

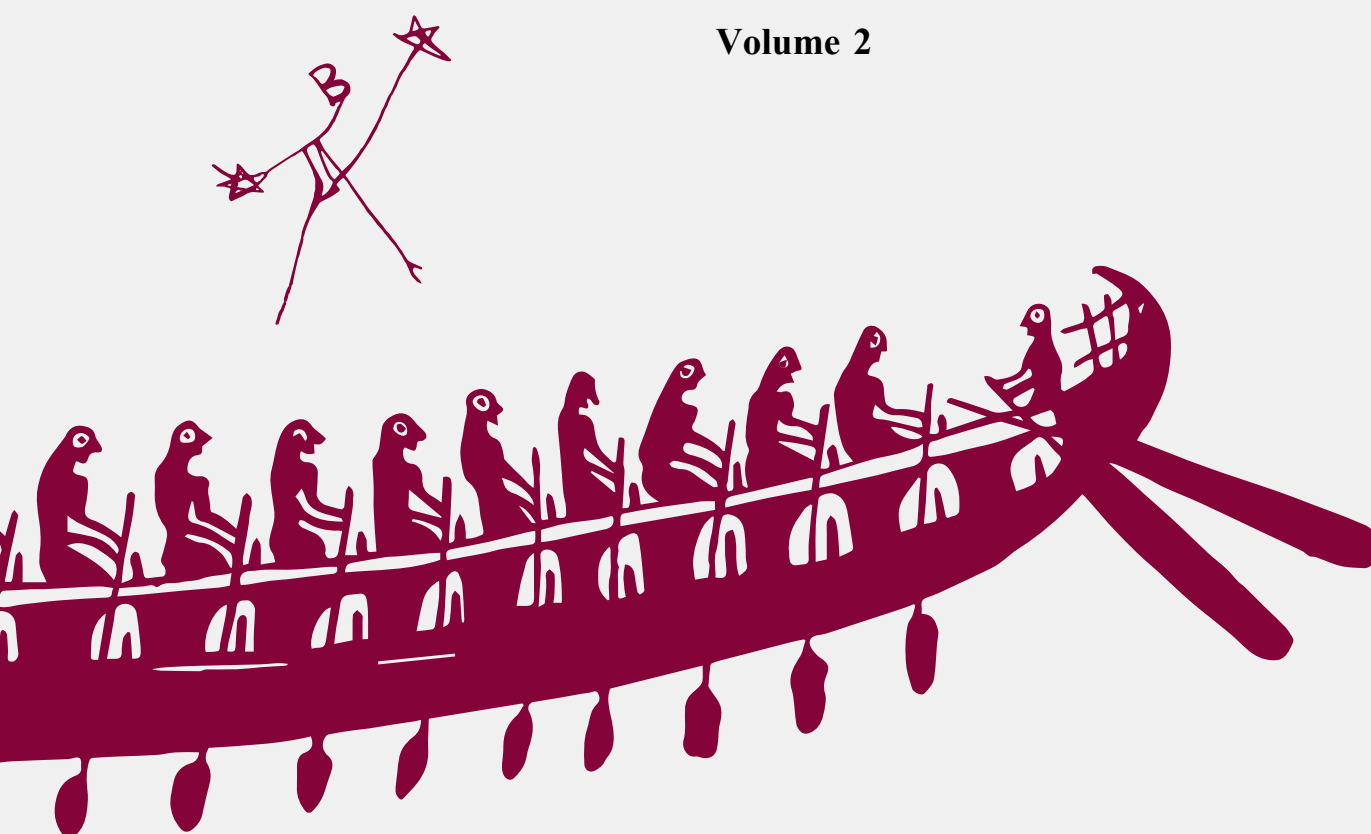
EUBOICA II

Pithekoussai and Euboea between East and West

**Proceedings of the Conference
Lacco Ameno (Ischia, Naples), 14-17 May 2018**

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro, Matteo D'Acunto and Federica Iannone

Volume 2



Napoli 2021

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ABBREVIATIONS

Above sea-level: above s.l.; Anno Domini: AD; and so forth: etc.; Before Christ: BC; bibliography: bibl.; catalogue: cat.; centimeter/s: cm; century/ies: cent.; chap./chaps.: chapter/chapters; circa/ approximately: ca.; column/s: col./cols.; compare: cf.; *et alii*/and other people: *et al.*; diameter: diam.; dimensions: dim.; Doctor: Dr; especially: esp.; exterior: ext.; fascicule: fasc.; figure/s: fig./figs.; following/s: f./ff.; fragment/s: fr./frs.; for example: e.g.; gram/s: gm; height: h.; in other words: i.e.; interior: int.; inventory: inv.; kilometer/s: km; length: ln.; line/s: l./ll.; maximum: max.; meter/s: m; millimeter/s: mm; mini- mum: min.; namely: viz.; new series/nuova serie etc.: n.s.; number/s: no./nos.; original edition: orig. ed.; plate/s: pl./pls.; preserved: pres.; Professor: Prof.; reprint: repr.; series/serie: s.; sub voce: s.v.; supplement: suppl.; thick: th.; tomb/s: T./TT.; English/Italian translation: Eng./It. tr.; volume/s: vol./vols.; weight: wt.; which means: scil.; width: wd.

Abbreviations of periodicals and works of reference are those recommended for use in the *American Journal of Archaeology* with supplements in the *Année Philologique*.

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PITHEKOUSSAI, NECROPOLIS OF SAN MONTANO (EXCAVATIONS 1965-1967). STRATIGRAPHY, FUNERARY REPRESENTATION AND INTERCULTURAL DYNAMICS*

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro

On August 23, 1965, after a break of about four years, Giorgio Buchner recorded in his notebooks that the investigation of the necropolis of Pithekoussai had been resumed. The intent was to dig a trench cutting perpendicularly across the valley of San Montano in order to determine the extension of the necropolis. About 723 burials had already been investigated here between 1952 and 1961 and published in the book *Pithekoussai I*, which Giorgio Buchner authored together with David Ridgway¹. The new trench (Fig. 1) was only 70 m away from the previously area and extended over a surface of ca. 450 sq. m. The excavation went on for two years, until 1967. It then broke off, to be later resumed, in several campaigns, until 1982.

The present essay will deal with the funerary sector investigated between 1965 and 1967, which is still essentially unpublished. Thanks to their accuracy – not a given, considering the time when the in-

vestigation was carried out – the excavation records have retained all their informative potential to this day². The photographic documentation bears witness to the logistic difficulties and the complexity of the excavation, due to the depth of accumulated soil – the burials lay -7/-8 m underground – and the density of the burials. The difficulties were compounded by the volcanic nature of the area, where rises in soil temperature had seriously compromised the preservation of the materials and skeletal remains.

Underneath the modern alluvial strata, Buchner – who was a careful observer of natural phenomena and their impact on human occupation of the Phlegraean islands – had detected a level which he identified as a deposit formed in the second half of the 2nd century AD as a consequence of a violent earthquake with its epicenter at sea, followed by a tsunami. This event was clearly recognizable in the geological sedimentation and the deep cracks left in the ground³.

* For our ongoing valuable discussions on the unpublished necropolis of Pithekoussai, I am grateful to B. d'Agostino, L. Cerchiai, M. D'Acunto, C. Pellegrino, M. Cuozzo. For support in reviewing the finds I thank F. Nitti, who is carrying out his Ph.D. at the University of Salerno on the San Montano necropolis. I also thank F. Poole (Museo Egizio, Turin) for a preliminary assessment of the scarabs on display in the exhibition *Pithekoussaiwork in progress*, organized concomitantly with the conference *Pithekoussai e l'Eubea tra Oriente e Occidente* (Lacco Ameno, 14-17 May 2018) at the Museo di Villa Arbusto (Lacco Ameno). The anticipation of data from the ongoing anthropological study are courtesy of L. Bondioli, M. Gigante and A. Sperduti. The English text of this article was translated from the original Italian by F. Poole.

¹ On the excavations carried out at San Montano from 1967 onward, cf. *Pithekoussai I*, 28. At the time, the "Soprintendenza alle Antichità di Napoli" was headed by Alfonso De Franciscis. The investigation, carried out on the property of duke L.S. Camerini, was made possible by funding by the University Museum of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia.

² Cf. CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013 and 2014. The tests on the skeletal remains were carried out by the Anthropology Laboratory of the "Luigi Pigorini" Museum in Rome: cf. GIGANTE – BONDIOLI – SPERDUTI 2012-2013 and GIGANTE *et al.*'s contribution in the present volume, which includes a table overview of the burials cited here. In view of the future publication of the cemetery, C. Pellegrino revised and digitized the excavation plans at the "Mario Napoli" archaeology laboratory of the Università degli Studi di Salerno. The Soprintendenza di Napoli provided preliminary descriptions of the finds, produced by N. Manzi under the supervision of C. Gialanella. The excavation photographs are by G. Buchner (Archivi della Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l'area metropolitana di Napoli). The abbreviations used here are: **CT**: tumulus cremation; **T**: inhumation tomb; **E**: *enchytrismos*; **M**: male; **F**: Female; **Und.**: undetermined sex; **Ad**: adult; **I**: Infant; **C**: Child; **n.g.g.**: no grave goods.

³ *Pithekoussai I*, 30-31: These cracks were clearly visible in the sector excavated between 1952 and 1961. In the excavation journal, the geological deposit formed as a consequence of these phenomena is designated as *lavavino*.

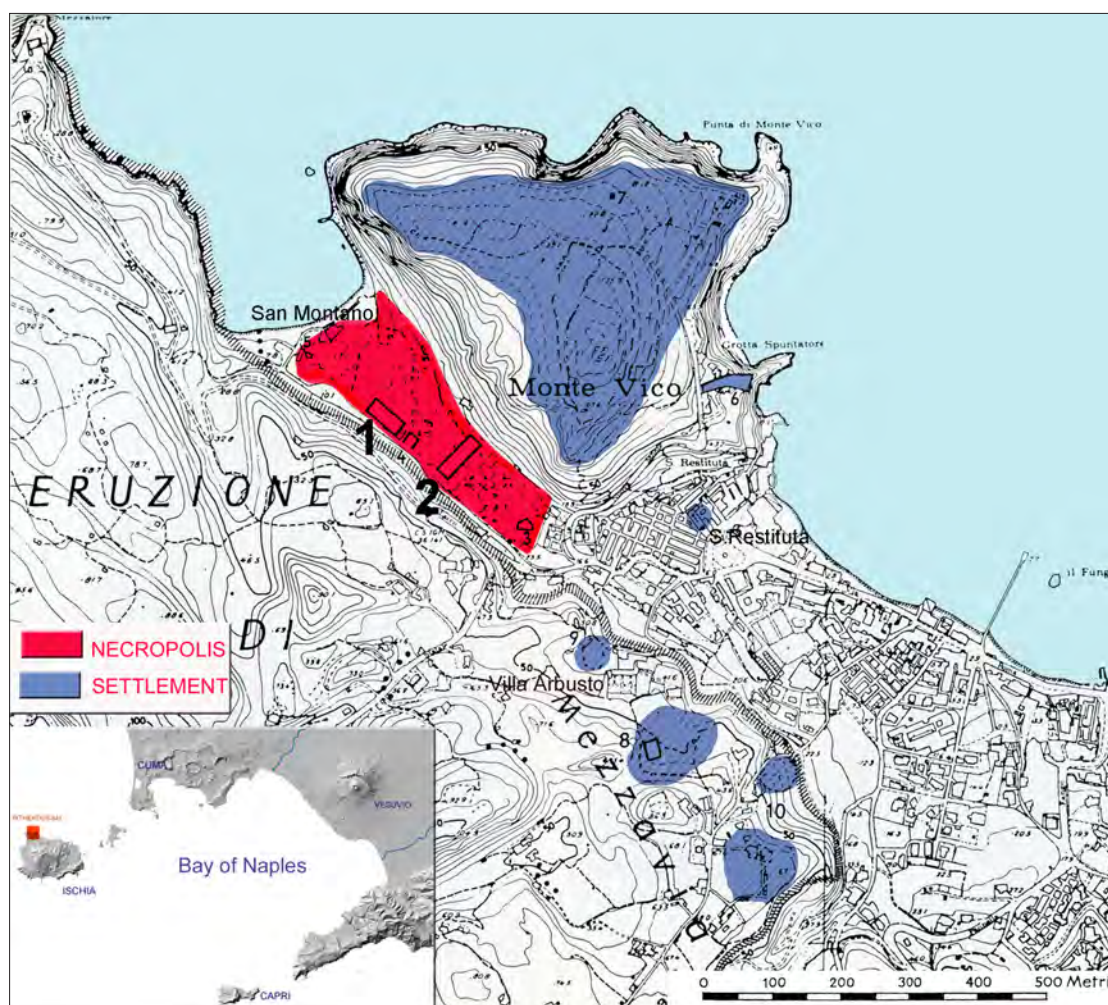


Fig. 1. Lacco Ameno, Ischia, Necropolis of San Montano: 1. Excavations 1952-1961; 2. Excavations 1965-1982 (redrafting from *Pithekoussai I*)

The deposit covered terracing walls of the Roman period (Fig. 2), which in their turn overlay the use levels of the necropolis, dated from the mid-8th century BC to the Hellenistic-Roman period (Fig. 3).

The investigation went on by successive trenches and, within each, by homogeneous investigation levels. The consequence of this approach is that stratigraphic relations between burials cannot always be determined. This working method is clearly reflected by the excavation plans (Figs. 4-5), which were hence evidently drawn at the time. Except in a few cases, no indications are provided about the stratigraphic relations between tumulus cremations and inhumation tombs, as these are recorded on separate plans. These relations must hence be deduced from notes in the excavation journals, when such notes exist, by superimposing the two plans, by comparing relative eleva-

tions – which are always accurately recorded – and, finally, from the chronology of grave goods⁴.

The density of burials varies over the long time span during which the necropolis was used. Out of a total of ca. 300 graves, 87% of the sample (261) date from LG I-II/MPC, so from the mid-8th to the early 7th century BC.

As I showed in two earlier publications, in this burial ground all age classes are fully represent-

⁴ The graphical documentation was produced by Fritz Gehrke. In it, the position of the graves is recorded in three general plans, corresponding to different levels of the excavation: “Ziegel Plan”, “Stein Plan” (the tumulus level) and “Graben plan” (the fossa-grave level). In addition to these, there were some intermediate plans, and plans of most of the fossa graves. Cf. CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013, pl. C, where the excavation plans are superimposed.



Fig. 2. San Montano, 1965-1967. The terracings of Roman period



Fig. 3. The cremation tumulus 771 below the roman layers

ed⁵. In substance, the evidence confirms the already observed trend to use different burial methods and grave-good types (Fig. 6). Cremation is reserved, as a rule, for young and mature adults of both sexes⁶; it involved the secondary deposition of the cremated bones – along with the other remains of the funeral pyre (the so-called “black-earth lens”) and the grave goods, when present – in a hollow dug in the ground, which was later covered with a stone tumulus (CT). The so-called “Tomb of Nestor’s cup” is no exception, as its attribution to a child/adolescent has been called into question by recent studies of the skeletal remains⁷.

Inhumation in a pit (T) was usually used for infants, children or adolescents. *Enchytrismos* burials (E) were preferably used for infants. A particular case is the inhumation of adult individuals, generally without grave goods and sometimes in a

contracted position. Buchner suggested that these may be exponents of servile social classes. Several scholars have stressed their importance as evidence of the inclusion of allogeous elements in the Pithekoussan community⁸. With respect to the interpretive framework set forth by Buchner⁹, which has proved its validity to this day, the cemetery excavated between 1965 and 1967 offers several opportunities for further investigation. Most notably, it is possible to distinguish, within the earliest occupation phase, dating from LG I, a dense relative stratigraphy, with cremation tumuli rapidly overlapping. New clues for research present themselves when we make the most of the contextual data, analyzing the topography of the necropolis, the mode of formation of burial clusters, the choice of burial ritual, grave-good associations, and the distribution of specific artifact categories. From all this, we can derive significant knowledge about the social organization and cultural composition of the Pithekoussan community, as well as its relations with Latial-Etruscan and Campanian communities.

⁵ Cf. note 2.

⁶ In only one case, in CT 916, cremated bones attributed to a child aged 1 to 5 years were found, along with those of a woman aged >20 years; cf. GIGANTE *et al.* in this volume, Tab. 2.

⁷ On CT 168 and the results of the anthropological investigations, see GIGANTE *et al.* 2021 with previous bibliography and *infra*, T. CINQUANTAQUATTRO – B. D’AGOSTINO’s contribution, 267-273. In the first publication of the burial, G. Buchner himself had assumed that the finds came from several disturbed burials (BUCHNER – RUSSO 1955) and many scholars, among them V. Nizzo, had pointed out some aporias in the chronology of the materials (NIZZO 2007, 33 ff.).

⁸ BUCHNER 1975, 71-72; BUCHNER 1982, 279; CERCHIAI 1997; 2014, 232 ff. On the graves lacking grave goods, cf. *infra*, 75 ff.

⁹ BUCHNER 1975, 1981, 1982.

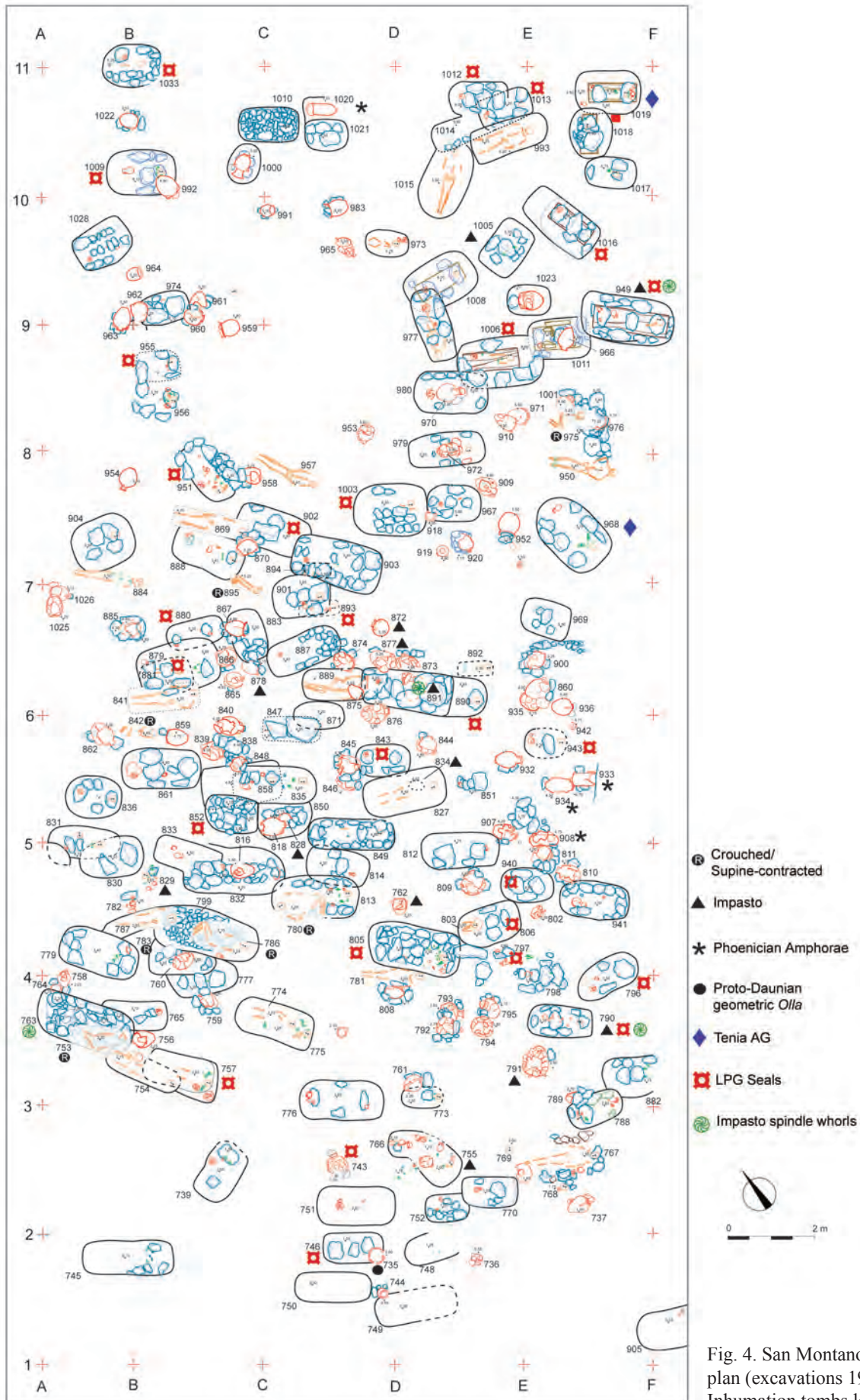


Fig. 4. San Montano. Necropolis plan (excavations 1965-1967). Inhumation tombs level

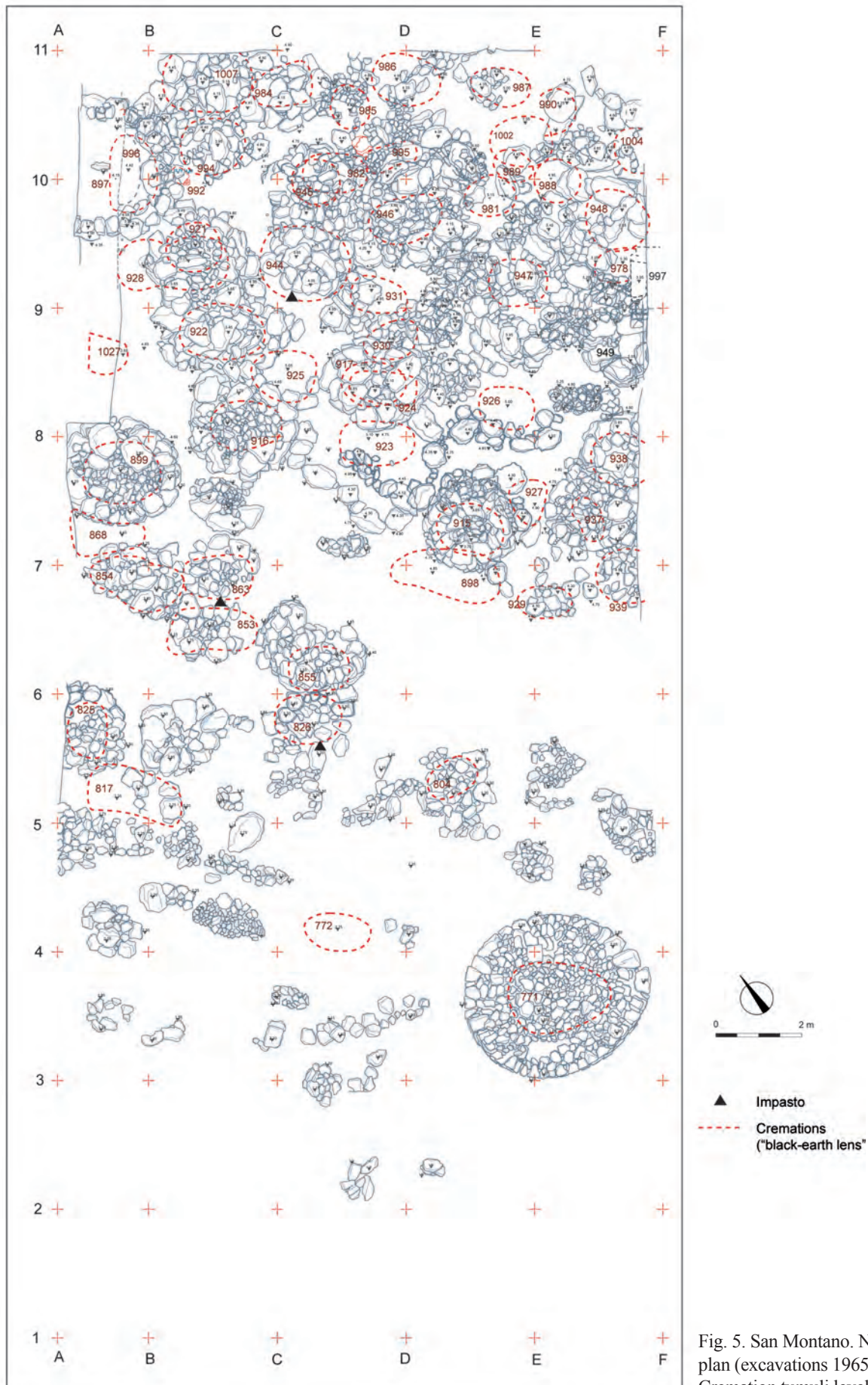


Fig. 5. San Montano. Necropolis plan (excavations 1965-1967). Cremation tumuli level

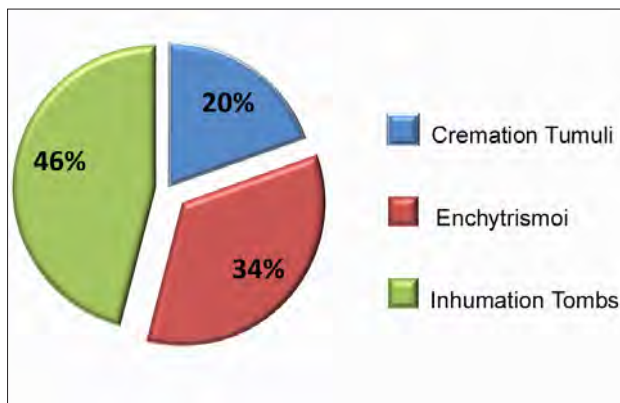


Fig. 6. San Montano, excavations 1965-1967. Burial ritual: CT = Cremation Tumulus; E = Enchytrismos; T = Inhumation fossa Tomb

Impasto vases, in particular, confirm themselves to be possible ethnic markers (Figs. 7-10). Specific shapes, such as two-handled bowls (T. 755) and some types of small amphora (T. 834, T. 1005), of one-handled cup (T. 1005, T. 790) and of mug (i.e. “bocca”) (T. 829) derive from Capua or from the Fossa Grave Culture sites of northcentral Campania. They thus may be evidence not only of trade, but also of migration from the mainland. These wares occur in significant quantities in children’s burials, sometimes within burial plots where *impasto* spindle whorls appear as gender markers in female burials¹⁰. The use for some *enchytrismoi* of impasto pithoi classifiable within the ceramic repertoires of indigenous communities of the Iron Age may be interpreted along similar lines¹¹.

Furthermore, some vases bear witness to hybridization of the colonial Greek and indigenous pottery traditions, a counterpoint of sorts to the decoration of local shapes with motifs and subjects from the Euboean repertoire at indigenous sites, such as at Pontecagnano and in the Sarno river valley. Both the circulation of Pithekoussan wares on the mainland and hybrid products such as these are evidence of phenomena like those that Luca Cerchiai, drawing on a model formulated by I. Malkin, cites as examples of the so-called “Middle Ground”¹².

¹⁰ CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2014, 269 ff., fig. 6.

¹¹ CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2014, 275 ff., figs. 16-18: E 872 (globular *olla* with three bosses on the shoulder); E 762 and E 791 (cylindrical pithos with finger-impressed cordon).

¹² CERCHIAI 2014.

Another phenomenon that has significant implications is the occurrence of *impasto* pottery of Latial-Etruscan types in female cremation burials – specifically, tomb 944, on which I will return later, and tombs 826 and 863. These burials lie in the middle of the cemetery, in a plot bordered to the north by a grave-free strip and which must have extended beyond the western limit of the excavation trench¹³. Although the anthropological evidence is ambiguous, it is quite likely that CT burials 826 (age > 20 years) and, possibly, 863 (ca. 20-40 years) belonged to women, based on the ornaments they contained. In both cremations, the only whole vase is a small *impasto* amphora with an impressed spiral decoration (Fig. 11). The presence of silver ornaments and the use of cremation indicate that the individuals buried here stood high in the social hierarchy. It is likely that they were allogeous women, possibly come to Ischia by way of matrimonial exchange. In a community open to contacts, such as the Pithekoussan one, marriage was only one of several possible mechanisms of social inclusion¹⁴. Imported goods, besides allowing us to trace trade routes and networks, can thus be evidence of mobility consequent on relations between social elites in a multicultural context encompassing, along with the Greek colonists, both Orientals and Italic people from Daunia, Oenotria, the Campanian world and the Tyrrhenian area.

Here I will not dwell on these aspects, on which new light will hopefully be shed by still ongoing physical anthropology testing (notably of strontium isotopes – ⁸⁷Sr/⁸⁶Sr). I will turn instead to the themes of stratigraphy and the composition of the necropolis. These give us a glimpse, in the context of this culturally composite community, of a much stronger social segmentation than has been hypothesized so far.

¹³ A Latial-Etruscan small amphora is attested in *Pithekoussai I*, 198-199, CT 159.3, pl. 61; on CT 826 and CT 863, cf. CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2014, 268 ff., figs. 3-4; on CT 944, cf. BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1983.

¹⁴ On matrimonial exchanges, cf. COLDSTREAM 1993; on mobility involving Pithekoussai and relations with the indigenous world, cf. KELLEY 2012; CERCHIAI 2014; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2014. Regarding the relations between Greeks and natives, some scholars hold completely different, “revisionist” views of colonization, as does, for example, DONNELAN 2016. For a critique of this approach, which has developed particularly in Anglo-Saxon scholarly milieus, cf. GRECO – LOMBARDO 2010.



Fig. 7. San Montano, excavations 1965-1967. T. 755: *impasto* two-handled bowl



Fig. 8. San Montano, excavations 1965-1967. T. 1005: grave goods



Fig. 9. San Montano, excavations 1965-1967. T. 834: small *impasto* amphora



Fig. 10. San Montano, excavations 1965-1967. T. 829: *impasto* mug

Unlike the southern sector – where a single large tumulus of the LG II (CT 771), accurately built with a circle of stones at its base and particularly well preserved, stands in isolation (Figs. 3, 5) – the north sector is densely occupied by cremation tu-

muli. These burials provide useful evidence for the definition of the first use phases of the necropolis and are exemplary of the way the cemetery's fabric developed over time.



Fig. 13. San Montano, excavations 1965-1967. Cremation tumuli 944-947 before the excavation (photo by G. Buchner)



Fig. 14. San Montano, excavations 1965-1967. Cremation 944-947 after the removal of the tumuli (photo by G. Buchner)

The fact that the cremations overlay one another and that earth layers could be made out between them had led the two scholars to suppose that the burial plots had been reassigned over time. They thus distinguished at least two independent use levels of this area.

Buchner and Ridgway regarded CT 944 to be of a female on the basis of gender indicators such as hair spirals, leech fibulae and necklace beads. Along with a local Late Geometric oinochoe, this grave contained three types of imported vase: a small spiral amphora of a Latial-Etruscan type, two Corinthian skyphoi of the Thapsos panel-type, and an Oriental aryballos (Fig. 18). Recent tests on the skeletal remains have distinguished two cremated individuals, aged ca. 20-40 years. One (944A), averagely preserved, has been recognized as a woman¹⁶. The second (944B), poorly preserved, is a male. It is commonly held that the cremations were carried out in a specific area of the necropolis set aside for the funeral pyres, whose exact location is unknown. We therefore cannot rule out that the presence of two individuals in CT 944 resulted from a confusion of the bones during the *ossilegium* from the funeral pyre in a spot where several cremations had been carried out successively. However, we must necessarily also consider the alternative hypothesis that this was a double burial. Isotope analysis seems to confirm that the woman was allogeous¹⁷, a

hypothesis Buchner and Ridgway had already put forward based on the grave goods.

In line with the trend to clustering observable in this sector of the necropolis, CT 944 abuts cremation 945. The anthropological tests assign it to an adult individual of undefinable gender, older than 20 years. It yielded a Late Geometric oinochoe and an *impasto* chytra. It overlays an earlier cremation, lacking grave goods, CT 982, underneath which was *enchytrismos* burial E 983. Adjoining CT 982 was another poorly preserved cremation, CT 995, also lacking grave goods¹⁸.

Cremation 945 – underneath whose SW edge was E 991 – abutted CT 946, already identified by Buchner and Ridgway as male due to the absence of grave goods. The osteological tests attributed it, with some uncertainty, to a male adult older than 40 years. To the East was another cremation, CT 981 (male, 20-40 years), whose tumulus was not preserved, possibly because it was destroyed when tumulus 946 was built. The latter covered three inhumations: E 965, T. 1015 (F, 30-40 years) with no grave goods, and T. 973 of an infant (aged 2-3); this last one contained, scattered at the bottom of the pit, to the right of the head, sherds of an imported Corinthian kotyle of the “Aetos 666”, broken in ancient times¹⁹.

of Hesperia People: An Anthropological And Isotopic Study of Bio-Cultural Identities and Human Mobility in the Pithekoussai Necropolis (Ischia Island, Eight Century BCE-Roman Period) – Università degli Studi di Bologna, 2019.

¹⁸ CT 982, adult M (?) >30 years; CT 995: UND individual, 20-40 years old.

¹⁹ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1983, 3-4; the circumstances of its discovery are described in the excavation journal.

¹⁶ GIGANTE – BONDIOLI – SPERDUTI 2012-2013, 62 ff., table 2-4 and *infra*, Tab. 2.

¹⁷ The results of the tests on the strontium isotopes are presented by M. Gigante in his PhD thesis entitled *Bioarchaeology*

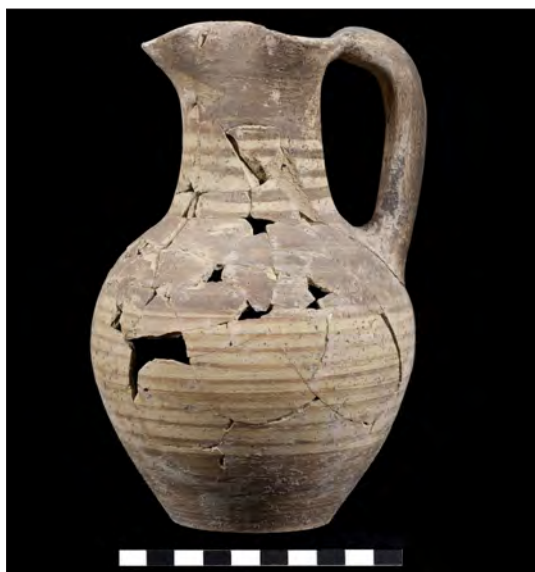


Fig. 16. CT 917: LG oinochoe



Fig. 17. T. 977: grave goods

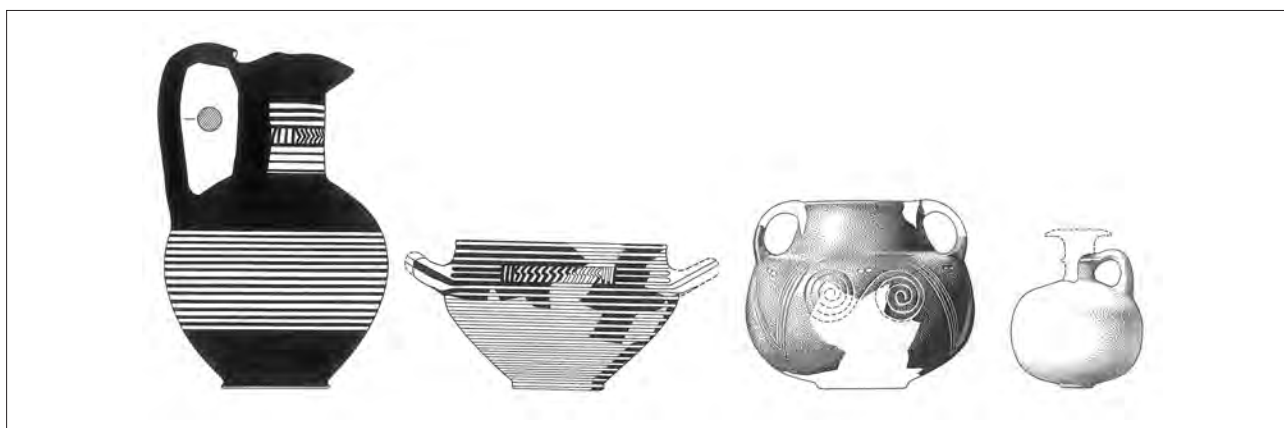


Fig. 18. CT 944: grave goods (from BUCHNER – RIDGWAY1983)



Fig. 19. T. 1008: grave goods



Fig. 20. Cremation tumuli 916, 917, 921, 922 (photo by G. Buchner)

On the basis of the above-described stratigraphical sequence and of parallels, the assemblage can be dated to an early stage of LG I, around the middle of the 8th century BC²⁵.

Northwest of the cluster are two burials – probably belonging to another plot extending beyond the northern limit of the excavation – which have yielded two of the most famous figured vases from Pithekoussai (Figs. 4-5). They are tumulus 984, which yielded the well-known bottle-shaped vase with a depiction of the Moirai, and, west of tumulus 945, *enchytrismos* 1000, which employed as an urn the figured amphora with “the lion dreaming of its prey”²⁶.

THE CLUSTER OF TUMULI 916, 921, 922, 925, 928, AND INHUMATION 951

An adjacent tumulus cluster (Figs. 12, 20) is especially interesting. One of its earliest cremation burials, **925**²⁷, contained a single-bird cup with a central metope graced with a bird silhouette and horizontal lines in the strip between the handles (Figs. 21-22). The type occurs at Chalcis and Eretria²⁸. The closest parallels for the decoration are found on a specimen from Tarquinia (T. 174 in the necropolis of Selciatello di sopra) and specimens from Naxos in Sicily²⁹. A second specimen of the

²⁵ On the earliest attestations at Pithekoussai, datable to the transition from MG II to LG I, cf. RIDGWAY 1981. Some sporadic materials from the necropolis and the Gosetti dump on Monte Vico allegedly belong to the same horizon. On the chronology of the necropolis, cf. also NOUZZO 2007, 83-84, with earlier literature.

²⁶ D’AGOSTINO 1999. A kantharos in fragments lies next to the amphora.

²⁷ In the excavation journal, Buchner reports that CT 925 underlay cremations 916 and 922. The anthropological tests assign the burial to a woman aged ca. 15-20 years.

²⁸ Cf. COLDSTREAM 1982, 24 ff., who thinks the cups with birds – which he regards as Euboean or imitations thereof – begin as early as MG II and continue in LG I; COLDSTREAM 2004, 41-43. For examples from Eretria, cf. *Eretria XX*, 79-80, note 385; 124, no. 167, pl. 41; 128, no. 273, pl. 59. For the shape and date of the skyphos, cf. *Eretria XX*, 82-83, 109, type SK5, pl. 89.

²⁹ On the specimens from Pithekoussai, cf. D’AGOSTINO 1992, 54, fig. 1. For the specimen from Tarquinia cf. COLDSTREAM 1982,



Fig. 21. CT 925: grave goods

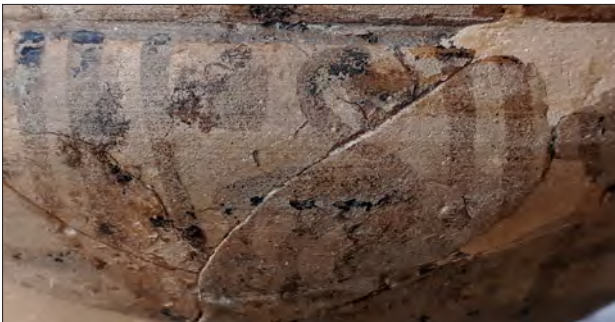


Fig. 22. CT 925: "single-bird" cup detail



Fig. 23. CT 1004: "single-bird" cup fragment

same type, but made differently, was found among the sherds from tumulus cremation **1004** (Fig. 23)³⁰. On this one, the bird's body is filled in with hatching.

The northern side of tumulus 916 overlies CT 922 (Fig. 24), which is regarded as earlier and is partly incorporated in CT 921³¹. The latter burial yielded an oinochoe with white-on-black decoration³², two silver leech fibulae, and two silver hair

rings with traces of gilding (Fig. 25). Cremation 922 covered the just-discussed CT 925, whose tumulus was completely destroyed.

Underneath tumuli 916 and 922 were two fossa graves, T. 955 and T. 956, the former overlapping the latter (Fig. 26)³³, which yielded, as a dating element, a kantharos of the Ithaca type (LG II).

Underneath tumulus **916** was fossa grave **951**, attributed to a child of 5-6 years, whose sex could not be determined³⁴. The pottery included an entirely varnished hemispheric kotyle, laid upside down, and an oinochoe with a bifid handle and an

26, fig. 1 c. On Naxos in Sicily, cf. LENTINI 1998, 380-381, figs. 15-16. Cf. KOUROU 2004, 504.

³⁰ MERMATI 2012, 104, type M2, Tav. XXIII.

³¹ In CT 916, the anthropological tests have distinguished two cremated individuals: a woman aged > 20 years and an I/B of 1-5 years; cf. *supra*, note 6. CT 921 is ascribed to a F individual aged > 40 years.

³² On this class and its occurrence at Pithekoussai, cf. CUOZZO 2006. Cf. *Pithekoussai I*, 466-467, T. 469.1, pl. 138 (LG I). For the low neck and ovoid body of the oinochoe, cf. *Eretria XX*, 99, 131, no. 347, pl. 71 (LG II).

³³ T. 955 contained a child of ca. 4-6 years and T. 956 a child of ca. 1-3 years.

³⁴ CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013, 40 ff., figs 5.2, 9.1-2; GIGANTE – BONDIOLI – SPERDUTI 2012-2013, 66, table 6.

ovoid body, decorated with a horse tied to manger and vertical lines connected by high and thin “Ss” on the body, rendered in outline (Fig. 27). This burial stands out for the presence in its assemblage of an ardisia disk (120 grams) of uncertain purpose³⁵ (a tool’s flywheel?) and two bronze spearheads (73 and 47 grams), intentionally cut (Fig. 28), on which I will return in my conclusions. At breast level was an oriental seal showing a striding lion, mounted in a silver pendant (Fig. 29). The lion wears an apron of sorts. On its back is a slanted leaf and behind it angular inscribed motifs connected by a vertical dash³⁶. The “dragon-with-spring”-type fibula and the kotyle type suggest a date in LG I, not contradicted by the elongated shape of the oinochoe, which has a parallel at Pithekoussai in a specimen regarded as a local product from T. 593, dated to LG I³⁷. The closest parallels for the peculiar shape of the oinochoe and its decoration of horizontal lines/bands on the body under a row of vertical dashes connected by high and thin “Ss” can be found at Delos³⁸.

T. 951, in its turn, covered *enchytrismos* 958 to the east, which yielded no dating elements.

THE CLUSTER OF TUMULI 947, 948, 978, AND FOSSA GRAVE 949

Looking at the adjacent cremation tumuli from the same perspective, once again we observe a dense sequence of burials, in a sector that was disturbed in the Hellenistic-Roman period by two monumental cist tombs, TT. 997 and 998 (Fig. 30).

³⁵ A parallel can be found at Oropos (diam. cm 7.5), bearing an inscription: cf. MAZARAKIS AINIAN – MATTHAIU 1999; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2002, 157, fig. 4b. On the interpretation of pierced stone disks as fishing weights or door knockers, cf. VALAVANIS 2017. Another parallel comes from the sanctuary of Apollo *Daphnephoros* at Eretria: *Eretria XXII*, II, 27, no. 477 (diam. cm 4.7), pl. 109.

³⁶ Seals picturing a lion are attested at Pithekoussai, for example in T. 500 (BOARDMAN – BUCHNER 1966, 11, no. 14, fig. 17.14, 18). For parallels from different areas around the Mediterranean, cf.: BOARDMAN 1990, 6 ff., figs. 7-9 from Francavilla Marittima; 16, no. 171, fig. 23, out-of-context; SERRANO *et al.* 2012, figs. 3-4. Cf. BOTTO 2011 and BOTTO 2020, 369 ff., figs. 18-19.

³⁷ *Pithekoussai I*, 583, T. 593.1, pl. 172. On the oinochoe, cf. COLDSTREAM 2008, 173 ff., pl. 36a, with reference to Naxos wares.

³⁸ DUGAS – RHOMAIOS 1934, 71 ff., pls. XXXIV.18, XXX-VI.20, XXXVII.22. I thank B. d’Agostino for pointing out these parallels.

Underneath the tumuli, the earliest burials are fossa graves of infants or children (Fig. 12), with quite significant burial assemblages, as we will see in the case of grave 949.

Cremation 948, according to Buchner’s notes, overlay both CT 947 (Figs. 31-33) and the tumulus of T. 949, and was thus the most recent of these three; it also partly covered CT 978. Furthermore, from a comparison of the two excavation plans it appears that it overlay CT 988 (Fig. 34) – of which only some stones from the base of the tumulus remained, above the “black earth lens”. This tumulus, in its turn, covered three more cremations (CT 989, CT 981 and CT 1002). Underneath tumuli 948 and 988 was fossa grave 1016 (I/B, 1-3 years), which yielded an important Corinthian oinochoe of the Thapsos class and many seals of the Lyre Player Group³⁹ mounted in silver pendants (Fig. 35).

Tumulus 947, ascribable to an adult male, overlay Infant/Child fossa graves 1005 (Figs. 8, 12, 31), 1006 (Fig. 36) and 1008 (Figs. 19, 31)⁴⁰, as well as *enchytrimos* E 1023 (Figs. 37-38). This last burial contained an imported vessel classifiable among “Northern Aegean” or “Thermaic” amphoras. It belongs within Group II in R. Catling’s classification – attested since the early 8th century BC – and has parallels at Methone and Lefkandi⁴¹. At least two more specimens are known from Pithekoussai, from T. 621 at San Montano (Fig. 38) and the Gosetti dump⁴².

Graves of infants and children, the earliest in the cemetery, show great variability in their burial assemblages. Unlike T. 1016, whose grave goods consist only of imported objects (Fig. 35), T. 1005

³⁹ Cf. GIGANTE *et al.*, *infra*, tab 2. For the oinochoe, cf. NEEFT 1981, fig. 1e, fig. 2e.

⁴⁰ T. 1006 and 1008 are ascribable to I/B, Und., respectively 1-5 and 1-3 years.

⁴¹ Cf. CATLING 1998. On “Thermaic” amphorae, cf. *Methone Pierias I*, 416-419, nos. 77-78, with a date between the late 8th and early 7th century BC; KOTSONAS *et al.* 2017, 16-18. A morphologically identical amphora from Lefkandi is datable to the late 8th century BC: LEMOS 2012, fig. 1.

⁴² For parallels from Ischia, cf. *Pithekoussai I*, T. 621, 600-601, pl. 211, fig. CXCIV; classified as of uncertain origin, it falls within type B180 (A1-F1)A1: NIZZO 2007, 143. For the sherd from the Gosetti dump, cf. KOTSONAS 2012, 159-160, note 581, and DI SANDRO 1986, SG 264, 116, pl. 25.

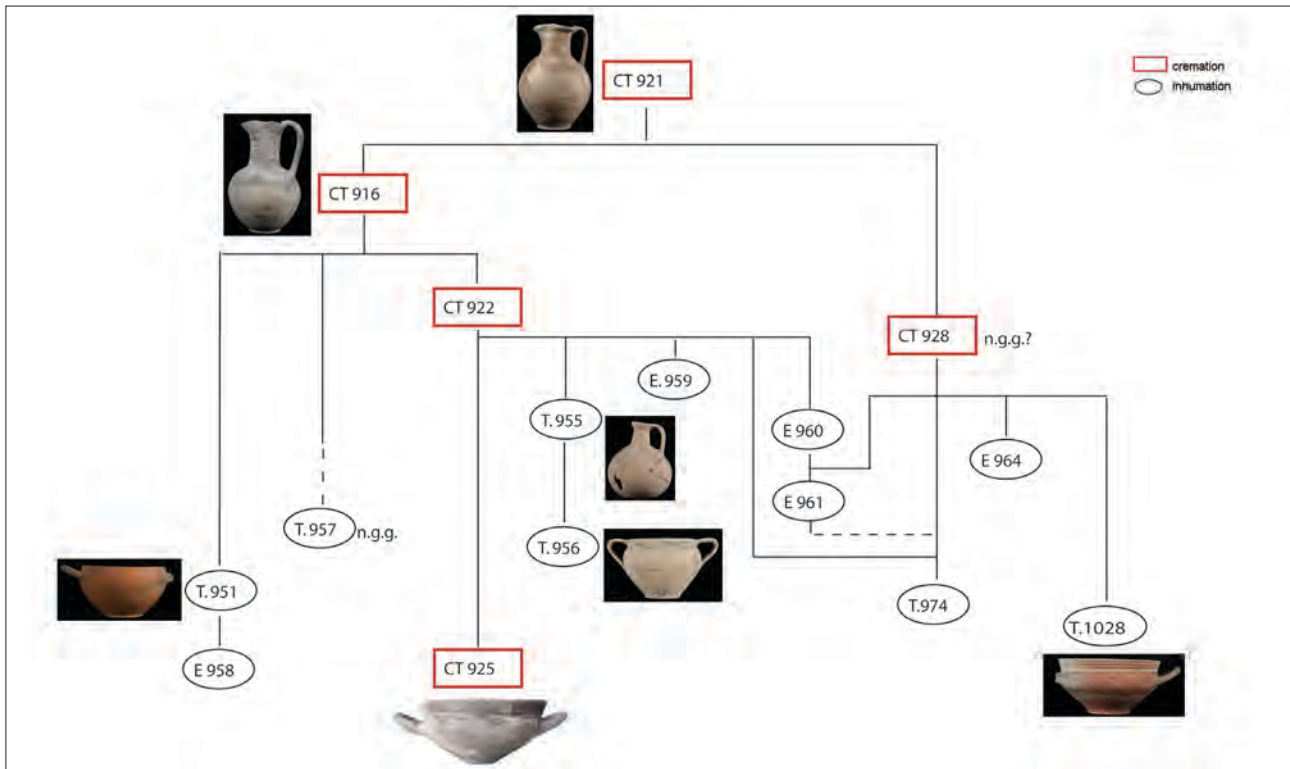


Fig. 24. San Montano, excavations 1965-1967- The cluster of cremation tumuli 921, 925 and inhumation tomb 951



Fig. 25. CT 921: grave goods



Fig. 26. T 956: grave goods

only yielded *impasto* pottery (Fig. 8), namely, a small amphora and a small cup, associated with “*ad arco rivestito*” bronze fibulae⁴³.

T. 980, which was overlapped by CT 917 and CT 926 (Fig. 15), contained an oinochoe with a globular body and two bronze fibulae, one of the “dragon with a spring and a bifid buckle” type, the other of the “*ad arco rivestito*” type⁴⁴ (Fig. 39). It

can be assumed to be slightly older than T. **1006**, which yielded, along with the oinochoe, a kyathos with facing herons⁴⁵, scarabs and seals set in silver pendants.

⁴³ CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2014, 274, fig. 9.

⁴⁴ For the “dragon fibula with a spring”, cf. LO SCHIAVO 2010, 759, no.6816, class XLV, type 780; cf. also *Pontecagnano II.1*, 61-62, 112, type 32F1 (phase II B), pl. 20; *Pontecagnano III.1*,

37, type 320 F1, fig. 17. For the “*ad arco rivestito*” fibula, cf. LO SCHIAVO 2010, 371 ff., class XXIV, type 170.

⁴⁵ NIZZO 2007, B420(AI-C) A3; for the decoration with facing herons, cf. *Pithekoussai I*, Sp/6.1, pl. 250. Cf. COLDSTREAM 2008, 100-102, pl. 19f. G. Buchner does not observe stratigraphic relationships between the two burials, which in the plans appear to overlap at different elevations.



Fig. 30. San Montano, excavation 1967. Tumuli 947, 948, 949, 937, 938 (photo by G. Buchner)

case was that of burial 861 and T. 483 (excavations 1952-1961), where a little girl was buried with a rich assemblage including locally made Late Geometric and Early Protocorinthian vases, as well as silver fibulae and ornaments⁴⁷. In the pit of T. 949, the remains of the wooden coffin were still preserved (length cm. 175, width cm. 54). According to a widespread custom in this necropolis, three large stones – placed above the head, pelvis and feet – sealed the lid of the coffin. The pottery assemblage is rich and diverse (Fig. 40). Near the feet of the deceased were a Late Geometric oinochoe with a decoration of metopes on the neck⁴⁸ and an interesting figured kantharos with a

hard-to-decipher decoration. The latter vase has been studied by Catherine Morgan and Bruno d'Agostino⁴⁹. Also near the feet were other vases: a small skyphos with two metopes on the shoulder – in a pattern remindful of skyphoi “with double-parted chevrons”⁵⁰ – which goes with a small lid with a concentric-circle and wolf-tooth decoration along the edge; a single-handled cup, with several parallels in the necropolis⁵¹; a cup with a surface covered by a black slip, imitating an *impasto* type of the fossa-grave culture.

⁴⁷ T. 861 was found under a stone tumulus preserved to a maximum height of 0.70 m (cf. fig. 5). For T. 483, cf. *Pithekoussai I*, 482 ff., pls. 142-144; d'AGOSTINO 2011, 42.

⁴⁸ COLDSTREAM 2008, 98 ff., pl. 19 a-c, especially 19a for the body shape; these are oinochoai dating from the transition from LG to EPC. The metope decoration on the neck recalls a pattern that is widespread in Attic ceramics in the LG Ib.

⁴⁹ Morgan suggests that it was made on Ithaca: MORGAN 2001, 213 ff., figs. 12-13; MORGAN 2006, 220 ff., figs. 2-3. d'Agostino, instead, suggests it may be a Pithekoussan product: d'AGOSTINO 2010, 297 ff.

⁵⁰ B. d'Agostino, in *Prima di Pithecosa*, 19, fig. 14, T. 3286.1; fig. 15, T. 3224.1, 3284.1. At Pontecagnano, the type occurs in contexts of phases II A-B, particularly in this second sub-phase. Cf. B. d'Agostino in *Pontecagnano III.1*, 100.

⁵¹ Cf. *Pithekoussai I*, 367-368, T. 310.2, pl. 118 (LG II); 482 ff., T. 483, pl. 142.6 (LG II); 547 ff., T. 550.3, pl. 164 (LG I). Cf. NIZZO 2007, 148, B330(AL)A.

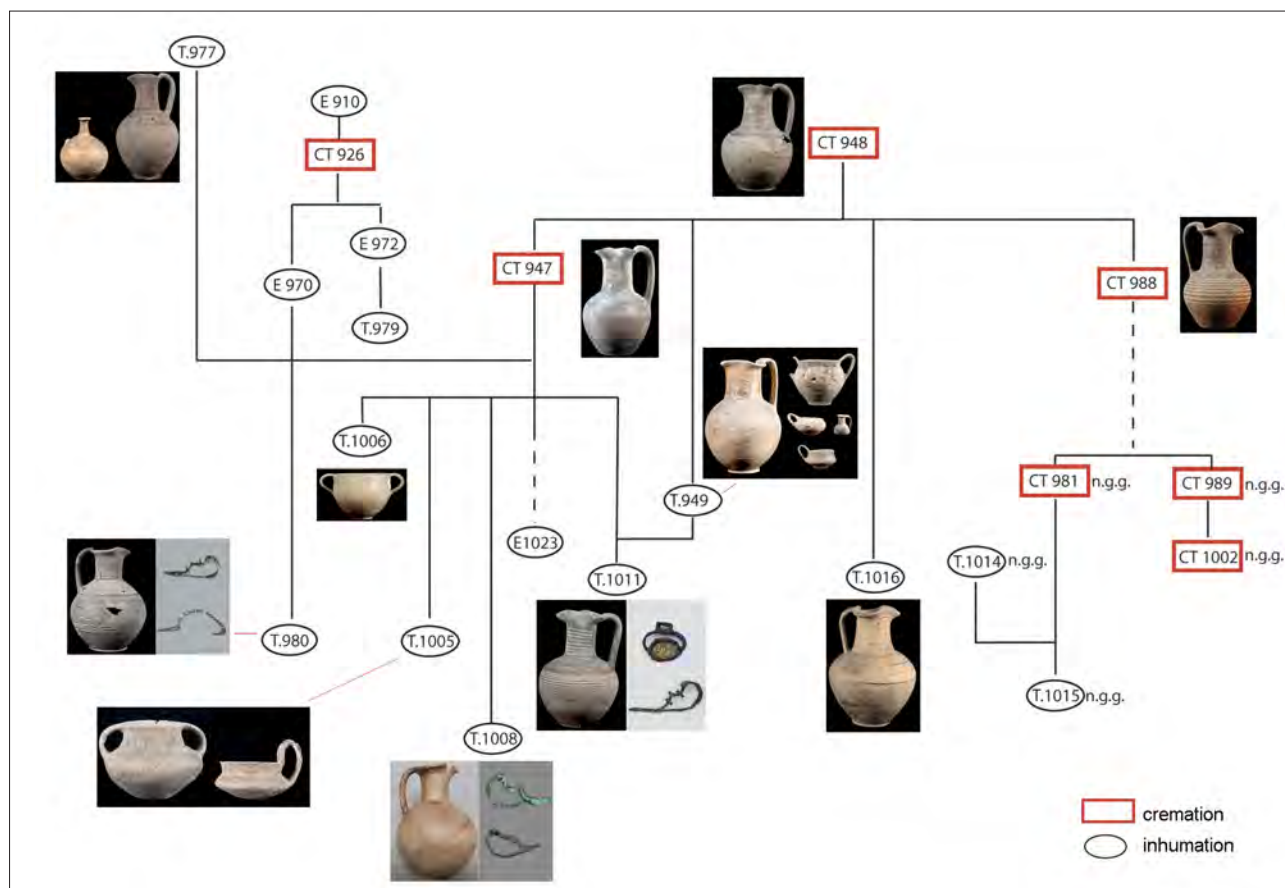


Fig. 31. San Montano, excavations 1965-1967. The cluster of the tumuli 947, 948, 949, 937, 938, 980, 1008



Fig. 32. CT 948: Late-Geometric Oinochoe



Fig. 33. CT 947: Late-Geometric Oinochoe



Fig. 34. CT 988: grave goods



Fig. 35. T. 1016: grave goods



Fig. 36. T. 1006: grave goods



Fig. 37. E 1023: transport amphora

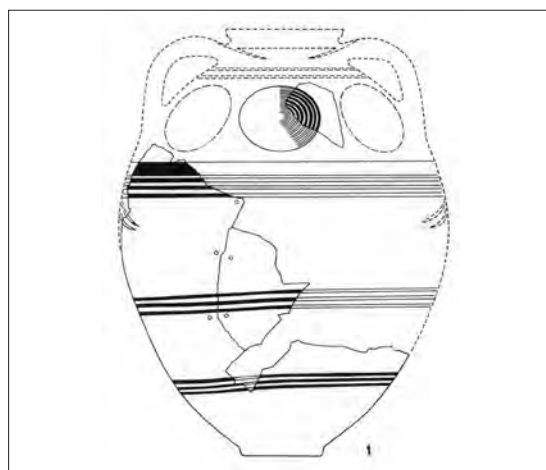


Fig. 38. North Aegean transport amphora (from *Pithekoussai I*, pl. 211, reconstruction)



Fig. 39. T. 980: grave goods



Fig. 40. T. 949: grave goods



Fig. 41. T. 1011: excavation 1967 (photo by G. Buchner)



Fig. 42. T. 1011: oinochoe

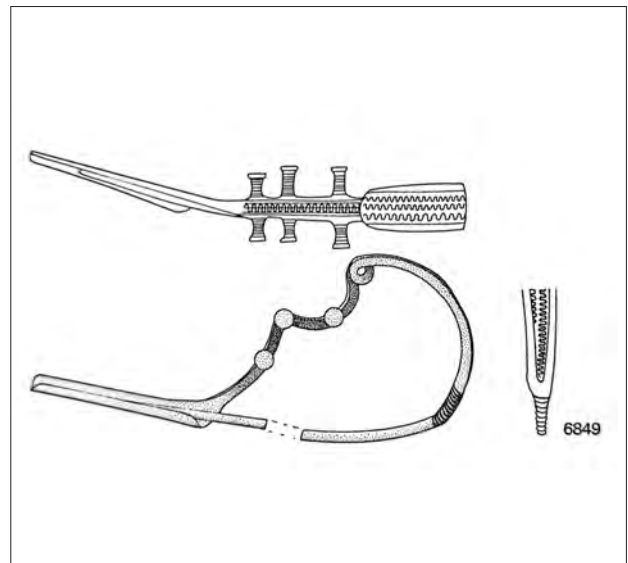


Fig. 43. T. 1011: fibula (from Lo SCHIAVO 2010, pl. 542)

The pottery also included a lekythos of the “Argive monochrome” type with a wheel decoration on the body, and an *impasto* spindle whorl. In Iron Age Villanovan and indigenous necropoleis of Campania, the latter object is usually a gender marker, alluding to the female occupation of spinning⁵². In the breast

⁵² The “AM” type lekythos was found under one of the base stones of the tumulus. The spindle whorl is not mentioned in the excavation journal, but was found to be attributed to this assemblage

area, alongside silver fibulae with serpentine arches (one of the “dragon-with-spring” type)⁵³, were at least 6 silver pendants with Lyre Player Group seals and scarabs, as well as a necklace of amber tubes.

during the reviewing and cataloguing of the materials. For the lekythos, cf. KOUROU 1988 e KOUROU 1994, 43 ff., particularly p. 45 for the impressed and incised motifs; cf. *Eretria XVII*, 52, T. 12.8, pl. 96.5. In the seriation proposed by V. Nizzo, “Argive Monochrome” ware is attested from the late LG I to LG II: Nizzo 2007, 37.

⁵³ LO SCHIAVO 2010, class XLV, type 380.

As regards its date, we should consider that T. 949 cuts into the eastern corner of child inhumation **T. 1011**, which stands out for the preservation of its wooden coffin (100 x 50 cm), above which were mud-bricks (the best preserved one measuring 55 x 32 x 12-13 cm), and whose burial assemblage consisted of a local oinochoe, a scarab, and a “dragon-with-spring” fibula with silver thread decoration (Figs. 41-43)⁵⁴.

THE GRAVE WITH THE SHACKLES, T. 950, AND THE CLUSTER OF CT 937 AND 938

On the east-central edge of the excavation, two cremation tumuli were brought to light (Figs. 4, 12, 30): CT 937, with a well-preserved tumulus and lacking grave goods, abutted CT 938, which belonged to a male adult (20-40 years) and also had a well-preserved tumulus and lacked grave goods. Immediately to the south, another cremation is indicated in the plans, CT 939, whose tumulus was almost completely destroyed⁵⁵.

The stratigraphic relations deducible from the excavation plans are rather significant. CT 937 overlies **T. 968** (Fig. 44), a female or male child who wore a silver *taenia* around her or his head⁵⁶. The tomb yielded a round-mouthed oinochoe decorated with lines on the body and a wavy line on the neck. This vase has a parallel in a Late Geometric type attested at Eretria, related in its turn to cutaway-neck oinochoai, which are Euboean-derived, but were also produced in the West, specifically at Naxos in Sicily⁵⁷. The Eretrian type dates from the last decades of the 8th century BC.

Underneath CT 938 (at a depth of -5.54 m) was one of the most interesting burials in the necropolis, **T. 950**, in a pit whose edges were no longer discernible (Figs. 45-46). This grave's date within LG I-II cannot be narrowed down any further. The only useful chronological clue, inferred from a comparison

of the excavation plans – is the partial encroaching of the feet of the deceased onto the edge of tumulus 926⁵⁸. In the latter burial, between the tumulus and the dark-earth lens, an “Argive Monochrome” lekythos with a trilobed mouth was found, its handle missing, having been broken off in antiquity.

Burial 950 belonged to an adult man, older than 40 years. He was laid in a supine position and wore iron shackles on his ankles (Fig. 47), a feature for which no parallel is known from Great Greek burials in the period under consideration. Shackles have been uncovered, instead, in sanctuaries from the archaic period onward, albeit rarely; in these contexts, they have been interpreted as offerings made in connection with manumission rites⁵⁹.

Since T. 950 yielded little additional evidence, so the overall picture is hard to decipher. Different interpretations of this burial have been proposed. A symbolic significance of the shackles cannot be ruled out. According to G. Buchner, the stones that stopped the lids of wooden coffins had «the purpose of preventing a calamitous return of the dead among the living».⁶⁰ The shackles may have had the same function: that of restraining an individual who was seen in a negative light, or anyway as a threat to the community. If so, however, one wonders why the choice of iron shackles, which both in literary tradition (e.g., *HOM., Od. I, 204: σιδήρεα δέσµατα*) and in Etruscan vase painting of the archaic period connote captivity⁶¹.

A different interpretation is therefore preferable, one that also takes the context into account. The shackles could represent a particular condition of the deceased at the time of death, a condition implying the deprivation of liberty. If this is true, then we need to find a plausible explanation for the placing in the grave of two other objects, whereas burials ascribable to individuals in a condition of servitude or slavery always lack grave goods.

⁵⁴ It is Buchner who specifies, in the excavation journal, that T. 1011, although it was excavated earlier, was cut in its north-east corner by T. 949. About the fibula, cf. LO SCHIAVO 2010, class XLV, type 382, 763, no. 6849, pl. 542. The fibula type is attested in the “Tomb of the Warrior” in Tarquinia (730-720 a.C.): cf. BABBI 2018, 340 f., figs. 3a, 4a.

⁵⁵ The anthropological tests attribute the burial to an Und. individual of ca. 20-40 years.

⁵⁶ Cf. *infra*, 78.

⁵⁷ Cf. *Eretria XVII. II*, Hérôdon T. 9, 8, 47, pl. 86.1; *Eretria XX*, 97, 127, type CR3, no. 246, pl. 54, 94. For specimens from Naxos, cf. LENTINI 1990; 2015, 243-244, nos. 9-10, fig. 5; COLDSTREAM 2004, 44-45.

⁵⁸ The attribution to tumulus 926 of the stone course covering the lower margin of T. 950 is noted in the excavation journal.

⁵⁹ On the shackles, which have parallels in sanctuaries in Campania (Pontecagnano, Heraion of the Sele) and Great Greece (Policoro, Crotone-Vigna nuova), cf. CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013, 42, note 83, with further literature. For a complete overview of similar contexts, cf. now GUZZO 2020 and 2021.

⁶⁰ BUCHNER 1982, 281; this scholar points out that the same custom is observed in the necropolis of Eretria: *ibidem*, 286. Similar views are expressed by NIZZO 2018, 60 and *infra*, 112.

⁶¹ A shackled captive appears, for example, on the crater of the Painter of Ophelandros, found at Caere: RONCALLI 2013, figs. 1-2.



Fig. 44. T. 968: A) Excavation photo by G. Buchner) B). Plan by F. Gehrke; C-D) Oinochoe (photo and drawing)

T. 950 contained a dagger with a long tang adorned with elements made of organic material. It was emphatically laid on the breast of the deceased with the blade pointing downward and, next to it, a scarab (Figs. 48-49).

The dagger⁶², in connection with which G. Buchner refers to the “Caracupa” type in his excavation

journal, finds limited but significant parallels in two Etruscan contexts, “Tomb A” from Casale Marittimo (Pisa) and the “Throne Tomb” from Verucchio, both ascribable to high-ranking individuals⁶³.

⁶² Recent restoration revealed that the blade is single-edged. The overall length is ca 23 cm. The blade appears to be broken, but it is unclear whether this is due to post-depositional causes or not.

⁶³ On Casale Marittimo (necropolis of “Casa Nocera”) cf. A.M. Esposito in *Principi Etruschi*, 235-238, no. 267, fig. at p. 239 (first quarter of 7th century BC.); on Verucchio cf. VON ELES 2022, 142, no. 170, pl. 68 (Tomb 89/1972, so-called “Throne Tomb”, end of 8th-beginning of 7th century BC.).

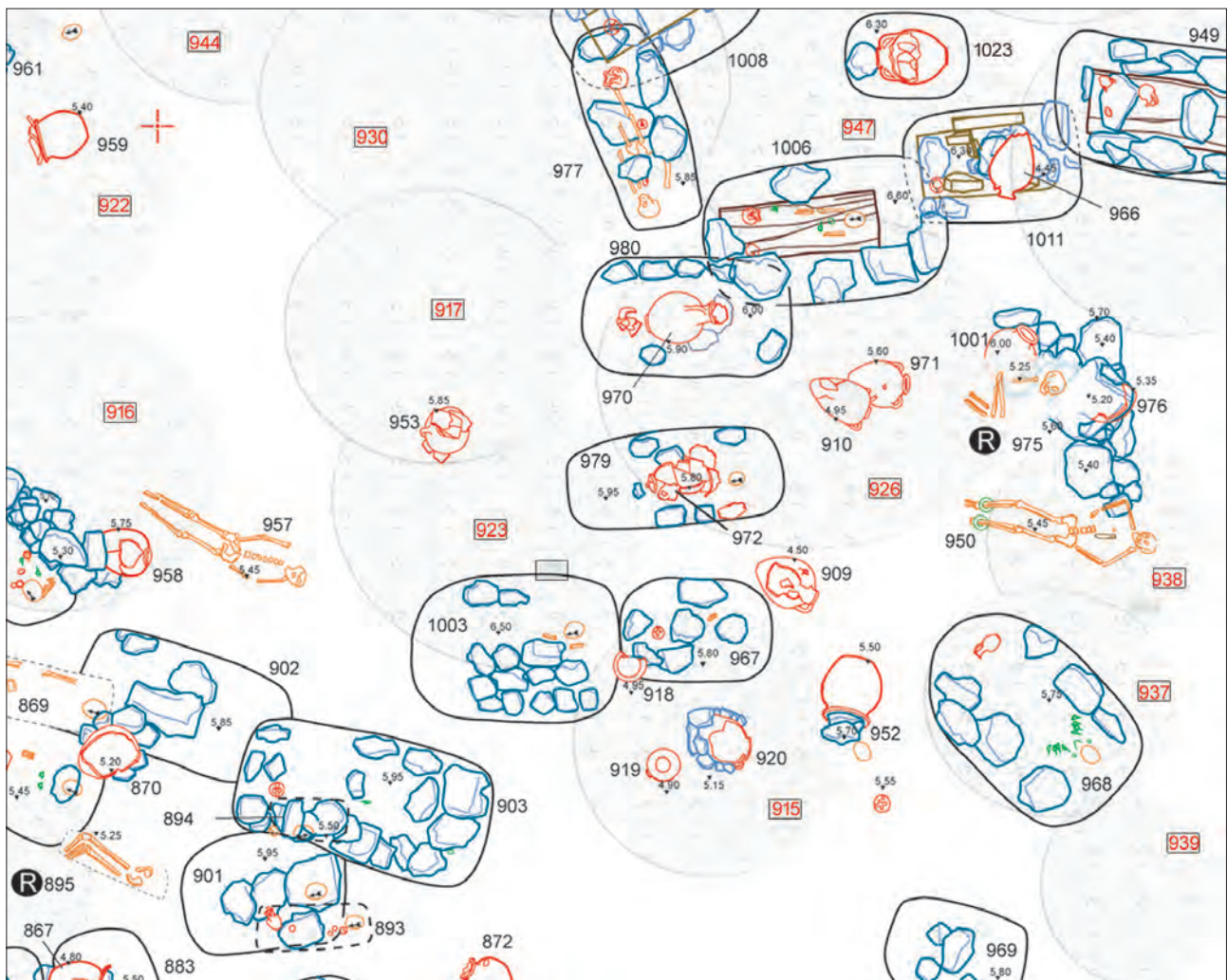


Fig. 45. San Montano, sector E/F 7-9: Overlaying cremation tumuli on the inhumation fossa tombs



Fig. 46. T. 950: excavation photo by G. Buchner

In the Pithekoussan necropolis, as is well known, weapons never occur – although knives and some metallic tools have come to light, for example, in the so-called Tomb of the Carpenter (T. 678)⁶⁴. The doubt re-

mains whether the dagger was an object owned by the deceased during his lifetime and given back to him *post-mortem* because it was no longer threatening, or an object used in a ritual ceremony before or during the interment. The presence of the scarab is also unusual, as it is usually regarded as an apotropaic object and therefore given to the weaker elements of the community, that is, infants and children. But the amulet's interest lies in another aspect: its provenance from Phoenicia, probably from Tyre, whose necropolis yielded a specimen dated between 750 and 700 B.C. with an identical back and decoration (Fig. 50): on the base is depicted, at the bottom, a scarab between two scrolls, at the top three scrolls around a triangular motif with two transverse bars, referring to the symbol of Tanit⁶⁵.

⁶⁴ *Pithekoussai I*, 657 ff., pls. 189-190. Similar knives, but with a different or poorly preserved tang appear in *Pithekoussai I*, pls. 162-163.

⁶⁵ BOSCHLOOS 2014a, 387, no. 18, fig. 5.18; 2014b, 16 ss., pl. 3, no.1, tab. 1; 2018, pl. 1-2, 2e; HÖLBL 2021, 23-24, 46, with previous bibliography; I thank Prof. G. Hölbl for the useful parallel for the scarab.



Fig. 47. T. 950: the iron shackles



Fig. 48. T. 950: the iron dagger



Fig. 49. San Montano, T. 950: steatite scarab

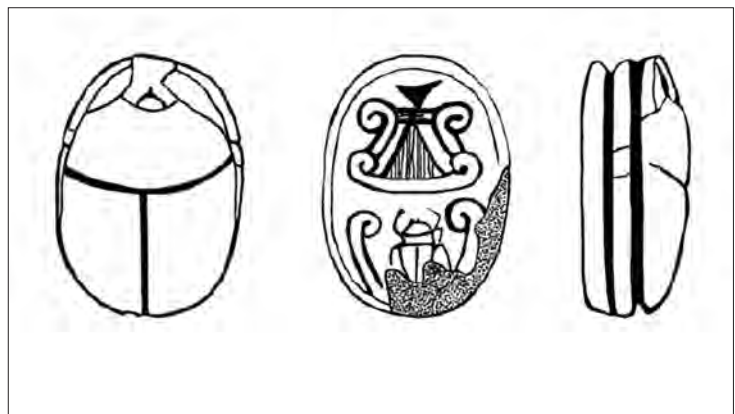


Fig. 50. Scarab from Tyre (from BOSCHLOOS 2014, pl. 3.1)

The deceased in T. 950, who died at a mature or possibly even advanced age, was inhumed. Based on what we know about funerary representation at Pithekoussai, inhumation, when used for an adult, connotes diversity of some sort. In most cases, inhumed adults were buried without grave goods, a

fact which, along with the peripheral location of their graves within the necropolis, has been regarded as denoting low social condition⁶⁶. Thus, in our case the presence of the dagger and the scarab

⁶⁶ BUCHNER 1982, 279; cf. *supra*, note 7.

seal constitutes an especially meaningful sign. We also cannot overlook the fact that the iron used for the shackles (weighing 1.92 kg) had an intrinsic value of its own⁶⁷.

Another possibility to consider is that inhumation for adults might be evidence of a form of “cultural resistance”, made explicit by clinging to the burial rite typical of the deceased’s original ethnic group and/or culture. Such an interpretation has been proposed for burials in a contracted or supine-with-knees-up position, as, for example, in nearby and coeval grave 575 (Fig. 45)⁶⁸.

Thus, an allogeous origin for the deceased of T. 950 cannot be ruled out. This hypothesis is supported by the presence of the dagger and by its particular typology.

Thus, much uncertainty still remains about this exceptional burial. Whatever the meaning of the shackles – symbolical in the first hypothesis, a sign of captivity in the second – something should not be overlooked, namely, that the deceased – like other inhumed adults – was granted formal burial in the necropolis, in an area simultaneously occupied by cremation tumuli. All these elements together, although they convey different messages, do not rule out the possibility that the deceased was a prisoner to whom, however dangerous he may have been, a certain respect was due because of the role he had in his lifetime⁶⁹.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, I would like to point out some themes that may be developed further in the integral publication of the cemetery. For example,

stratigraphic reconstruction of the burials, thanks to the availability of context data, may shed light on the issue of local Late Geometric production, on which remarkable progress has already come from recent research⁷⁰.

The stratigraphy of the necropolis

Let us first consider the stratigraphy and chronology of the earliest use phase of the necropolis, in the light of a comparison of the above-described burial clusters.

Buchner’s theory about how the space within family plots was occupied is still convincing today as an explanation for the main trends⁷¹. It is harder, however, when confronting the actual evidence, to establish synchronic relations between tumuli, fossa tombs and *enchytrismoi* whenever the distribution, position, orientation etc. of tombs do not provide clear clues.

If, for example, we consider the first sample we examined (Fig. 15), we can follow the overlapping of five cremations in the course of LG I (CT 944, 945, 946, 982, 995). They are subsequently joined by tumuli 931 (n.g.g.) and 917. Among the tumuli of LG I, the most recent is CT 944, which yielded two skyphoi of the Thapsos type with panel imported from Corinth, guide fossils which, as is known, occur in the first phases of the life of the colonies of Great Greece and Sicily⁷². The earliest cremations (CT 946, CT 982, and CT 995) lacked grave goods. Among the fossa graves found under the tumuli, T. 973 contained an Aetos 666 imported Corinthian kotyle⁷³. In the area between tumuli 946 and 947 and underneath them was T. 1008, one of the earliest in the cemetery, dating, as has been suggested, from around the mid-8th century BC⁷⁴.

In the adjacent burial ground (Fig. 31), at least four directly superimposed levels can be distinguished in the sequence of cremations (CT 948,

⁶⁷ It is worth remarking that no signs of violent death were observed on the skeletal remains, nor any trace of wear ascribable to prolonged use of the shackles; cf. *infra*, GIGANTE *et al.*, 94.

⁶⁸ The crouching position, while not used by the Iron Age and Orientalizing communities of Campania, occurs in Daunia and the Ionian strip of Basilicata and Calabria. The presence of Proto-Daunian geometric ware in the necropolis of San Montano – e.g., in *enchytrismos* 735 and on Monte Vico (*Pithekoussai I*, SP 11/1, p. 293 and pp. 718-719; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013, 36-37, fig. 6.1; BUCHNER 1969, 95) – has led to the hypothesis that the contracted individuals originated from the Adriatic and possibly Daunia itself, or from the central Ofantine area: cf. CERCHIAI 1997, 667; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2014, 278 ff.

⁶⁹ On this subject, cf. CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2014, 280.

⁷⁰ CUOZZO 2015; MERMATI 2015.

⁷¹ BUCHNER 1975, 69 ff., pl II.

⁷² In *Pithekoussai I*, an imported skyphos of the Thapsos type with panel occurs in tumulus cremation 161 (LG I), in association with a locally produced Aetos 666 kotyle. For the distribution of skyphoi, cf. NIZZO 2007, 155, type B390(AI-C) A1.

⁷³ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1983, 3: it is one of the few known imported Aetos 666 kotylai from the necropolis.

⁷⁴ Cf. *supra*, 58 ff.

CT 988, CT 989, CT 1002) and three burials lack grave goods (CT 981, CT 989, CT 1002). Cremation CT 947 overlay *enchytrismos* E1023 and four fossa graves datable to LG I, namely, TT. 1005, 1006, 1011 and the above-mentioned T. 1008.

Having thus reconstructed the sequence, it still seems difficult to synchronically connect cremation and inhumation burials, and thereby determine the topographical limits of the individual burial plots, which in many cases extended beyond the limits of the excavation. The impression is that there was a gradual expansion of the plots, resulting in broad superimposition areas that blur the limits of the original plots.

If, instead, we look at the graves from a diachronic perspective, it is not always possible to determine whether physical superimposition should be interpreted as a sign of continuity of use by the same kinship group or, on the contrary, of discontinuity. As Buchner ascertained in the case of the cluster of tumuli 944-945-946, layers of earth separated CT 945, CT 917 and CT 931 from earlier cremations whose tumulus appeared to be completely destroyed (for example, CT 982). This detail led Buchner to interpret this as an intentional action, a consequence of a new parceling out of burial plots⁷⁵. This scenario differs sharply from the partial dismantling of the tumulus as a result of clustering that Buchner observed in cases where, on the contrary, the visi-

bility of the earliest burial constituted an explicit sign of the cluster's identity.

Distinct successive levels of cremation burials, created by destroying earlier tumuli, were also found elsewhere in the cemetery. They provide useful clues to relative chronology as well as, possibly, a key to the interpretation of variations in burial customs over time.

Reconstructing relations between burials reveals sequences that are very compressed in time within LG I (750-725 BC), the earliest use phase of the cemetery. It is still moot whether this time range actually coincided with the earliest phase in the life of the Euboean settlement. Some scholars, including Ridgway, have deduced from the earliest Greek-type materials found on Ischia (at Monte Vico as in the necropolis) that Pithekoussai was founded in the second quarter of the 8th century BC, although no graves this early have come to light so far⁷⁶. Although we cannot rule out the possibility that this absence merely reflects the fact that only part of the necropolis was investigated, the question arises whether the failure to identify such earlier graves depends, instead, on funerary visibility and ritual practices.

The incidence of cremations lacking grave goods are especially interesting in this regard. In the burial ground under discussion – one of the most ancient sectors in the San Montano necropolis, according to Buchner – lack of grave goods mainly characterizes many of the earliest cremations, whose tumuli were destroyed and obliterated by subsequent burials.

Burial assemblages in tumulus cremations

Several scholars have remarked the absence of “princely” graves at Pithekoussai – differently than at Cumae. In Tyrrhenian and Campanian communities, such graves bear witness to the adoption of ideological models borrowed from the Greek and Near Eastern world, adapted to celebrate the power

⁷⁵ BUCHNER - RIDGWAY 1983, 3: «Sotto il tumulo 945 si è trovata una seconda lente di terra nera priva di corredo (982) parzialmente sottoposta a quella di 945 e con la superficie divisa dalla base di quest'ultima da uno strato di m 0.10 di terra bruna, senza che vi fosse più alcuna traccia delle pietre del tumulo che in origine doveva ricoprirla. Altre due lenti di terra nera del tutto prive di pietre e senza corredo sono state trovate sotto i tumuli 931 e 917, e diverse si sono riscontrate nelle aree circostanti. Si tratta evidentemente di un altro caso in cui i tumuli delle tombe a cremazione di un appezzamento cimiteriale sono stati oblitterati e lo stesso appezzamento riassegnato a un'altra famiglia».

«Under tumulus 945, a second lens of black earth lacking grave goods (982) was found, partly underlying that of 945 and with its surface separated from the base of the latter by a 0.10 m thick layer of brown earth. No trace remained of the stones of the tumulus that must have originally covered it. Other two lenses of black earth, totally lacking stones and without grave goods, were found under tumuli 931 and 917, and several others were observed in the surrounding areas. This is evidently another case where the tumuli of the cremation tomb of a cemetery plot were obliterated and the said plot was reassigned to another family».

⁷⁶ These early materials consist of skyphoi with distinct lips or protokotylai with an Aetos-666-type syntax from the necropolis and Monte Vico, sporadic: RIDGWAY 1981; 1999, 99 ff., and COLDSTREAM 1995, 260 ff. On the chronologies of the earliest evidence from Pithekoussai, cf. DeVRIES 2003, 146 ff., who however proposes a low chronology for the foundation of Pithekoussai.

of social elites who now entertained far-ranging intercultural relations⁷⁷. Whether their absence at Pithekoussai – which future excavations may belie – is due to fortuitous circumstances or to the specific nature and function of the settlement⁷⁸, it seems worth dwelling on the variability of grave types and burial assemblages.

Cremations, which account for ca. 20% of the total of the examined sample, are usually reserved for adults of either sex aged more than 20 years⁷⁹. On the basis of grave goods, at least six groups can be distinguished (Table 1):

Ceramic grave goods	Cremations	Inhumations
No ceramic grave goods	X	X
Oinochoe	X	X
Oinochoe/kotyle-skyphos	X	X
Oinochoe/kotyle-skyphos + other vase type	X	X
Other vase types	X	X
<i>Impasto</i> vases	X	X

Table 1. Composition of the ceramic grave goods

The number of cremations lacking grave goods seems significant: 31.3 % of cremations alone (6.1% of total burials)⁸⁰. This figure is decidedly different than for the necropolis excavated between 1952 and 1961: here Ridgway reports cremations with no grave goods to be 16.1% of cremations (2.8% of total burials)⁸¹. On the basis of a reexamination of the necropolis and a recounting of grave goods, V. Nizzo estimates cremations lacking grave goods – distributed between LG I and II – to be ca. 9% of total cremations⁸².

This divergence is significant. The fact that the tumuli of most cremations lacking grave

goods were destroyed – presumably to make space for new graves – lends credibility to the hypothesis that a lack of grave goods was a peculiar trait of the earlier burial ritual⁸³. If this is true, there may be important implications for the chronology of the first use level of the necropolis in relation to the initial phase of the Euboean settlement.

Returning to burial assemblages, in general they seem rather sober. The incineration burials containing only a single oinochoe – burnt or not – are a little less than a third of the total. Only a small percentage associated the oinochoe with a kotyle or skyphos (ca. 5.8-6 %). Only very few burials contained a single kotyle or skyphos, or yet another type of vase. Among these is CT 984, of a man aged ca. 20-40 years⁸⁴, which yielded a barrel jar with a depiction of the Moirai.

Cremations whose main grave goods are imported *impasto* vases are isolated and atypical. They include CT 826 and CT 863, in both of which a small amphora is the only complete vase in the assemblage, a fact probably indicative of allogeous origin⁸⁵. As I have remarked above, these two burials, along with the inhumations of adults, bear witness to diversified dynamics of social inclusion resulting from voluntary or forced mobility. At one extreme are inhumations of individuals in a contracted or supine position lacking grave goods, commonly interpreted as reflecting low, servile social status, at the other the deceased of graves 826 and 863, where the use of the cremation rite indicates full integration into the Pithekoussan community, possibly through matrimonial exchanges between social elites.

Burial assemblage composition – the inhumations

Inhumations also display great funerary variability (tab. 1) and burials of infants and children (enchytrismos and fossa tombs) amount to ca. 2/3 of the sample.

Among the graves of young or mature adults (ca. 27-30% of the sample),⁸⁶ most inhumations lack

⁷⁷ Cf. most recently BABBI 2018, with previous literature.

⁷⁸ BUCHNER 1975; the contributions by B. d'Agostino, E. Greco and S. De Caro, in *Apoikia*; MELE 2003, 19 ff.

⁷⁹ As I mentioned above, CT 916 is an exception: cf. *supra*, note 6.

⁸⁰ The cremations for which Buchner specifically mentions the absence of grave goods in the excavation journal are 16 out of a total of 51. To these we could add some other cremations, such as, for example, CT 817, 923 and 928, which have only yielded sporadic sherds and fragments of ornaments.

⁸¹ RIDGWAY 1984, 87-88, tab. on p. 88: LG I-II include a total of 493 burials (87 cremations, 275 inhumations, 131 Enchytrismoi); 14 out of 87 cremations lack grave goods, or 16.1%.

⁸² NIZZO 2007, 31: cremations lacking grave goods are 10 out of 117.

⁸³ As suggested by RIDGWAY 1984, 90.

⁸⁴ GIGANTE – BONDIOLI – SPERDUTI 2012-2013, 62, table 2.

⁸⁵ Cf. *supra*, 54.

⁸⁶ Not all the burials have yielded diagnostic skeletal remains. In these cases, the attribution to age groups is based on consider-

grave goods⁸⁷. In these, the sex of many of the deceased could not be determined, with the exception of four male burials (TT. 849, 950, 975, 993) and two female ones (TT. 841 and 1015)⁸⁸. This group includes the grave with the iron shackles (T. 950) and those with bodies buried in contracted or supine-with-knees-up position (e.g., TT. 842, 895, 975).

A case unto itself is that of a group of burials of young or mature adults which, unlike the above, contained ceramic grave goods. These are concentrated in the southwestern sector of the burial ground, in an area occupied exclusively by fossa graves apparently belonging to the same cluster. Some yielded ornaments and may hence have been of females, namely: T. 755, which also contained an *impasto* double-handled bowl (Fig. 7)⁸⁹; T. 775, whose only vase is an Aetos 666 kotyle (Fig. 51); and T. 779, which contained a Late Geometric oinochoe and a skyphos of the Thapsos type with panel (Fig. 52), as well as bronze fibulae. Not far from these were two graves which Buchner tentatively ascribed to women who had possibly died in childbirth, because they contained *enchytrismoi*: a chytra with a mouth stopped by a stone in T. 763 and an amphora containing an inhumed fetus of perinatal age in T. 805⁹⁰. This group includes T. 776, where the oinochoe was associated with a kantharos with a complex decoration on the shoulder, a single-handled cup and a dragon-type bronze fibula (TG II)⁹¹.

Enchytrismos burials usually lack grave goods with a few exceptions, such as E 743, which yielded a seal and bronze ornaments. The custom

of burying newborns and infants in ceramic vessels, perhaps as a metaphorical reference to the mother's womb, is well attested in Greece and in Euboea, as well as in Magna Graecia and Sicily. In San Montano, mostly local or imported transport amphorae or rough *impasto* vessels (pithoi, chytrai, biconical vases, jugs) are used for this purpose.

An exceptional case is that of E 1000 (Figs. 53-54), located within a funerary plot which also yielded the famous "vase of the Moirai"⁹². The vase is an amphora with a wide concave neck, a rather rare shape in the LG Pithekoussan repertoire. Its use as a funerary container seems to be a direct reference to what has been documented in the motherland, in Eretria, where in the same period similarly-shaped and decorated containers occur in graves⁹³. The mouth of amphora 1000 was closed by an oinochoe base and the vessel was lacking its foot, which had been «broken in ancient times»: a circumstance that might suggest an intentional ritual act of defunctionalization before burial.

Among the fossa tombs of infants or children aged between 1 and 5 years, some lack pottery grave goods, others stand out for the complexity of their burial assemblages and for the ostentation of silver or bronze ornaments (diadems, fibulae, bracelets, beads, and pendants).

Precious metal diadems, found as signs of rank in Infant/Child tombs at Athens and Euboea, and in other regions of the Greek and western world⁹⁴, are already recorded in the necropolis explored between 1952 and 1961, and occur in two burials from the 1965-1967 excavations⁹⁵.

ations made at the time of excavation and on dimensional information deducible from the drawings.

⁸⁷ Between 26 and 30 burials can be ascribed to the "adults lacking grave goods" category.

⁸⁸ Among the tombs without pottery grave goods, some (UND) contained only ornaments ("ad arco rivestito" fibulae, boat fibulae, etc.; hair rings, rings, bracelets) and presumably belonged to women: TT. 813, 884, 905.

⁸⁹ For the anthropological data relative to T. 755 (15-20 years) cf. GIGANTE – BONDIOLI – SPERDUTI 2012-2013, 66, table 6; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013, 37, fig. 6.3.

⁹⁰ For T. 763, cf. CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2014, 272, fig. 13. In the excavation journal, Buchner says that fossa tomb 805 (2.10 x 1.10 m) and the amphora used as an *enchytrismos* belong to the same context and attributes the burial to a "woman with a newborn". The burial was particularly rich in bronzes and ornaments, besides containing an oinochoe and an aryballos.

⁹¹ LO SCHIAVO 2010, 765 ff., class XLVI, type 384 A.

⁹² CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2021, 750 ff. Cf. above, note 26.

⁹³ BLANDIN 2007a, b, 2010 with references to other areas of the Greek world; BLANDIN 2007b, I, 59-60, with reference, for example, to similar use in the necropolis of Mende on the Chalcidic Peninsula; BLANDIN 2007b, II, 62-64, pls. 121-123. On body shape cf. MERMATI 2012, 95-95, type K2: the amphora with a high flared neck and bell-shaped foot (documented by the only specimen from E 1000) is associated with fragments only hypothetically attributable to the type.

⁹⁴ Cf. CRIELAARD 2007, 172-173; BLANDIN 2007b, 97-98. Specimens are also known at Cuma: cf. GABRICI 1913, coll. 270-272, T. LXVII; *ibidem*, coll. 252-253, T. XLVIII, fig. 92.

⁹⁵ *Pithekoussai I*, 627 ff., T. 651.23, tav. CLXXXII, 180; 643 ff., T. 656.19, tav. 186. On the topic cf. GUZZO 2004, 77; NIZZO 2011, 69 ff.; CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2021, 757 ff.



Fig. 51. San Montano, T. 775: kotyle "Aetos 666"



Fig. 52. San Montano, T. 779: Skyphos of the Thapsos type with panel



Fig. 53. San Montano, CT 1000 (photo by G. Buchner)



Fig. 54. CT 1000: detail of figured decoration of late-geometric amphora

One specimen comes from T. 968 (Und., 5-10 years, TGII): the young deceased (possibly a female child) wore on her forehead a silver *taenia*, graced with hollow silver spheres with a gilt silver ring in the middle (Fig. 44)⁹⁶. A second silver *taenia*, found pulverized on the head of the young deceased, is documented in T. 1019 (TGII), in which the remains of the wooden coffin were preserved.

Another significant feature among the fossa tombs of infants or children is the recurrence of

hard stone seals (in serpentine or steatite) or scarabs in steatite or faience, often set in silver pendants. They are believed to be apotropaic in function, a means of preventing dangers related to childhood. The seals attested in at least 28 graves – in numbers ranging from 1 to 6-7 – belong to the Lyre Player Group⁹⁷.

As to the pottery, in infants or child burials one observes in some cases a reduction in size of vessels and the occurring of specific shapes, such as the feeding bottle: a single-handled painted fine

⁹⁶ In T. 968 the ornaments also included two earrings, a silver three-spiral ring and, around the neck, silver pendants and hollow globes originally forming a necklace. On the shoulders were "ad arco rivestito" bronze fibulae and a silver leech fibula; as the only vessel, there was a round-mouthed oinochoe.

⁹⁷ In BOARDMAN – BUCHNER 1966, some seals found in the 1965-1967 excavations are published: T. 746, no. 1, 3 (figs. I.1, 2); E 743, no. 19, 13-15; T. 757, no. 32, 18-20. Cf. RIDGWAY 2000.

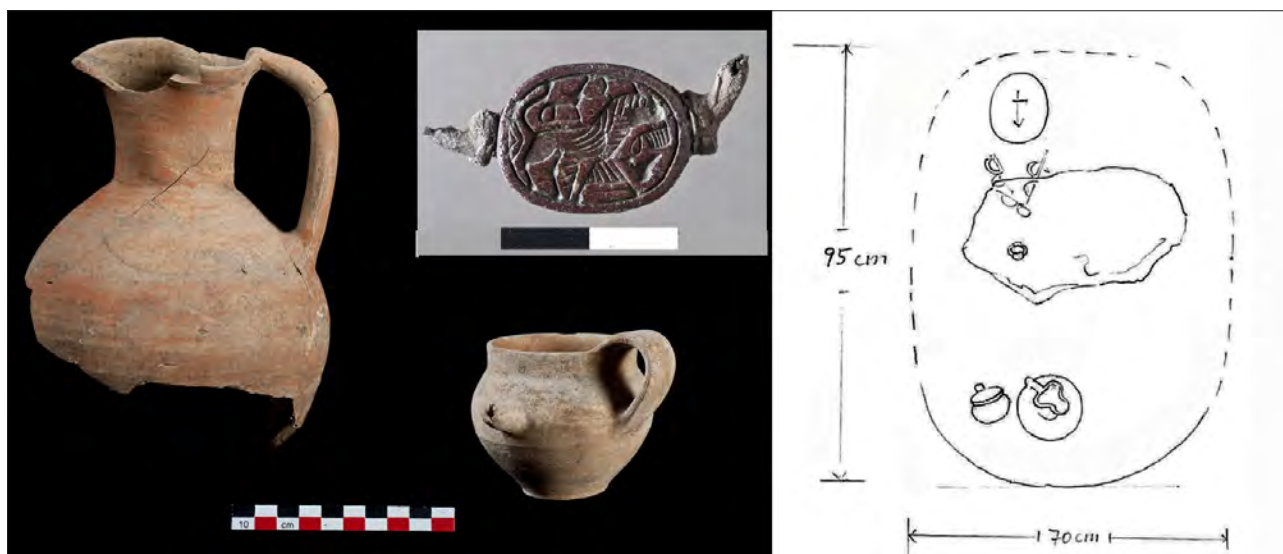


Fig. 55. San Montano, T. 943: plan of tomb and grave goods

ware cup in T. 943 (Fig. 55), an *impasto* mug (“boccale”) in T. 834 (Fig. 10).

The pottery in child burials shows the same variability as in adult inhumations, with a prevalence of burials only containing an oinochoe. However, some child burials are among the most elaborate and interesting contexts in the necropolis.

As we have seen, the discriminatory use of cremation vs. burial identifies in the criterion of age class a structuring element of funerary representation - hence of social architecture - revealing a behavioral model that takes on the character of a shared norm. Within this framework, the tombs of infants/children and adolescents appear to be the recipients of special rites. The diversity of grave goods in their burials reflects the internal articulation of the Pithekoussan community. The young deceased thus reveal themselves to be active subjects in the construction of the social imaginary⁹⁸. Tombs 949, mentioned above, and 951 are cases in point (Figs. 27-29). As regards the latter, attributed to a male or female child aged 5-6 years, what distinguishes it are two bronze spearheads, intentionally cut and stripped of their base, and thereby defunctionalized⁹⁹. No parallels from coeval burials are known. Interestingly, very similar objects occur in very different contexts. For example, in a

hoard discovered in the Crotona area, which contained a group of objects possibly stored for later melting and reuse of their metal¹⁰⁰. Similar spear portions were found in hoards brought to light in west-central Sicily, including some datable within the 8th century BC¹⁰¹. An example of parts of bronze weapons probably used as offerings comes from the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria, where an intentionally broken part of a spear or sword was found near building 2. Interestingly, around this building metalworking shops active during the Geometric period came to light, where bronze, iron and gold were worked¹⁰².

In the light of the fact that weapons never occur in the cemeteries of Pithekoussai, the meaning of the spearheads – which are usually connected to war and connote the warrior function – should be sought elsewhere. The value of the two cusps certainly resides in the intrinsic value of their metal, exhibited as a sign of high social status. Under this regard, Tomb 951 is unparalleled at San Montano, where grave goods such as ornaments of precious metal (gold, silver, or electrum)¹⁰³ are limited to a

⁹⁸ CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2021.

⁹⁹ CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013, 40-41. One of the spearheads also has an intentionally broken tip.

¹⁰⁰ MARINO – PIZZITUTTI 2008, 326 ff., nos. 19-22, fig. 4. The hoard contained artifacts datable from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age.

¹⁰¹ ALBANESE PROCELLI 2003, 12 ff., pls. I-II with previous literature; the Polizzello hoard, for example, is dated within the 8th century BC.

¹⁰² Eretria XXII, II, 24, 215, pl. 103, no. 407 (phase II-III – GR I-II). For metalworking, *ibidem*, 145 ff.

¹⁰³ GUZZO 2004.

few adult female or child burials. Vice versa, the ostentation of metallic objects – vases or ornaments – is remindful of forms of funerary self-representation typical of Etruscan, Campanian-Etruscan and Italic gentilicial elites in the Orientalizing period¹⁰⁴. In this perspective, it is not surprising to find in grave 951 some bronze ornaments – armlets, clasp hooks, biconical pendants – and tools (tweezers). Since these artifacts have parallels in Etruscan and Italic milieus, they contribute to suggesting an allogeous origin for the child, or the group he or she belonged to.

The picture emerging from this preliminary overview of the unpublished necropolis of San Montano essentially confirms the composite character of its material culture and the coexistence of diversified forms of funerary representation as a result of dynamics typical for a highly entangled society. The decidedly inclusive character of Pithekoussai, providing a space for Greeks, Italics and Orientals, at different degrees of the social scale, reflects an open community, one whose importance in the history of the Mediterranean was rooted precisely in the fecundity of its intercultural relations.

¹⁰⁴ On this, I refer the reader to the debate on the meaning of the placing of bundles of spits in tombs, as in princely tombs 926 and 928 at Pontecagnano. Some scholars see these spits as “pre-monetal signs”: D’AGOSTINO 1977, 20.

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Colonial Memories and Models

MAURIZIO GIANGIULIO, *Euboean Colonial Memories. Mediterranean Mobility, Literary Traditions and Social Memory*

This paper makes a contribution towards the understanding of the nature and origins of the ancient tradition of the Euboean colonization movement in the Mediterranean, with special reference to the western foundations. An overview of the – mainly literary – evidence helps focus on the problem of whether shared historical memories of the colonial origins existed in Euboea and/or in the colonial worlds of Euboean origin. The question is also posed whether local traditions were in place and to what extent they were affected by adaptation and distortion processes, with reference to the role allegedly played by Chalcis and Eretria. One cannot avoid briefly investigating also the issue of “Chalcidian” colonial identity both in the West and in the Aegean in the light of the underlying problem of the *genos Chalkidikon*. How ancient was fifth-century Chalcidian identity in Sicily, and to what extent did it echo an original colonial identity of the cities founded by Euboean colonists? Any modern assessment of literary tradition about the Mediterranean mobility of the Euboeans in the 8th and 7th centuries largely depends on the answers to such questions.

LUCA CERCHIAI, *Interpretative Models of Euboean Colonization and Impacts on the Indigenous World*

Through a synthesis of research already published, this account outlines the development, the “vocations” and the crisis experienced by Pithekoussai within the structure of relations, mobility and exchanges occurring in the area of the central-western Mediterranean from at least the first half of the 9th century BC.

The first section is dedicated to investigating the network of relations linking Campania to Sicily, Sardinia, the Iberian Peninsula and to North Africa. The second more closely enquires into the foundation of Pithekoussai, around the middle of the 8th century BC, placing the event within the broader dynamic of similar colonial foundation processes,

which at that same time are taking place in the western Mediterranean under Phoenician impetus and with the consent of local communities.

Pithekoussai

TERESA E. CINQUANTAQUATTRO, *Pithekoussai, Necropolis of San Montano (Excavations 1965-1967). Stratigraphy, Funerary Representation and Intercultural Dynamics*

The article illustrates the funerary sector investigated by G. Buchner between 1965 and 1967, examining the formation of the funerary texture, the forms of funerary representation and the composition of the burial ground from the point of view of intercultural dynamics for the Late Geometric period. The main funerary clusters are presented, analysing their succession in time and deepening the topic of the relative chronology in connection with the identification of the first phase of use of the funerary area. Particular attention is devoted to burials, among which some children's graves stand out for the complexity of their grave goods, and to an unusual grave of an adult male buried with iron shackles on his ankles.

MELANIA GIGANTE, ALESSANDRA SPERDUTI, IVANA FIORE, FRANCESCA ALHAIQUE, LUCA BONDIOLI, *Euboean, Eastern and Indigenous People: A Bioarchaeological Investigation of Ancient Pithekoussai (8th-7th Century BC, Ischia Island, Campania)*

This paper presents the results of the bioarchaeological investigation of skeletal and dental remains from Pithekoussai's necropolis on Ischia Island in the Gulf of Naples (Campania).

This study analyses 256 tombs (104 tombs from *Pithekoussai I*, Buchner's excavations 1952-1962; 152 tombs from *Pithekoussai II*, Buchner's excavations 1965-1982), including 143 cremations, 99 inhumations, and 14 *enchytrismoι*. The tombs date from the mid-8th to the 7th century BC.

The use of multiple techniques in the analysis of both cremated and inhumed remains has facilitated the determination of diachronic changes in ritual behaviour as well as in demographic struc-

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The intent of the *Euboica II* conference, *Pithekoussai e l'Eubea tra Oriente e Occidente*, held in Lacco Ameno (Ischia, Naples) from 14 to 17 May 2018, was to discuss the themes of colonization, how colonial realities became rooted in different areas of the Mediterranean, the specific traits of Euboean colonization, and forms of contact and relationship between the Greek element and local communities. These Proceedings are divided in two volumes, arranged geographically. They feature a dialogue between historians and archaeologists, with an emphasis on the new important contributions made over the last twenty years by field archaeology in Euboea and in colonial and Mediterranean contexts.

