

Conflict or Coexistence? Remarks on Indigenous Settlement and Greek Colonization in the Foothills and Hinterland of the Sibaritide (Northern Calabria, Italy)*

Peter Attema

In any discussion touching on the subject of the meeting of cultures in colonial situations, the inevitable question will arise whether this involved conflict or was harmonious in nature, and whether it was a meeting on equal footing or one characterized by the dominance of one culture over the other. Various theoretical and case studies have been dedicated to this subject, and a substantial bibliography has developed as a result.¹

Meeting of cultures East and West: an introduction

Does the increasing presence of Greek goods in indigenous tombs, sanctuaries and households point to a peaceful process of acculturation, and the active adoption by indigenous peoples of foreign commodities in order to enrich their own material culture and expression of identity, or does it point to cultural dominance of Greeks over indigenous peoples as the outcome of

* This paper draws on the practical and intellectual work of many staff and students that have been or are still involved in the excavations of the Groningen Institute of Archaeology at Timpone Motta and the surveys in the Raganello watershed. With regard to the present paper I specifically want to mention prof. dr. M. Kleibrink, director of the excavations of Timpone Motta. The discussion in the paragraph on the meeting of cultures in the sanctuary at Timpone Motta is based on her publications. With respect to the latter paragraph, thanks are due to Jan Jacobsen who discussed the pottery related to the various building phases in the sanctuary. He also compiled the three accompanying pottery plates. The results of the surveys and topographical work discussed in this paper are the fruit of close cooperation with dr. P.M. van Leusen of the Groningen Institute of Archaeology, my co-director in the Raganello Archaeological Project. Christina Williamson corrected the English text, for which I am particularly grateful. Also I wish to express my thanks to dott.ssa. S. Luppino of the Soprintendenza Archeologica della Calabria for supporting our work in the Sibaritide. Finally I like to thank Pia Guldager Bilde, who introduced me to Black Sea archaeology by inviting me to participate in the meeting of cultures congress at Sandbjerg. This was a highly stimulating meeting that resulted in a now running joint survey project around Lake Džarylgač in western Crimea, a project that addresses exactly this theme.

subjection and/or outright conflict? Should changes in regional settlement patterns in colonial situations always be interpreted as driven by colonial politics, or can they be seen as part of the process of urbanization, triggered by demographic input and, for example, new ways of cultivating the countryside? And, most importantly in the context of this paper, how are these relationships translated in space?

First, we should acknowledge that colonial situations in the Greek colonial world were not uniform; consequently there is no single model that accommodates every situation. Secondly, archaeological evidence can be extremely open to interpretation and the same evidence may sometimes “fit” totally opposed stances, the interpretation depending on the theoretical, methodological and/or ideological background of the researcher, research group or research programme.² Thirdly, past colonial situations were not static and fortunes changed over time. What may have started out as a peaceful coexistence of cultures may over time have turned into a situation of conflict. Moreover, Greek colonization was not a monolithic enterprise and there will have been a variety of simultaneous sorts of relationships between Greek settlers and indigenous groups. This happened in the coastal areas of Sicily and South Italy as well as elsewhere in the Mediterranean and in the Black Sea area. Relationships and alliances could be played out on the level of individual settlements. The latter is in any case true of the Greek colonial settlements that, as we know, acted as individual entities interacting with indigenous settlements. However, they could equally be in conflict with each other as shown, for example, by the destruction of the Greek colony Sybaris by its Greek rival Kroton in 510 BC.³ Whether indigenous settlements also acted as individual entities or were united in tribal alliances as a rule is hard to say; the ancient literary sources are explicit on the role of the Greek colonies, but very generic on the role that indigenous settlements played.

Recent archaeological discoveries on the Ionian coasts of South Italy and reassessments of existing evidence have reopened the debate on the complex nature of Greek and indigenous relationships in South Italy, a discussion that was vivid in earlier Italian publications on this region.⁴ This complex nature of Greek and indigenous relationships is likely to have been the norm in the period of Greek colonization, and we may surmise that first contact situations in the Black Sea area were no less intricate than in Magna Graecia, even if the nature of the societies with which the Greeks came into contact in the two areas was quite different. Indeed, the archaeological record indicates that the measure of socio-economic and political complexity of early colonial situations in Magna Graecia was comparable to that of the northern Black Sea area.⁵ The historical outcome of the meeting of Greeks and indigenous peoples in terms of long term cultural acculturation or assimilation, was, however, quite different in Magna Graecia and the northern Black Sea coastal areas, not least because of the very different natures of the indigenous populations the Greeks came into contact with in both areas, i.e. settled agriculturalists in the coastal plains and foothills of Magna Graecia versus nomadic and semi-nomadic groups in

the steppe areas bordering the northern Black Sea coast. Whilst proto-historic Greeks and Italic peoples certainly shared some similarities in their socio-economic and settlement organization, Greek and nomadic steppe peoples must have been worlds apart as to their ways of life. This of course makes the comparison between colonial situations in Magna Graecia and the Black Sea a highly interesting topic for which there is a growing interest and fortunately a growing amount of comparative material generated by various approaches. In the field of landscape archaeology, we may mention the recent comparative work of J. Carter on the ways in which the Greeks organized the agricultural territories around their urban colonial foundations in the *chorai* of respectively Metapontion and Chersonesos.⁶ Indeed, one approach of studying colonial situations is to take the long term comparative perspective of “Mediterranean type” landscape archaeology, preferably in combination with the excavation of key urban sites, a tradition that is well established in Italian research, but is relatively new to the northern Black Sea area.⁷ A look at a South Italian case study may therefore be instructive: The Groningen Institute of Archaeology has over the years carried out two combined field programmes in Italy in which excavation and survey have been complementary. One of these projects studies the meeting of Greek and indigenous cultures in northern Calabria (South Italy), and this project will serve here as a comparative case study for the collection of papers brought together in this volume on the meeting of cultures in the northern Black Sea area.⁸

Aim and content of paper

In this contribution it is my intention to discuss the settlement evolution in the plain, foothills and hinterland of the Sibaritide (province of Calabria, Italy) where Greek settlers according to the historical sources first came into contact with indigenous groups at the end of the 8th century BC. Recent archaeological discoveries have shown that a primary role in this cultural contact was played by the sanctuary on Timpone Motta overlooking the wide plain of Sybaris, where colonists reportedly coming from Achaia founded the famous settlement of Sybaris. The archaeological site of Timpone Motta, near the present-day village of Francavilla Marittima, has been the object of archaeological research since the 1960s by both Italian and Dutch scholars. Excavations were conducted in its cemetery, settlement and sanctuary, while the study of its wider landscape archaeological context is a relatively recent phenomenon. The combination of data from settlement and environment adds to our understanding of the nature of relationships of the indigenous Oinotrian peoples with those of the Greek colony of Sybaris. Sanctuary and settlement contexts have been the subject of annual excavation and study campaigns by a team from the Groningen Institute of Archaeology since 1993,⁹ with landscape archaeological research, including intensive surveys, starting soon after.¹⁰ Part of the methodology of survey in the Sibaritide since 2000

includes intensive field walking in the surroundings of Timpone Motta in survey units of 50 x 50 m, in order to reveal the long term settlement dynamics of the study area from prehistory to present, but with a special focus on the period of the formation of proto-urban settlement, Greek colonization and Hellenistic settlement.¹¹ Especially the outcome of the landscape archaeological component in GIA's research strategy may in the future be compared to results that are currently being obtained in a joint survey project in the north-western Crimea, the Džarylgač Survey Project (DSP), recently launched by a Danish-Dutch-Ukrainian collaborative effort (2006-2010). This joint landscape archaeological project by the Danish National Research Foundation's Centre for Black Sea Studies at the University of Aarhus (DK), the Groningen Institute of Archaeology of the University of Groningen (NL), and the Crimean branch of the Institute of Archaeology NASU at Simferopol (Ukraine) employs the same "Mediterranean type" survey methodology as used in South Italy. In this way it will soon be possible to compare the influence of Greek agricultural colonization on the exploitation of indigenous landscapes.

Occupation at the site of Timpone Motta, located near the present-day village of Francavilla Marittima, began in the Middle Bronze Age and ended at the end of the Archaic period. During this long period Timpone Motta, first excavated by M.W. Stoop and later by M. Kleibrink, was the scene of a flourishing sanctuary that, having started as an indigenous cult place in the early Iron Age would evolve in the late Iron Age and Archaic period into an Athenaion, boasting several temple buildings with a Greek plan and stone foundations. This continuity in cult activities makes the Timpone Motta a key-site for the Sibaritide regarding the current theme: the meeting of Greek and indigenous cultures. On the basis of the evidence currently available for the Sibaritide, should we opt for a model of conflict or for one of coexistence, a model of dominance or one of equal footing? This issue is one of the most hotly debated issues in the archaeology of the Sibaritide of the colonial period and more in general in the archaeology of Magna Graecia. However, conclusive answers based on archaeological evidence that would solve this and related issues cannot be expected easily. For example, while the archaeological record of the cult place of Timpone Motta seems to support a coexistence model, the findings at Broglio di Trebisacce, an indigenous site located ca. 20 km to the north of Timpone Motta, would point to the contrary. Broglio di Trebisacce was meticulously excavated by R. Peroni and his team, and at the present state of knowledge it would seem that the site was abandoned or destroyed around the time that the Greeks founded the colony of Sybaris in the plain. This suggests that we allow for a more multi-faceted model in which both conflict and co-operation were part and parcel of the new socio-economic, ethnic, religious and political constellation that gradually took shape in the Sibaritide. In light of the complexity of the debate, the aim of this paper can therefore only be a modest one. Yet by furnishing a landscape archaeological context for an issue that is very much site related, I hope to broaden the per-

spective of the debate. In combination the excavations and surveys highlight various aspects of the meeting of Greeks and indigenous peoples that in the literature are known as Oinotrians.

Settling in the margins of Oinotrian society

Timpone Motta lies near present-day Francavilla Marittima in the foothills of northern Calabria in South Italy (Fig. 1). It is located on a hilltop close to where the Raganello River meets the Sibaritide Plain overlooking both the plain and an important communication route leading inland along the Raganello River valley. A location such as this, on a foothill dominating a major river valley, is typical of the proto-historical settlement pattern in the Sibaritide. It gave access to both the uplands and the plain; a great advantage in an economy in which the practice of short transhumance may have been a fundamental component. The uplands offered excellent summer grazing while the plain provided for the stock during the winter.¹² Moreover a site location in the foothills allowed control over people travelling with their cattle and commerce over the main transit routes leading inland from the coast along the river valleys towards the up- and highlands. Other advantages of a site location in the foothills included access to various soil types that are typically present within the catchment of

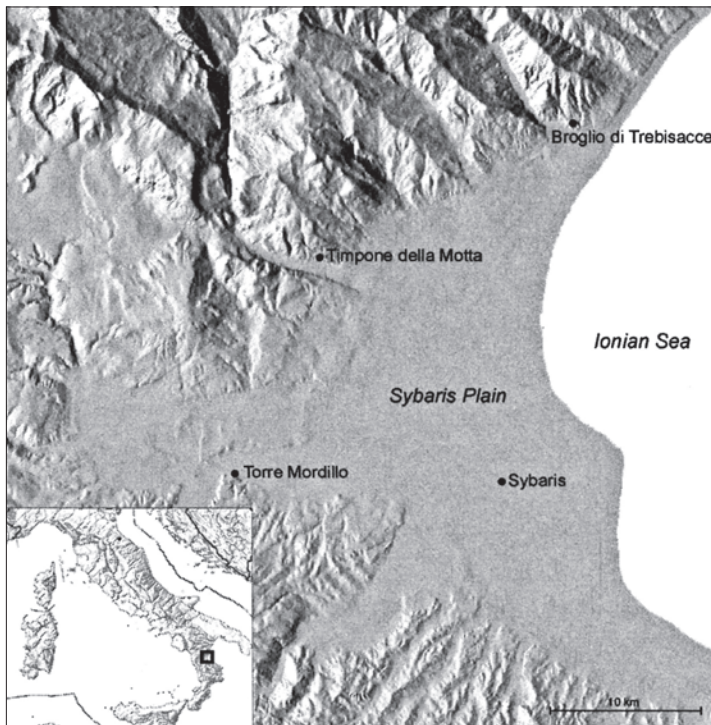


Fig. 1. Digital elevation model of the Sibaritide with location of the Timpone Motta, present-day Francavilla Marittima, the Raganello river, Sybaris/Thurioi, Broglio di Trebisacce and Torre del Mordillo (source: GIA, P.M. van Leusen).

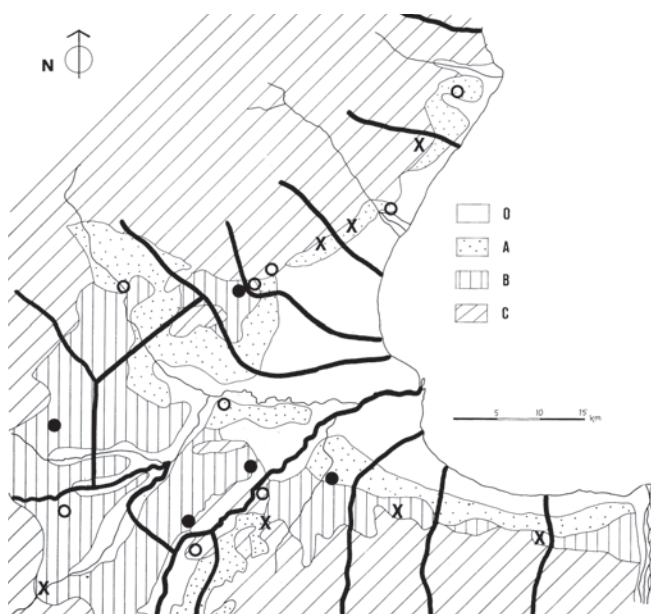


Fig. 2. Late Bronze Age territorial model of the Sibaritide (Peroni & Trucco 1994, fig. 232).

the average foothill location.¹³ Of these especially the terraced sands and conglomerates are suitable for arable farming, and as R. Peroni pointed out, these areas were also suitable for arboricultures.¹⁴ Proof of olive oil production stem from the late Bronze Age as the settlement excavations at Broglio di Trebisacce have shown. Here archaeobotanical evidence was found in the late Bronze Age layers as well as a storage facility that held large *dolia* to store products from the land. These *dolia* were manufactured using Aegean technology.¹⁵ Interestingly, the intensive surveys of the Raganello Archaeological Project have now revealed quite a number of late Bronze Age/early Iron Age rural sites featuring such vessels giving further proof of a well-developed rural economy in the late Bronze Age along the foothills between Timpone Motta and Broglio di Trebisacce.¹⁶ According to Peroni, this part of the Sibaritide had by the late Bronze Age developed into a complex society whose territory had by then been carved into various independent territories such as shown in Fig. 2.

Fig. 3 illustrates how in the late Bronze Age the settled rural landscape developed in the catchment of Francavilla Marittima. Quite a number of sites within an otherwise dense pattern of proto-historical presence in the foothills yielded late Bronze Age *dolium* fragments of the so-called *doli cordonati* class. These large ceramic containers may have held olive oil or other products from the land testifying to a flourishing agricultural production. Fig. 4 shows a site discovered in the field survey campaign of 2005 consisting of a concentration of such sherds, a grinding stone and several sherds from smaller pots. The *dolia* have typical handles and decorations as well as a characteristic depurated clay consistency that makes them easy to classify. At the nearby

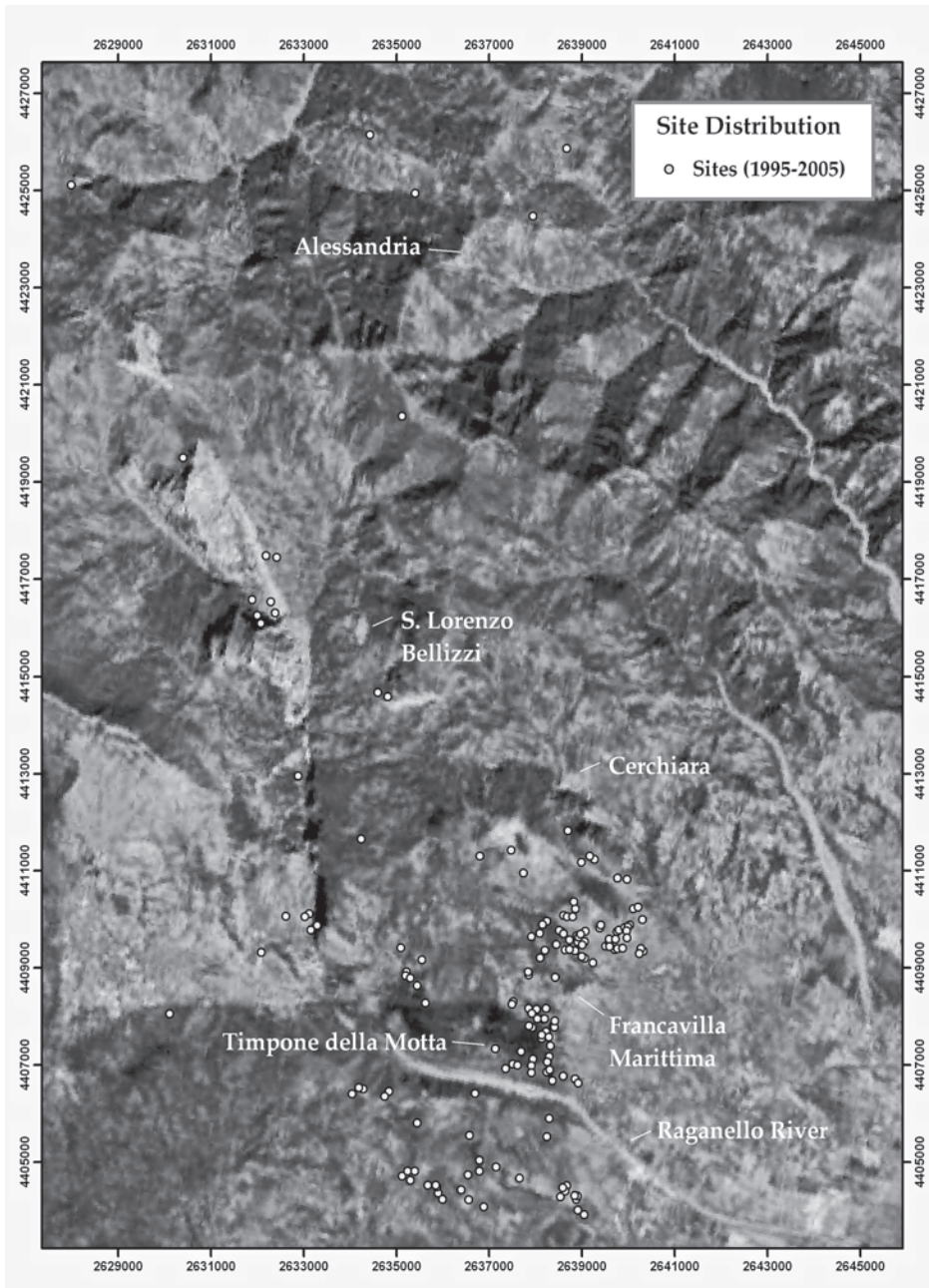


Fig. 3. Overview of sites a number of which with doli cordonati in the environs of Timpone della Motta (source: GIA, Nick Hogan).



Fig. 4. Photograph of concentration of
doli cordonati sherds
(source: GIA, photo author).

proto-historical settlement of Broglio di Trebisacce, a number of these *dolia* have been excavated; one of them reportedly could contain up to 1000 litres. Residue analysis of one of the Broglio vessels pointed indeed to a vegetable oil, most likely olive oil.¹⁷

I have briefly elaborated on this example of rural development in the foothills of the Sibaritide to underscore Peroni's view of late Bronze Age society as a well-organized socio-economic and political society. This complexity was accelerated through the interaction with the Mycenaean world in the foregoing Recent Bronze Age phase as Peroni made clear in his publications. The intensive survey of the Groningen Institute of Archaeology has revealed new evidence showing that surplus storage was not restricted to centralized settlements, but also appeared in rural contexts.

After this short digression into the specifics of the rural landscape of the late Bronze Age in the foothills of the Sibaritide, we may now turn to the overall settlement pattern as reconstructed for the Sibaritide in the Iron Age up to the arrival of the Greek colonists on the shores of the Sibaritide Plain where the Crati River meets the sea.

According to the reconstructions by R. Peroni, the foothills of the Sibaritide and the adjacent territory inland and on the plain had by the Iron Age been subdivided into distinct territories each having a major centralized settlement incorporating satellite sites (Fig. 5). Of these central settlements, Torre Mordillo may well have been the most powerful settlement dominating the others as would a city-state of Etruscan stature.¹⁸ Whether this comparison is



Fig. 5. Iron Age territorial model of the Sibaritide (Peroni & Trucco 1994, fig. 235).

plausible or not is not the issue here;¹⁹ the very fact that the data now available even allow for such a comparison indicates in itself the level of socio-political complexity that Oinotrian society in the Sibaritide had reached by the time it came into contact with the Greeks from Achaia. These Greeks founded what at the outset can only have been a modest village, but which soon would be transformed into the planned city of Archaic Sybaris. Indeed, looking at the location of the colony of Sybaris and the locations of the principal proto-historical settlements, we cannot but conclude that the Greek colonists, arriving in the Sibaritide in the late 8th century BC, settled in the margins of a well-organized indigenous culture that had its principal settlements in the foothills with each of these controlling well-defined portions of the territory.²⁰ In view of this, how should we imagine the nature and scale of the Greek settlement?

Recently D. Yntema and M. Kleibrink have published articles in the Dutch journal *Babesch* in which they attempted to estimate the nature and scale of the earliest Greek presence at various places in South Italy. Yntema's discussion of early colonial Basilicata and south Apulia focused on a series of eight coastal settlements in the period between approximately 800-650/625 BC, three of which (Siris, Metapontion and Taras) would have been inhabited in the 6th century BC by people "who considered themselves to be Greeks" and who founded settlements "which (in the 6th century BC) became towns that were perceived as Greek *poleis* by Greek and Roman writers from the 6th century onwards".²¹

On the strength of the available archaeological evidence, Yntema arrives

at the conclusion that by about the middle of the 7th century small groups of Greeks were present in various parts of the coastal strip of south-eastern Italy.²² These groups began at indigenous settlements (such as Otranto, Brindisi and L'Incoronato) or founded new settlements that attracted a native population (such as Siris). In addition to settlements with mixed populations there may have been, according to Yntema, settlements exclusively inhabited by migrant Greeks (such as Metaponto-Andrisani), whereas in the case of L'Amastuola near Taranto we may be dealing with a case of a Greek take-over of an indigenous site. Recent excavations by the Free University at L'Amastuola show, however, that indigenous presence is still strong in the archaeological record rather pointing to a mixed Greek-indigenous population.²³

From Yntema's account it appears that Greek presence on the coasts of the Gulf of Taranto and the Ionian seaboard was felt rather later than on the Tyrrhenian coast (Ischia). This opinion is shared by Kleibrink: "it seems to me that the presence of strong native groups in the Metapontino, Siritide, Sibaritide, and Crotonide in the 9th and 8th century BC precluded the speedy development of early Achaian settlement colonization. It was only during the first half of the 7th century BC that the natives in the coastal and subcoastal settlements began to associate themselves with groups of Greek traders. The evidence gained so far at Sibari and Crotone makes it likely that settlement here was not very different from that at Siris/Polieion and Incoronata/Metapontion, i.e. it may have consisted first of clusters of huts with dug out storage facilities and later of clusters of cabins. From the presence of potsherds of Thapsos and sub-Thapsos cups at Crotone, Sibari and Timpone della Motta we may perhaps infer hellenising influences half a century or a quarter century earlier than in the Metapontino and Siritide."²⁴ As to the scale of early Greek colonization, Yntema's estimates for the first half of the 7th century BC of the number of Greeks range from a few individuals to one or two dozen individuals in each case, which tallies with Kleibrink's idea of small agglomerations of hut and, later, cabin clusters.

A recent poster presentation by the *Soprintendenza per la Basilicata* showed an artist's impression of the situation as it may have been during the early colonial period at the mouth of the Basento at Metapontion (Fig. 6). The image represents exactly what one would expect based on the available archaeological evidence in the Sibaritide.²⁵ The image clearly shows the modest scale of the settlement, while the text describes it as occupied by Greek merchants and craftsmen, together with indigenous people as asserted by the author of this poster, Antonio de Siena.

Of all initial incentives that may have spurred on the Greeks in their overseas enterprises, Yntema remarks, that since the 1980s trade has increasingly been identified as the primary reason for the Greeks to go abroad.²⁶ Trade and exchange also provide the context in which Yntema and Kleibrink view the phenomenon of mixed Greek and indigenous material culture in southeast Italy for which, as they note, the archaeological evidence is quickly accumu-



Fig. 6. Artist's impression of Greek merchant settlement at the mouth of the Basento (source: image by author taken from poster by A. de Siena, Soprintendenza peri beni Archeologici della Basilicata presented at Matera, 2003).

lating. Kleibrink notes that, except on the Timpone Motta, evidence for Greek presence in the Sibaritide in the first half of the 7th century BC is largely absent, the site of Sybaris itself included. And indeed, to date only a few sherds of the late 8th and early 7th century BC have turned up in trial trenches and wells dug at Sybaris-Parco del Cavallo. These contexts were published in the late 1960s and early 1970s and were evaluated by Kleibrink together with early contexts including Greek material from trenches at Sybaris-Stombi.²⁷ Stombi is a part of Sybaris that was partly spared by the later urban phases of Sybaris' successor cities Thurioi and Kopiai. The evidence, such as it is, indicates that in the 7th century BC both locations at Sybaris – Parco del Cavallo and Stombi – were characterized by dispersed habitation associated with Greek material culture. This might indicate a scale and nature of settlement similar to those of L'Incoronata and Siris.

This is, of course, quite a different perspective from the "classical" one in which Greek domination would have been paramount from the beginning.²⁸ In fact it is nothing less than a paradigmatic change in which the conflict model, archaeologically speaking, does not hold. What then about the "coexistence" model?

Meeting of cultures in the sanctuary on Timpone Motta

Ideas on the impact of Greek colonization on the indigenous Oinotrian civilization have mainly been formulated by Classical archaeologists and until recently relied heavily on the dominant role ascribed to the Greek colony of Sybaris in the historical sources and of course based on the urban reality that was Sybaris in the Archaic period. Consequently, the sanctuary of Timpone Motta was interpreted as a Greek enterprise.²⁹ The Groningen excavations led by M. Kleibrink have changed this perspective profoundly and have demonstrated that the Athenaion began as an indigenous cult place.³⁰ Fig. 7 shows the areas investigated in the course of the Groningen excavations. Part of the excavation was dedicated to the settlement and part to the sanctuary. The settlement was articulated over various plateaus numbered I to IV by the Groningen team. Remains of proto-historical huts and/or Archaic houses were excavated on each plateau. The earliest features date to the middle Bronze Age. Occupation on the top of the hill likewise began in the middle Bronze Age, and starting in at least the 8th century BC, the top came into use as a place of cult.³¹

Fig. 8 gives an overview of the sanctuary with the plans of buildings I to V. Earlier explorations at the sanctuary had already resulted in the excavation of four Archaic temples with stone foundations, in Fig. 8 numbered I to IV. Based on the postholes visible within the structures, Kleibrink, the excavator, was convinced of an earlier phase characterized by wooden structures. The postholes are easy to recognize as they are generally cut into the hard

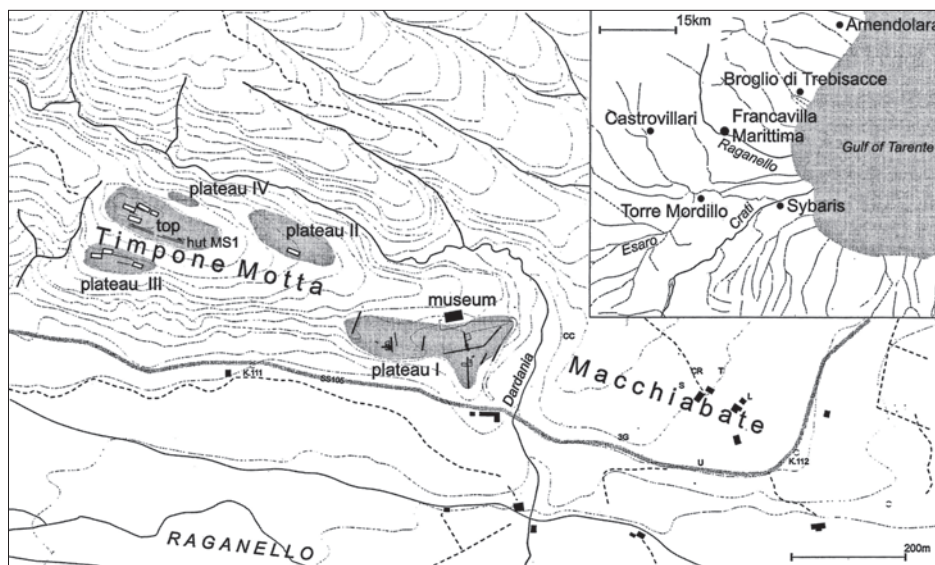


Fig. 7. Overview GIA excavations on the Timpone Motta on Plateaus I – IV and the top where the sanctuary was located (source: GIA, H. Waterbolck, Scavi Kleibrink 1991-2005).

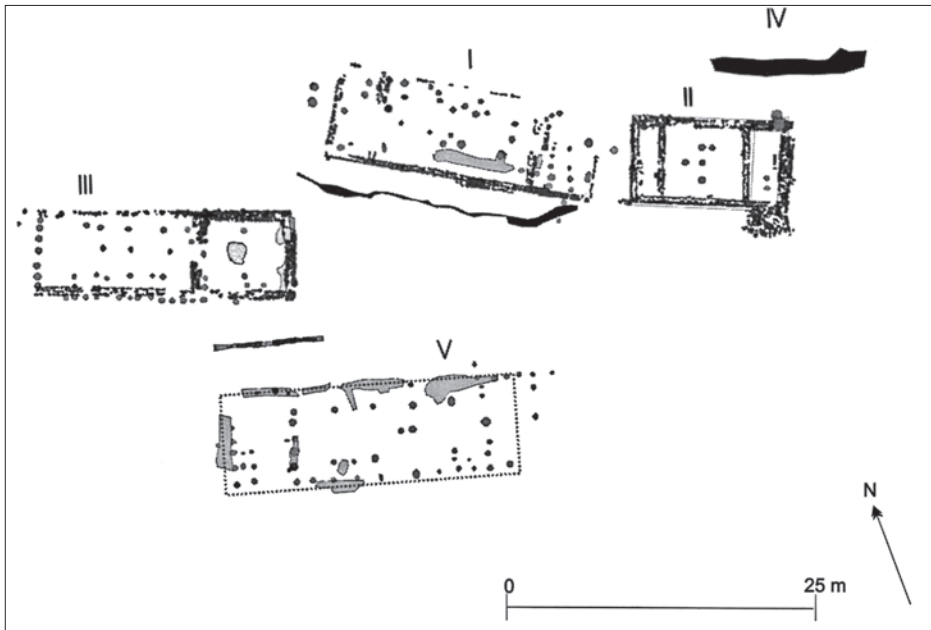


Fig. 8. Overview of sanctuary with plans of Buildings I to V on the top (source: GIA, H. Waterbolck, Scavi Kleibrink 1991-2005).

conglomerate rock. An area south of Temple III was therefore also cleared. Kleibrink's intuition of yet another building proved right: beneath a thick layer of loose gravel-like soil, the Groningen team found evidence for a ritual building that was labelled V. This building appeared to have a sequence of several phases.³²

Va A middle Bronze Age hut structure³³

Vb A large wooden house dating to the early Iron Age with a hearth in its western part, a loom in the central space and ending in an apse in its eastern part dating to the 8th century BC.

Vc A wooden temple dating to around 725/700 BC as indicated by Thapsos pottery in combination with East-Greek jugs and indigenous "Oinotrian" matt-painted pottery.

Vd A mud-brick temple built shortly before 650 BC. This building phase was easy to recognize through a specific stratum of yellowish soil that had been used to cover up the wooden temple; also, foundation trenches were cut into the conglomerate rock. The large quantities of proto-Corinthian sherds date this structure to the mid-7th century BC.

The large wooden early Iron Age house (Vb) measures ca. 26 by 8 metres, and several posts were used in its construction. In the western part an almost round patch that had been in contact with intense fire was visible on the bare conglomerate rock. This patch of natural rock was first interpreted as an open air altar and later as the remains of a hearth within a courtyard enclosure. Around it in crevices in the rock and in the powdery soil on top, all kinds of precious artefacts were found. The hearth-altar had generated an immense accumulation of ashes that was found pushed aside to the brink of the hill and that could be recognized in the stratigraphy as a grayish, loosely textured soil. It contained among other things bones of piglets, but no carbonised plant remains other than wood thus pointing to an exclusively ritual context.³⁴

The artefacts in the crevices around the hearth-altar were for the larger part bronze personal ornaments among which fibulae of the *scudo* and serpentine type as well as various kinds of spirals, girdles and braid fasteners, pendants representing human figures and so on, all dating from the middle two quarters of the 8th century BC according to traditional dates. In the powdery soil on top, locally made impasto sherds of *situlae* and fragments of indigenous matt-painted pottery were found.

In the central space of the timber building evidence for the existence of a loom was found in the form of a number of loom weights. These were found in two rows of approximately 2.10 to 2.30 metres across on the floor of the building. The weight of the loom weights (between 800 and 1200 grams) suggests that we are dealing with a large loom equipped for producing heavy textiles. The loom weights have a very characteristic labyrinth motive that is typical for Timpone Motta. Also spindle whorls, cooking stoves and cooking pots were found. In combination these artefacts point to a space where women were active with the washing, dyeing, and weaving of wool or flax. Judging from the rich ornaments that were found in the house, the women were finely clad and occupied special positions in society. It is suggested that these women were involved in ceremonial weaving protected by a goddess that was venerated in the 8th century BC on Timpone Motta.³⁵ The building apparently combined prestige for the ruling class with a cult function as has also been suggested for Greek elite buildings.

The material culture associated with Building Vb, however, is not exclusively indigenous (Fig. 9); “pre-colonial” contacts can be deduced from a number of Greek pot sherds from the MGII-LG period. Among these are fragments from a Euboean “black cup” and Corinthian proto-*kotylai* of the Aetos 666 type. Also finds of locally produced wheel-thrown one-handled bowls (*scodelle*), glazed on the inside and with compass drawn concentric circles on the exterior, together with finds of likewise locally manufactured Greek type *skyphoi* show that a few possibly “Euboean” Greek potters were working at Francavilla Marittima as early as before the middle of the 8th century BC.³⁶

Around 725/700 BC, the timber building with the loom and the hearth (Vb) was ritually buried, and a new structure was built on top (Building Vc).

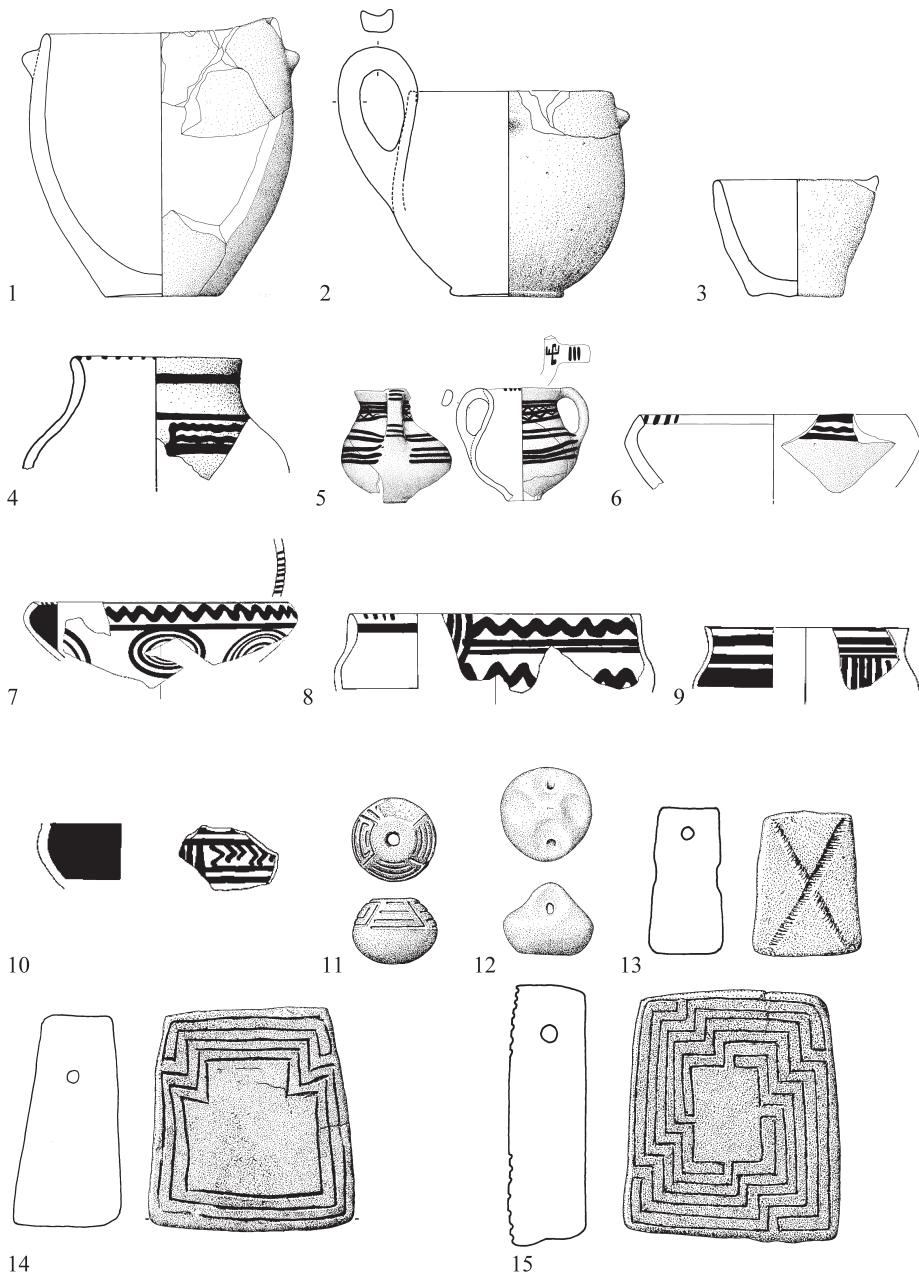


Fig. 9. Pottery vessels and weaving utilities related to building Vb (compiled by J.K. Jacobsen).

1-3: Oinotrian hand-made impasto jar and mugs.

4-6: Oinotrian hand-made matt-painted jar, mug and bowl decorated in the "undulating line style".

7-10: Wheel-thrown Oinotrian-Euboean bowl and skyphoi with concentric circles, chevrons and wavy bands.

11-15: Spindles and loom weights.

The dates of this structure are based on Thapsos pottery in combination with East-Greek jugs, as well as sporadic finds of early Achaean-type *kanthariskoi* and indigenous "Oinotrian" matt-painted pottery. The new structure is part of a monumental lay-out comprising two more similar buildings. Kleibrink states that the three temples with their front and back porches, and the adoption of Greek pottery constitute an interesting mix of Greek ideas and indigenous techniques such as the posthole construction technique and the matt-painted technique of pottery decoration.³⁷ The association of finds described by Kleibrink indicates that both the indigenous and the Greeks were involved in cult activities at Building Vc. The dedications are interpreted as gifts to – again – a female goddess. One of the most significant pieces is a *pyxis* with a cult scene on which we see a row of women in a procession (Fig. 10).³⁸ The first woman carries a *hydria* with water that she is about to pour into a drinking cup held by a seated woman, apparently a goddess on a throne. This image shows an aspect of the cult that began to take place in the sanctuary around 700 BC, one which would account for the innumerable so-called *hydriskoi* – miniature water jugs associated with a water cult – that were found in the excavations so far. The larger part of these miniature *hydriai* and *kernoi* must, however, be connected to the next building phase of the sanctuary that can be dated to just before 650 BC (Vd).

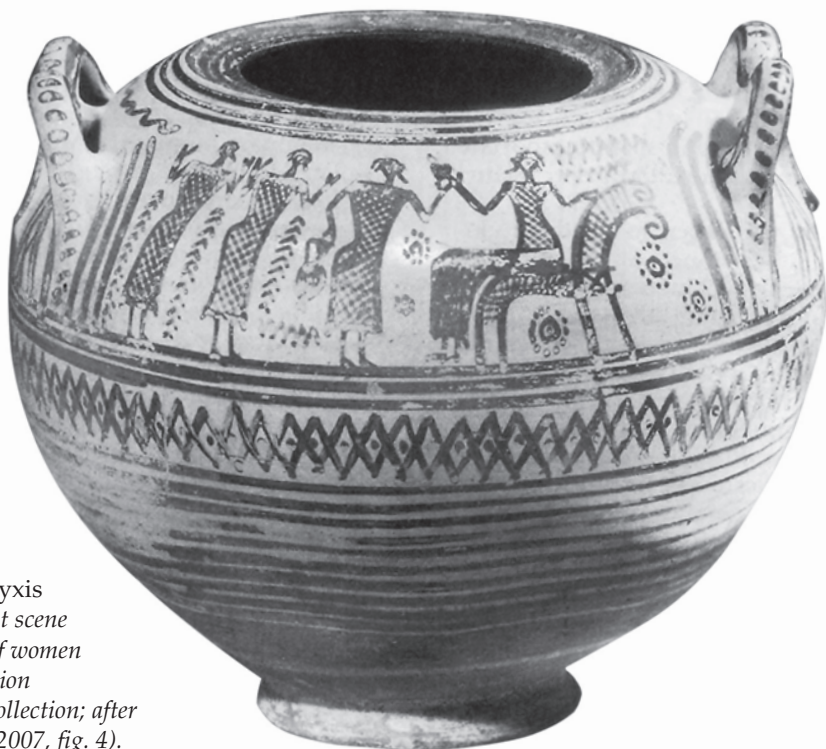


Fig. 10. Pyxis
with a cult scene
of a row of women
in procession
(private collection; after
Lachenal 2007, fig. 4).

Recent pottery studies following on the *Scavi Kleibrink 1993-2005* have shown that the *pyxis* described above is part of a general development of a slowly increasing Greek orientation in the sanctuary.³⁹ The relative amount of Greek pottery in Building Vc is greater than in the previous Building Vb, and the locally based production of wheel-made Euboean-Cycladic inspired vessels has increased noticeably; the same is true for the range of produced vessel types/shapes (Fig. 11) Especially the latter development shows that the rearrangement of the sanctuary through the construction of Building Vc was accompanied by a beginning change in the dedicational pattern towards Greek ritual customs. This interpretation is especially motivated by the presence of locally made Euboean-Cycladic vessels of a highly ritualised nature such as miniature *hydriskoi* decorated in a style which has much in common with *hydriskoi* from the area of the Apollon Daphnephoros sanctuary in Euboean Eretria and open worked *kalathiskoi* (terracotta imitations of baskets) likewise of a distinctive Eretrian-Euboean matrix. Furthermore, fragments of a series of large craters in Building Vc decorated with Eretrian-type birds together with fragments decorated in the manner of the omnipresent Cesnola-painter show a remarkable detailed correspondence with the contemporary production of "Italo geometric" craters on Ischia and in Etruria. As previously, however, the majority of the ceramics associated with building Vc were still indigenous consisting of matt-painted and impasto pottery.

For the successor to Temple Vc, the wooden temple was levelled and trenches were dug in (the higher parts of) the conglomerate bedrock to accommodate mud-brick foundation walls of the new temple Vd. The floor of this temple was made of yellowish clay covering the remains of Vc. In the postholes sealed by the yellow clay, imported scarabs were found and fragments of indigenous matt-painted pottery decorated in what is known as the elegant fringe style.⁴⁰ The material culture associated with the cult activities in this period is inspired by the Greek colonial wares and indeed primarily consists of *hydriskoi* as well as assemblages of vases of Greek, predominantly Corinthian, origin (Fig. 12). The mid-7th century BC date is provided by large quantities of imported Proto-Corinthian pottery.⁴¹ In a quantitative perspective, the previous dominance of indigenous matt-painted and impasto pottery has now come to an end. It is replaced by the influx of thousands of Greek vessels. The rapid increase in the amount of Greek pottery went hand in hand with a broadening of the shape range. New functional vessels such as *aryballoi*, *alabastra*, *kernoi*, broad- and conical *lekythoi* reflect various new dedicational rites within the sanctuary.

A high degree of Greek sanctuary organisation can be deduced from the material. Groups of sometimes up to 50 almost identical vessels (e.g. *pyxis* lids) show that Greek pottery arrived in the sanctuary in batches ready for dedication in the same manner as is attested in e.g. the Perachora and Delos sanctuaries. The ritualization of pottery, which was first encountered during the last quarter of the 8th century BC (Building Vc), is now in full effect with the Greek imports. Especially miniature vessels, e.g. *kotylai*, are frequently

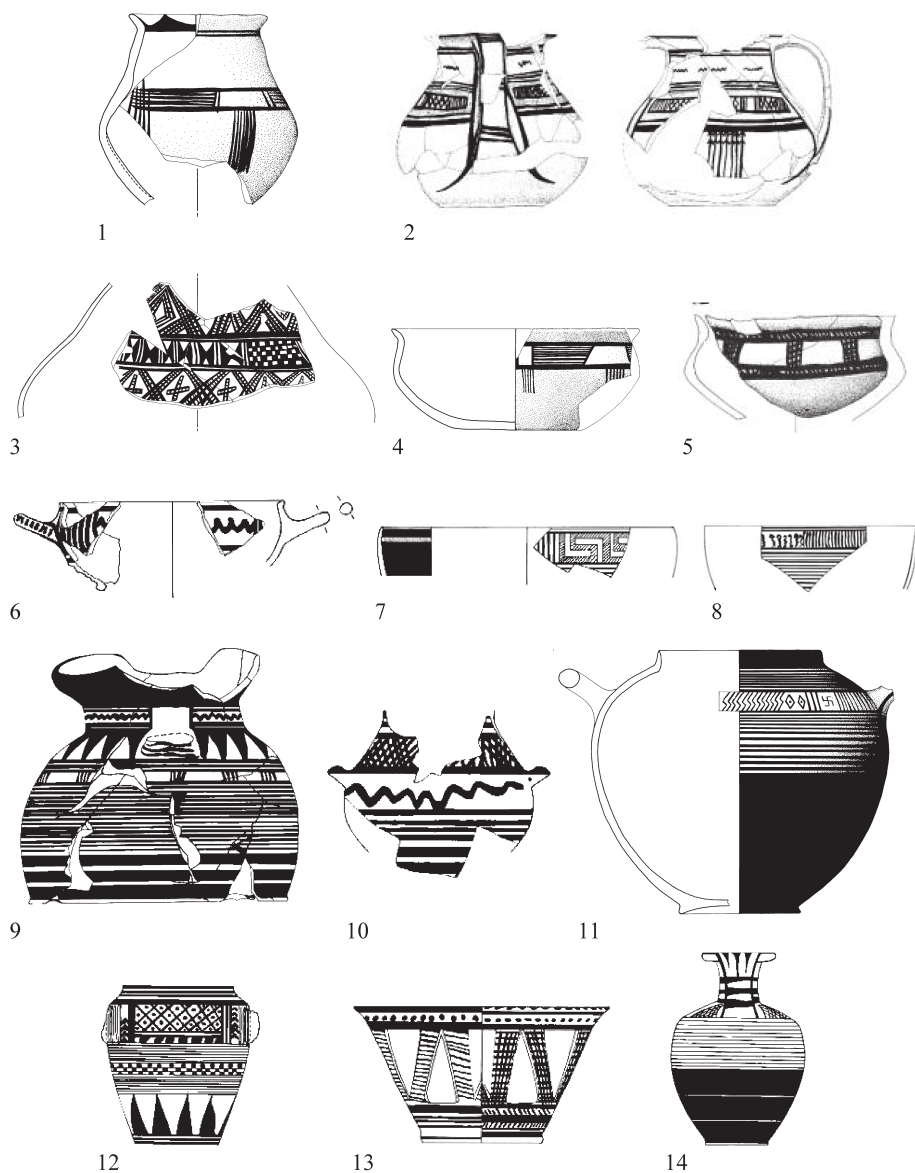


Fig. 11. Pottery vessels from building Vb and immediately south of it (compiled by J.K. Jacobsen). 1-5: Oinotrian hand-made matt-painted vessels decorated in "Fringed Style" or in combined styles relying on indigenous and Greek motifs.

6: Oinotrian-Euboean skyphos with wavy band.

7-8: Corinthian LG and EPC kotylai with meander and wire birds.

9: Corinthian MPC broad bottomed oinochoe with subgeometric decoration.

10: Oinotrian-Euboean hydriskos with geometric decoration.

11: Local imitation of a globular pyxis of the Thapsos class with chevron panel.

12: Corinthian MPC tall pyxis with subgeometric decoration.

13: Oinotrian-Euboean open worked kalathiskos in bi-chrome technique.

14: Corinthian MPC aryballos.

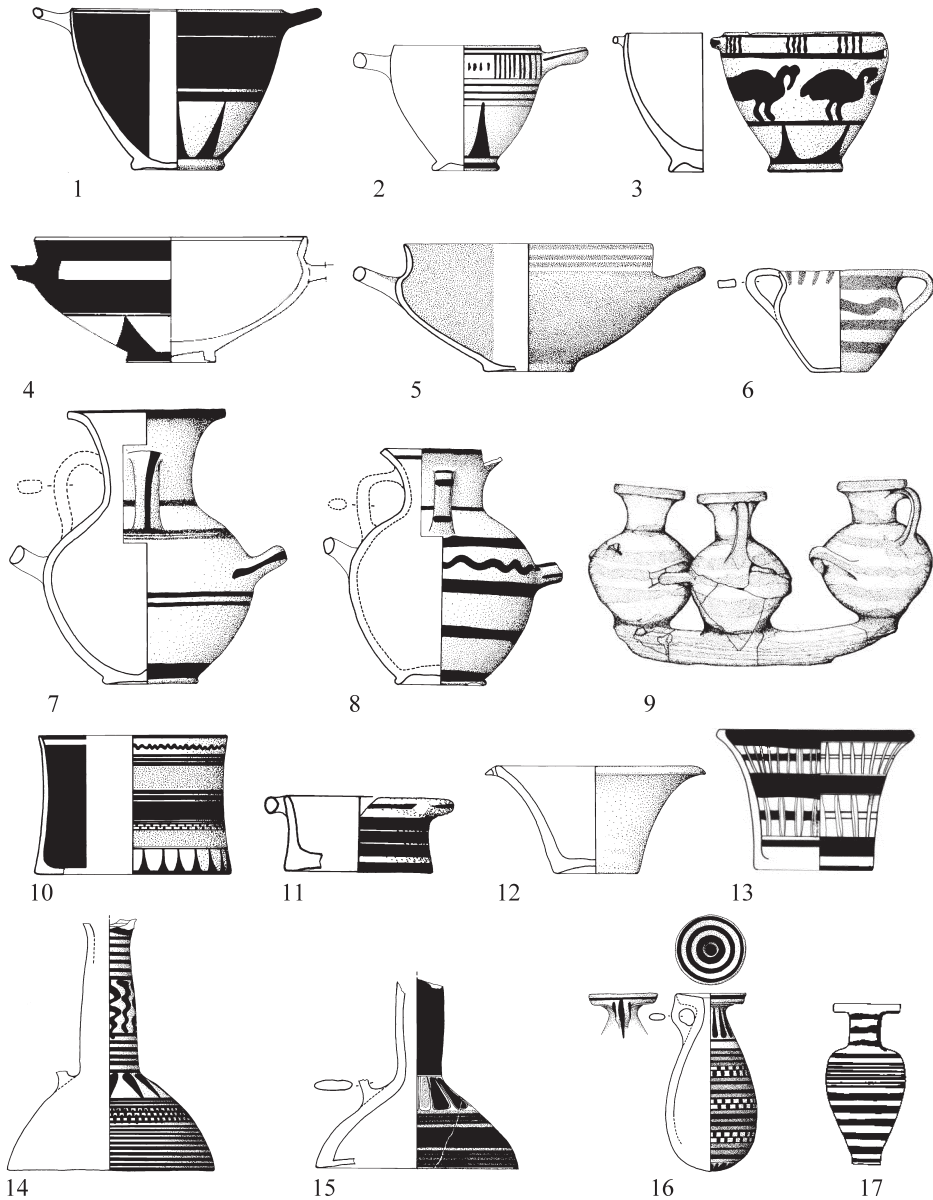


Fig. 12. Pottery vessels from post hole and floor deposits inside building Vd and from related votive deposits immediately south of the building (compiled by J.K. Jacobsen).

1-3: Corinthian LPC-TR kotylai with polychrome, subgeometric and silhouette decoration.

4: Corinthian LPC skyphos.

5-9: skyphos, kanthariskos, hydriskai and kernos of local colonial manufacture.

10-11: Corinthian LPC-TR pyxides.

12-13: local colonial closed and open worked kalathiskoi.

14-17: Corinthian LPC-TR conical lekythoi, alabastra and aryballos.



Fig. 13. Pinax depicting a seated goddess dating from the second half of the 7th century BC (de Lachenal 2007, fig. 4).

dedicated along with purely ritual vessels such as the open worked Corinthian *kalathoi*. A series of large Corinthian manufactured *loutrophoroi* found inside and outside Building Vd likewise illustrate a high degree of ritual selectivity and awareness in favour of the Greek material culture. The manufacture of Euboean-Cycladic vessels does not seem to have continued beyond the first quarter of the 7th century BC. Around this time it was succeeded by a far more productive establishment in connection with the sanctuary. *Hydriskoi*, now of an Ionian rather than Euboean type, together with Corinthian and Achaean inspired drinking cups were the main objects of dedication, but other locally manufactured shapes such as *kernoi*, jugs, craters/*krateriskoi* and *kalathoi* likewise found their way into the sanctuary in noticeable numbers.⁴²

Important finds are the *pinakes* showing images of the cult statue and dedicants. One image shows a goddess on a throne holding a woollen cloth or *peplos* on her lap.⁴³ It is dated in the second half of the 7th century BC (Fig. 13). Another *pinax*, dating from the 6th century BC reveals a second aspect of the cult practiced on the Timpone Motta: dedicants are shown offering a cloth to the goddess, a cult activity that is reminiscent of the earlier weaving cult (Fig. 14).⁴⁴

At the start of the 6th century BC, Temple Vd was covered with a layer of gravel-like soil up to 2m thick thought to have formed a terrace for a 6th century BC temple that together with the rebuilding of Temples I, II and III formed the monumental complex of the 6th century BC Athenaion, the remains of which are still visible today. More exactly, this phase is dated to the second half of the 6th century BC based on the construction technique of the wall foundations in river cobble stones and associated tiles. This technique is the same as that of the 6th century BC houses on the lower plateaus and that found in the colony of Sybaris at the location known as Stombi.

Fig. 14. Two terracottas depicting dedicants offering a cloth to the goddess dating from the 6th century BC (Kleibrink 2006, fig. 31).



All this seems to indicate that clearly the cult activities at the Timpone Motta involved both Oinotrians and Greeks. It shows how early Greek colonization was a complex phenomenon of cultural interaction and, apparently, in the specific ritual context at the Timpone Motta, not one of outright subjection or domination. Therefore the cult place on the Timpone Motta presents us with a rare instance of continuity in the settlement history of the Sibaritide in which indigenous and Greek elements are combined.

Meeting of cultures, the Iron Age and Archaic settlement of Timpone Motta

An aspect that now needs to be addressed is the development of the settlement on the various plateaus of the Timpone Motta. Habitation in the Iron Age was characterized by timber long houses such as were excavated on the top of Timpone Motta and by huts of smaller dimensions. An interesting specimen of the latter type was excavated by the GIA team on Plateau I, the reconstructed plan of which we reproduce in Fig. 15.⁴⁵ This hut, which dates to the second half of the 8th and first quarter of the 7th century BC, was in the course of the 6th century BC overbuilt by an Archaic house after a period of abandonment and destruction by fire. The hut inventory contained storage jars, loom weights and spindle whorls, coarse impasto pottery as well as matt-painted pottery. Among the finds was a beautiful *askos* decorated in the so-called fringe style. Problematic, however, is the issue of continuity or discontinuity in the settlement. Up until now 7th and early 6th century BC material remains from domestic contexts are poorly represented, at least in clear stratigraphical contexts, and good evidence for domestic occupation is only available for the advanced 6th century BC. In the latter period at Francavilla Marittima houses on stone foundations appear, and the use of Greek

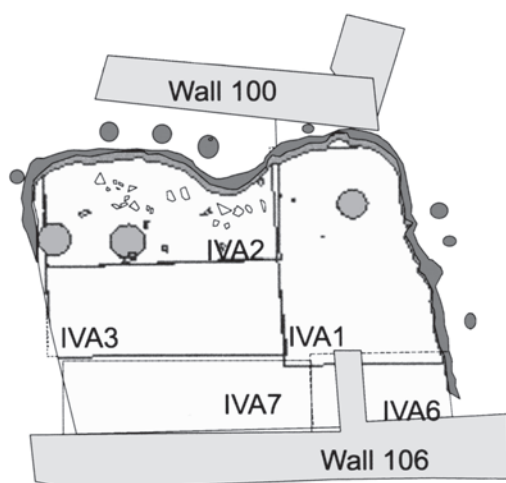


Fig. 15. Schematic plan of excavated Oenotrian hut (Kleibrink 2006, fig. 25).

pottery in the domestic sphere becomes widespread. Of course, these are clear signs of the profound transformation the local community underwent in the 6th century BC.

Several Archaic houses were excavated on the various plateaus at Timpone Motta.⁴⁶ On the lowest and most spacious Plateau I, for instance, the dense surface distribution of 6th century BC pottery and several remains of walls found in test trenches pointed to a phase of intensive use of this area in the Archaic period.⁴⁷ The excavation of the foundation walls of an almost complete house plan and the discovery of at least three other house foundations, unfortunately less well preserved, led to the conclusion that Plateau I in the second half of the 6th century BC had been part of a loosely organised rural village. The construction method of the wall foundations in river cobblestones is in all cases similar to that of the houses found in Sybaris, and the pottery is likewise of local Greek colonial production. By contrast with Sybaris, an urban lay-out and paved streets are absent at Timpone Motta underlining the rural character of the settlement.⁴⁸

This quick overview of the settlement history at Timpone Motta reveals a hiatus in the domestic use of the site in the second half of the 7th and early 6th centuries BC that the team of the Groningen Institute of Archaeology has not yet been able to fill in with housing save for some slight indications.⁴⁹ This is in sharp contrast with the continuity in the ritual context of the sanctuary and the necropolis. The community living at the settlement of Timpone Motta buried their dead in the nearby cemetery of Macchiabate excavated in the 1960s under P. Zancani Montuoro and recently cleaned for public display.⁵⁰ Analyses of the Macchiabate burials by Kleibrink and Vink would indicate that the spatial configuration of the necropolis remained stable between the 8th and 7th century BC and was based on kinship ties within a ranked community. Moreover, the chronological analysis of the gift assemblages from

the graves show that the deposition of sets of indigenous pottery continued in spite of the increasing presence of Greek pottery demonstrating how the indigenous population only gradually adopted Greek material culture in their grave inventories.⁵¹ This seems to the Groningen team indicative of continued indigenous use of the cemetery in the 7th century BC and therefore of the settlement in spite of the fact that 7th century settlement on the plateaus of Timpone Motta has not yet been attested.

The archaeological observations from the sanctuary on the one hand and from the settlement and cemetery on the other underscore the complex reality of interaction between Greeks and Oinotrians and show that even at one site the evidence in different domains (of the living, the dead and the gods) may not be in line with each other. In fact this tallies well with the different models of coexistence that Yntema puts forth in his overview of early Greek-indigenous settler contexts.

What can landscape archaeology add?

To conclude this paper I would like to review what landscape archaeology and especially intensive field survey may add to the archaeological evidence for the nature of interaction between Greeks and Oinotrians. Landscape archaeology is foremost good at revealing rural settlements and land use patterns. Pottery sherds and remains of building materials found at the surface of ploughed fields are our main source of information for their reconstruction. With regard to pottery, the later Iron Age is shown to have witnessed a transition from a tradition in which indigenous hand-made impasto pottery prevailed in domestic contexts at Timpone Motta to contexts in which a locally produced Greek *instrumentum domesticum* became the standard. This large scale adoption of locally made Greek pottery forms was a 6th century BC phenomenon, and Sybaris has been shown to have been instrumental in the distribution of such pottery in this period.⁵² Forms and fabrics of pottery found at Timpone Motta resemble those of pottery manufactured in the kilns found in relation to the 6th century BC houses at Stombi in the Greek colony Sybaris demonstrating the economic and cultural relationships between the two sites.

Regarding building materials and housing, we have observed that the transition from timber buildings and wattle and daub huts to houses with stone foundations also must have come about in the Archaic period and, as a matter of fact, does not seem to have occurred earlier than the advanced 6th century BC. Again we may note the similarity between the 6th century BC houses at Stombi in Sybaris and the Archaic houses from Timpone Motta discussed above. We already noted that the houses at the Timpone do not have tile-covered roofs and do not appear in an urban plan as do the houses at Stombi in Sybaris. This underscores another relationship that had come into being in the 6th century BC that between the expanding urban core of Sybaris – estimated at 515 hectares in this period⁵³ – and the small rural village at

Timpone Motta, namely that of a hierarchy between town and countryside, an aspect of an urbanizing landscape.

The results of this urbanization process become clear if we take a look at a distribution map that we compiled from site data published by Lorenzo Quilici in the 1970s (Fig. 16). The black diamonds on this map are sites where the Italian survey team in the 1970s recorded Hellenistic potsherds and sporadically also Roman potsherds that is to say 4th century BC materials and later. It is an impressive quantity, but there are a number of problems with this distribution map all of which have to do with archaeological visibility. First of all we

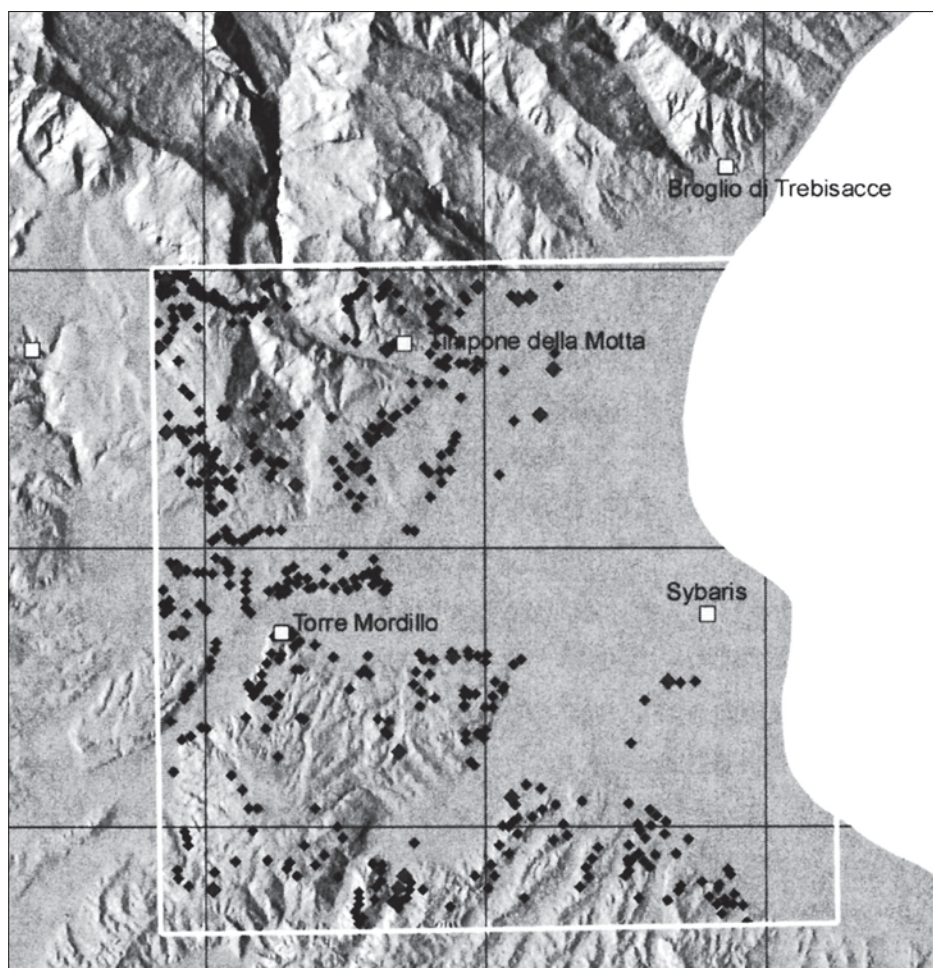


Fig. 16. Digital elevation map of the plain of Sybaris and foothills showing the classical landscape and, as a reference, the main protohistorical sites mentioned in the text. The white box indicates the area surveyed by L. Quilici and his team in the 1960's. The gray diamonds are Archaic to Classical sites, black diamonds are Hellenistic to Roman sites (source: GIA, P.M. van Leusen).

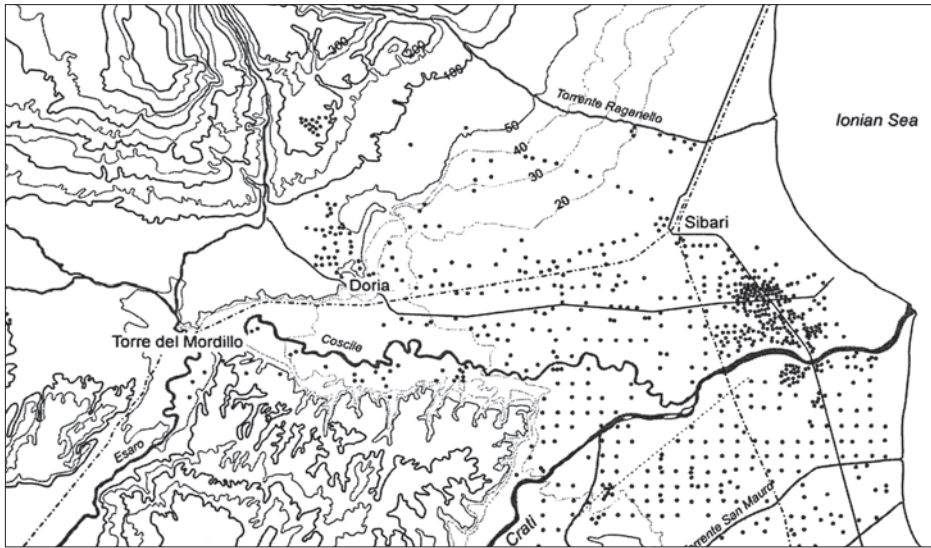


Fig. 17. Augerings by the Pennsylvania University in the Sibaritide plain (Bullitt 1969).

have little or no information on the plain itself. Indeed, the search for Sybaris itself was frustrated from the beginning by an immensely thick alluvial sediment: several metres of gray clay cover not just Sybaris, but its successor cities Thurioi and Kopiai as well making extensive and in-depth excavation of the Archaic settlement virtually impossible. This problem extends to the regional settlement archaeology buried under the same thick layer of alluvium. Fig. 17 shows the location of the hundreds of mechanical augerings that were made by a team of archaeologists from the University of Pennsylvania during the search for Sybaris in the 1960s. From their publication, it appears that a large number of these contained archaeological deposits. However, the sherds in these augerings were difficult to date precisely, but the information leads to the conclusion that we are dealing with a rural landscape densely settled at places that developed around Sybaris in the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods, perhaps similar to the rural development that we know from the Metapontino or Crotonide.⁵⁴ The reconstruction of rural development in the plain of Sybaris must, however, remain speculative. Our sedimentation studies so far have shown that at places the Roman surface lies buried at up to 8 metres below the present surface; this implies that even deep-ploughing will not bring any buried archaeology to the surface.⁵⁵ For our knowledge of the rural landscape, we are therefore dependent on those areas that have not been covered up by alluvium leaving us with the foothills and uplands.

With regard to the rural sites known in the foothills and uplands, a second problem of archaeological visibility crops up now concerning the nature of the pottery and the architectural remains. As is well-known, the material culture of the Archaic and Hellenistic period is much more visible than that

of the earlier pre- and proto-historical periods. In the Archaic and Hellenistic period people used more durable architectural materials such as roof tiles and stones for the foundation walls of their farmsteads and houses. Also the pottery is more readily identified on the surface of ploughed fields because of its often bright orange or pale yellowish colours and because it generally stands the tooth of time much better due to its superior resistance to weathering. To allow for these research biases, we began a programme of highly intensive surveys in the foothills around Timpone Motta in blocks of 50 x 50 metres with a 20 % coverage as well as total sampling.

Fig. 18 shows the areas surveyed up till 2005 in the immediate catchment of Timpone Motta. Until now in the catchment of Timpone Motta, this has resulted in a dense pattern of proto-historical sites ranging from presumably the early to the final Bronze and early Iron Ages not previously recorded in the Sibaritide as well as additional Hellenistic sites that were not reported in the earlier surveys in the 1970s of the classical landscape. The data for the Hellenistic period now range from small isolated farmsteads to hamlets and so-called *fattorie*, larger farms specializing in wine and olive oil production.

The problem, however, is that, like the Italian surveys of the 1970s, we still have no evidence for late Iron Age and Archaic rural infill. Unfortunately, there is no material from the 1970s available for re-study, and we must rely on the pottery scatters found during our own surveys hoping that we will be able to identify the late Iron Age and Archaic component in the rural landscape possibly among the later colonial Greek material collected at rural sites. Whether rural infill associated with the foundation of Sybaris and with the early colonial phase at Timpone Motta is present in the wider landscape is, I believe, now one of the most pressing questions in order to assess the impact of Greek presence in the plain of Sybaris on indigenous society.

Fig. 18 also gives an overview of the areas surveyed in the mid valley of the Raganello watershed. Also here a substantial number of sites have been identified. The inland surveys have, however, primarily revealed proto-historical sites forming a highly interesting sequence of long term settlement and land use from the Neolithic to the early Iron Age including cave sites and open sites up to an altitude of 1600 metres. Evidence for the infiltration of Greek material culture into the upper valley of the Raganello, however, is very thin so far even if this area is only a day's walk from the coastal plain as we have experienced. The archaeological evidence is restricted to the odd isolated Hellenistic farmstead that can be found along transhumance tracks leading up into the mountains.

Of course, this raises another interesting issue with regard to the theme chosen for this conference, and this is the extent of the participation of the uplands and highlands in the cultural exchanges that took place in the coastal plains and the foothills of Mediterranean landscapes and the subsequent urbanization of these areas as a result of these encounters. What role did these areas play? Recently the Groningen team started on a survey programme that deals with this subject matter.⁵⁶

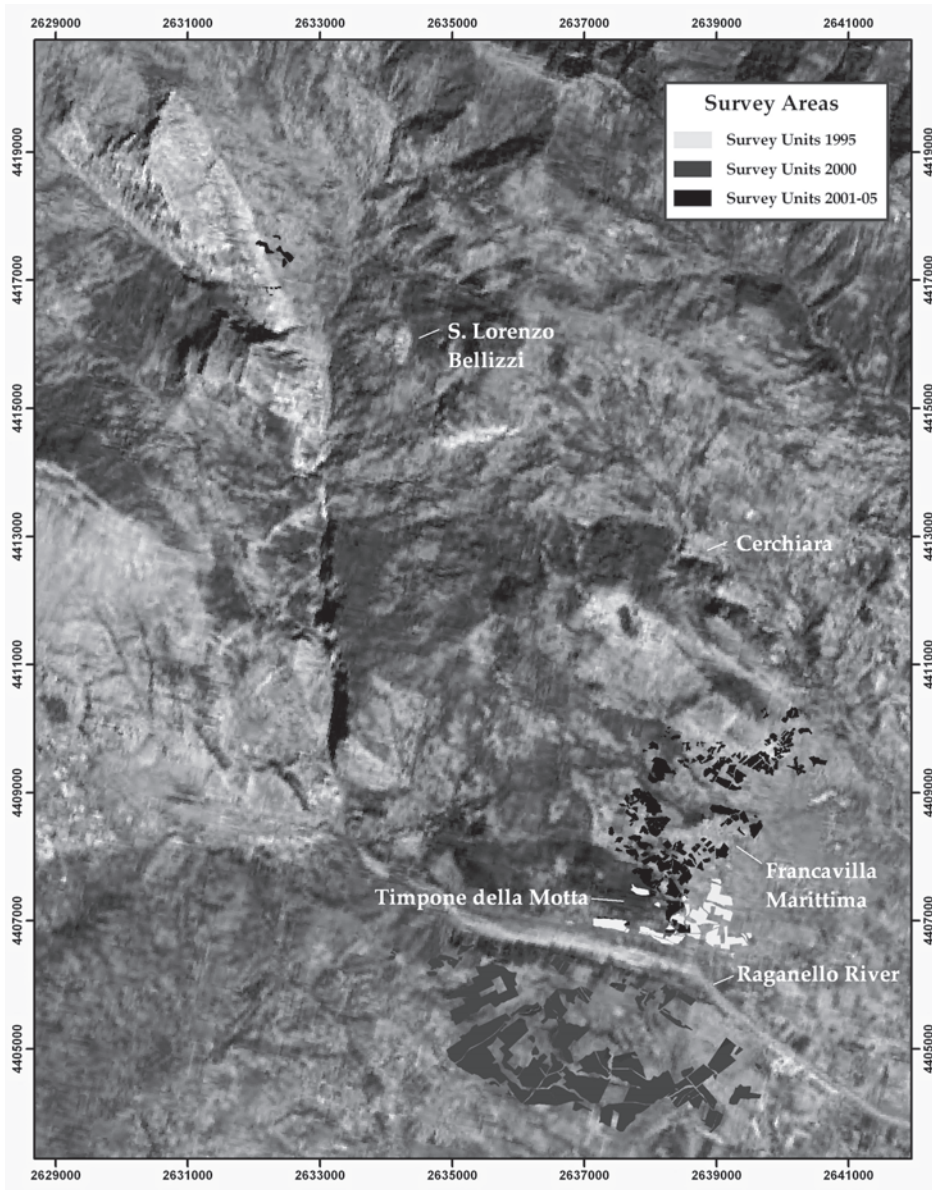


Fig. 18. Areas surveyed by the Raganello Archaeological Project up till and including 2005 (source: GIA, N. Hogan).

Conclusion

Turning back to the initial question posed in this paper, whether in the case of the Sibaritide we should opt for a model of conflict or one of coexistence concerning the meeting of Oinotrians and Greeks, a straightforward answer is

not possible based on the available archaeological evidence. On the one hand, the nature of this data is still insufficient to support either standpoint and may remain that way; on the other hand, I believe that the everyday reality of dwelling, working on the land and social, economic and ritual exchange in the early colonial period was such that coexistence between Greeks and Oinotrians will have hovered between conflict and cooperation in order to survive. Greek domination is only clearly evident with the advent of urbanization on the plain of Sybaris in the 6th century BC which in turn accounts for the development of the Hellenistic landscape of town and country of which the archaeological vestiges in the landscape are so plentiful. In this respect the situation in the northwestern Crimea, where the Centre for Black Sea Studies, the Groningen Institute of Archaeology and the Crimean Branch of the Institute of Archaeology at Simferopol are now surveying within the framework of the Džarylgač Survey Project, is quite different. Here the long lasting impact of the meeting of Greek and indigenous cultures that in Magna Graecia led to the urbanization of the landscape was absent and the meeting of cultures was more episodic in character.

Notes

- 1 Van Dommelen 1998, 15-36 for a concise introduction on the various theoretical viewpoints.
- 2 See on this subject e.g. Maaskant Kleibrink 1996-1997, esp. pp. 63-72; also more recently Kleibrink 2006, 23-24.
- 3 The Archaic colony Sybaris was destroyed in 510 to be refounded as Thurioi in 453 BC, according to the ancient literary sources.
- 4 See for a concise discussion de Lachenal 2007, 37-41 "Greci ed Enotri nella Sibaritide: un rapporto di scambio e collaborazione o un conflitto di ethnoi e di interesse?".
- 5 For a discussion of problems of interpretation of the archaeological record of Incoronata and other 'mixed' Greek and indigenous settlements in Magna Graecia (Yntema 2000; Carter 2006a, *passim*). For the Black Sea area e.g. Berezan' on the northern Black Sea coast near Olbia on the river Bug (Solovyov 1999).
- 6 For recent overviews see Carter 2006a and b; Mack & Carter 2003.
- 7 The term "Mediterranean type" landscape archaeology, used by Guldager Bilde and Stolba in the introduction to Guldager Bilde & Stolba 2006, refers especially to the incorporation of intensive fieldwalking strategies. For a recent, more general, overview of landscape archaeology approaches in the northern Black Sea Region see the collected papers in the title mentioned.
- 8 A second GIA landscape archaeological project studies the Pontine Region in South Lazio in Central Italy and evolved out of the settlement excavations of the protohistorical settlement of Satricum (cf. Attema 2002, 93-94).
- 9 The project is characterized by an ongoing and very fruitful cooperation between researchers of the Groningen Institute of Archaeology and Danish researchers from the University of Aarhus.
- 10 Surveys are carried out within the framework of the Raganello Archaeological Project of the Groningen Institute of Archaeology. This project was officially started in 2003 and is directed by the author and Dr. P.M. van Leusen. The objec-

tive is the intensive survey of the immediate surroundings of Timpone Motta as well as a survey of the inland river valley of the Raganello right up to where this river originates in the highlands of the Pollino Mountains. Survey work by the Groningen Institute in the area had however already started in 1995.

- 11 See for an explanation of GIA's survey methodology in Calabria e.g. van Leusen and Attema 2003.
- 12 Pollen analysis of two cores in the Pollino uplands testify to the impact of grazing on the landscape in the Bronze age (Kleine, Woldring, Cappers, Attema & Delvigne 2006; Kleine, Woldring, Cappers, Attema & Delvigne 2008).
- 13 Peroni & Trucco 1994, 832-879.
- 14 Peroni & Trucco 1994, 1994, 845.
- 15 Peroni & Trucco 1994, 1994, 845.
- 16 van Leusen & Attema 2006, 93.
- 17 See on the doli cordonati: Peroni & Trucco 1994, 845; Levi & Schiappelli 2004; Schiappelli 2006.
- 18 Pacciarelli 2000, 116.
- 19 Kleibrink 2006, 24 points out the substantial differences in settlement size between centralized settlements in Etruria and the Sibaritide.
- 20 Cf. Kleibrink 2006, 25-28.
- 21 Yntema 2000, 5 and 26-27.
- 22 Yntema 2000, 31.
- 23 Burgers & Crielaard 2007, 107
- 24 Kleibrink 2001, 47.
- 25 The poster was dedicated to new evidence of settlements with Greek imported material culture at the mouth of the river Basento that had come to light during the construction of a pipe line. It was exhibited in Matera at the occasion of the Convegno Magna Graecia 2003.
- 26 Yntema 2000, 14-15.
- 27 Kleibrink 2001, 40-41 and tables 1-4.
- 28 See for a discussion of various ideas that exist on the relationships Greek/indigenous: de Lachenal 2007, 37-41.
- 29 As put forward by de Polignac 1995 for the sanctuary at Timpone Motta. Contra this opinion: Kleibrink 2003, 21; Jacobsen 2007, 26-27.
- 30 The various episodes of excavations at Timpone Motta and the Macchiabate necropolis can be summarized as follows: *Scavi* Zancani Montuoro 1963-1969 (Società Magna Grecia); *Scavi* Maria Stoop 1963-1969 (Società Magna Grecia and University of Leiden); *Scavi* Marianne Kleibrink 1965-1968 (Società Magna Grecia and University of Leiden); *Scavi* Marianne Kleibrink 1993-2005, University of Groningen).
- 31 See for a recent overview: Kleibrink 2006.
- 32 Phasing after Kleibrink 2003, 62.
- 33 See for a short discussion of this feature Kleibrink 2005, 756-757 and Kleibrink 2006, 135.
- 34 See for the scarcity of plant remains Jacobsen 2007, 63 and table 7a.
- 35 Whether we deal with an indigenous goddess or with Athena is a matter of debate in view of the increasing evidence for Euboian connections of Timpone Motta. That the veneration was indigenous is beyond all doubt (pers. comm. M. Kleibrink).
- 36 Jacobsen 2007, 33-35; 40-56; Mittica 2007; Mittica, Jacobsen & Handberg 2007; Mittica, Jacobsen & Handberg forthcoming.
- 37 Kleibrink 2003, 80.

- 38 De Lachenal 2007, 21.
- 39 Jacobsen 2007; Mittica 2007; Mittica, Jacobsen & Handberg 2007; Mittica, Jacobsen & Handberg forthcoming.
- 40 Kleibrink & Sangineto 1998.
- 41 Kleibrink 2003, 62 and 89.
- 42 Jacobsen 2007, 95ff; Jacobsen & Handberg forthcoming.
- 43 Kleibrink 2003, fig. 31 on p. 85.
- 44 These *pinakes* are in the national museum of Sibari and will be published by drs. E. Weistra as part of an international publication project of objects that have been returned to Italy from collections abroad. See van der Wielen-van Ommeren 2007.
- 45 See Kleibrink 2006, 77-110.
- 46 See Maaskant-Kleibrink 1970-71; 1974-76.
- 47 Attema et al. 2000.
- 48 Attema 2003, 18.
- 49 The excavations of the Archaic houses on plateau I have to date not yet been fully published. Evidence for a Geometric settlement phase was found in the form of a dump layer in one of the trenches excavated by GIA on Plateau I. See Kleibrink 2006, 53-54.
- 50 Kleibrink 2003, 33-53 for a discussion of the Macchiabate cemetery with references to the publications of Zancani Montuoro.
- 51 Vink 1994/1995; Kleibrink 2003, 33-53.
- 52 Mater 2005, 101-123.
- 53 Muggia 2000, 224.
- 54 Carter & D'Annibale 1985.
- 55 Attema et al. 2004.
- 56 The surveys of the Raganello Archaeological Project are now conducted within the framework of GIA's "Hidden Landscapes Project" funded by the Netherlands Organization of Scientific Research. The project aims at developing research strategies to tackle archaeological landscapes that cannot be surveyed by using the 'traditional' field walking techniques used in ploughed fields. The HLP is directed by Dr. P.M. van Leusen.

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