

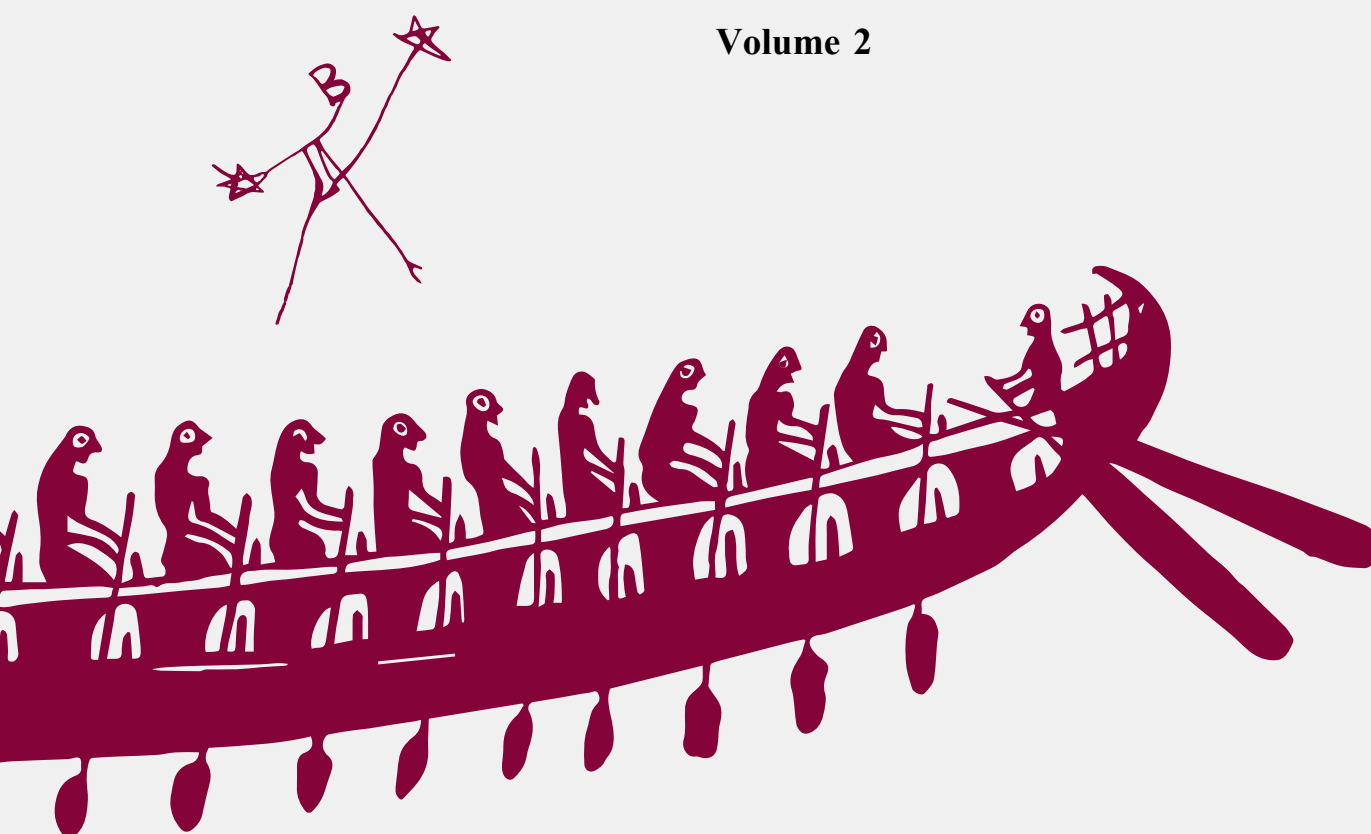
EUBOICA II

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

UNIVERSITÀ DI NAPOLI L'ORIENTALE
DIPARTIMENTO DI ASIA AFRICA E MEDITERRANEO



AION

ANNALI DI ARCHEOLOGIA
E STORIA ANTICA

Nuova Serie | 28



2021 | Napoli

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DI ARCHEOLOGIA
E STORIA ANTICA

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Volume 2



UniorPress
Napoli 2021

ISSN 1127-7130

Abbreviazione della rivista: *AIONArchStAnt*

Quarta di copertina: Pithekoussai (Ischia), T. 500, sigillo del Lyre Player Group
(rielaborazione grafica UniorPress)

Sovracopertina: nave dipinta sul cratere corinzio del LG nel Royal Ontario Museum di Toronto,
inv. C.199 (disegno S. Verdan); e costellazione incisa su un cratere del LG di fabbrica pitecusana,
trovato nell'area di S. Restituta a Pithekoussai, Ischia
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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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RITUAL LANDSCAPES AND RITUAL CODES IN THE PITHEKOUSSAI CEMETERY*

Valentino Nizzo

INTERACTION CONTEXT AND RITUAL LANDSCAPE AT PITHEKOUSSAI

If we consider the era of the earliest research on the cemetery at Pithekoussai – 1952-1961 – we are struck by the precocious foresight with which information was collected on aspects that the contemporary digs usually overlooked. This includes, for example, the reconstruction of the depositional and post-depositional dynamics recognizable on the ground within the burials and/or in the free spaces of the cemetery and the careful recording of almost all the “stratigraphic” relationships between each element¹, taking into account both those that had an intentional character and those that were unintentional². As a result, Pithekoussai has, since its discovery, become an obligatory reference point for pre-classical Mediterranean archaeology. It offers an essential palimpsest for the historical and chronological reconstruction of the events that preceded, accompanied and followed the initial stages of Greek colonization in Italy and, consequently, for the understanding of the cultural dynamics triggered by the first stable con-

tacts and the first forms of structured coexistence between Greeks, other eastern visitors and the local population in the Ischian settlement, whatever the interpretation of its “political status”³.

Indeed, Buchner’s discoveries helped Ischia to regain its role as a cultural crossroad, becoming the centre for a series of conferences⁴ which, starting with the discussion regarding the chronological attribution, quickly broadened to the central sociological interpretation of the funerary practices in pre-industrial communities. This anticipated many of the ideas which were developed, at least for the English-speaking world, through post-processualism⁵.

The characteristic interweaving of the deceased person, and the burial objects and funerary rites, and their possible meaning in terms of provenance, ethnicity, gender, age, class and social status, level of inclusion in the community, etc., makes the Pithekoussai cemetery a context of extraordinary relevance for a critical experiment on the interpretative potentialities of the archaeology of death.

* This contribution constitutes the revised and updated summary of what was previously discussed in various articles dedicated to the same issues. See in particular: Nizzo 2013a, 2016a, 2016b, 2018b, with references. I want to thank my friend Christopher Smith for reviewing the translation and for his valuable suggestions.

¹ Although in still generic forms that did not take into account, for example, the difference between positive or negative stratigraphic units, aspects that would have been methodologically investigated only a few decades later: Nizzo 2007, 13-17.

² Where not otherwise specified, any reference to Pithecusan contexts and materials implicitly refers to their masterful edition in BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993.

³ The exact interpretation of the political status of the Pithekoussai’s settlement is a problem that, perhaps, we can consider finally overcome thanks to the contribution of postcolonial archaeology and thanks to the broader reflection on the dynamics of connectivity. This question, however, still continues to have its influence on the interpretation of the oldest evidence of the presence of Greeks and Orientals in our Peninsula, as discussed in detail in CeC 2016a, CeC 2016b and *Ibridazione e integrazione* 2014.

⁴ From *Incontro di studi sugli inizi della colonizzazione greca in Occidente*, Naples-Ischia 1968 (published in 1969), to the still relevant *La mort, les morts dans le sociétés anciennes*, Naples-Ischia 1977 (published in 1982): on the meaning and legacy at that time of the dispute within the cultural context see Nizzo 2015, 172-194.

⁵ D’AGOSTINO 1987 [1985].

As Buchner had grasped from the beginning, at Pithekoussai it seems that it is the cemetery that guides the interpreter, showing him in the form of stratigraphic relationships those links – not exclusively related to parental relationships – that must have connected the dead when they were still alive.

The schematic section of an ideal stratigraphic sequence of the cemetery proposed by Buchner in 1975 (Fig. 1) offers, from the first glance, an extremely clear picture of the diachronic development of the burial ground and allows us to grasp what were to be the main ritual alternatives through which the community defined itself beyond death. This depended on coordinates related to the age of the dead⁶ and/or their “ethnic” connotation, the latter reconstructed by archaeologists – not without some difficulty – from the observation of ritual practices⁷ and the composition of the grave goods.

In addition, the nature and intensity of these “relations” and, more or less consequently, that of the connections that must have been existed among the dead when they were still alive, can be deduced from a global analysis of the dynamics through which a physical “contact” between each burial was “sought” or “produced” by the survivors. At the same time, we should not overlook the equally explicit relevance of cases in which the absence of physical relationships is not fortuitous but is the result of intentional and, as such, significant choices, as could happen in the case of individuals inhumed in a relatively short period of time into parallel and close graves.

In fact, in many cases, it is possible to identify a direct link – a real “network” – between the “ritual performance” and the “ritual relationship” which, besides having fundamental significance for the re-

construction of the relative chronological sequences, allows us to interpret the sociological implications – positive as well as negative – underlying the physical connections between the deceased. Moreover, admitting the intentionality of these relationships, we have the rare opportunity to measure the mnemonic correlates that were to guide these choices and that had to force the survivors to move with skill in a dense and heterogeneous plot of mounds, graves and stone signs that are often difficult to recognize on the surface of the cemetery. This is a sort of funerary counterpart to the concept of “interaction contexts” which were deployed some years ago by S. Humphreys for the basic units of the ancient Greek social structure, using terminology borrowed from the social sciences⁸.

However, it was the extraordinary carefulness of the archaeologists that allowed them to discern the presence of a “ritual space” more extensive than the simple burial, whose relevance was correctly perceived, even though the methodologies to detect it were not yet developed in compliance with the stratigraphic techniques we are used to today. The discovery of extensive “*strati di cocci*” (“layers of sherds”)⁹ within the funerary context allowed the archaeologists to speculate about the existence of a dismantling procedure of the pyres, and the intentional dispersion of their remains (Fig. 2). These observations¹⁰ integrated the understanding of the practices connected to cremation. They permitted us to highlight the existence of an important phase of the ceremony, well known from sources such as the Homeric poems, but which could not be verified in what constituted its final outcome: the burnt earth mixed with the grave goods and the remains of the cremated bones and surmounted by a mound of stones.

This situation is even more significant if we take into account the fact that some of the classes of materials found dispersed in the “layers of *cocci*” – such as *kraters* – are not found among those usually

⁶ In the inhumation the age of the dead can be reconstructed thanks to the analysis of the skeletal remains or, in their absence, by the size of the graves.

⁷ The funerary ritual provided that the incineration was reserved in an apparently exclusive way to adults (a circumstance confirmed also by the recent anthropological investigations published in GIGANTE – BONDIOLI – SPERDUTI 2016 which attribute all cremations to subjects over 20 years of age, with significant exceptions like that of graves 168 and 140, referred by M. J. Becker, respectively, to individuals of 12 and 17 years of age) of probable Greek origin and that the inhumation (for the new-borns also inside a ceramic container, the so-called “*enchytrismos*” ritual) was reserved for sub-adults (including Greeks) and for adults of various origins and social backgrounds.

⁸ HUMPHREYS 1979, 386-391; cf. in this regard also AMPOLO 1996, 320 s.

⁹ NIZZO 2007, 200-201, note 16 with references. The “*Strato di cocci* [2]” hereby represented in fig. 2 coincides considerably with the area of grave 168.

¹⁰ Albeit insufficient for a detailed comprehension of the ritual strategies that could be hidden behind attitudes of functional – at least apparently – character.

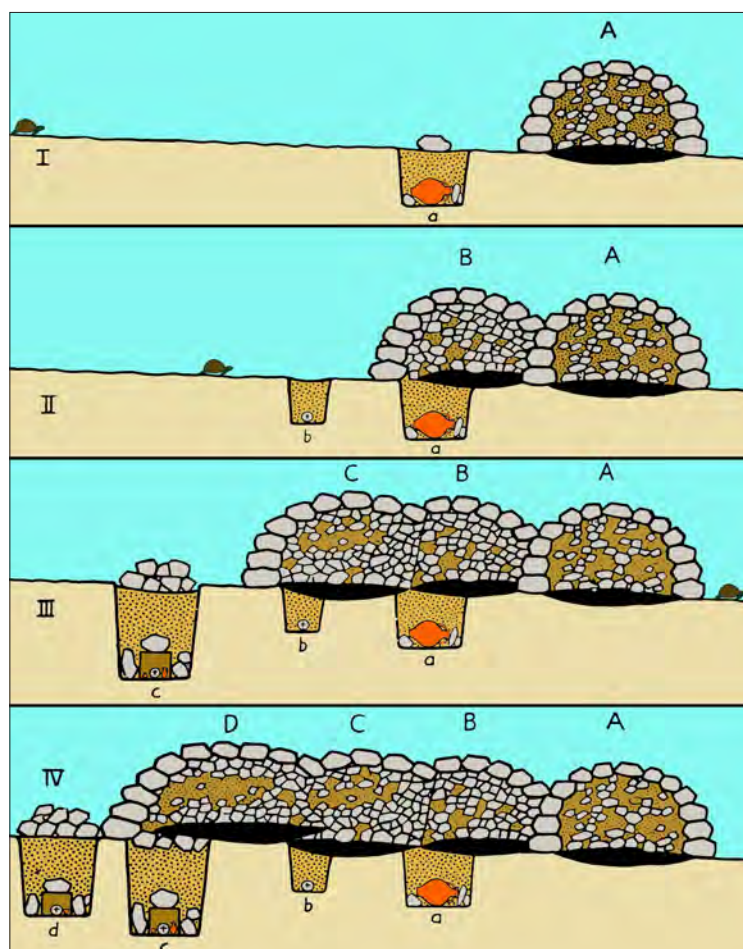


Fig. 1. Pithekoussai cemetery. Schematic section of the development of a family plot. The capital letters indicate the cremations with mounds, the miniscule the inhumations (a) of the newborn (the enchytrismos graves), (b) of adult without grave goods, (c-d) of children with grave goods. From BUCHNER 1975, modified

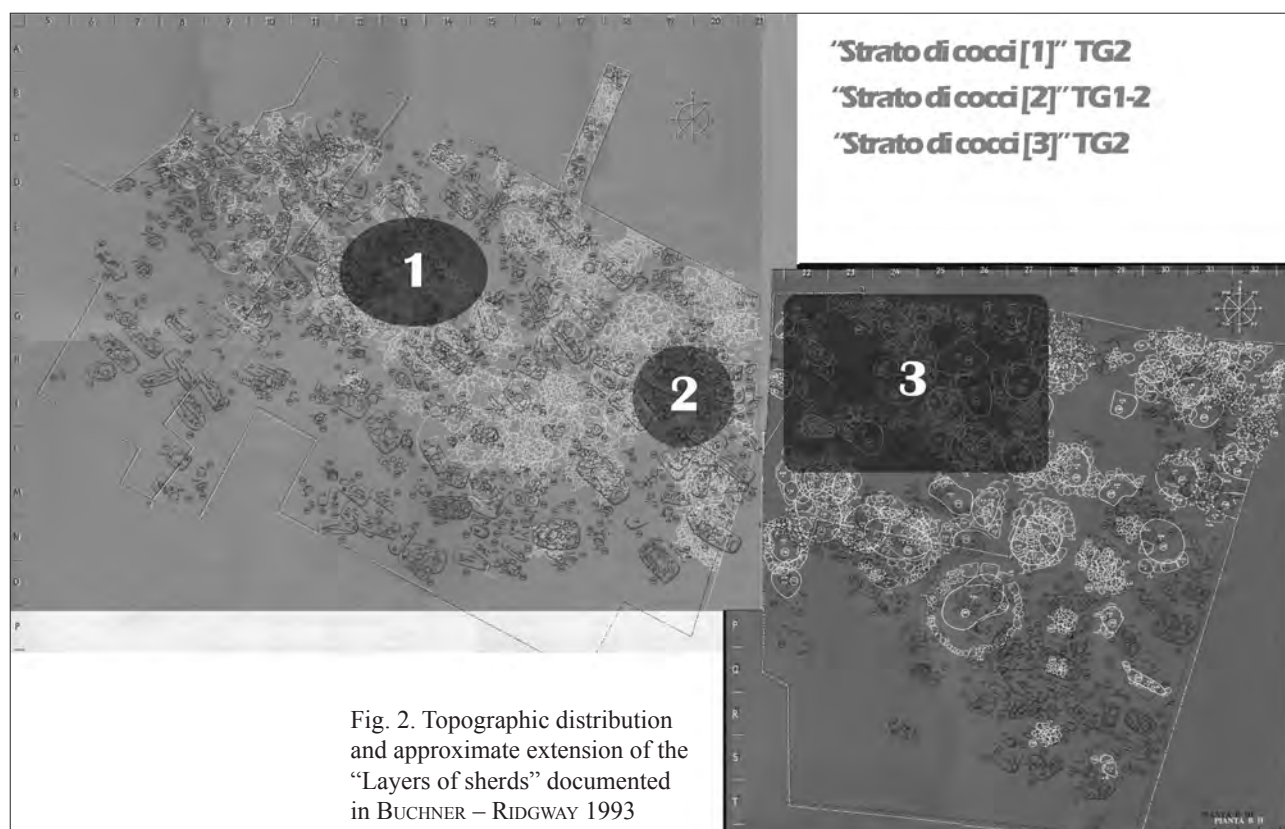


Fig. 2. Topographic distribution and approximate extension of the "Layers of sherds" documented in BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993

collected and deposited with the incinerated remains. For this reason, I have on several occasions used this and other observations to propose an alternative reading of the context of the tomb 168, famous for the so-called “Nestor’s cup”¹¹. This last burial, in fact, was placed in an area that had previously been used for the preparation of one or more funeral pyres, like the one investigated in 1996 in Teos, which has only recently been adequately published, and which Bruno d’Agostino has rightly cited for its contemporaneity and the numerous analogies with the aforementioned Ischian context¹².

IN VINO VERITAS: WINE AND CHILDREN

Among the characteristics which made the Pithekoussai’s cemetery an ideal study context the quality of information collected during excavation and that of its publication, the variety of material culture, the size of the sample¹³ and, above all, its representativeness in biological and sociological terms stand out. This is a very rare factor in the contemporary burial grounds of the Italian peninsula which testifies to this community’s tendency to include in the funerary spaces individuals who are often excluded elsewhere.

¹¹ Detailed discussion in NIZZO 2007, 30-36, where it was proposed for the first time the attribution of the grave goods referred jointly to the tomb 168 to two contexts distinct and distant in time and it was proposed to consider as residues of a former abandoned pyre some other objects such as the four craters. On the question, cf. in addition RIDGWAY 2009 and NIZZO 2016a, 61-65, fig. 5. This reconstruction was recently confirmed in Gigante et alii 2021 on the basis of a careful re-examination of the anthropological remains associated with tomb 168. The cremated remains were attributed to three distinct individuals, all probably adults; methodologically, however, it is not possible to exclude their belonging to multiple ustrines rather than to three distinct burials coinciding with the area of tomb 168.

¹² IREN – ÜNLÜ 2012, 309-334.

¹³ On the basis of the data in the original publication, this corresponds to about 10% of the original extension of the cemetery, a percentage that may appear insignificant in statistical terms (and which is not greatly increased by the portion of the cemetery discussed in GIGANTE – BONDIOLI – SPERDUTI 2016; CINQUANTAUATTRO 2012-2013, 2014), but which acquires its relevance if related to the formation dynamics of the burial ground previously synthesized, which follow logics that suggest a preliminary division of the funerary spaces into lots. In this way the individual family groups were able to respect precise logics in their dislocation within the funerary tissue, forming homogeneous sets in terms of their synchronic and diachronic representativeness, as I have on several occasions highlighted (NIZZO 2007, 25-26 and, lastly, 2013a, 443-446, and 2013b with references).

As Ian Morris pointed out in 1987¹⁴, the most significant indicator in this sense is undoubtedly the degree of demographic representativeness of people who died below the age of puberty. This is the part of the community affected more than any other by mechanisms of funeral discrimination. The factors that can determine these forms of exclusion are connected to the high infant mortality rate that distinguishes in the protoindustrial societies the younger age groups¹⁵ and to the collective perception of their individuality as something still alien to society: individuals, therefore, lacking those characteristics that would have allowed them to be included in the community of the living and, consequently, also in that of the dead¹⁶.

The analysis of the diachronic evolution of the relationship between adults and sub-adults in the 150 years ca. of the oldest phase of life of the cemetery¹⁷ has in fact clearly shown how – except for sporadic exceptions – the proportion (“ratio”) between individuals aged over 13 years and those of inferior age remained constantly equal or superior to 50% of the funerary population, a circumstance that can be considered, albeit with caution, in harmony with the known data for infant mortality rate in pre-industrial agricultural societies¹⁸.

The attention paid to sub-adults seems to reflect a more widespread phenomenon. Morris argued that this was correlated with the mechanisms which accompanied the birth and diffusion of the urban model, including a clearer separation between the space of the living and that reserved to the deceased. At the same time this strengthened the sense of identity which characterized the emergence of a new aristocratic conception, closely linked to territoriality¹⁹, on

¹⁴ MORRIS 1987; cf. also what already specified in this regard in NIZZO 2015, *ad indicem*, s.v. “Morris I.”; 2013a, 446-451; 2016b, 119-125; 2018a, 122-123 and *passim*.

¹⁵ Particularly evident for infants and children under 3-4 years of age, recipients in many cultures of specific taboos and prophylactic mechanisms.

¹⁶ NIZZO 2011; 2015, 251-256; 2018c; 2021a. For an up-to-date look at the archaeology of childhood, particularly careful about the problems of the Greek colonial contexts, see, lastly, BÉRARD 2017, 153-172, with references.

¹⁷ NIZZO 2007, 26-27 with notes on 205-206 and graphs at figs. 4-5.

¹⁸ For classical Athens, mortality within the first year of age is estimated between 30% and 40%: GOLDEN 1990, p. 83.

¹⁹ In the meaning ultimately deepened in an anthropological perspective by M. Godelier (GODELIER 2009), taken up and dis-

the one hand, and on the other to offspring as a form of conservation and transmission of the acquired condition. The increasing funerary representativeness of subadults, however, is not in itself sufficient for an exhaustive discussion of the problem, since their right to burial could also be expressed in differentiated forms, not necessarily discriminatory, giving rise to specialized sepulchral spaces and / or to the ritual practice of their burial in living environments. This circumstance is very well documented, for example, in *Latium vetus* even after the development of the urban model.

The emergence of identity factors related to the sense of belonging and to the inheritance of social status manifested in Pithekoussai cannot be compared to more extreme examples documented in some contemporary contexts of the indigenous world²⁰. But this does not mean that they are less significant, as I have tried to highlight by deepening the ritual role assumed by wine in some children's funerary contexts of the local Late Geometric phase (LG I-II: 740 ca.-680 BC). Here the simulation of a symposium²¹ seems to constitute a functional mechanism for the full inclusion of infants in the adult community, obtained after death through an extreme fiction of life²². The key points of the argument (which we cannot rehearse fully here) rely on the reference to the rites of passage that characterized in Athens some stages of the *Anthesteria*, festivals consecrated to Dionysus during which – in addition to the pleasure of wine – the incipient revival of spring was celebrated and, on the day of the *Choes* (“jugs”), the inclusion of children who had completed three years of age in their relevant *fratria*²³.

This ritual practice sanctioned their definitive entry into society²⁴, after having overcome one of

the most delicate periods of existence. It took place in a broader religious context in which the consecration to the divinity of the new wine jars (during the *Pithoigia*, the first day of the festival) served not only to guarantee their quality but, together with ceremony of the *Choes*, contributed to overcoming that phase of danger and “contamination” between the world of the living and that of the dead that, in many cultures, marks the transition between winter and spring. The seasonal transposition of a broader transition process, as often happens in the semantics of the ritual, was believed to be “addressed” and “solved” through a transitory ritual inversion of the social order, thanks to which it was possible to start a new (and, hopefully, more prosperous and propitious) phase of the entire cycle of nature as well as that of life.

If this hypothesis is correct, for the protagonists of the funeral action – to be identified, very plausibly, with the parents – the fictitious staging of a rite beyond death was to be perceived as a further strengthening of that sense of belonging that could not be exhausted by simply depositing the infant prematurely deceased inside the funeral space. Through a mechanism of “sharing/participation” at the same time ritual and symbolic²⁵, this fiction was intended to perfect an identity otherwise destined to remain uncompleted, so as to guarantee the definitive (albeit late) “inclusion” of the infant among the adults and to allow his parents the ideal transmission – at least in the otherworldly dimension of his existence – of those “prerogatives” that he would have the right to inherit.

THE STRATIGRAPHY OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Some time ago, in summarizing some of the peculiar aspects of the Pithecusan settlement, I used the periphrasis «palinsesto dell'archeologia mediterranea» («palimpsest of Mediterranean archaeology»), an expression which – in my opinion – should give very well the idea of the complexity

cussed in NIZZO 2013a, 422-427 (in particular on page 425); 2016b, 139-142.

²⁰ CUOZZO 2003.

²¹ This attitude is recognizable in a striking way in some tombs of infants or children buried with a cup near the hands in the act, plausibly, to hold it to drink: cf. in particular the graves 651, 654, 656 and 325 discussed in detail in the article cited at the following note, with mention of further symposium attributes – in particular, the precious metal crowns of the tombs 656 and 651 – and their discussion in the wider context of the burial ground.

²² NIZZO 2011, 67-75 with references.

²³ PHILOSTR. *Her.* XII, 2. On the question cf. BURKERT 2010, 437-444 and, in addition to the very detailed and in many respects resolute analysis of SPINETO 2005, 13-123 (in detail 24-35), most recently, DORIA – GIUMAN 2017.

²⁴ DORIA – GIUMAN 2017, 11-12.

²⁵ The same that distinguished in everyday life the dynamics of the rite and those of sacrifice and, through them, cemented the sense of belonging of citizens admitted to the ceremonies and to the consumption/division of meat, as is well summarized, based on an impressive literature, in AMPOLO 1996, 319.

and relevance of this context, at least for its first 5 or 6 decades of life²⁶. This is the period best documented in the portion of cemetery so far excavated and published, in which more than 600 burials are concentrated (Fig. 3). The burial ground, in fact, in addition to having remained substantially intact since the moments of its last frequentation, presents an uninterrupted use that lasted for over 150 years, with modalities that suggest the existence of a forward-looking division of the funerary spaces, assigned to specific “family groups” until their extinction and/or their emigration (Fig. 4). The distribution of the tombs, therefore, reflects the original structure of the “society of the living” with all its contradictions. Indeed, the demographic distribution of the sample suggests that there were no filters in the access to the formal deposition, as also suggested by the higher-than-usual statistical representativeness of people who are usually excluded or at least discriminated against, such as the children previously mentioned or as the people with physical or mental disability or the socially subordinated ones, on which we will return soon.

Thanks to the interweaving of stratigraphic data with the “sociological” ones, the interpreters have the uncommon opportunity to investigate the burial ground also through its complex web of family, “ethnic” and social relationships. The cemetery in the Valle di San Montano can therefore become the privileged terrain for an accurate reconstruction of the diachronic evolution of a “multi-ethnic” community, whose composition seems to reflect the “natural” demographic canons and whose representativeness, at the same time, it is not excessively altered by the action of those ritual filters that usually distort the funerary sample.

This is demonstrated by the inclusion in the cemetery of “deviant/atypical burials” that in other funerary contexts could have been treated in a more discriminatory way. Grave 309B is an inhumation pertaining to an adult man of the advanced LG II period, characterized by grave goods of middle-level and “Greek” origin, but marked by a physical deformity – humpback – that could have limited or altered his social role. An even more

significant example is inhumation 950 (excavations 1965-67)²⁷, relating to an adult man of over 40 years, inserted in the funerary context in a perfectly normal way. The deceased is placed supine with his legs blocked by very evident shackles of iron and, among the other grave goods, a dagger and a scarab placed on his chest²⁸. The shackles have been interpreted as the sign of freedom deprivation but, perhaps, could be understood more simply as a device used for immobilizing the deceased, explainable by relating them to the broader theme of the fear of the returning of the dead²⁹. This superstition is plausibly attested in Pithekoussai by the very common practice of placing large and heavy stones above the burial – intentionally deposited over the skull, the pelvis or the feet of the dead – with the aim of preventing their return to life³⁰.

The projection of family relationships and family legacies in the planimetric organization of the cemetery and in the composition of the grave goods thus encourages a type of reading in which the mutual connections between objects and people seem to be the result of intentional choices, “ethnically” and/or “genetically” addressed, meaning the latter term not only in the purely biological sense but placing it in relation to the broader and problematic Greek concept of *genos*.³¹

What elsewhere we try to reconstruct with the aid of analyses such as, for example, palaeo-genetic and paleo-biological ones³², in the Pithekoussai cemetery can be grasped through the most objective instrument made available by the archaeological investigation for the analytical reconstruction of the time-line and, in our case more or less consequently, also, of the “genetic” sequence: the stratigraphy. This depends, of course, on whether we know how to correctly interpret it.

²⁷ CINQUANTAQUATTRO 2012-2013, 53-54.

²⁸ Both objects are anomalous because of the rarity of the weapons in the cemetery and the fact that scarabs are almost exclusively documented in burials related to sub-adult individuals: NIZZO 2011, 69-79 with references.

²⁹ NIZZO 2015, 57-58 e 530-542.

³⁰ NIZZO 2007, 27-208, note 99, and 2015, 540 in general terms about the so-called “stoned burials”. On the topic, most recently, see NIZZO 2021b, 61-68.

³¹ SMITH 2006; NIZZO 2013a, 423-427, with references at note 23.

³² NIZZO 2015, 275-277.

²⁶ From 740 up to 680 BC ca., according to the chronological reconstruction proposed in BARTOLONI – NIZZO 2005 and NIZZO 2007.

		Pithekoussai	Pontecagnano	Osteria dell'Osa	Veio
800			IB	IIB	IC
					IIA
775		Primo stanziamento	IIA	IIIA	IIB
750	Liv. 10				
	Liv. 11				
	Liv. 12	TG1	IIB	IIIB	IIC
	Liv. 13				
725	Liv. 14				
	Liv. 15				
	Liv. 16				
	Liv. 17				
	Liv. 18				
	Liv. 19				
	Liv. 20				
	Liv. 21				
700	Liv. 22	TG 2		IVA1	IIIA
	Liv. 23				
	Liv. 24				
	Liv. 25				
	Liv. 26				
	Liv. 27				
	Liv. 28				
675	Liv. 29	MPC I			
	Liv. 30				
	Liv. 31	MPC II	Orientalizante		
	Liv. 32			IVA2	IIIB
650	Liv. 33				
	Liv. 34	TPC TR			
	Liv. 35	TPC TR-CA			
625	Liv. 36			IVB	IV
	Liv. 37	CA			
600	Liv. 38				
	Liv. 39	CM			
	Liv. 40				

Fig. 3. Chronological table. Parallelism between the Pithecan sequence and those of Pontecagnano (Campania), Osteria dell'Osa (Lazio) and Veio (Etruria). Revised by Nizzo 2007

However, the framework foresaw by Buchner emerged in all its exceptional relevance only in 1993 with the definitive edition of the first portion of excavations, consisting of 723 contexts, 131 of which related to the phases of re-occupation of the cemetery following the first archaism³³. This exhaustive presen-

tation of the excavation data intentionally lacked the accurate statistical analysis that Buchner had not even begun in 1975, since he considered it potentially «monca e insoddisfacente» («incomplete and unsatisfactory»)³⁴ if not integrated with the equally numerous contexts that were dug during the subsequent investigations.

³³ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993.

³⁴ BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 11.

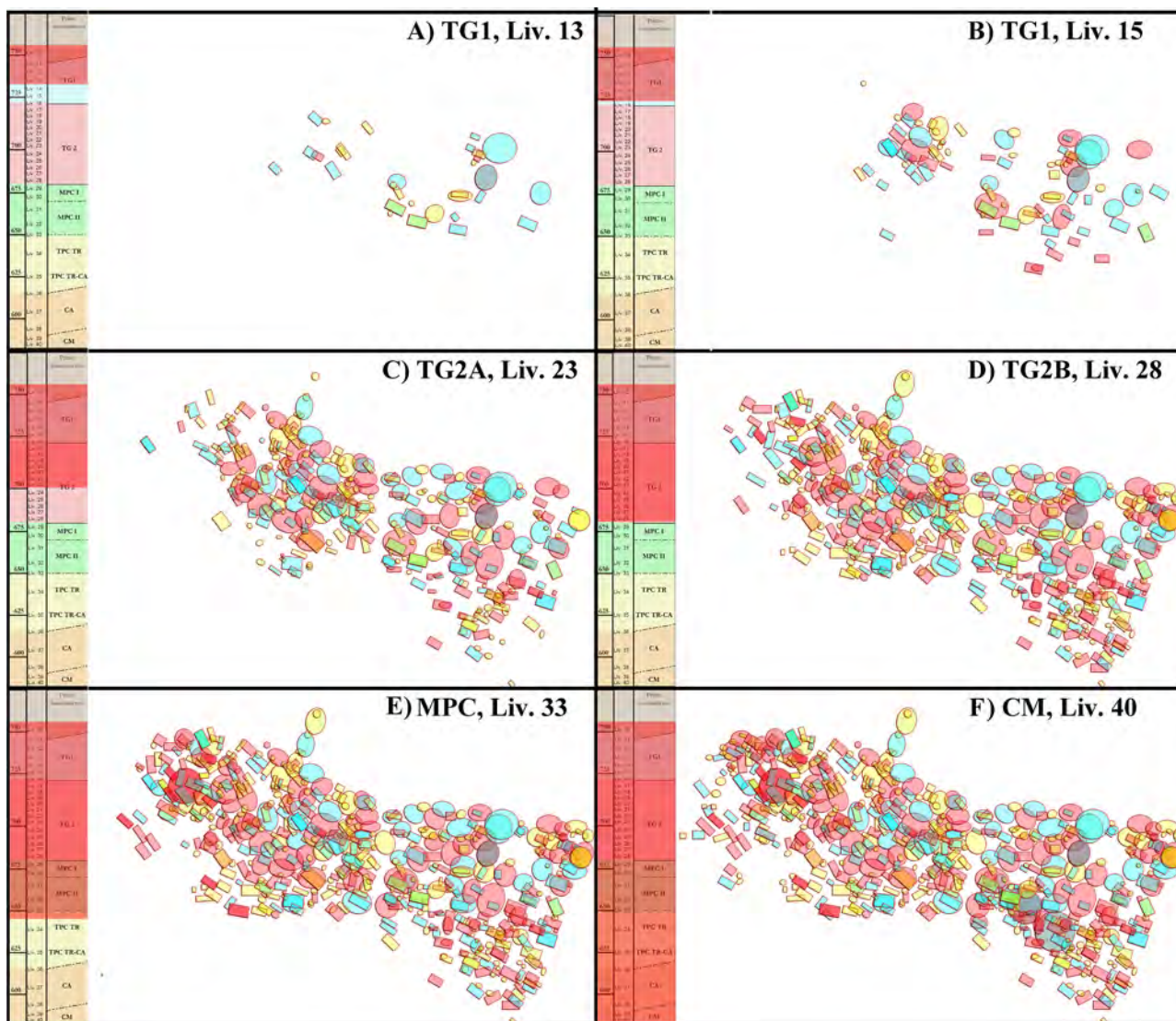


Fig. 4. Pithekoussai: Planimetric development of the cemetery. A. LG I, Liv. 13; B. LG I, Liv. 15; C. LG IIA, Liv. 23; D. LG IIB, Liv. 28; E. MPC, Liv. 33; F. MC, Liv. 40. Elaboration according to Nizzo 2007 and 2016c

Ridgway himself attempted to sketch a synthesis in his unsurpassed monograph of 1984³⁵, wisely combining a traditional quantitative analysis with qualitative evaluations, in such a way as to achieve a reliable reconstruction of the behavior of the funeral sample during the two best represented phases of the cemetery (LG I and LG II). The analysis of the main documented variables allowed him, therefore, to propose some historical interpretations, which, however, were always advanced with great caution:

«More sophisticated sorting techniques might well bring to light repeated (and so perhaps significant) patterns at the level of grave and, more

interestingly still, of family plot. Meanwhile, in the present state of the evidence from the cemetery in the Valle di San Montano, it seems clear enough that any social stratification there may be at Euboean Pithekoussai does not extend to an immediately apparent élite, like those which were developing at this time in Euboea itself and on the Italian mainland. Political and military evolution at home and social change in Campania, Latium vetus and Southern Etruria are both worlds apart from the prosperous middle-class community in the eighth-century commercial and industrial centre on the island of Ischia, where arms and armour are so far conspicuous by their absence»³⁶.

³⁵ RIDGWAY 1984, 85 ff.

³⁶ RIDGWAY 1984, p. 95 [= RIDGWAY 1992, 77].

As Ridgway stated, the absence of a clearly differentiated élite was the most surprising datum of the San Montano cemetery. Apparently contrasting with the documentation offered by the princely tombs of the Euboean motherland or by the indigenous ones of the Campanian, Etruscan or Latium hinterland, distinguished by the often almost frustrated imitation of those Hellenic models which, inevitably, were supposed to have been “exported” through the same Pithekoussai and/or its Cumaeon “emanation”.

A COMMUNITY WITHOUT ÉLITES [?]

At Pithekoussai, therefore, there seemed to be no direct evidence of those aristocratic prototypes of Hellenic origin from which the Italic populations took inspiration, re-encoding through them the local funeral ritual. This gap that could have different explanations, depending on random factors related to the limited extension of the investigation (as Buchner was inclined to explain), or due to ritual conditionings, determined by the desire to transpose in the funerary dimension different and/or partial aspects of those heroic models usually evoked by the presence of rank indicators such as weapons. The articulation of the cemetery in homogeneous family plots and the systematic absence of objects connoting the dead from a military and/or aristocratic point of view suggests that the explanation may also depend on alternative factors, not just linked to the particular social structure of the Pithecusan community but also to the mechanisms of funeral practices. The dead who by age, origin and condition could have been socially characterized as members of the élite, in fact, were generally cremated, with procedures that implied the burning of the corpse with its grave goods in an area usually distinct from that of the burial.

As mentioned earlier, citing the case of the pyre of Teos, this could therefore result in a wide dispersion of the burnt material which, in the case of the ceramic items, could cause the loss of about two thirds of each vessel³⁷.

The same ritual practices could therefore determine a series of more or less involuntary alterations of the primitive arrangement of the grave goods. Even before the deposition, in fact, the original representativeness of the grave goods could be profoundly altered, creating an irreparable break between the archaeologically preserved documentation and its “natural” sociological projection, at least in the simplistic terms assumed by the equation wealth [of the grave goods] = rank [of the dead], typical of the “processual” perspective³⁸.

Further interferences could also be caused by the deliberate intention of the mourners to merge («agglutinare»): using the expression of the editors) the burials, overlapping and mixing mounds, ashes, bones and grave goods.

This circumstance that has been verified on several occasions, sometimes forcing the excavators to review their original interpretation, as I believe has occurred in the aforementioned case of tomb 168 and as recent anthropological analyses have allowed us to verify in the case of cremation 944³⁹.

In the light of factors such as those mentioned, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to make an automatic quantification of the social status of the Pithecusans (especially the incinerated ones, belonging, as we have seen, to the Greek élite). The sociological interpretation of the cemetery must therefore be related to other parameters, which are different from the simple evaluation of the surviving objects recovered in the funeral deposit. This circumstance, naturally, does not allow us to exclude the existence of an unexplored portion of the necropolis reserved for the aristocratic component of the community⁴⁰.

Whatever the case, what has been identified so far, for its ramification of meanings and for the

³⁸ NIZZO 2015, *ad indicem*, s.v. “Archaeology of rank”.

³⁹ The tomb is known for the presence of an impasto amphora with an incised double spiral probably imported from *Latium vetus*: BARTOLONI – NIZZO 2005, 418–419. Recent analysis of the osteological remains (GIGANTE – BONDIOLI – SPERDUTI 2016) have led to the identification of the cremated remains of two adult individuals, a male and a female, plausibly burnt in two distinct moments, being in my opinion highly improbable the case of a simultaneous bisome cremation. Also, in this case – as I have already speculated for t. 168 – it is extremely plausible that the grave goods should be attributed to at least two separate incinerations, one intentionally merged to the other.

⁴⁰ BUCHNER 1975, 73.

³⁷ RIDGWAY 1984, 63; cf. also BUCHNER 1975, 69.

enormous interpretative potentialities that derive from it, allows us to recognize the existence of a profound social diversification of the community even within a widespread «*medietas*»⁴¹. This situation appears in all its evidence in the same spatial organization of the cemetery, as well as in ritual choices. Their analysis makes it possible to assign a subordinate role, if not even “servile”, to some adult individuals, formally buried but subject to a clearly differentiated funeral treatment, recognizable by the poverty or absence of the grave goods and by the crouched deposition of the corpse⁴².

The construction of the social at the dawn of colonization

With the definitive publication of the first part of the cemetery, many investigations focused specifically on these aspects, deepening, through a predominantly “indigenous” perspective, the “funerary interaction” dynamics between the deceased of presumably “local”⁴³ origin and the ones interpreted as “colonists”⁴⁴.

Referring more or less directly to some of the theoretical statements of postprocessual “sociology”, scholars such as d’Agostino or Cerchiai have tried to highlight the elements that most contribute to testifying to this dialectic. They have given particular emphasis to the forms of resistance, naturalization and/or ideological independence that can hide themselves, more or less completely, behind the dynamics of cohabitation, integration and/or subjugation of the Indigenous people. If, on the one hand, inhumations such as the so-called tomb of the “carpenter” (t. 678, belonging to a man of about 21 years) can show forms of integration revealing «the adherence to an ethical model that enhances the representation of work in the funerary space»⁴⁵,

on the other hand, the existence of apparently discriminated individuals, placed in the necropolis in ways similar to a sort of “ghettoization” and often characterized by objects of local origin, leads us to presume contextual forms of enslavement of the indigenous component of the community. This produces a play of mirrors in which the burial seems to provide a metonymic image of society, in which «the notion of subalternity [...] does not seem to presuppose the denial of the “social person” of the dead who retains the right to formal burial in the same cemetery of full members». The deceased is still allowed to preserve his “ritual strategies of representation” (impasto wares, ornaments, tools, crouched deposition of the corpse), so as to stimulate Cerchiai to «wonder if these signs do not structure, in a socially non-competitive dimension, forms of cultural resistance put in place by marginal and subaltern groups towards the ideology of the dominant group»⁴⁶.

The presence of indigenous material, however, is not always directly an “ethnicity” marker, especially in those frequent cases in which it connotes “elitist” contexts, such as the impasto cup from the Nestor’s cup tomb (168) or the enotrian *askos* from the tomb of the Bocchoris’s scarab (325). So it may be legitimate to explain the phenomenon by attributing to the «most important noble groups» a function of «social integrators», «able to metabolizing disparate ethnic and cultural contributions»⁴⁷. This may be particularly evident from the analysis of ornamental objects diffused in the cemetery which reveals a massive attestation of artefacts of local origins and typologies, acquired through non-episodic contacts and, plausibly, also through forms of “matrimonial exchange”, culminating, consequently, in “mixed marriages”⁴⁸.

The results of this “ethnic” and cultural fusion, however, are even more evident not only from the internal analysis of the material culture but, above all, interweaving the latter’s data with that extraordinary source of information offered by the stratigraphic sequence of the cemetery (Fig. 5).

⁴¹ Zevi 1987 to compare with Ridgway 1994 and with Mele 2005.

⁴² See, for example, the particularly significant cases of “groups” A06 and B02 according to the name adopted in Nizzo 2007 and, therein, the paragraph dedicated to the analysis of the tombs “without grave goods”, 31-32.

⁴³ For the presence of specific “signs of ethnic relevance” such as, for example, impasto wares or indigenous fibulae.

⁴⁴ Bartoloni – Nizzo 2005; Cerchiai 1997; Coldstream 1993, 1994; d’Agostino 1994, 1999a, 1999b, 2006, 2008, 2011; Guzzo 2012; Nizzo 2007; 2010, 91 ff.; 2013a; 2016a; 2016b; Ridgway 2000.

⁴⁵ d’Agostino 1999a, 60; Cerchiai 1997, 659; about the context cf. also Kelley 2012, and Nizzo 2013a, 415-416, note 73.

⁴⁶ Cerchiai 1997, 669.

⁴⁷ d’Agostino 1999a, 60-61.

⁴⁸ Coldstream 1993, 1994; Shepherd 1999; Lo Schiavo 2006; Macnamara 2006; Toms 2006; Nizzo 2007, 28-29; 2010, 91 ff.; Guzzo 2012.

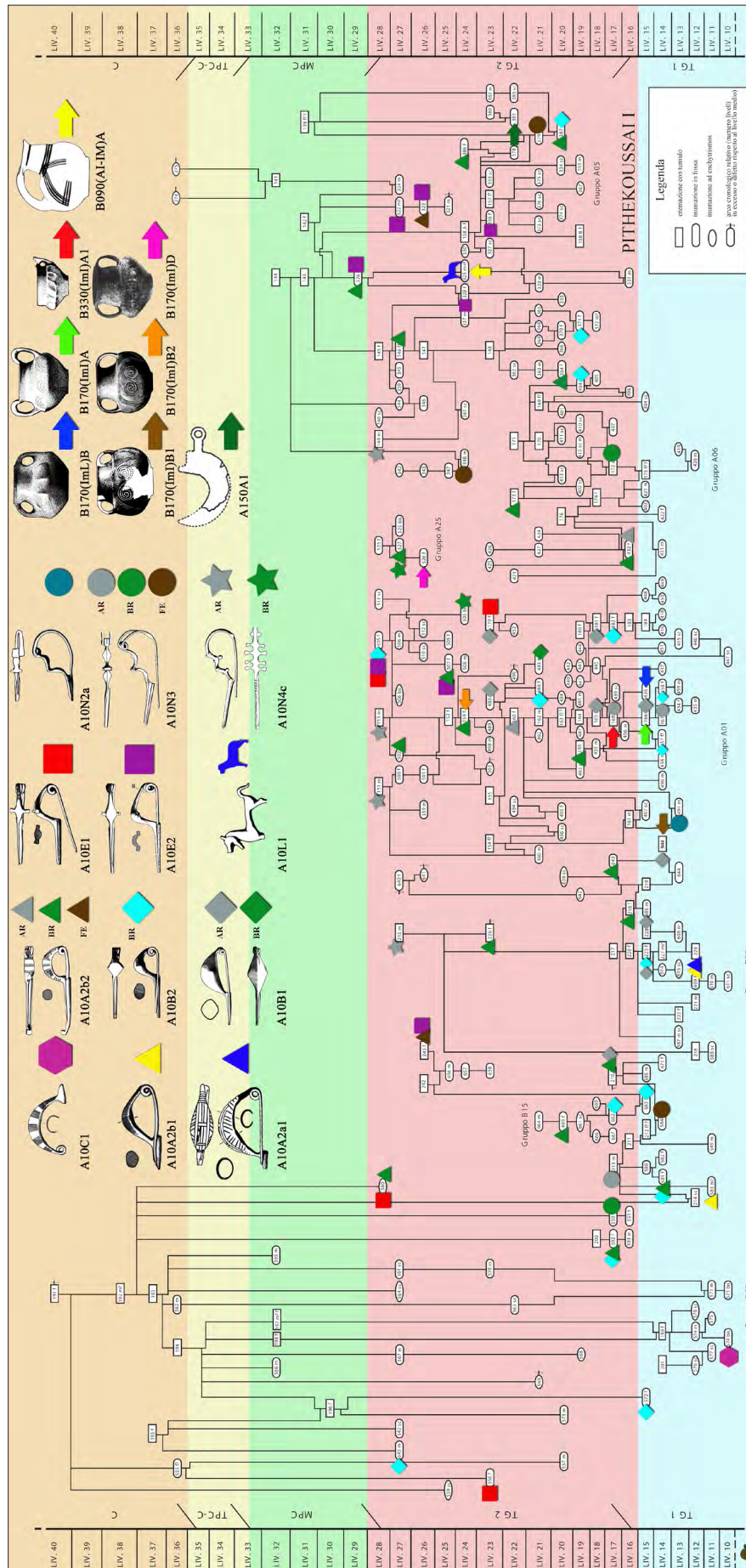


Fig. 5. Pithekoussai cemetery. Simplified stratigraphic diagram with distribution of some of the most common fibulae and some indigenous imported objects. Elaboration V. Nizzo

The careful analysis of the Pithecusan network – closely linked to the investigation of the spatial, ritual and typological-associative components mentioned above – makes it possible to retrace the dynamics of these processes with a degree of accuracy very rare compared to the contemporary Mediterranean documentation. In this sense, therefore, I believe that the most important acquisitions derive not only from a better clarification of the dating and/or consistency of each single funerary context, but rather from the degree of depth that can be achieved in *micro*- and *macro*-historical terms starting from the critical reading of the entire sequence, even if limited to the time frame in which it is better documented. The variations found in the demographic composition and/or in the appearance/disappearance of specific categories of objects, as well as in the diachronic variability of their percentage representativeness, in fact, are all pieces of information which can be interpreted in connection with historical⁴⁹ and/or sociological⁵⁰ dynamics. And it is reasonable to suppose – given the cultural heterogeneity of the Pithecusan sample – that these may reflect some of the contemporary events that involved the Mediterranean populations, at least as far as they could be reflected in the local funeral documentation: the «great history» in the «little history»⁵¹.

As already mentioned, in fact, by developing some of the methodological lines inaugurated by Ian Morris⁵², the diachronic analysis of the demographic evolution of the burial ground, limited to its best documented phases (from LG I to the beginning of the MPC), allows us to identify significant alterations of biological and sociological relationships. These are believed to reflect as many changes in the organization of the community.

A significant indication in this last sense could be recognized in the sudden decline in the number of cremations («CT») recorded at levels 19-20 of LG II (Fig. 6a), at a time when, instead, the number of adult and infant inhumations («I Ado/Adu» and

«I Inf/B-IE») continued to grow, resulting in an unusual overcoming of the natural proportion between adults/adolescents and infants («Ratio Inf-B/Ado-Adu»), significantly in favour of the latter, whereas in Pithekoussai, up to the principle of MPC, it tends to remain close to the expected value of 50%, due to the very high infant mortality rate known in pre-industrial agricultural societies (Fig. 6b). If one observes the proportion between the sexes in adults and adolescents, even taking into account the high number of individual with unknown sex («N.ID»), it can also be noted that in coincidence with the aforementioned levels the representativeness of the feminine component is extremely significant, with results that have few comparisons in the other chronological segments (Fig. 6c).

The coincidence of different parameters such as those mentioned, in my opinion, is due to an event that, at the beginning of LG II (around 715-710 BC), had to cause a significant numerical decline in the most dynamic portion of the community: the adult cremated males, those that – according to their ritual and social status – can be identified with the group of Greek origin.

It seems therefore reasonable to link this decrease to the tradition of a migration of the Pithecusans on the Cumaeen seaboard⁵³; a migration that, in its initial phases, had to involve mainly the Greeks able to use weapons. They were only ones who could have contributed to the colonial challenge with the use of force⁵⁴, to achieve those results witnessed, a few years later, by burials like the 104 Artiàco. It is probably right around this period that the conditions for a sudden change in the institutional and organizational structure of the small Pithecusan community had to be created, but too quickly to be reconstructed in detail through the material evidence. The strengthening of the economic and political dialectic with the mainland, the motherland and the Mediterranean must have contributed to increasing the mobility of the most dynamic members of the community, irreversibly altering their own funerary representativeness, in a cemetery that was no longer be its only funeral pole nor, even the main one.

⁴⁹ Such as the Lelantine war, the Assyrian expansion in the Near East, the founding of Cuma, the Corinthian colonization etc.

⁵⁰ Such as the spread of the alphabet, that of the Homeric imagery, the reception of Greek and oriental practice of drinking and eating, the diffusion of artistic, stylistic or technological innovations etc.

⁵¹ As already highlighted in D'AGOSTINO 1987.

⁵² MORRIS 1987, 1992, 1998; in this regard cf. also NIZZO 2015, 257-267; 2016b.

⁵³ LIV. VIII, 22.5-6; GUZZO 2011, 71-111, NIZZO 2016a.

⁵⁴ PHLEGON OF TRALLES (*FGrHist* 257 f 36 X B 53-56); GUZZO 2011, 104, NIZZO 2021c, 191-202 with ref.

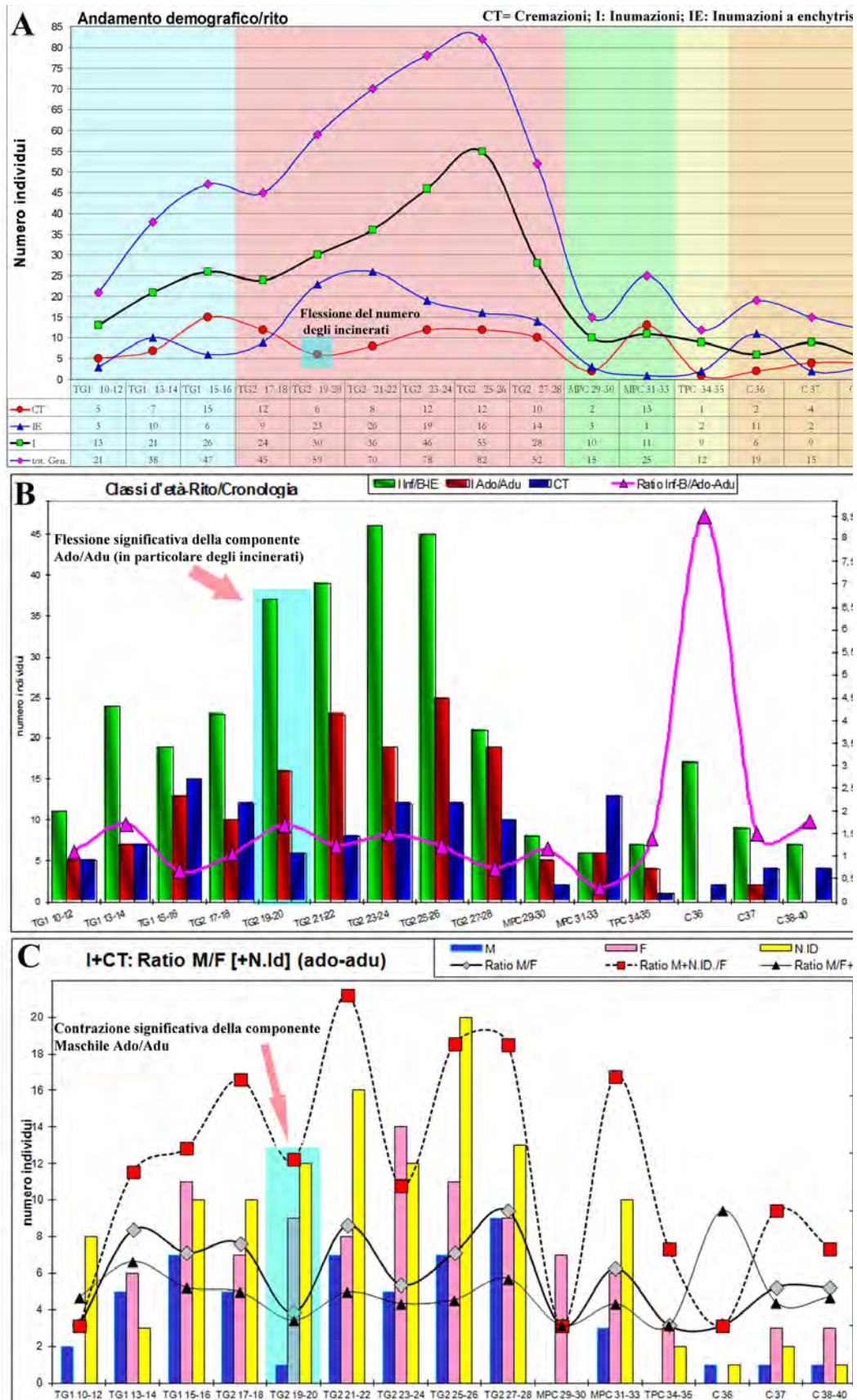


Fig. 6. Pithekoussai cemetery. A. Demographic trend (rite/number of individuals). B. Demographic trends by age-rite classes (CT + I + IE) and proportional ratio (Ratio) Inf + B / Adolescents + Adults. C. Demographic trend of adolescents + adults (CT + I) in relation to sex and proportional ratio (Ratio) M / F [+ N.Id]. Rielaboration from Nizzo 2007

“Princely” tombs such as the 104 Artiàco and the other similar ones of Cuma are punctually integrated into a context in which both Greek and indigenous indicators of excellence converge admirably. This is the result of a skilful blend of aristocratic traditions whose cultural and expressive core remains, in my opinion, the Hellenic one, inclined to reabsorb and recode the local contributions, maintaining and, perhaps, further emphasizing the ritual and symbolic imprinting of the motherland, in a moment in which the identity and ethnic dynamics tended to balance each other between the opposite extremes of contrast and emulation.⁵⁵

The Cumaean documentation, however, due to the characteristics of the context and its complex circumstances of excavation, does not allow us to follow in the same depth those dynamics and processes synthesized so far for Pithekoussai. The demographic evolution of the Pithecusan community, in fact, within the limits previously described, seems to acquire an unexpected consistency, based on the critical weighting of all the variables susceptible to examination for the entire cemetery and not on the observa-

tion of isolated parameters or individual exceptional contexts, albeit intriguing, such as the Artiàco tomb.

The comparison reveals the now complete transition of the Cumaean reality towards the settlement model of the *polis* and the sociological model of the *genos*, conditions which, plausibly, the small Pithecusan community – due to the nature of the island and the historical circumstances – was never able to achieve in “physical” and “institutional” dimensions⁵⁶, but which, evidently, it already conceptually carried *in nuce* and which it saw materialize precisely with the foundation of Cuma. This event represented the full realization of the aims and ambitions that had justified the origin and the implantation of the first *apoikia* in the west.

Addendum (2023/12)

This paper was submitted for publication in the winter 2018/19, without subsequent additions. The only exceptions are some bibliographical updates. I warmly thank the editors for the invitation to the conference and for allowing these small additions.

⁵⁵ NIZZO 2016b.

⁵⁶ NIZZO 2013b.

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tures at the site. Despite the lack of completeness and the poor representativeness of the skeletons, the individualisation of the bone assemblages has allowed to identify commingled faunal and human remains (in 20.3% of the tombs) and to estimate the Index of Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) for each grave unit.

The number of individuals identified is 267 out of 256 tombs. The overall demographic profile shows low child mortality representation (new-borns and infants aged 0-1 year represent 7.11% of the skeletons; young children aged 1-5 years, 12.7%), indicating a strong bias in the demographic composition of these age cohorts. Adult age classes (20-40 years; >40 y; >20 years) exhibit diachronic differences in males to females ratios, namely 1.3 in Late Geometric I (LG I, 750-725 BC); 2.5 between Late Geometric I and II (LG I-LG II, 725-700 BC); 0.9 in Late Geometric II (LG II, 725-675 BC); 0.8 in Middle Protocorinthian (MPC 675-650 BC).

Osteological evidence has led to a reconsideration of several funerary contexts, integrating the taphonomic observations of the graves with the biological life history of the deceased. Except for two cases (double Cremation 916, LG I, and single Cremation 140, MPC), this study confirms the exclusion of children from cremation customs.

VALENTINO NIZZO, *Ritual Landscapes and Ritual Codes in the Pithekoussai Cemetery*

The cemetery of Pithekoussai, in its early phases, was in use for about 150 years. The excavated portion of the burial ground contains more than 600 graves, the majority of which belongs to a period concentrated between 740 and 680 BC. Thanks to Giorgio Buchner's excavations we have significant information about the funerary practices.

Among the most interesting aspects that emerged from a systematic analysis of the stratigraphy was the reinterpretation of the diachronic and demographic evolution of the necropolis. This has provided extremely important data, both about the structure of the funerary groups and the way the ritual landscape was laid out. The analysis here reveals that the community did not discriminate based

on categories of age, gender, or social status in the formal disposal of the dead, and possibly also not on the ethnic origin of the deceased. Instead the evidence suggests a degree of integration and cultural hybridization, a point that is particularly interesting considering the historical context.

Thanks to the interweaving of stratigraphic data with "sociological" ones, the interpreters have the uncommon opportunity to investigate the burial ground also through its complex web of family, "ethnic" and social relationships. The cemetery in the Valle di San Montano can therefore become the privileged terrain for an accurate reconstruction of the diachronic evolution of a "multi-ethnic" community, whose composition seems to reflect the "natural" demographic canons and whose representativeness, at the same time, it is not excessively altered by the action of those ritual filters that usually distort the funerary sample.

In the present paper, we will briefly limit ourselves to analysing the main characteristics of the funeral sample, focusing attention on some components of the ritual landscape and on the possible interpretation of their codes.

COSTANZA GIALANELLA, PIER GIOVANNI GUZZO, *The Manufacturing District in Mazzola and its Metal Production*

This contribution resumes the notes written by J. Klein during the excavation conducted in 1969 in the locality of Mazzola on the hill of Mezzavia (municipality of Lacco Ameno, Naples). The structures identified, of which the stratigraphic succession is highlighted, are dated between the middle of the 8th century BC and the beginning of the following century. The site is terraced and was probably abandoned due to landslides and earthquakes. In addition to pottery, evidence has been found of metal smelting, manufacture and repair of bronze fibulae. Iron, lead, silver and glass smelting scraps are abundant, but there is no bronze. Among the best-known finds, the known weight of 8.79 gm and some bronze figurines are discussed. No evidence for the production of gold objects has been identified, nor is the presence of gold deposits on the island verified. On Ischia there is only

Finito di stampare nel mese di marzo 2024
presso l'Industria Grafica Letizia, Capaccio (SA)
per conto di UniorPress

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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.

