A Colonial Middle Ground: Greek, Etruscan, and Local Elites in the Bay of Naples

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As they did at the end of the Bronze Age, mainland Greeks of the late ninth century B.C. sailed beyond the island of Ithaca, the home of Homer's Odysseus and the westernmost Greek community in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. They made trade and guest-friendship contacts along the coasts of Epirus (modern northwestern Greece and Albania) and across the Straits of Otranto to Apulia. By the early eighth century B.C., the Greeks sailed the coasts of western Italy. These protocolonial contacts were followed by settlements in the Bay of Naples, first on the island of Pithekoussai (Ischia) in about 770–750 B.C. and then at Kymē (Cumae) on the mainland of Campania. These settlements or trade posts are considered the first "colonial" establishments in the West, in what would come to be called Magna Graecia, or Greater Greece.

The local inhabitants encountered by the Greeks in this area of the Bay of Naples were not politically organized in strong city-states but in loosely confederated, internally hierarchical chiefdoms. For their part, Greek settlers were either uninterested in or incapable of coordinating a program of territorial expansion. It was an open-ended situation, where local Italic elites had relations with foreigners from the mainland and the eastern Mediterranean as well as with their northern neighbors, the Etruscans.

In assessing the encounter of peoples and cultures in Campania, the least fruitful approach is one current in much of the scholarship concerning the question of the "Other." In the disciplines of cultural studies and history, a binary model of alterity, *l'image de l'autre,* and of "Self vs. Other" has dominated the field, sometimes cleverly inverting the order of what is Self and what is Other, but basically retaining a bipolar categorization. A different theoretical model, that of the "Middle Ground," is preferred, because it evokes the intricacies of colonial encounters and the dynamic new cultural creations that resulted.

Defined in terms of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century colonization that occurred in the North American Great Lakes region, Middle Ground theory can be usefully applied to the world of early Greek colonization. Comparison of historical colonization in North America and medieval Europe with the ancient Greek situation in the western Mediterranean reveals similarities in structures and social dynamics, and underscores the formative, co-optative, and normative aspects of the colonial experience. These dynamics apply to

the sending societies (mother cities), the settlers, and the local cultures with which they came into contact. The maritime perspective (ship to shore) that is characteristic of the Greek and Etruscan presence in Campania and the pattern of "peripheral sitings" of myths were significant factors in establishing a Middle Ground of cultural mediation and accommodation.

In addition, this paper considers artifacts and texts that reflect "mythic" articulations of collective identities in order to argue for an emergence of a mediating culture. This culture, marked by transcultural images and values, inflected concrete contacts and actual settlement. The figure of Odysseus well represents such a transcultural icon and arbiter of the Middle Ground among Greeks, Etruscans, and local elites of central Italy.[1] The qualities that made the mythic framework of Odysseus attractive to inhabitants of the region of Pithekoussai and Kymē can be viewed in terms of the iconographic representations of his exploits, the Etruscan adoption of Euboian alphabetic script, the role of the *symposion* (wine drinking party) among local elites, and the development of mediating genealogies.

The term *Middle Ground* was coined by Richard White to describe the encounters between Native Americans and Europeans in the Great Lakes Region of North America between the years 1650 and 1815. White is interested in how individuals of different cultural backgrounds reached accommodation and constructed a common, mutually comprehensible world. This construction was frequently the result of mutual misrepresentation of values and practices, sometimes involving behavior according to values one thought the "other side" shared, although this was mistaken or simplistic.

> On the Middle Ground diverse peoples adjust their differences through what amounts to a process of creative, and often expedient, misunderstandings. People try to persuade others who are different from them by appealing to what they perceive to be the values and practices of those others. They often misinterpret and distort both the values and the practices of those they deal with, but from these misunderstandings arise new meanings and through them new practices—the shared meanings and practices of the Middle Ground.[2]

The Middle Ground is not only a social metaphor but also the physical space "in between" and "within which" people(s) interact. The worlds of the colonists and the natives "melted at the edges,"[3] and it was not always clear whether their way of doing things was "French" or "Algonquian." For long periods of time and in areas where total coercion was neither possible nor even aimed at, mutual reliance for specific ends was de rigueur. One may note that a similar situation, with no coercive authority, existed in Campania. White observes that as individuals applied cultural expectations and conventions to new situations, the very act of application caused a change in culture, eventually resulting in a shift of conventions. A similar process is identified by Solange Alberro with regard to "how the Spanish ceased being Spanish" in Mexico.[4]

Colonial settlers, seeking out the cultural premises of others in order to achieve desired ends, looked for "congruencies," such as casting an Indian in the role of a Christian prophet or interpreting the independence of women as "prostitution." Indigenous communities were, no doubt, engaged in parallel processes of cultural translation. While the monotheistic filters of Spanish Christianity were less receptive to cross-cultural accommodations, in the case of the Greek/Etruscan Middle Ground, the identification of shared heroic genealogies served to promote mutually beneficial social and political alliances. For the Greek Odysseus to become the Etruscan Utuse was both possible and desirable.

The concept of the Middle Ground is appealing also because it forces us to examine the traditional "Greek-native" problem beyond the notion of "acculturation," another popular but unilateral anthropological model that has been used to explain the transformation (Hellenization, Europeanization) of indigenous cultures in colonial contexts. The Middle Ground "is not acculturation under a new name. As commonly used, acculturation describes a process in which one group becomes more like another by borrowing discrete cultural traits."[5] As the Subcommittee on Acculturation of the American Social Science Research Council defined acculturation in 1936, it involves "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture-patterns of either or both groups."[6] This is a rather nuanced definition that can be deployed quite constructively in any number of contact situations. Too often, however, it is understood as one superior culture pouring itself from its own overflowing cups into the empty containers of the receiving, inferior culture. Some discussions of "Hellenization" bear this mark.[7]

In the sense of common terrain, the actual lands where people met and interacted, the Middle Ground is both a "center" and a "periphery." The Campanian hinterlands were a colonial frontier, peripheral in relation to early Greek colonizing settlements like offshore Pithekoussai and coastal Kymē. It was also a periphery in relation to the powerful "one-over" Etruscan civilization established mostly to the north of Campania and Latium; Etruscans were also resident in Campania as guest-friends, traders, and immigrants. In general, nonterritorial colonization (that is, one not conquering, displacing, or subjugating natives) often stimulates economic and cultural interaction in the areas "facing" settlement, areas of encounter and exchange, not annexation. But it also constitutes a stimulus for the "one-over" civilization, as in the modern instances of the British in Hong Kong, the Portuguese in Dao and Goa, and numerous other cases. Campania may have been a periphery for both Greeks and Etruscans, but it was a shared periphery and hence a Middle Ground for both, creating a context of mediation and cultural permeability, a new "center."[8]

A Middle Ground of accommodation was facilitated in Campania because for long periods of time Greeks, Etruscans, and local elites could neither dictate to nor ignore one another. The circumstances for the success of the

Campanian Middle Ground are the same as those of early Greek colonization in other areas. Unlike the contemporary Near East, the western Mediterranean was free of empires and centrally organized kingdoms. It was a vacuum where slight edges and advantages mattered a great deal; where maritime capabilities, flexible social frameworks, and a shared aristocratic ethos opened the way for original and responsive cultural creations.

The Middle Ground could become an effective area of mediation in Campania because there was no compelling authority and no side could achieve its ends through sheer force. Before the significant territorial expansion of the Greek colonies in south Italy and Sicily in the seventh century B.C., early-eighth-century colonization implied a different colonial outlook, one of touching and tapping rather than grabbing and possessing. Mid-eighth-century colonization in the West was more a legacy of protocolonial trade contacts than a precursor of strategic territorial expansion. This does not mean, however, that expansion was not ultimately on the minds of colonists. The frontier should not be perceived naively, as if territorial ambitions were entirely dormant.

Here the term *colonial frontier* needs clarification. The Greek colonial perspective was a maritime one, from shore to land. The border "line" was the coast and the rest was an open-ended frontier rolling to the hinterland. It is difficult to assess, however, how seriously the realization of the potential this frontier played on the minds of colonists of the first generation. A century later, at expansionist Sicilian Gela or especially at Libyan Cyrene, it seems evident that the colonists did not regard their "charter" in terms of a point within the colonial space. The Cyrenaean colonists, for example, rather ambitiously saw all of Libya as their land of colonization, a point made explicit in the various foundation stories and oracular prophecies of the colony.[9] Cyrene, however, was founded after more than a century of Greek colonization in the Mediterranean and no other mainland city competed for Libyan territories. Greek Libya was basically colonized from Cyrene, a situation very different from Magna Graecia, where numerous colonial groups vied with one another. In short, whether or not Greeks harbored expansionary ambitions, the reality of eighth-century B.C. Campania, which was thickly settled by various well-armed Italic tribes, was that of accommodation rather than expansion.

As Robert Bartlett notes with regard to the colonization of Europe during the Middle Ages, colonization frequently proceeds by three often overlapping means: expropriation, assimilation, and the discovery of new ecological and trading niches.[10] Offshore islands, promontories, and coastal areas can provide such a niche, especially when there is a marked difference between maritime and nonmaritime civilizations. Many are familiar with the poetic articulation of this in book 9 of the *Odyssey* when Odysseus speaks of an ideal colony site, an empty island facing the extremely rich land of the wild Cyclopes, who "do not possess ships."[11] Nonmaritime civilizations (notwithstanding fishermen who make a living from the sea but do not use it as a bridge to distant shores) may consider as irrelevant and peripheral the kind of sites—offshore islands, capes, and promontories—valued by a maritime civilization.

In the context of such encounters, the coast may thus become a Middle Ground, an aspect emphasized by Greg Dening in *Islands and Beaches* with regard to the colonization of the Marquesas Islands.[12] From an archaeological point of view, it now seems clearer, for example, that such a situation existed in the Crimea and Black Sea region during the seventh and sixth centuries.[13] Similarly, the notion of the coast as a new colonial and ecological niche is nicely illustrated by Greek-Phocaean colonization in southern France and Iberia.[14] The coastal Middle Ground constituted a new niche of material and cultural contact, successfully operating in a nonthreatening environment, where trading opportunities outweighed fears of Etruscan piracy.[15]

The Greek colonial Middle Ground owed much of its success to the flexibility of founding Greek institutions, constituting in their ensemble a new polis, independent from its mother city. As Jean Bérard notes, this represents a salient difference between ancient and modern colonialism. In the instance of "France over-seas," the state regards the colonists of Algeria as its own citizens.[16] Medieval colonization in Europe developed what Robert Bartlett calls "international, legal forms or blueprints which could generate new structures quite independently of an encompassing political matrix."[17] The inherent "frontier" situation promised success and independent initiatives. Meager control and direction by monarchies and central hierarchies encouraged colonization. Conversely, when kings and central government grew stronger, their energy turned to fighting one another rather than colonizing the frontiers of Europe. Perhaps something similar happened when Chalkis and Eretria turned against each other during the so-called Lelantine War. Effectively, both had ceased their involvement in colonization since the early seventh century. The situation in ancient Greece differed in respect to regime and religion, but was similar in the dynamics implied by the relative independence of colonies, an independence that itself functioned as an impetus for more initiatives and new foundations.

The colonial Middle Ground was the area in which an independent society was deliberately created, inventing and forming itself as a political community (city-state). Here another comparison with the medieval town-colony may be enlightening. In the High Middle Ages towns were often founded through charters (for example, *Stadtrechte* or *fueros*), constituting what Bartlett calls "a picture, a set of norms that could be adapted to, rather than swamped by, local institutions." Archaic Greeks had no legally defined blueprints, nor were their new city-states officially chartered in the medieval sense. Like the city-colonies of the European Middle Ages, however, they rapidly created a "normative and self-defining quality" often replicated or imitated among new foundations. Such imitative processes could take place either laterally, with one colony looking over its shoulder at what the other was doing (such as a Corinthian colony in Sicily observing the foundation of a Chalkidian colony), or more "prismatically" and hierarchically, through the agency of an active mother city, such as Miletus or Chalkis, learning quickly from its own numerous and relatively contemporary new foundations.

The colonial Middle Ground functioned, therefore, both in relation to so-called natives and in relation to the settlers themselves. There was also, however, a Middle Ground in relation to the mother cities. The colonial undertaking often constituted a resolution of a crisis of integration and homogenization of the sending society. I have argued elsewhere that by sending out colonists, the mother city was also founding or refounding itself.[18] Political stasis, dissatisfied aristocrats, poor people or younger sons hoping for a *kleros* of their own (with its political and social implications), entire "marked" groups, and others were vying for a place in the world of emergent poleis. Colonization was a solution for both. The mother city could consolidate itself as a political unit (colonization being tantamount to a reestablishment of the social order at home) and the colony could achieve coherence and independence, but without losing its mother-city "identity." Colonists retained, for example, the right to share in the sacrifices at home, a salient feature of archaic citizenship.[19]

Finally, the creation of such normative and self-defining qualities functioned dynamically (both informing the situations and being invented and improved through them) especially in the case of mixed colonies. For example, when Himera was founded by Zancle (Messana) in about 649 B.C., it was settled by many Chalkidians, but also by the exiled Myletidai from Syracuse (a Dorian city). The language of Himera resulted in a mixture of Doric and Chalkidic, but the *nomima* (the calendar, social division, magistracies, and so on) that prevailed were Chalkidian.[20] These two kinds of Middle Ground, the linguistic and the customary-legal, serve as an excellent illustration for the way the Middle Ground operates internally. The colonial Middle Ground produced a linguistic mixture because language was neutral, not an object of a priori decision (unlike certain cases of modern nationalism). By contrast, because settlers needed to live from the outset according to an established sacred calendar or social division (*nomima*), no gradualist mixture was possible. Deliberate, express decisions, arbitrating and mediating the social and religious order, had to be made, and newcomers needed to be co-opted into the formative Middle Ground.

This Greek Middle Ground, because it was "internally" dynamic and adaptable, was attractive to non-Greeks, especially to the Etruscans. The relative ease with which "foundation norms" were created and mutually copied, coupled with an aristocratic ethos that flourished side by side with an emerging civic one, explains both the success of these settlements and their attractiveness to city-state societies in the making, such as the Etruscans.

The extent to which Etruscans adopted Greek institutions has been debated by others.[21] What is of most interest here is the functioning of the Middle Ground in terms of the interaction and occasional adoption of Greek narrative frameworks that provide the terms for constructing collective identities. In addition to the flexible and open-ended nature of their emergent social and political institutions and common aristocratic ethos, it was the "alphabetic" quality of Greek myth that facilitated the transmission of ideas and stories to

local elites. Like the spread of the alphabet—a system devoid of ethnic symbolism—narrative frameworks could be transplanted and adopted without being overly constricted by local connotations.[22]

It has been suggested that the Etruscans adopted both the Greek alphabet and Greek myths from Euboian Greeks who traded and settled in Pithekoussai and Kymē.[23] Neither letterforms nor myths privileged any ethnic entity. What made it possible for Greeks to ascribe their heroic genealogies to others was precisely the quality that made them attractive to others. Greeks did not regard the heroic genealogies as Greek; they were simply heroic.[24] Their genealogies and narrative framework involved—like the *Odyssey*—various *xenoi* (I avoid the English word "foreigners," which has a strong ethnic connotation), regardless of ethnic ascriptions. The heroes were not "Greek," and the *xenoi* with whom they were involved in the myths were not "non-Greek." Thus the heroes of what we call "Greek" mythology provided a blueprint of personal-aristocratic origins that was easily extended to other communities.

Counterintuitively, one notes a striking prominence of mythic and even cultic identification of Greek heroes not in the central foci of colonization and settlement but in peripheral, frontier areas. From the Greek perspective we note a total lack of jealousy: Herakles, Odysseus, Menelaos, Diomedes, Philoctetes, and others were freely "given away." These heroes were not considered founders of colonies, at least not before the fifth century, for both historical and mythic-religious reasons. From a historical point of view, colonists focused their attention on the human history of the colonial center, on the actions of the first colonists. The initial generation of colonists, headed by the founder, constituted a "beginning" and hence an existence and identity. Settlers were proud of their exploits as colonists, and their historical founders were regarded as having performed larger-than-life deeds. Colonial history was heroic in perspective and historical in application, a new phenomenon in what we call Greek history. Such features are not uncommon in other colonizations. In the case of European colonization during the High Middle Ages, for example the English in the Celtic world, the Germans in eastern Europe, the Spanish and their Reconquest, and the Crusaders in the eastern Mediterranean, all celebrated the "first coming of the conquerors, the heroic military pioneer, and the superhuman exploits of the new men."[25] Although revolving around historical deeds, colonial *ktiseis* (foundation stories) contained a strong mythological flavor, and a heroic cult was accorded to the dead founder, buried in the colony's agora (fig. 1).[26]

With such self-centered magnification of the generation of first settlers and emphasis on narratives of departure, consultation at Delphi, and acts of settlement and conquest, men of the first few generations had a keen awareness of their youthful origins and exploits. The stories they would tell themselves were often exaggerated, but—unlike the common fallacy—their myths did contain significant kernels of truth. What they spoke about was history. By contrast, the invention of mythological associations, connected with colonial centers (such as Kroton's adoption of Herakles as *Utistes* [founder]), occurred

Fig. 1. Heroon at Paestum, 600–500 B.C.
From John Griffiths Pedley, *Paestum: Greeks and Romans in Southern Italy* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1990), fig. 11

after some two centuries of colonial history had passed, when Italian colonies felt less secure and wished to be *en par* with the ancient cities of Greece.[27]

For the early periods of settlement, however, the great epic heroes did not legitimate possession of sites, nor were their stories connected to the foci of settlement. Rather, they were connected "peripherally" to the Middle Ground. What heroes such as Menelaos and Odysseus did was to mediate for the colonists the topography and ethnography of what they could see (or suspect) from their settlement. Colonization implied a sense of novelty, juxtaposed with what preexisted in the land. Since both the sites and the peoples encountered by Greek settlers had already been there since they arrived, they—not the colonists themselves—came to be associated with mythic heroes. Menelaos had already been at "the port of Menelaos" in North Africa (at the edges of Cyrenaean territory); royal houses in Epirus or Italy were "descendants" of Odysseus; the inhabitants of the land were "originally" Trojan refugees, Cretan soldiers of Minos, or ancient Arkadian migrants. Mythic topography and ethnography started as peripheral and thus shaped the Middle Ground.[28]

We shall see that during the protocolonial and early colonial periods, when Campania was an unthreatened Middle Ground, the adoption of heroic

mythological frameworks was flexible and attractive. The situation of encounter in the frontier zone of the Middle Ground was helpful. Not one, but two maritime, trading, and colonizing peoples — Greeks and Etruscans — were present in Campania, but not antagonistically (at least not at first). Phoenicians also were in residence, but probably as trade partners more than as colonists. The similarity of their situations, both *xenoi* in relation to the local towns and elites, apparently facilitated the transmission of outlooks and attitudes. More Etruscans than Greeks had already settled among these elites. What is notable is that because these Etruscans were living in closer proximity to the Greeks of Kymē and Pithekoussai than to the Etruscan centers of Latium and Etruria (much farther to the north), they were susceptible to Greek ideas. Like the Greeks, they too were newcomers and the nature of their coming was similar: maritime contact with peoples less interested in the sea. It is therefore likely that Greek cultural notions were transmitted to local elites not only directly by Greeks but also via local Etruscan residents who were open to Greek ideas through their own contacts with the colonists of Pithekoussai and Kymē.

Nobody in Campania was an "absolute other" in terms of the binary-oppositional model. Campanians and Etruscans were not alien barbarians living in a hitherto unrecognized terrain. They occupied a composite land, where Greeks, Etruscans, Phoenicians, and local indigenous communities, whether individually as traders, artisans, or migrants, or collectively, in the form of colonies or nuclei of resident communities. It is unclear if the Greeks even saw themselves collectively as "Greeks" so early on, or if they did, whether that sense of ethnic identity constituted a meaningful difference. Campania was not the Spanish New World and the Greeks were not Spanish conquistadores. The way for a Middle Ground was opened by several factors. Polytheistic religion and myth were accommodating, and no antagonistic "missionizing" (Christianization) took place. No one community was threatened by direct domination at the outset. There was a similarity of the "maritime-perspective" between Greek and Etruscan cultures as well as a similarity of interests and attractions. The colonial situation was less constrained and, therefore, open to novelty and change.

Odysseus, Campania, and the Etruscans

The protocolonial situation along the southern and western shores of Italy already implies lively contacts and familiarity among the traders that sailed these coasts.[29] This is evidenced from eighth-century Greek artifacts imported especially from Euboea that have been discovered in both Etruria and Latium.[30] The evidence seems to indicate maritime trading along the coast and, particularly, around the areas of the river mouths: the Picentino (Pontecagnano), the Volturno (Capua), and the Tiber (Veii).[31] Functioning both as a permanent settlement and as an *emporion*, or trading station, the founding of Pithekoussai around 770–750 B.C., followed by Kymē about the same time or a generation later, transformed the situation into a colonial one. I will avoid

the debates around the precise nature of the colonial enterprises of these "first western Greeks," as David Ridgway terms them.[32] What matters here are the implications for the colonial context in relation to the Campanian Middle Ground, where we find evidence for mutual contacts among Greek, Etruscan, and local Italic elites, such as at Pontecagnano. An Etruscan aristocracy was resident here and later in Naples and Capua,[33] and it has plausibly been argued that Pithekoussai was responsible for some of the correspondences of material culture.[34] Pithekoussai's influence as a trading post seems evident among the Opicians of Campania where Greek Middle Geometric and Late Geometric pottery has been found in the necropolises (especially in the Sarno Valley): oinochoai, kotylai and cups of the Aetos 666, chevron, and Thapsos types.[35] In Kymē, the well-known Fondo Artaico tomb, a rich and aristocratic assemblage of about 730–720 B.C., contained an Etruscan shield that holds a cauldron with the cremated remains of the deceased. Fifty-two metal objects, including gold, silver, and electrum, accompanied the burial. The tomb indicates significant Etruscan influence or, as Ingrid Strøm argues, perhaps an Etruscan was actually interred there.[36] Giorgio Buchner, Pithekoussai's major excavator, claims that clasps found in the tomb illustrate that personal ornaments used by Greeks in Pithekoussai and Kymē in the second half of the eighth century "were *identical* to those used in Etruria and Latium" (author's emphasis).[37]

It is generally agreed that the new Greek presence provided the Etruscans with unprecedented social, cultural, and political stimuli.[38] This was not, of course, a one-sided affair. As Bruno D'Agostino emphasizes, the Etruscans themselves appear to have been frequenting the coasts of Campania via the sea, and Michel Gras has argued for the expansion of Etruscan contacts all the way to the eastern Aegean (note especially Lemnos, where what may be an Etruscan inscription of the early sixth century was discovered).[39] The criss-crossing of contemporary contacts and influences is notable. For example, in the Etruscan orbit the transition from Villanovan IIB to the Orientalizing Period is contemporary with the first tombs at Pithekoussai.[40] Dedications of Etruscan objects in the Panhellenic Greek sanctuaries are significant, pointing either to direct Etruscan contacts or to Greek *xenia* relations that considered such contacts to be very important.[41] Two bronze helmets, probably from Tarquinia, were dedicated in Olympia and Delphi in the first half of the eighth century.[42] Between 750 and 700 B.C., more varied Etruscan dedications were discovered (spear points, shields, fibulae, and various personal ornaments) at the sanctuaries of Dodona, Perachora, and Samos, and one awaits publication of two Etruscan fibulae found in Chalkis, one of the two mother cities of Pithekoussai.[43] Nevertheless, however we interpret the precise nature of such objects, it is clear that the Etruscans formed a notable part of the Greek experience during the whole of the eighth century.

Several groups are likely candidates for advancing contacts with the Etruscans, including emigrant Phokaians from Asia Minor, the Greek colony of Sybaris in south Italy, or various individual initiatives. The account of the

Bakchiad Demaratos, an exiled Corinthian aristocrat who came to Etruscan Tarquinia with three artists and fathered Rome's legendary king Tarquinius Priscus, may provide some indication of this.[44] The story of Demaratos combines both immigration of a nobleman and that of artisans, and is a good example of another route of the formation of the Middle Ground: individual migration and integration. In this early time frame of the eighth century, much emphasis has been given to Euboians setting out from the major cities of Chalkis and Eretria, the historical founders of Pithekoussai and Kymē.[45]

It was during the second half of the eighth century B.C. that the evidence for Euboian-Etruscan contacts is most prominent. During this period, the Etruscans adopted the Euboian alphabet, learning it from the Euboian settlers of Pithekoussai and Kymē.[46] By about 700 B.C., the alphabet was already shaped by the special needs of Etruscan phonetics. Alphabetic script was perceived as having intrinsic importance and as a marker of status. The Marsiliana d'Albegna tablets recording an entire Greek alphabet sequence, for example, were placed in a cauldron inside a tomb dating to about 675–650 B.C. Walter Burkert has convincingly stressed the role of individual "teachers," who disseminated the North Semitic alphabet among Greeks.[47] It seems reasonable that in Italy something similar was happening, this time involving Greek teachers. Their standing may have been like the individual craftsmen and potters who worked among the Etruscans and who were probably responsible for the rapid dissemination of Greek-style pottery. Such teachers, both craftsmen and script professionals, were most likely also responsible for another cultural innovation: the spread of motifs from the Greek epics.

The famous Aristonothos krater, dated to the second quarter of the seventh century B.C., displays a popular epic motif: Odysseus blinding the Cyclops Polyphemos (fig. 2). It was probably made by a Greek artist who settled in Etruscan Caere, signing his name to the rim in Euboian characters.[48] Adapting his style to suit the local taste—a taste that admired things Greek—Aristonothos chose among the epic images one that appeared to Etruscan eyes as quintessentially Greek. The krater implies an adoption of a Greek elite practice of drinking together, the *symposion*. As at Greek *symposia,* the krater was placed in the center from which the banquet participants could draw wine. The symposiasts may have viewed the pictures painted on it, and their conversation must have turned to the stories it illustrated. One side shows a naval warfare, while the other depicts Odysseus and his companions putting out the single eye of Polyphemos. When compared with contemporary representations of the blinding of Polyphemos, this scene "agrees most closely with the *Odyssey*."[49] The same may be said of a contemporary painted pithos (650–625 B.C.), which illustrates Odysseus and his companions blinding a seated Polyphemos, with an enormous wine jug in the center of the scene.[50]

The Aristonothos krater demonstrates how, by the second quarter of the seventh century B.C., writing, lifestyle, and epic content combined to spread the Odysseus motif among the Etruscans, expressed in the most popular

painted narrative scene from the *Odyssey*. This would be the most economical interpretation of the Polyphemos episode.[51] It has also been claimed that the scene implies that a local Etruscan princeps saw himself, on the model of the heroic origins of a Greek *genos*, as a descendant of Odysseus (with the naval scene indicating Etruscan "piratical" activity).[52] The Euboian characters of the inscription provide a pointer to the identity of one of the agents of cultural dissemination. The visual iconography itself, whether it is interpreted through Greek or Etruscan eyes (or perhaps *because* it can be readily viewed from either perspective) offers a telling example of the efficacy of myth as a cultural intermediary.

Cyclops scenes represent the earliest iconography of Odysseus in extant Greek vase painting, appearing between 670 and 650 B.C. Some scholars, such as Walter Burkert, find the identification with the Cyclopea of the ninth book of the *Odyssey* problematic. Since it is known that the Cyclops is a common folk motif, its appearance on 10 seventh-century vases does not have to be linked with the *Odyssey*;[53] however, this is not the point. The Cyclops may very well have been a general folk motif, on which the Homeric epic was drawn. The generic blinding of a giant and the particular story of the blinding of the Cyclops Polyphemos must have coalesced at some point. A Greek of the mid-seventh century B.C. observing the scene on figured vases such as the Eleusis amphora or the Aristonothos krater would have recognized them as depicting the narrative-specific *Odyssey* scene. What matters in the world of the Greek-Etruscan Middle Ground is the seventh-century B.C. association that the painting evoked.[54]

The sympotic association of the Aristonothos krater reminds us of the sympotic context of the so-called Nestor's cup at Pithekoussai, dated to one century earlier (fig. 3). It was found in a tomb of a young boy, who died at about the age of twelve and was buried around 720 B.C. His parents may have been among the first generation of colonists. The promise of the new society marred by personal tragedy,[55] the dead boy was accorded an adult burial and in his tomb were placed vases used for an adult *symposion,* including kraters for wine mixing, rare in Pithekoussai.[56] One small inscribed cup has become famous among experts of Homer and of early Greek epigraphy and historians of Greek colonization. The cup (probably a Rhodian *kotylē*) bears a verse inscription in three retrograde lines (one either prose or iambic trimeter, two hexameters), with the words and phrases separated.[57] The verses are written in the alphabet of Euboian Chalkis.[58] The grave goods are particularly rich and may indicate that the boy belonged to a wealthy, aristocratic family, perhaps well-to-do merchants. From the inscription it has been inferred that the cup's owner and his family were possibly Euboian or at least literate in Euboian Greek:[59] "I am the cup of Nestor, a joy to drink from [or "Nestor had a fine drinking cup"], but anyone drinking from this cup will immediately be struck with desire for lovely-crowned Aphrodite."[60]

In the present context I will only state my view of the cup, without entering into a full discussion of the complex issues it raises.[61] The inscribed verses

Fig. 2. Aristonothos krater
Caere, 680–670 B.C., H: 36 cm (14⅛ in.), Diam.: 32 cm (12⅝ in.)
Rome, Musei Capitolini

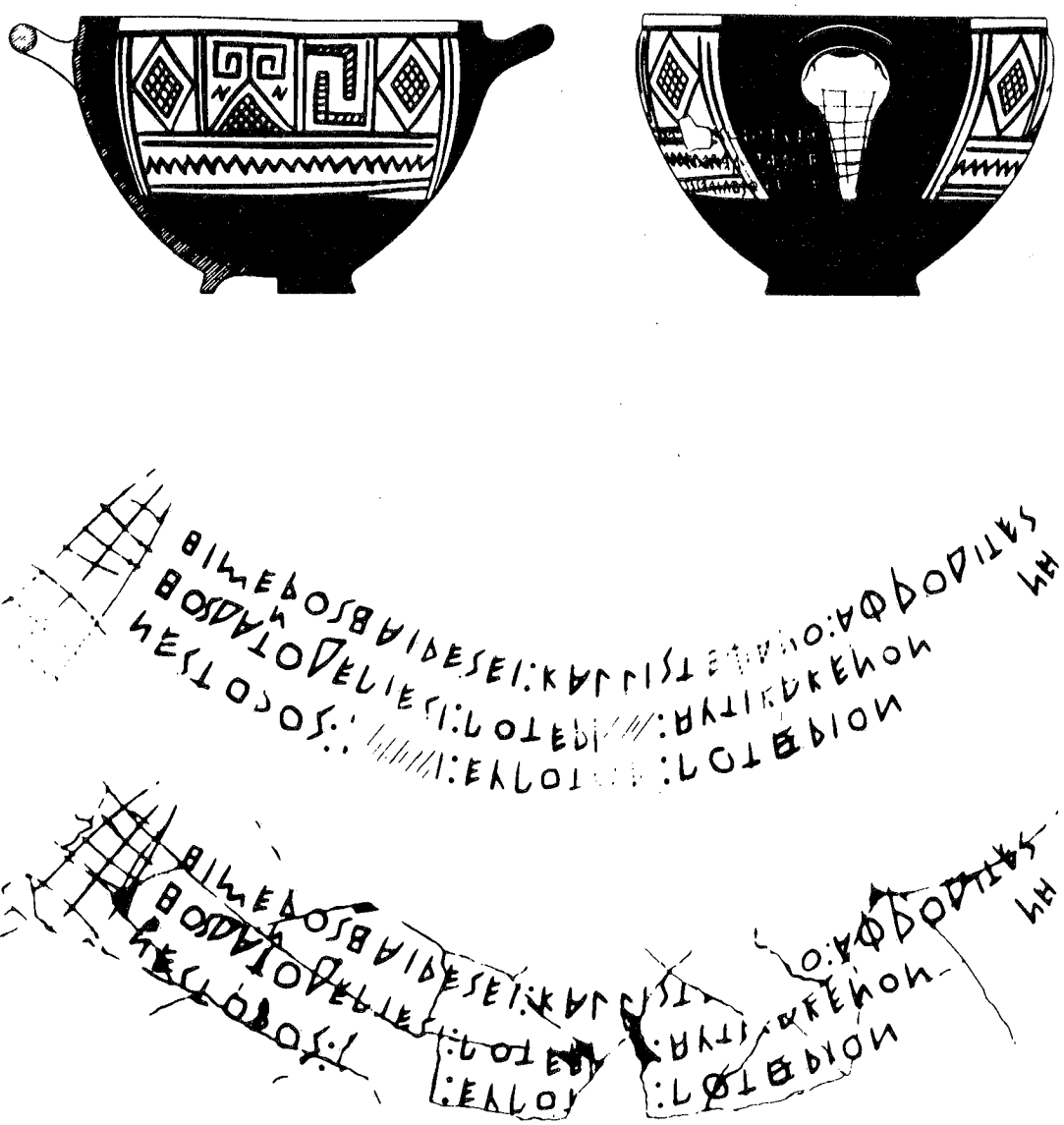


Fig. 3. Drawing of so-called Nestor's cup and its inscription
From Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, ed., *Magna Grecia: Il Mediterraneo, le metropoleis e la fondazione delle colonie* (Milan: Electa, 1985), fig. 343

exhibit maturity, sophistication, and a sense of literary saturation. They play jokingly on an allusion to the famous Nestor's cup in the *Iliad*,[62] a heavy, ornate metal vessel. The lines indicate an acquaintance with the details of the *Iliad* description, which includes a digression on the venerable cup of the old counselor. The Nestor's cup at Pithekoussai demonstrates familiarity not just with a specific episode of the *Iliad* but with particular textual details from it. It assumes existing knowledge of Homer's epics—not necessarily the texts as we have them, but perhaps something rather close were known and recited along with a host of pre- and post-Iliadic poems, including the various songs of return (*Nostoi*).

This cup was used in the communal experience of the *symposion;* therefore, the Homeric allusion was meaningful to a wider circle than the immediate family that buried the child. As noted above for the later Aristonothos krater, the Nestor's cup also assumes familiarity with epic on the part of the entire sympotic group, namely the generation of the boy's parents, around 750 B.C. or perhaps a little earlier. It is also safe to infer knowledge of Odysseus, a major hero in the Homeric epics. As we shall see, Odysseus was regarded by Greeks as an ancestor and a ruler of the Etruscans, and his name appears in fifth-century Etruscan inscriptions as Utuse. The implied knowledge of Homeric motifs so early among the Euboians of Pithekoussai should, therefore, be considered significant for the role of the hero as mediator among Greek colonists, the lands they inhabited, and the populations they encountered.[63]

A "sympotic lifestyle" is evidenced materially among both Greeks and Etruscans during the second half of the eighth century B.C.,[64] thus serving as one of the social forms of mediating the Middle Ground. Communal drinking among the Etruscan and Italic elite may not have been identical to the *symposion* of Greek aristocracy as we know it from later sources, but one may not disregard the evidence for the ensemble of sympotic objects that reconfigure local practices along Greek terms (fig. 4).[65] Sympotic gatherings may have provided an occasion for the exchange of gifts and prestige goods of the sort discovered in Greek and Etruscan princely tombs, thereby consolidating hierarchies of status and political power.[66] Dating to the latter part of the eighth century B.C., such princely tombs have been unearthed in Kymē, Etruria, and Latium. Contemporary with these are also the princely tombs at Euboian Eretria and at Paphos and Salamis in Cyprus, about which it has been observed that the salient features of the burials and the tomb inventories were inspired by Homeric descriptions, notably the funeral of Patroklos.[67] Similar influences may have affected the Etruscans, or at least the forms that their aristocratic burials took.[68]

Due to the egalitarian and reciprocal nature of the *symposion,* it provides a means of transmission for images and ideas, especially when these are compatible with the heroic lifestyle it represents. The *symposion* of the second half of the eighth century B.C. was "Homeric" both in content and form. As the songs of Phemios and Demodokos in the *Odyssey* illustrate, the subject of poetry sung in *symposia* was often tales of return, *Nostoi.* During the eighth

and seventh centuries B.C. Greek and Etruscan elites underwent a process of mutual familiarization through the discovery of complementary ideas and lifestyles.[69] Both Greeks and Etruscans reclined at Homeric-style *symposia* and drank from *sympotic* cups bearing Homeric motifs expressed either through inscribed verses (Nestor's cup) or through painted Homeric scenes like "Odysseus blinding Polyphemos." Transport amphorae filled with wine, such as one discovered at Pithekoussai with a seal showing Ajax carrying Achilles (circa 700 B.C.), must have reached Etruscan customers (fig. 5).[70] Odysseus in particular, believed by Greeks of circa 700 B.C. to have been the progenitor of the Etruscans, would have played a special role as a "mediating hero" in the encounter with a non-Greek aristocratic culture that led a similar lifestyle, drank from the same cups, and hosted occasions of guest-friendship exchange.

At the end of Hesiod's *Theogony,* one finds the following verses: "And Circe the daughter of Helios, Hyperion's son, loved steadfast Odysseus and bare Agrios and Latinos who was faultless and strong.... And they ruled over the famous Tyrsenoi, very far off in the recess of the holy islands."[71] The passage forms an element in the earliest pattern of the Greek application of *Nostoi* genealogies to non-Greek peoples. It mentions neither particular cities nor Greeks, and seems to address a protocolonial horizon. It probably reflects Euboian images current one or two generations before Hesiod, who is deliberately archaizing here, since by his time Euboian colonial activity was at its acme. Hesiod represents himself in the *Works and Days* as having visited Euboian Chalkis, where he won a trophy in the funeral games of Amphidamas.[72] The authenticity of the *Theogony* lines has been contested, although a case can be made in their favor. Suffice it to say that by the sixth century B.C. there developed an alternative model to Etruscan origins, of which our poet seems unaware.[73]

Odysseus is a protocolonist who, like Herakles, explores and leaves descendants behind, but does not settle. His Italian sons, Latinos (ancestor of the Latins) and Agrios (who, as his name suggests, represents the wild hinterland peoples), are apparently personifications of the protocolonial imagination, as seen from the perspective of the maritime explorers and from new centers of Greek colonization on the island of Pithekoussai or the coast of Kymē in the Bay of Naples. It is important to note that the verses do not refer to the ethnography of direct and familiar contact, that is, to the peoples living immediately across from Pithekoussai and Kymē on the mainland. These were at once too familiar and, therefore, distinct and differentiated, for a generalized appellation. Rather, the Latins and Agrioi denote a peripheral vision, looking to what lies beyond the region of direct contact through commerce and colonization. This is another case of an ethnographic periphery to which a *Nostoi*-genealogy was applied, rather than to the peoples with whom Greek colonists came into face-to-face contact. Odysseus, in particular, was well suited for the "Beyond" and the "wild."

Perhaps because the Greeks consistently provided non-Greeks with a *Nostoi*-genealogy, such genealogies paradoxically became popular among

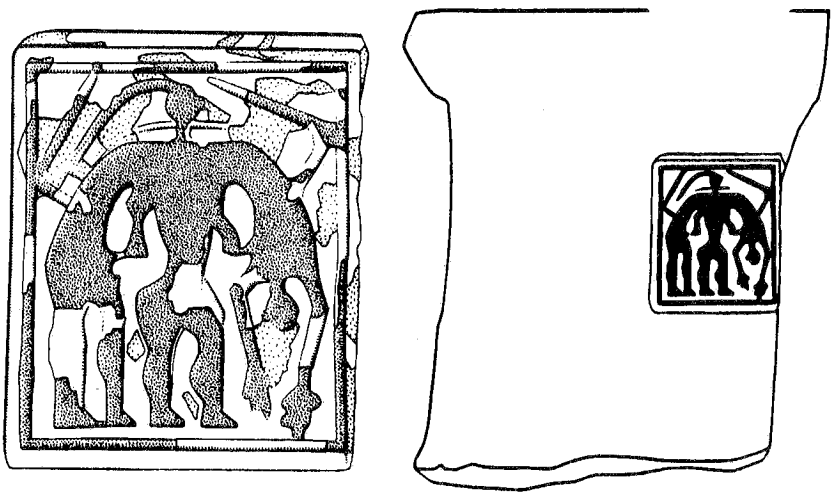


Fig. 4. Wall-painting with *symposion* scene from the Tomb of the Diver, Poseidonia, ca. 480 B.C.
From John Griffiths Pedley, *Paestum: Greeks and Romans in Southern Italy* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1990), pl. 8

Fig. 5. Greek geometric seal impression on an amphora neck: Ajax carrying the body of Achilles, Ischia Pithekoussai, ca. 700 B.C.
Left: detailed drawing; *right:* schematic drawing
From Giorgio Buchner, "Pithekoussai: Oldest Greek Colony in the West," *Expedition* 8, no. 4 (1966): 11

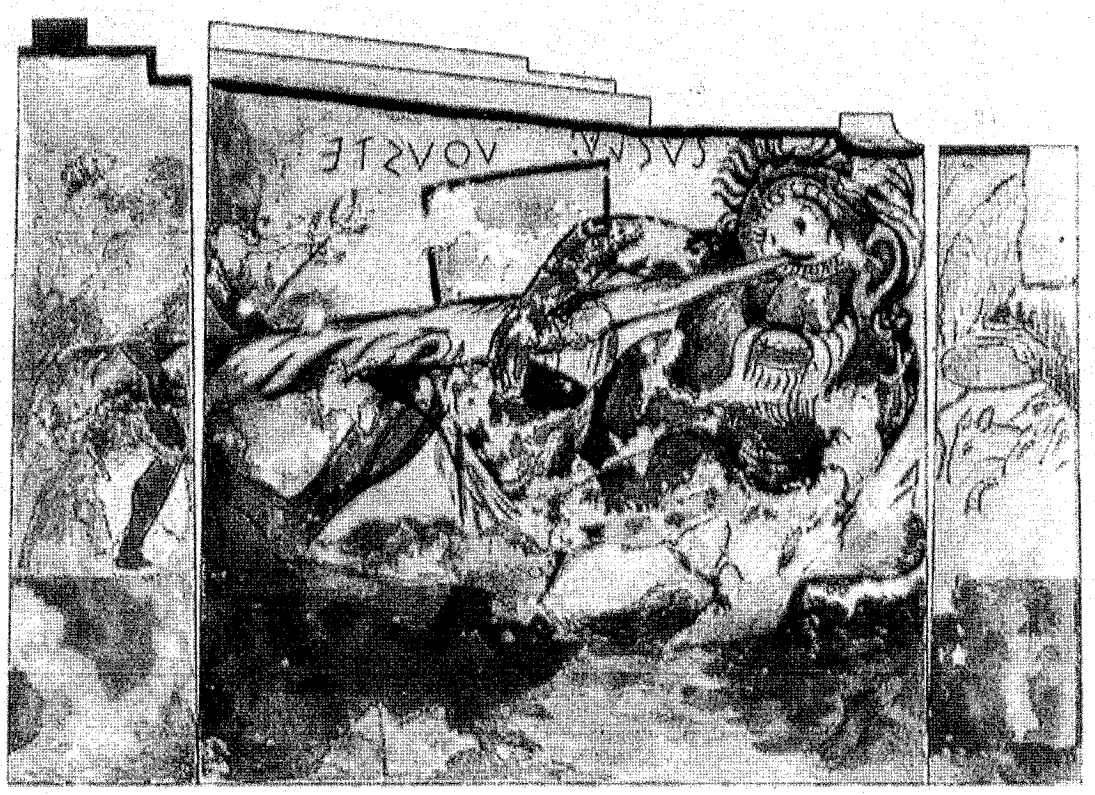


Fig. 6. Fair copy: Tomba dell'Orco II (detail of wall painting of Odysseus, *UTUZTE*, blinding the cyclops Polyphemos, *CUCLU*, Tarquinia, ca. 366–330 B.C.)
Italy (Tarquinia), 1908, watercolor on watercolor paper, 78 × 113 cm (30¾ × 44½ in.)
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek

non-Greek peoples. Not worried about direct colonial control by Greek colonies, local Italic peoples would not have seen in Greek "ethnic" myths implications of territorial expansion or cultural domination. Since no Etruscan city faced the Greeks settlers of Pithekoussai and Kymē, the Etruscans would have been less threatened than others.

The Hesiodic verses connect the *Nostos* of Odysseus with the ethnography of the most distinct Italian civilization encountered by Greeks.[74] Odysseus functions within a typical Greek "ethnographic" model of defining others: the heroic genealogy. We have no idea whether initially the Etruscans welcomed this or whether or not Greeks cared if they did. The Etruscans apparently adopted the hero, just as they did other figures of Greek mythology. In the Etruscan language, Odysseus's name appears as "Utuse" (fig. 6), a "transliteration" that clearly points to the linguistic identity of the Greeks responsible for introducing Odysseus: the Euboians (note that the alternative Doric-

Corinthian form, Olytteus, eventually became Ulysses).[75] Since we do not have direct information concerning how the Etruscans themselves understood Odysseus in this period, we should attempt to evaluate to what extent Odysseus's connection with them was a one-sided, Greek idea. Thus far we have noted a context for the legitimacy of the question: Hesiod's text, written probably about 700 B.C.; Greek mythological motifs—Odysseus included—on painted vases available to the Etruscans; the matrix, archaeologically established, of close commercial and cultural contacts between Etruscans and the Euboians of Pithekoussai and Kymē during the second half of the eighth century B.C. and even earlier; our knowledge, based on the Nestor's cup of Pithekoussai, that those Euboians knew some Homer; and the Etruscan adoption of the Euboian alphabet in general and of the Euboian form of Odysseus's name, "Utuse," in particular.

It is time to enlarge the Etruscan and local contexts. Already noted is the familiarity of the settlers of Pithekoussai with Homeric motifs. The geographical context of cultural communication between Euboians and the Etruscans may help us assess why Odysseus may have been significant to the latter. By 650 B.C. the Etruscans were already a major influence in Campania.[76] Capua, for example, the most celebrated of Campanian cities that later also boasted of another Nestor's cup,[77] had known an unbroken development since the ninth century B.C. The same Euboian pottery found at Pithekoussai occurs at Capua and several other Etruscanized centers. There are other examples of Etruscan influence, such as at Nola and Pompeii where Strabo mentions a period of Etruscan control,[78] although these may have originally been Greek foundations that were later "Italicized."[79]

Local communities and their elite leaders, sometimes mixed with Etruscans, are particularly significant in mediating the Middle Ground. Pontecagnano (Picentia), on the river Picentino, best illustrates the intermixture of indigenous peoples, Etruscans, and Greeks. Its cemeteries show a sequence, as in Etruria, continuing since the ninth century B.C. Particularly rich tombs of around the year 700 B.C. have been discovered that also seem to evidence links with coastal areas.[80] In the pottery types, strong Euboian influence is evident. Imported pottery provides an interesting indication of circulation, whereas locally made Greek pottery as well as typically Greek decorations on local and hybrid shapes indicate the cultural Euboian spread and influence. Bruno D'Agostino cites the example of black-glazed skyphoi that had mostly disappeared elsewhere in Greece, but were still being produced in Euboia (Middle Geometric II) when they appear in Pontecagnano. Such pots indicate direct and close trade contacts that likely served as a vehicle for more profound cultural exchanges.[81]

Relations between Greeks and Etruscans must have been relatively good at this time, although this would later change. One should not be influenced by historical teleology when discussing Greek-Etruscan relations in the eighth century B.C.: "l'histoire n'est pas la tragédie. Pour comprendre le réel historique, il faut parfois ne pas connaître la fin."[82] In contrast to the conflicts of

the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. (the Etruscan defeats in the wars with Kymē in 525–524, 506, and 504 B.C.,[83] and the intervention of Syracuse in 474 B.C.), Greek-Etruscan relations during the eighth and seventh centuries seem to have been mutually unthreatening and beneficial. There were a wide variety of Greek settlers: captives, traders, metics, craftsmen, aristocratic guest-friends, political exiles, and the like.[84] Even in the sixth century relations and points of contact between the two groups intensified as small communities of Greeks inhabited Etruscan ports such as Gravisca and Pyrgi.[85]

The colonial situation lent itself to the imposition of mythic genealogies onto new lands and newly encountered peoples. Greek myths of origins and travel seeped into Etruscan culture, perhaps among guest-friends, together with the wine drunk at aristocratic *symposia*. It also reached the Etruscans through other aspects of contact and adoption of Greek culture: art, artisans, and alphabet teachers. In short, the same colonizing need, the same situation of strangers penetrating new lands shared by both Etruscans and Greeks, enhanced the attractions of the Greek legends as meaningful and applicable.

To widen the perspective for a moment, one should note that in late-Classical and Hellenistic sources Odysseus became Etruscanized. He was connected with particular Etruscan sites and accorded a founder-hero worship (on a Greek model) as the founder of Etruscan Cortoną. Viewed through the eyes of Greek protocolonists as the progenitor of the "Tyrsenoi," he is no longer primarily connected with Campania, although he can still be vaguely linked with Pithekoussai,[86] or portrayed as having landed in Kymē after his stay with Circe.[87] Aside from visual representations, our first source to provide an Etruscan story is Theopompos.[88] Odysseus returns home to find that his wife has been unfaithful. He leaves Ithaca again, sails to Tyrrhenia, and founds the city of Gortynaia (Cortona, above Lake Trasimene). Odysseus dies in the city he founded and, like any other Greek *oikist*, is worshiped by the citizens. The story seems compatible with a fragment of the Aristotelian *Constitution of the Ithakesians*,[89] in which Odysseus departs for Italy after he accomplished his return to Ithaca. Another fragment,[90] an epitaph for the heroes who participated in the Trojan War, relates two epigrams about Odysseus's burial in Tyrrhenia. Finally, Lycophron, mixing together various traditions about the Italian-Etruscan stories of Odysseus, recounts that Odysseus died in Ithaca and his ashes were sent to Gortynaia: "Perge, hill of the Tyrrhenians [Monte Perge, near Cortona?], shall receive his ashes in the land of Gortyn."[91] The mention of an Etruscan cult points to a reality of interrelations between the Etruscans and the hero, which goes beyond the myth-making processes. Cult points to a living reality, shared by audiences different from those of the aristocratic poets. Quite obviously, the cult was an *oikist* cult, providing a symbol of common orientation, collective identity, and a perception of "Beginning" and origins.[92] In Italy and Sicily in particular, *oikist* cults had special prominence and seem to have provided the conceptual framework for imitation by other peoples, such as the Etruscans and, later, the Romans. By the fifth century B.C. it seems that identity and ethnic origins could be perceived mostly in Greek terms.

By the Hellenistic era, Odysseus's role expanded from that of a city founder to a leader of the entire Etruscan migration and settlement in Italy. Lycophron, perhaps following Timaios, speaks of Odysseus in such terms. He refers to him obliquely as "nanos" (short in stature): the "nanos who in his wanderings explored all the nooks of sea and land, will join Aineas with a friendly army."[93] This finds confirmation in Hellanikos,[94] who says that Nanas led Pelasgians from Thessaly, sailed to the river Spines (at the head of the Adriatic), and went on to take Kroton. This is probably Etruscan Cortona, where Odysseus was independently identified as a founder and as a cult recipient.

In hindsight, it seems amazing how many peoples have co-opted the Greek myth of the Trojan War and *Nostoi* poems as the framework for their own origin-myths and ethnic definitions. One may justifiably ask why there was no reverse situation of Greeks adopting narrative frameworks of local ethnic origins. Why did Etruscans adopt Odysseus and why did Greeks not adopt Etruscan heroes? The phrasing of the question is itself problematic. Once Etruscans adopt Odysseus, his story is no longer "Greek." A simplistic "acculturation model," perceiving of cultural adoption as if pouring from a full cup to an empty one, is not operative here. Once poured, the liquid is no longer the same. Odysseus and the Etruscans may be understood better in terms of a new, cultural Middle Ground. In Greek terms, too, Odysseus has changed and metamorphosed. From a Homeric hero whose adventure story deliberately is given no real geographical and ethnographical coordinates, he comes to be connected in the colonial world with distinct peoples and topographical locales, such as the "Cape of the Sirens"[95] or the "Mountain of Circe."[96] At the same time, it is apparent that no equivalent Etruscan hero played a similar part in a Greek Middle Ground. To return to the pouring metaphor, the Middle Ground was like a wine krater; cups of wine stock and water would be poured into it and the resulting mixture was "wine" fit for the *symposion*. In Campania the wine stock part of the mixture had a definite Greek flavor, even though it was no longer "the same."

Perhaps Greek myths had more authority. In later periods, as Elias Bickerman suggests, other nations accepted Greek definitions of their own identity because of the perceived "scientific" aspect of the Greek outlook. Everyone had myths; but Greek myths were also "accounts"—the result of "investigations"—and these usually disregarded what natives had to say about themselves.[97] Thucydides, for example, says that although the Sikans of Sicily claim to be autochthonous, "the truth as it is found to be" (ἡ ἀλήθεια εὑρίσκεται), is that they were Iberians who migrated to Sicily.[98] In a later period, probably after the sixth century B.C., the Etruscans seem to have adopted the Greek "scientific" theory of their Lydian—not Odyssean—origins. They did not give up on Odysseus, however; he quickly became their migration leader.

Bickerman's model applies to the Classical and Hellenistic periods. What was the situation earlier, before the rise of logography and history? A function similar to that of the later Greek "myth-science" was probably fulfilled in the

early Archaic period by epic poetry. They were Great Epics, sung, alluded to, represented in paintings, and recounted at *symposia*. The Etruscans apparently had nothing equivalent. Their power, beauty, and heroic ethos transcended the "Greek" sphere.

This may just be a case where, following Anthony Smith, "the fuller *ethne* set the pace for the empty ones."[99] The *origins-mentalité* of nations is oddly susceptible to the stranger's opinion, similar to the curious psychological disposition to succumb to snobbery—one of the most potent and underrated forces in social history. Such susceptibility is recognition of one's inferiority. By appropriating the stranger's myths and other cultural achievements, however, one can accept and even transform one's status. In antiquity some Hellenized Jews made claims that Greek philosophers stole their wisdom from the Hebrew sages, just as certain contemporary African Americans claim that the wisdom of the "West" is of African origin. The myth of the colonizer is adopted by the colonized, but with a twist. The Romans likewise adopted the entire framework of the Greek origin myth but carved their independent niche by choosing the Trojan side. This is how Odysseus was integrated in Italy, whether as progenitor (Hesiod) or, according to one of the Odyssey sequels, during his subsequent travels after the first return. The Etruscans, a "people" whose political and cultural identity was being formed at the time of the encounter with Greek and Phoenician civilizations, were also formulating ideas of who they were. It was in such contexts that they adopted the story of Utuse, Odysseus.

We can thus see the emergence of a Middle Ground in Campania, a frontier zone for both Greeks and Etruscans, an area where they mixed with local elites and where Greek mythic frameworks were being disseminated, transformed, and appropriated. Campania was an area of mediation where a new "colonial" culture—not one of cultural "imperialism" but one of accommodation—emerged. This Middle Ground could emerge because the colonial situation was not threatening to either party. The Middle Ground was articulated, among other means, through myths of Greek *Nostoi* origins, and succeeded because such origins were not perceived to be exclusively "Greek" to begin with. The *Odyssey* and its related myths were something Greeks could offer as a cultural "commodity" in a multifaceted system of exchange.[100] People, apparently, liked the story, and it is not too difficult to understand why.

Notes

1. Irad Malkin, *The Returns of Odysseus: Colonization and Ethnicity* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1998).

2. Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1991), x.

3. White, *Middle Ground* (note 2), 50.

4. Solange Alberro, *Les espagnols dans le Mexique colonial: Histoire d'une acculturation* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1992), 9–16.

5. White, *Middle Ground* (note 2), x.

6. See Kerwin Lee Klein, "Reclaiming the 'F' Word, or Being and Becoming Postwestern," *Pacific Historical Review* 65 (1996): 179–217, esp. 191.

7. As noted by Kathryn Lomas, "The Greeks in the West and the Hellenization of Italy," in Anton Powell, ed., *The Greek World* (London: Routledge, 1995), 347–67.

8. On "center" and "periphery" in archaeological theory, see Michael Rowlands, Mogens Larsen, and Kristian Kristiansen, eds., *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987); and Timothy C. Champion, ed., *Centre and Periphery: Comparative Studies in Archaeology* (London: Routledge, 1995).

9. Irad Malkin, *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994), 169–74.

10. Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1993), 303.

11. Homer, *Odyssey* 9.125.

12. Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land: Marquesas, 1774–1880* (Honolulu: Univ. Press of Hawaii, 1980).

13. Gocha R. Tsetskhladze, "Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area: Stages, Models, and Native Population," in idem, ed., *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area: Historical Interpretation of Archaeology* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1998), 9–68.

14. Recently Michel Bats, "Marseille archaïque: Étrusques et phocéens en Méditerranée nord-occidentale," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Antiquité* 110 (1998): 609–33.

15. Margherita Giuffrida Ientile, *La pirateria tirrenica: Momenti e fortuna* (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1983).

16. Jean Bérard, *L'expansion et la colonisation grecques, jusqu'aux guerres médiques* (Paris: Aubier, 1960), 12–15.

17. Bartlett, *Making of Europe* (note 10), 309.

18. Irad Malkin, "Inside and Outside: Colonization and the Formation of the Mother City," in Bruno D'Agostino and David Ridgway, eds., *Apoikia: I più antichi insediamenti greci d'Occidente: Funzioni e modi dell'organizzazione politica e sociale: Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1994), 1–9.

19. A. J. Graham, "Argos, Cnossus, Tylissus, and Religious Relations," in idem, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*, 2d ed. (Chicago: Ares, 1983), 154–65.

20. Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* 6.5.1.

21. Mario Torelli presents a useful summary of the recent bibliography in "The Encounter with the Etruscans," in Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, ed., *The Greek World: Art and Civilization in Magna Graecia and Sicily* (New York: Rizzoli, 1996), 567–76.

22. Compare Bartlett, *Making of Europe* (note 10), 311.

23. Mauro Cristofani, *L'arte degli etruschi: Produzione e consumo* (Turin: Einaudi, 1978), 33; and David Ridgway, *The First Western Greeks* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992), 89–90.

24. Robert Drews, *The Greek Accounts of Eastern History* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Hellenic Studies, 1973), 4–19; and Jean Rudhardt, "De l'attitude des grecs à l'égard des religions étrangers," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 209 (1992): 219–38.

25. Bartlett, *Making of Europe* (note 10), 85.

26. Irad Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987), pt. 2.

27. Malkin, *Myth and Territory* (note 9), 133–39.

28. See also P. Fabre, "Les grecs et la connaissance de l'Occident" (Ph.D. diss., Université Charles-de-Gaulle Lille III, 1991); Dominique Briquel, *Les pélasges en Italie: Recherches sur l'histoire de la légende* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1984); and Dominique Briquel, "Le regard des grecs sur l'Italie indigène," in *Crise et transformation des sociétés archaïques de l'Italie antique au Ve siècle av. J.-C.: Actes de la table ronde* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1990), 165–88.

29. For example, see the information provided in the section, by David Ridgway, entitled "'Cycladic' Cups at Veii," in David Ridgway and Francesca R. Ridgway, eds., *Italy before the Romans: The Iron Age, Orientalizing and Etruscan Periods* (London: Academic, 1979), 113–24. For the down-dating of the pendent semicircle skyphoi, see Jean-Paul Descoeudres and Rosalinde Kearsley, "Greek Pottery at Veii: Another Look," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 78 (1983): 9–53; Rosalinde Kearsley, *The Pendent Semi-Circle Skyphos: A Study of Its Development and Chronology and an Examination of It as Evidence for Euboean Activity at Al Mina* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, 1989), 126–28; R. Ross Holloway, *The Archaeology of Early Rome and Latium* (London: Routledge, 1994), 46; and F.-W. von Hase, "Ägäische, griechische, und vorderorientalische Einflüsse auf das tyrrhenische Mittelitalien," in Monika zu Erbach, ed., *Beiträge zur Urnenfelderzeit nördlich und südlich der Alpen: Ergebnisse eines Kolloquiums* (Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 1995), 239–86, esp. 248–52. For David Ridgway's revised approach, see Ridgway, *First Western Greeks* (note 23), 131; and Judith Toms, "The Relative Chronology of the Villanovan Cemetery of Quattro Fontanili at Veii," *Annali: Sezione di archeologia e storia antica* 8 (1986): 41–97. For "precolonial" Greek imports, see Gianni Bailo Modesti and Patrizia Gastaldi, eds., *Prima di Pithecusa: I più antichi materiali greci del golfo di Salerno*, exh. cat. (Naples: Arte, 1999).

30. Bruno D'Agostino, "I paesi greci di provenienza dei coloni e le loro relazioni con il Mediterraneo occidentale," in Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, ed., *Magna Grecia: Prolegomeni* (Milan: Electa, 1985), 209–44.

31. Georges Vallet et al., *La céramique grecque ou de tradition grecque au VIIIe siècle en Italie centrale et méridionale* (Naples: Centre Jean Bérard, 1982); Descoeudres and Kearsley, "Greek Pottery" (note 29), 9–53; and David Ridgway, Francesca Boitani, and A. Deriu, "Provenance and Firing Techniques of Geometric Pottery from Veii: A Mössbauer Investigation," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 80 (1985): 139–50. Particularly rich in metal minerals is the area between Caere and Tarquinia and in western Etruria, Populonia, and the island of Elba.

32. Ridgway, *First Western Greeks* (note 23).

33. Gilda Bartoloni, *La cultura villanoviana: All'inizio della storia etrusca* (Rome: La Nuova Italia Scientifica, 1989); and Bruno D'Agostino, "Le genti della Campania antica," in Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, ed., *The Greek World: Art and Civilization in Magna Graecia and Sicily* (New York: Rizzoli, 1996), 531–89. D'Agostino interprets the evidence from the grave as if the local populations in Campania included many Opicians practicing inhumations.

34. Giorgio Buchner, "Early Orientalizing: Aspects of the Euboean Connection," in David Ridgway and Francesca R. Ridgway, eds., *Italy before the Romans: The Iron Age, Orientalizing and Etruscan Periods* (London: Academic, 1979), 133.

35. Bruno D'Agostino, "Le necropoli protostoriche della Valle del Sarno: La ceramica di tipo greco," *Annali: Sezione di archeologia e storia antica* 1 (1979): 59–75; and Bruno D'Agostino, "La ceramica greca o di tradizione greca nell'VIII secolo in Italia Meridionale," in Georges Vallet et al., *La céramique grecque ou de tradition grecque au VIII^e siècle en Italie centrale et méridionale* (Naples: Centre Jean Bérard, 1982), 55–67. The small number of Chevron cups creates difficulties in determining the chronology. See the table in Ridgway, *First Western Greeks* (note 23), 132.

36. M. W. Frederiksen, "The Etruscans in Campania," in David Ridgway and Francesca R. Ridgway, eds., *Italy before the Romans: The Iron Age, Orientalizing and Etruscan Periods* (London: Academic, 1979), 290; C. Albore Livadie, "Remarques sur un group de tombes de Cumes," *Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard* 2 (1975): 53–58; Buchner, "Early Orientalizing" (note 34), 129–144, esp. 130–31, 138, in opposition to Ingrid Strøm, *Problems Concerning the Origin and Early Development of the Etruscan Orientalizing Style* (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1971), 47, 59 ff., 98 ff.; and Ingrid Strøm, "Relations between Etruria and Campania around 700 B.C.," in Jean-Paul Descoeudres, ed., *Greek Colonists and Native Populations* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 87–97, esp. 90. See also Torelli, "Encounter" (note 21), 567.

37. Buchner, "Early Orientalizing" (note 34), 133, author's emphasis; in opposition to Strøm, "Relations" (note 36), 90. See J. N. Coldstream, "Mixed Marriages at the Frontiers of the Early Greek World," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 12, no. 1 (1993): 89–107, esp. 90–95, for the likelihood of mixed marriages between Greek colonists and Etruscan women, perhaps attested to by the presence of ritual "spiral amphorae" in female tombs. Coldstream's paper overlooks much of the earlier discussion; see A. J. Graham, "Religion, Women and Greek Colonization," *Atti: Centro ricerche e documentazione sull'antichità classica* 11 (1984): 293–314.

38. For example, see Cristofani, *L'arte degli etruschi* (note 23).

39. See Michel Gras, *Trafics tyrrhéniens archaïques* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1985), chap. 11, and esp. 630–31.

40. Bruno D'Agostino, "Relations between Campania, Southern Etruria, and the Aegean in the Eighth Century," in Jean-Paul Descoeudres, ed., *Greek Colonists and Native Populations* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 73–85, esp. 77.

41. I am particularly grateful to Bruno D'Agostino for the following references. See von Hase, "Ägäische, griechische, und vorderorientalische" (note 29); and F.-W. von Hase, "Présences étrusques et italiques dans les sanctuaires grecs (VIII^e–VII^e siècle av. J.-C.)," in Françoise Gaultier and Dominique Briquel, eds., *Les plus religieux des hommes: État de la recherche sur la religion étrusque: Actes du colloque international, Galeries nationals du Grand Palais, 17–19 novembre 1992* (Paris: Documentation Française, 1997), 293–323. Compare David Ridgway, "La presenza etrusca nella Campania Meridionale," in Patrizia Gastaldi and Guglielmo Maetzke, eds., *La presenza etrusca nella Campania Meridionale: Atti delle giornate di studio, Salerno-Pontecagnano, 16–18 novembre 1990* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1994), 513–16.

42. K. Kilian, "Zwei italische Kammhelme aus Griechenland," in *Études delphiques*

(Athens: École Francaise d'Athènes, 1977), 429–42, dates the helmets closer to 800 B.C.; and von Hase, "Présences étrusques et italiques" (note 41), 253 n. 24, places them in the first half of the eighth century B.C.

43. Hans-Volkmar Hermann, "Altitalisches und etruskisches in Olympia: Neue Funde und Forschungen," *Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente,* n.s., 45 (1983): 271–94.

44. Polybius, *Histories* 6.11a.7; Pliny, *Natural History* 35.43, 152; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 3.46.3–5. Compare Alan Blakeway, "'Demaratus': A Study in Some Aspects of the Earliest Hellenization of Latium and Etruria," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 25 (1935): 129–49; and Domenico Musti, "Etruria e Lazio arcaico nella tradizione (Demarato, Tarquinio, Mezenzio)," in Mauro Cristofani, ed., *Etruria e Lazio arcaico: Atti dell'incontro di studio, 10–11 novembre 1986* (Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1987); and Ridgway, *First Western Greeks* (note 23), 143.

45. See Michel Bats and Bruno D'Agostino, eds., *Euboica: L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente: Atti del convegno internazionale di Napoli, 13–16 novembre 1996* (Naples: Centre Jean Bérard, 1998).

46. Lilian Hamilton Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece: A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and Its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth Centuries B.C.*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 236–37; and Mauro Cristofani, "Sull'origine e la diffusione dell'alfabeto etrusco," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 1 (1972): 466–89; compare Ridgway, *First Western Greeks* (note 23), 141.

47. Walter Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, trans. Walter Burkert and Margaret E. Pinder (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1992), 28–33; compare Barry B. Powell, *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1991), 123–80.

48. Gudrun Ahlberg-Cornell, *Myth and Epos in Early Greek Art: Representation and Interpretation* (Jonsered, Sweden: Paul Åströms, 1992), 94–95. For other representations of scenes from the Homeric epics in Etruscan art, see G. Colonna, "Riflessi dell'epos greco nell'arte degli etruschi," in *L'epos greco in occidente: Atti del diciannovesimo convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto, 7–12 ottobre 1979* (Taranto, Italy: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia, 1980), 303–20; and Françoise-Hélène Massa-Pairault, *Iconologia e politica nell'Italia antica: Roma, Lazio, Etruria dal VII al I secolo a.C.* (Milan: Longanesi, 1992), 19–23. Early depictions of the Polyphemos story on a Caeretan hydria and on two Etruscan ivory pyxides are listed in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae,* s.v. "Odysseus/Uthuze," nos. 57, 60–62. See also Bernard Andreae and Claudio Parisi Presicce, eds., *Ulisse: Il mito e la memoria,* exh. cat. (Rome: Progetti Museali, 1996), 42–51, 120–33.

49. See Anthony Snodgrass, *Homer and the Artists: Text and Picture in Early Greek Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998), 88–98, for arguments for and against Homeric influence. His notion of "influence" is closely textual (see below, note 54).

50. Marion True and Kenneth Hamma, eds., *A Passion for Antiquities: Ancient Art from the Collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman* (Malibu: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1994), 182–86; and Snodgrass, *Homer and the Artists* (note 49), fig. 38.

51. Compare Emma Dench, *From Barbarians to New Men: Greek, Roman and*

Modern Perceptions of Peoples of the Central Apennines (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 39; and Jeffery, *Local Scripts* (note 46), 239.

52. Massa-Pairault, *Iconologia e politica* (note 48), 19–20; and Torelli, "Encounter" (note 21), 568.

53. W. Burkert, "The Making of Homer in the Sixth Century B.C.: Rhapsodes versus Stesichoros," *Papers on the Amasis Painter and His World* (Malibu: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1987), 43–62. Compare Oskar Hackman, "Die Polyphemsage in der Volksüberlieferung" (Ph.D. diss., Frenckellska, Helsinki, 1904); J. Glen, "The Polyphemos Folktale and Homer's Kyklopeia," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 102 (1971): 133–81; Claude Calame, "La légende du Cyclope dans le folklore européen et extra-européen: Un jeu de transformations narratives," *Études de lettres*, 3d ser., 10, no. 2 (1977): 45–79; and R. Mondi, "The Homeric Cyclopes: Folktale, Tradition, and Theme," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 113 (1983): 17–38.

54. See the remarks of Anthony M. Snodgrass, *An Archaeology of Greece: The Present State and Future Scope of a Discipline* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1987), 140–41; and Snodgrass, *Homer and the Artists* (note 49), 88–98. Compare H. Alan Shapiro, *Myth into Art: Poet and Painter in Classical Greece* (London: Routledge, 1994), 49–55. Even without inscriptions, we can resolve the matter by looking for unambiguous attributes of the *Odyssey*. The Eleusis amphora (circa 670 B.C.) shows Polyphemos with some interesting peculiarities: the Cyclops is sitting rather than lying down, the stake is driven into his eye horizontally rather than from the top, and he is holding in his hand the wine cup that Odysseus offered him (earlier, in the *Odyssey*). The identifying features, especially the wine cup, are "textual details." The painter condenses the action and "quotes" the wine cup. On a sixth-century B.C. Lakonian vase a third element is being synchronized: the wine cup is shown, Polyphemos holds in each of his hands a leg of one of Odysseus's companions, and at the same time the stake is being driven into his eye(s).

55. For the sympotic (and empathetic) interpretation of the burial, see Oswyn Murray, "Nestor's Cup and the Origins of the Greek Symposium," in Bruno D'Agostino and David Ridgway, eds., *Apoikia: I più antichi insediamenti greci d'Occidente: Funzioni e modi dell'organizzazione politica e sociale: Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1994), 47–54.

56. Ridgway, *First Western Greeks* (note 23), 57.

57. Giorgio Buchner and C. F. Russo, "La coppa di Nestore e un'iscrizione metrica da Pithecusa dell'VIII secolo a.C.," *Rendiconti (Accadamia nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche)*, 8th ser., 10 (1955): 215–34; R. Cantarella, "He Megale Hellas Ἡ μεγάλη Ἑλλάς," in *La città e il suo territorio: Atti del settimo convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto, 8–12 ottobre 1967* (Naples: Arte, 1968), 11–28, 41; Ridgway, *First Western Greeks* (note 23), 55–57; Murray, "Nestor's Cup" (note 55); and in opposition to Georg Danek, "Der Nestorbecher von Ischia, epische Zitiertechnik und das Symposion," *Wiener Studien* 107/108 (1994–95): 29–44. For the meter of the first line and a comparison with the text of the *Iliad*, see Carlo Ferdinando Russo, "Nota testuale e iliadica," in Giorgio Buchner and David Ridgway, *Pithekoussai: Testo* (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1993), 746–47; and compare F. Hansen, "The

Story of the Sailor Who Went Inland," in Linda Dégh, Henry Glassie, and Felix J. Oinas, eds., *Folklore Today: A Festschrift for Richard M. Dorson* (Bloomington: Research Center for Language and Semiotic Studies, Indiana University, 1976), 221–30, 235–40. For an overview, see Powell, *Homer* (note 47), 163–67; and Kevin Robb, *Literacy and Paideia in Ancient Greece* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1994), 45–48.

58. Jeffery, *Local Scripts* (note 46), 235–36; and compare Margherita Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*, vol. 1, *Caratteri e storia della disciplina, la scrittura greca dalle origini all'età imperiale* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1967), 226–27.

59. Ridgway, *First Western Greeks* (note 23), 116. For a convenient description of the excavation, see Ridgway, *First Western Greeks* (note 23), chap. 4. For a discussion of possible, partial Levantine origins of the family, see Ridgway, *First Western Greeks* (note 23), 111–18. The argument ("partly non-Greek" or the ambiguous "Levantine extraction") is somewhat speculative. Ridgway's reliance on settlement patterns (promontories and offshore islands) as "startlingly reminiscent" of Phoenicians is blind to the fact that this is the consistent pattern for all maritime colonizations. Accordingly, the Crusader's colonies of Acre or Atlit, or the British colony at Hong Kong could similarly be interpreted "as if they . . . had Phoenician advice." The semitic inscription on amphora 571 is not directly tied to the Rhodian *kotylē* (Nestor's cup), which was not necessarily brought to Pithekoussai by Phoenicians passing through Rhodes. Without addressing the general question of Phoenicians (or Arameans) in Pithekoussai, the fact remains that the inscription on the cup is in Euboian Greek.

60. The first line seems comparable to inscribed titles of ownership, found on drinking vessels. The restored word is ϵ[μ]ί or ει[μ]ί; see P. A. Hansen, "Pithecusan Humour: The Interpretation of 'Nestor's Cup' Reconsidered," *Glotta* 54 (1976): 25–43; Powell, *Homer* (note 47), 164; and Murray, "Nestor's Cup" (note 55), 28.

61. Malkin, *Returns of Odysseus* (note 1), 157–60; and Murray, "Nestor's Cup" (note 55).

62. Homer, *Iliad* 2.632–37; compare Homer, *Odyssey* 3.51–53, 63.

63. Christopher Faraone, "Taking the 'Nestor's Cup' Seriously: Erotic Magic and Conditional Curses in the Earliest Inscribed Hexameters," *Classical Antiquity* 15 (1996): 77–112, acknowledges the sympotic context but claims that the three lines of the inscription (apart from the "owners assertion") contain the formula for a magical spell designed to work as an aphrodisiac. Hence Faraone is less certain about "Nestor" (simply a name?). I still believe an allusion is there: the line is set apart from what Faraone regards as a formula; a double entendre works well with varieties of formulae; and Campania knew other Nestor's cups in later periods (see below, note 77).

64. This is the general conclusion of A. Rathje, "The Adoption of the Homeric Banquet in Central Italy in the Orientalizing Period," in Oswyn Murray, ed., *Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposion* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 279–88.

65. Murray, "Nestor's Cup" (note 55); compare Pauline Schmitt Pantel, *La cité au banquet: Histoire des repas publics dans les cités grecques* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1992), 46–48. For the funerary context of the Etruscan *symposion,* see Oswyn Murray, "Death and the Symposion," *Annali: Sezione di archeologia e storia antica* 10 (1988): 239–58; and compare G. Bartoloni, M. Cataldi, and F. Zevi, "Aspetti dell'ideologia funeraria nella necropoli di Castel di Decima," in Gherardo Gnoli and Jean-

Pierre Vernant, eds., *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1982), 257–73.

66. Bruno D'Agostino, "Tombe 'principesche' dell'orientalizzante antico da Pontecagnano," *Monumenti antichi: Serie miscellanea* 2 (1977): 1–110; and compare Holloway, *Archaeology of Early Rome* (note 29), 156–60.

67. John N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (London: E. Benn, 1977), 349–51; and Ridgway, *First Western Greeks* (note 23), 138.

68. Ridgway, *First Western Greeks* (note 23), 138.

69. D'Agostino, "Tombe 'principesche'" (note 66).

70. Ahlberg-Cornell, *Myth and Epos* (note 48), 288, fig. 46b; and John K. Papadopoulos, "Early Iron Age Potters' Marks in the Aegean," *Hesperia* 63 (1994): 437–507, esp. 453 (C5), 470–71, 483–85 with plate 117e, points also to the probable use of the same stamp on a plaque at the Heraion at Samos.

71. Hesiod, *Work and Days* 1011–18.

72. Hesiod, *Work and Days* 654.

73. Martin West's strongest argument against authenticity, that Greeks had no real awareness of Etruscans before the sixth century B.C., is patently wrong. See Hesiod, *Theogony*, trans. and ed. Martin L. West (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966), commentary, ad loc.; and Malkin, *Returns of Odysseus* (note 1), 180–91.

74. For the advanced level of Etruscan city development, see Renato Peroni, "Communità e insediamento in Italia fra età del bronzo e prima età del ferro," *Storia di Roma* [Turin] 1 (1988): 7–38. By contrast, Latium in the eighth century B.C. seems to have been made up of villages, federated around sanctuaries. Centers do not emerge until the second half of the eighth century B.C. See *La formazione della città nel Lazio: Seminario tenuto a Roma, 24–26 giugno 1977, Dialoghi di archeologia*, 2d ser., 2 (1980): 1–234; A. Guidi, "An Application of the Rank-Size Rule to Protohistoric Settlements in the Middle Tyrrhenian Area," in Caroline Malone and Simon Stoddart, eds., *Papers in Italian Archaeology 4: The Cambridge Conference* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1985), 217–42; and G. Colonna, "I latini e gli altri popoli del Lazio," in Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, ed., *Italia omnium terrarum alumna: La civiltà dei Veneti, Reti, Liguri, Celti, Piceni, Umbri, Latini, Campanie Iapigi* (Milan: Libri Scheiwiller, 1988), 411–530.

75. Compare Cristofani, "Sull'origine e la diffusione" (note 46); Cristofani, *L'arte degli Etruschi* (note 23); Mauro Cristofani, "Recent Advances in Etruscan Epigraphy and Language," in David Ridgway and Francesca R. Ridgway, eds., *Italy before the Romans: The Iron Age, Orientalizing and Etruscan Periods* (London: Academic, 1979), 373–412; Mauro Cristofani, "I greci in Etruria," in *Modes de contacts et processus de transformation dans les sociétés anciennes: Actes du colloque de Cortone, 24–30 mai 1981* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1983), 239–55; Colonna, "Riflessi dell'epos greco" (note 48); F. Delpino, "L'ellenizzazione dell'Etruria villanoviana: Sui rapporti tra Grecia ed Etruria fra IX e VIII sec. a.C.," in *Secondo Congresso internazionale etrusco, Firenze, 26 maggio–2 giugno 1985* (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1989), 105–16; Carlo De Simone, *Die griechischen Entlehnungen im Etruskischen*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1968–70); Frederiksen, "The Etruscans" (note 36); and Ridgway, "La presenza etrusca" (note 41). The form Olytteus (eventually Ulysses) may

have had its origins in Corinth, arriving in Latium probably via Messapia.

76. Martin Frederiksen, *Campania,* ed. Nicholas Purcell (London: British School at Rome, 1984), 117–29; Patrizia Gastaldi and Guglielmo Maetzke, eds., *La presenza etrusca nella Campania Meridionale: Atti delle giornate di studio, Salerno-Pontecagnano, 16–18 novembre 1990* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1994); Mauro Cristofani, "Presenze etrusche tra Stabia e Pontecagnano," *Atti e memorie della Società Magna Grecia,* 3d ser., 1 (1992): 61–66; and G. Colonna, "Etruschi a Pitecusa nell'orientalizzante antico," in Alfredina Storchi Marino, ed., *L'incidenza dell'antico: Studi in memoria di Ettore Lepore,* vol. 1, *Atti del convegno internazionale, Anacapri, 24–28 marzo 1991* (Naples: Luciano, 1995–96), 325–42.

77. Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 466e–489c, esp. 477b. See also Eustathius, *Ad Iliadem* 11.635.

78. Strabo, *Geographica* 5.247. See Frederiksen, "The Etruscans" (note 36), 297.

79. Kathryn Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks, 350 B.C.–A.D. 200: Conquest and Acculturation in Southern Italy* (London: Routledge, 1993), 28–30.

80. See D'Agostino, "Relations" (note 40), for previous references to his important work; compare Frederiksen, "The Etruscans" (note 36), 279; Annette Rathje, "Oriental Imports in Etruria in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.: Their Origins and Implications," in David Ridgway and Francesca R. Ridgway, eds., *Italy before the Romans: The Iron Age, Orientalizing and Etruscan Periods* (London: Academic, 1979), 152 ff.; Pliny, *Natural History* 3.5.70; and M. Cuozzo, "Patterns of Organization and Funerary Customs in the Cemetery of Pontecagnano (Salerno) during the Orientalizing Period," *Journal of European Archaeology* 2 (1994): 263–96.

81. D'Agostino, "Relations" (note 40), 78–80.

82. Pierre Vidal-Naquet, "Les juifs de la France et l'assimilation," in idem, *Les juifs, la mémoire et le présent,* vol. 1 (Paris: F. Maspero, 1981), 88.

83. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae* 7.6.1–2.

84. Frederiksen, "The Etruscans" (note 36), 290.

85. Francesca R. Serra Ridgway, "Etruscans, Greeks, Carthaginians: The Sanctuary at Pyrgi," in Jean-Paul Descoeudres, ed., *Greek Colonists and Native Populations* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 511–30; Mario Torelli, "Il santuario greco di Gravisca," *La parola del Passato,* no. 177 (1977): 398–458; and Mario Torelli, "Gravisca," in Giuseppe Nenci and Georges Vallet, gen. eds., *Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle isole tirreniche* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1977–), 8:172–76.

86. Lycophron, *Alexandra* 688–93, with schol. on 688. See also the review of the evidence in D. Briquel, "Remarques sur les traditions de Nostoi en Italie: L'example de la légende d'Ulysse en Etrurie," *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 34–35 (1999): 235–52. His approach, denying Mycenaean precedents and stressing archaic *xenia* contacts, is similar to mine.

87. Pseudo-Scymnus, *Ad Nicomedem regem* 225–41.

88. For Theopompus, see Felix Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker,* 115 F 354 = schol. Lyc. 806. For further discussion, see L. Braccesi, "Cortona e la leggenda di Ulisse," in Giorgio Bonamente and Filippo Coarelli, eds., *Assisi e gli Umbri nell'antichità: Atti del convegno internazionale, Assisi, 18–21 dicembre 1991* (Assisi: Società Editrice Minerva, 1996), 127–38.

89. Aristotle, frag. 507 Rose = Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae* 14.

90. Pseudo-Aristotle, *Peplos* 640 Rose 12, 13.

91. Lycophron, *Alexandra* 795, 807; and E. D. Phillips, "Odysseus in Italy," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 73 (1953): 53–67, esp. 65.

92. Malkin, *Religion and Colonization* (note 26).

93. Lycophron, *Alexandra* 1242–5. For Odysseus being short, see Homer, *Iliad* 3.193; Homer, *Odyssey* 6.230; Phillips, "Odysseus" (note 91), 60–61; Nicholas M. Horsfall, "Some Problems in the Aeneas Legend," *Classical Quarterly,* 2d ser., 29 (1979): 372–90, esp. 381; Geneviève Dury-Moyaers, *Énée et Lavinium: À propos des découvertes archéologiques récentes* (Brussels: Latomus, 1981), 65–72; and J. Poucet, "Énée et Lavinium," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 61 (1983): 148–59.

94. For Hellanikos, see Felix Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker,* 4 F 323a.

95. See Hesiod, *Catalogue of Women* 47 (= Schol., Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 4.892). Strabo, *Geographica* 5.247, with *de mir. ausc.* 103, which speaks of regular sacrifices that took place there. Compare Luisa Breglia Pulci Doria, *Dalla Magna Grecia a Cos: Ricerche di storia antica* (Naples: Luciano, 1996). Compare Strabo, *Geographica* 1.22–23, 6.258; Ptolemy, *Geographica* 3.1.79; Eustathius, *Ad Odysseiam* 1709; Virgil, *Aeneid* 864; Pomponius Mela, *De chorographia* 2.4.9; Pliny, *Natural History* 3.62; and C. Julius Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* 2.22. Naples (Parthenope): Strabo, *Geographica* 1.26, with F. Raviola, "La tradizione letteraria su Parthenope," *Hesperìa: Studi sulla grecità di occidente* 1 (1990): 19–60. Keukosia: Lycophron, *Alexandra* 722, with schol.; and Strabo, *Geographica* 6.252.

96. See Theophrastus, *Historia plantarum* 5.8.3, who says it is the belief of the *enchorioi* who point out the grave of Odysseus's companion, Elpenor. Compare Pliny, *Natural History* 15.119; Cicero, *De natura deorum* 3.48; compare *Corpus Inscriptorium Latinarum* 10.6422; compare Pseudo-Scylax, *Periplous* 8; Aristotle, *Ventorum situs et nomina* 973b; Pseudo-Aristotle, *De mirabilibus auscultationibus* 78, 835b33; Pseudo-Scymnus, *Ad Nicomedem regem* 224–25; Strabo, *Geographica* 5.232; and Varro ap. Servius, *Ad Aeneam* 3.386.

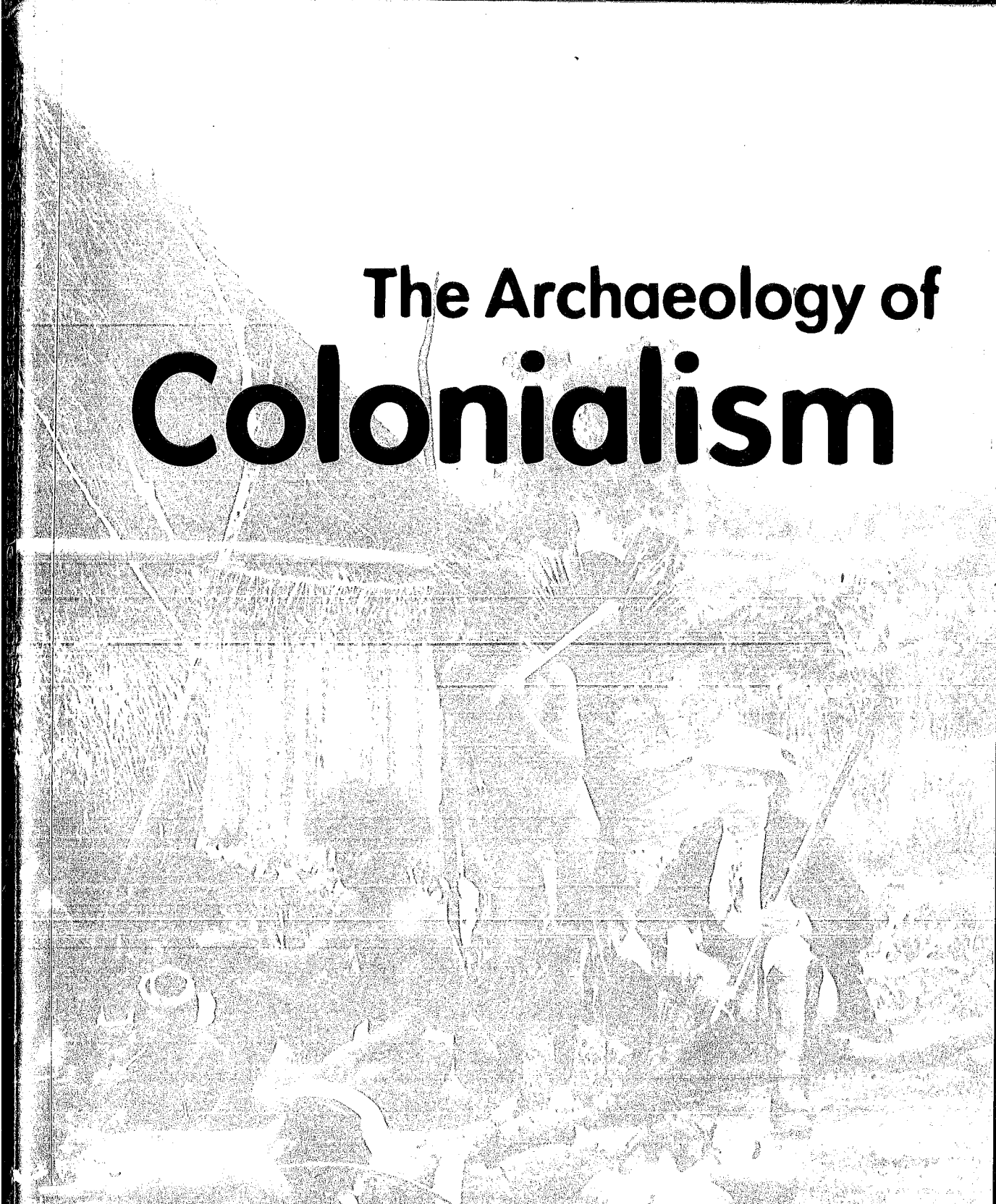
97. Compare Dench, *Barbarians* (note 51), 35; and E. J. Bickerman, "Origines gentium," *Classical Philology* 47 (1952): 65–81.

98. Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* 6.2.2.

99. Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 178; and A. Appadurai, "The Past as a Scarce Resource," *Man,* n.s., 16 (1981): 201–19.

100. In answer to the question, "What had Greece to offer (the Etruscans) in return (for metals, etc.)?" David Ridgway adopts Coldstream's idea that Greeks gave Cyprus in the late eighth century B.C. the "greatest gift" in the form of the Homeric epics; see Ridgway, *First Western Greeks* (note 23), 138. He goes on to say that the Euboians had done the same for the Etruscans: "Could not the Nestor kotyle, the Ajax and Achilles seal impression and aspects of the burial rite at Pithekoussai have equally momentous implications for the circulation of the Homeric poems in the West?"

The Archaeology of Colonialism



Edited by Claire L. Lyons and John K. Papadopoulos

Issues & Debates

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