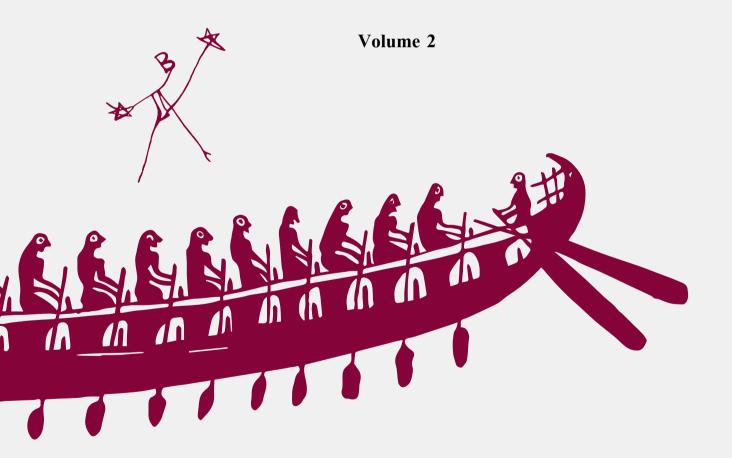
EUBOICA II

Pithekoussai and Euboea between East and West

Proceedings of the Conference Lacco Ameno (Ischia, Naples), 14-17 May 2018

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro, Matteo D'Acunto and Federica Iannone





ANNALI DI ARCHEOLOGIA E STORIA ANTICA



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Nuova Serie 28



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Volume 2



ISSN 1127-7130

Abbreviazione della rivista: AIONArchStAnt

Quarta di copertina: Pithekoussai (Ischia), T. 500, sigillo del Lyre Player Group (rielaborazione grafica UniorPress)

Sovracopertina: nave dipinta sul cratere corinzio del LG nel Royal Ontario Museum di Toronto, inv. C.199 (disegno S. Verdan); e costellazione incisa su un cratere del LG di fabbrica pitecusana, trovato nell'area di S. Restituta a Pithekoussai, Ischia (rielaborazione grafica M. Cibelli)

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ABBREVIATIONS

Above sea-level: above s.l.; Anno Domini: AD; and so forth: etc.; Before Christ: BC; bibliography: bibl.; catalogue: cat.; centimeter/s: cm; century/ies: cent.; chap./chaps.: chapter/chapters; circa/approximately: ca.; column/s: col./cols.; compare: cf.; *et alii*/and other people: *et al.*; diameter: diam.; dimensions: dim.; Doctor: Dr; especially: esp.; exterior: ext.; fascicule: fasc.; figure/s: fig./figs.; following/s: f./ff.; fragment/s: fr./frs.; for example: e.g.; gram/s: gm; height: h.; in other words: i.e.; interior: int.; inventory: inv.; kilometer/s: km; length: ln.; line/s: l./ll.; maximum: max.; meter/s: m; millimeter/s: mm; mini- mum: min.; namely: viz.; new series/nuova serie etc.: n.s.; number/s: no./nos.; original edition: orig. ed.; plate/s: pl./pls.; preserved: pres.; Professor: Prof.; reprint: repr.; series/serie: s.; sub voce: s.v.; supplement: suppl.; thick: th.; tomb/s: T./TT.; English/Italian translation: Eng./It. tr.; volume/s: vol./vols.; weight: wt.; which means: scil.; width: wd.

Abbreviations of periodicals and works of reference are those recommended for use in the *American Journal of Archaeology* with supplements in the *Année Philologique*.

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THE CONTEXT OF "NESTOR'S CUP": NEW CONSIDERATIONS IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro, Bruno d'Agostino

In the general context of a resuming of studies to address the many research questions that arose from the publication of the San Montano necropolis (excavations 1952-1961 and 1965-1967)¹, we decided to reexamine one of the key contexts of Pithekoussai: the so-called "tomb of Nestor's Cup" (T. 168). Among the tombs explored on the island, this one is the most emblematic of the extraordinary intermediary role played by Pithekoussai in relations between the Greek and the Western world, because its eponymous vase is our earliest direct source for the Homeric epic.

Collaboration with a team directed by L. Bondioli and M. Gigante, which was assigned the study and reexamination of the entire skeletal sample from the necropolis, has opened up the field to input from physical anthropology and the hard sciences, adding to our knowledge of this exceptional page in the earliest history of the West. With regard to the "tomb of Nestor's cup", the analyses conducted on the skeletal remains have provided new data indicating that the tomb's assemblage did not belong to a single burial, and hence calling into question its interpretation up to now².

The tomb of Nestor's Cup owes its fame to the discovery inside it of a kotyle from northern Ionia (Asia Minor) – rather than from Rhodes³ – bearing a Greek inscription, one of the earliest known to date.



Fig 1. Pithekoussai's necropolis, Nestor's Cup from "context" 168

Traced very accurately in the Euboic alphabet, this metric inscription draws on a *topos* of Greek poetry associating symposiac and erotic practices, and references Homeric epic, specifically Nestor's famous cup mentioned in the Iliad (*Il.*, 11.632-637)⁴ (Fig. 1).

According to G. Buchner, the inscription was executed in Pithekoussai; however, since at least one other similar inscription was found in Eretria⁵, also on an imported bird-kotyle, it is actually difficult to establish whether it was executed in Greece or on the Phlegraean island. From Methone, in Pieria, a Euboic skyphos dated between the late 8th and early 7th century BC bears another symposiac inscription in verse, engraved in the Euboic alphabet⁶.

The identification of the vase of T. 168 as Nestor's renowned cup is paradoxical, since it is a

¹ *Pithekoussai I*; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013, 2014, *supra* 49 ff., with previous bibliography. The English text of this article was translated from the original Italian by F. Poole (Museo Egizio, Turin).

² Cf. Gigante et al. 2021; supra, 87 ff.

³ D'Acunto 2020, 258 ff.; on the typological classification of the Nestor's Cup cf. *ibidem*, 289 ff.

⁴ On the early metric inscriptions cf. Wachter 2010, 252 ff.

⁵ Johnston – Andriomenou 1989, who propose a date to 735-725 BC; Bartoněk – Buchner 1995, B1, 190-192; Kotsonas 2022, 173 ff., Appendix, 12, ERE 26.

⁶ Methone Pieriais I, cat. no. 2, 339-343; Kotsonas 2022, 174, Appendix, 13, MET 2.

modest clay vessel used to drink wine, whereas the one evoked by Homer was «a beautiful cup... studded with golden nails; on each handle a pair of golden doves was feeded», and it was so big that only Nestor could lift it from the table when it was full. It was used to consume a thick fortifying drink, reserved for heroes.

"Nestor's Cup" is the object of a vast literature⁷, being a highly significant chronological marker for specific aspects of language, epigraphy, archaeology, history and literature. The dating of the context it comes from and the results of the anthropological tests of the skeletal remains it yielded thus have important implications for the several disciplines involved.

From the beginning, the excavation posed several interpretive problems, since the context had been disturbed many times due to continued use of the burial plot for new tumuli and fossa graves. From the beginning, Buchner did not conceal his doubts about how the burial complex should be interpreted.

The difficulty of the task was undoubtedly compounded by the fact that the investigation was carried out in two separate stages, in October 1954 and then many months later, in June 1955. In the first stage, as we gather from the excavation journal, Buchner designated as T. 168 a large «lens of black earth» («macchia di terra nera») – a definition he usually employed for the layer containing the ashes and bones collected from the funeral pyre along with the grave goods, if any, and placed in a shallow and roughly circular scoop in the ground and then covered with a stone tumulus. In the case of T. 168, the covering tumulus had been completely demolished by subsequent burials. The excavation of the "lens of black earth" revealed three depressions at its bottom. This circumstance, along with the remarkable extension of the lens (3.80 x 2 m), led Buchner, in the first instance, to suppose that the three depressions belonged to three originally distinct cremations, whose contents were jumbled when subsequent burials encroached on them. He specified that when he dug the "lens of black earth" it was impossible to distinguish the materials by their disposition, and that even the fragments of Nestor's cup were scattered across the whole layer⁹. A fragment of Nestor's kotyle was also found inside *enchytrismos* 443¹⁰.

In June 1955, having resumed the dig, Buchner investigated the relations between T. 168 and the nearby tumuli (Fig. 2). In a layer «of abundant burnt sherds mixed with brown earth» («di frequenti cocci bruciati misti a terra bruna», 4 x 3 m) extending northward between tumuli 166-167 and 180, and southward underneath T. 168, he recovered sherds that joined others from the "lens of black earth". In particular, near tumuli 166 and 167 he found three sherds of the inscribed cup and one of a crater with a painted inscription (T. 168 no. 1)¹¹.

The 1993 edition specifies that a layer «of abundant burnt sherds mixed with brown earth» (4 x 3 m) extended northwards «under the entire black earthen lens of 168 to below mound 180, and for ca. 3 m from the outer face of the perimeter walls of mounds 166 and 167 towards the east».

This «burnt-sherd layer» («strato di cocci bruciati») yielded numerous vases, including at least a dozen skyphoi of the Thapsos type (Sp 5/1-4) and four of other types (Sp 4/2, 7, 9, 10)¹², thirteen kotylai (Sp 5/1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 13, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27), and two kyathoi (Sp 6/1, 2), as well as two lekythoi (Sp 9/19-20) and three local aryballoi (Sp 10/2, 3, 4)¹³.

We should also consider the possibility that, although subsequent in time – as Buchner's description in *Pithekoussai I* seems to suggest – the formation of the "sherd layer" and that of the "lens of black earth" could be the results of two distinct actions in the same funeral ceremony, respectively, the dissemination of the products of the pyre and the deposition of the ashes. The whole was then supposedly jumbled by subsequent disturbances.

 $^{^7\,}Buchner-Russo$ 1955; Cassio 1994; Murray 1994; Bartoněk – Buchner 1995; Węcowski 2017 and his contribution in this volume.

⁸ Buchner – Russo 1955; *Pithekoussai I*, 212 ff.; Bartoněk – Buchner 1995, 146 ff.

⁹ Buchner – Russo 1955, 215 ff.

¹⁰ Pithekoussai I, 215.

¹¹ BUCHNER – RUSSO 1955, *postilla* on p. 234: for kotyle fragments it is said that «evidentemente erano stati rimossi e dispersi quando fu distrutta in età antica la copertura del tumulo». More details are given in *Pithekoussai I*, 214.

¹² Pithekoussai I, Sp. 4/2, 702.

¹³ *Pithekoussai I*, 214, 713 ff.

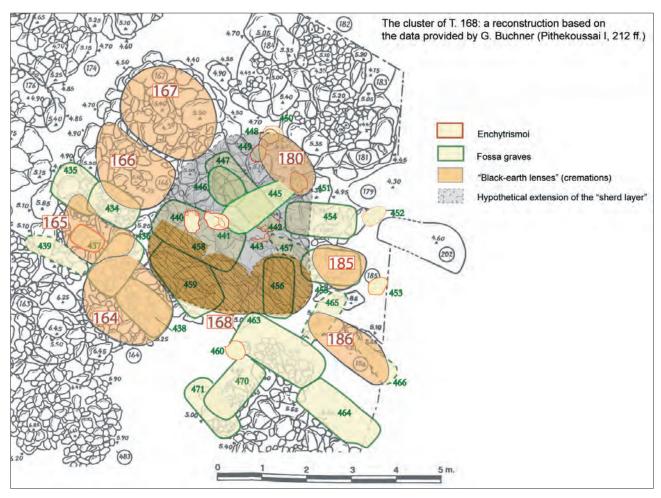


Fig 2. The cluster of the context of Nestor's Cup (Cremation 168). In orange the "black earth lenses" (cremations) and the three depressions of Cremation 168. In grey, the "sherd layer" under Cremation 168

As a parallel for the "burnt sherd layer" from the same burial ground, G. Buchner mentions the stratigraphic context from which, among many other finds, the "Shipwreck Crater" originates. Based on a comparison with finds made in the Ceramicus in Athens, Buchner believes that this crater was among a group of vases used during the funeral ceremony and then burnt on a pyre, perhaps in a separate fire from that used to cremate the deceased¹⁴. In the necropolis of San Montano, the areas used for cremations have not been identified, and therefore there is no archaeological evidence to prove this hypothesis. An evocative reconstruction has been provided, instead, of funerary rituals during which the vessels used were then ritually broken and burnt on the pyre in

a Late Geometric context at Teos, in northern Ionia¹⁵.

Buchner noted down his hypothesis that the funeral context called T. 168 could actually have comprised three burials in his excavation journal, and included it in his first publication of the inscribed cup, while the excavation was still ongoing¹⁶. In the systematic publication of the necropolis in 1993, having reassessed the evidence, he argued, instead, that the context was a single burial – albeit a heavily disturbed one¹⁷. The decisive argument for this, in his opinion, was that J. Becker's autoptic examination of the skeletal remains

¹⁴ For the "Shipwreck Crater" context, cf. *Pithekoussai I*, 196 ff. For an interpretation of the "burnt sherd layer", cf. Buchner 1982, 284 ff.

¹⁵ İREN – ÜNLÜ 2012. An area where a pyre had been lit and the finding of a krater and 23 kotylai, in the absence of skeletal remains, testifies to the performance of a ceremony centered on the use of wine. According to the proposed reconstruction, it ended with the ritual breaking of the vessels, which were thrown onto the pyre. It should be noted that the cups used are all "bird kotylai".

¹⁶ Buchner – Russo 1955, 234.

¹⁷ Pithekoussai I, 212 ff.

had recognized a single cremated individual, a child/youth, aged 12 to 14 years – 10 according to another scholar, T.F. Spence¹⁸.

That this was an exceptional context was evident for a number of reasons: the great number of grave goods; the inscribed kotyle; the presence of four craters, a type of vase which usually does not occur in Pithekoussan burials; and the inscription painted on the stem of the foot of one of these craters, read as *ex theo* and interpreted as a "*sakrale Inschrift*" 19. The attribution of the burial to a youth – an age class for whose exponents the ritual of inhumation was used as a rule at Pithekoussai – was regarded as further adding to its extraordinary character²⁰.

In the studies that followed the publication of T. 168 the issue of its date was foremost, since the dating of Pithekoussan contexts is a cornerstone for the chronology of the transitional phases from the Iron Age to the Orientalizing period in the western Mediterranean.

The publishers of *Pithekoussai I* had proposed a date in the third quarter of the 8th century BC for the inscribed kotyle, and «well within the 8th century BC» for the grave goods as a whole²¹. In 1987, Neeft challenged this dating²² on the basis of the style of the Protocorinthian globular aryballoi, which he considered to be later in the typological sequence than those from Tomb 325 – another famous Pithekoussan burial regarded as a chronological landmark because it yielded a scarab with the cartouche of pharaoh Bocchoris (718/717-712 BC). The lower date was believed to be further supported by the date of two local conical lekythoi found in the "sherd layer", which presumably set a terminus post quem for T. 168 late in Late Geometric II, between 720 and 690 BC in the chronology proposed by Coldstream²³.

V. Nizzo subsequently stepped into this debate in the frame of his general reinterpretation of the necropolis and reassessment of stratigraphic relations within individual burial clusters and between contiguous burial clusters. Stressing the chronological differences between the materials and going back to Buchner's initial thesis that T. 168 comprised more than one burial, Nizzo has put forward the hypothesis that there were at least two burials. He also argues that the craters did not come from either, but from scattered materials from the funeral pyres²⁴.

Careful review of the available documentation and a re-examination of the excavation journal call for a reconsideration of this intriguing hypothesis, put forward in the 1993 publication of the excavation (Fig. 3). According to this hypothesis, the earlier burial (T. 168A), containing Nestor's cup, retains its position at the beginning of LG II, while the more recent one (T. 168B) is closer in date to T. 325. The four craters do not belong to either burial assemblage, but come from the "layer of sherds mixed with brown earth" that extended in the vast space between T. 168 and T. 180²⁵. This reconstruction, which has the merit of making interpretive difficulties explicit and attempting a rational explanation for the described aporias, has the limit - recognized by Nizzo himself – of being an ex post reconstruction, based on assumptions that can no longer be tested. Nevertheless, the hermeneutic potential of this hypothesis can hardly be denied.

A recent and in-depth study of the skeletal remains, focusing on morphometric and histological parameters, has helped to clarify this complex picture. Sharing the caution expressed by the anthropologists due to the quantitative discrepancy between the sample they tested and the one described by Becker, their results seem however to definitively clear the field of some of the arguments put forward so far. In particular, their investigations rule out that T. 168 may have belonged to a youth²⁶.

¹⁸ Pithekoussai I, 212, note 1.

¹⁹ Bartoněk – Buchner 1995, no. 44, 177 f.

²⁰ D'AGOSTINO 2011, 41 ff.

²¹ Buchner – Russo 1995, 220-222.

²² Neeft 1987, 372-378.

²³ COLDSTREAM 2008, 330.

²⁴ Nizzo 2007, 33 ff.; 2016, 62 ff.

²⁵ An element supporting this hypothesis would also be the circumstance that some fragments of the craters were certainly found outside the "black earth stain", underneath Tumuli 180 and 186: *Pithekoussai I*, 214.

²⁶ GIGANTE *et al.* 2021, 15: «however, the medians' distribution of the three OPD (Osteon Population Density) clusters ... suggest that the cremated remains represent three individuals ranging from a younger (first cluster) to an older one (third cluster). Overall, the OPD values possibly exclude the presence of children in the Tomb 168 bone assemblage (OPD)».

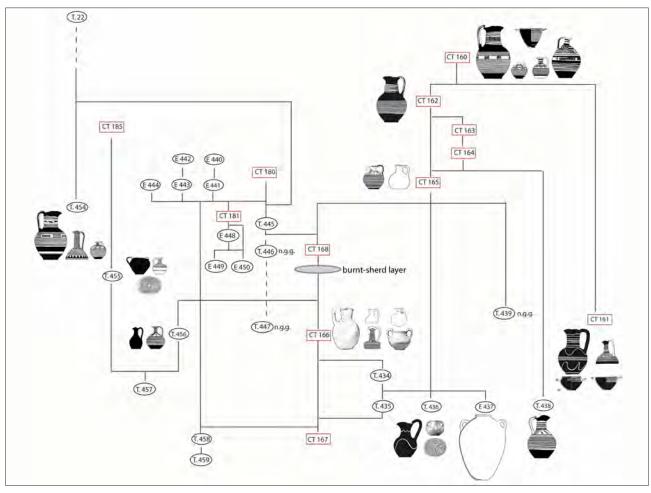


Fig 3. Matrix of the "cremation 168" cluster

The skeletal remains appear to belong, instead, to more than one (three?) young adults – as well as including some animal bones²⁷, probably the remains of funerary offerings.

Although the circumstances of discovery – as is also the case for the pottery and other artefacts – make it impossible to specify the exact provenance of skeletal remains, these results shed significant new light on the question, lending much more credibility to the hypothesis Buchner put forward during the excavation, namely, that the "T. 168" context was actually the result of the shuffling together of more than one burial assemblage.

In our opinion, the available evidence and the intertwining of the activities that occurred in a circumscribed time frame do not allow us to go any further in the interpretation of the data. However, the chronological range in which to place the succession of events - well delimited by the sequence of burials precisely outlined by G. Buchner - remains quite clear. So, although the archaeological context of Nestor's cup is not that of a single burial – a conclusion warranted by a study of the pottery, and now further supported by anthropological analyses – its dating is not affected, remaining a chronological reference point for the history of the Mediterranean.

²⁷ GIGANTE *et al.* 2021, 14. Remains referable to *Ovis/Capra*, probably of *Ovis aries*, have been identified with certainty, others of *Canis familiaris* with some doubt. Other bones are generically ascribable to the *Aves* class.

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622 Abstracts

BC research on pottery production has always been of major importance. In the case of Pithekoussai and Kyme, the artisans could count on an already established state of affairs, which allowed them to immediately start up successful workshops, and achieve a steadily developing production. In the earliest phase, the original cultural background is still much in evidence: it shows a strong Euboean influence but is already enriched by other inputs – Boeotian, Attic, Corinthian and from the Cycladic islands. Over time, contact and coexistence with different groups native to the land and/or newly arrived there lead to an eclectic production that becomes easily recognisable. Archaeometric analyses (NA) carried out on materials dating from the midfirst quarter of the 8th century BC until the middle of the 7th century – distributed between Pithekoussai, Kyme and the necropolises of the Valle del Sarno – now clarifies the origin of some of the most ancient pottery imports in the Phlegraean area, and so reveals and defines the complexity of the Pithecusan-Cumaean pottery production and the manner of its consumption and diffusion.

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro, Bruno d'Agostino, The Context of "Nestor's Cup": New Considerations in the Light of Recent Anthropological Studies

The so-called "tomb of Nestor's Cup" (T. 168) is one of the most representative contexts of the extraordinary intermediary role played by Pithekoussai between the Greek motherland and the Western world thanks to its eponymous vase which is the oldest direct source of the Homeric epic. The study and re-examination of the skeletal specimen by a team of anthropologists led by L. Bondioli and M. Gigante have provided new data indicating that the tomb assemblage did not in fact belong to one single burial and this calls into question its interpretation until now. The article re-examines the dynamics of the formation of the archaeological records, focusing on the "layer of burnt fragments" identified below the tumuli and interpreted as the result of a ritual action to which it is highly probable that a large part of the vases present in "context 168" can be attributed.

Marek Wecowski, The "Cup of Nestor" in Context. The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Culture

The goal of this paper is to show that the Pithecusan "Cup of Nestor", as well as similar LG vessels adorned with convivial inscriptions and spanning the Mediterranean from Rhodes to Ischia, become our first witnesses to the rise of the Greek aristocratic culture. One of its main unifying mechanisms, or mobile hubs of this overarching network, were aristocratic symposia, or better, the cultural skills and competencies on which this social practice was based, featuring the alphabetic competences of their participants. This culture of the LG Greek "travelling elites" can be described as a main integrative force of early Greek civilisation – both in its social and its geographical dimension, thus matching and counterbalancing the fundamental (geographic and political) fragmentation of the Hellenic world.

Cumae and Parthenope

Alfonso Mele, Kyme, Apollo and the Sybil

Starting from recent archaeological investigations, which have led to a reassessment of the attribution of the upper temple of the acropolis, this article discusses the cult of Apollo Archegetes at Cumae, and his role in the foundation of the colony. The tradition of the cult of Aeolian Apollo in the Chalcidian colonies is examined, and the characteristics of the god worshipped with the epiclesis of Smintheus in different parts of the Greek world are discussed. As the latest research shows, the god is also present in Cumae with this connotation; the presence of the Sibyl is linked to his domain, which also includes the mantic sphere. This paper traces the various traditions on the Sibyls in Greece, in the Aegean area and in the West, focusing on the Cumaean Sibyl, documented in the literary tradition since the Archaic age. The discovery on the acropolis temple of two bronze figurines, the first of which represents a lyre player identified with the Sibyl, and the second with a warrior, gives us the opportunity to reconsider the tradition of Apollo and his connections with the other cults of the early Cumaean pantheon.

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The intent of the *Euboica II* conference, *Pithekoussai e l'Eubea tra Oriente e Occidente*, held in Lacco Ameno (Ischia, Naples) from 14 to 17 May 2018, was to discuss the themes of colonization, how colonial realities became rooted in different areas of the Mediterranean, the specific traits of Euboean colonization, and forms of contact and relationship between the Greek element and local communities. These Proceedings are divided in two volumes, arranged geographically. They feature a dialogue between historians and archaeologists, with an emphasis on the new important contributions made over the last twenty years by field archaeology in Euboea and in colonial and Mediterranean contexts.

