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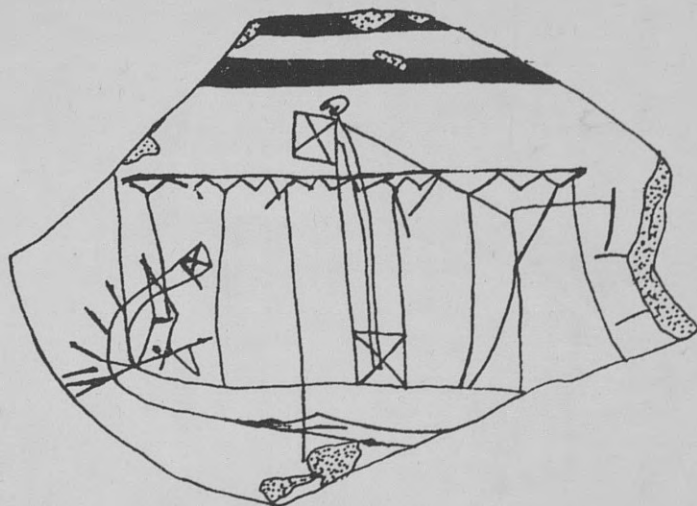
ANNALI DI ARCHEOLOGIA E STORIA ANTICA

DIPARTIMENTO DI STUDI DEL MONDO CLASSICO
E DEL MEDITERRANEO ANTICO

Nuova Serie N. 1

ΑΠΟΙΚΙΑ

SCRITTI IN ONORE DI GIORGIO BUCHNER



1994 Napoli

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ΑΠΟΙΚΙΑ

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

SCRITTI IN ONORE DI GIORGIO BUCHNER

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

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

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

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Abbreviazioni

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

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

PRESENTAZIONE

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

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

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

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

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

DAVID RIDGWAY e BRUNO D'AGOSTINO

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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.

a date earlier than that of the colonising movement; while at Pithekoussai, the earliest western settlement, a quite widely held view was that the Euboean enterprise was not yet truly colonial in nature – it lacked the characteristic founding traditions and the territorial element of a normal colony, and its population (as in the East) had been a cosmopolitan one. As it happens, each of these views has recently been challenged⁷; but even while accepting their validity, scholars must have felt some intermittent unease at the weight of argument that was being rested on the purely archaeological evidence from Al Mina, and on the rather unsatisfactory literary traditions about Pithekoussai.

Throughout these developments, there was little discussion of one potentially important episode: the Euboean settlement of the northern coast of the Aegean, in the Chalkidike peninsula in Macedonia and, somewhat later, in their colonies further to the East, in Thrace. Here again, the literary evidence was far from satisfactory, being confined almost entirely to much later authors; the arguments based on it were at best inferential. More surprisingly, archaeological exploration had given no such clear answers as in the case of the western colonies⁸. Such chronological evidence as was available suggested that the Euboean colonising activity here had been broadly contemporary with that in the West; but to this there was the obvious commonsense objection that the same cities, Chalkis and Eretria, had been involved in both instances, and that their resources can hardly have measured up to mounting two such operations simultaneously. These considerations led some scholars to postulate that the original northern venture, in the Chalkidike, had been undertaken somewhat earlier than the western, others that it had been rather later⁹; my impression is that the latter view had the more adherents, but the range of speculation mainly illustrates the poverty of the evidence and, as I have said, the issue was anyway not often discussed.

In the past fourteen years, new excavation at several sites in the Chalkidike has put the matter decisively beyond further speculation. My aim in

the remainder of this paper is to communicate briefly some of the results of this work but, more important, to stress their profound implications for early Greek history in general, and in particular for the foundation of Pithekoussai and its successor-sites in the West. This new archaeological contribution may have been overdue, but it is none the less welcome for that.

The story begins in the 1981 season of the joint Greco-Australian excavations at Torone, on the middle (Sithonian) prong of the triple promontory of Chalkidike. One can only guess at what exactly the excavators had expected to find in their earliest levels when they began work here in 1975: here was a site traditionally colonised by the Euboean Chalkidians at some date no later than the first half of the seventh century B.C., and the evidence gathered from the first three seasons had been generally in accord with that tradition, although prehistoric pottery extending back to the Early Bronze Age was present in one part of the site, the "Lekythos" named in Thucydides IV, 113 ("Promontory 1"). More significantly in the light of later events, a handful of Early Iron Age sherds had also been gathered at points inland, assignable to the Protogeometric and Sub-Protogeometric phases. Then in 1981 came the discovery of a large cemetery, consisting mainly of cremations, on "Terrace V", underlying the architecture of the Classical city: its chronological range was impressively long and early, extending from the later part of the Submycenaean phase until the end of the Sub-Protogeometric: that is, according to the prevailing chronology, at least from ca. 1075 to ca. 825 B.C., a period of two and a half centuries lying entirely in the "pre-colonial" phase. By the end of the 1984 season, a total of 134 graves had been opened, 118 of them cremations; and these had yielded over 500 complete and fragmentary pots. Some of the pottery could be identified as imports from central and southern Greece, while other vessels were local imitations of these; others again were hand-made. Presently, a further very important conclusion emerged: the Attic element was prevalent in the earlier imports, but for the last

century or so of the cemetery's life Euboean wares and influence dominated¹⁰.

What was the identity and context of the group using this cemetery? The sheer numbers of the imported vessels, and the practice of imitating them on the spot, gave a suggestion that the actual burying group had included immigrants from central Greece; but the next evidence chronologically that supported such a conclusion was as yet to be found only in a nearby potter's kiln which had been used for the production of painted pottery of Late Geometric date, as well as of storage pithoi¹¹. The likeliest inference still seemed to be that a Chalkidian colony of the later eighth century had been preceded by a prolonged venture of more than three centuries earlier, with an interruption between the two. But the discoveries of 1988-1990 made it slightly harder to maintain that view. Excavation had now resumed its focus on the "Lekythos" promontory investigated in the 1970's: here, in one of a set of trenches laid out near the landward end of the promontory, substantial settlement evidence of the Late Geometric period for the first time came to light. It included four storage pithoi found *in situ*; a fifth such pithos was recovered in 1990, some distance away towards the northern, seaward tip of the peninsula, suggesting that storage facilities extended over a considerable area. The adjacent pottery, mostly incorporated in a deposit of fill laid around and over the pithoi in the Archaic period, included «especially plentiful... fragments of Late Protogeometric and notably Sub-Protogeometric vessels»¹². Continuity between the period of the cemetery and that of the kiln began to seem more likely, now that material comparable with both had been found in the same location, even if there remained an apparent chronological gap between the notional end of the Sub-Protogeometric and the beginning of the Late Geometric.

But continuity was beginning to be hinted at in the other direction as well: here and elsewhere on the site, repeated finds of Middle and Late Bronze

Age pottery, some of it imported from further south, were prolonging the sequence begun with the Early Bronze Age finds of the 1970's: the main emphasis was given to the finds of Early Mycenaean (LH I-II) date, because their occurrence on a Macedonian site was without precedent. Stratigraphic proof of continuous occupation until the beginning of the cemetery in the Submycenaean period is not yet forthcoming, but it is at least clear that the carriers of the imported pottery from the cemetery were following in the tracks of much older predecessors; and that any chronological interval at Torone was very much shorter than in the case of the western colonies where parallel explanations, in terms of memory of Bronze Age fore-runners, have at times been offered. It is perhaps just worth recording here the tradition recorded by Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. 'Τορόνη', with the words: «Torone: a city of Thrace, from Torone, the daughter of either Proteus or Poseidon and of Phoinike; and there is another Torone too, founded after the Trojan War». No other city of the name existed; instead, Stephanus must have stumbled on two conflicting traditions, one of which ascribed to Torone a foundation during the Heroic Age, the other later, and concluded that they applied to two different places.

The next site of great significance for this period is Mende, traditionally an Eretrian colonial foundation of the same general period as Chalkidian Torone, but lying this time on the westernmost of the three promontories, Pallene. Here Dr. Julia Vokotopoulou began in 1986 a most fruitful examination of the site. In the first two seasons of excavations, there took place discoveries that would have occasioned great surprise but for what had already emerged at Torone¹³. On the plateau of Vigla, the highest point of the Classical city, were discovered a series of bins and pits of varying shapes and sizes, evidently designed for storage, since some of them were lined with clay. At some point no later than the early seventh century B.C., they were used for the disposal of pottery, building

⁷ For the case of Al Mina, A.M. Snodgrass, 'The nature and standing of the western colonies', in G.R. Tsetschladze-F. de Angelis (a cura di), *The archaeology of Greek colonisation*, Oxford 1994, pp. 1-10, citing some other very recent opinions to the same effect; for Pithekoussai, J.N. Coldstream, 'Prospectors and pioneers: Pithekoussai, Kyne and Central Italy', *ibidem*, pp. 47-59.

⁸ The whole position is well summed up by A.J. Graham in J.

Boardman *et al.* (a cura di), in *CAH* (2nd ed.) 3.3, Cambridge 1982, pp. 113-118 and 160-162.

⁹ Earlier, e.g. D.W. Bradeen, 'The Chalcidians in Thrace', in *AJP* 73, 1952, pp. 356-380, especially pp. 378-380; later, e.g. R.M. Cook, 'Ionia and Greece in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.', in *JHS* 66, 1946, pp. 67-98, at p. 71.

¹⁰ See A. Cambitoglou-J.K. Papadopoulos, 'Excavations at Torone, 1986: a preliminary report', in *Mediterranean Archaeology* 1, 1988, pp. 180-217, with a useful summary of the earlier seasons' work at pp. 180-188.

¹¹ J.K. Papadopoulos, 'An Early Iron Age potter's kiln at Torone', in *Mediterranean Archaeology* 2, 1989, pp. 9-44.

¹² The fullest reports of these seasons are to be found in A. Cambitoglou-J.K. Papadopoulos, 'Excavations at Torone, 1988', in *Mediterranean Archaeology* 3, 1990, pp. 93-142 and 4, 1991, pp. 147-171; quotation from p. 152. For 1990, A. Cambitoglou, 'Torone', in *Ergon* 1990, pp. 89-93.

¹³ For Mende (and for Koukos, the next site) the fullest reports are to be found in the recently-founded periodical *To 'Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη* (hereafter *AEMTH*), with intermittent briefer accounts in *Deltion* and *AR*. For the Vigla pits, I. Vokotopoulou, in *AEMTH* 1, 1987, pp. 281 and 528, pl. 7; *Deltion* 41, 1986, *Chronika* pp. 147-149 and 42, 1987, *Chronika* pp. 368-369; H.W. Catling, in *AR* 35, 1988-89, p. 72 and E.B. French, in *AR* 39, 1992-93, p. 54.

materials, bones and other unwanted materials, and in some cases sealed off with stones. The pottery ranged in date from late Mycenaean of the twelfth century, through Submycenaean, Proto-geometric and Geometric to Sub-Geometric. In this case, the material of the earlier phases, down to and including the Protogeometric, was notably similar to that from Lefkandi in Euboea, and the Geometric material included Eretrian and East Greek imports. The link with Euboea appeared to cover some four centuries.

Meanwhile, work was also undertaken in a quite different part of the site, close to the sea-shore and about 150 m. away to the east. Here, in contrast to the Vigla site, stratified occupation-deposits were preserved, extending from the fourth century B.C. right back to at least the ninth: in 1988, a floor of Late Protogeometric date was found at the great depth of 4.50 m. The pottery, here mostly of local fabric, is remarked on for its resemblances in part to the material from the Early Iron Age cemetery at Torone, in part to that found at Lefkandi: there was even a leg from a zoomorphic plastic vase reminiscent of the famous "Lefkandi centaur"¹⁴. Finds in the same area in the following season, 1989, prompted caution about the absolute chronology of the local material, when sherds of the local Geometric were found in close association with an imported Middle Protocorinthian kotyle of the earlier seventh century B.C. In the same year, an extensive child cemetery further along the beach began to be systematically explored, and was found to extend back to at least 700 B.C.¹⁵ Finally in 1990, the last season of excavation in this quarter, a major stratigraphic sounding was carried even deeper than previously, almost to the present sea-level; much further pottery of Protogeometric and Sub-Protogeometric style was found, including later versions of the pendent-semicircle skyphos, and imported pieces of possible Thessalian origin, as well as Euboean. On the revised chronology, occupation in the coastal part of the site may not go back beyond c. 850 B.C., in contrast to the much earlier material from Vigla. Two small circular paved areas and part of a third, lying inside one of the houses and dating to the third quarter of the eighth century B.C., at once recalled the structures

of similar date found against the outer walls of houses at Lefkandi some years earlier¹⁶.

Mende thus provides a fuller picture than, as yet, Torone does, of what seems to be much the same phenomenon: a long-standing "pre-colonial" interest in the area of the Chalkidike on the part of Euboeans and others. In both cases, the material belongs to several different types of context, and comes from more than one area of the site. At Mende, the Euboean presence appears to extend, at least intermittently and possibly continuously, over some four centuries before the inferred date of the Eretrian colony.

A third site in the Chalkidike strongly reinforces the evidence from Mende: this is Koukos near Sykia, which lies towards the end of the Sithonia promontory, but some way eastwards from Torone, on a hill-top towards the opposite coast. As the use of the modern toponym shows, this is not a site for which an ancient identification can yet be proposed, and the suggestion has been made that its history may have resembled that of Lefkandi and of Zagora on Andros, with decline and abandonment taking place at the threshold of the historical era. Work began here in 1987, initially in the area of an Early Iron Age cemetery but later incorporating a fortified settlement of similar date as well: like Torone this was a joint Greco-Australian project. Five seasons (1987-1990, 1992) have been reported on to date. In the first four years a total of 98 graves, all cremations of varying types, were opened in the cemetery: as at Torone, there was a mixture of wheel-made and hand-made pottery, but although there was a chronological overlap with the cemetery there, the Koukos cremations extend distinctly later, from the late tenth century to the end of the eighth, thus neatly bridging the chronological gap between the Torone graves and the child-cemetery on the beach at Mende. Here the predominance of locally-made pottery seems to be great, but by 1988 it was being noted that the imported pieces, once again, recalled Euboean wares; and furthermore, there was a correspondence in burial-practices with Lefkandi in the use of cists for secondary cremations, with only microscopic traces of burnt bone in the fill of the graves¹⁷.

From 1988 on, the settlement and its fortifica-

tion-wall were tested as well. The contemporaneity of the fortification could not be conclusively established, but the settlement produced apsidal houses, a possible ash altar and, in 1992, a soapstone mould and other apparent traces of metal-working.

It has often happened in archaeology that an initially unexpected discovery rapidly stimulates comparable finds on other sites not far away; and that has certainly happened with these three excavations in the Chalkidike. The revelation of this early activity on the part of people from further south in the Aegean is of course the major surprise, but what makes it important for the early western colonies is the indisputable prominence in this activity of the Euboeans. We are not dealing, as in the case of the early Euboean appearances in the Levant, with a mere dispersion of pottery. These are durable settlements, planted on a continental coast, with many intrusive features alongside an undoubted indigenous element. The natural comparison is with the Ionian Migration, with which there must have been, at least in the case of Mende, a substantial chronological overlap. While Athenians and others, as tradition recalled, led the way there, in the Chalkidike it was the Euboeans who evidently came to prevail. The evidence for this view is to be found in the imported pottery from all three sites; in the architectural evidence of the circular platforms at Mende and perhaps in the leg of the figurine from the same site; in many features of the Early Iron Age cemetery at Torone; in the architecture and especially in the burial-practices at Koukos. It seems very likely that emigrant Euboeans were settling on this coast for generations before they began their documented western ventures. The historical destiny of Torone and Mende as city-states recalls that of their respective traditional foundresses, Chalkis and Eretria, just as the apparent demise of Koukos, and the probable loss of its ancient name, echoes the fate of Lefkandi.

The discoveries are also acutely relevant to a notorious problem in the early history of Macedonia, which may have some relevance for Pithe-

koussai as well. This is the issue of the mysterious "Chalkidian *genos*" twice mentioned by Herodotus (VII, 185, 2; VIII, 127) in the context of this region; the ethnic denotation of the "Thraceward Chalkidians" in Thucydides (I, 57, 5) and the "Thraceward Ionians" by Demosthenes (*apud* Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. 'Ἀπολλωνία') has often been taken to refer to the same group, and the most explicit statement comes from Polybius, who writes (IX, 28, 2) of a «confederation (σύστημα) of Thraceward Greeks founded by Athens and Chalkis». This problem is confronted, in the light of the new archaeological evidence, in a forthcoming paper by Professor N.G.L. Hammond, whose greater mastery of the complex evidence will enable me to be brief here¹⁸.

The most important point is that these "Chalkidians" are clearly distinguished from the inhabitants of the coastal colonies founded by Chalkis. The first Herodotean passage positively enforces this conclusion: at VII, 185, 2 we hear that the "Chalkidian *genos*" provided infantry for Xerxes in 480 B.C., whereas earlier the colonies (Torone specifically included) had been mentioned as furnishing ships and crews (VII, 122). This and other arguments had indeed led several scholars, following a powerfully-argued article by E. Harrison as long ago as 1912, to suggest that the "*genos* of the Chalkidians" had only a coincidence of name in common with the city in Euboea, and were in reality a little-known indigenous Macedonian tribe; and that the tradition of colonial foundations in the area by Euboean Chalkis had at least in part arisen through the confusion in names¹⁹. But as Hammond convincingly argues, a much better solution to the problem is now at hand: the pre-colonial activity of Euboean settlers, at Torone and elsewhere, could have led to the establishment of a group in the Chalkidike who retained the name of one of the Euboean cities from which they had originally set out; and who in later history were distinguished from, and at times at odds with, the inhabitants of the formal colonies established from the late eighth century on, even

¹⁴ I. Vokotopoulou, 'Ανασκαφή Μένδης 1988', in *AEMTH* 2, 1988, pp. 331-345, at pp. 332, 337 and *Deltion* 43, 1988, *Chronika* p. 361.

¹⁵ I. Vokotopoulou, 'Ανασκαφή Μένδης 1989', in *AEMTH* 3, 1989, pp. 409-423, at pp. 413-415, 418.

¹⁶ I. Vokotopoulou, 'Μένδη-Ποσειδί 1990', in *AEMTH* 4, 1990, pp. 399-410, at pp. 399-401 and 404, pls. 1-6; E.B. French, in *AR* 39, 1992-93, p. 54.

¹⁷ See I. Vokotopoulou, 'Ανασκαφικές έρευνες στη Χαλ-

κιδική', *AEMTH*, 1, 1987, pp. 284-285 and 528, with H.W. Catling, in *AR* 34, 1987-88, p. 49; J. Carington-Smith - I. Vokotopoulou, 'Ανασκαφή στον Κούκο Συκίας', in *AEMTH* 2, 1988, pp. 357-370, with specific observations cited at pp. 364 (history), 362 (imported pottery) and 360 (burial customs); 3, 1989, pp. 425-438; 4, 1990, pp. 439-454; with respective summaries by H.W. Catling, in *AR* 35, 1988-89, pp. 72-73; E.B. French, in *AR* 36, 1989-90, p. 52; 37, 1990-91, p. 49. For the 1992 season, *eadem*, in *AR* 39, 1992-93, p. 54.

¹⁸ 'The Chalcidians and «Apollonia of the Thraceward Ionians»' to appear in *BSA* 90, 1995. I thank Professor Hammond most warmly for showing me the text of this paper in advance of publication.

¹⁹ E. Harrison, 'Chalkidike', in *CQ* 6, 1912, pp. 93-103 and 165-178; followed by, e.g. M. Zahrt, *Olynth und die Chalkidier* (Vestigia 14), München 1971, pp. 12-27; S.C. Bakhuizen, *Chalkis in Euboea, iron and the Chalcidians abroad* (Chalcidian Studies 3), Leiden 1976, pp. 14-15, 18-19.

though many of the latter hailed from the same place; for there is no need to reject the strong tradition that Chalkidian colonies of the normal type, conforming to the model of the *polis*, followed on in this region in later centuries. To revert for a moment to the archaeology, it may be opportune to observe here that on the evidence of the Torone excavations, the builders of the Classical period were clearly unaware of, or indifferent to, the presence of the Early Iron Age cemetery underneath their city.

What makes this finding exceptionally interesting from the point of view of early colonisation is the fact that the first group of "Chalkidians" were called just that; that they retained the ethnic denomination and organisation appropriate to the era before the rise of the *polis*, and to the regions where the *polis* system did not prevail. Do we perhaps have here a glimpse of the nature of many "pre-colonial" ventures, when the new settlers adopted what was in all probability the only form of organisation known to them, that of an ethnic, "tribal" or federal grouping, in which the population of a number of separate settlements, including small hill-top hamlets like Koukos, would combine? And, much more speculatively, could this have any bearing on the case of Pithekoussai where, as we have seen (pp. 87-88), there has been a widespread tendency to regard this earliest Greek settlement in the West as having been in some way "pre-colonial", or "pre-*polis*", in its nature and organisation?

On this point I find the recent arguments of Coldstream (above, n. 7) convincing. A maturer consideration of the topography of Pithekoussai and Ischia suggests that this tendency should be reversed; in particular, Giorgio Buchner's recent discoveries of rural settlements elsewhere on the island, contemporary with the early years of Pithekoussai, give a strong hint that the *chora* of the settlement – that is, the rest of the island – was being exploited from early on, as we should expect in a "normal" colonial foundation. In any case, the topographical conditions on Ischia were so far removed from those of the continental territory in which the "Chalkidian *genos*" had formed during the preceding centuries that even an identical form of organisation on the part of the colonisers would have produced different results.

The precedent of the dark age settlements of Euboeans in Macedonia is thus not an unqualified parallel. The eighth – even the early eighth – century was a very different era from the thirteenth, twelfth or eleventh. To be more specific, the

Greek homeland was witnessing the growth of nucleated settlements which saw their neighbours as potential rivals rather than associates, a growth which was probably already bringing into being the familiar world of the independent *polis*; and there is no clearer example of the process than the triad of settlements around the Lelantine Plain of Euboea, Chalkis, Lefkandi and Eretria. Eretria was growing rapidly and Chalkis must have been as well; Lefkandi's time was nearly over. An obscurer drama with a similar plot was apparently running its course in that other area of Euboean settlement, the Chalkidike, where Torone and Mende were to survive as *poleis* on their respective promontories, but the smaller fortified settlement at Koukos was apparently to share the fate of Lefkandi. Whether Chalkis or Eretria or both participated in founding Pithekoussai, the founders are more likely to have designed their new settlement in their own image, that of nucleated communities sharing a preoccupation with arable land.

In a recent paper on the general theme of western colonisation (above, n. 7), I have drawn attention to two other fundamental differences between the earlier Euboean ventures in the Chalkidike and the later ones at Pithekoussai and its successor-settlements. The contrast in the length and hazard of the necessary sea-voyage is so obvious as to need no further emphasis; but a second distinction deserves rehearsing once again. This is the marked difference in the *density* of the Greek settlement, Euboean and other, in the two regions. In the Chalkidike, more than perhaps in any other area of Greek colonisation, one is struck by how closely the settlements are crowded on to this exceptionally indented coastline. In Italy, Sicily and the West, a much wider pattern of spacing prevails, as a glance at the map will show. This need for distancing seems to have been accepted by the various colonising cities from the very start of the movement to settle in the West; even when infilling occurred in the course of time, the density never came to approach that in the northern Aegean. Whatever kind of explanatory model we adopt for the contrast in density, it is likely to include some element of intentional policy: the new venture in the West was seen to require a change of scale, as well as of distance. Among the few exceptions to this rule are the first Megarian colony at Megara Hyblaea, which was located uncomfortably and, in the very long term, fatally close to Syracuse; and, interestingly, the very first Euboean settlements in the West at Pithekoussai and Kyme, which faced each other across a strip of

water only 15 kilometres wide. In the latter case, this only held true of the comparatively short period when the two colonies co-existed, and we cannot assume that their simultaneous occupation was part of the original design of the founders of Pithekoussai; yet it may have some significance as an example of a transitional phase of policy, when the practices of Euboean settlers much nearer home were still felt to be appropriate to the western Mediterranean.

The value of the recent discoveries on the Macedonian coast, not least for the field of western settlement, remains considerable in spite of these palpable differences. They show that the people of the Euboean communities had been not only far-travelled mariners, but also founders of durable overseas settlements, for centuries before they turned their eyes to the Bay of Naples – something which fell far short of proof in the case of their Levantine ventures, even where Al Mina was concerned (above, pp. 87-88). They show them transplanting their own established cultural fea-

tures – architectural and funerary as well as ceramic and, at least at Torone, involving the manufacture as well as the importation of pottery – to a continental shore, and maintaining them in the face of local inhabitants who, as later Macedonian history shows, could turn hostile. They give us our best glimpse to date of the operation, and indeed the feasibility, of such settlements in an era which undoubtedly preceded the rise of the *polis* in the Greek homeland: we can no longer assume *a priori* that the existence of the *polis* system at home was a precondition for the onset of the colonising movement abroad. This is an impressive series of gains to emerge from little more than a decade of excavation in one small area of the ancient world. The Euboean pioneers of the Chalkidike have claims on the attention of anyone with a serious interest in the rise of Greek colonisation in Italy and Sicily – and no one alive has demonstrated this interest more profoundly, or to better effect, than Giorgio Buchner.

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 *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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