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Drinking and eating in Euboean Pithekoussai

John N. Coldstream

- 1 Plates, cups, bowls and jugs: these are convenient names that are applied, even today, in several languages, to ceramic receptacles for food and drink; and, whether modern vessels or ancient Geometric, their shapes-we hope-offer clues to their proper functions for pouring, drinking or eating.
- 2 My topic was prompted chiefly by Dr Giorgio Buchner's kind invitation to visit Ischia and study for publication the imports of Euboean Geometric from the Scarico Gosetti¹, the massive rubbish dump of domestic pottery found on the Monte di Vico acropolis of Pithekoussai.
- 3 On seeing the proposed title of my paper in the programme for this Convegno Dr Buchner remarked to me in a letter² «on drinking, yes, but what do we know about eating?». His question gave me an additional stimulus in composing these pages.
- 4 From the full and splendid publication of Pithekoussai graves 1-723³, it is clear that very few of the early colonists went to their graves without a trefoil-lipped oinochoe⁴, whether imports from Corinth or Euboea, or made in local workshops. Since they were never burnt in the cremations, Dr Buchner had in mind the Homeric custom of quenching the flames of a funeral pyre with wine⁵, practiced by colonial Euboeans much influenced by heroic epic poetry. This, however, can hardly have been the *only* function of the oinochoai in the graves, to judge from the domestic pottery from the Scarico Gosetti.
- 5 In settlements of the late eighth century, it is usual for the closed shapes to be greatly outnumbered by open vessels; one thinks especially of the well deposits from the area of the Athenian Agora⁶, the pottery from the LG settlements at Lefkandi⁷, at Eretria⁸, at Zagora⁹ on Andros and-in my own experience-the domestic deposits of this period at Knossos¹⁰. To this rule, as far as we know, Pithekoussai appears to provide a remarkable exception. Of course we still lack any information there from domestic deposits found *in situ* in ordinary Geometric houses. The Mazzola site, industrial rather than normal domestic, is so far known to us only in preliminary reports. Perhaps the newly

discovered house at Punta Chiarito, in the Ischian countryside¹¹, may soon furnish us with some well stratified material. As it is, for any statistical information about Pithekoussan domestic pottery, we must be content for the time being with the unstratified Scarico Gosetti. When studying the Euboean imports from that dump, I was surprised to find that, even if we exclude the storage pots, there was an extraordinary preponderance of oinochoai; they, and other pouring vessels, comprised no less than 67% of the total¹². The remainder, apart from one solitary plate for eating, consisted of various drinking vessels, including some of the earliest skyphoi from the colony. These statistics are, of course, not representative of the whole Scarico (fig. 1), of which the Euboean imports comprise only 3%; the Corinthian imports there are much more numerous, and the vast majority of the pottery is from local workshops. For the grand total, the corresponding figures are: pouring, 34%; drinking 41%; eating, 25%¹³. But since these figures also take in the seventh century, one must attempt a dia-chronic breakdown, from details kindly supplied by David Ridgway¹⁴. This is no easy task, since much of the material is too fragmentary to allow close dating; even so, two generalisations are relevant here. First, the Corinthian imports, amounting to of the total, consist solely of vessels for pouring, mixing and drinking; there is not a single Corinthian plate, although the shape was made in Corinth from the late eighth century onwards in modest quantities. Secondly, of the local shapes suitable for eating-various forms of plate, shallow bowl and dish-none goes back to the colony's first generation, and several are of types more current in the seventh century than in the eighth. We shall return in due course to this apparently long delay in the provision of pottery especially for eating; but, among the containers of liquid from the Scarico, what is extraordinary is the abnormally high proportion of oinochoai, no less abundant than in the graves, and exceeding by far their occurrence in the Euboean homeland, among the settlement deposits of Eretria, Chalcis and Lefkandi. This massive provision for pouring wine must surely reflect the joy of the early colonists in finding the ideal terrain, in the island's volcanic soil, for the cultivation of the newly introduced vine, in conditions far more favourable than in their homeland; a joy which, no doubt, overflowed in many a cheerful drinking party like that recorded in the metrical inscription on the Nestor kotyle. In their daily life, it is a matter of taste whether we choose to see such occasions as "ritual" or "ceremonial" or merely hedonistic. At the grave, however, the oinochoe clearly had two ritual functions: first, in pouring the wine at the funeral party, an essential gesture of farewell to the dead; and then quenching the flames of the pyre, in Homeric fashion.

	EUBOEAN 3% of total	CORINTHIAN 16% of total	LOCAL 81% of total	TOTAL
POURING	67%	27,60%	34,50%	34%
DRINKING	32,70%	72,40%	34,20%	41%
EATING	0,30%	none	31,30%	25%

Fig. 1. Pithekoussai, Monte di Vico acropolis (scarico Gosetti): numerical statistics, from Pc. 10,000 sherds.

- 6 What, then, of the eating crockery? In most Geometric styles of the Greek mainland, the extreme rarity of the plate has often been remarked, and this rarity is certainly reflected in its virtual absence among the Euboean and Corinthian imports in the

Scarico Gosetti. In the Eastern Mediterranean, however, the plate had become an indispensable domestic chattel at least as early as the beginning of the Iron Age, and by the early tenth century it was already firmly established in the repertoire of Cyprus during the CG IB phase¹⁵, when that island was looking increasingly to the East for new ideas. Here it is worth following the activities of the Euboeans in that direction during the century before the beginning of Western colonisation, for two reasons: first, during the ninth century, the Euboeans were the only Greeks who made plates in any quantity, invariably decorated with pendent semicircles like their skyphoi-as though part of the same services; secondly, many more of those plates were exported to the Eastern Mediterranean than have been found at home¹⁶. Plates from the cemeteries of Lefkandi, among a corpus of nearly one thousand vessels, number only nine¹⁷, three from the pyres, and six (*e. g.* fig. 2) in the rich graves 42, 55 and 79 in the royal burial ground of Toumba, all of the early ninth century. These graves also contained Near Eastern imports: an Egyptian bronze situla in grave 42¹⁸ and an early Levantine bronze bowl with sphinxes in grave 55¹⁹ and several imported Cypriot and Phoenician pots in grave 79. Now the plate was a novelty in the Euboean repertoire at this time, when the Euboeans were already exporting pottery as far as the Phoenician homeland. Was it from their eastward travels, one wonders, that some wealthy Euboeans acquired the habit of eating off plates? If so, they do not seem to have brought back with them any plates in the fine Samaria ware of Phoenician Red Slip, along with the other eastern exotica in bronze and faience. On the contrary, the potters of Lefkandi quickly adapted the shape to the local style, responding to what proved to be only a very limited requirement at home, but a far greater and more widespread demand among customers in the Near East, for whom the pendent-semicircle plates would have been an attractive alternative to the eastern Red Slip versions. Indeed, the sheer quantity of the plates exported to the Eastern Mediterranean, and their widespread distribution, are second only to that of the ubiquitous pendent-semicircle skyphoi²⁰. Many of them came to the Phoenician homeland, especially to the metropolis of Tyre²¹. Others appear in sets, as offerings in aristocratic tombs in Cyprus-for example, in a recently published tomb at Amathus, no. in

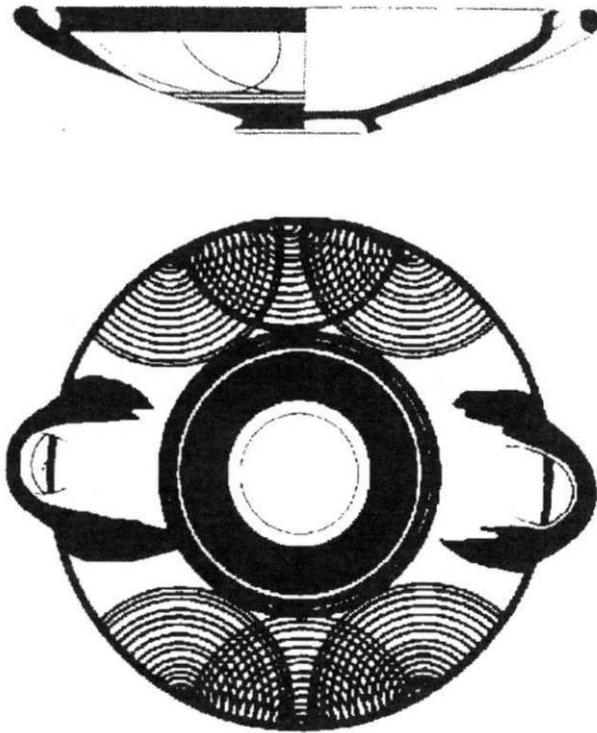


Fig. 2-Lefkandi, Toumba Grave 42, SPG pendent-semicircle plate.

- 7 the North-west cemetery, plundered but nevertheless containing a rich variety of finds²². Do we, then, already in the early ninth century, have a hint of Euboean market research? A hint of an active response to an overseas demand for plates, in lands where they were known to be indispensable in daily life? If so, their enterprise in this field deserves to be taken into consideration by any sceptics who might wish to deny their traders any active role outside the Aegean before the eighth century, while assigning the active role exclusively to the Phoenicians.
- 8 As it turned out, these plates continued to be exported to the East until well into the eighth century, but not much use of them was made at home. At Lefkandi they appear no longer as grave offerings after the early ninth century. In the settlement areas, among the sherds published from SPG deposits, the semicircle plates represent less than three per cent of the total: by now already a rare shape at home²³, but perhaps less rare at this time than in other parts of Greece. In the LG period, however, the plate has virtually vanished from the repertoire, not only at Lefkandi, but at Eretria and Chalcis too²⁴.
- 9 What kind of vessel, then, served the Euboeans and other Greeks for eating, at the outset of the colonial movement to the West? The same problem arises in Athens, our most abundant source of settlement pottery, found in the American Agora excavations. There, as it happens, the plate was *least* rare during the LG period, occurring both in domestic and funerary contexts. A fine version was then made with reflex handles²⁵, enabling it to be hung up on a wall so that its handsome leaf decoration could be admired: at Pithekoussai, the only fragment of a plate among the Euboean imports is from an imitation of this Attic type²⁶. Even in Athens, however, in the LG well deposits, these plates amount to less than three per cent of the whole corpus, and therefore cannot have served as the only regular vessel for eating in daily life. In general, our

American colleagues of the Agora excavations have been much exercised by the scarcity of plates, not least in PG times when the plate was virtually absent, and the most frequent shape was the large, deep and capacious skyphos. «These», they comment, «are commonly taken to be wine-drinking cups; if they were, the early Athenians were a hard-drinking crowd, and one rather hopes that something milder and more nourishing was served in them»²⁷. These thoughts, sent to her in a letter, were quoted by Thalia P. Howe in her stimulating article 'Linear B and Hesiod's breadwinners', inquiring into a growth of arable farming between Mycenaean and Geometric times, and into the consumption of cereal food both in "heroic" contexts and in the peasant ambience of the Hesiodic *Erga*. Worried by «an embarrassingly high proportion of drinking vessels in comparison with the number of plates», she surmised that some of the small deep open vessels could have been used as bowls for food, quoting Homeric passages where portions of food were served out in individual "baskets", *kalois en kaneoisin*²⁸. If that were so, one problem would be solved: in most domestic deposits of LG times in metropolitan Greece, a preponderance of skyphoi and other vessels presumed to be for drinking, would no longer have to be filled from an inadequate supply of pouring vessels. There is, however, the objection that the very few eighth-century graffiti scratched on these open shapes give us words for drinking, not eating: the kylix of Qoraqos from Rhodes²⁹ and, in Eretria³⁰ as well as in Pithekoussai, the *poterion*. As for the Homeric *kanoun*³¹ 31 this could have been non-ceramic, a wicker basket; similarly the *pinax*³² 32, the only other eating vessel mentioned in Homer, could have been made of wood, as in the other uses of this word: the backing of a wax tablet for writing³³ later, the backing for monumental painting in the Pinakothek on the Athenian Acropolis.



Fig. 3-Pithekoussai grave 151, local LG II plate.

- 10 Returning to Pithekoussai, one has the impression that, during the colony's first generation, eating vessels must have been of wicker, wood, or other perishable

materials, since the unusual preponderance of oinochoai would have needed the skyphoi and kotylai into which copious wine could be poured. Then, during the second generation, plates for eating began to appear in a quantity which has no parallel elsewhere in the Greek world. The impulse for their introduction, as Dr Buchner has demonstrated³⁴, came initially from the Red Slip plates imported from some Phoenician centre, as yet unknown. One of them, in the Scarico Gosetti, bears a Semitic graffito³⁵, one of many signs that Phoenicians were not merely trading with the Euboean colonists, but actually living among them. Other imported Red Slip plates have been found on the Mazzola site, and in the cemetery where, although unstratified, their general context is likely to be of the last quarter of the eighth century³⁶. At once, colonial imitations were produced. Those copying the Red Slip technique are noticeably coarser than the Phoenician originals. Others, made in finer clay, are adapted to Greek taste, taking on painted decoration in the local Geometric style; some of the motifs on these plates are distinctively Euboean, like the water birds with long bent wings evolved in Eretria³⁷ and recalling the *tanupteroi oionoi* of the Homeric Hymns³⁸. Another plate (fig. 3), from grave 151³⁹, shows how thoroughly the shape had become hellenized, and assimilated to its Greek colonial context: in addition to its Geometric decoration, it is given a ring foot; its rim is pierced with two holes for suspension on a wall so that its base decoration could be admired, like that of the Attic plates; and, in accordance with Greek funerary iconography, a serpent painted under the rim serves as a guardian of the dead.

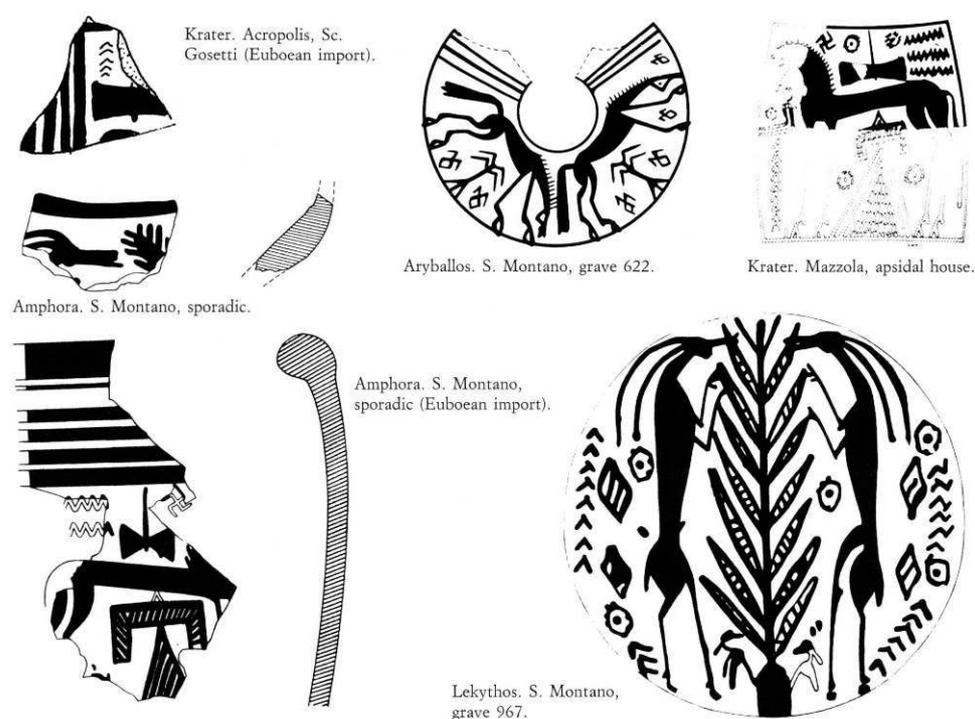


Fig. 4-Pithekoussai, influence of the Cesnola painter.

- 11 These plates with painted decoration continued to be made at Pithekoussai throughout the seventh century, occurring both in the Scarico Gosetti and in the cemetery, and sometimes taking on solid rays and other Orientalising motifs⁴⁰. Other eating shapes, too, are locally evolved, like the shallow bowls with wavy lines, present in Pithekoussan graves near the end of the eighth century⁴¹, but probably continuing well into the

seventh century, on the evidence of grave contexts at Pontecagnano⁴². If we now refer back to the statistics of the settlement pottery in the Scarico, it will become obvious that the overall 25% for the eating vessels must be an understatement for time of their currency, since during the colony's first generation they had been virtually absent.

- 12 This whole-hearted conversion to the use of eating crockery – a civilised convention that we take for granted – is unparalleled at this time anywhere in the Greek homeland, and must have been prompted in the first place by close contact with Phoenicians, in circumstances quite different from earlier encounters with them at the beginning of the ninth century. Then, the Euboeans had been meeting them only as casual traders, whether in the Aegean or in the Eastern Mediterranean. Noting the eastern enthusiasm for plates, they were quick to manufacture and export their own versions, decorated in the same way as their ever-popular skyphoi; at home, however, the plate failed to gain a permanent place as an essential chattel of daily life. But now, nearly two centuries later and at the western pole of their activity, the Euboeans of Ischia had Phoenicians residing with them in the same community; and so, through symbiosis, osmosis and perhaps the occasional intermarriage with their eastern *metoikoi*, the Greek colonists came to appreciate the joys of crockery especially designed for food, which they continued to use throughout the seventh century, to the end of the colony's early Euboean period. Thus, the circumstances for conversion to the eastern habit of using plates—one of the more mundane phenomena of the Orientalizing movement—are quite similar to the ideal conditions prescribed by L. H. Jeffery for the transmission of alphabetic literacy: not merely through encounters in the course of casual trade, but rather in places where Greeks and Levantine people were living together.
- 13 It remains now to consider the hypothesis, put forward especially by Annette Rathje⁴³, that the Euboean colonists of Pithekoussai may have been the first teachers of rituals in “Homeric” banquets to the indigenous elite of the Italic mainland—banquets evoked by the ostentatious display of metal vessels for drinking and eating in the princely tombs of Etruria, Latium and Campania. Those buried in the San Montano cemetery of Pithekoussai had clearly had Homeric thoughts about Nestor's cup, expressed in hexameter verse, and in Homeric fashion it seems that their funeral pyres were quenched with wine. One would, of course, expect that the Italic grandees to have acquired their Homeric notions from their aristocratic peers in the Greek world with whom they could have been on terms of gift exchange, and it could be objected that none of the 1300-odd graves so far excavated at Pithekoussai indicate a class higher than a prosperous bourgeoisie. We should do well, however, to heed the wise advice of the excavators, not to jump to premature conclusions about the colony's social structure, while at least ninety per cent of its intact cemetery still remains to be explored⁴⁴. In the historical context of the eighth century, the foundation of the first western Greek colony on such a large scale, and in potentially dangerous circumstances, could surely not have been achieved except under aristocratic leadership, and under the direction of an *oikistes*. Perhaps we can see traces of this elusive aristocracy in the themes of the figured pottery confirming closely to the repertoire of the Cesnola painter's krater from Kourion in Cyprus⁴⁵. This huge vessel was itself part of a drinking set, including two oinochoai by the same hand⁴⁶, suitable offerings in a princely tomb. This painter's programme of three themes—Tree of Life with rampant animals, horses at the manger, and horses grazing in the field—must have a special relevance for a land-owning and horse-rearing aristocracy like the *hippobotai*

of Chalcis and the *hippeis* of Eretria⁴⁷. Echoes of this programme occur on the figured *disiecta membra* from the cemetery, from the acropolis, and from the Mazzola site, portraying all three of these themes (fig. 4). It would, of course, be facile to equate *all* Cesnola imagery with elite status; the aryballos with the grazing horses, and the lekythos bearing a Tree of Life scene on its base, are indeed from middle-class graves. Much more significant are the two sporadic pieces from very large amphorae, showing a horse at the manger (a Euboean import) and a goat about to consume the leaves of a Tree: sporadic pieces in the cemetery which, as I have argued in another paper, could be from the scattered debris from aristocratic cremations as yet unexcavated⁴⁸. From the settlement, the krater with horses at the manger is from the apsidal Building I, the only non-industrial structure on the Mazzola site. The krater is fragmentary, but its high quality has inspired a suggestion that this building might have been a centre of cult⁴⁹. Another interpretation, however, is possible: that a high official lived here, in charge of the metallurgy that quickly became one of the colony's chief sources of wealth.

- 14 For Cumae, the group of built tombs centred round Fondo Artiano no. 104⁵⁰ gives us ample evidence of an aristocracy flourishing towards the end of the eighth century and able to deal on equal terms with the indigenous grandees of the mainland; and Cumae, no doubt, would have been an important centre of Homeric recitation for their ears. From Professor d'Agostino's recent excavation⁵¹ it is reassuring to know these are not the interments of recently settled *nouveaux riches*, but, rather, of a prosperous second generation in a colony founded soon after Pithekoussai where, in its second generation, comparable symptoms of aristocratic wealth may yet in the future come to light.
- 15 The man buried in Cumae tomb 104 was evidently a social peer of the incumbents in the Italic princely tombs, sharing with them a wonderfully varied assortment of metal vessels. Following the "Homeric" hypothesis to explain the banqueting services there, one should concede that the Greek element in their shapes is very small indeed. Of the Greek oinochoe, so abundant in Pithekoussai, we find no trace in metal; instead, the most usual pouring vessel in these tombs is the Phoenician jug with sloping neck and a palmette under the handle⁵², often in silver, and as yet unknown in the Greek homeland. For eating, as we have seen, the Euboean colonists brought no ceramic shape with them, and eventually came round to adapting the Phoenician plate; but this, too, bears no relation to the only vessel in the princely tombs suitable for eating, the figured silver bowl⁵³. For drinking, however, there seems to be a predominance of a Greek shape, the deep Corinthian kotyle—even if, when translated into metal, its incised decoration owes nothing to Greece; one thinks especially of the silver kotyle from Pontecagnano tomb 928, its rim covered in Egyptian hieroglyphs⁵⁴. But we should, of course, bear in mind an equally eclectic assortment of metal vessels, not only in the Cumaean tomb, but also in the storerooms of Homeric heroes, who, as Annette Rathje points out⁵⁵, were happy to display their *keimelia* acquired from various exotic sources.
- 16 In sum, one suspects that the cultural background of the princely tombs was just as mixed as the artistic strains among their metal vessels. To avoid any charge of Hellenocentric bias, we should admit that ritual banquets were not the monopoly of Homeric heroes, but were enjoyed no less in the palaces of the Levant: witness the fulminations of the eighth-century prophet Amos⁵⁶ against the excessive feasting of the nobility in the Israelite capital of Samaria.

- 17 To end on a more mundane note, and bearing in mind the enormous abundance of oinochoai at Pithekoussai, let us reflect on one of the greatest gifts brought to Italy by Euboean travellers and colonists: the cultivation of the vine, and the enjoyment of wine. What else, indeed, was poured into those Greek skyphoi, so popular on the Italic mainland from precolonial times onwards?⁵⁷
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APPENDIXES

Abbreviazioni supplementary

Apoikia = AΠΟΙΚΙΑ-Scritti in onore di G. Buchner-AION ArchStAnt 1 (N. S.), 1994.

Buchner 1982 = G. Buchner, in H. -G. Niemeyer (ed.), *Phönizier im Westen*, Mainz 1982.

Markoe 1992 = G. E. Markoe, in G. Kopcke-I. Tokumaru (edd.), *Greece between East and West: 10th-8th centuries BC*, Mainz 1992.

Pithekoussai = G. Buchner-D. Ridgway, *Pithekoussai I*, Roma 1993.

Rathje 1990 = A. Rathje, 'The Adoption of the Homeric Banquet in Central Italy in the Orientalizing Period', in O. Murray (ed.), *Symptica: a Symposium on the Symposium*, Oxford 1990.

Ridgway 1992 = D. Ridgway, *The First Western Greeks*, Cambridge 1992.

NOTES

1. BSA 90, 1995, pp. 251-67. On the excavation: G. Buchner, in *Expedition* 8. 4, 1966, pp. 10-12; *idem*, in *DialArch* 3, 1969, pp. 98-9, PL 27.
2. Dated 1. 2. 96.
3. *Pithekoussai*.
4. The occurrence of oinochoai in graves 1-723 is usefully tabulated by K. Neeft in *Apoikia*, pp. 156-63.
5. *Expedition* 8. 4, 1966, pp. 5-6.
6. E. T. H. Brann, in *Hesperia* 30, 1961, pp. 93-146.
7. J. Boardman with M. J. Price, in *Lefkandi I*, pp. 57-80.
8. A. Andreiomenou, five articles in *ArchEph* 1975, pp. 206-29; *ArchEph* 1977, pp. 128-63; *ArchEph* 1981, pp. 84-113; *ArchEph* 1982, pp. 161-86; *ArchEph* 1983, pp. 161-92. J. -P. Descoeudres, *Eretria V1*, pp. 13-58.
9. A. Cambitoglou et alii, *Zagora I*, pp. 52-60; *Zagora II*, pp. 189-226.
10. BSA 67, 1972, pp. 77-98.
11. *Apoikia*, pp. 37-45 (S. De Caro), pp. 169-204 (C. Gialanel-la).
12. BSA 90, 1995, p. 267.
13. Ridgway 1992, p. 89.

14. Based on D. Ridgway's consolidated inventory of the whole deposits by shapes and fabrics, of which he kindly supplied me with a copy in 1982.
15. V. Karageorghis, Palaepaphos-Skales (Alt-Paphos III) pp. 361-2, "shallow bowls" iv-vi, see especially pls. 21-3 from Tomb 43; M. Iacovou, in RDAC 1990, p. 94 (Amathus Tomb 521).
16. P. Courbin, Archéologie du Levant: recueil R. Saidah, 1982, pp. 200 ff.
17. The contents of all the Toumba graves and pyres are now conveniently summarised in *Lefkandi III*, Plates (BIT *Suppl.* 29, 1996), Section 12, Table 1. For illustrations of the pendent-semicircle plates, see there pls. 102-103 (pyres); pls. 46, 102, 114B (gr. 42); pls. 61, 102, 114 A, C (gr. 55); pls. 75-76, 103 (gr. 79). For Phoenician and Cypriot imports in gr. 79, see pls. 79, 109.
18. BSA 77, 1982, p. 224 n. 17, pl. 33a, h.
19. AR 35, 1989, p. 118, fig. 5.
20. See most recently A. Nitsche, in HBA 13/14, 1986/87, pp. 31-43.
21. RDAC 1988. 2, pp. 38-9.
22. RDAC 1995, pp. 187-91 fig. 2, and 192-4.
23. V. R. d'A. Desborough, *Lefkandi I*, p. 341.
24. See L. Kahil, in *AntK* 11, 1968, p. 100 pl. 27, 7 for the only LG plate so far published from Eretria. Three articles by A. Andreiomenou presenting LG pottery from Chalcis (*BCH* 108, 1984, pp. 37-69; *BCH* 109, 1985, pp. 49-75; *BCH* suppl. 23, 1992, pp. 87-130) contain no plates.
25. J. N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Lottery*, London 1968, p. 499 pl. 10m, LG I; 87, pl. 15k, LG II.
26. BSA 90, 1995, p. 263 n. 102, pl. 31.
27. As quoted by T. P. Howe, in *TAPA* 89, 1958, p. 50 n. 24.
28. *Ibidem*, p. 49.
29. L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford 1961, p. 356. 1.
30. A. Andreiomenou, *ASAtene* 59 (N. S. 43), 1981, p. 235 fig. 102.
31. *Il.* 24. 626; *Od.* 1. 147, 20. 255.
32. *Od.* 1. 141.
33. *Il.* 6. 169.
34. Buchner 1982, p. 286.
35. G. Buchner, in *PP* 179, 1978, pp. 140-42; Buchner 1982, p. 284 fig. 6d.
36. Buchner 1982, p. 283.
37. Buchner 1982, p. 289 fig. 13e; cf. A. Andreiomenou, in *ArchEph* 1977, p. 158 fig. 7.
38. Hom., *Hymn.* ii (Demeter), 89. On the Etruscan descendants of these bird plates see S. S. Leach, *Subgeometric Pottery from Southern Etruria*, Goteborg 1987, pp. 96-101.
39. *Pithekoussai*, p. 186, Gr. 151. 2, pl. 56; Buchner 1982, p. 288 pl. 12.
40. E. g. *Pithekoussai*, Gr. 137. 26, pl. 50, Gr. 191-31, pl. 86.
41. E. g. *Pithekoussai*, Gr. 328. 3, pl. 125.
42. E. g. in T. 4306: L. Cerchiai, *Le officine etrusco-corinzie di Pontecagnano*, Napoli 1990, pp. 4-9, pl. 16. 3.
43. Rathje 1990, pp. 279-88.
44. See *Pithekoussai*, carta topographica; Ridgway 1992, p. 46.
45. J. N. Coldstream, in *BICS* 18, 1971, pp. 1-15.
46. Most recently, J. R. Gisler, in *Archaiognosia* 8, 1995, p. 89, pls. 1-5.
47. J. N. Coldstream, *ASAtene* 59 (N. S. 43), 1981, pp. 244-5.
48. J. N. Coldstream, in *Apoikia*, pp. 51-3.
49. S. Hiller, in *Fremde Zeiten: Festschrift für J. Borchhardt*, Wien 1996, p. 46.
50. G. Pellegrini, in *MonAnt* 13, 1903, pp. 201-94.
51. B. d'Agostino, in *AION ArchStAnt* 2 (N. S.), 1995, pp. 204, 209.
52. B. Grau-Zimmermann, in *MM* 19, 1978, pp. 161-218; Markoe 1992, pp. 63-5 fig. 6.
53. Markoe 1992, pp. 64-7 fig. 7; *idem*, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean*, Berkeley 1984, pp. 127-48.

54. B. d'Agostino, in *MonAnt* 2. 1 (serie misc.), 1977, p. 15 pl. 23.
55. Rathje 1990, p. 281; *Od.* 4 613-19.
56. *Amos* vi. 1-6.
57. Ridgway 1992, pp. 129-32 fig. 34; B. d'Agostino, in J. -P. Descoedres (ed.), *Greek Colonists and Native Populations*, Sydney 1990, p. 75.