

Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World



32

Economy and Cultural Contact in the Mediterranean Iron Age

Panel 5.9

Martin Guggisberg
Matthias Grawehr (Eds.)

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19th International Congress of Classical Archaeology**

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in the Mediterranean Iron Age**

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Edited by

Martin Bentz and Michael Heinzelmann

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PREFACE

On behalf of the 'Associazione Internazionale di Archeologia Classica (AIAC)' the 19th International Congress of Classical Archaeology took place in Cologne and Bonn from 22 to 26 May 2018. It was jointly organized by the two Archaeological Institutes of the Universities of Cologne and Bonn, and the primary theme of the congress was 'Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World'. In fact, economic aspects permeate all areas of public and private life in ancient societies, whether in urban development, religion, art, housing, or in death.

Research on ancient economies has long played a significant role in ancient history. Increasingly in the last decades, awareness has grown in archaeology that the material culture of ancient societies offers excellent opportunities for studying the structure, performance, and dynamics of ancient economic systems and economic processes. Therefore, the main objective of this congress was to understand economy as a central element of classical societies and to analyze its interaction with ecological, political, social, religious, and cultural factors. The theme of the congress was addressed to all disciplines that deal with the Greco-Roman civilization and their neighbouring cultures from the Aegean Bronze Age to the end of Late Antiquity.

The participation of more than 1.200 scholars from more than 40 countries demonstrates the great response to the topic of the congress. Altogether, more than 900 papers in 128 panels were presented, as were more than 110 posters. The publication of the congress is in two stages: larger panels are initially presented as independent volumes, such as this publication. Finally, at the end of the editing process, all contributions will be published in a joint conference volume.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank all participants and helpers of the congress who made it such a great success. Its realization would not have been possible without the generous support of many institutions, whom we would like to thank once again: the Universities of Bonn and Cologne, the Archaeological Society of Cologne, the Archaeology Foundation of Cologne, the Gerda Henkel Foundation, the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, the Sal. Oppenheim Foundation, the German Research Foundation (DFG), the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the Romano-Germanic Museum Cologne and the LVR-LandesMuseum Bonn. Finally, our thanks go to all colleagues and panel organizers who were involved in the editing and printing process.

Bonn/Cologne, in August 2019

Martin Bentz & Michael Heinzemann

Economy and Cultural Contact in the Mediterranean Iron Age. Perspectives from East and West

Martin Guggisberg – Matthias Grawehr

In the past decades, the study of cultural contacts in the Mediterranean has tested an ever-increasing number of theoretical models to describe the exchange between people from different backgrounds, and, as one of the outcomes of the still ongoing discussion, the basic concept of culture, as a monadic entity has been questioned.¹ A growing discomfort has been felt in dividing the people of the Mediterranean into distinct cultural entities, which then can come into contact with each other. As an alternative, in the panel “Economy and Cultural Contact in the Mediterranean Iron Age”, an approach was chosen, that turns away from the discussion of theoretical models and instead tries to understand economy as a basic driving force of cultural exchange: Which commodities and objects were shifted from one place to another, and which were not? In our introductory contribution we will concentrate on the 8th century BC and develop two perspectives on the east and the west, both involving traders from the Aegean.

The East: Sources, Spoons, and Seals

For the 8th century BC in the east, cuneiform sources are at hand to illustrate the encounters between sea-faring westerners and the local population. The designation used in the Assyrian documents for these westerners is “Yau(m)nāya”, a term that is etymologically linked to the later Ionians.² In two letters from ca. 740 BC an Assyrian official, stationed on the coast, reported to his king on incursions of Yaunāya and military measures against them.³ A city of Yauna, near a snow mountain and in the reach of the Assyrian governor is mentioned.

These are important sources, which make it safe to assume some kind of physical presence of westerners in the northern Levant. But there are no indications where exactly the western shipmen originally came from, and Yaunāya is to be understood as a generic designation. Their homeland could lie anything west of Cyprus, with Euboea being nothing more than an educated guess.

The use of the term “Yaunāya” in cuneiform sources can be compared to similar practices in the western sources, especially of Homeric epics, where the terms “Phoenicians” or “Sidonians” are used to describe easterners only in a most generic and stereotypical way.⁴ In the following, the evidence of products and colonization originating from the proper Phoenician cities like Sidon or Tyre⁵ will be neglected, and instead, a small spotlight will be thrown on the exchange system along the southern coast of Turkey and between the Aegean and the northern end of the Levant.⁶ It is proposed, that this exchange system existed to a large extent separately from the Phoenician market.

Of course, the (until 738 BC) partly independent kingdoms of Hamat, Kinalua, and Que at the northern end of the Levant had much to offer for traders from the west: reported commodities are metals, gemstones, wood and ivory as raw materials or carved into luxury furniture, textiles of wool and linen, cattle and sheep.⁷ As typical products of the region, two categories of finds both made from one and the same material will be discussed in more detail: stone vessels and the seals of the so-called Lyre Player group, both made of metamorphic gemstones like steatite or serpentine.

Approximately 100 steatite bowls have been found in excavations throughout the northern Levant (fig. 1) and some 100 more are known through the art market.⁸ They come in two basic shapes: round boxes and small bowls or spoons with a lion handle. The dating of this group of vessels has been determined as ca. 850–600 BC. The raw material is mostly a dark soft stone, serpentine or steatite, which in the Levant is available only in the mountain ridge along the northern coast,⁹ to a lesser extent such vessels are also made from other similar stones like red jasper, Egyptian blue, or marble.¹⁰ Their distribution is mainly restricted to northern Syria (fig. 1). 67 pieces from the antiquities market are labeled to come from Rasm el-Tanjara.¹¹ The largest group from legal excavations consists of 49 pieces from Chatal Höyük in the Amuq plain. Only one example is reported from Samos,¹² and additionally, one ivory vessel was found in the Idaeian cave on Crete.¹³ Recently a detailed analysis of the 49 such vessels at the site

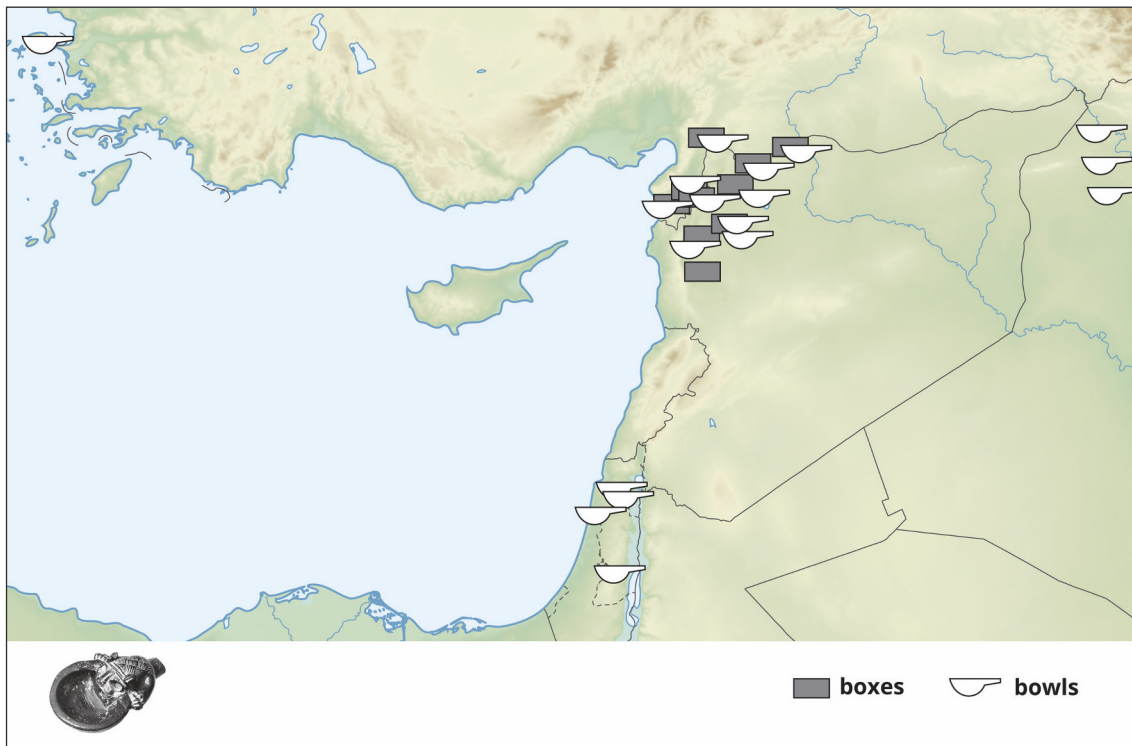


Fig. 1: Distribution map of steatite boxes and bowls.

of Chatal Höyük has been published:¹⁴ Two unfinished objects demonstrate that they have been produced at the site. The products from Chatal have several stylistic features in common, which separate them from the other productions in northern Syria, but already within the group a large stylistic variation is encountered – facts that point to household production.

In the same general region another type of artistic production has been localized: the seals of the so-called Lyre-Player group.¹⁵ The mostly scaraboid seals have been made from the same steatite and serpentine stone as most of the vessels discussed above. By their iconography, the material, as well as the find distribution, this class of seals has been assigned to Cilicia, that is the Iron Age kingdom of Que. We know today some 365 examples with a wide distribution from Vetulonia in the northwest to Karkemish in the east (fig. 2). Produced in a short span of time at the end of the 8th century BC in a very homogenous style, they most probably originated in a single but very productive workshop exclusively producing for the international market. Different than the steatite vessels that circulated locally, this specialized seal production was destined for the western markets in the Aegean and Italy.¹⁶

Looking at these pieces of evidence from the perspective of economy, there is a household production that was destined for local consumption and a specialized production in single larger workshops that was destined for the international market and

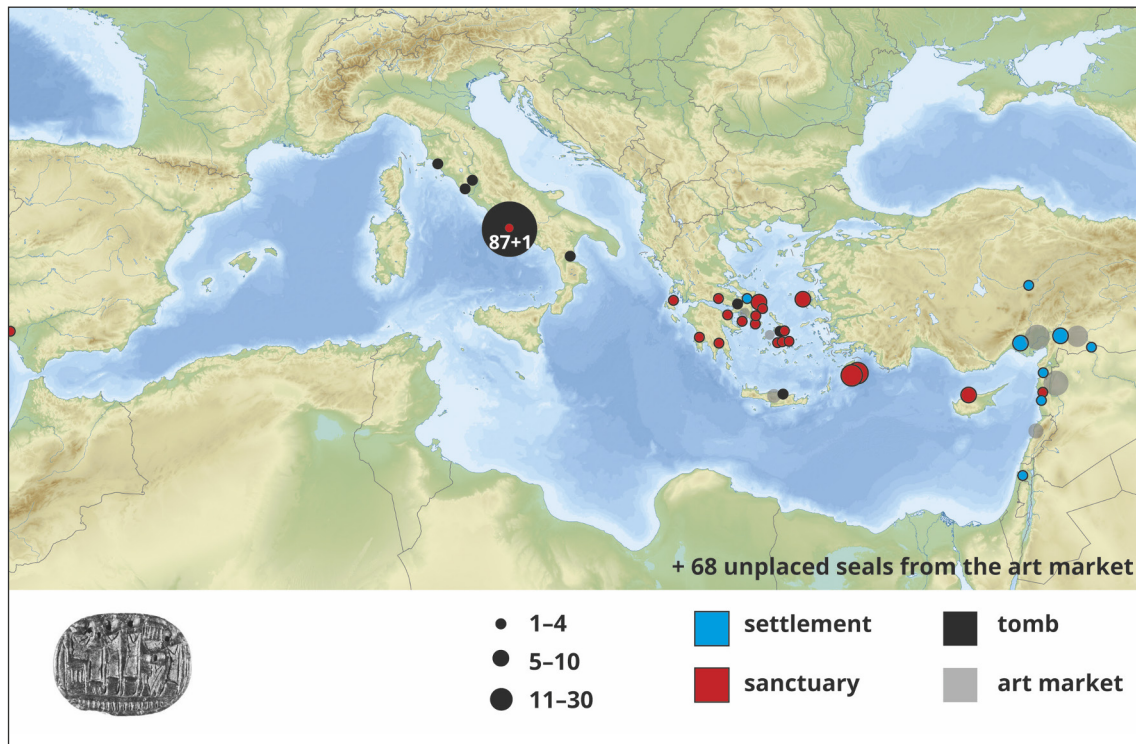


Fig. 2: Distribution map of the lyre-player group seals.

was distributed through a distinctive northern exchange system that included the Dodecanese islands, the Aegean and reached up to the shores of Italy, in contrast to the Phoenician exchange system, including the southern coast of Cyprus and Crete and reaching to the far west up to the Atlantic coast.

The West: Women and Weaving?

While there is evidence of a large number of oriental goods in the western Mediterranean since the early 1st millennium, the other way around, the transfer of goods from west to east is difficult to prove archaeologically. Western prestige goods, as one would expect from the ritualized exchange of gifts, are virtually unknown in the east. Research usually limits itself to the conclusion that eastern merchants were compensated for their exotic gifts with raw materials that have left no traces in the archaeological record. In order to pursue the question of economic development in the western Mediterranean during the Iron Age, we must, therefore, concentrate on archaeological remains and findings from local contexts. It is not trans-Mediterranean trade, but local and inter-regional economic networks that are the central focus of the following paragraphs. A spotlight will be thrown on the Iron Age centers of southern Italy and the question of possible indicators of economic changes in the period from the 8th–6th century BC.

Research usually assumes that pre-colonial Iron Age cultures worked on the basis of a subsistence economy. According to this view, many production processes are placed within the domestic domain with the individual families. Agriculture and livestock breeding are seen as foundations of this economic system. Handicraft products are localized in the environment of the individual households, whereby the production of pottery and clothing are assigned to the women and the processing of metal and wood, etc. to the men. The emergence of proto-urban settlements in the course of the 8th century BC leads to more complex and more stratified societies and thus to an increasing specialization of the production processes.¹⁷

The frequent discovery of tools in the tombs of the male elite, particularly in the regions of the Gulf of Naples and the coastal area of the Ionian Sea, which are particularly affected by contacts with the Greek and oriental worlds, is remarkable in this context.¹⁸ The tools can be assigned primarily to two functional areas. Sickles are used for agriculture. Files, scalpels, and adzes are used for carpentry. Although it cannot be ruled out that the aristocratic leaders buried in these tombs were well versed as carpenters, the sickles, in particular, speak for the fact that by adding burial gifts of tools not the craftsmanship of the deceased, but their power of disposal over specific resources, agricultural products and wood should be expressed. The presumption follows that the men distinguished by tools could delegate agricultural and forestry work to people of lower social status. They may have used the generated surplus to consolidate their social superiority, either through redistribution or through profit-driven transactions.

While the share of the men for profit-oriented production of goods is therefore out of the question, the role of women in the economic production chain does not appear to be sufficiently clarified. The assumption that the tasks of the women in Iron Age Italy were limited to the tending of the home and the care of the family, is based on conditions of later and culturally differently structured societies, such as e.g. that of Classical Athens. In early Italy in particular, there are growing numbers of indications that women fulfilled a more active role in the communities.¹⁹ In this context, it is useful to turn the attention to the processing of wool and the textile trade, which is traditionally assigned to the women. In the archaeological record, this connection is most visibly expressed in the tombs. Spindle whorls and loom weights are standard funerary gifts in rich (and less wealthy) women's tombs in many regions of Italy.²⁰ As an example, we will now concentrate on the conditions in the Oenotrian culture in southern Italy.²¹ Here, spinning and weaving utensils belong to the regular funerary equipment of female burials in the 8th century BC. They are commonly regarded as women's work tools, an interpretation that is plausible at first, but which raises the question of the relation to the grave goods of tools in male burials. If the latter are not to be considered as ordinary work tools, but as symbols of the power over resources, would we not then also have to consider the spinning and weaving utensils of the women as symbolic funerary goods? As attributes that demonstrate not only the women's social role as caretakers of house and family but also their active involvement in the process of textile production?

Various aspects seem to confirm this interpretation. This includes the circumstance that in the debate about spinning and weaving the production process of the raw material itself is often ignored: herd ownership, wool processing (according to different qualities, etc.), the trading of the wool and the dyeing of the yarn, but also the cultivation of flax and its processing into spinnable linen are inextricably connected with the final steps of textile production, the spinning and weaving of the yarn. A woman who wove elaborate garments in the house could not have done so without at least partially controlling the production process of the wool.

An affirmation of this broader understanding of the role of the women in the context of textile production stems again from the grave finds. Often the textile attributes are not limited to the simple spindle whorl, which along with the spindle could be regarded as the woman's personal work tool. In fact, in many graves, spindle whorls were found in larger quantities, often accompanied by one or several loom weights in different formats.

As an example, the recently found grave Est 12 in the Macchiabate necropolis at Francavilla Marittima in Calabria could be mentioned, in which a young woman of about 15 to 20 years, was buried (fig. 3).²² She was equipped with the extraordinarily high number of more than 30 impasto spindle whorls and at least three loom weights with incised labyrinth decoration. The spindle whorls were aligned along the right side of the body including a cluster of about two dozen pieces deposited at the haunch (fig. 4), possibly in a purse or a basket of perishable materials. Close by, one of the



Fig. 3: Francavilla Marittima, Macchiabate necropolis, grave Est 12, spindle whorls and loomweights are marked in purple.



Fig. 4: Francavilla Marittima, Macchiabate necropolis, grave Est 12, cluster of spindle whorls next to the pelvis.

loom weights was deposited while the other two were found at the head and feet of the deceased. Through these attributes, the young woman is associated with textile production in a way that goes far beyond the average and everyday handicraft. According to Margarita Gleba, who has repeatedly insisted on the special significance of burials with multiple spindle whorls, the presence of multiple textile implements often of different shape and size attests of the specialization of their owner's craft and consequently of their high social status.²³

Within a cultural context where social status is defined to a considerable degree by the control over material resources and working processes, it seems equally possible, however, to interpret the multiplicity of spindle whorls and loom weights in the graves as an indicator for the involvement of their owners into more profit oriented forms of textile production.²⁴ Thus, it seems conceivable, for example, that the women concerned presided over households disposing of servants and other workforces engaged in the making of garments.

Consequently, the finding in grave Est 12 raises the basic question as to the extent of household textile production. Did the households merely cover the needs of the nuclear family or did they produce for bigger consumer groups, possibly even for selling?

For the Iron Age, this question is difficult to answer. However, this leads us to the colonial period, where a huge concentration of loom weights is attested from a neighboring settlement of Francavilla Marittima: Amendolara. Hundreds of simple pyramidal loom weights have been found in the settlement area. They have given rise to the assumption that a specialized textile factory under the control of Sybaris was located here.²⁵ Would this be the proof of a new, market-economy based form of textile production that replaced older, household-oriented production methods in the 7th and 6th century BC? And thus, specific evidence for the transition from the native 'household production' to the colonial 'market economy'?

This must not necessarily be the case, for on the one hand, there seems to be no evidence for industrial textile factories in pre-Roman times. Instead, textile production in the Greek world is generally located within the private domain. But beyond the mere household production, textiles were equally manufactured for the 'market' in private contexts. In Olynthus and Eretria, for instance, different houses are known, in which according to the distribution of the loom weights, several looms were simultaneously in operation and textiles were apparently made for sale.²⁶ The situation of Amendolara seems to fit in with this pattern, with the only difference being that the weaving took place in several houses of close proximity.

Is this market-oriented 'household economy' an innovation of the polis culture characterized by increased demand and socio-economic specialization? Or does it result 'on its own accord' from the process of textile production itself, beginning with livestock breeding and running full circle through the processing of the wool to its spinning and weaving and finally to the sale of the processed product? The fact that both the findings of Archaic Amendolara and the spindle whorls and loom weights from the Iron

Age tombs of Francavilla concordantly underline the surplus oriented nature of textile manufacture from a very early time onward, points to the second hypothesis: due to the complexity of the *chaîne opératoire* textile manufacture run by single households tended to operate under market based considerations long before the elaborate market-orientated economy was established by the Archaic and Classical poleis.

Economy and Cultural Contacts

In conclusion, comparing the evidence from east and west, we acknowledge, that in the east a distributed household production existed in order to meet the needs of the local market, including the local palace. At the same time, the production of few specific commodities in single production centers was destined for the international market and possibly even especially for the western market. In the west, archaeology has mainly focused on the small-scale exchange, and it has been argued that the foundation of Greek colonies had an intensifying effect on the local production. In the wake of the colonization, we see the rise of a more specialized production in larger centers like the weaving ‘studios’ of Amendolara. A look at the graves from Francavilla has demonstrated, however, that the roots for this development are located earlier in the Iron Age period. It was not the establishment of Greek colonies alone, but an overall increase in the mobility of people in east and west that triggered the transition from ‘household’ to ‘market economy’.

As soon as commodities moved from one place to another, ‘cultures’ changed. This is true not only for the indigenous cultures of southern Italy but also for the Aegean world, where imports from the east as well as from the west led to changes in the cultural behavior of the Greeks themselves. Contrary to the eastern goods consisting mainly of artistic luxury goods, the commodities fed into the system from the west must have been, to a larger extent, raw materials and organic products, among them metals and amber, both of which are the topic of subsequent contributions in this volume.

If culture can be regarded as the “shared beliefs, rituals and social behaviors of a certain community”,²⁷ then the exchange of objects and commodities across the Mediterranean must have profoundly changed each of the participating ‘cultures’. To end this introductory contribution, a short consideration is given to just one of the communities involved in the exchange:

The material record available for Eretria on Euboea in the 8th century BC clearly demonstrates what we just have argued for. Apart from exceptional ‘historical’ goods like the famous horse blinkers of King Hazael of Damascus dedicated to Apollo in the city’s main sanctuary,²⁸ the Eretrians were confronted with imports of a more generic character, such as the widely distributed Lyre-player seals and bird beads. To date, no less than six seals of the Lyre-player group are known from Eretria.²⁹ Contacts with the west are attested by at least two Italic bronze fibulae, two bronze chainlets and

two small bronze buttons, identical to those found by the hundreds in Italian Iron Age graves, where they once decorated the garments or scarves of indigenous women.³⁰ As all these objects were found in sanctuary contexts, it is difficult to determine their original function in the Eretrian community. Were they simply admired for their exotic allure? Or are we to assume a more personal relationship between the imports and their owners? At Pithekoussai and elsewhere in the Italian world, seal stones and bird beads were worn by children and women as personal ornaments and amulets. It is quite possible that similar traditions were practiced by the Eretrian elite and that exotic objects like the oriental seals and beads but also the textiles and fibulas from the west were actually worn by upper-class Eretrian women as part of their personal accessories. The case of an 8th century BC tomb at Thebes, that was reported to have contained not only several Boeotian fibulae but also one seal of the Lyre-Player-Group may hint in this direction.³¹ Of course, we will never know exactly how these objects were included in the daily routine of the Eretrians, but it is beyond doubt that their integration into the local material culture changed what we might call the original ‘Eretrian’ or even the ‘Greek’ culture. By using such objects, the Eretrians shared a common practice with people on Italian soil as well as with people from Cilicia or the northern Levant: Rising market systems and increased mobility not only led to a cultural and social change of the communities, that produced for the international market and organized it, but also of the communities, that bought the traded goods. In this way, ‘economy’ led to profound cultural change through the production of commodities as well as through the influx and integration of foreign materials and objects.

Notes

¹ Cfr. Dally 2000; Hall 2002; Dougherty – Kurke 2003; Lund 2005; Hodos 2010.

² Rollinger 2017.

³ Saggs 2001, 164–167 ND 2370 and ND 2737; cfr. Lanfranchi 2000; Yamada 2008; Rollinger 2017, 276 f.

⁴ Winter 1995.

⁵ See i.e. Phoenician transport amphorae: Ballard et al. 2002; Gilboa et al. 2015; cfr. Gilboa 2013.

⁶ Outlined by the distribution of Euboean SOS-Amphorae: Pratt 2015, 220 fig. 7.

⁷ Historical overview: Hawkins 2000, I 38–44; II 361–363. 398–401; Bagg 2011. On tribute and booty from there to Assyria: Bär 1996, 29–50; Bagg 2011, 129–149.

⁸ Mazzoni 2001; Mazzoni 2005; Pucci 2017; Squitieri 2017, 40–42 all with further bibliography.

⁹ Squitieri 2017, 34.

¹⁰ Squitieri 2017, 40–42.

¹¹ Athanassiou 1977.

¹² Braun-Holzinger 2005, 152 K 39.

¹³ Braun-Holzinger 2005, 155 f. S 8.

¹⁴ Pucci 2017.

- ¹⁵ Blinkenberg 1931, 161–168. 172–174 nos. 521–535; Porada 1956; Boardman – Buchner 1966; Boardman 1990; Poncy et al. 2001, 11–14; Huber 2003, 91 f.; Rizzo 2007; Giovanelli 2008; Serrano Pichardo et al. 2012.
- ¹⁶ The same pattern of distribution is shown by the so-called bird beads, cfr. Huber 2003, 84–86 pl. 138.
- ¹⁷ Nijboer 1998, 187.
- ¹⁸ Iaia 2006; Stöllner 2007.
- ¹⁹ The topic has been amply debated in recent years. For a selected bibliography: Rallo 1989a; Rallo 1989b; Amann 2000, 210; Bartoloni 1988; Bartoloni 2007, 13–23.
- ²⁰ Gleba 2008; Gleba 2012; Gleba 2013, 2–18.
- ²¹ Gleba 2015. See also Kleibrink 2016.
- ²² Guggisberg et al. 2019.
- ²³ Gleba 2008, 177; Gleba 2015, 110 f. On the contrary to this interpretation A. M. Bietti Sestieri (1992, 108) suggested on the basis of the finds from the Osteria dell’Osa necropolis a differentiation between spinners (one spindle whorl) and weavers (several spindle whorls).
- ²⁴ As the objects are currently restored, nothing can be said with regard to possible differences in shape and size of the spindle whorls, which might be indicating specialized working processes including the treatment of different qualities of raw material etc.
- ²⁵ de La Genière – Nickels 1975, 496; de La Genière, 1973, 152 f.; de La Genière 1978, 351.
- ²⁶ Cahill 2002, 250–252 (House A VIII 7/9); Martini 2015, 69. See also the concentration of loom weights in archaic and hellenistic houses in Kaulonia and Siris-Heracleia, suggesting again a private surplus production of textiles in a domestic context: Meo 2014; Luberto – Meo 2017, 233–239.
- ²⁷ Bates – Plog 1991, 4; cfr. Tylor 1871, 1.
- ²⁸ Braun-Holzinger 2005, 30 nos. 4. 5.
- ²⁹ Huber 2003, 91 f.
- ³⁰ Huber 2003, 78–80. 82 f. nos. O47. O48. O50. O51. O104. O105; Guggisberg 2018.
- ³¹ Collignon 1895, 161 fig. 3. Cfr. Hampe 1936, 6. 108 nos. 131–134.

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Amber Trade in the Western Adriatic between the Iron and the Late Archaic Age. Workshops, Artisans and Artifacts, and Exchange Networks

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Amber trade in Italy developed substantially between the Iron and the Archaic Age with the appearance of figured ambers. The different subjects represented reflect the plurality of cultural and commercial relationships established among Greeks, Etruscans and Italic peoples. Among the most active centers, Verucchio played a fundamental role in the sorting of the raw material, but can also be considered one of the main locations for the production of carved ambers and the most dynamic in the redistribution of the finished products. Here, a workshop had to be active, in which craftsmen specialized in amber processing realized a great number of precious artifacts with amber inserts made for a specific client.¹ Verucchio played a key role, situated at a location (a great crossroads) that allowed it to control the traffic of amber and finished products between the Adriatic, the Po Valley, the Tiber valley, and inner Etruria. Here, the Via Maggio Pass takes on great importance, introducing routes that connected Verucchio to central Italy, moving along the Tiber valley, to Tyrrhenian and inner Etruria. Its strategic location near the Adriatic was important because it projected the Villanovan site and its products towards the great cultural and commercial exchanges of the Mediterranean and Europe exploiting coastal paths and practicing the small cabotage navigation.²

Despite the quality of the artifacts created, scarcely any figured ambers were produced at Verucchio. Among the exceptional pieces we may note a fibula decoration, from Tomb Lippi 27, on which there are two addorsed small ducks, a motif widely diffused in the Italic area (Etruria, Picenum, Basilicata) that finds its origins in the Bronze Age, probably linked to the cult of the 'solar boat'. It is a multivalent symbol, both guardian and apotropaic, that was believed to connect the chthonic and other worlds in northern Europe cultures, and was also a symbol of regeneration for Egyptians.³ Particularly interesting is the large parure found at Chiaromonte (tomb 140, dated to the first half of the 7th century BC), composed of a multiple wires necklace with oblong and lenticular beads, associated with a pectoral-necklace formed by two strands of beads. Inserted among the central rows are beads representing small ducks that are comparable to similar examples found in the Artemision of Ephesus. Other specimens depicting the same subject appear in the precious amber girdle with interspersed bird-shaped beads from the Oenotrian female tombs of Chiaromonte and Latronico.⁴

Among the local products, it is useful to focus attention on objects that demanded technical ability, widespread in the assemblages of Verucchio. These constitute a clue to the possibility that Verucchio was an exporting center of amber artifacts between the 8th and the second half of the 7th century BC. We recall the fibulae with a bow composed of amber and bone disks and covered with amber inlays from Verucchio (fig. 1),⁵ of



Fig. 1: Fibula with bow composed of amber and bone disks and covered with amber inlays from Verucchio. Verucchio, Museo Civico Archeologico.

which similar examples are attested at Felsina, Volterra, Marsiliana d'Albegna and Picenum, and one that was reported in Basilicata, in tomb 258 of Chiaromonte, and dated to the first half of the 7th century BC (fig. 2). Examples are also widespread in some Aegean sanctuaries, such as the Artemision of Ephesus and the Athenaion of Lindos.⁶ This is probably the result of importation through gifts and prestige goods-exchange between princes. Deserving of particular mention are the disc-earrings with careened profile and depressed amber center, with bronze, gold and silver wire or ribbon. These are also attested across a wide Adriatic range, including Picenum and Lucania, with a particular concentration in burials at Chiaromonte (see tombs 140, 142, 154, 325 dated to the first half of the 7th century BC).⁷

During the second half of the 7th century BC, the first signs of a decline in the production of amber objects were felt at Verucchio. The settlement seems no longer to be the only site on the Adriatic to control and sort amber and its artifacts. Its role is inherited by Picenum, which becomes one of the most important poles for the acquisition and sorting of raw amber. Among the earliest products – in contrast to Verucchio – are figured ambers. These were probably made by expert carvers coming from other areas and settling in the region. The main stylistic features, such as the large and flattened head and the snub nose, relate to Near-East productions of ivory artifacts attributed to Eastern craftsmen.⁸ Of special interest are the ambers in the Museum of Philadelphia that may come from a warrior's grave at Ascoli Piceno. For their general pose, for the hair – characterized by long horizontal lines on the forehead, also falling on the sides

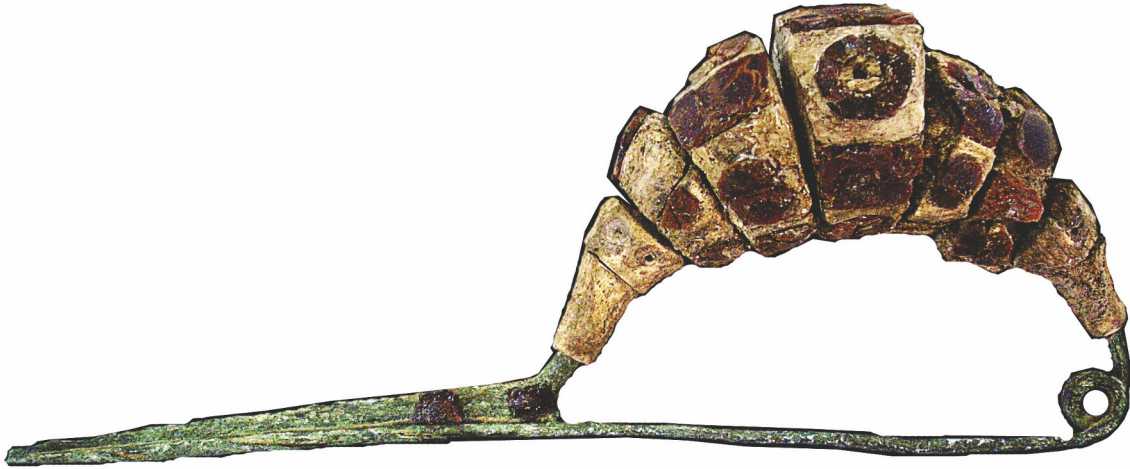


Fig. 2: Fibula with bow composed of amber and bone disks and covered with amber inlays from tomb 258 of Chiaromonte. Policoro, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

of the head – and above all for the crossed arms under the breast (reminiscent of an Assyrian-Babylonian iconography, such as the representations of Ishtar/Astarte), they recall ivory figurines found at Castelbellino and Belmonte Piceno.⁹

Certain features of specimens found in the rich tombs of Apulia and Lucania are clearly connected to ambers and ivories of the Picenum area (see the carving of the eyes, the treatment of hair and face, the head shape and the general pose). The figured amber from Tolve, depicting a crouching male figure with a frontal torso and arms crossed over his chest and curled legs, has a full face, with squat and squashed features, low forehead, almond eyes profiled by a groove, large nose and full lips, and hair rendered by thin parallel and vertical engravings. Commonly dated to the late 6th century BC, the artifact is certainly older, probably a precious family object handed down for generations. It finds close comparisons, for the pose and the treatment of the face, with one of the ambers from Ascoli and with the ivories from Castelbellino.¹⁰ A figured amber found in a rich burial of Minervino Murge, dated to the second half of the 6th century BC and depicting a figure curled up on a frontal head, is equally remarkable. The stylistic features of the head, above all the carving of the eyes, the snub nose and the lips, distinctly recall one of the ivory figures coming from Picenum.¹¹

Between the end of the 7th and the early 6th century BC, figured ambers made with orientalizing features appear in many Italic centers on the Adriatic (Felsina, Picenum, Apulia and Lucania). The heads have a peculiar ‘daedalic’ hair style, conceived as a more or less trapezoidal shape, with large amounts of hair arranged in long curls and distributed on the two sides of the head in the form of two triangles that widen towards the shoulders. These are high quality products, made in local workshops by skilled artists of Etruscan and eastern origin, but also supported by the activity of Greek craftsmen, with orientalizing training, who worked in ancient Greece, Etruria and Picenum¹². We

must mention some specimens from Felsina (first half of the 6th century BC) most likely made in the same workshop, such as the female heads with polos, long braids on the sides of the face and large eyes, that were used as ornaments of fibulae (the heads form the central part of the bow).¹³ The famous head from tomb 96 of Chiaromonte (late 7th – early 6th century BC) stands out: it was used as a pendant in a magnificent necklace and represents a female head with a polos and sub-*daedalic* hair-style carved with a triangular outline. The head has an oval face, surmounted by a truncated conical headpiece, decorated by a band-diadem placed at the forehead. The hair is rendered with side bands diverging downwards and horizontal sections carved on the margins. The rendering of the eyes is very distinctive, large and surrounded by a double line at the top. This is the oldest figured amber from the Oenotrian world, probably the work of Greek craftsmen operating in the Etruscan-Tyrrhenian area.¹⁴

A fine artifact is the crouching male figure, with *Daedalic* hairstyle and hands clasped to his knees, that was found in tomb 122/1977 at Rutigliano and dated to the late 6th century BC (fig. 3). It is the most ancient specimen discovered in central Apulia, earlier than



Fig. 3: Sculpture depicting a crouched male figure, with *Daedalic* hairstyle and hands clasped to his knees, from tomb 122/1977 of Rutigliano. Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

the burial in which it was found, handed down within the aristocratic group (the many holes indicate its repeated reuse). It reveals stylistic affinities with the Chiaromonte head, especially for the setting of the figure and the physiognomy of its face, with the two side braids of curly hair that recall Greek-eastern productions of the 7th–6th century BC. It shows close affinities to some Rhodian and Samian figured *balsamaria*.¹⁵

At the second half of the 6th century BC, sculptures of the highest stylistic level, depicting complex compositions with one or more figures and human heads, appear in South Italy. These artifacts were produced by itinerant Etruscan craftsmen, influenced by Greek-eastern carvers, who had arrived in Etruria from Ionia to escape the Lydians and Persians.¹⁶ Two carving schools have been identified: the ‘Satyr and Maenad Group’ and the ‘Armento Group’. Two different stylistic tendencies were noted in the first, probably corresponding to the activity of two different workshops.¹⁷ The school of the first series seems to prefer clearer and more defined forms and lines;¹⁸ the ambers of the second stylistic trend are characterized by softer and more sinuous lines. Among the ambers of the second style, the double-sided sculpture from Canosa, depicting a young man on a quadriga and a young man fighting a sea monster, deserve attention for the accuracy and refinement in the rendering of details, as well as for their sinuous lines and delicate features. The figures of this group are included with perfect harmony in the often irregular and contrasting volumes of the amber piece, highlighting the great plastic sensibility and the technical skill of the artisan.¹⁹ Very fine, in this sense, are the sculpture depicting a Satyr and Maenad from Canosa at the Louvre Museum (fig. 4), and that showing a wrapped woman with a nude young boy in her arms that was found in a rich tomb from Tricarico in Basilicata; this last is very probably a *kourotrophos* (fig. 5). We must note, above all, the folds of the dresses made with the skillful use of the relief and engraving, and the sinuous and soft lines of the bodies and faces, adapted to the volume of the amber.

The ambers of the ‘Armento Group’, probably referring to two different workshops, are distinguished for their ‘rounded style’ that consists of an ovoid face, small and elongated almond eyes underlined by a slight incision, and by thin and minute features with well-defined plastic volumes. The workshops start around the middle of the 6th century BC, and are located at Armento and Braida di Vaglio, dominant indigenous sites that were able to attract foreign craftsmen (Etruscan and Greek-eastern) who brought life into local workshops.²⁰ This school produces standing kouroi (e.g. those from Armento preserved at the British Museum and Louvre) and standing korai, depicted with a fold of their elegant and complex drapery in their left hands.²¹ The kore of the Getty Museum is one of the finest examples and the general pose shows close stylistic affinities with the small Etruscan bronzes that represent similar subjects (see, above all, the kore from Covignano at the Museum of Copenhagen) and also the amber kore from Pontecagnano.²²

Within the production of the ‘Armento Group’, we can also distinguish a particularly refined craftsman, the ‘Master of the Winged Sphinx’. The figures he created – recum-



Fig. 4: Sculpture depicting a Satyr and Maenad from Canosa. Paris, Musée du Louvre.



Fig. 5: Sculpture showing a wrapped woman with a nude young boy in her arms found in a rich tomb from Tricarico. Policoro, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.



Fig. 6: Crouching sphinx with head looking back from Braida di Vaglio. Potenza, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

bent sphinxes, sirens, harpies or crouching animals with faces looking back – are characterized by surfaces and undulations realized with softer and more flowing outlines, especially in the treatment of the faces, which are rendered with delicate strokes.²³ The winged sphinx from Braida di Vaglio (fig. 6) and the crouching bull with human head (Acheloos) from Armento are his most fine works (fig. 7), showing a particular sensibility and skill in the rendering of features with an alternating use of relief and engraving. In the rendering of the face, the sphinx also finds comparisons with the similar subjects represented on the Etruscan golden fibulae.²⁴ A little bronze depicting a crouching bull



Fig. 7: Crouching bull with human head looking back from Armento. London, British Museum.



Fig. 8: Small bronze representing a crouching bull with human head looking back from Monte Sannace (?). Bari, Museo Archeologico della Città Metropolitana.

with human head (fig. 8), probably from Monte Sannace, shows considerable stylistic affinities in the softness of lines and volumes with the amber from Armento, a center located more than 200 km from the Apulian site. They provide clear evidence for the existence of such types of objects that share, besides their function, identical models and the same artist training and methods and, above all, the same artistic influence. The small bronze was made to satisfy a local aristocrat's specific request by a travelling craftsman who knew models and iconographic patterns that were widespread during the Archaic age in South Italy and Etruria, thanks to the contribution of the artisans of the Ionian school. It is possible that on the original amber of the British Museum it was created a mold made by a craftsman who then reproduced it in bronze, perhaps in several copies, since there is another identical bronze example found in Basilicata.²⁵

Picenum also specialized in the creation of crouching animals, such as lions or lions attacking prey, which were used as fibula ornaments of Picenum style. The Greek-eastern stylistic features suggest on-site execution by Ionian craftsmen, who would have been attracted by the easy acquisition of raw amber at sites controlled by the aristocracies. The considerable quantity of figured ambers, especially at the major coastal sites, suggests that workshops were located in these centers to exploit river valleys as communication routes. Foreign craftsmen created carving schools for their local customers, and adapted their work to local taste and forms. Crouching felines are known in Sirolo and Belmonte Piceno, among which we distinguish the famous fibula core

representing a lion and a lioness.²⁶ Crouching animals with heads looking back are also produced in Basilicata by the ‘Armento Group’ and by the ‘Master of the Winged Sphinx’ and it is very probably that the specimens from Picenum were created by the craftsmen of the ‘Armento Group’, given as a “gift” to local princes.²⁷ They show a great plastic sensibility in the treatment of volumes, underlined by soft and sinuous lines. These specimens were very appreciated from the Italic aristocracies and spread quickly among the most important indigenous sites.

The crouching animals or those with everted heads back are also a well attested type in Felsina, now one of the main centers for production of amber objects in the northern Adriatic. These artifacts find their prototypes in northern Syrian ivories. This confirms the close connection between the processing of amber and ivory and the influence of Eastern motifs. The link is further attested by an ivory figure of northern Syrian production (9th–8th century BC) at the Metropolitan Museum that represents a crouching bull with its head looking back.²⁸ The stylistic similarities between the Felsina artifacts and the crouching animals of Basilicata are remarkable: it is clear that these are two distinct productions that have common reference models, and that motifs may have circulated in both areas via itinerant craftsmen.²⁹

Notes

¹ For a specialized workshop in Verucchio see: Gentili 2003; Malnati 2007, 122 f.; Nava 2007, 27 f.; von Eles 2009, 31–41, with further bibliography.

² On Verucchio and Marecchia Valley: Gentili 1987, 7–36; Forte 1994, 26–29; Sassatelli 1996, 249–271; Naso 2000, 85 f.; Gentili 2003.

³ For the symbolic meanings of duck or sea birds, see above all: Bianco 2005, 91–93; Bianco 2011, 71–73; Causey 2011, 91–93; Causey 2019.

⁴ Notable are the artifacts coming from South Basilicata for which see: Bianco 2005, 91–96; Montanaro 2018, 364 f., with a rich bibliography.

⁵ Regarding the most refined productions at Verucchio see: Forte – von Eles 1994; Boiardi – von Eles 2003, 107–124; Gentili 2003; Boiardi et al. 2006, 1590–1597; Bentini – Boiardi 2007, 127–137; von Eles 2007a, 71–83; von Eles 2007b, 149–156; Iaia 2007, 25 f.; Malnati 2007, 123 f.; von Eles 2009; von Eles et al. 2009, 210–219; Negroni Catacchio 2011, 79–84; von Eles – Trocchi 2015, 99–104, with rich bibliography. For the diffusion in the Adriatic area: Naso 2000, 86–92; Bergonzi 2007, 87–95; Iaia 2007, 25–36.

⁶ For the fibula from Chiaromonte see: De Siena 2012, 1301 f.; Montanaro 2018, 366 f. For the testimonies from the Aegean sanctuaries: Naso 2006, 358 f.; Naso 2013, 259–278, with bibliography.

⁷ For the earrings: Bianco 1998, 241–244; Bianco 2005, 89–96; Montanaro 2018, 366 f.

⁸ On the leading role of Picenum in amber trade and working: Naso 2000, 88–93; Negroni Catacchio 2011, 91 f.; Montanaro 2018, 367–369, with a rich bibliography. For the question related to Picenum ivories: Bisi 1992, 128–139; Rocco 1999; Naso 2000, 128–134. 198–200; Rocco 2001, 103 f. 229 f.; Di Filippo Balestrazzi 2004, 63–67. 91–94, with other bibliographical references.

⁹ For the figured ambers from Ascoli Piceno at Museum of Philadelphia see: Warden 1994, 134–143; Naso 2000, 132–134; Negroni Catacchio 2001, 101–103; Di Filippo Balestrazzi 2004, 62–64; Negroni Catacchio 2011, 91 f.; Montanaro 2018, 367–369.

¹⁰ The amber from Tolve was studied by A. Russo (Russo 2005, 114–116). See also Bottini 2007, 235 f.; Montanaro 2016, 37 f.; Montanaro 2018, 370 fig. 10.

¹¹ For the amber from Minervino Murge: Corrente 1993, 23 f.; Montanaro 2012, 61 cat. I.5; Montanaro 2016, 37 f.; Montanaro 2018, 370 f.

¹² For the daedalic ambers see above all: Mastrocinque 1991, 101–114; Mastrocinque 2005, 45 f.; Nava 2007, 27 f.; Montanaro 2016, 36 f.; Montanaro 2018, 370 f., with further bibliography.

¹³ These are the fibulae from tomb 26 of Piazza Azzarita at Bologna: Malnati 2007, 124 f., with bibliography.

¹⁴ For the daedalic head from Chiaromonte see: Bianco 2005, 99–101; Bottini 2007, 235 f.; Bianco 2012, 86–89; Montanaro 2016, 36 f.; Montanaro 2018, 371 f., with a rich bibliography.

¹⁵ The amber pendant from Rutigliano and its funerary assemblage are illustrated in: Masiello 2004, 16–18, 42 f.; Masiello 2007, 245; Riccardi 2010, 348 f.; Montanaro 2012, 46 f. 72 cat. II.B.6, pls. 21–22; Montanaro 2015, 88–90, 182; Montanaro 2016, 36 f.; Montanaro 2018, 373 f., to which reference is made for a complete bibliography.

¹⁶ See, above all, for the diaspora of the Ionian artists, probably coming from the cities of Samos, Colophon and Ephesus: Mastrocinque 1991, 113–118; D’Ercole 2002, 160–170; Mastrocinque 2005, 45–48; Nava 2007, 28 f.; D’Ercole 2008, 16–18; Causey 2011, 104–106; D’Ercole 2013, 26–28; Montanaro 2016, 39 f.; Montanaro 2018, 374 f.; Causey 2019, 67–90, with further bibliography.

¹⁷ Towards the existence of two different stylistic groupings within the figured ambers of the ‘Satyr and Maenad Group’ see: D’Ercole 2002, 175–181; Montanaro 2012, 127 f. 199–202; Montanaro 2016, 40–43; Montanaro 2018, 374–377, with a complete bibliography.

¹⁸ For the amber sculptures belonging to the first stylistic trend see: D’Ercole 2002, 177 f.; Montanaro 2012, 59–61 cat. I.1 and I.6; Montanaro 2016, 40 f.; Montanaro 2018, 374 f., with many bibliographical references.

¹⁹ For the sculptures of the second stylistic trend see: Mastrocinque 1991, 135 f.; Negroni Catacchio 1999, 280 f. 290 f. figs. 4, 7; D’Ercole 2002, 163 f.; Bottini 2007, 232–235; Godeaux – Chambre 2011, 195 n. 238; Bottini 2012, 5–14; Montanaro 2012, 59–63 cat. I.2 and I.7; D’Ercole 2013, 22–29, 39–49; Montanaro 2016, 40–43; Montanaro 2018, 375 f.

²⁰ For the figured ambers belonging to the ‘Armento Group’ see: Bottini – Setari 1998, 469–471; Bottini 2007, 232–237; Montanaro 2016, 51–55; Montanaro 2018, 380 f.; Montanaro 2022 in press, with the complete bibliography.

²¹ For the amber *kouroi* preserved in the museums of London and Paris: Strong 1966, 65 f. n. 41; Mastrocinque 1991, 107–109; D’Ercole 2013, 19–21, with a rich bibliography.

²² For the *kore* of the Getty Museum see: Causey 2010, 12–24; Causey 2011, 100–103; Causey 2019, 137–144, cat. 8, with a rich bibliography. For the small bronze of Copenhagen: Riis 1957, 31–40. For the amber *kore* from Pontecagnano: Bonaudo et al. 2009, 203 f. fig. 17; Montanaro 2016, 51 f. fig. 17.

²³ For the ‘Master of the Winged Sphinx’ see: Mastrocinque 1991, 135–137; Bottini – Setari 1998, 470 f.; Negroni Catacchio 1999, 284–291; Mastrocinque 2005, 50 f.; Russo 2005, 117–119; Bottini 2007, 236 f.;

Nava 2007, 28 f.; Montanaro 2016, 55–59; Montanaro 2018, 381–385; Montanaro 2019; Montanaro 2022 in press, with a rich bibliography.

²⁴ For the Braida's sphinx and the other amber pendants from the same burial see: Bottini – Setari 1998, 469 f.; Bottini – Setari 2003, 101–103; Russo 2005, 117–119; Tagliente 2005, 73–78; Bottini 2007, 233–237; Setari 2012a, 83–86; Setari 2012b, 92–95, with many bibliographical references. For the crouched bull with human head from Armento: Strong 1966, 77 n. 68; Mastrocinque 1991, 129–135; Russo 2005, 124 f.; Bottini 2007, 235 f.; Montanaro 2018, 382 fig. 19; Montanaro 2019.

²⁵ For the little bronze from Monte Sannace: Montanaro 2019.

²⁶ For the production of figured ambers in Picenum during this age: Negroni Catacchio 1989, 662 f.; Mastrocinque 1991, 73–88; Naso 2000, 198–202; Negroni Catacchio 2001, 100–103; Landolfi 2001, 263–280. 358–360; Landolfi 2004, 73–78; Landolfi 2007, 171–184; Negroni Catacchio 2011, 91–95.

²⁷ For the 'Master of the Winged Sphinx' see: Mastrocinque 1991, 135–137; Bottini – Setari 1998, 470 f.; Negroni Catacchio 1999, 284–291; Mastrocinque 2005, 50 f.; Russo 2005, 117–119; Bottini 2007, 236 f.; Nava 2007, 28 f.; Montanaro 2016, 55–59; Montanaro 2018, 381–385; Montanaro 2019, with a rich bibliography.

²⁸ For the ivory crouching bull at the Metropolitan: Montanaro 2018, 385 f. fig. 25, with bibliography.

²⁹ For the production of animals with everted heads in Felsina: Negroni Catacchio 1989, 662 f. figs. 466–467; Mastrocinque 1991, 140 f.; Malnati 2007, 125 f.; Montanaro 2018, 385 f., with a rich bibliography.

Image Credits

Fig. 1: Montanaro 2018, fig. 3. – Fig. 2: Montanaro 2018, fig. 4. – Fig. 3: Montanaro 2018, fig. 13. – Fig. 4: D'Ercole 2013, fig. I.5. – Fig. 5: Magie d'ambra 2005. – Fig. 6: Montanaro 2018, fig. 18. – Fig. 7: Montanaro 2018, fig. 19. – Fig. 8: with permission of Museo Archeologico della Città Metropolitana.

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Totenbrauchtum, Handwerk und Kulturkontakte im archaischen Picenum. Der „Circolo delle Fibule“ von Numana (Prov. Ancona, Italien)

Giacomo Bardelli

Das Picenum und die Nekropolen von Numana: Stand der Forschung

Bei der archäologischen Erforschung der Eisenzeit in Mittelitalien spielt die Etruskologie die Hauptrolle. Die archäologischen Hinterlassenschaften der anderen Kulturen Mittelitaliens erweckten allerdings in den letzten Jahren ein größeres Interesse in der Forschung.¹ Dabei zeichnet sich die materielle Kultur des eisenzeitlichen Picenums² durch ihre große Zahl an Funden, eine breite typologische und chronologische Vielfalt sowie durch zahlreiche Kontakte zu anderen Kulturgruppen des Mittelmeerraums und Mitteleuropas aus. Unsere Kenntnisse über das Picenum sind allerdings sehr lückenhaft: Dies liegt hauptsächlich an der Menge der noch unpublizierten Alt- und Neufunde in den Depots der lokalen Museen sowie am Konservierungszustand vieler Objekte, die z. T. seit mehreren Jahrzehnten auf eine Restaurierung warten.

Das Fundmaterial der picenischen Kultur beschränkt sich größtenteils auf die zahlreichen Grabfunde aus den Nekropolen. Bisher wurden nur wenige Gräberfelder ausführlich vorgelegt, die oft am Rand des Picenums liegen und zum Teil schon zu benachbarten Kulturgruppen gehören, wie Novilara (Prov. Pesaro und Urbino)³ oder Bazzano (Prov. L'Aquila).⁴ Die Hauptzentren, wie z. B. Ancona, Sirolo-Numana (Prov. Ancona), Belmonte Piceno, Fermo, Grottazzolina (Prov. Fermo), Cupra Marittima oder Montedinove (Prov. Ascoli Piceno), sind dagegen noch ungenügend erforscht, während in anderen Fundorten nur wenige Gräber aus gewissen Zeitphasen vorgelegt wurden, wie einige früheisenzeitliche und orientalisierende Bestattungen aus Fabriano (Prov. Ancona), Matelica und Pitino di S. Severino Marche (Prov. Macerata).⁵ Diese nur ansatzweise erfolgte wissenschaftliche Auswertung bildet bisher die Grundlage aller zusammenfassenden Studien zur picenischen Kultur,⁶ die somit einen Gesamtüberblick zur Eisenzeit im östlichen Mittelitalien gestatten. Darauf basiert auch die relativchronologische Gliederung des Picenums in sechs Phasen, die in den 1970er Jahren von Delia G. Lollini erstellt wurde.⁷

Auch die archäologischen Hinterlassenschaften der antiken Hafenstadt Numana bestehen hauptsächlich aus den Funden aus Nekropolen, die sich in den Grundstücken der benachbarten Gemeinden des heutigen Sirolo und Numana befinden. Obwohl die ersten Entdeckungen in die Mitte des 19. Jh. datieren, wurden die Nekropolen von Numana erst ab den 1960er Jahren von der Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Marche systematisch untersucht. Laut grober Schätzung wurden in Numana seit dem 19. Jhs. mehr als 2000 Gräber gefunden, die in alle Phasen der picenischen Kultur datieren. Bedauerlicherweise wurde bisher nur eine sehr geringe Anzahl davon publiziert, noch dazu

nicht immer vollständig.⁸ Es ist deshalb noch sehr schwierig, aufgrund der geringen Informationen die Aspekte der lokalen Gesellschaft und ihre sozialen bzw. politischen Strukturen zu rekonstruieren.

Die übliche Bestattungsform ist die Körperbestattung in einer einfachen Grube (Fossagrab), da bisher nur zwei Beispiele von Brandbestattungen belegt sind.⁹ Ab der zweiten Hälfte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. wurden einige Individuen in Fossagräbern innerhalb großer Kreisgräben deponiert („tombe a circolo“), manchmal auch für mehrere Generationen. Dabei handelt es sich um abgegrenzte Bereiche der Nekropolen, die anscheinend Verwandte oder Mitglieder einer Familiengruppe erfassten und möglicherweise auf eine Entwicklung der sozialen Strukturen oder auf die politische Macht einiger Familien hinweisen.¹⁰ Der bekannteste Kreisgraben wurde 1989 im Areal „I Pini“ ausgegraben und umfasste die „Tomba della Regina“, eine hervorragende Bestattung vom Ende des 6. Jhs. v. Chr.¹¹ Die Ausstattung dieser Toten wurde innerhalb verschiedener Gruben deponiert und enthielt u. a. zwei zweirädrige Wagen, Importe aus Griechenland und eine große Auswahl lokalen Schmuckes.

Der „Circolo delle Fibule“

Ein wichtiger und in mehrerer Hinsicht repräsentativer Grabkontext aus den Nekropolen von Numana stellt der sog. „Circolo delle Fibule“ dar. Dieser „Circolo“ und seine neun Bestattungen wurden im Frühjahr 1970 ausgegraben. Die Ausgrabung wurde allerdings nur für etwa drei Viertel der gesamten Oberfläche durchgeführt, da ein Teil des Kreisgrabens unter einem Haus liegt (Abb. 1). Es gibt aufgrund der photographischen Dokumentation sowie der Grabungspläne keine Hinweise darauf, dass die Gräber von einem Grabhügel bedeckt waren. Die ausführliche Dokumentation der stratigraphischen Ausgrabung des Kreisgrabens beweist, dass der Graben für eine längere Zeit offen war. Mehrere Keramikscherben aus dem Graben deuten außerdem auf eine intentionelle Zerschabung hin, vermutlich während der Bestattungzeremonien oder anlässlich anderer ritueller Gelegenheiten.

Seit der Entdeckung werden die Beigaben im Museo Archeologico Nazionale von Ancona aufbewahrt, während eine geringe Auswahl der Beigaben im Antiquarium von Numana ausgestellt ist. Man bedauert allerdings den Verlust aller Skelette der Bestatteten, die trotz mehrerer Inspektionen nicht gefunden wurden. Das Fehlen der Skelettreste lässt eine genauere Aussage zu Alter bzw. Geschlecht der Verstorbenen nicht zu. Sehr bedauernswert ist vor allem die Tatsache, dass man über keine Knochenproben für eventuelle DNA-Analysen verfügt, die sonst aussagekräftig in Bezug auf die Fragestellung zu den familiären Verhältnissen der Bestatteten hätten sein können.

Abgesehen von einem Ausstellungskatalog und wenigen Hinweisen in anderen Publikationen,¹² sind die neun Gräber des „Circolo“ bisher noch unveröffentlicht. Aus diesem Grund wurden die Grabinventare (über 1 500 Objekte) sowie der gesamte Grabkon-



Abb. 1: Der „Der Circolo delle Fibule“ nach der Grabung.

text im Rahmen eines von der Fritz Thyssen Stiftung finanzierten Forschungsprojekts zwischen September 2015 und Dezember 2017 aufgenommen und untersucht.¹³ Bei der Materialaufnahme wurden die einzelnen Grabinventare sorgfältig überprüft. Dank des Vergleiches zwischen den alten Grabungsinventarnummern und den von der Soprintendenza vergebenen Inventarnummern sowie durch die Überprüfung der Grabungspläne (Abb. 2) bzw. der Grabungsfotos war es möglich, mehrere Fehler zu korrigieren und die korrekte Lage vieler Funde (vor allem Trachtbestandteile) im jeweiligen Grab zu identifizieren. Dies ist sowohl für die philologische Rekonstruktion der Zusammensetzung der Grabinventare als auch für die Deutung des Grabrituals von großer Bedeutung.

Alle Ergebnisse der Forschung werden in einer Monographie vorgelegt, die gerade in Vorbereitung ist. Aus diesem Grund werden hier nur die wichtigsten Ergebnisse hinsichtlich der Auswertung aller Grabinventare zusammenfassend vorgelegt. Im Folgenden werden alle Bestattungen in ihren Hauptmerkmalen kurz beschrieben:¹⁴

Grab 2 (ehem. Nr. VII): N-NW/S-SO orientiert (Abb. 3). Sehr wahrscheinlich eine erwachsene Frau. Die Tote lag in Hockerstellung auf der rechten Seite des Körpers. Der Großteil des Grabinventars besteht aus Trachtelementen, zu denen über 400 Fibeln unterschiedlicher Typen gehören (vor allem Fibeln mit Verzierung aus Bein, Drei- und

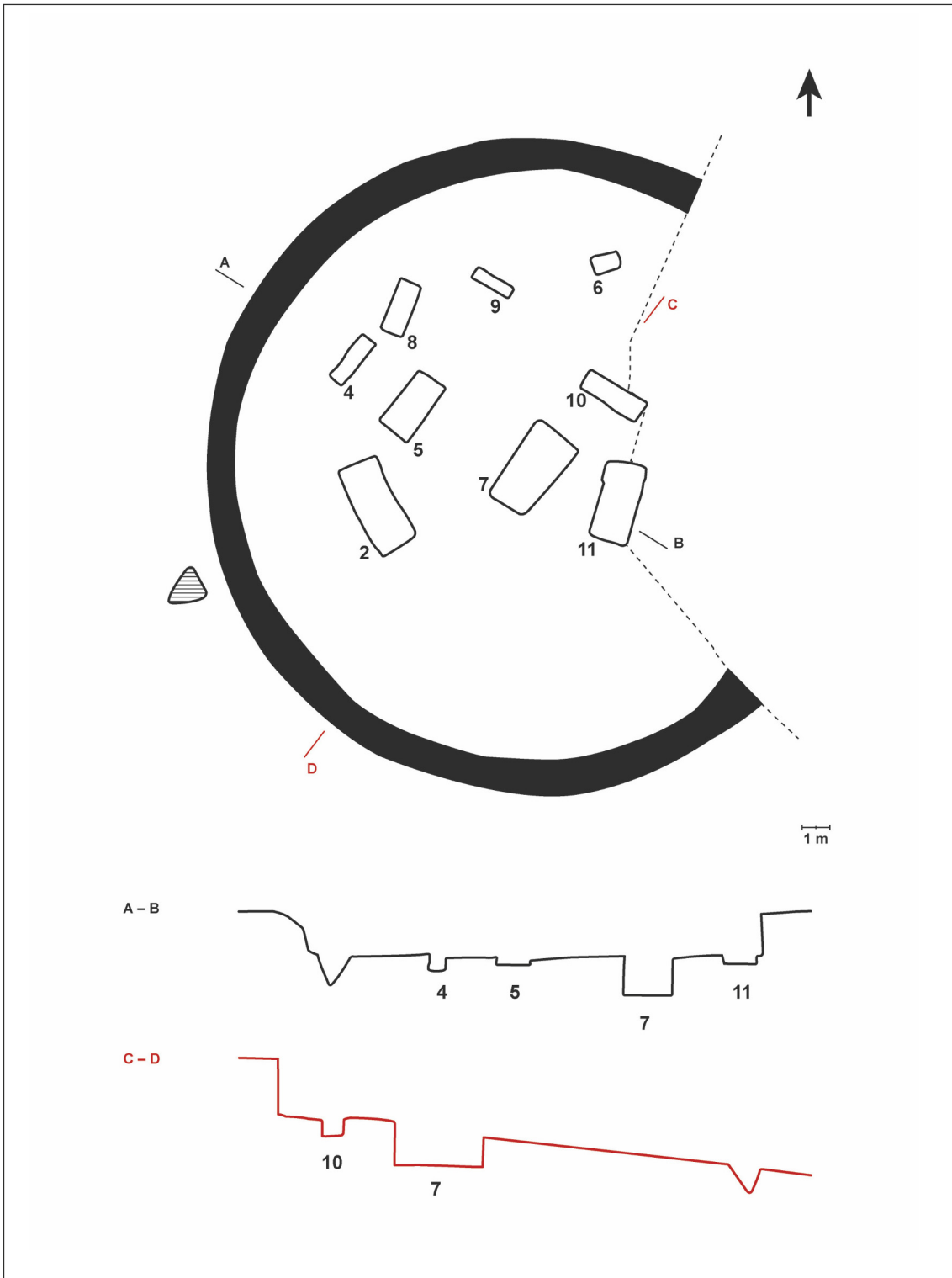


Abb. 2: Der Plan des „Circolo delle Fibule“.

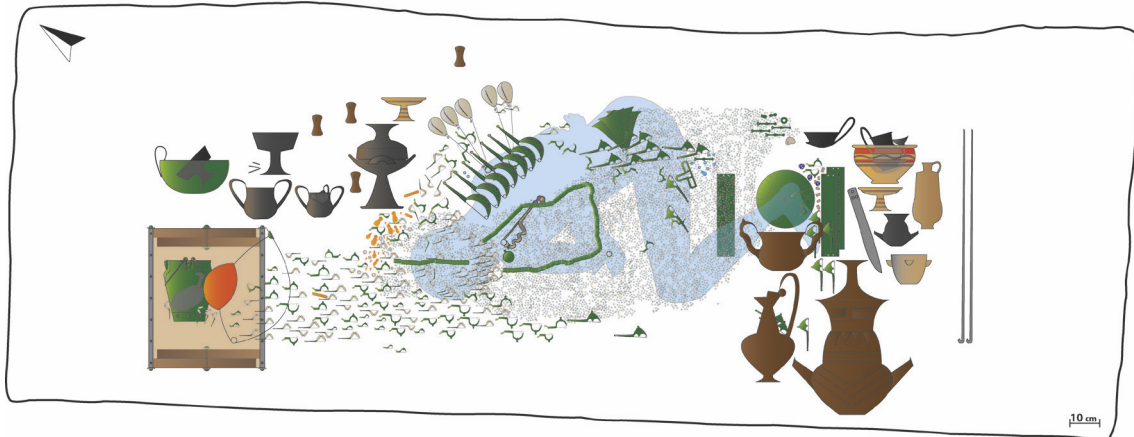


Abb. 3: Der Grabplan von Grab 2.

Zweiknopffibeln sowie Kahnfibeln). Unter den Bronzegefäßen sind eine Beckentasse und eine kleine Situla mit doppelten Henkelattaschen in Form von männlichen Köpfen zu erwähnen.¹⁵ Das Keramikset besteht hauptsächlich aus lokalen Impastogefäßen. Zum Set gehören auch ein Kantharos aus Buccherokeramik und Gefäße aus der ‚italo-geometrischen‘ bzw. ‚etruskisch-korinthischen‘ Keramik sowie eine samische Lekythos vom Typ „A“.¹⁶

Grab 4 (ehem. Nr. III): N-NO/S-SW orientiert. Sehr wahrscheinlich ein erwachsener Mann. Der Tote lag in Hockerstellung, mit dem Oberkörper auf dem Rücken. Ein Antennengriffdolch und eine eiserne Lanzenspitze ermöglichen seine Identifizierung als Krieger. Zur Tracht gehören zwei Bronzefibeln vom Typ Certosa sowie ein bronzener Fingerring. An den Füßen des Verstorbenen lag ein Keramikset aus überwiegend lokalen Impastogefäßen.

Grab 5 (ehem. Nr. IV): SW/NO orientiert. Sehr wahrscheinlich ein erwachsener Mann. Der Tote lag in Hockerstellung, mit dem Oberkörper auf dem Rücken. Auch in diesem Fall ermöglichen die Waffen eine Identifizierung des Toten als Krieger. Die Ausrüstung besteht aus einem Antennengriffdolch, einem langen Schwert aus Eisen mit bronzem Ortband sowie einer eisernen Lanze mit Lanzenschuh. Im Bereich zwischen der Brust und dem Becken lagen ungefähr 50 Bronzefibeln (vor allem vom Typ Prä- bzw. Protocerstosa), die in parallelen Reihen nach regelmäßigen Muster angeordnet waren. Neben unterschiedlichen Impastogefäßen von lokalen Formen sind vor allem ein Kelch und eine Kanne bemerkenswert, die der ‚italo-geometrischen‘ bzw. ‚etruskisch-korinthischen‘ Keramik zugeschrieben werden können.

Grab 6 (ehem. Nr. VI): SW/NO orientiert. Sehr wahrscheinlich ein Säugling, vermutlich von weiblichem Geschlecht. Während im Bereich des Halses und der Schulter mehrere kleine Anhänger sowie eine Kette aus Bernsteinperlen deponiert waren, lagen auf Brust- und Bauchbereich über 50 Fibeln (hauptsächlich Dreiknopffibeln und Prä- bzw. Protocertosa-Fibeln). Anhänger mit trapezförmigen Bullae lagen hingegen vermutlich

im Beckenbereich. Unterhalb der Füße der Leiche lag das Keramikset. Auch in diesem Fall besteht es hauptsächlich aus Impastogefäßen, wobei mehrere Gefäße von kleinen Dimensionen sind.

Grab 7 (ehem. Nr. I): NO/SW orientiert. Sehr wahrscheinlich ein erwachsener Mann. Der Tote und die Beigaben wurden unter einem zweirädrigen Wagen bestattet. Die Leiche lag in Hockerstellung, mit dem Oberkörper auf dem Rücken. Die Waffen ermöglichen eine Identifizierung des Toten als Krieger. Die Ausrüstung besteht aus einem bronzenen Helm mit zusammengesetzter Kalotte sowie einem Antennengriffdolch und vier eisernen Lanzen mit Lanzenschuhen. Zur Ausstattung des Kriegers gehören außerdem ein eiserner Keulenkopf und ein bronzenes Zepter. Auch in diesem Fall war der ganze Oberkörper des Verstorbenen von mehr als 60 Fibeln bedeckt, die in parallelen Reihen angeordnet waren. Fast alle Fibeln (meistens vom Typ Prä- und Protocertosa) sind aus Bronze, bis auf vier eiserne Exemplare mit Tauschierung. Ein großer Keramiksatz aus Impastogefäßen lag unter dem Wagenkasten.

Grab 8 (ehem. Nr. V): NO/SW orientiert. Sehr wahrscheinlich eine junge Frau. Die Tote lag in Hockerstellung auf der rechten Seite des Körpers. Zur reichen Tracht gehören 240 Fibeln (vor allem Zwei- und Dreiknopffibeln) und mehrere Anhänger mit Bullae und Kaurimuscheln sowie Schmuckelemente aus Bronze, Silber, Bernstein und Glas. Neben lokalen Gefäßen aus Impastokeramik zeichnet sich besonders ein Satz von fünf ‚italo-geometrischen‘ bzw. ‚etruskisch-korinthischen‘ Vasen aus.

Grab 9 (ehem. Nr. VIII): SO/NW orientiert. Sehr wahrscheinlich ein Kind, möglicherweise ein Mädchen. Neben sechs Fibeln vom Typ Certosa ist eine Entenkopffibel vom späthallstattzeitlichen Typ besonders hervorzuheben¹⁷ (Abb. 4). Zu den Beigaben gehören einige Impastogefäße, zwei attisch schwarzfigurige Vasen (eine Lekythos und eine kleine Kalpis¹⁸) und ein kleiner Aryballos aus Glas.



Abb. 4: Die späthallstattzeitliche Entenkopffibel aus Grab 9.

Grab 10 (ehem. Nr. IX): SO/NW orientiert. Doppelgrab, sehr wahrscheinlich Mann und Frau. Die Toten lagen eng nebeneinander auf den Rücken, so dass eine gleichzeitige Bestattung beider Körper als sehr plausibel gilt. Zwei eiserne Lanzenspitzen kennzeichnen den Mann als Krieger. Die meisten von den wenigen Fibeln (alle vom Typ Certosa) lagen bei der Frau, die als einzigen Schmuck eine Glasperle am Hals trug. Zu erwähnen sind auch eine attisch schwarzfigurige Kylix und eine Schnabelkanne aus Impastokeramik.

Grab 11 (ehem. Nr. II): N-NO/S-SW orientiert. Die Tote lag in Hockerstellung auf der rechten Seite des Körpers. Ähnlich wie beim Grab 2, besteht der Großteil des Grabinventars aus Trachtelementen, zu denen über 400 Fibeln unterschiedlicher Typen gehören (vor allem Fibeln mit Verzierung aus Bein und Bernstein, Drei- und Zweiknopffibeln sowie Kahnfibeln – Abb. 5). Eine Kahnfibel weist eine rhombische Form auf und ihr Fuß ist durch einen menschlichen Kopf verziert. Mehrere Anhänger und trapezförmige Bullae sowie Schmuck aus Bernstein, Glas und Bein lagen um den Körper der Toten herum. Rechts von der Toten wurde außerdem ein langes verziertes Bronzeblech in Form



Abb. 5: Detail der Kahnfibel in Grab 11.

eines Tablett mit zwei Henkeln deponiert, das als Teil von einem Spannwebstuhl interpretiert wurde.¹⁹ Zum Set der Bronzegefäße gehörte eine Ziste mit beweglichen Henkeln. Die anderen Gefäße waren ausschließlich aus Impastokeramik.

Die Gräber des „Circolo delle Fibule“ scheinen in bestimmten Reihen bzw. in Gruppierungen ausgehend von der Zentralbestattung (Grab 7) angelegt worden zu sein. Auffällig ist zumindest die Anordnung der Kriegergräber 5 und 4 in einer Reihe links von Grab 7, die nicht nur räumlich sondern auch chronologisch bedingt ist.²⁰ Die Gräber datieren zwischen dem Ende des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. und den ersten Jahrzehnten des 5. Jhs. v. Chr., was den Phasen zwischen dem Ende des „Piceno III“ und dem Ende des „Piceno IVb“ entspricht. Im Allgemeinen ist eine genaue Datierung der Gräber des „Circolo delle Fibule“ wie im Fall vieler anderen picenischen Grabkontexte schwierig. Wenige Objekte ermöglichen eine absolute Datierung, vor allem für die früheren Phasen. Darüber hinaus muss man immer mit dem Phänomen der Thesaurierung einiger Objekten rechnen, die für längere Zeit vor ihrer Deponierung benutzt wurden und somit nicht als *terminus ad quem* für die Datierung eines Grabes verwendet werden können. Auch andere Objekte, wie z. B. einige Fibeltypen, wurden für längere Zeit benutzt und sind nicht immer typisch für eine bestimmte chronologische Phase.

Typologie, Grabritus und externe Einflüsse: Ein Fallstudie mit Entwicklungspotential

Obwohl die Untersuchung von neun Gräber keine allgemeingültigen Rückschlüsse bezüglich der Nekropolen von Numana erlaubt, ist der „Circolo delle Fibule“ aus vielerlei Hinsicht ein repräsentatives Beispiel für die Erforschung der Eisenzeit im Picenum. Nach dem Abschluss des Forschungsprojekts ist es nun u. a. möglich, feinere typologische Klassifizierungen für fast alle Funde sowie interessante Beobachtungen über handwerkliche und kulturelle Aspekte zu präsentieren, die eng miteinander verbunden sind.

Besondere Aufmerksamkeit wurde z. B. der Identifizierung von Gattungen geschenkt, die charakteristisch für Numana zu sein scheinen. Aufgrund der sehr hohen Anzahl der Fibeln sind einige Typen durch mehrere Exemplare vertreten: Aus Grab 11 stammen z. B. ungefähr 20 Fibeln mit Bein- und Bernsteinverkleidung, die fast identisch auch in der „Tomba della Regina“ vorkommen, wo sie mit über 70 Exemplaren alle Merkmale einer Serienproduktion aufweisen.²¹ Dies ermöglicht einige Typen sehr genau zu definieren, da ähnliche Fundkonzentrationen von identischen Exemplaren in anderen Fundorten sonst nie vorkommen. Dieses Phänomen scheint für das Picenum und insbesondere für Numana typisch zu sein und wurde im Rahmen des Projekts zum ersten Mal ausführlich dokumentiert und untersucht. Die massenhafte Deponierung von einigen Fibeltypen kennzeichnet diesen besonderen Grabritus und erweckt weitere Überlegungen zur Lokalisierung der Werkstätten, die künftige Forschungen hoffentlich klären werden.

Die Bedeutung der importierten Funde des „Circolo“ wurde darüber hinaus oft hervorgehoben, weil dieser Fundkomplex wichtige Hinweise sowohl zum griechischen Seehandel in der Adria während des 6. Jhs. v. Chr. als auch Kontakte zu Hallstattgebieten liefert: Die Präsenz der samischen Lekythos im Grab 2 wurde von G. Colonna in Verbindung mit den griechischen (vermutlich äginetischen) Seerouten zum Hafen der Stadt Adria gebracht.²² Grab 9 des „Circolo“ gilt außerdem als südlichster Fundort eines Exemplars der späthallstattzeitlichen Entenkopffibeln. Die Gräber des „Circolo delle Fibule“ bieten außerdem ein repräsentatives Spektrum der üblichen Bernsteinfunde aus den picenischen Nekropolen, obwohl figürlich gestaltete Bernsteinelemente komplett fehlen.²³ Mehrere kleine Perlen und Schieber von unterschiedlichen Formen bildeten damals Teile von komplexem Schmuck und Anhängern, die sich allerdings aufgrund der Ausgrabungsmethoden sowie des Befundzustandes nur noch sehr begrenzt rekonstruieren lassen. Sie sind dennoch eindeutige Beweise der zentralen Rolle von Numana als wichtiger Handelspunkt für Bernstein während des 6. Jhs. v. Chr.

Schließlich sind einige Objekte im Bezug auf die Diskussion zu den Einflüssen aus anderen Regionen auf die bildende Kunst im Picenum während des 6. Jhs. v. Chr. besonders relevant. Als Beispiel kann eine bronzene Situla aus Grab 2 genannt werden, deren Hauptmerkmal in den zwei Henkelattaschen besteht. Diese sind mit menschlichen Protomen zwischen den Ösen verziert, die typische Züge der lakonischen Plastik aufweisen (Abb. 6). Selbst wenn man die genaue Form und die Proportionen des Gefäßes nicht mehr rekonstruieren kann, weist dennoch seine Konstruktion lokale Charakteristiken auf. Ein solches Produkt wäre ohne den direkten Beitrag eines griechischen Handwerkers bzw. einer von griechischen Vorbildern stark geprägten Werkstatt kaum denkbar.²⁴



Abb. 6: Eine Henkelattasche der bronzenen Situla aus Grab 2.

Anmerkungen

¹ z. B. Piceni 2003; Bourdin 2012; Umbri 2014; Weidig 2014; Manca – Weidig 2015; Postriotti – Voltolini 2018.

² Der Begriff Picenum bezeichnet ein geographisches Gebiet, das der römischen „Regio V“ bzw. den heutigen Regionen Marche und nördlichem Abruzzo entspricht, aber keine ethnische Bedeutung besitzt (vgl. dazu Bardelli 2000; Colonna 2001, 10–12; allg. zum Problem der ethnischen Deutung der archäologischen Kulturen Mittelitaliens vgl. Benelli 2018).

³ Beinhauer 1985; Delpino et al. 2016, 287–292; Delpino 2018.

⁴ Weidig 2014.

⁵ Landolfi 2003; Sabbatini 2003; Silvestrini – Sabbatini 2008; Sabbatini 2009; Sena im Druck.

⁶ Lollini 1976a; Lollini 1976b; Landolfi 1988; Percossi Serenelli 1998; Naso 2000 (mit Lit.).

⁷ Lollini 1976a; Lollini 1976b; Lollini 1985.

⁸ Bardelli 1991 (besonders 104–108); Sensi 1993; Landolfi 1997, 229 („circa duemila tombe scavate“); Lefèvre-Novaro 2000, 73 Anm. 7; Delpino et al. 2016, 292–297; Finocchi 2018. Zu laufenden Forschungsprojekten und neuen Entdeckungen vgl. Baldoni – Finocchi 2019; Baldoni et al. 2019; Bardelli 2019; Natalucci – Zampieri 2019; Baldoni 2020; Finocchi 2021a; Finocchi 2021b.

⁹ Zusammenfassend: Landolfi 1999.

¹⁰ Dazu zuletzt Weidig – Bruni 2015, 547 f. Allgemein zu rituellen Begrenzungen in vorgeschichtlichen Nekropolen auf der italischen Halbinsel s. Naso 2011; Della Fina 2015.

¹¹ Landolfi 1997; Landolfi 2001; Landolfi 2012; Bardelli – Vollmer 2020 (mit Lit.). Dieses Grab wird gerade im Rahmen eines vom RGZM geleiteten internationalen Forschungsprojekts neu untersucht (DFG Projekt EG 64/11-1).

¹² Eine erste Ausstellung einiger Beigaben fand 1972 in San Severino Marche (Prov. Macerata) statt (Vighi 1972, 19–26). Vgl. auch Colonna 1973; Moscatelli 1977, 192 f.; Bergonzi 1992, 81 Anm. 18–19; Landolfi 2000, 131–133; Naso 2000, 186.

¹³ Folgenden Personen möchte ich für die Erlaubnis zur Bereitstellung der Funde und die Unterstützung während der Arbeit danken: Luigi Malnati und Mario Pagano (ehem. Soprintendenza Archeologica der Region Marche); Fabio Milazzo und Stefano Finocchi (Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio der Region Marche); Nicoletta Frapiccini (Museo Archeologico Nazionale von Ancona); Markus Egg (RGZM); Alessandro Naso (Universität Federico II, Neapel); Joachim Weidig (Universität Freiburg).

¹⁴ Um weitere Fehler bei der Zuordnung der Funde zu den jeweiligen Gräbern zu verhindern wurde die ursprüngliche Ausgrabungsnummerierung der Gräber anstelle der Nummerierung in römischen Ziffern von R. Vighi aus dem Jahr 1972 verwendet, die einer hypothetischen chronologischen Einordnung der Gräber entsprechen sollte.

¹⁵ Bardelli 2020, 133–135.

¹⁶ Zur „italo-geometrischen“ bzw. „etruskisch-korinthischen“ Keramik vgl. Coen 2015. Zur Lekythos s. zuletzt Landolfi 2000, 141. 146 Taf. 4.

¹⁷ Zum Typus s. Nascimbene 2009, 154 Abb. 44 (Verbreitungskarte); 157 Nr. 15 (Fibel aus Grab 9).

¹⁸ Bardelli 1991, 109 Taf. 7.

¹⁹ Landolfi 2004, 74.

²⁰ Dazu s. Bardelli 2021, 62–65.

²¹ Bardelli – Vollmer 2020, 63–66, Abb. 27.

²² Colonna 1974, 17; Landolfi 2000, 132–133.

²³ Zu den nicht figürlichen Bernsteinfunden aus Picenum s. Negroni Catacchio 2003.

²⁴ Für die erste Publikation des Gefäßes vgl. Bardelli 2020, 133–135, Abb. 7–8. Für Numana s. Bardelli im Druck.

Abbildungsnachweis

Abb. 1: Foto: © SABAP Region Marche. – Abb. 2: Graphik: G. Bardelli. – Abb. 3: Graphik: G. Bardelli. – Abb. 4: Foto: G. Bardelli. – Abb. 5: Foto: © SABAP Region Marche. – Abb. 6: Foto: G. Bardelli.

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Exploitation of Resources and Trading Networks in the Archaic Western Mediterranean – the Evidence of the Metal Objects

Holger Baitinger

The access to important and sought-after resources plays a central role in today's globalised world and sometimes involves remote regions as important nodes in large-scale communication networks. However, the uneven distribution of mineral resources already facilitated wide-ranging connections in the Archaic period, which often crossed cultural boundaries and networked unequal partners. A particularly important example is the access to metallic resources, which were mined and smelted in only a few regions.

In many pre-historical and historical periods the island of Sicily formed an important hub in the western Mediterranean.¹ Foreign persons and peoples consistently came to Sicily and settled there, not only Greeks, Phoenicians and Romans in Antiquity, but afterwards Normans, Spaniards and others, too. Sicily has a mild climate and is extremely fertile, but owns only a few inferior mineral deposits in the Monti Peloritani in the extreme northeast of the island, southwest of the town of Messina.² Therefore, at all times, a supply of raw metal from outside was required and people had to deal with the available resources economically.

We can observe foreign influences in the archaeological evidence of Sicily already by the end of the Bronze Age and in the early Iron Age,³ but they intensified considerably from the 8th century BC onwards, after the arrival of Greek colonists about 735 BC, according to the literary sources. While the 'initial phase' of the Greek colonisation in Sicily in the late 8th century and in the first half of the 7th century BC – the so-called Finocchito horizon – remains still quite poor in 'imports', the situation explodes in the second half of the 7th and in the first half of the 6th century BC.

Several archaeological sites in the southern and southeastern parts of Sicily have provided more or less extensive complexes of bronze objects whose composition and 'internationality' is surprising. The most important and largest of these complexes were discovered in the Agora of Selinunte (prov. Trapani) (fig. 1), a Greek colony in southwestern Sicily founded by people from Megara Hyblaea in 628 BC,⁴ and in the sanctuary of Demeter in Bitalemi, a quite small suburban cult place east of the Greek colony of Gela (prov. Caltanissetta).⁵ Certainly, this sanctuary was not as prominent as one might think because of the huge catchment area of the bronze objects discovered there.⁶ Remarkably, the bronze finds from Selinunte and Bitalemi originated from exactly the same regions: they reached Sicily from a vast area extending from southern and central France in the west to the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea area in the east (fig. 2).

Most of the bronze objects from Selinunte and Bitalemi are in a very poor state of condition and have survived only as small fragments. Frequently, we can observe traces of deliberate damage like cutting blows or bending. Hence, these bronze objects have



Fig. 1: The eastern part of the agora of Selinunte with temple C in the background.

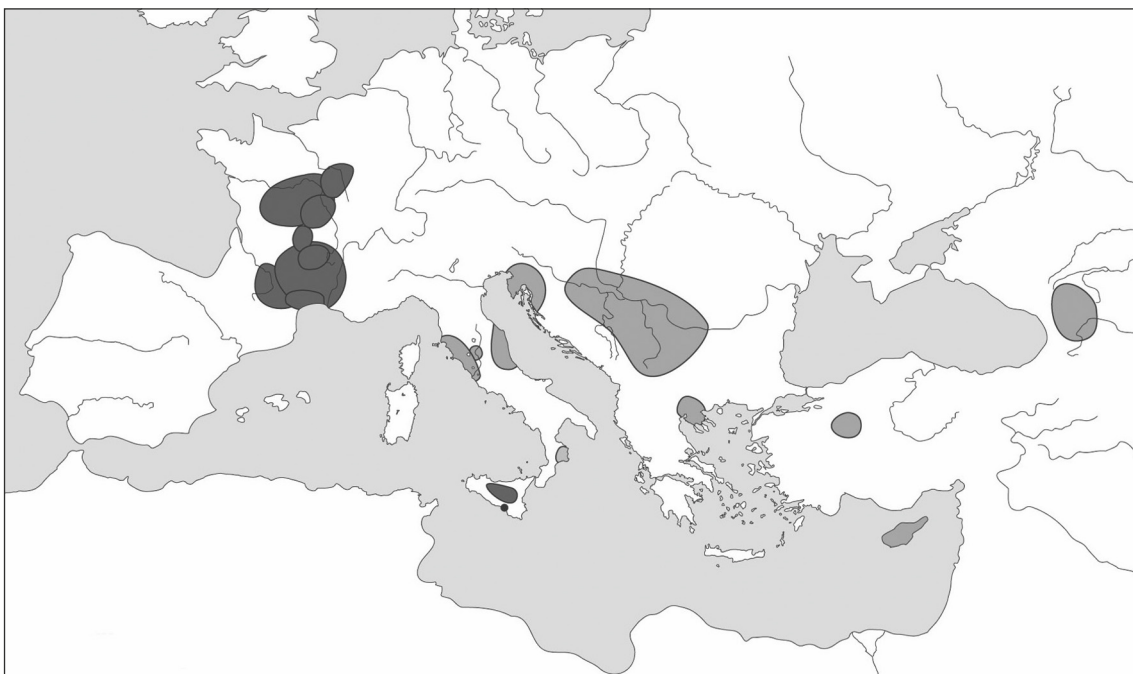


Fig. 2: Areas of origin of objects from the agora of Selinunte and the sanctuary of Bitalemi (Gela).



Fig. 3: Bent bronze ring from Selinunte.

been destroyed and crushed intentionally. Bracelets and anklets, for example, were bent over until they broke into pieces. Therefore, the fragments show a slight S-shape or hook shape (fig. 3). Interestingly, these damaging features can be observed in a quite similar manner in different complexes, although the Agora of Selinunte was the political and administrative centre of a Greek city, whereas Bitalemi was a sanctuary, like other small cult places in southern Sicily, for example S. Anna near Agrigento (prov. Agrigento)⁷ or two suburban sanctuaries near Licata (prov. Agrigento).⁸ Therefore, concerning the bronze objects, it seems insignificant if a site was used for profane or sacral purposes – the areas of origin of the bronze objects, their spectrum and their poor state of preservation do not differ significantly in these complexes in southern and south-eastern Sicily.

In Bitalemi numerous fragmented bronze objects were deposited separately in the natural sand, but in 31 cases they were associated with veritable scrap hoards weighing from 350 g to 11.7 kg.⁹ They contained fragments of different origin: jewellery, bronze vessels, axes, weapons and ingots. At the eastern edge of the Agora in Selinunte, a scrap hoard with a weight of 2.2 kg was discovered in a small sanctuary (fig. 4).¹⁰ It consisted mainly of disintegrated and bent sheets of bronze vessels, e.g. a crushed bronze situla with the characteristic row of rivets, most probably an import from central or northern Italy (fig. 5).¹¹ Obviously, this bronze scrap was accumulated because of its material value – and therefore it had been dedicated to the gods in a sanctuary.



Fig. 4: Bronze scrap hoard in a small sanctuary in the eastern part of the agora of Selinunte.



Fig. 5: Fragmented bronze situla from the scrap hoard in Selinunte.

Particularly numerous bronze objects were imported from the area of present-day southern and central France to Sicily between 650 and 540 BC.¹² Exact counterparts to these objects can be found in several bronze hoards in the Languedoc. French colleagues call them “hoards of the Launac-type”, or simply the “Launacien”, according to the eponymous complex of Launac at Fabrègues (dép. Hérault).¹³ In these hoards, the almost consistently fragmentary state of preservation of the objects is striking, exactly like in Selinunte, Bitalemi and on other Sicilian sites (fig. 6). Thus, the Launac hoards actually form an anachronism, because scrap hoards are particularly characteristic for the European late Bronze Age but disappear in the early Iron Age.¹⁴ The distribution area of the Launac hoards is restricted to a limited area in the Languedoc. The famous ‘shipwreck’¹⁵ or ‘dépot sous-marin’¹⁶ of Rochelongue near the mouth of the

River Hérault, which connected the Mediterranean Sea with the hinterland, belongs to the group of the Launac hoards, too.

These hoards contain different types of objects such as jewellery, weapons or socketed axes whose casting quality is often very poor.¹⁷ Frequently, they contain ribbed bracelets or anklets comparable with those found in the Agora of Selinunte (fig. 6). How can we explain the occurrence of so many 'objets gaulois' in Sicily in the 7th and 6th centuries BC? Most probably, the reason is not the fascination of Greek women for the French fashion in Paris in Archaic times! Instead, the fragmentary state of preservation of the 'objets gaulois' in Sicily leads to a different track, because it coincides exactly with the state of the objects in the Launac hoards. This cannot be a coincidence, but suggests a direct link between these hoards and the 'objets gaulois' discovered in Sicily. However, if the artefacts were already broken and fragmented before being transported to the island, they cannot have been used in their original function as jewellery, tools or weapons. Instead, we suggest that the objects had already lost their original function and significance and that the scrap metal arrived in Sicily because of its value as raw material.

This seems plausible, because in the hinterland of the Languedoc rich mineral deposits of copper, tin, gold and silver were exploited already in antiquity.¹⁸ The shipwreck of Rochelongue near Cap d'Agde contained more than 800 kg of ingots of copper, lead and tin, as well as more than 1,700 bronze objects, especially fragments of jewellery with counterparts in the Launac hoards.¹⁹ A connection between bronze scrap and ingots is particularly evident in this case, but copper ingots ('Gusskuchen' in German) and *aes rude* were discovered in other hoards, too. Therefore, a connection to raw metal seems obvious.

Did the wealthy Greek colonies of Sicily cover their metal demand mainly with imports from southern France? Definitely, the considerable quantity of fragmented Launac bronzes in Sicily proves a close and not only casual connection between these two regions in the 7th and 6th centuries BC.²⁰ In contrast, the heavy and valuable ingots have not survived to today because they were melted down in Antiquity. Of course, this remains hypothesis without extensive archaeometallurgical analyses, although the material evidence points in this direction. As mentioned before, Sicily depended mainly on an external metal supply.

In Archaic Sicily, other objects from regions with rich mineral deposits have been found. A bronze fragment from Selinunte with a non-Greek decoration belonged to a widely travelled bell from the Caucasus region (fig. 7).²¹ Here, such bells were used as parts of horse harnesses. This find proves connections between Selinunte and the extreme northeast of the ancient world. It is difficult to judge if direct connections existed between Sicily and the eastern shores of the Black Sea or if we have to think about intermediate stations in the Aegean. Probably the second assumption holds true because such bells have been found in small quantities in Ionia, e.g. in the western necropolis of Samos.²² As is generally known, the important commercial town of Miletus played a

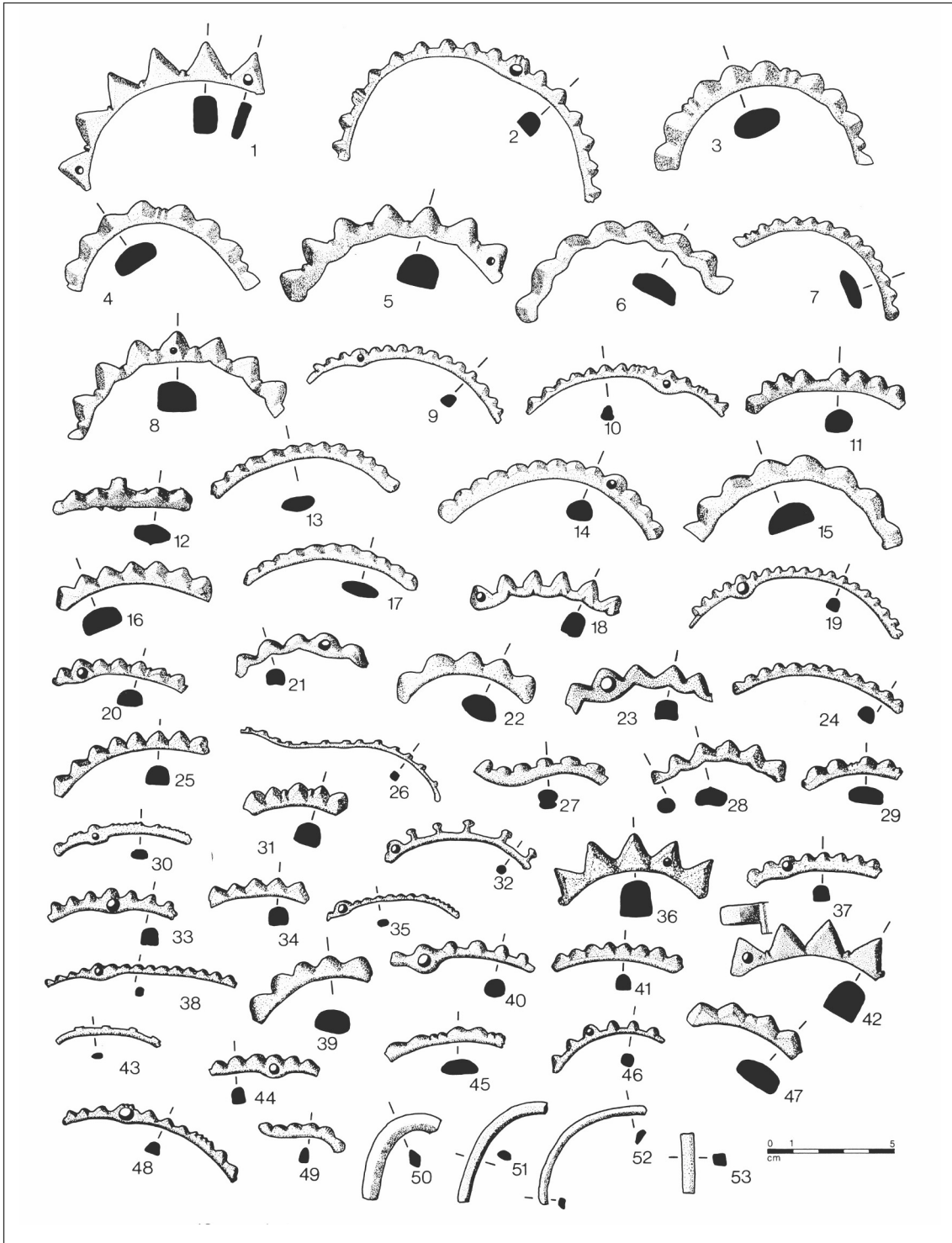


Fig. 6: Fragments of bronze rings from the Launac hoard of Saint-Saturnin (dép. Hérault).



Fig. 7: Fragment of a Caucasian bell from Selinunte.

central role in the Greek colonisation of the Black Sea area. The Georgian archaeologist Otar Lordkipanidze has already considered whether the Ionian Greeks were especially interested in the mineral deposits to the east of the Black Sea.²³ Indeed, the concentration of Caucasian metal objects in Ionia seems to indicate this.

The bronze bell from Selinunte is not an isolated object in Sicily. Stéphane Verger identified an ‘animal-ear handle’ of Caucasian origin in the material from the sanctuary of Bitalemi (fig. 8).²⁴ By courtesy of Helga Eiwanger, another handle of this type excavated in a sanctuary of Aphrodite near Miletus can be added. So, we can note an almost identical distribution as in the case of the Caucasian bells. In the important sanctuaries of the Greek mainland like Olympia or Delphi, which have produced so many metal objects, such pieces are lacking.

Hence, a currently still small number of objects prove connections between Sicily and the eastern Black Sea area. These connections were probably not direct, but used an intermediate station in Ionia on the eastern shores of the Aegean Sea. The existence of Caucasian bronze artefacts in Sicily may indicate that Ionian Greeks from the eastern

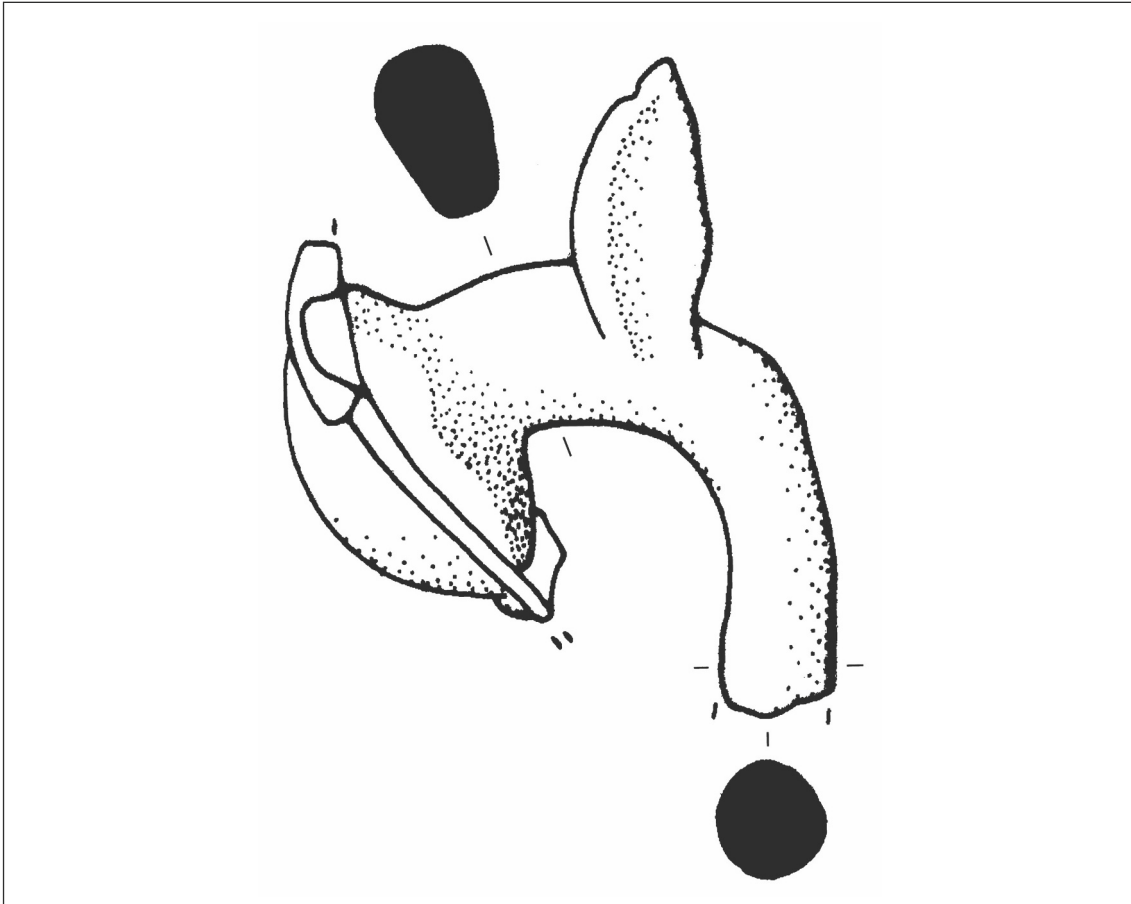


Fig. 8: Caucasian 'animal-ear handle' discovered in the sanctuary of Bitalemi.

Black Sea area supplied the island at least partially with raw metal. The Greek colony of Phasis at the mouth of the homonymous river in Georgia was probably founded in the early 6th century BC,²⁵ thus within the relevant timespan.

The huge number of foreign bronze objects, which arrived in Sicily between about 650 and 540 BC is surprising. Almost all these 'imports' date back to this century or so, while older objects are an exception. By contrast, the evidence is different if we analyse indigenous Sicilian bronze finds discovered in huge numbers in Selinunte and Bitalemi, too.²⁶ At first glance they seem to prove the presence of indigenous people in the Greek colonies of Selinunte and Gela. However, it is noticeable that in both complexes several fragmented 'antiques' ('Altstücke' in German) dating back to the early Iron Age or even to the late Bronze Age are included, too.²⁷ These objects are definitely too old for the colony of Gela founded about 688 BC and Selinunte founded 60 years later in 628 BC. As we currently do not have sufficient archaeological evidence for a preceding indigenous settlement at these sites, it seems reasonable to think about accumulated scrap metal introduced into the metal circulation of the Greek colonies from the Sicilian hinterland.

It remains doubtful how these objects reached the cities, whether in a peaceful or in a violent manner. This evidence fits very well in our hypothesis of metal-hungry ‘boom towns’ with ‘international’ contacts on the Sicilian coast interacting all over the Mediterranean Sea and attracting all the metal supply they could get.

Finally, lead isotope analysis of silver ingots from a late Archaic coin hoard supposedly discovered in Selinunte points in a completely different direction. In addition to 165 silver coins of various origins, this hoard contained four silver ingots showing different signatures.²⁸ Two ingots seem to contain silver from various deposits; ingot E points to Laurion in Attica in mainland Greece, while ingot B probably contains silver from a deposit in the Rio Tinto area in Andalusia.²⁹ Hence, the silver ingots show a completely different network to the bronze finds previously discussed, because we can hardly identify any pieces from the Iberian Peninsula in Sicily. We can suppose that the Punic settlements in western Sicily, like Mozia or Panormos, made contacts to the Iberian Peninsula and attracted metals from the far west of the Mediterranean Sea. Considering the small number of archaeometallurgical investigations in Sicily, this idea is still hypothetical. In addition, ingots are – as mentioned before – only occasionally included in the archaeological evidence, and the discovery of silver coins in excavations is exceptional, too. Therefore, the network behind these objects can be recognised only sketchily. However, maybe it is not a coincidence that the coin hoard dates to the early 5th century BC while the foreign bronze objects belong to an earlier period (second half of the 7th and the first half of the 6th century BC). Maybe the trading routes and the exchange networks had changed in the course of the late Archaic period.

Recent research has increasingly shown to which extent scrap metal was exchanged and traded in the Archaic western Mediterranean, especially on the island of Sicily. Frequently, fragmented bronze artefacts are proving wide-ranging contacts, which on the one hand connected the Greek colonies of the coast with far-off regions, such as southern France, but which on the other hand stimulated dealings between Greek settlers and the indigenous Sicilian hinterland. If we try to understand the far-reaching economic relationships and networks of the Archaic period, we have to take all existing materials seriously, we have to analyse them and we have to relate them to each other. It is a commonplace fact that our archaeological material is only fragmentary and incomplete because, for example, objects made of organic materials have not survived to today. However, any detectable material category – even if it seems inconspicuous – forms an important piece of the puzzle in obtaining a stable overall picture of an archaeological site; none may be excluded or displaced to others. In this way, hopefully – and with the help of modern tools like network analysis – the connections and relationships between different regions and their backgrounds can be studied more deeply in the future. The frequently fragmented and underestimated bronze objects provide an important contribution and they can be interpreted as the witness of a long-ranging exchange in the western Mediterranean largely based on economic interests.

Notes

- ¹ Overviews are given e.g. by Bernabò Brea 1958 and Finley 1979.
- ² Giardino 1995, 134–139. 307 f.
- ³ E.g. Albanese Procelli 2003, 28–34; Bietti Sestieri 2013 (with further literature).
- ⁴ Baitinger 2015; Baitinger 2016a; Baitinger 2016b.
- ⁵ Orlandini 1965–1967; Verger 2003; Verger 2011; Tarditi 2016.
- ⁶ Verger 2011, 56 fig. 36.
- ⁷ Fiorentini 1969; Baitinger 2017.
- ⁸ Hinz 1998, 93 f.
- ⁹ Orlandini 1965–1967.
- ¹⁰ Hoesch 2003.
- ¹¹ Baitinger 2016a, 100 f. no. 511 pls. 26. 63.
- ¹² See especially the contributions in Verger – Pernet 2013.
- ¹³ Most recently Guilaine et al. 2017 (with further literature).
- ¹⁴ Baitinger 2016a, 171–174 (with further literature).
- ¹⁵ Bouscaras – Hugues 1967; Garcia 2013.
- ¹⁶ Gascó et al. 2012.
- ¹⁷ Guilaine et al. 2017 (with further literature).
- ¹⁸ Cauuet 2013 (with further literature).
- ¹⁹ Bouscaras – Hugues 1967; Garcia 2013.
- ²⁰ See the contributions in Verger – Pernet 2013 (with further literature).
- ²¹ Baitinger 2016a, 132–134 no. 744 pls. 41. 73.
- ²² E.g. Boehlau 1898, 25. 49. 162 pl. 15, 9.
- ²³ Lordkipanidze 2007, 600–602 fig. 6.
- ²⁴ Verger 2003, 549 fig. 10.
- ²⁵ See Lordkipanidze 2000, esp. 53–61.
- ²⁶ Verger 2003; Verger 2011; Tarditi 2016; Baitinger 2016a.
- ²⁷ Pace – Verger 2012, esp. 14–25; Baitinger 2015, 142–144; Baitinger 2016b, 34–36.
- ²⁸ Arnold-Biucchi et al. 1988; Beer-Tobey et al. 1998.
- ²⁹ Beer-Tobey et al. 1998.

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Commerci, economia e strutturazione sociale delle comunità indigene della Sicilia centrale. I casi di Sabucina, Polizzello e Vassallaggi

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Questo contributo intende focalizzare l'attenzione su alcuni siti indigeni della Sicilia centro-meridionale abitati da Sicani e ricadenti nel territorio compreso tra l'*Himera* e l'*Halykos*, quali Sabucina, Polizzello, Vassallaggi (fig. 1), attraverso i quali si cercherà di dare un quadro esaustivo della economia delle loro comunità, che può costituire un confronto anche per altri siti abitati da identici gruppi etnici, la cui strutturazione sociale ed economica non doveva essere differente dai primi. A tal fine, saranno presi in considerazione oggetti di pregio e di importazione, recuperati nei luoghi di culto o nelle necropoli dei centri citati. Per comprendere meglio le forme di sussistenza economica



Fig. 1: Cartina della Sicilia centro-meridionale con indicazione dei siti citati.

delle comunità che abitavano i centri anzidetti, bisogna innanzitutto conoscere la loro ubicazione geografica.

Sabucina, ad esempio, è posta su una collina che domina il corso dell'Himera, importante via di penetrazione militare e commerciale; essa insiste, come peraltro il centro di Vassallaggi, in un grande bacino gessoso solfifero, che si estende nella Sicilia centro-meridionale. In questo bacino l'attività di prelievo dello zolfo è stata accertata già a partire dalla Preistoria ed esattamente dall'Età del Bronzo Antico, come è stato dimostrato recentemente a seguito delle ricerche archeologiche effettuate a Monte Grande (Agrigento),¹ dove sono state individuate tracce di primordiali calcheroni per la fusione di tale minerale; peraltro, ai piedi di Monte Grande, in prossimità del tratto di costa sulla quale emerge l'altura (contrada Marcatazzo), sono stati rinvenuti i resti di strutture riferibili ad un emporio del Bronzo Antico² per le quali è stata ipotizzata una funzione per il commercio dello zolfo, immesso poi nelle rotte delle quali faceva parte anche la Sicilia. Dei benefici dello zolfo sono noti gli usi sia in campo medico, sia nel campo dell'agricoltura, sia nella cura delle malattie della pelle degli animali, ma anche per regolare la temperatura nei forni in cui venivano fusi stagno e rame.³ Quindi un prodotto importantissimo per le popolazioni, sin dai tempi più antichi, ed il cui sfruttamento, anche nelle aree interne della Sicilia, dovette essere praticato già durante la Preistoria, come dimostrano le tracce di piccoli e sparsi insediamenti capannicoli proprio nel territorio in cui insiste tale bacino minerario.⁴ Peraltro, Sabucina è prossima a miniere che sono state sfruttate intensamente a partire dal '400 e poi ancora dalla fine del '700, fino alla metà del secolo scorso.⁵ Non può essere escluso che i giacimenti prossimi a Sabucina siano stati oggetto di attività mineraria già dal Bronzo Antico, anche se chiaramente l'estrazione dello zolfo doveva essere praticata solo superficialmente e non essere approfondita per molti metri, visto che non erano note le escavazioni in galleria che raggiunsero, invece, in tempi più recenti, anche i 300 metri in profondità. Dunque, proprio dall'attività estrattiva dello zolfo (ricordiamo ad es. le miniere di Trabonella, Gessolungo, Iuncio-Tumminelli, Saponaro) dovette scaturire la ricchezza dell'antico centro di Sabucina, occupato nel Bronzo Antico (resti di capanne dei quali restano i tagli sulla roccia e tombe a grotticella artificiale) (fig. 2) e soprattutto durante il Bronzo Recente e Finale,⁶ periodi ai quali sono riferibili i contatti anche con il mondo transmarino, come sembrerebbero documentare sia la tipologia a lisca di pesce delle strutture murarie delle capanne, sia ad esempio, un *kernos* a più beccucci⁷ e un vaso su alto piede (c. d. incensiere).⁸ I contatti quindi con il mondo egeo-cipriota si spiegherebbero proprio per il commercio dello zolfo e del salgemma (ricavato dalle miniere dell'agrigentino, quali ad es. nei pressi di Realmonte e Racalmuto), che determinavano, come detto, una parte della ricchezza della locale comunità la cui economia era basata inoltre sullo sfruttamento delle fertili aree coltivate a cereali, estese ai piedi dell'altura sulla quale sorgeva il centro di Sabucina, nonché sulla pastorizia da cui venivano ricavati il latte ed i prodotti caseari.

Le stesse forme di economia dovettero improntare anche l'insediamento di Sabucina durante l'età arcaica e classica, quando la popolazione del luogo entrò in contatto con



Fig. 2: Sabucina. Strutture capannicole dell'età del Bronzo recente e Finale; kernos a beccucci e incensiere dall'abitato.

i Greci delle colonie, Gela prima e poi *Akragas*, finendo per fare parte della loro sfera di influenza commerciale e politica. Questo rapporto tra gruppi etnici totalmente differenti, a nostro avviso, non dovette essere segnato solo da scontri, come lascerebbero intendere le fonti storiche, ma piuttosto da scambi di merci e materiali tali da consentire ai coloni di ottenere dagli Indigeni quei prodotti utili alla sussistenza dei propri individui, ossia zolfo, sale, grano e cereali e prodotti della pastorizia, dando, in cambio, alle comunità sicane, invece, le merci di pregio quali ceramiche, ambre, avorio attestati sia nei contesti di culto che in quelli funerari, a partire dal VI sec. a. C. È proprio in questo periodo che a Sabucina giungono le ceramiche a figure nere i cui primi esemplari sono stati rinvenuti nel santuario extramoenia del Settore D; (fig. 3) a tal riguardo si ricordino il cratere a colonnette corinzio-attico, con Sfingi in posizione araldica sul lato secondario e con scena di combattimento sul lato opposto, una *kylix* attica a figure nere attribuibile al *Leafless Group* con scena di Gigantomachia, la *lekythos*, con scena di congedo attribuita al Gruppo di *Phanyllis*.⁹ Tra il VI ed il V secolo le officine locali, pur continuando a produrre manufatti ceramici che, in un caso (bicchiere *rython*), manifestano reminiscenze transmarine risalenti all'Età del Bronzo, adottano modelli ceramici e tipo-

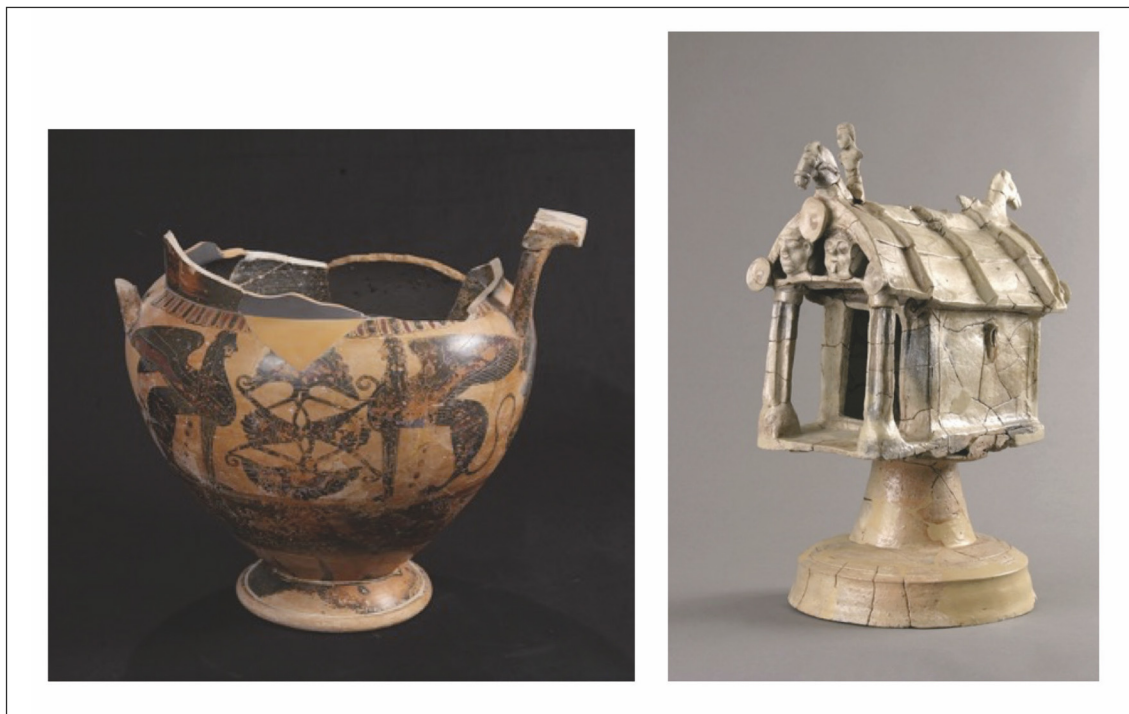


Fig. 3: Sabucina. Dal santuario *etramoenia*: cratere a colonnette corinzio-attico; dal santuario fuori le mura: modello di tempietto *in antis*.

logie architettoniche (edifici rettangolari per abitazioni e nell'area di culto), chiaramente ispirate a prototipi coloniali. Valga come esempio il modello fittile di tempietto *in antis*, la cui cronologia recentemente è stata ribassata al 500–480 a. C. atteso che le sue decorazioni frontonali sono confrontabili con esemplari diffusi da Gela, soltanto a partire dalla fine del VI sec. a. C.¹⁰

Se, invece, si prendono in considerazione le aree funerarie, le considerazioni che scaturiscono dall'esame dei materiali ritrovati nelle tombe avvalorano quanto già detto.¹¹ Le ceramiche attiche a figure nere si affermano a Sabucina nella II metà del VI sec. a. C. (fig. 4).¹² Si citano, ad esempio, la splendida *kylix* attica a figure nere del Pittore di Write, il bellissimo cratere a figure nere con Dioniso, Menadi e Satiri attribuibili ad un artista vicino al Gruppo di Leagros, la *lekythos* con arciere sciita del Pittore di Gela,¹³ tanto per citarne alcune. Le tipologie vascolari greche vengono largamente imitate, soprattutto i crateri, le anfore e le *oinochoai*. È evidente che le importazioni delle merci di pregio diventano più consistenti nel primo trentennio del V sec. a. C. poiché nei corredi funerari si registra la presenza di numerosi vasi delle officine attiche riferibili anche ad ottimi maestri:¹⁴ *Makron*, il Pittore di *Harrow*, il Pittore di Berlino, il Pittore di *Bowdoin*, Pittore di *Boreas*, il Pittore di Firenze e suoi seguaci, il Pittore di *Depdeene*, il Pittore della *Lekythos* di Yale, il Pittore di Leningrado, il Pittore di *Pan*. Spicca il cratere a volute a figure rosse, purtroppo frammentario, con scena di *Ilioupersis* sul collo. Sorvoliamo evi-



Fig. 4: Sabucina. Ceramiche attiche dalle necropoli.

dentamente sui ceramografi minori rispetto a quelli citati, quali il Pittore di Haimon, il Pittore di Icaro, il Pittore di *Athena*, il Pittore di Firenze e il gruppo dei Manieristi Indeterminati. Negli stessi anni è accertata la presenza nei corredi funerari di numerosi oggetti in metallo: *pelikai*, brocchette, strigili e soprattutto lebeti bronzei ad orlo perlinato, questi ultimi prodotti nelle officine tosco-laziali.¹⁵ Il motivo di tale ricchezza, nei decenni a cavallo tra il 490 e 475 a. C., è stato messo in relazione con la battaglia di Himera alla quale dovettero partecipare anche le milizie fornite dalle comunità sicane¹⁶ e quindi di Sabucina per il cui pagamento i Greci delle colonie, Gela soprattutto, dovettero anche offrire come ricompensa proprio i pregevoli e ricercati oggetti, che soddisfacevano il gusto dei gruppi elitari della comunità, arricchitisi proprio con la vendita dei prodotti cui sopra abbiamo accennato.

Passando a Polizzello,¹⁷ va subito messo in evidenza la sua peculiare ubicazione, nella media Valle dell'*Halykos*, oggi Platani, territorio ricco pur esso di miniere di zolfo. Ma l'economia di questo centro dovette essere basata prevalentemente sull'attività agro-pastorale; infatti, il sito è ubicato su un monte a dominio di fertili aree, a tutt'oggi coltivate a grano, mentre doveva essere praticata in maniera intensiva la pastorizia, attualmente principale attività di queste aree secondo una tradizione mantenutasi per lungo



Fig. 5: Polizzello. Statuette di offerenti in bronzo.

tempo. Tale attività è documentata dalle analisi dei reperti osteologici effettuate da Rosaria di Salvo¹⁸ la quale, esaminando gli scheletri sia maschili che femminili della necropoli di Polizzello, con tombe in anfratto, ha potuto riscontrare che la conformazione delle ossa degli arti inferiori degli inumati sono riconducibili a lavori svolti su lunghi tratti di terreni accidentati (pascolo per la conseguente produzione di alimenti derivati dal latte); invece, le lesioni a carico soprattutto dell'avambraccio, possono essere ricondotte, secondo la Studiosa, ad attività che prevedevano ripetuti lanci o rotazioni di oggetti con il braccio alzato e presa stretta, ovvero al trasporto di carichi pesanti (caccia, semina e altre attività manuali). Altresì conosciuta doveva essere l'attività della produzione bronzistica a cui avrebbero partecipato, sempre secondo l'antropologa suddetta, anche le donne. Numerose sono le attestazioni di oggetti in bronzo realizzati sicuramente nelle officine locali (fig. 5). In proposito si citano le statuette di offerenti,¹⁹ ben note alla comunità scientifica, una delle quali nella forma a «psi», imitante le statuette subminoiche, della stessa tipologia, i due esemplari di offerente con patera nella mano, in una delle quali, per la presenza del pileo, si è voluto riconoscere Odisseo²⁰; molte infine sono le armi, gli spiedi e gli spilloni in ferro trovati nelle deposizioni del santuario dell'acropoli.²¹

La ricchezza di questo centro è testimoniata inoltre dalla presenza, sia in ambito di culto che in ambito funerario, di oggetti importati (fig. 6) (soprattutto ambra, avorio, metallo e ceramiche), attestati nel luogo a partire dagli inizi del VI secolo.²² Per quanto



Fig. 6: Polizzello. Oggetti in ambra e avorio e ceramiche di importazione dal santuario sull'acropoli.

riguarda le ceramiche è opportuno segnalare le coppe ioniche del tipo B1, la cui datazione recentemente è stata fissata al 600/565 a.C.,²³ quindi le *kylikes* corinzie con fregio zoomorfo, dal sacello B dell'acropoli, riferibili al MC (590–570 a.C.) e al TCI (570–550 a.C.),²⁴ molti oggetti in avorio, quali le coppie di figurine femminili (metà del VI sec. a.C.), le placchette in osso, la fibula in ferro con complementi in osso e ambra, e il rivestimento in ambra e avorio di un arredo ligneo configurato a palmetta;²⁵ questi ultimi pregiati oggetti sono databili alla prima metà del VI sec. a.C. e non è escluso che essi siano giunti a Polizzello per il tramite, inizialmente, della colonia tirrenica di Himera. Alla mediazione commerciale con Gela, fondata nel 689/8 a.C., sono riconducibili, invece, ad altri oggetti di importazione; innanzitutto il raro elmo cretese dalla deposizione 9 del sacello B (prima metà del VI sec. a.C.), nell'unico esemplare rinvenuto in contesto di scavo, ed ancora le ceramiche di importazione attica, alcune delle quali sono databili tra fine VI – inizi V sec. a.C.,²⁶ gli oggetti in avorio configurati in forma di scimmia, di ariete, o di ariete accovacciato, i rivestimenti di fibula in avorio e i numerosi ornamenti in osso e ambra nonché quelli in pasta vitrea il cui commercio è stato sempre ricondotto alla mediazione dei popoli fenici.²⁷

Il territorio in cui insistono Polizzello, ma anche Sant'Angelo Muxaro, Milena, Casteltermini (brocchette egeo-cipriote), Campofranco, la stessa Sabucina, era già noto alle popolazioni egeo-cipriote: in quest'area geografica era maturata la leggenda di Minosse e Kokalos, la fondazione di Camico (Sant'Angelo Muxaro?) e la costituzione del santuario delle Meteres;²⁸ in proposito si vedano le numerose tombe a *tholos*, i materiali egeo-ciprioti (daghe, ceramiche, anelli in oro del tipo a semplice vera, brocchette) trovati nei siti anzidetti, anche se il rapporto con Gela, fondata dai Rodio-Cretesi, rinvigorisce questi contatti. La colonia siceliota diventò il vettore primario dello smistamento della merce di lusso da offrire in cambio dei prodotti cerealicoli utili per la sussistenza dei membri della sua comunità; non è da escludere che il *surplus* di tale produzione potesse essere esportato verso la madrepatria. Anche i contesti funerari di Polizzello attestano la ricchezza di questo centro sicano; provengono proprio dalle tombe della relativa necropoli i pregiati scarabei in avorio, le coppe ioniche B1 ed altro materiale di lusso.

La ricchezza del centro era sicuramente detenuta nelle mani di alcuni membri della comunità, arricchitisi grazie allo sfruttamento del suolo e al commercio dei prodotti agro-pastorali, in cambio dei quali ricevevano i beni di lusso e non si può non pensare che anche la gestione dei metalli, bronzo e ferro, fosse appannaggio di tali classi elitarie.

In ultimo trattiamo di Vassallaggi, un sito prossimo alla moderna San Cataldo, ubicato sempre nel bacino gessoso-solfifero della Sicilia centro-meridionale; ancora in tempi più recenti l'attività estrattiva dello zolfo è testimoniata dalle miniere ricadenti nel suo territorio e cioè quelle di Gabbara-Persico e Bosco Palo (quest'ultima ricca di sali potassici, utilizzati come ottimo fertilizzante per le piante), sfruttate fino alla prima metà del Novecento. Anche Vassallaggi controlla aree molto fertili, coltivate a grano e cereali e la sua particolare posizione geografica, su un complesso orografico costituito da cinque colline, è intermedia tra l'area di pertinenza geloa e quella della sua sub-colonia *Akragas*. È noto che Vassallaggi è stata identificata con *Motyon*, la città nella quale si radunarono, intorno al 451 a. C., le truppe degli Indigeni capeggiati da Ducezio e che finirono per essere poi annientate da *Akragas* che vi trasferì un contingente di proprie milizie.²⁹ Se esaminiamo i contesti di culto del predetto centro, risalta l'adozione di una tipologia architettonica rettangolare quale quella riportata alla luce nel santuario demetriaco, sul pianoro della seconda collina, che richiama i moduli coloniali e che si impostava quasi certamente su precedenti edifici, con identica funzione, purtroppo mai indagati, ma al cui schema circolare, tipico delle capanne dell'età del Bronzo, farebbe pensare il modellino di edificio a corpo troncoconico sormontato da un'ansa a ponticello che poteva essere trasportato durante le processioni sacre.³⁰

Pochi sono in questo centro i materiali di lusso da riferire ad importazioni e alla seconda metà del VI sec. a. C.; in proposito si ricordano la pisside dalla tomba B37 del TCII, l'*aryballos* in pasta vitrea dalla tomba 70A (sarcofago in gesso alabastrino contenente ceramiche attiche del terzo venticinquennio del V sec. a. C.), ma soprattutto i due bracciali in bronzo, ritrovati in una tomba a camera (fig. 7);³¹ uno di essi è del tipo a bugne cave, l'altro a bugne piene, e sono confrontabili con gli esemplari di Bitalemi (Gela), che



Fig. 7: Vassallaggi. Oggetti di importazione: pisside, aryballos e bracciali con bugne.

sono stati ricondotti, in un primo momento, ad un contesto del Nord-Est dell'Europa (Halstatt) e, più recentemente, da Stephane Verger,³² all'area meridionale della Francia; da entrambe le aree geografiche i due bracciali dovettero pervenire nell'entroterra dell'Isola, in cui è sita Vassallaggi, per il tramite di Gela. Più numerosi sono, invece, i beni di lusso rinvenuti nelle necropoli del sito, che rispecchiano tipologie improntate a quelle coloniali. Dalle tombe (del tipo a sarcofago in gesso alabastrino o anche a cassa rettangolare) provengono inoltre ceramiche attiche di ottima fattura, databili a partire dal II venticinquennio del V secolo (*lekythos* del Pittore di *Athena*, quindi, soprattutto a partire dal 460/450 a. C., i crateri del Gruppo dei Manieristi tardi, le *oinochoai* e le *pelikai* del Pittore di *Shuvalov*, l'anfora nolana del Pittore di Monaco 2335, etc.).³³ Vanno citati altresì i numerosi strigili bronzei trovati nelle tombe degli inumati. I crateri attici e gli strigili sono attribuibili a personaggi dell'élite locale, che adotta rituali desunti da modelli greci, ossia il banchetto funerario con set completi, alla maniera ellenica, mentre gli strigili esaltano lo spirito atletico di giovani morti in età precoce, che avevano voluto emulare i modelli estranei al gruppo etnico sicano.

In particolare, si ricorda il cratere a volute con scena di Amazzonomachia della scuola di Polignoto (fig. 8), che proviene dalla tomba 7 della necropoli meridionale e che,



Fig. 8: Vassallaggi. Ceramiche attiche dalla necropoli: *lekythos* del Pittore di Athena; cratere a colute della Scuola di Polignoto.

come già evidenziato in altra sede,³⁴ poteva essere destinato ad un giovane dell'aristocrazia locale greca e la cui forma viene imitata da altri due esemplari realizzati nelle officine locali e destinati a giovani dell'*élite* indigena. L'adozione e l'imitazione, da parte degli artigiani locali, di forme vascolari tipicamente elleniche attesta l'elevata capacità artistica del centro, il quale, pur mantenendo fede al proprio repertorio vascolare, non disdegna i modelli allogeni.

Già in altra sede³⁵ si è avuto modo di proporre che il vettore commerciale dello smistamento di tali forme vascolari sia stato *Akragas*, visto che sono presenti pittori attestati in questa subcolonia geloa, la stessa che poi finì per sconfiggere i rivoltosi indigeni intorno al 450 a.C. L'abbondanza dei beni di lusso appena citati prova la presenza nel centro di personaggi aristocratici, sicuramente di etnia sicana, i quali importavano oggetti pregiati, continuando però ad usare le forme vascolari prodotte nelle officine locali, attive fino al terzo venticinquennio del V secolo a.C., come a quelle attiche. Quale sia stata la condizione economica di questa comunità non è chiara; è certo comunque che essa poteva permettersi l'acquisto di merce di pregio in cambio della quale doveva essere fornita la produzione cerealicola, il frutto dell'attività estrattiva e, non si esclu-

de, anche la produzione *in loco* di vino e olio di oliva, ed i cui impieghi erano numerosi, non solo in campo simposiaco, ma anche religioso-funerario, domestico e ginnico, come attestano i numerosi contenitori per profumi, gli *alabastra* e, i già citati strigili, presenti nei corredi tombali.³⁶

Note

- ¹ Castellana 1998, 72–109.
- ² Castellana 1998, 122.
- ³ Castellana 1998, 200–220.
- ⁴ Ianni 2004.
- ⁵ Per una storia delle miniere nell'entroterra nisseno, cfr. Ponticello 1999; Zurli – Zurli 2008, 15–24.
- ⁶ Per gli scavi condotti sul sito, cfr. C. Guzzone in: Panvini et al. 2008, 21–25.
- ⁷ M. Congiu (scheda n. 36) in: Guzzone 2006, 193.
- ⁸ M. Congiu (scheda n. 34) in: Guzzone 2006, 190.
- ⁹ Panvini 2003.
- ¹⁰ Panvini 2011, 458–459.
- ¹¹ Per una prima presentazione delle necropoli di Sabucina, cfr. Panvini 2014b; Panvini 2015, 200–209.
- ¹² Panvini 2005, 13–17.
- ¹³ Panvini 2006, 88 B inv. 830.
- ¹⁴ Panvini 2005, 17–24.
- ¹⁵ Albanese Procelli 1993, 234–235.
- ¹⁶ Panvini 2014c.
- ¹⁷ Per gli ultimi scavi, cfr. Panvini et al. 2009.
- ¹⁸ Di Salvo et al. 2015, 290–293.
- ¹⁹ Panvini 2006, 209–210.
- ²⁰ D. Palermo in: Panvini et al. 2009, 305–310.
- ²¹ Si vedano, ad esempio, le deposizioni del Sacello B, cfr. Panvini et al. 2009, 36–47.
- ²² Palermo 2008, 259. 265–267.
- ²³ Cfr. Perna 2012, 552.
- ²⁴ Perna 2012, 554.
- ²⁵ Panvini et al. 2009, 86. 91 n. 166.
- ²⁶ Cfr. Perna 2012, 555–556.
- ²⁷ Panvini et al. 2009.
- ²⁸ Pugliese Carratelli 1986, 5 s.
- ²⁹ Micciché 2011, 107 s. Diod. 11, 91, 1.
- ³⁰ L. Sole in: Panvini – Sole 2009, 70, VII/4 (datato al VII–VI sec. a. C.).
- ³¹ Panvini 2006, 153 c–d, con bibliografia.
- ³² Verger 2003, 525–573.
- ³³ Panvini 2005, 80–82.

³⁴ Panvini 2014a, 228.

³⁵ Panvini 2003, 79–88.

³⁶ Si vedano ad esempio i corredi delle tombe 41A e 51A bis, cfr. Panvini 2006, 156–159.

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Pithekoussai (Ischia): Colonisation vs. Participation

Eicke Granser

Over the last decades of archaeological as well as historical research and progression of theoretical approaches, the Mediterranean was perceived as a coherent social and spatial unit of analysis.¹ Thereby, the migration of individuals or groups driven by a huge variety of motives since the earliest stage of the Neolithic period² must be taken into consideration as a constant factor. In this framework, trade represents only one part of a wide spectrum of different motivations,³ but also one of the best detectable parts through the exploration of the materiality of the past. The diffusion of goods can be read with the use of certain parameters as indicators for human movements, which lead to temporary situations of social encounters. Therefore, the contact and exchange could encourage ties between two or more social groups and induce changes inside the involved societies. The Mediterranean people have been participants – in an active or passive manner – of a comparatively stable network.⁴ With the foundation of Pithekoussai on the island of Ischia in the second half of the 8th century BC, this network expanded with a new node or a new agent (fig. 1). Thus, the aim of the following approach is to examine some possible strategies of the new agent: Was the migration westwards a conquering process or a tentative attempt to become a participant of already established structures?

From the 1950s onwards, Giorgio Buchner conducted excavations in the Valle di San Montano and discovered about a thousand late geometric tombs.⁵ Since that discovery, the intention of a Greek mission westwards and its impact in the central Mediterranean have been controversially debated.⁶ The tombs have been identified as burials of Greek colonists and linked to the concept of Euboean colonisation.⁷ Migration westwards was previously regarded as enforced by the constant search of resources and new markets⁸ and Pithekoussai's importance as a Greek gateway to access the Italic iron ore deposits has been emphasized by plenty of scholars.⁹ The present paper is neither focused on debating the concept of colonisation in general, which has been convincingly criticised during the last years,¹⁰ nor will the question be pursued in how far Pithekoussai was Greek or Euboean at all.¹¹ Instead, the present approach is driven by the idea that the settlement of Ischia was a successive and decentralized process where people of various regions and social environments were involved.¹² As heterogeneous the involved individuals may have been, their motivation for migration was probably equivalently as heterogeneous. Referring to the archaeological method, tracing an overriding intention for the settlement of Pithekoussai remains a difficult task. Instead of asking for reasons, one should rather consider the possible options of actions for the settlers at their new place of living.

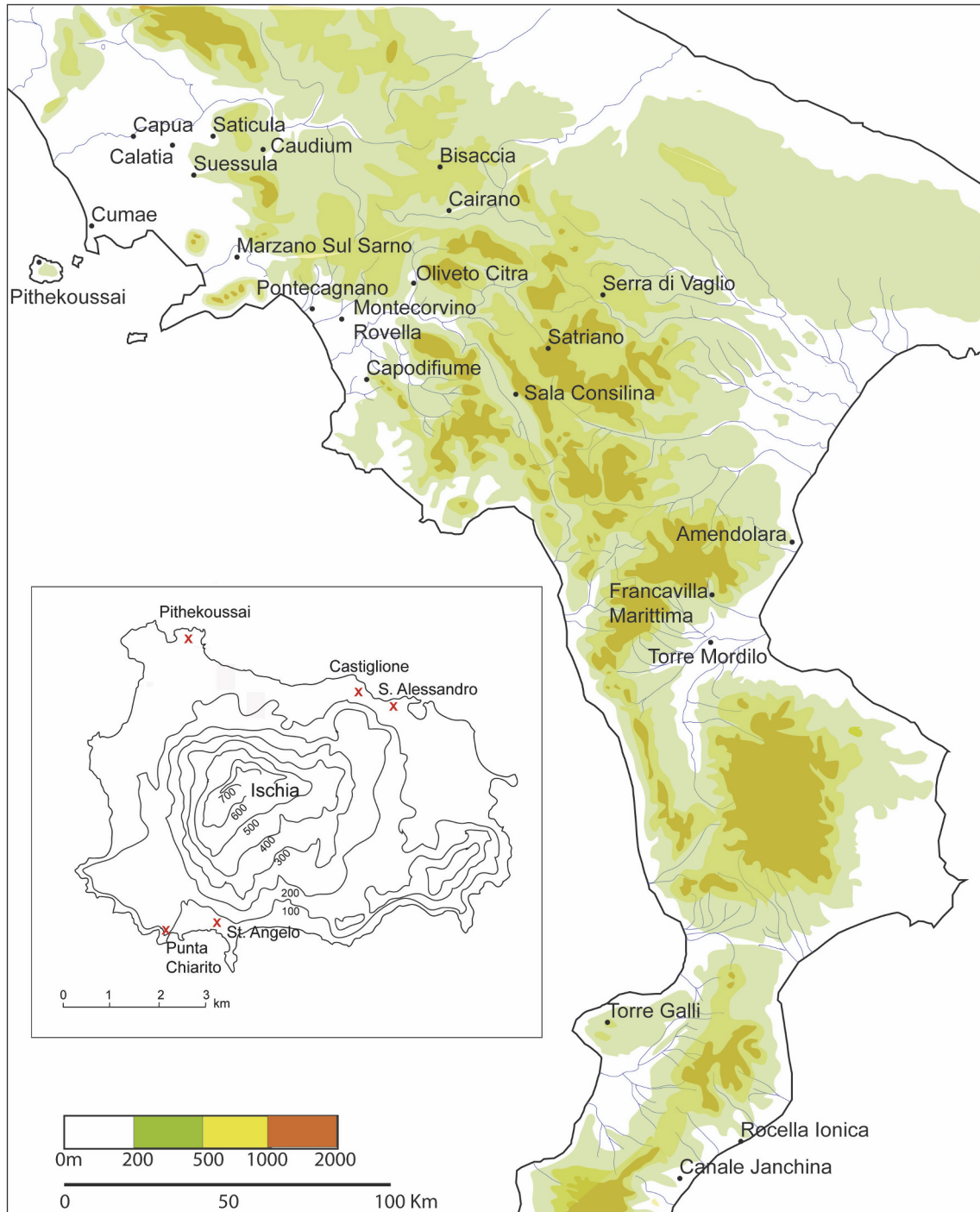


Fig. 1: Map of the Italic South.

The Indigenous Element

Although it is widely accepted that Pithekoussai was a mixed settlement¹³ consisting of Aegeans (mostly denominated as Euboeans), Orientals¹⁴ and natives, the impact of the latter was mostly overlooked in contrast to the encounters between Greek Colonists and Orientals, which were intensively and recently controversially debated.¹⁵ The discussions regarding processes of colonisation in previous research often stressed questions of the settlers' origins more than questions of the society they formed.¹⁶ Ethnicity was frequently equated with materiality and due to the finds of Italic style fibulae (fig. 4) or jewellery e.g. were interpreted as evidence for intermarriage between Greek men and Italic women.¹⁷ This particular understanding reveals a perspective in which the Italic element was marginalized and marked as passive and subordinated in opposite to the superior Greek/Euboean inhabitants.¹⁸ But Ischia was not at all a no-man's-land by the arrival of the new settlers from the second half of the 8th century BC onwards, as is verified by the indigenous settlement Castiglione¹⁹ and in this context, it is astonishing, that the numbers of studies focused on the interaction and exchange between the indigenous and new settlers increased only in restraint during the recent years of research²⁰.

Considering stylistic aspects of the Pithekoussan grave goods, it becomes evident that Italic design played a substantial role in the principle alignment of the Pithekoussan materiality (fig. 2). Thus, the appearances of metal objects like jewellery mostly seem to follow prototypes known from tombs of the mainland cemeteries – especially

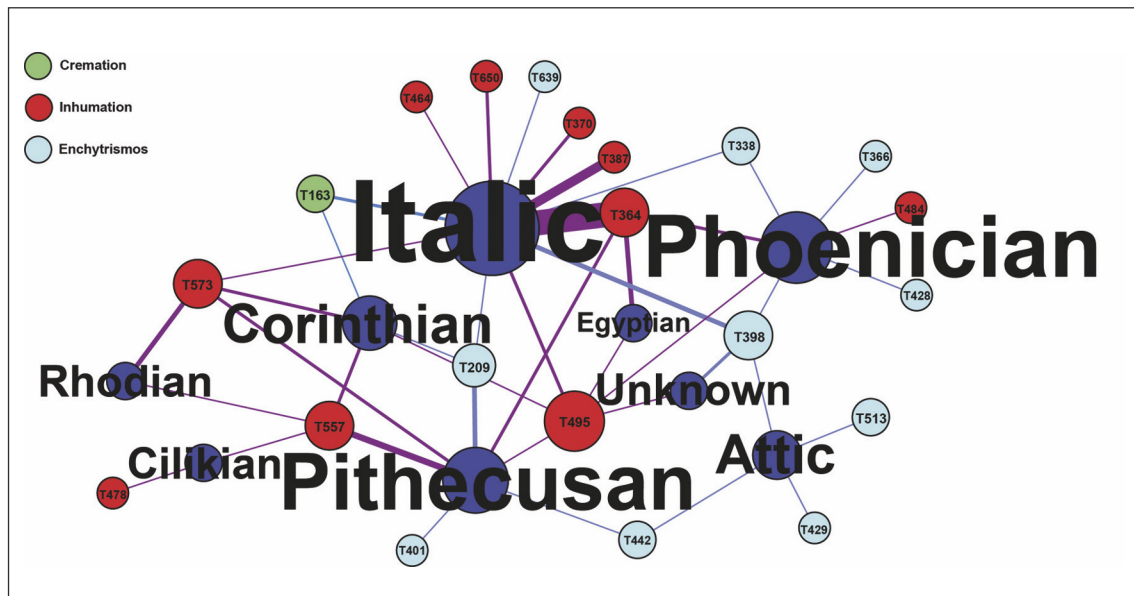


Fig. 2: Two-mode network of all grave goods of level 20 from the necropolis of San Montano.

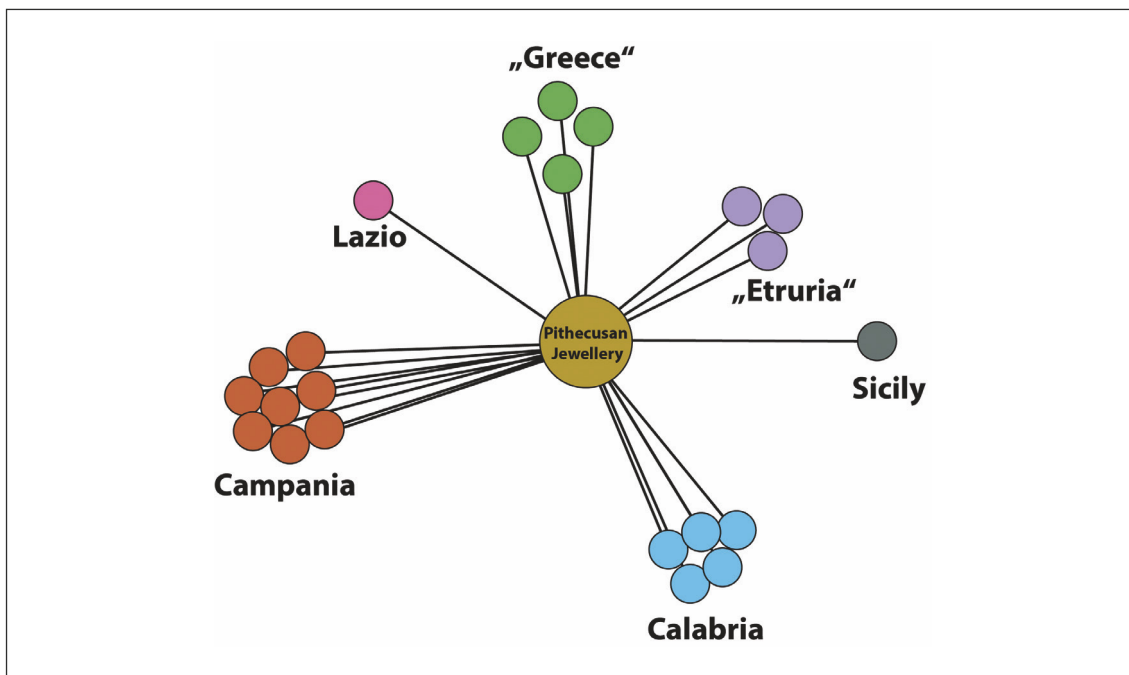


Fig. 3: Ego-Network of the Pitheculan jewellery.

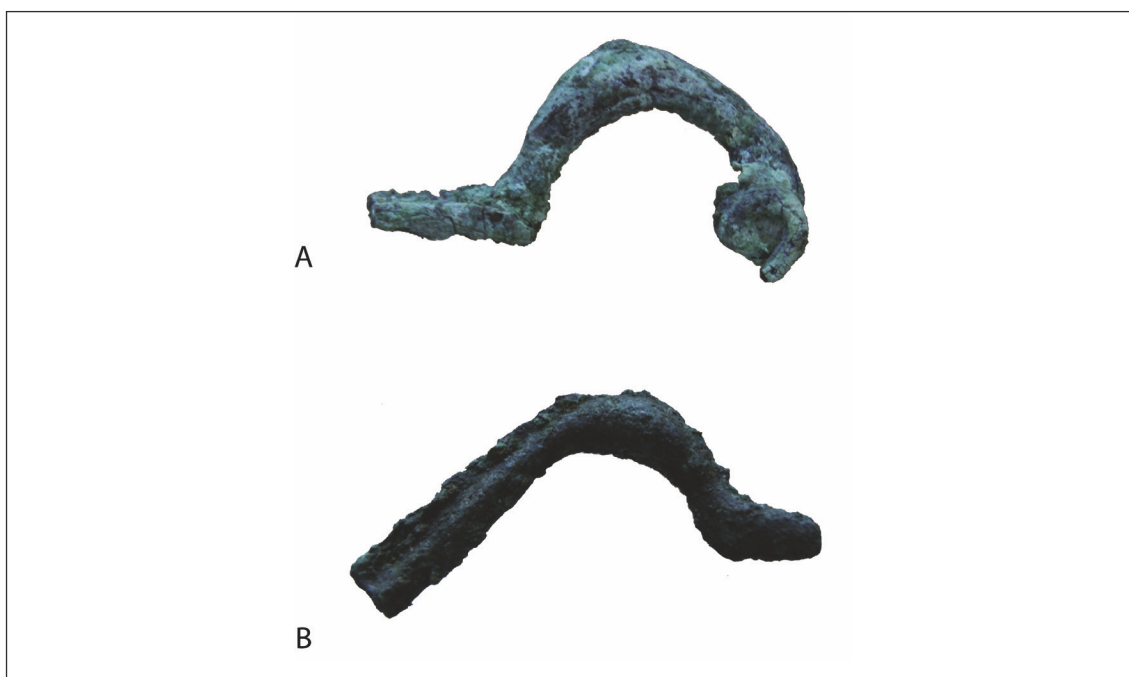


Fig. 4: Fibulae of the type 141. A: from tomb 389, Museo Archeologico di Pitheculae, Inv. 167643. – B: miscast from Mezzavia (Ischia), Museo Archeologico di Pitheculae, Inv. 238624.

from the Campanian and the southern located Calabrian cemeteries, whereas Greek or Etruscan metal objects obviously played a rather subordinated role (fig. 3).²¹ Therefore, it has to be underlined that within the present approach, terms like “indigenous”, “Italic” or “Greek” should be understood as descriptive units for materiality and not as denominations for social groups or even ethnicity.

Diffusion of Design: Networks as an Analytic Perspective

The Italic mainland was often depicted as a homogeneous entity without further differentiation between the particular regions. The mainland communities have been divided quite roughly in context of colonisation by criteria like their general burial customs of inhumation and cremation.²² The analysis of diffusion, transfer, and adaption of certain designs of objects will be an initial step to distinguish the various mainland communities. Thereby, the method of social network analysis shall offer the opportunity to link certain agents with each other (agency).²³ Within this setting, the term “design” is used to create distance between materiality, their producers, distributors or holders and stands in an ambivalent relation to the term of import or imitation, even if design can be transferred via imports or imitations. On an analytical level, design and provenance of objects form two different units. In this case, it does not matter whether an object is imported or locally imitated.

The term “network” should be understood as an analytic perspective and not as a real existing item.²⁴ Following this, the circulation of designs has to be distinguished from the motion of humans, which in turn leads to the conclusion that the network-graphs can neither be reviewed as a visualization of concrete trading routes nor as an indication for real existing contacts. This does not mean that the presence of an e.g. Corinthian-style kotyle indicates a contact between Pithekoussai and Corinth as geographical places. But in how far are these results prolific regarding the framework of interaction and social encounters? As an abstract perspective of analysis, the network reveals the potentiality of contacts between certain groups of agents due to the transfer of design. Instead of trading routes, the edges between the different nodes have to be seen as channels by which information is transmitted.

Throughout all the kinds of materiality of the Pithekoussan graves, the highest potential arises from the objects following Italic designs like jewellery, impasto ceramic and especially the fibulae. The large number of fibulae, in particular, offers an enormous diversity of designs and with a few exceptions,²⁵ can all be aligned with Fulvia Lo Schiavo’s catalogue of south Italic fibulae.²⁶ Due to the presence of certain types, which connects Pithekoussai and different south Italic sites, a very dense network becomes visible for the second half of the 8th century BC (fig. 5). In this network, two sites are connected if at least one identical type of fibula occurs in both sites. The more types they share, the stronger the ties are between them.²⁷

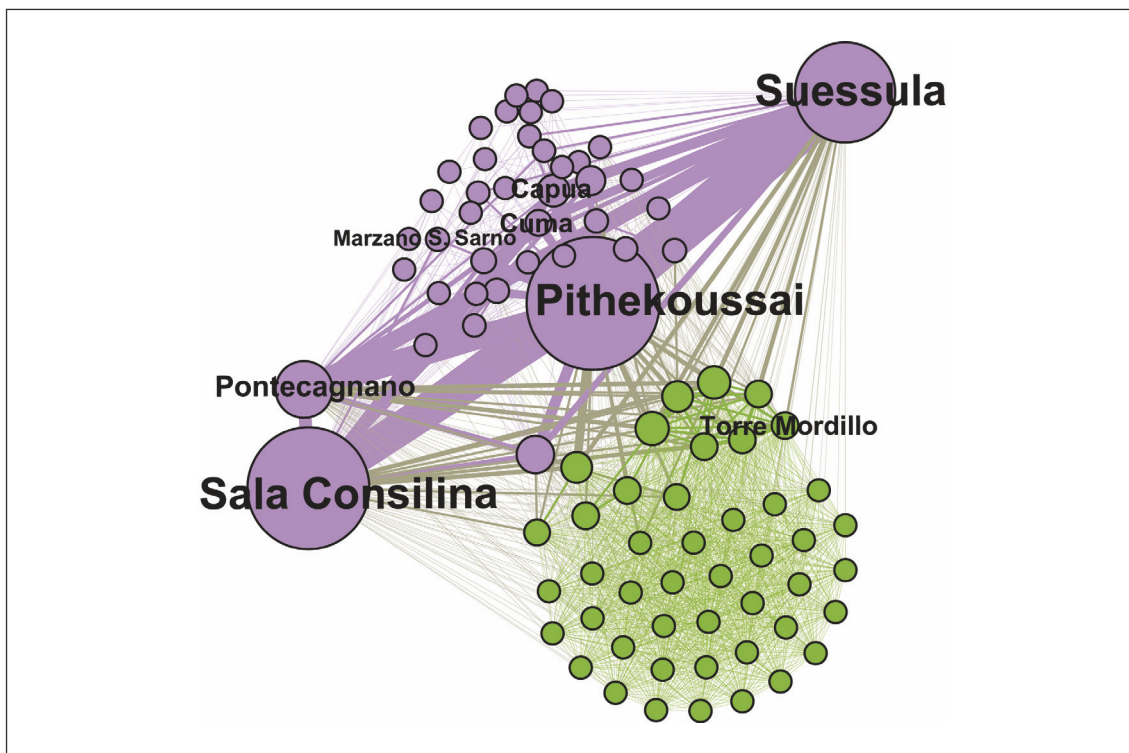


Fig. 5: Network of the diffusion of fibulae types of the second half of the 8th cent. B.C.

A Small Italic World

To understand the process of Pithekoussan interaction, its impact, and resulting opportunities for the settlers of Ischia, it is crucial to take a step back and review the Pre-Pithekoussan network (fig. 6). The Pre-Pithekoussan network is based on the diffusion of fibulae types used in the Italic South from the transition of the Bronze Age to the Iron Age until the second half of the 8th century BC.²⁸ This network visualizes already well-connected communities. Through the diffusion of the different types, agents not only bridged geographical but also social distance. With regard to the terminology of Social Network Science and in analogy to Irad Malkin's pioneering study, one might call these particular relationships "a Small Italic World".²⁹ Inside this small world, different agents played different roles – more exposed agents are connected with plenty of other agents while more peripheral agents are affiliated with just a small group of others. An important aspect of the present network is the high degree of decentralisation, which means that no single hub is traceable and therefore a high number of possibilities exist in how to move from one node to the other.³⁰ Although there are various possibilities, some of the agents play a major role inside the network, for example, Sala Consilina, Suessula or Marzano Sul Sarno. They obviously share types with most of the other agents in this network. Especially the sites of Campania seem to occupy exposed posi-

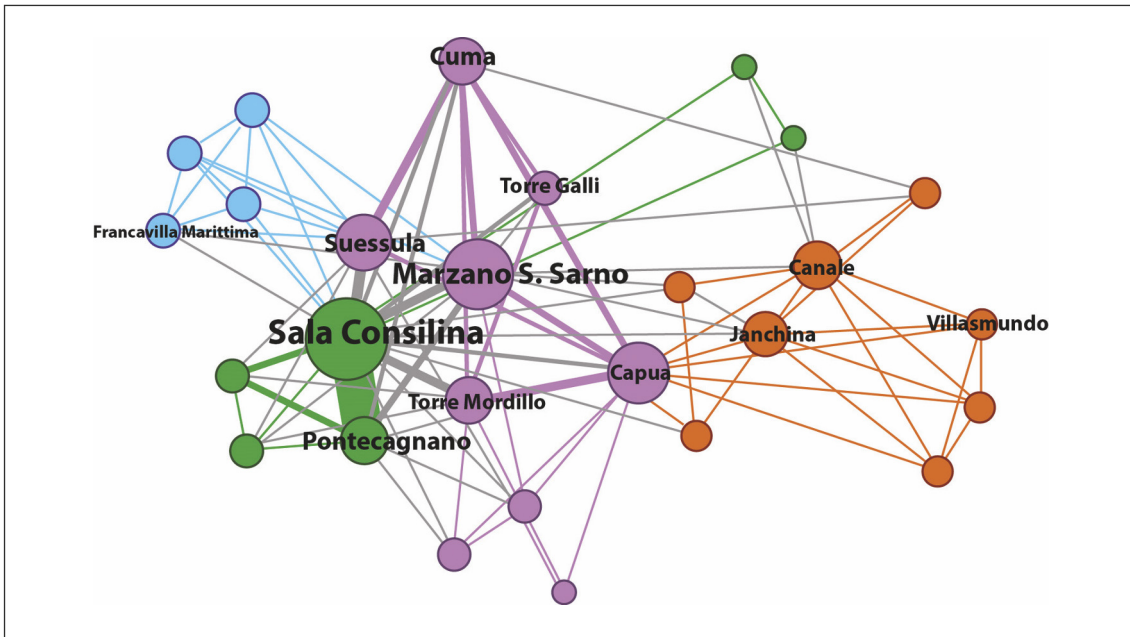


Fig. 6: Pre-Pithekkoussan network of the diffusion of fibulae types of the 9th until the second half of the 8th cent. B.C.

tions. This might lead to the conclusion that the communities in Campania played an important role as distributors of particular designs. Sala Consilina and Pontecagnano represent one of the main connections. In addition with Torre Mordillo, Klaus Kilian unites them in a unique *Kulturgruppe*, due to similarities concerning their materiality and burial customs.³¹ Now, by comparing the Pre-Pithekkoussan network with its counterpart, mirroring all fibulae types used from the second half of the 8th century BC onwards, general changes are notable. While decentralisation was one of the main characters of the previous network, the ties have now become more bundled in a few strong nodes: one of these central nodes is Pithekkoussai. Former prominent agents like e.g. Marzano S. Sarno lost their exposed position. One might say this is for statistical reasons. Due to the addition of an amount of more than a thousand Pithekkoussan fibulae, Pithekkoussai as an agent naturally plays a major role in that network. The distorted archaeological database, resulting from different states of publication or excavation, must always be taken into account during the use of social network analysis. But the decisive fact why Pithekkoussai claims an exposed position inside the network is represented by the appearance of many different designs, which connect Pithekkoussai to nearly every other agent. Thus, it is not only a matter of quantity but a matter of variety which substantiates Pithekkoussai's exposure. How important the now incurred hubs finally were, becomes visible by erasing Pithekkoussai, Sala Consilina, Pontecagnano, and Suessula, and all their related ties from the dataset (fig. 7). Besides the isolation of plenty of nodes, the process of centralisation following the Pre-Pithekkoussan stage was reversed. While

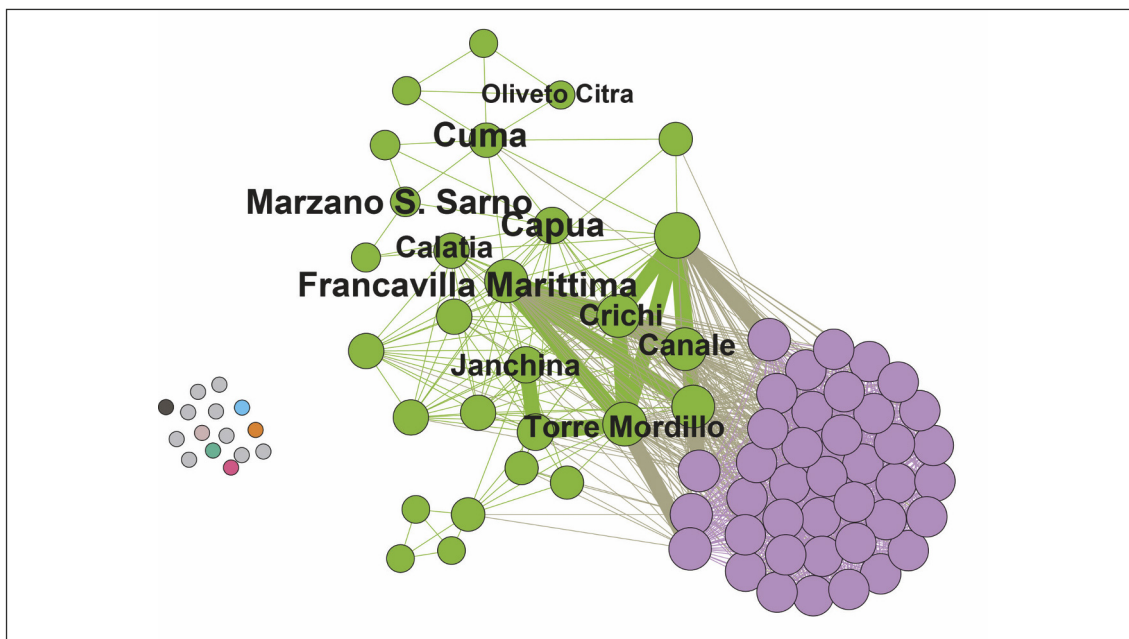


Fig. 7: Network of the diffusion of fibulae types of the second half of the 8th cent. B.C. Without Pithekoussai, Sala Consilina, Suessula and Pontecagnano.

Pithekoussai, Sala Consilina or Suessula have been dominating nodes, they have been replaced by a larger number of smaller nodes after removing them. Considering the geographical position of the sites, it seems that the Campanian agents became peripheral and the agents from Calabria (Francavilla Marittima, Janchina, Torre Mordillo) moved from the periphery to central positions. It can be deduced, that the erased nodes were integral links by mediating designs from south to north. Clearly spoken, Pithekoussai advanced to an elementary agent of the Small Italic World relatively fast. But how can this rapid success be explained without using the narrative of Hellenization?

The restrained development of a mainland demand of Eastern goods like Aegean ceramic or Eastern trinkets like scarabs or faïence objects during the first half of the 8th century BC increased with the foundation of Pithekoussai.³² Since then, Eastern style objects appeared quite frequently in the mainland tombs and it might be a suitable hypothesis that Pithekoussai was a supplier or interport for the exchange of those objects, which of course strengthened Pithekoussai's position. Concerning the style of the Pithekoussan grave goods, Eastern design played a constant but compared to the Italic design a weaker role. Referring to Mark Granovetter, those weak ties are the important ties to give an agent crucial advantages during interactions with others.³³ For the mainlanders, Pithekoussai was an accessible source for obtaining Eastern goods, Pithekoussai, in turn, used the mainland demand to rise up to an indispensable participant of the network. Pithekoussai was able to bridge social distance and to introduce new designs to a quite closed system of "a Small Italic World".

A Methodological Outlook

In the previous section, it was strongly emphasized that the present networks should be understood as analytic tools. The following gives an outlook on how to transfer from the analytic level to a level of reality. Therefore, the distinctive connection Pithekoussai, Sala Consilina, and Pontecagnano was extracted from the network and in this context, a focus will be placed on the edge-weight, a metric tool to measure the value of the edges. The higher the value of weight the more information flows through the edges.

In this network, the average edge-weight has the value 3.0, the edge between Sala Consilina and Pithekoussai is rated with 17.0, between Sala Consilina and Pontecagnano with 7.0 and between Pithekoussai and Pontecagnano with 12.0. All nodes are linked by edges with an above average weight, whereby the edge between the Sala Consilina and Pithekoussai represents the second strongest one of the entire network (fig. 5). Now, if one takes the connection between Sala Consilina and Pithekoussai as a real existing route, some topographical challenges are going to appear: By approaching Sala Consilina from seaside, a walk of 50 km has to be implemented, which in this case is mainly a problem of landscape, because the site is located in a valley surrounded by mountains with a height of about 1300 m (fig. 1). From Pithekoussai to a possible point of landing a distance of 100 km has to be accomplished by boat. Within this model it could be assumed that the route between Sala Consilina and Pithekoussai was not a very efficient one regarding aspects of the economy. A reflection of this is represented by a lack of Eastern Mediterranean goods which are detectable in most of the other sites in Campania, and especially Pithekoussan ceramic is absent in Sala Consilina.³⁴ This could surely rest on Klaus Kilian's suggestion, that the community of Sala Consilina isolated itself from the neighbouring ones during the 8th century BC.³⁵ Supplemented with the topographical consideration, the idea of direct contact between Sala Consilina and Pithekoussai should be discarded, even if the factor human should not be underestimated. In further consideration, it is notable, that a huge percentage of the fibulae types appearing in Sala Consilina and Pithekoussai are also detectable in Pontecagnano. Beside the metal-finds, a high number of vessels produced in Pithekoussai was unearthed in tombs of Pontecagnano.³⁶ Pontecagnano seems to be a perfect link between Sala Consilina and Pithekoussai.

To acquire a methodological key for the transfer of abstract edges to real routes, a preliminary ranking was created. The factor 0 would be a route not accomplishable in ancient times and the factor 10 would be one which was easily viable. In this preliminary ranking, the route Sala Consilina – Pithekoussai was rated with the factor 2; Pontecagnano – Pithekoussai with the factor 7 and Pontecagnano – Sala Consilina with the factor 8.³⁷ Afterwards, these factors have been multiplied with the relevant edge-weight (fig. 8), which induced crucial changes. The edge between Pontecagnano and Pithekoussai now displays the strongest one by far. Comparing the materiality and the topography, this connection seems now more plausible than the one between Sala Con-

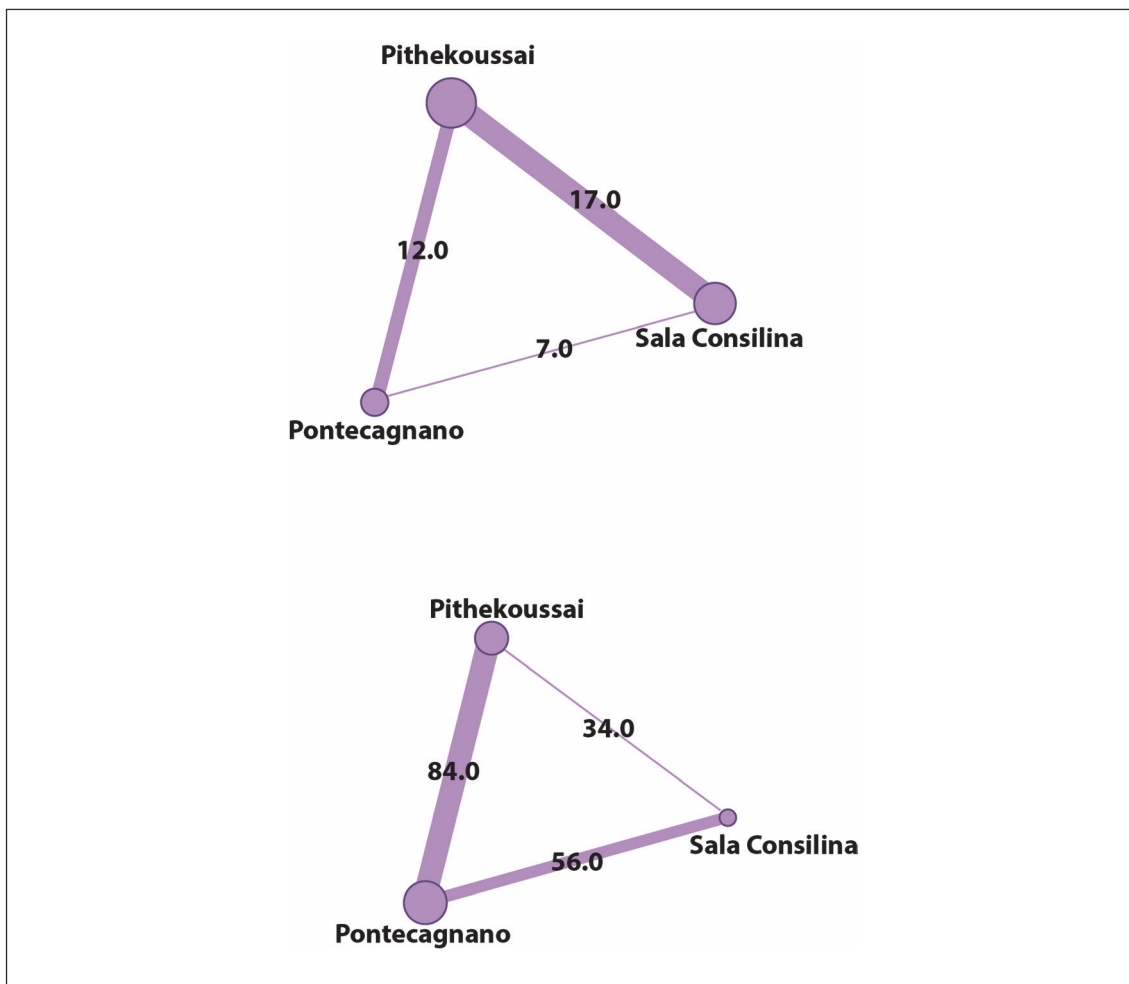


Fig. 8: Weighted edges between Pithekoussai, Sala Consilina and Pontecagnano (upper figure). Re-weighted edges between Pithekoussai, Sala Consilina and Pontecagnano (lower figure).

silina and Pithekoussai. This connection is also notable on a ritual level, as the Carpenter Tomb in Pithekoussai shows.³⁸ The addition of the tools known from the sector of woodworking finds close parallels to contemporary burials in Pontecagnano.³⁹ This short outlook of the calculation shall give an impression of how analytic tools facilitate the transfer from an abstract level to the ancient reality.

Conclusions

Even if the supplying and obtaining of design cannot be substantial for the survival of a community, the diffusion of design can give a glimpse about the potential of contacts between Pithekoussai and the communities on the mainland. While focussing on the embedding of Pithekoussai in Trans-Mediterranean relations, especially with the Aegean, the contacts to the mainland were reviewed as secondary. Yet these relations, in particular, have been crucial for the establishment of the new settlement. Irad Malkin noted that the migration in the 8th century BC was more about “touching and tapping” than about “grabbing and possessing”.⁴⁰ The concept of colonisation is strongly entangled with the idea of the aggressive process of taking of land, while the present study shows that the strategy of the Pithekoussan settlers was not compellingly aggressive, but an ably attempt to participate in established structures – structures which could also be used to obtain substantial commodities like food, textiles, or even natural resources. We cannot suggest that the foundation of Pithekoussai was driven by the collective decision of a particular group; thereby the heterogeneity of the Pithekoussan settlers should be stressed.

This heterogeneity of the Pithekoussan community was one of the key elements of Pithekoussai’s successful establishing. The weak ties to the East of the Mediterranean could be used to strengthen the ties between the island and the mainland. Especially Pontecagnano should be seen as a significant partner by becoming an important member of the Small Italic World. The innovative combination of network-analysis and topographical factors will also be examined with other objects in order to obtain a dense image of the interaction.

Notes

¹ Braudel 1972; Horden – Purcell 2000; Blake – Knapp 2005; Knapp 2007, 38; Malkin 2011.

² Knapp 2007, 38.

³ Knapp 2007, 38.

⁴ Malkin 2011.

⁵ Buchner – Ridgway 1993.

⁶ Cook 1962; Buchner 1979; Ridgway 1981; Greco 1994; D’Agostino 1994; D’Agostino 1999.

⁷ Ridgway – Buchner 1993; Ridgway 1992.

⁸ De Angelis 2010, 251.

⁹ Bruno D’Agostino denied this idea and emphasized the metallurgy on the island and the strength in the artisan know-how: D’Agostino 2006, 223 f.

¹⁰ Nippel 2003; Burger et al. 2016.

¹¹ For two different views on the controversy: Burkhardt 2013, 74–76; Donnellan 2016.

¹² Nizzo 2007. Valentino Nizzo's study shows very appropriately the involvement of various social groups by the settlement of Pithekoussai.

¹³ Kelley 2012, 246.

¹⁴ Buchner 1982, 277–309.

¹⁵ Buchner 1982; Docter 2000; Sossau 2015; Granser 2016.

¹⁶ Osborn 2016, 22.

¹⁷ Buchner 1979, 135; Coldstream 1993, 89–107; Hodos 1999, 61–78.

¹⁸ Kelley 2012, 245.

¹⁹ Buchner – Rittmann 1948, 41; Gialanella 1999, 237–257.

²⁰ Kelley 2012; Mermati 2012a; Guzzo 2014.

²¹ Macnamara 2006.

²² Cerchiali 1995, 9–18; Burkhardt 2013, 109f.

²³ Agency is used to describe the capacity of actions of a participant of social encounters: Emirbayer – Mische 1998, 962.

²⁴ Müller 2009, 753 f.

²⁵ Lo Schiavo 2006, 258 fig. 5.

²⁶ Lo Schiavo 2010.

²⁷ The thickness of the lines indicates the strength (weight) of the connection. The stronger the edge the thicker the line.

²⁸ Lo Schiavo 2010.

²⁹ Malkin 2011.

³⁰ This is also indicated by the different colors. Each of them represents a different subgroup or 'clique'.

³¹ Kilian 1970, 102.

³² Dehl-von Kaenel 1984, 86 f.

³³ Granovetter 1973, 1360–1380.

³⁴ Kilian 1964, 42–105.

³⁵ Kilian 1964, 126.

³⁶ Mermati 2012b, nos. 249–261.

³⁷ In the future research all relevant edges are going to be rated. Therefore, a GIS-based tool is going to be developed. The shown transfer has to be understood as an alternative model and not as a final solution.

³⁸ Buchner – Ridgway 1993, 657–660.

³⁹ E.g. T4461, T3286, T3093, T575, T3010: Kelley 2012, 249 f.

⁴⁰ Malkin 2002, 154.

Image Credits

Fig. 1: E. Granser, based on Docter 2000, 138 fig. 1. – Fig. 2: E. Granser, based on Buchner – Ridgway 1993. – Fig. 3: E. Granser, based on Macnamara 2006. – Fig. 4: photos: E. Granser. – Fig. 5: E. Granser, based on Lo Schiavo 2010. – Fig. 6: E. Granser, based on Lo Schiavo 2010. – Fig. 7: E. Granser, based on Lo Schiavo 2010. – Fig. 8: E. Granser.

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Many times in human history, the search for new markets has been a key driver for cultural exchange. Analyzing the economic connections within the ancient world provides a propitious basis from which to examine intercultural connections. The Iron Age, especially, was a period of increasing interconnection between different cultures in the Mediterranean, offering up a gripping chance to study an emerging economic and cultural system. But where did these new routes pass, such that the people were able to move themselves and commodities forward? How did growing demands on foreign markets influence production patterns and social structures within local communities? How did local customs respond to foreign commodities, and how did these imports mold local cultures? This volume comprises a collection of papers focusing on the 8th–6th centuries BC. Long object biographies are carefully reconstructed and analyzed using up-to-date methodologies, thus offering answers to questions about production modes, trade routes, and consumption patterns. Discussing resources, commodities, and the reception of foreign products, this volume gives new details and insights to advance our understanding of the role played by the economy in cultural contacts.