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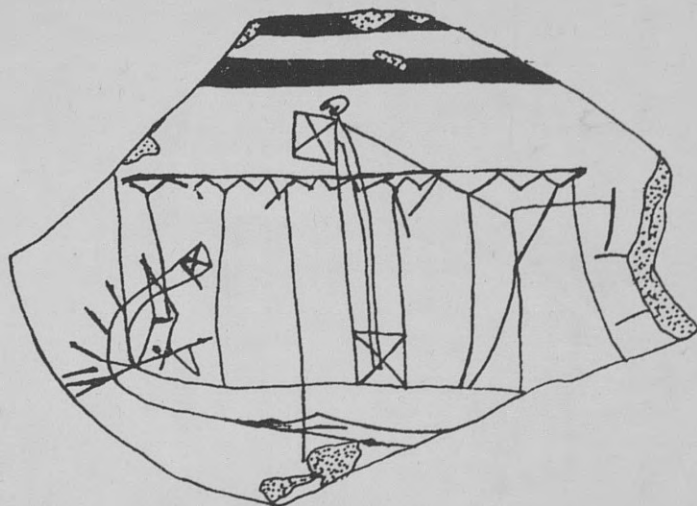
ANNALI DI ARCHEOLOGIA E STORIA ANTICA

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 - DANI 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 Pithekoussai, 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 Pithekoussai 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

INDICE

I. MALKIN, Inside and outside: colonisation and the formation of the mother city	p. 1
E. GRECO, Pithekoussai: <i>empòrion</i> o <i>apoikía</i> ?	» 11
B. D'AGOSTINO, Pithecusa - Una <i>apoikía</i> di tipo particolare	» 19
C. AMPOLO, Tra <i>empòria</i> ed <i>emporía</i> : note sul commercio greco in età arcaica e classica	» 29
S. DE CARO, Appunti per la topografia della <i>chora</i> di Pithekoussai nella prima età coloniale	» 37
O. MURRAY, Nestor's cup and the origin of the Greek <i>symposion</i>	» 47
A.C. CASSIO, Κεῖνος, καλλιστέφανος, e la circolazione dell'epica in area euboica	» 55
D. RIDGWAY, Daidalos and Pithekoussai	» 69
J.N. COLDSTREAM, Pithekoussai, Cyprus and the Cesnola Painter	» 77
A.M. SNODGRASS, The Euboeans in Macedonia: a new precedent for westward expansion	» 87
J. BOARDMAN, Orientalia and Orientals on Ischia	» 95
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.	» 101
M. TORELLI, L'immaginario greco dell'oltremare. La lekythos epinima del Pittore della Megera, Pausania I, 23, 5-6 e Pithecusa	» 117
M. GRAS, Pithécusses. De l'étymologie à l'histoire	» 127
M. BATS, Les silences d'Hérodote ou Marseille, Alalia et les Phocéens en occident jusqu'à la fondation de Vélia	» 133
K. NEEFT, In search of wealth and status in the Valle di San Montano	» 149
A. ITALIANO, Evoluzione geomorfologica dell'isola d'Ischia e archeologia	» 165
C. GIALANELLA, Pithecusa: gli insediamenti di Punta Chiarito. Relazione preliminare	» 169
S. COUBRAY, Étude paléobotanique des macrorestes végétaux provenant de Ischia	» 205
Riassunti degli articoli	» 213

NESTOR'S CUP AND THE ORIGINS OF THE GREEK SYMPOSION

OSWYN MURRAY

For Giorgio Buchner, φιλόφιλος

Νεστορος : ε[]ι : ευποτ[ον] : ποτεριον
 hos δ αν τοδε πιεσι : ποτερι[] : αυτικα κενον
 ημερος ηαιρεσει : καλλιστε[φα]γο : Αφροδιτες

In April 1988 Giorgio Buchner welcomed me to his island home, and with his customary courtesy showed me the site of Pitheculasae. It is difficult to express the emotion that I felt, as in the deserted museum he placed in my hands what had become for me the most precious of all early testimonies to Greek culture, Nestor's cup. Beyond the technical interest of fabric and inscription, I remember especially the physical sensation: no photograph had prepared me for the lightness and delicacy of the cup, the thinness of its walls and the quality of evenness in its throwing. Equally no drawing or description had revealed the skill and regularity of the incised verses. I had expected something coarser, more casual and more primitive in the earliest western inscribed clay vessel, not such a self-confident marriage of elegance and virtuosity. From that encounter this article has taken its strength; and it is appropriate to offer it to a man whose modesty and generosity have made him a friend of all, in the words of another inscribed vase truly φιλόφιλος¹.

Since its publication in 1955, Nestor's cup has been discussed many times; and its importance for the history of writing and for Homeric studies has been generally recognised². My purpose here is not to resume these previous discussions, but to consider an aspect which has so far received little attention – the significance of the cup and its inscription in relation to the development of Greek drinking customs. I wish in short to evaluate

Nestor's cup for what it is, an inscribed drinking vessel, rather than for what it can tell us about other questions. Let us start by defining the problem.

The fragments of the so-called "Cup of Nestor", a Rhodian kotyle, were discovered in the necropolis of San Montano on Ischia in the archaeological context of a cremation burial, which offers a secure archaeological date in the period of Late Geometric II, around 725-20 B.C.; the date is established both in relation to other burials in the same complex and in respect of the other ceramic finds in this burial; the cup itself belongs to a group conventionally dated to the second half of the eighth century. The cremation was an unusual one, containing fragments of 26 vases of both local and imported pottery, including Early Proto-Corinthian aryballoi, four krateres, three oinochoai, and aryballoi decorated in the "Kreis- und Wellenband" style connected with Phoenician activity at Ialysos on Rhodes. Such a collection of vessels for drinking would already be remarkable for the furnishing of an adult burial; but in fact this is a burial of a male child between twelve and fourteen years old. In this period most children are inhumed, not cremated, usually without any grave goods: this child has in fact been granted the rare privilege of an adult burial.

Although we cannot therefore connect the objects found with the actual life-style of the deceased, we can still surely say that the burial is that of a male child whose grave goods relate to the life-style which he would have been expected to enjoy if he had reached maturity: they symbolise the expectations and the grief of the parents in relation to their own social customs. This of course means that the

¹ The earliest version of this article was given to a seminar of Carmine Ampolo at "La Sapienza" University Rome in 1985; I am especially grateful for his comments there, and those of L.E. Rossi and Pauline Schmitt Pantel. The ideas have since been discussed among friends in Oxford, and the resulting article has long been signalled as "forthcoming"; I am grateful to the editors

for providing such a fitting occasion for its completion. For the other vase (1st century A.D.) see *BSR* 59, 1991, pp. 177-95.

² For full discussion of the archaeological context see now G. Buchner-D. Ridgway, *Pithekoussai 1*, Roma 1993, pp. 212-23; with complete bibliography by O. Vox pp. 751-9; more briefly Ridgway 1992, pp. 55-7.

objects ritually burned and broken with the body are not so much objects of his daily use, as objects with a symbolic cultural value for the parents' generation, and therefore all the more significant. It is not indeed inconceivable that some of them may be treasured objects, as it were "intended heirlooms". Such uncertainties would allow us to put back the date of any of them to a still earlier period; we should therefore be willing to consider any date in the third quarter of the eighth century for the fabrication, inscribing and use of Nestor's cup, and for the customs that it represents.

The life-style presupposed by this burial is clearly related to the consumption of wine as an indication of social status; and it is the purpose of this article to argue that Nestor's cup should be connected with the transition to a new form of conviviality, replacing the traditional warrior feasting of heroic poetry and its reflection in late Dark Age social customs. This new custom, though it shares much in common with older forms of commensality, is distinguished by two new practices: the habit of reclining rather than sitting at the feast; and the separation of the activities of feasting and drinking between the *deipnon* and the *symposion*. The *symposion* developed as a highly ritualised occasion for the consumption of alcohol, and as a focus for luxury, and for poetic and artistic creativity devoted to the pleasures of the drinking group³.

It is generally assumed that the *symposion* arrived in Greece towards the end of the seventh century; that at least is the opinion expressed by J.-M. Dentzer and Mario Torelli⁴. The date is established by the earliest representations of a reclining banquet scene in Greek art, the series of Corinthian krateres of which the most famous is that depicting the banquet of Herakles and "Eurytios" in the Louvre of ca. 610 B.C. These may well reflect the influence of the famous chest of Kypselos dedicated at Olympia, which is described by Pausanias, and contained scenes of the reclining banquet type of Dionysos and "Odysseus and Circe" (Paus. V. 19. 6-7); the chest (assuming it is correctly connected with the Corinthian tyrants) may of course as easily belong to the reign of Periandros as that of Kypselos himself. About the same

³ For brief discussions of this development see O. Murray, 'The symposium as social organisation', in *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B.C.: Tradition and Innovation*, R. Hägg (ed.), Stockholm 1983, pp. 195-9, and 'L'uomo greco e le forme della socialità', in *L'uomo greco*, J.P. Vernant (ed.), Roma/Bari 1991, pp. 218-38; for problems of definition and transition see Schmitt Pantel 1992, pp. 42-8.

period Alcman provides the earliest literary statement of the arrangements and the typical food for a reclining *symposion*:

seven couches and as many tables crowned with poppy cakes and linseed and sesame and among the cups ... honey cakes.

(Frag. 19 Lobel-Page=11 Calame)

From 600 B.C. onwards in both poetry and vase painting the sympotic scene in its various forms is common.

Similarly, as Dentzer has shown, the change from seated banquet scene to "banquet couché" can be closely dated in Assyrian royal art by the famous Assurbanipal relief to the reign of that king (669-26 B.C.)⁵. The reclining banquet itself seems first attested in the Samarian area by a well known passage in the prophet Amos:

*You who thrust the evil day aside
and make haste to establish violence.
You who loll on beds inlaid with ivory
and sprawl over your couches,
feasting on lambs from the flock
and fatted calves,
you who pluck the strings of the lute
and invent musical instruments like David,
you who drink wine by the bowlful
and lard yourselves with the richest of oils,
but are not grieved at the ruin of Joseph—
now, therefore,
you shall head the column of exiles;
that will be the end of sprawling and revelry.*

(Amos 6. 3-7; New English Bible trans.)

On the basis of this evidence it has seemed a reasonable supposition that the practice of reclining at table originated in the Phoenician area, and spread in the course of the second half of the seventh century eastwards into Mesopotamia and westwards into Greece.

On this showing, the cup of Nestor is more than a century earlier than our first accepted evidence for the Greek *symposion*; and we must ask the question, how does it relate to the development in drinking practices which we assume to have taken place between the Homeric world and

⁴ J.-M. Dentzer, *Le motif du banquet couché dans le proche orient et le monde grec du VII^e au IV^e siècle avant J.-C.*, Roma 1982, pp. 429-30; Torelli 1983, pp. 53-4.

⁵ On this see esp. the articles of P. Albenda, 'Landscape Bas-reliefs in the bit-kilani of Ashurbanipal', in *BASOR* 224, 1977, pp. 49-72; 225, 1978, pp. 29-48; R.D. Barnett, 'Assurbanipal's Feast', in *Eretz-Israel* 18, 1985, pp. 1-6.

that of the late seventh century? How does it confirm or alter our picture?

It is of course a weakness of the above arguments for dating the coming of sympotic customs to Greece that they concentrate on a limited range of visual and spatial aspects: that is, they equate the arrival of the *symposion* with the practice of reclining and its consequences, as revealed in its earliest artistic representations and in the evidence for the physical organisation of the drinking session. Such artistic evidence notoriously establishes merely a *terminus ante quem*; for the arrival of the custom of reclining may well be earlier than its earliest reflections in art and literature. Moreover the argument assumes a clear distinction between previous drinking customs and the Orientalising *symposion*. Without wishing to deny the importance of reclining as an essential characteristic of the *symposion*, I would like to relate it to a more general aspect of Greek commensality, and thereby to raise questions both of continuity and of development from the Homeric banquet.

The *symposion* is essentially a place of pleasure, to which luxury is especially appropriate. Modern studies have concentrated on words used by later writers to describe this aspect of archaic culture — *habrosyne* and *tryphe*⁶; I would prefer to emphasise that distinctive contemporary descriptive term for the *symposion* — *euprosyne* — which is of course already present in Homer⁷. This emphasis on luxury and pleasure is perhaps reflected in the habit of reclining rather than sitting; but it also refers to the general ambience, the furnishing of the room, the provision of cushions, and the creation of a special class of objects for the preparation and the drinking of wine, both in terms of shapes suitable to specific sympotic functions and in terms of decoration containing sympotic reference. In the field of poetry it is reflected in the elaboration of generic forms to suit the various themes which can be related to various types of

symposion. Finally in the field of sexuality we see a development outside the normal rules of society and the sphere of family and private property in two directions: first towards the idealisation of a type of homosexual attachment directed as much to education and initiation of the young into the adult male group as to sexuality itself; and secondly towards the establishment of the pleasure principle as such, the simplification and normalisation of sexual acts with youths and young women who stand outside society, in that they do not belong to the community, being foreign or slave.

Behind these developments lies a sense of the sympotic group as a society apart, separate from the communal life of the *polis*, in a situation requiring definition and demanding the making of its own rules. This gives rise to a form of self-consciousness, exemplified both in the desire for sympotic scenes on objects used in the *symposion*, and in the literary insistence on normative and metasymphotic discourse, talking about the *symposion* in the *symposion*. So the *symposion* becomes a place of self-definition and for the making of rules of behaviour: in L.E. Rossi's phrase, it becomes a "spettacolo a se stesso"⁸.

If we consider Nestor's cup in this context of the development of a sympotic style of entertainment, it is immediately obvious that it represents a highly sophisticated level. The kotyle itself was a simple but elegant drinking vessel of little value and unexceptional workmanship; its significance derives from the three lines engraved on it. This is no ordinary graffito, but a carefully planned and written formal inscription, composed in three separate retrograde lines corresponding to the "verses", and with words and phrases individually separated. In my opinion the writer was already practised at writing poetic literary texts, and can even exhibit the later practice of interlinear correction⁹.

The content of the inscription is equally sophisticated. P.A. Hansen has shown how it consists of

⁶ See G. Nenci, 'Tryphe e colonizzazione', in *Modes de contact et processus de transformation dans les sociétés anciennes* (Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome 67), Rome 1983, pp. 1019-31; M. Lombardo, 'Habrosyne e habra nel mondo greco arcaico', *ibidem*, pp. 1077-1103.

⁷ O. Murray 'The Greek Symposium in History', in *Tria Corda: Scritti in onore di Arnaldo Momigliano*, E. Gabba (ed.), Como 1983, pp. 257-72 at p. 262; cf. P. Roussel, in *BCH* 51, 1927, pp. 134-7.

⁸ L.E. Rossi, 'Il simposio greco arcaico e classico come spettacolo a se stesso', in *Spettacoli conviviali*, pp. 41-50; cf. O. Murray, 'Les règles du symposion ou comment problématiser le plaisir', in *La sociabilité à table*, M. Aurel-O. Demoulin-F. Thelamon (eds.), Rouen 1992, pp. 65-8.

⁹ The *v* of *av* was omitted, and is written in the same hand under the next letter; there are two other corrections in the text, *ποτέριον* for *ποτοριον*, and the later addition of the last letter in *hoc*. Compare the judgment of Russo in *Pithekoussai* 1, p. 745: «Tutte le caratteristiche esteriori danno al graffito un singolarissimo aspetto calligrafico e regolare, che si potrebbe paragonare solo a quello delle iscrizioni su pietra con intenti monumentali». It is worth noting that this is not the only vase in the group to show contact with literacy; a krater is decorated with the word *ΘΕΟ* (*ibidem* p. 216); for a close contemporary parallel from Eretria, see A.W. Johnston-A. Andriomenou, 'A Geometric Graffito from Eretria', in *BSA* 84, 1989, pp. 217-20.

two parts, each of which belongs to a known type of early graffito¹⁰. The first line purports to be a title of ownership of the type found on various objects, but especially on drinking vessels. For example:

Qopáqo ημὶ γούλιζ τι (Rhodes,? eighth century)

Θαρίο εἰμι ποτέριον (Athens agora, ca. 650 B.C.)

Δολίωνός ἐμι γούλιζνη (Smyrna, end of seventh century)

As Hansen argues, the sense of the missing word is therefore certain, whether it be ε[ι]μί or ἐ[μ]ί, or some other equivalent¹¹. Equally the last two lines are modelled on a related formula, the curse on whoever steals the object in question. As was already noted by C.F. Russo in the first publication, there is in fact a clear parallel for the combination of these two motifs in an almost contemporary graffito from the same area, the famous lekythos from Cyne of about 675-50 B.C.: Ταταίεζ ἐμὶ λέκυθος· ἡδὲ δ' ἄν με κλέψῃσι θυφλὸς ἔσται. Two characteristics however distinguish Nestor's cup from these other examples: its use of metre and its playful wit.

We may leave aside the question of whether the first line is in fact intended to be metrical¹², for it is certainly intended to be poetic: that is demonstrated by the addition of the adjective εὐποτον to the standard formula Νέστορός εἰμι ποτήριον: εὐποτον is a coining on the basis of the Homeric ἡδυπότοιο. This poetic reminiscence surely imposes the conclusion that the Nestor of the text is indeed the Nestor of heroic epic, not some unknown but possibly real Nestor who might have owned the cup: if the owner of the cup were actually called Nestor he would still in this text be alluding to his famous literary homonym. The wit of course lies in the *aprosdoketon*: the statement means the opposite of what it says. This is not Nestor's cup; for, as everyone knew, Nestor's cup was no delicate thin-walled earthenware bowl, but an immensely vulgar metal object encrusted with gold studs like a *skeptron*, and with two gold doves on its brim, as well as being so large and heavy that another man could scarcely lift it from the table (*Iliad* I 632-7). The ownership inscription seeks then to exploit the contrast between the poetic cup of Nestor and this

more modest but real object. The point of the comment was at least taken by those scholars who, missing the joke, wished to make explicit the contrast by inserting an implied negative in the lacuna.

What sort of cup this really is, is revealed in a second *aprosdoketon*, by the two elegant hexameter lines which follow: whoever drinks from this cup will be struck, not with blindness, but with the torments of sexual desire. As Markovich noted, the language of these verses, like so much of early Greek verse, is developed from Homeric reminiscence: ἥμερος αἰρήσει adapts the line ending in Homer, ἥμερος αἰρεῖ: in Homeric verse it is Demeter who is καλλιστέφανος, while Aphrodite is εὐστεφάνου¹³. It is naturally impossible to imagine the heroic Nestor drinking from a cup that will have such aphrodisiac effects; his age and heroic status exclude this. The inscription is an elaborate joke, which uses accepted formulae to establish an unexpected antithesis.

The opposition which is here created is that between the heroic and the modern styles of drinking. The inscription exhibits already that normative tendency and that self-consciousness which is so common later in sympotic verse, both serious and playful. The contrast between the heroic world of epic and the poet's present theme is offered by Stesichorus fr. 210 Lobel-Page and Ibycus fr. 282; it relates to another distinction between the life of the warrior and the poet at leisure which is already present in Archilochus fr. 1 and 2 West; a sympotic context is explicit in Theognis 757-64. It is also explicit in Xenophanes fr. B1 West (=fr. 1 Gentili-Prato), which recommends the praise of good men rather than «the battles of Titans, Giants and Centaurs, the inventions of former poets, and bloody strife»; here too Homeric ideals are regarded as unsuitable for the *symposion*. But in another respect it is Anacreon who offers the closest parallel to our poet in his elegiac lines:

I do not like the man who, drinking wine by the full krater, talks of strife and bloody war, but the man who remembers delightful *euphrosyne*, mingling the bright gifts of the Muses and of Aphrodite.
(fr. eleg. 2 West=56 Gentili-Prato)

The antithesis offered by Nestor's cup is not of course identical with those found later; but it be-

¹⁰ Hansen 1976, pp. 25-44: my analysis here follows and reinforces this fundamental contribution.

¹¹ Hansen 1976, pp. 29-32; so too E. Risch, with ample parallels for "speaking inscriptions", in *ZPE* 70, 1987, pp. 1-9.

¹² An iambic trimeter according to Russo, in *Pithekoussai* 1, p. 746; a sensible discussion in Hansen 1976, p. 35-40.

¹³ M. Marcovich, 'On the Earliest Greek Verse Inscriptions', in *ParPass* 24, 1969, pp. 219-23; cf. E. Risch, in *ZPE* 70, 1987, pp. 7-9.

longs to the same type, and shows the same interest in normative or metasymptotic discourse: it shows in fact a sympotic spirit. Naturally I would like to suggest that the contrast offered is not merely literary; the distinction between a heroic Nestorian drinking style and a modern Aphrodisiac one surely reflects a contemporary development in drinking customs. But this possibility should not obscure the fact that the context of such a distinction is already sympotic.

The date at which Aphrodite arrived in the *symposion* is a sympotic problem not discussed by Plutarch or Athenaeus. The goddess is however already present in the world of Homeric poetic performance: the Phaeacian bard Demodocus sings three times; the first and the third occasions are performances of epic themes at the banquet. But the second is a *Tanzlied*, a song accompanied by dance. The theme is the love of Ares and Aphrodite (*Odyssey* VIII. 266-366): what movements are we supposed to imagine for the dancers during the performance, and what is the metre of the song – for we surely cannot suppose that it is the same epic hexameter as the description of the scene? The occasion might seem to foreshadow the importance of love as a theme for song and dance in the *symposion*: at the end of Xenophon's *Symposium*, the dancers enact the love of Dionysus and Ariadne so vividly that all disperse, «those unmarried vowing to wed, and those who were married mounting their horses and riding off to enjoy their wives» (IX. 7). Yet Demodocus' performance is carefully distinguished as not taking place in the banquet, but outside before a popular audience (lines 254-65)¹⁴. Aphrodite is singularly absent from even the least decorous Homeric banquet: the offences of the maids in Odysseus' palace (*Odyssey* XXII. 424-73) were surely not committed in the *megaron*. I have a suspicion that, notwithstanding the evidence of a few erotic vases, the Roman moralists from Cato onwards were right¹⁵: the seated banquet with food is much less well adapted to the pleasures of love than the reclining *symposion*. When Nestor's cup characterises the drinking party for the first time as the preserve of Aphrodite, this implies the arrival of the reclining couch and the presence of instruments adapted to

desire, that is *hetairai* and slaves. Our earliest known representations of reclining sympotic figures, on Corinthian krateres, show men and women reclining together amorously in a group context; and the chest of Kypselos includes a scene of "a woman sleeping with a man upon a couch", interpreted by Pausanias as Odysseus and Circe¹⁶.

The poem inscribed on Nestor's cup is sympotic in yet another sense. It is itself an example of a typical sympotic genre: the *skolion* and epigram are forms of composition especially adapted to the *symposion*, where each in turn must demonstrate his ability in oral composition. Such poems are normally composed in couplets like this one, and often make use of antithesis and the unexpected in a spirit of light-hearted rivalry¹⁷. This poem is the earliest surviving *carmen convivale*.

I would suggest therefore that this composition offers not merely the earliest reference to Homeric epic and perhaps the earliest surviving example of literary written Greek, but also the earliest evidence for a distinctively sympotic life-style. It reveals that poetry is already at home in the drinking group, poetry, not performed by professionals as in Homer, but created by the members of the group. The group is already self-conscious and aware of different styles of drinking; and the pleasures of Aphrodite are already one of the main constituents of *euphrosyne*. There is no doubt that, if Nestor's cup had not been presented with a firm archaeological date, everyone would have agreed with Rhys Carpenter, and placed it on grounds both of writing technique and of content in the sixth century, at the height of the production of sympotic poetry¹⁸.

Does the text offer any clue to the development of a sympotic life-style, any sign that it stands near the beginnings of the process? I have already suggested that the contrast between Nestorian and Aphrodisiac styles of drinking could indicate the advent of a new phenomenon. There are perhaps two other signs that the *symposion* has only recently arrived. The first is metrical: if we could be sure that we were being offered a combination of iambs (or another metre) and hexameters, that would indeed

¹⁴ On this famous episode see W. Burkert, 'Das Lied von Ares und Aphrodite', in *RhM* 103, 1960, pp. 130-44; and esp. M. Wegner, *Musik und Tanz* (Archaeologica Homerica 3 U), 1968, p. 34.

¹⁵ cf. *JRS* 75, 1985, p. 48.

¹⁶ Torelli 1983, p. 53.

¹⁷ R. Reitzenstein, *Epigramm und Skolion*, Giessen 1893; G.

Giangrande, 'Sympotic Literature and Epigram', in *L'Epigramme grecque* (Entretiens Hardt 14), Geneva 1968, pp. 91-177; M. Vetta, 'Identificazione di un caso di catena simposiale nel *Corpus teognideo*', in *Lirica greca da Archiloco a Elitis: Studi in onore di F.M. Pontani*, Padua 1984, pp. 113-26.

¹⁸ R. Carpenter, in *AJP* 84, 1963, pp. 83-5, refuted by H. Metzger, in *REA* 67, 1965, pp. 301-5.

be a strange and primitive mixture; for the later examples adduced are not really parallel¹⁹. A safer indication of early date is in the use of hexameters, where a later poet would surely have employed the elegiac couplet; that typically sympotic metre, it may be, is not yet developed, and we are still in the kingdom of the hexameter. The second possible sign of an early stage in the process may be found in the use of the formulae of ownership mark and curse to make a sympotic style of poetic discourse at this date.

If the *symposion* existed already in the eighth century, we should expect to find traces of it in the surviving poetry of the seventh century; and indeed such claims have been made in the past by literary scholars, presumably postulating a continuity of poetic occasion between the Homeric world and that of the sixth century. I would suggest that the problem can be posed more precisely in terms of the gradual development of sympotic literary genres within an established institutional framework, often as a form of reaction against Homeric epic²⁰. But this raises questions about the development of literature in the seventh century too large to discuss here; instead I will merely offer three examples where it seems to me that prevailing interpretations play down the indications of a sympotic life-style, presumably on the assumption that the phenomenon did not yet exist.

Terpander of Lesbos is little more than a name in the history of music, in particular as the discoverer (or *protos heurètes*) of the *barbitos*. The *barbitos* was later especially associated with the *symposion* as the instrument of Dionysos, and of course of Anacreon. It is however usually assumed that Terpander was not a sympotic musician. Yet in one of his sympotic *skolia*, Pindar talks of the *barbitos* «which once Terpander the Lesbian was the first to invent when he heard at Lydian feasts the plucked strings of the lofty *pektis* sounding in answer to it» (fr. 125).

The context in Pindar and the connection with Lydian banquets suggests that the fifth century at least believed in a connection between *barbitos* and feasting extending as far back as the early sev-

enth century. It does not indeed seem unreasonable that musical forms specific to the *symposion* should emerge as early as this²¹.

In two other cases it may seem that assumptions about the late arrival of the reclining *symposion* have unduly influenced the interpretation of particular poetic passages. Our earliest hortatory military elegy, Callinus fr. 1, begins dramatically:

μέχρις τέο κατάκεισθε; κότ' ἄλκιμον ἔξετε θυμόν,
ὦ νέοι;

G. Tedeschi has revived the interpretation of R. Reitzenstein that this statement should be taken literally rather than metaphorically, to refer to young warriors reclining at the *symposion*²²; he adduces good evidence for a later almost technical use of *κατάκειμαι* in the sympotic context. I would add that in Homer *κατάκειμαι* is not a word that is used metaphorically; it is used of animals lying slaughtered (*Od.* X. 532), of Achilles lying sleepless (*Il.* XXIV. 10) and of objects lying in store (*Il.* XXIV. 527). This last idea of storage gives rise to the one metaphorical use, of griefs lying stored in the heart (*Il.* XXIV. 523). The idea of lying in fear is present in the image of the hare hiding from the eagle (*Il.* XVII. 677); but Callinus' young men are not afraid, only idle. The verb is especially used in Homer of sleeping, and as such is actually contrasted with the feast, as signifying its end:

νῦν μὲν δαισάμενοι κατακείμετε οἴκαδ' ἰόντες
(*Od.* VII. 188; cf. XVIII. 408, 419)

Since Callinus' young men are enjoying pleasant relaxation, none of the above meanings, or any obvious metaphorical extension of them, is apposite. It might therefore seem reasonable to interpret the word in its literal sense of lying down, that is with the standard Homeric meaning here transferred to the new context of the *symposion*. When therefore Callinus continues:

ἐν εἰρήνῃ δὲ δοκεῖτε
ἦσθαι,

I am inclined to take *this* statement as traditional rather than as a literal reference to sitting, and

pp. 112-23. The evidence on Terpander is collected in D.A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric 2* (Loeb: Harvard 1988), pp. 294-319.

²² G. Tedeschi, 'L'elegia parenetica-guerriera e il simposio: a proposito del fr. 1 West di Callino', in *Riv.stud.class.* 26, 1978, pp. 203-9.

to see it as a Homeric usage: the form ἦσθαι is especially common in Homer as the first word in the line²³; and for the structure of thought we might compare:

οὐδέ τοι αὐτὸς
ἦσθαι ἐνὶ κλισίῃσι λιλαίομαι, ἀλλὰ μάχεσθαι.
(*Il.* XIII. 253)

The poetry of Archilochus offers many points of contact with later sympotic poetry which might suggest performance in the *symposion*; but fr. 2 West in particular seems to have caused problems in attempts to interpret it outside such an occasion:

ἐν δορὶ μὲν μοι μᾶζα μεμαγμένη, ἐν δορὶ δ' οἶνος
Ἰσμαρικός: πίνω δ' ἐν δορὶ κεκλιμένος.

This elegiac couplet is surely an elegant sympotic distich, relying on the sympotic image throughout, and playing with the contrast between war and the *symposion*. The three elements in the comparison are all sympotic. *Μᾶζα μεμαγμένη* as a normal diet is not suggestive of high living, but in the context of the light cakes of the *symposion* it is an elegant food in keeping with Ismaric wine, the traditional sign of luxury; finally Archilochus drinks reclining. As Gentili has shown, the interpretation «leaning on my spear» makes no sense: a man does not lean to drink, he either sits or lies down; and the preposition ἐν is inappropriate²⁴.

However, once the existence of the couch or *kline* in the age of Archilochus is accepted, there seems no difficulty in taking the final element as a witty *aprosdoketon*, to mean «I drink reclining on my – spear»; the three sympotic elements in the picture combine to give the meaning, «my spear is my (right to the) *symposion*». I would then interpret the couplet as a complete sympotic epigram, sung in the *symposion* in praise of the military life which is of course also the sympotic life: Archilochus' poem is a more elegant expression of the claim made in the *skolion* of Hybrias the Cretan²⁵.

²³ *Il.* I. 134, 416; XIII. 280; *Od.* X. 507, 536; XIX. 120; XXIII. 365.

²⁴ B. Gentili, 'Interpretazione di Archiloco fr. 2 D = 7 L.-B.', *Riv. fil. class.* 93, 1965, pp. 129-34; cf. also *QUCC* 21, 1976, pp. 17-21.

²⁵ G. Tedeschi, 'Il canto di Hybrias Cretese: un esempio di poesia conviviale' in *OINHPA TEYXH. Studi Triestini di Poesia conviviale*, K. Fabian-E. Pellizer-G. Tedeschi (eds.), Trieste 1991, pp. 119-26; 'Il canto di Hybrias (carm. conv. 26/909 P.)'. Edizione critica e commento', *ibidem*, pp. 173-85.

²⁶ See esp. the contributions of G. Bertolini, M. Cataldi Dini

These examples are enough to show that the earliest explicit reference to identifiable sympotic activity, in the poetry of Alcman, is by no means the earliest implicit reference. The developed sympotic genres of the sixth century did not appear overnight as the result of some sudden social transformation in the middle of the Archaic period: they were preceded by more than a century of less self-reflexive convivial poetry, which was formed throughout the seventh century in competition and in continuity with the language and themes of the Homeric age.

No less important are the historical consequences of accepting that the *symposion* arrived in the Greek world in the earliest stages of the Orientalising period, along with so much else, from eastern myths to the alphabet and the domestic chicken. Here I limit myself to a few observations relevant to current debates. In recent years, and especially in relation to Italy, the cultivation of the vine, and the drinking customs connected with it, have come to be used as evidence for the increasing social differentiation of an aristocracy, as part of a process leading to the formation of the city-state; and the tomb evidence from Etruria and Latium has been held to reflect the impact of Greek (or Phoenician) convivial customs, deriving perhaps from Pithecusae, on the native Italian populations²⁶. No-one (so far as I know) has commented on the potential gap in this analysis between an effect felt in Italy in the late eighth and early seventh centuries, and a cause held not to have existed in Greece until a century later. An earlier date for the Greek *symposion* removes this pseudo-problem, and will enable us to give proper weight to convivial customs in the formation of the state; it should also lead us to reconsider the evidence for this same process in Greece, in the light of the more explicit evidence available from the Italian peninsula²⁷.

In economic history, the importance of wine in the earliest stages of Mediterranean trade needs emphasising; in this period, Euboean trade was a

and C. Ampolo to the conference on 'La formazione della città nel Lazio. Periodo IV A', in *DialAr* 2, 1980, pp. 136-50; C. Ampolo, 'Su alcuni mutamenti sociali nel Lazio tra l'VIII e il V secolo', in *DialAr* 4-5, 1970-1, pp. 37-68; S. Stopponi, *Casa e palazzi d'Etruria*, Milano 1985; M. Torelli, 'Banchetto e simposio nell'Italia arcaica: qualche nota', in *Homo Edens*, O. Longo-P. Scarpi (eds.), Verona 1989, pp. 301-10; A. Rathje, 'The Adoption of the Homeric Banquet in Central Italy in the Orientalizing Period', in *Sympotica*, O. Murray (ed.), Oxford 1990, pp. 279-88.

²⁷ Cf. Schmitt Pantel 1992, Part. I: 'Banquet et société archaïque'.

¹⁹ Hansen 1976, pp. 33-40.

²⁰ See especially for this development M. Vetta, 'Il simposio: la monodia e il giambo', in *Lo Spazio letterario della Grecia antica 1: la produzione e la circolazione del testo. 1 La polis*, Roma 1992, pp. 177-218.

²¹ Cf. B.A. Van Groningen, *Pindare au banquet*, Leiden 1960,

trade in luxuries and in metal, that is a trade directed towards the needs of an aristocracy. One problem in understanding this exchange system has always been that of identifying the goods offered by the Greeks in return for the high-cost items which they received. No doubt their role as slave traders played some part; but we may also accept that in an aristocratic exchange system wine itself, long known to the Greeks and central to their own aristocratic life-style, will have been an important component: the distribution of late Geometric Euboean "pendent semi-circle" sky-phoi or drinking cups in the eastern and western Mediterranean is not a mere indifferent index of Euboean presence: the function of the pottery attests the diffusion of a social custom. We may compare the role of Salmoxis in Herodotus' account of the arrival of sympotic customs among the Getae (Hdt. IV. 94-6), or the famous description from Posidonius of the effects on the Gallic aristocracy of the arrival of wine in Gaul, a literary description fully supported by the archeological evidence for the wine trade in Celtic areas²⁸.

There remains however a problem in relation to the community of Pithecusae. All the signs are that this community was not itself aristocratic, however much it may have served the interests of aristocratic communities: the lack of weapons in the tomb furnishings contrasts strongly with the richness of other finds, to suggest a wealthy but non-military society. Here we should also recall another group of problems connected with the probable presence of Phoenicians on Ischia. Ridgway has already pointed out that the particular group of tombs, in one of the latest of which the cup of Nestor was found, preserves certain features which might suggest that in origin the family was of mixed Phoenician-Greek culture²⁹. However that may be, it is always possible that it was on Pithecusae rather than in the east that the Greeks first came into contact with and adopted the distinctive customs of the *symposion*; and if so, it will have happened in a society dominated by traders rather than aristocrats.

In this respect I am struck by the contemporaneity and similarity of our two earliest evidences concerning the *symposion*, Nestor's cup and the prophecy of Amos. Both see the *symposion* as a place of pleasure, of music and of luxury. The similarity between the poetic call of Hesiod and the prophetic call of Amos has long been noticed; once again we find a correspondence between Hebrew and Greek responses, both under the influence of the Phoenicians. So I conclude with the thought that in the eighteenth century it was common to make comparisons between the lyric poetry of Greece (especially Pindar) and the sacred poetry of the Psalms of David. And why not? Greek elegy and the Psalms are founded on the same fundamental principle of antiphony. I begin to suspect that a study of the convivial customs of the age of David and Solomon, and of that Near Eastern phenomenon known as the *marzeah*, would explain much in the evolution of Greek conviviality from the Homeric feast into the archaic *symposion*³⁰. In the twelfth century A.D., Europe rediscovered the art of lyric poetry from the Arabs through the cultures of Sicily and Spain; perhaps the origins of western lyric are to be found on Ischia two thousand years earlier, where the Greeks first heard the new strains of a Phoenician poetry of love and of pleasure in the context of the first western *symposion*.

Supplementary abbreviations:

- Hansen 1976 = P.A. Hansen, 'Pithecusan Humour. The Interpretation of 'Nestor's Cup' Reconsidered', in *Glotta* 54, 1976, pp. 25-44.
 Ridgway 1992 = D. Ridgway, *The First Western Greeks*, Cambridge 1992.
 Schmitt Pantel 1992 = P. Schmitt Pantel, *La Cité au banquet*, Rome 1992.
Spettacoli conviviali = *Spettacoli conviviali dall'antichità classica alle corti italiane del '400*, 'Atti del 7 Convegno di studio', Viterbo 1983.
 Torelli 1983 = M. Torelli, 'Gli spettacoli conviviali di epoca classica', in *Spettacoli conviviali*, pp. 51-64.

²⁸ Posidonius, in *FGH* 87 F 15+18=fr. 67 Edelstein-Kidd; cf. M. Torelli, 'Il commercio greco in Etruria tra l'VIII ed il VI secolo a.C.', in *Il commercio greco nel Tirreno in età arcaica*, 'Atti del seminario in memoria di Mario Napoli, Salerno 1977' 1981, pp. 67-82; M.A. Rizzo, *Le anfore da trasporto e il commercio etrusco arcaico* 1, Rome 1990; P.S. Wells, *Culture-Contact and Culture-Change*, Cambridge 1980; B. Cunliffe, *Greeks, Romans and Barbarians: Spheres of Interaction*, London 1988, chs. 1-2; M. Dietler, 'Driven by Drink: The Role of Drinking in the Political Economy and the Case of Early Iron Age France', in *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 9, 1990, pp. 352-406.

²⁹ D. Ridgway, 'Tra Oriente e occidente: la Pithecusa degli Eubei' in *Gli Eubei in Occidente*, 'Atti 18 Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1978', Napoli 1984, pp. 65-81; Ridgway 1992, pp. 115-8, quoting a remark of Giorgio Buchner of 1978; and for the absence of signs of a Pithecusan aristocracy see Ridgway's comment p. 50: 'There is nothing particularly aristocratic - or heroic - about Euboean society at Pithekoussai'.

³⁰ See P.J. King, 'The Marzeah: Textual and Archaeological Evidence', in *Eretz-Israel* 20, 1989, pp. 98-106; cf. also above n. 5.

KEINOS, ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ, E LA CIRCOLAZIONE DELL'EPICA IN AREA EUBOICA

ALBIO CESARE CASSIO

1. Il problema dei rapporti tra l'epica greca e i più antichi esametri trasmessi per via epigrafica continua ad essere assai dibattuto; e nel dibattito la Coppa di Nestore (Hansen 1983 n. 454)¹ ha ovviamente un ruolo di primo piano. Un buon numero di studiosi - dei quali A. Heubeck (Heubeck 1979, pp. 109-16) è forse il rappresentante più illustre - presuppone nell'estensore dei versi della Coppa la conoscenza della famosa scena dell'11° libro dell'*Iliade* (618 ss.) in cui Nestore e Macaone si ristorano con la bevanda preparata da Ecamede nel δέπας di Nestore; ma già il primo editore, C.F. Russo, non ha mancato di sottolineare la distanza da Omero da un punto di vista formale, ed altri dopo di lui hanno espresso opinioni simili².

Per superare questi ed altri problemi alcuni studiosi hanno proposto di vedere negli esametri della Coppa il riflesso di un'epica diversa da quella omerica³, idea non accettata da tutti⁴. Su di essa è però ritornata ora S. West. Ella vede nel testo della Coppa un caso di una diffusa pratica magica per cui il mago «includes in the spell what folklorists call a *historiola*, a brief mention of a legend or a myth.... involving an analogous situation which he (or she) hopes to reactivate» (S. West 1994, p. 11) ed avanza l'ipotesi che gli esametri della Coppa derivino da un tipo di poesia epica, «less sophisticated than the *Iliad*», in cui si celebravano le imprese della giovinezza di Nestore a cui attingono da una parte i passi dell'*Iliade* in cui quelle imprese sono ricordate, dall'altra appunto il testo della Coppa. Dopo aver notato che «ποτήριον and καλλιστέφανος are not to be found in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; the convenient-

looking phrases αὐτίκα κείνον and ἡμερος αἰρήσει do not figure in the Homeric stock of formulae», S. West afferma: «a narrative of warfare in the Peloponnese in the generation before the Trojan war would certainly have required a formulaic stock deviating somewhat from the Homeric. It would be absurd to postulate a self-imposed economy restricting deviation to a necessary minimum, and for all we know the unhomeric καλλιστέφανος and ποτήριον come from epics celebrating Nestor's earlier career». Considerando i fatti in questa luce «we are hardly entitled to assume that these lines were composed specially for the Pithekoussan skyphos» (S. West 1994, pp. 14s.).

Una volta accettata questa teoria non è più necessario supporre attorno al 725 a.C. la circolazione - orale e scritta⁵ - dell'*Iliade*, che può anche essere datata più in basso⁶: «it would be absurd to hold that the *Iliad* represented the first attempt to record hexameter poetry in writing» (S. West 1994, p. 15).

Ora, in direzione diametralmente opposta andava l'opinione di un grande indoeuropeista, E. Risch. Egli era convinto che le due più antiche iscrizioni metriche da noi possedute - quella dell'oinochoe del Dipylon (Hansen 1983, n. 432) e quella della Coppa di Nestore - presupponessero nei loro estensori la conoscenza di parti recenti dell'*Iliade* e dell'*Odissea*, la cui datazione sarebbe quindi da porre cronologicamente più in alto di quanto normalmente si ritiene⁷. In particolare, per quanto riguarda la Coppa, Risch 1987, pp. 8 s. pensava che l'estensore di quei versi avesse «im Ohr, ja

¹ Con una datazione erronea rettificata in Hansen 1989, p. 304.

² Russo in Buchner-Russo 1955, p. 233: «lingua poetica e stile dell'epigramma... non mostrano dipendenza da Omero»; v. anche p. es. Durante 1971, p. 142 s.: «non riecheggia Omero il famoso epigramma della 'Coppa di Nestore'... Il nome ποτήριον non è omerico... καλλιστέφανος si ritrova a partire dall'*Inno a Demetra*».

³ Partendo spesso da presupposti assai diversi: v. p. es. Notoopoulos 1960, p. 195 ss. e W. Kullmann, *Die Quellen der Ilias*, Wiesbaden 1960 (Hermes Einzelschr. Heft 14), p. 257 nota 2.

⁴ L'idea di un'epica preomerica è combattuta p. es. da Heubeck 1979, p. 114 e Rüter-Matthiessen 1968, pp. 249-53.

⁵ Burkert 1992, p. 33 e p. 170 nota 5 pensa, con ogni probabilità a ragione, che la *mise en page* del testo iscritto sulla Coppa presupponga la familiarità con vere e proprie edizioni di opere in versi.

⁶ V. la stessa S. West, in CHO 1, pp. 33ss., che sembra favorire, se non capisco male, una datazione al VII sec. a.C.

⁷ Volutamente paradossale la formulazione di Risch 1984, p. 167 nota 3: la corrispondenza di quei testi epigrafici con parti recenti dei poemi omerici costituiscono «ein starkes Indiz, daß entweder diese Inschriften zu früh oder Homer zu spät datiert wird».

Les auteurs ont cherché à rendre compte de la situation économique et sociale de la région de l'Altiplano and de la vallée du Rio Grande. Ils ont étudié les données disponibles sur la production agricole, l'élevage, l'artisanat et le commerce. Ils ont également examiné les sources de financement des activités économiques et les relations avec le monde extérieur. Les auteurs ont conclu que la région de l'Altiplano et de la vallée du Rio Grande était une zone de production et de consommation importante, mais qu'elle était également soumise à l'exploitation et à l'oppression des autorités coloniales. Ils ont souligné l'importance de la région pour l'économie coloniale et pour la formation d'une identité régionale.

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SUMMARY

1. *Mythos, Inside and Outside Colonization and the Mother 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 mother city, or rather, non-integrated social group, could be recognized as kin and shapers in the community only on condition they left it. Platts' term, *stem zone*, 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.

2. *La Canea, Pithékoussa: emporion or 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 Pithékoussa.

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 asks himself instead in Pithékoussa's *emporion* (the existence of which cannot be denied) should not be seen as taking place within the structure of a polis of the early Archaic period whose development was halted by its becoming very soon *cleros* of Canea, and had thus already concluded its experience as an autonomous political center by the beginning of the fifth century B.C.

3. *Il o Anástrofi, Pithékoussa. Un apollon di tipo samotraceo*

The case of Pithékoussa is reconsidered in the light of the new evidence. The settlement founded in the middle of the fifth 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 adjusted to the opportunities offered by a local environment favorable to crafts and trade. The *emporion* motif within of Pithékoussa are the same as those of the post-colonial transformation of its territory of which it represents a most structured stage. In its relationship with

the indigenous world, Pithékoussa is concerned in creating a specific economic niche for itself by working the metal of Etna. Its main activity is 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.

4. *Amegha, Los cerros de Amegha, norte del noroeste argentino, zona de explotación minera*

After a brief overview of the main archaeological and epigraphical sources concerning Greek trade up to the fifth century B.C., and of the studies on emporia and related problems, the author affirms that from the fifth century B.C. on, the payment of various kinds of taxes on sea trade and transported goods not only guaranteed revenues to the controllers of the *emporion*, 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.

5. *La Canea, Appunti per la topografia delle città di Pithékoussa nella prima età coloniale*

Besides the well-known sites in the area of Lakro Anastro, the site settlement of Moni di Viro and the 'metallurgical quarter' of Mezaria, the topography of Pithékoussa between the fifth and the fourth 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. Maria and Porto, where the most noteworthy find is the settlement of Porto Chirico, which is presently being excavated by a team under the direction of G. Guidotti's reports.

These data, together with archaeological ones, the topography of the island, could be evidence of a rapidly settled *cleros*, occupied by farms where the colonial presence of imperial line sprang from a specific economic niche.

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

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

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

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

D. RIDGWAY, *Daidalos and Pithekoussai*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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