

ISTITUTO UNIVERSITARIO ORIENTALE

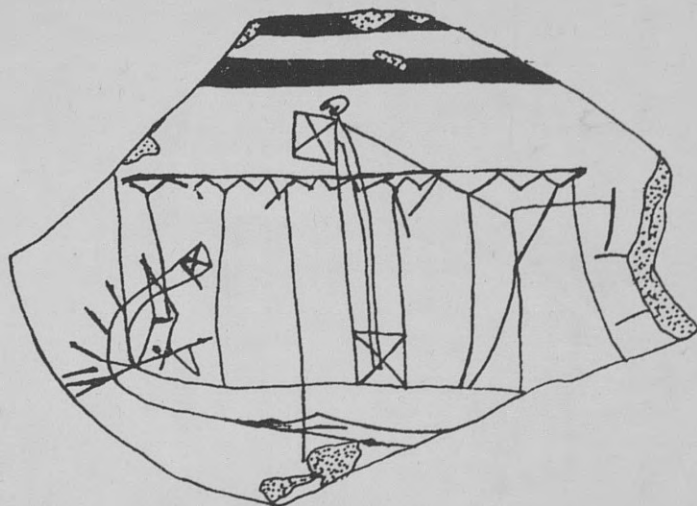
ANNALI DI ARCHEOLOGIA E STORIA ANTICA

DIPARTIMENTO DI STUDI DEL MONDO CLASSICO
E DEL MEDITERRANEO ANTICO

Nuova Serie N. 1

ΑΠΟΙΚΙΑ

SCRITTI IN ONORE DI GIORGIO BUCHNER



1994 Napoli

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

SCRITTI IN ONORE DI GIORGIO BUCHNER

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

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[a cura di BRUNO D'AGOSTINO - DAM 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.

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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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ORIENTALIA AND ORIENTALS ON ISCHIA

JOHN BOARDMAN

Giorgio Buchner's splendid *Pithekoussai 1* and his colleague, David Ridgway's wise summary and commentary in *The first Western Greeks* have revealed the most challenging data yet recovered from any Greek colonial site¹. They challenge our understanding of Greek, Italian and eastern archaeology, our ability to forge history from objects, and not least our skills in allowing for the as yet unknown and the unknowable. This paper could only have been written after the appearance of the great volume, and it tries to assess the reliability of the assertions and deductions that many of us have already drawn from the evidence presented, dwelling especially on the evidence for Levantine presence, be it of objects or people. It is possible to be optimist and sceptic at the same time! – indeed, it is safer so, when scholars seem often now driven more by enthusiasms than by the available evidence. *Pithekoussai 1* could encourage extremes and deserves far better use.

Generalisations from the published tombs have to be tempered by some simple facts, well laid out by Buchner in various articles and by Ridgway in his book (Ridgway 1992, pp. 45-9 and fig. 5). «No more than 10% of the [San Montano] cemetery's verified extent» has been excavated. Of the 1300 tombs uncovered only the 723 from the area excavated in 1952-61 are now published fully, and of these just 493 are Geometric. The yield is very rich but far from representative of the town's dead. 43% of the graves had no grave goods at all; 66% of the graves were of children. The children's graves account for over 70% of those with grave goods and 76% of the grave good items catalogued. A very high proportion are children and of the adults many «did not rank high in Pithekoussan society». We seem then to have a corner of the cemetery dominated mainly by graves of the very young and the poor, with a few richer exceptions,

of which there are further examples in the other sector dug but as yet unpublished, and any really rich graves remain elusive. Two main periods are distinguished, running through what we conventionally regard as the last half of the eighth century – Late Geometric I and II (LG I, LG II).

As soon as orientalia were found on Ischia they were seen to echo the role of the founding Greeks, the Euboeans, east and west, and the site was seen to be one of potential importance for the passage of eastern ideas to the mainland of Italy, though direct eastern influence there had long been apparent. Later it was recognised that there was an eastern presence and we are used now to speaking of easterners living beside Greeks on Ischia, presumably in amicable coexistence. The evidence for this has been well rehearsed by Ridgway (Ridgway 1992, 111-8). In considering it briefly here I dwell on some problems of identification and interpretation. Not least important is the question of the source or sources of the eastern objects and people. Many boldly call them Phoenician, since the purple men are at the moment the most favoured Levantines, for various reasons, not all of them academic. But in effect three sources need to be considered: first, Cyprus, where there had been some contacts with both Greece and the eastern mainland throughout the Greek «Dark Age», where there was a Phoenician presence since the mid-ninth century at Kition, and subjection to Assyria in the later eighth. Secondly, the major Phoenician city-ports, living very much in the shadow of Assyria in our period (a reason for travelling west?)². Thirdly, to the north, what is conveniently called North Syria – in effect a disturbed but culturally distinct area of neo-Hittite states (notably Que and Unqi), which had become Assyrian provinces in the eighth century. These had included a substantial Aramaean population since about 1000, whose language had become the sec-

¹ My main debt in this paper is to these publications. I have also profited from discussion with Andrée Gorton whose thesis on scarabs in the Mediterranean is being prepared for publication

and am deeply in her debt; also from the comment and correction of David Ridgway.

² W. Culican, in *CAH* 3². 2, 1991, ch. 32, esp. pp. 461-70.

ond language of the area to Akkadian in our period³. This was, as it were, the western vestibule of Assyria, Mesopotamia and Urartu, the outlet to the Mediterranean being the Orontes valley past Bronze Age Atchana and Iron Age Al Mina, or a more northerly approach past Tarsus. North Syria has sites rich in Greek pottery of the second half of the eighth century, the period which most concerns us. The pottery is more plentiful there, compared with local wares, than in Phoenician cities, though these at present have priority in date for import (Tyre). North Syria shared a degree of material culture with Phoenicians, with whom there is non-archaeological evidence for trade, but local products, as those of their hinterland, are distinctive. They used a version (Aramaic) of the Phoenician script which philologists can distinguish from Phoenician, but for a non-Phoenician language. Their script was copied and adjusted by Greeks by around 750⁴.

One numerous group of orientalia on Ischia is of the Lyre Player seals which I had the privilege of studying with Giorgio Buchner, and returned to later with addenda from other sources. 36 examples were found in 28 tombs. Our studies showed that they were made in North Syria (on grounds of style, material, distribution), and the Ischia grave contexts showed that they were commonest in LG I and early LG II⁵.

Another group of seals is comprised of scarabs, some of steatite and some of faience. The fullest account of them, by De Salvia, appears in the new volume, and they have also been studied by Hölbl (Hölbl 1979, esp. pp. 215-21) and Gorton. They have been omitted so far from serious consideration à propos of eastern presence, yet they are more numerous than the Lyre Player seals. The 24 steatite scarabs are from LG I and LG II tombs; they are all Egyptian in origin, of types well met also in Cyprus and on Rhodes. 8 of these tombs also held Lyre Players. 3 frit scarabs in an LG I tomb (592, with one steatite) remain unclassified, but are likely to be Egyptian (cf. Hölbl 1979, pp. 204-6). 23 faience scarabs come from 20 LG II

tombs. None share a tomb with a Lyre Player, though since there are only 6 LG II tombs with Lyre Players (and 3 called LG I/II) this need not be significant. A third of the faience scarabs are egyptianising of a clearly defined type which seemed destined for the Greek market and are commonly thought to have been made on Rhodes⁶. They are found in many Greek sites, especially Perachora, and continued in production well into the seventh century, when odd examples are found also in Carthage and other Punic sites; they are virtually unknown in the Levant, Cyprus and Egypt, although the Naucratis factory may be regarded as their successor⁷. Another third carry register compositions in late Egyptian style. These are better known in the Punic west, mainly after 700, and in Cyprus and Rhodes, either of which might be the source for many of them⁸. The rest, with the three of blue frit, may be Egyptian. The whole assemblage, especially with the addition of the Lyre Players, is not at all typical of eighth-century Phoenician sites in the west, which are better served by the homeland as well as Egypt, though broadly matched elsewhere in Italy. The most assured Phoenician scarabs – hardstone with egyptianising devices and sometimes inscribed – are lacking⁹.

The faience scarabs and Egyptian steatites are mounted (if at all) on round silver hoops and bands of eastern type (*Pithekoussai* 1, p. 774); the Lyre Players on oval silver hoops with suspension tubes (Buchner-Boardman 1966, pp. 42-3; Boardman 1990a, p. 4). Neither resemble the distinctive west Phoenician scarab settings, in hoops with transverse or twisted loops.

It has often been remarked that the Lyre Players and scarabs have been found largely in children's graves. This evokes comparison with the Egyptian and Levantine, rather than Greek, habit of depositing seals in tombs, and their special association in life with the protection of women and children. We may contrast the usual (but not invariable) findplaces of the Lyre Players and scar-

abs on homeland Greek sites – in sanctuaries, not tombs. So the Ischia tombs with them might be of immigrants. This is not impossible but it should also be remarked that 19% of the Lyre Player tombs, and 14% of those with faience scarabs were for adults, of whom half were male (who had presumably managed to survive, with their amulets), and that at any rate 70% of all the tombs with grave goods were for children. It may be that the eastern custom was being imitated in Ischia with a slightly less restricted usage, but surely inspired by eastern example¹⁰.

We turn to pottery. There are at least 79 examples of the KW flasks (Kreis-und-Wellenband, or "spaghetti" flasks; as Ridgway 1992, p. 61, fig. 13.5 and 79, pl. 5 bottom centre) in 20 LG II tombs (and a few later) with two local imitations and two in related shapes. Two tombs (145 and 483) had as many as 9 in each, but in tomb 483 there were just as many Greek aryballoi, as well as many other Greek vases. They are usually side by side and there are no complexes which might be described as of a dominantly eastern character¹¹. Over half the tombs with flasks also contained faience scarabs, and 2 of the 6 LG II tombs with Lyre Players had KW flasks. These vessels are almost certainly of Rhodian manufacture, imitating an eastern type of flask, a practice of Rhodian potters which is well attested for shapes of Cypriot, North Syrian and Phoenician origin¹². This has been well documented by Coldstream (Coldstream 1969) who takes the KW flasks to be the products of immigrant Phoenician perfumiers in Rhodes. But the eastern decoration that they copy is Cypriot, not Phoenician, with the concentric, multiple-brush circles broken and continued freehand. It appears on flasks of the same shape in Cypriot White Painted IV¹³. I would expect an immigrant Phoenician to copy his native shape with its native decoration, not with a well-established Cypriot

one. Whatever the effect of Phoenicians in Cyprus may have been on local shapes and perfumery, the KW flasks on Ischia attest immediate relations with Rhodes rather than any remoter source, and those on Rhodes, with Cyprus¹⁴.

Of other LG II oriental pottery on Ischia we find 8 plain flasks (4 in LG I tomb 166), and one with an appliqué head on its neck (Ridgway 1992, p. 60, fig. 12 and p. 115, fig. 30): a type recognised as North Syrian. And there are two plain flasks (globular, with drip rings) and one with fine Phoenician Red Slip (Ridgway 1992, p. 79, pl. 5, right)¹⁵; and 12 plain amphorae, 5 of them Phoenician.

We come now to inscriptions and a small number of crucial graffiti on pottery. Here orientalist seem mainly to agree that the scripts are Aramaic (north Semitic) rather than Phoenician. One appears on what is declared a locally made Greek cup, a clear instance of an easterner on Ischia (Ridgway 1992, pp. 116-8, fig. 31 below, which is inverted; *Pithekoussai* 1, pp. 289-90, 232*-1). Despite the poor condition of the pottery from the tombs we must trust the excavators' skill in determining local products and probably ignore the fact that a Greek epigraphist (M. Guarducci) thought the inscription Greek¹⁶.

An imported Greek amphora (Ridgway 1992, pp. 111-3, fig. 29; tomb 575-1) bears Aramaic graffiti relating to metrology of contents. It has also a complex graffito including a triangle with extended sides (fig. 1). This is declared a version of the familiar Semitic Tanit sign associated with sanctuaries and burials elsewhere. A problem is posed by the fact that the usual components of the Tanit, horizontal crossbar and handle, are missing. Fig. 2 is from Falsone's article¹⁷ on these signs which is cited as proving the significance of the Ischia graffito. Moreover, the latter seems to have been added or attached to another geometric and indecipherable sign on the vase, a divided rect-

³ See J.D. Hawkins, in *CAH* 3².1, 1982, ch. 9 for the Neo-Hittite states.

⁴ Perreault 1993, p. 68, regards my publication of an inscribed Greek sherd from Al Mina as part of my defence of a Greek presence at Al Mina, but the publication (in *OJA* 1, 1982, pp. 365-7), far from making such a claim, declares that we do not know where the graffito was added.

⁵ Buchner-Boardman 1966; Boardman 1990a, where there is the latest distribution map (fig. 20).

⁶ Gorton Type XXII. Hölbl 1979, pp. 212-4, concurs and doubts Phoenician involvement.

⁷ Hölbl 1979, p. 210 finds significant differences between the "Perachora/Rhodes" scarabs and the Naucratis in subject though they are identical in technique. He possibly underestimates the chronological differences, the former being mainly produced before the foundation of Naucratis.

⁸ Gorton Types XI-XIV.

⁹ Remarks on these in B. Buchanan - P.R.S. Moorey, *Catalogue of Near Eastern seals in the Ashmolean Museum*, 3, 1988, pp. 37-9.

¹⁰ See F. De Salvia, 'Un ruolo apotropaico dello scarabeo egizio nel contesto culturale greco-archaico di Pithekoussai (Ischia)', in *Hommages à M.J. Vermaseren*, Leiden 1978, pp. 1003-61, p. 1029 for some statistics.

¹¹ Ridgway 1992, p. 62, reports 40 KW flasks in a tomb from the second series of excavations.

¹² J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric pottery*, London 1981, pp. 275-7; including copies of the North Syrian flasks with faces on the neck, as one found on Ischia.

¹³ The shape has more in common with Early Protocorinthian globular aryballoi, which may themselves be derived from it. The KW flasks of Rhodes are discussed by K.F. Johansen, in *Exochi*, Copenhagen 1958, pp. 155-61, giving a telling Cypriot parallel (fig. 224).

¹⁴ I am grateful to Helen Raftopoulou for discussion of the significance of the KW flasks. There are on Rhodes what seem to

be copies of real Phoenician shapes and decoration, as there are in Crete. Here a true Phoenician presence is attested most clearly at Kommos (where it seems short-lived), the other orientalising styles and oriental immigrants being more likely of North Syrian origin (shields, goldwork, some grave types, etc.).

¹⁵ And cf. the inscribed fragment of a Red Slip dish, Ridgway 1992, p. 117, fig. 31 above, inverted.

¹⁶ Archaeologists need guidance but should, in the end, be their own epigraphists of graffiti, having better understanding of the media and techniques which might constrain writing, and more experience of non-literary scratching. A cautionary example is the inscribed (*sic*) Lyre Player seal from Francavilla: Boardman 1990a, pp. 6-7. For the evaluation of pottery graffiti photographs are essential.

¹⁷ G. Falsone, 'Il simbolo di Tanit a Mozia e nella Sicilia punica', in *RSF* 6, 1978, pp. 137-51, drawing in fig. 3.

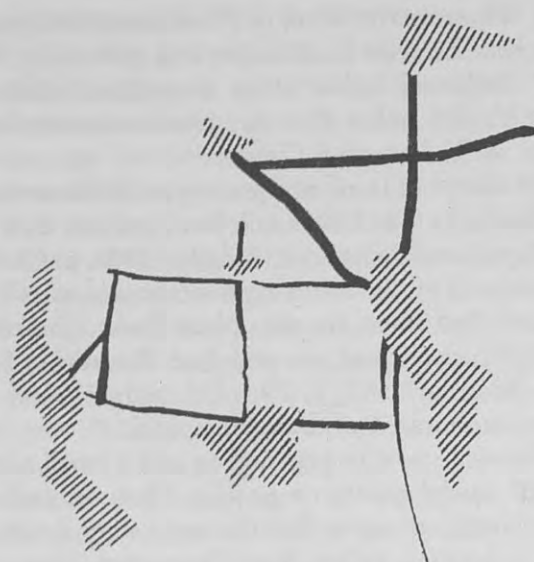


Fig. 1 - Graffito from amphora shoulder (after Ridgway 1992, p. 112, fig. 29).

angle¹⁸, and is set at an angle to it. I find it very difficult to accept it as a local Levantine addition indicating the funerary status of the Greek vase. At least the other graffiti on the vase demonstrate that a Levantine handled a Greek container, probably somewhere in the east.

Burial rites are not helpful. The common practice of depositing a single unburnt jug in cremations is explained as either for dousing the pyre or to serve the thirsty dead (Ridgway 1992, pp. 49-50; Boardman 1988, p. 173) – in either case more Greek than anything, and for burials which have their shares of eastern objects too. But comparable single jugs are found with inhumations also, though less commonly (in 44% of cremations); some of the other pottery with inhumations might have served a comparable purpose, of course.

The overall impression one gains from this survey of orientalia reinforces the observation I made in 1990 and demonstrated in a map (fig. 3) about the flow of goods and influence from the North Syrian area into the Greek world and beyond, but *not* into the Phoenician world farther west in the eighth century¹⁹. Both Cyprus and especially Rhodes are

important places en route and/or sources. The distinction implicit in this map helps explain why the Greek orientalising revolution depended almost wholly on North Syrian example and import, while the Etruscan, with more direct Phoenician access from Sardinia, had also a very strong Phoenician element, especially in the early period in northern metal-rich cities such as Vetulonia.

The only extra factor to take into account on Ischia is the strong original Egyptian element, emphasised by Hölbl (Hölbl 1979, pp. 201-2, 207, 217-8, 221). It is not easy to explain this wholly in terms of Phoenician carriers, especially since there seems clear evidence of strong egyptianising production on Rhodes. We need perhaps to take more seriously these signs of Greco-Egyptian work in the east Greek area, and from an early date, remembering the finds on Rhodes and Samos, and that there had been long and direct contact between Egypt and

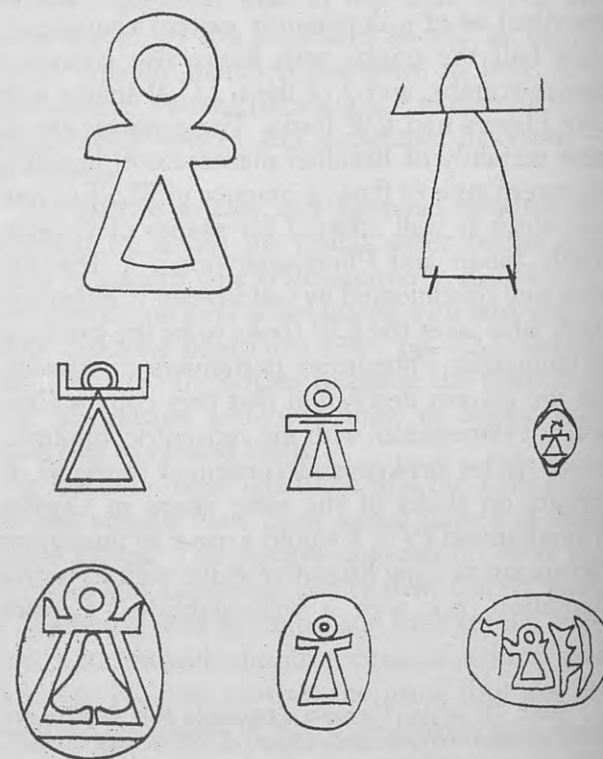


Fig. 2 - Tanit signs from Motya (after Falsone [see n. 17], fig. 3).

been found in Greece, except for Rhodes, nor in Ischia. They may be slightly earlier than most of the seals and certainly would survive less well; very little glass was recovered at Ischia – less that we might have expected for the date and in comparison with mainland Italian sites. It may be that – 1) glass beads, 2) Lyre Players, 3) KW flasks and faience scarabs – should be treated as three roughly successive phenomena, not contemporary.

¹⁸ Ridgway 1992, p. 114, says this is a numeral, but the numerals are on the handles, and there is a word («double») on the shoulder of the vase. The rectangle and triangle are not recognisable characters, unless they are *bet dalet: beta delta* (or *rho*).

¹⁹ The same applies to the glass bird-beads: O.-H. Frey, in *Zur geschichtlichen Bedeutung der frühen Seefahrt*, H. Müller-Karpe (ed.), Munich 1982, p. 33, fig. 8; and cf. H.G. Niemeyer, in *JRGZ* 31, 1984, pp. 28-9. Unlike the Lyre Players, they have not so far

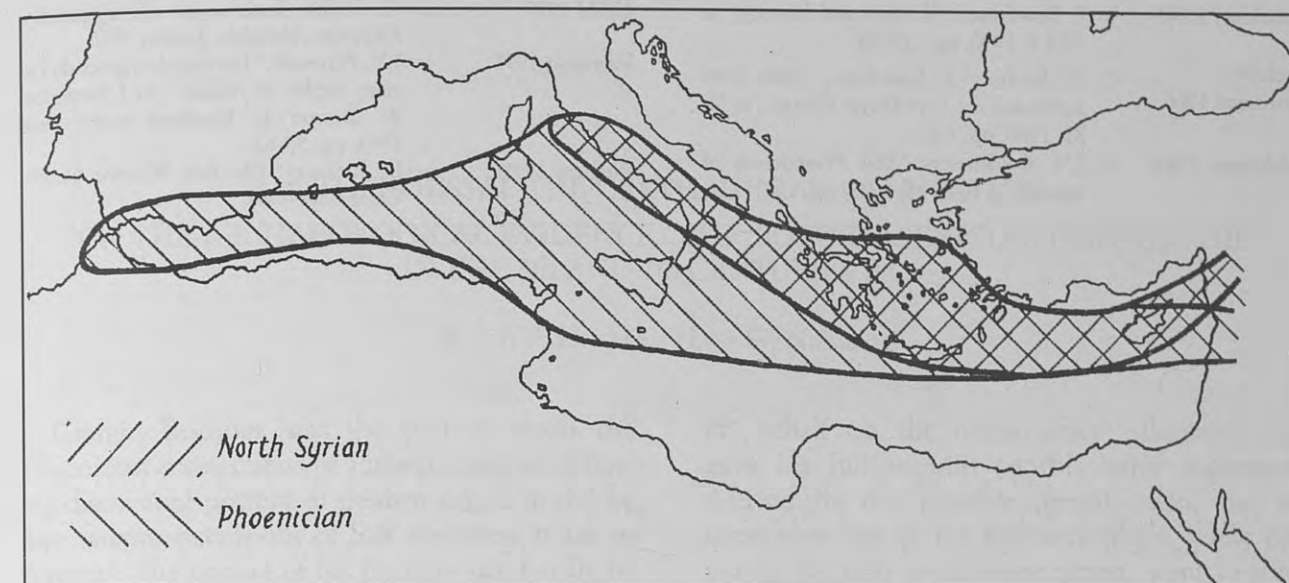


Fig. 3 - Map of trade flow (after Boardman 1990b, p. 180, fig. 2).

Cyprus (as there was also to be later), not apparently or always dependent on coastwise traffic. That Phoenicians may have been involved in some way or other is certainly possible, but much might be explicable in Cyprus where there was also strong Egyptian import, and not only at Kition. We are dealing with one of those rare periods when the rulers of Egypt were outward-looking.

Who, then, are the Levantines? (Buchner and Ridgway have been careful in recent publication to use the term Levantine in preference to Phoenician). That there was a presence seems highly probable, though not exactly for the reasons usually given. Barely 2% of the vases in *Pithekoussai 1* are eastern: a similar proportion of Greek vases in a foreign cemetery would not, I am sure, lead most scholars to support a substantial Greek presence, and we ought not to use double standards in these matters²⁰. I find the scarab and seal usage more compelling, as well as arguments based on simple plausibility, given the common presence of early Greek goods (some of Ischian manufacture as on Sardinia and in Carthage), with Phoenician orientalia farther west and from the earliest period. But to judge from the material imported the commonest visitors to Ischia ought to be from North Syria, not Phoenicia; otherwise the pattern of imports would have been quite different and more like that of other early west Phoenician sites. The North

Syrians, either neo-Hittites or Aramaeans, do not enjoy much of a record as merchants rather than as producers and purveyors of highly influential objects for the Greek world, but we may underestimate native Cypriot contribution to this flow, or be misled by the lack of major Phoenician-type city-harbours, rather than river-mouth anchorages, on the coast north of the main Phoenician coastal strip. We can hardly rule out the possibility that the Euboeans themselves were responsible for a major part of the carrying.

We need to be discriminate in our accolades for easterners and as precise as we can in identifying them. There were several eastern (and south-eastern, perhaps north-eastern) windows through which light was shed into the Mediterranean world. The range of the Ischia finds, however unrepresentative they may prove to be of the whole site, has made it possible to make more progress in this matter than hitherto, principally through the quality of Giorgio Buchner's publication, which we salute.

Supplementary abbreviations:

- Boardman 1988 = J. Boardman, 'Sex differentiation in grave vases', in *AION ArchStAnt*, 10, 1988, pp. 171-9.
Boardman 1990a = J. Boardman, 'The Lyre-Player Group of seals: an encore', in *AA* 1990, pp. 1-17.

²⁰ I give proportions of Greek pottery from eastern settlement sites of this period: Boardman 1990b, p. 175. For the Al Mina figures J.Y. Perreault seems either to distrust my ability to reco-

gnise and count Geometric pottery or my veracity (Perreault 1993, p. 67).

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|--|----------------|---|
| Boardman 1990b | = J. Boardman, 'Al Mina and History', in <i>OJA</i> 9, 1990, pp. 169-90. | Hölbl 1979 | = G. Hölbl, <i>Beziehungen der ägyptischen Kultur zu Altitalien</i> , Leiden 1979. |
| Buchner-Boardman 1966 | = G. Buchner - J. Boardman, 'Seals from Ischia and the Lyre-Player Group', in <i>Jdl</i> 81, 1966, pp. 1-62. | Perreault 1993 | = J.Y. Perreault, 'Les emporia grecs du Levant: mythe ou réalité?', in <i>L'Emporion</i> , A. Bresson - P. Rouillard (eds.), Paris 1993, pp. 59-83. |
| Coldstream 1969 | = J.N. Coldstream, 'The Phoenicians of Ialysos', in <i>BICS</i> 16, 1969, pp. 1-8. | Ridgway 1992 | = D. Ridgway, <i>The first Western Greeks</i> , Cambridge 1992. |

PITHEKOUSSAI: THE CARTHAGINIAN CONNECTION
ON THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF EUBOEO-PHOENICIAN PARTNERSHIP
IN THE 8th AND 7th CENTURIES B.C.*

ROALD F. DOCTER - HANS G. NIEMEYER

Giorgio Buchner was the first to stress the Phoenician connections of Pithekoussai, after having discovered pottery of eastern origin in the by now famous necropolis of San Montano at Lacco Ameno¹. The impact of his findings can hardly be overestimated. They have altered and enriched our picture of the Mediterranean in the eighth century in general and enhanced our understanding of early Greco-Phoenician interrelations in particular. Fifteen years later, in 1979, he delivered his magnificent paper to the Cologne symposium on *Phoenicians in the West* under the lucid and at the same time somewhat intricate German title 'Die Beziehungen zwischen der euböischen Kolonie Pithekoussai auf der Insel Ischia und dem nordwestsemitischen Mittelmeerraum in der zweiten Hälfte des 8. Jhs.v.Chr.'. This contribution, summarizing the results of his research, found the most positive echo and aroused the most extended discussion².

It was early in the seventies that one of the authors received a letter from our honorand, in which he gave his opinion on some sherds found in the excavations at the Phoenician settlement of Toscanos in southern Spain. These fragments were identified by the excavators as Protocorinthian in the preliminary report, but for some fragments an Argive or a western Greek provenance had hesitatingly been suggested, inter alia

on behalf on the orange clay³. Buchner then gave his full support to this latter suggestion. Alerted by the possible identification, the addressee in one of the following years, while preparing the next preliminary report, went to study the large "tessonier" in the Akademisches Kunstmuseum at Bonn in order to prove and corroborate the identification, with positive results⁴. Next it was Brian Shefton, who, in his masterly synthesis on the Greeks in Spain, took notice of this detail, proposing for the original EPC-kotylai (and their imitations?) «that they too were taken from this area of southern Italy to the Far West by Phoenician traders» (see below, cat. 34).

There was more evidence of Phoenico-Euboean connections to be detected when the under-signed paid a visit to our honorand on the island of Ischia and was shown some wooden cases with material from the Scarico Gosetti. The aim was to find parallels for those characteristic "tuyères" with two pipes found in archaic Toscanos (fig. 2b) and, of a much developed shape, on the East slope of the Byrsa hill at Carthage⁵. The project was a successful one, as had already been presumed by host and guest when discussing at the Cologne symposium. At least one fragmentary bellows' nozzle could be found (fig. 2a), almost identical with the Phoenician ones found at Toscanos

* For their interest, critical remarks and help Kees Neeft, Hans Koens and Winfred van de Put (Amsterdam) are to be thanked. The drawings for figs. 1-3, 5 were prepared by R. Gerstmeier (Hamburg). The photographs for figs. 4, 6 were made by H. Ballschuh (University of Hamburg, Photo Department).

¹ G. Buchner, 'Discussion', in *Metropoli e colonie di Magna Grecia*, 'Atti del 3° Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1963', Napoli 1964, p. 271. Compare now Buchner-Ridgway 1993, p. 276.

² Buchner 1982, with full bibliography. The discussion is almost nine entire pages in print, as compared to 21 pages of the paper itself.

³ G. Lindemann-H.G. Niemeyer-H. Schubart, 'Toscanos, Jardín und Alarcón. Vorbericht über die Grabungskampagne 1971', in *MadrMitt* 13, 1972, p. 143, ns. 29-31, pl. 24.

⁴ H.G. Niemeyer, 'Toscanos. Vorbericht über die Grabungskampagnen 1973 und 1976', in *MadrMitt* 18, 1977, pp. 91-92, ns. 43-44.

⁵ H.G. Niemeyer, 'Phönizische Blasebalgdüsen? Die Funde im spanischen Toscanos im zeitgenössischen Vergleich', in *Der Anschnitt. Zeitschrift für Kunst und Kultur im Bergbau* 35, 1983, pp. 50-58 (with full bibliography).

SUMMARY

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

The date of the advent of the reclining *symposion* 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 *symposion* 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 *symposion*, 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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