

Douwe Yntema

Archaeological Studies

The Archaeology of South-East Italy

IN THE FIRST
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The Archaeology of South-East Italy in the first millennium BC

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The Archaeology of South-East Italy in the first millennium BC

GREEK AND NATIVE SOCIETIES OF APULIA AND LUCANIA BETWEEN THE
10TH AND THE 1ST CENTURY BC

DOUWE YNTEMA

AMSTERDAM UNIVERSITY PRESS

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P R E F A C E

By pure coincidence I came across a handful of painted pots of the pre-Roman period (the so-called ‘Messapian trozzellas’) when I was studying Classics and Archaeology at the Utrecht University in 1970. These objects brought me to southeast Italy and especially to the Salento peninsula which is the heel of the Italian boot.

The archaeology in the Netherlands has a strong tradition of regional research. When I was appointed lecturer at the Amsterdam VU University (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) in 1975, I introduced ‘my’ region to the staff and managed to convince them that southeast Italy offered excellent opportunities to carry out archaeological research. This resulted in a series of excavations and field surveys (both urban and rural) carried out by the VU-University teams. These were the rural field surveys in the area surrounding the settlement of Oria (1981–1983; final report: Yntema 1993a), the excavations and the urban and rural field surveys at Valesio (1984–1992; final reports: Yntema 1993b; Boersma et al. 1995; Yntema 2001), the urban surveys at the sites of Muro Tenente, Muro Maurizio, San Pancrazio and Cellino San Marco (1992–1995; final report: Burgers 1998), the excavations at Muro Tenente (1996–2009; interim reports, Burgers / Yntema 1999, Burgers / Napolitano 2010), the field surveys at Ostuni (1999–2000; report: Burgers / Attema / Van Leusen 1998), the excavations at L’Amastuola (from 2003–2008; Burgers / Crielaard 2007 and 2011) and the field surveys in the southern parts of the Murge hills (final report: Burgers / Recchia 2009). The first initiatives, therefore, developed into a full blown, long term regional research program in which every three to five years new themes were addressed. I wish to thank my colleagues and/or collaborators who directed or co-directed these field projects: Peter Attema and Martijn van Leusen (Groningen), Hans Boersma, Gert-Jan Burgers and Jan Paul Crielaard (Amsterdam).

I have lived with the archaeology of southeast Italy for many years. On the one hand, the images presented in this volume are the result of a distinct intimacy with the subject, the region and the people who work in it. On the other hand, I am part of the tribe of Dutch archaeologists who are basically oriented on Anglo-Saxon archaeology. This means that I am both an insider and an outsider to the archaeology of southeast Italy and produce images in which approaches of Anglo-Saxon type are married to Mediterranean traditions in research. The reader must judge whether this is a happy marriage.

Of course, the VU University was not the only institution to carry out field work in southeast Italy. The data presented in this volume were collected by many different groups. In writing this overview I stood on the shoulders of many others who gave me their information, their views, their advice and their permissions to publish photographs. My greatest debt is to Francesco D’Andria (Lecce University) who invited me to participate in his excavations at Cavallino (1977) and Otranto (1978–1979) and encouraged me to start research projects in southeast Italy. His team mates Cosimo Pagliara, Grazia Semeraro, Mario Lombardo and Liliana Giardino also helped me in many ways: Lecce has always been a second home to the Amsterdam teams. The second pillar that has supported our activities in southeast Italy was the Soprintendenza alle Antichità at Taranto: we are very grateful to the various superintendents (the late Felice Gino Lo Porto, Ettore De Juliis, Pier Giovanni Guzzo, Giuseppe Andreassi) and their team members: Assunta Cocchiario, Antonietta Dell’Aglia, Laura Masiello, Angela Ciancio, Ada Riccardi, Marisa Corrente, Maria Luisa Nava (initially in Foggia, later Potenza), the late Graziella Maruggi and the late Marina Mazzei. They assisted us in many ways. As for the Basilicata Soprintendenza, my greatest debts are to Angelo Bottini and Antonio De Siena. I also greatly profited from discussions with Salvatore Bianco (Policoro), Giuseppina Canosa (Matera) and last, but not least the late Dinu Adamesteanu, the godfather of the Basilicata archaeology. I am equally indebted to the late Benita Sciarra (Museo Provinciale

Brindisi), Giovanna delli Ponti (Museo Provinciale, Lecce), the late Renato Peroni (Rome, but above all Broglio di Trebisacce), Giuliano Volpe (Foggia University), Massimo Osanna (Matera University), Marina Castoldi and the late Piero Orlandini (Milan University). I owe much to archaeologist from various other countries who carried out their research in southeast Italy: Dieter Mertens (Rome), Joseph Coleman Carter (Austin, Texas), Maurizio Gualtieri (Edmonton, Perugia), Jean-Luc Lamboley (Grenoble), Mario Denti (Rennes), the late Joseph Mertens (Louvain), Alastair and Carola Small (Edmonton, Edinburgh), Ted Robinson (Sidney) and the late Arthur Dale Trendall (Bundoora, Australia). During my research in southeast Italy many colleagues mentioned above gave me illustrations and the permissions to publish these. In the photo credits the institution to which they are or were attached, is mentioned. I wish to stress that none of these friends and colleagues can be held responsible for the views expressed below. I know that some of them will heartily disagree with some of the passages.

The time lapse between the composition of the texts and the publication of the book was considerable. The main cause of the delay was that I was appointed dean of the Faculty of Arts of the VU University Amsterdam in 2006, when the texts were nearly finished. The profound changes the faculty was forced to make as a result of political decisions at various levels, absorbed me completely. In the spring of 2009 the work on this book came to a complete stop when I happened to become the vice-president of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences as a result of an emergency. It was only when these two *impegni burocratici* were finished in the autumn of 2011 that I could make a rapid update of the texts.

It is always a good thing to ask for other people's views on your mental products. Alastair Small (Edinburgh), Jan Paul Crielaard (Amsterdam) en Peter Attema (Groningen) were kind enough to read the texts and comment upon them. Alastair Small also corrected the English texts. The mistakes that remain should be laid at my door. I am very grateful for the time and energy they spent in order to help me with passages in which I had been carried away by my own enthusiasm or had been struck by tunnel vision. Bert Brouwenstijn and Jaap Fokkema (VU University Amsterdam) made or adapted the maps and drawings and designed the layout of the book.

Amsterdam, summer 2012

1 Introduction: Aim, Concept and Biases

The archaeology of Greek and indigenous southern Italy of the first millennium BC is usually seen as a part of the domain of Classical Archaeology. This means that it was mostly studied by archaeologists who were educated in classics-oriented departments. Here a traditional culture-historical approach often dominated in which the ancient written sources played a major role. This is also the educational background of the author of this book. In 1970 the archaeology of the Mediterranean in the Netherlands was basically a specific form of cultural history. Since that time the domain has changed enormously with the rise of the survey and landscape archaeology, the immensely increasing importance of the data from the sciences and the introduction of anthropological concepts and ideas. The culture-historical paradigm, moreover, has lost its dominant position. We have seen the rise of the New Archaeology followed by the wide variety of approaches that characterizes the post-modern archaeology. Though these more recent paradigms have their flaws and advantages, they all contributed in a significant way to more nuanced approaches resulting in a better insight into the past.

This book deals with a millennium that witnessed a series of unprecedented changes. In these centuries many Mediterranean societies changed from a great variety of small, predominantly tribal entities into the enormous state currently indicated as the Roman Empire. The main aim of this book is to offer a new and coherent narrative of change of a particular region (southeast Italy) during a specific period of its history (1st millennium BC). In this book I wish to produce an overview consisting of dynamic images of the societies that lived in that region in a distant past. During the construction of these images questions are asked and explanations are offered. The latter sometimes differ from the traditional views on such matters and I seem to have shocked some of my Italian colleagues.¹ The narrative presented here has been foreshadowed in papers in which I questioned the current views on the early Roman period ('Hannibal's legacy'), on the sudden rise of the Lucanians and the Greek 'colonization' of southeast Italy.²

In this narrative the landscapes and the human impact on landscapes will receive particular attention. A comparative study in settlement and land-use dynamics (*Regional Pathways to Complexity*) regarding two regions of southern Italy and Latium was published in 2010 by Attema, Burgers and Van Leusen, with whom I have cooperated intensely. The changing character of the manmade landscapes (both urban and rural) will be a recurring item in each of the chapters of this volume as well. Most chapters close with a summary containing a personal view on what I believe are the most important aspects of a particular period in the history of southeast Italy.

After two short introductory chapters containing background information (Chapter 2: 'The Bronze Age'; Chapter 3: 'The Land and the People') the narrative starts with the Iron Age. Though the Iron Age societies were doubtlessly rooted in the Bronze Age, the people who lived in Iron Age southeast Italy created entirely new societies with characteristics that differed vastly from those of the Late Bronze Age. The four chapters dealing with subsequent periods (chapters 4-7) make up the core of this book. In these I follow mainly the most current subdivision in Italian archaeology which separates the Iron Age (9th-7th centuries BC) from the Archaic-Classical period (6th-late 4th century BC) and the

¹ Cf. Greco 2005 and 2011.

² For the early Roman period, see Yntema 1995, 2006 and 2009; for the rise of the Lucanians, see Yntema

1997; for new light on Greek colonization ('a stone in the pond' according to some Italian colleagues), see Yntema 2000 and 2011.

(early)-Hellenistic period (late 4th- 3rd century BC). Usually narratives on southern Italy stop with the Roman conquest of the region (272-265 BC). It should, however, be noted that it was not the event itself, but especially its long term consequences that were important. In the first 70 years after the Roman victories the societies of southeast Italy evolved in a very gradual way, but they changed in a truly dramatic way in the 2nd century BC. Therefore, I have added a chapter discussing southeast Italy under Roman dominance (late 3rd- early 1st century BC).

The narrative necessarily stops at the beginnings of the 1st century BC. The reason for this is that both the archaeological evidence and the information supplied by ancient authors becomes very scarce indeed from this time onward. For the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD the meager evidence comes from only a few spots and does not suffice to produce images of southeast Italy that go beyond the present stereotypes.³ This means that the probably most intense phase of Roman influence on the district is sadly missing. There is still insufficient evidence to study, for instance, the important process of municipalization (1st century BC) and to trace the effects of the *lex Plautia Papiria* (89 BC) that made all free born south-Italians with both Greek and indigenous roots into citizens of the Roman state. The meager evidence concerning this period supplied by the ancient written sources has been collected by Kathryn Lomas.⁴

As we have seen above, the main aim of this book is to produce a decent overview of southeast Italy during the first millennium BC. An attempt to synthesize the present evidence seemed a useful undertaking, since the area under discussion has been subject to very numerous excavations and field surveys over the past thirty years. These were partly caused by development programs of the Council of Europe. European funds resulted in large infrastructural works and large-scale innovations in agriculture. These activities have caused very substantial damage to southeast Italy's archaeological heritage and resulted in an avalanche of rescue operations.

The data generated by these numerous and relatively recent activities have rarely been used to produce a general insight into the archaeology and history of the people that lived in southeast Italy during the first millennium BC. Of course, syntheses have been made in recent years. These, however, are invariably written in Italian and concern usually only limited parts of the region discussed here. They sometimes deal with present-day administrative entities such as the Italian *regione* of Basilicata or the *regione* Puglia, whilst an analysis of an area delineated by natural boundaries seems more adequate. The Greek groups and indigenous 'Italic' groups of southeast Italy have almost invariably been discussed separately, although their paths were strongly interwoven.⁵ Moreover, these syntheses are often characterized by a mainly cultural-historic approach. They have mostly been constructed in attempts to reconcile the artefactual data with the often patchy evidence from the ancient written sources. Important subjects such as urban and rural landscapes, social and societal change and interactions between the various groups and districts of the region have not been generously served. The important role of the ancient written sources in the construction of the past resulted, moreover, in 'indigenous' archaeologies seen through Greek and Roman eyes.

Research concerning the indigenous populations of southeast Italy has always been carried out in relation to the Greeks and the Romans: these 'peoples without history' have rarely been studied for their own sake. Greeks were implicitly seen as the centre, the natives were the periphery. The non-Greek tribes, for instance, were often said to have lived in the '*hinterlands*' of Greek polities, whilst a good case can be made for viewing the south-Italian Greeks as a relatively marginal phenomenon in

³ For the full Roman period in southeast Italy, see, e.g. Lippolis 1997 and 2005 on *Tarentum*; Mertens 1995 on north-Apulian *Herdoniae*.

⁴ Lomas 1993.

⁵ Greeks and non-Greeks have been discussed together in Bottini / Guzzo 1988.

relation to the large native tribes that dominated well over 90% of the region under discussion. This Graeco-centric view has caused a considerable bias in research concerning the indigenous populations. The concept of this synthetic study is to deal with both Greek and indigenous groups together by attempting to shed the traditional biases of Graeco-centrism, Greek superiority and Greek-indigenous dichotomy. As for the early Roman period (chapter 7), the inhabitants of southeast Italy are not seen as poor and unresisting victims of Roman imperialism. They are presented as groups who devised strategies and took opportunities in order to solve problems caused by the rapidly changing world around them.

As early as 1974 the first overview of the pre-Roman archaeology of the Italian Basilicata region was composed. It was made by the late Dinu Adamesteanu.⁶ Most syntheses, however, were made during the 1980s. Overviews on pre-Roman Basilicata were made by Bruno D'Agostino, Angela Greco Pontrandolfo and Angelo Bottini.⁷ A compilation regarding the native cultures of Apulia was produced by Ettore De Juliis, whilst the pre-Roman phases in the north-Apulian district were highlighted in a excellent synthesis by the late Marina Mazzei and her collaborators.⁸ Continuity and change in the south-Apulian peninsula were mapped by Francesco D'Andria,⁹ whilst other aspects of the same district were discussed by various authors in the congress papers collected in *I Messapi (30th Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1990)*. A good synthetic study of the Greek world of southern Italy (basically a handbook for university students) was composed by Emanuele Greco.¹⁰

The archaeology of pre-Roman southeast Italy has its own set of problems and biases. Foremost among these are the problems of chronology. These regard especially the 5th and the 3rd centuries BC. The problem of the 5th century BC seemed to be that the period was largely absent. This missing 5th century has conveniently been explained away (e.g. by the arrival of the Lucanians), but appears to have been caused predominantly by pottery typo-chronologies constructed on the basis of false assumptions. The problem will be discussed in some detail in chapter 6.1. The 3rd century BC was often problematical because of the widespread, implicit belief that the Roman conquest of southeast Italy (272-265) resulted in an almost complete void. Practically no one bothered to look into the period that followed these doubtlessly traumatic events, because it was believed to be a time of severe decline. However, the seriation of the tombs of the Greek polis of Taras and the analysis of the settlement contexts of the native-Italic site of Valesio have both produced ceramic typo-chronologies that tie in well and are probably reliable.¹¹ They demonstrate that the 3rd century BC was a period of substantial flourishing in both Taras and Valesio. Since the same 3rd-century BC pottery shapes have turned up in large numbers at almost every pre-Roman site of southeast Italy, the period is now quite well attested. Publications that appeared before the turn of the millennium, however, may still suffer from this bias.

The intensity of archaeological research in the various districts of southeast Italy varies considerably. The results of field activities are often presented in preliminary reports. Intensive field surveys have been carried out in various parts of Basilicata, in north- and south-Apulia, but are still absent in the central part of the latter region. Excavations have been carried out in considerable numbers in most

⁶ Adamesteanu 1974

⁷ D'Agostino 1974 and 1989, Greco Pontrandolfo 1982, and Bottini 1987.

⁸ For synthesis on pre-Roman Apulia, see De Juliis 1988; for north-Apulia (Daunia) see. Mazzei et al. 1984 and the posthumously published *I Dauni – Archeologia*

dal XI al V secolo a.C., Foggia 2010, by the same author.

⁹ E.g. D'Andria 1988.

¹⁰ Greco 1992.

¹¹ For the seriation of the Taranto burials, see Lippolis 1994 and Graepler 1997; for the ceramics from the settlement contexts of Valesio, see Yntema 2001.

districts. The main lacuna here is the district on the Adriatic Sea near Bari for which the archaeological evidence concerning the 1st millennium BC is relatively meagre.¹²

As for the objects of the excavations: tombs and tomb groups have been dug up in many places. Till within the 1980s the archaeology of southeast Italy was predominantly an archaeology of tombs and funerary wares. Since these are in constant danger of being robbed by the infamous guilds of the *clandestini*, they have had a distinct priority in the superintendencies of both the *regione Puglia* and the *regione Basilicata*. Reports on large and fairly coherent burial plots, however, are rare, since most tombs were (and still are) found in rescue operations: often the majority of the graves of a burial group has been plundered.¹³ Sanctuary sites which may contain vast quantities of votive offerings run the same risk. Mostly the layouts of the sacred places have been published, but usually little information is given on the quality, the quantity and the character of the votive offerings.¹⁴ There is still much to learn about the sacred places of southeast Italy. The excavations in the settlements that were often inhabited for hundreds of years and, therefore, have complicated stratigraphies, are time- and energy-consuming. They were rare till within the 1970s, but grew into a flood in the 1980s. Preliminary reports on these activities are fairly abundant, but final reports with detailed site plans, a representative selection of finds, interpretations and narratives on local developments are often lacking. For the two Greek poleis of Taras and Metapontion the scattered evidence has been compiled, whilst fairly detailed excavation reports are available for the settlement excavations at the Greek polis of Siris-Herakleia.¹⁵ There are very good reports on a rural site in the territory of Metapontion.¹⁶ Substantial reports have been published concerning tribal settlements of indigenous-Italic populations. These concern various sites in both Basilicata-Lucania and Apulia.¹⁷

¹² Complete reports have been published on the field survey in the Bussento district in south-Campania (Gualtieri / Fracchia 2001), the field survey around south-Apulian Oria (Yntema 1993a) and five urban surveys in the same district (Yntema 1993b; Burgers 1998); there are excellent reports on the field surveys in the Metaponto area (e.g. Carter 2001, 2006; Carter / Prieto 2011) and on field surveys in western Apulia and the uplands of Basilicata by British-Canadian teams (e.g. Small 1991 and 2001; and further literature cited there); for preliminary reports on north-Apulia, see Goffredo 2010 and Goffredo / Ficco 2010; for overview on central-Apulia, see Greiner 2003.

¹³ The most complete burial sites published hitherto are the 5th-4th century necropolises of Lavello in northeast Basilicata (Giorgi et al. 1988; Bottini/Fresa 1991), the Iron Age graves of San Teodoro-L'Incoronata (Chiantano 1977, 1994, 1996), the cemeteries of Sala Consilina of the 9th to 5th century BC (Kilian 1964 and 1970; La Genière 1968), the necropolis of a rural site in the territory of the Greek polis of Metapontion (Pizzica Pantanello; Carter 1998) and the necropolis of Taras (e.g. Lippolis 1994; Graepler 1997; Hempel 2001)

¹⁴ The most complete publications of sanctuaries are D'Andria 1978 (south-Apulian Santa Maria di Leuca

and Osanna / Sica 2005 (Torre di Satriano); but see also Olbrich 1979 (S. Biagio alla Venella), Fabricotti 1979 (Ruoti, Fontana Buona.), D'Andria 1990 and Ciaraldi 1999 (Oria-Monte Papalucio) and Adamesteanu / Dilthey 1992 (Rossano di Vaglio), Otto 1996 (Herakleia).

¹⁵ For summaries regarding the poleis of Taras and Metapontion, see De Juliis 2000 and 2001; for Siris-Herakleia, see Neutsch 1967; Hänsel 1973; Pianu 1990; Giardino 1996.

¹⁶ For the rural site of Pizzica Pantanello in the territory of Metapontion, see, for instance, Carter 1998, 2001, 2011.

¹⁷ The most important reports concerning settlements in Basilicata-Lucania are those on Roccagloriosa (Gualtieri / Fracchia 1990 and 2001), Oppido Lucano (Lissi Caronna 1975, 1980, 1983), Torre di Satriano (Osanna 2009), Pomarico Vecchio (Barra Bagnasco 1997), Cozzo Presepe (Taylor et al. 1977) and Cività di Tricarico (de Cazanove 2008). For present-day Apulia there are substantial reports concerning Ordona (e.g. Mertens 1995) and Canosa (Cassano et al. 1992) in north-Apulia, Monte Sannace (Scarfi 1961 and 1962; Ciancio et al. 1989) and Gravina di Puglia (Small 1992) in central Apulia, and for Valesio (Boersma et

Bio-archaeology is still in its infancy in southeast Italy. In many cases macro-remains of plants have not been systematically collected. Moreover, pollen do not preserve well in many districts of the region under discussion. There is still much to learn about the various crops and the vegetation of natural environments. The quantity of data concerning hunting and stock raising (animal bones) is steadily increasing, but the data are not so numerous that they allow us to have a good grip on farming and hunting in pre-Roman southeast Italy. There is some information on the human bones from burials. However, the present evidence is hopelessly insufficient to study health problems and life expectancy in the first millennium BC.

All in all, the enormous amount of data on southeast Italy generated in the past 30 years deserves it to be put in front of a wider public in a synthetic study. Although the quantity and character of the archaeological evidence varies from district to district, there is quite enough to create new images in which both regional changes and sub-regional variability are highlighted.

al. 1995; Yntema 2001), Cavallino di Lecce (Pancrazi 1979, D'Andria 2005) and Vaste (D'Andria et al. 1990) in south-Apulia; for northern Calabria, reports have been published concerning Francavilla Maritti-

ma (see <http://www.museumfrancavilla/publications/>) and Sybaris (various supplements to *Notizie degli Scavi: Sibari I-V*).

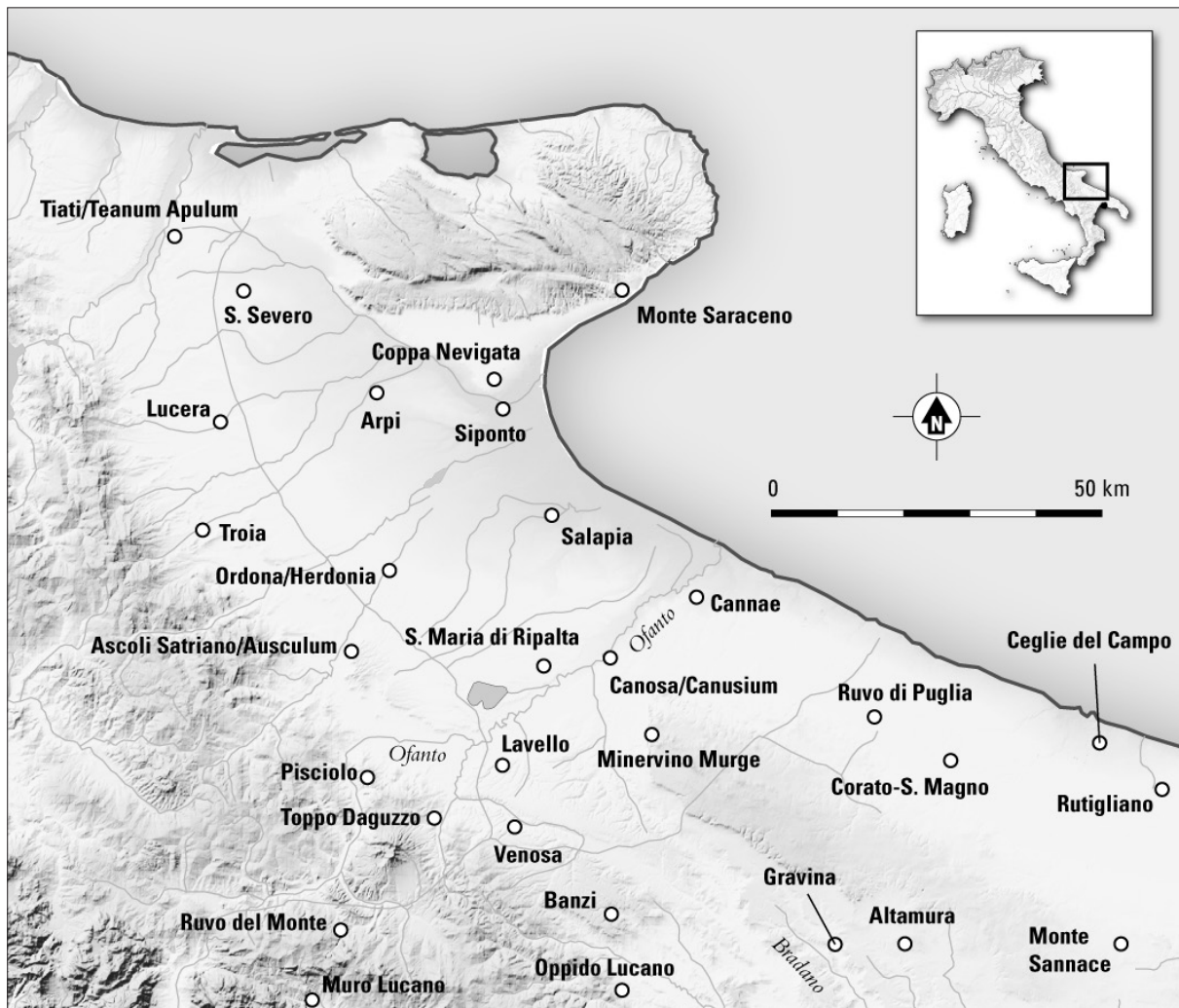


Fig. 1.1. North- and Central-Apulia: sites mentioned in the text.

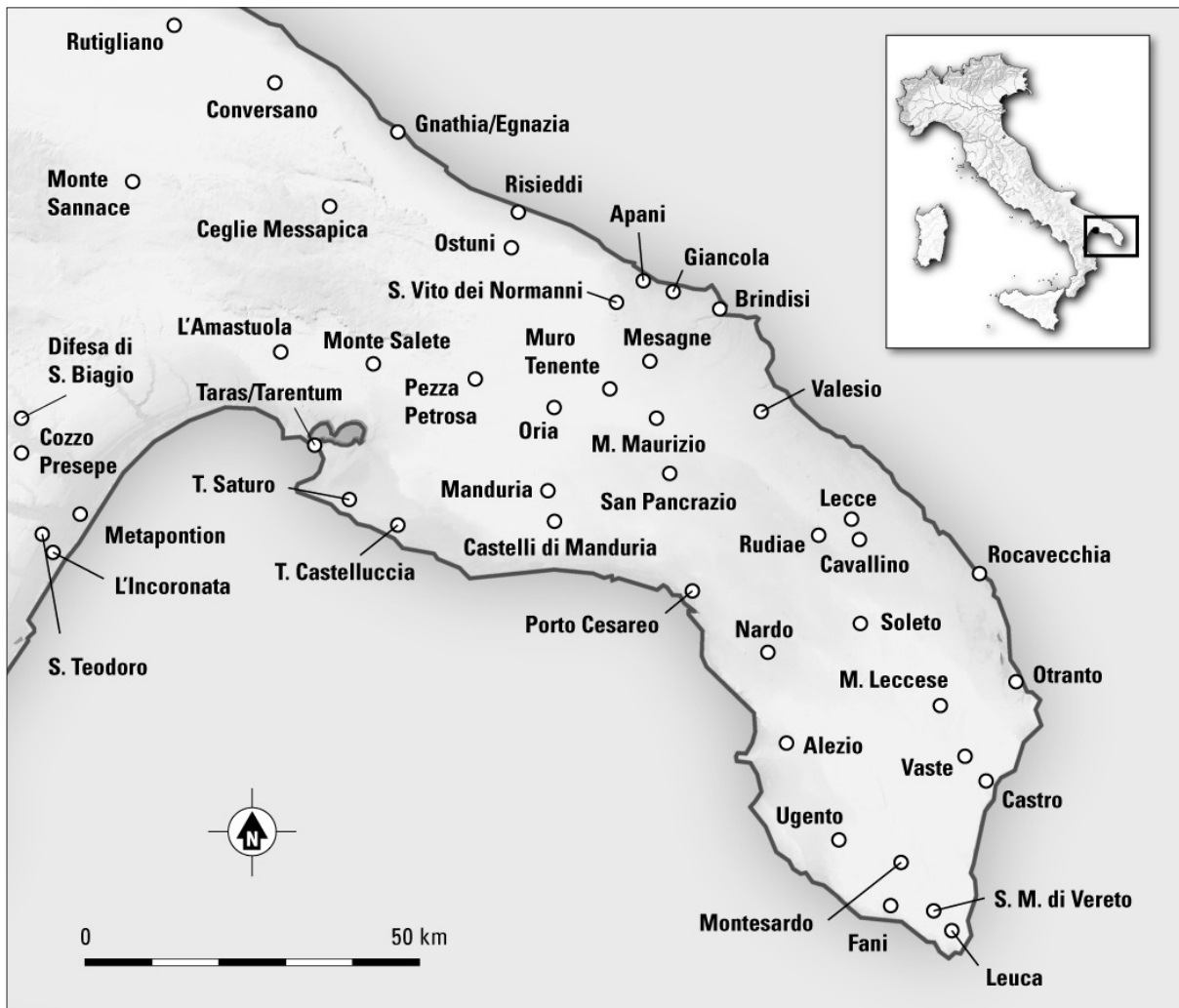


Fig. 1.2. South-Apulia: sites mentioned in the text.



Fig. 1.3. Basilicata and north-Calabria: sites mentioned in the text.

2 Bronze Age Preludes: Foreigners and Fortifications

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Many books on pre-Roman Italy have started their narratives with beginnings of the Iron Age. This phenomenon is probably caused by the fact that Bronze Age cultures and societies have always been problematical issues for ‘Classical’ archaeologists. This observation has been repeatedly made for Bronze Age Greece. On the one hand the Greek Bronze Age was considered as a heyday of civilization and could be shown to display links with Iron Age cultures and societies of Greece that were generally considered to be part of the domain of classical archaeology. On the other hand, the Bronze Age societies of Greece were separated from the later ‘classical’ world by the uncanny Dark Ages. Scholars studying the Greek Bronze Age, moreover, rarely ventured into the Iron Age or later periods of ancient Greece and students of the ‘classical’ world of Greece of the first millennium BC almost never looked into problems of the Bronze Age. The Dark Age was a great divide in the archaeology of Greece. Since this ‘classic’ phase in Greece was often believed to have contributed to the formation of western civilization in a significant way, the Greek Dark Ages were considered to be a period when a cultural dusk spread over the human world and the torch of civilization burned low.

A similar phenomenon can be observed in Italy, and especially southern Italy. The Italian Bronze Age was the domain of Italian *paletnologia*, whilst the Iron Age, pre-Roman and Roman periods of Italy were studied by those who practiced the *archeologia classica*. Different periods of early Italy were studied by different groups of archaeologists having different theoretical backgrounds, having different methods of research and using different chronologies. Intercommunication between prehistorians and classical archaeologists working in Italy, moreover, was rather limited. In this field too, there was a great divide between scholars studying the Bronze Age and students of the so-called ‘classical’ periods of ancient Italy.

Though the Italian Bronze Age was less spectacular than the Greek Bronze Age, it is generally perceived as a time of great flourishing. This was demonstrated for instance by intense contacts with Mycenaean Greece. The end of the Bronze Age (Italian: *Bronzo Finale*) and the beginnings of the Iron Age (with an almost complete absence of external contacts) constituted the Italian Dark Age. It separated the ‘Mycenaeanizing’ world of Bronze Age Italy from the Greek and Italic ‘cultures’, the formative phases of which were believed to have started in the late Iron Age (8th–7th centuries BC).

In southern Italy there was indeed a cultural and probably a demographic dip somewhere between the 11th and the 9th century BC. It should, however, be noted that it was mainly the coastal strip of southern Italy that displays traces of the presence of fairly complex societies and relatively populous settlements during the Late Bronze Age (LBA). It is on a limited number of coastal or sub-coastal sites with direct or indirect contacts with the Mycenaean world that much of the attention has focused: in many settlements in the inlands and uplands of southern Italy the Late Bronze Age was decidedly less spectacular. The image constructed for LBA southern Italy, was made on the basis of a literally marginal area: the coastal zone. What characterizes the Italian Dark Age is a decrease in, or a much lower visibility of the contacts with the southern Balkans, present-day Greece included.

The Dark Age dip in Italy, therefore, was basically created as an analogy to the Greek Dark Ages and was at least partially a figment of the imagination of the archaeologists. Dating based on assumed

stylistic development of the Mycenaean pottery found at Italian sites lengthened the transition period between the Italian Bronze Age and Iron Age in the same way as it lengthened the transition between both periods in Greece.¹ The Dark Age seemed longer and considerably darker than it actually was.

A good cause can be made for considering the Italian Bronze Age and Iron Age as two subsequent, but closely linked phases without any significant break in between. As we shall demonstrate below, the Italian Iron Age was in many respects rooted in the Bronze Age. The elements of continuity that link both periods in Italy are numerous, whilst data suggesting a decisive break are very few indeed.

This chapter, therefore, serves as one of the two introductions to the main theme of this book. While the second introduction in chapter 3 deals with the land and the people, this chapter deals succinctly with the Bronze Age foundations of the Iron Age societies. It discusses the important changes in southern Italy that resulted in new societies characterized by an unprecedented complexity. These came into being in the course of the 2nd millennium BC. The following sections of this chapter give a short cultural and historical background to the first millennium BC which is the focus of this book. The Bronze Age, moreover, produced monuments some of which continue to be visible to the present day. These impressive monuments were also part of the Iron-Age, Archaic-Classical, Hellenistic and Roman landscapes. They must have been meaningful to the people living in southeast Italy in the first millennium BC. They still played a major role in the south-Italian folktales during the 19th and 20th century AD.

2.2 FROM THE NEOLITHIC PERIOD TILL THE LATE BRONZE AGE

Southern Italy has a wide renown for its rich Neolithic cultures. Numerous traces of these have been found in the very fertile and alluvial northern plain of Apulia, generally known as the Tavoliere. Here, aerial photographs have revealed the presence of numerous compounds, predominantly dating to the Middle and Later Neolithic periods.² Important Neolithic settlements have also been found in the undulating hills in the district around Matera and Altamura where the present-day regions Puglia and Basilicata meet. Here is the name site of the Middle Neolithic ‘Serra d’Alto Culture’ (4th millennium BC) with its elaborately painted wares (fig. 2.1). This was a predominantly agriculturist society preferring fertile areas that were rich in water, just as the Late Neolithic Bellavista-Diana Culture of the 3rd millennium BC with its often highly burnished, hard-fired wares.³

From about 2500 BC onward the Neolithic world of southern Italy gradually changed into the ‘Copper Age’ (Italian: *‘Eneolitico’*). By about 1800/1700 BC the Italian Bronze Age is assumed to have started. The Early and Middle Bronze Age societies (Italian: *‘Proto-appenninico’* and *‘Appenninico’*) seem to have preferred environments that belong to slightly more arid parts of present-day southeastern Italy, possibly because in those times the climate was more humid than in the preceding period. In the early Bronze Age the settlements are mostly small. The same holds good for the earlier phase of the Middle Bronze Age (MBA). Field surveys have revealed substantial densities of small Middle Bronze Age sites on the relatively fertile Salento isthmus between Taranto and Brindisi and in the coastal plain near Ostuni (c. 30 km northwest of Brindisi) where limestone formations come close to the surface (fig. 2.2).⁴ These small settlements mostly did not function contemporaneously, but can be related to

¹ For the traditional chronology of Mycenaean wares see e.g. Furumark 1941, and Taylour 1958.

² See Tinè 1983 and Jones 1987.

³ For Serra d’Alto and Bellavista-Diana Cultures, see

Radmilli 1974.

⁴ For MBA settlements on the Salento isthmus, see Ynterma 1993a, 145-150; for the Ostuni district, see Burgers et al. 1998.

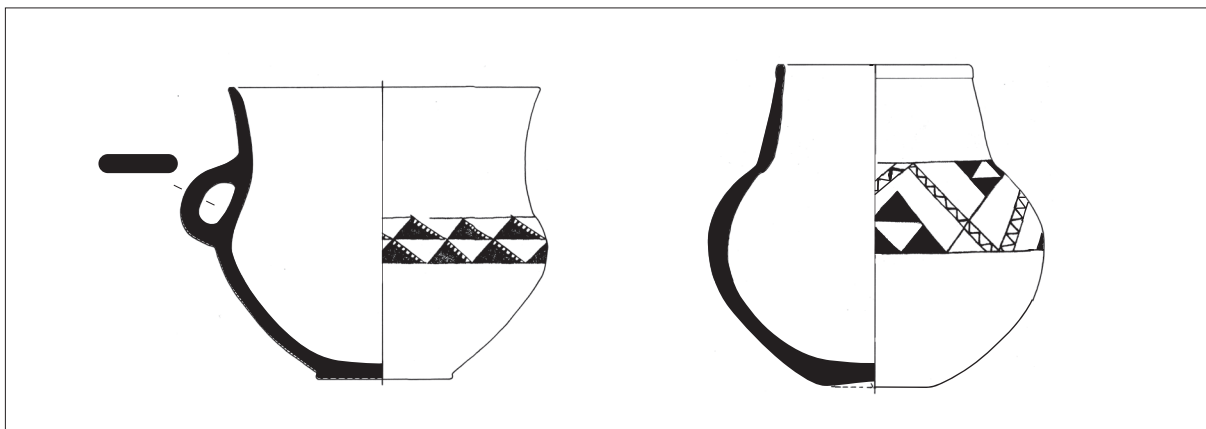


Fig. 2.1. Two painted vessels of the Serra d'Alto Culture from Leuca (south-Apulia); 4th millennium BC; after D'Andria 1978.

one or two groups that shifted their hut settlements regularly. Pollen cores suggest that slash and burn techniques were used in order to reclaim new agricultural plots, when the returns from the existing field diminished.⁵ They undoubtedly practiced agriculture, but their subsistence strategy seems to have been based predominantly on pastoralism.⁶

In addition to these relatively short-lived and constantly 'moving' villages, settlements of more permanent nature began to arise. This happened in the course of the Middle Bronze Age. This new type of settlement, moreover, was not abandoned after one or two generations. Several of these were inhabited for many centuries. This means that the relation between settlement and landscape changed drastically in the Middle Bronze Age. The predominantly dynamic human landscapes of the Early Bronze Age stabilized into landscapes in which manmade elements such as settlements and tilled fields often had a 'fixed' place. The results of palaeobotanical and archaeozoological research suggest other innovations that tie in with the more permanent character of the settlement: in the animal husbandry of these sites pigs increased at the cost of the often transhumant ovicaprines, whilst the ample presence of vegetables, cereals, olive pips and other tree crops shows that agriculture was important to these larger settlements of the Middle Bronze Age.⁷

The rise of these larger settlements is indicative of an increasing complexity of the local societies of southeastern Italy during the period under discussion.⁸ Other signs suggesting considerable changes in socio-political organization are the defences. Well before the end of the Middle Bronze Age quite a number of settlements were surrounded by fortifications, especially in Apulia.⁹ Moreover, the earliest burials indicating increased social stratification also date to the more recent phase of the Middle Bronze Age. Since the new, larger settlements coexisted with smaller settlements, their emergence also marks the birth of a distinct settlement hierarchy in southeastern Italy. Examples of such larger MBA settlements are the earliest phases of the sites of Torre Mordillo and Broglio di Trebisacce in northern Calabria, Toppo Daguzzo in northeastern Basilicata and Rocavecchia in southern Apulia.¹⁰ These are

⁵ Harding 1999, 93; cf. Di Rita / Magri 2009, 301-302

⁶ Bianco 1985 and Veenman 2002.

⁷ For agriculture at Broglio di Trebisacce, see Peroni 1989.

⁸ For settlements of different sizes in the Sibaritide, see Peroni 2004.

⁹ For MBA fortifications, see Peroni 1989, 109, Cazzella 1991, Pagliara 2005, Scarano 2009.

¹⁰ For Broglio di Trebisacce, see Peroni / Trucco 1994; for Toppo Daguzzo, see Cipolloni Sampò 1986; for Rocavecchia, see Pagliara 1995, 2002, 2005, and Guglielmino 1996 and 2002.

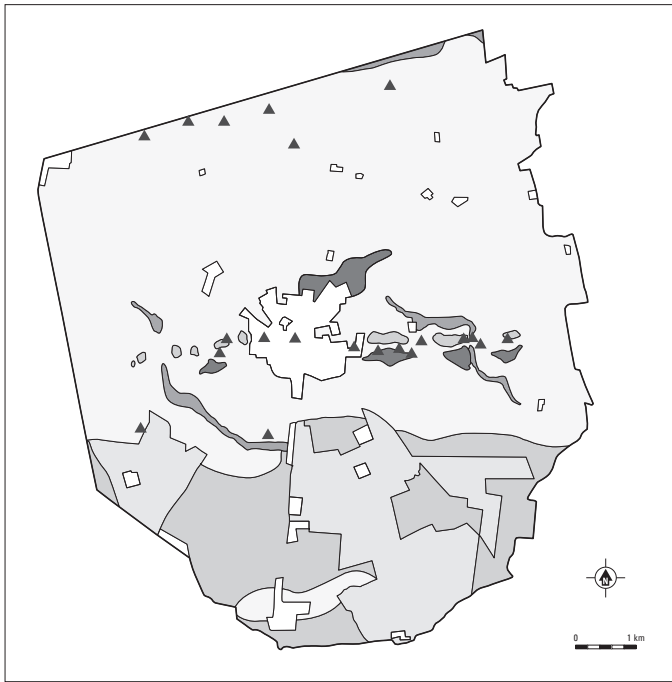


Fig. 2.2. Middle Bronze Age settlement patterns near Oria (Brindisi area), south-Apulia; field surveys VU University Amsterdam; after Yntema 1993a.

believed to have been fairly populous: Peroni suggests that they had hundreds of inhabitants.¹¹ Since these sites continued to be inhabited to within the Late Bronze Age or even the Iron Age, the traces of MBA occupation are often very modestly preserved.

This Middle Bronze Age - currently indicated in Italian archaeology as the '*Cultura appenninica*' - has often been characterized as a period in which pastoralism continued to prevail. Since this 'Apennine' culture displays a considerable degree of uniformity over large parts

of Italy, there may be some truth in this view.¹² Interregional contacts must have been frequent and transhumance and forms of nomadism, i.e. moving around with sheep, goats, pigs or cattle, is at least one way to attain cultural uniformity over large areas. But since it is also seen as a period of increasing stability in habitation patterns, i.e. of a decidedly more sedentary way of life, agricultural activities are likely to have acquired an increasing importance in peninsular Italy in the course of the Middle Bronze Age.¹³ It was also a period that displays a considerable degree of dynamics in other fields (e.g. social stratification, settlement hierarchy).

Another new phenomenon that can be observed in the Middle Bronze Age was the rise of regular and steadily intensifying contacts with the eastern Mediterranean. If Minoan and Mycenaean ceramic evidence can be trusted, their start is indicated by a trickle of Minoan and early Mycenaean wares. These can be dated to the 16th and 15th centuries BC (fig. 2.3). These contacts between southern Italy and Aegean areas became rather frequent and intensive during the Italian Late Bronze Age that is characterized by a flood of Mycenaean pottery.¹⁴

It was during the Middle Bronze Age that a fairly gradual, endogenous change towards more complex and more sedentary societies coincided with external stimuli coming from the steadily intensifying contacts with the eastern Mediterranean, in particular with Crete (but only initially) and Mycenaean Greece.¹⁵ These contacts were not exclusively bilateral. They were part of a series of interdependent exchange networks that manifested themselves more clearly in the Late Bronze Age and spanned the Tyrrhenean, the Adriatic and the Ionian Seas. These appear to have been linked with comparable networks in the eastern Mediterranean. Together these phenomena resulted in the fairly complex societies that flourished in the coastal and sub-coastal areas of southern Italy during the Late Bronze Age.

¹¹ For settlement hierarchy, see Peroni 1989, 141; for number of inhabitants, see Peroni 1989, 136.

¹² For pollen evidence documenting Bronze Age pastoralism in northern Calabria, see Attema et al. 2010, 85.

¹³ More stable forms of settlement in MBA, see Bianco 1985, and Peroni 1989.

¹⁴ Vagnetti 1999, Van Wijngaarden 2002.

¹⁵ See Vagnetti 1982 and 1999.

Generalized Chronology	English name	Current Italian names and terms
c. 2500-2000 BC	Italian 'Copper Age'	Eneolitico: Cultura di Laterza
c. 2000-1700 BC	Italian Early Bronze Age	Bronzo Antico: Proto-appenninico
c. 1700-1350 BC	Italian Middle Bronze Age (MBA)	Bronzo Medio: Appenninico
c. 1350-1150 BC	Late Bronze Age (LBA)	Bronzo Recente: Subappenninico
c. 1150-900 BC	Late Bronze Age/Final Bronze Age (FBA)	Bronzo Finale: Protovillanoviano

Table 2.1. Chronology and terminology of the South-Italian Bronze Age periods.

2.3 THE LATE BRONZE AGE (C. 1350-1150 BC)

Since contacts with the southern Balkans and Aegean areas were among the crucial factors that led to the birth of the more complex LBA societies, it was especially in the coastal areas of southeast Italy (here these contacts were most intensive) that societal complexity became most pronounced. The coastline was littered with larger and smaller settlements displaying contacts with the Mycenaean world. Quite a number of LBA sites have produced dozens – and in a few cases even hundreds – of fragments of imported Mycenaean wares (fig. 2.4), whilst LBA metalwork of southern Italy displays evident signs of links with Aegean districts.¹⁶

The casual remark made in the preceding lines concerning the presence of both larger and smaller sites holds an important clue. It means that there were substantial differences in size between the various LBA settlements. Though it must be admitted that the first steps towards differentiation were made in the Middle Bronze Age (see paragraph 2.1), it was in the Late Bronze Age that substantial settlements with a population consisting of several hundreds of inhabitants emerged alongside small, dispersed villages consisting of groups of huts.¹⁷ This phenomenon suggests that the Late Bronze Age saw the rise of a more complex and more hierarchical settlement pattern. In this system the major sites probably functioned as central places with a decidedly regional character.¹⁸ Small settlements dating to the later phases of the Bronze Age have reportedly been discovered during field surveys.¹⁹ These are likely to have depended on larger centers in political, social and economic respects.

Unfortunately, the vast majority of LBA sites is not particularly well-documented. The most intensely researched and most intensely published site is undoubtedly Broglio di Trebisacce in northern Calabria.²⁰ As a result of the floodlight thrown on this site, other LBA sites of southeastern Italy look rather bleak. There is, however, no reason to assume that Broglio di Trebisacce was a truly exceptional settlement in the period under discussion. It almost certainly ranked among the major settlements of its times. Other (sub)coastal sites of major importance may have been Torre Mordillo (northern Calabria), Taranto-Scoglio del Tonno ("Tunny Reef"), Rocavecchia (near the easternmost tip of Italy)

¹⁶ See Bietti Sestieri 1973 and 1988.

¹⁷ Peroni (1989, 136) suggests that the larger settlements of the Late Bronze Age may well have had more than a thousand inhabitants.

¹⁸ For central places in the Late Bronze Age, see Malone et al. 1994.

¹⁹ Small Late Bronze Age sites are reported by Vinson 1972 (border area between Puglia and Basilicata) and Rescigno 2001 (western Basilicata).

²⁰ The most important publications on Broglio di Trebisacce: Peroni / Trucco 1994; Peroni / Vanzetti 1998.



Fig. 2.3. Distribution of early Aegean wares in Bronze Age Italy: Middle Bronze Age (16th-15th century BC); based on Vagnetti.

and Coppa Nevigata (in northern Apulia), whilst the inland sites Toppo Daguzzo (northeastern Basilicata) and perhaps Timmari (southeastern Basilicata) were probably of more or less comparable importance (fig. 2.5).²¹ Since the Italian *paletnologi* often work with small trenches, there is practically no information on the spatial organization of these larger settlements of the Late Bronze Age. Before Scoglio del Tonno was destroyed at the beginnings of the 20th century, its excavator (Quagliati) made a plan of the excavated area.²² The features shown in the plan are likely to represent only a small part of the settlement.²³

These sites of unprecedented complexity displayed several new features.

In view of the present state of research almost none of these has all these traits in unison. However, they are likely to have shared very similar sets of characteristics. One of the most recurrent features is the presence of fortifications. Many of the LBA sites of southeastern Italy actually can be shown to have had defences that enclosed the settlement area (fig. 2.6). These defences were at least hundreds of meters long and consisted in walls either made of carefully fitted irregular stones, or in earthworks containing piled up stones and earth (*aggeres*). The best examples are the fortifications of Taranto-Scoglio del Tonno demolished in the early years of the 20th century²⁴ and the still surviving walls of Torre Castelluccia, east of Taranto (fig. 2.6). The latter enclosed a flat-topped hill on the sea and a sizable area at the foot of the hill.²⁵ These large defences constitute a very considerable input of time and effort. Therefore, they must have been made by a considerable group of persons that cooperated closely under the guidance of a central authority. The communities that produced them must, therefore, have consisted of minimally several hundreds of persons.

²¹ Peroni's list of larger centres of the Late Bronze Age also includes Torre Castelluccia, Porto Perone/Satyrium (Taranto area), Punta Le Terrare (Brindisi), Amendolara, Broglio di Trebisacce, Francavilla Marittima, Castrovillari, Torre del Mordillo (all in northern Calabria) and Serra Ajello (on the Tyrrhenian Sea); see Peroni 1989, 111.

²² The most important publication on Scoglio del Tonno: Quagliati 1900.

²³ If the large building in the centre of the plan is indeed the hall of a local chieftain (most current interpretation) the plan shows only the representative and perhaps redistributive part of the site of Scoglio del Tonno.

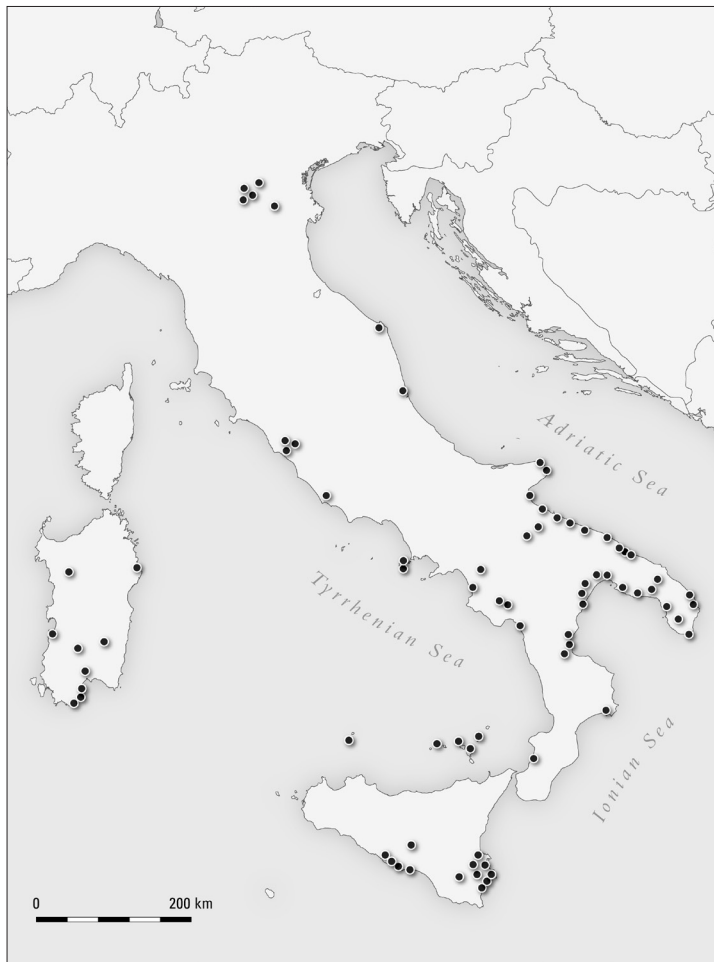


Fig. 2.4. General distribution of Mycenaean wares in Italy during the Bronze Age (16th-11th century BC); based on Vagnetti 1999.

Because of their complex character these societies of the south-Italian Late Bronze Age are likely to have been socially stratified. Indications suggesting that this was actually the case, can be found in the architectural features encountered in the area enclosed by the walls. At Scoglio del Tonno, for instance, a large more or less rectangular structure was excavated with a width of more than 10 m and a length of well over 20 m (fig. 2.7). Whether it was the representative hall of a local chieftain and his retinue, a hall for communal meals or drinking parties, a large storage room or served still other functions is uncertain since the excavation was carried out in a fairly distant past (in 1899-1900). The rectangular building of Scoglio del Tonno, however, was much larger than the average

rounded to oval LBA hut which had a diameter of approximately 2.50 to 3.00 m. Therefore, it was certainly not the dwelling of an individual family.

Yet another sign of increased complexity can be found in the very large storage jars of the late Bronze Age. These vessels, called *doli cordonati* ('corded' dolia) in Italian, were often wheelmade. Fragments of these can be found in substantial quantities in various LBA settlements.²⁶ They were up to 1.50 m high and well over 1.00 m wide, each having a capacity of some 500 to 1.000 liters (fig. 2.8). The recent excavations at the site of Rocavecchia suggest that such *dolia* (probably filled with olive oil) were standing in storage rooms in considerable numbers.²⁷

The situation excavated at Rocavecchia which has a good parallel at Sicilian Thapsos, is reminiscent of those encountered in the storage areas of the contemporary Aegean palaces. The sheer presence and the large quantities of these large storage vessels suggest a very considerable surplus production indeed.

²⁴ See *Cento anni*, 277.

²⁵ It is unknown whether these fortifications completely surrounded the coastal settlements, since coastal erosion is strong on the limestone shores of Apulia. Geologists suggest that a 25 to 50 meters wide strip of land of land has been lost since the Bronze Age.

²⁶ In the foothills around the plain of Sybaris (north-

Calabria), fragments of these *dolia* have been found at 12 sites during field surveys (see Attema et al. 2010, 114); on these *dolia*, see also Bianco / Orlando 1995.

²⁷ Preliminary reports on Rocavecchia: Pagliara 1995, 2002 and 2005; Guglielmino 1996 and 2005; Scarano 2009.

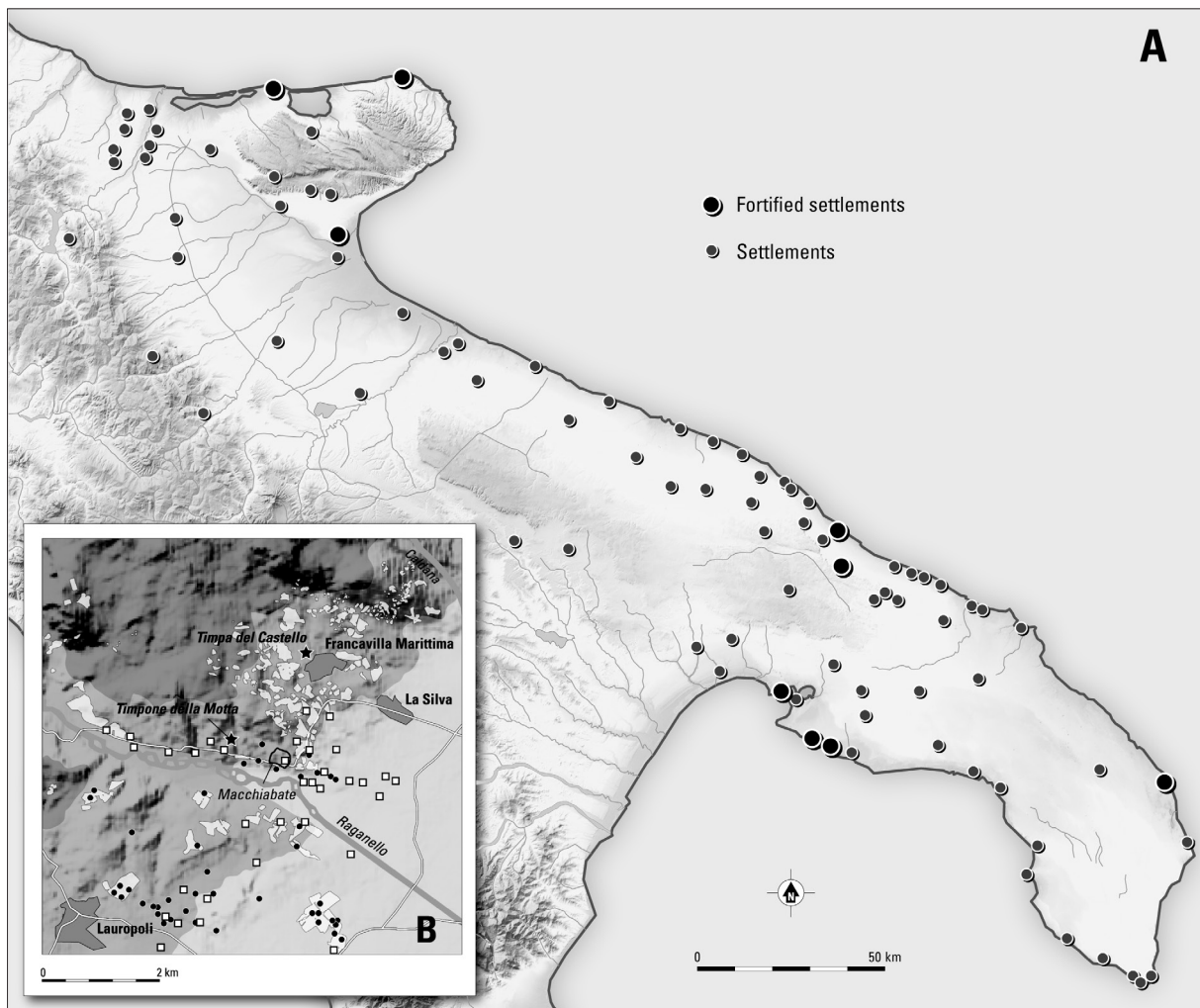


Fig. 2.5. Site hierarchies in the Late Bronze Age southern Italy: (A) Fortified settlements and non-fortified settlements in Apulia (based on Recchia / Ruggini 2009, fig.1); (B) Late Bronze Age in the plain of Sybaris (after Perono/Trucco 1994, 229).

Chemical analysis has demonstrated that the Rocavecchia dolia contained olive oil. Other types of objects that leave no traces in the archaeological record might have been stored here as well. These substantial surpluses were not only generated in the direct surroundings of the larger settlements of LBA southern Italy, but in the larger district of which it was the centre. The products stored in these centres were certainly not used exclusively for local or regional consumption, but must often have been articles that played a role in interregional and transmarine exchange. Settlements like Rocavecchia and Broglio di Trebisacce, therefore, suggest that the various local groups with their enlarged or new, often walled settlements did not thrive on subsistence economies. The storage areas in the larger settlements indicate that the LBA economy may well have been based on redistribution systems that spanned larger districts.

If every walled settlement was the centre of a more or less independent polity, the socio-political units were smallish. Since some of the LBA settlements stand out because of their sheer size and special finds, these are likely to have been at the top of the settlement hierarchy and may have been regional redistribution centres. It is, however, certainly wrong to see Rocavecchia, Scoglio del Tonno, Broglio di Trebisacce and other major walled settlements of the late Bronze Age as miniature versions of Mycenae or Pylos. The evidence from burials, for instance, suggests that the social structure of the south-Italian societies differed enormously from those of Mycenaean Greece.



Fig. 2.6. Torre Castelluccia (Taranto area, south Apulia); Late Bronze Age fortifications in 1979 (archive ACVU).

Leaders of these fairly complex LBA societies also feature in the archaeological record. Although it is uncertain whether the long house of Scoglio del Tonno can be interpreted as an elite residence, the contemporary burial evidence of southeastern Italy contains quite a series of elite graves. There appears to be a variety of burial customs in the period under discussion. Fairly remarkable are the urnfields with individual cremation burials. The earliest burial site of this type in southern Italy was probably Canosa (northern Apulia). It contained well over 200 cremations dating between late 15th to 14th century and the 12th century BC.²⁸ A second urnfield at Torre Castelluccia (Taranto) started in the Late Bronze Age and continued to well within the final phase of the Bronze Age.²⁹ Whether these cremations were graves of a well defined social group within the settlement is uncertain.

The most spectacular burials of the Late Bronze Age were impressive monuments in stone. Many of these have been demolished, but in some places they continue to mark the landscape. These monumental burials mostly consist of large cist graves or even dolmens. Some of these were covered by huge tumuli, the so-called *specchie*.³⁰ In these impressive structures the deceased were inhumed. Since

²⁸ The Canosa urnfield had been reported in Lo Porto 1969b and 1992a.

²⁹ For urnfields in southeast Italy, see Müller Karpe 1961 and Vanzetti 2002.

³⁰ *Specchie* (sing: *specchia*) are basically large heaps of stones. The term covers a variety of monuments that existed in southern Italy to well into the 19th century. The vast majority of these, however, have been

demolished during the late 19th and the first half of the 20th century. At least some of these *specchie* can be shown to have been Bronze Age tumuli (mainly in the Salento peninsula). Heaps of stone (mostly smaller) in the Bari area, in the coastal districts of Basilicata and in northern Apulia sometimes turned out to be Iron Age burials (see chapter 4). Other *specchie* simply appeared to be large heaps of stones.

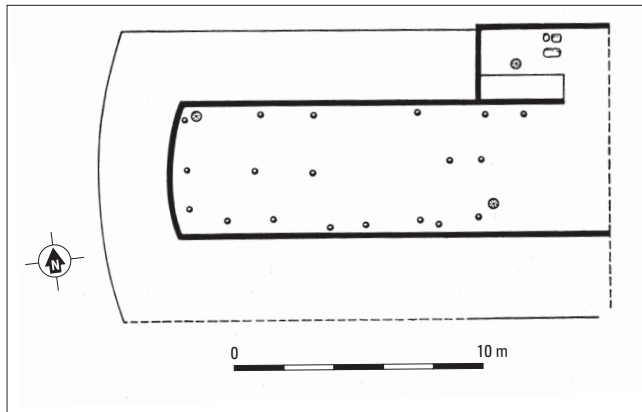


Fig. 2.7. Taranto-Scoglio del Tonno (south Apulia): Late Bronze Age longhouse within the fortifications (after Peroni 1989).

they were highly conspicuous, their contents have usually been robbed. The Torre Santa Sabina tumulus on the coast some 25 km northwest of Brindisi was still largely intact.³¹ It appeared to have a diameter of c. 15 m and contained 26 burials of which only the central grave (tomb 12) contained imported pottery from the Aegean and a bronze knife (fig. 2.9). It was probably the burial site of a dominant lineage of a kinship group focusing on the person in the central grave. Mycenaean wares also came from the now demolished, originally 6 m high Martucci tumulus (diameter c. 25 m), situated some 6 km southeast from the site of Oria in the Salento district. These finds show that contacts with foreigners from the Aegean were important to the societies of southeastern Italy. The possession of objects referring to that Otherworld (e.g. Mycenaean pots and bronzes) and the introduction and display of new cultural modes linked with these objects probably enhanced the status of the local elites of southeast Italy.

These tumuli/dolmens occur in fairly limited numbers.³² This suggests that only a small group within the regional societies of southern Italy received a formal burial by means of inhumation in or near an impressive monument. The graves of the majority of the LBA population do not appear in the archaeological record. It is, however, problematical to relate the impressive burial monuments of the elites to specific settlements. None of them is actually in close proximity to a walled settlement. The now vanished Oria *specchie* may be a case in point. The Martucci *specchia* mentioned above was the largest mound of probably a cluster of tumuli.³³ This cluster was in a relatively flat area some 6 km southeast of the fortified LBA settlement of Oria which was situated on a hilltop rising some 40 m above the surrounding countryside. Although definitely within view of the settlement, the burial site being at approximately one hour walking distance, may well have been on the brim of the manmade landscape (tilled fields, olive groves) that surrounded the fortified Bronze Age settlement of Oria. An almost identical tumulus existed approximately 6 km south of Oria (Schivone *specchia*).

Such impressive monuments were symbols of influence and power. But they may also have served as territorial markers and have indicated the transition between the man-inhabited world of the settlement and its fields on the one hand and wild nature on the other hand. Since none of these elite burial sites of the late Bronze Age was close to a habitation area, their location was probably closely related to the meaning the Bronze Age populations of southern Italy assigned to the various elements of the territory or the landscapes that surrounded them. We can, of course, only speculate on the exact nature of these significances.

The objects found in the tombs stress the elite character of these LBA burials. The central burial of the Torre Santa Sabina tumulus near Brindisi contained i.a. pots from Aegean Greece (3 specimens) and warrior attributes. The same holds good for the Martucci tumulus near Oria.³⁴ The possession of

³¹ Lo Porto 1963.

³² For tumuli and dolmens in southeast Italy, see Biancofiore 1977, and Orlando 1995.

³³ Neglia 1970.

³⁴ Two stirrup jars in the Louvre Museum with provenance 'San Cosimo di Oria' actually come from the *specchia* Martucci that was partly demolished at about 1880 (Yntema 1993).

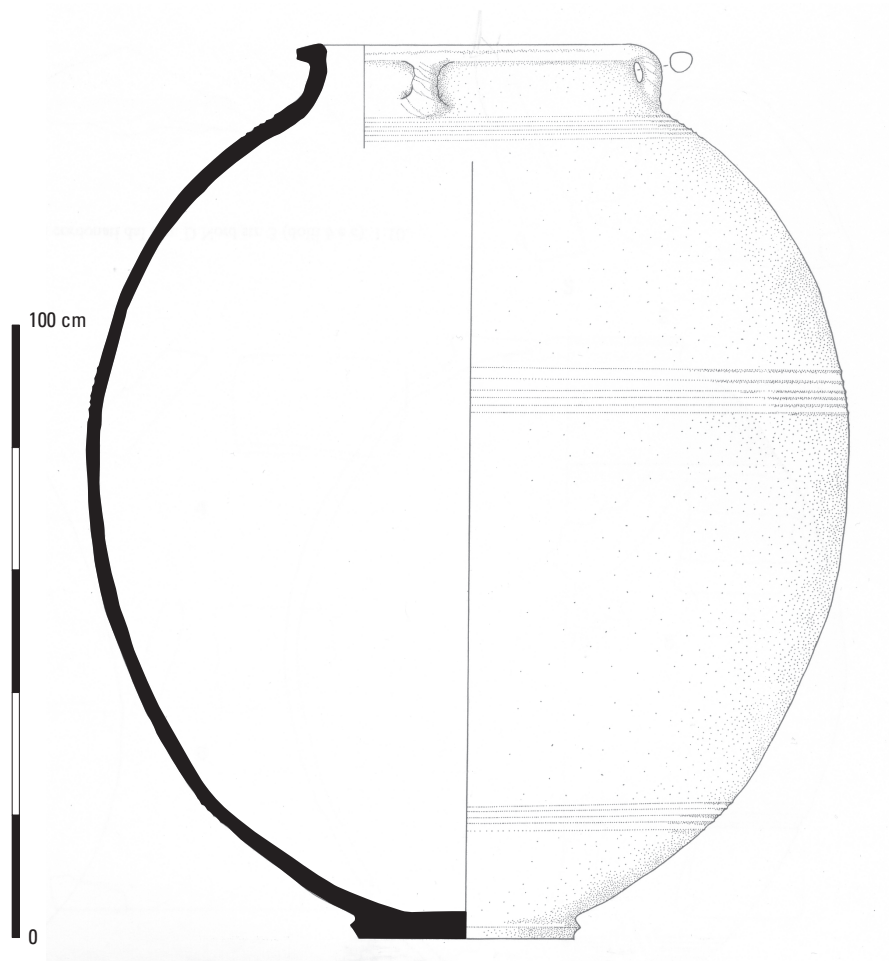


Fig. 2.8. Dolium with 'corded' decoration from Boglio di Trebisacce: after Peroni / Trucco 1994, pl. 66.

unusual, foreign looking objects was probably the prerogative of only a limited group. Since weaponry was found in several other elite tombs of southern Italy,³⁵ the symbols and signs of a warrior status were also among the elements used by the elite to display their dominant position in the various regional societies of southern Italy.

Increased complexity can also be observed in craft. As usual, it is the omnipresent ceramics that supply the best evidence in this respect. The ceramics of the Middle Bronze Age were invariably handmade dark surface wares. Some pieces had incised decoration. These wares were invariably fired at relatively low temperatures in an atmosphere that was poor in oxygen. Such handmade dark surface wares are often indicated as *impasto* pottery in southern Italy.

Comparable handmade *impasto* ceramics continued to be made during the Late Bronze Age (the Subapennine wares; fig. 2.10). In addition to these, wheelmade and light surface wares made their appearance in southern Italy. The earliest specimens of these new ceramic classes date to the Middle Bronze Age and were decidedly imports stemming from Bronze Age Greece.³⁶ Foremost among them were Mycenaean painted wares, the so-called Minyan Grey wares (both 'luxury table wares') and wheelmade container vessels (used for storage and transport). Soon, however, *local* wheelmade versions of all these ceramics were produced. The most spectacular series of elaborately painted wares was

³⁵ Cipolloni Sampò 1986.

³⁶ Taylour 1958; Vagnetti 1982.

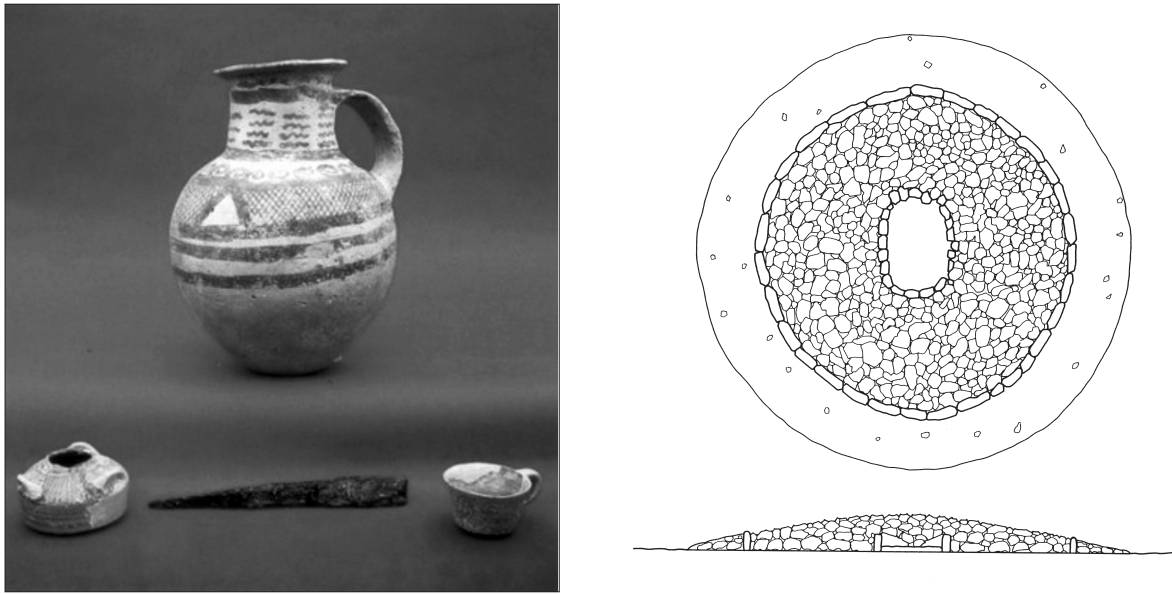


Fig. 2.9. LBA elites in south Apulia: Torre Santa Sabina (Brindisi area): tumulus and finds; after Lo Porto 1963 and courtesy Brindisi Museum.

unearthed at the site of Termitito on the Gulf of Taranto.³⁷ Clay analyses of some samples of wares with strongly Mycenaean characteristics from both Termitito and the Campanian site of Eboli have shown that a fairly large percentage of such pots was actually made in southern Italy.³⁸ Among these are specimens that on stylistic grounds cannot be distinguished from Mycenaean wares made in, for instance, the Argos area on the Peloponnesos (fig. 2.11).

These data suggest that Mycenaean potters were active at or near the sites of Eboli and Termitito and perhaps other LBA settlements of southern Italy. They made pots in exactly the same manner as they had done in the Aegean core areas of the Mycenaean world. Since a substantial percentage of the Mycenaean painted wares of southern Italy displays Italian fabrics, the production of Italo-Mycenaean wares was neither incidental, nor short-lived. Moreover, the elaborately painted wares were not the only class of ‘Mycenaean’ wares produced in Italy: highly burnished Minyan wares and *doli cordonati* were also made in fabrics characteristic of southern Italy.³⁹ Therefore, it is unlikely that these ceramics were exclusively produced by imported craftsmen with Aegean roots. The craft of producing sophisticated wheelmade ceramics was almost certainly picked up by local potters.

This information implies a considerable, though not a total change in pottery production in southern Italy. The traditional impasto wares continued to be produced and continued to serve traditional purposes. The new ceramics with light-coloured clays, however, catered on new needs of the local societies, and especially those of the new elites. The painted Mycenaean and the burnished Minyan wares – both imported specimens and local versions – served predominantly as dining vessels. This shows that the use of these ceramics was based on the cultural significance of these pots and the activities associated with them.⁴⁰ A similar observation can be made concerning the relatively thick-walled

³⁷ For Mycenaean wares from Termitito, see De Siena 1986b.

³⁸ The percentage of locally produced Mycenaean wares is up to 80% at Eboli (Campania); cf. Vagnetti / Jones

1988.

³⁹ For clay analysis indicating regional/local production of *doli cordonati*, see Castellano et. al. 1996.

⁴⁰ Van Wijngaarden 2002.

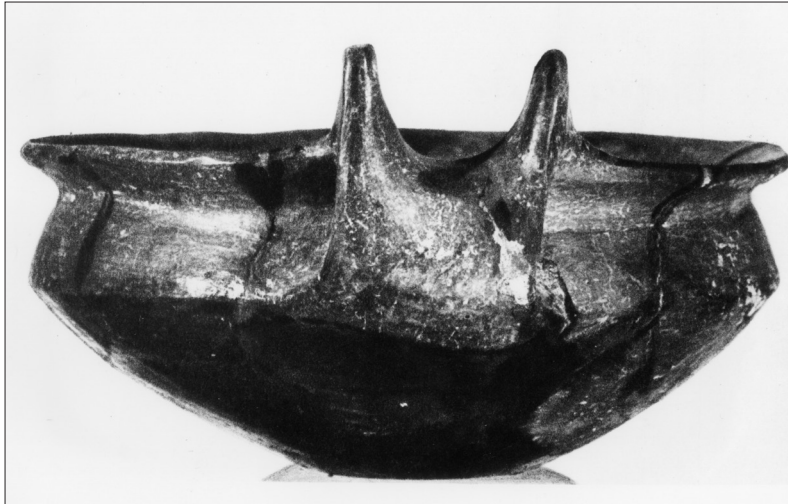


Fig. 2.10. Impasto *scodella* with horned handle from Torre Castellucia, Late Bronze Age. Photo courtesy Soprintendenza Taranto.

storage and transport vessels (the common *dolia* and the relatively rare *amphorae*). These were made in order to store the substantial surpluses produced in the Late Bronze Age and to transport the surplus products over considerable distances. These two activities were equally new to Bronze Age southern Italy.

The new types of ceramics that made their appearance in the Late Bronze Age demanded new, much more complicated techniques for the production of pottery. These were the first ceramics of Italy produced on the quick potter's wheel. They all had to be fired at considerably higher temperatures (c. 850–950°C) than those needed for firing impasto wares (c. 500–700°C). Whilst impasto can be made by firing the pots in a hole in the ground and covered with wood and branches ('bonfire' technique), the production of the *dolia*, the Italo-Minyan wares and the Italo-Mycenaean ceramics required a closed kiln containing separate chambers for combustion and for the firing of the pots. In order to attain the required effect of dark painted ornaments on light background of Italo-Mycenaean wares, moreover, oxidizing and reducing atmospheres had to be created in the kiln by the potter. This new firing process, therefore, required a good understanding of complicated pyrotechnics.

The rich series of bronze objects from LBA sites of southeast Italy also shows a considerable degree of innovation in craft. They display a wide and unprecedented variety of metal forms made for a wide variety of purposes. In addition to weapons such as swords, daggers, knives and arrows, there are personal ornaments (fibulae, pins, necklaces, bracelets) and tools for various purposes (e.g. axes, sickles, tweezers, scalpels, nails and fish hooks). These stem from various LBA sites (e.g. Scoglio del Tonno, Porto Perone, Coppa Nevigata and Punta Manaccora) and testify to the great skills and the specialized craftsmanship of the LBA bronze workers of southeastern Italy.⁴¹ Evidence from both Coppa Nevigata and Scoglio del Tonno suggests that the production of metal objects took place close to the dwelling of the local chieftain.⁴² The LBA smith, therefore, might have been part of the retinue of the local leader.

What escapes us in the present state of research is LBA religion. Hitherto no evident signs of sanctuaries or other traces of religious activities have been found in southeast Italy. The only type of objects that may be interpreted in this way are a few Mycenaean idols and locally made figurines from Scoglio del Tonno.⁴³ It should, however, be observed that in LBA southern Italy other significances might have

⁴¹ For the variety of Late Bronze Age bronze objects, see, for instance, Biancofiore 1979, 151–157.

⁴³ For Mycenaean idols in Italy, see Tylour 1958, pl. 13.

⁴² Peroni 1989, 251.



Fig. 2.11. 'Mycenaean' kylix (from Termitito) and jar (from Scoglio del Tonno); courtesy Soprintendenza archeologica della Basilicata and Soprintendenza archeologica della Puglia.

been attached to Mycenaean idols and that other functions may have been performed by these objects than those currently assigned to them for Mycenaean Greece.

Summarizing the date presented above on the Late Bronze Age we can establish that the new elements that characterize the Late Bronze Age in southeast Italy are many. In the recent past much stress has been laid on the enormous intensification of long distance contacts as exemplified by the Mycenaean ceramics of Italy. These were important indeed and undoubtedly triggered a number of changes. More often, however, they were catalytic agents in the far-reaching changes that had their roots in the Italic Middle Bronze Age. The first signs of a substantial increase in socio-political complexity, for instance, pre-date the intense contacts with the Mycenaean world.

The Late Bronze Age witnessed the birth of distinctly hierarchical settlement patterns. Some centres had imposing fortifications. Settlements such as Broglio di Trebisacce, Scoglio del Tonno, Rocavecchia and Coppa Nevigata must have controlled fairly large areas containing also smaller settlements. In the same time social stratification increased: the local societies became more hierarchically structured. This new and more complex social structure of the south-Italian societies went hand in hand with the emergence of elites. These controlled the surplus production of their district which was collected in the central settlement. Moreover, they played an important role in exchanges between their groups and others. These new LBA leaders of southern Italy expressed their status by banqueting, using imported, elaborately painted or highly polished ceramic drinking vessels (Mycenaean wares, Minyan wares) or locally produced versions of these basically 'foreign' wares (Italo-Mycenaean, Italo-Minyan). They (and other persons linked to their house or their lineage) were buried in large and impressive tumuli well away from the settlements they had lived in. One of the sources of their wealth was the agricultural surplus production (probably mainly olive oil). These products were stored in the large container vessels, each with a capacity of 500 to 1.000 liters. In the larger settlements these filled substantial storage rooms that contained dozens of these large vessels. A room with 40 pots of this type could contain approximately 20.000 to 40.000 liters of olive oil.

As we have seen, these data suggest that the new societies that emerged in LBA southern Italy had basically redistributive economies. Long distance contacts and exchange with people coming from or living in other parts of the Mediterranean was vital to the complex LBA societies of southern Italy. These contacts did not take place exclusively between the south-Italian groups and people coming

from Mycenaean Greece. The substantial uniformity in the repertoires of LBA impasto pottery and other types of objects over large parts of Italy indicates that contacts between the various districts of the Apennine peninsula were intensive. On the basis of the distribution of ceramics of Mycenaean type over Italy with substantial concentrations of these wares in southern Italy, Sicily, Sardinia and along the Adriatic coast of Italy, one must conclude that it was not exclusively olive oil that played a role in these exchanges. Metals are likely to have been another important item circulating in the LBA networks,⁴⁴ whilst the finds from Fondo Paviani in the Po valley suggest that the exchange of Baltic amber also took place within these same circuits.⁴⁵ These three categories leave their traces in the archaeological record, but articles of perishable nature such as, for instance, slaves and prestigious cloth may have circulated as well within these LBA exchange systems.

This means that some of the settlements that were important in these networks did not really owe their status to the products they had to offer themselves, but were important because they were on nodal points in the exchange networks. Rocavecchia not only had its olive oil: it is also the first stop in Italy for ships coming from Greece. The same site, moreover, is both at the beginning and at the end of Adriatic coastal seafaring and may have been a staple for products exchanged in Adriatic trade networks as well. Rocavecchia, therefore, was a pivot between the network of the Ionian Sea involving both northwestern Greece and the Gulf of Taranto and that of the Adriatic Sea. In the same way Sicilian Thapsos was pivotal between the Ionian Sea and Tyrrhenean networks, whilst the island of Vivara in the Bay of Naples may have been a staple for goods coming from Sardinia, Campania, Latium and Etruria.

Increased complexity is not only found in socio-political spheres and in the regional economies of southern Italy. It is equally present in the products made by artisans. The ceramic production of the Late Bronze Age, for instance, was rather varied: the traditional handmade impasto wares, the new wheelmade Italo-Mycenaean, wheelmade Italo-Minyan and wheelmade *doli cordonati*. Some of these ceramics required new techniques and served the new purposes of a new clientele. Similar observations can be made concerning the production of bronze objects. In the Late Bronze Age endogenous change and external influences cooperated in creating societies that were more populous, more strictly organized and more productive than groups living in southern Italy in earlier periods.

These data also suggest that the landscape changed considerably. This observation holds especially good for a wide coastal strip of southern Italy. Substantial fortifications and large tumuli and dolmens were conspicuous markers in this new landscape. This area harboured an unprecedented number of people producing unprecedented quantities of agricultural products. These must have come from intensely tilled fields, vineyards and olive groves that covered many more square miles than in any preceding period of south-Italian history. This suggests that land reclamation took place on a considerable scale and that wild nature was replaced by manmade environments in many places. Since palynological data are very scant for the Middle and Late Bronze Age, the human impact on the south-Italian landscape can only be discussed in very general lines in the present state of research.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ For the importance of metals, see Bietti Sestieri 1973; Matthäus 1980. There are remarkable similarities between the LBA and the early Iron Age trade and exchange networks. Salento (the eastern peninsula of Italy), eastern Sicily and the Bay of Naples figure prominently in both networks. This phenomenon may have something to do with prevailing winds and sea currents. In the LBA the Adriatic circuits were closely

linked to these trade networks. In the Iron Age non-Greek trade networks were dominant in the Adriatic between the 8th and the late 6th century BC (cf. Yntema 1979).

⁴⁵ For Baltic amber, see Vagnetti 1979, and Bietti Sestieri 1982.

⁴⁶ Harding 1999; Di Rita / Magri 2009.

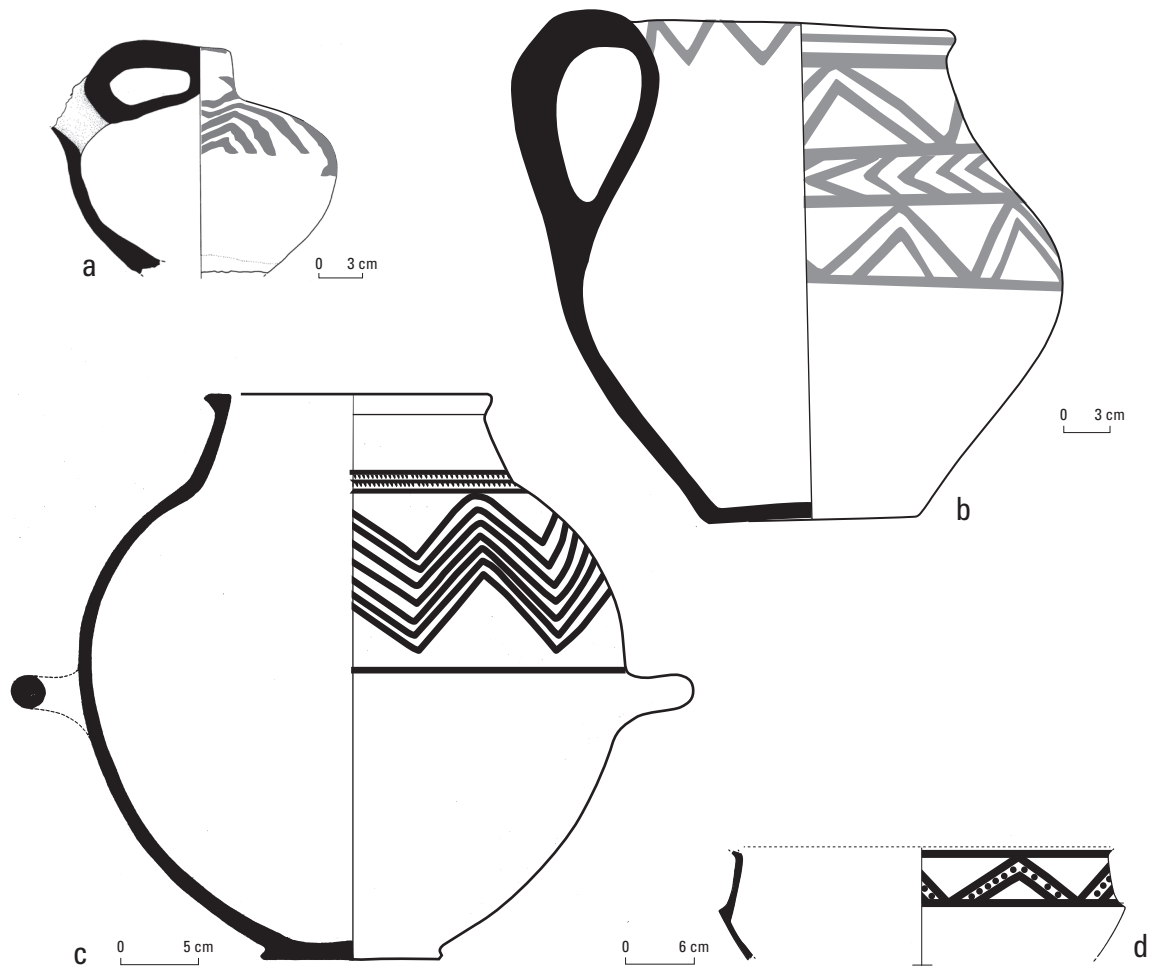


Fig. 2.12. South-Italian Protogeometric wares from Torre Castelluccia (b-c) and Leuca-Punta Meliso, south-Apulia (a and d). After Gorgoglione 1993 and D'Andria *et al.* 1990.

2.4 THE FINAL BRONZE AGE (C. 1150-900 BC)

After the decline and the disappearance of the Aegean palace economies at c. 1200 BC the contacts between Mycenaean Greece and southern Italy gradually lost their intensity. Since these were one of the vital aspects that contributed to the rise of the complex LBA centres of southern Italy, their gradual decrease had serious consequences for the coastal groups in the long run. The collection and storage of large surpluses and the exchange of surplus articles depended at least partly on external, transmarine contacts. When these contacts became increasingly less frequent and less intensive, these activities were no longer carried out. This means that the complex redistribution systems that supported these actions, were no longer required. The same holds good for the elites that were at the top of the hierarchically structured LBA societies and that were spiders in the redistribution webs. Their abilities to control larger areas and muster considerable surpluses from these were of little importance in situations where regulated, large scale exchange was no longer practiced and where long distance contacts had lost much of their frequency and intensity.

This period of gradually decreasing complexity that covers approximately the 12th and 11th century BC is usually indicated in Italy with the term *Bronzo Finale* (here: Final Bronze Age; FBA). It is hard



Fig. 2.13. Distribution of South-Italian Protogeometric wares (late 12th – 10th century BC).

to get a good grip on this period because – as we have seen above – it is on the watershed between two traditional academic domains: that of the prehistorians (Italian: *paletnologi*) on the one hand and that of the classical archaeologists on the other hand. An additional problem is the poor diagnostic qualities of the artefactual evidence. This transitional period between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age, moreover, displays a material culture that – quite understandably – has parallels in both the preceding and the subsequent period. This means that there is a persistent tendency to date objects and the excavational features in which they were found to either the preceding Late Bronze Age or the following Early Iron Age. The Final Bronze Age, therefore, is a period with a decidedly low visibility rate.

The decrease in complexity that supposedly characterizes the Final Bronze Age is suggested by various data. It is, for instance, clear

that in the course of the 11th to 10th century BC the fairly contracted and walled, relatively populous settlements of the Late Bronze Age began to change into increasingly dispersed villages. Moreover, from about the 11th century some of these probably had a limited quantity of inhabitants numbering only a few dozens of persons, whilst the major LBA settlements can be assumed to have harboured at least several hundreds of inhabitants. In the area north of Brindisi the fortified LBA settlement of Risieddi was even completely abandoned and replaced by highly dispersed FBA occupation nearby.⁴⁷ Reports suggest that many of the walled LBA sites were completely deserted in the Final Bronze Age, but on closer inspection most settlements appear to display signs suggesting continuity of occupation (albeit much less intense) to well within the Iron Age.

The settlements of the Final Bronze were not exclusively declining centres with MBA or LBA origins. In approximately the 10th century BC (but the diagnostic qualities of the artefacts are limited) new settlements came into being in some parts of southeast Italy. The information on this subject is still scant, because settlement survey has rarely been carried out. The reports published hitherto suggest that this happened in any case in northern Apulia. Here the lagoon settlements of Siponto and Salapia are reported to have their origins in the Final Bronze Age.⁴⁸ sanctuary

More signs suggesting the gradual transition to less complex societies can be found in the pottery production of the Final Bronze Age. Whilst the Late Bronze Age is characterized by the coexistence of traditional handmade ‘Subapennine’ impasto wares and various wheelmade wares of Mycenaean type, the Final Bronze Age witnessed the gradual but complete disappearance of wheelmade pottery.⁴⁹ Although the large *dolia* continued to be made for some time,⁵⁰ the ‘Subapennine’ impasto ceramics

⁴⁷ Attema et. al 2010, 112.

⁴⁹ Boccuccia et al. 1998.

⁴⁸ De Juliis 1979 (Siponto); Alberti et al. 1981 (Salapia).

⁵⁰ Vagnetti 1999.



Fig. 2.14. Urnfields in southeast Italy; Late Bronze Age and Final Bronze Age.

transformed into the so-called Protovillanovan impasto wares in quite an early stage of the Final Bronze Age. These show no technical innovations, but display a series of new shapes that are the prototypes of the Iron Age repertory of forms.⁵¹

Painted wares can also be found in the Final Bronze Age. These are the so-called South-Italian Protogeometric wares. This class of handmade ceramics with dark, matt-painted ornaments on a light background has nothing to do with Greek Protogeometric wares. It was probably a cross between impasto wares and Italo-Mycenaean.⁵² The shapes and the painted ornaments of this class display close affinities with both the forms and the incised ornaments of Protovillanovan wares. The idea of making ceramics with dark ornaments on a whitish to yellowish clay was borrowed from the most recent ceramics of Mycenaean type found in Italy (fig.

2.12). South-Italian Protogeometric was almost certainly made in various parts of the coastal areas of southeast Italy. The uniformity in the morphological and decorative language of these painted wares over large parts of southern Italy suggests that interregional contacts within this area continued to be relatively frequent. A similar impression is conveyed by the distribution of the same ceramic class (fig. 2.13). These wares were not only distributed over present-day Apulia, Basilicata and northern Calabria. South-Italian Protogeometric is also found in eastern Sicily and the Aeolian islands north of Sicily (e.g. Lipari).⁵³ These wares were even imitated there.⁵⁴ This suggests that the FBA societies of southeast Italy were considerably more dynamic than is generally assumed. Whilst the contacts between southeast Italy and Greece may have lost much of their frequency, the contacts between the coastal areas of the Ionian Sea (including the eastern part of Sicily) continued to be fairly intense in the Final Bronze Age.

Burial sites securely dating to the Final Bronze Age are rare in southeast Italy. Hitherto only two necropoleis with graves dating to the period under discussion have been reported. They exclusively contain individual cremations: the ashes of the deceased were deposited in an impasto urn or South-Italian Protogeometric matt-painted vessel. Such urnfields have been discovered at Timmari in the border area between Apulia and Basilicata and at Torre Castelluccia in the Taranto district (fig. 2.14).⁵⁵

⁵¹ Cremonesi 1979; fig. 2.11.

⁵² Yntema 1990, Brigger 2007.

⁵³ Eliane Brigger presented 101 fragments of South-Italian Protogeometric from the island of Lipari (Brigger 2007, 332-381).

⁵⁴ Yntema 1990, 27; Brigger 2007.

⁵⁵ The Canosa urnfield contained over 200 burials, see

Nava 1984, 117. For cremation tombs from Canosa, see Lo Porto 1969, 248, and Lo Porto 1992a; for cremations from Timmari, see Quagliati and Ridola 1900 and 1906; for cremations from Torre Castelluccia, see Müller-Karpe 1961 and Vanzetti 2002. Slightly outside the area discussed here are the contemporary cremation burial sites of Tropea (Calabria) and Milazzo (Sicily).

The earliest burials in these cemeteries are likely to date to the Late Bronze Age. The characteristics of these necropoleis of the Final Bronze Age, therefore, have their roots in the Late Bronze Age. If urnfields were indeed the only type of FBA burial sites, something drastic happened in the funerary sphere. However, more research is needed in order to establish whether this indeed is the whole story. If, for instance, the LBA tumuli continued to be used for inhumations during the Final Bronze Age, the graves of this period in the tumuli – because of the poor diagnostic qualities of FBA artefacts – are hard to identify.

The general image of the Final Bronze Age of southern Italy is one of gradual change. The contacts with the eastern Mediterranean became much less frequent and intense, the conspicuous regional elites of the Late Bronze Age vanished or became invisible in the archaeological record. Population figures, moreover, declined, and the sophisticated redistribution systems displaying slight affinities with the palace economies of Mycenaean districts in the Aegean vanished completely. For all these reasons, the Final Bronze Age of southern Italy has been characterized as a Dark Age separating the prosperous Late Bronze Age from the humble beginnings of the south-Italian Iron Age. The evidence suggests that notwithstanding the fog caused by numerous bias factors surrounding this period of transition, there may be some truth in this view.

A similar observation, however, has almost never been made for the same period in any other part of Italy. In Sicily, for instance, the Ausonio II phase (11th-10th centuries) is never considered to be a FBA dip in comparison to the preceding, mainly LBA Ausonio I phase (13th-12th century), although complex Thapsos with its LBA warehouses has no parallels in the Sicilian Final Bronze Age. It seems therefore, that southeast Italy was an exception to the rule. Here the fairly complex society of the Late Bronze Age with its intense transmarine contacts, its redistribution systems and its powerful leaders gradually evolved into the less stratified, initially largely self-contained societies of the Early Iron Age. In this process of change the Final Bronze Age marks the first decisive steps.

3 The Land and the People

3.1 THE LAND: PAST AND PRESENT

The preceding chapter 2 has dealt with the most important aspects of Bronze Age foundations on which the first millennium BC societies of southeast Italy arose. The basic aim of that chapter was to give a background to the following chapters 4-7: it offered a very generalized and necessarily incomplete picture of the societies of southeast Italy that preceded the societies of the first millennium BC. The present chapter gives a short account of the variety of landscapes in which these pre-Roman societies flourished. It introduces the names of the geographical elements as, for instance, rivers and mountain ridges that feature in the following chapters. Furthermore, the names are presented of both the districts and the groups of people that reportedly lived in these landscape units in the period under discussion. The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to supply generic information on the geographical setting and introduce terms and names that are current in the archaeology of region under discussion. These will frequently pop up in the following chapters.

Southeast Italy consists of a series of interconnected districts with vastly different natural landscapes. These range from steep, 1700 m high mountains to large alluvial plains only slightly above sea level. The area discussed in this book corresponds by and large with the present-day Italian regions of Basilicata and Apulia and the northern Cosenza province of the present-day region of Calabria (fig. 3.1). These are separated from other Mediterranean regions by high mountains and deep seas. To the west and the north southeastern Italy is fenced off from Campania by the inhospitable southern Apennines, the passes here being between 600 and 1.000 m above sea level. In the northeast the foothills of the Apennines come close to the coast. Here the Gargáno peninsula (the spur of the Italian boot) rising up to 1,500 m high projects into the Adriatic Sea. At this point, however, there is no real barrier between north-Apulia and the adjoining central-Italian Molise region. A low ridge gives access from the latter region to the great plain of north-Apulia. On its east and south sides, southeast Italy is completely surrounded by seas: the Adriatic Sea, the Ionian Sea and the Gulf of Táranto. This gulf penetrates into the Apennine peninsula. Therefore, the sea is never far away. It was, and continues to be a very important factor in the geography of the region.

The inhabitants of pre-Roman southern Italy adapted themselves to these varied environments and tried to adapt these landscapes to their own purposes. This large region contains two large and fertile alluvial plains. One of these is the plain of the rivers Crati and Coscile in the northern part of present-day Calabria, often indicated in archaeological reports as ‘the Sibarítide’ (i.e., the area around Sybaris). The plain is surrounded by high mountains on nearly all sides, being open to the sea only towards the east. Most of the sites are on the foothills and lower mountains of the Sila and Pollino massifs that surround the plain. The second, even larger plain is situated in the northern part of the present-day region of Puglia (fig. 3.2). This district is aptly called ‘the Tavoliere’.¹ It is surrounded on nearly all sides by mountains and ridges, except to the east (Adriatic Sea, Gulf of Manfredonia). A series of streams rising in the foothills of the Apennines intersect the plain from southwest to northeast

¹ From the Italian *tavola* (table; i.e. flat as a tabletop).



Fig. 3.1. Southeast Italy: mountains, plains, rivers and seas.

and discharge into the lagoons on the Gulf of Manfredonia, south of the Gargano peninsula.² Whilst the heavy alluvial soils flanking the watercourses were unfit for agriculture in ancient times (but they were good grazing areas), the slightly raised areas between the streams have light arable soils consisting of clayey sands. These areas were preferred for human settlement by the pre-Roman populations. Smaller plains with calcareous soils consisting of fertile clayey sands are found in the Salento peninsula

² These are the rivulets Candelaro, Celone, Cervaro and Carapelle (see fig. 3.1).

(the heel of the Italian boot). Here the flat areas around the present-day towns of Taranto, Brindisi and Lecce were densely inhabited in the first millennium BC (fig. 3.3). The watercourses here are mostly small and seasonal. These areas, however, are often rich in springs. In the more rocky parts water can often be found at a depth between 2.00 and 4.00 meter in subterranean water veins (Italian: *falde freatiche*) in the karstic base rock.

The remaining parts of southeast Italy are hilly or mountainous. The landscape in the southern coastal strip of the region of Basilicata is somewhat undulating having gently sloping hills close to the beaches. It is the area where the wide and mostly shallow rivers called Agri, Sinni, Bradano and Basento that rise in the highlands of Basilicata, discharge into the Gulf of Taranto. In this coastal area wide river valleys alternate with the lowly hills (fig. 3.4). It is especially on the latter that the pre-Roman sites are located. Except for the sandy beaches and the narrow strips along the rivers, this area with its calcareous clayey sands is very fertile indeed. These were the fat lands around Siris (or: the river Siris) that were praised by the 7th-century BC Greek poet Archilochos in one of his songs. It is relatively easy to penetrate the interior by following the rivers upstream. As one travels inland, hills gradually turn into mountains. In the western and northern parts of inland Basilicata the mountains are up to 1.400 or 1.500 m high. The pre-Roman sites in this district are often situated on relatively flat mountain tops (fig. 3.5). Some of these are at an altitude of even more than 1.000 m. From these elevated spots they overlook large parts of the region, especially the lower lying areas towards the coast. The mountains of inland Basilicata have often served as summer pastures for sheep, whilst agriculture is possible in the same inland area by cultivating the terraces at lower altitudes which surround the valley floors.

While north- and south-Apulia have fertile plains, central Apulia is mostly rocky. Here the old and eroded limestone massif of the Murge dominates the landscape (fig. 3.6). It is oriented northwest-southeast and stretches over c. 250 km from Taranto in the south to the brim of the Tavoliere plain in north-Apulia. In the western part of central Apulia its peaks are between 500 and 700 m high. The Murge massif declines more or less stepwise towards the Adriatic coast. The watercourses in central-Apulia are all seasonal and have worn their way into the limestone base rock leaving now often dry ravines (It.: *gravina* or *lama*). Nowadays the district is mainly given to the cultivation of olives, because the calcareous soils are usually fairly thin. In various places, however, there are substantial pockets of fertile earth. Here wheat and other types of cereals are cultivated. The best soils, however, are found on the two lowest and easternmost 'steps' of the Murge, close to the Adriatic Sea. It is in this coastal strip of central Apulia that the large sites of the pre-Roman period are found.

The present-day landscapes of southeast Italy differ enormously from those of the past. Especially in central and southern Apulia coastal erosion has been substantial. It is estimated that in some places c. 50 m of the low limestone cliffs has been lost here since the first millennium BC. Sacred caves on the coast, now partly under water, suggest that the sea level of the Adriatic has risen between 1.50 and 2.00 m since the first millennium BC. The sandy coasts of northern Apulia, Basilicata and northern Calabria have sustained considerable accretions by sedimentation: the site of Metapontion, for instance, was on the coast in ancient times and is now approximately 1 km inland. This phenomenon was at least partly caused by deforestation that was particularly intense in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC and from later medieval times onward. Mountains and hills, therefore, have been affected by substantial erosion.

Understandably, the vegetation of the predominantly manmade landscapes of today differs from that in the distant past. The human presence in the landscape and especially the varying intensities of this presence were important elements of change from the Neolithic period onward. In some periods manmade landscapes replaced the natural vegetation, in other periods wild nature took over the no longer used grazing areas, abandoned fields and settlement areas. Intensive palynological research can reveal these tendencies and enables us to reconstruct the vegetation of the landscapes of various



Fig. 3.2. North-Apulia: Tavoliere plain with the Gargano peninsula in the background. Archive ACVU.

moments of the past. In large parts of southeast Italy, however, pollen does not survive.³ Reconstruction of the original vegetation, therefore, has been carried out on the basis of patches of the original vegetation that survive in the present landscape.⁴

On the basis of these reconstructions, it seems plausible to assume that before intense human activities changed the environments, large areas of southeast Italy were densely wooded.⁵ Beech (*Fagus silvatica*) and various types of oak (*Quercus*)⁶ dominated the forests on the hills and the lower parts of the mountains, while firs (*Abies*) and various species of pine trees (*Pinus*) covered the higher parts. The river valleys and the wetlands near the river mouths were the habitat of willows (*Salix*), ashes (*Fraxinus*) and elms (*Ulmus*). Poor and thin soils (especially in central and south Apulia) often sustained a *macchia* vegetation (French: *maquis*) consisting of holmoak (*Quercus ilex*), pines (often *Pinus halepensis*) and various types of lowly and often spiny shrubbery, but most of the present-day *macchia* is the result of deforestation and intensive grazing of sheep and goats (fig. 3.7).⁷

³ For pollen cores from the Laghi Alinini (south-Apulia) see Harding 1999.

⁴ Veenman 2002.

⁵ Tichy 1962, Lentjes 2013.

⁶ The most common types of oak in the forests of southeast Italy were *Quercus ilex*, *Quercus cerris*, *Quercus petraea* and *Quercus pubescens*.

⁷ For instance, thyme (*Thymus vulgaris*), mastic tree

(*Pistacia lentiscus*), thorny broom (*Calicotome spinosa*), Spanish broom (*Spartium junceum*) and rock rose (*Cistus monspeliensis*). As the human impact on the landscape increased, *macchia* vegetation extended over larger areas. Much of the present-day 'wild' nature of central and southern Apulia is the result of such human activities in the past.



Fig. 3.3. South Apulia: Brindisi plain in the Salento Isthmus. (Pathways, fig. 3.3.). Archive ACVU.

In the preceding chapter we have seen that man's impact on the landscape was considerable as early as the Bronze Age. It was, however, not until the 6th and 5th centuries BC that a first series of very drastic changes took place.⁸ Archaeological field surveys indicate that from this moment onward the human presence in the landscape and the human impact on the natural environments began to take on an unprecedented and rapidly increasing intensity. The human infill of the landscape and the replacement of natural environments by man-made landscapes peaked in pre-Roman southeast Italy in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. The impact of human activities on the environment seems to have decreased very gradually in Roman times when southeast Italy became a quiet backwater of the Empire. Areas that were rich in water soon became unattractive for human settlement, because a virulent form of malaria ('bad air') became endemic in Italy from the 2nd century AD.⁹ With the decline of pan-Mediterranean trade systems in late antiquity southeast Italy again became important to Rome. Whilst Apulia produced substantial surpluses of corn,¹⁰ Lucania (the Roman name for Basilicata) became synonymous with pork.¹¹ The presence of large herds of swine in late-Roman Basilicata suggests that substantial parts of the landscape were (again?) densely wooded, since these pigs grew fat on acorns and beechnuts.

In general, the climate in southeast Italy is typically Mediterranean: hot summers with little rain, mild winters with ample precipitation. In fact, in both Basilicata and Apulia most of the rain falls between December and March. The annual quantity of precipitation fluctuates between 600 and 900 mm (Colamonico 1960; Rossi Doria 1963). However, the winters in these regions of Italy are not particularly mild. The reason for this is that southeast Italy is open to the east and closed off from the west by the Apennines. The region can easily be reached by northern and eastern winds from the Balkans

⁸ McNeil 1992.

¹⁰ Yntema 1993, 224.

⁹ Bruce-Chwatt / De Zuleta 1980, Sallares 2002.

¹¹ Whitehouse 1983.



Fig. 3.4. Southeastern Basilicata; basin of the River Bradano and the site of Timmari. Source: www.wikimatera.it.

(in winter the infamous *bora*), whilst the mitigating influence of Atlantic air masses that commonly is experienced in Tyrrhenian Italy, is basically absent. The winters, therefore, are colder and the summers are somewhat hotter than in Tyrrhenian Italy. The uplands of Basilicata have, of course, a mountain climate. The summers here are relatively cool, whilst the pre-Roman sites at altitudes of 800 to 1.000 m must have been bitterly cold in winter. Precipitation here is more abundant than in the lower parts of southeast Italy with an annual maximum of c. 1.200 mm.

Climatic changes over the past five or six millennia are documented only in a very general way. However, for people living in the past the microclimate of their particular district was very important indeed. This may change fairly rapidly and may also depend on more or less drastic human actions in the environment such as deforestation and siltation of river mouths and lagoons, the latter usually being the result of anthropogenic changes in the landscape. But these micro-climatic changes are usually not documented. This observation holds good for all districts of southeast Italy. It is, however, believed that the present-day climate of southeast Italy does not differ much from the climate in the first millennium BC.

Communications within pre-Roman southeast Italy were relatively easy, since many parts of this large area have gentle slopes. As we have seen above, almost inaccessible mountain zones are exclusively found in western and northern Basilicata and in northern Calabria. Elsewhere the mountains hardly rise above 500 m. Of course, dense vegetation could be an obstacle to travellers. This may have occurred in *macchia* areas. A large part of the woods and forests of southeast Italy, however, had a decidedly open character. Red deer (*Cervus elaphus*) which are commonly encountered in the bone samples from the Bronze Age to well within Hellenistic times, prefer this particular type of open habitat. Travelling though the woods, therefore, was certainly not impossible in the first millennium BC.



Fig. 3.5. Upper Basilicata; Mountains with the site of Guardia Perticara. Photo: courtesy Basilicata tourist office.

The location of sites is probably indicative of the ancient road systems. Settlements may have originated near river crossings and crossings of long-existing tracks. Roads doubtless linked these, and did so in a more or less direct way. Since many settlements were on or near the coast, important communication took place along coastal routes (either by land or over sea). This holds good for both Basilicata and Apulia. The inland areas of Basilicata could be reached by following the numerous rivers upstream. These descend in a gentle way from the uplands to the lowlands without substantial falls. Many sites in this area are only a few kilometres from the river and could be reached fairly easily in this way.¹² The same travelling strategy could be applied in the plain of northern Apulia; here the most important sites are actually on the rivulets intersecting the great Tavoliere plain.¹³ In central and southern Apulia watercourses are almost completely absent. Here roads followed the coast, but also bridged, for instance, the isthmus between Taranto and Brindisi.¹⁴ Since the Salento peninsula in southern Apulia was relatively flat, it offered no major obstacles to communication.

The overland contacts between southeast Italy and other Italian regions were often less easy. The passes leading from Basilicata to Campania are not numerous and are mostly snowed up in winter. Important passages are the c. 1.000 m high Sella Cessúta linking the basin of the Lucanian river Agri with the basin of the Campanian rivers Sele, Tánagro and Calóre, and the nearly 900 m high Sella di Conza between the Basénto river system in Basilicata and the Apulian/Campanian Ófanto basin. Northern Apulia was linked to Campania by the almost 800 m high pass near Ariano Irpino between the Apulian Cerváro river and the Voltúrno-Calóre river basin in northern Campania (fig. 3.1).

¹² Adamesteanu 1983.

¹⁴ Uggeri 1983.

¹³ Alvisi 1962.



Fig. 3.6. Central Apulia: landscape in the Murge hills with olive trees and limestone with thin cover (ACVU archive).

The seas have always been both obstacles and highways and separated and linked people at the same time. Winds and waves were potentially dangerous, but whilst the land was subdivided into polities and territories, the sea was and is basically the realm of the skipper. Moreover, in pre-industrial societies overseas transport had enormous advantages over land transport. Land transport (e.g. with mules/donkeys or ox carts) was invariably slow in ancient times. Each cart or animal could transport only a limited quantity of load. For overland transport in bulk animal trains were needed. By sea, however, substantial quantities of bulk commodities could be transported relatively quickly over larger distances.

The seas surrounding southeast Italy were no exception to this general rule. The Adriatic linked southeast Italy with coastal regions of central and northern Italy and with the Istrian and Dalmatian coasts. The best season to cross the Adriatic from Apulia towards Dalmatia was spring with its prevailing southeastern and southwestern winds. The Ionian Sea was the highway from western Greece to southern Italy. In overseas ventures the Strait of Ótranto was important, especially in the first half of the 1st millennium BC. Here the distance between the Balkans and Italy is only 70 km. The passage from the island of Corfu to the heel of the Italian boot, therefore, can be made without losing sight of the coast. The Strait of Ótranto was Greece's entrance to the western Mediterranean (and to the Adriatic) and Italy's gateway to areas in the eastern part of the Mediterranean. The Gulf of Táranto under the Italian boot linked the coastal settlements of southeast Italy and gave an easy access to the southern parts of present-day Calabria. From here one could sail to Sicily and - by way of the Strait of Messina - towards the Tyrrhenian Sea.

These sea-lanes were all used. This happened in a fairly intense way from the Bronze Age onward (see preceding chapter). There may have been a dip in transmarine contacts between 1100 and 900 BC. These contacts however, were soon resumed. As we will see in chapter 4, there are dozens of pieces of 9th- 8th-century Albanian wares at the south-Apulian site of Ótranto, whilst thousands of Late and Sub-geometric Greek fragments were found in many sites of southeast Italy, and hundreds of



Fig. 3.7. Grazing goats in macchia vegetation. Photo: courtesy Froukje Veenman.

pots and sherds of 8th- and 6th-century north-Apulian wares in the Italian area around Ancona and in the former Yugoslav regions of Dalmatia, Istria and Slovenia.

3.2 THE PEOPLE OF THE PAST

The people who inhabited southeast Italy in the 1st millennium BC are currently divided into two large groups: Greeks and non-Greeks. The latter are also indicated by the terms ‘natives’, ‘Italic’ or ‘indigenous’ populations. In both ancient and modern writings these groups are often clearly opposed. This Greek-indigenous dichotomy, however, is at least in part a modern construct that was caused by the rhetorical passages of ancient Greek writers where the Greek ‘us’ is antithetic to the non-Greek ‘others’. In practice this seemingly strict ‘ethnic divide’ was much more fluid than the Greek written sources suggest. The south-Italian Greeks believed themselves to be immigrants coming from Aegean Greece and lived in a new Greek world that was sometimes indicated as ‘Great Hellas’ (*Megalè Hellas, Magna Graecia*).¹⁵ The majority of these Greeks of southeast Italy lived in four towns (*poleis*) and their territories (the so-called *chōraí*), situated in the coastal strip on the Gulf of Táranto. These were Sybaris (later: Thourioi, Roman Copia), Siris (later Herakleia in Lucania), Metapontion (Roman Metapontum) and Taras (Roman Tarentum, now Táranto). They were all considered to be *apoikíai* (‘homes away from home’; i.e. Greek settlements in an originally non-Greek world). In the scholarly tradition of the late 19th and 20th centuries these migrant settlements have been regularly inferred to as ‘Greek

¹⁵ Cf. *Megalè Hellas. Nome e immagine, Atti del ventunesimo convegno sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto, 2-5 ottobre 1981*, Taranto 1982.

colonies'. They were states of the 'classic' Greek model of the city state and could have oligarchic, aristocratic or democratic forms of government. In pre-Roman southeast Italy Greeks could also be encountered in non-Greek polities. Both the ancient written sources and the archaeological evidence suggest that sometimes Greeks lived and worked in non-Greek settlements, albeit on a limited scale.

These south-Italian Greeks spoke dialects derived from 'old' Greece and listened to the traditional Greek songs composed, for instance, by Homer. They contributed to Greek literature by writing Greek verse and Greek prose. Furthermore, they worshipped gods with Greek names and participated in the great athletic games of the 'motherland'. They had sets of values and notions that were more or less comparable to those found in Aegean Greece and shared views on their own Greek ambiances and non-Greek other-worlds with the inhabitants of other Greek polities. They were evidently a part of the Greek world that believed to have its core area around the Aegean Sea and that, by the 6th century BC, was dispersed over much of the Mediterranean coastline: the archaic Greek trade diaspora.

The Greek poleis of southeast Italy (and in fact all Greek *apoikíai*) had a strong mental link with the original core area by means of the *metropolis* (the 'mother town'). This was the settlement from which the first colonists under the guidance of the founder (*oikistes*) were believed to have set out in order to found a new settlement 'away from home'. These ties were recorded in the settlement's *origo* myth. This was often a standard story that recorded the reasons for the venture, the name of the founder (*oikistes*), the divine sanction given to the undertaking by the Delphi sanctuary, the adventures and misfortunes of the colonists and the actual foundation of the new settlement (*ktisis*).¹⁶ The Greek *apoikíai*, therefore, were very much part of the ancient Greek world.

It is, however, quite probable that the inhabitants of the Greek-speaking settlements of southeast Italy did not usually parade themselves as Greeks. The ancient written sources suggest that their local identity was most important to them. They considered themselves above all as the people of Sybaris (*Sybarítai*), the people of Siris (*Sirínnoi*), the people of Metapontion (*Metapontínnoi*) or the people of Taras (*Tarantínnoi*). Their loyalties primarily lay with their south-Italian hometown and its territory. Being 'Hellenes' did not mean much to them. In fact, the Greek poleis of southern Italy fought each other in bitter conflicts. As a result of these, two of the four poleis on the Gulf of Taranto (i.e. Sybaris and Siris) lost their status of independent city states in the 6th century BC (see chapter 4).¹⁷ Although these Greek city states of southeast Italy were surrounded by non-Greek polities, they cooperated only when external factors forced them to do so. This sometimes happened indeed from the late 5th century onward. The ancient written sources concerning their histories, however, suggest that even in times of substantial external stress caused by non-Greek polities, the regional label of *Italiotai* ('South-Italian Greeks') was no strong cohesive. Just like the term *Sikeliotai* ('Sicilian Greeks'), the word *Italiotai* was basically a term used by non-Italic Greeks to label the Greeks of southern Italy. On occasions (especially in later 4th and early 3rd centuries BC) the term could also be a convenient political instrument in regional politics and served in the often feeble and usually unsuccessful attempts to forge coalitions between Greek towns of southeast Italy in order to withstand outsiders, such as Lucanians or Romans.¹⁸ In this respect the Greeks of *Megalè Hellas* were not really different from the Greeks of *Hellas*.

Indigenous Italic populations inhabited by far the largest part of southeast Italy and basically lived in all the areas that were outside the *chōraí* (territories) of the Greek towns. Their societies are commonly believed to have had tribal forms of socio-political organization. There is little information about people with indigenous backgrounds living in the four Greek *poleis* of southeast Italy. Ancient

¹⁶ Docherty 1993.

¹⁷ They continued to be inhabited and regained their *polis* status in the 5th century BC when Sybaris became the

polis of Thourioi and Siris became Herakleia in Lucania.

¹⁸ For the use of the term *Italiotai*, see Lomas 1993; for the use *Sikeliotai*, see, for instance, Antonacci 2001.

written sources on similar Greek towns on the Tyrrhenian Sea such as Naples and Paestum suggest that the presence of people with non-Greek roots in Greek towns was a rather common phenomenon. The Greek city states of southern Italy may have been less restrictive – at least at some stages of their history – in assigning citizen rights to persons with non-local backgrounds than most Greek *poleis* in Aegean areas.

For southeast Italy the term ‘natives’ or ‘indigenous (Italic) populations’ is an even more gross oversimplification than the term ‘Greeks’. It has been adopted by both archaeologists and ancient historians in order to label non-Greek groups of pre-Roman Italy. We have seen above that the terms ‘south-Italian Greeks’ or ‘*Italiotai*’ probably did not correspond to any identity perceived by the Greek-speakers of southeast Italy themselves, or did so only on rare occasions. The same observation holds good for the various names for indigenous populations of southeast Italy given in the ancient written sources. These were basically labels used by outsiders such as Greeks and Romans for Italic groups for whom Greek and Latin were foreign languages. In northern Calabria and large parts of Basilicata, for instance, Oscan dialects were used both in daily life and in official documents.¹⁹ These belonged to the Osco-Sabellic language group that is fairly close to Latin. In present-day Apulia the Messapic language was widely spoken which, being of the Illyrian branch, differed vastly from Oscan.²⁰ The only surviving example of this language group is present-day Albanian. Illyrian languages were widely spoken in the coastal region of Croatia and Montenegro to well within Roman times.

Each of these two large language groups of southeast Italy is likely to have contained several socio-political groups. Since these Italic groups left no written texts in which they label themselves, we have to depend on the ancient Greek and Latin written sources and the archaeological data. However, we shall see below that both types of sources are not really helpful in identifying non-Greek socio-political groups. The non-Greek groups of southeastern Italy have also left no writings documenting their views on their past and present. What we believe to know about their inhabitants has been written down by Greeks and Romans or excavated by archaeologists. The ancient authors, however, because of the opposition created by the rhetoric of the Greek versus *barbaros* stereotype, cannot be considered as reliable sources on all things native. The Greek custom of lavishly and uncritically citing earlier authors causes additional problems. Pieces of information often referring to various moments in time tended to blend into one single image in the works of the relatively late compilers whose works have survived.²¹ This is especially problematic for the tribal world of southern Italy, since tribal societies are fairly unstable political units and subject to sudden and rapid changes in their socio-political structure.²²

From the 6th century BC onward ancient Greek authors identified and labeled the indigenous populations they encountered in southern Italy. The names they gave them are, of course, patently Greek labels and do not necessarily represent socio-political entities as perceived by the indigenous groups of southeastern Italy themselves. Some of these Greek labels, moreover, changed in the course of time. This may be the result of either the dynamic nature of the indigenous tribal societies of southern Italy or changed perceptions of Italic groups among the Greek groups of southern Italy.

However, the Greek writers whose texts have survived were not really informative on their Oscan and Messapic speaking neighbours.²³ They tell us something about the origins of the tribes (be it

¹⁹ For such official documents, see the so-called *Tabulae Bantinae* which contain parts of a *lex* in Oscan from the site of Banzi (Roman *Bantia*) in northeast Basilicata. The Oscan inscriptions of Basilicata-Lucania have been collected in Del Tutto Palma 1990.

²⁰ For Messapic inscriptions, see De Simone / Marchesini 2002.

²¹ For instance, Strabo’s *Geography*; cf. Laserre 1967.

²² The substantial differences between the Gallic tribes described in Caesar’s *De Bello Gallico* and those found in the Julio-Claudian period is a good example of dynamic nature of tribal structures.

²³ The ancient written sources for the south-Apulian Salento peninsula have been collected by Lombardo (1992); for the ancient written sources on central Southern Italy, see Cordano 1971.

either real or perceived), but mainly inform us on the great victories Greek-speakers of southern Italy gained over the indigenous tribes and painful setbacks suffered by the Greeks *poleis* at the hands of non-Greek groups. These written sources, moreover, indicate where approximately the people lived that the Greeks identified as a more or less coherent group. This ethnic labeling, however, is very confusing, since – as we have seen above – several subsequent chronological layers may have merged into one single picture. Such passages have been subject of much learned debate in order to restore the ‘stratigraphical sequence’ of such terms.²⁴ It is, however, uncertain whether these tribal names supplied by ancient Greek authors, bear any relationship to tribal realities of the pre-Roman past. They can be characterized as the Greek labels for tribal groups as perceived by Greek *poleis* dwellers.

With these *caveats* in mind the most frequently used terms and names concerning the south-Italian indigenous world may be given here. In the 6th century BC the Greeks probably discerned two large groups in the districts under discussion. The Iapyges predominantly lived in present-day Apulia and the Oinotrioi (also Opikoi, and Chaones) in present-day Basilicata and northern Calabria.²⁵ Since the differences in material culture were not particularly impressive, language may have been an important discriminating factor that induced Greeks to make this subdivision: the Oscan language of the Oinotrioi of Basilicata and northern Calabria against the Messapic language of the Iapyges in Apulia. According to the ancient authors, however, this latter region was also inhabited by other tribes which were probably considered to be subdivisions of the Iapyges. The Daun(i)oi are believed to have lived in the far north of Apulia (Tavoliere district and Ofanto area), the Peuketioi (also ‘Poidikloi’) in central Apulia and the Messapioi (in the southern Salento peninsula).²⁶ Whilst the Greek denominations of the groups in present-day Apulia did not change much,²⁷ the labels Opikoi, Oinotrioi and Chaones became obsolete in the course of the 5th century BC. From about the middle of that century, the new label ‘Lucanians’ seems to have replaced these.

As we have seen above, it is highly questionable whether all these Greek labels actually represented native socio-political realities as perceived by the non-Greek, indigenous groups themselves. These same Greek labels, however, have been applied by modern authors to the characteristic material culture assemblages of the various districts of southeastern Italy.²⁸ These are indicated here with the term ‘cultural groups’ since the traditional approach to the archaeology of southeast Italy was basically founded on V. Gordon Childe’s concepts of ‘culture’ and ‘cultural groups’.²⁹ This term can be defined here as: a series of settlements within a well-defined, geographical district displaying a set of shared cultural features (usually over a prolonged period) that is characteristic of that particular district only.

By now it is generally acknowledged that cultural groups identified by archaeologists do not necessarily coincide with self-defined socio-political groups. As for southeast Italy, in some cases the ancient Greek term corresponds with a regional cultural group identified by archaeologists, in other cases it certainly does *not* fit the artefactual evidence as interpreted by archaeologists. In fact, more cultural groups have been discerned than there are Greek names for indigenous tribes. These basically Greek

²⁴ Panebianco 1972; Nenci 1978.

²⁵ For the area of the Iapyges, see Nenci 1978; for the Oinotrioi, see Kilian 1964, 131-133 and Panebianco 1972.

²⁶ There are many views on this matter. The relationship between Oinotrians and Chaones (or Chones) is, for instance, unclear. It is uncertain whether the Greeks saw the Oinotrioi and the Chaones as two different groups or whether they saw the Chaones as a subgroup of the Oinotrioi. The term Iapyges was sometimes

applied to two of the three Apulian groups only, i.e. those of north and central Apulia.

²⁷ From the late 4th or 3rd century onward Greeks and Romans mention two groups for the south-Apulian Salento district (Calabri and Sallentini in addition to the possibly more general denomination Messapioi or Messapii).

²⁸ Mayer 1914; De Juliis 1988.

²⁹ Childe 1929.

terms – however incorrect they may be – are widely accepted and commonly used. It would, therefore, be rather foolish to replace them by new, more correct terminologies.

In southeast Italy eight cultural entities can be discerned during the Iron Age (the ‘archaeological’ geography). Each of these corresponds to a well-defined geographical area, mostly with natural boundaries. These eight districts – each with its own characteristic cultural assemblages – are described below. The list of sites given for each district contains a selection of settlements (fig. 3.8):

The Crati district: the northern part of present-day Calabria consisting of the plain of the rivers Crati and Coscile and the foothills of the surrounding Pollino and Sila mountains. In the Italian archaeological reports the area is often indicated as the Sibaritide, i.e. the area around the settlement of Sybaris. The principal sites here are Sybaris (later: Thourioi or Copia) and Torre del Mordillo. This part of southeastern Italy has only recently been identified as a distinct district. The most commonly used term for its indigenous inhabitants is ‘Oinotrians’. From the later 5th century BC the terms ‘Lucanians’ or ‘Brettians’ are used for the inhabitants of this district.

Pre-Roman settlements of the same district: Francavilla Marittima, Amendolara, Trebisacce, Castrovillari and San Sosti.

The Agri-Sinni district: the western parts of Basilicata and adjacent areas of southern Campania; the district is made up of the basins of the rivers Agri and Sinni with their gently sloping hills. In Italian archaeology the area is commonly referred to as the Siritide, i.e. the district that is considered to be the hinterland of the settlement of Siris/Herakleia. Important sites in this area are Siris/Herakleia, Santa Maria d’Anglona, Alianello and Chiaromonte. The indigenous groups of this area have been labeled as ‘Oinotrians’ or ‘Chaones’. From the later 5th century BC onwards the indigenous population of this district goes by the name of the Lucanians.

Pre-Roman settlements of the same district: Craco, Armento, Roccanova and Sala Consilina.

The Bradano-Basento district: the eastern parts of Basilicata and the western fringes of present-day Apulia: the district consists of the basins of the lower Basento and Bradano with their gently sloping hills. The district is indicated in archaeological reports as the Materano or the Metapontino, i.e. the area around present-day Matera or the district that is believed to be the hinterland of ancient Metapontion; important sites here are Metapontion, l’Incoronata di Metaponto, Montescaglioso, Timmari and Monte Sannace. The non-Greek populations of this district are mostly indicated as ‘Oinotrians’ in that part of the district that is in the present-day region of Basilicata, while the sites in the present-day Apulian province of Bari are often indicated as ‘Peucetian’. Whether this district was perceived by the Greeks as a Lucanian area from the 5th century BC onwards is uncertain.

Pre-Roman settlements of the same district: Difesa di S. Biagio, Pisticci, Ferrandina, Pomarico Vecchio, Cozzo Presepe, Garaguso, Miglionico, Gravina di Puglia, Altamura, Santeramo in Colle, Ginosa, Palagiano, L’Amastuola.

Upper Basilicata district: the district consists of the mountainous areas of inland Basilicata which control the mountain passes connecting Basilicata with Campania. The district has only recently been identified as a separate cultural entity. Important sites in this district are Serra di Vaglio and Satriano di Lucania (all in Basilicata). The indigenous populations of the area are indicated as ‘Oinotrians’ or ‘Opikoi’.³⁰

³⁰ The term ‘Opikoi’ is often used for the population of the area close to the Greek polis of Elea (Velia) before the middle of the 5th century BC..

Pre-Roman settlements of the same district: Baragiano, Cancellara, Torretta di Pietragalla, Crocchia Cognato, Guardia Perticara, Ruvo del Monte, Oppido Lucano, (all in Basilicata) and Buccino (Roman *Volceii*), Atena Lucana and possibly Roccagloriosa (all in present-day Campania).

The Tavoliere district: the district is made up of the large, north-Apulian plain surrounding the present-day provincial capital of Foggia and the first range of foothills of the Apennines. Relatively well-known sites in this district are Ascoli Satriano (Roman *Ausculum*), Ortona (Roman *Herdoniae*), *Arpi* and Siponto (Cupola/Beccarini). The important, but poorly known site of Monte Saraceno (Gargano peninsula) may well belong to the same cultural group. The indigenous groups of the Tavoliere in pre-Roman times are mostly indicated as the 'Daunians'.

Pre-Roman settlements of the same district: San Paolo Civitate (Tiati, Roman *Teanum Apulum*), San Severo, Troia (Roman *Aecae*), Lucera (Roman *Luceria*).

The Ofanto district: the district consists of the range of hills south of the river Ofanto and is situated in the northern part of the present-day Bari province. Canosa (Roman *Canusium*) and Ruvo di Puglia (Roman *Rubi*) were major centers here. Archaeological reports usually refer to the pre-Roman population as the 'Daunians'. From the 5th century onward Ruvo di Puglia shares many characteristics with the sites in the Bari area.

Pre-Roman settlements of the same district: *Salapia* (Lupara-Giardino), Barletta, *Cannae*, Minervino Murge and Lavello (Roman *Forentum*).

The Bari district: the district consists of a 20 km wide and 25 to 35 km long coastal strip of the present-day Bari province, southeast of Bari. Near the coast fertile soils alternate with areas where the base rock comes close to the surface. In the Bari area quite a number of sites are found in the Iron Age. From the 6th century onward it has three large sites: Ceglie del Campo (also: Valenzano; Roman *Caelia*), Rutigliano/Noicattaro (Roman *Azetium*) and Castiglione di Conversano. Pre-Roman settlements of the same district: Bitonto (Roman *Butuntum*), Bari, Conversano and Adelfia/Canneto. This district is often indicated in archaeological reports as the area of the Peuketioi.³¹

The Salento district, surrounded by seas on three sides, makes up the heel of the Italian boot. In the hilly northern and southern parts the limestone base rock comes close to the surface. The central area including the isthmus has mostly fertile clayey sands. Traditionally, it is believed to be the district of the Messapioi. From Hellenistic times onward the names of Kalabroi and Sal(l)entinoi are found for people living in the same area. These were possibly subdivisions of the Messapioi, the Kalabroi being the inhabitants of the northern part of Salento, while the name of Sallentinoi was used for those non-Greeks who lived in the southern part of the Salento peninsula. The settlement of Oria (Roman *Uria Calabria*) was probably the most important settlement in the northern part of the peninsula. Other important settlements here were perhaps Ceglie Messapico, Ostuni and Brindisi. In the central part of Salento Rudiae and Cavallino di Lecce were sites of major importance, whilst Ugento (Roman *Uxentum*) was almost certainly the most important tribal center in the southern tip of Salento.

Pre-Roman settlements of the same district: Gnathia, Valesio, Muro Tenente, San Pancrazio Salentino, Manduria, Castelli di Manduria, Monte Saletto (in the northern part); Lecce, Rocavecchia, Otranto, Vaste, Muro Leccese, S. Maria di Vereto, Monte Sardo (Alessano), Alezio, Fani, Soletto and Nardò (all in the southern part of the Salento peninsula).

³¹ In several publications the term 'Peuketioi' is used for the indigenous groups of the present day province of Bari (cf, De Juliis 1995). The western fringes of this province including the important sites of Monte Sannace, Altamura and Gravina di Puglia, however, belong to the same cultural

group as important settlements of eastern Basilicata/Metapontino district, whilst the northern parts of the same province constitute the core area of the Ofanto district (sites: Ruvo di Puglia, Canosa, Cannae etc.).

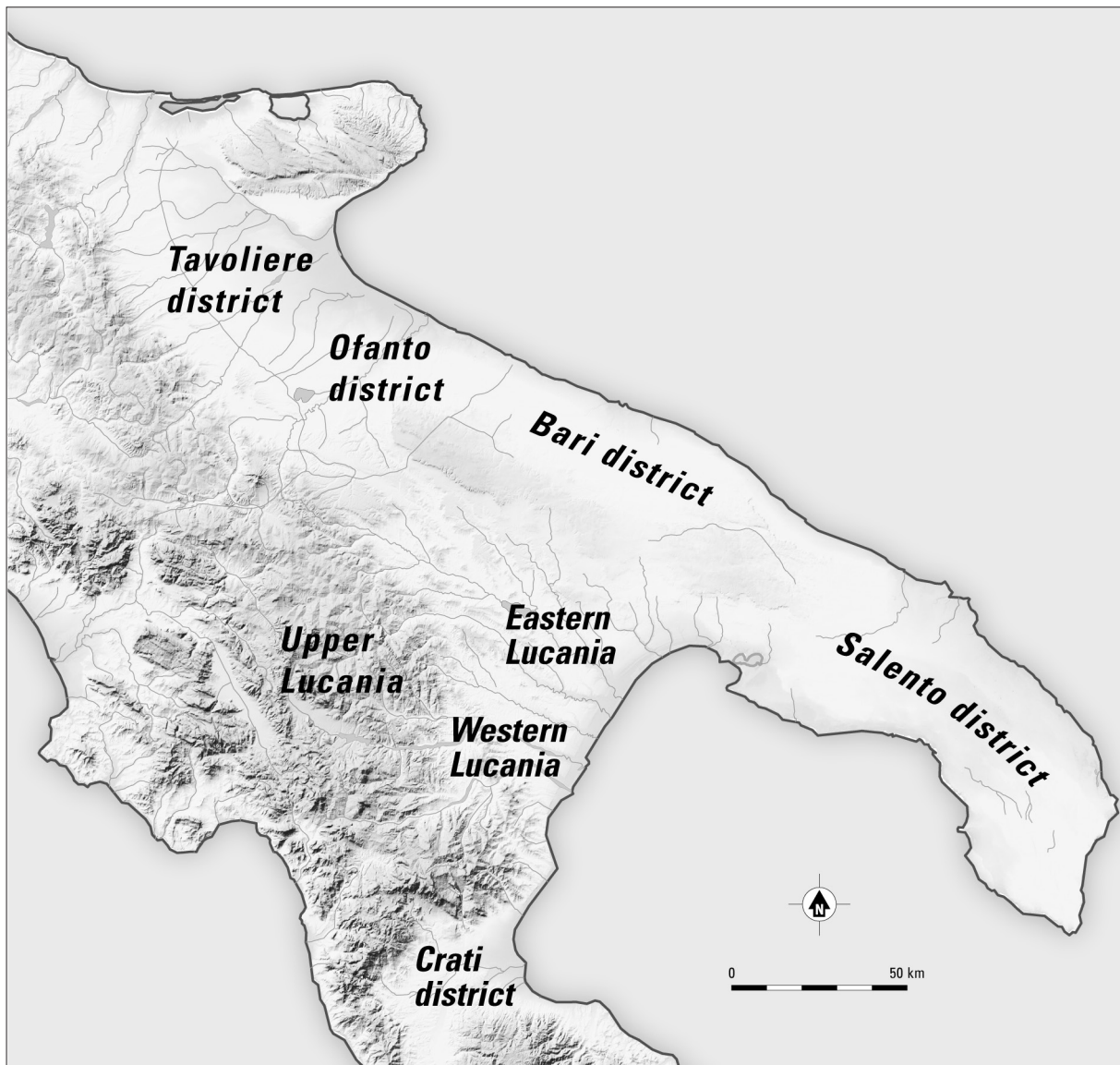


Fig. 3.8. Present-day ‘archaeological’ geography: districts of southeast Italy with cultural groups identified by archaeologists (situation in the late 6th/early 5th century).

These cultural groups as defined above continued to be highly visible all over southeast Italy to within the 5th century BC. From that time onwards the differences between them became less conspicuous, because the material culture of the various non-Greek districts bordering on the *chōra*i of the Greek city states was rapidly becoming more and more uniform: Greek shapes, ornaments and techniques were widely adopted by the craftsmen of ‘indigenous’ southeast Italy. This process of artefactual change (often erroneously called ‘Hellenization’) affected the Sibaritide, Basilicata and south and central Apulia most strongly. The north-Apulian districts which were quite distant from the Greek poleis, retained many of their Iron-Age peculiarities to well within the 3rd century BC.



Fig. 3.9. Ancient Greek geography (6th to 3rd century BC): map with tribal names used by ancient Greek authors.

Districts	Greek label(s) VI-V BC	Greek label(s) IV-III BC	Roman label(s) III-I BC
North-Calabria	Oinotrioi	Loukanoi, Brettioi	Bruttii
Basilicata (and southern Campania)	Oinotrioi, Chaones, Opikoi	Loukanoi	Lucani
North-Apulia	Iapyges, Daunioi	Iapyges, Daunioi	Apuli
Central Apulia	Iapyges, Peuketioi, Poidikloi	Iapyges, Peuketioi	Apuli
South-Apulia	Iapyges, Messapioi	Messapioi, Kalabroi, Sallentinoi	Messapii, Calabri, Salentini

Table 3.1. Greek and Roman labels for indigenous groups living in southeast Italy.

In the following chapters these basically Greek labels for indigenous groups will be used regularly. The ceramics of northern Apulia, for instance, will be indicated as ‘Daunian’ pottery and a non-Greek town of southern Apulia will sometimes be called a ‘Messapian’ settlement. It should be noted that within the context of this book the ‘terms ‘Daunian’ and ‘Messapian’ are exclusively convenient labels in order to denote objects or features characteristic of a specific district of southeast Italy.

4 Huts, Houses and Migrants: the Iron Age (c. 1000/900–600/550 BC)

4.1 THE BEGINNINGS OF THE IRON AGE

By about the 10th century BC the South-Italian landscapes looked quite different from what they had been in the Late Bronze Age (LBA). This observation holds especially good for the coastal strip of southern Apulia, Basilicata and northern Calabria where most of the major LBA settlements had been located. But first of all, it should be observed that the continuity of occupation between Bronze Age and Iron Age was strong. Most of the LBA sites – often with Early Bronze Age or Middle Bronze Age origins – continued to be inhabited during the Final Bronze Age and the early Iron Age. Important LBA sites such as Timmari, Scoglio del Tonno (Taranto) and Rocavecchia were also settlements of considerable importance during the Iron Age. LBA sites of probably secondary importance had a comparable settlement history and often survived into the Iron Age.¹

Of course, settlements were given up from time to time. This happened for a variety of reasons. But when this was done, it happened mainly in middle to later 8th or early 7th century BC.² This means that during the first two centuries of the Iron Age human occupation took place in the same environmental niches as in the preceding Bronze Age phases. Settlements were mostly on the coast and on the gently sloping hills rising above river valleys, often in close proximity of the coast. As we shall see below, a major change in settlement patterns took place in various parts of southeast Italy the course of the 8th century BC.

One of the major characteristics of the Iron Age settlements of southeast Italy was that they were highly dispersed. This observation holds especially good for the earlier phase of this period (10th–8th century BC). When a settlement had been continuously occupied since the Late Bronze Age, its Iron Age inhabitants often lived both within and outside the LBA earthworks (*aggeres*) and were doubtlessly acquainted with the large three to five hundred year old tumuli or dolmens on the fringes of the former LBA territory. They lived in a landscape that – for them – contained impressive monuments produced by another world. None of the large tumulus burials or dolmens is reported to display traces of Iron Age activities. Therefore, the role of these LBA monuments in the Iron Age may have been different from that of the Mycenaean tholos graves which continued to be important points of reference for people living in Geometric Greece. However, since most of these Italian Bronze Age tumuli and dolmens were dismantled many years ago, some caution is needed here, especially since the continuity between Bronze Age and Iron Age is quite remarkable in southeast Italy and these monuments are highly conspicuous elements in the landscape.

¹ For instance, the sites of Santa Maria d'Anglona (Basilicata), Porto Perone (Taranto area) or Santa Maria di Ripalta (Ofanto district).

² From this time onward the traces of human occupation are faint or absent at, for instance, the sites of Torre

Castelluccia on the Gulf of Taranto and Toppo Daguzzo in northeast Basilicata. The same holds good for the important LBA site of Coppa Nevigata on the Gulf of Manfredonia (north-Apulia) which seems to have lost much of its importance during the early Iron Age.

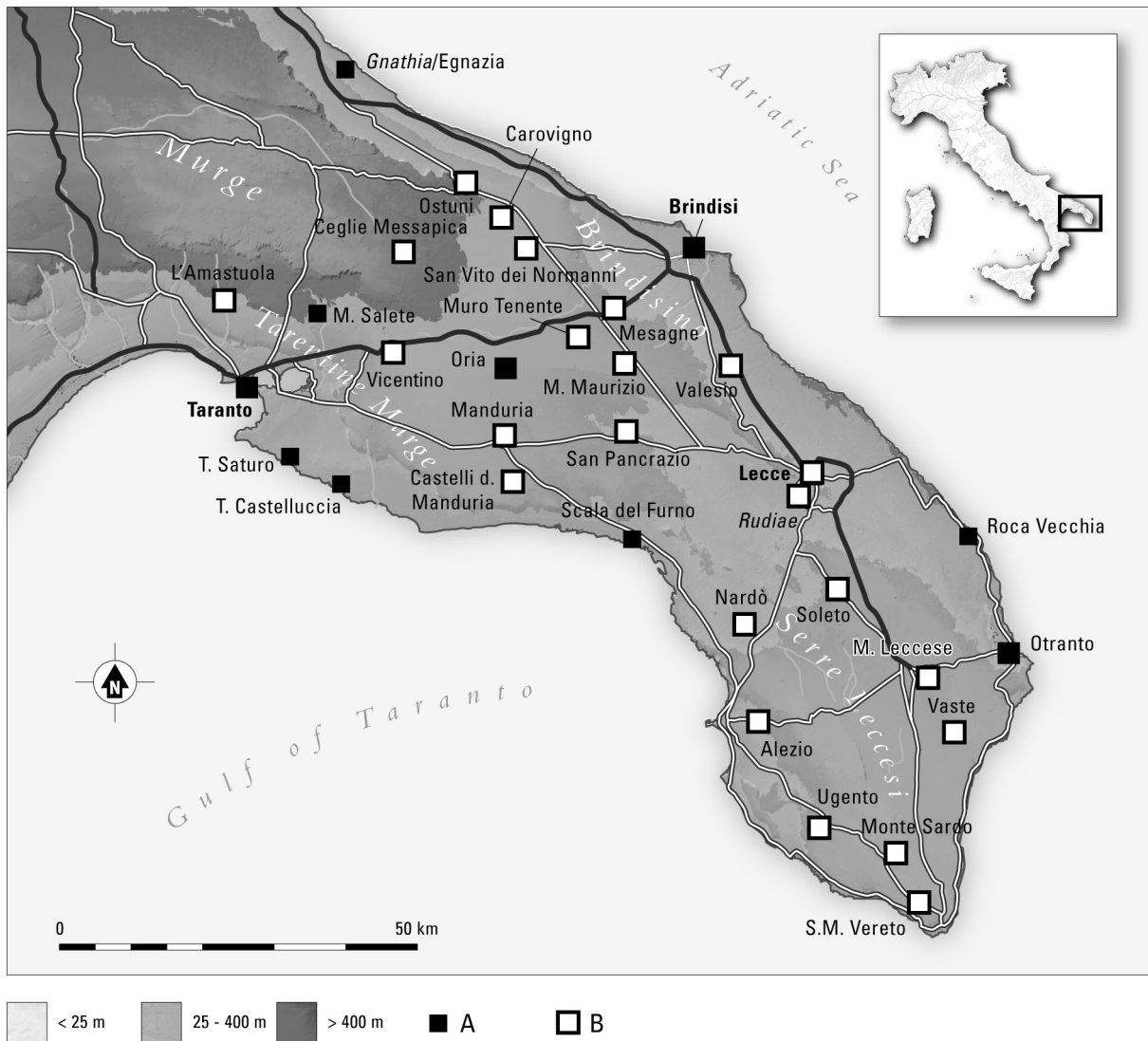


Fig. 4.1. Settlements in Salento around 700 BC. A settlements with Bronze Age origins; B settlements founded in the 8th century BC.

The present evidence suggests that southeast Italy was fairly thinly populated in the early stages of the Iron Age. The settlements were not only highly dispersed, they probably consisted of a relatively small number of households. The population figures for the 10th and 9th centuries BC were almost certainly considerably lower than those for the flourishing days of the Late Bronze Age. The various clusters of the mostly small settlements were strewn over the landscape. They occurred in fertile inland areas (e.g. the important site of Timmari), but as we have seen, they were often concentrated in coastal areas. This is remarkable, especially since in a part of the research area (notably in Apulia) the richest soils were certainly *not* on the coast. The continuing preference for a coastal location, therefore, seems to suggest that agriculture was certainly not the only, and perhaps in some cases not the most important economic activity of the societies of the early Iron-Age.

From about the middle of the 9th century the signs of human presence in the landscape become more numerous and more intense. Gradual landscape infill can be observed in the fertile zones with gently sloping hills in southern Basilicata. Here the Bronze Age site of Santa Maria d'Anglona spread out over

dozens of hectares between the rivers Agri and Sinni,³ whilst the probably relatively modest Bronze Age site of San Teodoro spread over a plateau of 180 hectares between the rivers Basento and Cavone and evolved into the highly dispersed Iron Age site of L'Incoronata/San Teodoro.⁴ A similar gradual landscape infill can be surmised in the equally fertile plains of northern Apulia. Here the chain of hills south of the river Ofanto for which only a few sites have been reported for the Late Bronze Age,⁵ begins to show signs of more intense occupation foreshadowing the habitation patterns of the 7th and 6th centuries. By the end of the Iron Age this c. 30 km long range of hills displayed almost continuous, highly dispersed traces of habitation. These reached greater densities in the areas currently indicated as sites (Barletta, Canne, Canosa and Lavello). The 9th- to 8th-century necropoleis of Sala Consilina situated in the mountainous transition zone between southeast Italy and southern Campania,⁶ and the cemeteries of L'Incoronata in the coastal strip of Basilicata also demonstrate this general trend.⁷ They illustrate the presence of increasingly cohesive and increasingly populous groups in the landscapes of southeast Italy.

It is uncertain whether this increased visibility of human presence in the late 9th and early 8th centuries BC was the result of demographic growth, a change from semi-nomadism to a more sedentary, predominantly agrarian lifestyle, a combination of both, or still other factors. The fact is that the early 8th century BC also shows a marked regionalization in southeast Italy. In this period various 'cultural groups' came into being that are each characteristic of a particular geographic district with mostly clearly defined natural boundaries.⁸ These districts and the indigenous groups that reportedly populated them, have been discussed in chapter 3: the Opikoi, Oinotrioi and Chaones of Basilicata and southern Campania and the Daunioi, Peuketioi and Messapioi of Apulia (the six Greek labels mentioned in the ancient sources) and the eight cultural entities which have been distinguished by modern scholars. Each of these eight groups started to display a combination of features that is utterly characteristic of that particular group and that particular district only (see section 4.6 of this chapter). These may regard, for instance, the 'use' of the landscape, settlement forms, types of dwellings, burial customs, religious activities, the composition of the livestock, ceramic style, types of bronzes, etc. These regional characteristics will be discussed in the following sections 4.2-4.6.

During the 7th and 6th centuries the characteristics of the various regional cultural groups became more and more pronounced. Although from the later 6th century onward cultural influences from Greeks living in southern Italy had a strongly homogenizing effect on the indigenous cultural groups of the various districts, it was not before the 3rd century BC that these regional peculiarities within southeast Italy began to vanish definitively. This process of 'cultural unification' was more or less completed in the 1st century BC when peninsular Italy was unified under Roman rule, when migrations had dramatically changed the composition of the population and when interregional contacts within Italy and relations with areas outside Italy had become very intense indeed.⁹

4.2 SETTLEMENT AND LANDSCAPE

The causes for the gradual human infill of the landscape from the middle of the 9th century onward must remain uncertain. But it was in the 3rd and 4th quarters of the 8th century that this phenomenon gained momentum and resulted in a series of drastic changes in the landscapes of southeast Italy. The

³ Whitehouse / Whitehouse 1969, D'Ambrosio 1992, Giardino / De Siena 1999.

⁴ Pelosi 1991, Giardino/De Siena 1999.

⁵ The urnfield at Canosa (Lo Porto 1992a) and the habitation site of Madonna del Petto (Muntoni 1998).

⁶ Kilian 1964 and 1970.

⁷ Chiartano 1977, 1994, 1996.

⁸ The definition of the term 'cultural group' as used here has been given in chapter 3.

⁹ For the (problematical) topic of the unification of Italy, see Mouritsen 1998.



Fig. 4.2. Valesio (Salento district, south-Apulia), the earliest phases (urban survey). Distribution of 8th-century artifacts (left) and distribution of 7th-century artifacts (right) within the 4th-century walled town (with modern agricultural plots); 1 locally made matt-painted wares; 2 imported Greek pottery; 3 burnished impasto wares.

best evidence comes from the Salento peninsula. Here a series of settlements has been quite thoroughly investigated,¹⁰ while high intensity field surveys have been carried out in both the Brindisi area and the southern Murge hills in the northern part of the peninsula. These were of both urban and rural type,¹¹ and supply important information for the construction of an image of the dynamics in the Iron Age settlement patterns.¹² Therefore, the changes in settlement patterns that affected the Salento peninsula in the Iron Age will be discussed in some detail.

First it should be stressed that most settlements of the later phases of the Bronze Age continued to be inhabited in Salento during the Iron Age. But in this period the focus of human activity rapidly shifted. We have seen that in both the Late and the Final Bronze Age the majority of habitation centres was on the coast. For the settlements that originated in the 8th century BC, however, a new type of location was preferred: the new settlements of Iron Age Salento were definitely inland. The distances between the newly founded habitation centres and the settlements with Bronze Age roots were mostly between c. 10 and 25 km. The new settlements arose almost invariably in areas with fertile, well-watered soils that were very suitable for the agriculturalist's activities by Iron Age standards. This means that entirely new areas were reclaimed for human occupation.

The number of new settlements in Salento, moreover, was surprisingly large. Between 760 and 720 BC some 15 to 20 new settlements were born here.¹³ This quantity is larger than the number of

¹⁰ For instance, D'Andria 1999.

¹¹ With the term 'rural field survey' the now classic all-period and complete-coverage field surveys are indicated (see Keller / Rupp 1983). The term 'urban survey' means that ancient, now abandoned settlements have been subjected to high intensity field surveys (cf. Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988). In the past decade both

types of survey have been integrated resulting in a sophisticated system for the recovery of surface finds.

¹² Yntema 1993a (Oria); Burgers 1998 (Muro Tenente, San Pancrazio, Muro Maurizio, Masseria Mea), Burgers et al. 1998 (Ostuni), Burgers / Recchia 2009, Crielaard 2011 (L'Amastuolo).

¹³ D'Andria 1991, 405; Burgers 1998, 186-191.

coastal settlements of the Iron Age that had their origins in the Bronze Age. In a relatively short time (c. 50 years) the number of settlements more than doubled in Iron Age Salento (fig. 4.1). The new settlements represented in this count, moreover, are those rather conspicuous sites that were obviously successful and survived into the 6th or later centuries. Intensive field surveys, however, have revealed the presence of at least four very small 8th-century sites that were short-lived: they were occupied for no more than 30 to 40 years.¹⁴ If this data set obtained in survey areas with an extension of some 100 km², is extrapolated to a regional scale, many more of these short-lived 8th-century settlements may be postulated. Hence it follows that the 8th century BC is likely to have been a highly dynamic period in which crucial changes took place in the settlement patterns of Salento. The present evidence suggests that all of a sudden people started to colonize formerly uninhabited inland areas of the Salento peninsula on a surprisingly large scale.

These dramatic changes in the settlement patterns that affected the Salento peninsula from about 760/740 BC, ask for explanations. These concern, for instance, the provenance and the size of the groups of colonists, their motives for creating new living areas and for selecting entirely new inland locations that differed from the traditional, basically coastal settlement systems. The last question can be answered by location analysis. It has already been said that the new settlements came into being on or near fertile calcareous, well-watered soils. These are invariably rich in springs or have water veins close to the surface that can be reached by constructing two to four m. deep wells. These data suggest that the 8th-century colonists were basically agriculturalists looking for farmland. The new locations they selected were spots where Iron Age farmers with Iron Age technologies could survive and thrive.

The origins of the people living in the new settlements can only be established somewhat hypothetically and along very general lines. The only way to tackle this problem is by analyzing the material remains of the new settlements. It appears that these did not differ from those found in contemporary settlements with Bronze Age roots. The layout of the new settlements, the dwellings and portable objects found in them all have exact parallels in the settlements with a much longer pedigree in this same district. Hence it follows that the groups that colonized inland Salento, were no newcomers from far-away areas. They consisted of people who had their origins in the tribal groups of the same peninsula. The families that populated the new settlements had split off from groups that lived in, or were closely connected with the Salento settlements with Bronze Age origins.

There are, moreover, data indicating the size of the groups of colonists that left their homes in order to occupy new areas. Intensive auguring in one of the small and short-lived settlements found during intensive field surveys around the isthmus site of Oria, revealed that it consisted of three to five huts.¹⁵ This suggests that the population living in this particular cluster of huts probably ranged between approximately 15 and 30 persons.¹⁶ Comparable data come from the urban survey of the site of Valesio (14 km south of Brindisi). Disastrous deep-ploughing activities immediately preceding the urban survey demonstrated that this settlement consisted of three nuclei of three to five huts each in its earliest phase (c. 750/740-710/700) (fig. 4.2, left). Since these huts were only partly contemporary, the population of Valesio in that very early phase of its existence may be estimated between minimally 30 and maximally 60 persons.¹⁷ The group that split off in order to found a new community, therefore, consisted of a few dozens of people (women and children included).

It was certainly not easy to leave one's settlement and start a new life in the midst of the Salento forests in the 8th century BC. This action required the arduous and time-consuming task of felling trees and clearing a substantial patch of forest in order to create space for both the settlement and its fields. It is, therefore, crucial to have an insight into the motives behind these colonizations. But the question why small groups made this choice, is difficult to answer. First of all the overall demographic situation

¹⁴ Yntema 1993a; Burgers 1998.

¹⁵ Yntema 1993a, 159.

¹⁶ Each hut is assumed to have been the dwelling of five to six persons.

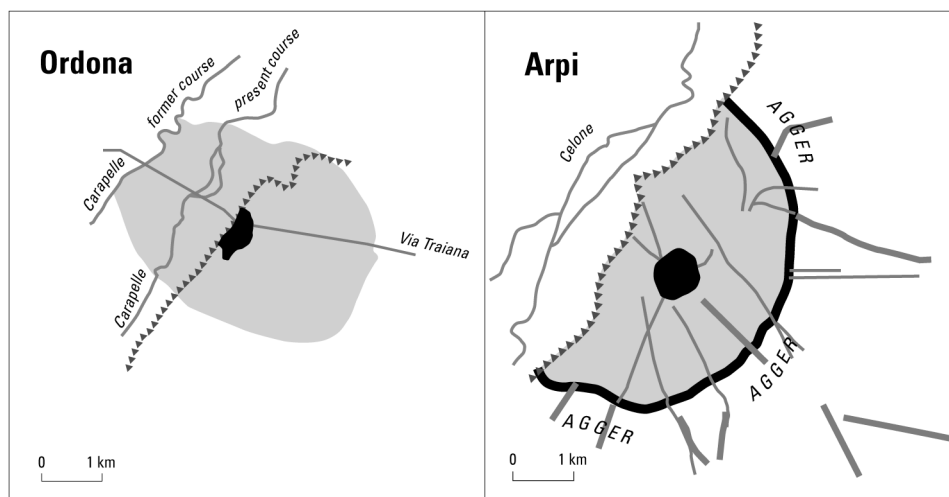


Fig. 4.3. Arpi and Ortona (Tavoliere, north-Apulia): Iron-Age dispersed settlement areas (7th-4th century BC) compared to early Roman urban phases (late 3rd-2nd century BC); adapted from Delano Smith 1979.

for 8th-century Salento should be made clear. When people leave their homes in order to colonize new areas in their own district, a population drain should be visible in the already existing settlements. This is indeed the case. A number of relatively small Iron Age settlements on the coast seem to have dwindled into insignificance and were abandoned during the second half 8th century BC. Torre Castelluccia in the Taranto district which features prominently in the chapter on the Bronze Age, was one of these sites. Other coastal sites of the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, such as Taranto, Otranto and Brindisi continued to exist and may even have expanded. The same holds good for the few sites with a Bronze Age pedigree that were situated inland. Whilst Late Bronze Age nucleated Oria (c. 20 km from the Gulf of Taranto) may have had an extension of some 6 to 10 hectares, the admittedly highly dispersed Iron Age settlement covered some 70 to 90 hectares around 700/650 BC and can be assumed to have had hundreds of inhabitants.¹⁸ This notwithstanding, the district surrounding Oria which displays no traces of occupation in the final phases of the Bronze Age and the earliest phases of the Iron Age, was rapidly filled with new, initially small settlements during the later 8th century BC.

In the present state of research it seems that there were at least two, perhaps three factors that contributed to the relatively sudden colonization of inland Salento. The first factor is simply a population shift. Small groups living initially in relatively small settlements on the coast moved inland and founded new settlements on fertile soils. The second phenomenon is demographic growth. This has often been used as an easy explanation, but when suddenly a good handful of new settlements appear in a district where various larger settlements with earlier origins display signs of growth, the population is likely to have increased. This observation, for instance, holds good for the above-mentioned LBA site of Oria in the Brindisi plain that was to become a major tribal centre in the Iron Age.¹⁹ Two or three small groups of some 25 to 40 people may have left Oria in order to start a new life elsewhere. A third factor behind the colonization of inland Salento may, of course, be that formerly archaeologi-

¹⁷ Yntema 1993b.

¹⁸ Yntema 1993a, 155.

¹⁹ The Greek 5th-century author Herodotus (VII, 170) even records a Messapian *origo* myth in which Oria (Hyriè) is considered to be the mother town of all the 'Messapian' settlements. There are several settle-

ments at a relatively short distance from Oria that can be shown to have originated in the 8th century BC, e.g. Muro Tenente (10 km northeast of Oria), Muro Maurizio (17 km to the east of Oria), San Pancrazio Salentino (20 km southeast of Oria) and Manduria (10 km south of Oria).

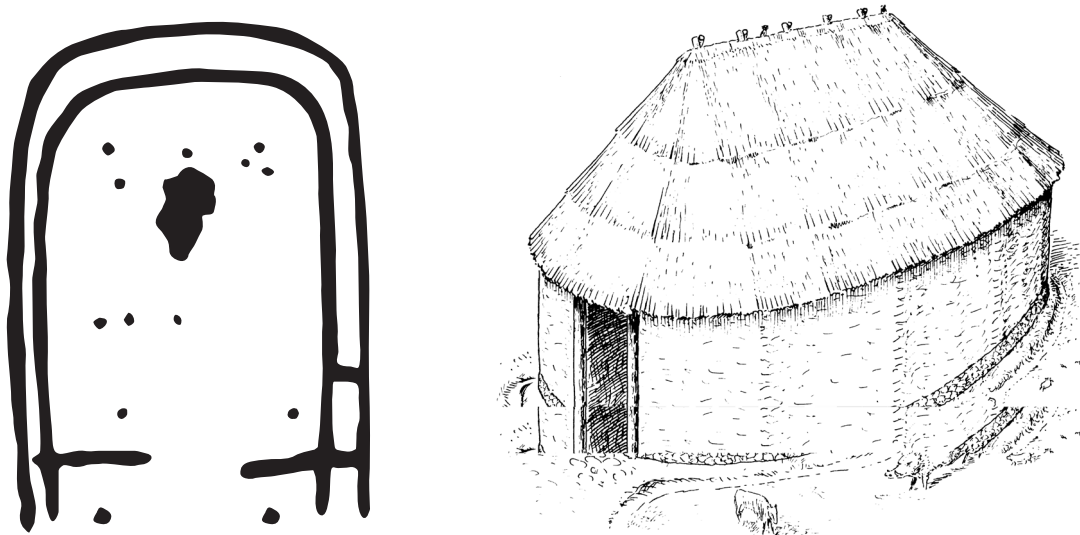


Fig. 4.4. (a) Salapia (Tavoliere district, north-Apulia): ground plan of hut, 9th-8th century BC (adapted from Tinè Bertocchi 1973); (b). Valesio (Salento) reconstruction of hut, 7th century BC.

cally invisible groups, such as pastoralist members of Salento societies, also contributed to the landscape infill of the inland plains by becoming sedentary, archaeologically traceable farmers. Both the massiveness and suddenness of the landscape infill, however, suggest that something drastic happened in the Salento societies around or shortly after the middle of the 8th century BC. The regional groups of this district were in a ferment that resulted in a remarkable short-distance displacement of people and completely different settlement patterns.²⁰

These colonizations of inland areas, though their impact may have been modest during much of the 8th and early 7th centuries, were the first steps towards far-reaching ecological changes. When the number of settlements more than doubled in Salento in the period under discussion, natural environments were replaced by man-made landscapes at an unprecedented speed and on an unprecedented scale. These were only the beginnings of increasingly drastic infringements on the natural landscapes that culminated in Hellenistic and Roman times.

Now that the ins and outs of continuity and change in the Salento settlement patterns have been discussed, we may look for the reasons behind these remarkable changes. The drastic decision of a group to leave its settlement and start a new life elsewhere was not taken lightly. As we have seen above, two or more factors contributed to the substantial movement of people in the 8th century BC. There is, therefore, no simple, straightforward explanation for this phenomenon. Why did people move from the smaller settlements on the coast to an inland area? Perhaps because of the limited extent and the modest quality of agricultural lands close to the coastal settlements which may have showed signs of exhaustion. Perhaps also because there was a new and steadily intensifying phenomenon at sea: foreigners who spoke Greek and exchanged goods, but who tried to kill you, who plundered your stores and stole your women and animals when they got half the chance (see paragraph 4.3). But why leave the rapidly growing inland settlement of Oria for which there certainly was no piracy threat? Perhaps this was done exactly *because* this settlement grew so rapidly, because in approximately three to five generations the population had grown from one or two hundred to three or five hundred. This demographic growth almost certainly led to increased competition and the ensuing tensions between

²⁰ Yntema 1993a, 160-161; Burgers 1998, 186-189.

family groups and caused considerable social stress in the local societies. Small groups were thrown out or went away on their own initiative in order to build up a new existence elsewhere. They did so by clearing patches in the woods at a considerable distance from the settlement they came from. The 8th century BC, therefore, appears to be a period of substantial ferment and fission in the tribal societies of Salento.

In order to trace such phenomena both substantial settlement excavations and high intensity field surveys of various kinds are needed. As a result of field work in the Fossa Bradanica (the rift linking the Gulf of Taranto with north-Apulia) a comparable colonization can be observed.²¹ For other areas of southeast Italy, these surveys are often missing or still in their infancy. In the present state of research, therefore, there is no adequate evidence that helps us establish whether similar changes in the settlement patterns can indeed be observed all over southeast Italy. There are, however, signs that may be telling. A case study in the in the 'Peucetian' district around present-day Bari suggests that here a fair number of settlements are likely to have their origins in the 8th century BC.²² This information suggests that new areas were colonized here at approximately the same time as in Salento and the Gravina area of the Fossa Bradanica.

More solid information on colonization comes from Basilicata. It should be remembered that the settlements were predominantly near the coast in the Late and Final Bronze Age. Some of these settlements expanded enormously in the course of the later 9th and 8th centuries (especially Santa Maria d'Anglona and L'Incoronata) and became very large and highly dispersed. The impression from reports on the inland areas of Basilicata is that stable forms of settlement often made their appearance here from the late 9th onward, but especially during the 8th century BC.²³ If indeed new areas were reclaimed for agricultural purposes in Basilicata, it was especially in the higher inland parts of that region. If there was a colonization in Basilicata comparable to that in Salento (and I believe there was), the higher parts of the region were colonized by people coming from the relatively low lying coastal areas. The uplands, moreover, were probably no *terra incognita* for the coastal groups of Basilicata. These mountainous areas contained important summer pastures which are likely to have been visited by those members of the coastal societies who were intensely involved in pastoralist activities.

Similar changes in settlement patterns cannot yet be traced in the Tavoliere plain of northern Apulia. Whilst the few Bronze Age settlements (e.g. Coppa Nevigata) at the brim of the Tavoliere were abandoned in the earlier phase of the Iron Age, the first new settlements came into being on the coastal lagoons of the flat district at the very end of the Bronze Age or in the beginning of the Iron Age.²⁴ It is uncertain whether reclamations of inland areas were made in the following centuries. The fact is, however, that by the 8th century BC nearly all the major settlements of the later Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic times of the Tavoliere can be shown to have been in existence.²⁵ Since their locations show a preference for well-watered, light arable soils close to watercourses, they were undoubtedly farmer's settlements, just as those that came into being in inland Salento in the 8th century BC.

The differences in size between the various hut settlements of southeast Italy and the fact that a substantial number of these must have been founded starting from an existing settlement with a long history suggest that there were differences of status between the Iron Age settlements. The Greek historian Herodotus (VII, 170) pictures the Salento site of Oria as the 'metropolis' of the Messapians. The

²¹ Small / Small 2005.

²² See Riccardi 1999. The case study concerns an inventory of sites in the area surrounding the large site of Rutigliano.

²³ Bottini / Tagliente 1984, 111, Greco 1988, Rescigno 2001; Capozzoli / Osanna 2009, 141-142.

²⁴ These were the settlements of Siponto-Cupola-Beccarini (e.g. De Juliis 1977b) and Salapia-Marana Lupara (e.g. Tinè Bertocchi 1973; Alberti et al. 1981)

²⁵ For 8th-century origins of the site of Arpi, see Mazzei 1995, 41; for Ascoli Satriano, see Goffredo / Fico 2010, 29.

archaeological evidence concerning that site indicates that Oria indeed ranked above all other settlements on the Salento isthmus.²⁶ The Salento peninsula has been intensely studied. But it has also been observed that other districts of southeast Italy display similar signs of colonization and reclamation of formerly uninhabited areas. New, initially often small settlements, though economically self-supporting in many ways, must have depended socially, politically and mentally on the centre from which the colonists had set out to found a new settlement. There is, therefore, reason to assume that a distinct settlement hierarchy existed (or came into being) in almost every part of southeast Italy during the Iron Age.

In the preceding passage information on the outward appearance of the settlements has implicitly been given. They varied in size from one or two hectares for a newly founded settlement with two or three dozens of inhabitants to well over one hundred hectares with hundreds of inhabitants for a few settlements with a Bronze Age pedigree. The new colonist settlements developed fast and could cover some 15 to 20 hectares by the later 7th century BC (fig. 4.2 right).²⁷ But all these settlements shared one important feature: they were all highly dispersed. In the case of the Salento site of Oria with a total population of perhaps four to eight hundred persons in the 7th century, a series of settlement nuclei, probably consisting of five to seven huts each, were strewn over some 70 to 90 hectares. The 180 hectares large plateau with the site of L'Incoronata-San Teodoro on the Gulf of Taranto and the 270 ha. large settlement area of 7th-century Canosa in central-north Apulia are other examples of this highly dispersed character of Iron Age settlements.²⁸

The most extreme case can be found in the north-Apulian plain. Around 600/550 BC an approximately 2.00 m. high and 7 km long *agger* enclosed the eastern side of the important site of Arpi, whilst the western side was protected by 6 km of steep banks of the river Celone (fig. 4.3): they surrounded a settlement area of approximately 1.000 ha. The length of these obstacles (*agger* and steep banks) was, of course, far too great to serve as a defence against the aggression of neighbouring groups: the few hundreds of inhabitants were certainly unable to defend the c. 13 km long perimeter of Arpi effectively. The *agger*, therefore, clearly served other purposes.

The enormous extension of the settlement areas indicates that these were not exclusively the places where the inhabitants had their dwellings. Their sheer extension shows that they were far too large for this. Since the various groups of huts were often hundreds of meters apart, the 'empty' areas between the habitation clusters are likely to have been intensely used for other purposes than habitation. They probably contained the paths that linked the hut clusters, the fields, the compounds for animal husbandry and possibly a central open area where the leaders of the local family groups and their retinue discussed issues of common interest and where the members of the local community may have performed communal rites and feasted together. Family burial plots were part of the same manmade landscape. Each Iron Age settlement of southeast Italy, therefore, was a kind of human micro-cosmos surrounded by natural environments. It was a clearing in the natural vegetation and consisted of dwellings, fields, animal compounds and burial sites.

These manmade environments were surrounded on all sides by forests and shrubbery (*macchia*). These large, 'wild' areas were almost as vital to these societies as the manmade landscape of the settlement area. They supplied firewood and building materials, were foraging areas for swine, sheep, goats and cattle and provided additional food (e.g. wild fruit and wild plants; game such as hares, red deer and wild boar).²⁹ The dividing line between manmade landscape and natural landscape may have

²⁶ Burgers 1998, 190.

²⁷ Yntema 1993b.

²⁸ For L'Incoronata, see Pelosi 1991 and Giardino / De Siena 1999; for Canosa (*Canusium* in Roman times) see Goffredo 2010.

²⁹ Iron Age bone samples contain often a relatively large percentage (up to 6%) of red deer (*Cervus elaphus*), whilst the bones of pigs can at least partly be taken as belonging to the wild boar (*Sus scrofa*).

been clearly marked. Earthworks (usually of much more modest length than the 6th-century *agger* of Arpi) may have served this purpose. They could have been crowned by thorn bushes or even palisades. If so, they also served to keep the deer and wild boars off the fields and the wolves and bears off the animal husbandry.

During the 9th and 8th centuries BC the dwellings in the Iron Age settlements were invariably huts. The ground plans of these dwellings show only slight variations. Mostly these were oval. The huts were all more or less of the same size. They currently had a length between approximately 5.00 and 7.00 m and a width of 3.50 to 4.00 m. In some cases they had a straight front and a rounded back-side (fig. 4.4a). Their construction was simply wattle and daub with a stone plinth and a framework consisting of vertical posts. The roofs of the huts were made of thatched beams (fig. 4.4b). Huts with these characteristics can easily be constructed by a family group and are unlikely to have had a long life. Ceramics recovered from hut floors suggest that the average life expectancy of such a structure in southeast Italy varied between 20 and 30 years. This corresponds to approximately one generation, i.e. the average life expectancy of a household.³⁰

Burial sites were usually very much a part of the highly dispersed settlements of Iron Age southeast Italy: we have seen that they were often within the large settlement area.³¹ In the Iron Age the deceased were buried close to the living. Babies (and perhaps still-borns) could even be buried underneath the floor of the hut in which they had been brought into the world. The spatial distribution of tombs over the settlement is very similar to that of the dwellings. They often occur in small clusters that can be hundreds of meters apart. Like the clusters of huts, these clusters of graves probably represent family groups. Although it is often difficult to connect groups of huts with clusters of burials (only small parts of the large settlement areas have been excavated), one may suggest that often the deceased of the family group or clan were buried in the same family plot within the settlement that also contained the group's huts and fields.

A short summary of the data and the interpretations presented above supplies the following concise and necessarily generalized picture of settlement and landscape of southeast Italy in the period under discussion. In the Iron Age sedentary forms of settlement expanded considerably in many parts of southeast Italy. The resident population increased; demographic growth was probably substantial. As a result of this phenomenon, social stress is likely to have occurred, especially in the coastal areas of southeast Italy where much of the population had lived since the Later Bronze Age. It is moreover clear that in the course of the 9th, but especially during the 8th centuries BC, new areas were reclaimed for human activities on a relatively large scale. These were often in non-coastal environments. While the drive behind such actions may have been of a social nature (social stress) and could be triggered by external factors (e.g. raids by Greek ships on small coastal settlements), they resulted in the foundation of new farmer communities. Some of these may initially have depended on settlements with Bronze Age roots. As we have seen above, there was definitely a distinct settlement hierarchy in the later Iron Age. Since most of these new communities grew substantially in the first hundred years of their existence, they may have become relatively independent entities, being at a considerable distance from the 'old' settlements. This may have entailed a redefinition of territorial notions.³²

³⁰ This is approximately the period that covers the time between the founding of a new family and the moment the last child leaves the hut.

³¹ The exception to this rule is the southeast Salento peninsula. Although this district has been intensely

investigated, no Iron Age burials have been discovered here. The earliest Salento tombs date to the very end of the 7th or the early years of the 6th century BC.

³² Burgers 1998, 191, note 15.

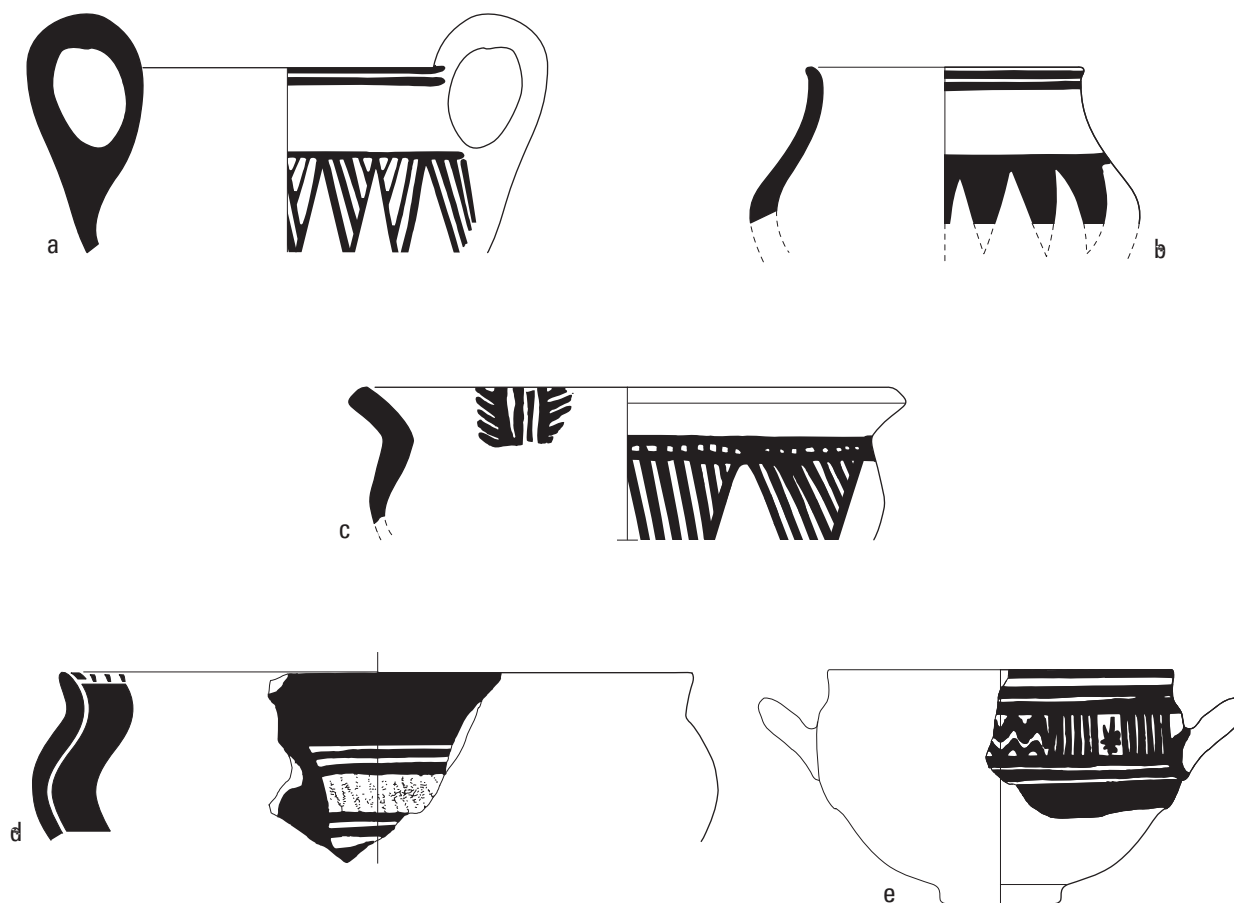


Fig. 4.5. Otranto (Salento district, south Apulia): (a-c) Albanian Devoll wares, late 9th-1st half of the 8th century BC and (d-e) Corinthian Middle Geometric wares (after D'Andria 1985 and 1995).

There is indeed good reason to assume that in the course of time new territories were carved out. This happened in an existing political landscape of which the general outline had been defined in the Bronze Age. The 'old' centres sometimes continued to be important: some of these were high up in the regional settlement hierarchy of the Iron Age. From the later 8th century onward, however, a partly new political landscape came into being in which the 'new' settlements played an increasingly significant role. Some of the 'old' settlements lost their important position, while some of the 'new' settlements became increasingly important and joined the ranks of major regional centres in the late phases of the Iron Age.³³ The traces of this new political landscape continued to be present in the regional societies till well after the Roman conquest of southern Italy.

³³ The earliest finds from the intensely researched settlement of Cavallino di Lecce date to the 8th century BC; by the middle of the 6th century BC it was a (or perhaps *the*) major centre in the central part of the Salento peninsula (D'Andria 1977, 1988, 2005; Pancrazzi 1979). A similar case was Serra di Vaglio in upper Basilicata. Although the first faint traces of

human presence here go back to the Final Bronze Age, Serra di Vaglio did not become a settlement of some substance before the 8th century BC. By the late 6th century BC it was one of the most important settlements of Basilicata and is often believed to have been the tribal centre of the whole *Nomen Lucanum* from the 5th or 4th century BC onward (cf. Greco 1980, 1991).

4.3 RAIDERS, TRADERS AND MIGRANTS

In the preceding section on settlements and landscape Greeks briefly appeared on the stage of the Italian Iron Age. Although the contacts between Greece and other areas of the eastern Mediterranean on the one hand and southeast Italy on the other hand probably never completely ceased, the material evidence for such contacts is thin for the 11th to 9th century BC.³⁴ From the end of the 9th century BC onward the signs of contacts between southeast Italy and the Greek world, however, become increasingly numerous. The earliest Greek Iron Age wares in Italy stem from the site of Otranto in the Salento peninsula. This is Italy's easternmost settlement and has an occupational history going back to well into the Bronze Age.³⁵ In settlement contexts with large numbers of locally produced matt-painted and impasto wares some 600 fragments of Greek pottery have been found which have been dated between the late 9th and the middle of the 8th century BC.³⁶ These are predominantly painted wares of Corinthian origin (Corinthian Middle Geometric wares; fig. 4.5 d-e), but undecorated transport vessels with a typically Corinthian fabric are also present in the same Iron Age strata.³⁷ The very same contexts of Otranto also contained modest quantities of the so-called Devoll wares from present-day Albania and Epirus (fig. 4.5 a-c).³⁸ This suggests that the contacts were not purely bilateral, but that at least three districts around the Ionian Sea participated in an exchange network: (a) the 'Corinthian' orbit with the Gulf of Corinth, (b) north-western Greece/south-Albania and (c) the Salento peninsula. Perhaps eastern Sicily should be added to this list. By passing through the Strait of Messina, moreover, the Tyrrhenean exchange network could be entered that had its principal focus on the island of Ischia/Pithekoussai.³⁹

In the second half of the 8th century the Greek ceramics that reached Salento grew into a flood. While Otranto is hitherto the only site of southeast Italy with a substantial quantity of early 8th-century imports,⁴⁰ the Corinthian Late Geometric wares and Protocorinthian pottery of the later 8th and early 7th century BC are widely distributed.⁴¹ These imported ceramics are found in large parts of the Salento peninsula, in the coastal zones of Basilicata and in northern Calabria, but are conspicuous by their absence on the Adriatic coast of southern Italy north of Brindisi.⁴² Otranto, however, received the lion's share of these Greek wares: thousands of pieces of imported Greek pottery have been found there. In Otranto, moreover, the variety of Greek 8th- and 7th-century imports is greater than at most other sites: in addition to the Corinthian wares, there are the so-called SOS amphorae (Attic or Euboean), amphorae from western Asia Minor and painted wares from Greek islands in the Aegean.⁴³ Both the large quantity and the great variety of imported ceramics suggest that Otranto held a special position in the maritime exchange network spanning the areas surrounding the Ionian Sea.

³⁴ See, for instance, Bietti Sestieri 1985.

³⁵ Orlando 1983.

³⁶ D'Andria 1995.

³⁷ These are storage vessels have the characteristic Corinthian A fabric. Among these the amphora is by far the most dominant form, but there are also fragments of large pithoi and jugs with the same fabric.

³⁸ These are handmade, matt-painted wares that are distributed over present-day central and southern Albania and northwest Greece (e.g. Kilian 1972; Hochstetter

1982; Votokopoulou 1986).

³⁹ Ridgway 1992 and 1993.

⁴⁰ i.e. Albanian Devoll pottery, Corinthian Middle Geometric and undecorated wares with the characteristic Corinthian A fabric. Two pieces identified as fragments of Corinthian Middle Geometric cups were found at L'Incoronata di Metaponto in Basilicata (Orlandini 1976; Denti 2010).

⁴¹ Dehl 1984; D'Andria 1985, 1995.

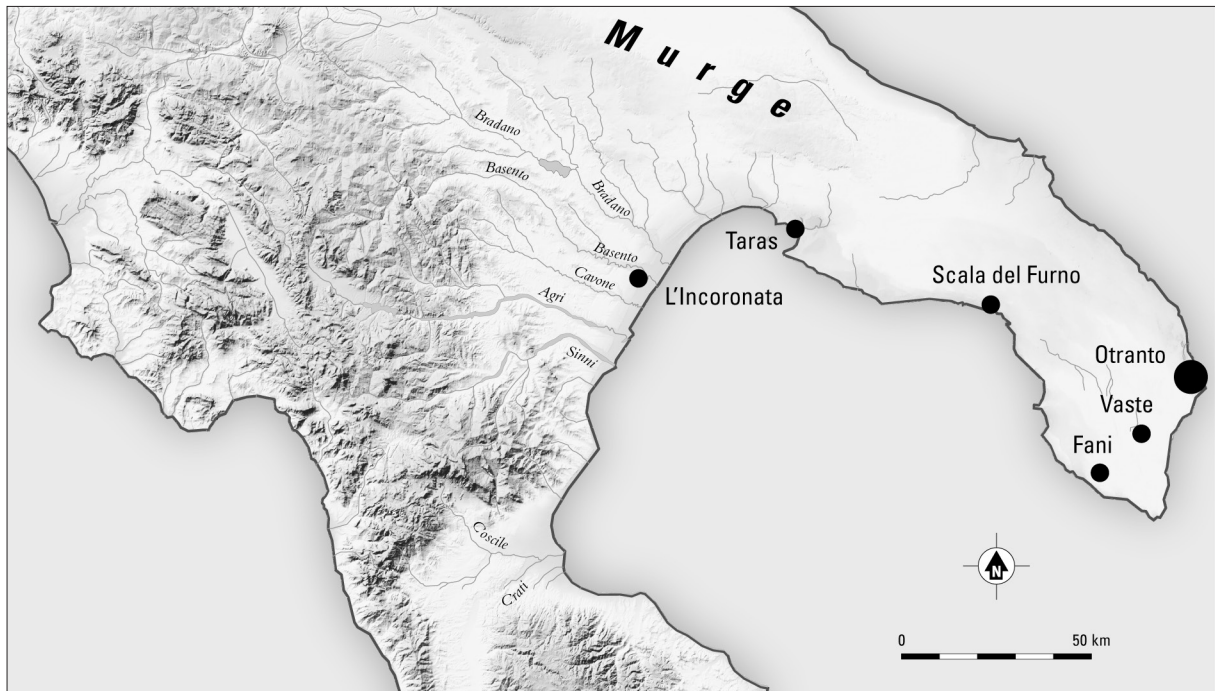


Fig. 4.6. Southeast Italy: distribution of Greek wares of the early to middle 8th century.

Greek Iron Age ventures towards the west have spawned a huge bibliography. Often archaeologists and ancient historians put their faith in the ancient written sources and believed that Greeks indeed founded Greek towns in southern Italy as early as the 8th century BC. Some of the Greek ceramics found in Italy appeared to precede the foundation of Greek *poleis*. Obviously, it was decided, trade went before the flag. It was, moreover, quite plausible to assume that the Greeks did not colonize a *terra incognita* but had a fairly good notion of the geography and the many qualities of the western world. The phase preceding Greek settlement in southern Italy has therefore been coined with the term ‘pre-colonization phase’, whilst the phase with ‘proof’ of Greek settlement (mostly consisting of Greek-style burials) in southern Italy and Sicily has been described as the ‘colonization phase’.⁴⁴ In recent times the data regarding Greek contacts with southern Italy have increased enormously and new, more nuanced explanations have been proposed.⁴⁵ On the basis of new archaeological evidence it has been demonstrated that pre-colonization cannot be clearly separated from the ‘classic’ colonization phase. Both terms appear to cover a wide variety of forms of Greek presence which have relatively little in common.⁴⁶ The use of these two concepts, therefore, appears to be fairly problematical. The definition of the term and the notions and prejudices attached to it will be discussed below in some detail.

⁴² The sites with Greek Late Geometric and Protocorinthian wares near the Adriatic coast are Valesio (Yntema 2001), Muro Tenente and San Pancrazio Salentino (Burgers / Maruggi 2001). The only site with such wares north of Brindisi is Castelluccio (Burgers / Recchia 2009, 79; Semeraro / Notarstefano 2011). This means that similar wares can be expected in Brindisi.

⁴³ For Otranto, D’Andria 1979, 1990 and 1995. A comparable variety of Greek ceramics is encountered in

8th-century Pithekoussai (Ridgway 1992) and in 7th-century L’Incoronata di Metaponto (e.g. *Greci sul Basento*).

⁴⁴ Ridgway 1992.

⁴⁵ Especially Carter 1993.

⁴⁶ Osborne 1998, Yntema 2000, Stein-Hölkeskamp 2006, Momrak 2007; for a very different view on Greek colonization, see Greco 2011.

But let us first consider the nature of the Greek presence in southeast Italy during the late 9th and the 8th century BC (i.e. the earliest phase of regular contacts between Greeks and people from Italy) in order to construct an image of what may have happened there. Hitherto imported Greek ceramics from this period have almost exclusively been found at the site of Otranto (fig. 4.6). The numerous finds here indicate that contacts with these foreigners were both fairly frequent and relatively intensive. This suggests that the settlement was a port of call and that Greeks came here in order to exchange articles with the local population. In the perception of the Iron Age Greeks, Otranto (like the island of Corfu) was only slightly beyond the threshold that separated their world from the world of 'the others'.⁴⁷ But why the concentration of Greek imports at Otranto in the earlier 8th century? Of course, this settlement was a first step from the Balkans towards the Tyrrhenean Sea and the island of Pithekoussai in the Bay of Naples which was an *emporion* (trade station) from about 770/760 onward.⁴⁸ As we have seen, the second step towards the Tyrrhenean was probably eastern Sicily. Otranto, therefore, was a crucial link in long distance exchange networks from the late 9th or early 8th century onward. Its inhabitants may well have participated in networks of guest-friendships that also involved the Greek sailors. The settlement was a port of call for Greek traders; its inhabitants assisted these foreigners by providing water, food and shelter.

Otranto, however, may well have been more than just a first step towards the Tyrrhenean and a vital link in an exchange network spanning the Ionian Sea. It is unlikely that the Greeks who visited Italy in the 8th century BC were exclusively peaceful traders. The Homeric poems tell us that trading, raiding and piracy went hand in hand in the Iron Age. In these, the achievement of *kleos* ('fame') by various means, including raiding and travelling beyond the threshold of the Greek world, is part and parcel of the aristocratic ideology.⁴⁹ Greeks, therefore, may have raided coastal settlements around the Ionian Sea and may have captured Greek and indigenous ships, if Homer's passages on this matter are not purely fictitious. Therefore, Otranto was not just an important port of call for ventures towards the west: it could also have been a base for other considerably less enlightened activities. These may, for instance, have included the quest for booty and slaves by means of piracy and raiding.

From the late 8th century BC, however, imported Greek ceramics are found in almost every site on the Strait of Otranto and the Gulf of Taranto. This observation holds good for both fine wares and transport vessels. Obviously, contacts with Greeks in this part of Italy intensified very substantially and may even have been maintained on a regular basis by quite a number of Italic settlements. Since these Greek ceramics are also found in inland settlements of southeast Italy,⁵⁰ indigenous exchange networks played a role in the distribution of these imported wares. Otranto, however, continued to hold a special position. The large number of Corinthian A amphorae, Corinthian painted wares and the storage sheds in late 8th- and early 7th-century strata of this site have led to the supposition that a group of Greeks actually settled here.⁵¹ If Greeks really lived at Otranto during this period (and I think this is plausible), they lived within, or at the periphery of, an indigenous settlement.

The site of Otranto has not produced any hard evidence of Greek presence in the form of Greek graffiti or burials which differ in several aspects from the indigenous mortuary practices observed in Iron Age southeast Italy. The claim of a more or less permanent Greek presence here is exclusively based on circumstantial evidence. From the first half of the 7th century onward, however, several sites of southeast Italy start to display a series of cultural features that have no predecessors in the 8th-century societies of this region. Among these are: (1) a new type of dwelling, (2) new types of burial

⁴⁷ Malkin 1998.

⁴⁸ See Ridgway 1992.

⁴⁹ Crielaard 1996.

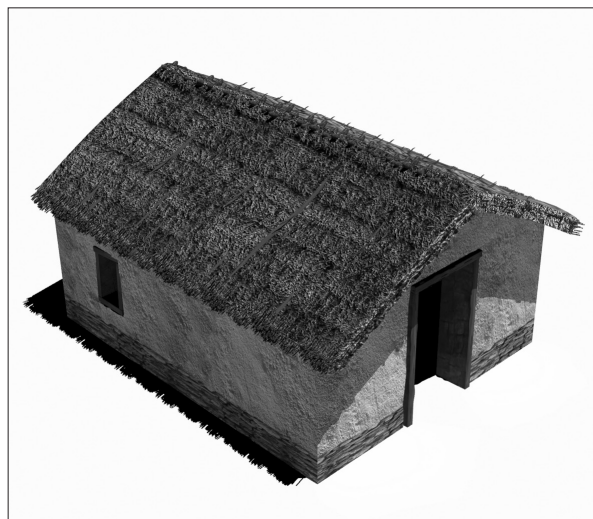
⁵⁰ For instance at Monte Sannace (Scarfi 1963, 130), Ali-

anello (Bianco / Tagliente 1985), San Pancrazio Salentino (Maruggi/Burgers 2001, 85), Muro Tenente (Burgers / Yntema 1999, 125, fig. 12.10).

⁵¹ For instance, D'Andria 1996.



Fig. 4.7. Early houses in southeast Italy: (a) plan of houses at L'Amastuola (after Maruggi 1996); (b-c) reconstructions of a house and the silos at L'Amastuola, mid 7th century BC.



customs and (3) drastic innovations in the sector of craft. The new type of dwellings and the new burial customs will be shortly discussed here.⁵²

Huts continued to be the principal form of dwelling in large parts of southeast Italy to within the first half of the 6th century BC. But in addition to these, a new architectural form made its appearance, probably as early as the second quarter of the 7th century BC. The newly introduced type of dwelling was the house, having a rectangular ground plan and one or more rooms (fig. 4.7a). The lower part of the walls of these buildings consisted of cobble-stones from near-by rivers or irregular blocks of local limestone. There is usually little information about the superstructure. The upper part of the walls probably consisted of mudbrick sustaining beams forming a thatched roof (fig. 4.7b). The most striking

⁵² The innovations in craft will be discussed in the below section 4.6.



Fig. 4.8. Siris (southern Basilicata): (a) native style burial; (b) cremations and infant burials in container vessels (2nd-3rd quarter of the 7th century BC. (Bianco/Tagliente 1985, 78).

aspect of the rectangular house is that it is exclusively found in a few settlements during the last phase of the Iron Age (middle to later 7th century BC). Specimens of this type have been unearthed at the sites of Siris,⁵³ L'Incoronata di Metaponto⁵⁴ and L'Amastuola.⁵⁵ Initially the new phenomenon of the rectangular house was rare and had a markedly coastal distribution.

The same three coastal settlements that show the new form of dwelling (Siris, L'Incoronata and L'Amastuola), also display strikingly new features in burial customs.⁵⁶ These made their appearance in the first quarter of the 7th century BC and became slightly more common from c. 670/660 onward. These three settlements have necropoleis showing characteristics that differ in many respects from earlier burial sites in southeast Italy. The first new feature was that the new type of burial sites was definitely *outside* the settlement area, whereas traditionally the burial grounds and habitation areas were not rigidly separated. A second novelty was that they became in due course substantial graveyards with a considerable density of burials and differed notably from the traditional, dispersed clusters of tombs.⁵⁷ The necropoleis of this new type, moreover, were often used for a relatively long time. They were, therefore, stable elements in the human landscape. The necropolis of L'Amastuola near Taranto, for instance, is estimated to have contained more than 250 graves (nearly all robbed) and spanned a period of approximately two centuries.⁵⁸ Siris has the most complete and relatively well-published series of

⁵³ Tagliente 1985.

⁵⁴ Carter 1993; Lambrugo 2003.

⁵⁵ Maruggi 1996; Burgers / Crielaard 2007 and 2011.

⁵⁶ For the 7th-6th century necropoleis of Siris, see Berlingò 1986 and 1993; for L'Incoronata, see Giardino /

De Siena 1999, 35; for L'Amastuola, see Maruggi 1996.

⁵⁷ Within these new graveyards family groups can usually be recognized.

⁵⁸ Burgers / Crielaard 2011, 105-114.

burials of these three coastal necropoleis of the 7th century BC.⁵⁹ In fact the settlement had at least two substantial burials grounds which are some 600 meters apart.⁶⁰ The southwestern Schirone necropolis was only partially excavated (64 tombs recovered), the western Madonelle necropolis contained at least 450 burials. Initially the burials rites within these two contemporary cemeteries varied considerably: cremation in a large pot, inhumation in a trench or inhumation in a large jar (fig. 4.8). The quantity of objects in the graves is invariably small when compared to the tombs of traditional Italic type. The burial gifts mostly consisted of a few Greek pots, *aryballoi* and wine cups being foremost among them. The containers in which the ashes of the adults or the bodies of the children were deposited, could be Greek as well. Among them are amphorae from the eastern part of the Aegean (e.g. Chios and Clazomenae) and Corinthian A amphorae, but both the cremated remains of the adults and the bodies of children (invariably inhumation) could also be interred in large impasto containers of traditional type that had been made in large quantities in southeast Italy since the Bronze Age.

Burials of these new and unusual types have also been discovered at other sites of the area under discussion. The earliest grave displaying an unusual character stems from Taranto and can be dated to approximately 700 BC.⁶¹ In principle this could be a Greek sailor's grave, but Taranto has produced at least six more graves of this type. These, moreover, were the earliest burials in what would become the large necropolis of the Greek *polis* of Taras.⁶² Furthermore, very similar small grave groups with predominantly middle and late Proto-Corinthian wares (often *aryballoi* among them) have also been reported from the coastal sites of Torre Satureo and Brindisi in south Apulia.⁶³

In the first half of the 7th century, therefore, a new type of burial site with new types of burial rites made its appearance in southeast Italy. These new features are exclusively found in coastal settlements. Some of these grave groups were long-lived and developed into fairly large necropoleis (Siris, L'Incoronata, L'Amastuola, Taras), others were small and covered only one or two generations (Brindisi, Torre Satureo). These represent a new phenomenon that was fairly widespread in the area under discussion. Its intensity varied substantially. But since the new burial rites are closely paralleled in Aegean areas, they suggest – together with the new type of dwelling and drastic innovations in craft (see paragraph 4.6) – that before the middle of the 7th century small *groups* of Greeks started to live in various parts of the coastal strip of southeast Italy. Some of these groups continued to be small and vanished from the archaeological record (e.g. Brindisi), others grew rapidly, especially after the middle of the 7th century BC (e.g. Siris, L'Incoronata, L'Amastuola).

Are these new and unusual features actually the earliest traces of Greek colonization in southeast Italy? The answer depends very much on the way the term 'colonization' is defined. 'Greek colonization' is now sometimes written with a question mark.⁶⁴ At present it is, of course, common knowledge that the image we had of Greek colonization till well within the 1990s, heavily depended on what the ancient Greek authors told us about this subject. Because their stories were put into writing at least some 150 to 200 years after the alleged foundation (*ktisis*) of a Greek colony (*apoikía*) took place, they are evidently based on oral history and on the views much later Greeks held on the origins of their towns. Foundation stories of colonies as told by ancient Greek authors should, therefore, be considered as *origo*-myths.

⁵⁹ Berlingò 1986, 1993.

⁶⁰ At Siris there were also tomb groups dating to the same period on the later acropolis and to the southeast of the settlement (Giardino / De Siena 1999).

⁶¹ This Taranto burial (cremation, whilst southeast Italy has inhumations in the Iron Age) contains a globular Early Proto-Corinthian aryballos and a cup; see

Dell'Aglia 1990, 57.

⁶² Neeft 1994.

⁶³ For Torre Satureo (often identified with the settlement of Satyrion mentioned in ancient written sources), see Lo Porto 1964a; for Brindisi, see Lo Porto 1964b.

⁶⁴ Osborne 1998.

Whereas the genesis of the Greek *apoikíai* of Taras, Metapontion Siris and Sybaris took some 60 to 100 years, the *origo* myth transformed this process into one single event. The image produced by ancient Greek authors was, moreover, strongly processed and changed under the influence of west- and south-European colonial experiences of the 19th and 20th century AD. While there may be some superficial analogies between both types of overseas ventures in their earliest phase with first contact situations, the differences are highly apparent for the later phases. During the Iron Age, for instance, there was no Greek superiority over indigenous populations of southeast Italy and the ancient history of this region teaches us that if this was ever the case, the balance was rapidly restored.⁶⁵ The cliché of Greek superiority in ‘colonial’ situations, moreover, appears to be mainly the result of an unhappy marriage between the Athenian post-Persian war triumphalism⁶⁶ and the projection of west-European colonial notions of the 19th and 20th centuries on the ancient world.⁶⁷ If we wish to retain the term colonization (but the more neutral term ‘migration’ should be preferred), we should realize that the evidence produced by the burials discussed above suggests that there were various forms of early Greek presence in southeast Italy and that these presences differed enormously from what we believed them to be in the past (i.e. a patently Greek town outside the original Greek core area).

Basically the term ‘colonization’ derives from the Latin word *colonus* meaning ‘farmer’. Colonization, therefore, can be defined as: ‘the process of taking possession of the soil in an entirely new environment’.⁶⁸ The use of force against resident populations is usually part of this definition. If we stick to this aspect in the definition of the term, the historically attested Greek colonizations of the later 8th and earlier 7th centuries BC were definitely *not* colonizations. Before the middle of the 7th century BC the ‘Greek colonies’ of southeast Italy were often no aggressive, patently Greek strongholds amongst unfriendly and backward natives. Perhaps this image of strong Greek-native opposition holds good for the 6th and 5th centuries BC (see chapter 5). But during much of the 7th century BC the settlements of Sybaris, Siris, Metapontion and Taras are likely to have been settlements with a mixed population, where peaceful coexistence and close cooperation between Greek migrants and inhabitants with Italic roots was much more common than fierce Greek-native conflicts.⁶⁹ Till about 650/630 BC these four settlements that were to become Greek city states in the 6th century BC, did not differ much from L’Amastuola, L’Incoronata, Otranto or Brindisi that have never been perceived as Greek colonies. The varied character of these Greek presences that emerges from the archaeological evidence recovered since the 1970s, will only be succinctly discussed here.⁷⁰

The paucity of Greek style tombs dating before c. 660/650 BC suggests that initially only small quantities of Greeks lived in southeast Italy. Some of these lived in indigenous settlements (Brindisi, Otranto), others may have been among the first inhabitants of an entirely new settlement at the fringes of an indigenous polity (e.g. Siris, Metapontion).⁷¹ Because these groups were small and lived far from their kinsmen and basic resources, they must have been dependent on the native groups living nearby.

⁶⁵ Whilst Greeks may have had better forms of organization and better military tactics during a part of the 6th century, the disastrous defeat of the Tarantines at the hand of the Messapians in c. 473 BC and the rise and threatening character of the Lucanians in the later 5th century indicate that if there was any Greek organizational and military superiority, it was fairly short-lived.

⁶⁶ Hall 1989.

⁶⁷ Van Dommelen 1997.

⁶⁸ Cf. Carter 1993.

⁶⁹ Yntema 2000.

⁷⁰ For detailed discussion on the evidence for the character of Greek presences in southeast Italy between the late 8th and the late 7th century BC, see Yntema 2000.

⁷¹ Two settlement clusters of comparable type (2nd to 3rd quarter of the 7th century) were found underneath Archaic-Classical Metapontion (sites of Metaponto-Andrisani and Metaponto-Lazzizzera; for these sites, see *Greci sul Basento*, 199–212; De Siena 1986 and 1996).

On the strength of the present evidence the first Greeks to settle in southeast Italy must have been traders, craftsmen, mercenaries and other types of adventurers. They were dependent on, and, therefore, closely allied with native groups.

Such small, fairly successful Greek groups, closely connected with both indigenous polities and the Greek trade diaspora, may well have induced others to migrate. The socio-political situation in Greece was not particularly stable during the first half of the 7th century BC.⁷² Migration to the fertile lands of southern Italy, therefore, could well be a welcome alternative from civil strife and a hand to mouth existence at home. Because both Greek and indigenous inhabitants were in regular (if not constant) contact with each other, a considerable degree of integration is likely to have taken place. Inter-marriage between people belonging to different ethnic groups may well have occurred. The radical opposition which is sometimes believed to have characterized Greek-native relations in the early 'colonization' phase, should be discarded. The small groups of new Greek settlers would not have survived in southeast Italy without substantial assistance from the neighbouring indigenous groups.⁷³

The archaeological record of southeast Italy suggests that the number of people who had Greek roots or, in any case, saw themselves as Greeks and lived in coastal settlements of southeast Italy on a more or less permanent basis, was gradually increasing in the second quarter of the 7th century. The appearance of various Greek-style burial grounds (e.g. L'Amastuola) from about the second quarter of the 7th century onwards indicates that these Greeks sometimes lived in small, coherent groups. Natives who closely associated themselves with these foreigners may also have been part of the same group. For the Greek-style necropoleis of Siris graves even of non-Greeks have been reported (fig. 4.8).⁷⁴ The excavations at L'Amastuola suggest that this settlement had native origins. From 680/670, however, it appears to have developed into a mixed community in which people with Italic pedigree and Greek migrants lived together: a to all appearances Greek burial could have patently native headstone here.⁷⁵

The small, but steadily growing Greek groups of southeast Italy may also have played a role in the relations between various indigenous groups. If 'their' Italic settlements and their livelihood were being threatened by neighbouring native groups, they may well have taken part in military actions of the indigenous group in which they lived. In view of the military and organisational innovations in the 7th century Greek world,⁷⁶ a relatively small group of Greek hoplites could have exerted a substantial influence on the power play between competing indigenous groups in southeast Italy. The relations between Greek and native groups, therefore, are likely to have been rather varied. Greeks are likely to have assisted natives against other Greek groups or other native communities and vice versa.

The nature of the relations between these newcomers and the local population was equally varied. In the case of Siris, the migrants shared a completely new settlement with individuals who might well have belonged to local Italic groups.⁷⁷ At L'Incoronata they shared a part of a somewhat condensed settlement in a peripheral area of the originally highly dispersed indigenous settlement.⁷⁸ Otranto may have been a very similar case. The location of the graveyard (well outside the indigenous settlement) suggests that both Brindisi and Taranto also had small Greek communities living in, or at the periphery of, an indigenous settlement.⁷⁹ At L'Amastuola Greeks came to live in a native settlement that had been founded some 50 years earlier and mixed with the indigenous population.

Although these foreigners were initially present in only modest numbers, they were indeed a phenomenon that was new to the region. But the presence of people having a Greek material and a Greek cultural background intensified notably during the second half of the 7th century BC. Part of

⁷² Osborne 1996, 191 ff.

⁷³ Yntema 2011.

⁷⁴ Berlingò 1986.

⁷⁵ Burgers / Crielaard, 2011, 115-118.

⁷⁶ Osborne 1996.

⁷⁷ Berlingò 1986, 1993.

⁷⁸ Carter 1993; Giardino / De Siena 1999, Denti 2010.

⁷⁹ Lo Porto 1964b; Neeft 1994.

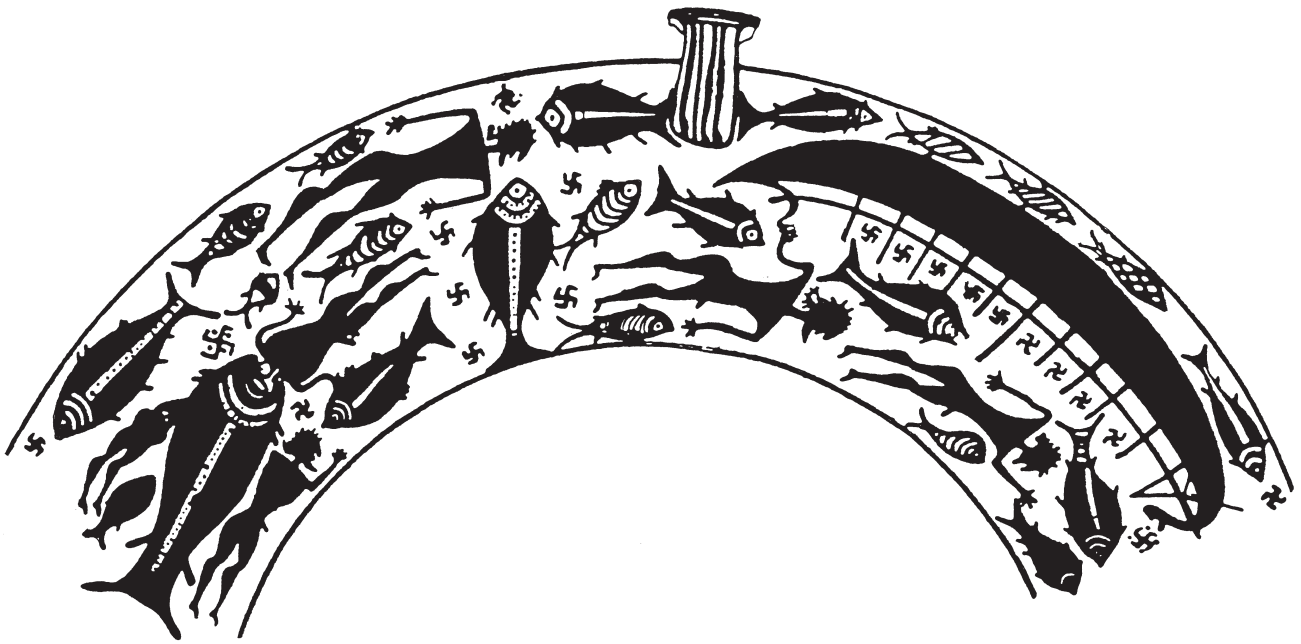


Fig. 4.9. Pithekoussai (Ischia): locally produced krater in Greek style with shipwreck scene: an Iron Age venture gone wrong, c. 725-700 BC.

this intensification may be ascribed to a steady flow of new migrants coming from various parts of Greece. As we have seen above, the necropoleis of Siris suggest that people with native roots were also among the inhabitants of the new coastal settlement. They were attracted to these new centres of craft and trade. There is good reason to assume that the rapid growth of the four coastal settlements that were to become the Greek *poleis* of southeast Italy was also caused by a very substantial influx of people with native roots. For reasons unknown they readily adopted the Greek material culture (and presumably also the Greek language). After about one generation they were almost undistinguishable from residents with (partly) Greek roots. By the end of the 7th or the early years of the 6th century BC the second or third generation of people with native roots were cornerstones in the citizen body of the emerging Greek *poleis*. This means that they had an evidently Greek material culture, spoke Greek, had Greek names, had a basically Greek set of norms and values and acted as Greeks were supposed to do. Moreover, they may have owned fields in the territory (*chōra*) of the new *polis*.

In the above passages much attention has been paid to exchanges with traders, the arrival of Greek migrants and the roles all these foreigners played in the societies of southeast Italy. It should, however, be noted that contacts with traders and the presence of groups of migrants were phenomena that basically affected only the coastal strip on the Ionian Sea and the Gulf of Taranto. Their importance for the south-Italic scenery and their impact on the indigenous societies during much of the 7th century should certainly not be overestimated. In the 8th and earlier 7th centuries BC Greek traders and migrants were, in fact, rather peripheral to the indigenous world of southeast Italy not only in geographical, but also in economic and social respects.

In the large inland areas of Basilicata and in central and northern Apulia the changes were considerably less drastic during the 7th century BC. While the 8th century was a period of great dynamism with a fairly massive reclamation of large patches of wild nature (the 'indigenous' colonization of the inlands and upland of southeast Italy), the 7th century shows distinct signs of stabilization and organic growth. The inland settlements retained their highly dispersed character and often expanded consider-

ably. This observation holds especially good for the numerous new, initially small colonist settlements that had reclaimed new areas for agriculture in the interiors of Salento, the Bari district, the Tavoliere and in the uplands of Basilicata. The matching necropoleis continued to be equally dispersed, tended to become larger and continued to be made within or close to the settlement areas.⁸⁰ As the settlements became more populous, their impact on the surrounding landscape became steadily larger. The small, 8th-century human ‘enclaves’ in the forests of southeast Italy became substantial patches of manmade landscape in the 7th century BC. In this period the impact of man on the environments of southeast Italy increased notably.

4.4 LONG-DISTANCE CONTACTS, EXCHANGE AND ECONOMY

In the preceding section dealing with newcomers to southern Italy the contacts with Greeks have received considerable attention. We have seen that Greeks probably raided Italian coasts. But raiding and piracy are rather inadequate ways to maintain regular contacts with the same groups over a prolonged period. Because these activities had to be widely and wildly proclaimed by Greek men of local importance as a response to the Homeric *kleos* ideology in order to enhance their status, they may have been partly fictional, and increasingly so as the contacts between Greeks and south-Italic groups became more regular and more intense. Peaceful, regulated forms of exchange may have occurred more often than the Homeric songs wish us to believe.⁸¹ This observation holds especially good for the post-Homeric later part of the Iron Age when Greek individuals and small groups of Greeks actually settled in southeast Italy and started to make a living in this new environment.

The sheer quantities of Aegean-Greek artefacts of the 8th and 7th centuries BC that were found in southeast Italy demonstrate that exchange between various indigenous regional groups and Greeks coming from various Aegean areas must have been very intense in these times. It should, moreover, be noted that the imported ceramics on which these observations are based are just the tip of the iceberg. These are the non-perishable goods that survived in the archaeological record. They constitute only the tracers of long distance exchange. But the possible and even probable exchange of, for instance, slaves, special foodstuff (cf. the contents of the various types of imported amphorae and pithoid jars) and precious cloth or other exotic commodities from the eastern Mediterranean escape us completely.

It is clear that people living in southeast Italy were interested in Greeks and the products made or transported by Greeks, if only because so many Greek ceramics were found there. For the indigenous south-Italic groups of the Iron Age the seafaring and migrant Greeks were an otherworld within easy reach. They offered commodities of exotic nature that (as we will see below) played an ever more important role in the dynamic and increasingly complex indigenous societies of the region.

But why were Greeks so interested in southeast Italy that they undertook dangerous ventures far beyond the threshold of their own world (fig. 4.9) and even started to live in the (formerly) strange worlds of Circe, Calypso and Polyphemus? This question is more easily asked than answered. In the first place Italy – like the Levant – was an exotic country. Bringing home booty including Oinotrian women having strange tattoos and wearing their characteristic, richly decorated Oinotrian garments (fig. 4.14) might well have had similar effects on the population of a Greek Iron Age settlement as Columbus’ parading of Taíno Indians and other exotics of the West-Indies in Sevilla in 1493. In the long

⁸⁰ The large, 7th-century necropolis of Alianello-Caz-zaiola in western Basilicata, however, was fairly condensed (cf. Bottini / Tagliente 1984; Tagliente 1985, 1986). Since no traces of habitations were discovered

during the excavation of this cemetery, it was probably at some distance from the contemporary settlement.

⁸¹ Yntema 2000.



Fig. 4.10. Siponto (Tavoliere district, north-Apulia): Daunian stele with ship, late 7th or early 6th century BC. Courtesy Ufficio Staccato Soprintendenza, Foggia.

run, however, this was certainly not Italy's main attraction, because Italy's exotic remoteness diminished rapidly when – as we have seen above – the contacts between Greece and Italy increased enormously and assumed a more structural character from the late 8th century onwards. But Italy was also a metal country. This is, of course, clearly shown by the excavations at Pithekoussai where Etruscan ore was processed in the local furnaces. Although southeast Italy itself is definitely poor in metals (with the exception of northern Calabria), there must have been an ample supply of these basic materials. The wealth of bronze and iron objects in the 9th–8th century BC burial contexts of southeast Italy demon-

strates that metals were circulating here in very substantial quantities (see section 4.5).

The metals and the exotic character of Italy were certainly not the only stimuli that induced Greeks to go west. Iron Age trade and exchange was multi-faceted and rarely specialized in one single commodity.⁸² And southeast Italy had much more to offer. Other products that may have been desirable for Greeks were the purple dye of the *murex purpurea* that occurred in the seas surrounding Apulia (e.g. near Taranto and the Gargano peninsula) and Baltic amber that circulated in Adriatic areas in substantial quantities during the Iron Age.⁸³ The colonization of inland areas and the growth of the new settlements founded there, moreover, may have led to inter-tribal warfare resulting in a steady supply of slaves. One of southeast Italy's most attractive points, however, was its geographical position. If ships from the eastern Mediterranean (Greek ships among them), for whatever reason, had to go towards the west, southeast Italy was an almost obligatory point of call. This holds especially good for the Salento peninsula that was only 70 km from the Balkan coast (see chapter 3.1). It is certainly not due to coincidence that by far the largest concentrations of imported early Greek pottery were found in this eastern peninsula of southeast Italy. Coastal settlements of this district, therefore, are likely to have provided Greek ships with water, food and shelter and received commodities from their cargo in return. Usually, however, conducting trade and providing food, water and shelter was all part of the

⁸² Mele 1979.

⁸³ For the *murex purpurea*, see Delano Smith 1979; for Iron Age amber in Italy, see Negroni Cataccio 1989; a wealth of amber objects from Iron Age Basilicata has

travelled widely over the past six years: e.g. exhibition *Magie d'ambra. Amuleti en gioielli della Basilicata antica* (Potenza 2005) and *Zauber in Bernstein. Schmuck und Amulette aus der Basilicata* (Zürich, Cologne 2011).

same interaction between Greeks and non-Greeks. Guest-friendship and gift exchange may well have been the mechanisms by which the commodities changed hands and services were rendered.

The network spanning the Ionian Sea with eastern Sicily, the coastal area of the Gulf of Taranto and north-western Greece as constituent parts, was only one of a series of interrelated trade and exchange networks active in and around southeast Italy in the Iron Age. From the above passages can be derived that it was linked to other maritime exchange networks such as the network spanning the southern Aegean with extensions to the Levant, the network in the central and southern Tyrrhenean linking the coastal settlements of southern Etruria, Sardinia, Pithekoussai in the Bay of Naples and Pontecagnano in southern Campania, and the Adriatic networks where Greeks rarely ventured before the 6th century BC.

It is important to observe that the maritime network that connected the districts on the Ionian Sea was also closely connected to south-Italian regional exchange networks using land routes. These can be reconstructed on the basis of 8th- and early 7th-century ceramics of South-Italian Geometric type of which three regional variants travelled far beyond the district in which they were produced. From these data it becomes clear that the rivers were important routes of communication. Pottery made in western Basilicata is found in the Paestum area of southern Campania: from their production area near the coast of the Ionian Sea the matt-painted vessels travelled upstream along the rivers Agri and Sinni and climbed the watershed to end up in Campania and south-Etruria. The matt-painted wares from the north-Apulian Tavoliere district crossed the Apennines and reached the plain around Naples, while the finely made, 7th- to early 6th-century pottery of the adjoining Ofanto district was distributed in both the north-Apulian Tavoliere and the basins of the Bradano and Basento rivers in eastern Basilicata.⁸⁴ It is, therefore, not particularly remarkable that settlements with a mixed Greek-native population (e.g. Siris, Metapontion and perhaps Sybaris) came into being at river mouths and that the originally indigenous site of L'Incoronata in an identical geographical position harboured a substantial group of Greeks. Each of these settlements was born and thrived at the spot where two exchange systems met. Therefore, they were crucial pivots between a maritime network and an overland network; they were ideally placed to act as go betweens linking Greek trade systems with indigenous exchange networks. From the Greek point of view they effectively tapped existing indigenous trade routes and exchange networks, for the indigenous world they were doors giving access to maritime exchange circuits that spanned large parts of the Mediterranean and brought within easy reach commodities stemming predominantly from various eastern Mediterranean areas (Greece among them).

The creation of maritime trade networks was not the prerogative of the Greeks. If non-Greek ships were active in the Gulf of Taranto in the 8th or 7th century BC, their role escapes us completely.⁸⁵ But the Adriatic was definitely the domain of non-Greek seafaring in the Iron Age. Here Greeks started to venture only in the course of the 6th century. Seaworthy ships of evidently non-Greek type are depicted on grave markers from sites on the central and northern Adriatic (fig. 4.10),⁸⁶ but it is espe-

⁸⁴ For south-Italian matt-painted wares from the Agri-Sinni area in Campania and south-Etruria, see Yntema 1990, 118; for north-Apulian wares in Campania, see Yntema 1990, 231 and 293; for matt-painted wares from the Ofanto district in large parts of southeast Italy, see Yntema 1990, 231 and 242.

⁸⁵ Early 7th-century matt-painted pottery characteristic of the Salento peninsula has been found at some non-Salento sites around the Ionian Sea (L'Incoronata, Sybaris, Francavilla Marittima, Megara Hyblaea). Such

pots could have been transported by both 'native' and Greek ships.

⁸⁶ Ships are shown on the so-called 'Daunian stelai' from the coastal Tavoliere settlement of Siponto-Cupola (Nava 1981, stelai 616, 737 and 775); the representations can be dated to approximately the late 7th and early 6th centuries BC. The best-known representation of an 'Adriatic' ship is found on one of the stelai from Novilara (Marche region) of the late 6th century BC.

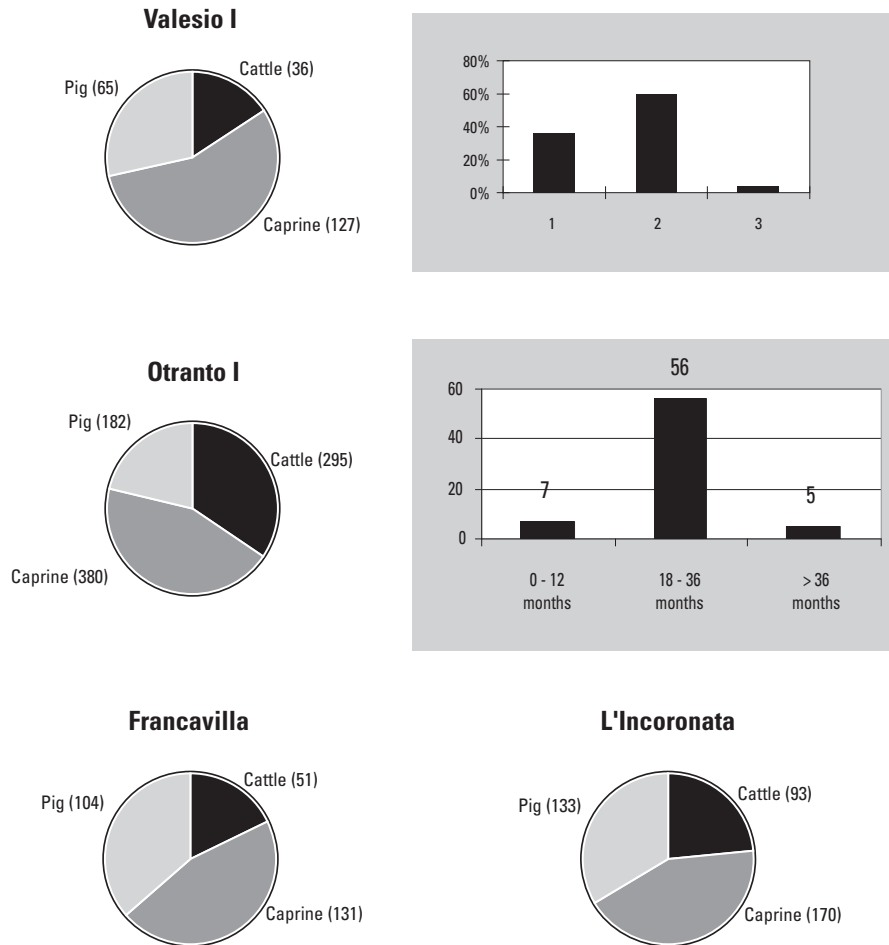


Fig. 4.11. Iron Age bone samples from Valesio (Brindisi district), Otranto (southern Salento), L'Incoronata di Metaponto (coastal area of Basilicata) and Francavilla Marittima (northern Calabria) and culling ages of caprines at Valesio and Otranto; after Veenman 2002.

cially the matt-painted pottery made in the Ofanto district that reveals these networks of the 7th and 6th centuries BC. These wares are found in fairly considerable quantities in the Picenum district near Ancona, in the coastal districts of present-day Croatia (especially Istria and Dalmatia) and in Slovenia (fig. 4.17). Finely decorated, handmade pots, mainly stemming from the settlement of Canosa, ended up in the burials of chieftains of Picenum and in the tumuli of the local elites of Istria, Dalmatia and Slovenia.⁸⁷ This Adriatic network can be shown to have existed from the late 9th century till after the middle of the 6th century BC.⁸⁸ Among the products that were exchanged there may have been Baltic amber that had reached the *Caput Adriae*, salt and *murex* dye from northern Apulia and/or fine

⁸⁷ See Yntema 1990, 231 and 242. In the Picenum district the Ofanto matt-painted wares from Canosa were found at, for instance, Novilara, Ancona, Numana and Cupramarittima. In Dalmatia the bulk of Ofanto wares published hitherto stems from the Zadar/Nin area; in Istria the sites of Nesactium and Pula seem to have received the lion's share of these wares, whilst Ofanto

matt-painted also turned up in Slovenian Hallstatt burials at Vače, Stična, Magdalenska Gora, Podzemelj and Novo Mesto.

⁸⁸ One of the earliest matt-painted pots found in Croatia is a conical-necked jar from Hvar (see Petrić 1993, pls. XCVII-XCIX) dating to the 2nd half of the 9th or the early years of the 8th century BC.

cloth dyed in it. Since the Canosan matt-painted wares reached the eastern Hallstatt province around present-day Ljubeljana, one of the more vital commodities that travelled within this trade system may have been the metals of Slovenia. For southeast Italy and perhaps for Greek traders based in southeast Italy, these districts could be an alternative source to Etruria for these basic materials. Metals from the eastern Hallstatt province may well have reached Metapontion or Otranto where they could enter the Ionian Sea exchange network and be shipped to distant areas.

In the Iron Age southeast Italy was involved in, or closely connected with a series of both maritime and overland trade networks in which various types of commodities were exchanged on a regular and intensive basis. The most vital spots were those where two networks or routes met. The settlements that developed at these nodal points were often very successful and evolved rapidly into flourishing ports of trade. Siris, starting in the first quarter of the 7th century, was such a settlement. It connected the network comprising the districts around the Ionian Sea with trade routes of western Basilicata that were linked with the plain of southern Campania.⁸⁹ Metapontion (from c. 630/620 onward) and the earlier dispersed settlements with mixed population preceding this *polis*,⁹⁰ were comparable hotspots. They linked the same maritime network to overland routes leading to the uplands of Basilicata and towards northern Apulia. In the northern districts of Apulia the settlement of Canosa was probably a crucial link between the overland route coming from Metapontion and the 'native' maritime network active in the Adriatic, whilst Otranto could have been a nodal point between the latter and the maritime network spanning the Ionian Sea.

The finely painted pots that allowed us to trace these exchange activities are only a fraction of the commodities that travelled in and around southeast Italy during the Iron Age. They suggest both a great diversity and a great intensity of interregional and intercultural contacts. The intensive character of the trade networks and frequency of these long distance contacts suggest that new ideas on quite a number of topics could travel fast and be diffused over large distances during the Iron Age. In the present state of research, it seems that these did not exert a major influence on settlements and settlement patterns discussed in section 4.2. New ideas from both originally external sources (the Greek world) and basically internal sources (other 'indigenous' districts) can be traced in both craft and funerary customs in southeast Italy. These will come up for discussion in the following sections of this chapter on the Iron Age.

In this section trade and exchange have received ample attention. It is clear that the impact of these activities on the societies of southeast Italy was very substantial indeed. Objects coming from distant regions may have become vital for the display of status and wealth and crucial in the sealing of elite marriages, guest-friendships and other types of human bonds. In strictly economic terms, however, these activities were of only modest importance. In pre-industrial societies agriculture and stock raising are invariably the basis of the economy. Iron Age southeast Italy is unlikely to have been an exception to this rule. In this field southeast Italy still held another attractive feature for the Aegean Greeks: it was a very fertile and relatively thinly populated region which the Greek lyric poet Archilochos of Paros greatly preferred to the nearby, stony island of Thasos.⁹¹

The archaeological evidence from southeast Italy concerning Iron Age agriculture is extremely thin.⁹² Pollen do not preserve well because of the nature of the soils and macro-remains have not

⁸⁹ Here the Greek *polis* of Posidonia/Paestum came into being in the late 7th century BC.

⁹⁰ The dispersed settlement plots preceding the urban phase at Metapontion are Metaponto-Andrisani and Metaponto-Lazzizzera (both 2nd-3rd quarter of the

7th century).

⁹¹ Archilochos, *apud* Athenaeus XII, 523 d.

⁹² Lentjes 2013. Evidence predominantly from the Metaponto area; see Carter 1987 and 2006.

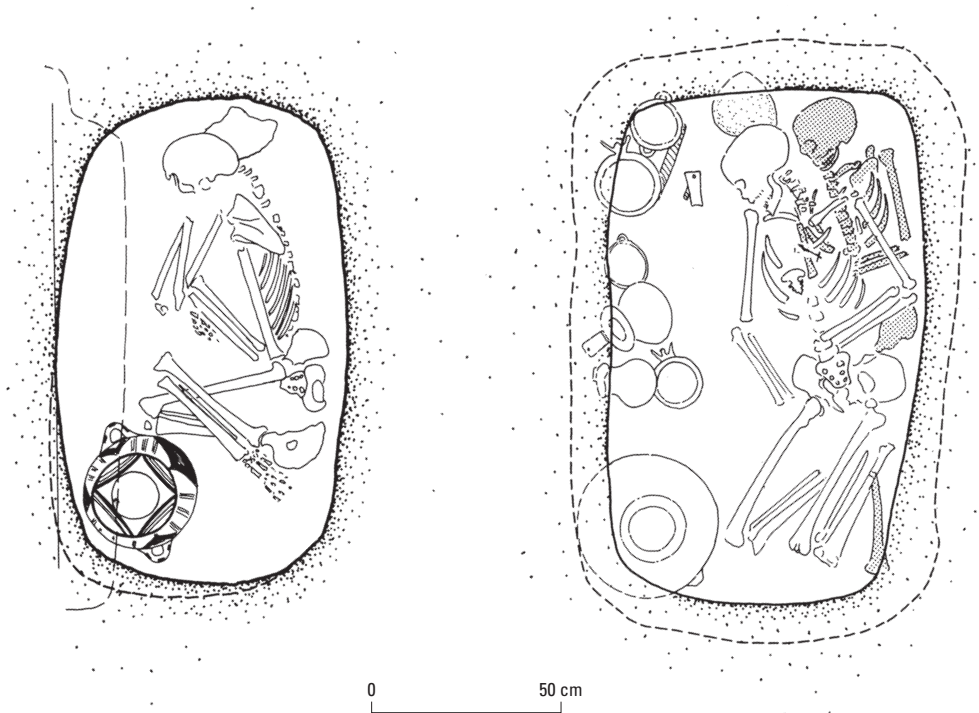


Fig. 4.12. Burial forms of pre-Roman southeast Italy: (a) pit grave with single deposition; (b) pit grave with two/three depositions (unusual); both from Ortona, adapted from Iker 1984.

always been systematically collected. In the contexts coming from the 7th-century phase of the site of L'Amastuola (excavations 2003–2008) barley (*Hordeum vulgare*), emmer wheat (*Triticum dicocum*), bitter vetch (*Vicia ervilia*) and beans are relatively common.⁹³ Land evaluation shows that many parts of southeast Italy have soils that – by Iron Age standards – are admirably suited for the cultivation of cereals, various types of vegetables, olives and vines.⁹⁴ Since these crops were also cultivated during the Late Bronze Age, it is plausible to assume that they continued to be present in the Iron Age. There has been a tendency to see the introduction of olive trees and vines as benefits of the Greek colonization of Italy in the 8th and 7th centuries BC. However, recent research reveals that this view is unfounded.⁹⁵ It is likely to be the product of the Graeco-centric approach in Classical archaeology.

The information about the animal husbandry of the Iron Age is somewhat more solid.⁹⁶ Over the past twenty years various bone samples have been analysed. These stem predominantly from the coastal area of Basilicata and the Salento peninsula. In these samples the bones of horses (*Equus caballus*) are uncommon. Horse gear, moreover, is rarely found in the graves of these districts.⁹⁷ Since the use of horses is repeatedly shown in figurative representations (fig. 4.20) and is widely attested in elite contexts in other parts of Italy, these animals were undoubtedly present in southeast Italy. Apparently, however, horses were not consumed.

⁹³ Lentjes 2013 (forthcoming).

⁹⁴ Van Joolen 2003.

⁹⁵ Lentjes 2013 (forthcoming).

⁹⁶ Veenman 2012, 79–82.

⁹⁷ In the plain of northern Apulia horse bridles are found indeed during the Iron Age. Iconographical data from

the so-called Daunian stelai (mostly from the site of Siponto-Cupola) indicate that horses played an important role in the north-Apulian societies of the 7th and 6th centuries BC (Nava 1981).

In the Iron Age bone samples of the region under discussion there is invariably a dominance of sheep/goat (*Ovis/Capra*). Currently these account for c. 45 to 55 percent of the bones in many samples.⁹⁸ The mortality data indicate that most animals of this species were killed in or after their third year (fig. 4.11). This suggests that they were mainly kept for their wool and their milk (cheese). Cattle (*Bos taurus*) usually hold the second place among the animal husbandry of the Iron Age settlements and account mostly for 20 to 25 percent of the bones in the sample of southeast Italy. They were usually killed after their fourth year and some of them even reached the venerable age of eight years. This means that they were primarily used for traction and were consumed when they had served their main purpose. The percentage of these animals, however, is much higher than is strictly necessary for economic purposes.⁹⁹ This 'over-representation' in the bone samples indicates that cattle had not exclusively a purely economic function in the period under discussion. Presumably, each Iron Age farmer had his own yoke of plough oxen, whilst the more opulent families of the settlement may have had small herds of these probably prestigious animals. The percentage of pigs (*Sus domesticus*) varies considerably and was basically site-bound during the Iron Age. Generally speaking, the animal was only slightly less numerous than cattle in the Iron Age bone samples (between 17% and 36 %), but at some of the Iron Age sites they held the second place behind sheep/goat.¹⁰⁰ The Iron Age pigs were kept for their meat. The mortality data indicate that they were almost invariably culled during or at the end of their second year. Hunting supplied additional food. It is especially red deer (*Cervus elaphus*) that is relatively well represented in the Iron Age bone samples of southeast Italy (often 5% to 6%). Their ample presence in Iron-Age bone samples from all over southeast Italy indicates that substantial parts of this area were densely wooded.

The data presented above suggest that the Iron Age populations collected and cultivated crops and vegetables. Cereals and pulses were undoubtedly among them. We simply do not know whether they had olive groves and vineyards.¹⁰¹ But it is plausible to assume the presence of these crops in the Iron Age landscape, because there is ample evidence for their presence in both the preceding phases of the Bronze Age and the subsequent Archaic-Classical period. Sheep and goats were among the pillars of the Iron Age economy of southeast Italy. The sheep supplied the wool that was worked by the women of the settlements: loom weights, and spindle whorls are frequently encountered both in the graves of Iron Age ladies and in the huts of the settlements. Both sheep and goats were important sources of proteins (milk, cheese, meat) and their hides (especially those of the goats) could be used for bags and clothing. The flocks of these animals must have grazed in a variety of environments. In summer they could be found in the summer pastures of the southern Apennines, in winter they grazed the fallow plots near the settlements, while lagoonal areas on the coast, marshy river valleys and the ample stretches of *macchia* vegetation could be used in various seasons.

Cattle were needed for traction. They also supplied meat and hides and were probably important in the display of status: the numbers of cows and oxen owned by a social group (e.g. family, clan) probably closely mirrored the group's status. In Iron Age southeast Italy cattle were equivalent to wealth. Their prime economic function (traction) required them to stay relatively close to the settlement. Since they are exacting in their demand for food, they may have browsed mainly in the lush vegetation lining the streams and rivers which were never far from the habitation areas. Pigs stood for proteins,

⁹⁸ The percentages are all based on counts of the number of fragments of the household animals only. Red deer, for instance, which sometimes makes up 5% of the total bone samples of the Iron Age, is excluded in this count.

⁹⁹ The economic rationalization of Roman times shows that transport and ploughing could be done effectively

with 5-10% cattle (Veenman 2002).

¹⁰⁰ Notably at L'Incoronata near Metaponto and Francavilla Marittima in northern Calabria (Veenman 2002, 79).

¹⁰¹ The olive stones and grape pips found in Iron Age contexts may belong to cultivated as well as wild species.

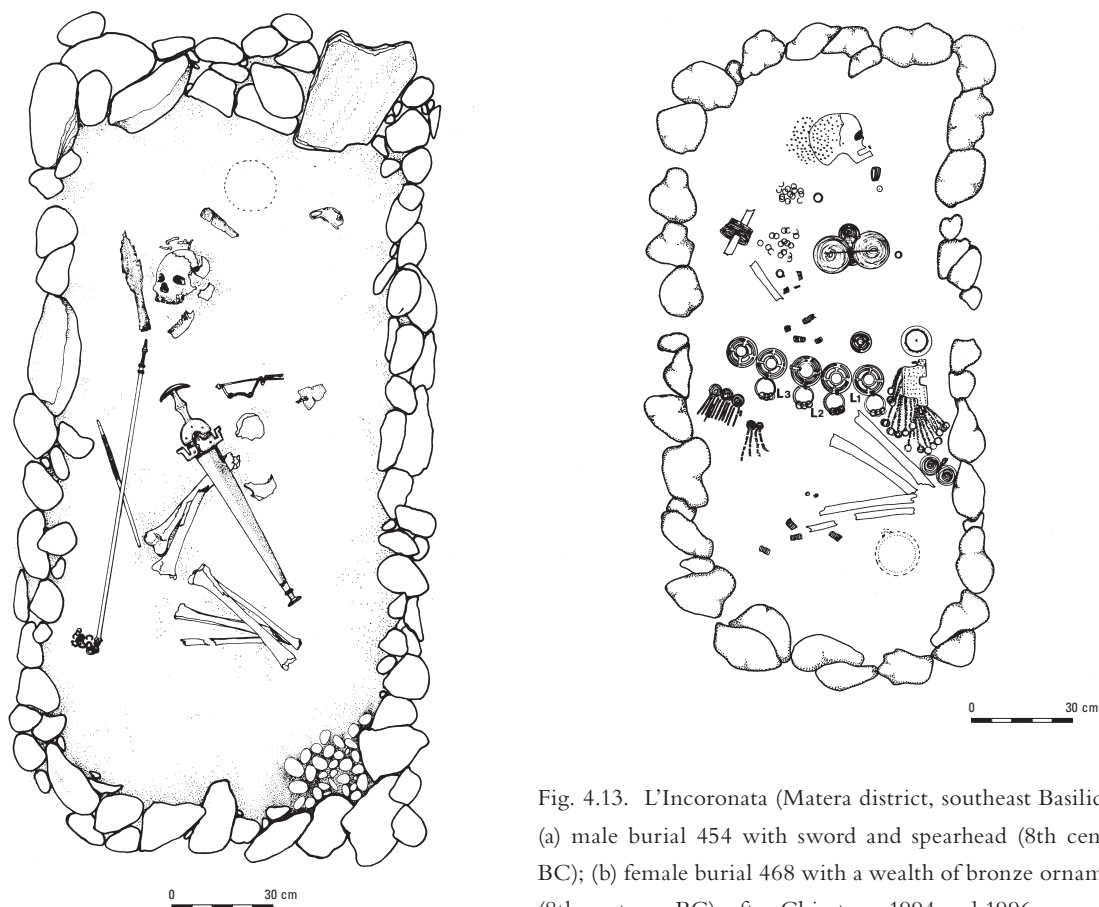


Fig. 4.13. L'Incoronata (Matera district, southeast Basilicata): (a) male burial 454 with sword and spearhead (8th century BC); (b) female burial 468 with a wealth of bronze ornaments (8th century BC); after Chiartano 1994 and 1996.

hides (pigskin) and bristles. Some of these animals may have been kept within the settlement area, but mostly the herds of swine will have roamed the woods feeding on acorns and whatever else the woods had to offer.¹⁰²

4.5 BURIALS, SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND RELIGION

In the Bronze Age both inhumation and cremation were practiced in southeast Italy (see chapter 2). From the beginnings of the Iron Age onward the deceased were almost invariably inhumed.¹⁰³ This practice continued to be the dominant funerary custom in southeast Italy to within the 1st century BC. The details of the inhumation practices, however, could vary considerably. These depended on the factors of time, place, status and gender: there were changes in burial practices in the course of time, there were regional and even local differences within southeast Italy and the care bestowed upon the tomb could vary according to the status. The objects deposited in the grave were, of course, often related to the sex of the deceased. But the general lines in the burial customs of southeast Italy during a large part of the first millennium BC were simple: in order to bury an adult or a child a more or less

¹⁰² Veenman 2002, 141.

¹⁰³ The Salento peninsula may have been an exception to this rule. Although this district is quite thoroughly

investigated, no Iron Age burials have been found here. The earliest formal burials here date to the very end of the 7th or the early years of the 6th century



Fig. 4.14. Western Basilicata burial gifts of important ladies (7th century BC): a-d Chiaromonte-Sotto la Croce tomb 129 (diadem with beads: amber, ivory, glass, and scarabs; e Alianello tomb 315 (courtesy Soprintendenza Basilicata).

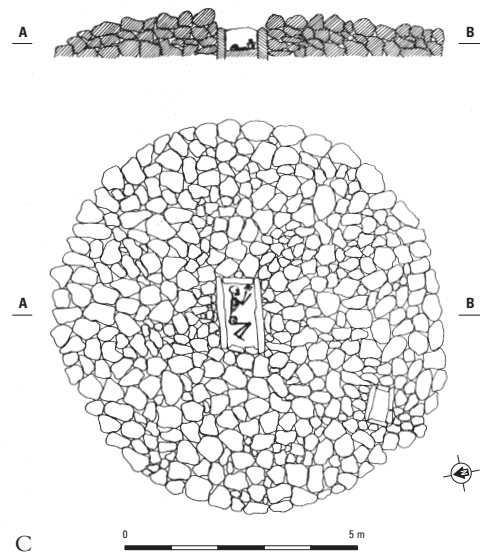
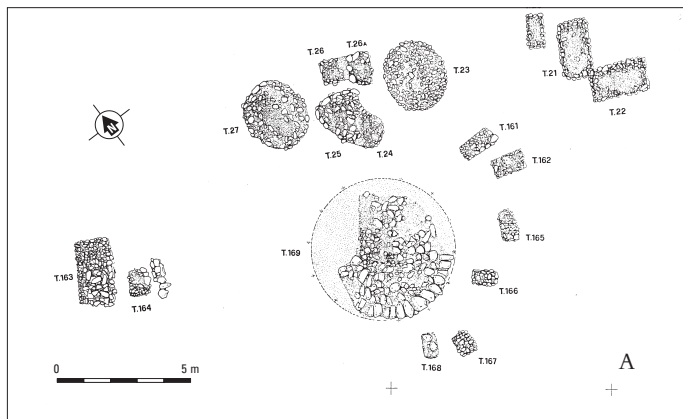


Fig. 4.15. Tumuli in southeast Italy: (a) Tursi-Sorigliano (western Basilicata): plan of a nucleus of tombs centering on tumulus, 8th century (adapted from Bianco and Tagliente 1985); (b) Corato-San Magno (Bari-district, central Apulia): cist grave in tumulus, late 7th century BC (ACVU); (c) Due Gravine (Matera district, eastern Basilicata): plan of exceptionally large tumulus, later 8th century BC (adapted from Lo Porto 1969, fig. 16).

rectangular trench (Italian: *fossa*) was dug into the ground or cut into the rock in the family cemetery of the settlement. The deceased was almost invariably laid on his or her side in a contracted position (legs drawn up).¹⁰⁴ In the territories of the Greek city states, in western Basilicata and adjacent parts of Calabria and Campania, however, the deceased was buried on his/her back.¹⁰⁵ These *fossa* graves usually contain one single individual (fig. 4.12a). In a few cases more people were buried in the same tomb. This practice occurred regularly in northern Apulia (fig. 4.12b).¹⁰⁶ Babies (and perhaps miscarriages and stillborns), however, were usually buried in a completely different way. They were deposited in a large ceramic container vessel. This was mostly an impasto storage jar.¹⁰⁷ The remains of the very young person were interred near the dwelling – sometimes even underneath the hut or house floor – in which his closest relatives continued to live.¹⁰⁸

BC. A few cremations in the coastal area dating to the late 8th/early 7th century are often interpreted as the graves of Greek colonists or traders.

¹⁰⁴ Italian: *posizione rannichiata*

¹⁰⁵ Italian: *posizione supina*

¹⁰⁶ The practice of more than one deposition in the same burial pit is also encountered in the Melfi district in

northern Basilicata that shared several features with the adjoining north-Apulian district during the 6th and early 5th century BC.

¹⁰⁷ Italian: *tomba ad enchytrismos*

¹⁰⁸ This type of infant burials seems to disappear between the middle of the 5th and the middle of the 4th century BC.

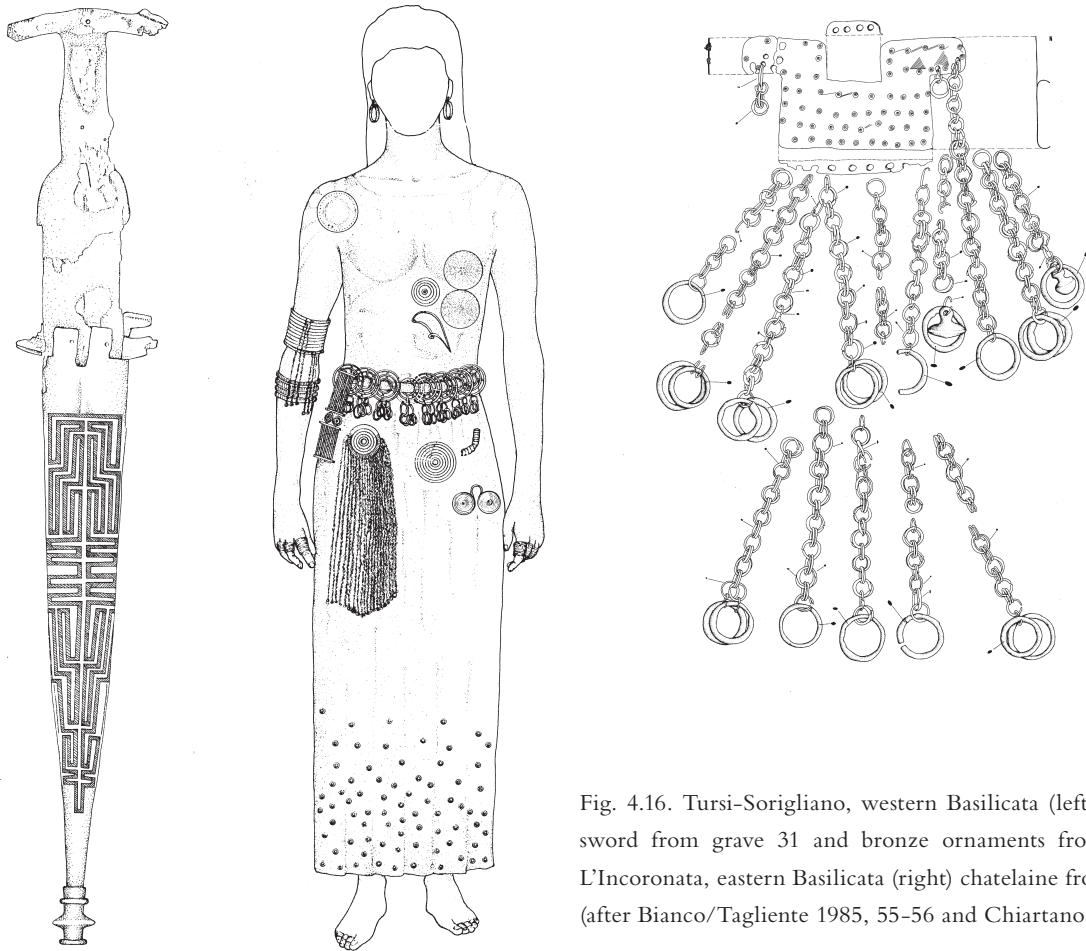


Fig. 4.16. Tursi-Sorigliano, western Basilicata (left and centre): sword from grave 31 and bronze ornaments from grave 28; L'Incoronata, eastern Basilicata (right) chatelaine from tomb 468 (after Bianco/Tagliente 1985, 55-56 and Chiartano 1996).

The Iron Age tombs did not diverge much from this general 1st millennium BC scheme. In this period the rectangular burial trench could be lined with river stones or limestone slabs. Especially in the 8th century BC, several tombs are likely to have been covered by a small tumulus or a heap of stones serving as a grave marker.¹⁰⁹ There was substantial variation in the types of objects that accompanied the deceased. For the 9th and 8th centuries the best evidence comes from the burial grounds of the site of L'Incoronata-San Teodoro, slightly west of Metapontion. These have been systematically explored resulting in a generous and probably fairly representative sample of well-published graves.¹¹⁰ The quantity and quality of the grave goods at this site could vary considerably. The types of objects deposited in the tomb were mostly gender-related. A considerable portion of the male burials contained lance heads. Only very few of these (invariably 'rich' burials) had both a sword and a lance head (fig. 4.13a) and some male burials had no weapons at all. The sword is a recurring item in well furnished male tombs in other districts. Obviously this object was indicative of a man of high status in southeast Italy. The contemporary female burials are characterized by the presence of spindle whorls, loom weights

¹⁰⁹ This custom continued to live on in northern Apulia to well within the 6th century BC (see Striccioli 1989 and 1990: tumuli at Corato San Magno, Bari area).

¹¹⁰ For the burials of San Teodoro-L'Incoronata, see Chiartano 1977, 1994 and 1996. There is also a good sample of 9th - and 8th-century graves from the necropoleis of Sala Consilina (Kilian 1964, 1970). This

site is in the border area between southern Campania and southeast Italy. Its 9th- and 8th-century burials grounds differ in several respects from those of southeast Italy (e.g. both inhumation and cremation) and are therefore, not discussed here. By the 7th century BC the burials of Sala Consilina answered to all the characteristics of southeast Italy.



Fig. 4.17. Distribution of matt-painted wares made at Canosa, north-Apulia during the later 7th and early 6th centuries BC.

and various types of bronze ornaments. The latter could be applied to clothes or appended to a belt (fig. 4.13b).

The L'Incoronata graves of the 9th and 8th centuries often contained considerable quantities of metal objects. The same graves contained only a limited number of pots (usually one to three specimens). These belonged either to the matt-painted, South-Italian Geometric class or the burnished impasto wares. The less complete evidence from other sites of southeast Italy, suggests that this site was not exceptional in its burial customs. Very similar graves have been excavated at sites in other parts of Basilicata and central and northern Apulia.¹¹¹

For the 7th century BC we have no large, well-published burial plots.

The best information comes from the peripheral site of Sala Consilina on the northwestern fringes of ancient Lucania.¹¹² Here a rather sudden shift in the burial customs can be observed during the first half of the 7th century. In these years the now lavishly decorated, predominantly bichromatic matt-painted pottery almost completely replaced the metals. Burnished impasto wares, moreover, vanished from the graves. The funerary evidence from sites that are more centrally situated in the districts of southeast Italy, suggests that the same developments took place here. Moreover, from about the middle of the 7th century onward metal objects are almost exclusively found in the graves of the local elites (fig. 4.14).

Section 4.2 has demonstrated that the 8th century BC is characterized by a substantial population growth and the emergence of a distinct settlement hierarchy in southeast Italy. From sections 4.3 and 4.4 it has become clear that the increasing intensity of various forms of exchange with foreigners (Greeks, 'Hallstattians', other indigenous groups of Italy) and the presence of 7th-century migrants in the coastal areas also contributed in a considerable way to increased societal complexity in southeast Italy. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that from the 8th century onward persons can be traced who were men and women of local importance and constituted a new and conspicuous elite of the Italic groups. The evidence on this subject comes exclusively from burials.

¹¹¹ For instance, Lo Porto 1969 (the area north of Metapontion) and Iker 1984 (Ordona).

¹¹² La Genière 1968. Impressive 7th-century burials plots at Chiaromonte-Sotto La Croce and Alianello-

Cazzaiola (western Basilicata) have not yet been published (cf. Bianco / Tagliente 1985; exhibition *Magie d'ambra. Amleti e gioielli della Basilicata antica*, Potenza 2005, = *Zauber in Bernstein*, Zürich/Cologne 2011).

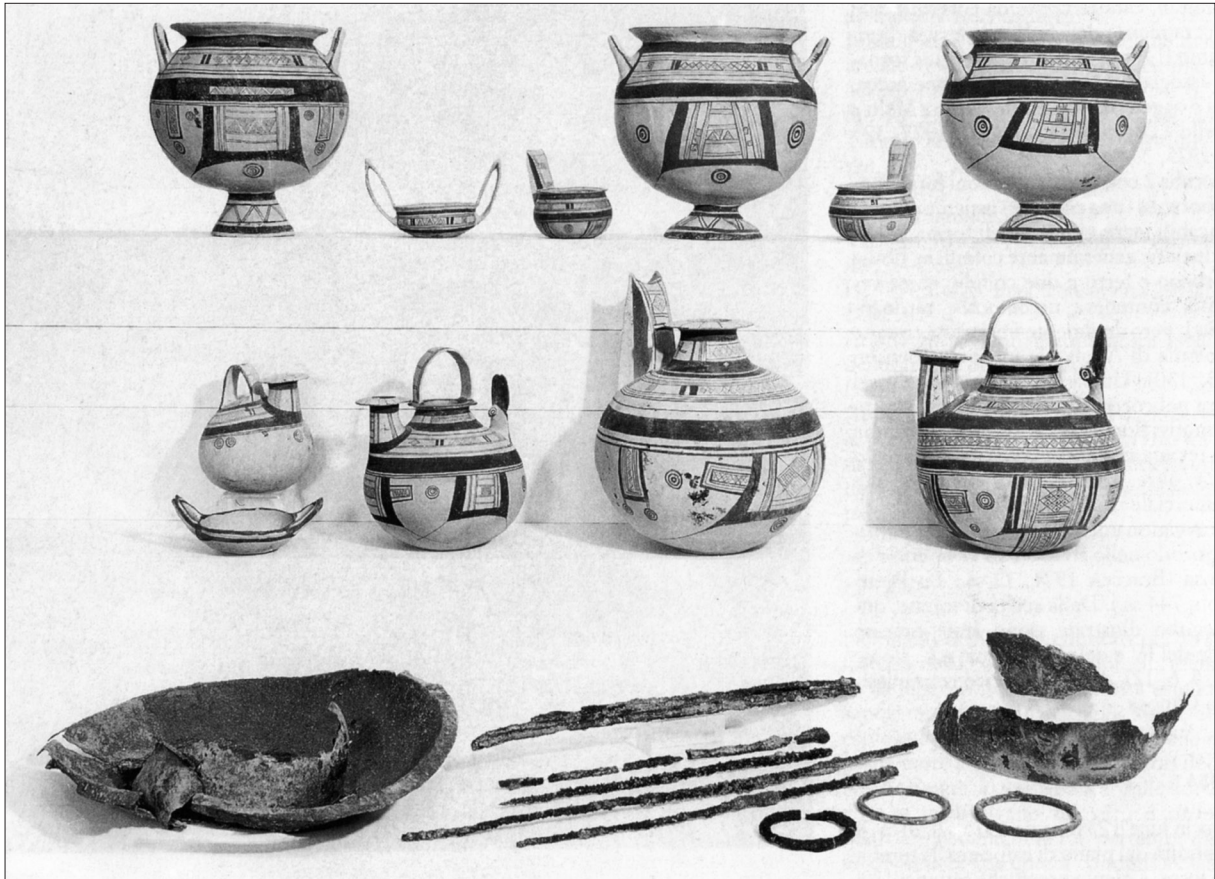


Fig. 4.18. Canosa-Toppicelli (Ofanto district, north-Apulia): tomb of local chieftain (late 7th century BC); courtesy Soprintendenza Taranto.

Among the graves dating to the 8th century BC, a few stand out because of their special contents and the care bestowed upon the burial. Most of these special tombs are tumuli (fig. 4.15). According to the Iron Age custom, these were erected in or near the settlement area, in or near grave plots of the 9th and earlier 8th centuries BC. The Iron Age tumuli are decidedly smaller than the enormous tumuli of the Bronze Age. They usually had a diameter between c. 3.00 m and 6.00 m (in exceptional cases up to 9.00 m; fig. 4.15c). Although there is some similarity in the type and structure between the burials of these two periods, the places occupied by the Iron Age tumuli in the landscape differed notably from those of the large Bronze Age tumuli. The latter which were clearly visible in the Iron Age landscapes of southeast Italy, were at a considerable distance from the Bronze and Iron Age settlements. The Iron Age tumuli, however, were close to or possibly even within the habitation areas.

In the 8th and 7th centuries BC the burial mound consisted of cobblestones or large pieces of limestone. It invariably covered rectangular pit or cist grave. In the earliest specimens of these graves high rank is expressed by a wealth of metal objects. A good example of a male elite grave is the tumulus tomb no. 31 of the Valle Sorigliano necropolis near the important site of Santa Maria d'Anglona in Basilicata. It can be dated to the middle of the 8th century. A finely decorated sword (fig. 4.16a), a dagger, two lance heads and axes characterize the deceased as a warrior. His female companion in the adjoining tumulus no. 28 had a dazzling series of bronze ornaments; a splendid disc of gold (oriental import) was found on her shoulder (fig. 4.16b). Both graves belonged to a small group of burials within a somewhat larger burial plot (fig. 4.15a).

The Valle Sorigliano burials were not unique. Many more tumuli of this type must have existed. Since they were conspicuous elements in the landscape, only a limited quantity of them survived in the archaeological record.¹¹³ They were, moreover, not confined to the coastal strip of southeast Italy, i.e. the area that was most strongly affected by external factors. Very similar burials having a high visibility in the Iron Age landscape and containing a few pots and a wealth of metal objects, were also found in the Tavoliere district in northern Apulia, some 250 km from the Gulf of Taranto.¹¹⁴ Therefore, the appearance of impressive tombs and the emergence of local elites in Basilicata and Apulia cannot be linked with the appearance of the Greeks on the shores of southeast Italy.

The emergence of these indigenous elites indicates that social stratification became more complex in the 8th century BC societies of southeast Italy. This is, for instance, apparent in the well-published reports on the Iron Age burial grounds of the coastal site of L'Incoronata-San Teodoro mentioned above.¹¹⁵ While the early, 9th century graves display only moderate differences in quantity and quality of the burial objects, it is especially among the L'Incoronata graves of the 8th century BC that the most spectacular burials are found containing numerous items and special objects that were the prerogative of only a few persons in the settlement.

The birth of these local elites in southeast Italy was caused by endogenous changes within the various regional groups of the area. We have seen that population growth, colonization of inland areas and a substantial increase in interregional exchange contributed in a significant way to the emergence of lineages that dominated the local power play in the larger settlements. This happened during the middle and later 8th century BC. The recurring presence of arms in the burials of dominant males (cf. Tursi Sorigliano; fig. 4.16) suggests that martial prowess was one of the distinguishing features. External factors, however, acted as powerful catalytic agents in this process of increasing social stratification. Among these were, for instance, the rapid intensification of trade networks within southern Italy and the heavily increased links between exchange systems of southeast Italy and maritime trade networks involving distant areas such as the eastern Hallstatt district and Aegean Greece. It has, moreover, been observed that some settlements became pivots or nodal point in this process of intensification of Iron Age trade systems during the 7th century BC. We have seen that these were situated in spots where different exchange systems overlapped. Local elites of settlements that controlled these crucial spots in the system of exchange networks, could become elites of patently regional importance.

An important settlements of the later 7th and early 6th century was Canosa in the north-Apulian Ofanto district. It played a crucial role in, for instance, the metal trade from Slovenia, amber from the Baltic Sea and perhaps salt and finely dyed cloth from Apulia. The settlement was pivotal in exchanges between the Adriatic regions of Italy, Dalmatia and various districts of south and central Italy. The baffling range of the networks in which Canosa directly or indirectly participated can be derived from the distribution of the Canosan matt-painted wares (fig. 4.17). The production area of these finely potted and miniaturistically decorated ceramics has been discovered in one of the highly dispersed habitation nuclei of the settlement (Canosa-Toppicelli).¹¹⁶ In close proximity to the kiln site an unusually large and wealthy tomb of the late 7th century was discovered (fig. 4.18).¹¹⁷ It is likely to represent the burial of a man of high status and contained a magnificent bronze belt, two bronze basins, a series of iron spits and a host of exquisitely made painted pots produced in the nearby kiln (Lo Porto 1992b,

¹¹³ Tumuli dating to the late 9th or 8th century BC have also been reported from the coastal area of northern Calabria (Zancani Montuoro 1971, 1976, 1979), eastern Basilicata (Lo Porto 1969) and the adjacent area of Apulia (Biancofiore 1973)

¹¹⁴ Szombathy 1917; Iker 1984.

¹¹⁵ Published in Chiartano 1977 and 1994.

¹¹⁶ Lo Porto 1992b, 72-74.

¹¹⁷ The tomb containing this high status burial of Canosa-Toppicelli was 2.70 m long, 1.20 m wide and 1.35 m deep; a highly spectacular tomb of a 7th-century 'Daunian' lady has recently been found at the north-Apulian pot of Siponto-Cupola (Celestino Montanaro 2010).

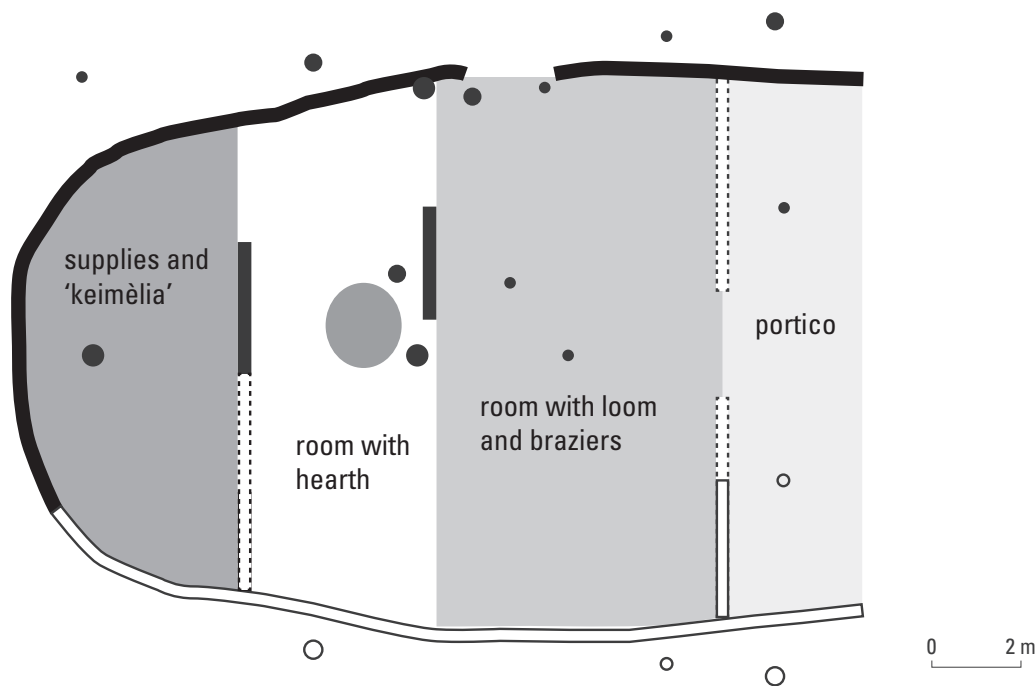


Fig. 4.19. Torre di Satriano. Large hut (22 x 12 m) of local chieftain at the top of the 920 m high mountain (late 7th century); adapted from Osanna 2009.

77-83). The man buried in that tomb was a chieftain of considerable substance. He is likely to have maintained interregional contacts and controlled the ceramic production of Canosa-Toppicelli. The products of this kiln site were found over large parts of Italy and in Dalmatia, Istria and Slovenia. A chieftain of probably comparable status at Satriano in the uplands of Lucania lived in an enormous hut measuring c. 22 x 12 m (late 7th century). He lived on top of a 960 m high mountain, whereas most of his tribesmen had their dwellings in small hut settlements in the surrounding valleys (fig. 4.19).¹¹⁸

Canosa was (and continued to be) a settlement of considerable importance in the northern parts of Apulia. Spectacular graves of similar nature have been excavated in the mid to later 7th-century necropolis at Alianello and the almost contemporary burial site of Chiaromonte-Sotto la Croce in western Basilicata (fig. 4.14). Here, local elites were buried with both elaborately painted pots and a lavish quantity of bronze and amber ornaments.¹¹⁹ These inland settlements probably controlled the overland route between Siris and southern Campania. Coastal settlements such as Siris, Metapontion and Otranto are likely to have performed comparable roles in the later 7th century BC, but since their burial customs (and their social systems) differed from those at Chiaromonte and Canosa the rise and the role of their elites are not so easily illustrated. The leading persons of these settlements may have manifested their status in partly or completely different ways.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Osanna 2009 (the so-called '*residenza ad abside*').

¹¹⁹ The burial customs at Alianello (and a number of other sites of western Basilicata) differed slightly from those in many other parts from southeast Italy: here the deceased was buried on his or her back in a distended position (usually the deceased was buried on his/her side in a contracted position).

¹²⁰ Otranto (and the Salento district in general) has not supplied any evidence of burials for the 7th century BC; for a probable Greek-style elite burial from Siris dating to the later 7th century BC, see Bianco / Tagliente 1985, 61 fig. 30.

We have seen above that in the earlier to mid 7th century BC southeast Italy had a series of burial grounds that differed from the traditional cemeteries of this region (section 4.3). Important discriminating elements were that they display a variety of burial customs (cremation and various forms of inhumation) and that nearly all the graves contain a very limited quantity of grave goods.¹²¹ Moreover, these burial sites were definitely outside the settlement areas. The earliest of these started as early as the first half of the 7th century BC and have probably correctly been interpreted as the burial grounds of resident Greeks and/or Greek-style burials. Some of these were small and short-lived (Brindisi, Torre Saturo), but in a few cases these burial grounds outside the settlement area developed into substantial necropoleis. It was especially from the last quarter of the 7th century BC onward that the quantity of burials in the Siris, Taras and Metapontion necropoleis began to increase exponentially. This suggests that from about that time onward larger, more populous, more coherent and more highly organized settlements came into being at these spots: the *poleis* of Siris, Taras and Metapontion.¹²²

These late 7th-century and 6th-century necropoleis of the three emerging *poleis* differed in several respects from both the contemporary necropoleis in the Aegean-Greek world and the preceding phases of the south-Italian Greek-style cemeteries which reflected various types of burial customs found in Aegean Greece. The best information comes from Taras where thousands of tombs have been discovered. This happened when the modern city spread over the ancient burial grounds during the late 19th and 20th centuries.¹²³ Metapontion, however, is likely to have been a very comparable case.¹²⁴ What is striking in these cemeteries is that (1) the now uniformly used rite is inhumation, that (2) the deceased are invariably buried in rectangular trenches in the ground (*fossa* graves),¹²⁵ and that (3) the burial goods often consist of considerable quantities of richly decorated ceramics (initially predominantly Middle to Late Corinthian painted wares).

These same three features are currently encountered in slightly earlier and contemporary burial grounds of the non-Greek world of southeast Italy. Since south-Italic natives can be surmised to have been among the early inhabitants of these coastal settlements,¹²⁶ there is a good chance that part of the burial customs of the emerging Greek *poleis* of southeast Italy was inspired by the non-Greek world of southeast Italy. Whilst the location of the cemeteries of Taras, Metapontion and Siris (outside the settlement area) and the spatial arrangement of the burial grounds (family groups within a fairly close knit necropolis) were rooted in originally Greek traditions, the lavishness of the grave goods, the abundance of painted pottery and the custom of inhumation in *fossa* graves were all quite characteristic elements of the non-Greek populations of southeast Italy during the middle and later 7th century BC. Therefore, the burial customs of the emerging Greek *poleis* of the late 7th and early 6th century BC were probably a mix of basically Greek and originally south-Italic 'native' features. They stress that both Greeks and non-Greek were involved in the genesis of the to all appearances Greek *poleis* in southeast Italy. The Greeks of southeast Italy, therefore, were considerably less 'Greek' than they themselves wished to believe and than they propagated to others from the 6th century onward.

¹²¹ The small quantity of grave goods does not necessarily mean that the people buried there were poor. Since nearly all the burials in these early Greek or Greek-style necropoleis contain only a few objects, the deceased (or their descendants) were simply no big spenders in the funerary sphere.

¹²² Similar developments are likely to have taken place at Sybaris. The burial sites of this settlement are still covered by tons of mud.

¹²³ See, for instance, Lo Porto 1960, *Cento Anni* and Neeft 1994.

¹²⁴ For a good summary on the burial grounds of Metapontion, see De Juliis 2001, 117-128.

¹²⁵ These most impressive *fossa* graves contained a limestone sarcophagus (*tomba a sarcofago*), most of them were lined by limestone slabs (*tomba a lastroni*), the most simple specimens were just rectangular trenches (*tomba a fossa semplice*).

¹²⁶ Yntema 2000 and 2011.

This observation raises questions concerning the social structures in the Greek speaking communities in southeast Italy during the Iron Age. The relatively few individuals (traders, mercenaries, craftsmen) who exchanged Greece for southeast Italy in the late 8th and early 7th centuries, left their original social world behind and functioned within non-Greek contexts: these earliest Greek immigrants were linked in some way with indigenous groups amongst which they lived and worked. The appearance of Greek or Greek-style burial grounds in the first half of the 7th century BC suggests that things began to change in a limited number of settlements of southeast Italy: people who are buried together tend to see themselves as a social unit and are perceived as such by others. But as we have seen above, it was especially in the later 7th century BC that the burial grounds of Siris, Taras, Metapontion (and possibly Sybaris) became larger and more densely occupied and began to display the spatial organization and coherence of true cities of the dead. In some cases there is reason to assume that larger groups of Greeks migrated. This happened mainly in the second half of the 7th century. The foundation story of Siris, for instance, indicates that a series of households left the town of Colophon in Asia Minor around 650/640 BC and founded the new settlement in southeast Italy (Lombardo 1986).¹²⁷ The earliest phase of Metapontion was closely comparable to early Siris.¹²⁸ The 7th-century settlement phases that preceded the Greek *poleis* of southeast Italy, therefore, did not have the social structure commonly assigned to Greek towns. It was not until the late 7th century that the first signs of a truly coherent, fairly populous community make their appearance at Metapontion (e.g., sacellum C1, wooden predecessor of the *ekklesiasterion*, earthworks surrounding the settlement). Other signs pointing at new, urban communities were the completely new and rigidly orthogonal layouts of Sybaris, Metapontion and Taras (and perhaps Siris, dating to approximately the second quarter of the 6th century BC. They stress the birth of an entirely new social order (see chapter 5).

In the above passages on settlements and burial grounds hints have been given concerning the social structure of the indigenous communities of southeast Italy. The settlement clusters consisting of five to eight contemporary huts each suggest that the family group was an important social unit. Comparable clusters of graves can be encountered, but there are also larger cemeteries indicating the presence of larger, more complex social units such as clans. Family groups were probably part of a clan that inhabited a specific section or territory within the settlement area and buried its dead in the clan necropolis located in and near the same area.

The most intimate images of an Iron Age indigenous society of southeast Italy can be found in a unique body of documents from the north-Apulian Tavoliere plain. These are the so-called ‘Daunian stelai’ of which some 2.000 fragments belonging to c. 1.200 different specimens have been found at the coastal site of Siponto (figs 4.10 and 4.20). The earliest stele dates to the later 8th century, but most of them belong to the 7th and 6th centuries BC.¹²⁹ These stelai are rectangular limestone slabs of varying dimensions. Their height is between 0.45 and 1.30 m, their width usually varies between 0.25 and 0.60 m and they are 0.05 to 0.10 m thick. A stylized round or spool-shaped human head was attached to the upper side of each slab with a pin, giving the stele an anthropomorphic character. The stelai were

¹²⁷ The archaeological evidence suggests that the first traces of Greek presence were some 40 to 50 years older than the foundation story of the *apoikia* tells us. Since the foundation stories are basically *origo* myths, it is difficult to separate fact from fiction and reshaped past from invented past in these stories (Yntema 2000).

¹²⁸ The earliest phases of Metapontion are Metaponto-Andrisani and Metaponto-Lazzizzera. There is no

information on the mid 7th-century phases of the settlements of Taras and Sybaris.

¹²⁹ For catalogue and good photographs of the ‘Daunian’ stelai, see Nava 1981 and 1988; The 6th century, of course, is discussed in the following chapter on the Archaic/Classical period. In north Apulia, Iron Age situations continued to exist to within the 3rd century BC. See section 4.6 (this chapter).

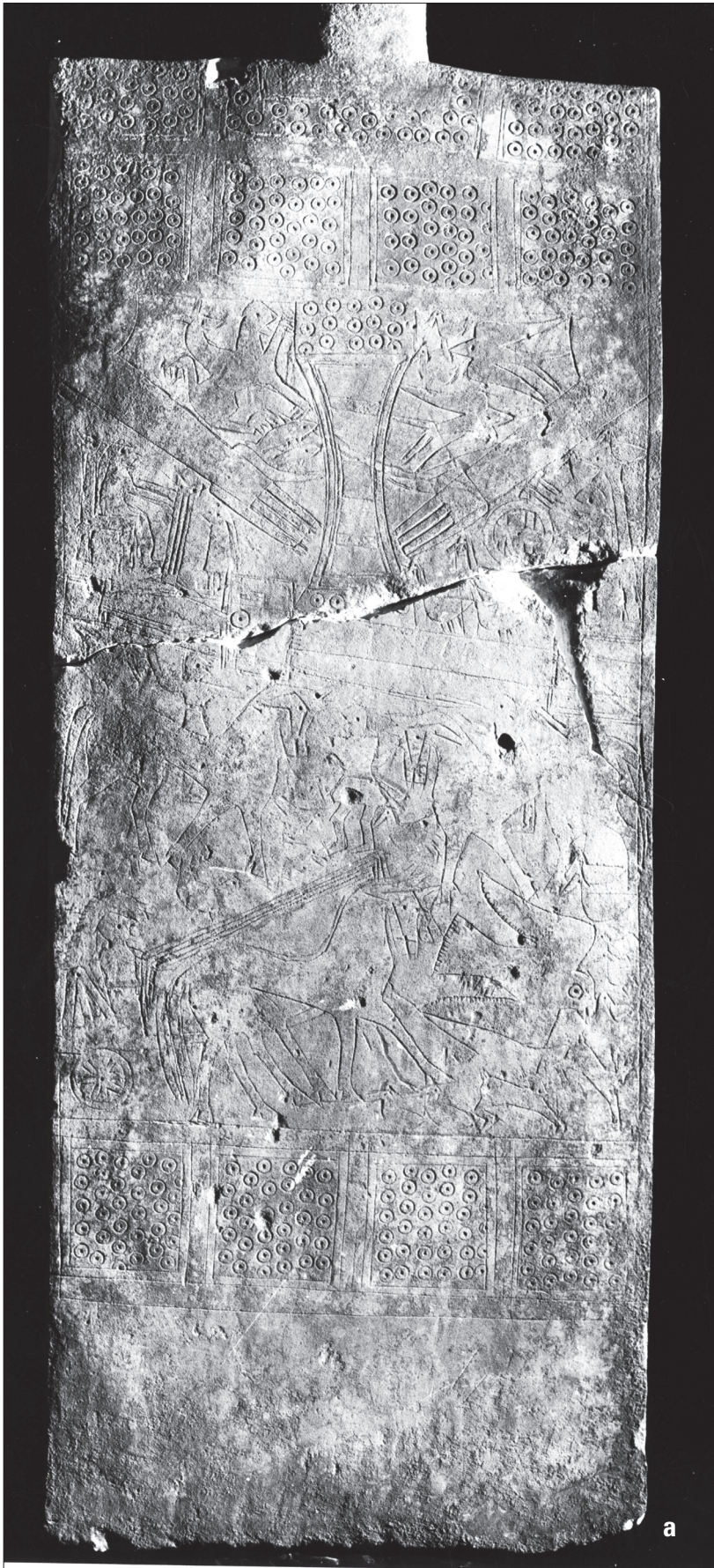
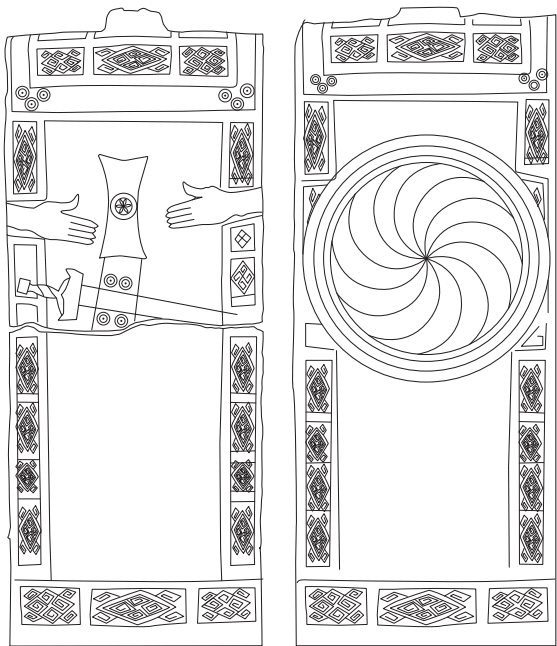


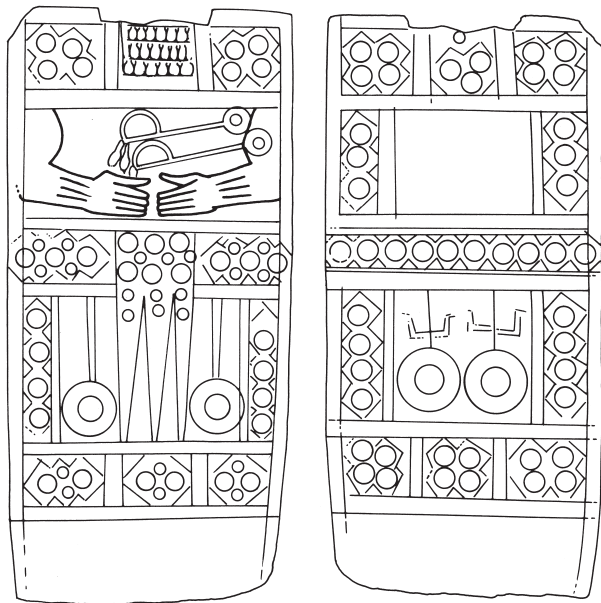
Fig.4.20. Siponto, (Tavoliere district, north-Apulia), schematic representations of both sides of a warrior stele (e) and 'civilian' stele (f) a. large warrior stele (7th century): d/g/h. scenes from 'civilian' stelai (late 7th-6th centuries) c. heads of stelai. Courtesy Ufficio Staccato Soprintendenza, Foggia.



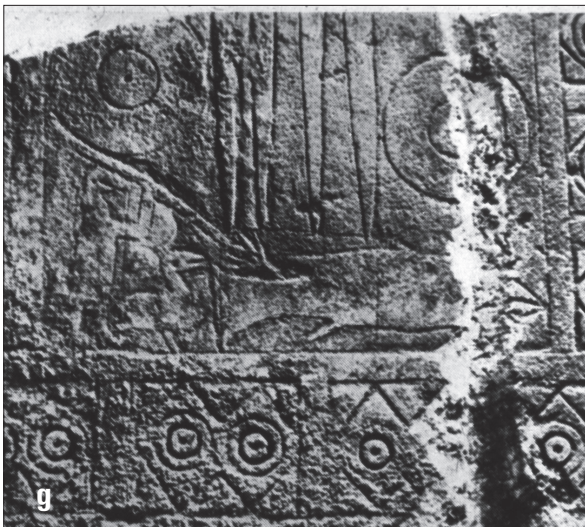
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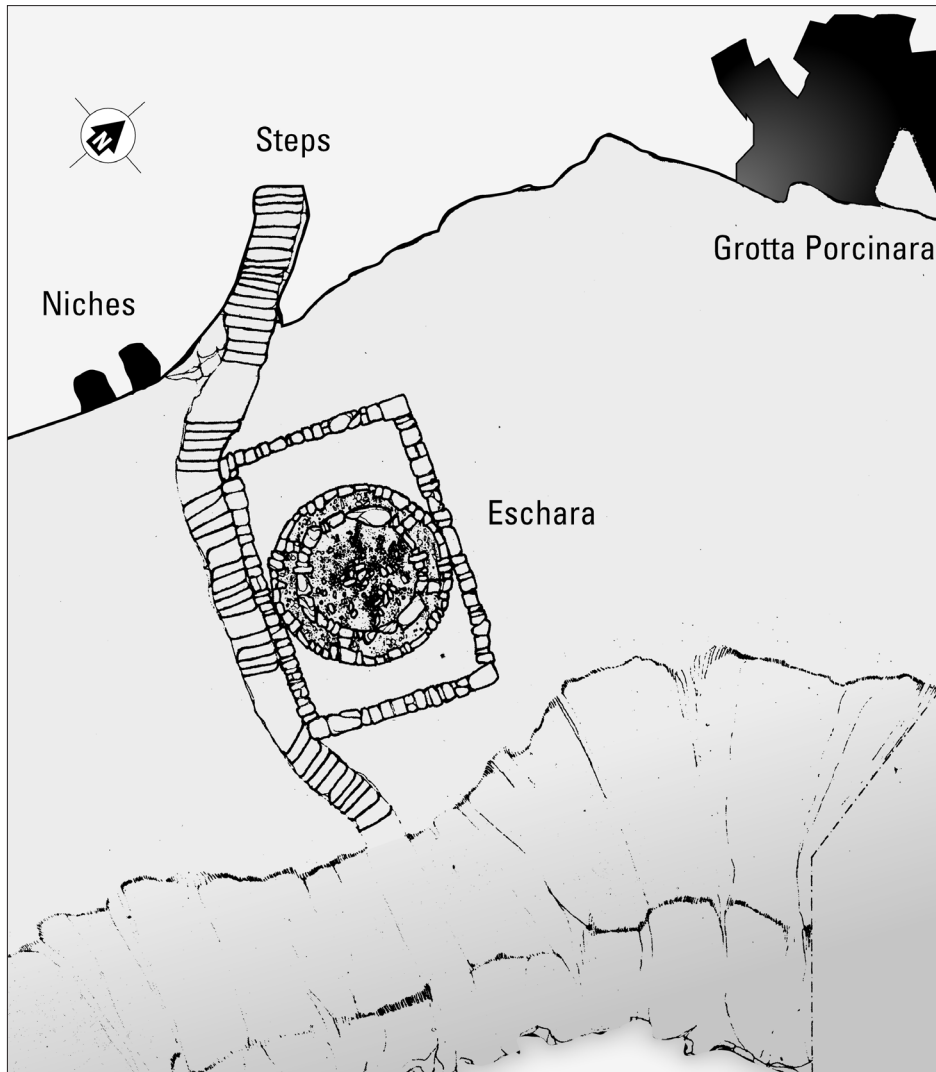


Fig. 4.21. Leuca (Salento district, south-Apulia): plan of altar (*eschara*), 7th/early 6th century BC (after D'Andria 1978).

placed on top of small tumuli and served as grave markers. Their most attractive quality, however, is their incised (and once painted) decoration. On the strength of the incised decoration, two basic types can be discerned. The more common type shows the arms of the deceased, richly decorated clothes, a belt and quite a number of ornaments such as beads, fibulae and discs which were attached to a belt. The rarer type displays the arms and a sword on the front, and a large circular shield on the back. In dozens of cases the areas between these features were filled in with scenes depicting Iron Age activities.¹³⁰ We see, for instance, people sailing boats, men catching large fishes and birds, women sitting at the loom (?), furniture, feasts/processions, hunting parties and warfare.¹³¹

The Daunian stelai from Siponto constitute a unique Iron Age picture book. Other sites of north-Apulia may have had similar collections of limestone monuments, but only few specimens of these have survived.¹³² Comparable anthropomorphic grave markers have been found at more northerly sites

¹³⁰ Silvio Ferri who found these stelai, being raised in a strongly diffusionist tradition, interpreted several scenes as 'Daunian' versions of Indo-European myths (e.g. scenes from the Trojan war). His articles on these objects appeared mainly in *Bolletino d'Arte* between

1962 and 1967 (reprinted in Nava 1988).

¹³¹ Nava 1981, stelai 518 and 846.

¹³² For 'Daunian stelai' from other sites, see Nava 1988, 171-198, and Nava 2011.

of the Adriatic,¹³³ while incised stelai are also found at the coastal site of Novilara (the Marche region, near Pesaro) and in Istria.¹³⁴ Obviously, such grave markers were at home in districts on the central and northern Adriatic between the 7th and the early 5th century BC. Some of the scenes depicted on the Daunian stelai (notably the processions), moreover, show affinities with those on the bronze situlae produced in the Este region on the northern Adriatic.¹³⁵

The Siponto stelai were probably not representative of the whole community living on the spot. Some of the people who died there, did not receive a formal burial or were interred in unmarked graves. But the extant grave markers demonstrate that there were at least two distinct groups: the sword-bearers and the non-sword bearers (fig. 4.20e). The former were all men, the latter group probably consisted of both males and females. Among the non-sword bearers were men with tall pointed hats (fig. 4.20d). These feature prominently alongside the bard and a string of women in feasting or processions scenes. They were obviously men of substance without belonging to the sword bearing elite. The seriation of the stelai in five more or less chronologically subsequent stylistic groups by Nava,¹³⁶ moreover, indicates quite thorough social changes in northern Apulia during the time the stelai were made. Whilst sword bearers account for ca. 40% of the stelai in the early group (7th-century), their percentage decreases to c. 25% in the 6th-century groups and dwindles to a misery 1% in the most recent late 6th/early 5th century group.¹³⁷

The stelai indicate that the Iron Age tribal world of northern Apulia (and perhaps of large parts of southeast Italy) was far more complex in social respect than the simple division between elite and non-elite. The men with the pointed hats frequently encountered in procession scenes, for instance, may have been priests or shamans. Thorough analyses of both the stelai and the numerous Iron Age necropoleis of southeast Italy have not yet been carried out. They may well reveal a social system with rather intricate inter-group relations.

Some of the scenes on the Daunian stelai can be suspected of showing religious activities and hinting at beliefs. In addition to the feasts or processions mentioned above, the 7th- and 6th- century stelai display scenes including persons with bull's heads and images of monstrous creatures.¹³⁸ Among the few figurative scenes on the Iron Age matt-painted pots of southeast Italy some have been interpreted in a similar vein.¹³⁹ These iconic sources – if they have been interpreted correctly – are practically the only traces of Iron Age religious activity. Though the rites that bound the local communities together must have been performed in public (cf. the 'Daunian' stelai), hardly any traces of sacred places or rituals have been found in the archaeological record hitherto.

Many rituals were small-scale activities. They consist of dumps of food and/or (smashed) pottery that are often similar to rubbish pits.¹⁴⁰ Traces of religious activities on a larger scale stem from only two sites. The first set was discovered at Francavilla Marittima (in the foothills surrounding the plain of Sybaris). Here a group of three wooden buildings was erected around 700 BC which display a mix of Greek and indigenous features.¹⁴¹ The second set of traces of religious activities has been found Leuca (Salento peninsula). On Salento's southernmost cape an indigenous sanctuary has been excavated of

¹³³ E.g. the Capecstrano warrior in the Abruzzi region, the Numana warrior in the Ancona area.

¹³⁴ For stelai from Novilara, see Brizio 1895; for Istrian Iron Age stelai, see Fischer 1984.

¹³⁵ For the Este situlae, see Frey 1969.

¹³⁶ Nava 1981.

¹³⁷ Yntema 1983.

¹³⁸ Ferri 1966, fig. 12; Nava 1981, stele 612.

¹³⁹ Cf. ceramics from western Basilicata (Neutsch 1961;

Kilian 1967)

¹⁴⁰ For such ritual deposits, see Burgers / Crielaard 2011, 69–71; see also D'Andria (forthcoming) on Iron Age ritual deposits from Vaste; an overview of the sites which may have been Iron Age cult places (but the evidence is sometimes extremely thin), see Mastronuzzi 2005, 136–141.

¹⁴¹ Kleibrink 2005 and 2006.

which the earliest traces date to the late 8th or early 7th century BC.¹⁴² The site is situated on a cliff above the sea. It consisted of a rounded altar (*eschara*) in front of a cave (fig. 4.21). Both spots can only be recognized as sacred places because objects have been deposited here that preserve well in the archaeological record. Mixed with the ashes of the *eschara* at Leuca, for instance, were animal bones and ceramics dated between the late 8th/early 7th and the beginnings of the 5th century BC.¹⁴³ Generally speaking, therefore, cult places can only be recognized in southeast Italy when datable objects were deposited by the people of the past who visited the spot.

However, it was only after the Iron Age that this probably originally Greek custom in the ritual sphere won general acceptance in most districts of southeast Italy. It happened from the second half of the 6th century onward. But spots that are recognized as cult places frequented from the later 6th century onward, may well have functioned much earlier than seems to be the case at present. Caves, wells and springs are likely to have been sacred places in the Iron Age in much of southeast Italy. Since the Iron Age people who possibly frequented these places, left no objects behind that survive to the present day, this can be nothing more but an educated guess.

4.6 REGIONALIZATION AND CRAFT

In the preceding sections of this chapter we have encountered 7th-century ‘Daunian’ stelai and ‘Canosan’ matt-painted pots. The use of these adjectives, of course, indicates that those artifacts are characteristic of respectively ‘Daunia’ (basically a Greek label for northern Apulia) and Canosa (the Italian name of a site in the transition zone between north and central Apulia). Obviously limestone grave markers with incised decoration and pots painted in a particular style were not found all over southeast Italy, but were specific products made exclusively in one single district or even one single settlement of this vast area. In fact, one of the features that characterize southeast Italy during the Iron Age (and probably Italy in general), is the increasing ‘regionalization’ of material culture during the 8th and 7th centuries BC. While, for instance, there is little variety in the matt-painted ceramics of the 9th century BC over large parts of southeast Italy, regional features become steadily more pronounced during the 8th century. This resulted in a host of regional or even local schools in the 7th century BC. This process of ‘regionalization’ is not just apparent in the production of ceramics, but can also be encountered in several other fields. It can also be observed in, for instance, metal production, funerary customs, character of the dwellings and settlement types. This regionalization in which each district of the macro-region southeast Italy developed a series of features that were characteristic of that district only, resulted in the so-called ‘cultural groups’ that have been presented in chapter 3.

The causes of these diverging trajectories in shaping material culture were many. First and foremost among these were the colonization activities and the increasingly sedentary character of the Iron Age groups. An initially predominantly coastal population with a basically coastal communication system colonized the various geographical units in the inland areas of southeast Italy. In addition to coastal communication, there was now intense communication between the coast and inland groups that had split off. However, intercommunication between the various inland groups was limited. A second factor stimulating regionalization in southeast Italy was the exponential increase of trade and exchange, not only between different areas within southeast Italy, but especially with outsiders such as Greeks, ‘Hallstattians’ and the Sabellic groups living in the present-day regions of Campania and Molise. As we have

¹⁴² D’Andria 1978.

¹⁴³ In inland Salento there is a second cult place (no traces of an altar) in a cave the first datable traces of which

date to approximately the mid 7th century: at Ruffano (Grotta Trinità; *Archeologia dei Messapi*, 195–196)

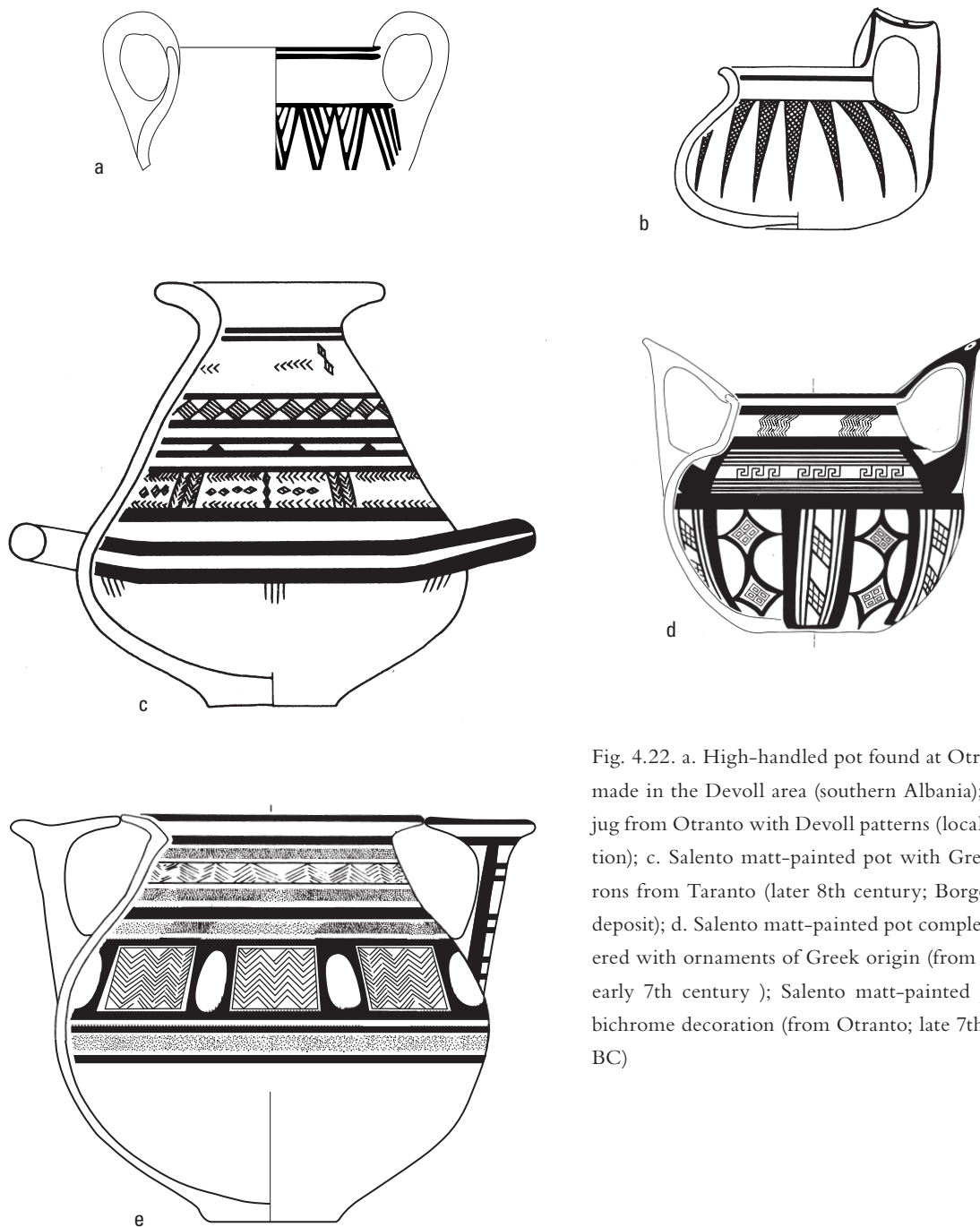


Fig. 4.22. a. High-handled pot found at Otranto, but made in the Devoll area (southern Albania); b. small jug from Otranto with Devoll patterns (local production); c. Salento matt-painted pot with Greek chevrons from Taranto (later 8th century; Borgo Nuovo deposit); d. Salento matt-painted pot completely covered with ornaments of Greek origin (from Otranto; early 7th century); e. Salento matt-painted pot with bichrome decoration (from Otranto; late 7th century BC)

seen above, the coastal area on the Gulf of Taranto, for instance, had very intense contacts with Greeks from the late 8th century onward. Small groups of Greeks even lived there on a permanent basis.

This culture contact resulted in culture change. The Salento matt-painted pots of c. 700 BC differ markedly from those made around 750 BC. The vessels produced around 700 BC display an almost completely new set of motifs which have a mostly Greek-geometric pedigree (fig. 4.22d). Whilst the material culture of the coastal area on the Gulf of Taranto displays signs of these contacts with Greeks, northern Apulia with its strong links with the northern Adriatic and eastern Hallstatt world shared a particular set of features in its material culture with these vastly different districts (e.g. fibulas, anthropomorphic and incised grave markers in stone). Intensive contacts with external groups having a vastly different material culture was one of the causes of increasing differences between pots, metal objects,

funerary customs, habitations and settlement types of the various districts of southeast Italy. Each district of southeast Italy developed its own cultural *bricolage* that could consist of traditional features, elements organically developed within the district and features adopted from areas with vastly different cultural traditions. The latter could come from neighbours (e.g. Campanians, Sabellians) or oversea contacts (e.g. various types of Greeks, the Picentes in the Marche region, the Iapodes of Dalmatia and the east-Halstattians of Istria and Slovenia).

These regional differences did not occur exclusively in the field of material culture, but also occurred in the realm of concepts, notions and ideas. They are, however, particularly evident in objects, because material culture is more adaptable. Moreover, external influence can be observed more easily in an excavated object than in the archaeologist's construct of the social aspects of a particular group. Whilst around 750 BC (i.e. before the drastic changes described above) the differences in craft, economy, religion and social systems between the various districts of southeast Italy were probably fairly limited, they differed vastly by about 600/550 BC. Around 750 BC, for instance, the elites of both Canosa and L'Incoronata were made up of the leaders of a few dominant lineages. By about 600 BC the leaders at Canosa were great chieftains comparable to the warrior chiefs of the northern Adriatic or the Hallstattian world, who lived in oval huts and practiced religion in a way that left no traces in the archaeological record. At the same moment leading families of the former indigenous settlement of L'Incoronata (abandoned in c. 600) were among the - to all appearances - Greek elite of the *polis* of Metapontion, lived in a Greek style in Greek houses and deposited their votive offerings in both urban and rural sanctuaries. The regionalization was not just a case of increasing differences between pots and fibulae from different districts: it also affected the social patterns, the beliefs and the world views of the groups living in the various districts of southeast Italy.

The most abundant evidence for the regionalization process in southeast Italy is supplied by the ceramics. Various types of ceramics were produced here during the period under discussion. But it is especially the often lavishly decorated matt-painted pottery of this area that can be analyzed for this purpose. The roots of these wares lay in the late phase of the Bronze Age with the birth of the handmade and slow-wheel-made matt-painted South-Italian Protogeometric wares (see chapter 2.4). In the 10th and 9th centuries BC these wares, decorated with a matt dark brown paint, changed only very gradually and continued to be very similar all over southeast Italy (fig. 2.12). But when internal colonization, increasingly frequent interregional exchanges and contacts with distant populations gained momentum in the course of the 8th century, various regional styles came into being which differed from each other in many respects.

The Salento peninsula was the first district to break away from the mainstream by adopting patterns derived from the matt-painted pottery of south-Albania and northwestern Greece (fig. 4.22a and b).¹⁴⁴ This happened before the middle of the 8th century. From about the 3rd quarter of the same century patterns derived from Greek Late Geometric pottery can be observed on Salento matt-painted pots (fig. 4.22c). These grew into a flood in the early 7th century when the painted wares were almost completely covered by such patterns (fig. 4.22d). Soon bichromatic decoration with an alternation of dark brown and reddish brown paint almost completely replaced monochrome painting in dark brown (fig. 4.22e), while the originally modest ornaments of 'Albanian' and Greek descent developed into elaborate patterns covering large parts of the pots.

Similar developments occurred in other districts of southeast Italy. There was a general tendency to adopt new patterns of both 'Albanian' and Greek origin. Since Albanian Devoll wares have mainly

¹⁴⁴ These are the so-called Devoll wares; for further literature see note 38.

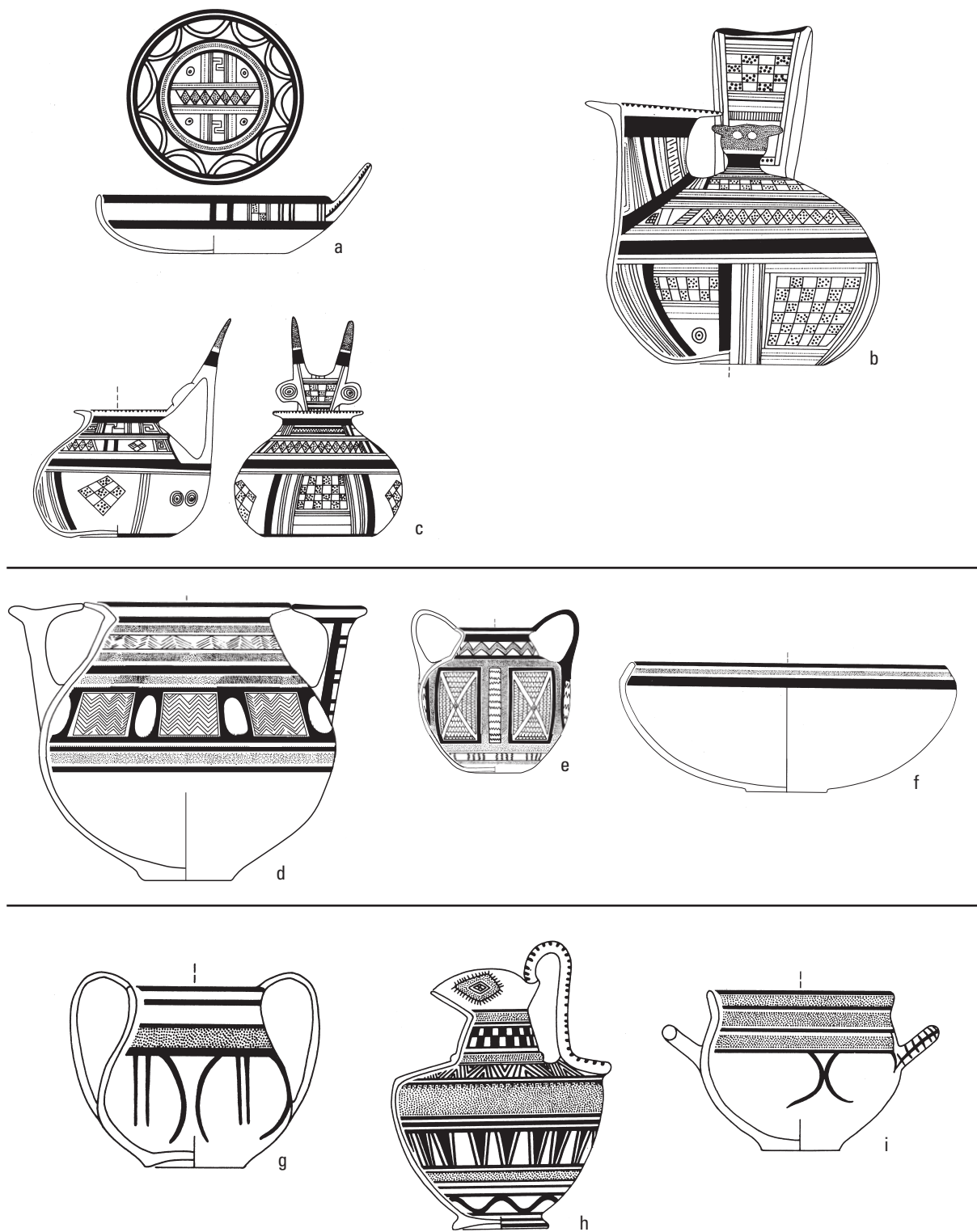


Fig. 4.23. Shapes and ornaments of various districts: a-c. bowl, askos, bag-shaped jug from the Ofanto district (late 7th century); d-f. conical necked jar, olletta and scodella from Salento district (late 7th century); g-i. olletta/kantharos, oinochoe and cup (native version *coppa a filetti*) from western Basilicata (late 7th/early 6th century).

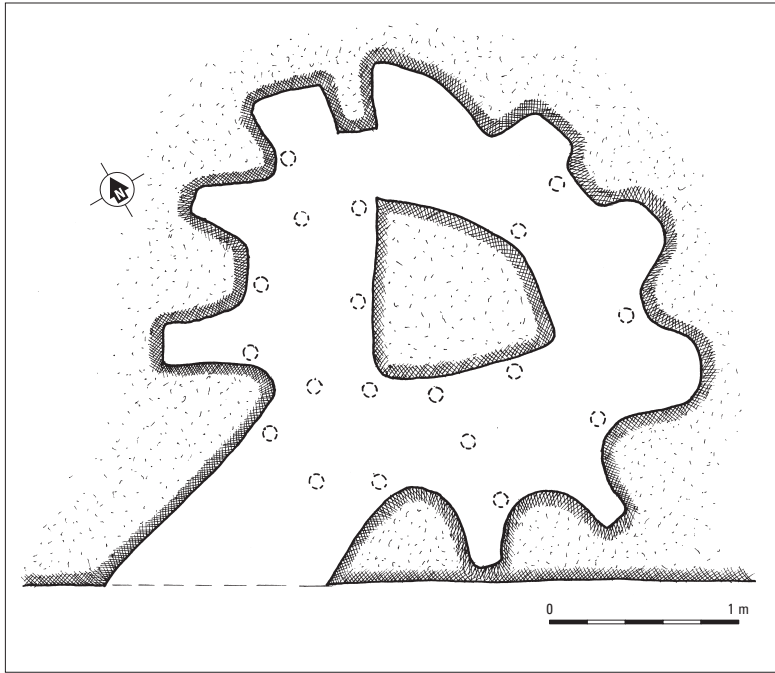


Fig. 4.24. Montescaglioso (southeast Basilicata), kiln A: plan of combustion room with central pillar and *prae-furnum* damaged by the bulldozer; rounded holes communicating with the now lost firing room in which the pots were stacked before firing; 6th century BC (adapted from Lo Porto 1988/89, fig. 97).

been found at the site of Otranto, a central role in the diffusion of these new patterns may have been played by that site or by the Salento district in general. The second almost general trend is that the decoration that was limited to the upper half of the pots during the 9th and 8th centuries, spread all over the matt-painted vessels in the 7th century BC. The exceptions to this rule were western Basilicata and northern Calabria where the upper parts of the pots were usually adorned with horizontal bands, whilst the lower parts of the vessels rarely sustained elaborate decoration (fig. 4.23.g-i). The adoption of bichromy was the third trend that can be observed in large parts of southeast Italy. Buoyantly bichromatic ceramics were made in southern Apulia and Basilicata. The potters in the valley of the river Ofanto used bichromy only sparingly during the 7th and early 6th century,¹⁴⁵ whilst the coastal strip of central-Apulia (Bari district) and the north-Apulian Tavoliere stuck to exclusively monochrome matt-painted decoration to within the 5th century BC.¹⁴⁶

Alongside these general lines shared by the various schools of pottery production, each district developed its own set of characteristics. Sometimes even local workshops can be recognized.¹⁴⁷ Ornaments and shapes are the most distinctive elements. The way the ornaments are arranged on the pots (the ‘decorative syntax’) is equally characteristic of a specific area. As for the forms, both the Tavoliere and Canosa (Ofanto district), for instance, preferred spherical jars, bag-shaped jugs and high-handled jugs and bowls (the so-called *atingitoio*). The askos was a rare form in most districts of southeast Italy, but from the late 7th century onward this shape became enormously popular at Canosa in the Ofanto

¹⁴⁵ Canosa and other sites in the valley of the Ofanto started to produce strongly bichromatic wares from the last third of the 6th century onward (see Yntema 1990, 250ff: Ofanto Subgeometric II).

¹⁴⁶ The Bari area adhered to monochrome decoration till the slow-wheel made matt-painted wares of the district were replaced by regionally produced quick-wheelmade wares with banded and vegetal decoration.

This happened between the c. 525 and 475 BC. In the Tavoliere district matt-painted pots with bichromatic decoration appeared alongside monochromes in burials dating to approximately 475/450 BC.

¹⁴⁷ For instance, the local workshop of Oppido Lucano in eastern Basilicata (see Lissi Caronna 1976; Yntema 1990, 314-317)

district (fig. 4.23b).¹⁴⁸ In Salento the most current forms were conical necked jars, bowls with in-turned rim and small high-handled pots (fig. 4.23d-f), whilst western Basilicata added new, basically Greek shapes such as the wine cup and the oinochoe to its repertory of traditional forms during the later 7th and early 6th centuries BC (fig. 4.23g-i). In the field of ornaments and decorative syntax, the Basilicata districts continued to adhere to the traditional schemes: horizontal bands or zones on the upper halves and only limited decoration on the lower halves of the pots (fig. 4.23.g-i). Salento preferred large, elaborate ornaments in large more or less rectangular fields (panel decoration), whilst the 7th to early 6th century ceramics of Bari area and the Ofanto district surrounding Canosa had a horizontal zone on the upper half and panel decoration on the lower half of the vessel containing almost miniaturistically painted ornaments (fig. 4.23.a-c).¹⁴⁹

These matt-painted wares of southeast Italy were shaped by a variety of methods. But the potters never used the quick potter's wheel.¹⁵⁰ The vessels were fired in closed kilns in an oxidizing atmosphere. Kilns used to produce matt-painted wares have been found at various sites (fig. 4.24).¹⁵¹

Matt-painted was not the only class of ceramics produced in Iron Age southeast Italy. Between the 10th century and the middle of the 8th century BC, black to dark brown impasto pottery was far more common than the matt-painted wares. This is apparent in, for instance, the tomb contents of the two large well-published necropoleis of the early Iron Age: Sala Consilina and L'Incoronata.¹⁵² The shapes of these impasto vessels are usually very similar to those of the matt-painted wares: jugs, bowls, globular jars and conical necked jars were foremost among them (fig. 4.25a). Often these pots were elaborately burnished. These ceramics were widely used in habitation areas, but they could also accompany the deceased in the grave. Much coarser and more thick-walled impasto jars were used for storage and for the burials of very young children (fig. 4.25b). These have no parallels in the matt-painted wares.¹⁵³ This purely utilitarian form was already produced in the Bronze Age and continued to be made in large numbers in most parts of southeast Italy during the 6th and 5th centuries BC.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁸ This popularity of the askos at Canosa lasted to into the 2nd century BC (see Yntema 1990, 279 ff.: Listata III); they were exclusively made for funerary purposes.

¹⁴⁹ For detailed studies on regional styles of matt-painted ceramics of southeast Italy, see La Genière 1968 (western Basilicata), De Juliis 1977a (northern Apulia) and 1995 (central Apulia), Yntema 1979 (Canosa and Ofanto district); Yntema 1981 (Salento), De Juliis 1995 (present-day Bari province). General overview in Yntema 1990.

¹⁵⁰ The base of the pot was sometimes made in a mould. The upper half of the body, neck, rim and handle were all shaped separately, partly by hand, partly with the use of a slow potter's wheel. The constituent parts of the pot were pasted together when partially dry.

¹⁵¹ A relatively large and well-preserved specimen stems from the site of Montescaglioso (Lo Porto 1988/89, 384-386). It was more or less round having a diameter of over 3.00 m, while its combustion room had a central pillar and radial walls. The heat of the fire in the combustion room could reach the upper firing room in which the pots were stacked, by means of a series of 8

cm wide holes. The Montescaglioso kiln A shown in fig. 4.24 is unusually large. Whenever the diameter of the kiln can be reconstructed, it varies between c. 1.50 and 2.00 m.

¹⁵² For the Iron Age tombs of Sala Consilina, see Kilian 1964 and 1970 and La Genière 1968; for the tombs of San Teodoro-L'Incoronata, see Chiartano 1977, 1994, 1996.

¹⁵³ There is little evidence for the production of impasto wares. An early 7th century kiln of Oria (Salento) produced both matt-painted wares and impasto storage jars. Most Iron Age kilns discovered hitherto date to the 7th century BC. In this later part of the Iron Age burnished impasto was made in only limited quantities and vanished from the ceramic repertoire well before 600 BC. The coarse impasto storage jars, however, survived much longer and continued to serve the same purposes for many years (e.g. storage of cereals; interment of babies).

¹⁵⁴ In the Salento peninsula these same jars (but now wheelmade) were still made in the late 4th century BC (Yntema 2001, 323-324).

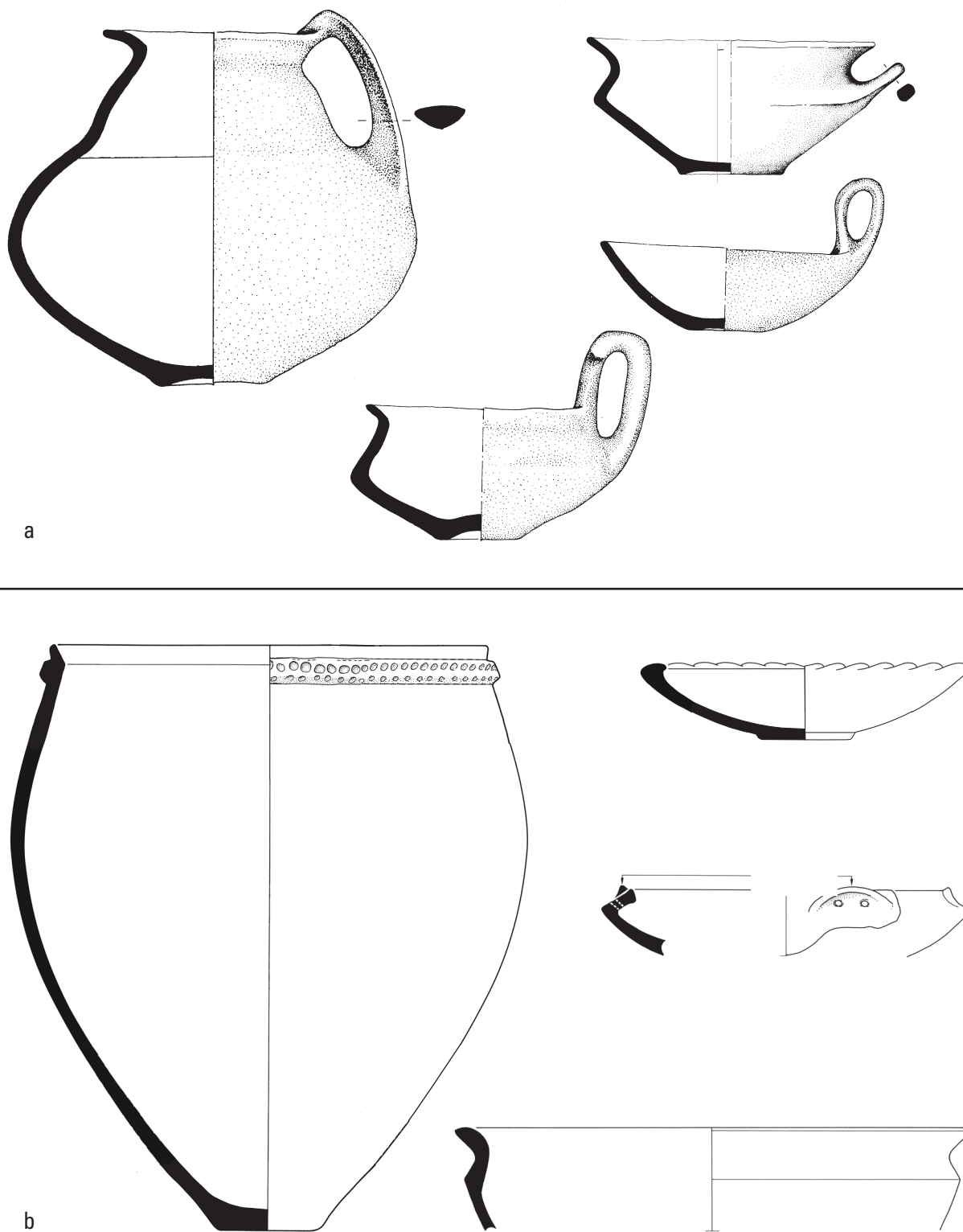


Fig. 4.25. Impasto wares of southeast Italy. (A) Selection of forms of impasto from the necropolis of L'Incoronata (9th-8th century BC); (B) Storage jars of coarse impasto and bowls of burnished impasto from the settlement of Valesio (Brindisi), first half of the 7th century BC.

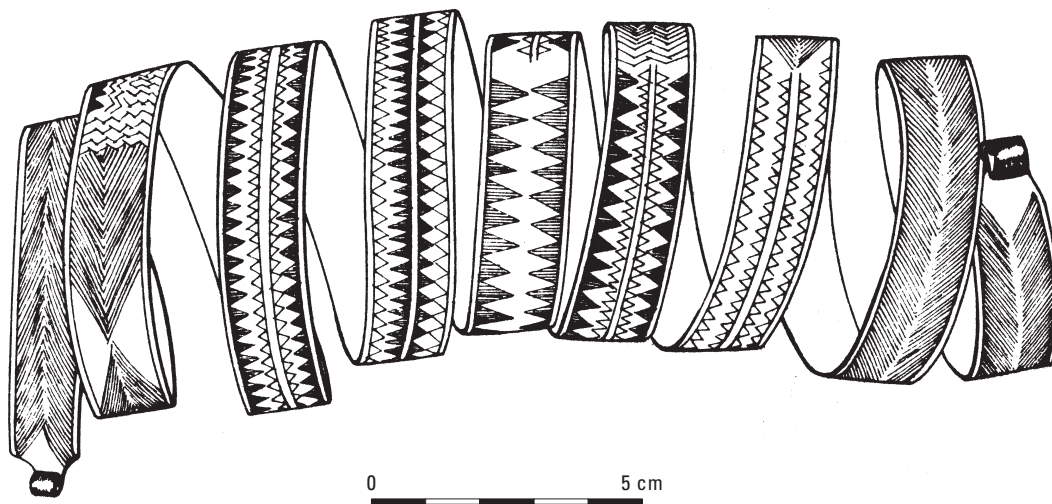


Fig. 4.26. Southeast Italy: metalwork of the Iron Age: bracelet from Matera area, 8th century BC; adapted from Lo Porto 1969.

On the strength of the complexity of the production process, matt-painted wares are likely to have been made by specialist potters. This does not necessarily mean that making pots was their only occupation. Ethnographic sources indicate that pottery production could well be a seasonal activity that takes mainly place in the summer months (Mater 2005). The group for which the pots were made was mostly small. Usually each settlement of southeast Italy had at least one potter who worked in most cases for a local clientele.¹⁵⁵ The location of the production unit in relation to other features is telling. At Oria (Salento) the kiln site was very close to a substantial hut cluster of the settlement, whilst at Canosa (Ofanto district) the kiln site was in the same restricted area as a cluster of elite graves and traces of a 7th- and 6th-century habitation area. The Iron Age potters, therefore, were definitely part of the family group and part of the clan to which the family belonged. The potters who shaped and decorated the fine Canosan ceramics that reached elites in distant areas such as the northern Adriatic and Slovenia, may have been among the retinue of the great chieftains of Canosa who controlled the exchanges between Adriatic and south-Italian trade networks and who were buried in close proximity to their dwellings and their kilns.

Blacksmiths may have held a comparable social position in Iron Age southeast Italy. Their workshops have not been found. They produced a wide variety of articles of which only those survive that were deposited in the graves. They produced magnificent belts, swords (fig. 4.16), bracelets (fig. 4.26), a variety of fibulae and a host of other objects. The Daunian stelai¹⁵⁶ and the graves of Basilicata¹⁵⁷ give testimony of the great wealth of metal ornaments worn by Iron Age persons of substance in southeast Italy. The phenomenon that metal objects were more and more restricted to elite burials in the course

¹⁵⁵ The exceptions to this general rule are the potters from the Tavoliere whose vessels reached the plain around Naples, the potters from Canosa-Toppicelli whose pots played a role in south-Italian and Adriatic exchange circuits (Yntema 1979) and the potters of the 8th century Tenda wares of western Basilicata (see La Genière

1968, Kilian 1970, Ruby 1988; Fabricotti / Martella 2001). At Canosa two workshops producing matt-painted wares may well have coexisted (see Yntema 1995, 71)

¹⁵⁶ Nava 1981.

¹⁵⁷ Bianco / Tagliente 1985; Chiartano 1977, 1994, 1996.

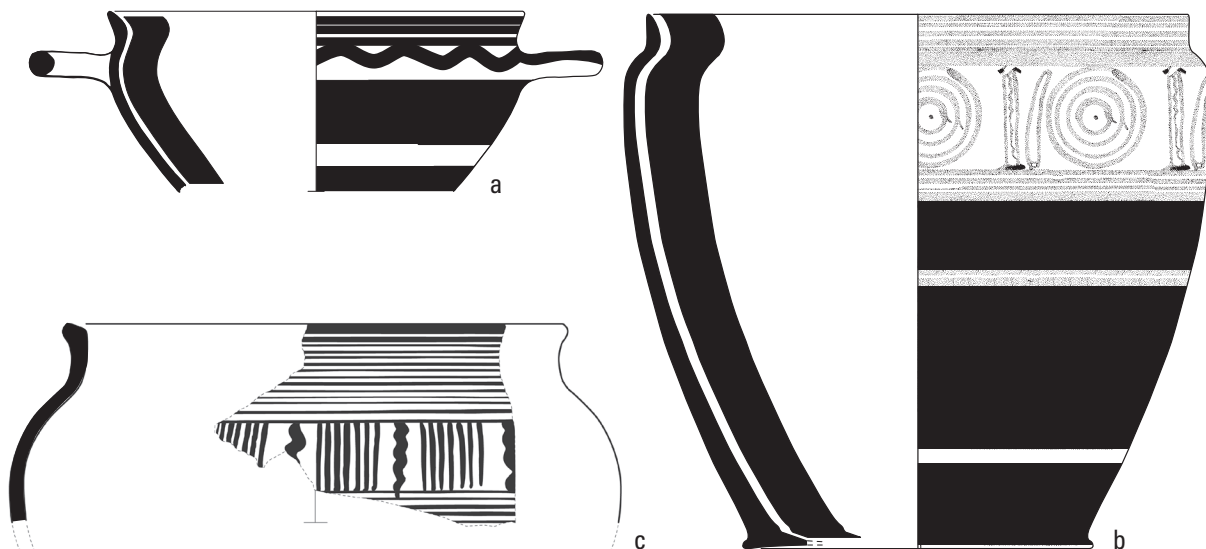


Fig. 4.27. Locally made Greek style ceramics from Metaponto–Andrisani (a–b; see De Siena 1985, Yntema 2000) and from L’Amastuola (c).

of the 7th century BC could well be a sign of an increasingly close link between the local elite and the local smith: the latter produced articles that were the prerogative of the former and that could also play a role in intra- and interregional elite exchange.

As we have seen above, one of the new features of the Iron Age was the drastic intensification of contacts with regions outside southeast Italy. On the Gulf of Taranto these resulted even in the settling of relatively small groups of Greeks who were traders, mercenaries and craftsmen. The first migrants arrived around 700 BC, but before the middle of the 7th century several small Greek communities had come into being by a steady trickle of Greek immigrants. These not only transported pots from the area of their roots to their new homes, they also brought their potter’s craft to Italy.

The evidence for the production of Greek style pottery in southeast Italy is relatively abundant. The ‘hard’ evidence consists of a number of clay analyses and some wasters, but the substantial quantities of ceramics that have clays and decorations that are similar or identical to those that constitute the hard evidence are rather numerous. These suggest that around 650/640 BC the sites of Siris, L’Incoronata and Metaponto–Andrisani each had a workshop producing Greek-style pottery in basically Greek techniques. These ceramics were made on the quick potter’s wheel, were decorated with a ferrous slip and fired at high temperatures. The motifs, moreover, belonged to the Greek subgeometric and orientalizing repertoires (fig. 4.27). In addition to painted wares, plain and relief decorated wares were made in these Greek pottery workshops of southeast Italy. A spectacular and well-preserved specimen of the latter class is the magnificent 0.78 m tall-footed basin (*perirrhantērion*) found (and presumably made) at L’Incoronata displaying battle scenes and typically Greek myths (fig. 4.28).¹⁵⁸

Initially the impact of these south-Italian Greek wares on the traditional ceramic production of south-east Italy was limited. As we have seen above, the ceramics of the Basilicata districts on the Gulf of Taranto display a tendency towards increasingly linear decoration from the late 7th century onward

¹⁵⁸ On these workshops producing Greek style ceramics in southeast Italy, see, for instance, *Greci sul Basento*, 144–168; Ciafaloni 1985; Lambrugo 2003 (all

about L’Incoronata); De Siena 1986 (on Metaponto–Andrisani). This relief decorated *perirrhantērion* was published by Orlandini (1980).

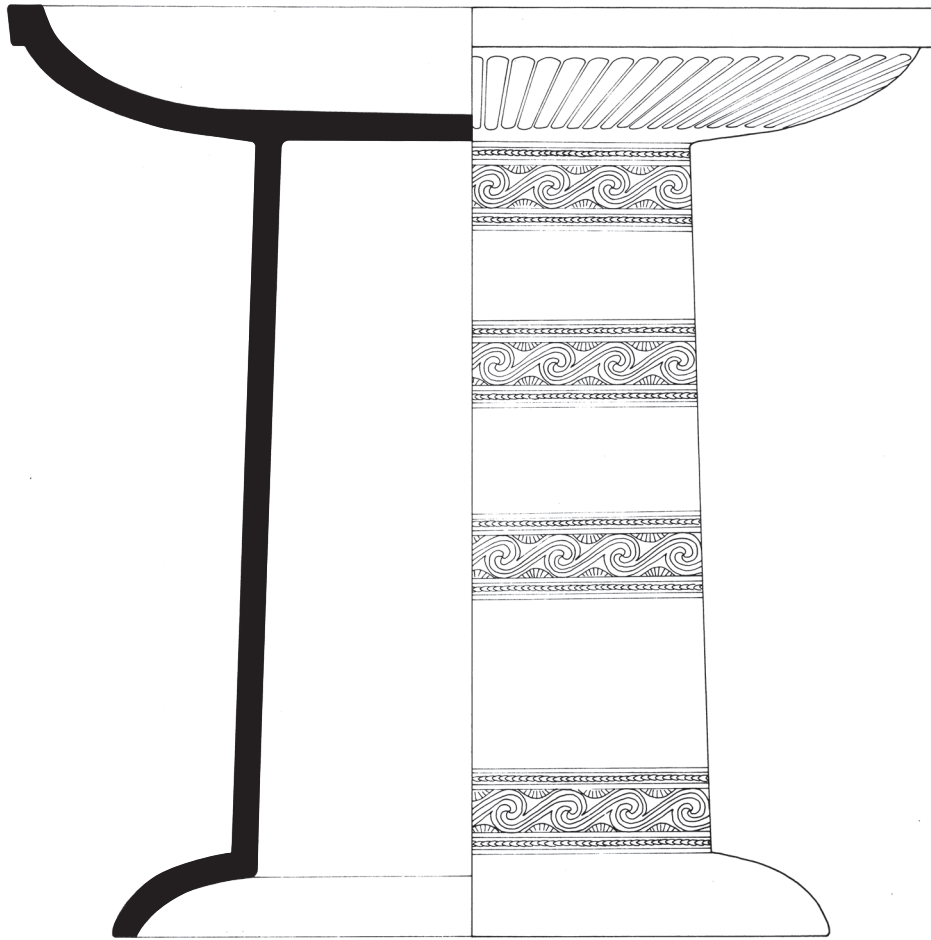


Fig. 4.28. Relief decorated *perirhanterion* from L'Incoronata (final quarter late 7th century BC); adapted from Orlandini 1980.

(see fig. 4.23g-i). In western Basilicata hybrids were made that combined Greek shapes with native matt-painted decoration (fig. 4.23h-i). It was, however, not before the 2nd quarter of the 6th century BC that Greek forms and techniques began to replace the traditional matt-painted ceramics on a large scale in larger parts of the region under discussion. These innovations will be discussed in the following chapter (section 5.5).

4 . 7 S U M M A R Y

The Iron Age in southeast Italy displays features that have close parallels in the later phases of the Bronze Age. In both periods internal dynamics went hand in hand with external stimuli. Both factors cooperated in both periods in creating a different, more complex southeast Italy with natural, economic and socio-political landscapes that differed substantially from those preceding them. But while towards the close of the Bronze Age complexity decreased substantially, the end of the Iron Age is marked by drastic innovations. Among these were unprecedented population densities, an unprecedented intensity of the exploitation of the soils, unprecedented wealth for some and unprecedented prosperity for many. The story of the Iron Age is in fact a narrative about the first phase of a process of sometimes rapidly increasing complexity that would culminate in the subsequent Archaic-Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods.

As we have seen, the Iron Age of southeast Italy is characterized by considerable ferment. Many people were on the move in search of new farmland, a profitable exchange or ever lasting fame. Long distance contacts, exchange and migration suddenly gained momentum in the 8th century BC. Most of these 'travellers' just moved within the region under discussion. Small family groups decided to leave their settlements and undertook the laborious and undoubtedly risky task of creating new settlement areas and new fields for themselves in the midst of the woods of southeast Italy. Some of the people that were on the move were middlemen playing a role in exchanges between the various districts. Most of these were just visitors: they returned to their districts when the aim of their venture had been accomplished. Among these were Greek sailors and indigenous traders coming from Picenum or the Liburnian coast of present-day Istria and Dalmatia. Several foreigners, however, left their homes forever and came to stay in southeast Italy.

The largest group of migrants who started to live permanently in southeast Italy, was that of the Greeks. Initially relatively few individual Greeks settled in these new surroundings. That also happened in the Late Bronze Age. But by about the second quarter of the 7th century BC small Greek communities had come into being at the periphery or in the territory of originally non-Greek settlements. By about the third quarter of the same century the population of four coastal settlements began to increase very considerably (Sybaris, Siris, Metapontion, Taras). Each of these had a mixed population consisting of Greek immigrants and people with Italic roots. Their rapid growth in the later 7th century was probably due to their attraction to groups from the fermenting indigenous world of southeast Italy and to migrants coming from the equally fermenting Aegean areas. Their attractiveness lay in both the fertility of their soils and their geographic position as pivots (ports of trade) between two exchange systems.

It was in the late 7th century BC that a distinct bipolarity came into existence in southeast Italy. The four rapidly growing coastal settlements with their heavily mixed populations began to assume a new character. Their sudden expansion and rapidly increasing economic importance changed their role in the region dramatically. Whilst they were peripheral to indigenous groups and probably even dependent on indigenous groups in the earlier 7th century, they tended to evolve into more and more independent socio-political entities. Between the late 7th and the early 6th century BC they became new, impressive polities with a more or less urban centre. They unbalanced the traditional power structures and represented a major shift in the pre-existing power systems. By the middle of the 6th century BC southeast Italy harboured a series of indigenous tribes and four new city states. The latter proclaimed a new identity that suggested links with Greek-speaking areas surrounding the Aegean Sea.

The Greek-native bipolarity, however, should not be exaggerated. There were undoubtedly conflicts that marked the birth and sudden growth of the four Greek towns. In these conflicts people who probably began to see themselves as for instance Metapontines or Tarantines, fought against natives. But just as there was competition and fighting between native groups, there were conflicts and battles between the four Greek states. During the 7th century there was in fact no great divide in southeast Italy on the basis of strongly opposed Greek and Italic identities.

In the Iron Age, moreover, new settlements were not exclusively born on the coast. We have seen that many new territories were reclaimed and many new settlements arose in the inland areas of southeast Italy. The vast majority of these continued to be inhabited to well within the final centuries of the first millennium BC. The general lines of the pre-Roman habitation patterns of southeast Italy came into being in the course of the Iron Age. Later periods witnessed shifts and changes in the settlement hierarchy, but the basics of the habitation patterns as laid down in the Iron Age, remained untouched till well after the Roman conquest of southeast Italy.

In the Iron Age southeast Italy became a complex world. Since inland areas were reclaimed for human occupation on a large scale, population densities were much higher than in any preceding period.



Fig. 4.29. Siris (western Basilicata). Elite burial of the late 7th century BC (Bianco / Tagliente 1985, 61).

Settlements, moreover, could have an unprecedented number of inhabitants. The dispersed Salento settlement of Oria is estimated to have had some 500 inhabitants in c. 700 BC. Lower population figures have been proposed for early Iron Age Sala Consilina in the uplands of southeast Italy, but this estimate is based on the assumption that each individual was formally buried.¹⁵⁹ New, more concentrated settlements on the coast such as Metapontion may well have surpassed the population figure of early 7th-century Oria considerably around 600 BC. It was towards the end of the Iron Age that the first more or less urban centres of southeast Italy came into being.¹⁶⁰

Many more elements suggest a considerable increase in complexity during the Iron Age. The large scale landscape infill is also among these. It required drastic initiatives and resulted in a considerable competition for soil. At the same time the increasingly sedentary character of human occupation was an agent in a process of regionalization and in the creation of more stable socio-political units with clearly defined territories. The intense, large scale exchanges over long distances complicated matters still further. They required planning and investment and involved risky but profitable ventures.

These new, rather drastic developments practically asked for new and powerful leadership taking initiatives. They also required an increased level of organization. It is, therefore, not surprising to witness the rise of distinctly local elites and local leaders in the later 8th century BC. Some of these may well have been of more than purely local importance in the later 7th century BC (e.g. the great

¹⁵⁹ Yntema 1993a, 158; Kilian 1970, 293-294.

¹⁶⁰ The term 'town' or 'urban centre' as used here, can be defined as: a settlement with a substantial population that has a central form of government, lives according to agreed (often written) rules and believes itself to be a community with a shared identity and a shared

past; the community idea is often expressed in central elements in the local religion (communal cult building, communal cults) and manifested in communal enterprises such as public buildings (defences, urban sanctuaries, council buildings).

chieftains of Canosa). The emerging elites of the entirely new polities that linked themselves more and more with the Greek world (i.e. the *poleis*), were persons of comparable status and comparable importance (fig. 4.29). Intermarriage between leading families of the emerging 'Greek' *poleis* and the elites of the patently non-Greek groups should certainly not be excluded.¹⁶¹ Such close, personal bonds between the elites of different groups could for instance be useful in forging alliances and summoning support in case of conflict. Moreover, the settlements in which the more-than-local leaders and chieftains of the late Iron Age (later 7th century BC) lived must have ranked above other settlements of the same district. Therefore, these are likely to have made up the upper echelon in the emerging site hierarchies of the various districts of southeast Italy. In this field too, an increased complexity can be observed.

Dynamics suggesting increased complexity are less evident in craft. Whilst many changes can be observed in the repertoires of forms and ornaments of the ceramics (e.g. matt-painted wares), the production process and the organization of pottery production underwent no significant changes in large parts of southeast Italy. The same observation holds good for the production of metal objects and the construction of dwellings. All these objects continued to be made with the same traditional methods that were not different from those found during the final phases of the Bronze Age. Innovation in this field came late and came from abroad. The introduction of new techniques (e.g. wheelmade pottery, houses of stone and mudbrick) can be dated to about 660/640 BC. This phenomenon, moreover, was initially limited to a handful of coastal settlements. Four of these became Greek *poleis* during the final phase of the Iron Age.¹⁶² It was only in the course of the Archaic period (some 75 to 100 years later) that these innovations spread over larger parts of southeast Italy (see chapter 5).

In the Iron Age the horizons of many people living in southeast Italy widened considerably. Whilst about 900 BC their experiences with foreigners, distant countries, new landscapes and unusual ideas were minimal or absent, people living in c. 600 BC had been confronted with entirely new worlds. Autochthonous Italians had left their coastal homes and penetrated the inlands of southeast Italy, carving new settlement areas and new fields out of formerly natural environments. Iron Age Apulians crossed the Adriatic and encountered the Iapodians and Illyrians who spoke languages that resembled their own Messapic tongue and lived in Istria, Dalmatia and Albania. These trans-Adriatic groups were also on the move and frequented settlements on the Adriatic shores of Italy. Greeks, moreover, left their homes in the Aegean and ventured towards the west in search of booty, *kleos*, trading commodities or farmland. These too, entered new environments and sometimes settled there. Various types of Greeks, Italians originating from southeast Italy, Campania, and the Marche/Abruzzo districts, and Adriatic groups in present-day Dalmatia and Albania met each other, robbed each other, exchanged goods in more friendly ways and made guest-friendships. They were confronted with each other's products, technologies, customs, ideas and perceptions. Since Greeks started to live in southeast Italy in substantial numbers and even carved new Greek polities out of the existing political landscape, the impact of the contacts between Greeks and Italians was great. Two large and varied groups with very different cultural features came into almost daily contact with each other. It resulted in culture contact and culture change, in intermarriage and conflicts, in people stressing traditional identities or proclaiming new identities and in persons able to live and work in two or more different cultural systems.

In this intense confrontation between cultural systems, individuals and groups made their choices. Sometimes these choices were deliberate and conscious, sometimes they were almost forced upon them as a result of changes. The Greek mercenary captain from western Asia Minor who came to Siris with

¹⁶¹ Cf. Van Compernelle 1983.

¹⁶² Houses were doubtlessly present in the four *poleis in statu nascendi*. They have also been unearthed at

two sites that did not develop into a Greek polis: L'Incoronata (abandoned c. 600 BC) and L'Amastuola (Maruggi 1996; Burgers / Crielaard 2007 and 2011).

his eight hoplites, was hired by the indigenous warrior chief of the inland settlement of Alianello and ended up marrying his daughter and being a venerated member of the local society of Alianello. His offspring became Oinotrians or Chaones or whatever label the inhabitants of 7th-century Alianello chose for themselves. The bastard son of a chieftain of Oria had to leave his indigenous settlement with his band of followers after a miscarried bid to attain power and – neglecting the possibility of founding an entirely new village – went to live in the increasingly Greek settlement on the lagoon of Taras. He and his offspring became Tarantines. The offspring of a Greek couple that had migrated to Siris and that was traditionally cremated and interred in one of Siris's necropoleis with one or two pots only, opted for inhumation in cist graves and was buried with a host of ceramics as was customarily done by the indigenous populations of southeast Italy. Both the inhabitants and their material culture hybridized.

In the Iron Age entirely new societies were born in southeast Italy. In the 8th century BC the region emerged from the somewhat isolated position it had held during the close of the Bronze Age and the early years of the Iron Age. Southeast Italy made links with networks of contact and exchange in which both crafted artefacts (objects) and mental artefacts (concepts) circulated widely. As a result of this all kinds of people in various parts of southeast Italy picked up new ideas on quite a number of topics. Moreover, the networks in which southeast Italy began to participate spanned increasingly large parts of the Mediterranean. In the long run the Greek diaspora was the most influential of these. But it was certainly not the only one.

5 Temples, Poleis and Paramount Chiefs: The ‘Archaic-Classical’ period (c. 600/550–370 BC).

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The period between approximately 600 and 350 BC is often indicated as the Archaic-Classical period of southern Italy. As in many analogous cases, the chronological schemes and denominations of periods that classicists had primarily devised for central and southern Aegean areas have been transferred to other regions and districts. In archaeology they often have implicit connotations of style and values. From this point of view, however, there is little reason to apply such terms – let alone a combination of these – to southern Italy. If, for instance, the term ‘classical’ is supposed to indicate a period of great artistic, intellectual and economic flourishing (as, for instance, for 5th- and 4th-century Athens), it should be noted that substantial parts of the 5th and 4th centuries BC were certainly not a ‘classical’ period in that particular sense in many parts of southern Italy. The Golden Age of southern Italy in fact was the period between 370/350 and 270/250 BC (see chapter 6) with perhaps the ‘Archaic’ period between c. 570/550 and 470/450 as second best.

Similar observations can be made concerning the term ‘archaic’. The 6th century BC was ‘old-fashioned’ (*arkhaikós*) only to ‘post-archaic’ Greeks who looked at the sculptures or the temples. As we shall see below, the period was crucial to the formation of a completely new southeast Italy that ranked among the most prosperous areas of the Mediterranean. If, however, terms like ‘archaic’ and ‘classical’ are exclusively taken as convenient labels for a particular group of decades that are characterized by powerful new impulses, they can be retained. They will be used here in that particular sense only, without any connotations concerning the character of the period concerned. The use of a traditional term, however mistaken the label may be, has a distinct advantage over the introduction of a new, possibly more correct term. The term ‘Archaic-Classical’ does not contribute to the already substantial confusion and haziness in the field of labeling and archaeological terminology.

In both the 6th and the later 4th centuries BC a series of stunning innovations took place that resulted in new physical, economic and social landscapes in southern Italy. These innovations lost much of their impetus in respectively the later 5th and later 3rd centuries BC. These moments of sudden and massive change, therefore, have been chosen here as the starting points of new episodes of this narrative on the 1st-millennium BC in southeast Italy.

5.2 THE RISE OF URBAN CENTRES AND SANCTUARIES IN THE COASTAL STRIP OF THE GULF OF TARANTO

Sudden and drastic innovations characterize the start of the archaic-classical period in southern Italy. These are most vividly expressed in new forms of human occupation. Somewhere between 625 and 550 a completely new type of settlements made its appearance in southeast Italy. In the relatively short time of only 50 to 75 years, four strictly organized, highly complex settlements came into being. These settlements are conventionally indicated as ‘Greek *poleis*’ or ‘Greek colonies’ (fig. 5.1). The westernmost of these was Sybaris (later: Thourioi; Roman Copia) in northern Calabria. The others were Siris

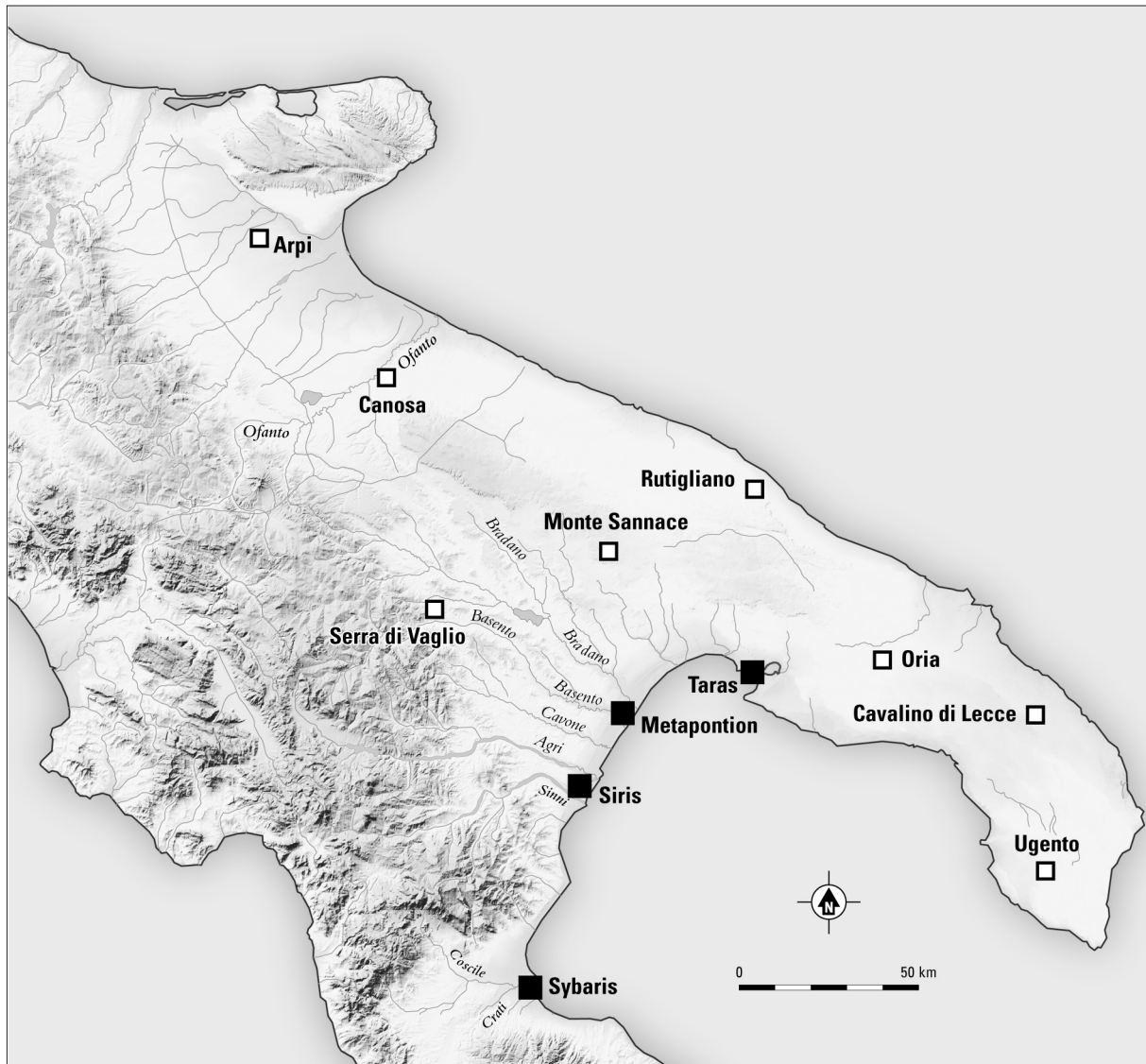


Fig. 5.1. Map showing the most important settlements discussed in this chapter; solid square: Greek poleis; open square: non-Greek central places.

(later: Herakleia/Heraclea; Byzantine/Italian: Policoro) and Metapontion (later: Roman Metapontum; Italian Metaponto) on the coast of the present-day region of Basilicata, and Taras (later: Roman Tarentum; Italian Táranto) in the southwestern tip of the region of Apulia. At least two of these (Siris and Metapontion) were built on top of small and dispersed settlement clusters of earlier times.¹ They all came into being in the coastal strip of southeast Italy, i.e. in the area where contacts between Italic groups and Aegean Greeks had been particularly intense during much of the 7th century BC. They were, therefore, peripheral to indigenous inland polities.

The setting in which these four towns arose, displays a series of recurrent characteristics. They were not just near the coast, they were actually *on* the coast: each of these controlled a stretch of beach and a natural harbour (river mouth) that could accommodate ships. Three of them were new settlements

¹ See chapter 4.3 above; for both Sybaris and Taras the evidence concerning the character of the settlement of

the 7th century is thin and inconclusive (cf. Yntema 2000).



Fig. 5.2. The site of Siris/Herkleia from the air (1982). Courtesy Soprintendenza Basilicata.

at the mouth of important rivers that connected the coastal settlement to inland areas. Sybaris was situated on the rivers Coscile and Crati that came from the inlands of northern Calabria and Siris overlooked the mouths of the rivers Agri and Sinni that gave access to the inlands of western Basilicata (fig. 5.2). Metapontion arose in the flat area between the mouths of the Bradano and Basento whose river basins made up much of eastern Basilicata and the western part of present-day Apulia. The town of Taras was an exception to this rule. The settlement had a long history (Bronze Age origins) and developed on a lowly promontory between the Gulf of Taranto and a lagoon (now known as the Mar Piccolo) that – like the river mouths and beaches of Sybaris, Siris and Metapontion – provided excellent harbour facilities. In the Taras area, however, there were no substantial rivers that provided an easy access from the coastal strip to inland areas.

The four new settlements of urban type differed from earlier and from other contemporary settlements in the same part of Italy in several respects. Their most conspicuous physical characteristic is that each of them had a very regular layout (fig. 5.3 and fig. 6.2). These settlements consisted, moreover, of a concentrated cluster of buildings and roads and had an unprecedented density of habitation: more people lived on a square acre than ever before in southeast Italy. This new type of settlement contained public spaces, sacred areas, habitation quarters and burial plots. These features, moreover, were all clearly separated in spatial respect. The four settlements of Sybaris, Siris, Metapontion and Taras, therefore, had a decidedly urban character.

The state of research concerning these four sites differs substantially. Sybaris, reportedly destroyed by its neighbour Kroton in 510, lived on as the pan-Hellenic *apoikia* of Thourioi (since 444 BC) and the Roman colony of Copia (since 194 BC). The site was covered with tons of mud deposited by the riv-

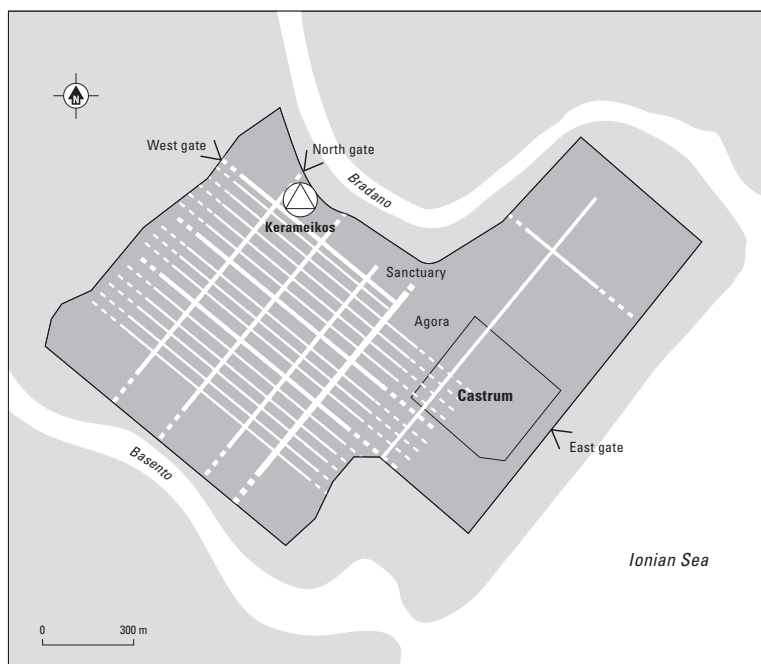


Fig. 5.3 Regular layout of the polis of Metapontion.

ers on which it was born. Only a limited part of the site has been investigated.² Siris is believed to have eclipsed (though not completely) around 535 BC and had its 6th and early 5th-century phases recycled by Herakleia (from the 5th century BC till within Roman times). Since medieval and modern Policoro covers only a small part of the ancient settlement, there is a considerable quantity of information concerning the town.³

The main foci of attention in

these investigations have been the 7th century BC and the Hellenistic period. The remains of ancient Taras are more problematical. The town continued to exist to the present day and was completely built over.⁴ Although a large number of burials has been recovered here during the expansion of the town during the 19th and 20th century,⁵ little is known about the settlement area of ancient Taras which is covered by the old town (*città vecchia*) and the late 19th-century expansion (the '*Borgo Nuovo*'). The 'old town' was intensely inhabited from antiquity to the present day.

Metapontion is the most completely and most intensely investigated settlement of these four and must play the main role here.⁶ This substantial Greek polis dwindled into a modest Roman town that was abandoned in late Roman times. There are reasons to believe that the town was a fairly 'normal', albeit relatively wealthy polis of southern Italy: comparable features can usually be encountered in at least one of the remaining three towns of southeast Italy and two other poleis of southern Italy outside the area under discussion.

The creation of these four towns was an incredible achievement. Whilst earlier forms of settlements on the same spot were probably dispersed, relatively small and had a fairly modest material culture (the architectural remains, in any case, are flimsy), the new settlements, structured in a completely differ-

² There are five major reports on the excavations at Sybaris: Sibari I. Saggio di scavo al Parco del Cavallo, *NSc Suppl.* I-1969; Sibari II. Scavi al Parco del Cavallo e agli Stombi, *NSc Suppl.* III-1970; Sibari III. Rapporto preliminare della campagna di scavo: Stombi, Casa Bianca, Parco del Cavallo, San Mauro, *NSc Suppl.* I-1972; Sibari IV. Relazione preliminare della campagna di scavo: Stombi, Parco del Cavallo, Prolungamento Strada, Casa Bianca, *NSc Suppl.* I-1974. Sibari V. Relazione preliminare delle campagne di scavo 1973. *NSc Suppl.* III-1988/89.

³ Cf. the Austrian excavations (e.g. Neutsch 1967; Hän-

sel 1973, Otto 1996), those of the Superintendency of Basilicata (e.g. Berlingò 1986 and 1993, Tagliente 1986a and 1998) and those of the Siena university (Pianu 1990).

⁴ See, for instance, Wuilleumier 1939; *Cento Anni*; De Juliis 2000; Lippolis 2002.

⁵ For these burials, see, e.g. *Ori di Taranto, Cento Anni*, Lippolis 1994a, Graepler 1997 and Hempel 2001.

⁶ For good and short syntheses on the polis of Metapontion, see Carter 1998a, 5-17, Carter 2006 and De Siena 2001; for another recent synthesis, see De Juliis 2001.

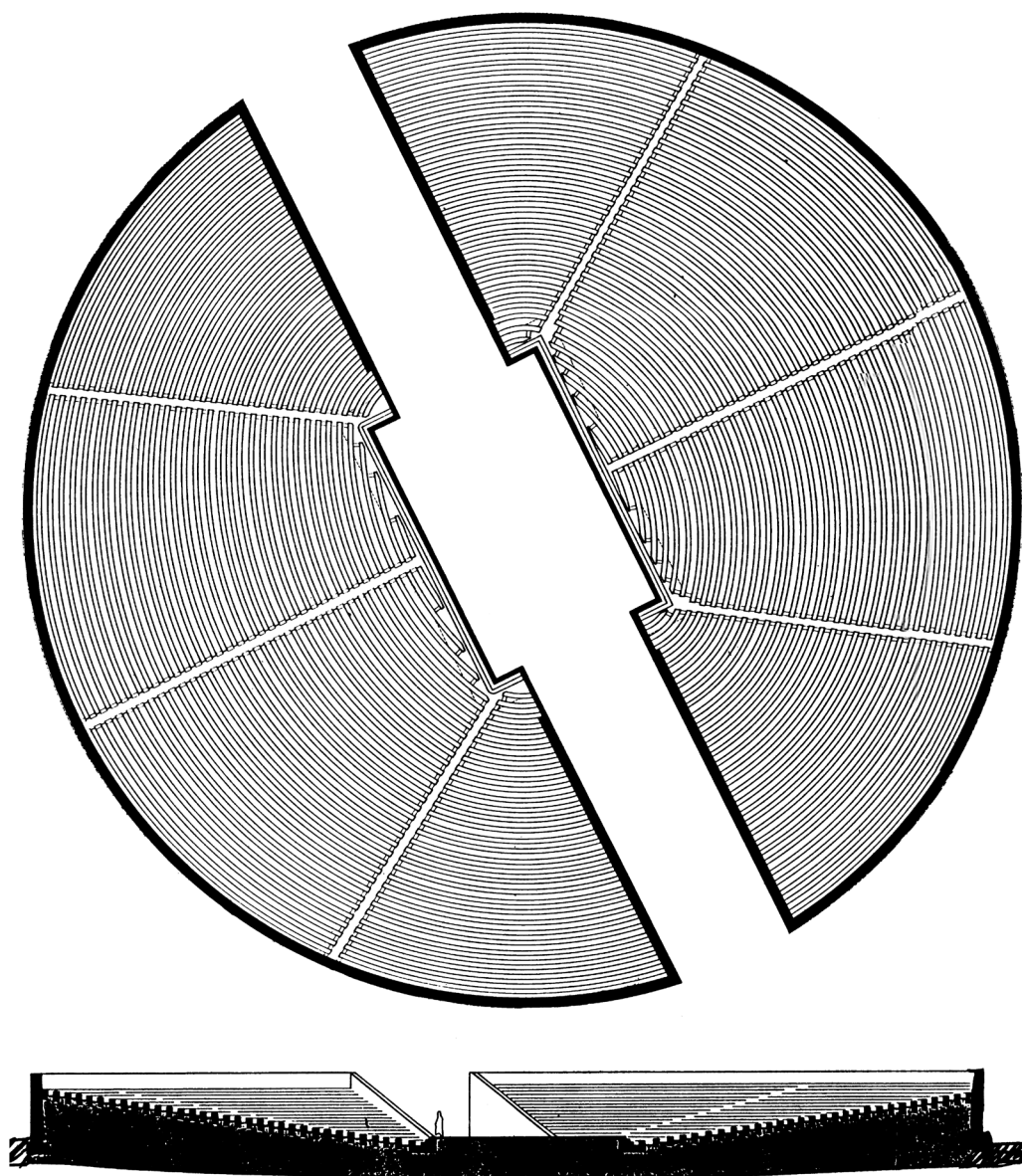


Fig. 5.4. Metapontion: reconstructed plan of the theatre-ekklesiasterion (5th century BC); courtesy Dieter Mertens, DAI.

ent way, were definitely more populous. They were also adorned with impressive buildings. Between the 2nd quarter of the 6th century and the 2nd quarter of the 5th century, for instance, the people of Metapontion built three large temples and several smaller religious buildings. These very labour-intensive building activities took place, moreover, at a distance of at least 30 km from the quarries that contained the building materials required for such prestigious building projects (Mertens 1998, 124). Another impressive monument was built in the completely flat urban area of Metapontion during the 5th century which probably had a predecessor dating to the later 6th century: by making artificial slopes the Metapontines managed to create an amphitheatre-like construction that is mostly indicated as the theatre-ekklesiasterion.⁷ In its 5th century phase it was large enough to accommodate c. 7.000 to 8.000 people (fig. 5.4).

⁷ Mertens / De Siena 1982, 16-22; Mertens / Greco 1996, 254.

The layout of the new towns was invariably based on orthogonal schemes (fig. 5.3). The present data indicate that they have been devised during the first half to middle of the 6th century BC. At Metapontion there were two main roads (one northeast-southwest and one northwest-southeast) of some 20 m wide, a series of alleys (the so-called *plateiai*) of c. 12.00 m wide which alternated with relatively narrow 4.50 m wide streets (the so-called *stenopoi*). The towns usually had a kind of central square, the *agora*. Edifices such as *ekklesiasteria* (from the later 6th or century BC onward) and other less conspicuous public buildings were probably all in close proximity to the central square.⁸ The place of temples and sanctuaries within the settlement could vary considerably. Whilst there was a group of four temples close to the *agora* at Metapontion, there is no evidence that a comparable location for representative sacred buildings was also chosen in the remaining three *poleis*. At Taras (at least two major temples), the temples were located at the fringes of the settlement area.⁹

In addition to the clearly separated sacred and public spaces, these towns had special areas for houses, shops and workshops. These were all neatly arranged within the same orthogonal grid. The houses filled the *insulae/strigae* created by the grid of streets. The earliest dwellings of Metapontion did not make up one single cluster near the public area, but were somewhat dispersed over the town area. The orthogonal grid of the town was gradually filled in during the later 6th and 5th centuries BC. As for the place of shops and workshops, no information has been supplied hitherto. Since these were probably closely connected to households and clientele, they are likely to have been close to the Metapontine *agora* and situated on major thoroughfares of the town. Smelly, polluting and potentially dangerous activities were probably carried out at the periphery of the town. By the late 6th century kilns and workshops producing standardized pottery were operating at the north side of the town (fig. 5.3). They were close to the wall circuit and will be discussed in more detail in section 4.5 ('Changes in craft'). The outline of the settlement area of Metapontion was initially defined by earthworks (the so-called *agger*) that enclosed an enormous area of approximately 140 to 150 hectares.¹⁰ This *agger* consisted of stones and earth.¹¹

Whilst the arrangement of the town of the living changed completely, the necropoleis continued to occupy approximately the same spot as in the 7th century BC. At Siris the Greek style burial grounds of Madonelle and Schirone (see chapter 4) continued to be in use during the 6th and early 5th centuries BC. The quantity of Siris burials during this period was invariably much larger than over any period of equal length of the 7th century BC. This suggests that more people died and that the population residing here augmented very substantially. A very similar observation can be made for the settlement of Taras. Here the 6th century necropolis – clearly separated from habitation areas and sacred areas – is characterized by an increasingly large quantity of tombs and more strictly organized burial plots.¹² For Metapontum comparable observations can be made. Here new, large and coherent burial plots made their appearance towards the end of the 7th century BC. Again they were clearly separated from the habitation areas. The largest clusters of tombs were north of the town.¹³

⁸ There is evidence from Metapontion, Neapolis and Posidonia for juxtaposition of *agora* and *ekklesiasterion*. The circular Metapontion *ekklesiasterion* had a diameter of 62 m (Mertens / De Siena 1982).

⁹ The temple underneath the church of San Domenico is at the western fringes of the settlement, the columns of the second temple can still be seen near the Castello Aragonese (the eastern fringes of the settlement area of archaic times).

¹⁰ This large area was not completely filled in during the

6th century BC (see Mertens 1998, 126). All the burial grounds, however, were invariably outside the area surrounded by the *agger*.

¹¹ De Siena 1998, 141-143.

¹² Neeft 1994.

¹³ For the location of the town's burial plots, see Carter 1998a; De Juliis 2001, 117-128. These are the large burial plots usually indicated as 'La Crucinia' and 'Casa Ricotta'; for an exhaustive bibliography on Metapontion's burial grounds, see De Juliis 2001, 117, note 1.



Fig. 5.5. Metapontion. Chōra with regular subdivision of territory. After Adamesteanu 1974.

We have seen in the chapter on the Iron Age that 7th-century dispersed Siris displayed a mix of cremation and inhumation. With the coming of the new urban centres of 6th-century inhumation became the only burial custom. In the Archaic-Classical period the deceased, both in urban and rural necropoleis of the urban centres, were

usually buried outstretched on their back in graves of various types. These ranged from simple pit graves dug in the earth to fairly large cist tombs consisting of large blocks of sandstone or limestone.¹⁴

Both the new and strict organization of space and the erection of impressive buildings in the four new towns of southeast Italy suggest the presence of a strong central authority. Such labour-intensive actions require far-reaching decisions and sound planning. Because the decision altered the existing situation drastically by creating an urban settlement with a regular layout, it must have had a wide support. It required, moreover, a very substantial input of a very substantial working force. Obviously, the new towns of the 6th century BC managed to create unprecedented surpluses and were able to organize a manpower that was large enough to enter upon time-consuming activities such as the construction of temples, public buildings and fortifications. The data seems to suggest that it was not just the introduction of a new kind of settlement with decidedly urban features that characterizes the 6th century BC, but they also indicate that this new phenomenon was in some way connected with entirely new forms of socio-political organization in southeast Italy. They did not just have the physical traits of an urban centre, they were in fact truly urban societies. These new settlements were definitely states in which family ties continued to be important, but these were no longer dominant in the political arenas of the four new towns. In the 6th century BC, Sybaris, Siris, Metapontion and Taras were *poleis* not just in the physical, but also in the socio-political sense of the word.

The birth of urban centres was an important change in the settlement patterns of southeast Italy. It was, however, not the only change in this field. The creation of these towns went hand in hand with the creation of an intensely cultivated and intensely inhabited countryside that was closely connected to these urban centres. The first traces of this phenomenon were discovered on aerial photographs of the Metapontion area in the 1960s.¹⁵ Soon a follow-up was made by means of ground reconnaissance.¹⁶

¹⁴ A synopsis of burial forms at Metapontion is found in De Juliis 2001, 120-121; for a synopsis on the burials of Taranto, see De Juliis 2000.

¹⁵ Schmiedt 1970.

¹⁶ Chevallier 1971; Adamesteanu / Vatin 1976.

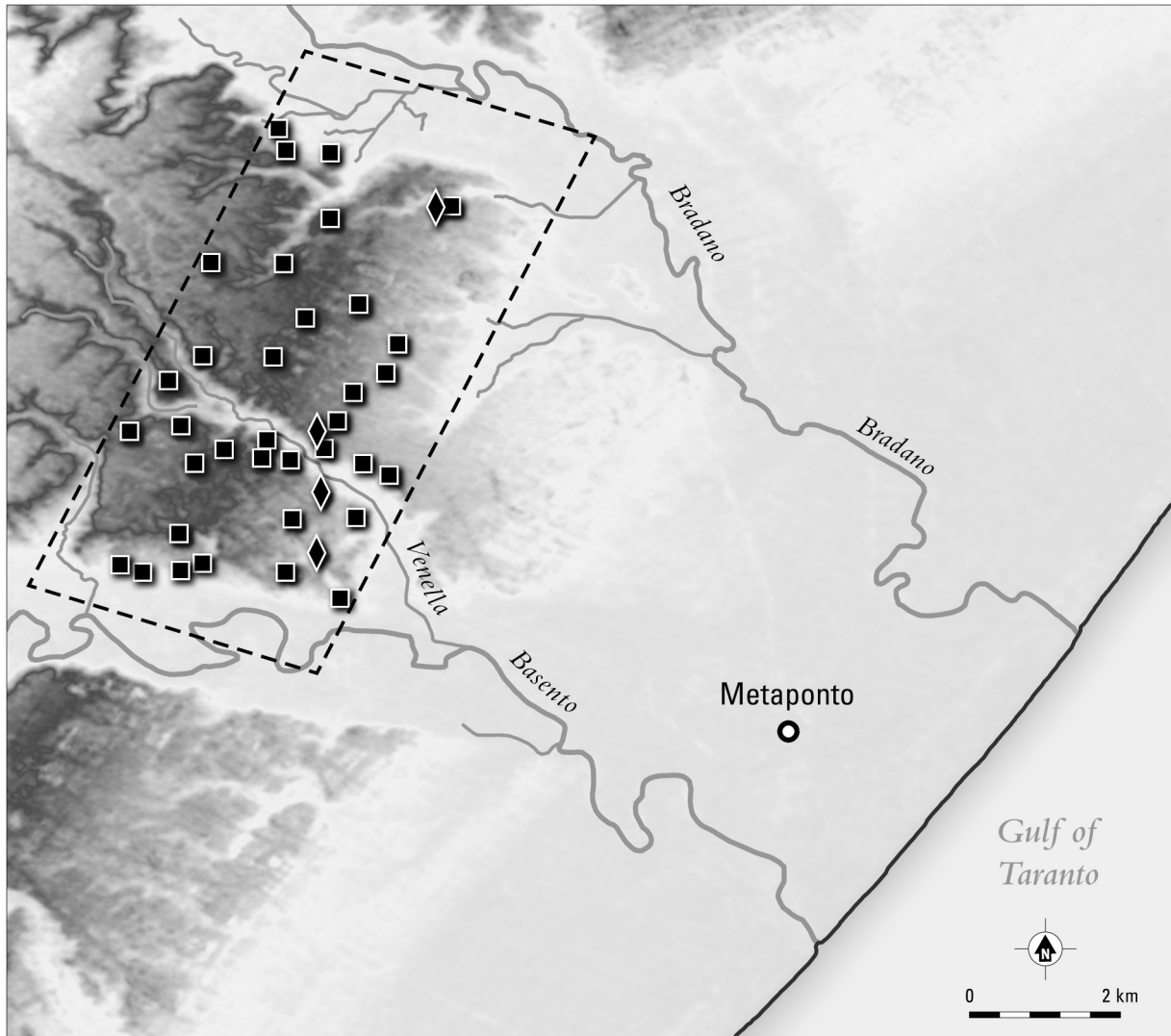


Fig. 5.6. Metapontion territory: distribution of rural sites, c. 500 BC (after Carter and Prieto 2011).

These activities led to the discovery of an orthogonal grid. It appeared to be the framework within which hundreds of regular agricultural plots and numerous farmsteads were situated (fig. 5.6). Check-up excavations demonstrated that the creation of a strictly organized countryside with orthogonal patterns could be dated to the early 5th century BC.¹⁷ Not just the settlement area of Metapontion was spatially reorganized in a way that differed completely from that of the preceding period, but some two generations after the birth of the orthogonal town the same orthogonal grid was also extended over the rural area: preexisting patterns of both habitation and landholding were radically wiped out and an entirely new, systematically designed urban landscape (early to mid 6th century) and an entirely new, systematically designed rural landscape (early 5th century) were laid out.

The agrarian activities in the rural area close to Metapontion, however, started well before the creation of regular land divisions by means of a grid. From the end of the 1970s the rural area near Meta-

¹⁷ Carter 1996 and 2006.

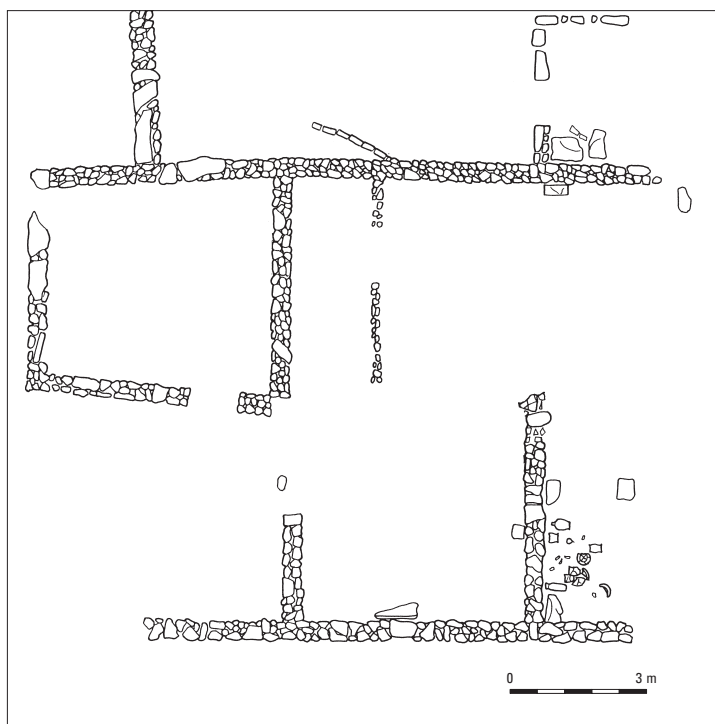


Fig. 5.7. Metapontion territory: Groundplan of a 6th-century farmstead at the site of Cugno del Pero (after Yntema 1993a).

Metapontion was subject to large-scale, fairly intensive and systematic field surveys.¹⁸ The results of the field surveys indicate that the first farmsteads were established in the Metapontion countryside some 50 years before the birth of the rural grid. In a large transect between c. 6 and 10 km from the town dozens of 6th-century farm sites were discovered (fig. 5.6). The farms of this earliest generation, therefore, were not always invariably close to the town. They suggest that the territory of the urban centre of Metapontion, by about the middle of the 6th century BC, was vast and

covered at least an area of some 125-150 km² between the rivers Bradano and Basento.

Some of the farmsteads that were identified during the field surveys were sufficiently well-preserved to allow excavation. They were relatively simple and consisted of a few adjoining rooms and a courtyard only (fig. 5.7). These farms are believed to have been inhabited by one-family units.¹⁹

This rigidly organized landscape of cultivated fields with farmsteads was the territory of the urban settlement. The Greeks themselves called it the *chōra*, the area that was economically, socially and politically so closely linked with the urban centre that town and countryside together made up the socio-political unit of the *polis*, the city state. In this *chōra*, necropoleis and sanctuaries were present. The rural necropoleis were mostly small and contained a limited amount of burials. They were strewn all over the countryside and can usually be related to a dispersed group of nearby farmsteads. The earliest burials in this rural area even precede the farms and date to earlier 6th century BC.²⁰ It is attractive to see these as the graves of the first generation of pioneer farmers that reclaimed new areas in the territory of Metapontion. Surprisingly both the grave rituals and physical anthropology suggest that these earliest 'Greek' farmers have partly indigenous roots.²¹

One of the larger and more intensely studied burial plots of Metapontion is the rural, so-called Pantanello necropolis some 4 km north of the town.²² The burials started here before the middle of the 6th

¹⁸ Carter 1981 and 2006; D'Annibale 1983; Carter / Prieto 2011.

¹⁹ Carter 1996.

²⁰ Carter 1998a, 7.

²¹ The burials customs in these early 6th-century graves (persons in contracted position) are very similar to those found in non-Greek areas of southeast Italy and differ from the burial customs in the 'urban' and the more recent rural graves of the Metapontion area. See

Carter 1998a, 168 ('Contracted burials'). Research into the skeletal remains of rural necropoleis, moreover, confirms that the bones of the Metapontion farmers display a much closer affinity with those of indigenous populations than with those of Greek populations (W. Smith, MA thesis, VU University Amsterdam, 2005).

²² The Pantanello necropolis is published in Carter 1998a.



Fig. 5.8. Metapontion territory. The rural necropolis of Pizzica Pantanello, 6th-3rd century BC; after Carter 1998.

century BC and continued into the 3rd century BC (fig. 5.8). The Pantanello necropolis, situated near the crossing of two important country roads, is believed to have been the communal burial ground of approximately a dozen of isolated farmsteads that were in close proximity of these crossroads.

The one-family farmsteads were not the earliest features in the area surrounding the urban centre of Metapontion. The first rural sanctuaries made their appearance some 30 to 50 years earlier.²³ The most informative report concerns the sanctuary of Artemis and Zeus at the site of San Biagio alla Venella, some 6 km west of Metapontion which contained a richly decorated sacellum as early as the beginnings of the 6th century BC (fig. 5.9).²⁴ Most of these rural sacred places are in close proximity of wells. They are usually interpreted as signs that the inhabitants of the urban centre by establishing

²³ Edlund 1987, 94-102.

²⁴ Olbrich 1979; Edlund 1987, 98-99.

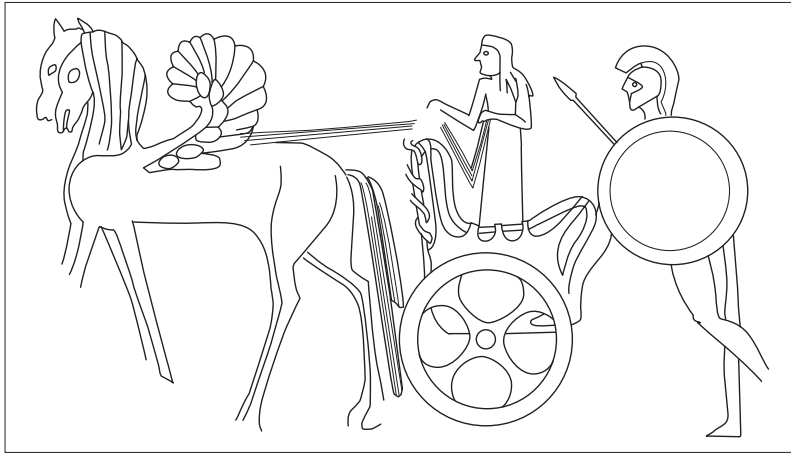


Fig. 5.9. Metapontion territory. Terracotta plaque from the sanctuary of San Biagio alla Venella; early 6th century BC. Drawing Bert Brouwenstijn, ACVU.

the sanctuary laid a claim on the soil or marked the frontier of their new territory.²⁵ This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the position of these rural sanctuaries. They are mostly several kilometers

from the town. But since the pre-Greek indigenous populations had no sacred places that leave traces in the archaeological record, these ‘new and Greek’ rural sanctuaries at a considerable distance from the town centre could, in principle, also be sacred places with a venerated ‘indigenous’ history: they are only recognizable to us from the very moment that votive offerings were deposited according to originally Greek customs (be it by either Metapontines or natives or by both groups). Traces of pre-Greek presence underneath the San Biagio sanctuary strongly suggest that this possibility should not be excluded.²⁶ The rural sanctuaries near the margins of Greek territories are also believed to be places to demonstrate ritualized competition²⁷ and may have been free havens where contacts between people belonging to two different groups or polities were made and where transactions between them took place under the protection of the god. In this view these sanctuaries can also be seen as the thresholds between different worlds: between those of the gods and those of men and between the world of the Metapontines and the world of the Others. The Hera sanctuary currently known as the ‘Tavole Palatine’, had the most impressive outfit of these extra-urban sanctuaries: a large limestone temple of the late 6th century that dominated the valley of the lower Bradano river (fig. 5.10).

Much of what has been said above is based on information coming from only one of these four coastal sites: Metapontion. One might well ask whether this settlement is actually a good representative and whether more or less comparable developments took place in Sybaris, Siris and Taras. It must be admitted that Metapontion might have been a relatively wealthy *polis* of southern Italy. There are both literary and archaeological indications that a local tyrant named Archelaos may have been responsible for a construction boom in about 550/530 BC.²⁸ Ancient written sources however, suggest that Sybaris – not Metapontion – was the most opulent of these four towns. Features comparable to those of Metapontion can also be encountered at Sybaris, Siris and Taras. The three remaining towns all had a regular layout. Siris had at least one and Taras at least two major temples; Taras’s countryside can be shown to have been littered with rural settlements and rural necropoleis as early as the late 6th century BC²⁹ and 6th-century ‘frontier’ sanctuaries are also reported from the Taras area and the Sybaris district.³⁰

²⁵ De Polignac 1984; Carter 1994 and 1996; Leone 1998.

²⁶ On this subject, see Carter 1978; Lomas 1993, 130. Traces of pre-Greek cult activities underneath a to all appearances Greek sanctuary were also found at the site of Timpone della Motta, Francavilla (Calabria); see Kleibrink 2006, Attema et al. 2010, 95–98.

²⁷ De Polignac 1995, 37.

²⁸ Carter 1998a, 8.

²⁹ Cocchiari 1981; Alessio / Guzzo 1989/90.

³⁰ ‘Frontier’ sanctuaries have also been reported for Taras (Roccaforzata) and Sybaris (Timpone della Motta, San Mauro and Cozzo Michelichio).

Another well-researched settlement of the same type is Posidonia/Paestum which is definitely outside the area discussed here. This urban settlement has many features in common with Metapontion.³¹ One must, therefore, conclude that Metapontion was probably a relatively opulent *polis*. But the new features displayed by that settlement during the 6th and early 5th centuries BC were probably all shared by the three remaining towns of southeast Italy. They were urban centres characterized by a regular layout and the presence of public and sacred buildings; they were, moreover, surrounded by an inhabited, intensely cultivated rural area and had rural sanctuaries both in and at the periphery of their territories.

Summarizing the various new aspects discussed above, we can observe that the sequence of the developments in the four towns *in statu nascendi* was approximately as follows. In the preceding chapter we have seen that the first signs of change occurred in the final decades of the 7th and early 6th centuries. These signs came from both Taras and Metapontion. The former supplies evidence for increasingly large and increasingly coherent burial plots for the period under discussion.³² At Metapontion a sacred building (the so-called sacellum C) and a wooden structure was erected. The latter feature has been interpreted as an early form of public gathering place, since it was found underneath the 6th-century *ekklesiasterion*. At about the same time the settlement area was delimited by the construction of a large wall of earth and stones, usually referred to as ‘the *agger*’.³³ Such public projects could only be carried out by a substantial community, of which the members closely cooperated and worked under the guidance of a central authority. These features, therefore, underline that the groups that lived on the spot, began to increase in size, began to display a rapidly growing degree of coherence (cf. both the settlement area and the burial plots) and began to have a centralized form of government.

The next step taken by such groups concerned the sacred world outside the settlement. Sites that have been recognized as Greek-style sanctuaries appeared at a considerable distance (some 8 to 10 km) from the incipient urban centre. Whether the grip they exerted in this manner, was predominantly territorial and socio-political (i.e. sanctuaries stressing territorial claims) or purely mental (i.e. sanctuaries mediating contacts with the Otherworld, be it either that of the gods or that of those who were perceived as non-Greeks, or perhaps both) is still very much open to debate. This happened in the first decades of the 6th century BC.³⁴ The foundation of these rural sanctuaries was soon followed by the construction of a more impressive outfit of the urban sanctuaries: the first series of large temples. Remains of these have been found at Siris (at least one major temple), Metapontion (three large temples) and Taras (at least two large temples).

The construction of the earliest specimens of these large temples started shortly before or around the middle of the 6th century BC. At a slightly later moment (540–520 BC) the first series of rural farmsteads made its appearance in the countryside (e.g. at Metapontion and Taras). In their wake came the highly systematic land division of Metapontion and the construction of the Metapontion *ekklesiasterion*. By the late 6th century BC, Sybaris, Metapontion and Taras³⁵ were full-grown *poleis* and independent states that expressed their status, political independence, local identities and internal coherence by means of impressive buildings such as temples, city walls and a well-organized and densely inhabited countryside with villages, farmsteads and rural sanctuaries. The issuing of silver coins that carried the symbol of the new polity is another phenomenon that clearly gives the same messages.³⁶ The earliest coins made their appearance around 530 BC,³⁷ i.e., before most of the *poleis* of mainland Greece did the same. They contained the symbols of the *poleis*: Sybaris had its bull, Metapontion its ears of corn and Taras its eponymous hero riding a dolphin (fig. 5.11).

³¹ Mertens 1998, 136.

³² Neeft 1994.

³³ De Siena 1998, 141.

³⁴ Carter 1994.

³⁵ ‘Íonian’Siris is reported to have been conquered by its Achaean neighbours (see 4.7: Ancient written sources).

³⁶ Papadopoulos 2002.

³⁷ Stazio 1987.

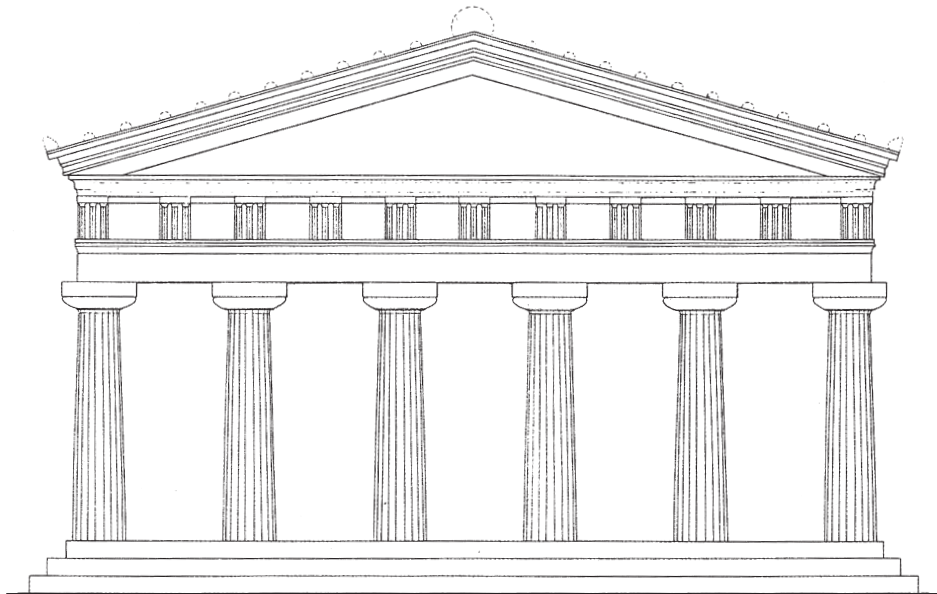


Fig.5.10. Metapontion, remains and reconstruction of the extra-urban temple currently known as the Tavole Palatine (archive ACVU and courtesy Dieter Mertens, DAI).



Fig. 5.11. Early silver stater from Taras (late 6th century BC). Courtesy Soprintendenza Taranto.

620/600-600/570 BC	larger, more coherent burial plots first religious and public building activities (sacellum C, <i>ikria</i> of Metapontion) delimitation of the settlement area by means of an <i>agger</i>
600/570-550/540 BC	first rural sanctuaries (e.g. San Biagio alla Venella) first activities leading to the construction of large temples of stone strict organization of settlement area
550/540-500/490 BC	completion of three large temples of stone and terracotta first rural farmsteads strict organization of rural area

Table 5.1. Timetable of the stages of rapid the developments at Archaic Metapontion (based on Carter 2006).

The creation of this strictly organized space must have altered the landscape in a very decisive way. Practically *ex nihilo* a completely new urban and new rural landscape were created in the Metapontion area. Similar features can be surmised to have come into being in the territories of the remaining towns. In the area between Sybaris and Taras large stretches of the wild coastal or sub-coastal landscape were turned into human artifacts.³⁸ Though some of the now rural terrains may already have been tilled in the 7th or early 6th centuries, large portions of uncultivated areas must have been reclaimed. While for the 7th century BC we have constructed a picture of dispersed settlement with fields probably between and around the various settlement nuclei, the landscape that came into being in the 6th century BC shows vastly different features. The rigorous concentration of dwellings and the addition of substantial public and religious buildings resulted in a relatively densely packed urban centre.³⁹ The new organization of the settlement area itself showed a marked separation between public, private and religious spaces. There was also a strict and unprecedented separation between urban and rural space. The town's defences were actually the physical demarcation line between both areas: they separated the town from its countryside. This separation, however, was not strict in the social sense: a large percentage of the town dwellers are likely to have been farmers having their fields outside the *agger*.

There was, moreover, extensive reclamation of large uncultivated areas in order to create the well-organized countryside. At Metapontion, this was framed into the grand scheme of the orthogonal land division of the whole area. It should also be noted that in order to make these allotments the central authorities must actually have exerted political and military control over these areas. They probably considered them to be to the territories of their towns.

The implementation of such drastic measures required a substantial working force. The orthogonal layout with its urban roads and country lanes was the backbone of the innovation. It had to be measured out and constructed. Wooded areas had to be cleared in order to make them fit for agricultural

³⁸ Osanna 1992.

³⁹ In this respect our view is often biased by the images we have of 4th- and 3rd-century urban landscapes of the Greek world. The archaic Greek settlement was

probably much less densely packed than we imagine, but it was undoubtedly a more coherent, definitely urban form of settlement than the settlement layouts that can be reconstructed for the 7th century BC.

purposes. Moreover, sacred, public and private buildings in the town had to be built. The same holds good for the farmsteads that littered the countryside. Although orthogonal Metapontion with its large temples and well-organized countryside was certainly not made in a handful decades (but the grand scheme behind these actions certainly was), the creation of both a substantial town and a large rural zone dedicated to agricultural activities was very labour-intensive indeed. It required the mustering of a quantity of manpower that went far beyond the possibilities of the probably few hundreds of inhabitants that populated the dispersed settlements of the coastal area of southeast Italy during much of the 7th century BC. The appearance of these first urban agglomerates of southeast Italy, therefore, denotes the genesis of complex urbanized societies with a sophisticated political organization.

The birth of these four territorial farmer states altered the settlement pattern in the coastal area of the Gulf of Taranto completely. In the 7th century there were mainly larger and smaller clusters of fairly dispersed settlement nuclei. By about the middle of the 6th century BC there was a very clear settlement hierarchy in the same area. It was dominated by the urban centre having a territory that contained some villages/hamlets and a substantial quantity of isolated farmsteads, all depending on the urban centre.

5.3 SETTLEMENT AND RELIGION IN AREAS WITH NON-GREEK POPULATIONS

The drastic changes described above occurred in the narrow coastal strip between Sybaris and Taras. This was certainly not the only area of southeast Italy where major changes can be observed in the period under discussion. Tendencies towards urbanization or, in any case, increasing complexity in settlement forms can also be encountered in other parts of the area. It has been observed above that the extension of the dispersed settlements of the 8th century BC increased very substantially in the 7th century BC and could sometimes cover an area of well over 100 ha (e.g. the sites of Oria and Santa Maria d'Anglona, see chapter 4.2). By about the middle to later 6th century BC some of these settlements contracted: they lost much of their dispersed character by acquiring a more town-like appearance.

The most outspoken exponents of this urbanizing trend in areas outside the coastal strip of the Gulf of Taranto are the settlements of Cavallino di Lecce and Serra di Vaglio. The former is situated in an almost flat area in the very heart of the Salento peninsula (fig. 5.1), whilst Serra di Vaglio occupies a flat-topped mountain (c. 1025 m high) in the uplands of Basilicata (fig. 5.1). Each of these is likely to have had a special position in the settlement hierarchy of its district. Both sites originated as hut settlements in the Iron Age without showing any sign of having held a special position in that particular period. Cavallino was almost completely abandoned in the course of the 5th century BC, whilst Serra di Vaglio continued to exist to within the Hellenistic period.

Cavallino, now at the outskirts of the present-day provincial capital of Lecce, is subject to large-scale excavations from 1964 onwards with some intervals.⁴⁰ It appears to have changed from a dispersed hut settlement into a more or less urban settlement from about the second quarter to middle of the 6th century BC onward. Its character, however, differed substantially from that of the four new towns on the Gulf of Taranto. The 6th-/early 5th-century settlement of Cavallino consisted of a central, open area from which roads departed in various directions (fig. 5.12). These roads were flanked by sidewalks and had drains.⁴¹ The wedges between these radial roads were only partly occupied by clusters of houses.

⁴⁰ See, for instance, D'Andria 1977, 1979, 1982, 1996 and 2005; Pancrazzi 1979.

⁴¹ Yntema 1982b, D'Andria 2005.

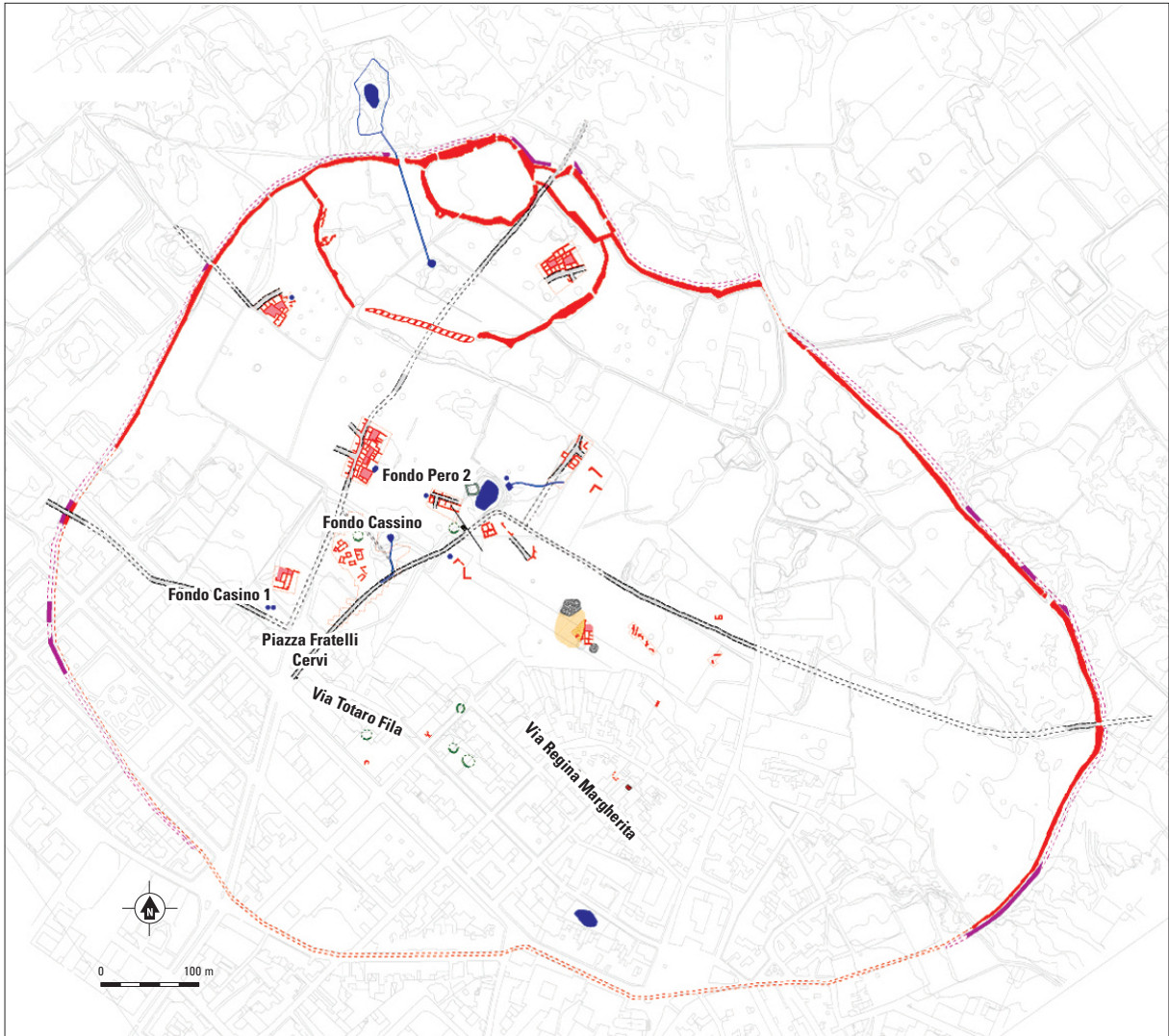


Fig. 5.12. Cavallino di Lecce (south-Apulia): plan and reconstruction of a quarter of the late 6th–early 5th-century settlement (INKLINK, archive Lecce University).

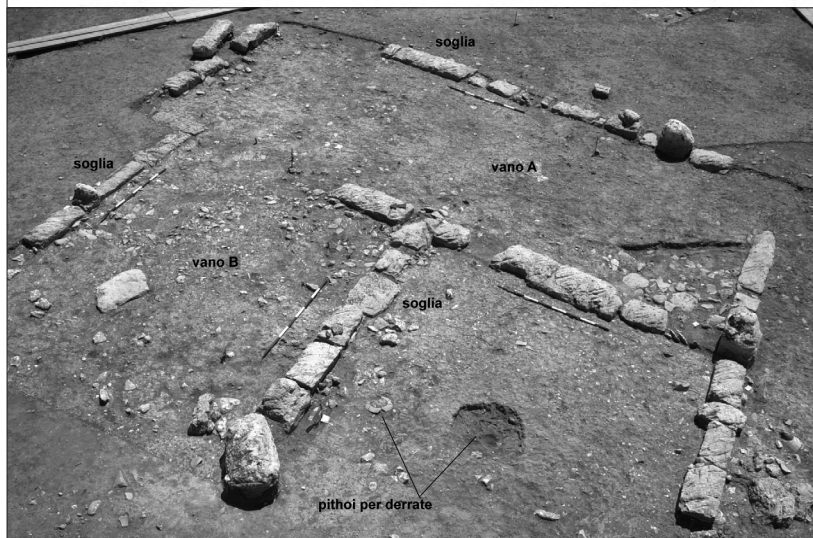
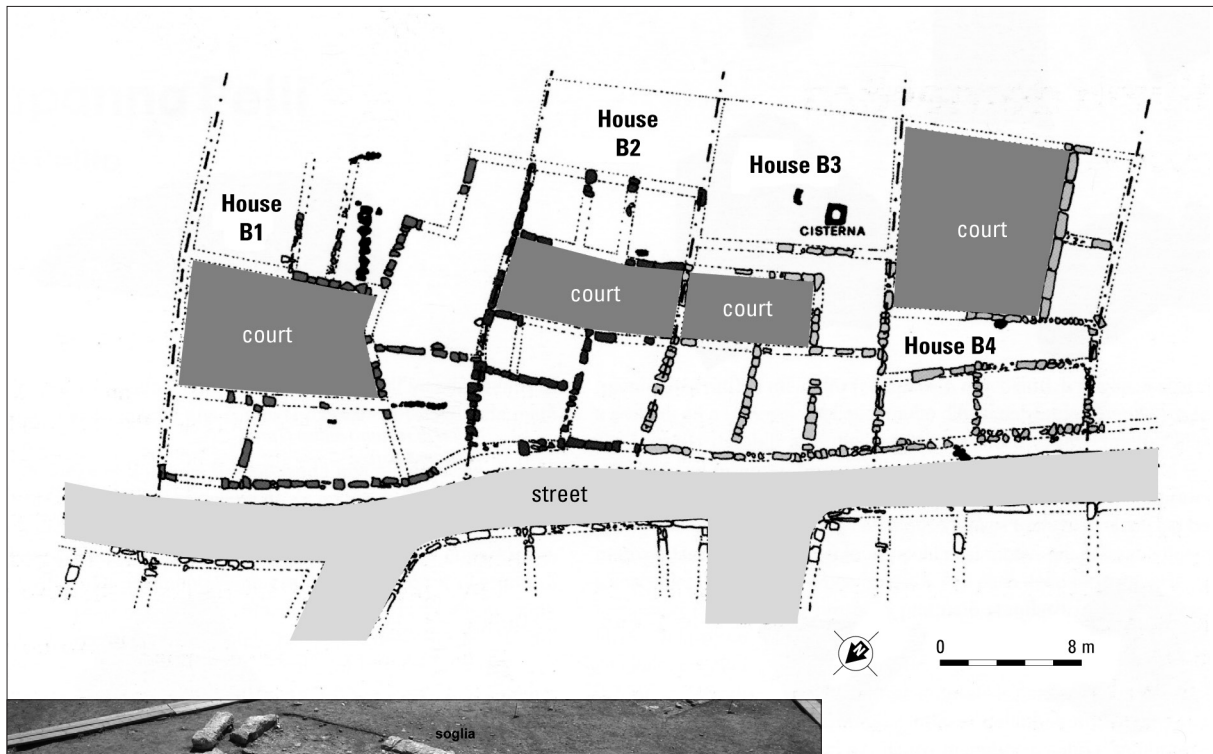


Fig. 5.13. Cavallino di Lecce (south-Apulia): plan and actual remains of houses, late 6th-early 5th century BC. Illustrations courtesy Lecce University.

These houses had a more or less rectangular ground plan and consisted of a series of rooms flanking a courtyard. The walls of these dwellings consisted of a lower part made of large and regular blocks of limestone, while the upper part was probably made of mudbrick and/or rubble. The roofs were covered with tiles which must have been supported by wooden beams (fig. 5.13).

In the settlement areas of Cavallino excavated hitherto there are considerable differences between the various dwellings. Though they are all more or less of the same type, they cover a varying number of square meters.⁴² The Cavallino houses were, therefore, probably not exclusively impressive dwellings of the happy few of the settlement: a substantial part of the Cavallino inhabitants of the 6th and early 5th centuries BC lived in such houses. This information - together with the arrangement of the houses in spatially separated clusters - indicates that a cluster of dwellings was inhabited by a family group or by a small clan.

⁴² Pancrazzi 1979, Russo Tagliente 1992.



Fig. 5.14. Cavallino di Lecce (south-Apulia). Actual remains and artist impression (INCLINK) of the fortifications; illustrations: courtesy University Lecce.

Since intensive field surveys have not revealed the presence of 6th- or 5th-century rural farms in the area surrounding the Salento settlements, these houses and their courtyards are likely to have been farmsteads as well. They must have housed carts, farming implements and plough oxen. Other types of animal husbandry such as flocks of sheep and goats and herds of swine foraged in the fields and in the forests outside the walls of Cavallino and could be brought in for shearing or culling when necessary.⁴³ Recent excavations at Cavallino have revealed the presence of animal pens in a peripheral area within the fortifications.⁴⁴ These may have been used to collect sheep, pigs and cattle that usually roamed the wilds, in order to milk, shear or cull them.

The fortifications are likely to have been among the more recent features of the site (fig. 5.14): they probably came into being towards the end of the 6th or in the early years of the 5th century BC.⁴⁵ The defences of Cavallino - approximately 5 m thick and presumably some 5 to 6 m high - had an overall length of 3.1 km and enclosed an area of 69 hectares. It seems that the fortified area was only partly filled in with habitations. In the present state of research the general impression is that clusters of more or less rectangular houses replaced the Iron Age clusters of oval huts. The site of Cavallino di Lecce in its Archaic-Classical phase was basically a somewhat dispersed settlement with various spatial-

⁴³ Veenman 2002.

⁴⁵ Pancrazzi 1979, 112-114.

⁴⁴ D'Andria 2005, 40.

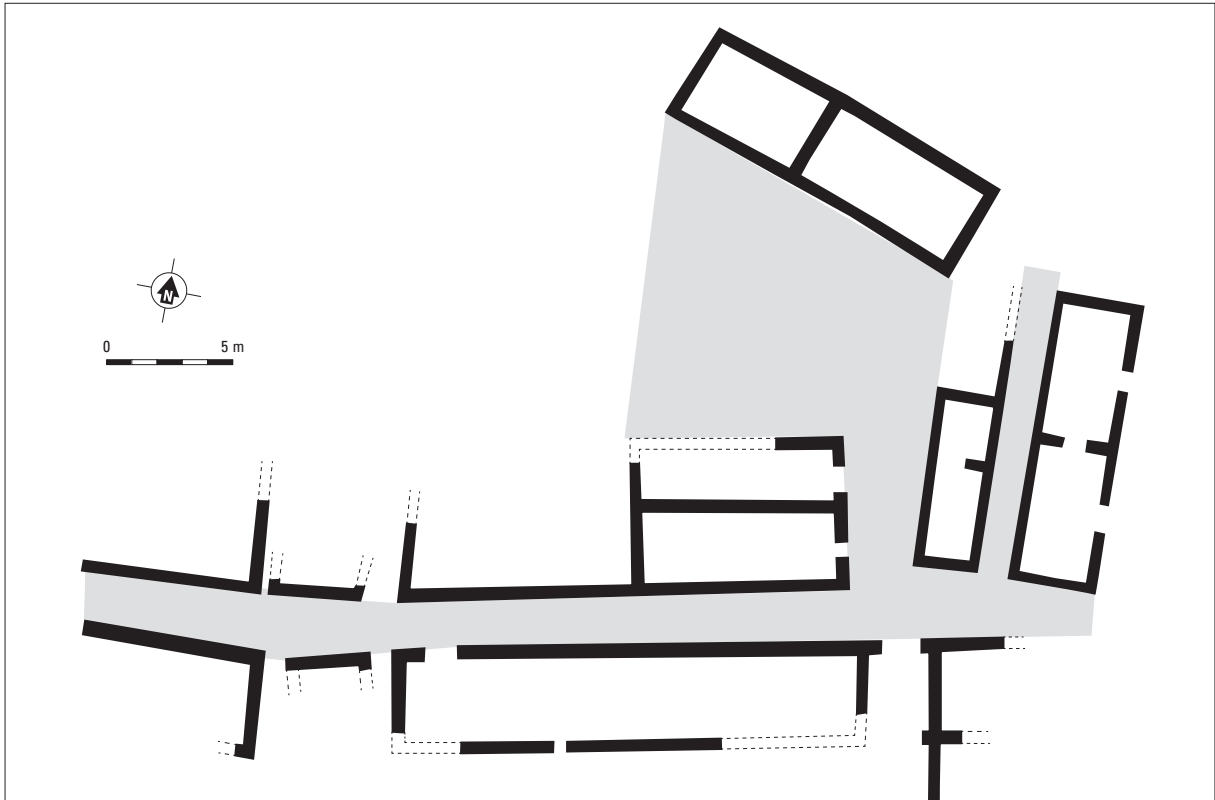


Fig. 5.15. Serra di Vaglio (central Basilicata). above Groundplan of the settlement in the early 5th century BC; after Greco 1991; below 5th and 4th century remains.



Fig. 5.16. Serra di Vaglio (central Basilicata). Terracotta revetments of buildings on the 'main street' (early 5th century BC. Adapted from Greco 1991.

ly separated groups of houses surrounded by walls.

Cavallino was not the only settlement outside the coastal strip of the Gulf of Taranto to display signs of incipient urbanization. In Salento (the 'Messapian' district) comparable developments may be surmised to have taken place at the sites of Ugento (southern tip of Salento) and Oria (in the

plain on the Salento isthmus). As we have seen above, the latter had a special character as early as the Iron Age by being an unusually large dispersed settlement to Salento standards (well over 100 ha) and having Bronze Age roots.⁴⁶ Since both Oria and Ugento continued to exist to the present day, a large part of their ancient remains have been covered with (and have probably largely been destroyed by) more recent building activities.

There is also a considerable body of evidence for increasing complexity from the uplands of Basilicata. This new trend was expressed here in the complete rearrangement and the increasingly urban character of the settlement. The key site here is commonly indicated as Serra di Vaglio, some 12 km east of the present-day regional capital of Potenza (fig. 5.1). It is situated on a more or less oblong plateau on top of the mountain of Serra San Bernardo (1.025 m high) rising above the surrounding valleys. Here, excavations have been carried out since the 1960s.⁴⁷ An area of c. 70 x 50 m in the very centre of the site has been brought to light. In this excavated part of the site, the dispersed hut settlement of the Iron Age appears to have been replaced by buildings having stone bases and more or less rectangular ground plans (fig. 5.15). The 'houses' faced a 4.00 m wide street that runs lengthwise over the flat top of the mountain. The start of this significant change in the layout and character of the settlement is dated to about the final quarter of the 6th century BC.⁴⁸

The function of the new rectangular structures built at Serra di Vaglio, however, is not clear. Because of the possibly special character of the site,⁴⁹ some of these may have had a ceremonial character, but others were certainly dwellings.⁵⁰ As at Cavallino di Lecce, the Serra di Vaglio buildings of the late 6th and 5th centuries were covered with roofs having terracotta tiles. Some even had vividly painted terracotta revetments: elaborately ornamented simas with lotus flowers, palmettes, meandri-form patterns and kyma reversa (fig. 5.16).

⁴⁶ D'Andria et al. 1990; Yntema 1993a.

⁴⁷ Greco 1988, 1991, 1996.

⁴⁸ Greco 1996, 273; Osanna 2011, 136.

⁴⁹ Serra di Vaglio is almost generally believed to be a

settlement with supra-regional importance, being the (ceremonial ?) centre of various tribal groups.

⁵⁰ Greco 1991, and Greco 1996, 284.

As for Serra di Vaglio, there is no information on the way the inhabitants carried out their agricultural activities. Fieldwork around the neighbouring site of Torre di Satriano suggest that these are likely to have taken place in the valleys surrounding the plateau on which the representative part of the settlement was located.⁵¹ As for Cavallino, only a short check up was made in the area surrounding the site.⁵² The results were comparable to those obtained at Oria and Valesio in the same district.⁵³ In a radius of c. 5 km around the site no single trace of 'rural' settlements dating to the Archaic-Classical period has been found. This means that the farmers of Oria, Valesio and Cavallino di Lecce probably lived within the settlement and had their fields partly within, but mostly outside the settlement area as delimited by the fortifications. These settlements, therefore, functioned in a way that was perhaps comparable to the sub-recent agro-towns of southern Italy and Sicily: in the early morning the farmers left the town in order to till their fields. The agricultural activities, therefore, are likely to have been carried out in the open areas between the clusters of houses and in the halo of fields surrounding the fortifications of Cavallino.

It should be noted that Serra di Vaglio and Cavallino di Lecce, both with predominantly autochthonous populations, differed in several respects from those coastal settlements of southern Italy that labeled themselves as Greek and that went through the rapid and truly astonishing revolution described in the first part of this chapter: the towns of Sybaris, Siris, Metapontion and Taras on the Gulf of Taranto. Whilst the latter four settlements were designed according to a very strict, orthogonal plan that completely cancelled pre-existing patterns, the traditional layout was in fact respected and remained basically intact at Cavallino. The settlement preserved its dispersed character: the groups of rectangular houses of the Archaic period were a translation of the groups of oval huts of the Iron Age. This means that while pre-existing patterns of landholding and landownership were completely erased at, for instance, Metapontion, they remained basically unchanged at Cavallino. The close similarity between the spatial arrangement of the latter settlement of the Iron Age and that of the Archaic-Classical period, moreover, suggests that the tribal forms of organization remained more or less intact. Cavallino differed also from the four urban centres on the Gulf of Taranto in yet another aspect. It did not have any public buildings, although the construction of the fortifications can undoubtedly be considered to be an effort involving the whole community. More and equally substantial differences can be seen in the organization of the countryside: the orthogonal grid of the rural area of Metapontion against the agro-town-like system in the Salento district.

The construction of sidewalks, drains and tile-covered houses with partly or completely stone walls was doubtlessly a major effort, but it was especially the construction of fortifications at Cavallino and a few other settlements in the Salento peninsula that was most labour-intensive. At Serra di Vaglio, however, situated on a high plateau with steep slopes and defended by nature, much energy was spent on a new spatial arrangement of the settlement that possibly cancelled the pre-existing patterns.⁵⁴ We have seen that the new houses and buildings, lavishly decorated with brightly painted terracotta revetments, bordering more or less straight streets replaced the dispersed hut settlement. Since the spatial organization and the underlying social structure in the settlements of Cavallino and Serra di Vaglio

⁵¹ Osanna 2007: small settlement nuclei surrounding the flat mountain with prestigious buildings.

⁵² Field walking in 1990 in a 1 km wide and 5 km long transect east of the site of Cavallino revealed a complete absence of 6th- and 5th-century BC finds, whilst there was a considerable quantity of Hellenistic and Roman finds on the surface in various parts of the transect.

⁵³ For the Oria survey, see Yntema 1993a, 171-176; for the Valesio survey, see Boersma et al. 1991.

⁵⁴ It should be observed that the extension of the excavation area at Serra di Vaglio was limited. A somewhat dispersed form of settlement with various groups of houses with empty spaces in between cannot be excluded in the present state of research.

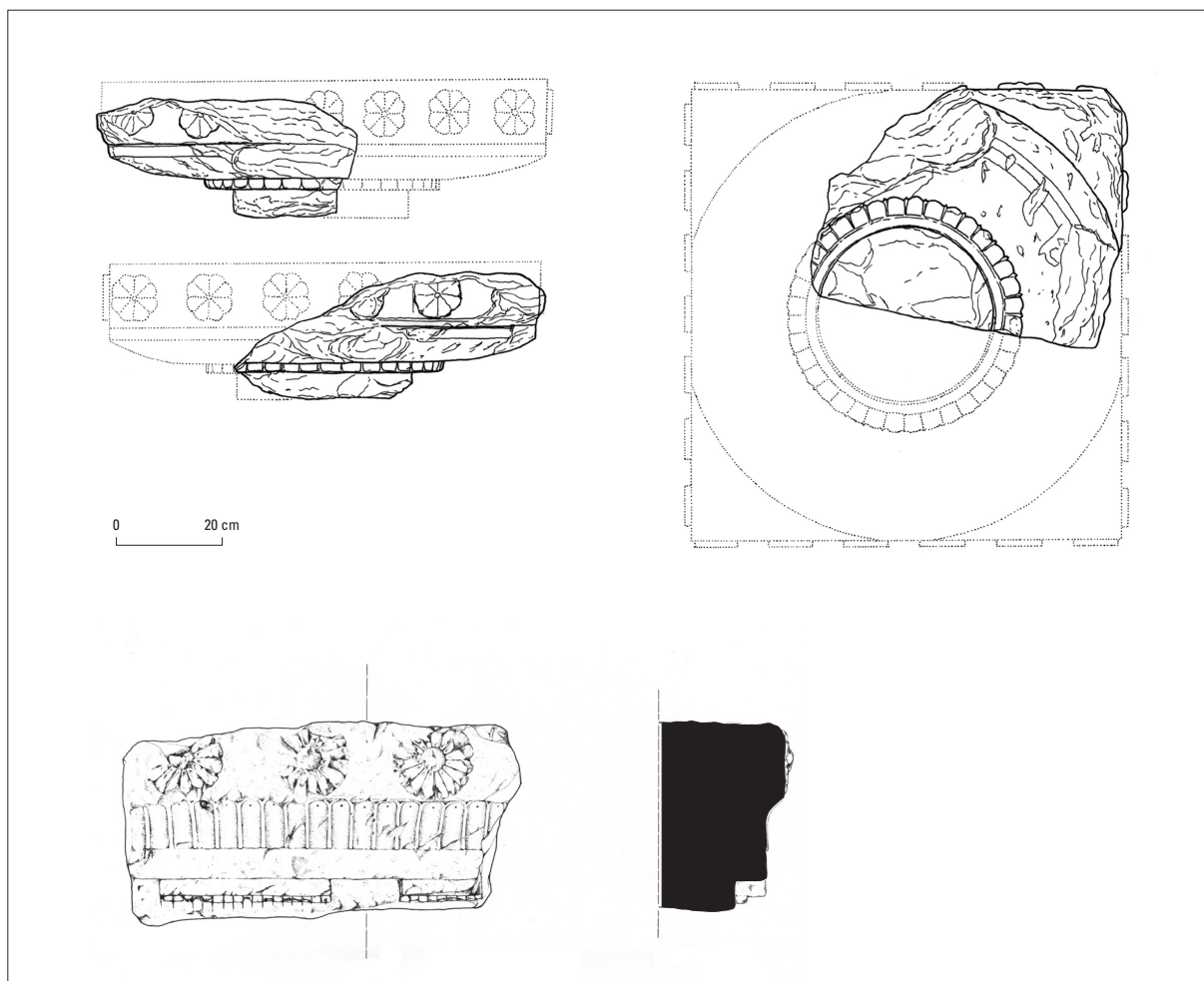


Fig. 5.17. Cavallino di Lecce (south-Apulia). Limestone mouldings and capital (second half of the 6th century BC; after D'Andria 1977).

differed very substantially from those in, for instance, the new urban centres of Metapontion and Taras, the former settlements are usually characterized as proto-urban societies.

These important changes in the architecture of the settlements of Cavallino and Serra di Vaglio went hand in hand with several other, very substantial innovations in the areas of southern Italy inhabited by people who are traditionally indicated as non-Greeks. As we have seen above, the site of Serra di Vaglio has produced a series of terracotta revetments and antefixes of the late 6th, but predominantly of the 5th century BC (fig. 5.16). These, when found in traditional Greek contexts, are often interpreted as parts of religious buildings. Since the revetments were found at a site that was definitely inhabited by a group with non-Greek antecedents, their interpretation requires some caution. Objects passing from one cultural system into another are likely to experience a change of function: they may be translated and used for completely different purposes. This seems indeed to have been the case at Serra di Vaglio, since they are likely to stem from buildings flanking the main thoroughfare, which display no signs of having been used for religious purposes. These revetments therefore, might have decorated the 'houses' on the main road of this important centre in the uplands of Basilicata.

At Cavallino di Lecce, however, both limestone capitals, and terracotta revetments and antefixes have been discovered within the area surrounded by the fortifications (fig. 5.17). These display close



Fig. 5.18. Ugento: bronze statue of god, Height: 0.74 m, late 6th century BC; Photo courtesy Soprintendenza Taranto.

similarities to specimens found in the Corfu-Epidamnos area on the eastern shores of the Adriatic.⁵⁵ In order to understand the function of the Cavallino capitals, revetment plaques and antefixes we have some assistance from finds from Ugento in the southern tip of Salento.⁵⁶ Here, almost identical revetments were found, whilst a capital could be proven to have carried the 0.74 m high bronze statue (the so-called 'Zeus of Ugento'; see fig. 5.18). Although the architectonic terracottas from Serra di Vaglio in Basilicata decorated buildings that had presumably no religious function, part of the revetment plaques from the two major Salento sites of Cavallino and Ugento can probably be related to religious activities. They are, therefore, among the first archaeologically legible signs of communal religious activity in non-Greek speaking areas of southeast Italy. In both cases the sanctuaries are likely to have been within the area surrounded by the fortifications.

The sanctuary of Ugento is reconstructed in a tentative way. It is believed to be a sacred precinct containing an enclosure wall that encased a column carrying the image of the god. Within the precinct, in the area surrounding the enclosure, objects offered to the god may have been deposited in a

⁵⁵ D'Andria 1977, D'Andria 1988; Mastronuzzi 2005, 43-49.

⁵⁶ D'Andria / Dell'Aglio 2002; Mastronuzzi 2005, 119-120.

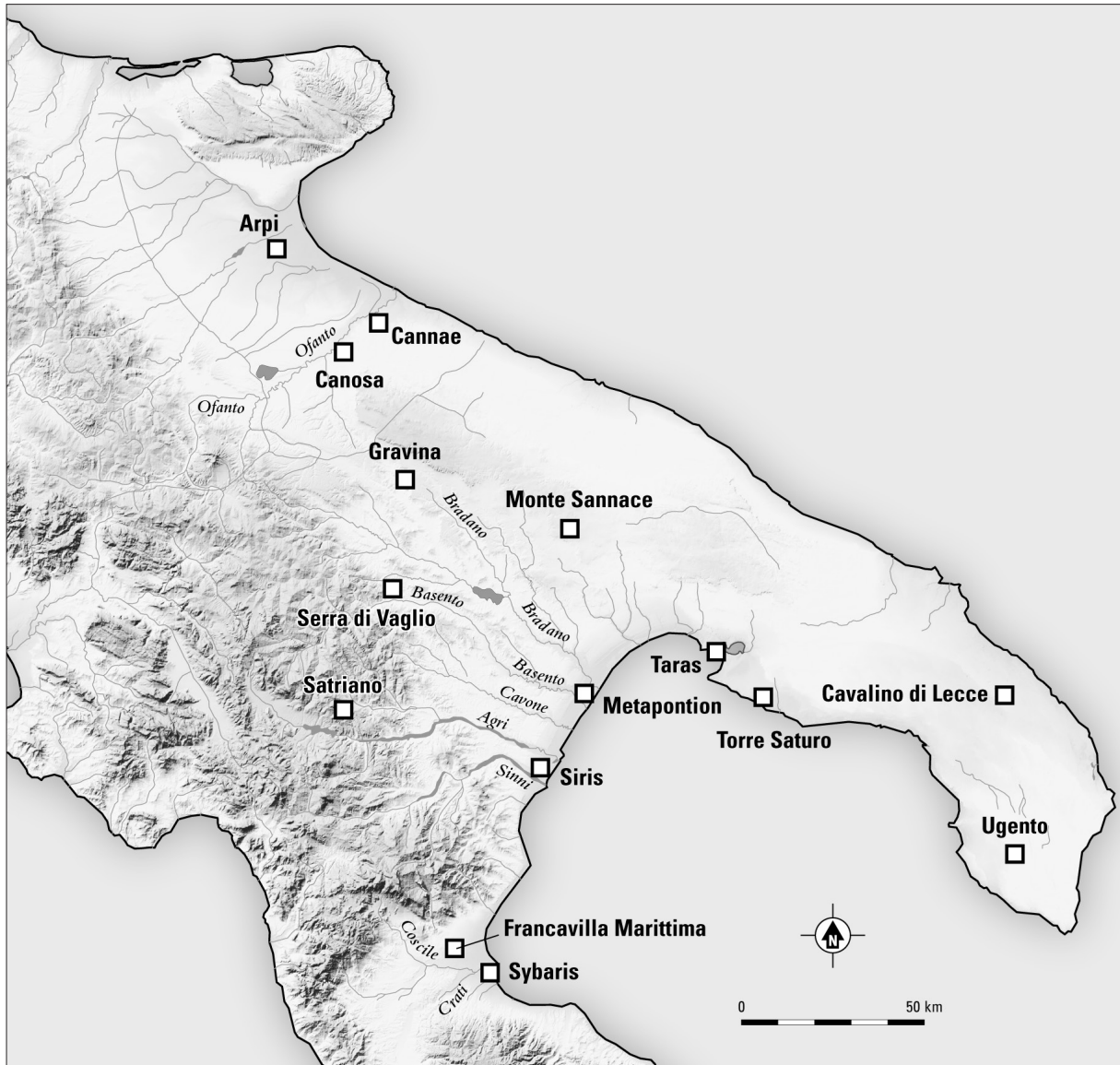


Fig. 5.19. Map showing sites with architectural terracottas of the 6th and 5th centuries BC (antefixes not included).

way that is also found in Greek speaking areas of southeast Italy. Such votive offerings were actually found at the major Salento site of Oria. Here a hill close to the 6th-5th century BC settlement area appeared to have contained the important Monte Papalucio cave sanctuary (fig. 5.37).⁵⁷ The 6th- and 5th-century votive deposits of this sanctuary show that ceramics, coins, terracotta statuettes, meat (mainly piglets) and vegetables (plant remains: predominantly corn and beans) were offered to the local gods.⁵⁸ These were probably vegetation goddesses that bear distinct similarities to the Greek goddesses Demeter and Korè. There is, however, no trace of 6th – or 5th-century building activity at Oria.⁵⁹ The ritual depositions were made in front of a cave. The sacred precinct of Oria, moreover, was by

⁵⁷ D'Andria et al. 1990, 239-306; Mastronuzzi 2005, 83-87.

⁵⁸ Ciaraldi 1999.

⁵⁹ The late 6th to 5th century antefixes recovered at

Monte Papalucio have not necessarily been part of a building. The sacred building excavated at Monte Papalucio can be dated to the 4th century BC (D'Andria et al. 1990).



Fig. 5.20. Satriano (central Basilicata): groundplan, reconstruction and terracotta revetment of aristocratic dining hall (6th century BC). Illustrations courtesy Matera University.

no means the only cave of the Salento district displaying traces of religious activities during the 6th and 5th centuries BC.⁶⁰

The sudden visibility of religious activities in areas outside the territories of the new, to all appearances Greek towns of Sybaris, Siris, Metapontion and Taras was probably limited to the Salento peninsula only. In Basilicata and central and northern Apulia legible traces of religious activities in the non-Greek areas are absent or very faint indeed for the Archaic-Classical period.⁶¹ They consist of only a few portable finds which might or might not be interpreted as signs pointing at the presence of a sacred place. They are mostly found in Basilicata in those areas that are close to the *chōrai* of the Greek poleis.⁶² Of course, this does not mean that there were no religious activities in these districts in which larger groups participated. If they left any signs in the archaeological record, we are unable to read them in the present state of research.

We have seen that columns, capitals, simas and architectural terracottas are often linked with religious activities in both the Greek *poleis* of southeast Italy and in the non-Greek world of Salento. Similar objects from the non-Greek areas of Basilicata and northern Apulia have often been interpreted in

⁶⁰ Ostuni: Grotta di S. Maria di Agnano (Coppola 1983); Ceglie Messapico: Grotta San Niccolo Abbate; Rocavecchia: Grotta della Poesia (Pagliara 1987 and 1989); Ruffano, Grotta Trinità (D'Andria et al. 1990, 195-196); Leuca: Grotta Porcinara (D'Andria 1978); S. Caterina di Nardò: Grotta di Capelvenere (Borzatti

von Löwenstern 1961).

⁶¹ For an early sacred place at the site of Garaguso (Basilicata), close to the Metapontion territory, see Morel 1974.

⁶² Cf. Morel 1974 (Garaguso)

the same vein. Recently most of the antefixes and revetments have been collected and analyzed. They stem almost exclusively from the Metaponto hinterland and the north-Apulian Ofanto district.⁶³ Some caution in the interpretation of these finds, however, is needed. As we have seen above, the terracotta revetments of Serra di Vaglio are likely to have functioned in a non-religious context. The same observation may hold for the so-called frieze of the enigmatic Braidia building near the foot of the Serra di Vaglio plateau. This building, consisting of rooms around a court surrounded by a porticus, is now believed to have been a princely dwelling or an aristocratic dining hall.⁶⁴ There is a good chance that the Italic groups of Salento appropriated both Greek revetments and the context (religious) in which the Greeks used them, while the Italic groups of Basilicata and northern Apulia adopted only the objects and applied them in an entirely new context (decoration of prestigious dwellings and/or chieftain's dining halls).⁶⁵

The data concerning the societies in the vast areas outside the territories of the urban settlements indicate that these differed in several respects from the four Greek polities on the coast. The spatial organization of the settlement of Cavallino di Lecce that consisted of somewhat dispersed groups of houses within fortifications, suggests that family groups and family allegiance continued to be basic elements in the local society. The various family groups lived in spatially separated habitation nuclei. The cohesion between these different family groups, however, was strong. They succeeded, perhaps with the help of the inhabitants of dependant settlements in the same area, in constructing the imposing 3.1 km long fortification wall. Whilst the organization of the settlement indicates that Cavallino was basically a tribal society, the fortifications suggest that there was a fairly strong central authority in the 6th-century settlement.

Cavallino, moreover, was not unique. It may indeed have been a major tribal centre in the Salento district together with Oria and Ugento. Serra di Vaglio with its Braidia dining hall and its houses and street is also likely to have been a settlement with a special status in central Basilicata. A similar observation can be made concerning the north-Apulian site of Arpi which continued to have a highly dispersed character. In the earlier 6th century BC it was clearly separated from the surrounding area. Its impressive, 7 km long earthworks and the approximately 1.000 hectares included by them have been discussed in the preceding chapter (4.2).

In addition to major centres such as Cavallino and Serra di Vaglio there was a host of smaller settlements of probably lesser importance. The discovery of the important 'anaktoron' of Satriano dating to the late 6th-early 5th century and situated at a relatively short distance from Serra di Vaglio, suggest that powerful chiefs could also be found in other settlements (fig. 5.20).⁶⁶ The character of the settlement hierarchy differed from district to district. In the slightly hilly sub-coastal area of Basilicata, there

⁶³ The stem from the sites of Serra di Vaglio and Monte Sannace (in the Metapoto hinterland) and Lavello, Canosa-San Leucio, Canosa-Toppicelli and Canne-Antenisi (in the north-Apulian Ofanto district); see Dally 2000, 29-66). Recently revetment plaques of the late 6th century have also turned up at Torre di Satriano (Osanna 2009).

⁶⁴ Initially the relief-decorated terracotta frieze from Serra di Vaglio-Braidia was believed to have belonged to a religious building (Lo Porto / Ranaldi 1990), since it has such close parallels in friezes from *sacello C* in the very centre of Metapontion and from the rural sanctuary of San Biagio alla Venella (*chōra* of Metapontion).

For the function of Braidia building, see e.g. Greco 1996, 268-271 and 284, and Tagliente 1999, 15, Osanna 2011, 134.

⁶⁵ We may assume that the dining halls were not exclusively used for aristocratic feasting, but were also places where elite rituals were performed. The Braidia dining hall at Serra di Vaglio is close to a well (Tagliente 1999, 15) which appears to be a standard element in elite rituals in Basilicata from the late 5th century onward (see chapter 6). See also Semeraro 2009 (San Vito).

⁶⁶ For the anaktoron of Torre di Satriano, see Osanna 2009 and Capozzoli / Osanna 2009.

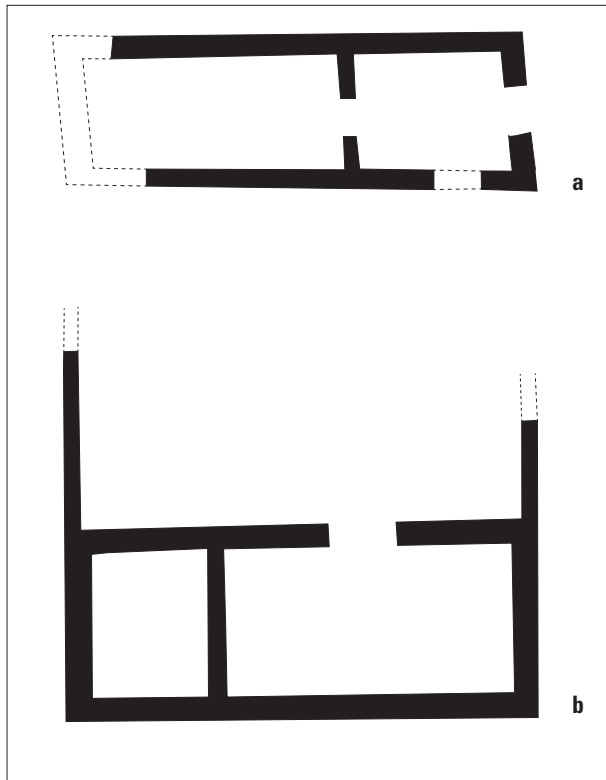


Fig. 5.21. Houses of the late 6th and early 5th centuries from Rutigliano (a) and Monte Sannace (b), central Apulia (adapted from Ciancio 1989).

are no great differences between extensions of the various settlements. In the uplands of Basilicata, Serra di Vaglio was surrounded by quite a series of other hilltop sites of presumably lesser importance.⁶⁷ It is still uncertain whether these settlements all had more or less the same settlement history and existed as early as the 6th or 5th century BC.⁶⁸ Two of these, Satriano (at c. 920 m) and Oppido Lucano (at 670 m) have been the objects of more intensive research.⁶⁹ Till well within the 5th century BC small nuclei of habitations were dispersed both over the plateaus of the mountains on which they stood and in the surrounding valleys. In the Salento peninsula Oria is one of the key sites. The settlement is likely to have been

the central place for a series of smaller sites in the northern Brindisi plain.⁷⁰ A similar pattern can be observed in the Bari area. Here the large and prosperous settlement of Rutigliano–Castiello appears to be surrounded by a group of smaller settlements in the 5th century BC.⁷¹

Whether there was a distinct settlement hierarchy in the ‘Daunian’ districts of northern Apulia (basin of the lower Ofanto, north-Apulian Tavoliere plain) is uncertain. Here highly dispersed forms of settlements continued to live on. Since Canosa was the most important settlement of the lower Ofanto district between c. 700 and 500 BC and was demonstrably the dominant settlement in the same area from about 370 BC onward, one may suggest that it played a similar role in the intermediate period.⁷² The settlement of Arpi may well have played a comparable role in the north-Apulian plain, dominating in some way a series of settlements of probably lesser importance.⁷³ In the north-Apulian dis-

⁶⁷ For instance, the sites of Civita di Tricarico, Serra del Cedro, Cancellara, Oppido Lucano, Torretta di Pietragalla and Croccia Cognato.

⁶⁸ Satriano, Oppido Lucano and Torretta di Pietragalla were certainly inhabited from the Iron Age to within Hellenistic times. On the sites of Serra del Cedro, Cancellara, and Croccia Cognato the information is scanty. Civita di Tricarico seems to have been a centre of major importance in Hellenistic and early Roman times (cf. de Cazanove 2001).

⁶⁹ For Satriano, see Holloway 1970; Greco 1988; Nava / Osanna 2001, Osanna 2009; Osanna / Sica 2005; for Oppido Lucano, see Lissi Caronna 1972, 1980, 1983 and 1990/91.

⁷⁰ E.g. the sites of Muro Tenente, Mesagne, Muro Maurizio, San Pancrazio; cf. Burgers 1998.

⁷¹ See Ricardi 1999; for the wealth of Rutigliano, see a selection of the burials in the yearly reports on the excavations in Apulia by F.G. Lo Porto in *Atti Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto* (1974–1980); De Juliis 2006. For bronze objects from these graves, see Tarditti 1996.

⁷² Settlements of somewhat lesser importance in this same district were Minervino Murge, Lavello, Canne-Antenisi, Barletta and Salapia.

⁷³ In the Tavoliere district sites such as Troia, Ortona, Siponto, and San Severo may have been dominated in some way by Arpi.



Fig. 5.22. Muro Tenente (south-Apulia). Burial of a c. 25 year old woman (with trozzella), later 5th century BC; photo archive ACVU.

tricts, however, the signs suggesting a clear settlement hierarchy are much weaker than in the remaining parts of southeast Italy.

The settlement hierarchy was only partly reflected in the sanctuary hierarchy and these reflections are exclusively found in Salento. It is probably not due to coincidence that Greek-type terracotta revetments were found at two sites with a special status (Cavallino and Ugento). The sacred, however, was a rather complex matter in southeast Italy and requires a careful further study. We have seen sanctuaries of probably more than local importance (Oria, Ugento). In addition to these there were sanctuaries of purely local importance,⁷⁴ and small sanctuaries of decidedly sub-local importance.⁷⁵ Moreover, there were sanctuaries that cannot be related to settlements.⁷⁶ The location of the sanctuaries coincided partly

with human settlement (sanctuaries within or close to settlements), but could also depend on the natural feature where a deity was believed to reside (sacred caves, sacred springs or wells).

Signs suggesting substantial innovation and change in the character of settlements and in the religious sphere can be found at a considerable number of sites during the 6th century BC. The Iron Age huts were replaced by houses in almost every part of southeast Italy. It happened in Salento, in large parts of Basilicata and in the district surrounding Bari (fig. 5.21).⁷⁷ Not every site had large fortifications

⁷⁴ In south-Apulia sanctuaries of probably local importance have been traced at Valesio (Boersma et al. 1991, 124-131), Ostuni-S. Maria d' Agnano (Coppola 1983, 239-243), and Ceglie Messapico-S. Niccolo Abate.

⁷⁵ A small sacred place of the 6th to early 5th centuries BC with limestone *cippi* and small votive deposits has been excavated within the settlement of Vaste (south-Apulia); see D'Andria et al. 1990, 58-65. It might have been the religious focus of one of the local clans or

family groups of Vaste.

⁷⁶ Sacred places that were not directly linked to settlements of some substance in south-Apulia are Leuca-Grotta Porcinara (D'Andria 1978) and Ruffano-Grotta Trinità (D'Andria et al. 1990, 195-196).

⁷⁷ For site hierarchy in Salento, see Burgers 1998; for Bari district, see Ciancio 1989; for Basilicata, see Gualtieri 1987, Barberis 1999.

or buildings elaborately decorated with architectural terracottas. Sites lacking these features were invariably relatively small. This means that it was in the 6th century BC that a distinct site hierarchy emerged in nearly every part of southeast Italy. The character of this site hierarchy differs from district to district. As we have seen above, it consisted of the urban centres, villages and isolated farmsteads in the *polis* areas on the Gulf of Taranto. In Salento, in the Bari area and much of Basilicata the site hierarchy was made up of major and minor tribal centres. In the basin of the river Ofanto and in the Tavoliere of northern Apulia, however, highly dispersed forms of settlement lived on to well into the 4th century BC, but here Arpi and Canosa were probably the most dominant centres. These two 'Daunian' areas that were foci of interregional exchange from the 8th century to within the second half of the 6th century BC,⁷⁸ hardly participated in the far-reaching changes that took place in other parts of southern Italy during the 6th century BC. Their societies were and continued to be similar to those on the central and northern Adriatic.

In the district of the populations that spoke Oscan and Messapic, innovations can be seen which were more or less comparable to those observed in the urban centres that considered themselves as Greek *poleis*. In both areas the spatial organization of the settlement is indicative of increasing socio-political complexity. Sometimes pre-existing patterns were completely cancelled. It happened at indigenous Serra di Vaglio in a manner that was somewhat similar to the new and regular town plan of 6th-century Metapontion. Often, however, the traditional Iron Age layout was more or less retained: clusters of 6th-century houses replaced clusters of 7th-century huts. Not every settlement of the indigenous districts was affected by these phenomena at the same time and with the same intensity. Initially many smaller settlements changed only marginally. These urbanizing trends, moreover, did not reach northern Apulia before the 3rd century BC.

The differences between the Greek town (e.g. Metapontion) and the major tribal centre (e.g. Cavallino, Serra di Vaglio) should not be overestimated. As has been said above, the image of the *polis* as a settlement densely packed with *insulae* or *strigae* of dwellings certainly does not hold good for 6th-century Metapontion. The town had a spectacular centre with its public and sacred buildings, but the infill of the orthogonal plots with houses was a gradual process that took many decades.⁷⁹ The main differences between Greek and indigenous in this respect are (a) the absence of large public and sacred buildings and (b) the absence of an inhabited rural area in the tribal districts.

In the course of the 6th century BC the sacred became visible in one of the tribal areas (Salento). This happened because now votive objects were deposited in the sanctuaries. The favour of the indigenous deities or spirits could now be won by offering them gifts that survive in the archaeological record. These were almost invariably of Greek type.⁸⁰ Architecture was rare in indigenous sanctuaries and occurred mainly in larger tribal centres (e.g. Cavallino, Ugento). Most of these sacred places will have consisted exclusively of a *temenos* (sacred precinct) with cave or spring/well and *bothroi* (votive pits).

⁷⁸ Yntema 1979; chapter 4.4 above.

⁷⁹ Carter 1998a, 8.

⁸⁰ In addition to the vegetal remains and animal bones, wheelmade ceramics, Greek coins, and Greek jewellery were deposited in indigenous sanctuaries. It is per-

haps significant that the traditional native handmade ceramics (Matt-Painted wares, Impasto pottery) that continued to be produced during the 6th century, are extremely rare in indigenous sanctuaries.

5.4 BURIALS AND THE RISE OF LOCAL AND REGIONAL ELITES

Iron Age burials have been reported from all districts of southeast Italy except for the Salento peninsula. In this period, burial customs seem to have prevailed in this district that left no trace in the archaeological record. In the late 7th or early 6th century formal burials also make their appearance here. These burials display close similarities to burial customs in adjoining areas. They are invariably inhumations: the deceased was deposited in a rectangular grave that was dug into the soil or hewn into the rock. He or she (both sexes are represented) was put on the flank with the legs drawn up. For much of the 6th century BC little energy is spent on the burials in Salento. The tombs themselves are simple and the contents are mostly modest (fig. 5.22). Since they occur in limited quantities, there is reason to believe that a particular, fairly small group within the Salento societies received a formal burial and that the majority of the population cannot be traced in the funerary record of 6th- to 5th-century BC Salento.

In the preceding chapter on the Iron Age we have seen the presence of local elites in those parts of southeast Italy that had burial rites that can be traced by archaeologists (see chapter 4.5). The most spectacular burials manifested themselves in those areas that played a crucial role in interregional exchange circuits. Canosa and its Ofanto district in northern Apulia, for instance, was pivotal in exchanges between southern Italy and the eastern Hallstatt province (Istria, Slovenia), and Alianello mediated between the emporion settlement of Siris on the one hand and the uplands of Basilicata and southern Campania on the other hand.

By the 6th century BC, however, every settlement of southeast Italy can be shown to have had its local elite families. The main body of evidence for the general emergence of local elites consists of elite graves. These are found in both the indigenous settlements and the emerging Greek *poleis*. Since Siris eclipsed or had a severe set back in approximately the 3rd quarter of the 6th century BC and Sybaris is buried under a thick stratum of alluvial deposits, the examples of such graves from *poleis* must necessarily stem from Metapontion and Taras. We have seen above that the new urban centres and their territories had a strict separation between cemeteries and habitation areas. In the large Taranto necropolis well over 70 elite burials have been traced dating between the 6th and the early 4th century BC.⁸¹ In the past years the numerous Taras graves have been the object of a major research project in which German scholars cooperated with archaeologists of the *Soprintendenza alle Antichità*. Therefore, we shall focus here on the necropolis of Taras.

The elite graves of Taras do not cluster in a particular spot. They are dispersed over the necropolis area, but the reason behind this distribution is unclear (fig. 5.23). The first signs of ostentatious display in the funerary sphere can be observed as early as c. 580 BC. Both the quantity and quality of the objects deposited in the sarcophagus and cist graves for the elite are high. The grave goods of these 6th-century BC graves all belong to the world of symposium and banqueting (e.g. *kylikes*, *skyphoi*, *amphorae*, *hydriae*). In the 3rd quarter of the 6th century BC monumental architecture makes its appearance in the funerary sphere. The most striking specimens were the substantial subterranean chamber tombs. They were carved into the limestone banks on which Taras stood (fig. 5.24), being obviously family burial chambers that were used for two or more generations. These measured approximately 5 x 5 m and had one to four Doric columns in order to support a roof.⁸²

Such family chamber tombs, however, were fairly uncommon in the 6th and 5th centuries BC and were used by only a few families of Taras. The vast majority of the elite in both Taras and Metapontion preferred individual graves ('half-chamber' tombs, large cist graves, sarcophagus burials) (fig. 5.25).

⁸¹ Lippolis 1994a.

⁸² Maruggi 1994.



Fig. 5.23. Taras. Plan of the necropolis of the 6th and 5th centuries BC, based on Lippolis 1994a; habitation areas dark grey; necropolis middle grey and light grey; dots: elite graves.

In the early 5th century BC a slight change can be detected in the elite graves of Taras: objects referring to athletic activities (e.g. *strigiles*, *alabastra*) were added to the repertoire of burial gifts. From that moment onward both banqueting and athletics were the main elements stressed in male elite burials. The grave forms and grave goods of Archaic/Classical Metapontion did not differ significantly from those of Taras in either type or contents.⁸³

In those areas that were outside the territories of the urban centres, comparable elite graves occurred. As we have seen above, the Salento district was slow in developing an archaeologically traceable way of burying the dead. Here elite graves made their appearance in the first half of the 5th century BC.⁸⁴ In all remaining districts elite graves can be found from the very beginning of the Archaic-Classical period. These differed from those near the urban centres in several respects. They invariably lacked the impressive architectural outfit that characterized the tombs of a handful of Taras families and were usually not clearly separated from the habitation areas. In the proto-urban settlements outside the territories of the Greek *poleis* small groups of graves were in close proximity to the dwellings and small children could even be buried underneath the houses in *enchytrismos* graves (inhumation in large ves-

⁸³ Carter 1998a; De Juliis 2001.

⁸⁴ See, for instance, Arias 1969 (Cavallino), D'Andria et

al.1990, 78-80 (*ripostiglio* 567) and 83-85 (*deposito funerario* 565), both from Vaste.

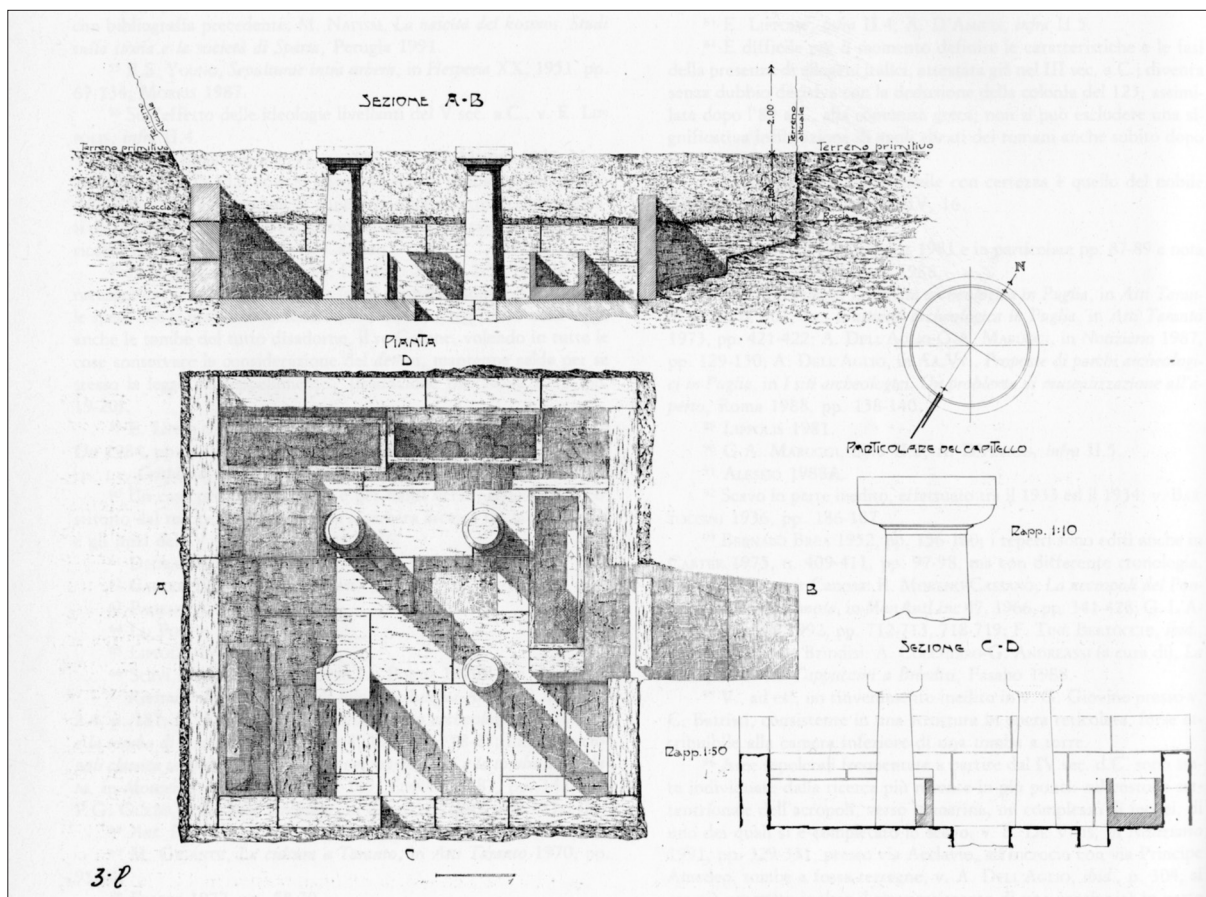


Fig. 5.24. Taras. Groundplan and reconstruction of an elite burial chamber (6th century BC); after Maruggi 1994.

sels). The pot containing the small body was usually a large impasto jar.⁸⁵ In the indigenous settlements of the Archaic-Classical period, the dead were close to the living, just as during the preceding Iron Age. They were probably buried in the settlement area that was the intra-site territory of, or in any case the area closely linked with, the family or the clan to which the deceased belonged.

The differences between the contents of the elites tombs of the Greek urban centres and indigenous settlements were limited. The only major difference is that male burials in the non-Greek areas often contain weapons and armour. In this respect there was continuity between the Iron Age and the Archaic-Classical period. But the symbols stressing martial qualities changed. While during the Iron Age the sword was the most distinctive feature for the warrior elite, the graves of the indigenous elites of the 6th century BC often contained (parts of) Greek panoplies (fig. 5.26). Swords, spears and javelins can also be found, though not in large quantities. Whilst objects referring to warrior status disappeared from the graves in much of southeast Italy in the final quarter of the 6th century, the custom of depositing armour and weaponry into the graves persisted in northern Apulia and in upper Basilicata (e.g. Chiaromonte district, Melfi area) to well within the 5th century BC.⁸⁶ The so-called

⁸⁵ Corinthian A amphorae have also been used for this purpose. Hitherto amphorae used in this way, have been excavated only at 7th-century Siris (Berlingò 1986) and L'Incoronata (unpublished).

⁸⁶ For a late 5th century tomb from Chiaromonte, see Bottini et al. 1993, 95-109; see also Lissi Caronna 1980 for a series of 5th century tombs from Oppido Lucano.



Fig. 5.25. Taras. Tomb of the Panathenaic victor (5th century BC), Soprintendenza Taranto.

‘Apulo-Corinthian’ bronze helmets of the 5th century, having no holes for the eyes, demonstrate that warrior status was probably mainly expressed in the funerary sphere (fig. 5.27)

Whatever the differences, the graves of the Greek urban centres and the indigenous settlements of southeast Italy shared several features. Like the vast majority of the elite burials of the urban centres, the elite graves of the indigenous districts were large sarcophagus burials or cist tombs. Moreover, like those in the *poleis* they contained vessels pertaining to banqueting. Vessels referring to such activities are present in contexts of non-Greek areas during the early 6th century BC,⁸⁷ but became especially frequent from the late 6th century onward. Among the banqueting objects are both bronze vessels and ceramic pots such as late-Corinthian and Attic black- and red-figured kraters, wine jugs of various types, bronze *simpula*, bronze *hydriae* and large, bronze basins (*podanipteres*).⁸⁸ What is emphasized is feasting. The dead persons are provided with the accoutrements necessary for drinking wine and banqueting. In addition to these, the first indigenous tombs with objects (e.g. *strigiles*, *alabastra*) referring to the *palaistra* (or to *paideia* in general) can be observed during the 5th century BC.⁸⁹ Native elite representation closely followed the ways in which the Greek elites of southeast Italy presented themselves.

⁸⁷ See Armento tomb A in Bottini et al. 1993, 61–69 (2nd quarter to middle of the 6th century BC).

⁸⁸ The bronze vessels of Apulia have been collected by Tarditti (1996), for Attic kraters (pottery), see Manino 2006.

⁸⁹ See, for instance, Bottini et al. 1993, 95–109 (Chiaromonte – San Pasquale, tomb 227; late 5th century); Lo Porto 1994, 70–82 (Cavallino, tomb 2; earlier 5th century).

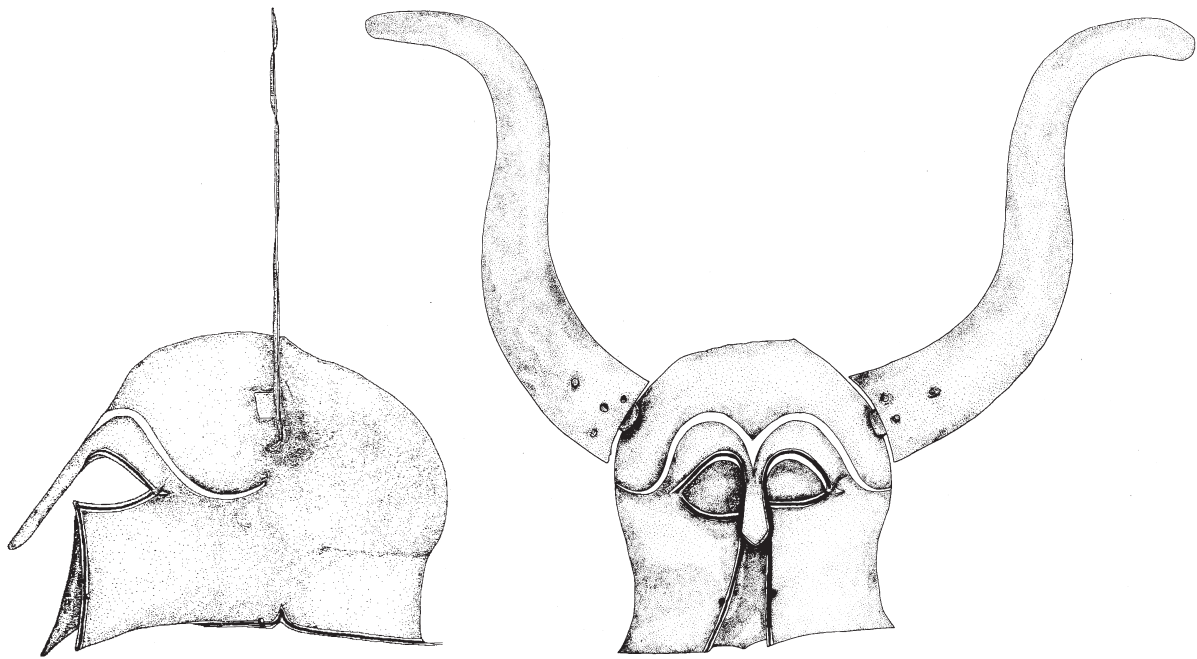


Fig. 5.26. Chiaromonte-Sotto La Croce tomb 170 (western Basilicata). Corinthian helmet (with local additions) from native elite grave, late 6th century BC; after Bottini 1993.

Generally speaking, the ideological aspects expressed in both Greek and indigenous elite tombs were very similar. Initially the indigenous elite tombs stressed both martiality and banqueting (6th century BC), whilst elite tombs of the Greek urban centres focused on banqueting only (c. 590/580–480/470 BC). From about 480 BC the elite tombs of the Greek urban centres began to refer to both banqueting and *paideia* (*palaistra*), whilst the same combination of ideological features is found in most of the non-Greek districts from the late 5th century onward.

Elite graves were not confined to a few non-Greek settlements only. They occur in almost every settlements of southeast Italy. Therefore, they are likely to be indicative of elites of local importance. During the 5th century and the early 4th century BC this type of tombs continued to exist. It was, however, in the uplands of Basilicata that even more spectacular tombs made their appearance. They date between the late 6th and the middle of the 5th century BC. Their contents ooze power, opulence and wide-ranging interregional contacts. Only a handful of these have been reported hitherto. The earliest ‘royal’ burial plot was discovered at Baragiano (north-Lucania) and dates to the late 6th/early 5th century. A second burial plot with nine graves has been found on a terrace on the flanks of the Serra di Vaglio mountain (Serra di Vaglio-Braida, first half 5th century) and two spectacular burials stem from the site of Piscuolo in the Melfi district in the northeastern part of Basilicata (mid 5th century).⁹⁰

These unusual, extremely opulent burials have been interpreted as the graves of indigenous *basileis* (‘kings’) and may well be taken to have been the graves of paramount chiefs and their close relatives. These tombs do not only differ from local elite tombs by the sheer quantity of the finds. A seven

⁹⁰ The Baragiano burials have been shown in the exhibition *Principi ed eroi della Basilicata* (Potenza 2009–2010); for the ‘royal’ tombs from Serra di Vaglio-Braida (central Basilicata), see Bottini / Setari 1995, 1996 and especially Bottini and Setari 2003. The nine Braida

burials contained the remains of ten persons: six men, one woman and three children. For the Piscuolo tombs 43 and 48 (in the Melfi area), see *Popoli anellenici*, 120–128, tombs 43 and 48; Adamesteanu 1974.



Fig. 5.27. 'Apulian' funerary helmet, 5th century BC. Bari, Museo Archeologico. Courtesy Bari Museum.

years old girl in the Braida cemetery was buried with a breathtaking display of gold and amber. Whilst finely decorated Attic pottery can be found in the local elite graves, these exceptional burials stand out because of the dazzling quantity and quality of the objects they contained: magnificent horse gear, fibulae of silver and gold, diadems and magnificently carved amber beads and pendants (fig. 5.28). Although part of the metal objects in these graves may be local or regional workmanship, there are also objects that were transported over large distances. At Pisciole, for instance, there is a set of exquisite Etruscan bronzes.

These *basileis* burials also contain references to the use of chariots. One of the Pisciole tombs contains a set of wheels, whilst a male burial of Serra di Vaglio has elaborately decorated bronze horse gear decorated in Greek style such as *prometopidia* ('headplates') and *prosternopidia* (breastplates) (fig. 5.28).⁹¹ Most of the objects found in

these *basileis*-burials are unpractical for regular use. They are evidently ostentatious display and are likely to have functioned in ceremonies and rituals in which their owners were the protagonists. These incredibly opulent burials are completely unparalleled in the urban centres of southeast Italy. They testify to the presence of new, powerful leaders that ranked above the various local and cantonal chieftains and controlled vast territories of Lucania. Since the 'royal' burials of Baragiano, Serra di Vaglio and Melfi-Pisciole are chronologically subsequent, this might suggest that supreme leadership shifted in the uplands of Lucania, if at least the above interpretation is correct. Perhaps these paramount chiefs/*basileis* were elected by their peers.

The princely graves of Melfi-Pisciole, Serra di Vaglio-Braida and Baragiano are truly exceptional. The aristocrats buried there identified themselves as outstanding elite through their privileged access to exotic commodities such as gold, amber and pots decorated with figured scenes. On the basis of the funerary evidence, therefore, it is clear that the rise of powerful local elites, imposing local warlords

⁹¹ The tomb group of Serra di Vaglio-Braida is in the same area as the dining hall discussed in section 5.3. Tomb 101 contains the *prometopidia* and *prosternopidia*; the wheels have been found in Pisciole tomb 43. In a

fairly distant past a *prometopidion* and a *prosternopidion* have reportedly been found at Ruvo di Puglia in the central-Apulian Bari area (see Cassano 1997, 61, nos. 21-22).

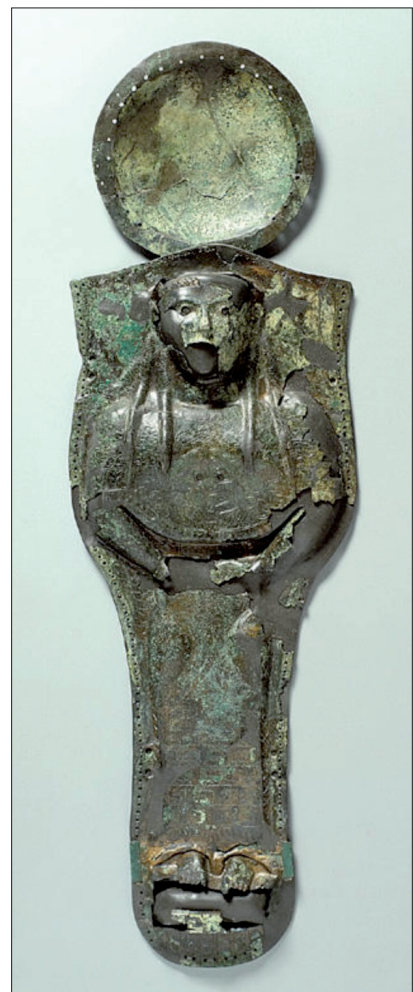


Fig. 5.28. Serra di Vaglio-Braida (upper Basilicata): site and objects from royal burials. Photos courtesy Soprintendenza Basilicata.

and perhaps even regional elites was a widely diffused phenomenon in southern Italy. The evidence, moreover, does not come exclusively from the funerary evidence presented above. The ancient written sources too are quite explicit on this subject (see Chapter 5.7: Ancient written sources).

In the preceding chapter on the Iron Age we have encountered people living in the autochthonous communities of southeast Italy who held a special status. They manifested themselves in the elite burials of, for instance, Tursi-Sorigliano (8th century) and Canosa (7th century). They have been interpreted as the burials of powerful local elites. With the coming of the Archaic period outstanding graves of people of local importance continued to be made. Now they are found not only in the so-called 'native' territories, but also in the new urban settlements on the coast: the emerging *poleis* with their Greek identities. Before the middle of the 6th century a Greek elite had emerged in the Greek *poleis*. The distribution of elite family graves over the Taranto necropoleis shows that the settlement had several families of wealth and influence during the 6th and 5th centuries BC. Metapontion had comparable elite families. Together these made up the local aristocracy of the town. In their graves they present themselves as banqueteers and – from about the early 5th century onward – as cultured people with *paideia* by referring to the *palaistra* by means of *strigiles* and *alabastra*.

The interpretation of the 6th and 5th century indigenous elite burials is complicated. As for the graves of the 6th century BC their often martial character and their relative rareness (approximately one or two male burial per generation per settlement) indicates that they can possibly be read as the tombs of local warlords, perhaps leaders of local clans. These may have been persons who had achieved local prominence because of their lineage, their prowess and their heroic behaviour in raids and warfare. In the late 6th century BC banqueting equipment begins to supplement and replace the symbols of warrior status in the graves of non-Greek settlements. The earliest signs of this change are found in the districts close to the new *poleis*. This process continued during much of the 5th century BC when a spread of similar changes can be observed in districts further away from the Greek *poleis*. Armour, however, did not vanish completely from the burials in the tribal areas. Even during the 4th century BC great warrior chiefs could be buried with their cuirass, helmet and javelin (see chapter 6).

By the later 5th century BC objects referring to Greek *paideia* make their appearance in the burials of the areas outside the Greek towns. Again it happened first in the districts close to these *poleis*. These more recent elite graves, moreover, seem to be more numerous. In some cases, it seems, two or three (near-) contemporary clusters of elite graves can be found within the same settlement. This suggests that by this time each tribal settlement had various elite families. The selection of objects put into the graves, being so closely comparable to those of the Greek aristocrats of southeast Italy, suggest that these families together made up the local aristocracy of the non-Greek settlement.

A completely new phenomenon is the appearance of the spectacular 'royal' burials in the uplands of Basilicata. They date to between 510/500 and 450/440 and are unparalleled in other parts of southeast Italy. They suggest that something happened in the uplands of Basilicata that led to the appearance of men of decidedly regional importance. Since both the 'royal' burials of Serra di Vaglio and those of Piscuolo cover only one generation, they are probably not indicative of hereditary kingship. The persons buried in those graves are more likely to have been paramount chiefs who – perhaps starting as cantonal chiefs – came to control more or larger tribal groups. This could, for instance, have happened because of a combination of outside pressure, a charismatic personality and outstanding martial qualities.

5.5 CHANGES IN CRAFT

The construction of the dispersed settlements consisting of huts or primitive houses of the 8th and 7th centuries BC did not require much specialist labour. The family group, for instance, was easily capable of constructing the fairly simple dwellings that are characteristic of that period. This observation holds good for both settlements exclusively inhabited by indigenous groups and settlements with mixed populations such as 7th-century Siris, Metapontion, L'Incoronata and L'Amastuola. Larger settlements may have had one or two potters and a blacksmith. In the Iron Age craft was limited to a few specialists only who are likely to have exerted their craft mainly on a part time basis.

The rise of urban and 'proto-urban' centres and the birth of the more or less complex societies that lived in these settlements, caused major changes in craft. The innovations can mostly be dated between the end of the 7th century and the middle of the 6th century. These occurred first and foremost in the sector of architecture. We have seen above that wattle-and-daub huts were replaced by tile-covered habitations of stone and mudbrick and that impressive fortifications were erected. The urban settlements, moreover, were adorned with large sacred and public buildings made of stone, timber and terracotta (tiles, revetments).

The numerous building activities that took place in quite a number of settlements of southeast Italy, had an enormous impact on the development of craft. They required a substantial working force and qualified artisans of various types. The extraction and working of tons of sandstone or limestone for the construction of fortifications, temples, *sacella*, houses and graves required the adoption of new skills on an unprecedented scale. Usually the quarries were within a short distance from the settlement, but archaic-classical Metapontion with its prestigious architecture was on alluvial soils and was forced to transport its building materials over distances of at least 40 km. For the construction of temples and houses, timber and carpenter's abilities were needed in order to make the lintels and the stairs and to hew the beams that carried the roofs of these buildings. The production of terracotta tiles, *simae*, *acroteria* and antefixes that covered or decorated the roofs, required the presence of tile makers and artisans that had the abilities to produce large clay objects in moulds and were able to fire these objects in closed, well-controlled kilns. The men who quarried the stones, transported them and worked them, the persons who produced tiles and terracotta ornaments and the people who turned wood into beams and constructed the wooden parts of houses, shrines and temples were probably mostly full time specialists.

The products of some of these specialists were required only incidentally. These persons operated on a regional scale. This observation holds good for the terracotta revetments of prestigious buildings. The terracotta frieze of the Braida dining hall on the flanks of the Serra di Vaglio mountain, for instance, displays such a close similarity to terracotta revetments from the Metapontion territory that a Metapontine origin of the makers has been assumed, whereas the friezes of the Satriano *anaktoron* have graffiti suggesting a Tarantine origin.⁹² The terracotta revetments of Cavallino, made of decidedly local clays, have such close parallels at the island of Corfu, that the presence of Corfiote artisans in the non-Greek settlement has been hypothesized. Archaic capitals from Cavallino, Vaste and Ugento, all made in local limestone, again bear a strong likeness to capitals from Greek settlements across the Adriatic (e.g. Corcyra, Epidamos) and were probably also made by imported craftsmen who stayed in settlements with a non-Greek population on a temporary basis.⁹³

⁹² The closest parallels are the revetments of *sacellum* C at Metapontion and the *sacellum* of the rural sanctuary of San Biagio alla Venella, 6 km from Metapontion ; see

Lo Porto / Ranaldi 1990; for the revetments of Torre di Satriano, see Capozzolo / Osanna 2009.

⁹³ D'Andria 1977, and 1988.

The ‘import’ of craftsmen, however, was probably a rather exceptional phenomenon. The Greek urban centres on the coast and several indigenous proto-urban settlements had their own carpenters, stonemasons and tile makers in order to construct the buildings. These persons, moreover, were not the only specialists in the new types of settlements of southeast Italy. Although the evidence for metal objects is thin (they were mostly recycled),⁹⁴ people working iron and bronze must have been present in many settlements of southeast Italy. They produced the fibulae and metal vessels that have been found in burials (fig. 5.29). They also made numerous objects for daily use. Among these were objects used for the preparation of food (e.g. knives, graters), farming implements (e.g. hoes, picks, plows and ards) and hunting and war requisites (e.g. body armour, arrows, javelins, spears, swords), most of which are only rarely found in archaeological excavations. The weapons and body armour that turned up in the burials of the tribal areas suggest that both the Greek towns and the tribal settlements had specialists who produced such articles.⁹⁵ The presence of other types of specialists such as tanners and leather workers in for instance the urban centres on the coast can only be surmised on the basis of ancient written sources on the Greek world of the 5th century BC: they do not appear in the archaeological record of southeast Italy for the Archaic-Classical period.

While metal objects are often recycled, pottery tends to survive. This phenomenon allows us to study the innovations that occurred in this particular craft. It will receive here an almost disproportionate attention, because it may be an example of what happened in other, less well documented sectors of craft. In ceramic production a major change took place in the 6th and 5th centuries BC. In the preceding chapter on the Iron Age we have seen that wheelmade ceramics with Greek technical and decorative features were produced in a limited number of settlements with a mixed population on the Gulf of Taranto. This happened from approximately the middle of the 7th century onward (Siris, L’Incoronata, Metaponto–Andrisani, L’Amastuola). Initially these ‘new’ Grecian ceramics were made alongside the traditional matt-painted wares that are characteristic of the autochthonous populations of southeast Italy. Both ceramic classes could be made and used within the same settlements.⁹⁶ While the pottery produced in the emerging urban centres (Sybaris, Siris, Metapontion, Taras) was probably of exclusively Greek type from about the end of the 7th century BC, the traditional handmade matt-painted ceramics began to be replaced by the new wheelmade wares with Grecian decorative features in almost every part of southeast Italy from about 570/550 onward. Settlements with a completely or predominantly autochthonous population also started to use wheelmade wares decorated with horizontal bands.

These ceramics are known under various names, but the most appropriate term for this class is perhaps ‘Wheelmade Plain and Banded wares’.⁹⁷ The class had a long life and survived into the early 2nd century BC.⁹⁸ The techniques and decorations introduced by newcomers with Greek roots (see table

⁹⁴ The evidence concerning metal production in the Archaic-Classical period consists mostly of objects recovered from burials, such as fibulae and bronze vessels (Tarditti 1996).

⁹⁵ For weapons and body armour found in Basilicata, see for instance, Bottini et al. 1993.

⁹⁶ The coexistence of handmade matt-painted wares and wheelmade wares of Greek type during the later 7th century BC is documented for l’Incoronata (Carter 1993, 348; Denti 2010), Metaponto–Andrisani (De Siena 1986b), Siris (Berlingò 1986) and L’Amastuola (Burgers / Crielaard 2007, and 2011).

⁹⁷ In Italian various terms are used to describe such wares. Since pottery decorated with horizontal bands was believed to be of Ionian origin, the term ‘*ceramica di tradizione ionica*’ has sometimes been used. The most common Italian terms at present are *ceramica a fasce* or *ceramica a bande*; here: Banded wares. Undecorated specimens of this wheelmade ware are mostly indicated as ‘*ceramica depurata*’ or ‘*ceramica figulina*’, here; ‘Plain Wheelmade wares’.

⁹⁸ Yntema 2001, 63–101 (Colonial-Greek and native Banded wares) and 237–277 (Plain wares of the pre-Roman period).



Fig. 5.29. Bronze pan with anthropomorphic handle from Canosa (north Apulia), 6th century BC. Courtesy Bari Museum.

5.2) were applied on an ever wider scale in ever larger parts of southeast Italy. The traditional hand-made or slow-wheelmade, matt-painted pottery gradually disappeared from the world of the living.⁹⁹

The main characteristics of the widely produced and widely diffused pottery class of Plain Wheelmade and Banded wares derived from Greek ceramic traditions. The pots were made of a light-coloured clay and thrown on the quick potter's wheel.¹⁰⁰ They were fired at relatively high temperatures (c. 900-1000°C). The forms were highly standardized and belong predominantly to the traditional Greek repertoire. The most common forms in the 6th and 5th centuries were the wine cups, bowls, jugs, hydriae, lekanai, one-handlers, stamnoid kraters, column kraters and storage jars (fig. 5.30a). In addition to these, wheelmade, banded versions of forms belonging to the originally autochthonous repertoires can also be found (fig. 5.30b). These hybrids (traditional indigenous shapes produced with a Greek pottery technology and decorated in the Greek way) were probably all made for funerary purposes.

The repertoire of wheelmade forms is considerably more varied during the 6th and 5th centuries than that of the traditional Iron Age ceramics of southeast Italy and has more specific forms for more

⁹⁹ Matt-Painted wares continued to be produced for some time for funerary purposes.

¹⁰⁰ In settlements with a predominantly autochthonous population the tempering used for the clay body of the

vessels is often the traditional tempering of the matt-painted vessels (crushed soft limestone and quartzite sand), whilst the urban centres with a Greek speaking population have a tempering of sand only.

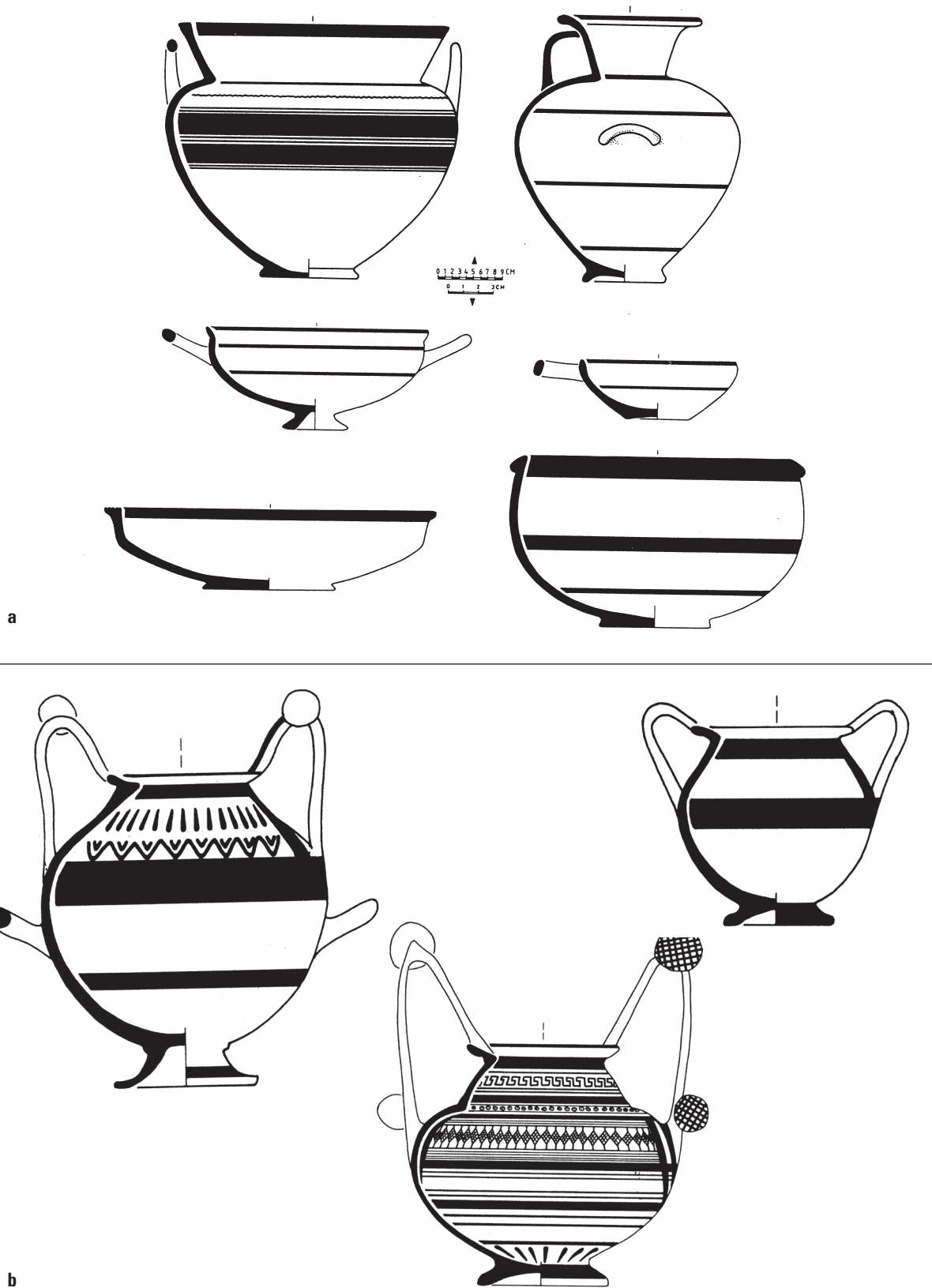


Fig. 5.30. Wheelmade pottery with vegetal and/or banded decoration from southeast Italy, 6th–5th centuries BC: (a) forms of the Greek repertoire; (b) forms of the indigenous repertoire (nestoris and kantharos from Satriano, Basilicata, and trozzella from Salento).



Fig. 5.31. (a) Trozzella from south-Apulia (courtesy Bari Museum); (b) fragmentary hydria (showing Odysseus and Circe), from Oria, sanctuary of Monte Papalucio (south Apulia), courtesy Lecce University; (c) funnel krater from Ruvo di Puglia (central Apulia); 1st half 5th century BC (after Mayer 1914).

specific purposes: *kotylae* and *oinochoai* for the consumption of wine, *hydriae* and jugs for water etc. The specimens with painted decoration mostly have horizontal bands only, but vegetal ornaments (e.g. palmettes, lotos buds and lotos flowers) derived from the secondary ornamentation of Greek decorated pottery (mostly Attic, early Lucanian and early Apulian RF) are also found. Such vegetal ornaments occur on pottery produced in non-Greek settlements from the 5th century BC onward. In the field of ornamentation too, there is a high degree of standardization. Specimens with figurative decoration such as quadrupeds and human figures are rare (5th century and later) and were probably exclusively made for funerary and votive contexts (fig. 5.31, 5.36).

	shaping techniques	firing	shapes	decoration
8th-7th-century matt-painted	shaped by hand, hand-activated turntable and mould; surface scraped with wooden spatula; manganese paint	closed kiln; oxidizing atmosphere; temperature c. 700-800°C	exclusively forms with pedigree in southern Italy; repertory of forms limited	geometric type, partly regional origins, partly derived from Greek (sub)-Geometric; hand-painted;
6th-5th century banded wares	quickly rotating potters wheel, ferroid paint; finish applied with brush	closed kiln; oxidizing atmosphere; temperature c. 900-1000°C	predominantly forms with Greek origins; large repertory of forms	horizontal bands, applied when pot stood on turntable; rarely vegetal ornaments

Table 5.2. Differences between the traditional Matt-Painted Wares of southern Italy (8th–7th century BC) and the Banded Wares produced all over southeast Italy in the 6th and 5th centuries BC.

The class of the Banded wares was not the only new type of pottery introduced in the Archaic-Classical period. Since Attic wares attained great popularity in southeast Italy in the late 6th and early 5th century BC, the potters of the Greek towns of southern Italy soon started to produce very similar wares. The earliest signs come from the Metapontion area. Here a small series of simply decorated black-figured pots and a much larger series of black gloss pots have been found (often in graves) which may easily be mistaken for Attic wares. They display a mix of Attic and local Metapontine shapes.¹⁰¹ The earliest specimens are likely to date to c. 480 BC. The Greek *polis* of Taras that produced various types of wares during the later 6th century (Banded wares, local somewhat Corinthianizing ceramics),¹⁰² may have started to make comparable ‘Atticizing’ wares at approximately the same times.

From the third quarter of the 5th century both towns added elaborately painted pottery to their repertoires. These are the so-called Lucanian (Metapontion) and Apulian (Taras) Red-Figured wares (fig. 5.32). In addition to a host of pottery vessels, terracotta statuettes were made in both Taras and Metapontion. The production of these objects is likely to have started in the 6th century BC.¹⁰³ Thousands of these have been found in sanctuaries, predominantly in those of the Greek towns, but – albeit in much more limited quantities – in the sacred areas of the non-Greek world of southeast Italy as well.¹⁰⁴ The rapid evolution of both the Greek and the indigenous societies of southeast Italy caused an enormous rise in the production and consumption of ceramic products. It also resulted in an increasing variety of ceramic supply. In addition to household ceramics (Banded wares, Plain wares, impasto containers), there were pots especially made for the graves (traditional native forms, ceramics with figurative decoration), pots and terracottas that served exclusively as votive offerings (miniature vessels, statuettes), antefixes and terracotta plaques that adorned buildings, and storage vessels especially produced for long distance transport (fig. 5.33).¹⁰⁵

The changes that took place in ceramic production resulted in a strong standardization of production methods, of the repertory of forms and of the decorative aspects of the pottery. In the areas inhabited

¹⁰¹ These early Metapontine Black Gloss Wares have a good lustrous black gloss and a mostly pinkish clay; for such wares, see Lo Porto 1973, *passim*; Lo Porto 1988/89, 332–337 (tombs from Montescaglioso) and Carter 1998a. For a short introduction into Metapontine Black Figure, see Yntema 2001, 123.

¹⁰² For such probably 6th-century Tarantine wares see Lo Porto 1963 and 1964, and D’Andria et al. 1990, 262–263 (Oria, Monte Papalucio sanctuary).

¹⁰³ For early terracotta statuettes from Metapontion’s *chōra*, see, for instance, Olbrich 1979 (San Biaggio alla Venella).

¹⁰⁴ For archaic terracottas statuettes from Taranto sanctuaries, see Iacobone 1988.

¹⁰⁵ cf. Sourisseau 2011.



Fig. 5.32. Early Red-Figured pottery produced in southeast Italy: Lucanian Red-Figured column krater by the Big Head Painter c. 420/400 BC. Bari, Museo Archeologico (courtesy Bari Museum).

by the autochthonous populations these innovations started somewhere around 570/550. When exactly a particular district made this fairly sudden switch depended often on the contact situation with Greek polities and districts with non-Greek populations that had already adopted the ‘new’ ceramics. The Salento peninsula being close to Taras, Corcyra and Epidamnus, and the coastal area of Basilicata neighbouring on the *chorai* of Sybaris, Siris and Metapontion were the first areas to adopt these basically ‘foreign’ ways of producing pottery (c. 570/550). These areas were soon followed by the Bari district (c. 525/500) that is close to the northern Salento plain and came into regular contact with Greeks from about 530 BC.¹⁰⁶ In the uplands of Basilicata wheelmade wares with banded and vegetal decoration were introduced in the first half of the 5th century BC. For the north-Apulian districts the moment of change is still uncertain: the archaeological record here predominantly consists of tombs in which traditional forms displaying traditional decoration and made in traditional techniques persisted much longer than in habitations.¹⁰⁷ One may assume, however, that wheelmade pottery for everyday use was introduced here not before the later 5th century BC.

It has been stated above that ceramic production became increasingly standardized and that many potters of Archaic-Classical times usually were full time specialists. These changes are equally clear from the remains of pottery production found during various excavations. Pottery production sites of the 6th, 5th and early 4th centuries BC have been discovered at the Greek urban centres of Metapontion and Taras and the tribal centre of Oria on the Salento isthmus. At Metapontion a pottery production area was excavated at the northeastern outskirts of the town close to the city walls.¹⁰⁸ Kilns, wasters, clay loaves and the remains of the workshops themselves were found here. The wasters suggest

¹⁰⁶ From c. 530 BC Greeks started to penetrate the central and northern Adriatic: cf. the earliest phase of the *emporia* of Spina and Adria near the mouth of the river Po.

¹⁰⁷ The tombs of Lavello in the Ofanto district suggest that Banded wares were known here by the late 5th century BC (see Giorgi et al. 1988). In the tombs of

the Tavoliere site of Ortona wheelmade ceramics with banded and vegetal decoration make their appearance in tombs of the earlier 4th century BC (Iker 1986). In both districts, however, (but especially at Canosa in the Ofanto district) traditional forms persisted to well into the 3rd century BC.

¹⁰⁸ D’Andria 1975, Cracolici 2001.

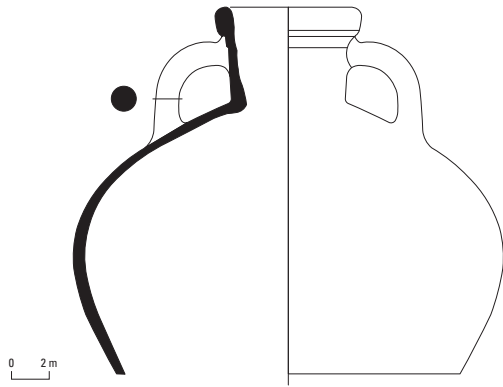


Fig. 5.33. Transport amphora produced in the Sybaris area (the so-called Corinthian B amphora); 6th century BC; from Sybaris. After Mater 2005, 247.

that ceramics of various classes were produced in this Metapontion *kerameikos* in the late 6th/early 5th and again in the early 4th century BC.¹⁰⁹ The pottery production units discovered at Taras date to the late(r) 5th century BC.¹¹⁰ Their location is comparable to that in Metapontion: they are on the eastern fringes of the town area, close to the

city walls. The remains of ceramic production at Taranto consist of wasters, kilns and workshop structures (fig. 5.34). These are indicative of all year round serial production with highly standardized output. From the tribal centre of Oria in the Salento peninsula kiln structures and ceramic wasters have been reported from a location at the northern fringes of the settlement area.¹¹¹ They date to the late 6th and early 5th centuries BC and produced Wheelmade Plain and Banded wares (see fig. 5.30a).¹¹²

Another new feature that can be derived from the excavations of production areas was the increased complexity of pottery production. The Iron Age potter had no special working areas except for his kiln; he made his pots alone or with only one single assistant. The potters working in the 6th and 5th centuries, however, had roofed workshops with decanting basins and drying sheds and all. In these workshops groups of three to five craftsmen cooperated (e.g. evidence from Taras). The data from the early 4th-century Metapontion kiln site indicates that there was a very distinct labour division within these groups.¹¹³ The shaping, the painting and the firing of the ceramics were probably mostly done by different persons: they were specialists within their specialization.

In the areas outside the new Greek polities on the Gulf of Taranto the traditional wares were not completely replaced by Greek-type ceramics. During both the 5th and the first half of the 4th century BC the large impasto jars – often believed to have been characteristic of the Iron Age – continued to be made and used for storage purposes (see fig. 4.25b).¹¹⁴ In Basilicata they were still used for *enchytrismos* burials during the 5th century.¹¹⁵ Other ceramic survivors were the matt-painted wares. These coex-

¹⁰⁹ The late 6th century kilns produced Wheelmade Banded and Plain wares, the early 4th-century kilns made Lucanian Red-Figured (Creusa-Anabates group), Wheelmade Banded and Plain Wares, Black Gloss wares and terracottas.

¹¹⁰ Dell'Aglio 1996.

¹¹¹ Maruggi 1993.

¹¹² The Oria kilns of the late 6th/early 5th century BC are in the same area as the early 7th-century kiln that produced impasto pottery and Matt-Painted wares (see chapter 4.6) and the 2nd/early 1st century BC kiln producing Apulian Grey Gloss (see VII.4).

¹¹³ The fingerprints on the misfired ceramics from the Anabates-Creusa workshop (D'Andria 1975) have been analysed by the Italian *carabinieri*. On one single pot fingerprints of three to four different people can be found which participated in the production process

of the pots before these were fired. The throwing of the pot on the quick potter's wheel, for instance, was done by one person whilst the handles were attached by a second person (D'Andria 1997; Cracolici 2001 and 2003).

¹¹⁴ Impasto jars from 5th- and early 4th-century contexts are hardly different from the same jars in Iron Age or 6th-century contexts. In the Salento district, for instance, the former are fired at slightly higher temperatures and contain more limited quantities of manganese particles and crushed limestone particles than their Iron Age predecessors.

¹¹⁵ See, for instance, Holloway 1970, figs. 130, 132, 134, 136, 137 (all from Satriano); Lissi Caronna 1972, 515 (Oppido Lucano); Lo Porto 1973, pl. LXII-LXIV (all from Matera area).

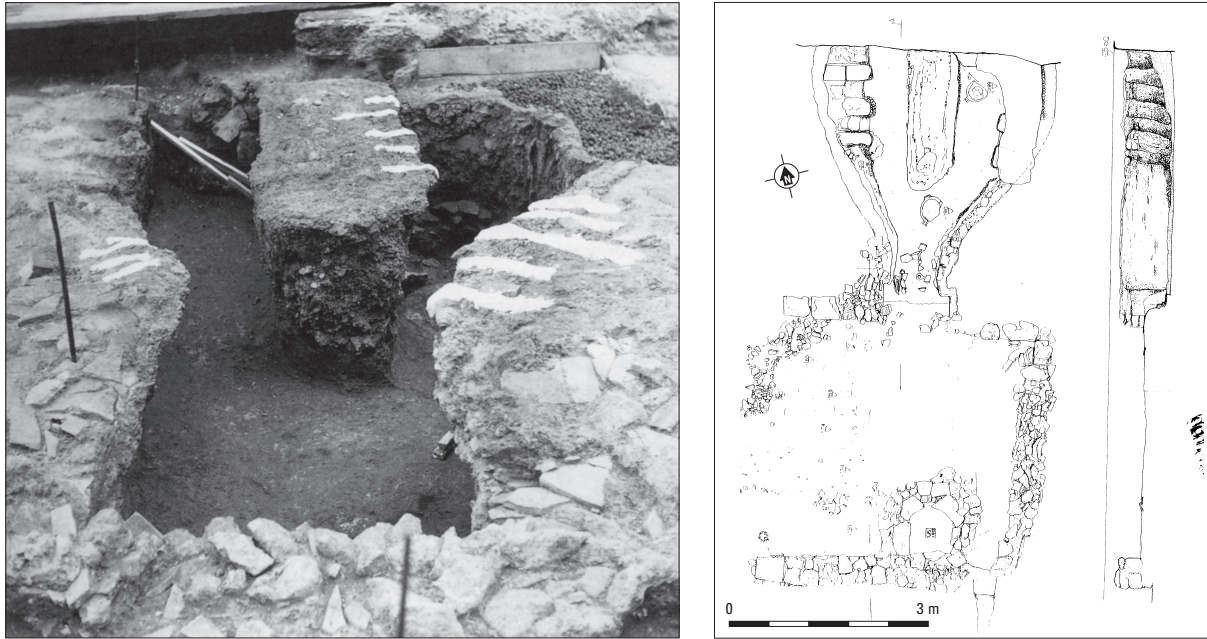


Fig. 5.34. Taranto (south Apulia): pottery production site and kiln of Via Leonida (5th-3rd century BC) (after Mater 2005, figs. 15-16).

isted with the new ceramic classes in Salento during the 6th and part of the 5th century BC, whilst in northern Apulia matt-painted pots were made as late as the early Hellenistic period.¹¹⁶ These traditional pots were no longer produced for daily use, but were especially produced for funerary purposes. They continued to be deposited in the burials in the indigenous districts (fig. 5.35).¹¹⁷

In this situation of coexistence between traditional pottery and new ceramic classes, the borders between these were often crossed. Hybrids showing a traditional native form with Grecian ornaments (fig. 5.31a) or basically Greek forms decorated in a native manner (fig. 5.36) occur in many districts, but exclusively in those that were outside the territories of the new Greek *poleis* on the Gulf of Taranto. From the 6th century BC onward the ceramics of these urban centres that proclaimed a Greek identity, were completely Greek in both style and production process.

What happened in the field of craft from the 6th century BC onward was almost as astonishing as the changes in settlement forms and settlement outfit. While there was only a very limited number of artisans in the Iron Age societies of southeast Italy, a very rapid increase can be observed in both the numbers and types of specialized craftsmen during the 6th century BC. From this time onward there were not only more specialized artisans, there was also a much greater variety of specialized artisans in southeast Italy producing a much larger range of objects. These specialists, moreover, were no part-timers as some of the Iron Age craftsmen of southeast Italy. They spent many if not all of their working hours in exercising their profession.

Another drastic change took place in the social context in which the artisan operated. The Iron Age potter, for instance, being probably both a part time farmer and a part time potter, was part of a family group within the local tribal society. By the 6th century BC, however, he was definitely an artisan. His status might have depended from his place of residence. In the proto-urban settlements

¹¹⁶ Yntema 1990, 272-286.

¹¹⁷ Especially in the graves of the women of Salento.



Fig. 5.35. Funerary wares with traditional indigenous forms: (a) wheelmade trozzella from Rudiae (south-Apulia), c. 450 BC; (b) handmade funnel krater from Canosa (north Apulia), c. 375/350 BC.

outside the coastal strip on the Gulf of Taranto he continued to be part of a tribal world: he might, for instance have belonged to the group of persons that depended on the local chieftain or the leading family of a local clan we have met in the passage on elite burials. But in the urban centres on the coast with their strongly mixed populations and their substantial groups of newcomers pottery production may have been more or less free enterprise.

Yet another innovation of the Archaic-Classical period was the greater complexity within particular sectors of craft. Potters, for instance, worked in small groups with a strict labour division. The evidence concerning pottery production shows that there were specialists within specializations. Similar sub-specializations are likely to have existed in the building sector, where the stonemason, the carpenter and the tile maker were different people. In some settlements the blacksmith making iron plough shoes, picks and shovels may have left the activity of making bronze fibulae, clasps and fittings of caskets and chests to a colleague who specialized in finer metal works, whilst the magnificent jewelry of southeast Italy was certainly made by specialist goldsmiths.¹¹⁸

The specialization in craft resulted in increased standardization of an increasingly large and varied artefactual output from the 6th century BC onward. This standardization did not only concern the quality, but also the forms and decorations of the artifacts. This process occurred in both the tribal areas and the Greek towns, but was decidedly more marked in the latter.¹¹⁹ The indications suggesting this development are patently clear in the ceramics, but what remains of bronze objects and the buildings suggest that standardization and serial production were indeed wide-spread phenomena in southeast Italy from the 6th century BC onward. Craft was no longer the domain of household production and part-timers, but was a full-blown specialist activity. These innovations in craft also had social implications. Whilst the craftsmen may have constituted new social groups in the Greek

¹¹⁸ For Archaic-Classical jewellery from southeast Italy, see Guzzo 1972 and 1993, and De Juliis 1990.

¹¹⁹ In the *poleis*, for instance, the production of ceramics was more varied. As for the ceramics, their potters/coroplasts produced Black Gloss wares (from before

the middle of the 5th century BC; in indigenous settlements probably not before the later 4th century BC), amphorae (Corinthian B) and an incredible host of terracotta statuettes..



Fig. 5.36. Greek forms with 'native' decoration: kalathos and stamnos from central Apulia, mid 5th century BC. Photo Bari Museum.

speaking urban centres of Sybaris, Siris, Metapontion and Taras, they must have had a place within the kinship structure of the more complex tribal systems that prevailed in those districts of southeast Italy where the Oscan and Messapic languages were dominant.

5.6 ECONOMY, INTERRELATIONS AND LONG DISTANCE CONTACTS

In ancient societies agriculture and stock raising are invariably the bases of the economy. Trade and exchange, though intensely studied by archaeologists and historians alike, played a decidedly minor role. Archaic-Classical southeast Italy was certainly no exception to this rule. There is a considerable body of information on barter, trade and exchange for this period. However, bio-archaeological data such as pollen cores, plant remains and animal bones have been collected and studied on only a fairly limited scale.¹²⁰ The very limited data suggest that, whereas the Greek states set the first steps on the path of surplus production, the tribal areas continued to focus on subsistence production.¹²¹

The artefactual evidence makes it patently clear that direct and indirect contact with areas outside southeast Italy increased enormously from the 6th century BC onward. Part of this intensification must be ascribed to the four new urban centres which saw themselves as Greek *poleis*. The tracers of these intensive contacts are the late-Corinthian pots and the Attic black and red-figured wares. These are found in large quantities in graves and sanctuaries of both the *poleis* and the non-Greek districts.

The contacts between the *poleis* and the original Greek core areas in the central and southern Aegean were not exclusively economic in character. The official link between the new urban centres in southern Italy and the Old World of Aegean Greece was the foundation story. Sybaris, Siris, Metapontion and Taras were all *apoikíai* ('aways from home' or 'aways from the *oikos*') and home was somewhere in the southern Balkans or the Aegean. In the historical-archaeological jargon these new

¹²⁰ It should be noted that the acidity of the limestone soils that are found in large parts of southeast Italy do not favour the preservation of pollen.

¹²¹ Veenman 2002, 82-84 (bone samples from Valesio and Cavallino di Lecce)

settlements of migrants are mostly indicated with the unfortunate term ‘colonies’.¹²² The foundation stories of many *apoikíai* appear to display very similar narrative schemes. They tell us about tensions and unpleasantness in a settlement in the Greek core area, the departure of a group of people from the core area under the guidance of the *oikistes* (official founder, often after consultation of the oracle of Delphi in order to obtain divine sanction), the actual foundation of a new settlement (*ktisis*) in the new, non-Greek world and the often bitter conflicts with autochthonous populations.

The settlement in the old world from which the group started, is generally indicated as the *metropolis* (mother city). The inhabitants of Sybaris and Metapontion believed that they stemmed from the northern Peloponnesus (ancient Achaea) and therefore professed to be of Achaean origin. The people of Siris believed to have come from Colophon in Asia Minor and saw themselves as Ionians, whilst Taras’ *origo* myth – following closely the narrative scheme detected by Carol Dougherty¹²³ – said that the settlement was founded by a group that had departed from Peloponnesian Sparta.

There is good reason to believe that these foundation stories are certainly *not* more or less reliable, historical accounts about what happened in the 8th or 7th centuries when the settlements were supposedly founded. There are enormous discrepancies between the archaeological data and the information supplied by these written sources on the earliest phase of these settlements.¹²⁴ The foundation stories basically reflect 6th- or 5th-century BC situations and can, therefore, be considered as the *origo* myths of the *apoikíai*. These supplied the population of the four Greek *poleis* with their origins and were among the elements that forged the strange hotchpotch consisting of various types of Greeks and Italians populating these settlements, into a new community. The people who belonged to this community shared the same past and the same rites and were proud of the magnificent religious and public buildings that adorned the new settlement. The foundation stories, therefore, played a vital role in the formation of local identities.

The foundation stories performed yet another role. They linked the new settlement in an originally non-Greek world with the *metropolis* in the old world of Aegean Greece. They made it a part of the *metropolis*’s highly respected past and associated the new *polis* in Great Greece with the venerated traditions of ancient Greece. The oikist cult was one of the links between both worlds. The physical remains of the oikist cult of the *polis* of Metapontion, however, allegedly founded in the late 8th or early 7th century, appear to date to the 6th century BC.¹²⁵ The foundation stories expressing 6th- or 5th-century situations may, therefore, well be good examples of reshaped or invented history that was meaningful to the 6th- or 5th-century present of the new urban centres.¹²⁶ The presence of identical cults in both *metropolis* and *apoikía* was another important element in the mental ties that existed between Great Greece and Aegean Greece: they stressed the religious link between the old world and the new world of the *apoikíai*.¹²⁷

¹²² The term ‘colonies’ for Greek settlements in originally non-Greek areas is unfortunate, because the same term is used for Roman settlements that were founded in a different way and with vastly different purposes. The same term is, of course, also applied to the West- and South-European dominance over large parts of Africa, Asia, America and Australia in pre-modern and modern times which differs vastly from the Greek diaspora.

¹²³ Dougherty 1993.

¹²⁴ These discrepancies are not only found in the dating of the *ktisis*, but mainly in the general atmosphere emanating from both types of sources: (1) the limited numbers of Greeks in the archaeological record against the much

larger numbers suggested by the ancient written sources; (2) the aims of the migrant Greeks (traders, artisans, mercenaries in the archaeological record against mainly farmers intent on founding a new society in the written sources); (3) the coexistence of Greeks and natives in the archaeological record against the strongly antithetic situation involving war, rape, sacrilege and mass murder in the written sources; for ample discussion on these aspects, see Yntema 2000 and 2011.

¹²⁵ De Juliis 2001.

¹²⁶ Yntema 2000 and 2011.

¹²⁷ Cf. cults of Apollo Hiacyinthios and the Dioskouroi in both Sparta and Taras.

The four urban centres on the Gulf of Taranto of which the inhabitants labeled themselves as Greeks, constituted four independent polities and acted in this way. They had no lasting alliances with each other or with other *apoikíai* of southern Italy. Their real or alleged Greek backgrounds, their more or less Greek ways of life and Grecian set of values was no strong cohesive. It did not result in identities shared by all the *poleis* of *Megalè Hellas*. At some point of their history they appear to have called themselves ‘*Italiotai*’. But it is unknown when exactly this name was invented.¹²⁸ It was possibly the result of Lucanian 5th and 4th pressure that gave them a feeling of shared interest that resulted in this artificially created, and unenthusiastically shared label. In fact, the only rather loose tie that bound together the towns of Great Greece created in southern Italy was a common religious focus. The ‘supra-national’ sanctuary at Cape Lacinia near Kroton (present-day Calabria) was the place where the members of the so-called Italiote league used to meet. The new Great Greece of southern Italy, therefore, was a close copy of Old Greece and demonstrated the same lack of political coherence, notwithstanding the presence of sometimes powerful indigenous polities on its doorstep.

The urban centres of southeast Italy whose status as Greek *poleis* was fully accepted in the Greek world,¹²⁹ fostered these mental links and maintained close contacts with the old world of Greece. Like several other Greek *apoikíai*, they manifested themselves in the major sanctuaries of Greece.¹³⁰ *Poleis* of Magna Graecia erected treasuries¹³¹ and large sculptured groups serving as votive offerings. Taras, for instance, proclaimed its victories over non-Greek tribes in the sanctuary of Delphi.¹³² The disproportionate quantity of winners of the Olympic Games stemming from southern Italy indicates that athletic excellence could be another way for the *apoikíai* of this region to manifest themselves in the forums of the Greek world. The victory crowns of their athletes stressed the links of the south-Italian *poleis* with the motherland, underlined their Greek identity and enhanced the status of these towns.

The four *apoikíai* of Sybaris, Siris, Metapontion and Taras were, moreover, among the many states of *Megalè Hellas* (Latin: *Magna Graecia*).¹³³ The contacts between the numerous new *poleis* of southern Italy must have been intensive. The artefactual evidence suggests that contacts were particularly intensive between these four urban settlements on the Gulf of Taranto: in their material culture (e.g. ceramics, metalwork) they had many features in common.

Relations with the supernatural must also be viewed as contacts with another world. The ‘horizontal’ distance towards other humans and the ‘vertical’ distance towards the gods as seen in the present-day western world are often not perceived as such in other societies.¹³⁴ In Homer’s *Odyssey*, for instance, the world beyond Ithaca (e.g. Italy) is as much an Otherworld as the realm of Hades or the Olympus. In the Greek, Roman, Celtic and Germanic beliefs, moreover, gods and spirits may inhabit rivers, springs, wells, woods and marshes. Many elements of the landscape are seen as the home of spiritual powers that inanimate the various parts of the landscape and load them with significances. Very similar ideas on the supernatural were held in pre-Roman southern Italy. Here caves, springs and wells can be shown to have been the place to consult or placate spirits and gods (see chapter 4, sections 2 and 3).

There are good reasons to believe that entirely new cult places came into being in southeast Italy in the Archaic–Classical period. It is, for instance, unlikely that each temple or *temenos* of the cluster of urban sanctuaries that came into being in the very heart of Metapontion, actually had a Bronze Age or Iron Age origins. The same may hold good for urban sanctuaries of Sybaris, Siris and Taranto. Just

¹²⁸ Lomas 1993.

¹²⁹ This seems to emerge from the fact that Greek colonies of southern Italy and Sicily participated in the Olympic games and had treasuries at Delphi and Olympia.

¹³⁰ Philipp 1992; Rougemont 1992.

¹³¹ Mertens-Horn 1990.

¹³² Nenci 1979; Jaquemin 1992, 197–198.

¹³³ The basically Latin term *Magna Graecia* or its Italian equivalent *Magna Grecia* is currently used instead of the Greek term *Megalè Hellas*.

¹³⁴ Helms 1992.



Fig. 5.37. Oria (south Apulia): cave (photo 1911; archive ACVU) and votive offerings (statuette, gilded bronzes, antefix) from the Monte Papalucio sanctuary (photos courtesy Lecce University); late 6th and 5th centuries BC.

as the foundation story and the oikist were invented history, the urban sanctuaries of *Magna Graecia* were largely if not exclusively the physical expressions of invented or newly created religion. Since they were the centres of rituals shared by the whole local community, they had at least partly the same function as the origin myths of the settlement: their existence helped to effect cohesion in the heterogeneous population that lived on the spot. They contributed to the forging of a new identity that was shared by all the inhabitants. Together with, for instance, the new orthogonal layout these new cult places were the embodiment of a new social identity of the inhabitants: they were now *politai* of the emerging *poleis*. With their sometimes impressive architecture, moreover, these temples underlined the wealth, pride and status of the new *polis*. They gave, moreover, each of the urban settlements the gods and rites shared by all its inhabitants.

Some gods were probably new to southern Italy, but familiar to the Greek immigrants. Among these were Zeus Agoraios and Zeus Aglaïos in Metapontion who migrated with Greek migrants.¹³⁵ Other deities are much more difficult to qualify. The immensely popular goddesses Demeter and Persephone, for instance, worshipped in dozens of sanctuaries (both rural and urban) of southern Italy have patently Greek names. In several cases – both in rural sanctuaries in the territories of the Greek settlements and in the extramural sanctuaries of non-Greek districts – they may well be Greek guises of originally non-Greek vegetation goddesses. Names of Italic gods or spirits are hardly known for the period under discussion.¹³⁶

These *poleis* with their large stretches of arable land are likely to have produced considerable surpluses. These could be traded and were, in fact, probably the main source of their very substantial wealth. This happened by means of exchange with the inland populations. Contacts between the urban centres on the coast and tribal groups in inland districts of southeast Italy are suggested by the presence of Aegean-Greek and colonial-Greek ceramics, bronzes and coins found in these native districts.¹³⁷ Most of these – panoplies among them – ended up in burials of indigenous chieftains and their followers (see chapter 5.4). Sanctuaries in non-Greek areas also got their share of Greek or colonial-Greek objects. The archaic-classical votive deposits of the tribal sanctuary of Oria on the Salento isthmus contained, among other items, Attic black and red-figured pottery, silver coins from Metapontion, Sybaris, Kaulonia and Kroton, ceramics from Taras and Metapontion and probably Tarantine jewellery (fig. 5.37).¹³⁸ Judging by the sheer quantity of Greek objects found in non-Greek contexts there must have been a rather intensive exchange between the tribal polities and the *poleis* of southeast Italy.

It should be noted that the four Greek towns of southeast Italy were not the only partners with whom the tribal polities outside the coastal area on the Gulf of Taranto exchanged goods. They also maintained contacts with other, very similar and equally new states that exerted their influence on the area under discussion. On the eastern shores of the southern Adriatic, close to the Strait of Otranto, more *poleis* arose. Here, Epidamos, Apollonia, Buthroton and Kerkyra were the new urban centres. They were separated by only 70 to 100 km of sea from the Salento peninsula. These *poleis* of Illyria were closely linked to the south-Italian trade networks during the 6th and part of the 5th centuries BC. The influence from artisans from these trans-Adriatic areas on the architecture of the tribal centres of Cavallino and Ugento (both in the Salento peninsula), shows that this trans-Adriatic connection should not be neglected (see chapter 5.3). Since Greek shipping penetrated more and more into the Adriatic during the 6th century BC, contacts with the crews of Greek ships that were intent on temporary shelter, food, fresh water, booty and barter must have occurred rather frequently.¹³⁹ In the 5th century BC Attic workshops even produced red-figured wares with indigenous shapes which were characteristic of the Bari district and the Canosa area.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ De Siena 1998, 151; De Juliis 2001, 169–170.

¹³⁶ The names of these spirits appear in Hellenistic and early Roman inscriptions and *graffiti*, i.e. from about the later 4th to within the 1st century BC.

¹³⁷ The term colonial-Greek pottery is frequently used to refer to the ceramics with basically Greek technical, morphological and decorative features produced in the *apoikíai*.

¹³⁸ D'Andria et al. 1990, 254–264 (ceramics) and 274–281 (jewellery).

¹³⁹ On the strength of the finds of imported ceramics the contacts between native groups and Greeks were basically confined to Salento and the coastal area of Basili-

cata during the 8th and 7th centuries. The presence of late-Corinthian pottery in the district around Bari suggests that this area became involved in Greek trade networks by about 580/570 BC. By about 530/520 Greek ships seem to have reached the *Caput Adriae* (*emporía* of Spina and Adria). For reasons unknown north-Apulian coastal settlements (Barletta, Salapia, Sipontum) display no signs of having been ports of call for Greek shipping in the Adriatic, although these same coasts were involved in overseas trade networks during the Bronze Age (Mycenean wares from Barletta-Madonna del Petto, Coppa Nevigata, Molinella etc.).

Exchanges were also made between various indigenous groups. In chapter 4 we have seen the dominant role exerted in this field by the north–Apulian settlement of Canosa and its almost princely chieftains in which the Adriatic networks were crucial. This settlement continued to play this same role during much of the 6th century BC. Canosan late 7th-century and 6th-century wares are found in large parts of southern Italy and in the northern Adriatic. Being some 150 km away from the breathtaking changes in the coastal area on the Gulf of Taranto the settlement continued to live in its Iron Age ways. Signs of change can be observed here only in the last third of the 6th century when Greek trade networks extended over the central and northern Adriatic and the *emporía* (trade stations) of Spina and Adria came into being near the mouths of the river Po.¹⁴¹

In the 6th century BC the traces of interregional exchange between non-Greek groups are plentiful. In addition to the widely distributed Canosan ceramics mentioned above, there is Campanian bucchero at Chiaromonte (western Basilicata), Arpi and San Severo (both in northern Apulia).¹⁴² The 6th century ceramics made in the north–Apulian plain reached Campanian sites in the Naples area such as Cancelli, Nola and San Valentino Torio.¹⁴³ Matt-painted ceramics from the Bari area are found at sites in the Bradano district, northeast of Metapontion.¹⁴⁴ The mid 5th century BC princely burials of Piscuolo in northeastern Basilicata containing i.a. Etruscan bronzes and matt-painted wares and gold from northern–Apulia, testify to the intensity and continuity of such inter-tribal exchanges.¹⁴⁵

It should be noted, however, that the examples for exchange between tribal groups cited above, come from the south-Italian districts that were relatively far from the new and rapidly growing urban centres of the 6th and 5th centuries BC such as Epidamnos, Kerkyra, Taras, Metapontion, Sybaris. The non-Greek districts that were closer to these *poleis* show hardly any signs of exchange with other indigenous districts. Much of this may be due to biases in the data set.¹⁴⁶ The graves and sacred places of the tribal group near Metapontion, for instance, contain – in addition to locally produced items – almost exclusively objects made at Metapontion or ceramics of Aegean origin (Corinthian, Attic) that can be surmised to have arrived at the inland settlement by way of Metapontion.¹⁴⁷ It seems, therefore, that in economic respect inland tribes connected themselves more and more to the nearest Greek town during the 6th and 5th centuries BC. A probably substantial part of their surplus production was brought to the market in this same town. Products from tribal polities were either consumed there or entered the larger Mediterranean trade networks in order to be consumed at an overseas destination.

The surpluses generated in the territories of the urban centres themselves could, of course, also be traded by ship. That the articles produced by farming activities were important to the urban centres

¹⁴⁰ Jentoft–Nilsen 1990; Robinson 1990.

¹⁴¹ Yntema 1979.

¹⁴² For Campanian bucchero from Chiaromonte and Arpi, see Tagliente 1987; for Campanian buchero from San Severo, see, for instance De Juliis 1977, pls. XCIV.B and XCV.A.

¹⁴³ Yntema 1990.

¹⁴⁴ See Bari matt-painted from the Bradano sites of Timmari, Gravina and Monte Sannace (Yntema 1990, 205 and 216)

¹⁴⁵ For the royal burials of Piscuolo, see Adamesteanu 1974.

¹⁴⁶ The clearest evidence on this subject consists of ceramics. Since – in the present state of research – no differences can be observed between the new Greek-

style ceramics of the various tribal groups close to the *poleis*, there are hardly any means to trace inter-tribal exchange.

¹⁴⁷ Salento is an exception to this rule during the 6th, 5th and early 4th century BC. Whilst Tarantine ceramics dominate in the area close to the Taras territory (e.g. at Oria), Metapontine ceramics are not uncommon in the Brindisi district and southern Salento in the late 5th and early 4th century (till c. 370 BC). There is, moreover, good reason to assume that the Salento groups had direct contacts with Aegean Greeks (Salento coastal settlements serving as port of call and place of exchange for Greek ships coming from Athens, Corinth etc.).

on the Gulf of Taranto is shown by their silver coins: Metapontion chose the ears of corn as its symbol, whilst Sybaris' coins displayed a bull. There is, however, only a limited set of evidence pointing at overseas transport of agricultural products from southeast Italy in the 6th and 5th centuries BC. The best indicators of these activities are the so-called Corinthian B amphorae, produced from the 6th century onward (fig. 5.33). They were probably mainly used for the transport of wine. Analyses of various types indicate that these amphorae are likely to have been made (and filled) at Sybaris and possibly in other urban centres around the Ionian Sea and Gulf of Taranto.¹⁴⁸

The very casual statements made above regarding agriculture and stock raising are mainly educated guesses based on artefactual evidence such as farmsteads, coins and ceramics. It has been said above that the bio-archaeology is still in its infancy in southeast Italy and that, moreover, the soils do not really favour the preservation of plant remains. The scant bio-archaeological data makes it hard to construct an image of the changing environment of southeast Italy.

Indeed, there are hardly any pollen cores for the period under discussion. The best pollen evidence published hitherto regards the rural site of Pizzica Pantanello, basically a group of dispersed farmsteads with a common burial ground and a rural sanctuary.¹⁴⁹ The pollen from late 7th to 6th century BC (the sample is not ideal) suggest a fairly open landscape (hardly any pollen of oak and fir) with grazing areas, corn fields and some olive groves. The latter were probably fairly rare till about the late 6th century BC, i.e. after the creation of a regular land division system.¹⁵⁰

Bone samples dating to Archaic-Classical times are only slightly more numerous than legible pollen cores. Our main concern here is with the larger species of animal husbandry: cattle (*Bos taurus*), sheep/goat (*Ovis/Capra*) and pig (*Sus domesticus*), although hunting was also popular (often between 5% and 10% of red deer (*Cervus elaphus*), especially at sites of tribal groups). The contribution of hunting to the various local diets could even be larger than the diagrams suggest, since the bones of the wild boar (*sus scrofa*) can often not be distinguished from that of domesticated pigs. However, it should be noted that the number of samples concerning the period under discussion is still very limited, especially for the urban centres. Any general line or conclusion concerning bone samples of the archaic-Classical period should, therefore, be treated with great circumspection.

Samples have been published from both the *polis* of Metapontion and from various sites which were inhabited by tribal groups (Valesio). The first results of the samples analyzed hitherto are that cattle seems to be relatively rare (some 5% to 10%) in the area that – by the 6th century BC – was probably under control of the urban centre as Greek. These draught-animals were used for ploughing and transport. The bone spectre in the territory of the town is dominated by sheep/goat (approximately 60%) with pigs having the second place (c. 20%). In the areas of the non-Greek tribes, sheep/goats are also the dominant species (c. 40%-50%) with again the cattle in the second place (c.25 %-30%) The percentage of cattle in the bone samples is much higher here than in the area surrounding Metapontion (between 25% and 35%). Since the standard view on southern Italy has pictured the early Greeks as farmers and the contemporary 'natives' mainly as herdsmen, it is at least surprising to see that the few bone samples published hitherto seem to belie this standard image. But they tie in nicely with the results of the pollen cores from the Metapontion area that suggest the presence of large grazing areas in the earlier 6th century BC, i.e. in a time that preceded that creation of a regularly laid out countryside.

¹⁴⁸ Sourisseau 2011.

¹⁴⁹ Carter 1998a.

¹⁵⁰ Carter 1987, 191; the moment, therefore, is not really surprising since it takes some 20 to 25 years before an

olive tree bears fruit. The trees may well have been planted shortly after the regular land division was made.

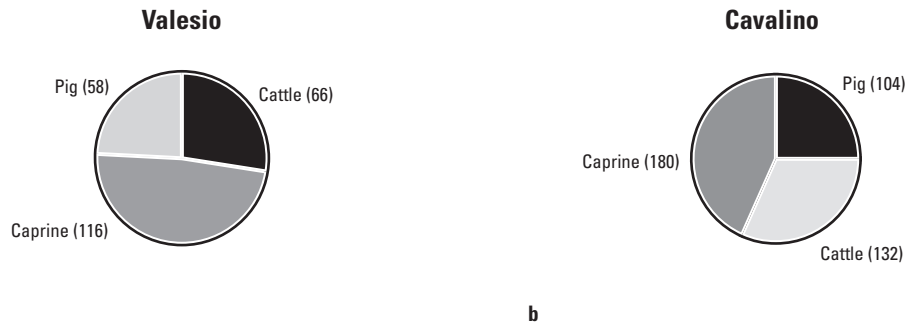


Fig. 5.38. Bone samples from southeast Italy (late 6th–early 5th century BC): Valesio (a) and Cavallino di Lecce (b), south Apulia.

5.7 ANCIENT WRITTEN SOURCES AND INTELLECTUAL ACHIEVEMENTS

In the preceding chapter we have explained that the image offered by the ancient written sources for the 8th and 7th centuries BC is very hazy and displays signs of being a mix of real events and invented history. By the 6th century BC writing became widely diffused in Greece. Various kinds of documents were composed in writing. Therefore, the ancient written information on what happened in southeast Italy should be discussed here. The historical narratives based on these writings, have been presented by i.a. Ciaceri, Dunbabin and Pugliese Carratelli.¹⁵¹

The 6th and 5th centuries BC in southern Italy are often seen by modern scholars as periods of conflicts between two strongly opposed groups: immigrant Greeks against autochthonous natives. The antithesis between both groups is strongly suggested by the ancient written sources that were predominantly composed by Greek authors. Part of this antithetic view was discursively constructed and belongs to the world of rhetorics. It has been convincingly demonstrated that the Greek-Barbarian antithesis plays a significant role in many Greek writings, and especially so from the 5th century BC onward.¹⁵² Moreover, conflicts – however incidental they are – are likely to become part of the collective memory and, therefore, have a good chance of entering into the historical record. There is, however, no reason to deny that from time to time great conflicts arose between the inhabitants of the *poleis* and autochthonous groups of southern Italy. Especially from the later 6th century BC onward both groups must have had quite opposed interests. The new polities of southeast Italy that labeled themselves as patently Greek *poleis*, carved their territories out of what autochthonous population may have considered to be ‘their’ lands. This resulted in the formulation of identities in which the ‘we’ or ‘self’ were clearly opposed to the ‘others’.

The conflicts in southeast Italy, were not exclusively fought between Greeks and ‘natives’. There is quite a lot of evidence pointing at great competition and bitter conflicts between the various Greek states of southern Italy (see below). There is, moreover, no reason to believe that it was exclusively peace and quiet between the various indigenous tribes that inhabited the areas under discussion. The political landscape with all its inter-polity conflicts was doubtlessly much more variegated and complex than the Greek-native bipolarity constructed by the ancient Greek authors suggests.

¹⁵¹ See Ciaceri 1924–1932, Dunbabin 1948, Pugliese Carratelli 1996.

¹⁵² Hartog 1980; Hall 1989.



Fig. 5.39. Indigenous emission inspired by early 5th century Tarentine coins bearing the name of WALETAS. Courtesy Cabinet des Medailles, Paris.

As we have seen in the preceding paragraph 5.6, the *origo* myths of the various Greek polities were composed in the 6th or 5th century BC and projected a basically 6th or 5th century situation back into the distant past. They indicate that these towns definitely claimed a ‘Hellenic’ identity at the time of writing. This identity was stressed by a foundation story that linked the town to a so-called mother-city (*metropolis*) in the presumed Greek core area. The oikist featuring in the same story became the badly needed

local hero around whom the *polis*’s hero cult arose. He was the local focus of the local community.

The tribal groups of southern Italy, however, had their own stories about their roots. Most of what survives of these in Greek and Roman written sources does certainly not stress their autochthonous, Italic character in clear opposition to the Greek immigrants, as perhaps would be expected. The ‘tribal’ *origo* myths recorded by Greek authors suggest that the indigenous groups were basically ‘Hellenes’. A good and relatively early example is a story told by Herodotus about the origins of the Messapians in the very south of Apulia: they were basically Cretans who on their return from Sicily to Crete were shipwrecked on the south-Italian coast (box 5.1).

Box 5.1

Herodotus VII. 170:

“Since they had lost their ships and saw no possibilities of returning to Crete, they founded the town of Hyriè (= Oria, Salento isthmus) and settled the surrounding district. They changed greatly, because from Cretans they became Messapian Iapygians and from island-dwellers they became continentals. Starting from Hyriè they founded the other towns...” (translation: DY).¹⁵³

Other non-Greek groups of southeast Italy were said to have comparable pedigrees. The Oinotrioi who lived in the region of Basilicata before the coming of the Lucanians, were sometimes believed to have come from Arcadia.¹⁵⁴ Indigenous settlements were said to have been founded by heroes of the

¹⁵³ Iapigia is probably a general denomination of southeast Italy and Iapygians is probably a collective noun for various tribal groups (cf. Nenci 1978). The Messapians is the name the Greeks applied to the southernmost group(s) of the Iapygians in the present-day Salento

peninsula (see chapter II). Hyriè is commonly equated with the present-day settlement of Oria (the Roman municipium of *Uria Calabria*, ORRA on coins of the 2nd century BC).

¹⁵⁴ Dionysius Halicarnassus I. 11.

Trojan war. These stories tell us that the Apulian towns of Brindisi, Canosa and Arpi (Greek: *Brentesion*, *Kanousion* and *Argyrippa*), for instance, owed their existence to the great king Diomedes of Argos. The *origo* myths of the tribal populations, therefore, suggested that they were basically Greeks who had settled in southeast Italy long before the Iron Age ‘colonial’ Greeks arrived.

These stories suggesting that the indigenous populations of Italy were basically descendants of Bronze Age Greek immigrants, were told by Greek writers. It has repeatedly been stated that these ideas aired by Greek authors tell us more about Greek views on indigenous origins than about the views of indigenous populations on their own roots. This is a very unlikely option for southern Italy. The tribal *origo* myths pictured Messapians and Oinotrians as arch-Greeks and gave the indigenous groups to which they referred precedence over the immigrant Greeks: they supplied the former with a far better claim on the heavily disputed soil. Research into Etruscan roots stories, moreover, has shown that the Etruscans were well aware of the fact that Greeks (from Hesiod onward) saw them as descendants of Odysseus and Circe.¹⁵⁵ There are good reasons to believe that the same observation holds good for the non-Greek groups of southeast Italy.¹⁵⁶ Not unlike the Etruscans, the indigenous populations of southeast Italy appropriated Greek myths and adapted them to their own purposes by presenting themselves as descendants of Greeks living in the heroic age.

Some of the Greek towns struck back by fabricating Bronze Age ‘mythical’ origins on top of their Iron Age *ktisis* stories.¹⁵⁷ Metapontion was allegedly founded by Nestor’s Pyliaans and Siris was portrayed as a settlement of Trojan refugees that at some point of its history had evidently been taken over by the regional tribe of the Chaones. The competition for land in the 6th, 5th and 4th centuries BC is reflected in a competition of myths: the settlement or group with a Greek ancestry and the longest local pedigree evidently believed to have the best claim on the soil. The only groups that seem to have stressed an Italic origin were those of the Lucanians: they probably believed themselves to be of Sabellic stock.¹⁵⁸

The general lines of the political history of southeast Italy as told by the ancient written sources and interpreted by modern historians have been sketched many times and with only limited variations. Here only a short summary will be given in order to see what ancient written sources tell us about the districts and periods under discussion.

Usually, there was a strong competition between the *poleis*. Their differences and rivalries were, i.a., expressed the lavishness of their sacred and secular architecture (temples, fortifications) and in the foundation stories that gave them different origins (see paragraph 5.6). The earliest conflict mentioned in the ancient written sources is that between Siris and two neighbouring *poleis*. In about 540/530 BC the *polis* of Siris with its ‘Ionian’ *origo* myth was destroyed by Sybaris and Metapontion, both towns with allegedly Achaean roots.¹⁵⁹ A few decades later ‘Achaean’ Sybaris fell victim to its southern

¹⁵⁵ Dench 1995, 39–41.

¹⁵⁶ Among the limited quantity of ceramics with figurative decoration produced in the indigenous Salento district is a *trozzella* (funerary pots with high handles and wheels on top of the handles with representations of the Theban Cycle from the site of Monte Saletè (see Johansen 1972; Santoro 1976; Tiverios 1980) and a *hydria* from the Monte Papalucio sanctuary of Oria with a scene showing probably Odysseus and Circe (fig. 5.31b). Both pots date to the 5th century BC.

¹⁵⁷ For both the Bronze Age and Iron Age foundation stories of Greek settlements in southern Italy, see Bérard 1957; for recent interpretations of these stories, see

Malkin 1998.

¹⁵⁸ For a Sabellic origin of the Lucanians, see, for instance, Strabo, *Geography*, VI.1.3, Pliny, *Natural History*, III.71, Justinus, *Epitome*, XII.2.12.

¹⁵⁹ The archaeological evidence suggests that there was continuity of occupation at Siris. Probably the settlement lost its status as independent *polis*. The dating of the ‘destruction’ can be put somewhere between 550 and 525, because the people of Siris managed to build (or lay the foundations of) a fairly substantial temple. The developments at highly prospering Metapontion show that this could hardly have happened before 560/540 BC.

neighbour, the 'Achaean' *polis* of Kroton. This happened in 510 BC. For approximately the same time conflicts between Greek towns and indigenous groups are mentioned. The *polis* of Taras dedicated two large groups of sculptures in the pan-Hellenic sanctuary of Delphi in order to celebrate its victories over the Messapians (southern Apulia) and Peucetians (central Apulia).¹⁶⁰

According to the ancient written sources it was in the course of the 5th century BC that non-Greek groups began to rout the Greeks of southern Italy. In about 470 BC the Messapians inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Tarantines and their allies,¹⁶¹ whilst the Lucanians posed an increasingly serious threat to the Greek societies on the coast from the moment Thourioi was founded at the site of Sybaris (444 BC). In 435 Siris was revived as Herakleia (in Lucania), being now a colony of Taras. Towards the end of the 5th century the Lucanian pressure on the Greek coastal settlements culminated in wide-spread Lucanian aggression towards Greek towns. According to the ancient written sources the first major attack was launched on Thourioi in c. 433 BC, whilst the Tyrrhenian-Greek towns of Poseidonia (Paestum), Terina and Laos were conquered in respectively 410, 395 and 390 BC.¹⁶²

The ancient written sources tell us little about the social structure of the societies of southeast Italy. In a casual way we learn from them that urban centres such as Taras and Metapontion had their aristocracies, whilst persons with a special status could also be found in the areas that the Greeks perceived as barbarian territories. Among the large sculptural groups at Delphi dedicated as *anathemata*, for instance, the Greek author Pausanias records two Tarantine specimens celebrating victories over south-Italian indigenous groups. A native 'king' (*basileus*) called Opis was part of the one of these groups.¹⁶³ Thucydides moreover mentions a Messapian 'dynastes' named Artas who supplied the Athenians with 120 spear throwers (*akontistai*) for their disastrous campaign in Sicily in the year 413 BC.¹⁶⁴

A first striking element in the surviving passages of Greek authors regarding the archaic-classical period is the stress laid on the creation of identities (e.g. *origo* myths, stressing of links with Aegean Greece). This type of behaviour may be expected of the new polities that presented themselves as Greek *poleis*. They competed intensely with each other and were equally involved in struggles with neighbouring tribal groups. Since competition is a form of discourse, it is not surprising that the tribal groups made use of comparable rhetorics. As we have seen above, they presented themselves as descendants of Greeks of the heroic age by suggesting a Minoan (Messapians) or Arcadian (Oinotrians) ancestry. Non-Greek settlements such as Brindisi, Canosa and Arpi heralded their distinguished pedigree: they claimed to have been founded by Greek heroes of the Trojan war. In this way they presented themselves as Greeks having links with the heroic age (and certainly not as *barbaroi*) and indicated that they had arrived in Italy several centuries before the new groups of Greeks founded their *poleis*.

A second striking point is the repeated suggestion emerging from passages of the ancient authors that the non-Greek peoples began to pose a severe threat to the Greek communities on the coast during the 5th century BC. The terrible defeat suffered by the Tarantines and their allies in 473 at the hands of the Messapians and the seemingly constant harassing of Greek colonies in Basilicata, northern Calabria and Campania by the Lucanians heralds the birth of new and higher level of political and military organization in the indigenous groups of southern Italy. From the 5th century onward someone in those tribal communities was able to muster quite large quantities of well-trained and well-armed warriors and had enough fighting power and military tactics at his disposal to rout the cavalry and break the hoplite ranks of the *polis*. This probably means that in the 5th century BC a more hierarchical tribal system came into being. It was characterized by a new form of leadership that went

¹⁶⁰ Nenci 1979; Jaquemin 1992.

3, texts 279 and 280); for comments see Nenci 1979,

¹⁶¹ Nenci 1979.

27-30.

¹⁶² Lomas 1993, 33.

¹⁶⁴ Thucydides VII. 33 (Lombardo 1992, 13, text 19).

¹⁶³ Pausanias X.10.6 and X.13.10 (Lombardo 1992, 152-

far beyond the local, and possibly even beyond the cantonal level of the societies concerned. These new, possibly regional or supra-regional leaders of the indigenous areas were probably the *dynastai* and the *basileis* mentioned by Greek written sources.¹⁶⁵ The genesis of the Lucanians will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

The drastic innovations of the 6th and 5th centuries BC can not only be observed in, for instance, the social sphere, the regional economy and the material culture of southeast Italy. Italiote Greeks were important initiators and participants in the intellectual revolution that took place in the Greek world. Though *Megalè Hellas* produced only a few lyric poets of great repute (e.g. Ibycus from Rhegion), several Italiote Greeks played a significant role in the fields of philosophy and sciences. Elea (on the fringes of ancient Lucania) and Taras were famous centres of philosophical thought in the period under discussion. The founding fathers of these two rather different schools of thought were Parmenides and Pythagoras.¹⁶⁶ Pythagorism, moreover, was not just a school of philosophical thought: it was basically a way of life and pervaded even the local politics in Greek towns on the Gulf of Taranto. Pythagorism, moreover, was also linked with science and contributed, for instance, in a significant way to the development of Greek mathematics.¹⁶⁷

5.8 SUMMARY

The Archaic–Classical period in southeast Italy is characterized by a series of very drastic changes. They started at a relatively slow pace between 620/600 and 570/550 BC, accelerated enormously in the next 80 to 100 years, and slowed down after 470/450 BC. In a relatively short, but explosive period a completely new southeast Italy was created. It differed in many ways from the Iron Age world of the 8th and 7th centuries BC.

The most baffling innovation was the rather sudden birth of four completely new, highly complex polities on the coast. They labeled themselves as *apoikíai*, i.e., as Greek *poleis* with a migrant population in an originally non-Greek area. They each consisted – just as the Aegean *polis* – of both a town and a countryside. Part of their inhabitants must indeed have been migrants coming from Aegean areas, but many persons with Italic roots are likely to have belonged to the inhabitants of these urban centres. Just as in the Aegean areas these people made up the citizen body of the *polis*. The political constitutions of these new *poleis* shifted regularly from aristocratic to oligarchic or democratic and back. They differed vastly from the Iron Age polities of southern Italy: while the latter had many tribal characteristics, the four new polities were states in the technical sense of the word. Because their inhabitants were all migrants coming from a variety of geographical backgrounds, they had no local identity and no shared past.

For these new states with their heavily mixed populations internal coherence had to be created. Identities shared by all inhabitants had to be forged in order to achieve a sense of community and to survive in the rapidly changing world of southeast Italy. This happened, for instance, by creating *origo* myths (the foundation story), a local hero and a hero cult (oikist) and a representative local architecture (temples, public buildings, town walls). Cults connected with these features provided a strong focus for local identity. What also must have helped to achieve coherence was that these were entirely *new* territories that – as neighbouring indigenous groups may have felt – were carved out of existing indigenous territories. Both the foundation stories (which depict basically 6th- and 5th-century situa-

¹⁶⁵ Strabo, *Geography* VI. 254.

¹⁶⁷ Szabó 1988.

¹⁶⁶ Lesl 1988.

tions) and ‘historical’ accounts concerning the events of the 6th and 5th centuries tell us about severe unpleasantness arising from territorial conflicts. Of course, there is no better means to create coherence and unity than a good process of Othering.

In addition to their local identities (e.g. those of Metapontines, Tarentines) the inhabitants of these new urban centres – whatever their real origins – also stressed their Hellenic identity. They did so by linking themselves and their settlements to the venerated past of Aegean Greece. The foundation story linked them to a mother city in the Old world of Greece. Both myth (e.g. the *nostoi*; Herakles in Italy) and ritual (foundation oracle, Pan-Hellenic games, cults shared with the *metropolis*) provided more connections between the new Greek world of southern Italy and the traditional Greek core area.

This new world of southern Italy manifested itself not just mentally (see paragraphs above), but also physically. These physical aspects were expressed in the enormous changes in the coastal landscape on the Gulf of Taranto. The first urban landscapes (‘townscapes’) of southeast Italy came into being. Settlements were set up on the basis of orthogonal town plans. In the surrounding territories there was, moreover, considerable reclamation of wild nature. The wilds here were turned into strictly organized and relatively densely inhabited countrysides with cornfields, olive groves, vineyards and grazing areas. In both urban and rural landscapes a new type of sacred places came into being: the *temenos* with or without religious buildings where food and artifacts were deposited as gifts to the local spirits.

Similar changes affected adjoining areas inhabited by tribal groups. Here these changes took place in an existing socio-political landscape. They were, therefore, less drastic. While the layout of the new tribal settlements often continued to be rooted in Iron Age situations (except at Serra di Vaglio, it seems), the architectural outfit was entirely new: clusters of houses replaced clusters of huts, whilst a limited number of these settlements was surrounded by defences. Sacred places made their appearance in the archaeological record. Some of these Italic sanctuaries were in the hearts of the settlements of the tribal groups (Cavallino, Ugento), but most of these were outside the settlement areas. They were often located near wells and in caves, i.e. in places where there seemed to be an entrance into the earth. They are recognizable to the archaeologist only because of the presence of votive offerings deposited after the Greek fashion. In fact these Italic sacred places may have much earlier origins and started their life before the time when the custom of depositing artifacts for supernatural powers had been adopted by the non-Greek societies of southeast Italy.

The indigenous tribes did not just reorganize their physical landscapes. Their mental world also underwent significant changes, as is clear from the new guise of their religious practices. In addition, they also seem to have reshaped their past. Their *origo* myths (written down by Greek authors) suggest that they presented themselves as a kind of arch-Greeks: the indigenous groups believed to descend from Greeks of the heroic period and therefore had arrived in Italy long before the first Greek migrants came to that region. Especially in times when there was a fierce competition for land (e.g. 6th and 5th centuries BC), such myths were highly meaningful to the present. The indigenous groups boasted of being Greek and of ‘being there first’; they professed to be the descendants of the great king Minos (e.g. the Messapians), migrated Arcadians (the Oinotrians) or the sons of a Greek hero of the Trojan War such as Diomedes of Argos (the inhabitants of Brindisi, Canosa and Arpi).

The rapid developments that affected both Greek polities on the coast and tribal societies of Apulia and Basilicata, resulted in relatively populous societies that were much more complex than the preceding groups of the 8th- and 7th-century Iron Age. Although the latter were far from being egalitarian, social stratification increased substantially in the new societies of the 6th and 5th centuries BC. It resulted in the birth of tribal elites and urban aristocracies. Both must have had much in common. If indeed the assemblages of artifacts in the burials reflect the world of the living, banqueting and displaying *paideia* were part and parcel of elite behaviour in both Greek towns and indigenous polities

of southeast Italy. Both participated in an elite ideology shared by all south-Italians alike. The story that the philosopher Pythagoras who lived in southern Italy in the period under discussion, had native followers may well be apocryphal.¹⁶⁸ The bare existence of the story, however, shows that Greeks sometimes viewed individuals of their indigenous neighbour populations as ‘cultured’ people.

Increased complexity could also be observed from the 6th century onward in the various sectors of craft. In the 6th and 5th century settlements all over southeast Italy there were much more craftsmen and much more different types of craftsmen than in any preceding period. Pottery production became highly standardized with various specialists working together in a team. A similar model can be surmised for iron and bronze production and for the building activities in which carpenters, stonemasons and tile makers cooperated. New production methods, new specialist forces and a new scale of artisan production were introduced. The variability of shapes and types of the products themselves, moreover, increased enormously.

There are many more signs of increased complexity. The issuing of silver coins carrying the symbol of the polity was not just a manifestation of local pride. The appearance of coins around 530 BC is equally a sign that such an officially guaranteed standard quantity of silver was needed in order to play a role in larger transactions or to establish and maintain relations between man and man and humans and gods.¹⁶⁹ The emission of coins, moreover, is not confined to the new *poleis*, but is equally reported for tribal units in present-day Calabria and Basilicata in the late 6th century.¹⁷⁰ The silver coins bearing the name WALETAS from the Brindisi district dating to the first half of the 5th century (fig. 5.39) are believed to be emissions of a native chief, tribe or settlement.

The Greeks of Italy wrote since the 8th century BC.¹⁷¹ There are only a few examples of 7th-century writing from the area under discussion. They suggest that the use of written texts was fairly limited in that period. It was not until the birth of more complex societies of the 6th century BC that the art of writing truly diffused.¹⁷² The *poleis* were, or soon became relatively literate societies. Writing, moreover, was not limited to the Greek towns on the coast: from about the late 6th century BC writing also diffused over the tribal areas of southern Italy. It was however, not before the 4th century BC that inscriptions in Messapic and Oscan become fairly numerous.

The rapid changes that affected southeast Italy from early-Archaic times onwards were stimulated by increasingly regular and intensive contacts. These occurred within southern Italy on the one hand: between Greeks and Greeks, between Greeks and Italic tribal groups and between non-Greeks and other indigenous polities. Since the new Greek polities of southern Italy maintained and reinforced the mental links and physical contacts with the old world of Aegean Greece and since the states of Aegean Greece were warmly interested in trade and exchange with Greek and Italic groups in Italy, the contacts between both these areas reached a higher level of intensity than ever before.¹⁷³ This all started in a period in which both areas went through an evolution that was unprecedented in both its scope and its speed. The changes in one of these large areas served as a catalytic agent in the other and vice versa.

What caused this sudden burst of innovation is uncertain. External causes, of course, are often used as a *deus ex machina* in order to explain sudden changes and rapid evolutions. As for southeast Italy, it

¹⁶⁸ Iamblychus, *Life of Pythagoras* 34.241; on this subject, see Mele 1981.

¹⁶⁹ Coins were often deposited in the sanctuaries of southeast Italy.

¹⁷⁰ Parise 1972.

¹⁷¹ Pavese 1996.

¹⁷² Arena 1988.

¹⁷³ It should, of course, be observed that Aegean Greece and southern Italy were not the only areas of the Mediterranean that changed enormously; more or less comparable changes took place in the northern Aegean, the Black Sea area, Cyrenaica, Etruria and Latium and southern France.

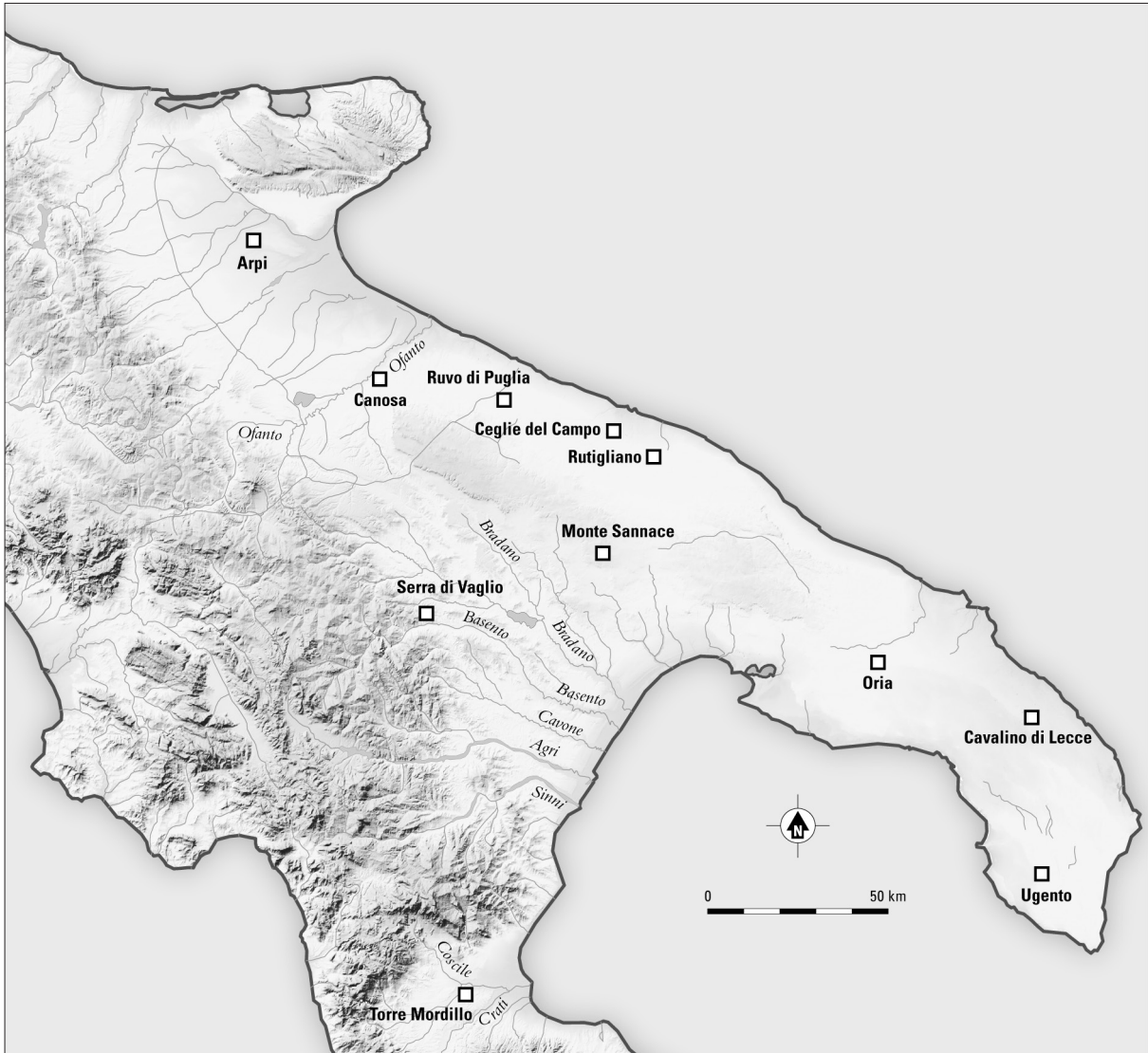


Fig. 5.40. Southeast Italy: tribal centres of regional importance, c. 550-450 BC.

is clear that there were external causes indeed. These, however, can certainly not be held responsible for every innovation that occurred in the areas under discussion. They are likely to have served as a strong catalytic agent. The key to the solution of this problem can probably be found in two important questions that should be addressed here. They concern two highly conspicuous new features that are characteristic of the 6th century BC in southeast Italy: the much larger population and the general opulence. In the 6th century BC southeast Italy was wealthier and more populous than ever before. These characteristics can be translated into two simple questions: Where did all those people come from? And what was the cause of their opulence?

It is easier to ask these questions than to answer them. As for the first question one may recur to the classic solution of mass migration from Greece to southern Italy. This means that the large migrations that were probably wrongly believed to have taken place in the later 8th and earlier 7th centuries (see preceding chapter 4), should be simply transferred to the later 7th and early 6th century BC. Though the phenomenon of mass migration in antiquity has always been a spiny subject, there may indeed be some truth in this option. But most probably Greek migration to southern Italy was more of a steady

trickle than a sudden flood of migrants. By about the middle of the 7th century BC southern Italy had become an alternative to hand to mouth existence in ancient Greece. The Greek poet Archilochos, writing about that time, had heard of the fat lands near (the river?) Siris and preferred them as a migration area to stony Thasos that was so much closer to his Paros home.¹⁷⁴ A passage by the 5th-century author Antiochos of Syracuse suggests that larger groups (dozens or perhaps a one or two hundred) could also be on the move under particular circumstances.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, it should be observed that persons with Italic roots had been part of the population of the coastal settlements since the first dwellings were built there. The *poleis* of *Megalè Hellas*, moreover, are likely to have been rather generous in granting citizenship. Therefore, indigenous groups contributed in a very substantial way to the populations of the new urban settlements on the coast.

These factors contributed to the rapidly growing population figures of the Greek towns, but do not explain the demographic growth in the districts inhabited by Italic tribes.¹⁷⁶ Nor do they offer any explanation for the substantial rise in prosperity that affected all areas of southeast Italy, both the Greek urban centres and the non-Greek polities. Rise in population figures and rise in prosperity, however, have at least one cause in common: more food, i.e. a better and more varied supply of food that reduces mortality rates, while surpluses of foodstuff can be used in exchanges. This topic, however, has hitherto received little attention. One of the causes of population growth and prosperity that have been suggested is the introduction of new crops.¹⁷⁷ This suggestion has not been confirmed by the archaeo-botanical samples collected in recent years.¹⁷⁸ Other causes that have been suggested are technical improvements in agriculture and the introduction of rotation crops.¹⁷⁹ More protein (meat) also helps in creating higher survival rates. But much more research is needed in order to see whether indeed important changes in agriculture and stock raising contributed in a significant way to the increasingly populous and increasingly prosperous southern Italy of the 6th and 5th centuries BC.

In the Archaic-Classical period many more people lived in southeast Italy than in the preceding Iron Age. Moreover, entirely new territories (the *poleis*) were created within the same geographical setting. The hierarchization of the settlement patterns resulting in the rise of major tribal centres such as Serra di Vaglio and Cavallino di Lecce, moreover, suggests that some reshuffling of the originally Iron Age territorial delimitations and changes in the pecking order of settlements took place in the tribal districts of southern Italy. The 6th century BC in southern Italy is characterized by the genesis of an entirely different social and political landscape. The population growth, the intensification of the use made of the soils and the changes in territorial delimitations resulted in competition for soil and in increasing social stratification. These factors are likely to have generated social stress.

The consequences of this revolution were dramatic. The increasingly territorial behaviour of the emerging Greek polities resulted in conflicts between the various Greek polities themselves and between the Greek states and indigenous Italic groups. As we have seen above there must have been much more peaceful coexistence than the sources would have us to believe, but pitched battles also occurred. These were not just fought in skirmishes and border raids. In fact, major battles took place. In his account on the Messapian victory over the Tarantines in c. 470 BC, Herodotus grossly exag-

¹⁷⁴ It is unclear whether Archilochos wrote about the settlement or the homonymous river in southern Italy.

¹⁷⁵ Quoted in Strabo's *Geography*, VI.1.14. The story is about an unspecified group of people from Colophon on the coast of Asia Minor who migrated to South-Italian Siris, because their hometown had been taken by king Gyges of Lydia.

¹⁷⁶ Migration of individuals or family groups from the tribal districts to the 'Greek' urban centres of southern Italy is, of course, not indicative of substantial population increase in these tribal areas.

¹⁷⁷ Mertens 1996, 246.

¹⁷⁸ Lentjes 2013.

¹⁷⁹ Carter 1987.

gerates the numbers of victims on the Greek side.¹⁸⁰ But his words ('the greatest slaughter of Hellenes till our days') make it patently clear that this was no small matter. We are not informed on the inter-tribal conflicts, because Greek authors were probably not interested in such regularly recurring events far beyond their world. But in more inland areas of southern Italy the drastic restyling of the socio-political landscape will certainly have triggered blows and fights.

In this increasingly populous, prosperous and competitive world of southeast Italy new and complex polities were born. Among these were the aristocracies and democracies of the *poleis*. But the traditional tribal structures of the indigenous groups underwent similar changes. The Iron Age warrior-chieftains evolved into tribal aristocrats functioning within tribal systems that were much more hierarchically structured than in the Iron Age. Local groups clustered into regional groups and these – perhaps under particular circumstances – could cluster into supra-regional groups.

This process can be observed all over southeast Italy. Oria on the Salento isthmus was a tribal centre of regional importance and had a sanctuary and an elite of comparable status. In most areas the supra-regional level seems to be lacking. In the Salento peninsula Oria, Cavallino and Ugento were the regional centres: there was no settlement that ranked above these. Comparable situations can probably be found in central and northern Apulia: Monte Sannace, Rutigliano-Castiello, Ceglie del Campo/Valenzano, Ruvo di Puglia, Canosa and Arpi were all substantial centres controlling a district containing a series of smaller settlements during the 6th and 5th centuries BC (fig. 5.40).

The process of hierarchization was most pronounced in the mountainous areas of southeast Italy. Such larger, more hierarchically structured tribal units were perceived as a new phenomenon by both Greeks and non-Greeks. Hence they sometimes used a new term for something that for them represented an entirely new reality. Segmented groups which had been indicated as *Opikoi*, *Chaones* or *Oinotrioi*, for instance, now became the large and threatening tribe of the Lucanians. This development is illustrated by the rise of a large tribal centre of regional or even supra-regional importance in the late 6th century (e.g. Serra di Vaglio) and the appearance of a new regional or supra-regional elite in the late 6th century BC (the 'royal' burials of Baragiano, Serra di Vaglio-Braida and Pisciole). The topic of the rise of the Lucanians, however, will be discussed in more detail in the introductory part of the following chapter

During the 6th century BC large parts of southeast Italy changed enormously. Whilst northern Apulia retained much of its Iron Age way of life, drastic innovations affected the districts on the southern Adriatic and the Gulf of Taranto. These changes are related to, but not dependant on what happened in Aegean Greece and other parts of the eastern Mediterranean, just as innovation in the latter areas was related to the changes in the western Mediterranean. The rapid changes in each of these two large macro-regions acted as a catalytic agent in the other. Southern Italy was not just receptive to Aegean forms, schemes and ideas, but had its own powerful dynamics. *Magna Graecia* contributed in a significant way to the intellectual achievements of the Greek world. But an important stimulus for change was the interaction between autochthonous Italic groups and migrants coming from various parts of Greece. The opposition between these was not as strong as the ancient written sources suggest. Both autochthonous populations and first, second and third generation migrants were involved, and both internal and external factors contributed to create societies that were vastly different from those of both Iron Age Greece and Iron Age Italy. In a relatively short span of time entirely new societies were born and many existing societies of southeast Italy changed their lifestyle, their material culture, their environment, their views and their past.

¹⁸⁰ Herodotus VII. 170.

6 Towns, leagues and landholding elites: the early-Hellenistic period, c. 370/350–250/230 BC

6.1 INTRODUCTION: ANCIENT WRITTEN SOURCES AND HISTORY

In chapter 5 we have seen that many factors contributed to the rise of the spectacular societies of the 6th and 5th centuries BC. Among these were the more sedentary character, the demographic growth and the increasing complexity of the societies of 7th-century Italy together with the arrival of migrants from Aegean areas. The latter brought new technical skills, had other forms of social and economic organization and had different ideas, norms and values. In the 6th century four states (*poleis*) came into being in southeast Italy proclaiming an overtly Greek identity, while three or four powerful indigenous tribes arose from the fairly segmented clan world of the 7th and early 6th centuries BC. These profound changes in the native world of southeast Italy happened between the late 6th century and the middle of the 5th century BC.

New developments, however, did not manifest themselves with the same speed and the same intensity in every part of the region discussed in this book. They occurred in large parts of Basilicata and in central and southern Apulia. In the so-called 'Daunian' districts of northern Apulia, however, situations and features as sketched for the Iron Age and Archaic-Classical period in the preceding chapters continued to live on till well into the 3rd century BC.¹ In settlement form, craft, religion and socio-economic organization the north-Apulian groups of the 6th to 3rd centuries BC displayed greater similarities to the Sabellic groups in the more northerly Abruzzo-Molise areas than to their more southern fellow-Apulians.

The rise of the four *poleis* of southeast Italy has been discussed in the preceding chapter. During the later 6th and early 5th centuries, when these new socio-political realities asserted themselves, southeast Italy was in great turmoil. Greeks fought Greeks, battles raged between non-Greek groups, and violent clashes between south-Italic Greeks and non-Greek tribes also occurred. Taras and Metapontion continued to be *poleis* during the 6th, 5th and 4th centuries BC. Siris and Sybaris, however, are reported by ancient authors to have been destroyed by neighbouring Greek *poleis*.² They both lost their independent status of city state in the 2nd half of the 6th century. The excavations have demonstrated that these settlements were not completely abandoned as was formerly believed. They continued to be inhabited during the first half of the 5th century, although the traces of human presence seem less intense than in the preceding and subsequent phases. Both settlements were raised again to the status of *polis* in the later 5th century BC. What remained of Sybaris received an influx of new settlers and was transformed into the pan-Hellenic *apoikía* of Thourioi (founded in 444 BC). In the same way the settlement which had once been the *polis* of Siris, became the new *polis* of Herakleia in Lucania in c. 435 BC.³

¹ Here, for instance, highly dispersed settlements and matt-painted pottery continued to exist to well within the 3rd century BC.

² 'Ionian' Siris was reportedly destroyed by a coalition of

three 'Achaean' *poleis* (Kroton, Sybaris, Metapontion), while Sybaris was destroyed by its Greek neighbour Kroton.

³ Lomas 1993, 31.

Drastic changes are equally reported for the non-Greek districts of southeast Italy. These, however, are not really apparent in the ancient written sources concerning the region of Apulia. The ancient authors continued to use the same names for the native groups they could identify in this 350 km long, Messapic speaking area along the Adriatic coast: the Messapians in the south, the Peucetians in the centre and the Daunians in the northern part of Apulia. The Messapians, living close to the *polis* of Taras, were restive and required the closest attention of both the Tarantine leaders⁴ and the *condottieri* from Greece who were invited by the Tarantines.⁵ The general image of the Tarantine-Messapian conflicts of the 4th century BC is one of mutual harassing and recurring border raids. No large, impressive battles or other conspicuous historical events have been reported by ancient authors for this particular area.⁶

What happened in Basilicata, however, was vastly different. Here, the non-Greek tribal groups known as Opikoi, Oinotrioi and Chaones of archaic times disappeared from the record and all of a sudden highly threatening Lucanians made their appearance on the south-Italian stage. Passages of ancient authors on this matter suggest that the Greeks were quite unexpectedly confronted with an entirely new and very powerful native tribe. There is, however, no coherent ancient account on the Lucanian threat and the Lucanian conquest of formerly Greek parts of southern Italy. The surviving passages that are relevant to the present subject are invariably short and stem from Greek authors living in southern Italy or Sicily who were quoted by much later writers such as Athenaeus, Pliny, Polyaeus, Strabo and Diodorus. These written sources, therefore, are both patchy and biased. We must deal with dispersed fragments of texts that have lost their contexts. Therefore they cannot be the object of discourse analysis in order to establish their biases and rhetorics. Since the indigenous groups of southeast Italy had no written history, we are exclusively informed on the Greek and Roman views on all things native.

This notwithstanding, the problem of the sudden rise of the Lucanians has spawned a huge bibliography. The main questions that have been addressed were: Who were these Lucanians? Where did they come from? And how did they manage to become so threatening and powerful in a relatively short time? The answers that have been formulated, regard predominantly the first two questions. We are told by both the Graeco-Roman geographer Strabo and the Roman encyclopaedist Pliny the Elder that the Lucanians were of Sabellic stock:⁷ they were basically Samnites. It is quite obvious that both authors derive their information from the same source.⁸ On the strength of these passages of Strabo and Pliny, the Lucanians are usually portrayed as a group of central-Italic peoples that moved into Basilicata and completely unsettled and replaced the indigenous groups living there. Their arrival, therefore, disrupted nearly all pre-existing cultural features, from settlement patterns to pottery styles.⁹

The Lucanians have been and still are commonly perceived as aggressive invaders who rapidly spread over much of Basilicata and adjacent regions. They wiped out the pre-existing native groups of these areas and posed a severe threat to the Greek towns on the coast. We have noted that this image of the Lucanians created on the basis of fairly sparse ancient written sources, dominates the views on the past of the Basilicata region. There is, therefore, good reason to look into this matter critically. We must establish whether this image of mass migration and thorough ethnic cleansing is plausible and whether it is also supported by evidence supplied by archaeological sources.

One of the highly threatening aspects of the Lucanian expansion that emerges from the ancient written sources, is the sheer scope of the phenomenon. All at once, the Lucanians seem to be every-

⁴ E.g. Archytas in the 370s and 360s.

1993, 39-57.

⁵ King Archidamos of Sparta and Alexander the Molossian in the 330s.

⁷ Strabo, VI.1.3; Pliny, III.71.

⁸ Laserre 1967, 15.

⁶ For the Tarantine leader Archytas and the so-called *condottieri*, see, for instance, Wuilleumier 1939 and Lomas

⁹ cf. Greco Pontrandolfo 1982, 100; Bottini 1990b; Lomas 1993, 33.

where. First they marched on Thourioi on the Gulf of Taranto in about 433, next they took Posidonia in southern Campania in 410, whilst they conquered Terina in the toe of the Italian boot in 395 BC and Laos in northern Calabria in 390.¹⁰ Vigorous military actions by the obviously charismatic Tarentine *strategos* and Pythagorean philosopher Archytas seems to have marked a period of relative quiet in southeast Italy during the 370's and 360's. Soon afterwards the practice came into being of inviting *condottieri* from Aegean Greece in order to keep these barbarians aloof.¹¹ This indicates that the pressure exerted by the Lucanians on the Greek *poleis* of southern Italy, was very considerable indeed and that the nightmare of recurring Lucanian raids and marauding Lucanian war bands roaming the countryside continued to haunt these Greek states for many years.

The image of both the Sabellic origin and the sudden rise of the Lucanians was supported, it seemed, by archaeological evidence. The archaeological data for the 5th century BC in Basilicata, and especially the period between c. 470/450 and 400 BC, were believed to be extremely scanty.¹² There seemed to be a hiatus in the occupation of many sites suggesting discontinuity in the settlement history of the region.¹³ The second argument was a hiatus and a major shift in material culture: the ceramics of the late 5th century BC differed radically from the pottery produced at the beginning of the 5th century BC. On top of this, the way the deceased were deposited in their inhumation graves, was reported to have changed substantially. Whilst the bodies were put on their sides in contracted position before the 5th century BC, they were laid outstretched and on their back from the later 5th century onward.¹⁴ The appearance of a series of chieftain's burials containing bronze, so-called 'Samnite' belts from the late 5th century onward was a fourth element that was thought to stress the profound changes that affected large parts of Basilicata.¹⁵ The 'Samnite' belts were believed to be indicative of the ethnic affiliation of the person buried in the grave.¹⁶ These four features were seen as clear signs of the migration of substantial Samnite groups into Basilicata. Their arrival, it was almost generally believed, caused discontinuity in the settlement patterns and substantial shifts in the material culture of the region and was, moreover, held responsible for the introduction of new burial rites and a new type of prestige goods (the Samnite belts).

This view won wide acceptance, because the interpretation of both the ancient written sources and the archaeological data seemed to support each other and almost inevitably led to this conclusion.¹⁷ The question, however, is whether the interpretations of both sources that seem to tie in so nicely, are actually correct and whether both the quality and the quantity of the data really warrant the conclusion that the Lucanians were indeed predominantly Sabellic invaders.

The image of the rise of the Lucanians as sketched during the 1980s and 1990s has some flaws. It is, for instance, decidedly odd that invading bands of mountain dwelling newcomers (the Lucanians) succeeded in unsettling and replacing apparently strong and well-organized tribes like the Opikoi, Chaones and Oinotrioi of 6th- and early 5th-century Basilicata. It is equally odd that these same *montani atque agrestes*, as Livy would have put it, managed to threaten and conquer highly organized Greek polities on the coast within decades of their arrival.¹⁸ Mass migration, moreover, has been a spiny topic in archaeology over the past twenty years. It is, therefore, fairly surprising that the cliché view that the new and powerful tribe of the Lucanians of the later 5th and 4th centuries BC were basically Samnite-Sabellic invaders has hardly been challenged in recent years.

¹⁰ Lomas 1993, 33.

¹¹ The kings Archidamos and Cleonymos of Sparta and Alexander the Molossian in the 330; Lomas 1993, 41-44.

¹² Greco Pontrandolfo 1982, 117.

¹³ Barra Bagnasco 1999, 45.

¹⁴ Greco Pontrandolfo 1982, 100; Barra Bagnasco 1999,

45.

¹⁵ Bottini 1985.

¹⁶ For these Samnite belts, see Suano 1986, Bottini 1993.

¹⁷ Frederiksen 1984, 136-137; Lomas 1993, 33-34.

¹⁸ The Latin quote can, of course, be found in Livy (IX.13) who wrote these words to characterize the not-too-sedentary Volsci.

A first careful and multi-faceted explanation has been proposed by Lombardo who stated that migrants of Sabellic origin were only one of the elements that contributed to the ‘Lucanization’ of Basilicata.¹⁹ Torelli nuanced the mass migration model by proposing that only the indigenous elites were replaced by Samnite invaders.²⁰ In a short note I have attempted to demonstrate that the occupational discontinuity of the 5th century BC is probably more apparent than real: the current chronologies are based on pottery seriations built on probably false assumptions.²¹ Solid 5th-century phases, moreover, have been recognized at sites in the Lucanian heartland (fig. 6.1).²² This delivers us from the occupational discontinuity that was believed to have been the result of the coming of the Lucanians.²³ The change in material culture in the indigenous areas of Basilicata was probably caused by the adoption of cultural features from the neighbouring Greek-Italic *poleis* in the course of the 5th century BC. Material culture in large parts of Basilicata did not ‘Samnitize’, but ‘Hellenized’. It began to display more and more features that were characteristic of the Greek *poleis* of southeast Italy.²⁴

In this way two seemingly strong ‘archaeological’ arguments for a Samnite origin of the Lucanians have been refuted. The third regarded a change in burial customs: inhumations were believed to change from contracted (on the side) to outstretched (on the back). A closer study of the burial customs in Basilicata and surrounding areas, however, reveals that the ‘new’ way of burying the deceased (outstretched, on the back), occurred in indigenous contexts of western Basilicata and adjoining parts of the present-day regions of Campania and Calabria as early as the 8th and 7th centuries BC.²⁵ The same burial form was, moreover, very common in the Greek *poleis* on the coast from the later 7th century onward.²⁶ The spread of this slightly different burial custom over central and southern Basilicata, therefore, is unlikely to represent the diffusion of an evidently Sabellic cultural feature. The same holds good for the distribution of ‘Samnite’ belts over Basilicata and northern Apulia.²⁷ The archaeological evidence for a penetration of substantial Samnite-Sabellic groups into Basilicata in the 5th century BC, therefore, is very thin indeed

In the present state of research, the vast majority of the group indicated as Lucanians by their Greek neighbours is likely to have consisted predominantly of people whose forebears had lived in Basilicata for many generations. Though small groups of migrants from central Italy may well have joined them, most of the people who were thought to be (or even saw themselves as) Lucanians were certainly not new to the region. That the Greek author Strabo gave them Samnite origins, can be explained in various ways.²⁸ The new term of Lucanians, therefore, did not come into being because the people indicated in this way represented an entirely new group of invaders, but because the Lucanians were perceived, and probably perceived themselves, as an entity that differed markedly from pre-existing groups. But basically the term was a new label and perhaps stood for a new group identity assumed by people whose fathers or grandfathers had been named by others (or considered themselves as) *Opikoi*, *Oinotrioi* or *Chaones*.

¹⁹ Lombardo 1987, 55.

²⁰ Torelli 1996, 128-129.

²¹ Yntema 1997.

²² Holloway 1970; Lissi Caronna 1980, 1983 and 1990/91; Greco 1991; Osanna / Sica 2005; Osanna 2007.

²³ It was, of course, odd that several settlements of Basilicata were abandoned in the course of the 5th century and were reoccupied towards the end of the 5th or in the early years of the 4th century BC.

²⁴ Kok 2004.

²⁵ La Genière 1968; Bianco / Tagliente 1985.

²⁶ De Juliis 2001.

²⁷ The presence of a Samnite belt in a south-Italian grave,

of course, does not make the deceased a Samnite. Such prestige items proclaimed rank and were not indicative of ethnic identity. They could well have played a role in the inter-regional exchange between elites.

²⁸ The Lucanians may, for instance, have had *origo* myths linking them to the Samnites. This may have been reshaped or invented history. Another possibility is that in Roman historiography the threatening mountain dwellers are often Samnites. Strabo (or his source) may have made a connection between mountain tribes that harassed Roman lands (the Samnites) and similar groups that threatened Greek polities (the Lucanians)

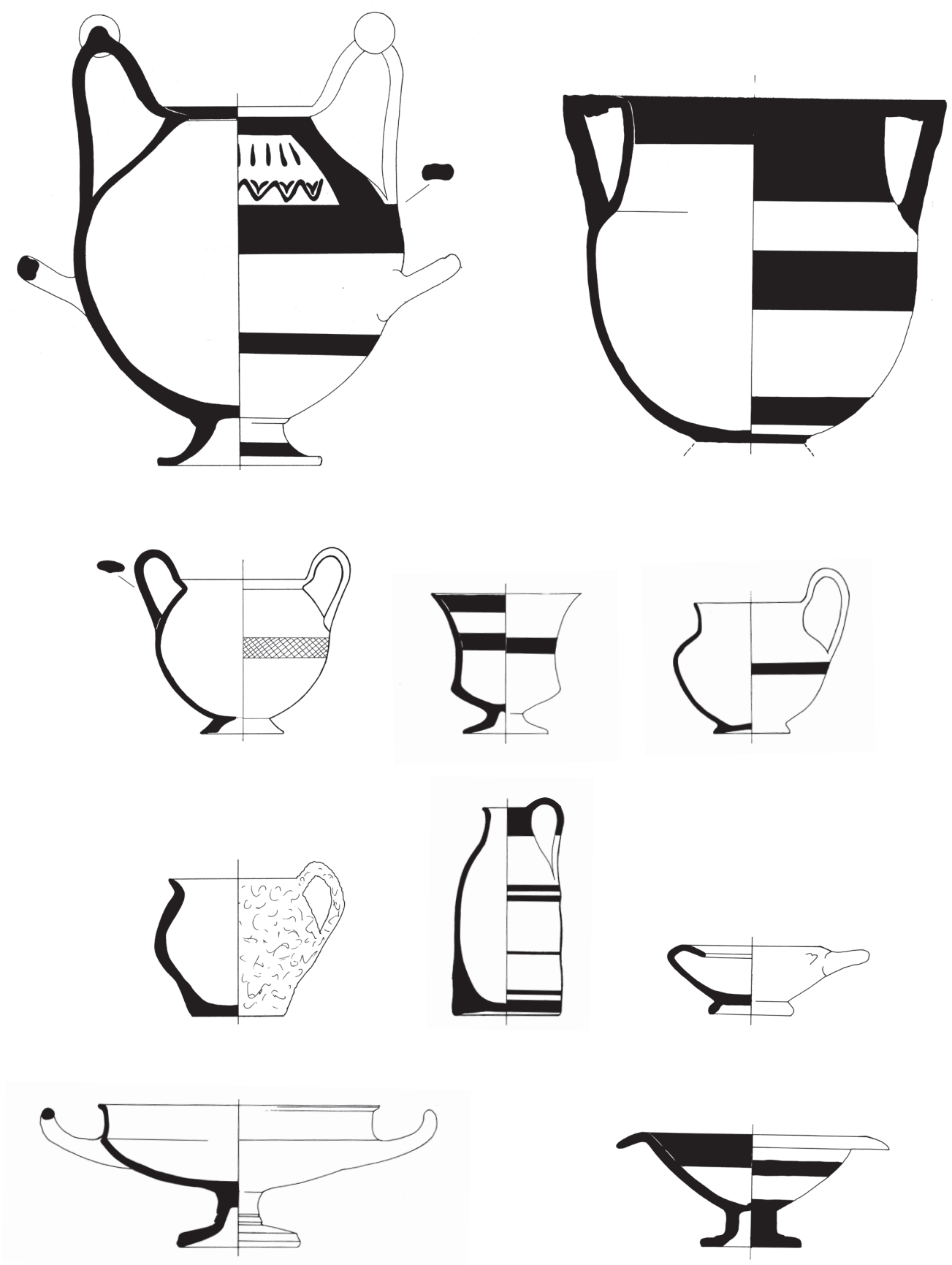


Fig. 6.1. Torre di Satriano. Tomb of the mid 5th century BC with traditional forms and new Grecian forms. Scale 1:4. After Holloway 1970.

In my view, therefore, the Lucanians are a somewhat loose confederation of fairly coherent cantonal groups. This new socio-political entity grew out of earlier resident groups that had lived in the same areas in preceding centuries. Well before the middle of the 5th century BC the various groups living in Basilicata cooperated more frequently and more intensely than in earlier times. Possibly there was an admixture of some Sabellic groups who lived in adjoining areas, spoke the same language and were not really different from their southern neighbours. But the great novelty was that the constituent groups of the new confederation developed a sense of shared identity. They were no longer exclusively the group or tribe (Oscan: *touto*) living in that particular valley with that particular central place; they believed that they also belonged to a larger entity. The new identity that was shared by various tribal groups of Basilicata was *inter alia* expressed in the new, typically Italic name, in an origo myth that suggested their Samnite pedigree ('Lucanians' = 'the wolf people'), in a probably pan-Lucanian sanctuary (Rossano di Vaglio) where the whole *Nomen Lucanum* is likely to have gathered on particular occasions and (perhaps occasionally) in the election of a paramount chief who was the living symbol of Lucanian identity.²⁹ Serra di Vaglio (only 6 km from Rossano di Vaglio) with its impressive architecture is sometimes believed to have been the central place of the whole *Nomen Lucanum*.

The ancient written sources suggest that the Greek *poleis* of southern Italy perceived this much larger tribal entity as a severe threat.³⁰ We have seen that some Greek towns of southern Italy were even said to have been taken over by the Lucanians. This reportedly happened to Posidonia (Paestum). The material culture of Posidonia (Lucanian: Paistom) of the 4th century BC differs vastly from that of the 6th and earlier 5th centuries BC and displays considerable affinities with that of contemporary inland areas of Basilicata with 'native' populations.³¹ Whether this take-over happened by force or was simply a case of integration between south-Italic Greeks and south-Italic natives is unclear.³² The complete barbarization and even enslavement of the Greek inhabitants as aired in some Greek sources can probably be taken as anti-Lucanian rhetoric in a situation of strongly conflicting interests.³³

The increased level of organization of the non-Greek populations of southeast Italy and the new dangers that resulted from it, required an answer from the Greek states of the region. With their probably more strict and intricate forms of organization in the fields of politics and military affairs the Greek states of Thourioi (formerly Sybaris), Herakleia (formerly Siris), Metapontion and Taras had a distinct advantage over the Lucanian groups. But this was compensated by the much larger population figures of the native tribal groups. Moreover, the Lucanians may well have chosen to adopt particular features of Greek military tactics and organization and elaborated and refined similar features from their own cultural background that were advantageous in their eyes. In this way they became formidable adversaries to the Italiote Greeks and were a danger that did not differ much from the threat posed by the united tribes of Macedon under king Philip II for the *polis* states of central and southern Greece.

The Greek answer to the genesis of the supertribe of the Lucanians was the strengthening of the Italiote League. This league is likely to have come into being in the late 6th or early 5th century BC when it was initially headed by Kroton.³⁴ By the first half of the 4th century BC, however, Taras was the unchallenged *hegemon* among the Greek towns of southeast Italy. The role of this *polis* was, in fact, so dominant that Tarantine policy cannot be distinguished from Italiote League policy. Other Greek

²⁹ Cf. the appearance of 'royal' burials between late 6th and the middle of the 5th century BC: see preceding chapter: burials of Baragiano (late 6th/early 5th century), Serra di Vaglio-Braida (first half 5th century), and Melfi-Pisciolo (mid 5th century).

³⁰ The ancient sources concerning the Lucanians have been collected in Cordano 1971.

³¹ Pedley 1990; Pontrandolfo / Rouveret 1992.

³² Lomas 1993, 34.

³³ The most celebrated passage on this matter was written by Aristoxenos of Taras (cited by Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* XIV.31.632) who said that the Lucanians of Paestum did not allow the Greeks to speak Greek except at one yearly festival (cf. Pedley 1990, 97).

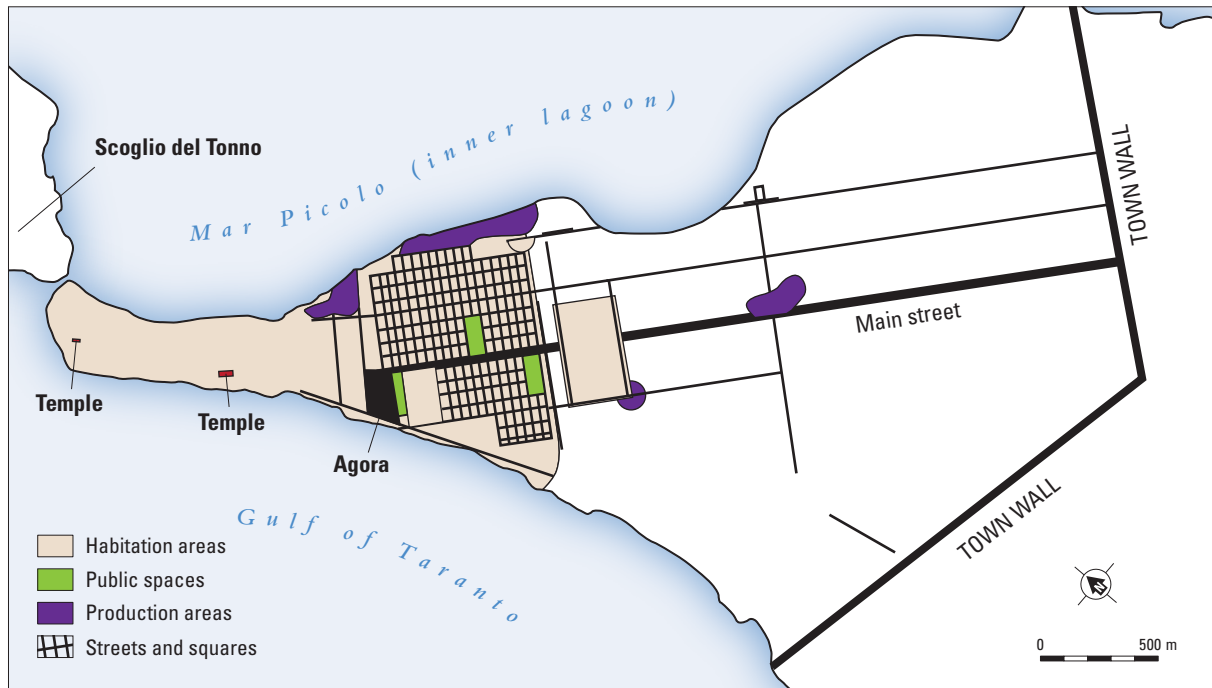


Fig. 6.2. Town plan of Taras with fortifications and orthogonal layout (4th century BC). New drawing based on Lippolis 1997.

towns of southeast Italy cooperated with Taras – albeit grudgingly in some cases – in various enterprises staged to keep the Lucanians at bay. It was Taras that invited the *condottieri* during the later 4th and the early 3rd centuries.

It was again Taras that took the lead in the Pyrrhic war against Rome (280–272) which ended in the Roman supremacy over southeast Italy. The first intensive contacts between Rome and the south-Italians dated to the last quarter of the 4th century BC when Rome was at war with the Samnites. After her ignominious defeat at the Caudine Forks (321 BC) Rome sought to rally support behind the back of the Samnites. It did so by befriending ‘Daunian’ settlements in northern Apulia such as Canusium (now Canosa) which became one of Rome’s most faithful allies in southeast Italy.³⁵ Rome founded Latin colonies at north-Apulian Luceria (314 BC) and at Venusia (291 BC).³⁶ Since the Canosa area was closely connected with Metapontion and Taras, the Roman presence in northern Apulia could well have been perceived as a Roman infringement upon the Tarentine sphere of influence.

The Pyrrhic war was basically a clash between the most powerful state of southern Italy (Taras) and the most powerful state of central Italy (Rome). In this dangerous conflict Taras had recourse to the well-known solution of attracting *condottieri* and called in king Pyrrhus of Epirus. Taras and Pyrrhus managed to make a powerful coalition consisting basically of Italiote *poleis* and Lucanian, Messapian and even Samnite groups. The disastrous character of Pyrrhus’ victories at Herakleia in Lucania and

³⁴ Lomas 1993, 32.

³⁵ During the Second Punic war, even after the disastrous battle of Cannae at only a few miles from Canosa, the Canosans continued to be faithful to Rome and helped the Roman soldiers who had survived the battle. The

equally important ‘Daunian’ settlement of Arpi went over to Hannibal. (see chapter 7.1).

³⁶ Luceria (now Lucera) was probably originally a ‘Daunian’ settlement; Venusia (now Venosa) was probably situated in a territory taken from Samnites or Lucanians.



Fig. 6.3. Fortifications of Gnathia (northern Salento), preserved height c. 6 m (archive ACVU).

Ausculum in Daunia,³⁷ the tenacity of the Romans and Pyrrhus's two years' stay in Sicily (278–276 BC) were not particularly helpful in keeping the coalition together. After losing the crucial battle of Beneventum (275 BC) Pyrrhus left Italy. Wealthy Taras was taken by the Romans in 272. The last area of peninsular Italy to be conquered was the Salento peninsula. The *Fasti Triumphales* mention triumphs *de Sallentineis Messapeisque* ('over the Sallentini and the Messapii') for the years 267 and 266 BC.

Summarizing the information from ancient written sources it seems evident that they suggest the genesis of larger and more powerful tribal entities in southeast Italy. These were seen as a serious threat to the Greek states of the region. The increased pressure of the tribes on the Greek *poleis* resulted in a strong Greek-native opposition for much of the 4th century BC and a strengthening of Greek political coherence in the Italiote League under the dominance of Taras and with the incidental help of *condottieri* from mainland Greece. In the early 3rd century, however, a coalition was forged of both Greek states and indigenous Italic polities. This new and wider form of cooperation may have been triggered by Rome's rapidly increasing influence on southeast Italy. The creation of patently Roman communities at north-Apulian Luceria (314 BC) and Venusia (291 BC) in the border area between Apulia and Lucania may well have been perceived as Roman infringements on both the Lucanian and Italiote League's sphere of interest.

³⁷ Ausculum is situated in north-Apulia (present-day Ascoli Satriano).

³⁸ Like the hill forts of Samnium, these fortifications

were often, but incorrectly considered to be sites without stable habitation (cf. Pontrandolfo 1994).

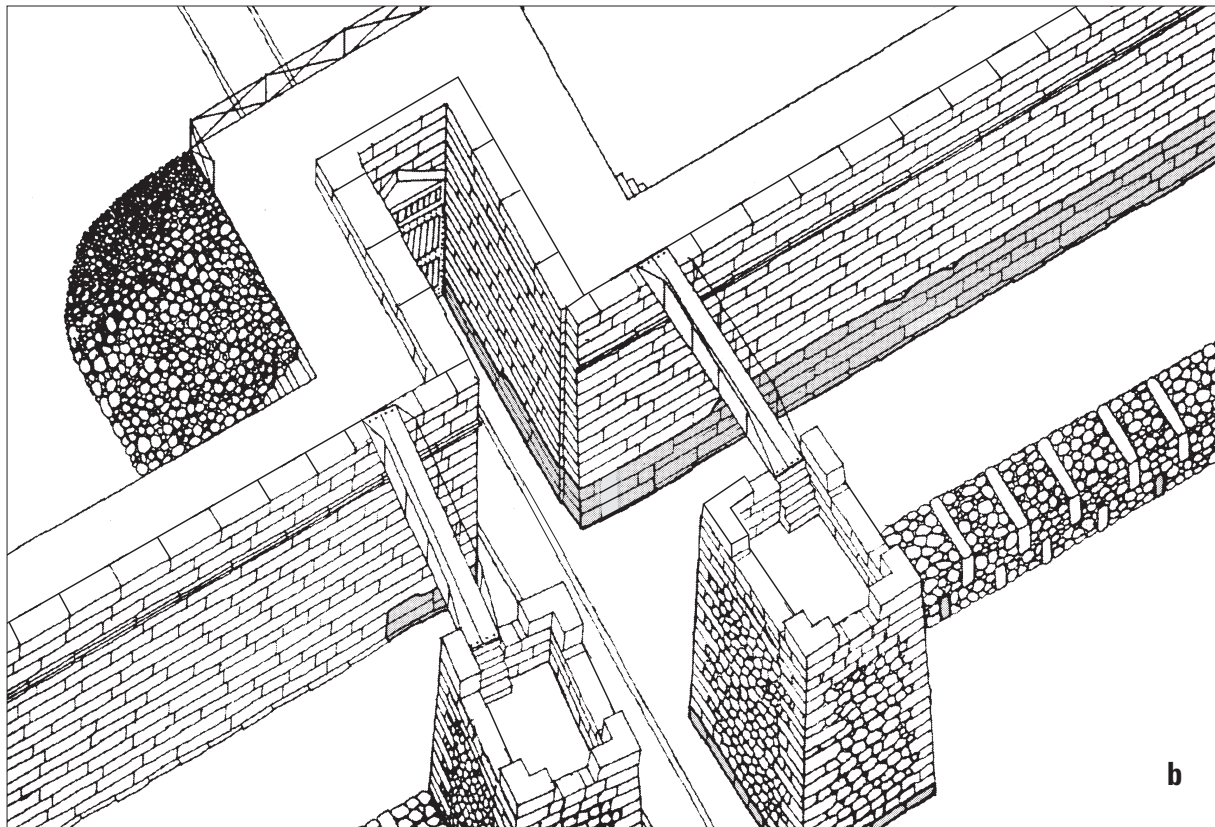
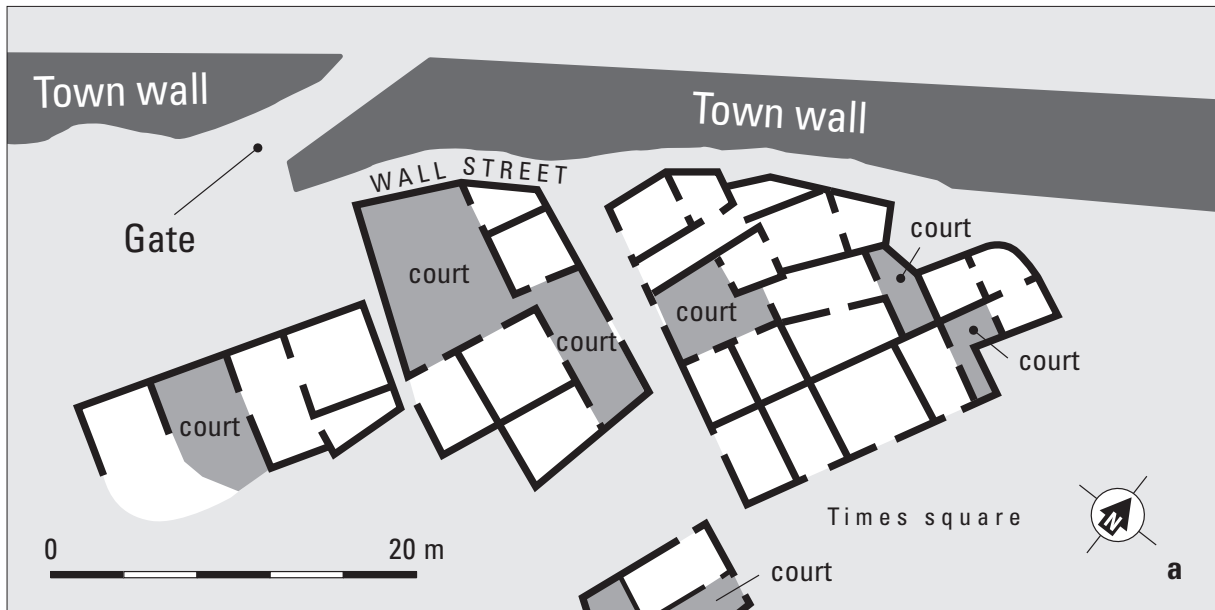


Fig. 6.4. Gates in southeast Italy: (a) Gate and northern quarter of the site of Monte Sannace (central-Apulia), 4th-century; after Scarfi 1962; (b) Reconstruction of the East Gate at Vaste (Salento), 3rd century BC (adapted from G. Carluccio).



Fig. 6.5. Fortification wall of the site of Torretta di Pietragalla (Basilicata), later 4th century BC (archive Archaeological Institute VU University Amsterdam).

6.2 LANDSCAPE AND SETTLEMENT

The 4th and early 3rd centuries BC were a period of great activity and great prosperity in all parts of south-east Italy. It was a time in which

drastic changes occurred in many sectors of the societies living in that region. This observation does not only hold good for the wealthy Greek towns on the coast, but especially for the districts in which most people spoke Oscan and Messapic tongues. In the later 4th century BC new landscapes of both urban and rural character came into being here that differed enormously from those of 6th, 5th and early 4th centuries BC.

The most conspicuous novelty in this respect is the sudden appearance of dozens of new fortifications. Imposing wall circuits made their appearance in many parts of southeast Italy. They continue to be visible in the landscape till the present day. Though Greek towns and a very limited number of non-Greek settlements in the southeastern Salento district had defences in stone as early as the 6th or early 5th century BC, there was an astonishing boom in the construction of fortifications in the 4th century BC. Most of these stem in fact from the middle to later 4th century. Among these were, for instance, the newly built walls of Taras that enclosed the habitation areas and necropoleis at the eastern side of the town (fig. 6.2). But in non-Greek districts that bordered more or less on the *chōrai* of the *poleis*, the inhabitants of nearly each settlement of some substance started the laborious task of building walls that surrounded their settlement.³⁸ On hills and mountains all over Basilicata fortifications were erected. By about the end of the 4th century BC some 33 Lucanian settlements had large and impressive wall circuits.³⁹ Very similar architectural features began to appear, moreover, in central and southern Apulia.⁴⁰ Whilst the Salento district, for instance, had only three or four large defended settlements in the 5th century BC, the number of settlements with walls that enclosed 25–30 hectares or more rose to about 25–26 around 300 BC.⁴¹

The construction of these imposing fortifications required an enormous input of time and effort. Such projects must have weighted heavily upon the local societies that produced them. Most of the newly fortified settlements had an estimated population of c. 3.000 to 5.000 inhabitants, children and women included. The building of fortifications required the quarrying, transport and fitting of thousands of tons of limestone blocks. As a rule these walls were several kilometers long, some five to six meters high and four to five meters thick. They had an inner and outer facing built in an isodomic or pseudo-isodomic technique. The blocks in the wall were mainly headers and stretchers of varying dimensions. The core of the wall consisted mostly of rubble and earth. For the average non-Greek

³⁹ Tréziny 1983; Barra Bagnasco 1999, 49–51.

⁴⁰ Fortifications in stone are conspicuous by their absence in northern Apulia in the 4th century BC. Here the highly dispersed settlements covering hundreds of hectares of the Iron Age and Archaic-Classical times

continued to prevail to within the 3rd century; cf. Goffredo / Ficco 2010, 36 (Ortona, Ascoli Satriano).

⁴¹ D'Andria 1991; Lamboley 1991 and 1996a; Burgers 1998.

settlement of south–Apulian Salento, for instance, some 20.000 m³ of limestone were needed for the construction of the fortifications.⁴² Since this district – often equated with ancient Messapia– had approximately 25–26 larger sites that were presumably walled in the period under discussion, the construction of these defences was a very notable effort indeed (fig. 6.3).

The entrances to these fortified settlements of southeast Italy were the gates. The vast majority of these were fairly simple, being basically passages through the new fortifications (fig. 6.4a). In the course of the 3rd century BC, however, Hellenistic warfare developed rapidly. This required the development of more intricate defences with towers, *proteichismata* and all. The best example of a more developed type of gate was excavated at Vaste (fig.6.4b).⁴³

All these data suggest that the societies that produced these fortifications had very considerable surpluses at their disposal. As we have seen above, building activities of comparable intensity were carried out in Basilicata (fig. 6.5). Within the relatively short time of approximately 30 to 50 years these new, impressive and highly visible markers were created in the landscape over large parts of southeast Italy. These continue to be conspicuous to the present day and have been the sources of inspiration for many folk tales.

The construction of these enormous monuments in stone has often been linked with military affairs. They were believed to be an answer to a substantial, external threat. This threat was often thought to have come from the Greek *condottieri* invited by the Italiote League in the later 4th century or from the expanding Romans in the first half of the 3rd century BC.⁴⁴ It should, however, be observed that the construction of large fortifications is a very time-consuming business and requires the creation of very substantial surpluses. Since moreover, it causes a heavy drain on local manpower, major fortification projects such as those carried out in many settlements of southeast Italy during the later 4th and early 3rd centuries BC cannot be responses to specific events or emergencies. The large scale appearance of town walls in southeast Italy in the late 4th century BC was the result of locally devised long term projects that required a considerable amount of planning and organization on the central level of the settlement. Therefore, the erection of fortifications is likely to point to structural changes in the societies of the region concerned.

It would certainly go too far to deny that the military aspect played no role in decisions to construct these town walls. The numerous settlements that were surrounded by such ring walls had grown prosperous by the late 4th century BC (see paragraph 6.5). Therefore, they were a potential prey to roaming bands and pirates stemming from competing neighbouring polities. The new walls certainly kept raiding parties away from the settlements with their wealthy elites and their rich stores. It is, however, very doubtful whether they were effective in larger conflicts involving armies of thousands of well-trained men (e.g. the troops of Alexander the Molossian or the Roman legions).

The 4th century fortifications, therefore, were more than just structures exclusively made to defend the settlement and withstand sieges. Since they were conspicuous monuments in the landscape, they were the pride of the local society and proclaimed the wealth and status of the settlement to both local inhabitants and outsiders. They were, moreover, an almost obligatory and indispensable feature indicating that the people who lived there made up a socio-political entity. It should, moreover, be noted that nearly all the numerous fortifications of southeast Italy were built at approximately the same time (last third of the 4th century BC). Obviously competition between indigenous settlements was also among the elements that resulted in these massive building activities. The fortifications, therefore,

⁴² The average length of a town wall in Salento, for instance, is slightly over 3 km. With the blocks of the inner and outer facing having a width of 0.50 m each and a total height of 6 m the total of quarried stone

amounts to c. 20.000 m³.

⁴³ Lamboley 1996b and 1999, 89.

⁴⁴ Lamboley 1996, 360–361.

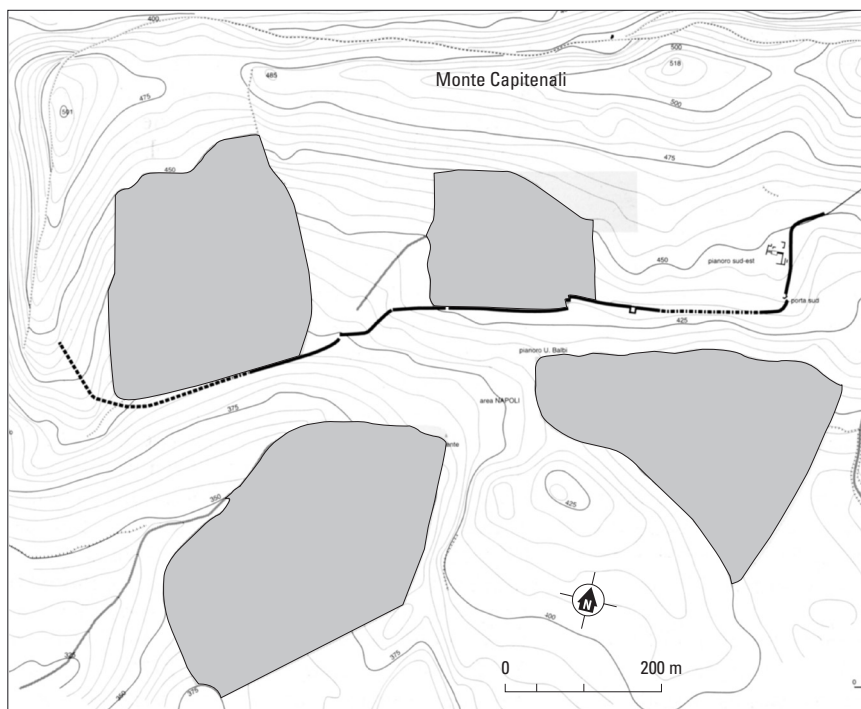


Fig. 6.6. The site of Roccagloriosa with spatially separated settlement areas; 4th–3rd century BC; after Gualtieri and Fracchia 2001, fig. 70.

were among the features that embodied the close cooperation of the inhabitants of the settlement and defined their shared local identity. Furthermore, they separated the habitation area from rural areas, marshes and forests that surrounded the settlement and kept raiding parties, wolves, lynxes, bears and boars away from the people, the household animals and the intra-mural fields.

The areas enclosed by the fortifications occur in many sizes. Generally speaking, the walled settlements of Apulia are larger than those in Basilicata. Whilst the intramural areas in 4th-century Basilicata vary between c. 25 and 60 hectares,⁴⁵ the contemporary walled settlements of central and southern Apulia vary between c. 30 and 140 hectares.⁴⁶ This difference may be partly caused by the character of these regional landscapes. In Basilicata these settlements occupy more or less flat mountain tops in fairly rugged terrain, offering only a limited space for prospective inhabitants and containing hardly any arable soils. Some of these were fairly densely inhabited.⁴⁷ In Apulia, however, the fortified settlements were on fertile soils in relatively flat areas. Here the settlements of the late 4th and early 3rd centuries BC probably enclosed both dispersed groups of dwellings and agricultural plots within their walls.

The differences in size between the fortified settlements of Apulia and Basilicata may also reflect differences in social and spatial organization. While the walled settlements in the Apulian Salento district were sometimes believed to have been similar in character to the Greek towns of southern Italy, their counterparts in Basilicata were often compared to fortified settlements in the Sabellic areas in central Italy. They were believed to have been mainly ceremonial centres of (sub-) tribal units. They were also thought to have been refuges since much of the population was believed to have lived in the surrounding areas. As a consequence of this, these ‘Lucanian *oppida*’ were thought to have had only a limited number of residents. These hypotheses, however, cannot be checked in the present state of

⁴⁵ Barra Bagnasco 1999, 51.

⁴⁶ D’Andria 1999, 109.

⁴⁷ For a relatively densely inhabited settlement, see of Pomarico Vecchio in southeast Basilicata (Barra Bagnasco 1997). The site of Roccagloriosa (western

Lucania), however, consisted of various habitation nuclei. Only some of these were within the fortification walls. The steeper parts of the plateau had no habitation (cf. Gualtieri / Fracchia 2001).

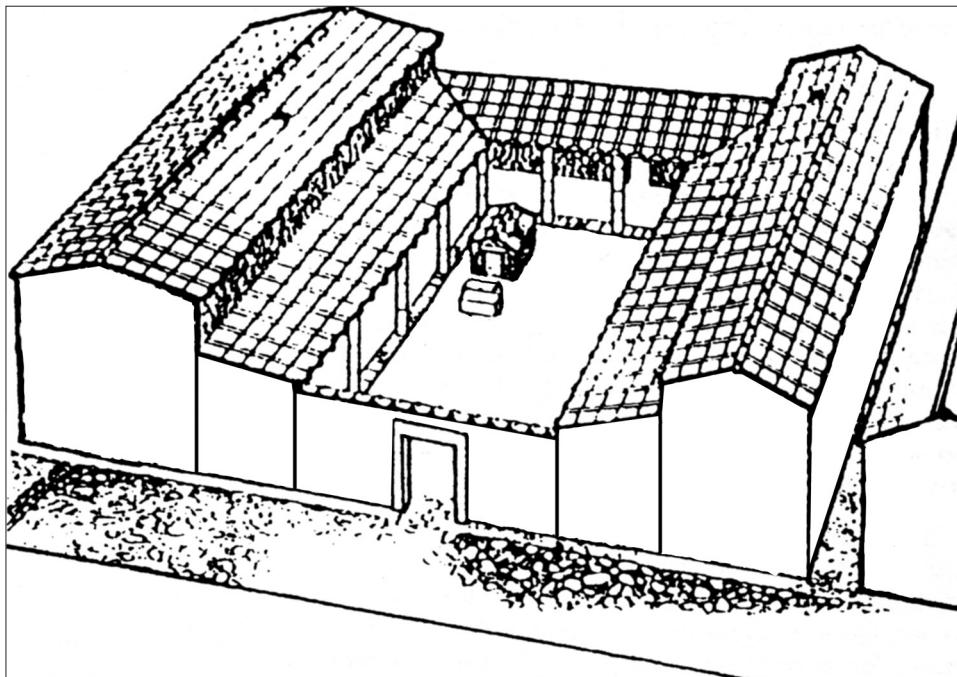
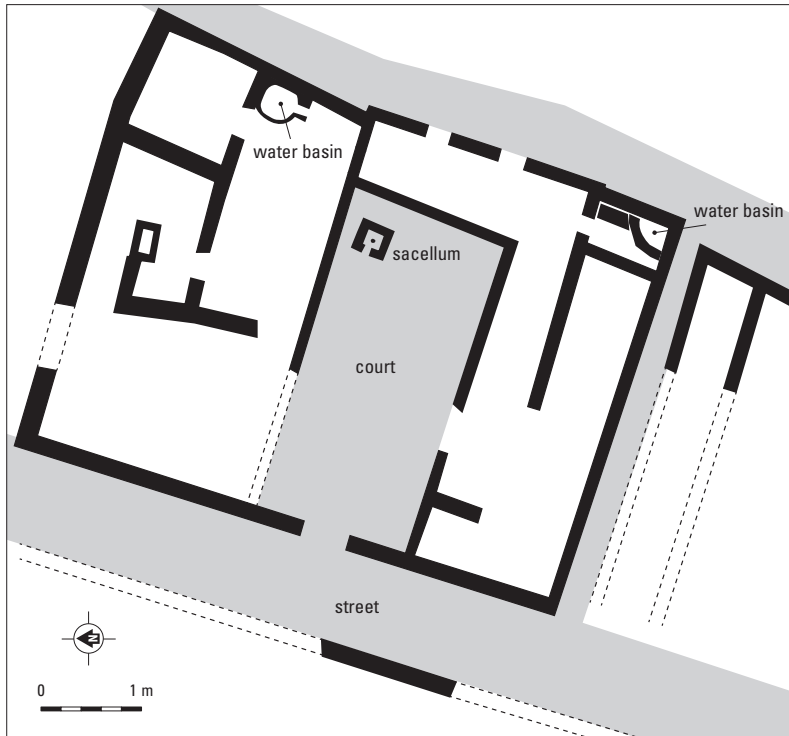


Fig. 6.7. Roccagloriosa, central area within the fortifications: houses (4th-3rd centuries BC); after Gualtieri and Fracchia 2001, fig. 49.



Fig. 6.8. Pomarico Vecchio (southeastern Basilicata): layout of the 4th-3rd-century settlement (after Barra Bagnasco 1997, tav. 5).

research. A thorough analysis of the function of these settlements is hampered by the fact that only limited parts of them have been excavated. Moreover, ‘urban’ surveys have been carried out in southern Apulia, but hardly any field work of this type has as yet been done in the fortified settlements of Basilicata.⁴⁸ The cases investigated hitherto, however, seem to suggest that these fortified hilltop settlements were all true habitation centres.⁴⁹

One of the most intensely studied fortified settlements of the Lucanian districts is the site of Roccagloriosa.⁵⁰ It is situated in the uplands of western Lucania only some 12 km from the Tyrrhenian Sea. It is in a dominant position on a nearly 500 m high mountain overlooking two river valleys. Both the settlement and the rural district surrounding the site have been objects of intense research involving both excavations and field surveys.⁵¹ As for the area enclosed by the defences, its extension is approximately 26–27 hectares of which only some 18 to 20 hectares can be used for human activities.⁵² The relatively flat intra-mural area which is fit for habitation, however, was not densely occupied with buildings. It contained various clusters of dwellings alternating with settlement areas showing only

⁴⁸ For Torre di Satriano, see preliminary report in Osanna 2007.

⁴⁹ Barra Bagnasco 1997; de Cazanove 2002; Gualtieri / Fracchia 2001.

⁵⁰ There is an ample bibliography on Roccagloriosa. For books with a more or less general character, see Gualtieri / Fracchia 1990, Gualtieri 1993 and Gualtieri / Fracchia 2001. Other sites on which there is good information are Satriano, (see, e.g., Holloway 1970,

Greco et al. 1988, Nava / Osanna 2001, Osanna / Sica 2005, Osanna 2009), Serra di Vaglio (e.g., Bottini 1990a; Greco 1980, 1982, 1991 and 1996), Pomarico Vecchio (Barra Bagnasco 1997) and Civita di Tricarico (de Cazanove 2002 and 2008).

⁵¹ Gualtieri / Fracchia 1990 and 2001.

⁵² The defences are made up of a fortification wall and ravines. Part of the intramural area consist of rocky outcrops and steep slopes.



Fig. 6.9. Valesio (province of Brindisi): result of the urban survey for the 4th century BC. 1 habitation quarters; 2 storage areas; 3 burial areas; 4 architectural terracottas.

little sign of human activity.⁵³ Some habitation areas of the settlement, moreover, were situated on a slightly lower plateau, decidedly outside the walled area. (fig. 6.6). There are, however, no differences between the habitation areas inside and those outside the walls. They all appear to consist of larger and smaller houses (fig. 6.7). These data may well suggest that each of these clusters was inhabited by a large family group or clan consisting of members of different rank.

Fortified settlements displaying dispersed groups of dwellings similar to that of Roccagloriosa were probably present in other parts of the uplands of Basilicata.⁵⁴ In the hinterland of Metapontion in southeastern Basilicata, however, different forms of settlement are found. During the excavations at Pomarico Vecchio, some 25 km west of Metapontion, a fortified hill top settlement of a nucleated type has been excavated.⁵⁵ It occupied a plateau (altitude 415 m) overlooking the surrounding countryside consisting of river valleys and hills. The layout of 4th- to 3rd-century Pomarico Vecchio displays an orthogonal grid pattern. The backbone of the layout consists of a 4.50 m wide main street and c. 3.00 m wide side streets separating *insulae*. These *insulae* have approximately the same width (c. 10.00 m).

⁵³ Gualtieri 1996, 303.

⁵⁴ Other candidates with a more or less dispersed form of settlement are Satriano, Serra di Vaglio (e.g. Greco

1991 and 1996) and Oppido Lucano (preliminary reports: Lissi Caronna 1972, 1980, 1983, 1990/1991).

⁵⁵ Barra Bagnasco 1997.



Fig. 6.10. Muro Tenente (Brindisi area, south Apulia): artist's impression of the settlement in the early 3rd century BC, based on auguring, urban survey and excavations at Muro Tenente (archive ACVU).

A larger building south of the main street having the width of two *insulae*, is believed to represent an aristocratic dwelling (fig. 6.8).⁵⁶ This orthogonal layout with a wide main street (*plateia*) and more narrow side streets (*stenopoi*) displays close affinities with the layout of Greek towns of southeast Italy such as Taras, Herakleia and Metapontion. A town plan of comparable regularity can be found at Civita di Tricarico which – though definitely oriented on the Gulf of Taranto – is much closer to the mountainous heartlands of Lucania than Pomarico Vecchio.⁵⁷

In the south–Apulian Salento district three fortified settlements of the 4th and 3rd centuries have been the subject of intensive research covering larger parts of the settlement area. These are the site of Vaste (c. 77 ha) in the southern tip of the peninsula, and the settlements of Valesio (c. 80 ha) and Muro Tenente (50 ha) which are both situated in the Brindisi district (northern isthmus area of Salento). Together these three sites have give a good impression of the structure and character of the 4th–3rd century settlements of this district. Whilst a substantial series of excavations has been carried out at various spots of intramural Vaste, both Valesio and Muro Tenente have been studied through both high intensity urban surveys and large scale excavations.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ The courtyard of the large building at Pomarico Vecchio contained a votive deposit, as did one of the aristocratic houses at Roccagloriosa (cf. Barra Bagnasco 1996, 229–232).

⁵⁷ ⁵⁶ de Cazanove 2002 and 2006.

⁵⁸ For concise report on Vaste, see *Archeologia dei Messapi*,

49–189; for substantial reports on Valesio see Boersma / Yntema 1987; Yntema 1993b and Yntema 2001; for Muro Tenente, see Burgers 1998. Urban surveys were also carried out at the fortified sites of Muro Maurizio and San Pancrazio, both situated in the Brindisi district (Burgers 1998).



Fig. 6.11. Valesio (south Apulia): terracotta antefix and revetment plaque from centre of the site (4th-3rd century BC), archive ACVU.

The research carried out in the Salento district hitherto has shown that none of the intra-mural areas of the fortified settlements of the period under discussion was completely filled in with buildings. It appears that the fortified settlements of Salento were in fact more or less dispersed settlements in which clusters of habitations alternated with apparently empty spaces (fig. 6.9). At first sight the internal organization of these 4th-century settlements seems a continuation of the Iron Age situation in which the settlement consisted of dispersed clusters of huts. This observation is probably not correct. It appears that the various settlement clusters of the Salento sites were not inhabited by the complete family group. The field work at Muro Tenente, especially carried out to provide an insight into the spatial organization of this Salento settlement, demonstrates that the fairly densely inhabited centre of the settlement was the domain of the local elite. Here, each of the important local families had its dwellings and its elite cemetery. Craftsmen and farmers inhabited various spatially separated, more or less peripheral quarters in the area enclosed by the fortifications. It looks as if the settlement model in Salento was that of the pie chart: each of the local clans or family groups inhabited a chunk of the settlement pie (fig. 6.10). The leading families of the group lived in the very centre of the settlement, close to the dominant lineages of other local family groups. The dependant farmers and craftsmen lived in a habitation nucleus in the periphery of the walled area within the same chunk. The peripheral quarter excavated at Muro Tenente, moreover, constructed in the early years of the 3rd century BC, displays an orthogonal lay-out. The new houses here had approximately the same dimensions and were part of an *insula* (fig. 6.19). This suggests that the separation between the leading families of the settlement and the less privileged belonging to the same family group was a planned action that was carried out in a relatively short time. This all happened around 300 BC.

The organization of the fortified settlements of Lucania and Salento closely echoed the social structure of the local societies. It reflected both their tribal character and their social stratification, albeit in slightly different ways. It is, therefore, not correct to see these native walled settlements as second rate copies of the Greek *poleis* of southeast Italy. In both the Lucanian settlements of Basilicata and the complex settlements of the non-Greek groups of central and southern Apulia characteristic features rooted in the tribal character of these societies were retained during the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. The great innovation at Muro Tenente was the separation between the tribal elite and the tribal farmers

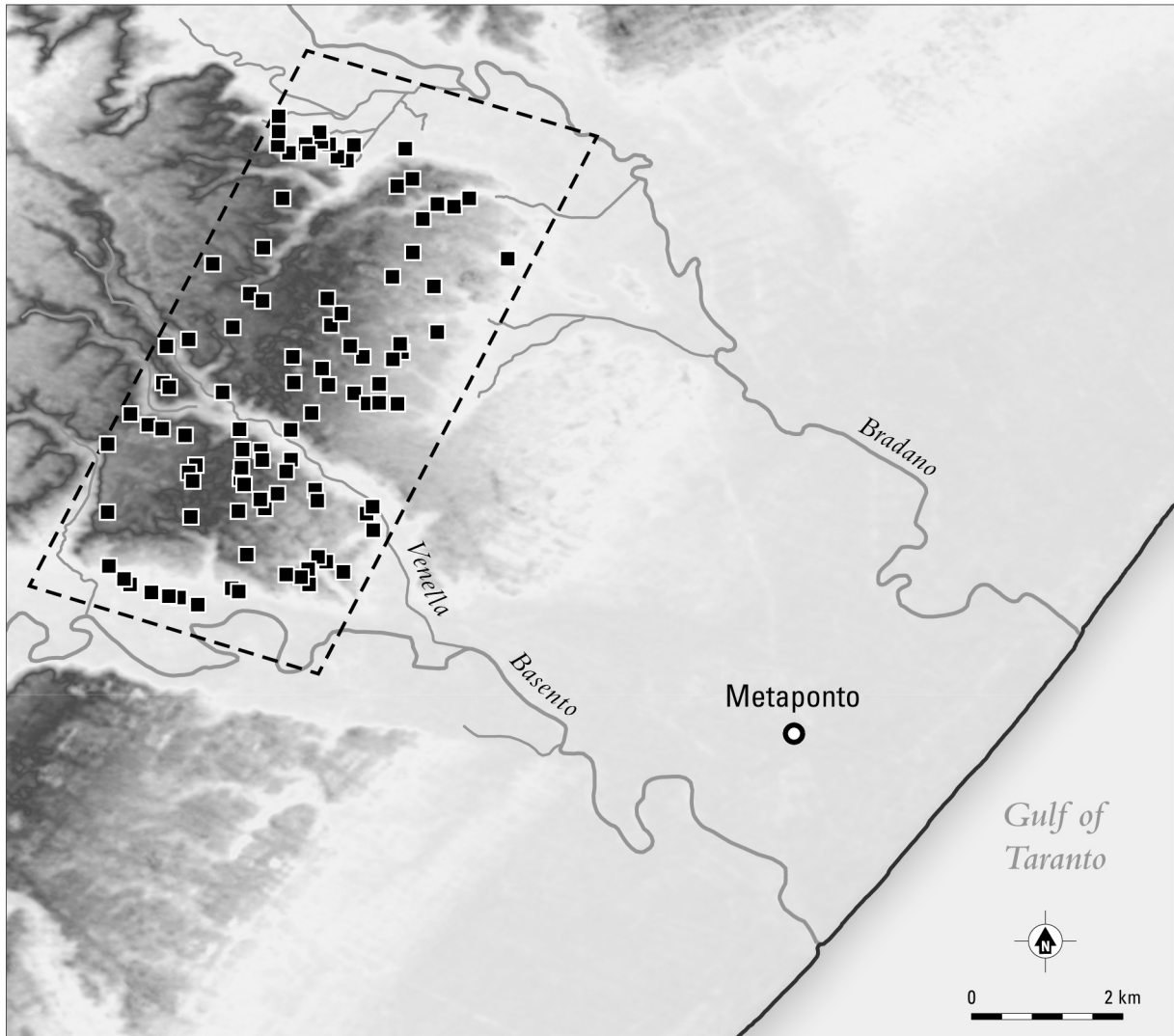


Fig. 6.12. Metapontion survey area: sites c. 300 BC. (after Carter / Prieto 2011).

and craftsmen. The various local families of high rank in the settlement stuck together and distanced themselves in a very literal sense from their kinsmen of lower rank. It is uncertain whether similar strict separations between elite and ‘commoners’ were also made in other settlements of Salento. As we have seen above the urban survey carried out at Valesio makes it quite clear that the site had various habitation nuclei in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC (see fig. 6.9). Since fragments of 4th century antefixes and other architectural terracottas referring to prestigious dwellings were collected exclusively in the central nucleus of the site (fig. 6.11), the spatial subdivision at Muro Tenente as described above may not have been unique. At Roccagloriosa in Lucania the local clans continued to inhabit their habitation cluster in the settlement as they had done before; the local elites were *not* separated from their kinsmen of lower rank (as in Muro Tenente), but lived in the larger houses within their own cluster.

The rather sudden appearance of many fortified settlements in large parts of southeast Italy during the 4th century BC is a phenomenon that cries out for explanation. As we have seen above, they have often been linked to the *histoire événementelle*: they are currently seen as reactions to the activities of the *condottieri* invited by the Italiote League. But this explanation has been refuted above. They were constructed in the later 4th century BC because precisely at that time the various local societies of Basilicata and central and southern Apulia attained a level of organization and a level of cooperation

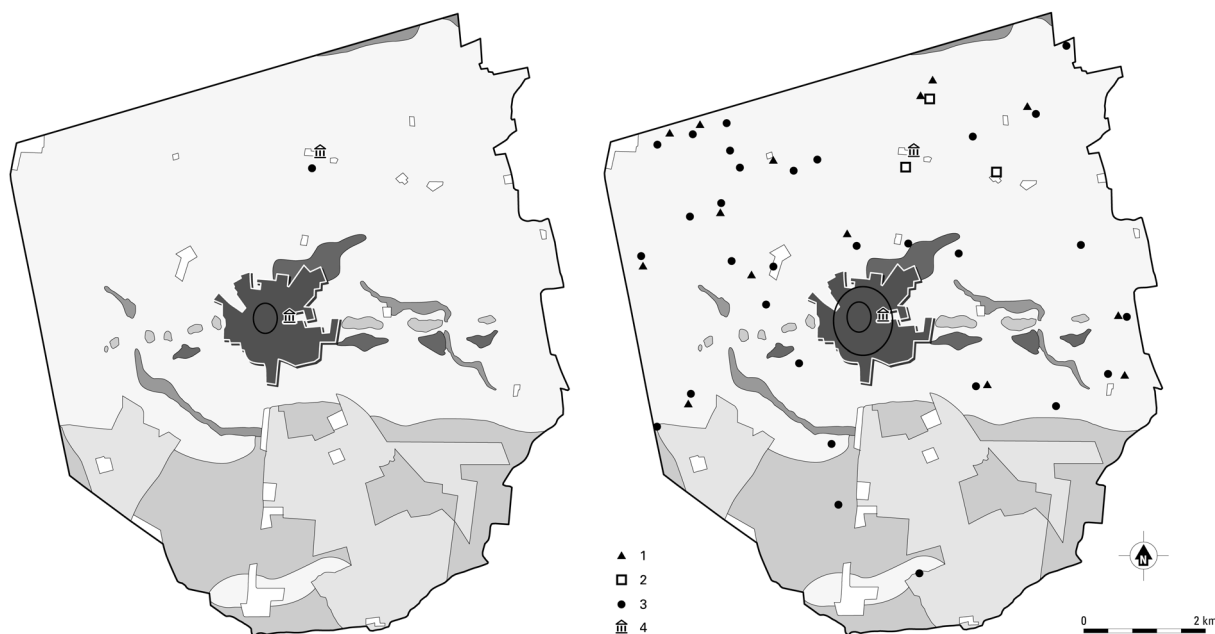


Fig. 6.13. Oria (Brindisi district): (a) Foci of human activity in the 6th and 5th century BC; (b) Explosion of rural settlement in the late 4th and early 3rd century BC: 1 rural necropolis; 2 hamlet; 3 isolated farmstead; 4 sanctuary.

between the local clans that is needed for such a collective enterprise. Furthermore, we shall see below that it was in that same period that they generated the means and the surpluses and could muster the working force that were all indispensable for such projects. Moreover the fortifications were the products of the need to stress various local identities, the need to loudly proclaim local pride and the need to compete with neighbouring groups.

At approximately the same time, the habitation areas began to expand markedly. This phenomenon has been mapped in detail for southern Apulia,⁵⁹ but there are many signs that settlements were extended in a very similar way in other parts of Apulia and in Basilicata.⁶⁰ In all the settlements that have been subject to urban surveys the scatters of later 4th and 3rd century objects are much denser and much larger than those of any preceding period. Part of this phenomenon may be due to the fact that the settlement ceramics of that period have a much better visibility and higher diagnostic values than those of preceding periods.⁶¹ A check at two sites in the Brindisi area (Valesio and Muro Tenente), however, has revealed that the peripheral scatters close to the defences contained no characteristic 5th- and early 4th-century pottery forms. The habitation quarters they represent were, therefore, newly created towards the end of the 4th or in the early years of the 3rd century BC. The exponential increase in formal burials from about 370 BC onward seems to stress the same point:⁶² during the 4th century BC there was a remark-

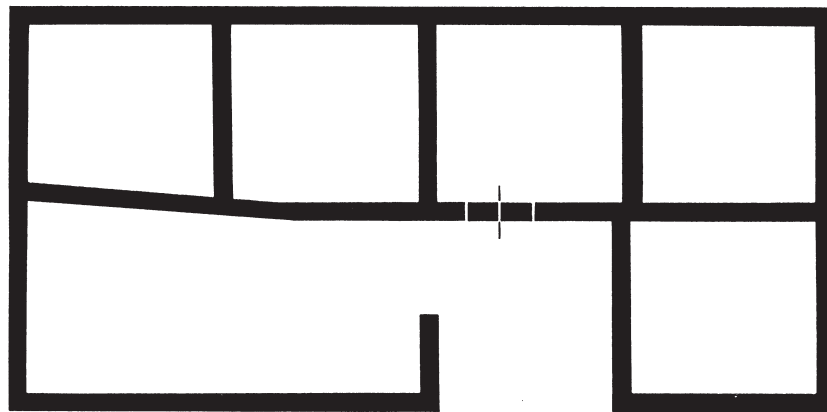
⁵⁹ Yntema 1993b, Burgers 1998.

⁶⁰ For instance, Gualtieri / Fracchia 1990 and 2001.

⁶¹ The diagnostic Apulian Black Gloss wares became very common in household contexts of the non-Greek areas of southeast Italy from the later 4th century BC onward. Before that time the usual household assemblage of ceramics consisted exclusively of impasto wares (pithoid storage jars), coarse wares (cooking pots), plain wares (jugs, basins) and banded wares

(lekanai, hydriae, stamnoïd vessels, cups) which are all poorly diagnostic.

⁶² The demographic growth was not so enormous as the rapidly increasing quantities of burials seem to suggest. There is reason to assume that in the 4th century, especially in the indigenous districts of southeast Italy, a percentually higher number of members of the local groups received a formal burial than in the 6th and 5th centuries BC.



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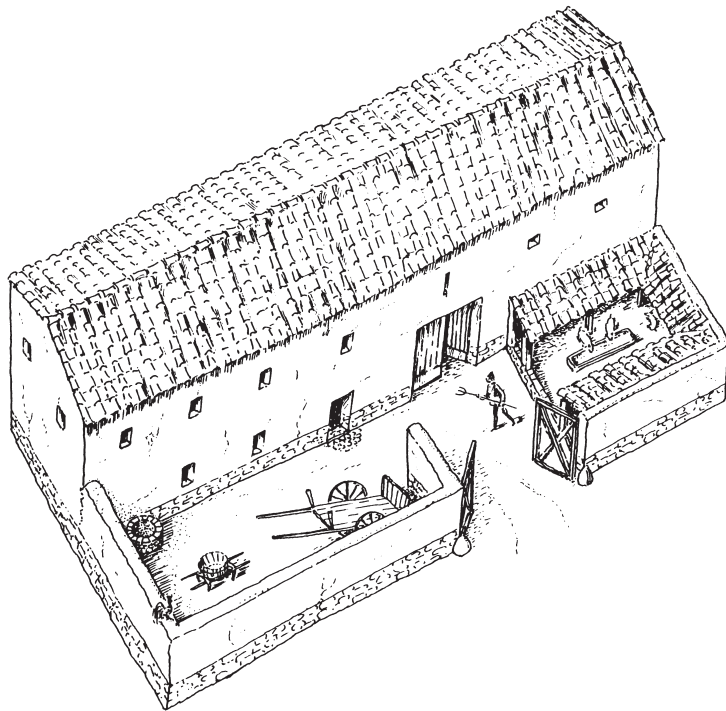


Fig. 6.14. Vaste (south Apulia). Early 3rd century farmstead: ground plan and artist's impression.

able demographic growth. It seems particularly evident in the native districts of southeast Italy. But a rapid extension of settlement areas and a very substantial increase in burials can also be observed in the Greek *poleis* of the same region. It may be concluded that from the 4th century BC onward southeast Italy sustained a much larger population than in any preceding phase of its history.

We have seen that both in Apulia and in Basilicata new, more or less urban landscapes were created by the large scale construction of defences and new, sometimes fairly regular lay-outs of the rapidly expanding settlement areas.⁶³ These contained the large houses of the elite, the dwellings and workshops of craftsmen and the farmsteads of tribal farmers. The most astonishing novelty in the use of

⁶³ These non-Greek walled centres are often called 'proto-urban' settlements, since the social structure of

the local society and the spatial organization reflecting this structure is likely to display overtly tribal features.

space was the birth and expansion of rural landscapes all over southeast Italy. It has been observed in the preceding chapter that inhabited countrysides were created in the territories of the Greek towns during the 6th century BC. In the 4th century BC, however, the number of farm sites increased notably in the territory of Metapontion.⁶⁴ It was in the later 4th and 3rd centuries that rural activities were at their most intense there (fig. 6.12). Similar patterns have been discovered for the *chōrai* of Kroton and Taras.⁶⁵ The present evidence, therefore, seems to suggest that the 4th and 3rd centuries BC were a period of great agrarian flourishing for the *poleis* of southeast Italy.

The 6th-century creation of an intensely inhabited and exploited countryside was characteristic only of the coastal settlements that saw themselves as Greek *poleis*. It has been observed in chapter 5 that a similar phenomenon is conspicuously absent from districts inhabited by people who spoke Messapic and Oscan languages. The non-Greeks are believed to have cultivated a halo of fields that surrounded the settlement areas during the 6th, 5th and first half of the 4th century. In the later 4th century BC, however, all of a sudden isolated farmsteads and hamlets consisting of three to five farmsteads begin to appear at spots which are three to five kilometers away from the nearest non-Greek settlement. This rural expansion started between 330 and 300 BC: the earliest finds from these small rural sites almost invariably date to the late 4th or early 3rd centuries BC.

These small rural settlements have been discovered during intensive field surveys from the late 1970s onward.⁶⁶ The phenomenon was not confined to one or two districts; it was exceptionally widespread and can be observed in almost every nook of southeast Italy. Examples of such rural settlements have been traced from the valleys surrounding Roccagloriosa at westernmost outskirts of Lucania⁶⁷ to the border area between Basilicata and Apulia,⁶⁸ the Salento peninsula⁶⁹ and northern Apulia.⁷⁰ Their number, moreover, is amazingly large. Whenever intensive field surveys have been carried out, dozens of farm sites have turned up with an average of at least one per km² of arable land. If we extrapolate these survey results over the whole region discussed here, thousands of farmsteads must have been constructed in a rather short period of 30 to 50 years. On the basis of the finds one may assume that these were permanently inhabited. All of a sudden, an explosion of small rural settlements took place in the late 4th and early 3rd centuries BC. It resulted in an intensely cultivated countryside littered with farms (fig. 6.13 and 6.14).

The farms were not the only trace of human activity in the areas between the various fortified settlements of the native districts of southeast Italy. High intensity field surveys have also produced traces of rural necropoleis. Only one or two of these have been excavated in a more or less systematic manner.⁷¹ They were probably never large: each of these may have contained some 15 to 25 tombs and spanned a period of three to four generations.⁷² They confirm the stable and permanent character of the rural

⁶⁴ Carter 1998b, 2001 and 2006.

⁶⁵ Carter / D'Annibale 1985; Burgers / Crielaard 2007 and 2011.

⁶⁶ The scatters are mostly small (usually between 900 m² and 2000 m²). Among the finds are fine wares (black gloss wares), thick walled plain wares (mortars, large jars and container vessels) and more thin-walled plain wares (jugs, pitchers), cooking wares (stew pots, casseroles), roof tiles, limestone blocks and large fragments of olive and wine presses.

⁶⁷ Gualtieri / Fracchia 2001.

⁶⁸ Cf. Small et al. 1998, 365, Small 2001, Small / Small

2005.

⁶⁹ Boersma et al. 1991, Yntema 1993a, Burgers 1998, Burgers / Crielaard 2011.

⁷⁰ Volpe 1990, Goffredo 2010, Goffredo / Ficco 2010.

⁷¹ For a rural necropolis in the Oria-Francavilla area, see Marinazzo 1980.

⁷² They currently date between c. 330/320-250/230 BC. In the second half of the 3rd century BC there is a major shift in the funerary customs. As a result of this, the burials of a large part of the population can no longer be traced.

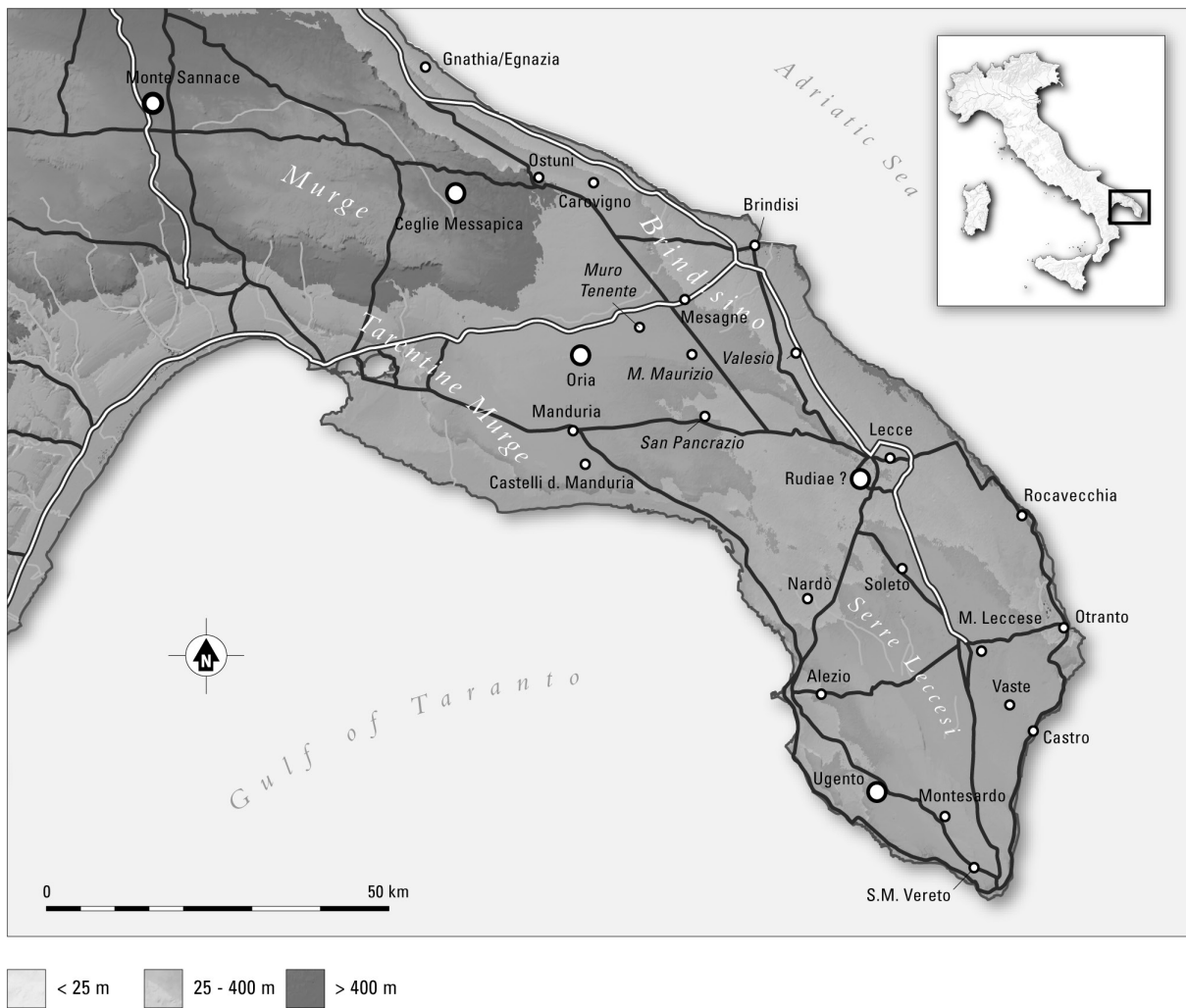


Fig. 6.15. Salento district (south Apulia): major tribal centres and fortified settlements of lesser importance in the later 4th century BC.

settlements. People actually lived, raised families and died at these farmsteads. They were mainly agriculturalists. Remains of wine and olive presses and fragments of *dolia* collected at many of these sites indicate that the family processed and even stored products coming from their fields in their farm. Obviously the risk of being raided by a band from a neighbouring settlement soon after the harvest had been brought in, was not particularly great.

These drastic changes in agricultural practice had enormous effects on the landscape in many parts southeast Italy. Whilst many settlements had been surrounded by fields before the later 4th century BC, fertile areas several kilometers from the settlement were now taken into cultivation. Since these were covered with natural vegetation, they had to be reclaimed. In the relatively short period of 30 to 50 years substantial parts of southeast Italy underwent a major transformation. Manmade landscapes increased drastically at the coast of wild nature. Before the middle of the 4th century BC each indigenous settlement had been a manmade island of dwellings and fields in a sea of forests and shrubbery (natural landscapes with traces of human influence). From c. 330 onward, smaller and larger patches of completely manmade landscape consisting of one or more dwellings and tilled fields began to appear in many places in the landscape. The distance between the various foci of human activity in the landscape shrank enormously. In the Brindisi area in northern Salento, for instance, the settlements had been

seven to ten kilometer apart before 330/320. With the birth of the farmstead landscape in the late 4th century, the distance between settlements (farmsteads, hamlets, fortified centres) was often no more than a few hundred meters. Although large patches of wood survived in various areas (surveys have also recorded completely 'empty' areas),⁷³ substantial parts of the environments of southeast Italy had now been turned into human landscapes of fields and farmsteads.⁷⁴

The creation of this manmade, rural landscape in southeast Italy during the late 4th and earlier 3rd century BC consisting of probably thousands of farmsteads was an immense effort. It resulted in the felling of ten thousands of trees,⁷⁵ the removal of trunks and burning of shrubbery and the construction of the farmhouses with their annexes. These actions took much time and considerable manpower. When they could be carried out without totally unbalancing the local societies (as seems to have been the case), they could be carried out exclusively by groups that were very well organized and had amassed very considerable surpluses indeed. This observation gains in strength when we note that the large scale reclamations were more or less contemporary to the building of equally labour intensive fortifications and the construction of new settlement areas.

Both the suddenness and the large scale of the changes suggest that the driving force behind these actions was usually *not* the individual decision or the personal choice of the Lucanian or Messapian farmer. There was a more central drive behind these massive reclamations of land. Like the construction of the defences, moreover, it was an enterprise in which necessarily a substantial part of the population participated: clearing substantial patches of forest and preparing the soil for agrarian purposes is a laborious task. That does not mean that this expansion of the agricultural area of the settlement was actually an effort in which the *whole* community living in a fortified settlement must have participated. Since local clans were probably important in the non-Greek districts of southeast Italy, local elite families with their substantial wealth and their large local clientele may well have taken the initiative. Each of the three to five local family groups or clans extended its farmland by reclaiming terrains in patches of wild nature on which they believed to have a justified claim. The local elites may well have been inspired by the example of Greek aristocrats who owned large patches of land in the territories of their Greek city states and extracted substantial wealth from these possessions. The new farms of Lucania and Apulia could well have been manned by dependent farmers who belonged to the same clan group that initiated the reclamation of a new patch of fields. If this was indeed the case, the local clan group was the owner of the newly reclaimed terrains in the purely technical sense. The main profits, of course, went to the elite family that headed that particular group.

In the preceding chapter on the 6th and 5th centuries BC we have seen that a very distinct settlement hierarchy developed in the territories of the Greek speaking coastal towns of southeast Italy. Each *polis* had one urban centre, some hamlets and dozens of isolated farmsteads. This hierarchy was the result of large scale reclamation of new areas for agriculture and landscape infill that took place during the 6th century BC. When the same activities were carried out in the non-Greek areas of southeast Italy in the course of the 4th century BC, a similar manmade landscape was created here. This means that the settlement hierarchy in Basilicata and in central and southern Apulia became much more complex. Whilst it consisted of tribal centres and settlements of probably lesser importance during the 6th and 5th centuries BC, the creation of an inhabited countryside during the 4th century BC added two new types of rural settlement: the isolated farmsteads and the hamlets consisting of a few farms. Major

⁷³ Another indication for the survival of woods is that the 4th and early 3rd century bone samples have some 5% percent of red deer (*Cervus elaphus*). This percentage differs little from those of the bone samples of the 8th,

7th, 6th and 5th centuries BC.

⁷⁴ Attema et al. 1998.

⁷⁵ These were predominantly oaks, beeches and ashes (see Veenman 2002).

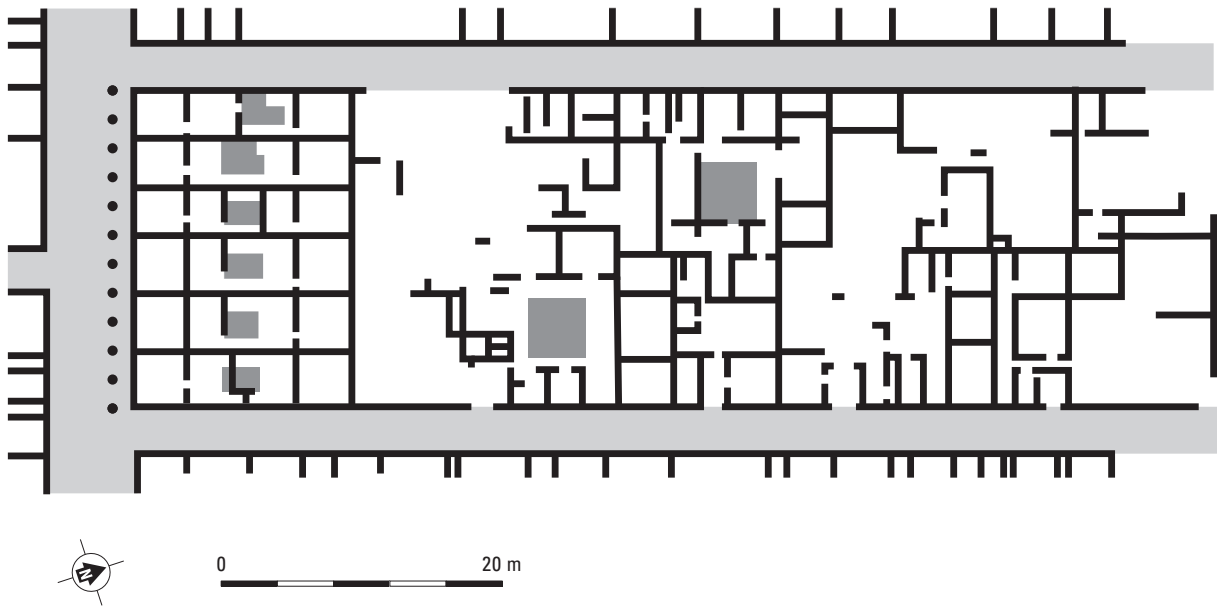


Fig. 6.16. Plan (after Giardino 1996) and aerial photograph (courtesy tourist office) of western quarter of Herakleia in Lucania.

tribal centres which were sometimes fortified as early as the late 6th or early 5th century BC, probably continued to be the highest echelon in the settlement hierarchy. It is, however, doubtful whether they completely retained their dominant position when many dependent settlements of formerly lesser importance started building town walls. As we have seen, these fortifications stressed local identities and may have weakened identities shared by the whole tribe focusing on a particular tribal centre. In principle, moreover, they enabled these newly walled settlements to follow a somewhat more independent course in political matters. Probably, the great tribal centres continued to be the largest and most important settlements. They continued to play a central role in various tribal ceremonies and

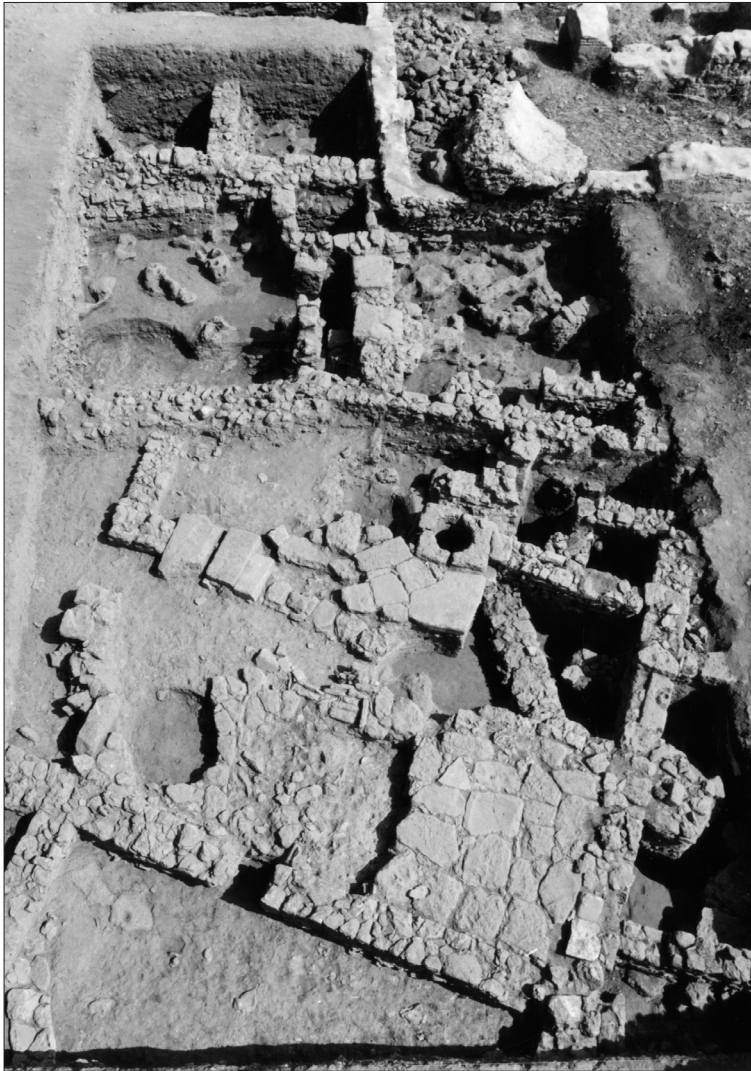


Fig. 6.17. Valesio (Brindisi area, south Apulia); stone plinths of houses of the 3rd century BC. Archive ACVU.

continued to be the base of the paramount chief. The presence of very large buildings often identified as princely residences in these major settlements seems to confirm this supposition. An enormous 4th-century elite dwelling was excavated at the tribal centre of Serra di Vaglio (upper Basilicata; see below), while Oria which had more or less the same status on the Salento isthmus is said to have had a ‘royal palace’.⁷⁶

In the later 4th century BC, therefore, a settlement hierarchy came into being in the non-Greek areas of southeast Italy that displays similarities to that found in the Greek states on the coast. It consisted of large tribal centres and fortified settlements of considerable complexity depending in some way on these large centres (fig. 6.15). In addition to these

there were hamlets consisting of three to six farmsteads and large numbers of isolated farmsteads. These rural settlements all depended on the nearest walled settlement. This was the agrarian centre of the territory controlled by the clans living in that fortified settlement.

The developments sketched above, however, did not occur in every part of southeast Italy. Walled towns and settlement systems displaying a strong hierarchical character were absent in the two ‘Daunian’ districts of northern Apulia. Here the character of important settlements such as Canosa and Arpi hardly differed from that of the Iron Age and Archaic-Classical times. They continued to be large, highly dispersed settlements covering hundreds of hectares and having varying densities of habitation (fig. 4.3). As late as the second half of the 4th century BC they consisted of various, spatially separated habitation clusters. Each of these consisted of houses and/or huts probably surrounded by yards. These loose clusters inhabited by different clan groups, alternated with animal compounds and tilled fields. It was only in the course of the 3rd century BC that more or less dense clusters of habitations came into being in the settlements of north-Apulia which started to display a slightly more urban appearance.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ For the large building at Serra di Vaglio, see below; the presence of a royal palace at Oria (*basileion*) is mentioned by the geographer Strabo (*Geography* VI.3.6)

⁷⁷ Mertens 1979 (Ortona), Goffredo 2010 (Canosa), Goffredo / Ficco 2010 (Ascoli Satriano).

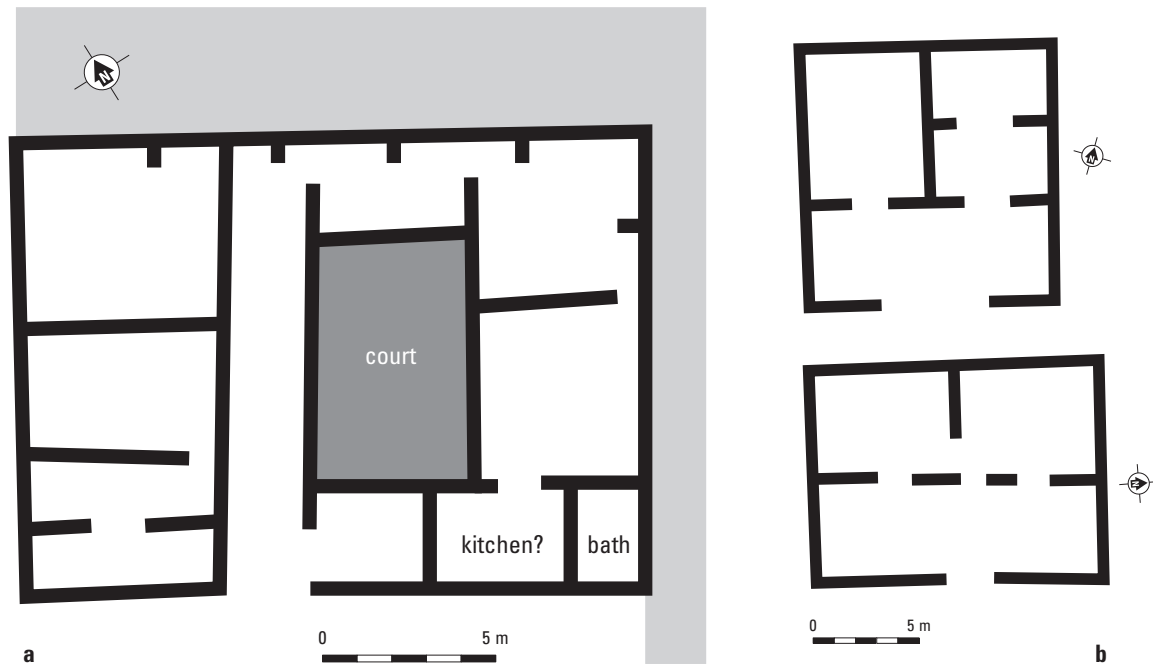


Fig. 6.18. Houses in 4th–3rd century in southeast Italy: a courtyard house at Herakleia; b three room houses from Monte Sannace, central Apulia.

In ranked societies dwellings often reflect in some way the status of their occupants. This almost general rule also applies to 4th- and 3rd-century BC southeast Italy. In order to trace differences in contemporary house architecture however, substantial parts of settlements have to be excavated showing the housing of both the elite and the less privileged. Such activities were carried out in only a limited number of cases. The sample of dwellings on which the present observations are based, therefore, is fairly small.

The most elaborately studied case of 4th- and 3rd-century house architecture in a Greek speaking town of southern Italy is Lokroi Epizefyrioi which is definitely outside the area discussed in this book.⁷⁸ The quarters excavated there may well give a good impression of the habitation areas that existed in Taras, Metapontion, Herakleia and Thourioi. Similar quarters have indeed been found at Herakleia where they are relatively well preserved. Here, they invariably display a regular layout with larger streets (*plateiai*) and smaller ones (*stenopoi*) meeting at right angles. Identical layouts were present at Taras, Thourioi and Metapontion. These define *insulae* having houses of varying dimensions and various degrees of luxury (fig. 6.16). In Herakleia most houses have a courtyard, whilst a few larger specimens appear to have a peristyle or a large central court.⁷⁹ The rooms of the Herakleia houses are invariably arranged around or alongside the open space in a way that is echoed at Lokroi.⁸⁰

Similar houses consisting of a handful of rooms giving onto a courtyard are found all over southeast Italy.⁸¹ They occur in many different dimensions and are present in both the towns of people who saw themselves as Greeks and in settlements where non-Greek identities were stressed.⁸² Though the patterns of the street plans and the layouts of the houses may differ considerably, the construction

⁷⁸ Barra Bagnasco 1989.

⁸¹ Barra Bagnasco 1990, 61.

⁷⁹ Giardino 1996.

⁸² Russo Tagliente 1992 and 1996.

⁸⁰ Barra Bagnasco 1996, 50.

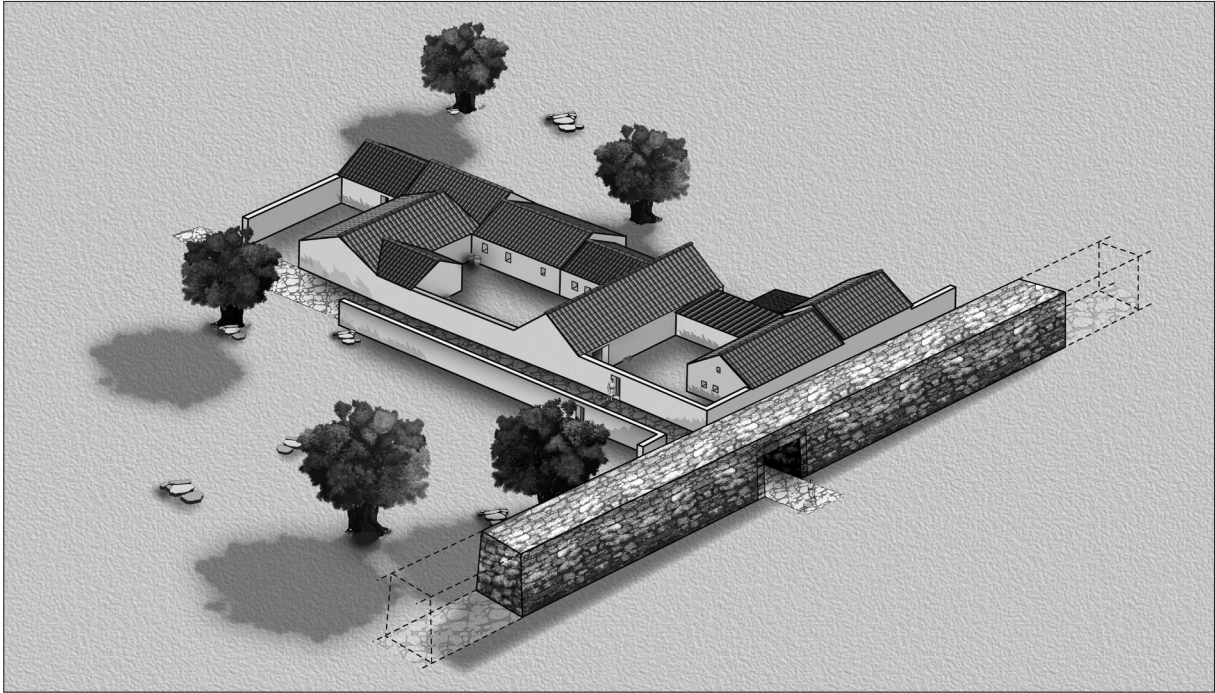


Fig. 6.19. Reconstruction of the excavated part of the northern quarter of Muro Tenente, south Apulia, early 3rd century BC.

techniques used for the houses show little variation. The construction of the houses of Herakleia, for instance, is relatively simple. The foundations and lower part of the wall (height c. 0.30 to 0.50 m) consist of rounded stones taken from the nearby rivers. The upper part of the wall was made of mudbrick, while the tile-covered roof was sustained by large wooden beams. In areas that were rich in limestone (Salento, Bari district, upper Basilicata) square or irregular blocks of limestone replaced the cobblestones (fig. 6.17). The superstructure and the construction of the roof in these districts were invariably in very similar or identical techniques to those used at Herakleia: mudbrick, wooden beams sustaining terracotta rooftiles.

Whilst the courtyard house with a wide variety of subtypes was the dominant form of dwelling in the Greek towns of southeast Italy,⁸³ the non-Greek settlements displayed an even wider variety of house types during the 4th and 3rd centuries BC.⁸⁴ These range from simple two- or three-room houses (minimum c. 50-60 m²) to impressive elite residences covering hundreds of square meters. Both simple houses and large residences occur in different forms (fig. 6.18a-c). There was no widely accepted standard. As for the smallest houses, the most common form is the paratactic arrangement of two or three rooms (fig. 6.18b). Such dwellings occurred in all indigenous districts of southeast Italy. Mostly, however, the non-elite houses in large parts of Apulia and Basilicata were more comfortable and displayed a distinct likeness to the courtyard houses of Herakleia and other *poleis* on the Gulf of Taranto.

Large buildings usually interpreted as elite dwellings have been discovered in various places. The largest specimen hitherto reported was unearthed at the mountain top site of Serra di Vaglio in central Basilicata.⁸⁵ It measured 33 x 24 m (c. 800 m²) and consisted of a large courtyard having a *pastas*

⁸³ Barra Bagnasco 1990 and 1996.

⁸⁵ Russo Tagliente 1996, 162 and Greco 1996, 257.

⁸⁴ Russo Tagliente 1992

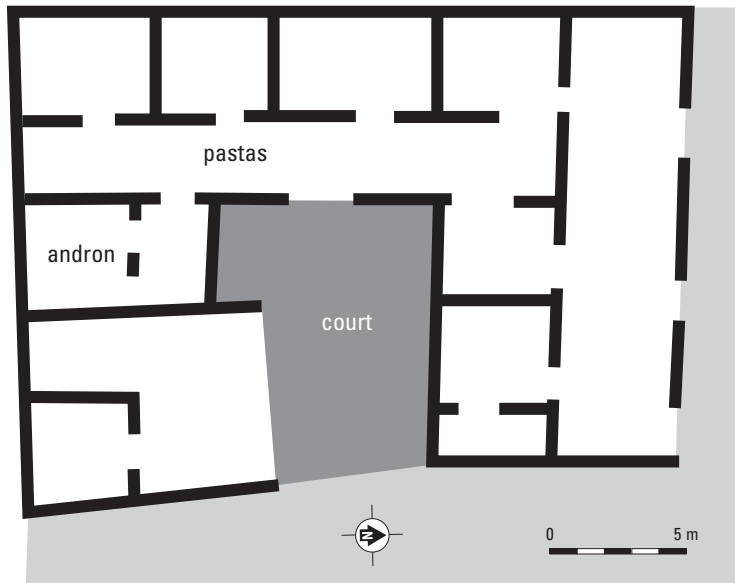


Fig. 6.20. Serra di Vaglio (central Basilicata): elite dwelling or elite dining hall, 4th century BC; after Russo Tagliente 1992.

(portico) on its western side (fig. 6.20). An almost equally large building covering an area of c. 750 m² was excavated at the site of Vaste in the Salento district.⁸⁶ The L-shaped Vaste building was situated in a dominant position on top of a 106 m high hill (the Vaste ‘acropolis’) and overlooked other parts of the settlement area of Vaste and the surrounding plain. It was, moreover, situated near a large court or square that was flanked by much smaller, but still fairly substantial dwellings (fig. 6.21). The complex was in close proximity to an impressive elite tomb (fig. 6.32).⁸⁷ The elite of Roccagloriosa in western Lucania was probably slightly less well off. They lived on a wide street, and had to content themselves with only 450 m². The central area in their house was a large porticoed courtyard with a small shrine. Rooms flanked two sides of the court (fig. 6.7). In these and other comparable elite residences banqueting rooms have been recognized.⁸⁸ This suggests that such rooms were a standard component in such large ‘elite dwellings’ of southeast Italy.

There is yet another aspect that recurs in many of these large, sometimes almost palatial buildings of native southeast Italy. Each of them has supplied evidence for ritual. The traces left by such activities may vary considerably. They consisted, for instance, of votive offerings, deposits containing only one species of animal and altars or hearths. This being the case, one may suggest that at least some of these large and complex buildings (especially the very large specimens at Serra di Vaglio and Vaste) were not (on not exclusively) the residences of elite families, but buildings in which the local or regional elite convened. They may have been places where the local or regional leaders made deals and took decisions, feasted and banqueted and performed specific rituals in order to confirm and strengthen their bonds under the protection of a divine spirit. These buildings may well have been the successors to the late 6th and 5th-century banqueting halls discussed in chapter 5 and may have been the places where the leaders of the dominant lineages of the local clans or regional tribes gathered.

⁸⁶ D’Andria 1996.

⁸⁷ The so-called *Tomba delle Cariatidi*, for instance, was only some 50 meters from the square; for this tomb, see D’Andria 1988, figs. 707-708.

⁸⁸ These are often indicated as the *andron* in books and articles on pre-Roman architecture in southeast Italy (cf. Russo Tagliente 1992).

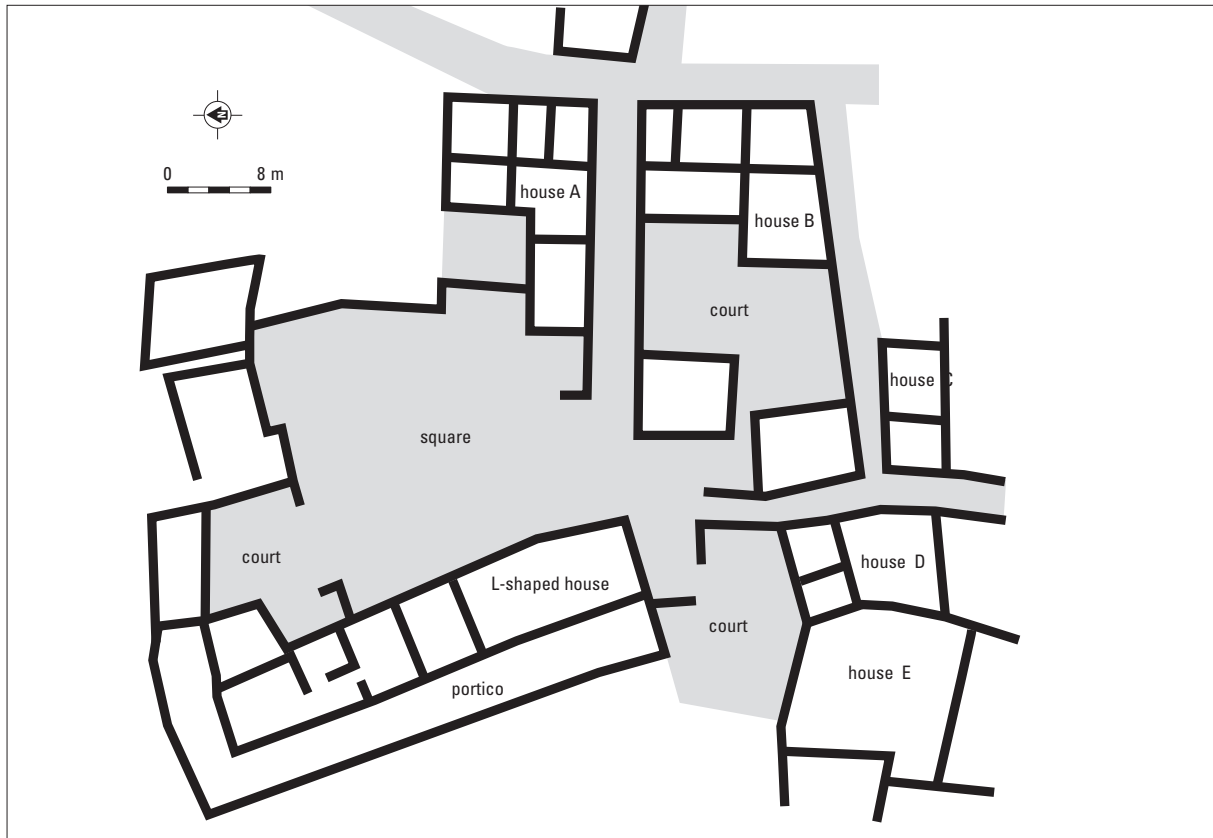


Fig. 6.21. Vaste (Salento district, south Apulia): central open area with L-shaped building and houses; late 4th and early 3rd centuries BC; after D'Andria 1996, 428.

Rural architecture in southeast Italy did not indulge in luxuries in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. The farms were utilitarian buildings. These rural buildings display less variety than the architecture in the more or less urban centres of the region under discussion. Two different types of farmstead can be found in southeast Italy. The 4th-century farmsteads in the territories of the Greek states were often basically courtyard houses: they had rooms grouped around a court and did not differ from the farmhouses built in these areas during the later 6th and 5th centuries (fig. 6.22b). The farmsteads in the native countryside were decidedly different. They consisted of a series of three or four rooms giving onto a fenced courtyard (fig. 6.23). These simple, indigenous farms were probably inspired by the most simple house form found in the contemporary settlements (see fig. 6.18b). The construction technique of all the 4th- 3rd-century farmhouses was identical to that of the dwellings in the larger settlements. The foundations and the lower part of the walls were made of stone (river stones, limestone), the upper part of the wall was made of mudbrick, while the thatched roof consisted of wooden beams covered by terracotta tiles.

Between the middle of the 4th and the middle of the 3rd century BC southeast Italy urbanized in many ways. We have seen that the first settlements with a more or less urban character came into being in the 6th century BC. By about 300 BC there were dozens of settlements having fortifications and substantial agglomerations of houses. Public buildings (theatres, stoas, temples), however, were exclusively found in the *poleis*. These developments led to a clear separation between habitation areas on the one hand and fields and wild nature on the other hand. But urbanization also affected the countryside. Whilst the creation of an inhabited countryside in southeast Italy can definitely be ascribed to the

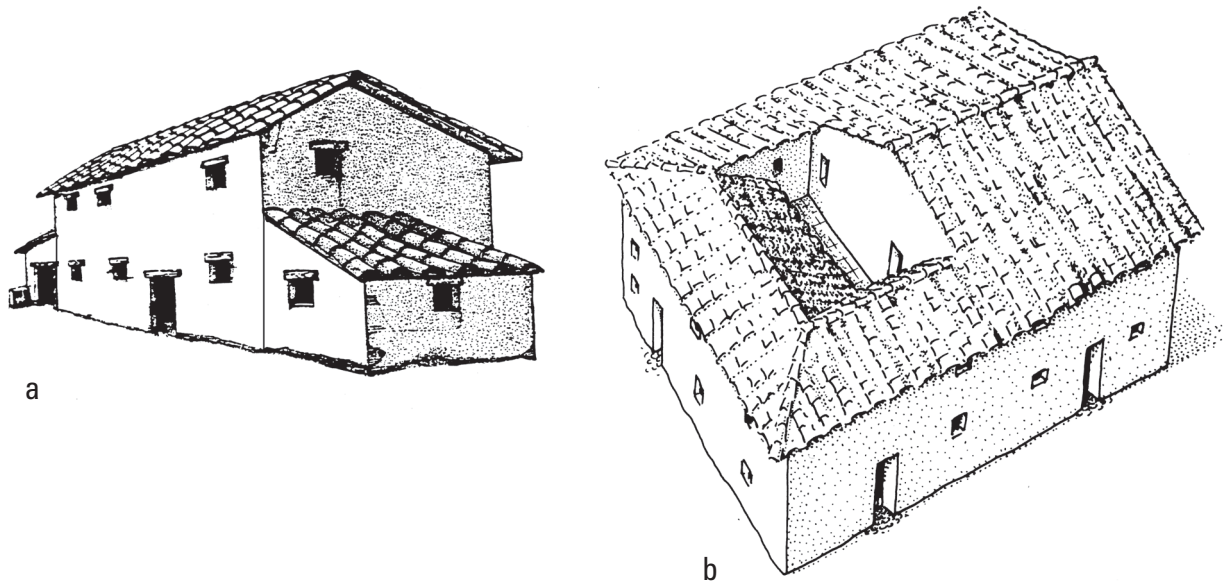


Fig. 6.22. Farmhouses in the territory of Metapontion, 4th–3rd century BC: a with paratactic rooms (Pizzica Pantanello); b courtyard type (fattoria Stefan); adapted from Carter 1980 and 1990.

Greek polities (6th century BC), similar town–countryside systems came into being in the territories of the Lucanian, Daunian and Messapian tribes in the late 4th century. These changes resulted in a hierachization of the settlement patterns in southeast Italy.

6.3. MORTALS AND IMMORTALS.

The profound changes in the world of the living which have been discussed in the preceding section of this chapter were echoed by the world of the deceased. Both the increased prosperity and the strong demographic growth were reflected in the burials. This observation holds for both the Greek towns and the non-Greek areas of southeast Italy. Whilst the various local elites indulged in emulative and ostentatious display in both the burial gifts and the conspicuous character of their tombs, thousands of ‘moderately rich’ 4th- and 3rd-century tombs testify to the presence of large groups of prosperous people living in the area under discussion. This probably substantial part of the population was now allowed, or could now afford to be buried with objects in quantities and of a quality that were reserved for the most prosperous and influential people of the settlement in the archaic-classical period.

The largest and most complete sample of tombs has been found at Greek Taras, now Taranto.⁸⁹ All in all, approximately 11.700 tombs have been collected in a database up to this moment. The vast majority of these appear to belong to the Hellenistic period.⁹⁰ Here the necropolis of Taras will be used in order to sketch a picture of the funerary spheres in the Greek polities of southeast Italy. This image is necessarily biased, because Taras was undoubtedly the wealthiest Greek town in the area under discussion. Its *τρυφή* (opulence) was proverbial in the ancient world.

The elite graves of wealthy Taras were marked by highly conspicuous funerary *aedicula* displaying elaborate sculptured decoration (fig. 6.24a). These shrines of wood and limestone are currently

⁸⁹ See *Cento anni di archeologia, passim*.

⁹⁰ Lippolis 1994b; Graepler 1997, 30.

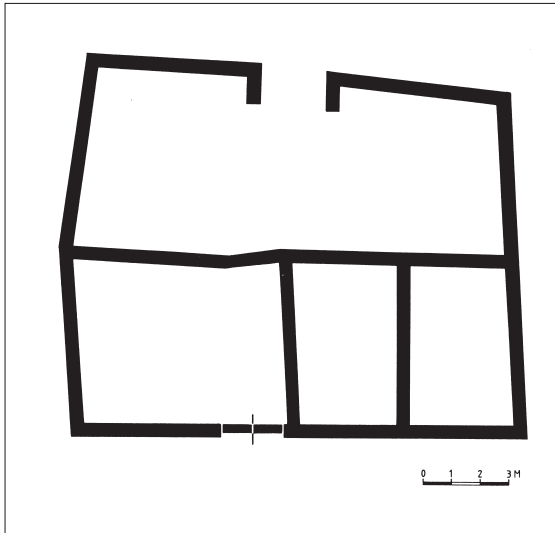


Fig. 6.23. Groundplan of farmhouse near Banzi (northeastern Basilicata). After Yntema 1993a.

referred to as *naiskoi*. They stood on top of substantial chamber tombs. These had sometimes painted walls and functioned as family vaults that were used for several generations.⁹¹ The remains of these highly conspicuous monuments crowning the subterranean burial chambers consist of architectural and sculptural fragments (fig. 6.24b-c). These have been discussed by various authors.⁹² The *naiskoi* and other types of grave markers are also depicted on many Apulian Red-Figured kraters (fig. 6.24). These were produced at Taras in large numbers for funerary purposes only.⁹³

Alongside these spectacular elite tombs there was a wide variety of other burial forms at Taras. These ranged from simple trenches excavated in the soil or cut into the rock to sarcophagus tombs and graves consisting of large limestone slabs. The deceased were almost invariably inhumed.⁹⁴ The Taras burial grounds were situated outside the habitation areas, but within the area enclosed by the city walls. They were truly cities of the dead (fig. 6.25). The burials flanked major roads and were arranged in family clusters that covered three to four generations.⁹⁵ Within these clusters the graves were arranged with a regularity that matched the structure of the habitation areas and the layout of the settlement as a whole.

The artefactual contents of the Taras tombs varied according to the age, status, sex and wealth of the deceased. Small children were buried with a feeder. The standard equipment in the tombs of adults was the pouring vessel (mostly an oinochoe) and the drinking vessel (skyphoi, kantharoi etc.). To these two pots gender-specific objects could be added: e.g. bronze strigils for men and bronze mirrors for women. The same burial gifts were found in the elite tombs, but in addition to these they contained golden objects such as funerary crowns, elaborate ear rings, finger rings with gems, necklaces and bracelets (fig. 6.26).⁹⁶ The most spectacular object from the Taras graves is perhaps a pair of nutcrackers in the shape of two hands, made of partly gilded bronze (fig. 6.26).

If the above assumption is correct that the burial gifts at 4th- and 3rd-century Taras were indeed both gender and status related, men and women of the same social group were buried with comparable rites and objects of comparable value. Cups and jugs currently associated with wine were standard elements among the grave goods. Gold and silver ornaments were status indicators for the local elite. The same may hold good for the *alabastra* made of fine alabaster. The vast majority of Tarentines, however, were buried with less precious objects such as pottery, terracotta statuettes and small items made of bronze and iron. But the general impression gained from the Taras burial sites is that the town defi-

⁹¹ Lippolis 2003.

⁹² For instance, Carter 1975; Lippolis 1994c.

⁹³ Lohmann 1979.

⁹⁴ Cremations are found among the earliest burials of Taras of the 7th century BC. From the 6th century onward inhumation was the dominant burial ritual till within the Roman period. From the late 4th century BC onward, however, cremation reappears after an

absence of more than 200 years, albeit very sparingly (D'Amicis 1994).

⁹⁵ Lippolis 1994b, 57.

⁹⁶ See Masiello 1994. A fairly complete presentation of these spectacular objects and the funerary context from which they derive can be found in the exhibition catalogue *Ori di Taranto*, Milan, 1984; for a general overview, see Guzzo 1993.



b



c

Fig. 6.24. Funerary monuments in 4th-century southeast Italy (a) Image of a Taras funerary monument on an Apulian Red-Figured krater (c. 330 BC); (b-c) two metopes of funerary monument (early 3rd century BC). Taranto, Museo Nazionale; courtesy Soprintendenza Taranto.

nately had a limited group of elite families and a very large group of more or less prosperous families. Judging by the contents of the thousands of burials the distinctions between the various social groups in Taras were not sharply marked in the funerary sphere.⁹⁷

Taras had intramural cemeteries. At both Metapontion and Herakleia the necropoleis were situated outside the town walls. Most of these have not been subjected to systematic exploration or analysis of their contents. The general impression that emerges from the graves of these two towns is that ostentatious display of wealth was less pronounced here. At Metapontion and Herakleia there were probably no *naiskoi* with sculptured decoration, the chamber tombs were more modest and less numerous, whilst

⁹⁷ The social aspects of the Taras cemeteries and the problematic use of material culture for this purpose

have not yet been systematically analysed and explored (cf. Lippolis 1994a; Graepler 1997).

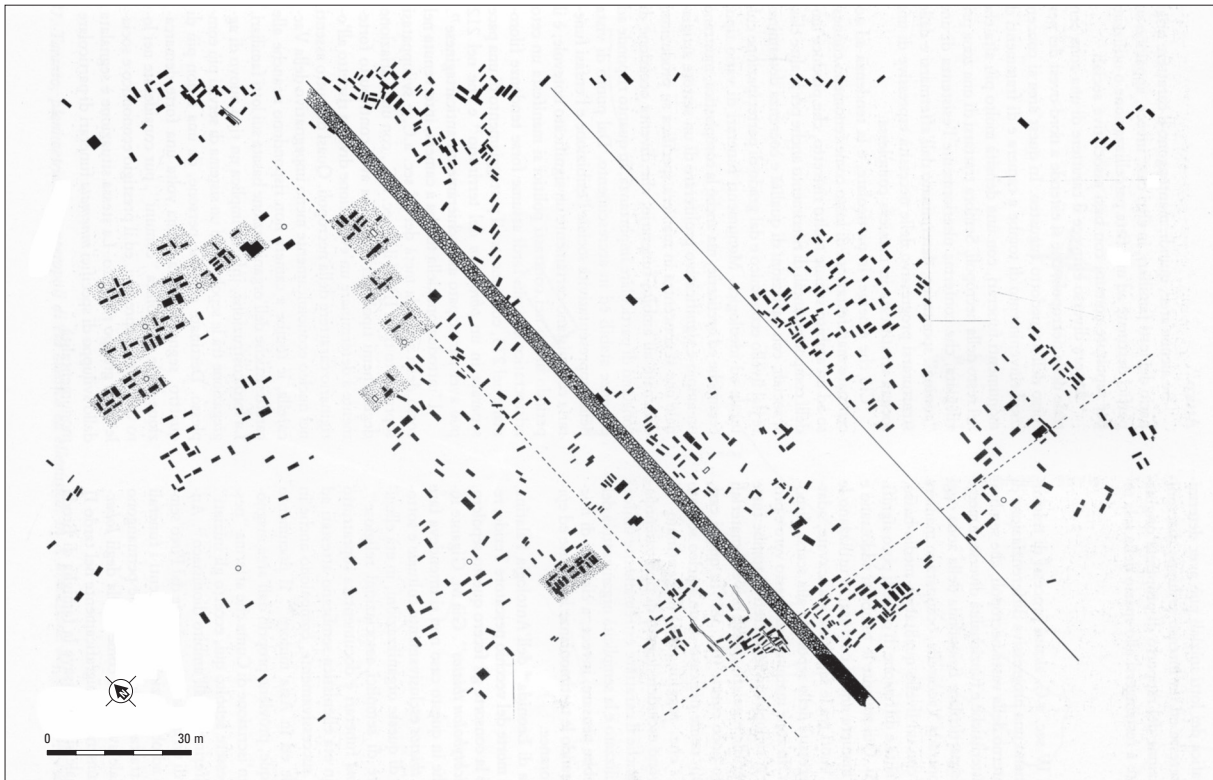


Fig. 6.25. Taras, burial ground with family plots, 4th–2nd century BC; after Lippolis 1994b, fig. 36.

most of the objects found in the graves were less spectacular than those in the Tarentine burials of the 4th and 3rd centuries BC.⁹⁸ The most basic objects, however, are again a cup or drinking vessel and a pouring vessel.

Not every citizen of the Greek towns was buried in the necropoleis within (Taras) or slightly outside (Metapontion, Herakleia) the city walls of the polis. The people who lived at the farmsteads in the territories of these Greek towns, were buried in rural graveyards. These were in use for between 50 and 300 years and varied in size from half a dozen to c. 250 graves. Those who were buried in these cemeteries in the *chōrai*, were not exclusively simple farmers. The social strata represented in the rural graveyards closely reflect those of the urban cemeteries: they show the presence of both elites and moderately prosperous families. There is ample proof of such rural cemeteries from the territory of Taras. The best (and largest) example of a completely excavated and well published rural necropolis is the graveyard of Pizzica Pantanello in the territory of Metapontion.⁹⁹ It contained some 300 tombs dating between the middle of the 6th and the middle of the 3rd century BC. The cemetery was situated near an important crossroads north/west of the town (fig. 5.8). Field surveys suggest that the people buried there were not the inhabitants of a village or hamlet nearby, but had probably lived at dispersed farmsteads in the area surrounding the necropolis.

⁹⁸ For graves at Metapontion, see, for instance, Lo Porto 1981 and 1988/89; for Herakleia, see Pianu 1990; for short summary of the Metapontion burial sites, see De Juliis 2001.

⁹⁹ Carter 1998a.



Fig. 6.26. Tarantine jewellery: a. Golden earring from Taras, height 9.9.cm; b. Golden earrings from Taras; length 4.2 cm; c. Bronze nutcrackers in the shape of hands with gilded bracelet; from Rondinella (rural site close to Taras); length 16.4 cm; late 4th-early 3rd century BC; courtesy Soprintendenza, Taranto.

In the districts inhabited by the ancestors of the Lucanians of Basilicata, by the Peucetians of central Apulia and by the Daunians of northern Apulia formal burials were relatively common from the 8th or early 7th centuries onwards. The Messapians in southern Salento were slow in adopting this custom: it was not before the end of the 7th century that the first burials are found there. We have seen that during the 7th century BC the non-Greek graves differed from the Greek graves by the lavishness of burial gifts and observed that the Greeks soon lived up to the regional custom. In the 4th century BC grave goods in non-Greek burials continued to be plentiful (especially pottery). What is new is that from about the middle of the 4th century BC the quantity of tombs in the non-Greek areas of southeast Italy increased exponentially.

The increase was only partly caused by demographic growth. By the later 4th century a much larger group in the native societies was given a formal burial. A close inspection of the bones from a series of modest late 4th-/early 3rd-century graves from Muro Tenente (Brindisi) revealed that the deceased worked hard (physical labour), were well-fed and had a predominantly vegetarian diet. It consisted mainly of barley bread, gruels and porridges. Those who survived their first four or five critical years (infant mortality was high), had an average life expectancy of c. 30 years (women) to 40 years (men). Other data confirm that most people died at a relatively young age. The rural Pantanello necropolis

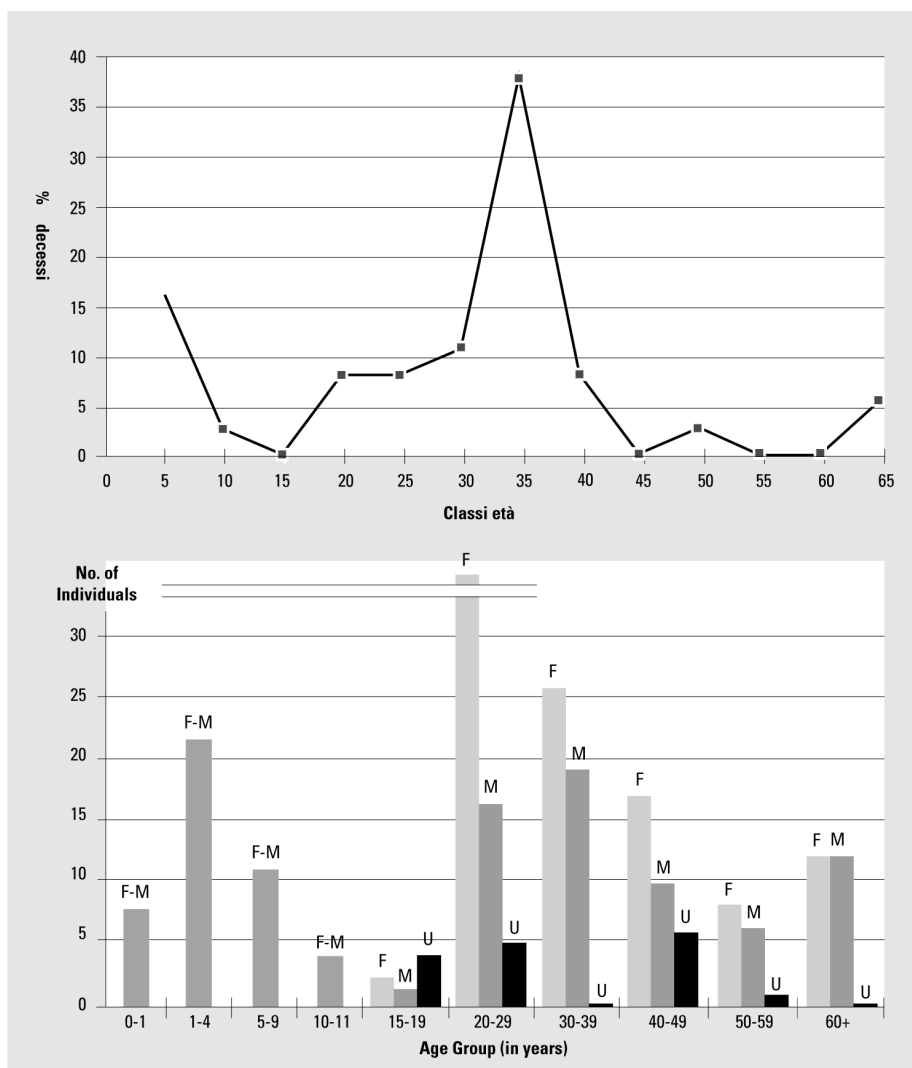


Fig. 6.27. Life expectancy at Pezza Petrosa (Brindisi), 4th–3rd century BC, and at Pizzica Pantanello (Metaponto), 6th–3rd century BC; after Maruggi 1992 and Carter 1980.

(Metapontion), the burial site of the village of Pezza Petrosa (Brindisi area) and the graves found at Rutigliano-Purgatorio (central-Apulia) suggest that most people in pre-Roman southeast Italy died before they turned forty (fig. 6.27).

At first sight Greek and non-Greek burials in 4th-century southeast Italy seem to have much in common. The native cemeteries of the early Hellenistic period, however, display only a limited number of similarities with the burial grounds in the territories of the Greek poleis. In the native burial grounds the deceased were buried in trenches in the earth or in the rock (Italian: *tomba a fossa*), in sarcophagi, in cist graves consisting of large limestone slabs (Italian: *tomba a lastroni*) or in subterranean chamber tombs (*hypogaea*). These same types of graves are encountered in graveyards of the Greek towns of southeast Italy. The differences regard mainly the spatial organization and the grave goods. Native graves, for instance, rarely clustered into larger necropoleis. They usually occur in small groups of three to twenty burials. Whilst in Lucania these were probably slightly outside the habitation areas, these burials were dispersed over large parts of the settlement areas in the Apulian districts. In the Messapic speaking world of Apulia, therefore, there was no strict spatial separation between the world of the living and the world of the dead. The custom of depositing the deceased in burial plots close to the habitation nucleus in which they had lived, persisted here to within the 3rd century BC (fig.

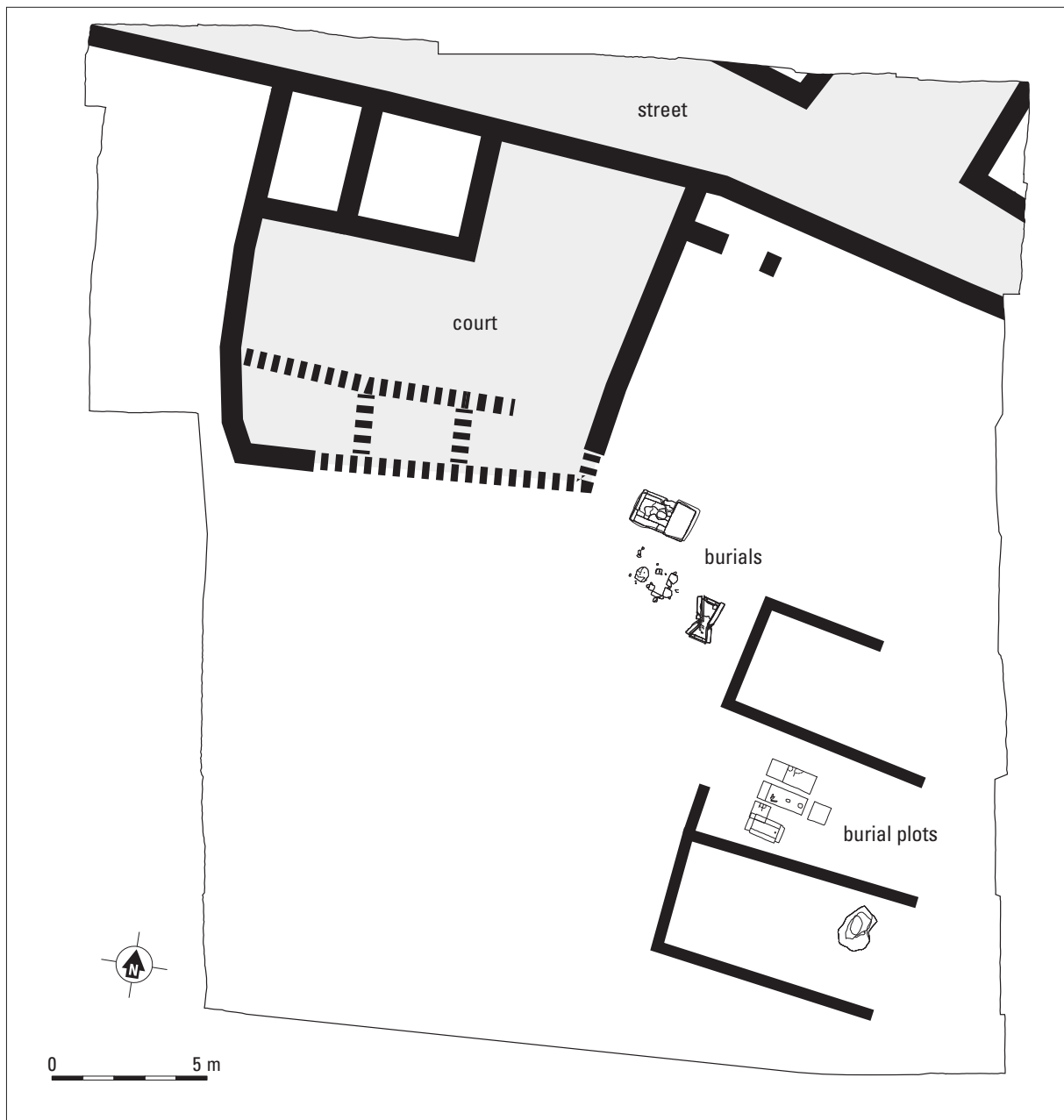


Fig. 6.28. Muro Tenente (Brindisi district, south Apulia). Central area of the walled settlement with proximity of elite dwellings and elite burials (c. 325–250 BC). Excavations VU University Amsterdam.

6.28). The ancestors lay buried in that particular part or territory within the settlement area where their descendents continued to live. This close association between the dead and the living is found over large parts of indigenous southeast Italy. It may suggest that the ancestors continued to play an important role in daily life and in some way continued to be an active element of their clan group.

Other features that distinguished the non-Greek tombs from the Greek graves of Hellenistic southeast Italy were the grave goods. A characteristic shared by all non-Greek districts is that the male elite graves often contain armour and weapons. The martial qualities of local chieftains which were important during the 6th and 5th centuries BC, continued to be stressed during the later 4th and early 3rd centuries BC. Among the objects that heralded martiality, were helmets, spurs and javelins (fig.



Fig. 6.29. Conversano (Bari), body armour from tomb 10 (4th century BC). Courtesy Bari Museum.

6.29).¹⁰⁰ In a few cases the elaborate ‘anatomical’ cuirasses were found in chieftain’s graves.¹⁰¹ These special objects are also depicted in the tomb paintings of ‘Lucanian’ Paestum.¹⁰²

There was, however, no typical ‘native’ burial custom that could be encountered in most parts of southeast Italy. There were vast differences between the 4th- and 3rd-century burials of the various non-Greek districts. First and foremost are the differences between the north-Apulian Ofanto and Tavoliere districts and the remaining parts of southeast Italy. We have seen in the preceding section that the settlements of these two northerly so-called ‘Daunian’ districts retained their highly dispersed basically Iron-Age character during the early Hellenistic period. In the funerary sphere, Iron Age features were equally retained. This observation holds especially good for the objects that accompanied the deceased in his or her grave. Handmade, matt-painted pots in traditional Daunian styles continued to be popular as grave goods. Whilst these were replaced by wheelmade wares in the Tavoliere district between 375 and 325 BC, the Ofanto area focusing on the large site of Canosa adhered to funerary wares with various Iron-Age features to within the early 2nd century BC.¹⁰³ Another traditional feature was the sometimes extreme lavishness of grave goods. Tombs containing precious metal objects and well over a hundred pots (many of which are practically identical) are by no means exceptional.

¹⁰⁰ For the role of javelins in elite representation, see Small 2000.

¹⁰¹ For anatomical cuirasses, see for instance D’Andria 1988, figs. 714-716 (from Conversano, central Apulia); De Juliis 1988b, 631, fig. 19 (from Canosa, north

Apulia); Bottini 1989 (from southern Basilicata); D’Agostino 1989, 210-211, figs. 165-169 (from Santa Maria del Cedro, northern Calabria).

¹⁰² Pontrandolfo Greco / Rouveret 1992.

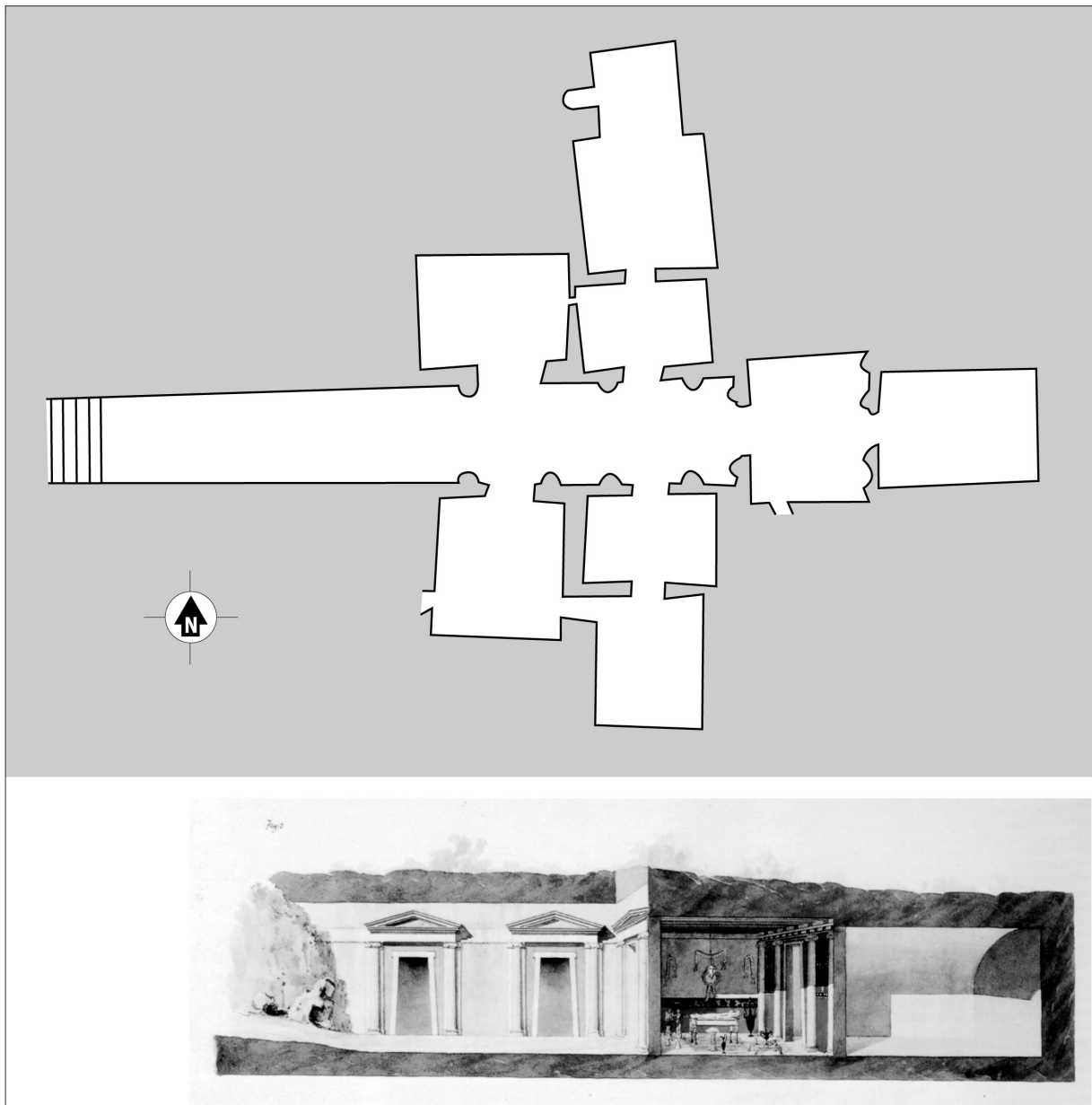


Fig. 6.30. Canosa, north Apulia: the Lagrasta I hypogaeum: plan and watercolour by Bonucci (1854).

The Daunian tribes were not purely traditionalists. They were also susceptible to innovation in the funerary sphere. This is not really evident in the tombs of most north-Apulians, which continued to be *fossa* graves. For elite tombs, however, they adopted the Greek elite custom of burying the dead in subterranean chamber tombs.¹⁰⁴ Canosa, for instance, had more than a dozen of these from the late 4th century onward.¹⁰⁵ Here they were hewn in the calcareous base rock of the site with dimensions surpassing by far those of the graves at Taras and Metapontion. The Lagrasta I *hypogaeum* was the most elaborate of these Daunian elite graves. It had a *dromos* descending towards nine rooms (each approximately 4 x 3 m) which were decorated with Doric and Ionic half-columns. The adjoining Lagrasta II

¹⁰³ The most recent Canosan funerary wares with various traditional features are the so-called Listata wares (for short survey, see Yntema 1990, 272–286)

¹⁰⁴ Lamboley 1982.

¹⁰⁵ Cassano et al. 1992, 145–148.



Fig. 6.31. Gnathia (Salento district) Ipogeo delle Melograne (Hypogaeum of the Pomegranades); 4th-3rd century BC (courtesy Soprintendenza Taranto).

hypogaeum had a temple façade serving as a conspicuous marker of the subterranean complex above ground level (fig. 6.30). The Canosan *hypogaea* ooze opulence and power. They contained, for instance, panoplies (even a Celtic helmet), bronze belts, horse bits, javelins, jewellery, terracotta statues and an amazing host of pots of many kinds.¹⁰⁶ A comparable opulence in the funerary sphere existed probably at the site of Arpi which was the most important settlement in the more northern Tavoliere district.

Here much evidence has been destroyed as a result of large scale tomb robbery.¹⁰⁷

Canosa (and probably more northern Arpi) had more than a dozen of these chamber tombs.¹⁰⁸ Most of these functioned contemporaneously and they were nearly all used for some two hundred years, starting from about 340-320 BC.¹⁰⁹ Therefore, they contained entire dynasties of wealthy Canosans. These data, moreover, suggest that the same opulent elite families of Canosa managed to stay in power for several generations. Together these families may well have made up a closely knit local aristocracy, a kind of elite caste that excluded other groups of the local society from the means to gain wealth and influence. The marked traditionalism in the Canosan funerary culture, moreover, may well be read as a sign that strict adherence to age-old local customs was a vital element in the local socio-political system. Whoever managed to display his or her wealth and advertise a long and noble pedigree (be it real or invented), could be sure of his place in the local timocracy.¹¹⁰

Chamber tombs were equally popular with the elites of the south-Apulian Salento district.¹¹¹ This was according to ancient Greek and Roman authors, the area of the Messapians. The appearance of such special elite graves in Salento was contemporary to that in northern Apulia. The earliest Salento specimens date to late 4th century BC. These chamber tombs were not so overwhelmingly ostentatious as

¹⁰⁶ See Oliver 1968, Cassano et al. 1992; Corrente 2003.

The pottery classes currently found in the Canosan *hypogaea* are late Apulian red-figured, Gnathia wares, traditional matt-painted wares in the local style (Canosan Listata wares), gilded pottery and the typically Canosan wares with polychrome and plastic decoration (see this chapter, section 4).

¹⁰⁷ For elite tombs at the site of Arpi, see Mazzei 1995.

¹⁰⁸ One or two elite chamber tombs also existed in other settlements which by the late 4th century may well have been dependencies of Canosa such as Ascoli

Satriano and Salapia. The elite burials of these sites published hitherto are relatively recent and date to the late 3rd or early 2nd centuries BC (e.g. Tinè Bertocchi 1985, 209-219; Mazzei 1991).

¹⁰⁹ An inscription in one of the Lagrasta chamber tombs of Canosa indicates that someone was buried there as late as 67 BC (see Oliver 1968, 22-23).

¹¹⁰ Livy (XXII, 50, 11) suggests that there were also wealthy and powerful women at Canosa during the 3rd century BC.

¹¹¹ Lamboley 1982.

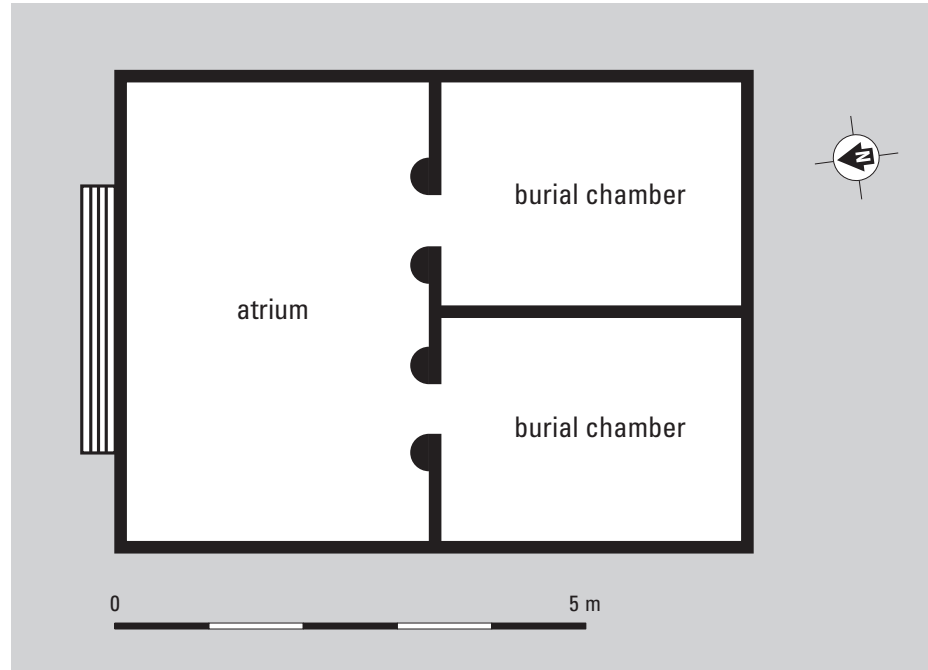


Fig. 6.32. Vaste (Salento). Hypogaeum of the Caryatids: groundplan and one of the caryatids flanking the entrance of the burial chamber, 3rd century BC (courtesy Lecce Museum).

those of the Canosa area. They usually consisted of one or two rooms painted in a manner reminiscent of Messapian houses (fig. 6.31).¹¹² A few Salento chamber tombs had sculptured decoration (fig. 6.32).¹¹³ Nothing is known about the grave goods they contained since they were emptied in a distant past.

Not every Messapian chieftain of the 4th or 3rd centuries was buried in a *hypogaeum*. Especially in the Brindisi plain with its thick soils the prominent members of dominant lineages in the local clans were buried in large cist graves. These were enlarged versions of the tombs in which most Messapians were buried. We are well informed about the contents of such graves.¹¹⁴ As we have seen above, jewelry, mirrors, metal vessels, strigils, weapons and armour were indicators of high status. The range of metal vessels in the burials consists of jugs, wine sieves and basins which all relate to the symposium.¹¹⁵ Except for the metal vessels each of these categories of elite objects was gender-bound. Both jewels and mirrors are of the same types as those found in the graves of wealthy ladies of Taras. Armour and weapons however suggest martial prowess and have no parallels in Greek towns. The strigils, of course, refer to the *palaestra* and may suggest that the deceased was an educated person imbued with Greek *paideia*. It is uncertain whether this display of Greek *paideia* in late 4th and 3rd century graves corresponded to 'real' *paideia* during the lifetime of the deceased.¹¹⁶

¹¹² On the ceilings of the tombs the beams were painted that supported the roof. In the 3rd-century houses of Valesio, moreover, small fragments of wall-painting were found in colours that match those of the hypogaea.

¹¹³ These two *hypogaea* are the *Ipogeo Palmieri* (underneath the 18th-century Palazzo Palmieri at Lecce) and the *Ipogeo delle Cariatidi* at Vaste; (see, for instance D'Andria 1988).

¹¹⁴ A generous sample of tombs from the southern Salento settlement of Vaste has been published recently; see *Archeologia dei Messapi*, 65–152; and Delli Ponti 1996.

¹¹⁵ Tarditti 1996.

¹¹⁶ There is substantial evidence that by the late 3rd century BC eminent Messapians were fluent in both Latin and Greek (see chapter 7, section 1).



Fig. 6.33. Aerial photograph of the northern Cappucini necropolis at Manduria, first half of the 3rd century BC (photo archive ACVU).

The vast majority of graves in the Salento district, however, contained mainly ceramics.¹¹⁷ The varying quantities and qualities of these also seem to be rank-related. The assemblages of the grave goods are similar to those in Greek Taras. In the non-elite graves of Salento terracotta pouring vessels (jugs, oinochoai) and drinking vessels (skyphoi, kantharoi) are present in the graves of adults of both sexes, suggesting the consumption of wine. The graves of males, moreover, often have krater-like vessels (bell kraters, bowl krater, giant skyphoi) which complete the wine set. These non-elite assemblages seem to reflect elite burial in so far as the consumption of wine with somewhat symposiastic overtones seems to be central to the ideology behind these Messapian burial goods.

During the first half of the 3rd century BC signs suggesting change can be observed in the spatial organization of the cemeteries of Salento. It should be remembered that the burial grounds being closely linked to family and clan territories within the settlement area, were invariably small and dispersed during the later 4th century BC. From about the first half of the 3rd century BC, however, there is a tendency towards much larger, more coherent necropoleis showing a clear spatial organization. This innovation did not occur in every settlement of the district with the same intensity. The most obvious case is the site of Manduria (35 km east of Taranto). Here large numbers of systematically arranged graves (probably family plots) make up the northern necropolis of the settlement in a way that is similar to that of the necropoleis of the Greek towns of southeast Italy (fig. 6.33). This new feature may suggest that in at least some of the fortified settlements of Salento the importance of the community as a whole increased at the cost of the importance of family and clan structures.

¹¹⁷ The 4th- and 3rd-century tombs of the Salento district often contain Apulian Red-Figured, Gnathia wares,

Apulian Black Gloss and banded and plain wares (the last three classes are usually of local make).

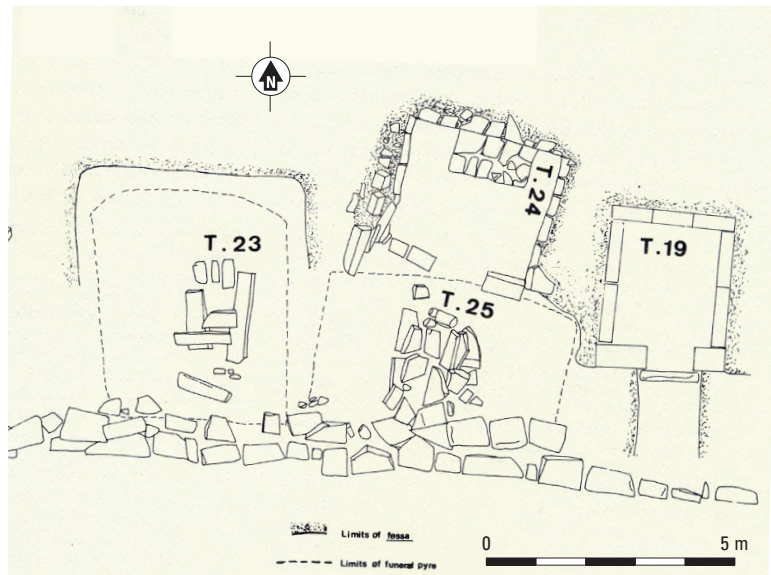


Fig. 6.34. Roccagloriosa: ornaments of a Lucanian lady (tomb 9), loutrophoros and plan of the La Scala elite necropolis, 4th century BC. Photos courtesy University of Alberta/Perugia.

Whilst there is an abundance of graves of the later 4th and 3rd centuries from the non-Greek districts of Apulia, the evidence published hitherto for the Lucanian areas of southeast Italy is much thinner for the period under discussion. In pre-Roman Basilicata *hypogaea* are conspicuous by their absence. The deceased are invariably buried (usually inhumation; in a few rare cases cremation) in cist graves or in trenches carved in the base rock. Their contents consist predominantly of decorated pottery. Among these are wares with figured and vegetal decoration (Lucanian Red-Figured, some Gnathia wares) and ceramics covered with a black gloss or decorated with horizontal bands.¹¹⁸ As in the graves of the Greek

¹¹⁸ The Lucanian Red-Figured wares and Gnathia wares are likely to have come predominantly from Metapontion (cf. D'Andria 1975a), whilst much of the Banded

wares and Black Gloss wares in Lucanian burials were made in non-Greek settlements.

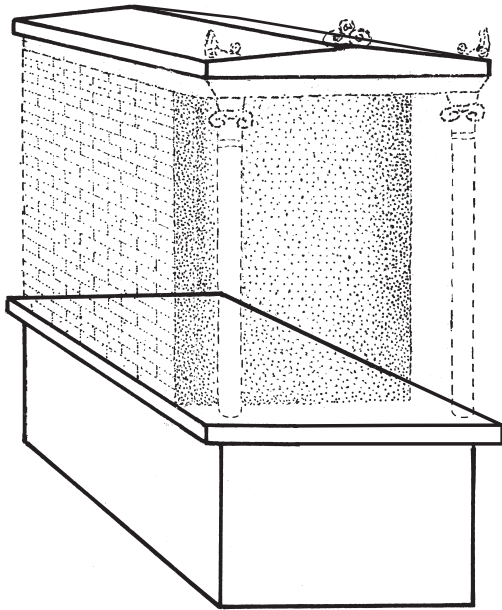


Fig. 6.35. Monte Sannace (central-Apulia). Heroon on the acropolis: archaic elite burial in Hellenistic setting (based on Donvito 1980).

towns and non-Greek Apulia, pots relating to the consumption of wine (e.g. kraters, oinochoae, various types of wine cups) are almost invariably present. A burial ground of Roccagloriosa in western Lucania has supplied evidence concerning elite graves.¹¹⁹ These often large cist graves have greater quantities of figured pottery, special forms of pottery (e.g. *rhyta*) and precious metal objects, such as gold necklaces and bracelets, and bronze ‘Samnite’ belts and strigils (fig. 6.34).¹²⁰

In the narrative told by the vast majority of graves of southeast Italy the consumption of wine is a central element. In both the Greek states and the indigenous polities of southeast Italy wine jugs and

wine cups were almost standard elements in the graves of both men and women. Kraters used for the mixing of wine and water are mainly found in male burials in the non-Greek districts. It has, therefore, been assumed that the characteristically Greek symposium was widely adopted by the non-Greek populations and that it was in fact a cultural feature shared by all South-Italians of the early Hellenistic Age. Another view on the same matter is that there was a general, widely shared Dionysiac background in southeast Italy. These two assumptions, however, are probably unfounded. It should be noted that the standard assemblage consisting of wine cup and wine jug is even encountered in the burial plots of the isolated farmsteads of tribal Salento. Since, moreover, these same two vessels are among the most frequently encountered vase forms in settlement contexts, one may suggest that jug and cup were among the daily necessities in the world of the living and that therefore these same objects accompanied the deceased in the otherworld. The presence of more elaborate wine sets (bronze jugs, sieves, basins) and strigils in the graves of important males in the non-Greek districts of Lucania and Apulia is perhaps more indicative of the acquisition of some basically Greek models and modes of behaviour. These objects suggest that banqueting and feasting in a symposium-like way may well have been practised among the non-Greek elites. It should, moreover, be remembered that elite dwellings (e.g. Roccagloriosa) and especially elite banqueting halls (e.g. Serra di Vaglio, Vaste) may be recognized in the architectural remains of non-Greek sites (see section 6.2).

Rituals were performed on many occasions and in many places of pre-Roman southeast Italy. Rituals took place in the case of burials. Ritual acts were equally performed in or near the dining halls where the local or regional elites of the Lucanians and Apulians gathered. The physical remains of a more or less distant past could also bring about ritualistic behaviour. We have no information on the way Greeks and non-Greeks of the Hellenistic Age dealt with Bronze Age tumuli that continued to be conspicuous features in the landscape to the present day. But a large 6th-century male burial on the highest and most central spot in the important settlement of Monte Sannace in central-Apulia was enshrined in a

¹¹⁹ Gualtieri 1990, Gualtieri / Jackes 1993.

¹²⁰ Large, almost room-like cist graves, partly hewn into

the base rock and partly built of blocks and slabs are often referred to as *tombe a semicamera* in Italian.

late 4th- to early 3rd-century construction (fig. 6.35). To the person buried in that grave an obviously important role was assigned in the Hellenistic present. We shall never know whether he was considered to be a charismatic tribal chief or the founder of the settlement, but the architectonic setting suggests that he was believed to have special, possibly heroic qualities and that the local community greatly benefited from his continued presence in the very heart of the settlement of Monte Sannace.

Comparable spots must have existed in the Greek settlements of southeast Italy. These were, for instance, the places linked with the oikists who were closely associated with the assumed origin of the settlement. The stories concerning the origin of the Greek settlements were adapted, recycled or reinvented in order to be meaningful to the Hellenistic present. In the 4th century BC the Metapontines invented the new founder, named Leukippos,¹²¹ whilst Phalanthos, the official oikist of Taras, was outstripped by a probably local, dolphin-riding spirit who had the same name as the settlement. We have seen above why and how the *poleis* of southeast Italy created their first *origo* myths and how indigenous groups constructed their origins. Whilst the *poleis* assumed a Greek identity by means of, for instance, Iron Age oikists and close mental ties with a metropolis in Aegean Greece, indigenous polities presented themselves predominantly as descendants of Bronze Age Greeks (chapter 5, section 7). The Iapygians, Daunians and Peucetians descended from Iapyx, Daunios and Peucetios, sons of the Greek Lykaon or the Cretan Daidalos. The Lucanians were either assigned a Samnite ancestry or were said to derive from the Arcadians of the central Peloponnesus. In southeast Italy, therefore, Greeks and non-Greeks competed for distinguished origins. Obviously, a noble origin was a Greek origin, since in most of these *origo* myths native groups portrayed themselves as arch-Greeks by linking themselves to the heroic age of Greece.

As a result of these stories mythic Greeks who were generally believed to have lived in the Bronze Age, were worshipped in non-Greek settlements as, for instance, Diomedes in north-Apulian Arpi.¹²² Mythical Greek heroes entered into the supernatural world of non-Greek groups and were obviously meaningful to them. The first traces of these Greek heroes in non-Greek contexts date to the 6th (?) and 5th centuries BC, but they are most persistent for the Hellenistic Age. Native elite families, for instance, may well have claimed descent from a Greek hero, underlining in this way perhaps the unusual character of their lineage and the legitimacy of their special position in their local or regional society.

Sacred places have a distinct tendency to occupy fixed points in urban and rural landscapes of the past. The spirits worshipped there are obviously closely associated with that particular spot. Sanctuaries often survive drastic socio-political changes and as a rule display a very considerable degree of continuity. This observation holds good for many districts of southeast Italy. In the Greek towns and their territories the location of both the urban and the rural sanctuaries of which the earliest recognizable phase can be dated to the late 7th or early 6th century BC, continued to be the same. In the 4th and early 3rd centuries the temples of Taras and Metapontion were no less the symbols of local pride and prosperity than in the 6th and 5th centuries BC. Rural sanctuaries in the territories of the Greek towns show the same continuity. The main novelty in these areas for the 4th and 3rd centuries is that the demographic growth and the prosperity for all that characterize the later 4th and early 3rd centuries, also shows at the cult sites. The originally simple and hardly conspicuous rural cult place at Pizzica Pantanello in Metapontion's *chōra* was transformed into a substantial sanctuary that was a clear mark of religious activity in the landscape (fig. 6.36).¹²³ In almost every sanctuary in the Greek territories the number of artefactual votive offerings increased very considerably during the 4th century BC.¹²⁴ Foremost among these were pots, terracotta statuettes and foodstuff.

¹²¹ See, for instance, De Jullis 2001, 22.

km east of the necropolis of the same name (see Carter 1994 and 1998b).

¹²² Van Compernelle 1988, 117.

¹²³ The sanctuary of Pizzica Pantanello is approximately 1

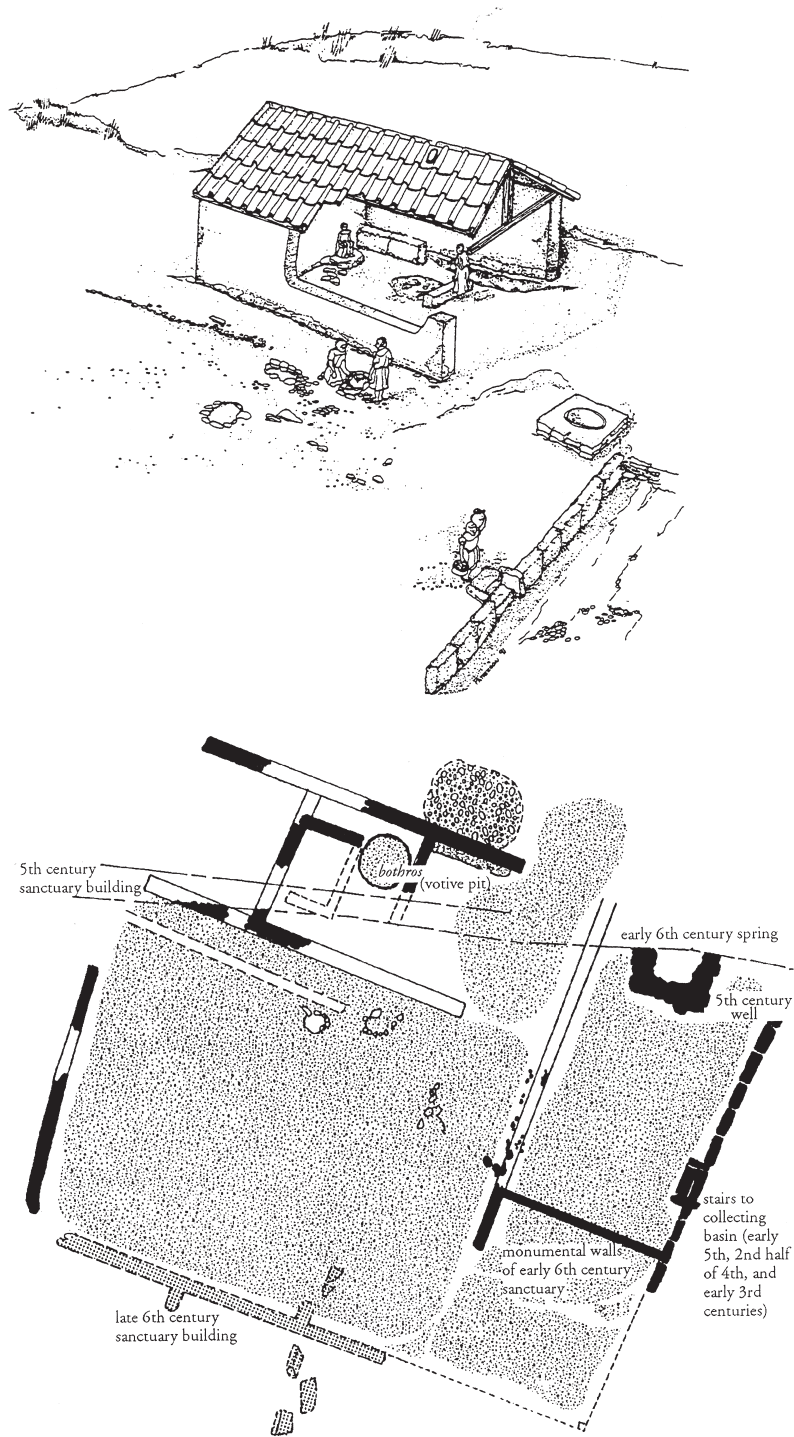


Fig. 6.36. Rural sanctuary at Pizzica Pantanello (territory of Metapontion), 4th-century BC phase (after Carter 1998).

In the sacred sphere the Italiotai of Thourioi, Herakleia, Metapontion and Taras did not stick exclusively to the traditional Greek pantheon.¹²⁵ The shifts in religious conceptions and the perceptions of the sacred in southeast Italy were comparable to those in Aegean Greece. The 6th- and 5th-century BC temples continued to be important landmarks in the *poleis*, being anchorages of both local religion and local identity. While the traditional gods inhabiting the traditional sanctuaries continued to play

¹²⁴ For instance, Iacobone 1988.

¹²⁵ Maddoli 1996.

an important role in public rites and ceremonies, more individual forms of religion came to the fore in the course of the 4th century BC. Among these the Orphic and Dionysiac trends were predominant. These are both characterized by less pessimistic views on afterlife than traditional Greek religion. Orphism is likely to have been somewhat elitist.¹²⁶ The cult of Dionysus – already quite diffused by the early 5th century BC – became very popular with both the elite and the masses. It continued to play an important role, especially in Taras to well within the 2nd century BC. The cartloads of terracottas from the votive pits in the Taras sanctuaries of this deity seem to confirm his great popularity among large groups of the local population.¹²⁷

The study of religion in the non-Greek societies of pre-Roman Italy is still in its infancy. As we have seen in chapter 5, it was not until the late 6th century BC that religious activities can be recognized in these districts. It is especially in southern Apulia and the Metapontion hinterland that these early traces of non-Greek religion have been found. The sacred places continued to function during the later 4th and 3rd centuries. There is a good deal of information about finds consisting of votive offerings, but evidence concerning the spatial organization of sacred places is scarce. By the 4th century BC, however, the legible signs of religious activity become much more numerous. Votive deposits of the 4th and 3rd centuries often contain huge quantities of offerings.

In southern Apulia the sacred places of the Messapians were often cave sanctuaries. These were usually outside the settlement areas. The votive objects presented to the deity were deposited in the caves or on terraces in front of the caves. The presence of ashes in the votive deposits (*bothroi*) indicates that ritual burning played a role in the regional cults. The settlement of Oria on the Salento isthmus between Taranto and Brindisi had a sanctuary of probably regional importance since the 6th century BC. The originally open-air sanctuary was monumentalized during the 4th century by means of terracing and the construction of a set of adjoining and intercommunicating rooms suggesting a somewhat mystic setting. These rooms were constructed on a terrace in front of the cave that was probably the most sacred part of the sanctuary. At Oria the numerous votive offerings were deposited in large pits (*bothroi*) in the terraces in front of the cave.¹²⁸ In addition the artefactual objects, cakes, pomegranates, corn, beans and other types of food were offered to the deity or deities of the sanctuary.¹²⁹

The Oria sanctuary has not supplied the names of its god(s). The votive offerings found here have such close parallels in Italiote sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore, that these vegetation goddesses or their native equivalents are believed to have been worshipped here. In other cases, however, the names of the deities were carved in the walls of the caves or scratched into votive objects presented to the god. At Cape Leuca, the southernmost tip of Apulia, we encounter Zis Batas.¹³⁰ In addition to him we find the names of Thaotor (Latinized: Stator or Tutor) at Rocavecchia, Thana at Porto Cesareo, whilst ‘priest(ess) of Damatira’ is incised on the lids of various cist graves.

The Lucanian sanctuaries have received more attention than those of southern Apulia.¹³¹ They seem to appear in the later 5th century and vary considerably in form and setting. A few of these are small (mostly within the settlement area), but the larger specimens are situated outside the walls at one to two km from the settlement. Each of the larger sanctuaries, therefore, is closely linked with one specific walled settlement and cannot be seen as a rural cult place. There must have been a road linking the settlement to its sacred place. As for their form, they are basically enclosures with or without cult building. They are, moreover, located near spots where water comes to the surface. Obviously water was vital in the religion of the Lucanian districts. These cult places have no standard set of compo-

¹²⁶ Pugliese Carratelli 1988.

¹²⁷ Iacobone 1988; De Juliis 2000.

¹²⁸ D’Andria 1990, 239.

¹²⁹ Ciaraldi 1999; Fiorentino 2008.

¹³⁰ D’Andria 1978.

¹³¹ Nava 1998; Horsnæs 2002a and 2002b; Nava / Osanna 2001; Osanna / Sica 2005.



Fig. 6.37. Sacred places of local or regional importance in non-Greek Basilicata, 4th and 3rd centuries BC.

nents. Often, however, the Lucanian sanctuaries consist of a shrine, an altar and a dining room, while constructions related to water (e.g. basins, cisterns, sacred wells) are invariably present (fig. 6.38). The various components are usually linked by a kind of processional road.

The important sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio high up in the mountains of central Basilicata probably had a standard set of components (fig. 7.11).¹³² Among the sacred places of the Lucanian uplands it stands out in several respects. It is much larger than any other sanctuary in the uplands of Lucania and has an enormous 4th-century altar measuring 27.25 x 4.5 m. Its distance to the nearest settlement, moreover, is substantially larger than usual and it survived much longer than other sanctuaries of pre-Roman Basilicata.¹³³ The nearest site is Serra di Vaglio (6 km to the southwest) which – as we have seen – is likely to have been the major tribal centre in central Basilicata from the late 6th century onward. Because of its unusual size, its unusual history and its unusual location, the sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio is likely to have been a religious centre of more than local importance. Often it is believed to have been the large tribal sanctuary, where all the local leaders of the *nomen Lucanum* and their *Gefolgschaft* assembled at well-defined occasions. They did so probably in order to elect or confirm

¹³² Our information on the 5th to 3rd century phases of the sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio is scant, because it was thoroughly rebuilt in the 2nd century BC.

¹³³ See Adamesteanu / Dilthey 1992; Torelli / Lachenal 1992, 62-90. The sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio

probably originated in the 5th century (Bottini 1988, 74), but had its most buoyant phase in the later 3rd and 2nd centuries BC when other sanctuaries were already in decline.

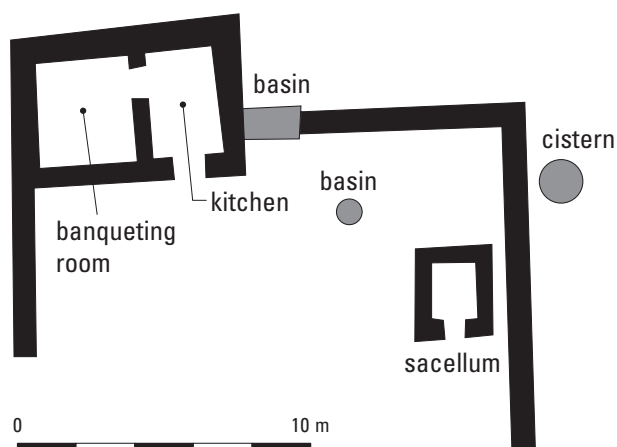


Fig. 6.38. Armento-Serra Lustrante (Basilicata): plan of the 4th century phase of the sanctuary. After Russo Tagliente 1995.

their supreme leaders under the supervision of the local deity.¹³⁴ At the Rossano sanctuary they may also have stressed their allegiance to supreme leadership, their tribal cohesion and their tribal identity by performing rites for the spring goddess Mefitis. Banqueting with a small group was part of the rites. Whilst the central leadership of the Lucanian supertribe

possibly had its residence at Serra di Vaglio, the rites that conferred and restated special powers within the Lucanian socio-political order were performed in the religious context of the sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio in the presence of the great goddess.

Changes in social organization of societies are often reflected in changes in the settlement patterns. In the uplands of Lucania the data supplied by the cult places are equally indicative of far-reaching changes in this same field. They echo the genesis, the increased tribal organization and the increasing social hierarchy of the Lucanian supertribe. Most cult places started as recognizable archaeological features in the course of the 5th century BC. As we have seen, this was a time of profound changes in which various local groups clustered into the Lucanian confederation. The rise of these cult places coincides with the appearance of the Lucanian confederation in the ancient written sources. Increased political organization in the Lucanian districts went hand-in-hand with the appearance of 'legible' sacred places. In the later 4th century BC, the sacred precincts were adorned with buildings and constructions related to water. This monumentalization of the sanctuaries was, therefore, contemporary to the monumentalization of the settlements and the creation of an inhabited countryside. The cult buildings, basins and dining rooms of the sanctuaries were developed at the same time as the imposing fortifications and the isolated tribal farmsteads. Most sanctuaries of Lucania served local tribal groups living in such imposingly fortified *oppida*. The higher level of political organization of the confederation or supertribe is reflected in the probably pan-Lucanian sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio, only 6 km from the supra-regional centre of Serra di Vaglio where the largest dwelling of pre-Roman southern Italy could be found (see fig. 6.20). This could have been the ceremonial home of the paramount chief of the Lucanians in which he discussed matters of Lucanian policy and dined and feasted with cantonal and local chiefs, whilst the sanctuary at nearby Rossano was the place where he displayed himself in the rituals and ceremonies to much larger groups of Lucanians.

The smallness of the banqueting rooms in the local sanctuaries is another indication of changes in the social sphere. Since they could contain only a handful of people, their sheer size suggests that they had an important function in marking social boundaries within the settlement. Those who were allowed to dine within the domain of the god belonged to a special group: it was probably the prerogative of the local elite to participate in banquets in the sacred atmosphere of the local sanctuary. This legitimized their special position within the local society. Those who were denied this prerogative

¹³⁴ A 4th-century inscription found near the fortifications of Serra di Vaglio tells us in Greek that something happened 'during de leadership of Nymmelos' (ΕΙΙΙ

ΤΗΝ ΝΥΜΜΕΛΟΥ ΑΡΧΗΣ). The 2nd and 1st century inscriptions from Rossano di Vaglio tell us about magistrates/leaders named *meddices*.

were undoubtedly less influential members of the clan or family groups dependent on the persons who were allowed to participate. Since the construction of these relatively small banqueting rooms in local sanctuaries and the construction of elite houses with very similar banqueting rooms are approximately contemporary, it is plausible to assume that the local elites of Lucania became more marked and more conspicuous in the later 4th century BC. They demonstrated their elite status in, for instance, their dwellings and their participation in banquets in both the political (elite house) and sacred (sanctuary) sphere.

The preceding passages indicate that religion in both Basilicata and southern Apulia had become more and more complex during the 4th century BC. Increasing complexity often generates specialists. It is indeed in the later 4th century that we can trace the first specialists in the religious sphere. Inscriptions in the Messapic language of southern Apulia mention persons called *tabaras* or *tabara*. Since these terms are often followed by the name of a deity, it is plausible to assume that these were priests or priestesses that played a role in performing the rites for the deity mentioned in the inscription.¹³⁵

The traces of religious activity suggest that the sacred was a complex matter in southeast Italy in the later 4th and 3rd centuries BC. There was a variety of traditional Greek cults in the four Greek towns and their territories. In addition to these there were Orphic and Dionysiac tendencies the true character of which is hard to reconstruct from the archaeological record. Moreover, we find many traces of religious activities in both Oscan-speaking Lucanian and Messapic-speaking Apulian districts. Their religions probably differed enormously. Both non-Greek Lucania and Apulia adopted elements derived from Greek cult practices (e.g. the deposition of votive offerings such as pots and terracotta statuettes, the ritual burning of non-artefactual offerings). They differed, however, vastly in their pantheons, their rituals and the way they laid out their sacred places. The Messapian pantheon shows signs of Greek influence (e.g. *Zis* = Zeus, *Damatira* = Demeter), but the deities named *Batas*, *Thana*, *Thaotor* suggest that this Greekness may only be a thin veneer. The Lucanian water goddess *Mefitis* and the rites performed in her sanctuaries seem to confirm the strongly native character of the religion in upper Basilicata.

6.4. CRAFT

The surviving 4th- and 3rd- century objects and features by far surpass the quantities of finds from any preceding period. They are probably even more numerous than those of all the preceding centuries of the first millennium BC taken together. Initially, much of the 3rd century was believed to be absent, since the Roman conquest was supposed to have put an end to the prosperous societies of southeast Italy (see introduction to chapter 7). Recent investigations, however, have shown that this supposition is unfounded and that both Greeks and natives of southeast Italy continued to flourish for many decades after the Roman victories over the Lucanians, the Messapians and the Italiote League.

One of the reasons for this abundance of material evidence is that many settlements of southeast Italy were gradually abandoned (partly or completely) between the late 3rd and the late 2nd century BC: the 4th and 3rd centuries were often the most recent, 'solid' and prosperous phases not built over and not destroyed by intensive habitation of subsequent, more recent phases. A second reason for the abundance of artefactual evidence concerning the 4th and 3rd centuries BC is that southeast Italy was more prosperous and more populous than ever before in the period under discussion (see section 4.2). This vast area was now much more densely inhabited than in both preceding and subsequent centuries

¹³⁵ Bottini 1988, 63.

¹³⁶ These features were less pronounced in northern Apu-

lia where Iron-Age techniques and production methods persisted to within the 4th century BC.

and these much larger numbers of more prosperous people used large quantities of artifacts. A third factor contributing to the abundance of the artefactual evidence is funerary custom. In many areas of southeast Italy the 4th-century tombs are richly furnished and extremely numerous. Generally speaking, moreover, there is a truly exponential increase in the number of burials. This increase was not exclusively the result of demographic growth, but must also be ascribed to changes in funerary customs. A higher percentage of the people that made up the local societies, was granted a formal burial. Prosperity, demographic growth and lavishness in the funerary sphere together, therefore, can be held responsible for the high visibility of the period under discussion.

We have demonstrated in the preceding chapter 5 that the 6th and 5th centuries BC saw very considerable changes in craft. Among the innovations that characterize this period were serial production and standardization. Of course, the tools that created the opportunities for these developments (e.g. changes in the organization of craft, craft specialization, the introduction of the quick potters wheel), found wide acceptance in nearly every district of southeast Italy.¹³⁶ Initially, however, it was predominantly in the Greek towns that the wide variety of 'industries' was found. By the 4th century BC craft became still more standardized and specialized here, while the variety of products made by the local craftsmen was large. In the later 4th century BC, each settlement of some standing in the region under discussion had a considerable group of full time craftsmen. These produced a wide variety of highly standardized artifacts for a wide variety of different purposes. It was not just the Greek-speaking towns that displayed this amazingly wide scale in crafts during the 4th and 3rd centuries BC: the settlements of non-Greek Basilicata and Apulia had a comparable richness and variety of artifacts during the same centuries. Many of these were made by local craftsmen.

These developments are only weakly illustrated by architectural remains in the Greeks towns of southeast Italy. They had a considerable variety of building types by the early 5th century BC (sacred buildings, stoai, town houses, farmsteads, fortifications, chamber tombs, cist graves etc.). By the 4th century BC the types of buildings that were constructed were approximately the same, but there was, for instance, a much greater variety in house forms that responded to more subtle differences in the social stratigraphy of that time. The main novelty in the field of architecture was the theatre. Buildings of this type were mainly constructed in the later 4th century BC. Metapontion is the only settlement of the area under discussion where such a building that could accommodate thousands of people, has been intensively studied.¹³⁷ Taras and other poleis of Magna Graecia (e.g. Lokroi, Elea) can also be shown to have had a building of the same type (fig. 6.39), but they are conspicuous by their absence in the non-Greek areas.

It was in the indigenous settlements of southeast Italy, however, that the most impressive changes occurred. As we have seen, most of these were walled for the first time and had a large variety of house forms in the 4th century BC. Though the quarrying of the blocks is not necessarily specialized labour, the foundation of the heavy walls, the fitting of the blocks and the organization of labour must have required specialists who were planners and overseers. We have, moreover, seen that centrally planned quarters having *insulae* with almost identical houses were built in both Greek and non-Greek settlements (see fig. 6.16 and fig. 6.19). This suggests that the construction of a house was no longer an activity carried out by a family group, but was becoming the *métier* of a group of specialized builders who received orders from a central authority. The production of tiles covering these dwellings, storage sheds and other types of buildings, moreover, required yet other specialists.

¹³⁷ For instance, Mertens / De Siena 1982.

The most lavish and often conspicuous type of artifact found in southeast Italy in the period under discussion is pottery. The tendency towards increasing craft specialization is especially marked in the production of this particular class of objects. We have seen that substantial changes affected the pottery production during the 6th and 5th centuries. These changes included, for instance, standardization of the quality, shape and decoration. They were especially marked in the Greek towns of southeast Italy. During the later 4th and 3rd centuries, however, a wide variety of ceramics displaying a wide variety of standardized forms was made in almost every settlement of some importance of southeast Italy. By that time, for instance, vessels covered with a more or less shiny black to dark brownish gloss were made in many non-Greek settlements. The production of these so-called Apulian Black Gloss wares had been the prerogative of the Greek towns (especially Taras and Metapontion) since approximately 480/470 BC.¹³⁸ Settlement contexts suggest that these Apulian Black Gloss wares had become the standard table wares in both the Greek and the native settlements by the late 4th century BC. The most common black gloss forms here are skyphoi and kantharoi (for the consumption of wine), plates and platters (for solid food) (fig. 6.40).

In addition to these fine Black Gloss table wares (1) there were two other classes of household pottery in southeast Italy: (2) Banded and Plain wares and (3) Coarse Cooking wares (fig. 6.41). Whilst Banded and Plain wares were light surfaced pots with or without painted horizontal bands, the coarse wares were brownish to blackish pots with a heavy tempering consisting of non-plastic particles.¹³⁹ Both of these classes performed specific functions in the Greek and non-Greek households. The most common forms in Banded and Plain wares were hydriae, lekanai, jugs, various types of bowls and pithoid jars. Most of these were used for the storage and preparation of food or performed other household duties. The coarse wares were used for the cooking and baking of food. The pots of this second category were uncommon in the non-Greek settlements during the 6th and 5th centuries, but attained a great popularity here in the late 4th century. All of a sudden a large number of non-Greeks started to prepare food in the Greek way: the stew pots and casseroles of southeast Italy had a patently Greek ancestry. The same holds good for the vast majority of Black Gloss wares and Banded and Plain wares. Clay analyses and the discovery of kiln sites, however, have shown that these classes were all made in southeast Italy.¹⁴⁰ By the later 4th century BC the ceramics used for everyday activities in both the Greek *poleis* and the indigenous settlements were pots with a decidedly Greek pedigree produced in a typically Greek manner..

The sudden and rapidly increasing popularity of cooking wares indicates that the preparation and consumption of food underwent enormous changes in southeast Italy during the 4th century BC. The Italiote Greeks probably continued to prepare their daily meals in ways that did not differ much from those of the 5th century BC.¹⁴¹ My general impression is that the variation in shapes increased in the

¹³⁸ The black gloss wares of southeast Italy represent a more or less independent branch of the widely diffused black gloss wares. The settlements of southeast Italy shared the same set of forms that evolved in this area in the same way at approximately the same moment (see Yntema 2001, 137-140). The tradition started in the 2nd quarter of the 5th century BC in Metapontion (and probably Taras) and began to wane in the 1st century BC. The name 'Apulian Black Gloss' is basically not correct, since this class was diffused in both Apulia and large parts of Basilicata. Northwestern Basilicata (e.g. Rocca gloriosa and surrounding district) used vessels stemming from a different branch of the black gloss tradition (Paestum/South-Campanian).

¹³⁹ These non-plastic elements in the clay consisted mostly

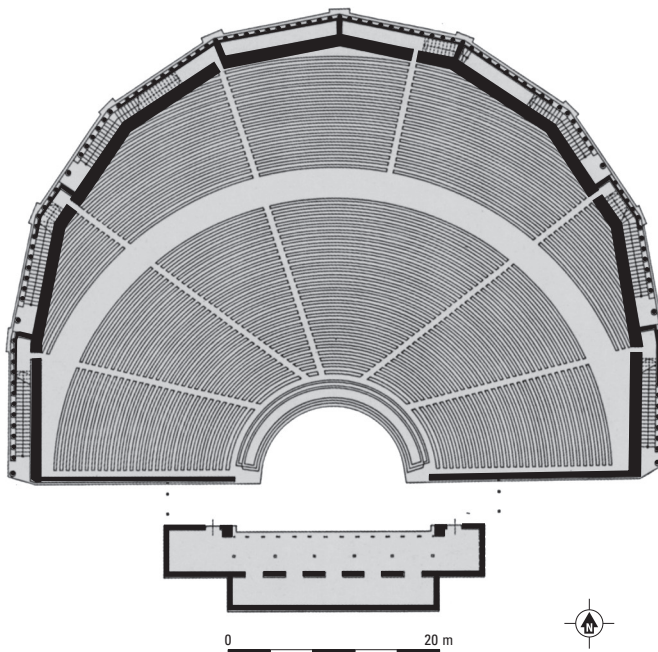
of sand, particles of ferro-manganese and small chips of limestone in southeast Italy. This tempering was added to the pots in order to make them resistant to thermal shock.

¹⁴⁰ Kilns of the 4th and 3rd centuries have, for instance been unearthed at Taras, Metapontion, Herakleia and Valesio.

¹⁴¹ Usually little attention is paid in publications to the undecorated, light surfaced plain wares and the heavily tempered, dark surfaced cooking wares. For the *poleis* of southeast Italy, evidence concerning these ceramic classes is practically non-existent (for cooking wares from south-Italian Lokroi, see Conti 1989); for the cooking wares from the native site of Gravina di Puglia, see Small et al. 1992, 179-194.



Fig. 6.39. Metapontion: view and plan of the theatre (late 4th century BC); archive ACVU and courtesy Dieter Mertens.



poleis during the 4th century BC: food preparation among the Italiote Greeks probably became more varied during that period.¹⁴² The most drastic changes in the preparation of food, however, took place in the non-Greek areas of southeast Italy. Whilst during the 5th century BC dark-surfaced cooking wares (stew pots only) were mainly found (albeit sparingly) in elite dwellings, these same wares were the commonest type of ceramics in both elite and non-elite habitations from the late 4th century onward. By about

¹⁴² The contexts that I happened to notice in museum exhibitions and deposits, suggest that the round-bodied stew pots (the *chytra* in Sparkes / Tallcott 1970) were present in the *poleis* of southeast Italy before the end of the 6th century BC. During the (later?) 5th

century the casseroles made their appearance (the *lopas* in Sparkes / Tallcott 1970), but they did not occur in large numbers before the 4th century BC, whilst frying pans were current from the late 4th century onward.

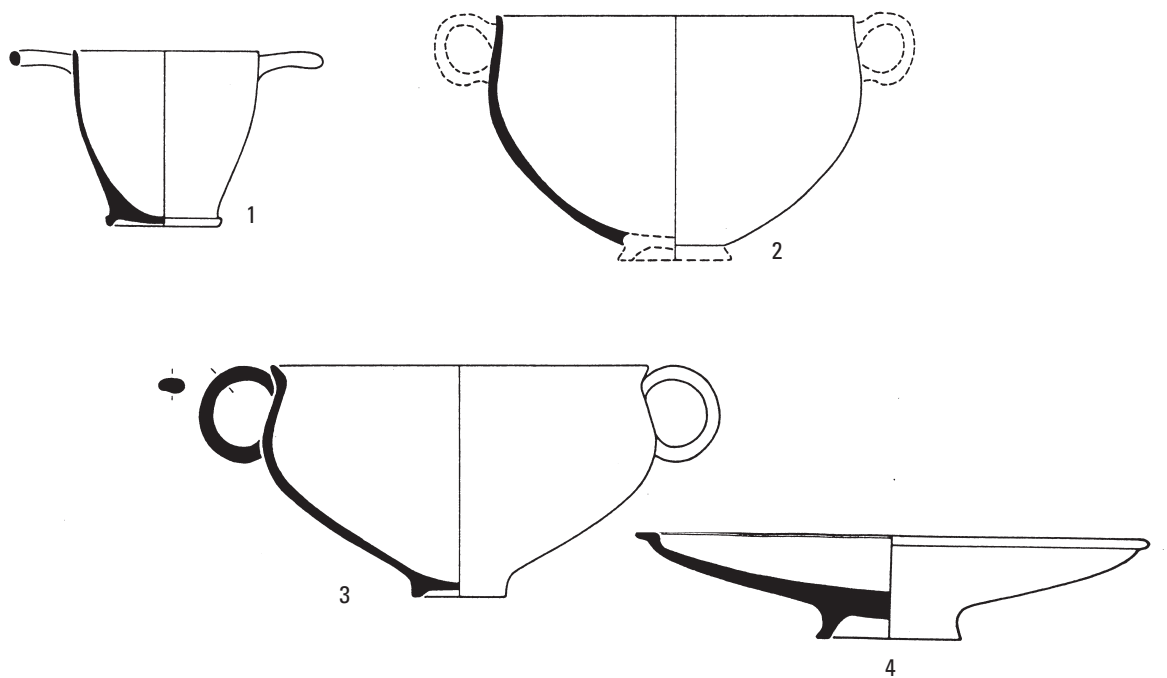


Fig. 6.40. Most common Black Gloss forms of southeast Italy in settlement contexts between c. 350 and c. 230 BC. 1 skyphos (c. 350–275 BC); 2 kantharos (c. 325–275 BC); 3 kantharos (c. 275–225 BC); 4 platter (c. 325–275 BC).

300 BC the inhabitants of the Greek towns on the coast and the native elites and their tribal farmers all used the same wide range of cooking pots. This suggests that they all prepared the same types of food in approximately the same ways.

Whilst Black Gloss wares, Banded and Plain wares and coarse cooking wares (all ceramics predominantly produced for everyday use) were made in probably every settlement with a few thousand inhabitants, the production of lavishly decorated pottery continued to be the prerogative of the *poleis* of southeast Italy for many years. As we have seen, the workshops producing these so-called Apulian and Lucanian Red-Figured wares started in the third quarter of the 5th century BC. They were probably located at Taras (Apulian branch) and Metapontion (Lucanian branch) and initially produced a relatively limited quantity of red-figured pots.¹⁴³ Around 380/370 BC, however, their output began to increase very substantially. The Apulian branch in particular produced enormous quantities of red-figured pots in the last decades of the 4th century BC.¹⁴⁴ These Italiote workshops, moreover, made their ceramics for a very specific market. The vast majority of the red-figured vases painted in the workshops of Taras and Metapontion ended up in tombs, predominantly those of the tribal groups of southeast Italy.

¹⁴³ For Lucanian Red Figured and Early Apulian Red figured, see Trendall 1967 and Trendall / Cambitoglou 1978. In addition to these, Apulian and Lucanian branches there were of course the Paestan, Campanian and Sicilian branches of red-figured pottery in

4th-century BC southern Italy. These produced red-figured wares in districts which are outside the scope of this book.

¹⁴⁴ For Late Apulian Red Figured, see Trendall / Cambitoglou 1982.

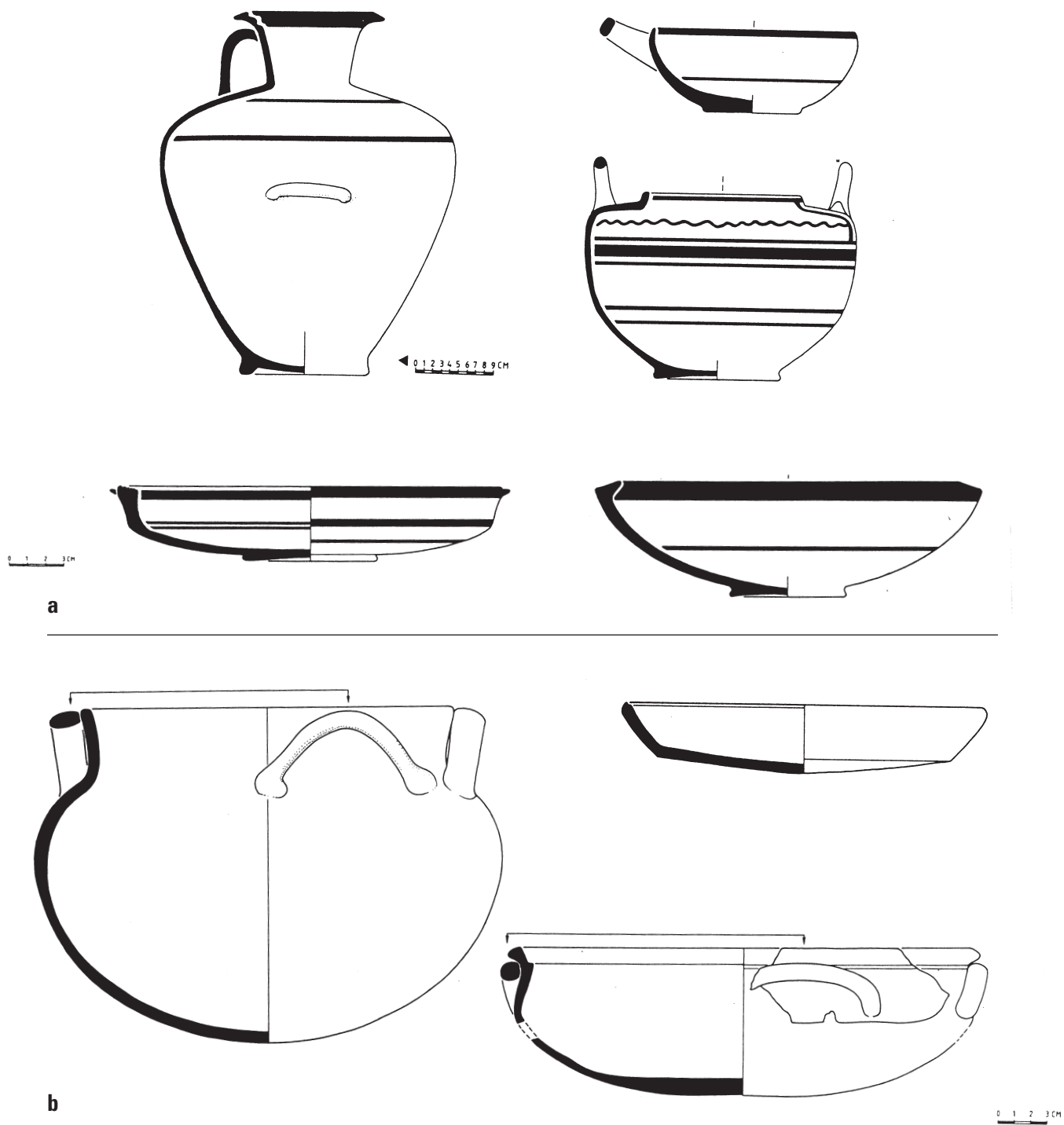


Fig. 6.41. Valesio (Salento district, south Apulia): ceramic forms commonly found in settlement contexts of the 3rd century BC, fine wares, see fig. 6.40). (a) Banded and Plain wares; (b) Coarse Cooking wares.

The scenes painted on the red-figured pots were not especially designed for the purposes served by the vessels themselves. They cover a wide variety of subjects. It should be admitted that there is indeed a series of vases decorated with underworld scenes, and a large quantity of pots decorated with funerary monuments and scenes referring to burial rites (fig. 6.24).¹⁴⁵ These date predominantly to the last three or four decades of the 4th century BC. In addition to these, there were scenes believed to represent every day life (e.g. women in their boudoir, returning warriors), and themes taken from Greek mythology and Greek drama.¹⁴⁶ The latter two subjects are, of course, closely interwoven since Greek tragedies almost invariably used themes derived from Greek mythology.

Why did the Tarantine and Metapontine vase painters select these Greek myths for pots that served a mainly non-Greek clientele? First it should be noted that most of the scenes on the red-figured vases do *not* stem from the handful of myths that played a significant role in Italiote beliefs about afterworld and underworld such as the rebirth myths referring to Orpheus and Dionysus. There is indeed such a variety of myths that the scenes depicted on Italiote Red Figured ceramics are quite sufficient to illustrate a quite detailed handbook on Greek mythology. Some of them are even so obscure that present-day specialists in ancient iconography have difficulties in decoding the scenes.¹⁴⁷ It is, therefore, highly doubtful whether the prosperous Lucanians or Messapians who were the largest consumers of these wares, were capable of reading and understanding the mythological representations. This suggests that the predominantly non-Greek persons who acquired these pots were not interested in the Greek messages painted on these pots. The red-figured vases were acquired by non-Greeks of southeast Italy because they carried a figurative decoration and because it was the general custom in non-Greek southeast Italy to bury high-ranking persons (especially men) with Corinthian, Attic or early-Italiote figured wares during the preceding 6th and 5th centuries BC.¹⁴⁸

Painting red-figured vases is relatively time-consuming. By about 360 BC a 'cheaper' variant of red-figured was made at Taras: the so-called Gnathia pottery.¹⁴⁹ The pots of this class were completely covered with a shiny black gloss. The ornaments were painted on top of the gloss with a white, yellow or dark red paint. The decoration of Gnathia wares is invariably much simpler than that of the red-figured pots. It consists of vines and grapes, branches with ivy leaves, dotted sprays and necklaces which stress the architecture of the pots or frame simple figurative ornaments (e.g. masks, vessels, female heads). Like the more lavishly decorated red-figured pots, Gnathia wares often ended up in tombs (fig. 6.43).

Taras is often believed to have been the main production centre of Gnathia wares. But wasters of Gnathia ware have also turned up at Metapontion¹⁵⁰ and there are reasons to believe that by the late 4th century BC workshops producing these wares also existed in northern Apulia.¹⁵¹ Gnathia pottery, therefore, was made in the same centres in which red-figured ceramics were produced. These too, are likely to have been made in Arpi and Canosa, the large central places of northern Apulia in the late

¹⁴⁵ Lohmann 1979.

¹⁴⁶ Attic tragedies were especially popular subjects on Italiote pottery of the 4th century BC, see Webster 1967.

¹⁴⁷ The scenes painted on the red-figured vases of southern Italy were often the current mythical themes such as the judgement of Paris or elements taken from the Medea story. Unusual subjects were also depicted, for instance, the rape of the Leucippidae, the madness of Lycurgus and the metamorphosis of Callisto.

¹⁴⁸ The question still remains how Tarentine and Metapontine potters who did not particularly belong to

the happy few of their settlements, could have such a detailed knowledge of Greeks myths or Greek drama.

¹⁴⁹ For Gnathia wares, see Forti 1965; Webster 1968; D'Amicis 1996. Gnathia (or 'Gnathian') pottery is named after the non-Greek site of Gnathia in southern Apulia, where large numbers of pots of this class were found during the 1880s.

¹⁵⁰ D'Andria 1975 and 1980.

¹⁵¹ A few Gnathia vase forms occur exclusively in northern Apulia. See, for instance, the burials published in Cassano et al. 1992.



Fig. 6.42. Details of Apulian red-figured wares, 4th century BC. Courtesy Bari Museum.



Fig. 6.43. Gnathia wares from Salento burials: (a). bell krater from Rudiae (Taranto fabric), mid- to later 4th century BC; Lecce, Museo Castromediano; (b) mule carrying Graeco-Italic amphorae (Taranto fabric), late 4th/early 3rd century BC; Bari, Archaeological Museum. Courtesy museums of Lecce and Bari.

4th century BC.¹⁵² On the basis of the kiln refuse of Metapontion it is quite certain that these same workshops produced other classes of pottery such as Black Gloss and Plain and Banded wares. Terracotta statuettes came from the same kilns. As we have seen in the preceding chapter, finger prints on the Metapontion wasters suggest that there was quite an intricate labour division in these workshops involving at least four persons, probably on a full time basis.¹⁵³ In many other settlements workshops with a small workforce and a more limited range of products were active. These produced only Black Gloss pottery, terracotta statuettes and Banded and Plain wares.¹⁵⁴

Both Taras and Metapontion had a veritable *kerameikos* consisting of a group of contemporary workshops. Each of these was outside the habitation area and had probably a relatively complex organization of pottery production.¹⁵⁶ The traces of pottery production at the *polis* of Herakleia, however, suggest that less complex forms of organization could also be encountered.¹⁵⁷ These workshops were all situated in polities which were centrally organized states. As at Athens or Corinth the potters of these Italiote *poleis* are likely to have been independent entrepreneurs who conducted their own business. They had to contend with systems of supply and demand in what was a basically market-oriented economy.

Their colleagues in indigenous settlements worked within the decidedly different social and economic context of tribal systems. As we have seen in the cases of Roccagloriosa in Lucania and Muro Tenente in the Salento peninsula, local clans are likely to have controlled their own territories in and around the settlement areas of these two indigenous centres (see section 6.2). The only information

¹⁵² Trendall / Cambitoglou 1982.

¹⁵³ D'Andria 1997; De Siena et al. 2001.

¹⁵⁴ Yntema 1994 (Valesio).

¹⁵⁵ In the Canosa area matt-painted pots continued to be produced for funerary purposes till the late 3rd or early

2nd century BC (Late Listata wares; Yntema 1990, 272-286). These ceramics were wheelmade.

¹⁵⁶ De Siena et al. 2001, 103-114.

¹⁵⁷ Neutsch 1967.

about the spatial aspects of pottery production in indigenous settlements comes from the urban survey at Muro Tenente (Brindisi area). Here wasters and misfired pottery of the end of the 4th and early 3rd centuries were collected at various spots within the walled area. These were hundreds of meters apart. This suggests that each of the three or four local clans of this Messapian site may have had its own small pottery production unit in the period under discussion. The clan workshop was probably located in the clan territory within the walled settlement area. The context in which the potters of non-Greek southeast Italy functioned, may, therefore, have differed substantially from those of the *poleis*. Whilst the latter were basically independent entrepreneurs, the former were bound to their clan and its leader.

Although the ceramics of southeast Italy were produced in originally Greek ways with originally Greek types of decoration, it was especially in pottery produced for funerary purposes that native traditions persisted. Traditional features are mainly present in the repertoires of forms of the various districts. A closed vessel with unusually tall handles having terracotta wheels is found in the tombs of Messapian women. It is an epigone of an Iron Age form that became popular in the late 8th century BC (see fig. 4.22d). This so-called *trozzella* survived till well within the 3rd century BC (fig. 6.44).¹⁵⁸

The 4th-century *trozzella* is a cultural hybrid since it displays a non-Greek form, but is made in the Greek wheelmade technique with Greek types of ornaments arranged in a traditional native way and painted with a ferroid clayslip according to the Greek custom. Southern Italy indeed produced a most surprising series of such hybrids between the 5th and the 3rd century BC. The most astonishing examples come perhaps from the north-Apulian site of Canosa where traditional features died hard. Here ceramics with a magnificent blend of native and Greek features were made for funerary purposes and deposited in the hypogaea of the wealthy local elite (fig. 6.45).¹⁵⁹

This cultural hybridization was not confined to ceramics made in non-Greek areas, but also affected pottery workshops in Italiote *poleis*. Workshops at both Taras and Metapontion, for instance, produced red-figured pots with non-Greek shapes and Greek scenes, with Greek shapes and non-Greek scenes or even with non-Greek shapes and representations of natives (fig. 6.46). This is not as remarkable as it seems, since Attic potters adopted both Etruscan and native Apulian shapes in the late 6th and 5th centuries (see chapter 5.6).

Ceramics were, of course not the only type of artifacts that survived in the archaeological records of southeast Italy. While implements made from wood, leather or cloth are irretrievably lost, metals survived only when they could not be recycled. This observation holds for votive contexts, but it is especially the graves which have supplied metal objects. These of course, were carefully selected for the burials and represent only a fraction of the total range of metal objects produced and used during the period under discussion. As we have seen above, the graves of native chieftains could contain body armour (fig. 6.29), offensive weaponry, and bronze vessels relating to banqueting, whilst ladies of both Greek and non-Greek elites could be buried with spectacular personal ornaments made of precious metals (see section 6.3). In the graves of the less privileged metal objects were often restricted to one or two fibulas only.

In the preceding chapter we have seen that new crafts and more complex forms of craft organization developed in the four Greek settlements in southeast Italy during the 6th century BC. These innovations coincided more or less with the genesis of urban centres and a new form of political organization: the *polis*. In the non-Greek settlements similar changes occurred at about the same time, but on a

¹⁵⁸ For trozzellas and their history, see Forti 1972, and 1979; Yntema 1974.

¹⁵⁹ These were the Listata wares (Abruzzese 1974; Yntema

1990, 272-286) and the Polychrome wares with plastic decoration (e.g. Van der Wielen-Van Ommeren 1986 and 1992)

class	fabric	decoration	use	production centres	dating
Apulian and Lucanian Red-Figured	wheelmade; light-coloured clay	background and details of figured decoration painted in black gloss	native burials and sanctuaries	Taras and Metapontion; from late 4th century probably also in a few native centres (Canosa?)	450/440 till c. 300/280
Gnathia pottery	wheelmade; light-coloured clay,	completely covered with black gloss; on top of gloss painted ornaments in red, yellow and white	native burials and sanctuaries	Taras and Metapontion; from late 4th century probably also in a few native centres (Canosa?)	360/350 till c. 225/200
Apulian-Lucanian Black Gloss wares	wheelmade; light-coloured clay,	completely covered with black gloss	Greek and native households, burials, sanctuaries	nearly every settlement with a few thousand inhabitants	480/470 till c. 125/100
Banded and Plain wares	wheelmade; light-coloured clay;	Undecorated (Plain wares) or decorated with dark brown bands and (sparsely) vegetal ornaments	Greek and native households, burials, sanctuaries	nearly every settlement with a few thousand inhabitants	later 6th century till c. 150/125 BC
coarse cooking wares	wheelmade; dark-coloured surface, heavily tempered clay	undecorated	Greek and native households	unknown	
terracottas	mouldmade, light-coloured clay	painted	Greek and native burials and sanctuaries	nearly every settlement with a few thousand inhabitants	From the late 7th century onward
matt-painted wares	handmade, light-coloured clay	manganese paint	burials in northern Apulia	District around Canosa	From Bronze Age till c. 300 BC ¹⁵⁵
impasto wares	handmade or wheel-made	plastic decoration	Native households	non-Greek areas of Apulia	from Bronze Age till c. 300 BC

Table 6.1. Survey of the pottery classes made and used in southeast Italy during the later 4th century BC.

much smaller scale (mainly pottery production and building techniques). In the later 4th century BC, however, the material culture of the non-Greeks hardly differed from that of the south-Italian Greeks. The various types of craft and the organization of production in the non-Greek areas hardly differed from those of the Greek towns, although their political organization continued to have decidedly tribal features. Initially luxury items were exclusively produced in regional centres (e.g. the goldsmiths of Taras), but by the last third of the 4th century even technically complex products such as large red-figured funerary pots were made in indigenous settlements of southeast Italy.¹⁶⁰

The archaeological evidence suggests a substantial homogenization of material culture over large parts of southeast Italy. The pots that were used in Messapian or Lucanian households were not fundamentally different from the pots used in the often very similar Greek houses of Taras or Metapontion. Most Greeks, Lucanians and Messapians drank the same wine from the same black gloss skyphos and

¹⁶⁰ As for Italiote Red-Figured pottery, the workshops of the Apulian Baltimore Painter and White Saccos Painter are likely to have been located in northern Apulia (Trendall / Cambitoglou 1982) while the

workshop of the Lucanian Roccanova Painter is believed to have operated in the uplands of Lucania (Trendall 1967).

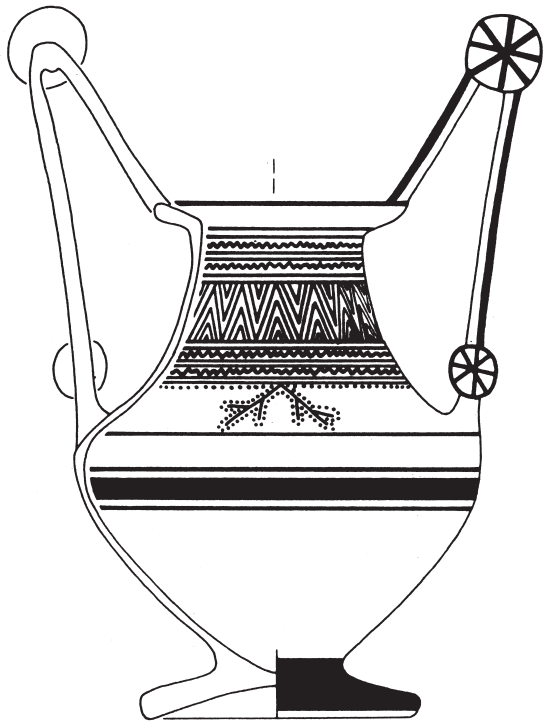


Fig. 6.44. Trozzella with Gnathia-like dotted spray decoration (Salento district, south Apulia). Late 4th/early 3rd century BC.

prepared very similar meals in almost identical cooking pots (fig. 6.41).

The evidence suggests that there were both a substantial number and a great variety of craftsmen in the later 4th and earlier 3rd century BC. These were present not only in the four Greek polities on the Gulf of Taranto, but also in the tribal settlements of southeast Italy. They exerted specialist labour and were involved in many different tasks. In the sector of architecture people extracted and worked blocks of stone, constructed complex fortification systems, public buildings and houses, produced rooftiles, mudbrick and architectural terracottas. In the field of ceramics there were potters and coroplasts who made the pots and pans, the

terracotta statuettes and the loomweights for domestic, funerary and votive purposes. Recycling prevents us from getting a good insight into the use of metals and the role of the artisans that produced them. There must have been blacksmiths in many settlements. They produced agricultural implements of bronze and iron (e.g. ploughs, ards, hoes), weaponry (e.g. spears, javelins, arrow heads) and personal ornaments (e.g. rings, fibulas). Specialized gold- and silversmiths may have been active in one or two settlements of southeast Italy only. The specialists that worked wood, leather and fine textiles elude us completely, because these materials simply do not survive. Their presence may be suspected on the strength of passages of ancient Greek authors on the early Hellenistic Mediterranean.

6.5 ECONOMY AND EXTERNAL CONTACTS

The unprecedented prosperity and wealth of 4th-3rd century BC southeast Italy suggest a booming economy for the period under discussion. Since the area is notoriously poor in raw materials such as metals, we may actually ask for the source of its wealth. The basis of the general prosperity of southeast Italy in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC can probably be found in (1) the excellent qualities of the soils, (2) specialization in agriculture and (3) intensifying trade networks in the Mediterranean. This meant that commodities produced in large quantities as a result of relatively intensive and increasingly specialized agriculture and stock raising practices could be exchanged by transporting them over large distances and selling them at far away markets.

The indications of the influence exerted by these three factors are many. The qualities of the soils (factor 1) are evident. The large plains which can be found in the coastal zone on the Gulf of Taranto (e.g. the plain of Sybaris, the flatlands around Metapontion), in the Brindisi district of southern Apulia and in northern Apulia (the Tavoliere), were admirably suited for the production of cereals and could serve as pastures when they lay fallow. The ears of corn depicted on the Metapontine coins indicate

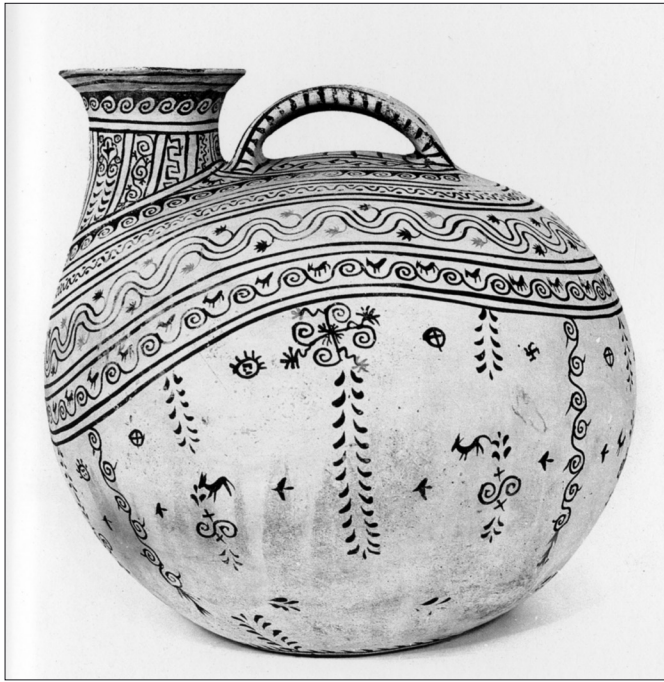


Fig. 6.45. Funerary wares produced at Canosa (north–Apulia) during the late 4th and 3rd centuries: a. handmade traditional form (askos) with Grecian ornaments (Listata II), late 4th century BC; b. wheelmade traditional form (askos) covered with Greek terracotta statuettes and painted in pink and blue (Canosan Polychrome with plastic ornaments), 3rd century BC. Photos courtesy Bari Museum.

that the inhabitants of this town took ample advantage of this opportunity. The sloping hills surrounding these plains were attractive spots for viticulture (e.g. the hills around the Taras and Sybaris plains), whilst the limestone areas with thin cover offered excellent opportunities for the cultivation of olives (in central Apulia and the southern part of the Salento peninsula). The mountainous uplands of Basilicata and the Murge massif of central Apulia could serve as summer pastures for flocks of sheep. The forests which continued to occur here as well as in several other parts of southeast Italy in the time under discussion, supplied timber (e.g. for ship building) and were forage areas for herds of swine.

Specialization in agriculture and stock raising (factor 2) can be deduced from various sources. One of the important indications is the exponential increase in rural farmsteads. Field surveys in the area of Metapontion have demonstrated that whilst the creation of a rural landscape took place in the 6th century BC, the countryside was most intensely occupied and exploited during the later 4th and earlier 3rd centuries BC.¹⁶¹ It was during the early Hellenistic period that the number of farmsteads was at its height here. Farmsteads and hamlets of approximately the same date have been reported from the areas surrounding Taras and Herakleia. Moreover, as we have seen above (section 6.2) the creation of a cultivated and inhabited countryside in non-Greek territories happened at about the very same time. This means that within a few decades large areas were reclaimed for cultivation and that the agricultural output of southeast Italy increased exponentially.

¹⁶¹ Carter 1998b, 2001, 2006.



Fig. 6.46. Apulian red-figured 'nestoris' with representation of non-Greeks. Naples, Museo Archeologico.

Good evidence for drastic environmental change is usually found in pollen cores. The palynological data stemming from the Metapontion area are the only evidence of this type published hitherto.¹⁶² The poor data available at present confirm the picture suggested by the field surveys and indicate that substantial changes occurred in the vegetation. But whilst the palynological data are scarce, there is good evidence regarding stock raising consisting of bone samples from various sites. Generally speaking, these show a decrease in the percentages of cattle, while the percentages of both sheep/goat and pig display a slight increase. When we look at the mortality data of the

animal husbandry, it appears that while sheep/goats were killed at a relatively early age during the Iron Age and Archaic-Classical periods (between one and two years), they often lived as long as three to four years in the Early Hellenistic Age (fig. 6.47). This suggests that they were no longer exclusively kept for their meat, but that the things they produced during those additional two to four years became important: wool and milk/cheese.¹⁶³

We have no information about the importance of the cheeses of southeast Italy in the period under discussion. The fine wools of Taras and Canusium (Canosa), however, had a wide renown in the ancient world. They were so special indeed that the general indication for fine woollen clothing in ancient times was *tarantidia*.¹⁶⁴ The thousands of loomweights that turn up during excavations and surveys indicate that woollen cloths were made in many households of the Greek and non-Greek settlements. Ancient written sources regarding the Hellenistic and early-Roman ages also inform us on the good qualities of the wines, olives and olive oil of southeast Italy.¹⁶⁵ Though we cannot always be certain that these passages of ancient authors are really relevant to the 100 to 150 years discussed in this chapter, the archaeological evidence suggests that the products of the rural and urban farmsteads could be transported over considerable distances. From the late 4th century onward southeast Italy produced a substantial surplus of specialized articles that derived from the cultivated fields and the roaming flocks.

¹⁶² The soils of southeast Italy are badly suited for the preservation of pollen.

¹⁶³ Veenman 2002.

¹⁶⁴ Morel 1978.

¹⁶⁵ Tchernia 1986; Vandermersch 1994.

Amphorae confirm the picture of large-scale agricultural production and overseas markets. Though the earliest amphorae produced in southeast Italy made their appearance in the 6th century,¹⁶⁶ the output of such transport vessels increased enormously from the late 4th century onward, i.e. at the same time as the intensification of farming in both Greek and non-Greek polities. The new type of container vessel that made its appearance at this particular moment was the so-called Graeco-Italic amphora (fig. 6.48) of which the study is still in its infancy.¹⁶⁷ They were especially common in the 3rd and early 2nd centuries.

Other tracers of long distance contacts between southern Italy and other parts of the Mediterranean are the fine wares. Whilst only small quantities of the predominantly 4th-century red-figured wares of Taras and Metapontion traveled overseas, it was especially 3rd-century Gnathia pottery that had a wide distribution. These overpainted wares are found in some numbers on the east coast of the Strait of Otranto (e.g. Corfu, Buthroton), both shores of the central Adriatic area (Dalmatia, Picenum), but very considerable numbers of Gnathia pots ended up at sites of the eastern Mediterranean. Whilst Athens received only a few pieces of these ceramics,¹⁶⁸ it was especially at the important trade centres of the Hellenistic Age such as Rhodes, Knossos, Alexandria and Berenike-Benghazi that substantial quantities of Gnathia were found.¹⁶⁹ A similar overseas distribution of 3rd century Apulian Black Gloss wares may be surmised, but these have often not been recognized in the ceramic samples excavated at eastern Mediterranean sites.¹⁷⁰

The limited number of tracers indicating the long distance contacts of southeast Italy suggests that the trade networks in which this area participated spanned much of the Adriatic Sea (e.g. Issa, Ancona), the southern Aegean (e.g. Rhodes, Crete) and Ptolemaic Egypt (Alexandria, Berenice). A thorough investigation into this matter may well reveal that these contacts were quite intense and involved more areas than can be surmised at present.¹⁷¹ From the evidence it seems to emerge that southeast Italy and especially Taras, its most important port, played a significant role in the contacts between Italy and the eastern Mediterranean. The *polis* of Taras may indeed have been pivotal in contacts between the eastern and western Mediterranean: even the Spanish eastcoast got its share of Gnathia wares.¹⁷² The same role is suggested by the ancient written sources.¹⁷³

The evidence for such contacts uncovered hitherto regards much of the 3rd century BC. This is interesting, since it demonstrates that the Roman conquest of Taras in 272 did not turn the *hegemon* of the Italiote league into a quiet and impoverished backwater on the fringes of a hardly Romanizing Italy. After the Roman conquest Taras continued to be an important element in the Mediterranean trade networks. The image of continuing prosperity also emerges from the burial grounds of Taras.¹⁷⁴ To this Tarantine evidence can be added the strong continuity (or even growth) of rural settlement in all parts of southeast Italy.¹⁷⁵ Together these data suggest that the town (and with it large parts of south-

¹⁶⁶ At least a part of the so-called Corinthian B amphorae were made in southeast Italy (Sourisseau 2011).

¹⁶⁷ Vandermersch 1994.

¹⁶⁸ Rotroff 1997.

¹⁶⁹ Green 1979.

¹⁷⁰ There appears to be a good sample of these Apulian Black gloss wares (mainly from Taranto, it seems) among the well diagnosed and well-published fine wares of Sidi Khrebish/Benghazi/Berenice (see Kenrick 1985).

¹⁷¹ There might well be generous samples of 3rd-century Apulian Black Gloss wares at, for instance, Delos, Rhodes, Crete and coastal Egypt; more profound

research into the distribution of Graeco-Italic amphorae, moreover, may also contribute to a more complete picture of the economic networks of southeast Italy, and more specifically Taras.

¹⁷² For Gnathia wares from Spain, see, for instance, Pérez Ballester 2002, 33-39 (e.g. some 15 to 20 mostly ribbed specimens from Cartagena).

¹⁷³ Marasco 1988.

¹⁷⁴ See exhibition catalogue *Ori di Taranto* and Graepler 1997.

¹⁷⁵ For Salento, see, for instance, Boersma et al. 1991, Yntema 1993a; for northern Apulia, see Volpe 1990; for Lucania, see Gualtieri / Fracchia 2001.

east Italy) continued to flourish during a large part of the 3rd century BC. Therefore, the the Roman victories over Taras, the Lucanians and the Messapians (272/265) had no dramatic consequences for the economy of the region. The Roman policy towards southeast Italy was one of *laissez-faire*, as long as the taxes were collected and troops were supplied at Rome's request. Therefore, the decisive Roman victories of the years 272 (Taras), 267/266 (Messapians) and 266/265 (Lucanians) cannot be viewed as the first step towards the poor Roman Mezzogiorno as has often been assumed: the cliché image of large, slave run *latifundia* and widespread pastoralism that is believed to have been characteristic of southern Italy in Roman times.

The preceding sections have implicitly suggested that there was a link between the economies of Taras and other *poleis* of southeast Italy with the economies of territories inhabited by non-Greek speakers such as Lucanians and Messapians. This link was probably very close indeed. The thousands of intricately decorated pots that ended up in the burial grounds of non-Greek populations (Apulian and Lucanian Red-Figured, and Gnathia pottery) are tracers of the intense contacts between the Italiote Greeks and neighbouring tribal groups. Thurioi, Herakleia and Metapontion controlled the coastal strip of river basins that were inhabited by groups of Lucanian stock. When surpluses produced by the inland Lucanians had to be transported to overseas markets, these had to pass through Greek states. It is therefore plausible to assume that there were agreements or even treaties regulating exchanges between the Greek towns and their indigenous neighbours. These were doubtlessly profitable to both parties. These close economic ties may well have turned the inland parts of river basins that were inhabited by indigenous groups, into the hinterland of the Greek polity situated at the river mouth. In economic respects Thurioi, Herakleia and Metapontion may have become central places for both Lucanian groups and people living within their own territories. In these urban settlements surpluses of both Greek and native territories were collected for overseas transport.

Of course, tribal groups of present-day Apulia could market their own surpluses since some of these must have controlled considerable stretches of the coastline. In central and southern Apulia there was a series of small coastal settlements (some of which had Bronze Age origins). Since the 6th century BC these were paired with much larger inland settlements between 4 and 10 km from the coast. Each of them probably controlled one of these ports.¹⁷⁶ The small inlets were meeting points where Greek sailors and Italic tribesmen exchanged goods on a limited scale.¹⁷⁷ This system of 'paired' settlements continued to exist into the 3rd century BC (fig. 6.49). The Italiote Greeks, however, had a distinct advantage over their non-Greek neighbours. Whilst the latter were basically newcomers in the Mediterranean trade systems, Tarantines and other Italiotai had participated in these networks since the Iron Age. Therefore, they had a much better insight into the various regional exchange systems and knew where specific articles were highly prized or urgently needed. It seems therefore, plausible to assume that the Greek *poleis* of southeast Italy often functioned as intermediaries between the tribal polities and the overseas markets and packed and shipped both their own surpluses and those of their native hinterlands. Taras, because of its dominant political position, its outstanding wealth and its excellent harbour may well have had a special role in southeast Italy. It was doubtlessly the most important port.

¹⁷⁶ D'Andria 1976; Yntema 1982b.

¹⁷⁷ The substantial lagunal settlements of Siponto and Salapia in northern Apulia were never ports of call in Greek trade networks. These played an important part in the contacts between northern Apulia and Istria/Damatia between the 8th and the early 5th century BC (see chapter 4). In the 4th or early 3rd century these

became dependent on (or in any case closely linked with) the large and dominant inland settlements of Arpi (paired with Siponto) and Canosa (paired with Salapia). In the 2nd and 1st centuries BC (and again in late-Roman times) Siponto exported corn (passages in both Livy and Strabo) whereas Salapia may well have produced salt.

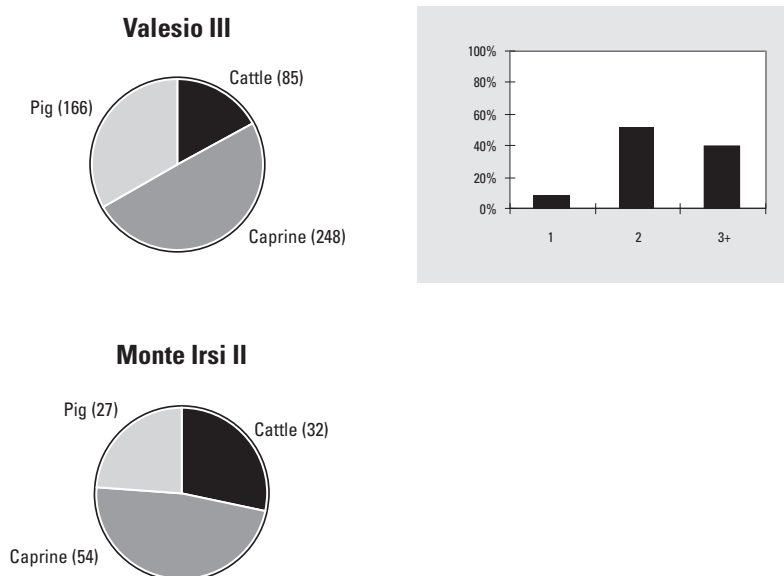


Fig. 6.47. Percentages of household animals and culling ages of sheep/goats, 4th-3rd century BC; after Veenman 2002.

It may have functioned as a staple for the areas surrounding the Gulf of Taranto and a starting point for many ships transporting regional products of southeast Italy to the eastern Mediterranean.

There is little information on the type of products exchanged with overseas areas. Wine and olive oil must have been among these, since the Graeco-Italic amphorae could contain both. We can make educated guesses for other products by looking at the character of the soils and the micro-climates and by extrapolating written sources of slightly more recent times. These sources together suggest that southeast Italy may well have produced considerable surpluses of pork, cheese, wool and cereals. Since snails of the species *murex purpurea* are common on the Gulf of Manfredonia (northern Apulia) and in the seas near Taranto, purple dye could also have been among the desirable articles of southeast Italy.¹⁷⁸

In addition to long distance trade there must have been exchanges between neighbouring settlements and regions within southeast Italy. We have seen the case of the Apulian and Lucanian Red-Figured wares that traveled from Taras and Metapontion to non-Greek districts. Internal exchange must also have brought olive oil to the uplands of Lucania where the olive trees could not survive the harsh winter of the mountain climate, and limestone to Metapontion situated on alluvial soils. Metals such as bronze and iron – only present in limited quantities in northern Calabria, but common in Etruria and the eastern Hallstatt province around Ljubeljana – must have circulated in the exchange circuits of southeast Italy.

In the 3rd century BC the first steps were set on the path of monetization of southeast Italy. Though the first silver staters were struck here as early as the late 6th century BC, these could be used for large transactions only. Southeast Italy was comparatively late in minting small denominations for everyday transactions. It was not until the middle of the 3rd century BC that small silver coins were minted in the Greek *poleis*. At about the same time the first issues of bronze coins make their appearance in Metapontion (c. 250 BC). The first bronze coins of Taras are dated to the very end of the period discussed here.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ Delano Smith 1979.

¹⁷⁹ Stazio 1987; Siciliano 1993.

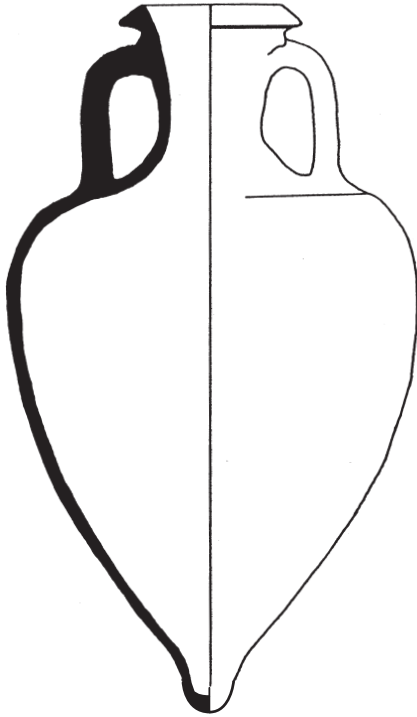


Fig. 6.48. Graeco-Italic amphora from Valesio (Brindisi), contents 42 lt, late 3th/early 2nd century BC.

In the late 4th (?) and 3rd centuries, moreover, systematic minting of coins was no longer confined to the Greek polities.¹⁸⁰ Non-Greek emissions were minted in all regions of southeast Italy. Here, however, a divide can be noted between Apulia on the one hand and Lucania and Calabria on the other hand. Whilst in the latter two regions 'native' emissions were exclusively made by the large tribal confederacies of the Lucanians and the Brettians,¹⁸¹ coins were minted by a considerable series of non-Greek settlements of Apulia. Among these were both town-like, walled settlement of central and southern Apulia and the gradually condensing, originally dispersed settlements of the north-Apulian groups. Some 15 Apulian settlements issued coins carrying Greek legends like ΚΑΝΥΣΙΝΩΝ ('of the people of Kanusion'; Canosa, north-Apulia), ΚΑΙΛΙΝΩΝ ('of the people of Kailia'; Ceglie del Campo, central Apulia), or ΝΕΡΕΤΙΝΩΝ ('of the people of Nereton'; Nardò, south-Apulia). The vast majority of these

emissions were in bronze; only six non-Greek settlements minted both silver and bronze.¹⁸² Their legends and their weights suggest that these native emissions of the late 4th (?) and much of the 3rd century BC were primarily inspired by Greek monetary systems. This is not really surprising, since Greek and non-Greek economies of southeast Italy were so closely interlinked in the period under discussion. Some of these issues are so rare that they must have had only symbolic value.

In economic respect southeast Italy presents a highly dynamic picture in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. Whilst the sudden spurt made by the Greek *poleis* in the 6th century had somewhat distant echoes in the non-Greek territories (see chapter 5), both Greek and non-Greek districts displayed the same astonishing economic growth from the later 4th century onward. There is reason to assume that the Greek and non-Greek economies were closely interlinked. Greek towns became economic foci for both their own *chōrai* and adjoining indigenous districts. Wealthy Taras with its magnificent harbour may well have become the economic centre *par excellence* of southeast Italy.

The increased prosperity had its basis in the drastic innovations in the rural economy of the area. From about 340/330 BC onward agrarian landscapes were created or reorganized on an unprecedented scale. The second innovation was that old and new agricultural plots were exploited more intensely than in any preceding period of southeast Italy's history. In this way very considerable surpluses were generated. A third decisive innovation was the addition of agricultural specialization to the traditional, basically subsistence farming methods in the non-Greek districts, a step the Greek polities of southeast Italy had made in the course of the 6th century BC. This tied in nicely with almost pan-Mediterranean developments that foreshadowed the regional specializations in the Roman Empire.

¹⁸⁰ Before the late 4th century BC coins were rarely minted in non-Greek polities. A handful of 5th century silver coins is currently assigned to the settlement of Valesio in northern Salento (see fig. ***)

¹⁸¹ Stazio 1972.

¹⁸² Siciliano 1991, Stazio 1992.

The majority of these surplus products are likely to have reached overseas areas. The ceramics that serve as tracers for these contacts, suggest that the central Adriatic (Picenum, Dalmatia), but especially the eastern Mediterranean (Delos, Rhodes, Crete, Ptolemaic Egypt) were the markets where products from southeast Italy were consumed. This intensified participation in the Mediterranean exchange networks generated a very considerable prosperity which was no longer confined to the local elites. It spread over larger groups of the various regional societies which may have contained both farmers and craftsmen. The newly won prosperity was expressed, among other things, in an unprecedented wealth of material culture which can be traced in sanctuaries, burials, private dwellings and public architecture.

As a result of these changes the complexity of the economies of southeast Italy increased enormously. This all happened within a few decades. Coins were indeed minted on a larger scale. This was done now by both Greek towns and indigenous polities. This rapidly increasing economic complexity, however, did not result in an equally rapid monetization. The use of bronze or small silver coins commonly exchanged in minor transactions did not gain momentum before the last decades of the 3rd century BC.

6.6 SUMMARY

The period covering the late 4th and early 3rd centuries was a time of very substantial demographic growth and very drastic innovations. The changes affected both the towns which saw themselves as Greek states and the non-Greek polities with various types of tribal structures. In the Greek states oligarchic and more or less democratic forms of government alternated. These *poleis* were initially rather loosely united in the Italiote league. Being *Italiotai*, however, did not mean much to Greeks of southeast Italy. They were and continued to be Tarantines, Metapontines, etc. But in the course of the 4th century the *polis* of Taras became increasingly dominant. The dynamic leadership of the statesman-philosopher Archytas in the 360s may have contributed to this new role. The town became not only the league's unchallenged *hegemon*. In fact, Tarantine policy became league policy and other 'member states' grudgingly accepted the dominance of mighty Taras.

Among the non-Greek polities similar clustering of formerly separate and independent groups can be observed. We have seen that the first signs of such developments date to the second half of the 5th century BC. It was probably not before the later 4th century that more or less federal forms of organization were institutionalized. Such political federations are exemplified by the large, tribal confederacies of the Brettians (north Calabria) and Lucanians (Basilicata and southern Campania). Perhaps the Calabri and Sallentini, i.e. the Messapian groups of southern Apulia, had comparable social structures. These confederacies displayed a relatively loose form of central authority, since the major settlements and their respective territories within these confederacies enjoyed a semi-independent status. In principle Lucanian sub-tribal units were bound to the *Nomen Lucanum* and consensus decisions taken by the central authority of the Lucanians (possibly a tribal council headed by the supreme leader in which the most important sub-tribal chiefs participated). Sub-tribes, however, could act on their own initiative when there was no 'pan-Lucanian' decision or policy on a particular matter. The Roman contacts with Lucanians between 320 and 270 suggest, for instance, that sub-tribal units of the confederacy could conclude treaties with non-Lucanian polities.

The Lucanian and Brettian settlements were governed by elites consisting of the leaders of the local clans. These enhanced their status by martial prowess in battle, by living in spacious dwellings with large dining rooms with all the accoutrements that befitted their status, and by means of a special role in the rituals performed in the local sanctuary (ritual dinners among these). The various local elites, moreover, convened to the tribal sanctuary (e.g. Rossano di Vaglio, Oria) in order to display both their

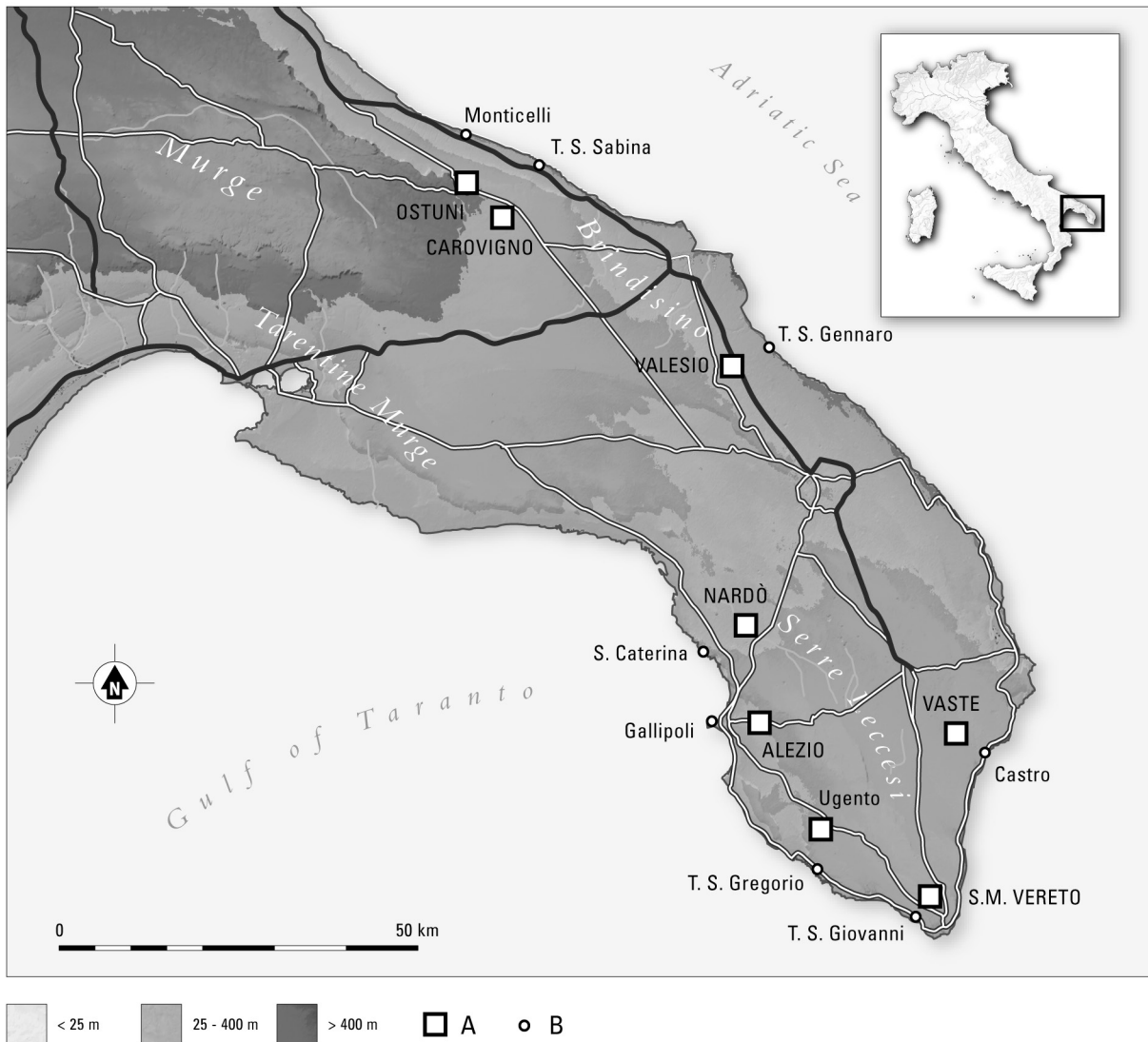


Fig. 6.49. South Apulia. System of “paired settlements” functioning between the 6th and the 3rd century BC; A major settlements; B coastal settlements.

personal radiance and their tribal allegiance. Here they elected their supreme official (*meddix?*) who was both their war leader and the symbol of tribal coherence.

In northern Apulia the tribal entities currently indicated as the Daunians are likely to have displayed a less complex socio-political structure. They lacked fortified towns and large tribal sanctuaries and lived in highly dispersed settlements. This notwithstanding, this area also tended towards more hierarchical political structures. Whilst there was a series of settlements of more or less equal status around the middle of the 4th century BC, Canosa was decidedly the most dominant settlement of the district in the basin of the lower Ofanto river by the early 3rd century. The settlement of Arpi began to play a similar central role in the more northerly Tavoliere district at approximately the same time. In these districts powerful and wealthy elites controlled the various local clans. Judging by the character of the architectural remains and the burial gifts, the social differences here may have been larger than in other parts of southeast Italy.

In addition to the socio-political innovations that resulted in the clustering of formerly independent polities, there were enormous changes in the landscape and the economy. These were answers to the demographic stress, shifting identities and the 'Mediterranization' of the ancient economies. They were most drastic in the territories of the Italic groups. Many indigenous settlements were fortified with stone walls and became conspicuous marks in the landscape that persist to the present day. Though the use of space within their walls continued to reflect a tribal organization, the construction of many new houses and even entirely new habitation quarters resulted in the genesis of a more or less urbanized landscape. Large scale reclamations of natural environments (especially in the district controlled by non-Greek groups) resulted in large agricultural surpluses and a substantial decrease of natural habitats. The same action caused the birth of inhabited countrysides in every district of southeast Italy. Since most of these innovations require the participation of a considerable part of the local community, close cooperation between the various local clans was crucial. The clustering of tribes into confederations on the regional level, therefore, was paralleled by the clustering of clans on the local level, whilst the formation of a tribal aristocracy was echoed on the local level by the formation of a local aristocracy.

Stock raising (pigs, goats, sheep) also intensified between the middle of the 4th and the middle of the 3rd century BC. This resulted in more surpluses and further erosion of natural environments. A part of the surpluses generated in these ways was shipped over considerable distances. The innovations in both agriculture and stock raising made southeast Italy into an increasingly important player in the rapidly intensifying exchange networks of early Hellenistic times. Taras was the dominant economic centre of the whole region and an important starting point for transmarine enterprises. A thorough and systematic study of southeast Italy's trade of the late 4th and 3rd centuries has not yet been made. It might well reveal a surprising frequency of contacts and a great intensity of trade and exchange, especially with the eastern Mediterranean. Taras's harbour must have been buzzing with activity in the period under discussion, both before and after the Roman conquest of 272 BC.

These new or more intense activities brought unprecedented prosperity all over southeast Italy. We have seen that elites manifested themselves markedly in both the Greek states and the non-Greek polities from the 6th century onward. In the flourishing 4th century BC the material culture that characterized people of high status, made a qualitative leap. Especially golden ornaments and bronze vessels seem to have been among the paraphernalia of elite status. They testify to competition and emulation by means of ostentatious display between elite groups with both native and Greek roots. It is uncertain how these groups with different cultural backgrounds communicated and organized their interrelations and whether, for instance, Greek and non-Greek elites intermarried.

In addition to the wealthy and powerful, we encounter a large group of relatively prosperous persons in the architectural remains and the burial sites of Greek and non-Greek settlements. In the *poleis* these people were present since the 6th century BC. Here they may have been craftsmen, moderately prosperous farmers and persons involved in small scale retail and trading activities. These people made up the major part of the citizen body of most Greek states. The presence of a large group of moderately prosperous persons in non-Greek settlements, however, is entirely new. From the late 4th century onward a substantial group of inhabitants of most non-Greek settlements of southeast Italy lived in a house with two or three rooms, drank wine from fine wares of Greek type, prepared food in a Grecian way by simmering and baking the ingredients in stew pots and casseroles and had access to elaborately decorated figured pots (for burials) that had been the prerogative of the native elites in earlier periods of southeast Italy's history. Excavations and field surveys suggest that this large group consisted predominantly of tribal farmers whose farmsteads could be situated both within the new walls of their town and in the rural zone that surrounded the settlement. The still limited quantities of craftsmen equally belonged to this large, moderately prosperous group of the non-Greek settlements.

In this general atmosphere of well-being and prosperity craft flourished, because larger groups within the local societies of southeast Italy had access to a greater variety of goods. In each larger set-

tlement carpenters built new houses and repaired older specimens, potters produced household pottery such as storage jars, cooking pots and table wares in very considerable quantities, smiths hammered tools and farming implements, whilst other types of craftsmen elude us because the products they made do not preserve well in the soils of southeast Italy. Whilst the craftsmen were mostly full time specialists in the *poleis*, those living in the tribal settlements were sometimes part-timers functioning within the framework of the local clan. Many women in the settlements spent part of their time spinning wool and weaving cloths, and not exclusively for their own use.

The sanctuaries had their share in the newly won opulence. Votive offerings consisting of corn, beans, meat and artifacts were plentiful. The Greek urban sanctuaries often had monumental buildings since the 6th or 5th centuries. The most important sacred places of the native world were now monumentalized (e.g. Rossano di Vaglio and Oria), but continued to differ from the larger Greek sanctuaries. The non-Greek groups did not adopt the Greek temple but constructed sacred buildings that answered to the requirements of native cults which focused on water (especially in Basilicata) and caves (mostly in central and southern Apulia).

One of the most striking aspects of the period between 350 and 250 BC is the decreasing differences between the originally indigenous groups and the Greek polities of southeast Italy. Both Greeks and non-Greeks were politically organized in confederacies and had forms of supreme leadership (the leading politician – usually the *strategos* – of Taras as leader of the Italiote League and the paramount chiefs of the tribal confederacies). Both the Greeks and non-Greeks lived in more or less urban settlements surrounded by fortifications. These towns were embedded in an intensely cultivated countryside with farmsteads, hamlets, rural sanctuaries and rural necropoleis. Both Greek and indigenous polities had wealthy elites that displayed their status in comparable ways, and a substantial moderately prosperous group that consisted predominantly of farmers and craftsmen. Moreover, the economies of Greek states and indigenous polities display close similarities and were clearly compatible. Greeks and natives lived in the same types of houses, cooked in comparable ways and used the same kind of artifacts for the same purposes. It was, however, especially in the social and religious spheres that the differences were pronounced. The indigenous polities had a social system in which kinship ties continued to be crucial, whilst class and status were important social cohesives in the Greek states. In religion they only shared the custom of depositing votive offerings, whilst their sacred places with their architectural outfit and the rites performed in these contexts differed enormously.

The preceding passage highlights the fact that various cultural groups with vastly different cultural backgrounds began to blend into a cultural *koinë*. Between the middle of the 4th and the middle of the 3rd century BC a ‘southeast Italy culture’ came into being that was shared by people with vastly different ethnic affiliations, speaking vastly different languages and having vastly different cultural backgrounds. Since the material culture seems so patently Greek, the process has been (wrongly) described as ‘Hellenization’. But this convergence did not only regard material culture, economy or politics. It also regarded attitudes, behaviour and even loyalties. Much has been made, for instance, of the ‘Lucanization’ of the town of Paestom (Roman Paestum), formerly Greek Posidonia. The subjects painted on the 4th-century tomb slabs of Paestum were sometimes believed to be indicative of a Lucanian takeover of that *polis*.¹⁸³ However, the people buried in those painted graves considered themselves neither as Greeks nor as Lucanians. They were Paestans who functioned within a south-Italic cultural framework and held south-Italic views. These paintings, therefore, are indicative of a mental change that was the result of the interaction between Lucanian, Greek and other cultural features. Very similar

¹⁸³ Pontrandolfo Greco / Rouveret 1992.

mental changes occurred everywhere in southeast Italy on a large scale. This same spirit of convergence can even be observed in politics during the Pyrrhic war (281-272) when the Messapian groups, the Lucanian confederacy and the Italiote League sided against the Romans and lost. The genesis of a regional *koinè* in southeast Italy was a long-term process in which periods of great ferment alternated with decades of much slower change. The formation of a south-Italic cultural *koinè* started in the 7th century when the first stable Greek communities of southeast Italy came into being, and had progressed enormously at the time of the Pyrrhic war. The hybrid South-Italy culture of that time blended with a process of Romanization which started when the first Roman communities were established in southeast Italy. Both processes resulted in an rich and intricate cultural patchwork in southeast Italy displaying elements from many different sources, both inside and outside southeast Italy.

7 Peasants, Princes and Senators: southeast Italy at the periphery of a Roman world (c. 250/230–100/80 BC)

7.1 ANCIENT WRITTEN SOURCES

By the early 3rd century BC people living in even the remotest parts of southeast Italy had seen and spoken to individuals who used a different language, wore odd clothes, behaved in unusual ways and had norms and values that differed substantially from theirs. In the coastal areas encounters between originally Greek migrants and Oscan or Messapic speakers must have occurred very frequently from the 6th century onward. Although the various ethnic groups of southeast Italy fought each other happily,¹ a certain familiarity and mutual understanding must have grown in the course of time between these people with different geographical, cultural and social backgrounds. Therefore, persons who were able to function economically, socially and mentally in both Greek contexts and in one or more indigenous groups, must have occurred much more frequently than the archaeological record reveals. Moreover – we have seen this in the preceding chapter – the Greek-barbarian antithesis was more often a rhetorical construct than an issue in daily life.

In the course of the 4th century BC the encounters between south-Italians and people coming from outside southern Italy increased enormously. Sometimes these took on a massive and rather unfriendly character. The foundation of the new Roman settlements of *Luceria* (now Lucera; founded 314 BC) and *Venusia* (now Venosa; founded in 291 BC) in northern Apulia were the first signs of a lasting Roman presence in southeast Italy. An even more massive if mostly temporary Roman presence followed during the Pyrrhic war (281–272) and the Roman campaigns that ‘pacified’ the Lucanians and Messapians (272–265). These events brought the Roman legions to southeast Italy and resulted in the foundation of new Roman settlements at Oscanized Posidonia–Paistom (since 273 BC the Latin colony of Paestum) and Messapian Brindisi (since 246/244 the Latin colony of Brundisium).² From 265 BC onward the formerly Greek *poleis* and the tribal Brettii (northern Calabria), Lucani (Basilicata), Messapii–Sallentini (southern Apulia) and Apuli (central and northern Apulia) were all bound to Rome. This was done by means of a series of separate treaties (*foedera*) which formulated the town’s or tribe’s obligations towards Rome.³ There was a considerable variety in the stipulations laid down in the various *foedera* that went far beyond the simple division between the *foedus aequum* (treaty on equal terms) and the *foedus iniquum* (treaty on unequal terms). In most cases the polities of southeast Italy were allowed to conduct their own internal affairs, but invariably had to supply troops at Rome’s request (fig. 7.1). These troops were mostly required for ‘foreign’ wars: from the middle of the 3rd century onward – with the exception of the Hannibalic war – large-scale military actions were increasingly fought outside the Apennine peninsula.

In his *Histories* the Greek historian Polybius of the 2nd century BC gives us an overview of the quantities of troops the *socii* of Rome were able to field on the eve of the Second Punic war (box 7.1). There

¹ As we have seen in chapter V, the Greeks of southeast Italy fought among themselves: e.g. the Achaean colonies against ‘Ionian’ Siris, Achaean Kroton against Achaean Sybaris.

² Technically, of course, Luceria, Venusia, Copia and Brundisium were Latin colonies.

³ Lomas 1993, 56.

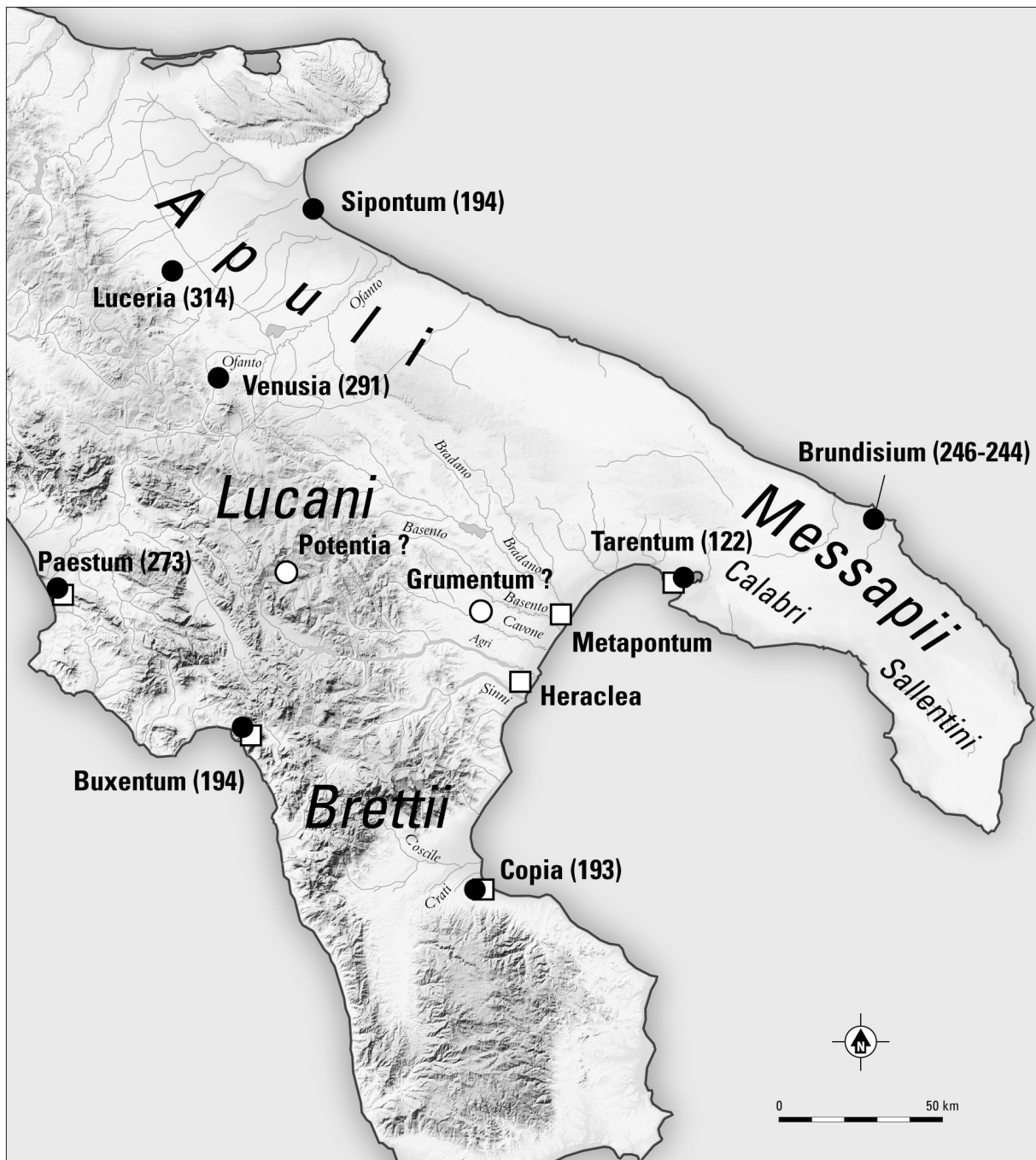


Fig. 7.1. Map of southeast Italy with formerly Greek poleis (squares), tribal groups and Latin colonies (dots), c. 180 BC.

is reason to suppose that the numbers given for the non-Greek groups of southeast Italy are more or less reliable.⁴ For reasons unknown, the contributions of the south-Italian Greek towns are not recorded in this list.⁵ But if we may believe Polybius's figures, the capacity of southeast Italy (i.e. of the Lucanians, Iapygians and Messapians)⁶ to supply the Romans with troops was very considerable indeed. In 230/220 the area was able to field some 89,000 men. i.e. one-fifth of the total of foot soldiers and

⁴ Yntema 2008.

⁵ Lomas 1993, 82.

⁶ The term 'Iapygians' is probably used in this passage in

order to indicate the inhabitants of central- and north-
Apulia (the 'Apuli' of the Roman authors).

Box 7.1

Polybius, *Histories* II 24, 10-11 (list of the troops that could be supplied by the *socii* of Rome at approximately 225 BC):

'The lists of able-bodied men ... were as follows: Latins 80.000 foot soldiers, 7.000 horsemen, Samnites 70.000 foot soldiers, 5.000 horsemen; Iapygians and Messapians 50.000 foot soldiers, 6.000 horsemen;* Lucanians 30.000 foot soldiers, 3.000 horsemen; Marsi, Marrucini, Frentani and Vestini 20.000 foot soldiers and 4.000 horsemen.'

*Polybius' text mentions 16.000 horsemen of the Iapygians and Messapians, but since this quantity is obviously disproportionate, the text is currently emended.

approximately one-fourth of the horsemen mentioned in the record. If we suppose that approximately one-fifth of the population could bear arms in case of emergency,⁷ the total population (men, women and children) of the area under discussion numbered between 500.000 and 600.000 persons, the four Greek *poleis* and their *chōrai* not included. The ancient population figures extrapolated from Polybius and those calculated on the basis of field surveys, however, are fairly low when compared to pre-modern population figures. The census of 1861 revealed that approximately 1.850.000 people lived in the districts discussed here. Since Apulia and Basilicata (ancient Lucania) were largely self-sufficient at the time of the Italian *Risorgimento*, this means that the soils of southeast Italy could easily feed its inhabitants after the demographic boom that occurred in the later 4th century BC.

Italy's greatest test, however, was the Second Punic war. Hannibal's troops roamed through the Apennine peninsula from 218 till 203 BC. Although both Polybius and Livy describe the conflict as a patently Roman war, it is quite clear that the allies of the Romans played a substantial role in the military operations. The Roman army defeated at the river Trebia in Cisalpine Gaul in 218 BC reportedly consisted, for instance, of 16.000 Romans and 20.000 allies.⁸ Whatever the value of these figures may be, they clearly suggest that the allies made up a substantial portion of the Roman armies. They were not simply soldiers obeying to Roman commands. The troops of the *socii* fought in their own regiments under their own commanders. In a completely casual way we encounter a certain Dasius from Brindisi (commander of the fortress of Clastidium in Cisalpine Gaul in 218) and the Lucanian chieftain Statilius who commanded a contingent of Lucanian horsemen at the eve of the battle of Cannae (216 BC).⁹

It is surprising that the towns and tribes of Italy continued to be loyal to Rome, even after Hannibal's great victories at the river Trebia (218 BC) and the Trasimene Lake (217 BC). It was only after the disastrous clash at Cannae (216 BC) that Italic loyalties began to waver. In southeast Italy the Bruttii, the Lucani, some north-Apulian settlements (e.g. Arpi, Salapia) defected to the Carthaginians. The Greek towns did not change sides before 214/213 (the citadel of Taras remained in Roman hands) and only a few walled settlements of south Apulia joined them (Manduria, Uxentum). Soon however, Taras was recaptured by the Romans (209) and Hannibal lost most of his support in Italy. In 207 the

⁷ Hin 2008.

⁸ Polybius, *Histories* III.72.12.

⁹ For Dasius Brundisinus, see Livy XXI, 48 ('a man from Brindisi' in Polybius III. 69. 1-4); he was allegedly bribed

by Hannibal to turn over the fortress of Clastidium after the battle at the river Trebia (218); for Statilius, see Livy XXII, 42-43.

Carthaginian troops retreated into Bruttium. In the following years their impact on southeast Italy was minimal and in 203 Hannibal left the region in order to return to Africa.¹⁰

It was currently thought that the Second Punic war in which the southern part of the Apennine peninsula was the battleground of both Romans and Carthaginians for nine consecutive years, made southern Italy into what it was believed to be till within the 1970s: the poor *Mezzogiorno*. The devastations caused by Romans and Carthaginians alike (216–207) that came on top of the damages sustained during the Roman conquest (between 281 and 265), were thought to be blows from which southern Italy never truly recovered.¹¹ In this view there was an enormous decline as a result of both the Roman conquest and the ravages caused by Hannibal ('Hannibal's legacy'). It resulted in an image of a poor and sheep rearing Roman southern Italy with large villa estates owned by absentee landlords and run by slaves. These characterizations have been dominant in ancient history over the past 40–50 years.¹² It was only recently that this utterly pessimistic view on Roman southern Italy has been challenged.¹³

The historical construct of a devastated and impoverished Roman southern Italy, however, was predominantly based on a very limited number of passages by ancient authors. But it was an entirely plausible image, because it tied in so well with 20th-century *Mezzogiorno* stereotypes. In order to stress the image of southern Italy's post-Hannibalic misery Strabo's *Geography* has often been cited in which we are told that the district of Salento 'was once well populated and had thirteen towns. Except for Brundisi and Taras these are now small settlements (Greek: *polismata*). So badly off are they.'¹⁴ Strabo, however, wrote during the reign of Augustus, i.e. two centuries after the Second Punic war. It is therefore uncertain whether he described the direct effects of Hannibal's unwelcome stay. The sad Salento landscape sketched in his *Geography* could have come into being at a much later moment in time. The interpretation of this passage by historians, moreover, does not take into account that the images of conquered areas presented by Greek and Roman authors are often literary *topoi*. In ancient written sources conquered areas that had a predominantly urban life style at the time of conquest, are invariably characterized by (a) economic crisis, (b) depopulation (*oligoanthropia*) and consequently a decline in urban life, and (c) extensive forms of stock raising and agriculture in post-conquest periods.¹⁵ In the eyes of the ancient authors, becoming Roman in such areas meant loss of prosperity, loss of culture and loss of identity. The realities of the ancient past, of course, may well have differed from the literary *topoi*.

While the war with Hannibal brought the men of southeast Italy to various corners of Italy, the Illyrian wars of the late 3rd century but especially the 'Greek' wars of the 2nd century BC could bring them to even more distant areas. The Roman writers are understandably silent about the role played by the troops supplied by their *socii*: they did not write to extol the deeds of non-Romans. The cases casually recorded for the Hannibalic war suggest that substantial groups of *socii* also fought in Rome's wars against Macedonians, Aetolians and Achaeans in the 2nd century BC. This means that the troops that were exacted by Rome on the basis of the *foedus* (treaty), were absent from their native district for a prolonged period.

For the 2nd century BC the ancient literary sources for southeast Italy are scarce. By that time this region had become a quiet backwater of Italy and well outside the scope of the Roman annalists. The

¹⁰ Lomas 1993.

¹¹ Toynbee 1965.

¹² Cf. Gabba / Pasquinucci 1979; Sirago 1993.

¹³ Yntema 1995a and 2006; Gabba et al. 2001.

¹⁴ Strabo, *Geography* VI.3.5; see also Cicero, *De Amicitia* IV.13.

¹⁵ Alcock 1993, 1 ff.; Lomas 1993, 115. In areas without towns the Romans saw themselves as the bringers of peace and civilization (the *mission civilisatrice*).

Box 7.2

Proxeny inscription from the island of Delos honoring a member of the elite of north-Apulian Canosa (IG XI.4 no. 642; dated between 242 and 231 BC):

The council and the people of Delos have decided that Bouzos, son of Orteiras, from Canosa shall be proxenos and euergetes of the sanctuary and the people of Delos, he and his offspring, and that they shall be allowed to buy land and a house at the island, that they shall have a seat in the first row during the games, and that they shall have all the privileges currently given to proxenoi and euergetai

area was only mentioned in historical accounts when it served as a starting point for Roman ventures towards the eastern Mediterranean. In this context the *colonia latina* of Brundisium (present-day Brindisi) plays a prominent role in Livy. During the first half of the 2nd century BC it was the harbour from which Roman armies set out in order to operate in Greece. Brundisium was and continued to be one of the most important ports of Italy during the later 2nd and 1st centuries BC. It was second only to Puteoli, the large port on the Bay of Naples.¹⁶

Greek inscriptions are a second source of written information. These stress the continuing ties between southeast Italy and the eastern Mediterranean. In both honorific inscriptions (e.g. the so-called proxeny decrees) and temple inventories of the eastern Mediterranean the names of more than 80 persons from southeast Italy are mentioned. The vast majority of these can be dated to the late 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. Greek Taras is well represented (c. 40 persons). Its citizen Herakleides and his Syracusan associate Nymphodoros were the biggest bankers of the Aegean in the early 2nd century BC.¹⁷ But it is perhaps more surprising that persons from originally non-Greek settlements also feature in the Greek inscriptions of the eastern Mediterranean (cf. box 7.2). These people stemmed from Canosa (2) and Arpi (1) in northern Apulia and from Brindisi (4) and Ugento (1) in south-Apulian Salento district.¹⁸ They can nearly all be shown to have local roots. Seven of these men are mentioned in proxeny decrees, of which six date to the first half of the 2nd century BC. This suggests that the persons mentioned in these inscriptions were men of considerable means and influence in their hometowns who had moreover achieved great merit in the community that granted them the proxeny. Both Greeks (especially Tarantines) and non-Greeks of southeast Italy, therefore, played a role in the international networks spanning the central and eastern Mediterranean.

Two passages in ancient literary sources inform us on the ambiance in which one of the members of the Brindisi elite functioned. His name is given as Lucius Rammius or Lucius Erennius, but a *proxeny* decree from the Epirote sanctuary of Dodona suggests that his *gentilicium* may well have been Rennius.¹⁹ The story regarding the year 173/172 BC is told by both Livy and Appianus.²⁰ It appears that

¹⁶ Marasco 1988.

¹⁷ Hatzfeld 1912 and 1919; Zalesskij 1982; for a list of south-Italians in the eastern Mediterranean, see Lomas 1993, 191-194; for Herakleides, see Lippolis 2005, 268-270.

¹⁸ Yntema 2009.

¹⁹ A certain Gaius Rennius was granted a proxeny by the famous sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona. This happened around 190/180 BC. He might well have been a close

relative of the Lucius Rammius/Erennius/Rennius mentioned by Livy and Appianus. Three other Brindisi elite families feature in Greek proxeny decrees of the early 2nd century BC: G. Pulfennius (proxeny granted by the *koinon* of the Epirotes) and G. Statorius and G. Ortesius (proxenies granted by the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi).

²⁰ Livy XLII.17.2; Appianus, *Rhomaika*, IX.7.

Box 7.3

Rammius or Rennius of Brindisi ,172 BC (Livy, XLII.17.2):

Rammius was a prominent citizen of Brundisium (princeps Brundisii), and entertained hospitably all Romans, generals as well as ambassadors. He also entertained distinguished persons of foreign states and especially members of princely houses. In consequence he became acquainted with (the Macedonian king) Perseus, though he was far away. When a letter roused in him the hope of a more intimate friendship and of great prosperity as a result, he went to visit the king. In a short time he began to be regarded as his confidant and was drawn into his secret conferences to a greater degree than he wished. For, promising him a great reward, the king began to ask of him - since all the Roman generals and ambassadors were accustomed to avail themselves of his hospitality - that he should try to poison those about whom king Perseus should communicate with him by letter.

Of course, Rammius/Rennius informed the Roman senate. Together with king Eumenes of Pergamum he was involved in a plot which had the intention to frame the Macedonian king Perseus and provide the Romans with a *casus belli* for the Third Macedonian war.

this member of the Brindisi elite was closely acquainted with both Greek kings and Roman senators (see Box 7.3). Rammius (or Rennius), however, was certainly not the only person from southeast Italy who had access to both the elite of Rome and the elite of the Greek Hellenistic world. The ‘Roman’ poet Ennius from the settlement of *Rudiae* in southern Apulia maintained close ties with members of the Roman elite. He was, for instance, intimately acquainted with the Cornelii Scipiones and Fulvii Nobiliores who were among the most powerful senatorial families of Rome during the first third of the 2nd century BC.²¹ The extant passages of Ennius’ version of Euripides’ *Medea*, for instance, demonstrate his perfect command of both Greek and Latin.

Men such as Rennius/Rammius and Ennius who belonged to local elites with non-Greek background, lived in three worlds. They belonged to the elite of a formerly indigenous-Italic settlement (*Rudiae*, Brindisi, Canosa and *Arpi*). However, since they were often *proxenoi* of Greek states or sanctuaries, they had good contacts in the Greek world and were also able to function in Greek contexts. Moreover, they had the patronage of highly placed friends in Rome. Ennius expressed this multiple identity well when he said that he had ‘three hearts’: a Greek heart, an indigenous heart and a Roman heart.²² When in Greece he was Greek among the Greeks. When in Rome, he did as Romans do. And when he came to the old home in his native *Rudiae* in south-Apulia, he was the Messapian chieftain who conferred with his dependent farmers.

Hardly any events regarding southeast Italy have been reported for the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. Livy informs us on severe problems in Apulia between 185 and 180 BC which required the closest attention of three Roman (pro)praetors. These are characterized by Livy as ‘slave revolts’ and ‘herdsmen’s

²¹ For instance, Cicero, *De Oratore* II, 276.

²² In a passage, quoted by Aulus Gellius in his *Noctes Atticae* (XVII.17.1), Ennius mentions his threefold identity: *Quintus Ennius tria corda habere sese dicebat, quod loqui Graece, Osce et Latine sciret* (‘Quintus Ennius used

to say that he had three hearts, because he spoke Greek, Oscan and Latin’). Since he was from southern Apulia ‘Oscan’ is probably a mistake (Ennius’ native language was Messapic).

conspiracies'. The problems manifested themselves in the years following the *senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* (186 BC) which suppressed the cult of Bacchus that was particularly popular in Taras and other parts of southeast Italy.²³

Urbanized southeast Italy was only marginally affected by the Social war (91–89 BC). It was mainly a war between Rome and the mountain tribes of central Italy. Obviously the issues at stake (e.g. Roman citizenship) did not elicit great enthusiasm in the south. The council of Herakleia in Lucania even discussed whether the inhabitants should accept Roman citizenship,²⁴ since the Herakleiotai were already citizens of Herakleia. In the end they almost grudgingly accepted the offer and, like all the other inhabitants of southeast Italy, became technically Romans. However, inscriptions in Oscan and Messapic continued to be made till about the middle of the 1st century BC, while the use of the Greek language persisted a little longer in the originally Greek *poleis*. Here both Thourioi (since 193 BC the colony of *Copia*) and Taras (since 122 *Colonia Neptunia Tarentum*) received a substantial contingent of Latin speakers.

7.2 CHANGING LANDSCAPES

As we have seen above Toynbee believed that the 19th and 20th century landscapes of southern Italy were basically Hannibal's legacy.²⁵ Recent archaeological fieldwork, however, has cast serious doubt on this view. Whilst the excavations in Roman Metapontum and the field surveys in the surrounding Metaponto area indeed suggest both urban and rural decline in the 2nd century BC,²⁶ the urban and rural surveys carried out in the basin of the river Bussento in western Lucania,²⁷ and on the isthmus between Tarento and Brindisi²⁸ suggest quite different patterns. Here tribal farmsteads partly vanished, partly developed into much larger agricultural units. Similar changes appear to have taken place in the north–Apulian Tavoliere plain.²⁹ In the various districts of southeast Italy settlement patterns were affected in different ways by the gradual, but profound changes in peninsular Italy and by their increasing participation in the rapidly expanding economic and socio–political networks of an increasingly Graeco–Roman Mediterranean.

The changes in the settlements were very substantial. The highly dispersed settlements of tribal north–Apulia began to cluster in the 3rd century and acquired a more or less urban appearance: the tribal settlements of Herdonia (Ortona), Ausculum (Ascoli Satriano) and Canusium (Canosa) grew into towns.³⁰ However, urban centres declined in other districts. The Greek towns of Metapontion and Herakleia – now Metapontum and Heraclea – lost some of their former importance.³¹ In the Bussento basin (western Lucania) three originally indigenous settlements were almost completely abandoned in the 2nd century BC. Among these was the Lucanian cantonal centre of Roccagloriosa.³² Similar developments

²³ Livy, XXIX.28.9 (on the year 185 BC): *Magnus motus servilis eo anno in Apulia fuit. Tarentum provinciam L. Postumius praetor habebat. Is de pastorum coniuratione, qui vias latrociniiis pascuaque publica infesta habuerant, quaestionem severe exercuit*; Livy, XXIX.41.6 (on 184 BC): *Et L. Postumius praetor, qui Tarentum provincia evenerat, magnas pastorum coniurationes vindicavit, et reliquias Bacchanalium quaestionis cum cura exsecutus est*. For passage concerning 181 BC, see Livy XL.19.9.

²⁴ Lomas 1993, 93.

²⁵ Toynbee 1965.

²⁶ D'Andria 1975, and Carter 1998a, 2001, 2006.

²⁷ Gualtieri / Fracchia 2002.

²⁸ Boersma et al. 1991, Yntema 1993a, Burgers 1998 and 2001.

²⁹ Goffredo 2010 (area of Canusium–Cannae); Goffredo / Ficco 2010 (Ausculum and surrounding area).

³⁰ Volpe 1990, Mertens 1994 and 1995, Goffredo 2010.

³¹ De Siena / Giardino 2001.

³² Fracchia 2001; Gualtieri / Fracchia 2001.

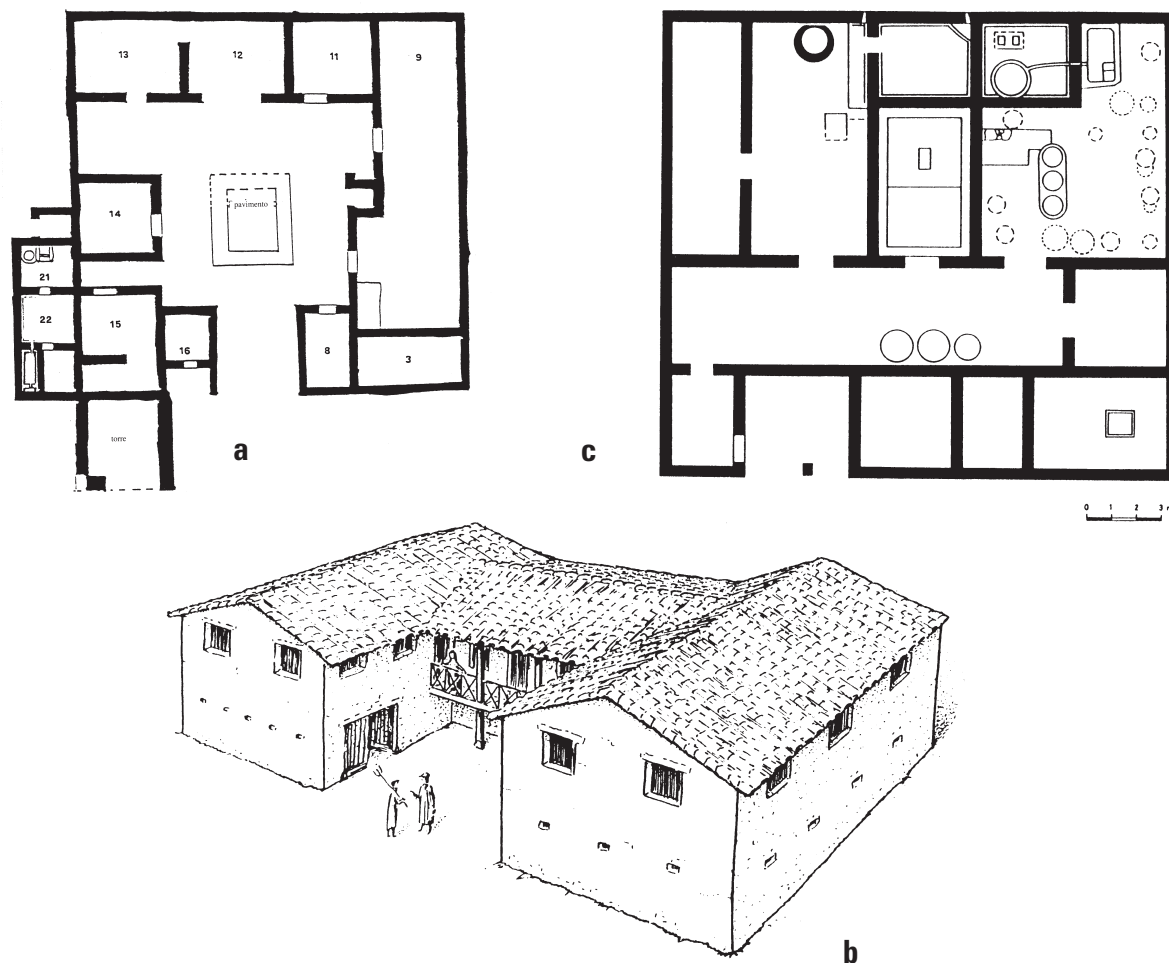


Fig. 7.2. Farmsteads of the 2nd and 1st century BC. (a) Tolve-Moltone (central Basilicata): ground plan of farmstead of the 2nd century BC; (b) Metaponto-Sant'Angelo Nuovo: artist's impression of 2nd century BC farmstead; (c) Ordona-Posta Crusta (north Apulia): ground plan of farmstead of the 2nd-1st centuries BC.

are likely to have occurred in other parts of Lucania where many of the fortified centres that flourished in the 4th and early 3rd centuries, are reported to have experienced a steep decline in the later 3rd century BC.³³ Decline of urban settlements can also be observed in central and southern Apulia. Of the 25 or 26 fortified settlements with approximately 3,000 to 4,000 inhabitants in the Salento peninsula, 16 to 19 dwindled into villages with only a few hundred inhabitants (*'polismata'* in Strabo's words). Urban surveys in the Brindisi area indicate that the demographic decline set in here around 230/220 BC. It was truly dramatic during the first half of the 2nd century BC.³⁴ Within 80-100 years these declining settlements lost 80% to 90% of their population and changed into ghost towns.

This, however, is not the whole story. The overall population figures for southeast Italy were not as dramatic as the previous passage suggests. In several cases a shift in population can be observed within the district. This was the case in western Lucania, where the strong demographic decline of the inland settlements was somewhat counterbalanced by a demographic growth in the coastal area. Here the

³³ Isayev 2001.

³⁴ Yntema 1995a; Burgers 1998.

Box 7.4

M. Porcius Cato the Elder (234-149 BC), *De Agricultura* X.1:

This is the proper equipment for an olive yard of 240 iugera (c. 64 hectares): an overseer, a housekeeper, 5 labourers, 3 teamsters, 1 muleteer, 1 swineherd, 1 shepherd – a total of 13 persons; 3 yoke of oxen, 3 pack-asses to carry manure, 1 ass for the mill and 100 sheep... (a long list of objects and implements follows)

M. Porcius Cato the Elder (234-149 BC), *De Agricultura* XI.1:

This is the proper equipment for a vineyard of 100 iugera (c. 27 hectares): an overseer, a housekeeper, 10 labourers, 1 teamster, 1 muleteer, 1 willow worker, 1 swineherd, a total of 16 persons; 2 oxen, 2 draft donkeys, 1 donkey for the mill ... (a long list of objects and implements follows)

The 1st century BC author Varro (*De Re Rustica* I, xviii) comments on these lists. The 2nd-1st century BC farmsteads of southeast Italy produced wine, corn and olive oil (e.g. Varro, *De Re Rustica* II.6.5) and will have had a mix of the quantities of men given by Cato. It should also be noted that women and children are not included in Cato's lists. These should bring the total of the inhabitants of such Catonian *casae* between about 20 to 30 persons (some of the farmhands may actually have lived in shacks at some distance from the *casa*).

Roman colony of Buxentum (founded in 194 BC)³⁵ became the only urban settlement of the Bussento basin, whilst the tribal centre of Roccagloriosa and two smaller settlements of some complexity were gradually abandoned. Rural settlements that were larger than the tribal farmsteads of the 4th and 3rd centuries (that were found over the whole district) now tended to concentrate in the coastal area near Buxentum. These larger agricultural units are interpreted as large farmsteads or small *villae*.³⁶ Such fairly large 2nd century BC farmsteads have been excavated in the Metaponto territory (fig. 7.2b), in the highlands of Basilicata (fig. 7.2a) and in the north-Apulian Tavoliere district (fig. 7.2c).³⁷ They were also traced during field surveys in the Brindisi district.³⁸ Their appearance was apparently a widespread phenomenon. These large farmsteads that could house some 20 to 30 person, were probably the most diffused type of farm building in the 2nd century BC and occurred in substantial numbers all over southeast Italy.³⁹ They were probably comparable to the *casae* described during the first half of the 2nd century BC by the Roman author Cato the Elder (Box 7.4)

The changes in the Brindisi district and other parts of the Salento isthmus in southern Apulia display a pattern that is comparable to that of the Bussento basin in western Lucania. We have seen that a large portion of the fortified settlements of the 4th century dwindled into insignificance here in the 2nd century BC. The *Colonia Neptunia Tarentum*, though probably somewhat less flourishing than 3rd-century Taras, continued to be an urban centre of some standing, while the tribal centre of Oria lost much of its former grandeur and survived as the small *municipium* of *Uria Calabria*. Brindisi, however, which was just one among the many fortified settlements of the district in the 4th century BC, grew

³⁵ The Roman *colonia marittima* of Buxentum was the probably Lucanized Greek town of Pyxous.

³⁶ Gualtieri / Fracchia 2002.

³⁷ For Metaponto area, see De Siena / Giardino 2001, 143 (Sant'Angelo Grieco) and 154 (Bosco Andriace-Montalbano Ionico); for uplands of Basilicata (Tolve-

Moltone), see Tocco 1990 and Soppelsa 1991; for north-Apulia (Ordona-Posta Crusta), see De Boe 1975.

³⁸ Yntema 1993a, 201.

³⁹ By the early 2nd century BC small one-family farmsteads were 'things of the past' (cf. Gabba 1989, 205)

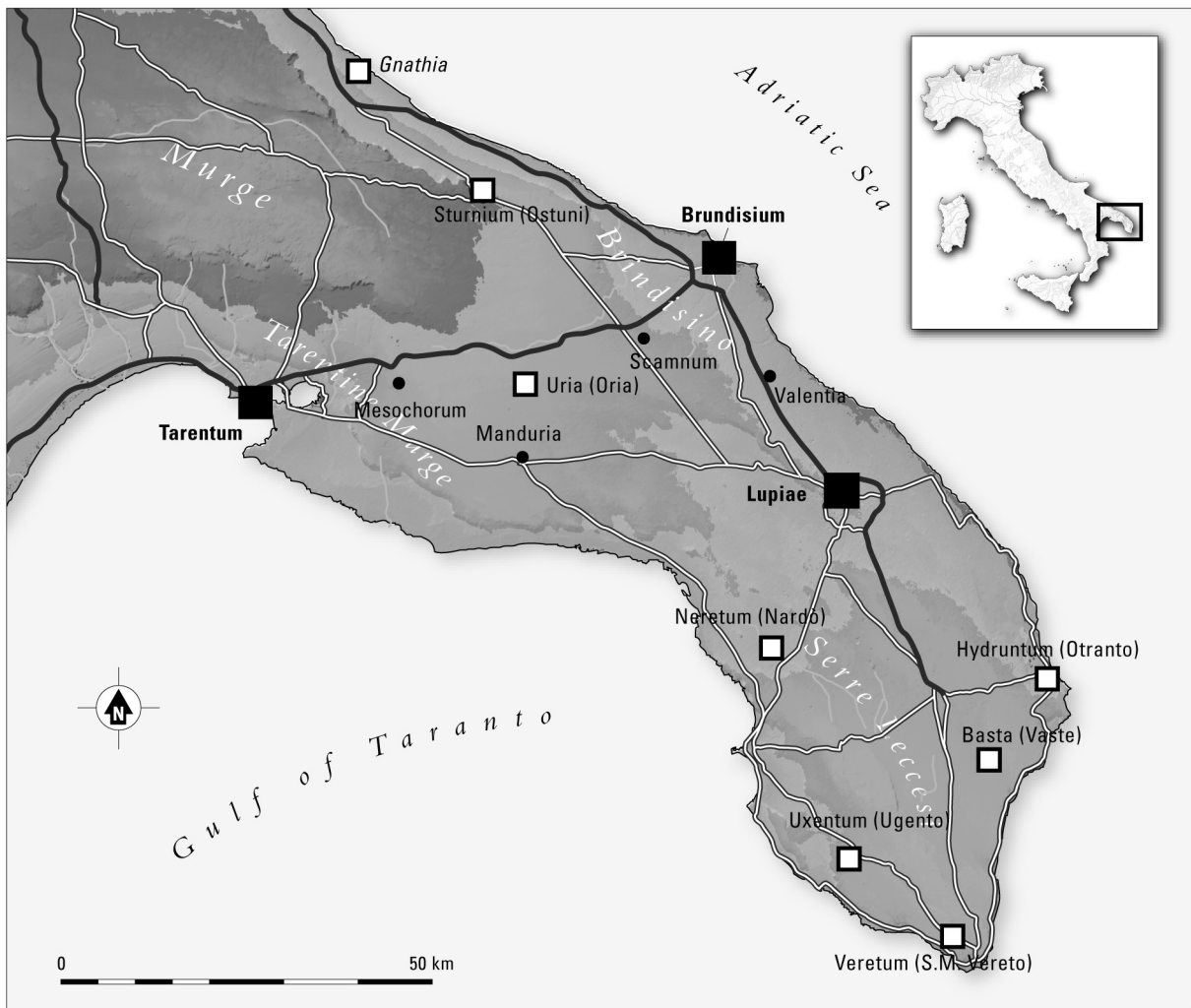


Fig. 7.3. Settlement patterns in the Salento peninsula around 150 BC. Solid square: regional centre; open square: small town; dot: road station/village.

exponentially. By the middle of the 2nd century BC it was by far the most important town in the Salento district and the second port of peninsular Italy.

In this same area there were also changes in the rural settlements. About one third of the tribal one-family farmsteads was abandoned. This happened between 200 and 150 BC. As we have seen above, the remaining farmsteads increased in size and became agricultural units housing some 20 or more people each (Boersma et al. 1991; Yntema 1993a). While the settlement hierarchy of Salento in the 4th century BC consisted of (a) the highly important *polis* of Taras, (b) a few major tribal centres (e.g. Oria, Ugento), (c) a series of relatively modest walled towns, (d) hamlets containing three to five farms and (e) isolated tribal farmsteads, the settlement hierarchy of the 2nd century BC was decidedly different. It consisted of (1) the *colonia latina* of Brindisi as the paramount centre of the district, with (2) Tarentum (and perhaps Lecce/Lupiae) as an urban centre of somewhat lesser importance, (3) a limited series of smallish towns, (4) a series of villages (fortified towns that had declined) and (5) hundreds of thriving farmsteads/small *villae* (fig. 7.3). The settlements of the categories 1, 2 and 3 were those that had (or can assumed to have had) a municipal status when the district became a part of Roman Italy after the conclusion of the Social war. On the Salento isthmus, just like in the Bussento basin in western Lucania, the centre of gravity shifted (from Taras and Oria towards Brindisi). This coincided

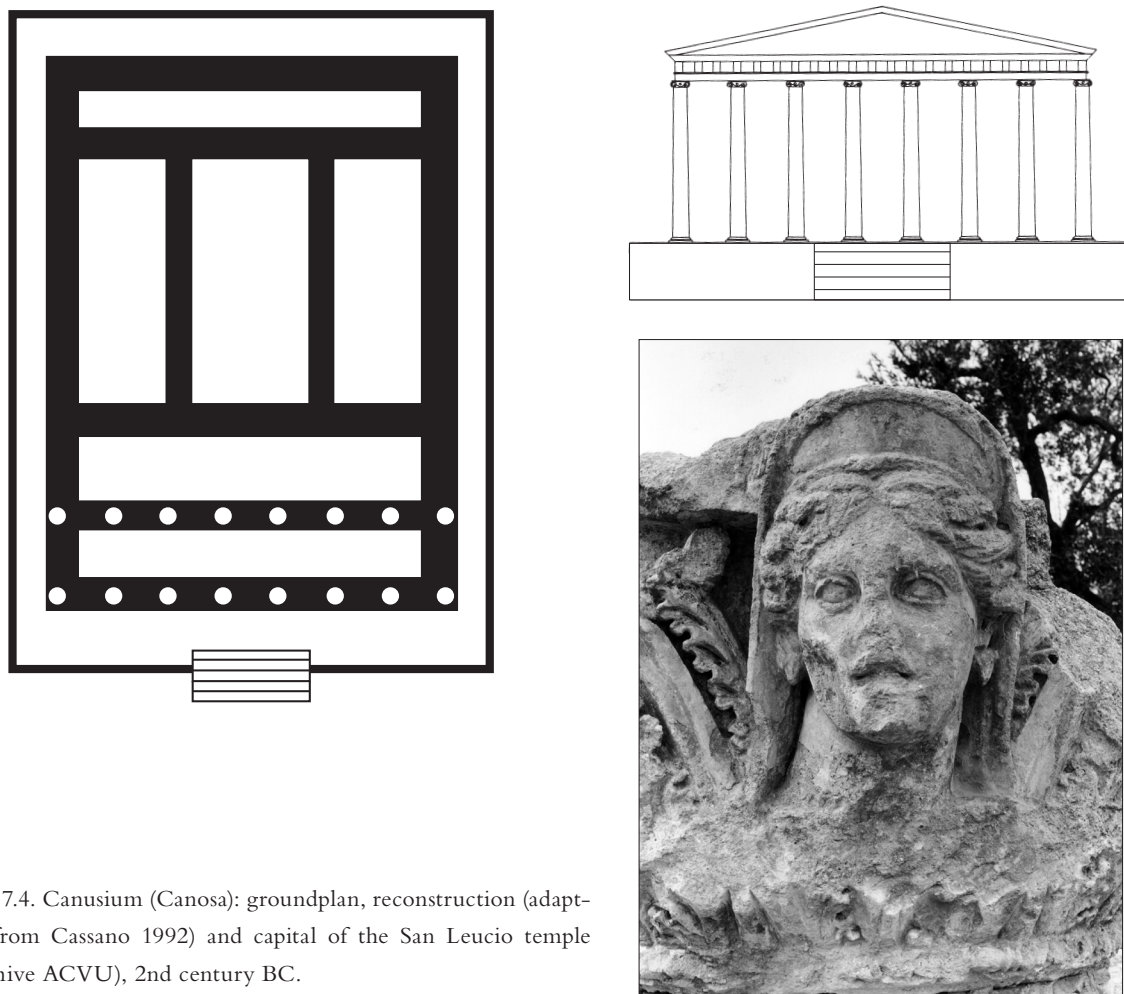


Fig. 7.4. Canusium (Canosa): groundplan, reconstruction (adapted from Cassano 1992) and capital of the San Leucio temple (archive ACVU), 2nd century BC.

with the steep decline of a series of urban settlements. Some of the rural settlements vanished, but those that survived became much larger.

The Greek towns of southeast Italy acquired their first representative buildings in the 6th century BC (e.g. the temples) and continued to create public spaces (e.g. *agora*) and public buildings (e.g. *stoa*, theatre) in the following centuries. The settlements with indigenous origins did not have these particular signs of prestige and local identity. It was, therefore, in formerly indigenous towns that rose to prominence or at least retained their urban character that temples and public buildings were erected in the period under discussion. During the 2nd century BC impressive temples were constructed at for instance Canosa (northern Apulia) and Brindisi in the Salento district (fig. 7.4).⁴⁰ The elaborate sculptural decoration of these buildings indicates that their significance went far beyond that of a religious building. They oozed prosperity and opulence and heralded the status of the town to a wide public. The large scale Belgian digs at Ortona (Roman *Herdonia*), moreover, have shown how the heart of a modest Roman town with indigenous origins came into being (figs. 7.6 and 7.20).⁴¹

⁴⁰ For the temple at Canosa, see Pensabene 1990 and 1992, and Dally 2000; for remains of the 2nd-century BC temples of Gnathia and Brindisi, see Yntema 1995,

173-174.

⁴¹ Mertens 1995.

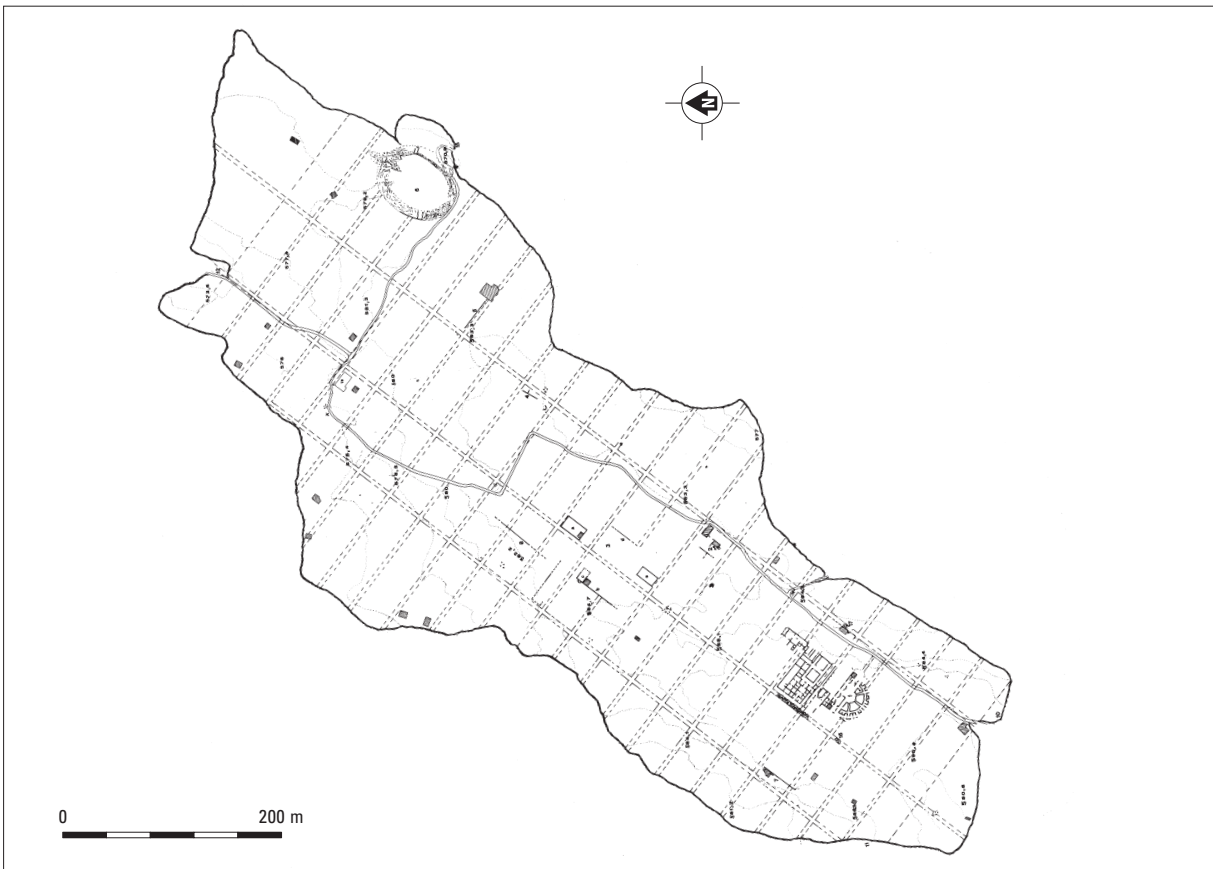


Fig. 7.5. Grumentum (western Basilicata): photo courtesy Tourist Office Basilicata, and layout of the Roman town (adapted from Giardino 1990).

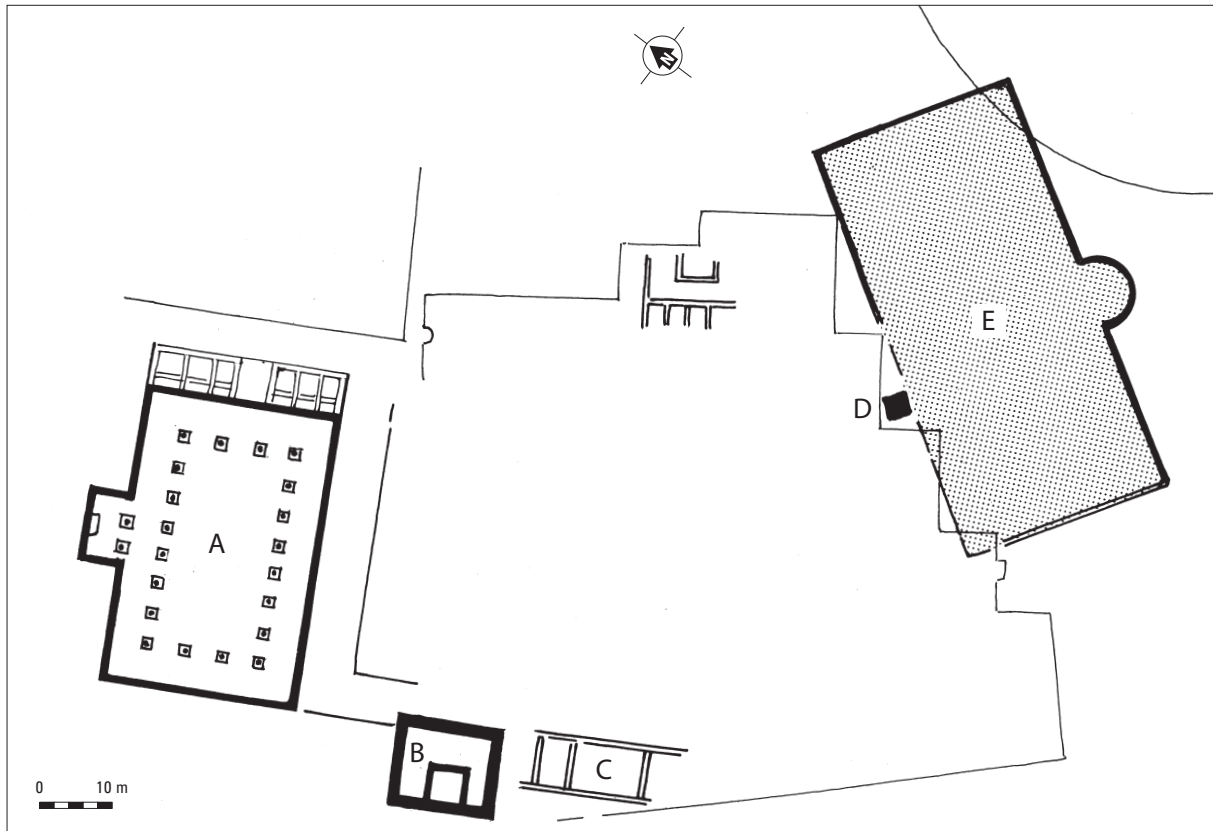


Fig. 7.6. Herdonia (Ortona), North-Apulia: town centre of late-Republican times; adapted from Mertens 1988. A Basilica; B Italic temple; C shops; D funerary monument; E 'Campus'; cf. fig. 7.18.

The same must have happened in the 'new' Roman towns of southeast Italy. Roman (officially 'Latin') colonies, however, were often founded in or close to existing settlements. Luceria (founded in 314) was originally a 'Daunian' settlement, Venusia (founded in 291) has produced finds of the 5th century BC, Brindisi (founded in 246 or 244) was a Messapian town of some substance during the 4th century BC, Buxentum (founded in 194) was Greek Pyxous, Copia (founded in 193) was Greek Sybaris-Thourioi, and Roman Sipontum (founded in the early 2nd century BC) was only a stone's throw away from declining Daunian settlement on a rapidly silting up lagoon.⁴² Truly new towns were created in the uplands of Basilicata. These were Grumentum (founded in the later 3rd century BC)⁴³ and possibly Potentia (founded in the early 2nd century BC?). The ground plan of 2nd to 1st-century BC Grumentum displays a typically Roman pattern (fig. 7.5). It had an orthogonal layout with a forum and a *capitolium* on the main central axis of the town.⁴⁴ Therefore, this new settlement of Grumentum could well be a Roman creation in Lucania.

In the late 3rd and 2nd centuries BC the landscapes of southeast Italy underwent significant changes. Some of the changes were found all over the region under discussion, others were specific to one

⁴² For the shifting settlement of Sipontum, see Delano Smith / Morrison 1974; for shifting Salapia, see Marin 1973.

⁴³ The earliest phase of Grumentum has been dated to the first half of the 3rd century BC (Giardino 1990). The

ceramics which supply the dating evidence, however, are mostly from the middle to later 3rd century BC

⁴⁴ Giardino 1990; for changes in Taranto, see Lippolis 2005.

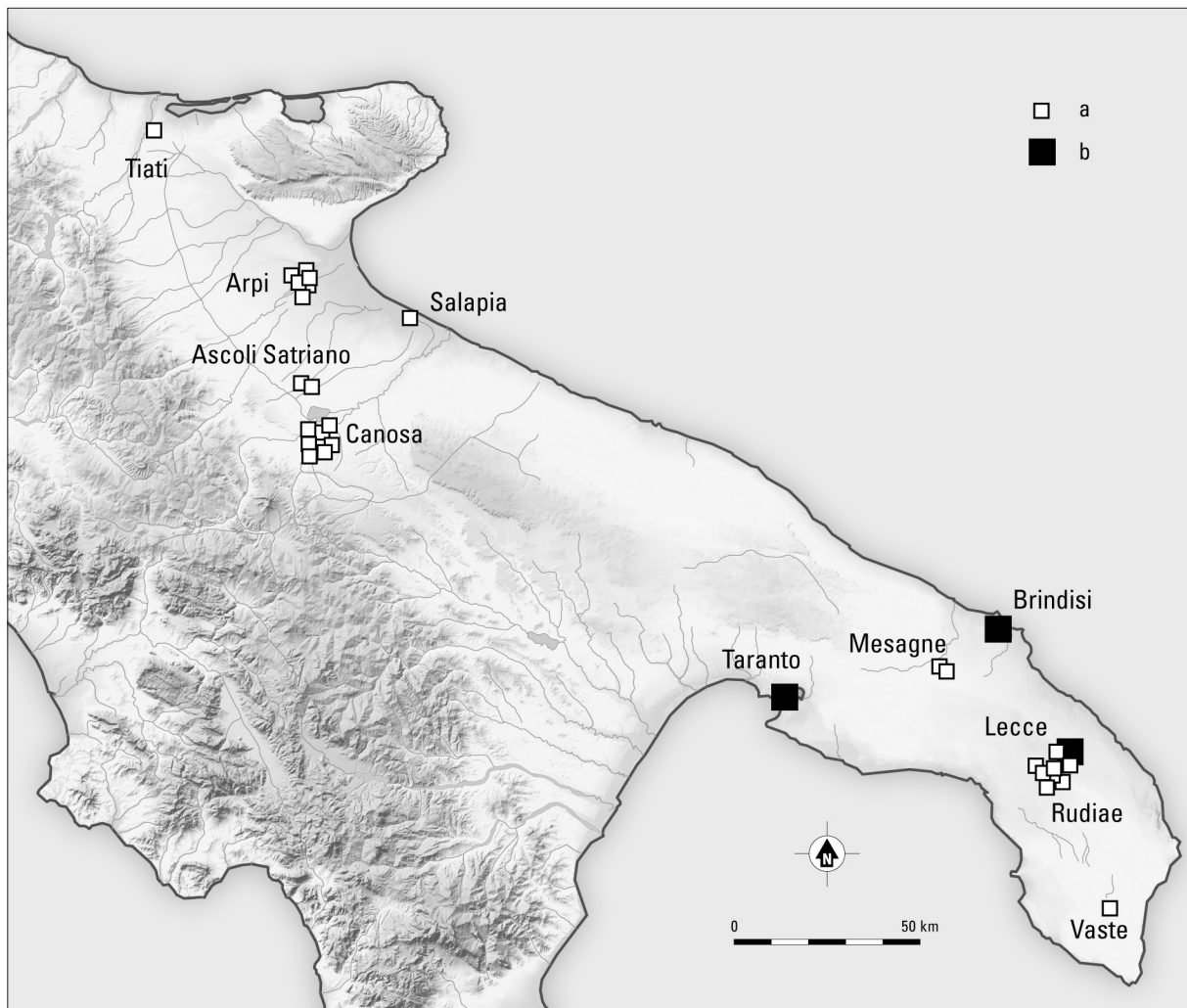


Fig. 7.7. Apulia. Elite tombs and larger 'urban' burial plots (c. 200-150 BC); solid square: urban burial plot; open square: elite tomb.

particular district only. We have seen that the highly dispersed settlements of northern Apulia were transformed into relatively densely settled urban agglomerates. This process started here in the 3rd century BC, but intensified greatly in the course of the 2nd century BC. In this district the formerly tribal centre of Canosa (*Canusium*) became the most important town.⁴⁵ As the process of urbanization intensified in northern Apulia, rural occupation consisting of isolated farmsteads equally intensified. By the 2nd century BC the district hardly differed in this respect from southern Apulia or the territories of the former Greek colonies where rural landscapes were created in earlier times.⁴⁶ Whereas only a handful of people lived on a hectare of settlement area in the 4th century BC, consisting of modest groups of dwellings and agricultural plots, north-Apulia changed into a landscape in which there was a much sharper opposition between manmade environments and natural areas. Here the intensely inhabited, and therefore now much smaller settlement areas in a halo of agricultural plots and the isolated farmsteads surrounded by farmland were larger and smaller islands of manmade nature in a predominantly natural landscape (fig. 4.3).⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Cassano et al. 1992.

⁴⁷ Goffredo 2010, Goffredo / Ficco 2010.

⁴⁶ Volpe 1990.

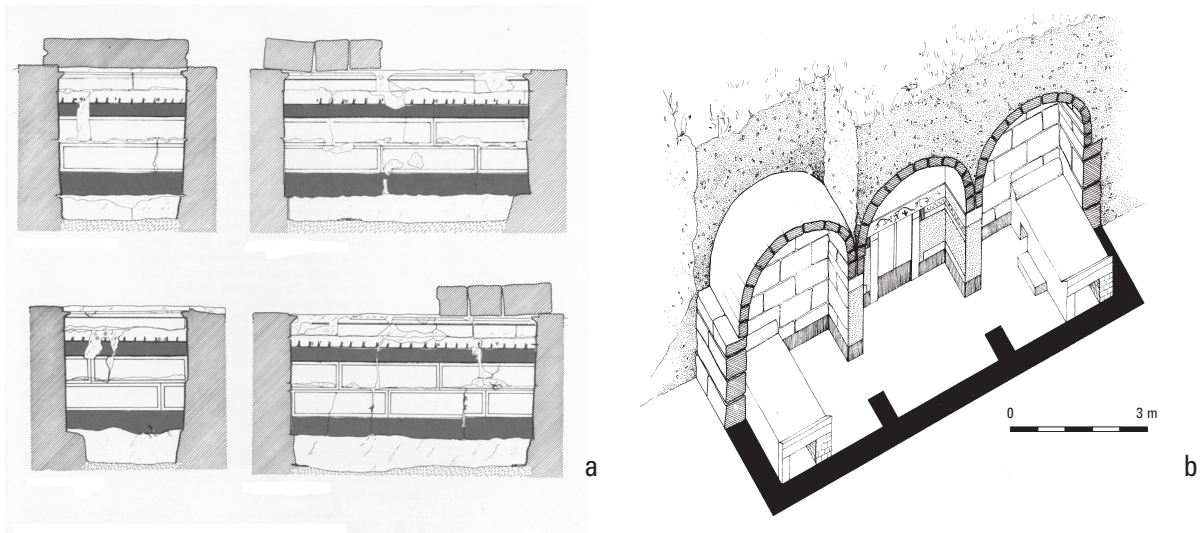


Fig. 7.8. Elite burials of Apulia: a Mesagne (Salento): chamber tomb with 'Pompeian' 1st style wall painting (c. 170/150 BC), after Cocchiari 1988; b Arpi (Tavoliere): chamber tomb (late 3rd/early 2nd century BC), adapted from Mazzei/Lippolis 1984, p. 197 fig. 237.

Although the landscapes of rocky Lucania and southern Apulia differ vastly from that of alluvial northern Apulia, the rural infill of early Roman times was quite similar. By the middle of the 2nd century BC the small tribal farmsteads that were present in these two districts during the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, had been partly abandoned and partly replaced by much larger agricultural units. We have seen that many walled settlements of Lucania and Salento were almost completely abandoned. They were surrounded by untilled fields that were gradually reclaimed by natural vegetation. Since these ghost towns were highly visible elements in the landscape, the ruins of their houses and fortifications must have continued to play a role in the every day life of the people of Salento and Lucania. Of the towns that survived some continued to be urban centres of some substance. But especially Brindisi grew exponentially and became a centre of supra-regional importance. Together with Lupiae, Canusium and Tarentum it was among the most important towns of Roman southeast Italy of Imperial times.

The many changes in settlement patterns that occurred in southeast Italy between the middle of the 3rd and the middle of the 2nd century BC suggest that people were on the move. The distance between the place of the old home and the new dwelling were relatively small in northern Apulia. Here the condensation of highly dispersed settlement clusters into a more or less urban centre resulted in only a small change of location. Displacement of larger groups over larger distances must have occurred in southern Apulia and Lucania, because many settlements were almost completely abandoned here. Some of their inhabitants migrated to new or rapidly growing settlements in the same district such as Grumentum, Brundisium and Lupiae. But since the population figures for the middle of the 2nd century are likely to be considerably lower than those for the middle of the 3rd century BC,⁴⁸ it is plausible to assume that groups and individuals migrated from southeast Italy to other parts of the Mediterranean. This happened on a fairly massive scale during the first half of the 2nd century BC.

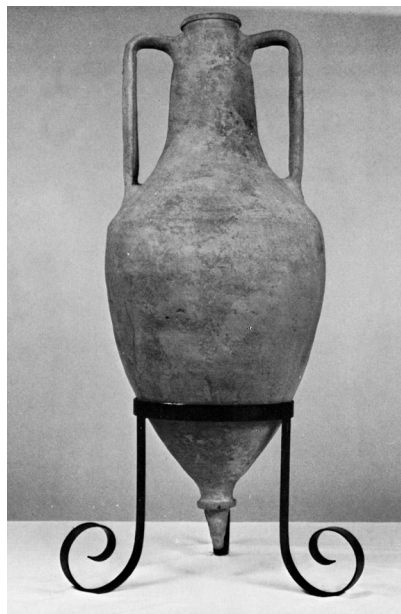
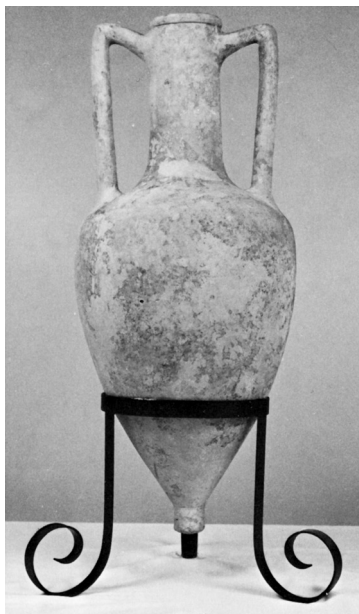
⁴⁸ A rough estimate based on the data supplied by field surveys indicated that Salento may have lost some 25% to 50% of its total population between 250 and 150 BC. Here the rural population more than doubled, but

the urban population declined (the steep ascendancy of Brundisium and Lupiae did not compensate the almost total abandonment of some 18-20 other towns).



a

b



c

d



e



f



g

Fig. 7.9. Mesagne (Salento district): selection of burial gifts from a large elite tomb: a Apulian Red-Figured krater (c. 320 BC); b large Gnathia kantharos (c. 300–280 BC); c–d wine amphorae (Rhodos, Knidos, 180–170 BC); e–f black-gloss wares (Brindisi fabric, first half of 2nd century BC); g leaves and rosette of golden funerary crown. Photos courtesy Centro Studi Antonucci, Mesagne; for architecture and paintings of tomb, see fig. 7.8a.

7.3 BURIALS, RELIGION AND SOCIAL LANDSCAPE

When settlements are abandoned, burials of course tend to stop. That happened indeed in many settlements of southeast Italy, but both phenomena are not as closely interlinked as the first line of this paragraph suggests. Often the steep decline in both the quantity and quality of the burials set in several decades *before* the settlement shows signs of large scale abandonment. And even when the settlement did not dwindle into insignificance, the graves nonetheless tended to disappear from the archaeological record. Whilst for instance several burial sites have been traced that belong to hamlets or small tribal farmsteads of the late 4th and early 3rd centuries,⁴⁹ no burial plots have been reported for the much larger farms of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. Burials, in fact, seem to become increasingly rare in large parts of southeast Italy from about the middle of the 3rd century BC onward. Substantial grave plots dating to the later 3rd and 2nd centuries BC have exclusively been found at Canusium,⁵⁰ Brundisium,⁵¹ Taras/Tarentum⁵² and Lupiae (fig. 7.7).⁵³ These four settlements were probably the most important and most populous towns of the early Roman period in southeast Italy.⁵⁴

While generally speaking the burial record for the period under discussion is poor in both quantity and quality of the graves, a few tombs stand out because of their highly spectacular contents and their monumental character. These occur exclusively in formerly indigenous territories of Apulia and date invariably between the close of the 3rd century and the middle of the 2nd century BC. Hitherto four of these burials have been reported from the Brindisi district on the Salento isthmus.⁵⁵ Some of the *hypogaea* of southern Salento (Lecce, Vaste) may also belong to this period.⁵⁶ The most stunning graves, however, were discovered in northern Apulia. Here they appear to cluster in and around the settlements of Canosa and Arpi which, as we have seen, had become the dominant settlements in this area during the 3rd century BC.⁵⁷ The elite burials of north-Apulia differ from the rich Salento graves in some details and especially by demonstrating a more ostentatious display of wealth. But otherwise these Apulian tombs have quite a series of features in common.

The technical construction of these elite graves differs from place to place. The elite burials of the Brindisi district with its alluvial soils were subterranean rooms that were basically enlarged versions of the traditional cist graves of the 4th and 3rd century elites of the same area (fig. 7.8a). The specimens at Canosa and Lecce are rock cut chamber tombs (either newly constructed or additions to 4th century *hypogaea*), while the Arpi tombs in the alluvial Tavoliere district consisted of three or four subterranean rooms made of blocks and covered by vaults (fig 7.8b).

⁴⁹ Marinazzo 1980; Yntema 1993a.

⁵⁰ Cassano et al. 1992.

⁵¹ Andreassi / Cocchiario 1988.

⁵² Lippolis 1994b, Graepler 1997, Hempel 2001.

⁵³ D'Andria 1999b, Giardino 1994 and 2000.

⁵⁴ Canusium (Canosa) may well be a special case in so far that here the indigenous traditions continued to be very strong, especially in the funerary sphere.

⁵⁵ Lo Porto 1974, Cocchiario 1989, Yntema 2009.

⁵⁶ For instance the so-called 'Palmieri' *hypogeum* in Lecce and the *hypogaeum* of the Cariatids in Vaste (Lamboley 1982; D'Andria 1988).

⁵⁷ Mazzei / Lippolis 1984, Corrente 1992, Mazzei 1995. For the backgrounds to the four elite burials from the

Brindisi area, see Yntema 2009. The most spectacular burial from Canosa is the *Tomba degli Ori* (Tomb of the Golden Objects) of the early 2nd century BC (e.g. Mazzei / Lippolis 1984; Corrente 1992); other elite tombs have been found at the sites of Ascoli Satriano (Roman Ausculum) and Salapia (Tinè Bertocchi 1985, 209 ff., Mazzei 1991) which may both have depended on Canosa. A second cluster of elite tombs was found at the Tavoliere site of Arpi, some 50 km northwest of Canosa (e.g. Mazzei 1995). Yet another elite tomb was found at Teanum Apulum (S. Paolo Civitate) in the very north of the Tavoliere district (Mazzei / Lippolis 1984, 195 fig. 236 and 237 fig. 276).

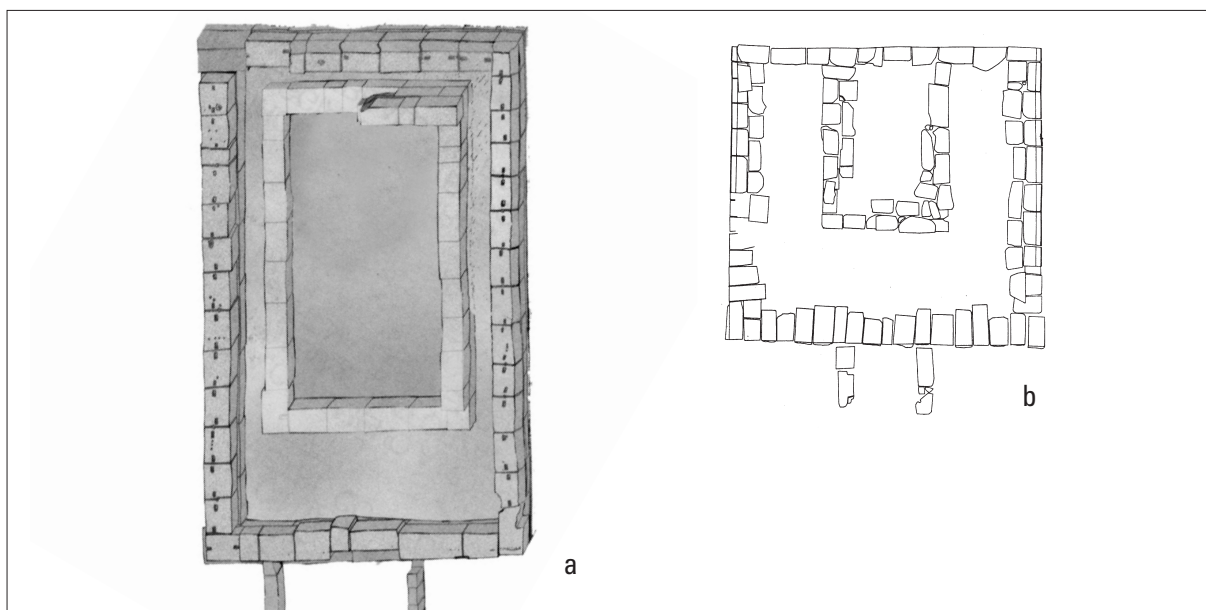


Fig. 7.10. Ground plans of early Roman temples of southeast Italy (2nd century BC); a Gnathia (Salento district; after Yntema 2006); b Tricarico (central Basilicata, adapted from De Cazanove 2002).

The great wealth of the north-Apulian tombs is not only demonstrated by their impressive architecture. It is also reflected by gold and silver objects, precious glass vessels and fayence imported from the eastern Mediterranean (Alexandrian or Rhodian). The latter objects not only stress the elite character of the graves, but they are equally indicative of the access these elites had to rare and exotic goods.⁵⁸ The recurrent presence of Rhodian wine amphorae and Brindisi oil amphorae in these graves underlines their international spirit and suggests that these north-Apulian elites also displayed their status by conspicuous consumption.

Amphorae also occur in the opulent graves of the Brindisi district (fig. 7.9). Spectacular objects made of gold and glass, however, are absent (only golden funerary crowns). Here the links with the eastern Mediterranean are demonstrated by the wine amphorae (from Cos, Rhodos, Cnidos and Crete) and table ware from the east. In addition to these artifacts the 2nd-century elite tombs of the Brindisi area invariably contain one or more painted pots which date between 325 and 250 BC. They were between 80 and 170 years old when they were deposited in these graves. At the time of their manufacture, they were exclusively produced for funerary purposes. Both the presence of these 'heirlooms' made for 4th and 3rd century funerals and the fact that the tombs themselves are enlarged versions of the traditional cist graves suggest that the elites in the Brindisi area wished to stress their links with the pre-Roman past.⁵⁹

The evidence in the funerary sphere therefore suggests that very few people were buried with great pomp. These persons belonged to elites that were adhering to the timocratic style that became fashionable in Italy during the 2nd century BC.⁶⁰ The vast majority of people living in the early 2nd century BC, however, was buried (or cremated) in a way that leaves no traces in the archaeological record, while the same groups were highly visible in the funerary record of the late 4th and early 3rd century.

⁵⁸ For the rare 2nd century BC glass from the eastern Mediterranean in northern Apulia, see Harden 1968, Ciancio 1980, Mazzei / Lippolis 1984, 187-188;

Mazzei 1991, and Stern / Schlick-Nolte 1994.

⁵⁹ Yntema 2009.

⁶⁰ Gabba 1989, 205.

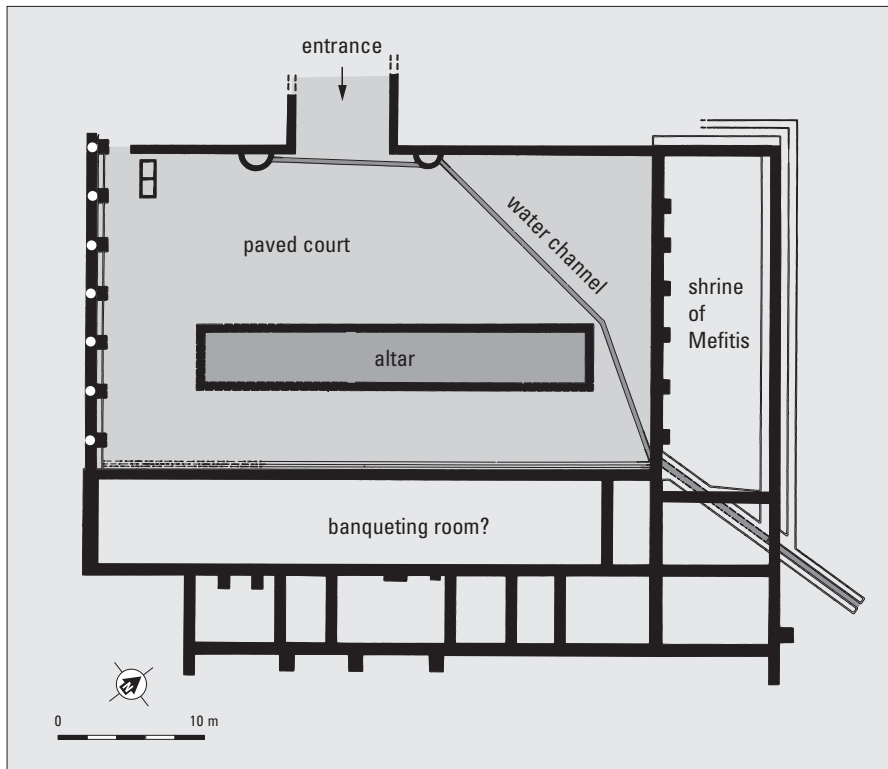


Fig. 7.11. Rossano di Vaglio (central Basilicata): groundplan, 2nd century BC; adapted from Adamestano 1974.

The exceptions to this rule are found in the truly urban centres of southeast Italy, i.e. the towns of Tarentum, Brundisium and Lupiae. Here people of probably moderate means continued to be buried in traditional ways. It was not until the close of the 2nd century BC that characteristically Roman burial practices (specific forms of cremation) make their appearance in the archaeological record. Both at Taranto and Brindisi cremation rapidly superseded the traditional inhumation rites in the first half of the 1st century BC.⁶¹

The substantial changes in funerary sphere are only partly reflected in shifts in religious practices. However, these appear to display much closer parallels with the changes in settlement patterns and in the character of the settlements. Though there was a considerable variety in the districts under discussion, the general line is that from the early 2nd century BC onward the recognizable traces regarding public aspects of religion are increasingly found in *urban* contexts. This meant no great change in the urban religion of the formerly Greek *poleis*, since their impressive sanctuaries were often in the very centres of their towns. In both Lucania and south-Apulia, however, the local sanctuary was usually outside the settlement area. When the walled settlements with which these sacred places were linked, declined and dwindled into insignificance, the same seems to have happened to most of these sanctuaries: in the first half of the 2nd century the diagnostic votive offerings become increasingly scarce. If these sacred places were still frequented after the middle of the 2nd century BC, this was exclusively done by people who offered non-artefactual gifts (e.g. corn, beans, meat). The few sanctuaries that have produced epigraphic evidence suggest that this indeed may have been the case: the traditional

⁶¹ Andreassi / Cocchiario 1988; Hempel 2001, 19. It should be noted that cremation rarely occurs in pre-Roman contexts, e.g. at Roccagloriosa (Gualtieri 1982) and Taras (D'Amicis 1994).

sanctuaries often continued to be visited, but if so, the visitors were probably people of lowly status such as slaves and peasants.⁶²

However, even if the originally indigenous settlement survived (e.g. Oria on the Salento isthmus), the old tribal sanctuary no longer played the central role in the local society from approximately the middle of the 2nd century BC.⁶³ Religious rites that were shared by the local community, were now performed in the very centre of the increasingly urbanized settlements. This happened for instance at the settlement of Banzi (Roman *Bantia*) in the northeastern part of Basilicata. Here a sacred spot for reading the auspices was detected dating between c. 130 and 100 BC.⁶⁴ This so-called *templum augurale*, moreover, is evidently a characteristically central-Italic or Roman religious feature in a settlement in the border zone between Lucania and the north-Apulian Daunians. During the 2nd century BC, moreover, stone temples were built. They were erected in, for instance, the urban centres of Grumentum, Tricarico (central Basilicata), Ortona, Canosa (north-Apulia), Gnathia and Brindisi (south-Apulia). All these temples probably belonged to central-Italic variant of this architectural form (figs 7.4. and 7.10). This was yet another novelty for the formerly indigenous territories where sacred buildings having columns and pediments – the ‘classical’ building heralding urban religion in the Graeco-Roman world – were never adopted in the pre-Roman period. In several towns of southeast Italy that were gradually becoming a mix of people with greatly different roots,⁶⁵ a to all appearances ‘Roman/Italic’ architectural form heralded local pride and local identity. The temple invariably stood within the settlement area. Rituals that bound the whole local society were now performed in the very heart of the urban settlement.

The most important survivor among the extra-urban sanctuaries of southeast Italy was Rossano di Vaglio. This sacred place that – as we have seen above – was crucial to the cohesion in the *Nomen Lucanum*, continued to play an important role in the uplands of Basilicata. It was even completely restructured and monumentalized in an impressive way during the 2nd century BC (fig. 7.11). However, it was no longer linked to the 4th- and 3rd century central place of the Lucanian league (Serra di Vaglio) which was probably abandoned in the late 3rd or early 2nd century BC.⁶⁶ Since Rossano shows a continuity of the cult of the goddess Mefitis, one may suggest that the core of those who frequented the sanctuary, continued to be people who believed to have Lucanian roots. These must have contributed generously in order to finance a large scale restructuration of the complex in the 2nd century BC. This suggests that prosperous Lucanian elites were still present in that period. They did not live any more in the (abandoned) fortified settlements, but must have lived in the new towns

⁶² The most widespread view is that these sanctuaries were indeed abandoned. It appears to have happened at the sanctuary of the fertility goddess named Oxo at Vaste, south-Apulia (Mastronuzzi / Ciuchini 2011). It is perhaps more plausible to assume that many traditional sanctuaries in formerly non-Greek districts (and rural sanctuaries in Greek districts) continued to be frequented. The custom of offering pottery, terracotta statuettes, coins etc to the gods began to wane. The proof for continuity of cultic activities in the 1st century BC in these sanctuaries is mostly based on epigraphical evidence, e.g. the great tribal sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio (central Lucania; see Adamesteanu / Lejeune 1971), the Grotta della Poesia at Roccavecchia (Pagliara 1987, 1989) and the Grotta Porcinara near

Leuca (D’Andria 1978), both in the Salento district.

⁶³ The traces of religious activities in Roman times come exclusively from the urban centre of Oria (cf. Pagliara 1980)

⁶⁴ Torelli 1966.

⁶⁵ Among the inhabitants of southeast Italy in the 2nd century BC were, for instance, autochthonous people with native backgrounds, south-Italian Greeks, migrants coming from central Italy (Roman/Latin colonists) and Greek slaves imported from the eastern Mediterranean.

⁶⁶ The limited quantities of ceramics from Serra di Vaglio published hitherto suggest this dating (cf. Greco 1980, 1982).

(e.g. Grumentum), the large farmsteads (e.g. Tolve–Moltone) or the formerly Greek towns (Heraclea, Metapontum) of Basilicata. The gradual dissolution of the Lucanian world under the pressure of the steadily increasing Roman presence may well have induced these people to stress their Lucanian traditions and Lucanian identity by investing in the Lucanian sacred place *par excellence*.⁶⁷ The stone ‘altars’ these elites dedicated to the typically Lucanian water goddess Mefitis, were all inscribed in Oscan.⁶⁸ It was only in the course of the 1st century BC that the sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio lost its significance and was gradually abandoned.

Little is known about religion in the originally Greek towns of southeast Italy during the early Roman period. Probably the traditional sanctuaries continued to be the focus of the local urban cults. These could be both sanctuaries with impressive temples (e.g. Metapontum, Tarentum) and *temenoi* with a less rhetorical architectural outfit (e.g. the sanctuaries of Dionysus and the Dioskouroi at Taras/Tarentum).⁶⁹ Since the custom of depositing artifacts such as coins, pots and terracotta statuettes was waning, it is hard to trace the changing significance of these sacred places in the context of Romanizing Italy. Both the *senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* of 186 BC and the arrival of ‘Roman’ colonists for the *Colonia Neptunia Tarentum* in 123/122 BC may well have affected Tarantine religion deeply. There is, for instance, a notable increase in Dionysiac terracotta statuettes in the graves of Taranto in the early 2nd century BC, i.e. about the time of the famous *senatus consultum* and the ‘herdsmen’s conspiracies’ and ‘slave revolts’ reported by Livy (see paragraph 7.1): perhaps a silent protest against Roman interference in the religious sphere.⁷⁰

As for the rural sanctuaries in the territories of the formerly Greek towns, they are generally believed to have been abandoned in the later 3rd or early 2nd century BC. Therefore, they seem to have had more or less the same history as most of the extra-urban sanctuaries of the originally non-Greek districts. However, as we have seen above, this observation is based on the diagnosis of the artifacts recovered at such sites and does not take into account possible changes in deposition customs. We do not know whether impoverished farmers continued to offer corn and beans here during the 2nd and 1st centuries BC.

The drastically shifting settlement patterns discussed in the above paragraph 7.2, the apparent lack of continuity in the funerary sphere and the genesis of new ways in religious practice indicate that the period between c. 250 BC and 150 BC was a time of enormous social and religious changes. People who had lived dispersed over the landscape, now clustered in larger settlement forms: many small farmsteads in both the formerly Greek territories and in the indigenous districts were abandoned while others grew exponentially (rural areas of southeast Italy), and dispersed tribal settlements rapidly evolved into towns (north–Apulia). Groups that had buried their dead for many generations in an archaeologically traceable way, suddenly stopped doing so and disappear from the funerary record. Sacred places where local or regional groups had performed their rituals and renewed the bonds which made them into a community, lost their central role in the local societies and were often abandoned. The ties that linked the autochthonous inhabitants of southeast Italy (including Greeks) to their soils, their kinsmen, their ancestors and their gods became weaker and were often severed.

The data supplied above are indicative of how thoroughly the social landscape changed in large parts of southeast Italy. The changes in the religious sphere suggest an increasing stress on urban cohe-

⁶⁷ Pelgrom 2003.

⁶⁸ Cf. Adamesteanu / Lejeune 1971.

⁶⁹ For the sanctuaries of Taras/Tarentum, see *Cento Anni di Archeologia, passim*, and Iacobone 1988.

⁷⁰ Graepler 1997. These pieces of evidence could belong

to the same puzzle and could well be signs of strong anti-Roman feelings in post-Hannibalic Taras which were also (or perhaps predominantly) expressed in the religious context of the Bacchus cult.

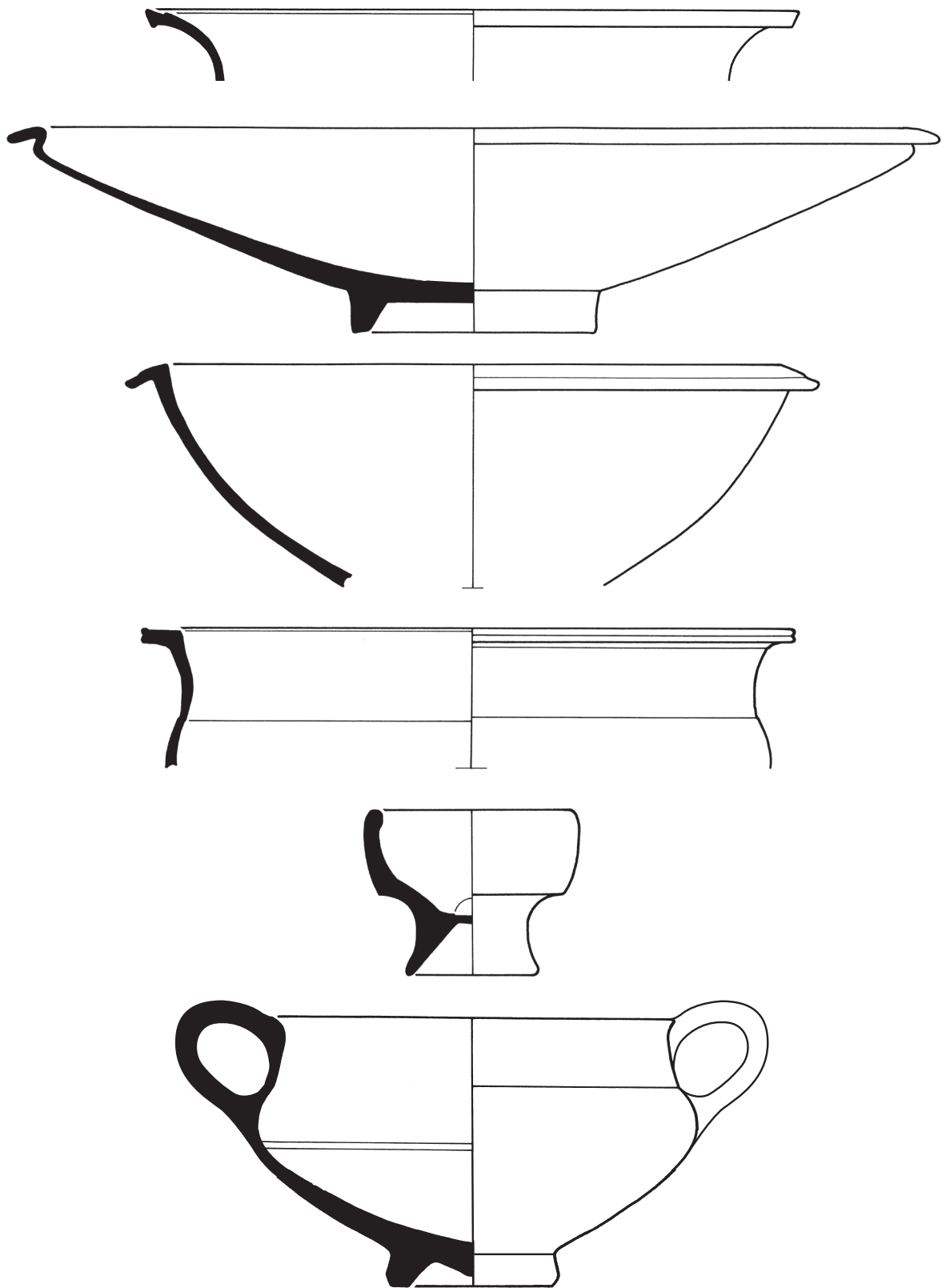


Fig. 7.12. Apulian Black Gloss wares: repertory of forms of the Brindisi Hard-Fired Red (HFR) fabric (early 2nd century BC); traditional Apulian forms.

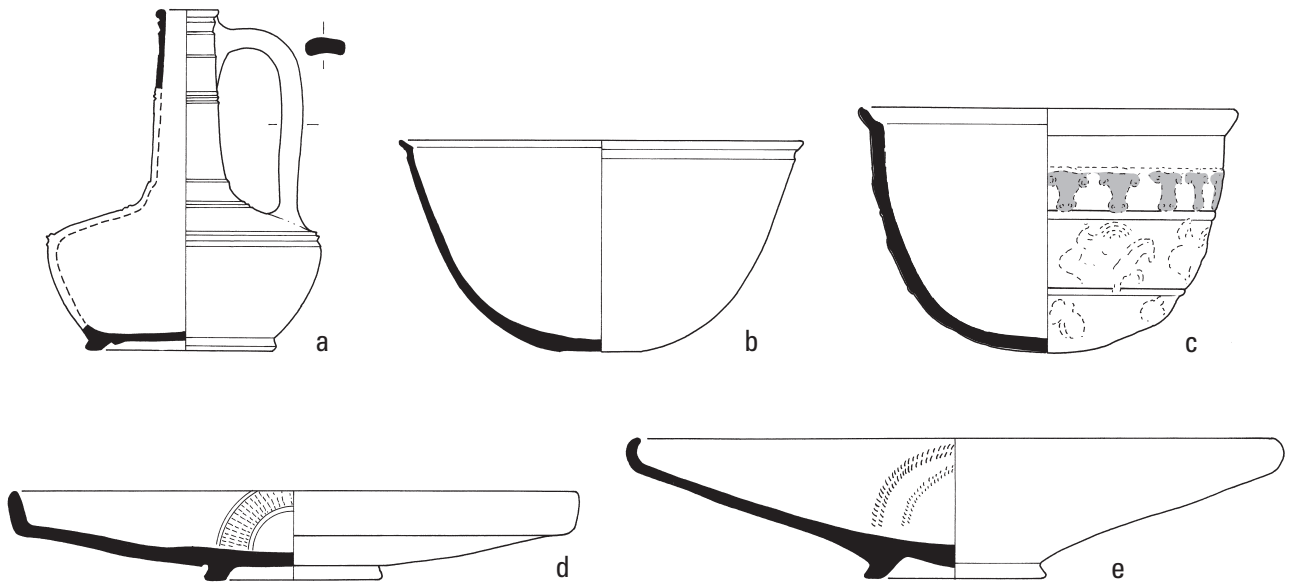


Fig. 7.13. Grey Gloss wares of southeast Italy. Forms adopted from the eastern Mediterranean (a-c), c. 160-100 BC; forms adopted from Tyrrhenean Italy (d-e), c. 110-30 BC.

sion and city life against a dissolution or at least a substantial weakening of the social framework of both the tribal polities and the rural communities of formerly Greek polities. The clustering of people in towns and large farms that is suggested by the changes in settlement pattern, seems to confirm this. As we have seen, the data concerning the funerary sphere demonstrate that fair numbers of burials in substantial and coherent burial plots occur exclusively at Taranto, Brindisi and Lecce.⁷¹ In the remaining now steeply declining settlements, burials of the period under discussion are absent. The same holds good for the large number of substantial farmsteads. Of course, the almost complete absence of burials outside the major urban centres of southeast Italy does not mean that no one lived or died outside the walls of the three substantial towns. From these data it must be concluded that the funerary practices in these towns differed from those in the dying 'urban' settlements and the rural settlements of southeast Italy.

These differences may well be due to differences in the social composition of the population between urban settlements and rural settlements. It should be remembered that the only graves found in the rural areas during the early Roman period are the highly traditional, but extremely wealthy tombs of the Brindisi district and northern Apulia (see initial part of this section). By the first half of the 2nd century BC the social landscape outside the towns displayed enormous differences. On the one hand it was probably composed of a very small elite group buried with ostentatious display. As we have seen, these elites show links with a rich pre-Roman past and an eastern Mediterranean present. On the other hand there was obviously a much larger group consisting of poor people involved in agriculture. The latter group cannot be traced in the funerary record: their presence can only be derived from the presence of farmsteads that must have housed two or three dozens of people. This group may have contained slaves imported during the Greek wars of the first half of the 2nd century BC. But tenants and small farmers must have been among the members of this same group. These may well have come from the formerly relatively prosperous group of tribal farmers. The present data, therefore, suggest an increased social differentiation in the countryside and in the steeply declining walled settlements

⁷¹ Andreassi / Cocchiario 1988; Giardino 1994.

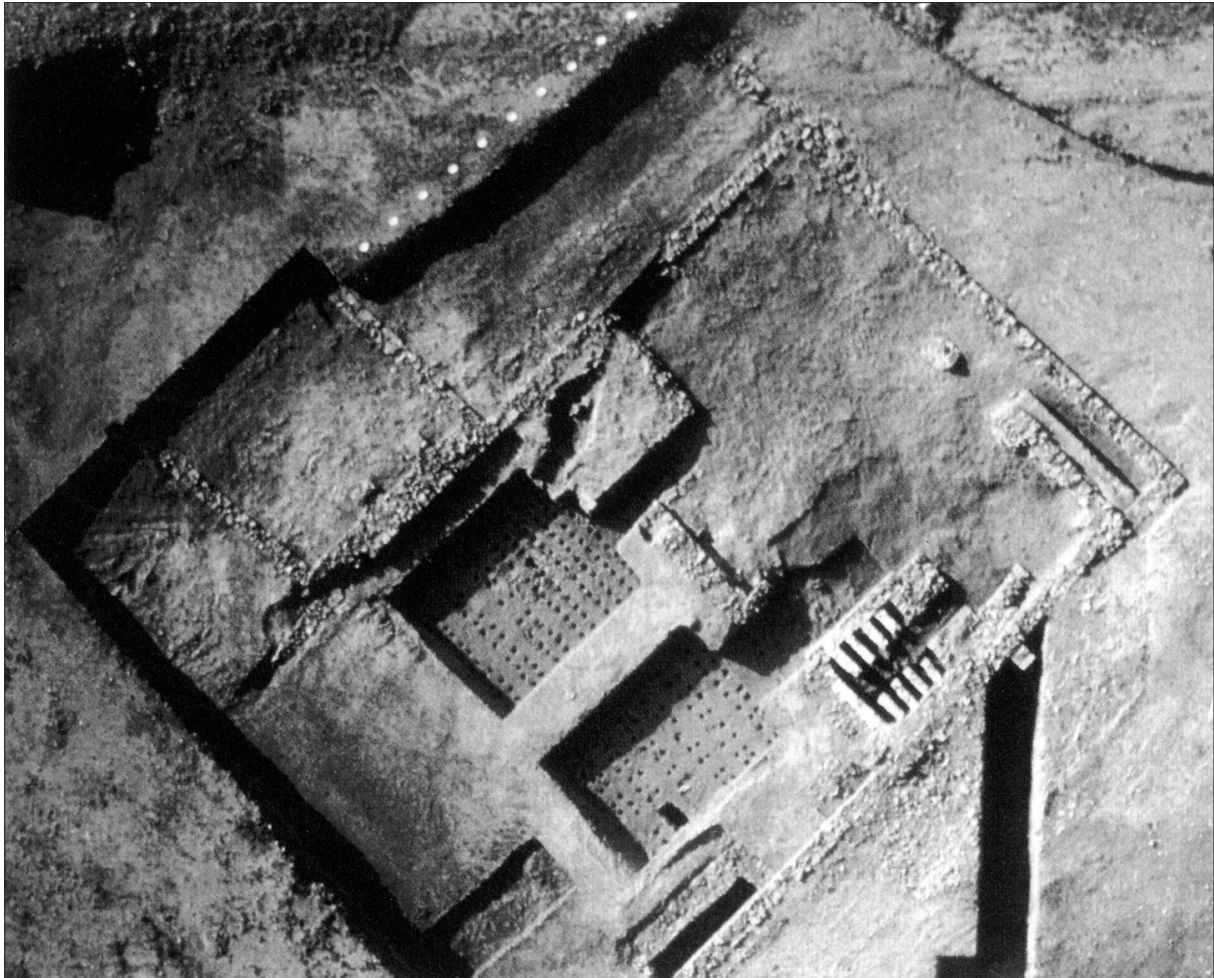


Fig. 7.14. Giuncola (Salento district); large kilns (2nd-1st century BC); after Mater 2005.

of large parts of Apulia and Basilicata. Elite families, often with a regional pedigree, became wealthy landowners living in towns (e.g. the Rennii of Brundisium), while the farmers in both the territories of the formerly Greek states and the originally non-Greek district became peasants. The process of peasantization in southeast Italy started in the second half of the 3rd century BC. The towns, however, displayed a more varied social stratification. These not only had slaves, poor people and the wealthy elites that figure in the ancient written sources, but also a middle group consisting of people involved in, for instance, craft and retail business.

While the changes in the funerary record and the settlement patterns suggest a process of peasantization, the fact that nearly all sanctuaries of the formerly non-Greek groups lost their importance and were possibly abandoned suggests yet another aspect of social change. It should be remembered that these sacred places played a vital role in forging local or regional identities and were symbols of tribal allegiance. Therefore, when these focuses of tribal organization and coherence were no longer crucial to the societies of southeast Italy and religion became more and more linked with centres of strictly urban nature having other, decidedly non-tribal forms of social organization, these profound changes may well be read as signs of detribalization. Tribal elites vanished in this process or became urban elites. Tribal farmers migrated (see below) or became peasants and tribal craftsmen became urban craftsmen in towns like Grumentum or Brundisium. In addition to *emigration from* southeast Italy, there was *immigration into* southeast Italy. On the one hand the foundation of Latin or Roman colonies

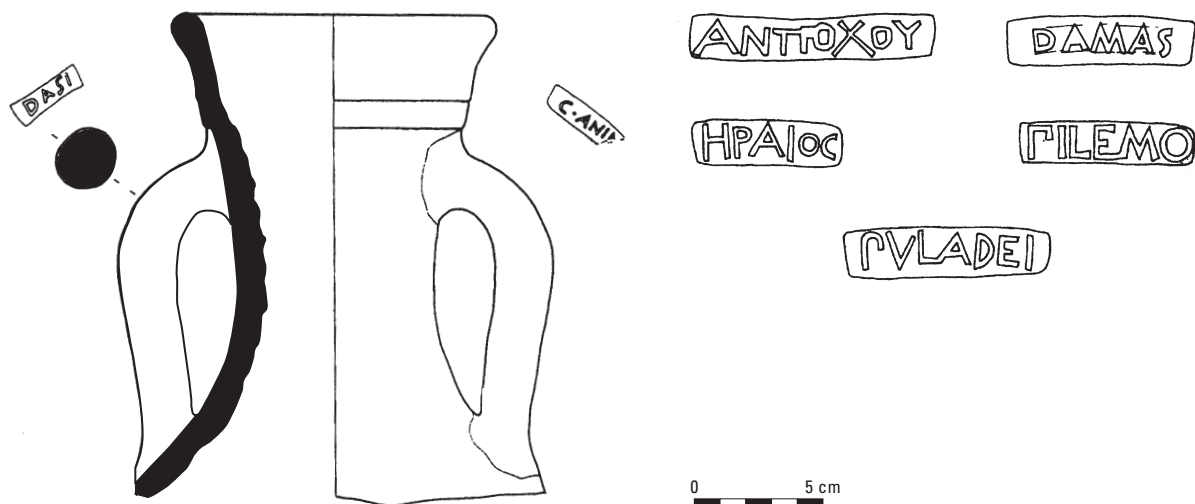


Fig. 7.15. Brindisi area (south-Apulia): shapes and stamps of Brindisi amphorae; later 2nd/early 1st century BC; based on Palazzo / Silvestrini 2001.

such as Brundisium and Buxentum resulted in an influx of new people, on the other hand there must have been a notable influx of slaves in the 2nd century BC as a result of the Roman wars against various Greek states (e.g. Macedonia, the Aetolian League, the Achaean League). Their names figure for instance on the stamps of the amphora producing pottery workshops of the Salento district (see below).

7.4 CRAFT AND ECONOMY

We have seen in chapter 6 that during the late 4th and the early 3rd century BC many settlements of southeast Italy had their own rather varied groups of craftsmen. They were present in both the Greek *poleis* and the walled settlements of the non-Greek polities of southeast Italy. Around 300 BC carpenters, blacksmiths and potters, for instance, are likely to have exerted their trade in more than 60 or 70 different settlements here. This situation persisted till within the second half of the 3rd century BC.⁷² By about the middle of the 2nd century BC, however, the number of sizable, more or less urban settlements had diminished to about one third of the late 4th century quantities. This means that when the population of southeast Italy migrated and concentrated in fewer and larger settlements, craft is likely to have concentrated in fewer spots as well. Craftsmen are usually found where their products are in demand. There was simply no clientele for the blacksmith and the potters of the rapidly declining centres of Lucania and central- and southern Apulia, in which the population decreased from a few thousands around 250 BC to perhaps one or two hundred around 150 BC and a few dozens (or even less) around 50 BC. Both these steeply declining settlements and the now larger farmsteads procured their implements, pots and other commodities from the larger settlements of post-Hannibalic southeast Italy.

Craft, therefore, moved to the now larger urban centres. Craftsmen may also have migrated to these same towns, since the population of some of the urban centres (e.g. Brindisi) doubled or tripled within a handful of decades. The evidence, of course, comes mainly from ceramics which preserve well and cannot be recycled. In the Brindisi district close attention has been paid to the Black Gloss wares. In the early 3rd century BC each walled settlement in this district had one or more fabrics characteristic of

⁷² At the site of Valesio (Salento) a small pottery workshop was active between c. 230 and 200 BC. It was situated in the very centre of the settlement, blocking

one of the larger streets of the settlement (Yntema 1994)

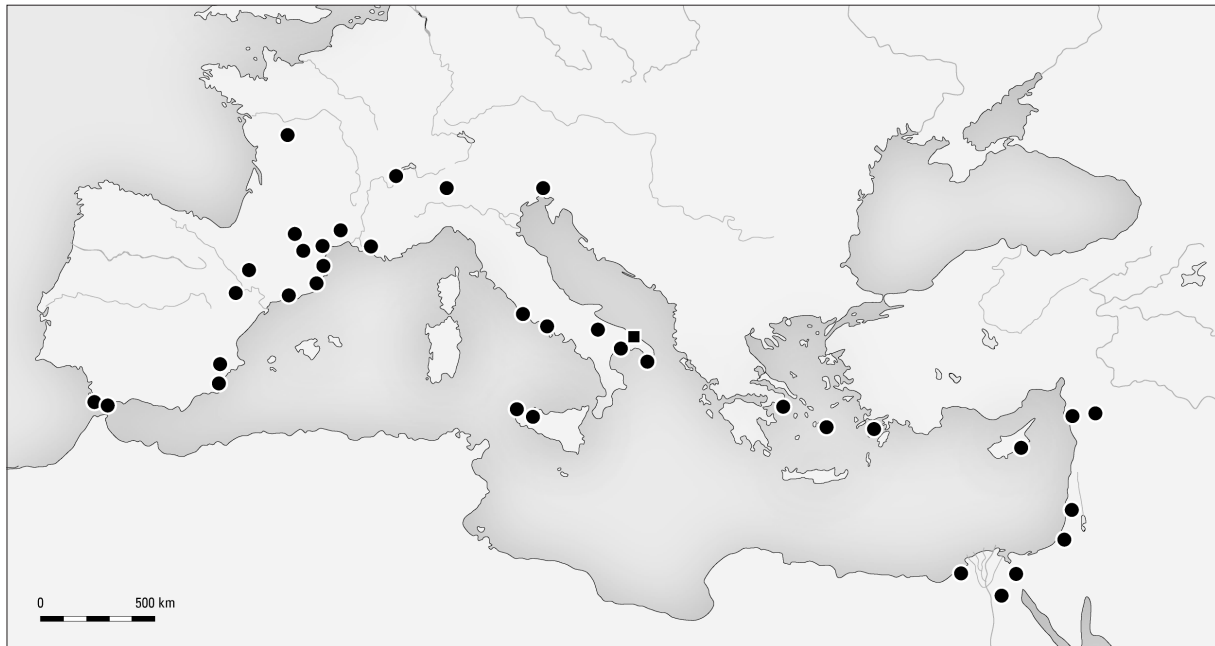


Fig. 7.16. Distribution map of the Brindisi amphorae (c. 180/160– 40/30 BC); after Cipriano and Carre 1989.

that settlement only. This local fine ware accounts for a very high percentage of the fine wares found at the site itself and the rural sites close to it (currently between 80% and 90%). This situation continued to exist to well into the later 3rd century. By the early 2nd century BC, however, many local fabrics had disappeared. At that time, for instance, only two Black Gloss fabrics are found in the dying walled settlement of Valesio (14 km south of Brindisi) accounting for c. 90% of the contemporary fine wares.⁷³ Both these early 2nd century BC Black Gloss fabrics were made at nearby Brindisi (fig. 7.12).⁷⁴ While in the 3rd century BC 90% of the fine wares used at Valesio were locally made, almost the same percentage of fine wares came from Brindisi around the middle of the 2nd century BC.⁷⁵

The concentration of pottery production in a limited number of production centres resulted in a greater uniformity of the output. Fine wares with a shiny grey gloss which made their appearance from c.160/150 BC onward, had a much more constant quality and a much more limited range of forms than the Black Gloss wares they replaced.⁷⁶ This greater uniformity moreover is found over large parts of southeast Italy. Specimens from kiln sites near Metapontum, for instance, are almost indistinguishable from those produced in the kilns of Oria in the Salento district: they have basically the same quality and the same limited range of forms.⁷⁷

⁷³ Yntema 2001, 140–142.

⁷⁴ The Valesio fabric 5 (Semi-Lustrous Black/Brown) is the characteristic local fabric of the site; HFR and HFY (fabrics 6 and 7) are almost certainly Brindisi fabrics (cf. Yntema 2001, 141–142).

⁷⁵ The remaining c. 10% of fine wares in the 2nd-century samples of Valesio came from Campania (Campana A wares), Corfu/Epirus (Epirote Black Gloss) and the eastern Mediterranean (West Slope from Epirus), hemi-spherical relief-decorated bowls from the Ephe-

sos area, Near Eastern Black Gloss; cf. Yntema 2001.

⁷⁶ These are the so-called ‘Apulian’ Grey Gloss wares (Italian: *ceramica a pasta grigia*); see Giardino 1980, Hempel 1996, Yntema 2005.

⁷⁷ For kiln sites producing Grey Gloss wares, see D’Andria 1975, 541 (Metaponto), Edlund 1986 (Sant’Angelo Vecchio near Metaponto), Yntema 2005 (Pizzica Pantanello near Metaponto) and Maruggi 1996, 70 (outskirts of Oria on the Salento isthmus).

Box 7.5

Varro, *De Re Rustica* II.6.5:

Trains are usually formed by traders as those who transport oil, wine, corn and other products from the Brindisi district or from Apulia to the sea in donkey panniers.*

* In Hellenistic and Roman times the term *Apulia* is widely used for the central and northern part of present-day Apulia. The Roman *regio* II is currently indicated as *Apulia et Calabria*, Calabria being the Roman name of southern Apulia/Salento.

Innovation in the urban pottery workshops was not confined to standardization of the output. During the 2nd century and the early 1st century BC a considerable series of new forms was introduced into the regional fine wares of southeast Italy. This started with the introduction of shapes adopted from ceramics of the eastern Mediterranean in the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century BC. Most conspicuous among these were the *lagynos* (flask) and the hemispherical bowl (both plain and with relief decoration; fig. 7.13a–c). In the late 2nd and early 1st centuries BC, however, the repertory of forms of the grey gloss fine wares of southeast Italy underwent enormous changes. These new forms have close parallels among the fine wares of Tyrrhenean Italy (fig. 7.13d–e).⁷⁸ They replaced the traditional shapes of the Apulian Black Gloss tradition.

Pottery production, however, was not strictly confined to the towns or to sub-urban zones close to the towns during the 2nd century BC. One of the many new features of the 2nd century BC was the birth of what is sometimes called ‘rural pottery industries’ (Mater 2005). These establishments were situated at a considerable distance from the nearest urban settlement and consisted of one workshop or a cluster of workshops that used the same kiln. These workshops had a strict labour division. Their locations were certainly not selected to cater on an urban clientele, but were responses to other economic factors such as the presence of raw materials (clay, fuel) and good means of transport (large roads, watercourses). Their output consisted mostly of amphorae, tiles and other types of ‘heavy’ ceramics.

The earliest and best-known of these specialized ceramic ‘industries’ were those at Ápani and Giancólà, c. 14 km northwest of Brindisi.⁷⁹ They were situated on watercourses in the direct neighbourhood of the Roman road along the Adriatic coast (*via Minucia*; later: *via Traiana Calabria*). Here vast quantities of the so-called ‘Brindisi’ or ‘Apulian’ amphorae were shaped. The earliest traces of the production here date to approximately 170/160 BC; it was not until the beginnings of the Principate that these large establishments were abandoned.

The Brindisi amphorae frequently bear stamps (fig. 7.15). These reveal both the names of craftsmen and owners of various production units. These stamps, moreover, indicate that various relatively small workshops used the same large kiln.⁸⁰ Initially their owners were families that probably lived in the district. Among these were the Aninii and the Visellii.⁸¹ From the late 2nd century BC, however, peo-

⁷⁸ These are the so-called Campana A, B and C wares from the Naples area, southern Etruria/Latium and Sicily respectively.

⁷⁹ Cuomo di Caprio 1978, Manacorda 1988.

⁸⁰ Désy 1989.

⁸¹ The name of the Anninii ties in well with the ‘Roman’

gentilicia of the families of the district which had local roots (the Ennii from *Rudiae*, the Rennii and Pulfennii from Brindisi, the Annii from Canosa), while a certain Visellius was buried in *Lupiae* (Lecce) in the traditional Messapian way during the first half of the 2nd century BC (see D’Andria et al. 1999, 132–133).

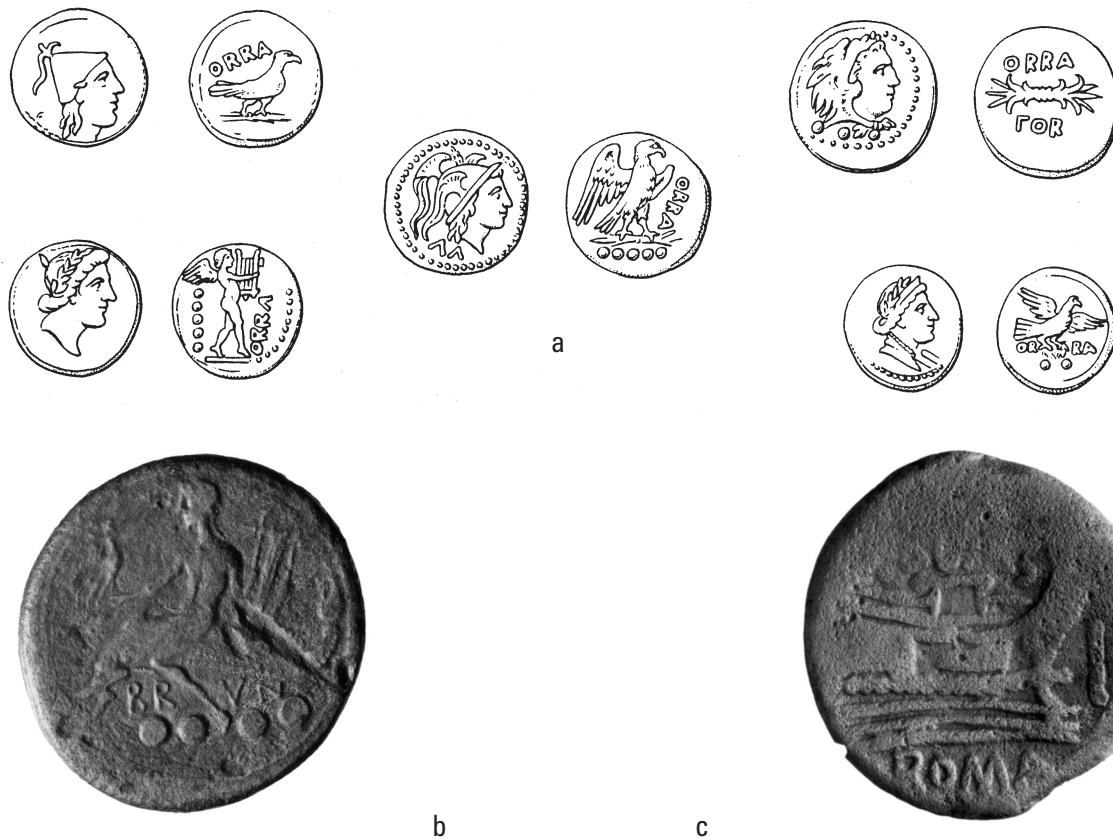


Fig. 7.17. Coins based on Roman metrological systems from south-Apulia: (a) mint of Oria; (b) mint of Brindisi; (c) Roman *as* from southeast Italy (Valesio) minted between 165 and 145 BC (archive ACVU).

ple from Rome or other parts of central Italy are believed to have owned these kiln sites.⁸² Imported slaves constituted the vast majority of the potters that made the amphorae and other ceramics.⁸³ Each of the workshops had at least three of these which were only a part of the total labour force of the workshop.⁸⁴ Ápani and Giancólá, moreover, were the largest, but by no means the only amphora production sites. Brindisi was probably surrounded by half a dozen of such kiln sites.⁸⁵ Furthermore, traces of contemporary amphora production on a more modest scale have been discovered in the southern part of the Salento peninsula.⁸⁶

⁸² For instance the Cornelii Lentuli and Tarula, freedman of Sulla (cf. Manacorda 1988, 101-102).

⁸³ Désy 1989; Palazzo / Silvestrini 2001. Most of the potters that feature on the amphora stamps bear Greek names (e.g. Polemon, Demetrios); there were even potters by the names of Dulus and Cerdus (Greek for 'slave' and 'gain'); only two names suggesting local 'Messapian' roots feature among the working force (Dasus and Stabuas).

⁸⁴ In addition to the potters themselves, the workshops required the presence of persons who dug, decanted and trod the clay, who made and attached the handles,

who put the amphorae in the drying shed and who transported the empty amphorae to the filling station (Brindisi?).

⁸⁵ Large scale production of amphorae has also been reported from the sites of Marmorelle (Marangio 1974) and La Rosa (Palazzo 1990), but information supplied by local amateurs suggest that there were more kiln sites.

⁸⁶ These were situated near San Cataldo (the small port of Lecce/*Lupiae*) and Fellingine (the small port of Ugento/*Uxentum*); for San Cataldo (*masseria* Ramananno), see Valchera / Zampolini Faustini 1997; for Fellingine, see Pagliara 1968, Désy 1983.

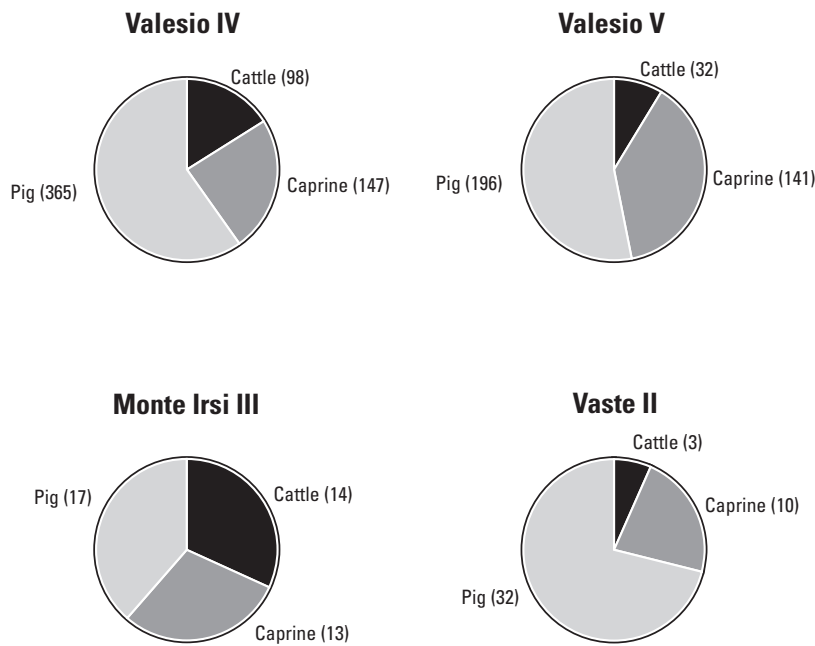


Fig. 7.18. Percentages of animal bones, late 3rd and 2nd centuries BC.

Massive production of amphorae is attested only in the area surrounding Brindisi. In other areas of southeast Italy there was no such concentration of workshops and no impressive kilns of comparable dimensions. In view of the evidence for small scale production of Brindisi amphorae from other coastal sites of Salento we may assume that such more modest

forms of amphora production were relatively common. They may have been present in several places in the coastal zone of southeast Italy. Such smaller establishments may well reflect the way in which the earlier Graeco-Italic amphorae (predominantly 3rd and early 2nd centuries) were produced. Since amphorae and other 'heavy' ceramics were not made within the settlement areas but in a rural or coastal setting, their production centres tend to elude us and are, therefore, often absent from the archaeological record.

As we have seen in the above section 7.1, historians have produced an image of post-Hannibalic south-east Italy on the basis of biased ancient written sources. They have painted a south-Italian landscape that was practically devoid of towns. In their view it was dominated by large, slave-run Roman villas and populated with herdsmen and flocks of sheep. This picture is too much of a stereotype to be acceptable. It appeared, for instance, that the early-Roman towns of the region are mostly hidden underneath still existing towns (e.g. Canusium, Brundisium, Lupiae, Tarentum, Volceii, Buxentum). Field surveys have demonstrated that in fertile areas the countryside was littered with large and prosperous farmsteads, all more or less comparable to the *casae* described by Cato (see box 7.4).

The Roman author Marcus Terentius Varro (116-27 BC) tells us about products currently produced by these farms and informs us on the way they were transported to the coast (see box 7.5). Since amphorae were produced here in approximately the same time, it is clear that surplus products of the Brindisi district that were transported to overseas markets, were often packed in the amphorae produced in the pottery workshops surrounding the town of Brindisi. It was the olive oil and/or the wine produced on the Salento isthmus that filled these amphorae. The large output of these pottery workshops suggests that very considerable quantities of Brindisi oil and/or Brindisi wines were exported. Unfortunately, there is no recent and balanced distribution map of these vessels (fig. 7.16), but the map made in 1989 suggests that the Brindisi amphorae were transported to both the western and the eastern Mediterranean.⁸⁷ Whether there were any shifts in target areas during the long period in which these amphorae were produced, must remain uncertain.

⁸⁷ Cipriano / Carre 1989; Desy 1989, 188-191.

The animal bones from southeast Italy suggest changes in the raising of live stock that display parallels with those in agriculture. When we look at the 2nd-century samples of various settlements, they indicate a tendency to specialize in one single species (fig. 7.18). The animal chosen for specialization may vary from place to place.⁸⁸ The Salento sites of Valesio and Vaste show unusually high percentages of pigs (50–70%), the Metaponto area has percentually large quantities of cattle (c. 50%), whilst sheep are highly dominant in settlements in or near the southern Apennines (up to 80% of the total sample). This suggests that settlements, perhaps even whole districts specialized in particular products of stock raising. The mortality data derived from the animal bones suggest that sheep were primarily kept for their wool and their cheese, cattle was raised for traction and pigs were mainly kept in order to produce (salted) pork.

Since agricultural products of southeast Italy were cultivated for overseas markets, there is a good chance that part of the specialist products obtained by stock raising went the same way. Pork from Salento, for instance, may well have been transported to Greece, Asia Minor or southern France. Fine woolen cloth from Taras–Tarentum or Canosa–Canusium which was of great repute in antiquity,⁸⁹ may have reached Delos and the Ptolemaic kingdom. We have seen that commodities from the eastern Mediterranean came to southeast Italy. Among these were slaves, fine wares and the good wines of the southern Aegean. In addition to these, exquisite luxury items such as Alexandrian or Rhodian glass reached the elites of the important settlements of northern Apulia. Together these objects demonstrate that southeast Italy had become a constituent part of pan-Mediterranean trade and exchange networks and marketed the articles produced at her farmsteads with remarkable success. Brindisi was the main port of the region, but there were many other smaller harbours from which ships departed in order to cross the Mediterranean. The elites of southeast Italy greatly profited from these large scale transactions. At Brindisi, Canosa and Arpi the wealthiest members of these local elites lived like kings.

In the preceding chapter the first emissions in bronze were discussed. These small denominations were minted in both indigenous and Greek settlements (see chapter 6, section 5). They were based on Greek (basically Tarantine) metrological standards. By the late 3rd century, however, coins based on Roman standards made their appearance in southeast Italy. During the Hannibalic war the Latin colony of Brundisium in south Apulia started minting bronze denominations of one third and one quarter of the Roman silver *denarius* (the so-called *trientes* and *quadrantes*) (fig. 7.17b). Since the Brindisi mint closely followed the changes in the Roman metrological standard, the Brindisi emissions can be dated between 216/214 BC and approximately the middle of the 2nd century BC.⁹⁰ The formerly tribal capitals of Oria and Ugento had their own mints (fig. 7.17a) which are generically dated to the early 2nd century BC.⁹¹ However, from about 160/150 BC Roman coins displaying the head of the god Ianus and the *prora* flooded southeast Italy (fig. 7.17c). Both the minting of coins at Brindisi and other towns of southeast Italy and the subsequent flood of Roman coins demonstrate that by the 2nd century BC bronze coins had become important to the regional economies.

Summarizing the above paragraph, it is clear that craft and agrarian economy display no evident signs of crisis in the late 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. Both flourished. But there were very drastic changes indeed. The collapse of a large series of more or less urban settlements and the growth of a much smaller number of substantial towns resulted in the concentration of crafts in these larger, decidedly urban centres. In addition to these urban workshops, rural production units came into being. Some of these were quite large (e.g. amphora workshops at Ápani and Giancòla), but most of these were probably of modest dimensions and did not enter the archaeological record. The pottery workshops,

⁸⁸ Veenman 2002, 84–86.

⁹⁰ Boersma / Prins 1994.

⁸⁹ Morel 1978.

⁹¹ Travaglini 1990; Siciliano 1991.

however, show increased standardization (limited set of standard forms and standardized quality of the pots) and a strict workshop organization (cf. stamps on handles of amphorae).

As for the agrarian economy, the data suggest a shift from relatively small scale mixed farming in which both the cultivation of subsistence goods and the production of considerable surpluses coexisted (4th–3rd centuries BC), to more rationalized production methods (2nd century BC). This happened at much larger farms with a larger working force including peasants and slaves. The main production of these farms consisted of a limited set of specialized products of both agriculture and stock raising. These were produced primarily for distant, often overseas markets. This rationalization made southeast Italy into one of the important players in the Mediterranean exchange networks. Some districts may indeed have suffered economic decline. The presence of large and flourishing farmsteads in many parts of southeast Italy and the wide distribution of their products (cf. ‘Apulian’ amphorae), however, suggests that post-Hannibalic misery is not a correct qualification for this period in the region. In the 2nd century BC southeast Italy did certainly not answer to the stereotypes of poverty and backwardness formulated by historians on the basis of a limited set of ancient written sources.

7.5 ROMANIZATION AND SOUTHEAST ITALY

The period covered by this chapter was the time in which the Roman grip on southeast Italy steadily increased. Rome, the dominant power now, was both feared and respected. People stemming from southeast Italy functioned on a regular basis within Roman contexts. We have even encountered people who presented themselves in the Greek world in a way that was suspiciously similar to that of the nobility of the *Rhomaioi*. There is good reason to assume that the eminent Gaius Statorius of Brundisium, son of Gaius, who was honoured with a proxeny by the Delphic sanctuary in 191 BC, was indeed a Roman citizen with a Messapian–Calabrian pedigree.⁹² Of this we can be sure for the poet Quintus Ennius of *Rudiae* who received Roman citizenship in 184 BC.⁹³ In a Roman context he openly declared his Roman identity saying ‘*Romani sumus qui fuimus ante Rudini*’ (‘I, who was formerly a man of Rudiae, am now a man of Rome’). But he also said that he had ‘three hearts’ (Greek, Roman and indigenous) and was obviously quite aware of his multiple identities. The princely Rennius-Rammius of Brindisi who according to Livy and Appianus feasted with Roman senators and dined with Greek kings, also lived in three worlds.

That the Romans were now *de facto* masters of Italy became patently clear when troops had to be supplied in order to fight Rome’s wars. People who may have considered themselves Lucani or Messapii were obliged to fight in Illyria, Greece or Spain side by side with the Roman legions and contingents supplied by other allies of Rome. Though the forces of the allies were currently commanded by their own leaders, these troops came into prolonged and rather close contact with Latin language, Roman customs, Roman views and Roman values. Other features that confronted the people of southeast Italy with Roman power, were the Roman enclaves in their region. These were the *coloniae* (‘colonies’) with at least a partially Latin speaking populations. They were Rome’s eyes and ears in the region. These colonies, moreover, had a Roman form of local government and their inhabitants lived under Roman laws. This means that during the 2nd century BC different political and juridical systems existed side by side in southeast Italy. On the isthmus of Salento the Latin colony

⁹² Yntema 2009.

⁹³ Ennius’ praenomen Quintus is likely to have been inspired by Quintus Fulvius Nobilior who was the son of Ennius’ *patronus* Marcus Fulvius Nobilior. Quintus Fulvius Nobilior was involved in the foundation of

colonies in the 180’s and may have been responsible for granting Ennius land and Roman citizenship in the *colonia latina* of Potentia (near Porto Recanati, south of present-day Ancona).

of Brundisium was a copy of Rome in political and juridical respect, Oria's government may have retained tribal features, while Taras for instance, continued to have a Greek-style administration with a *boulè* (council) and a *strategos* (most important official). It was only after the Social war (91–89 BC) when the municipalization of Italy set in, that Latin language, Roman law and Roman forms of public administration gradually began to prevail in every corner of southeast Italy.

As we have seen above, the period covering the late 3rd and the early 2nd centuries BC was a time of great ferment and very profound changes. These affected many aspects of the regional societies of southeast Italy. The traditional patterns which had their roots in the Iron Age and the Archaic period (7th and 6th centuries) and evolved more or less organically (though sometimes very rapidly) in the Classical and Hellenistic periods (5th–late 3rd centuries), were often completely disrupted in late 3rd and early 2nd centuries. Though the changes in the use of space (from dispersed to concentrated forms of settlement) and the changes in the economy (from subsistence to market-oriented) were gradual, the changes in the social sphere were definitely more sudden and more dramatic. Kinship ties that were of vital importance to the originally non-Greek tribal groups were severed. Many fortified settlements became ghost towns and their walls which once proclaimed local identity and local pride, literally became *lieux de mémoire* that may have served as anchors for stories concerning the past. A few settlements of tribal groups, however, were transformed into towns of regional or even supra-regional importance. They were inhabited by increasingly urban societies (e.g. Brindisi, Canosa), while their originally tribal elites evolved into urban elites. As a result of large-scale migrations to and from the region under discussion the composition of its population changed dramatically. Southern Italy of the later 2nd century BC differed vastly from the same region in the later 3rd century BC.

The evidence presented in the preceding sections shows quite clearly that the stereotyped image of a highly flourishing pre-Roman southeast Italy and a terribly impoverished post-Hannibalic southern Italy is unfounded. We have seen that it was constructed on the basis of a limited set of ancient written sources. The image was reinforced by 20th-century Mezzogiorno views and confirmed by regional archaeologists who identified (and often continue to identify) themselves in the first place with characteristically regional aspects of the past: the pre-Roman societies. The Roman past is identified with Rome and the modern, centralistic nation state of Italy. It does not appeal to the regional identities of present-day districts of southeast Italy and has, therefore, little priority.

These observations concerning the backgrounds of the negative present-day image of Roman southeast Italy, however, do not imply that the tables should now be completely turned as a result of new investigations. The image that can be created on the basis of the new evidence is nuanced. Closer inspection reveals that early Roman southern Italy can certainly not be imagined as a world of wide-spread opulence and wealth. There was both great prosperity and great poverty. Comparisons with earlier periods reveal both positive and negative trends. The changes and innovations that are observed between the middle of the 3rd and the middle of the 2nd century BC, can be conveniently characterized by four key words: detribalization, peasantization, urbanization and Mediterraneanization.

Each of these four processes had enormous consequences in the social sphere. We shall return to this subject later on. These processes took place against a background of rapidly changing landscapes. There were both new urban landscapes caused by the creation of various new or larger towns, and there were new rural landscapes. Small-scale mixed farming was partially replaced by rationalized production of cash crops, traditional one-family farmsteads were abandoned or replaced by the Catonian *casae* having some 20 to 30 inhabitants. In south-Apulia, moreover, some almost completely abandoned settlements continued to function as small road stations and collecting points for farmstead-produced commodities destined for the larger towns in the region and overseas transport to distant markets.

The abandonment of many settlements and the dispersion of their inhabitants was, of course, an extremely drastic change. The societies that had lived there, simply ceased to exist. Since these settlements housed a large percentage of the originally tribal population of southeast Italy, this process affected the traditional social structure of the Lucanians and the Apulian tribes in a disastrous way. Tribal allegiance and coherence evaporated. The inhabitants of the many walled tribal settlements had to make decisions in order to adapt to the new order: they could become town dwellers (of Brundisium, Buxentum etc.), they could emigrate (e.g. to the Latin colonies in the north), or become farmhands at the new and much larger farms in southeast Italy. Whatever their choice, they started to participate in entirely different social environments. The detribalization of large parts of southeast Italy is also illustrated by the changes in the religious sphere. We have seen that many sanctuaries in the originally non-Greek districts were marginalized or even completely abandoned in the 2nd century BC. These may be assumed to have played a vital role in the tribal societies of southeast Italy from the 6th or 5th century onward. Their disappearance, therefore, suggests that tribal social structures and tribal coherence no longer mattered.

In chapter 6 we have seen that the tribal groups of southeast Italy of the 4th and 3rd centuries were largely made up of tribal farmers. Farmsteads could be found both within the walls of the settlements and in the surrounding countryside during the late 4th and 3rd centuries. The dispersion of the populations of these indigenous walled settlements, therefore, means that many farmers must have left their farms, their lands and the cemeteries in which their ancestors were buried. Such decisions are not taken lightly. There must have been very cogent reasons indeed to do so.

There was probably not one single incentive that induced the tribal farmers to leave their traditional physical, social and emotional contexts. It was the unfortunate combination of various factors that induced them to move. The ravages caused by two armies (Punic and Roman) during a series of years of the 2nd Punic war and their recurrent demands for provisioning were probably highly damaging to the farmers of the region. Such events, however, have not necessarily long term effects, when the immediate effects are not aggravated by other negative developments. Since most people living in southeast Italy were probably farmers, persistent Roman demand for troops may well have exerted a heavy toll on this group.⁹⁴ The Roman levies, therefore, and the foreign character of the wars fought during the late 3rd and 2nd centuries BC are often believed to have been a severe drain on Italian manpower and to have contributed to the agrarian crisis of the 2nd century BC: small farmers who had to spend many years away from home, could lose their land and could easily become tenants and farmhands.⁹⁵

In addition to the negative effects caused by the damages of the Second Punic war and the Roman demand for troops, the macro-economic developments in the Mediterranean of the late 3rd/early 2nd century BC were not particularly favourable to small farmers. This period of Mediterranean history is characterized by two closely interlinked phenomena: (a) an increased specialization of particular regions in particular products and (b) a strong intensification of interregional trade and exchange systems. Southeast Italy was drawn into rapidly expanding economic systems in an early variant of the globalization process: the 'Mediterranization' of the ancient economy. Small scale farming could be profitable in the vicinity of towns. But since many towns had been almost completely abandoned, large parts of Apulia and Basilicata were given to cornfields, vineyards and olive groves cultivated by

⁹⁴ Of course, the Romans could have demanded military assistance for many wars. But especially the wars in Illyria and Greece were fought in areas close to southeast Italy: e.g. the Illyrian wars (229-228 and 219), the second Punic war (218-201) and the Aetolian war (192-189), the 2nd and 3rd Macedonian war (resp. 200-197

and 172-168) and the war against the Achaean League (149-146); for the Illyrian wars and the Greek wars the Salento port of Brindisi was the base of the Roman forces (Livy).

⁹⁵ Brunt 1971; De Neeve 1984b.

people living on the now much larger farms. In principle, these larger agrarian units could accommodate a handful of farmers. But here the formerly tribal farmers faced the competition with cheap slave labour. The Roman wars of the early 2nd century BC enslaved thousands and thousands of people: manpower could be bought at low prices at the slave markets of the Mediterranean.

These economic developments of the early 2nd century BC were highly problematic for smallholders. They struck the Lucanian and Messapian farmers in the same way as the Greek-speaking farmers in the territories of Taras, Metapontion and Herakleia. These developments required a significant change in agricultural strategy and very considerable investments (new and larger farms, change of crops). As a result of the rapidly changing economical situation in combination with the social and political landslides discussed above these small farmers were badly off. They became the underdogs in an elite controlled peasant society: poor peasants with a status that ranked only slightly above that of the imported slaves.

The peasantization of the small farmers of southeast Italy took less than a lifetime. The 'Roman' poet Ennius from south-Apulian *Rudiae*, for instance, who was born in 239 and died in 169 BC, must have witnessed all these changes. Therefore, this dramatic process may have triggered widespread discontent among large groups in the region. It is perhaps no coincidence that Livy reports grave problems in southeast Italy for the years between 186 and 180 BC.⁹⁶ These are likely to have been a great embarrassment to the predominantly pro-Roman elites of the region. It took three Roman praetors to smother these 'herdsmen's conspiracies' (*pastorum coniurationes*) and 'slave revolts' (*motus servilis*) which coincided or were linked with strictly forbidden Bacchic activities in the same region.⁹⁷ If these passages in Livy may be understood in this vein, they show that there was considerable discontent and social stress in the area under discussion during this period of rapid and drastic change. These 'herdsmen's conspiracies' and 'slave revolts' were in fact peasant revolts. Whilst exponents of the former tribal elites probably displayed a predominantly pro-Roman attitude (cf. Rammius/Rennius in Livy), their formerly tribal farmers did not follow their leaders uncritically (tribal coherence was lost), but were restive and resisted.⁹⁸

The farmers of southeast Italy, however, were not all reduced to the humble status of peasants. The increasingly close links between the regional elites and the Roman world created new opportunities. The great changes in southeast Italy in the early 2nd century BC coincided with the pacification and reclamation of the large plain of present-day northern Italy. The control of these predominantly Gaulish areas was effectuated by the foundation of a series of *coloniae*. Among these were *Bononia* (Bologna), *Mutina* (Modena), *Parma*, *Placentia* (Piacenza) and *Aquileia*. These towns were all founded in the 180's of the 2nd century BC, when southeast Italy was in turmoil. People belonging to the *socii* of Rome could be included in the groups of new settlers.⁹⁹ There are indeed reasons to believe that substantial groups of south-Italian farmers decided to migrate from the south and took part in the Roman colonizations in northern Italy.¹⁰⁰ Their participation in the foundation of colonies in the far North may even have acted as a safety valve that took the pressure off the contemporary peasant revolts by offering new prospects. The powerful, formerly native elites of southeast Italy with Roman friends in high places, may well have played a crucial role in this process.

⁹⁶ The field surveys in the Brindisi district suggest that the population of the indigenous walled centres declined here enormously after 200 BC (Yntema 1993b, Burgers 1998).

⁹⁷ In 181 BC the praetor L. Duronius was expressly ordered by the Senate in Rome 'to extirpate the evil in order to prevent it from spreading again' (Livy

XL.19.9).

⁹⁸ According to Livy (XXXIX 29.8) some 7.000 men were executed after the first series of actions in 185 BC.

⁹⁹ Gabba 1989, 212.

¹⁰⁰ See, for instance, Verzar Bass 1983.

Whilst the formerly tribal farmers became peasants, emigrants, or town dwellers, the tribal elites became urban elites in the 2nd century BC. The aristocrats who had their basis in dying walled centres moved to the nearest town. The man who was buried in the large grave at Mesagne (Brindisi district) in c. 170/160 BC (figs. 7.8 and 7.9), may well have been a very important man in Brundisium who had his roots, his lands and his farmsteads in the Mesagne area. The political support for these urban aristocrats no longer came predominantly from their former clansmen, but from groups in the town for whom they acted as *patroni*. Their position, moreover, was more or less guaranteed by their important Roman friends.

Some persons from these new urban elites responded very effectively to the new opportunities offered by the Roman expansion in the eastern Mediterranean and the Mediterraneanization of the economy. They became very wealthy indeed. This is demonstrated by the magnificent burials in the Brindisi district and at north-Apulian Canosa and Arpi. These same burials may indicate that by the early 2nd century BC the centre of gravity in southeast Italy was shifting from Taras and other Greek *poleis* to a few formerly indigenous settlements.

These wealthy burials, moreover, can be linked with the obviously influential group of people we have met in written sources. It is certainly no coincidence that we have rich burials from Brindisi, Canosa and Arpi and that people from exactly the same towns feature in proxeny inscriptions of the Greek world. Their pedigree, explained in the inscriptions, makes it patently clear that they had their roots in the area where they are reported to come from. These observations are confirmed by the traditional way in which the Canosan elites were buried. The burial customs of the Brindisi elite of the early 2nd century again confirm this interpretation: they were buried with 4th and 3rd century objects in an enlarged version of the traditional Messapian graves and their graves were the only 2nd-century burials in the heart of a 4th-3rd century necropolis.

We have seen that people from the same three towns also feature in Livy's writings. Here we have met Rammius-Rennius of Brindisi (box 7.3). The Canosan named Bouzos in a proxeny inscription from Delos (see box 7.2) is echoed in Livy by the wealthy lady Busa from Canosa who was a great help to the Roman survivors of the disastrous battle of Cannae.¹⁰¹ These people had an almost princely status that was comparable to that of Rammius-Rennius mentioned by Livy. Like him they had good contacts in the eastern Mediterranean and interacted with Greek elites. The presence of good Coan, Rhodian and Cnidian wines and the presence of precious Rhodian or Alexandrian glass vessels in the graves stresses the connection between these elites and the eastern Mediterranean. These Apulian princes drank and dined with Roman senators and Greek kings and politicians. They married their daughters to the sons of other regional elite families.¹⁰² They also assumed various identities and were able to function in Greek, Roman and Daunian or Messapian contexts. Moreover, they were the linking pins between the regional societies and influential senators in Rome. Like the Caecina family of Volterra,¹⁰³ the Ennii, Rennii and Statorii of the Messapian districts may have used their influence in Rome to ward off threats and create opportunities for themselves and their former tribesmen.

Since these princely persons belonged to the traditional tribal elites, their wealth may well have been based on the products of the land. They themselves, or in any case their fathers, had been among the aristocratic leaders of the local clans in the areas surrounding Brindisi, Canosa and Arpi. These

¹⁰¹ For Lady Busa, see Livy XXII, 52. The Arpi elite is represented in the proxeny records of Delphi by Sal-sius Tagyllius and in Livy by powerful Dasius Altinius who betrayed his town to the Cartaginians in 216 and offered to bring it back into Roman hands in 213 (e.g. see Livy XXIV, 45).

¹⁰² The sister of the poet Ennius from south-Apulian Rudiae was married to an important man of Brindisi. Their son was the Roman painter and playwright Pacuvius

¹⁰³ Cf. Terrenato 1998b.



Fig. 7.19. Taranto: Roman funerary *cippus* 1st century BC–1st century AD. Photo courtesy Soprintendenza Taranto.

highly conspicuous families of southeast Italy may well have owned large flocks of sheep and vast stretches of land that in pre-Roman times officially belonged to their clans. Moreover, because of their contacts in the eastern Mediterranean, they may have controlled aspects of the export and marketing of wool, pork, wine, corn, olive oil and other south-Italian commodities in eastern Mediterranean regions. They were big landowners, big traders and go-betweens for both Romans and Greek states.

In addition to these princely, ‘internationally’ oriented elites, there were doubtlessly less spectacular elites of only regional or local importance in southeast Italy.¹⁰⁴ Like the princes of Brindisi, Canosa and Arpi these must often have come from traditional tribal elites and may have owned a few large farmsteads, each having a working force comparable to that formulated by Cato (see box 7.4).

By about the middle of the 2nd century BC southeast Italy had become an ethnic mishmash. It was inhabited by Greek, Lucanian and Messapian peasants, urban elites with Italiote or Italic tribal backgrounds, Greek slaves from Macedon, Achaëa and Aetolia, ‘Latin’ colonists from central Italy and other

parts of peninsular Italy and merchants from the eastern Mediterranean who were attracted by the economic activities of vibrant Brindisi. At the same time the material culture of southeast Italy underwent enormous changes. It became a rich broth composed of features stemming from various parts of Italy, various parts of the eastern Mediterranean and various moments in time. Canosa (*Canusium*) is a case in point. Here lady Medella was buried on the third day before the *Kalendae* of January during the consulate of Gaius Piso and Manius Acilius (67 BC; i.e. a patently Roman way of measuring the time).¹⁰⁵ She was laid to rest in a complex chamber tomb (the so-called Lagrasta I *hypogaeum*) with several rooms of which the earliest part had been made towards the close of 4th century: other rooms

¹⁰⁴ The presence of elites who displayed themselves in a less ostentatious way than the happy few of Brindisi, Canosa and Arpi discussed above is demonstrated by less extravagant burials from, for instance, Oria (Lo Porto 1974, 343–344) and Taras (*Ori di Taranto*, Graepler 1997, *passim*) and by the monumental face lift of the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary in Lucania in the 2nd century BC.

¹⁰⁵ The graffito was discovered in 1843 in the Lagrasta I *hypogaeum* and was lost in or before 1850: *Medella*

Das(u)m(i)f(ilia) sita an(te) d(iem) III K(alendas) Ianu(arias). C. Pisone M'Acilio co(n)s(ulibus). The gens *Dasumia* is also encountered on a bronze tablet containing the names of the men belonging to the *ordo decurionum* of Canusium in 223 AD and on honorary inscriptions from the same town (cf. Cassano et al. 1992). Daz-names like *Dasus/Dazos*, *Dasumius*, *Daziskos* and *Dazoupos* are very common and characteristic names in the Messapic speaking groups of southeast Italy.

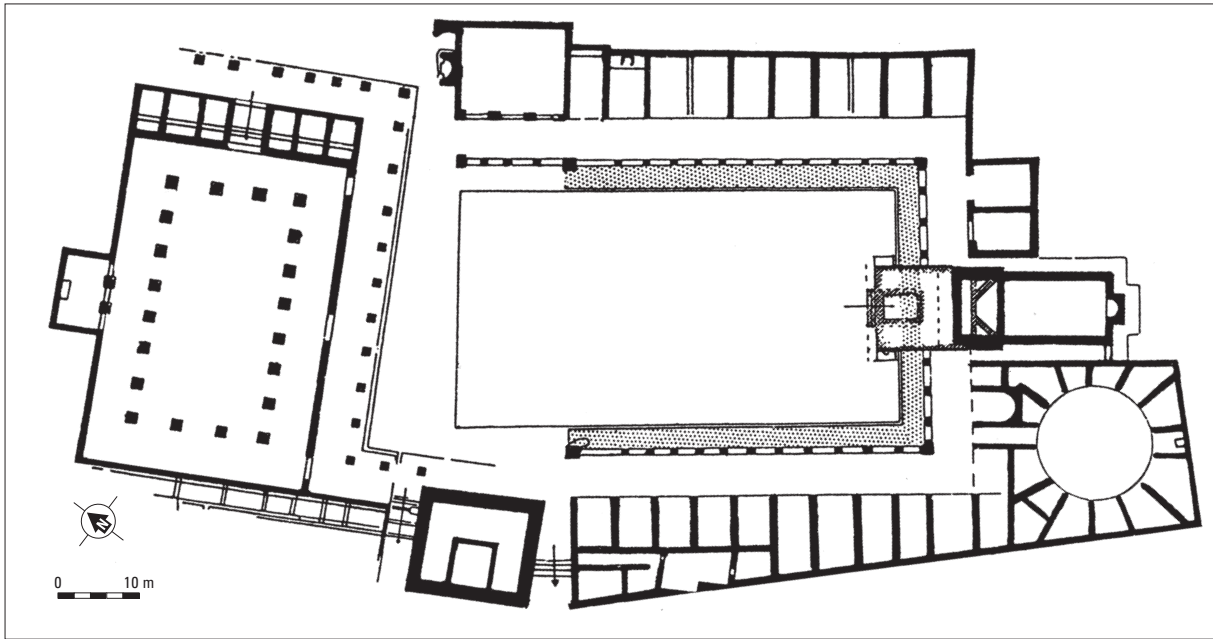


Fig. 7.20. Herdonia (Ortona), north-Apulia; Romanized town centre of the 2nd century AD; adapted from Mertens 1988; cf. fig. 7.6.

had been added in the following centuries (fig. 6.30). The same type of tomb is found in south-Apulia and northern Greece (Epirus, Macedon): it is characteristic of elite culture in districts surrounding the southern parts of the Adriatic.¹⁰⁶ The burials in the Canosan chamber tombs contained exquisite glass vessels from Alexandria or Rhodes, Egyptian fayence, richly decorated silver objects and amphorae with excellent Greek wines from the Aegean. These were the accoutrements of the high elites of the Greek-Hellenistic kingdoms. But between the 4th and the 2nd century BC these same tombs also contained typically Canosan ceramics with traditional Iron-Age forms and the bright blue and pinkish paint characteristic of the products of Greek coroplasts (fig. 6.45 right); they were, moreover, entirely covered by a host of - to all appearances - Tarantine terracotta statuettes. The men of the Canosan elite were buried with armour and weapons referring to warrior ideology of the pre-Roman tribal elites of southern Italy. The means they used to express their warrior status (helmets, cuirasses), were inspired by Greek panoplies of the 6th and 5th centuries. The elite of Canosa performed its rituals in a temple which was a Canosan translation of a basically central Italic interpretation of a Greek sacred building. And by the time Medella died, the originally highly dispersed, typically 'Daunian' settlement of Canosa had become a walled town with decidedly Graeco-Roman urban features. And in the Imperial Age the Canosan elite was no longer buried in the traditional *hypogaea*: their cremated remains were now deposited in impressive funerary monuments flanking the road from Canosa to Rome. Tarantine men of importance used typically Roman portraits as funerary *cippi* (fig. 7.19). Highly dispersed 'Daunian' Ortona changed into the urban settlement of Roman Herdonia (fig. 4.3). Its town square of Augustan times had been transformed into the 'classical' Roman forum by c. 100 AD (figs 7.6 and 7.20).

¹⁰⁶ D'Andria 1988.

The years discussed in this chapter are often considered to be the first phase of a long period of Romanization.¹⁰⁷ This process of change is often believed to have resulted in the unification of Italy somewhere during the 1st century BC.¹⁰⁸ For 3rd- to 2nd-century BC southeast Italy "Romanization" seems a rather inadequate term. If used at all, it should be defined as a particular form of culture change that involved Rome. However, Rome was only one of the many players involved in this process. Its impact on the various social groups and the various local societies of southeast Italy differed enormously.

The first phase of becoming Roman discussed in this chapter, was the time of Roman dominance between the actual conquest (272–265) and the official incorporation of southeast Italy into the Roman state in 89 BC. The process of becoming Roman was still in full swing when this latter event took place that made all free south-Italians into Roman citizens. The subsequent municipalization and Latinization of southeast Italy in the 1st century BC, for instance, were definitely part of this same process.¹⁰⁹ At first sight the Roman role in the formation of the entirely new societies during the late 3rd and early 2nd century BC seems limited. Rome was far from southeast Italy and mingled only sparingly in local affairs: the *laissez-faire* policy that is characteristic of pre-Augustan times. The direct Roman influence on the crucial social and economic changes that created completely new regional societies, for instance, appears to be rather marginal. As we have seen, these were predominantly triggered by macro-developments that spanned large parts of the Mediterranean. The Canosa case presented above, suggests that Rome's influence in the field of material culture was extremely limited.

However, the impact of Rome on southeast Italy should not be underestimated. It was especially the foundation of a series of colonies in the 3rd and 2nd century BC that confronted the peoples of southeast Italy with various elements that were characteristic of the Roman world. A few of these colonies were entirely new settlements (Grumentum in Lucania?), but most of these were existing settlements with a resident population that spoke Greek (e.g. Copia, Tarentum), Oscan (e.g. Paestum, Buxentum) or Messapic (e.g. Brindisi). The *Colonia Neptunia Tarentum*, for instance, was reportedly founded in the very heart of the Greek polis of Taras. It resulted in a restyling and reorientation of a substantial part of the Hellenistic town quarters and must have affected the resident Greek society enormously.¹¹⁰ These new colonies, whatever their former status and character, moreover, were new *societies*.

The (Latin) colonies were populated by a mix of Latin speaking immigrants and people with local roots with the possible admixture of people coming from the territories of other Roman allies.¹¹¹ The official language of the colony was Latin and we have seen that each colony had Roman forms of public administration and that the colonists lived under Roman laws. This means that Brindisi, for instance, may initially have contained two communities: the citizens of the *colonia* (Roman forms of administration and Roman law) and the local Messapian clans (native-Messapian forms of administration and tribal law). But since the leaders of the clans were among the most important citizens of Brindisi in or even before the early 2nd century BC, the existence of two completely separate communities here was probably short-lived.

¹⁰⁷ This term has been defined and redefined since Francis Haverfield introduced it (Haverfield 1905/1906) by i.a. Millett (1990) and Grahame (1998). Particular useful for early Roman Italy is Terrenato's approach to Romanization (e.g. Terrenato 1998a, 2001).

¹⁰⁸ But see Mouritsen 1998.

¹⁰⁹ It should, for instance, be noticed that Oscan continued to be spoken to well within the 1st century BC. It is unclear when Messapic became a herdsmen's *patois* and died out: the few inscriptions from originally non-

Greek Apulia convincingly dated to the 1st century BC are all in Latin. In Taranto the Greek language is rarely found in inscriptions made after the foundation of the *Colonia Neptunia Tarentum* in 123/122 BC (cf. Hempel 2001, 18).

¹¹⁰ Lippolis 1997, 2002, 2005.

¹¹¹ When south-Italians participated in the foundation of colonies in the far North of the Po Valley, people from Etruria, Campania or Picenum could also participate in the foundation of colonies in southeast Italy.

These colonies, however, were foci of ‘Roman-ness’ in southeast Italy. Since several of these were or became both the most important town and the economic centre of their district (e.g. Brundisium, Tarentum, Copia, Buxentum), they exerted a very considerable influence indeed on the region. The *coloniae*, for instance, must have been important vehicles for the diffusion of Latin language. Although there was probably no deliberate Roman policy to generate ‘Roman’ attitudes and to impose Roman law and Roman forms of public administration on the *socii*, the existence of these Roman towns was crucial in confronting the southeast Italians with all things Roman. Rome was the centre of power.

The process of becoming Roman in southeast Italy must have taken on many different forms. Whereas the Greek slave at Apani/Giancola, initially stamping his amphorae with the name of ΚΕΡΔΑΟC, made a new stamp CERDVS, the nameless carpenter from dying Messapian town of Valesio found new employment in a shipbuilding yard in booming Brindisi and the noble Quintus Ennius of *Rudiae* owned a house in Rome, travelled with the Roman consul Fulvius Nobilior to Greece and wrote an epic on his patron’s siege of Ambracia. Each of these experienced the profound changes in the world that surrounded them in vastly different ways. Moreover, the changes in the rural areas differed from those in the urban centres. Some towns chose to adopt Roman features more readily than others.¹¹² The Romanization of Greek Taras with its influx of colonists of the *Colonia Neptunia Tarentum* differed from that of Greek Metapontion which received no Latin or Roman colonists. The Romanization of the latter polis certainly differed from that of the former tribal centre of Oria with its almost exclusively Messapian-Calabrian inhabitants. Many existing institutions will have been retained and reinterpreted. The Lucanian *meddix* became a praetor which differed markedly from the praetor in Rome and the Greek *boulè* became the local *senatus* which only dimly resembled the *senatus* of a Roman town in Latium. During the 2nd and 1st centuries BC southeast Italy became ‘a complex patchwork made of elements of various age and provenance’: some of these were new, but many others were old features that were ‘refunctionalized in new forms and made to serve new purposes within a new context’.¹¹³

Cultural influence, however, is never a one-way process. These culture contacts invariably result in changes in all parties concerned. Above we have seen several changes that took place in southeast Italy after the Roman conquest. But southeast Italy also changed Rome. Much research has to be done in order to trace the influence of the conquered on ancient Rome, i.e. the “Romanization of Rome”. In this perspective it should be remembered that according to the Romans themselves the first poet writing in Latin was the Greek slave Livius Andronicus from Taras (c. 250 BC). We have also seen that the founding father of Latin literature was Quintus Ennius (239–169), the Messapian chieftain from *Rudiae*. His nephew Pacuvius of Brindisi (220–130) was the greatest tragic poet of Rome according to Cicero, whereas the elder Pliny said that he was a good painter as well.¹¹⁴ Southeast Italy received cultural influxes from Rome and Rome received cultural influxes from southeast Italy. Similar processes took place between Rome and the many other regions that were incorporated into the Roman state/empire.

By about 90 BC the landscapes of southeast Italy were littered with the remains of monuments created by earlier generations. The Bronze Age tumuli and the ruins of the abandoned native settlements of Lucania and Apulia were among the most conspicuous of these. They evoked memories, told stories about a distant past and helped to explain or legitimize situations in the new societies that emerged from the 2nd century BC onward. They were meaningful to the Roman and post-Roman societies in

¹¹² Heraclea and Naples, for instance, somewhat grudgingly accepted the offer of Roman citizenship in 89 BC (Lomas 1993, 93). The Neapolitans continued to speak Greek and organized Greek *agones* (athletic games) till well within Imperial times.

¹¹³ Terrenato 1998.

¹¹⁴ Cicero, *De optimo genere oratorum*, 1; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 35 (Pacuvius reportedly decorated the Temple of Hercules at the Forum Boarium in Rome).

southeast Italy. But their significance in antiquity often eludes us completely. Sometimes we are lucky. The prince buried at south-Apulian Mesagne in 170/160 BC wished to stress his association with the tribal elite of pre-Roman times and the Greek Hellenistic world (figs. 7.8 and 7.9). A few passages by ancient authors give us tantalizing hints of the significance of pre-Roman features in Roman times. At Oria (*Uria Calabria*, Salento isthmus), for instance, the palace (*basileion*) of one of the former rulers could be visited.¹¹⁵ Since Oria was only a modest *municipium* in Roman times (Strabo did not even count it among the towns of southern Apulia), its *basileion* was probably a monument where the former glory of the settlement was remembered (once Oria was the capital of the tribe of the Calabri). However, we have no clues that help us to find out how the inhabitants of a Roman farmstead viewed a large Bronze Age tumulus some 500 m from their habitation: as far as we know, these people left no traces on, in, or near the tumulus and no ancient author wrote about this subject.

Sometimes elements of a very distant past appear to display a notable tenacity by surviving into the present. Valisu (Valesio in the official records), for instance, is the name used by present-day local farmers for a pre-Roman walled site some 14 km south of Brindisi. The settlement dwindled into a small road station in the 1st century BC and was completely abandoned in the early 5th century AD. On coins struck here in the 5th century BC the legend FAΛEΘAΣ (WALETHAS) is found (see fig. 5.39), whilst late Roman itineraries speak of the *mutatio* Valentia and the medieval cosmographer Xerif al Edrisi called it ‘Valisi’. Late-medieval folk tales suggest that Valesio was destroyed in the year 1157 by prince William of Normandy, surnamed “the Bad”.¹¹⁶ Here the ancient name of the settlement survived for more than 2,500 years. The ruins of the settlement (e.g. the fortifications of c. 300 BC and remains of the Roman bath house constructed in c. 310/320 AD) gave rise to a piece of invented history that served to blacken a particularly nasty Medieval ruler.

In many cases new significances were attached to ‘old’ features. The extant columns of the large 6th-century extra-mural temple of Metapontum (once probably dedicated to Hera) are currently indicated as the *Tavole Palatine* (‘tables of the paladins’) suggesting that Charlemagne’s followers such as the mythic *Orlando* (Roland) once dined there (see fig. 5.10). The sacred places of the indigenous populations were often forgotten. But some of these were reinterpreted in Roman contexts and finally Christianized. The promontory with the sacred cave of the Messapian god Batas at Cape Leuca (fig. 4.21), the southernmost tip of Apulia, subsequently became the sanctuary of Juppiter Batus (*interpretatio romana*) and of Santa Maria Stella Maris (Christianization). But the promontory continued to be a place where people could say prayers and bring offerings to the spirit that protected them against the dangers at sea.

By the early Roman period the landscapes of southeast Italy were littered with visible signs from a distant past. New features were added to these till the present day. How all these manmade elements (and conspicuous spots of the natural landscape as well)¹¹⁷ were and are remembered and which interpretations and reinterpretations have been made in the course of time, has not yet been object of systematic research. The rich cultural biography of these landscapes of southeast Italy, therefore, deserves a full and systematic study.

¹¹⁵ Strabo, *Geography* VI.3.6.

¹¹⁶ Boersma et al. 1995.

¹¹⁷ Pseudo-Aristotle (*De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus* 98/838a) tells us that ‘there is a immense rock in the

area of Cape Iapygia (Cape Leuca): ‘They say that it was lifted up and shifted by Heracles and that he did this with only one finger’.

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Synthesizing some 30 years of archaeological research in south-east Italy, this book discusses a millennium that witnessed breathtaking changes: the first millennium BC. In nine to ten centuries the Mediterranean societies changed from a great variety of mostly small entities of predominantly tribal nature into the enormous state currently indicated as the Roman Empire. This volume is a case study discussing the pathway to complexity of one of the regions that contributed to the formation of this large state: south-east Italy. It highlights how initially small groups developed into complex societies, how and why these adapted to increasingly wide horizons, and how and why Italic groups and migrants from the eastern Mediterranean interacted and created entirely new social, economic, cultural and physical landscapes.

This synthesis is based on research carried out by many Italian archaeologists and by research groups from quite a variety of other countries.

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