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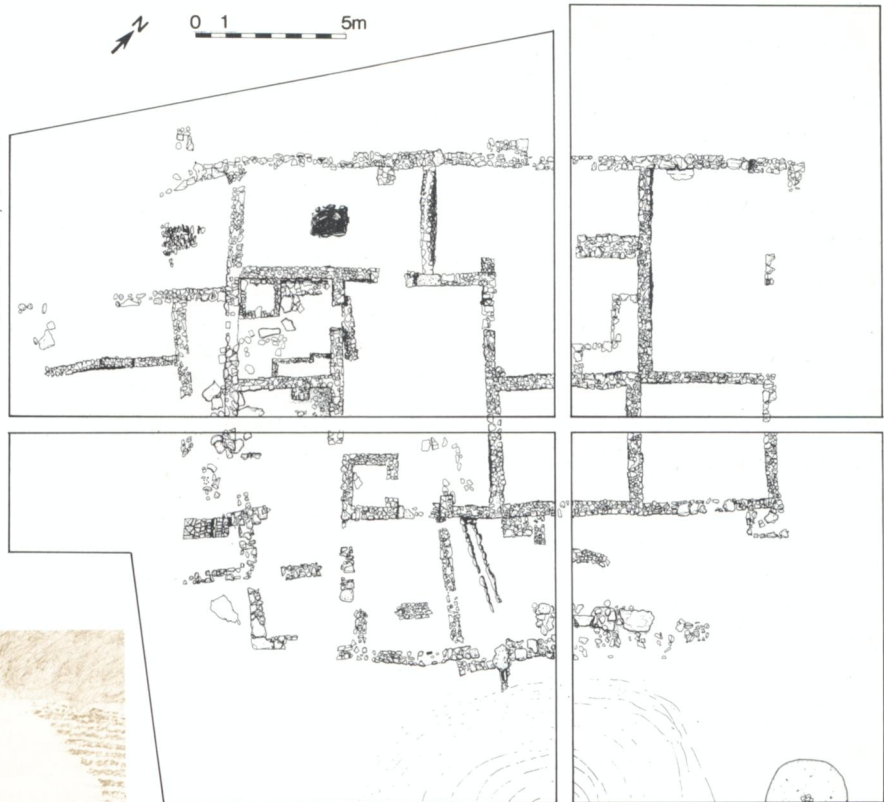
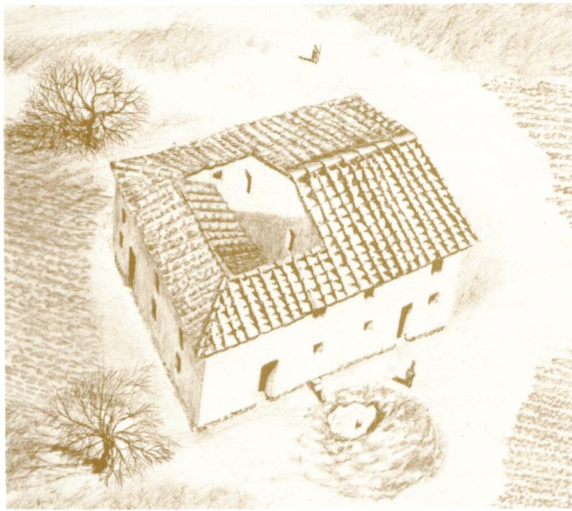


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Plan of the late fourth century B.C. phase of Fattoria Stefan, the best preserved farmhouse excavated to date in the chora of Metaponto. It is located about eight kilometers from the city walls along the central division line of the territory between the Bradano and Basento Rivers.

Reconstruction drawing of Fattoria Stefan. The farmhouse plan, like contemporary ones, reflects the practical demands of agricultural production and provided comfortable living space. Bedrooms would have occupied the second story.



## A Classical Landscape

### Rural Archaeology at Metaponto

by JOSEPH COLEMAN CARTER

Greek rural life has aroused little enthusiasm among classical archaeologists, who, reinforcing the bias of the ancients themselves, continue to emphasize the importance of the city. Consequently almost nothing is known about those who lived outside the walls of the *polis*. After five years of intensive work at sites in the territory—the *chora* around the Greek colonial site of Metaponto in Basilicata, southern Italy—I am convinced that this city-centered view is seriously one-sided. What is emerging from excavations of rural sanctuaries, farm sites, industrial establishments and burial grounds is considerable evidence of permanent settlement in the coun-

tryside. The picture is variegated and complex. The territory was home for the homestead farmer, the wealthy aristocrat and very probably the slave. Yet rural life was not merely a pale reflection of city life. Country dwellers here, although they had strong cultural ties to the city, developed distinctive ways which show up clearly in their cemeteries and sanctuaries.

Metaponto was certainly not unique in the Greek world. Other cities also had inhabited territories. A few archaeological studies over the years have recorded the human imprint on the classical landscape in widely separated regions of the Greek world—on Delos in Attica and the





*Plan of the territory or chora of Metaponto between the Bradano and Basento Rivers. The grid of division lines has been dated in its first phase to about 585 B.C. At a later date the territory expanded to the southwest. The dots indicate rural sites.*

Crimea (Black Sea), and in southern Italy and Sicily. They strongly indicate that permanent rural settlement was a major fact of Greek life from the sixth century B.C. onward. The idea of cities and major sanctuaries, however, has remained firmly rooted in the minds of classical archaeologists. As a result one shall continue to read in general studies, perhaps for a very long time to come, that Greek farmers did not live on the land, but commuted daily from their homes in the city or village (*kome*) to the fields. Although no historian ignores it entirely, few admit that rural settlements were anything more than an occasional phenomenon resulting from special circumstances of economic change or geographical conditions. The countryside, it is persistently argued, did not have enough springs to support a large population, and therefore only the lowest classes would have lived there far from the city's comforts.

The results of excavation at Metaponto pose the most serious challenge, so far, to the accepted view. As early as 1959 aerial photography of the territory had revealed an almost unique survival of Greek land division similar to Roman centuriation: a grid of lines, parallel "anomalies," proved

to correspond to regular parallel depressions in the ground some 200 meters apart, stretching back from the city walls about 11 kilometers into the interior. Although intensive agricultural development in the area has removed many traces, they can still be observed in certain areas. A dozen years ago, Dinu Adamesteanu, then Superintendent of Antiquities for Basilicata, organized a comprehensive exploration of the territory using the photographs as a framework. In addition to the division lines, he noted a large number of smaller dot-like anomalies. Survey of the areas indicated by the dots revealed concentrations of ancient roof tiles and pottery which he believed to be the remains of farmhouses. The total area covered by these sites was approximately 6,500 hectares (or 15,600 acres), which includes the original territory between the Bradano and Basento Rivers and its later extension to the Cavone River in the direction of ancient Herakleia near the coast, some 20 miles to the southwest. Full or partial excavations of over two dozen of these sites, as well as of some which did not appear on the photographs, have confirmed Adamesteanu's hypothesis that they were ancient farmhouses. Originally there may



have been as many as 400 farmsites in the territory. Although a number of the excavations have been salvage operations, representative sites were chosen at varying distances from the city in order to document the historical growth of settlement in the territory. The majority of them date between the middle of the sixth century B.C. and the end of the fourth century. Those of Roman date are less numerous. The sites at the greatest distance from the city are surprisingly among the earliest.

**W**ho were the inhabitants? Again, excavation has begun to supply the clues to that important problem, but there is still much to be done. Fortunately, the exploration of the Territory of Metaponto was a project of international collaboration from the start, involving British, Canadian, French, Romanian as well as Italian and U.S. teams, guided and directed by the Superintendent of Antiquities for Basilicata. Since 1974, the University of Texas, with generous support from private donors in Texas and the National Endowment for the Humanities, has been a part of this collaboration. When combined with the still mostly

unpublished work of our colleagues at other sites in the territory, the results of the University's excavations at Pizzica, Saldone, Incoronata and Sant'Angelo Vecchio begin to suggest the complex pattern of Greek rural life.

Colonists from Achaea in the northern Peloponnesos came to the land between the Bradano and Basento Rivers about 650 B.C. to found their city Metapontion—Metaponto is the modern name. The interests of some earlier Greek settlers in southern Italy were primarily commercial, for example, the pre-Colonial Euboean trading post at Ischia or the recently discovered eighth-century B.C. site at Incoronata in the Territory of Metaponto, which is being excavated by Piero Orlandini of the University of Milan. Unlike these settlers, the concern of the Metapontines above all was to carve out farms in a land which was not easily wrenched from its native inhabitants. Ancient sources such as the historian Antiochos of Syracuse emphasize the bitterness of these early encounters. The Metapontines had to battle not only against the natives, whom the Greeks called "Oenotrians," but also the Tarentine Greeks to the east who had come to the region earlier. But by the second half of the

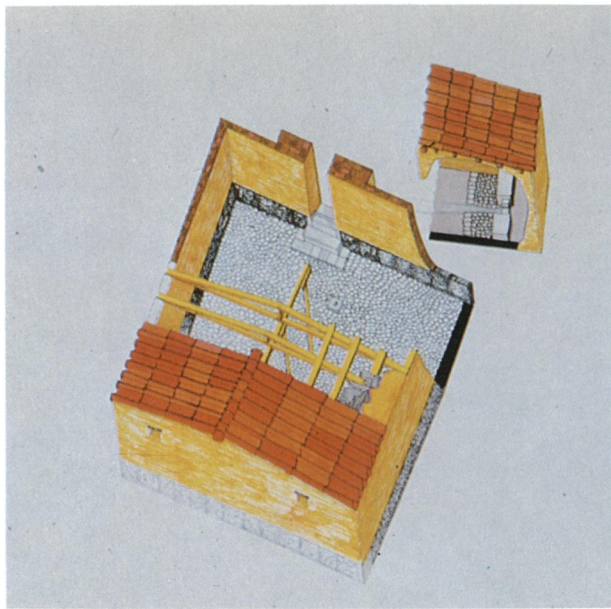


*Aerial view of the spring-reservoir site at Pizzica (top center). On the hill above (right center) arose a tile factory in about 150 B.C., perhaps the most impressive testimony to the continuity of life in the chora from Greek to Roman times. The Neolithic, Late Roman and Byzantine periods are also documented by significant finds on the site. Occupation of this rural site spanned approximately 4,000 years and for about 1,000 years paralleled that of nearby Metaponto.*





*Excavation in progress of the spring-reservoir complex at Pizzica. The figure in the foreground, the excavation architect, stands on the reservoir pavement; the springhouse is in the right center and the well point's collecting tube runs across the site diagonally from the lower left corner. The installation of a well point at Pizzica is a difficult and rather dangerous operation necessitated by ground water which flooded the ancient spring and turned trenches into breeding grounds for frogs. Once installed, however, this device made the excavation almost as simple as digging on dry land.*



*Tentative reconstruction of the spring-reservoir complex at Pizzica. In the fourth century B.C. a spring house (top) was built directly over the primitive early sixth-century sanctuary. Water was channeled into a reservoir (below), measuring 11 by 14 meters, which must have been at least partially roofed to judge by the enormous quantity of tiles found on its pavement. The reservoir was entered from the west by a carefully built stone stairway set into a retaining wall.*

seventh century B.C., as stratigraphic studies in the city indicate, the colony had entirely replaced the earlier indigenous center. Excavation has shown also that nearby indigenous sites were abandoned about this time.

Surprisingly, the first colonial settlements beyond the city in the Metapontine territory are *not* farmhouses but sanctuaries. There appears to have been a lapse of nearly a century between the founding of the city and the push of home-building settlers inland. An important sanctuary

beside a spring at San Biagio in the valley of the Basento predates the farmhouses by perhaps 50 years and has female votive figurines in the Daedalic style. These terracotta figures have been dated to the late seventh century B.C. Although they have the primitive features of the earliest monumental Greek sculpture—plaited hair in the Egyptian manner, large protuberant almond eyes, and tube-like bodies—they may be of later date than the sculpture they resemble. In any case, the antiquity of San Biagio is confirmed independently by the pottery. Adamesteanu's excavation there has brought to light significant remains of architecture including very fine terracotta revetments with processional scenes. An armed hero mounting a chariot drawn by winged horses is certainly inspired by Ionian models, but the mule-drawn cart belongs to the Italic world. Since the earliest architecture is later than the earliest votives so far found at San Biagio, it is probable that the earliest sanctuary there was an open-air one. Some may always have remained so. The great poet Bacchylides, in a hymn of praise for a victorious Metapontine wrestler of the early fifth century B.C., mentions a sanctuary of Artemis along the Kasas River. This may have been simply a sacred grove without structures.

Directly across the Basento Valley from San Biagio at Incoronata—a saint or the madonna is associated with every spot in which a rural sanctuary has been found—the remains of a small sanctuary were uncovered. It was constructed perhaps a century after the pre-Colonial Greek settlement there was abandoned. Among the finds were painted terracotta revetments for a small wooden building. Unusual antefixes decorated the eaves of the tile roof. They are a hybrid type combining only the eyes of a gorgon, all of whose terrifying features were normally employed





*Terracotta revetment from the San Biagio sanctuary depicting the departure of Amphiaraus. It protected the wooden cornice of an early sanctuary. The representation is paralleled in Ionian art; it should be dated to the first half of the sixth century B.C. Height, 20.7 centimeters.*

*Votive figurine, perhaps representing Artemis, found in the sanctuary at San Biagio on the Basento River. It dates to the mid-sixth century B.C. Similar figures usually hold a variety of animals, birds and sea creatures as well as human babies in their outstretched arms. Their tall grace and the exuberance of supplemental detail in the costume sets them off from the votives of the city sanctuary. Height, 45 centimeters.*

to ward off evil spirits, with a decorative palmette. Even more interesting are a series of votive figures that date to the mid-sixth century B.C. and represent the same female type found at San Biagio. Artemis was worshipped at San Biagio while the shrine at Incoronata appears to have been dedicated to Persephone. Both goddesses were concerned with fertility: Artemis was mistress of animals and Persephone was associated with the crops, especially grain and the cycle of the seasons. Persephone's domain, however, also encompassed the underworld and the cycle of human life. It is not surprising that there is a family resemblance in their votives. The Incoronata example is especially remarkable for the precise, fresh modeling and her radiant expression. This and other products of coroplastic art from San Biagio are of such quality that they add, I believe, a distinctive new dimension to the appreciation of archaic Greek art.

In contrast to the massive limestone temples of the *polis* of Metaponto—such as the Temple of Apollo Lykeios and three other recently discovered temples—rural sanctuaries were small, wooden structures, revetted with molded, brightly painted terracotta slabs. The well-known Temple of Hera, the so-called Tavole Palatine or Paladin's Tables, located two kilometers outside the city wall along the Bradano Valley, is the exception not

the rule. There, the typical urban temple with its stone peristyle was transferred to a rural setting. Fifteen of its columns are standing, although not all of them are *in situ*. Rural sanctuaries on the whole probably did not contain an elaborate cult statue but rather acted as repositories for the numerous statuettes, vessels and occasional precious objects brought as votive offerings by the rural worshippers.

The discovery of sanctuaries at Incoronata as well as Pizzica—originally known as San Nicola and located 3 kilometers from the city in the Basento Valley in a position analogous to that of the Temple of Hera on the Bradano side—in addition to those previously known at San Biagio and Tavole Palatine, reveals a distribution pattern that cannot be chance. The four rural sanctuaries lie on both sides of the two major rivers flanking the city. Pizzica is almost exactly halfway between San Biagio and the city. The Temple of Hera on the Bradano side of the chora is roughly the same distance from the city as Pizzica on the Basento side. Furthermore, in two out of four cases—Pizzica and San Biagio—the cult is closely tied to the existence of a spring. All came into existence during the late seventh or early sixth century B.C. The early date of these sanctuaries, their placement at even intervals along major valleys, and their association with springs suggests that the





The central tomb in the major nucleus of the Saldone cemetery contained the skeleton of an adolescent male and the grave goods including (left) hydria (water jar) with a scene in the red-figure technique by the Pisticci Painter, a transplanted Athenian who is at the head of the development of red-figure painting in southern Italy. The vase, which dates to about 430 B.C., represents Zeus in amorous pursuit of the nymph Aigina. The owl cups (right) found in the mouth of the hydria and beside the boy's foot are the work of the same painter. Strigils used by athletes to clean their bodies after exercise were found at his side. Height of hydria, 31 centimeters.

sanctuaries played a crucial role in hellenizing the chora. It would be nice to be able to show that the Greek sanctuary replaced an indigenous one on the same site; a completely convincing case, however, cannot be made at this time. Some indigenous pottery has been reported at San Biagio, but the earliest sanctuary at Pizzica has yielded none.

The organization and development of life in the chora is directly related to the parallel divisions imposed on the landscape. Several grid systems were used to divide the land. The earliest is dated by Adamesteanu to the first half of the sixth century B.C., largely on the evidence of the tombs which run parallel to the division lines. The basic unit appears to have been an area approximately 400 to 600 meters on a side, comparable in size to that in the chora of Chersonesos located in the Crimea. But, unfortunately, not enough evidence exists to relate these division lines to property lines. The lines for the Metapontine chora were discovered in aerial photographic studies; their existence has now been confirmed on the ground, but mainly indirectly. In the rural burial ground excavated in 1976 at Saldone, for example, all tombs except the earliest are perfectly aligned in the direction of the division lines. It has been argued that the division lines must have been country lanes, and that an irrigation and drainage project placed its system of canals over the same grid in the fifth century B.C., although this has never been confirmed by excavation. The terrain has been altered considerably since 1959, but traces of the lines are still in evidence especially in the area known as Casamassima. Further study

should resolve the problem of their function.

The rigid symmetry of the Metapontine landscape clearly reflects a high degree of regimentation and submission to a single overriding purpose—agricultural production. Of the hundreds of farmsites identified in the surveys, 14 have been excavated so far. A half dozen date to the mid-sixth century B.C.; most have a late fourth century B.C. phase which is much better preserved. A farmsite known as Fattoria Stefan—*fattoria* is the Italian word for farm—was excavated in 1969 by the Rumanian archaeologist Alexandru Simion Stefan. It is just a stone's throw to the west of the principal division line, which bisects the chora between the Bradano and Basento Rivers at a distance of eight kilometers from the city wall. Located on a slight rise, the site has a commanding view of the whole chora to the sea. Its external walls are in near perfect alignment with the division lines. Although the relation of structure and division lines is clearest at Fattoria Stefan, this same relationship is generally true of the other farmsites as well. Fattoria Stefan is oriented parallel to the grid and positioned near



Terracotta antefix representing a nymph found in the sanctuary at San Biagio. She dates to the early Hellenistic period, the last third of the fourth century B.C., which was the final flourishing of the chora. Height, 25 centimeters.



but not too close to the line—which would make very good sense if the division line also served as a road. This is exactly what happens in the chora of Chersonesos where the division lines are roads.

The final phase of Fattoria Stefan dates to the end of the fourth century B.C. The plan is rectangular and the short eastern side running parallel to the central division line is 60 feet in length. The unit employed is the Ionic foot of 0.295 meters. Ten rooms are tightly organized around an off-center square courtyard measuring 30 Ionic feet on a side. As with most excavated homes and farmhouses, the function of the various rooms is largely a matter of speculation and no room is without some problem of interpretation. Was the courtyard open, as suggested by the drain for rainwater run-off? Or was it partially roofed, as indicated by the thick tile fall?

In the room opening off the courtyard to the northwest is a clearly identifiable hearth. It is constructed of tiles laid on edge—a system which would have retained heat well. Undoubtedly this room served as the kitchen and heart of the living quarter of the farmhouse. Finds of pottery—much storage ware but also considerable quantities of cooking, table and fine wares—make it clear that the building was a productive unit which was at the same time intensely lived in. Numerous fragments of *pithoi*, large earthenware storage jars, were found in the room adjoining the kitchen, indicating that this space was used for storage. If the low base against the east wall supported a press, then the room could also have been used for the production of oil or wine. The low L-shaped wall perhaps formed a vat or basin. This same feature appears again in another room which may also have contained a press. A very large collection of loom weights found in a room just to the south suggests that here raw wool was turned into cloth by the women of the house. Although weaving was probably exclusively their concern, women were certainly involved in many other aspects of agricultural production, if not directly in the work of the fields. The large space is enclosed by only three walls and also may have been utilized as a stable.

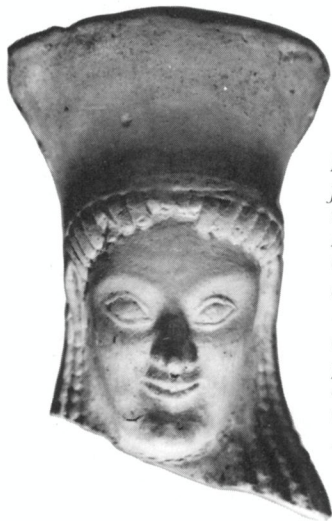
The variety of room sizes and shapes in this rural farmhouse sharply contrasts with the modified urban design of Attic country houses where the rooms are all more or less the same size. Here the spaces are differentiated by size and shape. Successive modification made by further subdivision of the original rectangle could and probably did respond to changes in the agricultural activity of the unit. Like the arrangements of the landscape, the farmhouse floor plan reflects a dominant concern with efficient organization.

The materials employed to build Fattoria Stefan were the same as every other farm structure in the territory. Foundations and walls were often fashioned on the spot from the materials close at hand. Even the tiles were probably locally produced. The use of available material not only for the roof, but in the foundation and elsewhere, is another indication of the economical and flexible design of this rural architecture. The building rested on a foundation of fieldstone, leveled with fragmentary, reused roof tiles. Above them rose a wall of mudbrick, protected by a roof of well-made Laconian tiles bearing the stamp of a certain **ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ**. The floors were uniformly made of beaten earth. The builder of this house knew that “. . . when materials that neither rot nor decay, that is, the stones and tiles are placed at the bottom, and bricks and timber are put together in the middle, the result is something of great value . . .,” as Xenophon, the fourth-century historian, has Socrates say when describing the ideal house (*Memorabilia* III 1, 7 Loeb edition).

**A** steady, abundant supply of water has always been the essential condition for life in the country. The presumed absence of water in the area around ancient Greek cities is the most popular theoretical argument against the existence of the isolated farm in the Greek world. A fourth-century B.C. spring and reservoir, unexpectedly discovered in 1977 at Pizzica, provides a unique insight into the Metapontine country dwellers' solution to the problem of obtaining water. The Pizzica complex is located at the foot of a low spur that extends into the Basento Valley. Because of copious ground water, the excavation has been slow, expensive and sometimes dangerous. The water comes out of the ground where the ancient spring did, with the important difference that the water table has risen about a meter. Thus for three years, until the introduction of a “well point” pumping system in 1977, the spring effectively blocked the discovery of its ancient course.

The well point which is widely used in present day agriculture makes soggy or submerged land dry enough to cultivate or excavate. So far it is the only completely successful way to make such terrain suitable for regular excavation. It was introduced in archaeological research in the excavation of the temples in Metaponto itself in the 1960's, and has since been regularly employed in the excavation of Sybaris, another Achaean colony, known as the richest Greek city of all, located some 80 kilometers further along the coast into Calabria. Metal tubes, seven meters long, with perforated tips and filters are drilled into the ground





*Head of a votive figurine from Incoronata, dating to the mid-sixth century B.C., perhaps Persephone, daughter of the Grain Mother Demeter and bride of Hades, Lord of the Underworld. Mother and daughter were among the most powerful and widely venerated of the gods of Magna Graecia, Greek southern Italy and Sicily. Height, 11.5 centimeters.*

by forcing a jet of water through them. Water pressure and muscle power essentially dig the hole. This is the risky part. The pressure can cause an explosion of water and gravel. Then the tubes are connected to a collecting tube and a vacuum pump driven by diesel or electrical power. Within several days the newly-dried land is ready for excavation. The system, however, must be kept operating continuously. A slight pause can be enough to flood the site again.

Thanks to the well point the excavation went ahead and the general development of the site can now be sketched. At Pizzica, in about 600 B.C., the spring mouth, a channel and two collecting basins were lined with stones. This date is based on the earliest pottery and votive figurines found at the site. The complete half-figure statuette with outstretched arms, which once stood in a basin surrounded by votive cups, belongs to the first half of the sixth century B.C. For nearly a century only this very primitive open-air place of worship existed. At the end of the sixth century, an unusual building with a fieldstone foundation measuring roughly eight by 14 meters was constructed here on an extensive fieldstone terrace many times its size. Artifacts from this building, besides large numbers of terracotta votive figures, include several fragments of what appears to be a bellows used in iron refining and large quantities of iron bloom.

A spring house and a reservoir were built on the same spot during the second half of the fourth century B.C. The spring house was constructed directly on top of the archaic spring. After the establishment of the Roman military camp (*castrum*) at Metaponto, a tile factory was built on the hill above the reservoir, making use of both the spring and rich deposits of clay. Two unusually well-preserved kilns have been discov-

ered in one wing. This factory, which can be dated to 150-50 B.C., is perhaps the most impressive testimony of the continuity of life in the chora into Roman times.

The fourth-century reservoir consists of a fieldstone pavement, measuring approximately 11 by 14 meters, located below the spring and the contemporary ancient ground level. It was approached from the west by a narrow stairway constructed of large squared blocks made of local stone set into a parapet wall of similar material. A corresponding wall existed on the east. Although the blocks had been extracted during ancient times, the cavities they left were filled with earth of a darker color. Careful excavation has revealed the course of this dismantled wall. Considering the quantity of tiles found here, it is safe to assume that the reservoir was at least partially roofed. This reservoir is unlike the typical urban fountain house with its parallel settling tanks, draw basin and colonnaded façade. Perhaps the closest comparison is the more carefully constructed spring-reservoir of Minoe on the island of Delos in the Aegean. Both buildings are utilitarian with an important religious function. Minoe was a shrine of the nymphs, and so perhaps was Pizzica, although the votives here suggest other possibilities.

The pavement of the Pizzica reservoir was covered with numerous fragments of large vessels for collecting water, but the finds also include high quality red-figure ware as well as terracotta figurines of Pan, satyrs, females (perhaps nymphs or maenads), and plaques with a couple, perhaps Hades and Persephone, with a child. The most remarkable discovery of all, however, came from clay samples taken just above the fieldstones. They were passed through a water separation device made from a 50-gallon oil barrel, using water from the excavation recycled by the well point pump. What miraculously floated to the top when the clay sank was a mass of seeds, perfectly preserved in the dense clay fill. A preliminary analysis of the material reveals abundant quantities of grape seeds and barley. Among the wild plants are blackberries and cattails—flora that sprout when a populated area is suddenly abandoned. This botanical material appears to reflect the period of the decline and destruction of the rural reservoir.

There is every reason to believe that this spring-reservoir was not an isolated phenomenon in the chora of Metaponto. Ancient habitations tend to cluster here along the valleys of secondary streams that feed the two great rivers where springs would naturally have been found. The spring at San Biagio has been called the only all-weather spring in the chora, and until the Pizzica reservoir was discovered, it remained the only ex-



cavated example. In 1979 we found yet another spring at Sant' Angelo Vecchio. Just like Pizzica, there was a ceramic complex with, in this instance, four well-preserved kilns and evidence for a cult of Zeus. Similar structures probably existed outside any Greek city that depended heavily on agriculture. When the fourth-century B.C. lyric poet Leonidas of Taras described the experience of a traveler stopping at a spring to offer a drinking cup to the nymphs, he must have been recounting a common country experience.

**T**he three sites in the Metaponto chora—Incoronata, Fattoria Stefan and Pizzica—clearly show how the inhabitants of the countryside lived, worked, worshipped and obtained their water. But who were they? The question of who made up the agricultural work force in the Greek and Roman worlds is one which has long preoccupied historians. Were they slaves? Or independent farmers? Houses like Fattoria Stefan probably did not belong to slaves, but to farmers of modest means. The best evidence is provided by burials. It has not always been easy to distinguish a farmer's grave from a city dweller's, since the urban necropolis or burial ground was almost always located outside the ancient city. Rural burials have not often been recognized as a result. In 1976 we had an unusual opportunity to carry out a salvage excavation in the chora at Saldone, some eight kilometers from the city walls of Metaponto. After three weeks' work, we had discovered some 30 graves and are now able to describe a complete or nearly complete rural family burial ground.

The plan of the Saldone cemetery shows a cluster of adult and children's burials around one grave which contained the skeleton of a young male. The unusually fine grave goods included two strigils, metal instruments used by athletes to clean their bodies after exercise. A water jar (*hydria*) was placed at his feet, one owl cup was in the mouth and a second lay nearby. The *hydria*, on which a rare scene of Zeus in pursuit of a nymph (perhaps Aigina) appears, was decorated by the first South Italian painter of vases in the red-

figure style—a person known as the Pisticci Painter, after the nearby town where a number of his works were discovered. He was trained in Athens and, for all we know, may have come to southern Italy as part of Perikles' colony at Thurii near Sybaris with the historian Herodotus. In any event, he painted the *hydria* in about 430 B.C., and probably also made the two owl cups. An amphora with a sagging belly, known as a *pelike*, was found in another grave and is certainly the work of the Pisticci Painter's more innovative colleague, the Amykos Painter. It depicts Eros seated on a rock and dates to about 420 B.C.

For the most part, however, the grave goods were not made by painters of the first order. Most were simply plain black-glazed pottery, but they do permit us to establish fairly precise dates for the burial ground. It was in use for roughly a century from 480 to 380 B.C., with the greatest activity in the last half of the fifth century B.C. The types of tombs range from elaborate cists lined with stone slabs to simple earthen graves. The latter sometimes contained only the skeleton without grave goods; the former had mostly been robbed very recently by clandestine diggers. In the medium range were the graves covered with slabs and those covered with enormous terracotta tiles especially made for burials. A child's grave was normally covered with a single large roof tile.

A comparison of the types of tombs, burial methods and accompanying grave goods from the rural Saldone necropolis with those of urban Metaponto demonstrates beyond any doubt that the farmers who were buried at Saldone were culturally the same people who lived in the city of Metaponto. For example, the numerous strigils discovered at Saldone mirror the fashion in the urban necropolis of characterizing the deceased male as an athlete. Yet the burials in each locality

*The two kilns in the west wing of the late Republican tile factory discovered on the hillside at Pizzica (150-50 B.C.). The larger kiln, used for the production of roof tiles and heavy coarse ware pottery, was protected from the evil spirits by a very large phallic stela placed beside the firing hole. The smaller kiln with the arched grill over the combustion chamber still intact was used for pottery.*





still had distinct characteristics. At Saldone the body always points north and faces west, but in the city it is oriented to the south, although it may also face west. Furthermore, grave goods are almost always placed at the feet in adult burials at Saldone, while they normally lie at the head in city burials. The outlay for grave goods was less at Saldone, but the level of taste was high. Children's graves also appear to be proportionally more numerous in the country and more generously filled with goods than city children's graves, although it must be noted that knowledge of the Metapontine necropoleis is still incomplete. Large families are perhaps to be expected in a period when all farm labor was done by hand. Several infants were buried with strigils, which, of course, they would have been too young to have known how to use. Is this inclusion symbolic of the parent's frustrated hopes? It is possible that the extra attention paid to children's burials at Saldone is a reflection of the special favor that children have often enjoyed in a rural society?

The tombs at Saldone no longer exist. They were swept away by the agricultural earth-moving project which made our salvage work imperative. A cooperative farmer at Sant' Angelo Vecchio helped to save that site from destruction, while at Pizzica the patience and generosity of the Ente Irrigazione di Bari, whose experimental farm occupies the land, has provided an ideal situation for archaeological research and site preservation. The bond between rural archaeology and present-day rural society is a close and often beneficial one. But ironically, as the area becomes more prosperous and modern techniques penetrate deeper into the territory, the last fragile evidence of well-preserved Greek rural life will disappear forever. Today it is the territory more than the city which presents classical archaeologists with their most urgent challenge. A beginning has been made but time is running out.

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An exhibition entitled "Ancient Crossroads," which includes a selection of artifacts from excavations in the chora of Metaponto since 1977, has been touring museums in Austin, Houston and Corpus Christi, Texas, and in Vancouver, British Columbia (where it was featured at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in December 1978) and Edmonton, Alberta in Canada. It is scheduled next for Bucharest, Romania. The exhibition, made possible by the generosity of the Ministero dei Beni Culturali ed Ambientali and the National Endowment for the Humanities, was designed and orga-

nized by the author in close collaboration with Dinu Adamesteanu and Dottorressa Elena Lattanzi, the present Superintendent of Antiquities. A full catalogue and a volume of lectures on rural archaeology in Italy which accompanied the exhibition in Austin, Texas, is now in preparation.

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FOR FURTHER READING on excavations in the chora of Metaponto: The definitive publication on the excavations is scheduled to appear in a supplementary volume of *Notizie degli Scavi* of the Accademia dei Lincei.

On Basilicata: Dinu Adamesteanu, *Basilicata Antica* (Cava dei Tirreni, Italy 1974), a handsomely illustrated survey of ten years of pioneering archaeological work on Metaponto, Herakleia, their territories and their influence, and on the indigenous centers of the interior.

On aerial photography in archaeology in general: John Bradford, *Ancient Landscapes. Studies in Field Archaeology* (G. Bell, London 1957), section on field systems in Attica is of special interest; Moses I. Finley, editor, *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne* (Mouton et Co., Paris 1973), a colloquium on the rural population, especially the paper by J. Pečírka, "Homestead Farms in Classical and Hellenistic Hellas"; Sally Humphreys, "Archaeology and the Economic and Social History of Classical Greece," *Parola del Passato* 116 (1967): 374-400, an historian's comprehensive critique of archaeology and the problem of the rural population; Giovanni Uggeri, "ΚΑΛΗΡΟΙ arcaici e bonifica Classica nella ΧΩΡΑ di Metaponto," *Parola del Passato* 2 (1969); Michael Jameson, "The Southern Argolid: The Setting for Historical and Cultural Studies," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* (Humanistic Section) 268 (1976):74-91, describes the provisional results of a broad study of the region combining ethnographic, archaeological and historical approaches; John Ellis Jones, "A Country House in Attica," *ARCHAEOLOGY* 16 (1963):276-283 and "Another Country House in Attica," *ARCHAEOLOGY* 28 (1975):6-16, discusses in detail two farmhouses at the Dema wall and Vari; for a fuller version, see *Annals of the British School at Athens* 57(1962):75-114 and 68 (1973):355-452; Giulio Schmiedt and Raymond Chevallier, *Caulonia e Metaponto* (l'Universo, Milan 1959), the aerial photographic study which revealed the divisions of the Metapontine chora. Updated by Dinu Adamesteanu and Claude Vatin in "L'arrière-pays de Metaponte," *Comptes rendus de l'academie des inscriptions* (1976):110-125.