

ISTITUTO UNIVERSITARIO ORIENTALE

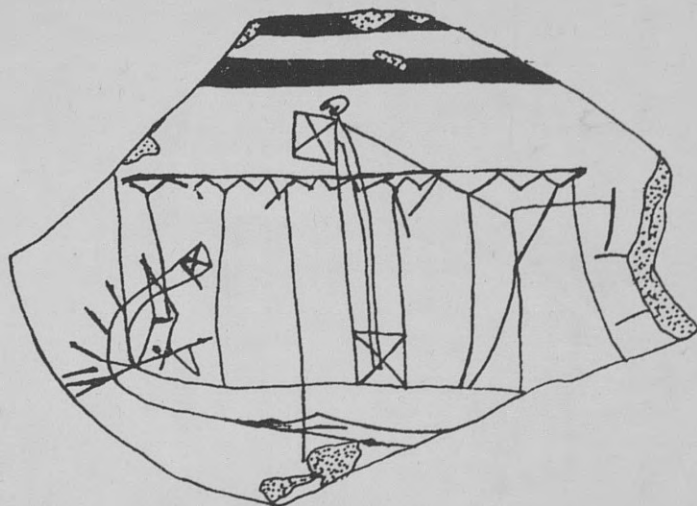
ANNALI DI ARCHEOLOGIA E STORIA ANTICA

DIPARTIMENTO DI STUDI DEL MONDO CLASSICO
E DEL MEDITERRANEO ANTICO

Nuova Serie N. 1

ΑΠΟΙΚΙΑ

SCRITTI IN ONORE DI GIORGIO BUCHNER



1994 Napoli

ISTITUTO UNIVERSITARIO ORIENTALE

ANNALI DI ARCHEOLOGIA E STORIA ANTICA

DIPARTIMENTO DI STUDI DEL MONDO CLASSICO
E DEL MEDITERRANEO ANTICO

Nuova Serie N. 1

ΑΠΟΙΚΙΑ

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

SCRITTI IN ONORE DI GIORGIO BUCHNER

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

1994 Napoli

ANNALE DI ARCHEOLOGIA E STORIA ANTICA

DIPARTIMENTO DI STUDI DEL MONDO CLASSICO
E DEL MEDITERRANEO ANTICO

Nuova Serie N. 1

ANNOIA

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

SCRITTI IN ONORE DI GIORGIO BUCCHIERI

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

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

Comitato di Redazione

Giancarlo Bailo Modesti, Ida Baldassarre, Irene Bragantini, Luciano Camilli,
Anna Maria D'Onofrio, Bruno d'Agostino, Luigi Gallo, Patrizia Gastaldi,
Emanuele Greco, Giulia Sacco

Segretaria di redazione: Ilaria D'Ambrosio

Direttore responsabile: Bruno d'Agostino

I contributi vanno redatti in due copie, in cartelle di 30 righe, ciascuno di 65 battute. Per i testi scritti al computer si richiede l'invio del dischetto, specificando l'ambiente (Macintosh, IBM) e il programma di scrittura adoperato. Dei testi va inoltre redatto un breve riassunto (max 1 cartella).

Documentazione fotografica: le fotografie, in bianco e nero, devono possibilmente derivare da riprese di originali, e non di altre pubblicazioni; non si accettano fotografie a colori e diapositive. Unitamente alle foto deve pervenire una garanzia di autorizzazione alla pubblicazione, firmata dall'autore sotto la propria responsabilità.

Documentazione grafica: la giustezza delle tavole della rivista è max. cm. 17 x 24; pertanto l'impaginato va organizzato su multipli di queste misure, curando che le eventuali indicazioni in lettere e numeri e il tratto del disegno siano tali da poter sostenere la riduzione. Il materiale per le tavole deve essere completo di didascalie.

Le documentazioni fornite dagli autori saranno loro restituite dopo l'uso.

Gli autori riceveranno n. 30 estratti del proprio contributo.

Gli estratti eccedenti tale numero sono a pagamento.

Gli autori dovranno sottoscrivere una dichiarazione di rinuncia ai diritti di autore a favore dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale.

Le abbreviazioni bibliografiche utilizzate sono quelle dell'*American Journal of Archaeology*, integrate da quelle dell'*Année Philologique*.

Degli autori si cita la sola iniziale puntata del nome proprio e il cognome, con la sola iniziale maiuscola; nel caso di più autori per un medesimo testo i loro nomi vanno separati mediante trattini. Nel caso del curatore di un'opera, al cognome seguirà: (a cura di). Tra il cognome dell'autore e il titolo dell'opera va sempre posta una virgola.

I titoli delle riviste, dei libri, degli atti dei convegni, vanno in corsivo (sottolineati nel dattiloscritto).

I titoli di articoli contenuti nelle opere sopra citate vanno indicati tra virgolette singole, come pure la locuzione 'Atti', quella 'catalogo della mostra...' e le voci di lessici, enciclopedie, ecc.; vanno poi seguiti da: in. I titoli di appendici o articoli a più mani sono seguiti da: *apud*.

Nel caso in cui un volume faccia parte di una collana, il titolo di quest'ultima va indicato tra parentesi.

Al titolo del volume segue una virgola e poi l'indicazione del luogo — in lingua originale — e dell'anno di edizione.

Al titolo della rivista seguono il numero dell'annata — sempre in numeri arabi — e l'anno, separati da una virgola; nel caso la rivista abbia più serie, quest'indicazione va posta tra parentesi dopo quella del numero dell'annata.

Eventuali annotazioni sull'edizione o su traduzioni del testo vanno dopo tutta la citazione, tra parentesi tonde.

Se la stessa citazione compare nel testo più di una volta, si utilizza un'abbreviazione costituita dal cognome dell'autore seguito dalla data di edizione dell'opera, salvo che per i testi altrimenti abbreviati, secondo l'uso corrente nella letteratura archeologica (p. es., per il Trendall, LCS, RVAP ecc.).

L'elenco delle abbreviazioni supplementari va dattiloscritto a parte.

Le parole straniere, salvo i nomi dei vasi, vanno in corsivo.

L'uso delle virgolette singole è riservato unicamente alle citazioni bibliografiche; per le citazioni da testi vanno adoperati i caporali; in tutti gli altri casi si utilizzano gli apici.

Abbreviazioni

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

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

PRESENTAZIONE

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

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

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

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

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

DAVID RIDGWAY e BRUNO D'AGOSTINO

INDICE

I. MALKIN, Inside and outside: colonisation and the formation of the mother city	p. 1
E. GRECO, Pithekoussai: <i>empòrion</i> o <i>apoikìa</i> ?	» 11
B. D'AGOSTINO, Pithecusa - Una <i>apoikìa</i> di tipo particolare	» 19
C. AMPOLO, Tra <i>empòria</i> ed <i>emporìa</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

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

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

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

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

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

Supplementary abbreviations:

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

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

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

PITHEKOUSSAI, CYPRUS AND THE CESNOLA PAINTER

J.N. COLDSTREAM

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

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

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

³⁶ Morris 1992, p. 68.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Fig. 1 - New York 74. 51. 965, the Cesnola krater, detail. By courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

dent Greek mercantile enclave⁷. According to a different view, which has much to recommend it, the Euboean traders would have been visitors rather than residents, in which case the figured kraters would have been among the goods of high prestige destined to be traded or, more probably, presented as gifts, to the élite of the Aramean state of Unqi who owned Al Mina and controlled the caravan route inland to sources of metallic and other wealth⁸. Such an interpretation would indeed be consistent with the remarkably wide circulation of fine Attic MG II kraters during the previous generation, found in numerous royal contexts in the Levant and in Cyprus⁹.

Because of its vast size, the Cesnola krater, too, is more likely to have reached its destination as a gift than as an article of casual commerce. For Eu-

boean shipping heading for the Levant coast, Kourion would have been a useful staging post, as well as a convenient port for loading up with copper ore on the return journeys: thus, exchanges of gifts with the local Greek-Cypriot élite would have been appropriate. Although the precise context has been somewhat obscured by L.P. di Cesnola's romantic imagination¹⁰, the "treasury" in which he claims to have found the krater appears to have been located in a recent excavation, and identified as a monumental built tomb used for many generations throughout the Archaic and Classical periods¹¹. The high social standing of its incumbents is evident, not only in the monumental character of its architecture, but also in the other finds which include a Phoenician figured silver bowl of the seventh century bearing the name of Akestor king of

London 1877, pp. 332 ff., pl. 29; O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, Paris 1961, pp. 189 f.

¹¹ D. Christou, *The monumental tomb architecture of Cyprus in the Cypro-Archaic period* (forthcoming), p. 181. I am grateful to Dr. D. Christou, Director of Antiquities in Cyprus, for permitting me to mention his discovery, and for supplying me with this reference in advance of publication.

⁷ See, most recently, J. Boardman, in *OJA* 9, 1990, pp. 169 ff.

⁸ J. Luke, 'A potted explanation of Greek relations with the Levant in the Geometric era', paper presented to the Classical Association Conference, Oxford 1992; *eadem*, 'The krater, *kratos* and the *polis*', in *Greece and Rome*, 1994, p. 25.

⁹ Coldstream 1983, pp. 203 f.

¹⁰ L.P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus: its ancient cities, tombs and temples*,

Paphos¹². The krater did not, however, make its long journey to Kourion merely to be a tomb offering. Not only do the three figured scenes make no reference to death; from the same find came a large figured oinochoe from the same painter's hand¹³ which, together with the krater, must have formed part of a spectacular symposium set, appropriate for use at large banquets¹⁴. For the previous generation, one recalls the "dinner set" of fine Attic MG II vessels — a krater and twenty skyphoi — which was eventually deposited with the earlier burial in the first "royal" tomb at Salamis¹⁵.

If the Cesnola krater was transported to Cyprus as a gift to a princely family of Kourion, how did it come to pass that such a vase could also have served as a "compendium" for Euboean colonial potters in Pithekoussai? If we assume a date of c.

750 B.C. for the creation of the Kourion krater, its painter should have been active within the colony's first generation. It is hard to escape the conclusion that his style and iconography must have been transmitted to the earliest colonial workshops through the importation of one or more major vases from his hand or workshop. We should expect such vases to have been destined for the aristocratic élite which had directed the westward mercantile initiative of the Euboeans, and had established their first colony under the leadership of its *oikistes*.

We must, of course, acknowledge that the local figured LG pieces from Pithekoussai in the tradition of the Cesnola painter have not hitherto occurred in any significant social context. Most of these pieces are from the Scarico Gosetti, the rubbish dump excavated by Dr. Buchner in 1965 as a

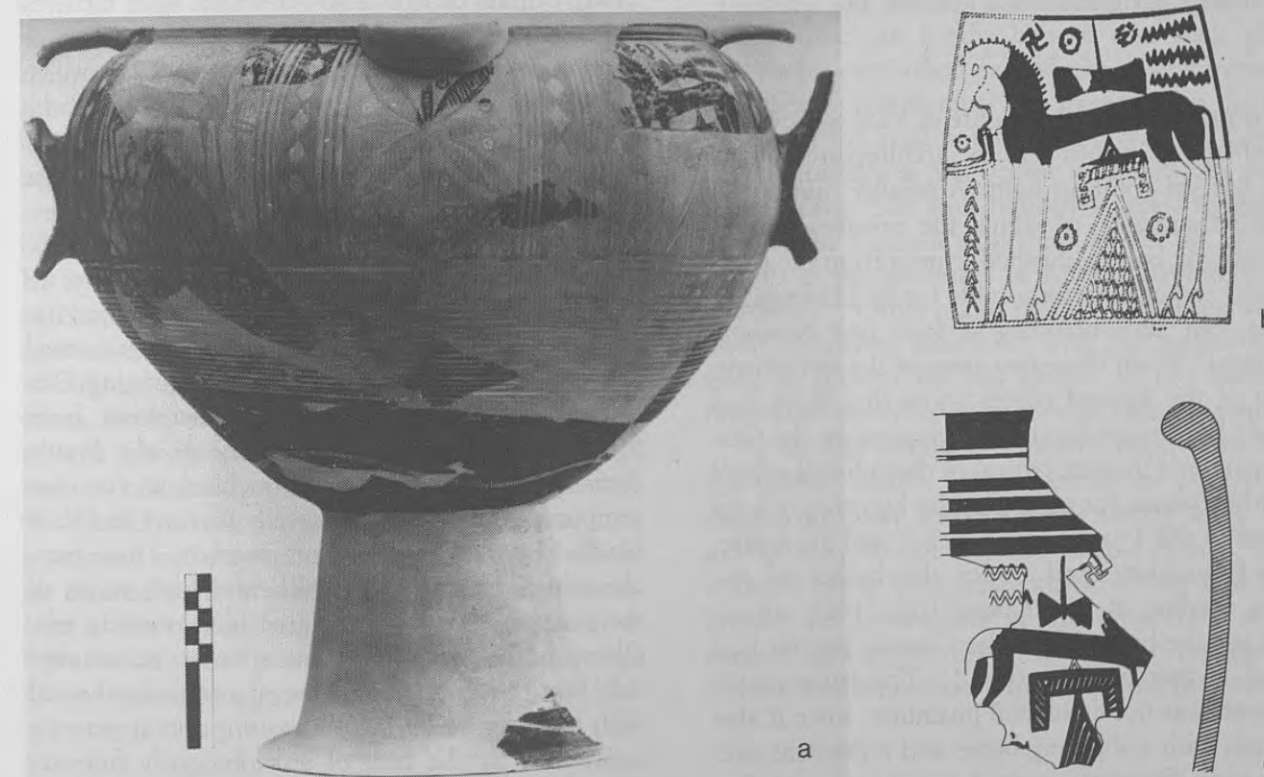


Fig. 2 - (a) Pithekoussai, Mazzola site, local LG krater, reconstruction, and (b) detail of horse panel; (c) Pithekoussai, cemetery, Euboean LG amphora fr. Sp 2/4.

¹² T.B. Mitford, in *BICS* 10, 1963, pp. 27 ff. Two bracelets, also from the "treasury", bear the name of another Paphian king, Eteandros.

¹³ Coldstream 1968, p. 173, no. 2, pl. 36 a; Coldstream 1971, p. 8, no. 2, pl. 2a; New York MMA 74. 51. 838. From the same lot is another more fragmentary oinochoe, also by the Cesnola painter, with a similar horse panel: MMA 74. 5. 5885.

¹⁴ Coldstream 1983, p. 206.

¹⁵ E. Gjerstad *et al.*, *Greek Geometric and Archaic pottery found in Cyprus*, Stockholm 1977, p. 25, nos. 28-48, pls. 3, 4.2; cf. J.N. Coldstream, in *Cyprus between the Orient and Occident*, 5, Karageorghis (ed.), Nicosia 1986, pp. 323 ff.



Fig. 3 - (a) Pithekoussai, grave 967, local LG lekythos-oinochoe, scene under base; (b) Pithekoussai, cemetery, local amphora fr. Sp 2/5.

rescue operation on the Monte di Vico acropolis¹⁶, on which no eighth-century architecture of any kind has yet come to light. A smaller number of figured fragments, of which the precise contexts have not yet been published, comes from the Mazzola site, especially memorable for its blacksmiths' forges, but also including at least one domestic building¹⁷. From these two areas of the settlement, many of the figured pieces show that there had already been some local improvisation on the Cesnola painter's themes, typical of the colonial school of Pithekoussai: for example, the luxuriantly leafy version of the Tree of Life (fig. 3a), and the mysterious triangular motif under the bellies of the horses feeding at the manger (fig. 2b)¹⁸, substituted for the birds which the Cesnola painter had placed in that position (fig. 1). The latter motif, however, was not a colonial invention, since it also appears, with a standing horse and a pendent axe, on a neck fragment from a large imported Euboean LG amphora, a sporadic find (Sp 2/4, fig. 2c) from the San Montano cemetery¹⁹.

This piece cannot, unfortunately, be attributed



with certainty to any of the burials so far excavated; but, at the risk of paying too much attention to a single fragment from a very large cemetery, one might observe that Sp 2/4 is from the only certain import of Euboean LG figured pottery so far found in that cemetery. It may help our enquiry in two different ways: first, by supplying a possible link in the transmission of imagery from the homeland to the colony (and who knows what other figured themes may have decorated the body of the amphora?); and, secondly, by allowing us to glimpse one class of offering suitable for the aristocratic burials of Pithekoussai which have hitherto eluded discovery. Although some 1300 graves have been excavated, these represent no more than five per cent of an un plundered cemetery of which the limits are known; and the excavated burials do not include any rich grave groups thought appropriate for an aristocratic élite²⁰.

Now if we knew nothing of any other eighth-century Euboean aristocratic burials elsewhere, we might make a reasonable surmise that major figured vases, largely missing from the excavated graves, had been a preserve of the missing élite burials. Such vessels, however, have not been found in the élite tombs of Kyme on the Fondo Artiaco plot²¹ nor, in the homeland, in the contemporary graves of aristocratic warriors and their families by the West Gate of Eretria²². These burials, which display the wealth and high status of their incumbents through large metal vessels, jewellery and weapons, have given rise to an assumption that the Euboean aristocracy were not buried with large figured vases, an assumption apparently confirmed by the lack of any obviously funerary imagery in the figured repertoire of the Euboean LG school²³. The rich burials of Kyme and Eretria, however, belong to the years around 700 B.C. when, after two generations of profitable

trade in western ores, metals had become much more plentiful in the Greek world. What we miss at present is any clear evidence of how the Euboean élite were buried in their homeland during the third quarter of the eighth century, contemporarily with the activity of the Cesnola workshop, and with the first generation of incumbents in the San Montano cemetery. Lefkandi, after the abandonment of its ninth-century cemeteries, offers no evidence of burials in the eighth century; with the growth of Chalcis and Eretria, it had by then become a shadow of its former self. Eighth-century Chalcis, accessible only through rescue digging under the modern town, is represented mainly by a large well deposit²⁴ and surface sherds²⁵; but one LG cist grave has been recorded, containing a small hydria portraying a Tree of Life flanked by goats, by the Cesnola painter²⁶.

From Eretria we know of many child inhumations in large vessels²⁷, and a few adult cremations²⁸; some of those in the western extramural cemetery by the sea, excavated by Kourouniotis, contained LG II figured gold bands²⁹ suggesting high status, but their precise contexts have not been published. Another important find from that cemetery appropriate to an élite burial is a large but fragmentary Attic figured amphora of the LG Ila Subdipylon group, decorated with processions of chariot teams and warriors; but its context, again, is uncertain³⁰.

Euboea is one of the few regions in Greece where finds of LG pottery from graves are at present heavily outnumbered by the more fragmentary material from settlements and sanctuaries. We should not allow this imbalance to lure us into premature conclusions about the functions which the figured vases served. Even though the scenes refer to life rather than death, our extant material from Euboean LG graves is still far too slender for us to assume that figured pottery, during the flo-

ruit of the Cesnola workshop, was not included among the grave goods of élite burials. Here we can learn a cautionary lesson from the contemporary LG figured style of the Argolid which, like the Euboean, largely eschews funerary subjects³¹. Much in evidence there are scenes showing a man taming one or two horses, a theme no doubt favoured by the landed aristocracy of the Argive plain. But, in contrast to Euboea, the Argolid has yielded well over a hundred LG burials, in which figured vases occur at least as frequently as in Argive settlements and sanctuaries; they are especially prominent in the LG graves of Argos belonging to the warrior élite, rich in weapons, armour, iron spits and other forms of metallic wealth³². Returning to Euboea, let us not forget the four vases from the Cesnola painter's own hand, all of which ended up as grave offerings: the small hydria in the cist grave at Chalcis, and the three vessels in the "treasury" of Kourion, including his vast ovoid krater. One can hardly believe that such grand vases were earmarked exclusively as gifts overseas; comparable vessels must also have been in the possession of the local nobility of Chalcis and Eretria, for use initially at aristocratic symposia. As we already know, two fine figured kraters, related in style to the Cesnola workshop, ended up as dedications at the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria³³. Other major figured vases must surely await discovery, associated with the graves of the élite, at present no less elusive in the Euboean homeland than they have been at Pithekoussai.

In the San Montano cemetery, large vases bearing human and/or animal scenes are poorly preserved, and very scarce indeed: among some 1300 graves, they do not run into double figures. Their extreme rarity is understandable if they had been largely the possessions of the aristocracy whose burials still await discovery. As for the figured kraters and amphorae which have so far come to

¹⁶ G. Buchner, in *DialAr* 3, 1969, p. 98 f., fig. 27; *idem*, in *Expedition* 8, 1966, pp. 10 ff.

¹⁷ G. Buchner, in *AR* 17, 1971, pp. 64 ff., figs. 4-8; J. Klein, in *Expedition* 14, 1972, pp. 35 ff.

¹⁸ *DialAr* 3, 1969, fig. 27. See below, p. 12, nn. 53-5.

¹⁹ Pithekoussai I, p. 700, Sp 2/4, pls. ccviii, 242.

²⁰ G. Buchner, in *Contribution à l'étude de la société et de la*

colonisation eubéennes (Cahiers du Centre J. Bérard 2), Naples 1975, p. 73; *idem*, in *Italy before the Romans*, D. and F. Ridgway (eds.), London 1979, p. 129.

²¹ G. Pellegrini, *MonAL* 13, 1903, pp. 201 ff.

²² C. Bérard, *Eretria 3: l'Hérôon à la porte de l'Ouest*, Berne 1970.

²³ E.g. Coldstream 1981, p. 242.

²⁴ A. Andreiomenou, in *BCH* 108, 1984, p. 37 ff.; *eadem*, in *BCH* 109, 1985, pp. 49 ff.; *eadem*, in *BCH* 110, 1986, pp. 89 ff.; *eadem*, in *Philia Epe eis G.E. Mylonas ... 2*, Athens 1987, pp. 73 ff.; *eadem*, in *BCH Suppl.* 23, *Les ateliers de potiers dans le monde grec aux époques géométriques, archaïques et classiques*, 1992, pp. 87 ff.

²⁵ J. Boardman, in *BSA* 52, 1957, pp. 1 ff.

²⁶ P.G. Themelis, in *AAA* 2, 1969, pp. 27 ff., figs. 6,7; Coldstream 1971, pp. 2 ff., n. 17, pls. 1b, 3b.

²⁷ Kourouniotis 1903, pp. 3 ff.; Andreiomenou 1981, pp. 211 ff., figs. 47-58; pp. 219 ff., figs. 72-74. See *eadem* in *AE* 1983, pp. 186 ff., for useful index to the publications of her various recent excavations at Eretria.

²⁸ Kourouniotis 1903, pp. 3 ff.; Andreiomenou 1981, pp. 189 ff., figs. 6-15 (MG II).

²⁹ Kourouniotis 1903, p. 8; *idem*, in *AthMitt* 38, 1913, pp. 290 ff.; D. Ohly, *Griechische Goldbleche des 8. Jahrhunderts vor Christ*, Berlin 1953, pp. 46 ff., pls. 13, 14 E 1-5. Contemporary with these is the only gold band so far found at Pithekoussai 1, grave 656.19, p. 646, pls. CLXXXV, 186.

³⁰ Kourouniotis 1903, pp. 15 ff., fig. 7; J.M. Davison, *Attic Geometric workshops* (Yale Classical Studies 16), 1961, pp. 67, B 6, fig. 101.

³¹ P. Courbin, *La céramique géométrique de l'Argolide*, Paris 1966, p. 469, n. 1; Courbin 1974, p. 127; Coldstream 1981, p. 244.

³² Courbin 1974, pls. 20 (grave 1), 23 (grave 6/2), 48 (grave 176/2); *idem*, in *BCH* 81, 1957, pp. 322 ff. (grave 45, with panoply).

³³ J.R. Gisler, *Céramique géométrique d'Eretria; les grands vases ouverts du temple d'Apollon Daphnéphoros*, PhD thesis, unpublished, Fribourg 1983; Crielaard 1990, p. 3, n. 8.



Fig. 4 - (a) Pithekoussai, grave 622, Euboean LG II aryballos, with (b) detail.



light, their poor state of preservation is a consequence of the local burial rites at the cremations of reasonably well-to-do adult men, at which much of the pottery and other goods would be burnt on the pyre. Some of the charred fragments would often then be gathered up and returned to the burial; the large figured vases, however, were sporadic finds, discovered in burnt deposits kept apart from the graves. Here Dr. Buchner sees a conscious attempt by a prosperous upper middle class to ape the supposed practice of the aristocracy which, on the analogy of the elite cremations of Eretria and Kyme, would have chosen to exclude the burnt pottery from their own graves, burying the charred debris from the pyre in a separate deposit³⁴.

Two of these burnt deposits were located near LG II adult cremation graves containing little or no pottery: graves, perhaps, of this aspiring upper middle class. They contained the charred sherds of no less than ten kraters³⁵; that so many of them could be almost completely reconstituted is a tribute to Dr. Buchner's talents as a restorer as well as an extremely careful excavator. Of the four figured kraters, two are very roughly decorated, one (Sp 1/2) with grotesque human protomes drawn in outline, another (Sp 1/10) with a crudely rendered hunting scene including a barely recognisable horseman. The other two kraters are fine works

from the local school in its LG II stage; and both, atypically, seem to have been made expressly for a funerary purpose. The famous shipwreck³⁶ on Sp 1/1 is hardly a scene which its owner would have wished to contemplate at a convivial symposium during his life. The krater Sp 1/5 makes a more explicit reference to the funeral in the mourning woman placed in the central space; she is flanked by horses in the lateral panels, perhaps another hint of aristocratic aspirations on the upper middle class incumbent for whom his vase was made.

Among the other sporadic finds are fragments from two more large figured vases, both belonging to amphorae³⁷. On Sp 2/4 (fig. 2c), the Euboean import already mentioned, a horse feeds at a manger; Sp 2/5, a shoulder fragment (fig. 3b), preserves the head of a goat beside a Tree. Compared with the LG II figured kraters, both amphorae appear to have been on a grander scale³⁸; furthermore, both look somewhat earlier, and their scenes fall within the repertoire of the Cesnola painter. Could these pieces, perhaps, have been displaced from the scattered debris of elite cremations, as yet unexcavated? We cannot, of course, make a simplistic equation of Cesnola imagery with aristocratic status. Indeed, from the "middle class" graves already excavated, we have a luxuriant Tree flanked by rampant goats (fig. 3a), painted under the base of a squat lekythos-oinochoe (grave 967)³⁹; also an aryballos, a Euboean LG II import, bearing the third Cesnola theme, the grazing horses, from a well-furnished inhumation of a

young child (grave 622, fig. 4a-b)⁴⁰. Those, however, are small vessels. The two sporadic amphora fragments, by contrast, are from major figured vases dating from the Cesnola workshop's prime; and, unlike the LG II kraters found in their extensive burnt deposits, they have not been associated with any grave or group of graves already excavated. They are, in fact, doubly sporadic: initially excluded from the burials at which they were offered, and then, evidently, divorced from the remainder of the pyre debris which would have contained more pieces from the same vases.

Even if these two figured fragments had been associated with elite burials as yet undiscovered, they should warn us that the chances of finding major figured LG vases well-preserved in the cemetery may be somewhat slim. Such vases were, after all, made for the elite in life, rather than for their funerals. At the wish of their owners, they were burnt on their pyres; subsequently, charred fragments from them might be dispersed over a wide area. Hence the extreme importance of the *disiecta membra* from large LG kraters of the local school with figured decoration, images which were pleasing to the Pithekoussan aristocracy at present missing in the cemetery. These fragments display all three of the scenes on the Cesnola krater; elsewhere I have discussed their possible relevance to the interests of a land-owning aristocracy in the Euboean homeland⁴¹, but some more recent discoveries now encourage me to amend some of my previous views.

The Tree of Life now has an august ancestor in Euboean vase-painting, as a symbol appropriate to the highest elite, and as a pictorial prayer for the fertility of the land which they owned. We see it several times, though without accompanying animals, under the handles of a vast Middle Protogeometric krater of the early tenth century B.C., found in fragments beside the royal double burial within the Toumba building of Lefkandi⁴², possibly

placed to mark the grave. In Crete, during the local Protogeometric B phase of the late ninth century, an enterprising Knossian painter of cremation urns specialised in Trees, combining them with birds, and once placing them beside a goddess of nature⁴³. For the Tree itself, then, the Cesnola painter had plenty of precedents in the Greek Dark Age; what is new in LG is the re-introduction, under oriental influence⁴⁴, of rampant animals placed heraldically beside the Tree. It now seems, however, that the Cesnola painter may not have been the first Greek artist to have adopted this composition. A Tree, flanked by rampant goats and with small birds flying in the field, is rendered on an exported Attic kantharos recently found in a rich tomb at Kition (fig. 5a)⁴⁵, datable to LG Ia (c. 760-750 B.C.), a few years earlier than the Cesnola krater.

In another respect, this Attic kantharos anticipates the imagery of the Cesnola krater. Pendent double axes appear on its reverse side (fig. 5b), there accompanying large birds which flank a more simplified Tree. In all the output of the Cesnola workshop, and on all other LG figured pottery made under its influence (e.g. fig. 2b), these axes are always associated with horses feeding at the manger. Previously, the axe had seemed so invariably linked with the horse, that a mythical interpretation was put forward: the horse represented Poseidon Hippios, and the axe his inseparable twin sons, the Aktorione or Molione⁴⁶. Such an interpretation will not be so easily tenable, now that we know that the pendent axes appear to have made their Geometric debut in company with birds. Nor can they be dismissed merely as convenient filling ornaments; on the Kition kantharos, the curiously naturalistic straps or loops which attach them to the upper border⁴⁷ surely indicate that the axes were depicted *per se*. There is much good sense in a recent and well-documented dis-

³⁴ Buchner 1982, p. 285; G. Buchner - D. Ridgway, 'Pithekoussai 944', in *AION ArchStAnt* 5, 1983, p. 8.

³⁵ *Pithekoussai* 1, pp. 196 f., 695 ff., Sp 1/1-4, pls. cciv-vi, 231-4; pp. 263 f., 697 ff., Sp 1/5-10, pls. ccvi-viii, 235-40.

³⁶ See, most recently, D. Ridgway, in *Studies Webster* 2, pp. 97 ff., with full bibliography.

³⁷ *Pithekoussai* 1, pp. 700 f., Sp 2/4,5, pls. ccviii, 242.

³⁸ The largest of the figured kraters, Sp 1/5, measures 41 cms. high. For the amphora Sp 2/4, with a rim diameter of c. 20 cms., one would expect a height of c. 60-70 cms.

³⁹ G. Buchner, in *AR* 17, 1971, p. 63, fig. 2; Ridgway 1992, p. 60, fig. 11.

⁴⁰ *Pithekoussai* 1, p. 601 ff., no. 6, pl. 175.

⁴¹ Coldstream 1981, pp. 243 ff.; cf. Coldstream 1971, p. 11 on the Tree of Life.

⁴² I. Lemos, in *Lefkandi* 2. 1, pp. 29 f., 110, no. 327, pls. 16-17, 54-6; see also p. 163, n. 68 for Trees on smaller PG vessels from Lefkandi and Skyros.

⁴³ J.N. Coldstream, in *BICS* 31, 1984, 95 ff.; *idem* in *Studies Webster* 2, pp. 29 ff., fig. 2.1. It is interesting that birds also appear in two representations of the Tree in the local LG pottery of Pithekoussai, once as the only living creature in the panel (*Dial-Ar* 3, 1969, fig. 27, top centre), and once with the goats (fig. 3a). The latter version has a Cretan LG counterpart, with stags: *BSA* 67, 1972, p. 93, no. 84, fig. 12; for an oriental prototype see Kahane 1973, p. 120 fig. 4.

⁴⁴ On oriental prototypes see Kahane 1973, pp. 114 ff. This type of scene also has Mycenaean precedents, e.g. on the amphoroid krater, London C 368: E. Vermeule - V. Karageorghis, *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase-Painting*, Harvard 1982, p. 197, III 26.

⁴⁵ J.N. Coldstream in *RDAC* 1994, forthcoming. I am grateful to Dr D. Christou, Director of Antiquities in Cyprus, for permission to mention and illustrate this vase here. Preliminary publication: *BCH* 114, 1990, pp. 948-9, fig. 29.

⁴⁶ B. Schweitzer, *Greek Geometric art*, London 1971, pp. 54, 62 f., 113.

⁴⁷ A. Ruckert, *Frühe Keramik Böotiens*, in *AntK* (Beiheft 10), Bern 1976, pl. 17, Kr 6, formerly Munich 2233.

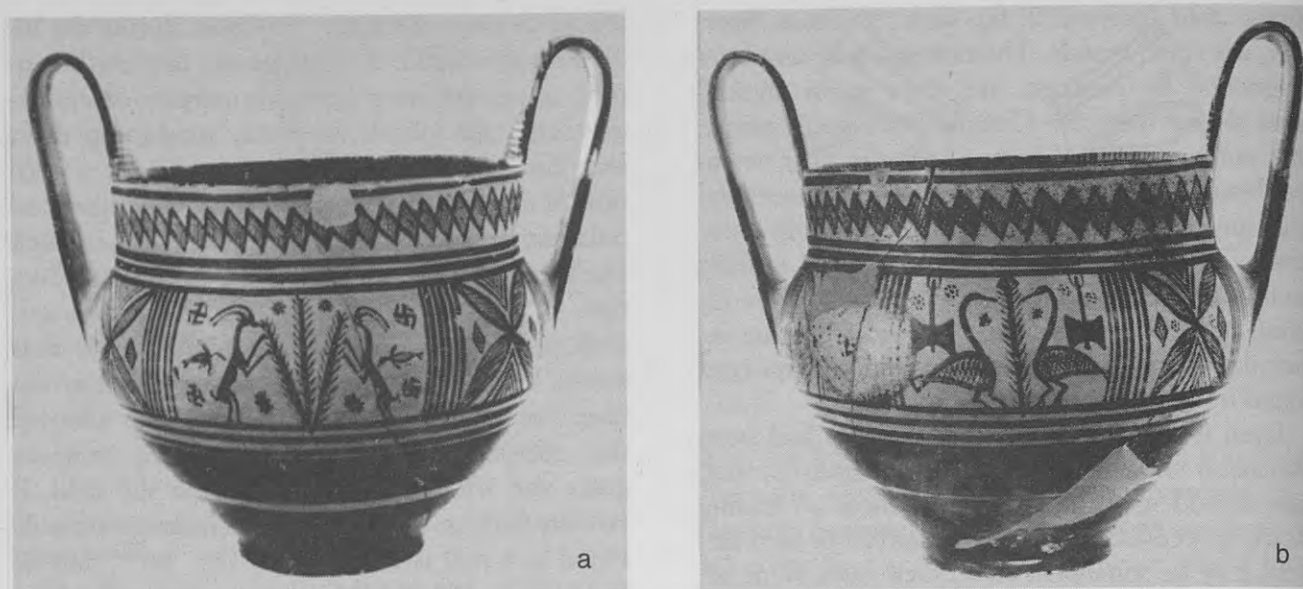


Fig. 5 - Attic LG Ia kantharos, Larnaca 1498, from Kition tomb 11: (a) front, (b) back. By courtesy of the Cyprus Department of Antiquities.

cussion of their function⁴⁸, presenting them as symbols of aristocratic authority, with various uses in battle, wood-cutting and religious ceremonial. As a large and serviceable metal object, the double axe could be no less expressive than the well-fed horse as a manifestation of aristocratic wealth and status.

This slightly earlier Attic kantharos, with its heraldic Tree scene and its pendent double axes, will enable us to define more closely wherein the Cesnola painter was an iconographic innovator. Enjoying the patronage of the Chalcidian *hippobotai* and the Eretrian *hippeis* for his major vases, he it was who would have introduced the two scenes of *hippotropia*: the horse feeding indoors at the manger, and grazing in the field. Together with the Tree composition, these form a visual "programme" on his great krater, reflecting the interests of the Euboean landowning and horse-rearing aristocracy⁴⁹.

When the three themes of this "programme" were taken over by the potters of Pithekoussai, there were bound to be some local modifications. The Tree, as we have noted, was decked with more

luxuriant leafage, carefully hatched (fig. 3a). There was also a tendency to insert a simplified Tree into the two hippotrophic scenes, a telescoping process which had clearly begun on the Euboean originals. A large krater from the sanctuary of Apollo at Eretria⁵⁰, painted by an associate of the Cesnola painter, has a frieze of grazing horses on the lower body; under the horses' bellies, where the Cesnola painter had grazing birds or swastikas, here we have small Trees growing organically from the ground⁵¹. In an even simpler form they appear on the imported Euboean LG II aryballos from grave 622 in the San Montano cemetery (fig. 4a-b). The only known grazing horses in the local fabric, on a krater fragment from the Scarico Gosetti⁵², still keeps the Cesnola painter's grazing bird as its companion. In the local versions of the horse at the manger, however, the space under the animal's belly is occupied by a composite rectilinear motif which should not be dismissed as mere filling ornament: I see it as a geometricized symbol for a Tree⁵³. A large latticed triangular base is surmounted by a hatched rectilin-

⁴⁸ Crielaard 1990, pp. 6 ff.

⁴⁹ In the light of this discussion I withdraw my previous speculation (*BICS* 18, 1971, p. 11) that the Cesnola krater was specially «made to order» by a potter who knew the tastes of a princely Cypriot patron at Kourion. The fact remains, however, that, with the discovery of the Kition kantharos, Cyprus now has three imported Greek LG vessels carrying the oriental Tree scene with heraldic animals. That a motif so rare in Greece should be so prominent among the rare figured exports to that island must surely indicate that the Euboean donors of these vessels were somehow aware of the tastes of their Cypriot peers.

⁵⁰ L. Kahil, in *ASAtene* 59 (n.s. 43), 1981, p. 172, fig. 3.

⁵¹ As also in the scene of grazing horses on the shoulder of the large Subgeometric oinochoe, London 1849, 5-18.18, by an expatriate Euboean potter in Etruria: J.N. Coldstream, in *BICS* 15, 1968, pp. 86 ff., pl. 11.

⁵² *DialAr* 3, 1969, fig. 27, second row, right.

⁵³ Cf. J. Boardman's treatment of the corresponding motifs on Argive LG in 'Symbol and story in Geometric art', in *Ancient Greek art and iconography*, W.G. Moon (ed.), Madison 1983, p. 16.

ear bracket; thus far, it has an imported Euboean prototype in Sp 2/4 (fig. 2c), the large amphora neck fragment from the cemetery, and is not unlike the equally schematic "Rhodian Tree" also occurring on imports to Pithekoussai⁵⁴. In addition, the local version places a small triangle above the bracket, slightly suggestive of a palm bud resting upon deciduous palm foliage⁵⁵.

On the analogy of the Corinthian Bacchiads, with their vigorous commercial interests, Euboean mercantile initiatives in the West would also have been directed by an aristocratic élite⁵⁶. No self-respecting aristocrat, however, would have been without his land and his horses. Recent excavations in the Ischian countryside⁵⁷ have demonstrated that the Euboean colonists were already exploiting the coastal lands on the other side of the island quite soon after their arrival — a discovery which corrects any facile impression that Pithekoussai was no more than a tentative foothold for commercial transactions in Italian waters. Even so, for a colonial élite which had once been accustomed to the rich Lelantine plain in their homeland, facilities for rearing their horses on Pithekoussai must have been rather more restricted. In addition to overcrowding⁵⁸ and upheavals of nature⁵⁹, perhaps we have here a third possible reason for an eventual move to Kyme; the spacious plains surrounding the mainland colony could offer better pasture for horses, as well as more farmland to feed a rapidly rising population. Athenaios (528e) describes how the Kymaia élite «went around wearing gold ornaments and flowery dresses, and drove out into the country in two-horse chariots, with their wives». We cannot be sure to which period he is referring; but within the eighth century we have archaeological testimony for a horse-owning aristocracy there from

two different sources: from the harness found with the rich cremations on the Fondo Artiano plot⁶⁰, and from the only Geometric figured piece so far found at Kyme, portraying a mounted cavalier⁶¹. This theme, absent from or very rare in other Geometric styles, occurs several times in Euboean LG, and seems to have been included in the Cesnola painter's pictorial "programme" for his aristocratic patrons⁶².

As an epilogue to this paper, one should briefly mention the impact of this figured "programme" in Etruria. Known imports there from the Cesnola workshop are at present limited to a fine but unfigured krater from Pescia Romana near Grosseto⁶³; nevertheless, every one of the painter's themes appears on large vases of some distinction made by resident Euboean potters in Etruria, vases whose eclectic character perhaps reflects the taste of the Etruscan patrons. We see the Tree of Life with goats on an exotic barrel vase of Cypriot type, found at Bisenzio⁶⁴. The cavaliers appear on another eastern shape, a bulbous stand, from Cervetri⁶⁵; and also on a krater now in Los Angeles, resting on a similar stand, possibly by the same hand⁶⁶. An Italic LG krater in Basel presents two horses sharing a manger, with three axes suspended above their backs⁶⁷. Grazing horses occur on a large globular pyxis from Vulci⁶⁸, as well as on the oinochoe in London already noted for its simplified Trees⁶⁹. The final word must go to a rendering of this last theme on a mid-seventh-century oinochoe from Tarquinia⁷⁰, of Corinthianizing shape. This vase belongs to the setting and period of the self-exiled Bacchiad nobleman Demaratos and his aristocratic Tarquinian wife⁷¹; however energetically he may have pursued his commerce among the Etruscans, he would not have wished to be without his land and his horses⁷².

⁵⁴ The Nestor kotyle, *Pithekoussai* 1, pls. cxxvi, 72; from the Mazzola site, *Expedition* 14, 1972, p. 39, fig. 7, middle row, left.

⁵⁵ For a more naturalistic rendering of a palm but with similar deciduous foliage, cf. a Rhodian LG kantharos from Kameiros, *Clara Rhodos* 6-7, pp. 79 f., fig. 88.

⁵⁶ Corinth: Strabo 380. For Pithekoussai, cf. Buchner 1982, pp. 279 f.

⁵⁷ A. Fratta, newspaper report in *Il Mattino* (31.1.94) p. 10; in this volume, C. Gialanella, pp. 169 ss.

⁵⁸ M. Frederiksen, *Campania*, Rome 1984, p. 67.

⁵⁹ Strabo. 247-8. Earthquake on the Mazzola site: Ridgway 1992, p. 93.

⁶⁰ G. Pellegrini, in *MonAL* 13, 1903, p. 258, fig. 35.

⁶¹ G. Buchner, in *RömMitt* 60-7, 1953-54, p. 52, fig. 3, from the acropolis of Kyme.

⁶² J.N. Coldstream 1971, p. 7 f. fig. 2, pl. 2 b. 2. From Pithekoussai, *DialAr* 3, 1969, fig. 27, bottom row, centre.

⁶³ F. Canciani, in *DialAr* 8, 1974-75, p. 84 f., fig. 6; E. La Rocca, in *MélRome* 90, 1978, pp. 474 ff., fig. 4.

⁶⁴ New York 1975. 363; D. Ridgway, in *AC* 29, 1977, p. 221.

⁶⁵ L. Quilici, in *La Via Aurelia da Roma a Forum Aureli*, Roma 1968, p. 116, fig. 259; Colonna 1980, pp. 597 ff., pls. 1-3.

⁶⁶ Colonna 1980, p. 605, pl. 4; J.S. Szilagyi, in *Secondo Congresso Internazionale Etrusco*, Roma 1969, 2, pp. 617 ff., pl. 1b; another, similar, *ibidem* pl. 1c.

⁶⁷ E. Berger-R. Lullies, *Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig* 1, Basel 1979, p. 168 ff., no. 63.

⁶⁸ E. La Rocca, in *MélRome* 90, 1978, p. 493 ff., figs. 20-23.

⁶⁹ See n. 51.

⁷⁰ E. Gabrici, in *MonAL* 22, 1913, p. 383, fig. 143b; CVA *Tarquinia* 1, IV C, pl. 1.1.

⁷¹ Polybios VI. 11a. 10; Ridgway 1992, pp. 119, 143 f.

⁷² As D. Ridgway has pointed out to me, the house which Demaratos built (D.H. III. 46. 5) surely implies an estate and a ranch.

Supplementary abbreviations:

- Andreiomenou 1981 = A. Andreiomenou, 'Ἀνασκαφές στὴ Ἐρετρία', in *ASAtene* 59 (n.s. 43), 1981, pp. 251-262.
- Buchner 1982 = G. Buchner, 'Articolazione sociale, differenze di rituale e composizione dei corredi nella necropoli di Pithecusa', in *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes* G. Gnoli-J.P. Vernant (eds), Cambridge 1982, pp. 275-287.
- Coldstream 1968 = J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric pottery*, London 1968.
- Coldstream 1971 = J.N. Coldstream, 'The Cesnola Painter. A change of address', in *BICS* 18, 1971, pp. 1-15.
- Coldstream 1981 = J.N. Coldstream, 'Some peculiarities of the Euboean Geometric figured style', in *ASAtene* 49 (n.s. 43), 1981, pp. 241-249.
- Coldstream 1982 = J.N. Coldstream, 'Some problems of the eighth-century pottery in the West, seen from the Greek angle', in *La Céramique grecque ou de tradition grecque au VIII^e siècle en Italie centrale et méridionale* (Cahiers du Centre J. Bérard 3), Naples 1982, pp. 21-37.
- Coldstream 1983 = J.N. Coldstream, 'Gift exchange in the eighth century B.C.', in *The Greek Renaissance of the 8th century B.C.: tradition and innovation*, R. Hägg (ed.), Stockholm 1983, pp. 201-207.
- Colonna 1980 = G. Colonna, 'Parergon. A proposito del frammento geometrico dal Foro', in *MélRome* 92 (2), 1980, pp. 591-605.
- Courbin 1974 = P. Courbin, *Tombes géométriques d'Argos* 1, Paris 1974.
- Crielaard 1990 = J.P. Crielaard, 'Some Euboean and related pottery in Amsterdam', in *BABesch* 65, 1990, pp. 1-12.
- Kahane 1973 = P.P. Kahane, 'Ikonologische Untersuchungen zur griechisch-geometrischen Kunst', in *AntK* 16, 1973, pp. 114-138.
- Kourouniotis 1903 = K. Kourouniotis, 'Ἀγγεῖα Ἐρετρίας', in *AE* 1903, pp. 1-150.
- Pithekoussai 1 = G. Buchner - D. Ridgway, *Pithekoussai 1, MonAL*, serie monografica 4, Roma 1993.
- Ridgway 1992 = D. Ridgway, *The first Western Greeks*, Cambridge 1992.
- Studies Webster 2 = J.H. Betts - J.T. Hooker - J.R. Green (eds.), *Studies in Honour of T.B.L. Webster*, vol. 2, Bristol 1988.

THE EUBOEANS IN MACEDONIA: A NEW PRECEDENT FOR WESTWARD EXPANSION

ANTHONY M. SNODGRASS

The Euboeans are the great discovery of early Greek archaeology since World War II – a discovery that might conceivably never have happened but for Giorgio Buchner's decision to begin excavation at Pithekoussai in 1952. Long before that time, the insistent appearance of the Euboeans in the literary record of early colonisation had pointed to either a gap or a failure of recognition on the archaeological side. But the 1950's were the watershed for archaeology: in the syntheses of this time, the Euboeans as yet scarcely exist¹, but the primary research was already under way, and not only through the medium of excavation. In 1957, John Boardman had published the second of his papers on Euboean pottery, in which he began to discern the historical and geographical significance of the regional style of Euboea: not only could it be distinguished within the broader category of "Thessalo-Cycladic" in which it had been placed, but it could be recognised in some far-flung appearances, especially at Al Mina in Syria². Then in 1964 began both the excavation of Lefkandi and the work of the Greco-Swiss expedition at Eretria, and for the first time these exports could be securely traced to some of their points of origin³; and when to these was added the important exploration of the cemeteries and wells of Chalkis, from 1976, by Dr. Angeliki Andreiomenou, both of the historically-documented colonising cities of Euboea had begun to re-enter the light of day⁴. In

quite a short space of time, the early overseas enterprises of the Euboeans had become common knowledge; by the 1970's conferences were being devoted to them in their own right, and in 1980 they were given a chapter of their own in a cultural history of early Greece⁵.

In the consensual narrative of this episode that now emerged, there was an awkward transition that was made with some difficulty. The Euboeans could be shown to have been the first Greeks to open the sea-lanes of the eastern and central Mediterranean as mariners and, in most opinions, as traders; but at a certain point these roles were exchanged for that of leading the way in permanent, colonising settlement, in Italy, Sicily and on the northern coast of the Aegean. Tradition suggested only a minor Euboean contribution to the known migrations of the pre-colonial era, and the nearest thing to a precedent for the sudden outburst of western colonisation was to be found in the surmise, made plausible by the archaeological material, that emigrant Euboeans had participated in establishing new settlements on certain neighbouring Aegean islands, such as Andros, Tenos and Skyros, in the tenth or ninth centuries B.C.⁶ The abruptness of the transition was further mitigated by two instances that were claimed to represent intermediate stages: at Al Mina and possibly at Tell Sukas, it was argued that Euboean settlers had joined foreign communities on the Asiatic coast, at

¹ Euboea makes a fleeting appearance in V.R. Desborough's *Proto-geometric pottery*, Oxford 1952, pp. 194-196, 199, but none at all in T.J. Dunbabin's, *The Greeks and their eastern neighbours* (Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, Supplementary Paper 8), London 1957.

² 'Early Euboean pottery and history', in *BSA* 52, 1957, pp. 1-29; and more fully in his *The Greeks overseas* (first edition), Harmondsworth 1964, pp. 38-45, 52-53.

³ M.R. Popham-L.H. Sackett (a cura di), *Excavations at Lefkandi, 1964-66*, Preliminary Report, London 1968; K. Schefold, 'Die Grabungen in Eretria im Herbst 1964 und 1965', in *AntK* 9, 1966, pp. 106-124.

⁴ A. Andreiomenou, 'Skyphoi de l'atelier de Chalcis', in *BCH*

108, 1984, pp. 37-69, with continuation *ibidem* 109, 1985, pp. 49-75; *eadem*, 'Vases protogéométriques et subprotogéométriques I-II de l'atelier de Chalcis', in *BCH* 110, 1986, pp. 89-120.

⁵ *Contribution à l'étude de la société et de la colonisation eubéennes* (Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard 2), Naples 1975 and *Gli Eubei in Occidente*, Atti del 18° Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1979; O. Murray, *Early Greece*, Glasgow 1980, chapter 5, 'Euboean society and trade'.

⁶ Tentatively suggested already in J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric pottery*, London 1968, p. 342; and in V.R. d'A. Desborough, *The Greek Dark Ages*, London 1972, pp. 185-186, 201-202, 348-349.

SUMMARY

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

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

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

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

D. RIDGWAY, *Daidalos and Pithekoussai*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FINITO DI STAMPARE NEL MESE DI APRILE MCMXCV
NELLO STABILIMENTO «ARTE TIPOGRAFICA» S.A.S.
S. BIAGIO DEI LIBRAI - NAPOLI

