globular period, also in the number of drinking vessels.

On the whole, the number of pots deposited in the graves hitherto published has gradually increased, viz. from 0.9 in LG to 2.5 in the period of the globular aryballoi, to 5.9 in the period 675–650, and, after a decrease to 3.2 in the period 650–

615, again to 5.5 in the period 615–580. The graves unearthed 1965–1982 are also subject to this distributional development, on the understanding that with them there are occasionally excessively great numbers of pots²⁹. The same gradual increase of number of pots took place in Taranto³⁰ and is likely to have done so in Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea, and other colonies³¹.

Apparently, families³² widely felt a need to express their ties with a defunct by greater and greater numbers of pots. In this analysis, the grave contents, in particular their amounts of pottery, can be said to measure the expense to which families were able and willing to put themselves in order to show commitment to their defuncts.

As the number of fibulae and other personal accoutrements depended on a defunct's sex³³, their numbers are no determinants of the wealth score. The material used for these objects, however, was, and there are good reasons to assume that iron for fibulae and rings was not highly valued and that the rhomboid versions of the sanguisuga and navicella fibulae were among the poor man's grave-gifts.

As often stated, as yet, prestige goods are missing from the Valle di San Montano necropolis. Yet, in terms of richness, the necropolis compares favourably with most other Greek settlements in the West. This even holds for the later stage of the period under discussion when the number of graves and the number and quality of grave-goods seem to imply a diminished importance of the settlement. Status thus far not having been attested, wealth certainly existed, just the opposite of what you personally found working there.

Corinthian pottery', in 'Catalogo del Museo Nazionale di Taranto', 3, 1: *La necropoli urbana di Taranto*, 1994.

³¹ Elsewhere (see note 30) I have argued that poverty seems to be the main determinant of the scarcity of grave-goods. As the majority of the Greek colonies was founded to provide farming-lands to the poor, this scarcity can well be accounted for by the lapse of time before the products of cultivation (olives, wheat, etc.) would enable people to gradually increase the expenditures for grave-gifts. This can also account for the scarcity of the Arsenale and Pizzone graves in comparison with the Vaccarella graves in Taranto (cf. note 30) and for the scarcity of grave-goods in the EC graves in Crispiano.

³² Pottery in the graves is chiefly of even date and the pots often appear in lots of a type and even by a single hand. Apparently, they were simultaneously acquired, very probably on the death of the deceased. In all likelihood, their buyers were his or her near relatives. Had the grave-gifts been brought in by those attending a funeral in homage to the defunct's social persona, one would have expected a wider variety of types and dates.

³³ *Pithekoussai 1*, p. 19.

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Supplementary abbreviations:

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| Buchner 1982 | = G. Buchner, 'Articolazione sociale, differenze di rituale e composizione dei corredi nella necropoli di Pitheculusa', in G. Gnoli - J.-P. Vernant (eds.), <i>La Mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes</i> , Cambridge 1982, pp. 275–287. |
| Buchner-Boardman 1966 | = G. Buchner-J. Boardman, 'Seals from Ischia and the Lyre-Player Group', in <i>Jdl</i> 81, 1966, pp. 1–62. |
| Neeft 1987 | = C.W. Neeft, <i>Protocorinthian Subgeometric aryballoi</i> , 1987. |
| <i>Pithekoussai 1</i> | = G. Buchner-D. Ridgway, <i>Pithekoussai 1, MonAL</i> , serie monografica 4, Roma 1993. |
| Ridgway 1992 | = D. Ridgway, <i>The first Western Greeks</i> Cambridge 1992. |

²⁵ Cf. Ridgway 1992, p. 92. Mr. J.F.W. Koens, Amsterdam, strongly argues for a bronze and silver, not an iron, foundry at the Mezzavia/Mazzola site. This raises various interesting questions. For the role of silver see G.E. Markoe, 'In pursuit of metal: Phoenicians and Greeks in Italy', in G. Kopcke-I. Tokumaru (eds.), *Greece between East and West: 10th–8th centuries B.C.*, 'Papers of the Meeting at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University March 15–16th, 1990', 1992, pp. 61–84; G.E. Markoe, 'In pursuit of silver: Phoenicians in central Italy', in Ch. Brieze-R.F. Docter-K. Mansel (eds.), *Interactions in the Iron Age*, 'Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums in Amsterdam (27–28 März 1992)', 1, *HBA* 18/19, 1991–1992 (forthcoming).

²⁶ Ridgway 1992, p. 46.

²⁷ Cf. Neeft 1987, p. 300, fig. 180; also Buchner-Boardman 1966, p. 59 n. 79.

²⁸ But cf. the Late Corinthian krater from the Mazzola site.

²⁹ Notice, e.g., the tremendous amount of Kreis-und-Wellen-band aryballoi in grave 1116 (Neeft 1987, p. 304, fig. 179) at the brink of MPC and the 130-odd pots in grave 1083B (cf. Buchner 1982, p. 284).

³⁰ For Taranto, see C.W. Neeft, 'Tarantine graves containing

grave	oinochoai	Corinthian	local	lekythos, local	skyphos	kotyle	kantharos	aryballoi	Argive monochrome	various	fibulae	hairspl	bracelet	ring	pendant	LP seal	various
94. 161			*	Δ	*	0					∞ serpeggiante						tufa pallet
95. 167			•	•	*			Oriental (?)									
96. 623* (def.)					**			Oriental		Daunian juglet	∞	∞∞∞					a pin + ∞ bead
97. 166				*				4 Oriental	con. lek.	disc	oinochoe amphora	a	∞	∞∞∞	∞ + steatite	∞∞∞∞	∞∞∞∞ pendants
98. 165			•					Euboean?	juglet	jug				∞∞∞	∞		
99. 321																	
100. 200	*									bowl	oinochoe bowl	arco in-grossato	♦♦♦		Δ Δ Δ		
101. 323					*	0				chytia	a undetermined	∞∞∞					
102. 169 (def.)			*														
103. 170			•														
104. 359	*						*	*	*								
105. 322										jug	jug						
106. 363							*								a bulla		
107. 553			*				*								∞ + steatite		fai. statuette ∞ bead
108. 527							*				a serpeggiante						
109. 182 (def.?)									oinochoe		a lozenge	a undetermined					
110. 643			>	•	*	*	*			small chytia	a						a bead
111. 325			>	•	*	*	*		con. lekythos	Calabrian askos	a	a arco configurato			a spiral		~ pin faience scarab
112. 284-B				Phoenician			*			2 small chytia	a					*	10 stones
113. 312			import	Phoenician						jug	a a a a						
114. 623			*	*	*	*	*	*			~ serpeggiante	a					a pin
115. 548	*									jug	one-handler						
116. 332			++•														
117. 335			*				*										
118. 171			*				*										
119. 509			*				*										∞ bead
120. 662			•				kyathos	Oriental			a a a a	♦			∞ + steatite	*	
121. 215			++•	*				Oriental			∞ serpeggiante						
122. 506							*			oinochoe jug							~ knife
123. 505* (def.?)			•	Δ				import	*		a serpeggiante						
124. 622	*		*	Δ		0	0	*	Euboean	*							faience scarab
125. 606	*		*				* mug	*			a a a a				a + faience		oc taenia
126. 284-A			•				*	*			a undetermined						~ knife
127. 455	*						mug	Euboean									*
128. 456	*		*				*	*	*	small oinochoe					∞ + faience		
129. 168	*	import	•	*	*	0	*	*	*	small bowl kraters, two Eub. kraters, Rhodian kotyle	∞						
130. 538			++•														
131. 539			•														
132. 267							*	*			~ serpeggiante						
133. 164			*								spindle-whirl						
134. 163	*													∞∞∞			
135. 690												♦	Δ Δ				steatite scarab
136. 631							*	juglet	baby-feeder	amphoriskos	a a a						
137. 357* (def.?)												♦			a a a a a		
138. 525* (def.?)	*		*				*			two bowls	chytia						~ knife
139. 181			*								∞∞∞				∞		
140. 180			•				*				∞∞∞				∞		
141. 179 (def.?)							*	*			a lozenge						a bulla
142. 185											a						
143. 355			++•	Δ			*	*	*	0	a Phrygian a a bottoni laterali	♦♦♦ ♦♦					faience scarab
144. 209*			*				*	*			chytia						
145. 525						0					bowl	a	a		∞		
146. 224	*						*							~ / a	a		
147. 239			•														
148. 357									juglet		a a	∞∞∞		∞∞∞	a a	∞ ~?	
149. 364			++•				*				a a a a	a	♦♦	∞∞∞			faience scarab 2 steatite scarabs 2 ∞ beads
150. 370											a a						
151. 387											a a a ♦♦♦						
152. 545		Phoenician	*				*	*	tripod	oinochoe	a serpeggiante						
153. 546						0				amphora		♦					~ knife faience scarab 4 fai. statuettes
154. 557	*					0	*	*	*								~ spade

grave	oinochoai	Corinthian	local	lekythos, local	skyphos	kotyle	kantharos	aryballoi	Argive monochrome	various	fibulae	hairspl	bracelet	ring	pendant	various
155. 508								*	*							
156. 504	*										(~ romboidale)					
157. 505								*			5 spindle-whirls	a a a				∞ bead
158. 514											a bottoni laterali	a a a				
159. 640											a spectacles					
160. 645											chytia					
161. 648			•								2 spindle-whirls	♦♦				∞
162. 209	*		•								mug	a serpeggiante				
163. 649			*					*								
164. 445																a a a ~
165. 722					0						jar					
166. 412											a					
167. 360 *																
168. 395																
169. 477											bowl	a	♦		∞ spiral	
170. 507								*								3 ~ pins a spindle-whirl
171. 537											a a globetto	a				a a a
172. 541																
173. 543																
174. 624	*		Δ				*	*								∞ comb clasp
175. 544											a a a	a a				a bell a drop 2 ∞ beads
176. 515	*		*	Δ			0	*	*	*						~ axe ~ chisel
177. 665											small jar					faience spindle-whirl
178. 238			•		*											
179. 655-A								*			jug					
180. 655-B																
181. 651	*				*			*	*	lekythos	lekythos					∞ + faience oc taenia
182. 652	import	*	Δ					*	*	0						faience scarab
183. 162			•				*	*	*	*						
184. 573			•				*	*	*	*						
185. 567								*								
186. 232	*	++•						(*)								
187. 482																
188. 310	*						*	*	*	*						
189. 160	•						*	*	*	*	dipper chytia	a a	∞∞∞	∞∞∞		oc necklace
190. 664	++•										triangular disc					∞ + faience ∞ double axe
191. 495	•						*									
192. 208	*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	chytia 10 spindle-whirls	∞∞∞				oc 2 ∞ beads
193. 238			•				*	*	*	*	a undetermined					steatite scarab
194. 389			>	•	*			*	*	*	a a *					
195. 498	•					0 0		*	*	*						white golden + steatite
196. 329	*															a bird ~ rod LP seal
197. 328						0		*			two bowls					~ knife
198. 324							0		import		oinochoe					~ knife a pin a drop a bead a ring
199. 718	*										a a a a ♦♦♦♦					2 a beads fai. scaraboid
200. 556	•						0				lekane	a a a a	♦♦♦♦			
201. 157	*							*								
202. 149								*								
203. 158A			>	•							∞ serpeggiante?					
204. 158B	•															
205. 298	*									juglet	juglet					
206. 654* (def.?)	*															
207. 154	*															2 a chain
208. 155																
209. 654	*						*	*	*	*						∞ ∞ ∞ + faience scarab
210. 156																a final
211. 404																
212. 235								Oriental			small jar					~ knife ~ awl
213. 552	*						0									
214. 159							*	*	*	*	amphora	a a a a	a a ∞∞∞			
215. 390	*						*	*	*	*		a a serpeggiante				
216. 391											jar					

grave	oinochoai		conical lekythos local Corinthianiz.	skyphos	kotyle	kantharos	aryballoi			concave pyxis	various			fibulae			rings	pendant	scarab	various
	Corinthian	local					Corinthian	local	Rhodian KW		Greek	figulina, local	impasto	arco rivettito	sanguisuga	navicella				
217. 354		> ■	***		*				***			pyxis	aa	a serpeggiante					3 faience	
218. 172 (def.)	*													∞ undetermined			∞			glass bead ∞ hairspiral
219. 152	*	*	**		***			***	*											
220. 501		●		*				*	***				aa							∞ hairspiral a bracelet
221. 500	import												aa				aa			
222. 382						0														
223. 454		*	*	*				*										∞ + faience	⊗ bead	
224. 150		> ■							*											
225. 353									*					~ ~ serpeggiante			a			
226. 699		■										closed vase spindle-whirl			♦♦		a			
227. 151	*										two plates		∞ serpeggiante + apofisi							~ knife? ~ plate ~ drops
228. 696		*		*			Euboean	*			one handler			♦	a bottoni laterali		a spiral			⊗ bead ⊗ bead fai. statuette (~ drop)
229. 173	*							*		*				a						
230. 178 (def.)	*	■		**																
231. 148		■				0		*												
232. 698												bowl jar								
233. 301			*										aa		aa					
234. 700* (def.?)													a double spiral							
235. 309A		■		*		0						amphoriskos								
236. 309B			0 0								2 one-handlers		a serpeggiante							
237. 474		> ■	0				*	*						aa	aa					
238. 203		↔ ■																		
239. 625											amphoriskos									
240. 626		■					*						a				a			
241. 230													aa ?							
242. 463	?			*													a		steatite	
243. 304															♦♦					
244. 637														aa			a spiral			
245. 336															♦♦		aa spiral			
246. 673							*							aa						3 ⊗ beads
247. 677													a	♦						
248. 678			0				*					oinochoe bowl	a serpeggiante			a figured				carpenter's kit
249. 689		*	0 0								one handler	ampho- riskos				~ ~				⊗ bead
250. 379													~ serpeggiante							
251. 381													∞ serpeggiante + apofisi							a razor
252. 153 (def.)													∞ serpeggiante + apofisi							
253. 386							Euboean?					oinochoe	a	♦			(a)			
254. 710													a	♦						
255. 709		**		* 0 0			*					bead/jug	a	aa	aa	♦♦♦♦	aa	aa	aa	faience
256. 706												oinochoe one-handler plate, lid	aa							
257. 705			0																	
258. 708																	aa			
259. 711																		a		bronze bead 25 ⊗ beads
260. 712													~ undetermined			♦				
261. 715			0				*				oinochoe		aa		aa	♦♦				faience
262. 720																	~ ~			
263. 723											juglet									
264. 716															♦♦♦	a pierced	a			
265. 483	Levantine amphora			***			***	*	***		pyxis	mug	aa	∞∞ ∞∞ (♦ ♦)				∞ + faience		2 ∞ beads 2 ∞ hairspiral 1 ∞ bracelet
266. 656		*			**		***	**	*					∞∞			∞∞	∞ + faience		golden taenia
267. 186		■																		
268. 237 (def.)						*														
269. 348													~ serpeggiante							
270. 349								*							♦					
271. 337															♦			aa		
272. 533				*			*													
273. 147		*	≥	0	≥		*	*	≥		pyxis	≥ 4 chytiae bowl					∞	∞ + faience		~ pin ~ knife ∞ bead
274. 146		****																		
275. 145		- Corinthian					*		***				a					∞ + faience	rosette	
276. 241													a serpeggiante							
277. 242	*				**						jug									
278. 243	*		0			0		*	*		juglet	bowl	aa	aa	aa	aa		faience		~ fragment
279. 251			0				**					oinochoe		aa	aa	♦♦				
280. 315			0								jug	bowl			♦♦		a			
281. 384															♦					

grave	oinochoai, local	conical lekythoi		skyphos	kotyle	kotyliskos	aryballoi			alabastron	various				fibulae				pendant	various
		local Corinthianiz.	Corinthian				Corinthian	Rhodian KW	Etrusco-Cor.		Corinthian	Jonian	figulina, local	impasto	arco rivestito	navicella	bow	rings		
282. 326							**	**			concave pyxis				aa	♦♦				faience scarab
283. 472		*		*			*	***			concave pyxis oinochoe		ary-ballos					a	∞ +	faience scarab
284. 530	*			*				*					bowl				~ ~			a pliers
285. 529				*				*												
286. 536	*			*			**						3 plates bowl			aa				
287. 268																		a spiral		
288. 271	**	**		*	**			***					3 pyxides stemmed bowl		aa					
289. 272	**	Phoenician		0 0	**		***	two bowls bowl					stemmed bowl jug		~ ~			∞∞		faience ugiat
290. 273													3 pyxides							
291. 270																				
292. 470	*			*	*		***	*								♦♦				
293. 139	Phoenician						*													~ pointer
294. 140 (def.)	*			*			*													
295. 141	*			**									chytra							
296. 143																				~ awl
297. 142	*						***	**												
298. 144	*						***	*												
299. 308	*						***	*							aaa		~ ~			
300. 138	*						*													
301. 565	*			0			*													
302. 566	*			*			*													
303. 248							*											a full		
304. 187	*						*													
305. 188	*						*										~ lozenge	a		
306. 137					**		*					19 plates 6 st. bowls	37 beads? (chytra)							(a chainlet) (aa bracelets)
307. 259	*			*			*													
308. 258	*				0 0 0		*					plate					~ ~		∞	diadem
309. 196	*			*			*													
310. 197	*						*													
311. 198	*			***			*****	*												
312. 136	****			*			*													
313. 303	*			* 0			*													
314. 135	*						*													
315. 250	*						*										~ ~			
316. 260	*						*													
317. 262	*			0			*		*		cup	bowl				♦	~ ~		a	earring
318. 263	*						*									♦♦				
319. 266	*						*									(♦)				
320. 294	*						*										~ ~			
321. 296	*						*													
322. 194	*						*													
323. 562	*			*	**	*	*	**	**	concave pyxis			jug							
324. 195	*			*			*													
325. 295	*			*	*	*	*	*	*				jug							
326. 193	*	*		**	*	*	*	*	*											
327. 133 (def.)	**						*			concave pyxis			jug		~				a	
328. 134							*													
329. 252 (def.)							*													
330. 254	*			**	**		*		*											
331. 255	**			*	*	*	*													
332. 279				*			*						jug							
333. 528							*					cup	jug						2	chain elements
334. 594							*											∞	alabastron	∞ earring
335. 555				**	**		*						olpe							
336. 189	***			*		*	*	**				2 cups		jug						
337. 192	*						*											~ ?		
338. 190	*						*													
339. 191	**		***		***	***	**	**	**	kantharos concave pyxis long alabastron	3 long alabastra	two plates			~ ~					
340. 292							*													
341. 293	*				*		*					cup								
342. 132	*						*											a		a spiral
343. 276				(*)	*	*****	*	*	*	oinochoe										
344. 253	*					***	*	*	*				juglet							
345. 286	*	*		**	*	*	*	*	*	ring-aryballos	long alabastron aidoin	oinochoe						∞		∞ alabastron faience scarab
346. 245	*						*			ringaryballos	owl								∞	bracelets ∞ + steatite scarab ∞ necklace
347. 244		*		*			*			convex pyxis baby-feeder (? fabric)	lydion 2 long alabastra									

Fig. 3 - Enchytrismo

grave	container					grave-gifts		
	amphora					personal objects		
	grezza A	grezza B	Greek	not-Greek	impasto	pottery	fibulae	various
1. 418				Zita 1				
2. 437				*				
3. 602			Jonian					ring glass paste bead
4. 569					jar	disc		
5. 575			Jonian					ring bone pendant steatite scarab
6. 576	*							
7. 578	*							
8. 614				CdE				
9. 615	*							
10. 579					chytra			
11. 603	?							
12. 613			*					
13. 616			*					
14. 524	PCCC							LP seal
15. 417	?							
16. 419	*							
17. 589					chytra	chytra		
18. 597	*							
19. 598					chytra	jug		
20. 601					chytra			steatite scarab faience scarab
21. 604	?							
22. 660	PCCC							
23. 702			Corinthian					ring glass paste bead
24. 666				CdE				
25. 661				CdE				
26. 492					chytra			
27. 449	*							
28. 450	*							
29. 451			Euboean?					
30. 452	?							
31. 453	?							
32. 554	*							
33. 558	*							
34. 352					chytra			
35. 619	*							
36. 620	*							
37. 621			*					
38. 666			*					
39. 668					jar			ring
40. 672					chytra			
41. 627	*							
42. 628	*							
43. 629	*							
44. 630	?							
45. 425	*							
46. 427	*							
47. 426	?							
48. 428	*							
49. 430	PCCC						♦♦ sanguisuga	ring
50. 429			Attic SOS					
51. 607	*							
52. 394	*							
53. 777								
54. 441				CdE				
55. 440	PCCC							
56. 443	*							
57. 442			Attic SOS					
58. 444	*							
59. 513				CdE		juglet		
60. 487			Carthaginian			juglet		
61. 489			Carthaginian					
62. 499			*					
63. 568	*							
64. 683	*							
65. 398			Attic SOS		2 kantharoi	arcu rivestito		2 glass paste beads
66. 685	*							
67. 719			Attic SOS					
68. 721	*							ring
69. 633	*							

grave	container					grave-gifts		
	amphora					personal objects		
	grezza A	grezza B	Greek	not-Greek	impasto	pottery	fibulae	various
70. 635	*							LP seal
71. 636	*							
72. 639					chytra			
73. 641	*					jug		
74. 560	*					kantharos	♦ bottoni laterali ♦ arco rivestito ♦ sanguisuga ♦ arco traforato	bracelet earring rings spiral ring pendants
75. 642			Attic SOS					
76. 646	*							
77. 503			*					
78. 502	*						♦ sanguisuga	
79. 523			Carthaginian?		aryballos		♦ sanguisuga	
80. 522					small jar			
81. 526	*					amphoriskos	♦♦ arco rivestito	
82. 393	*						♦♦ sanguisuga	faience Ptah
83. 396			*				♦ sanguisuga	
84. 397			Clazomenian					
85. 684				*		2 juglets kotyle		LP seal steatite scarab
86. 399	*							
87. 400	PCCC							
88. 402			Carthaginian					
89. 403	*							
90. 559	*							
91. 291	*					skyphos		
92. 209*						chytra		
93. 316			*					
94. 330	*							
95. 338	*							
96. 339				Zita 3?			♦ navicella	
97. 340	*							
98. 341	*							
99. 342			Carthaginian					
100. 343	*							
101. 344	*							
102. 617				*		mug		
103. 659	*							
104. 669	*							
105. 506bis						chytra		
106. 476	SOS						♦♦ arco rivestito	
107. 481						pithos		ring
108. 484	*							
109. 486						jar		
110. 518						jar	♦ sanguisuga	pendant
111. 679	*						bowl	
112. 680	*							ring
113. 681	*							
114. 682	*							
115. 691	*							
116. 692						chytra	jug	
117. 694	*					feeder	♦ arco configurato	pendant glass bead
118. 695						jar		
119. 697	*							
120. 703	*							
121. 704	*							
122. 350			Carthaginian					
123. 351	*							
124. 356	*							
125. 365	*							♦♦♦ chain pendants
126. 366	*							
127. 367								
128. 368			Corinthian					
129. 369	*							
130. 564	*							
131. 306			*					
132. 461	*							
133. 462	*							
134. 540	*							
135. 475	*							

grave	container					grave-gifts		
	amphora					personal objects		
	grezza A	grezza B	Greek	not-Greek	impasto	pottery	fibulae	various
136. 269	*							
137. 282	*							
138. 305					basin jar as lid			
139. 261	?							
140. 274	*							
141. 275	*							
142. 277	*							
143. 278	*							
144. 280	*							
145. 290	*							

grave	container					grave-gifts		
	amphora					personal objects		
	grezza A	grezza B	Greek	not-Greek	impasto	pottery	fibulae	various
146. 460	*							
147. 534	*							
148. 246			Chiot					
149. 247	*							
150. 281	*							
151. 289	*							
152. 302	*							
153. 285	*							
154. 287	*							
155. 288	*							

Nos. 1 - 9	LG - EPC	30 - 47	EPC ?	135 - 138	MPC (?)
10 - 11	LG ?	48 - 129	EPC	139 - 147	LPC - Corinthian
12 - 29	LG - EPC	130 - 134	EPC - MPC	148 - 155	Corinthian

Les auteurs ont cherché à rendre compte de la situation économique et sociale de la région de l'Altiplano, en particulier de la zone de l'Altiplano central, qui est la zone la plus développée de la région. Ils ont étudié les conditions de vie des populations, les structures sociales, les modes de production, les échanges commerciaux, etc. Ils ont également étudié les relations entre la région et le monde extérieur, en particulier avec le Pérou et le Chili. Les auteurs ont conclu que la région de l'Altiplano central est une zone de transition entre le monde andin et le monde hispanique, et qu'elle a joué un rôle important dans l'histoire de la région.

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SUMMARY

Myra Ruthven Levitt, Inside and outside colonization and the making of the modern city.

Did colonies create their mother cities? Seemingly a paradox, the act of sending out a distinct group of people was nonetheless a formative, if not a constitutive, act of consolidation and definition of the sending society as a political community. Often the manner of transportation or transit, non-integrated social groups, could be recognized as kin and shapers in the community, only on condition they left it. Platts' term, *stam-bone*, is given here a political and social meaning, aside from the familiar cover-populations. The 'Right of Return' to mother city is studied in order to understand concepts of sharing and belonging, as well as the terms of definition of the political community as 'home'. In contrast to the view which sees during of the profit as the precondition to Greek colonization, this article claims that (in the cases under discussion) colonization and the formation of mother cities was a reciprocal, simultaneous, and interdependent process.

E. García, Pithekoussai: emporion o apoikia?

The question symbolically presents the two horns of a dilemma that recurs constantly in the literature on the origins of Greek colonization in the West, and therefore has a central role in the debate on the most ancient history of Pithekoussai.

After overlooking about twenty-five years of discussion on this theme, the author proposes to go beyond this question, regarding it to be a false problem, and who himself inclined to Pithekoussai's *emporion* (the existence of which cannot be denied) should not be seen as taking place within the structure of a pole of the early Archaic period whose development was halted by its becoming very soon *cleros* of Cumae, and had thus already concluded its experience as an autonomous political center by the beginning of the fifth century B.C.

R. O'Anastasio, Pithecusa. Un'apoteosi di tipo samotraceo.

The case of Pithekoussai is reconsidered in the light of the new evidence. The settlement founded in the middle of the 8th century is too complex to be a mere *emporion*, and does not have requirements to answer Platts' definition of 'port of trade'. It has, instead, the characteristics of an *apoikia*, but differs from the most ancient colonial foundations in that its economy is subjected to the opportunities offered by a local environment favorable to crafts and trade. The subsequent modifications of Pithekoussai are the more so those of the post-colonial transformation of its territory, of which it represents a most structured stage, in its relationship with

the indigenous population, concentrated in creating a specific economic niche for itself by working the metal of Etna. Its main activity was the production and export of metal products in exchange. Its function ended when the colonial foundations asserted their political and territorial presence with respect to the indigenous world.

C. Ameglio, Les conditions économiques, notes préliminaires sur la colonisation grecque.

After a brief overview of the main archaeological and epigraphical sources concerning Greek trade up to the 5th century B.C., and of the studies on economic and related problems, the author affirms that trade up and down played a fundamental role in the development of the Greek colonies. The payment of various kinds of taxes on sea trade and transported goods not only guaranteed revenues to the controllers of the colonies, but also entailed the formation of miscellaneous trade on 'merchant ships', the result of multiple stops along the way, at each of which goods were traded and exchanged, and taxes paid. The circulation of goods could also be a reflection of these payments, taxes and/or gifts.

S. De Caro, Appunti per la topografia delle città di Pithekoussai nella prima età coloniale.

Besides the well-known sites in the area of Lacco Amaro, the site of settlement of Monte di Vito and the 'metallurgical quarter' of Metravio, the topography of Pithekoussai between the 8th and 7th century B.C. shows traces of Greek presence in several other areas of the island.

On the north side, near Porto d'Ischia, there certainly existed a site on the hill of S. Alessandro. On the west side, in the area of Porto, there are very scarce (contrada Bocca), as on the east side (Cava Romana), since on these slopes the ancient soil of the colonial period is buried by volcanic and alluvial strata more deeply than on the rest of the island.

On the south side, more abundant traces have emerged in the area of S. Marco and Porto, where the most noteworthy find is the settlement of Porto Chiaro, which is presently being excavated by a team under the direction of G. Guidotti's reports.

These data, together with archaeological ones, the study of the island, could be evidence of a rapidly settled colony, occupied by teams which the colonial presence of imported fine Greek work is already particularly

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 *εὐστέφανος 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 *δαίδαλ-* 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 Eurgides, 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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