

IDENTITY AND MATERIAL CULTURE IN THE INTERPLAY OF LOCALS AND  
GREEK SETTLERS IN SICILY IN THE EARLY ARCHAIC PERIOD

Emma Nicole Buckingham

A dissertation submitted to the faculty at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in  
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the  
Department of Classics in the School of Arts and Sciences.

Chapel Hill  
2019

Approved by:

Carla Antonaccio

Donald Haggis

Maurizio Forte

Jennifer Gates-Foster

Herica Valladares

© 2019  
Emma Nicole Buckingham  
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED



## ABSTRACT

Emma Nicole Buckingham: Identity and Material Culture in the Interplay of Locals and Greek Settlers in Sicily in the Early Archaic Period  
(Under the direction of Carla Antonaccio)

This dissertation seeks to de-center traditional narratives of 7th and early 6th century Sicily, which has conventionally been viewed predominantly through the lens of Greek colonization. Assemblage and context theory is invoked to address the gap in the data on this century that is slowly being acknowledged in published reports.

The island was divided into five geographical units, loosely based on regional identity but centered on the types of interactions that took place among population groups. To effectively document the role objects play in creating specific site identities, a database of objects was created from various contexts – both Greek and indigenous – throughout the island dating to this period, to which statistical packages were applied to test the effectiveness of more theoretical models explaining culture contact and change in this period. Additionally, the dissertation investigates the function that certain objects within assemblages played in the construction of identity and our consequent interpretation of contexts, and investigates the larger patterns that emerge from a close reading and cross-study of contexts and their assemblages.

The data shows that the main articulations of identity are status and representation. In Sicily, elite adoption of foreign goods and population migration eventually created the impetus for change and necessary conditions for new identities to emerge, manifested in the adoption of architectural and settlement forms and “Hellenizing” impetuses absorbed by

indigenous populations, effectively generating a “third space.” Yet there was still room for the articulation of ancestry and indigeneity, especially in funerary and ritual space, which is particularly evident in the western part of the island.

The study demonstrates that, despite the geographical boundedness of Sicily, no one overarching theory can be used to explain the multiplicity of responses to Greek incursions on the island. Rather, the analyses demonstrate that the responses to intensified Greek presence on the island differed from region to region and that there was a high degree of entanglement among sites conventionally considered “Greek” and “indigenous,” substantiating recent approaches to Greek colonization that tend to refute a clear ethnic division in Sicily even during the second wave of the Greek diaspora to the west.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation would not have been possible without the assistance of various people at UNC and Duke, excavation teams in Greece and Sicily, family, and friends.

First, I would like to thank Carla Antonaccio, my principal dissertation advisor, who guided me through the whole dissertation process, wrote countless letters of recommendation, and unfailingly met with me several times a month even through her transition to retirement and several minor natural disasters. The same is true for Donald Haggis, the chair of my committee, who additionally took me to Azoria where I learned the fundamentals of being a trench supervisor. I would also like to thank the other committee members for their suggestions and comments in the editing process.

The statistical and network analysis of the data would not have been conceivable without the generous help of actual mathematicians and statisticians, who helped fill the gaps in the data: Sam Heroy, who worked on the network analysis of the database data and produced the network plots; and Matt Jansen and Nuvan Rathnayaka at the Davis Library Research Hub at UNC, who generously met with me on a monthly basis, guided me through the digitization of my data, and generated the Random Forest plots and Clustering Analysis.

I would like to thank the excavation teams I have had the great fortune to work with – especially those at Azoria and Morgantina. For the latter, I would like to thank, in addition to Carla Antonaccio (who provided me with material from Morgantina to publish), Monika Truemper and Sandra Lucore of the Morgantina South Baths Project, who gave me my start working in Sicily. Others, both on Sicily and off, have given me advice and encouragement

on my project: Tim Shea, my travel buddy in Sicily, who put up with me visiting all these impossible-to-find 7th century sites and one-room museums, all the while using only a paper map and outdated GPS to navigate; my fellow Sicilian archaeologist and ASCSA peer Andrew Ward; and more generally the community at the ASCSA, where I was able to have many fruitful and thought-provoking conversations with like-minded colleagues.

Special thanks go to my friends in Chapel Hill, both in my department, and – most especially – those friends who have nothing to do with archaeology, with whom I could have actual non-archaeology conversations. This extends to the baristas of the various cafes in Chapel Hill and Carrboro that provided me with copious coffee and tolerated my hours-long presence. I would also like to warmly acknowledge the fencing communities of Chapel Hill and Durham, which kept me sane and gave me something to stab at during breaks in writing my dissertation.

Finally, and most importantly, I would like to thank my family, especially my parents who put up with my research and writing agenda, actually agreed to copy-edit my dissertation, and generally supported me all along the way.

This dissertation was funded through the generous support of the Graduate School at UNC, the Carolina Digital Humanities Initiative (which also provided the resources that led to the statistical and network analysis of the data), the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and the Fulbright Foundation

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES .....	xi
LIST OF FIGURES .....	xvii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .....	xxxv
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION, AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND .....	1
The Project .....	1
Theories of Indigenous-Greek Interaction.....	5
Methodology .....	24
Chronologies .....	37
Dissertation Structure .....	49
CHAPTER 2: INTERACTIONS IN GELA AND ITS HINTERLAND.....	52
Gela: A Protoarchaic Greek Foundation.....	54
Gela: Industrial and Other Non-Sacred Contexts.....	79
Negotiating Identities of the Dead: Gela and Its Necropoleis .....	81
Butera and Nearby Ritual and Habitation Contexts.....	86
Expanding Zones of Interaction: M. Desusino, La Muculufa, M. Bubbonia, and M. San Mauro.....	101
Conclusions .....	120
CHAPTER 3: SOUTHEASTERN SICILY – SYRACUSE, KAMARINA AND RELATIONS TO THE HINTERLAND .....	129
Geographic Setting.....	130
Syracuse.....	133
Monte Finocchito: Formulating Internal Chronologies .....	149

Monte Casale: Syracuse's Link to Interior Sicily .....	154
Kamarina: A Later Foundation of the Archaic Period and Dialogues with Sikel Cultural Practice .....	156
The Rifriscolaro and Rito Necropoleis: Asserting Identities within Greek and Mixed Communities .....	159
Castiglione: A Cultural Crossroads .....	169
Megara Hyblaea: Approaches to Interaction in a Littoral Zone.....	190
Leontini and Cava S. Aloe: Shared Spaces in the Chalkidian Zone of Expansion.....	203
Monte Casasia: Cultural Continuity and Artifactual Diversity.....	221
Grammichele and Ramacca: Expressing Locality along Southeast Sicily's Main Passageways.....	227
General Conclusions .....	238
Rituals and Ritual Iconography in Southeastern Sicilian Burial Space .....	238
Elite Identity in Southeastern Sicilian Ritual Space .....	243
<b>CHAPTER 4: WEST-CENTRAL SICILIAN RITUAL SITES: ROUND OIKOI, INDIGENEITY AND GREEK INTERACTION.....</b>	<b>248</b>
Polizzello: Traditional Architecture and Orientalizing Culture .....	250
Caltabellotta: A Smaller Sacred Site Modeled on Larger Central Italian Ritual Spaces.....	287
Monte Saraceno: Expansion of Central-Southern Sicilian Ritual Space on the Cusp of the Archaic Period.....	289
Sabucina and Capodarso: Interconnected Ritual Space in a Central Sicilian Landscape.....	300
Colle Madore: A Regional Sacred Center in North-Central Sicily .....	313
Himera: A Newer Greek Establishment in Northern Sikania .....	328
Conclusions .....	348
<b>CHAPTER 5: INDIGENOUS SETTLEMENTS AND RITUAL SPACE IN WESTERN SICILY: MEDIALLY SITUATED BETWEEN CENTRAL SIKANIA AND NETWORKS OF EXTERNAL INFLUENCE .....</b>	<b>357</b>

Monte Maranfusa: Evolving Domestic Space in Inland Northwest Sicily .....	358
Monte Iato: Responses to Greek and Phoenician Presence: Ancestrality and Indigeneity.....	368
Monte Polizzo: Transcending the Boundaries between Domestic and Sacred Space.....	382
Montagnoli di Menfi: Central Sicilian-Type Ritual Space in Western Sicily .....	404
Entella: Piecing Together Early Elymian Culture.....	414
Conclusions .....	417
<b>CHAPTER 6: NAXOS AND INDIGENOUS SETTLEMENTS IN CENTRAL SICILY: NEGOTIATING SPACE AND RITUAL IN THE CHALKIDIAN ZONE OF EXPANSION .....</b>	<b>430</b>
Naxos: Transformation in an Ethnically Mixed Greek Settlement.....	432
Mendolito and Nearby Sites: Mapping Elite Culture from the East Coast to the Interior.....	445
Morgantina: Co-Habitation and the Emergence of a Localized Culture in the Early Archaic .....	456
Caltanissetta and Its Region: Ancestrality and Responses to Change in Central-Eastern Sicilian Necropoleis .....	476
Sant'Angelo Muxaro: Elite Culture and Social Status in Tomb Architecture and Assemblages.....	495
Terravecchia di Cuti: Indigeneity in a Transforming Environment.....	505
Palike: Hybrid Sanctuary Space and Contexts between Greek Culture and Local Narratives.....	508
Conclusion.....	518
<b>CHAPTER 7. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS, WITH THEORETICAL AND STATISTICAL APPROACHES TO THE CASE STUDIES.....</b>	<b>529</b>
Cultural, Material, and Sociopolitical Change in Early Archaic Sicily.....	529
Modeling Change in Early Archaic Sicily: General Quantitative Analysis of the Contextual Data .....	545
Modeling Interconnectivity in Early Archaic Sicily: Application of Network Theory .....	554

Final Comments: Towards a New Sicilian Typology .....	557
APPENDIX 1: TECHNICAL DISCUSSION OF STATISTICAL ANALYSIS .....	567
1.1. Factor Analysis of Mixed Data (FAMD).....	567
1.2. Principal Components Analysis .....	567
1.3. TSNE.....	568
1.4. Hierarchical clustering.....	569
1.4. Random Forest and Partial Dependence Plots.....	571
1.5. Community Detection Models.....	573
APPENDIX 2: FIGURES .....	575
APPENDIX 3: TABLES.....	718
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	847



## LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1: Gela, Molino a Vento: "Stipe dell'Athenaion" .....	718
Table 2.2: Gela, Molino a Vento: "Deposit D" .....	720
Table 2.3: Gela, Molino a Vento Totals.....	720
Table 2.4: Gela, Predio Sola .....	721
Table 2.5: Gela, Bitalemi .....	724
Table 2.6: Gela, New City Hall, Well 1 .....	725
Table 2.7: Gela, Borgo Necropolis .....	727
Table 2.8: Gela, Villa Garibaldi Necropolis .....	729
Table 2.9: Gela, Predio La Paglia Necropolis .....	729
Table 2.10: Gela, Necropoleis .....	730
Table 2.11: Butera, Layer II .....	732
Table 2.12: Butera, Layer I.....	734
Table 2.13: Butera, Contrada Consi .....	736
Table 2.14: Butera, Contrada Santa Croce.....	736
Table 2.15: Monte Bubbonia, Anaktoron.....	736
Table 2.16: Monte Bubbonia Necropolis .....	737
Table 2.17: Monte San Mauro, Domestic Structures.....	739
Table 2.18: Monte San Mauro, Necropolis .....	739
Table 3.1: Syracuse Ex-Parco Giostre/ Viale P. Orsi Necropolis .....	739
Table 3.2: Syracuse Ex Ospedale Civile Necropolis .....	741
Table 3.3: Syracuse Fusco Necropolis .....	743
Table 3.4: Syracuse Necropoleis .....	746
Table 3.5: Syracuse, Piazza Duomo.....	748
Table 3.6: Syracuse, Prefettura .....	749

Table 3.7: Syracuse, Sacred and Habitation Contexts.....	749
Table 3.8: Monte Finicchito Necropolis.....	749
Table 3.9: Rito Necropolis.....	751
Table 3.10: Castiglione West Necropolis, Chamber Tombs.....	753
Table 3.11: Castiglione West Necropolis, Fossa Tombs.....	755
Table 3.12: Castiglione West Necropolis Totals.....	757
Table 3.13: Castiglione, East Necropolis.....	757
Table 3.14: Megara Hyblaea, South Necropolis.....	757
Table 3.15: Megara Hyblaea, West Necropolis.....	759
Table 3.16: Megara Hyblaea, Raisom Necropolis.....	761
Table 3.17: Megara Hyblaea Necropoleis.....	761
Table 3.18: Megara Hyblaea, Northwest Sanctuary (Temple B).....	763
Table 3.19: Megara Hyblaea: Southern Plateau (Including Temple Zr).....	763
Table 3.20: Megara Hyblaea, Agora.....	765
Table 3.21: Megara Hyblaea, Habitations and Sacred Contexts totals.....	767
Table 3.22: Leontinoi, Alaimo Sanctuary Deposit.....	769
Table 3.23: Monte Casasia.....	771
Table 3.24: Ramacca, Object Totals.....	773
Table 3.25: Ramacca, Saggio Delta.....	773
Table 3.26: Ramacca, House Rm.....	773
Table 4.1: Polizzello, Tripartite Building.....	773
Table 4.2: Polizzello, Oikos E.....	775
Table 4.3: Polizzello, Oikos C.....	777
Table 4.4: Polizzello, Oikos D.....	777
Table 4.5: Polizzello, Piazzale Meridionale.....	778

Table 4.6: Polizzello, Space Outside Oikos C.....	780
Table 4.7: Polizzello, Oikos A.....	780
Table 4.8: Polizzello, Oikos B.....	781
Table 4.9: Polizzello, Oikos Excavated 1926.....	783
Table 4.10: Polizzello, Necropolis.....	783
Table 4.11: Polizzello Totals.....	785
Table 4.12.: Monte Saraceno, Acropolis Totals.....	787
Table 4.13: Monte Saraceno, Upper Plateau Totals.....	787
Table 4.14: Monte Saraceno Totals.....	787
Table 4.15: Sabucina, Settlement Totals.....	789
Table 4.16: Sabucina, Habitation Area.....	789
Table 4.17: Sabucina, Sanctuary Totals.....	789
Table 4.18: Sabucina, Oikos A.....	790
Table 4.19: Sabucina, Oikos B.....	790
Table 4.20: Sabucina, Necropolis.....	790
Table 4.21: Colle Madore.....	791
Table 4.22: Himera, Habitations.....	791
Table 4.23: Himera, Temple A.....	793
Table 4.24: Himera, Early Archaic Fossas.....	795
Table 4.25: Himera, Pestavecchia Necropolis.....	795
Table 5.1: Monte Maranfusa.....	795
Table 5.2: Monte Polizzo, House 4.....	797
Table 5.4: Monte Polizzo, House 2.....	799
Table 5.5: Monte Polizzo, House 3.....	801
Table 5.6: Monte Polizzo Totals.....	803

Table 5.7: Montagnoli Totals.....	803
Table 5.8: Entella Totals .....	804
Table 6.1: Naxos Habitation Contexts.....	804
Table 6.2: Naxos La Musa Sanctuary .....	804
Table 6.3: Morgantina Cittadella.....	806
Table 6.4: Morgantina, Necropolis Iv .....	808
Table 6.5: Morgantina, Necropolis V.....	808
Table 6.6: Morgantina, Necropolis II.....	808
Table 6.7: Morgantina Necropolis Totals.....	810
Table 6.8: Calascibetta, Cozzo S. Giuseppe Necropolis.....	812
Table 6.9: Sant' Angelo Muxaro.....	814
Table 6.10: Terravecchia Di Cuti Totals.....	814
Table 6.11: Palike, Building A .....	814
Table 6.12: Palike, Building F.....	814
Table 6.13: Palike Totals .....	815
Table 7.1: Nearest Neighbor Analysis: Chart of Contexts by Object Origin.....	816
Table 7.2: Nearest Neighbor Analysis: Chart of Contexts by Object Use .....	816
Table 7.3: Scatterplot of Contexts by Object Origin.....	817
Table 7.4: TSNE Scatterplot by Object Origin .....	818
Table 7.5: TSNE Scatterplot by Object Use.....	819
Table 7.6: Dendogram Showing Hierarchical Clustering of Objects, 5, 21, 27, and 31-Factor Analysis.....	820
Table 7.7: Dendogram Showing Hierarchical Clustering of Contexts, 5-Factor and 27-Factor Analysis .....	821
Table 7.8: Dendogram Showing Hierarchical Clustering of Contexts without Context Type Label, 5-Factor and 27-Factor Analysis.....	823
Table 7.9: Percentage of Explained Variance in Factors.....	825

Table 7.10: Percentage of Contributions of Different Variables to Each Dimension.....	825
Table 7.11: Dendrogram, Object Level: with “Context Type” as a Variable (left) and without (right) .....	826
Table 7.12: Clustering Analysis, Context Level .....	827
Table 7.13: Clustering Analysis, Context Level: Dendrogram with Assigned Cluster Groupings.....	828
Table 7.14: Clustering Analysis, Context Level, without Context Type Label .....	829
Table 7.15: Clustering Analysis, Context Level, without Context Type Label: Dendrogram with Assigned Cluster Groupings .....	830
Table 7.16: D Index Values Determining Optimal Number of Clusters by Context. ....	831
Table 7.17: Relative Importance of Different Variables in Prediction Contributions.....	831
Table 7.18: Scatterplot Showing Degree of Interaction of Variables.....	832
Table 7.19: Degree of Interaction among Various Variables .....	833
Table 7.20: Dependence Plot by Object Use.....	834
Table 7.21: Dependence Plot by Object Decoration.....	835
Table 7.22: Dependence Plot by Object Shape .....	836
Table 7.23: Dependence Plot by Material.....	837
Table 7.24: Dependence Plot by Site .....	838
Table 7.25: Dependence Plot by Closest Settlement Identity .....	838
Table 7.26: Dependence Plot by Labeled Site Identity.....	839
Table 7.27: Conditioning Plots by Object Shape and Use .....	840
Table 7.28: Conditioning Plots by Object Decoration and Shape.....	841
Table 7.29: Conditioning Plots by Object Use and Closest Settlement.....	842
Table 7.30: Object Use Similarity Network with Highlighted Communities.....	843
Table 7.31: Object Origin Similarity Network with Highlighted Communities .....	843

Table 7.32: Members of Each Community .....	844
Table 7.33: Plot Showing Optimal Number of Network Communities.....	844
Table 7.34: Map of Sicilian communities.....	845
Table 7.35: Radii of Gyration: Relative Amounts of Objects in Sicilian Communities (by Object Origin) .....	845
Table 7.36: Overview of statistical techniques used.....	846

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Map of principal sites mentioned in the text.....	575
Figure 1.2: Location of Sicilian indigenous ethn.....	575
Figure 1.3: Map of principal Phoenician settlements in Sicily.....	576
Figure 1.4: Sicilian chronology.....	577
Figure 1.5: Example of Licodia Eubea vase; imported metal goods from the Licodia Eubea necropolis.....	577
Figure 1.6: Principal Licodia Eubea shapes from phase 1 (a) and phase 2 (b).....	578
Figure 1.7: Examples of Siculo-Geometric wares.....	578
Figure 1.8: Examples of Sant'Angelo Muxaro-Polizzello style ware, from M. Maranfusa.....	579
Figure 1.9: Examples of piumata ware (left) and plain greyware (right, from Castellaccio ).....	579
Figure 1.10: Ionian-type cups from Polizzello.....	580
Figure 2.1: Map of Chapter 2 area.....	580
Figure 2.2: Plan of sacred buildings in Gela; EPC material from Gela, Molino a Vento.....	581
Figure 2.3: Plan of Gela, Molino a Vento, including early Archaic buildings.....	581
Figure 2.4: Plan of Buildings 1 and 2, Gela, Molino a Vento.....	582
Figure 2.5: Stone plan of Temple B and Temple A, Molino a Vento.....	582
Figure 2.6: Plan of Building VII, Gela, Molino a Vento.....	583
Figure 2.7: Daedalic figurine from the Athenaion deposit.....	583
Figure 2.8: Indigenous wares from the from the Athenaion deposit.....	583
Figure 2.9: Weapons deposits from the Molino a Vento, Gela.....	584
Figure 2.10: Stamp from the Molino a Vento, Gela.....	584
Figure 2.11: Temple models from Gela, Heraion and Contrada Carrubazza.....	584
Figure 2.12: Location of votive deposits, Predio Sola, Gela.....	585

Figure 2.13: Syro-Phoenician lamp deposition from Predio Sola, Gela.....	585
Figure 2.14: Stone plan of the Bitalemi Sanctuary, Gela .....	585
Figure 2.15: Plan of Building G8, Bitalemi.....	586
Figure 2.16: Overturned vases from the Bitalemi Sanctuary .....	586
Figure 2.17: Terracotta figurines from the Bitalemi Sanctuary .....	586
Figure 2.18: Deposit 2885, Bitalemi .....	587
Figure 2.19: Metal deposit, Bitalemi .....	587
Figure 2.20: Plan of Foundation B, Corso Vittorio .....	587
Figure 2.21: Plan of Piano Camera shrine .....	588
Figure 2.22: Piano Camera, architectural decoration .....	588
Figure 2.23: Gela, Bosco Littorio, plan of Archaic structures.....	588
Figure 2.24: Via Dalmazia kiln, Orientalizing and Geometric ceramics .....	589
Figure 2.25: Borgo Necropolis, Tomb B 305, local Orientalizing dinos .....	589
Figure 2.26: Villa Garibaldi Necropolis Tomb 32, Cretan or imitation stamnos .....	590
Figure 2.27: Via Francesco Crispi Necropolis, Etruscan bull head protome from vase.....	590
Figure 2.28: Predio La Paglia Necropolis, fragment of piumata pithos from Tomb 3 .....	590
Figure 2.29: Gela, Borgo Necropolis, alabastron from Tomb 423.....	591
Figure 2.30: Butera, Layer 2 and 3 tombs.....	591
Figure 2.31: Butera, Tomb 138 enclosure .....	592
Figure 2.32: Butera, Tomb 138 grave goods.....	592
Figure 2.33: Butera, Tomb 139 with akephalia burial.....	593
Figure 2.34: Butera, part of assemblage from Tomb 177 .....	593
Figure 2.35: Butera, incised scodellone from Tomb 174 .....	593
Figure 2.36: Butera, Nostra Donna Necropolis, Tomb 1 grave goods.....	594



Figure 2.37: Butera, Contrada Consi plan .....	594
Figure 2.38: Butera, Contrada Consi, wheeled horse figurine .....	594
Figure 2.39: Butera, Contrada Santa Croce, material from votive pit .....	595
Figure 2.40: Butera, Fontana Calda, bronze bovine figurine .....	595
Figure 2.41: Map of indigenous sites in the Valley of Gela and southern Himera River .....	595
Figure 2.42: Rhodian bird cup from M. Desusino .....	596
Figure 2.43: M. Bubbonia, plan of the anaktoron/ Archaic temple and associated structures .....	596
Figure 2.44: M. Bubbonia, trefoil jugs from Tomb 1/1955; and one-handled bowls from Tombs 6/1955 and 7/1955.....	596
Figure 2.45: M. Bubbonia, plan of tholos-type tomb 35/1905 .....	597
Figure 2.46: M. Bubbonia, plan of dolmen tomb 17/1905 .....	597
Figure 2.47: M San Mauro, general plan .....	597
Figure 2.48: M. San Mauro, plan of Hill 3.....	598
Figure 2.49: M. San Mauro, Anaktoron .....	598
Figure 2.50: M. San Mauro, magazzino/ House 4, with finds.....	599
Figure 2.51: Incised scodellone from the “Magazzino” .....	599
Figure 2.52: M. San Mauro, apsidal house.....	599
Figure 2.53: M. San Mauro, plan of “pastas”-style houses with stone plan of excavated portion of House 4 .....	600
Figure 2.54: M. San Mauro, arula from House C2.....	600
Figure 2.55: M. San Mauro, assemblage from Tomb 164.....	601
Figure 3.1: Map of Chapter 3 area.....	601
Figure 3.2: Syracuse, bronze dinos from the Fusco Necropolis, Tomb 616.....	602
Figure 3.3: Syracuse, ex-Parco Giostre Necropolis, Tomb 30 .....	602
Figure 3.4: Assemblage with East Greek buchcero cup from Syracuse, Viale P. Orsi Necropolis, Tomb 63 .....	602

Figure 3.5: Indigenous objects from Syracusan burials .....	603
Figure 3.6: Animal fibulae from the Fusco Necropolis, Syracuse, Graves 441, 421 .....	603
Figure 3.7: Strata in the area of the Athenaion, Syracuse.....	603
Figure 3.8: Early curvilinear walls (left) and Protoarchaic Greek house (right) in the vicinity of the Ionian Temple, Syracuse .....	604
Figure 3.9: Sikel painted pottery and moulded ceramics from the area of the Ionian Temple, Syracuse .....	604
Figure 3.10: Plan of excavations in the area of the Ionian Temple and Athenaion, and layers in front of the Athenaion .....	605
Figure 3.11: Oinochoe with depiction of Potnia Theron and sstele of a goddess from the area of the Ionian Temple, Syracuse.....	605
Figure 3.12: Laconian oinochoe from the votive deposit in Well 1 .....	606
Figure 3.13: Excavations in the area of the Prefettura, including indigenous hut (marked).....	606
Figure 3.14: Fragments of Fusco krater, Syracuse, Prefettura.....	606
Figure 3.15: Polychrome Orientalizing sherd from the area of the Prefettura .....	607
Figure 3.16: Scarabs from House 5, Syracuse, Prefettura and Valle del Marcellino.....	607
Figure 3.17: Map of the principal necropolis areas, M. Finocchito .....	607
Figure 3.18: Assemblage from the Finocchito Necropolis.....	608
Figure 3.19: Material from Tomb NW I, M. Finocchito, including staffa lunga fibulae, transitional Finocchito phase IIA/B (left). Material from Vallata San Francesco Tomb 61, Finocchito phase IIB (right).....	608
Figure 3.20: Plan of M. Casale, with location of temple on the western side .....	609
Figure 3.21: Temple of M. Casale.....	609
Figure 3.22: Plan of part of the Rifriscolaro Necropolis.....	610
Figure 3.23: EC column crater from the Rifriscolaro Necropolis .....	610
Figure 3.24: Bucchero oinochoe from the Rifriscolaro Necropolis .....	611
Figure 3.25: Indigenous vessels from the Rifriscolaro Necropolis.....	611
Figure 3.26: Indigenous vessels from the Rito Necropolis, Tomb 28 .....	611

Figure 3.27: Protoattic lekane from the Rito Necropolis, Tomb 2.....	612
Figure 3.28: Jewelry from the Rito Necropolis.....	612
Figure 3.29: Lion statue from the Rito Necropolis.....	612
Figure 3.30: Tomb 2, Rito Necropolis .....	613
Figure 3.31: Plan of Castiglione, Northeast habitation zone .....	613
Figure 3.32: Material from the habitation zone, Castiglione.....	613
Figure 3.33: Plan of Castiglione, central habitation zone .....	614
Figure 3.34: Plan of Castiglione, principal necropoleis around the settlement.....	614
Figure 3.35: Corinthian cup from Castiglione, Southwest Necropolis, Tomb 11 .....	614
Figure 3.36: Castiglione, West Necropolis, plan of the principal burial area .....	615
Figure 3.37: Castiglione, West Necropolis, varied assemblage from Tomb G122.....	615
Figure 3.38: Castiglione, West Necropolis, example of a fossa tomb, F75 .....	616
Figure 3.39: Castiglione, West Necropolis, fossa tomb F81 .....	616
Figure 3.40: Castiglione, West Necropolis, chamber tomb G104 .....	616
Figure 3.41: Castiglione, West Necropolis, incised vases from Tomb G97.....	617
Figure 3.42: Indigenous style amphora from Tomb G103 .....	617
Figure 3.43: Greek style oinochoe from Tomb G122.....	617
Figure 3.44: Castiglione, West Necropolis, MC amphoriskoi from Tomb G97.....	618
Figure 3.45: Castiglione, plan of East Necropolis.....	618
Figure 3.46: Castiglione, East Necropolis, Tomb 12 (.....	618
Figure 3.47: Castiglione, East Necropolis, Tomb 12 grave goods.....	619
Figure 3.48: “Warrior of Castiglione” .....	619
Figure 3.49: M. San Mauro, sphinx stele; M. Bubbonia, head of female figure (left); Megara Hyblaea, head of figure from south of Temple g or h.....	619
Figure 3.50: Megara Hyblaea: map of site .....	620
Figure 3.51: Megara Hyblaea: plan of neighborhood of Houses 23,10 and 23,11 .....	620

Figure 3.52: Megara Hyblaea: plan of the necropoleis.....	621
Figure 3.53: Megara Hyblaea, South Necropolis, Tomb Z16/ 1974.....	621
Figure 3.54: Megara Hyblaea, West Necropolis Tomb 240, including large pectoral pendant and bronze beads.....	622
Figure 3.55: A navicella fibula from the Northwest Sanctuary, Temple B, Megara Hyblaea .....	622
Figure 3.56: Kourotrophs from the RASIOM Necropolis, Megara Hyblaea .....	622
Figure 3.57: Large xoanon from Temple A and statuette from Temple B, Northwest Sanctuary, Megara Hyblaea.....	623
Figure 3.58: Oinochoe from Temple B deposit, Northwest Sanctuary, Megara Hyblaea .....	623
Figure 3.59: Plate with lion design from Temple A deposit and inscribed plate from Temple B, Northwest Sanctuary, Megara Hyblaea .....	623
Figure 3.60: Archaic temples from Megara Hyblaea.....	624
Figure 3.61: Plan of location of Northwest Sanctuary, Megara Hyblaea .....	624
Figure 3.62: Plan of Megara Hyblaea, with the locations of the Cantera and Northwest sanctuaries marked.....	624
Figure 3.63: Location of Temple ZR, Megara Hyblaea .....	625
Figure 3.64: Rooms under Temple ZR, Megara Hyblaea: phase plan of Chantier 1 and plan of nearby Platform 13.20.....	625
Figure 3.65: Villasmundo, Valle del Marcellino necropolis .....	625
Figure 3.66: Villasmundo, indigenous vase with Greek-style geometric decoration.....	626
Figure 3.67: Plan of Leontini: location of early Archaic contexts, on the Metapiccola .....	626
Figure 3.68: Buildings on Metapiccola, with indigenous structures in the vicinity of the later Greek temple, including Hut B.....	626
Figure 3.69: Local orientalizing vase with depiction of Potnia Theron .....	627
Figure 3.70: Incised ceramics from the M. San Mauro hill .....	627
Figure 3.71: Plan of rock-cut house at M. San Mauro hill, Leontini .....	627
Figure 3.72: Plan of Leontini in the early Greek period.....	628

Figure 3.73: Local orientalizing vase with warrior decoration.....	628
Figure 3.74: Map of Leontini with locations of the Scala Portazza (1) and Alaimo (2) sanctuaries .....	629
Figure 3.75: Aerial photo of the Scala Portazza Sanctuary .....	629
Figure 3.76: Plan of the Alaimo Sanctuary, Leontini.....	630
Figure 3.77: Part of the assemblage from the Alaimo Sanctuary, Leontini.....	630
Figure 3.78: Possible indigenous vase from the Alaimo Sanctuary, Leontini .....	631
Figure 3.79: Etruscan bucchero ceramics with inscriptions, from the Alaimo Sanctuary, Leontini.....	631
Figure 3.80: Stone kouros head from the vicinity of the Alaimo Sanctuary, Leontini.....	631
Figure 3.81: Bronzes from the Alaimo Sanctuary, Leontini, including a navicella type fibula.....	632
Figure 3.82: Miniature krateriskoi from the Alaimo Sanctuary, Leontini .....	632
Figure 3.83: Amber bird statuette from the Alaimo Sanctuary, Leontini, perhaps imported from central Italy .....	632
Figure 3.84: Plan of Leontini with the location of the Cava S. Aloe Necropolis .....	633
Figure 3.85: Indigenous vases from the Cava S. Aloe Necropolis, with bird (left) and horse (right) motifs.....	633
Figure 3.86: Map of Chalkidian (green) and Syracusan (red) influence inland.....	633
Figure 3.87: Plan of the indigenous tombs of M. Casasia found during the primary excavations .....	634
Figure 3.88: Illustration of Tomb II, M. Casasia .....	634
Figure 3.89: Footed kraters from M. Casasia, Tomb III .....	634
Figure 3.90: Cooking and consumption vessels from the exterior of Tomb II, M Casasia.....	635
Figure 3.91: Ionian style cups and Corinthian oinochoai from Tomb III, M. Casasia.....	635
Figure 3.92: M.Casasia, change over time in percentages of Greek imports.....	635

Figure 3.93: General map of Terravecchia di Grammichele; plan of the Poggio dell’Rullo hill .....	636
Figure 3.94: Material from votive deposits at Grammichele: “goddess” statuette from Poggio dell’Aquila; and painted antefix from votive deposit in Contrada Madonna del Piano .....	636
Figure 3.95: Plan of Ramacca .....	637
Figure 3.96: Bronze pendants from Ramacca.....	637
Figure 3.97: Ramacca, locations of Houses N and RM on the acropolis .....	638
Figure 3.98: Ramacca, ceramics from Saggio “Delta” .....	638
Figure 3.99: Stone plan and location of artifacts from House RM, Ramacca.....	639
Figure 3.100: Stone plan of House N, Ramacca.....	639
Figure 3.101: Map of area near Ramacca, with routes leading inland .....	639
Figure 3.102: Plan of rock-cut Building 1, Ramacca.....	640
Figure 3.103: Plan of chamber tombs in the South Necropolis, Ramacca .....	640
Figure 4.1: Map of Chapter 4 region.....	641
Figure 4.2: Plans of central Sicilian circular oikoi.....	641
Figure 4.3: Plan of Polizzello.....	642
Figure 4.4: Painted oinochoe with depiction of warrior and octopus motif; incised oinochoe with stylized bull head .....	642
Figure 4.5: Bronze offerant figurine, from the Gabrici excavations .....	642
Figure 4.6: Plan of acropolis, with sacred structures .....	643
Figure 4.7: Plan and phases of the Tripartite Building .....	643
Figure 4.8: Plan of the North Building, Polizzello .....	644
Figure 4.9: Phase plan of Oikos E, Polizzello.....	644
Figure 4.10: Ceramic hut models from Oikos E .....	644
Figure 4.11: Plan of Oikos C.....	645
Figure 4.12: Decorated bone plaque from Oikos C (right) and bone plaque from the Athenaion .....	645

Figure 4.13: Plan of Oikos D .....	645
Figure 4.14: Indigenous painted carinated cup from Oikos D.....	646
Figure 4.15: Bone decorative elements from Oikos D.....	646
Figure 4.16: Plan of Oikos A with location of deposits .....	646
Figure 4.17: Plan of Oikos B with locations of primary depositions .....	647
Figure 4.18: Partial human figurine found under altar, Oikos B.....	647
Figure 4.19: Ionian type cups from Oikos B.....	647
Figure 4.20: Warrior-themed implements from Oikos B.....	648
Figure 4.21: Twin ivory statuettes, and ivory double palmette from Oikos B.....	648
Figure 4.22: Corinthianizing indigenous krater from Oikos B.....	648
Figure 4.23: Square oikos excavated by Carta, Polizzello.....	648
Figure 4.24: Ceramic hut models from Polizzello, East Necropolis .....	649
Figure 4.25: Footed serving-dish with bull-horn protome on interior from Polizzello, East Necropolis, outside Tomb 5.....	649
Figure 4.26: Indigenous oinochoai from Polizzello, East Necropolis, Tomb 5 .....	649
Figure 4.27: Painted amphora with bull-head protome, from Polizzello, East Necropolis, outside Tomb 5.....	650
Figure 4.28: Heraldic horses from incised vase .....	650
Figure 4.29: Ram figurine from Polizzello, Piazzale Meridionale .....	650
Figure 4.30: Reconstruction of object assemblage from Polizzello, Deposition 6 (Oikos?) .....	651
Figure 4.31: Wood xoana from Palma di Montechiaro .....	651
Figure 4.32: Caltabellotta, acropolis and circular shrine.....	651
Figure 4.33: Monte Saraceno site plan .....	652
Figure 4.34: Monte Saraceno: plan of the acropolis.....	652
Figure 4.35: Incised ciotola from Monte Saraceno .....	653
Figure 4.36: Fruit stand from Monte Saraceno, area of the indigenous huts.....	653

Figure 4.37: Hut model from Room 13, eastern sacred area, Monte Saraceno .....	653
Figure 4.38: Plan of the Upper Plateau habitation sector, Monte Saraceno.....	654
Figure 4.39: Plan of the oikos from Monte Saraceno, Eastern sacred area.....	654
Figure 4.40: Phase plan of Sabucina.....	655
Figure 4.41: Aerial view of the eastern habitation sector, Sabucina .....	655
Figure 4.42: Archaic sector with 11-room complex, Sabucina.....	656
Figure 4.43: Archaic sacred objects from the Archaic habitation area.....	656
Figure 4.44: Western habitation sector, Sabucina .....	656
Figure 4.45: Temple models from Sabucina .....	657
Figure 4.46: Objects from the area south of Gate II.....	657
Figure 4.47: Archaic temple complex south of Gate II (Red: Sacello A; Green: Sacello B; Yellow: Building D).....	657
Figure 4.48: Early Attic black-figure vase from the sanctuary south of Gate II.....	658
Figure 4.49: Oikos B, to the west of the later settlement.....	658
Figure 4.50: Extramural Sikeliote-type shrine (Yellow: 6 <sup>th</sup> century phase).....	658
Figure 4.51: Assemblage from Tomb 5 .....	659
Figure 4.52: Plan of Capodarso.....	659
Figure 4.53: Anthropomorphizing handle from Capodarso.....	660
Figure 4.54: Colle Madore, general plan of acropolis (A) and southern plateau .....	660
Figure 4.55: Colle Madore, plan of sacred structures on the acropolis.....	660
Figure 4.56: Colle Madore, oikos model from the lower slopes .....	661
Figure 4.57: Colle Madore, rectangular oikos on the lower slopes.....	661
Figure 4.58: Colle Madore, bronze plaques from the area of the rectangular oikos .....	661
Figure 4.59: Colle Madore, early bronze fibulae from the rectangular oikos .....	662
Figure 4.60: Colle Madore, ritual kernoi from the rectangular oikos .....	662
Figure 4.61: Colle Madore, incised pithos from the rectangular oikos .....	662



Figure 4.62: Colle Madore, Sikeliote dinos from the oikos destruction deposit.....	663
Figure 4.63: Colle Madore, figured aedicula with figure.....	663
Figure 4.64: Colle Madore, plan of rectangular oikos with object locations .....	663
Figure 4.65: Colle Madore, reconstruction of lower terrace oikos connected to service and work rooms .....	664
Figure 4.66: Montagnola di Marineo, map and phase plan of rounded oikos .....	664
Figure 4.67: Objects from the southern deposit, sacred zone near the southeast city wall .....	664
Figure 4.68: Castronovo, stylized astragali .....	665
Figure 4.69: Himera, site plan.....	665
Figure 4.70: Indigenous painted vase from Himera, Temple A.....	665
Figure 4.71: Indigenous vases from Himera, habitation area .....	666
Figure 4.72: Himera, Northern Quarter, Eastern Quarter.....	666
Figure 4.73: Himera, Northern Quarter with marked neighborhoods .....	666
Figure 4.74: Himera, Northern and Southern buildings .....	667
Figure 4.75: Himera, Block 2 buildings, with marked early Archaic structures .....	667
Figure 4.76: Himera, Block 3 buildings, with marked early Archaic structures .....	668
Figure 4.77: Himera, sacred area in the East District .....	668
Figure 4.78: Himera, East District, Temple A.....	669
Figure 4.79: Himera, gold foil lamina from Temple A.....	669
Figure 4.80: Himera, small finds from Temple A .....	669
Figure 4.81: Himera, segment of the Pestavecchia Necropolis.....	670
Figure 4.82: Himera, Pestavecchia Necropolis, plate with running gorgon .....	670
Figure 4.83: Himera, indigenous vases from the West (left) and Pestavecchia (right) necropoleis .....	670
Figure 4.84: Himera, detail of Wild Goat Style cup from the East Necropolis.....	671
Figure 4.85: Himera, Phoenician glass amphoriskos, aryballos, and amphora .....	671

Figure 5.1: Map of Chapter 5 area.....	671
Figure 5.2: General plan of Monte Maranfusa.....	672
Figure 5.3: Phases of Field A, Monte Maranfusa .....	672
Figure 5.4: Field A, Monte Maranfusa .....	673
Figure 5.5: Field A, plans of Houses 1 and 2, Monte Maranfusa.....	673
Figure 5.6: Monte Maranfusa, incised wares from Field A.....	673
Figure 5.7: Monte Iato, general plan of main settlement and sacred area, including the two peristyle houses (PH 1 and 2).....	674
Figure 5.8: Monte Iato, Protoarchaic material from the early settlement.....	674
Figure 5.9: Monte Iato, Early Archaic 2-roomed house and earlier hut underneath .....	674
Figure 5.10: Monte Iato, one-roomed Archaic house to the west of the agora, containing terracotta model with bull figure.....	675
Figure 5.11: Monte Iato, Archaic houses south of the Hellenistic Agora .....	675
Figure 5.12: Monte Iato, ceramic assemblage from the Archaic settlement south of the later agora.....	676
Figure 5.13: Monte Iato, Archaic cult area East of Peristyle House 1, terracotta figured arula (Isler 2010: 173).....	676
Figure 5.14: Monte Iato, Aphrodite temple, axiometric plan (Isler 2010: 168) .....	677
Figure 5.15: Monte Iato, Late Archaic house with location of earlier remains; connection with the Aphrodite temple (Isler 2010: 177, Kistler et al. 2013: 236).....	677
Figure 5.16: Monte Iato, early Archaic deposits and structures in the vicinity of the Late Archaic House and Aphrodite Temple ( <a href="https://www.uibk.ac.at/projects/monte-iato/fwf/ii/">https://www.uibk.ac.at/projects/monte-iato/fwf/ii/</a> ).....	678
Figure 5.17: Monte Iato, incised dipper-cup (K 26018/I) from the area of the Late Archaic house (Kistler et al. 2016: 89) .....	678
Figure 5.18: Monte Iato, polychrome indigenous wares from the area of the Late Archaic House (Isler 2010: 207, 209).....	678

Figure 5.19: Monte Iato, ceramic assemblage from the deposit on the outer square of the Late Archaic House (above), assemblage from the upper floor of the Late Archaic House (below), late 6 <sup>th</sup> -early 5 <sup>th</sup> cent. (Kistler et al. 2016: 91, 88).....	679
Figure 5.20: Monte Iato: mid-Archaic house west of Hellenistic Peristyle House 2 (Reusser et al. 2011: 89).....	680
Figure 5.21: Monte Iato, Protocorinthian ceramics (Isler 2010: 146).....	680
Figure 5.22: Monte Iato, early Attic ceramics dating to the third quarter of the 6th century (K 17171 by the KY Painter, K 20125 by the Lydos painter) (Isler 2010: 148) .....	681
Figure 5.23: Monte Polizzo, general settlement plan (Mühlenbock 2008: 34).....	681
Figure 5.24: Monte Polizzo, plan of acropolis; plan of Early Archaic Building A5 (Morris 2016: 202; Morris and Tusa 2004: 42) .....	682
Figure 5.25: Monte Polizzo, plan of acropolis in phase 2 (first half 6th cent.), phase 3 (third quarter 6th cent.), and location of antler deposits (Morris and Tusa 2004: 48, 51 50) .....	682
Figure 5.26: Monte Polizzo, round oikos, Building A1 (Morris and Tusa 2004: 203).....	683
Figure 5.27: Monte Polizzo, small objects and incised vase from the acropolis deposits (Morris and Tusa 2004: 42, 66; Morris 2016: 207) .....	683
Figure 5.28: Monte Polizzo, zones B and C (Morris and Tusa 2004: 43, 44).....	683
Figure 5.29: Monte Polizzo, Matt-painted dipper-cup from Zone B (Morris and Tusa 2004: 56).....	684
Figure 5.30: Monte Polizzo, reconstruction of Houses 1, 2, and 3 in Area A; and plan of House 4 in Area B (Mühlenbock 2008: 39, 63) .....	684
Figure 5.31: Monte Polizzo, plan of House 1 (Mühlenbock 2008: 48).....	684
Figure 5.32: Monte Polizzo, stone axe from House 1 (Mühlenbock 2008: 120).....	685
Figure 5.33: Monte Polizzo, imported ceramics from House 1 (Mühlenbock 2004: 63, 64, 67) .....	685
Figure 5.34: Monte Polizzo, indigenous ceramics from House 1 (Mühlenbock 2004: 61, 68).....	685
Figure 5.35: Monte Polizzo, incised ritual wares from House 1 (Mühlenbock 2008: 107) .....	686

Figure 5.36: Anthropomorphizing cup-dippers from Houses 1 (left) and 3 (right) (Mühlenbock 2008: 187) .....	686
Figure 5.37: Monte Polizzo, plans of Houses 2 and 3 (Mühlenbock 2008: 55, 61) .....	686
Figure 5.38: Monte Polizzo, ornaments from Houses 2 and 3 (Mühlenbock 2008: 117-18).....	687
Figure 5.39: Montagnoli di Menfi, plan of sacred area (Öhlinger 2015b: Taf. 5 Abb. 10).....	687
Figure 5.40: Montagnoli di Menfi, plans of Hut 1 (left) and Hut 7 (right) (Castellana 1988: Figure 3, Castellana 2000: Tav. XXXVI) .....	688
Figure 5.41: Montagnoli di Menfi, reconstruction of Hut 1 (Castellana 1988: Figure 21, Figure 23).....	688
Figure 5.42: Montagnoli di Menfi, ritual objects (kerdos, scodelloni) and ornaments from Hut 1 .....	688
Figure 5.43: Montagnoli di Menfi, stamped hearth from Hut 7 (Castellana 2000: Tav. XXXVIII).....	689
Figure 5.44: Montagnoli di Menfi, incised pithos from Hut 1 (Castellana 1988: Figure 15) .....	689
Figure 5.45: Scirinda, plan with rectangular dwellings (Castellana 1993: 746-7).....	689
Figure 5.46: Montagna dei Cavalli, incised sherds from the settlement (Di Stefano 1991: 133) .....	689
Figure 5.47: Castellazzo di Poggioreale, general site plan (Giglio Cerniglia et al. 2012: 252) .....	690
Figure 5.48: Castellazzo di Poggioreale, plan of multi-room structure (Falsone et al. 1980: 939) .....	690
Figure 5.49: Castellazzo di Poggioreale, one-roomed elliptical structure in Area 12 (Giglio Cerniglio et al. 2012: 60).....	691
Figure 5.50: Castellazzo di Poggioreale, circular hearth from Campo I (Giglio Cerniglio et al. 2012: 53).....	691
Figure 5.51: Castellazzo di Poggioreale, indigenous incised ritual wares (Falsone et al. 1980: 961, Giglio Cerniglio et al. 2012: 61).....	691
Figure 5.52: Castellazzo di Poggioreale, Wild Goat Style vase (Falsone et al. 1980: 954).....	691

Figure 5.53: Castellazzo di Poggioreale, three-room structure (sanctuary?) in Area 13 (Giglio Cerniglio et al. 2012: 59).....	692
Figure 5.54: Entella, general plan (Guglielmino 1992: Tav. XLIII).....	692
Figure 5.55: Incised amphora with stylized anthropomorphizing protome, Tomb 2 (Nenci and Becker 1993: 183).....	693
Figure 6.1: Map of Chapter 6 area.....	693
Figure 6.2: Plan of Archaic Naxos (Pakkanen et al. 2015: 30) .....	694
Figure 6.3: Naxos, phase plan of the Archaic habitation area (Lentini 2008: 497, Lentini 2015: Pl. 40).....	695
Figure 6.4: Naxos, plan of House 5 (left) and Building A (right) (Lentini 2009: 25; Lentini 2015: Pl. 33).....	695
Figure 6.5: Naxos, sherds from House 5 (Lentini 2001: 35) .....	696
Figure 6.6: Naxos, Building A, overlying earlier structures c, b and g (Lentini 2012: 170, Lentini 2015: Pl. 36).....	696
Figure 6.7: Naxos, indigenous ceramics in the area of Building A (Lentini 2012: 171-3) .....	696
Figure 6.8: Naxos, Pastas House no. 1 in the northeast sector of the city (Lentini 1984: 816) .....	696
Figure 6.9: Naxos: Building H, plan and photograph.....	697
Figure 6.10: Naxos: spouted krater, helmeted head between two lions.....	697
Figure 6.11: Plan of the Southwest Sanctuary, with Shrine A and Temple B.....	697
Figure 6.12: Naxos, artifacts from the votive deposits: spearheads, Daedalic figurine, early inscribed Ionian cup .....	698
Figure 6.13: Naxos, plan of the settlement with the locations of the La Musa and Scalia/ Santa Venera sanctuaries.....	698
Figure 6.14: Naxos, objects deposited in the area of Proprieta la Musa.....	698
Figure 6.15: Naxos, plan of the extraurban Santa Venera sanctuary.....	699
Figure 6.16: Naxos, reconstruction of Tempietto H with revetments.....	699
Figure 6.17: Naxos, stele with dedication to the goddess Enyo.....	699

Figure 6.18: Goods from early 6 <sup>th</sup> cent. Tomb 330, Naxos.....	700
Figure 6.19: Enchytrismos burial from the area of Mendolito.....	700
Figure 6.20: Metal objects from the Mendolito Hoard .....	700
Figure 6.21: Mendolito, settlement area: southern gate, octagonal column with unusual capital; plan of M. Castellaccio .....	701
Figure 6.22: Tholos-style tombs: Sciare Manganelli, Tholos Tomb 1; Contrada S. Marco, Paterno; M. Bubbonia Tomb 35 .....	701
Figure 6.23: Egyptianizing faience scarab, beads and plaque from Sciare Manganelli and Rhodian bird cup from M. Castellaccio near Paterno .....	701
Figure 6.24: Centuripe: Archaic tombs in Contrada Capitano, tholos tomb in Contrada Casino .....	702
Figure 6.25: Pozzo di Gotto, Italic-style ornaments .....	702
Figure 6.26: Mendolito, figurine of a banqueter.....	702
Figure 6.27: Civita, Archaic remains below Classical structures .....	703
Figure 6.28: Morgantina, general plan of Cittadella .....	703
Figure 6.29: Morgantina plan of the Upper Plateau, with location and reconstruction of the prehistoric longhouse .....	703
Figure 6.30: Morgantina, reconstruction of apsidal or elliptical buildings in Trench 3, Upper Plateau (left), and on Farmhouse Hill, underneath the Archaic naiskos (right) .....	704
Figure 6.31: Morgantina, Necropolis IV, Tombs 5 and 6.....	704
Figure 6.32: Morgantina, Trench 10, Archaic remains .....	704
Figure 6.33: Morgantina, Trench 29, EIA and Early Archaic remains; indigenous objects recovered from Strata 3 and 4 .....	705
Figure 6.34: Morgantina, inscribed stele, front and side views.....	705
Figure 6.35: Morgantina, Necropolis V, Tomb 51: indigenous and Sikeliote (right) sherds .....	705
Figure 6.36: Morgantina, Necropolis II: plan of Tombs 1-11, with locations and types of burials.....	706
Figure 6.37: Morgantina, Necropolis II: plan of Tomb 9, with location of objects.....	706

Figure 6.38: Morgantina, Necropolis II, objects from Tomb 32 .....	706
Figure 6.39: Morgantina, Necropolis II, part of the assemblage from Tomb 4 .....	707
Figure 6.40: Morgantina, Necropolis II, Corinthian objects from Tombs 16 (left) and 17.....	707
Figure 6.41: Morgantina, Necropolis II, bronzes recovered from Tomb 4 .....	707
Figure 6.42: Monte San Giuliano, apsidal building .....	708
Figure 6.43: Monte San Giuliano, objects from the apsidal building .....	708
Figure 6.44: Calascibetta, EIA objects from the Carcarella Necropolis .....	708
Figure 6.45: Calascibetta, late 8 <sup>th</sup> to early 7 <sup>th</sup> century objects from the M. San Giuseppe Necropolis.....	709
Figure 6.46: Calascibetta, Archaic objects from the M. San Giuseppe Necropolis.....	709
Figure 6.47: Calascibetta, objects from the Valle Coniglio Necropolis, Tomb 5 .....	709
Figure 6.48: Calascibetta, objects from Tomb 1, Contrada Quattrocchi, including cinerarium in the shape of a hut .....	710
Figure 6.49: Marianopoli, plan of the Valle Oscura Necropolis .....	710
Figure 6.50: Marianopoli, Valle Oscura Necropolis, Tomb 21 .....	710
Figure 6.51: Marianopoli, Valle Oscura Necropolis, Corinthianizing oinochoe and krater.....	711
Figure 6.52: Marianopoli, Valle Oscura Necropolis, part of the assemblage from Tomb 21 .....	711
Figure 6.53: Orientalizing/ Corinthianizing indigenous cup fragment from Himera (left) and krateriskos from Vassallaggi.....	711
Figure 6.54: Vassallaggi, general plan and plan of sanctuary area .....	712
Figure 6.55: Hut model from Vassallaggi.....	712
Figure 6.56: Plan of the upper and lower tomb terraces, Sant'Angelo Muxaro.....	712
Figure 6.57: Plan of the area around Sant'Angelo Muxaro.....	713
Figure 6.58: Shield protome from Butera, Piano della Fiera T. 172.....	713
Figure 6.59: Traditional-style incised greywares and red slip wares from Sant'Angelo Muxaro .....	713

Figure 6.60: Plan of Tomb 1, “Grotta di Sant’Angelo” .....	714
Figure 6.61: Gold objects from Sant’Angelo Muxaro .....	714
Figure 6.62: Sant’Angelo Muxaro, Tomb A, phases 1-3 .....	714
Figure 6.63: Terravecchia di Cuti, general plan.....	715
Figure 6.64: Bronze anthropomorphizing laminae from Terravecchia di Cuti.....	715
Figure 6.65: Palike, general plan.....	715
Figure 6.66: Palike, plan of Buildings F1/2 (left) and Complex P.....	716
Figure 6.67: Palike, selection of imported, colonial, and indigenous pottery from Building A .....	716
Figure 6.68: Sherd with depiction of warrior with crest and shield.....	717
Figure 6.69: Mendolito, inscription from the fortification wall .....	717
Figure 7.1: M. San Mauro, part of the bronze tablet with homicide laws recovered from the “Magazzino” .....	717



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used throughout. They are adapted from the standard abbreviations used in *Archaeological Reports*.

BA	Bronze Age
LBA	Late Bronze Age
FBA	Final Bronze Age
EIA	Early Iron Age
LIA	Late Iron Age
LG	Late Geometric
PC	Protocorinthian
EPC	Early Protocorinthian
MPC	Middle Protocorinthian
LPC	Late Protocorinthian
TC	Transitional Corinthian
EC	Early Corinthian
MC	Middle Corinthian
LC	Late Corinthian
PA	Protoarchaic

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION, AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

### The Project

From the end of the Bronze Age, Sicilian societies did not appreciably interact with the rest of the Mediterranean until the late 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE,<sup>1</sup> when renewed trade and other contacts with the East led to widespread economic, social, artistic and political transformation. In the 7<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, Greek contacts and settlements in Sicily led traders, settlers and locals to commingle and define themselves through new social, political and religious identities, using Greek and colonial items in new ways with new cultural meanings, while institutions and settlement patterns changed to reflect growing internationalism. No publication has treated that time and region systematically, though, and no satisfactory theoretical framework for evolution of new identities during this time has emerged; this dissertation addresses that gap.

19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century descriptions of this era traditionally regarded transformations in the area's cultures as by-products of Greek settlement, and the appearance of novel forms, such as changing burial structures, new settlement patterns, and establishment of cult buildings, as natural offshoots of mainland Greek developments. Recent scholarship on the "Orientalizing revolution," focusing on chronologies of indigenous, colonial, and Greek ceramics, has brought a more nuanced view. Brisart, for example, argues that "Orientalizing" should describe not simply artistic developments, but rather societal changes, notably emergence of elite cultures and distinctive new communities in many Mediterranean areas influenced by Near Eastern craft

---

<sup>1</sup> All dates are BCE except those of archaeological excavations and analysis, which are CE. BCE and CE will therefore generally be omitted.

techniques and aesthetic types.<sup>2</sup> Leighton has investigated impacts of 7<sup>th</sup> century Greek trade and colonization on native settlements, taking into account local agency and modes of exchange, while Riva and Vella have attempted to describe the Orientalizing revolution and its modes of development throughout the Mediterranean.<sup>3</sup> Morris has noted how Greeks assimilated epic traditions of the Cretan craftsman Daidalos in Sicily to local and early Greek workmanship there, and how scholars such as Orsi later interpreted these myths as explaining the presence of “Orientalizing” objects, especially in indigenous contexts in southern and southeast Sicily.<sup>4</sup> Forms of some of objects of mixed or unidentified provenience were seen as transmitted by early Cretan settlers in parts of southern Sicily in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century, who may well have claimed roots in the mythical Daedalos (especially those craftsmen thought to have spread the style and manufacturing technique of certain objects).<sup>5</sup> However, it has become increasingly clear that artifact styles in isolation cannot establish cultural identities. Ethnicity can be seen as a shorthand for culture, although the definition of culture is in fact unclear; indeed, ethnicity encompasses a specific form of identity that is separate from culture. To some extent, it encompasses the panoply of shared skills and habits that contribute to individual and collective agency, what Bourdieu termed “habitus.”<sup>6</sup> Such habits generate social structure that is self-reproducing in a shared environment. However, within this overarching structure there is still room for fluidity in identity, especially within the armature of status and elite exclusivity, an

---

<sup>2</sup> Brisart 2011.

<sup>3</sup> Riva and Vella 2006: 1-20.

<sup>4</sup> Important examples of this type of object are the gold phialai and rings with zoomorphic figural decoration found at the site of Sant’Angelo Muxaro (Fatta 1983: 123).

<sup>5</sup> Morris 1992: 195-211.

<sup>6</sup> Bourdieu 1977.

overarching identity that transcends ethnicity, as choices are made based on ancestry, locality, etc. Locality also plays into discourses of ethnicity in Sicilian landscapes; as Antonaccio asserts, not only material culture, but also descent or kinship, and territorial homeland, have a strong bearing on the formulation of shared narratives amongst a population group.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, a realization that ethnicity alone may not have been the main driver of change has begun to inform the interpretation of assemblages and contexts, as scholars have recognized that social status or cult practice may also have played significant roles in the way users perceived imports and locally produced goods (both indigenous and foreign-inspired forms).

At the outset it is important to address terminology and chronology. Both are problematic in studies of ancient Sicily, and scholars have dealt with them – especially for indigenous Sicily – in ways that are difficult to reconcile. Authors have attempted to isolate ethnicity and identity beginning in the Prehistoric period, but identification of specific Sicilian *ethne* in a pre-literate time is complex, especially reconciling the three main Sicilian culture-groups, Elymian, Sikanian and Sikel, with Bronze Age predecessors such as the Ausonians.<sup>8</sup> This question, whether a distinctive ethnicity can be assigned to broad population groups not necessarily sharing a material culture or architectural forms, also arises in reference to Greek identity in the West and identification of dichotomies between Greek and indigenous –real or perceived.<sup>9</sup> As will be argued throughout this discussion, culturally distinct indigenous *ethne* largely arise as a response to Greek presence beginning in the 8<sup>th</sup> century and later Greek constructions of “self” versus “other,” although cultural groupings themselves are likely rooted

---

<sup>7</sup> Antonaccio 2009: 33-4.

<sup>8</sup> Hall 2004: 46; Bernabò Brea 1966: 136-200; La Rosa and Pugliese Caratelli 1991: 3-110; Tusa 1997: 521-526.

<sup>9</sup> Hall 2004: 44-46.

in earlier population movements described by Greek authors. Indeed, as Hall notes, it was not until the 5<sup>th</sup> century – perhaps not coincidentally when he sees a distinctive, broadly-applied “Hellenic” identity emerge<sup>10</sup> – that “the identity of these groups was particularly salient,” at least for the Greek audience.<sup>11</sup> Terms are necessary, though, to identify in some way the broad cultural groupings that emerge and evolve during this period, however much they may blend together. Given the widespread use Sikanian, Sikel and Elymian in scholarly literature, developing a new terminology would cause more difficulties than it would solve. Therefore, these ethnic designations are used in this work, but the reader should bear in mind that in terms of the material record, they are not clearly defined, innate categories but rough indications of groups, each of which has some distinguishing characteristics while still sharing much with the others.

A separate issue of terminology is the word “network,” used in this dissertation with three distinct meanings. The first is the collection of routes, such as trade routes, along which objects, information and ideas moved in the Archaic world. The second is the theoretical construct analyzing interrelationships of people and objects; it is closely related to and often can be mapped onto the first type of network, but the two should not be confused. The third is a term of art in statistical analysis, as seen in the discussion in Chapter 7 of *Community Detection*. Unfortunately, there is no simple substitute for any of these usages, so the type of “network” being discussed must be inferred from the context.

Scholars have searched with limited success for overarching theories of Greek-local interactions of this period. Post-colonial theory generally lacks social and historical

---

<sup>10</sup> Hall 2004: 45; Hall 2002: 172-228.

<sup>11</sup> Hall 2004: 46-47.

contextualization of objects. More promising are middle-ground and network theories, but their applicability to Sicily of this period remains to be fully assessed. The final test of all these theories is how well the facts support them, whether they adequately connect concrete material-culture developments during the 7<sup>th</sup> century with larger-scale sociopolitical change. This dissertation conducts that test through analysis of the contents of a database on more than 13,000 artifacts from Sicilian sites, developed in an extensive search of the literature, combined with visits to sites and collections. The study of objects in depositional context, together with likely provenience or original production locations, has shown patterns in assemblages from burial, sacred, and domestic contexts in various areas of traditionally indigenous interior Sicily which are compared in turn with coastal Greek settlements and mixed sites in border zones. Those patterns reveal factors driving cultural development in the region, showing how societies and groups manipulated Orientalizing and Greek styles and adapted imported artifacts and local imitations to express new cultures.

We can thus gain some idea of the process by which artifacts and ideas were transformed along this web by comparing the context of artifacts' use in receiving societies with the society of origin, during this period of myriad contacts when no single source provided the impetus for artistic and social change. First, though, a summary of theories of Greek settlement of Sicily and their applications to archaeological thought and practice is required.

### **Theories of Indigenous-Greek Interaction**

Early scholars saw the introduction of outside artistic styles and the Orientalizing revolution as the inevitable result of Greek settlement in the West, the appearance of novel forms in South Italy and Sicily mimicking developments in mainland Greece. This view was a consequence of ideas of acculturation and imposition of a mostly homogeneous Greek culture on a colonial landscape. It also tended to see indigenous cultures as largely static and

homogeneous, as well as wholly “other” from Greeks. In its most basic form, acculturation – the process by which one culture assimilates aspects of another, to the degree that many or most cultural markers of the original group are displaced – assumes an inherent superiority in the technology, art, architecture, and sociopolitical practices of the colonizing power, and a one-way transfer of these cultural aspects from the “superior” society to the other, making it “like” the colonizing power.<sup>12</sup> This notion, while more nuanced than perceptions that indigenous culture was simply erased by diasporic populations encroaching on native territory, nevertheless is still simplistic, and privileges the assumptions that cultures are always fixed entities with all segments responding in the same way to foreigners.<sup>13</sup> Closely related is the theory of Hellenization, that Greek cultural characteristics – sociopolitical systems, language, architecture, art, religion, and settlement patterns – were imprinted on non-Greek populations, sweeping aside local cultures and practices.<sup>14</sup> This may not necessarily have been by force; rather indigenous inhabitants would have recognized the preeminence of Greek objects and customs, choosing to adopt them out of self-preservation and emulation rather than to relate to the foreign.

However, this view of a clear unidirectional Hellenizing influence is teleological and reductionist in its assumptions that superiority of Greek culture was clear to indigenous inhabitants, and that they wished to become Hellenized simply because Greek culture was “better,” rather than for any advantages that adopting the aspects may have given them in their own societies.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, cultural and artistic developments in Greece in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> Herskovits 1958; Bastide 1960; Rogers 2005: 340.

<sup>13</sup> Dietler 2010: 59-60; Martin 2013: 221-3.

<sup>14</sup> Dunbabin 1948: 37; Boardman 1999: 198-92; Belvedere 2010: 56-8.

<sup>15</sup> Dietler 2010: 58.

centuries, while they may have somewhat influenced development of western Greek city-states, cannot account for the multiplicity of local societies' responses to artifact types – the manufacture of original wares in the Greek West, incorporation and adaptation of distinctive iconography, and use of both imported and locally made goods. Additional difficulty in tracing influence from Greece to the West arises because many Greek city-states in Italy were founded at the end of the Iron Age, a time when the metropoleis were undergoing large-scale reorganization and experiencing a crisis of identity related to the reorientation of western settlements to the polis form. Even cities that founded colonies in the West as late as the 7<sup>th</sup> century wave of colonization did not in many cases have a set of well-defined cultural and ethnic markers. Yet many scholars still take this approach to describe the changes and increasing uniformity of material and sociopolitical culture in Sicily during the latter half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, even while recognizing that the framework of change, established long before, did not require all regions to respond in the same way to Greek settlement.<sup>16</sup> This approach to Greek colonization uses as a springboard antiquated notions of ethnicity as an inert entity, tied to material culture (as noted above) but immune to substantial change. It also sees the various local Sicilian ethne as discrete, opposed elements that eventually were subsumed into Greek culture – by this time a monolithic element in Sicily – by the Classical period.

Despite early inroads in the study and excavation of indigenous Sicilian sites, in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century most scholarly work took as a starting point ancient Greek accounts of Sicily, at the expense of all other cultural aspects of earlier interactions. Whereas early archaeologists such as Orsi had focused mainly on sites and descriptions of artifacts and assemblages, historians such as Blakeway and Dunbabin were the first to discuss the progression

---

<sup>16</sup> De Miro 1975; Vassallo 1999: 2-4; Vassallo 2000: 990-3.



of Greek contacts with the West, primarily through the lens of Euboean trade and exchange even before the earliest substantial Greek colonies were founded at Pithekoussai and Cumae in South Italy around the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>17</sup> Blakeway christened this “pre-colonial” contact period, “trade before the flag”: “Greek commerce with the West preceded Greek colonization of the West. The flag followed trade...the necessary geographical knowledge, the knowledge of friendly and hostile Barbarian peoples, of sites suitable and unsuitable for colonization, must have come from Greek trade.”<sup>18</sup> Such examination of pre-colonial Greek contacts has not been without complications, though. Blakeway’s article, seminal in its day, has since been largely dismissed as too simplistic and teleological in its assumptions, as he took little account of the factors that would have driven trade between Greeks and locals in the first place and assumed that the end product, Greek colonization of Sicily and South Italy, was a given based on earlier and concurrent Greek activity in the Mediterranean. Furthermore, since the 1930s, excavations in the Euboean homeland (particularly at Lefkandi), in indigenous sites of south Italy, Sicily and Sardinia, and at Pithekoussai and Cumae, have revealed evidence of contacts that both expands our knowledge of early Greek trade and raises more questions as to the nature and extent of Iron Age contacts and early Greek settlements. Indeed, the evidence for “pre-colonial” trade in Sicily is extremely limited; it must be interpreted on a site-by-site rather than pan-Sicilian basis, while what little evidence we have for Greek objects on Sicily after the Mycenaean period and before the foundation of the first Greek settlement there (at Naxos in 735) may be a by-product of Phoenician, rather than Greek, trade. Nevertheless, the concept has proven influential in

---

<sup>17</sup> The Euboeans were the most active Greeks in the EIA, trading with foreign powers and throughout mainland Greece, gradually extending their influence, seen not only in Euboean goods throughout the Mediterranean basin in the period, but also in the foreign goods in graves such as those in the Toumba Cemetery in Lefkandi.

<sup>18</sup> Blakeway 1932/33: 202.

shaping the direction of the many authors' research into early Greek contacts outside of Greece, and since then many have analyzed the nature of "trade before the flag" throughout the Mediterranean.

The trade model accepted by most scholars since Blakeway is that early Greek pottery at indigenous sites in Italy and Sicily had been traded for metal ores brought back to Greece and fashioned into objects.<sup>19</sup> Greek wares would have been of generally higher quality than the local pottery, leading local inhabitants to obtain these wares and, eventually, copy them.<sup>20</sup> However, this assumption has obvious limitations, and the development and growth of trade networks is more nuanced; since the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century scholars have also taken into account the actions and requirements of local inhabitants in discussions of agency, exigency and localized intersections of desire and demand. Ridgway suggests that in exchange for raw resources, the Greeks also offered indigenous inhabitants services including pottery production and metalworking expertise; he notes that local production of metal objects rapidly increased in quantity and quality during the 8<sup>th</sup> century, a phenomenon that may well have been linked to the introduction of capabilities that were not originally local.<sup>21</sup> Later, literacy may also have traveled these same routes.<sup>22</sup> Thus, Greeks and indigenous inhabitants, especially in Italy and Sicily, would have been engaging in various interactions not necessarily reflected in the pottery record.

---

<sup>19</sup> Snodgrass 2006: 3.

<sup>20</sup> Boardman 2004: 160; the first western Greeks would have "brought outstanding cultural benefits to the increasingly well-to-do native Iron Age communities along the western seaboard of Central Italy, who had been waiting patiently for the Orientalising phenomenon." (Ridgway 2000: 180).

<sup>21</sup> Ridgway 2004: 16-17; Ridgway 1993: 137.

<sup>22</sup> Ridgway 2004: 18; Ridgway 1994: 43. Other sources that mention the dissemination of literacy during the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, see: Sommer 2007 and Fletcher 2012. 8<sup>th</sup> century Euboean contact with the area can be recognized in the Etruscans' adoption of the Euboean (and not Phoenician) alphabetic script by the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, so it is not unlikely that trade occurred directly between Euboeans (or Pithekoussians) and the early peoples of Tyrrhenian seaboard.

Thus, should these networks even be considered [Greek] trade connections? It has become increasingly clear that the mechanism by which objects and knowledge spread was not a one-way street, but rather conditioned by interactions and adaptations from the entirety of the Greek-indigenous spectrum. As Crielaard convincingly suggests, much Greek pottery at early local sites instead may have been the result of friendly gift-exchange between Greek and local elites.<sup>23</sup> As will be seen, “pre-colonial” Greek pottery has been found mainly in elite burials or sanctuary contexts also characterized by assemblages with high-quality ornamental objects made with valuable raw materials, often imported from far-flung locations. Were these objects that only wealthy citizens had access to, through trade? Or are they rather the physical manifestation of *xenia* connections – hospitality and gift-exchange – between the Greek and indigenous elites?<sup>24</sup> As Popham and Lemos note, many elite Euboeans were involved in trade and had overseas connections reflected in the Euboean funerary record, and wealthy tombs were more likely to contain imported items.<sup>25</sup> Thus, it is not implausible that some networks formed between Euboeans and indigenous in west and east were communal in nature, the pottery acting as a token of guest friendship.

In fact, as mentioned above, the main drivers of change may not necessarily be tied to ethnicity – social status or religion may also play a significant role in individuals’ and groups’ perceptions of imports and locally produced goods (both of indigenous form and inspired by items from elsewhere). This is where commensality must be considered. A stronger motive for indigenous individuals to acquire prestige goods or wide-ranging contacts may have been to

---

<sup>23</sup> Crielaard 1999: 64.

<sup>24</sup> Antonaccio 2005: 106.

<sup>25</sup> Popham and Lemos 1995: 151-157.

showcase or enhance their standing in their own communities, rather a desire to emulate or merge with Greek communities.

Postcolonial theory has been invoked to account for the agency locals exercised encounters with Greek and Phoenician settlers and traders in the Western Mediterranean, yet many approaches subsumed under its title fail to incorporate the range of interactions among different social and cultural groups during the 7<sup>th</sup> century. In its broadest sense, postcolonial theory refers to recent approaches to de-center colonial narratives and reintroduce the agency of local peoples in discussions of colonial encounters. While initially a useful approach to understanding change and subsequent syncretism in areas settled by non-native populations, its applicability is more limited than its first usage would suggest. As Pappa has recently noted, postcolonial theory itself is somewhat flawed, as it is largely a product of its time, much as world-systems theory defined work in the 1970s, and it carries the risk of overemphasizing semantics at the expense of the analysis of contexts.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, despite postcolonial theory's initial forward-looking impetus, in its discussion about coloniality in this kind of cultural-historical context, it becomes clear that the Mediterranean is not as good of a fit for theories developed for discussion of the Roman Empire. For one, it must posit the existence of a true "colonizer" and "colonized" in order to discuss the resulting interactions and relative degree of cultural change, an ideological assertion that, as noted above, is difficult to claim in the period prior to the formation of concrete identities tied to distinct *poleis*. In the following, I discuss various approaches that are broadly aligned with postcolonial theory but have slightly different takes on the nature of ethnicity, contact, and cultural change.

---

<sup>26</sup> Pappa 2013: 38.

Resistance theory is also commonly invoked within postcolonial narratives. It begins from the idea of integration, assuming a desire by the newcomer to force assimilation that is resisted in some aspects by locals. However, populations may choose to selectively implement or emulate certain features of an outside culture – e.g. art or architecture – and resist others. This led scholars to employ the theory of resistance in selective episodes of contact between Greeks and non-Greeks – in its earliest form, the willful choice to not adopt certain (or any) characteristics of the diasporic population – and in its later manifestations, an active attempt to regain a population’s own sense of identity, through social processes such as indigeneity and ancestry.<sup>27</sup> The latter is perhaps best exemplified by the sociocultural tumult stirred up by the destabilizing actions of the Sikel leader Ducetius (briefly discussed below). In the early period of Greek settlement on Sicily, however, it is hard to justify applying “resistance” to what may well be simply a disinterest, if in fact the newcomers are not pushing assimilation but simply peddling goods.

Other models subsumed under postcolonial theory have been criticized. Hybridity is one of the terms most often used to describe interactions in the ancient Mediterranean – where cultures meet and merge, they produce something that in certain aspects is not typical of either culture, but rather an amalgamation of the two.<sup>28</sup> In the interaction, each also seeks to understand the other using the other’s sociocultural language, often misinterpreting social characteristics. Yet one of its most problematic aspects, often not considered in dealing with mixed identities, is hybridity’s often unrealistic insistence on assigning particular traits as characteristic of one culture but not another, requiring that society and ethnicity must have

---

<sup>27</sup> Antonaccio 2004: 60, 75; Van Valkenburgh 2013: 302-3; Mohr and Kistler 2016.

<sup>28</sup> Antonaccio 2003: 60.

coalesced into a discrete, clearly defined entity before admixture can occur. Distinctive cultural traits are in fact difficult to discern in the archaeological record and certainly cannot be studied in isolation from cultural-historical contexts. As Pappa has noted, “Every culture can be conceived of as hybrid in the sense of having been formed in interaction with its cultural environs, whether to a small or large extent.”<sup>29</sup> Another of hybridity’s shortcomings is a failure to take into account objects’ political and socioeconomic contexts, dismissing these for an overarching concern with cultural essentials.<sup>30</sup> There is a general absence of both social and historical contextualization in postcolonial theory, a lack that needs to be addressed in studies of the Orientalizing phenomenon and its impact on both local and colonial communities.<sup>31</sup>

Hybridity draws on other studies of mixed cultural interactions, including the concepts of creolization and mestizaje.<sup>32</sup> The first has been employed primarily in discussions of identity formation process in colonial encounters in the new world, the second in reference to status constructs loosely based on mixed ancestry but more strongly associated with a specific position in society tied to temporal and geographic locality.<sup>33</sup> However, these concepts do not necessarily elucidate the underlying issue of cultural transmission, and their applicability is limited to only certain circumstances, namely interactions between enfranchised and disenfranchised populations with a high degree of variation between cultures.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, their meanings are so closely entangled with the sociopolitical and economic framework of

---

<sup>29</sup> Pappa 2013: 35.

<sup>30</sup> Dietler 2010: 52-3.

<sup>31</sup> Van Dommelin 2006: 138-139.

<sup>32</sup> Antonaccio 2005: 109; Antonaccio 2009: 45; VanValkenburgh 2013.

<sup>33</sup> VanValkenburgh 2013: 312-3.

<sup>34</sup> Purcell 2015: 126; VanValkenburgh 2013: 312.

which these actors were a part that invocations of associated material culture cannot go far in elucidating identities.

Other concepts have built off the theory of hybridity, rebranded to fit a variety of ambiguous circumstances involving an array of cultures, social positions, and identities. Middle-ground theory, unlike the traditional hybridity model, does not necessarily posit creation of a new culture from two competing cultures, but rather sees interaction as a framework within which cultural change can occur through misunderstandings and appropriations of the “other” and its cultural output.<sup>35</sup> It argues that in a meeting point between multiple cultures, aspects of the societies coming into contact are transformed, giving rise to new artistic forms and value systems as each group attempts to find common ground and reach mutual comprehension with its neighbor.<sup>36</sup> It presupposes agency on the part of every culture as all attempt to foster mutually beneficial relations, and generally posits an egalitarian footing among all involved as every side offers goods and services beneficial to the others.<sup>37</sup> This term has been invoked in discussing mixing and identity as large-scale as regional systems<sup>38</sup> and as specific as isolated contexts within sites. In Sicily, it can be applied to situations ranging from interactions among indigenous ethnics of Sicily prior to Greek settlement, to indigenous societies in contact with early Greek settlers and traders, and even to newly-founded Greek settlements, in urban and especially extra-urban contexts where they were in closest contact with indigenous zones. Yet it perhaps most fruitfully applies to sites and contexts of mixed or fluid ethnicity, where participants mutually engage in

---

<sup>35</sup> This approach was first applied to post-colonial theory in 1991 by Richard White, in analyzing interactions between French fur traders and indigenous populations in the Great Lakes region.

<sup>36</sup> White 1991: 50-2; Bhabha 2004; Antonaccio 2013: 244.

<sup>37</sup> Malkin 2002.

<sup>38</sup> Malkin 2011: 143-70.

social and political aspects of the settlement's functioning. Such interactions could also invoke objects and materials that were neither inherently Greek or indigenous – objects such as *orientalia* – in displays of identity and status. This introduced a new dimension to these interactions that could more usefully be analyzed from the point of view of entanglement, discussed below.

The notion of hybridity has been taken even further than simple notions of a culture that adopts certain facets of the other contact culture but maintains a recognizable identity as the initial society. Some scholars have posited the existence of an entirely new, third culture – the “third space,” contemporary with other cultural systems but at the same time its own entity. Homi Bhabha develops this concept by drawing on the idea of “transculturation,” of bridging divides among acculturation, cultural abandonment, and syncretism – to produce “something different, something new and unrecognisable, a new area of negotiation of meaning and representation.”<sup>39</sup> This manifests itself not only in art and architecture, but also in the sociopolitics of both originating populations, rooted in inherently asymmetrical relations: “the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is the 'third space' which enables other positions to emerge. This third space displaces the histories that constitute it, and sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives, which are inadequately understood through received wisdom.”<sup>40</sup> It is in decentering colonial and reductionist narratives of colonizer and colonized that concepts such as the middle ground and third space are perhaps most useful.

In Sicily, elite adoption of foreign goods and population migration eventually created the conditions necessary for new identities to emerge, manifested in the adoption of architectural

---

<sup>39</sup> Rutherford 1990: “Third Space: Interview with Homi Bhabha” 211.

<sup>40</sup> Rutherford 1990: “Third Space: Interview with Homi Bhabha” 211; Antonaccio 2003: 60-1.



and settlement forms, “Hellenizing” impetuses absorbed by indigenous populations, which effectively generated a “third space.” Bruyneel tested this theory amongst marginalized groups and colonizers, noting the need to deconstruct dichotomies imposed by colonizing powers with their worldview based on “binaristic epistemology, a way of knowing the world through dualisms.”<sup>41</sup> In colonial situations in the Mediterranean, this binaristic worldview had essentially been imposed by later authors and archaeologists attempting to isolate specific ethnic factors within the archaeological and written record, rather than being a reflection of the true ethnic situation. As Pelletier discusses in her review of Bruyneel’s book, an “attention to boundaries and borders as sites of resistance and maneuvering—as liminal spaces that allow for appropriation and challenges by Indigenous actors—reveals these as third spaces of sovereignty.”<sup>42</sup>

One inherent difficulty, that concepts of hybridity, third space, and middle ground are intrinsically ambiguous features of colonialism, especially applied to this period, can be mitigated to some extent by analysis of chronology, location and interactions from outside a solely cultural point of view, eschewing strict ethnic binaries and taking into account as well the social context of relations – elite networks of exchange, the third space or middle ground against which elite control and manipulation of colonial contexts and imported goods can be assessed.<sup>43</sup> Although the era is inextricably tied to Greek and Phoenician expansion, trade and colonization, models of negotiation must also take into account areas not directly involved in colonization, such as Etruria. How did the Orientalizing phenomenon reach such places? Was wide-scale change in

---

<sup>41</sup> Bruyneel 2007: 7. Bruyneel takes a *longue durée* approach to the study of US-Native American relations and the resulting interactions between colonizers and colonized and enfranchised and disenfranchised groups.

<sup>42</sup> Pelletier, review of *The Third Space of Sovereignty: The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.-Indigenous Relations*

<sup>43</sup> Malkin 1998: 5-6; Malkin 2002.

these regions driven by local agency, Greek craftsmen, or a combination of the two? What role, if any, did resistance play in the negotiation of identities? A reoriented focus on local systems contributes to our understanding of the motives and circumstances of developments in this period.<sup>44</sup>

Various middle grounds naturally arise from interconnected human, cultural and material cargoes that in their interactions transmit ideas and iconography across a wide-ranging web of contact. A number of recent studies have invoked network theory to explain the types of connections formed and ensuing cultural change. In its most basic form, Network Analysis as applied to archaeology looks at the relationship between nodes, or isolated objects or entities within a group -- be it communities, contexts, objects, or even actions -- and the linkages, or ties, which bind them together into a network of relations. One question is whether Network Analysis is a useful exploratory tool for understanding relations in the ancient world. Recent studies have traced the applicability of network analysis to ethnic and regional interactions during the process of Greek colonization of the West.<sup>45</sup> A subset of network theory, termed Social Network Analysis, has been invoked in a number of recent studies on Mediterranean societies, and has generally taken on two forms -- either descriptive<sup>46</sup> or statistical.<sup>47</sup> Such studies have demonstrated that networks can indeed be used to model interactions between clusters of contexts. This type of analysis can be particularly useful within the geographically-bounded area of Sicily; by reconstructing networks of people and objects from distinct assemblages, some idea

---

<sup>44</sup> Van Dommelin 139-140.

<sup>45</sup> Donnellan 2016.

<sup>46</sup> Malkin 2011.

<sup>47</sup> Brughmans 2012; Knappett 2011, 2013.

of the distribution and consumption of objects can be gained. Even more purely theoretical applications of Social Network Analysis have proven to be advantageous to our understanding of the formation of early Greek communities during the Greek diaspora.

Malkin has sought to reconcile middle-ground theory with network theory through the [Greek] lens of fabricated mythological encounters, *nostoi*, as providing the initial stimulus for early colonial encounters: these, were, he says, “an important cultural device of mediation.”<sup>48</sup> This resembles Greeks’ grounding of early Sicilian Archaic-style art forms and resulting syncretism in the mythical person of Daidalos, creating a mediating culture-hero who bridged cultural gaps and introduced craft techniques and artistic forms long before Greek settlement, so that Greeks could interpret early, local Hellenizing forms as rooted in “pre-colonial” encounters.<sup>49</sup> As Greeks became more entrenched in the West, they built up cultural and material networks linked to native systems, creating a “porous middle ground” of mixed settlements linking the edges of Mediterranean networks with internal networks and utilizing previous systems established through localized trade and interaction.<sup>50</sup> He works from a historian’s perspective, focusing on networks of relationships formed through religious syncretism, and grounded in written accounts rather than archaeological contexts and assemblages. Nevertheless, his network theory has helped to unseat the one-way model of cultural transmission in Greek western settlement in the EIA through Archaic periods; as Malkin notes, “the ‘center’ was the entire Archaic Mediterranean, free from any *mare nostrum* claims. It

---

<sup>48</sup> Malkin 1998: 16.

<sup>49</sup> Morris 1992: 195-211.

<sup>50</sup> Malkin 2011: 144.

was multiethnic, multicultural, and, most important, multidirectional. ‘Greece’ was no central place radiating outward. The perspective must be reversed.”<sup>51</sup>

Instead of a unidirectional impetus for this region’s cultural exchange of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, understanding has recently grown that cultures are not isolated entities: each is affected by goods, ideas, services and values from its immediate surroundings or beyond. Scholars have coined the term “entanglement” to describe these network-mediated encounters with other social and cultural groups, emphasizing the objects’ role in the negotiation of colonial systems in a model related to both network and middle-ground theories: as Stockhammer asserts, “entanglement is the result of creative processes triggered by intercultural encounters. Material entanglement signifies the creation of something new that is more than just the sum of its parts and combines the familiar with the previously foreign. This object is more than just a sum of the entities from which it originated and clearly not the result of local continuities. It can be taken as a representative of a new taxonomic entity.”<sup>52</sup> Hodder takes the notion of object networks and entanglement further, demonstrating that the way objects are produced, traded, and eventually end up in the archaeological record is conditioned by not only human-human interactions, but also the relationships that emerge between humans and things and among objects themselves that condition this “entanglement.”<sup>53</sup> More precisely, he looks at how the *chaîne opératoire* of object production determines relationships formed among various aspects of, and between, societies.<sup>54</sup> This adds an extra space to the rather two-dimensional traditional network model, as humans interact with objects and objects with each other throughout the

---

<sup>51</sup> Malkin 2011: 164.

<sup>52</sup> Stockhammer 2013: 17.

<sup>53</sup> Hodder 2012: 88; Hodder 2016: 2-3.

<sup>54</sup> Hodder 2012: 95.

process; it is this process, and all relationships negotiated along the way, that eventually regulates the outcome. Yet, as with other theoretical applications, we must heed Kistler's warnings against too-broad application of these theories in archaeological practice: "modern network analysis encompasses far more than simply transforming the locations of archaeological finds on the maps of specific object groups into nodal points in an attempt to draw connecting lines as graphs of social transactions...much more is required than just GIS-based data samples. Of much greater importance are well-documented contexts pertaining to object groups that circulated on a trans-local or even trans-Mediterranean scale, and which shed light on their local usage and the associated 'regimes of values'. Such contexts can be handed down to posterity in specific assemblage forms in archaeological layers."<sup>55</sup> Purcell employs this insight in analyzing early cultural interactions between Greek settlers and local populations and development of elite culture: "the object of colonization can be the web of connectivity itself rather than the productive terrains."<sup>56</sup>

There is no doubt that Greek and local populations shared material and social values (in contexts such as wine consumption and interrelated rituals), but the ways in which such ideas were communicated are more difficult to establish. This communication and the networks along which ideas and forms circulated may be revealed to some extent by the contexts in which motifs and physical forms appear in media such as vase painting and bronzes. Recently, more attention has been paid to novel representation, themes, and symbolic language communicated

---

<sup>55</sup> Kistler et al. 2015: 496.

<sup>56</sup> Purcell 2005: 124.

through material goods, which may lead to a greater understanding of the variety of responses locals may have had to Greek and other non-local items.<sup>57</sup>

Context is vital to understanding commensality and entanglement between local and foreign entities, particularly to elucidate relational entanglement – a stage reached when an object from one cultural entity is appropriated and assimilated into local customs, ideas, and perception of another. The manner in which Greek, Phoenician, and other imported items were incorporated into local Sicilian systems of exchange and Greeks adapted to their new environment (especially in colonies' hinterlands, where they had greater contact with a wider array of local populations), speaks meaningfully to concerns of individuals participating in those contacts. To analyze these concerns, it is necessary to look at patterns of reception and interpretation of various mediums in these contexts.

Finally, some scholars have advanced the idea of locality or indigeneity as a major driving force in the creation of specific assemblages, revisiting the idea of agency in more contextual rather than broad art-historical applications. Mohr and Kistler examine contrasting notions of “coloniality” and “locality” as applied to contexts at the indigenous site of Monte Iato, arguing that both constructs can be observed in the composition of various assemblages and are contingent on social agendas serving specific needs of local elite. In these contexts, coloniality, the internalizing of external impetuses, can be seen as a mechanism by which certain sectors of society obtain social capital and thereby social enhancement; whereas locality is the conscious application of heirlooms and distinctly indigenous artifacts in social settings, as a way to reference the past, anchor one's identity, and demonstrate ancestral ties to power and prestige,

---

<sup>57</sup> Riva and Vella 12-13.

real or constructed.<sup>58</sup> Thus, both are “strategies of the discourse of power within indigenous local groups in colonial contact zones.”<sup>59</sup>

What, then, did Greeks offer to local populations? Not simply the goods and iconography of the East, re-interpreted within a Greek frame, but something more nuanced – the seeds of cultural and ideological change, transmitted via iconography, materials and techniques of goods and building types. These socioeconomic developments were by-products of increased circulation and intensified interactions instigated by the Greeks’ arrival but nevertheless initiated to a large extent within local spheres of exchange. A more complete point of view must be based on a bottom-up approach considering local spheres of exchange, individual and group interests, and extra-regional networks. Communities often reacted in different ways to the wider colonial worlds and networks and the influx of new goods and ideas. Case-by-case examination reveals that each type of community requires a different model, as this period was not characterized by a uniform trend. This differentiation is vital to our understanding of the contexts for goods appearing in this period – whether items were employed in introduced contexts or adapted to typical local contexts and value systems, as the meaning of imported items was often transformed by appropriation into local contexts, and oftentimes the context itself changed as a result. The same is true for local items found in colonial contexts, as both colonizers and colonized are transformed in contact situations.<sup>60</sup>

This transformation manifests itself in several contexts, notably sacred and – to a lesser extent – domestic and funerary. In all three, one practice remains consistent, with aspects

---

<sup>58</sup> Mohr and Kistler 2016: 82-83.

<sup>59</sup> Mohr and Kistler 2016: 83.

<sup>60</sup> Van Dommelen 149.

differing depending on the nature of the context – namely commensality and consumption. Dietler emphasizes the importance of using the material record to clarify the nature of relationships between locals and foreign settlers, and how distinct cultures arose out of a shared tradition of commensality and *xenia*: “objects ‘materialize’ cultural order—they render abstract cultural categories visible and durable, they aid the negotiation of social interaction in various ways, and they structure perception of the social world. The systems of objects that people construct through consumption serve both to inculcate personal identity and to enable people to locate others within social fields through the perception of embodied tastes and various indexical forms of symbolic capital... In effect, consumption is a process of structured improvisation that continually materializes cultural order by also dealing with alien objects and practices through either transformative appropriation and assimilation or rejection.”<sup>61</sup> Thus, culture emerges out of constantly-shifting changes in a society’s practices and object-types in response to both internal sociopolitical restructuring and external factors. This, Dietler notes, is why notions of acculturation in colonialist discourses are not useful – since any one society’s culture tends to change constantly irrespective of colonial encounters, one cannot simply assign any one characteristic of a society in contact with a colonial power to the colonizer’s directed impulse. Cultural traits would have evolved through internal politics and competition, without external influences (at least outside the prestige value of foreign or foreign-inspired objects), as indigenous elites strove to outdo each other in demonstrations of conspicuous consumption and status through mobilization of cultural capital. As mentioned above, selective adoption of aspects of outside “cultures,” would have enabled certain sectors of local populations to gain an advantage compared to other sectors of the society.

---

<sup>61</sup> Dietler 2010: 72.



Ultimately, consumption-oriented analysis, mixed with applications of concepts like third space and middle ground theory, allows scholars to engage more fruitfully with material evidence. As Riva and Vella suggest, “an emphasis on consumption allows us to explore the junctures and seams of a history of the Mediterranean that perceives period labels as historical cop-outs. Studies on consumption in later periods, for example, show us how this is not only possible, but is also vital for discerning the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries less as outburst or indeed renaissance and more as thickened flow of interaction and change that spills into the 6<sup>th</sup> century.”<sup>62</sup> Goods such as pottery may not necessarily tell us the ethnicity or identity of their users, but analyzed in context can be used to reconstruct social practices of the consumers and ties between people and items. By reconstructing networks of people and objects from assemblages and find spots in the West, some idea of the distribution and consumption of objects can be gained. Commensal politics play an important role in creating these social webs among actors, and analysis of these assemblages can reveal the extent to which imported goods and local goods using foreign iconography helped construct identity.

### **Methodology**

Given the purpose of this dissertation, that is to test the various theories concerning the interaction of indigenous Sicilian peoples and Greek settlers, no assumption was made as to the validity or usefulness of any theory. Rather, this work began with the database described above, which recorded a number of pieces of information, such as shape, type, ornamentation, origin, etc., for each artifact, as well as the context in which each artifact was found. Patterns in this data were initially identified during this process and refined using basic statistical analysis reflected in the tables to Chapters 2 through 6.

---

<sup>62</sup> Riva and Vella 13.

This study investigates broadly similar settlement, architectural, and above all, assemblage and artifact patterns across Sicily, largely grouped regionally (since geography, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean, often conditions distinct cultural patterns that emerge among similar populations). (Fig. 1.1) The groupings of sites reflected in the chapters were initially constructed based on geography and observation of broad similarities in contexts and assemblages; but as the analysis proceeded, several changes were made to these groupings to reflect the further refinement of the data. Traits associated with regional distinctions were favored over ethnic constructs, as Greek and indigenous – sometimes from more than one ethne – will be explored together. This not only avoids problematic associations of populations and sites with specific cultures, but also emphasizes the truly mixed nature of many population centers. Not unsurprisingly, sites associated with specific indigenous Sicilian cultures – Sikel, Sikanian, and Elymian – tend to be grouped together, given broadly similar characteristics; yet these labels should be regarded with caution, as often a site or specific artifact assemblage associated with one *ethnos* will display greater similarities with sites associated with completely different cultural groups than with others of the same ethnos. Further, this study seeks to deconstruct traditional narratives that see this period of Sicily's history through the lens of the Greek diaspora, instead re-centering it on local narratives and the mixed populations that emerged, even within Greek colonies.

Each chapter (except chapter 5, addressing the island's far western reaches) deals with related or connected major sites, Greek and indigenous, and the dual relationships that emerged from their contact and interaction. These include both major population centers and smaller sites that had been regionally or locally focused but came to the fore in this period, drawn into larger-scale interactions with other Sicilian groups and major powers throughout the Mediterranean. Each site is characterized by several contexts and assemblages, sometimes more

than one type per site – at several sites both habitations and sanctuaries, or habitations and necropoleis, have been excavated. To effectively document the role objects play in creating specific site identities, a database has been constructed containing a wealth of information about each object – material, decoration, provenience, use, shape, date, and comparanda. Objects constitute the database’s backbone, each linked to a particular assemblage, the assemblage in turn linked to larger contexts, allowing objects to be compared across assemblages, and assemblages across contexts to detect larger patterns.

In-depth studies of artifacts in context are also vital to show how discrete object-types differ from others or evolved from earlier types, and thus what factors, if any, can be ascribed to external stimulus. As Rogers notes in his study of more modern colonial encounters,

With a chronology and characterizations of the artifacts, specific material-change propositions with definable cultural implications can be advanced. In an earlier study, these propositions were described as maintenance, addition, replacement, rejection, and transformation. Each ties a simple social implication to an observable material change in the artifact categories. Although the processes define simple relationships, when taken together interpretations can be built that reveal disruptions in social organization, the meaningful construction of practice, and disjunctures that reveal the construction of outcomes. The change propositions are then used to construct a hypothesized set of relationships derived from the chronological sequence. Expected relationships between change propositions, specific archaeological contexts, artifact categories, and each chronological period can be compared with actual data. This is the heart of the analysis, as the actual numerical and distributional observations serve to confirm or reject expected relationships.<sup>63</sup>

Of course, the expected conclusion from such a plethora of diverse assemblages and settlements is that they will demonstrate different rates and degrees of external influence; as Handberg and Jacobsen note in the case of contexts in South Italy, “The different rate of transformation in the use of Greek material culture is not surprising, since exposure to it would have been far from

---

<sup>63</sup> Rogers 2005: 352.

uniform from site to site.”<sup>64</sup> However, the nature of different contexts must also be taken into account. Given the partiality of large-scale excavations for larger sites with either a long period of occupation or some important function, like regional sanctuaries or extensive burial grounds, such sites figure more in this discussion, and associated contexts and artifacts are numerically disproportionate compared to smaller sites.

In these chapters, anchoring sites are discussed first, the nature of their contexts and assemblages associated with these contexts gleaned from the database. Then similar sites are discussed, the smaller sites – those with incomplete contextual analysis and knowledge of artifact distributions, due to inadequate publication, excavation before rigorous scientific methodologies, or simply insufficient data – also presented, as they serve as useful comparanda for general discussions of site transformations and developments in this period. Following this is a general analysis of the groupings, based on broad patterns emerging from the data and the discussion of points of similarity and comparanda among the sites within the chapter. These rely on a comparison of charts and tables scattered throughout the context and assemblage discussions, broken down by object, use, and origin (location of manufacture) of items within each assemblage. This is paired with statistical modeling that is explained in the conclusions [Tables 7.1-7.29], which discuss the applicability of using more quantitative models to illustrate social and ethnic interaction and subsequent change in the material record. The approaches would seem to suggest that ethnic affiliation does not play as large a part in the articulation of identity (at least through material goods) as other considerations, such as status. Finally, each chapter ends with a discussion of how the material and the associated statistics fit with various theories, and what kinds of general approaches can be taken to the material culture and assemblages

---

<sup>64</sup> Handberg and Jacobsen 2011: 184.

discussed in the chapter. It is important to keep in mind, however, that models coming out of literary theory can be more usefully approached as metaphors rather than a heuristic method making use of analytical frameworks. This is largely because material culture in context remains a critical part of this discourse, more so than a generalized discourse about ethnicity that only examines cultural or ethnic identity. To that end, what the data suggests, and what I will argue in the conclusions, is that the dominant identity factor in Sicilian communities of the period (particularly indigenous communities) was shown to be status, not necessarily ethnicity; this pattern was consistent across the sites studied despite their widely varying trajectories and regional factors that strongly influenced those trajectories.

Nevertheless, ethnic identity and – in the case of Greek settlers – local *polis* identity is necessary to bear in mind when analyzing assemblages, in terms of production centers and commerce. The problem of discerning local ethne in the Sicilian material record has been acknowledged above. Also problematic is Sikeliote identity – the distinct Greek culture that emerged on Sicily soon after Greek settlers arrived, derived from disparate regions of Greece and Asia Minor that participated in settling the island.<sup>65</sup> As such, Sikeliote culture is not monolithic but an amalgamation of various Greek populations and ethne (Dorian, Ionian, etc.) and artifact types that at various times merged or remained separate depending on multiple factors. In general, the distinct artifact typologies emerging in Sikeliote contexts were derived from types already popular on the Greek mainland, although some unique ceramic styles – for instance the Argive-derived style prevalent on so-called Fusco kraters from Syracuse, or the “Rhodio-Cretan” polychrome style that developed on Orientalizing pottery from Gela – were more products of their local settings. In most Greek colonial contexts, though, it is possible to

---

<sup>65</sup> Antonaccio 2001; Antonaccio 2005: 100.

ascertain a unique “island style” not dependent on contemporary Greek forms for inspiration, and various scholars have discussed the separation between local identities and those of their mother cities visible in the archaeological record, in artistic and architectural forms, assemblage types, and ritual and funerary practices.<sup>66</sup> This differentiation is often ascribed to variances in available material (for example, the lack of good building stone leading to terracotta replacing it as a major material in early temple construction), or some vaguely defined provinciality, given the distance from the Greek mainland. This unique identity manifests itself in different ways, though, and given the speed at which Greek settlements in the West evolve irrespective of developments in Greece itself, following largely dissimilar trajectories, it seems evident that Greek colonies largely drew from one another rather than the mother cities, their responses to each other displaying the competitive nature of their interactions. Nevertheless, in the early period of colonization it is possible to isolate specific Greek identities in the material record, especially in patterns of imports. Over time there is increasing standardization of forms and assemblages (particularly in tombs and sanctuaries), especially during the 6<sup>th</sup> century, when certain object types found at Greek settlements become disassociated from a local identification with specific Greek ethne or colonial powers (Corinthian, Rhodian, etc.) and rather become trade objects in demand throughout the island, popular because of certain overtones – for example, associations with symposiastic drinking culture, or with the elite world of athletics.

Of course, such artifacts – both imported Greek and Sikeliote copies – become popular in non-Greek contexts in Sicily as well. These, as will be demonstrated, helped to articulate certain identities within indigenous cultures and differentiate certain population centers from others, especially as local inhabitants started to produce loose interpretations of Greek ceramic

---

<sup>66</sup> Shepherd 2000, 2005, 2011; Sulosky Weaver 2015.

types. Some scholars have sought to isolate specific Greek identities taken up within the indigenous sphere, although this approach's usefulness is limited. For instance, Rhodio-Cretan or Aegean iconography and traditions at such Protoarchaic contexts as Polizzello and Sabucina have been seen as intricately tied with the conservative milieu of religion.<sup>67</sup> Yet the adoption of certain Greek object types over others within indigenous contexts is likely the result of differing local strategies of identity formation and interpretations of foreign forms, rather than attempts to assume the mantle of Greekness through use of Greek objects in the Greek manner.

Closely tied to alteration of indigenous identity through engagement with the foreign is the formation of three ethne – Sikel, Sikanian, and Elymian – recorded by later historians. The separation of Sicily into indigenous ethnic groups purportedly began before Greek coastal occupation, although pressure from Greek territorial encroachment, beginning in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, helped develop these identities. (Fig. 1.2) Nonetheless, assigning a specific point in time at which local populations differentiated themselves according to broad ethnic groupings is problematic, given that our earliest extant historical evidence for such populations, in Herodotus's *Histories*, comes several centuries after formation of these identities, and from an outside source. Given the difficulty in linking indigenous ethne to the material record, these later accounts, while of interest, should be used with caution.

Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus claim that the earliest then-extant ethnic group, the Sikanians, were originally spread throughout the island but that by about 300 years before Greek settlement had been pushed to the south-central and western reaches of the island by Mt. Etna's volcanic eruptions and Sikel incursions.<sup>68</sup> Diodorus outlines Sikanian settlement patterns, politics

---

<sup>67</sup> Panvini 2003: 133.

<sup>68</sup> Panvini, Sikanian 71, Thuc. 6.2.5, Diod. Sic. V.6.3-4

and institutions, living inland in well-fortified, independent cities organized in a loose federation: “The Sicani, then, originally made their homes in villages, building their settlements upon the strongest hills because of the pirates; for they had not yet been brought under the single rule of a king, but in each settlement there was one man who was lord. And at first they made their home in every part of the island and secured their food by tilling the land...”<sup>69</sup> This is broadly consistent with archaeological evidence for Sikanian settlement patterns beginning in the EIA, although outliers exist. Herodotus and Diodorus, speaking of mythical ties among Cretan King Minos, Daedalos, and Sikanian king Kokalos, note early Cretan influence on Sikania’s religious landscape<sup>70</sup>: Cretan settlers, having made their way to the interior of the island’s central part, “growing steadily stronger all the while they built a temple to the Mothers and accorded these goddesses unusual honours, adorning their temple with many votive offerings. The cult of these goddesses, so men say, they moved from their home in Crete, since the Cretans also hold these goddesses in special honour.”<sup>71</sup> Galvagno suggests that this may have been a syncretized deity, worshipped at the interior settlement of Engyo, possibly intersecting an indigenous cult of the nymphs for which there seems to be religious confluence in material culture.<sup>72</sup> Early authors also suggest that Sikanians incorporated Greek cultural relics into their religious practice, perhaps due to mythological associations: “...when Dorians were migrating to Sicily, Antiphemus the founder of Gela, after the sack of Omphace, a town of the Sikanians, removed to Gela an image made by Daedalus.”<sup>73</sup> Thus, at least in the Greeks’ minds, local Sicilian religion was intricately

---

<sup>69</sup> Diod. Sic. V.6.2-3

<sup>70</sup> Hdt. 7.170.1, Diod. Sic. 4.79.1-7

<sup>71</sup> Diod. Sic. 4.79 6-7

<sup>72</sup> Ciaceri 1910: 241; Galvagno, *Sikania* 27)

<sup>73</sup> Paus. 8.46.2



intertwined with the mythical Greek past and syncretized with Greek religion and deities; by imposing their own interpretations on established ritual landscapes, Greeks could lay claim to a mythic past and invoke their own deities to make sense of unknown religious practices and gods. An attempt at syncretism is also evident in Greek accounts of early Elymian and Sikel cults.

Sikanians were still attested as an ethnic group as late as the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century, when Sikanians and Sikels, now under Carthaginian rule, entered into an alliance with the Greek general Timoleon.<sup>74</sup> Strabo, writing in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE to 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, notes that Sikels and Sikanians inhabited the island even in his day,<sup>75</sup> although many indigenous cities, like many coastal Greek cities, by that time had been wiped out. (Strab. 6.2.6)

Primary sources tell us much less about Sikels and Elymians despite their more “recent” origins. Most ancient historians agree that the Sikels derived from an Italic group that migrated to Sicily from the mainland sometime in the LBA or EIA. Thucydides is the first extant author to outline their early history, reporting that they fled from the Opicans in Italy and pushed the Sikanians to the south and west of Sicily,<sup>76</sup> while Diodorus states that they settled in land abandoned by the Sikanians, although they later warred over the contested territory.<sup>77</sup>

The original Italic tribe from which the Sikels are derived is disputed; Dionysus of Halikarnassus mentions several possible identities identified by other historians: they may have been originally called Sikels, Ligurians, or Ausonians<sup>78</sup>: “But [Hellanicus of Lesbos] says that two Italian expeditions passed over into Sicily, the first consisting of the Elymians, who had been

---

<sup>74</sup> Diod. Sic. XVI.73.2.

<sup>75</sup> Strab. 6.2.4.

<sup>76</sup> Thuc. VI.2.4-5) (Thuc. VI.2.4-5.

<sup>77</sup> Diod. Sic. V.6.3.

<sup>78</sup> Dion. Hal. 1.22.

driven out of their country by the Oenotrians, and the second, five years later, of the Ausonians, who fled from the Iapygians. As king of the latter group he names Sicelus, from whom both the people and the island got their name.”<sup>79</sup> This last account is the genesis of the modern-day identification of Ausonian, mainland Southern Italian elements, with the indigenous traditions of LBA and EIA Lipari and central-Eastern Sicily, including at Morgantina and Leontini.<sup>80</sup>

As De Angelis notes, “greater cultural, sociopolitical, and economic links were established between Calabria and Sicily in the EIA, including the arrival of settlers.” This created a climate of cultural exchange in much of Sicily immediately before Greek arrival, likely making local inhabitants more receptive to outside influences. It is this period, not that immediately succeeding Greek settlement (as previously thought), which saw locals adopt traditions such as rectangular building construction, cremation and individual inhumation, and the manufacture of iron implements. There also seems to have been an increased interest in articulation of the individual’s role in the community, seen in more deposits of arms and other metal implements in tombs, sanctuary contexts (especially inside *oikoi*),<sup>81</sup> and hoards. Finally, De Angelis sees an increased emphasis on egalitarianism following these early migrations, associated with the “monocentric village community,” small, self-sufficient communities relying on the immediate hinterland for subsistence, a settlement type adapted from South Italian patterns. This

---

<sup>79</sup> Dion. Hal. 1.22.4.

<sup>80</sup> Leighton and Bartosiewicz 2012: 21-2; 78-9.

<sup>81</sup> Throughout this text, the term “*oikos*” will be used to refer to small Greek, indigenous, and mixed sacred structures; the term is particularly convenient given its ambiguous attributes and applicability to a wide variety of ritual space. Italian terminology trends towards the use of “*sacello*” and “*capanna*” (or “*capanna-sacello*”) to refer to Greek and indigenous sacred space, respectively (at least in the Archaic period, when some *capanne* start to take on a ritual function). However, the author feels that it is more useful to think of these various structures as analogues rather than antithetical building types.

egalitarianism was disrupted, as seen throughout this study, by the foundation of Greek settlements along the coast and attendant increase in commerce along networks.<sup>82</sup>

The division of territory is traditionally placed along the Salso River, the Sikels situated to the east and Sikanians to the west. The Sikel language was Italic in nature, although they adopted the Greek alphabet in the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Religious practices are just as obscure as those of the Sikanians, although some deities had cults large enough survive into the Classical period to be recorded by early Greek authors. The cult of the Palikoi is recorded by Diodorus and Aeschylus<sup>83</sup>; local twin deities connected to oaths and asylum, associated with two sulfurous craters in the foothills of Mt. Etna, they were syncretized by Sikeliote Greeks with the Dioscuri. Among other attested deities is the goddess Hyblaea, perhaps syncretized with Aphrodite. This deity, corroborated through various toponyms in southeastern Sicily, had an important shrine at the site of Hybla Gereatis, where omens constituted a significant aspect of worship. The locals were even said to have dedicated an image of the goddess at Olympia.<sup>84</sup>

Sikels, like Sikanians, maintained their identity as a distinct ethnic group into the time of Thucydides,<sup>85</sup> even surviving the failed attempt by the indigenous leader Ducetius to create a Sikel federation, with a capital at Palike, in the face of Syracusan incursion into the interior. While Ducetius is reported to have adopted Greek customs (perhaps best exemplified by an attempt to convert the regional sanctuary of the Palikoi into a pan-Sikel sanctuary, not unlike Greek pan-Hellenic sanctuaries), he also demonstrated intense cultural resistance, attempting to reclaim ancestral Sikel land from Syracusan expansion and articulating the sociopolitical status of

---

<sup>82</sup> De Angelis 2016: 41-2.

<sup>83</sup> Diod. Sic. 11.88.6-11.89; Aesc. *Aetna*, from Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, 5.19.15-31.

<sup>84</sup> Paus. 5.23.6.

<sup>85</sup> Thuc. 3.103.1, when they are listed as fighting on the side of Athens against Syracuse.

the Sikels, previously a loose federation of small polities. This contrasts with Greek written accounts of early indigenous rulers (such as the chieftain Hyblon, said to have controlled a large swathe of southeast Sicily and entered into relations with early Greek coastal settlers<sup>86</sup>) who do not seem to have resisted Greek territorial expansion to the same extent.

To the west of the Sikanians were the Elymians, their borders vaguely defined by the Belice River. Thucydides, like Pausanias, claims that the Elymians originated in Troy, settling Sicily after the Trojan War.<sup>87</sup> His account differs considerably from that of Hellanicus, who argues that long before the Trojan War, Elymians had migrated to the west coast of Sicily from the mainland, driven out by the Oinoitrians immediately before Ausonian migration to the north coast and islands of Sicily.<sup>88</sup>

Overall, Elymian culture seems to be most closely aligned with that of the Sikanians despite their purported differing origins, and the material culture and architecture are largely analogous, although with regional differentiations. One of the most important Elymian sanctuaries was Erice, where almost nothing remains of the ancient settlement. Named for a son of Aphrodite and a local king, it became the site of a syncretized cult to Erycinian Aphrodite that retained its importance through the Roman period.<sup>89</sup> Diodorus's account demonstrates the cultural ambiguity between Elymians and Sikanians, at least to outsiders, as the cult held meaning to both: "the Sikanians paid honour to the goddess for many generations and kept continually embellishing it with both magnificent sacrifices and votive offerings; and after that

---

<sup>86</sup> Thuc. 6.4.1-2. Thucydides refers to Hyblon as a "basileus," here translated to "chieftain" to reflect the political fluidity of early Sikel polities or chiefdoms.

<sup>87</sup> Thuc. 6.2.3, Paus. 5.25.6

<sup>88</sup> Dion. 22.

<sup>89</sup> Diod. Sic. 4.83.1-4.

time the Carthaginians, when they had become the masters of a part of Sicily, never failed to hold the goddess in special honour.”<sup>90</sup> This is a clear example of Hellenizing local mythologies, re-construing indigenous deities to lay a Greek mythological claim to the landscape, beginning a slow syncretization of deities.

Phoenician colonies were nearby, and Phoenician traders and settlers were common actors in western Sicilian networks from around the time the Elymians likely settled the island. (Fig. 1.3) Phoenician influence and trade is thus evident and expected, given the proximity of Phoenician colonies to Elymian sites further inland. Thucydides notes the antiquity of this Phoenician trade predating Greek settlement: “There were also Phoenicians living all round Sicily, who had occupied promontories upon the sea coasts and the islets adjacent for the purpose of trading with the Sicels. But when the Hellenes began to arrive in considerable numbers by sea, the Phoenicians abandoned most of their stations, and drawing together took up their abode in Motye, Soloeis, and Panormus, near the Elymi, partly because they confided in their alliance, and also because these are the nearest points, for the voyage between Carthage and Sicily.”<sup>91</sup> This manifested itself in the emergence of a new eastern element, replacing earlier influences – primarily from Aegean and Mycenaean trade – beginning in the 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>92</sup> The Phoenicians likely first brought the Orientalizing style, with its associations with elite Eastern culture, to the island, disseminating styles and iconography first to coastal settlements, from which elite artifacts moved inland. They also were probably among the first to spread Greek ceramics, brought in mixed cargoes, to western Mediterranean indigenous sites and may have

---

<sup>90</sup> Diod. Sic. 4.83.4.

<sup>91</sup> Thuc. 6.2.6.

<sup>92</sup> Panvini 2003: 133.

even been responsible for the appearance of early, pre-colonial EIA Euboean ceramics in indigenous contexts like Villasmundo near Sicily's southeast coast, perhaps engaging in cabotage along indigenous ports-of-trade in pre-Greek Ortygia and Thapsos.

### **Chronologies**

Discussion of Phoenician presence in western Sicily naturally leads discussions of the Orientalizing revolution in the western Mediterranean and what this term means, particularly as to chronologies. The Orientalizing style is reflected in objects produced by cultures throughout Italy; it is usually used in reference to Etruscan civilization, from which enough material culture of the typology has been recovered from a certain time frame to create chronologies based primarily on style.<sup>93</sup> In Sicily, as in most of Greece outside Crete, a number of problems arise with the descriptive “Orientalizing” as a name for a time period, usually (arbitrarily) set in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century – the beginning of widespread Greek settlement of the West – through the early 6<sup>th</sup> century, when trade in Corinthian vases, heavily reliant on Eastern-inspired forms and iconography and closely associated with elite living, declines. Another problem is that the term “Orientalizing” is loaded, based on teleological assumptions that the style “naturally” evolved into more naturalistic depictions of human and animal forms, after which Eastern-inspired motifs tended to disappear from Greek art – as the “Daedalic style” of representing the human form evolves into the more recognizably “Greek” Archaic style. Yet the largest problem for Sicily is that here we are not dealing simply with Greek chronologies or object types, while the Orientalizing period, as traditionally defined, depends heavily on Greek artifact chronologies and typologies, particularly the evolution of Corinthian art and Cretan Daedalic-style sculpture. The term simply does not adequately describe the complex sociopolitical processes of South Italy and

---

<sup>93</sup> Riva 2006: 111; Pallottino M. (1939) “Sulle facies culturali arcaiche dell'Etruria.” *Studi Etruschi* XIII: 85-129.

Sicily in the transitional period between the EIA and mature Archaic period, with its cauldron of entangled ethnicities and identities.

A solution is to use “Orientalizing” as a reference to a specific style, an art-historical term denoting certain classes of objects and their decoration rather than a time period. The word can indeed be a useful descriptive disassociated in this way from chronological constraints. It then can be refocused on a certain iconography with elite connotations, a specific *lifestyle* desired and at times achieved by both indigenous and Greek elites, disseminated through Chalkidian, Corinthian and especially Phoenician trade, a term capable of describing objects and customs ranging from the Bronze Age through the Classical period.<sup>94</sup> A case in point is the material culture of the indigenous/mixed site of Marianopoli, where localized “Orientalizing” Corinthian-style vases were produced well into the 5<sup>th</sup> century, albeit in an idiosyncratic style.

There is, indeed, general overreliance on Greek artifact periodization in dealing with local chronologies, as classes of imported Corinthian and then Ionian and Attic pottery have traditionally provided a semi-dependable guide to absolute chronology in the western Mediterranean, as well as local chronologies at both non-Greek and Greek sites, particularly in burial contexts. Greek imports can provide useful insights when analyzed in contexts with other objects, particularly accompanying Sikeliote and local vases with less clearly defined dating.<sup>95</sup> In fact, chronologies of Corinthian vases were largely formulated from their appearance in Greek colonies in South Italy and Sicily, for which Greek authors provide precise foundation (and sometimes destruction) dates. However, the resulting relative chronologies are more reliable than absolute dates; the latter are not as accurate for traded objects as for locally produced items,

---

<sup>94</sup> Morris, *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art* 130.

<sup>95</sup> Lyons, *Morgantina V*.

as the former were more likely to have had associations and inherent value beyond mere appreciation of the item's appearance. Thus high-end imports (usually the objects most useful for creating typologies) were more likely to be passed through generations, muddling the chronology between the object's manufacture and its decommission and deposition. Nonetheless, it is difficult to ascertain whether there was a custom of retaining or defining heirlooms in this period, making it problematic to date contexts and define chronology and timelines by assuming that artifacts found in the same contexts in fact originate in the same time period.

Furthermore, Sicily's indigenous local chronologies are convoluted, only slightly helped by more tightly defined dates for Greek imports fixed in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. For one thing, there are almost as many localized artifact typologies as local settlements in Sicily – prior to the 6<sup>th</sup> century there do not seem to have been broad regional production zones; rather, ceramics were made primarily for use at or near their find sites. The history of attempts to create broader artifact typologies and chronologies based on loosely-defined *facies*, or *koinai* of broadly similar ceramic and other object types, is fundamentally tied to the history of excavation of indigenous sites. The first scholar to formulate a chronology of indigenous Sicily was Orsi, the founder of Sicilian archaeology, and the earliest to excavate many indigenous sites throughout the island and cast light on Sicily's less-visible archaeological landscapes. Orsi divided local sites and their artifacts into four phases, labeled Siculan I-IV, the first two in the Bronze Age, the third the EIA and period of early Greek colonization, and the last the Archaic into the early Classical periods, roughly corresponding with what he described as the "Licodia Eubea facies" (see below). Adamesteanu further refined this, revamping Orsi's Siculan II period, extending it into the Siculan III period based on observations of ceramics in Butera's Nostra Donna and Contrada



Santa Croce districts and arguing that ceramics from the necropolis should permit a general revamping of the chronology.

Leighton proposed a revised chronology of indigenous ceramics in the LBA through early Archaic period based on more recent excavations, drawing upon several internal pottery chronologies and aligning them with the conventional Italian formulation of the timeline of South Italy and Sicily: the Late Bronze Age, divided between the Recent Bronze Age (c. 1300-1200) and the Final Bronze Age (c. 1200-1000); the Iron Age, divided into the Early (c. 1000-800) and Late Iron Age, Orientalizing, or Late Geometric (c. 800-735); and Early Colonial Period (c. 735-650). (Fig. 1.4) This draws upon analyses of the cultural groupings and pottery typologies of broadly similar cultural assemblages, known as *facies*. Allen had earlier determined that pre-Greek Sicilian chronologies, and the length of the Italian Iron Age as a whole, should be evaluated site-by-site rather than following any overarching chronology, as some indigenous pottery types were used longer in certain places than in others.<sup>96</sup> Leighton reconciled a number of these internal chronologies and facies from Eastern Sicily with an absolute chronology. Several of these facies, such as the Ausonian, seem to have been subsumed into the vague ethnic identification of “Sikel” by the time the Greeks wrote about early Sicilian history, although the assemblages of sites identified as demonstrating some degree of Ausonian influence (presumably from migrations of Italic tribes from Southern Italy) display variations in material culture and assemblages at least until the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century, after which their assemblages are broadly similar to

---

<sup>96</sup> Allen 1976: 480.

those of other Sikel sites in the period.<sup>97</sup> Consequently, Bietti Sestieri divided the Ausonian period into Ausonian I, from c. 1250-1050 and Ausonian II, from 1050-850.<sup>98</sup>

Leighton also attempted to reconcile Bernabò Brea's internal chronology for the cemeteries excavated by Orsi in Pantalica, in southeast Sicily. Bernabò Brea had further refined Orsi's Siculan chronology in the 1950s, coming up with a four-phase periodization of the LBA through Early Archaic periods in Eastern and Central Sicily: the Pantalica I-IV phases (respectively c. 1250-1000, or the Pantalica North period; c. 1000-850, or the "Cassibile" phase; c. 850-735, or the Pantalica South period; and c. 735-650, or the "Finocchito" phase).

This last phase is particularly significant for the purposes of this study, as artifacts excavated in the tombs at M. Finocchito, an indigenous site in southeast Sicily, determined local typologies for that area in the EIA through Archaic periods. Towards the end of Pantalica III we find the first Greek imports to the island, and the earliest graves at M. Finocchito (Finocchito I Phase). Greek vessels in local tombs, especially in southeast and southern Sicily, have both aided in creating a basic chronology of local wares and complicated efforts to ascertain whether particular imports and indigenous goods truly were used concurrently, as most larger tombs were reused over several generations, the artifacts piled up or pushed aside over decades or even centuries. Smaller graves such as those at M. Finocchito and Pantalica, many containing only one or two chronologically distinct burials, have thus proven invaluable in understanding how local forms evolved over time. In his initial excavation of M. Finocchito, Orsi was the first to recognize the value of Greek artifacts in assigning dates to local wares. Having compared local artifacts with those of indigenous "Siculan III" graves he had previously excavated, he assigned

---

<sup>97</sup> Leighton 1993: 111-13; Leighton 1999: 187-88.

<sup>98</sup> Bietti Sestieri 1979: 606-611.

the cemetery to this phase. However, he also discovered a group of later vessels with geometric design, some exhibiting continuity with the Siculan II period, others reflecting strong Greek influence, and still others apparently Greek imports. This encouraged him to refine his chronology, distinguishing between the “paleogreci,” “piu antica” geometric style, and the “stile protocorinzio geometrico.”<sup>99</sup> Akerstrom further refined Finocchito pottery chronology, down-dating the appearance of true Greek influences in local production to 700, as he sought to define a transition point between the coastal colonization and the spread of decorative motifs inland; consequently, he dates the end of the Finocchito period and the lower limit of Orsi’s Siculan III period to a rather late time, around 600. Frasca, in his re-study of the Finocchito material, proposed an interior chronology for the “Finocchito facies” that defines indigenous southeast Sicily in the Pantalica III-IV phases, dividing the site and its pottery into the Finocchito I (simultaneous with the Pantalica South cemetery, c. 850/800 to 734) and Finocchito II phases, the dividing line between the two rather arbitrarily set at c. 734, the establishment of the first Greek colonies.<sup>100</sup> Phase I was rooted in Bronze Age traditions which characterized a large swath of material culture in the eastern half of Sicily at this time, considered “Ausonian”.<sup>101</sup> The transition period between the two sub-phases is still dependent on earlier decorative motifs and pottery typologies despite the introduction of some new pottery forms. There is an increase in

---

<sup>99</sup> Orsi 1898: 346-66; Frasca 1979: 15.

<sup>100</sup> Frasca 1981; Steures 1980. Pottery and assemblages from this second phase are further subdivided into two sub-phases: Finocchito IIA rather arbitrarily dates to the foundation and early growth of Syracuse, c. 734/730-700, while Finocchito IIB dates to the initial period of Syracusan expansion, c. 700-650.

<sup>101</sup> The pottery associated with this phase was not influenced by contemporary Greek trends, Geometric designs on vessels instead based on local traditions. Presumably this phase’s earlier pottery is patterned more on preceding EIA Cassibile, Pantalica II and III styles and other pottery types of the 9<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, in turn based on Bronze Age types (Ausonian culture), with fewer Greek-style motifs or shapes. These include so-called piumata ware, developed in the Cassibile (Pantalica II) period, found in several tombs of this phase (although it has been identified at numerous other sites in central-southern Sicily at a significantly later period as well, down into the 6<sup>th</sup> century). Fibulae dating to this period are characterized by spiral (so-called “serpeggiante”) or simple bows with knobbed protrusions.

Greek imports at the turn of the 8<sup>th</sup> century; and some indigenous forms of this period, such as trefoil oinochoai, are derivative of Greek forms, in terms of shape (kotylai, oinochoai, askoi and pyxides), decoration, or both, but with some originality on the part of local painters. As a result of these re-analyses of Orsi's excavation data, Leighton revamped the Pantalica South chronology,<sup>102</sup> citing similarities between some graves from the Pantalica South cemetery and artifacts from the Finocchito Phase II tombs, and suggesting that the phase should be extended into the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century. (Fig. 1.4) The facies and its associated phase seems to end abruptly with the end of the first wave of colonization, consolidation of Syracusan power in the colony's hinterland, and establishment of the sub-colony Akrai. Local pottery chronologies traditionally pick up with the burgeoning of the settlement and necropolis at the indigenous site of Licodia Eubea, which did, however, somewhat chronologically overlap the site of M. Finocchito to the east.

Orsi largely built his Siculan IV phase classification, roughly from the Archaic through early Classical periods, around artifacts and assemblages from the Licodia Eubea necropolis.<sup>103</sup> (Fig. 1.5) The chronology of this site's local pottery, never systematically re-studied since Orsi's publication,<sup>104</sup> overlap somewhat with the Finocchito II period and extends into the 5<sup>th</sup> century. This settlement retained a distinct identity through the Classical period, despite Greek incursions into the surrounding area and the appearance of inscriptions by the late 6<sup>th</sup> century. Like the indigenous pottery of M. Finocchito, its ceramics were largely influenced by Greek imports,

---

<sup>102</sup> Leighton 1999: 188.

<sup>103</sup> Based on his excavations, Orsi identified the site of Licodia Eubea as a Sikel settlement, later re-founded by Euboean colonists from Lentini as Euboia. These were published in *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, in 1897 and 1902 (P. Orsi, "Licodia Eubea. Sepolcri siculi dell'ultimo periodo") and *Römische Mitteilungen*, 1898 (P. Orsi, "Le necropoli di Licodia Eubea e i vasi geometrici del quarto periodo siculo").

<sup>104</sup> Orsi 1898, 1909.

perhaps to an even greater extent. The pottery, often cited by scholars as the main painted ceramic type of Sikel settlements in southeast Sicily in the 6<sup>th</sup> and into the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, is not unique to the site, and may not have necessarily been produced there; likely one or a few main production centers, yet unidentified, served the region, with distribution along main routes of dissemination into the island's interior. Imported objects traveled along these same networks, especially precious metals, examples of which (such as a gold ring with lotus motif) are also attested at a number of Greek sites on the eastern seaboard, although others, such as bronze spiral ornaments and hemispherical buttons, tend to be primarily indigenous goods. (Fig.1.5) Orsi extensively excavated and partially published the tombs and their contexts, but chronological sub-phases within the roughly two centuries corresponding with this phase remain to be established, although more recent excavations in the necropolis have found 7<sup>th</sup> century assemblages, earlier than the dates Orsi posited and overlapping the previous Finocchito phase,<sup>105</sup> and a typology formulated by Camera attempts to divide Licodia Eubea wares into two typological sub-phases, roughly corresponding to the late 7<sup>th</sup>-mid 6<sup>th</sup> and mid 6<sup>th</sup>-mid 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, respectively<sup>106</sup> (Fig. 1.6) As the site and its contents have not been extensively published since Orsi, it will not be extensively discussed here, although does provide useful comparanda in some discussions.

Discussion of these stylistic facies is vital to the discourse below because scholars have had a tendency to rely heavily on stylistic change as a meter of sociocultural development as a whole. This study spans a number of these *facies* and corresponding periods in Sicilian history

---

<sup>105</sup> Tomassello 1988-89: 62; this is supported by two Protocorinthian cups in Tomb 19, one of 21 Tomassello excavated. These tombs also demonstrate Euboean influence, while amber in some tombs indicates long-distance contacts.

<sup>106</sup> Camera 2013: 115-6.

but mainly deals with the chronology corresponding with the Finocchito II period and early Licoia Eubea period, the transitional time between foundation of the earliest Greek colonies and the larger-scale cultural change in the later 6<sup>th</sup> century characterized by adoption of standardized, broadly similar artifact typologies and cultural practices throughout the island and the disappearance of artistic styles associated with both specific Greek ethnē and more distinctively “indigenous” object types. As suggested by the discussion of the multiplicity of indigenous ceramic typologies and chronologies, the use of Greek pottery chronology terminology for periods in indigenous Sicilian culture is inherently unreliable. Nonetheless, “EIA,” “Archaic” and the like can still be used for indigenous contexts, but only in a strictly chronological sense. The term “Orientalizing,” despite its widespread application to this time, is largely avoided outside of specifically art-historical contexts, and instead the term “Protoarchaic” is used to refer to the 7<sup>th</sup> through early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, in both indigenous and Greek contexts. “Archaic” is also used more broadly as a chronological term, and in Sicily this period can be said to last longer than on the mainland, with the island largely unaffected by culture-historical developments in mainland Greece. This term can be differentiated from “archaizing” – the former deals with specific span of time, while the latter is a descriptor of a style and can refer to artifacts created in any time period, not necessarily the narrow range of the former. The mid-6<sup>th</sup> century is used as a cutoff for contexts and their contents studied in this analysis, not arbitrarily chosen, but rather a time in which a vast cultural sea change is witnessed throughout the island. This mid-century revolution is visible at many sites analyzed and cannot satisfactorily be replaced by any single chronological, typological, or cultural descriptor.

Briefly outlined below are artifact types referenced throughout this study that correspond with specific chronologies or have traditionally been associated with specific ethnic groups. Siculo-Geometric wares form one of the most pervasive indigenous ceramic types found

in central and eastern Sicily, a specific class of matt-painted ceramics named after the ethnicity in whose contexts this type is most commonly attested, although the term is sometimes used to refer to objects found in specific Sikanian contexts as well. Siculo-Geometric wares make use of painted slip designs inspired by Greek ceramics produced in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries and sub-Geometric wares from the Archaic period,<sup>107</sup> although the indigenous pottery type does not appear until the late 8<sup>th</sup> century and lasts much longer than corresponding Geometric Greek wares, into the early 5<sup>th</sup>. (Fig. 1.7) Dipinto ware is the term used to broadly refer to corresponding wares produced in western Sicily around the same time, although there is not a significant difference between these and Siculo-Geometric, save for the slightly earlier and more extensive use of polychromy in the west.

Another common class of ceramics is incised and stamped wares, characterized by extensive engraved and impressed decoration on a burnished or slipped surface, produced from the 10<sup>th</sup> through 5<sup>th</sup> centuries. (Fig. 1.8) This category, traditionally linked with western Sicily, was often referred to in literature as “Sant’Angelo Muxaro-Polizzello ware” after two Sikanian type-sites where it is extensively found. In fact, quantities were also produced in central-eastern Sicily, although it was not as prevalent or long-lived as in the west. The majority of incised and stamped wares are grey wares, one of the most common fabric types in indigenous Sicily, usually tied to local production throughout the island from roughly the 8<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> centuries and associated with traditional indigenous forms such as carinated cups and dipper-cups with high-swung handles, although plain and incised greywares also adopt Greek-style shapes and motifs from the 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards. (Fig. 1.9)

---

<sup>107</sup> Antonaccio 2004: 58-9.

Piumata ware is characterized by a feathered decoration, broad brushstrokes in red or brown diluted slip on a cream fabric. (Fig. 1.9) Commonly associated with large closed forms such as pithoi and amphorae, it also appears on large basins and smaller bowls. It is attested in the Pantalica South cemetery, dated to c. 850-730 BC, and in both Sikel and Sikanian EIA contexts in central and eastern Sicily, although traditionally aligned more with the former group.<sup>108</sup> The decoration, especially on open vessels, is also found in late 7<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> century contexts in central Sicily such as Morgantina and Butera.<sup>109</sup> Adamesteanu has suggested that Greek colonies such as Gela may have produced piumata ware in the early Archaic period and exported it to interior settlements.

Sometimes associated with Siculo-Geometric, albeit characterized by simpler motifs, are so-called banded wares, a general term for largely undifferentiated open and closed ceramics with series of painted horizontal lines and bands around the vessel's neck and body. These can refer either to Greek/Sikelote imports, or to indigenous variants of Greek or traditional shapes. Most imported Greek banded wares originate in East Greece; the cup types are known as Ionian cups, and come in a number of forms, each with its own production timespan: Ionian Type A1, A2, A3, B1, B2, and B3 cups.<sup>110</sup> (Fig. 1.10) Small amounts of Ionian cups begin to appear in Greek colonies in the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, as in Gela, at the Predio Sola and Bitalemi sanctuaries and Borgo Necropolis. Soon afterwards, they move inland via trade routes to indigenous sites, where they are commonly found in graves in early contexts. By the early 6<sup>th</sup>

---

<sup>108</sup> Inv. no. 58-2380 (Leighton, MS IV cat. 144, pl. 34, 82).

<sup>109</sup> Leighton, MS IV 117. Cf. uncatalogued from Trench 29, Stratum 5, 63-1289, 63-1259, 67-354E (Leighton, MS IV cat. 374, pl. 117), 63-1297 (Leighton, MS IV cat. 214, pl. 39, 94), 63-1206 (Leighton, MS IV cat. 215, pl. 39, 94), 63-1265 (Leighton, MS IV cat. 217, pl. 39, 94).

<sup>110</sup> Traditional chronologies for these types were formulated by Vallet and Villard, based on excavations at Megara Hyblaea (Vallet and Villard 1955). Subsequent excavations, radiocarbon testing and study of production centers and ceramic fabrics have cast doubt on these absolute dates, especially for examples imitated in western Greek colonies.



century, East Greek pottery, mainly from Rhodes, Miletus, and Samos, but including Aeolic and Ionian bucchero, had increased enough that in many colonies their percentage exceeds that of imported Corinthian material, and they began to be imitated en masse in Greek colonies.

Throughout the period Ionian type cups remained the most popular Greek form; Type B2 cups become the predominant Greek type imported and produced throughout 6<sup>th</sup> century Sicily.

Perhaps more than any other object type, these cups contributed to a standardized “Sicilian” culture in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. East Greek types like grey ware bucchero (or Aeolian bucchero), plastic vases, and other banded wares, were also popular.

As seen in the example of Siculo-Geometric wares, the use and popularity of ceramic types were largely defined by geography, as is the framework of this discussion. This study looks at regions throughout Sicily, except the northeast, the far west and Phoenician and Greek colonies in the west, although these figure in discussions of assemblages, trade, and individual indigenous site narratives, and, as discussed, Phoenicians play an important role in disseminating the Orientalizing style in the Protoarchaic period.<sup>111</sup> Several important sites are not included in the dataset and so not heavily analyzed in this discussion, either because they were founded around the end of the period analyzed (e.g. Agrigento) or the data set is too small or almost solely focused on later periods of the site’s settlement (as at Segesta). This study uses ethnic terms (Elymian, Sikel, and Sikanian) traditionally associated with specific settlements, but it must be stressed that these are largely external constructs and do not necessarily reflect the reality of assemblages, architecture, or objects, nor practices extrapolated from the material culture. Much stress is placed on the importance of border zones throughout Sicily (Sikanian-Elymian to the

---

<sup>111</sup> Selinunte, the most important Greek site of western Sicily, contains a vast wealth of published data too extensive to incorporate here, and so this site is left out of the dataset, although incorporated in general discussions of western Sicily.

west, and Sikanian-Sikel to the east), the construction of localized indigenous ethnicities, and perhaps the process of alignments (conceivably even realignments) that took place at interior sites in response to Greek colonization of the coastline.

### **Dissertation Structure**

This study includes five chapters, the sites roughly arranged by region, general patterns and parallel trajectories. Chapters are not divided by ethnicity, or even Greek and indigenous modifiers. One reason is the inherent ambiguity of many (especially inland) settlements, particularly the obscurity of ethnic alignment and overreliance on (much later) Greek texts to identify settlements, particularly those that were seen as later becoming “Hellenized,” were resettled by Greeks, or became Greek *phouria*, or military outposts. In fact, many of these were indigenous sites that became mixed settlements, although the processes of creating and maintaining identities and relationships were much more complex than superficially implied by this term; this will be discussed on a site-by-site basis, supported by contexts and associated assemblages. This material record can inform us of local inhabitants’ practices, their articulation of local identity, and their priorities in building and maintaining relationships with the other. All this, in turn, can be used to evaluate theories on the interactions among various actors within Sicily. The groupings reflect an assessment of the predominant features of each site, but with a recognition, reflected in the discussions, that many or even most sites have differences from others in the same chapter and similarities with sites in other chapters; in fact, this reinforces the difficulty in trying to apply one grand theory to all interactions on the island.

Chapter 2 addresses the Rhodian/Cretan colony Gela and its relationship to inland sites – mostly indigenous and mixed – in the immediate vicinity. Chapter 3 looks at the role Greek sites in southeast Sicily – particularly Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea, and, later, Casmene and Kamarina – played in the expression of elite identity and dissemination of practices and artistic

forms in the region, and whether these influenced the development of a mixed culture in the region as strongly as did Sikel sites that display clear continuity from the EIA, such as M. Finocchito. Two networks, distinct but interconnected, emerge in this region by the early 7<sup>th</sup> century – sites along the Syracusan line of expansion and those linked to Chalkidian expansion, particularly near Leontini. Chapter 4 details the Greek site Himera, focused on the north-central/west of the island, which played an important role in trade and connections with the region’s significant indigenous sites. It also details the roles of imports and growing social identity in the formation of cultural practices in the western Sikanian frontier, especially in important indigenous sanctuaries with circular shrines like Colle Madore and Polizzello. Chapter 5 looks at the Elymian and Sikanian margins in the island’s western reaches, particularly M. Iato, M. Polizzo, and Entella, and discusses how ethnic identities emerged in the course of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, examining how specific object types decontextualized from assemblages and original contexts are impractical as determinants of ethnic characteristics. Chapter 6 examines the Greek site of Naxos, and its contribution to the creation of ethnic identities in interior (primarily indigenous) settlements affected by trade and territorial expansion in these regions. These include the interior Sikel and Sikanian sites of Morgantina, Palike, Sant’ Angelo Muxaro, Calascibetta, Marianopoli, and Terravecchia di Cuti, which display diverse but broadly parallel site trajectories in the face of Greek penetration into the island’s interior, with extensive interactions with the Greek coastal communities to the northeast and east. Finally, the conclusions sum up the findings from these chapters and the relevant theoretical models analyzed. It then discusses statistical models that can be applied to the data, and any valuable inferences that can be made based on the modeling. PCA and clustering analysis are used to determine meaningful connections between objects, and whether clusters generated through algorithms mirror clusters of objects and assemblages that are determined from a more

superficial view of the data – that is, whether similar contexts are grouped together and whether these demonstrate greater degrees of association with other contexts grouped in the same chapter or even belonging to the same population group/ ethnos. Another template used is the Random Forest model, which is a predictive model that uses a number of variables in the data set (for example, object, object use, object provenance, decoration, context, and context location) to predict future trends in similar data based on an aggregation of these variables. This allows us to determine the utility of externally assigning an identity marker on a site or context based on observed patterns in an associated assemblage.

## **CHAPTER 2: INTERACTIONS IN GELA AND ITS HINTERLAND**

The 7<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries were a formative period in the development of central Sicilian settlement as Greeks made inroads into the central Sicilian heartland. I will argue that this was the major period of transformation and adjustment in the area, as local communities adapted to Greek presence on the coast. Thus, a natural starting point is one of the area's largest Greek colonies, Gela. That the site engaged on a wide scale and broad range with local populations is undeniable, given that Greeks already had a presence along Sicily's east coast and begun penetrating westwards. Although change is much more evident in indigenous populations, even at Gela we see an adaptation to a new setting and nearby indigenous communities unparalleled among more established Greek communities to the east. In fact, the Greek population at Gela seems to have taken advantage of nearby populations to expand trade, likely utilizing local trade routes that more easily facilitated interactions with local environments. As a consequence, new practices, buildings and institutions appear in both Archaic Gela and the hinterland, serving as a basis and standard for assessing other institutions throughout Sicily, Greek and indigenous.

Yet the transformation was not sudden and was mediated by a host of mechanisms in addition to trade – commensality, gift-exchange, traveling craftsmen – transmitting ideas and objects, some of which met varying resistance from non-Greeks. Scholars earlier uncritically assumed that Gela easily encroached on local communities, overestimating power differentials between Greek and local populations in the Gela Plain. It now seems clear, though, that Gela did not conquer or assimilate indigenous hinterland settlements wholesale, but rather made

inroads into that sphere through trade, interaction, and gift-exchange, utilizing cultural capital in engaging with local populations. It is important to study the types of objects used in these interactions and contexts where they are found; and while it is vital to focus on indigenous settlements, a thorough understanding of their practices cannot be obtained in isolation from that which they encountered in the newly formed coastal Greek cities. Therefore, much of this chapter is dedicated to understanding Geloan contexts and the ways in which they differ from, or reflect, indigenous contexts in the surrounding *chora*, including the local settlements of Butera, La Muculufa, Contrada Priorato, Dessueri, M. Bubbonia, M. Maio, M. Desusino, M. San Mauro, and Altobrando, all of which seem to have maintained a primarily localized, yet mixed, identity through the Archaic, characterized by continuing practices of indigeneity asserted through new modes of representation. (Fig. 2.1)

Accounts of the hinterlands within Gela's orbit have traditionally considered the region one of the most "Hellenizing" of the areas on Sicily. Although Gela was settled by Greeks later than the east coast, its influence spread more quickly, possibly because of the indigenous sites' proximity to the coast and terrain allowing easier access. The sites show little of the reference back to ancestral indigenous forms that elsewhere (especially in western areas) appears as an affirmation of local identity in the face of Greek incursion. The emergence of extramural sanctuaries, in Gela's case oriented towards the island's interior, and in inland settlements usually on lower slopes outside main habitation centers, could have provided places of encounter between Greeks and indigenous populations, particularly the more prosperous elements of each, serving as conduits for a Hellenizing impetus. Roughly similar patterns can be traced at various sites in the vicinity of Gela, despite the region's location on the traditional border between Sikel and Sikanian ethnic groups. As will be argued, these ethnic distinctions were less important in social articulation than were broader commonalities, seen throughout the region, that make the

Geloan hinterland distinct from other interior areas of the island, despite these sites' connections to other sites in southeast and southern Sicily. The discussion below will attempt to deconstruct ethnic boundaries and strict indigenous-Greek dichotomies through an in-depth look at the most important sites, their contexts and assemblages, using Gela as a litmus for change.

### **Gela: A Protoarchaic Greek Foundation**

Tradition states that Rhodians and Cretans founded Gela in 689 during the second wave of Greek coastal settlement.<sup>112</sup> The settlement's outlines and most important early institutions have been traced, but the main settlement area remains largely unexcavated. Nevertheless, a number of excavated contexts, scattered throughout the modern city and immediate surrounding countryside, date to the PA. While several focus on the acropolis, the Molino a Vento,<sup>113</sup> a number are extramural and intramural sanctuaries (Bitalemi, the Heraion, Predio Sola, Madonna dell'Alemanna, Molino di Pietro; and Piano Camera in the Gela plain)<sup>114</sup>; necropoleis (Villa Garibaldi, Borgo, Spino Santo, Via Francesco Crispi, and Predio La Paglia)<sup>115</sup> and remains of occupation debris and industrial discard (Archaic wells at Caserma dei Carabinieri and the Via

---

<sup>112</sup> Diod. 8.23; Her. 7.153; Thuc. 6.4.3.

<sup>113</sup> This was published in: Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1956: 205-17 (Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1961); Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1962; Fiorentini 1977; Panvini and Sole 2005; Ferrara 2009; de la Genière and Ferrara 2009: 171-78. For general overviews see: Navarra 1964; De Miro 1983b; Panvini 1996; Panvini 1998.

<sup>114</sup> Most were excavated and published by Orlandini and Adamesteanu. For archaeological reports on Bitalemi, see: Orlandini 1965a, 1966, 1967, and 2003; see also Albertocchi 2015, Kron 1992, Deschler-Erb et al. 2015); for the Heraion, see: Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1956: 271-4 (Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1961), Adamesteanu 1960: 116-24; for the Predio Sola sanctuary, see: Orlandini 1963a, Ismaelli 2011; for the Madonna dell'Alemanna sanctuary, see: Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1956: 382-92 (Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1961); for the Molino di Pietro sanctuary, see: Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1956: 217-29 (Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1961); for the Piano Camera sanctuary, see: Panvini and Caminneci 1993-4.

<sup>115</sup> These were primarily excavated by Orsi, while Adamesteanu and Orlandini investigated scattered tombs overlooked by Orsi at Borgo and Predio la Paglia, as well as the Villa Garibaldi necropolis. For reports and studies on the Villa Garibaldi necropolis, see: Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1956: 289-326 (Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1961), Adamesteanu 1960: 151-2; for the Borgo, Predio la Paglia, and Spino Santo necropoleis, see: Orsi 1906, Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1956: 281-8, 319-23, 325-7 (Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1961); for the Via Francesco Crispi necropolis, see: Adamesteanu 1960: 137-51. For general studies of the cemeteries, see: Congiu 2015; Lambrugo 2013; Lambrugo 2015.

Dalmazia kiln).<sup>116</sup> Additionally, one possible site of Gela's proto-urban settlement, interpreted by Fiorentini as an early *emporion*, has been tentatively identified at the modern location of Bosco Littorio.<sup>117</sup> This location, and other scattered occupational evidence, have provided substantial support for a pre-689 foundation, possibly an earlier Rhodian settlement, *Lindioi*,<sup>118</sup> settled to trade with indigenous populations and tap into maritime trade networks along Sicily's southern coast. If indeed we can point to early trade routes incorporating Gela and coexistence of populations in this area, it has an important bearing on the nature of Greek and non-Greek interaction in the region. It would also explain the relatively rapid rise of social institutions in Gela in the formative period of the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

The suggestion of earlier settlement arose from possible EPC ceramics at Gela, which would substantiate a foundation before that in traditional accounts. (Fig. 2.2) During excavations focused on the Molino a Vento hill, Orlandini interpreted scattered depositions as some of the earliest evidence for settlement and worship by Greek settlers, in turn superimposed on an earlier Sikanian settlement.<sup>119</sup> The location is typical of EIA and PA indigenous settlements – a naturally fortified, broad plateau with an advantageous viewpoint and easy access to land and water routes, not unlike Manuzza Hill at Selinunte, also extensively occupied prior to Greek arrival in the area.<sup>120</sup> Further finds outside of the acropolis can also be dated to prior to the 8<sup>th</sup>

---

<sup>116</sup> The Archaic wells were published in Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1956: 274-6 (Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1961); the Via Dalmazia kiln in Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1956: 277-81 (Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1961).

<sup>117</sup> Fiorentini 1987-8; Panvini 1996: 54-7; Panvini 2009b: 179-84.

<sup>118</sup> Thuc. 6.4.3. Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1962: 345-6; 407; De Miro and Fiorentini 1980: 90-1; De Miro 1983b: 71-3; Pizzo 1999; Panvini 2008: 8; Panvini 2012.

<sup>119</sup> Orlandini's finds consisted of three PC fragments (two cups and a skyphos) dating to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. (Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1962: 406-7)

<sup>120</sup> See: Rallo 1982.



century, notably in the Villa Garibaldi and Spina Santa necropoleis to the east.<sup>121</sup> However, Orlandini's early dating of Greek occupation has been questioned; among his finds on the acropolis, only a Thapsos cup found out of context could undeniably be placed prior to 689.<sup>122</sup> This and items found in the necropoleis could well have been heirlooms brought by the earliest settlers, from pre-settlement trade between Greeks and indigenous populations, or both. No physical structures, Greek or indigenous, definitively date prior to the early 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>123</sup> Two contexts that might substantiate early Greek presence, or at least early Greek trade with local communities, are the finds from Bosco Littorio and early Greek ceramics in pre-construction layers of Early Archaic Building 1 on the Molino a Vento.

Certainly by the early 7<sup>th</sup> century, the Molino a Vento acropolis served as Gela's main sacred center, articulated by monumental buildings.<sup>124</sup> (Fig. 2.3) Two rectangular structures, Buildings 1 and 2, on the north side of the acropolis and oriented east-west, have been compared to Cretan building traditions. (Fig. 2.4) Inside Building 1 was a rectangular stone interpreted as a base for a xoanon or votive offerings and to the east was a cobbled pavement with burnt traces suggesting sacrifices. An earlier level was associated with a mudbrick structure, an apparent precursor to the stone building, containing a votive pit with a quantity of late 8<sup>th</sup> and

---

<sup>121</sup> These yielded an EPC aryballos and large fragment of an amphora dating to the beginning of the MPC period, c. 700-690. (De Miro and Fiorentini 1980: 90-1; De Miro 1983b: 72-3)

<sup>122</sup> De la Genière and Ferrara 2009: 173-4.

<sup>123</sup> The only substantial evidence for pre-Greek occupation of Gela consists of clusters of EBA Castellucian-phase huts on a low platform east of Gela's acropolis. In 1956 Adamesteanu and Orlandini found extensive Greek presence in the area (Adamesteanu 1960: 222-40). Additionally, a number of Castellucian ceramics have been recovered from scattered contexts throughout the Molino a Vento and lower city.

<sup>124</sup> Not all contexts from the early Archaic acropolis are exclusively sacred, as early 7<sup>th</sup> century workshop areas were uncovered in the eastern sector of the Molino a Vento; the colony's potters early on imitated Subgeometric kotylai, producing large numbers of Corinthian-style drinking vessels. In the same area, EPC sherds indicated an initial Greek colony in scattered groups on the hill, separate from the main nucleus of sacred building, without any organized urban plan. (De Miro 1983b: 65-70, Panvini 2012)

early 7<sup>th</sup> century material including EPC and MPC-style oinochoai, skyphoi and cups, comparable to material from the kiln in the Archaic city's western limit, as well as Cretan oinochoai similar to examples from the Arkades necropolis.<sup>125</sup> A basin with carved decoration and an iron spearhead from the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century are the stratum's latest material, which was covered by a destruction level and by Building I during an extensive construction phase on the acropolis, dating to c. 650-630. Thus, at this time (or at least by the first quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century), isolated mudbrick structures occupied the acropolis, although evidence of an extensive urban plan comparable to early Megara Hyblaea and Naxos is lacking, and more excavation is needed to reveal further early 7<sup>th</sup> century institutions in the area. An interesting find from this earlier stratum, but not the votive pit, is an indigenous Siculo-Geometric lekane cover comparable to examples from the Geloan hinterland, as at Capodarso. Although isolated, it suggests indigenous presence on the Molino a Vento in the late 8<sup>th</sup> and early 7<sup>th</sup> century transition, before or concomitant with Greek occupation of the area, or indigenous trade or frequenting of the acropolis's social institutions during Gela's formative period.<sup>126</sup>

East of Building 1 and dating to the same period, Building 2 also functioned as a shrine. Numerous EPC and MPC sherds and two oinochoai were found in a votive deposit below floor level. On the floor, numerous fragments of Cretan imported vessels may indicate trade beginning in the 7<sup>th</sup> century or have been brought by the earliest colonists.<sup>127</sup>

By the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century the acropolis had a proto-urban layout oriented east-west, adapted to the hill's irregular elongated shape, the plateau sporadically occupied by sacred spaces and

---

<sup>125</sup> De Miro 1983b: 67-8.

<sup>126</sup> De Miro 1983b: 102-3

<sup>127</sup> De Miro 1983b: 68-70.

workshops (possibly affiliated with sanctuaries). The presence of shrines alongside the first phase of the so-called Athenaion (Temple A) show that already by the early 7<sup>th</sup> century the eastern part of the hill was set aside for cults, with habitations likely on the central platform.

The earliest phase of Temple A, perhaps dedicated to Athena Lindia (a patron goddess of the Rhodian settlers),<sup>128</sup> comprised an oikos in antis, without peristyle, with stone foundations, comparable to early types in Sicilian Naxos (La Musa Sanctuary), M. Iato (Aphrodite Temple), Sabucina (Southwest Sanctuary), M. Saraceno, and Himera (Temple A).<sup>129</sup> (Fig. 2.5) Immediately to the east is the rectangular Structure VII, identified by Bernarbo Brea as a contemporary oikos, although it could have been a lesche or open temenos. (Fig. 2.6) Although non-canonically oriented north-south, the building's sacred character is evidenced by a votive pit inside, with remains of burnt bones and pottery from the 7<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, dating construction to the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Later excavations around the temple found EIA sherds in the layer underneath, suggesting evidence of earlier indigenous occupation, although not necessarily of cult.<sup>130</sup> The Early Archaic phase also includes three votive deposits, one north of the Athenaion excavated by Orlandini and Adamesteanu in 1951,<sup>131</sup> Deposit D found by Adamesteanu,<sup>132</sup> and a votive deposit excavated in 2002-2003.<sup>133</sup> These deposits, all in isolated locations but in the vicinity of the Athenaion, contain Corinthian, Rhodian and Cretan vessels,

---

<sup>128</sup> Panvini 1996: 25.

<sup>129</sup> Orsi first identified the structure, noting the early foundations incorporated into the later stone temple to Athena (Building B), built in the mid or third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>130</sup> De la Genière and Ferrara 2009: 172.

<sup>131</sup> Published in Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1956: 274-6 (Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1961): 205-14.

<sup>132</sup> Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1961: 381-93.

<sup>133</sup> De la Genière and Ferrara 2009: 171-78; Saggio 15, USS 34, 42.

as well as some of the earliest Cypriot vases found in the West.<sup>134</sup> Other sacred structures on the acropolis appear not to date earlier than the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

The deposit excavated in 1951 was on the south side of the hill, on the temple platform between the Athenaion and later 5<sup>th</sup> century temple. Two parallel rock-cut trenches yielded a large quantity of ash and Archaic material of the 7<sup>th</sup> to first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century; they likely contained votives from the temple platform, possibly from clearing of the Athenaion or after restructuring of the sacred area. This material originally served to date the Athenaion, suggesting that the cult inside the temenos began in the early 7<sup>th</sup> and continued until the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century when the temple was destroyed and abandoned. From the start, the votives seem to have been destined for a female divinity, attested by the presence of numerous loom weights, spindle whorls, askoi, alabastra, aryballoi, alabastra, and female figurines.<sup>135</sup>

Table 2.1 shows the numbers and relative percentages of objects, object use, and object origin from the deposit. [Table 2.1] Particularly noteworthy are Etruscan bucchero kantharoi, less commonly found in Gela than in Greek contexts on Sicily's east coast and evidence of trade with the peninsula. The figurines largely imitate Corinthian and Cretan production, with numerous imported and locally-made sub-Daedalic figurines with xoanon-type bodies.<sup>136</sup> (Fig. 2.7) One non-female entity, a Bes statuette, was in the deposit, a type is not particularly common in Archaic Sicilian contexts but represented in sacred contexts at Bosco Littorio in Gela.<sup>137</sup> The

---

<sup>134</sup> Panvini and Sole 2005: 32. These include eight fragments of oinochoai and a flask.

<sup>135</sup> These were published by Panvini and Sole 2005 ("Stipe dell'Athenaion," pp. 25-56); Ferrara 2009.

<sup>136</sup> Panvini and Sole 2005: 35-8. The numerous Daedalic figurines seem to be types well-represented in Gortyn and Eleutherna and imported into Gela until last decades of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. They are comparable to examples from Bitalemi as well. Kore figurines in the deposit echo similar statuettes found at Predio Sola, Agrigento, Catania, and Leontini, and may be imported from Rhodes and Corinth even into in the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>137</sup> Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1961: 212-3.

nature of the deposition material suggests an association with a female divinity but is not specifically linked to any particular goddess. Diodorus mentions a cult to the Magna Mater introduced to Sicily by Cretan settlers, who founded a sanctuary to her in the Sikanian center of Engyon,<sup>138</sup> and it may be for precisely such a goddess – one without specific attributes, an assimilation of Greek chthonic deity and indigenous cult – that the votives were destined. Panvini and Sole, in fact, identify three indigenous ceramics, a closed vase with impressed decoration similar to examples from central and western Sicily; a Siculo-Geometric krater; and a lamp with painted decoration (the last two dating to the 6<sup>th</sup> century). (Fig. 2.8) These objects, very different from each other, are also dissimilar to other indigenous dedications in sanctuaries, but match the form and character of Greek dedications at the sanctuary, despite different decorative approaches.<sup>139</sup> Iron rings in the sanctuary may also suggest indigenous presence.<sup>140</sup> Diodorus' account, set in mythic time at an unnamed location, may nevertheless echo PA developments by Cretan settlers around Gela, with the early appearance of sanctuary space and votive deposits in inland spaces such as Piano Camera, Bitalemi, and Fontana Calda near Butera.

A relatively long life for this cult, a precursor to the area's later Athena cult, is evidenced by a votive deposit in an elongated pit cut into the bedrock, found in 2002-2003 excavations of the acropolis area yielding material ranging from the early 7<sup>th</sup> to mid or third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. The excavators recognized two discrete votive depositions on the northern and southern limits of the trench. Below remains of architectural terracottas and fragments of a large statue of Athena were found a large number of vases and figurine fragments, as well as fibulae

---

<sup>138</sup> Diod. IV, 79, 5-7.

<sup>139</sup> Panvini and Sole 2005: 43-4.

<sup>140</sup> Panvini and Sole 2005: 61.

and other small objects.<sup>141</sup> These were likely foundation offerings, which would have been dumped and replaced along with the early temple embellishments, dedicated to the goddess to emphasize the sacrality of the votives and buried on construction of the newer oikos.<sup>142</sup> The rituals surrounding the depositions, which include overturned paterae, terracotta figurines, and jars held upright by ceramic sherds, closely recall dedications to Demeter in the suburban sanctuary of Bitalemi, discussed below. These unusual practices are closely associated with chthonic cults, which may resemble the aforementioned Magna Mater cult discussed by Diodoros, and are also comparable to rituals performed at the Alaimo Sanctuary at Leontini and even some early indigenous sanctuaries, such as the oval building discovered at M. Castellazzo di Poggioreale. Use of bronze fibulae and a stone pendant as votive dedications, relatively rare in Sicilian Greek sanctuary contexts but not uncommon in indigenous cults, suggests indigenous use of the sanctuary, the hybridization of practices by Greek and non-Greek populations perhaps linked to unusual rituals.

One context incontrovertibly suggesting an early Archaic cult to Athena in this area is Deposit D, located to the south between the later edifices C and E. A small votive deposit comprised iron weapons (placed separately), small vases, and terracottas, datable between the mid-7<sup>th</sup> and first quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, likely deposited in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century on an ash embankment. (Fig. 2.9) [Table 2.2] The weapons recall large deposits of iron weapons and tools inside the temenos of the sanctuary at M. Casale, dating to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup>

---

<sup>141</sup> De la Genière and Ferrara 2009: 175-7. Fragments of architectural terracottas (beginning to first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century), seem to belong to series of at least two buildings in the Archaic temenos originally equipped with friezes of earlier Archaic type, then renovated with the newer friezes. Mass-produced kotyliskoi with simple linear decoration are especially common, some imported, others locally produced, from the late 7<sup>th</sup> to the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>142</sup> The amount and type of materials recalls the 1951 deposit identified by Orlandini and Adamesteanu along the southern edge of the hill, and the two deposits, both cut into the rock, are likely contemporary, although the chronology of the material differs slightly.

century, as well as votive armor in later 6<sup>th</sup> century contexts in the temenos of the Vassallaggi sanctuary; in purely Greek contexts, votive armor is attested at Himera (Temple A deposits), Leontini (Alaimo Sanctuary) and Naxos (Santa Venera Sanctuary). The weapons and a male horseman statuette suggest a martial aspect of the (likely composite) deity worshipped here.<sup>143</sup> The weapon deposit's small scale and discrete nature, separate from the other votive goods, suggests that it came from a single family or small group of citizens, and represented status symbols of an emerging elite male class of Archaic Gela.<sup>144</sup>

In addition to votive deposits, a small amount of early Archaic material has been found, not associated with any structures or deposits but demonstrating the extent of PA occupation on the acropolis. Under Timoleonic Building A was an assortment of material from the early 7<sup>th</sup> century, as well as earlier Castelluccian material, including terracotta horns of probable ritual use.<sup>145</sup> The elite nature of these objects, which included Rhodian and Corinthian imports, suggests that they were destined as votive material, indicating sacred buildings here.<sup>146</sup> Comparable early 7<sup>th</sup> century material, likely also from early votive deposits, has been found below later Building C to the east, as well as buildings to the west. Slightly later objects in area deposits span the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, including a half-mold with central hole, possibly a bread stamp for votives, similar to examples from Perachora and Corinth from the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, suggesting parallel roles for the sanctuaries here.<sup>147</sup> (Fig. 2.10) One of the most

---

<sup>143</sup> Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1962: 383-9.

<sup>144</sup> Panvini and Sole 2005: 61.

<sup>145</sup> Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1962: 360-2.

<sup>146</sup> Although no Protoarchaic structures associated with the material have yet been identified, the presence of earlier ancillary structures are hinted at by remains of later thesauroi of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, possibly connected with the rebuilt Athenaion.

<sup>147</sup> Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1962: 404-5.

unusual objects was large pithos placed vertically into the rock, containing earth mixed with ash, animal bones, stones, tiles and, on the bottom, a small deposit of ceramics dating to the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>148</sup> Nearby remains of foundation blocks and antefixes suggest that it was likely buried under the pavement of an Archaic oikos destroyed by the later settlement. Table 2.3 shows summaries of the relative amounts of objects, object usage, and object provenience from the various deposits on the Molino a Vento. [Table 2.3]

In the 6<sup>th</sup> century, a number of scattered places of worship characterized the Gela Plain, including several open-air sanctuaries; some were frequented as early as the 7<sup>th</sup> century and continued to be visited into the 5<sup>th</sup>. Aside from isolated intraurban and peri-urban cults, two other important early extraurban sanctuaries have been excavated, the Predio Sola and Bitalemi sanctuaries, both cults of chthonic deities. The Predio Sola sanctuary, located on the southern slopes of the Molino a Vento hill at the beginning of the Gela Plain, contains an early shrine oriented east-west, the upper portion consisting of plastered mudbrick, with semicircular kalypters, painted antefixes and acroteria, construction methods and material similar to other small PA shrines in Gela on the acropolis's northern slope and in nearby Carrubazza and Via Fiume districts, and represented by early temple models from the nearby Heraion and the Madonna dell'Alemanna sanctuary.<sup>149</sup> (Fig. 2.11) The small oikos – eventually tied to a host of later buildings constructed in the area – likely sheltered votives dedicated in the sanctuary. Two layers of votive deposit were distinguished – the upper (Layer II) confined to the interior of the walls at and above the foundation level, postdating construction of the oikos; and a lower (Layer

---

<sup>148</sup> Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1962: 372.

<sup>149</sup> Orlandini 1963a: 4-7.



I) below foundation level and resting on a layer of dark earth, which, exceeding the limits of the oikos foundations, thus predated it.<sup>150</sup>

The votive material's dates indicate that the small sanctuary was founded around c. 640-630. The first deposit can be assigned to a phase in the second half of the century, when the area was an outdoor sanctuary with a simple altar<sup>151</sup> that continued to flourish between the late-7<sup>th</sup> and early-6<sup>th</sup> centuries, going out of use around the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century when the oikos was built.<sup>152</sup> Such early open-air cults predating more durable features are well-attested at a number of PA Sicilian sites, notably at Himera (Temple A), Megara Hyblaea (Temple ZR), Syracuse (altar and deposit below the Athenaion) and possibly the Alaimo and Scala Portazza Sanctuaries at Leontini; they are also present at indigenous and mixed sites, as at M. San Mauro (ritual space on Hill 1/2) and M. Saraceno (acropolis). The reasons for monumentalization are varied. In this case, is likely that monumental interior space was later needed to house votive offerings, perhaps signaling changes in cultic practices or groups accessing it.

Particularly interesting is the assemblage of items from Layer I, which differs substantially in type from later dedications.<sup>153</sup> The first layer contained 240 objects and around 200 fragments, primarily terracotta figurines, ceramics, lamps, lamp stands, loomweights, and other ritual vessels. [Table 2.4] (Fig. 2.12) PC and TC ointment vessels, including shapes almost solely attested in ritual contexts – aryballoi, alabastra, amphoriskoi, and exaleiptra – define the

---

<sup>150</sup> Ismaelli 2011: 19-24.

<sup>151</sup> Orlandini 1963a: 76-7.

<sup>152</sup> Numerous pieces of Corinthian pottery and Late Daedalic and Sub-Daedalic figurines testify to the cult's floruit in the late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. The relatively small amount of LC I and II sherds may indicate declining worship from the second quarter to the middle of the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, when the chapel was constructed. (Orlandini 1963a: 74-6)

<sup>153</sup> Orlandini 1963a: 34.

earliest phase of sanctuary usage. Interestingly, Ionian and other non-Corinthian imported perfume vessels – including Rhodian – are almost entirely lacking, suggesting that these are not part of the cultic repertoire here; rather, Corinthian commercial links seem to be interwoven with patterns of consumption in ritual contexts.<sup>154</sup> The significant number of perfume vessels may be due to collective dedication from restricted groups utilizing the sanctuary at this time, the contents poured out as libations, used to light lamps, or simply dedicated inside the decorative containers. Other cosmetic implements and ornamental objects are also dedicated – pyxides, rings, and scarabs – and the assemblage is rounded out by bucchero and a small amount of Protoattic and Laconian pottery.

Locally made figural pottery and terracottas from the 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century confirm that a small coroplastic workshop was established in Gela by the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, lasting through the successive century.<sup>155</sup> One of the most characteristic finds of the assemblage in the first layer of the deposit is the large number (112) of unpainted votive lamps from the 7<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> century, mainly of “Syro-Phoenician” type with simple molded body and pinched spout, the largest number of this type found in Sicily.<sup>156</sup> (Fig. 2.13) They were used together with an intricate modeled lamp with protomes and painted circular lamps with spouts, likely manufactured locally given the presence of the type in the Via Dalmatio kiln. Many have traces of burning, suggesting that they were lit for the duration of the ritual and then deposited on the ground, benches, altar, or around an image.

---

<sup>154</sup> Ismaelli 2011: 213-216.

<sup>155</sup> Orlandini 1963a: 75-6.

<sup>156</sup> Orlandini 1963a: 45-50.

The worship procedure and its physical manifestations seem to have been redefined in the following transitional period of the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century. Now votives, primarily ceramic masks, locally made ceramics (imports, while still present, seem to drop off in the second phase), and, to a lesser extent, terracotta figurines were placed on shelves inside the sanctuary, apparently the new key to ritual communication with chthonic deities. Lamps and perfume vessels are now almost completely absent, suggesting a link between the two types in the first phase making them unnecessary given changes in ritual practice in the second.<sup>157</sup>

One element of continuity between the phases is the large number of drinking vessels, indicating permanence of ritual convivial beverage consumption and libation through the entire period of the sanctuary's use and marking an exception to the otherwise profound redefinition of votive practices in the second phase.<sup>158</sup> Oinochoai, hydriai, amphorae, kraters, cups, kotylai, kotyliskoi, and skyphoi are functionally linked to preparation and consumption of liquids; Corinthian kotylai are the most common drinking vessels in Layer I. The cups seem to have been dedicated after use, while larger serving and preparation vessels remained in use for multiple rituals, a common theme at a number of Sicilian sanctuaries at this time, including at Bitalemi, Leontini (Alaimo Sanctuary), and Palike (Building A). Interestingly, drinking does not seem to be associated with sacrifice or food consumption, given the lack of animal bones, knives, and cooking implements.<sup>159</sup> Thus the practices were small-scale rather than community-wide, perhaps reserved for kinship groups or a single sector of society, such upper classes who could afford to engage in conspicuous consumption and initiation rituals. Also constant is an

---

<sup>157</sup> Ismaelli 2011: 210-27.

<sup>158</sup> Ismaelli 2011: 217-18.

<sup>159</sup> Ismaelli 2011: 217-18.

absence of archaeological indicators of a clear male presence, as votives tied to the domains of women – spinning and weaving accessories, female terracottas, thymiateria – continue to dominate.<sup>160</sup> The link between drinking ritual – traditionally defined as a male practice – and items clearly associated with the female sphere is common among thesmophoria in the Greek world (including, as we will see, at the Bitalemi sanctuary), and seems to be tied to rites of passage in which the initiates' social role is temporarily inverted prior to entry into a different stage of life.

The ceramic lamps of the first stratum and the female masks of the second are common votives at other Sicilian shrines to chthonic deities.<sup>161</sup> Chthonic cults to Demeter and Kore, widespread in Sicily, were especially important in Gela, linked from an early period to the priesthood of the early Deinomenid ruling class as well as aristocratic practices traced through lineage and kinship.<sup>162</sup> The cult spread throughout central-southern Sicily, along paths of expansion and commercial diffusion inland and along the coast. The first phase was the creation of extraurban sanctuaries along natural routes, in the colony's hinterland.

The Bitalemi Sanctuary, on a small hill west of Gela, demonstrates numerous similarities with Predio Sola, as well as with other contexts both within and outside Gela. Here a small extraurban shrine to Demeter and Kore was established in the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, immediately after the city's foundation.<sup>163</sup> (Fig. 2.14) The votives consist of several isolated

---

<sup>160</sup> Ismaelli 2011: 218-9.

<sup>161</sup> Ismaelli 2011: 216. These are paralleled by deposits of multiple lamps, kernoi and masks excavated in Agrigento, in the Sanctuary of the Chthonic Deities, as well as in the sanctuary of Gaggera in Selinunte.

<sup>162</sup> Panvini 2010: 52.

<sup>163</sup> Orlandini 1966: 29. Orlandini 2003: 305. Paolo Orsi identified the site in 1901 and excavated it in the 1960s, distinguishing five layers in the sanctuary in reconstructing a relative chronology of votive deposits; later campaigns took place in 1991 and 1994. (Orlandini 1966: 8-10).

deposits in the ground of an open sacred area, with dedicants continuously adding votives. A small oikos was constructed during extensive mid-6<sup>th</sup> century restructuring of the cult area, as seen at Predio Sola at this time.<sup>164</sup> This restructuring corresponds to Stratum 4, in which were also found numerous ceramic female masks similar to Predio Sola examples. The vast majority of these terracottas are locally manufactured, unlike the largely imported examples of the previous phase. At this time, ancillary buildings were added to the complex, primarily small naiskoi (G4, G5 and G7).

The majority of early Archaic material comes from Stratum 5, the oldest, from the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> to mid 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>165</sup> Here a thick layer contained numerous carefully placed votive deposits at varying depths corresponding to different periods of attendance, suggesting separate, individual burials. No stone architecture is associated with this layer, although excavators revealed foundations of a small mudbrick building, G8, built directly into the sand and dated to the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>166</sup> (Fig. 2.15) Building G8 is oriented north-south and thus did not likely function as a naiskos but rather may have been an early building housing women attending the Thesmophoria, the festival to Demeter and Kore which was also observed at the Predio Sola sanctuary. Orlandini proposed that these were temporary buildings, skenai or small banquet halls constructed during feasts tied to the thesmophoria or other rituals, perhaps linked to groups utilizing the sanctuary at these times.<sup>167</sup> Uta Kron disagreed and argued that the structures were permanent with had utilitarian functions, perhaps as thesauroi or oikoi –

---

<sup>164</sup> Orlandini 1966: 17.

<sup>165</sup> Orlandini 1966: 23-9.

<sup>166</sup> Orlandini 1967: 178.

<sup>167</sup> Orlandini 2003: 510-11.

repositories for votives or as ancillary buildings related to the sanctuary's functioning.<sup>168</sup> In any case, the votive depositions are earlier than the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, confirming that the space was set aside for ritual use before monumentalization of the sanctuary, and the continued dedication of discrete votive deposits even after the construction of the first mudbrick structures (temporary or permanent) supports a link between the ancillary buildings – which may or may not have been explicitly sacred – and rituals that left a physical impression on the landscape in the form of deposited objects. Both may have been used or practiced by small disparate groups, the different small deposits likely associated with the different, occasional occupiers of the mudbrick structures – but whether these groups were corporate, kinship, or status-based remains to be addressed. Prior to the construction of the mudbrick buildings, even more temporary structures may have been used by discrete groups. During a mid-6<sup>th</sup> century restructuring of the sanctuary the whole Stratum 5 was sealed by a thick bed of clay, after which permanent small stone buildings are erected, perhaps serving the same purpose as their predecessors.<sup>169</sup>

The dedicated objects – thousands were recovered from the layer, and only some have been published – suggest that worship here was conducted through small animal sacrifice, consumption of ritual meals and beverages, and burial of objects – items used in rituals at the sanctuary (and often connected with traces of ritual meals found next to the offerings) and sets of objects that may have simply been dedicated to the deity. [Table 2.5] Each deposit is buried, an appropriate practice for a chthonic deity and not dissimilar to the burial of sacred objects and

---

<sup>168</sup> Kron 1992: 620-3.

<sup>169</sup> Orlandini 1966: 17-9.

animals during the thesmophorion.<sup>170</sup> Like the sanctuary of Predio Sola, these offerings largely revolve around the world of women (hydriai, female figurines, loomweights, and a later deposit of spindle whorls) and it seems that women were the ones primarily engaging in preparation of food and acts of commensality in the sanctuary, taking place in the same location as the votive deposits, as evidenced by the ash, animal bones, and remains of cooking vessels that were buried alongside dedicated objects.<sup>171</sup>

The oldest material consists of LPC aryballoi and skyphoi and local imitations from the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, as well as Daedalic figurines.<sup>172</sup> The ceramics display a wide variety of forms and functions, although very few votives are completely unrelated to consumption. This differs from Predio Sola, which is mainly characterized by rituals involving drinking and rites of passage, but not sacrifice and food consumption; furthermore, oftentimes whole sets, including serving vessels, are buried alongside the ritual cups rather than being reused, a practice differing from the largely cup-based offerings at Predio Sola.<sup>173</sup>

An unusual feature of these objects is their careful and systematic burial in specific patterns, with 90% of offerings consisting of isolated or grouped overturned vases, likely buried after the completion of a meal.<sup>174</sup> (Fig. 2.16) These may have ritual significance in relation to the chthonic divinity, perhaps serving to create a more direct link between the worshiper and the divine. Vessels buried upright are rare and consist mainly of vessels that may not have been used

---

<sup>170</sup> Albertocchi 2015.

<sup>171</sup> Albertocchi 2015: 95-6.

<sup>172</sup> Orlandini 1966: 34-5. At the bottom of the stratum was found a small kouros and a post-Daedalic statuette dating to the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century as well as an imported figurine from Crete.

<sup>173</sup> Orlandini 2003: 510-2.

<sup>174</sup> Orlandini 1966: 29.

in the actual ritual of commensality, but were rather direct offerings of oil or wine, often placed in amphorae which had been manufactured locally. Sometimes these are in turn surrounded by smaller overturned vessels, thus positing a possible connection between *ex-votos* and ritual dining. Terracotta imports, particularly Rhodian alabastra and figurines, placed horizontally or inverted, tend to be more common in Stratum 5, while later strata seem to be entirely composed of local material. (Fig. 2.17) The majority of imported vessels are Corinthian, especially skyphoi and globular aryballoi, with Ionian cups and local imitations rounding out the drinking assemblages.<sup>175</sup> Hydriai, also common in later strata, are a dominant vessel in Stratum 5 and one of the most frequent offering types in the sanctuary's first phase, and seem to be associated with rites of purification and ritual surrounding the female sphere (it is interesting to note however the relative lack of hydriai in comparable contexts at Predio Sola).

One well-published context is Deposit 2885, the remains of a single meal left *in situ* in the northeastern side of the sanctuary in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>176</sup> (Fig. 2.18) The 24 objects, all relating to eating and drinking, were found placed over the remains of a pig and fire pit. From a similar period, and found in a similar area, were several smaller deposits also documenting preparation and ritual consumption of food, comprised of cooking vessels with traces of use, sacrificial knives (over 130), cups and serving vessels for fluids.<sup>177</sup> Stone mills and mortars were found nearby as well. The small number of objects in each deposition, the limited extent of remains in each deposit, and the small size of the ritual meals (mainly comprised of small animals), indicate that the number of participants in each ceremony was also relatively small,

---

<sup>175</sup> Orlandini 1966: 25-7.

<sup>176</sup> Published in Albertocchi 2015.

<sup>177</sup> Deschler-Erb et al. 2015: 44.



likely a single family group or clan from the aristocratic class. Similar small-scale individualized depositions are not uncommon among Sicilian (particularly Sikeliote) sanctuaries, and are attested within the Naxos Santa Venera sanctuary, Molino a Vento (especially Deposit D), Predio Sola, Alaimo Sanctuary at Leontini, Temple A at Himera, Polizzello (especially Oikos B), and M. Castellazzo di Poggioreale (Room B).

Located separately are a number of votive deposits in pits containing metal objects.<sup>178</sup> (Fig. 2.19) 31 deposits excavated by Orlandini contained only or primarily metal objects (including a total of about 102 kg of bronze<sup>179</sup>), scattered evenly throughout the sanctuary, most in upper deposits of Stratum 5 from c. 570-540, the earliest dating to the last quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>180</sup> Deposits also include agricultural tools, metalworking implements, jewelry (rings, bracelets, beads and fibulae), graters and cutting implements. Many had been broken or gone out of use long before burial, as evidenced by earlier bronzes in later deposits, including indigenous-type fibulae, comparatively rare votives in Greek sanctuaries in the West.<sup>181</sup> These findings demonstrate close links between the Greek coastal cities and interior settlements, as similar objects are found in M. Finocchito, Butera, and M. Bubbonia. Stylized bronze astragaloi in some deposits seem to be a form of pre-monetary currency particularly common in the indigenous world, also found at Castronovo and Mendolito.<sup>182</sup> As will be seen, metals in assemblages at Butera, Bitalemi, Castronovo, and Sabucina and other locales probably contain imported

---

<sup>178</sup> Published in Orlandini 1965a and Deschler-Erb et al. 2015.

<sup>179</sup> Orlandini 1965a: 16-7. The total weight per deposit fluctuates greatly, ranging from 350 to 7095g.

<sup>180</sup> Orlandini 1965a: 15-6. This deposit was dated by an EC skyphos.

<sup>181</sup> Orsi 1919b: fig. 164-169; Frasca 1983: 598. Early object types include fibulae with meander or lozenge pattern, bracelet, chains and bead types that go back to the early 7<sup>th</sup> century and possibly even further. The more recent objects in these deposits are datable to the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>182</sup> Orlandini 1965a: 18; Albanese 1993: 198-9.

bronzes from the Greek colonies, imitations or objects reworked by local craftsmen (as with ceramics), although it has often been argued that indigenous towns held a near monopoly on bronze production, especially in the 7<sup>th</sup> century;<sup>183</sup> metals from Butera graves may serve to bridge the gap in our knowledge of the matter.<sup>184</sup> The most common objects in these deposits are *aes rude* (formless bronze pieces); Orsi considered similar mid-6<sup>th</sup> century pieces at the nearby indigenous community of Terravecchia di Grammichele<sup>185</sup> to be fragments of *aes signatum* from Etruria or Campania that reached Gela via a coastal colony. New types of pre-monetary currency may thus have diffused inland from Gela, although local communities seem soon after to have their own currency types (bronze astragaloi often found at sanctuaries).<sup>186</sup> Indeed, the frequency of fibulae, bronze astragaloi, and bronze chains in indigenous sanctuary contexts may signal indigenous presence and participation in rituals in Gela's hinterland. This hypothesis finds its most direct confirmation in Votive Deposit #29, from the last quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century or early 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>187</sup> Here numerous bronze artifacts (including several rings) were found alongside fragments of a Siculo-Geometric pithos. Although indigenous ceramics are not particularly common at Bitalemi, Orsi documented the presence of at least a dozen indigenous sherds during his early investigation of the sanctuary.<sup>188</sup>

Bitalemi thus seems to have been a Geloan border sanctuary, comparable to extraurban sanctuaries of other Greek cities such as Himera, a place of meeting and exchange between

---

<sup>183</sup> Orlandini 1965a: 19.

<sup>184</sup> Orlandini 1965a: 19; Adamesteanu 1958a.

<sup>185</sup> Albanese 1993: 205.

<sup>186</sup> Lo Presti 2004: 367.

<sup>187</sup> Orlandini 1965a: 15-6.

<sup>188</sup> Orsi 1906: 595-6.

cultures. The liminal assemblages found at these sites, often intentionally buried, have, as we will see, parallels with interior indigenous sanctuaries, where deposits of seemingly incongruous items, or sets of items related to rituals at a specific time, are buried inside and around oikoi, often incorporating objects of various production origins in the process. The further sanctuaries are from the polis center, the more they display elements of hybridity and the less they conform to the canons of Greek culture and custom. Such extramural border sanctuaries are a common sight in mixed Sicilian population centers, including M. Saraceno (Upper Plateau sanctuary), Sabucina (Southwest sanctuary), Capodarso (acropolis votive deposit and sanctuary), Terravecchia di Cuti, M. San Mauro (sanctuary on Hill 1-2), and Fontana Calda. Within more traditionally Sikeliote centers, the extraurban sanctuary can be compared to the La Musa and Santa Venera sanctuaries at Naxos, the Scala Portazza sanctuary at Leontini, and the Northwest Sanctuary and Temple ZR at Megara Hyblaea.

Among the extramural sanctuaries at Gela, Bitalemi demonstrates the greatest variation in custom, displaying three distinct offering categories: secondary deposition of objects used in rituals at the sanctuary (most clearly seen in remains of feasting, but also inferred from the number of hydriai, perhaps used in purification or other ceremonies); primary deposition of isolated groups of *ex votis* such as statuettes and containers holding liquids (which may or may not have been offered in association with objects of the first type); and deposits of metals, a combination of bronze hoards, secondary deposition after periodic clearing of votives and broken ritual implements (likely originally placed on a bench or other structure in the sanctuary's first mudbrick phase), and perhaps primary depositions to the deity. The lack of comparable metal deposits in later Stratum 4 suggests that this was a phenomenon unique to a period before wide-scale adoption of coinage in the colonies and perhaps linked with personal accumulation of wealth, the isolated deposits (too few to be wholesale votive clearing, and too many and

homogenous to be associated with ritual consumption) instead belonging to family groups, extended clans, or even other social, cultural or status-linked groups (such as non-Greek groups visiting the sanctuary). In the sanctuary's Late Archaic and Classical phase, along with the rebuilding of the sanctuary, banquets seem to disappear, as new rituals reflect new less competitive social organizations tending towards a more isopolitical community, replacing conspicuous use of isolated banqueting spaces by groups of elite individuals who removed valuable vessels and other goods from circulation by dedicating them in votive deposits.<sup>189</sup>

PA Gela is characterized by several other extraurban sanctuaries. During the first half and especially the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, Gela underwent a building fervor. Many buildings were monumentalized stone versions of mudbrick 7<sup>th</sup>-century naiskoi and ancillary sanctuary structures. One sanctuary where this remodeling is particularly evident is the sacred area of Ex Scalo Ferroviario near modern-day Via Fiume, on the northern slope of the Gela hill, which contained remains of two shrines placed side-by-side, with stone foundations and mudbrick superstructure.<sup>190</sup> Numerous ceramic statuettes and votive offerings suggest a chthonic cult, established by the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century prior to the construction of the more substantial structures. Similar sacred spaces were found in the areas of modern-day Corso Vittorio and the Molino di Pietro, where there was a sanctuary comprised of two small mudbrick naiskoi.<sup>191</sup> (Fig. 2.20) In the area of Calvario Carrubazza and Orti Pasquarello within the ancient walls was a temple associated with mainly Archaic material, an important example of Archaic architecture in Gela; a vase fragment with graffito and an early 6<sup>th</sup> century clay votive model of an oikos with

---

<sup>189</sup> Albertocchi 2015: 104.

<sup>190</sup> Panvini 1996: 63; Panvini 1998: 183-6; Lo Presto 2004: 265-6.

<sup>191</sup> Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1956: 217-29 (Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1961); Navarre 1964: 48.

pitched roof and geison recalling models found in the Argive Heraion suggest it too was a Heraion. (Fig. 2.11) The Hera cult may have been one of the earliest in the Rhodio-Cretan colony, and certainly is one of the oldest attested outside of the acropolis, as two late-8<sup>th</sup>/early 7<sup>th</sup> century Late Geometric vessels were excavated at the site. The temple model, one of a few Greek examples from Sicily, displays interesting similarities to indigenous hut models common in sacred contexts at Sabucina, Polizzello, and Colle Madore.<sup>192</sup> This sanctuary's assemblage, dumped material from three wells and two cisterns near the New City Hall, is broadly comparable to that of other Geloan extraurban sanctuaries, particularly the elevated numbers of lamps, perhaps connected with ritual practice in the Heraion, and cups and bowls – mostly local production – likely tossed aside after going out of use.<sup>193</sup> [Table 2.6]

As one moves inland from the city center, assemblages begin to become more mixed in nature, and less canonical in terms of Greek votive practice and architectural elaboration. On the hill north of the city, in the area of Madonna dell'Alemanna, a rectangular pit housing hundreds of architectural terracotta fragments, Archaic ceramics, and sculptural fragments was likely a votive deposit linked to a shrine to the south.<sup>194</sup> The deposit is much smaller than, though similar to, those of Temple A on the Molino a Vento. The pottery mainly dates from the 7<sup>th</sup> to mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, probably the period of this sanctuary's floruit; however, both outside the walls and in nearby pits, large fragments of Archaic coroplastics, similar to those in the votive pits of the Molino a Vento, document a restructuring and possibly an addition of later thesauroi in the

---

<sup>192</sup> Gulli 2009b.

<sup>193</sup> This was recovered in Well no. 1, which contained material dating to the early Archaic as well as later Classical material, allowing excavators to distinguish two phases of worship in the temple. It is uncertain if this well is connected with the sanctuary nearby; not many imports have been found, although the lamps may be connected with ritual practice in the Heraion. (Adamesteanu 1960: 116-24)

<sup>194</sup> Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1956: 382-92 (Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1961).

second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>195</sup> A number of unusual votive dedications, including a Vroulian kylix, Etruscan bucchero kantharos, figured pinakes, and Rhodian Wild Goat Style vessels, demonstrate the wide nature of this sanctuary's connections. Particularly curious is a votive figure of a female head with clay horns, which symbolized a particular aspect of the chthonic goddess worshipped at the temple and may be tied to indigenous traditions in the area.<sup>196</sup> This finding is all the more interesting in light of the sanctuary's liminal location on the border of Gela's territory, as it may have served to facilitate cross-border interactions with non-Geloan populations; furthermore, traders advancing along terrestrial routes inland could have deposited some of their more valuable trade items – such as the Vroulian kylix or Etruscan kantharos, wares that do not seem to have been in demand in indigenous contexts of inland Sicily – before continuing on and exchanging goods with local populations.<sup>197</sup>

Even further from the city center in the Gela plain at Piano Camera is a series of stone and mudbrick Archaic buildings around a 6<sup>th</sup> century rectangular chapel (Naiskos A), with continued attendance into the early 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>198</sup> (Fig. 2.21) This naiskos was likely part of a larger complex, possibly an agricultural sanctuary, suggested by a grinder and bones of cattle, horses, and, significantly, deer (animals often associated with indigenous sacred space). Some architectural decoration was of Geloan manufacture, but the sanctuary seems to have been frequented by local populations unable to frequently access urban sanctuaries, including

---

<sup>195</sup> Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1956: 388-92 (Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1961).

<sup>196</sup> Panvini 1996: 63; Panvini 1998: 187.

<sup>197</sup> Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1956: 384-5 (Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1961).

<sup>198</sup> Panvini and Caminnecki 1993-4.

Sikanians who deposited figurines and manufactured some architectural decorations.<sup>199</sup> (Fig. 2.22) The excavator interpreted such interactions as indicative of an indigenous population subject to Greeks, living on the edge of the urban area after territory surrounding the city had been divided into lots for colonists, while local labor was used for cereal production in the fertile Plain of Gela.<sup>200</sup> However, the sanctuary is dissimilar enough from other Geloan sacred sites to suggest that rather than just serving Greek and “Hellenized” populations, it played a role in negotiating territory between Greeks and non-Greeks, at least in its earliest phase. Its relatively late construction may be due to its status as the sanctuary furthest from Gela’s center but still within the urban area’s direct sphere of influence.<sup>201</sup>

Thus, sanctuaries, primarily in Gela’s immediate hinterlands, played a seminal role in inland distribution of Greek artifacts, the rise of votive deposition and exchange economies, and the creation of liminal zones between Greek colonies and indigenous areas, the border sanctuaries acting as middle grounds. Although votives likely were important in identity formation and group articulation, a tendency towards burial of objects rather than display – common in Sicilian sanctuaries – suggests a gradual decline of aristocratic ostentations and values and greater access to previously-exclusive objects, especially once imports declined in status in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century as locally-made imitations became accessible to a larger swath of society. Disparate elements in Geloan society may well have included indigenous populations, implied by evidence for prior indigenous habitation of the Molino a Vento and

---

<sup>199</sup> Panvini 1996: 66. This has been suggested for the sima decorated with guilloches found at the sanctuary, which seems to be of “inferior” workmanship relative to Greek examples. Other objects, such as a fragment of brown-painted geometric oinochoe, are also from indigenous workshops. (Panvini and Caminnci 1993-4: 825-830).

<sup>200</sup> Panvini 1996.

<sup>201</sup> Panvini and Caminnci 1993-4: 825-843.

surrounding areas, and lack of widespread destruction in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century. This suggests relatively peaceful coexistence, supported by Gela's role in the development of pottery industries catering to the area's local populations.

### **Gela: Industrial and Other Non-Sacred Contexts**

A number of non-sacred contexts have also been excavated at Gela, clarifying the daily life of occupants and the range and processes of trade, exchange, and production in the city. One of the most important of these spots, and perhaps most illustrative of the early colony (despite the later chronology of most buildings and objects), is Bosco Littorio, a settlement area near the coast, in the foothills of the Molino a Vento acropolis. Here was found a large section of a housing and commercial complex near the coast and mouth of the Gela River, ideally situated to take advantage of commercial relations inland.<sup>202</sup> (Fig. 2.23) Excavators revealed a number of square mudbrick rooms facing an open area, dating to the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Meal residue, arulae, figured cups, imports, cooking wares and ovens suggest a ritual and multifunctional use for this space, with arulae serving as makeshift shrines.<sup>203</sup>

EPC ceramics in the area suggest that it may have been a previous settlement, Lindioi, mentioned by Thucydides as an emporion settled by Rhodians at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, separately from, and earlier than, Gela.<sup>204</sup> The location is ideal, as traders could take advantage of both coastal routes and the Gela River facilitating trade with nearby indigenous settlements. This would also explain EPC and Late Geometric pottery on the Gela acropolis at this time when it

---

<sup>202</sup> Fiorentini 1987-8.

<sup>203</sup> Panvini 2009b: 180.

<sup>204</sup> Pizzo 1999.



may not have yet been settled by Greeks but rather used by local populations on the Molino a Vento hill.

Although early Greek settlers relied on imports, local ceramic workshops were soon established at Gela. Despite an overall dearth of production contexts for Archaic Sicily, the Via Dalmazia kiln has gone a long way in defining production in Sikeliote Sicily, particularly at coastal settlements. Located at the limit of the Archaic polis, the kiln dates to the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>205</sup> Around the kiln, especially to the west, were Archaic pottery fragments, all in the greenish fabric typical of local wares, and some with elaborate figural decoration comparable to Orientalizing Cretan figured pottery.<sup>206</sup> (Fig. 2.24) One of the more interesting aspects of this kiln and its products is its early date – comparable to Layer II of the Piano della Fiera necropolis at Butera in Gela's hinterland. Adamesteanu excavated both this cemetery and the kiln, interpreting the similarity of forms between the two sites as indicative of intense trade relations between the indigenous and Greek centers beginning in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. He considered the large pithoi, representative of the finds in the kiln, as intended for non-Greek use, exported inland or in the immediate surrounding areas; however, analogous vessels have been found in the Predio La Paglia, Spino Santo, and Borgo Necropoleis of Gela, customarily considered to be primarily cemeteries of Greek settlers, discussed below.<sup>207</sup> Indeed, there is other evidence for the presence of local populations at Gela in the archaeological data; Adamesteanu notes that 8<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> century

---

<sup>205</sup> Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1956: 277-81 (Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1961). The circular kiln, 3.2 m in diameter, is not unlike the early kiln at Megara Hyblaea; both demonstrate the existence of flourishing and specialized local ceramic factories in Archaic Sicily, producing decorated and undecorated utilitarian wares.

<sup>206</sup> Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1956: 278-9.

<sup>207</sup> Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1956: 280; Adamesteanu 1958a: 575-6.

indigenous sherds have been found in the platform above the modern Villa Comunale, and Orsi argued for the presence of Sikanian tombs on the slopes of the Pasqualello Valley.<sup>208</sup>

### **Negotiating Identities of the Dead: Gela and Its Necropoleis**

From an early period, the necropoleis of Gela had been well-defined and set apart from the rest of the urban fabric. Six major Archaic burial grounds are identified, with several other small-scale groups of burials scattered throughout the outer limits of the city; these include the Camarella, Borgo, Predio La Paglia, Villa Garibaldi, Via Francesco Crispi, and Spino Santo necropoleis. First excavated by Orsi in 1900 at the first three locations, the Archaic cemeteries were revisited in 1953 by Adamesteanu and Orlandini at Borgo, Predio La Paglia and Villa Garibaldi.<sup>209</sup> [Table 2.10]

Forms of deposition vary, with different approaches to ritual associated with social status, identity and chronological concerns. In Archaic Gela, around 50% of burials are secondary cremations, the rest enchytrismos (inhumation within a large ceramic vessel) or inhumations in the earth, rock-cut fossa tombs, monolithic sarcophagi, or tile-lined sarcophagi. Inhumations in monolithic sarcophagi or tile-lined tombs predominate in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, while cremations predominate in the preceding century and enchytrismos burials are found in both centuries.<sup>210</sup>

Orsi, Adamesteanu and Orlandini unearthed 636 graves in total in the Borgo necropolis, the largest of Gela's Archaic necropoleis, located west of the urban area.<sup>211</sup> Orsi compares this

---

<sup>208</sup> Orsi 1906: 28-30; Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1956: 287 (Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1961).

<sup>209</sup> Orsi 1906; Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1956: 289-326 (Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1961), Adamesteanu 1960: 151-2. Orsi excavated and partially published 496 burials, and Adamesteanu and Orlandini published 53 more.

<sup>210</sup> Orsi 1906: 233-4; 242-3.

<sup>211</sup> Preliminary data published in Orsi 1906 and in Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1956: 319-23, 325-7 (Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1961)..

cemetery to those excavated in Syracuse (Fusco), Megara Hyblaea, and Camarina, particularly in the richness of many of the tombs and variety of depositions; the data gleaned from object type, use and provenience [Table 2.7] suggest broadly similar trends with other Sikeliote and mixed necropoleis and even sacred space, including the Himera Pestavecchia Necropolis, M. San Mauro necropolis, and Alaimo Sanctuary at Leontini, although the greatest degree of similarity is among the Geloan Predio La Paglia and Villa Garibaldi necropoleis.<sup>212</sup> The oldest tombs, from the early 7<sup>th</sup> century, feature primarily cremation and enchytrismos in vessels – mainly stamnoi, amphorai and pithoi; but also including situlae, hydriai, olle, and double scodelle, suggesting more indigenous practices. Early tombs include imported Rhodian and Cretan wares, but locally manufactured vessels, especially pithoi and amphorae, become common soon after, often imitating Rhodian and Cretan motifs and cut away at the belly to accommodate a body.<sup>213</sup> (Fig. 2.25) Small ustrina, earthen fossa tombs, monolithic sarcophagi, and rock-cut hypogea are also attested in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, albeit in lower numbers, likely because of the greater effort and expenditure needed for the last two. Tombs of the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century generally contain Corinthian imports and smaller amounts of East Greek Wild Goat Style, Rhodian and Cretan imports,<sup>214</sup> while during the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century there was also pottery from East Greece, the Ionian Islands, Laconia, and Etruria. There is a rather low number of personal adornments among all Geloan tombs.<sup>215</sup>

---

<sup>212</sup> Orsi 1906: 232. In terms of grave types excavated at the Borgo cemetery, Orsi documents 223 inhumations of adults (mainly in sarcophagi and fossas), 233 enchytrismoι of infants and children, 13 examples of ossilegia, or secondary burial of the bones, and 101 cremations placed within amphorae, pithoi, hydriae, stamnoi, situlae, and within the bare earth.

<sup>213</sup> Orsi 1906: 237-8. Some are of colossal dimension, such as those of Tombs 275 and 446, which may have accommodated adult inhumations.

<sup>214</sup> Orsi 1906: 145-6; 249-50. Examples are only found in eight graves in the Borgo necropolis.

<sup>215</sup> Orsi 1906: 266-8. These comprised around 5% of the total.

Some of the oldest Greek material, perhaps belonging to original settlers, comes from the Villa Garibaldi necropolis stretching along the southern slope of the hill of Gela immediately outside the city's western walls. Early Archaic burials, mainly cremations and enchytrismos in amphorae and inhumations in sarcophagi, were on or in bedrock, the earliest overlooking the sea.<sup>216</sup> Grave goods, similar to those from the Borgo Necropolis, are mainly imported or imitation Corinthian vases, East Greek (especially Rhodian) pottery and Geloan imitations. [Table 2.8] (Fig. 2.26)

The smaller and more remote Via Francesco Crispi and Spina Santa necropoleis include Early Archaic burials with occasional unusual imports, including Rhodian oinochoai, Etruscan bucchero kantharoi and a bull protome from an Etruscan vase.<sup>217</sup> (Fig. 2.27) The Spina Santa necropolis is situated east of the Gela Hill, at the mouth of the River Dirillo and west of the Gela Plain; here, remains of Castelluccian huts have been found, as well as traces of early Greek occupation. The necropolis hosted numerous locally-manufactured Archaic amphora and pithos burials, comparable to those from Predio La Paglia and Butera. One 8<sup>th</sup>-century tomb predates the settlement's traditional founding date of 688; it may be either pre-Greek or testimony of an earlier Greek settlement.<sup>218</sup> Other early burials suggest that this was one of the earliest burial grounds, and that initial Greek groups lived in scattered groups in Gela's territory in addition to the main center. As demonstrated, other early contexts in the later city's hinterlands, particularly in Bosco Littorio, suggest a number of isolated settlements in this period, occupied by Greeks and perhaps non-Greeks, that were consolidated in the 7<sup>th</sup> century; Adamesteanu argues that

---

<sup>216</sup> Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1956: 289-326 (Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1961), Adamesteanu 1960: 151-2. There are two layers of graves (from the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> -first half of the 6<sup>th</sup>, and second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> centuries).

<sup>217</sup> Adamesteanu 1960: 148-9.

<sup>218</sup> De Miro and Fiorentini 1980: 94-5.

these isolated pockets of settlement underwent *synoikismos* after the Cretan and Rhodian factions merged in a settlement concentrated on the eastern part of the Molino a Vento hill.<sup>219</sup>

In the nearby Predio La Paglia necropolis, Orsi excavated 34 burials, almost all cremations placed in locally-manufactured ceramic urns closed by stone slabs or large terracotta sherds.<sup>220</sup> Interestingly, local Sikanian-style sherds are found in the *ustrina*, or areas of cremation and associated material (including a fragment of indigenous-style trefoil oinochoe, similar to Butera examples), and a fragment of pithos decorated with piumata was used to close amphorae holding cremations in two tombs.<sup>221</sup> (Fig. 2.28) This indicates that indigenous occupants utilized some of the Gela cemeteries or participated in rituals leaving traces in the form of smashed pottery and scattered bone and ash among the cremation debris. The indigenous-style ceramics at Predio La Paglia are particularly interesting, as this is one of the less ostentatious necropoleis, with fewer imported goods on the whole, and is isolated from the larger Villa Garibaldi and Borgo necropoleis. [Table 2.9] Whether these indicate that local populations were marginalized in Geloan society, that these burials represent mixed populations of Greeks and non-Greeks, or that they are merely the remains of sporadic contacts between Greek populations in Gela with outside populations, remains to be determined.

Within Gela, hybridization and mobility of goods and cultural practices in both directions is perhaps most visible among the necropoleis. However, Lambrugo argues that the burials do not primarily reflect differences in ethnicities – both among various Greek *ethnoi* and between Greek and Sikanian populations – but that “it is clear that the biggest effort in

---

<sup>219</sup> Adamesteanu 1960: 222-225.

<sup>220</sup> These were published in Orsi 1906: 208-27; and Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1956: 281-2 (Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1961).

<sup>221</sup> Adamesteanu and Orlandini 1956: 283-4, 287.

‘displaying’ a new cultural identity is expressed by the desire to appear as a society in construction and to demonstrate the crystallization of the young colonial community in social groups and in specific oikiai.”<sup>222</sup> Certainly a primary discriminator among the burial groups is some families’ desire to demonstrate wealth and prestige by burying their dead with particularly lavish accouterments, great expenditure on funerary equipment and practices (such as resource-intensive monolithic sarcophagi and cremations), or unusual objects; also some individuals are placed in family groups, confirmed by multiple burials of both adults and subadults in the same tomb. However, some cultural differentiation is also evident among the tombs, for instance in the practice of akephalia, (separation of the head from the – often cremated – body), the presence of some tombs with what Orsi labeled “ossilegia,” or the use of certain types of pottery. Three Geloan tombs exhibit some akephalia, in a manner different from that of Archaic indigenous communities (discussed later in the chapter): Tomb 178 in the Archaic Borgo necropolis consisted of an amphora holding skulls of an adult and a subadult but no goods or traces of other bones;<sup>223</sup> Tomb 8 at Predio La Paglia consisted of an amphora with three intact skulls and a small amount of cremated remains;<sup>224</sup> and Borgo Tomb 423 – one of the richest in the cemetery – contained a large vase with a small amount of bone and skulls of three young individuals, several ceramics and a figured mid-6<sup>th</sup> century alabastron.<sup>225</sup> (Fig. 2.29) Orsi compares these to Greek burials at Megara Hyblaea (T. 309, with two skulls but no corresponding skeleton) and Camarina (T. 152 at Passo Marinaro), although comparing these

---

<sup>222</sup> Lambrugo 2014: 1269.

<sup>223</sup> Orsi 1906: 244.

<sup>224</sup> Orsi 1906: 214-15; Shepherd 2005: 125.

<sup>225</sup> Orsi 1906: 186-7. Orsi noted that this grave was comprised of a “cylindrical-conical vase 1 m high, deposited horizontally and containing small amount of bone and three skulls of young individuals, as well as female statuette, globular lydion, four aryballoi, and Corinthian kotyle.”

graves with examples in certain indigenous contexts may be more informative.<sup>226</sup> Multiple inhumations in Archaic Gela otherwise are rare, and the number cremated is difficult to determine based on Orsi's cursory information.<sup>227</sup> Nonetheless, the presence of sporadic non-traditional grave types and groupings indicate a non-Greek presence among the settlers of Gela.

### **Butera and Nearby Ritual and Habitation Contexts**

Of course, differences in grave types and composition between Greeks and non-Greeks become more evident the further one moves outside Gela's inner sphere of influence, in the necropoleis of its immediate countryside. A natural starting point to study relations in the hinterland is Butera, an indigenous settlement 16 km inland from Gela. Dinu Adamesteanu's limited 1951 excavation on the acropolis, where the modern town now stands, shows evidence of Iron Age and Archaic occupation, while extensive excavations along the rocky terraces below found a mix of habitation areas, sacred spaces, and necropoleis. Four – Piano della Fiera, Vallone Spinello, Nostra Donna, and S. Giorgio – yielded 178 graves from the mid-9<sup>th</sup> to the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, and several in the Hellenistic period. Cemeteries, settlement areas, and sacred sites all suggested occupation beginning in the 9<sup>th</sup> century and a break in occupation between the mid-6<sup>th</sup> and mid-4<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>228</sup>

---

<sup>226</sup> Orsi and Cavallari 1889–92: 90; Orsi 1904a: 804.

<sup>227</sup> Orsi 232–44. Orsi notes that while multiple inhumations are rare at Gela, some early monolithic sarcophagi, likely for the most influential family members, also held secondary inhumations, possibly other family members and servants.

<sup>228</sup> In 1958, Adamesteanu published his excavations in the necropolis and settlement areas of Butera, as well as selected excavations in the hinterland. (Adamesteanu 1958a) Butera has since been revisited in short articles and general surveys of Sicilian archaeology, but without significant reevaluation in light of newer Sicilian excavations. Holloway 1983; Rizza 1984; Guzzone 1985; Holloway 1993; Nielsen 1994; Panvini 1994; Panvini 2003.

Adamesteanu identified four layers, or periods of use of the cemetery and settlement.<sup>229</sup> In the Piano della Fiera cemetery, two layers date to the end of the EIA and PA: Layers I and II. Layer I, designated as late 9<sup>th</sup> or possibly early 8<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> century, is represented by only 13 excavated tombs (mainly rock-cut “*a grotticella*” chamber tombs with single or multiple inhumations) with a traditionalism of burial goods and burial types observed in contemporary indigenous cemeteries in Sicily and few Greek imports.<sup>230</sup> Layer II, dating to the mid-7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century, contains 164 graves,<sup>231</sup> mainly secondary cremations in burial urns, although enchytrismos is also commonly attested for children and infants and even in 20 instances of burial of adults or subadults.<sup>232</sup> (Fig. 2.30) Simple inhumation is otherwise rare, although one rock-cut oven-shaped room contains the bones of an adult as well as traditional items such as fragments of a vase with engraved decoration and bronze chains (Tomb 91); this was likely transitional between the adult burial in rock-cut rooms and pithoi burials.<sup>233</sup> The vases (usually pithoi, amphorai, and stamnoi, and occasionally two large bowls placed together) were often cut at the side or bisected to accommodate the cremated remains or infant body, and the lids were closed by a stone slab, pottery sherd, or ceramic vase (usually a cup or bowl). At least one burial (Tomb 94) contains the cremated remains of one individual spread throughout multiple vessels, suggesting that those burying the dead used whatever ceramics were at-hand, rather than vessels

---

<sup>229</sup> Here stratum is a somewhat misleading term, as the Layer I and II tombs are separated not stratigraphically but spatially and typologically.

<sup>230</sup> Adamesteanu 1958a: 463-5.

<sup>231</sup> Adamesteanu 1958a: 285.

<sup>232</sup> Tombs 17, 47, 49, 50, 52, 63, 67, 78 (found near an amphora containing a skull in the same grave), 81, (skeletons of an adult and child), 85, 86, 88 (each with skeletons of two youths), 102, 109, 111, 131, 146, 152, 156, and 163.

<sup>233</sup> Adamesteanu 1958a: 376-7. The structure of the burial is unique in the necropolis; while earlier burials are deposited in small chambers in rock ledges, this one is carved into the bedrock with a clear form of a burial chamber.



solely made for burials.<sup>234</sup> Multiple cremation and enchytrismos vessels are sometimes placed side-by-side within circular stone boundaries defining grave groups and associated goods, or individual urns enclosed by roughly quadrilateral boxes of thin stone slabs.<sup>235</sup> These enclosures likely delineate kinship groups or extended family units, demonstrating a largely heterarchical society among the individuals buried in the necropolis, the *fossa* equivalent of multiple depositions in chamber tombs.<sup>236</sup> Pottery sherds (often almost completely covering the vessel and its occupants) and occasional collections of animal bones (Tomb 74) in the vicinity of several of these grave groups may represent remains of ritual practices surrounding the funeral.<sup>237</sup> Occasionally, cremation urns are found in the area of the *ustrinum*, which also contains traces of shattered pottery perhaps accompanying the rite.<sup>238</sup> Layer II graves taper off after the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, when the site was presumably destroyed or abandoned.

One unusual feature of several of Butera's Layer II tombs is *akephalia*, evident in a number of different practices – in most cases, urns contained a skull, alone or with cremated bone in the same or different vessel; occasionally multiple skulls were grouped in the same urn or outside, with grouped or separated cremated remains. Seven graves contained skulls without any burnt or intact bones,<sup>239</sup> while 23 others each contained cremated bones of an adult and at

---

<sup>234</sup> Adamesteanu 1958a: 381-3.

<sup>235</sup> Occasionally more than one cremation or inhumation is attested in the same vessel; for instance, the pithos from Tomb 28 contained the remains of four children and infants placed together.

<sup>236</sup> Adamesteanu 1958a: 428-30.

<sup>237</sup> Adamesteanu 1958a: 356-7.

<sup>238</sup> A particularly elaborate example is Tomb 144, one of the richest cremation burials from the necropolis, which contained a large metal assemblage in addition to numerous vases (Adamesteanu 1958a: 436-9).

<sup>239</sup> Tombs 13, 16, 76, 78 (found next to a pithos containing a fully-intact skeleton in the same grave), 93, 103, and 160

least one unburnt skull, and sometimes multiple skulls of adults and subadults,<sup>240</sup> and one contained cremated remains with no skull.<sup>241</sup> Among these graves, tombs 138 and 139 stand out, for both the large quantity of grave goods – 58 from Tomb 138 – and the placement of urns and goods within large rectangular stone enclosures, more monumental and carefully constructed than the simple perimeter walls of other burials in the necropolis.<sup>242</sup> (Fig. 2.31) In Tomb 138, a stone box in the perimeter wall contained remains of at least seven individuals, with cremated remains in five urns (amphorai and pithoi) closed by ceramic cups. These urns, as well as grave goods in and around the cremation urns, were arranged around a central large, decorated pithos, possibly imported from Gela, which also contained cremated remains. (Fig. 2.32) With these bones were five intact adult skulls and the remains of a child. A large block may have served as the entrance of the tomb, suggesting use for a multi-generational succession of burials. A mix of Greek imports, imports from Gela, and vessels in indigenous tradition suggests deposits from the beginning to the third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

At the enclosure's western side, accessed via Tomb 138, smaller Tomb 139 contained another burial. Under a block was an amphora covered by a thick layer of potsherds, possibly remains of ritual destruction accompanying the burial. Inside were three adult skulls and the bones (but no cranium) of a child. (Fig. 2.33) The amphora type, and single grave good – an oinochoe – suggests a date close to that of Tomb 138. The regular perimeter wall around the two tombs, high enough to have required a defined entryway, likely had ritual significance, perhaps as a family peribolos or temenos wall of a shrine to the deceased, more monumental

---

<sup>240</sup> Tombs 3, 4, 6, 18, 21, 22, 23, 25, 27, 30, 32, 33, 35, 39, 46, 48, 96,, 118, 128, 134, 138, 139, 150.

<sup>241</sup> Tombs 12, 118 (dating to the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>242</sup> Adamesteanu 1958a: 413-37.

than the simple circular stone enclosures of most grave groups; it also suggests articulation of family or kinship groups.

Tombs exhibiting akephalia are generally richer; only a few enchytrismos and even fewer cremation burials exhibit such rich metal and ceramic assemblages.<sup>243</sup> The rite seems linked to exceptional tombs, presumably of individuals of atypical status. Interestingly, tombs with solely adult cremations without evidence of akephalia are on the whole less rich than akephalia burials, enchytrismos burials of infants and children, and even enchytrismos and fossa burials of adults and youths, most of which are accompanied by grave goods. These may be lower-status individuals, although cremation, which consumes valuable resources, is usually connected with the elite.

The mid-7<sup>th</sup> century switch from inhumation in chamber tombs to cremation, akephalia, and enchytrismos in fossa tombs has been seen as reflecting Gela's influence, or even outright settlement on the part of Gela, the largest Greek settlement close to Butera.<sup>244</sup> Grounded on Pausanias's account of the Geloan *oikist* Antiphemus' sack of Omphake, a Sikan settlement, Adamesteanu linked Omphake with Butera, correlating this sack with the perceived change in burial customs and grave goods between Layers I and II of the Butera necropolis.<sup>245</sup> Noting widespread akephalia at Butera, beginning around the time of the adoption of cremation in Layer II, he argued that the practice was an "attempt by indigenous people to match the two rites: the Greek cremation, and the local tradition of deposition."<sup>246</sup> He also proposed that Greek

---

<sup>243</sup> Among the other tombs exhibiting akephalia, three contain PC cups (one also with two imported faience scarabs) and four others have some of the largest and most varied assemblages. Several tombs with fewer items nevertheless have imported Greek or elaborate Sikeliote imitations of Rhodian, Cretan and Corinthian vessels.

<sup>244</sup> Rizza 1984: 68.

<sup>245</sup> Paus. 8.46.2.

<sup>246</sup> Adamesteanu 1958a: 568.

settlers expelled the original locals and introduced Greek burial customs or otherwise strongly influenced local funeral customs; cultural integration of the two practices would be out of the question given his thesis of Geloan domination. More recently, Rizza has argued that similarities between akephalia at Butera and analogous practices at the Siderospilias cemetery at Prinias on Crete indicate wide-scale adoption of Greek (particularly Rhodio-Cretan) culture in the hinterland by the late 7<sup>th</sup> century, and that at least some of Gela's Cretan settlers would originally have come from Prinias or nearby areas.<sup>247</sup> However, there are no other known examples of akephalia from Crete, while the practice is widespread (although not common) throughout Sicily, including at such disparate sites as Entella in the west, Morgantina and Rossomanno in the center, M. Navone to the north, Castiglione to the south, and the Sikeliote centers of Gela, Himera, Megara Hyblaea, Camarina, and Syracuse.<sup>248</sup> Akephalia thus is likely a custom that, despite sporadic presence in some Greek necropoleis (perhaps indicative of indigenous presence), is an indigenous phenomenon. Further, anomalous burial customs are not the sole marker of any group identity – ethnic, socioeconomic, or kin-based – and full understanding of this site requires that its assemblages be compared to contemporary contexts at Gela and indigenous or mixed settlements. Indeed, Hodos points out that in the Archaic: "...the mixing

---

<sup>247</sup> Rizza 1984: 67-70.

<sup>248</sup> Becker 1986; Shepherd 2011: 116-7. Becker argued for full indigenous autonomy of such practices in his study of osteological findings from Falsone's Entella excavation, utilizing archaeological and ethnological comparanda throughout the world. Cranial burial in Sicily long predates Greek influence in these areas. (Becker 1986: 31-56) For reports on Entella, see: Becker 1986, Guglielmino 1994; for Rossomanno, see: Guzzardi 1997, Fiorentini 1980: 134; for Castiglione, see: Di Stefano 2006, Duda 2006; For Morgantina, see: Lyons 1996a: Necropolis II T. 21 and 26, and Necropolis IV T. 5; for Himera, see: Allegro 1976: 818; for Megara Hyblaea, West Necropolis, see: Orsi 1889: 774-5, which details several possible cases of akephalia, either without a skull (T. 208, 235) with a skull accompanied by cremated remains (T. 167, 211, 282), with partial cremation limited only to the skull (T. 56, 86), burial limited to only the skull, without cremated remains (two skulls in T. 309), and "ossilegium" burial, or re-deposition of bones and cremated remains previously deposited elsewhere, comparable to the clearing-out of spaces in indigenous chamber tombs to accommodate further burial (T. 301); for Syracuse, Fusco Necropolis, see: Orsi 1893: 449-450 (T. 84 and 127); for possibly Cumae, see: Orsi 1893: 481; for Gela, Predio La Paglia and Borgo Necropoleis, see: op. cit. 110, 111, 112; for Camarina, Passo Marinaro necropolis see: Orsi 1904a: 804 (T. 152).

of practices varies from community to community at this time...this mixing of traditions can be explained by remembering that the adoption of selective elements of Greek culture do not necessarily have to be used in the same, specific manner they were originally intended.”<sup>249</sup>

In fact, if we were to compare burial traditions at Butera with those of the closest Greek settlement, we would find obvious discrepancies despite some shared material types. In Gela’s Archaic necropoleis, only around 50% of the burials contemporary with those at Butera feature cremation (contrasted with 63% of the described burials at Butera in the Layer II necropolis of Piano della Fiera, many of which are multiple cremations), and in fact the majority are primary cremations, not the secondary cremations attested at Butera.<sup>250</sup> The rest are enchytrismos burials or inhumations in the earth, rock-cut fossa tombs, monolithic sarcophagi, or tile-lined sarcophagi. Multiple inhumations are rare in Archaic Gela, although the number cremated is difficult to determine from Orsi’s cursory information on skeletal remains.<sup>251</sup> Only three Gela tombs exhibit any degree of akephalia, markedly different in manner from that of Butera or other indigenous sites.

Conversely, multiple akephalia and other compound burials, particularly multiple cremation are more common at Butera, often with groups of vessels deposited around the same time and within the same enclosure. This is likely a vestige of EIA practices of placing more than one individual within the same chamber tomb seen in Layer I chambers. The placement of multiple skulls in the same vessel may have served a space-saving function, chosen as an alternative to inhumation in chamber tombs where groups of similar individuals, such as

---

<sup>249</sup> Hodos 2006: 118.

<sup>250</sup> Shepherd 2016: 342.

<sup>251</sup> Examples include Borgo Necropolis T. 45, T. 81, T. 245, T. 257, and T. 403.

extended family groups or clans, were deposited together in a chamber. This signals changes in funerary practice among some – but not all – sectors of 7<sup>th</sup>-century society, since chamber tombs were still used at this time. It is still unclear if skulls were deposited all at once in secondary depositions, or if individual skulls and cremated remains were gradually added over time to the same grave group.

Additionally, not enough attention has been paid to the fact that Butera's burials largely contain locally made goods or objects traditionally associated with Geloan production rooted in indigenous, not Greek, traditions dating to the EIA. A relatively high number of enchytrismos burials in local pithoi and amphorae are attested at Butera, including elevated numbers of adult crouched inhumations in large pithoi (almost as many as infant burials), a rite unattested at Gela. Perhaps most revealing of the differences in burials between the two communities is the relative percentages of ceramic types and imported items. [Table 2.11; Table 2.12] Not unsurprisingly, graves in Gela demonstrate a much higher percentage of imported goods from Corinth and Rhodes. While Gela is on the coast, making importation somewhat easier, Butera is relatively near Gela and shows a wide range of contacts throughout Sicily since the EIA, so scarcity of imported goods cannot be due to lack of access to coastal settlements. It also cannot be explained as local resistance to Greek influence, since a number of imitations of imported Greek shapes and decorations have been found in the graves. Instead, it evidences local inhabitants creating assemblages reflecting their own practices and standardizing grave assemblages. Comparison of the Butera data with that of the Gela graves from the mid-7<sup>th</sup> to mid-6<sup>th</sup> century shows a much higher percentage of oinochoai and similar pouring vessels in Butera tombs than in Geloan contemporary contexts.<sup>252</sup> Cups are found in roughly similar quantities at both sites,

---

<sup>252</sup> At Butera, oinochoai become only slightly less common over time; found in all chamber tombs, they are also seen in 62% of the later fossa burials and are still the most common grave good.

although in a higher percentage of tombs at Butera, over half. Ornamental objects and small perfume vases exhibit the greatest disparity; the former are found in much higher quantities at Butera, the majority of tombs containing metal or bone ornaments (usually several per tomb), while the latter are almost entirely absent from the Butera record but are the most common Geloan grave goods. Starting with the earliest Layer II tombs from the Piano della Fiera necropolis, use of iron implements slowly increases, but bronzes remain popular. Amber, bone and silver also become more common at Butera, as well as small vessels, bronze animals, and scarabs.<sup>253</sup> As ornaments, and especially metals, are mostly absent from graves at Gela, it does not seem that metal objects were being imported from the coastal settlements, despite established trade links between Gela and Butera by the second quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

The Butera percentages are consistent with use of cups, bowls and oinochoai as a standard feature of local Sicilian burial tradition, with EIA antecedents. The relative proportions of objects and use types are comparable to assemblages in the Butera chamber tombs, M. Finocchito, earlier Morgantina tombs, and even some non-funerary contexts such as Oikos D at Polizzello; while the proportions of colonial and Greek imports and indigenous wares are similar to those of the Cozzo S. Giuseppe necropolis at Calascibetta, Sant'Angelo Muxaro, Building RM at Ramacca, and sacred contexts at M. Bubbonia, Polizzello (Oikos E), and Sabucina (Oikos A).

The increasing richness of burials, including imported goods from the coast, indicates that Butera flourished in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, contradicting Adamesteanu's suggestion that it was the indigenous Omphake conquered by Gela, as does the overlap in use of Layer I and II graves, lack of clear chronological distinctions, and absence of 6<sup>th</sup>-century material in the chamber tombs. Chamber tombs 175 and 177 from Layer I, used over a long period, contain multiple

---

<sup>253</sup> Adamesteanu 1958a: 582-3.

skeletons and a large amount of grave goods, including a rich ceramic assemblage and a few iron and bronze objects.<sup>254</sup> [Object totals from the Layer I assemblages are shown in Table 2.12] The earliest deposits of Tomb 175 included oinochoai, carinated cups and bowls, some with affinities to earlier 9<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> century contexts. The other three depositions included later goods, including a PC skyphos and kotylai of the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, some of the earliest Greek vase types in the Butera area, possibly predating Gela's foundation; some are imported, others early local imitations. The last deposition included a significant amount of metal goods. Thus, bodies were deposited from the last quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century until the third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup>, likely by a family burying their dead in the same place for about a hundred years, overlapping chronologically with some of the most monumental and richest tombs of Layer II, such as Tombs 138 and 139. Tomb 177 contained a single skeleton surrounded by ceramics, while on the body were a number of metal ornaments: rings, fibulae, spirals, and discs.<sup>255</sup> (Fig. 2.34) The fibulae and tulip-shaped vases found here date to the 8<sup>th</sup> century, although the burial goods also suggest that the inhabitants were in touch with widespread trade networks established in the early 7<sup>th</sup> oriented towards Greek and indigenous settlements to the east, including M. Finocchito (discussed in Chapter 3). (Fig. 2.35) Thus, the individual may have been either buried with heirlooms alongside newer ceramics, or the later ceramics may represent much later additional offerings to the deceased.

Similarly, the Nostra Donna necropolis in Butera, at the furthest point of its territory, yielded two mid-7<sup>th</sup> century fossa burials exhibiting characteristics of both Layer I and Layer II

---

<sup>254</sup> Adamesteanu 1958a: 495-500; 527-34.

<sup>255</sup> The ceramics include 18 trefoil oinochoai, two-handled scodellone, skyphos, kyathos, 2 ovoid cups, amphora with impressed decoration (similar to S. Angelo Muxaro examples), stemmed jar), and a tulip-shaped lamp with foot similar to an example from the Sicilian hut at Butera.



graves, with EIA style vessels alongside imported PC skyphoi and local hydriai, a shape based on Greek models.<sup>256</sup> (Fig. 2.36) These include objects comparable to those in burials in the Villa Garibaldi necropolis in Gela; but the grave's stemmed vessels are of local manufacture, as shown by similar examples from the 8<sup>th</sup> century in other chamber tombs.

Layer I chamber tomb grave goods reflect remarkable cultural reception, with wares from several cultural assemblages rooted in EIA traditions throughout Sicily, although focused on the southeast. Layer II tombs demonstrate continued interactions, redirected both internally and towards the south coast, with more locally-made goods, vases from Gela (identified by fabric), imported Greek ceramics, and colonial imitations of imports. Layer II tomb assemblages are more uniform but richer in certain burials, with greater variety of funerary practices; they evidence the widespread ties with interior settlements seen in slightly earlier tombs. Only 18 objects, from less than 8% percent of Layer II graves, include Greek imports – less than two percent of the site's grave goods from this period (although significantly more graves yield Sikeliote ceramics from coastal Greek settlements, mainly Gela). These are generally found in multiple-burial tombs, suggesting that more resources were expended on family-group than individual graves. At the same time, both traditional forms and decorations – such as piumata ware seen in local assemblages of preceding centuries – and imitations and adaptations of Greek ceramics and motifs continue to be found in large numbers at Butera, made there or in Gela, as suggested by Adamesteanu, comparing the fabric and decoration of some Butera urns with ceramics from Gela's early Archaic Via Dalmazio kiln site.

Outside the Piano della Fiera cemetery, EIA and PA habitation contexts were found in the nearby Contrada Consi and Contrada Santa Croce, on the slopes and foot of the platform of

---

<sup>256</sup> Adamesteanu 1958a: 559-65.

the Butera settlement, likely the main habitation center linked to the necropoleis. Contrada Consi, on the western slope of the Butera platform, consisted of indigenous habitations. Excavation on the upper terrace revealed several structures relating to a smaller peripheral or secondary settlement outside the main town.<sup>257</sup> (Fig. 2.37) [See Table 2.13 for object totals at Contrada Consi] In Room A, a quadrangular space built with drywall, interpreted as a Sikanian hut, were fragments of Siculo-Geometric and piumata ceramics and sherds of imported or locally-produced skyphoi, mostly comparable to material from Layer II of the Butera necropolis.<sup>258</sup>

Room B,<sup>259</sup> North of Room A, contained large fragments of pithoi and four large containers likely used for water. North of Room B, under a large ash heap, a quantity of animal bones, bronzes and sherds decorated with piumata and Siculo-Geometric designs were recovered. These are associated with a building with curvilinear wall, dubbed the “Capanna Sicula” by Adamesteanu, built with the same drywall technique.<sup>260</sup> On the structure’s northern side, mixed with bowl and basin fragments, some with impressed geometric decoration, was found a terracotta wheeled horse figurine.<sup>261</sup> (Fig. 2.38) The material remains suggest construction of these huts can be dated to the late 8<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> century. The latest ceramics, biconical vases and vases painted with Siculo-Geometric designs, date to the 7<sup>th</sup> century, and Adamesteanu suggests that Geloan incursions put an end to use of these buildings located just

---

<sup>257</sup> Adamesteanu 1958a: 501-27.

<sup>258</sup> Adamesteanu 1958a: 515-9. Adamesteanu suggests that some material is closer in type to the objects from Layer II, while certain vessels seem to be older, dating to the EIA or Orsi’s “Siculan III period” and more comparable to some of the earlier material from the tombs.

<sup>259</sup> Adamesteanu 1958a: 519-21.

<sup>260</sup> Adamesteanu 1958a: 521-7.

<sup>261</sup> Adamesteanu 1958a: 523-5.

outside the stronghold of Butera, although this does not explain the presence of imported ceramics among some remains.<sup>262</sup> Rather, the structures demonstrate numerous parallels with contemporary and even slightly later indigenous habitation contexts in terms of relative proportions of object type and use in assemblages, particularly at Ramacca (Building RM), but also on the Cittadella at Morgantina, and, to a lesser extent, Polizzello (Oikos C).

Comparable contexts have also been found at the Contrada Santa Croce settlement, at the foot of the Butera acropolis.<sup>263</sup> Sikanian material was encountered in a rectangular notch dug into bedrock, perhaps a votive pit. Traces of bone and carbonized remains were found, as well as several pottery fragments, rather homogeneous in nature, from the same era and all having the same decoration: piumata and pinwheel designs (also attested in the Contrada Consi habitations, apparently a local specialty of Early Archaic production at Butera).<sup>264</sup> (Fig. 2.39) [Table 2.14] Also found were fragments of locally-made amphorae with geometric decoration, similar to types found in Layer II of the Butera necropoleis. The only difference between the ceramic assemblages of the Contrada Santa Croce context and the Piano della Fiera necropoleis is the large number of decorated bowls with wide rims, which are not found in the necropolis. The ceramics are otherwise very similar, especially piumata wares (mainly trefoil oinochoai and kyathoi).<sup>265</sup> Interestingly, no metal objects were found, suggesting that the found objects from

---

<sup>262</sup> Adamesteanu 1958a: 525-6; 534.

<sup>263</sup> Adamesteanu 1958a: 547-59.

<sup>264</sup> Adamesteanu suggests that these bowls could represent c possibly earlier material found at Santa Croce, comparable to examples found in the necropoleis of Pantalica and Cassabile as well as the prehistoric huts in the area of the Athenaion in Syracuse. However, Butera examples seem slightly different in form and decoration and may well be later. Indeed, Leighton also urges revamping of the traditional chronologies of Pantalica South, arguing that it may slightly overlap the Finocchito facies in the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. (Adamesteanu 1958a: 552-3)

<sup>265</sup> Adamesteanu suggests that piumata decoration is reserved for large vessels only in the 8<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, but it seems that kyathoi and trefoil oinochoai adopt this decorative scheme slightly later. Adamesteanu 1958a: 550-1, 558.

the pit, especially the wide-rimmed bowls likely used in shared commensal rituals, were deposited after set rituals. The site displays broad commonalities with other indigenous and mixed spaces, particularly Morgantina (Necropolis V), Castiglione (chamber tombs), M. Saraceno (Upper Plateau) Butera, Polizzello (Oikos B), M. Polizzo (House 3), and the M. Casasia necropolis.

Early ritual space is also attested nearby at the extraurban sanctuary of Fontana Calda, where the lowest levels of a votive trench contained fragments of Archaic Siculo-Geometric wares and a bronze bovine figurine.<sup>266</sup> (Fig. 2.40) The deposit includes material from the 7<sup>th</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries, one of the richest and longest-lasting deposits found in a Sicilian sanctuary, although unfortunately not well published. Given its proximity to Butera, votives likely mirror the life of the center, as a sort of extra-urban sanctuary for the site. The indigenous wares suggest that this sanctuary served as an arena for early interactions and place of mediation among indigenous inhabitants and Greeks visiting or residing in the surrounding *chora*. The site thus plays a role similar to Sikeliote extramural sanctuaries such as the Bitalemi and Predio Camera sanctuaries, yet not unlike indigenous “extra-urban” sanctuaries at Polizzello (Carta oikos), Pantalica, M. Bubbonia (anaktoron), M. San Mauro, Vassallaggi, Sabucina Southwest sanctuary, M. Lavanca Nera, Colle Madore (Room 1 oikos), and M. Saraceno, most of which appear around the same time or early in the succeeding century, and function in a similar capacity, oriented towards major Greek settlements and situated along trade routes. In terms of object types and use, the sanctuary displays commonalities primarily with Sikeliote sanctuaries, in Naxos (La Musa Sanctuary) and Megara Hyblaea (Southern Plateau/ Temple ZR), although several indigenous

---

<sup>266</sup> Adamesteanu 1958a: 596-8.

contexts – Palike (Building A), Ramacca (Saggio Delta), and Castiglione fossa tombs – are also comparable.

Settlements, sanctuaries, and burials flourishing well into the Archaic period and the absence of a destruction level at this time, associated with continued indigenous material culture, demonstrate that Butera continued to assert its locality despite Greek incursions inland; Gela's foundation, trade and small-scale settlement in the hinterland soon led local settlements to reorient towards trade relations with the coast, with resulting transformations in areas such as Butera. Butera's cultural receptivity, apparent from the Iron Age, when inhabitants imported or otherwise obtained a variety of ceramic types found in the Layer I chamber tombs, was now simply refocused towards the Greeks on the coast, allowing the site to continue and even flourish in the 7<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, as evidenced by richer grave goods, imported Greek vessels, and an increase in burials.

Unusual burial customs such as akephalia, cited by Adamesteanu, likely had more to do with transformation in practices of some locals rather than Greek domination – rich tombs were for local elites who profited from relations with the newcomers, amassing wealth from trade and forming alliances. The practice of akephalia, like stone enclosures delineating clusters of vessels and grave goods, also seems connected to kinship groups, as in almost every case at Butera more than one skull is represented and sometimes these are focused on a principal deposition. Similarly, cremation and enchytrismos burials at Butera do not represent a sea change in religious attitudes attributable to Greeks, as both are attested at several Sicilian EIA sites as well, and are found in lower numbers and differently articulated at Gela. Rather, changes in grave types likely emerged as funerary practices evolved from an ancestral grouped focus towards the cult of the individual. Given the lack of evidence at Butera for any early Archaic takeover and Butera's links with local non-Greek and mixed interior settlements in Sicily through the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, the

early site was not Pausanias's Omphake but rather a Sikan community maintaining a coherent identity in the face of widespread change.

### **Expanding Zones of Interaction: M. Desusino, La Muculufa, M. Bubbonia, and M. San Mauro**

Several other sites in Gela's hinterland have been associated with indigenous sites mentioned by Pausanias. Some of the more important and well-connected sites, located along important trade routes, were M. Maio, M. Bubbonia, M. Balchino, M. Desusino, and M. San Mauro. (Fig. 2.41) As the names suggest, these were located in strategic positions along plateaus dominating the Gela River valleys and the Salso River. Traditionally, scholars have seen in these settlements evidence for gradual Hellenization, if not outright conquest, of the interior along rivers, the degree of "Hellenization" varying with distance from Gela. However, Gela was not the only avenue for transmission of cultural change. Indigenous centers at multiple points along the entire Himera and Gela river valleys had been interconnected in regional networks long before its foundation.

Other sites near Gela and Butera resemble them, if not their exact development in the Early Archaic. M. Desusino, the next large indigenous village encountered after Butera, spread over five hills, including an acropolis and large temple at the northeastern-most peak.<sup>267</sup> Remains of oval huts on the Northeast Hill, part of a more extensive indigenous village on the upper terrace, were occupied as early as the 8<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> century. On the surface use levels under the destruction levels, fragmentary indigenous pottery, including impasto and piumata ware, associated with Corinthian and Rhodian imports, attest to a flourishing in the Archaic. An imported early-to-mid 7<sup>th</sup> century Rhodian cup decorated with birds and lozenges arranged in metopal zones, one of the few examples so far found in an indigenous center, suggests that

---

<sup>267</sup> Excavations were primarily published in preliminary form in Panvini 1993a and b.

Geloan merchants with access to Rhodian products developed strategic trade networks along the Himera River not long after Gela's foundation.<sup>268</sup> (Fig. 2.42) Trade between Gela and this part of the hinterland is further evidenced by impasto amphorae with distinct similarities to closed containers from the Predio La Paglia and Villa Garibaldi necropoleis in Gela. Adamesteanu used this as evidence that M. Desusino was one of the earliest hinterland towns Greeks occupied as Gela expanded, primarily through the Valley of the Himera River with its fertile land and strategic trade routes to the interior formerly under Sikanian control. Citing a Rhodio-Cretan town plan and occupation of the acropolis along the northeast side, he identifies the site with Phalarion, a citadel fortified by the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>269</sup> There is little evidence for the early town plan, though, and nothing explicitly suggesting Greek occupation before the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, when it takes on many characteristics of a military outpost with Greek-style temple to the west of the plateau.<sup>270</sup> This however followed a transitional period in the first half of the century when population groups negotiated territories and perhaps shared cultural attributes.

In this way, M. Desusino is not unlike other sites in the hinterlands of Gela and Butera, such as La Muculufa, which display continuity as important cultic and habitation sites from the Bronze Age even while local populations respond to heightened pressure from the coasts. Despite this, there are interesting cases of persistence in traditional building and object typologies from the Castelluccian period, suggesting relatively few population movements before Greek occupation. At La Muculufa, these cultural signifiers take the form of elliptical huts, a

---

<sup>268</sup> Panvini 1994: 105-6.

<sup>269</sup> Adamesteanu 1956c: 121; Panvini 1994: 105.

<sup>270</sup> These features include fortifications and two gates encompassing the Northeast Hill and plateau and structures along terraces on the northeast and southeast sides of the hill, partially carved into the rock and supported with stone drywall. A military quarter on the northwest hill, is suggested by remains of nine rooms placed in a line. In this period, there is a distinct change in the material record of the site, with increased amounts of MC and LC material and Ionian Type B1 cups.

necropolis and a Castelluccian-period shrine, the huts marked with apotropaic clay horns around the exterior, demonstrating the local tendency to delineate areas of cultic significance from non-sacred space prior to Greek incursion.<sup>271</sup> The huts' elliptical shape – in both sacred and non-sacred spaces – is reproduced into the Early Archaic at several interior sites, especially in central Sicily where the form seems to be maintained longest, even persisting into the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>272</sup>

Indigenous space persists into the Archaic in other areas firmly controlling inland routes, including M. Bubbonia, on a terraced hill between two small tributaries of the River Gela, with an acropolis on the highest terrace surrounded by walls and a lower necropolis.<sup>273</sup> A large, elongated structure on the acropolis, built partly with dry stones and partly with large square sandstone blocks, was identified by Orsi as an “anaktoron” or residence of a local chieftain or leader. (Fig. 2.43) A similar large building on the northern plateau of the site was a two-room Archaic temple, suggesting an analogous function for Orsi's building.<sup>274</sup> Outside was an altar with central cavity (eschara) containing ashes and burnt bones; an additional pit with a large quantity of bones, ashes and sherds dating to the earliest use phase of the acropolis was located in the center of the building.<sup>275</sup> The material's early date is consistent with some of the first phases of temple construction, including two 7<sup>th</sup> century walls. [Table 2.15] The pits and wall trenches contained indigenous pottery comparable to Butera examples, dating the site's earliest

---

<sup>271</sup> Holloway 1983: 34; Holloway 1993: 777.

<sup>272</sup> Early Archaic indigenous elliptical or oval buildings are also attested at M. Desusino, La Muculufa, Syracuse (dwellings in the area of Piazza Duomo and Prefettura), Naxos (dwellings under Stenopos 11), M. Iato (early curved huts near peristyle house and East Quarter), Contrada Consi, and Castiglione.

<sup>273</sup> Lo Presti 2004: 378-9.

<sup>274</sup> Orsi and Pancucci 1972-3, Pancucci and Naro 1992: 135-7.

<sup>275</sup> Pancucci 1980-1: 649-50.



material to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>276</sup> Further 7<sup>th</sup> century ritual contexts on the acropolis contained a large quantity of ashes mixed with animal bones and Greek and indigenous sherds, the latter displaying elements of both eastern and western Sicilian production.<sup>277</sup> The excavators concluded that in the late 8<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> century, habitation was likely confined to the acropolis, where Greek imports and colonial imitations demonstrate early indigenous-Greek interactions, and that by the 7<sup>th</sup> century the acropolis had become a cultic destination for indigenous populations who had commercial contacts with Greeks.

By this time, the center had become an important contested space, located as it was northeast of Gela in a strategic position along the Gela Plain overlooking a series of valleys giving access into the interior, and along what has traditionally been considered the Sikel-Sikanian border. By the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, a later iteration of the small chapel was constructed on the site of the earlier sacred building, as was the case at Gela, from which construction techniques and building methods may have spread. Nevertheless, in this period, some unusual objects, such as a head of a deity with both Greek and non-Greek elements, seem to attest to hybrid Greek-indigenous practices even after the temple's remodeling, suggesting continuation of previous practice rather than a complete break after Gela from the south and Sikanians from the east had begun making inroads into formerly Sikel territory.<sup>278</sup> Indeed, one-handled bowls and trefoil jugs remain important parts of the indigenous ceramic repertoire in the settlement

---

<sup>276</sup> Pancucci 1980-1: 653; Pancucci and Naro 1992: 7. Excavations here were conducted from 1976-1979.

<sup>277</sup> Pancucci 1980-1: 653-4. The excavators cite ceramic forms and decoration derived from both western and eastern Sicilian forms, from M. Finocchito as well as Sant'Angelo Muxaro. However, some incised wares – particularly trefoil jugs with combed decoration – recall indigenous greyware forms from central indigenous sites such as Morgantina and Ossini, rather than incised and stamped wares from western Sicily (Pancucci and Naro 1992: 91-5, 173; fig. 23 a-c).

<sup>278</sup> Pancucci and Naro 1992: 135-7.

and contemporary necropolis, perhaps linked with funerary rituals.<sup>279</sup> (Fig. 2.44) Rather than wholesale Greek appropriation, it is more likely that through gradual incorporation of various populations, the site developed along more traditional Greek settlement lines while maintaining local traditions and spatial constraints surrounding sacred space.

The tombs in particular demonstrate persistence of indigenous forms. To the north, excavations in two necropoleis unearthed around 66 tombs dating mainly to the 7<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> centuries and comprising various burial types, although not cremation. One of the more common types is the fossa tomb, often delimited by rectilinear enclosures surrounding several graves, as observed at Butera.<sup>280</sup> The grave goods are notable, including objects of personal adornment and ceramics, both of indigenous manufacture and imitations and imports of Greek ceramics. [Table 2.16] Adoption of some Greek tomb types and ceramics demonstrates that by the 6<sup>th</sup> century the site had ample contact with the Greeks and perhaps hosted some Greek populations.<sup>281</sup> However, there is abundant evidence of continuity of traditional burial forms and funeral traditions with adopted external elements, the most visible of which are circular tombs possibly with vaulted ceilings, used for collective burials, hybrids between traditional rock-cut “a forno” tombs, circular hut constructions, and built enclosures. At least eight were excavated at M. Bubbonia, comparable to round “tholos-type” tombs from Sciare Manganelli,

---

<sup>279</sup> See: Pancucci and Naro 1992: 152, fig. 10g (T. 21).

<sup>280</sup> These two cemeteries are the Northeast Necropolis, excavated by Orsi and later by Adamesteanu and mainly comprising tholos and later fossa tombs dating to the 6<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> centuries (although the dolmens, despite having been already looted, seem to date to a slightly earlier period); and the Southeast Necropolis, excavated by Adamesteanu and mainly comprising chamber tombs dating to the late 8<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries. (Pancucci and Naro 1992 145-8)

<sup>281</sup> One of the most intriguing mixed objects from the area is a fragment of a sphinx statuette, likely an indigenous work inspired by Greek forms.

Centuripe (Grotta dell'Acqua), and Paterno (Contrada S. Marco) in central Sicily,<sup>282</sup> although at least one has design features closely echoing earlier chamber tombs.<sup>283</sup> (Fig. 2.45) Other unusual types include two “dolmen” tombs (17/1905 and 18/1905) from the 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century, characterized by thin slabs forming a protective box around the remains and grave goods, similar to constructions in Butera Tombs 138 and 139.<sup>284</sup> (Fig. 2.46) The remaining earlier tombs are multiple-generation chambers, some accessed by a rectangular dromos. In a mix of local and Greek wares the indigenous objects tend to predominate, including fibulae, oinochoai, and both incised and stamped and Siculo-Geometric ceramics. [Table 2.16] Although most were primarily utilized in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, others were used for several centuries beginning in the EIA, such as tomb 1/1955, the oldest found at M. Bubbonia, containing a large number of objects suggesting that over two centuries this chamber tomb was reopened at least twice for re-burials.<sup>285</sup> The richest, Tombs 5/1955 and 6/1955, also include multiple depositions, with elevated numbers of mostly indigenous objects.<sup>286</sup> Continuation of rich bronze depositions in the tombs suggest the existence of indigenous bronze workers, a likely scenario at many indigenous inland sites in Sicily, which were probably producing their own objects of adornment, sometimes inspired by Greek models, rather than systematically importing these from the coast.

---

<sup>282</sup> In both cases, the rock ceiling and chamber were reinforced by thin horizontal layers of unworked stone which offered stability. (La Rosa 2009: 99-101)

<sup>283</sup> Pancucci and Naro 1992: 147.

<sup>284</sup> Pancucci and Naro 1992: 146.

<sup>285</sup> Pancucci and Naro 1992: 155-6.

<sup>286</sup> In both, the oldest objects date to the late 8<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, and depositions continue through the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Indigenous oinochoai were the most common items from Tomb 6/1955, which comprised 50 objects, although imitation PC kotylai, and bronzes, including rings (probably originally forming chains) and fibulae, were also prevalent. (Pancucci and Naro 1992: 156-7)

These indigenous spaces are materially and structurally distinct from more mixed occupation levels. While some, such as Contrada Priorato, a rural homestead in the hinterland of Butera, simply suggest small-scale agricultural activity by Greek settlers perhaps tied to a larger settlement such as Gela and capitalizing on prior indigenous occupation of an area,<sup>287</sup> other sites, such as M. San Mauro, demonstrate a more unique mixed material culture from the beginning of their floruit in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. This is primarily due to its location at the crossroads of two Greek areas of influence, the Rhodio-Cretan territory surrounding Gela and the Euboean territory west of Leontini. Excavations have focused on the supposedly Greek elements of the town, traditionally viewed as overshadowing indigenous precursors.<sup>288</sup> Nevertheless, upon closer inspection the latter can be seen to persist at least down to the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, when the site follows a trajectory similar to M. Bubbonia; the town's peculiar layout and persistence of unusual civic forms signal a mixed population.<sup>289</sup> Much of the more recent research has focused on the relative influences of more powerful coastal Greek cities on what is considered a provincial town; most ceramics and architectural terracottas fall within the Chalkidian sphere, and the site has yielded a set of late Archaic bronze tablets, inscribed in Chalkidian dialect and outlining a law code. More interesting, though, is the question of the city's identity prior to the formation of more formalized institutions.<sup>290</sup>

As early as Orsi, the site had been identified as an indigenous settlement replaced by a Greek settlement (in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century, Orsi suggests).<sup>291</sup> Since then, scholars have argued that

---

<sup>287</sup> This was published by Adamesteanu 1958b: 364-79; Pancucci and Naro 1992: 162.

<sup>288</sup> Spigo 1979; Frasca 1997: 410-11.

<sup>289</sup> Mercuri 2010a.

<sup>290</sup> Frasca 1997: 410-11.

<sup>291</sup> Orsi et al. 1905; Frasca 1997: 407.

the site was an autonomous indigenous center controlling large swathes of hinterland, with which Greeks had to contend to expand outwards;<sup>292</sup> a settlement that fully passed to Greeks who enslaved local populations;<sup>293</sup> or a site at which Greeks and non-Greeks coexisted and created hybrid object types and architectural forms.<sup>294</sup> Frasca rejects the typical inland indigenous-Greek border scenario, with gradual cultural change intensified by mixed marriages, and instead interprets M. San Mauro as a Euboean or Leontinian settlement or sub-colony developing in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century with Greek style houses, tombs, sacred places, laws, and funerary customs.<sup>295</sup> Albanese Procelli, like Orsi, sees two habitation phases, an indigenous center suffering violent destruction between the late 7<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> century, replaced by a Chalkidian military outpost strengthening their physical boundaries and cultural influence against Gela's westward expansion.<sup>296</sup> However, throughout the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries M. San Mauro is nonetheless notable for simultaneity of different cultural traditions, unlike the more distinctively Greek foundations along the coast. There is nothing particularly Greek about buildings in the site's earliest phases, and cohabitation occurs after the initial settlement;<sup>297</sup> it could have continued as an arena for local exchanges, operating at the levels of cultural understanding of both Greeks and local inhabitants. Greek presence by the 6<sup>th</sup> century, in the form of merchants, artisans, and settlers, is well attested; but even at its most developed this was not a purely Greek polis, with comprehensive sets of houses, roads, walls and temples, but rather a loose group of

---

<sup>292</sup> Albanese 1999: 341.

<sup>293</sup> Spigo 1980a; Frasca 1997

<sup>294</sup> Orsi et al. 1905; Greco 1999: 281-92; Mercuri 2010a.

<sup>295</sup> Frasca 1997: 409-10.

<sup>296</sup> Albanese 2003: 156, 209.

<sup>297</sup> Mercuri 2010a: 697.

houses along the slopes of the hills; complex mixing of assemblage types and structures suggests that any Greek occupation here would have fostered creation of a “middle ground” of forms.

M. San Mauro consists of five semicircular adjoining hills sloping towards the coast of Gela. (Fig. 2.47) Its watershed location makes it ideal for trade, as attested by Greek (Corinthian, Attic, Laconian, Lesbian, Chiot, and Samian), Punic, and Etruscan amphorae, as well as objects with links to Kamarina and Gela.<sup>298</sup> Unusual features compared to other nearby inland sites include higher-quality objects requiring a level of skill, occupational allocation, and resource management, including a mid-6<sup>th</sup> century limestone relief of two heraldic sphinxes (Fig. 3.49), figured arulae, and a large bronze fluted krater.<sup>299</sup> This suggests that local elites were exerting themselves and adopting and imitating special modes of identification, likely the same elites that would have controlled the territory themselves or in tandem with Greek settlers. It is through such groups that the site experienced cultural transformation, as locals entered into partnerships with Greek traders. Numerous buildings interpreted as workshops and storage spaces and imported goods show that the site was an important manufacturing and trade center. By the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, the community was further developed, with buildings distributed along distinctive functional lines and a central area set aside for habitation, the extremes of two separate hills assigned for worship, and the whole territory flanked by vast areas used for burial.

M. San Mauro demonstrates the early use of large rectangular buildings as common spaces for community-wide use. (Fig. 2.48) On the site’s main settlement area and acropolis, Hill 3, traces of pre-Greek settlement from the EBA were found. Atop the hill, in a strategic

---

<sup>298</sup> Spigo 1980a: 160.

<sup>299</sup> Spigo 1980a: 160-1.

position, Orsi discovered a megalithic building not unlike the example at M. Bubbonia.<sup>300</sup> (Fig. 2.49) He labeled this another “Anaktoron,” dating it to the 8<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries. Perhaps the most significant object found was the bronze tablet inscribed with the Chalkidian law code, which problematized the purpose of the building and threw its identification into contestation; Orsi classified it as the house of an indigenous leader; Adamesteanu suggested a late 7<sup>th</sup> century sacred structure, and Albanese Procelli agreed, proposing that it may also have functioned as a place of exchange and feasting.<sup>301</sup> Other scholars have argued it was a purely Greek naiskos (its proportions matching those of other small temples in the Himera Valley, such as the naiskos at M. Saraceno) or a space of uncertain function, perhaps related to redistribution practices.<sup>302</sup> Spigo revisited the building, revealing two additional rooms, the westernmost containing a large amount of domestic and storage equipment along a bench on the wall and on the ground; he also argued for a later date for the building’s construction and use.<sup>303</sup> Twelve imported Greek and indigenous *piumata* pithoi were recovered here, some containing barley traces. The storage exceeded a single family’s needs, prompting Spigo to suggest that it was a public storehouse associated with commercial activities.<sup>304</sup> Yet its construction typology is seen in public indigenous contexts at the time, demonstrating ties to Ramacca (Buildings RM and N), M. Polizzo (Building C1), and possibly Building F at Palike; and the continued presence of indigenous *piumata* ware is comparable to numerous central-eastern Sicilian indigenous and early

---

<sup>300</sup> Orsi et al. 1905: 736-754.

<sup>301</sup> Adamesteanu 1955: 183-6; Albanese 1996a: 171.

<sup>302</sup> Spigo 1989: 3-10.

<sup>303</sup> Objects found inside include numerous loomweights, spindle whorls, millstones, household items, pithoi, indigenous ceramics (amphorae and oinochoai with geometric decoration, bowls), and commercial transport amphorae.

<sup>304</sup> Spigo 1989: 5-9; Mercuri 2010b: 396-7.

Greek sites.<sup>305</sup> Frasca argues for at least two phases, an indigenous one when it perhaps served as town headquarters, and a Greek one when it became an administrative building where laws were deposited and consulted, perhaps a council meeting house.<sup>306</sup> The strongest argument that can be made for its use, though, is as either a multipurpose space or a storage and redistribution space, given the similarity of objects found here to those from the residential area in the lower slopes; just as it exhibits a mixed-use capacity, so it must have served a number of different populations accessing the site. This, however, does not preclude a combined function, for sacred or political capacity or even commensal activities; indeed the building's notably massive masonry and large-scale architecture do not suggest a purely quotidian use. Unfortunately, the exact chronology is unclear; ceramics suggest a date between the third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and the first decades of the 6<sup>th</sup>, but further phases are difficult to isolate.

Nonetheless the building parallels several other structures on the acropolis, albeit in much more monumental form. The so-called *magazzino* or storage room was aligned with the *Anaktoron*.<sup>307</sup> (Fig. 2.50) This structure dates to a slightly earlier period (as evidenced by its partial concealment by the *Anaktoron*'s perimeter wall) but includes similar objects, including large imported transport and locally made amphorae, pithoi, and even spindle whorls. A bench lined the interior western wall. Throughout the surrounding space were animal bones and local and imported ceramics, which, along with a lava stone and hearth, suggest that processing and

---

<sup>305</sup> Protoarchaic Siculo-Geometric has been found alongside *piumata* ware at Morgantina (Cittadella), Leontini (Metapiccola and San Mauro hills), Syracuse (the indigenous hut at the Prefettura), Contrada Consi, Contrada Santa Croce, the M. Desusino oval huts, the M. San Mauro "Anaktoron," M. San Mauro Indigenous burials, M. Iato (area near the Late Archaic Courtyard House), M. Castellazzo di Poggioreale (oval building), Polizzello (Oikoi D, A and necropolis), Butera Piano della Fiera Layer II, Gela Predio la Paglia and Borgo Necropoleis, Terravecchia di Cuti acropolis, Calascibetta Cozzo San Giuseppe, M. Saraceno acropolis, Sabucina Southern Necropolis, Palike (Building A), and Naxos (huts underneath Stenopos 11).

<sup>306</sup> Frasca 2012a: 113-4.

<sup>307</sup> Spigo carried out excavations here in 1990 to establish both buildings' use and their relationship with each other.



consumption occurred either inside the space or in the surrounding area. (Fig. 2.51) Traces of burning on the interior signal an event at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>308</sup> Spigo views this as evidence for Greek conquest around this time, the so-called Anaktoron then constructed after the arrival of Greeks in the area,<sup>309</sup> although use of the two buildings likely partially overlapped, the Anaktoron later expanding after the magazzino went out of use.<sup>310</sup>

Part of Spigo's argument lies in the identification and chronology of a nearby apsidal building in a residential block south of the Anaktoron, near four pastas-style houses. (Fig. 2.52) This building, dissimilar to later Greek habitations in the area, dates to an earlier period, although this is also debated. It is substantially longer than some of other buildings and is characterized by an apsidal wall on the east side, with a bipartite interior and entrance along the west side. Finds inside and around the building, including incised and stamped basins and Siculo-Geometric painted containers, suggest that it was constructed by the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and used through the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup>. The building, like the warehouse and "Anaktoron," may have served as a multifunctional space, perhaps also playing a role in manufacturing, as a large amount of iron slag and a lava stone grinder were discovered in the interior.<sup>311</sup> Its plan can be compared to various examples in Greece, and in both Greek and indigenous sites in Southern Italy and Sicily.<sup>312</sup> Spigo advances the structure as proof of Greek

---

<sup>308</sup> Albanese 2003: 157-8.

<sup>309</sup> Spigo 1989: 9-10.

<sup>310</sup> Spigo 1989: 9-10; Valenti 1992: 15-6. Spigo notes that the material, largely from the mid-8<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, are typologically reminiscent of the materials of the necropolis of Layers I and II at Butera.

<sup>311</sup> Spigo 1989: 11.

<sup>312</sup> Mercuri 2010b: 398. The apsidal plan is well attested from the tenth century onwards in other Southern Italian regions, in Messapia, Daunia, Calabria (the Timpone della Motta at Francavilla Marittima: Kleibrink and Weistra 2013: 35) and Lucania (at Torre di Satriano; Carollo 2009, Kistler et al. 2015: 518). In Greece, it is attested in Perachora (temple of Hera Akraia), Asine, Ano Mazaraki, Olympia, Nichoria, Tegea, Assiros, Thermon, and the Euboean sites of Eretria (Daphnephorion and Sanctuary of Apollo) and Lefkandi (the Heroon) (Mazarakis Ainian

rebuilding of M. San Mauro at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, comparing it to buildings in the Mezzavia district at Pithekoussai and to an Archaic dwelling at Himera (but where there nevertheless seems to be a strong indigenous component within both the territory and the city during the Archaic).<sup>313</sup> In Archaic Sicily, however, the type is more commonly found in indigenous contexts, such as sacred buildings and habitations of late 7<sup>th</sup> century Morgantina and an apsidal building at Castiglione di Ragusa from the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. In fact, the apsidal form reaches its apex in Greece during the Geometric Period and is not very common there a century later when it appears in Sicily; in addition, the form is never very common in Sikeliote cities – at Naxos, Himera, and Selinunte, apsidal structures seem to have predated, or perhaps partially overlapped, the earliest attested Greek buildings. Albanese-Procelli is likely more correct in seeing the building at M. San Mauro as an indigenous construction, a type of building found in local communities from the LBA onwards, and also typologically similar to buildings dating into the 7<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> centuries in nearby areas such as M. San Giuliano north of Caltanissetta.<sup>314</sup> In any case, the apsidal building likely predates the community’s restructuring, although it may have been in use concurrently with the warehouse and “Anaktoron.”

---

1997: 43-86). Elsewhere in Sicily Late Iron Age and Archaic apsidal structures are found on the Manuzza Hill in Selinunte (Rallo 1976-77: 722), Himera (Allegro et al. 2008: 8), Morgantina (Allen 1977: 134-5; Leighton 1993: 15), Naxos (Building F, Lentini 2015a: 312) and possibly the indigenous sites of M. San Giuliano (Panvini 1993b: 756), Metapiccola near Leontini (Frasca 2008: 28), Castiglione di Ragusa (House I: Mercuri 2012b: 288-9), Montagnoli di Menfi (Castellana 2000: 266), Capanna Sicula, Contrada Consi near Butera (Adamesteanu 1958a), and M. Castellazzo di Poggioreale, where the apsidal(?) building is associated with imported Greek Orientalizing ceramics (Rhodian bird cups) and indigenous painted vessels, and was later replaced by a 6<sup>th</sup> century rectangular structure (Building B2, Privitera and Spigo 2005: 90-2). Apsidal structures are attested even prior to Greek settlement on the island, as demonstrated by the apsidal longhouse of Fildidonna dating to the Copper Age (Privitera and Spigo 2005: 56-7) and the Ausonian longhouses with rounded corners at Lipari (Bernabó Brea et al. 1980 (*Meligunis Lipára IV*): 30.

<sup>313</sup> Spigo 1989: 12.

<sup>314</sup> Albanese 2009b: 353.

A clear change in building type, if not focus and use, can be seen in the opening years of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, when new forms emerge. External influence is most strongly asserted in the form of the four Greek-style “pastas” houses constructed slightly later than the “Anaktoron,” but likely partially overlapping the latter in time of use. (Fig. 2.53) These are located in an area of the urban layout that does not, however, reveal consistent and regular orientation, but rather scattered distribution of individual houses respecting the morphology of the hill, thus suggesting that they were not the products of a carefully planned urban design but rather the gradual development of a housing district over time, within a previously-occupied space. These are all two to three room houses open to the south, with rectangular courtyard, dating between the early and late 6<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>315</sup> and display some similarities with Archaic Greek houses from the coastal settlements, although such multi-room semi-private spaces are not unknown in contemporary indigenous contexts.<sup>316</sup>

The most important of these structures is House C2, the “Casa delle Arulae,” with a typical pastas house plan but trapezoidal in shape and with additional annex.<sup>317</sup> The house was in use longer than the others, the last phase dating to c. 530-520 but with at least three arulae from to c. 570-560, suggesting use of these altars for more than a generation. (Fig. 2.54) This structure, like nearby House C4, had evidence of possible manufacturing and domestic activities,

---

<sup>315</sup> The earliest attestation of occupation is dated by 7<sup>th</sup> century lamps and Ionian Type B1 cups from House C1.

<sup>316</sup> Spigo 1989: 17. The layout of these structures is comparable to House 23.5 in the Agora district of Megara Hyblaea, dated to the early 7<sup>th</sup> century; however, not many other exactly comparable cases are known from Western Greek sites. Nevertheless, the type, with roughly similar quadrangular layout, is well-documented among Greek houses dating to the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, especially during the early development of the pastas house, in areas such as at Aliko on Thasos, and private buildings from Corinth, Thorikos, Olus, Eretria, Olynthus, and Eleusis, dating from the 8<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> centuries. In indigenous Sicily, freestanding multi-room domestic and mixed-use semi-public space is attested at M. Polizzo (Houses 1-3), M. Iato (Archaic habitations at the South edge of the agora and Early Archaic houses near Hellenistic Peristyle House E2), M. Castellazzo di Poggioreale, Civita (House 2), and possibly Contrada Consi.

<sup>317</sup> Spigo 1979: 22-4.

including food preparation.<sup>318</sup> Given the large number of arulae in the space (with ten portable altars) Spigo suggests that this was a storefront or a storage space for a nearby sacred precinct, serving a similar function as the Anaktoron and Magazzino, the three buildings forming a complex associated with production and trade. An even larger storage space in House C4 contained twelve pithoi used for storing barley, similar to pithoi from the Anaktoron and also documented in Gela, from the second quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>319</sup> (Fig. 2.53, inset) This house also contained signs of manufacturing and domestic use. The large number of pithoi, combined with other vessels, suggest that this space was a public storage area for the town, rather than a private storage space, although perhaps combined with domestic activity, consumption, and ritual activity. The combination of storage space and hearth/ preparation space is also found in House C3, which contained a small deposit of commodities.<sup>320</sup> Thus, none of the “houses” seem to have been solely domestic, but were rather hybrids engaged with the high level of traffic undoubtedly passing through the town.

Manufacturing and trade seem to have played an important part from the site’s Archaic-period founding, and it may well have later functioned as an inland trade emporium, not unlike Bosco Littorio at Gela. Despite the space’s changing nature over the PA, there may not have been drastic changes in function. Probably what mainly characterizes this site is the presence of local elites or local rulers – seen in the concentration of resources and labor necessary to create monumental structures like the anaktoron – taking advantage of a strategic location to enter into relationships with Greek traders, eventually adopting architectural and cultural forms that engage

---

<sup>318</sup> Spigo 1979: 22.

<sup>319</sup> Spigo 1980b: 773; Spigo 1980a: 166-7.

<sup>320</sup> Spigo 1980a: 156.

with the Greek population (including Greek-style arulae). Thus, the site, predominantly an indigenous space in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, evolves into a mixed space, both ethnically and in terms of use.

Even the so-called domestic sector seems to have been mixed-use in terms of larger-scale urban development. A small sacred area in the housing sector from the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century is attested by five nearby bothroi, inside of which were numerous fragments of ceramics and animal bones commingled with ashes.<sup>321</sup> The ceramics are largely of Greek type (both Sikeliote and Greek imports) with some indigenous pieces. The much higher quantity of Greek ceramics here than elsewhere at the site, especially the so-called domestic and storage spaces, can be explained by the more exceptional nature of these deposits, likely utilized by both Greek traders and local inhabitants. Within the sector, artifact typologies confirm the mixed-use nature of the assemblages. [Table 2.17]

Further evidence for early cult was revealed in 1910, when Orsi located at least two areas on Hill 1/2 and Hill 4 where naskoi were situated.<sup>322</sup> In these locations, the sanctuary is sited on the highest part of the hill, overlooking the valley towards the southern coast and the boundary of the chorai of Gela and Kamarina. This space also included multiple bothroi and evidence of arula manufacture. In the southeast area of Hill 1/2, excavations revealed at least two distinct phases of use, one in the 7<sup>th</sup> to first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, when there were no permanent structures in the area but instead simply votive depositions on the rocky outcropping topping the hill.<sup>323</sup> The votives found include fragments of vases used to prepare meals eaten in the

---

<sup>321</sup> Spigo 1979: 28-9; Spigo 1980b: 775. The early occupation and use of this location is confirmed by a section of 7<sup>th</sup> century wall.

<sup>322</sup> Spigo 1979: 38; Frasca 2009b: 97-8.

<sup>323</sup> Frasca 2012a: 111-2.

sanctuary – stone pestles, a mortar, and a cooking pot, seemingly broken intentionally and placed in a corner. In the 6<sup>th</sup> century the terrace at the top of the hill was leveled, expanded and built up to the northeast, contained by a terrace and temenos wall.<sup>324</sup> Earlier open-air cults predating durable built cultic features are commonly attested at Sikeliote sites (as previously mentioned, *supra* pp. 61); but are also attested in mixed and indigenous space, such as the M. Saraceno acropolis and the Tripartite building at Polizzello (in use much earlier). Spigo suggests that by the time these buildings were constructed, around the same time as or slightly later than the pastas-style houses, M. San Mauro had been partially settled by Greeks, given the distribution of housing units and their organization, although still characterized by more organic agglomerations of building clusters, a different approach from Greek coastal settlements with their more decidedly orderly approach to urban planning.<sup>325</sup> Furthermore, it seems that rather than a clear break between phases, the sanctuary developed organically, utilizing the natural landscape while respecting the boundaries of the prior sacred space.

One way in which M. San Mauro resembles both coastal and hinterland Greek communities is in the separation of necropoleis from settlements and the placement of graves along a major ancient route out of the city.<sup>326</sup> Most graves seem Greek in typology and ritual, and consistent with those of coastal poleis, with a noted homogeneity of objects (all of Greek

---

<sup>324</sup> Frasca 2012a: 113. At this point it seems that the space had turned into a suburban sanctuary characterized by quadrangular rooms, divided into both oikoi and ancillary buildings, delimited by a line of stones used to dedicate votive offerings (which variously date to the 6<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> centuries).

<sup>325</sup> Spigo 1989: 3-5.

<sup>326</sup> Originally explored by Orsi, who published a large percentage of graves (72 out of 300 graves), the necropolis at the foot of Hill 4 was later revisited in 1970 by Pelagatti and Bernabo Brea, who additionally excavated 166 graves of various types in the area of Hill 1-2 as well as two kilns. (Orsi et al. 1905; Pelagatti 1976-7: 230-3)

manufacture).<sup>327</sup> However, reinvestigations on the highest part of the nearby Piano della Fiera, near 6<sup>th</sup>-century habitations, discovered divergent types and anomalies, such as burials of children in indigenous containers – impasto ceramics and piumata pithoi, common products of indigenous sites in Gela’s hinterland – rudimentary graves, pit tombs carved directly into the rock and articulated with roughly hewn stones along the sides (characteristic of late-stage indigenous burials, such as those at Castiglione), and skeletons in contracted positions.<sup>328</sup> Several contain only indigenous goods (ceramics with incised decoration, large bowls). [Table 2.18] This area of the necropolis thus confirms widespread indigenous occupation of M. San Mauro before – and during – Greek movement into the hinterland. Frasca suggests that these indicate an indigenous class of lower social status along with Greek presence; however, a more conclusive interpretation cannot be drawn as the contexts are only partially published.<sup>329</sup> Additionally, the unusual placement of some tombs near the habitation area is not a Greek practice, and may perhaps be a clue to the ethnic composition of the inhabitants.

Another group of four tombs (Tombs 162-165) excavated by Pelagatti in the Northeast Necropolis is also important for understanding the necropolis’s organization and the community’s social structure.<sup>330</sup> This is an isolated group of graves at the edge of the necropolis, all from a similar time period, some slightly earlier than others. All date to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, the transitional period at the site and earlier than the majority of the “Greek” graves excavated by Orsi there. A possible boundary wall, not unlike familial boundary walls in the

---

<sup>327</sup> These include fossas, built tombs, monolithic sarcophagi, a cappuccina, enchrytismoι of children, primary and secondary cremations in pits and commercial amphorae, pithoi, and hydrias. (Frasca 2001: 1-2, 19-20; Frasca 2012a: 108)

<sup>328</sup> Mercuri 2010a: 698-9; Frasca 2012a: 108-12.

<sup>329</sup> Frasca 2012a: 109.

<sup>330</sup> Pelagatti 1976-7; Frasca 2001.

Butera necropolis, suggests that this was a space reserved for a family group of two adults, and perhaps two young people, all of high status; Orsi identified similar groupings in the main necropolis.<sup>331</sup> Compared to other San Mauro tombs, these graves are very rich, with a much higher number of grave goods and numerous imported vessels in addition to local wares. These consist of mixed cremation, fossa inhumation, and two enchytrismos burials. Particularly unusual were a spear alongside aryballoi, an amphoriskos and alabastron – implements associated with elite male activities – next to the enchytrismos burial of an adult male (Tomb 165).<sup>332</sup> Tomb 164, a burial of a young woman, is in a hypogea tomb of carefully squared blocks, with as high number and quality of grave goods – 34 inside and 5 outside the tomb – suggesting particularly high status.<sup>333</sup> Grave goods include a rich collection of vases and faience, bronze and ceramic vases.<sup>334</sup> (Fig. 2.55) Four kothones and a lydion outside the grave suggest funeral ceremonies there in which liquids would have been sprinkled. Particularly unusual is a ceramic Samian mask protome, a type normally not associated with Greek tombs, especially from this early period.<sup>335</sup> Such masks seem to have represented underworld deities or the deceased, or been associated with mystery cults; they were attached to a support and used in funeral ceremonies before being placed in the tomb, a ritual attested in Punic areas of the island.<sup>336</sup> Along with the grave goods outside the tomb, these may have been part of an elaborate funerary

---

<sup>331</sup> Frasca 2001: 2; Orsi 1910.

<sup>332</sup> Frasca 2001: 16-8.

<sup>333</sup> Frasca 2001: 6-16. Hypogea graves are relatively common high-class burial types from Greek colonies in Sicily since the 7<sup>th</sup> century, although they are relatively uncommon in the interior, suggesting that this was an exceptional individual, the burial practices perhaps influenced by coastal traditions

<sup>334</sup> Particularly important artifacts include a MC ciborium and kotyle.

<sup>335</sup> Uhlenbrock estimates only 21 tombs contained 34 busts out of 4000 Archaic graves of Sicily. (Frasca 2001: 20; Uhlenbrock 1988: 138)

<sup>336</sup> Frasca 2001: 21.



ritual for the matriarch of a wealthy family. This plot suggests increased wealth in the community during this transitional period, when several pastas houses were first constructed and several manufacturing and storage buildings were restored and rebuilt. The unusual and disparate burial forms, inconsistent with many contemporary and later Greek necropoleis, suggests a rich family making an effort at differentiation through status display with a demarcated, reserved family plot. Furthermore, many of these burial forms are not inconsistent with indigenous practice – the hypogeum is similar to stone-lined cists in many contemporary local necropoleis, although more monumental and requiring greater resources, and adult enchytrismos in a pithos is unusual for Greek cemeteries but attested in some nearby indigenous areas such as Butera. This display extends to the graves' exterior, with further disposal of high-quality vessels, perhaps from post-deposition rituals, not unlike those from chamber tombs in areas such as M. Finocchito (although in this case the vessels are not separated from the burials by a significant time). This may reflect an elite local or mixed family that accumulated wealth through trade or manufacturing connections with coastal Greeks, and took on aspects of Greek society through use of high-quality imported vases.<sup>337</sup>

## **Conclusions**

Traditionally viewed as an area of clear-cut distinctions between Sikanians and Sikels, much of which was conquered by Greek Gela rather quickly, this region demonstrates a more complex history. Sites such as Butera that were thought to have been defeated and resettled by Geloans in fact maintained an indigenous identity through much of this period; and distinctions between Sikanian and Sikel sites are very far from clear. Despite this complexity, on the other hand, we have seen in this chapter that all sites traditionally placed in Gela's sphere of influence

---

<sup>337</sup> Although the ritual involving the masks remains unidentified, this may be a mixture of Greek and indigenous practices.

demonstrate broadly comparable trajectories and assemblages. This includes the Greek site of Gela, but also indigenous sites considered within Gela's hinterland, such as Butera, La Muculufa, M. Bubbonia, M. Desusino, M. San Mauro, and Altobrando. It is important, though, to avoid oversimplified dichotomies of "centers" and "peripheries" – Gela cannot be considered this area's "center" of interaction, but as rather the instigator of change that subsequently diffused inland, permeating indigenous practices and social organizations. This is evident mainly in changes in material culture, elite goods, sacred space, and social stratification, with articulation of sacred space through construction of monumental buildings architecturally differentiated from other structures, as well as possible social storage associated with these spaces. In this period, too, imported Greek objects and mixed assemblages start to define more articulated social roles and delineate the functions of buildings and certain spaces through association with them. This is associated with practices effectively defining certain groups of people and leading to the use of specific objects – in the case of Gela, objects of Rhodian or East Greek manufacture – in constructions of local identity.

Greek assemblages here, as in all areas of Sicily, are characterized by a preponderance of Corinthian and Corinthianizing vases and a pervasiveness of wares related to the sphere of drinking and commensality. There are however, on a whole, fewer Ionian and Ionian-style imports in both the Greek and indigenous assemblages here, relative to other areas of Sicily, despite the popularity of imported Rhodian and Rhodian-style figurines. Greek religious assemblages here typically feature elevated numbers of ritualizing implements such as lamps, figurines, and miniature cups, while metal deposits are more common. As in most Sikeliote funerary assemblages, there is a predominance of cups and perfume vessels, although the necropoleis of Gela contain, as a whole, more elevated numbers of aryballois and alabastra relative to other Sikeliote centers, and fewer figurines.

Indigenous assemblages evidence more variety, but not a Sikel/Sikanian divide; as in most indigenous funerary assemblages, oinochoai and cups or bowls are the predominant and basic feature of funerary sets, and metal objects – especially ornamental goods such as necklace chains and fibulae – are prevalent. Amphorae and pithoi are also common given their application as cremation or enchytrismos urns. Ritual objects are also present among some indigenous burials, although not as prevalent as in necropoleis to the west, and tend to be Greek in form or inspiration

Practices employing Greek objects in constructing identity extend into the immediate hinterland through trade and, to a more limited extent, settlement; contrary to earlier literature there is little evidence for extensive Greek settlement in these inland areas.<sup>338</sup> In the process, areas of collective assembly, arenas of exchange and cultural interaction, emerged in Gela's extraurban spaces, which become increasingly more "mixed" as one moves further from the central zone, as at Gela's extraurban sanctuaries of Bitalemi and Predio Sola. It can also be observed at sites further inland along major routes from Gela, such as the mixed sanctuary of Piano Camera, often preceded, in both indigenous and Greek contexts, by earlier open-air cults. In some sites, these cultic contexts are monumentalized by a simple Greek-style naiskos with bipartite plan, characterizing both urban and extraurban/ border sanctuaries. Adopted early in Sikeliote contexts, such monumentalization often does not occur until the third quarter or mid-6<sup>th</sup> century in inland settlements of this region, although given the EIA indigenous precursors to later Archaic sacred space (discussed in subsequent chapters) the phenomenon of monumentalization, even in extraurban space, cannot be wholly attributed to processes of "Hellenization" (see the "anaktora" of M. Bubbonia and M. San Mauro, for instance).

---

<sup>338</sup> Panvini 1996: 21; Orlandini 1962.

Although extrarban sanctuaries are common in other Greek settlements, often associated with processes of territory consolidation, expansion, and definition,<sup>339</sup> it is unusual to see them as soon after a colony's foundation (at least in their pre-monumental form) as at Gela; it seems to be more a product of the time period and its social processes than an immediate attempt on Gela's part to consolidate its territory in the face of non-Greek inhabitants. Such developments at the coast's periphery lead to parallel trajectories between Greek and indigenous sites in the Archaic, mirrored throughout Sicily, primarily in the island's center. Pancucci hypothesizes that in this area, the early 7<sup>th</sup> century saw active incursions by Sikels westwards into Sikanian territory, concluding later that century but in flux throughout the early period of Greek colonization (perhaps catalyzed by disruptions caused by Greek settlement of formerly occupied space, both on the coast and in the hinterland). She even suggests a possible Sikel-Greek alliance in this period, perhaps with the Ionian Chalkidians east of Gela, as a check on expansion of Gela and its Sikanian sphere of influence.<sup>340</sup> However, the fluidity in this region's material culture, and regional object types and forms that more closely mirror each other than objects identified with any single ethnic group, seems to undermine traditional narratives of Sikanians and Sikels in this area, or any strict dichotomies that have emerged as a result of later Greek narrative. Indeed, the continued use of so-called "traditional" building types, particularly elliptical and apsidal structures, into the PA seems to transcend purported ethnic boundaries and is commonplace throughout the island through the 7<sup>th</sup> century (in fact, later manifestations of these building types are actually less common in this region than elsewhere, although still present at sites such as M. San Mauro and La Muculufa).

---

<sup>339</sup> Leone 1998.

<sup>340</sup> Pancucci and Naro 1992: 173-4.

The material record, contexts and inferred processes also contradict any architectural divide, as traditionally defined Sikel and Sikanian sites display rituals similar to each other's and even to Sikeliote settlements in the PA. These are particularly seen in necropoleis: chthonic practices; continued use of EIA indigenous stylistic forms such as piumata wares (particularly bowls), handmade incised wares, askoi, and traditional-style amphorae; and small object assemblages representing more individualized votive deposits. The first is easily ascertained in Sikeliote ritual contexts (at the sanctuaries of Bitalemi and the Molino a Vento hill at Gela), involving overturned drinking, eating or ritual wares; often combined with the upright burial of containers, occasionally covered by intentionally fragmented ceramics, denoting small-scale cult practice and discrete series of dedications by small groups of people, individuals, and clans through the combination of large amounts of single-use votives and fewer numbers of larger multiple-use utilitarian objects such as amphorae and cookware. This practice occurs throughout central and western Sicily (elsewhere seen at the Alaimo Sanctuary at Leontinoi<sup>341</sup> and the oval building at Monte Castellazzo di Poggioreale), broadly confined to the Archaic, although it is most common prior to the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century. These smaller, more individualized dedications are also reflected in the high quality of some dedicated objects, including weapons (modest compared to some larger hoards found elsewhere on the island) and metal deposits, perhaps originally monetary in function. The high quality of many of these objects intentionally de-circulated through votive or funerary burial, including bronze astragaloi, illustrates commonalities in the ways status was articulated across ethnic boundaries. Numbers of

---

<sup>341</sup> In southeastern Sicily; see Chapter 3. Other sites mentioned in this paragraph but not discussed in this chapter are Morgantina (central Sicily, Chapter 6), Monte Castellazzo di Poggioreale (western Sicily, see Chapter 5), M. Finocchitto (southeastern Sicily, Chapter 3), Polizzello (west-central Sicily, Chapter 4), M. Casasia (southeastern Sicily, Chapter 3), Sabucina (west-central Sicily, Chapter 4), Terravecchia di Cuti (central Sicily, Chapter 6), and Colle Madore (west-central Sicily, Chapter 4).

catalogued Early Archaic objects are admittedly small and the context assemblages incomplete (with the exception of the assemblages from Layer II of the Piano della Fiera Necropolis at Butera), but what we can glean from the data suggests that object use and distribution patterns of the various sites in this region are broadly comparable to other Sikeliote sites (in the case of Gela) and more mixed interior sites (in the case of M. San Mauro and M. Bubbonia). [See: Tables 7.1, 7.2 for a general overview of object use and origin]<sup>342</sup> Butera's grave assemblages are similar to each other, although the Layer II graves demonstrate more commonalities with central-Eastern Sikel funerary assemblages such as those from the Morgantina necropoleis<sup>343</sup> (especially Necropolis II) and M. Finocchitto; as well as some non-funerary Sikanian contexts, such as Oikos D at Polizzello; while the Layer I graves are more similar to a wider range of other central Sicilian necropoleis, including the Sikel sites of M. Lavanca near and M. Casasia, and the Sikanian sites of Polizzello and M. Bubbonia, the latter also displaying typologies similar to the Sabucina necropolis and the settlement of Terravecchia di Cuti in Sikania. Both the Butera necropolis and M. Bubbonia also find comparanda with indigenous sacred contexts: Sabucina Oikos A, Montagnoli, Colle Madore, and the Southern Piazza on the Polizzello acropolis.

Intra-site commonalities are more pronounced among the Sikeliote sites. The Geloan necropoleis contain object assemblages that are broadly similar to each other, much more so than to any other Sikeliote necropoleis, although the Villa Garibaldi Necropolis shows some

---

<sup>342</sup> These charts will be used throughout the discussion to reference generalized patterns within contexts, in terms of object origin [Table 7.1] and object use [Table 7.2].

<sup>343</sup> In central Sicily; see Chapter 6. Other sites mentioned in this paragraph but not discussed in this chapter are M. Finocchitto (southeastern Sicily, Chapter 3), Polizzello (west-central Sicily, Chapter 4), M. Casasia (southeastern Sicily, Chapter 3), Sabucina (west-central Sicily, Chapter 4), Terravecchia di Cuti (central Sicily, Chapter 6), and Colle Madore (west-central Sicily, Chapter 4).

similarities to the Pestavecchia Necropolis at Himera<sup>344</sup> and the Fusco Necropolis at Syracuse, and the Predio La Paglia Necropolis contains comparable object percentages as the Mylai Southern Necropolis. The sacred structures at Gela, including extramural sanctuaries, demonstrate much more variability in their assemblages, and are broadly comparable to the Alaimo Sanctuary at Leontini, the Megara Hyblaea Northwest Sanctuary, and S. Raineri votive deposit at Zancle-Messina; interestingly, they also exhibit a great deal of similarity with a number of Sikeliote necropoleis.

Indigenous habitation contexts, such as the assemblages from Contrada Consi, demonstrate similarities with other indigenous habitation zones, especially at Ramacca<sup>345</sup>. The more mixed contexts of Contrada Santa Croce, perhaps an extramural sanctuary, contain assemblages comparable to other more ambiguous settlements that also contained Greek-type sanctuaries, but were in what was considered indigenous zones, such as the Upper Plateau at M. Saraceno – especially in the presence of numerous cups and bowls associated with a smaller number of larger objects found in votive pits, suggesting ritualized consumption among small groups that then dedicated single-use drinking vessels, a practice commonly attested at Sikeliote sanctuaries (although the published assemblage at Contrada Santa Croce is, notably, comprised of solely indigenous wares, including a *piumata* basin). The same is also true at M. San Mauro, where the contexts from both the necropoleis and habitation areas demonstrate greater similarities with Sikeliote sanctuary and cemetery contexts than other indigenous sites, although

---

<sup>344</sup> In west-central Sicily; see Chapter 4. Other sites mentioned in this paragraph but not discussed in this chapter are Syracuse (southeastern Sicily, Chapter 3), Mylai (southeastern Sicily), Leontini and Megara Hyblaea (southeastern Sicily, Chapter 3), and Zancle-Messina (northeastern Sicily).

<sup>345</sup> In southeastern Sicily; see Chapter 3). The other site mentioned in this paragraph but not discussed in this chapter is M. Saraceno (west-central Sicily, Chapter 4).

the number of indigenous objects is higher than in most Sikeliote centers. This makes M. San Mauro a truly “mixed” community and a particularly difficult site to assess.

Given the data, we can articulate more precisely the nature of entanglement between Gela and local inhabitants in the interior. Collective social action seems to be one of the ultimate defining aspects of this location; collectivity and social memory is mapped onto sacred spaces, graves, and even the urban fabric of these sites. Social memory especially comes into play in the creation of memorials, with the articulation of ancestral ties and kinship associations through patterning of graves, subsequent deposition of grave goods, and construction of small monuments (through *semata* of stone piles, or slabs of stones set up as dolmens) and physical boundaries around and between graves, with the concomitant articulation of social status through construction of even more elaborate graves or atypical practices. Similar customs can be seen in the collectivization of chamber tombs in other areas of Sicily, with subsequent re-depositions of bodies, often around a locus – usually a body and sets of grave goods – serving to differentiate members of an extended family, kinship group, clan, or other corporate entity. In the smaller physical spaces of pit burials and cremations, re-deposition and multiple burials are symbolically referenced through the practice of *akephalia*, wherein familial and hereditary relationships can be embodied without the physical presence of the entire body; this could explain why this practice commonly appears in contexts such as the Layer II burials at Butera, arguably ethnically mixed (if analyzed in relation to both the Layer I tombs there and the burial customs of nearby Gela, which also displays a degree of admixture in this period). Social memory also mapped onto assemblages, particularly those emphasizing commensal activities that no doubt took place in locations such as sanctuaries and burial grounds, mapping the collective onto the world of ancestors and deities – perimeters ritually bounding familial groups and ancestors in symbolic display of space. It is seen in the adaptation of large elaborate



indigenous “scodelloni” to commensal politics, as these bowls, previously for food consumption, now served as both display pieces and communal drinking bowls, not unlike Greek stamnoi or kraters. And finally, it is symbolically referenced by combined sets of eating or drinking vessels and amphorae, the basic unit of any commensal act, and the basic unit of most indigenous burial assemblages in the region.

Such practices often enlisted high-quality goods’ ancillary attributes to articulate status, as in the localized use of imported wares – including Corinthian and East Greek – in indigenous contexts, detached from their original functions; an example is the use of large Geloan and Greek vessels as cinerary urns or containers for bones (especially skulls) at Butera’s Piano della Fiera Necropolis, a practice not common in Gela. Such unorthodox practices set the stage for small-scale “glocalization” – adaptation of objects from outside markets to fit local demand – seen not only in integration of Greek imports and Orientalia into indigenous contexts and their adaptation to local customs but also Geloan manufacture of objects patterned on indigenous wares, for export to markets further north, attested by “indigenous-style” pottery in Geloan kilns. Ultimately this process of localizing references led to Greek imitations of indigenous imitations of subgeometric imported Greek wares. This has much to do with the indigenous inhabitants’ desire to acquire status objects, and perhaps is linked to the funerary and votive markets of inland communities, closely tied with the politics of market and network relations emanating from Gela.

### **CHAPTER 3: SOUTHEASTERN SICILY – SYRACUSE, KAMARINA AND RELATIONS TO THE HINTERLAND**

As shown in the first chapter, Greek settlers during the 7<sup>th</sup> century were less interested in the ethnic identity of those with whom they came in contact than they were in self-aggrandizement at the expense of any other group – be it Greek or indigenous. Such an attitude is especially evident in southeastern Sicily, where nevertheless indigenous sites flourished through the end of the Archaic period. What role did Greek sites in southeast Sicily – particularly Syracuse, Leontini and, later, M. Casale and Kamarina – play in expressing elite identity and disseminating practices and artistic forms in the region? Did they influence the evolution of local Sikel identity more than did indigenous sites such as M. Finocchito, which while maintaining continuity from the EIA also engaged in the currents of southeast Sicily's revitalized economy? The answer must be sought in the unique and localized forms of community-oriented institutions that appeared in indigenous and mixed inland settlements such as M. Casasia, Castiglione, Ramacca, and Grammichele. Inland territorial expansion by Syracuse and other Greek cities, together with competition between Syracuse and Chalkidian colonies, helped spread Greek goods, artistic forms and institutions that affected subsequent articulation of indigenous culture there. Yet rather than Greek cultural influence, it was the systematic consolidation of Sikel territory in the face of Greek incursions that led to the rise of a distinct and coherent local culture characterized by the emergence of an elite maintaining and strengthening local traditions while drawing on exotic Greek goods as status markers.

While Greeks from a number of different backgrounds came to southeastern Sicily, including the Chalkidian founders of Leontini, developments among both Greeks and

indigenous peoples of the region were to a great extent shaped by the growth and policies of Syracuse, largest and most powerful of the island's Greek colonies. Before its foundation, Sikel culture was diffuse, not clearly distinguishable from neighboring groups, as demonstrated in the previous chapter. In response to Syracusan expansion, though, the Sikel population became more concentrated, the better to resist Greek incursions; this change came not so much with the development of a clearly defined Sikel culture as with a new, or at least more visible, elite regulating access to new material forms. Although this elite seems to have controlled many of the interactions with Greeks, trade or political, they did not exert an overt Hellenizing influence in the region. Rather, elite members utilized Greek products, and other aspects of Greek culture, to mark their own status, maintaining and strengthening their identity even while incorporating those Greek products and practices that best fit into their inherited and developing culture. Alongside this development of local power structures came alliances between locals and Sikeliotes moving inland, the emergence of a distinctly local warrior culture (perhaps as a reaction to Sikeliote inroads), and the establishment of extramural sanctuaries, usually on lower slopes of indigenous towns, that apparently served as safe places of encounter and exchange between populations, and generally appeared later than their Sikeliote counterparts (such as the Bitalemi Sanctuary at Gela).<sup>346</sup>

### **Geographic Setting**

The sites of M. Casale, Akrai, M. Casasia, Castiglione, Ragusa, Grammichele, and M. Finocchito were closely connected by a series of networks before Greek coastal settlement, a network Syracuse ultimately employed in making inroads into indigenous territory. Greek presence in the zone of the Hyblaean Mountains and interior east coast of Sicily probably arose

---

<sup>346</sup> Hodos 2006: 147, 155.

from regional revitalization driven by innovative exchanges between local populations and Greek communities along routes connecting to coastal commerce. An extensive road network was cultivated, linking Syracuse to Gela and later Agrigento along the coast, and penetrating the Hyblaean Mountains, to Kamarina and large indigenous sites such as Licodia Eubea and M. Casasia between the southern coast and Etna Plain.<sup>347</sup> However, Syracusan diffusion was not without risk, as trade and exchange went hand-in-hand with territorial negotiations. Syracusan competition with Leontini's Chalkidian chora, and Chalkidian inroads into the interior, led Syracuse to create flourishing markets and exchange systems with interior settlements, eventually founding sub-colonies to aid in territorial consolidation. Yet it was far from exerting hegemony over this region at this time; large local settlements, especially Pantalica and Finocchito, have been viewed by scholars as symbols of indigenous resistance to Syracusan territorial expansion, although the situation is much more nuanced and less clear-cut.<sup>348</sup> (Fig. 3.1)

At least as early as the 7<sup>th</sup> century, the sites of M. Casasia, Grammichele, Ragusa and Castiglione were actively involved in markets opened by Greek settlers following natural transit corridors between the northeast and southwest, Leontini and Gela. M. Casasia in particular was ideally situated to oversee this trade route, likely navigated primarily by Chalkidian settlers who also reached the important Sikel site of Licodia Euboea, where grave goods from the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century share similarities with those from M. Casasia.<sup>349</sup> By the end of the century the Chalkidian settlement of Leontini exercised control over the Plain of Catania, extending its influence over the area of M. Casasia, although outposts along the Dirillo River gave Syracuse

---

<sup>347</sup> Di Vita 1956a.

<sup>348</sup> Di Stefano 1987: 136-40.

<sup>349</sup> Frasca and Pelagatti 1996: 561-72. These include Chalkidian-type bottles, kraters on a high pedestal, local ceramics with Euboean-inspired decoration.

the upper hand in territorial consolidation towards the south and west. Indeed with Kamarina's foundation at the turn of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, and certainly by the second half of that century, M. Casasia seems to have become part of the Syracusan sub-colony's zone of influence, maintaining close commercial and political ties with it, attested by numerous grave goods and associated decrease of Chalkidian trade influences.<sup>350</sup> In any case, the site's location as an significant interior settlement on a major waterway, in the border zone between several expanding colonial territories vying for control of the interior, makes M. Casasia important for tracing the history of commercial and political relations between Greeks and Sikels.

Meanwhile, as the indigenous site associated with the M. Casasia burial ground flourished, Syracusans moving into the interior along the Anapo River valley would have realized quickly that they would need to engage in friendly relations with locals to take full advantage of their expansion at the expense of the Chalkidian Greek sphere. Scholars have argued that Syracusan expansion decided the fates of several of these indigenous sites, notably Pantalica and M. Finocchito,<sup>351</sup> but while the former seems to have been largely abandoned by the time of this expansion, the latter retained a strong position and even somewhat friendly relations with Greeks at least to the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>352</sup> After founding Akrai early in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, Syracuse established other subcolonies, Eloro and Kasmene (M. Casale). This developed into a substantial city with an urban plan, dominating important routes inland and commanding the rich plain. The route through Kasmene also led to Gela; the former's foundation may have been followed by other, smaller Greek-type settlements such as Scornavacche, predominantly serving as trading

---

<sup>350</sup> Frasca and Pelagatti 1996: 571.

<sup>351</sup> De Angelis 2004: 32; Frasca 1981: 93–94; La Rosa 1996: 523.

<sup>352</sup> Di Vita 1956a: 178–9.

posts, from the first decades of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>353</sup> Other indigenous nuclei along this route – Modica, Ispica, Scicili, Noto, and Hybla – long remained independent entities, as evidenced by their participation with Kamarina in an attempt to disrupt Syracusan expansion.

Indigenous cities oriented more towards the south coast did not develop substantial relations with Greek cities until after Kamarina's foundation expanded contacts in the region. It had the greatest outside influence on Castiglione and the settlement served by the Rito Necropolis from the early 6<sup>th</sup> century onwards, Greek products in assemblages there revealing extensive trade links with Kamarina, suggesting political and economic ties that led to a military alliance between Kamarina and the communities in the hinterland such as the population utilizing the Rito Necropolis. Castiglione, one of the larger indigenous establishments in the zone, flourished in the 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, at which time it becomes an interlocutor between Syracuse and settlements to the west.<sup>354</sup>

### **Syracuse**

The natural starting point in the discussion of interrelations in southeast Sicily is Syracuse, the largest Greek colony, with strong and long-lasting relationships with local inhabitants extending well into the surrounding region. Its size and expansionist policy make a grasp of its evolving relationship with locals essential for understanding the development of region's Sikel culture.

Syracuse's foundation traditions are clear: Thucydides and Strabo report that Corinthian and Tenean settlers under the oikist Archias violently expelled the Sikel population.<sup>355</sup>

---

<sup>353</sup> At Scornavacche, Pace identified what he considered to be Greek-type tombs, suggesting a Greek-type *emporion*.

<sup>354</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 96.

<sup>355</sup> Strabo 8.6.22.

Consolidation and expansion followed the initial encampment in the mid-third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>356</sup> with the first monumentalization of the center, one of the earliest attested in a western Greek colony. Sammartano sees the period as one of increasing hostilities, as territorial expansion led to violent expulsion of indigenous people, suggesting the process may have begun not with the colony's foundation but rather with later sociopolitical developments.<sup>357</sup> The archaeological record provides some support, seeming to show an early period of Greek and Sikel cohabitation and even Sikel participation in religious life, perhaps including ritual in the city's outskirts. Sikels, however, continued largely localized ways of life in nearby areas of southeast Sicily (outlined in this chapter), so Syracusan dominance could not have completely dictated all aspects of life in the area.

Even in Syracuse itself, Sikel huts were found, similar to those of nearby sites but with different histories. These were later incorporated into Syracusan foundations, which often honored the original function of these buildings. This is similar to the trajectory in Southern Italian sites such as Metaponto and Incoronata, where indigenous huts belonging to earlier traditions continued to be constructed into the late-8<sup>th</sup> and early-7<sup>th</sup> century, eventually incorporated into the later Greek city.<sup>358</sup>

Local tradition cannot, however, easily be teased from Greek customs in the Archaic cemeteries ringing the city, the largest and most completely excavated of which are the Fusco and Ex-Ospedale Civile necropoleis.<sup>359</sup> Archaic cemeteries demonstrate a generally

---

<sup>356</sup> Parisi Presicce 1984: 66.

<sup>357</sup> Sammartano 1994.

<sup>358</sup> It should be noted, though, that in this early period, traditional local-type habitations cannot be easily distinguished from those of Greeks using local materials and building techniques. (Carbè et al. 2011: 161-4)

<sup>359</sup> Smaller necropoleis ringing the main settlement area of Syracuse include Viale Hermocrates, Necropoli Viale P. Orsi/ Ex Parco Giostre, Vie Ierone, Santa Panagia, and Borgata S. Lucia. The Fusco Necropolis, excavated by

homogeneous approach to burial, despite varied funerary practices and a small number of atypical burials [see Table 3.4 for overall object types, use and provenience among studied necropoleis at Syracuse]. The majority of adult burials are inhumations, in either sarcophagi or more commonly rock-cut fossas.<sup>360</sup> Here, as at Megara Hyblaea, sarcophagi are an elite form, especially after the 7<sup>th</sup> century when they become less common but more heavily ornamented. There is extensive use of enchytrismos burials for children, although they are sometimes placed in sarcophagi and fossa tombs.<sup>361</sup> Occasionally, and most significantly, more elite burial forms are used, especially cremations in bronze basins, a particularly aristocratic form with pseudo-heroic connotations.<sup>362</sup> (Fig. 3.2) Overall however, few cremations, primary or secondary, are attested; these are placed in fossas or sarcophagi, urns, and bronze basins, lebetes, deinoi and cauldrons, suggesting differential treatment of sectors of the population. The largest number of such elite burials, attested in at least 25 tombs, occurs in 7<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> century graves in the Fusco Necropolis.<sup>363</sup> Such basins are also attested in the ex-Giardini Spagna necropolis,<sup>364</sup> Viale Hermocrates, and tombs in Via Isonzo and Villa Maria.<sup>365</sup> The practice is documented in Syracuse by the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century through the 6<sup>th</sup> century. These were funerary rituals with

---

Cavallari and Orsi, was primarily published by Orsi (Orsi 1894b, 1895). The Ospedale Civile/ Ex Giardino Spagna necropolis, excavated by Orsi and Cultrera (Orsi 1925a, Cultrera 1943), was revisited by Ancona and Messina (Ancona and Messina 2003).

<sup>360</sup> Albanese 2004: 77.

<sup>361</sup> Albanese 2000: 32; Albanese 2004: 77.

<sup>362</sup> Albanese 2004. Although usually reserved for adult cremations, bronzes were occasionally employed in enchytrismo.

<sup>363</sup> Albanese 2004.

<sup>364</sup> Tombs IV, XVII, and XIX. (Cultrera 1943: 47, 57, 58)

<sup>365</sup> Tombs 4 and XIII, respectively. (Germanà 2011: 694; Albanese 2000: 33)



allusions to heroic burial practice and status, and at a site where inhumation dominated, cremations were a particularly visible sign of distinction.<sup>366</sup>

Less elite graves are also attested in all necropoleis: simple earth fossas, tile graves, ossuaries and hypogea. Shepherd proposes that the plurality of grave types suggests a population of varied origins, the burial customs perhaps part of the new settlement's cultural identity rather than that of the mother city.<sup>367</sup> Some unusual customs, including contracted adult burials, possible akephalia, and multiple depositions, may even correlate with indigenous origins. The first are rare, occurring in the Fusco Necropolis, in a monolithic sarcophagus and rock-cut fossa tomb also containing a bronze pin.<sup>368</sup> One possible case of akephalia was found in a Fusco Necropolis monolithic sarcophagus containing an adult skull but no evidence of other skeletal material (Tomb 85), alongside Etruscan bucchero kantharos fragments.<sup>369</sup> In another mid-6<sup>th</sup> century rock-cut fossa grave (T. 126) was a child's skeleton at the bottom of the pit with an adult skull higher up.<sup>370</sup>

Other possible Sikel-type burial customs are attested at Syracuse, as at other coastal Greek sites such as Megara Hyblaea, also associated primarily with monolithic sarcophagi, a more elite burial custom. These include the multiple depositions, although these often consist simply of small groupings of nuclear families rather than complex "family plots." Attested in around 14% of burials up to the early 6<sup>th</sup> century (when they seem to disappear), they

---

<sup>366</sup> Shepherd 2011: 123.

<sup>367</sup> Shepherd 2005: 131.

<sup>368</sup> Tombs 142 and 498, respectively (Orsi 1895: 120, 184).

<sup>369</sup> Orsi 1893: 449-450, 470.

<sup>370</sup> Dated by a collection of East Greek figurines, Corinthian amphoriskos, pyxis, and Corinthian kotylai (Orsi 1893: 450, 481-2).

occasionally also include enchytrismoi, observed in some indigenous chamber tombs. Multiple family lineages may not define depositions within sarcophagi, but they may well have defined clusters of depositions around monolithic sarcophagi at Syracuse, attempts to establish exclusive descent groups, again associated with elite, rather than any specific ethnic, status. Indeed, as Shepherd notes, “At Greek sites multiple burial might well have been a technique adopted from local Sicilian practice for the useful stress it placed upon blood ties, since its restricted pattern of use suggests a context of status assertion; but, given that at no Greek city did multiple burial become a dominant practice, its deployment was arguably more to do with the articulation of elite status within essentially Greek cultures rather than with the negotiation of a middle ground between the different ethnic groups.”<sup>371</sup> Indigenous practices thus may have had some effect on early development of Syracusan funerary customs, greater in the early period of Greek settlement, while ethnic distinctions likely blurred over time.<sup>372</sup>

Monolithic sarcophagi have been uncovered in several grave contexts throughout Syracuse, most notably in an isolated set of tombs in the Viale Hermocrates excavations of the Fusco Necropolis. These tend to be relatively common in the 7<sup>th</sup> century but are largely replaced over the 6<sup>th</sup> century by fossa tombs dug into the bedrock and covered by stone slabs (a common type of tomb in both Greek and indigenous contexts of the time). Items of adornment are usually the only objects found in the earlier tombs, while ceramics were placed outside the sarcophagi; kotylai, perhaps used for burial rites, are particularly common. At Viale Hermocrates, the exterior grave goods of earlier burials usually relate to drinking ritual, while the interior objects include iron pins with attachments, bronze *a navicella* fibulae engraved with geometric

---

<sup>371</sup> Shepherd 2011: 117.

<sup>372</sup> Shepherd 2005: 118.

decoration, an ivory comb with incised decoration faced with pairs of animals (of Orientalizing type), an elaborate fibula with spectacle attachments, and buckles in ivory and iron, with incised decoration of concentric circles.<sup>373</sup> In terms of relative isolation and quality of the material, the tombs in this necropolis are roughly similar to the previously-discussed group of graves in the Northeast Necropolis at M. San Mauro.

Similarly, the oldest tombs at the ex-Parco Giostre Necropolis include some particularly lavish burials.<sup>374</sup> [Table 3.1] The variety and number of imported goods found in tombs (especially Ionian bucchero alabastra, common in such graves) demonstrate elite connections and attest to the wide commercial movements in Syracuse's orbit. (Fig. 3.3) Interestingly, here, the highest percentage of artifacts, ceramics and coroplastics, come from East Greece, particularly Ionia, where Orientalizing influence is particularly strong. This is also true of other isolated Syracusan grave groups such as the Borgata S. Lucia, Viale P. Orsi, and Ex Giardino Spagna Necropoleis, with rich grave goods consisting of skeumorphic East Greek wares, including examples elaborated with Daedalic style protomes.<sup>375</sup> (Fig. 3.4)

Also common in graves through the 7<sup>th</sup> century, though never found in large numbers, are fibulae, which tend to disappear during the 6<sup>th</sup> century. These suggest at least some indigenous graves, as fibulae are not attested in burials at Corinth and colonial Greek graves more commonly include dress pins (which appear in larger numbers at Syracuse than other

---

<sup>373</sup> Basile 1993: 1319-22.

<sup>374</sup> Including Tomb 30, an adult male burial with grave goods in the interior (large alabastron) and exterior (small bronze basin, two East Greek fusiform alabastra, three Etruscan bucchero kantharoi, and 60 astragaloi. (Hencken 1958: 262)

<sup>375</sup> Among the grave goods recovered in this necropolis are ceramic bucchero of East Greek manufacture (a bowl with applied decoration of four Daedalic-type female busts) and Rhodian pottery. (Orsi 1915b: 188-90)

colonial sites), although in some contexts pins and fibulae were used interchangeably.<sup>376</sup> At least 80 fibulae have been found in fossa and monolithic sarcophagi in the Fusco Necropolis; none are known from other necropoleis.<sup>377</sup> (Fig. 3.5) The Fusco Necropolis may therefore have served both Greek and indigenous inhabitants. These are, however, fluid objects, not necessarily signs of intermarriage; Shepherd sees them not necessarily as ethnic markers, but rather objects with elite connotations, Greeks perhaps taking advantage of the indigenous populations' longstanding metalworking skill. This is supported by the large quantities of these artifact types that are occasionally found in individual graves, not used as dress accessories but rather valuable grave offerings with exotic connotations, prestige objects of conspicuous consumption. Interestingly, fibulae were more often buried with children than adults, with over half found in children's graves. In addition to the usual *a navicella* type, two bronze serpentine fibulae with attached knobs were also recovered from tombs, a type seen at a number of other indigenous Sicilian and Italian sites until the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century, including Finocchito (where they are relatively common) and in some Greek contexts (at Pithekoussai, mainly associated with male burials).<sup>378</sup> These are thought to be Italic types or products of Greeks in Italy, influenced by local shapes. Five bronze animal fibulae, a 7<sup>th</sup>-century northern Italian type, may also have been imported from the mainland.<sup>379</sup> (Fig. 3.6) More decorated forms of *a navicella* fibulae are also attested, with finials or bone and amber beads. Other types of non-Greek ornaments such as chains and circular or

---

<sup>376</sup> Albanese 2010: 504.

<sup>377</sup> Shepherd 1999.

<sup>378</sup> Shepherd 2011: 115; Buchner 1975: 79.

<sup>379</sup> Shepherd 1999: 278. These are generally unparalleled at Euboea or Corinth, where fibulae are not attested in graves.

globular pendants are rare, but attested in tombs of the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>380</sup> These suggest either mixed graves or melded funerary customs reflected in the material record. Other necropoleis, including the Ex-Ospedale Civile necropolis (the second largest at Syracuse) contained fewer objects identified as indigenous and larger percentages of pins, an ornament type associated with Greek burial and votive contexts [see Table 3.2 and Table 3.3 for comparable amounts of grave goods from the Ex-Ospedale and Fusco necropoleis].

Indeed, indigenous occupation may have conditioned the location of some necropoleis; in the Predio Salerno Aletta plot at the Ex-Ospedale Civile necropolis, later Greeks respected an earlier indigenous rock-cut tomb with dromos, although this had been cleared out prior to its discovery. In general, Syracuse necropoleis are more comparable in terms of assemblages and artifact types to other Sikeliote cemeteries – the Megara Hyblaea South Necropolis, Gela Villa Garibaldi and Borgo Necropoleis – and especially to each other, although there are also distinctive similarities with interior contexts, tombs from Morgantina Necropolis II and M. San Mauro. [Tables 7.1-7.2]

Other early contexts, particularly on Ortygia, are broadly comparable to the grave contexts in terms of ethnic and social identity; yet they also preserve a number of indigenous or mixed material and structures unusual for such early contexts at Greek foundations. These display similarities with indigenous contexts and assemblages further inland in southeast Sicily, including EIA rectangular buildings, elliptical dwellings, piumata ware, and indigenous-style fibulae, the last also found in Greek-style sacred contexts. Syracuse's earliest colonial contexts are on Ortygia, with Greek and indigenous object types and architecture isolated. Excavations at the Piazza Duomo revealed a Protohistoric layer distinct from Greek levels, in several places in

---

<sup>380</sup> A pendant consisting of linked concentric circles was found in Tomb 250, and double chains, similar to examples recovered from the Butera necropolis, were excavated in Tombs 308 and 326. (Albanese 2010: 504)

contact with the bedrock.<sup>381</sup> (Fig. 3.7) [Table 3.5] On this were found remains of at least three huts, both circular and rectangular. It was difficult for Orsi to ascertain whether these represented an early Greek or indigenous pre-Greek settlement. He nevertheless remarked on a close relationship between Syracusans and Sikels from an early period, with perhaps a cohabitation phase focused around a monolithic altar of indigenous construction found in the vicinity.<sup>382</sup> This is further substantiated at the site of the Ionian Temple, where ceramics of the Finocchito facies (particularly incised bowls, also seen in the Prefettura area) may indicate “significant indigenous presence” even after foundation of the Greek colony.<sup>383</sup> This was in the form of a group of small structures dating to the indigenous settlement, including a circular hut, later destroyed with the construction of the Ionian Temple and leveling of the bedrock.<sup>384</sup> (Fig. 3.8) Above the bedrock Orsi also found pre-Greek layers of blackish earth with abundant pottery fragments, remains of meals and a hearth with a pot (but no trace of huts) from the “third Sicilian phase,” and associated with PC ceramics, later followed by early Greek and Archaic Greek levels connected to construction of the Athenaion. (Fig. 3.9) Finally, Voza’s more recent excavations demonstrated continued sacred character of the area around Piazza Duomo from at least the Bronze Age, with evidence of ritual use connected to sacrifice.<sup>385</sup> This seems to have been followed by a period of cohabitation between Greeks and non-Greeks here, at least

---

<sup>381</sup> (Basile 2001: 732-733, 765, 775, 781) Several were uncovered during the earliest excavations in the area, conducted by Orsi in 1921-22 in the area of Via Minerva, near the later Athenaion. (Orsi 1919b)

<sup>382</sup> Pelagatti 1980: 130-2. Here were found other Finocchito facies material, such as fibulae and other bronzes, isolated in the Via Minerva and Giardinio dell’Arcivescovado excavations. (Sammartano 1994; Orsi 1919b: 497-8, 578-80).

<sup>383</sup> Frasca 1983.

<sup>384</sup> (Pelagatti 1980: 127) This was discovered by Pelagatti. Ceramics and bowls like those recovered from the area of the Ionic Temple are present in the indigenous necropoleis of Pantalica South and M. Finocchito.

<sup>385</sup> To this period belong remains of an elliptical hut and two oval fossas dug into the bedrock and containing animal bones, traces of burning, and ceramics of the Thapsos and EBA Castelluccio cultures (Voza 1999: 21).

until the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, with simultaneous presence of indigenous ceramics and imported Greek material; beginning in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, Greek pottery prevails.

Thus, the Ionian Temple and Athenaion area seem to have had a sacred function even before the first Greek settlement; the earliest architectural manifestations were small quadrangular buildings and an iron ingot deposit similar to deposits from other Sikeliote sites such as Bitalemi in Gela [see Table 3.4 for total artifact amounts from deposits in this area]. A small late 8<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> century oikos is the earliest known Greek building at the site, with a stone foundation and mudbrick and wood superstructure, founded on an area formerly occupied by a Bronze Age fossa and incorporated in the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century into another larger temple.<sup>386</sup> Votive material was recovered north of the building.<sup>387</sup> Additional sacred activity is attested on the sanctuary's edges, in the form of elaborate Orientalizing material, including a PC oinochoe decorated with animal figures, a *Potnia Theron*, suggesting worship of Artemis from an early phase, and an early stele perhaps representing Athena.<sup>388</sup> (Fig. 3.10, Fig. 3.11) Later rebuilding and monumentalization was perhaps connected to re-articulation of elite and aristocratic elements of the population, as the oikos was transformed into an actual temple.<sup>389</sup> This was, in fact, the main period when Syracuse consolidated its social, economic and political order and founded the sub-colonies of Akrai and Kasmenai; this likely went hand-in-hand with a crystallization of a distinctive elite identity among the colony's main political players as they advertised their important role in the region's power politics. In the early 6<sup>th</sup> century, a votive

---

<sup>386</sup> This oikos-type building was composed of a closed cella in antis, altar and remains of a sacrificial deposit containing small sherds. (Carbè et al. 2011: 164)

<sup>387</sup> These consist of Thapsos type cups and Corinthian ceramics dating from the late 8<sup>th</sup> and early 7<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>388</sup> Voza 1999: 29-35

<sup>389</sup> This transformation in building style can be dated by votive material found in two nearby wells, dating to the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. This may be material related to the older temple located here. (Carbè et al. 2011: 164)

deposit was established and an altar and chapel were built, later destroyed in construction of the Ionic Temple. The altar's rich votive deposit was characterized by pottery, bronzes, ivories (figured and gold plated) and scarabs; many stelae; and numerous and varied imported ceramics: Rhodian, Ionian, Chiot, PC, Etruscan, Phoenician, and Laconian.<sup>390</sup> In general, the assemblages are similar in terms of object use and provenience to other sacred and habitation contexts at Syracuse, the Temple A deposits from Syracuse, and settlement assemblages from Naxos, Himera, and Zancle-Messina.

The high-quality goods in these depositions demonstrate the mixed, often elite nature of the votives – and by association, dedicants – in this early sacred space. Ritual ceramics and objects in some of the early wells suggest that these came from votive depositions in temples or *oikoi* that were periodically cleaned out. Two – Wells 1 and US 103 – contain rich assemblages from the mid-7<sup>th</sup> through 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>391</sup> Well 1, particularly rich, contained a quantity of Orientalizing material, including Rhodian bird cups, Etruscan heron cups, East Greek bucchero, and two Laconian oinochoai, one with a lion protome.<sup>392</sup> (Fig. 3.12) Phoenician plates and fragments of Punic amphorae attest to contacts with the Eastern Mediterranean and Levant.<sup>393</sup> Among ceramic forms, imported (Greek and Etruscan) open drinking wares predominate, perhaps linked to new consumption patterns at the sanctuary incorporating high-quality imported wares into the commensality repertoire linked to ritual feasting. In general the wells,

---

<sup>390</sup> Pelagatti 1982; Carbè et al. 2011: 162.

<sup>391</sup> These were located at the entrance of the former National Archaeological Museum and in the central area of the square, north of the place of worship, respectively. (Voza 1999: 36-43)

<sup>392</sup> This deposit contained mostly East Greek products, including Ionian finewares and ceramics in common use, such as transport amphorae. Locally produced material imitating Greek wares date to the late 7<sup>th</sup> to mid-6<sup>th</sup> century; in addition, *olpette*, *lekanai*, and *krateriskoi* are all forms linked to the cult practiced in the sanctuary.

<sup>393</sup> Sciortino 2012.



votive fossa, small shrines and oikoi exhibit topographic continuity from the beginning of the colony's existence, perhaps suggesting that early temenoi were characterized by, as Sciortino puts it, "cultura materiale ibrida o mista", composta cioè da materiali fortemente eterogenei nelle composizioni e nelle provenienze."<sup>394</sup> This was a cultural heterogeneity incorporating various identities from throughout the Mediterranean world – not only Greek and Phoenician, but indigenous as well, as co-participants in religious ritual and commensal practices.

Mixed assemblages also characterize habitation contexts nearby; in the Prefettura area, excavations yielded early contexts only a short distance from the later Athenaion and Ionian Temple<sup>395</sup> [see Table 3.6 for artifact numbers and percentages of the various deposits from this area]. Contiguous with areas in Via Minerva where Orsi found indigenous-type huts, the contexts largely demonstrate continuity of type, function and assemblage, indicating significant indigenous presence even after foundation of the Greek colony.<sup>396</sup> Immediately south of the later Archaic House 5 was found remains of structures associated with a layer distinct from the Greek level, retaining a small portion of circular perimeter wall dating to c. 700. Traces of extensive foundations rested on the bedrock and earlier wall.<sup>397</sup> (Fig. 3.13) Because the hut was not entirely excavated, the context the objects, and their arrangement and their function cannot be fully assessed. At least three large containers (a pithos and two amphorae) for water and storage of commodities can be identified, as well as numerous fragments of jugs, bowls, cookware, piumata and Siculo-Geometric pottery, and EPC pottery. These are, overall, homogenous assemblages

---

<sup>394</sup> Sciortino 2012: 543-5.

<sup>395</sup> These were undertaken by Pelagatti between 1977-78, and by Ciurcina in 1996-8. (Pelagatti and Garetto 1980: 707-11; Pelagatti 1980; Ciurcina 2000)

<sup>396</sup> Pelagatti 1980: 131-2.

<sup>397</sup> Frasca 1983.

comparable to material found in the Athenaion area and other isolated early contexts, and are broadly similar to material from other indigenous habitation contexts of the late 8<sup>th</sup> to mid 7<sup>th</sup> century, such as ceramic sets found at Butera (Contrada Consi and Contrada Santa Croce) that are almost identical to those from the Ortygia hut.<sup>398</sup> Painted Siculo-Geometric pottery is also associated at this time with piumata ware at other east Sicilian centers, including Metapiccola at Leontini and Morgantina.<sup>399</sup> Nevertheless, the circular huts Pelagatti found could be traced to an early period, perhaps even the end of the Cassibile (first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century), used until the late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> century, not unlike some of the longhouses at Morgantina.<sup>400</sup> Interestingly, the complete absence of typical elements of the Pantalica South facies, immediately preceding the period of the colony's founding, suggests that the area was not densely populated for a long time prior to Greek arrival.<sup>401</sup> Most material is later in date, suggesting intensified occupation in the period leading up to, and perhaps concurrent with, Syracuse's foundation. While the Prefettura displays artifact typologies understandably comparable to those of the Piazza Duomo, the object types also demonstrate notable resemblances to those from mixed indigenous sites such as M. Saraceno (Upper Plateau).

Thus, by the Pantalica South/ Finocchito period, which saw the arrival of Greek colonists, indigenous habitations were scattered throughout the area of the later sacred complex on Ortygia. Material from this period has also been found in the area of the later Greek stenopos, perhaps built on traces of an earlier road with associated ceramic material (fragments of piumata ware, indigenous geometric pottery, Corinthian imports) from the last quarter of the

---

<sup>398</sup> Frasca 1983: 594.

<sup>399</sup> *Supra* 107.

<sup>400</sup> Frasca 1983: 596-8; Treziny 2012: 28.

<sup>401</sup> Frasca 1983: 596.

8<sup>th</sup> century. Early, perhaps indigenous, roads are attested elsewhere and seem to have linked the isthmus with the very end of Ortygia; this was probably a very old route, even pre-Greek.<sup>402</sup>

A number of excavations in the 1990s in the Montevergini monastery south of Piazza Duomo further demonstrated the existence of a succession of roads from the late 8<sup>th</sup> through 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, perhaps even earlier.<sup>403</sup> Alongside the early roads were remains of indigenous huts as well as Archaic Greek buildings superimposed on earlier structures; one, comprised of two square rooms, is associated with an altar, at which were recovered numerous *thysiai* or sacred deposits containing animal bones, shells, pebbles, bronze and iron pieces, carbon, and ceramic material indicating a period of use between the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> and the first quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century – evidence of a sacred area among habitations subsequently monumentalized during the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>404</sup>

Thus, ample evidence of Archaic Greek houses, commingled sacred space, and road orientation in the area of the Prefettura (northeast of the Athenaion) suggests that the basic layout was established by the late 8<sup>th</sup> century with roads based on earlier routes. This earliest phase had no strictly orthogonal plan; that seems to have come at the same time as various other sociopolitical, architectural, and territorial developments in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Early Greek rectangular one-room houses with patios were oriented towards the early roads;<sup>405</sup> some were later renovated with addition of a room, a development sequence also documented at Megara Hyblaea. Particularly significant were a unique concentration of Rhodian cups and fragments of a krater (Fig.3.14) comparable to kraters from the Fusco Necropolis found within and south of

---

<sup>402</sup> Voza 1993-94: 670-1.

<sup>403</sup> Ciurcina 2000.

<sup>404</sup> Carbé et. al. 2011: 159-160.

<sup>405</sup> Carbé et. al. 2011: 158.

House 5 and Room D, and, from other areas of the excavation, polychrome pottery similar to ceramics from Megara Hyblaea. In one context, Pelagatti found a Syracusan polychrome vase (one of the earliest known locally-manufactured Orientalizing vases), dated to the early 7<sup>th</sup> century. (Fig. 3.15) This demonstrates that locally-produced Orientalizing polychrome wares were not used solely in ritual and funerary contexts, but also considered suitable for daily use, perhaps as household display objects.<sup>406</sup>

In all early Ortygia sanctuary contexts, often associated with habitation areas, EPC vessels are particularly prevalent, as well as other LG material, demonstrating early contacts with mainland Greece. Based on the presence of early wares such as Thapsos cups and Rhodian bird cups (among other areas of Sicily's east coast), Dunbabin saw the pre-foundational settlement of Ortygia as a distribution center for imported products during pre-colonial contacts with Greece, while Bernabò Brea located the Sikel polity of Hybla's port at Ortygia, contemporary with the founding of Syracuse. This would explain the early appearance of Geometric wares and even "Orientalia" in indigenous hinterland settlements such as Villasmundo and Modica (Via Polara).<sup>407</sup> (Fig. 3.16) However, although the presence of early imported wares is notable, none found at Syracuse definitively predates its foundation. There are nonetheless a number of factors that made Ortygia a good candidate for transmission of early Greek wares from the very beginning of the colony and perhaps even earlier, when Greek traders would have encountered

---

<sup>406</sup>Pelagatti 1982: 140-7. One particularly elaborate example of local polychrome ware from Syracuse is a group of plate fragments depicting two figures (Odysseus?) and Herakles and the Hydra. This indicates local pottery workshops from an early period at Syracuse, which is mainly known for Argive-type kraters found in a number of contexts – settlement, sanctuary and grave – at Syracuse as well as at Megara Hyblaea. (Pelagatti 1982: 126-128.)

<sup>407</sup> Voza 1980b, 1982; Sammito 1999. A number of LG imports have come to light in the Via Polara necropolis in Modica, although it is often unclear if these predate Greek settlement along the coastline. The material from two tombs in the indigenous necropolis includes a Thapsos type cup and a slightly older Cycladic-Euboean Aetos type 666 kotyle similar to examples from Villasmundo and M. Tabuto. 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century "orientalia" are found at interior sites such as Centuripe, M. Finocchito, and Sciare Manganeli (Rizza 1972-3; Frasca 1979; La Rosa 2000).

indigenous inhabitants there who could have facilitated trade of objects inland, following trade routes established before Greek coastal settlement. These flourished in succeeding centuries, likely due to demand for imported objects, especially for funerary and ritual – primarily votive and commensal – use. As Sciortino notes, Ortygia, with its large port, was strategically situated to host a wide range of exchanges, and demonstrates the typical topographical features of a shared colonial landscape that characterized Greek and Phoenician-Punic settlements in the west. It was positioned to accommodate not only the original Corinthian settlers, but also indigenous, Phoenician-Punic, and East Greek and Cycladic-Euboean groups as well. Trade relations are evident in the wide range of personal ornaments and small objects of Eastern origin and imitations – such as faience, glass, stone and ceramic scarabs, amulets, figurines, containers for cosmetics and jewelry. Mainly from funerary, votive and well deposits, these were sent directly or mediated from the East and North Africa.<sup>408</sup> [See Table 3.7 for object totals from the Syracusan sacred and domestic assemblages outlined above] Syracusan control over interior trade routes, and, ultimately, portions of Sicily’s south coast, ensured that the city itself would flourish in succeeding centuries, with a steady supply of imports to meet demand.

The picture of early Syracuse is thus somewhat different from its portrayal in later historical texts. Indigenous people clearly were present before the Greek settlement and remained in Syracuse’s first stages when Greek and Sikels alike drew on traditions and production of both cultures, producing for a short period a middle ground in which, for instance, elite Greeks might employ indigenous fibulae in their burial goods while Sikels utilized Greek or colonial pottery with their own in commensal or funerary rituals. The story is

---

<sup>408</sup> Sciortino 2012: 533-535.

different, though, in the many indigenous sites that retained distinctive identities during this period, as well as at Syracuse's sub-foundations.

### **Monte Finocchito: Formulating Internal Chronologies**

The indigenous M. Finocchito necropolis is one of the most comprehensively analyzed sites, chosen as the type-site for pottery of the transition between indigenous habitations and Greek expansion inland from Syracuse (c. 730-650) due to its comprehensive evidence for change in the mostly static context of traditional-style chamber tombs that, unlike most other such burials, usually hosted only a single interment. The necropolis (consisting entirely of chamber tombs) and settlement are at the southeastern end of the Hyblaean Plateau. The site was sheltered from direct Syracusan influence, situated behind the coastal littoral directly controlled by Syracuse. Nevertheless, Syracuse's increasing territorial expansion, and the foundation of the sub-colony of Akrai in 663, 20 km north of Finocchito, led to early entrenchment of local populations on nearby plateaus such as Finocchito, Cozzo delle Giummare, and Noto Vecchia in the Hyblaean Hills.<sup>409</sup> Indeed, inland settlements here increased in the late 8<sup>th</sup> and early 7<sup>th</sup> centuries as numerous indigenous centers appeared on naturally fortified plateaus on the edge of the coastal plain. Population and economic growth characterize the second phase of occupation, beginning around 730, likely spurred by Greek coastal settlement, which led to transformations in Finocchito society.<sup>410</sup> Imported goods soon reached the site along routes from the east coast originally established by locals, then employed by Greeks.<sup>411</sup> Syracusans eventually attempted to control these routes at the expense of other

---

<sup>409</sup> Di Vita 1956a: 188; Frasca 1993: 238-9.

<sup>410</sup> Frasca 1981: 16-7.

<sup>411</sup> Frasca 1981: 15-6; 94.

Greeks to ensure stable possession of the coastal plain and waterways. Finocchito's location was thus favorable for meeting between indigenous hinterland populations and Greek emissaries coming up the river in search of products the colonies needed, especially early on. Nevertheless, the flow of populations from neighboring towns to Finocchito testifies to the discomfort, ambivalence, and contradictory reaction of indigenous peoples to Greek elements.

Findings from indigenous-style tombs reflect local preservation of their sites and culture, but also considerable openness towards Greek influence, seen in prompt adoption of Greek objects earlier than at most other nearby settlements, save Villasmundo and the habitation served by the Cava S. Aloe necropolis near Leontini. This reflects a not always fundamentally hostile Syracusan policy towards indigenous populations of the immediate hinterland, at least before the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century. In any case, chamber tombs to go out of use abruptly in the mid-7<sup>th</sup>, and fortification walls were constructed along the top of the hill at some point in the same century, perhaps in response to underlying upheavals in Syracuse, prompted by land possession by upper-class Greeks and the need to acquire new land to distribute among Syracuse's citizens with the growth of the city.<sup>412</sup> This is the process that resulted in the founding of new subcolonies like Akrai, and likely resulted in a more bellicose attitude towards indigenous hinterland centers. In M. Finocchito's case, it is difficult to say whether or not habitation continued since the settlement itself is not yet excavated, and the case may well be that life went on but in a modified way, traditional chamber tombs abandoned for more prevailing burial types not yet located.

---

<sup>412</sup> Frasca 1981: 96.

Orsi and then Frasca excavated a number of sets of chamber tombs arranged in rows on natural terraces on several sides of the hill; in each set are graves from a number of periods.<sup>413</sup> (Fig. 3.17) Most were inhumations, one or two per tomb, although some held up to nine, the previous occupants moved to accommodate new inhumations,<sup>414</sup> with the occasional cremation urn. The typical tomb assemblage included bowls, jugs, oinochoai, askoi, pyxides, and occasionally amphorai, generally placed at the foot of deceased and perhaps representing the funerary meal from interment. (Fig. 3.18) Further ritual practice is suggested by niches outside graves, used for offerings to the dead or associated with ancestor cult. In addition to pottery, personal adornments were found, often decorating the body of the deceased – necklaces, fibulae with attached chains, beads, ivory plaques, iron objects, and scarabs. These are relatively plentiful compared to those from other necropoleis in southeast Sicily, and are (except scarabs) spread evenly among the burials, suggesting that the M. Finocchito population at was not a highly ranked society. [Table 3.8]

Frasca and Steures noted that locally-produced Finocchito pottery can be assigned rough dates based on Greek imports and utilization of “Greek” motifs and forms among the local ceramics, aiding in the creation of an internal chronology that seems to transition around the time of Syracuse’s founding.<sup>415</sup> Changes in fibula forms could also signal the introduction of

---

<sup>413</sup> In 1983 Orsi published results of excavations at the West, South, and Vallata San Francisco necropoleis in 1894 (Orsi 1894a). A second season, focused on the Northwest Necropolis, North Necropolis and Piraine Necropolis and the fortification work. In June 1978, the Archaeological Superintendence of Siracusa conducted a brief excavation campaign revealing seven new tombs in the South Necropolis, mostly from its second phase (Finocchito II) (Frasca 1979). Frasca and Steures revisited the graves and re-published the contexts in two consecutive years (Steures et al. 1980, Frasca 1981).

<sup>414</sup> 51 tombs – the majority – contained only one burial (Orsi 1894a:188).

<sup>415</sup> Frasca 1981: 16-8. This chronology is divided into Finocchito I, the early-mid 8<sup>th</sup> century; Finocchito IIA from Syracuse’s foundation and early growth, c. 734/730-700; and Finocchito IIB, the initial period of Syracusan expansion, c. 700-650.



disparate elements into the local repertoire. In the last phase of this chronology (Phase IIB, in the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century), interactions with locals escalated and more imports reached the hinterland as Syracuse started to make use of routes that local populations had utilized for centuries.<sup>416</sup>

At M. Finocchito, after an initial period in Phase IIA (c. 734-700) of contact with Greek products and faithful reproduction of their form and decoration, local wares start to become detached from contemporary models to take on a particular character, suggesting staid reliance on earlier Greek forms, which might by this time have achieved a level of significance, real or imposed, not unlike heirlooms.<sup>417</sup> There are limits, though, to this conservatism, and some traditional forms and types disappear.<sup>418</sup> Thus, inhabitants using the pottery at M. Finocchito, like those at many contemporary sites, are in a transitional zone, willing to let go of older pottery types yet unwilling to adopt new Greek pottery types too quickly, especially if such new forms did not fit with local practices; this is in fact one of the main characteristics of this southeastern indigenous region of the period, mirrored at other southeastern Sicilian sites like Modica and Noto.

Towards the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century there is a massive increase in ornamentation, especially for personal use. Fibulae are generally the “staffa lunga” type with long pin, introduced around the time of the initial wave of Greek settlement, or “navicella” type with grooved or

---

<sup>416</sup> Pottery from this phase is dated to the early 7<sup>th</sup> century by a MPC kotyle and cup in the tombs.

<sup>417</sup> Painted decoration is still largely limited to geometric patterns from the previous phase, indicating no influence from new Greek styles of this time or from the Chalkidian sphere, despite its proximity to the site.

<sup>418</sup> Among the types that seem to disappear are narrow-necked oinochoai, while shapes such as single-handled hemispherical bowls decrease in numbers.

undecorated bow.<sup>419</sup> Profound changes in funerary object types, including new appearances of metal styles, increasing iron, bone, and amber use, new vessel types modeled on Greek vases, and new decoration patterns, are seen throughout the Finocchito tombs. (Fig. 3.19) The number of tombs increases considerably from Phase I, with more plural depositions in graves, an interesting phenomenon diverging from practices elsewhere in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, when singular depositions tend to increase. This, with the increase in personal adornment, reflects population increase and growth in personal wealth, likely spurred by Greek presence. The growth of Finocchito's population is matched by the abandonment of small nearby hill settlements, such as Cozzo di Giummarre,<sup>420</sup> although some others, such as Licodia Eubea (which lends its name to the following period in Sicilian ceramic chronologies) continued to flourish through the Classical period. Also continuing in subsequent centuries is the distinctive material culture that arose at this site in response to interactions with Greeks travelling along inland routes towards Kamarina and Gela, particularly Siculo-Geometric ware that continues to evolve in response to trade patterns throughout southeastern Sicily, while also maintaining aspects of traditional culture through use of older forms and the amalgamation of indigenous motifs into this new stylistic repertoire. And while the artifact types are largely unique to this area, the tomb assemblages exhibit broad similarities with the Layer 1 necropolis at Butera, Necropolis IV at Morgantina, the Entella Necropolis, and Calascibetta's Cozzo S. Giuseppe necropolis; and even some ritual contexts, at Polizzello (Oikos D and the Carta Oikos) and Montagnoli.

---

<sup>419</sup> Frasca 1981: 90-3. Fibulae with amber or bone beads are comparable to examples from Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea, and indigenous sites such as Butera; ivory plaques are similar to examples from the Syracuse Athenaion votive deposit.

<sup>420</sup> Yll and Bota 1976; Hodos 2006: 99.

## Monte Casale: Syracuse's Link to Interior Sicily

Soon after settlement of M. Finocchito halted in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century, Syracuse consolidated control in the western borders of its territories. Its sub-colony M. Casale is vital to our understanding of site development and ritual articulation in an interior Greek settlement in indigenous territory, and exhibits a number of affinities with both Greek and indigenous sites in terms of its unusual temple deposits and expression of sepulchral depositions. This was located above a deep valley, defended at the top by a wall, and bordered by the Hyblaeon Mountains to the north and east and the Dirillo River to the west,<sup>421</sup> making it ideally situated among indigenous fortified cities nearby; like Kamarina, it seemed to have maintained friendly relations with nearby independent indigenous settlements. The site has an irregular urban plan, with individual unaligned blocks.<sup>422</sup> (Fig. 3.20) An internal order to the layout is demonstrated, though, by the one known temple, located in the western corner of the plateau, following the town's urban framework. (Fig. 3.21) One of the oldest known Greek naiskoi in Sicily, it has an elongated form and was decorated with architectural terracottas.<sup>423</sup> Its unique feature is one of the largest deposits of Archaic iron armor and weapons found in Sicily, along the southern side of the temple, containing over 600 bronze and iron objects – spearheads, daggers and knives, swords, arrowheads, bronze foil, and models of helmets, shields, and armor. The deposit and votive sanctuary context suggests a warrior class was the core of the population, although the presence of indigenous and Italic-type bronze weapons is particularly noteworthy and may signal non-Greek offerants.<sup>424</sup> The site was indeed located in an important strategic position that

---

<sup>421</sup> Di Stefano 1987: 180; Frasca and Pelagatti 1996: 562; Cordano and Di Salvatore 2002: 66-7; Albanese 2003: 141.

<sup>422</sup> Minà 2005: 98-9; Mertens 2006: 77-9.

<sup>423</sup> Domínguez Monedero 2006: 287.

<sup>424</sup> Albanese 1993: 206.

engaged with interior indigenous populations and opened up routes that eventually permitted Kamarina's foundation 45 years later.

An elite warrior identity is also demonstrated by the necropolis, where Orsi excavated 154 tombs, mostly from the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>425</sup> Primary cremation within pit burials was most common, an unusual practice perhaps due to Geloan influence; other common practices included stone-lined fossa tombs with grave goods, bones, burnt pots, and charcoal fragments scattered over the entire pit, traces of burning on the walls and bones often placed in vessels in the grave after cremation.<sup>426</sup> Interestingly, such pit cremation is not attested in Syracuse; this city, like Kamarina, soon becomes largely independent of the mother colony, instead influenced by practices of its neighbors, a phenomenon that occurs throughout Sicily in both Greek and indigenous settlements. Nevertheless, there still is a strong Corinthian component, and, as at Kamarina, Corinthian transport amphorae largely predominate in burials of the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, unlike at indigenous settlements, which tend not to use Greek transport amphorae in cremations and other burials. Certain regions of the necropolis exhibit higher concentrations of cremation burials, not necessarily coinciding with the earliest tombs, but perhaps associated with certain family or clan groupings.<sup>427</sup> This is comparable to the familial groupings at M. San Mauro, the Via Hermocrates burials at Syracuse, and, as we will see, the Rifriscolaro Necropolis.

Thus, the Greek-style temple, votive depositions, and necropolis with purely Greek-type graves and rich, almost completely Greek material from the second quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century onwards, as well as three Archaic Greek inscriptions, suggests a strongly Greek orientation, the

---

<sup>425</sup> Cordano and Di Salvatore 2002: 141-9; Di Stefano 2010: 51.

<sup>426</sup> Overall, around 1/3 of tombs seem to be cremations, a rather elevated proportion, although these tend to skew towards later graves from around the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>427</sup> Cordano and Di Salvatore 2002: 141-3.

material notably different from that from the indigenous Archaic settlement of Castiglione; although the highly localized nature of burials and temple deposits suggests a more complex situation here and that inhabitants may have wished to demonstrate a certain ideology connected to aristocratic identity. This is not unlike the notions of an aristocratic warrior class, as will be seen expressed at Castiglione and M. Casasia, although the methods through which it is expressed differs.

### **Kamarina: A Later Foundation of the Archaic Period and Dialogues with Sikel Cultural Practice**

Founded by Syracusans in 599, around 45 years after M. Casale, Kamarina was established to stem the tide of Gela's expansion east of the Dirillo River, attempting to bypass major Sikel strongholds in the Hyblaean range, such as Pantalica, Dessueri, and Finocchito.<sup>428</sup> The town was also sited to command the rich plain from the sea to the southern and the western slopes of the Hyblaean Mountains, strengthening the southern route westwards from Syracuse. The acquisition of Kamarina was the last piece in the Syracusan domination of Southeast Sicily relative to other Greek colonies. This also brought Greek settlers in contact with Sikel inhabitants of the nearby plateaus, especially as Greeks from Kamarina started to branch out towards the hinterland in the early part of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Although Kamarina is a slightly later foundation following the third wave of settlement in Sicily, it is nevertheless intricately tied to the surrounding area's web of indigenous occupation, with abundant evidence for local influence and interaction. It is also intertwined with the fates and histories of other towns connected to Syracusan expansion towards southeast Sicily, with varying levels of intermixture in the hinterland between these two poleis. It is thus a valuable place begin the discussion of Greek and indigenous relations in southeast Sicily.

---

<sup>428</sup> Di Stefano 1987: 134-6.

Some scholars argue for an earlier, pre-Syracusan stage at Kamarina, suggested by earlier Greek material in nearby indigenous necropoleis such as M. Casasia;<sup>429</sup> this may be due to earlier Chalkidian exploitation of the area around the traditional Sikel strongholds of Grammichele and Licodia Euboea, traversing the natural corridor along the Dirillo towards Greek settlements such as Gela.<sup>430</sup> Yet even after Kamarina's foundation, the final piece in Syracuse's strategy to control the entire southeastern Sicilian coast, whole swathes of the interior remained mostly untouched by actions of the Greek populations, although not because of general resistance. The exact nature of this interaction in the hinterland will be explored in this chapter; it seems to be largely site-specific, despite certain features common to all sites in southeast Sicily.

The first iteration of Kamarina lasted fewer than 50 years, and by 552 it was destroyed, its citizens exiled.<sup>431</sup> Destruction was not total, though, as some burials, including richer graves, date to the second half of the century. The older settlement was isolated mainly to the western portion and slopes of the hill, with a path connecting the village and early cemetery, located to the north and northeast along the Rifriscolaro River.<sup>432</sup> The agora and temple complex on the main hill were laid out in the city's first phase, the temenos walls dating to the early 6<sup>th</sup> century.

Both the historical and material records suggest that by the time of its initial destruction, Kamarina had entered into a dense network of alliances with older settlements that ensured its survival and eventually facilitated insurgence against its mother colony, alliances with both older Sikel settlements in the region and Greek foundations to the west, such as Gela.<sup>433</sup> Political and

---

<sup>429</sup> Frasca and Pelagatti 1996: 333, 540.

<sup>430</sup> Di Stefano 1987: 201-2.

<sup>431</sup> Pelagatti 2006: 18.

<sup>432</sup> Pelagatti 1984.

<sup>433</sup> Di Stefano 1987: 194.

social reorganization in this period at older towns such as Hybla, Castiglione, and M. Casasia permitted easier interaction with the new communities. Nevertheless, prior to the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century their development trajectories were, as we will see, typical of interior southeastern Sicilian sites, with relations with Greeks long before Kamarina's foundation. Arrival of a new actor in the region simply gave easier access to Greek products and institutions as nodes in the network of relations became more interconnected and Greek merchants used long-established interior routes to disseminate goods. Eventually, Kamarina seems to have attempted to control trade along this southern route and inland along the Dirillo and Irminio Rivers through a dense exchange network with Sikels in the Hyblaeen region and M. Casasia. This eventually led Sikels from Castiglione and other hinterland communities to join Kamarina in rising against Syracuse, suggesting a central power among the Sikels of the Hyblaeen Mountains.<sup>434</sup> It is likely that in the Hyblaeen range, between Syracuse and Kamarina, there was a series of interlinked mixed, indigenous and Greek communities, the majority composite, as the frontier between the Irminio and Dirillo rivers was controlled from the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century by large indigenous communities such as Castiglione, M. Casasia and Licodia Eubea.

The clearest evidence of these networks comes from necropoleis near Kamarina, at Rito and Rifriscolaro.<sup>435</sup> Scholars have traditionally seen these as reflecting assimilation of most Sikel cities of the Hyblaeen regions in the hinterland of Greek coastal poleis by 570, when several associated settlements may have accommodated – although not necessarily transformed into – Greek commercial outposts.<sup>436</sup> These settlements still remained largely independent from

---

<sup>434</sup> Di Stefano 1987: 196-7; Mercuri 2012b: 95.

<sup>435</sup> These were published, respectively, in Di Vita et al. 2015; Pelagatti 2006; and Stefano 2012.

<sup>436</sup> Di Stefano 1987: 170.

Kamarina and other coastal poleis, although they increasingly were pressured by Greek penetration into the southwest and southeast and foundation of subcolonies such as Agrigento. In any case, Kamarina and some settlements in the region were to some extent characteristic secondary foundations, and while no solid evidence exists for a *de novo* Greek emporion inland, groups of Greek merchants, craftsmen and landed aristocracy made inroads into the Hyblean region and were important economic and social actors in weaving relations and economies in an area of isolated but interconnected plateaus. Kamarina seems, at least at the beginning, to have been established primarily as a port-of-trade, unlike some smaller inland communities Syracuse established.<sup>437</sup> Along coastlines, emporia are among the most recognizable markers of the Archaic circulation of merchandise and people, situated along natural routes and especially waterways leading inland, favored sites for establishments that take advantage of overlapping zones of influence. A coastal emporion is largely an open community given its more contingent existence, which could account for the different relationships that Kamarina, compared to Syracuse, established with the Sikel populations, eventually leading to Kamarina's alliances with indigenous communities.<sup>438</sup>

### **The Rifriscolaro and Rito Necropoleis: Asserting Identities within Greek and Mixed Communities**

The Rifriscolaro Necropolis, unfortunately largely unpublished, is particularly important for shedding light on the trade relations between early colonists and the hinterland, as well as the

---

<sup>437</sup> This cemetery was originally published by Pelagatti (Pelagatti 1973). Other emporia, although not as archaeologically visible, linked the coastal settlements; they do not seem to have developed into important city-states. One possible emporion in the region is Contrada Maestro at the frontier between Kamarina and Syracuse; possibly part of a coastal network it was not unlike the site of Eknomos, in the zone of Licata between the territories of Gela and Agrigento, and known from Polybius and Plutarch (Pol., 1, 25; DS 19, 108; Plut., Dion. 26) and Makara, at the mouth of the Platani, between the territories of Agrigento and Selinunte (Heraclide Lembos, fr. 611, 59). (Demetriou 2011)

<sup>438</sup> Di Vita et. al. 2015: 20.



city's demographics before the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>439</sup> It is especially vital to our understanding of the divergence of burial practices of population groups that migrated from centers with a clearly-articulated set of practices. Trade relations and contacts with various Mediterranean actors are especially visible in the evidence from transport amphorae, often reused as cinerary urns, traced to 18 different sites in the Mediterranean. The vast cemetery, with 1800 excavated graves, was used from the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> to the early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, and particularly intensively until the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, corroborating the city's traditional chronologies. (Fig. 3.22) There is some organization of the necropolis: family or clan aggregations appear to be situated in isolated areas, including two of the oldest nuclei, located in the northeast sector along the ancient road, probably corresponding to the graves of the founders' families: the Cilia Mezzasalma Group and the Dieci Salmi group.<sup>440</sup> These were groups of aristocratic tombs, with combinations of primary cremation of family groups and inhumations in fossa tombs, used only in the first 10-15 years of the colony's history.<sup>441</sup> These are particularly vital in elucidating the nature of elite practice and identity in the early colony.

In the earliest period, the trend is towards primary cremation directly inside fossas, as at M. Casale. The arrangement of burials in family groups is simple, with the family heads placed in the middle, and adults, children and infants radiating around this center. Initial burials are dated by early material associated with them – for instance, close to Tomb 2110, an EC column krater with zoomorphic frieze, a type not typically found in Greek Sicilian necropoleis,<sup>442</sup> was placed

---

<sup>439</sup> The cemetery was excavated in 1969-79 by Sourisseau, and Di Marco, and Fouilland published in a series of site reports and limited publications. (Pelagatti and Garetto 1980: 719-23; Sourisseau 2002; Pelagatti 2006; Stefano 2012)

<sup>440</sup> Pelagatti and Garetto 1980: 719-23. The first group was excavated by Pelagatti, the second by Di Stefano.

<sup>441</sup> Dominguez 2004: 292.

<sup>442</sup> Pelagatti 2006: 70; Stefano 2012: 256-7.

directly into the bedrock, near several graves for which it may have been used in funerary cult, as this krater contained two undecorated cups. (Fig. 3.23) Close by this same group were an elongated trench with no skeletal remains and traces of a hearth used to prepare food inside the pit – evidence of ritual feasting, further suggested by the position of the krater.

Another early grave, perhaps at the core of the cemetery, was Tomb 92, a woman buried with an early MC oinochoe.<sup>443</sup> These tombs belonged to individuals of high rank who, in the first generation of Greek hinterland settlement, desired to display and reinforce their elite status through ostentatious burials. Some emerging households may have sought to distinguish themselves through the very visible act of cremation burials. Additionally, placement of later tombs close to these cremations physically linked individuals with their predecessors, emphasizing their direct lineage and demonstrating elite ties – ostentation through association. The isolated nature of these tombs, visibly connoting their exclusivity, also contributes to their high-status image, a phenomenon seen elsewhere in the hinterland surrounding Kamarina. Even groups of some second and third generation burials are likely aristocratic, continuing traditions of elite seclusion and alignment along the most visible part of the cemetery, the street leading from the city gate.<sup>444</sup>

Inland indigenous centers such as Castiglione and Hybla have some examples of comparable aristocratic and monumental burials with high-quality stone-cut fossa tombs, large amounts of fine grave goods (often imitating metals), and stone sculptural elaboration, belonging to inhabitants playing an active role in establishing relations with coastal Greeks. Indeed, some early graves in the Rifriscolaro Necropolis contain indigenous ceramics, such as hydriai,

---

<sup>443</sup> Di Stefano 2012: 256.

<sup>444</sup> Groups of Tombs 563/553/528 and Tombs 493/491. (Di Stefano 2012: 258)

amphorai and oinochoai, most comparable to Siculo-Geometric wares found at nearby M. Casasia, but also including a fragmentary incised and stamped ware jug, relatively rare for this region of Sicily.<sup>445</sup> Some vases stand out: an early 6<sup>th</sup> century lebes with spool handles, derived from Greek metal vessels and decorated with small dotted rosettes similar to imported Ionian decorated wares, and a bucchero-style oinochoe.<sup>446</sup> (Fig. 3.24) Several non-Greek ceramics are relatively rare types for Greek burials (where pouring vessels of any kind are not common and hydriai are not usual cremation vessels); conventionally interpreted as belonging to grave kits of indigenous women, these may also evince guest-friendship ties or trade with surrounding indigenous communities, or of mixed-population or indigenous components in Kamarina or its immediate hinterland. (Fig. 3.25) Large indigenous vessels are also used in both secondary cremations of adults (uncommon in the necropolis) and enchytrismos of children.<sup>447</sup>

Among the earlier Rifriscolaro Necropolis tombs, most consist of fossa burials – simple burials within the earth as well as rarer sarcophagi and hypogea lined with stone blocks – amphora enchytrismos (for child and infant burials), and cremation. Overall, about 60% are inhumations, 35% enchytrismos burials, and only 6% cremations (although this is more common in elite sectors of the necropolis and tends to be isolated in certain sectors).<sup>448</sup> Primary cremation in pits is much more widely attested than secondary cremation in containers.<sup>449</sup> This is

---

<sup>445</sup> Pelagatti 2006: 124-5; Di Stefano 2012: 255-6; 258.

<sup>446</sup> Indigenous wares are found in Tombs 218; 230; 264; 254; 29; 66.

<sup>447</sup> One such example is an indigenous hydria used for the enchytrismos burial of a child in Tomb 439. Also attested is an indigenous-style dipinto jug with geometric decoration, typical of Central-Southern Sicilian ceramic production. (Fouilland 2006 *Kamarina. 2600 anni dopo la fondazione*: 125; Albanese 2010: 507)

<sup>448</sup> Pelagatti 2006: 60-2; Di Vita et. al. 2015: 18-22.

<sup>449</sup> One of the few examples is Tomb 1077, which consists of a Laconian krater with cremations of two individuals, a more common practice at indigenous sites than Sikeliote sites.

vastly different from many nearby indigenous communities, and especially within the zone of Gela, where secondary cremation in indigenous amphorai tends to be more common. Only around 4% contained metal goods; some contained only metals, with no associated ceramics. Particularly interesting is the large number of reused wine and oil transport amphorae in the tombs, used for the majority of the enchytrismos burials in ceramic vases.<sup>450</sup> These mainly date to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, during a period of changing western Mediterranean trade patterns and creation of diverse production centers adopting similar amphora types modeled on Greek types. Some of the earliest are late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century Chiote amphorai, demonstrating ties with Eastern Sicily's Cycladic-Euboean sphere in the region around Leontini.<sup>451</sup> This amphora type, common in other Euboean foundations such as Mylai on the northern coast, was influential on interior indigenous borrowings of Greek motifs.

Not surprisingly for a Syracusan subcolony, Corinthian wares generally dominate in the tombs. The proportion of MC material is rather low, and aside from the so-called “founder’s tombs” in isolated groups, early tombs do not seem very rich, with on average only 1.6 Corinthian vases per tomb.<sup>452</sup> In this period, most imported Corinthian wares are perfume or small oil containers (45%), with elevated numbers of drinking vessels as well (37%). There are slightly higher numbers of Corinthian vessels in the LC period, with a high number of miniature kotylikoi and drinking vessels (66%) and pyxides (13%) and a decrease in perfume containers (20%). There are no exaleiptra, even though this remains a popular grave good in other Sicilian

---

<sup>450</sup> Pelagatti 2006: 64-9.

<sup>451</sup> Three examples were found in the Rirfriscolaro Necropolis, in Tomb 1404, Tomb 1276, and Tomb 1654. These are characterized by high cylindrical neck, white slip, S pattern around handles or neck, and horizontal lines on body (decorative motifs borrowed by indigenous potters).

<sup>452</sup> Pelagatti 2006: 77-94. This is perhaps to be expected of earlier foundations, and is comparable to tombs dating to the earliest period of subcolonies such as Agrigento.

necropoleis, especially indigenous, of this period. The lower numbers of perfume vessels (which disappear entirely from graves of the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century) may signal a move away from elite ostentation of the first generation of tombs towards a more egalitarian society with fewer wealthy graves. Throughout the necropolis, sherds were also found scattered around the tombs, perhaps from funerary rituals before and after tomb closure.<sup>453</sup> Among these vessels, typologies are slightly different from those found in tombs, with kotylai predominating, pouring vessels accounting for 17%, the remainder exaleiptra, kotyliskoi, pyxides and kraters, types used in drinking and ritual. Exaleiptra and oinochoai are much more common in exterior accumulations than in the graves themselves, due to their function; they do not seem to have been important components of the funerary kit of the inhabitants of Kamarina. Both in the tombs and scattered around, other elite wares include East Greek bucchero perfume bottles, Ionian cups,<sup>454</sup> and Laconian kraters, oinochoai and cups.<sup>455</sup> A Cycladic style marble lamp, comparable to examples from Syracuse, Selinunte, and Agrigento, was also recovered.

The nearby Rito Necropolis, near Ragusa, is comparable to the Rifriscolaro Necropolis, especially in its groupings of family units, aristocratic graves, and use of periboloi around fossa tombs.<sup>456</sup> Orsi originally identified the cemetery as Greek due to the lack of chamber tombs and its occupants as settlers from Syracuse.<sup>457</sup> Di Vita's 1956 excavation led him to conclude that the graves were typologically Greek, especially the enchytrismos burials, further confirmed by high-

---

<sup>453</sup> Di Stefano 2009: 228.

<sup>454</sup> Pelagatti 2006: 109-24. Early Ionian wares also include four Bes statuettes and one Wild Goat Style bowl.

<sup>455</sup> In general, these (except Attic imports and banded amphoriskoi) date to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>456</sup> The cemetery was excavated in 1969-79 by Sourisseau, and Di Marco, and Fouilland published in a series of site reports and limited publications. (Pelagatti and Garetto 1980: 719-23; Sourisseau 2002; Pelagatti 2006; Stefano 2012)

<sup>457</sup> These were originally published in Orsi 1899b and Orsi 1904b.

quality pieces, mostly Greek imports – especially MC and LC ceramics (over 80 objects) together with rich silver ornaments and funerary sculptures.<sup>458</sup> All these attest to the inhabitants' wealth, though their identity is unclear, as is whether these represent families of nobles among small groups of Greeks entering indigenous territory. However, this does not account for the high numbers of indigenous ceramics among grave goods. (Fig. 3.26) Di Vita saw the numerous Licodia Euboea-style vessels as evidence of strong friendly relations with the natives of nearby Hybla, at the Irminio River border between Kamarina's territory and that of its indigenous allies.<sup>459</sup> However, he viewed the settlement associated with the Rito Necropolis not as Hybla but rather a Kamarinian sub-colony set here to block Chalkidians and Geloans from either side, citing the necropolis's slightly later beginnings compared to that at Rifriscolaro – at the end of the MC period – as evidence of its founding soon after colonization of Kamarina.<sup>460</sup> Pelagatti, on the other hand, noted that the local material was primarily amphorae, bowls and oinochoai, uncommon in Greek tombs.<sup>461</sup> Although Greek imports are more common, only a small subset of 16 tombs (19.73%) contains no indigenous material. Nevertheless, few other Sikel tombs contain the material found at the Rito Necropolis, such as Siana cups, Protoattic vases, or worked sculpture; and decorated Sikel amphorae and hydriai are often associated with Greek funerary goods. (Fig. 3.27) Furthermore, fibulae tend to be rare, only two definitively associated with earlier burials. Perhaps here, as to a more limited extent at Kamarina, there were mixed families, or Greeks utilizing the area's available resources, supplementing their own pottery with

---

<sup>458</sup> Di Vita 1956b; Di Vita et al. 2015: 174; 223-4. Other imports include 70-80 Ionian, Attic, and Sikeliote imitations.

<sup>459</sup> Di Vita 1956b: 43-4.

<sup>460</sup> The large number of Sikel vessels found here recall goods from graves explored by Orsi in Cortolillo and Cuciniello – from a similar period– which Orsi identified as outposts of Greek merchants in the Sikel Hybla region.

<sup>461</sup> Di Stefano 2006 (*Kamarina: 2600 anni dopo la fondazione*): 364-5.

local wares. In any case, the necropolis certainly was part of a network of Hyblaeon Mountain sites inland of Kamarina, many frequented soon after foundation of the coastal settlement: these may have been stepping stones to relations with indigenous communities such as Hybla and Castiglione further inland.<sup>462</sup> The Rito Necropolis community thus seems to have been a mixed one, distinct from both local indigenous and Greek communities, its own practices and funeral typologies utilizing both Greek and indigenous wares.

A closer look at some tomb typologies and features reveals differences from items at the Rifriscolaro Necropolis. [Table 3.9] Of the 76 tombs, most were simple fossa in the earth, although rectangular stone tombs, sarcophagi, and enchytrismoι of children are attested; most were single inhumations.<sup>463</sup> The tombs were dispersed on a hill slope, and some appear to be grouped, perhaps belonging to family units, as at the Rifriscolaro Necropolis. Most inhumed individuals are buried with the head towards the south; this contrasts with the Rifriscolaro Necropolis, where most are oriented towards the east, suggesting different burial customs.<sup>464</sup> Percentages of earthen fossa tombs are almost identical in the two necropoleis, although stone sarcophagi are much more common at the Rito Necropolis, and stone-lined rectangular hypogea more popular at Rifriscolaro. There are significantly fewer enchytrismos burials in the Rito Necropolis. Overall, especially given that the Rifriscolaro Necropolis included a high percentage of tombs without grave goods (72%, compared to only 17% in the Rito Necropolis), it seems that there is a more even and generally higher wealth distribution in the Rito

---

<sup>462</sup> Di Stefano 2006 (*Camarina: 2600 anni dopo la fondazione*): 359-61. Ragusa, M. Casasia, Licodia Eubea, Sciri, Grammichele, Palagonia, Palikè-Rocchicella and Ramacca.

<sup>463</sup> Di Vita 2006 (*Camarina: 2600 anni dopo la fondazione*): 357. Double inhumations are rarer but present.

<sup>464</sup> Di Vita et al. 2015: 15.

Necropolis.<sup>465</sup> Many more Rito tombs are monumental, with numerous metal objects throughout, especially rings and earrings, and silver jewelry in nine tombs.<sup>466</sup> (Fig. 3.28)

Orsi also discovered animal sculptures, likely the remains of limestone tomb markers, with traces of inscriptions.<sup>467</sup> (Fig. 3.29) These are associated with monumental funerary shrines or aediculae, and Orsi discovered a perimeter wall constructed with isodomic blocks, perhaps supporting a colonnade, around Tomb X. He concluded that this served as a funerary heroon for an important individual, perhaps the colony's aristocratic founder.<sup>468</sup> He also unearthed sculptural groups around Tomb XV, including elements of a sphinx, a quadruped (bull or lion) and horse, perhaps all from the same sculptural group.<sup>469</sup> These may evidence the presence or influence of Greeks in mixed population groups, the "aristoi" commissioning these sculptures, perhaps mixed families or groups of merchants who had developed profitable relations with Greek and indigenous populations in the area. Some later excavated tombs were also more ostentatious, such as Tomb 2, from c. 565, a well-constructed hypogeum tomb including a skeumorphic Protoattic lekane and Laconian kylix by the painter Arkesilas, rare in the West.<sup>470</sup> (Fig. 3.30) Other built structures, often with silver and bronze jewelry, confirm a number of the occupants' wealth, likely increased through connections with the indigenous hinterland. Based on aggregations of graves and of funerary goods, at least four aristocratic families were represented at the Rito Necropolis. These ostentatious burials can be compared to

---

<sup>465</sup> Di Vita et al. 2015: 20.

<sup>466</sup> Di Vita et al. 2015: 22.

<sup>467</sup> Orsi 1899b.

<sup>468</sup> Di Stefano 2006 (*Camarina: 2600 anni dopo la fondazione*): 365; Orsi 1899b: 406.

<sup>469</sup> Orsi 1899b: 405-12.

<sup>470</sup> Di Vita et al. 2015: 39.



those at Kamarina, especially the early “founders’ tombs,” such as Tomb 2110 with its krater and Tomb 497, with grave goods in two amphorae and cremation burials.<sup>471</sup> Elite ties are especially clear in the placement of other familial tombs close to the original occupant, likely the clan founder, in both the Rito and Rifriscolaro necropoleis. These individuals were celebrated with libations and feasting, conducted exclusively at graves of elite individuals and families. Furthermore, the rich tombs, often with elaborate architecture, are ideologically like heroic-type tombs not only at Rifriscolaro, with cremations accompanied by drinking services, but also in necropoleis at Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea, Gela, M. San Mauro, and M. Casale, where cremations are commonly associated with elaborately painted storage and drinking containers or placed in bronze vessels. These families likely sought to make a statement through burial differentiation; whether this statement was directed to individuals of the same or different ethnic group is less important than its contents.

However, unlike the Rifriscolaro Necropolis, here the earliest tombs tend to be less ostentatious, although only two date to the first few decades of the 6<sup>th</sup> century;<sup>472</sup> a few dating to LC I are more modest in terms of numbers of objects.<sup>473</sup> Many later tombs, however, do contain valuable older material, earlier than the depositions themselves, a clear indication that many elite families of the mid to late 6<sup>th</sup> century possessed older pottery, perhaps heirlooms which were considered valuable and taken out of circulation.<sup>474</sup> These were however usually accompanied by

---

<sup>471</sup> Di Stefano 2006 (*Camarina: 2600 anni dopo la fondazione*): 365; Cordano and Di Salvatore 2002: 143.

<sup>472</sup> Di Vita et al. 2015: 217-8.

<sup>473</sup> Tombs 21, 22, 43, 51, 6.

<sup>474</sup> Examples from Tomb 2, the most monumental of the necropolis include a valuable Laconian kylix by the Painter Arkesilas and from Tomb 26 two high-quality kotylai with zoomorphic frieze. Occasionally tombs contain depositions separated by a few decades, like Tomb 60, with a high-quality Siena cup and with LC II material; in Tomb 28, one deposition was buried with LC I material and Ionian Type B1 kylix, the second with an LC II exaleiptron.

contemporary indigenous ceramics, found in graves down through the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>475</sup> Thus, we seem to have at the Rito Necropolis a mixed community of mostly elevated status, a position and ethnicity evident not only in mixed ceramic assemblages but also in the frequent metal goods and oinochoai, commonly attested in indigenous graves.

### **Castiglione: A Cultural Crossroads**

The indigenous site of Castiglione demonstrates a very different trajectory from indigenous and mixed necropoleis at M. Finocchito, Kamarina and Rito, perhaps due to a more inland location ideally situated to exploit trade currents not only to the east but also towards the south coast in later phases of the settlement's development. Indeed, it can be argued that this site was a middle ground or bridge in the zone between the more "indigenizing" earlier Finocchito necropolis, and the more "Hellenizing" later Rito Necropolis. This site stands out, though, for the preservation of both the indigenous settlement and its necropolis and their commonalities with other southeastern Sicilian necropoleis and settlements (particularly in the contemporaneous use of various modes of burial and differing levels of wealth distribution and conventions evident among the necropoleis).

Castiglione is in interior southeastern Sicily, on a plateau 20 km east of Kamarina, overlooking the eastern road from the sea into the Rifriscolaro Valley. Near other interior indigenous territories of the Hyblaeen Mountains, the area overlooks communication routes between coastal Greek settlements and interior Sikel territories.<sup>476</sup> This site is closely linked with other important indigenous centers of the southeastern Sicilian hinterland as well as large coastal Greek sites that were major players in the dissemination of trade items and cultural practices

---

<sup>475</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 96-7. Di Vita et al. 2015: 204-7.

<sup>476</sup> The name of the ancient site is unknown; it may be linked to one of the cities with the name Hybla located in Sicily, perhaps Hybla Heraia, mentioned by Stephanus Byzantius (Di Vita et al. 2015: 17).

from the coastal littoral to the interior. Whereas M. Finocchito did not engage in intensive and long-lasting trade with Syracuse, Castiglione engaged with Greeks from an early phase, negotiating relations and even becoming a mixed settlement later in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, as evidenced by numerous necropoleis used by different population segments.<sup>477</sup> Indeed, Castiglione interacts with Kamarina from the 6<sup>th</sup> century onwards, evidenced by new grave types and assemblage typologies. The site becomes an arena of contention and encounters, as well as synthesis, among various people and cultures – Greek settlers in Syracuse, Gela, Leontini, and Kamarina, alongside the indigenous community, which preserved its own identity. This is not due to generalized resistance to Greek culture, however; certain Greek cultural influences found a reception within local culture, leading to the creation of new divergent identities. In fact, until the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century relations between Greeks and locals seem to have been relatively good; new burial rituals and artifact types signal a turning point in Greek-indigenous relations and the social organization and economy of indigenous centers after Greek contact.

Excavations to establish the town's overall plan provide one of the most complete archaeological records of all the indigenous districts of central-eastern Sicily, including part of the habitation zone, acropoleis, chamber tombs, and pit burials with single or double depositions dating from the late 8<sup>th</sup> through the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>478</sup> The Protoarchaic and Archaic domestic area developed along the Castiglione plateau, with habitations limited to an isolated terrace atop of

---

<sup>477</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 20.

<sup>478</sup> Castiglione was discovered in 1948; Di Vita excavated the village and West Acropolis until 1964, with a second campaign by DeVita and Pelagatti between 1969 and 1972 in the village and West Acropolis (which also revealed the south and east necropoleis). Di Stefano conducted a campaign from 1977-78 and 1984-86 in the northern urban and central quarters, and the Eastern Acropolis was excavated in 1999. These were published in a series of site reports and articles (Di Vita 1951; Pelagatti and del Campo 1971; Cordano and Di Salvatore 2002; Duda 2006; Di Stefano 2006; Mercuri 2012b) and synthesized in a volume on the various necropoleis (Mercuri 2012a).

the plateau in irregular aggregations of dwellings.<sup>479</sup> (Fig. 3.31) In general, recovered material suggests a largely isolated village, despite a small number of Archaic Greek trade objects; indigenous objects are comparable to those of 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century assemblages in tombs near Modica.<sup>480</sup> (Fig. 3.32) This is also reflected in the urban pattern, which owes virtually nothing to the Sikeliote model,<sup>481</sup> even though most buildings date to the 6<sup>th</sup> century and Greek presence at the site is suggested by an Archaic cemetery east of the settlement, conventionally known as the “Greek” cemetery, that in form does not resemble the chamber tombs and pit graves of the western cemetery. All this indicates that although numerous Greeks reached the settlement both before and after Kamarina was founded, it continued to retain strongly indigenous components, never fully “Hellenizing.”

The town’s earliest archaic phase is visible in the northern and central quarters, surrounded by a large enclosure.<sup>482</sup> Within the village, excavated in sporadic sections, were at least nine houses along one of the major roads bisecting the plateau, with other buildings and neighborhoods irregularly flanking the main road. The northern urban area was characterized by Archaic dwellings with rectangular rooms around paved common spaces or open courtyards leading onto streets, with circular silos in the center of common areas.<sup>483</sup> These are comparable to the LIA and Protoarchaic apsidal buildings as well as contemporary elliptical structures at Syracuse (indigenous dwellings in the area of Piazza Duomo and Prefettura), Contrada Consi, la

---

<sup>479</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 17.

<sup>480</sup> Pelagatti and del Campo 1971; Mercuri 2012a: 16-20.

<sup>481</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 17, 286-93.

<sup>482</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 292-3.

<sup>483</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 288.

Muculufa, and M. Desusino, all broadly within the same zone of southeastern Sicily.<sup>484</sup> A number of 6<sup>th</sup>-century houses were isolated; these are mostly elliptical in form, while at least one house – House I – is apsidal. (Fig. 3.33) At the southern border, near the Kamarina gate, was further evidence for this early occupation period.<sup>485</sup> A large two-room Archaic building parallels the main road into the city, encircled by a large pseudo-polygonal temenos enclosure, the site's only known monumental building; located at the highest point of the plateau, it also dates to the 6<sup>th</sup> century, contemporary with or slightly after Kamarina's founding. In terms of style and structure the building is Hellenizing, the only one at the site, although we do not know its relationship to the rest of the settlement area. An extraurban road leads out of the city, towards interior indigenous centers such as Ragusa. An abrupt mid-6<sup>th</sup> century break, with destruction of habitations and the monumental building, suggests that its fate was linked to that of Kamarina and the expansion of Syracuse.<sup>486</sup>

The multiple trade configurations at this one inland settlement, which also demonstrates direct commercial links to Gela,<sup>487</sup> suggest that it was a crossroads of ethne, by the early 6<sup>th</sup> century functioning as a sort of trade emporion — the Archaic-period settling of Castiglione in fact coincide with Syracusan frequentation of the region and their foundation of Kamarina. Perhaps the site itself becomes one of localized trade and exchange, albeit with mixed settled populations.<sup>488</sup> The same has occasionally been said about nearby M. Casasia, although it exhibits slightly different locally made goods, more Euboean products and a smaller number of imports.

---

<sup>484</sup> *Supra* 88, 105, 120.

<sup>485</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 17; Mercuri 2012b: 290.

<sup>486</sup> Mercuri 2012b: 290; Mercuri 2012a: 95-6.

<sup>487</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 93-5.

<sup>488</sup> Mercuri 2012b: 289-90.

The two sites of M. Casasia and Castiglione, despite a slight chronological gap, demonstrate distinct zones of dissemination from the closest Greek polis, the Euboean to the northeast, and Aegean to the southeast. By the 6<sup>th</sup> century these differences diminish, and ceramics discovered in the indigenous sites of the Hyblaean Mountains in southeast Sicily start to give an impression of cultural uniformity.

At Castiglione, at least three burial grounds were excavated, the most expansive of which, the West Necropolis,<sup>489</sup> is in the slopes of the plateau around the domestic area; pit graves and chamber tombs are located in distinct groupings – chamber tombs predominate along the western and southern slopes and pit tombs are concentrated in the flattest zones at a higher altitude, immediately below the plateau. (Fig. 3.34) While chamber tombs are placed where most convenient, pit tombs were aggregated in three principal nuclei.<sup>490</sup> Pit tombs come into existence in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, while chamber tombs have a much older history at the site.<sup>491</sup> (Fig. 3.36) 253 tombs have been discovered, the majority pit graves, although the disparity between the numbers of pit and chamber tombs is not as great as at some other indigenous sites such as Butera.<sup>492</sup> The pit graves therefore do not seem a marginal practice but rather a significant part of the cultural landscape. Several tombs, excavated by Di Vita in the southwest portion of the necropolis, are slightly differentiated from tombs later excavated by Pelagatti.<sup>493</sup> More isolated, almost all fall in the second and third quarters of the 6<sup>th</sup> century even though

---

<sup>489</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 20. These were published in Di Vita 1951.

<sup>490</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 21.

<sup>491</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 25-7.

<sup>492</sup> Di Vita excavated 24 tombs (almost all chamber tombs, with one pit grave), while Pelagatti excavated 37 grotticella and 86 pits on the south and east slopes and catalogued of the necropolis. (Mercuri 2012b: 281)

<sup>493</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 32.

almost all are chambers. The two oldest in this area, Tombs 20 and 11, are structurally different from the others, and, like some of the earliest tombs from the Rifriscolaro Necropolis, slightly richer.<sup>494</sup> (Fig. 3.35) The group is also differentiated from other tomb groups by more common use of benches (especially multiple benches), and the smaller number of multiple interments, many chambers used only for single interments, a phenomenon that appears to become more common in the Archaic and would be expected for a necropolis in use for such a short time. There are also more imported objects relative to the small number of individuals per chamber, as well as metal goods commonly associated with individuals. Unlike other chambers in the West Necropolis, those in this section remained relatively undisturbed, as skeletons and grave goods were not moved to make room for further depositions. This may be due to sole use by immediate family groups or only by elite individuals. Also, these tombs are carefully new-cut structures, rather than reused Bronze Age tombs as are some other Archaic burials in West Necropolis chamber tombs.

Fragmentary and sparse Castelluccian vases and sherd deposits outside some chambers later excavated by Pelagatti suggest reuse of EBA tombs.<sup>495</sup> It is uncertain how these later Archaic-period locals viewed the earlier human remains and grave goods; they often cleared them out to accommodate later bodies, and in some cases new chambers were cut, suggesting that ancestor cults do not seem to have factored into reuse of these earlier chamber tombs. Chamber tombs include open types with circular or oval apertures to the circular chamber (*a forno* type), present in both prehistoric and later tombs; and those of rectangular plan, which

---

<sup>494</sup> Di Vita 1951: 346-9, 254-5.

<sup>495</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 17.

become more common in the Archaic.<sup>496</sup> The main difference between the chronologically disparate sets of tombs is in the elaboration of the entryway, not normally monumental in the Bronze Age but delineated by a pile of stones or long passageway by the Archaic. Several tombs contained multiple depositions; long periods of use were often demonstrated by objects of disparate time periods, uses and attribution, such as Finocchito-type basins, LPC cups, EC and MC amphoriskoi, and aryballoi. (Fig. 3.37) [Table 3.10] One of the most illustrative examples is Tomb G 97, continuously from the late 8<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> century with at least 50 interments.<sup>497</sup> In these cases objects were rarely placed near the bodies, possibly because of periodic cleaning of the tomb. Instead, items are placed in accumulations, often near walls (with the notable exception of chamber tombs excavated by Di Vita). The central part of the chamber in these cases was left clear and empty to facilitate ritual activity.

At Castiglione, chamber tombs exhibit a much longer chronology than pit tombs, which are almost exclusively from the late 7<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. The chambers are used for multiple inhumations alongside the fossa tombs in the subsequent two centuries. This is also unusual compared to chamber tombs from indigenous sites of central and southern Sicily, especially if one considers that in the southwest sector, chamber tombs only started to be utilized in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, contrary to the belief that creation of these traditional burial grounds almost completely ended after Greeks started to make inroads into the interior.<sup>498</sup> The incipient use of chambers at a site is almost never associated with other burial practices after the late 8<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> century, although contemporary (or at least overlapping) use of chamber tombs and pit burials, as well as

---

<sup>496</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 29.

<sup>497</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 120-43.

<sup>498</sup> Di Vita 1951: 335-7.



other types, has already been demonstrated elsewhere, at Butera. The typology of the tombs at the Castiglione West Necropolis – chamber or pit tombs – thus does not correspond either to two successive chronological phases of the necropolis or to a particular type of good. Neither do the practices seem to be correlated with different ethnic groups, and the inhabitants of Castiglione, or at least those using the West Necropolis, seem mostly “homogenous” culturally and economically. In fact, the practice of single interment in a rectangular pit, while mainly considered indicative of Greek (particularly Syracusan) influence, nevertheless traces back to Italic practices identified in Sicily at the EIA site of Molina della Badia near Grammichele.<sup>499</sup> Single or double inhumations in fossa graves are also attested in other indigenous Hyblaean Mountain locations such as at Sperlinga, Paraspola and Ramacca. This phenomenon is perhaps the result of mixture of rites in Sicily during and after the movement of populations before Greek colonization – movements of protohistoric populations from Calabria or the Tyrrhenian coast, whose rituals include pit tomb burial attested in the LBA on the Italian peninsula.<sup>500</sup> The pit tombs at Castiglione are rudimentary compared to Sikeliote examples, closer to tombs of mixed populations represented by the Rito or Rifriscolaro necropoleis, with rough-cut tombs covered by a single monolithic slab or several smaller stone coverings, some more carefully-constructed than others.<sup>501</sup> (Fig. 3.38)

At Castiglione, most pit tombs are intended for single interments, although skeletal material was usually not well-preserved, and some fossas demonstrate periodic re-cleaning to

---

<sup>499</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 30.

<sup>500</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 30.

<sup>501</sup> Examples include Tombs F60, F62, and F70, which contain regular sides, and F19, which is essentially a sarcophagus hollowed out from the rock and covered by three slabs, one inscribed with a circle.

make room for subsequent interments.<sup>502</sup> Some distinguishing characteristics of tombs indicate differences in practice: a niche at the bottom of one end to receive a head, a feature characteristic of local populations; or enlargement of one wall of the pit or small hole in the bottom inside the wall in which were put grave goods, although most graves were made long enough to place goods at each end.<sup>503</sup> Common object preferences and their combinations and associations include amphorae closed by a bowl, cup, or exaleiptron, and depositions of small objects near the skull and larger objects near the lower part of the body.<sup>504</sup> [Table 3.11] In the middle were often medium-sized objects like cups, exaleiptra, and lamps. Several tombs contain no grave goods, while many contain only an amphora covered with a drinking or eating vessel, with indigenous ceramics predominating in these ensembles. Most pit tombs are roughly cut. Some ritual practices are evident from artifacts – one interesting example, Tomb F 81, contains a double covering of slabs, an additional amphora placed between the stones of the upper cover, perhaps to receive libations.<sup>505</sup> (Fig. 3.39)

Chamber and pit tombs demonstrate several similarities in funerary practices, as if the practices from the former had been transferred directly to the latter. There are no significant differences in types of goods or assemblages, and chamber tombs are richer in both imports and local goods simply because of their collective nature. [See Table 3.12 for combined object totals] The systematic reuse of space in chamber tombs may also be found in some fossa graves, as is the practice of the stacking of objects. Thus, pit graves, like chamber tombs, seem to emphasize kinship ties and the indigenous inheritance of later occupants, who are nevertheless have

---

<sup>502</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 32.

<sup>503</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 30.

<sup>504</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 33.

<sup>505</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 246-8.

affiliations with Greek traders and express their identity in different ways. There is unfortunately little skeletal information to corroborate this suggestion. 236 post-cephalic skeletons and 124 skulls were retrieved; this does not necessarily argue for the practice of akephalia or other deviant burial practices, due to the frequent reuse of tombs in the Archaic,<sup>506</sup> which often involves leaving a few bones (usually the skull) and grave goods, frequently disassociated from the original body. (Fig. 3.40)

In terms of assemblages, the Castiglione West Necropolis is comparable to those of some other indigenous cemeteries (especially Morgantina Necropolis V and M. Casasia), but also a number of other indigenous, primarily sacred, contexts – Palike, Fontana Calda, M. Saraceno (Upper Plateau), Oikos B at Polizzello, and even some extramural Sikeliote sanctuaries – the Naxos La Musa Sanctuary and Southern Plateau/ Temple ZR at Megara Hyblaea. Grave goods are almost entirely ceramics, of three main types: indigenous vases decorated with Siculo-Geometric motifs or left unpainted (the latter more common in pit graves); imported Sikeliote products (mostly modest vases of wide circulation, such as Ionian-type kylikes, lamps, and cups without handles) and Greek imports. Imported Corinthian ceramics first appear in the last quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The goods are largely chronologically homogenous, despite four possible late 8<sup>th</sup> century intrusions, consisting of a dipper-cup and three greyware basins with raised handles and incised decoration. (Fig. 3.41) This may be a rather high dating for these indigenous objects, which could also belong to classes still used in the 7<sup>th</sup> century or heirlooms, thus contemporaneous with the Castiglione's first Corinthian imports.<sup>507</sup> Nevertheless, their

---

<sup>506</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 31.

<sup>507</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 23. The domestic area, with first occupation fixed at the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, also contains fragments of basins with incised decorations identical to those of the necropolis, suggesting that this type was in use through at least part of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

presence hints at continued indigeneity despite the introduction of new burial forms and ritual practices. Among all pottery classes, indigenous ceramics predominate, in many cases the only object found in pit graves. These are divided into two groups – forms linked to older local traditions (amphoras, bowls, large basket-handled basins, jugs), and forms derived from Greek tradition (hydriae, askoi, kraters, trefoil oinochoai); however these do not follow any noticeable depositional patterns.<sup>508</sup> (Fig. 3.42) Local amphorae and bowls are the most common types, due to the funeral practices outlined above (these seem to constitute the lowest common denominator for a funerary kit). The second-most common grave goods are trefoil oinochoai with high necks, very numerous at Castiglione as at all indigenous sites of western Sicily. (Fig. 3.43)

Imports increase from the MC through the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. (Fig. 3.44) Aside from Corinthian and East Greek ceramics, imports from other regions of Greece are very limited but reflect major Archaic patterns of exchange: Laconian kraters are imported between the second and third quarters of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, and Attic imports start to intensify during the last quarter of the century, although remaining rare. Particularly interesting is the frequent use of lamps, one third of which appear in pit tombs, where their use would not be expected. These were likely from deposition rituals (especially in chamber tombs, which required illumination), and Dunbabin suggests that frequent use of lamps is a common feature of Sikel burials, the funerary association transferred from chamber tombs to pit tombs.<sup>509</sup> Cups are often placed with small trefoil oinochoai, perhaps symbolically reflecting ritual feasting. Objects of adornment are

---

<sup>508</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 23-4.

<sup>509</sup> Dunbabin 1948: 127.

unusually infrequent in both chamber and pit tombs; almost all come from one tomb.<sup>510</sup> This is very different from Butera, where numerous metal goods were recovered; it is more comparable to the situation at the Rito Necropolis. Additionally, several terracotta figurines were recovered.

Whether reused tombs were set aside for family or clan groups or the interments were placed in older chambers solely due to spatial constraints elsewhere is unclear. We could perhaps imagine that chamber tombs were preferred for individuals or groups who wished to align themselves with a particular family or clan, effectively being used as family burial plots, while pit tombs were utilized by those placing more emphasis on the individual rather than the collective.

While differential use of pit tombs and chamber tombs seems not to signal ethnicity, the same might not necessarily be said of Castiglione's East Necropolis, conventionally designated the Greek necropolis. (Fig. 3.45) [Table 3.13] Di Stefano excavated here after the "Warrior of Castiglione," an inscribed sculpture of local limestone, was discovered at the foot of the site's southeast slopes.<sup>511</sup> The East Necropolis is distinguished in terms of practices and monumentality of certain structures. This is a small cemetery of about 21 burials, dating to the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, located on a flat saddle outside the ancient fortification walls. The tombs consist of inhumations in fossas lined with stone slabs or in simple earthen pits, some covered with slabs or surrounded by small stones. There is only one each of enchytrismos, primary cremation and a *cappuccina* tomb. Over some tombs a small stone *sema* had been set up.<sup>512</sup> The necropolis also has a much higher percentage of Greek vases – in not just the most ostentatious grave, Tomb 12, but others as well, although some tombs have many fewer or no objects. Most graves

---

<sup>510</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 141-3.

<sup>511</sup> Cordano and di Salvatore 2002: 29.

<sup>512</sup> Di Stefano 2006: 360.

are oriented northeast-southwest or generally east, typical of Greek practice. The differences in deposition types despite chronological overlap with others at Castiglione, lead researchers to suggest that these graves were used by different populations.<sup>513</sup> The East Necropolis seems to begin not long after Kamarina's founding, and so may be linked to movements of Greeks from the coast, perhaps a handful of Greek settlers (like artisans or landed gentry) or merchants moving inland and settling in this area near the more traditional settlement of Castiglione. However, some practices, such simple pits covered with stone slabs or surrounded by small stones, are comparable to practices at other indigenous cemeteries such as Butera; and the stone-lined fossa tomb is similar to mixed-population tombs in the Rito Necropolis. As Mercuri notes, "La question, cependant, semble plus complexe car, si la nécropole de Rito, plus étendue ... présente plus immédiatement des aspects grecs tels que des tombes à coffre des carrés équerries ou des sarcophages monolithiques, et une abondance de productions céramiques du bassin d'égéen, les tombes de la nécropole orientale de Castiglione accumulent des caractéristiques qui ne sont pas simplement réductibles à la culture grecque."<sup>514</sup> In any case, this small necropolis demonstrates the process of mediation between Kamarina and local inhabitants over the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Other sectors of society, or members of other kinship groups, rather than wholly "other" populations, may be expressed by the rites and burial goods seen at the cemetery. Only Tombs 3, 10 and 12 yielded any fineware, so it seems that the majority of the interred were less wealthy. Tomb 12 and Tomb 3 are the only monumental tombs.<sup>515</sup> Tomb 3 was a fossa burial with perimeter delineated by small stones and stone slab cover, on which was an animal sacrifice;

---

<sup>513</sup> Di Stefano 2006: 365.

<sup>514</sup> Mercuri 2012a: 90.

<sup>515</sup> Di Stefano 2006: 362-9.

inside was an inhumation with imported grave goods from the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century: an olpe, bowl, lekythos, and iron fibula, an uncommon grave good in Castiglione, suggesting indigenous identity. Another stone perimeter with a diameter of 12 m was found in the cemetery; inside was only one small pit without a deposition. This was perhaps originally intended as a monumental funerary enclosure but never used.

Tomb 12, a large, early 6<sup>th</sup> century tomb, comprised a wall 4 m in diameter surrounding grave goods and remains. The tomb, the purported original site of the so-called “Warrior of Castiglione,” contained evidence of a complex ritual of akephalia: seven isolated skulls, six found along the sides of the pit facing the primary occupant of the tomb.<sup>516</sup> (Fig. 3.46) The perimeter around the grave goods and skulls and the skulls’ orientation around the central inhumation mirror the placement of cremated remains and skulls around a central cremation at Butera, Tomb 138.<sup>517</sup> The grave goods are atypical of early Archaic Greek assemblages. (Fig. 3.47) Although the assemblages comprise mostly Sikeliote ceramics, they were found at the edge of the fossa in two piles within narrow spaces, a deposition characteristic of indigenous populations.<sup>518</sup> The interred individuals’ aristocratic nature is implied not only by the many ceramics – not unusual given the number of depositions in the tomb – but also by high-quality status objects of adornment and metal goods such as fibulae and a possible metal basin.<sup>519</sup> Vase forms are only those used in drinking rituals – typically elite institutions – such as cups, a krater, and an olpe, along with a few lamps, and include no perfume vases, a near-necessity among

---

<sup>516</sup> Cordano and di Salvatore 2002: 29; Di Stefano 2006: 367-76.

<sup>517</sup> *Supra* 75-6.

<sup>518</sup> Di Stefano 2006: 364.

<sup>519</sup> Metal goods consist of bronze and bone beads, bronze fibula, silver spiral, rings, fragment of an iron fibula, and two fragments of a bronze object with circular border perforated by small pressed holes, perhaps a metal basin.

Greek grave goods of this period. Two vases – a Licodia Euboea type amphora and bowl – are characteristically indigenous in manufacture (the basic combined unit of indigenous grave goods), and the preponderance of metal goods suggests an indigenous orientation.<sup>520</sup> If a ritual banquet was held during burial with the remains deposited in the tomb, it suggests an elite monumental burial: a fossa with multiple akephalia, disposal of high-quality metal goods and a banquet. Duda argues against akephalia at interment, since the skulls and bones seem to have been disarticulated after decomposition and the tomb is too small to hold all the bodies simultaneously.<sup>521</sup> The deposits likely were staggered over time, addition of a new deceased accompanied by shifting the previous body's skull to the eastern edge and dispersing of the rest of its skeleton inside the fossa, thus marking familial and ancestral relationships. Among the post-cranial elements and skulls, six adults (three male, three female) and two children were identified.<sup>522</sup> This may represent a family or extended kinship group from an important house. Reuse of the tomb is consistent with local practices, seen in the chamber tombs of the West Necropolis, continuously reopened and reused (although Tomb 12 likely contained only a couple generations). Additionally, the juxtaposition of imported Greek goods with indigenous wares is not unlike the West Necropolis – although there is considerably smaller percentage of indigenous vases in this case. This suggests that the ethnic make-up of the groups utilizing the two necropoleis is not so different as first appearances suggest, although in this case we may see a mixed population utilizing both Greek and indigenous modes of funerary elaboration. The types of objects and assemblages tell us a related story, similar as they are to object types and

---

<sup>520</sup> Other objects comprise Greek ceramics, dating to the first quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century: a Laconian krater, two lamps, three Ionian Type B1 kylikes, one skyphos, one trefoil oinochoe, one achromatic amphoretta, two undecorated cups.

<sup>521</sup> Duda 2006: 373-5.

<sup>522</sup> Duda 2006: 369.



percentages at the ethnically mixed Rito Necropolis. Analysis of the discourses of grave goods in relation to the body – with certain types of vessels associated with certain locations in the tomb – may also add to our comprehension of ritual practice and belief. For instance, in most cases larger vases such as amphorae were situated towards the bottom of the skeleton, symbolically referencing their position in normal use, as these would not have been portable items.

Furthermore, in multi-burial chamber tombs familial relationships were likely articulated through the associations between (dis)embodied individuals throughout the chambers, although unfortunately the largely jumbled state of the skeletons and displacement of objects from the original deposition areas make it difficult to assess these relationships.

Perhaps the most visible form of this ethno-social ambiguity is the so-called Warrior of Castiglione, which may have belonged to a doorway of monumental tomb or served as a *sema* surmounting the grave mound, although there is not solid evidence for its placement here.<sup>523</sup> (Fig. 3.48) It represents an important individual with shield and lance riding a horse; strongly Orientalizing protomes of a bull and sphinx flank him. A Greek inscription names the individual as Pyrrinos, son of Pytikkas – names of Greek origin – and the statue is signed by Skyllos, the earliest attested name of a sculptor in Archaic Sicily.<sup>524</sup> It is unusual to find a figured relief with Greek inscription in an apparent Sikel settlement, and few comparanda exist for this text; one, the Stele of Comiso near Hybla Heraia, consists of a poetic funerary inscription on the door of a Sikel chamber tomb from around the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps erected by a mixed Greek-speaking family living in an indigenous center.<sup>525</sup> Even within the Greek world there is little

---

<sup>523</sup> Cordano and di Salvatore 2002: 29-31.

<sup>524</sup> This is not the only inscription from Castiglione; others at the site include an elegiac couplet on the door of a possibly Sikel tomb, dedicated to Choros and Apelos, also found out of context. (Cordano and di Salvatore 2002: 75)

<sup>525</sup> Pugliese-Carratelli 1942; Cordano and di Salvatore 2002: 122.

comparable sculpture – the closest parallels are earlier stelae from Prinias.<sup>526</sup> This sculpture nevertheless uses an inscription to signal the tomb occupant’s cultural awareness and ties to Greek society. This was deliberate aristocratic ostentation, employing Archaic sculpture types with strong Orientalizing connotations: the individual was well connected to aristocratic Greek society and cultural currents, coinciding with Syracusan expansion and foundation of Kamarina. Indeed, all associated symbols – horse, sphinx, bull, weapons – are linked to aristocratic taste. The horse was a symbol of wealth and power since the Protogeometric period, and is a motif relatively rarely attested in indigenous art or in grave contexts in Sicily, although appearing in iconography of early contexts in the Syracuse necropoleis. The sphinx, making ample use of Orientalizing iconography, has direct elite connotations, with parallels in other areas of inland Sicily, such as the sphinx stele from M. San Mauro (Fig. 3.49). Bulls are also commonly associated with aristocratic ideology, and are one of the most common animals in the indigenous iconographic repertoire, associated with cult and fertility/ husbandry. Small bronze bull figurines are commonly dedicated in sanctuaries, and bull protomes are associated with human protomes on indigenous vases, less-monumental iconographic parallels of the association of bull and sphinx head on this monument. And like these vases, the Warrior of Castiglione may well be linked to the ancestral world if it was attached to Tomb 12. In any case, the central inhumation may be symbolically represented by the warrior statue, standing in as a *sema* connoting an elite individual, functioning not unlike Tomb 164 from M. San Mauro, which utilized masks to perhaps stand in for the deceased.

Like the tomb’s occupants, the warrior’s identity is ambiguous –the monument mediates between the population groups, universally understood as a symbol of power. The frontal-facing

---

<sup>526</sup> Cordano and di Salvatore 2002: 93-4.

head is unusual in Greek art on stelae, although comparable to stelae from the sanctuary of Malaphoros in Selinunte, some of which date to as early as the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>527</sup> The artistic forms are related to iconographic and formal spheres of the Italic and Punic worlds, perhaps transmitted inland to indigenous communities. But the formal stylistic tendencies of the head are also analogous to works from or inspired by the indigenous sphere, such as the kourotrophos from Megara Hyblaea, the Goddess of Simeto, the seated female goddess from Akrai, the goddess from Grammichele, or the head of a deity from M. Bubbonia, mixed with Daedalic-style Greek elements, similar to a head from Megara Hyblaea.<sup>528</sup> (Fig. 3.49) The warrior likely represents an amalgamation and assimilation of various elements from the Greek, indigenous and Punic worlds, while the inscription with personal names, combined with frontal face, testifies to the cult of the personality, perhaps linked to the rite of akephalia and other aristocratic practices. The monument thus seems to be a product of a local workshop or itinerant artist, utilizing Greek and pan-Mediterranean Orientalizing motifs and modes to transmit elite connotations, easily understandable to any passing group. But the sculpture can also be firmly placed within a *koine* of southeastern Sicilian sculptural productions from the late 7<sup>th</sup> or first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, under the stylistic influence of Syracusan and Corinthian workshops.<sup>529</sup> It is thus possible to consider the monument as a reflection of interactions between nodes of colonial networks, entering into the socio-political and economic structure of the Sikels at Castiglione.

---

<sup>527</sup> Cordano and di Salvatore 2002: 42.

<sup>528</sup> Cordano and di Salvatore 2002: 42-6; Mertens-Horn, M. 2010. "Das Manteion der Nyx in Megara und ihre Statue in Megara Hyblaea." *RM* 116: 105–17; Guzzone and Congiu 2005: 274-5.

<sup>529</sup> Cordano and di Salvatore 2002: 42.

In conclusion, Castiglione is unusual in the distinctiveness of each necropolis, with few overlapping practices between the two. It is possible to see the differences between the Eastern and Western Necropoleis as denoting population groups, although not necessarily different ethnic constituencies. It can also be assumed that each cemetery represents a group differentiated from the other in an intangible way, not based on ethnic markers. Despite its smaller size, the East Necropolis is more mixed in practice and typologies, with more variety (including some of Greek tradition) and with more Greek goods on average. This cemetery also displays more disparate grave types between the wealthiest individuals with monumental graves (Tombs 12 and 3), elevated numbers of grave goods, and atypical burial customs such as akephalia; and a vast majority of tombs with no or few grave goods. This demonstrates the ineffectiveness of thinking terms of polarities – Greek vs. indigenous practice – and importance of other criteria through which individuals and family groups differentiated themselves, by for instance focusing on elite display playing a part in the identity of individuals like the one represented by the Warrior of Castiglione. These markers signal not association with a distinct ethnic group – as these individuals may well have considered themselves part of an ethnic continuum – but rather elite identity and admission into a small sector of society, primarily highlighting the exclusivity of such groups. In this way, the monumental and highly visible funerary practices at Castiglione resemble the ambiguous situation at Butera, as in Tomb 138, where individuals also used indigenous and numerous Greek goods to showcase their wealth and command of resources, which had led them into relationships with Greeks in the first place – traders or coastal settlers – guest-friendships and ties that allowed them to amass more wealth. These local leaders were able to control important access routes to the interior and were mediators between Greek and local populations. Finally, *symmachia* and alliances between Greek and indigenous aristocracies, such as the one that led to Kamarina's insurgence against

Syracuse, are likely to have developed in such mixed centers, which served as arenas for exchange of ideas as well as objects.

Alongside these currents is greater interest in the “cult of the individual” from the early 6<sup>th</sup> century onwards, e.g. with single rather than multiple depositions, even among chamber tombs. There is a concomitant use of more elaborate grave types and greater focus on immediate family groups and individuals, likely elites. Even later tombs with multiple depositions – such as Tomb 12 of the East Necropolis – seem to focus on single prominent individual (interred in the middle). Indeed this tomb, more than the others, can be seen as a burial of an individual of singular distinction, especially if we can associate him with the Warrior of Castiglione, proclaiming a privileged *named* status and depicting elite accouterments such as the horse and bull, animals which may have embodied his accumulated wealth. Meanwhile, continued use of chamber tombs and renewed interest in this burial type even after fossa tombs become more common may signify a type of resistance or attempt to reconnect with the pre-Greek past; but it also could be investment in more monumental or visible tomb types as a means of differentiation of an identity not immediately visible in the archaeological record. That this identity is not necessarily linked with ethnicity is immediately clear by the widespread use of fossa tombs by local populations. Neither can the occupants of chamber tombs be considered to be lower status individuals – indeed, the considerable resources expended in the Archaic to create new chamber tombs southwest of the main group of earlier tombs suggest that these were a special group of people who could afford new chambers confined to individuals or small nuclear families, accompanied in death by a high number of imported objects relative to the number of interred individuals and by metal goods, a phenomenon of de-circulation not seen in Castiglione’s other burial areas. Although fewer metal ornaments are present in the fossas, this may be an effect of chronology rather than identity, as metal objects tend to become less

common in the 6<sup>th</sup> century. In other ways, the two tomb groups – grotticella and earlier fossa tombs – are broadly comparable, with identical percentages of drinking vessels and bowls, and nearly equivalent numbers of oinochoai and storage vessels. Both tomb groups also display nearly the same percentages of indigenous versus Greek grave goods, although there is a slightly higher percentage of indigenous goods in grotticella tombs, as expected, but also a higher percentage of Corinthian imports in these tombs. Finally, as previously demonstrated, contemporaneous use of both chamber and pit tombs is not unusual in this area of Sicily, as similar juxtapositions (often containing more than one interred body) are attested at Butera, M. Bubbonia, Licodia Eubea (with pit tombs, some early, at the Bianchette and Scifazzo necropoleis) and, later in the 6<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, Vassallaggi. [Tables 28-29]

Thus, individuals buried at Castiglione and their communities attempted to assert themselves through links with the pan-Mediterranean world of elite culture, symbolically referenced through emblems interpreted through a localized lens but nevertheless immediately recognizable to anyone viewing the monument. The occasional use of stone *semata* also as grave markers is comparable to the Layer II graves at Butera, as well as graves in various Sikeliote cemeteries with links to the Euboean world: the Eastern and Pestavecchia necropoleis at Himera, and Northeast Necropoleis at Naxos. These markers are mirrored by the presence of inscriptions, usually but not solely connected with burials in interior settlements – Licodia Eubea, Morgantina Lower Plateau, Contrada Gelso-Capitano at Centuripe, Mendolito, Marianopoli, and M. Saraceno – and occasionally linked with sculptural reliefs, especially in more Hellenizing contexts. This monumentalization of grave markers is comparable to developments in elite cemeteries in Megara Hyblaea, with the creation of analogous and complex sculptural monuments referencing not only the deceased but also the ritual world.

## Megara Hyblaea: Approaches to Interaction in a Littoral Zone

Markedly different trajectories from those of Syracuse and in its zone of influence characterize Megara Hyblaea and the Chalkidian colonies and trade routes, where literary accounts stress either a lack of indigenous presence or relatively diplomatic and peaceful coexistence (although the record of Leontini seems to be contradictory). According to Thucydides, Megara Hyblaea was founded five years after Syracuse, in turn founded one year after the first Sikeliot colony of Naxos.<sup>530</sup> Thucydides narrates how settlers from Megara, led by Lamis, first settled at an area called Trotilon, then settled Leontini; after being expelled by the Chalkidians, they moved to the promontory of Thapsos, which was already settled by indigenous inhabitants. After Lamis' death, the local Sikel chieftain Hyblon granted them unoccupied land that later became Megara Hyblaea. Given that it was a low-lying coastal site rather than a typical settlement area of indigenous inhabitants of the period, it would not be surprising if there were no previous immediate settlement,<sup>531</sup> although traces of continued indigenous occupation in Megara Hyblaea and the city's outskirts can nevertheless be seen in the burial practices and cultic space of the town, suggesting that to some extent different originating populations lived side-by-side.<sup>532</sup>

Like Syracuse and the Chalkidian colonies, Megara Hyblaea participated in the generalized Sikeliote attempt to consolidate territory in the hinterland of settlements, even engaging in territorial disputes with Leontini early on, although expansion was largely curtailed by Leontinian and Syracusan spread, and rising tensions eventually compelled Leontini to secure

---

<sup>530</sup> Thuc. VI.4.

<sup>531</sup> Presumably the site was within the territory of Hyblon, who may have controlled nearby inland settlements that adopted similar names, such as Hybla. (Gras et al. 338)

<sup>532</sup> Dominguez 1989: 269-271.

control over the Plain of Catania.<sup>533</sup> Close contact among Megara Hyblaea, Syracuse and Leontini fostered development of broadly similar localized production types, effectively forming a sort of *koine*, more interconnected than tied to any single ethnos in Greece. Indeed, as we will see, object assemblages among the Megara Hyblaea necropoleis are generally similar to those of the Borgo Necropolis at Gela, Fusco and Viale P. Orsi necropoleis at Syracuse, as well as among each other, although the tombs demonstrate a wider variety and more varied typology of burials and grave goods than many other Sikeliote cemeteries. The same is true of sanctuary space, particularly extramural sanctuaries, which demonstrate ties to each other and with assemblages from other Sikeliote sanctuaries discussed.

Megara Hyblaea is laid out on two plateaus. (Fig. 3.50) From an early period, boundaries of individual lots were drawn and street walls enclosing habitations and properties were constructed, although the town was not necessarily densely occupied throughout its existence, rather increasing in density over time.<sup>534</sup> (Fig. 3.51) Individual lots were demarcated by wells and platforms that may have originally served a single lot, later utilized for series of houses; unique assemblages in some may suggest possible ritual use. Houses, perpendicular to the street, opened onto a portico and courtyard, eventually starting to resemble pastas houses in the 7<sup>th</sup> century as more rooms were added; but most early floor levels were destroyed by later habitations, making it difficult to reconstruct layouts.

Scattered around the city, a number of necropoleis served the population, ringing the urban area on the north, west and south. (Fig. 3.52) Different areas correspond to different

---

<sup>533</sup> Sammartano 1994.

<sup>534</sup> De Angelis 2003: 17-38. A long narrow strip formed an insula, one-room houses originally occupying half the width of the block; these eventually become denser, filling the area, houses adding rooms to become more monumentalized.



districts or social levels, given the variances in burial rites attested among the various necropoleis. Some seem to be organized on either side of major roads, especially in the South Necropolis. A question remains of the chronological relationship between the city's organization and that of the necropoleis, which date to various periods of the town's existence. Very few tombs date to the earliest years of the century, although some early tombs have been found dispersed throughout the necropolis.<sup>535</sup> Burials increase in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century, and by the end of the century more modest burials are grouped around larger monumental tombs, likely kin groups, as at Kamarina. Here, there do not seem to be any fixed social or ethnic categories corresponding to distinct necropolis areas; richer tombs are scattered among poorer, although the presence of unusual practices, such as *akephalia* and reuse of graves, suggest different approaches to spatial articulation of divergent identities.

The South Necropolis, one of the largest, has mainly fossa tombs and *enchytrismo* (75% of all tombs). Cremation, although attested, was less popular than inhumation. A number of unique burial practices were also attested here: six burials dating to c. 675-500 contained remains in contracted positions, not supine as in traditional Sikeliote burials.<sup>536</sup> Furthermore, there are a rather surprising sixteen attested examples of tomb reuse and shifting of previous occupants, uncommon among Sikeliotas.<sup>537</sup> (Fig. 3.53) Based on the grave goods, there was usually a gap of only one generation, and occasionally the tomb was immediately reused; similar practice was observed in some fossa tombs in the Rito Necropolis at Ragusa. In both cases, burial plots seem to be tied to familial bonds, as tombs are often reused in pairs; continued ritual

---

<sup>535</sup> Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1975: 22; Tréziny 2016: 173.

<sup>536</sup> Gras 1975: 47.

<sup>537</sup> Seven tombs were reused once, and nine others were reused several times, while in two cases, the first body was piled up or placed in a vase, but the tomb was not reused.

depositions of objects occurred at some of these familial tombs, sometimes over a century after the initial deposition, given the presence of objects interred above the burials.<sup>538</sup> Although identity is difficult to ascertain based on grave goods alone, these reused graves may belong to mixed family groups rather than solely Greeks.

Closely related to this practice are multiple burials, seen in the West and (to a lesser extent) South Necropoleis; this is an indigenous practice, rarer in Greek colonies and usually condensed within a shorter space of time. Shepherd connects this and similar practices at Syracuse to local influence on Greek custom,<sup>539</sup> done perhaps to assert membership in a specific group, such as a particular family or status.<sup>540</sup> She notes that, “multiple burial in sarcophagi may have been not only a physical manifestation of the attempt to establish élite groups, but also to a degree a response on the part of social aspirants to the demands of economy.”<sup>541</sup> Reflecting this elite nature is the propensity for it to occur in monolithic sarcophagi, comparable to rock-cut chamber tombs of indigenous inhabitants, which Megara Hyblaea’s topography could not accommodate. Both monolithic sarcophagi and multiple burials mainly belong to the 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century, as the aristocracy consolidated control over various aspects of the city’s functioning. In Megara Hyblaea, multiple deposition in this period is frequent, in 40% of graves beginning in the later 7<sup>th</sup> century, a much higher rate than in Gela or Selinunte although it trails off after the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps because the nature of social practices annulled the need to create and maintain visible ancestral ties.

---

<sup>538</sup> One group (no. CXXXIV) has characteristics of a mass grave but cannot be dated. Tomb C 224, one of the earliest of the South Necropolis, demonstrates almost two centuries of use. (Gras 1975: 45, Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1975: 22)

<sup>539</sup> Shepherd 1993: 105-110.

<sup>540</sup> Shepherd 2005: 118

<sup>541</sup> Shepherd 2005: 120

Other unusual burial types include akephalia, attested by Orsi among some tombs in the West and South Necropoleis.<sup>542</sup> These include two early-6<sup>th</sup> century graves in the first cemetery containing two skeletons without skulls and a grave with three depositions, two of which consisted only of crania.<sup>543</sup> Additionally, Tombs 56 and 86 both contained cremated crania, without traces of the rest of the skeleton, each alongside numerous whole depositions.<sup>544</sup> These are rather unusual variants of the practice, when compared to more “traditional” versions with intact skull and cremated remains, attested at Butera, Gela, and Entella, among other areas; although similar rites are sporadically attested at the Sikeliote sanctuaries of Gela (Borgo and Predio la Pagia Necropoleis), Kamarina, Syracuse (Fusco Necropolis), and Himera. Additionally, in the South Necropolis, two tombs consisted of urn cremations, both with multiple burials, some without skulls; the latest depositions date to the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>545</sup> This akephalia seems to be more convincing evidence for non-Greek practice, and presence, in the settlement.

The usefulness of using burial customs as ethnic markers in Sikeliote centers has, however, been debated, and Shepherd notes the difficulty of using the burial record as a reliable identifier of an indigenous or mixed population, although the number of unusual customs at Megara Hyblaea suggests a degree of mixing among the populations here, not just between Greeks and non-Greeks, but also among various groups of Greeks bringing customs of their respective homelands and adapting them to the local environment, in the process forging an independent cultural identity.<sup>546</sup> Furthermore, although some multiple burials date to the end of

---

<sup>542</sup> Orsi’s excavation the west necropolis at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was published in Orsi and Cavallari 1889.

<sup>543</sup> Orsi and Cavallari 1889: 774; 902-904.

<sup>544</sup> Orsi and Cavallari 1889: 826, 838-839.

<sup>545</sup> Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1975: 35.

<sup>546</sup> Shepherd 2005: 131-32.

the 8<sup>th</sup> century, other specifically indigenous-type burials are not attested in this early period, but rather appear later on, prompting the suggestion that mixing of populations came later in the settlement's history, when perhaps the nearby settlements of Pantalica and Villasmundo were abandoned due to increasing pressure from Syracuse, and nucleation occurred at Greek settlements with less aggressive and expansionist policies.<sup>547</sup> This would account for the reintroduction of ethnic markers at this time, which are also possibly visible in the material record, linked to displays of wealth and aristocratic status.

Absent are specifically indigenous ceramics, although there are numerous pieces of bronze jewelry found in tombs, traditionally associated with Sikel burial assemblages and with elite connotations: mainly fibulae, including pendants attached to chains, as well as circular pendants and bronze beads.<sup>548</sup> (Fig. 3.54) [See Table 3.14 for object assemblage totals from the South Necropolis; and Table 3.15 for totals from the West Necropolis] These may indicate indigenous females in the Greek necropolis or mixed marriages. Such artifacts are also attested in votive deposits in Sikeliote sites, although in fewer numbers, tied to elite assemblages in general, and including display objects unlikely to have been used in daily life but rather elaborate embodiments of wealth – large silver and elaborate, animal-shaped fibulae.<sup>549</sup> (Fig. 3.55) This is comparable to Syracuse and, to a lesser extent, Gela, where indigenous-type fibulae were found in the Borgo and Predio La Paglia necropoleis.<sup>550</sup> These are not isolated examples – throughout the Megara Hyblaea necropoleis are numerous elite tombs in separate necropolis groups, tombs

---

<sup>547</sup> La Rosa 1991: 36-7.

<sup>548</sup> Albanese 2010: 504.

<sup>549</sup> Overall, 20 fibulae were found in tombs on site, mainly associated with rich child burials. (Shepherd 1999: 290-2).

<sup>550</sup> At least three have been found here (Borgo Necropolis T. 60 and 476; and Predio La Paglia Necropolis T. 10), although pins are more common, and metal objects overall tend to be rarer. (Shepherd 1999: 293)

tending to be more monumental, each likely belonging to a particular family, not unlike the situation at the Rifriscolaro Necropolis.<sup>551</sup>

The North Necropolis/ RASIOM Necropolis contains some of the most elaborate burials, although primarily from a later period than most monolithic sarcophagi. In the tombs were numerous statue groups, including an equestrian group and mid-6<sup>th</sup> century kourotophos of local limestone, both of which served as *semata*.<sup>552</sup> (Fig. 3.56) The latter, remarkable for its unusual subject – a seated figure suckling twins – has been compared to indigenous Archaic limestone sculpture, such as the seated, frontal goddess of Grammichele from the votive deposit on the Poggio dell'Aquila hill.<sup>553</sup> (Fig. 3.98) Outside Megara Hyblaea, no monumental limestone sculpture can be definitively connected with Archaic necropoleis of Sikeliote sites; other stone tomb groups such as the Warrior of Castiglione; limestone sculptures of a sphinx, feline, and horse from the Rito Necropolis; and the stele with sphinxes from M. San Mauro (possibly from a grave context) are all mixed interior, traditionally indigenous, contexts. Megara Hyblaea was an exception, with numerous limestone and even marble tomb markers of Greek workmanship, such as the marble kouros of Sombrotidas son of Mandrokles in the South Necropolis.<sup>554</sup> Perhaps it is more useful to think of these sculptures as indicators of elite networks in southeast Sicily rather than conscious ethnic identifiers, the tomb groupings at the RASIOM necropolis similar to groups of demarcated elite tombs at the Rito Necropolis, groups at the Northeast Necropolis at M. San Mauro, the East Necropolis and chambers excavated by Di Vita at

---

<sup>551</sup> The West Necropolis seems to be richer overall in terms of material and burial type than other necropoleis, as monolithic sarcophagi make up over a third of all tombs, much greater than in the South Necropolis.

<sup>552</sup> These were published in Gentili 1954a, Gentili 1954b. The kourotophos has been dated based on a Corinthian amphora and aryballos found in context and associated with a large hypogea-type tomb of sandstone blocks.

<sup>553</sup> Minà 2005: 119.

<sup>554</sup> Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1975: 6.

Castiglione, groups at the Rifriscolaro Necropolis, and the elite M. Casale necropolis.<sup>555</sup> Indeed, these tombs contain object assemblages similar to those from several comparable tomb clusters, including the M. San Mauro necropoleis and Syracuse Ex-Ospedale Necropolis. [Table 3.16; see Table 3.17 for assemblage totals from all necropoleis]

Social connections also play out in Megara Hyblaea's sacred space, where early sacred sculpture is also attested in the form of votives or xoana. Several were found within the Northwest Sanctuary, in the vicinity of Temples A and B. (Fig. 3.57) Temple A, from the second quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, used as its foundation a Neolithic ditch, which Tréziny suggests determined the area's sacrality.<sup>556</sup> A vast enclosed temenos to the north stored offerings. Temple B, from the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, north of Temple A, contained numerous votive deposits, one with three Daedalic style limestone xoana dated to the late-7<sup>th</sup> century. The votive material was abundant and rich, mainly Greek imports and locally-made ceramics, primarily of the 7<sup>th</sup> century; they seem to belong to clusters of depositions, perhaps made before the temple's construction.<sup>557</sup> [A selection of datable material from known published contexts is listed in Table 3.18] Imported material is a preponderant, with thousands of PC and Corinthian vases (especially small votive vases) and a notable lack of coarseware.<sup>558</sup> Particularly impressive is a PC oinochoe from the southern portion of the deposit.<sup>559</sup> (Fig. 3.58) Corinthian imports decrease

---

<sup>555</sup> Mertens-Horn 2010 instead stresses the Ionian connection displayed by the statue, pointing out strong affinities with island Greek sculpture, citing the statues of Chares from the necropolis of Miletus and of Aeakes from Samos. Holloway suggests that this is a sculpture of Nyx nursing Hypnos and Thanatos, appropriate for a cemetery (Holloway 2000: 82).

<sup>556</sup> Vallet 1983: 38; Tréziny 2016: 173.

<sup>557</sup> Gras et al. 2005: 305-9.

<sup>558</sup> This material formed the basis for Vallet's investigation of ceramics from Megara Hyblaea (Vallet 1978). There is a significant amount of PC aryballois, early Corinthian (aryballois) and middle Corinthian (large vases). There were also some Etruscan ceramics as well as early Ionian cup types and Ionian grayware bucchero alabastra.

<sup>559</sup> Gras et al. 2005: 330.

after the turn of the 7<sup>th</sup> and end after the early 6<sup>th</sup> century. Local finewares, relatively uncommon, are represented by fragments with figural decoration.<sup>560</sup>

Daedalic sculptures recovered here, some possibly imported from Corinth, are noteworthy for their early date – late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century – and size.<sup>561</sup> Rings and pins in bronze or silver, ivory plaques and worked faience scarabs were found in the deposits, as well as a *navicella* fibulae at Temple B, perhaps an indigenous dedication.<sup>562</sup> A number of sherds date to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, long before construction of any buildings. Unlike the Temple B deposits, most vases in Temple A were locally made, often with polychrome decoration; there is a preponderance of small votive cups.<sup>563</sup> However, as at Temple B, there is an almost complete absence of coarseware and kitchen ceramics.<sup>564</sup> The Orientalizing style is represented by a number of ceramics, including a painted plate decorated with lions. (Fig. 3.59) In general, objects indicate a cult to a female deity; this is suggested by the presence of bronze fibulae, relatively rare in the Megara Hyblaea necropoleis and almost completely absent in habitations, which seem to reference both female and indigenous elements.<sup>565</sup> The cult may be associated with Artemis, although the nature of the depositions demonstrates parallels with the Syracuse Athenaion and Alaimo Sanctuary at Leontini, and the object types and assemblages with other sacred space at Megara Hyblaea in addition to extramural sanctuaries such as the Bitalemi Sanctuary.

---

<sup>560</sup> The plate bears an inscription. (Gras et al. 2005: 330-1)

<sup>561</sup> (Gras et al. 2005: 329-32, Vallet 1964)

<sup>562</sup> Gras et al. 2005: 329, 337. Other sacred spaces seem to have been concentrated in the area; in addition to the votive deposits uncovered near Temple B, Vallet and Villard uncovered a "deposit" of Archaic ceramics, as a pile of sherds on the survey's northern edge, with particularly fine wares concentrated in the northwest corner.

<sup>563</sup> Gras et al. 2005: 334.

<sup>564</sup> Gras et al. 2005: 336.

<sup>565</sup> Gras et al. 2005: 337-8.

This Northwest sanctuary is one of a group of “extraurban” sanctuaries at the margins of the main settled area, situated so as to be oriented towards the hinterland west of the city; these seem part of a coherent project, likely taking advantage of already-established routes from the coast to the interior, which would determine the grid of paths defining the city’s main area, the agora linking the port with housing complexes and leading towards the western area of settlement. (Figs. 3.60, 3.61) Another early temple, Temple C, lay at the mouth of the Cantera River.<sup>566</sup> (Figs. 3.60i, 3.62) Neolithic remains may have conditioned the placement of the temenos here, much like the remains found underneath Temple B. The temple was visible from the harbor, ideally situated facing both external and internal trade routes.<sup>567</sup> This river connected Megara Hyblaea with Villasmundo and other inland indigenous settlements with which it traded. Another peripheral sanctuary area from the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century has been suggested but not confirmed for the area near the west gate, in which were found several fibulae from the 7<sup>th</sup> century, alongside a small votive vase; this was perhaps a privileged space of encounter between Megarians and indigenous neighbors, akin to peripheral sanctuaries near Gela.<sup>568</sup> However, there is little other evidence of continued indigenous occupation in immediately peripheral areas, unlike at Leontini – perhaps these sanctuaries were placed to take advantage of trade routes rather than serve as arenas of exchange. Trade is evidenced through the presence of possible trade items – fibulae and imported vases – found among depositions at these sanctuaries, the former also attested at early deposits in the area of the Syracuse Athenaion and Alaimo Sanctuary at Leontini.

---

<sup>566</sup> Gras et. al. 2005: 372-380.

<sup>567</sup> Gras et al. 2005: 378-80. Gentili excavated another Archaic temple nearby on Lumidoro Hill, and a third has been postulated on the other side of the Marcellino River. Unfortunately, the assemblages of these temples remain unknown.

<sup>568</sup> Tréziny 2012: 27.



Other “liminal” space is seen at the town’s southern edge, where extraurban cults and habitations demonstrate some localized association with indigenous occupation (or at least presence) although the evidence is limited. Foundations of a possible small 6<sup>th</sup>-century temple, Temple ZR, were found on the edge of a collapsed cliff of the South Plateau.<sup>569</sup> (Figs. 3.60, 3.63) Later excavations demonstrated a habitation zone and sacred area predating the temple with associated material. [Table 3.19] In the area foundations of three rooms were found.<sup>570</sup> (Fig. 3.64) Incised indigenous ceramics in the destruction level of Room 115, dating to the early 6<sup>th</sup> century, are significant; another fragment was identified in 1975 in the neighborhood of the agora, which may have served as ritual space.<sup>571</sup> The rooms were constructed in the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, and material from then through the early 6<sup>th</sup> century is abundant and varied.<sup>572</sup> Presence of a cultic area is suggested by a semicircular or circular platform to the east, which yielded copious ceramics from the final stages of PC and EC-MC, virtually all related to drinking or libations.<sup>573</sup> The indigenous material may be associated with the cultic space and therefore votive dedications rather than evidence of occupation. Temple ZR, and its predecessors (including the possible open-air sanctuary that first defined this space) may thus have been a type of extraurban sanctuary, a sort of middle ground between Megara Hyblaea and the surrounding territory, where mixed material culture and ritual practice is evident. The evolution of ritual space from open-air to enclosed structures over the late-7<sup>th</sup> through early-6<sup>th</sup> centuries

---

<sup>569</sup> Gras et al. 2005: 53.

<sup>570</sup> Gras et al. 2005: 59.

<sup>571</sup> One of these fragments, ZR 94/65, is a large fragment of a storage vessel. (Gras et al. 2005: 75)

<sup>572</sup> Gras et al. 2005: 84.

<sup>573</sup> Objects associated with this platform include an iron knife blade; animal bones coral; a Thapsos cup; PC, Corinthian, and subgeometric sherds belonging to cups, skyphoi, and oinochoai; Etruscan bucchero kantharoi; an Ionian cup; and local undecorated Subgeometric sherds.

mirrors contemporary developments in similar types of sanctuaries throughout southeast and south Sicily, as previously discussed in relation to the Predio Sola and Bitalemi cults at Gela and M. San Mauro. In terms of assemblages, too, the extramural sanctuaries at Megara Hyblaea are comparable to Bitalemi and the La Musa Sanctuary at Naxos. In general, the habitation and sacred contexts at Megara Hyblaea contain broadly similar assemblages to a variety of both Sikeliote and mixed contexts, given the elevated amounts of oinochoai found here relative to other Greek sanctuaries. [Table 3.20; Table 3.21] Despite traditions discounting the presence of indigenous inhabitants near Megara Hyblaea, there nevertheless seems to have been continued mixed habitation in the nearby coastal plain.

The site of Hybla and indigenous center of power controlled by Hyblon may be the (as yet unidentified) settlement associated with the necropolis of Villasmundo in the nearby Valle del Marcellino.<sup>574</sup> This settlement, on early-established routes inland towards Leontini, was around 8 km from Megara Hyblaea on a limestone plateau at the confluence of two rivers. A Castelluccian-period necropolis here was reused in the 9<sup>th</sup> to early 8<sup>th</sup> century, alongside newer chamber tombs from the end of the 8<sup>th</sup>, some revisited into the late 6<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>575</sup> Most tombs are vaulted rectangular chamber tombs with short dromos and quadrangular recess in front, with four to 20 burials per chamber and mixed material covering a wide timespan.<sup>576</sup> (Fig. 3.65) Like M. Casasia and Cava S. Aloe, these were equipped with benches and cleared open spaces, which suggest that periodic ceremonies took place in areas in front of them; and as at the Cava S. Aloe, Butera Layer I, Contrada S. Giuseppe, and Polizzello necropoleis, Villasmundo

---

<sup>574</sup> Tréziny2012: 21. Traces of remains of huts were found on the plateau above numerous tombs.

<sup>575</sup> Over 100 tombs were excavated in 1968, but the site is unpublished except for preliminary reports. (Voza 1980b, 1982)

<sup>576</sup> Voza 1980b: 104-5.

demonstrates the continued reuse of earlier EIA chamber tombs down into the Archaic, although unlike most of the others, the later re-occupation tends to be sporadic.<sup>577</sup>

The material from the tombs' interior is particularly important in demonstrating early contacts with Greeks, possibly traders in the "pre-colonial" phase, although this depends on interpretations of these imports' chronologies.<sup>578</sup> Euboean pendent-semicircle skyphoi and Thapsos wares of the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century are in any case contemporary with the colonial foundations of Megara Hyblaea and Syracuse. These ceramic types demonstrate that locals' earliest 8<sup>th</sup>-century contacts with Greeks were with Chalkidian traders, also related to activity around the Tyrrhenian coast up to Pithekoussai, well-established by the time of trade with indigenous cities in the interior of Sicily's east side.<sup>579</sup> Goods here demonstrate penetration along river valleys to interior sites from an early period, by Greek traders or through indigenous interactions, the routes now a vehicle for formation of new social orientations and expressions. In addition to Greek wares, objects of Phoenician manufacture or imitations were also transported here, perhaps from Phoenician trading posts along Chalkidian and Eastern Sicilian trading networks, as suggested by Gras.<sup>580</sup> These were likely brought here via trade networks carrying mixed cargos, engaging in cabotage along the coast. Soon, local inhabitants were creating imitations of Greek, primarily Corinthian wares, recombining elements adapted to shapes from local tradition (open bowls with thickened rims, and tall-necked amphorae with handles on the shoulder) or utilized on copies of typically Greek vases such as kraters. (Fig. 3.66)

---

<sup>577</sup> Voza 1980b: 105.

<sup>578</sup> Voza 1982: 170; Voza 1986: 560; Leighton 1993: 274; Albanese 1996a: 168.

<sup>579</sup> Tréziny 20-1.

<sup>580</sup> Gras 2002: 196.

This took place very rapidly, as the settlement and necropolis at Villasmundo did not last long into the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

In light of the Chalkidian connections, it is perhaps unsurprising that the early relationship between the village of the Villasmundo necropolis and Megara Hyblaea is comparable to that of the Cava S. Aloe Necropolis with Leontini, discussed below: an indigenous site and necropolis persisting in a Greek colony's hinterland, engaging in trade in a way that differentiates certain sectors of society through incorporation of Greek imports, imitations of Greek motifs on traditional local ceramic forms, and smaller decorative items. The Villasmundo and Cava S. Aloe necropoleis display broadly similar material records – Euboean type vessels, including examples with stylized animal motifs. Yet material was mainly of indigenous manufacture – undecorated ceramics, bronze and some iron fibulae, ceramic figurines, bracelets, rings, pendants, bone, amber, and silver objects.<sup>581</sup> The material is broadly comparable to objects and assemblages (especially bronzes) from M. Finocchito, with similar funerary architecture as well. Also, decorative forms imitative of Greek designs (especially animal motifs) found on some of the indigenous-style vases from the Valle del Marcellino resemble ceramic types from the Cava S. Aloe necropolis, although in both cases these types of vases are relatively rare. This indicates a relatively narrowly-defined koine, although Villasmundo exhibits stronger similarities with Greek coastal poleis than does M. Finocchito.<sup>582</sup>

### **Leontini and Cava S. Aloe: Shared Spaces in the Chalkidian Zone of Expansion**

While Syracuse and, to a lesser extent, Megara Hyblaea, established themselves as presences in southeast Sicily, Chalkidian settlers from Euboea were also taking an active part in

---

<sup>581</sup> Voza 1980b: 106.

<sup>582</sup> Voza 1980b: 107.

trade and settlement in the area. The two population groups followed distinct routes, with slightly overlapping zones of influence. While Syracuse was influential over the development and position of M. Casale, Kamarina, Castiglione, M. Finocchito, and the area of Ragusa, the Chalkidian settlement of Leontini played a direct role in formation of Greek relations with occupants of the immediate hinterland at Metapiccola and the settlement associated with the necropolis of Cava S. Aloe, as well as those further inland along major trade routes such as M. Casasia, Ragusa and Grammichele. Although most of the early settlement has not been systematically excavated, extensive contexts from the Archaic Scala Portazza and Alaimo sanctuaries demonstrate ties to both other Sikeliote centers and mixed settlements in southeast Sicily, as well as resemblances in practices and articulation and transformation of sanctuary space – namely the presence of weapons and other metal deposits (among which are fibulae and skeumorphs of more valuable material), foundation deposits, chthonic cultic practices, the use of stone semata, intentionally fragmented material, and the conversion of outdoor space with consequent monumentalization in the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

Thucydides notes that five years after Syracuse's foundation, Leontini was established by Thukles, who had established the settlement of Naxos one year earlier, in 729.<sup>583</sup> Over a period of approximately 30 years the city's boundary and influence over the immediate chora were defined, while land within the settlement itself was immediately subdivided. The site was established on a series of hills – the Cirico, San Mauro and Metapiccola – in particularly fertile territory, with easy control of the surrounding landscape, from the western foothills of the Hyblaean range to the sea.<sup>584</sup> (Fig. 3.67) The subsequent Chalkidian expansion was directed

---

<sup>583</sup> Thuc. VI.3.

<sup>584</sup> Valenti 2007: 70-1.

mainly towards the control of the western part of the Plain of Catania, not only aforementioned indigenous settlements, but also extending to sites under Gela's indirect influence, such as Cozzo della Tignusa (where 8<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> century Greek pottery has been found), M. San Mauro, and other local sites that were strategic points for control of routes.<sup>585</sup>

Indigenous presence has been attested in the southern part of the San Mauro hill and along the west slope of the Metapiccola Hill.<sup>586</sup> Recent excavations have demonstrated mixed occupation in the earliest phases of Greek settlement, through the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century and into the early 7<sup>th</sup>, on the Sant'Eligio and Metapiccola hills, and the northern portion of San Mauro near the S. Leonardo River. Traditional narratives stress the violent nature of Greek colonization of the area; scholars have constructed narratives to account for this cohabitation period, suggesting that non-Greeks in the hinterland took subordinate roles, in barley cultivation and horse breeding throughout the territory,<sup>587</sup> explaining the numerous scattered settlements nearby with indigenous occupation found in surveys.<sup>588</sup> With the colony's growth and increase in wealth, these lower classes would have been integrated into society, eventually intertwined with the conflicts characterizing the site over the course of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>589</sup> However, the indigenous population was a visible part of the society in the early period, not just relegated to the chora; archaeological evidence from the settlement itself that suggests integration of non-

---

<sup>585</sup> Albanese 2003: 141.

<sup>586</sup> These were correlated with the indigenous site of Xouthia by Bernabo Brea. (Rizza 1962: 15-6)

<sup>587</sup> Thucydides says that Thukles and his Chalkidian settlers drove out the Sikels; Polyaeus says they were driven out by Megarians who had temporarily settled in Leontini's hinterland after cohabiting with Chalkidians.

<sup>588</sup> Valentini 2007: 107-8. In addition to Cava S. Aloe, recounted here, these include the areas of Contrada Bagna, Guastella district, Contrada San Leo di Sopra, and the Bonvicino district.

<sup>589</sup> Frasca 2009a: 96-7.

Greeks into the colony's social body. This is also suggested by continued use of traditional rock-cut tombs through the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

Indigenous settlement is attested beginning in the late 11<sup>th</sup> century on the hills of Sant'Eligio and Metapiccola, characterized by rectangular or slightly apsidal habitations.<sup>590</sup> (Fig. 3.68) There is evidence for later unbroken occupation on the south side of the San Mauro Hill, with EIA material, including numerous incised and piumata sherds throughout the hill, and several Finocchito style large bowls with basket handles from the late 8<sup>th</sup> to first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, contemporary with Greek occupation.<sup>591</sup> (Fig. 3.69) There is also sustained use of indigenous tombs from the PA cut into the slopes. Early habitations include late 8<sup>th</sup> century houses partially dug into bedrock, one with three rectangular rooms communicating with each other.<sup>592</sup> (Fig. 3.70) Inside was a stratum directly on the rock floor, linked to the space's earliest use, with traces of burning and numerous indigenous pottery fragments, PC-style vases (including local ceramics) and Subgeometric and Orientalizing Euboean-type and Corinthian wares.<sup>593</sup> (Fig. 3.71) The use is not immediately clear; Room A had a rock-carved bench; Room B contained remains of a large pithos in the center; and irregular-shaped Room C contained a circular recessed pit in the southwest corner. This house, with its partially rock-cut substructure and benches, may be a physical manifestation of the process of social and cultural integration of Greeks and non-Greeks in the colony's early period when traditional rock-cut burials continued

---

<sup>590</sup> Rizza excavated Metapiccola between 1954-5, finding seven huts from the LBA and EIA (11th-9th centuries); two others huts were later found nearby. These have rectangular or slightly apsidal foundations cut into the rock, supported by poles in rock-cut postholes around the exterior and along the central axis, comparable in technique, ceramics, and chronology to Morgantina's longhouses. (Frasca 2009a: 27-32)

<sup>591</sup> Rizza 1962: 9; Frasca 2009a: 43.

<sup>592</sup> Rizza 1980: 33-4.

<sup>593</sup> These include locally made pottery influenced by Orientalizing-style Euboean ceramics, one with a Potnia Theron – also linked to Aegean production – dating to the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

to be used, lasting into the late 7<sup>th</sup> century. Excavation into bedrock is typically, but not solely, an indigenous technique. Frasca and Fitzjohn have suggested a hybrid “third space” within a colonial framework at Leontini, “based on the desire of the two groups, Greek and indigenous, that attempted to adapt to each other to express a new community, in progress or possibly an equality between the two groups...”<sup>594</sup> Other traces of rock-cut habitations have been found behind the Greek fortification wall on the south side of the hill, and similar multiple-room structures on the west slope of the Metapicola hill, associated with indigenous geometric wares and 7<sup>th</sup> century PC ceramics; similar houses were found further north on the terrace below. Analogous rock-cut architecture is attested at Caltabellotta, Ramacca (Building RM and the rock-cut “sanctuary”), M. Polizzo “Tusa House” and House 4, and Vassallaggi.

The settlement’s organization in the early Greek period is unclear; urban space may have been defined at the foundation, with the defensive wall constructed on the highest part of the San Mauro hill in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, and individual houses defined by wells from the same period originally relegated to the south side of the hill.<sup>595</sup> (Fig. 3.72) Development occurred later, with subsequent infilling of buildings within the limits, common in Greek colonies. This substantial development can be placed in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century, alongside expansion of the city’s inhabited area, part of a general trend of change in East Sicilian colonies at this time.<sup>596</sup> In a slightly later period it extends to Metapicola, when the early city had two acropoleis – one on each hill, as described by Polybius.<sup>597</sup> The colony’s unusual layout demonstrates greater similarities with indigenous settlements on interior heights and hill ranges than with other Greek settlements.

---

<sup>594</sup> Fitzjohn 2011 162; Frasca 2012b: 183.

<sup>595</sup> Rizza 1980: 27-8.

<sup>596</sup> Rizza 1980: 40-1; Calderone 1980: 16-7.

<sup>597</sup> Poly. 7.6.4; Domínguez Monedero 2006: 361-2.



This suggests that occupation was partially conditioned by previous settlement, an extension of the earlier indigenous site. It was not strictly organized from the start; although later accounts mention a founder, the area may have been organically settled by small groups from throughout the Greek world, including non-Chalkidians, as was Naxos, where Ionians participated in the foundation, the site later expanded with populations from the hinterland.<sup>598</sup> In fact, the early Archaic settlement, far from exhibiting an orthogonal plan, is instead characterized by large portions of undifferentiated open space over two hills.<sup>599</sup>

By the later 7<sup>th</sup> century, blocks had been cut into both sides of the two main hills on a series of parallel terraces. A house on the slope of the San Mauro hill consists of a series of contiguous rooms and is characterized by mixed construction, partially cut into the rock and partially built with drywall.<sup>600</sup> Superimposed rooms demonstrate continuous use into the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, and the later walls' structure, size and construction techniques parallel earlier housing complexes.

Political developments at Leontini in the PA are entangled with its response to nearby interior settlements. By the 7<sup>th</sup> century, an oligarchy of landowners had come to control society and government. This led to increased tension – a growing population, increasing wealth inequality and resulting struggles between social classes for power, eventually resulting in warfare between the city of Leontini and the nearby town of Megara Hyblaea over territorial boundaries, and establishment of tyranny by the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>601</sup> This is likely linked to the city's

---

<sup>598</sup> Rizza and Biondi 2000. The earliest Greek pottery on the San Mauro hill dates to c. 730 – a Thapsos cup, Aetos Type 666 cup, and oinochoe, as well as EPC pottery, as well as Subgeometric Euboean and Cycladic wares.

<sup>599</sup> Frasca 2012b: 182.

<sup>600</sup> Valenti 2007: 92-4.

<sup>601</sup> Valenti 2007: 85-6.

new initiatives, with the ability to mobilize greater resources – expansion of the fortification wall, reorganization of the city, foundation of sub-colonies in the mother city’s organizational model, and territorial expansion towards the Plain of Catania and southwards towards the Hyblaean Plateau and the sea. Political and economic developments were tied to artistic production and commercial activity, trade increasing with expansion, especially into nearby indigenous centers. Euboean-type wares found in early 7<sup>th</sup> century contexts at Castelluccio, Noto and Modica may be signs of Leontini’s activity in the Hyblaean interior, which becomes clearer later in the century with the appearance of imports at sites such as M. Casale and Ramacca.<sup>602</sup> Late 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century local production is comparable to that of other Sikeliote colonies such as Megara Hyblaea, Syracuse and Gela, and a local Orientalizing figured class is attested, likely from a single manufacturing center, influenced by imported Cycladic and Euboean wares.<sup>603</sup> (Fig. 3.73) The bird motifs and grazing horses on some wares from Leontini are comparable to indigenous copies of these motifs from the Cava S. Aloe necropolis, discussed below, which borrowed from the repertoire of the nearby settlement but reinterpreted the images within local typologies. Some pottery even seems to predate Leontini’s foundation, suggesting “pre-colonial” activity in the area. Local production of figural decoration disappears by the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, around the time as it phases out at colonial centers like Megara Hyblaea, Syracuse and Gela.

Closely tied to local trajectories and site development is the foundation of the earliest sacred spaces in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, located outside the city walls to the west, in the Alaimo District

---

<sup>602</sup> Frasca 2009a: 65.

<sup>603</sup> Rizza 1980: 35-7. These include large and medium-sized vessels: plates, pyxides, and oinochoai, and especially kraters in a wide variety of forms, decorated with Subgeometric and Orientalizing decorative motifs; bird motifs; and simplified, schematic human figures.

and Scala Portazza.<sup>604</sup> (Fig. 3.74) Archaic sacred spaces within the urban fabric include a large 6<sup>th</sup>-century building on the Metapicola hill, a rich votive deposit related to another sacred area on that hill, and deposits in pits on the San Mauro hill.<sup>605</sup> The only substantial excavated early Archaic sanctuaries are found on the outskirts of the town, which may be an accident of preservation given the dense continuous occupation of the main city, but may also demonstrate a directed attempt to define the territory early on and establish the city's boundaries.<sup>606</sup> The sanctuaries may well have also served as systematized points of interaction with nearby indigenous settlements.

Scala Portazza was a Heraion on the southern slopes of a small hill on the town's western outskirts, overlooking the southern edge of the plain, and consisting of a series of buildings on three terraces. (Fig. 3.75) Stratigraphically, the main structures of the sanctuary date to the early 6<sup>th</sup> century, in use until the early 5<sup>th</sup>.<sup>607</sup> Before this, the space may have hosted an outdoor sanctuary mostly free from built structures (given the layer of sacrificial remains in the area in front of the altar); it was monumentalized in the 6<sup>th</sup> century with a boundary wall of large limestone blocks.<sup>608</sup> The oldest ceramics, dating to the 7<sup>th</sup> century, were found in a burnt area with abundant small animal bones.<sup>609</sup> A rectangular kiln with large enclosed circular space was

---

<sup>604</sup> These were published in Grasso 2008 and Basile 2002 respectively. The Alaimo Sanctuary was excavated in 1988-89 by Rizza. In addition, an Archaic sanctuary was located to the west of the Piazza Umberto (Basile 2002: 114).

<sup>605</sup> Grasso 2008: 152-3, Frasca 2009a: 74-5.

<sup>606</sup> Frasca 2009a: 50-1.

<sup>607</sup> Basile 2002: 112-5.

<sup>608</sup> Basile 2002: 113. The sanctuary was rebuilt and monumentalized with a new altar in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>609</sup> Basile 2002: 105.

located in the west side of the area; it may have been used for production of ceramics related to the shrine.<sup>610</sup>

A large rectangular altar and an accumulated ash layer with burnt bones, preceded by an older altar constructed in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, was located near the north wall of the temenos.<sup>611</sup> The layer is characterized by patches of burning from the temenos wall to the altar, likely from individual small sacrifices. A long rectangular temple sat along the south side, the date uncertain, although given its divergent orientation, likely preceding the altar and temenos.

The Alaimo sanctuary was part of the belt of shrines surrounding the city, at the confluence of the S. Eligio and S. Leonardo rivers around 400 m of the Scala Portazza sanctuary, on the settlement's western edge facing the interior of the island. (Fig. 3.76) The settlement's main river port may have been nearby, with the adjacent neighborhood already developed from the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>612</sup> In general, the assemblages display strong affinities with other southern and southeast Sicilian colonies, especially the extramural Temple C in the Northwest Sanctuary of Megara Hyblaea, also located next to a harbor. Open-air votive depositions were identified here, and while no remains of a temple or other structure have been found, a surrounding wall served as a temenos.<sup>613</sup> Pottery vessels were occasionally placed in overturned position, not unlike assemblages found at the Bitalemi sanctuary, Molino a Vento deposits, and oval building at M. Castellazzo di Poggioreale, suggesting votive practice related to chthonic

---

<sup>610</sup> Basile 2002: 105-6.

<sup>611</sup> Basile 2002: 108.

<sup>612</sup>Grasso 2008: 21.

<sup>613</sup> Grasso 2008: 149. Suggested by an uneven fill nearby in the area's edge, which included a rectangular enclosure surrounded by a low wall filled with mostly small votives and ash layer, resting on burnt strata with numerous animal bones.

deities.<sup>614</sup> Distinct burning patches, often with animal bones, may represent remains of individual rituals, the distribution indicating functional diversification of areas within the sanctuary and small-scale offerings at different times.<sup>615</sup> 610 vessels and fragments, 36 terracottas, 49 metal objects, and 14 amber, glass paste, bone and stone objects were recovered,<sup>616</sup> together with architectural terracottas that might relate to structures in the area. These represent the first of two periods of use, in the 7<sup>th</sup>-early 6<sup>th</sup> century, after which was a period of abandonment although the sacred spaces on the San Mauro and Metapicola hills continue to flourish, with associated monumentalization.

A later large red-figure krater of Attic manufacture with a dedication to the Dioscuri, from the second phase, suggests use of the sanctuary by traders by this time, as the Dioscuri were associated with seafaring, and the sanctuary was in a liminal area near rivers and the port. Rituals related to these deities – food offerings and small-scale feasts and drinking – documented by Pausanias may be reflected by the deposits in the archaeological record, which skew towards combinations of numerous single-use votives and fewer amounts of multiple-use utilitarian objects, analogous to Bitalemi.<sup>617</sup> (Fig. 3.77) These could be conflated with local deities, given the Palike sanctuary near the region and the role of the space as an extrurban sanctuary at the margins of Leontine territory, where its identity may have played an important role in mediating indigenous-Greek interactions.<sup>618</sup> Alternately (or perhaps concurrently), the sanctuary could have been dedicated to a chthonic deity, Demeter and Kore or Artemis, as suggested by the nature of

---

<sup>614</sup> Grasso 2008: 25-6.

<sup>615</sup> Grasso 2008: 150-1; Grasso 2009: 7.

<sup>616</sup> Grasso 2008: 25.

<sup>617</sup> Grasso 2008: 73; Grasso 2009: 6; Paus. IV.27.2.

<sup>618</sup> Grasso 2008: 153-4.

some deposits and groupings and the placements of dedications, initiatory aspects of some objects, and links to the female sphere of some types of objects (hydriai, weaving implements), associated with the cult's liminal character.<sup>619</sup>

Most objects are ceramics, of imported, local and colonial manufacture, with some indigenous ceramics. [Table 3.22] (Fig. 3.78) Almost all object classes, above all ceramics, date to a rather narrow range between the mid-7<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Corinthian vessels appear slightly earlier than other classes, in the second quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup>, perhaps predating the sanctuary's use, with prized heirlooms deposited as votives within the temenos.<sup>620</sup> Especially popular are small (particularly unguent) containers and drinking vessels, the most valuable found mostly inside the square enclosure with four Etruscan bucchero kantharoi, suggesting that the enclosure was reserved for objects of special ritual nature.<sup>621</sup> (Fig. 3.79) Except for a few cups, almost all East Greek vessels were perfume or cosmetic containers. Despite the moderate number of imports, locally-made ceramics largely reference models from the Geometric and Orientalizing sphere of the Euboean-Cycladic area.<sup>622</sup> Within this Western Euboean or Chalkidian koine, Leontini resembles Naxos more than the strait of Messina or Pithekoussai, which have greater numbers of Euboean or Euboean-type ceramics including phialai, chalices, and kraters.<sup>623</sup>

The largest group is miniature vessels used to hold liquids and for libations. In Leontini's territory, krateriskoi similar to early types here are attested in indigenous necropoleis of the Late

---

<sup>619</sup> Grasso 2008: 155-6.

<sup>620</sup> Grasso 2008: 24.

<sup>621</sup> Grasso 2008: 23-4.

<sup>622</sup> Grasso 2008: 25. Drinking, pouring and miniature vessels are almost all of local or colonial manufacture.

<sup>623</sup> Grasso 2008: 26.

Geometric period, at Cozzo della Tignusa, the Valle del Marcellino near Villasmundo, Morgantina, and later in the older tombs of M. Casasia, from the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>624</sup> Interestingly, the most common miniature group consists of decorated olpai, with 66 examples; miniature trefoil oinochoai, though present, are less common. Some Cycladic-style miniature hydriai were recovered, vessels commonly dedicated to female deities such as that of the Santa Venera Sanctuary at Naxos; their miniature proportions connote ritual status. A miniature deinos, shield, and tripod brazier are particularly unusual ceramic types, referencing bronze models (and hence elite sanctuary dedications).<sup>625</sup> Other larger objects are made to contain offerings – lekanai, pyxides and kalathoi, as well as larger vessels such as amphorae, jugs, open basins or louteria. Some were likely used to prepare lustrations, sacrifices and ritual meals, including a chytra fragment found with traces of burning, and small amounts of coarseware trays, serving dishes, and a mortar. All but one fragment were found scattered in the sacred area outside the square enclosure. The rarity of more utilitarian objects like transport amphorae, basins, and serving dishes suggest multiple communal use of these objects, stored elsewhere after rituals rather than deposited like fineware vessel dedications, which were likely manufactured specifically for ritual deposition and used once.<sup>626</sup> Many utilitarian objects, as well as mass-produced votive vases, are locally produced.

Few figurines are represented, and only four represent deities or dedicants, including a Subdaedalic male kouros figurine and two Daedalic-style female bust attachments, while animals are more common. A worn stone head dating to the early 6<sup>th</sup> century, found in the vicinity of the

---

<sup>624</sup> Grasso 2008: 101-3.

<sup>625</sup> Grasso 2008: 117. Similar examples are attested at Himera and the Syracuse Ex Giardino Spagna necropolis.

<sup>626</sup> Grasso 2008: 148.

sanctuary, represents one of the few Archaic stone sculptures recovered from Leontini. (Fig. 3.80) Metal objects are more common, especially bronze ornaments, types most often dedicated to female deities – bracelets, pendants, rings, disks, necklace beads, studs, pins and fibulae. Some are likely of indigenous manufacture, especially rings, fibulae and oval beads, common in mixed-population indigenous and colonial sites in Sicily and South Italy such as Francavilla Marittima, Ramacca, Calsibetta, Butera, Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea (Northwest Sanctuary, Temple B) and Gela (Bitalemi).<sup>627</sup> (Fig. 3.81) *A navicella* fibulae of local production, typical of indigenous necropoleis of Sicily of the Finocchito and Licodia Euboia facies, but uncommon in Sikeliote sites, may be dedications by indigenous inhabitants when found within *temene*.<sup>628</sup> Arms include spearheads, arrowheads, and knives (perhaps for sacrificial ritual), although the number of weapons is negligible compared to similar contexts at Himera and M. Casale.

Most objects seem to be private dedications, likely deposited after special rites. The ornaments, weapons and tools are comparable to groups from Colle Madore and Bitalemi in Gela. These are not accumulated in a single deposit but scattered throughout the area, similar to deposits at Timpone della Motta at Francavilla Marittima, Temple A at Himera, and the Santa Venera sanctuary at Naxos, all from the 7<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>629</sup> The arms and terracotta imitations of braziers and shields reference aristocratic practice and elite associations. However, no hoards or pre-monetary deposits have been recovered, unlike at Bitalemi, although some scrap metal may have been used as offerings. The area would have served as an altar platform where ritual activities took place, perhaps inside the square enclosure, the site of a consecration ceremony.

---

<sup>627</sup> Grasso 2008: 134-6.

<sup>628</sup> Grasso 2008: 135-7.

<sup>629</sup> In these contexts, weapons and knives are connected to rites associated with sacrifice and e meat consumption.



Some objects and bones may belong to a foundation ritual, especially the bones of a sheep, goat, and two pigs found under the stones of the enclosure's southeast corner, where pots were also placed, some intentionally broken; these are comparable to rituals at sacred spaces in Naxos, Selinunte, and Metaponto, where *semata* or roughly hewn stones delineated sacrificial deposits associated with outdoor rituals involving cooking and consumption of meat.<sup>630</sup> Drink offerings are suggested by the large number miniature vessels used for libation rituals (especially *olpai*); *louteria*, wine and oil containers, and (although rarer) cups. *Krateriskoi* may have held small food offerings, their ritual suggested by their small size, for votive rather than daily use. (Fig. 3.82) Others were explicitly intended for dedication, as suggested by dedicatory formulae on two *bucchero kantharos* sherds. Finally, elevated numbers of perfume vessels dedicated here, especially relative to drinking wares, suggests that the primary votives were small, high-quality containers, more for wealth display and conspicuous consumption than feasting, and that large-scale drinking may not have had an integral role in this sanctuary's rituals. Rather, the sanctuary, like that of Scala Portazza, seems to have been used primarily for small group sacrifices linked to small-scale clan worship and isolated rituals; similar practices are attested at the *Timpono della Motta* at Francavilla Marittima; *Santa Venera Sanctuary* at Naxos; the *Molino a Vento* depositions (especially *Deposit D*), *Bitalemi*, and *Predio Sola* sanctuaries at Gela; *Temple A* at *Himera*; *Oikos B* at *Polizzello*; and *Room B* at *M. Castellazzo di Poggioreale*. The weapons and especially votive shields (comparable to examples from *Butera* (Tomb 172), *Himera* (Temple A), *Polizzello* (*Oikoi E* and *B*), *Costa di Fico*, *Mineo*, *Agrigento*, and contexts on *Crete* (*Fortetsa*) and *Sparta* (Temple of *Athena Chalkioikos*)) establish an elite warrior class as one of the main

---

<sup>630</sup> Grasso 2008: 149. In this regard, the deposits with animal bones are similar to the sacrificial areas north of the *Apollo Dafneforo* sanctuary in *Eretria*, where in addition to the sacrifices and ritual meals, there was found the subsequent dispersion and intentional destruction of pottery along with offerings.

social groups of dedicators. Finally, Italic-style vases and objects (Fig. 3.83) along with indigenous-type ornaments (amber beads, bronze disc ornaments, and a fibula) suggest isolated encounters with non-Greek populations and small-scale trade with the mainland, not unexpected at an extraurban sanctuary. Generally, the object assemblages display connections to other Sikeliote votive deposits, particularly Predio Sola at Gela and the votive deposit of S. Raineri at Zancle-Messina; although several comparisons can also be made with the Borgo and Predio Sola Necropoleis (Gela), Pestavecchia Necropolis (Himera), and M. San Mauro Necropolis.

Among the primary areas attesting continued indigenous presence at Leontini are the necropoleis. A number of isolated Archaic tombs have been excavated, although the colony's earliest necropolis remains to be found. The aristocracy of Leontini was buried in a small isolated area at Predio Pisano during the late 7<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, where finds include rings and other metal pieces, a large *deinos* with ram's heads used as a cremation urn, a faience aryballos, alabaster alabastra, and a statuette, along with pottery.<sup>631</sup> These burials, especially a bronze urn and cremation practices, demonstrate ties to elite burials from Eretria and Cumae, but are also similar to elite cremations at Syracuse and M. Casale, as well as other elite tomb groups physically separated from the more quotidian tomb groupings at Sikeliote and indigenous sites.<sup>632</sup> Several other less elite Archaic tombs have been excavated; these tombs have in common high numbers of cremations, more common in Euboean contexts.<sup>633</sup>

---

<sup>631</sup> This was excavated by Orsi and Cavallari (Orsi 1900); Frasca 2009a: 14, 80-1.

<sup>632</sup> *Supra* 115, 132.

<sup>633</sup> Orsi excavated in the Magdalena district, with tombs carved into the rock, and the late Archaic-Classical Piscitello-Balate cemetery in the Zacco district, with several hundred pit graves, inhumations and cremations. Griffo later excavated the Contrada Grazia necropolis west of Leontini, characterized by rectangular pits carved into the rock. A number of rock-cut fossa tombs of the late 7<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> centuries in Via Garibaldi held unusual Archaic goods. Unpublished early graves were excavated near the modern Piazza Duomo, in Via Garibaldi, with objects from the late 7<sup>th</sup> century.

Nearby chamber tombs spanning the EIA and early period of Greek habitation at Leontini were associated with pre-Greek settlement on the Metapiccola and San Mauro hills. Three indigenous tombs in the Valle Ruccia, on the east slope of the Metapiccola Hill, contained fragments of imported PC cups, suggesting the area served the indigenous settlement on this hill into the PA.<sup>634</sup> However, the most extensive indigenous cemetery in the region is the Sant'Eligio necropolis at Cava S. Aloe, perhaps serving the San Mauro hill settlement.<sup>635</sup> (Fig. 3.84) This burial ground demonstrates certain traits paralleling numerous other southeastern Sicilian necropoleis, particularly in the monumentalization of chamber tomb entrances with dromoi and the continuous use of EIA tombs into subsequent centuries, with multiple depositions. The necropolis occupies a large area along the entire slope, used during the EIA through early 7<sup>th</sup> century. Circular and quadrangular burial chambers, notable for monumental architecture and wealth of grave goods, are often preceded by large open antechambers with side benches (particularly in later tombs).<sup>636</sup> The deceased was usually laid on a bench with legs bent; there is evidence for multiple depositions and reuse of graves, older skeletons and grave goods moved to the back of the chamber.<sup>637</sup>

Only two rectangular chamber tombs of the lower ridge contain later materials of the early 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>638</sup> The various ceramic types are undecorated, incised, or with painted geometric decoration; incised wares are comparable to material from necropoleis of northeast

---

<sup>634</sup> Frasca 2009a: 13-4; Frasca 2016: 4. These were excavated by Cavallari in 1887 and published in Cavallari 1887.

<sup>635</sup> Initially identified and partially excavated by Orsi, these were revisited by Signorelli in 1971-4 (Lagona 1975-6).

<sup>636</sup> Particularly monumental is a complex consisting of two chamber tombs (I/A and I/B) with square vestibule.

<sup>637</sup> Lagona 1975: 130-1. The only evidence for this is the central deposition of Tomb XXIII, containing a skeleton.

<sup>638</sup> Grave goods mainly consist of ceramics, abundant and often accompanied by bronze and iron ornaments.

and southeast Sicily.<sup>639</sup> Painted vessels include numerous traditional indigenous types, some found in the earliest tombs, comparable to examples from the village of Metapiccola and necropoleis of Pantalica South and early Finocchito. They also demonstrate early adoption of Greek decorative motifs and ceramic forms, especially from the Euboean repertoire, as similar decorations have been found at Eretria.<sup>640</sup> Especially significant are animal depictions, uncommon at Cava S. Aloe (and generally rare in the indigenous repertoire); these include three vases with birds (two amphorae and a cylindrical cup), and a vase with stylized grazing horses. (Fig. 3.85) Other Euboean-type motifs have been found in indigenous contexts in Southeast Sicily, including Cozzo della Tignusa in the Leontine area, where a krater depicting a horse within a metope was found.<sup>641</sup> These vessels were all along routes connecting indigenous settlements of the Plain of Catania (Valle S. Eligio and Cozzo della Tignusa) as well as near modern Augusta (Villasmundo) and the area of Ragusa (M. Tabuto). Metals likely spread along these same routes, and many metal objects, especially rings, bracelets, razors, and fibulae (*serpeggiante*, *a navicella*, and an iron fibula wrapped in bronze wire, relatively rare in Sicilian contexts) are attested on site, in addition to amber beads. Several of these types, especially razors, are comparable to South Italian types and found in various eastern Sicilian areas.

The necropolis and consistency of funerary goods suggest a large indigenous center here from the late 9<sup>th</sup> through early 7<sup>th</sup> century, through the arrival of the Greek settlers.<sup>642</sup> On the slope of the hill containing the graves were traces of early constructions and a massive wall built

---

<sup>639</sup> Attingitói, more traditional in form, are found in numerous tombs, especially among the oldest material and are also found on the Metapiccola hill (Lagona 1975: 67-70). Incision appears on basins and trefoil oinochoai.

<sup>640</sup> Lagona 1975: 145.

<sup>641</sup> Other examples include a Geometric cup recovered from Tomb 4 in Castelluccio, a geometric oinochoe from M. Tabuto with Orientalizing motif and waterbirds, and an amphora from Villasmundo. (Lagona 1975: 140-1)

<sup>642</sup> Frasca 2012b: 180-1.

of large unsquared blocks, reminiscent of other indigenous fortifications, although the chronology is unclear.<sup>643</sup> The necropolis may have gone out of use in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century due to Greek disruption of the indigenous populations, or the nature of burial ritual may have changed so that chamber tombs were no longer used. The possession of the area around Leontini was important for complete domination of the plain as well as control of the road to Syracuse, and consolidation may have been attempted due to rising tensions with nearby Megara Hyblaea.

Judging by the rich ceramics in tomb contexts, the indigenous center at Leontini may have been one of the most important in eastern Sicily during the Iron Age, dominating lines of communication between towns of the central coast and those in the southern part of the island, and therefore was strategically important to secure. Presence of this indigenous site into the early Greek period provides evidence for mixing, or of some degree of autonomy retained among local inhabitants in the hinterland. The incidence of collective burials in some later Archaic graves suggests that individuals belonging to the same *genos* were enclosed within a shared temenos. This was a common indigenous practice (see Butera) but may have been shared by Sikeliote Greeks, an indication that Greeks and non-Greeks coexisted in one settlement here and perhaps shared some funerary rituals and burial practices, at least in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century. Coexistence may extend down into the subsequent century as suggested by data collected by excavations in the Demma property, which contained at least three burials and objects dating into the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>644</sup>

---

<sup>643</sup> Frasca 2012b: 184.

<sup>644</sup> Graves A, B, and C seem to have been used over the course of the 8<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries; Grave B contains a local-style amphora with metope and triglyph decoration from the 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century, while Grave C contains fragments of a Corinthian-type amphora from the early 6<sup>th</sup> century, and a terracotta mold of a winged sphinx.

## Monte Casasia: Cultural Continuity and Artifactual Diversity

Often brought up in discussions both of political and trade networks with other Archaic cities of Southeast Sicily (primarily Castiglione and M. Casale) and Greek cities along the coast, and of indigenous necropoleis of southeastern Sicily, M. Casasia was well situated to take advantage of Greek and indigenous currents throughout the region, particularly open to new influences while retaining defining aspects of local culture. (Fig. 3.86) The site is on one of the highest peaks in southeast Sicily in the Hyblaean range, along the southern border of the Plain of Catania, only a few kilometers from other important indigenous sites such as Licodia Euboia.<sup>645</sup> The area was settled by the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and demonstrates indigenous modes of burial in artificial cave tombs dug into the mountain's southeastern slopes, just below the summit, containing a large amount of locally produced pottery and some colonial and Greek imports, one with a Sikel inscription. The site is important in demonstrating widespread internal trade between indigenous sites and colonies, as well as craft production at an indigenous center with colonial craftsmen or local artisans who apprenticed at colonial sites, leading to the creation of new forms seen here. Di Stefano recognized a large number of Chalkidian-style vessels in the necropolis, and hypothesized a substantial trade flow and network of markets down into the early 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>646</sup> The chronology and types of chambers with associated features are similar to those of Licodia Eubea, Castiglione, Cava S. Aloe and Villasmundo, especially in terms of the articulation of chambers to accommodate ritual.

53 chamber tombs in a number of discrete groupings were excavated, each with multiple depositions, spread over the main ridges and some minor outcroppings in the mountain. (Fig.

---

<sup>645</sup> Rizzo 1966: 14-5.

<sup>646</sup> Lorefice 2012: 230-1; Di Stefano 1987: 153-7.

3.87) Françoise and Frasca catalogued the material and created a typological classification of the necropolis.<sup>647</sup> These have allowed scholars to study the indigenous center's cultural development between the 7<sup>th</sup> through early 5<sup>th</sup> century, despite the lack of excavations of a habitation area (although some ceramic sherds found near the tombs have been attributed to a local village). Through the evolution of grave goods, archaeologists have tracked changes in an indigenous community that sought to restructure itself with higher levels of social complexity, especially in the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>648</sup> Particularly interesting are some types of ceramics relatively sparsely documented in inland settlements of this period, as well as the common occurrence of ornaments – particularly fibulae with arches decorated in bone (also at Butera and the Fusco necropolis in Syracuse). Two main types of chronologically differentiated tombs can be distinguished, both analogous to types at Licodia Eubea.<sup>649</sup> Some older tombs from the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century contained a stone “pillow” on which the head of the dead was placed, while use of benches for the dead tends to belong to a later stage, and is also documented in Licodia Eubea, Castiglione, and other nearby locations in central-eastern Sicily.<sup>650</sup> It is difficult to assign precise dates to use phases of these tombs due to reuse and periodic cleaning of chambers; although where there are intact skeletal remains, the dead are all placed in lying position, with head facing the south. A more uncommon feature is the use of individual sepultures or pit burials within

---

<sup>647</sup> Rizza's initial 1960s excavations revealed a group of 16 tombs. In 1972 and 1973, Pelagatti found a compact group of 17 tombs used in the 7<sup>th</sup> century and a nucleus of 20 tombs to the east. These were published in Rizza 1966; Rizza 1976-7; Frasca and Pelagatti 1996; and Lorefice 2012.

<sup>648</sup> Lorefice 2012: 238.

<sup>649</sup> These consist of an older type with large rectangular or round antechamber with arched entryway, and a second consisting of a narrow corridor, with steps to the main quadrangular or round chamber entrance. All tombs are closed with a large squared stone, or with smaller stones encasing the entrance, and were equipped with niches and loculi.

<sup>650</sup> Frasca and Pelagatti 1996: 483-4. Calascibetta, Assoro, Centuripe, Montagna di Marzo.

chamber tombs, indicating adoption of different rites, perhaps under Greek influence. (Fig. 3.88) Additionally, some chambers contain only single burials, or only one skeleton in the highest level above earlier overlapping depositions (in Tombs III and V), comparable to the situation of some chamber tombs at Castiglione and Sant'Angelo Muxaro but otherwise rare among indigenous sites.<sup>651</sup>

In several cases, vases were also found outside tombs, some attributable to external burials,<sup>652</sup> while others, often with signs of burning, were likely used to cook offerings at periodic ceremonies honoring the deceased; these ritual offerings employ types – footed kraters and pots – dissimilar to usual vessels found in tombs. (Fig. 3.89) Indigenous Sicilian contexts frequently incorporate ritual offerings and other items linked to the cult of the dead, especially at EBA sites, including Castelluccio, where footed basins found outside tombs may have held water. These may be consciously *archaizing* ritual practices referencing modes of indigeneity, in a phase when increasing pressure of Greek settlement was surely felt; similar rituals are attested outside tombs at Polizzello (Chapter 4).<sup>653</sup> This was further articulated through details such as benches and cleared open spaces, suggesting periodic ceremonies. (Fig. 3.90) These find precedents in the EIA necropoleis of San Eligio and Villasmundo, with spacious interior spaces as well as dromoi with benches, on which skeletal material and utilitarian pottery were occasionally found, perhaps indicating that the areas were used for both external burials and ceremonies honoring the deceased.<sup>654</sup>

---

<sup>651</sup> Frasca and Pelagatti 1996: 329.

<sup>652</sup> For example, in Tomb I, the last deposition was placed at the entrance, along with associated grave goods (likely due to constraints in space). This seems to occur only in the most recent phase, in the late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries.

<sup>653</sup> Frasca and Pelagatti 1996: 485. These may be ritual forms equivalent to pedestaled kraters attested at M. Casasia, perhaps used for similar purposes, and thus demonstrating continuity of artifact typologies.

<sup>654</sup> Frasca and Pelagatti 1996: 485.



At M. Casasia, personal metal adornments were common, placed on the deceased. They are not abundant, however, compared to EIA necropoleis and tend to decrease over time, as at Castiglione. [Table 3.23] Most personal adornments are bronze, consisting of fibulae, pins, earrings, pendants, arrowheads, needles, bracelets, and rings; although iron implements and fibulae, silver rings,<sup>655</sup> cylindrical spirals and earrings, glass paste beads, bone beads (likely from iron fibulae) and a boar's tusk amulet have also been recovered.<sup>656</sup>

Vessels in these graves tend to be skewed towards imports, especially later in the Archaic, when imports retained as heirlooms may have been deposited in graves after long use. As at the Castiglione necropolis, there seems to be a preference for ceramics linked to drinking.<sup>657</sup> Vessel typologies suggest uninterrupted use from the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century until the end of the 5<sup>th</sup>, with three distinct phases. Imported PC and EC and Ionian type A2 and B1 cups characterize the oldest, consisting of nine tombs ranging from the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century through the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>658</sup> (Fig. 3.91) Indigenous trefoil oinochoai are also common, and there are even six Corinthian aryballoi, usually rare in indigenous contexts but likely involved in the preparation of the body or imbued with symbolic allusion to the agonistic or aristocratic spheres.<sup>659</sup> In this early phase, it thus seems that the most common vessels are utilitarian, primarily for meals, while imported cups were used and deposited due to their exotic and symbolic value. The ceramic repertoire includes a few types derived from traditional shapes

---

<sup>655</sup> These seem to appear in indigenous contexts dating to the Licodia Eubea facies.

<sup>656</sup> Frasca and Pelagatti 1996: 486-91.

<sup>657</sup> Frasca and Pelagatti 1996: 525.

<sup>658</sup> Lorefice 2012: 233. Drinking vessels from this layer include 45 examples of two-handled bowls of Corinthian production or colonial imitation, seven examples of Ionian cups, and two-handled cups likely of Sikeliote production.

<sup>659</sup> Lorefice 2012: 235,

(amphorae, oinochoai, bowls) and new forms derived from Greek pottery (hydriai, krateriskoi, askoi, and dinoi).<sup>660</sup> The latter tend to be wares involved in drinking or feasting, and they are ceramic proxies of metal vases, equivalents of some of the more high-class goods occasionally found in the graves. The fact that some of these goods may also have been imported from the coast alongside smaller metal implements, found in almost all of the tombs, further underscores the elite connections made in this inland community.<sup>661</sup>

Indigenous and colonial vessels decrease from the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> into the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century, to which most tombs can be dated (only five trefoil oinochoai are found in these tombs), while Greek imports rise exponentially (50% of the total goods), suggesting increased wealth, not necessarily a transformation in identity.<sup>662</sup> (Fig. 3.92) The large numbers of Ionian cups, of Sikeliote and East Greek manufacture, suggest a clearly structured funerary ritual by the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, with customs requiring imported objects. This finds its most vivid representation in a Sikel inscription engraved on an Ionian Type B2 cup from Tomb 15, of the second half of the century, which testifies to both continued Sikel presence at the site and an attempt to replicate Greek traditions.<sup>663</sup> Lamps are another new feature, appearing later than at Castiglione but likely relating to innovations in ritual.<sup>664</sup> Continued use of oil lamps and the innovative use of Attic paterae (possibly tied to purification rituals and drink offerings) in the

---

<sup>660</sup> Any decoration is painted, in the earliest stages geometric patterns in brownish-red matt paint on light background; in the later phases, vessels tend to be decorated only with simple bands or by immersion; some pots are undecorated.

<sup>661</sup> Frasca and Pelagatti 1996: 493, 561. Interestingly, the only grave without metal implements – Tomb VI – also seems to contain only colonial and imported Greek goods, just five objects in total, perhaps indicating status.

<sup>662</sup> Frasca and Pelagatti 1996: 555.

<sup>663</sup> Frasca and Pelagatti 1996: 559.

<sup>664</sup> Frasca and Pelagatti 1996: 549-53. Older lamp types are commonly attested in indigenous sites close to M. Casasia, such as Licodia Eubea and Castiglione; the oldest types are of East Greek origin, attested in Archaic Greek colonies.

last phase, dating through the 5<sup>th</sup> century, reconfirms the restructuring of indigenous burial customs and perhaps identity in the late 6<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>665</sup>

More generally, the site engages with warrior and elite identity, with weapons, ceramic imitations of metal basins, and jewelry in several tombs. An arrowhead, two knives, and dagger were recovered (weapon depositions are relatively uncommon in both Greek and indigenous necropoleis on the island, less so in sanctuary contexts), and metal ornaments indicate status and identity. Metalwork is a sign of prestige, as indigenous metal forms (especially pendants, certain types of fibulae, and metal beads) persist despite adoption of Greek forms such as pins and serve as indices of locality. Yet the processes in which local identity was created and maintained through assemblages were distinctly different from other southeastern indigenous necropoleis, such as Castiglione. There are much larger numbers of metal ornamental goods in relation to the number interred, demonstrating their wealth. Storage containers are less common, as are large communal serving bowls, or scodelloni. In both sets of assemblages, oinochoai are frequent grave goods, although they are not found in as high quantities as in some other indigenous tomb assemblages. Percentages of other objects related to the sphere of commensality, such as individual bowls and cups, are roughly similar between the two sites. M. Casasia, on the other hand, displays a higher percentage of indigenous wares, with Corinthian wares and imitations comprising only 9% of all vessels; the tombs at Castiglione contain roughly equal amounts of Greek and indigenous ceramics, with Corinthian or Corinthianizing vessels comprising around half the Greek wares. The M. Casasia tombs do not display some of the older traditional ceramic types notable in Castiglione tombs, such as large incised basins with basket handles, or

---

<sup>665</sup> Frasca and Pelagatti 1996: 546. The last phase, with few graves, is characterized by Attic imports and less rich burial goods than in previous phases, although there is still a preponderance of imported Greek products (65%). Indigenous goods make up only 26% and objects of colonial origin disappear almost entirely, represented by only 8% of goods.

undecorated dipper-cups. These variances demonstrate localized responses to new artifact patternings distributed through exchange networks, and different modes of artifact creation depending on internal needs and demand rather than exterior stimulus, which would instead have conditioned broadly similar assemblage patterns among sites along the same routes. In addition to Castiglione, these assemblages are analogous in terms of objects and object use to the Morgantina necropoleis (especially Necropolis V), the Butera Layer I tombs, and even some non-funerary contexts at Polizzello (Oikos B), Monte Polizzo (House 3), and Monte Saraceno (Upper Plateau), and in Sikeliote centers (Megara Hyblaea South Temple).

Like Castiglione, Monte Casasia probably comprised mixed populations involved in articulation of an elite culture. Both form part of a *koine* of indigenous type graves that arose in the zone of Chalkidian expansion and consolidation, demonstrating broad similarities – in terms of both material culture and the forms of tombs and ritual – with other indigenous necropoleis at Villasmundo, Cava S. Aloe, Monte Lavanca Nera, and Monte Casale, despite Villasmundo's position closer to the sea and the territory of Megara Hyblaea.

### **Grammichele and Ramacca: Expressing Locality along Southeast Sicily's Main Passageways**

A comparable situation can be seen at the site of Grammichele, an important Sikel center mainly dating from the 6<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Orsi identified it as the ancient city of Echetla, located at the intersection of Hyblaeian and Ereian mountain chains, at the western edge of the Catania plain.<sup>666</sup> Like nearby M. Casasia and Licodia Eubea, it dominated communication from the Chalkidian colonies of the east coast towards the south coast and Agrigento and to the island's interior. An indigenous settlement largely conditioned by its environment and defensive needs, it seems to have become a political center of a territory extending southwards along a

---

<sup>666</sup> Bagnasco 2006: 2; Orsi 1897a; Diod. 20.32.1.

route with a number of closely situated indigenous settlements.<sup>667</sup> This highly visible, coordinated system of centers formed a belt protecting the interior and ensuring communications and exchanges among them. The settlement comprises five hills separated by valleys; each of the hills thus seems to have had a different function.<sup>668</sup> The two easternmost (the “Acropolis” and Poggio dell’Aquila) have yielded the most material, and on the last hill (epsilon) Orsi discovered a significant amount of votive material, suggesting a sanctuary of some importance, although without monumental construction.<sup>669</sup> The Terravecchia and Poggio dell’Rullo hills contained Archaic houses as well as possible sacred spaces. The southern and eastern zones of Terravecchia di Grammichele, as well as some areas under the Acropolis and Poggio dell’Aquila, were used as necropoleis.<sup>670</sup> (Fig. 3.93)

Five phases were isolated in Area A on Poggio dell’ Rullo Hill, the earliest with a long terrace with limestone walls, an early religious space evidenced by findings of offerings from the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>671</sup> Dense urban settlement began in this period, but there is evidence of earlier occupation. The settlement’s nature has been debated; Orsi considered it a Greek outpost, given the large amount of colonial material,<sup>672</sup> but it was more likely a Sikel or mixed settlement from the late 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards, perhaps with a small mixed nucleus formed by Chalkidian settlers from the coast. Greek presence has been suggested by the methodical division of space and a

---

<sup>667</sup> Bagnasco 2006: 3.

<sup>668</sup> Privitera and Spigo 2005: 124-5; Bagnasco 2006: 4-6.

<sup>669</sup> Bagnasco 2006: 2; Patanè 2009b: 115.

<sup>670</sup> One of these, the necropolis of Madonna del Piano – Mulino della Badia, from the FBA/EIA, is characterized by fossa and pithos burials. (Privitera and Spigo 2005: 81-2) This area also included rectangular huts from the same period, comparable to examples from Leontini (Metapiccola) (Privitera and Spigo 2005: 125; Patanè 2009b: 116.

<sup>671</sup> Area A, excavated by the University of Turin in 2000-2001, was the largest isolated area, with the deepest stratigraphy.

<sup>672</sup> Orsi 1897a: 203.

large square construction in Contrada Madonna della Piano, near the area occupied by Protohistoric and Archaic tombs with Greek-style votive deposits and terracottas.<sup>673</sup> (Fig. 3.94) The domestic structures, including Archaic dwellings suggesting regular articulation based on Greek models, suggest changes in social structure at this time, although it is difficult to confirm. Still, evidence for indigenous or mixed presence remains strong, especially in the tombs, where indigenous ceramics appear alongside Greek material.<sup>674</sup> Indigenous material in the domestic area continues to characterize the settlement to the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, when elevated numbers of local ceramics continue to be found.<sup>675</sup>

The indigenous-style settlement has no overarching regular urbanized plan but a layout characterized by construction on small terraces intertwined by steep slopes, taking advantage of natural topography and defenses.<sup>676</sup> There is also relatively late Greek presence, with no material earlier than three pieces of Corinthian ceramics from the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, a situation comparable to that of other nearby sites, which also do not have Greek attendance until well into the Archaic. Only in the second half of the century do Greek imports intensify; these are mostly in sanctuary contexts, forms connected with worship predominating.<sup>677</sup> This suggests that imports were reserved mainly for ritual contexts, although their abundance suggests a flourishing economy, with locals able to buy expensive Greek trade items to demonstrate their wealth in grave and sanctuary contexts as well as domestic areas. The discovery, on the Poggio dell' Ruollo

---

<sup>673</sup> Privitera and Spigo 2005: 125-6; Bagnasco 2006: 37.

<sup>674</sup> Bagnasco 2006: 37-9; Patanè 2009b: 115-6.

<sup>675</sup> Indigenous ceramics at the Poggio dell' Ruollo, primarily Siculo-Geometric in decoration, span the 7<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries and mainly comprise oinochoai, askoi, one and two-handled bowls, amphorae, and, slightly later, hydriai. Over time, these forms (especially bowls) grow smaller. One-handled scodelloni are especially common.

<sup>676</sup> Privitera and Spigo 2005: 36, 39.

<sup>677</sup> Privitera and Spigo 2005: 7-18, 36-7.

hill and on its immediate slopes, of Laconian, Corinthian, and Attic fragments, suggests diffusion of these products.<sup>678</sup> The replacement of indigenous ceramics with colonial ceramics by the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century marks the possible beginnings of a formal Greek outpost.

Ramacca is closely related to Grammichele, in terms of both artifact typologies and building types (especially sanctuaries) traditionally associated with Greek forms situated in indigenous contexts, inserted within local settlement plans. The site, in a saddle between two hills facing the Plain of Catania to the west, is bounded by several rivers.<sup>679</sup> (Fig. 3.95) The site overlooks other major Sikel centers in the Valley of the Margi River, such as Palike, and the Gornalunga River, a vital trade and settlement route to the interior, particularly frequented by Chalkidian Greeks. Ramacca was, in effect, on the periphery of the zones of southeastern Sicily and the interior, ideally situated to take advantage of relations with both Greeks and inhabitants of other indigenous settlements, reflected in its architecture – utilizing rock-cut architecture as well as large rectangular structures often with courtyards used as multifunctional spaces – hybridized ritual space, use of fossa tombs in the necropolis, and object assemblages, which include Etruscan bucchero, an uncommon object in indigenous contexts. Given its position, it likely served as a strategic stronghold.<sup>680</sup>

On the acropolis, the topmost point of the hill of La Montagna, a number of rock-cut buildings were investigated. A series of sondages<sup>681</sup> demonstrated that after initial habitation in

---

<sup>678</sup> Privitera and Spigo 2005: 39.

<sup>679</sup> Messina 1971: 538-9; Procelli 1976.

<sup>680</sup> Procelli and Messina excavated the settlement in 1970 (Procelli 1976-7; Messina 1971) and Albanese and Procelli in 1978; from 1981-85, excavations focused on the Acropolis and East and West Necropoleis (Albanese 1988b: 22-23).

<sup>681</sup> The acropolis was originally excavated by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Siracusa from 1978-1985 and published in Albanese 1988b; revisited in 1994, it was published in site reports (Buscemi Felici and Patané 1997).

the EIA (Cassibile and Pantalica South phases), occupation continued in the Finocchito period (730-650).<sup>682</sup> Ramacca came into contact with the Greek littoral settlements, especially during Leontini's expansion as early as the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, as ceramic imports of Greek manufacture and imitations (especially Euboean-Cycladic style) start to consistently show up in the archaeological record, perhaps due to Leontini's more aggressive expansionism in this period, eventually achieving a pace like Syracuse's, largely through alliances with local aristocracies (not unlike at M. Casasia).<sup>683</sup> Despite the early and extensive Greek imports, the most common ceramics at Ramacca are local indigenous wares, unpainted or with geometric decoration. Siculo-Geometric were produced into the 6<sup>th</sup> century, and ceramics incised with Sikel inscriptions in the Greek alphabet have been found, although mainly from the late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>684</sup> These ceramics attest to continuation of local language and culture even in this period and suggest aristocratic presence here, as at nearby settlements such as Montagna di Marzo, likely served along the same communication routes.<sup>685</sup> Such inscriptions, usually on cups, also indicate that these vessels – such as kylikes and skyphoi – were the preferred type of imported ceramic at the site. Aristocratic practices of commensality also manifested among the grave goods from the necropoleis at Ramacca, in “banquet services” related to the sphere of drinking, perhaps with imports obtained in exchange for surplus agricultural goods, manifested by fragments of large transport containers at the site. (Fig. 3.96) Other goods, represented mainly

---

<sup>682</sup> Albanese 1988b: 101-2.

<sup>683</sup> Albanese 1988b: 142.

<sup>684</sup> Albanese 1988b: 37, 114, 124. Such inscriptions are comparable to the cups from the indigenous sites of M. Casasia and Montagna di Marzo, although at Ramacca most are sporadic in origin, so their context is unknown.

<sup>685</sup> At Montagna di Marzo, aristocratic associations are more overt: skyphoi and kylikes with Sikel inscriptions have been found in a Late Archaic chamber tomb alongside bronze armor and vessels, objects with clear elite significance. Another Sikel inscription at the site was painted on a late 6<sup>th</sup>-century indigenous Licodia Eubea-style amphora.



by sporadic finds, also demonstrate elite culture – triangular pendants used to support multiple-mesh chains, a type that appears and spreads particularly during the Finocchito facies;<sup>686</sup> oval and biconical beads, common in many Iron Age contexts; and two double protome animal bronzes with vertical hole in the center – possibly pendants – one a ram and another a quadruped. [See Table 3.24 for overall assemblage details from the acropolis] Although these are all characteristic of indigenous production, the last especially are part of the widespread production of zoomorphic figurines for votive or ritual use in indigenous workshops during the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>687</sup>

Among the most important Early Archaic contexts excavated at Ramacca, Saggio Delta, as well as Building RM, Building N, and Saggio Beta on the Acropolis, yielded the most consistent material. (Fig. 3.97) In Saggio Delta a layer of chronologically consistent material was isolated, almost completely from the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> or, at latest, early 6<sup>th</sup> century; this is represented mainly by small PC cups, imitations or imports, as well as three indigenous dipper-cups.<sup>688</sup> (Fig. 3.98) [Table 3.25] Unfortunately, the material is not associated with architectural remains, so it is difficult to ascertain the exact context of the excavated objects.

A more secure context is found in Sector RM on the acropolis.<sup>689</sup> Divided longitudinally, the building has two rooms, RM I and II; these were partially excavated into the bedrock, the superstructure walls of rough-hewn medium stones filled with smaller stones and bonded with

---

<sup>686</sup> Albanese 1988b: 133-5. Numerous examples of this ornamental object are found in graves of the 7<sup>th</sup>-century layer of the Butera necropolis and elsewhere, usually associated with bronze fibulae. Although mainly known from indigenous centers, there are isolated examples in Sikeliote cities such as Megara Hyblaea, Gela and Agrigento. A comparable example from Olympia in Greece is likely was a votive from an indigenous offerant there.

<sup>687</sup> They are comparable to examples from Butera (2<sup>nd</sup> Layer) and double protomes from M. Bubbonia and Grammichele, within the same spheres of southern and southeast Sicily.

<sup>688</sup> Albanese 1988b: 34-9; 141.

<sup>689</sup> Albanese 1988b: 41-96.

clay. A door opened onto a street or courtyard to the north.<sup>690</sup> Directly below the collapse debris was material that had comprised the utilitarian wares of the house. (Fig. 3.99) In RM I, a bench contained a small burnt lens alongside fragments of iron tools; this was interrupted near the corner, where fragments of cooking vessels and a small trefoil oinochoe were found with an ash layer, apparently the hearth.<sup>691</sup> Room RM II was largely used for storage, given its fragments of a commercial Corinthian Type A amphora, large pithos, part of a large indigenous amphora, and smaller pieces of pottery; a possible hearth also suggests processing activities.<sup>692</sup> Overall, material from the house dates from the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century and includes utilitarian wares such as chytrai, a type of container with prototypes in Greece that seems to spread in Sicilian indigenous centers through models first produced in the colonies. [Table 3.26] This suggests some readiness on the part of indigenous inhabitants to take up Greek material utilitarian culture, although within the framework of local needs, and with continuation of local forms and traditions.<sup>693</sup> Indeed, the artifact assemblages and relative amounts of object types are analogous to hybridized contexts at Palike (especially Building F), Contrada Consi, the M. Saraceno and Polizzello acropoleis, and even sacred contexts at Gela (Well 1 deposits) and Megara Hyblaea (South Temple and Northwest Sanctuary).

Another structure with possible public function is Building N, a large one-room elongated structure, also constructed in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century but in use through the 6<sup>th</sup>.<sup>694</sup> (Fig.

---

<sup>690</sup> Albanese 2009b: 358

<sup>691</sup> Albanese 1988b: 45.

<sup>692</sup> Albanese 1988b: 51.

<sup>693</sup> Albanese 1988b: 125-6.

<sup>694</sup> This space was revealed during a series of excavations conducted in 1994 and subsequently published in *Kokalos*: Buscemi Felici and Patané 1997-8: 189-214.

3.100) Long benches, one containing a cooking hearth, run along three walls, with a large raised platform dug into bedrock. The assemblage, mostly from the benches, comprised Greek and indigenous ceramics. Indigenous pottery includes at least two bowls and three unpainted situlae, the Greek imports consisting of cups. Northeast of Building N and separated by an ambitus was a similar, slightly larger structure oriented along the same axis; it dates to a similar period but the contexts and interior are not as well-preserved. Unlike other areas of the site there are no traces of destruction, and the buildings were occupied throughout the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>695</sup> Thus, these excavations show a town with numerous phases that had maintained contact and trading links with the colonial world. Yet while these buildings demonstrate influence from the Greek world in their rectilinear walls and courtyard space, the elongated forms and multiple levels are uniquely adapted to the uneven terrain, even using rock outcroppings as a surface floor level and foundation level for the walls, a technique often associated with indigenous architecture.<sup>696</sup> Furthermore, the permanent cooking installations on the benches of Building N are not commonly attested in the Greek world, where hearths tend to be more mobile, and may suggest a semi-public role for the building.

Indeed, the number of storage vessels – especially trade amphorae – attests to accumulation of resources at a centralized location; whether these buildings were utilized by a single family, clan, or larger segment of the population remains to be determined. Albanese-Procelli argues that while House RM was likely used for domestic activities in one room and storage in the other and may have belonged to a nuclear family, House N may have belonged to an extended family given its large size and ample seating and storage space, although the hearth

---

<sup>695</sup> Buscemi Felici and Patané 1997-98: 214.

<sup>696</sup> Frasca 2012b: 184-5; Nicotra and Verde 2015.

could not have served large groups.<sup>697</sup> House N could also have been a warehouse, a function also suggested for House RM, although only one large vase – a pithos base in the northwest corner of the bench – was found, and so it is unlikely to have served just as storage space.<sup>698</sup> The house demonstrates similarities with the large multipurpose houses found at M. San Mauro, especially in the mixed storage vessels (Greek and indigenous) and may in fact have been utilized in a similar manner. Finally, Building N may have served as a public building for communal dining, given the ample amount of bench space and high amounts of dining ware – Ionian cups and indigenous bowls – although here it is important not to draw too many parallels with Greek institutions and buildings such as the prytaneion or andreion, which in any case are only architecturally defined in a period later than Building N. It is safest to see this building as a multipurpose structure that may have served a public function related to drinking, used by a mixed population. The association of courtyards with rectangular structures is comparable to the settlement structure at Castiglione, while the indigenous use of a large building as a semi-public space (other than outright ritual space) is possibly also attested at M. Polizzo (Building C1 and House 3) and Palike (Building F).

The metal tools alongside smaller objects (some valuable), continued occupation in surrounding areas, and lack of traces of violent destruction (burnt areas representing the remains of hearths), suggests the rapid abandonment of Building RM and nearby areas around the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>699</sup> This destruction has been attributed to expansion of the chora of Leontini, as it sought to maintain control of routes towards the Margi River and the south-central coast to

---

<sup>697</sup> Albanese 2009b: 360.

<sup>698</sup> Buscemi Felici and Patané 1997-98: 213-214.

<sup>699</sup> Albanese 1988b: 145.

Gela; the destruction levels have been compared to similar levels at nearby Morgantina in the second quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, and possession of Ramacca would have given control of routes leading there.<sup>700</sup> (Fig. 3.101) Nevertheless, localized occupation at Ramacca continued through the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century despite external pressure in the area felt at this time, manifesting itself in the construction of an indigenous-type defensive system on the acropolis of nearby Mineo in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. However, some structures, like Building N, were used throughout the 6<sup>th</sup> century without interruption, and across the acropolis were found abundant 6<sup>th</sup> century imported ceramics, including a fragment of Etruscan bucchero (rare among indigenous centers, although found in the inland communities of M. Polizzo and Colle Madore).<sup>701</sup>

Some outside presence or influence is suggested by at least one Greek-inspired sacred structure, indicated by sporadic remains of architectural decoration, Gorgon antefixes, and stone Aeolian type capitals, clearly localized imitations of Greek models, although in many cases characterized by partial fragmentation of the Greek form and more simplistic renderings of motifs – comparable to what is seen at the extraurban sanctuary of Piano Camera outside Gela and at Adrano, but nevertheless consistent with the cultural advances of the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>702</sup> The locally manufactured terracottas are not limited to painted antefixes but also include more specialized pieces, suggesting that they were products of travelling craftsmen or local artisans who trained at nearby Greek towns, perhaps Leontini, the models traveling along the routes taken by Greek traders and settlers. Interestingly, utilitarian ceramics from this area are Sikel

---

<sup>700</sup> Albanese 1988b: 143-5.

<sup>701</sup> Albanese 1988b: 147; Belfiore 200: 262-4. Other common imports include Ionian cups and transport amphorae.

<sup>702</sup> These terracottas are also similar to examples from M. Bubbonia, Terravecchia di Grammichele, Valle del Simeto, Mendolito di Adrano, and Paterno.

types, although there is also clear adoption of banqueting culture by local elites at this sanctuary. Despite the lack of evidence for outside Greek involvement in these constructions there is nevertheless the possibility of sporadic, localized Greek presence and involvement in some aspects of the town, and indeed the Greek-type fortification walls on the acropolis by the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century could be suggest the presence of mixed tradesmen trained in a number of different traditions at this time.<sup>703</sup> Mixed craftsmanship can also be seen in the remains of a building that has also been called a “sanctuary,” located on a spur of rock along the edge of the cliff bordering the west plateau, which may have functioned as a residence or as a semi-public space, perhaps for dining.<sup>704</sup> (Fig. 3.102) The complex is a series of seven rock-cut rooms along the edge of the cliff, with numerous carvings, stairs and benches excavated into the rock. Unfortunately, the small amount of material remains precludes identification or a reliable date, although, as noted above, quarrying into the local limestone to provide foundations or even entire walls and interior structures seems to be a largely indigenous practice, seen at other interior settlements such as the Metapiccola Hill near Leontini.<sup>705</sup>

Finally, the practices in the two necropoleis may shed some light on the mixed identity of local residents, although these mainly date to later periods.<sup>706</sup> (Fig. 3.103) Mixed fossa, enchytrismos, and indigenous chamber tombs suggest either mixed populations or non-traditional practices adopted alongside conventional forms by indigenous inhabitants by the 6<sup>th</sup> century, as seen at an earlier date at Castiglione. The material includes Siculo-Geometric wares alongside Corinthian quatrefoil aryballoi, Laconian kraters, and Attic cups and kylikes, typical

---

<sup>703</sup> Albanese 1988b: 148.

<sup>704</sup> Messina 1971: 550-3.

<sup>705</sup> *Supra* 177-8.

<sup>706</sup> These were published in Albanese 1988b: 151-9

drinking forms associated with burial ritual. Other evidence for ritual and the use of space in preparation of commensal activities comprise lava millstones and grinders, the remains of a hydria, and fragments of figured arulae and female terracottas in the immediate vicinity of the East Necropolis. The activities represented by these remains suggest that, despite the frequent destruction levels on the acropolis and surrounding area of Ramacca, indigenous occupation nevertheless continued, albeit with some modifications, at least down into the second quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, when there is evidence of the final destruction of the settlement, perhaps due to the actions of Ducetius.

### **General Conclusions**

Consolidation of Sikel territory in the face of Greek incursion and the development of an elite indigenous culture are reflected in assemblages and contexts, most strikingly in necropoleis, but to some extent in habitation spaces as well. This is attested in the (relative) prevalence of grave markers augmenting the visibility of grave groups (see below), the evolution of chamber tomb forms possibly mirroring changes in the structures of elite households at this time,<sup>707</sup> the frequent deposition of metals in grave assemblages, the importation of Orientalia (suggesting the rise of an indigenous elite that controlled accessibility of such items) and the appropriation of Greek stylistic arrangements on ceramics deposited within indigenous contexts and alongside more traditional indigenous goods.

### **Rituals and Ritual Iconography in Southeastern Sicilian Burial Space**

In all these inland settlements – especially M. Casale, M. Casasia, Ragusa and the Rito Necropolis, Castiglione, and Ramacca – burial practices are directly born out of distinctive localized rituals linked to identity (particularly elite identity) even when no outside forms are

---

<sup>707</sup> Leighton and Bartosiewicz 2012: 76-8.

referenced, such as the monumental entrances to chamber tombs at Castiglione or use of heirlooms (as in tombs in both the more “Hellenizing” Rito Necropolis and the more “localized” Castiglione necropoleis). In most cases, more elite graves are set aside in a separate burial area, either taking the form of physically separate sets of chamber tombs with greater articulation of space, more elaborate grave goods, and fewer depositions; or marked by different rituals and unusual grave sets, such as graves in the East Necropolis of Castiglione or elite cremations at M. Casasia. The setting aside of certain higher-quality graves is also observed at the Sikeliote necropoleis of Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea, especially marked among the monolithic tombs of the RASIOM or Viale Hermocrates Necropoleis. While in most cases these separate necropoleis were likely intended for aristocratic elements of a population, it cannot be excluded that some may have had some social, ideological, or ethnic status not salvageable from the archaeological remains.

Some graves were made even more monumental and exceptional with funerary markers or cuttings for stelae (in the case of chamber tombs) in places such as Castiglione; these are also signifiers of locality, engaging in discourses of aristocratic identity, and are not found among chamber tombs of even nearby Modica and Noto. The tradition of limestone sculpture witnessed in mixed areas of the Rifriscolaro Necropolis and the East Necropolis of Castiglione references monumental funerary sculpture in locations such as Megara Hyblaea; although the settlers of this Sikeliote colony do not seem to have had the same degree of influence on interior indigenous society as Syracuse or Leontini, nonetheless good relations and a spirit of cohabitation that permeated this settlement seems to have fostered an artistic flourishing among elite components of society.

The iconography of the most striking of these stelae, the “Warrior of Castiglione,” unambiguously references elite warrior culture and Orientalizing motifs, not only through the



figure of the warrior, horse and bull, but also the sphinx, borrowed from eastern artistic repertoires. This kind of elite warrior identity tends to be expressed especially immediately before, and in the early period of, Greek colonization up to the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, through the burial of bronze hoards, weapons deposits, and pseudo-heroic cremation burials (occasionally in bronze vessels); one need only look at the Mendolito hoard, with its large assortment of weapons from the EIA through early Archaic, likely deposited in a location with ritual significance (discussed in Chapter 6). Such status is also expressed in coastal Greek centers, as outlined by Albanese; “heroic” elite cremation graves in iron vessels at Syracuse’s Fusco necropolis play into this identity, creating conditions for a specific set of burial iconography that then disseminates outwards<sup>708</sup> – or rather inwards, towards more inland Sikeliote centers and newer mixed cemeteries in previously occupied settlements, including M. Casale, M. San Mauro, Leontini (Predio Pisano Necropolis) Castiglione (East Necropolis) and Kamarina (Rifriscolaro Necropolis). These are often characterized also by some maintained distance from other necropoleis and settlements in these locations, demonstrating heightened prestige, the location and relation to other (especially ancestral) tombs themselves serving as status markers. As seen in subsequent chapters, such identity may owe just as much to Italic influences traveling with local populations as it does to instigation by Greek settlers. This tends to decline later in the Archaic; perhaps it is no longer considered necessary to embody elite identity, at least in material form. The reasons behind this shift will be debated in subsequent chapters but seem to have been intertwined with the establishment of more localized production centers that could imitate Greek imports, undermining latter’s role in signaling elite status.

---

<sup>708</sup> Albanese 2000.

In the material record, individuals seem to pick and choose iconographic elements tied to a certain identity and usage, sometimes (as at M. Casasia and Castiglione) cult-oriented objects or objects imbued with ritual significance tied to consumption such as oinochoai and imported Greek cups, and at other times objects tied to burial patterns and funerary ideology such as exaleiptra and perfume vessels (particularly pronounced at the Rito Necropolis and Megara Hyblaea). In all cases, individuals consciously accept or reject certain archaizing elements depending on context and type of message to be conveyed. The mix of Greek and indigenous vessels in most contexts and relative levels of insertion of Greek imports into specific assemblages vary not only according to overall context – burial, domestic, or ritual/religious – but even among contexts of the same type (for instance, far fewer Greek vases are found amongst second-phase graves at M. Finocchito than at M. Casasia, although the latter is further inland). Some patterns do hold across contexts – smaller vessels tied to drinking, especially cups, tend to be Greek imports; these are often found in association with larger indigenous vessels such as amphorae, oinochoai, hydriai, or askoi, which also reference commensality. An oinochoe or amphora paired with a drinking cup or indigenous basin seems to endure as the basic unit of the indigenous funerary assemblage, as at Butera<sup>709</sup> and Sikanian sites further west. One must look further into the iconography of the painted indigenous vessels and compare them to those of other sites to isolate basic elements and ascertain varying degrees of indigeneity or locality.

The artifact assemblages vary distinctly between the Sikeliote and indigenous necropoleis: while the assemblages among Sikeliote cemeteries most closely resemble those of other southeast Sicilian Greek necropoleis, contexts and assemblages from cemeteries of the indigenous settlements display more variance among sites with parallel contexts. [Tables 7.1, 7.2]

---

<sup>709</sup> In the hinterlands of Gela; see Chapter 2.

For instance, the Ex-Ospedale Necropolis at Syracuse most closely resembles in assemblages the RAISOM Necropolis at Megara Hyblaea and the Viale P. Orsi Necropolis at Syracuse is comparable in assemblages to graves in the South Necropolis at Megara Hyblaea (in general the assemblages at Syracuse necropoleis resemble those of Megara Hyblaea necropoleis). There is however some variation, with resemblances across context types; the South Necropolis at Megara Hyblaea contains contexts that also closely parallel those of the Predio Sola Sanctuary at Gela in terms of object type and use, and the same can also be said of the Ex-Ospedale Necropolis at Syracuse and assemblages at Himera<sup>710</sup>, Temple A. Interestingly, the assemblages at the Fusco Necropolis in Syracuse are closely comparable to those of Morgantina, Necropolis II, in terms of object type and use. Among indigenous contexts in this area, there are some parallels among artifact assemblages between necropoleis – for instance the Rito Necropolis most closely resembles the Castiglione East Necropolis in the scope of object type, production origin and use; assemblages at the M. Casasia necropolis most closely mirror those of the Morgantina necropoleis; and the M. Finocchito necropolis contexts and assemblages are closest in type to those of Morgantina Necropolis IV. The majority of assemblages comparable to other indigenous cemeteries in this area are found in mixed habitation, necropolis, and sacred contexts from other indigenous contexts and also roughly in the area of southeast Sicily. This indicates much more variation among indigenous cemeteries in this region than a superficial look at the grave typologies suggest, perhaps due to mixed identities in many cases (especially among the M. Casasia, Castiglione, Rito, and – as we will see in Chapter 6 — Morgantina necropoleis).

---

<sup>710</sup> In west-central Sicily; see Chapter 4. Also mentioned in this paragraph but not discussed in this chapter is Morgantina (central Sicily, Chapter 6).

## Elite Identity in Southeastern Sicilian Ritual Space

As demonstrated in this chapter, it was above all the mediation of elite practices through new structural types, spaces responding to and enabling changing ritual, that led to a redefinition of sociopolitical alignments in this region in the PA period. In indigenous southeastern Sicilian space, rituals, objects and assemblages are deployed differently than in other areas of Sicily and in Greek spaces, with rituals directly referencing indigeneity while also widely utilizing outside references. For instance, Building RM at Ramacca, where several large storage and transportation vessels of both indigenous and Greek manufacture were found, is likely a semi-public or communal building, not that of a nuclear family. At Building N, the large, undivided interior, extensive benches or pedestal space on all four sides, interior hearth, and evidence for storage of imported Greek cups and indigenous bowls along with a pithos suggest commensal activities, as it may have served either an extended family or a clan using high-quality imported goods in the articulation of social roles and demonstrations of elite identity.

This focus on familial- or clan-based elite connections extends to the sphere of the sacred; although not many unambiguous Protoarchaic sacred structures have been isolated in this area compared to Gela and its hinterland, nonetheless some interesting comparanda can be seen in the case of the temple excavated at Ramacca, the Alaimo sanctuary dedications at Leontini, and mixed extraurban sanctuaries in the immediate hinterland of Gela (such as at Predio Camera and Bitalemi) and those further out in indigenous territories that certainly felt the influence of Greek settlement (such as at M. Bubbonia<sup>711</sup>). Patterns from assemblages of the various ritual, public and mixed sacred-habitation contexts of the Sikeliote sites analyzed here

---

<sup>711</sup> In the hinterlands of Gela; see Chapter 2. Other sites mentioned in this paragraph but not discussed in this chapter are Naxos and Morgantina (central Sicily, Chapter 6), Himera (west-central Sicily, Chapter 4), M. San Mauro (hinterlands of Gela, Chapter 2), and Palike (central Sicily, Chapter 6).

generally resemble one another – these include assemblages in contexts of the area of the Prefettura and Piazza Duomo in Syracuse (which most closely resemble object types, use and production origin at habitation contexts in Naxos); the area of the Megara Hyblaea agora with wells associated with sacred contexts in this space (which broadly resemble assemblages from the Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea, M. Casasia, and Morgantina necropoleis, as well as the Northwest Sanctuary at Megara Hyblaea); the Northwest Sanctuary at Megara Hyblaea (the assemblages of which most closely resembles other contexts at Megara Hyblaea and Ramacca Building RM); the Southern Plateau and Temple ZR at Megara Hyblaea (which is comparable to contexts at the La Musa Sanctuary at Naxos); and the Alaimo Sanctuary at Leontini (the assemblages of which are most closely comparable to those of the Himera Pestevocchia Necropolis and M. San Mauro Necropoleis). In terms of indigenous sites, the only analyzed assemblages from a public or sacred space in this area come from the acropolis of Ramacca, particularly Building RM and Saggio Delta; overall, the object types, use and provenience from this acropolis most closely resemble those of the sacred indigenous site of Palike (Building F). These patterns suggest that the material culture and assemblage composition of this area of the island was largely coherent (at least within the indigenous, mixed and Sikeliote zones), displaying some degree of similarity with sites further inland but still within the traditionally defined Sikel zone, although there are some distinct local variations, especially among the indigenous and more mixed sites. These variations include larger amounts of kraters and other larger serving and/or mixing bowls from both ritual and funerary contexts, high-quality small ornamental and votive objects found in indigenous and Sikeliote graves and in Sikeliote sanctuaries (such as scarabs recovered from the M. Finocchito necropolis), and elevated numbers of cups in both Greek and indigenous graves (relative to those of other regions), suggesting that commensal practices played an important role in funerary ritual. In fact, in this period cups (and, to a lesser extent, bowls) vastly outnumber

oinochoai in indigenous necropoleis of the region, a pattern not seen elsewhere in Sicily. Perfume vases, while present in many Sikeliote tombs, are similarly under-represented. Interestingly, the one context where oinochoai are more common is in the Northwest Sanctuary at Megara Hyblaea, suggesting the use of this sanctuary by ethnically mixed groups, situated as it is in a more liminal position at the margins of the city.

At M. Casale, an inland Greek site surrounded by indigenous settlements, the deposit of large amounts of weapons and armor suggests expression of a warrior identity linked to pseudo-heroic cremation burials from the necropolis. The indigenous and Italic-style weapons may suggest that this temple was frequented not only by local Greek inhabitants but also indigenous populations, who in fact may also have resided in M. Casale, effectively making it a mixed community not unlike the more predominantly indigenous settlements of M. Casasia and Castiglione.

The indigenous territory in southeastern Sicily was defined in much later literature by the separate polities of Hybla and Xouthia, mentioned in that literature as older toponyms for locales around Megara Hyblaea and the Hyblaeian range,<sup>712</sup> and the territory around Leontini, respectively.<sup>713</sup> The archaeological record, though, presents a different and more complex picture. Given similarities in cultural facies here that differ only in patterns in the import of Greek goods (due to the zones of influence in which the sites were situated), the culture of this area must be differentiated through comparative analysis of features lacking in other broad zones of interior Sicily, in the traditionally defined Elymian and Sikanian territories. Before more invasive Greek presence in this area in the “early colonial period,” Sikel territory and culture

---

<sup>712</sup> These possibly concentrate around the Sikel strongholds of Pantalica and M. Finocchito, although the locations of the various inland settlements with the modifier *Hybla* are still subjects of conjecture.

<sup>713</sup> Diod. 5.8.2, Strabo 6.267. Graham 2001b: 160-161.

seem to have been less clearly defined, with supposedly “Sikel” and “Sikanian” sites sharing the same material cultures in eastern and southern Sicily through the 8<sup>th</sup> and early 7<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>714</sup> As this chapter has shown, it is more useful in this period to refocus from ethnicity of local groups to regional similarities with little link to ethnic association but rather with comparable object and assemblage trajectories in southeast Sicily, notably the amalgamation of imports and motifs that penetrated inland from coastal nodes and contributed to cultural bricolage in the interior centers.

Following the establishment of Greek settlements, some indigenous sites were abandoned while others grew, as locals responded to expansion, primarily from Syracuse and Leontini, by concentrating in defensible locations with strategic positions along trade routes from the coast to the interior. This concentration was accompanied by the emergence or strengthening of a native elite controlling interactions with the newcomers. As a result, the more concrete demarcation of Sikel culture in the course of the 7<sup>th</sup> century goes hand-in-hand with an increase in wealth and articulation of signifiers of affluence, stimulated by the opening up of trade routes and more comprehensive elite reception and emulation of foreign objects; indeed, elite culture provided the seeds of change that effectively began the process of redefinition (or better, definition) of localized culture. Regional groupings were further refined through internal social competition that created the conditions for a flourishing economy in the production of imitations and pseudo-imitations of Greek and Sikeliote imports. These were promulgated through both Syracusan and Chalkidian expansion, which resulted in slightly different assemblage profiles among the indigenous sites that engaged with these trade routes and ethn. From early on, Chalkidians seem to have made alliances with indigenous populations, as evidenced by the earlier material from Cava S. Aloe and slightly later assemblages utilizing Greek

---

<sup>714</sup> This is seen, for instance, in the continued production of *piumata* ware in both the Sikanian area around Gela and various centers of southeast Sicily, where it is a defining object type of EIA and Protoarchaic Sikel culture.

wares at M. Casasia and Ramacca; but at least a century later Kamarina, a Syracusan sub-colony, created similar alliances, likely thanks to mixed inhabitants in both the settlement and the immediate hinterland. These alliances were facilitated by articulation of a common set of social and cultural signifiers utilized by both Greeks and elite inhabitants of indigenous and mixed “hinterland” communities engaging in practices and using goods that placed them in a more interconnected world.



## CHAPTER 4: WEST-CENTRAL SICILIAN RITUAL SITES: ROUND OIKOI, INDIGENEITY AND GREEK INTERACTION

This chapter focuses on central and central-western Sicily, the area conventionally viewed as Sikanian from the Bronze Age onwards, and Greek cities along the north-central and south-central coasts beginning in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century, during the second wave of colonization. (Fig. 4.1) Although the Sikanian *ethnos* was briefly touched upon in the Chapter 2, here the discussion delves focuses on the heart of its territory and the unique cultural markers that developed in response to widening interactions and cultural influences transmitted as new ethnē traded and settled during the migrations that characterized this area. The material culture that developed here is in great part the result of enduring traditions, given the (relative) antiquity of the people who defined this zone – the more “ancient” Sikanian *ethnos* (compared to the Elymians and Sikels, both later arrivals who edged into formerly-Sikanian territory).<sup>715</sup> Since the settlements discussed in this chapter – such as Polizzello, Sabucina, M. Saraceno, and Colle Madore – were inland and relatively isolated, they will be treated as a separate entity from the south coast, around the area eventually occupied by Gela, treated in the first chapter. While the latter population groups align much more closely with broadly south-central and eastern Sicilian culture, central “Sikania” seems to identify more with a broadly-defined western *koine* more similar to the Elymian ethnōs than with that of eastern and southeast Sicily, and so are discussed in comparison with sites generally treated as “Elymian,” like M. Maranfusa, situated west of the

---

<sup>715</sup> As discussed in the introduction, Sikanian origins are contested, although most ancient authors claim that they preceded Sikels and Elymians. Thucydides (6.2.2) says that they originated in Iberia and were the first to settle the island after the Cyclopes and Laestrygonians. Timaeus of Tauromenium considered them autochthonous (566 *FGrH* 38).

Belice River (Chapter 5). Indeed, the Sikanian sites discussed here may display greater differences from other sites considered of the same identity, instead demonstrating similar traits among more regional groupings; for example, Sant'Angelo Muxaro's layout and necropolis are significantly different from those of Butera near Gela, despite the former's proximity to Gela's later sub-colony of Agrigento. This demonstrates that the western ethne, Elymian and Sikanian, are not as mutually exclusive in the Late Iron Age and early Archaic as Greek authors claimed; this is even suggested by Thucydides's remark that Elymians, arriving from Troy after the Trojan War, settled the western "border" of Sikanian territory (likely occupied by Sikanians or locals who had not yet assumed a defined *ethnos*) and with the inhabitants founded Erice and Segesta.<sup>716</sup> Indeed, in the 8<sup>th</sup> century and succeeding eras, Elymians and Sikanian object types, assemblages, architectural forms, religious practices, and settlement patterns of this border demonstrate numerous parallels, defined only vaguely by regional boundaries, the differences most apparent only on a site-by-site basis.

Only one Greek site, Himera, is treated here, as it seems to have had the greatest influence on this area in the early period (especially in trade), although Agrigento (not treated, since it was founded only towards the end of this survey's timespan) also figures largely in the Archaic history of the area, and over time a route developed between these two Greek cities on opposite coasts, linking local interior settlements as well. Indigenous sites discussed in this chapter are all characterized by circular cult buildings referencing earlier habitation forms, centrally located in a settlement; this coincides with the phenomenon of larger central Sicilian

---

<sup>716</sup> This account differs considerably from that of Hellanicus, who argues that the Elymians migrated to the west coast of Sicily from the mainland long before the Trojan War, having been driven out of Southern Italy by the Oinotrians. According to his timeline (as recounted by Dionysus of Halicarnassos), this occurred immediately before the Ausonians migrated to the north coast and islands off the coast of Sicily, driven out of Italy by the Iapygians. (Dion. 22)

regional sanctuaries serving small groups of local elites. Extramural sanctuaries, usually on lower slopes, also served places of encounter between Greek and indigenous populations, although these tend to appear later than comparable sanctuaries to the south, in areas of Geloan influence. (Fig. 4.2)

These sites' unique aspects – their focuses on elite dedication and display that, augmented by commensality and ritual practices, demonstrate particular responses to changing times – created unique identities, no site completely mirroring any other even in the immediate region, although broad assemblage patterns do emerge among all sites in this chapter. Some of these unique characteristics include small-scale metal deposits (of arms, laminae, and small decorative objects); a higher percentage of closed vessels in ritual contexts relative to those in other regions (which tend to make more extensive use of cups and other small open vessels); and a prevalence of indigenizing materials – incised and stamped wares (of the so-called “Sant’ Angelo-Muxaro facies), hut models, and footed dishes. These patterns incidentally aided in creating a distinct locality based on kinship networks and changing political and social alliances, reflecting not only internal transformations but also diachronic change through elite competition and engagement with Greek populations along the north and south-central coasts.

### **Polizzello: Traditional Architecture and Orientalizing Culture**

Demonstrating forms of indigenous religion and modes of interaction with Greeks, Polizzello is a significant indigenous Archaic sanctuary, well-documented through meticulous excavation and detailed publications.<sup>717</sup> Of all sites analyzed in this chapter, this fits the most criteria for an important regional religious and population center that follows established patterns in central Sicily: an open-air sanctuary later articulated with structures, early use of

---

<sup>717</sup> These were fully published Panvini et al. 2008.

rectangular buildings as sacred architecture (some replaced by circular buildings), simultaneous use of rectangular shrines (later placed in the outskirts of the settlement) and circular oikoi (some later modified into rectangular or pseudo-rectangular structures), construction of monumental or emphasized entrances, ritual abandonment of the acropolis, and the incorporation of benches and hearths into ritual. Furthermore, several artifact assemblages, while unique, contain ritual objects expected of a large regional central-Sicilian sanctuary: anthropomorphizing incised vessels, hut-models, animal-shaped andirons, inverted cup deposits, foundation deposits, votive shields, and weapons deposits. The site sits on an isolated limestone plateau, bordered by the Platani River. (Fig. 4.3) The summit of the hill consists of two plateaus, the upper serving as the acropolis where sacred buildings were situated and the lower elliptical plateau the main settlement area of the Bronze Age through Archaic city, also hosting some minor sacred spaces (mostly of a later period). The complex was surrounded by natural rock walls into which chamber tombs were excavated, while 7<sup>th</sup>-century fortification walls halfway up the mountain defended the only access to the acropolis.<sup>718</sup>

In 1925 Gabrici identified the site as the likely origin of several elaborate objects donated to the Palermo Museum, including a bronze deposit and an unusual painted oinochoe with a so-called “octopus” motif and helmeted human figures carrying large round shields, an unusual Orientalizing-type vase.<sup>719</sup> (Fig. 4.4) Based on these objects and later-excavated contexts, scholars grouped Polizzello into a western *koine* of settlements of similar type, labeled Sikanian.<sup>720</sup> Excavations on the lower plateau during the 1950s uncovered remains of habitations and shrine

---

<sup>718</sup> Adamesteanu 1956a: 370-371. The tombs were published in Palermo 1983.

<sup>719</sup> Gabrici 1925: 8-9; De Miro and Fiorentini 1980: 96; Palermo 1983: 138-9; Panvini 2003: 132.

<sup>720</sup> Palermo 1983: 104; Palermo et al. 2009.

with figurative bronzes (human offerant and bronze bull).<sup>721</sup> (Fig. 4.5) The necropolis and part of the acropolis sanctuary were revealed by De Miro, who excavated a number of chamber tombs dating to the 8<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries and identified several sacred structures, further investigated by the University of Catania.<sup>722</sup>

The sanctuary on the acropolis dominated the surrounding plain to the west. The main sacred area held groups of circular sacred structures, constructed and modified over several centuries, assuming a final form in the Archaic. It was frequented from at least the 10<sup>th</sup> century through early Classical period, although with a drastic drop-off in depositions past the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>723</sup> (Fig. 4.6) The lower plateau and areas of the sacred complex contain EBA material, although nothing can securely be considered ritual at this early phase.<sup>724</sup> The settlement area began to flourish in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, evidenced by hoards and heirlooms from sporadic locations in the settlement and tombs of the Pantalica South facies.<sup>725</sup> This chapter will focus on the site's 7<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> century material and the way in which it engages with material culture and architecture of earlier phases, with contemporary trajectories in other nearby settlements, and with nearby Greek settlements that impacted this area of Sikania. The site retained strong localized components, and an individualized, indigenous ethnic identity aligned with a central Sicilian *ethnos*, well past the period of more invasive Greek presence in inland areas; indeed, Palermo viewed the site as beyond the area of Greek penetration (i.e. behind Gela's hinterland)

---

<sup>721</sup> These excavations were conducted by the Superintendent of Antiquities of Agrigento. This material, alongside Carta's excavations of tombs and one of the sacred buildings on the acropolis, was published in Palermo 1983.

<sup>722</sup> Panvini, Guzzone and Palermo 2009.

<sup>723</sup> De Miro 1988: 29.

<sup>724</sup> Palermo 1983: 114, 121.

<sup>725</sup> Palermo 1983: 142-3. These tombs and bronzes also have links to Pantalica North and Thapsos cultures.

and not experiencing the same degree of Hellenization as other south-central Sicilian indigenous centers in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>726</sup>

Fewer sacred structures existed in the settlement area itself, although one three-room rectangular structure, the Tripartite Building at the southwest margin of the mountain, may have had a sacred function from inception.<sup>727</sup> (Fig. 4.7) In the first phase (late 8<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> century) the area was an exterior sacred space without architectural elaboration, where votive objects were deposited.<sup>728</sup> As such, it follows similar trajectories as several later Sikeliote sanctuaries – the Alaimo Sanctuary at Leontini, the Predio Sola and Bitalemi sanctuaries at Gela, Himera Temple A, Megara Hyblaea Temple ZR, and the M. San Mauro cultic space. In the next phase (7<sup>th</sup> century) there was a continuation of local indigenous ceramics as the most common objects, including unique artifact types such as amphorae with bull head protomes, carinated bowls, and cups with small hut models in the center. [Table 4.1] The building's sacred nature is also suggested by deposits of cow horns, numerous painted oinochoai, and the unusual limestone base of an elliptical column.<sup>729</sup>

The building was first monumentalized in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century as a rectangular or pseudo-rectangular structure with Greek-style roof tiles, characterized by predominantly indigenous ceramic material alongside some imported Ionian-style cups. The collapse of tiles above this layer signifies a violent destruction followed by a transition period.<sup>730</sup> In the final

---

<sup>726</sup> Palermo 1983: 147.

<sup>727</sup> Excavations were conducted by Panvini and Guzzone in 2000; the excavators outlined four phases, dating from the late eighth to early fifth century. (Panvini, Guzzone and Palermo 2009: 247-96)

<sup>728</sup> In the first phase, objects include cow horns and atypical imported ceramics with highly decorative painted motifs, including a bird bowl. (Panvini, Guzzone and Palermo 2009: 262-4; Panvini et. al. 2009: 293, no. 190)

<sup>729</sup> Panvini, Guzzone and Palermo 2009: 261-2.

<sup>730</sup> This was marked by the deposition of a banded skyphos cup and bronze implements

phase, in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> century, the area changed radically in appearance and function, with construction of the three rooms with associated (primarily Greek) material.<sup>731</sup> The space seems to have become more multipurpose in character than before, perhaps part of a more organized, multifunctional housing complex. The rooms were used, respectively, as storage space, an area for preparation and processing of food and raw materials, and a dining area; the sacred thus seems to have merged with the utilitarian.<sup>732</sup> This may reflect a transition between indigenous settlement patterns and architectural units more characteristic of the polis model, comparable to M. Maranfusa at this time; yet its simultaneous use with more traditional circular sacred structures on the acropolis recalls the systems of various other sacred sites where rectangular sacred buildings in areas outside the main sacred zone serve a complementary ritual function to sacred buildings on acropoleis – as at Sabucina (Oikoi A and B and Building B), M. Polizzo, Colle Madore (circular shrine and Room M), M. Castellazzo di Poggioreale (Room B), and the Caltabellotta circular oikos and Greek-type shrine.

The situation on the acropolis is vastly different, with little evidence of the transitional period so evident on the lower plateau; after the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century the site is mostly abandoned.<sup>733</sup> The life of the sanctuary extends back to the Castelluccian period (second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> to early-8<sup>th</sup> century) with no break in occupation and a clear development over time.<sup>734</sup> Commensal activities at first concentrated on the locations of the North and then East Building, later

---

<sup>731</sup> Panvini, Guzzone and Palermo 2009: 248, 263. These are decorated with two *kalypteres hegemones*.

<sup>732</sup> Panvini, Guzzone and Palermo 2009: 266.

<sup>733</sup> After abandonment, there were two short and minor moments in the late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> century and in the 4<sup>th</sup> century when the acropolis seems to become mainly military in nature, with sporadic remains of later buildings with a preponderance of Greek material. (Panvini, Guzzone and Palermo 2009: 310; Palermo et al. 2009: 66)

<sup>734</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 49-59.

extended to the rest of the plateau.<sup>735</sup> The discrete nature of deposits and small amounts of material in each suggests limited participation in each activity here.<sup>736</sup> Both serve as vital links in the evolution of sacred construction on the acropolis, as rectangular structures comparable to other EIA buildings at Polizzello as well as rectangular constructions at M. San Giuliano.

The first signs of sacred occupation are in the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, when the large North Building was constructed as the area's focus. In a foundation deposit from its interior were two fragments of a large piumata vessel, one with a plastic representation of a snake, which could indicate that the building was a shrine to a chthonic deity.<sup>737</sup> The ceramics demonstrate ritual usage, with an absence of shapes used to store, pour and contain liquids; the numerous cups and bowls may well have been used not as drinking vessels but rather to serve food prepared with cookpots found here, traces of fire suggesting collective food preparation and consumption.<sup>738</sup> On a paved piazza to the east were traces of small hearths, deposits of animal bones, and large amounts of ceramics differing from those found in the lower plateau and elsewhere in the zone of the North Building, perhaps from a different type of ritual.<sup>739</sup> After the building's destruction in the late 9<sup>th</sup> to early 8<sup>th</sup> century, the area was leveled and transformed into open space, and ritually broken depositions, animal offerings and ash suggest continued

---

<sup>735</sup> Commensal activity is evidenced by the presence of animal bones and domestic wares in this area.

<sup>736</sup> Panvini, Guzzone and Palermo 2009: 300.

<sup>737</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 51.

<sup>738</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 51. In the its northern part were many cups and bowls (both painted and incised), cooking vessels, large basins, footed kraters decorated with incised patterns, numerous stands and clay tubes, likely for ritual use.

<sup>739</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 52; Panvini, Guzzone and Palermo 2009: 115.



sacrality of the area. Soon after, the area was overbuilt with the East Building, containing a bench and traces of food preparation and consumption demonstrating continuity of use.<sup>740</sup>

From around the same phase as this transformation of the area around the North Building is the first iteration of Oikos E in the central part of the acropolis plateau, the first large sacred circular building.<sup>741</sup> At the same time, buildings Alpha and Beta were constructed in the acropolis's southwest sector, later overbuilt by circular Oikos D.<sup>742</sup> These rectangular structures were used for cooking and food consumption of social groups congregating on the acropolis to take part in collective activities; this does not show signs of change after the switch to circular buildings.<sup>743</sup>

It has been suggested that the destruction of the North Building followed by construction of the East Building and restructuring of the sanctuary may be linked to local competition and conflict among Sikanian groups, some (or all) of which may have previously used the sanctuary. Tanasi argues that this is linked to a transformation from an egalitarian, heterarchical society of LBA Sicily to a ranked society led by local chieftains who bound followers through commensality traditions and a banqueting culture ideology.<sup>744</sup> In this context, the distribution and consumption of food and drink would establish and maintain social relations and group identity, with the acropolis a neutral arena for regional chieftains and their

---

<sup>740</sup> Two deposits in this level contained intentionally broken vessels (footed vase and carinated cups). In the first were the bottom half of a footed vase and two astragali, while the second consisted of ash, five astragali, and deer antler, perhaps from a rededication ritual. New structures were built in previously unoccupied layers, initiated with deposition of objects in a new fossa, including more purposefully broken sets of ceramics and broken iron spear and spit.

<sup>741</sup> Panvini, Guzzone and Palermo 2009: 123-40.

<sup>742</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 54;

<sup>743</sup> Palermo 2009: 187.

<sup>744</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 59.

followers to perform these rituals. It is equally possible that the acropolis was frequented by groups using references to religion, gods and ancestors – through ritual killing of objects, chthonic symbols, fossa depositions, libations – to demonstrate their legitimacy and define relations within the groups. The deposits of objects are the material form of these rituals, which are also referenced through burnt debris of sacrifices and animal bones and other refuse.<sup>745</sup>

Alongside these rites of commensality – eating and drinking as well as libations – that took place in the LBA and EIA, the acropolis maintained an identity as a sanctuary, with rituals (especially votive fossa and sacrificial pits), into the Archaic.<sup>746</sup> Limited use in the earlier period gives way to more public access in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, when the sanctuary grew exponentially, perhaps serving a broader region, drawing in groups from the surrounding area. Cooking and food consumption continued, signaled by a stone hearth and animal bones in the central area of the plateau dating to the 9<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> centuries; additionally, there are signs of metalworking in this area, as traces of lead slag, burnt debris, clay pipes, and a clay bench were found south of the later Oikos E.<sup>747</sup>

Closer investigation of these 7<sup>th</sup>-century changes requires examination of contexts leading to this transformation. Excavating the acropolis, De Miro noted that the circular buildings tended to be along the perimeter of the temenos wall, the central space left free, likely for ritual.<sup>748</sup> Among huts is an intriguing lack of postholes, and indeed of much evidence for roofing systems.<sup>749</sup> The walls encompassed numerous votive offerings, sometimes in small

---

<sup>745</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 63.

<sup>746</sup> Panvini, Guzzone and Palermo 2009: 302-5.

<sup>747</sup> Panvini, Guzzone and Palermo 2009: 167-8.

<sup>748</sup> De Miro 1988: 29.

<sup>749</sup> Panvini, Guzzone and Palermo 2009: 306.

depositions with some of the largest amounts in two neighboring buildings, Oikoi D and C in the southeastern part of the sacred area. Other buildings, Oikoi A and B were built together in the northern part of the sacred space. Both groups were gradually placed around Oikos E, the sanctuary's focal point and earliest round building.<sup>750</sup> Their abundant votive material indicates some wealth among those utilizing the sanctuary as well as a progression away from Bronze Age customs and a tendency to adopt traditions and accompanying objects of various population groups, although within a wholly indigenous context. The votive deposits also reflect engagement with Greek colonies on both the south (Gela and Agrigento) and north coasts (Himera). Almost all depositions had animal bones, remains of ritual meals.<sup>751</sup> These took place alongside libation and drinking, seen in abundant vessels for storing, pouring and drinking liquids, as well as numerous phialai and other indigenous or imported Greek drinking vessels, often intentionally broken and placed in the ground after the ritual, a typical Greek practice of the time but also attested in other Mediterranean and nearby regions.

The earliest circular monumental construction, witness to a transformed use of space and later the sanctuary's focal point, was Oikos E.<sup>752</sup> (Fig. 4.9) Demonstrating a vitality in construction and, later, integration with the rest of the sanctuary, the building underwent a series of changes that characterize other traditional-type sanctuaries in the indigenous world, particularly the renovation as a modified rectangular shrine and addition of a delineated entryway. Fig. 4.8) As early as the 8<sup>th</sup> century it was as a monumentalized ritual space where collective meals were consumed, the social and ritual spheres intermeshing, participants forming

---

<sup>750</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 62-3.

<sup>751</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 63. Usually from sheep and goats, as well as cattle, pigs, small birds and, occasionally, deer.

<sup>752</sup> Panvini, Guzzone and Palermo 2009: 60-7; Palermo et al. 2009: 123-76.

and maintaining social bonds needed for the collectivization of labor to construct monumental buildings. This integration of social, political and economic institutions in a single religious space continued throughout the next two centuries.<sup>753</sup> Various ritual items, a central hearth, remains of feasting, and lithic tools in this layer suggest ritualized food preparation and banqueting;<sup>754</sup> while some forms are slightly different from those of the EIA rectangular building, open forms – especially bowls and basins – are still the most prevalent.<sup>755</sup> [Table 4.2]

Oikos E maintains considerable spatial and structural continuity in succeeding phases. However, the early 7<sup>th</sup> century construction of an inner ring wall may signal a reduction of a practice or group with access to it.<sup>756</sup> In this second phase came a large central fireplace, full of ash, charcoal and animal bones, mostly bovines and caprines. At least two vessels were on the floor level: two incised jars and an upside-down conical dipinto cup (a common position for this type of cup in ritual contexts).<sup>757</sup> These were near the central hearth, in a transitional phase between occupation layers, near deposits of bronze objects, rings, and animal bones that may represent remains of a feast and a ritual deposit placed when an earlier floor level was cleaned out and sealed. Ceramic forms in this level are mainly central-western indigenous products of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, with an increase in dipinto forms, Ionian cups and even ritual clay shields with painted decoration.<sup>758</sup> The final metamorphosis of Oikos E in the third phase is likely linked to

---

<sup>753</sup> In the earliest occupation level was a paved surface with large central hearth and burnt bone from feasting. Unburned bones found with lithic tools suggest this space was also used for food preparation.

<sup>754</sup> Panvini, Guzzone and Palermo 2009: 62-4.

<sup>755</sup> This had a relatively long period of use. In the center was a piece of deer antler. Nearby was an incised footed chalice

<sup>756</sup> This reduction, concomitant with the sanctuary's enlargement by Oikos A, may suggest differentiation of space.

<sup>757</sup> Panvini, Guzzone and Palermo 2009: 65. This was placed below the latest floor level (US 303) of the oikos, on an earlier floor level (US 306).

<sup>758</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 140-66.

greater Greek presence – the floor was filled with deposits and paved, becoming a monumental circular platform with steps, crowned with a rectangular building with gabled roof in pan tiles on wood beams and central row of wooden supports.<sup>759</sup> This is the only roof that can be confirmed on the acropolis, an indigenous adaptation of Greek prototypes, although still with local variation in its more open nature.

Objects demonstrate a parallel development, especially in terms of engagement of indigenous elements and object types with Greek influences and imports. Most excavated material belongs to the last phase of the oikos, including several small depositions, a deposition with a cow horn, and ash suggesting meals. Some deposits, especially those with fragments of hut models, phialai and lamps, are related to chthonic ritual activities.<sup>760</sup> (Fig. 4.10) Abundant weapons and metal and bone jewelry and ornaments may attest to metalworking and manufacture of small items. Locally made dipinto and incised wares are primarily open forms, used to contain liquids, associated with libations.<sup>761</sup> In terms of object types, the contexts from Oikos E are most comparable to contexts from the Megara Hyblaea habitations, Colle Madore, domestic contexts from M. San Mauro, Bitalemi, Molino a Vento and the New City Hall contexts at Gela, and the Rito Necropolis; while the variety of ritual forms, especially hut models, is comparable to Sabucina sacred contexts (Oikoi A and B, Room C in the Western Sector), M. Saraceno (upper terrace of the town and eastern sacred area), Colle Madore (the rectangular Oikos) and elsewhere at Polizzello (Oikos B, Tripartite Building, Southern Piazza, Carta Oikos, and deposition outside Chamber Tomb 5).

---

<sup>759</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 174-6.

<sup>760</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 174. This includes deposition n. 2, which demonstrates ritual breakage of vessels that had been deposited in inverted position, alongside animal bones and small bronze axes.

<sup>761</sup> Carinated cups, phialai and bowls, and some oinochoai. Greek forms are rarer and primarily consist of Ionian cups

Slightly later than Oikos E, circular Oikos C was also monumental, built into the temenos wall in the southwest sector of the acropolis.<sup>762</sup> (Fig. 4.11) It too was renovated as a rectangular building later in its life, subdivided into rooms and an emphasized entryway that suggest increased ritual differentiation. The first construction level dates to the late 8<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>763</sup> while it was modified in the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century with the addition of an inner ring wall, a straight wall and three interior rooms. Construction of these rooms, and the building's modification into an exedra-shaped structure with monumentalizing corridor to the entrance, respond to 7<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> century architectural developments at interior sites such as M. Maranfusa that are informed by the Greek polis model. Yet the nature of the sacred space does not seem to have changed, given the continued presence of ritual objects, connected to chthonic and fertility cults. A ritual function can be most clearly seen in a deposition found in Oikos C, which includes two ceramic yoked bulls (symbols commonly linked with indigenous ritual contexts, and, as noted above, with the agro-pastoral sphere and fertility), bronze snakes, cups with hut models inside, and a dipper-cup related to libation practices. Other votive objects include globular bone pendants, bone rods decorated with incised guilloche pattern, weapons, and indigenous ceramics, found with the remains of burnt animal bones. (Fig. 4.12) Nine loomweights around a hearth in the space may indicate domestic activities or votive practices.<sup>764</sup> [Table 4.3] The assemblages found inside demonstrate equivalences with other mixed and indigenous contexts at Contrada Consi, Morgantina Cittadella, and the Entella Necropolis, and the numerous cups and bowls in the open area outside suggest continued ritual dining. In their

---

<sup>762</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 179-85.

<sup>763</sup> Early ceramics date to this period; a 7<sup>th</sup>-century dipper-cup in Layer US 102 provides a *terminus ante quem*.

<sup>764</sup> De Miro 1988: 33-35.

later iteration as a rectangular structure, Oikoi E and C are comparable to later developments in M. Polizzo (Building A1), Caltabellotta (the circular oikos), Montagnoli (Hut 7), Sabucina Building B (built on top of subrectangular Building D), M. Castellazzo di Poggioreale (rectangular Building B2, a renovation of an earlier oval or apsidal building), and Farmhouse Hill at Morgantina (rectangular oikos replacing earlier apsidal buildings).

At the time Oikos C was modified, Oikoi A and D were added. This expansion coincides with an increase in the quantity and quality of offerings, indicating a higher number and sudden increase in wealth of participants in religious ceremonies. De Miro suggests that this signals a turning point in a cult no longer limited to inhabitants of the immediately surrounding area but inclusive of other Sikanian settlements; other possible pan-Sikanian sacred sites such as Casteltermini and Sabucina flourished at this time, suggesting general economic growth of the region.<sup>765</sup>

Monumental Oikos D was also constructed in the southwest sector in the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>766</sup> (Fig. 4.13) Like several other circular buildings, there are no indications of a roof; it may have been a simple enclosure with hearth, used for ceremonies involving cooking and consumption of meat in a ritual context. A bench and hearth were later incorporated, and a rectangular portico added around the early 6<sup>th</sup> century may be a sign of foreign acquisition in a traditional indigenous context, comparable to Oikoi A and B at Sabucina, the oval building at M. Castellazzo di Poggioreale, and the Terravecchia di Cuti sanctuary. Other features of the sanctuary, such as the replacement of an earlier rectangular structure with rounded structure (demonstrating cultic continuity), a foundation deposit, deposited inverted cups related to chthonic ritual, and the

---

<sup>765</sup> De Miro 1988: 25; Palermo et al. 2009: 302.

<sup>766</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 189-233

individual elite nature of depositions, serve as comparanda for other features and practices at the sanctuary.

Around the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century, several depositions were placed in the hearth area, some within the portico, on the bench or inside containers.<sup>767</sup> Most ceramics were of closed form (especially amphorae); the number of bowls and cups (including Corinthian imports) suggests that the space was used for activities related to food and drink consumption.<sup>768</sup> [Table 4.4] Around the hearth and in the rest of the interior were inverted cups of indigenous manufacture, as at Oikos B, although in this case there are fewer Greek imports. (Fig. 4.14) Cattle horns, sheep astragali and jaws were deposited in the open space to the south, under the building's floor, and in the area immediately to the west.<sup>769</sup> The votive and foundation deposits consisted mainly of decorative objects, some of Greek manufacture, with a preference for bone, ivory and amber material, as at Oikos C.<sup>770</sup> (Fig. 4.15) This suggests dedication to a female deity, perhaps chthonic and later conflated with the cult of Demeter and Kore by mixed populations accessing the sanctuary.<sup>771</sup> The imported, exotic nature of these goods attests to frequent contact with the colonial world as well as a newfound prosperity, likely due to elite influence and authority. The amount of metal and bone goods is impressive; larger than at any other votive context of indigenous Sicily, or even many Archaic Sikeliot sanctuaries, it is more similar to regional Greek sanctuaries dedicated to goddesses, such as the sanctuary of Hera Limenia at

---

<sup>767</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 193. The metals seem to have been mainly manufactured on site. (De Miro 1988: 35)

<sup>768</sup> Most large, closed forms seem to have been indigenous; several were painted, with some incised pithoi.

<sup>769</sup> West of the chapel's entrance were found bones of a small animal, probably deposited during the construction of one of the later floor levels, and characteristic of foundation deposits at the site.

<sup>770</sup> A possible foundation layer contained numerous bone, amber and ivory ornaments, dipinto and incised sherds, and metal implements, suggesting votive activity in addition to preparation and consumption of food.

<sup>771</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 244-5.



Perachora, the Athenaion at Syracuse, and the Athenaion of Timpone della Motta at Francavilla Marittima in South Italy.<sup>772</sup> This votive and cultic differentiation, evident from the 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards, demonstrates both continuity and change in ritual practice; before Greek presence at the site, there is some discrepancy in contexts, likely related more to different activities within the same sanctuary rather than different cults. Change at this point therefore seems to signal a de-emphasis on group relations at the site and a shift towards individualized relations with the divine, with ties to rituals of pastoral-agrarian nature and similarities with funerary cults evident at the necropolis (which also yielded evidence of cult activity and objects relevant to worship, not unlike sanctuary examples). Throughout its use, the sanctuary displays similarities in context typologies with indigenous necropoleis, particularly the Layer II necropolis at Butera, M. Finocchito, and Morgantina Necropolis IV, perhaps due to the relatively large number of closed ceramic forms and ornamental objects. In the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century the cult represented by the shrine seems to have mostly gone out of use, Oikos D and its deposits hidden by a layer of earth and stones.<sup>773</sup> However, individuals or groups continued to place offerings here; the area surrounding the oikos also contains further deposits as well as possible paved ritual areas outside buildings, symbolically linking the enclosed spaces in the southwest area of the acropolis and the circular buildings that occupied the center. The large quantity of indigenous and Greek ceramics in layers of this area suggest extensive ritual and feasting in the exterior space. Furthermore, a variety of ritual forms are found in exterior depositions, including hut models, incised anthropomorphizing amphorae, and terracotta animal-head andirons; in terms of assemblages, the contexts most

---

<sup>772</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 245.

<sup>773</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 242.

resemble those from Oikos A, the circular oikoi at Sabucina, the Polizzello necropolis, the M. Bubbonia necropolis, Montagnoli, Colle Madore, and Layer I at Butera. [Table 4.5; Table 4.6]

Circular Oikos A demonstrated a trajectory similar to many of the other shrines in the sanctuary, including the replacement of an EIA rectangular building with a circular structure and a later expansion phase. (Fig. 4.16) The oikos contained an exterior bench and cobble floor; a significant amount of partially burnt animal bones (particularly cattle) suggests preparation and consumption of collective meals.<sup>774</sup> The excavators suggest, though, that this building would have been utilized solely for the deposition of remains (given numerous food remains and traces of ash), rather than the actual act of consumption, which may have taken place in nearby Oikos E.<sup>775</sup> Although votives do not seem to be as numerous here as in some other oikoi (possibly due to the nature of its use), several objects were arranged below the topmost occupation level, above earlier floor levels.<sup>776</sup> [Table 4.7] Although most seem to have been collected and placed during a single event, some vessels were placed intentionally in small groups, including a deposition consisting of a jar with groups of incised lines and an inverted geometric conical cup, both referencing traditional EIA ceramic types.<sup>777</sup> Some discrete depositions were especially rich, with numerous objects of adornment such as necklaces, beads, bone plaques, and bronze rings.

---

<sup>774</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 9-33.

<sup>775</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 17. Smaller in size, Oikos A could not accommodate groups of the size implied by the large amount of remains, although a large sub-circular central hearth and surrounding benches suggest food preparation.

<sup>776</sup> These may have been collected and deposited when a new floor level was laid, although various occupation layers with depositions attest to numerous phases of use, some of which can be dated relatively accurately based on the offerings. In the topmost levels, these are mainly in the southern sector of the oikos, alongside remains of ash and animal bones.

<sup>777</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 9-10. The main depositional event seems to have taken place in approximately 640 BC based on a PC skyphos. Two votive deposits northeast of the oikos contained, respectively, an oinochoe in a burnt ash area with small animal bones, and a set with oinochoe, chalice, bone bead and 13 burnt astragali.

Overall, the assemblage is most comparable to the contexts from the Southern Piazza at Polizzello and Oikos B at Sabucina.

In the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, Oikos A went out of use with the construction of another circular building, Oikos B, which seems to have assumed the functions of the former and earlier buildings in the vicinity.<sup>778</sup> (Fig. 4.17) It is possible that like Oikoi A and D, it was simply a fenced enclosure or open cultic deposit rather than an enclosed, roofed building.<sup>779</sup> In this way, it was not unlike the fenced exterior enclosures at Montagnoli (Hut 1), and the rectangular fences at the Alaimo Sanctuary at Leontini and Sanfilippo Rocca Ficarazzi district in Casteltermini, mainly used for votive depositions. A notably large collection of depositions, votive offerings, and other remains of ritual actions is evident within the building, with several objects focused around an altar, including unusual items such as a bronze figurine of an offerant reminiscent of Geometric Greek statuettes and a small metal decorative votive astragalos; most were deposited at a single time.<sup>780</sup> These are rich mixed depositions, notable for the presence of large amounts of metals, especially weapons, similar to deposits at Oikos E and the earlier-excavated suburban shrine at Polizzello, Deposit D on the Molino a Vento, the M. Casale

---

<sup>778</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 116-7. This building incorporates an earlier structure (USM 6) that becomes an altar. The act of foundation seems to be represented by Deposition 17 arranged on the floor of US 3, in the earliest floor level.

<sup>779</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 109. Neither oikoi have any indication of post holes. A low bench near the entrance may have been a seat for those officiating at rites, as there is no evidence that objects were placed on it, and a small ocher-filled pit on the bench floor suggests use in rites; emphasis seems to have been on de-consecration of objects rather than conspicuous display of votive dedications.

<sup>780</sup> De Miro noted, in addition to the bronze offerant figurine, many sets of depositions in the building's southeast area (the "*Grande Stipe*"), consisting of a thick layer of ash and lumps of clay, animal bones, deer horns, shells, bronze knife, bronze rings, bronze astragalos, discoid loomweight, spindle whorl, trapezoidal bone pendant, and fragmentary vessels such as Ionian Type A2 cups and painted hydriai. (De Miro 1988: 33). A bronze figurine of a male offerant from a sporadic trench, likely produced locally, seems to be symbolically referenced by trident figurines that appear to be human figures reduced to simple abstract forms. La Rosa likened these to metal quadrupeds that also seem to be produced in inland areas between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, in which the patterns and stylistic references of Greek tradition – sub-Geometric and Archaic – predominate, but within local iconography. (De Miro 1988: 26)

temenos, votive armor at Vassallaggi (later 6<sup>th</sup> century), Himera Temple A, the Alaimo Sanctuary, Colle Madore rectangular oikos, Naxos Santa Venera Sanctuary, Mendolito metal hoard, M. San Mauro, and the Terravecchia di Cuti sanctuary. In addition, other ritual and votive objects were found, including hut models, miniature terracotta shields, and bronze astragaloi, placed in small-scale depositions and foundation deposits dedicated in small discrete groups. [Table 4.18] An unusual bronze consisting of two boots of a human figure had been placed under the altar platform stones. (Fig. 4.18) The deposit is reminiscent of indigenous metal hordes from sites such as Mendolito and even sporadic areas of Polizzello. In fact, a hoard of bronzes similar to that documented by Gabrici in the Palermo Museum, some possibly heirlooms deposited in connection with religious rites (although the original context is unclear), was recovered from nearby Nisseno.<sup>781</sup> Most of these metals were intentionally fragmented and deformed to take them out of use, much like non-ornamental bronze and iron objects from Polizzello.<sup>782</sup>

The objects dedicated at Oikos B are of both indigenous and Greek manufacture, from strata through the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, deposited at the conclusion of individual rites rather than collected from cleaned-out spaces.<sup>783</sup> At least four different modes of interment were practiced, perhaps based on the nature of the ritual or representing changing practice: objects were stacked,

---

<sup>781</sup> Palermo 1983: 104.

<sup>782</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 123. Most metal items seem to constitute a single deposit, grouped together over the course of the 8<sup>th</sup> century (dated by the most recent material – spearheads and bar ingots) but containing more ancient material as well. This would make it coeval with those from Polizzello in the Palermo Museum, deposited around the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century while also containing earlier material from the 10<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries. The hoard consists of various objects – 41 pieces of arms, instruments and ingots – comparable to objects from the FBA on the Italian Peninsula, later Iron Age material analogous to material produced in central Tyrrhenian Italy (such as the bronze axeheads), which may have arrived from there, and objects are comparable to the FBA in Sicily, with parallels to Mendolito votive deposits. These especially include weapons and flat and discoid ingots common in Sicily in the Protohistoric period.

<sup>783</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 110-1.

overturned, destroyed on site, or destroyed and cleaned out.<sup>784</sup> Purposeful destruction of ceramics demonstrates the items' expendable nature in conspicuous consumption. A number of discrete assemblages may be foundation deposits; these occur during the initial construction of the building as well as when new floor levels are laid or the building is renovated.<sup>785</sup> The most significant group is four sets of offerings (Depositions 18, 21, 22 and 23) comprised of ornaments and some metals (including weapons), without significant amounts of ceramics. The hearth seems to have been in use before these depositions, as the arrangement of offerings suggests consecration around the hearth.<sup>786</sup>

Several depositions are placed in cists carved into the rock, mainly concentrated in the southern half near the altar, with 17 depositions arranged in well-defined groups associated with later utilization of the oikos. The vast majority of these objects are ceramics, with vases from Greece predominant over those of indigenous tradition, highlighting changing customs, increases in wealth and perhaps transformations in those accessing the sanctuary during the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. (Fig. 4.19) Conversely, some groups of objects display more distinctly localized characteristics, especially ceramics with a predominantly ritual, rather than commensal, function.<sup>787</sup> In these, the most common objects are painted geometric indigenous vessels, with more drinking than pouring, serving and containing vessels, a situation paralleled in Oikos E, perhaps indicating that libation was the predominant rite here, rather than feasting, in which imported Greek cups usually dominate by this time – although oinochoai (expected in libation contexts) are still well-attested. These typically local deposits also display more objects related to

---

<sup>784</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 112.

<sup>785</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 15.

<sup>786</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 36-7.

<sup>787</sup> These are primarily found in depositions 6, 7, 8, 10, and 17, in which there is a distinct absence of Greek forms.

the warrior sphere or to objects of worship and libation, such as carinated cups with hut models on the interior, also commonly attested in Oikos E.<sup>788</sup> Also notable are lead ingots in one deposition, which may be related to production and manufacture, or may have served as a hoard.<sup>789</sup> A particularly interesting ritual behavior is the utilization of ancient objects or heirlooms, such as a Bronze Age basin, recognized as exceptional due to their antiquity or material and consequently placed in central positions in the sanctuary, referencing heirlooms in other metal deposits at the site, especially the Gabrici hoard.<sup>790</sup>

Especially notable among the Oikos B deposits are weapons, tools and other objects referencing warfare, including an ithyphallic warrior figurine.<sup>791</sup> Immediately southeast of the central altar was a rare bronze Cretan-type helmet of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, probably part of a panoply that included votive spears and a round hoplite shield (attested by two bronze-sheet dolphins) found in a neighboring deposit, which are strongly Greek in character. (Fig. 4.20) The valuable offering may be a spoil of war or an "exotic" object held for prestige by high-ranked locals. Immediately to the north was another deposit with a large iron spear (perhaps symbolic rather than utilitarian) with a group of wild boar skulls, referencing aristocratic hunting ideology mirrored in the iconographic repertoire of dedicated vases.<sup>792</sup> Weapons and armor are also symbolically referenced, in the form of locally-made low cups with holes for hanging, one with a

---

<sup>788</sup> Palermo 1997: 41; Palermo et al. 2009: 111-2.

<sup>789</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 111. Hoards in sanctuary contexts are commonly attested in Sicily, and this small-scale example could be compared to the smaller metal deposits found in the Bitalemi sanctuary, or larger hoards within (probable) sacred contexts at Polizzello (the Gabrici hoard), Nisseno near Polizzello, or Mendolito.

<sup>790</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 102.

<sup>791</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 33, 110-1.

<sup>792</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 109-10. Several items have hunting scenes, including a painted oinochoe and Corinthian imports.

frieze of birds and dolphins, perhaps inspired by Greek shields.<sup>793</sup> Finally, a bronze figurine of a man with a headdress holding a phiale may represent a warrior; the headdress is non-Greek, but the figure's stance and type are rooted in Greek Geometric tradition.<sup>794</sup> Elite and Orientalizing connotations are evident in the warrior iconography alongside expensive decorations – amber and ivory implements, including an ivory double-palmette (perhaps a furniture inlay from Greece or the Punic world) and twin ivory statuettes with strong Daedalic traits but likely of local manufacture, reflecting the Cretan connection with southern Sicily.<sup>795</sup> (Fig. 4.21)

Also notable is the use of “complementary objects”: sets of vases and objects deposited together that were used in rituals inside the chapel and then taken out of circulation through burial.<sup>796</sup> These were isolated in certain areas of the temple with spatial and temporal significance; for instance, three large kraters, two indigenous Corinthianizing and one Corinthian, were placed at the temple entrance and perhaps contained beverages for ceremonies; skewers and pithoi were deposited near the hearth and may symbolically reference activities in this central location.<sup>797</sup> (Fig. 4.22) This suggests coordination among different groups, perhaps indicative of the functioning of the shrine; Palermo suggests that this oikos in particular may have served as a sort of treasury where rituals were performed, the remains of these rituals and offerings kept there throughout its use.<sup>798</sup> The lack of food remains in Oikos B depositions also

---

<sup>793</sup> Similar shield-type votives, identified as “clypeus,” are identified in these contexts, among others at Polizzello.

<sup>794</sup> Palermo 1983: 127-8. This Geometric style dates to at least a century and a half before the context in which the figurine was found, in the upper layers of Building B, dating to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>795</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 6.

<sup>796</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 38.

<sup>797</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 38, 111.

<sup>798</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 38.

suggests localized performance of ritual, somewhat “Hellenizing” in form and content with its focus on libations and drinking ritual, serving not for large-scale feasts but rather for small, isolated group activities, possibly involving affiliated dedications of material involved in the ceremonies. The assemblage is most similar to assemblages from indigenous necropolis contexts, especially at Morgantina and Castiglione (Western Necropolis chamber tombs), as well as Contrada Santa Croce, the Upper Plateau of M. Saraceno, and House 3 at M. Polizzo. Meanwhile, the square south of the chapel was maintained as a secondary outdoor ritual area for similar activities.<sup>799</sup> Finally, a break in the ritual activities, variation in object placement, and change in ritual forms between the last levels of depositions suggest a change in social groups using the acropolis, a discontinuity in attendance of the sanctuary, a re-consecration of the area before final abandonment, or re-creation of more ancient customs and rituals.<sup>800</sup>

As noted, drastic changes characterized the transition from the EIA to the PA. Use of rectangular structures in public ritual contexts, instead of the traditional circular hut, seems to have been widely adopted in central and western Sicily in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, in contradiction to the idea – popular in previous scholarship – that Greeks first introduced the rectangular form into the indigenous sacred repertoire; it may have been related to these buildings’ roles already as semi-public spaces, able to accommodate larger groups than traditional domestic round huts. The same is true also of *temenos* walls, which were thought to be a Greek phenomenon but were clearly adopted before Greek settlement of the island; they may be a

---

<sup>799</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 93-103. This space is characterized by several benches, with remains of ritual meals.

<sup>800</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 115-6. Objects associated with the final depositional level were found covered with a thick layer of loose ground that seems to have been anthropogenic; it explains the good state of preservation of most objects. This may have been to conceal and preserve valuable offerings in the *oikos*, perhaps when it was suddenly abandoned, or in a communal religious ritual; eight votive deposits in this layer (c. 560-550), were covered by fragments of large pots. Some seem to have even been placed on top of the building’s remains. There seems to be no spatial relationship between these deposits and the previous depositional level or temple furnishings such as the altar or hearth.



continuation of the local Bronze Age tradition of periboloi.<sup>801</sup> From the 8<sup>th</sup> century onwards, all buildings constructed within the *temenos* wall of the sanctuary break with the rectilinear tradition and are instead circular, reflecting much older local architectural typologies, the hut shape characterizing indigenous central Sicilian domestic architecture throughout the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium.<sup>802</sup> This was a voluntary recovery of an obsolete architectural form with important ideological value for local inhabitants, as witnessed by its adoption at numerous nearby centers associated with the Sikanian and Elymian spheres – Sabucina, Colle Madore, M. Polizzo, M. Saraceno, and Montagnoli.<sup>803</sup> This may be linked to a strong need to affirm ethnic identity in response to the appearance of Greek colonies and effects of Greeks on indigenous centers nearer the coast, prompting migrations to inland settlements, which consequently increased in population. However, the first circular construction in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century would have predated Greek inroads into the interior/west of the island and thus must be a reaction to internal factors – perhaps movements of indigenous populations on the island, at the defining moment for local tribal identities – Sikel, Sikanian and Elymian.

Changes in social groups and ritual performance may also explain rectangular sacred space in the Archaic even though such constructions, within the context of Polizzello's sacred structures, could now be considered archaizing. Early explorations of the site revealed a rectangular building of rough-hewn blocks on the northeast end of the acropolis, lacking traces of Hellenizing architectural terracottas.<sup>804</sup> (Fig. 4.23) Rectangular buildings of this type have been

---

<sup>801</sup> Panvini, Guzzone and Palermo 2009: 189.

<sup>802</sup> The most monumental examples are from LBA Pantalica north facies, such as Sabucina and Mokarta.

<sup>803</sup> Palermo 1997: 38; Palermo et al. 2009: 66-7. This is perhaps most evident in the reuse of Bronze Age round structures in the sanctuary of Sabucina as sacred buildings.

<sup>804</sup> Palermo 1983: 104-5; Palermo et al. 2009: 5, 302.

discovered on the acropoleis and in the vicinity of other sacred buildings (although usually slightly removed from the main sacred space) in several indigenous communities in the eastern and especially south-central portions of Sicily, such as M. Saraceno, M. Bubbonia (anaktoron), M. Lavanca Nera, and Colle Madore<sup>805</sup> These are often used simultaneously with earlier-style sanctuaries with different architectural articulation. The building, not wholly Hellenizing, nevertheless references somewhat Greek building styles; but indigenous wares and especially hut models in the traditional circular form signal continued indigenous presence. This oikos contained votive offerings, some from to the 7<sup>th</sup> century, deposited in the fill in the western part of the building; unlike discrete deposits scattered throughout interiors of the circular buildings (often in reference to central units such as a hearth or altar), these are likely remains of cleaned-out votive deposits placed in the oikos.<sup>806</sup> [Table 4.19] The rich deposit consists of bone, ivory, amber and jet objects, weapons, two conical hut models and an East Greek lamp assignable to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, providing a *terminus post quem* for the deposition. The assemblage is similar to those from the indigenous necropoleis of Cozzo S. Giuseppe and M. Finocchito.

The acropolis and Tripartite Building are not the only ritual reference points identifiable from the archaeological record; notable traces of ritual activity are also found in the surrounding necropolis, including sacred object types such as hut models.<sup>807</sup> (Fig. 4.24) Typical of indigenous chamber tombs, most contain benches and numerous interments, and the necropolis area is comparable to those of south and southeast Sicily in the combined use of chamber tombs and

---

<sup>805</sup> Palermo 1983: 112. Orsi identified these structures as Mycenaean-type Anaktora, or chieftain's houses, in the Mycenaean megaron tradition (similar to examples at Pantalica and M. Bubbonia (Panvini 1997-8: 37-40; Palermo et al. 2009: 107)). They are more likely a suburban sanctuary (Adamesteanu 1995).

<sup>806</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 302.

<sup>807</sup> Carta excavated a dozen chambers, later published by Palermo (Palermo 1983). Fiorentini and De Miro further explored the cemeteries (De Miro 1988: 35-42).

fossa burials, the presence of monumental corridors or dromoi leading to chambers, and the continuous use of EIA chamber tombs into subsequent centuries.<sup>808</sup> De Miro isolated several strata in some tombs, corresponding to deposition periods. In the earliest strata, of the late 8<sup>th</sup> century, grave goods tend to consist of ritual forms.<sup>809</sup> [Table 4.10] Tomb 25, one of the richest typologically and quantitatively, includes five layers, the earliest from the late 8<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> century with eight 7<sup>th</sup>-century faience scarabs, EIA forms, Finocchito-type fibula, and an oinochoe and amphora with parallels with Cypriote pottery, suggesting that Polizzello was already connected to coastal trade and perhaps a recipient of a limited amount of Phoenician commerce, although still well-situated in the Sikanian cultural *koine* given some unusual locally-produced forms found through the end of the necropolis' use.<sup>810</sup> In the succeeding periods evidence for Greek influence in ceramic decoration and form increases, particularly signaled by Ionian cups (found here, and in Tomb II) and imitations of Greek types. Such Greek products are amply attested in Tomb 5, which contains Greek imports and imitations of cups and oinochoai in the latest layers, from the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century; earlier 7<sup>th</sup>-century layers contain more traditional shapes.<sup>811</sup> (Fig. 4.25) Across from the chamber tombs were areas set aside for funerary ritual, with deposits of votives, altars, ceramics, and animal bones; in this same

---

<sup>808</sup> Grave goods are often grouped, as single depositions or cleared and set aside to make room for further depositions.

<sup>809</sup> De Miro 1988: 35. Notable examples include depositions in Tomb 25, Stratum I, which consisted of a tulip pyxis with high foot, incised vessels, askoi, bronze plaques, chalice vases, and animal skull.

<sup>810</sup> De Miro 1988: 35-8; Panvini 2006: 224-34. In the fourth stratum, dating to the 7<sup>th</sup> century, there is an incised and stamped amphora with relief appliques of stylized horns, commonly found in Polizzello and other Sikanian sites.

<sup>811</sup> De Miro 1988: 38-42; Panvini 2006: 313-23. Among these more indigenous object types are elongated oinochoai, amphorae with high neck, painted scodelloni, cylindrical incense burners, painted plates, biconical pyxides, askoi, and fibula with long staff (De Miro 1988: 38).

area were children's enchytrismos burials.<sup>812</sup> Notably, the assemblages in these areas were comprised entirely of indigenous ceramics of ritual nature, including a cylindrical container with incised decoration referencing older ritual forms, and temple models similar to those from the acropolis. (Fig. 4.26) Yet the necropolis is also notable for the number of objects of local production not found in sanctuary contexts. A round stone altar with large, rich deposit of vessels and bull mandibles, lined with river stones and associated with a sacrificial pit with animal bones, was found outside the group of Tombs 5 and 5a.<sup>813</sup> A deposit outside Tomb 5 yielded painted temple models, ceramic bowls with terracotta animal figurines on the interior and an amphora combining a stylized relief bull or ram protome with a schematic human face,<sup>814</sup> vessels comparable to forms from Sant' Angelo Muxaro and other Sikanian areas in western and central Sicily.<sup>815</sup> (Fig. 4.27) La Rosa suggests that these are ritual in nature, the anthropomorphic masks ensuring protection of the object and its contents.<sup>816</sup> These are also similar to rare examples of incised wares found elsewhere at the site (often in sporadic contexts) and also decorated with anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figures with elite connotations, such as a sporadic find of a fragment decorated with two confronting horses in a heraldic motif, in Greek

---

<sup>812</sup> These were excavated by De Miro in 1984 and later by Panvini in 2004-2005. (De Miro 1988: 35; Palermo 2009: 185).

<sup>813</sup> De Miro 1988: 35.

<sup>814</sup> De Miro 1988, pg. 38. Another similar vase from an unknown context at Polizzello was given to the Palermo Museum and documented by Gabrici (Gabrici 1925).

<sup>815</sup> The type occurs mostly in the central part of Sicily, the Tyrrhenian coast (Mura Pregne) towards the east (Naro), and in the west, with two significant discoveries in the Belice valley (Entella and Castellazzo di Poggioreale). (Vassallo 1999: 134-5) Such vases have also been found in Nicosia, M. Saraceno and Termini. Comparisons can also be drawn to bronze foils from Colle Madore, Mendolito and Sabucina, which have their roots in human protomes of prehistoric tradition, from Stentinello facies ceramics as well as spiral motifs from Castelluccian tombs. (Vassallo 1999: 109)

<sup>816</sup> La Rosa and Pugliese Caratelli 1991: 63, 66-68.

Orientalizing tradition.<sup>817</sup> (Fig. 4.28) One amphora also has representations of two birds on one side,<sup>818</sup> as well as an outlined figure of a man with headdress on a horse,<sup>819</sup> with a bull on the reverse; these reference the iconography displayed on the Warrior of Castiglione and are similar to the motifs on the painted “octopus” oinochoe from Polizzello.<sup>820</sup> The combination of traditions on these vases is quite evident – human figures are comparatively rare on indigenous vases but not on imported Greek ceramics from this phase, and the geometric motifs are rooted in both local and in imported Greek tradition, the latter often construed in novel ways, reflecting predispositions of indigenous inhabitants to “animate and anthropomorphize the geometric patterns of the Greek decorative repertoire.”<sup>821</sup> These vases also have elite connotations, such as the horseman and bull, and it is not unlikely that elites dedicated these vessels in the sanctuaries.

In fact, stamped and incised wares form the most common class of pottery, representative of the site and of the west-central Sicilian region in general, represented by a large number of vessels and sherds.<sup>822</sup> The typologies and elevated numbers of incised and stamped wares at the site may give clues to the population’s identity, including the formation of the Sikanians’ ethnic and cultural identity, although this type of decoration likely has more to do with contexts – ritual and funerary – and the functional relationship these wares had with the forms with which they are associated. In fact, *piumata*, traditionally aligned with eastern Sicily, is

---

<sup>817</sup> Palermo 1983: No. 22.

<sup>818</sup> This is a common indigenous painted motif in the Archaic and incised motif in earlier Thapsos facies ceramics, further influenced by Greek imported ceramics.

<sup>819</sup> Rider figures are also attested on ceramics at M. Caratabia, Mineo, and Paterno. (La Rosa and Pugliese Caratelli 1991: 23)

<sup>820</sup> Palermo 2003: 153. *Supra* 218.

<sup>821</sup> Orlandini 1972: 282; Palermo 1983: 134.

<sup>822</sup> Palermo 1983: 125-34.

not uncommon here, and the most common objects are oinochoai and bowls, the basic depositional unit in graves throughout indigenous Sicily, although the closest alignment in assemblages is found at Montagnoli in central-western Sicily.

Unlike incised and painted ceramics, found in both ritual and funerary contexts, bone, ivory and amber objects are found almost exclusively in votive pits on the acropolis, associated with oikoi.<sup>823</sup> [See: Table 4.11 for Polizzello sanctuary totals] These are often elite dedications: spectacle fibulae with either double or single discs are attested, associated with conspicuous display given their non-utilitarian nature,<sup>824</sup> and amber, relatively rare in other Sicilian sanctuaries, but commonly found here, as beads (on necklaces or fibulae).<sup>825</sup> Bone figurines are less common than objects of adornment, but conform to the indigenous repertoire; for instance, the 7<sup>th</sup> century bone and ceramic votive figurines of rams found in Oikos D, the piazza south of Oikos B, and the Archaic oikos excavated by Carta recall bronzes from Butera. (Fig. 4.29) Some small figures and animals are also connected to the Greek colonial environment and could be products of local artisans trained in the Greek tradition, or perhaps itinerant Greek traders or workshops. Indeed, the exact location of 7<sup>th</sup> century votive production in Sikeliote centers and indigenous sanctuaries is difficult to pinpoint; products are largely linked to the introduction of new forms by Greek or Phoenician traders, part of a sacred *koine* attendant not so much on ethnicity as on specific object types deemed more appropriate for certain settings and contexts.<sup>826</sup> One partial comparandum with Polizzello's sacred contexts is the offering pit of Himera's Temple A, with

---

<sup>823</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 304.

<sup>824</sup> These are widespread in Greek colonies (especially Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea and Gela) and interior indigenous centers such as M. Finocchito, M. Casasia, and Centuripe. Bone fibulae bone pendants with rows of circles with dots in the center are seemingly borrowed from the mainland Southern Italian decorative repertoire.

<sup>825</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 304.

<sup>826</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 8.

its evidence for widespread trade and a variety of streams of cultural influence; deposits yielded double disc fibulae with incised decoration and painted Sikanian oinochoai not unlike Polizzello examples, among other typologies consistent with forms and objects from Sikanian sacred contexts. In terms of overall object percentages, the sanctuaries at Polizzello most closely align with M. Saraceno (especially the acropolis), Palike (Building F), and Ramacca.

Closely allied with both purely votive objects and dual-use ceramics are hut or temple models, which belong to a class of decorative objects with ritual function in both cultic and funerary contexts, and come in both incised and painted versions.<sup>827</sup> These are most commonly attested near Tomb 5, in Oikos E, and in and around Oikos B, suggesting that these had specific ceremonial roles that other areas and buildings did not.<sup>828</sup> These model buildings are comparable to contemporary examples from central Sicilian sites such as Vassallaggi, Colle Madore, and Sabucina; this is true especially of the round hut in a deep basin or carinated cup, paralleled by examples from Sabucina shrines and demonstrating the most direct ritual associations, as these were likely used in libations.<sup>829</sup>

Palermo compared this class to Cretan models,<sup>830</sup> seeing in them manifestations of Aegean types spread through the indigenous Sicilian repertoire in south-central Sicily via the Rhodio-Cretan sphere of Gela. Palermo cites Diodorus Siculus's account of Cretans who came

---

<sup>827</sup> Palermo 1997; Palermo et al. 2009: 175; Gulli 2009b: 259-65.

<sup>828</sup> Carta found two incised and stamped hut models in a votive fossa on the acropolis (Palermo 1983, nos. 74, 75); three others were later excavated nearby and two painted examples were found in a ritual deposit on the necropolis near Tomb 5 (Panvini 2006: 210-11). Five carinated cups with hut models on the interior were found in Oikos B, four in Oikos E, two in the southern piazza south of Oikos B (serving as a votive destination) and one in the Tripartite Building. One incised hut model was found in the southern piazza and three in Oikos E; one painted model each was found in Oikos B and Oikos E.

<sup>829</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 6-7.

<sup>830</sup> Palermo 1997: 37. Stylistically, these resemble the more stylized "trident" figurines from Polizzello.

to Sicily with Minos, bringing a Cretan cult – the “Mothers,” mainly worshiped at the unidentified sanctuary of Engyon. Palermo suggests Cretan populations at the sanctuary, perhaps responsible for the diffusion of female cults.<sup>831</sup> Here, Greek craft products and models converge with earlier and contemporary Aegean influences and local forms of Prehistoric derivation to create new hybrid objects borrowing from an array of sacred iconographic subtexts.

Furthermore, several traits of possible Aegean origin are possibly recognizable in the sanctuary’s artifacts and contexts, especially in the EIA, notably snake iconography and ritual stands with bull-horn protomes.<sup>832</sup> By the early Archaic, these references to the outside world take on elite connotations; in alluding to warrior culture they may have ties to Cretan practices, with associations like those of such objects dedicated in Greek sanctuaries. These include votives of armor and weapons, symbolic terracotta shields,<sup>833</sup> and, of course, the Cretan-type helmet from Oikos B. Other high-quality objects in the sanctuary also reference Cretan imports, despite possible local manufacture, notably the pair of Daedalic-style ivory heads from Oikos B.<sup>834</sup>

Full comprehension of ritual at the site and the impetus for adoption of ritual implements from outside the local repertoire requires an understanding the nature of the deities worshiped, unfortunately impossible to fully establish. Nevertheless, the nature of contexts suggests that, by the Archaic, local and/or regional inhabitants worshiped a conflation of local and Greek deities. The worshippers themselves may have been mixed, with Greeks utilizing a

---

<sup>831</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 299, 309.

<sup>832</sup> De Miro 1988: 38. Palermo et al. see these as distant survivals from earlier LMIIIC and Minoan ritual predecessors, in the form of snake tubes, commonly associated with goddess shrines (Palermo et al 2009: 51).

<sup>833</sup> Panvini 2003: 133. Such ritual shields are attested at the site of Fortetsa; these seem to have a symbolic meaning.

<sup>834</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 6.



sanctuary complex where different cults could be practiced while indigenous inhabitants borrowed elements of Greek culture for use in their own interpretation of cult. In any case, it seems that a variety of activities were practiced on the acropolis, not confined to solely one deity. The excavators suggest that “il complesso delle deposizioni del medesimo edificio e i magnifici oggetti in esso deposti ci hanno portato ad ipotizzare...che nell'ultimo periodo di vita del santuario vi fosse venerata, accanto alle dee madri, anche una figura maschile di tipo eroico,” perhaps indeed a hero ancestor conflated with Odysseus, as suggested by the clay figurine of the bearded ithyphallic warrior and bronze figurines with headdresses.<sup>835</sup> If true, this would tie the sanctuary to local political traditions and *nostoi*, stories perpetuated by nearby Greek settlers (and, later, Diodorus) to bridge the ideological gap between Greek colonists and indigenous peoples.<sup>836</sup> By adopting Odysseus as an ancestral hero, emphasizing common origins with Greeks, indigenous elites could invoke Greek aid and facilitate political and social contracts. A military deity is evoked by increasingly more common weapon deposits, comparable to dedications in the Greek sanctuaries of M. Casale and Himera (Temple A).<sup>837</sup> These could represent a new class emerging at this time, depositions perhaps linked to individuals or clans headed by warrior-chieftains who exerted influence on the community, determined access to sacred and social spheres, and regulated social stratification and customs, beliefs, and behaviors.

The warrior sphere does not have a monopoly on the sanctuary, which also showcases aspects of Demeter and Kore, agrarian deities who, perhaps more than any others, demonstrate

---

<sup>835</sup> Palermo 2009: 188; Palermo et al. 2009: 305-10.

<sup>836</sup> Malkin notes that Odysseus was frequently invoked in processes of political and cultural mediation between Greeks and non-Greeks in Magna Graecia and Sicily, considered an ancestor of the Tyrrhenian people. (Malkin 1998)

<sup>837</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 8.

syncretism between local and imported cults.<sup>838</sup> These deities are invoked through ornamental objects and chthonic elements, such as snake tubes in early, “pre-Greek” contexts and ritual deposition of conical cups in inverted position. The latter practice is comparable to traditions at the contemporary Bitalemi thesmophorion in Gela, and, like it, may be linked to libation, sacrificial and commensal activities. The concentration of Greek vases in Oikos B, where this rite is especially documented, suggests the adaptation of Greek vessels to a ritual that likely has roots extending back to the EIA if not beyond, given the ritual implements with chthonic connotations attested in some of the earlier sacred contexts.<sup>839</sup> This may thus be an indigenous version of a ritual with strong Greek or generally Eastern Mediterranean connotations, altered as it subsequently was disseminated to indigenous sites in the interior and merged with local practice.

The entire sanctuary demonstrates a degree of complexity and articulation of sacred space that led the excavator to suggest that it was a “hegemonic sanctuary” or “Pan-Sikanian” religious center.<sup>840</sup> It may have been the community and ritual center of the entire surrounding territory, helping define an emerging Sikanian identity. In no aspect of the sanctuary is this more evident than in the move to circular construction in the late 8<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, along with a restructuring of the area to accommodate larger groups. These structures, related to the Bronze Age so-called “Capannicola Sicana,” emerge in reaction to a wider, Pan-Sicilian tendency to construct rectangular buildings (including sacred structures), thought to be the effect of outside influence (perhaps originally mainland Italic); while the round buildings reference earlier

---

<sup>838</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 304. These are commonly found in Greek shrines to Artemis Orthia and at the Samian Heraion.

<sup>839</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 244.

<sup>840</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 300-1.

domestic architecture.<sup>841</sup> This is perhaps due to changes in social groups or in the framing of the sacred that directed ritual and commensal activities previously carried out by smaller family groups in the home, or by the inner elite in a large chieftain's house, to be moved to a more public forum with the emergence of regional aristocratic families. In fact, the spaces may be solely *symbolic* representations of large prehistoric huts;<sup>842</sup> as there is no concrete evidence for roofs before the 6<sup>th</sup> century, the round structures may simply be open enclosures, not unlike ancestral burial enclosures in other areas of the Sikanian world, such as at Butera, or large, open-air periboloi where dedications were made, attested in both Greek and indigenous spheres beginning in the EIA (perhaps even earlier in some local cases). The evolution of private into public (or pseudo-public) space is not unlike the evolution from large apsidal rulers' houses to sacred space in Geometric and Protoarchaic Greece.<sup>843</sup> The experimentation and fusion of different elements in architecture mirrors similar developments in material production, representative of the complexity of the Sikanian cultural community.

This coincides with a general evolution away from a feasting-based economy where food was shared among larger groups, to more drinking-based social relations among smaller groups seeking to build individual relations with the divine through libations and depositions of votives. These changes may be due to either Greek influence or new aristocratic groups utilizing the space, moving away from more egalitarian structures of the earlier phases (with only one or two leaders of an otherwise largely equal population) towards a society characterized by aristocratic groups controlling smaller clans or population groups, who felt a need to articulate elite customs.

---

<sup>841</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 242.

<sup>842</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 244.

<sup>843</sup> Mazarakis-Ainian, 1997.

In the interaction between Greeks and indigenous populations, adoption of Greek objects and dedication of these valuable objects to deities likely represented the power of some groups in acquiring prestige goods, reflecting their control of resources.<sup>844</sup> This aristocratic ideology is manifested in objects such as boar skulls, deer horns, and PC cups with running hounds, all references to the elite realm of hunting; drinking sets, serving exclusive drinking practices; weapons and armor (including symbolic representations and painted depictions) related to the warrior sphere; and ivory, bone, metal and amber objects – jewelry, figurines, and furniture inlays that often display Orientalizing overtones, some perhaps distributed by Phoenician traders, given the site’s strategic position between east and west. The evolution in objects is mirrored in the evolution of architectural types, to accommodate changes in ritual or social groups utilizing the space: modification of Oikos C by a new three-roomed rectangular section; the addition of a square portico to Oikos D; the rectangular building excavated by Carta; and the construction of the Tripartite Building. These developments may reflect synoikismos of deities, or at least adoption of Greek traditions to facilitate Greek presence and interactions and perhaps even to involve Greeks in rituals of commensality and gift exchange.<sup>845</sup>

The Polizzello acropolis reached its maximum development during the 7<sup>th</sup> to mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, when the need to reaffirm identity would have been strongest. Renewed monumentalization and reorganization of the acropolis led to its current appearance, likely linked to a desire to return to traditional forms and assert identities distinct from others, perhaps due to economic or political stress.<sup>846</sup> A reversion to ancestral forms – including ceramic types –

---

<sup>844</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 7.

<sup>845</sup> Ampolo 1989: 39-40; Morris 2016: 212.

<sup>846</sup> Hodder 1982.

may have been a reaction to new imported object types. This is seen in continued use of EIA ceramic types like piumata wares and incised and stamped wares commonly associated with traditions in central-western Sicily, connected in turn to the Sikanian zone.<sup>847</sup> This starts to change in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, when traditional Sikanian and more “contemporary” Greek elements begin to coexist in both objects and architecture, with large influxes of imported material reflecting changes in rituals there, although ancestral ceramic forms less influenced by new trends on the coast continue to be produced and used through the end of the Archaic, as in other areas of the west such as M. Maranfusa (where incised and stamped wares are attested into the 5<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>848</sup> Perhaps locals engaged in systems of mutual exchange with Greeks at this time in order to more easily form alliances, especially among aristocratic elements of the populations.

Mutual assistance, rather than competition, between Greeks and locals seems to have characterized almost the entire life of the sanctuary. In addition to older sacrifice and ritual meals, there is evidence of libation and commensal activities involving feasting and drinking, not new but rather continuations of older rituals utilizing modified object assemblages. (Fig. 4.30) The adapted custom of libation is seen as vessels intended for this ritual become commonplace; these include kraters (locally-produced or imported from Corinth) pouring vessels (especially indigenous trefoil oinchochai) and phialai (of either indigenous or Greek production). Alongside these ritual vessels are large numbers of drinking vessels, mostly of Greek manufacture.<sup>849</sup> These standardized sets seem to be related to new social relations within and negotiations between

---

<sup>847</sup> Panvini, Guzzone and Palermo 2009: 298-9.

<sup>848</sup> Panvini, Guzzone and Palermo 2009: 109.

<sup>849</sup> Panvini, Guzzone and Palermo 2009: 111, 175. Imported drinking cups mainly are Ionian kylikes or Corinthian cups, often decorated with bird motifs, perhaps testifying to a preference on the part of the local inhabitants for this design.

groups at Polizzello, the sets facilitating group participation, permitting easier access to the sanctuary and aiding understanding of the sacred by several different ethnic groups, not necessarily just Sikanians.

The extraordinarily abundant offerings found at Polizzello and other 7<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> century indigenous sanctuaries are the most obvious evidence of general economic and population growth, also signaled by an increase in number and wealth of depositions in contemporary sanctuaries and necropoleis such as those of Sabucina, Sant'Angelo Muxaro, Butera, and even (to a lesser extent) M. Finocchito. Unusually late, Greek ceramics start to be found at Polizzello only at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, the small numbers at first perhaps reflecting links between importation of Greek manufactured goods and ritual changes at the sanctuary, especially in Oikos B (the last sacred building constructed). The sudden explosion of wealth seems associated with growth of trade routes from the Greek coast, probably used by both Greeks and non-Greeks. The area's primary engine of economic development may well have been Gela's foundation, a decisive factor in the development of indigenous centers in south-central Sicily;<sup>850</sup> however, despite some links with this area (as in the adaptation of Cretan object types) Polizzello's cultural approach is decidedly different from Gela's, its linkages just as strong with colonies on the northern coast, especially Himera.

Thus, changes in architectural forms, settlement space, and objects can be linked to changes from a smaller-scale heterarchical society where relations were established and maintained through a leader's ability to obtain and distribute resources (including through feasts), to an aristocratic society characterized by smaller groups of elite individuals and clans, who used sanctuary space for their own needs such as supplication, festivities, and rites of

---

<sup>850</sup> Palermo et al. 2009: 304-5.

passage, and were able to demonstrate status through use, dedication, and purposeful breakage – displays of conspicuous consumption.<sup>851</sup> This may be further linked to a crystallization of Sikanian territory and the participation at a centralized location by upper echelons of local societies from multiple smaller surrounding regions.

Similar cultic developments were occurring in south-central Sicily, around areas later occupied by Agrigento but which in the 7<sup>th</sup> century are firmly entrenched in the indigenous world, as seen in the locality of the material record despite selective adoption of (mainly high-quality) Greek imports. Settlements here demonstrate some of the earliest evidence for cult ritual in Sikania: a round FBA building with a plastered basin, evidence of sacrifice, stone loomweights and ceramics, found in the area of Palma di Montechiaro<sup>852</sup> Cultic continuity is evident in an Archaic rectangular structure on the Castellazzo hill also near Palma di Montechiaro (a “Greek chthonic sanctuary” according to the archaeologist) and a nearby pit with two Daedalic figurines, a dinos with a representation of a triskele, EC ceramics (mostly kotylai, and an interesting alabastron decorated with a winged demon) and Ionian cups; another fossa served as a sacrificial bothros. Castellana dates the foundation of this complex to c. 640-630, suggesting that at this time the site became a Greek *phourion* dominating communication routes, although he notes indigenous incised wares among the objects.<sup>853</sup> More likely it was a mixed religious site, at least in the early Archaic. A similar situation may be seen in neighboring Palma di Montechiaro, where

---

<sup>851</sup> Panvini, Guzzone and Palermo 2009: 55-6.

<sup>852</sup> Castellana 1983: 120; Urquhart 120.

<sup>853</sup> Castellana 1983: 120-121. Most scholars see foundation of Greek *phouria* controlling the region’s inland routes as a later result of Agrigento’s founding and subsequent territorial expansion into the hinterland. De Miro interprets this “Hellenization” between the Platani and Salso rivers beginning in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century. (De Miro 1962: 128-135)

three early 6<sup>th</sup> century Daedalic-style wooden female xoana were found associated with a sulfur spring, which likely had ritual connotations.<sup>854</sup> (Fig. 4.31)

### **Caltabellotta: A Smaller Sacred Site Modeled on Larger Central Italian Ritual Spaces**

The central-western site of Caltabellotta,<sup>855</sup> a small mountainous complex dominating large valleys of the Platani and Belice Rivers, demonstrates a trajectory similar to other central Sicilian sanctuaries in terms of consistent use of ancestral architectural forms and development to accommodate more rectangular sacred space in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century. The site also eventually welcomed a Greek-type sanctuary contemporary to the second-phase shrine in Contrada San Benedetto, as well as rock-cut houses typical of more scattered indigenous dwellings of the Archaic. Here, remains of circular buildings from the EIA through PA contained monochrome and incised vessels, comparable to material from Polizzello and Montagnola di Marineo.<sup>856</sup> (Fig. 4.32) One such structure, constructed in the late 8<sup>th</sup> -early 7<sup>th</sup> century, has been interpreted as a sanctuary or “hut-shrine”, due to its more monumental size and post-destruction reuse in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century. Ritual use is also suggested by numerous elaborately incised wares and a large pedestal cup, comparable to ceremonial examples from EIA tombs and early sacred contexts such as the round oikos, Hut 1, at Montagnoli.<sup>857</sup>

As at a number of other central Sicilian sites, the town plan changes in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, when habitations mainly consist of rectilinear rooms; unlike most other settlements, however, these structures are characterized by rock-cut rooms, scattered throughout the area and without

---

<sup>854</sup> Caputo 1938: 630-62; Morris 1992: 200.

<sup>855</sup> Panvini 1988; Panvini 1993b. Panvini suggests that this was the ancient settlement of Triokala. (Panvini 1993b: 759)

<sup>856</sup> Panvini 1988: 561. At least four rounded huts are attested (Urquhart 2010: 122).

<sup>857</sup> Urquhart 2010: 122.



a single urban layout, rather resembling the earlier “hut” settlement.<sup>858</sup> One such room at the western end of the district is constructed with drystone walls; in this context were found a Rhodian bronze oinochoe, Greek kylikes, lamps, skyphoi, lekythoi and an alabastron, from the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>859</sup> Interestingly, a similar building slightly to the east yielded an ornate vessel with anthropomorphic foot, clearly attributable to indigenous production.<sup>860</sup> This suggests continued indigenous or mixed settlement; the rock-cut rooms are culturally ambiguous, attested in a number of societies in Sicily due to their versatile nature, although generally associated with indigenous occupation.<sup>861</sup> In this period the previously-mentioned circular “hut-shrine” was still in use, resurfaced and rebuilt in as a rectangular oikos after destruction and a period of disuse; associated with it are both Greek and indigenous goods such as cups, bowls, oinochoai, and storage vessels.<sup>862</sup> More typologically Greek sacred space was in use contemporaneously with the second phase of the shrine: a three-room rectangular oikos in the eastern part of the second terrace.<sup>863</sup> Nevertheless, as has been suggested above, it is the products that individuals and groups were using and the rituals and practices surrounding them, more than the architecture within which objects were used, that mainly conditioned the occupants’ identity.

---

<sup>858</sup> Panvini 1988: 566-70. It has been suggested that this restructuring was due to Selinuntine Greeks expanding their territory to nearby M. Adranone and Rocca Nadore to control important paths inland and their border with Himera; however, the site trajectory is not unlike that of numerous other central-western indigenous settlements, and there is continued use of indigenous-type habitations (like rock-cut rooms) and object typologies into the later the Archaic.

<sup>859</sup> Panvini 1988: 563.

<sup>860</sup> Panvini 1993b: 761.

<sup>861</sup> *Supra* 178, 198-9.

<sup>862</sup> Panvini 1993b: 761; Urquhart 2010: 138. Objects recovered include two Ionic B1 cups, a MC kotyle, an indigenous bowl and oinochoe, and two amphorae.

<sup>863</sup> Panvini 1988: 564; Urquhart 2010: 145-146.

## Monte Saraceno: Expansion of Central-Southern Sicilian Ritual Space on the Cusp of the Archaic Period

Like Polizzello, M. Saraceno demonstrates continuity from the EIA to the Archaic, even in the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century when Greek elements are seamlessly inserted into this continuum. This is particularly evident in the destruction/abandonment and rebuilding stages on the acropolis, largely along traditional lines, despite the contemporary reorientation of the town below and the construction of Greek-type “extramural” sanctuaries in the margins and integrated with the older-type acropolis buildings and urban fabric, and the introduction of Greek inscriptions in such public spaces. Sacred space on the acropolis undergoes a transformation parallel to other Sikeliote and indigenous shrines, in its gradual definition of open-air cults with built structures – in this case, both circular and rectangular shrines (perhaps denoting different approaches to connecting one’s clan or extended family to communal sacred space) from early on, later punctuated by more Greek-type structures. This Hellenizing impetus is reflected in the increasing urbanization over time, as habitations become multi-room and assume an agglomerative appearance, similar to trajectories in other sites in M. Saraceno’s cultural orbit – M. Raffe and Vassallaggi.

Near an alluvial plain along a series of fortified hills overlooking the Salso River valley, M. Saraceno is ideally situated on the route between Himera and Agrigento. (Fig. 4.33) In early surveys Marconi concluded that it was a Sikel site settled by Agrigento in the late 6<sup>th</sup> century through the Classical period, although, as will be seen, it demonstrates more similarities with western zones than other Sikel sites.<sup>864</sup> Early excavations supported this interpretation, revealing remains of a small Archaic temple and two Archaic inscriptions, perhaps from burials, reused in

---

<sup>864</sup> Caccamo Caltabiano 1985: 21-2. A survey revealed remains of houses on the settlement hill and along the slope’s southern ridge, arranged in an ordered system, and remains of shrines and graves on the southern and western slopes.

walls. One referred to a “Myllos, son of Sakon,” suggesting Greek presence by the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>865</sup>

The site consists of a sacred acropolis, an upper plateau or terrace on the mountain’s southern slope, and a town on the terrace below, occupied since the EBA, naturally defended by the mountain’s rock walls and fortified on the west side in the Archaic period. (Fig. 4.34) The impact of Greek Sikeliote movement in the site’s vicinity has conventionally been stressed: completely indigenous until the late 7<sup>th</sup> century when it came under Gela’s influence or was perhaps destroyed, it was then structured with the first regular plan at the site. Phaleride expansion brought the site under Agrigentine influence, with restructuring along an east-west axis, and full “Hellenization” of the site and implantation of urban structures along terraces by the late 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>866</sup> However, on closer inspection, it does not seem that any Greek colony exerted considerable influence on the site, at least in the Archaic, although Greek populations are suggested by the Greek inscriptions and later Greek-style Archaic tombs located east and west of the main settlement.<sup>867</sup>

The earliest, rather small town was on the upper plateau and acropolis, with modestly built housing with cobble foundations.<sup>868</sup> There are at least three Archaic phases, including a burnt stratum. Similar strata, labeled by excavators as the indigenous, indigenous-Greek, and Greek phases, are seen throughout the habitation area; however, the identification of each layer

---

<sup>865</sup> Caccamo Caltabiano 1985: 22; 56-7. Sacred structures on the acropolis were dated from the mid-6<sup>th</sup> to end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Later investigations unearthed structures on the acropolis and in the habitation area.

<sup>866</sup> Caccamo Caltabiano 1985: 22-6; Calderone 1980b: 601-2; Adamesteanu 1956c. Given the scale of remains, M. Saraceno has also been interpreted as not a Greek phourion but a sort of sub-colony aiding in Agrigentine expansion.

<sup>867</sup> These necropoleis contained fossa tombs, and the western necropolis included unusual tombs constructed of unbaked bricks, a practice unattested in either Sikeliote or indigenous centers.

<sup>868</sup> Calderone 1980b: 604-5; Calderone 1996: 74-5

with a specific *ethnos* is not so simple.<sup>869</sup> The oldest habitation layer, in contact with sterile clay and associated with the indigenous settlement's earliest Protoarchaic floor levels, contained mainly early 7<sup>th</sup> century ceramics of the Sant'Angelo Muxaro-Polizzello facies, primarily wheelmade bowls and footed dishes, decorated with simple motifs.<sup>870</sup> An amphora sherd with plastic decoration in the shape of a composite anthropomorphized bull head, similar to examples from western settlements, is rare this far east.<sup>871</sup> Also common are piumata wares, pinwheel motifs, and mid-7<sup>th</sup> century indigenous pithoi.<sup>872</sup> Other wares bore incised and stamped decoration, often of ritual or commensal form: basins, carinated bowls, fruit bowls and footed basins, local so-called "pyxides," and tulip cups with high flared stems. (Fig. 4.35) The site yielded rare forms such as a ceramic bird askos, similar to items from Sant'Angelo Muxaro and Castello della Pietra, likely of local manufacture.<sup>873</sup>

The layer above, accrued after an initial destruction of the indigenous village in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century, contained Siculo-Geometric pottery and some incised wares continuing traditions from the preceding phase, as well as Greek imitation pottery.<sup>874</sup> Later, incised and stamped ceramics decrease in favor of painted indigenous pottery, particularly Corinthian imitation vessels. In the earliest period, the main area of diffusion for this type is central-southern Sicily,

---

<sup>869</sup> Calderone 1996: 13-22.

<sup>870</sup> Caccamo Caltabiano 1985: 67.

<sup>871</sup> These stylized amphorae are also attested at Colle Madore, Polizzello, Naro, Mussomeli, and Entella (*supra* 229, 238.)

<sup>872</sup> Calderone 1996: 80.

<sup>873</sup> This object type is also attested at Himera and Montagnoli di Marineo.

<sup>874</sup> Calderone 1996: 17-9.

and its introduction into the indigenous repertoire may be a result of Rhodio-Cretan influence.<sup>875</sup> Thus, the ceramics display links with the motifs and decorative patterns customary in local and indigenous production of Gela and its hinterland, especially Butera and Sabucina.

Sondages revealed such layers elsewhere in the settlement, including three circular huts on the acropolis, Oikoi Alpha, Beta and Gamma, comprising small stone foundations on which were placed wattle-and-daub superstructures,<sup>876</sup> with Thapsos period remains below. There seems to be no continuity between the layers, suggesting resettlement after a period of abandonment.

The circular buildings, from a similar period as the indigenous Archaic habitation strata, are consistent with circular shrines elsewhere in central Sicily, notably Sabucina and Polizzello. Contemporary Oikoi Beta and Alpha were next to each other, each about 10 m. in diameter. Oikos Alpha has at least two phases; outside the initial exterior wall, a more recent wall section was integrated into the rock face and sealed by a burnt layer with colonial pottery and numerous indigenous sherds (the majority of finds).<sup>877</sup> Other material in the hut included Siculo-Geometric ware, incised ceramics, colonial items, and PC ceramics, including a bird vase – mainly vessels for ritual use. The space in front of the huts would have also been used for ritual, given the large amount of material collected, not unlike at Polizzello where outdoor spaces were as widely used for ritual as interior space.<sup>878</sup> A few meters north is Oikos Gamma, affected by later Greek walls, where layers suggest different use phases, the indigenous level represented by a whitish layer

---

<sup>875</sup> Namely, the sites of Polizzello, Sabucina, Capodarso, Calascibetta and Butera (Adamesteanu 1956c).

<sup>876</sup> Calderone 1996: 7-8.

<sup>877</sup> Calderone 1996: 16. Material found in the burnt layer includes a large pithos, unpainted two-handled bowl, globular olla, and carinated bowl decorated with horizontal stripes referencing piomata ware.

<sup>878</sup> Palermo et.al. 2009: 52; Panvini 2009b: 93-6.

serving as the floor of the huts. Several nearly intact objects were found inside the oikoi; on the floor was a tall “fruit bowl” decorated with horizontal bands. (Fig. 4.36) A bone pendant in the form of a fish found near a later-phase wall suggests continuous ritual use into the subsequent period.

The circular structures’ large size and prominent placement suggest that they were oikoi of an indigenous sacred or political center for a sizeable population, like Sabucina to the north. Important enough to be reflected in the site’s material culture, their forms are mirrored in two clay circular hut models, one from the town, the other from a sacred area east of town.<sup>879</sup> (Fig. 4.37) No architectural models have been found in the area of the oikoi, although ritual vessels such as incised fruit bowls were found in a fossa adjoining Oikos Alpha, with a thick layer of ash and other depositions (mostly bowls and imitation PC vases), comparable to the Polizzello votive pits, which contained similar offerings.<sup>880</sup> Also near the round buildings were rectilinear structures from this phase, such as Room 11, just south of and tangential to Oikoi Alpha and Beta. This was similar in size to the circular buildings and clearly related, but the exact stratigraphic and chronological relationship is unclear. Certain analogies can be made, though, with Polizzello, Montagnoli and Sabucina, where rectangular structures are associated with round oikoi (as early as the 8<sup>th</sup> century at Polizzello), replacing them or serving as additions.<sup>881</sup> Room 11 lies beneath a burnt stratum from the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, found throughout this area extending to the plateau edge, suggesting relatively extensive settlement by this phase;

---

<sup>879</sup> Gulli 2009b: 259-60.

<sup>880</sup> Palermo et. al. 2009: 54.

<sup>881</sup> *Supra* 227, 245, 249.

the layer below is morphologically different from that above, implying significant changes to the community at this time.<sup>882</sup>

The upper plateau habitations of this early phase, evident in the eastern sector, were largely oriented along the same plan as the period's acropolis structures, suggesting communication between areas.<sup>883</sup> Like the previous era's structures, they were constructed with rubble foundations and mudbrick superstructures. Below the later street level were 7<sup>th</sup> century vessels such as imitation PC kylikes, piumata pithoi and TC vessels. Throughout the upper plateau is a strong preponderance of local ceramics, both Siculo-Geometric and incised wares.<sup>884</sup>

Post-destruction, the city adopts a semi-regular plan, but with a continued indigenous material record, traditionally seen as evidence of Greek-indigenous coexistence.<sup>885</sup> As noted, rectilinear buildings had been erected here since the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, so their presence in this phase does not necessarily reflect change in the identity of the site's inhabitants. However, other series of walls on the acropolis in this phase feature a new plan and building technique, characterizing rectilinear structures throughout the site immediately after destruction of the initial indigenous village,<sup>886</sup> with rough-hewn stone foundations and clay superstructures. Objects found inside, on the other hand, exhibit continuity with the previous phase – incised and stamped pottery, which expand in form and decorative repertoire, mediated through Greek

---

<sup>882</sup> Calderone 1996: 13. The earlier layer is characterized by incised and stamped wares, as well as the growing influence of Greek models, while Greek models dominate the later phases.

<sup>883</sup> Calderone 1996: 17-8; 52-3.

<sup>884</sup> Among found here are a single-handled bowl with impressed decoration, two stamped scodelloni, and a Siculo-Geometric trefoil oinochoe dating to the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>885</sup> De Miro 1985: 149-50; Calderone 1996: 59. The earliest rooms of the next phase on the acropolis are attested by structures below later Archaic rooms MR2 and MR 3b.

<sup>886</sup> Calderone 1996: 17-9. Walls belonging to this phase include MR 49, MR 69, MR 73, and MR 74.

interactions; and locally and regionally manufactured goods, including Subgeometric wares and Ionian cups. At the top of the layers were found fragments of LC kotylai, from when the area goes out of use. The material continuity does not exclude Greek settlers at the site, but it casts doubt on the premise of Greek possession at this time in the sense of a proper “re-foundation.” There was also continuity in the traditional sacred space occupied by the circular oikoi on the acropolis, demonstrated by an annex connected to Oikos Alpha at this time, as well as other modifications of sacred buildings and walls in the immediate vicinity of the earlier huts.<sup>887</sup>

Mid-6<sup>th</sup> century changes in construction technique, number of buildings, and division of land may have been linked to new interest in economic activity. The era’s expansion to the south and lower plateau was likely due to population increase from an influx of Agrigentine Greeks integrating with the local population.<sup>888</sup> Successive layers with local Siculo-Geometric ceramics and LC I pottery, preceded by a clear burnt level, represent an initial expansion with at least two building phases, one in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, the other late-6<sup>th</sup>.<sup>889</sup> The town has a re-terraced street system above the initial expansion levels in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, and its plan is reoriented north-south, with more regular alignment and orthogonal axes dividing blocks into several units.<sup>890</sup> The upper plateau is also reorganized in this stage, with new terracing and orientation but less regular layout than the lower plateau, suggesting that older buildings on the upper terrace probably served as foundations for subsequent buildings. (Fig. 4.38) The new urban orientation is comparable to contemporary transformations appearing at M. Maranfusa

---

<sup>887</sup> Calderone 1996: 18.

<sup>888</sup> De Miro 1985: 160-161. Calderone 1996: 21-2; 40; 47-8.

<sup>889</sup> Pseudo-polygonal masonry dates to the first phase of the restructuring, while ashlar and pseudo-ashlar can be associated with the second phase.

<sup>890</sup> Calderone 1984; Calderone 1996: 56.



and Colle Madore.<sup>891</sup> Also reflecting contemporary Sicilian poleis is the increased focus on monumentalization of urban spaces and intensification of construction. Nevertheless, most religious spaces are not separate from private homes but constructed in the same neighborhoods, as at contemporary Vassallaggi.<sup>892</sup>

Over the course of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, extramural and intramural sacred buildings recalling earlier Sikeliote models were built. Two main sacred structures, constructed mid-century and linked to chthonic deities, are associated with the initial reorganization. In a building in the sacred complex of the acropolis,<sup>893</sup> Sikeliote pottery suggests use into the early 5<sup>th</sup> century. The high quality of the cups, which closely follow Corinthian models and recall imitations from Gela's Archaic kiln, suggests earlier occupation of the area in the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>894</sup>

The secondary sacred area southeast of town on the upper plateau is very different in nature. Here, a large rectangular two-room building was constructed along the same southeast-northwest axes as habitations of the earlier period.<sup>895</sup> (Fig. 4.39) To the northwest was an area of ash, burnt bones, pottery, votive terracottas, metal objects, tiles, and architectural terracottas; as at the Archaic oikos on the acropolis, there may have been earlier cult practice beginning around the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century. Pottery in the votive deposit and the fill of the sacred building imply an extramural, possibly open-air sanctuary, in the early period of the town's reorganization, when its

---

<sup>891</sup> In this phase, habitations are generally multi-room with courtyards and polygonal stone walls, while objects are primarily colonial wares and Corinthian and Attic imports. The new urban plan is broadly similar to reorganization at this time of Naxos and Himera, and Vassallaggi among the indigenous repertoire. It has been suggested that the urbanization and regular plan are seen in M. Saraceno's cultural orbit, like M. Raffe and Vassallaggi.

<sup>892</sup> Pizzo 1998: 211-13.

<sup>893</sup> The latter structure was accompanied by two other oikos-type sacred structures, perhaps chapels or thesauroi, oriented in the same manner, and adorned with architectural terracottas.

<sup>894</sup> Calderone 1996: 81-2.

<sup>895</sup> This structure was excavated by Mingazzini (Mingazzini 1938; Calderone 1996: 89).

boundaries were perhaps symbolically defined by sacred space at the edges of its territory.<sup>896</sup>

Given early Greek items among the votives, it was likely an arena where local and Greek aristocratic groups interacted in economic, trade, and gift-exchange contexts, not unlike the extraurban sanctuaries outside Gela.<sup>897</sup>

The later mid-6<sup>th</sup> century shrine contains almost exclusively Greek pottery. From the later sacred structures, Mingazzini proposed that M. Saraceno was Greek, a colony or phrourion of Gela or Agrigento, guarding the mouth of the Salso River.<sup>898</sup> Adamesteanu concluded, though, that it was a Hellenized indigenous center under Geloan influence by the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, transformed around the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century when new sacred structures were built on the acropolis and in the sanctuary in the lower city, possibly under Agrigentine influence.<sup>899</sup> In the Archaic phase, sacred buildings do demonstrate nuanced Hellenizing orientations, more obvious from the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century on; yet these later Archaic sacred buildings' positions within the town's urban fabric, especially in the southern district, has been seen as a sign of indigenous identity, which may also explain their "provincialism," or conservative style, similar to sacred structures in Piano Camera in Butera's hinterland. Indeed, such buildings on both the acropolis and upper plateau are outdated compared to Sikeliote structures of the time.<sup>900</sup> As Calderone argues, "come se dunque il centro indigeno, forse per i propri schemi culturali, le proprie tecnologie, ma anche per le proprie risorse, non fosse pronto ad adeguarsi alle planimetrie sacre elleniche coeve, e

---

<sup>896</sup> Calderone 1996: 89-90.

<sup>897</sup> Calderone 1996: 87.

<sup>898</sup> Calderone 1996: 12; Mingazzini 1938.

<sup>899</sup> Adamesteanu 1956c: 122-4.

<sup>900</sup> The bipartite, pre-Doric temple forms of these oikoi are similar to the South Temple of Megara Hyblaea, the anakoron of M. San Mauro, and Temple A of Himera, all of which are earlier, dating to the 7<sup>th</sup>-early 6<sup>th</sup> century.

fosse, invece, meglio attrezzato a ricalcare quelle planimetrie che in ambito greco erano già superate dal principio della monumentalizzazione delle case degli dei. Ma anche, come se il ricorso a tali schemi fosse giustificato dalla volontà di adeguare le planimetrie sacre e pubbliche a quelle proprie delle tradizionali abitazioni indigene.”<sup>901</sup>

Some local inhabitants thus would have adopted styles and ritual practices from the sacred sphere of colonial poleis, alongside continuity of traditional forms. Calderone suggests that the local aristocracy, open to contact and gift-exchange with Greek coastal colonies, initiated settlement change, perhaps paving the way for more monumental Greek-style sacred buildings. In his view, the aristocracy’s rise led not to organized “Hellenization” but rather to new structures among the elite in which aristocracies sought prestige not by adopting Greek culture but by displaying wealth and status in depositing valuable Greek objects in funeral rites; he argues that through mixed marriage and development over time, these practices spread quickly through indigenous populations, until, without any sharp division, indigenous gives way to Hellenized culture in local populations.<sup>902</sup>

These elite interests are also reflected in the object record, with wide introduction of Greek forms long before adoption of Greek-style building techniques. [See: Table 4.12; Table 4.13; and Table 4.14 for object amounts and percentages from the acropolis, upper terrace, and settlement totals, respectively] Indigenous incised and impressed and painted geometric ceramics account for a large percentage of the site’s pottery. In general, local pottery largely belongs to the same *koine* as Sabucina, Polizzello, and Sant’Angelo Muxaro, more aligned with Sicily’s west.<sup>903</sup>

---

<sup>901</sup> Calderone 1996: 88; 80.

<sup>902</sup> Calderone 1996: 88.

<sup>903</sup> Calderone 1996: 34; Siracusano 2011: 30.

Most commonly attested Greek wares are Corinthian imports and imitations, beginning with PC vases from the acropolis near the later Archaic temples, possibly associated with earlier worship phases.<sup>904</sup> Ionian Type A2 and B1 cups are also represented, albeit less common.<sup>905</sup> Corinthian imports and imitations eventually eliminate local production of higher-end ceramics, and the initial influx of original, high-quality wares, then copied locally (for example local imitations of Corinthian stamnoi with representations of animals), eventually gives way to more standardized classes of local and Sikeliote imitations.<sup>906</sup> The object totals and object use percentages among the sacred contexts resemble those of other indigenous and mixed sacred spaces, especially the Polizzello acropolis but also at Ramacca and Palike; this is mirrored in the use of indigenizing objects in this spaces, namely carinated cups and bowls, incised wares (including anthropomorphizing incised amphorae), stemmed plates, and hut models. The habitation contexts demonstrate more of a gradual evolution over time in assemblages, the later ones resembling more Sikeliote contexts, such as Himera habitation contexts, the Megara Hyblaea Southern Plateau, Naxos La Musa Sanctuary, and Syracuse Prefettura area, although there are also similarities with contexts at M. Polizzo (particularly House 3). On the whole, the site's colonial ceramic repertoire appears largely dependent initially on Gela and the south coast, but later with a life of its own suited to the needs of an indigenous population.<sup>907</sup> Geloan presence may be the initial force in this willingness to adopt Greek forms, although continuing popularity of Greek motifs is driven more by local demand than by outside forces.

---

<sup>904</sup> Calderone 1996: 32-3.

<sup>905</sup> Some Ionian and Corinthian type wares seem to be of indigenous manufacture, beginning in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>906</sup> Recurring motifs on imitation wares are almost exclusively Subgeometric, with bands, lines, tremolos, chevrons, and metopes. (Siracusano 2011: 32)

<sup>907</sup> Calderone 1996: 39-40.

## Sabucina and Capodarso: Interconnected Ritual Space in a Central Sicilian Landscape

The central Sicilian site of Sabucina exhibits similar urban development strategies to those previously discussed, as well as sites examined in the subsequent chapter, such as Montagnoli and M. Maranfusa. Strategically overlooking the Salso River valley, Sabucina was near important indigenous sites such as Capodarso that developed along strikingly different lines. The 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century settlement, which occupied the entire slope of its hill, was one of central Sicily's most important indigenous centers and religious complexes. It fell squarely within the Sikanian-Sikel border, but the pottery and round sacred architecture are more typical of the western zone. Firmly anchored to indigenous tradition even while showing some Rhodio-Cretan influence from Gela,<sup>908</sup> the site remained more outside the main contact zone of the Greek littoral than closer indigenous centers, with strong traditional aspects long after initial contacts with coastal settlements. Starting in the early Archaic, both the sanctuary and habitation zones follow trajectories similar to those of other central and western settlements – agglutinative settlement plans incorporating sub-rectangular structures; circular shrines, modified at a later period and often rebuilt as rectangular shrines; the combination of rectangular oikoi and circular or rounded shrines within a complex; and the presence of a rectangular Greek-style extramural/extraurban sanctuary in addition to the main sacred zone. (Fig. 4.40) This development came to a head in a mid-6<sup>th</sup> century complete restructuring of the area outside the sacred zones, also

---

<sup>908</sup> Guzzone et al. 2008: 11-2. Adamesteanu, who first surveyed the area, interpreted the site as an indigenous settlement beginning in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, soon afterwards entering the sphere of Greek influence, with the construction of fortification walls and rectangular structures in the following century. Orlandini's excavations focused on fortification walls and necropoleis. Early scholars attempted to reconstruct the sequence of settlement at Sabucina and the nature of Greek (especially Geloan) penetration inland along the Gela River and its tributaries, along the Valle di Salso and southern Himera plain, and occupation and settlement in the plain of Gela. (Panvini 2005: 29-32) Further excavations by De Miro between 1979 and 1990 in the sacred area outside Gate II served to modify Orlandini's framework.

attested at numerous other Sicilian settlements.<sup>909</sup> [See Table 4.15 for object totals from the sanctuary and habitation areas]

The first substantial habitation remains are LBA and FBA round huts and rock-cut habitations on the hill's southern slopes, distributed in groups, some considerably distant from each other.<sup>910</sup> By the FBA there is evidence of production and manufacture of bronze weapons and tools, specialization of work suggesting a major complex with articulated social roles. The 10<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries witness the early construction of rectangular buildings, contemporary with other central settlements in this period.<sup>911</sup>

Despite evidence of destruction at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, continuity at the site is nevertheless uninterrupted through the 8<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>912</sup> This is evidenced by the domestic area that continues to be characterized by rectangular houses along the slope; the site became much more densely occupied at this time. In the 7<sup>th</sup> century, locals first came into contact with Greeks, perhaps traders from Gela, shown by LPC ceramics from the Grotta Cavallo tomb. However, there are notably fewer PC ceramics than at sites closer to coast like Butera, likely due to Sabucina's position, somewhat more isolated from trade routes.<sup>913</sup>

By the mid-third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, the settlement was smaller and circumscribed by a fortification wall enclosing later habitations and a group of Archaic rooms next to the city

---

<sup>909</sup> *Supra* 57, 98-100, 248, 250.

<sup>910</sup> Sedita Migliore 1981: 51-70. Previous EBA occupation is evidenced by chamber tombs.

<sup>911</sup> Guzzone et al. 2008: 25. These structures are contemporary with types in central and east Sicilian centers such as Thapsos, Metapiccola (near Leontini), and Morgantina.

<sup>912</sup> Guzzone et al. 2008: 25.

<sup>913</sup> Panvini 2005: 103-5. Other, smaller settlements near Sabucina, such as M. San Giuliano, also demonstrate contact with Greeks at this time, seen in Corinthian and imitation vessels, perhaps mediated by larger indigenous settlements.

gate in the western sector (Gate II). Scholars have seen this settlement, and the area developed in the eastern sector (also on remains of indigenous one-room habitations), as a Greek-type *phourion*, settled by Gela and Agrigento, with typical Greek-style houses, sacred buildings, material culture, and inscriptions.<sup>914</sup> These elements, especially sanctuaries, are very different from the immediately-preceding indigenous variants. The situation is not so clear-cut, though, as through the late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries there is still no regular orientation of structures or orthogonal plan, but rather an agglutinated settlement plan, with two- or three-room houses flanking a common courtyard or paired with a cistern; this demonstrates persistence of local tradition based on a social structure of extended families and clans, with more developed habitation forms than in the preceding phase.<sup>915</sup> Some rooms' irregularity of shape and position suggests that their construction was not always determined by area morphology or topography, but rather reflects the connection of formerly isolated rooms into a single building, extending along the slope and cut into bedrock in a series of terraces. (Fig. 4.41) The amount and quality of material on the floor levels suggests a degree of prosperity, as well as diversification of space, the rooms having distinct functions.<sup>916</sup> Thus, the site followed development patterns similar to other contemporary Sikanian and Elymian urban settlements and compound sanctuaries, like M. Maranfusa and M. Polizzo.<sup>917</sup> The material culture of graves and sanctuaries, the building techniques of houses – masonry foundations of roughly hewn stones on cut bedrock, mudbrick

---

<sup>914</sup> Orlandini 1965b: 135.

<sup>915</sup> Orlandini 1965b: 134.

<sup>916</sup> Panvini 2009b: 192-3. These tend to have only one floor level and usage phase, unlike the previous indigenous houses.

<sup>917</sup> Guzzone et al. 2008: 61-3.

and wood superstructure, and thatch roof – suggests continued indigenous presence into the Late Archaic.

This later settlement area includes an 11-room complex in the eastern sector and some open spaces, formed through building agglutination; the nature of the space and recovered objects suggest combined domestic and ritual space, perhaps for an extended family group.<sup>918</sup> (Fig. 4.42) Within this complex, Room Alpha was a domestic food storeroom, while ceramic vessels and large containers suggest that some rooms were workshops producing funerary or sacred vessels. Certain features such as two ceramic andirons with bull heads indicate domestic ritual in these multipurpose spaces; a bronze lamina with schematic human face found in Room Zeta suggests secondary sacred usage or storage of sacred implements, and it may have been considered an heirloom when this structure was occupied.<sup>919</sup> (Fig. 4.43) In fact, this room contains the oldest Archaic materials from the area, including fragments of large vessels, with numerous drinking and pouring vessels (both locally produced and imported) several miniature ceramics (perhaps associated with ritual), and even an MC-style terracotta female head.<sup>920</sup> Other rooms were primarily used for consumption, like Room Delta, with fineware and drinking vessels (two-handled cups and paterette, skyphoi, lamps, and oinochoe); or food preparation, like Room Eta, with a small ceramic oven perhaps for cooking.<sup>921</sup>

Several of these habitations are atop earlier 7<sup>th</sup>-century indigenous remains. Also in the eastern habitation zone, Orlandini discovered small sub-rectangular, one-room structures with

---

<sup>918</sup> Panvini 2009b: 192-3; Guzzone et al. 2008: 59-63.

<sup>919</sup> This is similar to examples from Polizzello, Mendolito, Colle Madore, and sacred center of Sabucina. (*supra* 229)

<sup>920</sup> Among the recovered vessels are oinochoai, krateriskoi, kotyliskoi, tazza-attingitoio, and cups. It is likely that large vessels were placed on the floor while smaller vessels were placed on shelves.

<sup>921</sup> Panvini 2009: 190-1.



rounded corners, partially excavated into bedrock, with stone wall foundations, not unlike structures at Scirinda and M. Iato.<sup>922</sup> These opened onto common open spaces, the agglutinative structuring suggesting extended families or clan structures. One dwelling was partially superimposed on an earlier prehistoric hut, suggesting that this location was chosen for habitation due to earlier occupation.<sup>923</sup> LPC vases (especially skyphoi) and indigenous imitations dated the houses.

A large Archaic structure in the western habitation area dates to the period of the later habitations in the Eastern Quarter, but likely had more public (including religious) functions. (Fig. 4.44) The earliest rooms (A, B, and C), from the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, demonstrate a mix of indigenous and Greek objects typical of contemporary and earlier phases here.<sup>924</sup> An earlier Archaic occupation phase under the floor level of Room F1 included a sealed deposit around a small ceramic oven. In Room 21 were found possible heirlooms, likely from a small votive deposit: two andirons with ceramic representations of animal heads<sup>925</sup> and a ceramic indigenous temple model, an unusual tent-like structure on a circular base with obvious Greek elements in the form of revetments – busts of animals in Aegean style – abbreviated versions of *kalypter hegemones*.<sup>926</sup> (Fig. 4.45) The sacred nature is further implied by a ram figurine, another small ceramic hut, about twenty small cups, censer, chalice, bronze ring, pendant necklace,

---

<sup>922</sup> Guzzone et al. 2008: 47.

<sup>923</sup> Orlandini 1965a; 136-7.

<sup>924</sup> Guzzone et al. 2008: 52-5. The floor level is dated by a fragment of an Attic Little Master kylix dating to the third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, found on the habitation floor level.

<sup>925</sup> The andirons are comparable to earlier Ausonian material as well as later objects from the western Sikanian-Elymian sphere, including the andirons recovered from the earlier 7<sup>th</sup> century habitation area.

<sup>926</sup> Guzzone et al. 2008: 47.

fragments of bronze chain, and a bronze astragalos – objects with ritual connotations.<sup>927</sup> In addition, a number of later Greek Archaic female statuettes were found alongside an indigenous pyxis of the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, demonstrating continuity of traditional forms despite the introduction of new customs and object-types that served to mediate between worshipers and the divine. The recovered objects from the habitation areas at Sabucina and relative percentages of types most closely resembles object patterns from Polizzello (especially Oikos A and the Southern Piazza) and Oikos B at Sabucina. [For habitation object totals, see Table 4.16]

The fullest expression of Archaic sacred space is seen in a number of temples on the south slope, outside the Greek fortifications, in two separate groups near remains of earlier sacred buildings. These shrines, like examples at Polizzello, were placed in clusters of buildings, the circular structures gradually elaborated as the entrances were further defined, perhaps in relation to the other buildings in the immediate area. Also as at Polizzello, terracotta hut-models with similar architectural design were found inside the sacred area, alongside other ritual implements – bronze anthropomorphizing laminae, terracotta animal-head andirons, incised fruit-plates, and animal figurines. (Fig. 4.46) [For sanctuary totals, see Table 4.17] The most important sanctuary complex, next to Gate II, remained in constant use for over two centuries.<sup>928</sup> (Fig. 4.47) The area's earliest remains are a small sub-rectangular late 8<sup>th</sup> century building (Building D) used for part of the following century; a low bench of unbaked plastered blocks contained hollow cylindrical indentations for supports of ritual vessels or deposition of votive offerings. It was abandoned by the time Oikos A was built immediately north of Building D in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century. Circular with a perimeter wall of irregular stone slabs, the sacred

---

<sup>927</sup> Sedita Migliore 1981: 79-85.

<sup>928</sup> Sedita Migliore 1981: 87-97.

building was modeled on the LBA and FBA habitation huts on the slopes of the same hill,<sup>929</sup> the earlier building type chosen over the rectangular constructions that were now the norm for habitations. An interior offering bench suggests that Oikos A replaced Building D in function.<sup>930</sup> In a later phase an irregular trapezoidal porch, supported by two polygonal columns with Doric capitals, was placed at the eastern opening. The porch “in antis” references the pronaos on Greek temples, monumentalizing the entrance, which, as with Greek temple buildings, faced east.<sup>931</sup> This structure was thus an amalgamation of Greek and indigenous architecture, not completely adopting Greek architectural language, given the porch’s irregular shape and the simply faceted column shafts.

The many votive offerings inside range over a considerable time span, some referencing Bronze Age forms: a conical rhyton, ritual bowl with temple model, terracotta ram figurine, skyphoi, small undecorated and banded bowls, kantharos, oinochoe, paterae, and various indigenous vessels.<sup>932</sup> [Table 4.18] A bronze belt with embossed geometric patterns – concentric circles, metopal patterns – has analogies in belts from the Mendolito Adrano votive deposit. The most significant find is the elaborate mid-6<sup>th</sup> century ceramic temple model. (Fig. 4.45) Its overall architectural form and decoration are reminiscent of rectangular Sikeliote shrines, with two fluted columns at the pronaos, tiled barrel roof with kalypteres, equestrian acroteria, and pedimental sculptures suggesting colonial gorgon and Silenus protomes, but with distinctive indigenizing elements – round protruding eyes and pronounced brow ridges.<sup>933</sup> This fusion of

---

<sup>929</sup> Guzzone et al. 2008: 91-6.

<sup>930</sup> De Miro 1983a: 340-2.

<sup>931</sup> Guzzone et al. 2008: 93.

<sup>932</sup> Guzzone et al. 2008: 93.

<sup>933</sup> De Miro 1983a: 340; Sedita Migliore 1981: 91-3

Greek and indigenous elements distorts and reinterprets Greek characteristics. The temple does not evoke the architecture of the building in which it was placed; clearly, this was not a priority for dedicants, who only sought to reference the divine. The chronology of the finds and association with nearby structures suggest the building was used into the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century, overlapping the Greek-style sacred structures on the western slope.

Multiple floor levels and interior find contexts in Building B, a rectangular oikos constructed directly above Building D,<sup>934</sup> suggest that the structure was reused in various periods. While the first floor level was laid in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, the earliest pottery dates to the 7<sup>th</sup>, including ritual forms such as incised fruit stands, a typical central indigenous ritual shape suggesting early Archaic outdoor worship here, perhaps linked to Oikos A.<sup>935</sup> Along the inner part of the north wall, a bench incorporated part of Building D, and two large circular altars were added to the interior.<sup>936</sup> Between the bench and altars was a large Corinthian krater with a duel scene and winged sphinxes between lotus flowers, as well as pig jaws, indicating that this was a location of ritual ceremonies involving meals and deposition of animal bones with votive offerings, likely to a chthonic deity. (Fig. 4.48) Over the 5<sup>th</sup> century, renovations altered the floor level twice, replaced the circular altars, concealed the earlier rounded bench, and constructed rectilinear benches for depositions along two sides.<sup>937</sup> At some point in the late the Archaic it was joined with Oikos A by walls along its west and east sides, forming a trapezoidal courtyard partially covered with tiles, with ritual hearths. Like Oikos A, this rectangular enclosure demonstrates elements of mixed Greek-indigenous architecture, partially roofed with

---

<sup>934</sup> Guzzone et al. 2008: 96-9.

<sup>935</sup> Sedita Migliore 1981: 97.

<sup>936</sup> Sedita Migliore 1981: 89.

<sup>937</sup> Sedita Migliore 1981: 91.

tiles and adorned with Silenus antefixes but also displaying indigenous forms.<sup>938</sup> Burnt debris suggest that the sanctuary was destroyed by Ducetius by the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century.

A second sacred area at the western limits of the later classical town contained Oikos B, a smaller round sacred building used from the late 7<sup>th</sup> through 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. (Fig. 4.49) Like Oikos A, it was preceded by a small irregular trapezoidal porch open to the east. Inside were indigenous bowls and cups with painted Geometric decoration, animal andirons, and model of a sacred building with side windows and zoomorphic protomes.<sup>939</sup> [Table 4.19]

A third sacred area on a small south-sloping plateau about 300 meters southwest of the town may have served as an extramural sanctuary, farther out than the other two sacred spaces, deliberately placed outside fortification walls built before its creation in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>940</sup> (Fig. 4.50) Breaking from earlier indigenous traditions, it has typical Sikeliote construction: rectangular bipartite shrine, porch, and storage space enclosed by a temenos wall. To the east, an area of exposed bedrock served as storage for various votive offerings in carved niches – a large number of lamps, kylikes, miniature lekythoi, and terracotta votive figurines of females and animals. Although constructed later, the shrine was utilized alongside the earlier round and rectangular shrines in the older sacred areas, suggesting use by different sectors of society or as an extramural arena for mediated interactions with Greeks visiting or living near the site. Such locations would have favored creation of “third spaces” in which new modes of rituality, perhaps with syncretized deities, could be explored. Further, as has been demonstrated,

---

<sup>938</sup> Sedita Migliore 1981: 95. Further evidence of use into the Classical period is a votive deposit containing pig jaws and burnt offerings (ceramics, bronze and iron objects) from the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>939</sup> Guzzone et al. 2008: 96.

<sup>940</sup> Guzzone et al. 2008: 97-9.

pre-6<sup>th</sup> century rectangular structures at non-Greek settlements are not to be taken to indicate Greek presence or influence, but rather reflect each settlement's cultic needs and concerns.

Several chamber tombs further demonstrate this mediation process, although in these cases primarily used by indigenous inhabitants, given the overwhelming presence of indigenous object-types through the Archaic. [Table 4.20] Later burials were often placed in circular and ovoid LBA chamber tombs. The Southern Necropolis, the most thoroughly excavated, consists of at least five chamber tombs, including the monumental “Grotta Cavallo.”<sup>941</sup> Aside from fragments of earlier vessels, the tombs contain either completely indigenous 7<sup>th</sup> century assemblages (Tomb 1) or combined indigenous and Greek material (from the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> or even the 5<sup>th</sup> century), reused several times.<sup>942</sup> For example, Tomb 3, first used in the third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, contains imports from the coast – such as a Geloan skyphos – and local ceramics, including numerous painted oinochoai.<sup>943</sup> These are also common in Tomb 4, from the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century, which contains solely indigenous material. One of the most significant chambers is Tomb 5, with 22 depositions, including grave goods – ceramics, worked bone and metalware – from the 7<sup>th</sup> to late 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>944</sup> (Fig. 4.51) A locally made 7<sup>th</sup>-century amphora with geometric decoration, possibly deposited in a later ritual, was recovered in the dromos. Most high-end indigenous ceramics suggest use as status symbols for funeral banquets.<sup>945</sup> While the indigenous wares were not accompanied by particularly high-quality

---

<sup>941</sup> Sedita Migliore 1981: 99-105.

<sup>942</sup> This was excavated by Orsini.

<sup>943</sup> Sedita Migliore 1981: 101.

<sup>944</sup> Sedita Migliore 1981: 103.

<sup>945</sup> Similar assemblages are found in 30% of grave contexts at Sabucina; but while higher-end grave goods are not particularly rare at Sabucina, the numbers of objects found in Tomb 5 is rather more exceptional.

Greek vessels, they nonetheless demonstrate commensal, and therefore elite, undertones, evidenced by kraters, indicating social status and likely imbued with symbolic value. Uncommon in Greek graves, kraters are nevertheless found in both Greek and indigenous cremation burials. Similarly, bronze basins, also common in the site's grave contexts and usually associated with knives, may have had analogous symbolic value as elite goods. Like Tomb 5, the Grotta Cavallo chamber tomb was also for higher-status burials, as it contained greater numbers of imported wares than other tombs: imitation LPC cups and a bucchero oinochoe, in addition to locally-made skyphoi and indigenous painted oinochoai.<sup>946</sup>

Oinochoai, one of the most prevalent object-types in the graves, progress from primarily indigenous decoration and form to more standardized Greek types; Tigano used Sabucina to create a chronological typology for west-central Sicilian indigenous oinochoai.<sup>947</sup> All are wheelmade, developing from more elongated, ovoid continuations of EIA forms towards globular forms based on Greek models. The entire vessel tends to be painted with geometric designs influenced by Cretan, Cypriot, Rhodian and Corinthian pottery, although the earliest examples are holdovers from EIA and Early Archaic Sikanian types comparable to examples from Realmese, Polizzello, Capodarso, and Butera.<sup>948</sup> Most Sabucina oinochoai date to the mid-7<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> century, modeled more on Greek types decorated with motifs inspired by imported forms.<sup>949</sup> The closest parallels are with other indigenous sites towards the center and west of the island that are aligned with the Sikanian cultural facies – Capodarso, Gibil Gabib, Vassallaggi,

---

<sup>946</sup> Sedita Migliore 1981: 103-4.

<sup>947</sup> Tigano 1985. These include type A, ovoid oinochoai with elongated body; Type B, globular oinochoai; and Type C, truncated-conical oinochoai with a clearly differentiated shoulder.

<sup>948</sup> Tigano 1985: 59-60.

<sup>949</sup> Tigano 1985: 61-5. The latest, more standardized, examples date to the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> century, replacing Greek-style globular examples.

Marianopoli, Butera, Realmese, Polizzello, and Sant'Angelo Muxaro.<sup>950</sup> Thus, the Sabucina oinochoai map ethnic realignments over the Archaic, beginning with forms generally similar to ones common in southeast Sicily, then adopting features of Greek types, and finally aligning with more western trends as the site crystallizes its local identity.

By the late 6<sup>th</sup> century, the settlement's reorganization and shift in architectural forms and choice in object types may be attributable to emergence of an aristocracy, who drove this change through the accrual of capital and ability to organize resources on a large scale. This need not have altered the sanctuary's fundamental role as a regional pan-Sikanian religious site and in fact may simply represent later stages of developments begun in the PA. Identity realignments are indeed evident beginning with the 7<sup>th</sup> century construction of circular oikoi, which nevertheless demonstrate external influence soon after, in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century, in the form of porches aligning sanctuaries towards the east and foundation of Greek-style "extramural" sanctuaries by the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century. This change is accompanied by developments in habitation zones, the trajectory of Sabucina's indigenous domestic architecture paralleling that of M. Maranfusa around the same time (discussed in Chapter 5). Throughout the settlement, including habitation zones, sacred areas are symbolically referenced through heirlooms, as objects reflective of ancestral forms – andirons, hut models, and early-type oinochoai – in use through a relatively late period of the site's existence, demonstrate continued focus on indigeneity in the face of transformation.<sup>951</sup>

In addition to Sabucina, the succession of plateaus west of the Salso River is dominated by the site of M. Capodarso, which, although it did not serve as important a religious function,

---

<sup>950</sup> Tigano 1985: 69.

<sup>951</sup> Panvini 2005.



nevertheless was a vital trade and exchange link along the river valleys,<sup>952</sup> demonstrating cultural and commercial contact with the island's interior as well as sites closer to the south coast. (Fig. 4.52) Roads linked the site with nearby M. Saraceno and Gibil Gabib and led north along the Himera River to Himera and Terravecchia di Cuti. The site underwent a mid-6<sup>th</sup> century restructuring not unlike other sites of central Sicily – particularly Sabucina, M. Maranfusa, and Terravecchia di Cuti - which saw the emergence of an aggregated settlement plan and the appearance of Hellenizing sacred structures on the outskirts of the settlement that could be interpreted as places of interaction with populations moving through central Sicily, although the site's inhabitants retained earlier indigenous material culture throughout this transformation.

Objects from the necropolis and a votive deposit demonstrate uninterrupted occupation from the Late Iron Age (shown by Pantalica South material) until the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>953</sup> Atop the fortified hill and main settlement area was a votive dump from the 7<sup>th</sup> century, with several cups as well as other ceramics.<sup>954</sup> This suggests the area's use as a sacred space throughout the Archaic, material perhaps collected and stored in the deposit during construction of a shrine or renovation of a sanctuary around the 5<sup>th</sup> century. The deposit is comparable to other indigenous sacred deposits in the region, including that linked to the Terravecchia di Cuti sanctuary. Panvini sees elements of the objects as indicative of archaizing Aegean influence, especially a fragment of an incised vessel with anthropomorphizing neck and handles; apparently a local vase imitating the shape of a stirrup jar, it is comparable to others at

---

<sup>952</sup> Guzzone 2008: 11.

<sup>953</sup> Vancheri 2014: 72. several excavations were conducted here but the site remains largely unpublished.

<sup>954</sup> Vancheri 2014: 72. The wall is similar in type to examples at Sabucina and Gibil Gabib. The dump includes amphorae and pithoi, some with piumata decoration, pottery with geometric decoration and small amount of incised and wares.

M. Raffe and Morgantina.<sup>955</sup> (Fig. 4.53) This iconography is particularly tied to the religious spheres of Sikanian sites and may be a later manifestation of mainland Italic forms, which influenced incised, figured handles from Sicilian carinated dipper-cups.

Without excavated architectural remains, it is difficult to ascertain the space's exact nature, but it may have been an extramural sacred area, a rural sanctuary for encounters and interactions that also affirmed indigenous Sikanian identity, much as the nearby Sabucina sanctuary did in serving several communities, its rectangular Archaic shrine a mediating extramural sanctuary.<sup>956</sup> In any case, Capodarso was considerably smaller and likely did not serve the same population – or same sectors of society – as Sabucina. It does demonstrate some developments parallel with Sabucina's progression, particularly the adoption of imported elite practices by the 6<sup>th</sup> century, seen in the votive material<sup>957</sup> – possibly evidence of Greek presence in the area but just as likely associated with indigenous aristocratic practice. Continued indigenous presence is further evidenced by structures and layout characterized by agglutination of individual housing units, an indigenous-type settlement arrangement comparable to that of Sabucina, rather than an orthogonal plan.

### **Colle Madore: A Regional Sacred Center in North-Central Sicily**

Also closely connected with Polizzello and Sabucina is the indigenous site of Colle Madore, again at the traditional border of Sikanian and Elymian territories, although more firmly rooted in the Sikanian sphere. The restructuring of the settlement in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century is like that attested at numerous other central and eastern sites, the terracing comparable to that seen at

---

<sup>955</sup> La Rosa 1988-89: 552; Panvini 2003: 133; De Miro 1975: 125.

<sup>956</sup> Vancheri 2014: 75-6.

<sup>957</sup> Archaic elite material includes a circular antefix with palmetto, bronze handle with horse head, two chair appliques with komos scene, and a fragment of louterion rim with relief decoration of a deer hunt, perhaps for domestic worship.

Montagna dei Cavallo and Terravecchia di Cuti; while the later combination of rectangular oikoi and circular or rounded shrines used simultaneously, the presence of a pseudo-“extramural” sanctuary, the abandonment of a sacred acropolis space after mid-6<sup>th</sup> century with continuation of ritual in a lower space, and individualized votive depositions (especially bronzes) within the sacred area all mirror developments in central Sicilian regional sanctuaries through the Archaic. The site mainly dates to the 7<sup>th</sup> through 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, after which it is destroyed and abandoned.<sup>958</sup> The main settlement was on a hill overlooking the valley between the Torto and Platani rivers, two of central Sicily’s most significant waterways, and one of the main routes inland from Himera and allowing passage to the central-north area of the island towards the Punic colonies of Solunto and Palermo.<sup>959</sup> (Fig. 4.54) Colle Madore was also well placed to exploit nearby mineral resources and cultivable land to the south.<sup>960</sup> Natural resources fueled increasingly dense occupation between the LBA and PA, and the site emerges as an important locus of contact between Greeks and locals in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, during a period of radical transformations in the cultural fabric of the local populations there. Colle Madore was in a prime location for trade, and evidence of resource management and metal production indicates that the settlement had a relatively complex social structure and economy, subsidized by agriculture and husbandry in the surrounding area.<sup>961</sup>

On the summit, protected by rocky outcrops and walls, was a large circular ritual building in addition to isolated early walls.<sup>962</sup> (Fig. 4.55) Despite the lack of secure chronology,

---

<sup>958</sup> Caruso and Caruso 2004: 14.

<sup>959</sup> Vassallo 1999: 7-8; Caruso and Caruso 2004: 14.

<sup>960</sup> Vassallo 1999: 59.

<sup>961</sup> Vassallo 1999: 9.

<sup>962</sup> Vassallo 1999: 24-9.

objects from the fill suggest a mid-6<sup>th</sup> century construction date, later than for most circular cult buildings in the Sikanian zone but roughly contemporary with some oikoi from Sabucina and Montagnoli. A short segment of foundation of an earlier structure was also found; it may also have been sacred in character, a forerunner of later ritual structures in the acropolis.<sup>963</sup>

Similarities with the round hut shrines of Polizzello are evident in not only location, but also the similar sizes of the oikoi and presence of internal benches. The popularity of such architecture is evident in hut models found at the site.<sup>964</sup> (Fig. 4.56) This structure's sacred nature is further suggested by a shallow pit east of nearby contemporary Wall 24; within the fill was a layer of ash and high proportion of burnt animal bones in addition to small worn fragments of painted indigenous pottery, possibly broken and thrown in intentionally, dating slightly earlier than the final use of the round hut-shrine.<sup>965</sup> This central, elevated position of indigenous sacred space is a recurring theme throughout Sikanian centers, as at Polizzello, where the acropolis was occupied by the most important sacred buildings, and where remains of sacrificial animals and ritual meals were dumped into ash pits, both within and outside sacred buildings, often connected to votive depositions.

Most structures were constructed around the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, linked to a general regeneration of the settlement structure on the hill's slopes, now terraced to support further buildings.<sup>966</sup> This area was also likely partially sacred in character given its privileged position, lined with a complex of buildings.<sup>967</sup> The sacred space, ancillary buildings and workshop areas

---

<sup>963</sup> Vassallo 1999: 28.

<sup>964</sup> *Supra* 64, 241, 253

<sup>965</sup> Vassallo 1999: 29.

<sup>966</sup> Vassallo 1999: 55-7.

<sup>967</sup> Vassallo 1999: 34-6.

mainly date to the third quarter of the century, although Spatafora suggests that restructuring of this area began even earlier, with continuity in function beginning in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>968</sup> Thus, the 6<sup>th</sup> century saw a reordering of space based on a hierarchical arrangement of buildings, with central shrine isolated from other structures and paths curving around the buildings creating a sort of sacred route to the acropolis.<sup>969</sup>

Decontextualized artifacts found on the south side of the slope, including a group of bronze plaques, figural aedicula, and a hut model, are all concrete evidence of sacred space. Above these rooms, on an artificial terrace along the central part of the slope, was Room I, identified as an *oikos*. (Fig. 4.57) Unlike the acropolis chapel, it is rectangular, oriented east-west with an entrance on the south side. The roof was covered with tiles, *kalypteres* and palm antefixes similar to examples from Himera and Campania and inspired by Greek sacred space; the construction of mudbrick walls on stone foundations is comparable to structures in the lower city of Himera, and the masonry is almost identical at the two sites.<sup>970</sup> Widespread use of non-local material in the construction of sacred space in Colle Madore, and structural details demonstrating quality craftsmanship and techniques, suggest development of local styles influenced by nearby Greek types as well as resource accumulation and social stratification permitting concerted efforts at site definition through monumentalization.<sup>971</sup> The *oikos*, modeled on the “Breithaus” plan, is comparable to several examples in colonial and hinterland contexts. The type appears to have had an Aegean origin; in Sicily such *oikoi* are single rooms with an

---

<sup>968</sup> Spatafora 2009c: 374.

<sup>969</sup> Vassallo 1999: 39.

<sup>970</sup> Caruso and Caruso 2004: 20-1.

<sup>971</sup> Vassallo 1999: 45-7.

opening on one of the long sides.<sup>972</sup> Although constructed slightly later than the circular oikos on the acropolis, they both were used concurrently, suggesting diversity of ethnic or social identities. The rectangular oikos furthermore was part of the general mid-6<sup>th</sup> century restructuring of the site, while the circular sacred structure on the acropolis references earlier building and planning approaches. As demonstrated, such simultaneous-use combinations are attested elsewhere, especially in central-western Sicily, on the acropolis of Polizzello, Sabucina (Oikoi A and B and Building B on the south slope), M. Polizzo (round Building A1, constructed later than rectangular Building A5 but at least partially used simultaneously), M. Saraceno (Oikoi Alpha, Beta and Gamma and Room 11 on the acropolis), M. Castellazzo di Poggioreale (Room B and the rounded sacred structure), elliptical and rectangular buildings at M. San Giuliano, the circular oikos and Greek-type shrine at Caltabellotta, and the 8<sup>th</sup> century rectangular buildings and circular oikoi on the Montagnoli acropolis.

Despite developments in architectural form that shed some light on the sanctuary's history, the only reliable data for construction of the building is votive Deposition A, a circular pit with offerings found near the remains of the southwest foundation of the oikos, in fill below the floor level.<sup>973</sup> A group of bronze plaques, found a few years before excavation of the pit, may have been placed in a single votive offering at the top of the deposition. (Fig. 4.58) The remaining offerings were found lower down, although all the material seems to have been gathered from elsewhere and dumped during construction of the oikos around the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century (sealed by the construction of the oikos wall). This provides a valuable record of the

---

<sup>972</sup> Vassallo 1999: 53. A similar hut is documented in mid-6<sup>th</sup> century Sabucina, at a time when the site witnessed an influx of Greek cultural models. The example at Sabucina was almost identical in measurement, although there was a semicircular bench along one wall, taking advantage of a preexisting hut wall.

<sup>973</sup> Vassallo 1999: 46-8.

building's chronology and use, documenting acts linked to votive dedications, perhaps consisting of depositions recovered from the area's older sacred structures when the area was leveled, or a foundation deposit of the *oikos*, consistent with a widely attested practice in Archaic Sicily.<sup>974</sup> In any case, the nature of the deposit is vastly different from the pit excavated on the acropolis, which also contained sacred material from similar period, but possibly representing the debris from a single or accumulated rituals at the site.

The Colle Madore deposit is unusual in its disparate chronological elements, the earliest dating to the late 9<sup>th</sup> century and the latest, the Ionian-style cups, to the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century or slightly later, while the majority date to the 7<sup>th</sup> century and first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>975</sup> (Fig. 4.59) [See Table 4.21 for combined totals of 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century objects recovered from the sanctuary space, both the deposit and early use-phases] The older materials may be evidence for earlier sacred spaces in the area of the later chapel or possible dedication of heirlooms. The mixed composition of the group is also interesting, with objects strongly related to earlier indigenous tradition mixed with imported Corinthian pottery and colonial vessels, at least three of which are manufactured in Himera. Three bronze laminae were recovered from Colle Madore, two with anthropomorphizing features, a large number given their relative scarcity. These all date to the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and are unique in decorative elements, subject and form.<sup>976</sup> Their decoration mirrors stylized motifs on indigenous objects such as incised ceramics (especially

---

<sup>974</sup> Foundation deposits are attested in indigenous and colonial contexts, like the votive deposit of Temple A at Himera, the Greek colony closest to Colle Madore, although this was established at the building's construction and added to until Temple B was built above the older one. Several sacred structures at Polizzello also had small foundation deposits. Large-scale votive depositions are commonly attested in the colonial centers of Gela, Leontini, and Naxos, and less often in indigenous centers in this period, at M. San Mauro and Marineo. (*Supra* 175, 221, 227-8, 232)

<sup>975</sup> Vassallo 1999: 49.

<sup>976</sup> Production and dissemination of these objects can generally be dated between the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup>-early 6<sup>th</sup> century, with some of the stylistically later examples showing signs of inspiration from Greek models.

amphorae with taurine-anthropomorphic protomes attested here, among numerous Sikanian sites) or bowls with anthropomorphic handles, related to mainland Italic forms and most common in western Sicilian contexts. Used as belt or armor elements, they were likely votive offerings of warrior-elites.<sup>977</sup> They are typically found in votive depositions of sacred buildings, and occasionally hoards and housing contexts.<sup>978</sup> Closely related are four bronze belts from the deposit, comparable to examples from Terravecchia di Cuti and Mendolito, from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>979</sup>

Other metals include possible shield appliques, comparable to examples from metal hoards with arms and armor, at Mendolito, Noto and San Cataldo.<sup>980</sup> In fact, the Mendolito hoard provides one of the strongest comparanda with the deposit at Colle Madore, in terms of the presence of traditional, ancestral metal forms deposited in later contexts and the higher quantities of armor and weaponry, alongside decorative objects such as fibulae.<sup>981</sup> Indeed, several such fibulae, common indigenous votive objects, were recovered in the Colle Madore deposition.<sup>982</sup> Additionally, some sporadic metal finds were retrieved from the interior of the oikos, such as pieces of aes rude, which could have been part of an interior deposit, an unusual

---

<sup>977</sup> This use is suggested by the bronze warrior figurine from Adrano, which wears similar bronze elements.

<sup>978</sup> These bronze stylized laminae seem to be particularly common in Sikania, although some of the earliest examples were found as part of the 7<sup>th</sup> century Sikel Mendolito Hoard. In Sikanian territory, Sabucina contained three examples with anthropomorphic decoration. Two examples were found in the town area of Terravecchia di Cuti. The largest group of bronze lamina was unfortunately found by clandestini and purchased by the Mainz museum; they and several belts with embossed decoration are reported to come from Syracuse.

<sup>979</sup> These may have mainland Italic origins; examples from the 11<sup>th</sup> century have been found at Lipari.

<sup>980</sup> Vassallo 1999: 112-3.

<sup>981</sup> Vassallo 1999: 97.

<sup>982</sup> Vassallo 1999: 111-2. Among the other recovered fibulae is a serpentine fibula with bent pin found in western contexts such as Segesta, and two Finocchito-type fibulae, one from the votive deposition and another sporadically found in the chapel. This 8<sup>th</sup> through 7<sup>th</sup> century type common to east Sicily is also seen in the Polizzello necropolis.



use of deposited metal in an Archaic indigenous Sicilian center, although the practice is attested at nearby Polizzello.<sup>983</sup> Other valuable objects include an amber disc in the chapel's deposition level, possibly from a necklace or fibula, indicating trade with surrounding areas and demand for prestige goods.<sup>984</sup>

The artifacts suggest a sort of continuity of earlier practices in what, by the 7<sup>th</sup> century, was already a shared space in the later sanctuaries, where objects and practices of varying origins were employed. There is a similar trajectory in the continued use of rounded oikoi, more traditional sacred space, as at Montagnola. The assemblages used also demonstrate equivalences between Colle Madore and these other sites. By the early 6<sup>th</sup> century storage vases and other closed forms at these sanctuaries (with the exception of imported transport amphorae) tend to be of local, indigenous manufacture (such as an ornate dipinto pithos and decorated incised and stamped pithos from the oikos) (Fig. 4.61) while vessels connected more closely with drinking practices tend to be imported Greek (such as two East Greek lekythoi and a colonial deinos).<sup>985</sup> Additionally, metal implements and weapons – an iron skewer, spearhead, and hammer – served as offerings placed in the oikos.

Two of the most significant finds in the area of the rectangular oikos are a conical, painted hut model, unique in form compared to other Sikanian models, and ritual kernoi.<sup>986</sup> (Figs. 4.56, 4.60) The hut model dates to around the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century (relatively late for this object type, although comparable to a Vassallaggi example), while the kernoi, found in the oikos,

---

<sup>983</sup> Vassallo 1999: 114.

<sup>984</sup> Vassallo 1999: 160-1.

<sup>985</sup> Vassallo 1999: 49.

<sup>986</sup> Op. cit.; Orlandini 1961, "Vassallaggi," *Fasti Archeologici* 16: 2247.

dates to shortly after mid-century.<sup>987</sup> The shape evokes Cretan or Cycladic forms, although similar types excavated in Sicily – such as one from the village of Metapiccola (10<sup>th</sup> century) date to very early contexts.<sup>988</sup> The type from Colle Madore is reminiscent of a type found in Archaic indigenous contexts of Montagnoli di Menfi and Morgantina, dating to the 7<sup>th</sup> century. This is thus another example of a traditional form employed in later contexts, perhaps a lamp in chthonic rituals.

Incised and stamped indigenous ceramics are commonly found in sanctuary contexts at the site and include 7<sup>th</sup>-century amphorae with plastic taurine-anthropomorphic decoration,<sup>989</sup> although among all pottery classes, painted indigenous ceramics are most frequent, typologically and iconographically distinct from examples seen east of the Salso River, and in use at the site until the early 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>990</sup> A number of vessels have zoomorphic figures, one vessel comparable to a krater from the Sabucina necropolis, also unique in the indigenous repertoire and indicative of external influences (primarily Corinthian) in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>991</sup> At Colle Madore, all painted animal representations are on kraters, suggesting a link between iconographic type and shape.

Greek ceramics include East Greek imports and colonial (often Himeran) imitations of Ionian cups, the largest single class at Colle Madore, from the foundation deposit of the

---

<sup>987</sup> Objects recovered from use contexts in the interior space date to the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> through the early 5<sup>th</sup> century: Corinthian Type A transport amphora, Samian transport amphora, two east Greek transport amphorae; ceramic mortar; ceramic louterion; edicola sculpture possibly depicting Herakles at a fountain, dating to the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century; incised and stamped pithos; painted dipinto pithos; two east Greek lekythoi; colonial deinos; and iron skewer, spearhead, and hammer.

<sup>988</sup> Vassallo 1999: 119-21.

<sup>989</sup> Vassallo 1999: 134-5; Caruso and Caruso 2004: 21.

<sup>990</sup> Vassallo 1999: 137-8.

<sup>991</sup> La Rosa 1971; Vassallo 1999: 138-9.

rectangular oikos;<sup>992</sup> other imports and colonial products are also attested in the sanctuary's vicinity, including cultic and libation forms of Corinthian ceramics, especially kotylai, kotyliskoi, and kothones.<sup>993</sup> Cup forms are especially common in Deposition A inside the oikos, quantitatively similar to deposits from Temple A at Himera, the necropoleis of Himera and M. Saraceno, and the Pezzino necropolis of Agrigento.<sup>994</sup> A Laconian black-slipped krater suggests banqueting practices.<sup>995</sup> Transport amphorae from the Greek, Western Greek, Etruscan and Punic world were found in much larger numbers than at M. Maranfusa;<sup>996</sup> these, especially Corinthian Type A oil amphorae, suggest large-scale trade of Greek products in the Archaic, and there are also early Laconian and later Attic amphorae. These wares confirm Colle Madore's economic importance, situated along the river valleys halfway between Himera and Agrigento, within a complex system circulating foodstuffs in the Greek colonial world and the indigenous world. Perhaps Colle Madore, like M. Maranfusa and several indigenous sites in Gela's hinterland, could have been an intermediary distribution site, although there is not yet enough data to reconstruct the modes of transportation and networks among the region's Greek and indigenous sites. Nevertheless, trade routes linking the site to mainland Italy and the eastern Mediterranean are suggested by two fragments of an Etruscan kantharos from the Archaic oikos deposition, funerary and votive vessels, seen in Greek and Punic sites in northern, central and

---

<sup>992</sup> Vassallo 1999: 162-3. The oldest, found in the oikos deposition and probably from the first quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, is a transitional type displaying characteristics of both Ionian Type A2 and B2 cups, with similarities to cups from the deposition of Temple A at Himera. Type B1 cups are particularly numerous, imported to the site beginning at an early period. Most Ionian cups are Type B2, the most frequent type in the West, with widespread production and distribution.

<sup>993</sup> Vassallo 1999: 185-6. There is an absence of aryballoi, amphoriskoi, and pyxides, prevalent in Greek sanctuaries..

<sup>994</sup> Miniature vessels become more common in both colonies and indigenous centers in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>995</sup> Vassallo 1999: 182-3

<sup>996</sup> Vassallo 1999: 229-32.

eastern Sicily, confirming nearby Himera's role as an important trade depot.<sup>997</sup> An interesting colonial Greek product is the dinos from the oikos destruction deposit, which references Cycladic and LG Argive forms as well as colonial kraters occasionally deposited as grave goods (found at Syracuse and Himera) and votive forms from Incoronata in Basilicata; it likely had a ritual function. Southern Italy is a possible production center for this type, demonstrating the breadth of Colle Madore's contacts. (Fig. 4.62)

Objects from the internal collapse of the structure date to the turn of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, suggesting that the shrine was active for about 50 years.<sup>998</sup> Although later than the items from the votive deposit, these nevertheless provide important testimony for the sanctuary's functioning from an early period, as the location served as sacred space from the late 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The items include a carved aedicule depicting a figure at fountain, interpreted as Heracles; this may have been a cult statue rather than simply a votive, given its prominent positioning along the east wall. (Fig. 4.63) The positions of some other objects, both indigenous and Greek, at the time of destruction were reconstructed. (Fig. 4.64) Particularly common are large containers, including transport amphorae, distributed over the entire room, linked to ritual practices. Some may have rested on the platform near the north wall, while the louterion in the center of the room, was perhaps used in purification.<sup>999</sup> Other containers such as banded kraters and pithoi likely were used for liquids important in rituals alongside older stamped and incised vessels placed on the north platform that were continuously used and reused. Finally, there was a later votive deposition of weapons and a spit, comparable to depositions in Oikos B at

---

<sup>997</sup> Vassallo 1999: 180-1. The form is found in the Punic sites of Solunto and Palermo, but less commonly on the south coast. *Supra* 71, 116, 183, 186.

<sup>998</sup> Vassallo 1999: 50-1.

<sup>999</sup> Vassallo 1999: 51. The excavators posit that water had special significance; the stele's iconography suggests links to a nearby body of water, and several commercial amphorae in the shrine may have been used for water.

Sabucina.<sup>1000</sup> Overall, the objects, object usage, and assemblages are most similar to other central and southern Sicilian assemblages, including those of Polizzello (Oikos E and Necropolis), Sabucina (Oikos A), Montagnoli, M. Bubbonia, the Rito Necropolis, the domestic contexts from M. San Mauro, and ritual contexts from Gela (Bitalemi, New City Hall Well 1, Molino a Vento). The assemblages are mostly comprised of jugs and cups; while not statistically significant, ornamental objects make up a significant percentage of early contexts. Ritual implements (incised anthropomorphizing amphorae, hut models, weapons deposits) are also prevalent; indigenous artifacts more generally comprise 66% of earlier assemblages.

Colle Madore thus displays a strongly mixed character, with Greeks and Sikanians coexisting within a religious sphere. An important native settlement here was thriving when in the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century it first made contact with coastal colonies. By the 6<sup>th</sup> it is ideally situated to take advantage of Himeran currents, with an associated increase in Greek imports and metal goods, used in small individualized or familial rites and subsequent dedications and foundation deposits.<sup>1001</sup> After mid-century the rectangular shrine is connected to workrooms to the south, while the acropolis structures, including the second circular sacred building, were also modeled along earlier examples. (Fig. 4.65) This restructuring is part of the period's mixing of populations, ideas, and forms to fashion a network of relationships among different populations on the island. This hybridity is symbolically referenced by a Greek amphora with Punic inscription engraved on its neck found in the destruction of late Archaic Room XI; the Punic inscription, like the wide amphorae, may signal a direct link between Colle Madore and Punic

---

<sup>1000</sup> Vassallo 1999: 52.

<sup>1001</sup> Vassallo 1999: 52.

coastal cities.<sup>1002</sup> Trade and production, especially circulation of bronze, were important to the sanctuary's functioning; metal workshops near the sanctuary are particularly significant, confirming a bond between urban religious spaces and workshop production, and the links among political control, trade, and the management of metals, strengthened by placement of manufacturing under the aegis of sacred space. The bronze workshops also indicate that a trading system originally established among indigenous centers started to include Greeks in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Some aspects of this sacred complex can be evaluated by comparisons with similar contexts at Montagnola di Marineo and Castronovo. Montagnola di Marineo (identified as the ancient Makella), is on a hill surrounded by steep slopes above the Eleuterio River, overlooking the Tyrrhenian coast. Investigations have documented the site's occupation and expansion from the EIA (8<sup>th</sup> century) through the Archaic; by the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, the hill was occupied by a village of individual huts, including a large, semi-elliptical structure.<sup>1003</sup> (Fig. 4.66) Also by the late 7<sup>th</sup> century, ceramics indicating early relations with the Greek world appear, imports beside locally-manufactured products such as painted *dipinto* and incised and stamped wares (especially common, demonstrating links with both eastern and western Sicilian traditions as well as vases from chamber tombs at Polizzello) and locally made terracotta and bone ram figurines, suggesting the presence of sacred space and votive deposits such as those from Polizzello.<sup>1004</sup> (Fig. 4.67) By the 6<sup>th</sup> century the settlement started to take on the form of a proto-urban town with a defensive system. An Archaic votive deposit associated with a possible altar on the

---

<sup>1002</sup> Vassallo 1999: 72-3.

<sup>1003</sup> Older excavations revealed the earliest evidence for occupation of the site (Tamburello 1970, 1972, 1975). Newer findings were preliminarily published in articles in *Archeologia e territorio* (Campisi, Termini, De Simone, Valentino, and Spatafora 1997) as well as excavation reports (Spatafora 1993a, 1997a, 2000).

<sup>1004</sup> Campisi 1997 (*Archeologia e Territorio*); Tamburello 1970: 32; Spatafora 2009a: 297.

southeast side of town comprises bronze armor; three helmets; bronze pendant and bone plaques; and indigenous ritual and utilitarian forms, including “fruit bowls” and basins, amphorai, hydriai, bowls with polychrome decoration, carinated cup with anthropomorphizing handle, and a painted trefoil oinochoe inspired by Corinthian imports.<sup>1005</sup> Animal bones, a jug containing the remains of two goats, and a hearth all suggest a sacred place with libations and sacrifices. These deposits are located next to the city wall, a common location for sacred deposits and possible locations of sacred space (attested also at Terravecchia di Cuti and Sabucina), situated to take advantage of traffic to and from the city. These objects signal indigenous presence, with groups participating in rituals that may be rooted in the area’s earlier traditions, continuing through the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> century, even after Hellenizing features appear at the site. This site expresses the local culture’s permeability, tied to local tradition but receptive to Greek imports and cultural change brought by Greeks, and also demonstrating similar urban trajectories as numerous other inland indigenous sites, such as M. Maranfusa and Colle Madore<sup>1006</sup>

A similar deposit, also likely associated with sacred space, comes from the site of Castronovo/ Civari near Caltabellotta, surrounded by rock walls in a dominating position overlooking a large territory.<sup>1007</sup> The site played an important role in controlling central-northern Sicily, situated along a natural path of communication between Himera to the north and Agrigento to the south. An early 6<sup>th</sup> century deposit or hoard of over 200 bronzes found here

---

<sup>1005</sup> Spatafora 2009a: 297.

<sup>1006</sup> Like Colle Madore, Montagnola di Marineo was strategically placed near east-west and north-south crossroads – an axis of communications between indigenous centers inland and Greek colonial and Punic centers to the north.

<sup>1007</sup> Cutroni Tusa 1963; Villa 1997.

attests to a flourishing local bronze industry beginning in the LBA, reaching a head in the PA.<sup>1008</sup> The deposit is important for the decorative syntax of the bronzes and the information it provides on pre-monetary society among indigenous populations. The complex decoration of several bronzes can be compared to objects from Mendolito, Polizzello (especially Oikos B), and Montignoli di Marineo, characterized by animal figures and designs. Among the deposited bronzes are stylized astragali, perhaps a pre-monetary weights and measures system derived from a traditional pastoral exchange economy using bone astragali with similarities to examples from the Colle Madore deposit. In the case of Castronovo this is likely part of a ritual offering; they resemble quadrupeds, some broken purposefully. (Fig. 4.68) Similar bronze astragali in votive depositions are attested in both Greek and indigenous contexts on Sicily, some intentionally cut, suggesting that such objects were later reused in transactions.<sup>1009</sup> The decorative syntax is wholly rooted in traditional forms of representation, as evident when compared to incised and stamped ceramic patterns. Other precedents from the Eastern Mediterranean suggest connections between Sicily and the Levant, perhaps due to Phoenicians utilizing currents of exchange and representative object forms popular in this period.<sup>1010</sup> This type's appearance here, as at Colle Madore, may thus have more to do with trade currents and influences from the Punic-Phoenician sphere, rather than coastal Greek influence; these influences and forms would

---

<sup>1008</sup> Cutroni Tusa 1963.

<sup>1009</sup> Vassallo 1999: 108-9; Cutroni Tusa 1971. Two examples have been found at Bitalemi, two mid-6<sup>th</sup> century astragali with engraved decoration from deposit no. 6 at the S. Anna sanctuary near Agrigento; and the Mendolito hoard, perhaps dating to an even earlier period; Bernabo Brea dates the objects to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century and links the bronze astragali to the era before Greek colonization when bronze begins to assume the function of pre-monetary exchange. In general, the type seems to date to the 8<sup>th</sup> century to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>1010</sup> Cutroni Tusa 1963: 132-3; Cutroni Tusa 1971. Precedents for these bronzes are astragali from Beth-Yerah and other similar objects from Tepe Gawra, with similar engraved decoration and shape. Similar models have also been recovered from Palestine (often in terracotta) found in LBA and EIA contexts (1200-930) at Tell ed-Duweir and in Vinca



therefore have reached Greek, indigenous and mixed sites in Sicily at around the same time, sparking local types inspired by incised ceramics and stylized metal forms.<sup>1011</sup> This continued into the latter part of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, when the bronzes were deposited; although the deposit itself, like sanctuary deposits at Colle Madore, contains a number of “heirlooms” or ancestral objects when deposited.<sup>1012</sup>

### **Himera: A Newer Greek Establishment in Northern Sikania**

One of the main production centers supplying Sikeliote items to Colle Madore and numerous nearby indigenous sites was Himera. It played an important role mediating relations – particularly Greek and Phoenician trade – between the coast and Colle Madore, M. Maranfusa, and Polizzello, ushering in cultural change and mixing; as a nexus of relations with Phoenicians and Greeks on the north coast, it tapped into currents of trade from south Italy through the Straits of Messina and onwards to interior indigenous sites.<sup>1013</sup> On two low hills surrounded by a fertile coastal plain west of the Himera River, Himera had an wide hinterland that extended towards the S. Leonardo, Torto and Himera rivers – important communication routes with the interior – giving it access to both interior settlements and other coastal Greek colonies.<sup>1014</sup> Like several other (mainly interior) settlements, the site undergoes a restructuring in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, accompanied by increasing monumentalization of building forms; the sanctuaries, originally open-air space, undergo a consequent transformation, alongside changes in depositional practices. The earliest deposits consist of weapon dedications, temple foundation

---

<sup>1011</sup> Bronze astragali evolve from simple forms to more decorative or stylized versions. Decorations recall those of Geometric incised vessels from Modica and Pantalica. Several have small appliques of stylized animals, such as bulls, other quadrupeds, lizards, protomes, and birds.

<sup>1012</sup> Cutroni Tusa 1963: 132-3.

<sup>1013</sup> Vassallo 2006: 69, 72.

<sup>1014</sup> Bonacasa 1986: 12-5.

deposits, and other small-scale dedications. The site also displays some more unusual aspects, such as the presence of apsidal buildings (more established in indigenous contexts in Sicily) and some burial practices comparable to more indigenous or mixed Sicilian contexts.

Himera was founded in 648 by a mix of Ionians and Dorians: Chalkidian settlers from Euboea and Syracusans.<sup>1015</sup> A large contingent seems to have been Chalkidians expanding west from Mylai and Zankle. It has conventionally been thought that locals did not inhabit the site when Greeks arrived, as the closest secure indigenous center, Mura Pregne, was 4 km from Himera, beyond the Torto River.<sup>1016</sup> The early settlement's position on a broad plateau overlooking the surrounding plain does, however, recall indigenous settlement patterns of the EIA and PA, and may suggest a non-Greek presence prior to, and perhaps concurrent with, Himera's foundation. (Fig. 4.69)

Indigenous ceramics are found in numerous contexts, suggesting extensive local interaction with Himera. These include a dipinto oinochoe from the Temple A deposit and one from the trench north of the Temple of Victory, both drawing on Rhodian and Corinthian models in shape and decoration but comparable to indigenous products from Central Sicily.<sup>1017</sup> (Fig. 4.70) These may have been dedicated by indigenous Himeran residents or occasional visitors to the sanctuary, or been products of gift-exchange or loot. Indigenous pithoi and amphorae were often reused for infant burials in the Eastern Necropolis, dated to the late 7<sup>th</sup> or first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century;<sup>1018</sup> Vassallo suggests that these may have originally contained

---

<sup>1015</sup> Thuc. VI.62; Diod. XIII.62

<sup>1016</sup> Belvedere 1980: 88-9; Bonacasa 1981: 322; Bongiorno 2015.

<sup>1017</sup> Vassallo 2003: 1346-7.

<sup>1018</sup> Among indigenous vessels reused as burial vases are: a pithos with vertical undulating lines and two other pithoi similar to examples from the Piano della Fiera necropolis at Butera, dating to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century; a pithos of traditional form with Greek Geometric-style decoration; traditional painted amphorae; and a handmade

agricultural products from indigenous centers, reused by Greek or indigenous populations in Himera.<sup>1019</sup> The mostly fragmentary indigenous material from habitations and sanctuary space consists of 31 dipinto, 30 incised and stamped, and 8 slipped or undecorated sherds.<sup>1020</sup> (Fig. 4.71) Predominantly medium and smaller vessels, many are open forms, although oinochoai, hydriai and amphorae are all represented.<sup>1021</sup>

Indigenous ceramics, while few in relation to Greek pottery at the site, are important to the broader context of relations among Himera, its chora, and the indigenous world. They are related to local production of nearby interior Sikania, between the northern Himera basin and the basin of the Torto River.<sup>1022</sup> These ceramics led Castellana to suggest a permanent indigenous presence in the colony from its foundation.<sup>1023</sup> Vassallo instead sees the indigenous artifacts in habitation areas as indicative of Archaic trade, given that surveys in the Himeran chora and Pestavecchia revealed evidence for prolonged contact between Himera and nearby local settlements like Colle Madore, Mura Pregne, M. d'Oro, and M. Riparato, testimony to close relations and trade.<sup>1024</sup> On the other hand, the relatively few indigenous goods, and the fact that

---

pignatta, a cookpot type common in Central-northern indigenous contexts as well as Punic contexts. (Vassallo 2003: 1344-6).

<sup>1019</sup> Vassallo 2003: 1348.

<sup>1020</sup> These were recovered from Zones II-III of Isolato I, and several indigenous vessel fragments from the upper town.

<sup>1021</sup> Painted pottery includes bowls, a basin, dipper-cup, oinochoai, amphorae, and pithoi, all manufactured in the same center. Incised and stamped ceramics are either hand-made or made on a slow wheel, and include fragments of bowls (including a fragment with figured handle), basins, cups, dipper-cup, jug, hydriai, amphorae, and even a figured shield. The syntax and decorative motifs belong to a repertoire common in western Sicily, especially the centers of the Belice Valley, northern Himera and Platani.

<sup>1022</sup> Adriani 1970: 41-2.

<sup>1023</sup> Castellana 1980; Vassallo 2003: 1344.

<sup>1024</sup> Vassallo 2003: 1349-51.

most identifiable shapes found outside the necropoleis relate to food and drink consumption rather than transport or storage, do not seem to support intensive trade with the indigenous world.<sup>1025</sup> Indigenous ceramics from the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century insinuate that individuals at the site considered certain ceramic forms an important aspect of their cultural identity, suggesting indigenous traders or settlers inhabiting Himera after its foundation, or possibly intermarriage between populations.<sup>1026</sup> In any cases, these relations were not without tensions; an Archaic epigraph from Samos mentions a victory of the Himerans over Sikanians in an unidentified battle.<sup>1027</sup>

Himera's emergence as an important entity in the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century is reflected in widespread urban building projects at the time, although the fragmentary state of most early Archaic structures makes it difficult to understand early settlement clearly.<sup>1028</sup> The main excavated area lay on a broad upper plateau, west of a sacred area with some Protoarchaic structures. Housing complexes with multiple phases are primarily attested in the excavated Northern and Southern Quarters, with more limited phases excavated in the Eastern Quarter.<sup>1029</sup> (Fig. 4.72) Below to the north and west lay extended areas of settlement and the later Temple of

---

<sup>1025</sup> Allegro and Fiorentino 2010: 518.

<sup>1026</sup> Vassallo 2010: 42.

<sup>1027</sup> Albanese 2003: 22.

<sup>1028</sup> Archaic Himera (habitation area and sacred space) was published in three monographs detailing excavations conducted between 1963-1973 (Adriani 1970; Allegro 1976; Allegro 2008). The structure and early deposits from Temple A (excavated 1963-5) were primarily published in Adriani 1970: 77-121. The Archaic necropoleis were published in Adriani 1970: 319-31; Allegro 1976: 783-830 (East Necropolis); Vassallo 1991, 1993 (Pestavecchia Necropolis); and Vassallo 2012 (West Necropolis). Temple A was further published by Allegro 1991: 65-83.

<sup>1029</sup> Archaeological research focused on the Plain of Himera and its east slope, with early excavations in the Necropolis of Pestavecchia and the Temple of Victory. Achille Adriani and then Nicola Bonacasa conducted excavations in the upper plateau's sacred area and habitations in the 1960s. In 1965 and 1974 three habitation sectors were explored, in the Northern and Southern Quarters and a northeast extension, the Eastern Quarter; in 1973 the first excavation was conducted in the upper city of the Plain of Himera. More exploration of the lower city has revealed different habitation typologies in the plain.

Victory; the lower settlement was mainly in the Plain of Himera to the west. Here were found a street and parts of two blocks in an urban plan analogous to that of the Upper Plateau; the habitations, on artificial terraces, were apparently occupied simultaneously with those of the Upper Plateau.<sup>1030</sup>

Even in the first phase the number of similarly oriented blocks suggests a master plan with non-intensive land use and sparse, largely disjointed habitation.<sup>1031</sup> Archaic structures of the first phase were oriented on the same axes as the sacred buildings, suggesting one plan for both settlement and sacred areas. Di Vita suggested a typological and chronological sequence from an earlier phase with parallel streets and simple service passageways between blocks to a phase with clear blocks and orthogonal intersections,<sup>1032</sup> similar to M. Casale. Himera developed gradually, occupying a huge land area and controlling a chora important to the colony's existence early on.<sup>1033</sup> Urbanization occurred in stages within an area whose perimeter was fixed by the early Archaic, although violent destruction between 580-560, documented by traces of burning and abandonment, necessitated widespread rebuilding and instigated changes in construction techniques and layout.<sup>1034</sup>

---

<sup>1030</sup> Allegro 2008: 212. Both areas contain the same distinct skyphos type dating to the third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>1031</sup> Bonacasa 1981: 399. The distribution of land with varying open and enclosed space and organic development but along a predetermined plan is comparable to the situation at Megara Hyblaea.

<sup>1032</sup> Allegro 1976: 8-10.

<sup>1033</sup> Allegro 2008: 213.

<sup>1034</sup> Allegro 2008: 14. Archaic remains and an urban plan have been traced at several locations; in the Eastern Quarter on the slopes of the hill two blocks were excavated, served by an east-west road, built on artificial terraces with large stone retaining walls, parallel to the road axis. Most houses include a courtyard and rooms at different levels. The last terrace in this area was occupied by a small sanctuary with rich votive deposit, the Athenaion, discussed below.

Evidence of early Archaic habitations comes from excavation of Isolato I-III and Isolato XV-XVI, adjacent areas in the upper plateau that served as working and service areas. While shallow foundations and the demolition of structures for later rebuilding preclude reconstruction of the colony's oldest phase, some aspects of the early site can be inferred.<sup>1035</sup> [See: Table 4.22 for published early Archaic object totals from the habitations.] (Fig. 4.73)

Isolati I-III, in the Northern Quarter on the northern portion of the plateau, the most extensive housing complex discovered at Himera, reflects an organization with standardized sizes; some blocks retained canonical width, while others were divided or expanded.<sup>1036</sup> This complex provides the most evidence for early urban structure in the city. In Isolato I, a triangular-shaped neighborhood bounded by a large open space (perhaps the agora) next to the Sanctuary of Athena, some early structures were isolated, among which were found a large group of undecorated and mixed sherds, some decorated with incised and stamped motifs.<sup>1037</sup>

A unique structure excavated in this area is comparable to a construction found in Block 3; both are apsidal and oriented along the earlier Protoarchaic city plan.<sup>1038</sup> It is difficult to speculate about the function of these spaces in the Archaic city; they are constructed with the same techniques as rectilinear structures of Phase I (the earliest phase of the Greek settlement)

---

<sup>1035</sup> Early phases of the colonial habitations are generally not associated with firm floor or occupation levels, although elements such as hearths, benches, and walls underneath later levels suggest widespread Protoarchaic habitation.

<sup>1036</sup> Bonacasa 1986: 15-7.

<sup>1037</sup> Allegro and Fiorentino 2010. These were found north of an Archaic room beneath the later remains of Room 33, Block 3. Other early remains – traces of burned debris and abundant undecorated ceramics, as well as some Corinthian sherds – were found in the vicinity. In the level below Room 47 were two sections of wall oriented northwest-southeast, and small stretches of walls oriented in a similar manner were found underneath Room 7 of Block 1.

<sup>1038</sup> Allegro 1976: 48-50; Allegro 2008: 103.

and so could represent a structure of either this phase or a slightly earlier period.<sup>1039</sup> The apsidal structure from Block 3, below layers of later Room 22, was associated with a layer of earth with traces of burning and fragments of Corinthian vases and lamps dated between the late 7<sup>th</sup> and mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, in association with part of a krater fragment; numerous other unpainted ceramics, some incised or with traces of burning, were found in this space.<sup>1040</sup> Unlike some early apsidal structures in indigenous contexts, as at Morgantina, these seem to have a primarily domestic use, although the poor preservation prevents systematic analysis of contexts from within the structures. Nevertheless, they can be broadly compared to other early apsidal or rounded, sub-rectangular buildings seen especially in indigenous contexts in western Sicily, in the sites of M. Castellazzo Poggioreale, M. Maranfusa, M. Iato, Montagnola di Marineo, and the Manuzza Hill at Selinunte.<sup>1041</sup> Other nearby early contexts also suggest a primarily domestic function; in the lower layers below Room 23 were eight rectangular loomweights, a large lamp, and a fragment of MC aryballos.

Early structures in neighboring Isolato II are sporadic, mainly fragments of walls oriented slightly differently from later walls, but ceramics are abundant. Among the early structures may have been an oikos later incorporated into the second plan of the city, but the poor condition of the remains precludes further analysis.<sup>1042</sup> High numbers of imported ceramics

---

<sup>1039</sup> Both were found at a depth of 0.40 m, lower than some other remains from Phase I in the isolato. In the same level (0.40-0.60 m) were found undecorated ceramics, often with impressed decoration or traces of burning.

<sup>1040</sup> Allegro 1976: 119.

<sup>1041</sup> *Supra* 147. Spatafora 2009c: 369-372; Rallo 1976-7.

<sup>1042</sup> Allegro 1976: 129.

(primarily Corinthian) attest to intense trade relations and use of high-quality ceramics in domestic spaces.<sup>1043</sup>

Block 1 of Isolato II, Zone 1, consists of two identified late Archaic houses, the North Building and South Building, with earlier Archaic remains under each; a burnt earth stratum throughout contained material of the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1044</sup> (Fig. 4.74) The North Building was subdivided into three interconnected rooms; a destruction layer throughout signaled the end of Phase I.<sup>1045</sup> Some walls might be associated with early 6<sup>th</sup> century material.<sup>1046</sup> Room 1 held a concentration of circular pebbles with associated material from the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, while a slightly deeper level contained even earlier material from the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1047</sup> Similar artifact typologies are repeated throughout the space later occupied by the North Building, including Fossa 42, one of the few remaining features of first phase occupation.<sup>1048</sup>

In the two-room South Building earlier ceramics were found under a destruction layer with high amounts of East Greek wares, some Euboean-Cycladic ceramics, and some more

---

<sup>1043</sup> Allegro 1976: 256. Within the Northern Quarter, Corinthian ceramics comprise 80% of imports, the remaining 20% Attic pottery and, in smaller quantities, East Greek bucchero, and Rhodian and Chiot ceramics. Only a small number of Ionian cups were imported from East Greek centers; the rest were produced by Western Greek colonies, and likely Himera itself (especially banded wares).

<sup>1044</sup> This stratum is not associated with any floor level but is a general destruction stratum with early Archaic sherds.

<sup>1045</sup> A lack of excavation data precludes a comprehensive picture of stratigraphy, although Phase I seems characterized mainly by dark soil with traces of burning. The destruction layer held fragments of Euboean-Cycladic, banded, Corinthian, and Ionian cups, various lamps, and other East Greek, Corinthian, Chiot and Etruscan ceramics, as well as fragments of incised coarseware.

<sup>1046</sup> Wall 3, on a layer of burning in contact with sterile soil from Phase I, contains ceramics from the late 7<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, an EC-MC oinochoe, Corinthian kotyle, pedestaled cup, and east Greek bucchero plate.

<sup>1047</sup> This material includes Ionian, Corinthian and Euboean-Cycladic cups, banded plates, East Greek bucchero, Etruscan amphora and lamps.

<sup>1048</sup> Allegro 2008: 32. Located in Room 33 to the north of the building, this contained small stones, carbon and ceramics.



unusual forms; trade amphorae and drinking vessels of varying types and provenience predominate. A clay shelf in Room 35 was the only identifiable earlier structure in this later building, although in Room 6 a concentration of carbon and the upper part of a banded hydria, inverted and filled with ash, probably evidence a sacrifice at construction of the building.<sup>1049</sup> One of the few identifiable floor levels associated with Phase I, found in Room 35, had traces of carbon and burning.

In Block 2 to the north were the similar-sized but non-communicating Rooms 39, 40 and 41, opening onto a courtyard.<sup>1050</sup> (Fig. 4.75) In some can be found earlier occupation levels with material similar to early material from Block 1.<sup>1051</sup> Early occupation is attested by remains built with cobblestones set on sterile earth at a significantly lower level than that of the other walls, among which are ceramics datable to the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1052</sup> Additionally, remains of early rooms with a different orientation and construction methods than later structures were found below Room 47.<sup>1053</sup> In Room 40, earlier occupation is suggested by Protoarchaic ceramic fragments found in contact with the sterile soil near a partially baked clay shelf perhaps connected with food preparation.<sup>1054</sup> On the southern side of the ambitus were three communicating Rooms, 37, 44 and 46; early material found here included incised coarseware, an Ionian Type B1 cup, two Chiot White Slip amphorae, and bucchero aryballos. A

---

<sup>1049</sup> Allegro 2008: 46, 48. This was found under the later Archaic west Wall 32.

<sup>1050</sup> Allegro 2008: 77.

<sup>1051</sup> Material from this phase includes Ionian and Euboean-Cycladic cups, Corinthian lid and plates, a lamp, incised coarseware, east Greek bucchero, and Chiot White Slip amphorae,.

<sup>1052</sup> Allegro 2008: 98-101. These are perhaps also connected to the dark soil layers identified in neighboring areas.

<sup>1053</sup> Allegro 2008: 82-3.

<sup>1054</sup> Allegro 2008: 84-8.

significant concentration of metal from the lower layers of Room 37 includes an iron knife, bronze lamina, grater, pieces of aes rude, and a bronze phiale.<sup>1055</sup> These objects, connected to the indigenous world (like the grater and pieces of aes rude, both found in indigenous contexts), may also indicate metalworking or processing of some kind in this area.

Block 3 buildings were largely constructed on remains of earlier preserved wall structures.<sup>1056</sup> (Fig. 4.76) Bronze objects and pieces of aes rude in lower layers suggest metal processing; with them were several indigenous incised ceramics.<sup>1057</sup> Cups and other small vessels tied to consumption are most commonly attested, found in the area later occupied by Room 54, while Room 53 contained a small deposit of metals.<sup>1058</sup> Traces of fire exposure on some amphora ceramics and two large fragments of unbaked clay could be linked to a hearth in this period. Particularly significant is some higher-quality material, including East Greek and Etruscan bucchero and an Attic pyxis decorated with a griffin, attributable to the circle of the Polos Painter. Finally, in Block 4, in the area of later rooms 56b, 56c, and 48, were Protocolonial layers characterized by compact earth with traces of burning. Here, in addition to the usual indigenous incised ceramics, were an indigenous bowl, a bronze and bone ring, and pieces of aes rude.<sup>1059</sup> The only architectural remains from this phase are a pit, small fragment of a wall and remains of hearth, all in Area 56b.<sup>1060</sup> The pit consists of a circular hole filled with ash; at the top were five fragments of impasto and Greek wares. Overall, the high numbers of indigenous

---

<sup>1055</sup> Allegro 2008: 97.

<sup>1056</sup> Allegro 2008: 133.

<sup>1057</sup> Allegro 2008: 137-8.

<sup>1058</sup> Allegro 2008: 148-9.

<sup>1059</sup> Allegro 2008: 149-50.

<sup>1060</sup> Allegro 2008: 184, 191.

ceramics in these contexts is striking, given the small percentage of the early settlement excavated. Most were not found in secure contexts, though, so only limited information on their use can be obtained.<sup>1061</sup>

Indigenous pottery is not uniformly distributed throughout the habitation zones; the most significant amount was in Isolati I-III (the Northern Quarter), the most densely occupied area during the early occupation of the colony. These ceramics were more common between the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century, coinciding with the first plan of the city; a smaller quantity dates to the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, in the early decades of the second plan.<sup>1062</sup> Overall, assemblages from these habitation contexts are generally comparable to those from Piazza Duomo and the Prefettura at Syracuse; habitation contexts from Himera, Zancle-Messina, and Naxos; the Upper Plateau of M. Saraceno; Fontana Calda at Butera; Palike Building A; the fossa tombs from Castiglione; the La Musa Sanctuary at Naxos; and the Southern Plateau/ Temple ZR at Megara Hyblaea. Note that most are Sikeliote contexts, and several are habitation zones.

The East District, in the northeast corner of the Plain of Himera, comprises Temples A, B, C and D, erected by the Early Classical Period, and an altar, as well as various dedicatory fossas. (Fig. 4.77) These were limited by habitations and a large open space to the north, possibly an agora.<sup>1063</sup> A significant number of finds from the first occupation phase are distributed throughout this area, although not intensively. It seems to have been used for habitations from

---

<sup>1061</sup> Several early structures from Phase I were found in Isolato III but not published as extensively as Isolato II. Three almost entire early Archaic rooms were oriented northeast-southwest. Alterations and renovations in the Archaic Period are suggested by slightly different construction techniques. Rich Archaic pottery deposits were also found here. Material from early habitations includes a large amount of Corinthian and Ionian ceramics characterizing the city's first phase.

<sup>1062</sup> Allegro 2008: 191, 234-5.

<sup>1063</sup> Allegro 2008: 7-8.

the early 6<sup>th</sup> century on and for sacred structures from even earlier.<sup>1064</sup> The earliest cult building is Temple A, identified as an Athenaion, located in the east part of the block. Large but architecturally modest, it faces east and is bipartite in plan, with an anticella and small cella, similar to Temple A on the Molino a Vento, the La Musa Sanctuary at Naxos, Southwest Sanctuary at Sabucina, Aphrodite Temple at M. Iato, and later Archaic sacred building on the acropolis of M. Saraceno. Based on votive deposits, it was constructed at the end of the third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1065</sup> (Fig. 4.78) Several plain pinakes were found along the base of the outer perimeter, perhaps decoration of mobile objects (stelae or wooden boxes) or decorative elements lining the lower wooden portions of the temple.<sup>1066</sup> Simple architectural terracottas were also recovered (some of the earliest attested in Sicily), including cassette and drain pipes, which decorated a low sloping roof. The temple was mudbrick on stone foundations, held together by wooden pillars.<sup>1067</sup> Inside the floor of the interior sekos was a large limestone slab, perhaps intended for a cult statue; underneath was a gold foil embossed with a gorgon, perhaps apotropaic.<sup>1068</sup> (Fig. 4.79) A stone dado with circular depression near the west side of Temple A may have belonged to a column, xoanon or aniconic representation linked to an open-air cult

---

<sup>1064</sup> Allegro 1976: 11; This is attested by the presence of Ionian Type A2, B1 and B2 cups, numerous fragments of Corinthian pottery (including some EC), two fragments of Laconian cup attributable to the Boreas Painter, a fragment of Attic lekane cover, Type 1 lamp, and numerous fragments of Agora Type 12a lamps.

<sup>1065</sup> Adriani 1970: 83.

<sup>1066</sup> Adriani 1970: 118-9.

<sup>1067</sup> Adriani 1970: 78-9. This construction type is also attested in a group of oikoi in Gela, the Archaic temples of the Sanctuary of chthonic deities at Agrigento, and the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta. *Supra* 49, 54.

<sup>1068</sup> Adriani 1970: 90. Although its function and place of origin is unknown, this is comparable to representations on bronze foil shield straps from Olympia created by Peloponnesian workshops in the late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries.

from the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps predating construction of the temple.<sup>1069</sup> Temple B replaced Temple A by the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, a half-century after its construction.<sup>1070</sup>

An important votive deposit inside the temple, placed along the inner walls with increased density near the sekos of the temple, dates to the last quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> to mid-6<sup>th</sup> century. It may have originally been a foundation deposit, but the long time span of its objects suggests that after the initial deposition it was gradually enlarged until Temple B was built.<sup>1071</sup> [See: Table 4.23 for Temple A dedications and Table 4.24 for published objects from a number of fossas in the East District] This deposit attests to a market oriented not just towards Greece and Corinth, but also (and especially) towards the Greek islands and Asia Minor. Ceramics are by far the most numerous artifacts, with dozens of miniature vessels and votive ceramics, Subgeometric and Orientalizing vases (in particular Rhodian and Chiot towards the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, and TC through MC); there is also abundant Attic black-slipped pottery of the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, in particular Siana cups less commonly attested elsewhere in Sicily.<sup>1072</sup> Locally produced wares primarily include undecorated vessels such as bowls, krateriskoi, and cups, which would have been made in large quantities for the visitors to the shrine. Among the most common forms is the Corinthian skyphos, some imitated by local workshops. Perfume vases are also commonly attested – primarily MC amphoriskoi and East Greek bucchero alabastra, while the earliest imports are LPC aryballoi of the beginning of the last quarter of the

---

<sup>1069</sup> Adriani 1970: 69-71, 81-2.

<sup>1070</sup> Adriani 1970: 80-1. This pre-Doric temple, larger and more advanced in form, did respect the earlier structure's space and incorporated the foundations of temple A and earlier limestone base into the foundations of the new partition wall.

<sup>1071</sup> Adriani 1970: 80. There is limited information about temple foundation deposits in Greek settlements, although some analogies can be made with the temple of Hera Akraia at Perachora, the Temple of Artemis at Priene, the votive deposit of Aetos at Ithaca, and, in Sicily, with the deposit at M. San Mauro.

<sup>1072</sup> Adriani 1970: 88.

7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1073</sup> In the area of the sekos, the quantity and quality of finds increase, especially bronzes – spearheads, amulets, sheet bronze, statuettes, and rings.<sup>1074</sup> Some of the most important, high-quality items include Orientalizing objects: a Daedalic figurine; polychrome faience amulet and statuette of a prone figure (perhaps from Naukratis); lion and sphinx plastic vases;<sup>1075</sup> the aforementioned gold lamina with running gorgon; bronze offerant figurine and bronze Athena promachos; clay Athena statuette; large bone eye fibula (similar to examples from Megara Hyblaea, Syracuse, Himera, and Polizzello); and a bronze bracelet demonstrating connections to examples from France as well as Gela and Selinunte.<sup>1076</sup> (Fig. 4.80) Unusually, there is little indigenous pottery in the votive deposits, despite its prevalence in the town strata; the one exception is an indigenous painted oinochoe from the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, comparable to an indigenous oinochoe from the area of the Temple of Victory in the lower town and dipinto wares from central Sicily.<sup>1077</sup> The scarcity of metal ornaments, especially fibulae, suggests that the sanctuary was not heavily visited by non-Greeks, although this may have to do with the nature of the deity.<sup>1078</sup> The large numbers of high-quality objects, especially “Orientalia,” of weapons and terracotta votive shields, suggest that the sanctuary’s main dedicants were local aristocratic families and individuals offering separate dedications. It is not unlikely that they were of mixed ancestry, utilizing a shared space that, in the middle of urban

---

<sup>1073</sup> These are comparable to examples from Perachora and Megara Hyblaea.

<sup>1074</sup> Adriani 1970: 88-9.

<sup>1075</sup> These are comparable to Perachora examples datable to the last quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>1076</sup> Vassallo 2016: 76-7.

<sup>1077</sup> Vassallo 2003: 134; Albanese 2010: 503.

<sup>1078</sup> Only seven ornamental metal objects were recovered from the sanctuary. One that may have had an indigenous production origin is the disc-shaped boss, perhaps a clothing ornament, decorated with engraved spirals (Adriani 1970: Ab,20).

space rather than the hinterlands, would not necessarily cater to populations other than those living in Himera. The finds do, however, demonstrate expansive trade relations, primarily with Phoenicians traveling the north coast, who would have aided in the dissemination of products and metals through river links into the interior (perhaps eventually spreading other “Orientalia” such as the bronze and bone “eye” fibulae).<sup>1079</sup> Overall, the object assemblages, with their preponderance of miniature objects and cups, most closely resemble contexts from Syracuse (Ex-Ospedale Necropolis, Piazza Duomo and Prefettura), Megara Hyblaea (RAISOM Necropolis), and Palike (Building A).

Demonstrating resemblances with those of other Chalkidian colonies as well as practices at various central and southeastern indigenous cemeteries, the Western and Eastern (Pestavecchia) necropoleis are the most extensive of several contemporary burial grounds investigated at Himera. The extensive Western Necropolis mostly dates to the 5<sup>th</sup> century, although it includes some earlier Archaic burials.<sup>1080</sup> Scattered among the graves were 60 ritual depositions, with traces of burnt debris, fragments of animal bone and objects, likely votive offerings associated with the burial of or other rituals invoking the dead. Eventually, some graves were demarcated by *semata*, which appear in the Late Archaic and consist of piles of stones, aligned to create quadrangular or circular fences separating single or groups of graves, similar to Layer II graves at Butera, the Northeast Necropolis at Naxos, and East Necropolis at

---

<sup>1079</sup> Vassallo 2016: 75-6.

<sup>1080</sup> The Western Necropolis was mainly excavated from 2008-2011; it revealed 9500 tombs with 18,000 objects and 6000 skeletons. The explored area extends over 500 m east-west, parallel to the coastline. (Vassallo 2012)

Castiglione.<sup>1081</sup> Among the earliest burials were 16 enchytrismoi in Corinthian Type A amphorae from the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup>-first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1082</sup>

The Eastern Necropolis, east of the Himera River in the coastal plain of the Pestavecchia district, was also large. 3414 tombs from the late 7<sup>th</sup> through 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, some in separate nuclei, were explored. (Fig. 4.81) There is a major concentration of burials around the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century; the typologically earliest tombs are enchytrismos inhumations in simple fossa tombs. The most prevalent burial type is inhumation (c. 80%), especially enchytrismoi of children; adult graves were less common, and were mostly burials in earth fossa, while some were cremated.<sup>1083</sup> Enchytrismos burials were usually placed in transport amphorae, but also in pithoi, ollas, kraters, stamnoi and hydriai.<sup>1084</sup> These were often partially covered by a layer of pebbles, closed by stone slabs or fragments of other vessels or tile. The majority are single inhumations, although one double inhumation is attested.<sup>1085</sup> There is an interesting diversity of transport amphora types, as at necropoleis at Kamarina. Imported from Italy, the Eastern Mediterranean and mainland Greece, these date between the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries; most prevalent are Corinthian Type A amphorae, followed by numerous amphorae of western origin (Etruscan and Punic). These attest to the Himera's commercial vitality by the PA, well-placed to take advantage of the Tyrrhenian coast, open to trade and exchange with Punic and Etruscan worlds.<sup>1086</sup>

---

<sup>1081</sup> Vassallo 2012: 50-2.

<sup>1082</sup> Vassallo 2012: 61. 11 of the containers contained grave goods from around the mid-6th century.

<sup>1083</sup> Vassallo 1991: 92.

<sup>1084</sup> Vassallo 1993: 1247-9.

<sup>1085</sup> Vassallo 1991: 93.

<sup>1086</sup> Vassallo 1993: 96.



Goods in these tombs consist of small vessels inside vases or occasionally outside near the opening. [Table 4.25: Pestavecchia Necropolis] An LC plate depicting a running gorgon with Orientalizing connotations is particularly intriguing.<sup>1087</sup> (Fig. 4.82) Eastern bucchero imports are common, as at other Early Archaic Sikeliote necropoleis. Several Ionian cups, imported from the East or manufactured in Himera, Samnite lekythoi and banded amphoriskoi, a Laconian aryballos and amphora, and various metal objects were recovered.<sup>1088</sup>

In some cases, the fabric, shape and decoration of the ceramics, especially burial urns, suggest indigenous products.<sup>1089</sup> (Fig. 4.83) They also reveal close similarities with pithoi and amphorai found in indigenous contexts from the south-central area of the island, implying close and continued relationships between Greeks and non-Greeks. Whether these were graves of indigenous children is impossible to say, given the lack of publications on these contexts and an unidentified production center; however it is certain that given the vessels' wide geographic spread, these further testify to exchanges between indigenous hinterland centers and settlers following the river valleys.<sup>1090</sup>

In addition to enchytrismoι, fossa inhumations are common. Not all contained grave goods, and those that did mainly contained smaller vessels or miniatures, found near the deceased's head. Another unusual burial practice is the use of mudbrick fossa, rare in Greek Sicily; grave goods from three suggest a date in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1091</sup> Given the

---

<sup>1087</sup> Vassallo 1993: 67.

<sup>1088</sup> Vassallo 1993: 96. Type B2 is the most prevalent in this group, although Type A2 and B1 cups are also present.

<sup>1089</sup> Vassallo 1991: 1251; Vassallo 1993: 96; Vassallo 2003: 1344-7; Vassallo 2010: 44-5. These include the burial pithos from Tomb n. 74, and amphora from Tomb n. 108.

<sup>1090</sup> Vassallo 1991: 1254.

<sup>1091</sup> Vassallo 1993: 93-5. Tombs 55, 70 and 141.

small number of this type and their isolated chronology, they may belong to a specific ethnic group within Himeran society, perhaps not unlike the enchytrismos burials in indigenous vases. Overall, the graves are homogenous in terms of familial and individual status, although many contain few or no goods, suggesting low socioeconomic status. There is only one monolithic sarcophagus, and cremation is also rare, done *in situ* in a pit with a stone cover.<sup>1092</sup> The average number of grave goods is higher in these burials, up to eleven in Tomb 144; mostly imports, especially Corinthian wares, they suggest higher-status occupants. Later tombs are generally arranged in groups, perhaps belonging to families; these include burials and some cremations, although the tombs vary in typology and are, with few exceptions, generally modest compared to earlier tombs. One extraordinary example of an Archaic tomb (No. 5) included a tile roof, sema built of tile blocks, and pit lined with wooden beams; numerous grave goods were inside and around the cover. A vase found inside, engraved with the letters SIM, implies a link to an original oikist of Himera, Simon, suggesting use as a heroon.<sup>1093</sup>

The blend of imported Greek, Punic, Etruscan, colonial, indigenous and local objects found in habitation, sanctuary and funerary contexts at Himera attests to broad contacts at the site. In its early period, Himera largely served as an outpost taking advantage of various exchange currents, playing an important part in trade with Italy, North Africa and Spain. Early ceramics document the role of trade in city life, with items from the area of the Tyrrhenian Sea (bucchero and Etruscan amphorae), Phoenician-Punic sphere (amphorae), Corinth, East Greece and the islands (amphorae, Ionian cups, Aeolian and Ionian bucchero, and banded wares), and Sikeliote centers. East Greek vessels are particularly varied and rich – Ionian bucchero is

---

<sup>1092</sup> Vassallo 1991: 1247. These mostly date to the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, mirroring the general tendency of an increase in cremations, evident in a number of other Sikeliote sites.

<sup>1093</sup> Bonacasa 1986: 30.

common in habitation, funerary and sacred contexts, Rhodian imports include two plastic aryballoi from funerary contexts, and there is even a Wild Goat Style cup from the West Necropolis, otherwise rarely attested in Sicily. (Fig. 4.84) A Cretan vase in a tomb in the West Necropolis is comparable to only one other example in the western Mediterranean, from the Bitalemi sanctuary; the type seems to be related to votive, funerary, and religious spheres.<sup>1094</sup> Even Greek chytrai, or cooking vessels, were imported at the start.<sup>1095</sup>

Punic influence is also apparent at an early period, not surprising given the site's proximity to Phoenician-Punic emporia of Palermo and Solunto, and Himera's position along Phoenician trade routes. Punic amphorae are commonly attested at Himera (primarily in the East Necropolis) and Himeran products have been found at the 6<sup>th</sup> century necropoleis of Solunto and Palermo.<sup>1096</sup> About ten polychrome Phoenician glass vases have been found in the necropoleis at Himera, attesting to circulation of luxury goods from distant areas of the eastern Mediterranean and likely linked to Rhodian trade as well.<sup>1097</sup> (Fig. 4.85) Additionally, a Punic lamp was recovered (similar to examples from the large deposit at Bitalemi), as well as amphorae from the necropolis, although they are much better represented in the Chalkidian necropolis of Mylai.<sup>1098</sup> A relief pinax in Temple A, influenced by Cumaean forms, demonstrates close contacts between Sicily and South Italy as migrating artisans likely participated in forming a local *koine* in this area of northern Sicily.<sup>1099</sup> Some of the earliest Himeran ceramics are connected to

---

<sup>1094</sup> Vassallo 2016: 72-74.

<sup>1095</sup> Vassallo 2016: 73.

<sup>1096</sup> Vassallo 2016: 75.

<sup>1097</sup> Vassallo 2016: 76.

<sup>1098</sup> Belvedere 1980: 77.

<sup>1099</sup> Vassallo 2016: 70-1.

Chalkidian production, Zankle in particular, including a carinated cup from the oldest strata of a house in the lower town, comparable to examples from Messina. This suggests that artists from Zankle may have brought techniques and products to Himera, part of a shared cultural heritage with other Chalkidian colonies in the Strait and along the Tyrrhenian Sea.<sup>1100</sup> The object and use percentages are most closely aligned with contexts from other Sikeliote necropoleis (especially the Borgo and Villa Garibaldi Necropoleis at Gela and Fusco Necropolis at Syracuse), the M. San Mauro Necropolis and Morgantina Necropolis II, the Alaimo Sanctuary at Leontini, and the Predio Sola Sanctuary at Gela.

Until the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, imported prevails over colonial pottery, with no thriving local industry in figurative wares as in Gela, Syracuse, and Megara Hyblaea, although unpainted cups and imitation Ionian skyphoi are produced, also appearing in indigenous sites in the hinterland – Colle Madore, M. Maranfusa and Polizzello. During the third quarter of the century there is strong growth in the city, with utilization of new building materials, construction of new temples on the acropolis and larger private buildings, and establishment of terracotta and pottery workshops, the shapes and patterns derived from imported ceramics, especially of East Greece and the islands. There are fewer imported ceramics, despite increased interactions with other Sikeliote cities.<sup>1101</sup> This mirrors trajectories of other colonial cities at this time, with increased standardization of forms and assemblages (especially in sanctuary and funerary contexts), decreased variability in imports, and homogenization of local production based on imported forms.

---

<sup>1100</sup> Belvedere 1980: 77; Vassallo 2016: 70.

<sup>1101</sup> Bonacasa 1986: 31-32.

## Conclusions

All the indigenous sites analyzed in this chapter, concentrated around north-central Sicily, display similar settlement trajectories – not as conventionally “Hellenizing” early in the period of Greek settlement as settlements further east or to the south, but also not as “isolated” as towns further west. This chapter focuses around regionalized sanctuary space, which is the defining aspect of this region, although cemetery and habitation spaces associated with these regional centers also played an important role in articulating a cohesive status and identity, reflected in architecture, objects, assemblages, and overall settlement plan. In terms of assemblages and architecture, there is a strongly conservative tendency here, as opposed to a move away from traditional forms followed by a swing back as seen in contexts further west, or a more ready adoption of Hellenizing objects and architecture as seen in sanctuaries and necropoleis in eastern (particularly southeastern) Sicily.

Literature on Sikanian central Sicily has not relied as much on necropoleis in the interpretation of local populations’ habits and traditions as has scholarship on areas further east, in south-central and southeast Sicily.<sup>1102</sup> This is largely in part because Greek imports, in general used more sparingly, play less of a role in articulating identity within funerary contexts. Nevertheless, the substantial amounts of Greek wares in local contexts by the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century suggest Hellenizing presence, if not outright Greek control of these settlements.

An increase in north-south population movement could explain agglutinative “urbanization” at sites like Caltabellotta and Colle Madore in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, as habitations became more closely-spaced through the addition of rooms, and sanctuaries were inserted into the urban fabric. This was aided by use of rectilinear architecture and the adoption of

---

<sup>1102</sup> A few exceptions include Denti 1980, Palermo 1983, and Panvini 2005.

differentiated or semi-differentiated space within individual houses or extended-family habitations. Yet there is also a general conservatism in housing types. As noted above, circular and curvilinear structures continue to be built into the Archaic, sometimes alongside rectangular structures or combined with rectangular porticos or vestibules, as seen at Polizzello and Sabucina.<sup>1103</sup>

Furthermore, continuation of traditional sanctuary space – especially the circular *capannicola* type – to the end of the Archaic suggests that social change did not permeate every aspect of local society. The fact that these circular oikoi appear to have evolved from Bronze Age and EIA domestic architecture (which, as Öhlinger suggests, remained in use as such through the Archaic in some locations)<sup>1104</sup> rather than from earlier forms of sacred space is interesting – as habitations assume a more agglutinative, circular form, sanctuaries tend to remain set aside, not incorporated into the urban fabric but separate on an acropolis and assuming ancestral forms. Furthermore, given their monumental dimensions, circular hut-shrines could be modified version of ruler dwellings evolved into sanctuary forms, assuming functions previously conducted in these large, pseudo-public habitations.<sup>1105</sup> However, these types of spaces may simply be symbolically referenced, given that the unroofed nature of many oikoi – as examples from Polizzello have been interpreted – suggests direct evolution from open sacred space attested in Bronze and EIA Sicily, rectangular periboloi in which rituals were conducted; this is in turn related to funerary space and performance of rituals near ancestral chamber tombs and within grave periboloi (as at Butera). In addition to Polizzello, other “traditional”-type oikoi

---

<sup>1103</sup> *Supra* 253-4.

<sup>1104</sup> Öhlinger 2015a: 419-420.

<sup>1105</sup> Albanese 2009b: 350-1.

are attested even later as at Colle Madore, where a circular oikos was not constructed until the second quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, much later than one would expect. This is probably because sites such as Colle Madore straddle the line between the Sikanian and Elymian zones; further west, in more likely Elymian contexts, these non-Greek types are used much longer, perhaps because of more mixed occupation with elements from both Greek and Punic settlements. The sanctuaries and contexts at Colle Madore are in use through the early 5<sup>th</sup> century, alongside more traditional or mixed assemblages, also reflected in individual object types and perhaps syncretism of deities (e.g. Herakles at Colle Madore).

The lack of specific ethnic orientation is especially visible at M. Saraceno, which breaks down traditional barriers of ethne, both among indigenous groups and between indigenous and Greek populations. The material record is ambiguous; while indigenous forms predominate (including piumata ware basins traditionally associated with more eastern Sikel sites and incised and stamped wares conventionally associated with Sikanian and Elymian sites), there is later an unmistakable increase in Greek and imitation objects, including a small number of Corinthian or imitation aryballoi, rarely attested in indigenous sacred contexts. However, unusually, archaizing ritual architecture is maintained, even renovated along traditional lines; and despite its location oriented towards the south coast and Agrigento, M. Saraceno displays more similarities with more central Sikanian sites.

Along with these developments in sacred space comes the transformation from apsidal to rectilinear architecture in a number of locations (including Himera, with its possible earlier indigenous settlement) associated with large-scale urban renewal; this phenomenon is not observed in all locations, however, and is generally associated with domestic architecture in the west. These apsidal structures, like circular oikoi, do not necessarily make way for rectangular buildings. But rectangular oikoi and modified circular oikoi, appearing in indigenous sites

beginning in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century, were used alongside more traditional circular architectural types as well, perhaps an indication of mixed settlement patterns at Polizzello and Colle Madore. The architectural forms – rectilinear and circular – in fact may have ultimately served different purposes in the Archaic; as Öhlinger demonstrates, “generally both are regarded as isolated, solitary, extra-familial sanctuaries. But addressing them as pure sanctuaries seems to be insufficient, as they served different social functions in a changing society.”<sup>1106</sup> Circular sacred structures tend to be clustered, unlike their usually isolated rectangular equivalents at indigenous sites; Öhlinger likens the former to traditional familial clan structures rooted in typical EIA settlement patterns, with extended family groups which could assume different agglomerative patterns of oval, round or rectangular buildings associated with an open space and peribolos wall.<sup>1107</sup> Archaic “sacred” clusters display similarities – in very few instances do we find all purely circular structures, and there are mixed architectural types within these compounds usually defined through by a temenos wall and open spaces between buildings for feasting, sacrifices, and votive deposition. These habitation clusters and associated social structure can be likened to large compounds like the EIA longhouses at Morgantina<sup>1108</sup> and the extended families or clan groups that utilized these buildings, associations which, as discussed in Chapter 6, may have set the stage and provided architectural precedents for early Archaic apsidal sacred structures at Cittadella.<sup>1109</sup> The decision to build isolated rectangular sanctuaries, on the other hand, may have more to do with the deities worshiped – perhaps syncretized versions of Greek and local deities – and their non-dominant positions away from acropoleis suggest that they served as mixed

---

<sup>1106</sup> Öhlinger 2015a: 419.

<sup>1107</sup> Öhlinger 2015a: 419-420.

<sup>1108</sup> In central Sicily; see Chapter 6.

<sup>1109</sup> Leighton and Bartosiewicz 2012: 76-8.



sanctuaries defining boundaries of indigenous settlements where locals and non-locals (particularly elite) could have potentially interacted and engaged in rituals involving mixed assemblage typologies. In this way, they functioned in a manner not unlike extraurban chthonic sanctuaries around Gela such as Bitalemi, or (as seen in Chapter 6) the pan-Sikelian sanctuary at Palike.

Continued indigeneity is also demonstrated through use of traditional sacred objects, especially hut models, as well as continuation of established practices such as burial of metal hoards or deposits, a practice attested from the EIA with the assemblages at Mendolito and Naro; these conventions are reflected in the later, smaller sanctuary deposits at Colle Madore, Caltabellotta, and Civari, and more individualized deposits at Polizzello and Himera. As discussed, this phenomenon is also seen in southeast Sikel and Greek Sicily as well (as at M. Casale). The types in these hoards tend to be varied but analogous, based on similar depositional patterns and with ancestral object types (metal belts, fibulae, etc.) often mixed with Greek objects (especially arms and armor) particularly in later deposits. Other traditional items form votives in smaller-scale depositions – anthropomorphizing objects such as incised vases and stylized belts. The figural imagery, characteristic of the Sikanian area, is also reflected in votive depositions of bone and terracotta bull and ram figurines at Polizzello and Montagnola di Marineo among other sanctuary sites. These are often in individualized or small group deposits in sanctuaries, common in this the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. Some, especially those buried below walls, seem to be foundation deposits, comparable to Near Eastern practices, possibly introduced to Sicily at this time. Others, especially within sanctuary space and near altars (as at Montagnola di Marineo and Polizzello) seem linked to more individualized or family/ clan deposits of aristocratic groups. These assemblage typology changes also demonstrate social changes occurring at the time in central-western Sicily.

Contexts and objects from indigenous sanctuary spaces here are highly regionalized, primarily demonstrating ties to assemblages from other central Sicilian regional sanctuaries. The contexts from Polizzello are a case in point; overall, the Polizzello assemblages are most similar to those of Terravecchia di Cuti<sup>1110</sup>, the M. Saraceno acropolis, and Ramacca, in terms of object types, usage and production origin. Individual contexts within Polizzello demonstrate similar orientations, with closer ties to contexts in the Sabucina oikoi, Colle Madore, and Montagnoli, among others. Interestingly, the depositional activity among the assorted oikoi here is extremely varied, the objects from no one shrine closely resembling those of any other. The object record from Sabucina is most comparable to that of Polizzello (especially Oikos E) and Ramacca, as well as a number of necropoleis – Sant’Angelo Muxaro, Morgantina (especially Necropolis V), Butera Piano della Fiera, Calascibetta (Cozzo S. Giuseppe), and M. Bubbonia. Contexts from Oikos B are most comparable to those of Oikos A and the Southern Piazza at Polizzello; while Oikos A assemblages are similar to those of the Southern Piazza and necropoleis of Polizzello, Montagnoli, M. Maranfusa, Bitalemi, and especially M. Bubbonia and Layer I of the Butera necropolis. Like Polizzello and Sabucina, Colle Madore mainly demonstrates ties to other indigenous spaces in its ritual contexts, although these include ties to object assemblages at necropoleis as well; interestingly, there are also closer associations with Sikeliote contexts, demonstrating the more mixed nature of habitation and sanctuary use here. Depositional styles in the sacred space at Himera (Temple A and fossa dedications) are much closer in nature to that of other Sikeliote sacred and grave space. The object type and use assemblages at Temple A are

---

<sup>1110</sup> In central Sicily; see Chapter 6. The other sites mentioned in this paragraph but not discussed in this chapter are Montagnoli (western Sicily, chapter 5), Sant’ Angelo Muxaro (central Sicily, Chapter 6), Butera (hinterlands of Gela, Chapter 2), Calascibetta (central Sicily, Chapter 6), M. Bubbonia (central Sicily, Chapter 6), M. Maranfusa (western Sicily, chapter 5), Bitalemi (hinterlands of Gela, Chapter 2), Megara Hyblaea (southeastern Sicily, Chapter 3), Syracuse (southeastern Sicily, Chapter 3), and Naxos (central Sicily, Chapter 6), and Palike (central Sicily, Chapter 6).

comparable to those of the Megara Hyblaea RAISOM Necropolis and Syracuse Ex-Ospedale Necropolis, as well as the area of the Piazza Duomo and Prefettura on Syracuse and habitation areas at Naxos; while the fossas are closest in object typology to those from the Zancle-Messina habitation areas. Finally, object totals from the M. Saraceno acropolis are most similar to those of Ramacca, Polizzello acropolis totals, and Palike Building F; additionally here there is a larger than usual percentage of Greek imports for what the material record otherwise shows to be an indigenous sacred space.

Similar patterns are deduced from habitation contexts. Himera demonstrates contextual ties with other Sikeliote cities and with central Sicily: Syracuse (Piazza Duomo and Prefettura contexts), Zancle<sup>1111</sup> and Naxos habitation contexts, M. Saraceno Upper Plateau, Naxos (La Musa Sanctuary), Ramacca, Palike, and Megara Hyblaea Southern Plateau/ Temple ZR. The habitation contexts at M. Saraceno are more mixed, exhibiting ties to those of Ramacca, Polizzello, and M. Polizzo (especially House 3); as well as Sikeliote sacred and habitation spaces (the La Musa Sanctuary at Naxos, the Southern Plateau/ Temple ZR at Megara Hyblaea, and Himera habitations). The Sabucina habitations contain contexts roughly similar to those of Polizzello (Oikos A and the Southern Piazza) as well as some ritual contexts at Sabucina, namely Oikos B.

A comparison of grave contexts in these areas demonstrates greater variation; objects and assemblages from necropoleis do not necessarily resemble more closely those from other

---

<sup>1111</sup> A Greek colony on the northeast coast; other sites mentioned in this paragraph but not discussed in this chapter are Naxos (central Sicily, Chapter 6), Palike (central Sicily, Chapter 6), and Megara Hyblaea (southeastern Sicily, Chapter 3).

grave contexts. The Polizzello necropolis is closest in scope to Montagnoli's sacred area<sup>1112</sup> and the Pestavecchia Necropolis at Himera, the Borgo and Villa Garibaldi necropoleis at Gela, the M. San Mauro necropolis, Fusco Necropolis, and Morgantina Necropolis II, in addition to sanctuary space: the Alaimo Sanctuary at Leontini and Predio Sola at Gela. Finally, Sabucina's Southern Necropolis mostly resembles other indigenous space in terms of contexts and objects, especially Terravecchia di Cuti. Sikeliote cemetery assemblages here show the greatest variation in terms of comparative assemblages, unsurprising given the more elevated numbers of indigenous burials within the Himeran burial grounds compared to other Himeran contexts and to other Sikeliote cemeteries.

Artifact typologies in a number of these deposits are indicative of ancestor cults, with mixed assemblages often including Greek imports and imitations, especially high-quality goods, mostly related to drinking practices. These ancestral object types are also mirrored in funerary typologies, seen in Archaic-period grave goods recovered at Sant'Angelo Muxaro and Polizzello, where chamber tombs were continuously used for several centuries and significance was placed on the articulation of status with traditional ceramics and high-quality elite goods, perhaps emphasizing ancestral and clan ties. This reaches a head in contexts of the late 7<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, with gold rings and phialai deposited with individual skeletons on stone benches. Such practices and associated object types are also seen in continuance of localized rituals at graves and outside chamber tombs; examples are deposits of "grave goods" (likely remnants of later ritual at ancestral graves) outside Polizzello tombs made hundreds of years

---

<sup>1112</sup> Sites mentioned in this paragraph but not discussed in this chapter are Montagnoli (western Sicily, Chapter 5), Gela (Chapter 2), M. San Mauro (hinterlands of Gela, Chapter 2), and the Fusco Necropolis at Syracuse and Leontini (southeastern Sicily, Chapter 3).

after the depositions.<sup>1113</sup> Deposits at the Polizzello sanctuaries, too, often demonstrate ritualizing, high-quality goods, particularly bone, ivory, amber, iron and silver objects: Daedalic figurines (such as the ivory and iron Daedalic female statuettes from Oikos B), Orientalizing imports (such as the ivory or bone palmette inlays, also from Oikos B) and items associated with warfare. These demonstrate the ties of aristocratic families accessing links to trade along the coast, not only with Greeks from nearby Himera, but also Phoenician and Punic traders linking Sicily with the Near East. They simultaneously demonstrate the interconnectedness of inland indigenous sites that likely tapped into the same networks serving the central Sikanian heartland, thus explicating the concurrence of rich object types throughout Sikania, most likely forged by local craftsmen but dependent on outside models.

---

<sup>1113</sup> Some particularly interesting associated ritual artifacts are three painted amphorae with bull head protomes, three footed plates (likely used to hold food offerings for the deceased), a footed drinking chalice, and two elaborately painted conical hut models.

## CHAPTER 5: INDIGENOUS SETTLEMENTS AND RITUAL SPACE IN WESTERN SICILY: MEDIALLY SITUATED BETWEEN CENTRAL SIKANIA AND NETWORKS OF EXTERNAL INFLUENCE

This chapter focuses on indigenous settlements in the western reaches of the island, traditionally aligned with the Elymian *ethnos*, although demonstrating sufficient parallels with central Sicily to warrant discussion of these sites immediately following those of west-central Sicily, often considered central “Sikania.” (Fig. 5.1) Here, new settlements emerge in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries and evolve quickly to incorporate former sacred space; the result is that religious space becomes entangled with domestic space within settlements. With the exception of Montagnoli di Menfi and possibly the acropolis at M. Polizzo, there are no larger, pan-regional sanctuaries until the late Archaic. This may be a result of the more decentralized statuses of these sites, further removed from stronger Hellenizing influences (at least until the foundation of Selinunte in 628 BCE) yet reflecting the greatest diversity of cultural currents; situated along Greek, Phoenician and indigenous routes, they exhibit the most openness to various influences. Sites discussed here are also generally characterized by agglomerative settlement plans and are still more indigenizing in scope than some of the comparable sites farther east that lack concentrated urban planning before the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. In terms of material culture, there is a continued reliance on local ceramic forms based on earlier typologies, such as basins, cup-dippers, carinated cups, and bowls, although, like the “Siculo-Geometric” of eastern Sicily, there is a movement towards the adoption of more Hellenizing decoration. Juxtaposed with the area’s relative openness towards new architectural forms and increased articulation of sacred space, it is likely that many of these assemblages are consciously constructed with a view towards the

retention of ancestral traditions (a phenomenon also seen in later contexts at Sabucina and Colle Madore, as demonstrated in Chapter 4).

### **Monte Maranfusa: Evolving Domestic Space in Inland Northwest Sicily**

The site of M. Maranfusa demonstrates numerous parallels with Colle Madore and Polizzello in production and social developments, despite the different nature of the contexts excavated here – habitation spaces – and more ambiguous ethnic identification, traditionally considered Elymian. The site's mid-6<sup>th</sup> century transformation is similar to those of Montagnola di Marineo, M. Castellazzo di Poggioreale, Himera, M. Iato, Sabucina, Colle Madore, Terravecchia di Cuti, Montagna dei Cavalli, (the latter three terraced), M. Saraceno, Capodarso, and Vassallaggi; agglutinative restructuring is particularly pronounced among the latter five. In fact, the overall site development, especially the aggregative habitation plan, mixed architectural tradition, and possible incorporated sacred space, is particularly reminiscent of several indigenous sites, especially in south/ southeast Sicily, including Costa di Fico, Vassallaggi, M. Saraceno, Castiglione, M. Adranone, and Sabucina. Its distinctive architecture, particularly sub-rectangular buildings with rounded corners, also fits into an indigenous architectural koine, more typical of central-western Sicily, although the builders adapted traditional building types seamlessly to newer settlement patterns.

To the north, M. Maranfusa was in a position to take advantage of both southern and northern coasts and the hinterland of non-indigenous sites such as Selinunte and Panormos.<sup>1114</sup> It was along paths of Punic trade expansion, on a natural route from the Tyrrhenian Coast to the hinterland of the Belice, an area with numerous indigenous settlements (such as M. Iato, Entella,

---

<sup>1114</sup> Spatafora 2003: 66, 227

and M. Castellazzo) and early indications of non-indigenous influence in cult and architecture.<sup>1115</sup> These were located on easily-defensible, isolated plateaus, yet engaged in regional interactions with Elymian and Sikanian bodies politic as well as nearby Greeks and Phoenicians. (Fig. 5.2)

Surveys in the middle reaches of the Belice Valley, particularly around Entella, documented a tendency for smaller villages and agricultural settlements to gravitate around urban areas. This led to identification of M. Maranfusa as a larger settlement, with hierarchical organization of the surrounding territory and incipient protourban agglomerations.<sup>1116</sup> With this new settlement pattern came dramatic changes from the transition between the LBA and EIA, associated with new ethnic identities;<sup>1117</sup> yet there was continuity in material culture, suggesting a persistence of a social grouping that only starts to change definitively at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century through contact with Greek elements. This gradually increasing contact contributes to confinement of settlements to easily defensible elevated positions as a gesture of defense and in turn a proto-urban settlement structure with agglomeration of housing elements alongside production (and perhaps sacred) zones.<sup>1118</sup>

M. Maranfusa was only sporadically settled before the late 7<sup>th</sup> century, with the entire plateau not settled until the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1119</sup> The site is divided into a large habitation sector, partially excavated in Field A, and outlying areas, labeled Fields B through E.<sup>1120</sup> The large

---

<sup>1115</sup> Spatafora 2003: 3.

<sup>1116</sup> M. Maranfusa was excavated by Spatafora beginning in 1985 and published in a series of reports (Spatafora 1986, 1988-9, 1993, 1997, Spatafora 2009b: 215-7) and a volume on the habitation area (Spatafora 2003).

<sup>1117</sup> Spatafora 2003: 7. The site was first occupied during the LBA, becoming more stable and consistent in the EIA, with occupation confined to the lower northern terrace and top part of the plateau.

<sup>1118</sup> Spatafora 2003: 7, 146.

<sup>1119</sup> Spatafora 2003: 15, 29-32.

<sup>1120</sup> Excavations began in 1986, as part of a research program to define Elymian territory. 1989 excavations in Field A outlining the settlement from the Archaic onwards were extended in 1995 to Field E, in the lower terrace.



amount of burnt bone suggests sacred space in Field E, while Fields D and E mostly contained local material with dipinto and impressed and incised ware.<sup>1121</sup> Field B, occupying a portion of the southwestern side of the broad plateau on the hilltop, may have served as public space, the city's acropolis, although the only Archaic remains are a possible sacred structure with squared slabs.<sup>1122</sup>

Field A, the core of the Archaic settlement, is located on one of the highest, best-protected areas of the mountain, situated above the wider, open slopes below. (Fig. 5.3) There is little evidence for the location of the earlier EIA village in this area; the phase is documented through material recovered in Fields C and E on the lower terrace, a more accessible area that may have been the location of the main settlement before defensive concerns necessitated relocation over the course of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1123</sup> Field C contained circular stone foundations and hearth perhaps belonging to an indigenous hut, suggesting that this was the predominant habitation form in the EIA.<sup>1124</sup>

Occupation is attested in Field A from the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> to first quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, when it is suddenly abandoned and only sporadically frequented.<sup>1125</sup> Several buildings and rooms were excavated here, divided up into northern, central, and southern zones. All date mainly to the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> century, but continuous occupation is attested from the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The first phase of Field A consists of mostly simple

---

<sup>1121</sup> Spatafora 2003: 20. Field E had mostly later material, although some items from the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, including a Corinthian exaleiptron and Ionian cup, were associated with a floor level of a space bounded by Wall M114.

<sup>1122</sup> Spatafora 2003: 19, 22-3.

<sup>1123</sup> Spatafora 2003: 33.

<sup>1124</sup> Spatafora 2003: 24-6.

<sup>1125</sup> Spatafora 2003: 37, 43, 70.

structures, constructed with small and medium sized blocks, in a double-faced construction. Early walls have no right angles but rather are continuous with rounded corners, derived from older “capannicola” architecture and elongated, ellipsoidal or oval indigenous structures.<sup>1126</sup> The superstructure consisted mostly of mud and rubble, with a straw roof with a layer of clay mixed with gravel. Wooden posts were likely used on the interior and benches were arranged along the walls, used for household storage.<sup>1127</sup> Hearths are found both inside and outside interior space.<sup>1128</sup>

In the Northern Zone, PA occupation is evident in only one preserved structure, comprised of Rooms O and P. (Fig. 5.4a) On isolated floor levels below destruction and abandonment levels were found abundant late 7<sup>th</sup> century sherds of functional use, including Ionian Type B1 cups and an incised decorated dipper. Outside these rooms is a clay floor of an early occupation level<sup>1129</sup> in which were fragments mostly of local production primarily related to drinking.<sup>1130</sup>

The central zone primarily comprises the large Building 2 with elongated plan, with five rooms (H, F, E, D, Q) aligned longitudinally.<sup>1131</sup> (Fig. 5.4b) These generally contain later

---

<sup>1126</sup> Spatafora 2003: 71. This is seen in the semi-circular construction of the northeast sector of Room A. M.

<sup>1127</sup> Spatafora 2003: 71-4. Benches are widely documented in indigenous Sicily and South Italian household contexts dating to the 8<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries and are found built into the rectangular huts of Scirinda, ellipsoidal huts at M. S. Giuliano, and a large circular hut of Montagnoli, where a bench runs along most of the internal perimeter wall.

<sup>1128</sup> Spatafora 1993b: 1200. A stone circle and thick layer of ash, remains of a large fireplace, are attested in the courtyard east of Building 1; stone slabs in the southeast corner of Room A may have acted as a supports for furnishings related to the hearth to the west. Clay circular plates served as hearths inside later occupation levels of Rooms G and O.

<sup>1129</sup> Spatafora 2003: 65; Loc. 4313.

<sup>1130</sup> Spatafora 2003: 63, 111-3. Diagnostic sherds include two undecorated jars with pointed bottom, an incised dipper-cup, and a fragment of an Ionian cup.

<sup>1131</sup> Spatafora 2003: 43-55.

material; however commensal use can be traced back to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, judging from late MC kotyle fragments and Ionian Type B2 cups indicating a primary construction phase before its main use phase; these Greek imports are less prevalent than undecorated, dipinto, and incised and stamped wares.<sup>1132</sup> Widespread continued use of incised and stamped wares associated with traditional forms in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries is mirrored in the architecture of the space, with persistence of architectural forms and features rooted in traditions even earlier than the earliest attested contexts at M. Maranfusa. This includes a cooking area in Room G consisting of a circular clay table, dating to the 6<sup>th</sup> century although the form is attested in the MBA Thapsos-Milazzese facies, demonstrating the unique continuity of customs and traditions.<sup>1133</sup>

The southern zone of Field A, on one of the highest parts of the mountain, was more suitable to settlement but less safe and sheltered than other areas; it was occupied by a small group of houses used from the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century until the early 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1134</sup> (Fig. 5.4c) Building 1, the best-preserved and most completely excavated early structure, consists of three rooms with paved outside area and large courtyard hearth. Abundant pottery included a class of painted indigenous pottery (some from the last phase of use); material from the 7<sup>th</sup> century indicates early use of the area.<sup>1135</sup> Outside Area M was a bench<sup>1136</sup> associated with at least one Ionian Type B1 cup and colonial cup (similar to another cup from the building's floor level)

---

<sup>1132</sup> Spatafora 2003: 46. These cups were found in Rooms E and F, associated with sherds of local production, in a foundation trench of a structure dug into bedrock.

<sup>1133</sup> Spatafora 2003: 51, 266-7.

<sup>1134</sup> Spatafora 2003: 35-43.

<sup>1135</sup> Spatafora 2003: 37.

<sup>1136</sup> Loc. 1019.

found in the debris level, suggesting use of this area for food and drink consumption as early as the late 7<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1137</sup>

In terms of organization and floor plan, Buildings 1 and 2 demonstrate development towards more Greek-type housing forms with differentiated rooms, while still maintaining architectural references to localized habitation types, such as elongated EIA longhouses. By its last and main stage of use in the late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> century, the rooms were likely part of a single unit with each room distinguished by a specific use.<sup>1138</sup> Room C seems to have been intended for productive activities and perhaps also eating and drinking (attested by a krater, colonial and indigenous drinking vessels, and a grinder), while Room B may have been used for food and drink storage (given three imported amphorae, indigenous, colonial and imported tableware, and dipinto amphorae and hydriai).<sup>1139</sup>

Overall, the first phase is characterized by traditional, simple organization of space, followed by partial abandonment of the settlement in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century and subsequent expansion into more complex systems foreshadowing more regular organization and a proto-urban environment. Aggregated clusters of rooms are the basic organization units of buildings; these are arranged around open spaces and large courtyards, as at Colle Castello and Costa di Fico outside Sant'Angelo Muxaro and the settlements at Vassallaggi, M. Saraceno, and Castiglione.<sup>1140</sup> The single residential unit of three rooms, and the distribution of rooms (two opening onto a paved landing and a room unconnected from the main building space, accessible via a courtyard or shared open area) recalls as models the 7<sup>th</sup>-century second wave of Greek

---

<sup>1137</sup> Spatafora 2003: 43

<sup>1138</sup> Spatafora 2003: 75-82.

<sup>1139</sup> Spatafora 2003: 75-6.

<sup>1140</sup> Spatafora 2003: 66; Minà 2005: 127.

settlement in colonies such as Selinunte and Himera that were close enough to M. Maranfusa to have made an impact. The structures still retain some traditional aspects such as rounded corners with typical mixed masonry, stone with pisé.<sup>1141</sup>

This internal modification mirrors regional-wide reorganization, as from the late-7<sup>th</sup> century onwards in the region of M. Maranfusa, the territorial arrangement features greater organization and aggregation of populations and the emergence of hegemonic centers surrounded by smaller secondary nuclei scattered in the countryside.<sup>1142</sup> This eventually evolves into a settlement system defined by dominant fortified centers on plateaus and hills. New urban criteria – distinctions between public and private, new types of architecture, more regularized urban plans – also lead to radical restructuring in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1143</sup> The extent to which these sites adhere to colonial urban models depends on interactions between indigenous populations and Greek elements.

After a hiatus in occupation around the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century there is a noticeable reuse of buildings in some areas and adaptation to a new model in others. The new layout features clear specialization of rooms, in both newly constructed spaces and those adapted or renovated, perhaps conditioned by complex new social realities. This specialization is especially evident in Buildings 1 and 2; Building 2 is particularly elaborate, with clear differentiation of space for food preparation, storage, feasting, and weaving, possibly also with spaces for ritual and manufacturing.<sup>1144</sup> (Fig. 5.5) The specialization of space by the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century and buildings housing both public and private space (workshops, homes, sanctuaries) suggests activities of

---

<sup>1141</sup> Spatafora 2003: 66.

<sup>1142</sup> Spatafora 2003: 67.

<sup>1143</sup> In addition to M. Maranfusa, this is evident at M. Castellazzo Poggioreale, M. Saraceno, and Sabucina.

<sup>1144</sup> Spatafora 2003: 50-1.

extended family or clan groups and the evolution of the basic domestic unit to incorporate both manufacturing and ritual activity. This is contemporary with construction of rooms with fixed orientation arranged around intermediate – largely outdoor – spaces connecting them,<sup>1145</sup> comparable to nearby areas such as M. Iato where, by the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, cultic and domestic space are incorporated, linked spatially and architecturally by the construction of the large Archaic feasting building connected to sacred structures (such as the Archaic Temple of Aphrodite).<sup>1146</sup> The distinction within domestic space likely reflects social and economic changes, perhaps with role delineation and nascent occupational differentiation, and even diversification of roles within the family. Clearly demarcated feasting space is more similar to Greek models; such space is interpreted within the local sphere of consumptive practices, however, with use of both imported and local traditional products, and the development of semi-differentiated drinking and eating spaces is witnessed in the previous century by imported drinking wares in the earlier levels of Buildings 1 and 2. Thus, by the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, M. Maranfusa displays a mix of traditional and newly adopted plans, construction techniques, objects, and urban patterns, conditioned by the town's location along a major route between Greek and indigenous centers.

Objects clearly demonstrate the permeability of indigenous tradition, despite circulation of goods, products and technologies beginning in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century. [Table 5.1] Certain sectors of society at M. Maranfusa sought to brand themselves through new social and cultural patterns conditioned by Greek objects, but these never fully replaced local ceramics as use of the latter was adapted to accommodate new types. Incised and stamped vessels, the site's defining products, start to be widely produced in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century, the majority coming from 6<sup>th</sup> and

---

<sup>1145</sup> Spatafora 2003: 68.

<sup>1146</sup> Isler 2010: 167-82.

even early-5<sup>th</sup> century contexts. A few types of large bowls and footed “fruit bowls” demonstrate the persistence of types still closely linked to local tradition.<sup>1147</sup> (Fig. 5.6) Several differ from other contemporary indigenous ceramic shapes in being handmade or thrown on a slow wheel, suggesting persistence of molding techniques despite openness to innovation and new technologies. Some of the most important long-lived “traditional” shapes, maintained throughout the PA and often beyond, are ladles and dippers, fruit bowls, elongated jugs,<sup>1148</sup> amphorae (some with taurine/human mask protomes alongside stamped and incised decoration, attested in other Sikanian and Elymian contexts in west-Central Sicily),<sup>1149</sup> and askoi, some with shoulder sieves or incised bird decoration, based on models from the Thapsos facies. Only in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries do local incised and stamped products take on decorative characteristics of Geometric wares from early Greek imports to the area.

Overall, the painted decorative syntax at M. Maranfusa derives from a type first developed in Sicily in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century with a decorative repertoire clearly derived from Greek examples, the motifs related to different geometric traditions that local artists reworked in original new, although often simplified, ways.<sup>1150</sup> The M. Maranfusa ceramics are derived from Himera and Naxos prototypes, copies and imports from eastern Greece. There is a comparative lack of patterns attested in the incised and stamped repertoire, though,

---

<sup>1147</sup> Spatafora 2003: 153. Hand-modelled askoi, widespread in LBA, EIA, and Protoarchaic contexts, are found in Sant’Angelo Muxaro, Polizzello, Morgantina, and Castello della Pietra. Incised and stamped wares with simpler decorative schemes, such as vertical lines and alternating vertical bands with herringbone designs, part of a central-western koine with roots in the MBA Thapsos Culture, are attested to the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>1148</sup> Trefoil oinochoai and decorative plastic jugs with engraved radial beams are especially common, and both elongated jugs and carinated pots are based on EIA tradition.

<sup>1149</sup> Spatafora 2003: 135. These are attested in M. Saraceno, Colle Madore, Polizzello, Nicosia, Naro, M. Castellazzo Poggioreale, Entella, Mura Pregne, and Sabucina. (*Supra* 251-2, 275-6)

<sup>1150</sup> Spatafora 2003: 150. Metopes, triglyphs, stylized plant motifs, and horizontal/vertical bands are particularly common

suggesting these types derive from a different decorative tradition. Explanations for this ware's persistence and elaboration in western Sicily, contrasted with a preference in eastern Sicily for painted vessels, may be explained by slightly different responses to the spread and adoption of Greek pottery styles, initially more influential in eastern Sicily. In fact, the vast majority of incised and stamped wares in western Sicily come from 6<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> century contexts, in contrast with even central-western contexts such as Sant'Angelo Muxaro, where most of these vessels date from the late 8<sup>th</sup> to first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1151</sup>

Society through the Archaic is thus infused with local tradition, even in modes of production, although the inhabitants for decades had interacted with other communities in the immediate vicinity, such as M. Iato (a town much more receptive to innovations, especially civic and religious architectural models). Material culture seems to confirm this; at M. Maranfusa, Greek imports and distinctive Greek cultural traditions are not as prevalent as in some other indigenous sites in western Sicily, and reach this area later than in the east. Indigenous-style objects are produced throughout the settlement's existence, including incised amphorae with anthropomorphizing bull protomes, numerous incised cup-dippers, and stylized bronze astragaloï.<sup>1152</sup> The object assemblages from earlier contexts at M. Maranfusa are similar in terms of use to ritual contexts at Sabucina (Oikos A and the Southern Necropolis) and Terravecchia di Cuti.

Particularly unusual, and isolated from the Greek sphere, are cookpots (olle) with cylindrical or truncated-conical bodies, a form seen in central-western indigenous and Punic EIA

---

<sup>1151</sup> Spatafora 2003: 152.

<sup>1152</sup> These astragaloï are also attested in Palike (Building A), the Mendolito hoard, Castronovo hoard, Polizzello (Oikos B), Sabucina (western sector habitations), Butera T. 21 and T. 154, Bitalemi Sanctuary metal deposits, and Naxos La Musa Sanctuary. ã



and Archaic contexts in Sicily<sup>1153</sup> but lacking in Greek settlements (except examples from Himera and Mylai).<sup>1154</sup> This type appears to be an EIA development, perhaps an adapted form, reaching this area via trade with the Punic world.<sup>1155</sup> This type of vessel, like many other object types common in both indigenous and Greek spaces yet demonstrating no clear one-way trajectory of influence (consider the case of bronze astragaloi, or bone “disc” fibulae common in sanctuary contexts at sites as idiosyncratic as Syracuse and Polizzello) demonstrates the permeability of forms in what could be interpreted as hybrid space, not only in terms of the identity of the inhabitants but also in terms of the objects they utilized, which may have been associated not with a specific “ethnos” but rather with a specific lifestyle and pathway of consumption or ritual.

### **Monte Iato: Responses to Greek and Phoenician Presence: Ancestrality and Indigeneity**

M. Iato, ancient Iaitas, located on a mountain near the source of the Belice River, was ideally situated to trade with Greeks from Selinunte and Agrigento to the south and, to a lesser extent, Himera to the north.<sup>1156</sup> The site’s liminal position in the border zone between Sikanian and Elymian settlements and the permeability of these border regions (with object types of both Elymian and Sikanian cultures) have led to questions of its identity. Recent research has explored how these areas articulated local and regional power structures through contacts with Greeks, Phoenicians and other indigenous zones of Sicily.<sup>1157</sup> The site and architectural development also

---

<sup>1153</sup> These are attested at Palermo, Solunto and Mozia, among other sites.

<sup>1154</sup> Spatafora 2003: 255-7.

<sup>1155</sup> Spatafora 2003: 261.

<sup>1156</sup> The site is more closely linked – especially in terms of material culture – with Selinunte than Himera. (Isler 1999: 154-5).

<sup>1157</sup> Isler 1999; Isler 2005; Isler 2010; Kistler et al. 2013b; Kistler et al. 2015b. . Excavation of levels beneath the Hellenistic peristyle houses led to the discovery of the Late Archaic House. Earlier excavations were published in a series of volumes, *Studia Ietina* I-X. Since 2010 reports on excavation by the University of Zurich and the University of Innsbruck have been published annually, in *Antike Kunst* (Reusser et al. 2011-2014), and by Kistler et al. (Kistler et al. 2012-2015).

engage with broader trends, such as the presence of earlier elliptical or oval dwellings superimposed by sub-rectangular and multi-room rectangular structures showing engagement with the Greek world; adoption of Greek-style naiskoi; and retention of early-type ceramics such as piumata ware, well into the Archaic.

The early site's urban layout is still largely undefined, with little evidence for pre-8<sup>th</sup> century occupation. Corinthian, Ionian, and Etruscan bucchero pottery show direct Greek contact at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Despite imports in general appearing relatively late at M. Iato, high-quality Attic imports appear around 580, comparatively early even for the closest Greek coastal sites.<sup>1158</sup> This may demonstrate pan-Mediterranean interconnectedness of the site's elites early on, and perhaps an ability to choose high-quality imports coming to coastal centers – suggesting that these individuals frequented Greek cities that were the first to obtain these elite goods, traveled to distant locations, or participated in aristocratic gift-exchange.

By the Archaic, the site displays a unique, ambiguous identity; scholars have debated whether it was indigenous, Greek, or a combination. (Fig. 5.7) Greek-style construction (rectilinear stone buildings and multi-room structures replacing earlier one-roomed structures) shows Greek presence or impact by c. 550, although large-scale external settlement here is debated.<sup>1159</sup> Several Greek-style cult and public buildings were constructed in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> century, including a Temple of Aphrodite and Late Archaic courtyard structure, but there is strong continuity at the site even with outwardly Greek culture seeming to have increasingly replaced local traditions.<sup>1160</sup>

---

<sup>1158</sup> Isler 2000a: 718.

<sup>1159</sup> Isler 2010: 169.

<sup>1160</sup> Isler 2010: 167-87. By 450, evidence for indigenous cultural traditions disappears; c. 300 the site was re-founded along the lines of a Greek polis, with bouleuterion and theater. Typical polis structures and Greek architecture need

During the late 8<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, several sub-rectangular hut structures were built on bedrock in the area of the later Archaic settlement.<sup>1161</sup> Late 7<sup>th</sup> century curvilinear huts west of the peristyle house and in the East Quarter are not associated with Greek imports; disturbance has made original floor levels difficult to date.<sup>1162</sup> (Fig. 5.8) Indigenous construction characterizes the site's earliest secure mixed contexts in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, near the Hellenistic peristyle house.<sup>1163</sup> One, a two-room house, is generally comparable in layout to buildings at M. Maranfusa, with which the site largely shares a material culture. (Fig. 5.9) Construction too is similar – irregular, non-rectangular houses with rounded, not sharp corners.<sup>1164</sup> An Ionian Type B1 cup and MC kotyle with indigenous goods in the destruction level suggest that it went out of use in the first quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Finally, a round hut model was discovered in a Late Archaic building slightly to the east,<sup>1165</sup> its conical roof, monumental doorway, vertical walls, terracotta bull on the roofline (similar to other bull figurines here), and combined painting and stamped concentric circles (characteristic of late-phase incised wares in the area) comparable to earlier hut-shrines found in sacred and domestic contexts,<sup>1166</sup> attributed mainly to Sikanian spheres of influence, it may indicate continued focus on sacrality and ancestry.<sup>1167</sup> (Fig. 5.10) This may be from a

---

not indicate wholesale ethnic change in, though, given 5<sup>th</sup> century Doric temples at the Elymian settlement of Segesta.

<sup>1161</sup> Evidenced by the remains of post holes and small stone structures, as well as use layers with ceramics and animal bone

<sup>1162</sup> Kistler et al. 2014: 5-9.

<sup>1163</sup> Isler 2005: 14-8. These were uncovered during excavations focused on the East Quarter in the 2004 season.

<sup>1164</sup> Kistler et al. 2014: 5-7.

<sup>1165</sup> This was found during excavation of Test Trench 1600 in the East Quarter.

<sup>1166</sup> Similar examples have been found in sanctuary and grave contexts at Polizzello, Vassallaggi, M. Roveto and Colle Madore, two in a residential building at Contrada Sanfilippo; at Sabucina hut models were in bottoms of ritual bowls.

small domestic shrine, although the function is uncertain. Despite its slightly later context, this house is nevertheless remarkable for the quality of imported wares (including Attic Black Figure) and may shed light on continuing ethnic associations into the Late Archaic, especially in light of other structures and institutions here.

Three early strata directly on bedrock were also found on the agora's southern edge.<sup>1168</sup> By the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century several habitations stood here, including a possible early oikos, replaced by another house at the turn of the century. (Fig. 5.11) These are well-planned one- or two-room structures, each with at least two Archaic phases, more carefully constructed than houses in the East Quarter.<sup>1169</sup> In these habitation layers, indigenous, especially matt-painted, ceramics, dominate (unfortunately mostly decontextualized) although Corinthian, colonial, and Etruscan imports are also found.<sup>1170</sup> (Fig. 5.12) House I, built around the second quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, has two rooms, and walls of one or more original one-room buildings may have been used in the later structure. Directly on the bedrock were a fibula and terracotta head of a bearded man from the early 6<sup>th</sup> century (a rarely attested type, especially in indigenous contexts in central and western Sicily).<sup>1171</sup> Local and regional coarseware and fineware, used in religious and festive events and linked to sacrificial feasts at the later Temple of Aphrodite, suggest feasting here. Two incised sherds suggest typologies of use in the 6<sup>th</sup> century wherein Greek ceramics were

---

<sup>1167</sup> *Supra* 263-4, 277-8; Isler 2010: 162-7.

<sup>1168</sup> Isler 2010: 138. These were found in a deep excavation conducted in 1984 in the southwest corner of the agora.

<sup>1169</sup> Reusser et al. 2012: 116-8.

<sup>1170</sup> The early material included several indigenous vessels, such as a cooking pot, Siculo-Geometric oinochoe and bowl, and large pithos with three cordon lugs; and Greek drinking vessels (Ionian Type B2 cup, Attic black slipped skyphos, Attic dish, colonial imitation Type C bowl) and Sikeliote lamp.

<sup>1171</sup> Isler 2010: 57-8.

employed in drinking while matt painted and monochrome indigenous wares – incised and unincised – were used for food and drink storage, preparation, serving and consumption.

House II, east of House I, also incorporated earlier, less well-preserved structures suggesting occupation by the first half of the century.<sup>1172</sup> In general, houses of the older Archaic phase were constructed parallel to each other, while no specific order is seen in houses of the Late Archaic, possibly due to space constraints.<sup>1173</sup> The increase in house sizes and switch from one- to two-room structures has parallels in the Greek world at Megara Hyblaea and Naxos, although these generally develop later. However, the unplanned growth at this site is different from that observed in Greek Sicily, mirroring more closely settlement patterns in indigenous central and west-central Sicily.

The site's West Quarter has a number of monumental structures, most built in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century: a Temple of Aphrodite and several Late Archaic buildings are particularly elaborate. By the Early Archaic phase a sacred structure already occupied this area, while slightly to the north, an earlier Archaic layer underlies a Hellenistic cult building, evidenced by a terracotta relief from the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century depicting a lion and bull, as well as high-quality ceramics and a bull figurine.<sup>1174</sup> (Fig. 5.13) A collapsed wall between the late Archaic house and the northwest corner of the Aphrodite Temple<sup>1175</sup> contained early 6<sup>th</sup> century material, including incised and stamped ceramics such as a “fruit bowl,” fragments of carinated

---

<sup>1172</sup> Reusser et al. 2011: 76-82. The date is suggested by an MC or LC kotyle excavated in the older Archaic exterior level between Houses I and II.

<sup>1173</sup> Reusser et al. 2011: 82.

<sup>1174</sup> Isler 2010: 172-176.

<sup>1175</sup> The stone surface of the Late Archaic ramp leading to the Temple of Aphrodite, placed on top of these layers, provides a *terminus ante quem* of the second quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. (Kistler et al. 2013: 3-6)

cups, and oinochoai broadly comparable to those from other western Sicilian sacred sites.<sup>1176</sup>

Greek products likely used as votives or in drinking rituals are also widely present in these early Archaic levels. Despite the presence of earlier ritual contexts, the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century Temple of Aphrodite is one of the earliest attested actual cult structures at the site. An oikos-type temple with pronaos, adyton and simple altar in the front, in the Greek architectural tradition, it is comparable to early oikos temples in colonial cities such as Temple A at Himera and the Temple of Demeter Malophoros and Temples R and S at Selinunte.<sup>1177</sup> (Fig. 5.14) Cult buildings from the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> century are to the east of the Aphrodite temple, suggesting a major cultic destination.

The Late Archaic courtyard house was integrated into this expanding area, destroying earlier Archaic buildings. (Fig. 5.15) An early Archaic dwelling to the north had a main room with rounded corners and adjoining rounded building with irregularly laid walls, typical of indigenous habitations in this region.<sup>1178</sup> (Fig. 5.16) Occupation or abandonment debris included a piumata basin on the floor level and a monochrome jug and pithos. Generally, these huts in the area of the later Aphrodite temple were constructed before houses in the agora area, the first of which was built no earlier than the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. These dwellings, of more refined construction than the East Quarter's late 7<sup>th</sup> century huts, are transitional between wattle-and-daub semicircular or rounded huts and more durable stone constructions in the West

---

<sup>1176</sup> This includes a fragment of a Siculo-Geometric jug, comparable to types produced in Polizzello in the 7<sup>th</sup> to first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. (Kistler et al. 2013: 5)

<sup>1177</sup> Isler 2010: 167-9. *Supra* 89, 293. This was dated by Sikeliote Ionian Type B1 and B2 cups and fragment of a Little Master kylix.

<sup>1178</sup> Kistler et. al 2012: 9-10. A round structure adjoining the building was perhaps an annex for food preparation, as at M. Maranfusa. Similar simple huts with clay floors also emerged below the Southeast side of the Late Archaic house.

Quarter. These likely were abandoned during construction of the Late Archaic courtyard house, portions of them incorporated into the later house.<sup>1179</sup>

The layout and construction of the courtyard house was quite different from contemporary houses in the area. Walls were entirely stone and mudbrick, and the house had multiple stories with a tiled roof and painted floors and walls – modern construction for the period. Upper floors contained banqueting rooms linked to the adjoining square and ramp to the altar area in front of the Temple of Aphrodite. These rooms, following the Greek model of the *andreion*, closely resemble examples from Himera, Selinunte, and the Megara Hyblaea agora. The material also was closely tied to Greek coastal cities, with many Greek imports, especially in the upper floor banqueting debris, which aligns with the social arenas of local elites; Greek influence was more apparent here than elsewhere in the Archaic settlement, although indigenous objects appear in large numbers. Particularly intriguing is a cup-dipper found in upper-floor debris near a skyphos by the Theseus Painter. (Fig. 5.17) Its shape and decoration reflect 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century local culture, but its firing and modeling on the fast wheel evidence skills of the late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, indicating a conscious return to the pre-colonial, an example of what Kistler designates “Archaika.”<sup>1180</sup> Other indigenous wares include polychrome painted vessels of a later decorative style also related to drinking and consumption, and local ceramics rooted in earlier 7<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> century tradition but clearly utilized in a later, more ambiguous or mixed context, including an oinochoe with a male figure with outstretched hands on both sides,

---

<sup>1179</sup> The eastern part of the annex was laid on compressed layers outside the Late Archaic house. (Kistler et al 2014: 5-9).

<sup>1180</sup> An incised vessel in analogous style at M. Maranfusa found alongside Attic black-figure vases was dated to the late 6<sup>th</sup> century, evidencing cultural links between these two centers. (Kistler et al. 2013b: 253-4; Kistler et al. 2016: 89, 92).

a rare motif.<sup>1181</sup> (Fig. 5.18) Older incised forms from the top floor include an incised bowl from the late 7<sup>th</sup> to first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>1182</sup> likely an heirloom or vessel associated with cultic activities. In general all Greek and indigenous vessels from upper stories except for a few imported Greek perfume vessels are associated with wine consumption, dominated above all by cups, with several high-quality imports, including Attic vases.<sup>1183</sup> This typology differs slightly from other western Sicilian sites, where broadly speaking smaller drinking vessels – mainly cups – were Greek imports while larger vessels, storage vases and oinochoai, tend to be from local repertoires and perfume vases are virtually nonexistent.

Identification of the house occupants as colonial Greek elite or local leaders influenced by contemporary Greek modalities is complicated by objects deposited around the house that show clear breaks from consumption patterns inside. A deposit north of the house, although likely also derived from consumption practices, is significantly different from the upper-level feasting deposit. (Fig. 5.19) Immediately in front of the entrance to the banqueting rooms, in what was likely exterior feasting space, was a ditch filled with ritual debris. Two layers of pottery and bone, each sealed with clay, may indicate successive rituals or phases of use; each contained incised and stamped vessels and coarseware and fineware monochrome painted sherds from the late 7<sup>th</sup> to first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Other ritual debris includes a ceramic cow horn from the deposit's upper surface (a common indigenous ritual form), bones, and bread and barley cake residue. Fresh breaks in the ceramics suggest immediate deposition after ritual breakage. The

---

<sup>1181</sup> Anthropomorphic figures on indigenous pots are uncommon, although the motif is comparable to a Polizzello example depicting a warrior as well as an indigenous krater from M. Iato showing series of five figures and a bird. The decoration is closely aligned with Greek Late Geometric representation conventions. (Isler 2010: 208-9).

<sup>1182</sup> This date is suggested by the fact that the vessel is molded by hand on a slow wheel, with a less hard and more uneven firing surface. (Kistler et al. 2013: 252-4).

<sup>1183</sup> Isler 2010: 209.



only Greek import, a Nikosthenic pyxis of c. 500, found immediately beneath the deposit and not associated with it, provides a terminus post quem. No other Greek imports are present, suggesting what the archaeologists labeled an artificial cultural manifestation recalling a pre-Greek period, since it was not usual by this time to use only indigenous vessels.<sup>1184</sup> This is in direct contrast to the top layer's destruction deposit and nearby deposits indicating open-air feasting, which include a significant number of Greek imports. As even decontextualized deposits from the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century in agora backfills also contain colonial imports, despite their earlier dates, excavators suggest that the trenches effectively were a "thesaurisation" of goods over a period of about 50 years between accumulation of the goods and their deposit.<sup>1185</sup> Several theories might explain this accumulation. A different group may have used these wares to define themselves as separate from those utilizing the building; the objects may have been broken and deposited in ritual or when the area was occupied by a new group that no longer used these forms; the objects may have been discarded to make room for newer wares, perhaps when the Archaic house was built; or they could have been heirlooms intentionally broken and deposited in a ritual, stressing local identity by reenacting ancestral rites.<sup>1186</sup> In any case, the house and exterior feasting space seem to have been arenas for interplay of local identities, particularly of elites seeking social capital through feasts and rituals involving libation and consumption.

---

<sup>1184</sup> Kistler et al. 2016: 83.

<sup>1185</sup> Kistler et al. 2016: 90-93.

<sup>1186</sup> Kistler et al. 2016: 91-2. Intentional, ritual breakage of ceramics has also been suggested at the sacred sites of Palike (Building A), the Alaimo sanctuary at Leontini, Colle Madore (circular oikos), M. Polizzo (near Altar A2) and early sacred contexts near the North Building at Polizzello. Furthermore, ritual breakage associated with funerary ritual may have occurred in some indigenous tomb contexts, including at Polizzello, Morgantina (especially Necropolis V), and Later II at Butera.

Thus, at least four Archaic construction phases can be isolated at the site, the general development in domestic structures over time, from elliptical or sub-rectangular to rectangular, and towards more durable construction and larger households perhaps reflecting changes in family units and society. (Fig. 5.20) Despite this evolution, though, there was not continuous development towards an overall more urbanized plan; households were organized in a loose structure of individual groups, comparable to other indigenous settlements of the period, such as 6<sup>th</sup>-century buildings on Hill 3 at M. San Mauro and the second phase of the M. Maranfusa settlement.<sup>1187</sup>

Throughout the site, the earliest ceramics, from the 8<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> century, are handmade, elaborated with incised decoration, continuing through the early 5<sup>th</sup> century with typically indigenous shapes such as high-footed plates, stands, bowls, small jugs, and cup-dippers. Also attested are piumata ware, locally made burnished wares and undecorated vessels produced in the EIA.<sup>1188</sup>

The ceramic typologies and a change towards more standardized repertoires in the early Archaic suggest a more central Sicilian culture or influence, or at the least wider-scale changes and trends in identity, perhaps linked to migration of groups or emergence of a new social hierarchy or ethnos (such as Elymians), leading to a material record demonstrating power consolidation by a single group. In the late 7<sup>th</sup> century, locally produced *dipinto* painted pottery adopts forms and decoration reminiscent of Greek LG and Subgeometric styles (particularly hydriai and jug forms, band and wave decorations, meander motifs, and metopal arrangements); indigenous production inspired by Greek forms and polychrome style ceramics lasts into the

---

<sup>1187</sup> Isler 2010: 216-8.

<sup>1188</sup> Isler 2010: 141-4; Reusser et al. 2012: 116-8.

early 5<sup>th</sup> century, although with a lag in adoption of Greek forms.<sup>1189</sup> Indigenous terracottas are also relatively common in contexts at M. Iato, mainly in sacred contexts.<sup>1190</sup>

Numerous Greek imports are seen at the site, many of the highest-quality examples from sacred contexts. Among the earliest are EC Subgeometric kotylai and Ionian Type A2 cups of the last quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, although at least two LPC sherds suggest earlier Greek presence or exchange. (Fig. 5.21) Overall, Corinthian wares are numerous, most from the EC through LC I period, with MC the majority, as at Selinunte.<sup>1191</sup> Most are kotylai; other Corinthian types are rarer but tend to be high-quality vessels linked to the symposium, such as perfume vessels and kraters, often with zoomorphic friezes.<sup>1192</sup>

Most intriguing in terms of trade is the early presence of Attic imports at the end of the first or start of the second quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1193</sup> (Fig. 5.22) The import of Attic ceramics displays patterns inconsistent with the rest of western Sicily, and especially with indigenous sites. While patterns of Sikelote, Ionian and Corinthian imports are constant with the rest of the island, high-quality painted Attic ceramics are imported here just as they begin to reach east-coast Greek colonies in very small quantities, even though we should expect a lag given the

---

<sup>1189</sup> Isler 1999: 144.

<sup>1190</sup> Other indigenous ceramics are spindle whorls, small terracotta statuettes, and fragments of horse and carriage figurine.

<sup>1191</sup> Isler 1999: 154.

<sup>1192</sup> Isler 1999: 146-7.

<sup>1193</sup> Attic imports include Little Master cups, Siana cups, and fragments of Attic kraters, all dating around the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, and some fragments of Attic SOS amphorae, although the number fewer than in many other Sicilian sites. Among the oldest are komast vessels by the KY painter (c. 580-570) from a sacred context, a cup attributed to the Griffio Painter, a kylix fragment attributed to the Painter of Athens 533 (c. 560) and a black-figure column-krater by Lydos (c. 560-555); the last is similar to one from Sabucina, perhaps by the same master; it may be no coincidence that both are from indigenous sites.

“cultural insulation” often ascribed to this time and place.<sup>1194</sup> Selinunte is the likely source of these wares, perhaps indicating a new population influx, or alternately (or interrelatedly), emergence of an elite in the community.

This local early rise of Attic wares is not surprising given the imports popular at the site, and the people using them. Most imported Greek and non-indigenous vessels are commensal – kraters and drinking vessels such as Ionian cups, Attic komast-vases, Corinthian kotylai, and Etruscan bucchero kantharoi – suggesting that at M. Iato, early imported ceramics were associated with local upper-class symposia.<sup>1195</sup> These were precisely the people who could afford new products, perhaps generating early, strong interest in these trends. Unusually (although perhaps due to excavated contexts’ nature), ointment vases are much rarer and less varied than in other areas of Sicily, with only Corinthian examples found; although such vessels are generally rarer in indigenous sites, and in fact sanctuary contexts here yielded higher numbers than in comparable contexts at more “traditional” Archaic indigenous sites. Transport amphorae, also relatively rare, stored oil, suggesting that wine production was largely localized. East Greek bucchero and imported Laconian ceramics, widespread if not particularly common in early 6<sup>th</sup>-century Sicilian contexts, are similarly lacking, although Etruscan bucchero was imported beginning around 600, with at least five examples from the first quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1196</sup> Finally, Punic influence is seen, but less than in M. Polizzo and Elymian sites further west that were better situated to take advantage of trade currents.<sup>1197</sup>

---

<sup>1194</sup> Isler 2010: 194-5; 216.

<sup>1195</sup> Isler 1999: 155.

<sup>1196</sup> Isler 1999: 154-5.

<sup>1197</sup> Isler 2010: 149.

Imports, changes in technology and construction methods, and new building types have led scholars to correlate change at the site with Greek elements in the settlement from the second quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century onwards. However, it does not seem that Greeks widely settled the site before the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century or were the main impetus for change. Like Polizzello, M. Iato seems to have been a regional arena for elite display and practice, although in a different role. Numerous high-quality drinking wares show elite participation in collective behavior; yet continued dominance of local wares, especially for food and drink preparation, demonstrate that certain elements of local culture remained impervious to Greek influence. This also implies that the site was not widely settled by Greeks in the Archaic but rather was one of several central and western Sicilian sites where local elites engaged in commensal practices and elite networking, on both intra-site and regional levels, maximizing display with Greek elements while still maintaining a distinct identity.<sup>1198</sup> Kistler has interpreted the seemingly opposing discourses of “coloniality” and “locality” – Greek imports used beside goods and traditions rooted in local culture – as two sides of the same coin, conventions utilized depending on the social situation and the statement to be made. Coloniality is seen in use of Greek goods to signal status, exclusivity, and access to a certain ritual or experience. Accumulation of these objects advertised prestige, especially if displayed at banquets or given as gifts to produce social obligations. Control of access to and consumption of colonial and Greek imports augmented power and control within the local society’s elite sectors, prompting societal change through concentration of resources and organization of labor. The result was construction of more elaborate household structures and more monumental civic buildings on the Greek model and a broadened

---

<sup>1198</sup> Kistler et al. 2016: 92. This pattern of Greek imports used for drinking practices and indigenous vessels for food preparation and short-term storage is paralleled at M. Maranfusa. Additionally, it can be seen in the warrior grave at Montagna di Marzo and ceramic assemblages at the Archaic Necropolis of Morgantina.

settlement scope, which, by the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, had included a regional sanctuary likely serving not just local but also interregional elites, helping solidify and centralize those hierarchies.<sup>1199</sup>

Over the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, “indigenization” of colonial imports and continued use of traditional wares and perhaps also heirlooms or “antiques” – such as the cup-dipper from destruction debris of the Late Archaic house – also led by the second half of the century to creation of a kind of third space, neither wholly Greek nor Elymian, allowing local elites to retain power in the hinterland of the Greek littoral and leading to creation of a staged “Pre-Greek” past.<sup>1200</sup> Not all incised and stamped wares utilized belonged to an earlier period, as some were consciously created in “archaizing” style, but still they are used to claim ownership of local history, most evident in the distinctive lack of imports in the open-air feasting space at the Late Archaic house. This claim is balanced by accumulation of cultural and social capital in the form of Greek imports, giving the owner an aura of authority through connections with the colonial world while also maintaining the aegis of local identity in the face of external influences. This resistance and local agency lasts rather late at M. Iato, through the first quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, despite (or perhaps because of) Greeks at and near the site. Kistler cites this continuation of local artifact typologies as the “production of locality to render the colonial matrix of power bearable in the local community” although it is just as likely that these artifacts still played a vital role in expressing local identity.<sup>1201</sup>

The local-colonial balance is also clear in M. Iato’s architecture, firmly entrenched in the Greek sphere by the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century but still ambiguous – a mixed space, an arena

---

<sup>1199</sup> Kistler et al. 2016: 82.

<sup>1200</sup> Dietler 2010, 220-222.

<sup>1201</sup> Cite: “Between Aphrodite Temple and Late Archaic House II”: 9.

of experimentation in different rituals and objects. This new architecture, rather than tied specifically to Greekness, expresses an enhanced, demarcated elite identity defined through new civic institutions and public actions such as ritual feasting previously tied mainly to private spheres. Both exclusive objects and architecture were needed to advertise status, especially if one's eliteness was not rooted in ancestral claims. As Kistler notes, "both to the colonial and to the indigenous public, the new leaders of Iato, who had made coloniality the basis of their social and cultural advancement, needed to make credible their (invented) direct line of descent from the world of the forefathers....Only once they had succeeded in this were the cult patrons and new leaders of Iato also able to attract powerful aristocrats in the Greek and Phoenician coastal cities, which conversely was in turn a prerequisite for coloniality as a deliberate strategy in the internal discourse of power."<sup>1202</sup> Thus, both Greek imports and traditional shapes could help legitimize power and authority, as seen at Polizzello and M. Maranfusa, with new regional groups gaining power in a Sikanian-Elymian frontier zone, asserting new identities in contrast to both Greek coastal colonies and competing indigenous identities. Colonial practices and goods made it easier for the newfound elite to adopt these narratives and shape both their role in society and the identity of the site itself.

### **Monte Polizzo: Transcending the Boundaries between Domestic and Sacred Space**

M. Polizzo demonstrates several of the same trajectories and typologies as M. Iato: rectangular indigenous sacred buildings, multi-roomed houses from a relatively early period, and lack of evidence for agglutinative settlement patterns from this same phase. Also like M. Iato, there is no evidence for continuous occupation before the 7<sup>th</sup> century, despite some sporadic 8<sup>th</sup> century deposits and objects; this is also true at other areas of the region, such as M. Castellazzo,

---

<sup>1202</sup> Kistler et al. 2016: 92.

M. Maranfusa, Terravecchia di Cuti, and Montagna dei Cavalli. This suggests that indigenous urban centers arose on easily defensible hills in response to coastal Greek and Phoenician colonies; alternately, they may have been reactions to changes in ethnic alignments and the make-up of indigenous space in the island's western regions. However, there are some distinct differences between these sites, in factors such as the presence of ancestral-type round buildings (some replacing earlier rectangular public buildings), early paved open-air shrines later defined by buildings, renovation of ancestral space along lines of older walls, the simultaneous use of rectangular oikoi and rounded shrines, ritual abandonment of acropolis space, extensive use of rock-cut architecture, presence of early open-air altars, involvement of deer remains in ritual, and the suggestion of intentional fragmentation of ceramics associated with rites.

Excavations since the 1970s have generally focused on cultural and economic change in the late 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, especially in use of space, ritual, and contexts of objects; the aim has been to compare M. Polizzo with other western Sicilian sites and indigenous and Greek sites throughout the island. However, the ethnic situation at M. Polizzo is not clear-cut, and work shows that the Hellenization model and its use as a research framework must be modified. The main problem is that, as Morris notes, "there is little evidence to indicate that adoption of the external trappings of Hellenism was necessarily internally perceived as cultural assimilation... Understanding sixth-century religion and changing conceptions of the sacred calls for the same methods and evidence as the analysis of Hellenization more generally and above all precise quantification and comparisons between sites and between areas within sites."<sup>1203</sup> He further clarifies that the model of commensality and display, associated with changes in elite culture, might be more useful for analyzing changes at M. Polizzo during the Archaic, citing its

---

<sup>1203</sup> Morris et al. 2002: 187.



utility in explaining changes in the Rhone Valley during the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>1204</sup> It can also aid in explaining variations within M. Polizzo and between it and other communities, especially differences in receptivity of new ideas and goods and how these were assimilated into local culture.

Closely linked to issues of cultural change and variation is the question of the identity of M. Polizzo's inhabitants. The site is traditionally considered in the Elymian region, despite the lack of clear differences between Elymian and Sikanian material cultures: "instead they observed a broad zone of similar pottery, settlement forms, and religious practices from the Salsa and Imera valleys to the western coast, while within this zone, they found considerable variation between sites."<sup>1205</sup> Artifacts from M. Polizzo, like many Elymian sites, display strong links with Sikanian products of the nearby Platani Valley, particularly Polizzello and Sant'Angelo Muxaro. Peculiarities in the Elymian repertoire include frequent use of polychromy on pottery, anthropomorphic painted images (seen in the Grotta Vanella deposit at Segesta), and anthropomorphic/zoomorphic handle protomes. Likely the issues of degree of Greek influence and rise in material differentiation of ethnicities are interrelated, with selective adoption of Greek material and continuation of native material varying site by site, not regionally. Indigenous centers and ethnic groups saw no need to differentiate themselves materially until challenged by an exterior force. As Morris notes, M. Polizzo seems more resistant to Greek culture and practices than other Elymian sites such as Segesta, although the site's population used Greek objects and architecture in self-definition.<sup>1206</sup>

---

<sup>1204</sup> Explored by Dietler in discussion of Greek-indigenous interactions in the western Mediterranean (Dietler 2010).

<sup>1205</sup> Morris et al. 2002b: 2.

<sup>1206</sup> Morris et al. 2002b: 74.

M. Polizzo lies on an interconnected system of ridges; the main site is one of the highest settled hilltops in northwest Sicily. (Fig. 5.23) It commands a view towards the north and west, ideally situated for trade with Greeks, Phoenicians, and other indigenous settlements, as it was located between the major indigenous center of Segesta, Phoenician settlement at Motya, and Selinunte, one of the most powerful Greek cities. M. Polizzo consists of an acropolis, numerous sacred buildings and a habitation area immediately around the acropolis and in the slopes below. A necropolis and fortifications have also been investigated although not extensively published.<sup>1207</sup>

Vincenzo Tusa's early excavations here attempted to answer questions about material markers of Sikanian versus Elymian identity, as well as the degree of "Hellenization" in the local communities.<sup>1208</sup> Later excavations of the lower slopes revealed a series of at least four Archaic habitations,<sup>1209</sup> and in the acropolis area, Stanford University excavations revealed sacred structures, ancillary buildings, storage spaces, and habitations.<sup>1210</sup> In general, these have found no clear urban plan, although settlement was based on a few guiding principles.

---

<sup>1207</sup> In the necropolis, outside the habitation area, a mixture of cremations and inhumations were found, while another burial ground with cist graves was located on the settlement's north slope. Unusually, no chamber tombs have been discovered. Material generally corresponds with material found inside the houses. (Leonora 1991)

<sup>1208</sup> Tusa 1972.

<sup>1209</sup> These excavations were conducted in 1998-2006 and were primarily published in reports (Mühlenbock et al. 2004a, b).

<sup>1210</sup> These were published in a series of reports (Morris et al., "Stanford University Excavations on the Acropolis of Monte Polizzo, Sicily, II," 2001-2003; Morris and Tusa 2004; Morris 2016). Further smaller excavations include a stratified Iron Age deposit ("the Profile") that was investigated in 1988-89 and subsequently studied by Cooper in her dissertation, "Traditions in Profile: A Chronological Sequence of Western Sicilian Ceramics, 7<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC"; while an Iron Age cemetery excavated by Rizzo in 2000-2001.

Excavations on the acropolis isolated Archaic-period occupation phases from the late 7<sup>th</sup> through first quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1211</sup> (Fig. 5.24) The main period of use was around the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, although rituals began in the area in the 7<sup>th</sup>. In Zone A, where religious buildings are concentrated, the most important were the circular main shrine (Building A1), an open-air altar, surrounded by subsidiary structures and modifications. In the 7<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries the summit was mainly open-air, with a large paved area, similar to early manifestations of sacred space at Gela (Predio Sola and Bitalemi sanctuaries), M. San Mauro (cultic space on Hill 1-2), Leontini (Alaimo and Scala Portazza sanctuaries), Megara Hyblaea (Temple ZR), the M. Saraceno acropolis, and Polizzello (area of the Tripartite Building). Building A1, in form and function comparable to hut-shrines at Colle Madore, Sabucina, M. Saraceno, Polizzello, Montagnoli, Caltabellotta, and M. Castellazzo di Poggioreale, was constructed in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1212</sup> Burnt patches and pits were associated with ritual items (including possible relics reused in rites), ceramics and animal bones.<sup>1213</sup> (Fig. 5.25) The only earlier sacred structure excavated is rectangular four-room Building A5, from around the first quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, partially excavated into a terrace on the ridge's western side. Ritual deposits were found in the open space to the south; earlier deposits under the structure suggest that Archaic ritual space

---

<sup>1211</sup> Phase I, the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century; Phase IIa, the second quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century and characterized by Corinthian and some East Greek imports; Phase IIb, the third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century and characterized mainly by East Greek imports (especially Ionian Type B2 cups) and some Corinthian, and Phase IIc, the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> to first quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, characterized by Attic black glaze and East Greek imports. (Morris et al. 2002b: 10)

<sup>1212</sup> Morris 2016: 199.

<sup>1213</sup> In an ash deposit was found an incised carinated cup-dipper between two ovicaprid jawbones; these seem to date to the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, after which the layer was sealed during the acropolis's restructuring. The dipper is particularly significant, comparable to earlier examples from the Grotta Vanella deposit at Segesta. The excavators note that the vessel may have been a 7<sup>th</sup> century relic used in later rituals at the site (Morris and Tusa 2004: 40-41).

was linked to 7<sup>th</sup> century sacred areas.<sup>1214</sup> After it went out of use in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century (in a general restructuring of the sacred area), a smaller rectangular room (A6) was constructed over the remains; this and nearby ritual deposits demonstrate sacrificial activity through the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1215</sup>

The main ritual structure on the acropolis, A1, was a one-room round building on the highest point. (Fig. 5.26) The earliest evidence of use dates to the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century; the earliest deposit excavated, at floor level, contained only one Greek sherd, an early 6<sup>th</sup> century Ionian Type B1 kylix. Inside the oikos were a round ceramic hearth and pit, both heaped with ash and sealed with clay when A1 was abandoned, suggesting special ritual activity.<sup>1216</sup> A ceramic basin inside the oikos likely belonged to its main period of use.<sup>1217</sup> Despite the small scale of ritual activity compared to similar sites, the area's sacrality is clear given the modest monumentalization of the area around the oikos –the pavement east of A1, near which was a small stele, with a complete deer antler set in front of it.

South of the temple was Altar A2, constructed of dressed sandstone blocks with traces of burning. This was built slightly later than the oikos, with evidence of rebuilding in the third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Such open-air altars find few parallels at indigenous sites in Sicily,

---

<sup>1214</sup> Building A5 has one large room and secondary chambers, one of which was paved with large slabs. The space can be dated by Greek imports Corinthian and Ionian Type B2 cups found on the floor. A small ash-filled pit was found in the open space containing part of a red deer antler, of likely ritual significance, and two deposits of round ceramic tokens. An intact 7<sup>th</sup> century deposit, including the base of a pithos, was found in a pit cut into the bedrock under this structure.

<sup>1215</sup> Morris et al. 2002b: 10, 65. Around the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, Building A5 was completely dismantled and a new clay and stone slab surface was laid; soon after, several more pits were dug into the newly-laid clay surface, subsequently filled with ash, animal bones, and fragments of cups.

<sup>1216</sup> Morris et al. 2004: 86-7. The hearth was found in Room A1/1, the pit in A1/2.

<sup>1217</sup> This basin is comparable to an example from Montagnoli, Oikoi 1 and 7, decorated with impressed circles; a basin from a 7<sup>th</sup> century rectangular oikos from Sabucina; and a basin from Oikos C, Polizzello.

although a possible example from the sacred area of Montagnoli dates to a similar period.<sup>1218</sup>

Both altars, constructed after the round sacred buildings, may have been borrowings from Greek practice.

Ash, bone and antler deposits, burnt debris next to the building and on the altar, fragments of wine cups around the altar, and a basin inside the oikos, are clear signs of animal sacrifice and commensality rites. The relatively few imports are still more than in acropolis habitation zones, suggesting that they were high-quality items deposited in conspicuous consumption. Deposition patterns of small objects display similarities with metal and worked-bone finds from sanctuary deposits at Polizzello, Montagnola di Marineo, and Colle Madore, signifying votive use despite the lack of discrete depositions (accumulating over time). (Fig. 5.27) Individualized votive depositions thus were not as important in indigenous cult here, and comparison with some circular oikoi such as those at Montagnoli, the Caltabellotta hut shrine, and Sabucina suggest that objects were used before deposition. Objects here have aspects of both types of depositions, suggesting that they were both used and displayed as votives inside the temple and periodically removed.<sup>1219</sup>

The acropolis underwent rapid expansion in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century with construction of ancillary buildings, a terrace wall, and more cultic structures, including a rectangular open-air enclosure with religious functions.<sup>1220</sup> In the circular oikos, an earlier-period

---

<sup>1218</sup> Morris et al. 2004: 86-7; Morris 2016: 199-205. This was a possible small altar of the early 6<sup>th</sup> century linked to Hut 1.

<sup>1219</sup> Morris et al. 2002: 185-6.

<sup>1220</sup> Morris et al. 2002b: 30-2; Morris et al. 2004: 86-7; Morris 2016: 13; Expansion in Zone D includes two buildings, D1 and D2, which likely served as storerooms for the shrine. Building D1 contained a large amount of pithos fragments, several Punic and Etruscan amphorae, ceramic loom supports, and little fineware, despite later date for abandonment. D2 contained similar artifact types, including a pit. A rectangular enclosure in Zone B, was perhaps used for drinking ceremonies, from the presence of imported Greek cups.

pit was sealed and above it was constructed a rectilinear open-air structure not unlike rectangular structures later built above circular oikoi at Polizzello or the renovation of the oikos at Caltabellotta. The Southern section of Building A1 became a semicircular platform laid against the new structure, the incorporation of ancestral buildings suggesting a degree of maintained sacrality here. There is a preponderance of deer bones and antlers in pits adjacent to the altar, as in deposits at other western Sicilian shrines, perhaps part of local religion paralleled by deer iconography on localized painted ceramics. M. Polizzo has higher concentrations of deer bones and antlers than other religious areas, including antlers that may have been modified for ritual use,<sup>1221</sup> suggesting a local cult to an Artemis-like hunting deity especially important to the Elymians. This deity and these rituals seem, however, to be largely unconnected to the Greek sphere, as no comparable assemblages are seen in Greece.<sup>1222</sup>

A burnt rectilinear house in nearby Zone B yielded the area's earliest archaeological evidence, from the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. It suggests that ritual space was not so distinct from domestic in the sanctuary's early period, given broad similarities between deposits here and those from the sacred oikos on the acropolis (A1) especially the antler deposit northeast of the shrine.<sup>1223</sup> A clay path from the acropolis's western slope may have led to a secondary sacred area.<sup>1224</sup> To the south, two later clay surfaces and a hearth yielded finds rather different from

---

<sup>1221</sup> Such as antler headdresses, as proposed by Morris and Tusa. (Morris et al. 2002b: 61; Morris et al. 2004: 89)

<sup>1222</sup> Morris et al. 2002b: 60-5; Morris et al. 2004: 74-5. The importance of deer in ritual at M. Polizzo is paralleled at Polizzello, with many deer antlers found in ritual deposits in Oikoi A and B; evidence of deer use in ritual has also been found in the oikoi at Colle Madore and the Malophoros Sanctuary at Selinunte, all in western Sicily. The Pian di Civita sacred area in Tarquinia, Etruria, included a ritual deposit dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, with a preponderance of deer bones and antlers; and the Sanctuary of Artemis and Apollo at Kalapodi contained many red deer bones.

<sup>1223</sup> Early evidence for habitation here includes part of a wall – Wall h – and associated layers in the trench excavated in Zone B – Trench L108 – which date to Phase IIa,

<sup>1224</sup> Within clay layers were Punic amphorae sherds and an Etruscan bucchero kantharos. (Morris et al. 2002b: 29-30)

elsewhere at the site, such as two almost complete indigenous vessels, grayware dipper and globular spouted pot. Deposits in Zone B also contained many small fragments of metal and bone ornaments, fragments of storage jars, large amounts of ash, and high percentages of deer antler with cut marks and burning, generally denoting group activity.

In Zone C to the south, a rectilinear building, constructed around 600 and destroyed by the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, suggests that rectangular habitations appear here slightly earlier than on the lower slopes and in Zone B – significant since the more “traditional” round public oikos on the acropolis was constructed still later.<sup>1225</sup> (Fig. 5.28) Even on the acropolis, rectilinear sacred structures such as Structure A5 appear before the round oikos. (Fig. 5.24) Polizzello presents a similar situation, with rectangular sacred structures abandoned in favor of circular shrines at the top of the settlement’s highest point, perhaps as a return to ancestral forms that became more popular in this period.<sup>1226</sup> Furthermore, assemblages from various areas at M. Polizzo in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century have relatively low percentages of Greek material compared to similar deposits of the same time, even in western Sicily, indicating that some other western Sicilian communities were more receptive to Greek culture.<sup>1227</sup>

Indeed, throughout the acropolis area and immediate zones, there is an unusually low number of Greek imports, mainly cups, with smaller quantities of kraters, amphorae, and jugs (broadly similar to other western Sicilian indigenous contexts, especially sanctuaries). Significant

---

<sup>1225</sup> A small rectangular room was the earliest space located in Zone C, constructed of wattle and daub with a pitched wood and thatch roof and bedrock and limestone slab floor. In the center of Room C1/1 were a smashed amphora with basin beneath; cuttings in the bedrock floor level contained 7<sup>th</sup> century processing ceramics, a grindstone and bones. A later destruction deposit included early imports and a Cypriot flask alongside incised bowls. An occupation deposit near 6<sup>th</sup> century walls held mostly grayware, with Corinthian and Sikeliote sherds and animal bones. (Morris et al. 2004: 2000-2003, 40-41)

<sup>1226</sup> Morris et al. 2002b: 53, 67; Morris et al. 2004: 89-90.

<sup>1227</sup> Morris et al. 2002: 182.

variations between parts of the site, even different parts of the acropolis, include unusually elevated concentrations of Greek cups in Building A1, likely used in ritual.<sup>1228</sup> Incised and stamped wares tend to dominate through the 6<sup>th</sup> century, reflecting a different type of conservatism from M. Iato, where dipinto vases seem the norm in sacred contexts of this time.<sup>1229</sup> (Fig. 5.27) Increased surface decoration and more elaborate ornamentation over time are consistent with patterns elsewhere, though. Indigenous matt-painted wares are found, although not as common as incised wares or standardized grayware jugs and bowls.<sup>1230</sup> (Fig. 5.29) The scarcity of painted indigenous wares is confirmed by stratified deposits in dumps<sup>1231</sup> showing that matt-painted wares decreased over time.<sup>1232</sup> A paucity of Phoenician goods, other than amphorae in Zone B, may be significant, as M. Polizzo was in the Punic zone of influence. Limited Punic trade is indicated by a single Phoenician plate from habitations, a bead from the sanctuary, and Egyptian scarabs on the acropolis.<sup>1233</sup>

Intriguingly, domestic space, mainly excavated on the lower plateau, demonstrates less “traditional” orientations from an early period, with extensive Greek-type object assemblages (and more Greek imports), building forms and spatial differentiation. Most hillside habitations are “cassette houses,” rooms partially dug into the mountain slope, with flat daub and thatch roofs even in the 6<sup>th</sup> century when roof tiles had largely replaced these; an example is the 6<sup>th</sup>

---

<sup>1228</sup> Morris et al. 2002b: 70.

<sup>1229</sup> Most vessels are plain graywares, with simple incised bands on the rim, and shallow grayware bowls with simple incision are common especially in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, especially around mid-century. (Morris et al. 2002b: 70)

<sup>1230</sup> Morris et al. 2002: 173, 182; Morris et al. 2002b: 70.

<sup>1231</sup> Cooper 2008. These mainly come from dumps found in Area E.

<sup>1232</sup> Matt-painted wares decline from 12% in the 7<sup>th</sup> century to 4% in the early 6<sup>th</sup> and by 550 are almost completely absent; incised and stamped wares make up 5-7% of assemblages throughout the 7<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries. (Morris and Tusa 2004: 70)).

<sup>1233</sup> Morris et al. 2002: 163; Morris 2016: 209.



century “Tusa House.”<sup>1234</sup> This structure may be part of a simple grid plan, almost exactly aligned with structure B1/2 (discussed below) 70 m away. This overlaid an earlier, more organic plan seen in the different orientation of earlier buildings in Zone C.

Adjacent Areas A and B, on a lower plateau west of the acropolis, are the most extensive excavated habitation areas.<sup>1235</sup> (Fig. 5.30) Structure B1 is broadly similar in style to the Tusa House, a room either from a single-room house (House 4) or part of a larger structure since destroyed.<sup>1236</sup> There is a distinct absence of imported goods (aside from transport amphorae and some cups); most ceramics are indigenous storage vessels, food consumption ceramics (platter, bowls and pots), drinking ware (cups and jugs) and lamps.<sup>1237</sup> In the southwestern part was a circular concentration of in-situ coarseware, fragmented finewares and bronzes. Smaller storage vessels were found inside, but no cookware or hearth, indicating that food was not commonly prepared here. Drinking equipment includes a small number of local and imported cups, but no mixing or serving vessels, suggesting basic drinking and consumption practices and small-scale storage, not larger-scale feasting. In terms of object typologies and use, the assemblages most closely resemble those of Ramacca (Building RM), Mylai Southern Necropolis, and the Predio La Paglia Necropolis of Gela. [Table 5.2]

---

<sup>1234</sup> This was excavated in the 1970s; it was only summarily published in preliminary reports. (Mühlenbock 2008: 56, 70).

<sup>1235</sup> These were investigated by the Scandinavian Sicilian Archaeological Project and published in a number of reports (Mühlenbock et al. 2004a, 2004b) and subsequent interpretive publications (Mühlenbock 2008; Mühlenbock et al. 2013).

<sup>1236</sup> Mühlenbock et al. 2004a: 11-15; 27. Area B contains three structures, B1, B2 and B3; the only well-preserved building is B1.

<sup>1237</sup> The assemblage found inside consists of at least 28 vessels – 7 amphorae, 6 bowls, 5 cups, 3 jugs, and one oil lamp.

In Area A on the settlement's northern outskirts were three interrelated houses aligned with each other on terraces – a clearly planned settlement. House 1 was surrounded by boundary walls and terracing, possibly marking familial ownership, as at M. San Mauro and Castiglione, where dwellings are flanked by courtyards of specific family groups.<sup>1238</sup> The habitation area later expanded southwards with construction of Houses 2 and 3 on the terraced hills below. All houses open to the south, with at least one large room flanked by smaller rooms; the size and alignment of the houses and wall construction style differ from Area B, and there is no single urban plan.

House 1, most extensively excavated, dates to the late 7<sup>th</sup> to mid-6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1239</sup> (Fig. 5.31) Continuity from earlier occupation, though, is demonstrated by a fragmentary semicircular row of stones possibly belonging to an earlier Bronze Age or EIA hut, incorporated into the later space.<sup>1240</sup> Its layout is atypical for the settlement; foundations on an artificially-leveled surface consisted of boulders and limestone slabs transported to the site, with a wattle-and-daub and mudbrick superstructure.<sup>1241</sup> Its six rooms and outside area were developed in at least three phases, the western unit (Rooms I, III and IV) perhaps first, the house subsequently expanding to the east, in a development roughly similar to multi-room houses in early Greek colonies.<sup>1242</sup> In the first phase, a two-roomed semi-differentiated space with courtyard from the late 7<sup>th</sup> century

---

<sup>1238</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 65-6.

<sup>1239</sup> Attic SOS and Etruscan amphorae, and PC material provide a *terminus ante quem*.

<sup>1240</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 46.

<sup>1241</sup> Mühlenbock et al. 2004a: 98-9; Mühlenbock et al. 2013: 223-4. The superstructure was further supported by internal divisions using wooden materials, such as beams.

<sup>1242</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 130-3. Walls between rooms I and II, and between II and V, were added later, indicating that rooms III and IV were the first constructed, with room I conceivably a more open activity area. The wall between rooms V and VI lies at an angle at odds with the rest of House 1's foundations, perhaps part of a reused older structure.

would have accommodated a single nuclear family, as at early Megara Hyblaea and Naxos.<sup>1243</sup> In the second phase, in the first quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, the house effectively doubled, most public activities – cooking, weaving, and food preparation – taking place in the larger room.<sup>1244</sup> This resembles the significant expansion of houses at M. Maranfusa after initial occupation in the Archaic.<sup>1245</sup> Later, the structure expanded again, into a five-room structure comprising two architectural units, possibly two separate, interconnected houses.<sup>1246</sup> At this point, the house’s architecture, especially in the western unit, evokes the typical Greek “pastas house,” the smaller rooms reached through a larger “corridor” room, as in houses at 7<sup>th</sup> century Megara Hyblaea and Naxos. However, at M. Polizzo the “corridor” was a larger, more dynamic space than its Greek counterparts, more closely mirroring M. San Mauro’s mid-6<sup>th</sup> century pastas-type houses.

Room I, with finds indicating weaving, cooking, milling and feasting, has been interpreted as a multipurpose room.<sup>1247</sup> It contains one of the site’s largest, most comprehensive collections of drinking wares – cups, jugs, bowls, and mixing vessels, most imported but including some indigenous copies – indicating large groups using high quality vessels.<sup>1248</sup> [Table 5.3] These vessels, Corinthian kotylai, Ionian-type cups, and unusual local products such as a duck askos and sauce bowl, were likely for public display, signaling religious or political

---

<sup>1243</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 46-7. In this phase, the house consisted of two rooms on the northern end of the terrace (Rooms III and IV); separate entrances faced the street or open courtyard where cooking and preparation took place (evidenced by cooking vessels and benches), later a separate room.

<sup>1244</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 133-47; Mühlenbock and Prescott 2013: 230-1. In addition, there was perhaps a semi-detached or detached structure at this time, located to the east, in the area of the later storage space (Room VI).

<sup>1245</sup> Spatafora 2003: 64.

<sup>1246</sup> There were two larger rooms in front (Rooms I and II) and three in back (Rooms III, IV and V). Mühlenbock 2008: 47. The use and activities of two units, each a larger room and one or two smaller rooms, mirror each other; each of the southern rooms held a hearth, and the distribution of drinking equipment is also similar.

<sup>1247</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 131-2.

<sup>1248</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 97.

connotations to feasting.<sup>1249</sup> Most personal ornaments and loomweights from the house were found here, suggesting use as a storage space, while bronze arrowheads, related to hunting and warfare, denote elite activities. Activity may have been isolated in two specific areas, as a large pottery concentration in the room's northwestern corner held considerable amounts of imported ceramics and varied shapes and designs in indigenous pottery, while another to the southeast mainly consisted of imported ceramics.<sup>1250</sup> These may reflect separate events near the end of the house's occupation.

The size and assemblages of Room II suggest broadly similar purposes, although the lower number of ceramics points to smaller-scale social functions.<sup>1251</sup> This room's objects mostly consist of food preparation and consumption vessels – mostly indigenous, with almost no imported bowls. Locally-made greyware cups show that display was not as important for activities here. A concentration of coarseware (especially cookpots) and storage vessels indicates storage and/or cooking use.<sup>1252</sup> Rooms III to VI seem to be storage space<sup>1253</sup> with cooking, drinking, and possibly ritual activities in Rooms III and IV, the last evidenced by an early polished stone axe, perhaps an heirloom or used in cultic performance, as in ancestor cults.<sup>1254</sup>

(Fig. 5.32)

---

<sup>1249</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 138. Possible ritual wares are an indigenous duck askos, indigenous bowls with strap handles, an imported exaleiptron, local kraters, and an incised indigenous sauceboat-shaped bowl, linked to a semicircular platform.

<sup>1250</sup> Mühlenbock et al. 2004b: 121.

<sup>1251</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 138-9.

<sup>1252</sup> Mühlenbock et al. 2004a: 51; Mühlenbock 2008: 138; Mühlenbock and Prescott 2013: 229.

<sup>1253</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 132. Here several pits were also found, likely used to hold pithoi or other large vessels.

<sup>1254</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 120. Typologically of the EBA Castelluccio facies, it is attested from secondary deposits in later Archaic contexts, possibly originating in Northern Italy. A similar smaller axe, perhaps an amulet, found in the Portella Sant'Anna context at M. Polizzo, was also possibly used as an heirloom or associated with ritual.

House 1 contained most of the imported products from the domestic space, including open liquid containers and serving vessels, often decorated. (Fig. 5.33) Some painted examples likely came from indigenous settlements; the most elaborate were luxury and display wares, status symbols. Imported transport amphorae offer insight into trade with the Aegean, West Greek colonies, and Etruria, showing elite use of imported wine.<sup>1255</sup> A dearth of Phoenician or Punic amphorae or ceramics is somewhat surprising but follows the pattern of lower numbers of Punic and Phoenician objects at inland sites, despite the proximity of Phoenician colonies and the relative frequency of Punic goods in coastal indigenous and Greek settlements.<sup>1256</sup> Nevertheless, Punic-type cookware may have played a localized role in this region.<sup>1257</sup> Imported fineware cups and indigenous greyware copies were also found: Ionian type cups dominate imports,<sup>1258</sup> and Corinthian-style kotylai produced in Selinunte and other colonies are common. Imported fineware perfume, pouring, and oil vessels, and other ritual vases such as imported exaleiptra, otherwise rare in indigenous domestic contexts, suggest domestic cult connected to group feasting.

---

<sup>1255</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 92. Most imported amphorae are Etruscan and Western Greek with smaller numbers of Attic, Chiot, Corinthian, Laconian, Lesbian, Milesian, North Aegean, and Phoenician. Etruscan amphorae are generally rare in Sicily but found in most Greek colonies, as well as some indigenous inland sites such as Colle Madore and Ramacca.

<sup>1256</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 92. Phoenician amphorae are uncommon but are attested in Room VI of House 1; this was likely produced locally at Motya and dates to the early 6<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>1257</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 86. A number of tentatively identified Punic cookware, handmade, friable ceramics, often with cylindrical or truncated-conical basin, have been identified, with similarities with types from Punic contexts at Motya, Palermo, Lilibeo, and Solunto; indigenous contexts at M. Iato and M. Castellazzo; and in Selinunte. However, it has since been suggested that these may have originated in the Elymian zone and been borrowed by Phoenicians settling the coast, or perhaps were hybrid products developed simultaneously in both Phoenician and Elymian spheres over the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. They are the most widely-attested cookpot type in domestic contexts here.

<sup>1258</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 122.

Indigenous wares totaled around 80% of the domestic assemblages among all excavated houses, mainly plain and (less commonly) incised greywares; a specific subset is M. Polizzo wares, defined by a semi-lustrous black surface treatment, locally made based on traditional vase types.<sup>1259</sup> (Fig. 5.34) Carinated cups and bowls predominate, local production beginning by the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century, becoming especially active in the second quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> as production standardized and quality improved.<sup>1260</sup> Some seem to attempt to mimic Etruscan bucchero or metallic vessels, a not unlikely source of inspiration given the high amount of trade with Etruria evident along the north coast.<sup>1261</sup> These are likely connected to elite drinking ritual, with associations with Etruscan wine imports. Several examples of local greywares are copies of Greek wares, including trefoil oinochoai, pyxides, and an askos, all Corinthian types.

Other indigenous types produced in a local Elymian tradition include unusual and rare forms for ritual or display in feasting and drinking contexts, especially an elaborate cup-dipper.<sup>1262</sup> (Fig. 5.35) One of the most unusual items from a domestic context, it is characterized by an incised anthropomorphic handle, possibly a female deity, with suspension holes on the rim. (Fig. 5.36) The form is interpreted as typically Elymian/ western Sicilian, with similar versions of this shape and anthropomorphized handle from 8<sup>th</sup> through early 6<sup>th</sup> century contexts at Segesta, M. Finistrelle, Entella, M. Castellazzo, Colle Madore, M. Maranfusa settlement contexts (Field A, Northern Sector), and Montagnola di Marineo, although it may be

---

<sup>1259</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 106.

<sup>1260</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 108-10.

<sup>1261</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 106. Comparable material, especially high levels of Etruscan amphorae, has been recovered from M. Iato, M. Castellazzo di Poggioreale, M. Maranfusa, and Rocca d'Entella, all from the 8<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>1262</sup> Other unusual greyware forms a kantharos, basket-shaped incised scodellone, and two dippers from House 1 characterized by carinated body and high-swung strap handle, comparable to examples from Montagnola di Marineo.

rooted in mainland south Italian and EIA cups with zoomorphic bull handles, and is also found in a number of Archaic sites in northern and central Sicily, including Capodarso (acropolis votive deposit), M. Raffae, the “Sacred Building” and sporadic finds at M. Castellazzo di Poggioreale, and Morgantina (Trench 13 hut on Upper Plateau)<sup>1263</sup> The dipper may predate the structure’s main phase or be an heirloom, as it appears in contexts including imported early 6<sup>th</sup> century vessels. This was an ambiguous divinity with both human and animal traits, comparable to 7<sup>th</sup> century incised amphorae with stylized bull/anthropomorphized head protomes common within the Sikanian sphere. It thus directly references the past, although whether the object was a true heirloom, part of an earlier context, or a consciously archaizing contemporary artifact, is unknown. Taken in context with other ritual greyware vessels found in this space, it clearly indicates formulation of some sort of localized identity, and these other carinated shapes and bowls – often decorated with incised motifs – imply a distinctively Elymian orientation.

Houses 2 and 3, somewhat later than House 1, have generally similar construction and comparable but less extensive assemblages. (Fig. 5.37) House 2, located approximately two meters below House 1 and constructed slightly later, is interconnected with, although spatially distinct from, the larger structure. The three-room house contained a number of artifacts suggesting multipurpose use of most rooms, including high-quality bone and metal ornaments, such as engraved double-circle clasps.<sup>1264</sup> (Fig. 5.38) Room II was the most spacious room and possibly the main activity area of the house, used for storage, preparation, cooking and eating, as evidenced by cooking surfaces, grinding stones, and an abundance of cooking vessels and smaller storage jars. Flat ceramic cooking surfaces in this room and in Room III are

---

<sup>1263</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 110-13.

<sup>1264</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 148-51.

characterized by an enigmatic symbol found on the rim, a round image surrounded by dots that may have had ritual significance, and are comparable to the impressed cooking surfaces from 8<sup>th</sup> century Montagnoli.<sup>1265</sup> The example in Room II is connected to a stone platform on which was placed a Phoenician transport amphora, next to which were deposits of bones and tokens; this was possibly a small altar.<sup>1266</sup> The large number of bowls, especially connected with the hearth in Room II, suggest consumption in these multipurpose areas. [See Table 5.4 for object totals from this house]

House 3, which incorporates an earlier semicircular house, is particularly intriguing; dating to the turn of the 7<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, it seems to turn the earlier building into a locus of ritual space, as the walls are incorporated into a bench structure near a hearth, and were later sealed off with a more monumentalizing ashlar masonry wall.<sup>1267</sup> Throughout House 3, a number of colonial, imported Greek, and indigenous vessels (especially bowls) were found, especially transport amphorae and drinking vessels, but also a Corinthian krater. Perhaps the most significant, likely ritual item is the incised anthropomorphic cup-dipper similar to the example from House 1, the handle depicting a human figure with upraised arms and stylized horns; this was associated with numerous drinking vessels in the area of the incorporated semicircular space. The specialized objects, lack of cooking and large storage vessels, and numerous loci indicating the practice of drinking could perhaps suggest cult practice present throughout the building.<sup>1268</sup> [See Table 5.5 for object totals] The structure may thus have served a dual function

---

<sup>1265</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 54-5.

<sup>1266</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 147-8.

<sup>1267</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 153-5.

<sup>1268</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 155-8.



as both home and shrine, or perhaps served as a small family or clan shrine. The unusual objects found inside, such as the Corinthian exaleiptron, imported oil lamp, and indigenous capedunca and goblet, could have been used in ritual, further enhanced by the eventual construction of the monumental Wall 6 dividing Rooms II and III and perhaps serving as a divider between more public and private – or mundane and sacred – spaces.<sup>1269</sup> In terms of use, the high number of bowls and amphorae resemble assemblages from the Castiglione West Necropolis and Morgantina. The assemblages from House 3 more closely parallel more sacred contexts from M. Saraceno (the acropolis and upper plateau), Syracuse Prefettura, Butera (Contrada Santa Croce), Polizzello (Oikos B), and M. Casasia.

The variety and quality of finds from House 1 permit tentative interpretation, which can suggest functions of nearby houses despite differences in scope. House 1 could have functioned as a single household in an expanding structure throughout its existence or as a two-household structure, possibly with a dependence relationship or familial association. The largest spaces, Rooms I and V, likely were multipurpose, for public weaving, drinking, feasting, and ritual enactments, the Greek wares a means of public display at indigenous banqueting. It has been suggested that monumental architecture, large size, large number of vessels (especially imports), emphasis on drinking, presence of sacrifice (pits with animal bones) and ritual items indicate that it was a ritual or political compound rather than a domestic structure per se.<sup>1270</sup> In any case, society here evolves towards a well-defined elite culture, adopting Greek customs while following broader Mediterranean sociopolitical trends in which elites demonstrate status by

---

<sup>1269</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 60.

<sup>1270</sup> Mühlenbock and Prescott 2013: 229-31.

display of domestic looms and feasting.<sup>1271</sup> The high number of elite goods and high-quality display ceramics, indicate that occupants belonged to the local elite or to a rising group in Elymian society using imported objects to endorse their status.<sup>1272</sup> The house's less dominant position, in the periphery of the sacred zone rather than on the acropolis, may reflect decentralized political control at the site, the house belonging to a member of the aristocracy rather than a chieftain. Possible heirlooms suggest a kin-based social organization that might extend to nearby houses. Thus, houses and shrines could define membership in family or kin groups, while the acropolis sanctuary was used by the entire population of the settlement.

In general, the houses demonstrate intimate links between daily practices and ritual observations, as unusual and elaborate ceramic forms and traces of food offerings and libations were found in all. [See Table 5.6 for totals from M. Polizzo] Feasting practices, connected with ritual, were an important arena for display and social competition. Buildings, of disparate construction techniques and types, developed organically with no overall plan – but all tended to have open space and one large room (perhaps a more public, multifunctional area) with more private back rooms. The rectangular rooms (except for an earlier rounded room in House 3) are not necessarily Greek-derived – indigenous habitations had been built on the rectangular model for hundreds of years in some cases, as in 9<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> century M. Finistrelle, Scirinda and Dessucri.<sup>1273</sup> The layout and architecture of these show little foreign influence, but rather continuity and innovation, with new elements adapted to local tradition.

---

<sup>1271</sup> Mühlenbock and Prescott 2013: 232.

<sup>1272</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 177-178; 201.

<sup>1273</sup> Mühlenbock et al. 2004a: 21-2.

Extensive use of distinctive undecorated and painted wares reflects locality; locally made products, such as orange and white-slipped wares (often cooking and storage vessels, occasionally painted with geometric motifs), were supplemented by finer indigenous imports, particularly from Elymian kilns in use primarily between the late 7<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>1274</sup> Some vessels, particularly finer orange ware, suggest Punic inspiration or even origin. Graywares seem to have had a particularly long run, widely used through the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century even after local painted pottery declined in the second quarter.<sup>1275</sup> As the site became more interconnected, imported Greek wares assumed the role elaborate painted wares had played, while incised and plain graywares filled a need not necessarily met by imports, as ritual forms. Indigenous wares copying Greek forms such as kraters largely replaced others that formerly filled these roles. Other incised and stamped types may have been display wares due to their intrinsic value as non-local goods; some seem to be imports from south-central Sicily, and some, particularly buff-colored vessels with orange paint, from southern Etruria or Campania, arriving with identifiable Etruscan wares shortly after the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century, reaching a peak in the 6<sup>th</sup>.<sup>1276</sup> Finally, some incised graywares would have been primarily ritual in form and function, serving as heirlooms or functioning in both capacities.

In fact, imported Sikeliote, imitation Greek, Etruscan and (to a lesser extent) Phoenician vessels dominate the area's largely regional trading network. Sikeliote cups belong to traditions copying Ionian and Corinthian pottery.<sup>1277</sup> Corinthian wares, especially kotylai, are commonly

---

<sup>1274</sup> Mühlenbock et al. 2004a: 60-9.

<sup>1275</sup> Cooper 2008: 186. Overall, painted geometric pottery is a very small percentage of the ceramic assemblage.

<sup>1276</sup> Mühlenbock et al. 2004a: 62.

<sup>1277</sup> Mühlenbock et al. 2004b: 176-7; 180.

attested, although none from these deposits dates later than the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1278</sup> More unusual examples may have been primarily display pieces, not for daily use.<sup>1279</sup>

As in other indigenous west Sicilian sites, East Greek style cups are among the most prolific imports. Attic SOS amphorae from the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century have been found in House 1, the only Attic wares from the site.<sup>1280</sup> Greater numbers of transport amphorae, including Corinthian Type A amphorae, at indigenous settlements such as M. Polizzo, provide some of the earliest signs of a growing reliance by inland economies on coastal areas, perhaps opening up routes for the exchange of other goods.<sup>1281</sup> Soon after, these amphorae were imitated, such as a local copy of an SOS amphora, suggesting a display quality attached to these vessels connected to conspicuous consumption and also serving utilitarian and storage needs. Overall, the household assemblages, especially those of House 1, resemble those of Morgantina, from the Cittadella and necropolis areas.

Elite demand set the standard for imports and assemblages, later adopted by most sectors of society, as seen at less-elite Houses 2 and 3. This coincides with local potters' adoption of new forms and shapes related to drinking, making exclusive forms more accessible to every sector of society. This would have led to escalating social competition, pressuring elites to define themselves in a different way.<sup>1282</sup> They would have done this through expanding the

---

<sup>1278</sup> The most common shape is the kotyle, beginning in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century, decorated either with simple geometric motifs or running hounds or stags. (Mühlenbock et al. 2004b: 117)

<sup>1279</sup> Display pieces include a Corinthian pedestal cup (comparable to examples from Selinunte), vases represented by sherds with human figures, and an elaborate Corinthian trefoil oinochoe had been found in House 1. Cosmetic vessels include MC aryballoi, alabastra, and two pyxides, one each from Houses 1 and 2.

<sup>1280</sup> Similar amphorae in 7<sup>th</sup> century western contexts (at Himera, Mozia and Selinunte) may reflect Phoenician trade here.

<sup>1281</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 90-2.

<sup>1282</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 177.

articulation and size of architecture, adopting cult paraphernalia, using unusual ceramic forms, bronze, and bone ornaments, and reverting to ancestral pottery types, not unlike what occurs at a slightly later time around the Late Archaic courtyard house at M. Iato.<sup>1283</sup> Intra-site competition motivated change in pottery types and assemblages, while use of traditional forms could be linked to identity; as Mühlenbock notes, “the alteration of practice and modality was not always progressive. Certain aspects of society, especially related to identity, were more guarded against foreign intrusion. This can probably be due to the fact that they were important as symbols of demarking self against ‘others’...the practices and modalities which were tied to a genealogy and to the current way of life also were most difficult to change.”<sup>1284</sup> And as at M. Iato, house structure and a distinct culture of consumption and commensality evidence change associated with identity formation and development of more formal boundaries. Thus, western Sicilian urban development should not be seen simply as a result of acculturation, but as a response to the general Mediterranean trajectory towards increased urbanization, sociopolitical hierarchies, and creation of more defined states with land boundaries. These are specific, localized responses to the social and economic pressures instigated by tensions between indigenous groups and Greeks and Phoenicians.

### **Montagnoli di Menfi: Central Sicilian-Type Ritual Space in Western Sicily**

Closely related to central Sicilian sanctuary types, and important for understanding their development, is the indigenous site of Montagnoli di Menfi overlooking the Belice River near the sea. In addition to a necropolis with chamber tombs (including some tholoid tombs) on the hill’s east slope, the site consists of a sacred complex with several large round oikoi, some of the

---

<sup>1283</sup> Kistler et al. 2013.

<sup>1284</sup> Mühlenbock 2008: 196.

earliest known such sacred spaces. (Fig. 5.39) While the site has only been preliminarily published, some broad outlines can be traced and compared to sanctuaries such as at M. Polizzo, Colle Madore, and Polizzello.<sup>1285</sup> The site is intriguing because it demonstrates later renovation of ancestral space along the lines of older structures rather than using updated architecture, although a later incorporation of a large entrance corridor using newer construction techniques functioned in a way to monumentalize the front of the building, comparable to buildings from Polizzello that seem to reference earlier large domed chamber tombs. This reference to the past is mirrored in the perseverance of circular open enclosures rather than roofed buildings, the clustering of shrines (suggesting that they were built by or belonged to individual familial units or clans), and the continual use of earlier object types, such as circular stamped hearths, terracotta andirons, kernoi, and large incised basins. Nevertheless, there is at least one example of a circular structure later renovated as a rectangular shrine, suggesting an openness to external influences at a rather early period (although rectangular sacred and ancillary structures are attested in 8<sup>th</sup> century contexts here as well, in the area of Hut 3).

The sacred area consists of a main unit of three large circular and elliptical buildings (Huts 1, 2, and 7) near each other, with another more complex unit of four smaller huts nearby. Extensive votive material and an altar suggest that the complexes were dedicated to chthonic cults.<sup>1286</sup> Fragments of EIA pottery in the settlement's lower levels demonstrate earlier occupation, and the later settlement borrows earlier cultural elements, despite articulation of a

---

<sup>1285</sup> This site was preliminarily published by Castellana (Castellana 1988-9; Castellana 1993; Castellana 2000).

<sup>1286</sup> Castellana 1993: 752; Spatafora 2016: 100.

distinctive local identity as early as the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1287</sup> Initial use in the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century makes these some of the earliest examples of “hut-shrines,” or round oikoi.<sup>1288</sup>

Hut 1, the most monumental structure at the site, was constructed around the hill’s south ridge, the rooms and votive deposits demarcated by terracotta tiles and stones.<sup>1289</sup> (Fig. 5.40) In use by the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century, it was destroyed a century later.<sup>1290</sup> The first phase consisted of a large round structure with interior bench, wattle and daub superstructure, and conical roof supported by poles, with an opening for smoke.<sup>1291</sup> (Fig. 5.41) A plinth protruding from the perimeter wall supported a pillar or acted as a niche housing special (ritual?) items; nearby was a kernos with incised decoration, as well as a large incised indigenous bowl, large painted basin (perhaps for lustrations) and indigenous ceramics recalling ancestral forms, their use in the last phase of the hut’s occupation demonstrating continuation of ancient pottery types as ritual implements.<sup>1292</sup> (Fig. 5.42) A round ceramic hearth with a series of impressed concentric circles is comparable to examples from Hut 7 and domestic structures at M. Polizzo. (Fig. 5.43)

---

<sup>1287</sup> Three similar sites in the territory of Agrigento, Piano Vento near Palma di Montechiaro, Scirinda, and Montagnoli, have similar cultural elements in terms of types of structures and ceramic materials reflecting continental influences. (Castellana 1993: 749-52.) Many object types at Montagnoli are especially similar to elements from nearby Scirinda, such as incised wares, especially an incised jug with double row of triangles, nearly identical to an example from Scirinda.

<sup>1288</sup> Castellana 2000: 263-4. This dating is comparable to that of Scirinda, c. 764-679; here was also found a rectangular hut overlaid on an older EIA hut, like sacred structures above EIA levels at Montagnoli.

<sup>1289</sup> Castellana 1988-9: 362.

<sup>1290</sup> Castellana 1988-9: 326. Four excavation campaigns revealed indigenous structures dating to the Iron Age, including Hut 1, Hut 3, and other buildings in the sacred area. Surveys on the Montagnoli hill revealed more substantial shrines.

<sup>1291</sup> Leighton 2000: 33; Castellana 2000: 266. This hut type is based on earlier MBA types found in eastern and western Sicily, comparable to huts from Licata, Thapsos, and M. Castellazzo Poggioreale.

<sup>1292</sup> Castellana 1988-9: 326-7.

Thus the objects and the nature of the space suggest that Hut 1 was a place of assembly and ritual. The ceramic repertoire from the sacred spaces is primarily indigenous incised and stamped ceramics, in a territory along the Belice where Greek and Punic influences were particularly strong.<sup>1293</sup> (Fig. 5.44) [Table 5.7] Incised wares were associated with painted ceramics starting in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, although by the 6<sup>th</sup> incised ceramics largely disappear and only painted pottery is found; this contrasts with M. Polizzo, demonstrating localizing tendencies in the material record. Like the round oikos at Caltabellotta, the building was revisited in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps used as an outdoor enclosure incorporating the previous hut's floor and renovated with a wall following the underlying structure, although with a monumentalized rectangular entrance corridor constructed of squared tufa stones, becoming at this point a locus for votive depositions perhaps related to ancestor cult. The deposition here mostly consists of small vessels, *olpai*, *aryballoi* and *kotyliskoi*, as well as bronze elements, pendants, fibulae and chains.<sup>1294</sup> (Fig. 5.42)

Smaller buildings, possibly also for ritual, were excavated at the site, some modeled on earlier apsidal or elliptical buildings common in central Sicily, as at Morgantina and M. San Giuliano.<sup>1295</sup> Despite its small scale, ellipsoidal or apsidal Hut 7, from the 8<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>1296</sup> demonstrates ritual use given a walled access corridor to the front entrance (much like Hut 1), an interior bench with two monoliths, plastered walls and bench, and an oval stamped ceramic

---

<sup>1293</sup> Leighton 1999: 261.

<sup>1294</sup> Castellana 1988-9: 330-1.

<sup>1295</sup> Hut 4, partially subterranean and almost hexagonal, is more in the tradition of Italian peninsular culture.

<sup>1296</sup> Located northeast of Hut 1, Hut 7 contains a southern wall tending towards rectilinear. This building was excavated into the slope of the hill, constructed of local tufa with a wattle and daub and timber superstructure and tapered roof or awning in the shape of a conical or apsidal vault, similar to Hut 1. The building is dated by pottery found on floor level.



hearth like that of Hut 1.<sup>1297</sup> (Fig. 5.40) Nearby were three terracotta andirons cemented into the floor.<sup>1298</sup> Several groups of early Archaic pottery were near the walls, including a cluster of five crushed pots; many of these highly decorated storage and ritual shapes, some likely for lustrations or liquid storage,<sup>1299</sup> are closely connected to the western Sicilian indigenous koine. After a mid-7<sup>th</sup> century destruction, a rectangular room was built on the rubble of Hut 7, similar to the renovation of Hut 1 and modifications at Polizzello (Oikoi C and E) later in the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1300</sup> Smaller rectangular rooms with rounded corners between Huts 1 and 7 likely were ancillary spaces.

In general, these huts are designed for specific political, cultural and religious ceremonies; too small to accommodate large numbers of people, they may have served smaller gatherings, such as clans or groups of elite individuals.<sup>1301</sup> The site may have been the main sociopolitical and religious site of a group of elite from local populations in the area of the Belice basin. This is suggested not only by the grouped round buildings, but also by the object types – the assemblages from the sacred spaces are closest in type to those of other ritual contexts of indigenous Sicily, including central Sicilian necropoleis – Polizzello (Southern Piazza), Colle Madore, Sabucina (Oikos A), and the necropoleis of Polizzello, M. Bubbonia, M. Lavanca Nera, M. Finocchito, and Butera (Layer I). Despite a mid-7<sup>th</sup> century destruction, the area was not abandoned, as there is ample evidence for reoccupation and transformation in the first half of

---

<sup>1297</sup> Castellana 2000: 264-8. Comparable hearths were in Huts 1 and 15, as well as the lower sanctuary at M. Polizzo.

<sup>1298</sup> Similar andirons were found on the floors of Hut 4 and Room 6 at the site.

<sup>1299</sup> Castellana 2000: 266-7. On the base of a painted indigenous vessel was a painted iota and mu mark, which recurs throughout the indigenous repertoire through the 5<sup>th</sup> century, where it is attested in a graffiti inscription; this may belong to the Elymian cultural sphere of the Archaic.

<sup>1300</sup> Castellana 2000: 269.

<sup>1301</sup> Castellana 2000: 268.

the 6<sup>th</sup> century, during which there is a return to worship at the site, albeit in modified form – with depositions of small vases (including imported wares) and bronzes, especially in Hut 1. This may signal a turn towards ancestor worship, as earlier manifestations of the sacred buildings were preserved and modified but not dismantled.<sup>1302</sup>

The presence of rectangular dwellings from a period even prior to the aforementioned round structures is comparable to a number of Elymian contexts in west Sicily, particularly Scirinda and M. Castellazzo di Poggioreale.<sup>1303</sup> At Scirinda, rectangular buildings seem to have had both domestic and sacred functions from an early period. (Fig. 5.45) The earliest (9<sup>th</sup> century) rectangular huts, ascribed to South Italian influence, demonstrate overlap with later Iron Age levels, the same or similar pottery continuing to be utilized.<sup>1304</sup> The last phase, in the 8<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, is characterized by rectangular huts with benches (Huts 1 and 4) and reuse of what is thought to be part of an earlier sacred structure, demonstrating early continuity of sacred space that is characteristic of western sites, particularly in the 7<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries, as at Montagnoli.<sup>1305</sup>

Two sites, Montagna dei Cavalli and M. Castellazzo di Poggioreale, demonstrate rectangular sacred architecture in a mixed settlement structure with continuity from an earlier period. The first, an isolated urban complex connected by the Platani River to the Tyrrhenian

---

<sup>1302</sup> Castellana 2000: 268-9.

<sup>1303</sup> Castellana 2000: 269-70; Spatafora 2016: 370.

<sup>1304</sup> Siracusano 2001: 31; Albanese 2003: 88.

<sup>1305</sup> Castellana 1993: 748-9. Albanese 2003: 46-7. Among the sites of Scirinda, M. Polizzo, and Montagnoli, there is a LBA/EIA cultural syncretism, a koine typical of the first Iron Age and strongly reminiscent of peninsular culture which permeates Sikanian traditions (especially the Pantalica North facies).

Sea and Greek colonies, flourished in the Archaic.<sup>1306</sup> In an area later occupied by habitations, early Archaic structures, including public and religious buildings, were in contact with the bedrock; Building B, a sacred structure at the top of the acropolis not abandoned until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, demonstrates mixed indigenous-Greek use.<sup>1307</sup> In the residential area to the east, buildings placed along terraces delineated by walls suggest a well-organized urban plan. Archaic data thus suggests a large fortified indigenous center on the acropolis and much of the mountain.<sup>1308</sup> (Fig. 5.46)

M. Castellazzo di Poggioreale, in the Belice Valley not far from Selinunte, was a natural fortress dominating routes inland.<sup>1309</sup> (Fig. 5.47) The site is archetypal for change occurring in traditional religious areas and habitations in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, alongside a continued interest in articulating local identity through the maintenance of ancestral architectural and hearth types. This conservatism is more pronounced in the sacred areas of the site, which includes elliptical buildings with signs of continued maintenance and use, albeit with some architectural modifications in a later period. The settlement demonstrates architectural change in the development of multi-room habitations (similar to trajectories at M. Iato) and ritual space incorporated into the habitation zone, as evidenced by small-scale depositions and construction on top of earlier sacred space. (Fig. 5.48) Presence of Greeks, perhaps from Selinunte, is suggested by an early 6<sup>th</sup> century Doric Greek inscription to Herakles, one of the earliest Greek

---

<sup>1306</sup> Vassallo 2015. Two campaigns conducted in 1962-63 yielded topographic and chronological data; another campaign was conducted in 1988-89 that examined some of the discovered structures.

<sup>1307</sup> Vassallo 2015: 22-3.

<sup>1308</sup> Vassallo 2015: 10-3. These early ceramics were largely found in a deep groove southwest of the later theater, which yielded many Archaic ceramics, almost exclusively indigenous, with several painted, incised and stamped fragments. Sporadic imported ceramics include Corinthian cups of the first half of the 6th century..

<sup>1309</sup> Giglio Cerniglia et al. 2012: 239-40. Early Archaic strata were identified in areas labeled Campo I, III, and IV.

inscriptions from Sicily; unusual at an indigenous inland site, it is comparable to slightly later inscriptions at Mendolito, M. Saraceno and Licodia Eubea.<sup>1310</sup> Along the mountain's southern boundary, outside the area enclosed by the later fortification wall, the occupation level of a large paved courtyard with enclosure and hearth contained Archaic Greek and indigenous ceramics; nearby was an oval or circular building from the late 7<sup>th</sup> to first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, after which the area was abandoned.<sup>1311</sup> (Fig. 5.49) Subgeometric cups and skyphoi similar to types imported to Selinunte predominate among imported ceramics. Basalt millstones and terracotta loomweights, some incised, demonstrate processing and weaving; typologies are broadly comparable to other areas of the site.

Immediately northeast was an oval structure with at least two occupation phases, closed off to the east in the last phase by a rectilinear wall of small stones. Inside were structures reminiscent of earlier, ancestral forms, not least traditional-style hearths in and around the building; two, one circular and one rectangular and containing a terracotta andiron, were inside the hut.<sup>1312</sup> (Fig. 5.50) Immediately to the south were millstones and two traditional-style circular hearths, similar to those at M. Maranfusa and often found associated with terracotta andirons in western Sicilian sites.<sup>1313</sup> Other hearths were found nearby, one with an overturned indigenous incised cup and burnt cup fragments, perhaps associated with chthonic ritual. Particularly interesting is the integration of Greek wares into the local ceramic repertoire, used primarily for

---

<sup>1310</sup> Giglio Cerniglia et al. 2012: 240; *supra* 36, 250-1. Found in 1958, this inscription prompted campaigns in 1974 and 1976-79; a fourth campaign conducted in 2008-9 largely confirmed the findings of the earlier investigations.

<sup>1311</sup> Falsone et al. 1980: 936. Among indigenous ceramics were incised geometric and painted wares, common in western Sicily and typical of the Elymian area, and incised red wares comparable to items from Sant'Angelo Muxaro.

<sup>1312</sup> Giglio Cerniglia et al. 2012: 246.

<sup>1313</sup> These can be interpreted as Archaic survivals of an older tradition originating in Bronze Age Sicily and even visible in the Thapsos facies structures from the site. (Giglio Cerniglia et al. 2012: 241).

different functions than locally produced indigenous vessels (in general closed forms such as amphorae, jugs and olle with painted or incised motifs similar to examples from nearby Entella and Segesta. (Fig. 5.51) Greek vessels, in contrast, are mainly colonial imitations of Ionian Type B1 cups and Corinthian kotylai,<sup>1314</sup> suggesting that such objects which were incorporated into consumption and drinking rituals were not part of the typical ceramic repertoire of earlier levels of the settlement, although more information is needed about contexts on the hut's east side, which seem to contain an earlier pre-Greek phase.<sup>1315</sup>

A mid-6<sup>th</sup> century restructuring (about the same time as Himera, M. Maranfusa and M. Iato) is seen in multi-room quadrangular buildings and fortifications. Some buildings were placed directly on prehistoric remains without intervening phases, such as a multi-room structure of the second quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>1316</sup> where lava grinding stones indicate grain processing. Later rectangular structures in this previously abandoned area may reflect Greek occupation, unlike sites in eastern Sicily where similar transformations reveal indigenous adoption of selective architectural solutions. Greek occupation is supported by the relative lack of indigenous artifacts in some assemblages, particularly in the multi-roomed house, which had mostly Corinthian and colonial wares (some local wares found there may have had a more utilitarian function).<sup>1317</sup> One of the more unusual objects is a fragment of Wild Goat style pottery, demonstrating the range of the site's trade contacts, perhaps attributable to Rhodian trade along the south coast.<sup>1318</sup> (Fig.

---

<sup>1314</sup> Giglio Cerniglia et al. 2012: 246.

<sup>1315</sup> Falsone et al. 1980: 936.

<sup>1316</sup> This structure was revealed in Campo I, documented by A Leonard (Falsone et al. 1980: 938-48). It has been dated by fragments of an MC aryballos from a foundation trench and remains in use through the early 5<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>1317</sup> Falsone et al. 1980: 943-8.

<sup>1318</sup> Falsone et al. 1980: 953-8.

5.52) High numbers of imported Greek goods at a relatively early period testify to Selinuntine access to the area.

A virtual lack of indigenous wares is also seen in another complex three-room structure in the northeast quadrant, of similar date.<sup>1319</sup> (Fig. 5.53) Room B is a ritual space with parallels in southern Sicily such as the Bitalemi sanctuary, although the nature of activities here is less clear and the building does not have a distinctive temple form, rather similar to sacred space in Building C at M. Polizzo, situated among apparent habitations.<sup>1320</sup> Only Room B had extensive deposits, yielding about 20 loomweights, a dozen bronze lamellas and other bronze artifacts, and 50 nails, tools and other metal and iron scraps, as well as more unusual objects like a metal rosette, a palmette element and a number of miniature vessels. These were intentionally deposited in small groups, those directly in contact with the inner south and west walls perhaps as a foundation deposit.<sup>1321</sup>

Other possible sacred spaces from the first phase of the Archaic include an unpublished “sacred area” Tusa identified near the summit, a multi-roomed building dating to the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Here were incised and stamped indigenous wares of a ritual function, including an anthropomorphized handle from a one-handled carinated cup, paralleled by a sporadic find from M. Castellazzo, and not unlike examples from ritual structures at M. Polizzo.<sup>1322</sup> (Fig. 5.51) The site’s burial grounds demonstrate a different artifactual approach; the necropolis of Madonna del Carmine has yielded primarily Greek goods from fossa burials, monolithic sarcophagi, and

---

<sup>1319</sup> This structure, located in Campo IV, Area 13, was excavated in 2008-9. (Giglio Cerniglia et al. 2012: 243-7)

<sup>1320</sup> Giglio Cerniglia et al. 2012: 244-5.

<sup>1321</sup> Giglio Cerniglia et al. 2012: 245.

<sup>1322</sup> Falsone et al. 1980: 690-4; Albanese 2003: 196; Giglio Cerniglia et al. 2012: 2012.

cremation burials.<sup>1323</sup> Notable exceptions include an Etruscan bucchero kantharos of the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century from Burial VII and a bronze mesomphalos phiale decorated with horses, of uncertain manufacture but possible Phoenician provenience. These objects, as well as a bronze aryballos, Corinthian perfume vases, and a Laconian krater used as a cinerary urn, demonstrate a degree of wealth and interconnectivity of this interior center. Thus, by the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century the site is characterized by mixed settlement, with continuation of indigenous sacred space utilizing ancestral forms (such as carinated cups, terracotta andirons, and piumata ware) within transformed architectural settings and alongside habitations and necropoleis with clear Greek artifact assemblages and sacred areas with Greek inscriptions.

### **Entella: Piecing Together Early Elymian Culture**

Entella is set along the western side of the Belice River, an important strategic position to mediate between Himera to the north and Selinunte to the south. (Fig. 5.54) Entella was an indigenous stronghold, although certain features – most conspicuously two short funerary inscriptions in the Selinuntine alphabet – suggest Greek presence by the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> century;<sup>1324</sup> elite contacts between indigenous populations and Greeks are attested here since at least the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Stratigraphically significant contexts are limited to trenches near fortification walls that revealed an earlier craft area, scanty remains of huts, an Archaic dump, and at least two tombs.<sup>1325</sup> Later Archaic material includes one of the earliest-attested plastered houses, similar to the Late Archaic house at M. Iato; early plastered structures are also attested at Sabucina and Caltabellotta. The structure was preceded by a series of small rooms.

---

<sup>1323</sup> Spatafora and Vassallo 2010: 27-30.

<sup>1324</sup> Ampolo 2009: 303; Diod. XIV.9.

<sup>1325</sup> In 1983 the Normale Superiore di Pisa began systematic excavations in the site and surveys of the territory, revealing a number of structures and tombs. The early site is unfortunately still largely unpublished, and the Archaic remains are rather meager although much of the later settlement is documented. (Guglielmino 1997: 523-524)

Despite the Hellenizing impetus (evidenced by the inscription and changes in domestic space), earlier indigenous object types were maintained, including incised anthropomorphizing amphorae.

In Necropolis A, on a large natural terrace immediately below the southwest part of the fortification wall, two late 7<sup>th</sup> century chamber tombs were excavated.<sup>1326</sup> Tomb 2 demonstrated akephalia, the skull of the deceased interred with remains of a funeral banquet and grave goods, including an incised anthropomorphizing amphora that may have originally contained the cremated remains. (Fig. 5.55) The skull was placed in a rock-cut shelf above the amphora's mouth, an unusual form of burial comparable to practices in the second layer of the Butera necropolis.<sup>1327</sup> Although isolated cases are sporadically attested in some Sikeliote centers, it is much more common in indigenous centers, usually in cases of multiple depositions.<sup>1328</sup> The rite's indigenous nature is confirmed here by the fact that the Entella example seems to predate Greek presence in the area, and no Greek goods are found alongside the remains. [See Table 5.8 for objects from the tombs] The assemblages from these tomb contexts, mainly characterized by almost completely indigenous grave sets (only two Greek objects are attested) and a preponderance of fragmentary closed forms, large bowls, and carinated cups and bowls, are closest in terms of object type and usage to those of Oikos C at Polizzello, suggesting a ritual function for several of the recovered vases here.

A stratigraphic sequence, perhaps a dump, near Necropolis A, revealed Archaic layers in which painted and undecorated indigenous ceramics (mostly cookware) constitute between 70%

---

<sup>1326</sup> Becker 1986; Guglielmino 1992; Guglielmino 1994; Nenci et al. 1993: 184-7.

<sup>1327</sup> Adamesteanu 1958a.

<sup>1328</sup> Gela (Orsi 1907: 244, No. 1), Camarina (Orsi 1904a: 804, No. 1), Himera (Allegro 1976: 818), Megara Hyblaea (Orsi 1890: 774-775, No. 2), and Syracuse (Orsi 1893: 449-450).



and 90% of finds. Associated with numerous animal bones and carbon, they formed over a relatively short time, from the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1329</sup> Particularly unusual is the relatively low number of incised and stamped ceramics, confined primarily to the oldest strata (late 7<sup>th</sup> century), comparable to Caltabellotta and Montagnoli di Marineo, where such wares decrease substantially or even disappear in the next century.<sup>1330</sup> The deposit suggests that the town's occupants (at least those utilizing this area) were relatively impermeable to Sikeliote and other influences through the late Archaic, although Necropolis A held a small amount of Corinthian material. Painted pottery in particular belongs to an Elymian production koine stylistically differentiated from the Sikanian.<sup>1331</sup> Later in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, indigenous drinking vessels tend to be replaced by Greek imported or imitated versions with greater range and decorative breadth.<sup>1332</sup> Corinthian imports are more limited, especially drinking vessels, perfume vases, ritual vessels like exaleiptra and Ionian type cups. Unusual are Sikeliote lamps from late 7<sup>th</sup> century levels, perhaps from funerary rituals. Such Greek ceramics increase in the upper strata of the deposit.<sup>1333</sup> Phoenician wares are lacking, suggesting that Selinunte was the dominant external power mediating relations between Entella and the exterior world.<sup>1334</sup>

---

<sup>1329</sup> Guglielmino 1992: 376-377.

<sup>1330</sup> Guglielmino 1997: 926.

<sup>1331</sup> Guglielmino 1997: 928.

<sup>1332</sup> Guglielmino 1997: 946.

<sup>1333</sup> Guglielmino 1997: 933.

<sup>1334</sup> Guglielmino 1997: 949.

Archaic extramural pottery kilns produced indigenous undecorated and painted pottery<sup>1335</sup> the first indigenous Sicilian kilns where geometric pottery has been recovered. The high quality and degree of specialization of ceramics suggest advanced expertise. The potters' quarters and necropolis demonstrate a broad site organization, with industrial buildings and graves outside the dwellings but still nearby, along major roads, close to the gates; this reflects the Greek community structure, although is not unusual in urbanization contexts of throughout the Mediterranean at this time.<sup>1336</sup>

### **Conclusions**

With material culture generally resembling that of indigenous west-central Sicily discussed in Chapter 4, this area nevertheless displays both substantial variety and clear continuity of indigenous tradition, particularly in the public sphere although private exhibited somewhat more Greek influence. As noted, traditional forms such as cup-dippers and carinated bowls, and older ceramic styles such as incised and stamped wares, played an important part in the construction of local ritual and even in more private domestic settings, as necessary implements for domestic cult and small-scale dining despite the onset of external influence from the Greek and Punic spheres manifested in the evolution of settlement patterns, more visible/ articulated sacred space, and incorporation of East Greek and colonial wares (especially banded cups) into both ritual contexts and in domestic consumption contexts, suggesting that Sikeliote and cheaper Greek imports were readily available to most sectors of these inland communities. Corinthian and Corinthianizing wares are also present, albeit in smaller quantities than often found elsewhere on the island, and perhaps connected to trade routes and production

---

<sup>1335</sup> Fill in a pit next to the quadrangular kiln contained a dozen fragments of Greek-type ceramics, probably imported.

<sup>1336</sup> Guglielmino 1992: 375.

originating in the settlement of Selinunte. It was this site that likely served as the primary contact between local elites and Greek merchants and settlers navigating the western side of the island, and from there to other sectors of local society. The (more visible) appearance of domestic cult here may be due to an increased privatization of ritual within family and kin groups, especially among the elite that were forming relationships with nearby Greek and Phoenician cities and merchants.

The contexts discussed here are primarily domestic, although ritual sites played a vital role in the construction of localized and regional identity, especially during the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Sacred space consists of round oikoi and, beginning in the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, monumentalizing Greek-style structures (the Aphrodite Temple at M. Iato and the Contrada Mango sanctuary at Segesta, not discussed here). Altars, also a common theme of sanctuary space here, may have developed from earlier built hearths that are associated with sacred space. Such decorated hearths are part of a distinctive material culture that arises in this area, comprising polychrome vessels, incised anthropomorphizing cup-dippers, and the use of deer remains; there is an absorption of Phoenician practice and rituals, and at first Greek objects are not as important culturally. Multi-roomed domestic space appears at an early period here, beginning in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, and may not be due to Hellenizing impetuses, given the continued highly traditional aspects of some of these spaces (especially at M. Polizzo). Several of the sites undergo a general restructuring in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, often incorporating terracing into the settlement plan, and effectively adopting an agglomerative plan in some cases (such as M. Maranfusa).

The round oikos in particular may be an ethnic indicator, as traditional “hut-shrines” are attested in both Sikanian and Elymian contexts.<sup>1337</sup> These are characterized by ash deposits, animal bones, small fragments of local and imported pottery, benches, bronze decorations, hearths and/or altars, enclosure walls, location at the settlement’s highest point, and continued construction even after the appearance of rectilinear architecture in both domestic and sacred contexts.<sup>1338</sup> Such structures would have been very visible on acropoleis,<sup>1339</sup> and their use as highly conspicuous indicators of identity may go hand-in-hand with Leighton’s assertion that increasing visibility of buildings reserved for cult was part of the state-formation process. Starting in the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, the increasing “elaboration of cult practice and its physical manifestations in the form of shrines and cult objects was encouraged by the development of more complex social and political formations, essentially early states, in which religious practices were developing into a form of state institution.”<sup>1340</sup> Yet round sacred structures are not as common here as in more central parts of the island, and, with the exception of Montagnoli di Menfi, do not tend to comprise parts of larger regional sanctuaries with clusters of such buildings, as was the case with areas traditionally seen as Sikanian (see Chapter 4). The earliest known circular buildings connected to ritual use were found in Montagnoli in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century (followed by more isolated structures at M. Castellazzo di Poggioreale and M. Polizzo). As noted, the Sikanian and Elymian religious buildings tended to be larger versions of round domestic huts of previous centuries, although in the far west, LBA and EIA domestic

---

<sup>1337</sup> As mentioned previously, similar shrines are attested at several 7<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century Sikanian sites such as Sabucina, Polizzello, Colle Madore, and Caltabellotta.

<sup>1338</sup> Morris et al. 2001: 186.

<sup>1339</sup> Martin provides a thorough discussion of acropoleis as primary locations of ritual space in the construction of communal identity in Sicily. (Martin 2013)

<sup>1340</sup> Leighton 1999: 262.

space inclines towards sub-rectangular rather than circular forms. Given its early appearance in the west, the round building as a sacred form may have emerged in Elymian contexts and spread eastwards as other indigenous groups co-opted this building type for their own use.

Some scholars have suggested that western Sicilians borrowed from the Greeks the idea of monumental shrines as homes for the gods, a natural progression from the more basic house model adapted for religious use.<sup>1341</sup> There are many formal differences between round and rectangular indigenous Sicilian temples and Aegean examples, though, and in fact the first round hut-shrines in western Sicily predate the first nearby Greek settlements, Himera and Selinunte, while monumental temples are absent from Sicilian Greek cities until the late 7<sup>th</sup> century. Further, round structures are rarely seen in the Aegean world; Mazarakis Ainian notes that the round plan was “of little importance” ritually in EIA Aegean contexts, when round cult buildings begin to gain popularity in Sicily.<sup>1342</sup> Although they become slightly more common in Greece in the late 6<sup>th</sup> century, they do not function as shrines until after the Archaic.<sup>1343</sup> Mixed-context and household cult is also common in indigenous Sicily in this period, as seen in House 3 at M. Polizzo, perhaps tied to ancestor worship and smaller-scale group or clan activity involving feasting.

It is more likely that both natives of western Sicily and Greek settlers responded to Mediterranean-wide cultural change, investing more heavily in worship of gods as certain sectors of society – notably the elite – chose to define status in new ways. In western Sicily, an important component was use of traditional elements not evoked at the time by contemporary

---

<sup>1341</sup> De Miro 1983a: 337, 342-4; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997; Panvini et al. 2009: 298; Pappalardo et al. 2009.

<sup>1342</sup> Mazarakis Ainian 1997: 116.

<sup>1343</sup> The only securely-attested exception is structure VIII from Lathouriza near Athens, the earliest known example of a round temple in Greece, dating to c. 700. (Mazarakis Ainian 1997: 116-9; Morris et al. 2003: 53)

Sikeliotēs. These changes may also have been due to emerging Elymian identity distinct from neighboring Sikanians, perhaps with a newfound sense of geographic boundaries, this identity marked in not only sanctuaries but also selective adoption of Greek objects, traditions, and architectural elements.

There was not, however, a strict dichotomy between cultures. “Greekness” was one of several forms of collective identity now emerging, a style rather than an ethnicity wholly separate from material markers of indigenous identity. At M. Polizzo, like Sabucina<sup>1344</sup> (where rectilinear structures are replaced by circular shrines), there is little evidence for movement towards wholesale Greek-style architecture over late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> century, except perhaps domestic buildings, and evidence even for this is slight.<sup>1345</sup> This may have reflected a conservative nature of the community, or perhaps responses to past traditions; facing increasing Greek influence, indigenous peoples in this area turned to their own past, evoking ancestral traditions, reflected in ceremonies with quantities of deer remains and antlers alongside incised and stamped wares. The public sphere was kept purposefully traditional, while in the private sphere – with more Greek-style, or at least rectangular, multi-room, structures – individuals could be more open to foreign influence, exercising agency in their choices about structures. These dichotomies are paralleled in the object record, as, for instance, few Greek imports were found on the acropolis and surrounding areas but many more in domestic space.

Thus, the frequency and speed at which different techniques, goods, and architecture were adopted varies on a site-by-site basis; the acropolis at M. Polizzo contrasts with a distinctively Greek-looking temple at M. Iato by the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century. Both demonstrate

---

<sup>1344</sup> In west-central Sicily; see Chapter 4.

<sup>1345</sup> Morris et al. 2002: 183-5.

competing colonially and locality, although M. Polizzo is in some ways more similar to the Sikanian site of Sabucina in that different architectural or cultural traditions are manifested in consecutive buildings rather than side-by-side within the same building. At M. Polizzo (Building A5) a rectilinear building gave way to the first round sacred structure reviving earlier tradition,<sup>1346</sup> a situation similar to what is seen at Sabucina<sup>1347</sup> (Building D). The subsequent round building A1 at M. Polizzo was modified (around the third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century) to accommodate a more Greek-type rectangular structure, a development also noted at Sabucina circa 550 (Oikos B) – around the time that rituals were changing at both sites. By 500 indigenous communities had mostly abandoned round oikoi in favor of Greek-style temples.<sup>1348</sup> Perhaps these changes occurred as more resources were gathered into the hands of the elite rather than public institutions. Where formerly traditional-style temples were an index of identity, as intra-regional competition increased it became progressively more important for certain groups to differentiate themselves from other communities and other sectors in their own communities, in so doing distancing themselves from older traditions as they adopted new customs, architecture, and objects.<sup>1349</sup> Such practices eventually led to large-scale temples in areas such as Segesta and Entella in the late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, with competition through monumentalization of sanctuaries. These temples manifested centralized power and institutions at the core of communities by the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, and the monumental temple buildings on a high point were means to display centrality and position in a landscape, strengthening the community in the process.

---

<sup>1346</sup> Morris and Tusa 2004: 77.

<sup>1347</sup> In west-central Sicily; see Chapter 4.

<sup>1348</sup> Öhlinger 2015a: 422-423.

<sup>1349</sup> Morris and Tusa 2004: 2000-2003: 77-78.

Older settlements rooted in Iron Age traditions, such as Polizzello<sup>1350</sup> and Montagnoli, had especially elaborate sanctuaries, perhaps political centers or meeting-places for scattered communities. M. Polizzo, newer, smaller and with fewer shrines, may have been a regional or local center. Whether on the local or regional scale, certain sectors of communities were united by shared consumption and sacrifice rites in structures rooted in forms reminiscent of clan or intra-familial domestic compounds.<sup>1351</sup> Movement of practices from more public, open spaces to more enclosed, site-specific spaces naturally led to increased privatization of the sacred sphere as power concentrated in elite hands in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. This perhaps contributed to M. Polizzo's decline in the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> century, when local elites could no longer compete with those of large pan-ethnic sanctuaries such as Segesta.

Furthermore, Vassallo notes generally increased wealth in western communities in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, perhaps modeled on developments in the island's eastern part; changes may have been due to Sicilians exploiting their central position between Phoenician and Greek cities, creating conditions for population concentration in few larger centers (such as Segesta and Entella) that continued to flourish.<sup>1352</sup> This relocation of the majority of the population would have increased indigenous elites' ability to accumulate resources and power, and fund large-scale construction.

A strong connection between domestic and sacred space in western and central Sicily is manifested not only in incorporation of sacred space into habitations (the domestic cult) but also in the transformation of private, elite domestic space into public feasting and ritual space. The

---

<sup>1350</sup> In west-central Sicily; see Chapter 4.

<sup>1351</sup> Öhlinger 2015a: 419-421.

<sup>1352</sup> Morris et al. 2002: 190-1.



variety of architectural typologies and use of space within habitation structures roughly corresponds to similar dichotomies in ritual space at the same site – seen by comparing domestic and sacred spaces at Caltabellotta, Montagnoli, and M. Polizzo – but these do not translate *between* sites. For instance, all four variations of the basic structural form of the oikos and modification of its circular form are found here, whether by addition of a rectangular portico or entryway (at Caltabellotta), or complete replacement by a rectangular version (at Montagnoli and M. Polizzo). Some of these architectural solutions are also evident in more central Sicily, the former visible at Sabucina, the latter among some oikoi at Polizzello. Plastering and benches, varying by site, may have denoted the cultic status of such structures, although these are also commonly attested in habitations.

At the time of these modifications many of these sites undergo general development towards denser, multi-room rectangular habitations (a trend already noted in some west-central sites such as Colle Madore and Sabucina), although in some, “early” type single-roomed structures continue, with some evolution – as seen to a limited extent at M. Iato, where sub-rectangular and rectangular habitations may have been used simultaneously, although completely rectangular structures have slightly later chronologies. Developments are dissimilar at M. Polizzo, where one-room rock-cut habitations such as the 6<sup>th</sup> century “Tusa House” and Structure B1 (with more traditional artifact typologies) are found alongside – perhaps even built after – early multi-room rectangular structures starting to appear in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century. Such “traditional” structures, especially apsidal buildings, are also characteristic of Archaic west-central and central Sicily as a whole, as is a tendency to mix building types among habitations in a settlement at the same time or within a relatively short time span (as seen in the previous chapter). This cultural syncretism is echoed in ritual/sacred syncretism, reflected in the importance of Herakles cult, perhaps linked to foundation myths promulgated by Greek

colonists traveling the Belice River, assisting in creation of a mythic past. It also may be reflected in the rise of domestic cult, reflected in ritual objects and high-quality heirlooms (probably sacred goods given their propensity to occur in religious spaces) discovered in some multipurpose rooms of the houses on the main terrace of M. Polizzo.

Whether multipurpose spaces in multi-room households and the tendency for semi-differentiation of rooms in such spaces reflects Greek influence is debatable; rather these rooms demonstrate the malleability of domestic forms relative to public/sacred space, a flexibility reflected in the material record, which in this area of Sicily shows more receptivity to outside influence in habitation contexts than sacred spaces. A distinct sense of indigeneity is also apparent at M. Iato and House 3 at M. Polizzo, in the mixed sacred/consumption spaces; here, certain local ceramic types were retained because of a lack of non-local equivalent. This is unlike southeast Sicily, where foreign goods were more easily incorporated into funerary and sacred contexts, irrespective of drinking and libation rituals. This reversion to an ancestral past in light of urban and social developments may have played a part in renegotiations of elites' position in society and the expansion of a nascent aristocracy redefining itself. Furthermore, the move of elite houses from a town's center or acropolis to the periphery could be seen as paralleled by, although not necessarily a byproduct of, the development of public sacred space on the acropolis where elite aristocratic families could articulate identity through artifact assemblages in public dedicatory space. These groups seem to have undergone a transformation from households defined by nuclear families to an extended family structure, perhaps reflected in groupings of circular and rectilinear sacred structures at sites, each patronized by specific extended family or clan; these begin to appear in clusters at around the same time as these social changes occur at a large scale. The changing nature of family units can thus be related to the changing arrangements of sacred space, the social structure reflected in the architecture here,

much as it is in the material record – primarily rich votive deposits and hoards – of west-central Sicily, as discussed in the previous chapter.”

Indeed, the institutional overlap between central (“Sikanian”) and far western (“Elymian”) zones and similarities among architectural and settlement patterns suggest that these two ethnic groups were not as differentiated as generally thought, although they do demonstrate different responses to external stimuli than indigenous areas to the east. Most circular oikoi do occur in the west-central zone (Chapter 4) but some early examples in the far west suggest that this may have been a form that spread eastwards as a response to Greek presence on the island. As noted, such population movement could explain agglutinative “urbanization” in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, combined with a traditionalism of form that lasted into the 5<sup>th</sup> century. M. Castellazzo Poggioreale, an indigenous site near M. Maranfusa, contains rectilinear architecture preceded by simple sub-circular huts and courtyards, the complexes enclosed by rectilinear walls as at M. Maranfusa, an apparent mix of local and imported traditions.<sup>1353</sup> At M. Iato, rectilinear indigenous huts, partially replacing but also contemporary with sub-rectangular or rounded huts, appear prior to Greek impact in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, reflected in rectangular religious architecture.<sup>1354</sup> Not settled outright by Greeks or even copying coastal settlement developments, these sites instead are influenced by more general pan-Mediterranean trends. Such phenomena certainly also occurred at nearby Greek and Phoenician sites, and colonies to the east, especially Himera and the Chalkidian settlements of Naxos and Zankle, exhibit large-scale urban reorganization in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century. However, one-roomed rectilinear structures had long been used in indigenous settlements, making agglutinative, closely-spaced habitations no great leap of

---

<sup>1353</sup> Spatafora 2009c: 370-1.

<sup>1354</sup> *Supra* 321-2.

social engineering, but rather the eventual, gradual result of population increases and social change, perhaps from a reliance on single-family units to multi-family or clan-based systems as the primary kinship base.

The landscape of artifacts also becomes more complex; with the rise of production centers in both colonies and interior indigenous Sicily, objects become pan-Sicilian, disassociated from their origins. At the same time, increased production and imitation enable other sectors of society to acquire goods with elite connotations and use them in a broader array of applications. These objects are detached from their original elite contexts, just as we see a breakdown of traditional modes of display – chamber tombs and sanctuary deposits – formerly employed by the elite.

In general, object assemblages from sacred contexts demonstrated greater similarity with other such assemblages and contexts from the general region as well as from central Sicily; these include more traditional and overtly ritual forms, especially incised and stamped wares, which are one of the most common ceramic types aside from undecorated wares.<sup>1355</sup> Painted indigenous, or “dipinto” wares, are less prevalent in early Archaic contexts than they are in eastern and central Sicily, and tend to decrease over time. Corinthian and Ionian imports are similarly uncommon, although Sikeliote objects, perhaps imported from Selinunte, are more prevalent. The objects and contexts at Montagnoli are also comparable to those at Sabucina<sup>1356</sup> (especially Oikos A), Polizzello (Southern Piazza and necropolis), Colle Madore, M. Bubbonia, and necropolis

---

<sup>1355</sup> For an overview of Archaic assemblages found on the acropolis at M. Polizzo, see Morris and Tusa 2005: 39. For an overview of earlier assemblages found in the vicinity of sacred areas of M. Iato, see Mohr and Kistler 2016: 85 and Isler 1999 (early Greek imports).

<sup>1356</sup> In west-central Sicily; see Chapter 4. Other sites mentioned in this paragraph but not discussed in this chapter are Colle Madore (west-central Sicily, Chapter 4), M. Bubbonia (hinterlands of Gela, Chapter 2), M. Finocchito (southeastern Sicily, Chapter 3), Morgantina (central Sicily, Chapter 6), Polizzello (west-central Sicily, Chapter 4) Contrada S. Croce district of Butera (hinterlands of Gela, Chapter 2), and M. Casasia (southeastern Sicily, Chapter 3).

contexts at M. Finocchito and Morgantina (Necropolis IV), as well as M. Polizzo (House 2). The sacrality of M. Polizzo House 3 is more ambiguous given its position within a habitation zone and its display of both habitation and ritual characteristics; this is reflected in the object record, which demonstrates similarities with contexts at the M. Saraceno acropolis and upper plateau, Polizzello (Oikos B), Contrada S. Croce, as well as various necropoleis – the Castiglione chamber tombs, M. Casasia, and Morgantina (especially Necropolis V). Finally, the contexts from the necropolis of Entella mostly resembles other indigenous space, especially that of Polizzello (Oikos C) and M. Finocchito.

Assemblages from habitation contexts demonstrate greater similarities with other central Sicilian habitation and ritual contexts. In general, M. Polizzo contexts resemble those from Cittadella<sup>1357</sup>, while the individual houses display the greatest degree of similarity with each other, as well as with Ramacca, Colle Madore, and even some Greek contexts: the Mylai Southern Necropolis and Gela Predio La Paglia Necropolis. House 2, which is more ritual in nature than some other habitations at the site, contains assemblages closer in type to those from the Morgantina and Castiglione West Necropoleis. The mixed sacred/ habitation space at Terravecchia di Cuti contains object assemblages most comparable to those of Sabucina (South Necropolis) as well as other indigenous mixed ritual and habitation zones, such as at M. Maranfusa. Finally, the M. Maranfusa settlement demonstrates the closest ties to other central Sicilian sites, although not necessarily habitation contexts: Sabucina (Oikos A and South Necropolis) and Terravecchia di Cuti.

---

<sup>1357</sup> At Morgantina in central Sicily; see Chapter 6. Other sites mentioned in this paragraph but not discussed in this chapter are Ramacca (southeastern Sicily, Chapter 3), Colle Madore (west-central Sicily, Chapter 4), Mylai (hinterlands of Gela, Chapter 2), Castiglione (southeastern Sicily, Chapter 3), Terravecchia di Cuti (central Sicily, Chapter 6), and Sabucina (west-central Sicily, Chapter 4).

The overall results from this analysis suggest that the assemblages from sites discussed in this chapter most closely resemble, on average, those from central Sicilian sites such as Castiglione, M. Saraceno, and Colle Madore, as well as each other; this translates to a co-occurrence of certain object types as well, such as incised and molded anthropomorphizing-aurine amphorae and dipper-cups with anthropomorphic handles. The two broad regions differ in the more extensive use of incised and stamped wares in ritual and domestic contexts; a greater degree of usage of local forms such as carinated cups and bowls with local decorative motifs; the more limited visibility of Corinthian imports (despite an early and active engagement with regional trade networks involving Greeks and Phoenicians); and the lower incidence of Orientalia. However, the limited analysis and less-intensively published state of the data from this area of Sicily precludes a thorough comparison with other western Sicilian settlements (especially indigenous settlements), and more study and publication of the early excavated material at settlements such as Entella and Segesta<sup>1358</sup> is needed before any more conclusive assertions can be made.

---

<sup>1358</sup> In western Sicily.

## CHAPTER 6: NAXOS AND INDIGENOUS SETTLEMENTS IN CENTRAL SICILY: NEGOTIATING SPACE AND RITUAL IN THE CHALKIDIAN ZONE OF EXPANSION

This chapter examines Sicily's interior settlements and their relationship to Greek colonies along the central-eastern coast. This area of Sicily, from the center of the island to the eastern seaboard and the Chalkidian colonies of Katane and Naxos, was characterized by an absence of clear ethnic boundaries; indigenous and Greek identities coexisted. (Fig. 6.1) Many sites discussed were further from the Greek littoral, beyond initial Greek impact, with clear exceptions. Populations here were linked not so much through common ethnicities as through collective reactions to external stimuli, first Phoenician and Greek traders and later Chalkidians settling the northeast and east-central coast. This led to formation of identities rooted not in a specific *ethnos* – Sikel or Sikanian, the ethnicities traditionally associated with this area of Sicily – but rather responses of local rulers and populations privileging themselves and their territories, eventually developing distinctive cultures incorporating imports into distinctive lifestyles emphasizing local needs and preferences. Rather than distinguishing ethnic orientations, smaller regional groupings and sites here exhibit individualized approaches to engaging with their own fractured pasts within contested contemporary contexts.

Overall, the central indigenous sites discussed in this chapter, mainly oriented towards the east and the north, are independent entities but intensively engage with Chalkidian colonies and traffic along the eastern and northern coasts, primarily Naxos but also to a lesser extent Mylai and Zankle (not discussed here). These are all located along major land routes, particularly from the east coast; this allowed elite groups to form, articulating their status by importing exotic

materials. This area of Sicily is also characterized by the emergence of larger regional centers, some of which reflect Hellenizing influences early on, especially in religious contexts. The tendency for sites (especially regional centers) to exhibit more agglutinative settlement patterns over time, however, is a spontaneous development spurred by population change and evolution in site formation throughout the Mediterranean at this time, mirrored in the localized development around these regional centers of aggregated grave clusters that served a population larger than that of the immediate settlement.

Sites like Sant' Angelo Muxaro, Morgantina, Vassalaggi, M. Saraceno, Calascibetta, and Palike all present early 7<sup>th</sup> century evidence for zones of contact, in both comparable and contrasting contexts. Some, such as Calascibetta and Morgantina, provide extensively excavated and published early-contact graves, and Morgantina also contains important later religious complexes of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, as well as indigenous urbanizing settlement contexts on Farmhouse Hill.<sup>1359</sup> Others, such as Vassalaggi, M. Saraceno, and Palike, serve as marginal sanctuaries and places of mediation in the hinterlands of Greek colonies and indigenous border towns, although without truly Hellenized sanctuaries at such an early period. Marginal areas do, however, adopt a form more responsive to exogenous factors, as settlement inhabitants and sanctuary patrons use preexisting buildings and map Greek-type structures onto their own dining and cultic practices, articulating their own distinct needs. Sanctuaries in particular act as places of mediation in these areas (especially at frontiers of not fully urbanized colonial settlements), although boundaries are signaled in a not completely Greek but rather intermediate context. Vassalaggi, for instance, slowly incorporated Greek practices and material goods as well as non-native elements in sacred

---

<sup>1359</sup> For the 7<sup>th</sup> century settlement and graves at Morgantina, see: Antonaccio 1997; Lyons 1996a; Lyons 1996b; and Leighton 1993 (summary of early evidence of domestic structures from Farmhouse Hill and elsewhere in the settlement).



architecture; by the 6<sup>th</sup> century the site's material culture of the was primarily Greek.<sup>1360</sup> M. San Giuliano, an indigenous settlement from the EIA on, saw the addition of a sacred structure, modified in the 7<sup>th</sup> century and later replaced with more Greek-style architecture, complete with votive deposits.<sup>1361</sup> Like the regional sanctuary of Palike, these serve as mediating spaces for ritual, performance, and negotiation between Greeks of the colonies' hinterlands and local people. Ancient Palike is unique, however, in combining political and religious functions and connotations constructing new identities. There, the items used were vital in creating a distinctive set of rituals that set the site off from other settlements and religious spaces of seemingly less import. The early Greek settlement of Naxos also demonstrates clear aspects of hybridity, in its incorporation of indigenous habitations or sacred space in its earliest plan, the later superposition of ritual structures on pre-Greek contexts, and the possible continuity of hybrid ritual space into the early Archaic – not unlike some of the early sanctuaries in the more inland Chalkidian site of Leontini. Because of its status as the earliest Greek colony on Sicily and its interconnectedness with both indigenous and other Chalkidian networks, Naxos is a natural starting point for analysis of the Orientalizing Period in this region of Sicily and corresponding comparison of Greek and indigenous assemblages.

### **Naxos: Transformation in an Ethnically Mixed Greek Settlement**

The history of the Greek settlement of Naxos is closely aligned with Leontini (chapter 2), in both the Chalkidian connection and the settlements' impact on indigenous populations in the centers and immediate hinterlands. Thucydides says that Chalkidian settlers founded Naxos, joined by groups from Ionia and Naxos – areas related culturally to Euboea, accounting for a

---

<sup>1360</sup> Holloway 2000: 94; see also: Orlandini 1961; Orlandini 1971.

<sup>1361</sup> For reports of the excavations at Sabucina, see: De Miro 1977; Migliore 1981.

Cycladic link often seen in the material culture of Euboean foundations.<sup>1362</sup> Naxos, much more than Leontini, is aligned with the Euboean material record, perhaps because it was a primary foundation, the earliest in Sicily.<sup>1363</sup>

The Greek settlement at Naxos exhibited at least two phases with planned urban layout and orthogonal city blocks, the first characterized by several different alignments and the second by a different orientation and more regular plan.<sup>1364</sup> The early settlement is generally difficult to elucidate, although it does demonstrate a number of characteristics representative of sites throughout Sicily in the late 8<sup>th</sup> through early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, both Greek and indigenous: the incorporation of earlier elliptical and irregularly-spaced buildings (likely the result of mixed ethnicity) within a later, more consolidated settlement plan; a succession of building phases that effectively increased the interior space of habitations; a continuity of sacred space (perhaps even from a pre-Greek period); and extramural sanctuaries and simple “in-antis” naiskoi with bipartite plan defining said sacred space and effectively defining the settlement’s territory. (Fig. 6.2) Similar building trajectories are found at Francavilla di Sicilia, Metapiccola (Leontini) and Syracuse. 8<sup>th</sup>-century levels lie mainly in the peninsula’s western part, where there is some evidence for indigenous populations, likely playing a role in the region’s economic development. As will be seen, these inhabitants were not isolated but integrated, especially in the early city. The Greek settlement largely overlaid older occupation; remains of habitations in the eastern area of the Schiso peninsula include wall sections with curved profile and series of prehistoric layers. Iron Age objects from the settlement area include an 8<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century fibula, fragments of pithoi

---

<sup>1362</sup> Lentini 2015a: 309, 314; Lentini 2001.

<sup>1363</sup> Diod. XIV.88.1. Diodorus notes that Chalkidians from Naxos founded Katania and Leontini as sub-foundations.

<sup>1364</sup> Lentini 2008: 493.

with painted bands, incised dipper cups and oinochoai.<sup>1365</sup> Like the settlement on the San Mauro and Metapiccola hills at Leontini, there is a hiatus between the Bronze Age settlement and later indigenous and then Greek settlement.

The early Greek settlement features unequal-sized rectangular houses, densely built, with narrow corridors but lacking shared open spaces, as is the area under later Plateia A, with eight houses originally from the late 8<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> century, all oriented in the same direction.<sup>1366</sup> (Fig. 6.3) Regular lots of different size suggest unequal distribution of land from an early period. The basic house is similar to early domestic structures at Megara Hyblaea, often single-roomed although sometimes partially subdivided with a storage area. The only completely excavated early house, House 5, partially makes use of earlier prehistoric levels; it has two rooms, the larger Room A containing a pi-shaped bench.<sup>1367</sup> (Fig. 6.4) Ceramics dating Room A to the late 8<sup>th</sup> century include Thapsos wares, Attic SOS amphorae, PC kotyai, and indigenous gray monochrome carinated cups; a fragment of Ionian bird cup found here is the earliest in Naxos. (Fig. 6.5) Imported ceramics are especially common in these and contemporary levels; at least ten PC and Euboean sherds were found in habitation contexts of House 5. Later ceramics from Room B suggest it was subsequently added on, common in habitations at many Sikeliote sites such as Megara Hyblaea.

At Stenopos 11, south of Plateia A, later buildings were constructed on several earlier occupation levels; in one, two-roomed Building A, a pottery dump contained mostly late 8<sup>th</sup> through 7<sup>th</sup> century tableware, including Thapsos wares, Euboean-type dinoi, painted dishes

---

<sup>1365</sup> Lentini 2012: 162.

<sup>1366</sup> Lentini 2015a: 310-11. At least two strata date to this phase, one in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century, another to the 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century; the alignment remains unchanged. This whole area was later covered by a cobbled surface.

<sup>1367</sup> Lentini 2009: 10-5; Lentini 2012: 159.

imitating Phoenician types, and a large amount of animal bones indicating semi-ritual use. (Fig. 6.6) It was built atop an earlier MBA hut, suggesting reuse of structures, even a conscious effort to assert locality.<sup>1368</sup> Four curvilinear dwellings from the Protoarchaic habitation phase (huts c, d, f and g) may have been a complex, perhaps for ritual use, conditioning the area's later sacred use, as rectangular buildings were built directly above or adjoining them. In these structures LG Corinthian and Euboean pottery are prevalent,<sup>1369</sup> while an Aetos Type 666 kotyle may indicate a higher chronology, possibly even predating the Greek colony. Finocchito facies impasto, piumata and incised wares were also found. (Fig. 6.7)

Construction of another 8<sup>th</sup> century house with an oval wall below Stenopos 11 was similar to the huts described above, as well as examples from Leontini (on the Metapiccola Hill) and Syracuse (in the area of Prefettura of Ortygia).<sup>1370</sup> The house's intact floor level yielded a clear predominance of late 8<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> century Greek pottery, with a few Finocchito type sherds, including a painted pithos fragment comparable to indigenous ceramics found on the Schiso peninsula.<sup>1371</sup>

The huts and persistence of mixed indigenous and Greek sherds suggest that a Late Iron Age and early Archaic village in close contact with the bay occupied the site, already occupied when Greeks arrived. Although apsidal and oval buildings were widespread between the 8<sup>th</sup> and mid-7<sup>th</sup> century in Euboea,<sup>1372</sup> colonists may also have borrowed construction techniques,

---

<sup>1368</sup> Lentini 2012: 159-160. Other remains of structures such as a MBA fortification wall have been incorporated into 8<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century habitations reused by early settlers.

<sup>1369</sup> Lentini 2008: 161; Lentini 2012: 27-37.

<sup>1370</sup> Lentini 2012: 160.

<sup>1371</sup> Lentini 2012: 36.

<sup>1372</sup> Lentini 2015a: 311; Mazarakis Ainian 1997: 123-4.

architecture, and artifact typologies from indigenous inhabitants. In this early stage cohabitation was also likely, as at Leontini and other Chalkidian colonies; Leontini makes a comparison to early Cumae.<sup>1373</sup> This is consistent with Diodorus' account of Sikels dislodged by colonists from Naxos; the transfer may not have been immediate. Early huts are also comparable to huts under a 6<sup>th</sup> century shrine at nearby Francavilla di Sicilia – the level contains predominantly Cycladic-Euboean type ceramics with a few gray monochrome indigenous dipper-cups, like 7<sup>th</sup> century examples from M. Casasia and Butera.<sup>1374</sup> This suggests coexistence of settlers and local inhabitants; indigenous ceramics are seen in habitation areas of both but completely absent in sanctuaries. In any case, indigenous-type (at least non-rectangular) structures are a facet of the earliest planning of the city's urban fabric and territory, developed and elaborated by colonists over a period of roughly thirty years in the late 8<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> century, as seen at some early mixed settlements in South Italy that had been indigenous.<sup>1375</sup> A later agglomeration of houses along parallel roads, close together and separated by narrow corridors, was situated close to the Naxian harbor; this orientation resembles densely-populated spaces in Zancle, Eretria, and Zagora with homes in parallel rows separated by narrow lanes, a plan different from those of early Megara Hyblaea and Syracuse, which are more spread out.<sup>1376</sup>

By the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century, protocolonial “pastas” houses appear in the city's northeast sector in the Schizo peninsula, close to the port area. (Fig. 6.8) Occupied with minor alterations during the 6<sup>th</sup> century, they tend to be more complex than the early colonial houses, with large

---

<sup>1373</sup> Lentini 2015a: 313; d'Agostino 2011: 286–7. As at Naxos, portions of earlier buildings at Cumae were incorporated into the city's later plan.

<sup>1374</sup> Lentini 2012: 161-162.

<sup>1375</sup> Mixed populations, suggested by architectural styles and continued presence of oval structures after initial Greek occupation, are attested at Incoronata di Metaponto and L'Amastuola. (Handberg and Jacobsen 2011: 178-179).

<sup>1376</sup> Lentini 2008: 494; Lentini 2015a: 314.

courtyards and regular orientation.<sup>1377</sup> Two have been fully excavated – Houses 1 and 2, single family homes with at least two rooms each.<sup>1378</sup> A small 7<sup>th</sup>-century kiln or oven was found west of House 2, likely used for firing small artifacts, suggesting artistic production in this area. The two buildings may thus be linked to small-scale industry, suggesting differentiation of labor even in 7<sup>th</sup> century Naxos. A large quantity of late 8<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> century ceramics includes a small number of imported vessels, and, interestingly, relatively few Euboean wares compared to Corinthian imports, although there are abundant imitations.<sup>1379</sup> [See Table 6.1 for object totals from habitation contexts at Naxos] The object assemblages, mainly consisting of cups and serving vessels, are comparable to those of the sacred and habitation spaces in Ortygia, Syracuse, as well as the habitation contexts of Zancle-Messina and Himera, which is expected given the Chalkidian presence in the latter two cities. The street and plot organization, along with standardized house design fitting a variety of sizes, could indicate a well-differentiated civic body at this time.

Integrated with the urban plan in this phase were sacred structures, mainly in main cross-streets among early habitation areas, including one in a layer isolating and sealing the earlier curvilinear buildings mentioned above.<sup>1380</sup> A long rectangular mid-7<sup>th</sup> century structure, Building H, superimposed over this layer, is associated with materials indicating a non-domestic function.

---

<sup>1377</sup> The plan of these is comparable to LG houses at Corinth, and House 1 of Megara Hyblaea – rare examples of early pastas houses, with diversification of interior space, some of which also included bothroi/ silos (Lentini 2009: 29).

<sup>1378</sup> Rectangular House 1 had three rooms opening onto a corridor, with a curvilinear bench. Inside were mostly cooking and storage containers, including transport amphorae. Smaller House 2 had two rooms; Room A from the 7<sup>th</sup> century and Room B from the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup>. A burned patch indicates Room A was a kitchen. (Lentini 1984-5; Lentini 2009: 14-5).

<sup>1379</sup> Imitations include oinochoai, small carinated cups with geometric decoration, fragments of three large kraters similar to examples by the Cesnola painter, a deinos, and lekanai.

<sup>1380</sup> Lentini 2015a: 310.

(Fig. 6.9) Many bones (mainly bovine) and fine tablewares suggest that the space was used in the 7<sup>th</sup> century for ritual dining. Euboean imports exceed PC and imitations in the earliest decades, gradually becoming less frequent from the first decades of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1381</sup> Contexts here demonstrate the connectivity among Naxos, Pithekoussai and Cumae attested by the earlier curvilinear houses in all three locales.

Corinthian wares are represented by EPC kotylai and skyphoi, while Euboean ceramics are mainly larger open forms, such as kraters and louteria with Protoattic and Orientalizing influences, including a krater depicting a pair of confronting lions flanking a hoplite, possibly from a local workshop,<sup>1382</sup> evidencing the active role of Naxos and other Chalkidian sites in the diffusion and elaboration of the Orientalizing style in the late 8<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>1383</sup> (Fig. 6.10)

Other sanctuaries in the city's outskirts played vital roles in articulating Naxos' early identity. The Southwest Sanctuary was planned in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, in an area previously occupied by Bronze Age graves.<sup>1384</sup> (Fig. 6.11) In terms of layout and function, the space is comparable to the Demeter Malophoros shrine at Selinunte, as well as other small extraurban sanctuaries that served to define the territorial limits of Greek poleis in Sicily; the simple bipartite form and small-scale depositions, especially of high-quality votives such as weapons deposits, is comparable to those of Gela (Molino a Vento), Himera (Temple A) Leontini (Alaimo

---

<sup>1381</sup> Lentini 1998; Lentini 2015b. Trefoil oinochoai, particularly common, are widespread in Euboean colonial contexts, produced in the LG period in both Euboean and colonial workshops; cut-away neck oinochoai, typically Euboean, are less common but occur in both the curvilinear buildings and Houses 5 and 10, suggesting extended production, eventually becoming standardized, perhaps from a single local workshop.

<sup>1382</sup> Other imported forms include a possible LG Attic krater and neck-handled amphora and Euboean-style skyphos-kraters.

<sup>1383</sup> Lentini 2015b: 246-8.

<sup>1384</sup> This was published in 1985 by Bernabò Brea (Bernabò Brea 1984-5: 253-497).

Sanctuary). Although not secure, the sanctuary is conventionally attributed to Aphrodite based on two goddess statues found in a cave nearby, linked to the sanctuary by material in the deposit inside (Bes figurines and small stamnoi), which belong to categories found in the temple.<sup>1385</sup> The earliest temple, Shrine A, from the third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, was built over by Temple B near the end of the 6<sup>th</sup>; it is characterized by a small rectangular sekos oriented northeast-southwest.<sup>1386</sup> A layer of pottery consists mainly of local wares, some PC and Corinthian (including numerous Thapsos cups) and several cups of a type uncommon in Eastern Sicily. These were placed in small groups, likely *thysiai*, along with small animal bones and occasionally weapons (daggers and spearheads, comparable to deposits at M. San Mauro and Himera), concentrated close to the western façade. (Fig. 6.12) These votive deposits likely represent individual rituals, as at the Alaimo sanctuary in Leontini and the Bitalemi sanctuary at Gela. Particularly common are small Ionian-type cups of local manufacture, utilized in the late 7<sup>th</sup> to first quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. One bears the earliest attested inscription from the site, in Chalkidian script, dating to the late 7<sup>th</sup> century and mentioning a deity.<sup>1387</sup> Additional finds include *hydriai*, *dinoi*, *kraters*, *oinochoai*, *lekanai*, small *kylikes* and *olpai*, as well as Etruscan *bucchero kantharoi* and Ionian *bucchero alabastra*, and ceramic fragments of Laconian vessels.<sup>1388</sup> *Kraters*, based on Euboean-Cycladic types, are one of the most frequent forms at the site, especially in late 8<sup>th</sup> through early 7<sup>th</sup> century sanctuary contexts.<sup>1389</sup> Vessels with uniform

---

<sup>1385</sup> Pelagatti 1972: 217-218; Bernabo Brea 1984-5: 280-6. Pelagatti suggests a pre-Greek cult in this cave.

<sup>1386</sup> This is similar in structure to a small temple built in Ortygia, Syracuse, in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century and subsequently replaced by the Ionic temple and Athenaion, as well as to extraurban sanctuaries attested at Gela.

<sup>1387</sup> Lentini 1988.

<sup>1388</sup> Particularly interesting are figurative scenes, in Orientalizing style but of local manufacture, different from examples from Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea and instead referring to Euboean-Cycladic models, also comparable to products from Zancle-Mylai and Leontini (Pelagatti 1972: 213-4).



fabric and surface treatment suggest fairly intensive local 7<sup>th</sup> century production, also manifest in sub-Daedalic type figurines, including two from the east side of the temple that are similar to Geloan production.

The sanctuary was restructured in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century with a polygonal peribolos wall, perhaps built by itinerant East Greek workmen.<sup>1390</sup> Also from this period are bases of stelae in the southwestern sector, surrounding early 6<sup>th</sup> century processional-type altars. The stelae around the altar have close analogies to the temenos of Malophoros in Selinunte and the Zeus Meilichios shrine, characterized by simple stones as markers arranged around the altar.<sup>1391</sup> Two late 7<sup>th</sup> century pottery kilns near the sanctuary complex may have produced finewares associated with the deposits.

Two extramural sanctuaries located southwest of the urban area yielded late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century deposits and material. (Fig. 6.13) Like the Southwest Sanctuary, these served to define the boundaries of the city while functioning as privileged locales for familial and individual deposition, some of these *thysiai* containing weapons deposits. The La Musa sanctuary was located along a main artery leading out from the Southwest Sanctuary.<sup>1392</sup> Although no early buildings were found, excavations revealed Archaic deposits containing ceramics and architectural terracottas, demonstrating the presence of a sacred area from the 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards. (Fig. 6.14) Deposits found here are comparable in terms of use and object type with those from contexts at Megara Hyblaea (Southern Plateau/ Temple ZR), M. Saraceno (Upper

---

<sup>1389</sup> Pelagatti 1972: 217.

<sup>1390</sup> Lentini 2001: 8.

<sup>1391</sup> Pelagatti 1972: 215.

<sup>1392</sup> Pelagatti 1977: 48-51; Bernabò Brea 1984-5: 285.

Plateau), and Palike (Building A) – mainly sacred spaces in mixed habitation/ ritual contexts.

[Table 6.2]

In the area of the Scalia property, located 200 m to the north and now known as the sanctuary west of the Santa Venera, excavations revealed two small Archaic shrines in antis (Tempietti H and I) along a main road to the site's suburban area, linking the east district, the main area of the town, with the river mouth.<sup>1393</sup> (Figs. 6.15, 6.16) Perhaps the most significant find associated with the temple is a 7<sup>th</sup> century votive inscription in the Naxian alphabet dedicated to the goddess Enyo, who may be a localized deity conflated with Athena, given statuettes of the latter found in the area.<sup>1394</sup> (Fig. 6.17) Two nearby kilns, one from the late 7<sup>th</sup> or first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, produced Ionian type cups of a type widespread in Naxos at this time.<sup>1395</sup>

In general, sacred areas document worship and industrial activities in a wide band of territory near the town's center in the Archaic and Classical periods, as they do at Leontini, another Chalkidian site. The possibly syncretized deities are particularly significant, suggesting continued indigenous presence or at least evolved cultic functions, not unlike the cultic area near Stenopos 11, which demonstrates continuity from earlier levels without significant break. This continuity is documented in this extramural area by three Late Iron Age enchytrismos burials

---

<sup>1393</sup> Sacello H was a small shrine with simple cella and pronaos, from the end of the first quarter to beginning of the second quarter of the sixth century; while Sacello I from the first half of the 6th century is comprised of a cella with pronaos in antis, facing south.

<sup>1394</sup> Guarducci (1985): 7; Lentini 2008: 493.

<sup>1395</sup> Pelagatti 1972: 213-5; Bernabo Brea 1984: 478-9. These are comparable to kilns in the Santa Venera temenos.

located nearby and marked by stones around the tombs, suggesting that this location always lay outside the area of intensive settlement but was still associated with indigenous occupation.<sup>1396</sup>

Larger-scale PA and Archaic indigenous and Greek burial grounds were northeast of the main town, along the slopes of the Ranunchi hill and around the bay; the assemblages and associated object types mirror those of other Chalkidian colonies in Sicily, while the method of tomb and tomb group demarcation with groups of stones encompassing family burials resembles practices at Himera (Eastern and Pestavecchia necropoleis), Castiglione (East Necropolis), and Butera (Layer II graves); these may have served a similar function as the roughly-hewn stones serving as markers or *semata* in sanctuary votive deposits, delineating ancestral claims to physical and ritual space. This practice, seen at both Greek and indigenous sites, is especially common in Euboean colonies, where small nuclear families are generally represented, the plots likely not exceeding a single generation. Excavations yielded 381 graves from the late 8<sup>th</sup> through 6<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>1397</sup> The graves demonstrate a diversity of funerary rites, typical of Euboean colonies, although the dominant form is burial in a fossa or large container, in sharp contrast with other Euboean necropoleis where cremation is the norm (although some Euboean necropoleis such as Pithekoussai also have a large percentage of *enchytrismos* burials). The *enchytrismos* burials utilize transport amphorae,<sup>1398</sup> Cycladic-type hydriai or spherical cooking olle, types of hydriai and olle also used as cinerary urns at the Mylai necropolis. Only nine cremations are attested, although areas of *ustrina* are more widespread across the site.

---

<sup>1396</sup> Procelli 1983: 15-6. One burial comprised two pithoi placed together; another was an infant in an olla with a bowl used as a lid and a cup-dipper placed outside.

<sup>1397</sup> Bernabò Brea 1984-5: 470-80; Pelagatti 1972: 213.

<sup>1398</sup> Attic SOS amphorae and East Greek amphorae, Samian amphorae, Corinthian Type A and B amphorae, and some Etruscan amphorae. Etrurian contacts are further suggested by incised bucchero found in the Aphrodite urban temenos.

Funerary assemblages are generally not rich, often just a single object or none at all, demonstrating a lack of social organization and rank within the necropolis. Corinthian LG and PC/TC ceramics are rather limited to aryballoi, while the number of EC and MC vessels is higher, comparable to patterns in other colonial cities. East Greek imports are also seen: abundant bucchero alabastra, Samian lekythoi, lydia, small Ionian cups and Rhodian cups; Euboean-Cycladic objects are less common, although some Euboean-type objects can be attributed to local workshops active around the mid-7<sup>th</sup> to mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, after which Euboean imports largely drop off. (Fig. 6.18) These typologies, especially numbers of perfume vessels, are similar to those in the site's sacred areas. In general, the artifacts demonstrate Naxos's wide commercial scope, with a variety of imported types attested in both the necropolis and habitations, including Etruscan bucchero and Phoenician plates. Few metal goods are attested, with some exceptions.<sup>1399</sup>

Some graves suggest indigenous presence at Naxos, such as Grave 72 from the late 8<sup>th</sup> century, a fossa burial of a young female and infant in an SOS amphora.<sup>1400</sup> The grave goods were a PC globular aryballos, two rings, and an indigenous-type bow fibula, perhaps indicative of intermarriage. Indigenous presence at least in the immediate hinterland is well-attested in the Pietraperciata district, in chamber tombs with indigenous-type goods on an isolated rock outcrop near the source of the Santa Venera River.<sup>1401</sup> Similar burials were also found in the Cocolonazzo Necropolis in the slopes above Taormina; items here document how early settlers had entered into relations with locals and demonstrate continued indigenous habitation of the

---

<sup>1399</sup> Pelagatti 1980: 697-701; Lentini 1998.

<sup>1400</sup> Lentini 2015a: 313; Pelagatti 1980: 699-700.

<sup>1401</sup> Lentini 2012: 158.

immediate hinterland after Greeks settled Naxos, with several contemporary Greek vases such as LG Euboean wares, both colonial (including Naxian) and early imports.<sup>1402</sup> These were found alongside indigenous wares including grayware ceramics with incised decoration attributable to the Finocchito facies. These mixed assemblages, also paralleled at the indigenous burial ground of Castelmola, display several similarities with isolated trenches dug in settlement contexts at Naxos, where mixed indigenous and Greek material is found in layers dating to the late 8<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Thus, evidence from domestic levels (huts below Stenopos 11), sacred areas (Santa Venera, La Musa, and Scalia sanctuaries) and necropoleis indicates an influx of wealth from early on, symbolically referenced through a warrior culture (evidenced by weapons deposits), deposited early/ hybrid forms of currency such as bronze astragaloi, and stelae and altars within temenoi that may have served particular families rather than the entire population. Continued indigenous presence is documented in the hinterland through the 7<sup>th</sup> century, and some “extramural” sanctuaries – such as the Scalia sanctuary on the opposite side of the Santa Venera River – may have been mediating places between local and Greek populations, situated as they were along major routes oriented towards the interior. Beginning in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century, although only through the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century, the site demonstrates a distinct Euboean identity, tempered by imported goods from various other areas of the Greek world, including some of the earliest Attic imports to the West. Nevertheless, several aspects – such as burial customs and the construction of domestic space in the latter half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century – are more closely aligned with developments in Megara Hyblaea and elsewhere in the Sikeliote world, as the site developed its own identity distinct from other Euboean colonies.

---

<sup>1402</sup> Procelli 1983: 81; Pelagatti 1978: 139-40; Orsi 1919c: 360-369.

## **Mendolito and Nearby Sites: Mapping Elite Culture from the East Coast to the Interior**

Soon after Leontini's founding in 730, Chalkidians founded Catania, their southernmost coastal colony. Although sporadic excavation and lack of early contexts and finds limit information on the role Catania played in the early years of Greek colonization and contact with the interior, some idea of its interactions with coastal and inland networks can be gained from its geographic location and Greek and imported objects in nearby inland indigenous centers that must have used trade networks along major natural routes, such as the Simeto River, along which Catania was ideally placed.

Within Catania's sphere of influence but far enough inland to be less affected by Greek presence in the early Archaic is Mendolito, one of the few excavated (albeit only partially) indigenous sites in central-northeast Sicily.<sup>1403</sup> Its location on the western slopes of Mount Etna and the furthest reaches of the Simeto River largely cut it off from main avenues of trade from the east coast. However, it could take advantage of networks from the north, linking it with Zancle and Mylai, Chalkidian colonies of the northeast coast.<sup>1404</sup> This marginal position is reflected in the material and structural record of the site: ties to more central Sicily are seen in the form of deposits of traditional ritual forms (especially metals) and weapons that engage with warrior culture, and in the settlement trajectory that mirrors the settlements of Vassallaggi and M. Maranfusa; yet the site also engages with a broader early Archaic Mediterranean koine, in the form of monumental articulated tombs, extensive imports and imitations from South Italy, and nascent literacy. The earlier settlement is indicated by several structures and a bronze hoard

---

<sup>1403</sup> Orsi's excavations, originally preliminarily published, were later republished by Pelagatti (Orsi and Pelagatti 1967-8).

<sup>1404</sup> Lamagna 2009b: 75-6.

found in the area of Ciaramidaro, interpreted as a foundation deposit.<sup>1405</sup> To the south is the Sciare Manganelli necropolis – perhaps the burial complex of Mendolito’s inhabitants, dated to the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1406</sup> Two 7<sup>th</sup> century enchytrismos burials of children in ceramic containers painted with Siculo-Geometric decoration were also found closer to the habitations. (Fig. 6.19) The rather uncommon practice of infant and child deposition in indigenous habitation contexts, even below houses, thus persists into the Archaic and may be particular to this area of Sicily.<sup>1407</sup>

The metal deposit, found in a ceramic pithos, consists of hundreds of ingots and worked metal objects of various provenience and type from interior and coastal Sicily and peninsular Italy; these include ornaments (rings, pendants, bracelets, spirals, chains, and fibulae), fragments of bronze vessels and stands, laminae, stylized bronze astragaloi, weapons (mainly spearheads and axes), and decorated bronze belts. (Fig. 6.20) The latest dates to the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, when the pithos was likely deposited, though numerous objects date to the EIA and Final Iron Age (9<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries); the majority dates to the 8<sup>th</sup> century, based on comparanda from the Italian peninsula (especially Calabria and Puglia), and other material from the island.

The assemblage is indeed similar to central Italian hoards, and several pieces may have originated there. The forms demonstrate long-distance circulation of metals, some types in use for centuries.<sup>1408</sup> Affinities between Mendolito and central and southern Italian production are

---

<sup>1405</sup> In Orsi and Russo’s earliest campaigns in the settlement following the recovery of the metal deposit, they identified a habitation area and surrounding late Archaic fortification wall. These were published in Pelagatti 1967-8 and Orsi 1919a.

<sup>1406</sup> La Rosa 2009. Other, mainly later types of tombs are also attested in the area, including *tomba a cappuccini* with late 6<sup>th</sup> century material. (See Hodos 2009: 130 for a discussion of the indigeneity of these burials).

<sup>1407</sup> Albanese 2009a.

<sup>1408</sup> Objects with affinities with peninsular Italian forms include shields comparable to Protovillanovan examples; cauldrons with ring handles and decorative spirals, seen in Central Italian and Etruscan areas such as Francavilla

seen in both production techniques and symbolic expression, particularly human iconography on stylized belts. These usually present isolated figures, often with upraised arms. Despite the diversity, the figures all suggest a symbolic status or religious symbol.<sup>1409</sup> Closely related are apotropaic masks with large eyes and human faces, well-represented among central and western Sicilian votive contexts of the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1410</sup> These motifs, seen here only on fragmentary belts, are from wedge-shaped rectangular pectoral elements attached to belts with metopal partitions showing Greek influence, suggesting a *terminus post quem* for their manufacture, the founding of nearby Greek coastal colonies like Zankle that would have served as main transportation hubs in disseminating Greek objects inland. Among the objects are Orientalia such as lotus figures on a dinos, a motif common in indigenous central-southern Sicily, in Sabucina and Capodarso, in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Possible Greek bronze imports – cauldrons and tripods – suggest that Mendolito was part of elite networks forming a material culture koine among the Ionian coast, the Tyrrhenian coast of Calabria, and northeast Sicily.<sup>1411</sup> Weapons also were a significant part of the hoard, as in hoards from M. Casale, Himera (Temple A), Gela (Molino a Vento Deposit D), Leontini (Alaimo Sanctuary), and the indigenous sites of M. San Mauro, Niscemi, Giarratana, and Polizzello. The hoard is also comparable to

---

Marittima in Calabria and Veio, from the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century; and some fibulae, mainly from the 9<sup>th</sup> to second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, although some resemble types from the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and comparable objects from Calabria and Campania. Fibulae from the hoard may be locally made (Albanese 2009a: 105-7).

<sup>1409</sup> Anthropomorphizing figures are diffuse in Southern Italy in the First and Second Iron Age, including at Basilicata, in the Necropolis of Santa Maria d'Anglona, dating to the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century. They are also analogous to examples from incised vases from Cumae and hut urns from Lazio (10<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> century) and Orientalizing objects from the Tomba Principesca from Colli Albani, c. 720-640 (Albanese 2009a: 109-11).

<sup>1410</sup> *Supra* 229, 262. Albanese 2009a: 113. At least 12 examples of 7<sup>th</sup> century belts with human masks were found in Sicily, from Colle Madore, Sabucina, and Terravecchia del Cuti. Bronzes at the Mainz Museum, of unknown provenience but likely from Syracuse's territory, include numerous belt fragments, three with anthropomorphizing masks.

<sup>1411</sup> Albanese 1989: 646-7; Lamagna 2005: 336-7; Naso 2011, 2012.



smaller, earlier and chronologically more compact central Sicilian hoards from Noto and San Cataldo. These are generally similar assemblages with slightly differing emphases; that of San Cataldo contains several bronze basins and dipper-cups, comparable to imitated ceramic impasto forms in other indigenous contexts, while the Noto deposit consists primarily of ornamental objects.<sup>1412</sup> The Mendolito hoard comprises all significant object types in these other deposits, suggesting greater interconnectedness, although the lack of scientific excavations precludes definitive conclusions. Similarities between these hoards, and the lack of comparanda between some of the object types and those from scientifically excavated grave and sanctuary assemblages, suggest migrations of small population groups<sup>1413</sup> or the existence of hyper-localized exchange nodes (perhaps due to a regional governing power) drawing on a wide variety of trade and other social contacts.

The absence of contemporary structures makes it difficult to determine the deposition's purpose and whether it belonged to a sanctuary or communal structure. However, later campaigns revealed several late Archaic indigenous fortifications and remains of an Archaic indigenous settlement with rectilinear architecture and double-faced drystone walls, similar to architecture from nearby M. Castellaccio and Civita in the territory of Paterno, suggesting a semi-regular urban plan from an early period.<sup>1414</sup> (Fig. 6.21) Greek impact is seen in the late 6<sup>th</sup> century inscription in local language engraved in Greek lettering on a sandstone block, the area's longest known text, likely public in nature.<sup>1415</sup> The oldest excavated material, from the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, attests to ongoing forms from in the Final Iron Age, such as carinated

---

<sup>1412</sup> Albanese 1993: 67-71; 255-265.

<sup>1413</sup> Albanese 2003: 34.

<sup>1414</sup> These excavations were conducted by Pelagatti in 1962-63 and 1988.

<sup>1415</sup> Manganaro 1998: 247-270.

cups with high-swung handles, olle with everted rims, oinochoai, and wide-mouthed amphorae, found in habitations (always among more recent structures and material) and as grave goods in the southern necropolis. Impasto ceramics and indigenous painted one-handled basins continue this local production tradition into the early Archaic, and coarsewares are well-represented, both round chytrai, cooking vessels in the Greek convention, and flatter pentole and “pignatte” of indigenous tradition, in use from the late 8<sup>th</sup> century through the Archaic. The conservative character of these archaic levels is signaled by the presence of ovoid situlae with semilunate handles, a type originating the EIA.

There are also forms of clearly Greek manufacture or influence, such as kraters, amphorae, and oinochoai, the earliest of which may have arrived with the Greek metal goods in the hoard, and even unusual renditions of Ionian columns from the main area of settlement.<sup>1416</sup> (Fig. 6.21) In general, however, the site seems largely closed off from exterior influences (shown by rather lower numbers of imported Greek vessels) with enduring traditionalism evident among objects, and a tendency to stick to local, older forms. Nevertheless, by the late 6<sup>th</sup> century, a Greek-style sanctuary existed at the site, evidenced by architectural terracottas and gorgon masks.

This traditionalism and selective adoption of aspects of the exterior world extends to the surrounding necropoleis in the area, including those of Sciare Manganelli, south of Mendolito but not certainly connected to it (although similarities between the rich material in the tombs and in the Mendolito Hoard suggest ties). The complex consists of fifteen circular and oval tombs with short dromos and drystone elevations. (Fig. 6.22) Distinct similarities between these

---

<sup>1416</sup> Imported objects include imitation and imported Greek ceramics, the majority of which are locally or colonially made (especially Ionian Type B2 cups), although Corinthian and, later, Attic vessels are commonly attested. Transport amphorae are represented by Corinthian Type A amphorae, Attic *a la brosse* amphorae, and East Greek types.

tombs' architecture and that of earlier and contemporary Greek, particularly Cretan, tholos tombs, have led some scholars to posit an Aegean origin for the funerary typology.<sup>1417</sup> Albanese-Procelli instead argues for closer associations with indigenous building types, as there is almost no evidence for Cretan contact here during the first wave of Greek settlement, and limited evidence for Bronze Age Aegean contacts.<sup>1418</sup> Nevertheless, a certain internationality is seen in tomb typologies, so a juxtaposition of architecture and funerary types reflecting lived experiences of what may well be a mixed population would not be unexpected. The mixed-tomb typologies include the usual 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century Corinthian and East Greek imported and colonial-made products, mainly drinking vessels,<sup>1419</sup> enhanced by small imported objects such as so-called "pilgrim flasks" and high-quality Orientalia, faience scarabs and plaques with hieroglyphic decoration manufactured in Rhodes.<sup>1420</sup> (Fig. 6.23)

Similar tombs are attested in M. Bubboia (four from the late 6<sup>th</sup> century), Casino di Centuripe, and Contrada S. Marco di Paterno, closer to coastal Greek cities and, at least in M. Bubboia's case, also within the area conventionally associated with Gela's "Rhodio-Cretan" sphere of influence; this could explain Cretan-style "tholos" tombs in M. Bubboia, although the argument cannot be made for inland areas closer to the Chalkidian colonies of the east and north coasts.<sup>1421</sup> (Fig. 6.22) However, Rhodian influence, or at least trade goods, is attested by

---

<sup>1417</sup> La Rosa 2009: 99-104. In particular, these tombs are similar in form to Cretan tombs from Erganos, Kourtes, Kamares, Panaghia, and Prinias, dating from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>1418</sup> Albanese 2003: 64.

<sup>1419</sup> Pelagatti 1964-5: 247; Lamagna 2009a: 117-118.

<sup>1420</sup> Verga 1990; Lamagna 84-86.

<sup>1421</sup> La Rosa 2009: 99-101.

faience items, which may have arrived here with more common ceramic goods traded along major river routes.

Eastern models and small objects in these and similar indigenous centers were likely the products of the influx of commercial goods into the territory of Adrano, via the coast and up the Valle del Simeto and nearby valleys to centers such as Centuripe, M. Castellaccio di Pietralunga, and Civita immediately west of Mount Etna. These sites, like Mendolito, display nascent monumentalization early in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, evidenced by inscriptions, articulated grave structures, and freestanding multi-room habitations. The material record also records an increase in wealth, seen in high-quality grave goods, imports and continued connections with South Italy, and early imitations of Corinthian communal feasting vessels. Greek goods arrived here remarkably early, in late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> century imports like Rhodian bird cups and Aetos 666 cups, found in several indigenous centers.<sup>1422</sup> Similar tomb typologies have been found at nearby Centuripe, in the indigenous tomb of the Grotta dell'Acqua, with its early 7<sup>th</sup> to mid-6<sup>th</sup> century material (including imported scarabs, ivory ornaments, and ornamental rosettes alongside Greek and indigenous vases), as well as in Tomb VIII of Contrada Gelso-Capitano and a tomb in Contrada Casino, with 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century material.<sup>1423</sup> (Fig. 6.24) That trade contacts had been initiated even earlier, though, is seen in the extremely rich late 8<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> century Tomb III at Contrada Capitano, with metal ornaments and four imported Greek cups; meanwhile, the nearby contemporary Tomb IV contains fewer metal ornaments and imported cups, but numerous colonial or imitation oinochoai, the variations perhaps signaling different priorities and different modes of wealth acquisition and display. All early tombs demonstrate continued use, with

---

<sup>1422</sup> Patané 2012: 185-6; Patané 2009a: 111-112.

<sup>1423</sup> Op. cit. 183; Orsi 1909: 93-9; Lamagna 2009b: 84-85; La Rosa 2009: 97-98.

imports alongside traditional metal ornaments and incised and stamped greywares.<sup>1424</sup> The tomb typologies suggest that Centuripe, like Mendolito, saw the rise of elites and a new urban model that may have gone hand-in-hand with social reorganization in this period.<sup>1425</sup> Evidence for continued indigenous elite culture, along with importation and imitation of Greek wares, is perhaps most apparent in a locally made Corinthianizing krater with anthropomorphic design from the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century or slightly later, with a Sikel inscription painted prior to firing, as status is signaled through a degree of literacy and adoption of Greek forms associated with consumption and commensality.<sup>1426</sup>

Links between this area and northeast Sicily from the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century are demonstrated by “Orientalia” seen in large quantities in substantial zones of central-southern Italy, linked to northern Sicily via the Tyrrhenian Basin and Straits of Messina. These objects likely traveled routes controlled by Chalkidian settlers mediating markets between emporia and colonies, especially along the straits. Local centers eventually imitated traded objects, perhaps due to increased demand and developing societal structures.<sup>1427</sup> This led to the development of local production *koinei*, less evident among the region’s indigenous centers (largely due to rather sporadic excavations in the area) but certainly evident in Chalkidian coastal centers forming their own regional, Euboean koine in northern Sicily and bridging the Strait of Messina. That Euboeans were in the Mendolito area is evidenced by the sporadic discovery of a bronze Chalkidian-type helmet in a tomb in the town’s southern necropolis.<sup>1428</sup> It may also have reached

---

<sup>1424</sup> Bernabo Brea 1966: 180.

<sup>1425</sup> Patané 2012: 185.

<sup>1426</sup> Patané 2009a: 113.

<sup>1427</sup> Lamagna 2009b: 85-86.

<sup>1428</sup> Lamagna 2009a: 118.

the area from Catania or further south, even Megara Hyblaea, which, although not under Chalkidian control, was nevertheless intertwined early with eastern coastal trade and demonstrates precocious adoption and dissemination of eastern and eastern-inspired goods, as seen in exceptional imported objects in numerous elite tombs.<sup>1429</sup>

Yet indigenous trade links across the Straits of Messina had been established long before the Greeks and continued as they began to secure control by establishing Zankle and then Mylai. Central Italian objects may have reached Sicilian interior centers like Mendolito, Centuripe and Morgantina via nodes such as Pozzo di Gatto/Longane, an indigenous coastal settlement that flourished in the EIA through the late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> century, situated close to Greek settlements along the northeast coast to take advantage of nearby trade currents. From excavations on the south peak of the summit and in nearby necropoleis,<sup>1430</sup> artifacts of the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century reveal mainland Italic influences, including a bronze fibula demonstrating connections with Calabria and Campania (including Pithekoussai), found with fragments of incised impasto ceramics.<sup>1431</sup> (Fig. 6.25) Commercial relations would have been facilitated by the expansion and consolidation of Chalkidian control along the north coast through Mylai's foundation in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century.

---

<sup>1429</sup> Connections are seen between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century Sciare Manganeli tombs and contexts from elite tombs at Megara Hyblaea's North Necropolis, mainly from the end of the former's period of use. Among burials there, mid-6<sup>th</sup> century Tomb D contained several metal objects and heirlooms (rarer for Greek tombs) and East Greek and Corinthian imports, the most exceptional an Eastern-style shield-shaped gold ring.

<sup>1430</sup> Orsi 1951. These include the graves of Uliveto di Pozzo di Gotto and Contrada Villa De Luca-Cavaliere (Bernabó-Brea 1967: 233; 237-9).

<sup>1431</sup> Bernabó-Brea 1967: 227-9; Fragments of incised and stamped wares, including one with incised concentric circles in a metopal field, seem within the decorative repertoire of west rather than northeast Sicily, indicating currents of exchange among this area's indigenous sites. The fibula, with winged arch (fibula *a Drago*), was a common type from mainland Italy present in contacts of the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> through 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, in Pithekoussai, Campania and Etruria. Likely Italic in origin, it is also found in the necropolis of Realmese in Calascibetta and in the deposit at Mendolito di Adrano.

No matter the objects' routes to Mendolito and other interior centers, the users' purpose is the same: to broadcast status through the deposition of uncommon, quality trade goods, removing them from circulation and therefore trade, demonstrating the local elites' ability not only to control networks in the region but also to dictate which objects are viable exchange goods in the networks. Elite presence is further signaled by the sporadic find of an Archaic bronze banqueter figurine from the town area of Mendolito.<sup>1432</sup> (Fig. 6.26) Thus, tomb architecture, high-quality and unusual grave goods, and the Mendolito hoard all signal elite presence, local aristocratic families that perhaps used the site's location along several trade routes and links with both the Tyrrhenian basin to the north and, to the east, Chalkidian cities. Their identity was publicized through objects linked to warrior culture, feasting, generalized Orientalia and metal goods, behavior more closely associated with the area around the Straits of Messina and Central and Southern Italy than with elite culture of southern Sicily. Yet there are also links to central Sicily and Sikania, in the emphasis placed on arms and armor deposits incorporating imports and the prevalence of stylized belts, perhaps a form of armor.

Unusual elite grave goods with broad links with central Italy, bronze spearheads and an Archaic bronze cista from the 8<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries, were found in chamber tombs of nearby Civita, also along the Valle del Simeto, although remaining objects in the tombs have generally much higher chronologies than items at Centuripe mentioned above; items may have been passed down through generations, deposited here as valued heirlooms.<sup>1433</sup> In other ways, the settlement recalls Mendolito, especially the remarkably early double-faced Archaic city wall; both cities likely developed in the 7<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. Excavation of the settlement's western portion, in the

---

<sup>1432</sup> Lamagna 2009a: 117-118; Cat. VI/448.

<sup>1433</sup> These were found in Tombs IX and XI respectively. (Rizza 1954: 136-9; 144-5)

Montalto-Cicero district in the territory of S. Maria di Licodia, revealed remains of two dwellings (Houses 1 and 2), oriented the same direction, with a well-defined stratigraphic succession to the southwest. (Fig. 6.27) Both were one-room structures from about the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century; House 2 was later expanded with a second room. Outside was a small structure (Structure 26) interpreted as storeroom, with a large container for foodstuffs. Material from this area includes a large pithos with burnt patches, fragments of Licodia Eubea style indigenous painted jars, and loomweights,<sup>1434</sup> suggesting that both spaces were in use for about a century. Older stratigraphic layers can be traced in a trench inside Room B of House 2, which belongs to an Archaic destruction horizon. The complete absence of imported ceramics in some floor levels, characterized mainly by unpainted Archaic ceramics or banded wares dating to the Finocchito facies and early Archaic, suggest relatively late Greek presence in this area.<sup>1435</sup>

Mount Etna essentially closed off interior indigenous sites of northeast and central-northeast Sicily from developments to the south and east, so it is not surprising to see them develop their own *koine* influenced by trajectories from the west and trade along the island's north coast. Furthermore, the area's indigenous sites like Mendolito and the town served by Sciare Manganeli are not near any specifically "Greek" settlement instead rather isolated from the north coast. They are selective in relations with the Greek world, adopting only certain elements, like objects improving one's quality of life, or with elite connotations, for example the faience scarabs and plaque found in the Sciare Manganeli necropolis. These areas are thus

---

<sup>1434</sup> The surface contains mostly locally-manufactured material, including Siculo-Geometric fragments and fragments of kitchenware and containers; a colonial Type B2 cup and oinochoe; and a fragment of a transport amphora.

<sup>1435</sup> Lamagna 1997: 94.



immune to the process of seemingly less selective “acculturation” seen in other eastern and central indigenous centers by the late Archaic.

### **Morgantina: Co-Habitation and the Emergence of a Localized Culture in the Early Archaic**

Extensively excavated contexts and large amounts of material make the Archaic site of Cittadella in Morgantina a type-site for studying both indigenous and Greek interactions in central Sicily and the process of urbanization in the EIA and Archaic. The site fits into previously discussed discourses of regional networks of literacy and ancestral patterning on the landscape, and the settlement development and aggrandizement of sacred space from the early Archaic on, as earlier elliptical and apsidal structures were replaced by sacred spaces privileging acropolis areas that served a regional population and were integrated within the urban fabric, perhaps servicing specific localized clans in the vicinity of this space. Objects from both settlement and necropolis in this period demonstrate a balance between indigeneity, with perpetuation of localized forms, and new forms clearly modeled on Chalkidian types.

The settlement is on a hilltop, surrounded by slopes with rock-cut tombs used throughout its existence. Three zones define the hill: the upper acropolis to the west known as Farmhouse Hill, an upper plateau with the main settlement area, and a lower plateau to the east, connected to the upper by a low saddle. (Fig. 6.28) The elevation provides a vantage point overlooking strategic routes along the nearby Gornalunga River valley through the Plain of Catania to the Simeto River, which leads to the Ionian coast. Occupation of the site began in the 11<sup>th</sup> century with longhouses, assemblages and artifact types typical of this region.<sup>1436</sup> Despite

---

<sup>1436</sup> This period, known as the Ausonian phase due to parallels among Morgantina, mainland Italy sites, and Ausonian contexts on Lipari, is characterized by several artifact types and assemblages paralleling chronologically equivalent sites, such as Metapiccola at Leontini, Punta Castelluzzo, Milazzo, and Molino della Badia near Caltagirone. (Allen 1976: 500).

destruction horizons in several early 8<sup>th</sup> century contexts, various indications suggest that the settlement continued without interruption into the next phase, in the late 8<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, the last occupation period before the earliest evidence of Greek presence.<sup>1437</sup> Several floor levels and deposits predating the 6<sup>th</sup> century Archaic buildings reflect a richness and density of occupation throughout the EIA and PA.<sup>1438</sup>

Leighton investigated several 7<sup>th</sup> century contexts while excavating the longhouses, occupied into the Early Archaic; even in the 6<sup>th</sup> century when they had been mostly obscured, some later structures still respected their basic ground plan. (Fig. 6.29) This continuity and tradition, apparent in this area of Sicily, is also reflected in the urban structure in 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century Ramacca, where the rectangular, elongated plan of an excavated house of that period resembles earlier longhouses.<sup>1439</sup>

Surveys in Morgantina's vicinity, on hills south and east of Cittadella, demonstrate a general increase in sites over the Early to Late Iron Age when a number of places further away in the same general region, such as Metapicola and Cassibile, become semi-abandoned, suggesting that populations started to focus on the interior, more densely occupying naturally fortified sites;<sup>1440</sup> Morgantina may have become a population center at this time.<sup>1441</sup>

At Morgantina, later EIA levels were followed by an intense building period starting in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, the settlement remodeled at the same time as other central-southern Sicilian sites.

---

<sup>1437</sup> Allen 1976: 489; Leighton 2012: 21.

<sup>1438</sup> Leighton 1993: 11-48.

<sup>1439</sup> Patane & Buscemi Felici 1997-1998: 205; Leighton 2012: 86.

<sup>1440</sup> Leighton 2012: 209-11.

<sup>1441</sup> Leighton 2012: 205-9.

Occupation spread to new locations on the Lower Plateau and valley west of Cittadella,<sup>1442</sup> with rough-cut stone or rubble foundations and mudbrick replacing earlier wattle-and-daub structures by the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1443</sup> The single-room buildings, shorter than earlier longhouses and often apsidal, were isolated or in loose groups, occupied by nuclear families, similar to the domestic layout at Early Archaic Sabucina.<sup>1444</sup> (Fig. 6.30) Leighton sees buildings' positioning on the hill's most prominent spots and superimposition of walls and destruction levels as indicative of rapid transformation and instability in the late 8<sup>th</sup> through 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, perhaps spurred by population shifts and migrations.<sup>1445</sup> In this period when population movement characterized central Sicily, conventionally ascribed to migration of Sicilian ethnē and shifting boundaries, Morgantina lay in the liminal zone between central and eastern Sicily. Widespread change was, however, tempered by continuity, archaism and convention, with episodes of gradual development that would characterize the entire the Archaic period of Cittadella's existence, continuing into the period commonly called the "Greek phase," traditionally defined by local reactions to external stimuli and contacts. Eventually, though, Morgantina's inhabitants developed their own distinctive material culture influenced by regional neighbors and greater cultural exchange.<sup>1446</sup> In crystallizing a distinct identity in a period of flux, locals drew on ancestral forms while incorporating new ones, combined with luxury goods and specialized

---

<sup>1442</sup> Allen 1976: 489.

<sup>1443</sup> Pise is also widespread in indigenous Sicily at this period, including 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century habitations at M. San Mauro and M. Maranfusa.

<sup>1444</sup> Allen 1976: 490.

<sup>1445</sup> Leighton 1993: 151-2.

<sup>1446</sup> Allen 1976: 501.

pottery produced in the town, modeled on Greek forms and aligned with the more pronounced social differentiation in this period and a nascent aristocracy.

The Princeton Excavations of Cittadella revealed Early Archaic structures and contexts spread throughout the entire area of the hill; unfortunately, later Archaic and Hellenistic occupation in some areas has made it difficult to reconstruct habitation levels of PA strata predating later 6<sup>th</sup> century destruction and remodeling of the site.<sup>1447</sup> Intermediate layers demonstrate forms of architecture and object types derived from those of the preceding period, but associated with new types and styles. In the PA, handmade coarsewares and piumata ware continued to be produced, while incised pottery became more common and local Siculo-Geometric is found in greater proportions. [See Table 6.3 for object totals from this period] The transitional period is seen in the site's earliest-known rock-cut chamber tombs from Necropolis IV, with similarities to southeast Sicily's Pantalica South facies.<sup>1448</sup> (Fig. 6.31) While these graves contain no Final Bronze and EIA object types seen in other Cittadella contexts of the period (such as piumata ware and handmade coarseware), new shapes broadly comparable to Pantalica South and M. Finocchito wares appear. Chamber tombs continued as the main burial form, tombs in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries having more standardized material records.

On the most prominent location, the upper acropolis, was a mid-6<sup>th</sup> century rectangular naiskos with architectural terracottas and wooden epistyle, a religious focal point for inhabitants. The previous PA settlement is not reconstructable in detail; the only substantial remains are Early Archaic walls of at least three buildings constructed in succession, found beneath the

---

<sup>1447</sup> At the upper and lower plateaus and Farmhouse Hill, Archaic levels are comprised of Stratum 3, the later "Greek" phase of the late the Archaic, and Stratum 4, a pre-destruction and destruction phase in roughly the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, with a destruction level around the third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Higher numbers indicate earlier strata.

<sup>1448</sup> Leighton 1993: 97-110.

naiskos. A few walls in the area are from apsidal structures; outside one was a clay pavement with postholes perhaps forming a porch. (Fig. 6.30) Allen suggests that these are shrines built in the Greek LG architectural style, although by this time – the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century – the building type would have been obsolete in Greek contexts.<sup>1449</sup> They may also have displayed Protovillanovan movement between Italy and eastern Sicily bringing apsidal structures to Sicily.<sup>1450</sup> In either case, these structures demonstrate affinities with other contexts on Cittadella and elsewhere in the central Sicilian indigenous world, including M. San Mauro.<sup>1451</sup> In some middle levels there is a mix of later Archaic forms with earlier Protohistoric painted vessels, as well as a distinct lack of imported pottery; fine Siculo-Geometric forms present in the later layers are absent in these and earlier strata.<sup>1452</sup> Lower levels contain ceramic types typical of the settlement's earlier EIA levels, such as piumata ware and incised and stamped vessels, although some date to the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Some associated curved wall structures belong to a transitional EIA phase between the longhouses and later PA phases, correlating with the first rock-cut tombs of Necropolis IV.<sup>1453</sup> By the late 7<sup>th</sup> century imports are present on the site's highest point; fragments of Attic SOS, a la brosse transport amphorae, and Corinthian aryballoi suggest that the Farmhouse Hill area may have functioned as an arena of gatherings and exchange where Greeks and Sikels met, interactions possibly facilitated by a sacred space in this location.<sup>1454</sup>

---

<sup>1449</sup> Allen 1976: 492.

<sup>1450</sup> I Luoghi sacri di Morgantina pg. 134.

<sup>1451</sup> Op. cit.

<sup>1452</sup> Stratum 6 contained coarseware and Siculo-geometric pottery with metopal band patterns and X-motif, seen on late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century local geometric pottery. In Stratum 6A, coarseware is most common, with large vessels, smaller cups and bowls, wheelmade burnished ware, Siculo-geometric ware and fineware, and plain and painted pithos fragments.

<sup>1453</sup> Leighton 1993: 15-17.

<sup>1454</sup> Allen 1977:133.

In the settlement's Upper Plateau were floor levels and deposits dated between 6<sup>th</sup> century Archaic buildings and earlier longhouses. Ceramics in bedrock cuttings for later Archaic structures and associated fill include Protohistoric and early Archaic wares: handmade coarseware, piumata ware, and Siculo-Geometric, but no Greek imports; the layer dates to roughly the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries when traditional Protohistoric fabrics such as piumata ware and coarseware were used with newer Siculo-Geometric forms.<sup>1455</sup> There is some evidence for daub construction in these Iron Age levels although it is generally obsolete on Cittadella by the Early Archaic.

Several other trenches in Cittadella's Upper Plateau contained Early Archaic remains that demonstrate dispersed settlement from the 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards.<sup>1456</sup> (Fig. 6.32) A room in the southeastern corner of the plateau is connected to a Sikel occupation stratum; a burnt debris layer suggests that it was destroyed before Archaic occupation of the room. The finds suggest domestic use and include a variety of ceramics: MC and LC aryballoi beside traditional indigenous forms such as burnished, incised and Siculo-Geometric ware, and non-ceramic utilitarian goods.<sup>1457</sup>

Other stratified contexts on Cittadella include Greek imports with numerous indigenous wares, attesting to early, comprehensive trade with the coast. One is a stratum in the northeastern quadrant of the Upper Plateau, disassociated from any earlier architecture although extensive scorching on the bedrock suggests that buildings here used bedrock as a natural floor

---

<sup>1455</sup> Levels associated with this period of occupation include Strata C38 and C22, postdating the level of the Ausonian building but predating the Archaic walls above; and pit C111 and Fill C111F, which contain similar material.

<sup>1456</sup> The stratigraphy is less well-recorded than in the trenches mentioned, so only preliminary observations can be made.

<sup>1457</sup> Antonaccio 1997: 183. Among the finds are local wheelmade ceramics, bronze rings, incised ware and burnished greyware, an LC aryballos, amphorae, and amphoriskos.

level. Finds include an interesting mix of more traditional Sikel wares – a vase with high-swung handles imitating bronze prototypes, and an undecorated Sikel cup with incised lines below the rim – with relatively rare Greek and colonial imports, such as a kothon and black-slipped Laconian aryballos.<sup>1458</sup>

On Cittadella's Lower Plateau, PA levels were isolated between the later Archaic and earlier longhouse levels.<sup>1459</sup> A bothros deposit near material signifying a late Archaic cult contained an arula decorated with a boar, suggesting chthonic worship from at least the mid-Archaic.<sup>1460</sup> An intermediate stratum with forms derived from the EIA and wheelmade Siculo-Geometric vases derived from Greek types<sup>1461</sup> had no structural features, while a lower stratum associated with Early Archaic walls contained larger amounts of handmade wares similar to EIA examples, with other types (primarily combed and carinated wares), of an intermediate period postdating the longhouse assemblages.<sup>1462</sup> (Fig. 6.33) There are also higher amounts of incised and stamped wares relative to the site's other areas, alongside fine wheelmade Siculo-Geometric and other indigenous pottery, some of which – piumata-style and banded wares – reference

---

<sup>1458</sup> Among the finds were scodelle (both unpainted and with Siculo-Geometric decoration), bronze bead, ring, stone axe head, Ionian cup, Corinthian sherd, and large Siculo-Geometric bowl.

<sup>1459</sup> Leighton 1993: 27-37.

<sup>1460</sup> Allen 1977: 135.

<sup>1461</sup> In this stratum were a Corinthian kothon and Siculo-Geometric sherds, dating to the 7<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. Local wares included oinochoai, bowls, and amphorae, most wheelmade fineware with Siculo-Geometric painted decoration, in higher proportions than the coarse handmade pottery; this is consistent with the site's earliest Archaic levels and the intermediate phase predating 6<sup>th</sup> century occupation. Handmade coarseware is also common, and includes carinated forms, some burnished greywares, grooved bowls, and piumata ware.

<sup>1462</sup> Among the representative forms of this period are piumata bowls, larger handmade coarseware vessels, burnished bowls, carinated cups with combing around the neck, and jugs with combed decoration.

Protohistoric styles, although other sherds show Greek influence.<sup>1463</sup> An important indicator of early Archaic settlement in the Lower Plateau is an inscription found built into the later Archaic temenos wall, written with Greek script but perhaps in the local Sikel language. (Fig. 6.34) This stele, while exhibiting a high degree of cultural interaction and literacy at Morgantina from a relatively early period, also suggests links with South Italy, given similarities between this stele and contemporary Daunian examples.<sup>1464</sup> Although not deciphered, given the social context and later reuse in a sanctuary, this inscription may have had a function like those discovered at the Archaic indigenous sites of Mendolito, Marianopoli, and M. Saraceno, and may have come from a public building or area. Such structures may have resembled elliptical or apsidal Sikel huts in the Lower Plateau; two of these, from perhaps the third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, reused cut blocks from a slightly earlier Archaic building with mudbrick or wattle and daub superstructure.<sup>1465</sup> On the floor of one were a kernos, indigenous bowls, pouring and storage and containers, and a LC quatrefoil aryballos; a later secondary destruction layer yielded a scarab and half a gorgoneion antefix. Near remains of a possible third elliptical building, pits containing Ionian cup sherds suggest votive or consumption activity.

Thus many objects from Protoarchaic contexts throughout the site, including incised wares, are rooted in EIA and LIA traditions, rather than solely grounded on Greek imports. Later pottery, evolved from these styles, tends to have finer fabric, thinner walls, and smaller dimensions, as in a group of well-fired thin-walled carinated slipped cups with combed lines on the rim. Similar to types found in southeastern Sicily, at Finocchito and Licodia Eubea, these

---

<sup>1463</sup> A series of floors and deposits (Stratum 5A through 5F) below Stratum 4, roughly date to the early Archaic, the earliest to the Late Iron Age. As levels become older, less fine wheelmade Siculo-Geometric is present and more piumata ware, carinated cups and bowls, and handmade coarseware are found.

<sup>1464</sup> Antonaccio 1999.

<sup>1465</sup> Allen 1976: 134-5; Sjöqvist 1963: 145-6.



often show Greek influence, with metopal or meander arrangements. This style, never particularly common, lasts into the later Archaic at Morgantina. Leighton suggests that this persistence, like that in the west of the island, is due to Morgantina's position, more isolated than eastern sites.<sup>1466</sup>

Painted geometric wares are much more common at the site, the earliest from the 8<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries. Use of the same fabrics indicates that production continued here through the subsequent Archaic period, utilizing new motifs on older forms.<sup>1467</sup> Some earlier ceramic types like piumata ware are consistently produced through the Early Archaic, especially oinochoai and bowls with thickened grooved rims comparable to Pantalica South and M. Finocchito items.<sup>1468</sup> Spindle whorls and loomweights from settlement contexts include incised examples, as seen in the above-mentioned sites and the Italian peninsula. These may have elite or ceremonial associations, particularly with the production of textiles and display of looms. Overall, object typologies from the early settlement mirror those from other indigenous contexts undergoing similar transformations in this period, especially M. Polizzo; the assemblages are also not unlike those from Polizzello (Oikos C) and Butera (Conrada Consi) in the preponderance of indigenous painted bowls among the contexts.

Chronologies and typologies of indigenous ceramics were deciphered from contexts and tomb types in the necropoleis flanking Cittadella; these cemeteries, in their variety of

---

<sup>1466</sup> Leighton 1993: 160-1.

<sup>1467</sup> Leighton 1993: 146-7. Most Siculo-Geometric style wares are from late 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century levels at Cittadella, although in tombs the type lasts through the early 5<sup>th</sup> century. In this period, the type is characterized primarily by wheelmade fineware vessels, often slipped. Some traditional elements are retained, persisting despite some marked changes in style.

<sup>1468</sup> These include "basket-shaped" bowls or scodelloni with two or three raised handles on the rim, often with horizontal painted bands or incised decoration; commonly found in Archaic contexts, they may be derived from an earlier type. Painted oinochoai of this period are different in both shape and decoration from EIA jugs, paralleling Greek oinochoai.

depositional types, utilization of space, increase in monumentality, and development over time of standardization of grave sets and formulation of specified rituals that directly engage with groups among the living while still referencing the ancestral past, uniquely draw on a range of practices between east and west and between indigenous and Greek. At least four contain Archaic material: Necropoleis II, IV, V, and VI, which consist of several rock-cut chamber tombs, most with more than one burial, demonstrating collective inhumation characteristic of Sikel necropoleis.<sup>1469</sup> In some tombs with multiple depositions, individual burials and grave groups can be isolated, although in many cases older interments were moved to the sides to make room for later ones. There seem to be no vertical layers of depositions as in some LIA tombs, except in earlier Necropolis IV.

This was the earliest known tomb group, with echoes in later Archaic burials; it was located on the slopes around Cittadella near the main settlement. (Fig. 6.31) [See Table 6.4 for object totals] Here a cluster of three intact *tombe a forno* – circular “oven-shaped” rock-cut tombs– was in use from the mid-8<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> century, as shown by an absence of Greek pottery and presence of early fibula types.<sup>1470</sup> The skeletons’ position, outstretched or with legs slightly bent, is characteristic of the Pantalica South cemetery. The objects are also comparable to some earlier material from trenches on Cittadella, and placement of pottery alongside walls is similar to practices at other EIA sites, while indigenous bowls and pouring vessels (*askoi* and *oinochoai*) were standard elements in the phase’s funerary rituals, suggesting feasting during interment. It is unclear if these represent continuity of earlier rites, though, as the only evidence

---

<sup>1469</sup> These are published in Lyons 1996a.

<sup>1470</sup> Leighton 1993: 97-110.

from the FBA is from a single dolium burial.<sup>1471</sup> Some later goods in the tombs do demonstrate evidence of Greek influence or contact.

Overall there are fewer burials per tomb, characteristic of indigenous tombs of the period, each tomb displaying unique characteristics indicative of status.<sup>1472</sup> Tomb 4, richest of the group, had a single occupant, perhaps female as she was buried with an iron serpentine fibula, beads, pottery and metal coils. Tomb 5, with two adult skeletons and two isolated skulls, was preceded by a dromos (unlike nearby tombs) but contained only an incised handmade jug. Tomb 6, the largest from the EIA, had two groups of burials in distinct strata, a cow horn in the middle of the chamber associated with the first deposition.<sup>1473</sup> The three tombs suggest lack of standardization in rites and grave goods at this time, although the sample size is small.

Varying practices are also seen among the slightly later tombs of Necropolis V, although some similarities in rituals and grave goods, still mostly indigenous, indicate nascent standardization. [See Table 6.5 for object totals] The small, rounded chamber tombs contain fragmentary pottery of the 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>1474</sup> In Tombs 51 and 53, in addition to a large deposit of fragmentary pottery (perhaps intentionally broken), was evidence for funerary ritual, both at the initial inhumation and post-burial. (Fig. 6.35) Tomb 52 also possibly contained remains of a meal and a small amount of Siculo-Geometric and coarse impasto pottery, perhaps

---

<sup>1471</sup> Leighton 1993: 43-44.

<sup>1472</sup> Tomb 4 was a single inhumation, while Tomb 5 contained two inhumations, and Tomb 6 contained six individuals.

<sup>1473</sup> More specifically, bronze rings, chains, pins, and serpentine fibulae (belonging to type characteristic of Pantalica South and early Finocchito tombs in Sicily).

<sup>1474</sup> Lyons 1996a: 221-3.

ritually fragmented at the meal, as well as local goods with Greek motifs, a Siculo-Geometric oinochoe with metopal pattern, and greyware bowl with incised meander motif.<sup>1475</sup>

Occasionally varying mortuary rites in the same chamber tomb suggest a diversity of social strata, possibly linked to ethnicity, power, or religious status.<sup>1476</sup> This is also reflected in the body's position in the tomb; for instance, children were often buried outside the main chamber, near the dromos or in a secondary chamber, or buried separately, perhaps because they had not yet been integrated as full members of society;<sup>1477</sup> this is comparable to enchytrismos burials of children and infants outside chamber tombs at Polizzello, separated from adult inhumations.<sup>1478</sup> (Fig. 6.36) Seven Necropolis II tombs, like Necropolis IV, Tomb 5,<sup>1479</sup> may display akephalia, with skulls collected on one side of the chamber; however, it is difficult to reconstruct original intent as this could have been a result of secondary burial rites or tomb maintenance.<sup>1480</sup> All cases are very different from the nearby Rossomanno "skull field," chronologically analogous to Morgantina's Archaic tombs, where skulls were deposited in a calculated manner, numerous skulls in large, locally-made indigenous bowls arranged in a way suggesting primary deposition.<sup>1481</sup> Only Tomb 50 from Necropolis V may contain a combined skull inhumation and cremation typical of the rite observed in Butera and other indigenous sites.<sup>1482</sup> Each tomb with

---

<sup>1475</sup> Lyons 1996a: 123-5.

<sup>1476</sup> Lyons 1996b; Lyons 1996a: 115-133.

<sup>1477</sup> Lyons 1996a: 121.

<sup>1478</sup> *Supra* 237.

<sup>1479</sup> Tombs 21, 26, 30, 31, 39, 40, and 50.

<sup>1480</sup> Lyons 1996a: 120.

<sup>1481</sup> Fiorentini 1980: 134.

<sup>1482</sup> Lyons 1996a: 120-1.

multiple depositions may also belong to an extended family or clan, indicating a social structure defined by kinship groups that did not change significantly over most of the Archaic, although articulation of the tomb and skeletal depositions differed from the earlier Iron Age tombs. Single inhumations tend to be more common (but still sporadic) towards the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, suggesting that multiple inhumations may have started to become outmoded or the social structure and basic family unit may have changed.<sup>1483</sup>

Also aristocratic in nature are rare cremation burials (7 out of 114 individual burials from the Archaic) mainly placed in vessels immediately inside or outside chamber tomb entrances or on low shelves in the antechamber, as in four interments in Tomb 9. Cremation burials of this type are largely traditional, established in mainland Italic practice and attested at Protohistoric sites such as Lipari.<sup>1484</sup> However, use of “Cycladic-type” hydriai at Morgantina is also observed in cremations at Mylai and Naxos, linked to Cycladic-Euboean ritual behaviors that may have reached Morgantina via Chalkidian Greeks from nearby east-coast settlements.<sup>1485</sup> The vessel types used are very different from cremations at indigenous sites such as Butera, suggesting this may be a case of traditional burial ritual mixed with Greek stylistic incursions.

Different treatment of the body as well as different tomb types and embellishments may reflect status differences, although tomb shapes are largely chronologically dependent. Archaic chambers are rectangular, trapezoidal, or elliptical, yet earlier rounded tombs often have 7<sup>th</sup> century sherds in the fill demonstrating continuity of frequentation.<sup>1486</sup> Many simply consist of a

---

<sup>1483</sup> Lyons 1996a: 116-7.

<sup>1484</sup> Lyons 1996a: 25-7.

<sup>1485</sup> Lyons 1996a: 26.

<sup>1486</sup> A few later Archaic and early Classical burials *a cappuccina*, enchytrismos, or fossa tombs are at a distance from the main clusters of chamber tombs. Those with squared corners, which tend to be larger with higher ceilings (often

single chamber with burials laid on the floor, although some have side shelves or elaborate features such as klinai or side benches (representative of the "Licodia Eubea" facies of the 7<sup>th</sup> through 5<sup>th</sup> centuries) as pedestals for the remains of the deceased and grave goods.<sup>1487</sup> (Fig. 6.37) The benches and occasionally pitched ceilings symbolically referenced domestic structures, while some tombs were "monumentalized" with small antechambers, occasionally further articulated by masonry. Exteriors of more elaborate tombs, perhaps of more elite individuals, were marked by smoothing the vertical faces of cliffs between tombs and placing cuttings near entrances to create facades.

Tombs and tomb groups may have also been distinguished by variance in ritual. Some exhibit unusual ritual articulation, as in Early Archaic Tomb 51 in Necropolis V, which contained a pair of ceramic horns propped up by stones in the upper level of the tomb fill, and carbon, animal bones, and possible hearths that may be related to a ritual or funeral meal at interment.<sup>1488</sup> These rituals may have emerged out of earlier EIA traditions, given similar horns in Tomb 6 of Necropolis IV. A few earlier Necropolis II tombs also exhibit evidence of ritual, although rites and tomb sets are largely standardized by the latter 6<sup>th</sup> century, without the variation in ritual of earlier tombs.

In general, the pottery from Necropoleis V and II is typologically like that from habitation contexts, although there are distinctive patterns. [See Table 6.6 for Protoarchaic object totals from Necropolis II; and Table 6.7 for overall object totals from the necropoleis] The earliest imports from both domestic areas and tombs are fragments of late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup>

---

pitched or arched) tend to date to the 6<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, although earlier chambers also continue to be used in this period. This suggests that tomb architecture reflected changes in domestic architecture at the settlement.

<sup>1487</sup> Lyons 1996a: 18.

<sup>1488</sup> Lyons 1996a: 124.

century Attic SOS and *a la brosse* amphorae; EC vessels; and PC imports sporadically attested in habitation contexts but not the earliest tombs; they demonstrate that by the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century or slightly later, Morgantina had established contacts with Greek colonies.<sup>1489</sup> These earlier tomb assemblages also exhibit local preference for drinking forms – cups and other vessels associated with feasting, with both Sikeliote and locally-made vessels common. Domestic shapes are also deposited, especially in later burials; and miniature vases, mostly cups, were intended for ritual and symbolic purposes like libations.

Necropolis II, with the largest number of tombs, was primarily in use from the mid-6<sup>th</sup> to mid-5<sup>th</sup> centuries, although with some burials from the late 7<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> century and one from the late 8<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup>.<sup>1490</sup> Nine tombs with 7<sup>th</sup> century material have been identified<sup>1491</sup> although for the first half of that century there is a scarcity of imported pottery from secure contexts. Only two tombs have exclusively Early Archaic material, Tombs 32 and 43; additionally, Tombs 4, 9, 16 and 17 have one or more depositions from this phase. Tomb 32 featured assemblages of large vases – three amphorae, a column-krater, and two pithoi (Fig. 6.38) that likely contained one or more enchytrismos burials, although no remains were found; however, some items, including an oinochoe and burnished carinated cup, were found inside the large vessels, suggesting assemblages of grave goods.<sup>1492</sup> As this is one of the earliest tombs found at the site, the practice was not likely influenced by Greek colonial tradition. Outside early Tomb 43, a shallow circular terracotta-lined pit held burnt debris, local banded wares, and Type

---

<sup>1489</sup> Lyons 1996a: 29.

<sup>1490</sup> Earlier burials likely were cleaned out for later use, shown by pottery fragments predating the main period of use.

<sup>1491</sup> Tombs 14, 32, 33, 43, 51, 52, 53, and 54.

<sup>1492</sup> Lyons 1962: 12. The large vases are also comparable to those in enchytrismos and cremation burials in Butera. Enchytrismos also appears in several Pre- and Protohistoric sites in eastern Sicily, as at Lipari.

B2 kylikes, material later than the original depositions, suggesting ongoing rites.<sup>1493</sup> Later intrusions and objects in other Early Archaic tombs also imply continued funerary ritual, while several finds in other chamber tombs date to the late 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards, suggesting burials made in the same (familial?) tombs for several generations.

Lyons argued that mixed tomb typologies of the chambers surrounding Cittadella suggest burial of both indigenous Sikels and settlers from a Greek colony, the different tomb architecture signaling social distinctions, with earlier-type tombs with rounded corners used throughout the Archaic perhaps utilized by local populations, and more “modern” rectangular or elliptical tombs with square corners used by elite Greek or “Hellenized” groups.<sup>1494</sup> The situation is more complex, though, as chamber tombs are rarely attested in the Sikeliote world. If Greeks indeed utilized tombs at Morgantina, they could have used readily available tombs and adapted to local customs and grave-good typologies; some tombs could also indicate intermarriage with Greeks. In most chambers, the interred were likely locals utilizing Greek goods in new ways, a “fundamental expression of native cultural continuity in a milieu of dynamic social transformation.”<sup>1495</sup> The increasingly mixed assemblages and changing customs are due to the growth of trade between the Greek coast and the chora of Greek settlements, demographic and economic shifts resulting from the accommodation of shifting populations, and changing political relationships between interior settlements and coastal cities. (Fig. 6.39) Furthermore, groups continued to reuse chamber tombs into the later 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries, likely because of

---

<sup>1493</sup> Lyons 1996a: 9.

<sup>1494</sup> Lyons 1996a: 19.

<sup>1495</sup> Lyons 1996a: 28.



their accessibility, when the material record and architecture of the settlement was culturally manifest as Greek.

The largest group of imports is Corinthian vases, found in 45% of Morgantina tombs, mostly from the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century. (Fig. 6.40) The earliest examples from tombs are MC vases, later than the earliest from domestic contexts, with an increase in LC I. In general, the tombs' Corinthian ceramics are plainer in style than those in habitations, especially given that the most numerous class is the kotyle, suggesting that finer pieces were kept and used until broken, while cheaper imitations and linear or subgeometric style vases were preferred for graves.<sup>1496</sup>

Corinthian vase typology shifts between earlier and later tombs; a wider selection of shapes and decorative patterns is evident in tombs and burials of the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century while only a few shapes, primarily kotylai and ritual shapes such as exaleiptra and miniatures, are found in the second half.

East Greek pottery is notably less popular at Morgantina than at comparable indigenous sites, and most are colonial imitations; banded cups are most common. Interestingly, there are a much smaller number of perfume vessels at the site in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century than at Greek colonies and even many interior indigenous settlements.<sup>1497</sup> Over time, Sikeliote imitations became more frequent, diminishing the elite connotations of Greek pottery. Although the manufacturing location of these Sikeliote goods has not been pinpointed, Morgantina belongs broadly to a ceramic *koine* defined by settlements on the north coast such as Himera and Mylai, and on the east coast, encompassing several indigenous sites in southeastern and central

---

<sup>1496</sup> Other Corinthian imports include small vessels, such as oinochoai, lekythoi, amphoriskoi, aryballoi, and pyxides.

<sup>1497</sup> Lyons 1996a: 49-50.

Sicily.<sup>1498</sup> This also includes areas such as the Metapiccola settlement and necropolis near Leontini, which even in the FBA and EIA exhibited strong typological connections with Morgantina with Italic elements, suggesting continuing spheres of influence penetrating indigenous zones along previously-established routes.

Local pottery forms the largest ceramic group from Archaic necropolis contexts, nearly 49% of over 1000 vases catalogued, although a much smaller percentage than in the Archaic settlement.<sup>1499</sup> Almost all storage and preparation containers found in the necropoleis (jars, pithoi, and cookpots) are indigenous except four Greek transport amphorae. Also local are most food serving vessels, comprising large numbers of bowls and stemmed dishes – perhaps for ritual feasting or offerings – and most liquid storage and pouring vessels – amphorai, hydriai, oinochoai, and askoi. Cups, especially locally produced examples, are more common from the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century on, a trend seen in other indigenous sites; cups and bowls are often paired with oinochoai, one of the primary burial objects in assemblages during and after the LIA, to create basic drinking sets.<sup>1500</sup> This combination of pouring and serving vessels, basic to food and drink consumption characteristic of indigenous funeral rites, constitutes an important element of continuity in Archaic burials, despite increasing availability of imports and interest in accoutrements more associated with drinking practice. By the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, locals adopted the standard Greek oinochoai shape; only a few traditional shapes remained mostly unchanged.<sup>1501</sup>

---

<sup>1498</sup> Lyons 1996a: 26; 54; 121-3.

<sup>1499</sup> Lyons 1996a: 74.

<sup>1500</sup> Biconical oinochoai, likely derived from EIA types, are common in 7<sup>th</sup> century contexts at Morgantina and other indigenous sites like Butera. The frequent association of oinochoai and bowls in Iron Age and early Archaic tombs at Morgantina is seen at indigenous sites like M. Bubbonia, where burials include jugs placed inside a bowl as part of a standard set of grave goods.

<sup>1501</sup> Lyons 1996a: 130. Traditional types that continue to be produced for the funerary market include askoi, some amphora types, three-handled bowls, and carinated cups, although all exhibit some alteration in the Archaic.

Thus, it seems the funerary feast was not necessarily a reflection of Greek drinking practices but rather a standard part of the local cultural repertoire from the LBA, although Greek imports likely added to the articulation of certain funerary practices, or differentiation of certain sectors of society.<sup>1502</sup>

Imports also expanded the shape and motif repertoires of local fineware, especially Siculo-Geometric forms. Other types, especially coarsewares and low-fired impasto vessels (jugs, cups and bowls), became rarer; and greyware bowls, piumata-ware amphorae and bowls, and thin-walled carinated cups are infrequent in grave contexts after the 7<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries although found in Archaic habitation contexts.<sup>1503</sup> As more traditional types like carinated cups went out of style, the typological void was filled by imported cups. In contrast, some indigenous types derived from EIA forms become even more popular later in the Archaic.<sup>1504</sup> These more traditional forms may not have been threatened by Greek alternatives, or they may have been invoked in articulations of identity in a period increasingly defined by Greek imports.

Jewelry is common in grave contexts at the site, often fibulae (especially variants of *a navicella* and arch fibulae), usually found in indigenous graves between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. (Fig. 6.41) Examples include iron fibulae with bone and/or amber beads, found in both grave and sacred contexts throughout Sicily and South Italy in this period.<sup>1505</sup> Other objects of

---

<sup>1502</sup> By the LBA, chamber tombs were often equipped with antechambers in which remains of burial offerings, particularly vessels associated with feasting, were deposited after the funeral; these are likely remains of the funeral feast, and occasionally include entire sets. (Panvini 2003: 134).

<sup>1503</sup> Lyons 1996a: 57; 73-5.

<sup>1504</sup> These include Type C one-handled cups or bowls with thickened, incurving rim; Type A bowls with three handles; and askoi, decorated with groups of vertical lines, wavy and straight bands, or metopal bands.

<sup>1505</sup> Lyons 1996a: 97-8. Not generally attested in Greece, they may be a Greek colonial or indigenous adaptation of a mainland Italic type. Attested in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century on Ischia, they are found in the following century in Sicily (Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea, Gela, Finocchito) and in the 7<sup>th</sup> to first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century they are documented in contexts at Licodia Eubea, Centuripe, Butera, and M. Casasia.

adornment include bronze spiral rings, finger rings, bronze discs (likely clothing adornment) and biconical beads, common in burials from the EIA on. Bronze chains, typically suspended from a necklace, brooch, or fibula pin, are especially common in earlier contexts, contemporary with Layer 2 graves at Butera.<sup>1506</sup> Later in the Archaic, burials contain fewer decorative elements, perhaps no longer important for social identity. Utilitarian objects played at least some role in articulating social constructs; these include weapons such as a Bronze Age basalt axe from a 7<sup>th</sup> century burial, Tomb 51 – perhaps a relic or heirloom, not unlike the early axe in House 1, M. Polizzo. It may have had a ritual role or denoted ancestral links, articulating clan or familial identities. In general, the context assemblages resemble those of both Sikeliote and indigenous necropoleis – the Castiglione chamber tombs, M. Casasia, and Butera, as well as the Syracuse necropoleis; furthermore, they demonstrate similarities with M. Saraceno Upper Plateau assemblages, the area of the Megara Hyblea agora, Contrada Santa Croce at Butera, Oikos B at Polizzello, and House 3 at M. Polizzo.

Thus, all three main components of a population center – burial space, domestic space, and religious/ public space – have been found at the early Morgantina settlement. Artifact typologies are roughly similar, although there are higher numbers of more utilitarian wares – bowls and storage jars especially – in settlement contexts compared to burials.<sup>1507</sup> In burials, cups and other drinking-related vessels are more common, although jugs are not as frequent as at other indigenous cemeteries. As expected, perfume and cosmetic vases are occasional in burials but virtually absent in settlement contexts, and ornamental objects (especially fibulae) are also

---

<sup>1506</sup> Adamesteanu 1958a: 582.

<sup>1507</sup> Relative percentages of objects are slightly skewed due to minor chronological deviance between burial and domestic contexts at Cittadella; although this study focuses only on at grave assemblages of the earlier the Archaic, nevertheless there is still a preponderance from the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, while the studied settlement assemblages come from published contexts mainly from the 7<sup>th</sup> century, as most 6<sup>th</sup> century objects have not yet been published fully.

more prevalent in burials, although not significantly. Overall, cemetery contexts display the preponderance of elite-oriented goods, such as cups, metalwares, kraters, and perfume vessels expected of indigenous graves in this period. The combination of the cup paired with oinochoe remains the basic unit of the indigenous burial set, mirroring trends in other indigenous necropoleis as an element of continuity in the face of change.

Through the early Archaic, the whole settlement seems to have developed organically, although the spatial differentiation of the tombs suggests some degree of spatial differentiation in the settlement as well, the earlier tombs closest to habitation areas. The development of familial or clan structures in succeeding phases of the Archaic can be seen as Early Archaic grave types and assemblages derive from funerary customs of the LIA without noticeable break in funerary practice or use. These were focused around ancestral rites and multiple burials, an initial interment (perhaps of an important ancestor) often acting as a locus for later cultic demonstrations. These customs are mirrored in the continued relevance of heirlooms (seen in Tomb 51) and ancestral ceramic forms in domestic and funerary use-contexts. The settlement's social structure is difficult to ascertain given limited evidence, but the possible presence of numerous sacred areas throughout the habitation area suggests a society focused around different ritual sites.

### **Caltanissetta and Its Region: Ancestrality and Responses to Change in Central-Eastern Sicilian Necropoleis**

Several settlements emerged in the area of modern-day Caltanissetta – Palmintelli, M. San Giuliano, and various necropoleis in the area of Calscibetta-Realmese. These, like Morgantina, show signs of increased site consolidation, wealth, and changes in access to external commodities from the EIA on, alongside maintenance of burial forms and assemblages more traditional than even those witnessed at Morgantina. Proliferation of wealth is seen in an increase in metals and ornamentation deposited in tombs and the production of high-quality

Corinthianizing figured kraters that reference elite practice. Alongside these changes, M. San Giuliano demonstrates cult continuity and a combination of rectangular oikoi and rounded shrines that particularly characterize central-western Sicily and signal a lack of overall planning in the early stages of the sanctuary's existence, as at M. Castellazzo di Poggioreale; and renovation of earlier ritual buildings along dissimilar architectural lines, although in this case involving the rebuilding of rectangular buildings as apsidal structures, in a conscious reversion back to archaizing styles. This area became particularly active between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, when EBA chamber tombs were reutilized; at Palmintelli, a number of Castelluccio-phase tombs with Early Archaic grave goods alongside EBA objects demonstrated renewed settlement after a period of abandonment.<sup>1508</sup>

M. San Giuliano, north of Caltanissetta on the Himera River, contained similar necropoleis and settlement assemblages, signifying cult continuity from an early period.<sup>1509</sup> Here too, the earliest material dates to the FBA, when a large number of anthropomorphic statuettes were deposited in a sacred setting.<sup>1510</sup> Evidence of such early ritual is unusual in Sicily; no permanent sacred structures are known from San Giuliano, and such statuettes become increasingly rarer in the indigenous repertoire.<sup>1511</sup> In the late 7<sup>th</sup> century, elliptical sacred buildings were built on the acropolis, used alongside rectangular and apsidal buildings.<sup>1512</sup> (Fig. 6.42) The

---

<sup>1508</sup> Chamber Tomb 1/88 at Palmintelli contained a number of Archaic painted oinochoai alongside EBA cup-dippers and amphorette (Panvini 2006: 13-15; Guzzone and Congiu 2005: 45-6).

<sup>1509</sup> Panvini 1993b: 755-8. This area was explored during campaigns conducted in 1989 and only preliminarily published.

<sup>1510</sup> Guzzone 2005: 46-7.

<sup>1511</sup> Evidence of early cult practices and ritual buildings is seen on the south coast, like a LBA building near Palma di Montechiaro with plastered basin and possible sacrificial remains. (Urquhart 120-121; Castellana 1983: 121). As Urquhart notes, evidence for specialized cult buildings prior to the FBA is limited and indeterminate.

<sup>1512</sup> Panvini 1993b: 755-6.

combination of rectangular and rounded buildings recalls contemporary Sabucina, and San Giuliano was also likely a regional sanctuary complex, perhaps serving different deities or worshippers. Outside, near fragments of incised and stamped vessels, was a sculpted statuette of a female goddess with extended arms; although likely entirely indigenous in derivation, it recalls EIA Aegean models. (Fig. 6.43) An imitation Corinthian column-krater in the structure suggests ritual feasting, although the absence of further published data makes it difficult to draw additional conclusions. Similar imitation Corinthian vases have been found in several late 8<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> century tomb contexts beside more traditional indigenous vessels and bronze ornamental objects, demonstrating an intensive local ceramics industry beginning early on.<sup>1513</sup>

The rectangular sacred structure does not seem to have been the end of development in the acropolis's sacred space, as during the 6<sup>th</sup> century an apsidal edifice was constructed above it.<sup>1514</sup> A fill sealing the entire structure included an indigenous cup with possible octopus motif, similar to the Polizzello amphora. The apsidal structure recalls contemporary indigenous structures at Himera, Morgantina, M. San Mauro, and Castiglione, and like the M. San Mauro and Morgantina examples may have functioned in a sacred capacity, given its location and construction on top of earlier sacred space. Furthermore, the refocus on earlier, "ancestral" architectural types in construction of sacred edifices may signal a path not unlike that taken at Polizzello in terms of a conscious decision to refer back to building forms not necessarily contemporary with this period.<sup>1515</sup>

---

<sup>1513</sup> Mandolesi 1994: 316-7. These tombs, in the vicinity of the settlement of M. San Giuliano, include Tomb 2 of Caiolo, and Tombs B and C of proprietà Lucidi.

<sup>1514</sup> Panvini 1993b: 756; Panvini 2006: 4.

<sup>1515</sup> This acropolis went of use after the 6<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps as focus shifted to larger regional sacred centers such as Sabucina, as a result of population movement.

A large, long-lasting population center is attested by numerous necropoleis and chamber tombs excavated near Calascibetta, each set from different but partially overlapping periods. The variety of grave assemblages and tomb types suggests that these belonged to different groups scattered throughout the landscape, although all exhibit some degree of traditionalism in grave sets (especially in the late adoption of Greek forms and imports) and in the unassuming nature of chambers. The site shows continuous development and contact with other indigenous sites from the LBA through EIA and Archaic. Calascibetta was strategically placed at crossroads of communication between Greek settlements (especially Chalkidian) to the east, other central-eastern centers, and sites slightly further west, such as the west-central settlements of Capodarso and Sabucina. Its closest affinities are with the central-eastern zone, Sabucina and Morgantina. Like contemporary settlements, Calascibetta dominated nearby river valleys. Indigenous settlement on the numerous hills are largely unexcavated; the EIA and Archaic necropoleis – Carcarella, Cozzo San Giuseppe, Quattrocchi, and Valle Coniglio – were in the valleys below and along the sides in rocky outcrops.<sup>1516</sup>

The Carcarella necropolis, the first to develop at the end of the LBA and used through the late 8<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> century, consists of small groups of mainly single-chamber tombs.<sup>1517</sup> Disarticulated skulls near back walls suggest multiple depositions over time, older burials moved

---

<sup>1516</sup> The first excavations were conducted by G. Bottaro in the necropolis of Cozzo San Giuseppe. Excavations continued under L. Bernabo Brea, leading to the identification of the necropolis of Malpasso (late Neolithic), Carcarella (LBA to EIA), Cozzo San Giuseppe (FBA to early Archaic), Quattrocchi (the Archaic) and Valle Coniglio (the Archaic). Gentili 1961 (Contrada Quattrocchi necropolis); Albanese 1982 (Cozzo S. Giuseppe necropolis); and Albanese 1988a (Malpasso, Carcarella, and Valle Coniglio necropoleis).

<sup>1517</sup> Most are uniform in typology with only slight variations –with no vestibule and antechamber but with circular plan and curved ceiling, although some are rectangular. These belong to two main phases, the majority from the FBA (although a few of these were reused) and the rest from the Iron Age. (Albanese 1988: 264-5; 306)



back.<sup>1518</sup> In general, 7<sup>th</sup> century grave goods are few with little variation, aside from an iron serpent bow fibula and traditional forms not unlike examples from the Sant'Angelo Muxaro necropolis, primarily “fruit bowls,” either serving basins or lamps.<sup>1519</sup> (Fig. 6.44) Absence of Greek material suggests that these tombs fell out of use in the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century; a subsequent relocation of chamber tombs to the Cozzo San Giuseppe necropolis perhaps was associated with the Carcarella population moving to a larger settlement. Based on artifact typologies, the site was more aligned with eastern Sicily, although it had strong cultural ties with western sites of the Salso Valley like Sabucina and Capodarso, which may have shared a common production source, especially of oinochoai.<sup>1520</sup>

These links are also seen in the subsequent Early Archaic Cozzo San Giuseppe necropolis, placed below a plateau (perhaps the original location of the associated town) dominating the north side of the Dittaino River valley.<sup>1521</sup> Skeletal material suggests that most were collective burials, perhaps extended familial or clan groups, although there were also single burials.<sup>1522</sup> The earliest graves date to the transition between the LBA and EIA; another group dates mainly to the EIA, and a third to the 7<sup>th</sup> through the early 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1523</sup> Often graves were

---

<sup>1518</sup> These have 1-8 depositions per tomb, EIA graves with more depositions, LBA with generally one or two. Bodies were mainly on the ground with few grave goods, sometimes only personal ornaments.

<sup>1519</sup> Albanese 1988a: 292.

<sup>1520</sup> Trefoil oinochoai, also seen in the Cozzo San Giuseppe necropolis that overlaps the end of use of these tombs, are similar to those in Tigano's study of the oinochoai from Sabucina and to types from Layer I of Butera dating to the late Pantalica South or Finocchito phase, with high body and neck, and ovoid or biconical body.

<sup>1521</sup> Albanese 1982: 430-1.

<sup>1522</sup> Albanese 1982: 546. The largest number of burials is 11. The rather small chambers open directly onto the cliff face without vestibule, antechamber or dromos. Most are of “*a forno*” type (the usual indigenous burial type of Iron Age Sicily and Calabria), although 50 have rectangular chambers and there are also intermediate and irregular forms.

<sup>1523</sup> One section of three graves is characterized by rectangular chambers, barrel vault ceilings, and low benches all around the walls, not seen elsewhere in the necropolis; it may signal a higher chronology, comparable with the 6<sup>th</sup>

reused over a long period of time, with Protohistoric graves used into the Archaic, making seriations of tomb types difficult to establish.

In their earliest use phase, the late 9<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, material culture shows relations to more regional facies, a cultural horizon of central Sicily and perhaps Assoro and Centuripe.<sup>1524</sup> The next phase, the late 8<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> century, is less typologically distinct, although a few graves contained material exclusively from this phase or indicating initial use at this time. It is typologically differentiated by bronze and iron *a navicella*, *a serpeggiante*, and trapezoidal fibulae, some with beads, and ornamental metal objects such as chains, pendants, and rings.<sup>1525</sup> [Table 6.8] (Fig. 6.45)

Overall, second-phase material demonstrates parallels with the necropoleis of the Finocchito facies, although some types that would be expected, such as greyware or geometric oinochoai, are not found here, perhaps due to a late arrival of the types to the area.<sup>1526</sup> Furthermore, some ceramics, particularly oinochoe typologies aligning more with western artifact types, demonstrate a wide range of interactions.<sup>1527</sup> A continued local central-eastern *koine* is evident also at nearby sites like Assoro, Realmese and Centuripe, as is localized

---

century Valle Coniglio tombs. In general, various areas of the necropolis and a variety of chamber types were used concurrently.

<sup>1524</sup> Albanese 1982: 625-30. The majority of tombs date to the late 9<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, although burials dating to this period are often in reused chamber tombs from the FBA. This fits into the cultural phase of Pantalica South, in which Bietti Sestieri isolated substantial continental Italian influences.

<sup>1525</sup> Chains are widespread in Finocchito facies indigenous contexts, such as Modica, M. Bubbonia, Butera, S. Cataldo, and layers of the Protoarchaic Athenaion and in the necropoleis of Fusco and Megara Hyblaea; because of their presence in colonial sites, Orsi believed they were Greek-made objects, and suggests use by women and children channeling indigenous traditions and also using indigenous-type ornaments, such as rings, cap buttons, and pendants; however, these are more likely to be purely indigenous objects.

<sup>1526</sup> Albanese 1982: 624-7.

<sup>1527</sup> There are some ceramics that continue older traditions, such as some varieties of oinochoai with decorated bands, or newer types, such as short-bodied oinochoai, which are mainly comparable to western production centers.

production of incised and stamped ceramics, especially oinochoai, miniature amphorae, and large pyxides; however other forms seen there, such as mugs, flasks, askoi, and large bowls, are missing at Calascibetta. Incised wares, first seen in the Carcarella necropolis, display affinities with both the Pantalica South and Sant'Angelo Muxaro-Polizzello facies and other central-eastern sites like Butera, Centuripe, Morgantina, and M. Bubbonia.<sup>1528</sup> The area along the Gela River was thus an active passageway between two Sicilian regions with no rigid divide but rather a more fluid dynamic in this early period, between which ethne could flow.

In the final 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century phase, overlapping later necropoleis at the settlement somewhat, graves from the previous phase were often reused.<sup>1529</sup> In general, metal items, especially fibula types, display similarities with South Italian comparanda; some are particularly unusual and not commonly attested in other funerary sites, such as rectangular bronze fibulae (from Protovillanovan prototypes), although most are similar to examples from other south-central Sicilian sites.<sup>1530</sup> Some fibulae are arguably Greek, such as the small bronze fibula with rhomboidal arch found in the necropolis of Megara Hyblaea associated with Corinthian materials.

In this phase, too, Greek pottery (colonial, imported, and imitation material) is well represented. Newer material includes globular aryballoi (uncommon at this necropolis and other indigenous sites in this period);<sup>1531</sup> Corinthian and imitation skyphoi from the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup>

---

<sup>1528</sup> Albanese 1988a: 377-8.

<sup>1529</sup> Circular tombs continue to be used, while rectangular tombs are unusually rare given their prominence in the subsequent Valle Coniglio necropolis.

<sup>1530</sup> Albanese 1982: 610-11. An unusual object is the bronze fibula with hunchback arch, long bracket with channel and raised edges, and vertical stud on the upper end, perhaps an import from mainland Italy. Only three others known from Sicily, of sporadic origin. Bronze elongated biconical beads are also commonly attested, introduced in the LIA and common at Archaic sites.

<sup>1531</sup> Two examples, decorated with hoplites and cloverleaf decoration.

century; and PC kylikes, the earliest Greek material at the site. Ionian-type cups, mainly Type A2 and B1, are also prevalent. There are also a number of Sikeliote products, as well as Samian-type cups, comparable to examples from Chalkidian contexts.<sup>1532</sup> The stamnos-pyxides are rare in indigenous contexts in this period but not uncommon in Greek grave contexts. Overall, Greek imports consist primarily of cups and cosmetic shapes associated with elite culture. (Fig. 6.46)

Most indigenous vessels from the necropolis are wheelmade, in at least five different varieties. Each fabric tends to be associated with a single shape, suggesting that each manufacturing area in the region specialized in a single type of vessel. The most widespread indigenous shapes in this phase are trefoil oinochoai and large single-handled bowls with recessed rim, banded or with metopal decoration, replacing the pedestaled vase as the most typical open form in grave assemblages.<sup>1533</sup> Some large two-handled carinated bowls bearing decoration inspired by PC vessels were used as display pieces.<sup>1534</sup> Smaller numbers of amphorae with painted geometric motifs mainly belong to the Licodia Eubea facies; indeed, in this phase incised ceramics are almost entirely replaced by Licodia Eubea-type painted wares, perhaps indicating (as suggested by Bernabò Brea) a general withdrawal of western influence, more common in the earlier phase.<sup>1535</sup> This retreat is paired with adoption of Greek ceramics, becoming common at the site in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century, the same time as in sites such as

---

<sup>1532</sup> Albanese 1982: 615-9.

<sup>1533</sup> These are comparable to examples from temple deposits at Himera. Belvedere reports an indigenous manufacturing center of the Salso or Platani River valley replicating Rhodio-Cretan motifs and drawing upon Corinthian influences; this was in a widespread western production zone, with similar products found at Terravecchia di Cuti, Polizzello and Sabucina. (Belvedere 2010: 59-60)

<sup>1534</sup> These vessels are derived from Pantalica South phase pottery. Similar types are found in 7<sup>th</sup> century contexts at Licodia Eubea, Sabucina, and Butera.

<sup>1535</sup> Bernabò Brea 1966: 179-80.

Terravecchia di Cuti and Assoro. The assemblages are similar to those of other indigenous sites, in particular the necropolis of M. Finocchito and Carta Oikos at Polizzello.

Cozzo San Giuseppe slightly overlaps two other necropoleis chronologically, including the Valle Coniglio necropolis to the west, which yielded five tombs with grave goods.<sup>1536</sup> Although slightly later than the main focus of this analysis (most date from the mid-6<sup>th</sup> through 5<sup>th</sup> centuries), these continue trajectories seen in the Cozzo San Giuseppe tombs. (Fig. 6.47) The earliest material are LC perfume vessels and trapezoidal iron bow fibulae with bone beads, from the 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries; there are also a large number of imported drinking and ritual forms.<sup>1537</sup> The material is more aligned with eastern trade routes and the Chalkidian zone, demonstrating continuity of trade from the previous phases at Calscibetta, whose population likely initiated these routes to eastern Sikeliote centers. The virtual absence of oinochoai compared to previous periods demonstrates changing needs of the community; nevertheless, the large amounts of Licodia Eubea facies material – amphorae, large bowls, and hydriai – suggests that populations utilizing the Valle Coniglio necropolis were more open to coastal trade and influence than the west-central indigenous area.

Most tombs are characterized by a rectangular chamber, central pit, and bench on the sidewalls, with gabled ceiling, characteristic of the Licodia Eubea facies.<sup>1538</sup> The structural

---

<sup>1536</sup> Albanese 1988a: 309-79. Here 21 tombs were arranged in three groups. Square or trapezoidal chambers with gabled (sometimes flat) ceilings, all are preceded by a short narrow vestibule and have at most two or three depositions, fewer than in earlier necropoleis at Carcarella and Cozzo San Giuseppe. The dead are placed in outstretched position, perhaps influenced by Greek tradition; in the EIA burials with bent legs were more common, although this starts to change in the Finocchito period. As few tombs were intact, it is impossible to reconstruct a chronological seriation.

<sup>1537</sup> Representative types include pyxides, kotylai, and krateriskoi, imitation Ionian cups, and Sikeliote exaleiptra.

<sup>1538</sup> Use of benches in tombs seems to have begun later here than among other Sicilian chamber tomb groups. At Licodia Eubea, with tombs generally dated between 600-450, the most common such tombs have depositions in one or more wall niches, often with vessels in the central fossa. Contemporary tombs with benches have been found at the sites of Centuripe, Capodarso, Montagna di Marzo, M. Navone, M. Catalfaro, Grammichele, Ramacca, and Morgantina.

evolution from simpler earlier tombs probably corresponds to changes in residential architecture, the room carved into the rock imitating one-room rectangular houses, although no habitations associated with this burial ground have been located.<sup>1539</sup> The same structural evolution is not seen everywhere in Sicily, though, demonstrating differing evolutions in architecture even among indigenous sites in eastern and central Sicily, the architectural types often corresponding to region or location rather than chronology or even cultural identity.

These indicate general migration trends and realigned interests incorporating exterior influences. As a whole the settlement area seems to have grown wealthier through the Early Archaic; those using traditional chamber tombs may have wanted to differentiate themselves through more visible/richer burial goods. Albanese suggests that “l’accumulo di surplus economico dovuto ad un forte potenziale agricolo e pastorale può spiegare la possibilità di possesso degli abbondanti metallici presenti nelle tombe, che appare una caratteristica comune ai centri siculo-orientali e calabresi in particolare...”<sup>1540</sup> The Valle Coniglio tombs likely indicate changes in the structure and equipment of domestic dwellings and feasts, with the adoption of elite commensal ideology reflecting new concerns of status and identity, connected to economic changes as some individuals or families accumulated resources by capitalizing on new trade routes. This is concomitant with increased frequency of single-occupant depositions on benches in the tombs, set apart from collective depositions of earlier phases, perhaps indicating a new focus on the individual. Signaling a change from a clan structure to smaller nuclear families by the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, the move from multiple depositions in graves to two or three at most was accompanied by gradual changes in grave goods, with emphasis on vessels used for banquet

---

<sup>1539</sup> Lyons 1996b: 179; Hodos 2006: 114. This evolution is first evidenced by the Phase II tombs of M. Finocchito, especially among the larger graves.

<sup>1540</sup> Albanese 1982: 632; 1988-9: 308.

service (kraters, cups, oinochoai, olpai, amphorae and hydriai); this evidences ideological, or elite-driven change, also visible at the nearby contemporary Quattrocchi district.<sup>1541</sup> In the Cozzo San Giuseppe and, to a lesser extent, the Valle Coniglio necropoleis, it is the Ionian cup “che costituiscono si l’oggetto-tipo del mercato Greco per gli indigeni, ma che a causa del valore intrinseco acquisito assumono un preciso valore di scambio nelle relazioni tra indigeni.”<sup>1542</sup> Indigenous inhabitants’ growing interest in acquisition of Greek-type assemblages and implements, although rather modest in quality, is paralleled by an increasing uniformity in tomb architecture in Valle Coniglio, Contrada Quattrocchi, and many other indigenous centers, especially starting in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

In general, populations utilizing the Valle Coniglio necropolis display very different tomb-chamber construction, artifact types and assemblages from those using the San Giuseppe necropolis despite a slight chronological overlap. Most tombs in the Cozzo San Giuseppe necropolis are used into the 6<sup>th</sup> century, yet in later phases external acquisition is limited to material culture, a far cry from the radical change in rituals and architecture in the Valle Coniglio necropolis from the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century onwards. This does not seem indicative of Sicily or even central Sicily as a whole in this time, though, given that other area sites demonstrate greater receptivity.<sup>1543</sup> Nevertheless, openness to some external contact, Greek or non-Greek, does characterize all phases of the settlement, beginning with FBA reception of products from South

---

<sup>1541</sup> Grave contexts in the Quattrocchi district also mainly comprise drinking vessels (cups, skyphoi), pouring vessels (oinochoai and olpai), kraters, and amphorai. Personal adornments are few, perhaps due to Sikeliote influence.

<sup>1542</sup> Albanese 1982: 630.

<sup>1543</sup> One late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century example of receptivity and elite-driven change from an early period is the nearby Grotta dell’Acqua tomb at Centuripe, with two benches embedded in the walls and multiple depositions. Although the earliest depositions date to the late 8<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> century, collective depositions were placed here until the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. This was an elite tomb, well-connected with trade, as seen in scarab funerary goods (Orsi 1909: 93-9).

Italy. This is aided by Calascibetta's location: "la presenza nella cultura material di tipi di diversa origine e con varie connessioni fa pensare alla funzione del villaggio quale centro periodico di fiere e di mercati, in quanto sito in una zona di confluenza tra alcune direttrici di traffic in senso N-S ed E-O."<sup>1544</sup>

A balance between adopting imported mainland Italian and Greek traditions and retaining aspects of local culture also characterizes two tombs of the same period in the Quattrocchi necropolis nearby that incorporate unusual local grave goods, such as an archaizing krater and oinochoai (rare in indigenous tombs by this time, and not seen in contemporary area tombs), to exhibit a distinct sense of locality and aspects of indigeneity.<sup>1545</sup> Both include more varied, less standardized funerary equipment sets than most contemporary contexts, perhaps due to the exceptional status of the interred individuals or families. Particularly unusual is a decorated box-casket with four high paw-shaped feet and a lid in the shape of a sloping roof with painted lines and circles.<sup>1546</sup> (Fig. 6.48) With a wide square front panel comparable to entrances of ceramic hut models, it may also reflect traditional (or even contemporary) houses; in any case, it is no doubt embedded in indigenous forms. Interestingly, more interments are found in these graves than in contemporary Valle Coniglio tombs; the first tomb held five inhumations and assorted grave goods, the largest categories of which are cups and oinochoai, an assemblage composition similar to those recovered from Cozzo San Giuseppe and Valle Coniglio.<sup>1547</sup> The second chamber tomb contained some similar vases but fewer cups, in a more

---

<sup>1544</sup> Albanese 1982: 632.

<sup>1545</sup> Gentili 1961. Tomb 2 includes a local krater inspired by the Etruscan Heron class. Tombs also retain localized traditions in their rectangular shape and some unusual archaizing grave goods and conservatism of assemblages.

<sup>1546</sup> Gentili 1961: 206-8.

<sup>1547</sup> Other grave goods include hydriai, amphorae, krateriskoi, and Corinthian vases including a kotyle, aryballoi, phormiskos, and pyxis. Indigenous vessels are most common, followed by colonial imports.



varied assemblage.<sup>1548</sup> In both, most vessels are traditional indigenous types and imitations of Greek forms or decoration. There is continuity in the creation and use of unusual indigenous forms alongside typical Greek repertoires (hydriai, oinochoai, Ionian-type cups), through at least the third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century and perhaps later.<sup>1549</sup> Greek vessels in the assemblages tend to be drinking items, perhaps imported as sets. Despite the lack of metals in this necropolis, affluence and interconnectivity are indicated by the exceptional items and material clearly modeled on external forms, as well as the generally sizeable amount of ceramic goods, while references are made to an imagined indigenized past through incorporation of ancestral forms.

Elite-driven change, concomitant with the main use phase of the Valle Coniglio and Quattrocchi necropoleis, also characterizes nearby Marianopoli and Vassallaggi, which demonstrate a rather late floruit for central indigenous centers and, again like these necropoleis, a conservatism throughout the late Archaic. These two sites, similar in size and importance, follow parallel trajectories, although Marianopoli maintained a more distinctively local or regional identity throughout the Archaic; its conservatism is manifested in the development of a unique set of ceramic forms by the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century that demonstrates links with other areas of central and western Sicily but lasts much longer than the indigenous ceramic classes at these sites. These display elite-driven transformation, especially in terms of site-wide organizational change and a move towards more standardized assemblages, customs, and object types, despite an insistence on maintenance of ancestral forms alongside both archaizing Greek imitations and more current status pieces, formulating a unique typological amalgamation among the material culture. Vassallaggi, too, demonstrates a variety of architectural solutions to population

---

<sup>1548</sup> This chamber contained an indigenous krater, one-handled scodelloni, olpai, chytrai, krateriskoi, amphoriskoi, Corinthian aryballoi and exaleiptra, Ionian-type cups, 16 small oinochoai, bronze bracelet and a fibula.

<sup>1549</sup> Gentili 1961: 209-22.

fluctuations commonplace in this period, particularly evident in the combination of rock-cut architecture, more “Hellenizing” Greek-style sanctuaries, and a site-wide restructuring along a more agglomerative plan, similar to contemporary changes occurring in a number of other central Sicilian sites.

The area of Marianopoli encompasses the sites of M. Balate, M. Castellazzo, and the necropoleis of M. Castellazzo and Valle Oscura, in system of hills around the Belici River valley in what was traditionally considered Sikania.<sup>1550</sup> While the main use phases are in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> through first quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, a particularly interesting find from the main settlement of M. Castellazzo is an incised and stamped anthropomorphic vase handle from the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century, broadly comparable to forms from western Sicily.<sup>1551</sup>

More representative of the Archaic period in the area are the M. Balate settlement and associated Valle Oscura necropolis. On the M. Balate acropolis within a temenos wall is a large 6<sup>th</sup>-century sacred edifice with a preponderance of Greek vessels (including many fragments of high-quality imports) as well as votive statuettes, architectural terracottas and evidence of local production; a 5<sup>th</sup> century inscription on the temenos is unusual for the period and location.<sup>1552</sup> The Valle Oscura necropolis, on the northwest side of M. Balate, consists of chamber tombs, primarily from the period of the settlement. (Fig. 6.49) Multiple inhumations characterize its first

---

<sup>1550</sup> Excavated by Fiorentini, these were published in *Quaderni di archeologia. Università di Messina*. (Fiorentini 1985-6).

<sup>1551</sup> M. Castellazzo, thought to be ancient Mytistraton, is on terraces above the Belici River valley. The remains, on the first terrace, demonstrate organized settlement above prehistoric and Archaic levels. Like nearby sites, EIA levels exhibit fragments of piumata and incised and stamped wares, of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries.

<sup>1552</sup> The M. Balate acropolis contains two main strata, the second the Greek-indigenous city, a traditional terraced indigenous community with two occupation periods, the earliest from the 6<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> century. (Fiorentini 1985-6: 54).

Archaic phase, followed by single inhumations later.<sup>1553</sup> (Fig. 6.50) Most pottery in the chambers is indigenous, primarily bowls, oinochoai, and serving containers, suggesting traditional funerary rites.<sup>1554</sup> (Fig. 6.51) Trefoil oinochoai are abundant, often with a frieze of birds on the shoulder alternating with bands derived from MC trefoil oinochoai and, more generally, Orientalizing traditions. Heraldic bird motifs are commonly found on kraters, another frequent shape at Marianopoli.<sup>1555</sup> Geometric designs are also prevalent, and secondary and geometric decorations on these vases are derived from the Corinthian repertoire – rays on the base, asterisks, and rosettes used as fillers. Imports (Corinthian, Ionian, Laconian, and Attic wares) and colonial wares – primarily cups but also small jugs and lamps – are found in most tombs.<sup>1556</sup>

Use of Greek decoration, including creative combinations of geometric motifs and figured and zoomorphic decoration, is a particular feature of the site's pottery. Inhabitants actively engaged with trade networks carrying Corinthian wares from MC onwards. Variations of stylized birds on trefoil oinochoai and kraters reference Corinthian depictions from at least half a century before the time of use of the indigenous vessels, as use of the cemetery began only in the last third of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Both the Corinthianizing bird motifs and the Subgeometric-style designs on the vessels thus appear consciously archaizing; while Siculo-Geometric vessels at other indigenous sites tend to decrease in quality and quantity with simpler motifs and banded wares prevalent, painted wares here continue to display consistently unusual juxtapositions and

---

<sup>1553</sup> Fiorentini 1985-6: Placed separately from the adult inhumations, infants and children were deposited in fissures in the rock as well as in small fossa tombs.

<sup>1554</sup> Common ceramics are conical and handled bowls, flat basins, one-handled cups, trefoil oinochoai, and kraters.

<sup>1555</sup> Fiorentini 1985-6: 50-1. These are limited to three compositional schemes: continuous friezes of birds in Corinthian tradition, metope panels with birds and symmetrically-disposed geometric motifs, and a combination of the two.

<sup>1556</sup> Fiorentini 1985-6: 45-8.

high quality, with eclectic combinations of motifs based on Greek Geometric wares long out of style in the Greek world by this time. These may have been disseminated via Gela, where local production displayed Orientalizing Rhodio-Cretan tendencies throughout the PA and Archaic periods.<sup>1557</sup> This Archaism has more affinities with western Sicily – where such motifs tend to appear and last later in the indigenous repertoire – than with the eastern part of the island. Some bird figures also recall, in terms of stylized shape, Etrusco-Corinthian forms – Corinthian motifs restyled in Etruscan workshops.<sup>1558</sup> Thus, there is a composite local tradition with Corinthian models dominant but also characterized by earlier Geometric and Orientalizing traditions, perhaps mediated through South Italy, connecting the northeast coast of the island with central-western Sicily. There is also a tendency to borrow designs from several traditions, and to break down traditional Greek forms and motifs and reuse them in new combinations alongside typically indigenous motifs.<sup>1559</sup>

Conservatism of decoration is mirrored in the conservatism of assemblages – later than the PA tombs, these nevertheless display conscious archaism, with a preference for Corinthian forms. Indigenous hydriai prevalent in other indigenous tombs of the late Archaic to early Classical periods are almost entirely missing. Instead, only forms directly connected to drinking rites are represented – kraters, oinochoai, one-handed cups, skyphoi, kotylai, and bowls. Tomb 21, particularly large and lavish, held many indigenous and Greek imported goods, especially kraters and oinochoai.<sup>1560</sup> (Fig. 6.52) Its indigenous material is exceptionally rich in forms,

---

<sup>1557</sup> Fiorentini 1985-6: 53.

<sup>1558</sup> These are especially apparent in silhouette kraters.

<sup>1559</sup> Fiorentini 1985-6: 51-53.

<sup>1560</sup> This tomb contains 44 vases, of which only ten are Greek imports. In addition to Attic kraters, these include banded cups, an Attic kylix, Ionian Type B2 cup, Laconian krateriskos, lamps, colonial oinochoe, and a miniature kothon.

variation, and decorative motifs, with many decorated kraters and oinochoai and large bowls with pierced or embossed rims reflecting metal forms. Unusually, it lacked indigenous cups or small bowls for drinking; the set rather features display and serving pieces, and all cups are imported Greek, suggesting that they filled this specific market niche. Other high-quality elite goods from the tomb included amber – a ram pendant (traditionally associated with indigenous contexts), disc, and conical bowl containing amber beads – several iron fibulae with bone ornaments, and an iron sword – all demonstrating the occupants' status, likely a high-class family engaged in elite activities such as warfare and feasting. Families and individuals would have gained status through connections with coastal Greeks. The presence of ornaments is exceptional, as personal adornments are rare in most late Archaic burials in Sicily and nowhere are found in such quantities; these may represent heirlooms. The occupants thus fashioned statements about not only their status, but also their identity and connection with past lineages, further articulated through allusions to a heroic past and Orientalizing connotations.<sup>1561</sup>

In networks among the indigenous communities within and around Marianopoli, certain types of objects reappear in the same types of contexts. The creative juxtaposition of motifs is particularly notable for its localized context. For instance, Megara Hyblaea and Gela produced polychrome figured pieces, yet non-Greek polychrome styles have been found only in central and western Sicily. In eastern Sicily, animal motifs are rare, and the more standardized Siculo-Geometric repertoire is characterized by fewer ceramic types by the late Archaic. Valle Oscura and M. Balate, along the route from coastal Greek settlements to inland settlements like Morgantina, may have been main players in the region's trade and exchange. Indeed, the ceramics find analogies in central indigenous centers of the Salso (Sabucina, Capodarso, and

---

<sup>1561</sup> As discussed by Panvini, by elite 5<sup>th</sup> century burials reflected similar concerns (Panvini 2015).

Vassallaggi) and Platani (Polizzello, Sutura, and Sant'Angelo Muxaro) river valleys, although ceramics from these sites tend to be of earlier date.<sup>1562</sup> From these similarities, Tigano suggests a Salso River facies in western indigenous culture characterized by lingering Orientalizing, Subgeometric and PC styles.<sup>1563</sup> (Fig. 6.53) There is resistance to contemporary Greek forms and a reversion to older forms, a balance between conservatism and eclecticism. The decorations adopted fit into a seemingly well-connected lifestyle with the ability and wealth to act in external networks rather than follow the latest trends. Families here acquired wealth later than those elsewhere in south-central and southeastern Sicily, perhaps due simply to Marianopoli's rather late foundation, well after other Archaic indigenous settlements, which often demonstrate continuity from the Late Iron Age. It may thus have served populations new to the area, as an indigenous trade center not unlike an emporion, or a production center ideally situated for agriculture, trade, and ceramic manufacture. Ceramics are still very localized, and inhabitants engaged in primarily regional trade networks, although it could also have been a clearing-house for goods from the Greek littoral, given the large variety of Greek imports seen in both habitation levels and the necropoleis.

Vassallaggi's 6<sup>th</sup>-century urban area features housing complexes with rectangular rooms around courtyards, partially cut into the rock and partially built.<sup>1564</sup> (Fig. 6.54) Abundant indigenous ceramics were found under later houses; the earliest post-Castelluccian wares were in chamber tombs at the foot of the hill, dating to the 7<sup>th</sup> century, when the town was founded. It developed through gradual agglomeration of rooms and buildings, organized into loose

---

<sup>1562</sup> Only one class of ceramics – oinochoai with fringes and branch motifs – relates to concurrent manufacture from late 6<sup>th</sup> century Sabucina and Vassallaggi where this is a standard type (Fiorentini 1985-6: 53).

<sup>1563</sup> Tigano 1985: 76.

<sup>1564</sup> Excavations were conducted by Adamesteanu and Orlandini, and the Archaeological Superintendence of Agrigento.

blocks.<sup>1565</sup> By the 6<sup>th</sup> century, these had become multi-room houses (as at contemporary M. Maranfusa and Sabucina) around courtyards; in form the houses are not unlike habitation complexes at Castiglione, loosely organized around common open spaces. Throughout the Archaic the settlement also had an intramural enclosed sacred area, a central oikos and altar perhaps dedicated to Demeter and Kore, with service buildings.<sup>1566</sup> The material culture exhibits persistent local traditions, showing changes in Siculo-Geometric iconography and outside influence, and reflecting mutability of taste in certain communities and between indigenous and external sources.<sup>1567</sup>

Several unpublished tombs with largely indigenous material from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century were also found, while a group of later reused tombs contained more imported Greek and Sikeliote goods.<sup>1568</sup> The only solely Archaic tomb in this group is Tomb n. 181, of c. 530, not a chamber but a Greek-style burial underneath a large pithos.<sup>1569</sup> The grave goods were solely imported Greek (Corinthian skyphoi, Attic kylix) and colonial wares (small cups, stamnoïd pyxis). Although isolated, the burial type and grave goods may suggest Greek settlers at this location. Some have identified it as the Agrigentine phourion of Motyon, destroyed by Ducetius in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, from the destruction of the oikos at that time.<sup>1570</sup> Nevertheless, inhabitants still employed traditional indigenous forms, such as a 6<sup>th</sup> century round hut model recovered from

---

<sup>1565</sup> Pizzo 1998: 211.

<sup>1566</sup> Located between the two hills, its destruction level dates to the first quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. (Pizzo 1998: 211.

<sup>1567</sup> Unique to Vassallaggi and Sabucina is the *albarell*o motif on Siculo-Geometric vases. It appears on Punic pottery, and may be Near Eastern in origin, also appearing on Orientalizing Greek vases. (Hodos 2006: 142)

<sup>1568</sup> Pizzo 1998: 211-4; Gulli 1991.

<sup>1569</sup> Orlandini 1971: 213.

<sup>1570</sup> Pizzo 1998: 208-11.

the site.<sup>1571</sup> (Fig. 6.55) Despite its decontextualized status, the model demonstrates dialogue between Archaic indigenous and earlier indigenous sacred items, and may be a clue to the appearance of indigenous sacred spaces at Vassallaggi in the early Archaic. Further, chamber tombs with multiple inhumations were used from the 7<sup>th</sup> through first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, with typical eastern Sicilian assemblages: local oinochoai and bowls mixed with imported lekythoi and jugs. In fact, an Archaic necropolis with chambers on the western slopes dates solely to the 6<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries, contemporary with construction of the sanctuary and urban transformation.<sup>1572</sup> The use of burial forms other than chamber tombs beginning in the 6<sup>th</sup> century may have been for display of social standing and distinction from those buried in the communal chamber tombs.<sup>1573</sup> Local wares dominate even through the 5<sup>th</sup> century; although the nature of assemblages and their artifacts change, the ideology driving their expression does not. For example, almost all male graves include a locally made krater, one or more oinochoai, and iron knife or dagger; these are expressions of the local aristocracy adopting Greek-type and Eastern expressions of status, incorporating their own artifact typologies into the mix.<sup>1574</sup>

### **Sant'Angelo Muxaro: Elite Culture and Social Status in Tomb Architecture and Assemblages**

To the west, at Sant'Angelo Muxaro, elaborate rock-cut chambers demonstrate a progression like that of Marianopoli, although the process of transformation here began much earlier, likely due to its proximity to the coast. The site sits on an isolated hill surrounded by steep slopes dominating the Platani river valley. Like other indigenous necropoleis, Sant'Angelo

---

<sup>1571</sup> Gulli 2009b: 262-3.

<sup>1572</sup> Gulli 1991.

<sup>1573</sup> Hodos 2006: 113-21.

<sup>1574</sup> Hodos 2006: 118-9.



Muxaro contains chamber tombs articulated with monumentalized entrances. (Fig. 6.56) Other plateaus including Colle Castello and Costa di Fico surround the main hill and served as habitation zones, perhaps also utilizing the slopes of Sant'Angelo as burial grounds.<sup>1575</sup> (Fig. 6.57) Material here, from the 10<sup>th</sup> through 6<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, consists of traditional indigenous ceramic types (incised and stamped and dipinto ware) alongside Greek ceramics, likely from nearby Akragas; it is closely affiliated with material from the Sant'Angelo necropoleis.<sup>1576</sup> Habitations of both settlements consist of groups of housing blocks with large gaps between, unprotected by fortifications. Costa di Fico is notable for several unusual ritual wares and burnt lenses suggesting a local sanctuary, although no ritual structures have yet been located. These wares comprise, in addition to typical incised and stamped wares, indigenous vessels including a deposit of dark impasto wares with burnished surface, high-footed vases with vertical handles, painted mugs, and flat bowls with engraved decoration and suspension holes demonstrating parallels with terracotta votive shields prevalent throughout the Greek world, especially Crete, as well as indigenous production of south-central Sicily.<sup>1577</sup> (Fig. 6.58) Other unusual vases include animal forms, such as a bird vessel, uncommon in the local Sicilian repertoire (although similar to an early vessel from the Tripartite Building at Polizzello) but comparable to Cretan and Cypriot wares of the PA, suggesting connections with the culture of the Orientalizing Greek world.<sup>1578</sup>

---

<sup>1575</sup> Rizza and Palermo 2004: 219.

<sup>1576</sup> Palermo 1979; Palermo 1996: 148.

<sup>1577</sup> Palermo 1979: 55-7; Rizza and Palermo 2004: 216.

<sup>1578</sup> Rizza and Palermo 2004: 213-4. Possible remains include a north-south wall associated with a burnt lens containing bones, incised and stamped ceramics, and reddish slipped vases. More firm dates come from a Sikelote lamp of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

The Sant'Angelo Muxaro necropolis is more isolated from surrounding hills, set alongside an important passage leading inland, perhaps utilized as early as the Bronze Age. Chamber tombs were mainly located on the hill's southern slope, with several hundred burials, multiple inhumations in each tomb. The tombs yielded a rich array of material, much unsystematically excavated in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, including several gold objects, only a few of which are preserved today; Mossi's and Orsi's later excavations revealed additional assemblages and high-quality objects.<sup>1579</sup> The earliest burials date to the Pantalica North or Cassibile phases; many were used through the early 5<sup>th</sup> century, with a high concentration of depositions in the 8<sup>th</sup> through 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. The five large tombs on the upper slopes constituted a distinct funerary complex, likely of elite individuals; Orsi dated them to the 8<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, although later investigations revealed sporadic LBA use.<sup>1580</sup> The most intensive exploitation of this group was in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, when most metal objects and elaborately painted *dipinto* and incised wares were deposited.<sup>1581</sup> Metal objects are much less common than ceramics but still present and tend to fit into the repertoire of metal forms of the Pantalica South and Finocchito facies. The lower chronological limits, often following a hiatus, is marked by depositions with Greek vases and bronzes of the late 6<sup>th</sup> to first quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, still found alongside traditional indigenous forms such as carinated cups and painted oinochoai with

---

<sup>1579</sup> Orsi conducted the first organized excavations in 1901; Angelo Mosso excavated a large grave with dromos in 1907. Zanotti Bianco excavated five tholos-type vaulted tombs in 1931 and later 13 smaller tombs at the foot of the hill. These were initially published in Mosso 1908 and later restudied by Palermo and Fatta, attempting to systematize local ceramic forms (1983); and by Rizza and Palermo (2004), re-publishing the tombs excavated by Mossi and Palermo. Further excavations in 1976 revealed three previously unexcavated tombs in the area and reanalyzed the tomb architecture of some previously excavated and cleared-out tombs (Anagnostou 1979; Tomasello 1979).

<sup>1580</sup> Fatta 1983: 21, 195-8.

<sup>1581</sup> Fatta 1983: 198-200.

long ovoid body from the same depositions.<sup>1582</sup> (Fig. 6.59) As later goods were deposited, earlier deposited grave goods tended to be pushed towards the room's perimeter.

The tombs vary slightly in architecture and grave assemblages but are largely similar in quantity and quality of goods. [Table 6.9] One, the "Grotta di Sant'Angelo," comprises two circular cellas with low tholos-style ceilings; the outer, preceded by a dromos, is the largest tholos-style tomb known in Sicily, eight meters in diameter, paralleling Archaic tombs excavated at M. Bubbonia, Sciare Manganeli and Centuripe.<sup>1583</sup> (Fig. 6.60) The outer cella has a low interior bench, and a "funeral bed" (perhaps a ledge used for ceremonies) was carved into the second chamber. The shape, size and funerary "furniture" display parallels with the site's other chamber tombs.

Thirteen smaller tombs to the west, in two rows along the rock face, in general contained fewer grave goods than the more monumental tombs.<sup>1584</sup> The rather modest architecture and grave goods suggest social differentiation between users of the upper and lower tomb groups, the upper tombs perhaps displaying more foreign influence and larger size to advertise social status.

Orsi and later excavators attempted to define Aegean influence in terms of architecture and grave goods, especially given the tholos-style roofs of many of the larger chambers, considered more "monumental" and thus more appropriate for aristocratic-oriented grave assemblages. Mosso drew comparisons between Sant'Angelo Muxaro and Aegean, especially

---

<sup>1582</sup> Fatta 1983: 107-8.

<sup>1583</sup> Fatta 1983: 22-3; Rizza and Palermo 2004: 27-9.

<sup>1584</sup> Rizza and Palermo 2004: 27. These were originally thought to be older, smaller and poorer tombs, the earliest from the 10<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries. Palermo later suggested that there was no chronological difference between the two, as some grave goods of the lower tombs can be attributed to as early as the 13<sup>th</sup> century reuse through the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

Cretan, pottery, suggesting penetration of Aegean elements, perhaps even imports, along the Platani valley in the 8<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>1585</sup> A gold ring of a cow nursing a calf, discovered without a specific context in a tomb west of the Sant'Angelo Muxaro hill, also prompted comparison between the two cultural spheres; Orsi suggested that it is one of the oldest attested links between Sicily and the eastern Mediterranean. (Fig. 6.61) The only comparandum from indigenous Sicily is a gold ring found in tholos-shaped Tomb VI, the richest and most monumental tomb, containing a large number of skeletons and an abundance of grave goods covering the bottom of the chamber, most from the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries without perceptible associations with individual depositions;<sup>1586</sup> the only exceptions are two skeletons on a bench with carved pillow, with numerous Greek vessels, indigenous oinochoai and vases, and a gold ring with wolf figure adorning one of the deceased.<sup>1587</sup> Given their separation from the mass of depositions and the presence of high-quality Greek goods and gold objects, these seem to have been important figures. Other gold objects had previously been recovered from the site, including a series of gold paterae decorated with a series of bulls; Pace suggested a stimulus from the Cypriot-Phoenician sphere of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, part of a pan-Mediterranean Orientalizing koine.<sup>1588</sup> (Fig. 6.61)

Based on its Aegean and eastern Mediterranean aspects, Pace also suggested the site was ancient Kamikos, a wealthy Sikanian center and capital of the region rule by the mythical

---

<sup>1585</sup> Mosso 1908; Rizza and Palermo 2004: 18. Orsi published a group of six objects from a grave along the southern slope of the hill, which he compared to Cypriot material; however, the influence is more likely Cretan.

<sup>1586</sup> Rizza and Palermo 2004: 43-8.

<sup>1587</sup> Rizza and Palermo 2004: 117.

<sup>1588</sup> Pace 1953-4; Herodotus VII.169-171.

Kokalos, said by Diodorus to be responsible for Minos' death.<sup>1589</sup> The early date of the first tholos-tombs, though consistent with this mythical identification, does not explain continued Aegean and Greek influence in the area. Pace saw Greek influence as largely later, from the nearby Rhodio-Cretan colonies of Gela and Agrigento.<sup>1590</sup> Since the 1960s, re-analysis of the material has found stylistic variances linked to both local workshops and figurative elements of Aegean tradition from a period before Greek coastal settlement, the two melding with Greek cultural influences following colonization and leading to subsequent development of local typologies.<sup>1591</sup> The gold objects combine several different traditions – Phoenician, Greek, and local – into eclectic reinterpretation that fits indigenous culture.<sup>1592</sup> It is possible that these were manufactured by local craftsmen, perhaps trained in one of the Greek coastal settlements such as Gela (which drew on a long tradition of relations with the East via its Cretan foundations). There is also a demonstrable link with sacred forms found in nearby Costa di Fico, with its own Cretan and Cypriot-inspired objects. In any case, local largely overshadows foreign influence, especially given that the tholos chambers are not articulated with stone blocks as in Aegean counterparts, and ceramic forms are mainly of indigenous tradition rather than Greek or Bronze Age imports. Some scholars question the Aegean component altogether, suggesting that the

---

<sup>1589</sup> Diodorus 4.78-79; Pace 1935: 338; Fatta 1983: 124-5.

<sup>1590</sup> Pace 1935: 107; Pace 1953-4.

<sup>1591</sup> Tommaselo 1997: 63. Tommaselo further suggested initial influence of Aegean cultural models that may have spread in the LBA (when chamber tombs were first used at the site) but within a framework of Greek settlement and the subsequent internal development of local typologies, rather than continued Mycenaean or Minoan influence.

<sup>1592</sup> Rizza and Palermo 2004: 212.

structure of the Sant'Angelo tholos tombs is more imitative of traditional round indigenous huts, or a development from local EBA domed chamber tombs.<sup>1593</sup>

Chronologies of these tombs are difficult to trace as they were reused over a long period of time, early tombs were not scientifically excavated, and local pottery forms, particularly the eponymous "Sant'Angelo Muxaro ware" that lent its name to an entire ceramic typology of incised and stamped ceramics in central Sikanian Sicily,<sup>1594</sup> developed over an extended period between the 13<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, the first apparent "Aegean" influences seen in the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

This was partially rectified by more scientific excavations of three graves to the west of Orsi's groups; careful analysis of the depositions and their stratigraphy has led to more nuanced internal chronologies.<sup>1595</sup> These tombs were typologically similar to the tholos tombs Orsi excavated, especially Tomb A, which yielded 73 objects in three phases, making it vital to understanding these tombs' use of and relation to internal social dynamics. (Fig. 6.62) The earliest depositions are richest in funerary objects (49 in total) scattered among dozens of skulls from the 9<sup>th</sup> to perhaps the 7<sup>th</sup> century, with most depositions at the lower end of this chronological range.<sup>1596</sup> In successive layers there are fewer objects and skeletons, with very few in the last phase. There is no single abandonment or sediment accumulation phase between the lowest and middle layers, but instead deliberate deposits of earth concealing the oldest depositions and creating new surfaces for burials of the second layer (perhaps due to space

---

<sup>1593</sup> Manganaro 1978 :20-2; Fatta 1983: 11; Rizza and Palermo 2004: 22.

<sup>1594</sup> De Angelis 2004: 26.

<sup>1595</sup> These were published in Anagnostou 1979.

<sup>1596</sup> Anagnostou 1979: 47-8.

constraints) during the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1597</sup> In this subsequent phase, here as elsewhere in the necropolis (and certainly in nearby settlements), there is continued use of ritual forms such as oinochoai and shallow footed basins.

These excavations thus seem to validate the assertion, first suggested by the discovery of Orientalizing gold rings and vessels, that Sant'Angelo Muxaro saw a period of economic prosperity in the 7<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>1598</sup> with an associated move towards more standardized sets of grave goods that reaches its apex in the 6<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, alongside the introduction of new forms and decorative motifs and increases in Greek imports. Motifs are now detached from traditional associated shapes, no longer adhering to conventions of arrangement of decorative patterns that previously often followed Greek pottery, but rather placed in a less organized manner on the vessel's surface.<sup>1599</sup> There is also continued use of vessels found in previous phases, incorporated into these standardized sets, usually comprised of a closed vessel such as an amphora or oinochoe (which remain the predominant forms) and two open vessels, usually a krater or cup or plate with high foot.

Greek goods in high-status burials beginning in the 7<sup>th</sup> century emphasize individual elite status from increased contact with the coast. After the 8<sup>th</sup> century, new burial chambers are not created; rather, developments in the economy and relationships among classes at the site led elites to emphasize associations and ancestral ties, utilizing tombs like Grave A and Tomb II after centuries of disuse.<sup>1600</sup> This reuse of burial chambers may be due to a break in the social

---

<sup>1597</sup> Anagnostou 1979: 40-1.

<sup>1598</sup> Fatta 1983: 123; Rizza and Palermo 2004: 213-4.

<sup>1599</sup> Rizza and Palermo 2004: 209. New forms include footed kraters, decorated in dipinto or incised and stamped; cups; and plates with rigid high foot, often with shallow basin.

<sup>1600</sup> Anagnostou 1979: 31-8; Rizza and Palermo 2004: 33-43.

fabric, but it could reflect new limitation of tomb access to just a few clans or groups that had emerged as elites in the late 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, or renewed interest in ancestral space as new families, clans, or elite individuals seek to legitimize their status artificially by tapping into a “heroic” past with monumental tholoi reminiscent of ancestral habitations and Aegean forms, further strengthened by deposition of indigenous objects.<sup>1601</sup> At the same time, Greek imports in these tombs referencing trade and social relations – likely the way the newly rich gained wealth and status – were symbols of elite connections. It is possible that from the beginning, the slopes of the Sant’Angelo Muxaro hill were reserved for tombs of leaders and elite social groups, suggesting it was regional center. In any case, the 7<sup>th</sup>-century increase in burials suggests general population growth and economic prosperity manifested by increased grave goods, especially high-quality material in burials of local elites. This is comparable, albeit in different form, to Polizzello, also in the Platani Valley.

7<sup>th</sup>- and 6<sup>th</sup>-century developments can also be viewed in association with the emergence of a distinct central Sicilian identity, especially the formation of a “south-central” Geometric incised and stamped ware and increased pottery production, with the manufacture of traditional amphorae, carinated askoi, high-footed cups, and, beginning in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, Greek-type oinochoai; piumata ware is completely absent. Development of incised and stamped wares increasingly referencing Greek forms is concurrent with the 7<sup>th</sup>-century introduction of painted geometric ceramics here.<sup>1602</sup> A newfound reliance on non-Greek vessel types and adoption of certain motifs and specialized shapes may be a reaction to a new Greek presence at a time of widespread transformation in central and southern Sicily, triggered by Gela’s foundation in c.

---

<sup>1601</sup> Rizza and Palermo 2004: 199-201. A similar phenomenon may have occurred in Geometric Greece, which led to the re-use, in both burial and ritual, of the Mycenaean tholoi.

<sup>1602</sup> Fatta 1983: 23, 29.



689.<sup>1603</sup> This new presence also likely led to the emergence of classes of wealthy citizens using contact with Greeks to elevate their own social standing. Eventually, Agrigento's foundation in 580 and its aggressive policy towards indigenous cities led to a renegotiation of social relations, and a clear definition of Sikanian territory in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps under the control of a few wealthy families or individuals.<sup>1604</sup> The cult of the [elite] individual reaches a head in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, with the reduction of graves, decrease in skeletons, and placement of individual depositions on prominent positions on benches. Most of the graves at the base of the hill are abandoned, with only the most architecturally elaborate tombs continuing to receive depositions with large amounts of artifacts.<sup>1605</sup> This could indicate a weakening social dynamic and/or population decrease, were it not for the extremely wealthy depositions at this time. The smaller chambers perhaps no longer fit the elites' narrative as they began to assume even greater control over the surrounding territory through consolidation of contacts with Greek settlers. Maintenance of traditional forms, such as high-footed basins and plates, into the late 6<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, and reduction in the reliance on Greek modes of representation and conventions of arrangement on local ceramic production (which had originally characterized Sant'Angelo Muxaro pottery of the 7<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century) in favor of more freeform, loosely translated forms and motifs, suggest a renewed interest in maintaining cultural identity.<sup>1606</sup> In short, it is possible that as early as the 7<sup>th</sup> century the territory surrounding the Sant'Angelo Muxaro necropolis emerged as a regional center and clearing-house for products filtering to inland indigenous centers via coastal colonies; meanwhile elites with access to these networks (through

---

<sup>1603</sup> Rizza and Palermo 2004: 200.

<sup>1604</sup> Rizza and Palermo 2004: 200-1.

<sup>1605</sup> Rizza and Palermo 2004: 200.

<sup>1606</sup> Fatta 1983: 124.

gift-exchange, trade, and other interactions) could moderate exchanges and oversee the chaîne opératoire of goods heading north. This also helped solidify Sikanian identity through changes in material culture now associated with specific ethnic groups, maintained at least through the early 5<sup>th</sup> century. Notable are ritual types particular to central Sicily, such as incised anthropomorphizing vessels; in terms of assemblages, the graves are comparable to the central Sicilian sites of Polizzello (Oikos E) and Colle Madore, the southeastern Rito Necropolis, domestic contexts from M. San Mauro and Megara Hyblaea, and the sacred contexts of Molino a Vento, Well 1, and Bitalemi at Gela.

### **Terravecchia di Cuti: Indigeneity in a Transforming Environment**

Returning to more central Sicily, the settlement structure of Terravecchia di Cuti is comparable to that of nearby sacred centers such as Sabucina, Polizzello, and Capodarso, although Terravecchia does not seem to have become a major regional center and adopted a very different ritual framework during the Archaic. The site is small, with fortifications, oikos, dwellings, and necropolis in the upper Belice Valley above the confluence of the Belice and Himera rivers. (Fig. 6.63) The acropolis is separated from the settlement area on the terrace below. Like Capodarso and Sabucina, Terravecchia di Cuti was in an important strategic position, at the confluence of Agrigentine, Syracusan, Himeran and Geloan spheres.<sup>1607</sup> A high-quality metal deposit of the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, including bronze anthropomorphic laminae, alongside a renovation along Greek lines of earlier cult buildings and presence of a Greek-style extraurban sanctuary, suggests a mixed population that already started to feel external pressure in

---

<sup>1607</sup> Militello 1960: 7-10; Belvedere 2010. Late 1950s excavations were only preliminarily published and focused on the habitations and sacred areas. In the publications, objects found in excavation of the trenches, dwellings and walls are not differentiated by context, so that when they are discussed there is generally no distinction of the place of origin.

the early part of the century, as evidenced by the construction of fortification walls in local tradition. (Fig. 6.64)

The site begins to flourish in the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries as a sacred destination for nearby indigenous inhabitants. The square main oikos is open towards the south, preceded by a small porch with a construction technique different from the rest of the building, suggesting that it, like the porches of the Sabucina oikoi, was likely a later addition.<sup>1608</sup> A tiled roof protected votive material. In the sacred space were fragments of Greek and indigenous vases from the early 6<sup>th</sup> century, when it was likely founded; later 5<sup>th</sup> century terracottas demonstrate continuity. Interestingly, fewer bronzes were found in these contexts than in other comparable sanctuary deposits, although some fragments of graters, axes, laminae, rings, belts, and arrowheads were retrieved.<sup>1609</sup> [Table 6.10] Earlier Greek ceramics are primarily Ionian-type cups, some with graffiti letters perhaps designating ownership, and numerous Archaic lamps, suggesting the chthonic nature of the shrine's deity. Local indigenous pottery, perhaps produced here and in nearby villages, forms about 70% of the total, and includes polychrome and incised and impressed wares, as well as unpainted vessels.<sup>1610</sup> However, unlike at Capodarso, Sabucina, and Morgantina, indigenous ceramics do not continue beyond the 6<sup>th</sup> century, suggesting abrupt disruption. The standardized repertoire of forms and ceramic types indicates that the local economy was insulated, largely reliant on traditional forms. Despite the prevalence of polychrome geometric wares at the settlement,<sup>1611</sup> there is a complete absence of motifs commonly found in other interior centers (Gibil-Gabib, M. Bubbonia, and Sabucina), suggesting

---

<sup>1608</sup> Militello 1960: 22-4.

<sup>1609</sup> Militello 1960: 58-9.

<sup>1610</sup> Militello 1960: 41-3. Also recovered was an LC tripod pyxis decorated with a duck motif.

<sup>1611</sup> Militello 1960: 76. This is comparable to later material from nearby Marianopoli, M. Castellazzo and Vassallaggi.

less of an alignment with western zones and more of an orientation towards the eastern and southern coasts.<sup>1612</sup> This focus is also seen in the relative paucity of incised wares, only 2% of pottery (comparable with amounts in central indigenous centers like Morgantina, aligned with Sikel identity).<sup>1613</sup> Further evidence is found in early 5<sup>th</sup> century pyramidal loomweights, often with stamps or inscribed letters that seem to be Sikel names. Some were votives dedicated in the sanctuary to a female deity.<sup>1614</sup> In terms of use and object type, collected items most resemble contexts from Sabucina (Southern Necropolis), M. Maranfusa, and M. Bubbonia.

Some of the earliest structures are fortification walls shoring up natural defenses, constructed in local tradition with rough-hewn stones in the emplekton technique, a filling of small stones between the wall faces. The earliest stretch, along the hill's west side, dates to the early-6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1615</sup> Outside the eastern section from around the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century were five indigenous decorated bronze belts.<sup>1616</sup> Two bear anthropomorphizing decoration, similar to Sabucina and Colle Madore examples,<sup>1617</sup> while the belts with simpler stylized decoration resemble those from the Mendolito Hoard.<sup>1618</sup> The placement is unusual; these may have been part of a votive deposit, cleaned out of a sanctuary and deposited here, or perhaps even a dedication deposit. The deposit's consistency is remarkable, and these may have been heirlooms

---

<sup>1612</sup> Shapes commonly identified within this traditional repertoire include pithoi, jugs, lebes, kraters, amphorae, hydriae, oinochoai, scodelle, and capeduncole.

<sup>1613</sup> Militello 1960: 55.

<sup>1614</sup> Militello 1960: 56.

<sup>1615</sup> Militello 1960: 32. The fortification type is similar to examples from M. Finocchito, M. Sabucina, Gibil-Gabib, M. Desusino, M. Bubbonia, S. Cataldo, M. Lavanca Nera, and Castronovo. Later walls, dating to the late 6<sup>th</sup> century, were built in Greek style, and the foundations contain Attic and some Ionian type cups.

<sup>1616</sup> Burgio 1993.

<sup>1617</sup> Albanese 2003: 117-8.

<sup>1618</sup> Albanese 2009a: 108.

or other sacred objects, important enough to de-commission and save from possible destruction during crisis. In any case, they link Terravecchia with a wide swathe of Sikania, demonstrating trade and iconographical links between indigenous settlements that persisted into the early 6<sup>th</sup> century independent of Greek activity.

Like later phases of Sabucina and other centers along the Salso River, Terravecchia has been interpreted as an indigenous settlement turned Greek phourion by the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps due to Agrigentine territorial expansion.<sup>1619</sup> However, the earliest fortifications are local in type; Greek-style walls are built later, around the time of the expansionist policy of Phalaris of Agrigento, who sought control of several towns in the immediate hinterland of the Torto and Platani river valleys, northwards towards Himera. This may account for Greek elements and construction after the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, and for deposition of indigenous bronzes around this time.<sup>1620</sup> The site itself at this time is still characterized by a series of overlapping terraces divided by steps, suggesting continuation of at least some traditional settlement strategies despite construction of a Greek-style extrarban sanctuary to Demeter or Kore by the late 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1621</sup>

### **Palike: Hybrid Sanctuary Space and Contexts between Greek Culture and Local Narratives**

The most representative sacred center associated with the Sikel world is ancient Palike, where one can clearly observe gradual contact at a central-eastern sanctuary beginning in the Protoarchaic. Palike was situated in the Caltagirone river valley in eastern Sicily near the confluence of the Margi and Feiro rivers, facilitating trade and interaction both inland and

---

<sup>1619</sup> Militello 1960: 9.

<sup>1620</sup> Militello 1960: 19-20; 58-9, Epifanio 1984: 653

<sup>1621</sup> Epifanio 1984.

towards the Ionian coast along the Plain of Catania, with a fertile river valley for agriculture. (Fig. 6.65) From the early 8<sup>th</sup> century, contacts with nearby Greek traders and settlers influenced local crafts, trade, and cults.<sup>1622</sup> However, excavators noted, the settlement “maintained its unique identity despite the absorption of Sikel society into the currents of Greek civilization.”<sup>1623</sup> This identity was a direct successor of its EIA and Archaic role, when it first served as a religious center, perhaps already for local twin deities, the Palikoi, making it important in terms of both urbanization and early cult development.<sup>1624</sup> Excavations in front of the sacred grotto have revealed 7<sup>th</sup> century artifacts and sacred structures, when it expanded into a regional religious center. By the end of the Archaic the sanctuary was clearly associated with this local version of the Dioscuri and was a center for purification, justice, supplication and oath-taking. In the 5<sup>th</sup> century Ducetius founded (or re-founded) a city as a social and political center of a short-term league of Sikel cities.<sup>1625</sup>

Literary evidence dates the sanctuary’s foundation to the late 7<sup>th</sup> century: in the 5<sup>th</sup> century Hippys of Rhegion says that the religious center of the Divine Palikoi was “built up,” presumably referring to an urban plan, around 636-632.<sup>1626</sup> The site, focused on the Rocchicella hilltop, was considered sacred even earlier; Macrobius records that the priests offered human sacrifices to the divine twins “from the earliest times”.<sup>1627</sup> Many later authors reference the cult of the Palikoi here, including Aeschylus in his lost play *Women of Etna* detailing the twins’ origin

---

<sup>1622</sup> Early Greek communities near Palike include Leontini, Gela, and the Greek-local settlement of M. San Mauro.

<sup>1623</sup> Maniscalco and McConnell 2003: 145.

<sup>1624</sup> Maniscalco 2008: 20-21.

<sup>1625</sup> Maniscalco 2008: 16.

<sup>1626</sup> Antigonus of Karystos, *Hist. Mir.* 121; Maniscalco 2008: 23.

<sup>1627</sup> Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 5.19; Diodorus, *Bibliotheca Historica* 11.89

myth (in his version sons of Zeus and a local nymph, Thaleia) and their progression from Etna's slopes towards Greek Syracuse. Greeks, especially colonists, had an interest in the divine Palikoi: they were likened to the twin Dioscuri, heroes associated with travel and seafaring, essential to the colonial experience. The Palikoi themselves, adapted to Greek mythology, were considered heroes returning to their homeland; Aeschylus etymologizes their name as "those who have returned." In this way, the Palikoi fit with other colonial Greek foundation stories, as Greek settlers asserted mythical prior rights to the land. Interestingly, these are not Homeric *nostoi* or Herakles returning to or planting roots in the West, but rather indigenous semi-divine beings, appropriated by Greek colonists settling near the sanctuary. Greek settlers would have known Palike's ritual function, though; numerous settlements in Sicily, including Greek colonies, integrated ritual areas associated with natural phenomena, and Palike was the site of sulfurous boiling lakes, the Deilloi, associated with purification, justice, asylum, and oath-taking. Natural water features were often sacred spaces in Sicily; ritual activity is also attested in association with sulfur springs at Palma di Montechiaro, and veneration of bodies of water is suggested by the cult of Colle Madore. The sanctuary's status and lakes were augmented by the sacrality of oaths taken there, and by the Classical period it was a center of justice and pledges. Diodorus and Macrobius also refer to cult sacrifices, as well as the oracle associated with the twins – when Sicily experienced a difficult harvest, it suggested sacrificing to the local hero Pediochrates.<sup>1628</sup> Little is known of him, but his presence in Sikel mythic dialogues suggests parallels with Greek hero-cults; there may be equivalences between local and colonial rituals as early as the Archaic.

Thus, literary evidence suggests that during the Archaic, this was a pilgrimage site in a central position in the Sikel heartland. It was important and well-known enough by the 5<sup>th</sup>

---

<sup>1628</sup> Diodorus, *Bibliotheca Historica* 11.89; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 5.19.31

century to have been vital to Ducetius, when it already had long received votive dedications from pilgrims. Sacred buildings, including a later hestiaterron and stoa, are mainly located near the grotto and springs. By the Archaic, a temple had been constructed at Palike, and additional Archaic spaces extend below and beyond the later 4<sup>th</sup> century city. Some of these may have to do with cult practices and related activities, including provisioning of priests and pilgrims.<sup>1629</sup>

7<sup>th</sup>-century architectural remains in the Grotto include Building F1/2, constructed in the area in front of the Rocchicella cave between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, an Archaic floor phase with cooking debris representing the site's earliest occupation; and the more monumental Building A, constructed in two phases and described by excavators as a small temple *in antis*.<sup>1630</sup> (Fig. 6.66) Archaic pottery sherds in the destruction strata suggest demolition of both by the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century. Beneath the surface accumulation of a later building, layers with abundant late 7<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> century ceramic material rest directly on the walls of Building A. (Fig. 6.67) An abundance of EC and MC kotyle sherds and several indigenous single-handled bowls of a similar period provide a *terminus ante quem* for its construction. A single sherd of an 8<sup>th</sup>-century Corinthian LG cup in the foundation trench of Building A's north wall dates its first phase to the early 7<sup>th</sup> century, suggesting Greek contact by this time.<sup>1631</sup> Imported Greek wares, notably kotylai, constitute the majority of the published assemblage. Amphorae comprise the largest group of indigenous wares; interestingly, imported or colonial amphorae are not attested.

By far the greatest number of sherds from Building A are fine tablewares related to drinking [Table 6.11]. The high number of cups and bowls relative to the number of closed

---

<sup>1629</sup> Maniscalco 2008: 168.

<sup>1630</sup> Maniscalco and McConnell 2003: 150-151.

<sup>1631</sup> Maniscalco notes similarities between blocks incorporated into the external face of wall 186 and examples from Building VI in the Acropolis of Gela (Maniscalco 2008: 106).



vessels is to be expected, as a higher volume were likely expended on site and large shapes were likely reused during ceremonies, while cups and bowls may have been ritually smashed. Smaller vessels, such as aryballoi, may have been brought by those partaking in the rituals, for personal use or votive dedications. Rather unusual in indigenous contexts, these may be clues to the status or identity of those utilizing the building. Large closed forms are indigenous in manufacture and open forms imported or colonial Greek (although a few locally produced bowls are found). Some indigenous wares may have been produced elsewhere; painted vessels display distinct similarities with Licodia Eubea wares.

Most indigenous wares are Siculo-Geometric,<sup>1632</sup> with decoration limited to designs. Single-handled bowls are among the most common indigenous types in the Archaic; those from Building A all display features typical of the late 7<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> century from sites as far afield as Entella, and examples are also found at necropoleis of M. Casasia, Terravecchia Grammichele, and Ramacca. The indigenous trefoil oinochoe is comparable to examples from Vasallaggi and displays Greek influence in the shape and decoration.<sup>1633</sup>

The contents of the Siculo-Geometric closed wares would have been used at Building A, while bowls may have been used for food consumption on-site but could have also doubled as cups, especially those with handles. The large diameter of a few indigenous bowls may suggest a use beyond individual consumption – undoubtedly of greater volume than many imported and colonial cups and kotylai, they may have been for communal consumptive practice. The large size and decoration of many indigenous wares, reminiscent of colonial and imported Greek designs, suggests they may have been dedications, display pieces, components of drinking sets,

---

<sup>1632</sup> Antonaccio 2004.

<sup>1633</sup> Maniscalco 2008: 178-9.

or a combination of the three, used in contexts of commensality, constructing solidarity among those using the sanctuary. The colonial wares solely comprise Ionian-style cups from the last quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> to mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, produced and distributed in areas of Chalkidian influence.

Imported wares are the highest-quality ceramics in the assemblage, half the total late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century subset. Almost all are from Corinth (although Ionian and other Greek imported wares are seen in other Archaic contexts here). Particularly important are twenty Corinthian kotyle sherds, a number not matched by any other imported ware and unique to this building within the complex, although attested at other sites. The early Archaic levels of Building F, for instance, yielded no Corinthian sherds but fragments of East Greek and Laconian ceramics,<sup>1634</sup> [Table 6.12] indicating that the kotylai belong to a single primary assemblage. Their recognizable design, some with zoomorphic motifs signaling imported status, was significant for those purchasing and using them in the sanctuary. In addition, four 7<sup>th</sup> century sherds of Corinthian aryballoi and a Chalkidian aryballos were excavated, also likely utilized during feasting rituals and intentionally deposited here.

Thus the sanctuary, an important religious and political center by the Classical period, may have had both functions significantly earlier. Ceramic evidence from Buildings A and F suggests that by the 7<sup>th</sup> century the site was not only an important worship center, but also a place of encounter and interchange between Sikels and Greeks [see Table 6.13 for combined object totals from the early Archaic]. The findings demonstrate the inhabitants' conscious choices, especially in terms of commensality and ritual, with imported and colonial Greek wares selected to fill the specific function of wine consumption in a ritual context. Kotylai may have played a special role in commensality; Maniscalco suggests deliberate breakage, all found in very

---

<sup>1634</sup> Maniscalco 2008: 104-105.

fragmentary form. Intentional destruction of valuable vessels in ritual is attested in sacred contexts throughout the Mediterranean, with parallels in hero and funerary cults in Greece.<sup>1635</sup> The kotylai's value would have made the practice's performative aspect especially significant. Use and discarding of such valuable ceramics demonstrated affiliation and status-directed conspicuous consumption through deliberate wealth disposal and expressed widespread connections with Greek settlers and traders. Greeks themselves may well have visited the sanctuary and participated in rituals, especially if the Palikoi were correlated with the Dioscuri in Greek imagination; perhaps these were the same traders disseminating these status items.

Maniscalco suggests a more direct Greek role here, with influence over the site's religious and political aspects; Chalkidians from nearby Leontini may have helped spread new construction forms in the Archaic.<sup>1636</sup> Building A's bipartite plan suggests a Greek naiskos, implying sacred function, but it may have had subsidiary uses. Fineware likely did not simply have a votive function, since amphorae, pithoi and coarseware Sikel and colonial pottery were also found. Most pottery was carefully chosen, as even local coarseware amphorae and pithoi, with painted geometric decoration, are higher-quality than domestic utilitarian wares. The high proportion of Greek and indigenous fineware is particularly striking, especially compared to nearby contexts like M. Catalfaro with mostly lower-quality domestic pottery and fewer imported Greek wares, indicating different functions for the two main pottery types.<sup>1637</sup> Siculo-Geometric vases, mainly closed shapes and larger open vessels, may well have been provided by the sanctuary, used by the room's visitors and their contents shared; the painted decorations may

---

<sup>1635</sup> Maniscalco 2008: 180-181.

<sup>1636</sup> Maniscalco 2008: 181.

<sup>1637</sup> Privatera and Spigo 2005: 122-3.

have been purposefully chosen to match those of the smaller used and dedicated wares, although they still largely use indigenous forms (such as the single-handled cup). The identities of individuals using the imported cups and small indigenous bowls are uncertain – they may have been visiting Greeks, locals with trade connections, or a mix. Greek goods certainly were important to articulation of identity at the site, as fitting objects for consumption and ritual destruction. High quality and relatively difficult procurement likely made them more expensive than locally produced cups and their destruction more meaningful.

Thus, by the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, there is a connection among dining, religious activity and politics at the site, extending, at least in terms of commensality and ritual, back into the 7<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps as early as Building A's construction. This public function would later guide Ducetius's choice of a center of the Sikel league; Palike was as the ideal propagandistic venue for proclaiming political aspirations.<sup>1638</sup> As shown, public dining, political structures, and ritual space have been linked as far back as the early Archaic in other sites, Greek and indigenous.

McDonald traces these to the Greek Geometric period, suggesting that specialized religious space and altars originated in connection with political space and commensality in Iron Age hearth temples, perhaps multifunctional buildings, with the first specialized political buildings appearing only in the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1639</sup> It is therefore entirely possible that Building A, seen in this light, could have had a political as well as public dining and drinking function.<sup>1640</sup> As Qviller notes, political vows and oaths, sealed by a sacrifice or libation, are part of early decision-

---

<sup>1638</sup> Maniscalco and McConnell 2003: 170-177.

<sup>1639</sup> McDonald 1943: 137.

<sup>1640</sup> Iliad 9.67-75 suggests that drinking and council were often associated communal affairs, likely with sacrifice.

making.<sup>1641</sup> Indeed, in later texts there is reference to political alliance-making between Greek sites, such as Kamarina, and Sikel settlements, such as those congregated around M. Casasia and Hybla, which may well have taken official form at larger regional sanctuaries.<sup>1642</sup> Libations usually involve pouring liquid over a hearth, and similar rituals could have been performed in Building A along with destruction of the vessels. Indeed, oaths and libations were both significant in the ritual experience at Archaic Palike: according to Macrobius, oath-taking by the Deilloi lakes was an important aspect of the site from an early period, and the cave near Building A likely served a cultic function.<sup>1643</sup>

The lack of Archaic settlement around Building A supports its ritual, or at least public, functions. The nearby hearth and Building F may have been processing areas for performative feasts or ritual, given the presence of cooking remains and burnt debris found here and the non-monumental nature of the structure. Greek and colonial wares may have articulated local elite aspirations, perhaps playing a role as early as the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Those attempting to influence others in Sikel-controlled regions would have organized extravagant feasts and ritually smashed difficult-to-obtain goods in a display of largesse. Greek impact would have been especially felt in the region as Rocchicella entered the orbit of Greek politics and influence, particularly the chora of Leontini;<sup>1644</sup> it is not surprising to see Greek-style political institutions there from an early period, perhaps as a way of mediating with external populations, not unlike the functions of extramural sanctuaries. The excavators saw Greek pottery as evidence for Greek attendance at the sanctuary, given similarities between ritual practices at Palike and Greek practices. However,

---

<sup>1641</sup> Solemsli 2011: 21; Qviller 1994: 54.

<sup>1642</sup> *Supra* 444.

<sup>1643</sup> Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 5.19.

<sup>1644</sup> Maniscalco 2008: 15-16.

the sanctuary more likely served as a middle ground between Greeks and locals, with political aspirations and elite ambitions contested in ritual space. Indeed, the assemblages from the sacred spaces, particularly Building A, recall assemblages of other sacred spaces in Sicily without regard to ethnic status: sacred contexts at Gela, Temple A at Himera, the La Musa Sanctuary at Naxos, the Southern Plateau/ Temple ZR at Megara Hyblaea, and Fontana Calda at Butera. At all these sites, deposited ceramics played an important commensal role and likely aided in exchanges taking place between populations congregating in what are in many cases regional-wide sanctuaries.

Commensality aided a political power's dominance in the Archaic; as Maniscalco and McConnell note, "a monumental sanctuary such as that at Palike cannot exist in a vacuum, in complete isolation from the institutions that governed Sikel society."<sup>1645</sup> This power may not necessarily have been completely indigenous; as this may well have been a place of contestation for Greek elites too, especially from nearby Leontini, the group with power or influence may well have been mixed, defined by elite status, not origin. Inscriptions show that communal civic institutions were not just a Greek phenomenon in Archaic Sicily; although from a later period, nearby Mendolito's 6<sup>th</sup> century stone inscription indicates civic institutions in indigenous societies.<sup>1646</sup> Archaic structures covered by Stoa B and the Hestiaterion, while incompletely excavated, suggest that similar institutions, with ritual feasting and dynamics of status, governed the site and were connected with local cult from an early period. The site was not wholly administered by institutions surrounding the divine Palikoi: other sacred structures, such as an

---

<sup>1645</sup> Maniscalco and McConnell 2003: 175.

<sup>1646</sup> Maniscalco and McConnell 2003: 170; Antonaccio 1999.

oikos on the acropolis, suggest that the site was more extensive and may have included sacred areas serving the local population.

By using Greek vases to articulate status, non-Greek elites (and perhaps Greek as well) entered into networks of objects and people, evolving as they did so in site-specific ways reflecting the combination of external influences and internal dynamics. Even the site's Siculo-Geometric wares suggest hybridity, the specific motifs and styles consciously emulating popular traded wares.

Palike thus illustrates a pattern in middle grounds at crossroads of Greek and indigenous culture. Each place reflects not a monolithic articulation of identity, but rather a combination of elements consciously applied to material goods, ritual practice, and daily life. What Greeks and locals chose to import and adopt, and the ways they deployed them, speak to the type of identity they were attempting to construct, whether they were more focused on status, ethnic identity, religion, or a combination of elements. In their mixed assemblages and architecture are reflected the identities (more status- than ethnicity-related) that developed under dual pressures of both Greek political and cultural inroads and the internal dynamics of tradition and sociopolitical evolution.

## **Conclusion**

Key to this region and these sites, Greek and indigenous, are the larger settlements and regional sanctuaries – Naxos, Mendolito, Morgantina, Calascibetta, Terravecchia di Cuti, S. Angelo Muxaro, and Palike – and their regional trade system that also included smaller sites with similar socioeconomic profiles. This system was similar to that which emerged in southeastern Sicily beginning in the LBA, where, likely due to external pressure, sites tended to group into hierarchies around large settlements such as Pantalica. Thus, there may have been some centralized political control both within sites and among settlement clusters. However, different

sites and areas – even in the same broad region – had different organization and histories, suggesting a confined scope of elite hegemony; each site’s institutions, development, and population constituencies must be inferred from its particular contexts and objects. For instance, individual graves of EIA and Protoarchaic Calascibetta generally lack rich depositions, the burial goods instead corresponding to those of small-to-medium sized settlements that likely dominated the area. Towards the end of the EIA, population tends to centralize in the largest, proto-urban villages. Around these are rural zones of small settlements throughout the territory, seen in scattered necropoleis, for populations occupied in small-scale agriculture and husbandry, likely dependent for trade and exchange on the larger centers acting as mediators with coastal settlements. This bred a local *koine* that eventually began trade with Greeks, leading the largest settlements to develop and grow further. At Morgantina, despite evidence of centralized political control in the FBA and EIA suggested by three large “longhouses” and three excavated Iron Age chamber tombs with grave goods and ritual indicative of status, rather uniform Archaic-period graves suggest a largely egalitarian population at this time. Closely associated with the development of regional centers is the rise of regional sanctuaries at locations that were outdoor ritual space before the 7<sup>th</sup> century but now assume monumental form. These may have conditioned settlement, as at some of the larger regional sites discussed in Chapter 4, although no large Archaic habitation zones have been found at Palike, an important inter-regional Sikel sanctuary with some “extramural” functioning and 7<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> century monumentalization as it was reoriented towards Greeks moving inland, defining locals’ political and social boundaries and identity in the face of incursion. Real extramural sanctuaries, well-attested at Greek sites such as Naxos, also begin to appear slightly later in indigenous settlements like M. Saraceno and Vassallaggi, where they tend to mirror Greek construction and architecture. Both larger regional



sanctuaries and smaller extramural shrines were places of interaction, exchange and dual commensality between elite locals and Greeks.

Indeed Öhlinger, discussing local and regional sanctuaries in the Archaic, sees rectangular oikoi as offspring of round “cult-huts,” replacing them physically and functionally, although as demonstrated in this chapter, these oikoi really had two forms: highly visible cultic centers on acropoleis dominating the landscape, and extramural or interregional sanctuaries defining boundaries.<sup>1647</sup> The sanctuaries discussed here would have also been ideally situated to take advantage of interregional trade networks connecting Greek (primarily Chalkidian) and indigenous sites: “monumental buildings following the Greek model on an architectural level were established only at the main hubs of inland communication and trade routes. Such specific cult places could develop into ‘national’ sanctuaries with widely branched networks...Such cult places could act as open contact zones and as places of exchange and negotiation of new relationships.”<sup>1648</sup> These networks and contact zones also led to the creation of mixed forms, aided by “new” indigenous or mixed communities focused around trade. These are attested by unique, hybrid object types and assemblages, particularly in 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century tombs of elites at Marianopoli and Calascibetta who had obtained the means to access and amass high-quality goods; but also in the appearance of iconography tied to warrior culture, not previously attested in the indigenous sphere, as evident in the Mendolito hoard and in the ceramic iconography of nearby settlements (Fig. 6.68).

---

<sup>1647</sup> Öhlinger 422-23.

<sup>1648</sup> Öhlinger 242.

Like Sikanian round shrines on the M. Saracenoacropolis seemingly modeled on earlier Bronze Age habitations,<sup>1649</sup> the early sacred buildings at Sikel Morgantina may have evolved from earlier communal (or clan-based or extra-familial) spaces in the form of FBA and EIA “longhouses.”<sup>1650</sup> Ancestral-type buildings were conspicuous at both settlements’ highest points, with a view over a surrounding plain and smaller secondary settlements. At Morgantina, sanctuary space evolved further in the later Archaic, assuming aspects of Sikeliote shrines.<sup>1651</sup> The same is evident in other nearby central Sicilian sites such as Sabucina and M. Saraceno, the latter with at least three shrine-like rectangular buildings on the acropolis replacing earlier circular architecture by the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century and assuming monumental dimensions with Greek-type architectural terracottas during the Archaic.

This area’s elite culture is further manifested by the remarkable appearance of public inscriptions in Sikel language using Greek letters (at Morgantina and Mendolito) or perhaps referencing local or syncretized deities (the dedication to Enyo near the Santa Venera sanctuary). (Fig. 6.69) Such inscriptions, appearing at the end of the period of this study, demonstrate both development of more formalized, Hellenized sociopolitical institutions (not unlike Palike’s adoption of Greek-style institutions) and hybridization of cultural features.

Many sites discussed display central-South Italian influences, mediated through elite preoccupation with acquisition of more uncommon objects and high-quality goods – primarily the presence of impasto wares and Etruscan imports and mainland Italic burial styles.<sup>1652</sup> Greek,

---

<sup>1649</sup> In west-central Sicily; see Chapter 4.

<sup>1650</sup> Leighton 1993: 11-17.

<sup>1651</sup> Antonaccio 1997: 172-3.

<sup>1652</sup> De Angelis 2016: 41-2. This is especially evident in NE Sicily, at Mylai and in the surrounding region, not discussed here.

especially Chalkidian, inroads and trade largely followed the routes of earlier EIA culture, seen in links between early settlements on the northeast coast (Mylai, Zankle and Longane, not discussed here) and Chalkidian and indigenous settlements along the eastern seaboard and its hinterland (Naxos and nearby indigenous settlements, and Leontini and the nearby indigenous sites of Colle S. Mauro and Metapicola, discussed in Chapter 3). Most of these also display continued trade links with central-southern Sicily, despite the distance from the coast of many sites. Objects reaching sites such as Mendolito and Civita before Greek settlement and into the early Archaic were not necessarily carried by Greek traders, although Chalkidian trade through the Straits of Messina would have facilitated commercial relations. Links with peninsular Italy and central Sikanian are more apparent in this region than in southeast Sicily, making it a bridge between east and central Sicily.

Finally, the site histories discussed in this section can be considered in view of theories mentioned in the introduction – the notions of hybridity, third space relations, and bricolage, and their effects on creation of local value systems. In all cases, cultural change seems to have been initiated by society's uppermost echelons, material culture transformations then filtering through to other sectors of society. This is especially evident in tomb contexts at sites such as Marianopoli, where, by the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, high-quality local reproductions of Corinthian imports were widely available to the inhabitants, a ceramic industry flourishing in response to increased demand. These conditions eventually led to such objects decreasing in market value, as they became more accessible to a greater number of inhabitants; local ceramicists had to find ways to continue to cater to higher-class inhabitants, which meant drawing on styles that were widely recognizable but outdated at the time, lending a certain cachet to these objects.

Other sites in this region, Naxos and Archaic Morgantina, demonstrate that the reality of Greek/indigenous interaction is much more fluid than any binary view. As at these sites, "third

spaces” are evident at the indigenous sites of Palike, Vassallaggi and M. San Giuliano, where nascent sociopolitical and religious institutions established site-specific identities. The sites also effectively functioned as border zones where in ritualized contact, elites could all engage in the same activities while each group interpreted syncretized deities in its own way. Such ritualized contexts could also be arenas for display of indigeneity or resistance, as seen in the use of traditional or ancestral objects within these public arenas, like the sanctuary contexts at M. San Giuliano or Vassallaggi. In these sanctuaries, the depositional habits demonstrate patterns consistent with other indigenous and Sikeliote sites on the island, although there are some regional preferences. The contexts from the one Sikeliote sanctuary context analyzed here – the La Musa Sanctuary at Naxos – does demonstrate greater parallels with those of other Sikeliote sanctuary space, especially Megara Hyblaea<sup>1653</sup> (Southern Plateau/ Temple ZR), Himera (Temple A) and Gela (contexts from Well 1); but also with mixed interior contexts – M. Saraceno (Upper Plateau), Palike (Building A), and Butera (Fontana Calda). Similarly, assemblages from interior contexts generally mirror other similar assemblages, although at Palike there is more variation, evincing contextual parallels with M. Saraceno and Polizzello acropolis contexts as well as Ramacca, but also with Sikeliote habitation contexts (Himera), ritual space (Naxos La Musa Sanctuary), and indigenous necropoleis (Castiglione chamber tombs). This demonstrates the truly mixed nature of assemblages at many interior areas.

The same can also be said of ethnic identity of inhabitants – that those utilizing these sites in the early Archaic were not truly “Sikel” or “Sikanian” but a mix of population groups exhibiting similar approaches to material culture and settlement plan. This is evident in the

---

<sup>1653</sup> In southeastern Sicily; see Chapter 3. Other sites mentioned in this paragraph but not discussed in this chapter are Monte Saraceno (west-central Sicily, Chapter 4), Butera (hinterlands of Gela, Chapter 2), Polizzello (west-central Sicily, Chapter 4), Ramacca (southeastern Sicily, Chapter 3), and Castiglione (southeastern Sicily, Chapter 3).

number of parallels seen between the sites conventionally seen as Sikel – Morgantina and Mendolito, for instance – and those conventionally labeled “Sikanian,” even outside the purview of this chapter – namely the sites of M. Saraceno and Sabucina. The hybridity within indigenous groups in this area is especially pronounced in the religious sphere and pottery typologies (see below). Elements other than ethnicity – especially status – became more important in these fluid areas by the turn of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. As trade and wealth grew and elites became more visible, ethnicity became less important except when it could be used to serve status, which meant that it took on a distinctly politicizing aspect by the late Archaic. The emergence of a distinct Sikel identity does not seem to be particularly pronounced until the period of Ducetius or slightly before, in the late 6<sup>th</sup> century, when political forces seem to have spurred a divide in populations that were not so much delineated by a set of differentiated practices and material culture from Greek and Sikanian Sicily, but rather by a united series of cultural elements.<sup>1654</sup> Furthermore, later inhabitants of interior sites through the 5<sup>th</sup> century consciously engaged with earlier occupants through the symbolic spaces of tombs, which both provided spaces for future depositions and served as loci for continued ritual performed within families and clans. This continued even as larger ritual spaces with associated individualized thysiai became increasingly more politicized and aggrandized and were refocused towards exterior and regional relations, as demonstrated in changes in depositional style at sanctuaries. The presence of mixed objects in such sites is especially intriguing, as is their unique use in ritual and burial contexts in such settlements. The region discussed in this chapter is especially rich in mixed artifact typologies, given the variety of actors over time and space – indigenous with Sikanian or Sikel characteristics, and Chalkidian settlers and merchants – in this region, and the permeability that

---

<sup>1654</sup> Domínguez 2006: 334.

characterized any perceived borders between zones. This fostered ideal conditions for creation of cultural bricolage, “combining heterogeneous elements in the manner of a decision where an opportunity is seized”<sup>1655</sup> and creating a single hybrid entity out of multiple originals, the original use alienated and distorted to suit the needs of those adopting and transforming the original. This is perhaps most evident in cemetery contexts towards the end of the period under analysis, for example, at Marianopoli and Calascibetta (Contrada Quattrocchi) where environments that led to the creation of a thriving ceramic industry also led to creation of unique forms and local interpretations adapted in turn to a third-space environment, inserted within local value systems. In many cases, creation of these environments was facilitated by sites’ location along important networks through which flowed not just Greek and foreign goods but also indigenous and mixed objects – the interconnected networks established centuries earlier and conditioned by multiple migrations within the region initiated by their South Italian neighbors.

The pottery at all these interior sites, especially indigenous counterparts of Greek objects, evince mixed shapes and decoration, mirroring in their use and application the physically mixed assemblages and mixed identities of the inhabitants. Especially apparent in the combination of decoration and shape of Siculo-Geometric wares, this hybridity is also evident in the ways ritual and funerary contexts were articulated in indigenous space – in relatively elevated percentages of Corinthian and Corinthianizing wares compared to other regions, as well as Euboean-style ceramics (manifested in indigenous contexts by the appropriation of Euboean subgeometric and zoomorphic motifs), in indigenous (as well as Greek) contexts. Perfume vases and pyxides, uncommon or nonexistent at this time in other indigenous sites, are relatively well-attested among the early Archaic necropoleis and habitation areas of Morgantina and sanctuary

---

<sup>1655</sup> Milner, A. 2007. "Bricolage." *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*

space at Palike. This admixture was facilitated by the formation of frequented trade routes, which in turn led to the evolution of a regional *koine* that defined the area to a greater extent than did simple ethnic associations or alignments in this region, which was particularly notable for its production of imitation PC pottery, reflecting Greek art yet in an already archaizing style. This is reflected in combination “archaizing-hellenizing” architecture that appears at a number of sites in this region beginning in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, such as the simple rectangular oikoi that appear at M. San Giuliano and Vassallaggi.

Despite this conscious reversion to stylistic archaism, there is nevertheless some attempt to mirror contemporary contexts in Sikeliot cities, perhaps most evident in grave contexts, although a comparative look at assemblages among necropoleis in this area shows that grave sets tend to more strongly resemble other central Sicilian/ indigenous assemblages than those of coastal cities. For instance, the percentages of objects from Morgantina grave assemblages, especially Necropoleis V and II, resemble those of M. Casasia<sup>1656</sup> and Butera (especially Layer I), particularly in the elevated numbers of cups and bowls among assemblages, alongside metal ornaments (namely fibulae); while contexts at both the earlier Morgantina cemeteries (especially EIA/early Archaic Necropolis IV) and Calascibetta (Cozzo S. Giuseppe Necropolis) resemble those of M. Finocchito, in terms of the comparative lack of Greek imports and inclusion of incised wares. The Calascibetta contexts also closely parallel those of Morgantina Necropolis V, despite the small object totals of both. There are some parallels with non-cemetery indigenous contexts, particularly at Polizzello (especially Oikos E). Overall, at both Morgantina and

---

<sup>1656</sup> In southeastern Sicily; see Chapter 3. Other sites mentioned in this paragraph but not discussed in this chapter are Butera (hinterlands of Gela, Chapter 2), M. Finocchio (southeastern Sicily, Chapter 3), Polizzello (west-central Sicily, Chapter 4), Rito Necropolis (southeastern Sicily, Chapter 3), Colle Madore (west-central Sicily, Chapter 4), Bitalemi sacred context at Gela, Molino a Vento (Gela acropolis), and M. San Mauro (hinterlands of Gela, Chapter 2).

Calascibetta, bowls (especially carinated bowls) are prevalent grave goods during the 8<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> century transition, gradually replaced by cups (at first also carinated) as ties between this area of Sicily and the Greek coast escalated. This is paralleled by a gradual decrease in metal ornaments, although these are still prevalent in later graves at Morgantina and Calascibetta. The early Archaic assemblages from the Sant'Angelo Muxaro Necropolis are closest in scope to those of Oikos E at Polizzello, although there are also distinct similarities among some of the possible 6<sup>th</sup> century assemblages here with those from the Rito Necropolis and with other sacred contexts: Colle Madore, Bitalemi, Gela (Molino a Vento), and M. San Mauro. These suggest a gradual development away from traditional towards Greek forms that occurred here in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

In habitation contexts, this reviving of older forms and assemblage-types is less overt than it is in grave and sanctuary contexts, although objects from indigenous habitations still tend to demonstrate closer ties to other interior sites than to Greek sites: the assemblages from the Morgantina settlement contexts more closely resemble those of M. Polizzo<sup>1657</sup> (especially Houses 1 and 2), Butera (Contrada Consi), and Polizzello (especially Oikos C). Unfortunately, still relatively little is known about central Sicilian habitations and house layouts in the Archaic period; the most extensive published material comes from M. San Mauro and Ramacca, discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. Further excavation and research is necessary to confirm whether early Archaic houses and their assemblages in sites such as Morgantina and various settlements near Caltanissetta exhibit similar characteristics, or whether they demonstrate close ties in terms of construction technique and layout with the western side of the island. Some generalizations

---

<sup>1657</sup> In west-central Sicily; see Chapter 4. Other sites mentioned in this paragraph but not discussed in this chapter are Butera (hinterlands of Gela, Chapter 2), Polizzello (west-central Sicily, Chapter 4), M. San Mauro (hinterlands of Gela, Chapter 2), and Ramacca (southeastern Sicily, Chapter 3).



can still be made for the region as a whole, however – all the sites analyzed here demonstrate a degree of conservatism in material culture and assemblages, the contexts tending to lie on a spectrum between southeastern Sicily where Hellenizing objects and contexts play a greater role in the construction of identity and central-western Sicily where earlier traditions are more fully observed in the early Archaic period. As such, this region of central-eastern is a truly “hybrid” area, where assemblages – and in some instances (such as at Marianopoli), objects – reflect the cosmopolitan standards of an elite that was still very observant of its own past.

## CHAPTER 7. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS, WITH THEORETICAL AND STATISTICAL APPROACHES TO THE CASE STUDIES

### Cultural, Material, and Sociopolitical Change in Early Archaic Sicily

As the preceding chapters show, the use as ethnic markers of “Greek” and “indigenous,” and especially “Sikel,” “Sikanian,” and “Elymian,” is not suitable for the early Archaic period for the sites addressed in this work. In their use here, the former terms cannot be replaced as a-priori categories without degrading the usefulness of the text, while the latter are not intended as anything more than indicators of traditional designations, not to define the groups but to relate earlier descriptions to this work. Indeed, it has been noted that aside from the Greek element, indigenous ethnics are uniform in most aspects; in fact, it can be argued whether these groupings did indeed constitute distinct ethnic groups or were rather simply regional alignments, as Blake has argued for pre-Etruscan societies in west-central Italy.<sup>1658</sup> While the term “Sikelote” can be applied to Greek foundations in this period, such as Gela or Himera, as well as to earlier 8<sup>th</sup> century foundations, the contexts and material culture as displayed in assemblages do not suggest the construction of a definitive ethnic identity, but rather a heightened interest in defining a social or ancestral identity. In these conclusions, I will address some of the overarching themes of the text, tying together statistical observations from the various sites and assemblages to discuss the validity of statistical approaches and whether they can be applied to more conceptual ones regarding culture contact and societal change. These conclusions are thus

---

<sup>1658</sup> Blake 2013: 206.

based on data accumulated in the database, rather than just the theoretical concerns outlined in the introduction and conclusions to each chapter.

With this understanding of terminology, it is still necessary for these discussions to establish a standard for considering an assemblage to be Greek or indigenous, a question that must be addressed by context type. (A context is considered mixed if neither Greek nor indigenous characteristics, as discussed here, clearly predominate; almost by definition, these contexts vary significantly, lying along a continuum between the poles of indigenous and Greek.) In indigenous tombs, metal goods and oinochoai are far more common, the latter found especially with imported cups and local bowls, often with stands with pedestals, likely for ritual offerings; those bowls and other indigenous items vary somewhat by region but do not clearly correlate with traditional ethnē. In sacred contexts, Greek assemblages very often have aryballoi and anthropomorphic, especially Daedalic, figurines, which are almost never seen in indigenous contexts; the latter have greater amounts of bone, amber, and especially metal objects.

Three leitmotifs in particular stand out for this period: a redefinition and down-dating of wide-scale change in Sicily, the emergence of elite culture, and the insertion of Greek culture within the context of larger-scale ethnic migration and change beginning in the EIA. A consideration of these themes leads to the de-centering of fixed identities, as has been done to some extent in studies of Archaic southern Italy: "...it is probably more correct to give more credit to local or regional entities and identities in our attempts to explain the socio-cultural dynamics."<sup>1659</sup>

---

<sup>1659</sup> Burgers, G.J., and J.P. Crielaard. 2016. "The Migrant's Identity. 'Greeks' and 'Natives' at L'Amastuola, Southern Italy." In *Conceptualising Early Colonisation*, edited by L. Donnellan, V. Nizzo, and G.J. Burgers, 225–38. Bruxelles: Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome.

The case studies analyzed in each chapter demonstrate the permeability and hybridity of both indigenous and Greek settlement areas. However, the responses to intensified Greek presence on the island differed from region to region. Thus, we have seen that the area within the hinterland of Butera was characterized by relatively rapid adoption of Greek-style architecture and institutions, although not necessarily on a monumental scale. Southeast Sicily also exhibits entangled histories between the major Greek settlements established along and near the coast – Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea, and Leontini – and the interior sites that adopted much of the material and ritual language of the Greek communities, reinterpreted in a distinctive way and incorporated into mixed contexts. The object that most strongly expresses this mixed heritage is the horseman of Castiglione, which demonstrates the nascent warrior aristocracy that, dominating this region beginning in the Protoarchaic period, sought to legitimize its power through ancestral and familial claims; yet purely indigenizing objects were not maintained as consistently here as in central or western Sicily. The central-western region, traditionally regarded as Sikanian, is characterized by a high degree of maintenance of traditional practices and architecture, modified by the late 8<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> century but not in the more overtly Hellenizing way that characterized realignment of communities further south and east. Rather, communities adapted earlier architectural forms to new sociopolitical and religious institutions that appeared as sites became more interconnected with the exterior world, including with Phoenician traders and settlers. The territory conventionally ascribed to the Elymians in western Sicily is characterized by fast-paced change in both domestic and ritual spheres, especially in the sites of M. Iato and M. Polizzo, which saw the combination of Greek-style institutions and architecture by the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, although individuals still continued to make decisive choices about the objects incorporated into rituals and practices, and continued to utilize indigenous-style objects in associated applications. At the same time, sites in this area as well as some further east

(Sabucina in west-central Sicily and Vassallaggi in the central) experienced greater development, typified by the appearance of agglomerated settlement structures and nascent site organization. Finally, central-Eastern Sicily, in the zone straddling the Himera River, felt the influence of Chalkidians from Naxos and Catania from early on. This conditioned the appearance of elite modes of representation, both those related to warrior philosophy and those related to literacy, banqueting, ritual practices, and high-end Orientalizing objects and iconography, as evidenced by inscriptions and by depositions of expensive items, such as the Mendolito Horde. Each of these zones was interrelated with the others, and while there is some regionalized expression of identity (especially in the architectural forms of sanctuaries in central Sikania); there is no clear divide between the various ethne of the island nor, in fact, between Greek and indigenous once we leave the coastal zone.

What, then, should we make of this entanglement of ethne? Sicily is not a large landmass, and despite the rough terrain, trade routes established before and during the Archaic would have allowed goods and populations to eventually reach most areas of the island. Yet the topography of many population centers and important sacred sites precluded casual transfer of objects and services – in many cases, indigenous inland settlements had to be a *destination* for travelers and traders to be included in networks and alliances. There were benefits, however, to the control and occupation of these sites. Some, such as Palike, were situated next to natural landmarks imbued with a level of importance to a community; these also served as regional assembly areas, positioned, as Polizzello and many others were, at the centers of territories. These formed some of the larger nodes in the networks along which object types, ideas and trade flowed, so it is logical that they display some of the greatest variation in object types and highest levels of hybridity. These nodes also provide clues to the creation of topologies, as they often controlled access routes of imported and imitated goods and practices. Greek sites, mostly situated along

the coast, display lower degrees of interconnectedness with inland sites. The similarity of contexts and assemblages among interconnected sites and resulting regional alignments have dictated the structure of chapters here, each of which represents a network in a roughly defined geographical area demonstrating similar themes. These regional systems of interaction led to the formation of distinctive identity, as the most intensive social interactions naturally occurred between population groups situated closest together: “ethnicity emerges from shared dispositions and practices (Bourdieu’s habitus) that give authenticity and credibility to ethnic belonging.”<sup>1660</sup>

In interpreting Early Archaic Sicily and its social and political changes (the political only touched on in this survey) several object types and architectural changes serve as key material signifiers of a larger-scale collective transformation on the island. A number of new object types appear in this period, some starting to develop in the 8th century: in both indigenous and Greek contexts are found bronze astragali (used as currency); scarabs and other faience objects; bronze, amber, bone and ivory beads and fibula buckles; decorated plaques; miniature terracotta shields; and Protoattic and Wild Goat Style vessels (the latter only found in Sikeliote contexts). In solely indigenous or indigenizing contexts are found stylized bronze laminae; incised anthropomorphizing bull-amphorae; silver and bronze spirals; *a navicella* fibulae with bone and amber beads; incised and stamped ritual vessels (especially cup-dippers); and terracotta hut-models (while more explicit shrine models appear in Greek and mixed contexts, such as at Gela and Sabucina); most of these object-types are found in contexts lasting into the late-6th century. The appearance of these new object types was accompanied by a change in decorative motifs – while the gorgon, sphinx, Potnia Theron, and Daedalic-style female figure were now

---

<sup>1660</sup> Blake 2013: 205

commonplace decorative and apotropaic enhancements on plaques, ceramics, and other media, and would set the stage for further decorative and sculptural transformations in the later Archaic Sicily, a newfound interest in the application of geometric motifs on ceramics developed in both indigenous and Sikeliote spheres. This was accompanied by objective representation of humans, animals, and plants in localizing artifact types previously rarely bearing such depictions, perhaps not seen as necessary to the articulation of ritual observance or the construction of social identity. Changes in ritual and custom led to creation of a number of these object types and their wide-scale production, likely as suitable for practices that seem to have made an appearance in this period, such as large-scale feasting and more visible votive dedications. In this regard, we could speak of the appearance of Orientalizing contexts – bronze hoards, warrior burials, individualized banqueting and votive deposits at sanctuaries and communal feasting space that took on renewed significance in the course of colonial encounters. These transformations thus led to the formation of island-wide shared ideologies and systems of practice, confirming the validity of presenting local-traditional and Greek sites in tandem.

The appearance of these material markers, alongside changes in architecture and settlement patterns, suggests a lowering of the date of initiation of wide-scale change in Sicily – traditionally set in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century with the appearance of Greek colonies – to primarily encompass the 7<sup>th</sup> through early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. EIA objects without secure date are often simply assigned to a general chronological range spanning the 8th to 7th centuries, although recent texts have acknowledged the existence of so-called “traditional” forms, such as incised and stamped wares, into the 6th century.<sup>1661</sup> The 1½-century span generally encompassing the early Archaic or “Orientalizing” period in Sicily marks the midpoint of this chronological range, in a period more

---

<sup>1661</sup> Spatafora 2009; Vassallo 1999.

characterized by hybrid forms and ethnically ambiguous contexts than the immediately preceding or following periods. Although the archaeological record is not as rich as in the later Archaic period, nevertheless this is the time when networks among people and things are most discernable, after stable links had been (re-) established with the exterior world but before more widespread standardization beginning in the latter half of the 6th century. It is thus necessary to include some later Archaic objects and contexts for comparison (for example Marianopoli, and the overall settlement of Vassallaggi) in order to demonstrate that this trajectory commencing in the 7th century continued in many places into the 6th, although selectively, and that “Orientalia” never quite dissipate from local assemblages before the beginning of the 5th even though Corinthian imports drop off after the mid-6th century and Greek sites along the coast start to develop their own distinctive localized culture. This trajectory, of course, follows the same course of evolution as society, both indigenous and Sikeliot.

As traced in the lines of enquiry pursued throughout the paper, the emerging interactions defining the end of the EIA lead to the emergence of an elite culture more individualized and status-driven than earlier cultures. Brisart shows how the material record illustrates this phenomenon in Crete: there, the use of “Orientalia” and their imitations not only denoted prestige and expressed a competitive spirit among elite sectors of the population, but also led to the standardization and mass-production of objects with such connotations for the common market, seen in increasing presence as votives.<sup>1662</sup> Underlying the tendency for Cretans to adapt Orientalizing objects into their own assemblages and associated cultural modalities is the fact that the societies creating and those using these objects were not so inherently dissimilar, given

---

<sup>1662</sup> Brisart 2011: 228-9; 310-11.



that they were part of the same interconnected world.<sup>1663</sup> The adoption of such objects seems to have been a phenomenon generally characterizing the Mediterranean basin at this time, reaching Sicily slightly later than Greece and areas to the east, and is often ascribed to population movement of Greeks and Phoenicians towards Italy and further west.

Although this increased flux due to population movement was, as demonstrated, the initial impetus for this era's societal change in Sicily, the eventual permanence of non-indigenous populations on the landscape by no means engendered constant social instability. Rather, Greek populations may, at least initially, have been no more disruptive than, say, migrations of mainland Italian or Iberian groups that supposedly led to the formation of ethnic Sikel and Elymian populations on the island. In fact, as demonstrated by De Angelis, continued migration from Calabria in the EIA led to regional changes in burial practices and in community and kinship structures.<sup>1664</sup> Yet Greeks exerted greater influence than Italic populations over trade and Mediterranean networks, given their greater degree of interconnectedness. This provided them more control over Italic markets and access to inland routes previously open only to local populations. The slow rate of passage of artifacts and motifs inland led to rather late incorporation, and longer use, of Eastern-inspired motifs, especially in indigenous contexts. But, perhaps more importantly, these were part of a broader trend of hybrid forms characterizing this period in both art and architecture, and in amalgamation of not only Greek, Eastern and indigenous forms, but also forms from different population groups that characterized EIA Sicily, down into the subsequent Archaic period.

---

<sup>1663</sup> Brisart 2011: 54-7.

<sup>1664</sup> De Angelis 2016: 41-6.

It is vital to understand social context in which these changes took place – the expansion and confluence of Greek and Phoenician merchants’ maritime networks with earlier indigenous inland networks. This opening up eventually paved the way for the more egalitarian era that followed, characterized by standardization of tomb sets and object types, and a decreased emphasis on individual visibility. The final piece in the transformation process was the manifestation of Greek-style institutions that permeated throughout the island, symbolized by the bronze tablet discovered in M. San Mauro, dating to c. 525, that demonstrates the implementation of conventions by individuals setting in motion these island-wide sociopolitical transformations. (Fig. 7.1)

The Protoarchaic period seems to have been one of flux, in part defined by an increasing interest in the individual; in the Greek sphere, tyrants rose to power in the breakdown of the original land allotments as individuals amassed greater resources, while in the indigenous sphere, those able to interact more directly with Greek and Phoenician populations – for example, the interred individual represented by the “Warrior of Castiglione,” or the dedicants of expensive imported votives at Polizzello – were able to obtain prestige objects and influence the path their communities were to take. This is characterized by the appearance of hybrid forms in not only material culture but also settlements, buildings, and assemblages – the appearance of oikos-style shrines in indigenous sites such as Vassallaggi and Sabucina, or of multi-roomed homesteads with semi-differentiation of space at M. Polizzo and M. Iato. In fact, as demonstrated, ideas and architectural and object forms did not simply flow from Greek to indigenous, but also vice-versa; Leighton notes the possibility that techniques and layouts of EIA indigenous dwellings partially served as inspiration for early Sikeliote habitations, or at the very least that the traditional narrative of a consistent architectural evolution in both the coastal colonies and the

hinterlands of Sicily should be re-centered, as the extent of entanglement between Greek and indigenous in the coastal areas and inland becomes more evident.<sup>1665</sup>

Yet qualitative analysis and interactions only takes us so far. At best, it gives us a gauge with which to evaluate cultural change and roughly map social networks of that time; at worst, it provides merely a superficial glance at the factors that engendered and sustained this transformation. A closer look at the factors examined throughout the course of the context and assemblage analyses is needed, to tease out broader themes and see if regional social groupings identified in the analysis described in the earlier chapters can be associated with distinct ethne. It has already been mentioned that the archeologically visible traces of three local ethne do not single them out as distinctive in terms of practices and material forms as later Greek authors would make them seem. Rather, regional variation is often more considerable within the territory of one ethnos than it is between territories. Therefore, it is necessary to see if formal statistical and quantitative analyses corroborate the more qualitative view. As Mills et al. note, “our discussion of the case studies above is not just a formalized version of what one would intuit from looking at the original ceramic data. Rather it provides different perspectives on those data.”<sup>1666</sup> Given that sites within such a defined geographical area as Sicily form close relationships with each other and exhibit a tendency to follow similar trajectories, it is not unsurprising that a number of patterns emerge among the contexts and settlements from modeling the data.

One question that is unavoidable given current trends in scholarship is whether these approaches can be expanded to model actual networks of materials – that is, whether historical

---

<sup>1665</sup> Leighton 2000: 35-6.

<sup>1666</sup> Mills et al. 2013: 199

routes of movement of goods, people and information can be extrapolated from a quasi-mathematical treatment of the material. In approaching this question, it is important to differentiate between networks involved in the creation of artifacts and in the interaction of objects within assemblages (intra-site networks), and networks that are formed between sites that demonstrate correlations among assemblages and thus can be assumed to operate along the same object currents (extra-site networks). As mentioned in the introduction, networks are characterized by nodes (usually a physical location or step along a chain) that are interconnected via links or ties. These can symbolize trade routes, migration patterns, intermarriage, or gift exchange, among other actions – usually the nature of the link is difficult to explicitly decode, especially if the object is uncommon. Certain distinctive object types – for instance amber figurines, Rhodian bird-vases, or anthropomorphizing incised amphorae – can be tracked along these networks, especially if the origins of such objects are traceable and their circulation is corroborated by their presence in other similar findspots.<sup>1667</sup> As Blake notes, “The more ties a node has, the more active and presumably more powerful it can be. Network centralization measures the variability in node centrality in a network,” while infrequent imported object types can denote the presence of “weak extra-regional ties” between the site and the object origin.<sup>1668</sup> Specifically, Social Network Analysis has been adopted to explain the formation and maintenance of ties between nodes, links that are represented symbolically by different kinds of

---

<sup>1667</sup> Blake 2013: 204

<sup>1668</sup> Blake 2013: 216, 219

artifacts.<sup>1669</sup> In addition to modeling networks taken by discrete artifacts, such analyses can be invoked to model similarities among assemblages across contexts.<sup>1670</sup>

Mills et al. discuss the difficulty in gleaning data across multiple publications and projects, one of the main issues encountered in the course of this research: “One of the first decisions in applying network analysis to artefacts from archaeological sites is how to take the data generated by different projects to form ties (or not). A guiding premise is that sites should be tied when their ceramic assemblages are similar; that is, network relations between sites are indicated by ceramic similarity.”<sup>1671</sup> Thus, a study cannot simply accept classifications by the original excavators; it is necessary to standardize artifact types and descriptors, to avoid classification of similar artifacts under different titles. Once this is done, the degree of similarity between assemblages can be used to measure the degree of importance, or centrality, of nodes. Nodes with several different ties can be inferred to be more important, while chains with multiple links represent some of the more vital routes for artifact transfer. However, it is also important to take account of proximity and settlement size in evaluating links, as larger sites would naturally have more contexts with larger assemblages and therefore be more likely to have formed multiple links with a number of different areas of the island and externally; and sites that are closer to each other would naturally have more intensive interaction.<sup>1672</sup> Furthermore, it is important to take into account that not just artifacts may travel along these paths of dependency, but also assemblage-types or “packages”; for instance, the basic components of indigenous graves, the oinochoe and bowl or cup, can be traced among a number of necropoleis, although

---

<sup>1669</sup> Mills et al. 2013: 183

<sup>1670</sup> Mills et al. 2013: 186

<sup>1671</sup> Mills et al. 2013: 185

<sup>1672</sup> van der Leeuw 2013: 341-2

the transmission and development of this assemblage type is less clear from the archaeological evidence. Knappett remarks on the significance of these assemblage-networks in understanding the interconnectivity of sites: “these different forms of material culture might have acted together as object networks, thereby producing stronger interactive possibilities than could have been achieved with only one or two of these forms and practices. There are benefits in such cross-cutting patterns, where the whole exceeds the sum of the parts.”<sup>1673</sup> Such assemblages demonstrate the interconnectedness of objects and practices within a society, what Mills et al. describe as, “the extent of site inhabitants’ participation in a common ideology or cultural system.” He goes on to note that, “more generally, the ties may convey social influence, possibly mutual in nature” and demonstrate the transformation of social networks over time.<sup>1674</sup> Knappett expands on this reasoning in his discussion of meshworks, or collective congregations of people, practices and things that are enmeshed, creating a continuous flow of accumulations that do not have the defined edge or discontinuity implied by nodes and ties, but which rather merge into other congregations of entities within the same zone.<sup>1675</sup>

Such networks can also be used to model ethnic change. It has already been stressed that ethnicity does not spontaneously emerge out of nothing, but is the result of a society’s interactions with other entities and attempts to differentiate themselves from other nearby societies. Blake has applied this “interactionist theory of identity formation” to the formation of cultural groupings in Italy: “for an ethnicity to work it cannot be fabricated out of nothing: it is a new iteration of an earlier weaker grouping, often locality-based...if one assesses a region’s

---

<sup>1673</sup> Knappett 2011: 162.

<sup>1674</sup> Mills et al. 2013: 187.

<sup>1675</sup> Knappett 2011: 185.

degree of connectedness, one may come some way to predicting the emergence of an ethnic group.”<sup>1676</sup> For Blake, sites that more closely interacted with one another eventually came to share the same cultural traits, and therefore the same culture. However, care must be taken when applying a similar model to Sicily, since, as has been shown, cultural traits are not pronounced within 7<sup>th</sup> century Sicilian material, although some assemblages are more distinctive, while in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century certain material types (such as incised and stamped wares) began to be abandoned in certain regions of Sicily while being retained in others, ushering a more distinctive regional division that likely eventually contributed to the formalization of ethnic distinctions that were so evident by Herodotus’ time. Thus, chronology must also be taken into account in the emergence of distinctive societies beginning in the EIA period and continuing into the Archaic. Elsewhere in Italy, urbanization and state formation, or more broadly a rise in social complexity, led to the formation of distinctive cultures.<sup>1677</sup> This cannot necessarily be attributed to external influence, as the process began before the earliest Greek and Phoenician settlements in the west. These chronological developments can also be modeled along historical routes of path dependence – that is, prior conditions such as earlier migrations and previously-established trade networks, provided the primary impetus for later trajectories.<sup>1678</sup> In the case of Sicily, both historical dependence and the development of social networks that emerged with the appearance of outside actors contributed to regional identities. In fact, the two can be interlinked: Greek traders and settlers necessarily utilized networks that had been previously established through localized trade and interaction.

---

<sup>1676</sup> Blake 2013: 206.

<sup>1677</sup> Bettalli 1997: 218; Andersen et al. 1997.

<sup>1678</sup> Mahoney 2000.

Yet other factors play a role in the choice to display certain cultural traits over others, especially the agency exhibited by local actors and the influence exerted by the elite and their role as moderators within social networks of interaction. It was predominantly these and other individuals exercising a high degree of influence who exerted control over what objects should be adopted or incorporated into communities, and even what traditional objects should be maintained, going so far at times as to exert an overt indigeneity in the face of increasingly homogeneous assemblages later in the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Likely initially encountered as gifts, external objects would have had prestige connotations from early on, predicating certain forms of interaction among members of a society and routes of communication once such goods reached communities.<sup>1679</sup> Yet as these objects came to be emulated in local production, making them more accessible by lower-status population groups, they lost their inherent status connotations, and so it was necessary for important individuals (rulers, priests, clan heads) to look elsewhere for symbols of prestige – particularly back at their own constructed past, or to earlier imported objects that may have been considered “heirlooms” by the time they were utilized or imitated in later assertions of status. Such indigenizing tendencies can be observed in other societies as well.<sup>1680</sup>

Social networks can also be modeled based on the status of elite objects and those who controlled their access, “facilitating the reproduction of internally hierarchized communication systems.”<sup>1681</sup> Such networks are also self-perpetuating for those involved in them, as the more one individual forms horizontal links with outside communities and vertical links with those of

---

<sup>1679</sup> Mizoguchi 2013: 152.

<sup>1680</sup> Mizoguchi 2013: 170.

<sup>1681</sup> Mizoguchi 2013: 152-3



lower status, the more influence can be exerted in either direction and the more potential there is for further status improvement. Although the identities of such actors cannot usually be ascertained from the archaeological evidence (with the exception of the signified individual of the Horseman of Castiglione and named votaries of sanctuary dedications and recipients of grave monuments), nevertheless their presence can be inferred from individualized votive deposits at sanctuaries, more ostentatious burials wherein a single individual is emphasized, and unusual practices associated with the burial of a single person or family group – the previously-mentioned “cult of the individual.” Such individuals, or in many cases their family groupings and clans, would have influenced site trajectories, even building construction, and, as an extension, settlement plans, which were altered in this period to accommodate new architectural and social forms. These buildings, in turn, served as arenas for elite display and confluence, as in the regional sanctuaries and communal buildings evidenced at Polizzello, Sabucina and Palike, which adopted external trappings to simultaneously lend an air of authority to those commissioning their construction and emphasize their role as mediators in intra- and extra-site relations. These clans or families, in addition to regulating access to objects, would have striven to outdo other communities in ostentation, exhibiting a spirit of competition. Those sites with higher degrees of network centrality were at an advantage, as they could influence the development of other sites within the regional network, increasing the authority of local elite. This is undoubtedly why we see central sites such as Morgantina, which demonstrate a high degree of object variation and large number of ties – evident among the sizeable amount of Greek imports from a relatively early period as well as the continued importation of Sicilian objects from the west and east that likely traveled over overland routes – emerging as central actors in the early Archaic period,

when the site also starts to demonstrate nascent urbanization and intra-site hierarchy.<sup>1682</sup> In fact, in general urbanization occurs later in Sicily than it does in northern and central Italy, largely due to the combination of lateral network formation – population movement (that both precluded earlier settlement aggrandizement and presaged later development) and hierarchical site development. And so, for Sicily, we see that all these relations can be modeled through networks on the artifact and assemblage level, which, when aggregated, demonstrate the level of centrality and interconnectedness of a context and a site. And naturally, those sites and contexts located on particularly fertile land or along important trade routes, both coastal and interior, demonstrate greater interconnectedness and greater capacity for site development.

### **Modeling Change in Early Archaic Sicily: General Quantitative Analysis of the Contextual Data**

Four quantitative approaches were applied to large numbers of items drawn from the database: principal component analysis (PCA), clustering analysis, random forest analysis, and network analysis. The goal was to determine the best fit for the data, and to see if different methodologies produced similar results. In all these approaches, several different variables were analyzed for each database entry of a single artifact from an assemblage – for instance, decoration, origin, and use – and then the same variables were compared between assemblages, and combinations of variables analyzed to see if any patterns emerge. All methods are used in an exploratory way, but with different objectives – the clustering and PCA simply try to group similar artifacts/contexts together based on the variables given, whereas the random forest analysis explicitly considers predicting an outcome – in this case, whether the context is Greek or indigenous; or whether, in the absence of explicit labels, the context can be considered funerary, domestic, or sanctuary space. Because of the large number of contexts (especially

---

<sup>1682</sup> Antonaccio 1997: 169-72.

individual tombs) analyzed, it was often necessary to bin contexts – for example, tombs within a necropolis, or structures within a defined segment of a site – to prepare them for a comparative analysis with other contexts. To some extent, the results of this analysis are already touched upon within chapters, especially the conclusions to each, but here we see a more rigorous application of modeling data and explore which models best fit with the intended results.

For principal component analysis, objects were divided by context, taking a dataset of percentages of each variable within the category, adding up to 100% for each context. [See appendix I.1] From the results, sites have been sorted according to nearest neighbor (roughly, the most similar), in terms of both object origin [Table 7.1] and object use [Table 7.2]; above, the sites are color-coded according to chapter. These tables confirm that contexts within sites generally contain assemblages that are more similar to each other than they are to those of other sites, and that Greek settlements along the coastline are more similar to other Greek settlements than they are to traditional indigenous settlements or mixed settlements inland; this is particularly evident when we look at object origin, as presumably coastal settlements would have greater access to, and therefore more elevated numbers, of Greek imports than more inland communities. However, a deeper look into the object origin graph reveals some outliers. For instance, the settlements of M. San Mauro (in the area of Gela) and Castiglione (southeast Sicily) contain some contexts more approximating Greek contexts than indigenous ones, despite their more localized histories. This is to be expected, however, given the nature of the contexts under study – the Castiglione East Necropolis, as has been demonstrated, exhibits more Hellenizing tendencies due to the nature of statements being proclaimed by the interred and their families. Other communities demonstrate wide spacing among different contexts – that is, various contexts throughout the site are not closely associated with each other, but more closely resemble contexts from other sites (evidently of similar context type); these include Megara

Hyblaea, Zancle-Messina, Gela, and, in the more indigenous sphere, Ramacca. On the other hand, the contexts at Polizzello, M. Polizzo, Sabucina, Syracuse, and the remainder of studied necropoleis at Castiglione also demonstrate more homogenous contexts with similar assemblages by object origin<sup>1683</sup>.

If we look at the graphs generated by object use, the results are slightly different. These graphs are less perceptibly divided between Greek and indigenous, although indigenous still skew towards the right side of the chart. Contexts within sites are also much more varied in their nearest neighbors, perhaps due to the mixed nature of contexts (i.e. funerary, sacred or domestic) within most sites. In fact, what we see here is a greater preponderance of groupings by context type. Sanctuary contexts tend to be grouped towards the right side of the chart, regardless of ethnic identity while necropoleis are grouped towards the center and domestic structures towards the left. At a number of sites, primarily those with different types of contexts (funerary, domestic or religious), the internal assemblages are spaced further from each other and therefore more variable: Morgantina,<sup>1684</sup> Polizzello (although there are some internal groupings), Himera, Megara Hyblaea, Butera, and especially Gela. Sites that contain more closely-spaced and therefore more interrelated assemblages (generally all from the same type of context) include Sabucina, M. Polizzo (except House 3), Syracuse, and Naxos. This suggests that objects of a specific type would have been allocated for particular types of settings, and this allocation had a greater bearing on the destination of certain object types (e.g. as perfume vases or pouring vessels) than did ethnicity of those using the object.

---

<sup>1683</sup> The indigenous sites of Polizzello and M. Polizzo are in west-central Sicily and western Sicily; Sabucina is a mixed site in west-central Sicily.

<sup>1684</sup> Morgantina is an indigenous site in central Sicily; Himera and Megara Hyblaea are Greek sites in southeastern and west-central Sicily respectively; and Butera is an indigenous site in the hinterland of Gela. Naxos is a Greek settlement in northeast Sicily.

In both the object-use and object-provenience graphs, if we compare the proximity of the various sites with the more regionally-designated chapter organization, we see that sites within the same chapter do tend to be clustered together with the exception of sites in Chapter 6. The sites encompassed within Chapter 2 (southeast Sicily) and within Chapter 4 (for the most part comprising central-western Sicilian sacred centers) are especially closely-spaced, suggesting that they form more cohesive regional units. The applicability of these regional designations will be tested against other statistical methods and the results compared with existing theoretical explicatory frameworks at the end of the conclusions section.

The cluster plot generated from the similarity indices in PCA demonstrates broadly similar trends among the contexts (and generally confirms what we see in the bar graphs). The plot illustrated in Table 7.3, which arranges contexts by origin of objects in their respective assemblages, demonstrates which sites display artifact assemblages that align more with colonial production, indigenous production, and Corinthian imports (the most common origin for imports in 7th and 6th century Sicily). Unsurprisingly, Sikeliote sites display more broadly “colonial” artifact assemblages than do indigenous sites, although a fraction of Sikeliote and indigenous contexts seem to display more Corinthianizing tendencies. This implies that colonially-made objects and imports are more common in the coastal Sikeliote sites, although those interior contexts with more intensive links to the Greek world – e.g. the Castiglione East Necropolis, the contexts of Monte Saraceno, the graves of the Rito Necropolis, and the early sacred structures at Palike – contain more Greek-oriented assemblages. Furthermore, regardless of indigenous or Greek identity, sanctuary spaces are slightly more likely than necropoleis to have Corinthian imports (or high-end imitations identified as imports).

The data was further analyzed using tSNE (t-Distributed Stochastic Neighbor Embedding, which combined variables – object type, provenance and use [Appendix I.2]. When

we look at the tSNE analysis of provenience by context, we see that three distinct clusters emerge. [Table 7.4] Some sites do display contexts that are generally grouped together, and that are therefore more cohesive (such as Gela). Some others, like the Polizzello contexts, are split between the two clusters on the right side.

A further application of statistical methods is clustering analysis, an extension of principal components analysis, but utilizing more factors. Like PCA, the purpose is to organize a set of objects so that those in the same cluster are more similar than those in other clusters. This looks at an even greater number of components related to each object and context or site in which the object is found. The analysis and comparison of mixed variables can be used to generate dendrograms showing hierarchical clustering of both objects and contexts. This effectively determines which observations are the most similar in a dataset, which can then be used to determine more meaningful patterns using those variables.

The dendrogram shows that a number of contexts are clustered together by site, such as those of M. Polizzo, although in some cases certain contexts are further away from other contexts of the same site; for instance, most of the contexts from Polizzello are clustered together, although some isolated contexts are more similar to different indigenous ritual contexts, such as the Sabucina oikoi. Some sites, such as Gela, are generally aggregated together, but in separate clusters, arranged by context type – ritual or funerary. [Tables 7.7, 7.12, 7.13] Dendrograms are particularly useful in gaining a broad understanding of relationships between comparable variables, and in comparing different clusters. Table 7.13 is the most illustrative, demonstrating four main assemblage clusters, each of which, aside from the bottom cluster, contains both indigenous and Greek sites. Of interest is that regional distinctions are more pronounced than ethnic ones in these results, and that these distinctions are roughly comparable to the regional organization reflected in this work's division of Sicily.

Within each cluster, the sites are divided by context type – for example, in the topmost cluster, the funerary contexts are clustered towards the bottom, while sacred contexts are nearer to the top. The assemblages from Gela are separated by context type, and the funerary assemblages at Gela are closer to those of necropoleis at Castiglione and Butera. However, when we eliminate explicit labeling of context type – whether the context is ritual, funerary, or domestic – results are slightly different, and subsequent cluster charts were generated for the data with labeling of context type removed. [Tables 7.8, 7.14, 7.15]. These generate different clusters, with assemblages for the most part grouped by site. Regional distinctions remain evident (especially in central Sicily), but now ethnicity (in the sense of the Greek/indigenous dichotomy) plays more of a role, although there still is little distinction among Sikel, Sikanian and Elymian groupings. In these tables, all the ethnically ambiguous contexts now tend to be clustered together (the blue cluster). All this indicates that while there are ethnic distinctions within the contexts, they seem to have more to do with the degree of indigeniety or Hellenicity within a context than with the explicit labeling of a site as indigenous or Greek, or as Sikanian, Elymian or Sikel.

We can also expand the criteria to generate dendrograms from all objects listed in the database (instead of contexts with associated aggregated object data). Table 7.11 shows 5-factor dendrograms (based on the dendrograms in Table 7.6) of all objects in the database; the table on the left includes “context type” as a factor, while the table on the right excludes context type.<sup>1685</sup> Although the dataset is too large to see individual data points within the dendrograms, we can still get a good sense of overall patterns within the data. Both dendrograms suggest five main clusters of objects, while the left dendrogram can also be divided into three clusters, and the

---

<sup>1685</sup> 5-factor analysis is chosen here because the resulting charts include more structure than do other factor amounts.

right dendrogram into four clusters. Zooming into the data, it seems that there is no clear differentiation between Greek and indigenous among the larger (left-most) prongs of the dendrograms (especially in the dendrogram without explicit context-type labeling); only at smaller levels do we see ethnic disparities, although Greek-identified objects do tend to cluster with other Greek-identified objects, and the same is true with non-Greek items. If ethnic distinctions were a stronger component of these assemblages and objects, we would expect to see a clear differentiation between Greek and non-Greek items in the dendrograms; yet this is not the case, with one exception – the last two prongs of the left dendrogram, which both seem to contain consistently Greek objects. Stronger factors in the item-level analysis seem to be the context in which objects were found, and object use. Context type also had a strong bearing on the organization of the dendrogram, although not as strong as the object use factor. This suggests that at the individual object scale, object use was the strongest determinant of which objects cluster together in these contexts.

In other words, these plots demonstrate how strong the interactions are between variables – for instance, “shape” has strong interaction with “object use” and “publication” with “site identity” – unsurprisingly, as the as the nature of publication and the individual author have a strong bearing on what information is transmitted to the reader and how objects are interpreted in the first place. In this case study, the most useful application of Random Forest plots is in the predictive usefulness of different variables based on the inserted data.

Furthermore, we can calculate the degree of possible interactions with other variables. [Table 7.19] In this case, the responses can be modeled based on a single variable, that is, how likely one covariate within a category serves as a predictive tool to model indigeneity (variable dependence plots), or on a number of different variables (conditioning plots) that are calculated based on the variable importance rate ascertained in the previous plot, Table 7.18. [Tables 7.27,



7.28, 7.29] The variable dependence plots 7.20-7.26, and conditioning plots 7.27-7.29, demonstrate some of the most meaningful correlations among objects – the dependence plots divided by different reference variables – object use, object decoration, object type, material, site, closest settlement, and labeled site identity, respectively; and the conditioning plots by object shape versus use, object decoration versus shape, and object use versus closest settlement.

In all these examples, a model that fits well with the data would have green (not Greek) points skewed towards the top, and red (Greek) skewed towards the bottom; the y-axis represents the probability that a site is not Greek, based on predictions from the data and interactions among variables. As an example, the model for “bowl” shows strong skewing while “cup” shows much less. Looking closer at the interactions between variables, we see that certain variables demonstrate close interactions with one or more other variables [Table 7.19]. Some categories are clearly related – for instance, “distance from coast” has a high correlation with “site identity” (i.e. whether the site was a Greek foundation or not). Context type shows a strong correlation with publication, object use, object shape, and object decoration, and a rather weak correlation with the identity of the site.

Some interesting patterns also emerge from the data when we look at the dependence and conditioning plot results in the Random Forest data [Tables 7.20-7.26]. The variables with the highest predictive values (and therefore the most valuable in obtaining results from the Random Forest models) are object use, site identity, object shape, object decoration, site distance from coast, and closest settlement. [Table 7.17] This allows us to isolate some of the most meaningful interactions among variables. The predictive divide between Greek and non-Greek is more evident when we look at object use [Table 7.20] and object decoration [Table 7.21], and less evident when we observe object material [Table 7.23] and, surprisingly, labeled site identity [Table 7.24].

This suggests that objects and assemblages alone, with their numerous associated variables, serve as a poor predictive tool for ascertaining the overall identity of a site, since non-Greek settlements are still characterized by highly varied assemblages with objects of diversified origin. This furthermore calls into question the purity of site identifications in general within Sicily, especially in the later Archaic period when ceramic types become more standardized. However, used in conjunction with other statistical tools – particularly clustering and network analysis – we can begin to trace certain patterns within the material record, and use that to make regionally predictive models. Conditioning plots exploring the interaction between object use and shape, two of the variables with the highest variable importance (and of course a strong correlation with each other), can be useful for understanding site typologies. [Table 7.22] These statistical analyses indicate that a number of shapes, such as hut model, boss, or bead, are highly correlated with more non-Greek contexts, while exaleiptra, miniature cups, and lekythoi are highly correlated with more Greek contexts. However, some shapes – cups, pithoi, plates and pyxides, for example – are more ambiguous when trying to ascertain the status of certain assemblages; while jugs, interestingly, demonstrate a strong predictive divide between Greek and non-Greek. Furthermore, if we take a closer look at only funerary or sacred assemblages, the conditioning plots, analyzed in conjunction with other statistical methods, demonstrate certain artifact patterns.

These patterns include higher amounts of metal goods in graves with lower amounts of Greek imports, i.e. more “indigenizing” graves, such as those of Cozzo S. Giuseppe in central Sicily. This is true also of more traditional ritual spaces, many of which contain higher levels of metal goods and small bone or amber objects than of Greek imports; being more difficult to obtain than ceramics, these demonstrate status; examples are seen at the Oikos A and Oikos D of Polizzello and the exterior spaces of Colle Madore, both west-central sites. On the other

hand, sacred space in indigenous centers with more ambiguous assemblages – or more “Hellenizing” tendencies – generally have a higher number of vessels relating to consumption, particularly cups. These are also more likely to have more diversified Greek imports, as at the more mixed sites of M. Saraceno and Palike. These patterns were reciprocal, though, with nominally Greek contexts, such as ritual spaces in liminal zones of Greek settlements, exhibiting indigenous influence. As an example, excavations of the Bitalemi sanctuary near Gela revealed metal deposits containing a number of indigenizing objects, more similar to ritual depositions of metal in indigenous sites than other dedications in Greek sites.

It is of course important to note that these charts mainly demonstrate predictive values for these shapes in future datasets rather than their true frequency among Greek and non-Greek contexts within the studied dataset, but the model can still be useful when applied to datasets with missing information (such as decoration, context type, or object production origin) that could supply clues to the identity or origins of populations utilizing certain objects or the networks traced by such artifacts. The results also give guidance on what elements to focus on in analyses of other contexts or future excavations.

### **Modeling Interconnectivity in Early Archaic Sicily: Application of Network Theory**

In the introduction it was noted that it is possible to progress past a purely theoretical application of network theory, as networks can be used to model interactions between clusters of sites, at least within the area of Sicily. To begin to model some of the interactions that are hinted at in the application of the above-mentioned analyses, a method called Community Detection was applied to the data.<sup>1686</sup> This technique creates a series of communities, similar to the clusters modeled above, but with subtle differences. For one, it allows us to combine

---

<sup>1686</sup> For the code, see: Jeub et al. 2011-2017.

variables – use and provenance – to determine which contexts are most comparable to each other in terms of a collective aggregation of elements, and to model potential interactions between the sites that led to the formation of specific assemblages. Given this application of network theory, we would expect that sites such as Polizzello<sup>1687</sup>, with a high degree of variation among the material record, would therefore demonstrate a greater number of ties between nodes and therefore a denser interconnectedness, and a high clustering coefficient.

Community Detection identifies either two or three distinct “communities” or clusters, similar to the three that form when we apply clustering analysis to the data. These are mainly divided by Greek settlements (Community 1) and indigenous settlements, with the middle cluster (Community 2) representing some of the more hybrid contexts from interior communities: Ramacca, M. Saraceno (acropolis and upper plateau), M. Polizzo (particularly House 3,) and the Castiglione West Necropolis fossa and chamber tombs. Community 1 is characterized primarily by Greek settlements, with the exception of the Rito Necropolis, Saggio Delta at Ramacca, the Castiglione East Necropolis, M. San Mauro domestic space and necropolis, and Palike and Palike Building A. Community 3 contains wholly interior/ indigenous contexts, including all of Morgantina, Polizzello, and Butera. Comparing the two plots, we see that the plot weighted towards use shows a higher degree of interconnectedness between the three groupings, while in the origin plot the groups are almost wholly separate, with the exception of communities 2 and 3. This demonstrates that site contexts and assemblages are more entangled in terms of object use than object origin. Finally, we see a few stragglers in the data, which can be explained by incomplete data collection or a high number of more unusual

---

<sup>1687</sup> An indigenous site in west-central Sicily.

object types compared to the other contexts – the Bitalemi Sanctuary, with its elevated number of metal deposits; and three domestic areas – at M. San Mauro, Himera, and Bitalemi.

This application can be taken one step further, by mapping the communities and their levels of interconnectivity. In Table 7.34, the red and blue circles represent two different communities that emerge from the assemblage data and their associations with each other. The edges of the blue community tend to be stronger, and these sites therefore display a greater degree of similarity with each other than do those of the red community. Unsurprisingly, space exhibits a moderate degree of control in informing the community assignments: spatially close sites are more likely to be linked and in the same communities but numerous exceptions exist. Furthermore, the coastal cities are much more interconnected with each other, although several inland sites also display some degree of connectivity. Looking only at object origin [Table 7.35], we can see that certain objects are more well-represented at certain sites than at others. Those sites with objects that are commonly represented throughout the island, without displaying dominance at any one site, are outlined in lighter red; while those that are prominent in one or a few locations (often imports that are comparatively uncommon on Sicily) are in blue. Sites with object types that are more casually attested are indicated in darker red. This demonstrates that both indigenous and Greek items are relatively well-represented throughout the island, especially as the geographic mean of the various object locations – represented by the x – is relatively centralized in most cases, suggesting that the island was relatively interconnected.

Although there are too considerable an amount of data and too many methods outlined here to truly go in depth, this section provides a general overview of some of the statistical techniques that can be employed to model the data and gives us an idea of what each approach can tell us about the nature of sites and their data assemblages. Are these methods more helpful in the interpretation of the dataset than more theoretical approaches? And what bearing does it

have on traditional interpretations of ethnic boundaries? One possibly fruitful further avenue would be to map changes over time, comparing the current dataset to similar datasets of material from the EIA and later Archaic periods to determine realignments in the data. Network modeling could also be utilized to determine changes in routes and in magnitude and degree of trade and interaction between nodes. Thus, dendrograms (especially on object level) can be taken to delineate “a new taxonomic entity” referenced in the introduction, a graphical representation of the entanglement that characterized Sicily in the Early Archaic period and lasted into the Classical period, despite the proliferation of more standardized assemblages, ritual and domestic practices. In brief, these patterns support the conclusion that the period studied was dominated by entanglement among settlements and the emergence of elites across the range of those settlements, with ethnicity playing a lesser role than traditionally assumed.

### **Final Comments: Towards a New Sicilian Typology**

Based on a combination of these statistical methods, theoretical anchors, and straightforward observations, a new taxonomic typology of Sicilian sites can be proposed for the early Archaic period. A synthesis of the abovementioned statistical techniques demonstrates patterns throughout the landscape of Archaic Sicily. This may help provide what Burgers and Crielaard, analyzing Greek settlement and culture contact in South Italy, argue for: “a shift away from approaching this phenomenon in terms of single events to a point of view that considers it in terms of processes... studying the dynamic and situational nature of identity, and to investigate how material culture and settlement organisation were used as media to negotiate social relations.”<sup>1688</sup> For them, these are non-oppositional but complex encounters especially since the

---

<sup>1688</sup> Burgers and Crielaard 2016: 225.

material record does not necessarily reveal ethnic alignments that could have existed in a purely abstract way for the inhabitants.

Yntema takes this investigation a step further, by acknowledging the plethora of settlement options available to migrating populations in South Italy: Greeks could form isolated enclaves within indigenous settlements; they could share burial sites and settlements with local population groups; or they could evolve into new nucleated settlements. The last settlement type is a product of earlier forays involving the other two site types, which continued to function together with the progression of Greek coastal cities, and indeed Yntema sees the creation of the first Greek poleis in the West as a process of evolution. A similar situation can be observed in the Early Archaic period in Sicily, before poleis begin to exhibit a strong localized identity. They are a function of their regional systems, and as such are not closed entities; they would have absorbed subsequent population groups from Greece as well as neighboring indigenous populations. Sites, both older Sicilian settlements and new Greek sites, were thus negotiating a plurality of identities in this period.<sup>1689</sup>

De Angelis also remarks on the necessity of co-habitation in this early period, which becomes especially evident in the 7<sup>th</sup> century with the expansion of territory in the hinterland of the new Greek settlements: “The settlers also found themselves in an economic situation whose roots needed to be put down, and to achieve this some amount of involvement with the local native populations had to occur. Therefore, if for no other reason, the Greeks had no choice but to establish ties with the natives in order to survive demographically and economically, and so make their communities viable in the long term.”<sup>1690</sup>

---

<sup>1689</sup> Yntema 2016: 219-20.

<sup>1690</sup> De Angelis 2004: 29.

This intensification in contact led to widespread change in the indigenous sphere, as demonstrated in this work, especially in the more visible manifestation of religion and ritual and an increased visibility in wealthy sectors of the population. But it also affected the cultural perceptions of the western Greeks, especially in the sphere of religion and ritual.<sup>1691</sup> During this period though, local populations at times made conscious decisions to revert back to indigenous forms (such as the widespread use of circular shrines or the continued use of incised and stamped ritual forms), which complicates the formulation of a dataset based on degrees of ethnic alignment.<sup>1692</sup> This complex history suggests that is more fruitful to use the descriptives “Hellenizing” and “indigenizing” for contexts, rather than as definitive markers of identity.

Statistical techniques also reveal a story of varying regional development as this process unfolded. The similarity network plots produced from the network analysis of the assemblages can be compared with the clustering analysis and TSNE plots to generate a typology with the following elements:

- a) A southeastern Sicily typology dominated by Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea but including several indigenous locales and interior Greek sites (more ambiguous or mixed than coastal sites) integrated within this network;
- b) An east-central typology including the ambiguous assemblages evident at Palike, M. San Mauro, M. Saraceno, Butera, M. Finocchito, Morgantina, and the Greek sites of Himera, Naxos and Gela;

---

<sup>1691</sup> Urquhart 2017: 305-6.

<sup>1692</sup> This has been suggested for the indigenous South Italian settlement of L'Amastuola: ethnic affiliations consciously constructed through the ritual deposition of specific items chosen over Greek or Sikeliote imports. (Burgers and Crielaard 2016: 233)



- c) A central Sicilian (“Sikanian”) typology, but including some more “indigenizing” Sikel sites such as Morgantina and Calascibetta; and
- d) A west Sicilian typology, with competing claims on indigeneity and Hellenicity that play into the increase of power in hands of the elite.

This variety of regional characteristics demonstrates that even in geographically bounded Sicily, the formation of identity due to culture contact can only be encapsulated by a variety of theories. The first displays the most “Hellenizing” tendencies among the four groupings, conventionally ascribed to the expansion of Syracusan power towards the west as well as the foundation of Gela. Yet this does not account for the plethora of scenarios that play out among the various sites – both Greek and indigenous – and their contexts. The key term here is “Hellenizing” rather than “Hellenized,” which emphasizes that indigenous sites here were not the passive recipients of Greek culture, but were actively engaged with the new establishments along the eastern and southeastern coasts that controlled access to trade networks further afield.<sup>1693</sup> In this region, more interconnected sites typically demonstrate stronger ties, especially with the eastern Mediterranean and can more easily tap into wider changes occurring throughout the Mediterranean.

The second group can be characterized by hybridity in terms of object types and middle-ground theory in the construction of sacred and funerary assemblages. Cultural bricolage is demonstrated not only by Greek imports found in indigenous settings and the development of “Siculo-Geometric” ware, but also by the enthusiastic adoption of orientalia, easily transmitted because of its portable nature through interior trade and exchange networks. Gocha Tsetskhladze argued that “the entire assemblage of ceramics discovered at inland sites of the 7<sup>th</sup>–

---

<sup>1693</sup> Antonaccio 2009: 47; Antonaccio 2015: 63

5<sup>th</sup> centuries is hybrid.”<sup>1694</sup> While this is an over-generalization (effectively erasing the distinction between the hybridization of assemblages – more effectively explained by the application of middle-ground theory – and the hybridization of objects), it is nevertheless a useful framework for considering the formation of identit(ies) in Sicily and the processes – habits, traditions, and practices – that led to the creation of certain objects and contexts.<sup>1695</sup>

The third group, by contrast, evidences agency and ancestry, consistent with the Hodos’s advocacy of the effectiveness of applying agency to the construction of contexts and assemblages in both indigenous and Greek spheres within Sicily.<sup>1696</sup> Conscious but selective retention of traditional objects and architecture, for reasons of utility but also likely because of the sociopolitical reality of the time – aided in the articulation and definition of kinship groups and elite families that controlled access to past and could lay claim to mythical origin stories.<sup>1697</sup> While imported objects still played an important role, they were recontextualized within the framework of rituality and articulation of elite social constructs.

Finally, the fourth group is singular for its cooption of both indigenizing tendencies and assimilation of external forms into an existing political and social framework – in other words, a conscious resistance and locality that is tempered by the interest on the part of the elite in gaining cultural capital by investing in large-scale architecture influenced by Greek stylistic developments and through high-quality imports. It differs from the previous group in that it shows a conscious reversion to the past, rather than a retention of the past, as a way to articulate

---

<sup>1694</sup> Tsetskhladze 2006: lviii

<sup>1695</sup> Antonaccio 2005: 100

<sup>1696</sup> Dietler 1998, Hodos 2006: 152-3

<sup>1697</sup> Malkin 2002

identity – not necessarily ethnicity, but also status.<sup>1698</sup> “The Greeks did not stimulate social change because they were more advanced but were *weak* ties who enabled local agency for various groups.”<sup>1699</sup>

The link between all these theories and regional variation are networks that link regions together through a combined web of both strong and weak ties. This range of settlement types and context typologies is precisely what led scholars such as Osborne to disavow the notion of pure Greek “colonization” in the west, proposing that we reconsider the utility of referencing outdated notions of formal Greek foundations that took place beginning in the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1700</sup> Instead, the “Greek” west was characterized by a spectrum of settlement strategies and degrees of entanglement, as demonstrated by Yntema in relation to South Italy.<sup>1701</sup>

During the early Archaic period there was a marked interest in expression of status, but also in links to kinship groups and local identities – links that may have transcended purely local bounds to be expressed on a regional scale. Facilitated by Greek settlers, who both upended the status quo and opened new avenues for trade and status accumulation, this can be seen in mixed assemblages at sites such as Palike, M. Saraceno, the Rito Necropolis, and the Castiglione Necropolis. These developments led to aggregation of wealth by certain sectors of society, and in turn by other sectors of society, leading to general increase in visibility in archaeological record, seen in the proliferation of votives and high-quality Orientalia in increasingly articulated hybrid spaces, and in graves that appear to mirror changes in structures of habitation among the living. These trends were accompanied, too, by increased agglutination in settlement patterns,

---

<sup>1698</sup> Kistler et al. 2017: 151

<sup>1699</sup> Morris 2016: 142-3

<sup>1700</sup> Osborne 2016

<sup>1701</sup> Yntema 2016

especially beginning in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. At the same time, interest in ancestry is evident in the continued use of chamber tombs (perhaps familial) despite the introduction of other funerary practices and in the sustained tradition of ritual in these chambers.

The first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century witnessed increased regionalism as wealthier individuals who controlled access to Greek goods and imported indicators of status (such as scarabs or amber objects, demonstrated at M. Iato) then came to control passages through which objects could flow and thus trajectories of indigeneity or Hellenicity. Those indigenous areas that by the early 6<sup>th</sup> century seem to be under control of wealthier families or individuals, such as southeast or northwest Sicily, were more open to outside influence in terms of artistic production, imports, architectural forms, and depositional and habitual practices (as reflected in assemblages) and therefore were more likely to be open to Hellenizing influences, while also controlling access to ancestral claims through explicit use of certain traditional object types and styles; while those areas in which wealth tended to be more widely spread between kin groups or clans (especially in what was conventionally known as “Sikania”) continued to produce more indigenizing assemblages, supplemented or enhanced by imported objects or objects brought by newly-settled populations. The latter is reflected in depositions at Polizzello, necropoleis at Cozzo S. Giuseppe and Sant’Angelo Muxaro.

To conclude, both a qualitative examination of the sites, contexts and assemblage data, and the more quantitative methods employed, demonstrate the entangled and mixed nature of Greek coastal colonies and their immediate hinterlands; and the fact that the data suggests greater differentiation by context type than by ethnicity paints a very different picture from literary sources that tend to emphasize highly differentiated ethnic and social groups, sources (beginning with Herodotus) which appear significantly later. These authors illustrate the formation and development of colonies that were founded in previously-unoccupied territory, or

that forcibly expelled non-Greeks early on in their trajectories. Yet even to the extent this may be accurate, earlier Sikel habitations, tombs, communal structures would have been a significant part of the landscape prior to and during the arrival of Greeks. It appears that these settlements were not as separated as the literature suggests, but rather traditions were promulgated in order to distance Greeks from non-Greek ethnē, and to separate the slow development of more collective Sicilian cultural attributes in the Archaic period from the pre-Greek past. That this distinction between ethnē was not so evident in the early period of Greek exploitation of the island is evidenced by the Cava S. Aloe and Villasmundo necropoleis, with their early hybrid ceramics and assemblages. In later periods, and even in the early lives of the Greek settlements, there is an evident two-way flow of object types and ideas, perhaps facilitated by intermarriage; object types, assemblages and institutions are not just transferred from Greek to Sikel, but rather are entangled in networks of interaction and flows that can reveal some of the broader systems grounded on the island. In fact, the main distinction was between non-elite and elite, as the latter constantly vied to distance themselves from the majority of the population in other ways. This was conditioned by the new political realities of the Archaic period, and the beginning of territorial hegemonies fashioned by newly-minted tyrants operating from the coastal cities. Eventually, this led to a sociopolitical restructuring, a “riassetto delle relazioni interetniche richiesto dalla nuova realtà politica della seconda metà del V sec. a.C. e dalle ingerenze ateniesi in Sicilia.”<sup>1702</sup> This self-aggrandizement contributes to the emergence of a distinctive elite culture in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, evolving into a spirit of competition that is especially evident in the 6<sup>th</sup>. A worldview was effectively created that was crystallized through formal burial and sacred structures, and the delineation of kinship groups in both the ritual and funerary spheres. This

---

<sup>1702</sup> Sammartano 1994: 93.

created the environment for the “spirit of innovation and problem-solving” that fostered new traditions in the West, as well as back in mainland Greece.<sup>1703</sup> Yet the destabilization alluded to by Sammartano nevertheless continues in the 5<sup>th</sup> century; in a number of these places in Sicily “Greekness” is a short-lived entity, and what is durable is the constant state of flux and destruction that characterizes Sicily and its development, as demonstrated by the multiple destruction contexts and rebuilding phases that make use of earlier indigenous occupation of an area.<sup>1704</sup> In the 7<sup>th</sup> century there is not so much of a dichotomy between Greek and indigenous, and certainly one’s social standing within society did not predicate itself on notions of belonging to one ethnic group or another, to any greater extent than it would have been based on notions of kinship or lineage – for example tracing one’s ancestry to an oikist, or to a legendary chieftain among those populations with older claims to the land. At first, the Greeks were perhaps viewed no differently from population groups that had entered Sicily before. In the Early Iron Age and 7<sup>th</sup> century, what became important was status and representation; as such, notions of status started to intersect with the trappings of a more comfortable, “urban” lifestyle that modeled itself on the population centers appearing at this time throughout the Mediterranean. But the Archaic period also demonstrates the vicissitudes of so many other periods of Sicilian history, and a growth in population increase seems to have led to increased tension that accompanied the intensification of networks, leading to a backlash, the assertion of lasting to the end of the Archaic period. In this regard, the various investigated sites, both Greek and indigenous,

---

<sup>1703</sup> Shepherd 2016: 347.

<sup>1704</sup> Antonaccio 2001.

respond to concomitant change – particularly demographic fluctuations and population movement – in sometimes very different ways, yet always as parts of an increasingly interconnected web that eventually led to the formation of a distinct “pan-Sicilian” koine.

## APPENDIX 1: TECHNICAL DISCUSSION OF STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

### 1.1. Factor Analysis of Mixed Data (FAMD)<sup>1705</sup>

In general, this is a numeric representational method used to compute similarity matrices that allow for the exploration of a set of variables using a set of unobserved factor variables, ideally finding the best fit to capture the patterns and variation in the data while condensing all the information based on a mixed set of quantitative and categorical data. This is a necessary first step in clustering, dendrogram visualizations, and TSNE because it gives us a numerical representation of each artifact or group of artifacts for clustering and explores associations between all variables.

### 1.2. Principal Components Analysis

Principal component analysis was used to analyze several different variables (that is pieces of information) for artifact from an assemblage and compare those variables among assemblages, in combinations, to detect patterns in the data. The goal is to group similar artifacts/contexts together based on the variables used.

Categories analyzed in principal component analysis include object, object origin, object use, and decoration, with binning utilized to reduce complexity; the analysis searched for correlations among variables (e.g. the type of object or type of use) within each category, across contexts. In a multivariate dataset, this creates multiple dimensions that can be reduced via principal component analysis, which lessens the number of variables. The first and second principal components in this dataset explain most of the variance in the data (around 95%), and were used to create a scatterplot of the sites.<sup>1706</sup> [Table 7.3] Furthermore, bar graphs of the data

---

<sup>1705</sup> For a discussion of Factor Analysis of Mixed Data, see: Pagès 2004.

<sup>1706</sup> Lê, Sébastien, Julie Josse, and François Husson. 2008. "FactoMineR: A Package for Multivariate Analysis." *Journal of Statistical Software* 25 (1): 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.18637/jss.v025.i01>; Kassambara, Alboukadel, and



were created, ordered according to degree of similarity between sites. [Tables 7.1, 7.2] The columns are ordered according to the Nearest Neighbor algorithm (essentially by the closest related dataset associated with a specific context, indicating in rough terms the sites closest to a given site in terms of the overall distribution of artifacts). This is accomplished using a “confusion matrix” that summarizes the predictive value of sites, computing a similarity measure between all pairs and ordering sites by similarity to one another.

### 1.3. TSNE

T-Distributed Stochastic Neighbor Embedding. TSNE plots are similar to FAMD plots, but optimize different things; the technique combines variables – in this case, object type, provenance and use – to reduce the number of dimensions to two. This technique allows us to manipulate factors with a high number of dimensions, reducing them to fit a two-dimensional space. Thus, this serves as a method for making FAMD analysis more friendly to visualize. The technique is mostly approximate, because distance, or proximity of points to each other, should be preserved, but information might be lost along the way. Here, it is used to model clusters formed among contexts when object origin [Table 7.4] and object [Table 7.5] are evaluated. This looks at a number of different components such as date of object, distance from site in which found to coast, distance to nearest settlement also listed in the dataset, object description, context type, object decoration, object use, object origin, and object material – 17 components in total – to generate a series of clusters, or groupings of contexts; the number of clusters is deduced from the data itself.

---

Fabian Mundt. 2017. *Factoextra: Extract and Visualize the Results of Multivariate Data Analyses*. <https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=factoextra>.

## 1.4. Hierarchical clustering

Hierarchical clustering uses set criteria to combine or separate observations into groups using FAMD analysis; in this case, we agglomerate objects and contexts into groups by finding the minimum increase in total within-cluster variation obtained by adding an object or context to an existing group. The algorithm ultimately groups all objects into a single cluster, nesting various levels of factors beginning with single data entries or datasets (on the right); as the dendrograms move outwards (to the left), certain larger clusters can be inferred from the data. In these dendrograms, the objects and contexts that are more similar (in terms of their mean artifact FAMD coordinates) are linked together by more proximate prongs. [Tables 7.6, 7.7, 7.8] These are furthermore grouped together by wider prongs, which assembles together objects and contexts with generally similar characteristics. This is an exploratory method, used to explain variations in distances between items (in terms of FAMD factors) in the same category, although what accounts for such variation is still debatable; Table 7.9 shows the percentage of contributions of different variables in the database to the analysis. The included images of the context dendrograms are the result of a five- and 27-factor (or dimension) analysis, while the object dendrograms utilize five, 21, 27, and 31 factors; the traditionally assigned site identities – Greek, indigenous, and mixed – are represented by different colors.<sup>1707</sup> These analyses were chosen because they seem to show the clearest output; in both the five-factor object and context dendrograms, five distinct clusters emerge. However, these five-factor dendrograms only incorporate 31% of the variation in the data, as demonstrated by the scree plot in Table 7.10 that shows the percentage of explained variances, the amount of variance in the original dataset accounted for by each of the factors fit to the data. In the case of the five-factor dendrograms,

---

<sup>1707</sup> Galili, Tal. 2015. “Dendextend: An R Package for Visualizing, Adjusting, and Comparing Trees of Hierarchical Clustering.” *Bioinformatics*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bioinformatics/btv428>.

some data must be sacrificed for the sake of clarity and for filtering out background noise in the data, although in all the analyses, including the lower-factor analyses, each factor combines information from multiple different fields in the raw data. In other words, the fewer factors included, the less information from the original dataset is maintained.

We have to choose the optimal number of clusters according to the dendrogram, which can help us decide which level is most useful for subsequent analysis – the dendrograms could contain two, three, four, or even over 100 clusters, based on where a vertical section is drawn through the branches of the dendrogram, the data aiding the decision of which level to ultimately focus. The resulting cluster charts are divided by context (as in the principal components analysis, above) and by individual objects, a selection of which is randomly generated (as the dataset is too large to include all possible points).<sup>1708</sup> This is done to see if the categories/ chapters in which sites were placed, based on observable results, can be replicated through statistical modeling. [Tables 7.13, 7.15] The inclusion here of four context clusters was chosen for more practical reasons, as it distills the data in manageable form, and is not so broad as to make the results unmeaningful.

If context type is not included as a variable, the optimum number of clusters is two [Table 7.16], which suggests that the various contexts are largely self-organizing either by ethnicity or by context type, regardless of whether the contexts are explicitly labeled as such.<sup>1709</sup>

---

<sup>1708</sup> Maechler, Martin, Peter Rousseeuw, Anja Struyf, Mia Hubert, and Kurt Hornik. 2018. *Cluster: Cluster Analysis Basics and Extensions*.

<sup>1709</sup> Charrad, Malika, Nadia Ghazzali, Véronique Boiteau, and Azam Niknafs. 2014. “NbClust: An R Package for Determining the Relevant Number of Clusters in a Data Set.” *Journal of Statistical Software* 61 (6): 1–36.

## 1.4. Random Forest and Partial Dependence Plots

These techniques are more exploratory, providing explicit classification of the data, and are useful for non-linear modeling.<sup>1710</sup> This method is valuable for looking at interactions between two different variables that have a high correlation, which is determined through statistical analysis of the relative importance of variables. This effectively quantifies how closely variables are related to each other and examines interactions graphically, adjusting for error rates within the data.

Partial dependence plots are especially useful in Random Forest modeling, as they show us relations between the variables, while the different variables that are ultimately used are chosen based on utility to the overall model. This effects a mix of predictions and actual values in the series of produced graphs. Here, “predictive” refers to the strength of association between a variable (or pair of variables) and a site being Greek or indigenous. The algorithm creates a number of “decision trees” – tree-like models of causes and possible effects – that predict the probability of any one factor being true. An aggregation of these trees, each of which uses a random selection of the available data and associated variables, will predict the outcome of any specific data point (in this case, object) having a specific feature (e.g. ceramic, indigenous, or incised and stamped). This technique is particularly useful for datasets with high variance. Furthermore, the function determines the relative importance of different variables in contributing to predictions. [Table 7.17] These variables show how responses are related to each other in a non-linear setting. Once the most important variables are isolated, graphs are plotted

---

<sup>1710</sup> Strobl et al. 2009; Ehrlinger, John. 2016; Ishwaran, H., and U. B. Kogalur. 2007. “Random Survival Forests for R.” R News 7 (2): 25–31; Ishwaran, H., and U. B. Kogalur. 2018. *Random Forests for Survival, Regression, and Classification* (RF-SRC). Manual. <https://cran.r-project.org/package=randomForestSRC>.

*ggRandomForests: Visually Exploring Random Forests*. <https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=ggRandomForests>.

that predict the trajectory of values utilizing these variables. We can examine interactions among variables in the random forest prediction of a sample by comparing variable importance with minimal depth, defined as the shortest route from root (the input data) to leaf node (the predictive data) in a dataset. Higher values signifying lower interactions with reference variables; this demonstrates which variables should be situated at the tops of trees (and therefore have smaller minimal depth). [Table 7.18]

In Table 7.19, higher values indicate lower interaction with the reference variable (indicated by the red crosshairs). The variable rankings and interactions can be used to make various predictions using the extant data; these are illustrated in dependence and conditioning plots. In Tables 7.20-7.26, we consider one primary prediction, the predicted response (Greek or non-Greek) as a function of each covariate – that is, the likelihood that any particular site displays more Hellenizing or more indigenizing tendencies, in an attempt to statistically isolate markers of ethnicity or site identity. In further applications of this model to Sicilian contexts, the tables could demonstrate which subsets within the variables (e.g. “alabastron” within “object shape,” or “pouring” within “object use” fits best with the overall site label of Greek, mixed or indigenous. For variable dependence plots, just a single variable is analyzed, and if the two associated colors (referring to attestations of that subset within an assemblage) are highly sorted – that is, is all green at the top and all red at the bottom, it is highly predictive. Conditioning plots indicate how two variables together predict Greek versus indigenous.

From the Random Forest modeling data [Table 7.18], we see that the variables with the highest VIMP (variable importance) ranking are site identity, object use, object shape, object decoration, and site distance from coast. Plotted against minimal depth, we see that the more important variables for data modeling are simplified object use, object shape, object decoration, site, object material, and (not surprisingly) publication. The red dashed line represents where

variables are in agreement and there is a direct correlation – closest settlement, site location, intactness of object, distance from closest settlement, context type, and identity of the closest settlement.

### **1.5. Community Detection Models**

These networks were modeled through the construction of similarity matrices for object use and origin. In these networks, all sites and contexts contain an edge with every other context – as all contexts have certain features in common – but the ties are weighted differently, as some sites are more interconnected, with more edges. [Tables 7.30, 7.31] The top percentage of networks in terms of weight are shown. [Table 7.32 lists the members of each network cluster.] Using multi-slice community detection, the modularity function computes how well a certain partitioning of data into clusters explains the data. Two parameters are associated with this function:  $\omega$  governs the resolution at which the two community assignments, or networks (object use similarity and origin similarity) are the same; and  $\gamma$ , the resolution parameter, controls how many communities there are. As the resolution parameter is changed, we would expect to see a number of plateaus in the multi-resolution graph that demonstrate the optimal number of communities in the set (in this case two or three communities). [Table 7.33] For the parameters chosen here, the community partitions of the two networks align. Among the nodes representing discrete contexts, centrality was calculated, and in these clusters, those nodes with the highest betweenness centrality and those that are discernable stragglers (with less high centrality) are displayed. The community assignments for both these charts are the same – that is, they both aggregate data from the use and origin datasets in the computation of community assignments – but the edges are different based on differing weights given to each variable.

The number below, the radius of gyration, is a measure of the average distance from the geographic mean to the various sites where objects were left; this characterizes the spatial

dispersion of objects. However, some object types are more well-connected than others; for instance, the radius of gyration of Cycladic-Euboean objects is small, indicating that there was not much breadth to the coverage of the island by these imports.

Table 7.36 summarizes the techniques used and their relationships to each other.

## APPENDIX 2: FIGURES



Figure 1.1: Map of principal sites mentioned in the text



Figure 1.2: Location of Sicilian indigenous ethnics





Figure 1.3: Map of principal Phoenician settlements in Sicily

YEARS BC	PERIOD/PHASE (Italian terminology)	(additional, alternative & Sicilian terms)	Sites/Assemblages
1400 1350	MIDDLE BRONZE AGE	MIDDLE BRONZE AGE	Thapsos, Cannatello, Milazzese (Aeolian islands)
1300 1250	RECENT BRONZE AGE	LATE BRONZE AGE	Pantalica North tombs
1200 1150	FINAL BRONZE AGE 1	Pantalica 1 or 'North' phase & Ausonian 1 (Lipari/ NE Sicily)	Caltagirone
1100 1050	FINAL BRONZE AGE 2 FINAL BRONZE AGE 3	Ausonian 2 (Lipari)	Madonna del Piano, Lentini-Metapiccola, <u>Morgantina-Cittadella</u> , Cassibile
1000 950	EARLY IRON AGE 1	Pantalica 2 or Cassibile phase	
900 850	EARLY IRON AGE 2	Pantalica 3 or South phase	Pantalica South
800 750	ORIENTALISING (or Late Geometric)	Pantalica 4, Finocchito phase  (Second Iron Age, early colonial, or proto-Archaic period)	Finocchito
700 650			
600		Archaic (as in Greek Archaic)	

Figure 1.4: Sicilian chronology (Leighton 2012: 22)

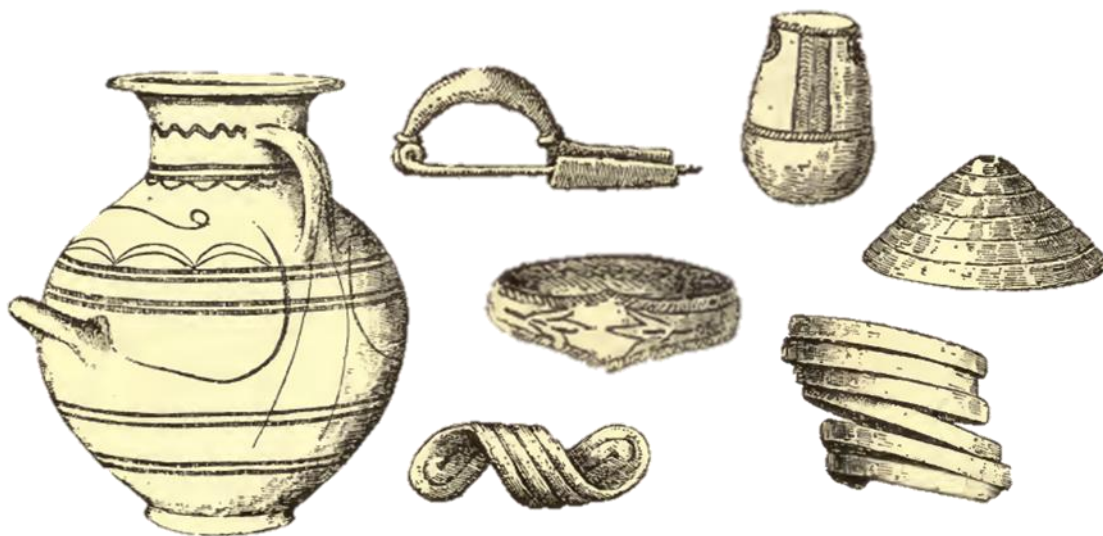


Figure 1.5: Example of Licodia Eubea vase; imported metal goods from the Licodia Eubea necropolis: a navicella fibula, Phoenician (?) bead, gold ring, bronze and silver hair spirals, and arm band (Orsi 1898: 315; 310-1)

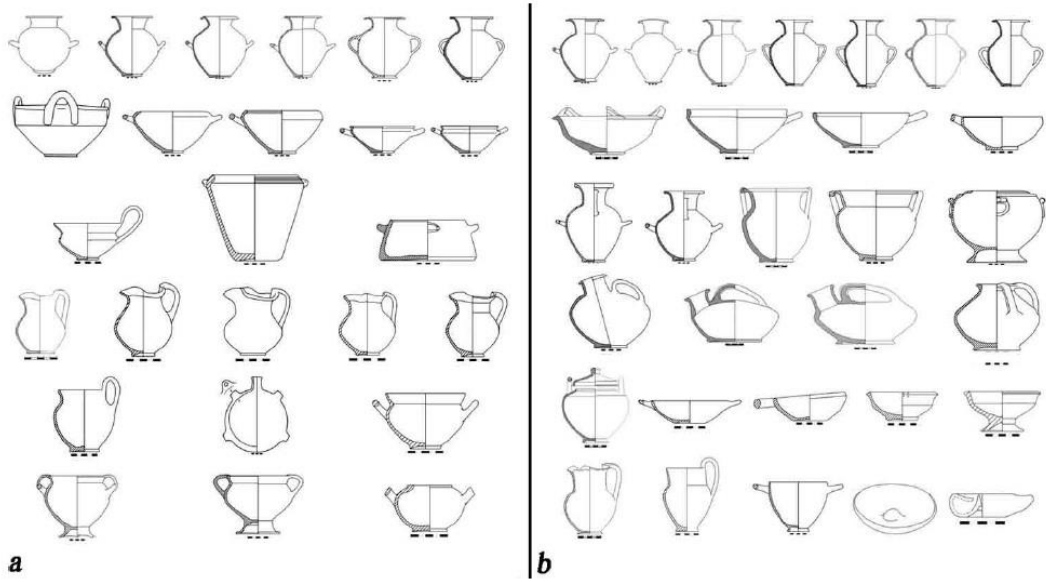


Figure 1.6: Principal Licodia Eubea shapes from phase 1 (a) and phase 2 (b) (Camera 2013: 116)



Figure 1.7: Examples of Siculo-Geometric wares (including Licodia Eubea style vases) (Camera 2013: 116)

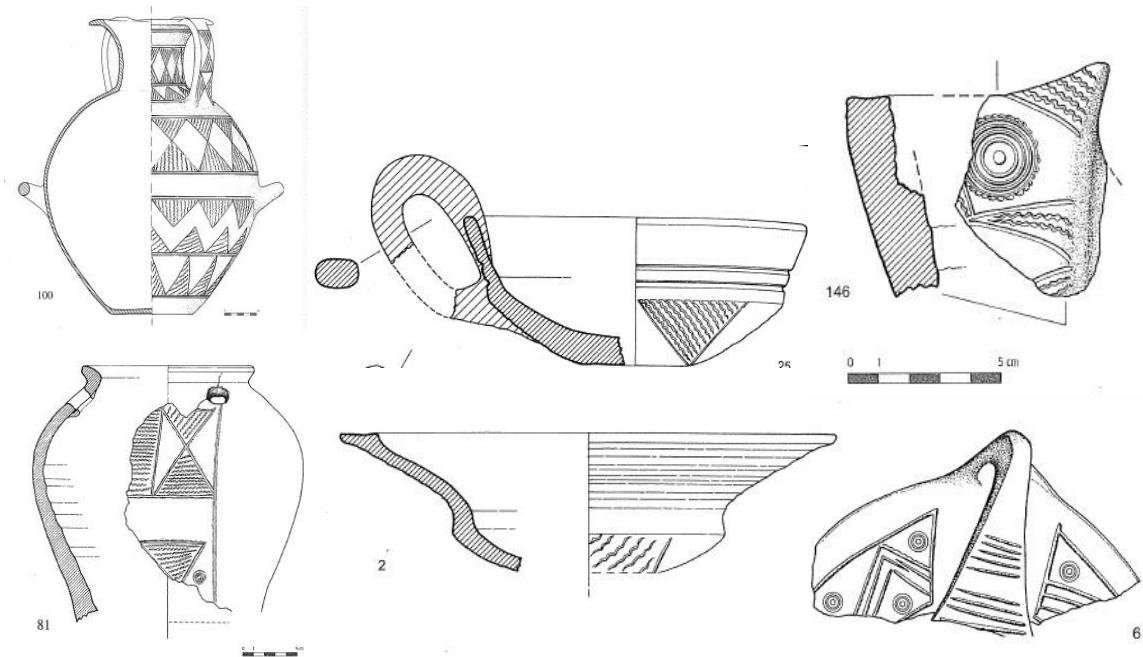


Figure 1.8: Examples of Sant'Angelo Muxaro-Polizzello style ware, from M. Maranfusa (Spatafora 2003)



Figure 1.9: Examples of piumata ware (left) and plain greyware (right, from Castellaccio) (Maniscalco 2012: 43)





Figure 1.10: Ionian-type cups from Polizzello (Panvini et al. 2009: 58)

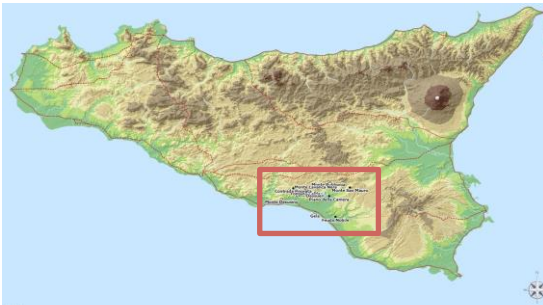


Figure 2.1: Map of Chapter 2 area

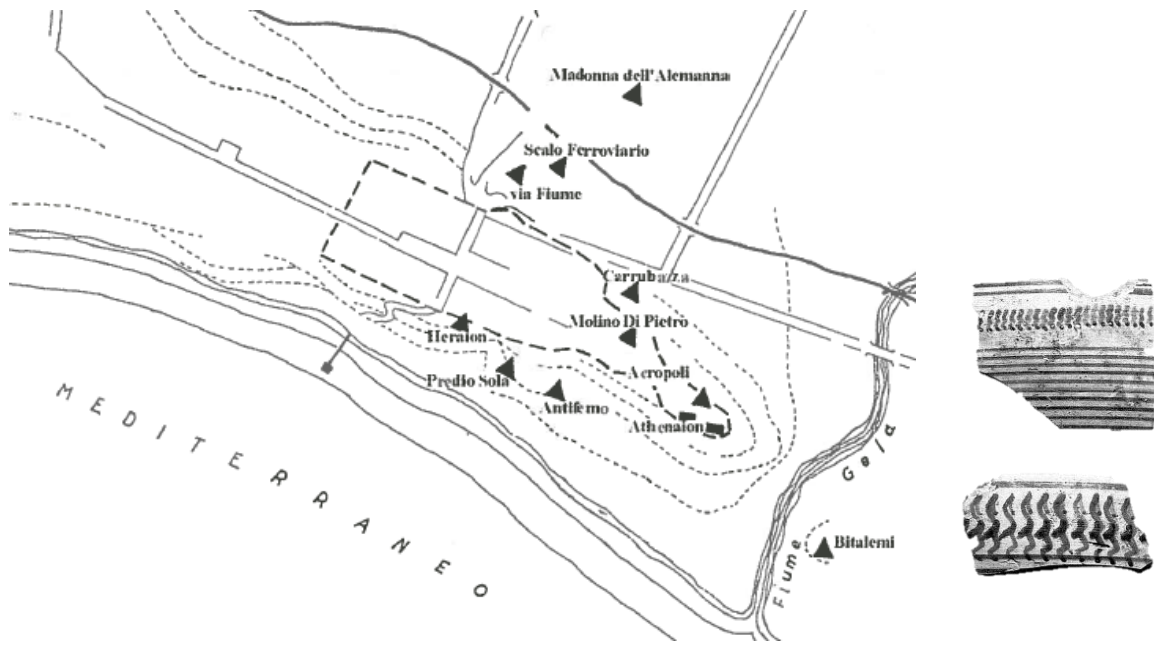


Figure 2.2: Plan of sacred buildings in Gela; EPC material from Gela, Molino a Vento (Orlandini 1968b: tav. I; De la Geniere and Ferrara 2009: 173)

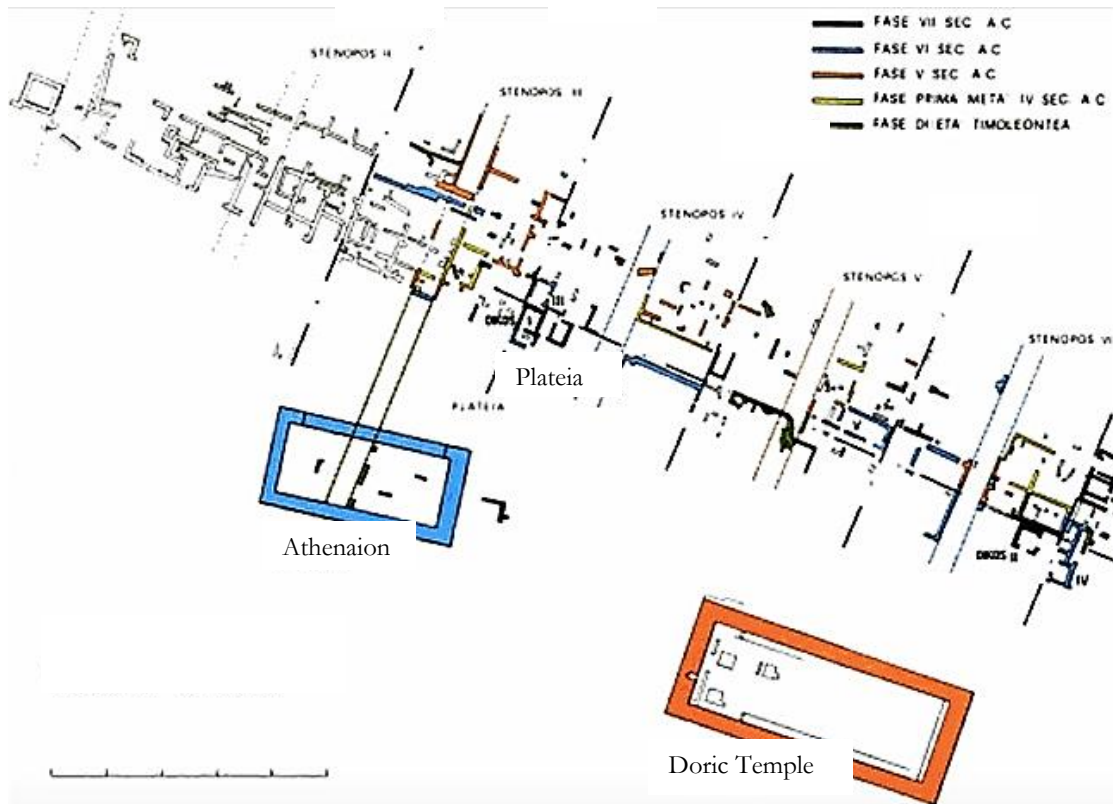


Figure 2.3: Plan of Gela, Molino a Vento, including early Archaic buildings (Panvini 1998: 53)

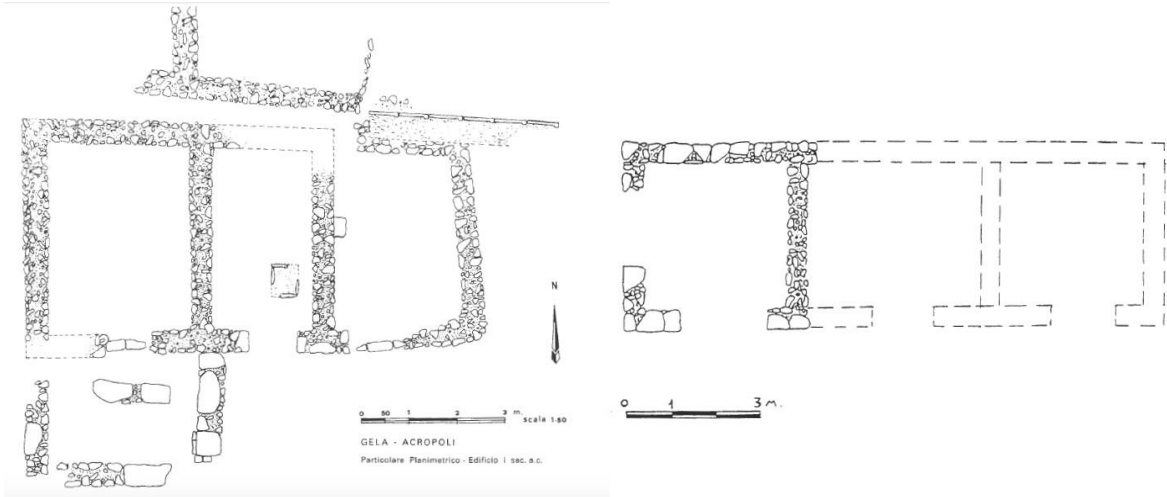


Figure 2.4: Plan of Buildings 1 and 2, Gela, Molino a Vento (Panvini 1996: 28-9)

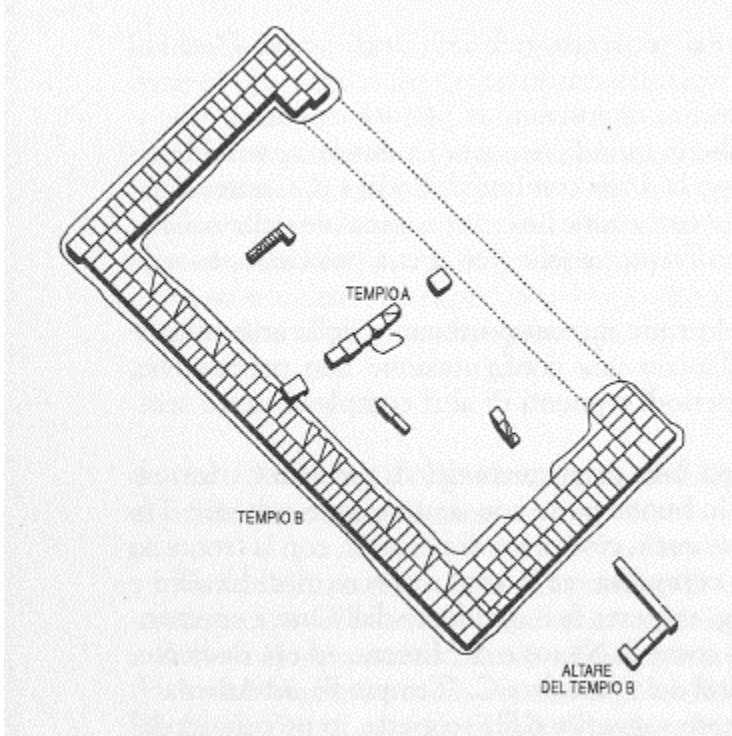


Figure 2.5: Stone plan of Temple B and Temple A, Molino a Vento (Panvini 1996: 26)

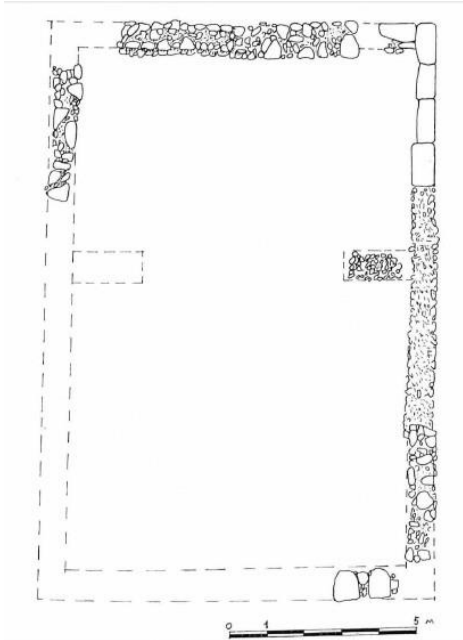


Figure 2.6: Plan of Building VII, Gela, Molino a Vento (Fiorentini 1977: 109)



Figure 2.7: Daedalic figurine from the Athenaion deposit (Panvini 1998: 18)



Figure 2.8: Indigenous wares from the from the Athenaion deposit (Panvini and Sole 2005: Tav. VIII)



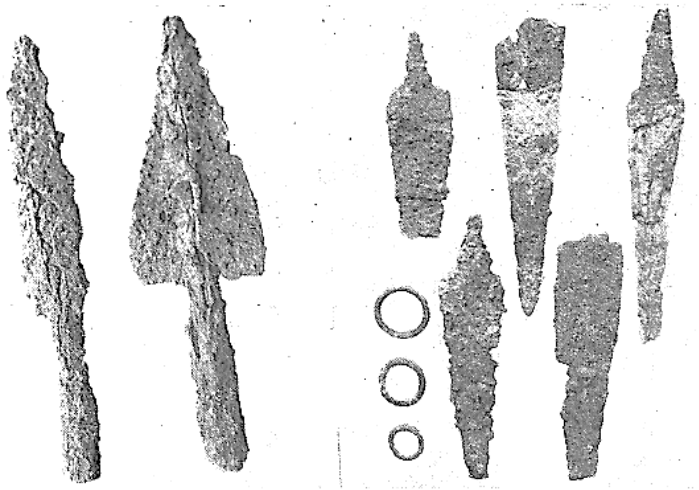


Figure 2.9: Weapons deposits from the Molino a Vento, Gela (Orlandini and Adamesteanu 1962: 383)

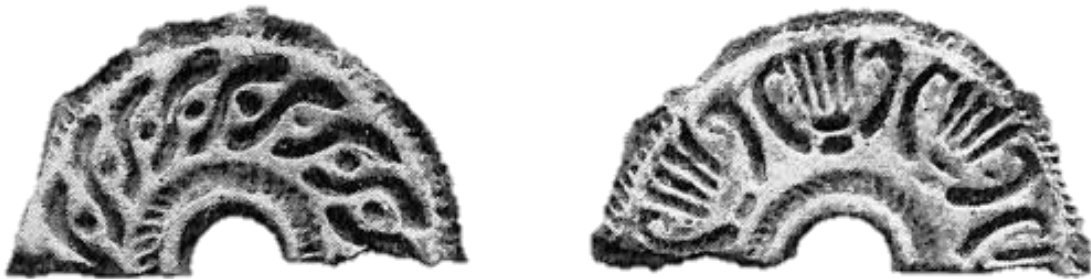


Figure 2.10: Stamp from the Molino a Vento, Gela (Orlandini and Adamesteanu 1962: 404)

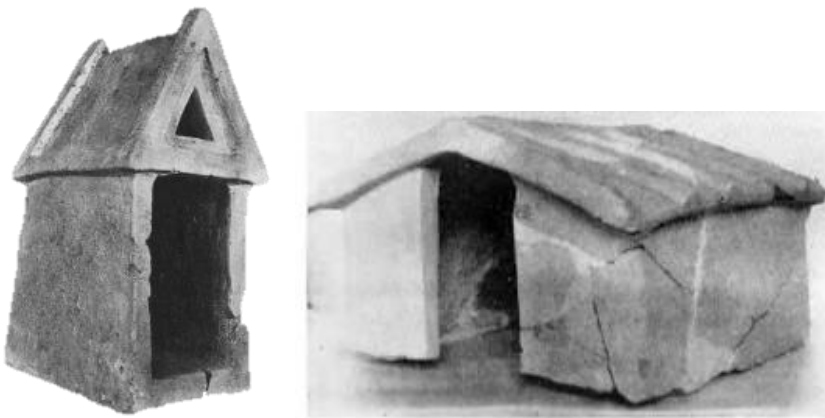


Figure 2.11: Temple models from Gela, Heraion and Contrada Carrubazza (Orlandini and Adamesteanu 1961: 273; Orlandini 1963: 19-20)

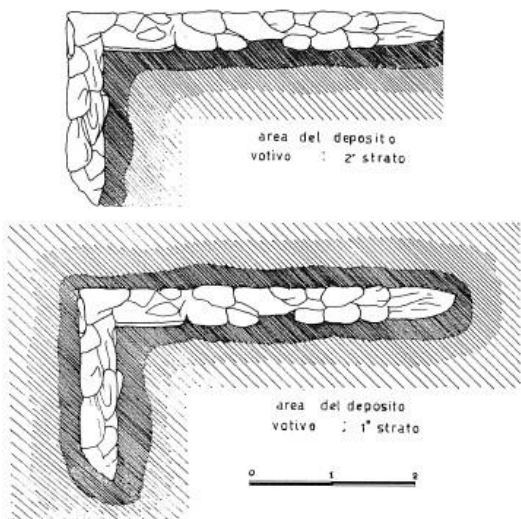


Figure 2.12: Location of votive deposits, Predio Sola, Gela (Ismaelli 2011: 21)

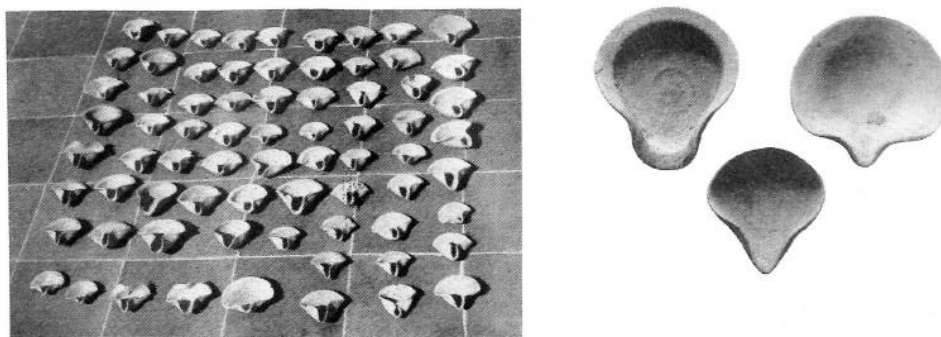


Figure 2.13: Syro-Phoenician lamp deposition from Predio Sola, Gela (Orlandini 1963: Tav. XIII)

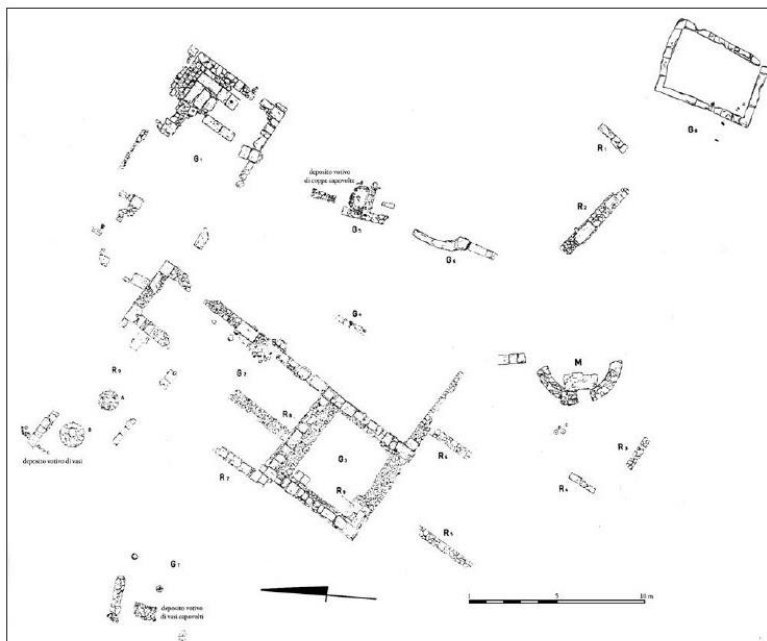


Figure 2.14: Stone plan of the Bitalemi Sanctuary, Gela (Albertocchi 2015: 96)

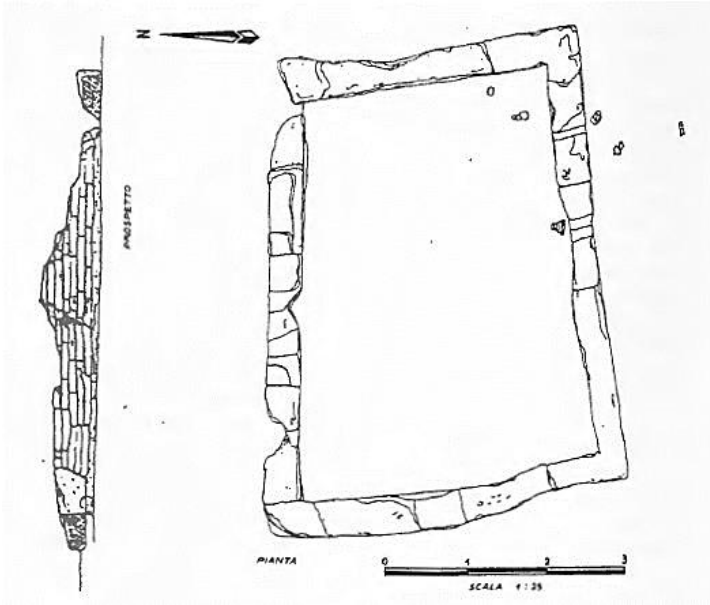


Figure 2.15: Plan of Building G8, Bitalemi (Panvini 1996: 60)

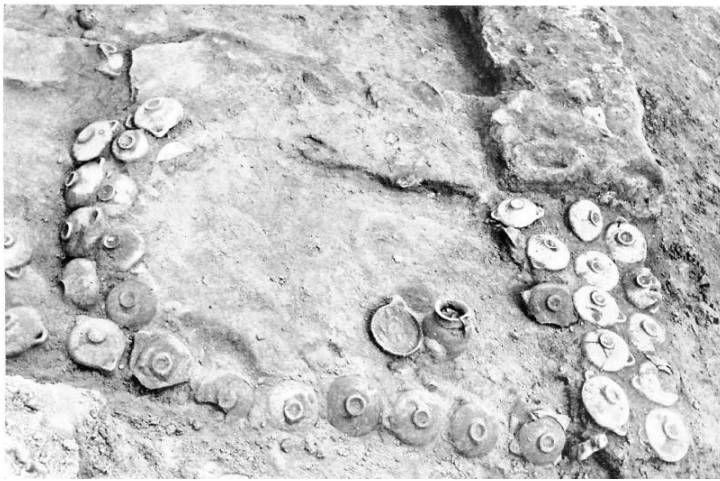


Figure 2.16: Overturned vases from the Bitalemi Sanctuary (Orlandini 1967: Tav. XIII)



Figure 2.17: Terracotta figurines from the Bitalemi Sanctuary (Orlandini 1967: Tav. XXIII)



Figure 2.18: Deposit 2885, Bitalemi (Albertocchi 2015: 97)

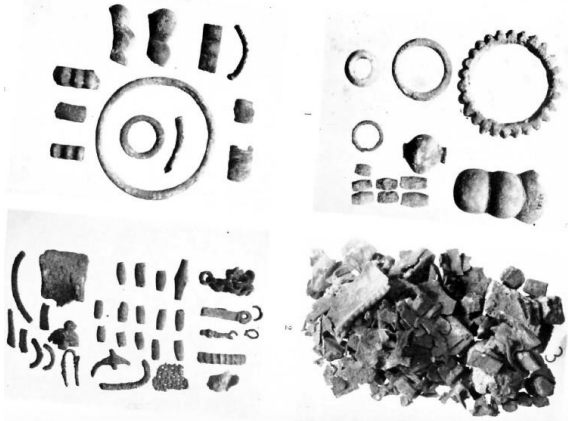


Figure 2.19: Metal deposit, Bitalemi (Orlandini 1965: Tav. I)



Figure 2.20: Plan of Foundation B, Corso Vittorio (Adamesteanu 1960: 97)



Figure 2.21: Plan of Piano Camera shrine (Pavini 1996: 65)



Figure 2.22: Piano Camera, architectural decoration (Pavini and Caminneci 1993: Tav. XXXI)



Figure 2.23: Gela, Bosco Littorio, plan of Archaic structures (Pavini 2003: 179)



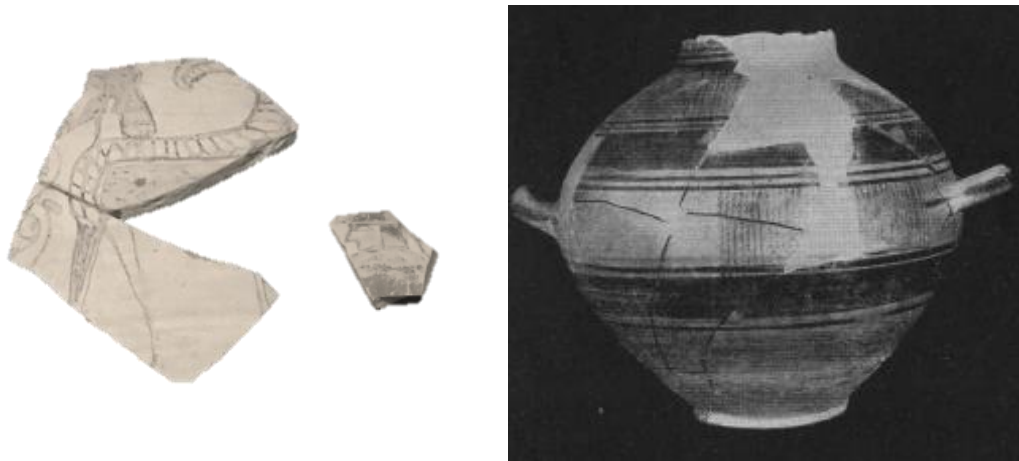


Figure 2.24: Via Dalmazia kiln, Orientalizing and Geometric ceramics (Orlandini and Adamesteanu 1956: 278, 280)

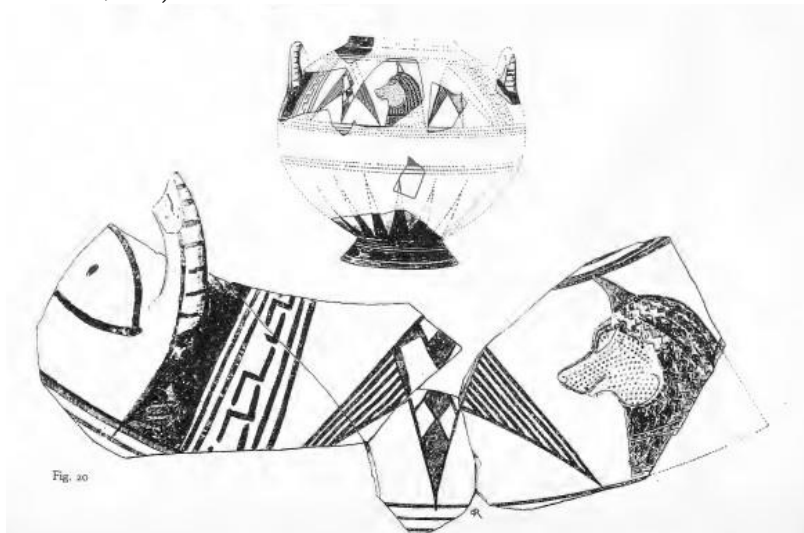


Figure 2.25: Borgo Necropolis, Tomb B 305, local Orientalizing dinos (Panvini 1996: 39)

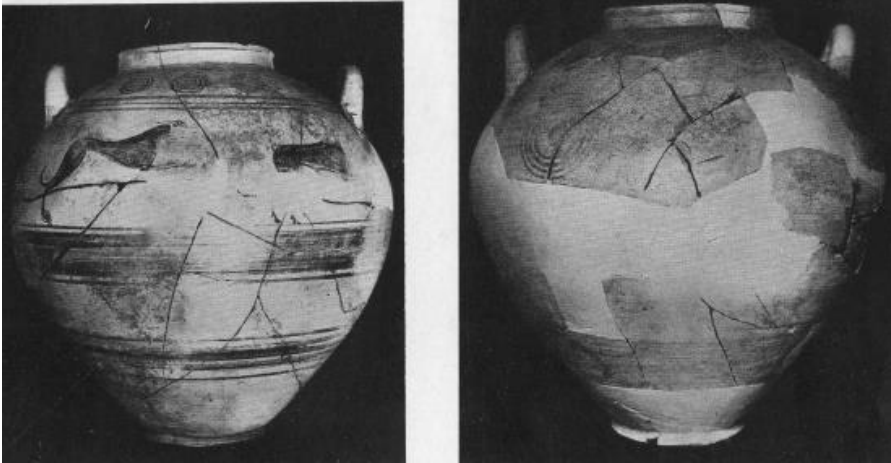


Figure 2.26: Villa Garibaldi Necropolis Tomb 32, Cretan or imitation stamnos (Orlandini and Adamesteanu 1956: 305)

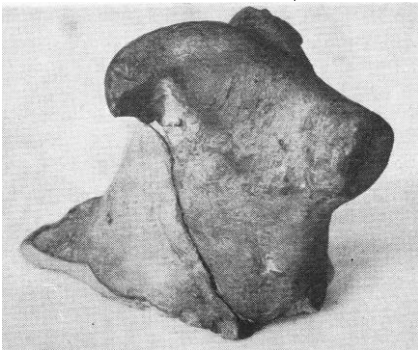


Figure 2.27: Via Francesco Crispi Necropolis, Etruscan bull head protome from vase (Adamesteanu 1960: 149)



Figure 2.28: Predio La Paglia Necropolis, fragment of piumata pithos from Tomb 3 (Orlandini and Adamesteanu 1956: 284)



Figure 2.29: Gela, Borgo Necropolis, alabastron from Tomb 423 (Lambrugo 2013: 145)

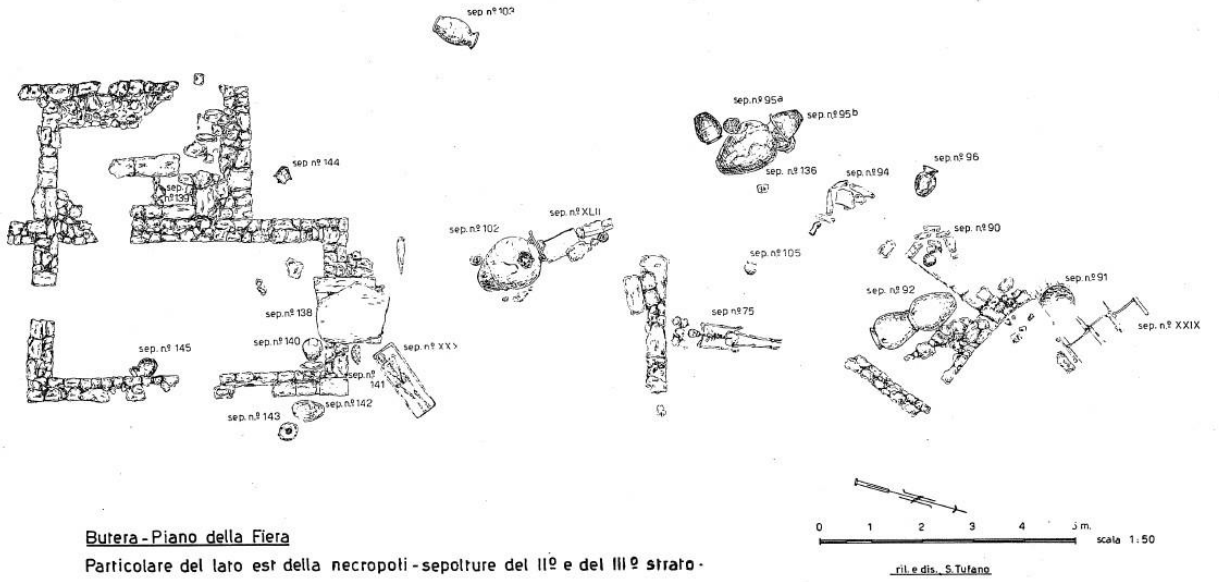


Figure 2.30: Butera, Layer 2 and 3 tombs (Adamesteanu 1958: 251-2)





Figure 2.31: Butera, Tomb 138 enclosure (Adamesteanu 1958: 413-4; Rizza 1984-5: 66)



Figure 2.32: Butera, Tomb 138 grave goods (Guzzone 1985: 43)



Figure 2.33: Butera, Tomb 139 with akephalia burial (Adamesteanu 1958: 432)

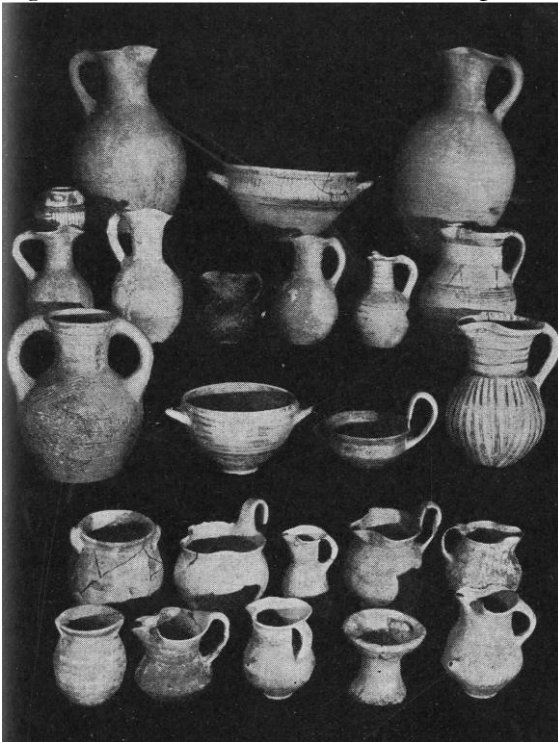


Figure 2.34: Butera, part of assemblage from Tomb 177 (Adamesteanu 1958: 530)



Figure 2.35: Butera, incised scodellone from Tomb 174, similar to examples from M. Finocchito

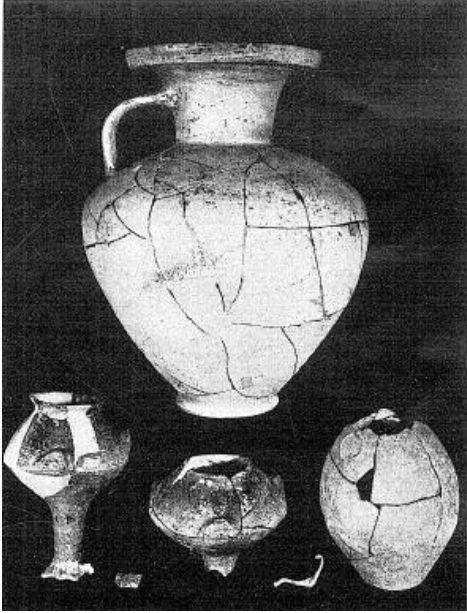


Figure 2.36: Butera, Nostra Donna Necropolis, Tomb 1 grave goods (Adamesteanu 1958: 562)

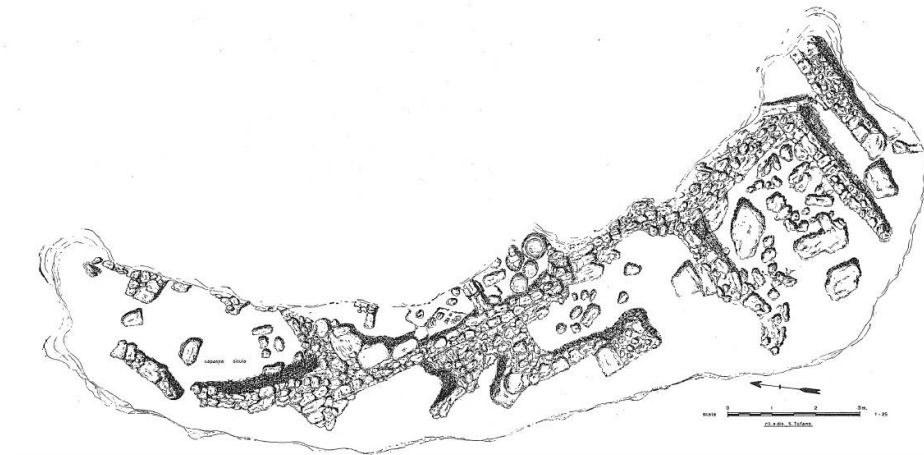


Figure 2.37: Butera, Contrada Consi plan (Adamesteanu 1958: 503-4)



Figure 2.38: Butera, Contrada Consi, wheeled horse figurine





Figure 2.39: Butera, Contrada Santa Croce, material from votive pit



Figure 2.40: Butera, Fontana Calda, bronze bovine figurine (Cuzzone and Congiu 2005: 117)

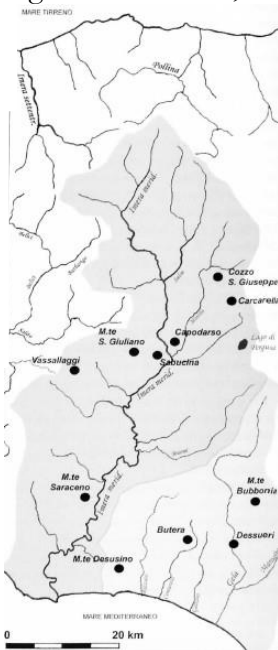


Figure 2.41: Map of indigenous sites in the Valley of Gela and southern Himera River (Tramontana 2012: 154)

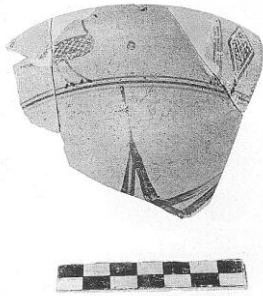


Figure 2.42: Rhodian bird cup from M. Desusino (Panvini 1994: 122)

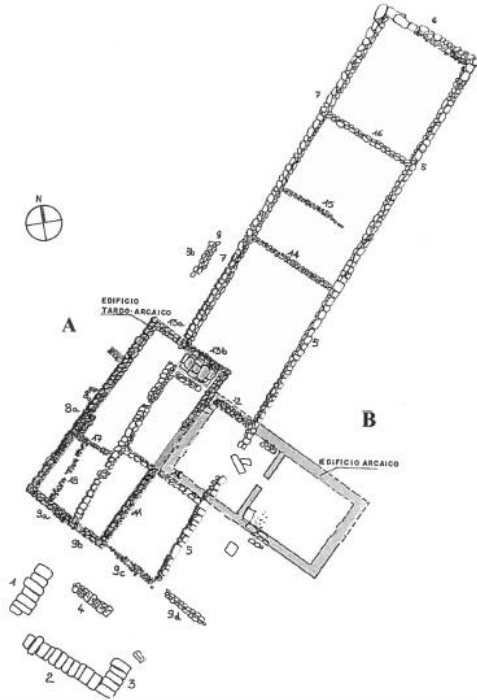


Figure 2.43: M. Bubbonia, plan of the anaktoron/ Archaic temple and associated structures (Panucci and Naro 1992: Figure 5)

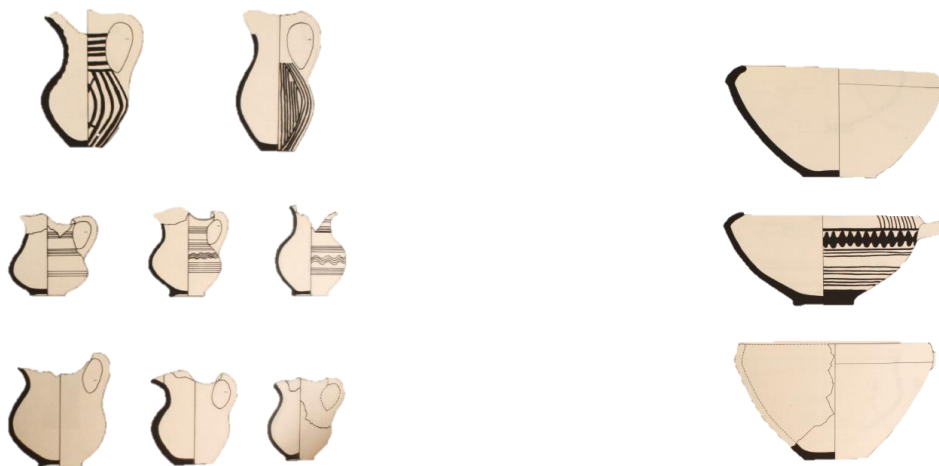


Figure 2.44: M. Bubbonia, trefoil jugs from Tomb 1/1955; and one-handed bowls from Tombs 6/1955 and 7/1955 (Panucci and Naro 1992: Figure 13, 17)

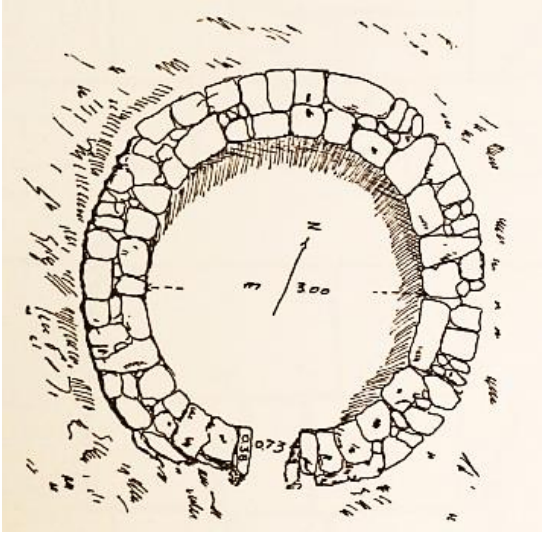


Figure 2.45: M. Bubbonia, plan of tholos-type tomb 35/1905 (Panucci and Naro 1992: Figure 11)

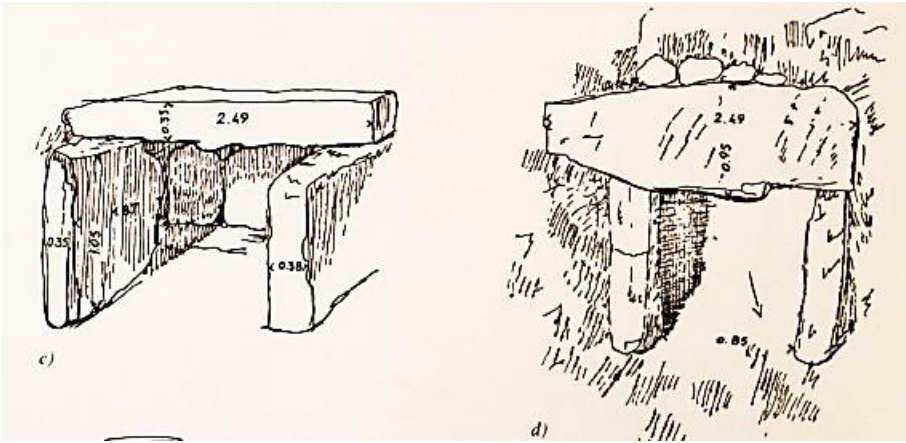


Figure 2.46: M. Bubbonia, plan of dolmen tomb 17/1905 (Panucci and Naro 1992: Figure 10)

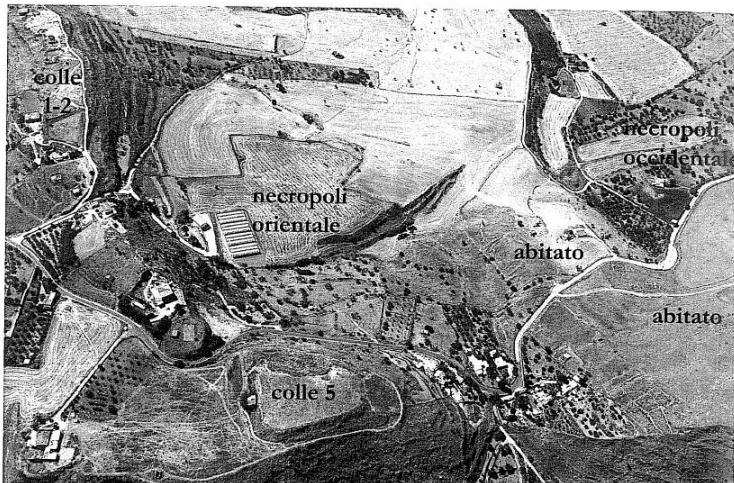


Figure 2.47: M San Mauro, general plan (Frasca 2012: 116)



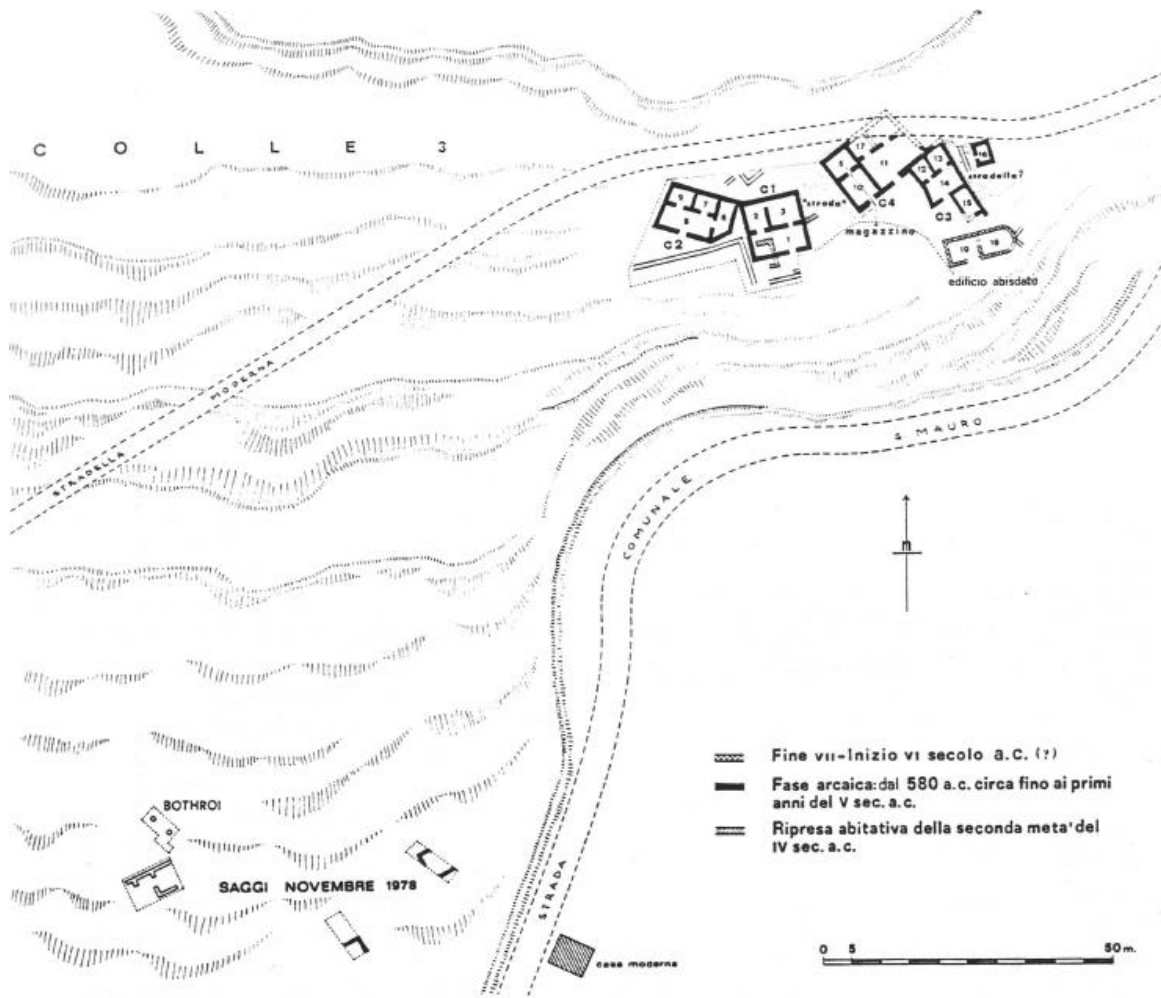


Figure 2.48: M. San Mauro, plan of Hill 3 (Spigo 1980: Tav. CLXXXVIII)

MONTE S. MAURO DI CALTAGIRONE  
 COLLE 3 (PROPRIETÀ GRIFEO) SCAVI 1983  
 \*ANAKTORON\* ED EDIFICIO ADIACENTE (MAGAZZINO-VANO \*A\* E VANO \*B\*)

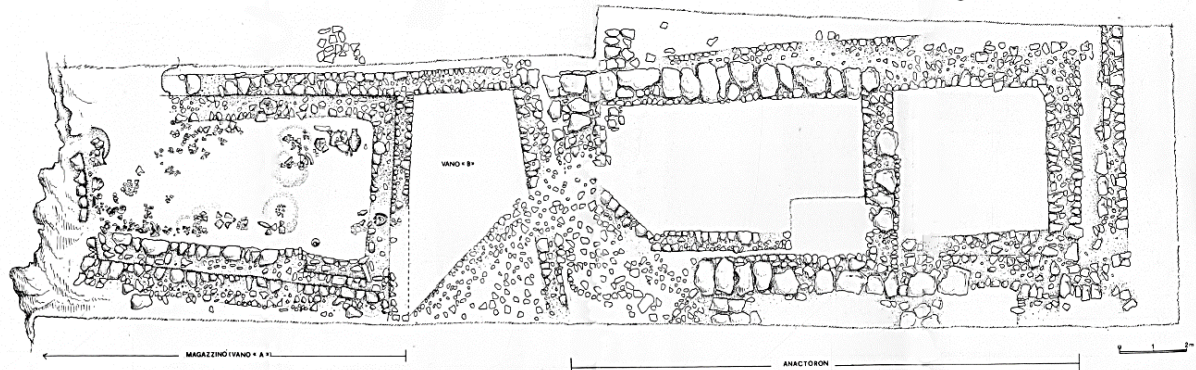


Figure 2.49: M. San Mauro, Anaktoron (Spigo 1984: Tav. CCX)



Figure 2.50: M. San Mauro, magazzino/ House 4, with finds (Spigo 1989: Tav. V)



Figure 2.51: Incised scodellone from the "Magazzino" (Spigo 1989: Tav. VIII)

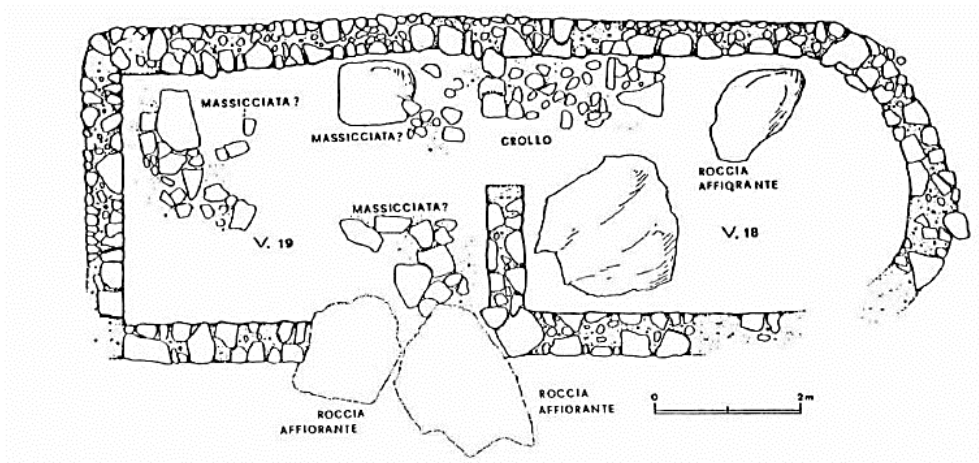


Figure 2.52: M. San Mauro, apsidal house (Spigo 1989: Tav. III)



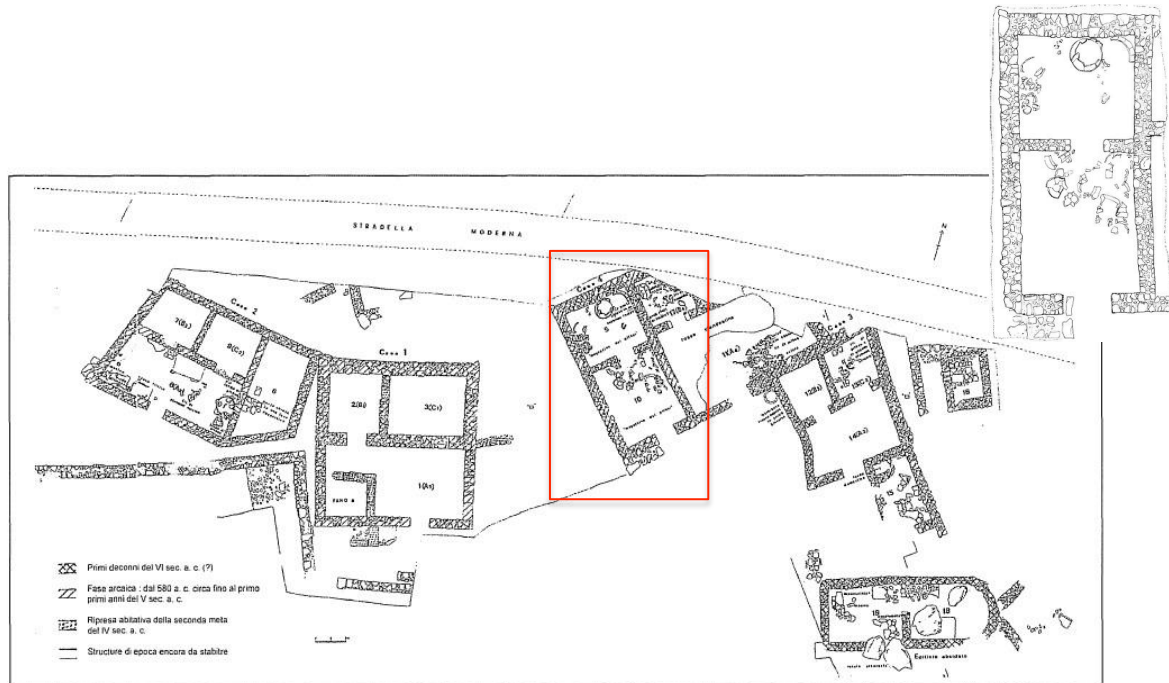


Figure 2.53: M. San Mauro, plan of “pastas”-style houses with stone plan of excavated portion of House 4 (Spigo 1980: Figure 2)



Figure 2.54: M. San Mauro, arula from House C2 (Spigo 1989: Tav. X)



Figure 2.55: M. San Mauro, assemblage from Tomb 164 (Frasca 2001: 8)

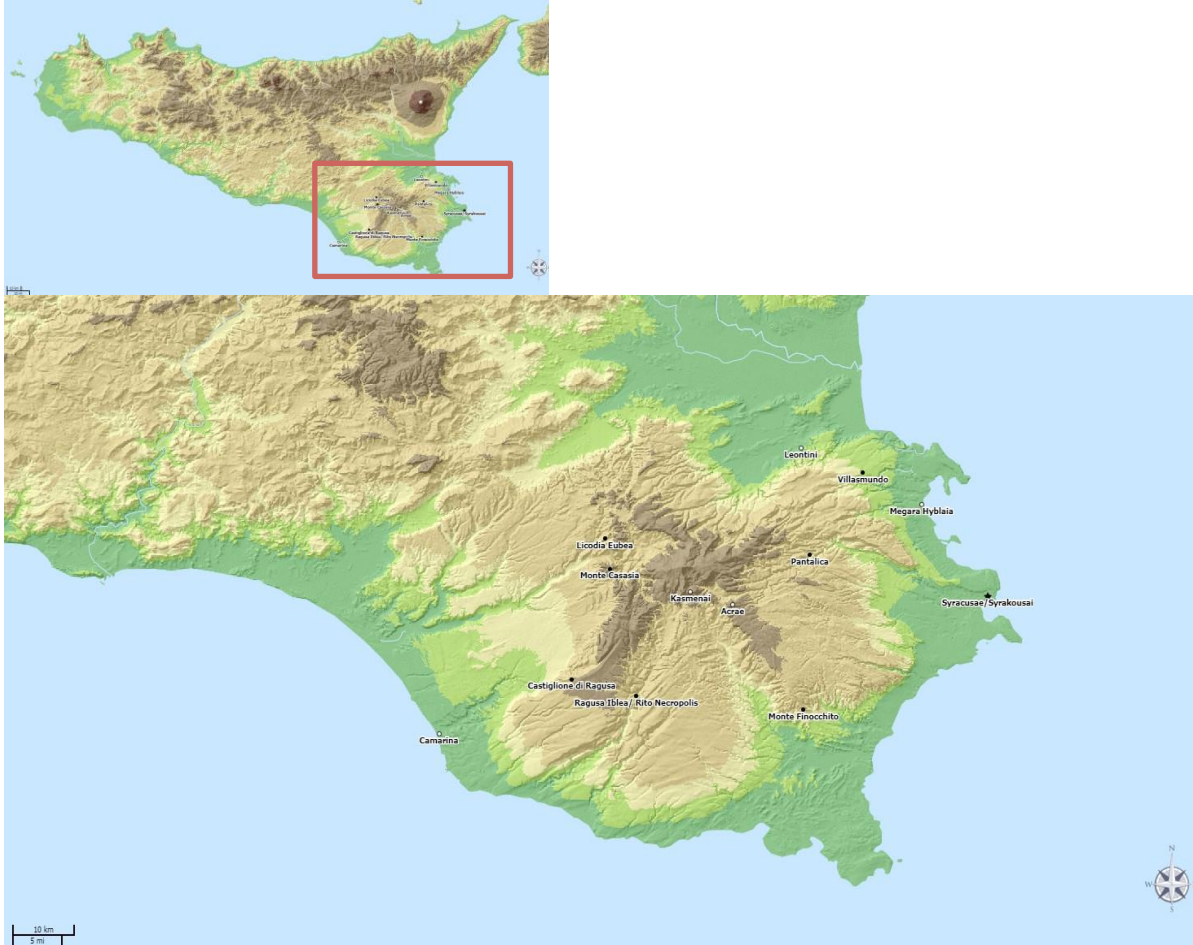


Figure 3.1: Map of Chapter 3 area

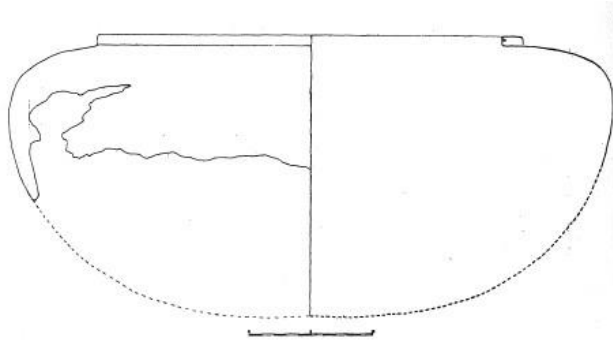


Figure 3.2: Syracuse, bronze dinos from the Fusco Necropolis, Tomb 616 (Albanese 2004: 96)



Figure 3.3: Syracuse, ex-Parco Giostre Necropolis, Tomb 30 (Storaci 2012: 559)



Figure 3.4: Assemblage with East Greek buchcero cup from Syracuse, Viale P. Orsi Necropolis, Tomb 63



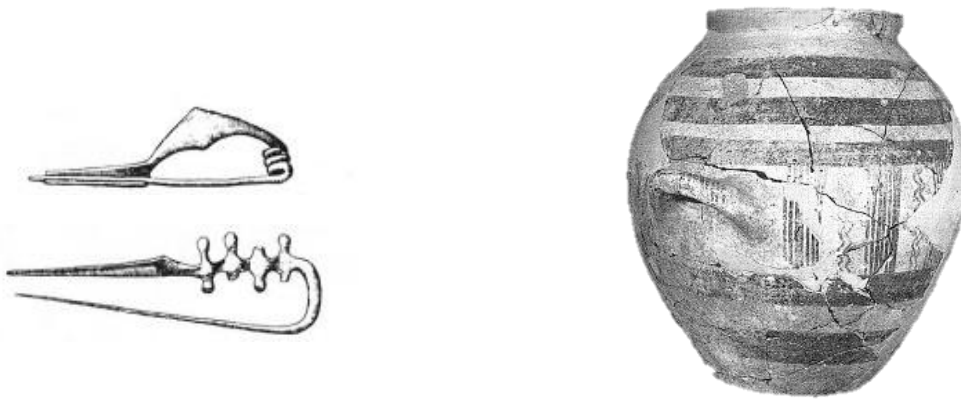


Figure 3.5: Indigenous objects from Syracusan burials: fibulae from the Fusco Necropolis, Syracuse, Grave 326; amphora from near Tomb 6, Via G. Di Natale (Hencken 1958: Plate 56; Di Vita 1956: 123)



Figure 3.6: Animal fibulae from the Fusco Necropolis, Syracuse, Graves 441, 421 (Hencken 1958: Plate 64, 65)

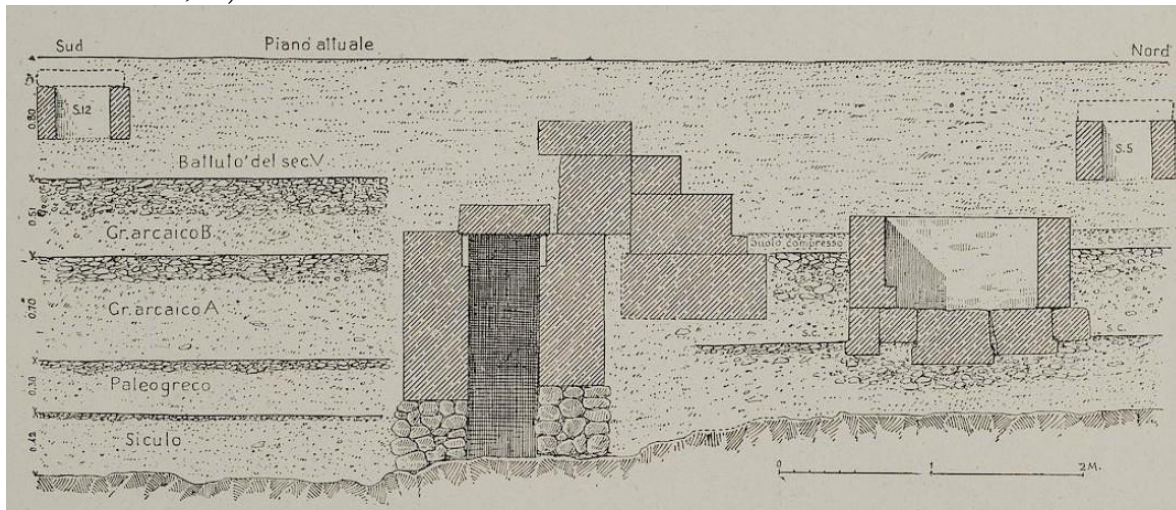


Figure 3.7: Strata in the area of the Athenaion, Syracuse (Orsi 1919: 393-4)

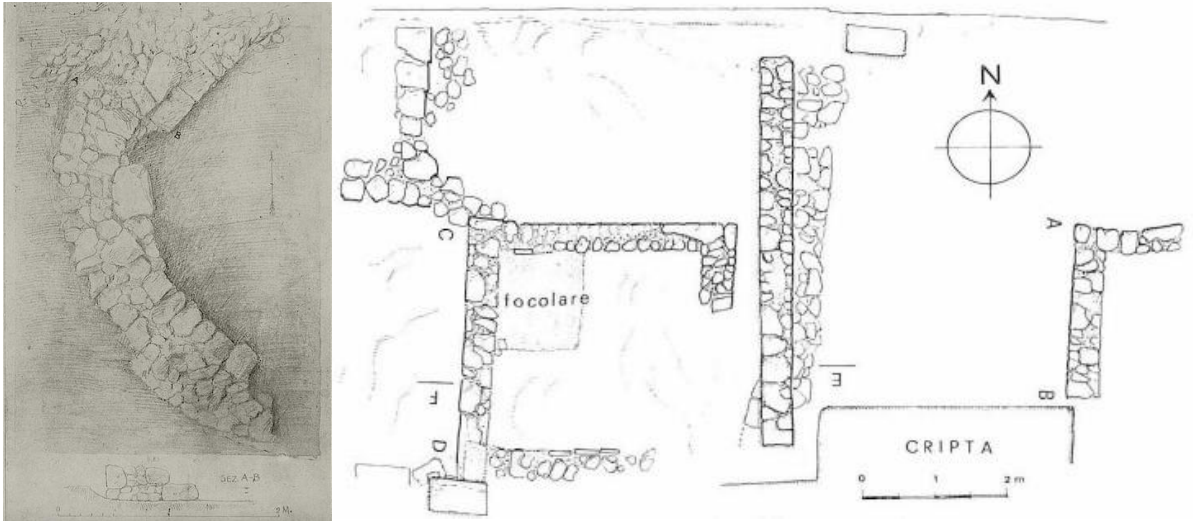


Figure 3.8: Early curvilinear walls (left) and Protoarchaic Greek house (right) in the vicinity of the Ionian Temple, Syracuse (Orsi 1912: 429-30; Pelagatti 1980: 128)

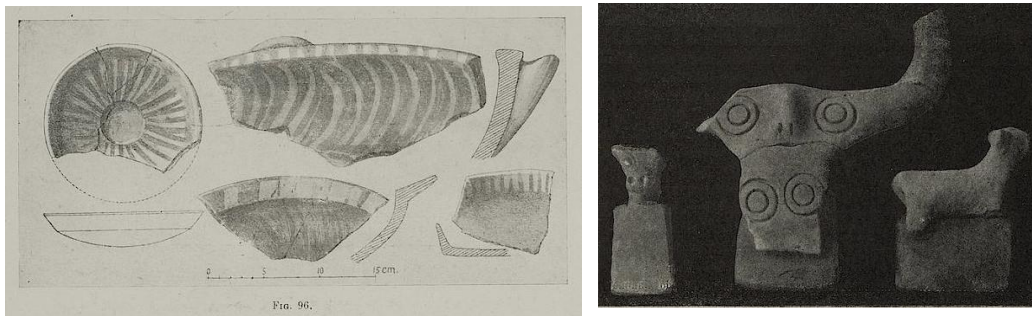


Figure 3.9: Sikel painted pottery and moulded ceramics from the area of the Ionian Temple, Syracuse (Orsi 1912: 507-8, 517-8)

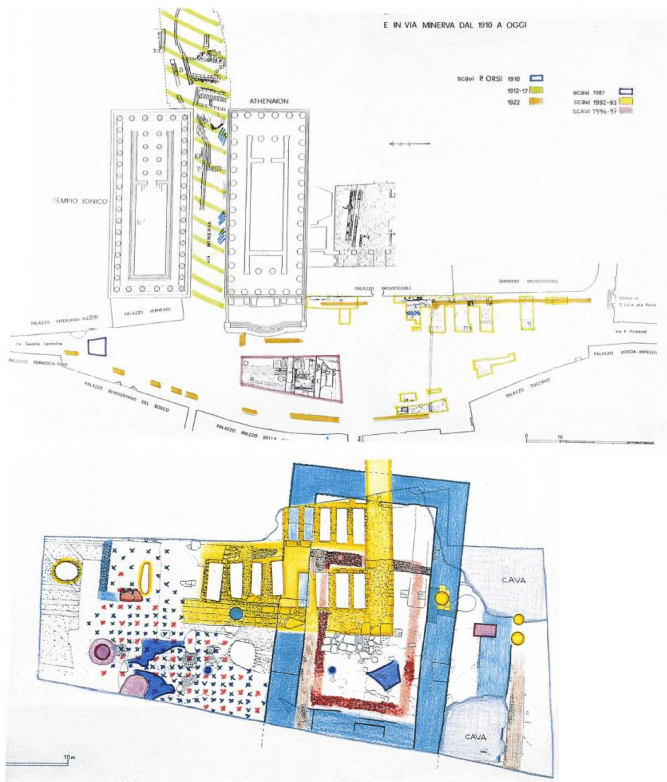


Figure 3.10: Plan of excavations in the area of the Ionian Temple and Athenaion, and layers in front of the Athenaion (earliest Greek layers and oikos in red) (Voza 2000: 133, 136)



Figure 3.11: Oinochoe with depiction of Potnia Theron and stela of a goddess from the area of the Ionian Temple, Syracuse (Voza 1999: 32; Orsi 1912: 497-8)



Figure 3.12: Laconian oinochoe from the votive deposit in Well 1 (Voza 1999: 38)

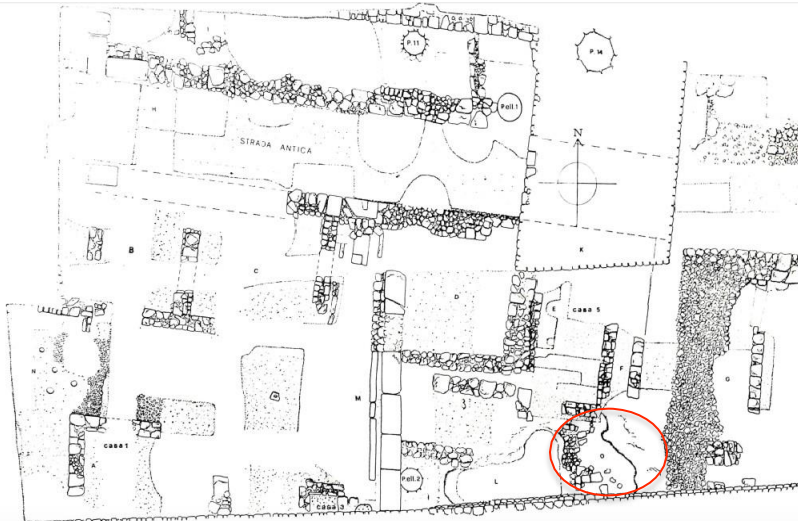


Figure 3.13: Excavations in the area of the Prefettura, including indigenous hut (marked) (Pelagatti 1982: 123)

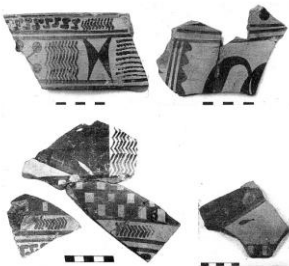


Figure 3.14: Fragments of Fusco krater, Syracuse, Prefettura (Pelagatti 1982: 134)





Figure 3.15: Polychrome Orientalizing sherd from the area of the Prefettura (Pelagatti 1982: Tav. II)



Figure 3.16: Scarabs from House 5, Syracuse, Prefettura and Valle del Marcellino (Pelagatti 1982: 133 and Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi)

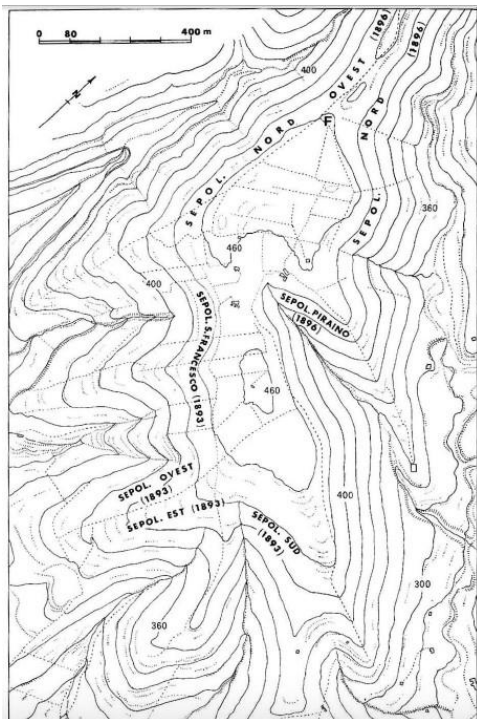


Figure 3.17: Map of the principal necropolis areas, M. Finocchito (Fraxca 1981: 14)





Figure 3.18: Assemblage from the Finocchito Necropolis

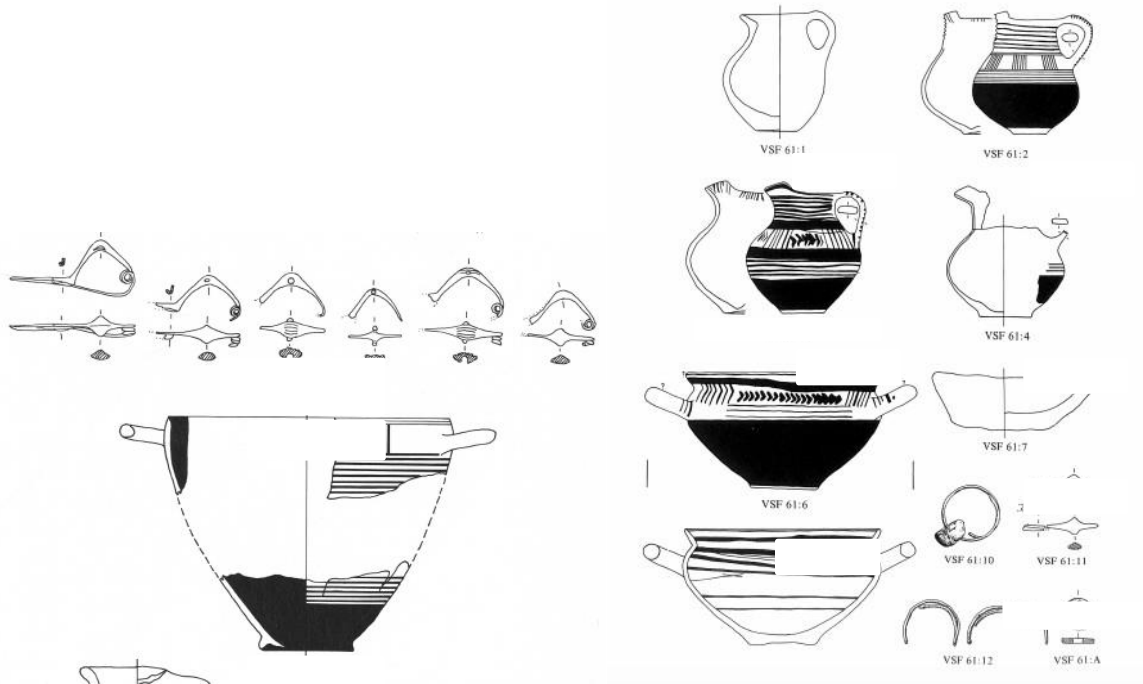


Figure 3.19: Material from Tomb NW I, M. Finocchito, including staffa lunga fibulae, transitional Finocchito phase IIA/B (left). Material from Vallata San Francesco Tomb 61, Finocchito phase IIB (right) (Steures et al. 1980: 73, 61)

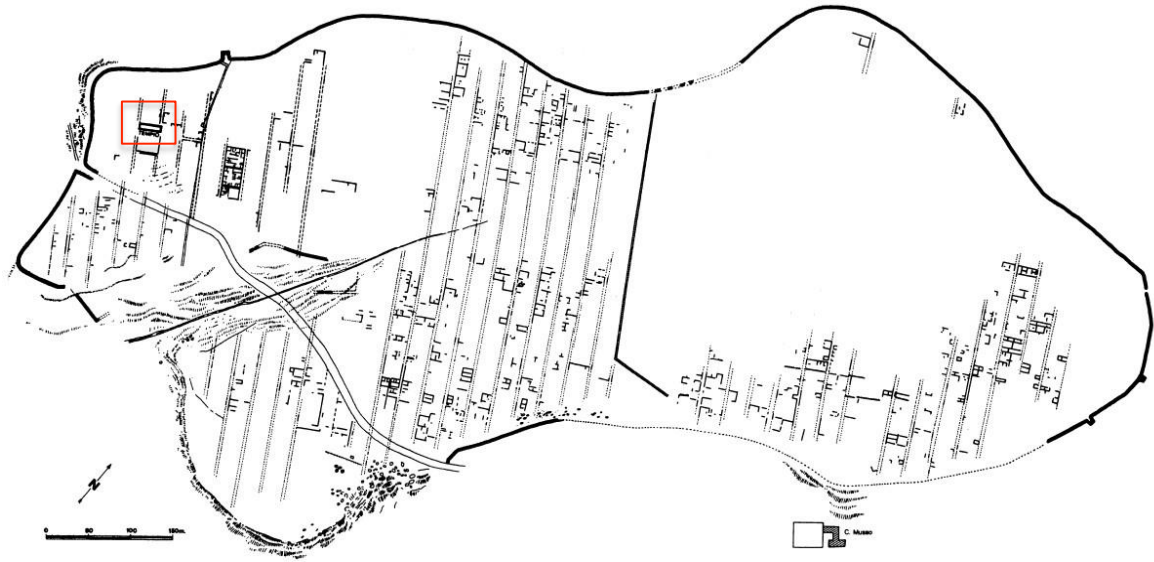


Figure 3.20: Plan of M. Casale, with location of temple on the western side (Domínguez 2006: 288)



Figure 3.21: Temple of M. Casale (Wikimedia Commons)

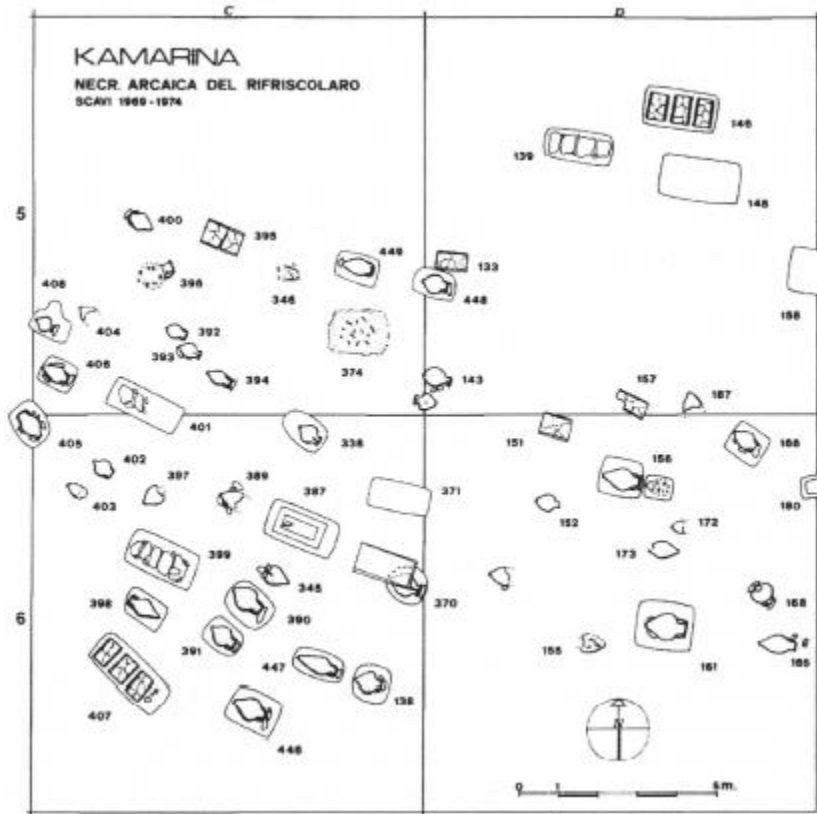


Figure 3.22: Plan of part of the Rifriscolaro Necropolis (Pelagatti 2006: 71)



Figure 3.23: EC column crater from the Rifriscolaro Necropolis (Di Stefano 2012: 270)



Figure 3.24: Bucchero oinochoe from the Rifriscolaro Necropolis (Pelagatti 2006: 111)



Figure 3.25: Indigenous vessels from the Rifriscolaro Necropolis (Di Stefano 2012: 268)



Figure 3.26: Indigenous vessels from the Rito Necropolis, Tomb 28 (Di Vita et al. 2015: 96)



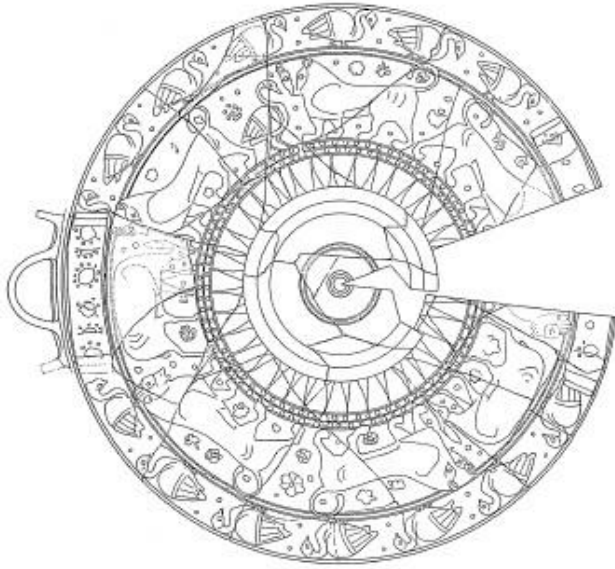


Figure 3.27: Protoattic lekane from the Rito Necropolis, Tomb 2 (Di Vita et al. 2015: 34)



Figure 3.28: Jewelry from the Rito Necropolis (Di Stefano 2012: 277)



Figure 3.29: Lion statue from the Rito Necropolis (Di Stefano 2012: 275)

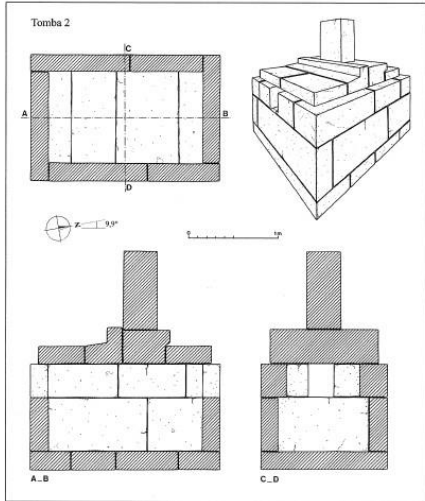


Figure 3.30: Tomb 2, Rito Necropolis (Di Vita et al. 2015: 330)

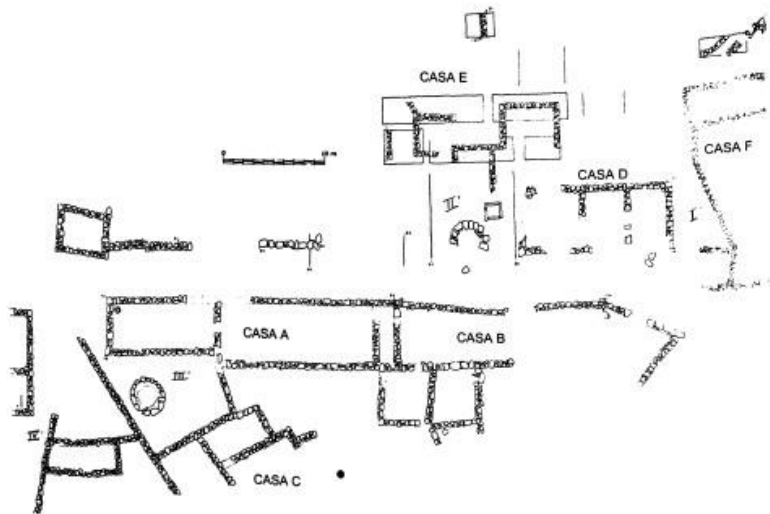


Figure 3.31: Plan of Castiglione, Northeast habitation zone (Mercuri 2012a: 288)

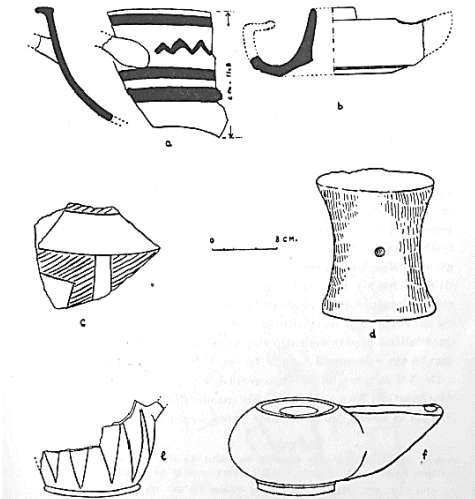


Figure 3.32: Material from the habitation zone, Castiglione (Di Vita 1956b: 35)



Figure 3.33: Plan of Castiglione, central habitation zone (Mercuri 2012a: 289)

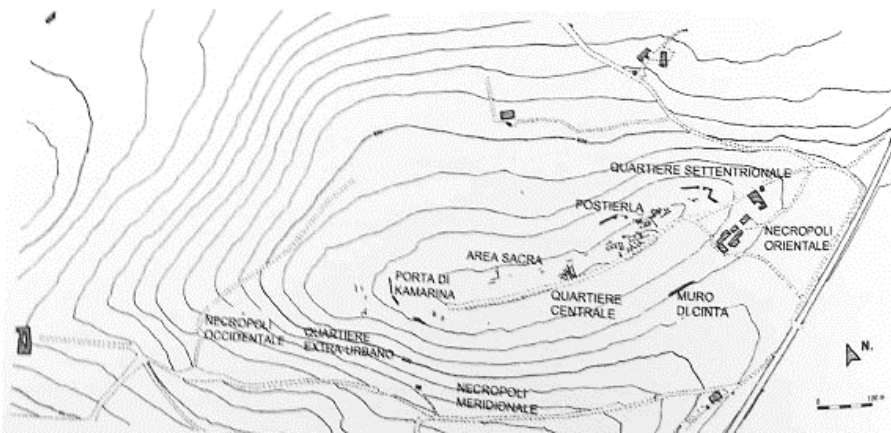


Figure 3.34: Plan of Castiglione, principal necropolis around the settlement (Mercuri 2012b: 286)



Figure 3.35: Corinthian cup from Castiglione, Southwest Necropolis, Tomb 11 (Di Vita 1951: 347)

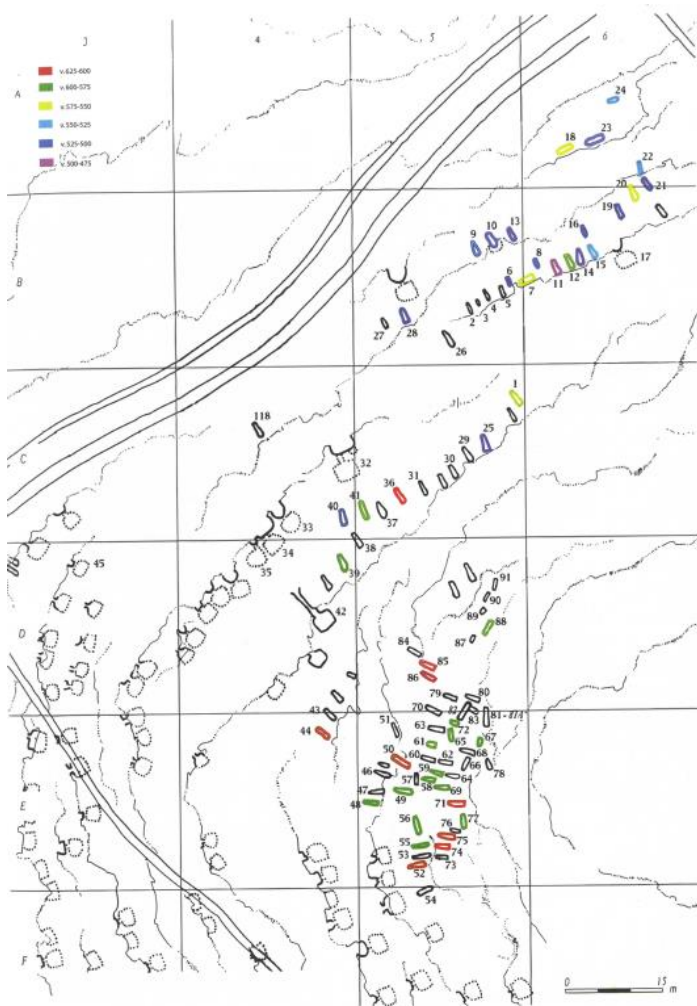


Figure 3.36: Castiglione, West Necropolis, plan of the principal burial area (Mercuri 2012b: 23)



Figure 3.37: Castiglione, West Necropolis, varied assemblage from Tomb G122 (Mercuri 2012a: 298)





Figure 3.38: Castiglione, West Necropolis, example of a fossa tomb, F75 (Mercuri 2012a: 299)



Figure 3.39: Castiglione, West Necropolis, fossa tomb F81 (Mercuri 2012b: Pl. XXII)



Figure 3.40: Castiglione, West Necropolis, chamber tomb G104 (Mercuri 2012b: Pl. XIII)



Figure 3.41: Castiglione, West Necropolis, incised vases from Tomb G97 (Pelagatti 2006: 383)



Figure 3.42: Indigenous style amphora from Tomb G103 (Mercuri 2012b: Pl. XXIX)



Figure 3.43: Greek style oinochoe from Tomb G122 (Mercuri 2012b: Pl. XXIX)



Figure 3.44: Castiglione, West Necropolis, MC amphoriskoi from Tomb G97 (Mercuri 2012b: Pl. XLIV)

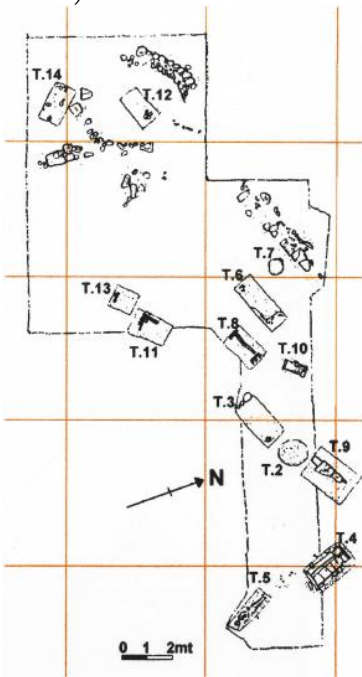


Figure 3.45: Castiglione, plan of East Necropolis (Pelagatti 2006: 361)



Figure 3.46: Castiglione, East Necropolis, Tomb 12 (Pelagatti 2006: 63)



Figure 3.47: Castiglione, East Necropolis, Tomb 12 grave goods (Pelagatti 2006: 64)



Figure 3.48: "Warrior of Castiglione" (Cordano and Di Salvatore 2002: 30)



Figure 3.49: M. San Mauro, sphinx stele; M. Bubbonia, head of female figure (left); Megara Hyblaea, head of figure from south of Temple g or h (Holloway 2000: 90; Guzzone and Gongiu 2005: 375; Gras et al. 2005: 455)

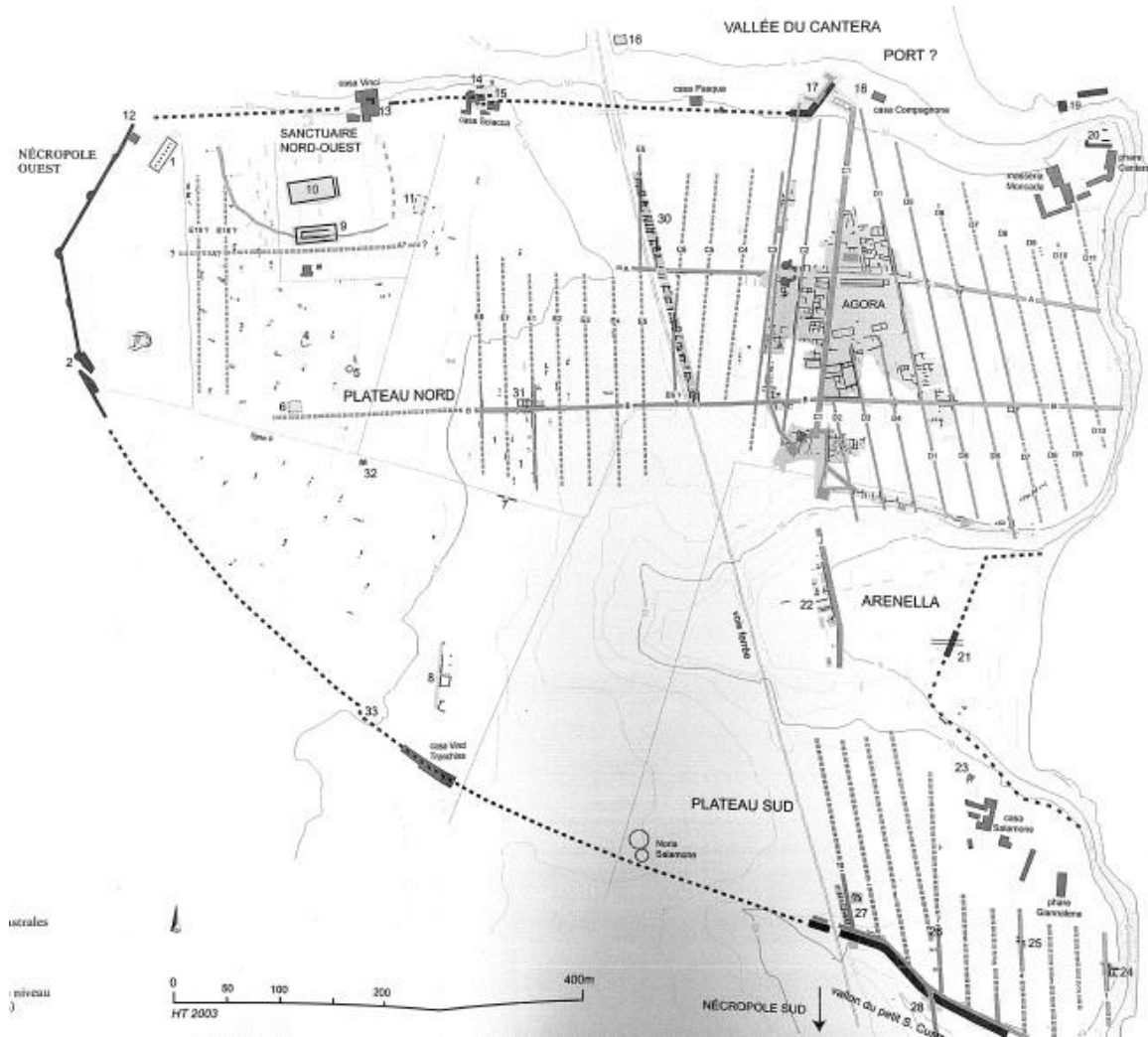


Figure 3.50: Megara Hyblaea: map of site (Gras et al. 2005: 2-3)

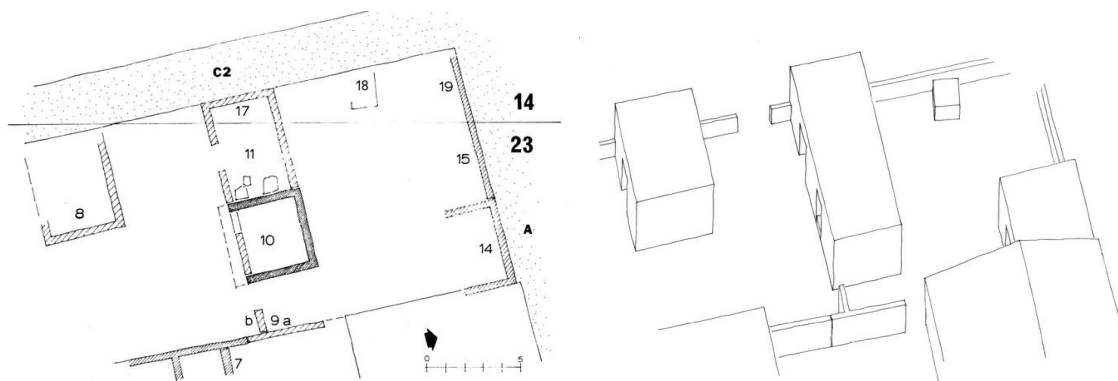


Figure 3.51: Megara Hyblaea: plan of neighborhood of Houses 23,10 and 23,11 (Vallet 1976: 60; Vallet 1983: 17)

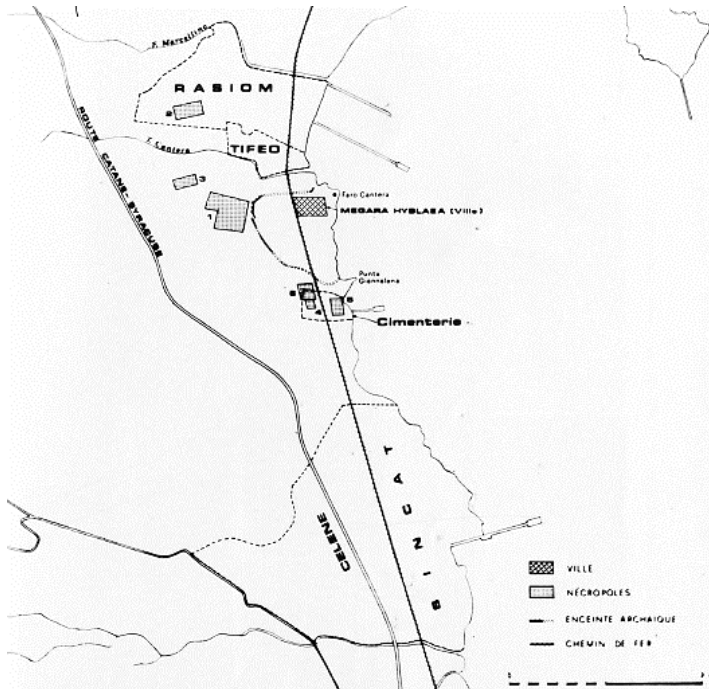


Figure 3.52: Megara Hyblaea: plan of the necropoleis (Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1975: Tav. I)

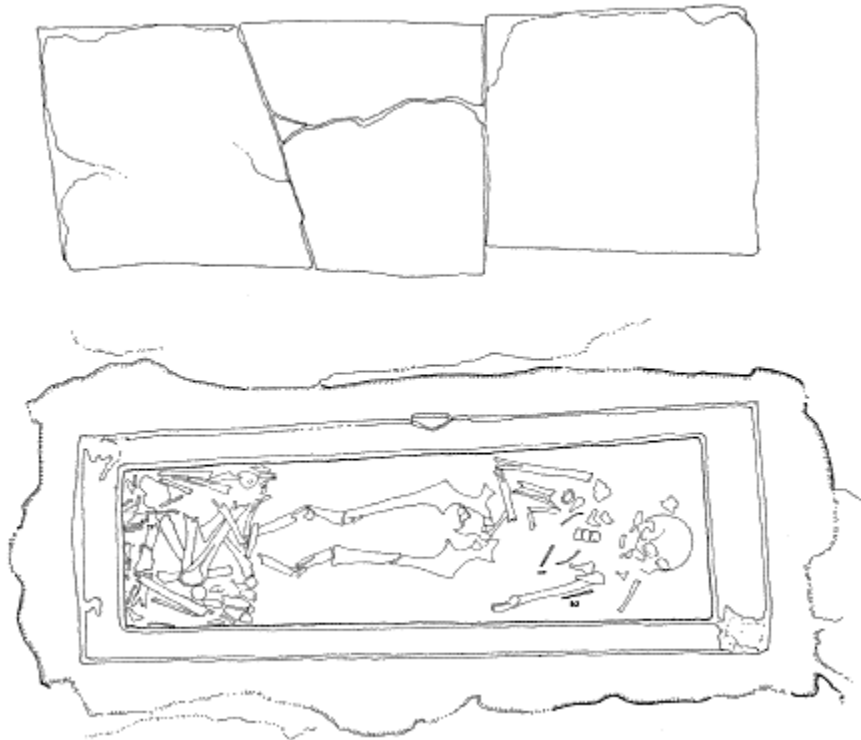


Figure 3.53: Megara Hyblaea, South Necropolis, Tomb Z16/ 1974 (Gras and Duday 2012: 51)





Figure 3.54: Megara Hyblaea, West Necropolis Tomb 240, including large pectoral pendant and bronze beads

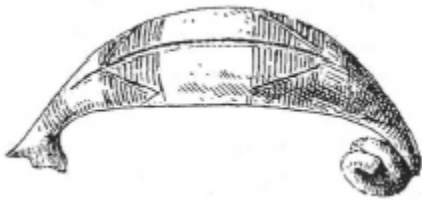


Figure 3.55: A navicella fibula from the Northwest Sanctuary, Temple B, Megara Hyblaea (Gras et al. 2005: 329)



Figure 3.56: Kourotrophos from the RASIOM Necropolis, Megara Hyblaea (Wikimedia Commons)



Figure 3.57: Large xoanon from Temple A and statuette from Temple B, Northwest Sanctuary, Megara Hyblaea (Gras et al. 2005: 309, 329)



Figure 3.58: Oinochoe from Temple B deposit, Northwest Sanctuary, Megara Hyblaea (Vallet 1978: Pl. 15)

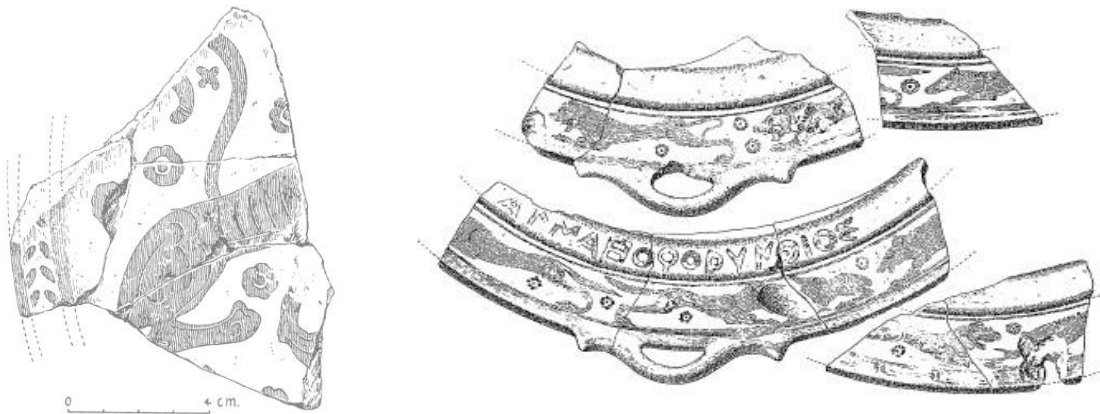


Figure 3.59: Plate with lion design from Temple A deposit and inscribed plate from Temple B, Northwest Sanctuary, Megara Hyblaea (Vallet 1978: 177, Gras et al. 2005: 331)



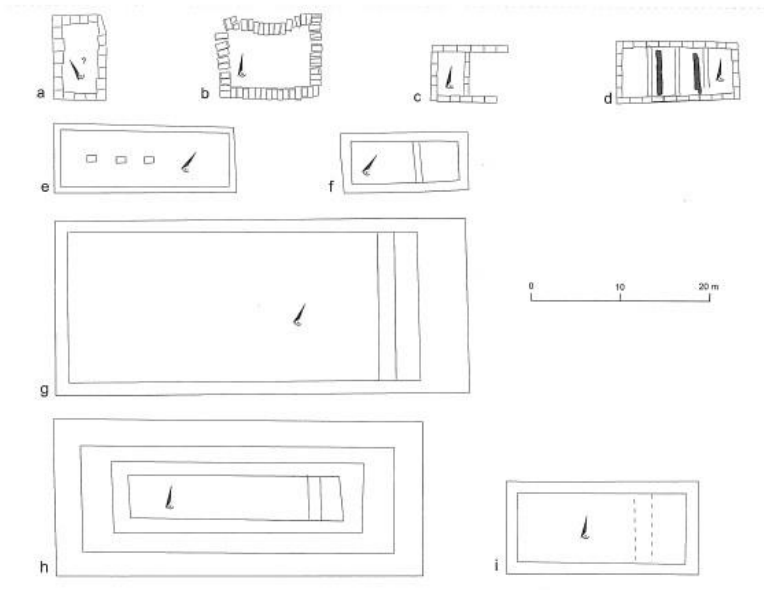


Fig. 352 – Temples archaïques de Mégara Hyblaea : a) le *basamento* d'après Orsi, carnet 2, 1889; b) «temple E»; c) temple ZR du plateau Sud; d) *tempietto* B; e) temple h de l'agora; f) temple g de l'agora; g) temple B; h) temple A; i) temple extra-urbain Nord (Gentili 1954b). Ech. commune 1/500.

Figure 3.60: Archaic temples from Megara Hyblaea (Gras et al. 2005: 347)

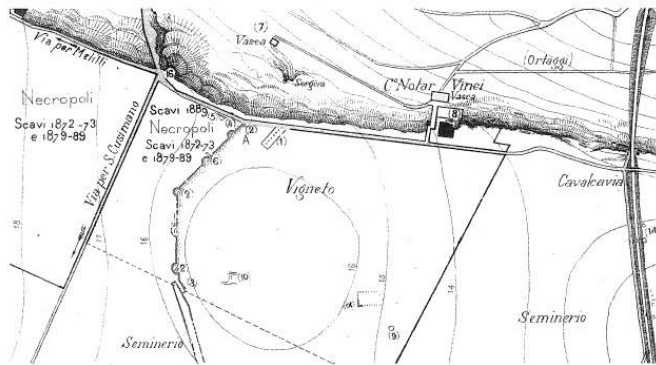


Figure 3.61: Plan of location of Northwest Sanctuary, Megara Hyblaea (Gras et al. 2005: 308)



Figure 3.62: Plan of Megara Hyblaea, with the locations of the Cantera and Northwest sanctuaries marked (Tréziny 2012: 25)



Figure 3.63: Location of Temple ZR, Megara Hyblaea (Tréziny 2012: 22)

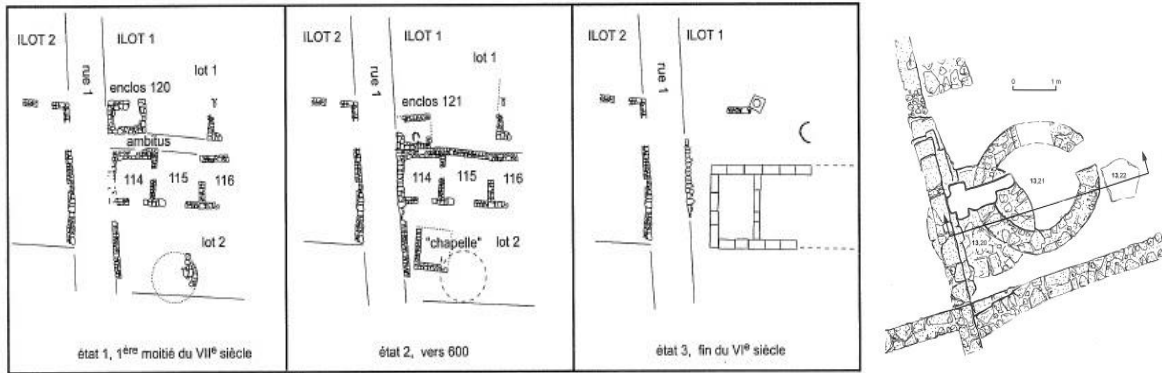


Figure 3.64: Rooms under Temple ZR, Megara Hyblaea: phase plan of Chantier 1 and plan of nearby Platform 13.20 (Gras et al. 2005: 61, 516)



Figure 3.65: Villasmundo, Valle del Marcellino necropolis (Voza 1980: 106)



Figure 3.66: Villasmundo, indigenous vase with Greek-style geometric decoration (Ampolo 1989: 27)

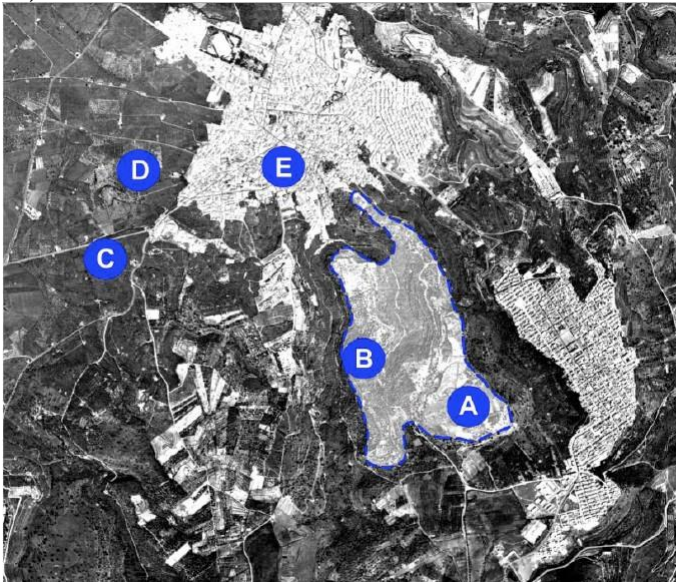


Figure 3.67: Plan of Leontini: location of early Archaic contexts, on the Metapiccola (A), S. Mauro (B), and Cirico (E) hills, as well as the Alaimo (C) and Scala Portazza (D) sanctuaries (Grasso 2009: 1)

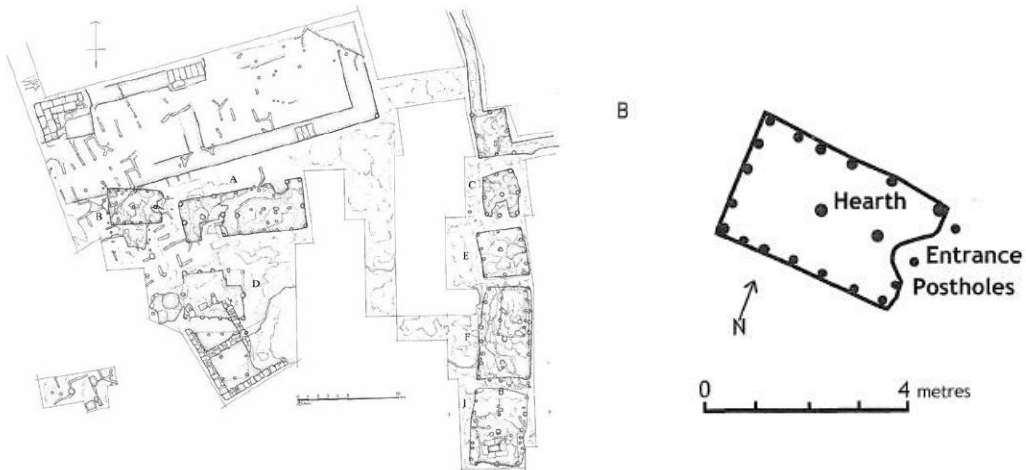


Figure 3.68: Buildings on Metapiccola, with indigenous structures in the vicinity of the later Greek temple, including Hut B (right) (Frasca 2012: 190, Fitzjohn 2011: 157)

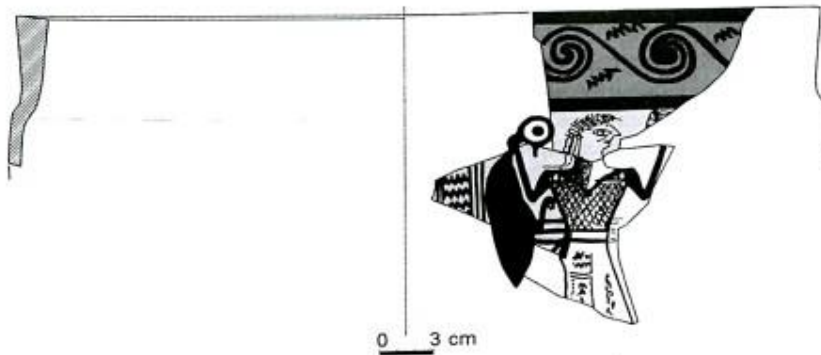


Figure 3.69: Local orientalizing vase with depiction of Potnia Theron (Frasca 2009: 86)



Figure 3.70: Incised ceramics from the M. San Mauro hill (Frasca 2012: 192)

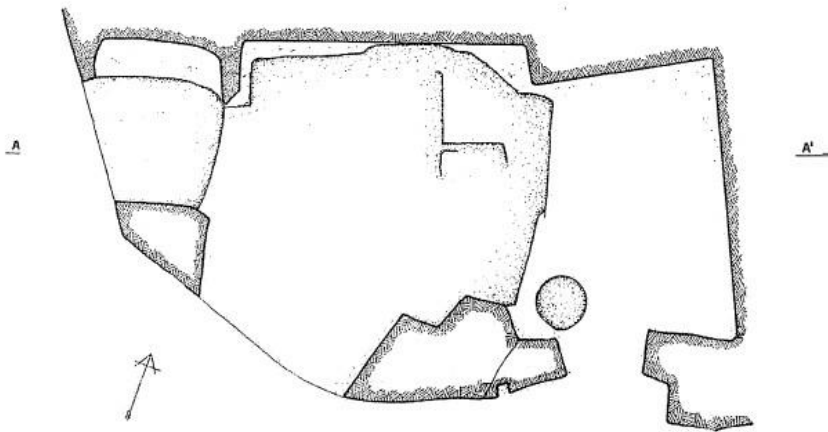


Figure 3.71: Plan of rock-cut house at M. San Mauro hill, Leontini (Nicotra and Verde 2016: 525)



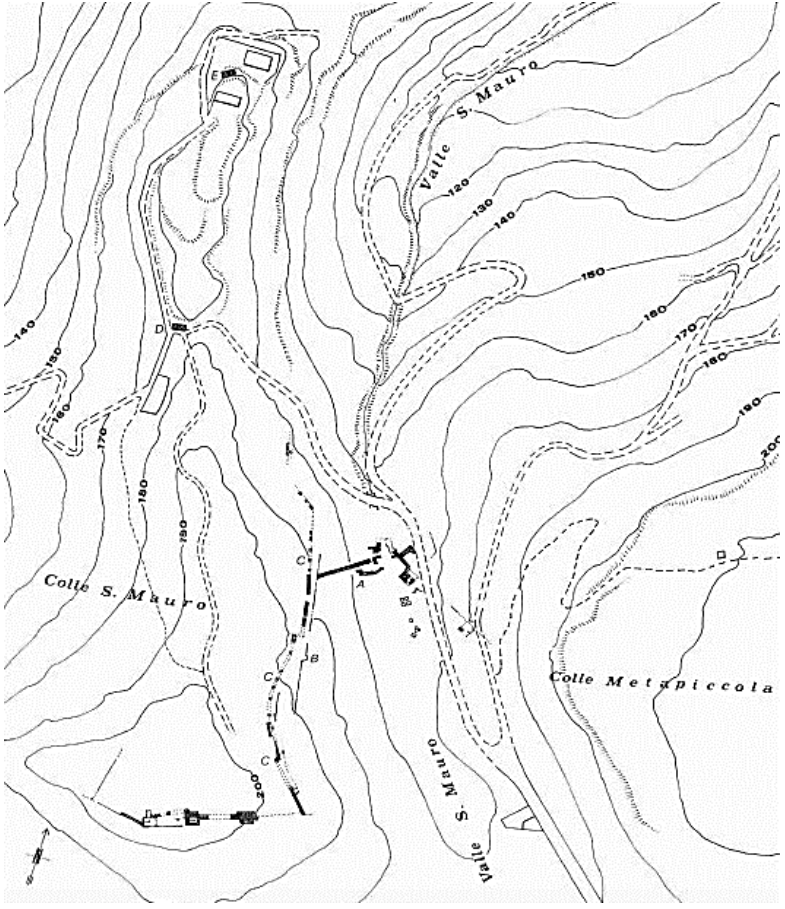


Figure 3.72: Plan of Leontini in the early Greek period (Rizza 1980: 27)

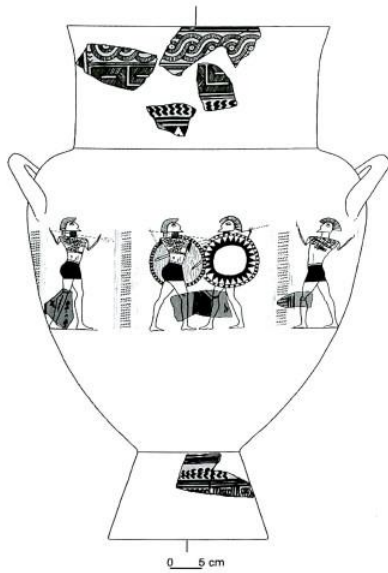


Figure 3.73: Local orientalizing vase with warrior decoration (Frasca 2009: 88)



Figure 3.74: Map of Leontini with locations of the Scala Portazza (1) and Alaimo (2) sanctuaries (Basile 2002: 99)

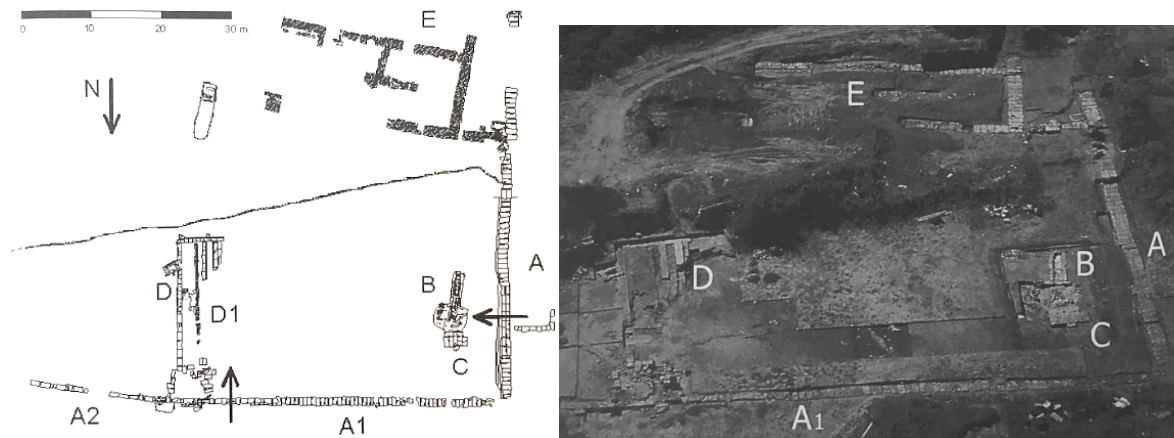


Figure 3.75: Aerial photo of the Scala Portazza Sanctuary: temenos (A), kiln (B), foundations (C), altar (D), and southern complex (E) (Basile 2002: 100)

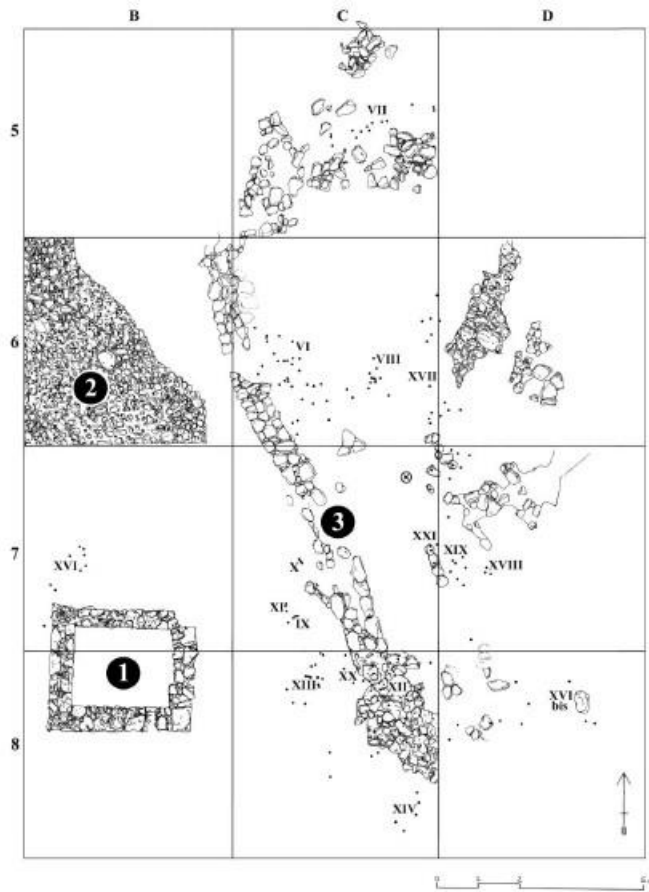


Figure 3.76: Plan of the Alaimo Sanctuary, Leontini: square enclosure (1), burnt patch (2), and temenos (3) (Grasso 2009: 2)



Figure 3.77: Part of the assemblage from the Alaimo Sanctuary, Leontini



Figure 3.78: Possible indigenous vase from the Alaimo Sanctuary, Leontini (Grasso 2008: 122)



Figure 3.79: Etruscan bucchero ceramics with inscriptions, from the Alaimo Sanctuary, Leontini



Figure 3.80: Stone kouros head from the vicinity of the Alaimo Sanctuary, Leontini





Figure 3.81: Bronzes from the Alaimo Sanctuary, Leontini, including a navicella type fibula (Grasso 2009: 10)

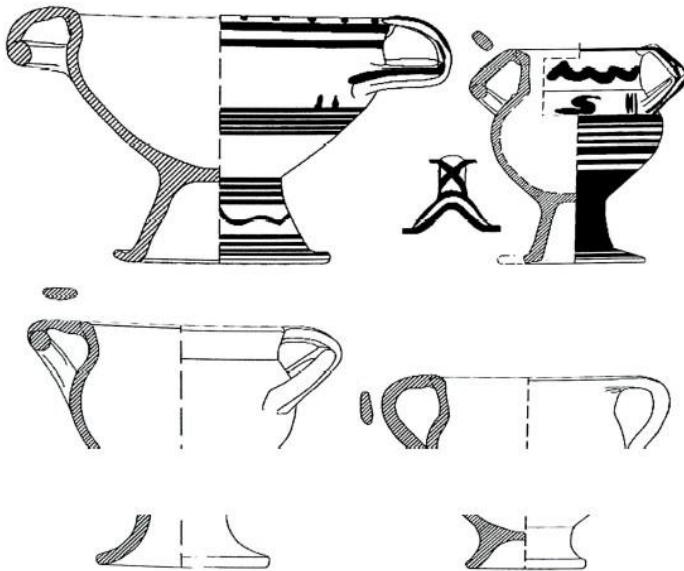


Figure 3.82: Miniature krateriskoi from the Alaimo Sanctuary, Leontini (Grasso 2008: 102)



Figure 3.83: Amber bird statuette from the Alaimo Sanctuary, Leontini, perhaps imported from central Italy (Grasso 2009: 9)

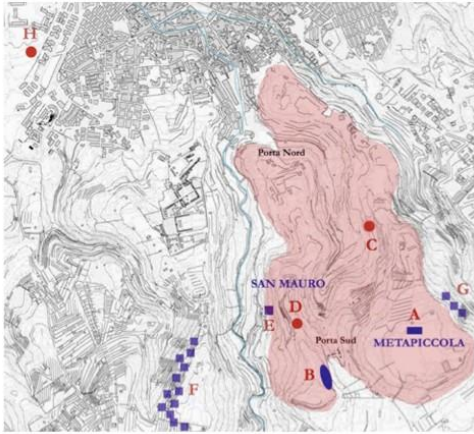


Figure 3.84: Plan of Leontini with the location of the Cava S. Aloe Necropolis (F) (Frasca 2016: 2)



Figure 3.85: Indigenous vases from the Cava S. Aloe Necropolis, with bird (left) and horse (right) motifs

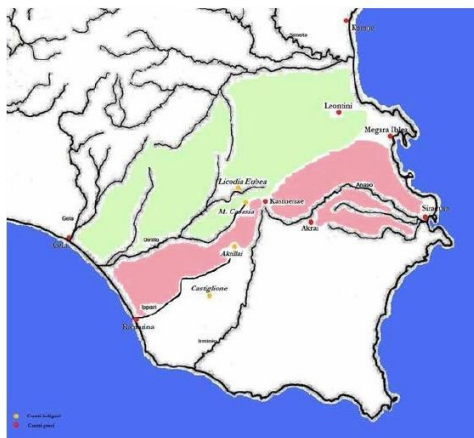


Figure 3.86: Map of Chalkidian (green) and Syracusan (red) influence inland (Lorefice 2012: 244)

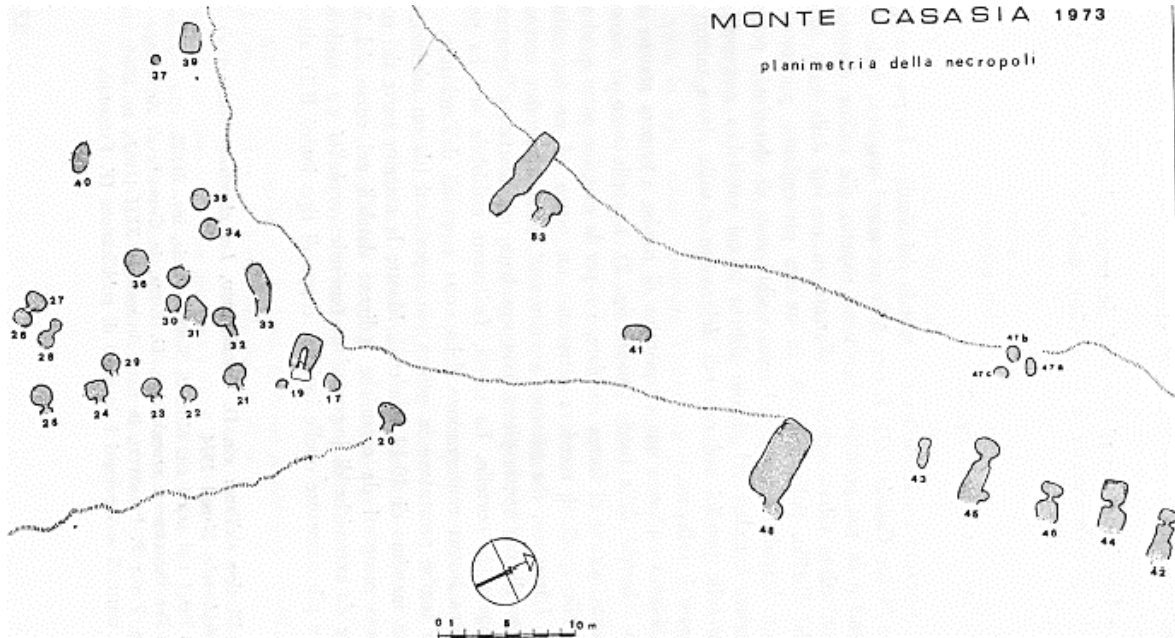


Figure 3.87: Plan of the indigenous tombs of M. Casasia found during the primary excavations (Rizza 1976-7: 528)

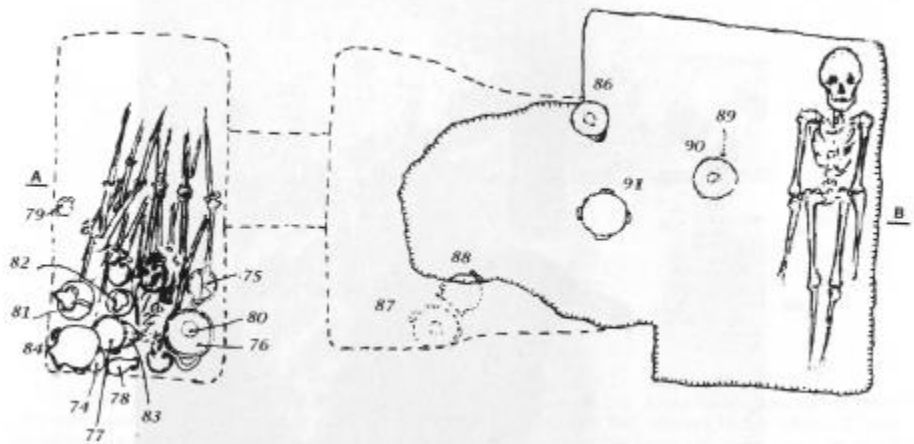


Figure 3.88: Illustration of Tomb II, M. Casasia (Frasca and Pelagatti 1996: 349)



Figure 3.89: Footed kraters from M. Casasia, Tomb III (Frasca and Pelagatti 1996: 354)

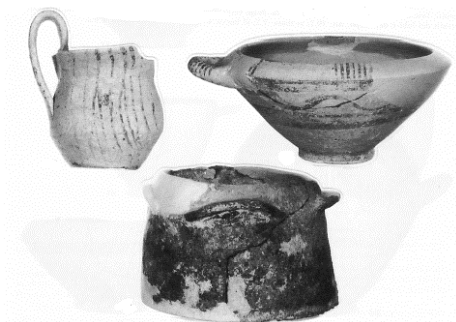


Figure 3.90: Cooking and consumption vessels from the exterior of Tomb II, M Casasia, likely utilized in post- depositional ritual (Frasca and Pelagatti 1996: 354)



Figure 3.91: Ionian style cups and Corinthian oinochoai from Tomb III, M. Casasia (Frasca and Pelagatti 1996: 361)

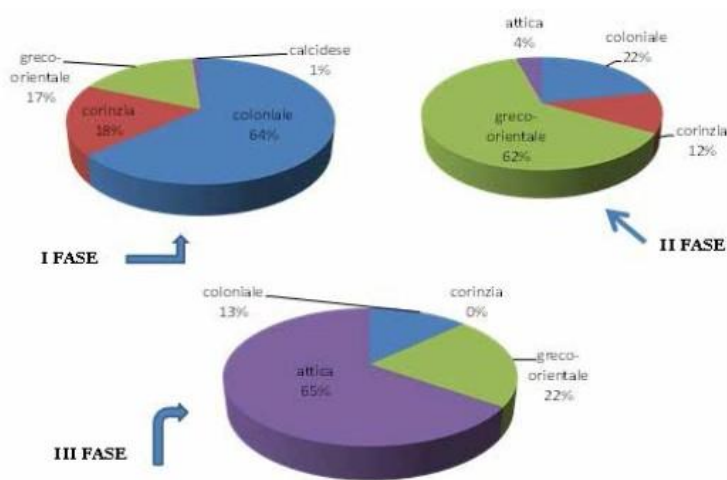


Figure 3.92: M.Casasia, change over time in percentages of Greek imports (Lorefice 2012: 247)



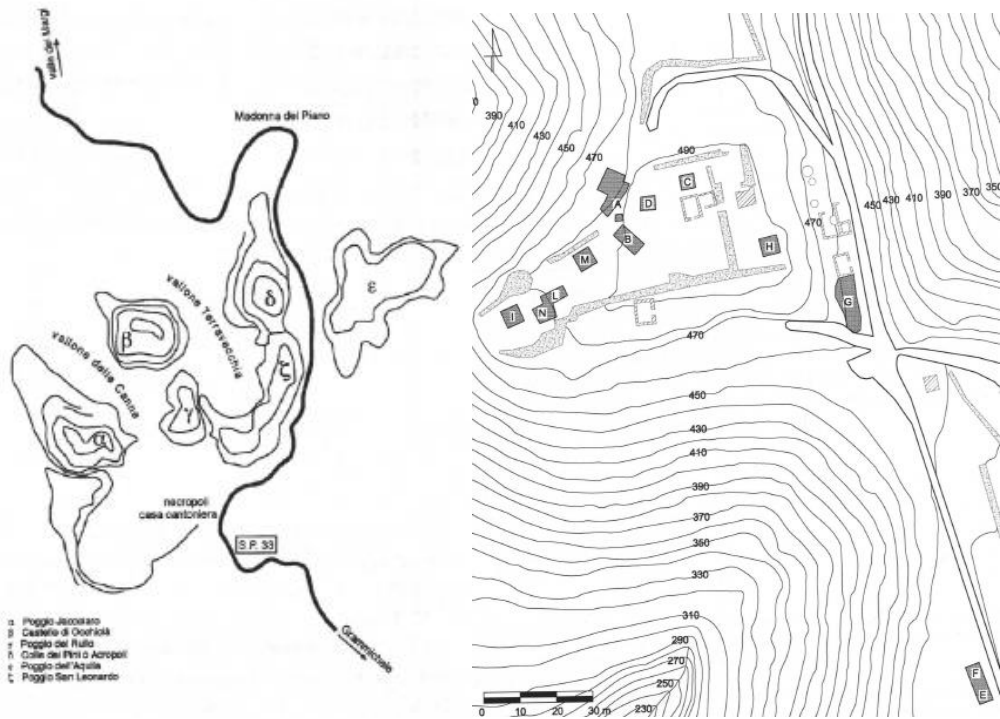


Figure 3.93: General map of Terravecchia di Grammichele; plan of the Poggio dell'Rullo hill (Bagnasco 2006: Figure 1)



Figure 3.94: Material from votive deposits at Grammichele: “goddess” statuette from Poggio dell’Aquila; and painted antefix from votive deposit in Contrada Madonna del Piano (Wikimedia Commons; La Rosa and Pugliese Caratelli 1991: 46)

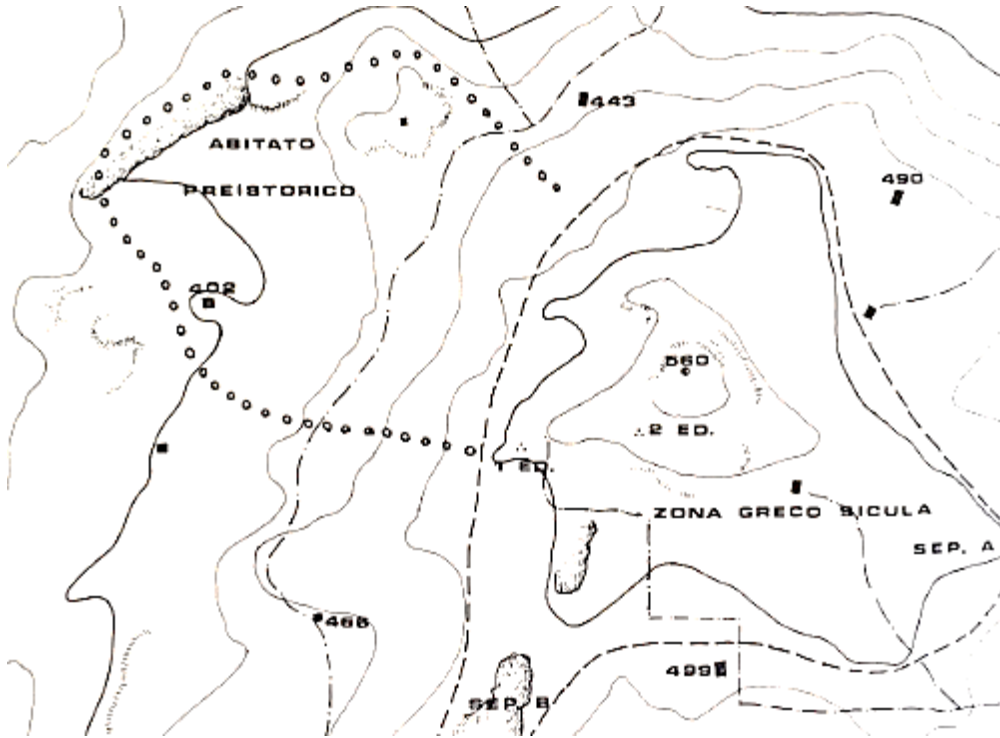


Figure 3.95: Plan of Ramacca (Messina 1971: 538)



Figure 3.96: Bronze pendants from Ramacca (Albanese 1988: 88)

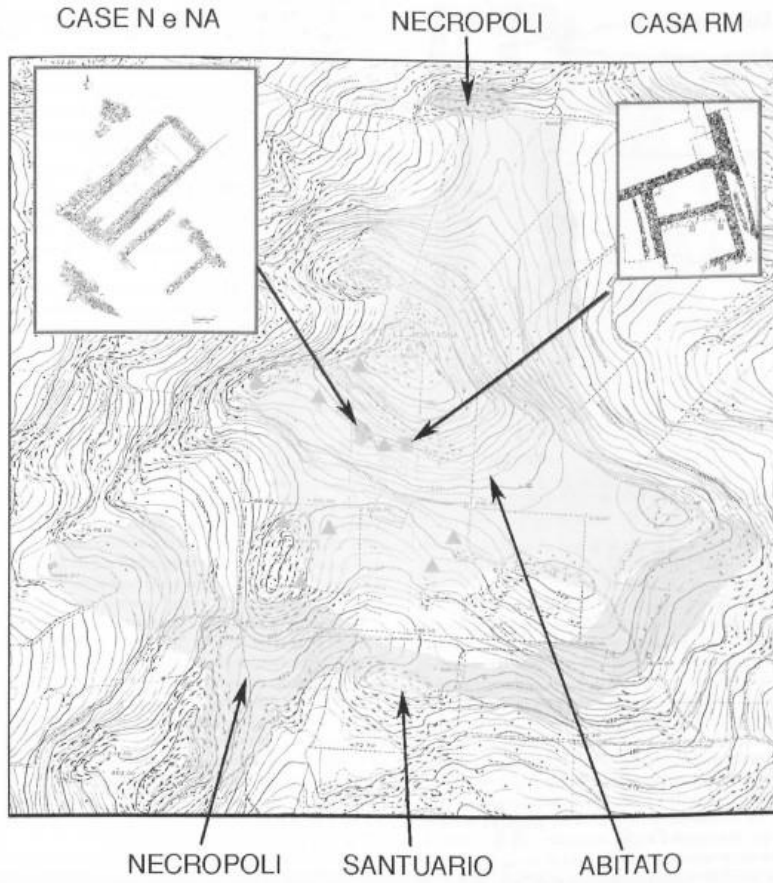


Figure 3.97: Ramacca, locations of Houses N and RM on the acropolis (Albanese Procelli 2009: 357)

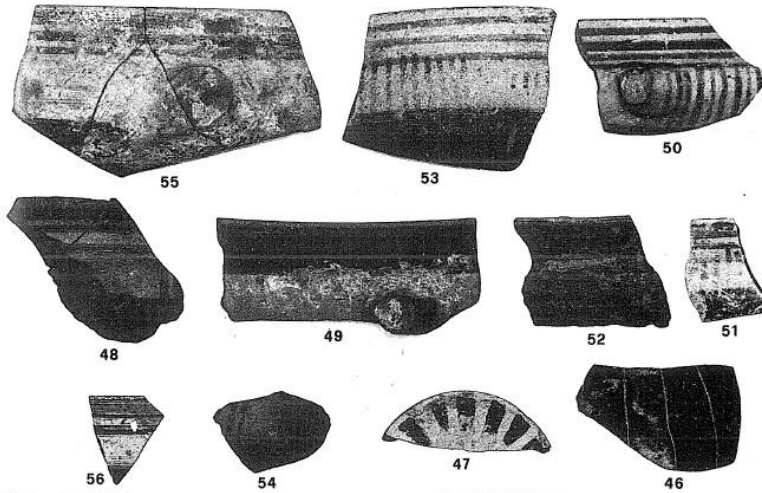


Figure 3.98: Ramacca, ceramics from Saggio "Delta" (Albanese 1988: 35)

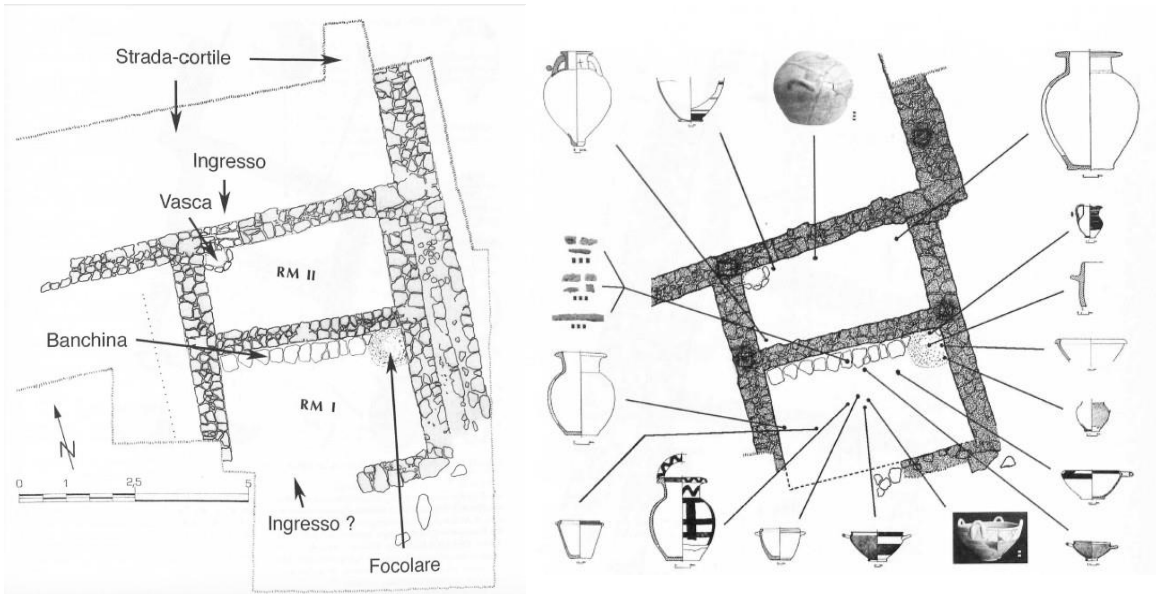


Figure 3.99: Stone plan and location of artifacts from House RM, Ramacca (Albanese Procelli 2009: 359, 360)

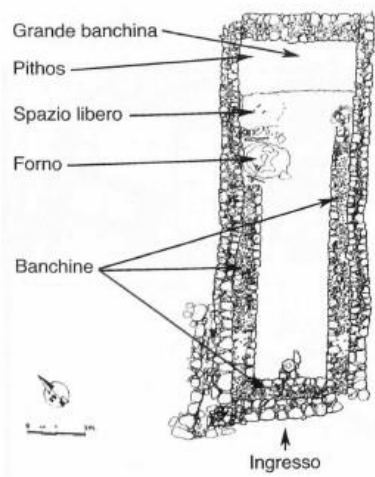


Figure 3.100: Stone plan of House N, Ramacca (Albanese Procelli 2009: 358)



Figure 3.101: Map of area near Ramacca, with routes leading inland (Albanese Procelli 2009: 356)



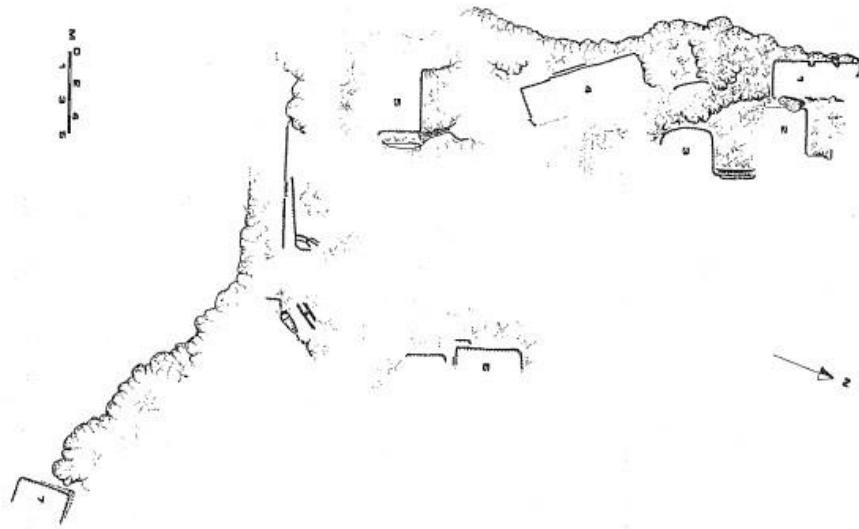


Figure 3.102: Plan of rock-cut Building 1, Ramacca (Nicotra and Verde 2015: 528)

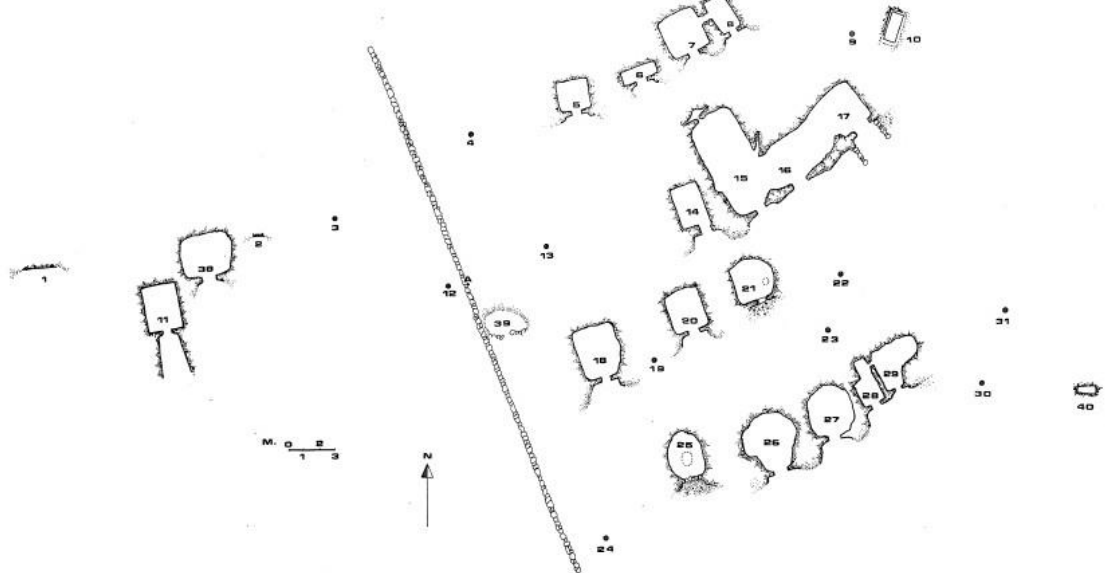


Figure 3.103: Plan of chamber tombs in the South Necropolis, Ramacca (Messina 1971: 541)



Figure 4.1: Map of Chapter 4 region

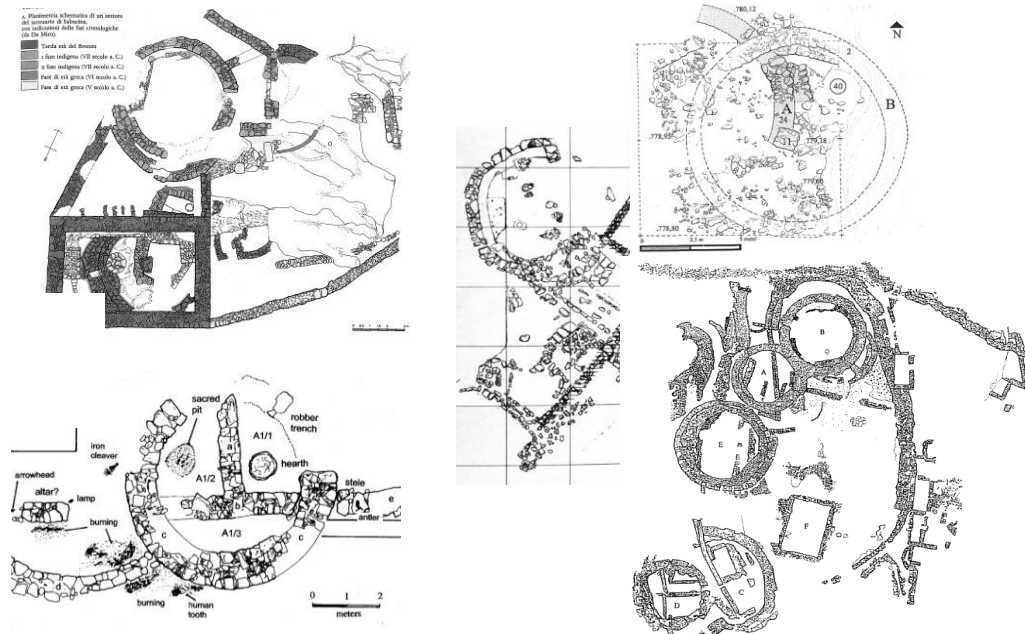


Figure 4.2: Plans of central Sicilian circular oikoi: Sabucina, Montagnoli di Menfi; M. Polizzo; Polizzello, Oikoi A-E (La Rosa and Pugliese Caratelli 1991: 43; Vassallo 1999: 28; Castellana 2000: Tav. XXXV; Morris and Tusa 2004: 41; Palermo 2009: 185)

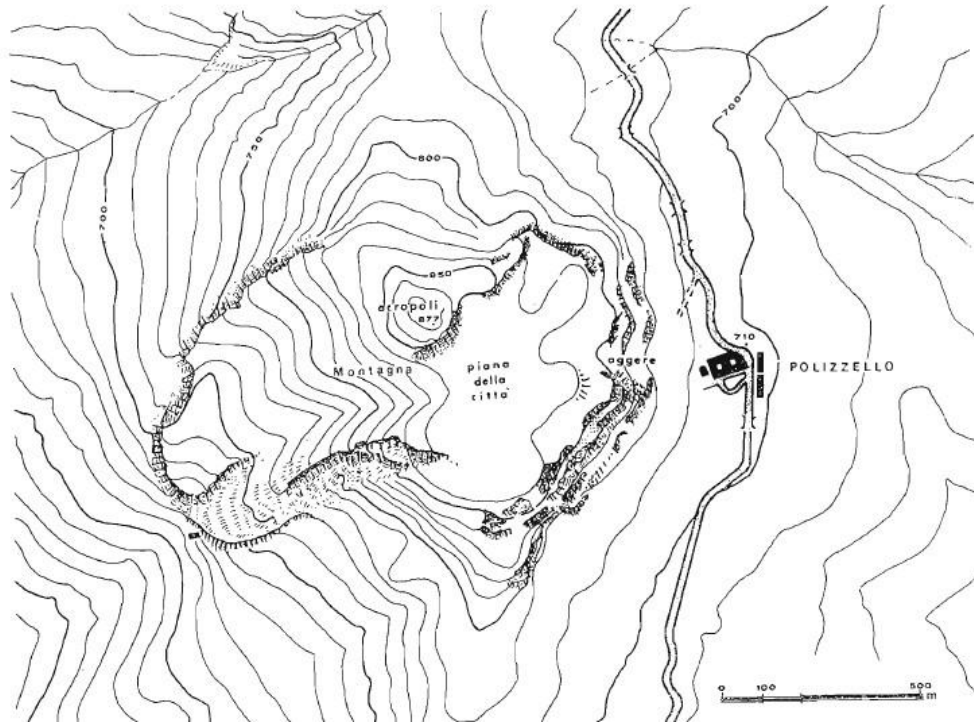


Figure 4.3: Plan of Polizzello (Palermo 1983: 103)



Figure 4.4: Painted oinochoe with depiction of warrior and octopus motif; incised oinochoe with stylized bull head (La Rosa and Pugliese Caratelli 1991: 81)



Figure 4.5: Bronze offerant figurine, from the Gabrici excavations (Guzzone and Congiu 2005: 236)

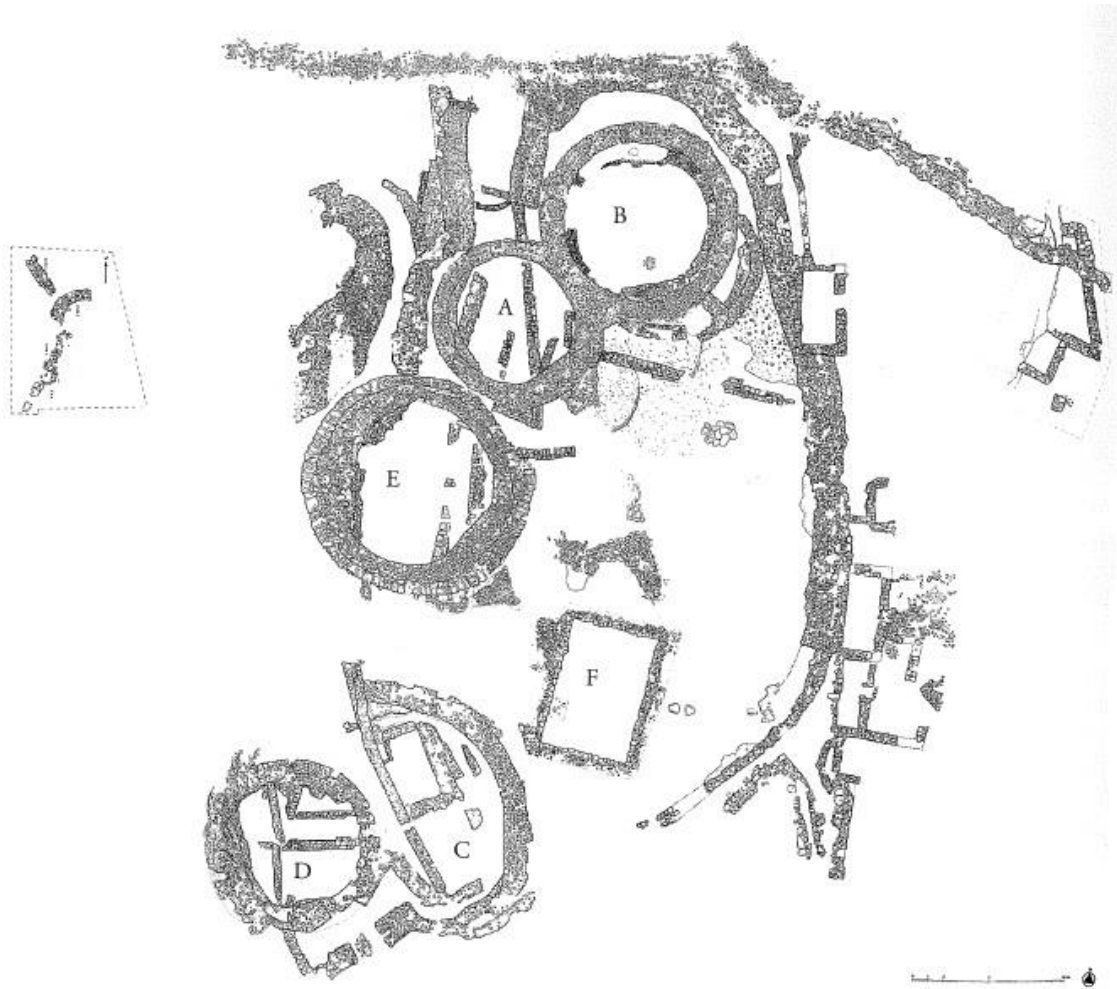
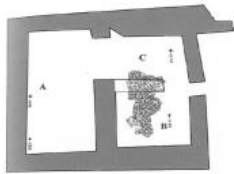
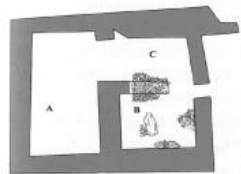


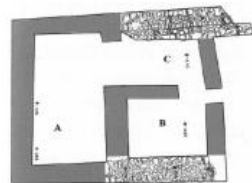
Figure 4.6: Plan of acropolis, with sacred structures (Palermo et al. 2009: 73)



FASE I (US 217) - VIII / VII sec.



FASE II (US 215, 216) - VII sec.



FASE III (US 219, 214, 213) - VII / VI sec.



FASE IV (US 206, 211, 212) - VI / V sec.

Figure 4.7: Plan and phases of the Tripartite Building (Panvini et al. 2009: 263)



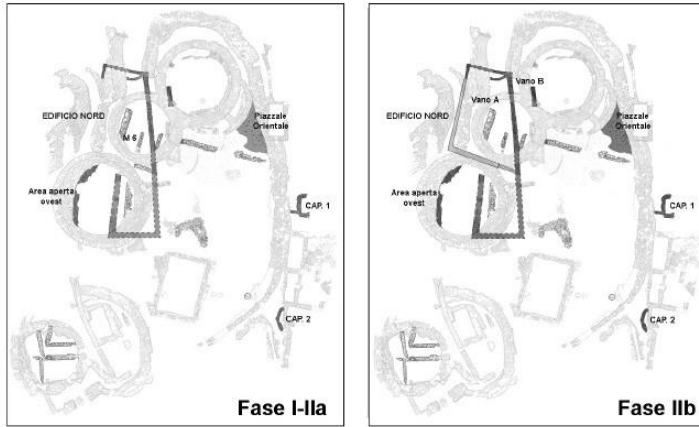
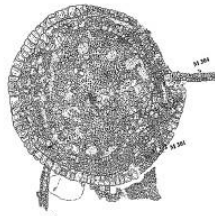


Figure 4.8: Plan of the North Building, Polizzello, second half 10<sup>th</sup>-first half 9<sup>th</sup> century, with overlaid Archaic buildings (Palermo et al. 2009: 75)



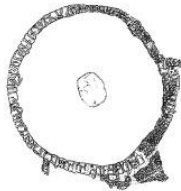
Ricostruzione ipotetica  
del sacello E di III FASE



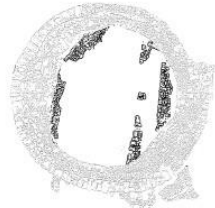
III FASE



II FASE



I FASE



PREESISTENZE

Figure 4.9: Phase plan of Oikos E, Polizzello (Panvini et al. 2009: 176)

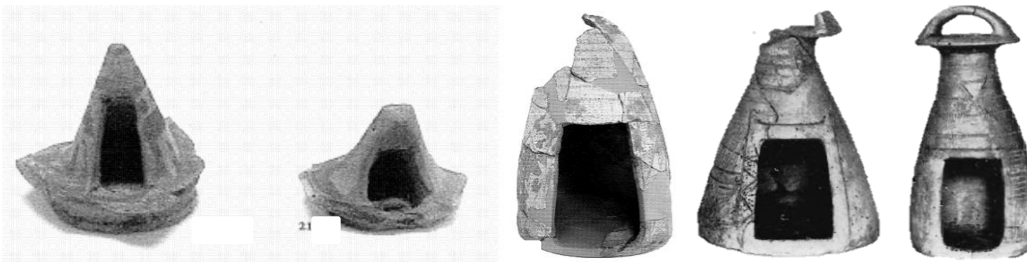


Figure 4.10: Ceramic hut models from Oikos E (Panvini et al. 2009: 143, 160)

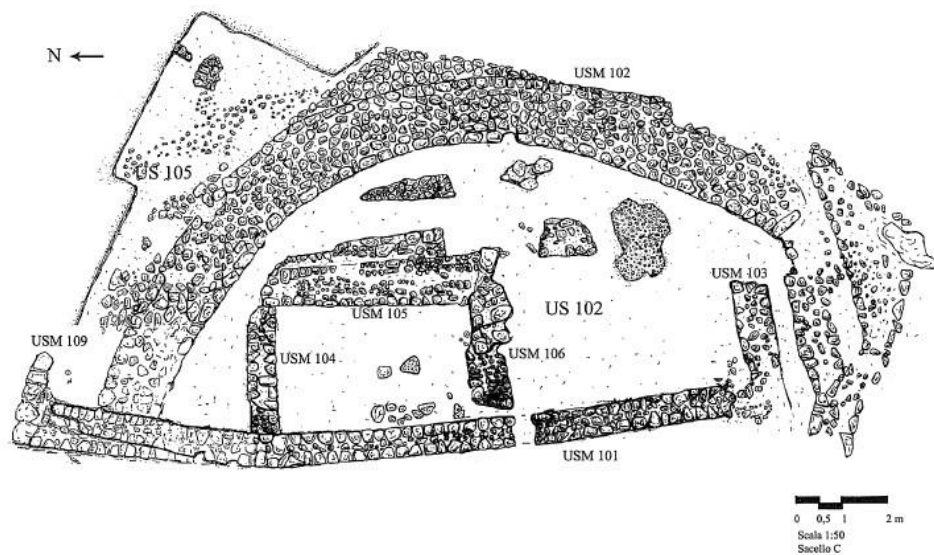


Figure 4.11: Plan of Oikos C (Panvini et al. 2009: 179)



Figure 4.12: Decorated bone plaque from Oikos C (right) and bone plaque from the Athenaion (Guzzone and Congiu 2005: 271; Orsi 1919: 590)

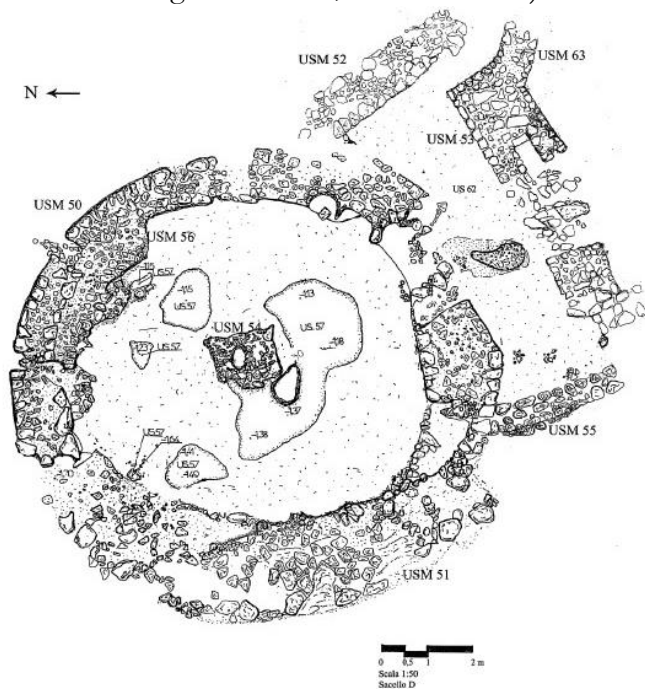


Figure 4.13: Plan of Oikos D (Panvini et al. 2009: 192)

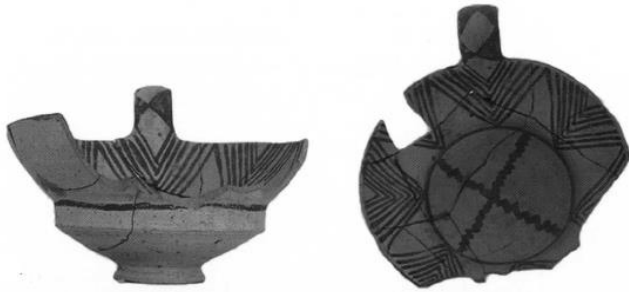


Figure 4.14: Indigenous painted carinated cup from Oikos D (Panvini et al. 2009: 220)



Figure 4.15: Bone decorative elements from Oikos D: bone plaques in the shape of rams and a monkey; deposit of bone beads and fibula clasps (Panvini et al. 220; Congiu and Guzzone 2005: 273, 275)

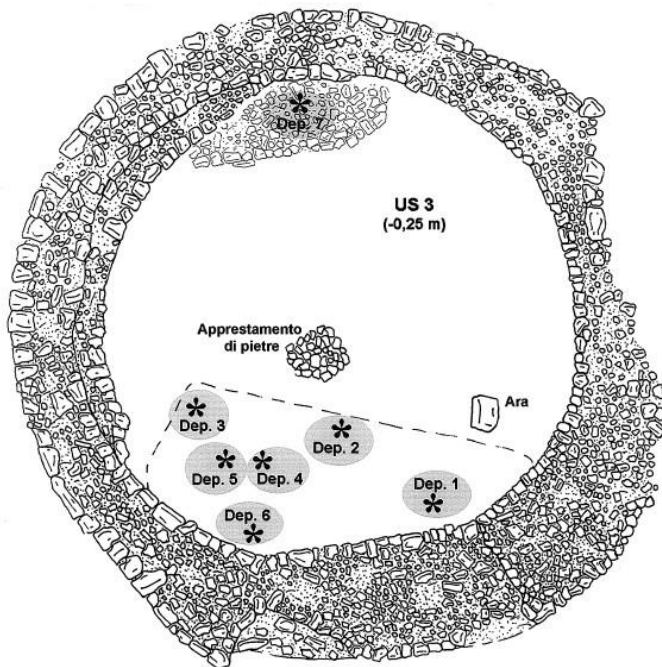


Figure 4.16: Plan of Oikos A with location of deposits (Panvini et al. 2009: 11)

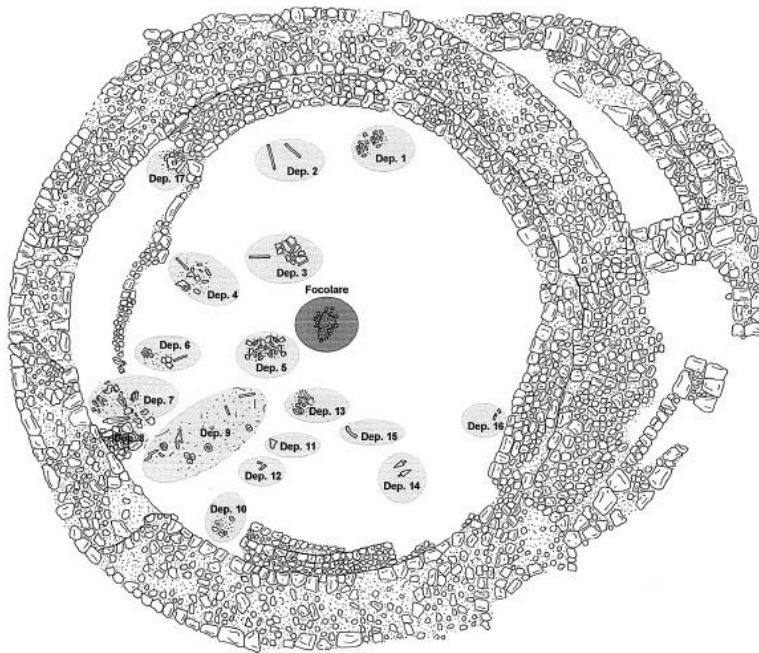


Figure 4.17: Plan of Oikos B with locations of primary depositions (Panvini et al. 2009: 38)



Figure 4.18: Partial human figurine found under altar, Oikos B (Guzzone and Congiu 2005: 170)



Figure 4.19: Ionian type cups from Oikos B (Panvini et al. 2009: 58)





Figure 4.20: Warrior-themed implements from Oikos B (ithyphallic figurine, Cretan-style helmet, and shield applique) (Congiu and Guzzone 2005: 245, 246; Panvini et al. 2009: 83)



Figure 4.21: Twin ivory statuettes, and ivory double palmette from Oikos B (Congiu and Guzzone 2005: 245, 246)



Figure 4.22: Corinthianizing indigenous krater from Oikos B (Congiu and Guzzone 2005: 239)

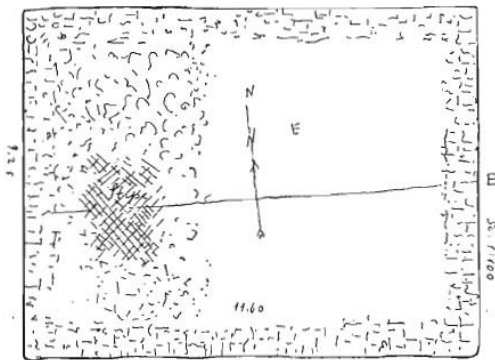


Figure 4.23: Square oikos excavated by Carta, Polizzello (Palermo 1983: 111)



Figure 4.24: Ceramic hut models from Polizzello, East Necropolis (from outside and inside Tomb 5) (Congiu and Guzzone 2005: 287, 289, 302)



Figure 4.25: Footed serving-dish with bull-horn protome on interior from Polizzello, East Necropolis, outside Tomb 5 (Congiu and Guzzone 2005: 290)

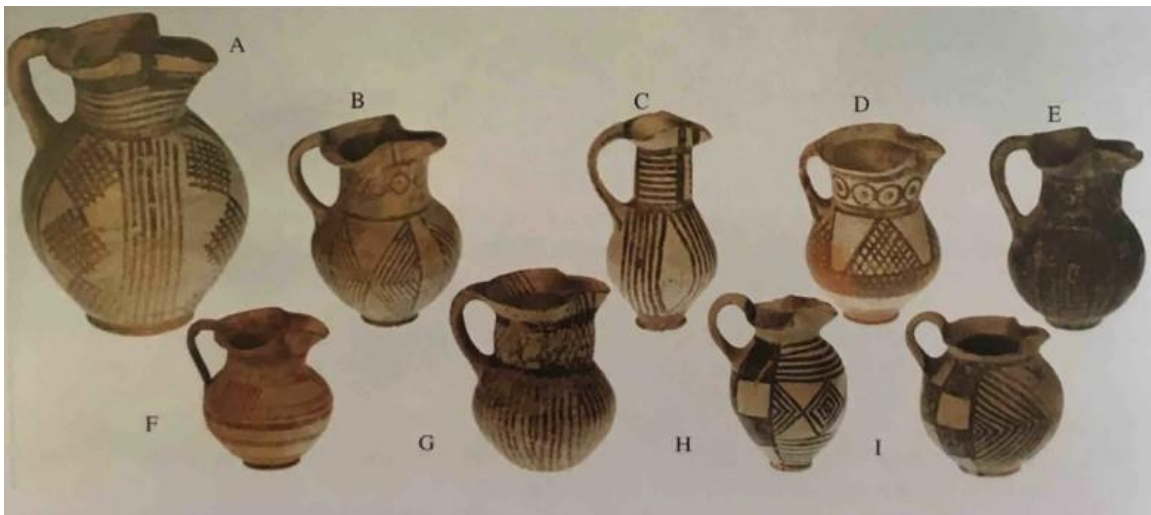


Figure 4.26: Indigenous oinochoai from Polizzello, East Necropolis, Tomb 5 (Panvini 2006: 220)



Figure 4.27: Painted amphora with bull-head protome, from Polizzello, East Necropolis, outside Tomb 5 (Congiu and Guzzone 2005: 295)



Figure 4.28: Heraldic horses from incised vase (Palermo 1983: Tav. XXXVIII)



Figure 4.29: Ram figurine from Polizzello, Piazzale Meridionale (Panvini et al. 2009: 102)

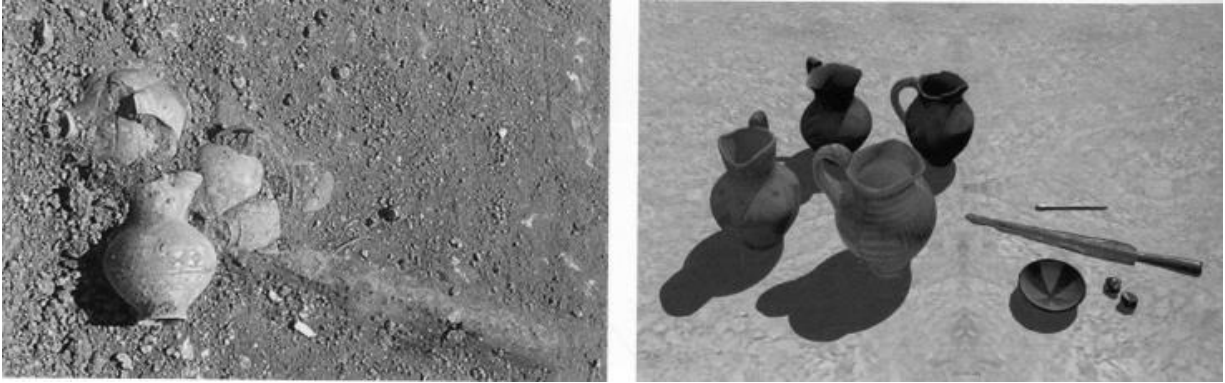


Figure 4.30: Reconstruction of object assemblage from Polizzello, Deposition 6 (Oikos?) (Panvini et al. 2009: 320)



Figure 4.31: Wood xoana from Palma di Montechiaro (Caputo 1938: Tav. I)

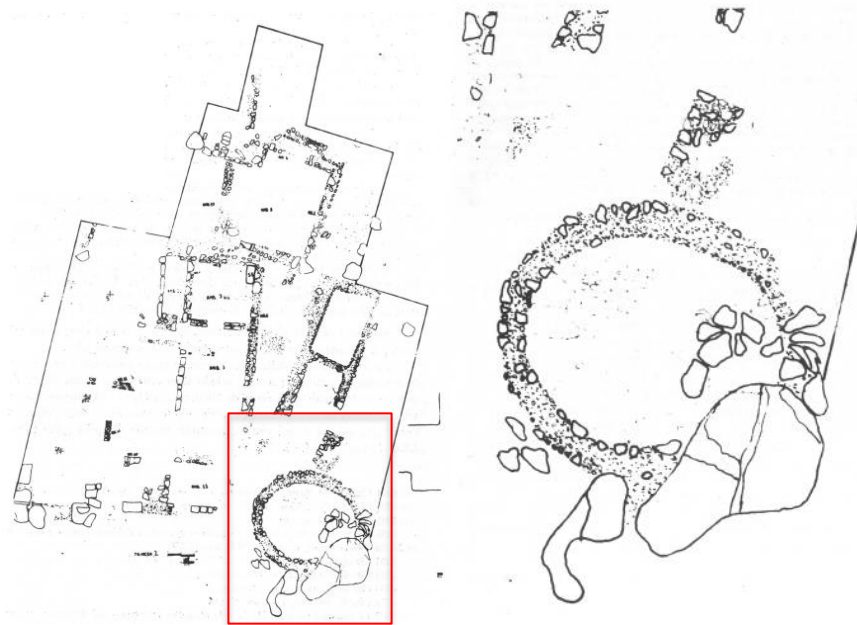


Figure 4.32: Caltabellotta, acropolis and circular shrine (Panvini 1988: 571, 565)



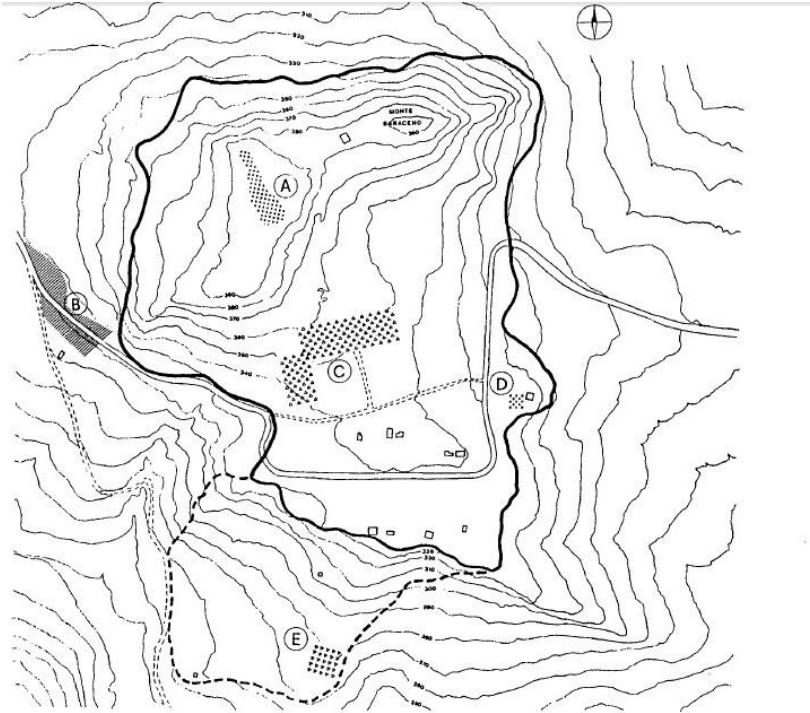


Figure 4.33: Monte Saraceno site plan, with acropolis (A), Western Necropolis (B), upper terrace habitations (C), eastern sacred area (D), and lower terrace habitations (E) (Calderone 1980: 102)



Figure 4.34: Monte Saraceno: plan of the acropolis, including Capanna Alpha (1), Capanna beta (2) Capanna gamma (3), and Room 11 (4) (Siracusano 1994: Tav. XXVII, Tav. XXVI)



Figure 4.35: Incised ciotola from Monte Saraceno (Caccamo Caltabiano 1985: 71)

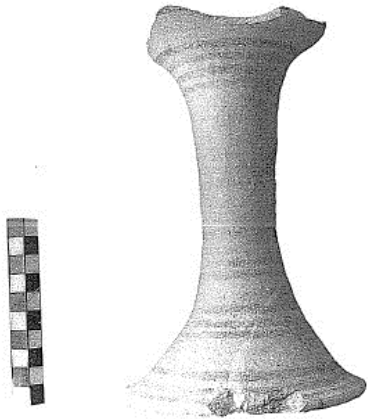


Figure 4.36: Fruit stand from Monte Saraceno, area of the indigenous huts (Calderone 1996: Tav. XXIII)



Figure 4.37: Hut model from Room 13, eastern sacred area, Monte Saraceno (Caccamo Caltabiano 1985: 123)

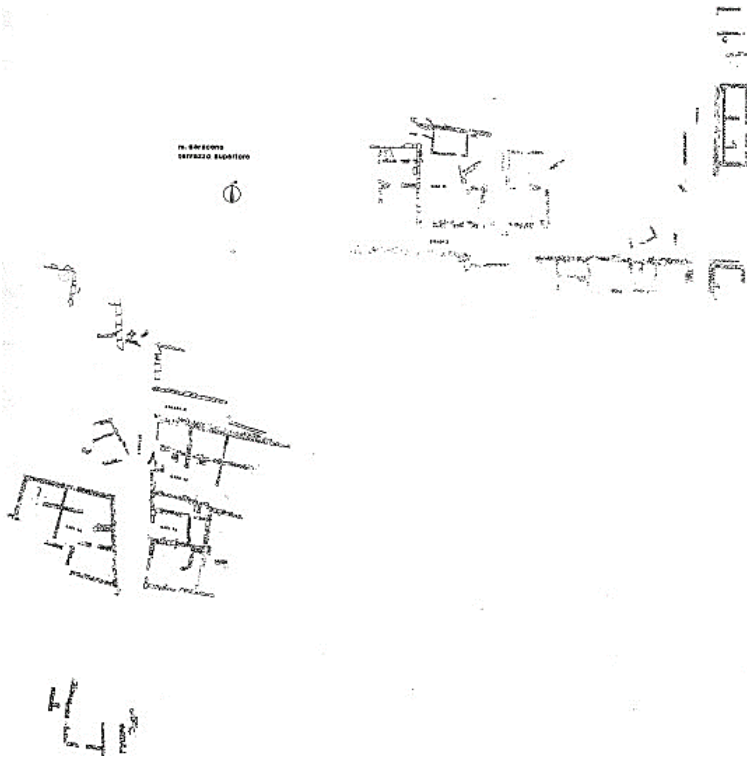


Figure 4.38: Plan of the Upper Plateau habitation sector, Monte Saraceno (Calderone 1996: Figure 10)

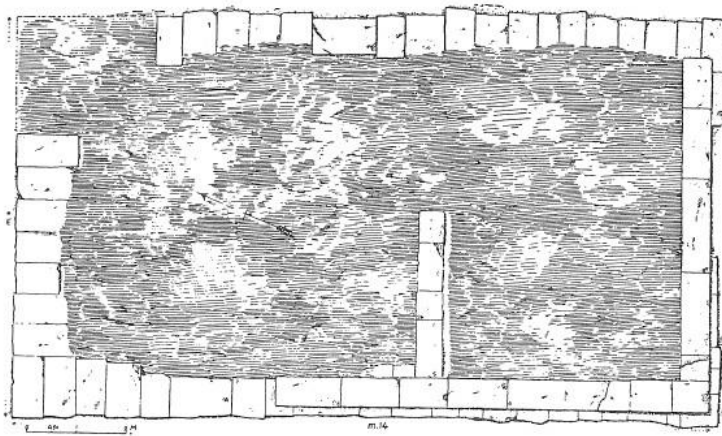


Figure 4.39: Plan of the oikos from Monte Saraceno, Eastern sacred area (Caccamo Caltabiano 1985: 44)

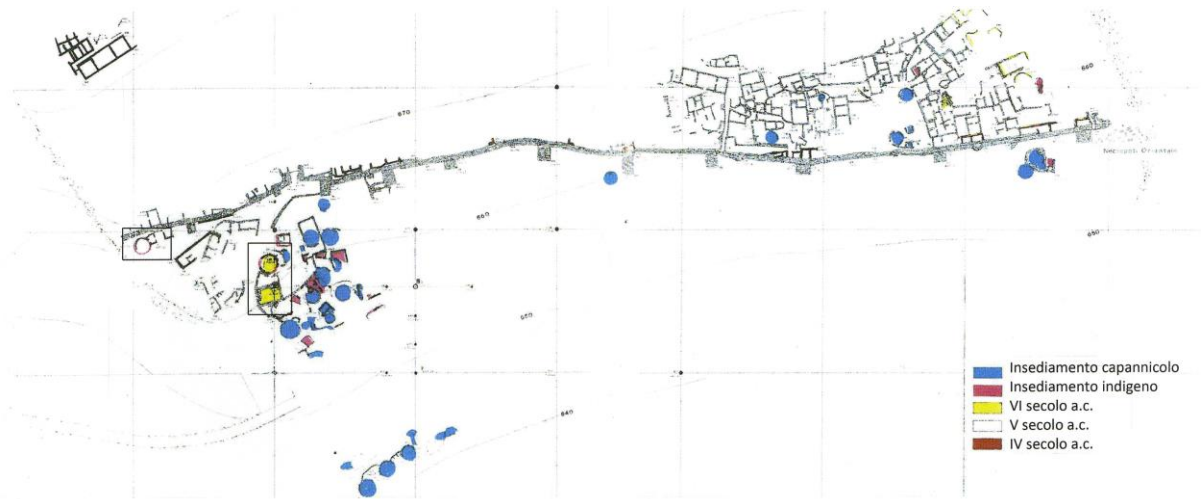


Figure 4.40: Phase plan of Sabucina (Guzzone et al. 2008: 18)



Figure 4.41: Aerial view of the eastern habitation sector, Sabucina (Guzzone et al. 2008: 49)



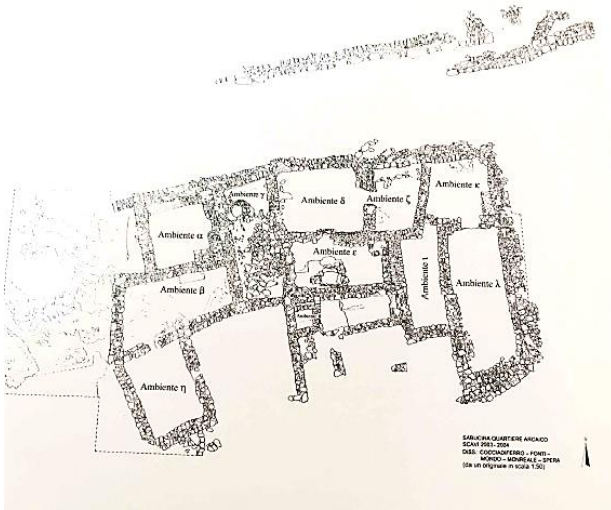


Figure 4.42: Archaic sector with 11-room complex, Sabucina (Guzzone et al. 2008: 58)



Figure 4.43: Archaic sacred objects from the Archaic habitation area: bronze anthropomorphic lamina, bull-head andirons (Guzzone et al. 2008: 64)



Figure 4.44: Western habitation sector, Sabucina (Guzzone et al. 2008: 54)



Figure 4.45: Temple models from Sabucina (Guzzone et al. 2008: 103, 68, 104)



Figure 4.46: Objects from the area south of Gate II: bronze lamina, animal-head andirons, goat figurine

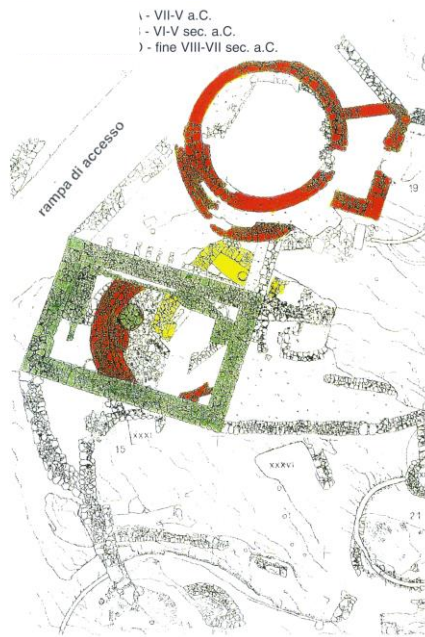


Figure 4.47: Archaic temple complex south of Gate II (Red: Sacello A; Green: Sacello B; Yellow: Building D) (Guzzone et al. 2008: 92)



Figure 4.48: Early Attic black-figure vase from the sanctuary south of Gate II (Guzzone et al. 2008: 114)



Figure 4.49: Oikos B, to the west of the later settlement (Guzzone et al. 2008: 96)

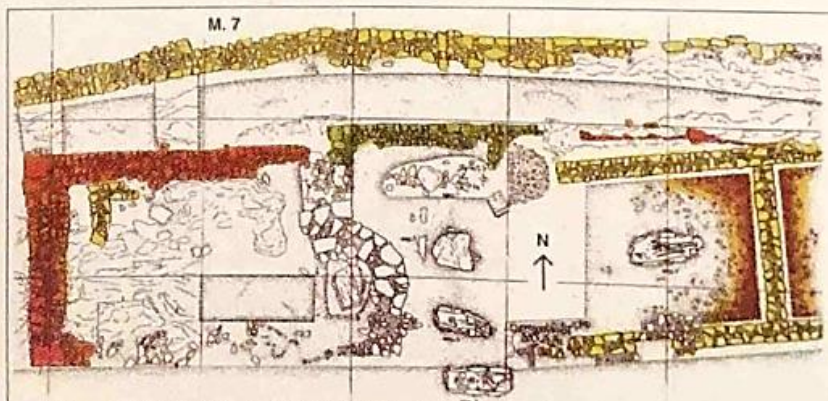


Figure 4.50: Extramural Sikeliote-type shrine (Yellow: 6<sup>th</sup> century phase) (Guzzone et al. 2008: 97)





Figure 4.51: Assemblage from Tomb 5 (Guzzone et al. 2008: 130, 134)

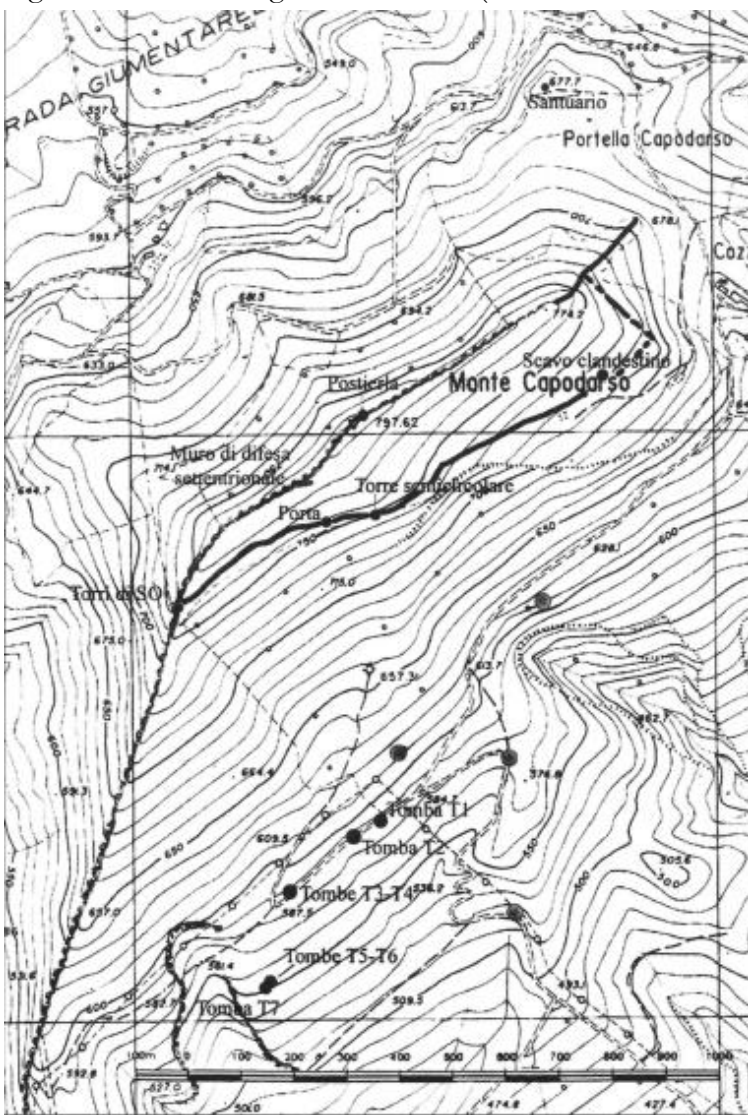


Figure 4.52: Plan of Capodarso (Vancheri 2014: 73)



Figure 4.53: Anthropomorphizing handle from Capodarso (Guzzone and Congiu 2005: 389)

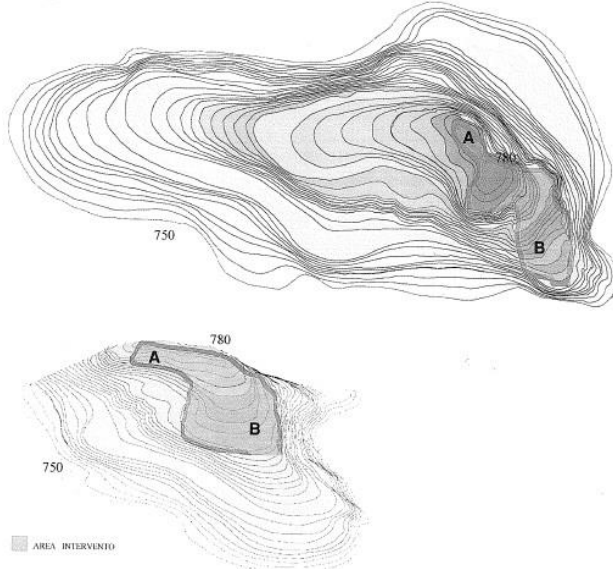


Figure 4.54: Colle Madore, general plan of acropolis (A) and southern plateau (B) (Vassallo 1999: 24)

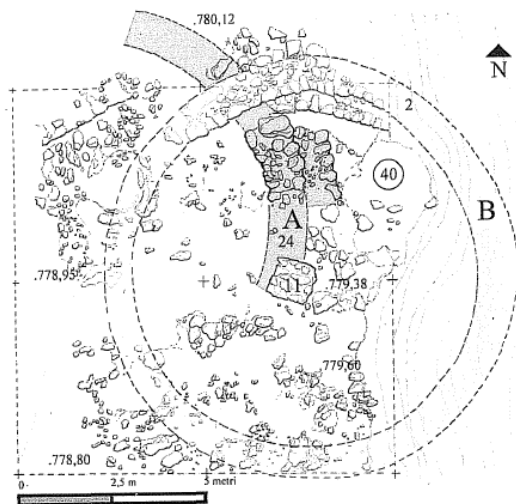


Figure 4.55: Colle Madore, plan of sacred structures on the acropolis (Vassallo 1999: 28)



Figure 4.56: Colle Madore, oikos model from the lower slopes (Vassallo 1999: 117)

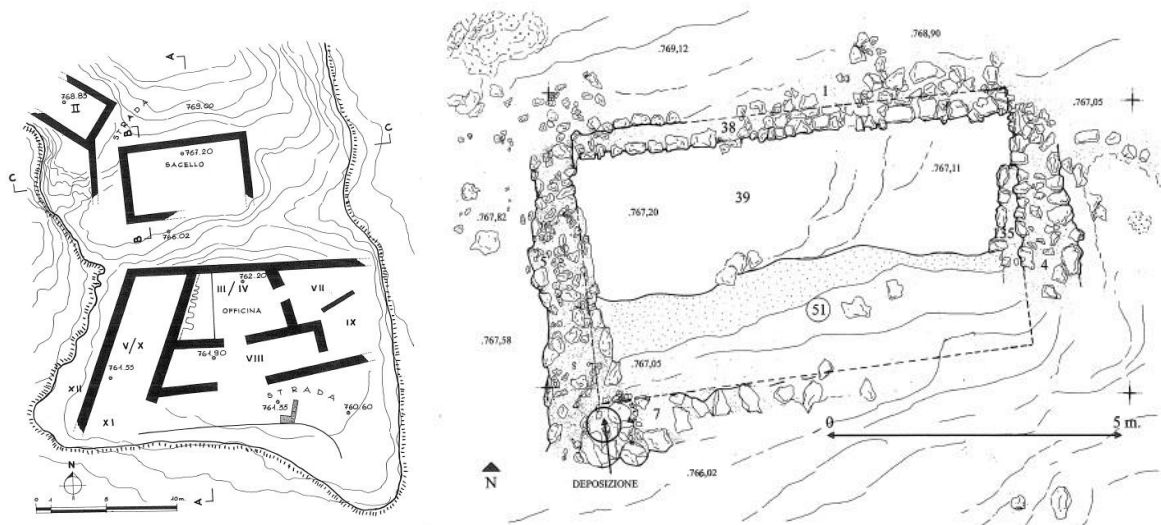


Figure 4.57: Colle Madore, rectangular oikos on the lower slopes (Vassallo 1999: 32, 44)



Figure 4.58: Colle Madore, bronze plaques from the area of the rectangular oikos (Vassallo 1999: 91-2)



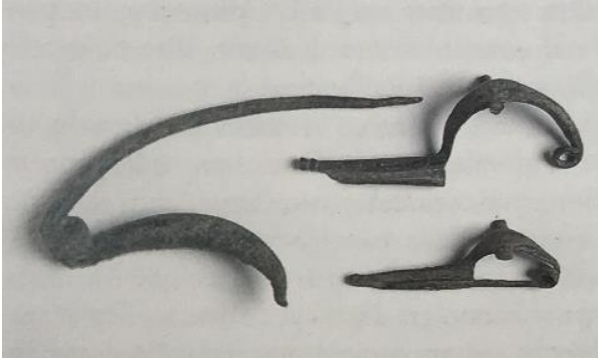


Figure 4.59: Colle Madore, early bronze fibulae from the rectangular oikos (Vassallo 1999: 11)



Figure 4.60: Colle Madore, ritual kernoi from the rectangular oikos (Vassallo 1999: 119-20)



Figure 4.61: Colle Madore, incised pithos from the rectangular oikos (Vassallo 1999: 119-20)

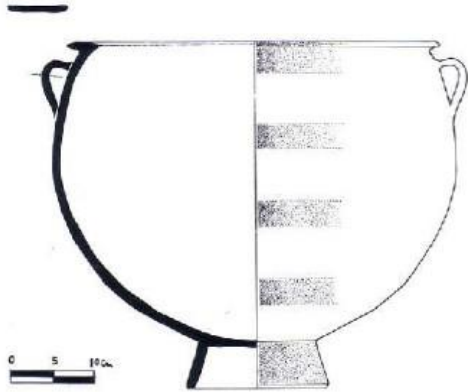


Figure 4.62: Colle Madore, Sikeliote dinos from the oikos destruction deposit (Vassallo 1999: 119-20)

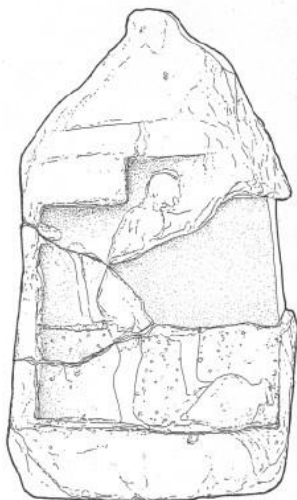


Figure 4.63: Colle Madore, figured aedicula with figure (Herakles?) (Caruso and Caruso 2004: 16)

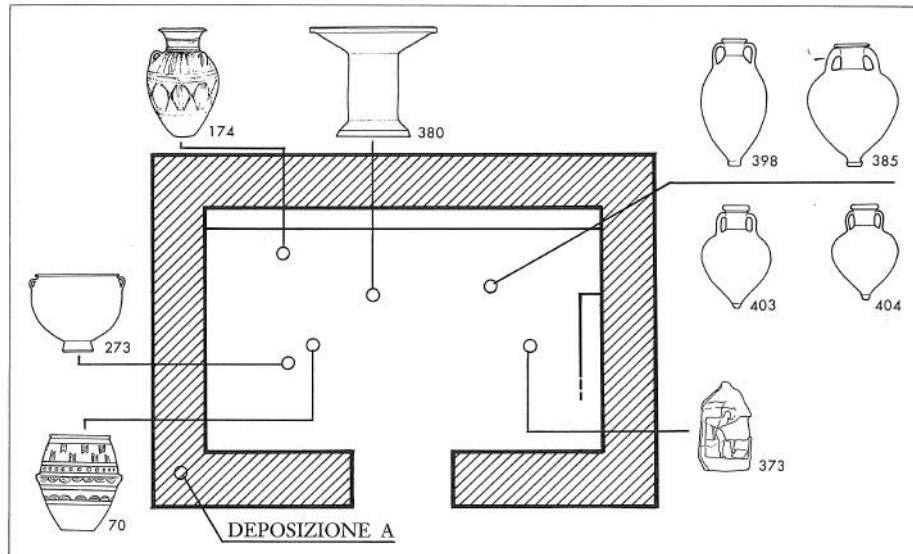


Figure 4.64: Colle Madore, plan of rectangular oikos with object locations (Vassallo 1999: 51)



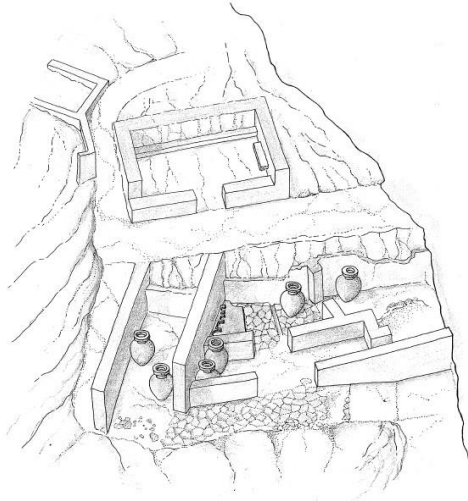


Figure 4.65: Colle Madore, reconstruction of lower terrace oikos connected to service and work rooms (Caruso and Caruso 2004: 17)

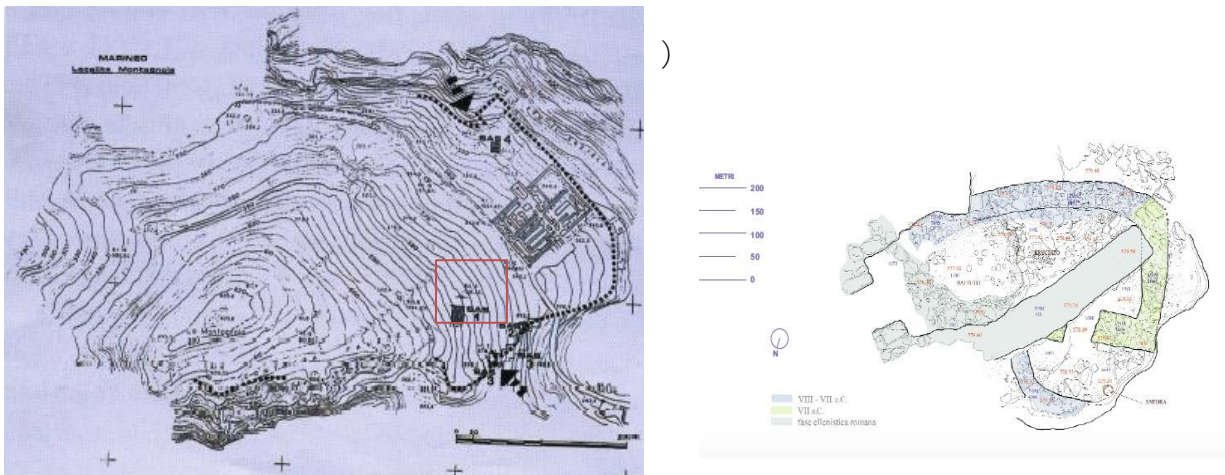


Figure 4.66: Montagnola di Marone, map and phase plan of rounded oikos (Spatafora 2009: 296; Spatafora 2007 (Guida Breve): 13)



Figure 4.67: Objects from the southern deposit, sacred zone near the southeast city wall: bone and terracotta animal figurines, *dipinto* vase, Chalkidian helmet (Spatafora 2007 (Guida Breve): 22, 23, 21; Tamburello 1970: 32)

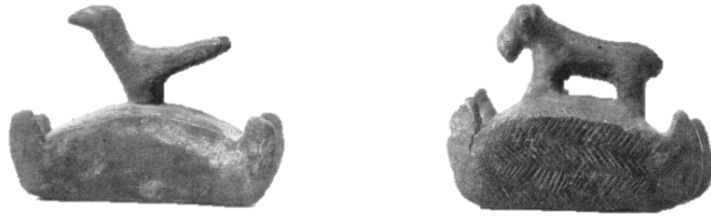


Figure 4.68: Castronovo, stylized astragali (Cutroni Tusa 1963: Tav. XLII)

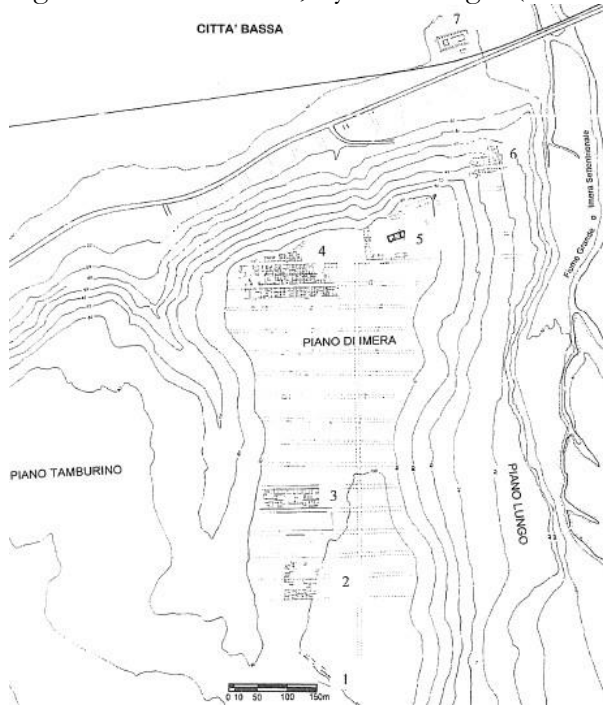


Figure 4.69: Himera, site plan: fortification (1), South Quarter (2), Isolato XII (3), North Quarter (4), Temple of Athena (5), East Quarter (6), Temple of Victory (7). (Allegro and Fiorentino 2010: 511)



Figure 4.70: Indigenous painted vase from Himera, Temple A (Vassallo 2003: Tav. CCXXX)

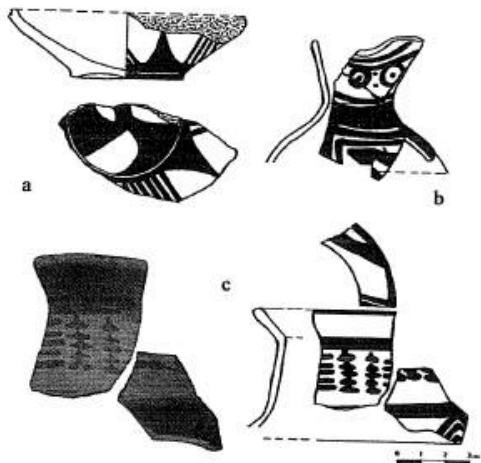


Figure 4.71: Indigenous vases from Himera, habitation area (Allegro and Fiorentino 2010: 3)

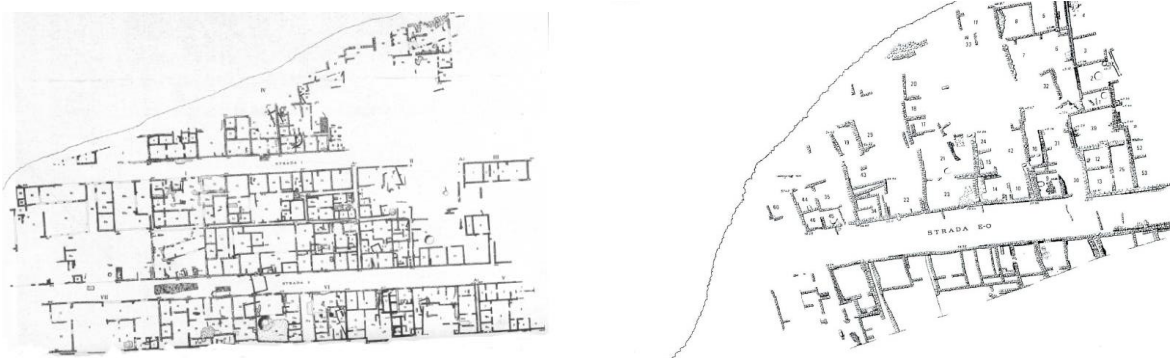


Figure 4.72: Himera, Northern Quarter, Eastern Quarter (Bonacasa 1981: 335; Bonacasa 1986: Tav. VI)

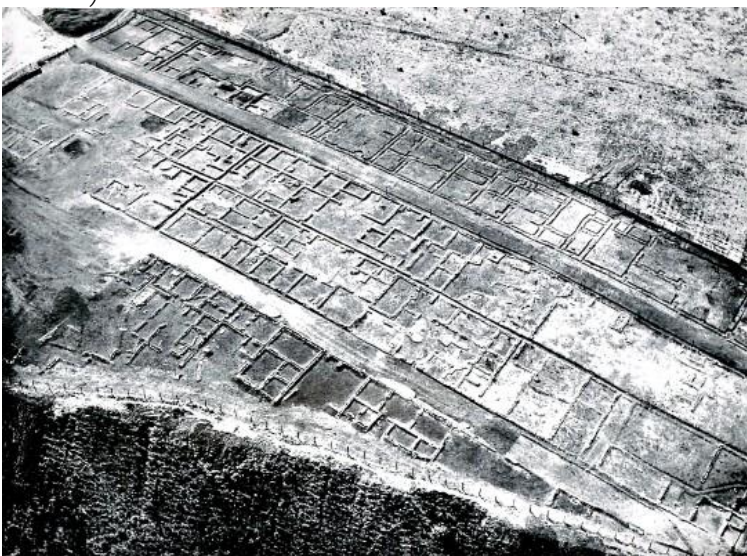


Figure 4.73: Himera, Northern Quarter with marked neighborhoods (Isolati I, II and III) (Allegro 1976: Tav. 2)

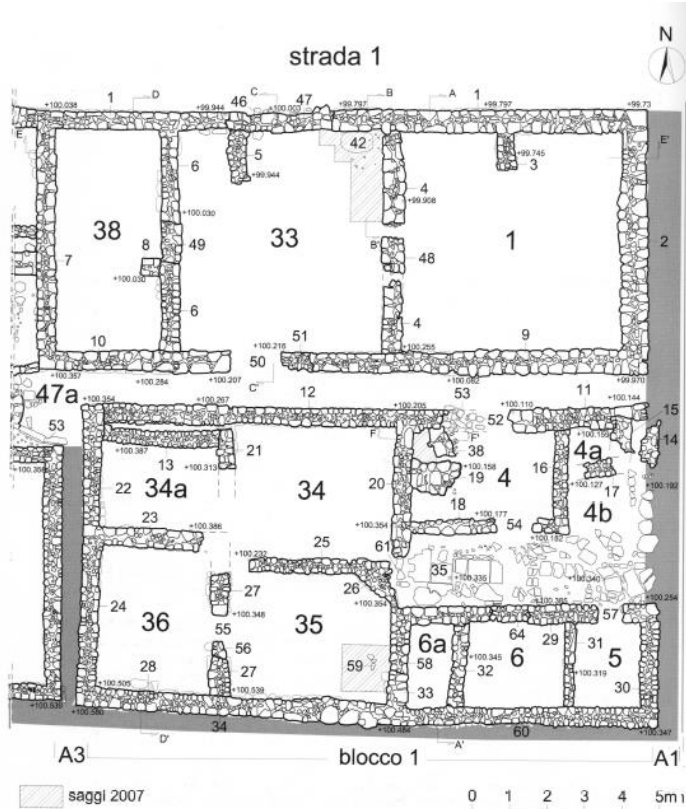


Figure 4.74: Himera, Northern and Southern buildings (Block 1), with marked early Archaic structures (Allegro 2008: 20)

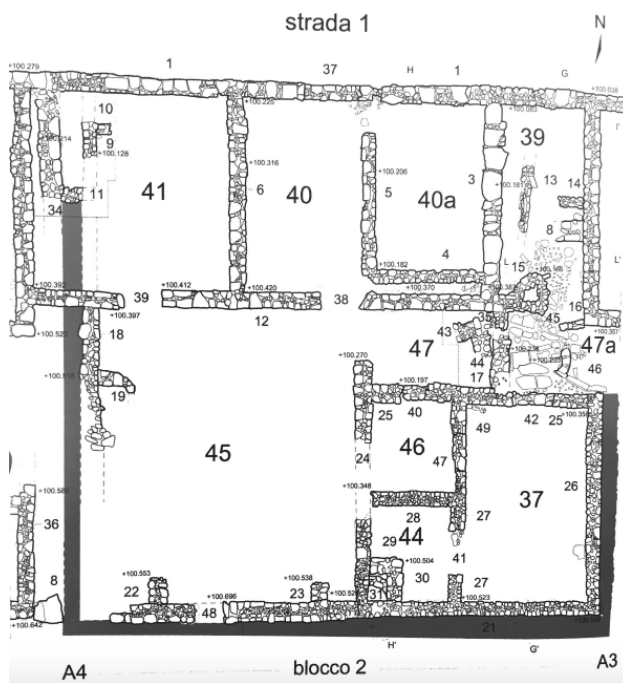


Figure 4.75: Himera, Block 2 buildings, with marked early Archaic structures (Allegro 2008: 78)

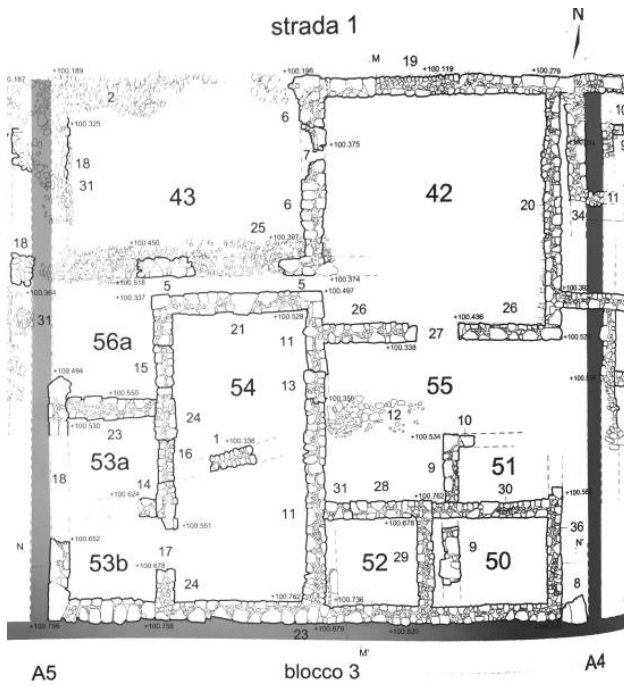


Figure 4.76: Himera, Block 3 buildings, with marked early Archaic structures (Allegro 2008: 134)

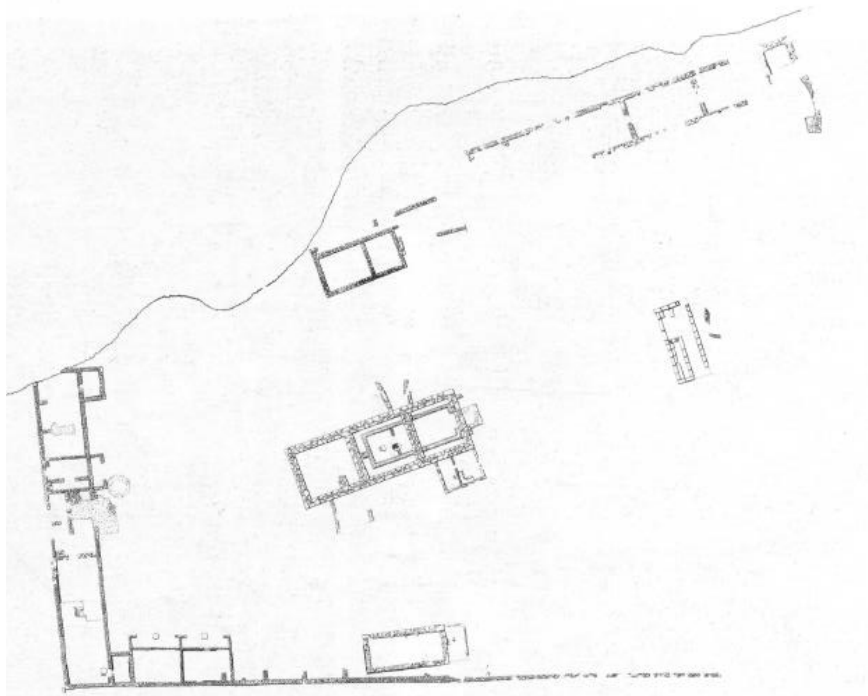


Figure 4.77: Himera, sacred area in the East District (Bonacasa 1986: Tav. XII)



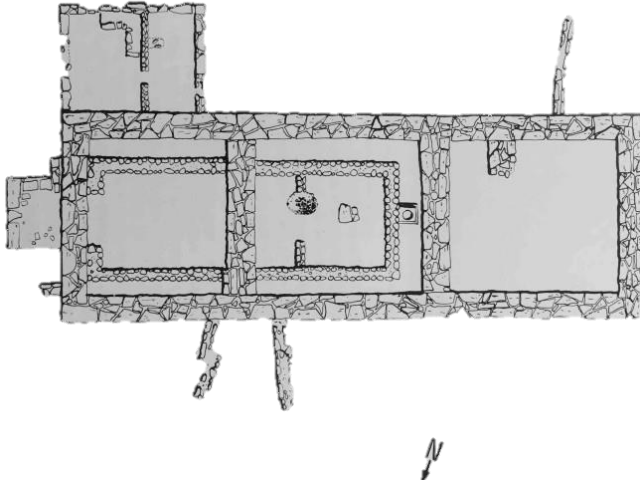


Figure 4.78: Himera, East District, Temple A (Bonacasa 1981: 325)



Figure 4.79: Himera, gold foil lamina from Temple A (Bonacasa 1986: Tav. I)



Figure 4.80: Himera, small finds from Temple A: prone faience figure, bronze Athena statuette, ram aryballos, double eye fibula (Bonacasa 1986: Tav. I, Adriani 1970: Tav. XXXI, XV, XXXIII)

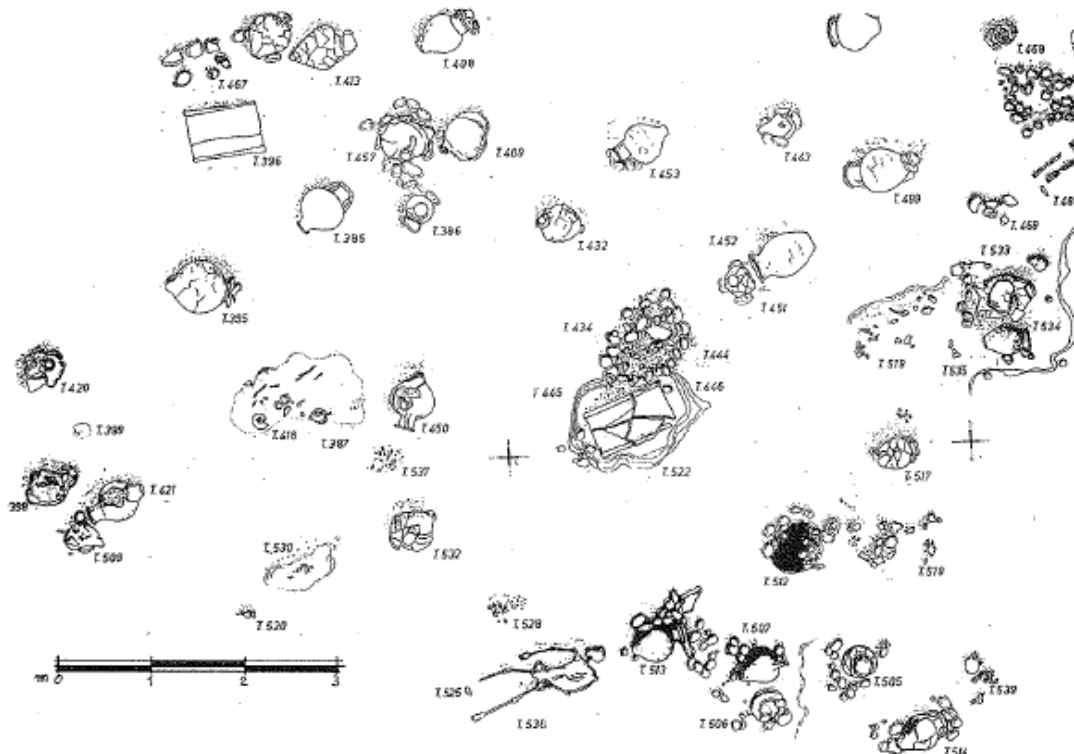


Figure 4.81: Himera, segment of the Pestavecchia Necropolis (Vassallo 1993: 1246)

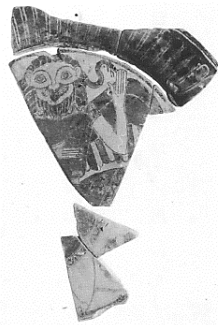


Figure 4.82: Himera, Pestavecchia Necropolis, plate with running gorgon (Vassallo 1993: Tav. CLXX)



Figure 4.83: Himera, indigenous vases from the West (left) and Pestavecchia (right) necropoleis (Vassallo 2016: 75, Vassallo 1993: Tav. CCXXVII)



Figure 4.84: Himera, detail of Wild Goat Style cup from the East Necropolis (Vassallo 2016: 72)



Figure 4.85: Himera, Phoenician glass amphoriskos, aryballos, and amphora (Vassallo 2016: 76)



Figure 5.1: Map of Chapter 5 area



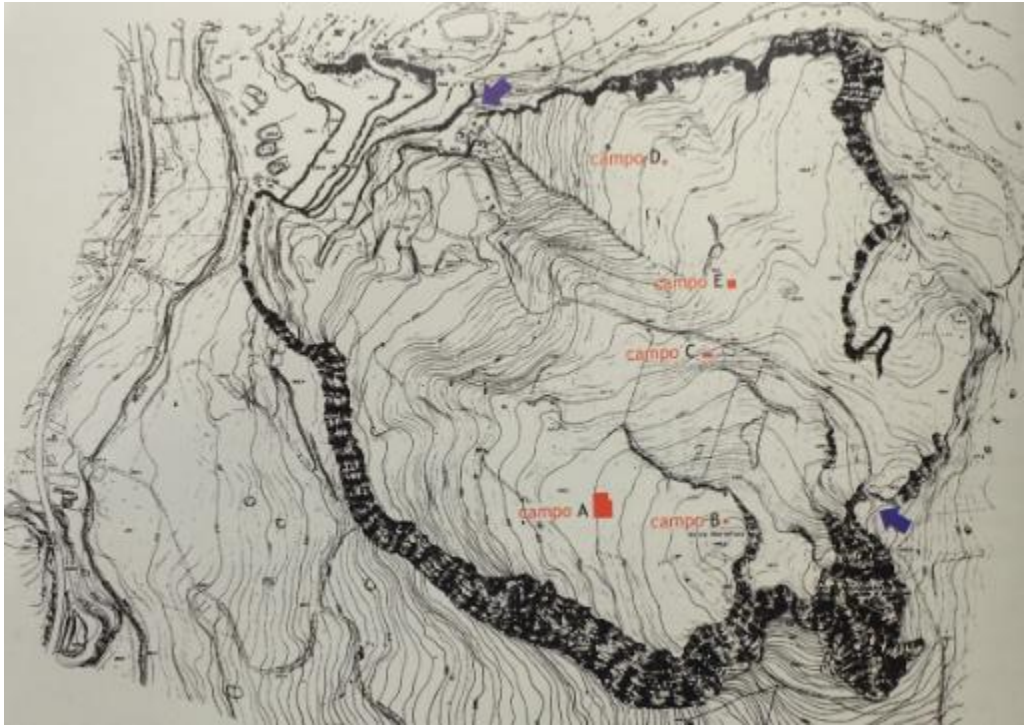


Figure 5.2: General plan of Monte Maranfusa (Spatafora 2003: 20)

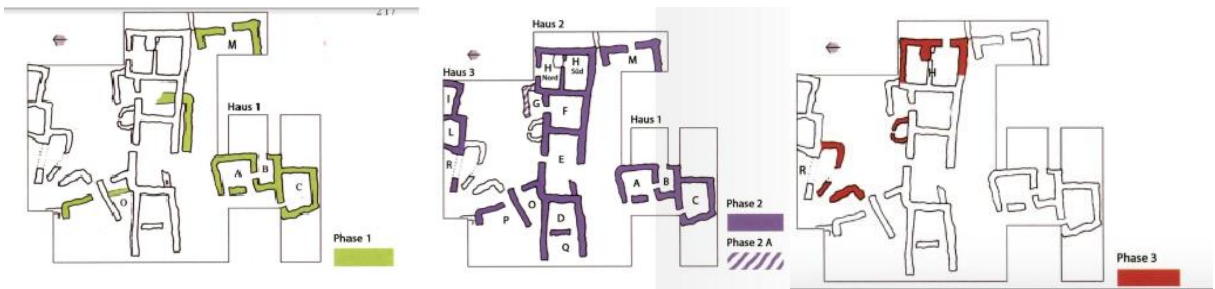


Figure 5.3: Phases of Field A, Monte Maranfusa (Isler 2010: 217)



Figure 5.4: Field A, Monte Maranfusa – northern (a), central (b) and southern (c) sectors (Spatafora 2003: 56, 42, 34)

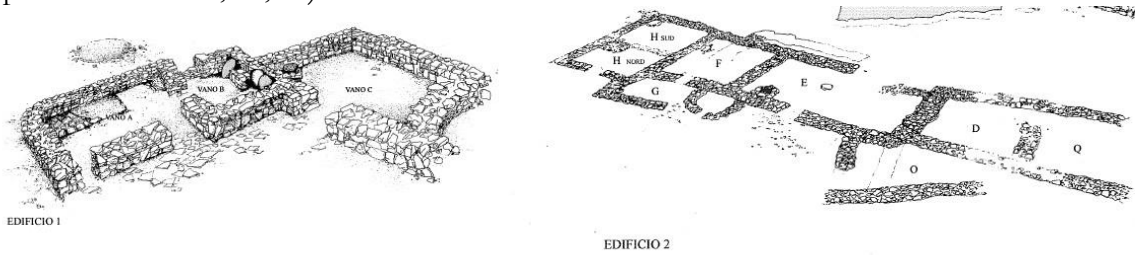


Figure 5.5: Field A, plans of Houses 1 and 2, Monte Maranfusa (Spatafora 2003: 70, 80)

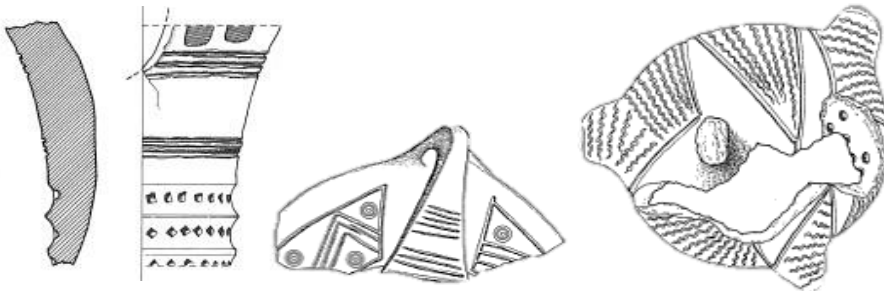


Figure 5.6: Monte Maranfusa, incised wares from Field A (fruit stand dipper-cup, askos) (Spatafora 2003: 126, 114, 138)

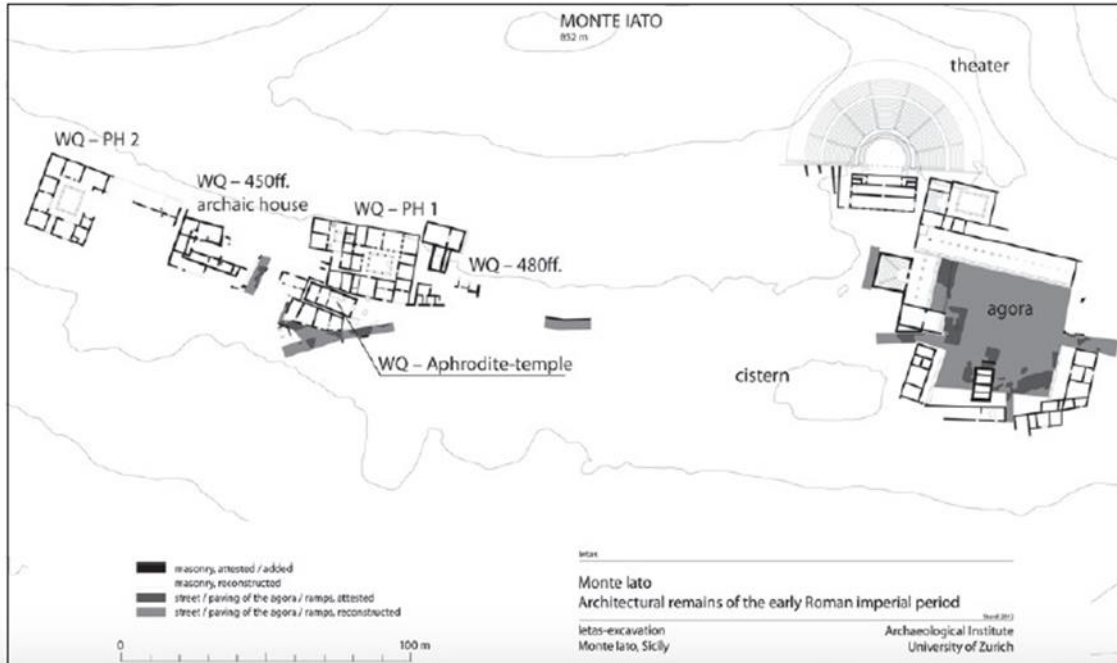


Figure 5.7: Monte Iato, general plan of main settlement and sacred area, including the two peristyle houses (PH 1 and 2) (Kistler et al. 2016: 81)



Figure 5.8: Monte Iato, Protoarchaic material from the early settlement (Isler 2010: 143)



Figure 5.9: Monte Iato, Early Archaic 2-roomed house and earlier hut underneath (Kistler et al. 2014: 7)





Figure 5.10: Monte Iato, one-roomed Archaic house to the west of the agora, containing terracotta model with bull figure (Isler 2010: 160, 163)



Figure 5.11: Monte Iato, Archaic houses south of the Hellenistic Agora (above: phase 1, first half 6<sup>th</sup> century; below: phase 2, late 6<sup>th</sup> century); terracotta head from House I (Kistler et al. 2016: 83, Isler 2010: 158)

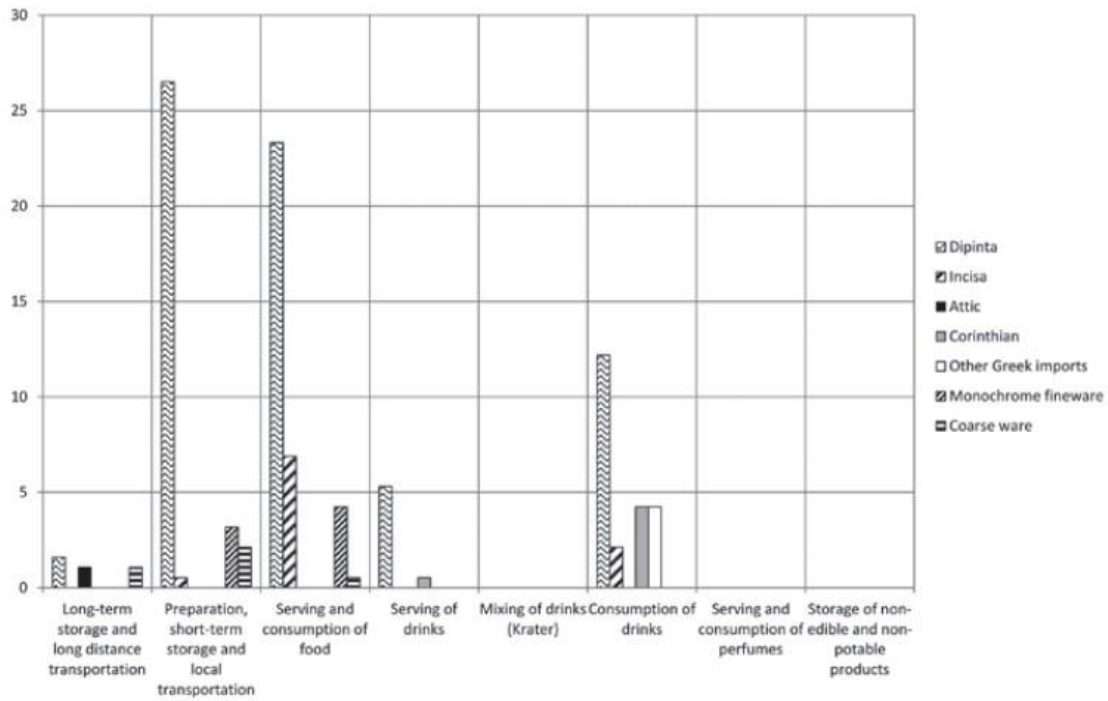


Figure 5.12: Monte Iato, ceramic assemblage from the Archaic settlement south of the later agora (Kistler et al. 2016: 85)



Figure 5.13: Monte Iato, Archaic cult area East of Peristyle House 1, terracotta figured arula (Isler 2010: 173)

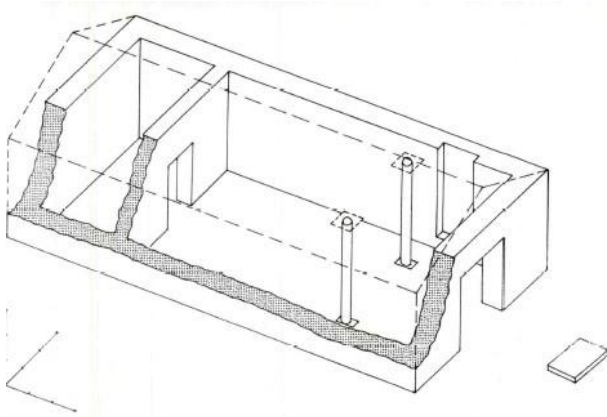
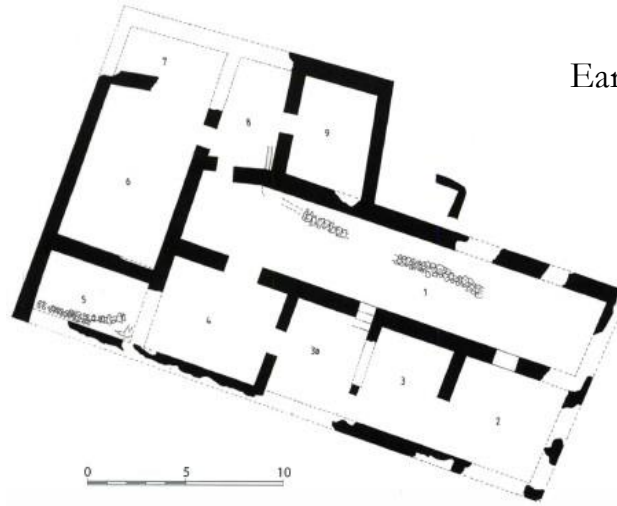


Figure 5.14: Monte Iato, Aphrodite temple, axiometric plan (Isler 2010: 168)



Earlier Archaic

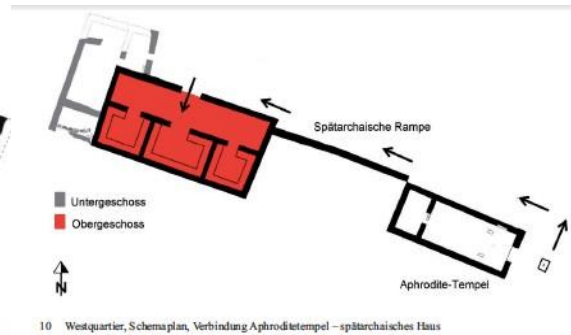


Figure 5.15: Monte Iato, Late Archaic house with location of earlier remains; connection with the Aphrodite temple (Isler 2010: 177, Kistler et al. 2013: 236)



Figure 5.16: Monte Iato, early Archaic deposits and structures in the vicinity of the Late Archaic House and Aphrodite Temple (<https://www.uibk.ac.at/projects/monte-iato/fwf/ii/>)

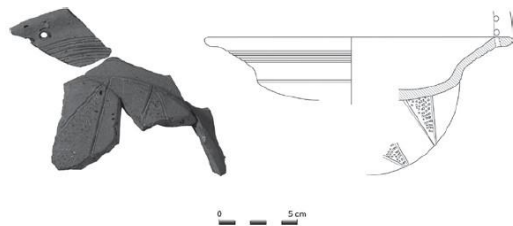


Figure 5.17: Monte Iato, incised dipper-cup (K 26018/I) from the area of the Late Archaic house (Kistler et al. 2016: 89)



Figure 5.18: Monte Iato, polychrome indigenous wares from the area of the Late Archaic House (Isler 2010: 207, 209)

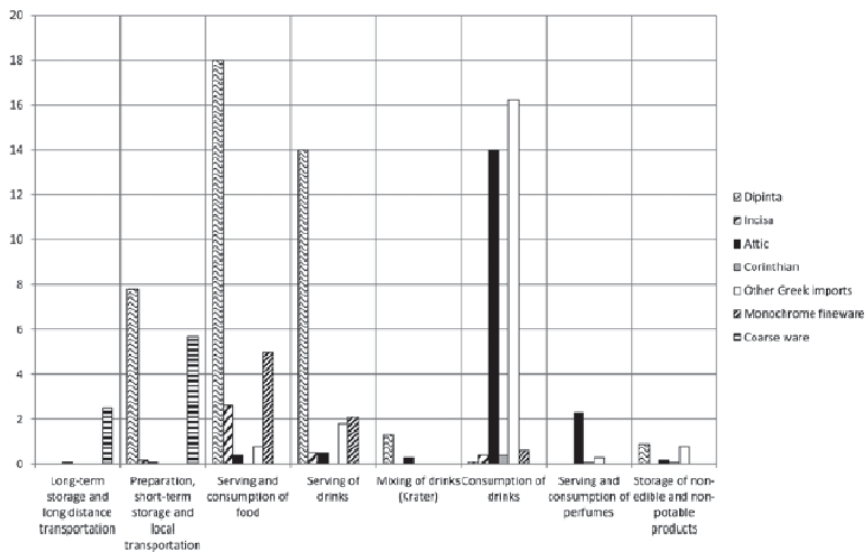
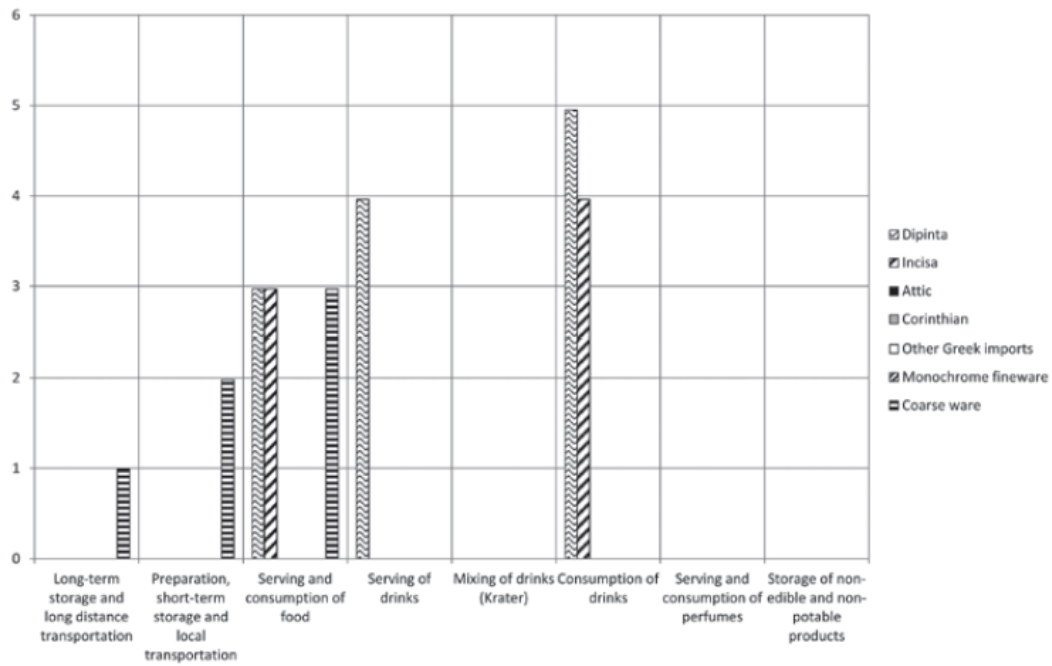


Figure 5.19: Monte Iato, ceramic assemblage from the deposit on the outer square of the Late Archaic House (above), assemblage from the upper floor of the Late Archaic House (below), late 6<sup>th</sup>-early 5<sup>th</sup> cent. (Kistler et al. 2016: 91, 88)



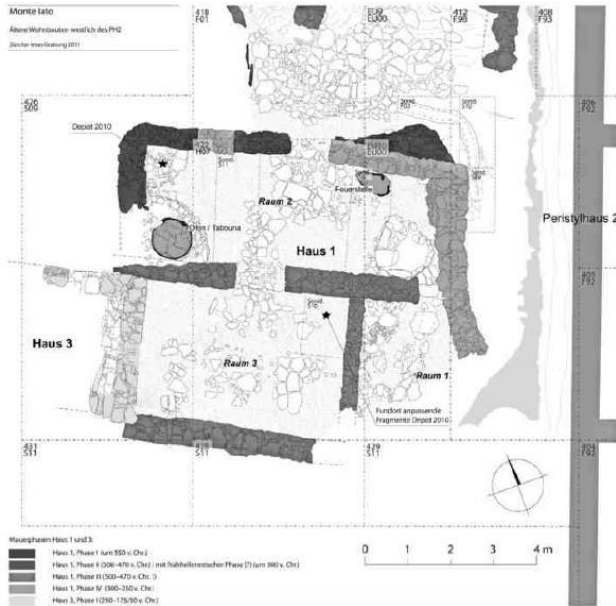


Figure 5.20: Monte Iato: mid-Archaic house west of Hellenistic Peristyle House 2 (Reusser et al. 2011: 89)

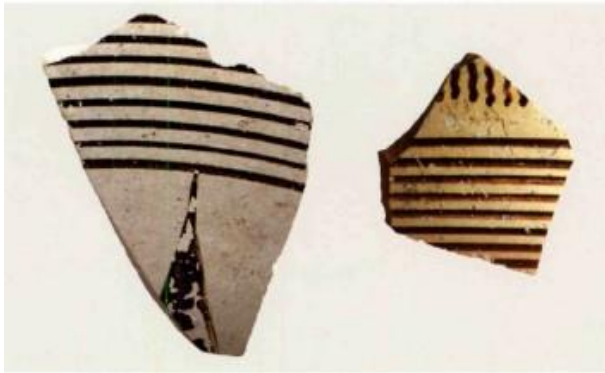


Figure 5.21: Monte Iato, Protocorinthian ceramics (Isler 2010: 146)

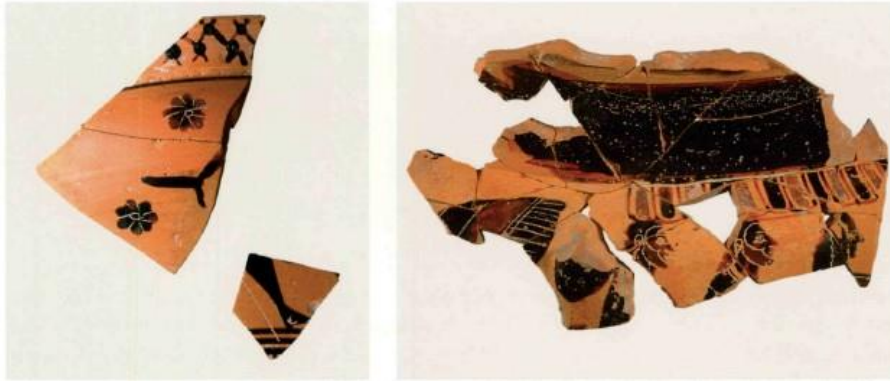


Figure 5.22: Monte Iato, early Attic ceramics dating to the third quarter of the 6th century (K 17171 by the KY Painter, K 20125 by the Lydos painter) (Isler 2010: 148)

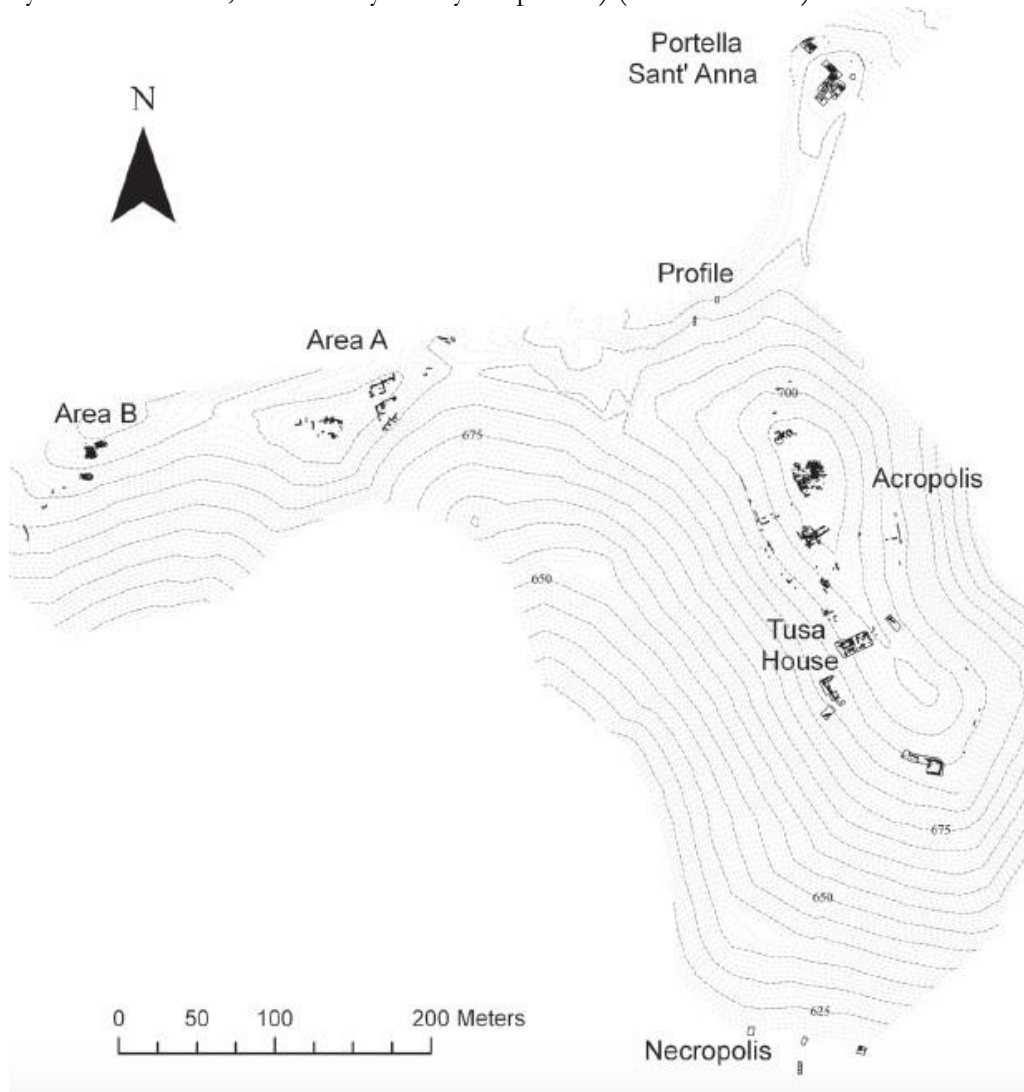


Figure 5.23: Monte Polizzo, general settlement plan (Mühlenbock 2008: 34)

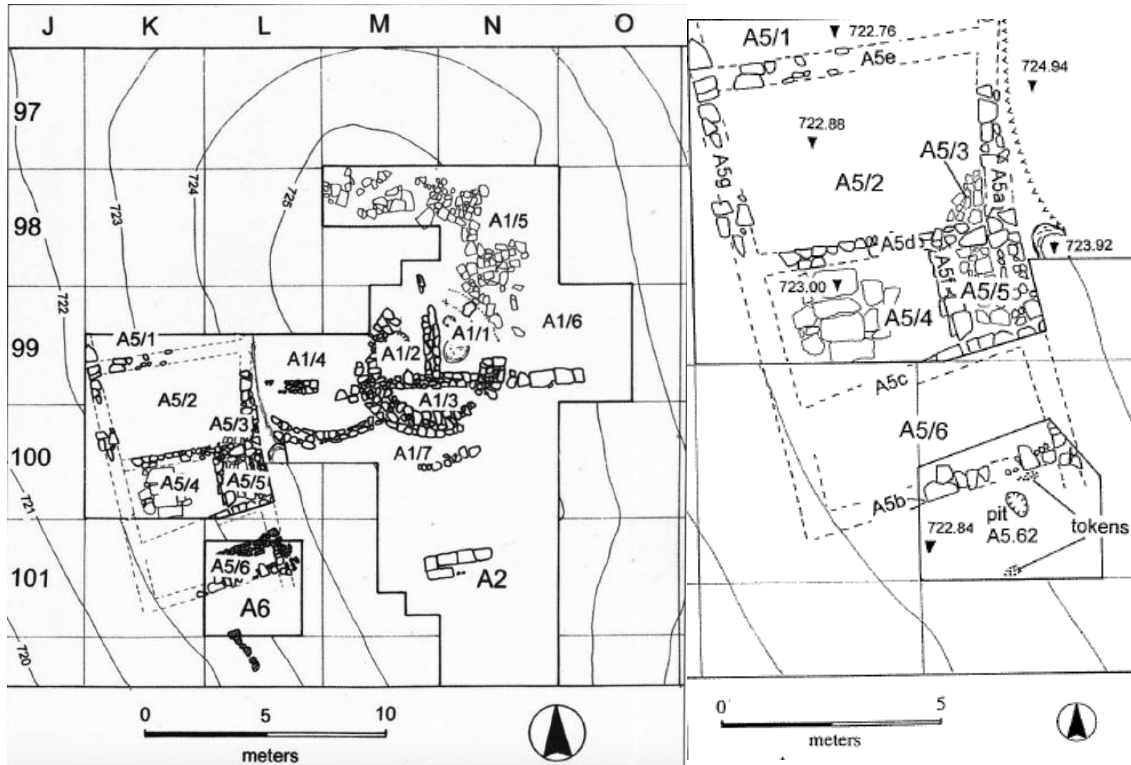


Figure 5.24: Monte Polizzo, plan of acropolis; plan of Early Archaic Building A5 (Morris 2016: 202; Morris and Tusa 2004: 42)

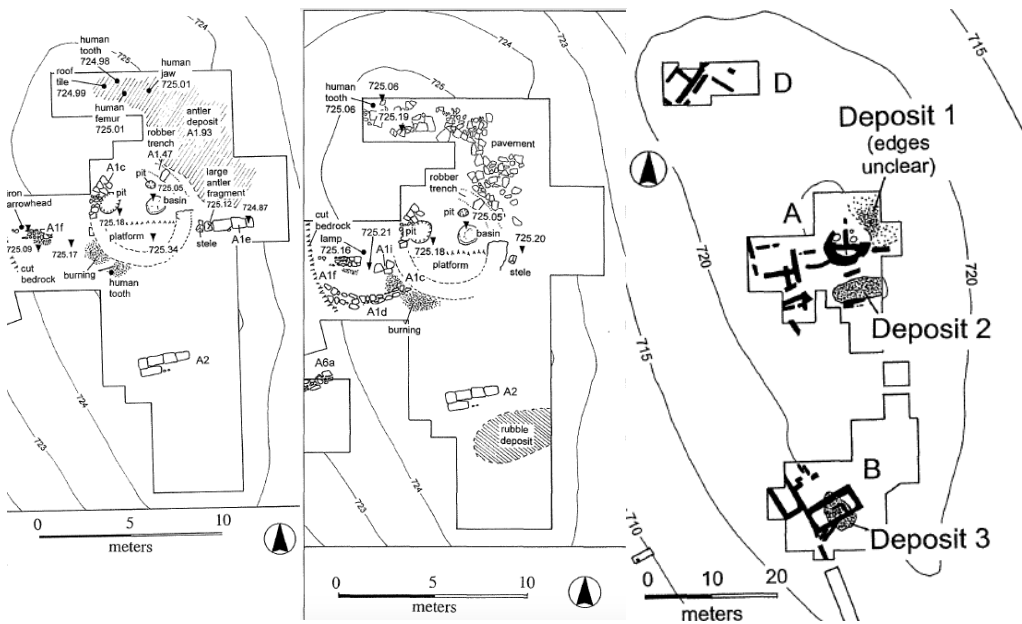


Figure 5.25: Monte Polizzo, plan of acropolis in phase 2 (first half 6th cent.), phase 3 (third quarter 6th cent.), and location of antler deposits (Morris and Tusa 2004: 48, 51 50)



Figure 5.26: Monte Polizzo, round oikos, Building A1 (Morris and Tusa 2004: 203)

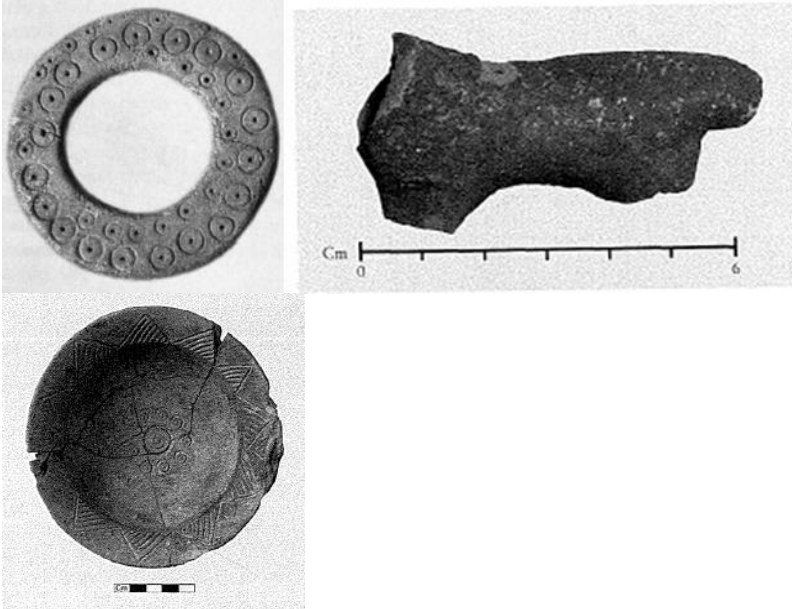


Figure 5.27: Monte Polizzo, small objects and incised vase from the acropolis deposits (Morris and Tusa 2004: 42, 66; Morris 2016: 207)

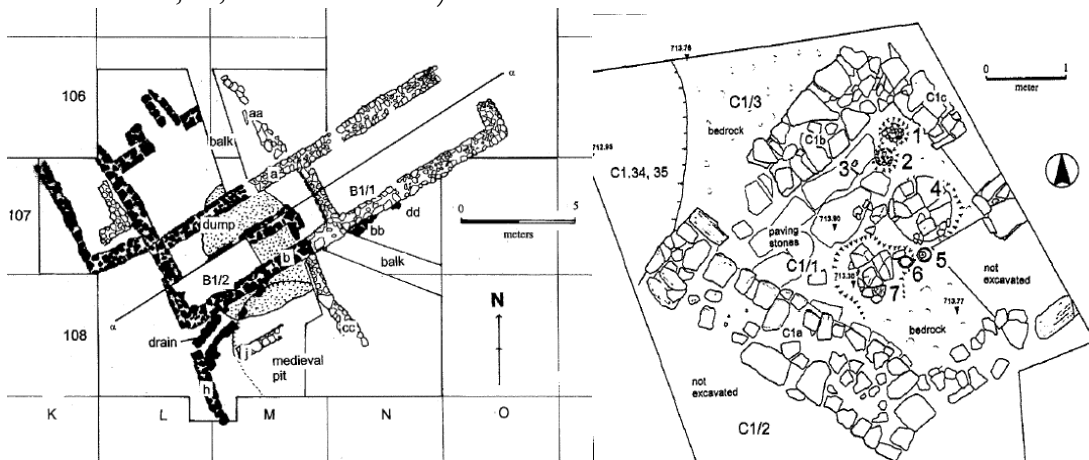


Figure 5.28: Monte Polizzo, zones B and C (Morris and Tusa 2004: 43, 44)

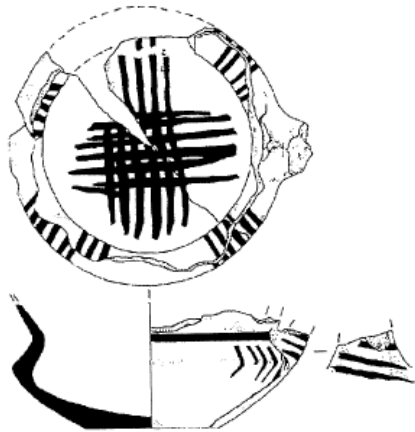


Figure 5.29: Monte Polizzo, Matt-painted dipper-cup from Zone B (Morris and Tusa 2004: 56)

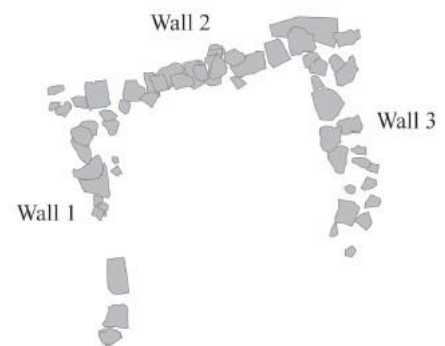
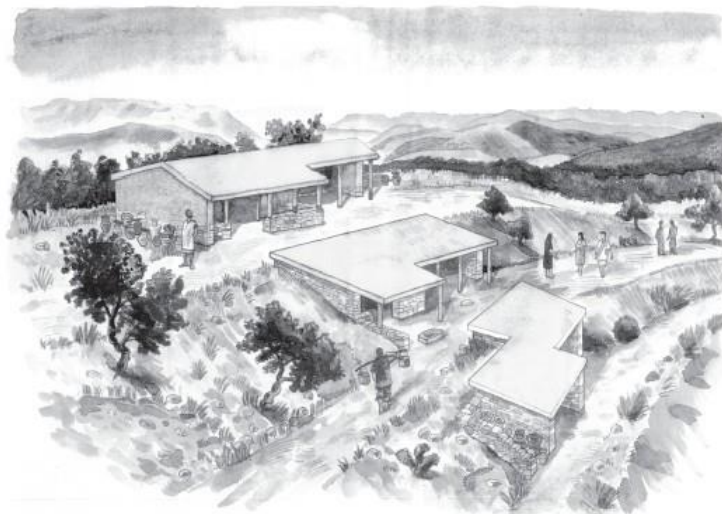


Figure 5.30: Monte Polizzo, reconstruction of Houses 1, 2, and 3 in Area A; and plan of House 4 in Area B (Mühlenbock 2008: 39, 63)

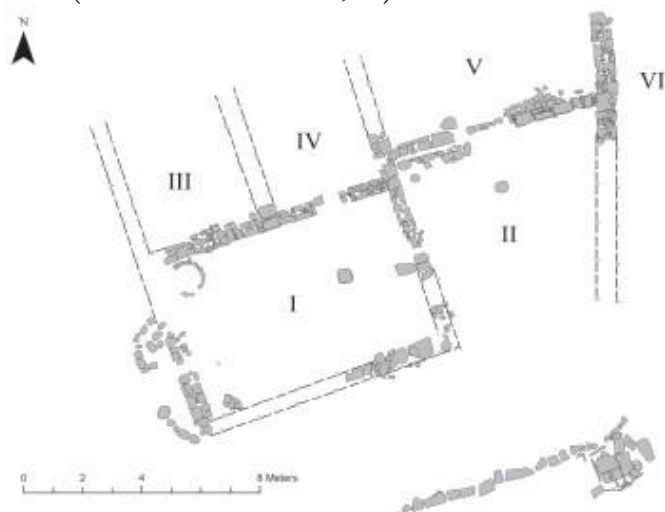


Figure 5.31: Monte Polizzo, plan of House 1 (Mühlenbock 2008: 48)



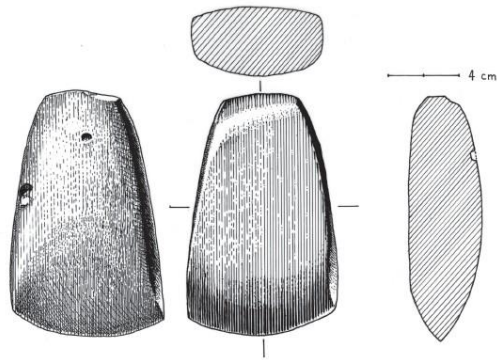


Figure 5.32: Monte Polizzo, stone axe from House 1 (Mühlenbock 2008: 120)

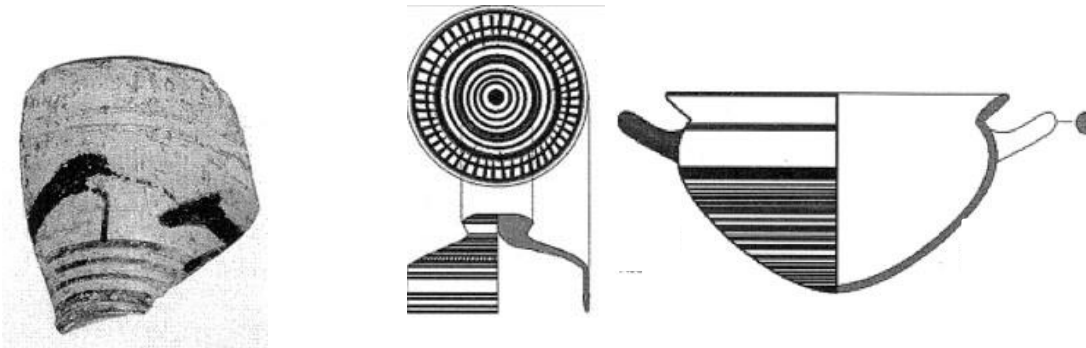


Figure 5.33: Monte Polizzo, imported ceramics from House 1 (Mühlenbock 2004: 63, 64, 67)

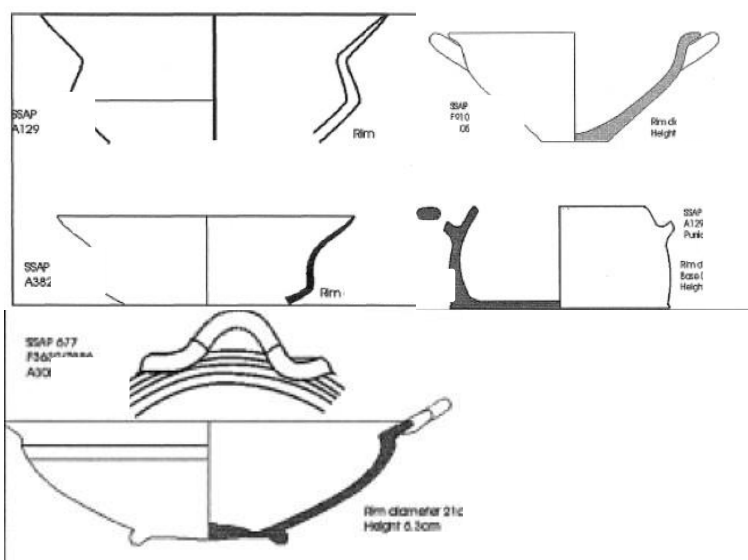


Figure 5.34: Monte Polizzo, indigenous ceramics from House 1 (Mühlenbock 2004: 61, 68)

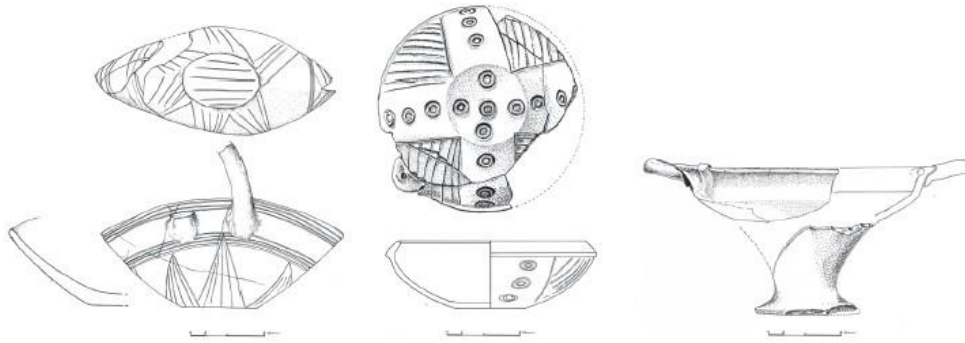


Figure 5.35: Monte Polizzo, incised ritual wares from House 1 (Mühlenbock 2008: 107)



Figure 5.36: Anthropomorphizing cup-dippers from Houses 1 (left) and 3 (right) (Mühlenbock 2008: 187)

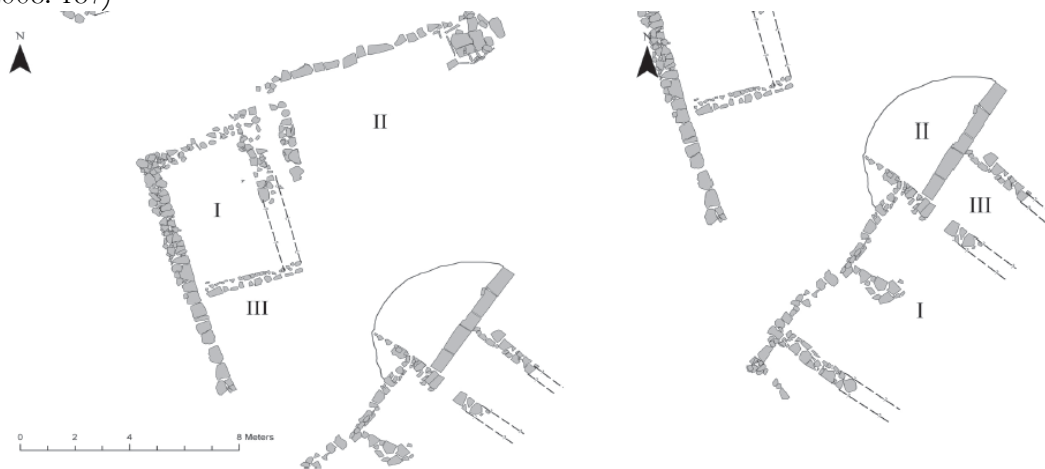


Figure 5.37: Monte Polizzo, plans of Houses 2 and 3 (Mühlenbock 2008: 55, 61)



Figure 5.38: Monte Polizzo, ornaments from Houses 2 and 3 (Mühlenbock 2008: 117-18)



Figure 5.39: Montagnoli di Menfi, plan of sacred area (Öhlinger 2015b: Taf. 5 Abb. 10)





Figure 5.40: Montagnoli di Menfi, plans of Hut 1 (left) and Hut 7 (right) (Castellana 1988: Figure 3, Castellana 2000: Tav. XXXVI)

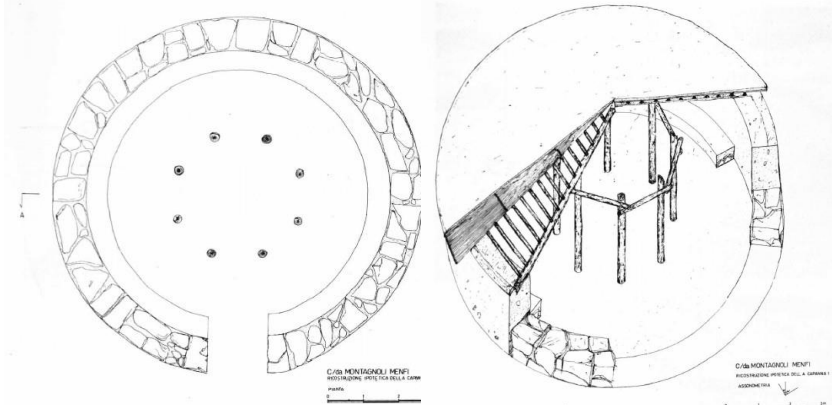


Figure 5.41: Montagnoli di Menfi, reconstruction of Hut 1 (Castellana 1988: Figure 21, Figure 23)



Figure 5.42: Montagnoli di Menfi, ritual objects (kerdos, scodelloni) and ornaments from Hut 1 (Castellana 1988: Figure 12; Öhlinger 2015b: Taf. 3, Abb. 7)



Figure 5.43: Montagnoli di Menfi, stamped hearth from Hut 7 (Castellana 2000: Tav. XXXVIII)

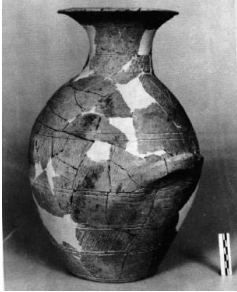


Figure 5.44: Montagnoli di Menfi, incised pithos from Hut 1 (Castellana 1988: Figure 15)

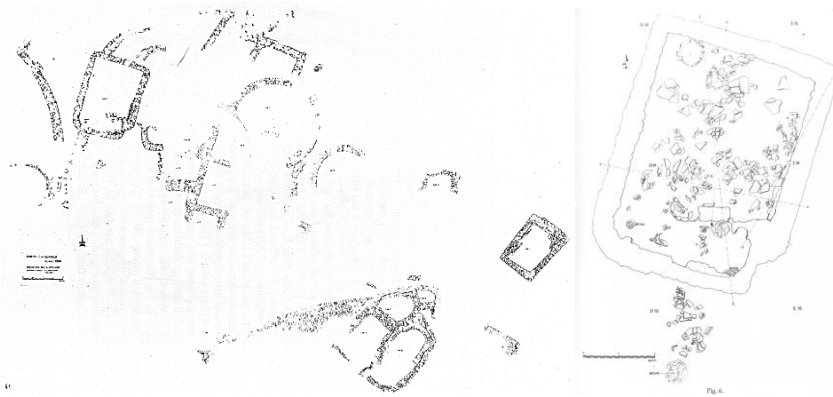


Figure 5.45: Scirinda, plan with rectangular dwellings (Castellana 1993: 746-7)



Figure 5.46: Montagna dei Cavalli, incised sherds from the settlement (Di Stefano 1991: 133)

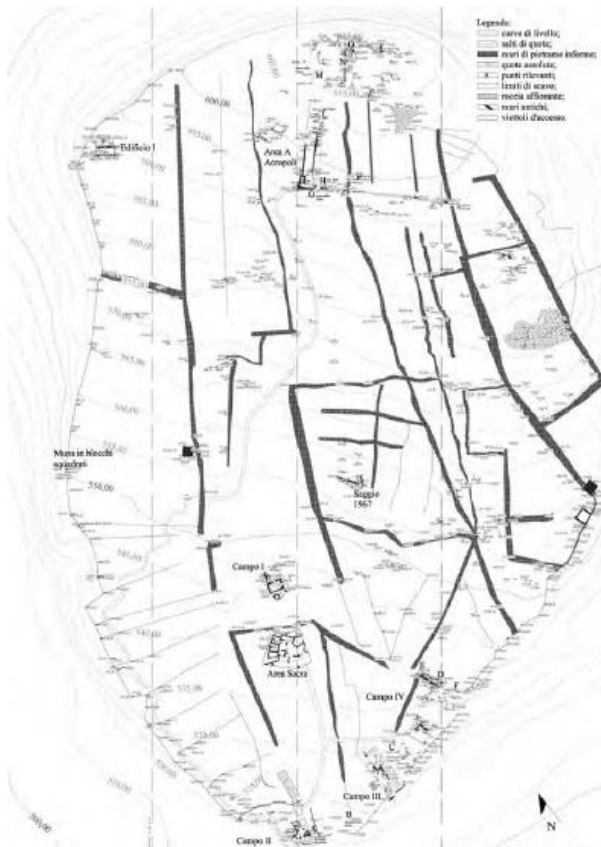


Figure 5.47: Castellazzo di Poggioreale, general site plan (Giglio Cerniglia et al. 2012: 252)

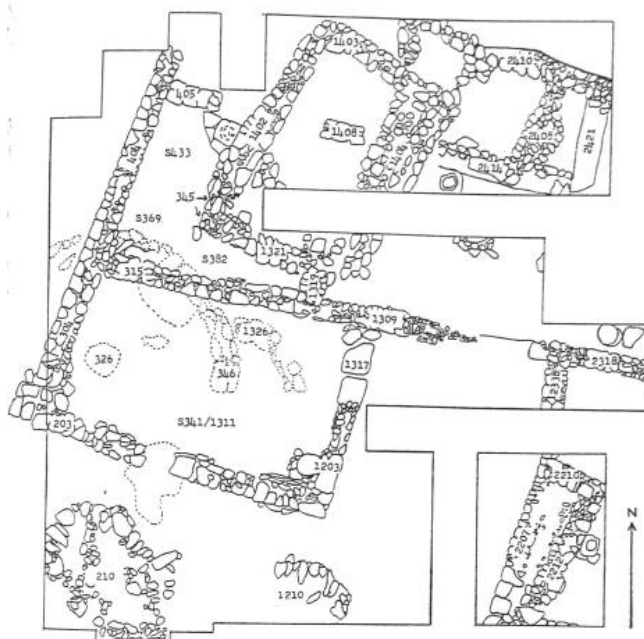


Figure 5.48: Castellazzo di Poggioreale, plan of multi-room structure (Falsone et al. 1980: 939)



Figure 5.49: Castellazzo di Poggioreale, one-roomed elliptical structure in Area 12 (Giglio Cerniglio et al. 2012: 60)



Figure 5.50: Castellazzo di Poggioreale, circular hearth from Campo I (Giglio Cerniglio et al. 2012: 53)



Figure 5.51: Castellazzo di Poggioreale, indigenous incised ritual wares (Falsone et al. 1980: 961, Giglio Cerniglio et al. 2012: 61)



Figure 5.52: Castellazzo di Poggioreale, Wild Goat Style vase (Falsone et al. 1980: 954)

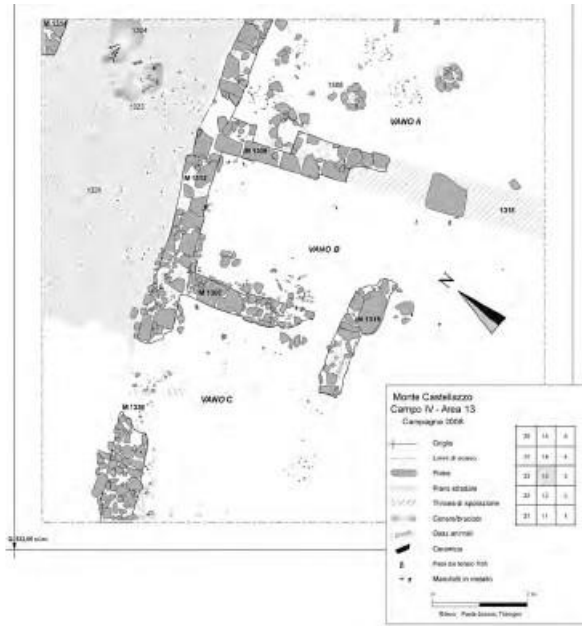


Figure 5.53: Castellazzo di Poggioreale, three-room structure (sanctuary?) in Area 13 (Giglio Cerniglio et al. 2012: 59)

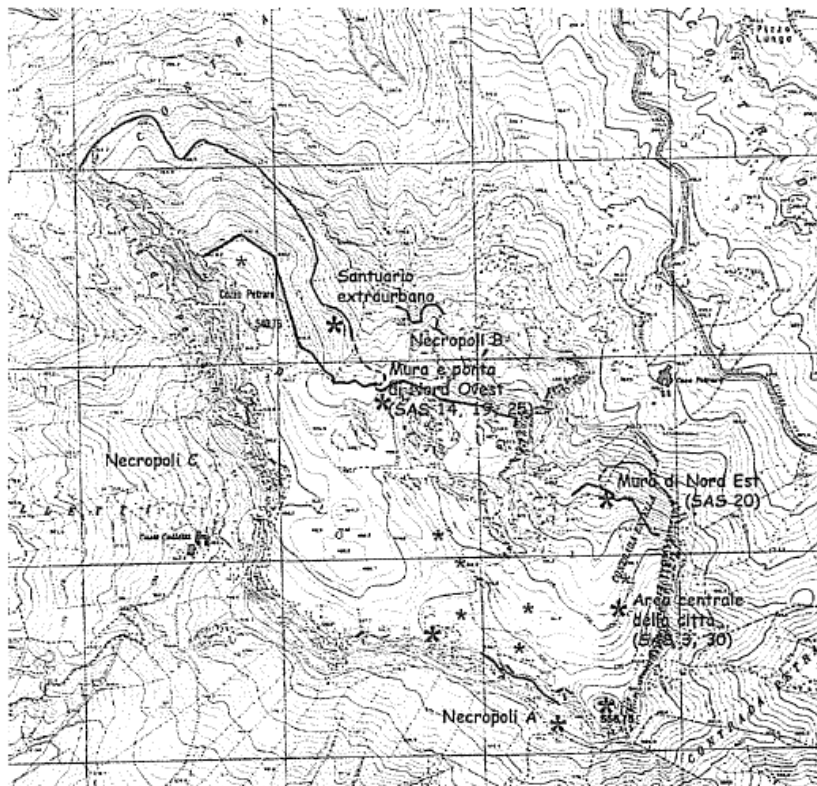


Figure 5.54: Entella, general plan (Guglielmino 1992: Tav. XLIII)



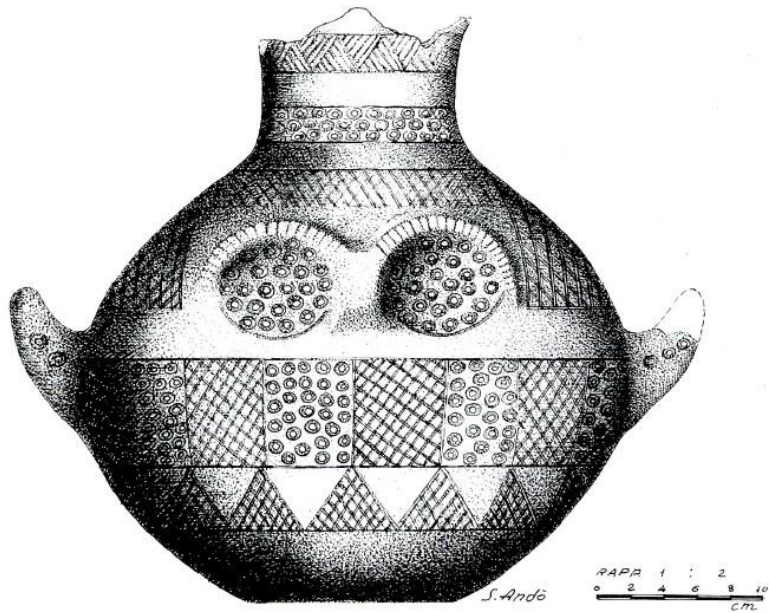


Figure 5.55: Incised amphora with stylized anthropomorphizing protome, Tomb 2 (Nenci and Becker 1993: 183)

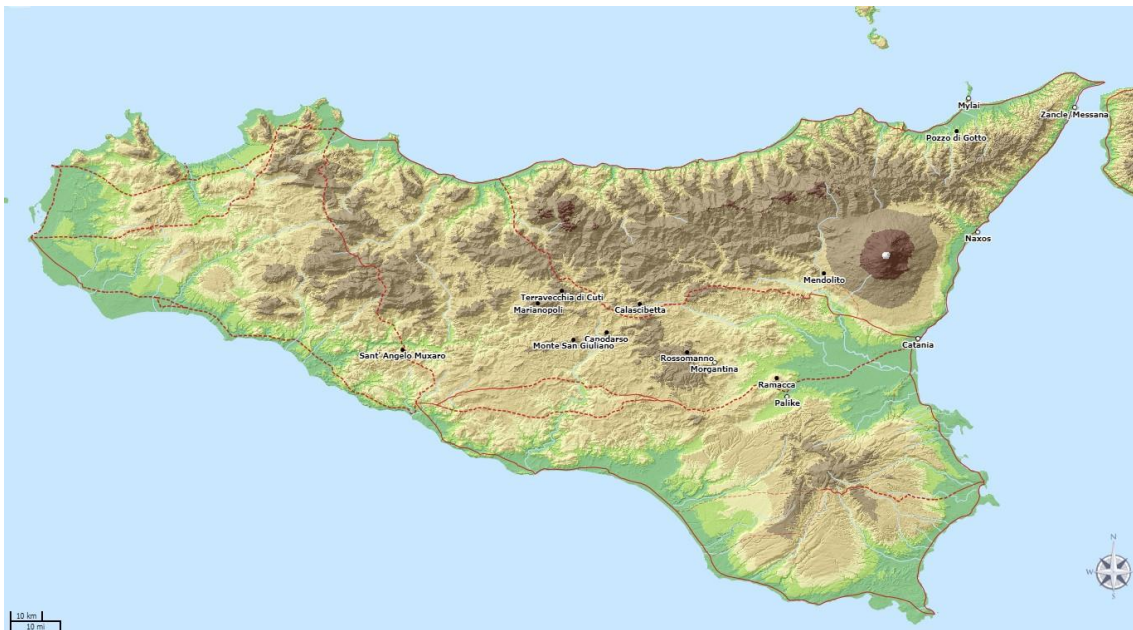


Figure 6.1: Map of Chapter 6 area



Figure 6.2: Plan of Archaic Naxos (Pakkanen et al. 2015: 30)

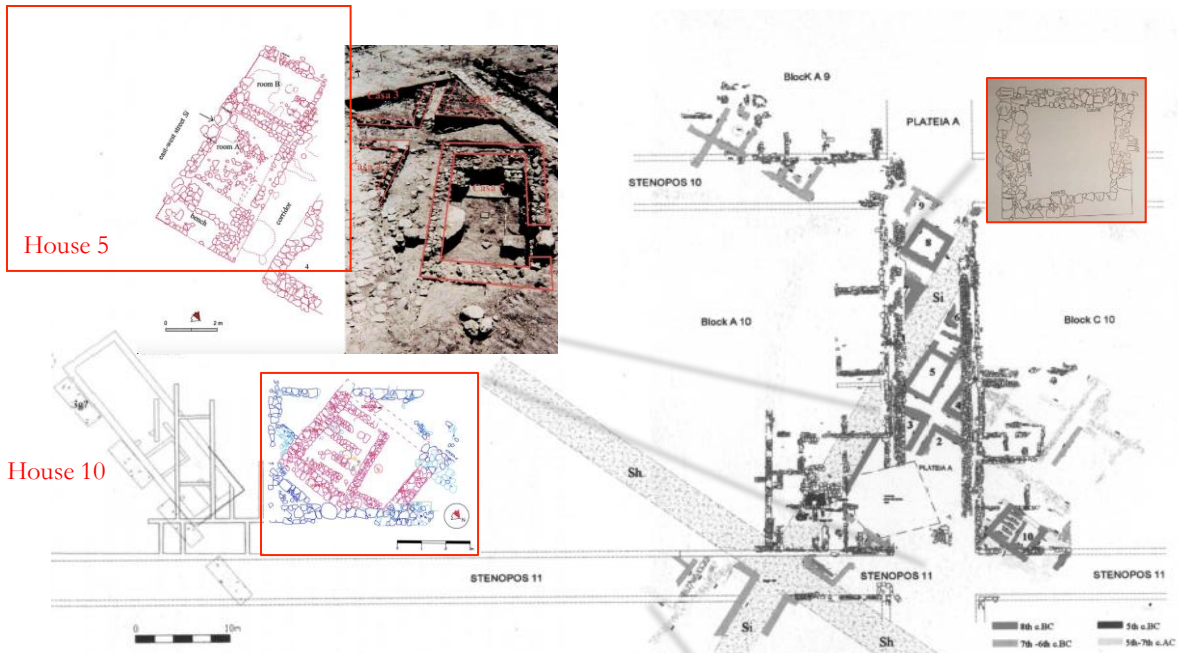


Figure 6.3: Naxos, phase plan of the Archaic habitation area (Lentini 2008: 497, Lentini 2015: Pl. 40)

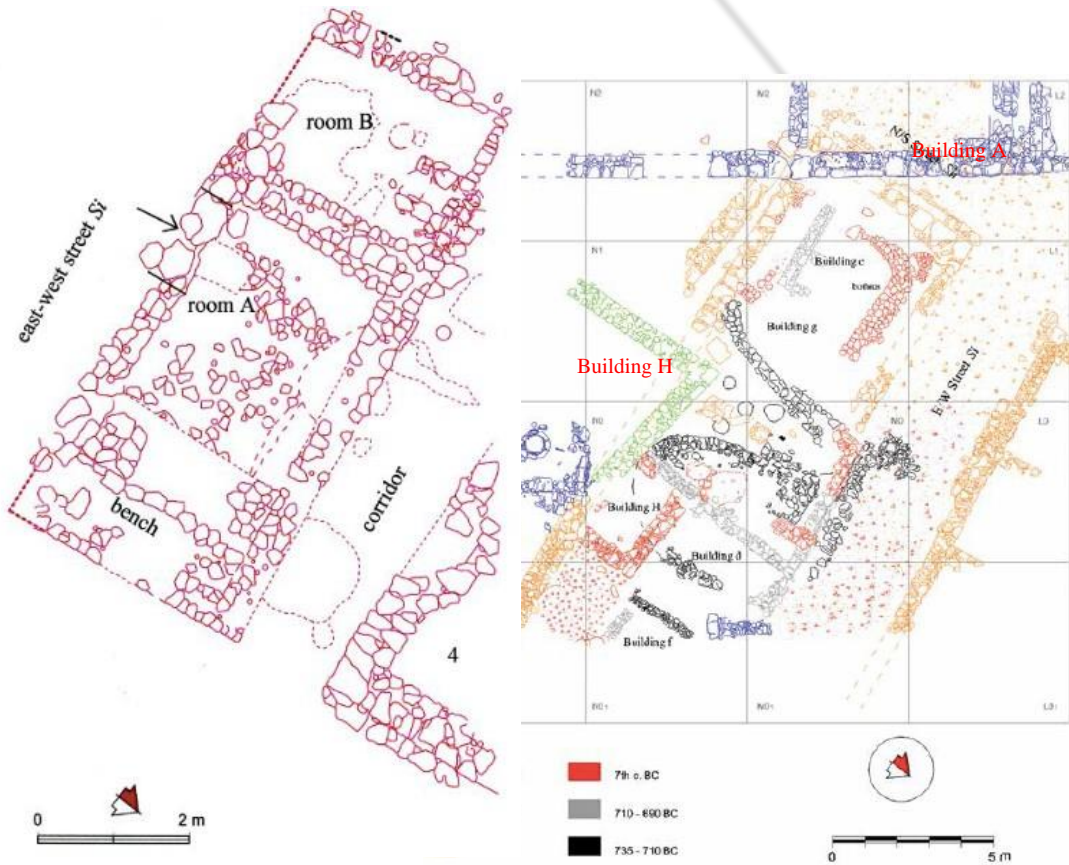


Figure 6.4: Naxos, plan of House 5 (left) and Building A (right) (Lentini 2009: 25; Lentini 2015: Pl. 33)





Figure 6.5: Naxos, sherds from House 5 (Lentini 2001: 35)



Figure 6.6: Naxos, Building A, overlying earlier structures c, b and g (Lentini 2012: 170, Lentini 2015: Pl. 36)



Figure 6.7: Naxos, indigenous ceramics in the area of Building A (Lentini 2012: 171-3)

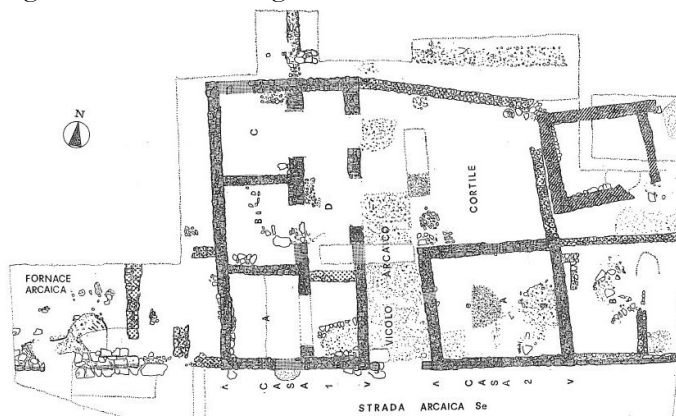


Figure 6.8: Naxos, Pastas House no. 1 in the northeast sector of the city (Lentini 1984: 816)

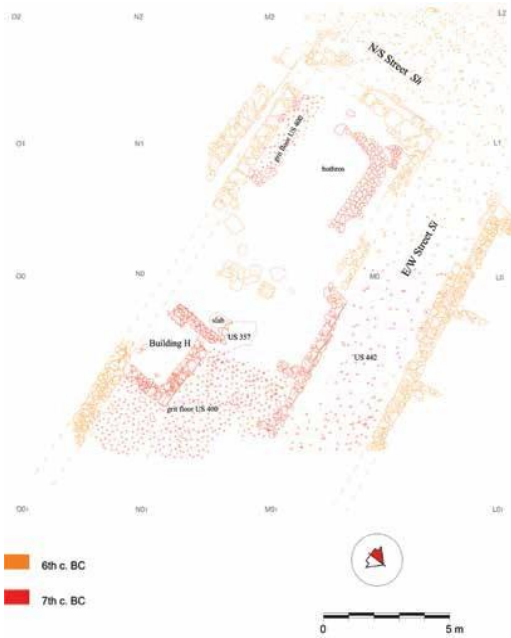


Figure 6.9: Naxos: Building H, plan and photograph (Lentini 2015: Pl. 35)



Figure 6.10: Naxos: spouted krater, helmeted head between two lions (Lentini 2015b: 248)

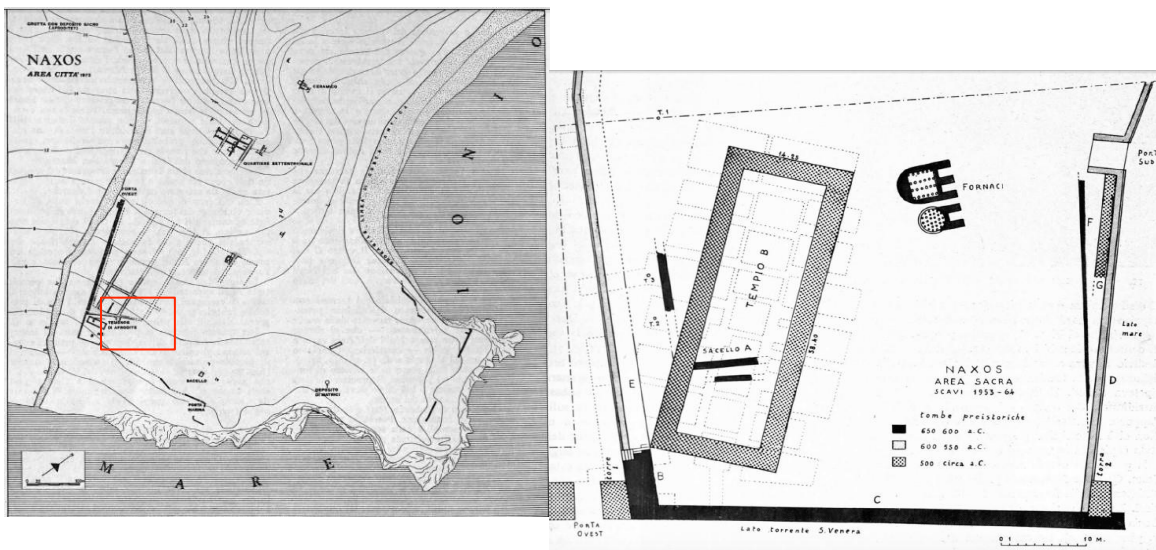


Figure 6.11: Plan of the Southwest Sanctuary, with Shrine A and Temple B (Pelagatti 1972: 218, Pelagatti 1964: 151)



Figure 6.12: Naxos, artifacts from the votive deposits: spearheads, Daedalic figurine, early inscribed Ionian cup (Pelagatti 1964: 154-5)

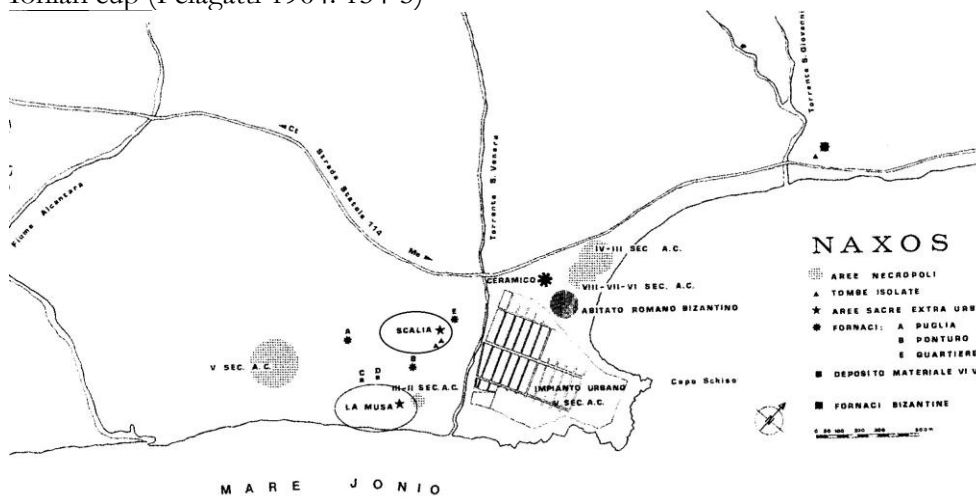


Figure 6.13: Naxos, plan of the settlement with the locations of the La Musa and Scalia/ Santa Venera sanctuaries (Bernabò Brea 1984/5: 254)

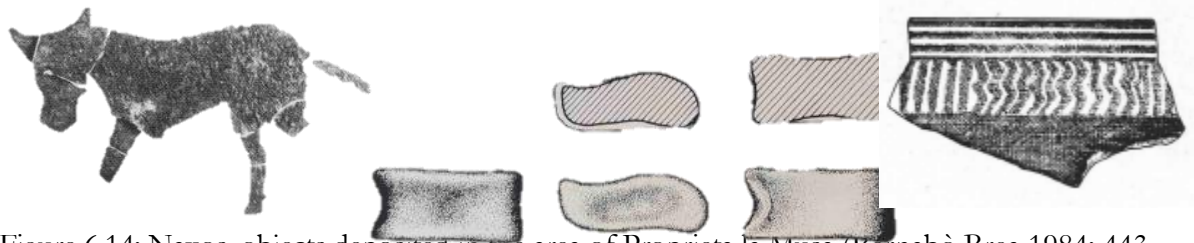


Figure 6.14: Naxos, objects deposited in the area of Proprieta la Musa (Bernabò Brea 1984: 443, 444, 406)



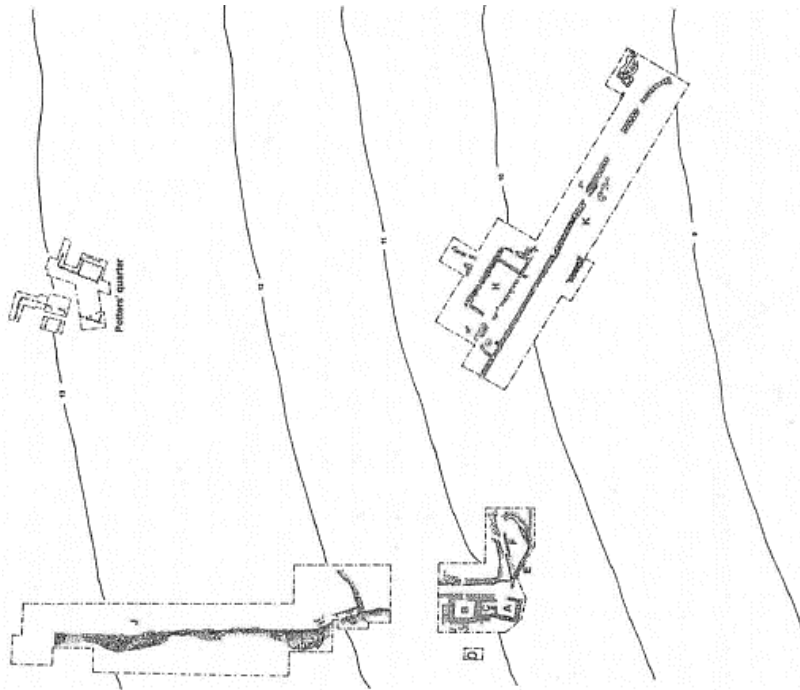


Figure 6.15: Naxos, plan of the extraurban Santa Venera sanctuary (Lentini and Pakkanen 2009: 418)

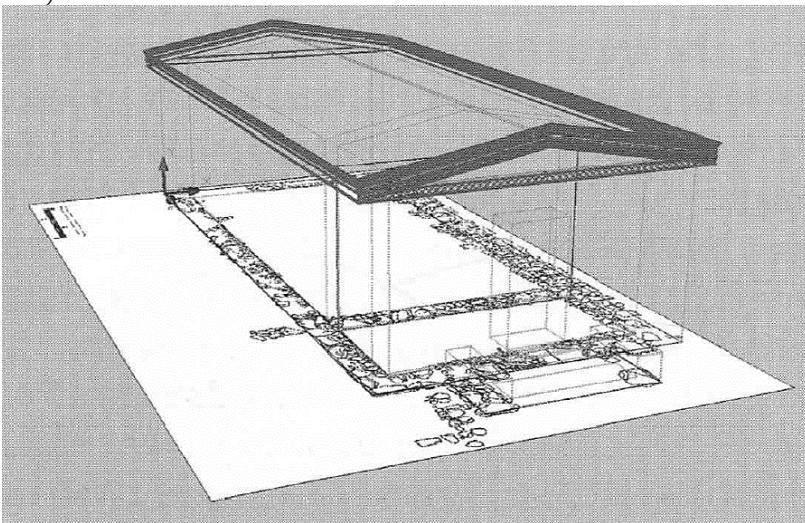


Figure 6.16: Naxos, reconstruction of Tempietto H with revetments (Lentini and Pakkanen 2009: 422, 419)



Figure 6.17: Naxos, stele with dedication to the goddess Enyo (Lentini 2001: 3)



Figure 6.18: Goods from early 6<sup>th</sup> cent. Tomb 330, Naxos



Figure 6.19: Enchytrismos burial from the area of Mendolito (Lamagna 2009: 29)

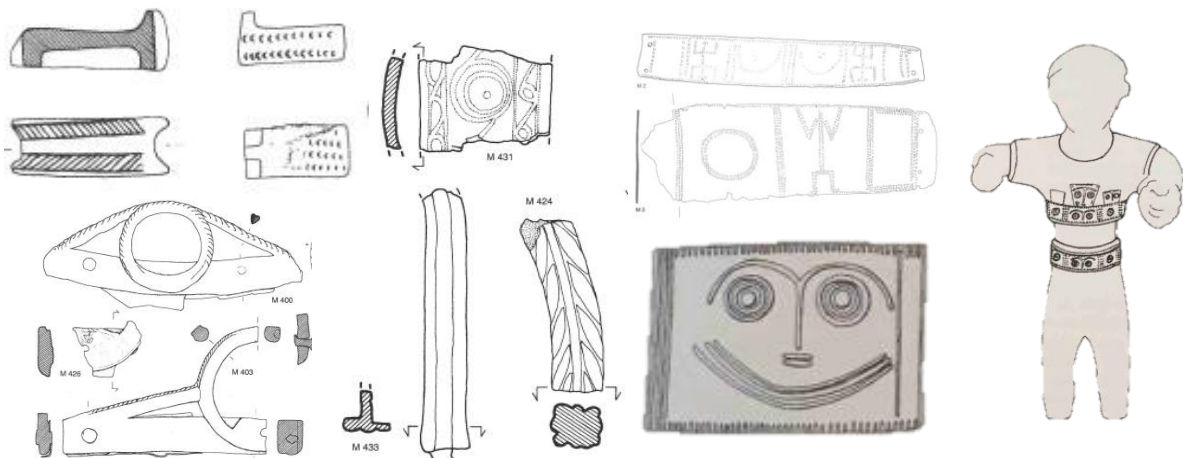


Figure 6.20: Metal objects from the Mendolito Hoard: bronze astragali, tripod fragments, stylized belts and lamina, figurine of warrior (Albanese Procelli 2009: 107-113)

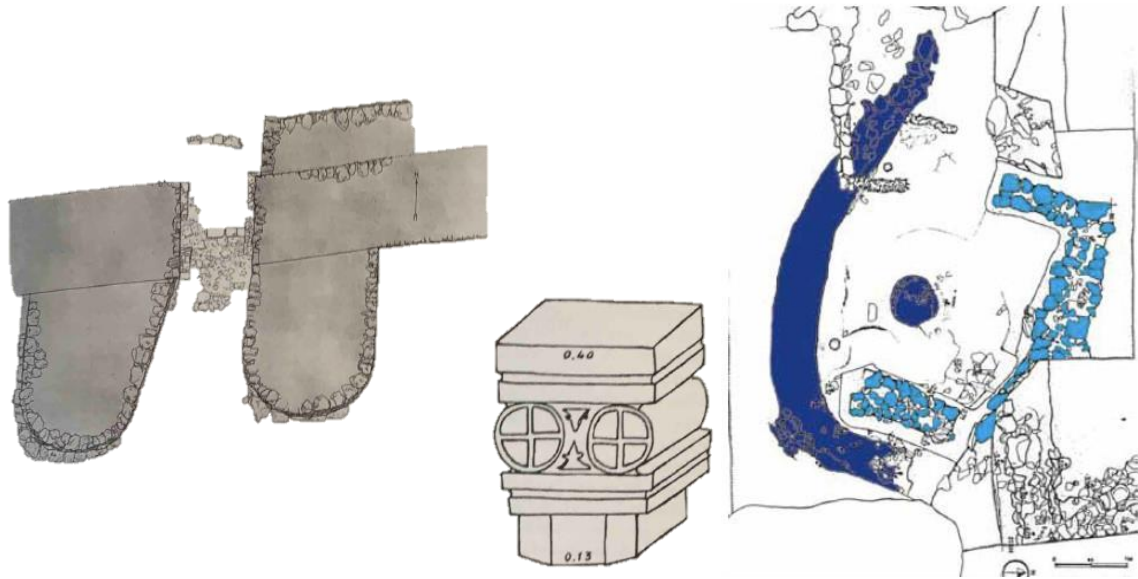


Figure 6.21: Mendolito, settlement area: southern gate, octogonal column with unusual capital; plan of M. Castellaccio (Lamagna 2009: 81, 83; Maniscalco 2012: 40)



Figure 6.22: Tholos-style tombs: Sciare Manganelli, Tholos Tomb 1; Contrada S. Marco, Paterno; M. Bubbonia Tomb 35 (La Rosa 2009: 96, 98, 99)



Figure 6.23: Egyptianizing faience scarab, beads and plaque from Sciare Manganelli and Rhodian bird cup from M. Castellaccio near Paterno (Lamagna 2009: 86)



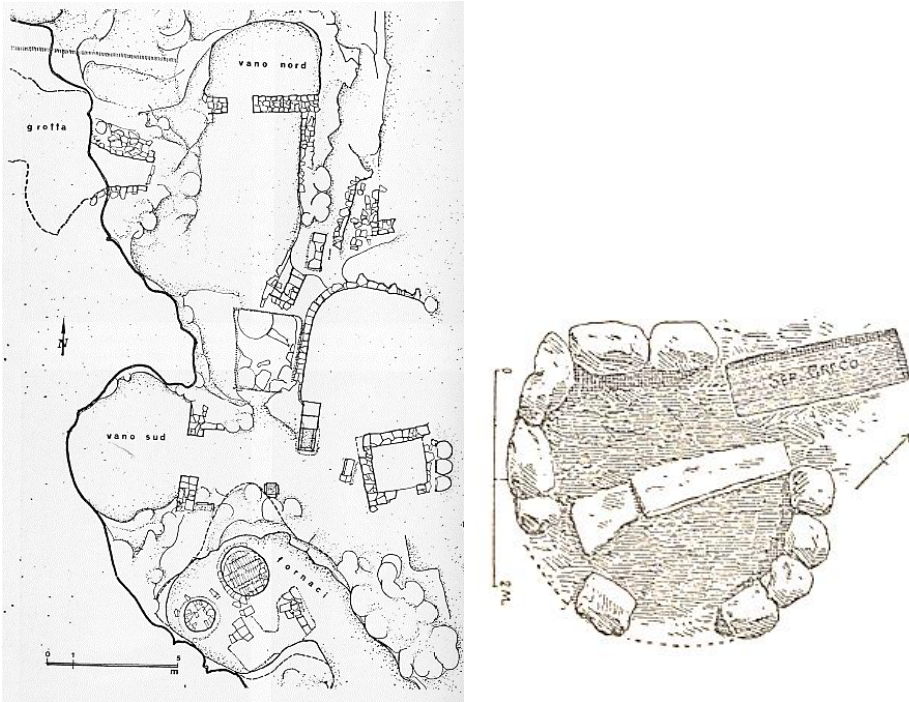


Figure 6.24: Centuripe: Archaic tombs in Contrada Capitano, tholos tomb in Contrada Casino (Rizza 1972-3: Tav. CXL; La Rosa 2009: 98)

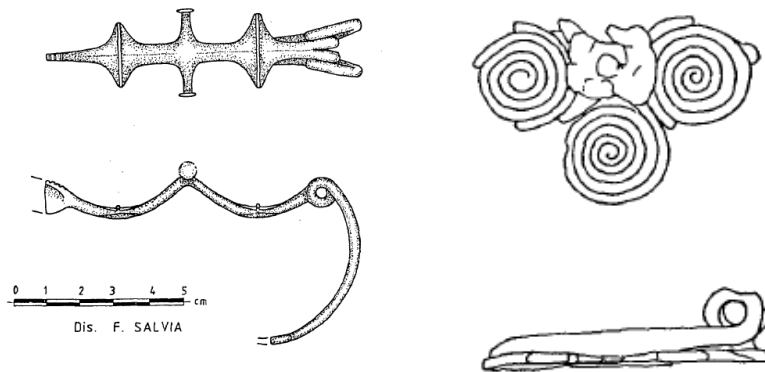


Figure 6.25: Pozzo di Gotto, Italic-style ornaments (Bonanno 1997: 382, 389)



Figure 6.26: Mendolito, figurine of a banqueter (Panvini and Sole 2009: 364)

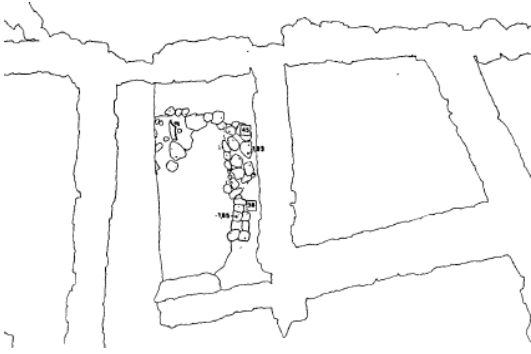


Figure 6.27: Civita, Archaic remains below Classical structures (Lamagna 1997: 95)

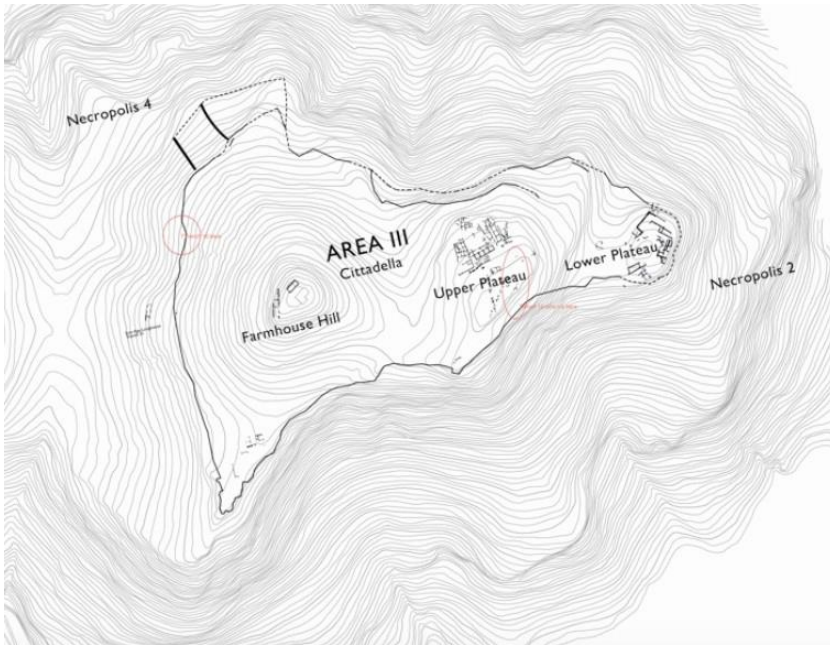


Figure 6.28: Morgantina, general plan of Cittadella (Antonaccio 2015: 57)

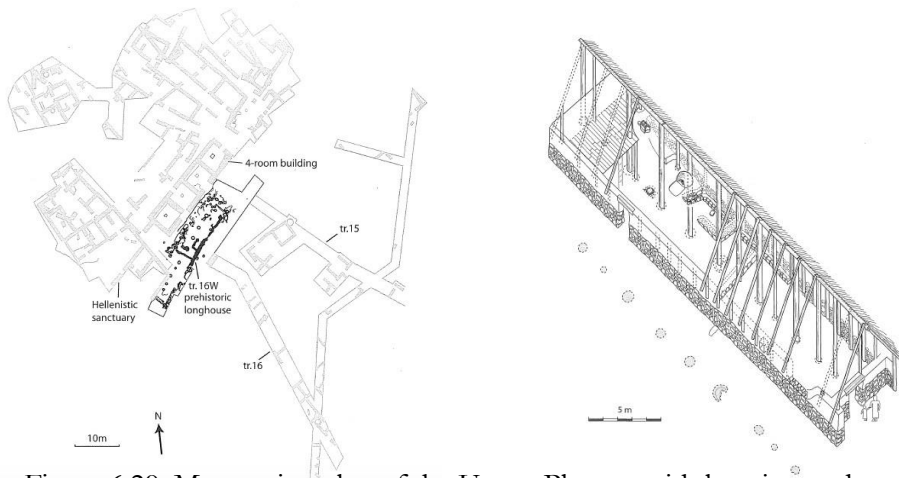


Figure 6.29: Morgantina plan of the Upper Plateau, with location and reconstruction of the prehistoric longhouse here (Leighton 2014: 24, 69)



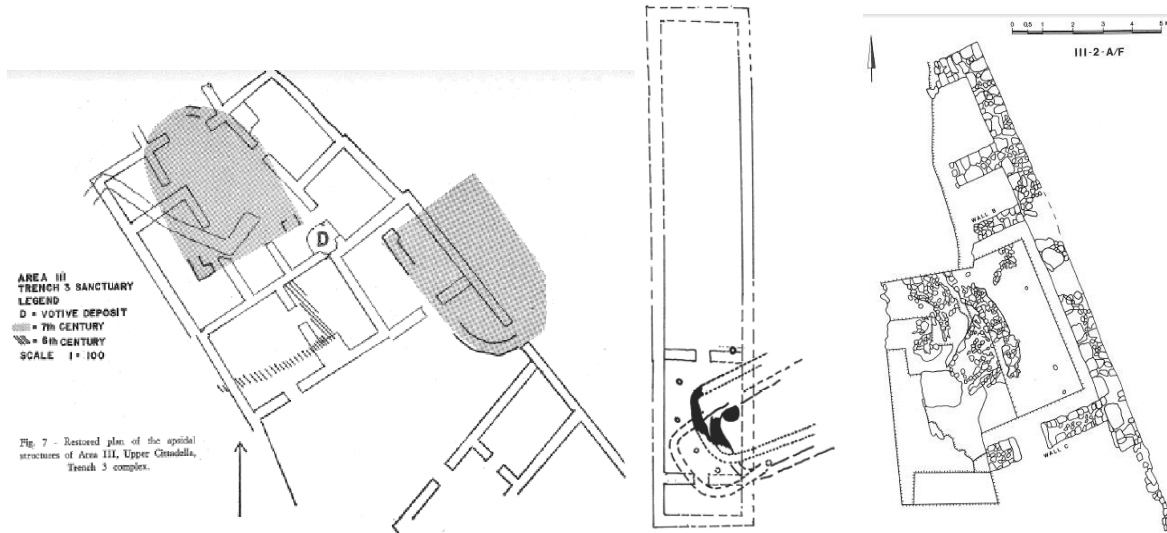


Figure 6.30: Morgantina, reconstruction of apsidal or elliptical buildings in Trench 3, Upper Plateau (left), and on Farmhouse Hill, underneath the Archaic naiskos (right) (Allen 1977: 135-6, Leighton 1993: 12)

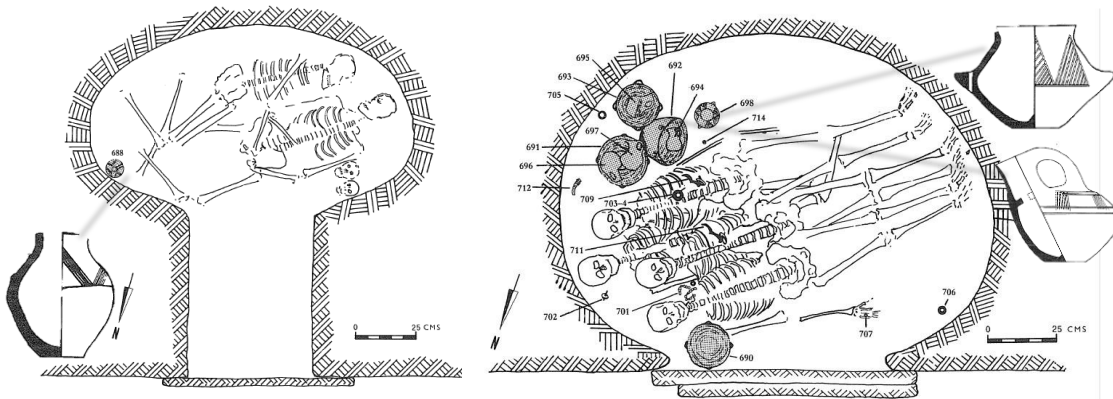


Figure 6.31: Morgantina, Necropolis IV, Tombs 5 and 6 (Leighton 1993: 99, 101)

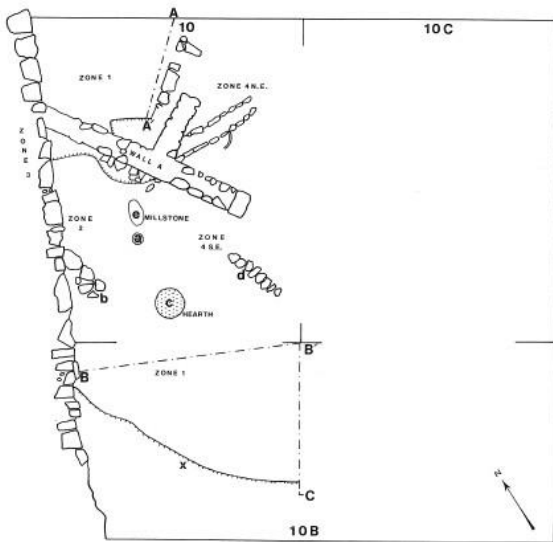


Figure 6.32: Morgantina, Trench 10, Archaic remains (Leighton 1993: 16)

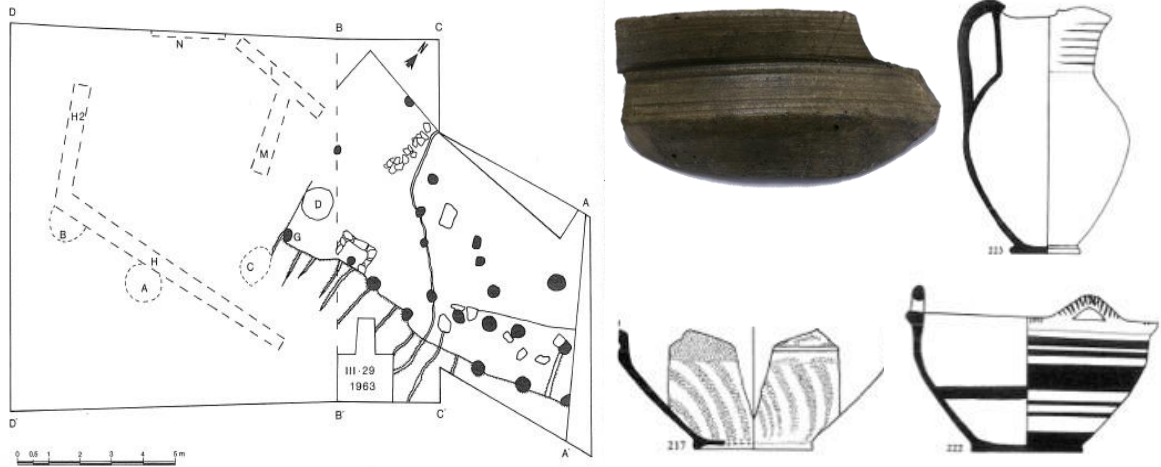


Figure 6.33: Morgantina, Trench 29, EIA and Early Archaic remains; indigenous objects recovered from Strata 3 and 4 (Leighton 1993: 32)

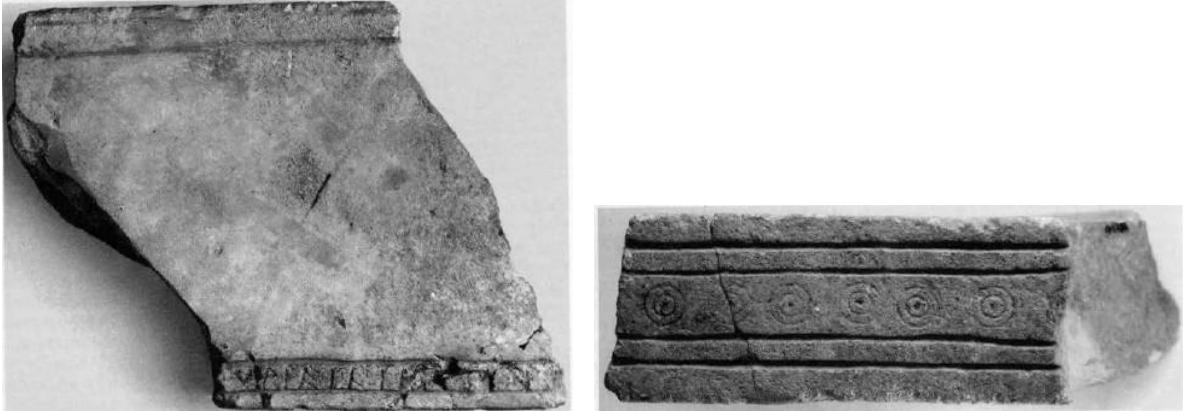


Figure 6.34: Morgantina, inscribed stele, front and side views (Antonaccio 1999)

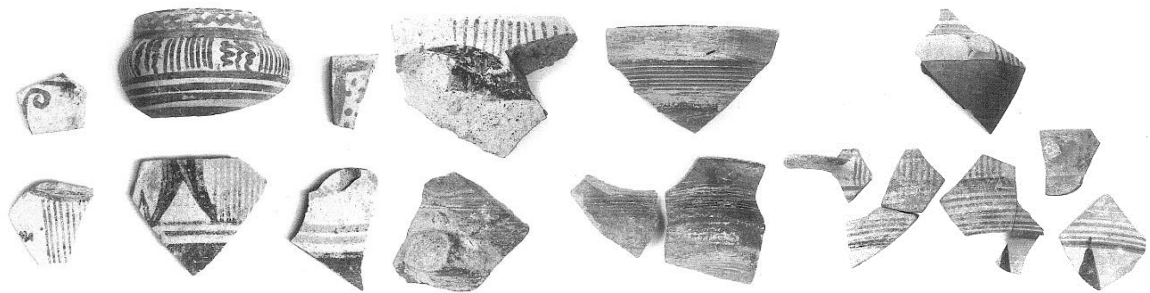


Figure 6.35: Morgantina, Necropolis V, Tomb 51: indigenous and Sikeliote (right) sherds (Lyons 1996: Pl. 69-70)

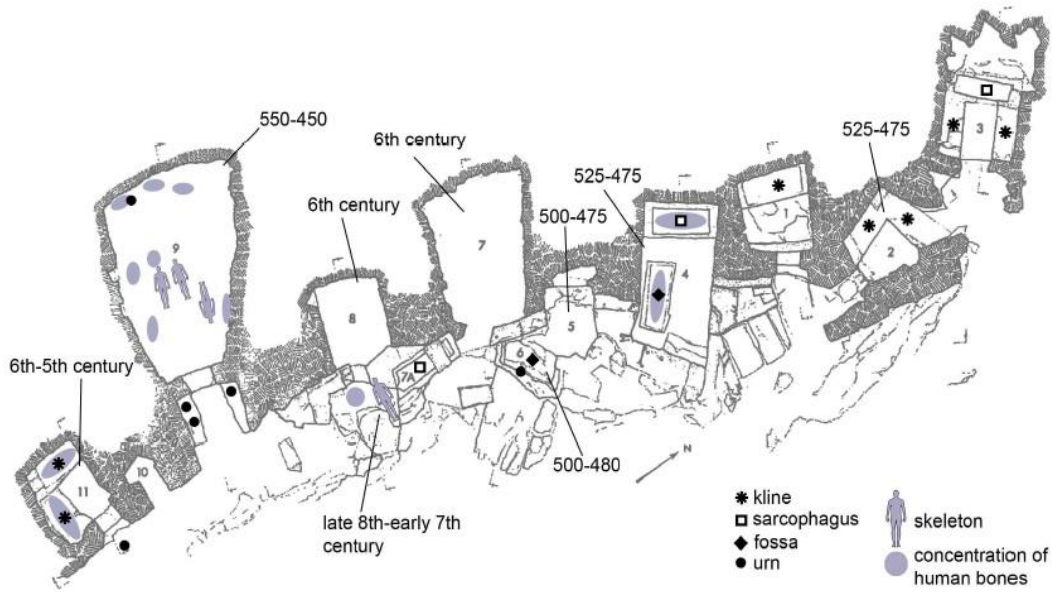


Figure 6.36: Morgantina, Necropolis II: plan of Tombs 1-11, with locations and types of burials (Lyons 1996: 137, 158; Müller 2015: 172)

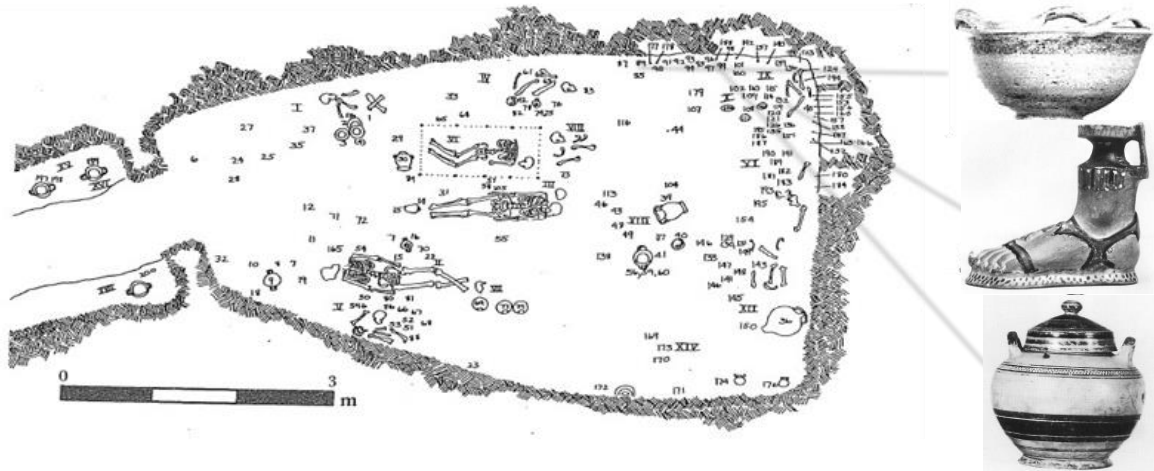


Figure 6.37: Morgantina, Necropolis II: plan of Tomb 9, with location of objects (Lyons 1996: 182, Pl. 34, 35)

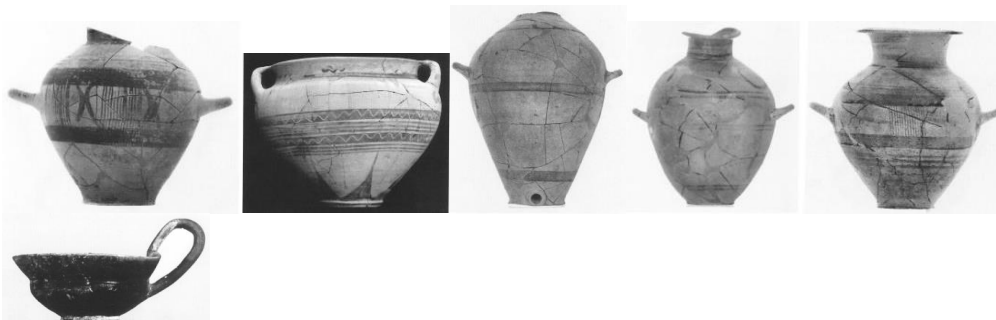


Figure 6.38: Morgantina, Necropolis II, objects from Tomb 32 (Lyons 1993: Pl. 62-4)



Figure 6.39: Morgantina, Necropolis II, part of the assemblage from Tomb 4: local pottery, Laconian-style krater, and selection of Corinthian or imitation ceramics (Lyons 1993: Pl. 13, Pl. 17)



Figure 6.40: Morgantina, Necropolis II, Corinthian objects from Tombs 16 (left) and 17 (Lyons 1993: Pl. 42, 49-50)

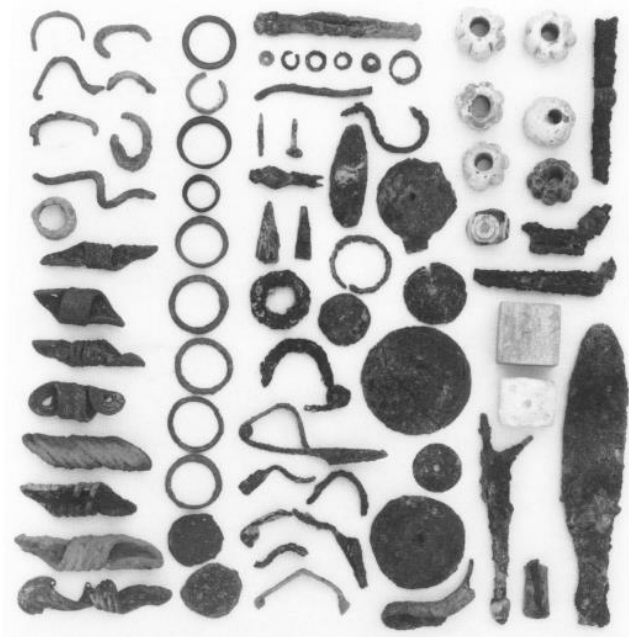


Figure 6.41: Morgantina, Necropolis II, bronzes recovered from Tomb 4 (Lyons 1993: Pl. 24)





Figure 6.42: Monte San Giuliano, apsidal building (Panvini 1993: Tav. XXIV)



Figure 6.43: Monte San Giuliano, objects from the apsidal building (Panvini 2006: 12)

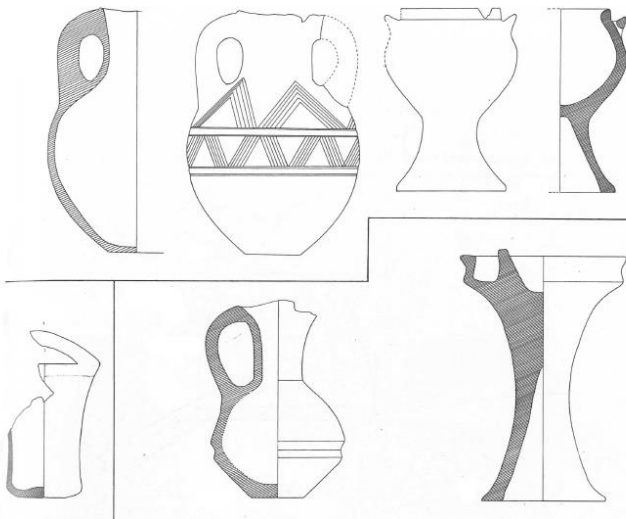


Figure 6.44: Calascibetta, EIA objects from the Carcarella Necropolis (Albanese 1988: 249)



Figure 6.45: Calascibetta, late 8<sup>th</sup> to early 7<sup>th</sup> century objects from the M. San Giuseppe Necropolis (Albanese Procelli 1982: 451, 479, 481, 484)



Figure 6.46: Calascibetta, Archaic objects from the M. San Giuseppe Necropolis (Albanese Procelli 1982: 460, 466, 481, 490)

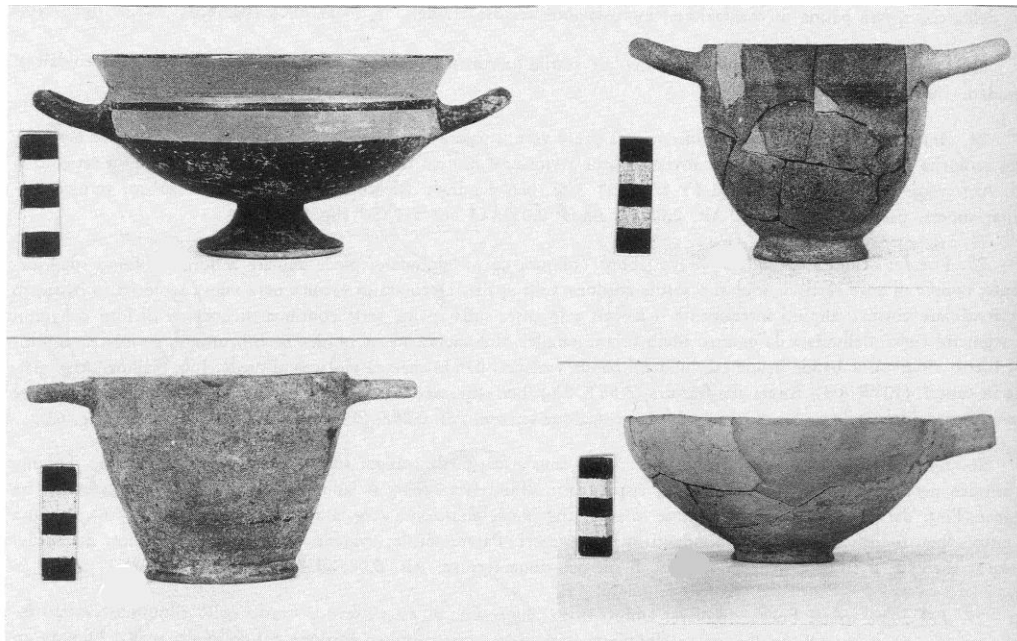


Figure 6.47: Calascibetta, objects from the Valle Coniglio Necropolis, Tomb 5 (Albanese 1988: 322)



Figure 6.48: Calascibetta, objects from Tomb 1, Contrada Quattrocchi, including cinerarium in the shape of a hut (Ampolo 1989: 73; Gentili 1961: 204-9)

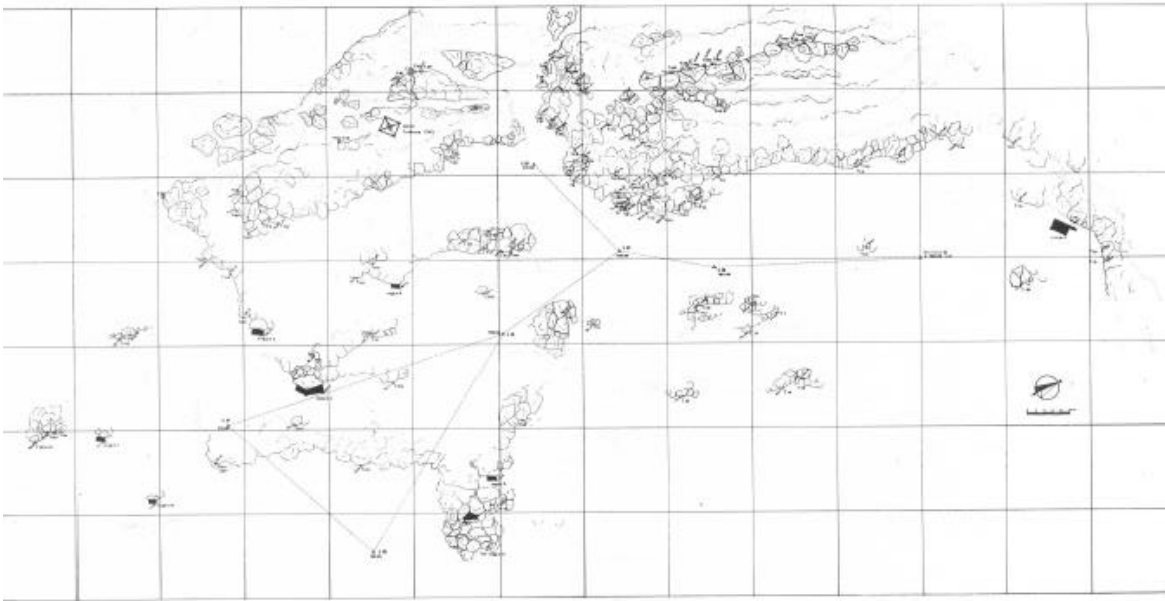


Figure 6.49: Marianopoli, plan of the Valle Oscura Necropolis (Fiorentini 1985: Tav. XLVII)



Figure 6.50: Marianopoli, Valle Oscura Necropolis, Tomb 21 (Fiorentini 1985: Tav. XLVIII)





Figure 6.51: Marianopoli, Valle Oscura Necropolis, Corinthianizing oinochoe and krater (Guzzone and Congiu 2005: 345, 351)



Figure 6.52: Marianopoli, Valle Oscura Necropolis, part of the assemblage from Tomb 21 (Fiorentini 1985: Tav. XXXVII, XXXIX)

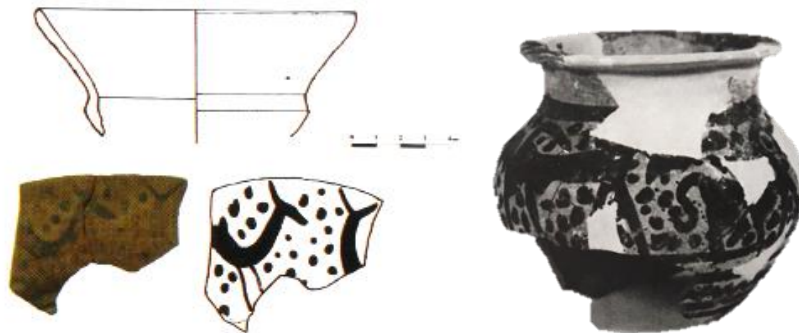


Figure 6.53: Orientalizing/ Corinthianizing indigenous cup fragment from Himera (left) and krateriskos from Vassallaggi (right) (Allegro and Fiorentino 2010: 513; Gulli 1991: Tav. XV)



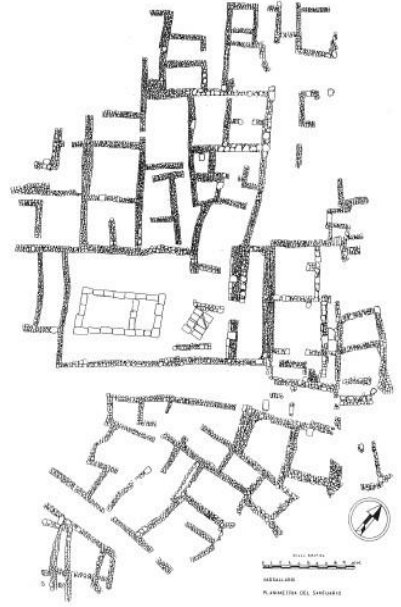
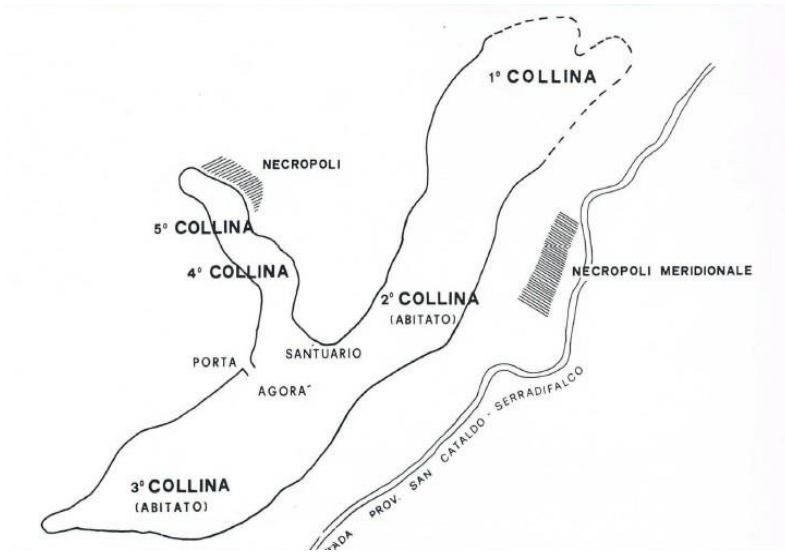


Figure 6.54: Vassallaggi, general plan and plan of sanctuary area (Gullì 1991: Tav. VI; Pizzo 1998: 213)



Figure 6.55: Hut model from Vassallaggi (Gullì 2009: 262)

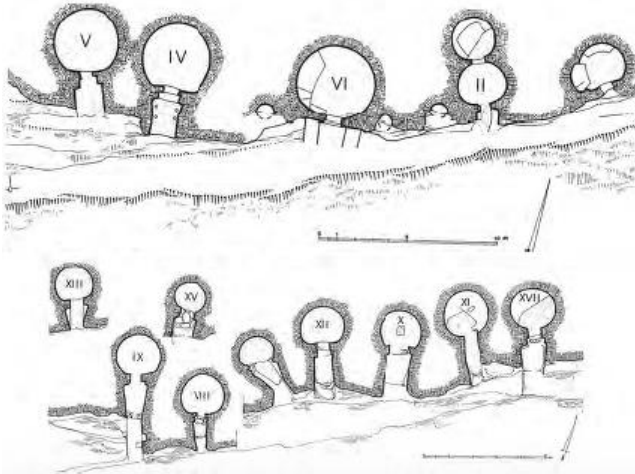


Figure 6.56: Plan of the upper and lower tomb terraces, Sant'Angelo Muxaro (Anagnostou 2004: 26)

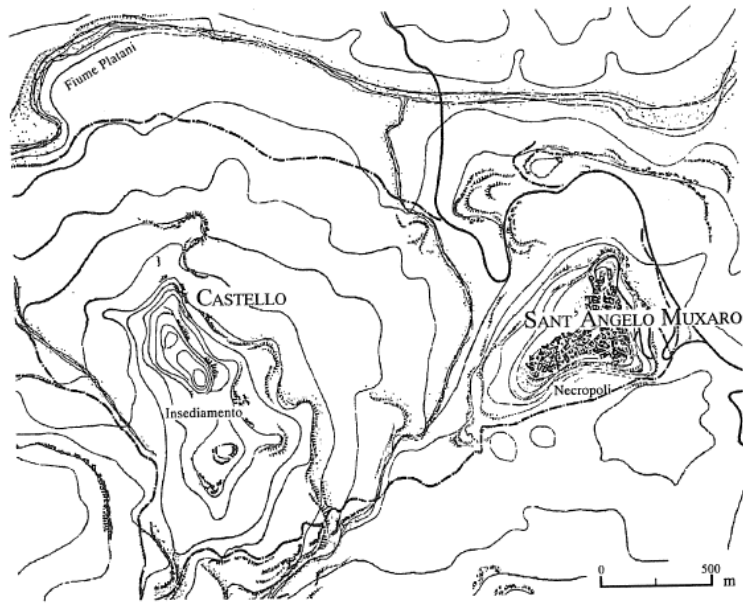


Figure 6.57: Plan of the area around Sant'Angelo Muxaro (Palermo 2009: 149)



Figure 6.58: Shield protome from Butera, Piano della Fiera T. 172 (Guzzone and Congiu 2005: 217)



Figure 6.59: Traditional-style incised greywares and red slip wares from Sant'Angelo Muxaro (Fatta 1983)

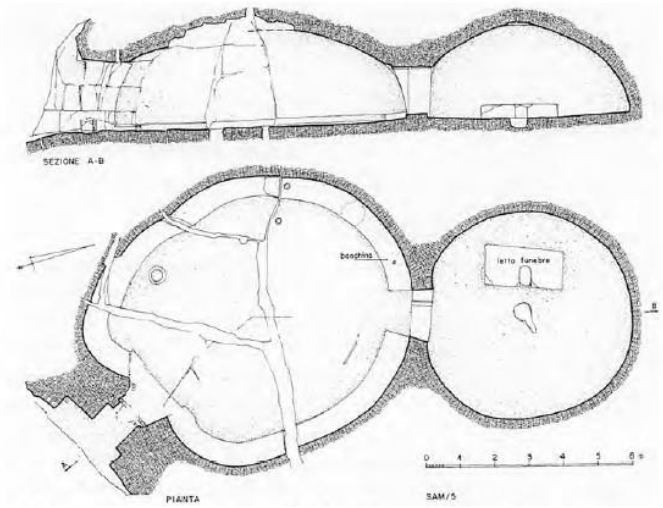


Figure 6.60: Plan of Tomb 1, “Grotta di Sant’Angelo” (Anagnostou 1979:



Figure 6.61: Gold objects from Sant’Angelo Muxaro (britishmuseum.org; Guzzone and Congiu 2005: 113)

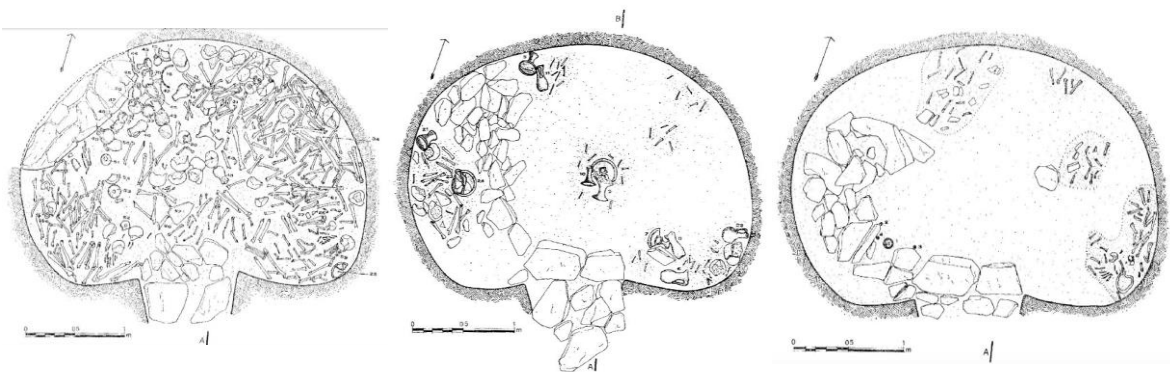


Figure 6.62: Sant’Angelo Muxaro, Tomb A, phases 1-3 (Anagnostou 1979: 32-6)



Figure 6.63: Terravecchia di Cuti, general plan (Militello 1960: Tav. I)



Figure 6.64: Bronze anthropomorphizing laminae from Terravecchia di Cuti (Di Stefano 1991: 51)

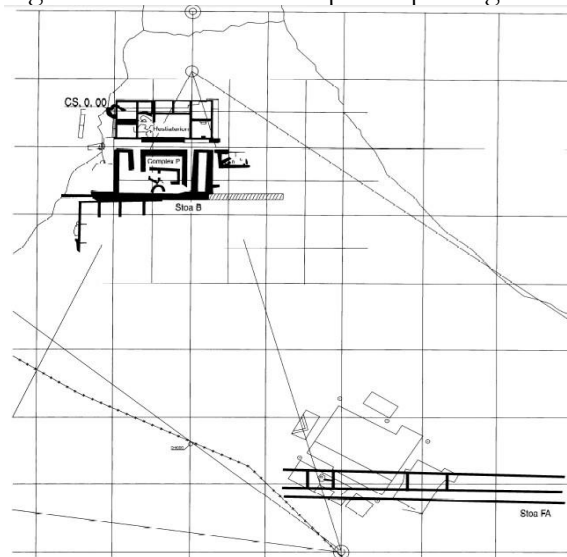


Figure 6.65: Palike, general plan (Maniscalco and McConnell 2003: 149)

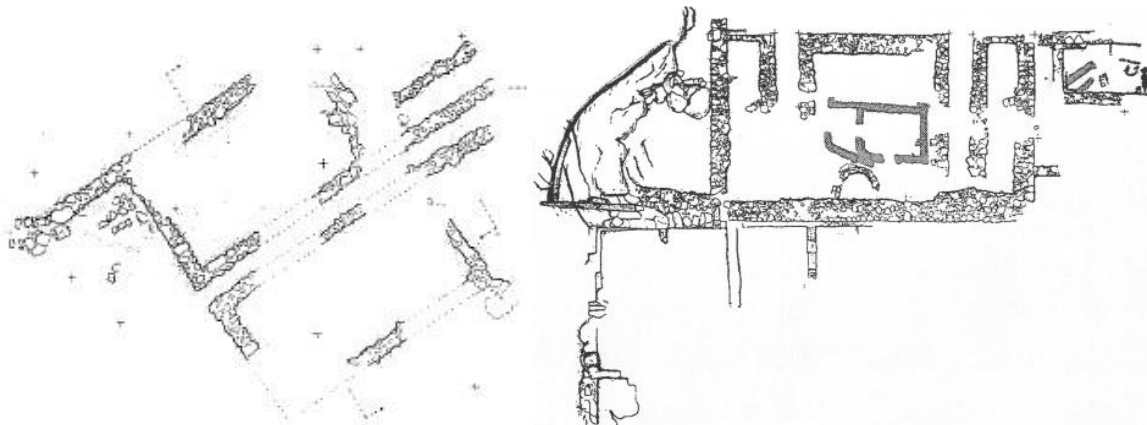


Figure 6.66: Palike, plan of Buildings F1/2 (left) and Complex P (Building A shaded) (right) (Maniscalco 2008: 104; Maniscalco and McConnell 2003: 151)

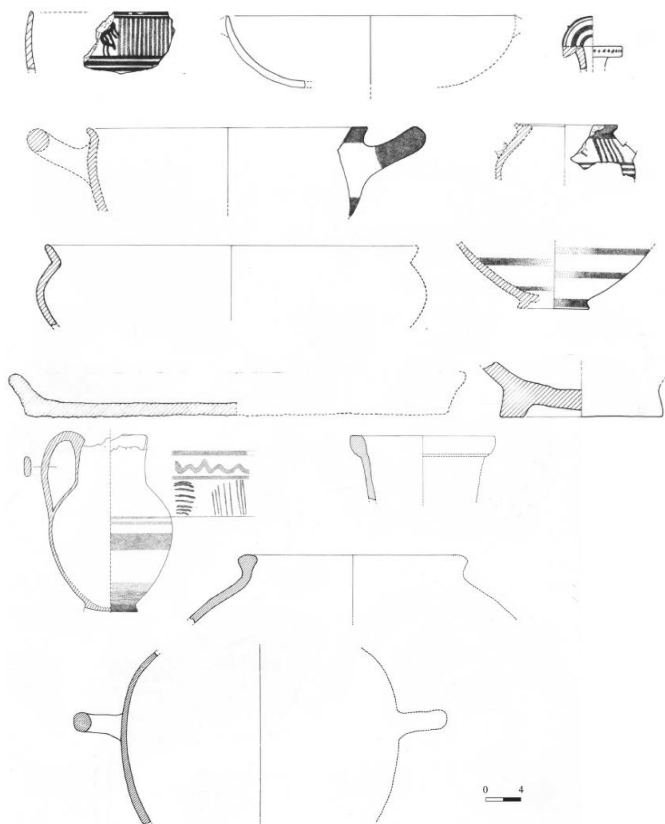


Figure 6.67: Palike, selection of imported, colonial, and indigenous pottery from Building A (Maniscalco 2008: 183)





Figure 6.68: Sherd with depiction of warrior with crest and shield (La Rosa and Pugliese Caratelli 1991: 23).



Figure 6.69: Mendolito, inscription from the fortification wall (regione.sicilia.it)

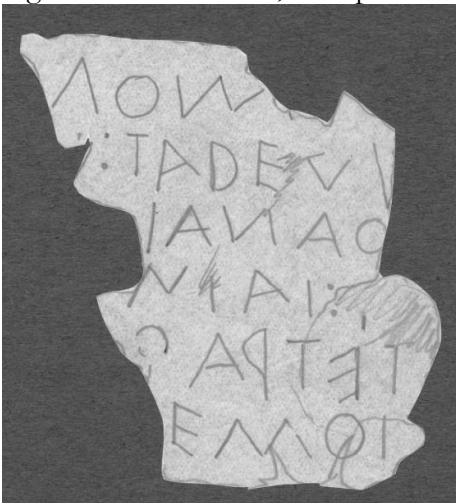


Figure 7.1: M. San Mauro, part of the bronze tablet with homicide laws recovered from the “Magazzino” (<http://poinikastas.csad.ox.ac.uk>)

### APPENDIX 3: TABLES

Table 2.1: Gela, Molino a Vento: "Stipe dell'Athenaion"

<b>Simplified object</b>	<b>Use</b>	<b>Provenance</b>	<b>Simplified Provenance</b>
Figurine	34 Ritual	39 Corinthian	29 Greek 57
Cup	15 Drinking	15 East Greek	19 Colonial 10
Pyxis	7 Cosmetics	7 Colonial	10 Other 7
Architectural terracotta	4 Architectural	4 Rhodian	6 Indigenous 3
Miniature cup	3 Ornament	4 Etruscan	5 Unknown 3
Oinochoe	3 Perfume	3 Indigenous	3
Pendant	3 Pouring	3 Unknown	3
Plastic vase	2 Mixing	2 Cretan	2
Askos	2 Unknown	1 Cypriot	2
Krater	2 Lighting	1 Samian	1
Closed form	1 Weapon	1	
Lamp	1		
Aryballos	1		
Necklace	1		
Spear	1		

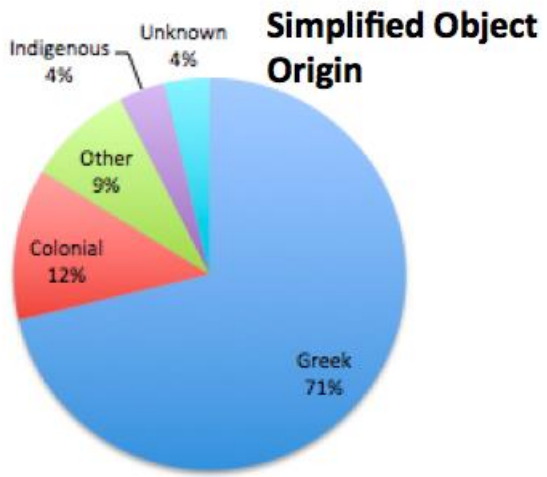
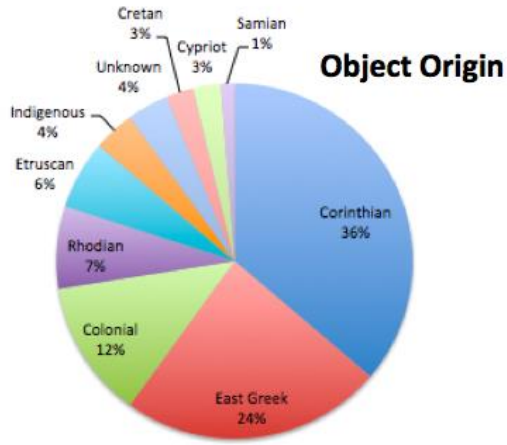
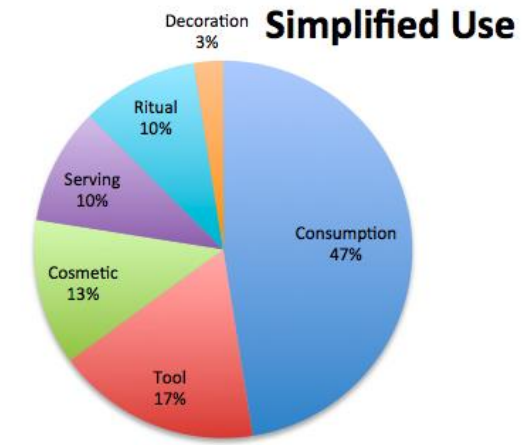
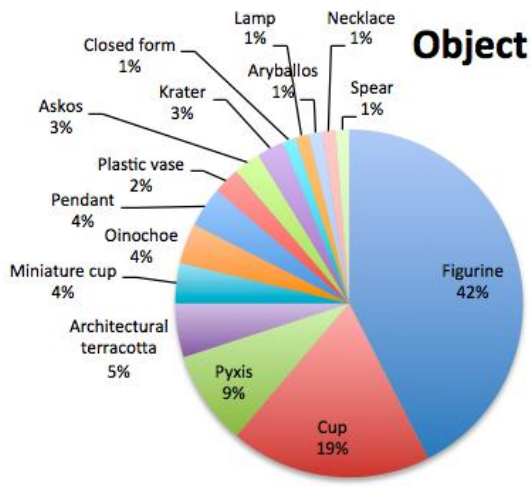


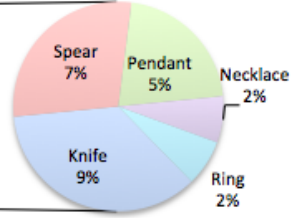
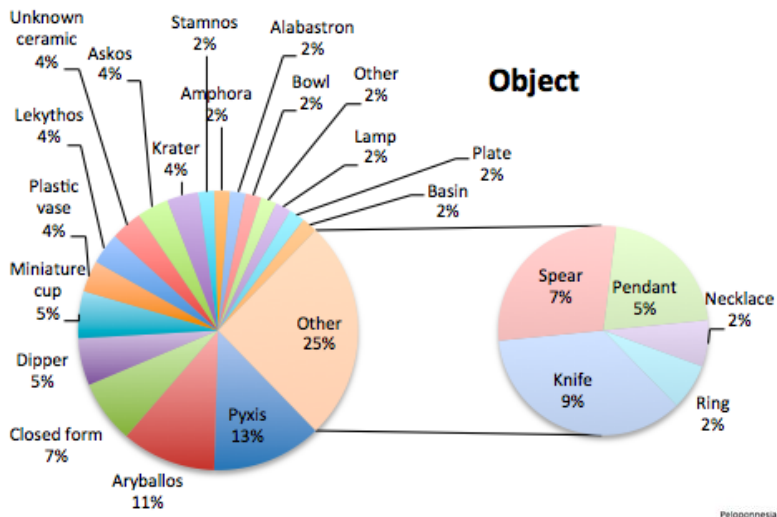


Table 2.2: Gela, Molino a Vento: “Deposit D”

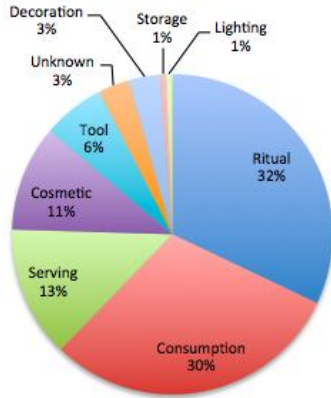
Simplified object		Use		Provenance		Simplified Provenance	
Cup	17	Drinking	18	Corinthian	22	Greek	26
Knife	5	Weapon	7	Colonial	14	Colonial Greek	14
Aryballos	4	Perfume	5	Peloponnesian	2		
Figurine	4	Pouring	4	Rhodian	2		
Dipper	3	Ritual	4				
Spear	2	Eating	1				
Alabastron	1	Ornament	1				
Bowl	1						
Oinochoe	1						
Ring	1						
Unknown ceramic	1						

Table 2.3: Gela, Molino a Vento Totals

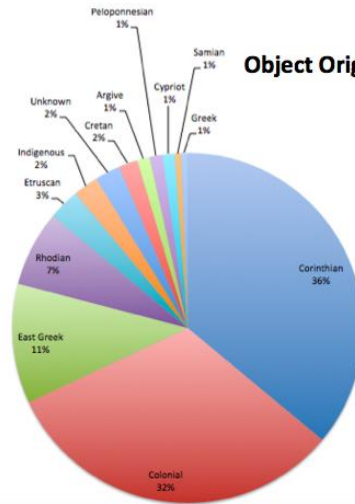
Simplified object		Use		Origin		Simplified Origin	
Cup	45	Ritual	51	Corinthian	62	Greek	102
Figurine	41	Drinking	46	Colonial	55	Colonial Greek	81
Architectural terracotta	18	Pouring	17	East Greek	19	Other	7
Oinochoe	13	Architectural	13	Rhodian	12	Indigenous	4
Pyxis	7	Perfume	10	Etruscan	5	Unknown	4
Aryballos	6	Weapon	9	Indigenous	4		
Knife	5	Cosmetics	7	Unknown	4		
Spear	4	Unknown	5	Cretan	3		
Closed form	4	Ornament	5	Argive	2		
Pendant	3	Serving	2	Peloponnesian	2		
Dipper	3	Mixing	2	Cypriot	2		
Miniature cup	3	Eating	2	Samian	1		
Plastic vase	2	Storage	1	Greek	1		
Lekythos	2	Lighting	1				
Unknown ceramic	2	Currency	1				
Askos	2						
Krater	2						
Necklace	1						
Stamnos	1						
Amphora	1						
Ring	1						
Alabastron	1						
Bowl	1						
Other	1						
Lamp	1						
Plate	1						
Basin	1						



### Simplified Use



### Object Origin



### Simplified Object Origin

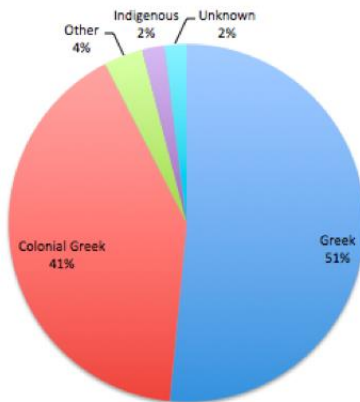


Table 2.4: Gela, Predio Sola

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Simplified Origin</u>	
Lamp	122 Perfume	160 Corinthian	307 Greek	337
Cup	94 Lighting	122 Colonial	81 Colonial Greek	100
Alabastron	81 Drinking	93 East Greek	15 Unknown	5
Aryballos	54 Ritual	56 Unknown Greek	6 Other	2
Miniature cup	38 Cosmetics	19 Unknown	5	
Pyxis	19 Unknown	14 Attic	3	
Lekythos	16 Mixing	12 Laconian	3	
Figurine	14 Unknown consumption	11 Massaliot	2	
Krater	12 Pouring	6 Punic/ Phoenician	1	
Open form	11 Ornament	6 Etruscan	1	
Closed form	10 Transportation	5 Rhodian	1	
Amphora	7 Weaving	5		
Amphoriskos	5 Storage	3		
Oinochoe	5 Serving	3		
Plastic vase	4 Tool	1		
Loomweight	4 Food preparation	1		
Ring	4			
Unknown ceramic	3			
Exaleiptron	3			
Other	2			
Lekane	2			
Jug	1			
Scarab	1			
Spindle whorl	1			
Unknown metal	1			
Dish	1			
Hydria	1			
Cookware	1			

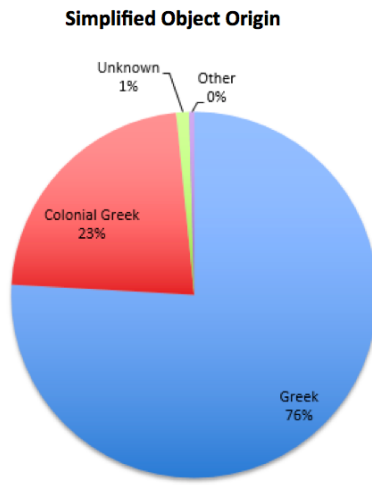
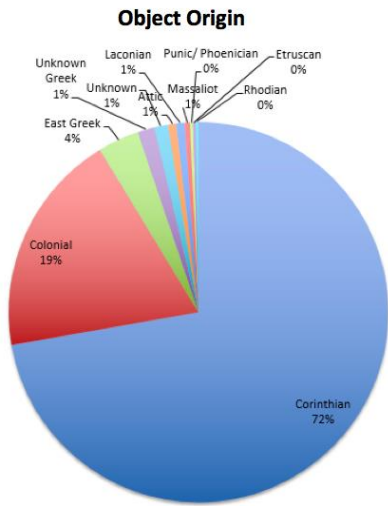
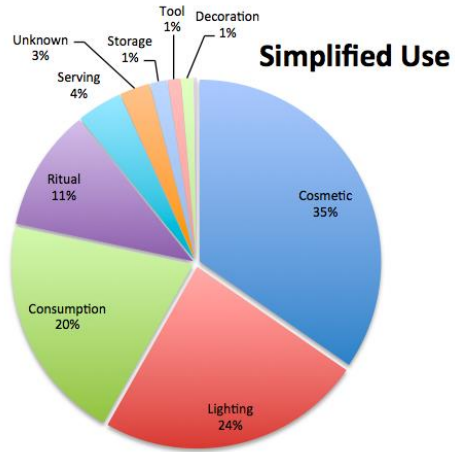
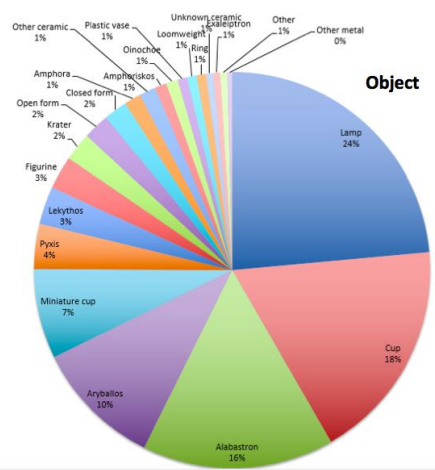
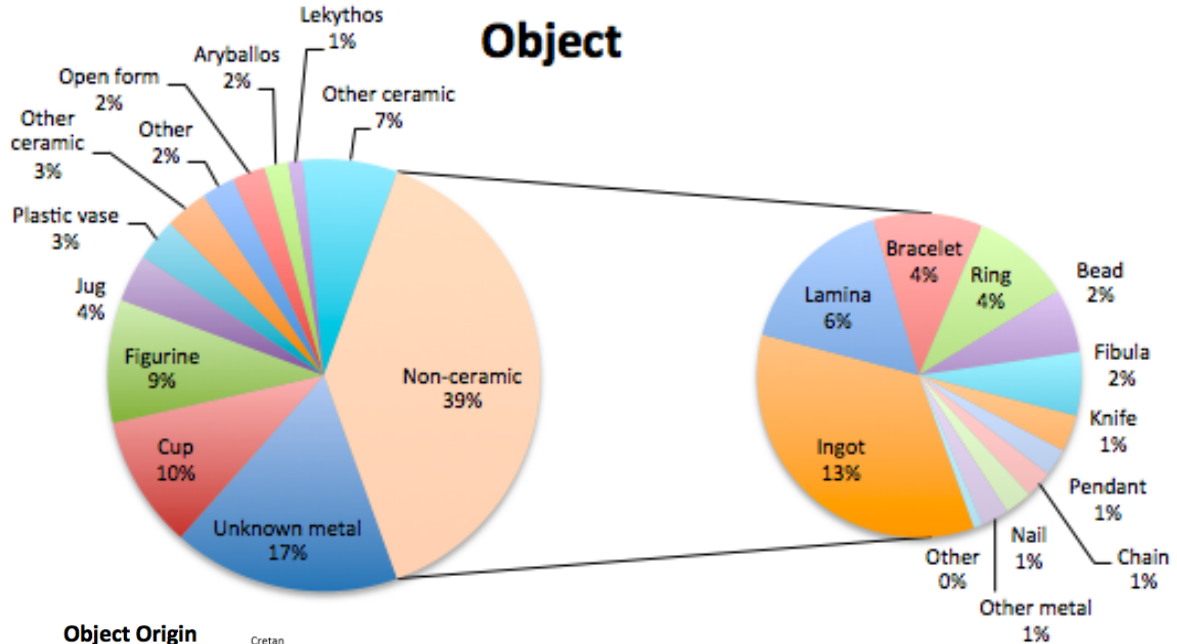


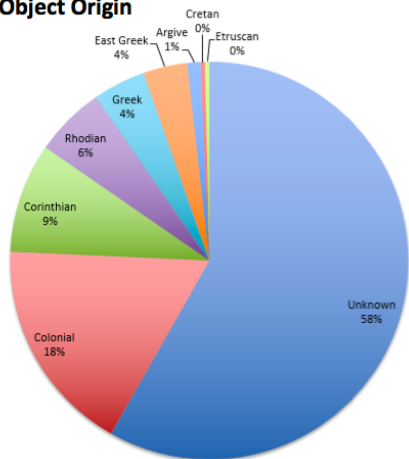
Table 2.5: Gela, Bitalemi

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Simplified Origin</u>	
Unknown metal	48Currency	98Unknown	163Greek	116
Ingot	38Ornament	44Colonial	49Unknown	114
Cup	28Ritual	30Corinthian	25Colonial Greek	53
Figurine	26Drinking	28Rhodian	16Other	1
Lamina	18Perfume	25Greek	12	
Bracelet	12Unknown	12East Greek	10	
Ring	11Pouring	10Argive	3	
Jug	10Weapon	8Cretan	1	
Plastic vase	9Serving	7Etruscan	1	
Other ceramic	9Tool	5		
Bead	7Eating	3		
Fibula	7Food preparation	3		
Other	7Transportation	2		
Open form	7Mixing	2		
Aryballos	5Cosmetics	2		
Knife	4Storage	1		
Lekythos	3			
Pendant	3			
Chain	3			
Nail	3			
Plate	2			
Hydria	2			
Krater	2			
Pyxis	2			
Stamnos	2			
Basin	2			
Plaque	1			
Amphoriskos	1			
Dipper	1			
Oinochoe	1			
Situla	1			
Lekane	1			
Alabastron	1			
Pin	1			
Bowl	1			
Miniature cup	1			

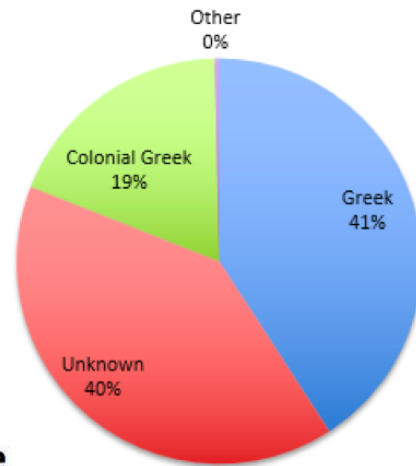
# Object



## Object Origin



## Simplified Object Origin



## Simplified Use

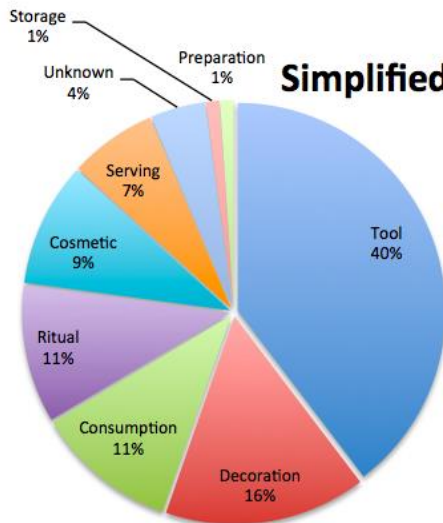


Table 2.6: Gela, New City Hall, Well 1

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Simplified Origin</u>	
Cup	54 Drinking	55 Colonial	59 Colonial Greek	67
Oinochoe	7 Pouring	7 Corinthian	8 Greek	15
Lamp	3 Lighting	3 Unknown Greek	3 Indigenous	2
Loomweight	3 Weaving	3 East Greek	2	
Stamnos	2 Serving	2 Indigenous	2	
Amphora	1 Perfume	2 Argive	1	
Hydria	1 Storage	1 Rhodian	1	
Other ceramic	1 Transportation	1		
Aryballos	1 Cosmetics	1		
Closed form	1 Mixing	1		
Pyxis	1			
Basin	1			

Table 2.7: Gela, Borgo Necropolis

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>			<u>Simplified Origin</u>	
Aryballos	75 Perfume	143 Corinthian		183 Greek	287
Alabastron	55 Drinking	66 Unknown Greek		47 Colonial Greek	56
Cup	46 Burial/ storage	39 Gela		32 Unknown	22
Miniature cup	31 Ritual	28 East Greek		28 Indigenous	6
Amphora	27 Ornament	24 Colonial		23	
Pyxis	20 Cosmetics	21 Unknown		18	
Pithos	12 Pouring	16 Indigenous		14	
Oinochoe	7 Mixing	7 Rhodio-Cretan		8	
Krater	7 Eating	7 Rhodian		6	
Jug	7 Weaving	6 Cretan		4	
Plastic vase	6 Serving	5 Samian		3	
Other ceramic	6 Storage	2 Attic		2	
Stamnos	5 Tool	2 Laconian		1	
Plate	5 Weapon	1 Argive		1	
Ring	4 Lighting	1			
Lydion	4 Unknown	1			
Lekythos	4 Serving/ ritual	1			
Earring	4				
Spindle whorl	3				
Fibula	3				
Bowl	3				
Bead	3				
Amphoriskos	3				
Pin	2				
Pendant	2				
Other metal	2				
Other	2				
Loomweight	2				
Figurine	2				
Exaleiptron	2				
Button	2				
Boss	2				
Askos	2				
Spear	1				
Phiale	1				
Open form	1				
Mug	1				
Lekane	1				
Lamp	1				
Kalathos	1				
Hydria	1				
Bracelet	1				
Basin	1				



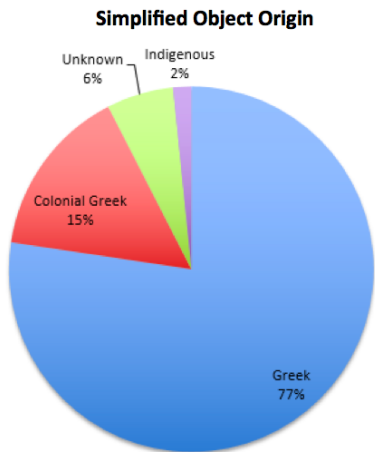
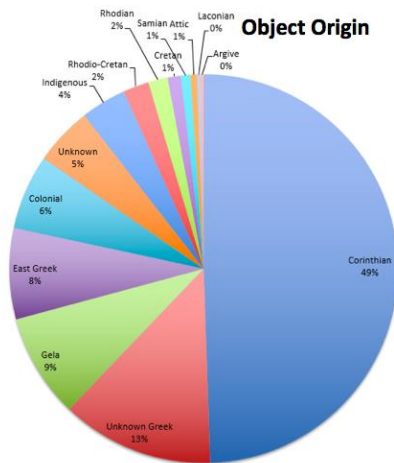
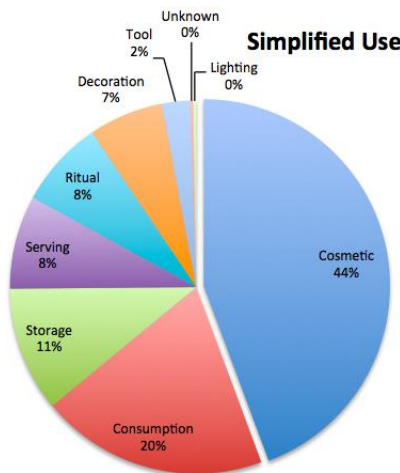
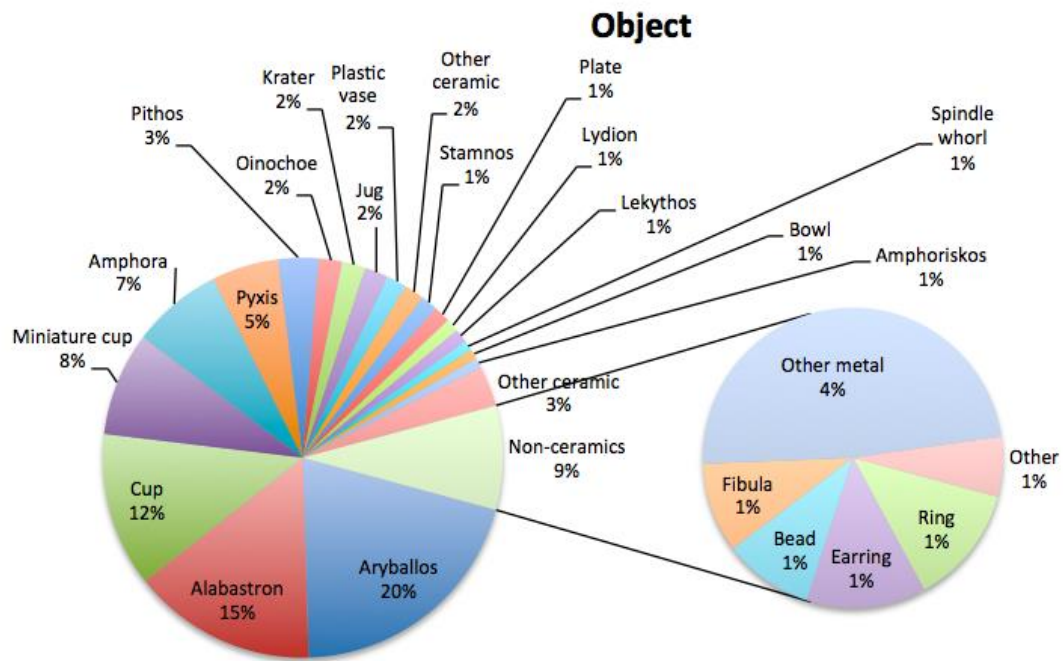


Table 2.8: Gela, Villa Garibaldi Necropolis

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Simplified Origin</u>	
Cup	31 Perfume	37 Corinthian	56 Greek	96
Aryballos	28 Drinking	33 Unknown Greek	23 Colonial Greek	33
Amphora	24 Burial/ storage	28 Gela	23 Unknown	10
Alabastron	20 Pouring	24 Colonial	10 Indigenous	1
Jug	7 Ornament	9 Rhodio-Cretan	13	
Pyxis	5 Cosmetics	5 Unknown	10	
Pithos	4 Unknown	2 Rhodian	2	
Ring	3 Weaving	1 East Greek	1	
Oinochoe	2 Serving	1 Indigenous	1	
Lekythos	2	Argive	1	
Bead	2			
Earring	2			
Miniature cup	2			
Unknown ceramic	1			
Fibula	1			
Loomweight	1			
Askos	1			
Dipper	1			
Stamnos	1			
Other metal	1			
Unknown metal	1			

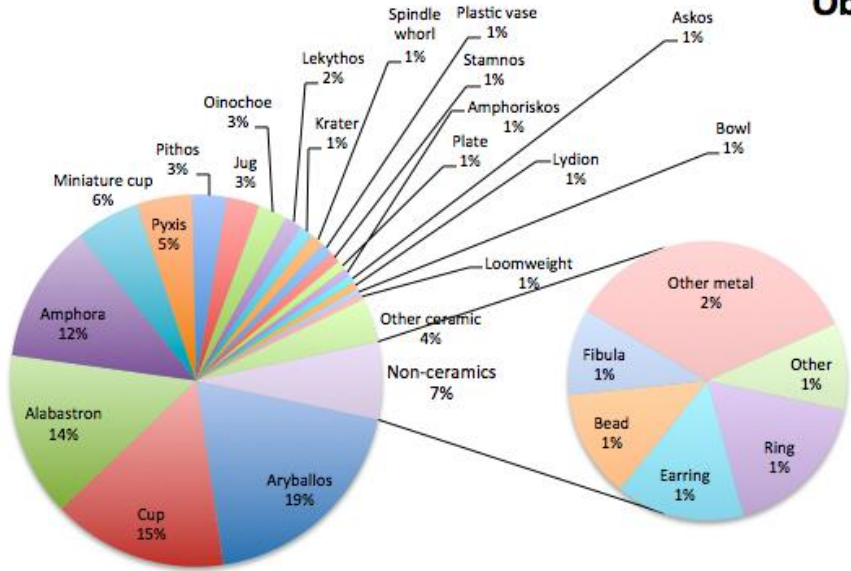
Table 2.9: Gela, Predio La Paglia Necropolis

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Simplified Origin</u>	
Amphora	13 Perfume	15 Corinthian	18 Greek	30
Cup	9 Burial/ storage	12 Gela	16 Colonial Greek	20
Aryballos	8 Drinking	10 Colonial	4 Indigenous	1
Alabastron	5 Pouring	5 East Greek	3 Unknown	1
Spindle whorl	4 Weaving	4 Unknown Greek	2	
Lekythos	2 Storage	2 Attic	2	
Jug	2 Cosmetics	2 Rhodian	2	
Oinochoe	2 Mixing	1 Indigenous	1	
Pyxis	2 Ritual	1 Nisiros	1	
Other ceramic	1	Laconian	1	
Basin	1	Rhodio-Cretan	1	
Phiale	1	Unknown	1	
Askos	1			
Hydria	1			

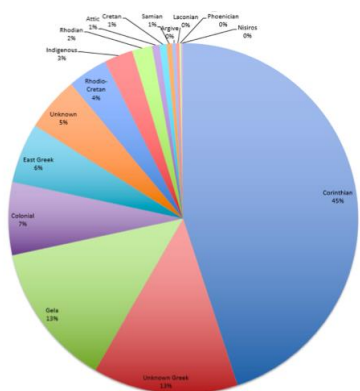
Table 2.10: Gela, Necropoleis

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Simplified Origin</u>	
Aryballos	115 Perfume	207 Corinthian	268 Greek	430
Cup	91 Drinking	114 Unknown Greek	80 Colonial Greek	119
Alabastron	85 Burial/ storage	89 Gela	79 Unknown	30
Amphora	72 Pouring	50 Colonial	40 Indigenous	16
Miniature cup	33 Ornament	33 East Greek	33 Other	1
Pyxis	29 Cosmetics	30 Unknown	30	
Pithos	18 Ritual	29 Rhodio-Cretan	22	
Jug	17 Weaving	11 Indigenous	16	
Oinochoe	15 Mixing	8 Rhodian	11	
Lekythos	9 Eating	7 Attic	4	
Other ceramic	8 Serving	6 Cretan	4	
Krater	7 Storage	4 Samian	3	
Ring	7 Unknown	3 Argive	2	
Spindle whorl	7 Tool	2 Laconian	2	
Earring	6 Weapon	1 Phoenician	1	
Plastic vase	6 Lighting	1 Nisiros	1	
Stamnos	6 Serving/ ritual	1		
Bead	5			
Plate	5			
Amphoriskos	4			
Askos	4			
Fibula	4			
Lydion	4			
Bowl	3			
Loomweight	3			
Other metal	3			
Basin	2			
Boss	2			
Button	2			
Exaleiptron	2			
Figurine	2			
Hydria	2			
Other	2			
Pendant	2			
Phiale	2			
Pin	2			
Bracelet	1			
Dipper	1			
Kalathos	1			
Lamp	1			
Lekane	1			
Mug	1			
Open form	1			
Spear	1			
Unknown ceramic	1			
Unknown metal	1			

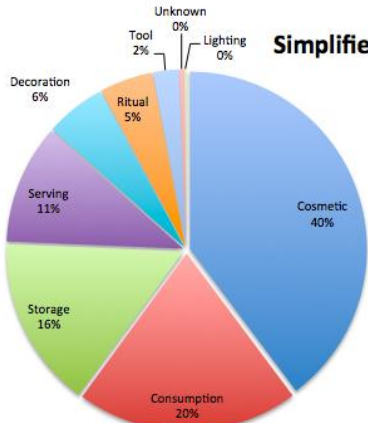
# Object



## Object Origin



## Simplified Use



## Simplified Object Origin

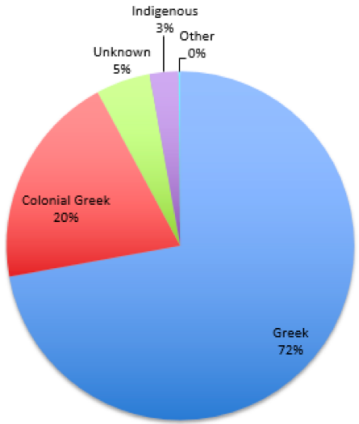
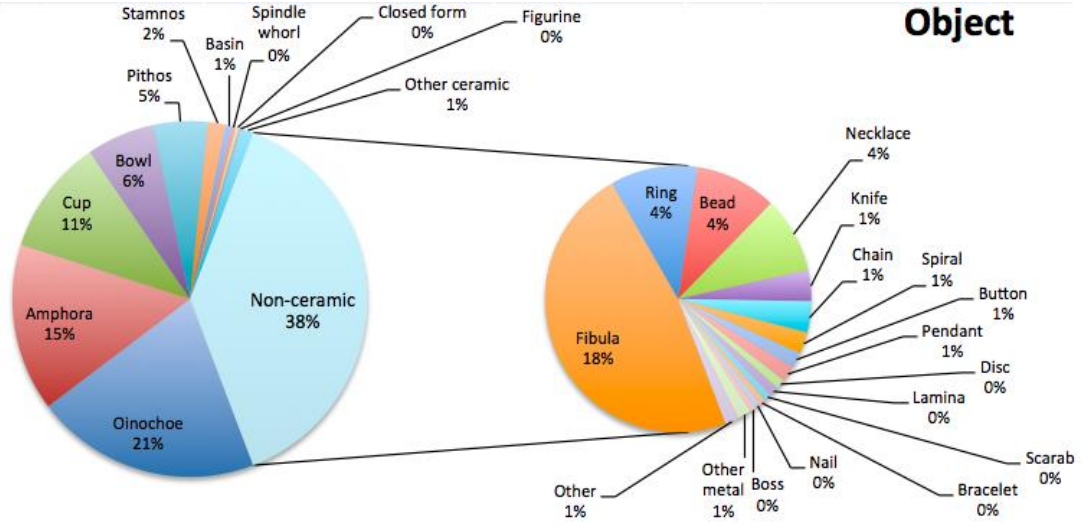


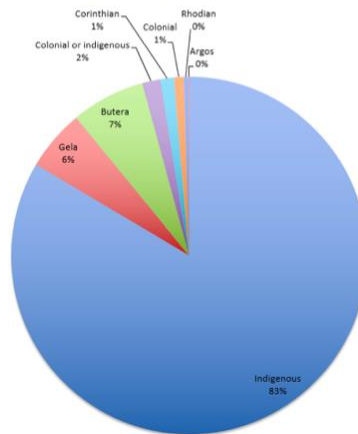
Table 2.11: Butera, Layer II

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Simplified Origin</u>	
Oinochoe	226Ornament	393Indigenous	920Indigenous	994
Fibula	201Pouring	228Gela	61Colonial Greek	89
Amphora	168Burial/ storage	224Butera	74Unknown	18
Cup	116Drinking	118Colonial or indigenous	18Greek	1
Bowl	68Eating	67Corinthian	14	
Pithos	55Serving	24Colonial	10	
Ring	45Weapon	18Rhodian	4	
Bead	42Unknown	8Argos	1	
Necklace	39Ritual	8		
Stamnos	18Weaving	4		
Knife	16Tool	4		
Chain	16Perfume	1		
Spiral	11Burial/ Food preparation	1		
Button	8Lighting	1		
Pendant	8Food preparation	1		
Other	7Storage	1		
Basin	6Unknown consumption	1		
Disc	5			
Lamina	5			
Unknown ceramic	4			
Spindle whorl	4			
Scarab	4			
Other metal	4			
Bracelet	3			
Nail	3			
Closed form	3			
Boss	3			
Figurine	3			
Dipper	2			
Spear	2			
Aryballos	1			
Mug	1			
Unknown metal	1			
Lamp	1			
Other ceramic	1			
Cookware	1			
Open form	1			

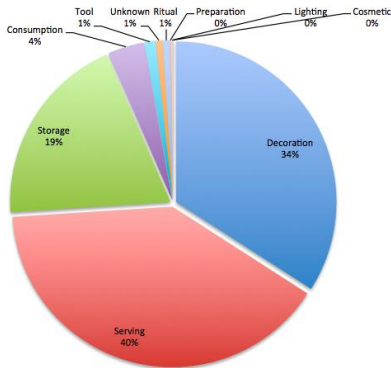
# Object



# Object Origin



# Simplified Use



# Simplified Object Origin

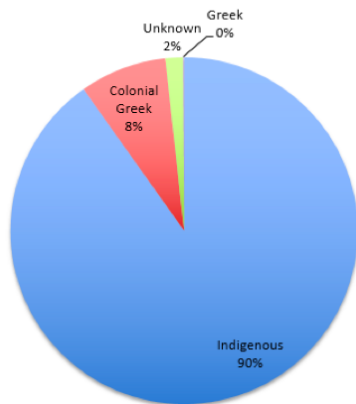
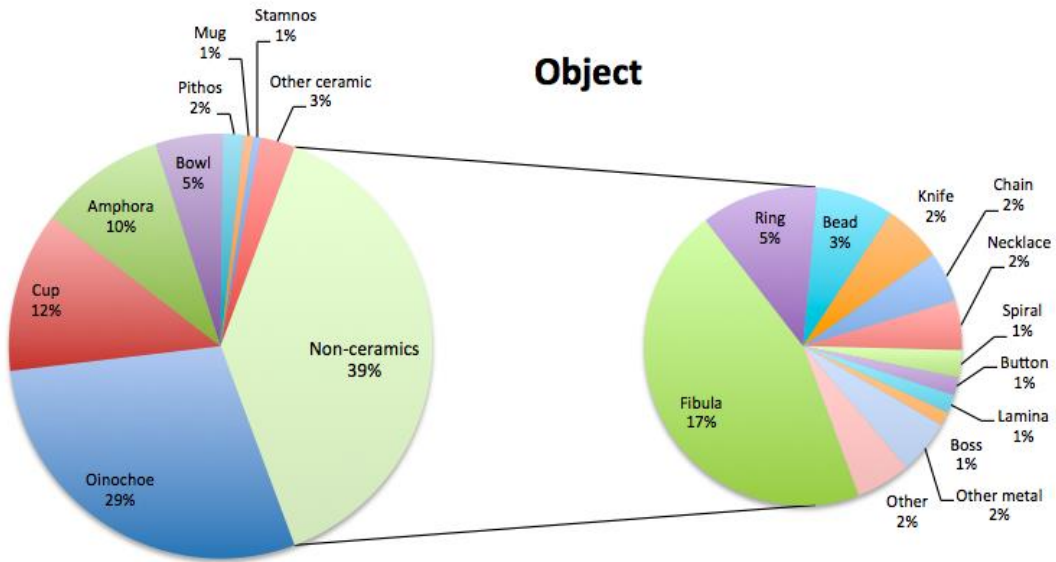
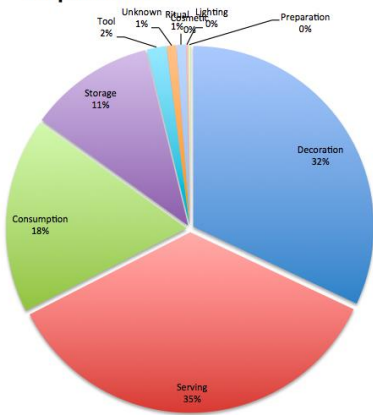


Table 2.12: Butera, Layer I

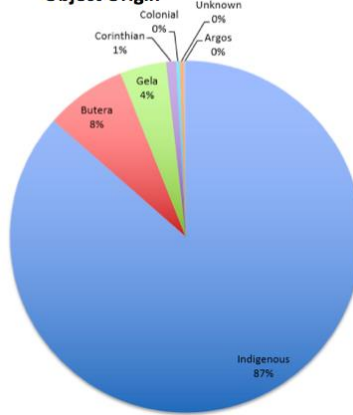
<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Simplified Origin</u>	
Oinochoe	162Ornament	185Indigenous	486Indigenous	528
Fibula	98Pouring	168Butera	42Colonial Greek	26
Cup	69Drinking	70Gela	24Greek	6
Amphora	54Burial/ storage	63Corinthian	5Unknown	2
Bowl	29Eating	29Colonial	2	
Ring	26Weapon	20Unknown	2	
Bead	17Serving	6Argos	1	
Knife	13Unknown	5		
Chain	11Ritual	5		
Necklace	11Weaving	3		
Pithos	9Tool	2		
Other metal	7Storage	2		
Spiral	6Unknown consumption	2		
Other	5Food preparation	1		
Button	4Lighting	1		
Lamina	4			
Mug	4			
Boss	3			
Stamnos	3			
Pendant	2			
Unknown ceramic	2			
Figurine	2			
Spindle whorl	2			
Closed form	2			
Spear	2			
Open form	2			
Footed dish	2			
Nail	1			
Disc	1			
Cookware	1			
Basin	1			
Askos	1			
Other ceramic	1			
Votive shield	1			
Unknown metal	1			
Dipper	1			
Jar	1			
Lamp	1			



**Simplified Use**



**Object Origin**



**Simplified Object Origin**

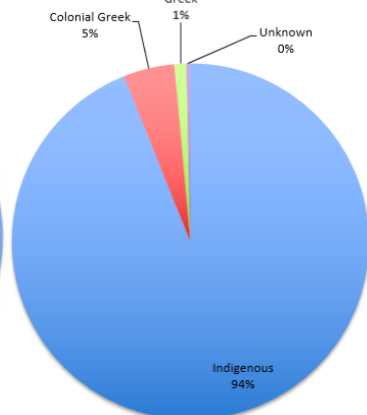




Table 2.13: Butera, Contrada Consi

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Simplified Origin</u>	
Bowl	10Storage	10Indigenous	56Indigenous	57
Pithos	9Eating	10Butera	1	
Oinochoe	6Pouring	9		
Spindle whorl	4Weaving	6		
Unknown ceramic	4Unknown	5		
Amphora	4Burial/ storage	3		
Lamp	3Lighting	3		
Footed dish	2Serving	2		
Dipper	2Drinking	2		
Cup	2Weapon	2		
Loomweight	2Tool	2		
Knife	2Ritual	2		
Other	2Ornament	1		
Figurine	2			
Unknown metal	1			
Askos	1			
Ring	1			

Table 2.14: Butera, Contrada Santa Croce

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Origin</u>	
Cup	13Drinking	13Indigenous	21
Bowl	5Eating	5	
Basin	2Serving	2	
Oinochoe	1Pouring	1	

Table 2.15: Monte Bubbonia, Anaktoron

<u>Use</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Simplified Origin</u>	
Storage	8Indigenous	14Indigenous	14
Eating	5Colonial	2Colonial Greek	2
Drinking	2		
Unknown	1		

Table 2.16: Monte Bubbonia Necropolis

Simplified object	Use	Origin	Simplified Origin	
Oinochoe	32Pouring	33Indigenous	57Indigenous	71
Cup	13Ornament	28Colonial or indigenous	17Unknown	18
Ring	12Drinking	13Colonial	8Colonial Greek	8
Fibula	10Eating	7Unknown	1Greek	1
Bowl	7Food preparation	2Corinthian	1	
Cookware	2Unknown consumption	1		
Pendant	2Cosmetics	1		
Pyxis	1			
Button	1			
Spiral	1			
Earring	1			
Bracelet	1			
Jug	1			

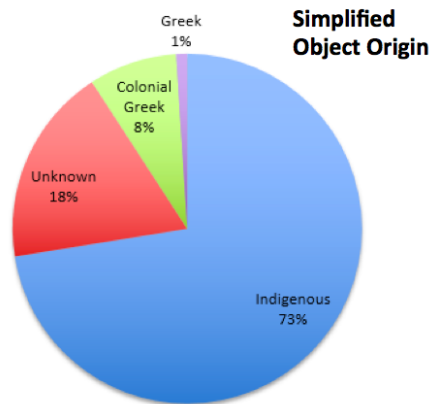
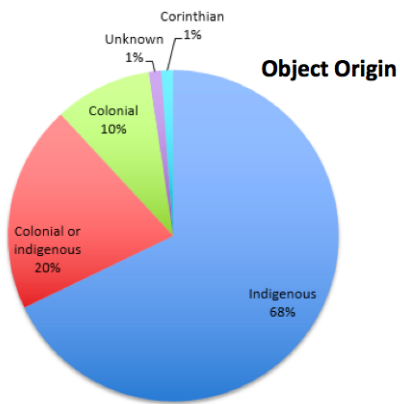
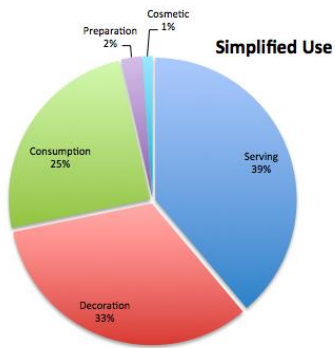
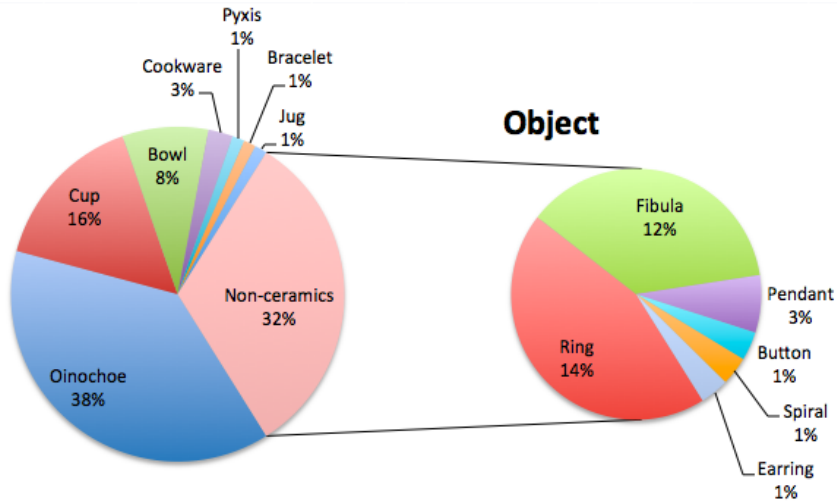


Table 2.17: Monte San Mauro, Domestic Structures

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Simplified Origin</u>	
Other	7Ritual	7Monte San Mauro	8Indigenous	10
Cup	4Drinking	4Colonial	2Greek	3
Closed form	2Unknown	2Indigenous	2Colonial Greek	2
Jug	1Pouring	1East Greek	2	
Lamp	1Lighting	1Corinthian	1	

Table 2.18: Monte San Mauro, Necropolis

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Simplified Origin</u>	
Plastic vase	12Perfume	18Corinthian	18Greek	36
Cup	8Ritual	15Unknown	13Unknown	13
Exaleiptron	8Drinking	8East Greek	7Indigenous	6
Ring	4Ornament	5Rhodian	6Colonial Greek	3
Amphora	3Burial/ storage	3Indigenous	3Other	1
Pyxis	3Cosmetics	3Colonial	3	
Other ceramic	12Eating	2Monte San Mauro	3	
Other metal	9Serving	1Attic	2	
	Serving/ ritual	1Punic/ Phoenician	1	
	Storage	1Unknown Greek	1	
	Weapon	1Samian	1	
	Pouring	1Laconian	1	

Table 3.1: Syracuse Ex-Parco Giostre/ Viale P. Orsi Necropolis

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenance</u>	<u>Simplified Provenance</u>	
Cup	50Perfume	53Corinthian	74Greek	152
Alabastron	31Drinking	50Unknown Greek	37Colonial Greek	13
Pyxis	21Cosmetics	21East Greek	36Other	12
Aryballos	12Tool	11Colonial	13Unknown	7
Unknown ceramic	8Ritual	11Etruscan	12	
Oinochoe	7Unknown	11Unknown	7	
Other metal	6Pouring	10Attic	3	
Miniature cup	5Ornament	8Rhodian	1	
Amphora	5Storage	4Cycladic	1	
Plastic vase	5Serving	2		
Nail	4Mixing	1		
Lekythos	4Lighting	1		
Pin	3Eating	1		
Jar	2			
Ring	2			
Lamina	2			
Lydion	2			
Jug	2			
Lekane	2			
Other	1			
Exaleiptron	1			
Amphoriskos	1			
Hydria	1			
Plaque	1			
Stamnos	1			
Closed form	1			
Dipper	1			
Lamp	1			
Unknown metal	1			
Plate	1			

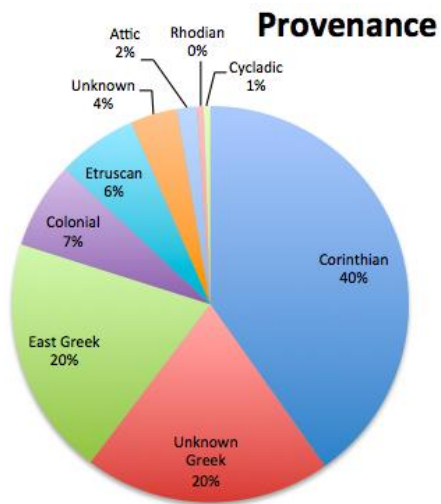
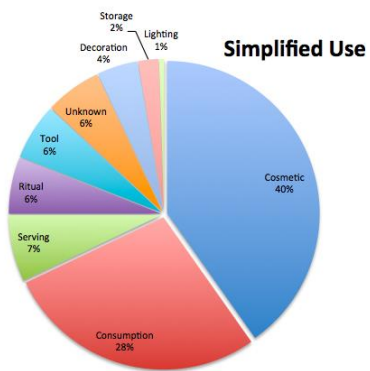
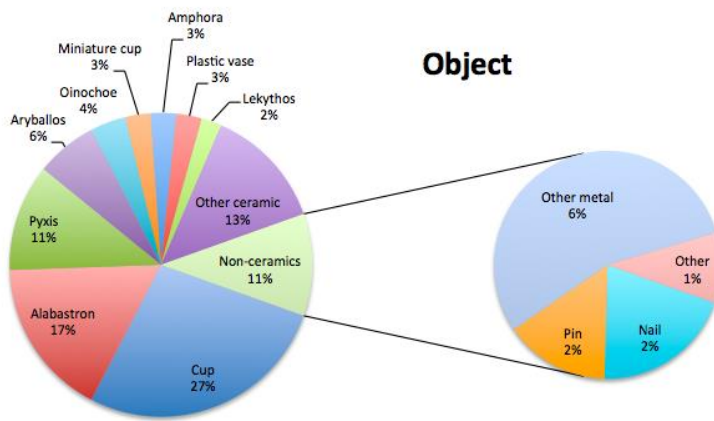


Table 3.2: Syracuse Ex Ospedale Civile Necropolis

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenance</u>	<u>Simplified Provenance</u>	
Cup	120Drinking	125Corinthian	115Greek	282
Nail	24Perfume	56East Greek	73Other	37
Plastic vase	22Ritual	35Unknown Greek	64Colonial Greek	19
Pyxis	21Tool	25Etruscan	36Unknown	18
Dish	18Ornament	22Unknown	18Indigenous	1
Figurine	16Cosmetics	22Attic	13	
Lekythos	13Pouring	21Samian	8	
Aryballos	13Serving	17Laconian	5	
Alabastron	12Eating	8Colonial	19	
Oinochoe	11Unknown	6Rhodian	4	
Pin	9Weapon	5Indigenous	1	
Exaleiptron	7Storage	3Italian	1	
Other	7Burial/ serving	2		
Miniature cup	7Burial/ storage	2		
Amphora	6Weaving	1		
Lekane	5Burial/ mixing	1		
Lamina	4Unknown consumption	1		
Amphoriskos	4Food preparation	1		
Phiale	4Serving/ ritual	1		
Jug	3Lighting	1		
Other metal	3Mixing	1		
Basin	3Transportation	1		
Fibula	2			
Ring	2			
Krater	2			
Unknown ceramic	2			
Other ceramic	2			
Lydion	1			
Jar	1			
Boss	1			
Open form	1			
Knife	1			
Disc	1			
Cookware	1			
Unknown metal	1			
Stamnos	1			
Plaque	1			
Bowl	1			
Miniature krater	1			
Arrowhead	1			
Lamp	1			
Hydria	1			

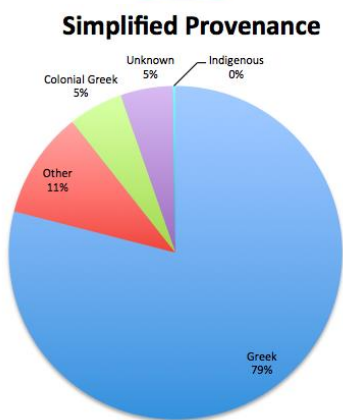
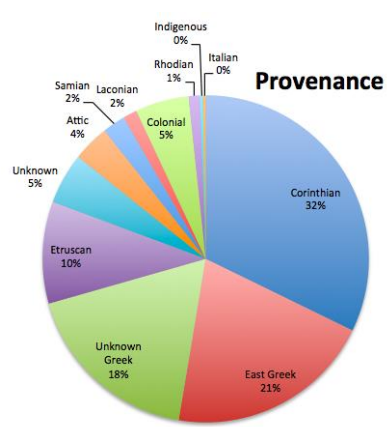
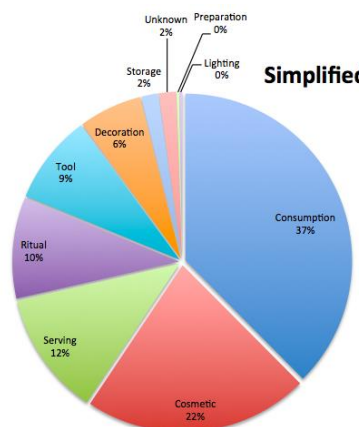
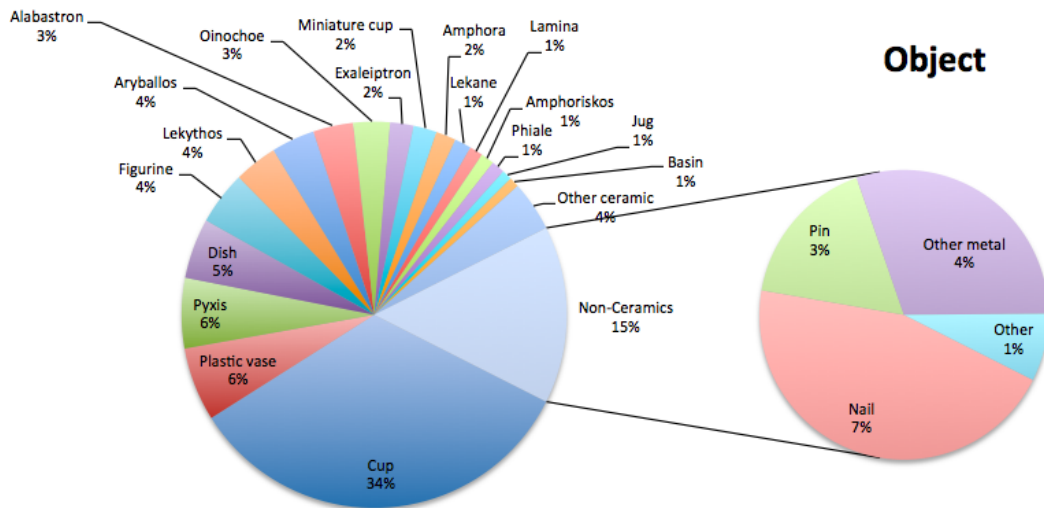
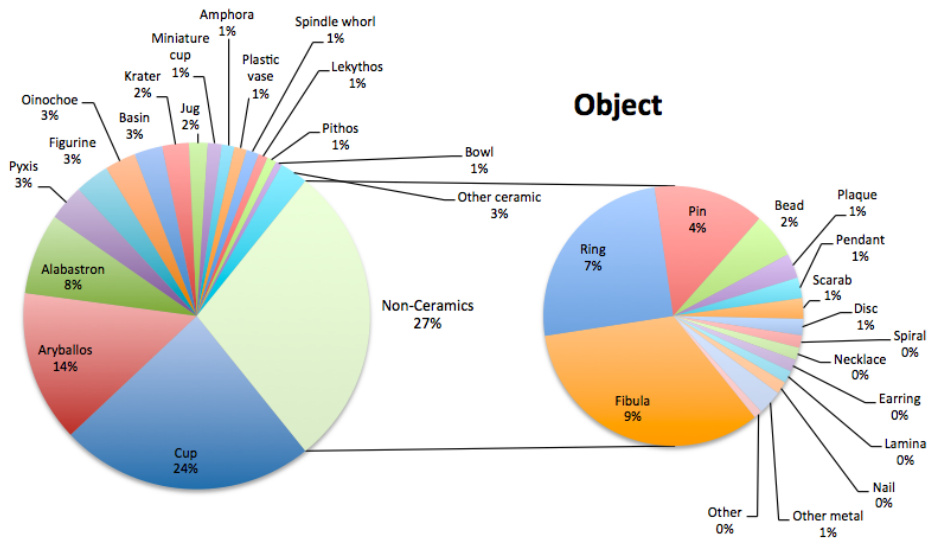
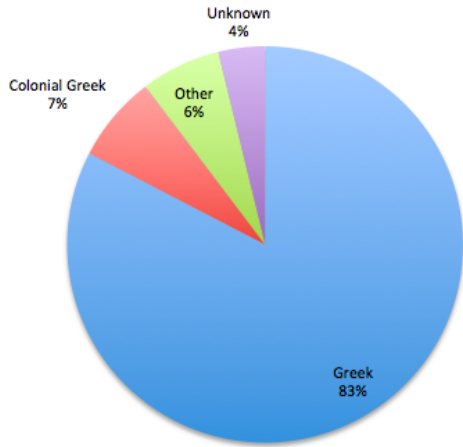


Table 3.3: Syracuse Fusco Necropolis

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenance</u>	<u>Simplified Provenance</u>	
Cup	163 Ornament	186 Corinthian	247 Greek	448
Aryballos	97 Perfume	168 Unknown	159 Unknown	159
Fibula	65 Drinking	159 Unknown Greek	101 Colonial Greek	54
Alabastron	52 Ritual	40 East Greek	73 Other	26
Ring	49 Pouring	37 Colonial	54	
Pin	27 Cosmetics	24 Etruscan	24	
Pyxis	23 Mixing	18 Rhodian	12	
Figurine	22 Burial/ serving	16 Laconian	4	
Oinochoe	20 Weaving	10 Argive	4	
Basin	18 Storage	7 Rhodio-Cretan	3	
Krater	17 Eating	6 Attic	2	
Jug	12 Burial/ storage	4 Punic/ Phoenician	2	
Bead	11 Food preparation	3 Peloponnesian	1	
Miniature cup	9 Tool	3 Samian	1	
Amphora	8 Unknown	2		
Plastic vase	8 Burial/ mixing	1		
Spindle whorl	8 Transportation	1		
Lekythos	6 Serving	1		
Plaque	6 Weapon	1		
Pithos	6			
Pendant	5			
Scarab	5			
Bowl	4			
Disc	4			
Spiral	3			
Necklace	3			
Other	3			
Earring	3			
Lamina	3			
Nail	3			
Other metal	2			
Phiale	2			
Plate	2			
Other ceramic	2			
Loomweight	2			
Closed form	2			
Dipper	2			
Amphoriskos	2			
Lekane	1			
Cookware	1			
Chain	1			
Jar	1			
Unknown ceramic	1			
Button	1			
Exaleiptron	1			
Miniature krater	1			



## Simplified Object Provenance



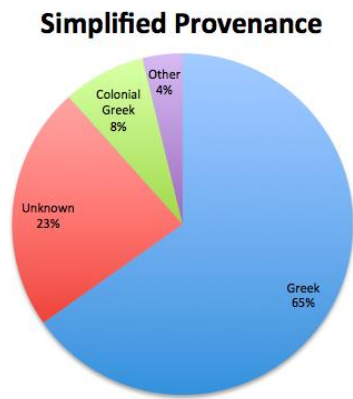
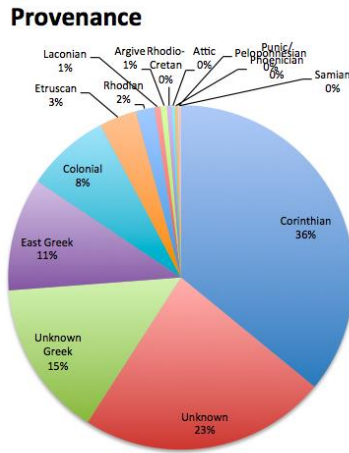
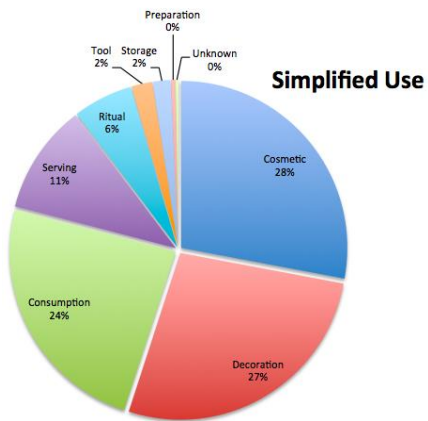


Table 3.4: Syracuse Necropoleis

Simplified object	Use	Provenance	Simplified Provenance	
Cup	348Drinking	350Corinthian	459Greek	927
Aryballos	122Perfume	284Unknown Greek	207Unknown	185
Alabastron	98Ornament	216East Greek	193Colonial Greek	89
Pyxis	71Ritual	95Unknown	185Other	80
Fibula	67Pouring	76Colonial	89Indigenous	2
Ring	53Cosmetics	73Etruscan		77
Oinochoe	45Tool	39Attic		21
Figurine	39Serving	23Rhodian		17
Pin	39Unknown	20Samian		10
Plastic vase	38Mixing	20Laconian		9
Nail	31Burial/ serving	18Argive		4
Lekythos	25Storage	18rhodio-Cretan		3
Basin	24Eating	15Indigenous		2
Miniature cup	24Weaving	11Punic/ Phoenician		2
Amphora	23Burial/ storage	6Chiot		2
Krater	19Weapon	6Italian		1
Dish	18Food preparation	4Peloponnesian		1
Jug	17Burial/ mixing	3Cycladic		1
Other	12Lighting			2
Other metal	11Transportation			2
Unknown ceramic	11Unknown consumption			1
Bead	11Serving/ ritual			1
Exaleiptron				10
Lamina				9
Lekane				8
Plaque				8
Spindle whorl				8
Lydion				7
Amphoriskos				7
Phiale				6
Pithos				6
Disc				5
Bowl				5
Pendant				5
Scarab				5
Jar				4
Other ceramic				4
Spiral				3
Plate				3
Necklace				3
Closed form				3
Earring				3
Dipper				3
Cookware				2
Unknown metal				2
Stamnos				2
Miniature krater				2
Lamp				2
Hydria				2
Loomweight				2
Boss				1
Open form				1
Knife				1
Arrowhead				1
Chain				1
Button				1
Stand				1
Unknown				1

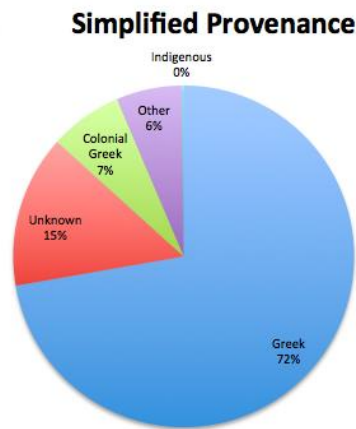
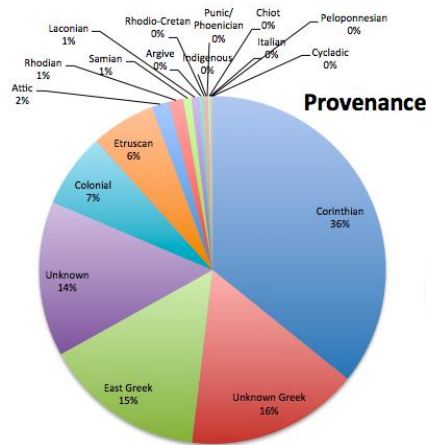
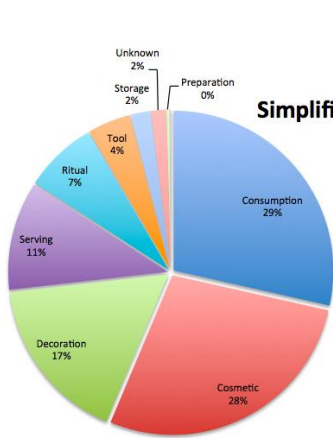
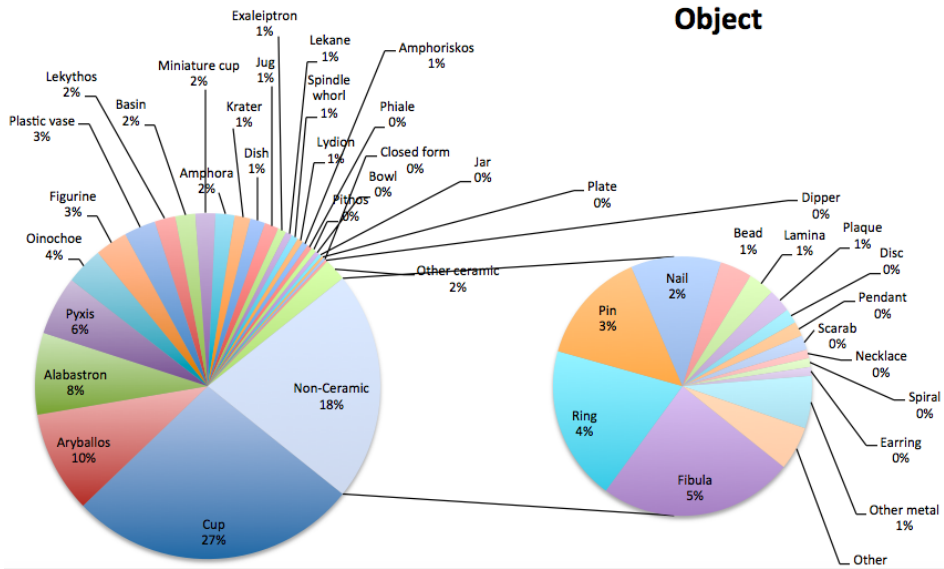


Table 3.5: Syracuse, Piazza Duomo

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenance</u>	<u>Simplified Provenance</u>	
Cup	28 Drinking	28 Corinthian	26 Greek	48
Krater	10 Mixing	10 Colonial	14 Colonial Greek	14
Oinochoe	5 Eating	5 East Greek	9 Other	7
Lamp	5 Pouring	5 Unknown Greek	5 Indigenous	2
Pyxis	4 Lighting	5 Etruscan	4	
Amphora	4 Cosmetics	4 Punic/ Phoenician	3	
Bowl	3 Perfume	4 Laconian	3	
Plate	2 Ornament	2 Indigenous	2	
Alabastron	2 Storage	2 Chiot	2	
Stamnos	2 Transportation	2 Euboean-Cycladic	1	
Aryballos	2 Serving	2 Rhodian	1	
Open form	1 Unknown consumption	1 Attic	1	
Unknown ceramic	1 Unknown	1		
Pendant	2			

Table 3.6: Syracuse, Prefettura

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenance</u>	<u>Simplified Provenance</u>	
Cup	19 Drinking	23 East Greek	9 Greek	30
Plate	8 Eating	8 Colonial	8 Other	11
Open form	4 Unknown consumption	4 Punic/ Phoenician	7 Colonial Greek	8
Mug	4 Mixing	4 Corinthian	5	
Krater	4 Pouring	3 North Ionia	4	
Oinochoe	3 Transportation	3 Siphnos	4	
Amphora	3 Ornament	2 Etruscan	4	
Lamp	1 Lighting	1 Attic	3	
Closed form	1 Unknown	1 Rhodian	3	
Scarab	2	Chiot	1	
		Unknown Greek	1	

Table 3.7: Syracuse, Sacred and Habitation Contexts

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenance</u>	<u>Simplified Provenance</u>	
Cup	47 Drinking	51 Corinthian	31 Greek	78
Krater	14 Mixing	14 Colonial	22 Colonial Greek	22
Plate	10 Eating	13 East Greek	18 Other	18
Oinochoe	8 Pouring	8 Punic/ Phoenician	10 Indigenous	2
Amphora	7 Lighting	6 Unknown Greek	6	
Lamp	6 Unknown consumption	5 Etruscan	8	
Open form	5 Transportation	5 Rhodian	4	
Pyxis	4 Cosmetics	4 Attic	4	
Mug	4 Ornament	4 North Ionia	4	
Bowl	3 Perfume	4 Siphnos	4	
Pendant	2 Unknown	2 Chiot	3	
Alabastron	2 Storage	2 Laconian	3	
Stamnos	2 Serving	2 Indigenous	2	
Aryballos	2	Euboean-Cycladic	1	
Scarab	2			
Unknown ceramic	1			
Closed form	1			

Table 3.8: Monte Finicchito Necropolis

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Fibula	85 Ornament	174 Indigenous	366 Indigenous	366
Bowl	82 Eating	83 Corinthian	4 Greek	7
Oinochoe	54 Pouring	67 Rhodian	3 Colonial Greek	3
Bead	35 Drinking	22 Colonial	3	
Ring	30 Storage	6		
Cup	21 Weapon	6		
Mug	8 Weaving	5		
Chain	7 Unknown	4		
Amphora	5 Food preparation	4		
Spindle whorl	5 Serving	2		
Pendant	4 Transportation	1		
Cookware	4 Cosmetics	1		
Scarab	3 Ritual	1		
Knife	3			
Bracelet	3			
Askos	3			
Plaque	3			
Other metal	9			
Other ceramic	10			
Other	10			

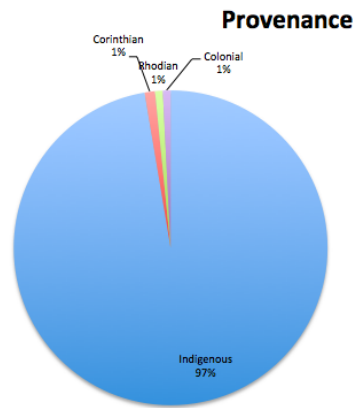
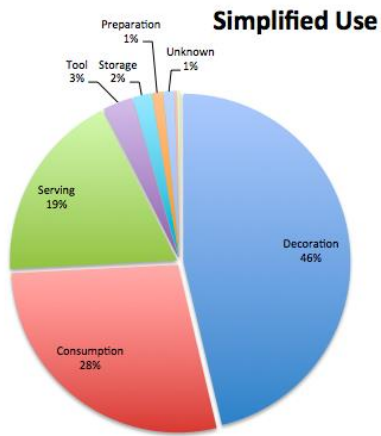
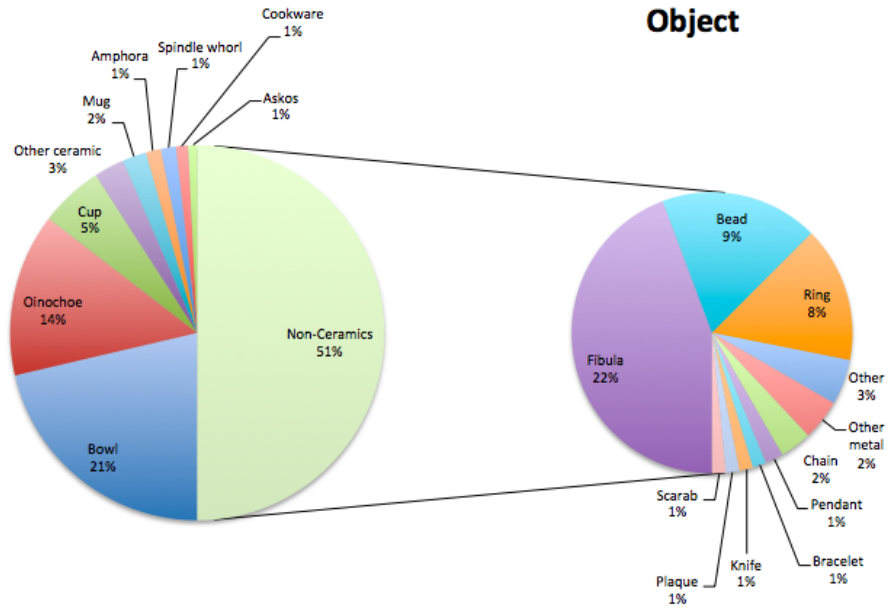


Table 3.9: Rito Necropolis

Cup	18Drinking	18Indigenous	23Greek	24
Oinochoe	11Pouring	12Colonial	18Indigenous	23
Amphora	8Storage	9Corinthian	17Colonial Greek	18
Bowl	6Perfume	7East Greek	5	
Lamp	4Eating	6Attic	1	
Pyxis	3Ritual	4Laconian	1	
Aryballos	3Lighting	4		
Amphoriskos	2Cosmetics	3		
Miniature cup	2Ornament	1		
Lekythos	2Weapon	1		
Pithos	1			
Other	1			
Exaleiptron	1			
Fibula	1			
Jug	1			
Spear	1			



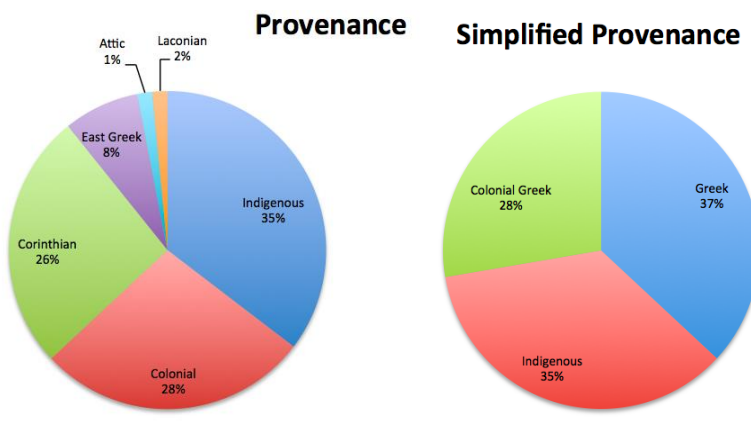
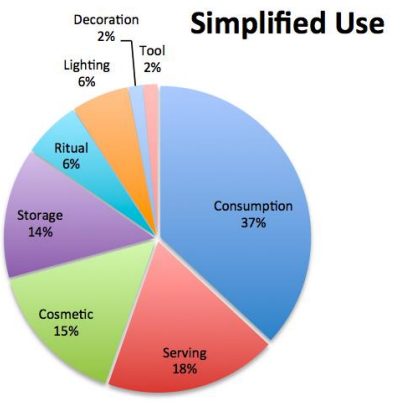
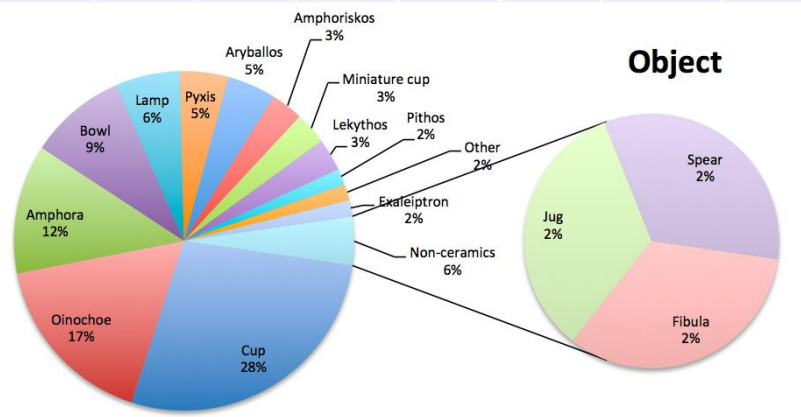
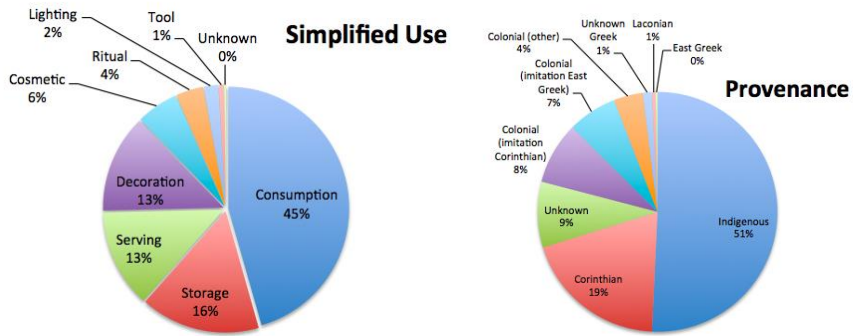
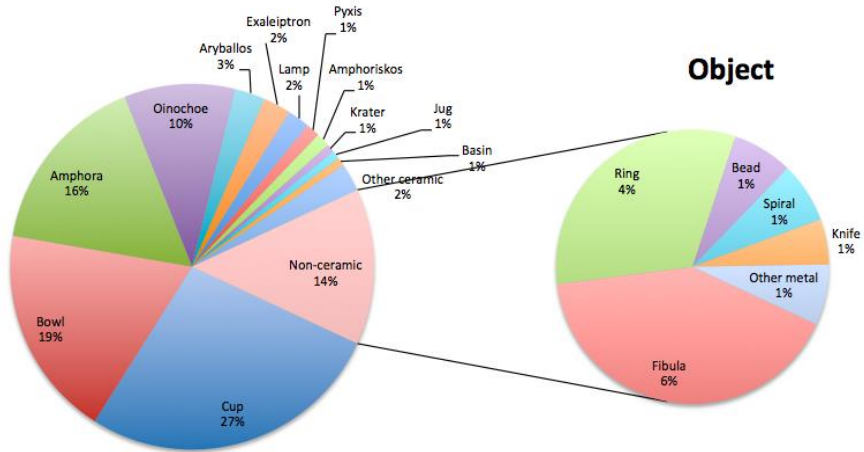


Table 3.10: Castiglione West Necropolis, Chamber Tombs

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenance</u>	<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Cup	110Drinking	111Indigenous	206Indigenous	206
Bowl	76Eating	74Corinthian	79Greek	87
Amphora	66Burial/ storage	65Unknown	36Colonial Greek	77
Oinochoe	40Ornament	53Colonial (imitation Corinthian)	34Unknown	36
Fibula	23Pouring	45Colonial (imitation East Greek)	27	
Ring	18Perfume	18Colonial (other)	16	
Aryballos	11Ritual	15Unknown Greek	5	
Exaleiptron	10Lighting	8Laconian	2	
Lamp	8Cosmetics	5East Greek	1	
Pyxis	5Serving	5		
Amphoriskos	5Mixing	3		
Bead	4Weapon	3		
Spiral	4Unknown	1		
Krater	3			
Jug	3			
Knife	3			
Basin	3			
Ingot	2			
Other ceramic	1			
Miniature krater	1			
Askos	1			
Unknown ceramic	1			
Lekane	1			
Dipper	1			
Hydria	1			
Alabastron	1			
Phiale	1			
Dish	1			
Pendant	1			
Bracelet	1			



### Simplified Provenance

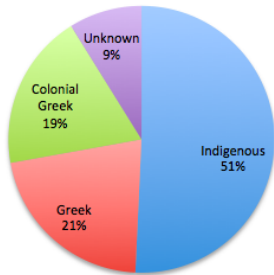


Table 3.11: Castiglione West Necropolis, Fossa Tombs

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Cup	90Drinking	92Indigenous	173Indigenous	173
Amphora	82Burial/ storage	81Corinthian	57Greek	96
Bowl	66Eating	68Colonial (imitation East Greek)	46Colonial Greek	59
Oinochoe	33Pouring	34Unknown Greek	34Unknown	33
Exaleiptron	32Ritual	31Unknown	33	
Aryballos	17Perfume	19Colonial (imitation Corinthian)	13	
Ring	9Ornament	17East Greek	5	
Lamp	8Lighting	8Laconian	1	
Pyxis	5Cosmetics	5		
Fibula	4Weapon	2		
Amphoriskos	3Unknown	2		
Knife	2Storage	1		
Bead	2Mixing	1		
Unknown ceramic	2Weaving	1		
Dish	2			
Spiral	2			
Jug	1			
Krater	1			
Loomweight	1			

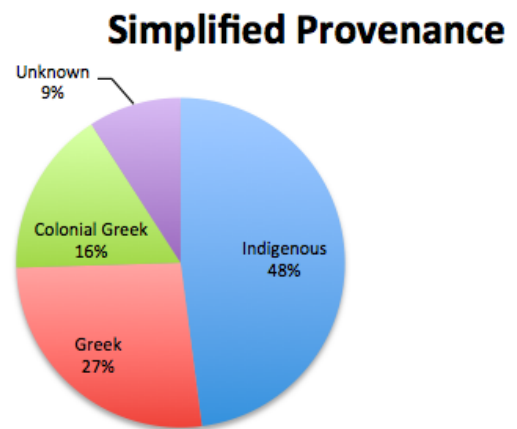
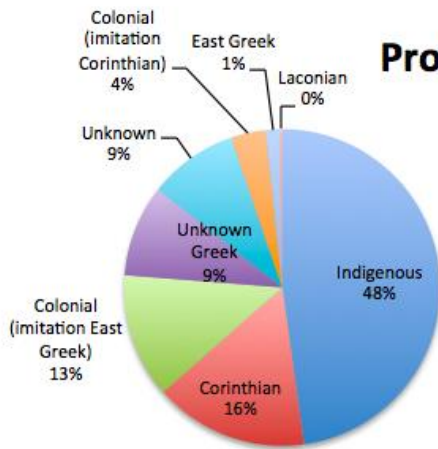
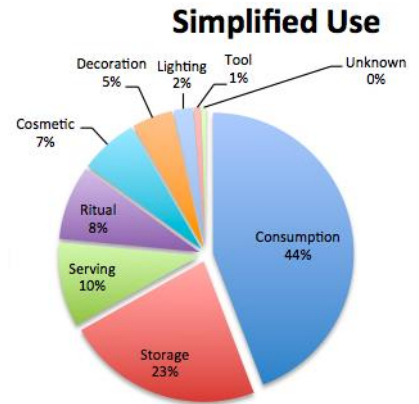
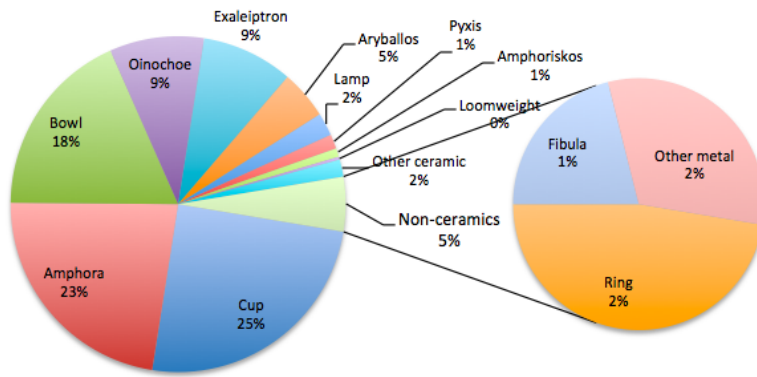


Table 3.12: Castiglione West Necropolis Totals

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Cup	200Drinking	203Indigenous	379Indigenous	379
Amphora	148Burial/ storage	146Corinthian	136Greek	184
Bowl	142Eating	142Colonial (imitation East Greek)	72Colonial Greek	136
Oinochoe	73Pouring	79Unknown	69Unknown	69
Exaleiptron	42Ornament	70Colonial (imitation Corinthian)	47	
Aryballos	28Ritual	46Unknown Greek	39	
Ring	27Perfume	37Colonial (other)	17	
Fibula	27Lighting	16East Greek	6	
Lamp	16Cosmetics	10Laconian	3	
Pyxis	10Weapon	5		
Amphoriskos	8Serving	5		
Bead	6Mixing	4		
Spiral	6Unknown	3		
Knife	5Storage	1		
Krater	4Weaving	1		
Jug	4			
Unknown ceramic	3			
Dish	3			
Basin	3			
Ingot	2			
Other ceramic	1			
Miniature krater	1			
Askos	1			
Loomweight	1			
Lekane	1			
Dipper	1			
Hydria	1			
Alabastron	1			
Phiale	1			
Pendant	1			
Bracelet	1			

Table 3.13: Castiglione, East Necropolis

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Cup	4Drinking	4Colonial (other)	5Colonial Greek	8
Lamp	2Lighting	2Colonial (imitation East Greek)	3Greek	2
Jug	2Pouring	2Laconian	1Indigenous	1
Krater	1Mixing	1Unknown Greek	1	
Amphora	1Perfume	1Indigenous	1	
Bowl	1Eating	1		

Table 3.14: Megara Hyblaea, South Necropolis

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Cup	27Perfume	55Corinthian	73Greek	89
Aryballos	25Drinking	28Colonial	15Colonial Greek	15
Alabastron	25Ornament	6East Greek	8Unknown	3
Miniature cup	5Pouring	6Unknown Greek	6	
Pin	3Ritual	6Unknown	3	
Stamnos	2Serving	2Argive	2	
Amphoriskos	2Burial/ storage	1		
Dipper	2Eating	1		
Lekythos	2Serving/ ritual	1		
Amphora	2Transportation	1		
Oinochoe	2			
Jug	2			
Miniature krater	1			
Kalathos	1			
Lekane	1			
Lamina	1			
Mug	1			
Bowl	1			
Ring	1			
Earring	1			

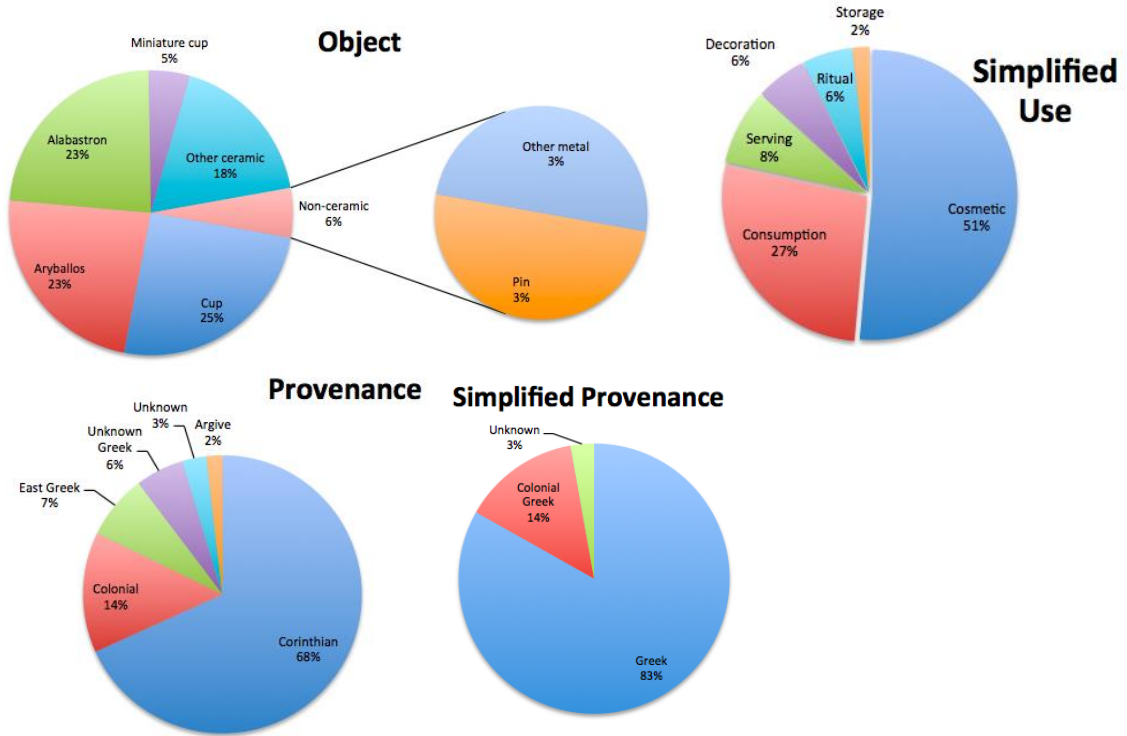


Table 3.15: Megara Hyblaea, West Necropolis

Simplified object	Use	Provenance	Simplified Provenance	
Cup	57Perfume	132Corinthian	157Greek	250
Aryballos	49Ornament	104Unknown	93Unknown	93
Alabastron	47Drinking	58East Greek	36Colonial Greek	54
Ring	33Ritual	41Unknown Greek	36Other	5
Miniature cup	22Pouring	15Colonial	54	
Pin	19Serving	13Attic	7	
Plastic vase	17Cosmetics	9Rhodian	6	
Other metal	15Serving/ ritual	8Argive	5	
Lekythos	14Weaving	5Etruscan	4	
Fibula	12Gaming	5Samian	2	
Stamnos	10Unknown	5Egyptian	1	
Spiral	10Eating	2Laconian	1	
Pyxis	9Storage	2		
Kalathos	8Weapon	1		
Other	8Lighting	1		
Figurine	8Tool	1		
Earring	7			
Jug	6			
Dipper	6			
Lydion	6			
Amphoriskos	5			
Scarab	4			
Necklace	4			
Lekane	4			
Pendant	3			
Oinochoe	2			
Loomweight	2			
Other ceramic	2			
Knife	1			
Lamp	1			
Miniature krater	1			
Amphora	1			
Mug	1			
Boss	1			
Dish	1			
Phiale	1			
Plate	1			
Spindle whorl	1			
Button	1			
Plaque	1			
Nail	1			



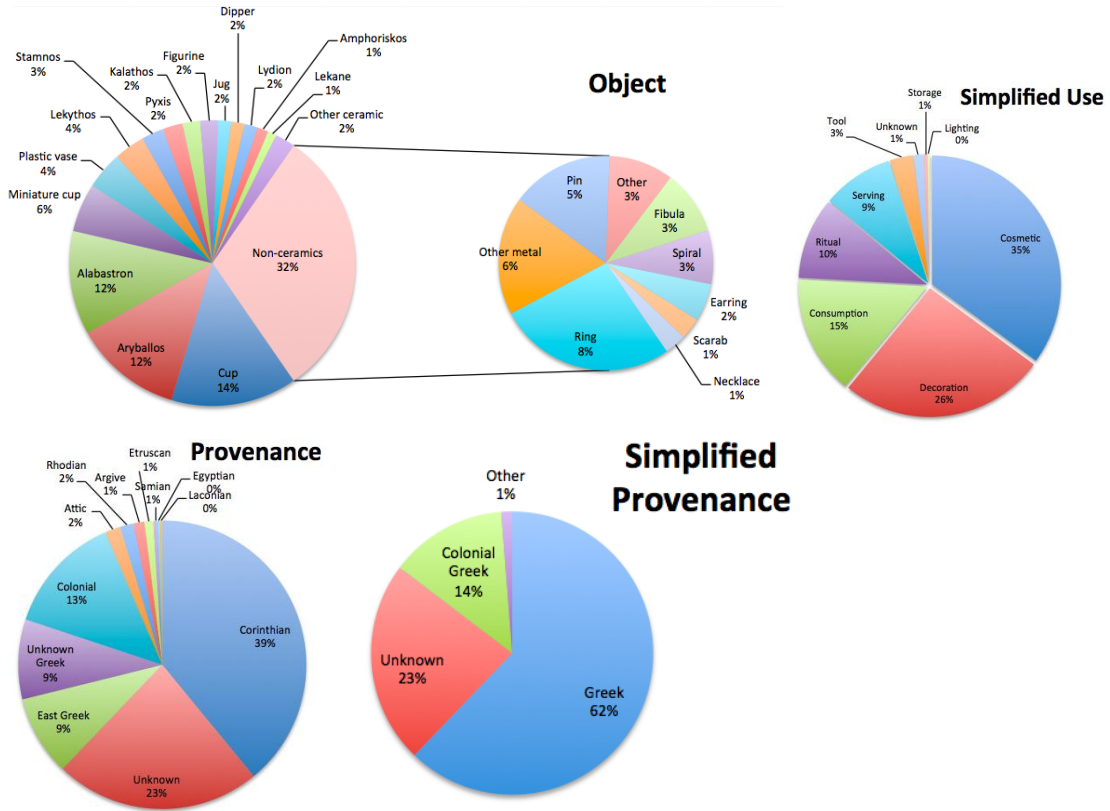
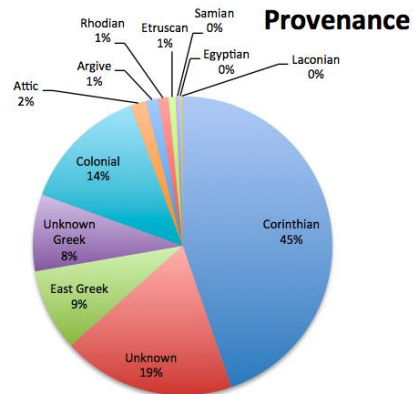
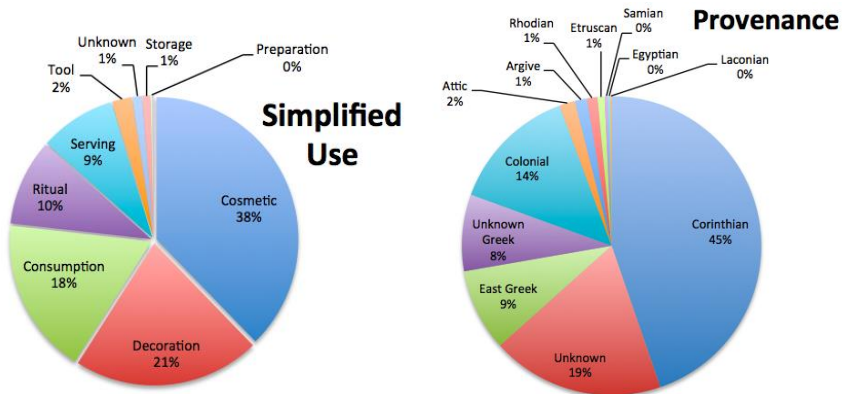
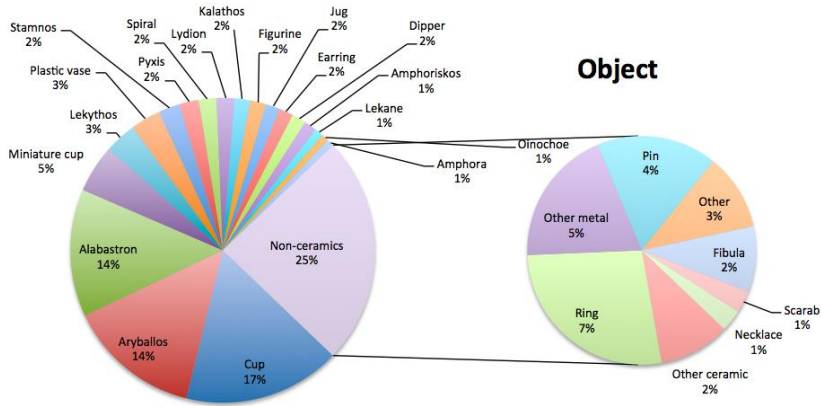


Table 3.16: Megara Hyblaea, Raisom Necropolis

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenance</u>	<u>Simplified Provenance</u>	
Cup	5Drinking	5Corinthian	7Greek	14
Lydion	4Ritual	5Colonial	4Colonial	4
Lekythos	2Ornament	3East Greek	3Unknown	3
Pyxis	2Perfume	2Unknown	3	
Figurine	1Cosmetics	2Unknown Greek	2	
Amphora	1Pouring	1Attic	2	
Aryballos	1Burial/ storage	1		
Other	1Food preparation	1		
Bead	1Unknown	1		
Ring	1			
Other metal	1			
Unknown	1			

Table 3.17: Megara Hyblaea Necropoleis

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenance</u>	<u>Simplified Provenance</u>	
Cup	89Perfume	189Corinthian	237Greek	353
Aryballos	75Ornament	113Unknown	99Colonial Greek	73
Alabastron	72Drinking	91East Greek	47Unknown	99
Ring	35Ritual	52Unknown Greek	44Other	5
Miniature cup	27Pouring	22Colonial	73	
Pin	22Serving	15Attic	9	
Lekythos	18Cosmetics	11Argive	7	
Plastic vase	17Serving/ ritual	9Rhodian	6	
Other metal	16Unknown	6Etruscan	4	
Fibula	12Weaving	5Samian	2	
Stamnos	12Gaming	5Egyptian	1	
Pyxis	11Eating	3Laconian	1	
Spiral	10Storage	2		
Lydion	10Burial/ storage	2		
Kalathos	9Weapon	1		
Other	9Lighting	1		
Figurine	9Tool	1		
Jug	8Transportation	1		
Earring	8Food preparation	1		
Dipper	8			
Amphoriskos	7			
Lekane	5			
Oinochoe	4			
Scarab	4			
Necklace	4			
Amphora	4			
Pendant	3			
Loomweight	2			
Miniature krater	2			
Mug	2			
Other ceramic	2			
Knife	1			
Lamp	1			
Boss	1			
Dish	1			
Phiale	1			
Plate	1			
Spindle whorl	1			
Button	1			
Plaque	1			
Nail	1			
Lamina	1			
Bowl	1			
Bead	1			
Unknown	1			



### Simplified Provenance

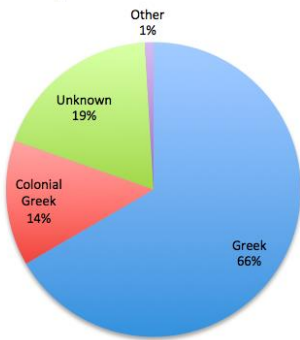


Table 3.18: Megara Hyblaea, Northwest Sanctuary (Temple B)

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenance</u>	<u>Simplified Provenance</u>	
Oinochoe	9Ritual	13Corinthian	27Greek	43
Aryballos	8Pouring	12Megara Hyblaea	7Colonial Greek	10
Figurine	6Perfume	10Unknown Greek	5Unknown	3
Cup	6Ornament	6Rhodian	5Other	2
Plaque	4Mixing	5Colonial	3	
Lekane	3Drinking	4Unknown	3	
Basin	3Serving	3East Greek	3	
Scarab	3Cosmetics	2Argive	2	
Jug	3Eating	2Etruscan	2	
Other ceramic	10Unknown	1Attic	1	
Other metal	3			

Table 3.19: Megara Hyblaea: Southern Plateau (Including Temple Zr)

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenance</u>	<u>Simplified Provenance</u>	
Cup	122Drinking	123Corinthian	72Greek	141
Amphora	20Pouring	19Colonial	55Colonial Greek	55
Oinochoe	20Transportation	17Unknown Greek	34Other	14
Krater	11Perfume	11East Greek	15Unknown	6
Unknown ceramic	7Mixing	10Etruscan	13	
Aryballos	5Unknown	7Attic	11	
Lekane	4Ornament	4Unknown	6	
Cookware	4Storage	4Argive	4	
Bracelet	3Serving	4Laconian	2	
Plate	2Ritual	4Rhodian	1	
Lamp	2Food preparation	4Punic/ Phoenician	1	
Mug	2Eating	3Euboean-Cycladic	1	
Other	2Lighting	2Chios	1	
Open form	2Weapon	1		
Lekythos	2Unknown consumption	1		
Alabastron	1Tool	1		
Knife	1Cosmetics	1		
Jug	1			
Figurine	1			
Askos	1			
Hydria	1			
Basin	1			
Pyxis	1			

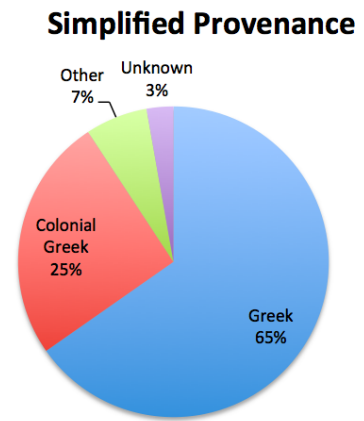
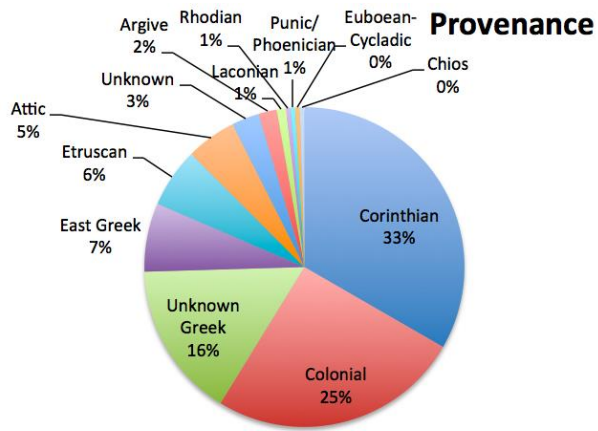
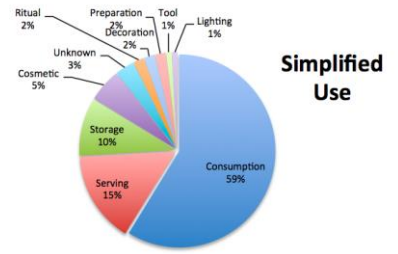
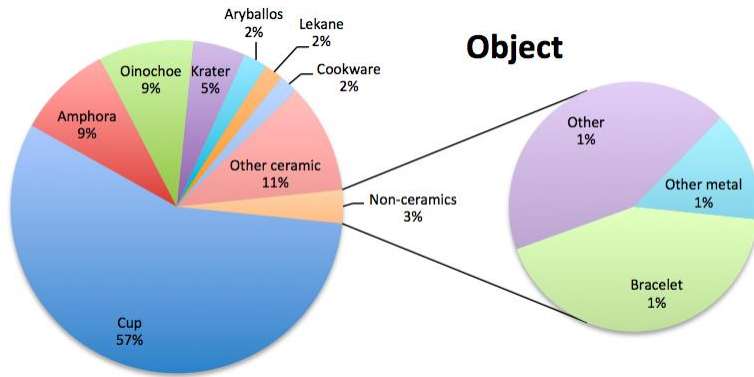


Table 3.20: Megara Hyblaea, Agora

<u>Simplified object</u>		<u>Use</u>		<u>Provenance</u>		<u>Simplified Provenance</u>	
Oinochoe	7	Perfume	8	Colonial	10	Greek	21
Cup	5	Ornament	7	Corinthian	9	Colonial Greek	10
Aryballos	5	Pouring	7	Unknown	6	Unknown	6
Fibula	4	Drinking	5	Rhodian	3	Other	1
Pithos	3	Storage	3	East Greek	3		
Plate	2	Eating	3	Unknown Greek	3		
Figurine	1	Ritual	2	Argive	3		
Scarab	1	Mixing	2	Etruscan	1		
Alabastron	1	Serving	1				
Ring	1						
Plaque	1						
Plastic vase	1						
Exaleiptron	1						
Basin	1						
Bowl	1						
Krater	1						
Lekythos	1						
Footed dish	1						

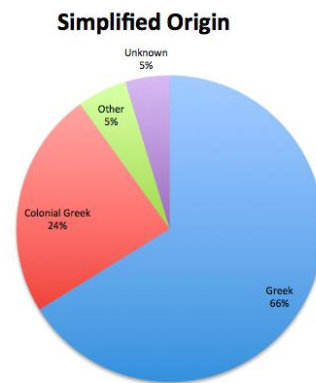
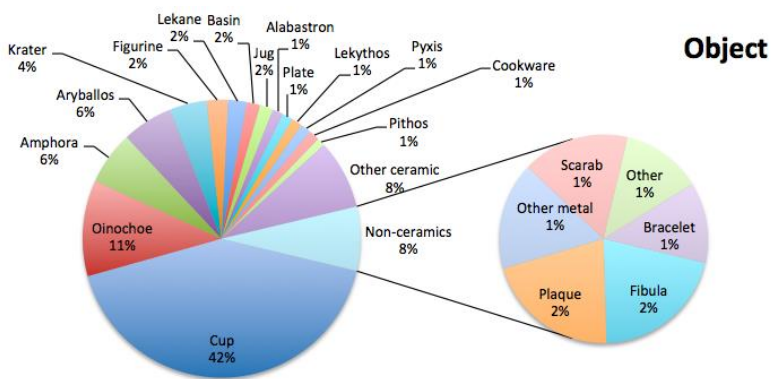
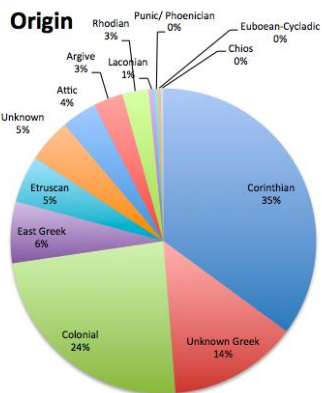
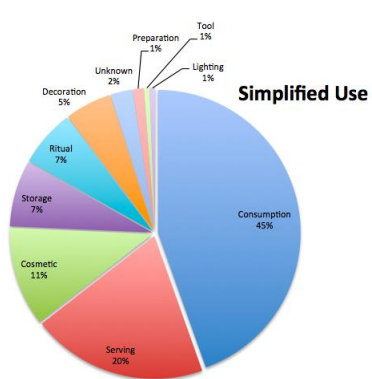
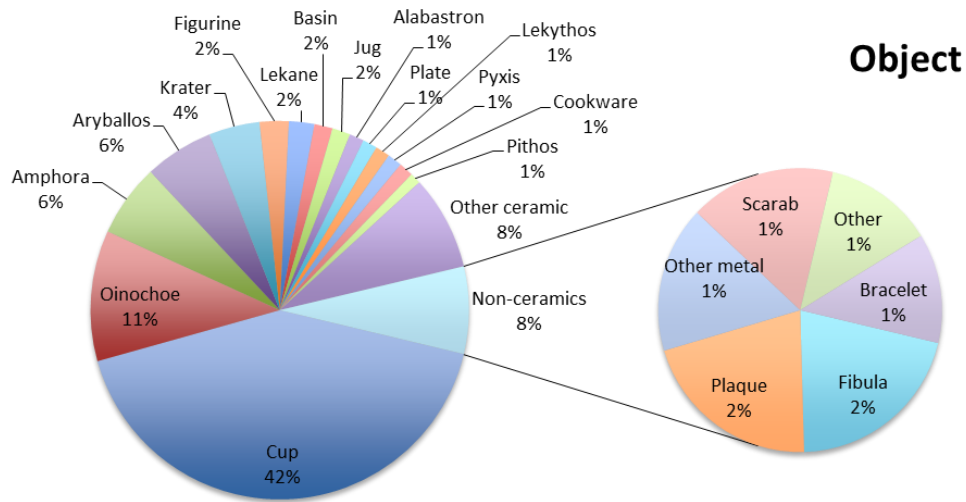
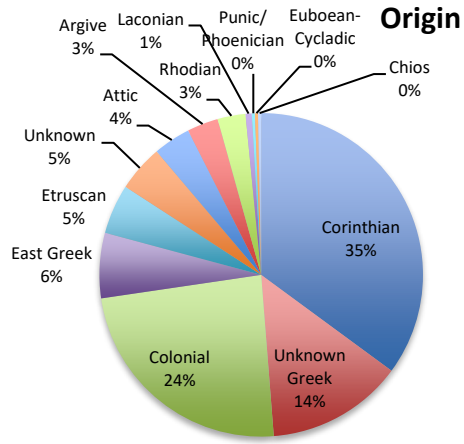
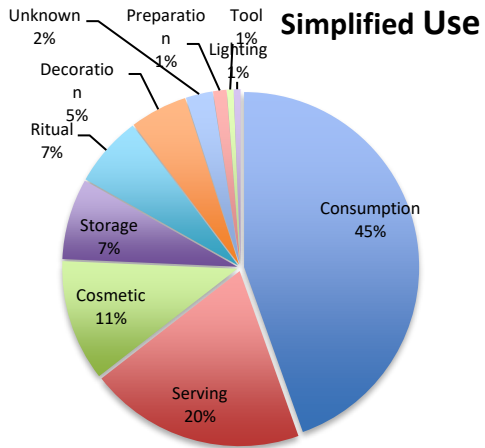


Table 3.21: Megara Hyblaea, Habitations and Sacred Contexts totals

Simplified object	Use	Origin	Simplified Origin	
Cup	135 Drinking	134 Corinthian	113 Greek	213
Oinochoe	36 Pouring	39 Unknown Greek	44 Colonial Greek	77
Amphora	20 Perfume	32 Colonial	77 Other	17
Aryballos	19 Ritual	21 East Greek	21 Unknown	15
Krater	14 Ornament	17 Etruscan		16
Figurine	8 Mixing	17 Unknown		15
Unknown ceramic	7 Transportation	17 Attic		12
Lekane	7 Eating	8 Argive		10
Fibula	5 Serving	8 Rhodian		9
Plaque	5 Unknown	8 Laconian		2
Basin	5 Storage	7 Punic/ Phoenician		1
Jug	5 Cosmetics	4 Euboean-Cycladic		1
Scarab	4 Food preparation	4 Chios		1
Alabastron	4 Lighting			2
Plate	4 Architectural			1
Lekythos	4 Weapon			1
Pyxis	4 Unknown consumption			1
Cookware	4 Tool			1
Pithos				3
Bracelet				3
Ring				2
Plastic vase				2
Exaleiptron				2
Lamp				2
Mug				2
Other				2
Open form				2
Bowl				1
Footed dish				1
Architectural terracotta				1
Phiale				1
Knife				1
Askos				1
Hydria				1
Other ceramic				1
Miniature krater				1
Bead				1
Closed form				1
Dish				1







### Simplified Origin

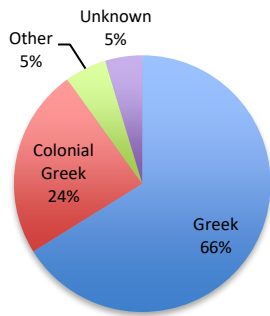


Table 3.22: Leontinoi, Alaimo Sanctuary Deposit

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenance</u>	<u>Simplified Provenance</u>	
Aryballos	165 Perfume	216 Corinthian	232 Greek	374
Jug	102 Ritual	157 Colonial	260 Colonial Greek	260
Cup	67 Drinking	110 Samian	67 Unknown	42
Mug	59 Ornament	42 Unknown	41 Indigenous	9
Pyxis	35 Pouring	35 Rhodio-Cretan	27 Other	4
Alabastron	31 Cosmetics	35 Unknown Greek	17	
Kalathos	24 Serving/ ritual	24 East Greek	16	
Miniature krater	19 Serving	24 Indigenous	10	
Lekane	18 Weaving	18 Argive	8	
Lekythos	15 Weapon	11 Attic	5	
Exaleiptron	15 Architectural	6 Etruscan	4	
Ring	15 Food preparation	3 Euboean-Cycladic	2	
Oinochoe	13 Transportation	2		
Figurine	12 Unknown	2		
Bead	12 Mixing	1		
Spindle whorl	9 Storage	1		
Loomweight	9 Eating	1		
Amphora	7 Tool	1		
Spear	6			
Hydria	5			
Open form	5			
Knife	5			
Architectural terracotta	5			
Other ceramic	4			
Disc	4			
Basin	3			
Earring	3			
Boss	3			
Plastic vase	2			
Bracelet	2			
Other	2			
Phiale	1			
Krater	1			
Stamnos	1			
Stand	1			
Votive shield	1			
Cookware	1			
Plate	1			
Pin	1			
Fibula	1			
Other metal	1			
Ingot	1			
Lamina	1			
Unknown metal	1			

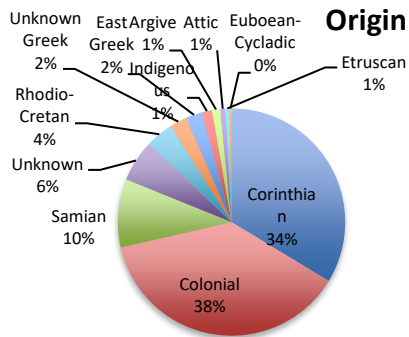
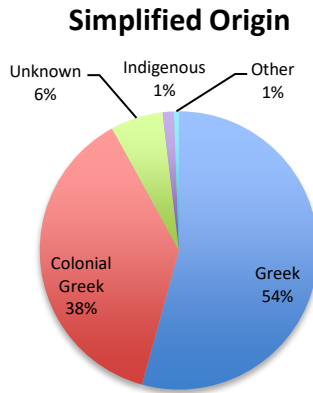
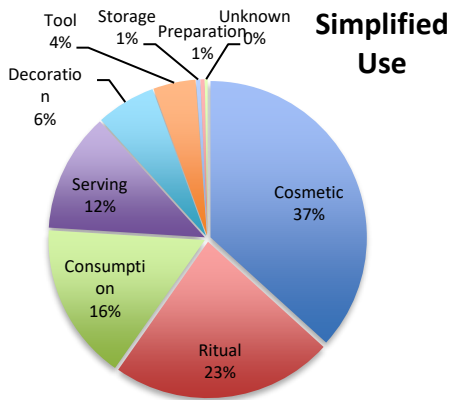
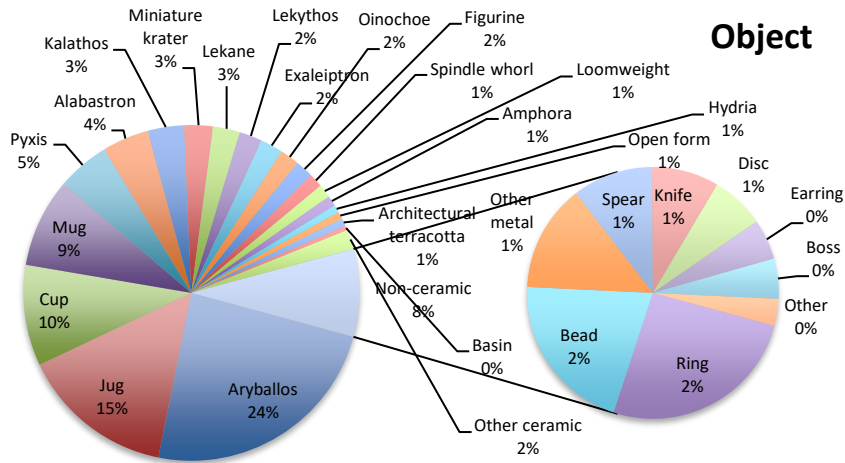


Table 3.23: Monte Casasia

Simplified object	Use	Provenience	Simplified Provenience	
Cup	79Ornament	105Indigenous	227Indigenous	227
Fibula	49Drinking	81Colonial	85Colonial Greek	85
Bowl	43Pouring	46Corinthian or imitation	19Greek	35
Oinochoe	38Eating	44Corinthian	11Unknown	2
Amphora	34Burial/ storage	26East Greek	5	
Ring	20Serving	9Unknown	2	
Spiral	11Perfume	9		
Bracelet	11Storage	7		
Mug	8Transportation	5		
Aryballos	7Serving/ ritual	4		
Footed dish	6Food preparation	4		
Hydria	6Weapon	4		
Lekane	5Ritual	3		
Cookware	4Weaving	1		
Bead	3Tool	1		
Knife	3			
Pin	3			
Pendant	3			
Dipper	2			
Disc	2			
Basin	2			
Spindle whorl	1			
Nail	1			
Jug	1			
Arrowhead	1			
Earring	1			
Kalathos	1			
Boss	1			
Other metal	1			
Lydion	1			
Exaleiptron	1			

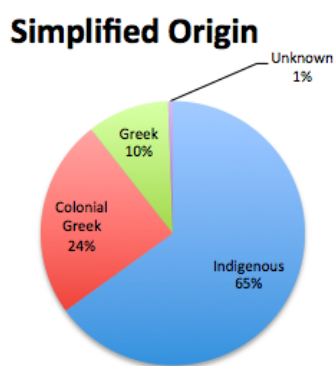
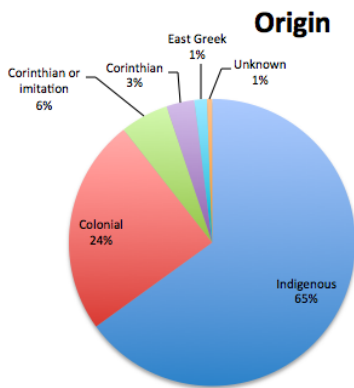
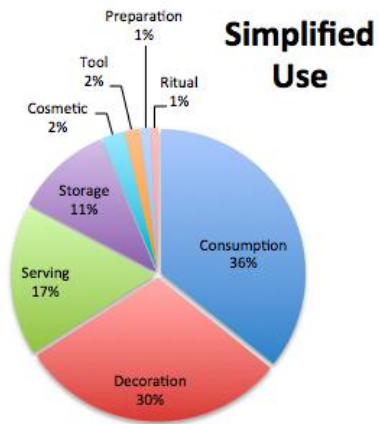
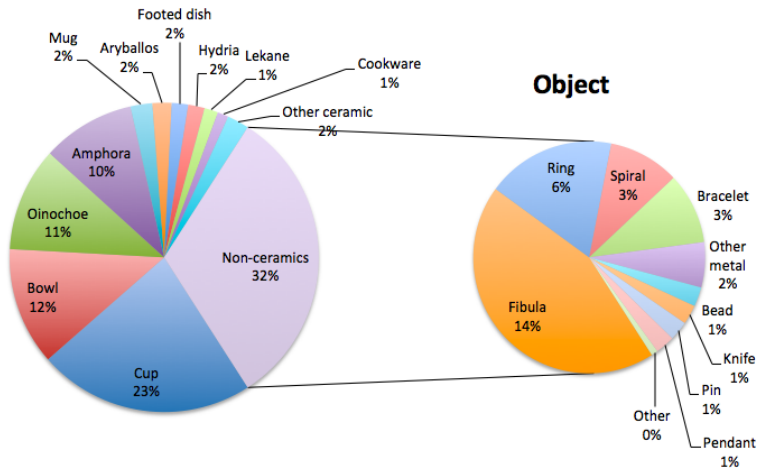


Table 3.24: Ramacca, Object Totals

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Cup	14 Drinking	14 Indigenous	29 Indigenous	29
Closed form	8 Unknown	9 Colonial	16 Colonial Greek	16
Amphora	5 Pouring	7 Attic	2 Greek	4
Oinochoe	4 Storage	7 Corinthian	1 Unknown	1
Pithos	3 Transportation	4 Unknown Greek		1
Dipper	3 Serving	2 Unknown	1	
Situla	2 Weapon	2		
Knife	2 Perfume	2		
Unknown ceramic	2 Eating	1		
Aryballos	2 Tool	1		
Basin	1 Unknown consumption	1		
Bowl	1			
Other metal	1			
Hydria	1			
Open form	1			

Table 3.25: Ramacca, Saggio Delta

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Cup	9 Drinking	9 Colonial (imitation Corinthian)	6 Colonial Greek	10
Amphora	2 Transportation	2 Colonial	4 Greek	2
Aryballos	2 Perfume	2 Attic	2 Unknown	1
		Unknown	1	

Table 3.26: Ramacca, House Rm

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Oinochoe	4 Storage	7 Indigenous	19 Indigenous	19
Cup	3 Pouring	4 Colonial (imitation East Greek)	2 Colonial Greek	3
Pithos	3 Drinking	3 Colonial	1 Greek	1
Closed form	2 Unknown	2 Corinthian	1	
Amphora	2 Serving	2		
Situla	2 Weapon	2		
Basin	1 Eating	1		
Bowl	1 Tool	1		
Unknown ceramic	1 Transportation	1		
Hydria	1			
Knife	2			
Other metal	1			

Table 4.1: Polizzello, Tripartite Building

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	
Closed form	36 Unknown	38 Indigenous	105
Oinochoe	22 Pouring	24	
Bowl	10 Eating	11	
Cup	7 Storage	10	
Unknown ceramic	5 Drinking	8	
Amphora	5 Ritual	4	
Open form	4 Ornament	3	
Hut model	3 Unknown consumption	2	
Pithos	2 Weapon	2	
Jug	2 Food preparation	1	
Other	2 Mixing	1	
Unknown metal	2 N/A	1	
Krater	1		
Boss	1		
Plaque	1		
Bead	1		
Askos	1		

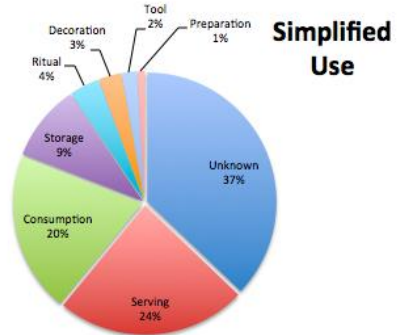
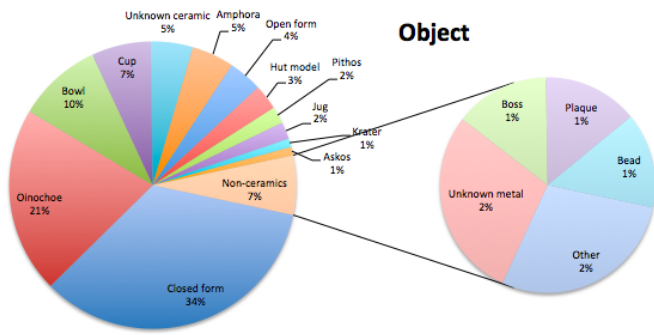


Table 4.2: Polizzello, Oikos E

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenance</u>	
Cup	22 Unknown	26 Indigenous	118
Open form	16 Drinking	22 Colonial	7
Closed form	13 Ornament	17 Unknown	1
Oinochoe	12 Weapon	15 Attic Greek	1
Arrowhead	10 Unknown consumption	12	
Hut model	8 Ritual	11	
Ring	6 Pouring	10	
Other	6 Serving	4	
Unknown ceramic	6 Serving/ ritual	2	
Bead	4 Lighting	2	
Other metal	4 N/A	2	
Footed dish	3 Currency	1	
Spear	2 Tool	1	
Button	2 Storage	1	
Lamp	2 Cosmetics	1	
Pyxis	2		
Basin	2		
Ingot	1		
Phiale	1		
Stand	1		
Unknown metal	1		
Knife	1		
Disc	1		
Spiral	1		



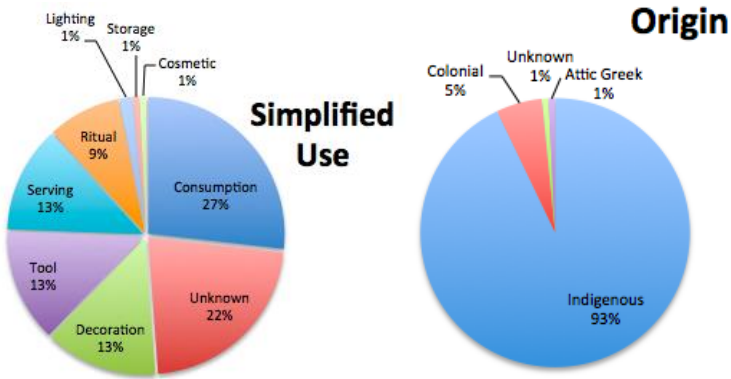
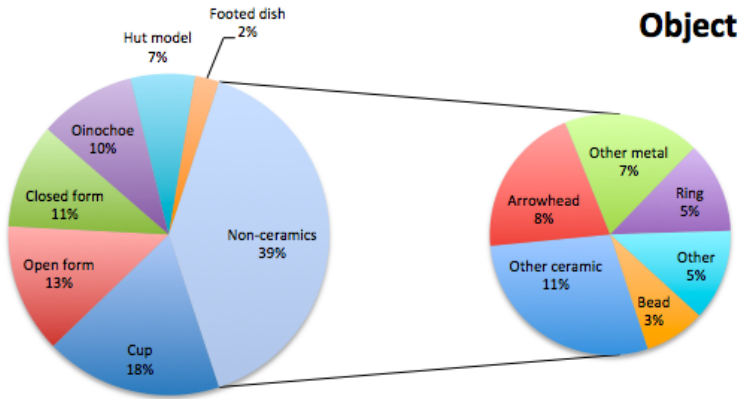


Table 4.3: Polizzello, Oikos C

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Origin</u>	
Bowl	6 Eating	6 Indigenous	15
Closed form	6 Unknown	6	
Jug	1 Storage	2	
Other	1 Ritual	1	
Open form	1		

Table 4.4: Polizzello, Oikos D

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Object Use</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Simplified Origin</u>	
Closed form	56 Ornament	87 Indigenous	218 Indigenous	218
Bead	33 Unknown	57 Corinthian	6 Greek	9
Fibula	32 Drinking	25 Unknown	2 Unknown	2
Cup	25 Eating	19 Unknown Greek	1 Other	1
Bowl	18 Storage	19 East Greek	1	
Open form	9 Unknown consumption	8 Greek	1	
Jug	9 Pouring	6 Egyptian	1	
Oinochoe	6 Ritual	2		
Ring	5 Cosmetics	2		
Necklace	5 Lighting	1		
Amphora	5 Mixing	1		
Plaque	4 Serving/ ritual	1		
Other	3 Serving	1		
Lamina	3 Weaving	1		
Unknown metal	2			
Pyxis	2			
Pithos	2			
Unknown	1			
Plate	1			
Pendant	1			
Loomweight	1			
Lamp	1			
Krater	1			
Kalathos	1			
Ingot	1			
Disc	1			
Chain	1			
Basin	1			

Table 4.5: Polizzello, Piazzale Meridionale

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Origin</u>	
Ring	8 Ornament	21 Indigenous	50
Bead	6 Ritual	10	
Figurine	5 Drinking	6	
Cup	4 Unknown	3	
Hut model	4 Serving/ ritual	2	
Lamina	3 Pouring	2	
Footed dish	2 Weaving	2	
Oinochoe	2 Storage	1	
Other	2 Food preparation	1	
Plaque	2 Eating	1	
Unknown ceramic	2 Weapon	1	
Amphora	1		
Bowl	1		
Arrowhead	1		
Unknown metal	1		
Button	1		
Fibula	1		
Pendant	1		
Loomweight	1		
Spindle whorl	1		
Pin	1		

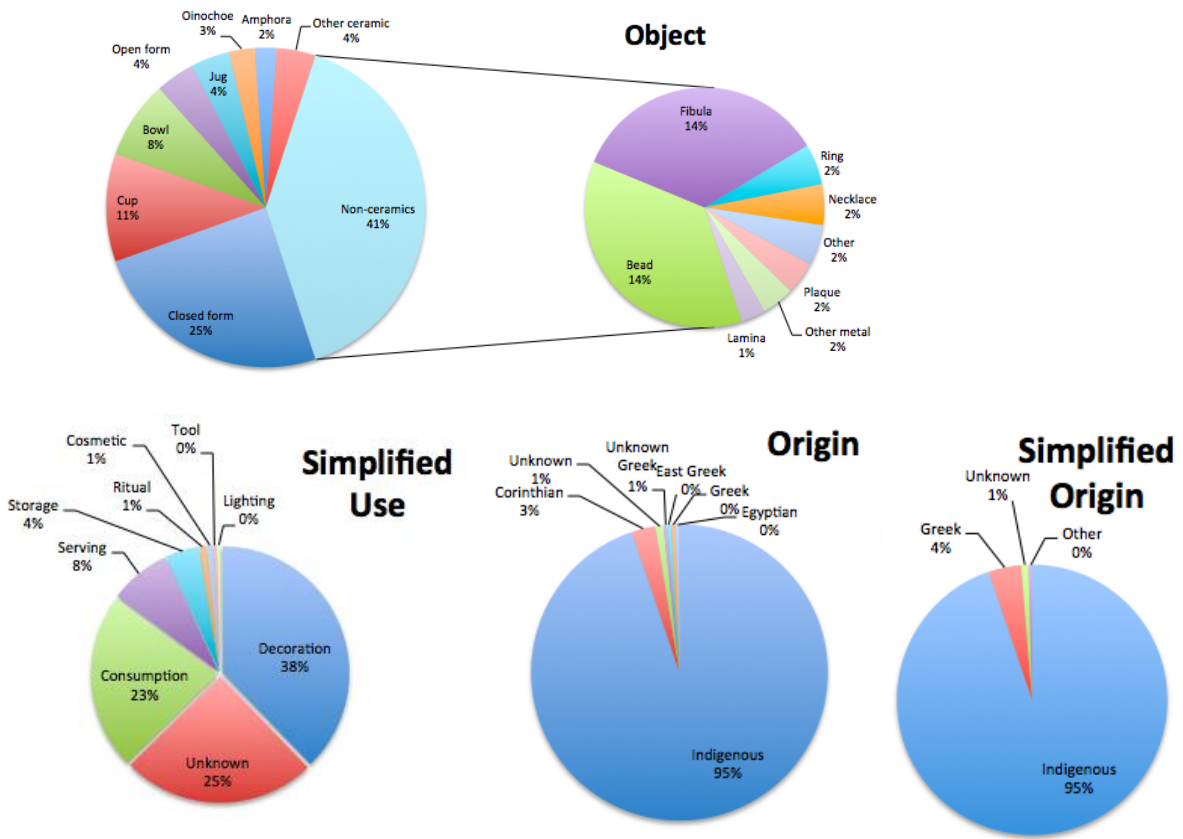


Table 4.6: Polizzello, Space Outside Oikos C

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Closed form	9 Weaving	9 Indigenous	31 Indigenous	31
Loomweight	9 Unknown	9 Corinthian	2 Greek	3
Bowl	6 Eating	6 Colonial	1 Colonial Greek	1
Cup	4 Weapon	3 East Greek	1	
Knife	2 Drinking	3		
Open form	1 Unknown consumption	1		
Bead	1 Storage	1		
Spear	1 Ornament	1		
Lamp	1 Lighting	1		
Amphora	1 Cosmetics	1		

Table 4.7: Polizzello, Oikos A

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Origin</u>	
Bead	11 Ornament	28 Indigenous	57
Footed dish	7 Serving/ ritual	7	
Cup	5 Drinking	5	
Ring	4 Unknown	4	
Closed form	3 Storage	3	
Pin	2 Tool	3	
Necklace	2 Weapon	3	
Knife	2 Pouring	2	
Lamina	2 Lighting	1	
Amphora	2 Serving	1	
Plaque	1		
Lamp	1		
Spear	1		
Oinochoe	1		
Pithos	1		
Unknown ceramic	1		
Jug	1		
Basin	1		

Table 4.8: Polizzello, Oikos B

Simplified object	Use	Provenience	Simplified Provenience	
Cup	60 Drinking	66 Indigenous	118 Indigenous	118
Spear	17 Weapon	28 East Greek	43 Greek	61
Bowl	14 Ornament	26 Corinthian	16 Unknown	12
Oinochoe	13 Ritual	17 Unknown	12 Colonial Greek	1
Phiale	12 Eating	14 Colonial	1	
Other metal	11 Pouring	13 Cretan	1	
Bead	9 Food preparation	7 Unknown Greek	1	
Necklace	8 Mixing	4		
Other	6 Storage	4		
Hut model	5 Tool	4		
Knife	5 Serving	3		
Krater	4 Weaving	2		
Ring	3 Unknown consumption	1		
Unknown	3 Lighting	1		
Pithos	3 Unknown	1		
Fibula	2 Serving/ ritual	1		
Basin	2			
Figurine	2			
Plaque	2			
Arrowhead	2			
Open form	1			
Stand	1			
Lamp	1			
Plastic vase	1			
Unknown ceramic	1			
Ingot	1			
Lamina	1			
Footed dish	1			
Closed form	1			

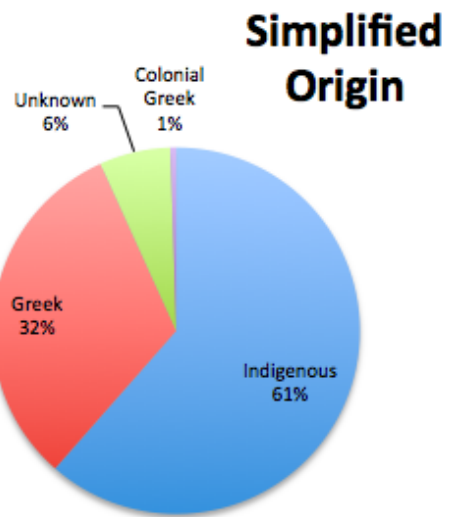
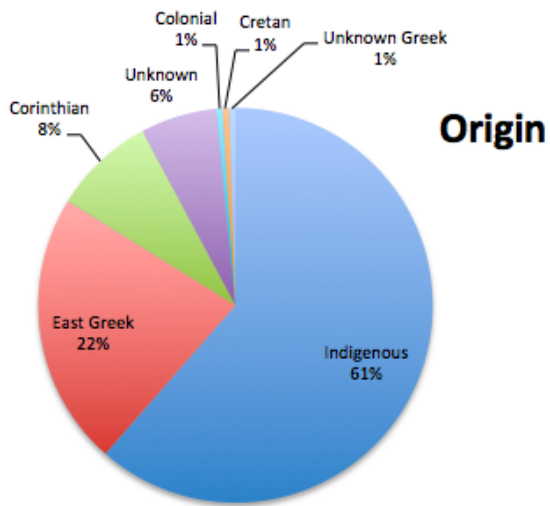
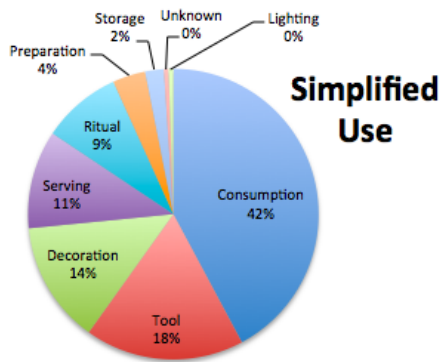
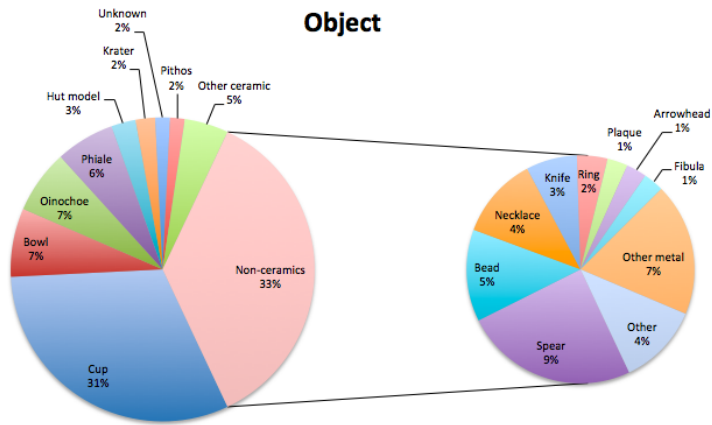


Table 4.9: Polizzello, Oikos Excavated 1926

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Origin</u>	
Bead	25 Ornament	49 Indigenous	48
Fibula	21 Unknown	21 Unknown	40
Ingot	20 Weapon	7 Colonial	1
Knife	5 Ritual	4	
Disc	3 Storage	2	
Hut model	2 Drinking	1	
Amphora	2 Pouring	1	
Arrowhead	2 Weaving	1	
Cup	1 Currency	1	
Unknown	1 Lighting	1	
Closed form	1 Gaming	1	
Oinochoe	1		
Spindle whorl	1		
Lamp	1		
Plaque	1		
Figurine	1		
Other	1		

Table 4.10: Polizzello, Necropolis

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	
Oinochoe	53 Pouring	54 Indigenous	148
Bowl	38 Eating	38 East Greek	5
Fibula	18 Ornament	25 Corinthian	1
Cup	10 Drinking	11	
Amphora	9 Storage	10	
Footed dish	5 Serving	5	
Pyxis	4 Cosmetics	4	
Amphoriskos	3 Ritual	2	
Unknown metal	3 Perfume	2	
Hut model	2 Weapon	1	
Spiral	2 Tool	1	
Bead	2 Unknown	1	
Pendant	1		
Other metal	1		
Ring	1		
Askos	1		
Necklace	1		



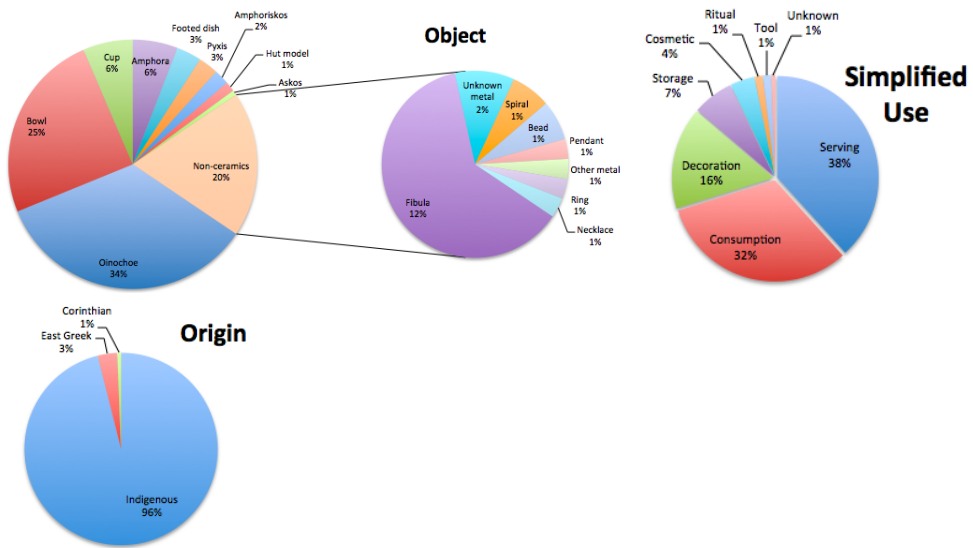


Table 4.11: Polizzello Totals

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Cup	127 Ornament	183 Indigenous	712 Indigenous	712
Closed form	124 Unknown	144 East Greek	45 Greek	74
Bead	65 Drinking	135 Corinthian	24 Unknown	15
Oinochoe	56 Pouring	57 Unknown	15 Colonial Greek	9
Bowl	55 Eating	57 Colonial	9 Other	1
Fibula	35 Weapon	52 Unknown Greek	3	
Open form	32 Ritual	45 Egyptian	1	
Ring	26 Storage	41 Cretan	1	
Other	23 Unknown consumption	24 Attic	1	
Spear	21 Weaving	14		
Hut model	20 Serving/ ritual	13		
Unknown ceramic	15 Food preparation	9		
Necklace	15 Serving	9		
Other metal	15 Tool	8		
Amphora	14 Mixing	6		
Jug	13 Lighting	6		
Footed dish	13 Cosmetics	4		
Phiale	13 N/A	3		
Arrowhead	13 Currency	1		
Loomweight	11			
Plaque	10			
Unknown	10			
Knife	10			
Lamina	9			
Pithos	8			
Figurine	7			
Krater	6			
Unknown metal	6			
Lamp	6			
Basin	6			
Pyxis	4			
Ingot	3			
Pin	3			
Button	3			
Pendant	2			
Disc	2			
Stand	2			
Boss	1			
Askos	1			
Chain	1			
Plate	1			
Kalathos	1			
Plastic vase	1			
Spindle whorl	1			
Spiral	1			

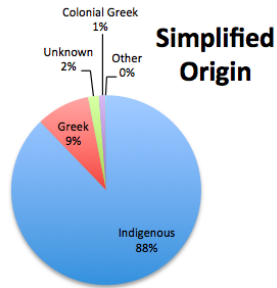
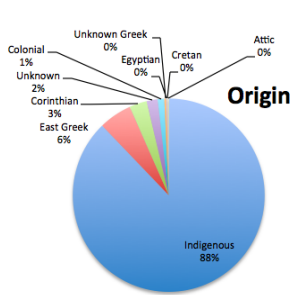
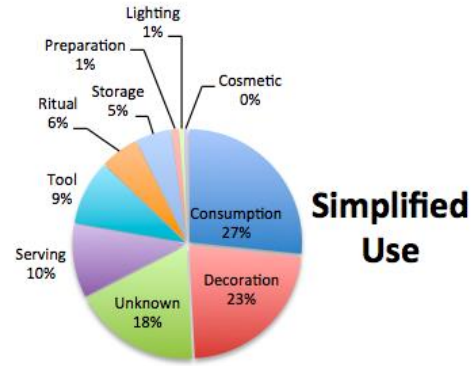
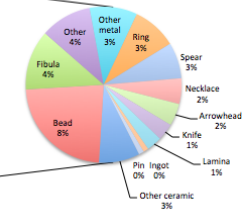
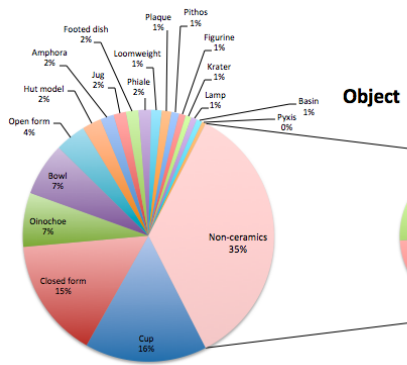


Table 4.12.: Monte Saraceno, Acropolis Totals

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Cup	90Unknown	116Indigenous	130Indigenous	130
Closed form	63Drinking	90Colonial	70Colonial Greek	93
Unknown ceramic	58Eating	20Corinthian	29Greek	32
Bowl	19Pouring	15Unknown	24Unknown	24
		Colonial (imitation		
Oinochoe	15Unknown consumption	13Corinthian)	23	
Open form	13Storage	12East Greek	3	
Amphora	5Perfume	3		
Pithos	3Ritual	2		
Aryballos	3Lighting	2		
Lamp	2Serving/ ritual	2		
Footed dish	2Mixing	1		
Krater	1Food preparation	1		
Cookware	1Ornament	1		
Figurine	1Transportation	1		
Plate	1			
Exaleiptron	1			
Pendant	1			

Table 4.13: Monte Saraceno, Upper Plateau Totals

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	
Cup	15Drinking	15Corinthian	15
Bowl	3Eating	3Indigenous	10
Closed form	1Storage	2	
Pithos	1Weaving	1	
Miniature krater	1Unknown	1	
Amphora	1Serving	1	
Loomweight	1Ritual	1	
Other ceramic	1Pouring	1	
Oinochoe	1		

Table 4.14: Monte Saraceno Totals

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Cup	105Unknown	117Indigenous	140Indigenous	140
Closed form	64Drinking	105Colonial	70Colonial Greek	93
Unknown ceramic	58Eating	23Corinthian	44Greek	47
Bowl	22Pouring	16Unknown	24Unknown	24
Oinochoe	16Storage	14Colonial (imitation Corinthian)	23	
Open form	13Unknown consumption	13East Greek	3	
Amphora	6Perfume	3		
Pithos	4Ritual	3		
Aryballos	3Lighting	2		
Other ceramic	10Serving/ ritual	2		
Other metal	1Mixing	1		
Other	2Food preparation	1		
	Ornament	1		
	Transportation	1		
	Serving	1		
	Weaving	1		

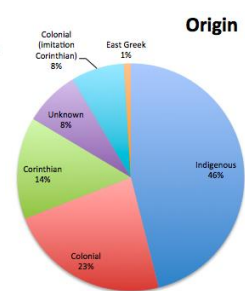
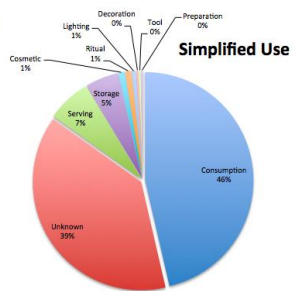
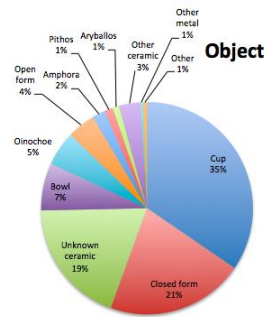


Table 4.15: Sabucina, Settlement Totals

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Hut model	6Ritual	17Indigenous	37Indigenous	42
Plaque	5Ornament	14Sabucina	5Colonial Greek	3
Figurine	3Pouring	5Colonial	3Greek	2
Dipper	3Food preparation	2Corinthian	2Unknown	1
Open form	2Storage	2Unknown	1	
Ring	2Eating	2		
Oinochoe	2Weapon	2		
Bowl	2Serving/ ritual	2		
Bead	2Drinking	1		
Fibula	2Mixing	1		
Phiale	2			
Footed dish	2			
Other ceramic	7			
Other metal	5			
Other	3			

Table 4.16: Sabucina, Habitation Area

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	
Hut model	3Ritual	8Indigenous	20
Open form	2Ornament	5Colonial	1
Ring	2Storage	2	
Other	2Pouring	2	
Figurine	2Eating	2	
Oinochoe	2Food preparation	1	
Plaque	2Drinking	1	
Bowl	2		
Pendant	1		
Amphora	1		
Pithos	1		
Cup	1		

Table 4.17: Sabucina, Sanctuary Totals

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	
Plaque	3Ornament	9Indigenous	22
Dipper	3Ritual	9Colonial	2
Hut model	3Pouring	3Corinthian	2
Bead	2Weapon	2Unknown	1
Fibula	2Serving/ ritual	2	
Phiale	2Food preparation	1	
Footed dish	2Mixing	1	
Chain	1		
Spear	1		
Basin	1		
Knife	1		
Boss	1		
Figurine	1		
Other ceramic	1		
Other	1		
Krater	1		
Miniature cup	1		

Table 4.18: Sabucina, Oikos A

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	
Dipper	3Ornament	7Indigenous	17
Bead	2Ritual	7Colonial	2
Fibula	2Pouring	3Unknown	1
Phiale	2Weapon	2	
Hut model	2Serving/ ritual	1	
Plaque	1		
Chain	1		
Spear	1		
Basin	1		
Knife	1		
Boss	1		
Figurine	1		
Footed dish	1		
Other ceramic	1		

Table 4.19: Sabucina, Oikos B

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	
Plaque	2Ritual	2Indigenous	5
Other	1Ornament	2Corinthian	2
Krater	1Food preparation	1	
Footed dish	1Mixing	1	
Miniature cup	1Serving/ ritual	1	
Hut model	1		

Table 4.20: Sabucina, Necropolis

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	
Oinochoe	40Pouring	40Indigenous	47
Bowl	5Drinking	4Corinthian	3
Cup	4Eating	5Colonial	2
Pithos	1Food preparation	1	
Fibula	1Ornament	1	
Cookware	1Storage	1	

Table 4.21: Colle Madore

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Cup	5Ornament	17Indigenous	25Indigenous	25
Jug	5Pouring	7Colonial Greek	7Colonial Greek	7
Lamina	4Ritual	6Corinthian	4Greek	5
Plaque	3Drinking	5East Greek	1Other	1
Fibula	3Mixing	1Etruscan	1	
Ring	3Storage	1		
Boss	3Weapon	1		
Miniature cup	3			
Other ceramic	2			
Oinochoe	2			
Hut model	1			
Bead	1			
Basin	1			
Pithos	1			
Knife	1			

Table 4.22: Himera, Habitations

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Simplified Origin</u>	
Cup	172Drinking	173East Greek	134Greek	109
Amphora	31Eating	46Colonial	83Colonial Greek	109
Unknown ceramic	26Unknown	30Unknown	41Unknown	41
Dish	22Currency	22Corinthian	36Indigenous	26
Ingot	22Transportation	20Indigenous	26Other	5
Plate	21Lighting	18Euboean-Cycladic	12	
Lamp	18Storage	17Attic	12	
Lekane	9Serving	14Colonial (imitation East Greek)	12	
Krater	8Mixing	12Colonial (imitation Corinthian)	9	
Pyxis	6Ornament	11Unknown Greek	7	
Aryballos	5Cosmetics	6Chiot	6	
Lamina	5Perfume	5Etruscan	5	
Hydria	5Pouring	4Colonial (imitation Euboean-Cycladic)	5	
Basin	4Ritual	4Rhodian	2	
Ring	4Food preparation	3		
Unknown metal	4Tool	2		
Bowl	4Weapon	2		
Oinochoe	3N/A	1		
Other ceramic	3			
Cookware	3			
Exaleiptron	3			
Footed dish	2			
Other	2			
Nail	1			
Knife	1			
Spear	1			
Pithos	1			
Architectural terracotta	1			
Jug	1			
Other metal	1			
Bead	1			



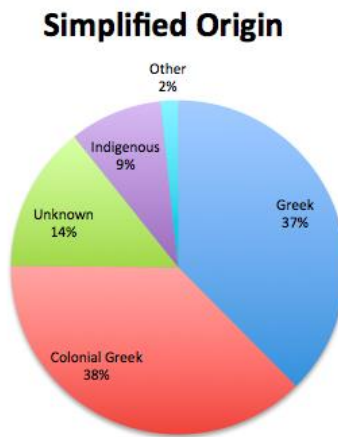
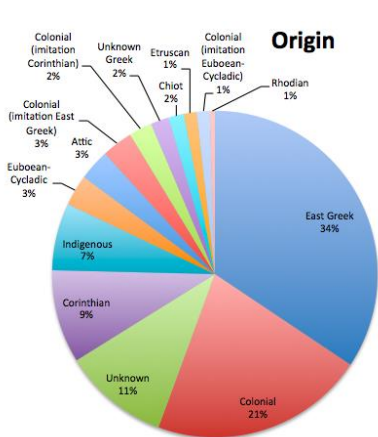
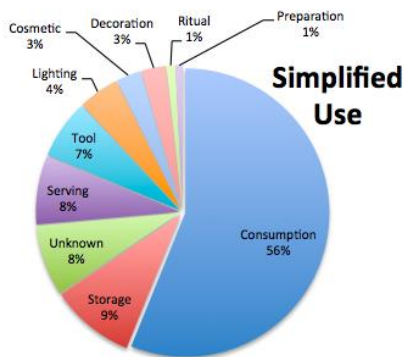
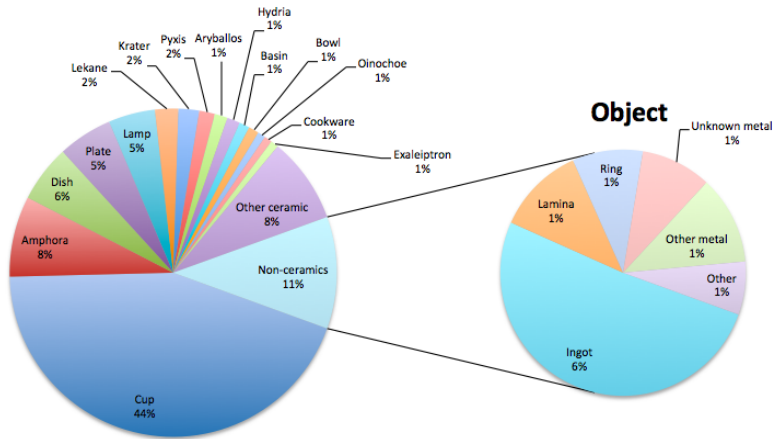


Table 4.23: Himera, Temple A

Simplified object	Use	Origin	Simplified Origin	
Cup	152 Drinking	154 Colonial	103 Colonial Greek	207
Miniature krater	32 Ritual	75 Corinthian	76 Greek	142
Votive shield	26 Perfume	55 Colonial (imitation Corinthian)	67 Unknown	16
Aryballos	25 Eating	20 Himera	32 Indigenous	2
Bowl	18 Cosmetics	14 Unknown Greek	27 Other	1
Pyxis	14 Lighting	9 East Greek	25	
Alabastron	13 Pouring	9 Unknown	16	
Lamp	9 Ornament	8 Attic	6	
Figurine	8 Unknown	7 Colonial (imitation East Greek)	5	
Amphoriskos	7 Weapon	5 Laconian	4	
Jug	7 Food preparation	2 Rhodian	3	
Unknown ceramic	7 Serving	2 Indigenous	2	
Plastic vase	7 Storage	2 Syrian-Egyptian	1	
Plaque	6 Tool	2 Chiot	1	
Spear	5 Weaving	2		
Phiale	3 Mixing	1		
Ring	3 Transportation	1		
Other ceramic	3			
Cookware	2			
Oinochoe	2			
Plate	2			
Stamnos	2			
Bracelet	1			
Disc	1			
Fibula	1			
Other	1			
Other metal	1			
Krater	1			
Dipper	1			
Hydria	1			
Exaleiptron	1			
Lekythos	1			
Jar	1			
Loomweight	1			
Spindle whorl	1			
Amphora	1			
Knife	1			

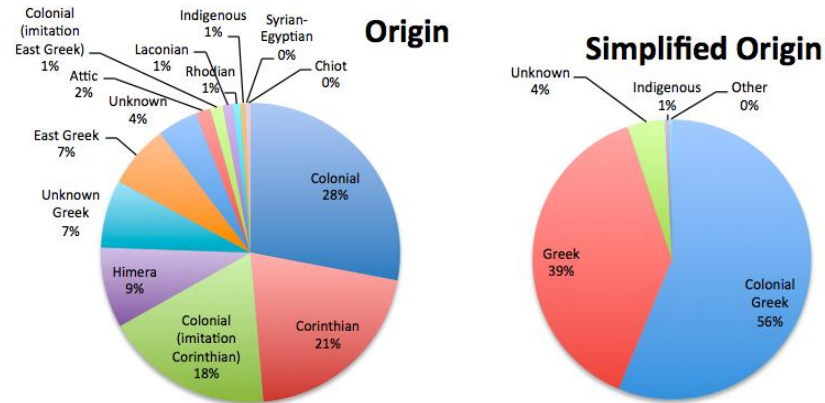
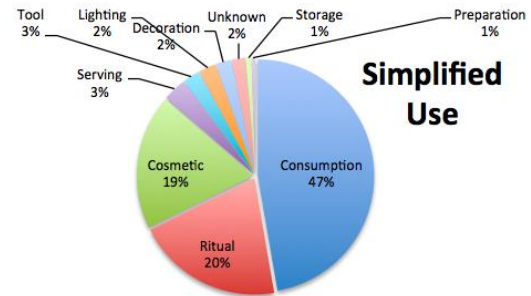
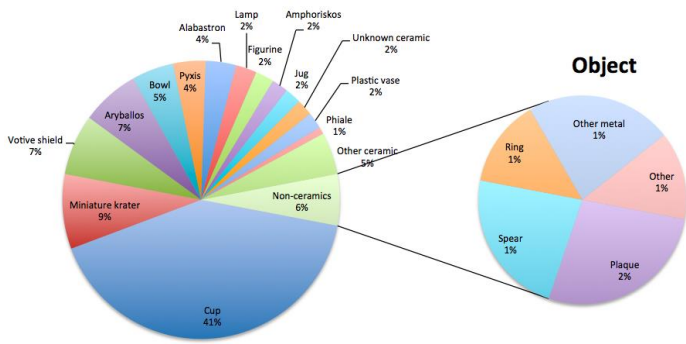


Table 4.24: Himera, Early Archaic Fossas

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Simplified Origin</u>	
Cup	25 Drinking	26 Colonial	35 Greek	46
Other	10 Food preparation	15 Unknown Greek	15 Colonial Greek	35
Amphora	8 Ritual	11 East Greek	10 Indigenous	3
Cookware	8 Storage	7 Corinthian	10	
Jug	6 Pouring	6 Unknown	7	
Hydria	4 Transportation	6 Indigenous	3	
Stand	4 Unknown	5 Attic	2	
Aryballos	3 Perfume	3 Samian	1	
Unknown	3 Eating	2 Chiot	1	
Closed form	2 Serving/ ritual	1		
Miniature krater	2 Serving	1		
Kalathos	1 Currency	1		
Stamnos	1			
Miniature cup	1			
Other ceramic	1			
Plate	1			
Bowl	1			
Oinochoe	1			
Pithos	1			
Other metal	1			

Table 4.25: Himera, Pestavecchia Necropolis

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Simplified Origin</u>	
Cup	10 Perfume	20 Corinthian	14 Greek	33
Aryballos	10 Drinking	10 Colonial	11 Colonial Greek	11
Amphora	7 Ritual	5 East Greek	8 Other	2
Alabastron	6 Storage	4 Unknown Greek	4 Indigenous	2
Plastic vase	2 Transportation	3 Rhodian	3 Unknown	2
Jug	2 Pouring	2 Laconian	3	
Pithos	2 Ornament	2 Indigenous	2	
Miniature krater	2 Storage/ burial	1 Unknown	2	
Lydion	1 Burial/ storage	1 Attic	1	
Miniature cup	1 Eating	1 Etruscan	1	
Exaleiptron	1 Cosmetics	1 Punic/ Phoenician	1	
Lekythos	1			
Earring	1			
Bowl	1			
Bracelet	1			
Other ceramic	1			
Pyxis	1			

Table 5.1: Monte Maranfusa

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Dipper	32 Pouring	39 Indigenous	83 Indigenous	83
Cup	31 Drinking	31 Corinthian	17 Greek	27
Loomweight	8 Storage	9 East Greek	10 Colonial Greek	10
Pithos	6 Weaving	9 Colonial	10	
Bowl	6 Ornament	8		
Oinochoe	6 Unknown	7		
Closed form	4 Eating	7		
Footed dish	4 Serving/ ritual	4		
Fibula	4 Ritual	3		
Lamina	3 Perfume	1		
Other ceramic	13 Mixing	1		
Other metal	1 Unknown consumption	1		
Other	2			

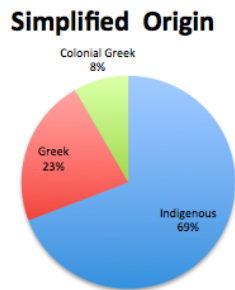
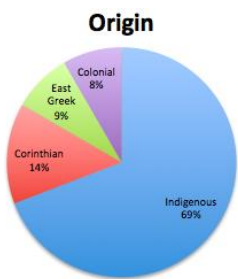
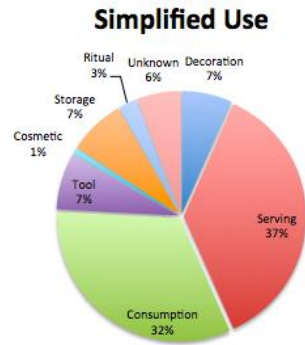
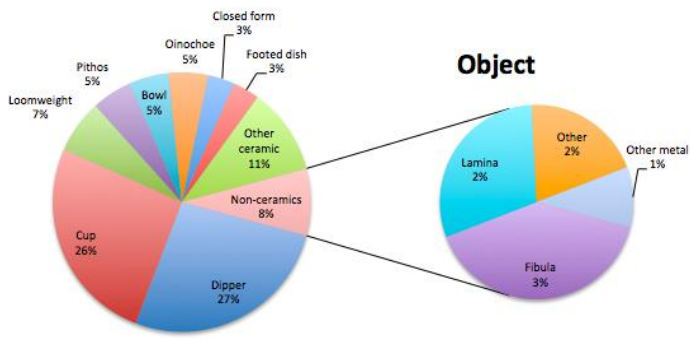


Table 5.2: Monte Polizzo, House 4

Simplified object	Use	Provenience	Simplified Provenience	
Amphora	9Storage	7 Monte Polizzo	17 Indigenous	20
Bowl	6Eating	6 Etruscan	3 Greek	3
Cup	5Transportation	5 Other indigenous	3 Colonial Greek	3
Pithos	3Drinking	5 Colonial	3 Other	3
Oinochoe	3 Pouring	3 Corinthian	2 Unknown	1
Lamp	2 Lighting	2 East Greek	1	
Knife	1 Weapon	1 Unknown	1	
Loomweight	1 Weaving	1		

Table 5.3: Monte Polizzo, House 1

Simplified object	Use	Provenience	Simplified Provenience	
Bowl	154 Eating	157 Other indigenous	263 Indigenous	307
Cup	88 Drinking	88 Colonial	53 Colonial Greek	74
Amphora	49 Storage	60 Monte Polizzo	44 Greek	60
Oinochoe	30 Pouring	34 Corinthian	30 Other	23
Jar	24 Unknown consumption	23 East Greek	24 Unknown	3
Open form	23 Unknown	17 Colonial (imitation East Greek)	21	
Unknown ceramic	16 Transportation	16 Punic/ Phoenician	15	
Cookware	13 Ornament	16 Etruscan	8	
Bead	11 Food preparation	13 Attic	6	
Other	6 Weapon	8 Unknown	3	
Krater	6 Perfume	7		
Knife	5 Mixing	6		
Miniature cup	4 Ritual	5		
Pyxis	3 Tool	5		
Plate	3 Weaving	4		
Aryballos	3 Cosmetics	3		
Lamp	3 Lighting	3		
Fibula	3 Serving	2		
Lekythos	3			
Askos	2			
Hydria	2			
Loomweight	2			
Spindle whorl	2			
Lekane	2			
Arrowhead	2			
Pithos	1			
Alabastron	1			
Ring	1			
Ingot	1			
Dipper	1			
Exaleiptron	1			
Jug	1			
Pendant	1			

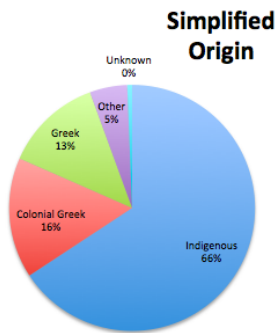
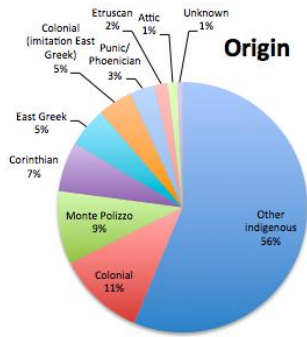
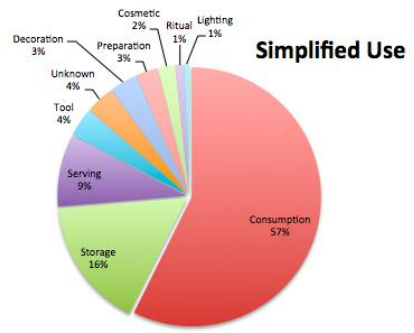
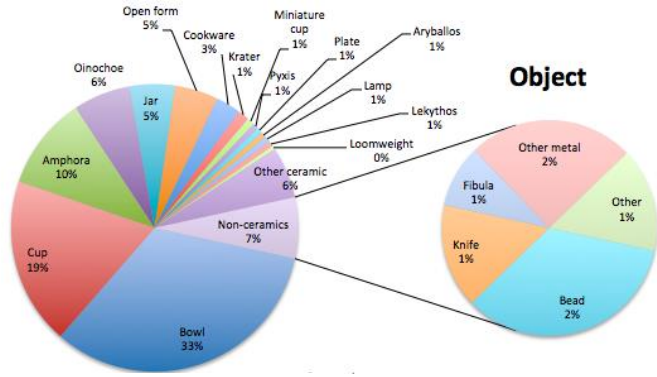
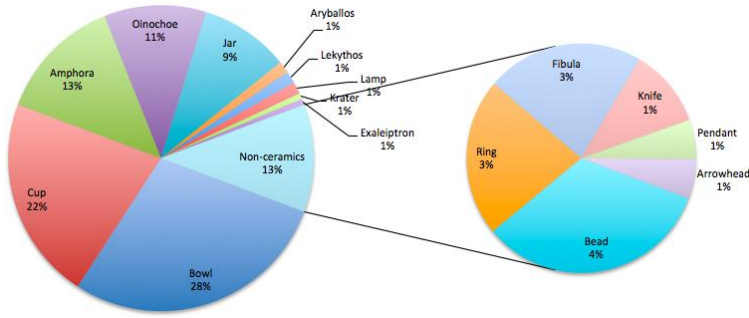


Table 5.4: Monte Polizzo, House 2

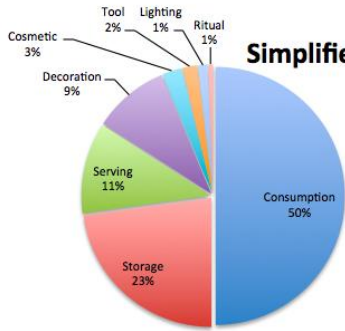
<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Bowl	45 Eating	45 Indigenous	99 Indigenous	99
Cup	34 Drinking	34 Colonial	32 Colonial Greek	43
Amphora	21 Storage	25 Corinthian	9 Greek	15
Oinochoe	17 Pouring	17 Colonial (imitation East Greek)	8 Other	1
Jar	15 Ornament	15 East Greek	3	
Bead	6 Transportation	11 Selinus	3	
Ring	4 Perfume	4 Lesbian	2	
Fibula	4 Weapon	3 Punic/ Phoenician	1	
Aryballos	2 Lighting	2 Chiot	1	
Lekythos	2 Mixing	1		
Lamp	2 Ritual	1		
Knife	2			
Krater	1			
Exaleiptron	1			
Pendant	1			
Arrowhead	1			



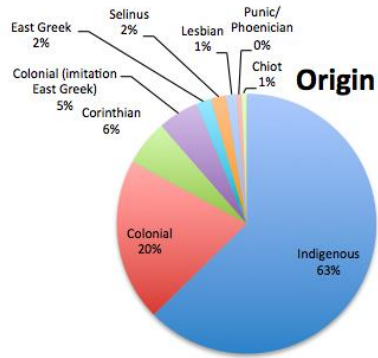
### Object



### Simplified Use



### Origin



### Simplified Origin

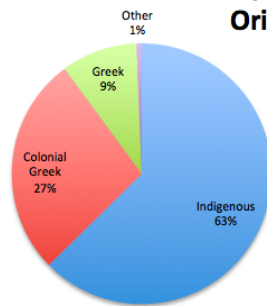


Table 5.5: Monte Polizzo, House 3

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Cup	67 Drinking	67 Indigenous	84 Indigenous	84
Bowl	53 Eating	53 Colonial	44 Colonial Greek	74
Amphora	24 Transportation	19 Colonial (imitation East Greek)	30 Greek	23
Oinochoe	10 Storage	14 Corinthian	11 Other	2
Jar	8 Pouring	11 North Aegean	4	
Bead	4 Ornament	8 East Greek	4	
Krater	3 Mixing	3 Etruscan	2	
Lamp	3 Lighting	3 Laconian	2	
Fibula	3 Perfume	2 Lesbian	1	
Aryballos	2 Ritual	2 Milesian	1	
Hydria	1 Cosmetics	1		
Exaleiptron	1			
Pyxis	1			
Jug	1			
Pendant	1			
Dipper	1			

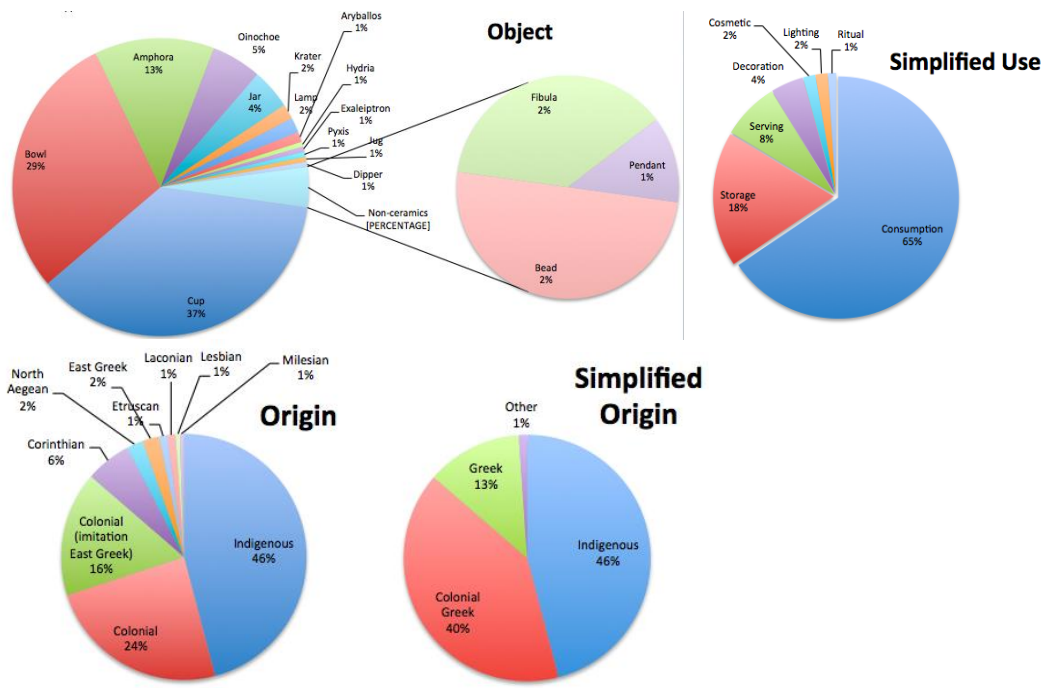


Table 5.6: Monte Polizzo Totals

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Bowl	258 Eating	261 Indigenous	449 Indigenous	510
Cup	195 Drinking	195 Colonial	135 Colonial Greek	184
Amphora	105 Storage	107 Monte Polizzo	61 Greek	112
Oinochoe	60 Pouring	65 Colonial (imitation East Greek)	59 Other	31
Jar	47 Transportation	52 Corinthian	52 Unknown	4
Open form	23 Ornament	39 East Greek	33	
Bead	21 Unknown consumption	23 Punic/ Phoenician	17	
Unknown ceramic	16 Unknown	17 Etruscan	14	
Cookware	13 Perfume	13 Attic	6	
Lamp	10 Food preparation	13 Unknown	4	
Fibula	10 Weapon	12 North Aegean	4	
Krater	10 Lighting	10 Lesbian	3	
Knife	8 Mixing	10 Laconian	2	
Aryballos	7 Ritual	8 Milesian	1	
Other	6 Weaving	5 Chiot	1	
Ring	5 Tool	5		
Lekythos	5 Cosmetics	4		
Pyxis	4 Serving	2		
Pithos	4			
Miniature cup	4			
Loomweight	3			
Hydria	3			
Plate	3			
Exaleiptron	3			
Pendant	3			
Arrowhead	3			
Askos	2			
Spindle whorl	2			
Dipper	2			
Lekane	2			
Jug	2			
Alabastron	1			
Ingot	1			

Table 5.7: Montagnoli Totals

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	
Jug	5 Ornament	13 Indigenous	22
Bead	5 Pouring	6 Colonial	10
Bowl	4 Storage	5 Corinthian	4
Fibula	4 Eating	4	
Amphora	3 Ritual	3	
Cup	3 Drinking	3	
Miniature cup	2 Food preparation	1	
Pendant	2 Perfume	1	
Other ceramic	1		
Cookware	1		
Basin	1		
Pithos	1		
Aryballos	1		
Mug	1		
Ring	1		
Spiral	1		

Table 5.8: Entella Totals

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	
Closed form	18 Unknown	21 Indigenous	53
Bowl	13 Eating	13 Corinthian	2
Oinochoe	4 Pouring	7	
Jug	4 Storage	5	
Cup	3 Drinking	3	
Amphora	3 Food preparation	3	
Cookware	3 Ritual	1	
Unknown	2 Weaving	1	
Open form	2 Tool	1	
Pithos	1		
Miniature cup	1		
Spindle whorl	1		

Table 6.1: Naxos Habitation Contexts

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Simplified Origin</u>	
Cup	26 Drinking	26 Euboean-Cycladic	22 Greek	36
Lekane	9 Serving	9 Colonial	10 Colonial Greek	22
Krater	7 Mixing	7 Corinthian	8	
Oinochoe	5 Pouring	5 Colonial (imitation Corinthian)	8	
Amphora	4 Transportation	4 East Greek	2	
Other ceramic	1 Perfume	2 Rhodian	2	
Pyxis	1 Cosmetics	1 Attic	2	
Lekythos	1 Lighting	1 Unknown Greek	1	
Lamp	1 Storage	1 Aeolian	1	
Pithos	1 Ritual	1		
Basin	1 Eating	1		
Plate	1			

Table 6.2: Naxos La Musa Sanctuary

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Simplified Origin</u>	
Cup	47 Drinking	47 Colonial (imitation East Greek)	38 Colonial Greek	54
Amphora	7 Transportation	10 Corinthian	8 Greek	20
Hydria	4 Pouring	4 Colonial (imitation Euboean-Cycladic)	8 Unknown	4
Oinochoe	3 Ornament	4 Other colonial	5 Other	1
Krater	2 Ritual	3 Attic	4	
Kalathos	2 Serving	3 Unknown	4	
Lekane	2 Mixing	2 Colonial (imitation Corinthian)	3	
Ring	2 Serving/ ritual	2 East Greek	3	
Lekythos	1 Perfume	1 Laconian	2	
Exaleiptron	1 Eating	1 Unknown Greek	2	
Plate	1 Storage	1 Punic/ Phoenician	1	
Stamnos	1 Tool	1 Chiot	1	
Pithos	1			
Figurine	1			
Bead	1			
Pin	1			
Astragalos	1			
Fishing hook	1			

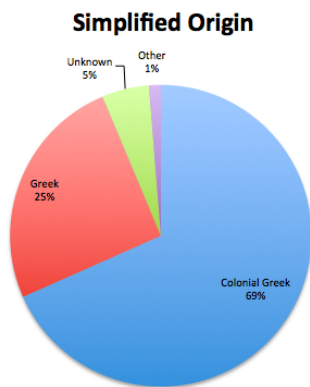
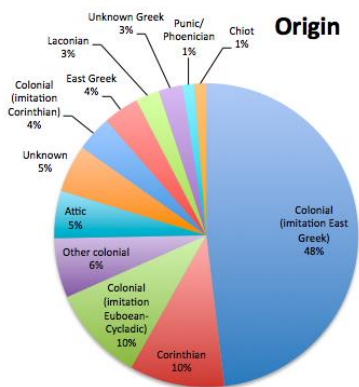
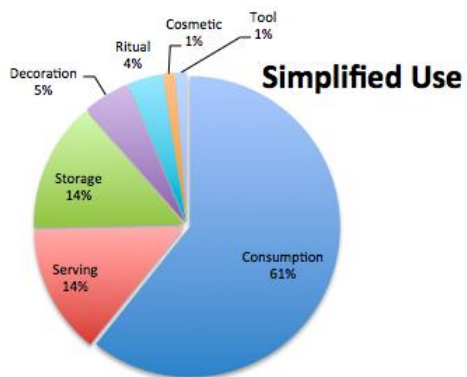
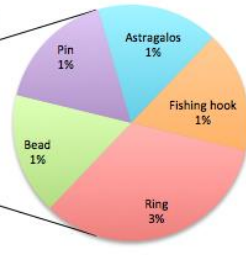
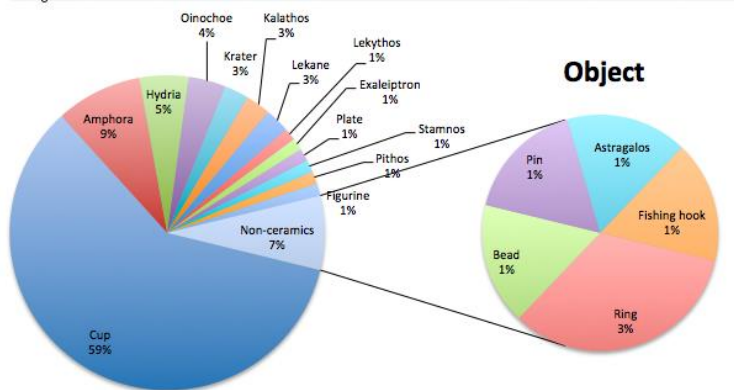


Table 6.3: Morgantina Cittadella

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	
Bowl	84 Eating	84 Indigenous	260
Amphora	30 Storage	59 Corinthian	2
Cup	29 Unknown	37 Colonial	2
Pithos	27 Drinking	32	
Closed form	26 Weaving	20	
Spindle whorl	14 Unknown consumption	12	
Open form	13 Ornament	5	
Unknown ceramic	12 Tool	4	
Loomweight	5 Pouring	3	
Other ceramic	4 Food preparation	3	
Other	3 Serving	2	
Jug	2 Ritual	1	
Bead	2 Weapon	1	
Lamina	2 Perfume	1	
Fibula	2		
Dish	2		
Basin	1		
Oinochoe	1		
Cookware	1		
Pin	1		
Knife	1		
Jar	1		
Aryballos	1		

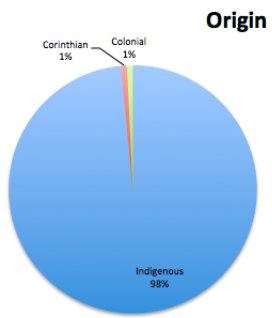
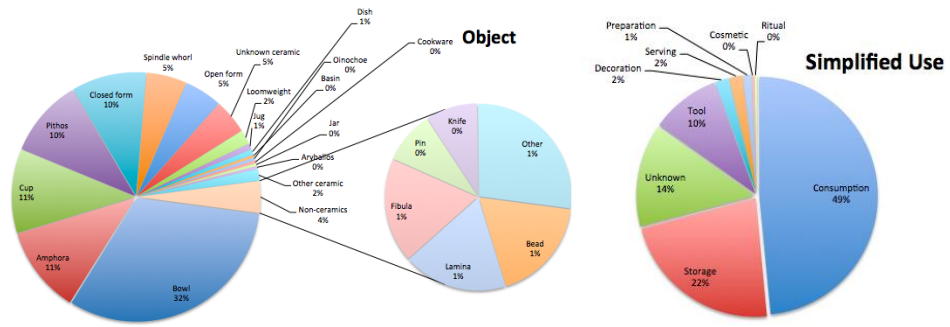




Table 6.4: Morgantina, Necropolis Iv

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	
Bowl	10 Ornament	23 Indigenous	39
Bead	10 Eating	10 Unknown	1
Ring	6 Pouring	6	
Fibula	5 Storage	1	
Jug	3		
Askos	3		
Chain	1		
Pin	1		
Closed form	1		

Table 6.5: Morgantina, Necropolis V

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	
Cup	6 Eating	7 Indigenous	18
Bowl	6 Drinking	5 Colonial	2
Unknown ceramic	4 Unknown	5	
Other	1 Weapon	1	
Oinochoe	1 Pouring	1	
Basin	1 Serving	1	
Closed form	1		

Table 6.6: Morgantina, Necropolis II

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Cup	23 Ornament	38 Indigenous	91 Indigenous	91
Fibula	14 Drinking	23 Corinthian	46 Greek	51
Aryballos	12 Perfume	20 Unknown	4 Unknown	4
Pyxis	10 Storage	13 Laconian	2 Colonial Greek	2
Bowl	10 Cosmetics	10 Colonial	2	
Ring	9 Pouring	10 Attic	2	
Oinochoe	8 Eating	10 East Greek	1	
Hydria	7 Ritual	9		
Amphora	5 Serving	5		
Miniature cup	5 Mixing	4		
Basin	5 Weapon	3		
Krater	4 Tool	2		
Spiral	4 Lighting	1		
Bead	4			
Lekythos	3			
Amphoriskos	3			
Exaleiptron	3			
Knife	3			
Pendant	2			
Plastic vase	2			
Bracelet	2			
Other ceramic	1			
Necklace	1			
Boss	1			
Disc	1			
Other metal	1			
Ingot	1			
Jug	1			
Lamp	1			
Askos	1			
Footed dish	1			

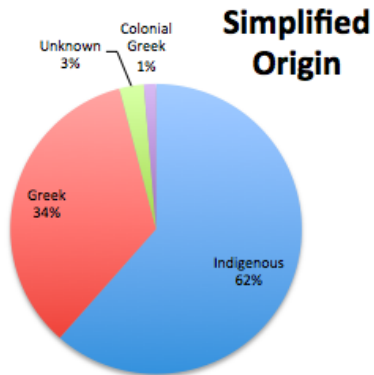
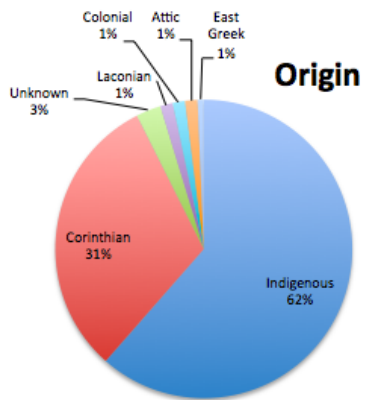
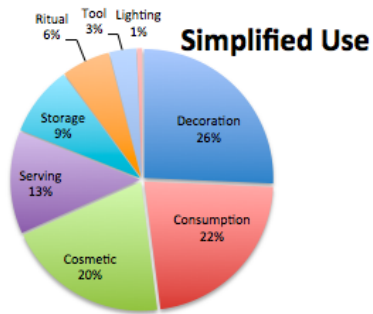
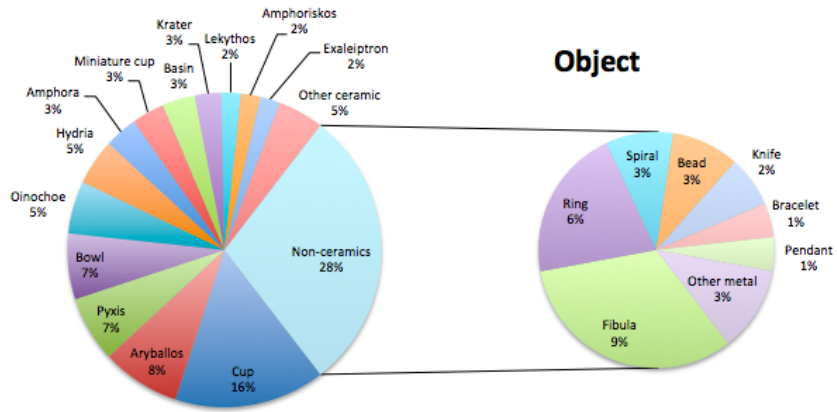


Table 6.7: Morgantina Necropolis Totals

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Cup	29Ornament	61Indigenous	148Indigenous	148
Bowl	26Drinking	28Corinthian	46Greek	51
Fibula	19Eating	27Unknown	5Colonial Greek	4
Ring	15Perfume	20Colonial	4Unknown	5
Bead	14Pouring	17Laconian	2	
Aryballos	12Storage	14Attic	2	
Pyxis	10Cosmetics	10East Greek	1	
Oinochoe	9Ritual	9		
Hydria	7Serving	6		
Basin	6Unknown	5		
Amphora	5Mixing	4		
Miniature cup	5Weapon	4		
Jug	4Tool	2		
Askos	4Lighting	1		
Krater	4			
Spiral	4			
Lekythos	3			
Amphoriskos	3			
Exaleiptron	3			
Knife	3			
Other	1			
Other ceramic	11			
Other metal	11			

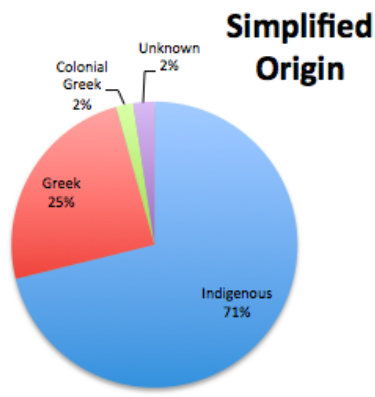
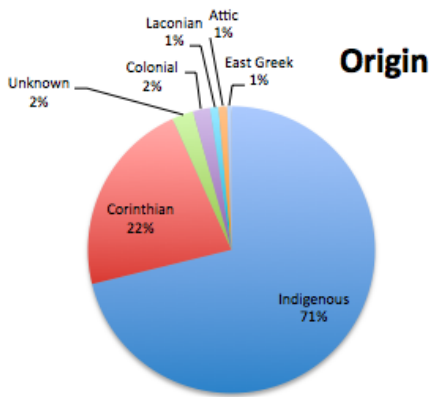
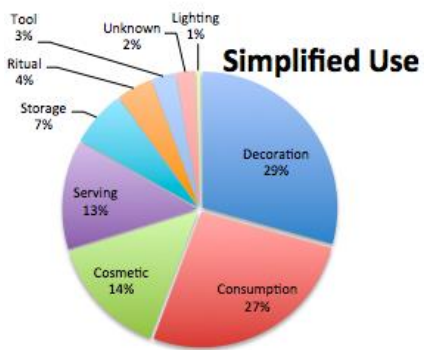
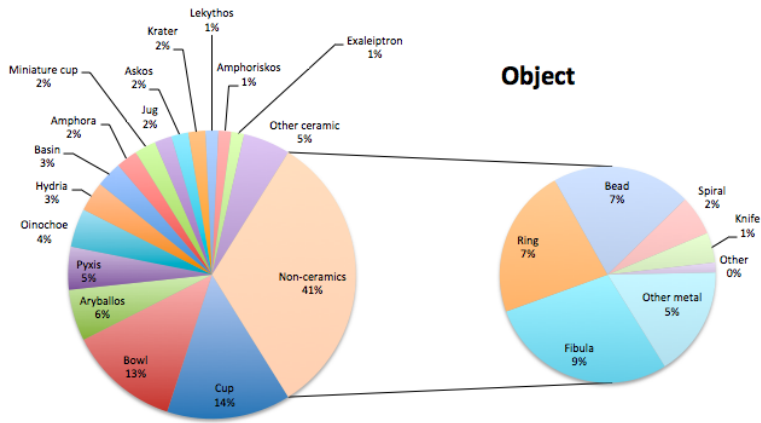


Table 6.8: Calascibetta, Cozzo S. Giuseppe Necropolis

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Fibula	38Ornament	86Indigenous	153Indigenous	153
Oinochoe	31Pouring	36Colonial	11Colonial Greek	11
Bowl	24Eating	25Unknown	6Greek	6
Ring	17Drinking	15Unknown Greek	4Unknown	6
Cup	15Food preparation	3Corinthian	2	
Bead	15Perfume	2		
Chain	4Serving	2		
Necklace	4Weapon	2		
Jug	4Ritual	1		
Pendant	3Weaving	1		
Button	3Serving/ ritual	1		
Other metal	4Currency	1		
Other ceramic	12Cosmetics	1		
Other	1			

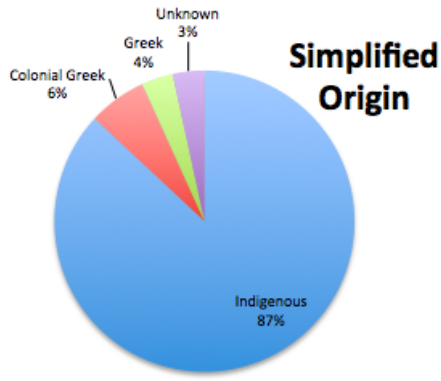
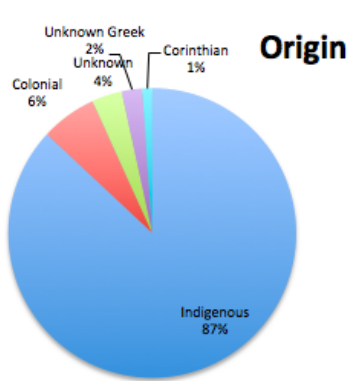
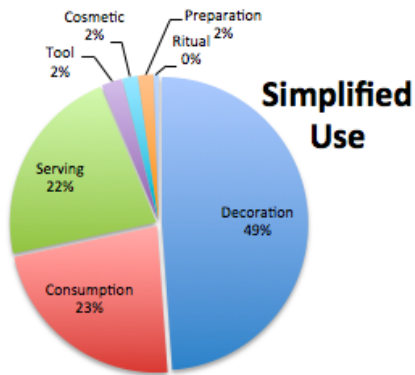
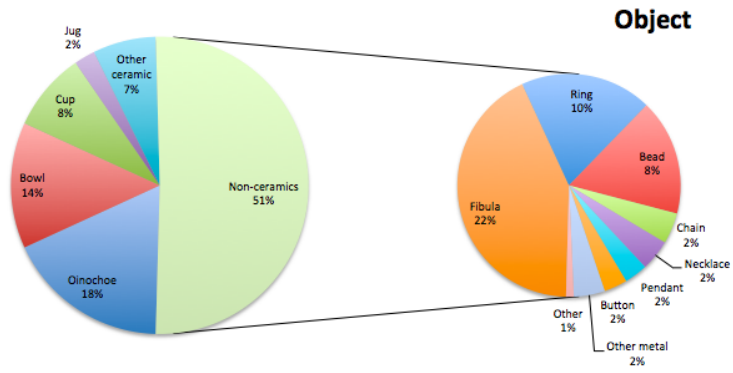


Table 6.9: Sant' Angelo Muxaro

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	
Other	3 Ornament	6 Indigenous	12
Oinochoe	2 Drinking	2 Colonial	1
Cup	2 Pouring	2	
Fibula	2 Perfume	1	
Lekythos	1 Tool	1	
Knife	1 Weapon	1	
Ring	1		
Pendant	1		

Table 6.10: Terravecchia Di Cuti Totals

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>		<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Oinochoe	23 Pouring	38 Indigenous	58 Indigenous	58	
Dipper	15 Eating	9 East Greek	3 Greek	7	
Bowl	9 Drinking	5 Attic	3		
Cup	5 Ornament	5 Corinthian	1		
Lamina	4 Storage	5			
Krater	3 Mixing	3			
Amphora	3				
Other ceramic	2				
Plaque	1				

Table 6.11: Palike, Building A

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>		<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Cup	32 Drinking	30 Corinthian	28 Greek	29	
Amphora	12 Storage	15 Indigenous	24 Indigenous	24	
Aryballos	5 Eating	5 Colonial	8 Colonial Greek	8	
Bowl	3 Perfume	4 East Greek	1 Unknown	1	
Other	3 Tool	2 Unknown	1		
Closed form	2 Cosmetics	1			
Knife	1 Pouring	1			
Open form	1 Ritual	1			
Pyxis	1 Unknown	1			
Oinochoe	1 Unknown consumption	1			
Pithos	1 Weapon	1			

Table 6.12: Palike, Building F

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>		<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Cup	3 Drinking	3 Indigenous	6 Indigenous	6	
Closed form	3 Unknown	3 East Greek	2 Greek	3	
Oinochoe	1 Pouring	1 Colonial	1 Colonial Greek	1	
Amphora	1 Storage	1 Laconian	1		
Lekane	1 Serving	1			
Other	1 Tool	1			

Table 6.13: Palike Totals

<u>Simplified object</u>	<u>Use</u>	<u>Provenience</u>	<u>Simplified Provenience</u>	
Cup	35 Drinking	33 Indigenous	30 Greek	32
Amphora	13 Storage	16 Corinthian	28 Indigenous	30
Closed form	5 Eating	5 Colonial	9 Colonial Greek	9
Aryballos	5 Perfume	4 East Greek	3 Unknown	1
Other	4 Unknown	4 Unknown	1	
Bowl	3 Tool	3 Laconian	1	
Oinochoe	2 Pouring	2		
Knife	1 Weapon	1		
Open form	1 Unknown consumption	1		
Pyxis	1 Cosmetics	1		
Pithos	1 Ritual	1		
Lekane	1 Serving	1		



Table 7.1: Nearest Neighbor Analysis: Chart of Contexts by Object Origin

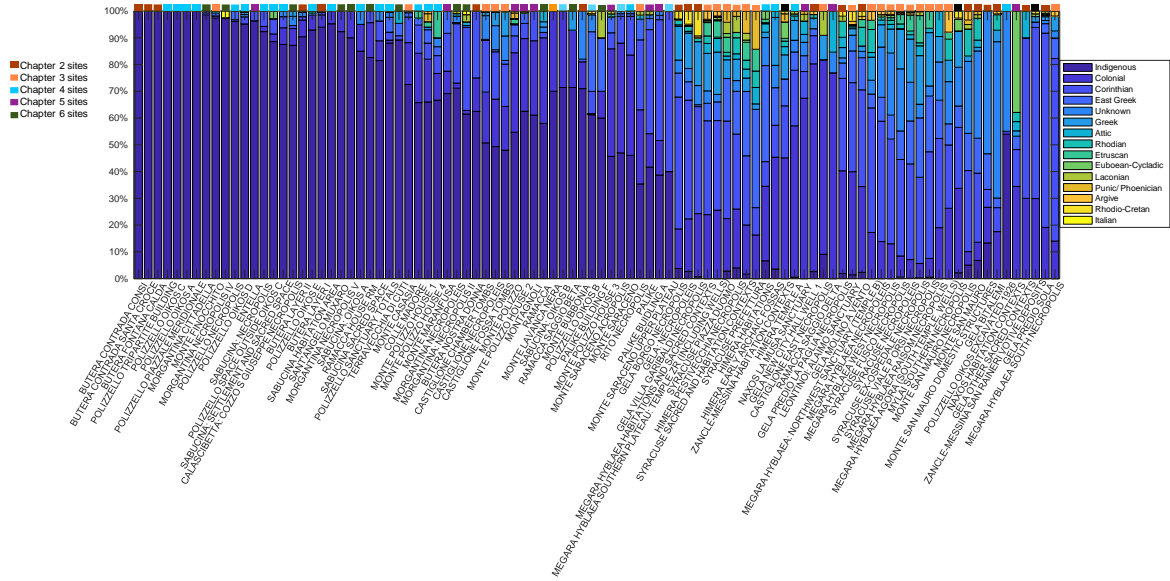


Table 7.2: Nearest Neighbor Analysis: Chart of Contexts by Object Use

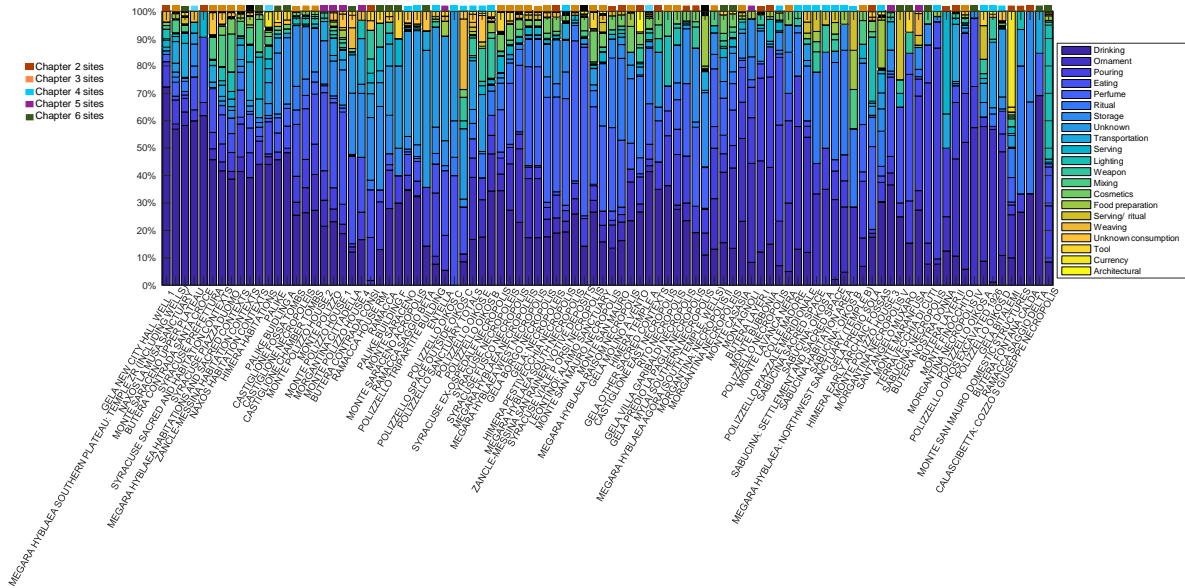


Table 7.3: Scatterplot of Contexts by Object Origin

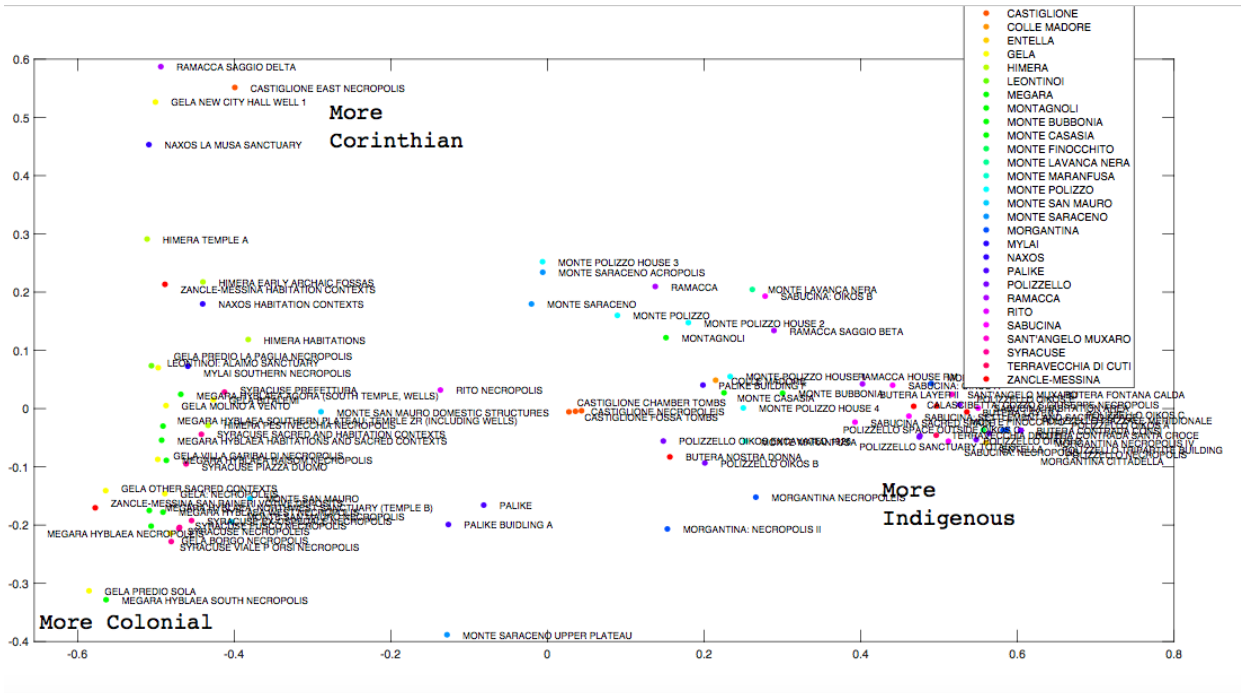


Table 7.4: TSNE Scatterplot by Object Origin

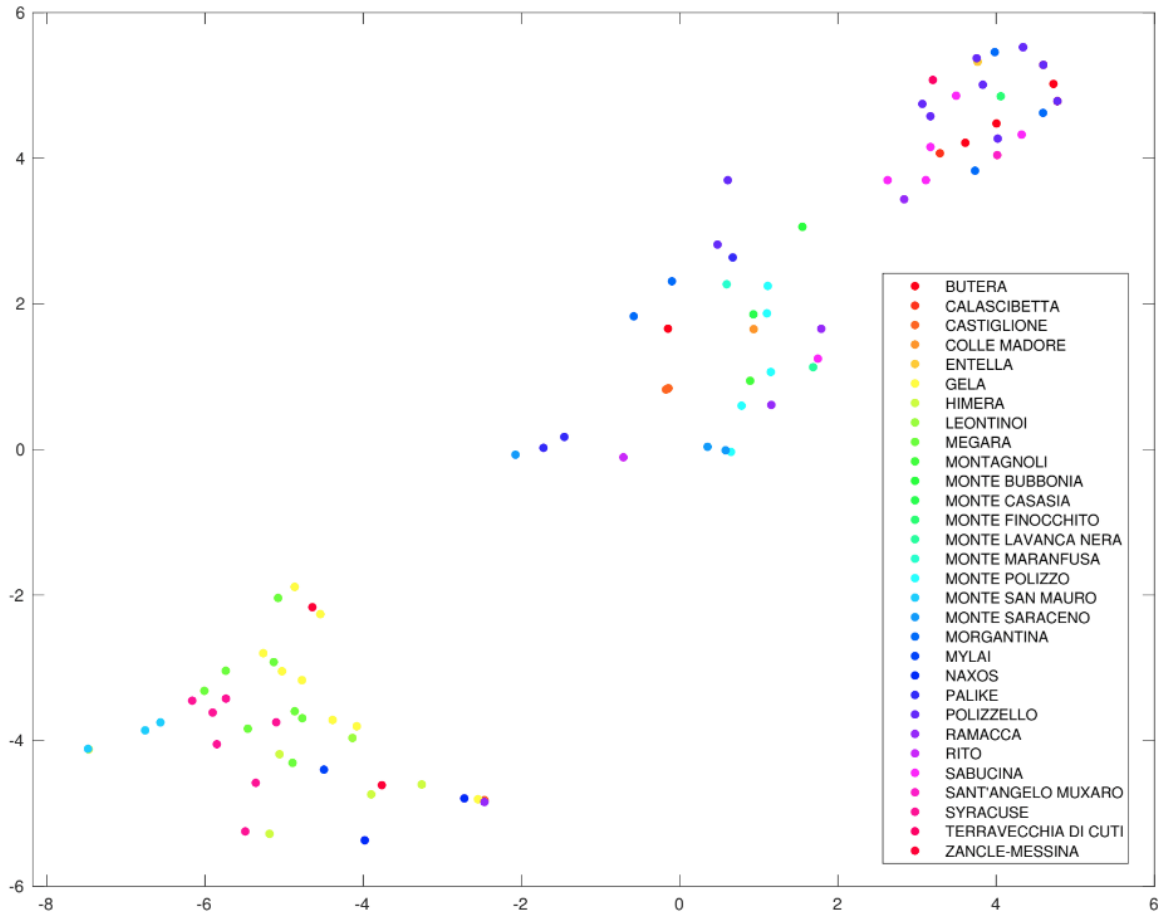


Table 7.5: TSNE Scatterplot by Object Use

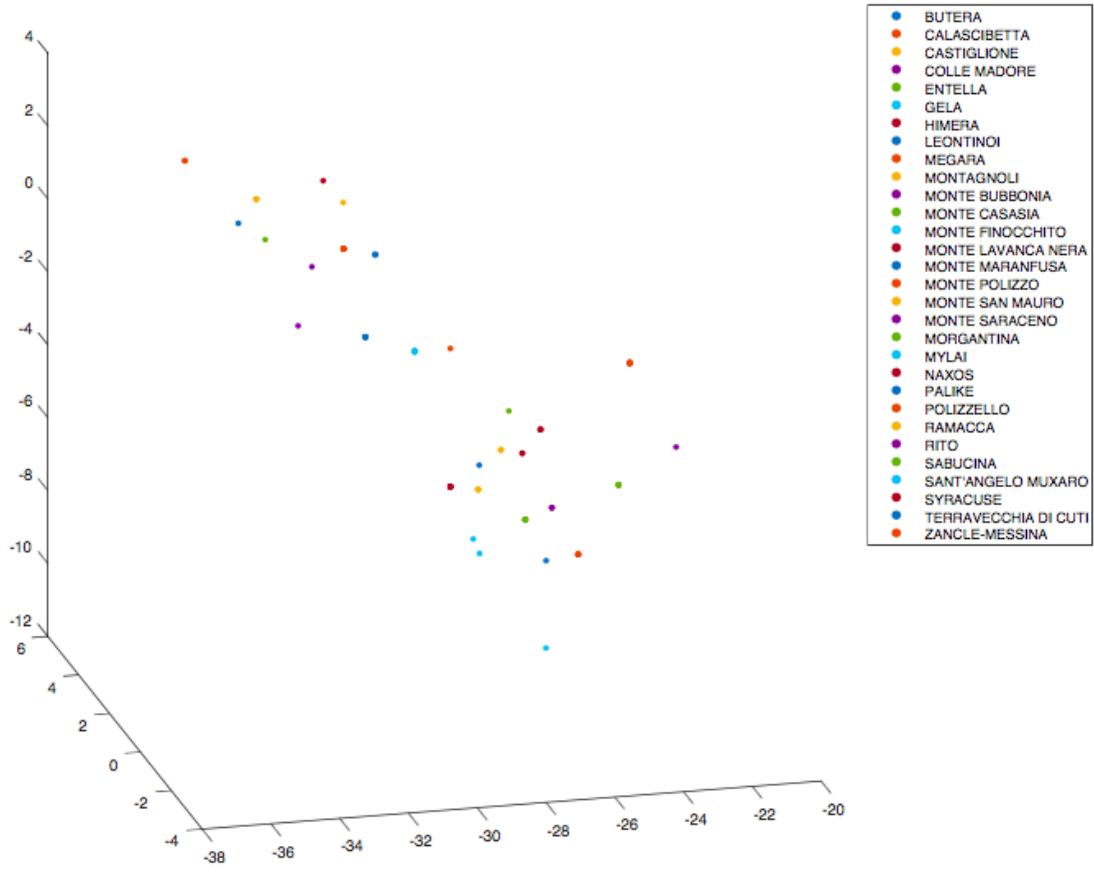


Table 7.6: Dendrogram Showing Hierarchical Clustering of Objects, 5, 21, 27, and 31-Factor Analysis

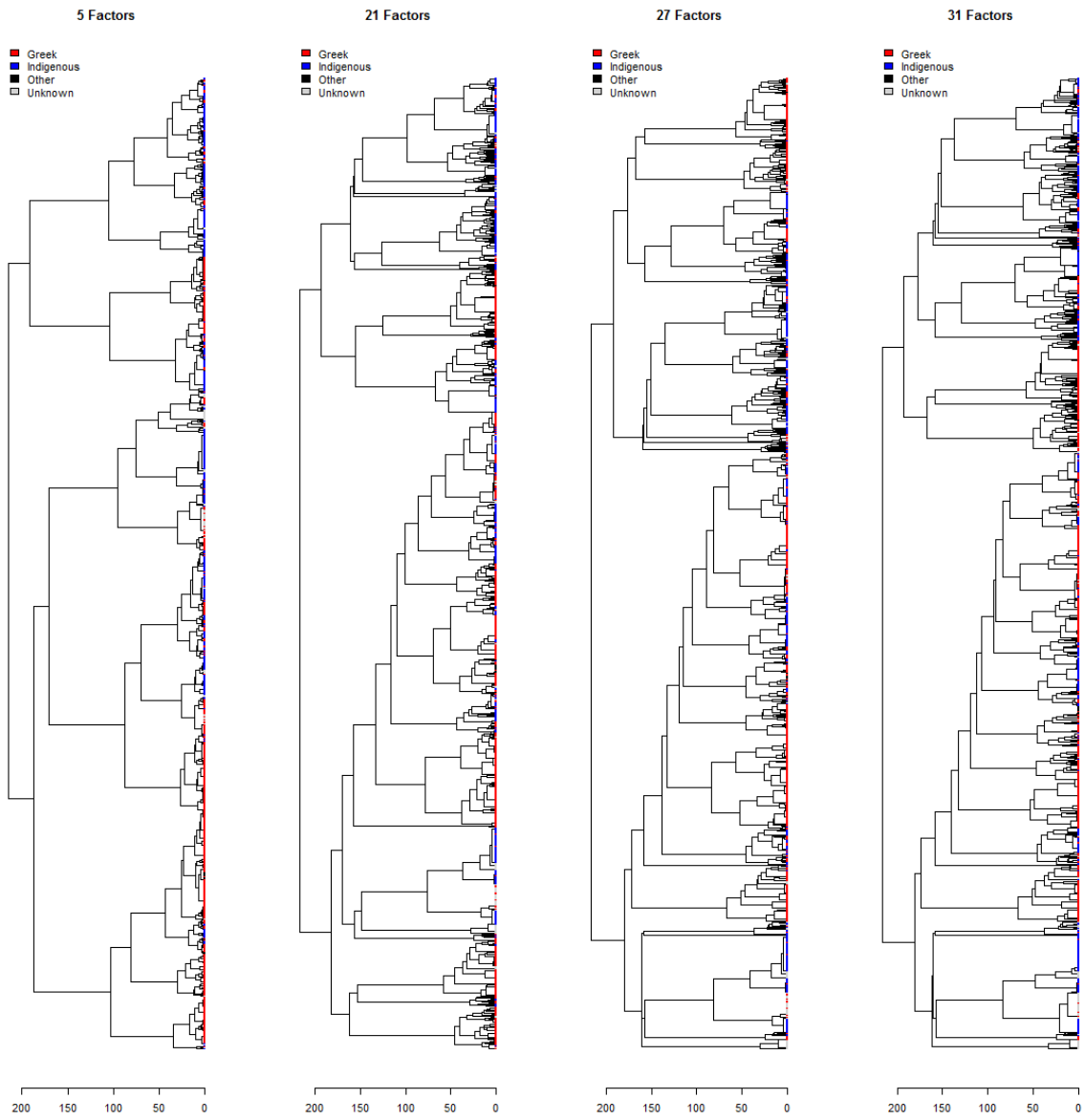
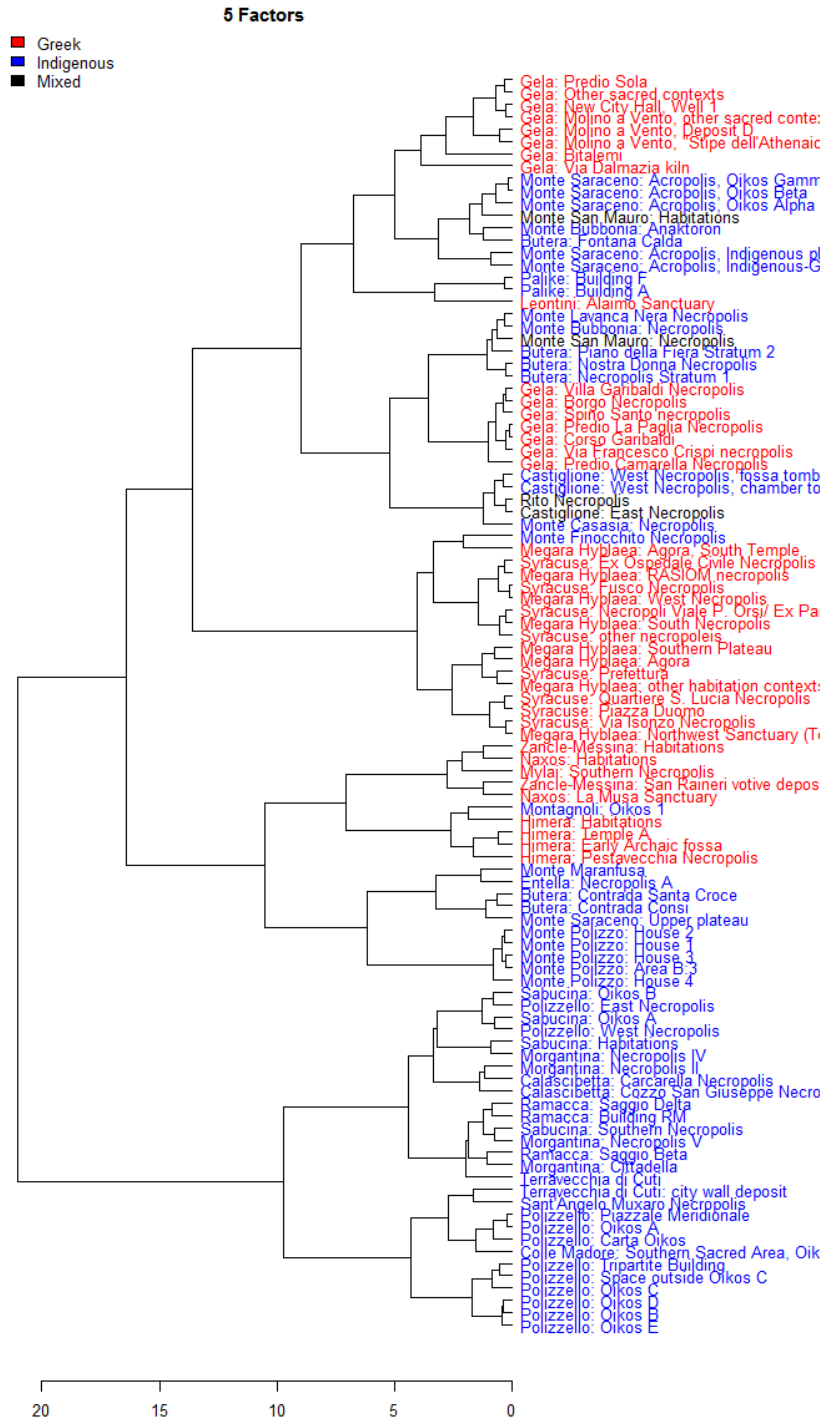


Table 7.7: Dendrogram Showing Hierarchical Clustering of Contexts, 5-Factor and 27-Factor Analysis



27 Factors

- Greek
- Indigenous
- Mixed

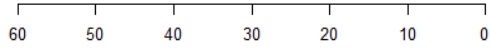
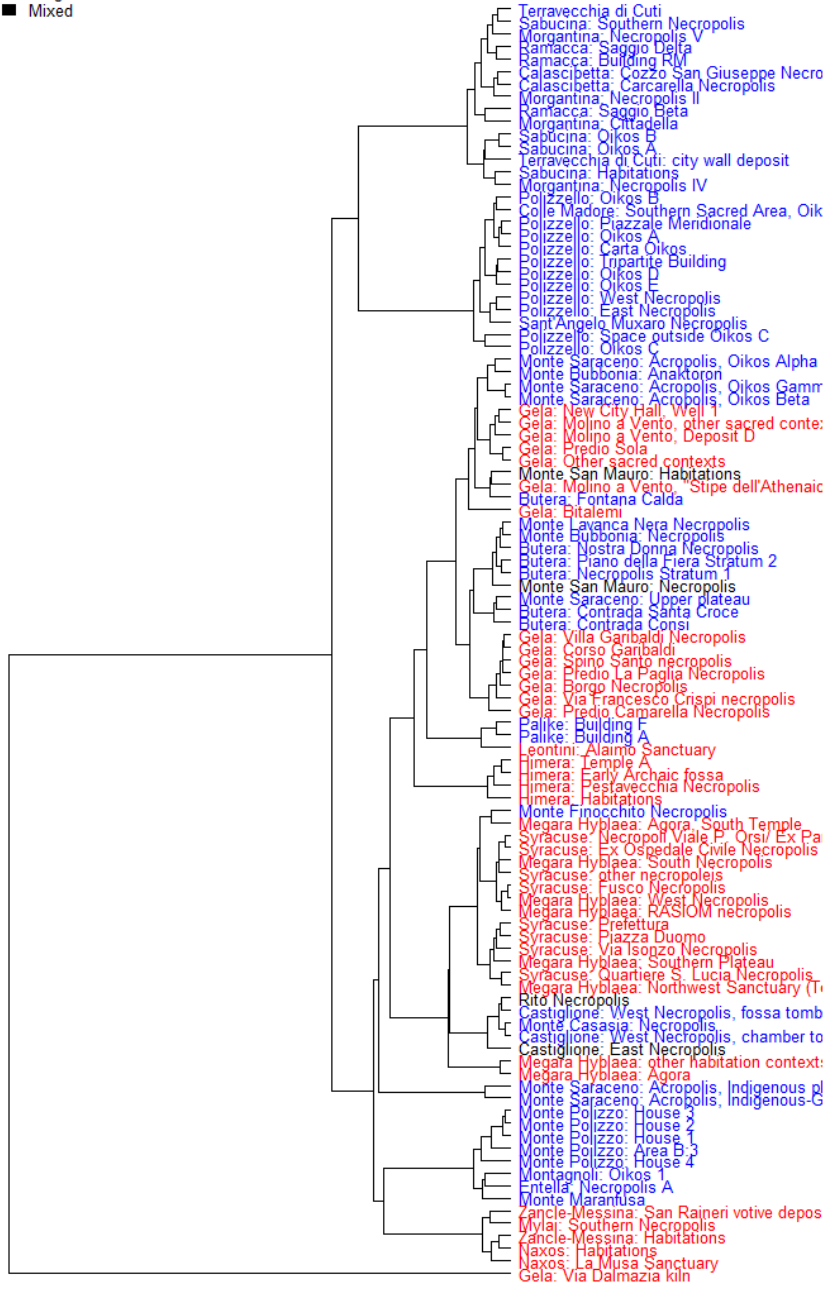
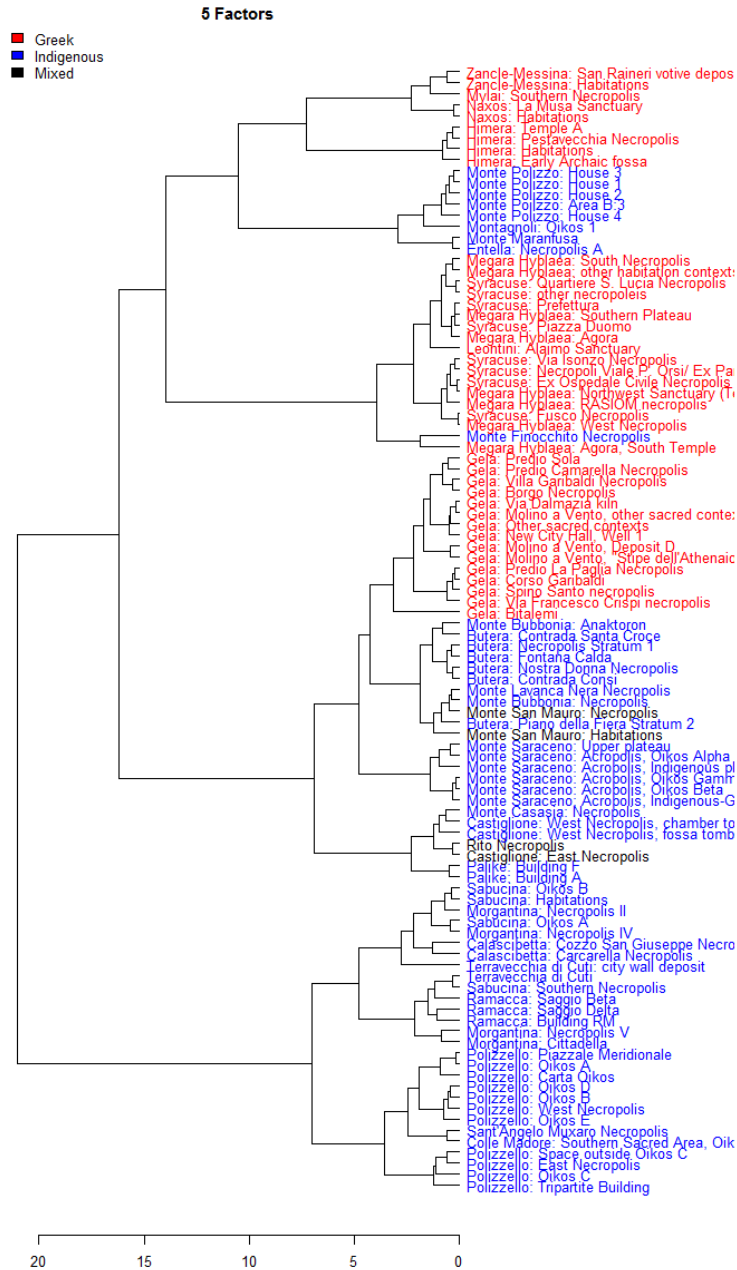


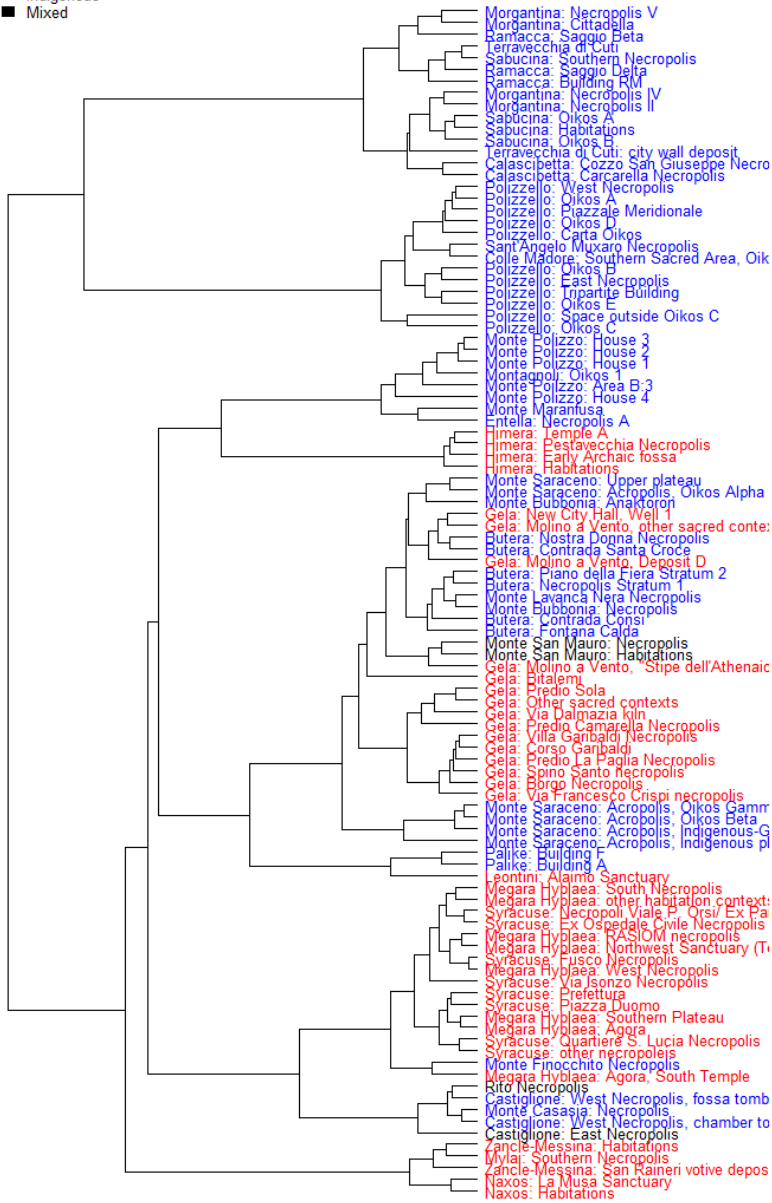
Table 7.8: Dendrogram Showing Hierarchical Clustering of Contexts without Context Type Label, 5-Factor and 27-Factor Analysis





27 Factors

- Greek
- Indigenous
- Mixed



20 15 10 5 0

Table 7.9: Percentage of Explained Variance in Factors

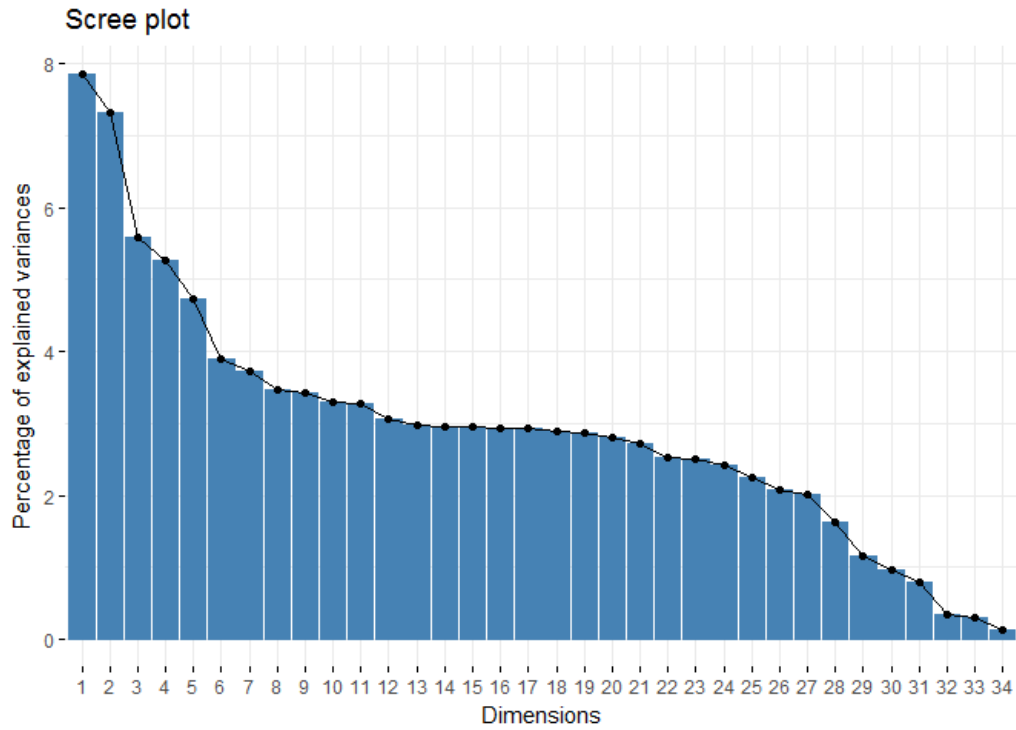


Table 7.10: Percentage of Contributions of Different Variables to Each Dimension

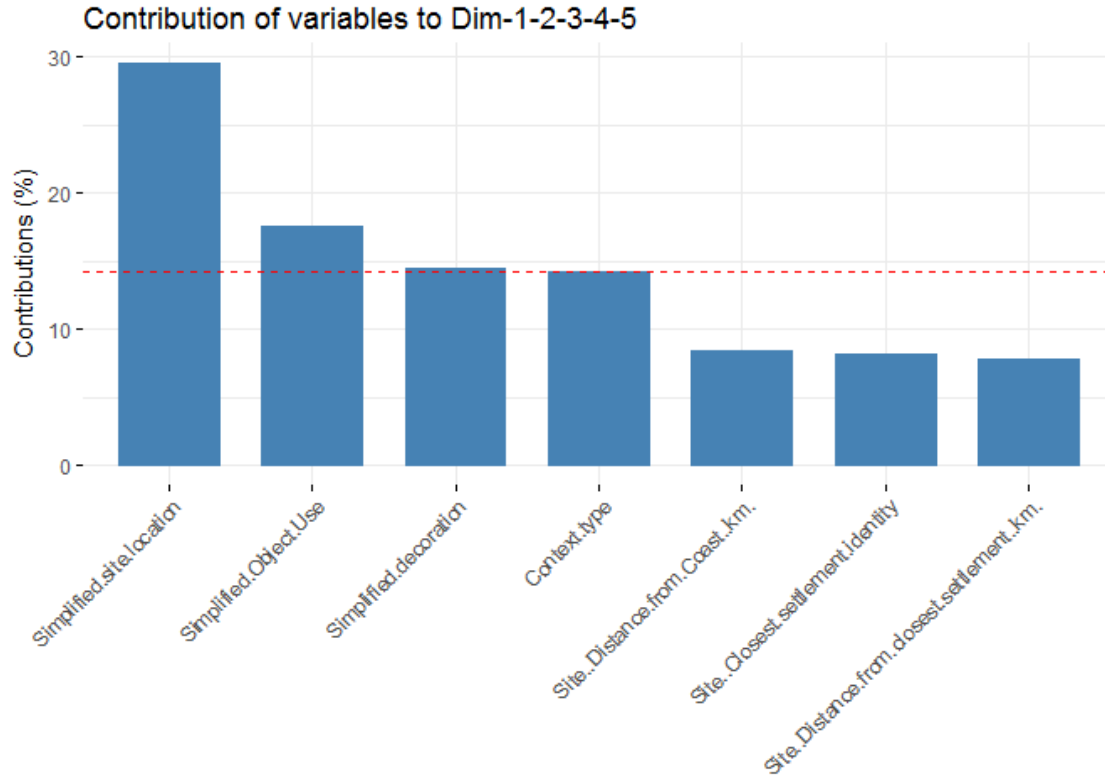


Table 7.11: Dendrogram, Object Level: with “Context Type” as a Variable (left) and without (right)

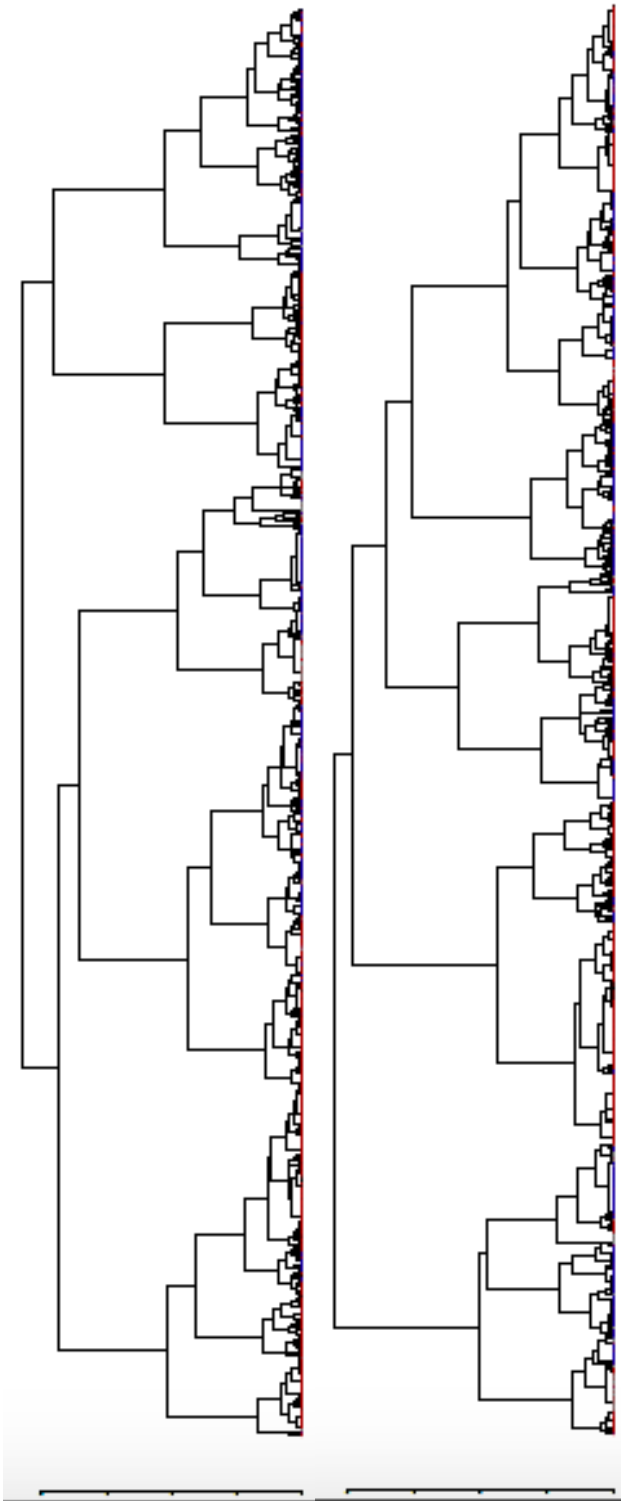


Table 7.12: Clustering Analysis, Context Level

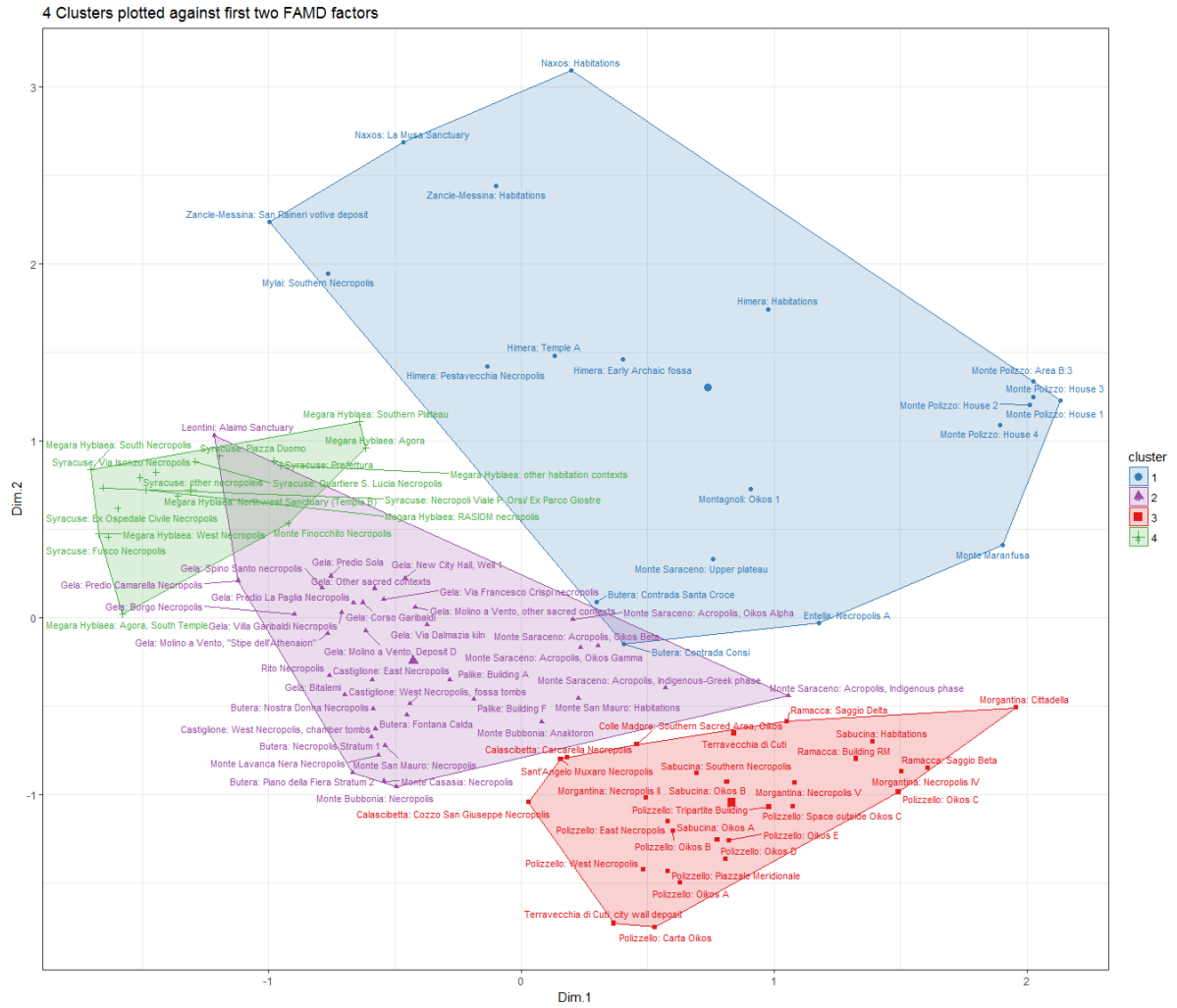


Table 7.13: Clustering Analysis, Context Level: Dendrogram with Assigned Cluster Groupings

5 Factors - 4 Clusters

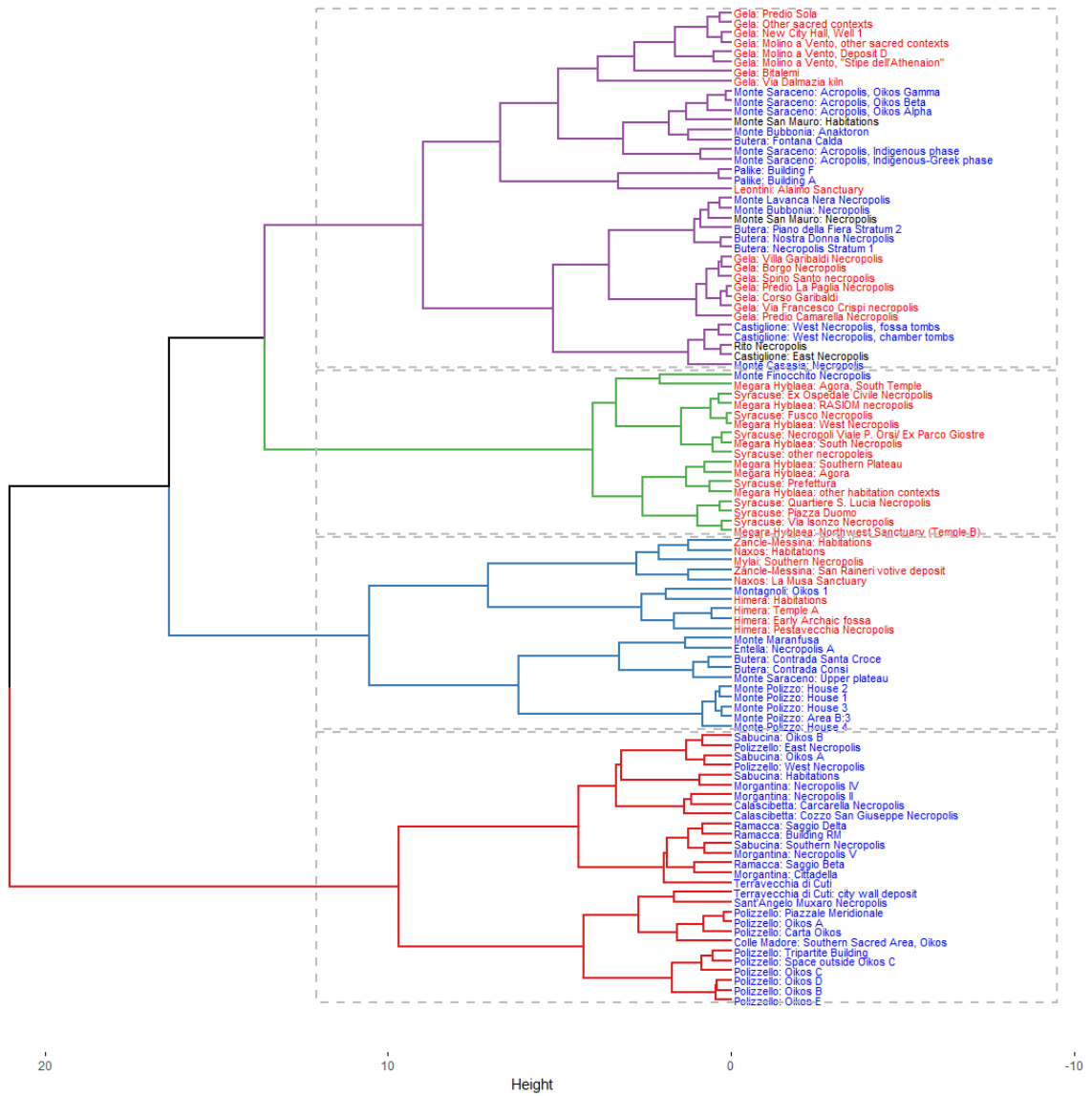


Table 7.14: Clustering Analysis, Context Level, without Context Type Label

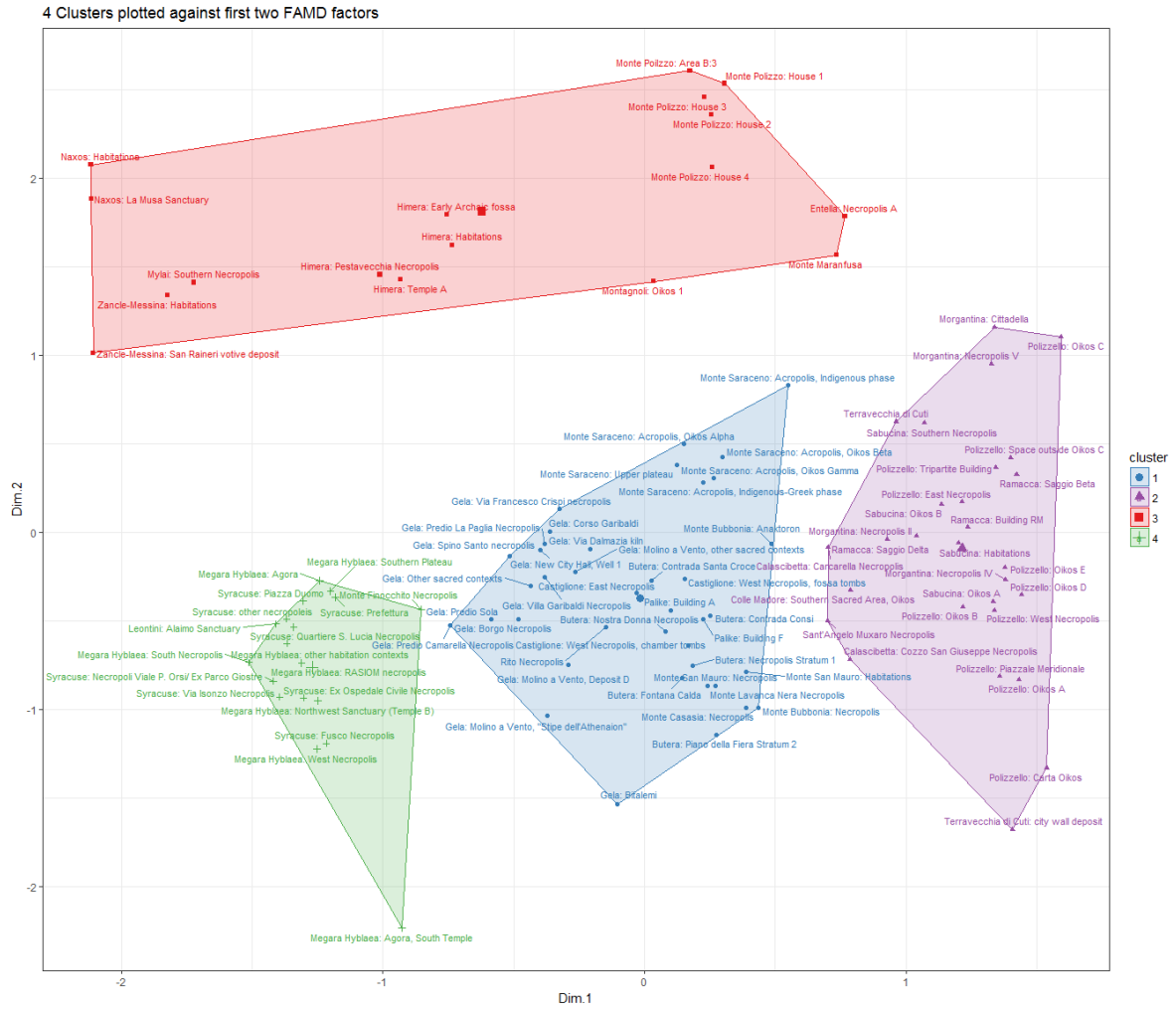


Table 7.15: Clustering Analysis, Context Level, without Context Type Label: Dendrogram with Assigned Cluster Groupings

5 Factors - 4 Clusters

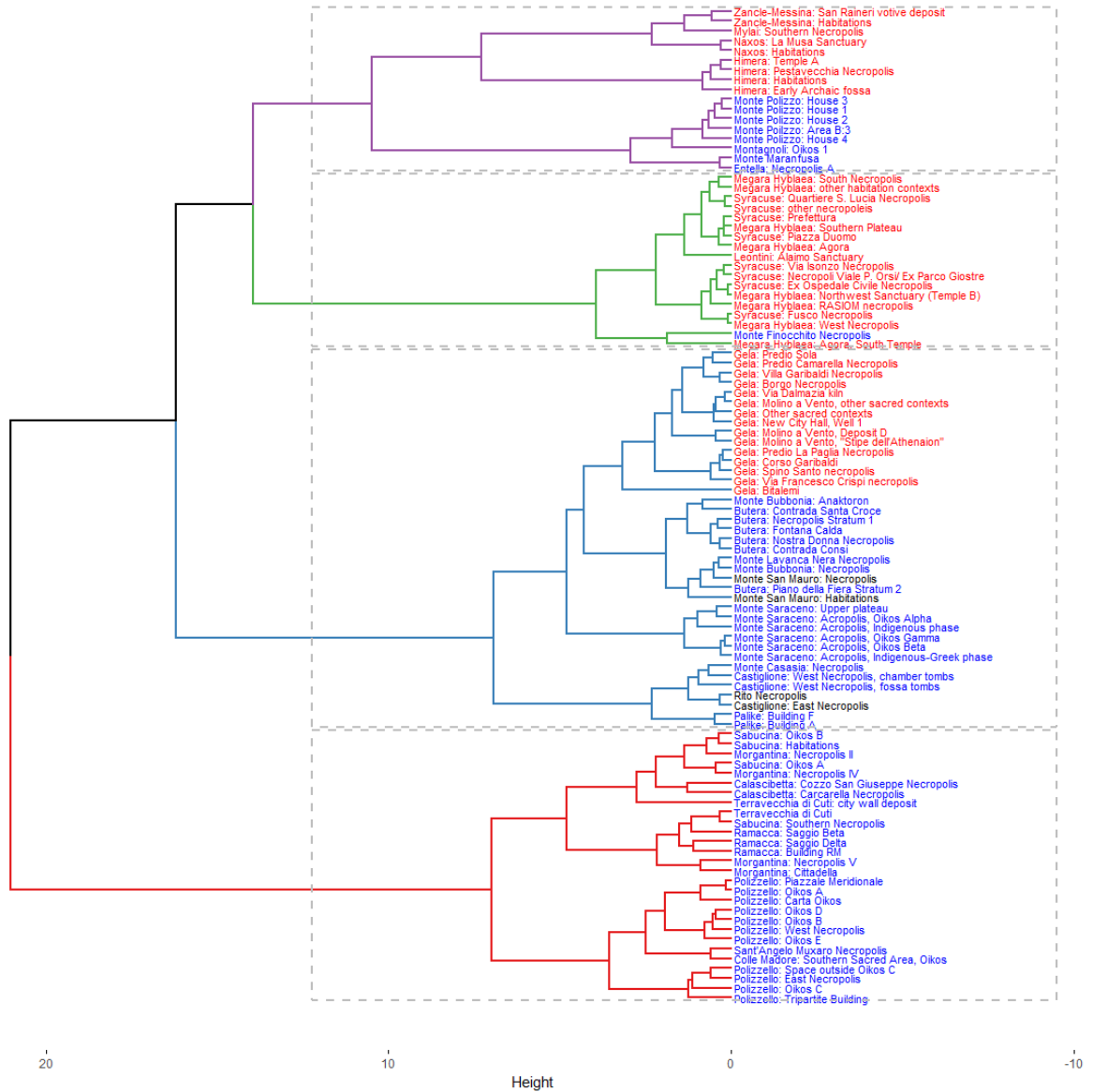


Table 7.16: D Index Values Determining Optimal Number of Clusters by Context.

The significant peak in the second plot corresponds to an increase in the value of the measure.

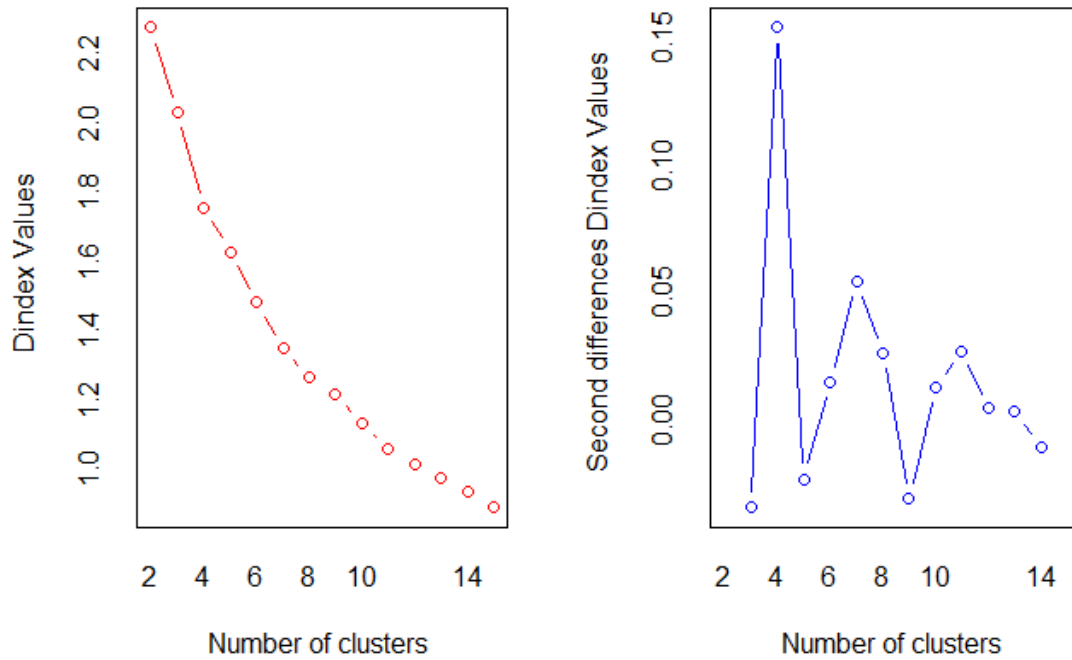


Table 7.17: Relative Importance of Different Variables in Prediction Contributions

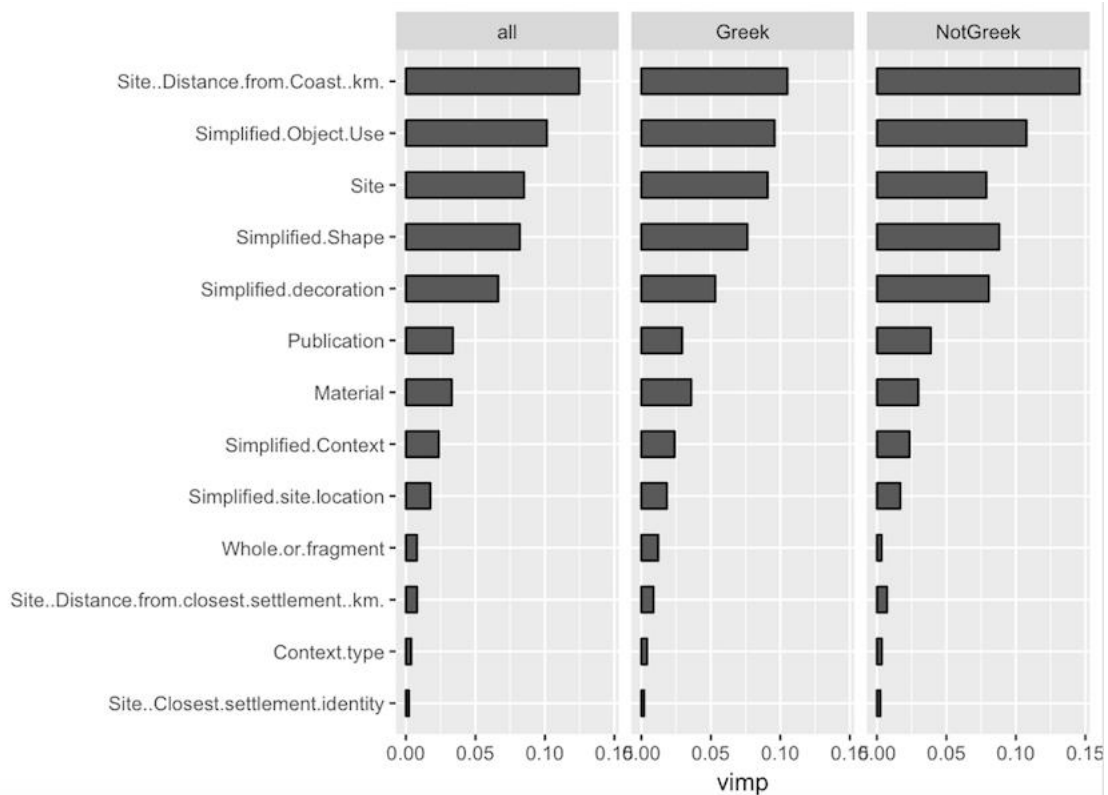




Table 7.18: Scatterplot Showing Degree of Interaction of Variables

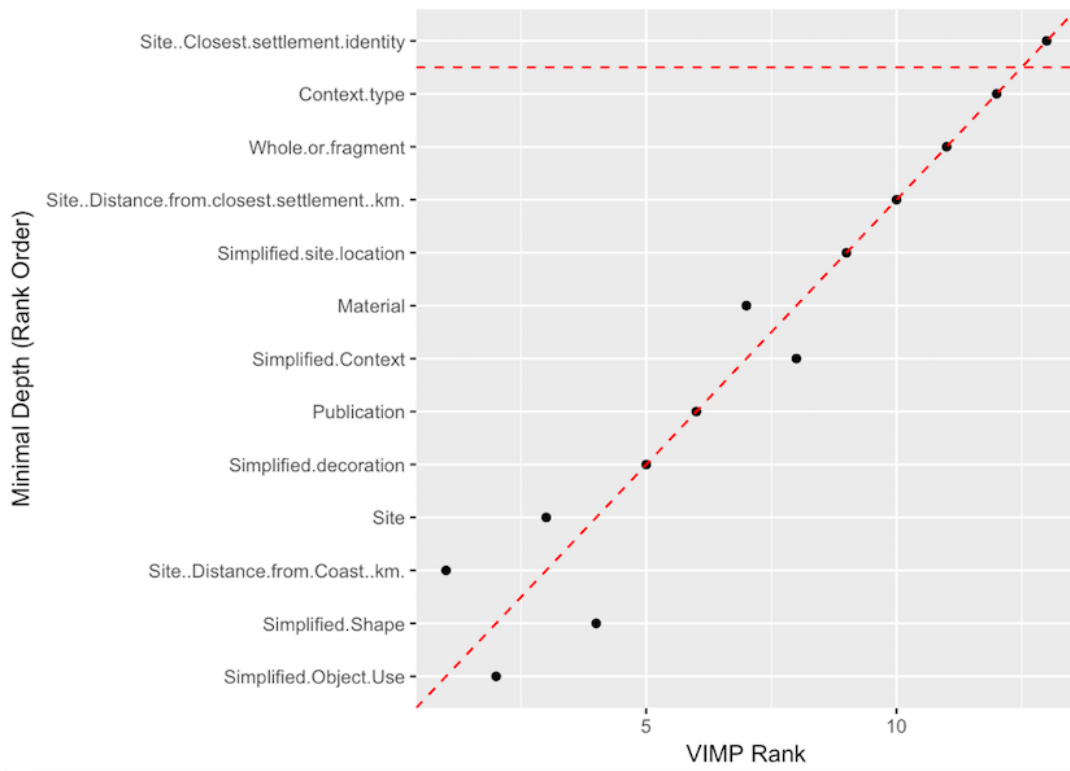


Table 7.19: Degree of Interaction among Various Variables

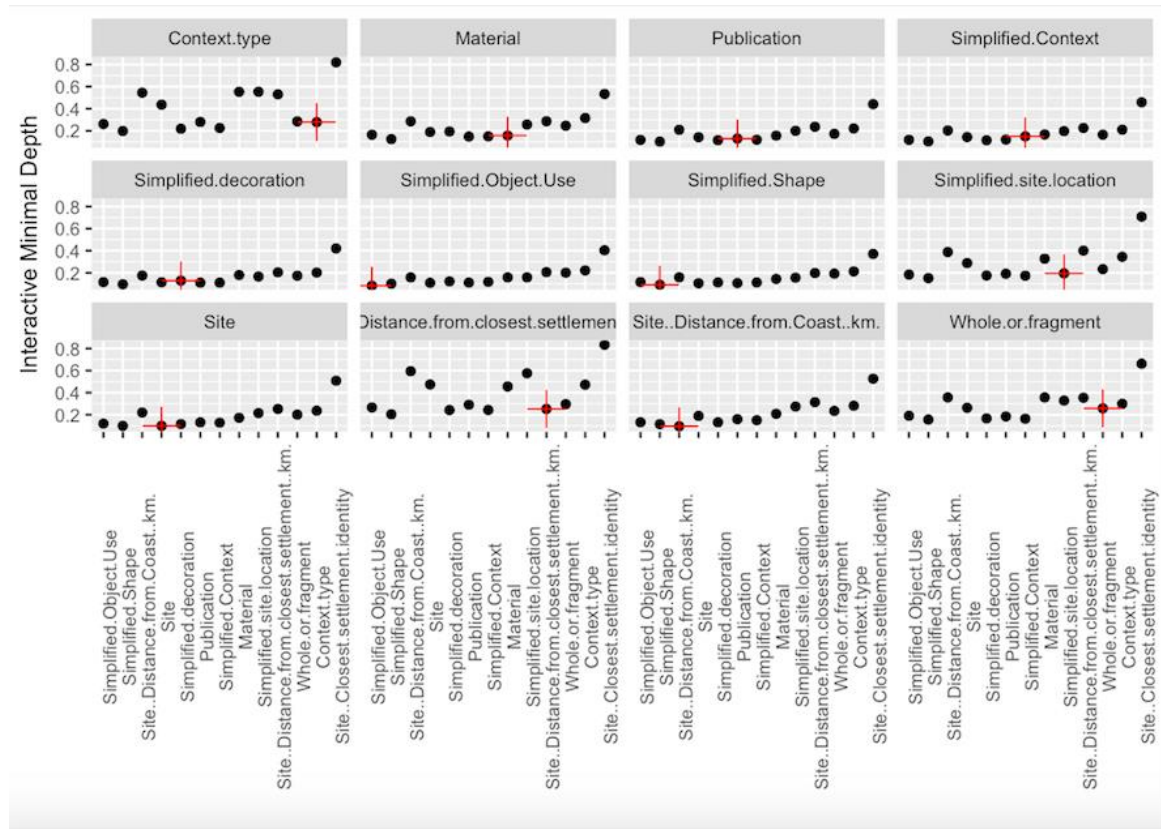


Table 7.20: Dependence Plot by Object Use

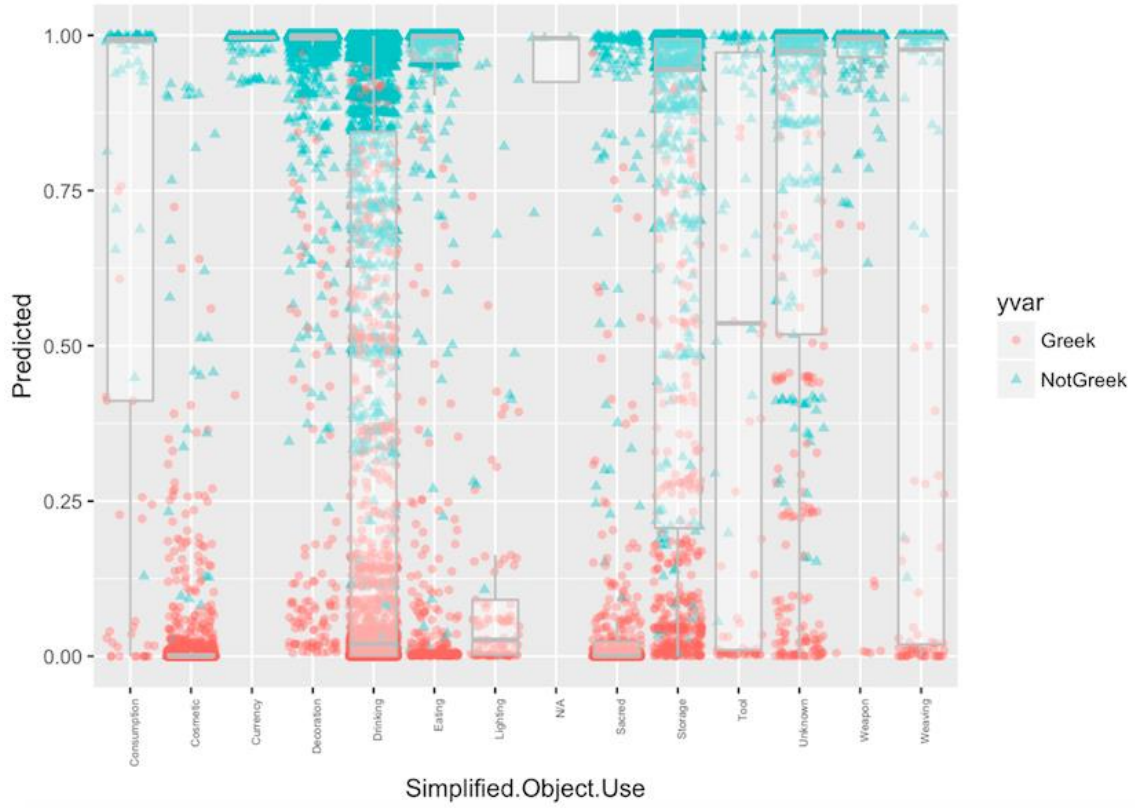


Table 7.21: Dependence Plot by Object Decoration

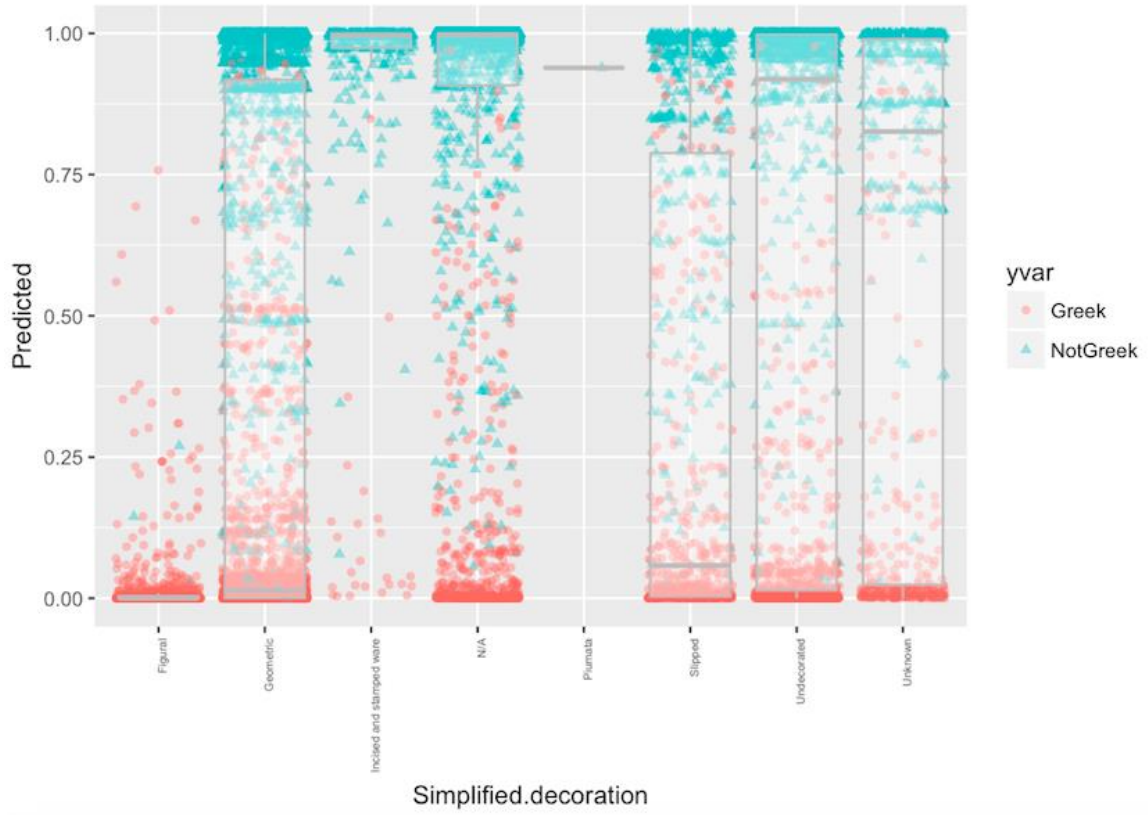


Table 7.22: Dependence Plot by Object Shape

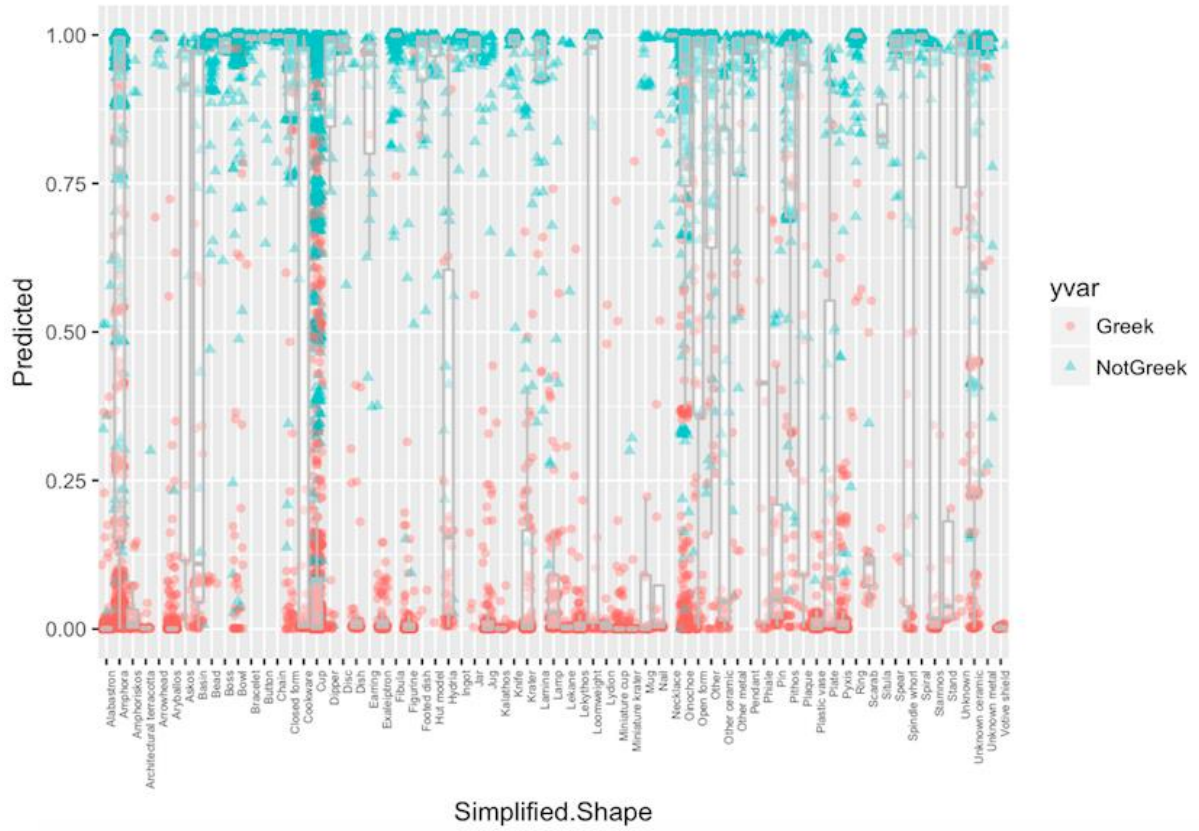


Table 7.23: Dependence Plot by Material

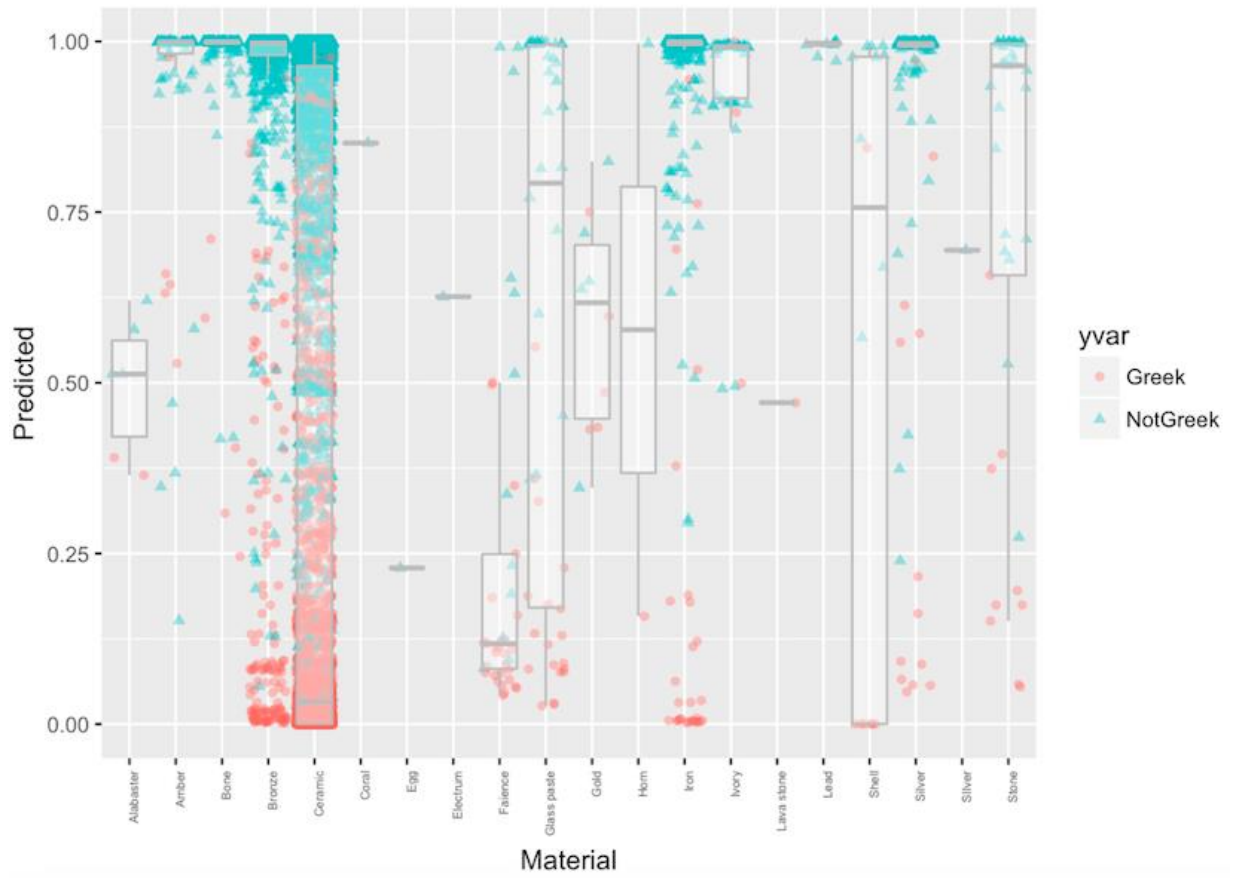




Table 7.24: Dependence Plot by Site

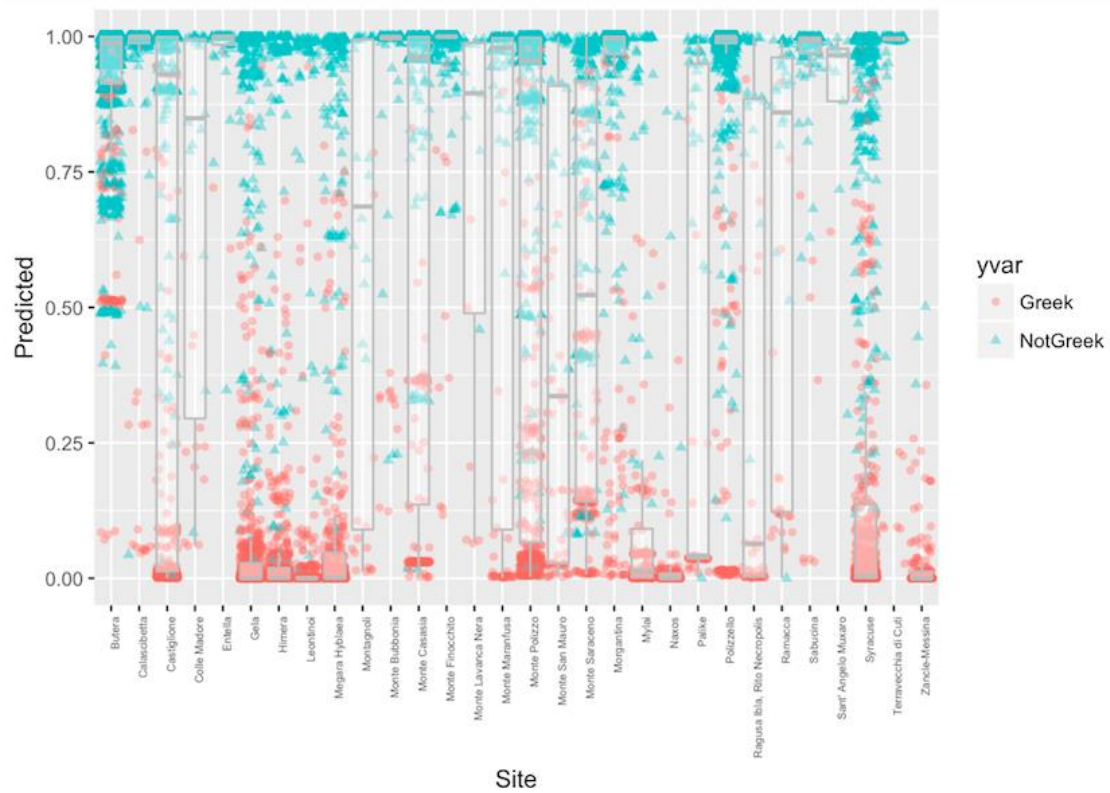


Table 7.25: Dependence Plot by Closest Settlement Identity

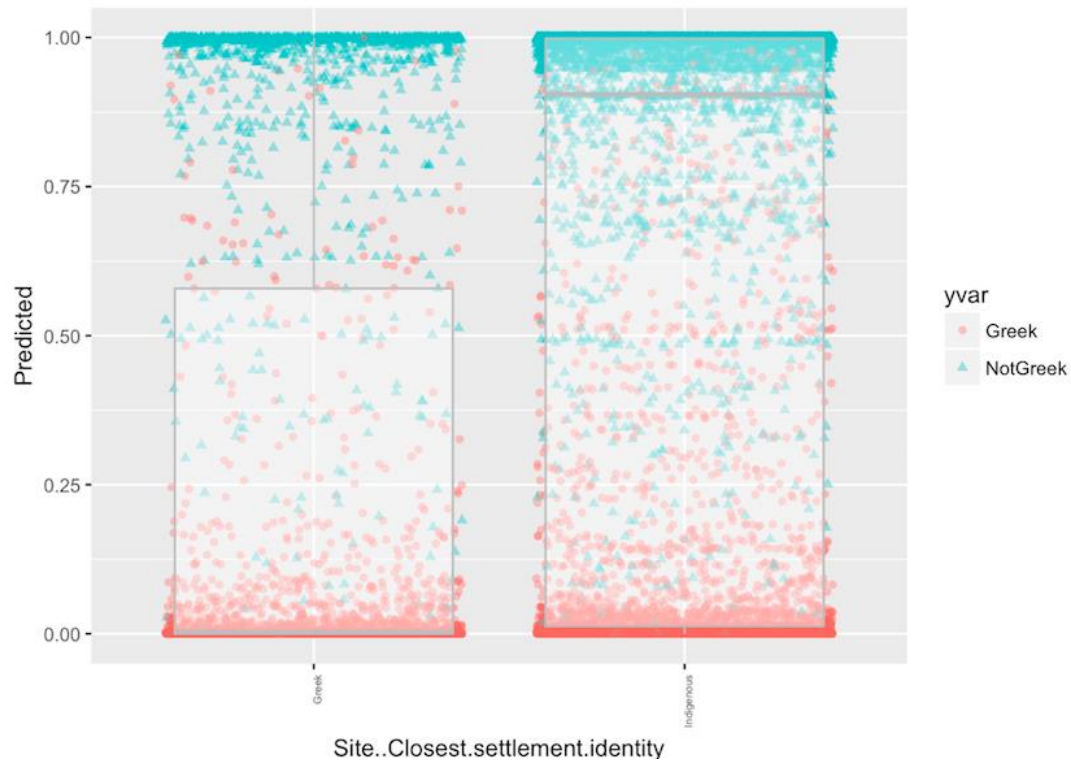


Table 7.26: Dependence Plot by Labeled Site Identity

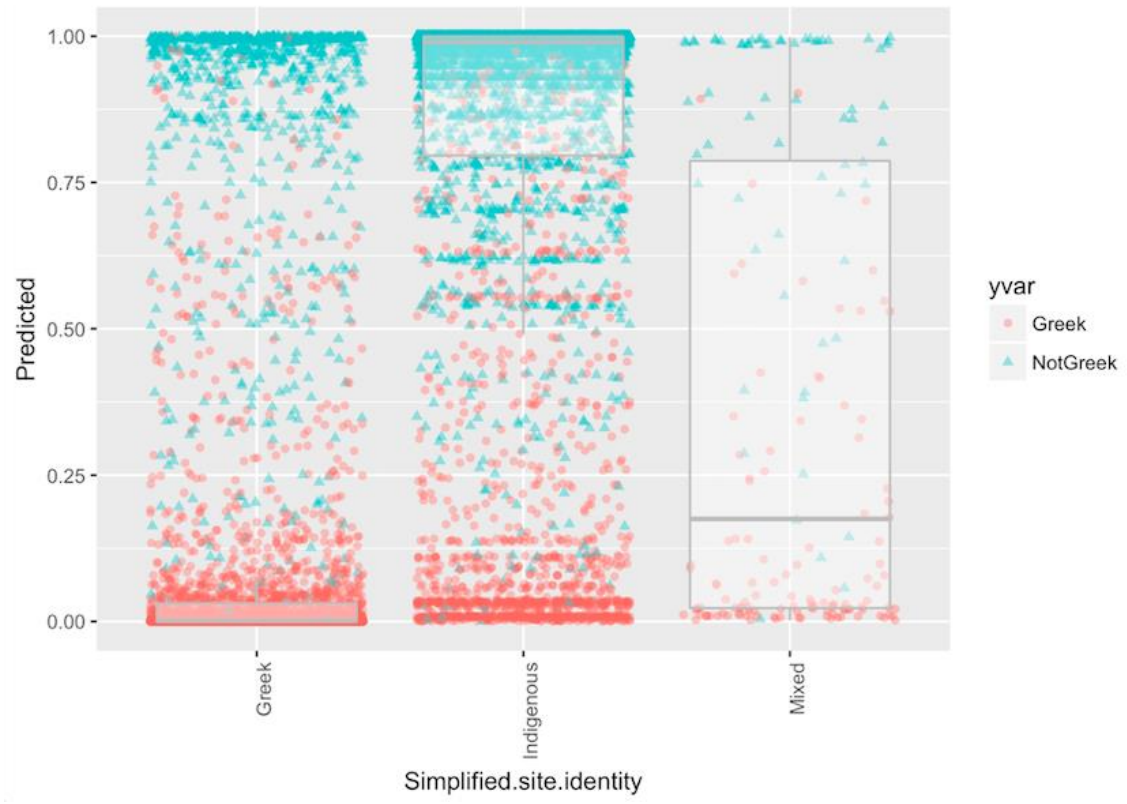




Table 7.27: Conditioning Plots by Object Shape and Use

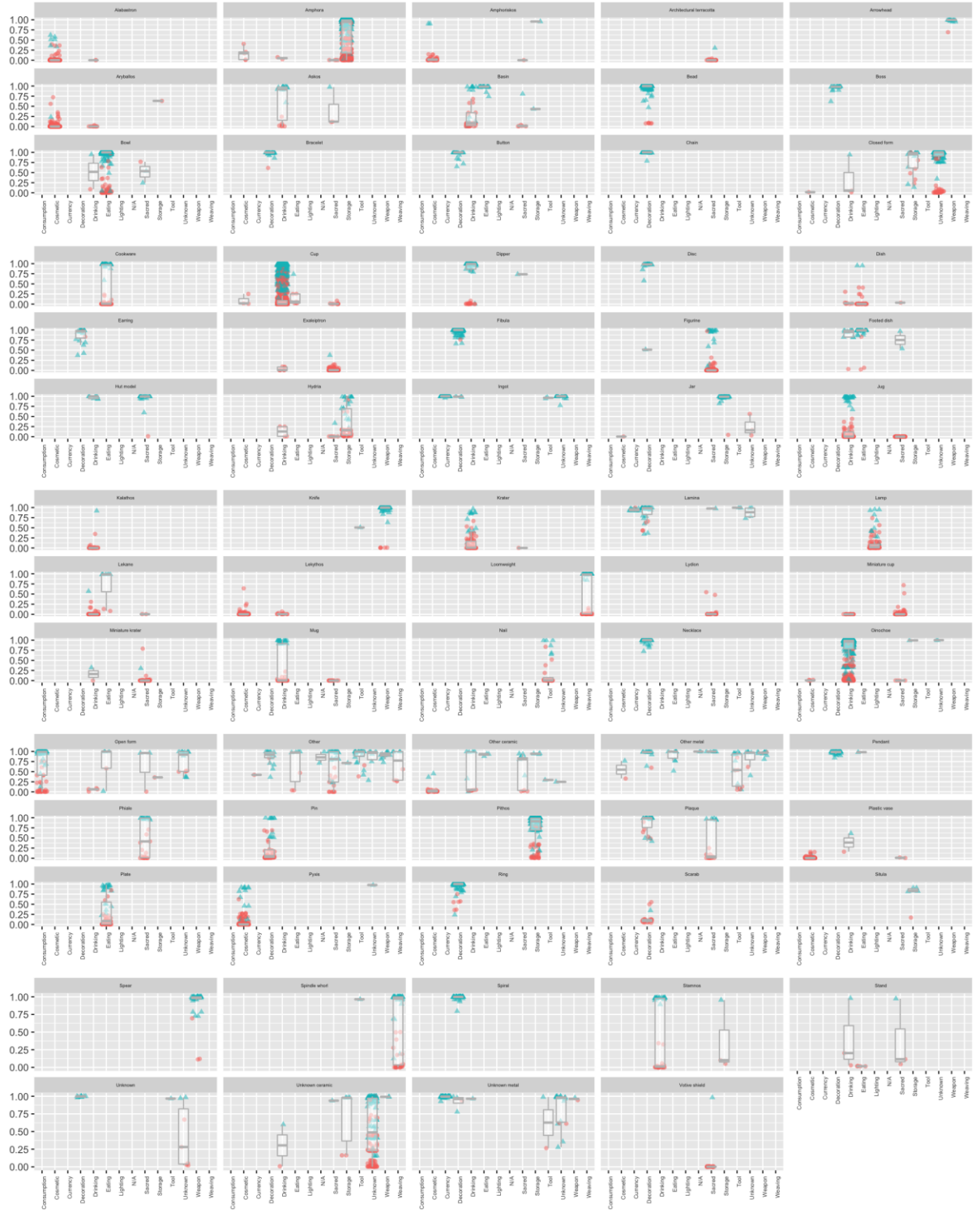


Table 7.28: Conditioning Plots by Object Decoration and Shape

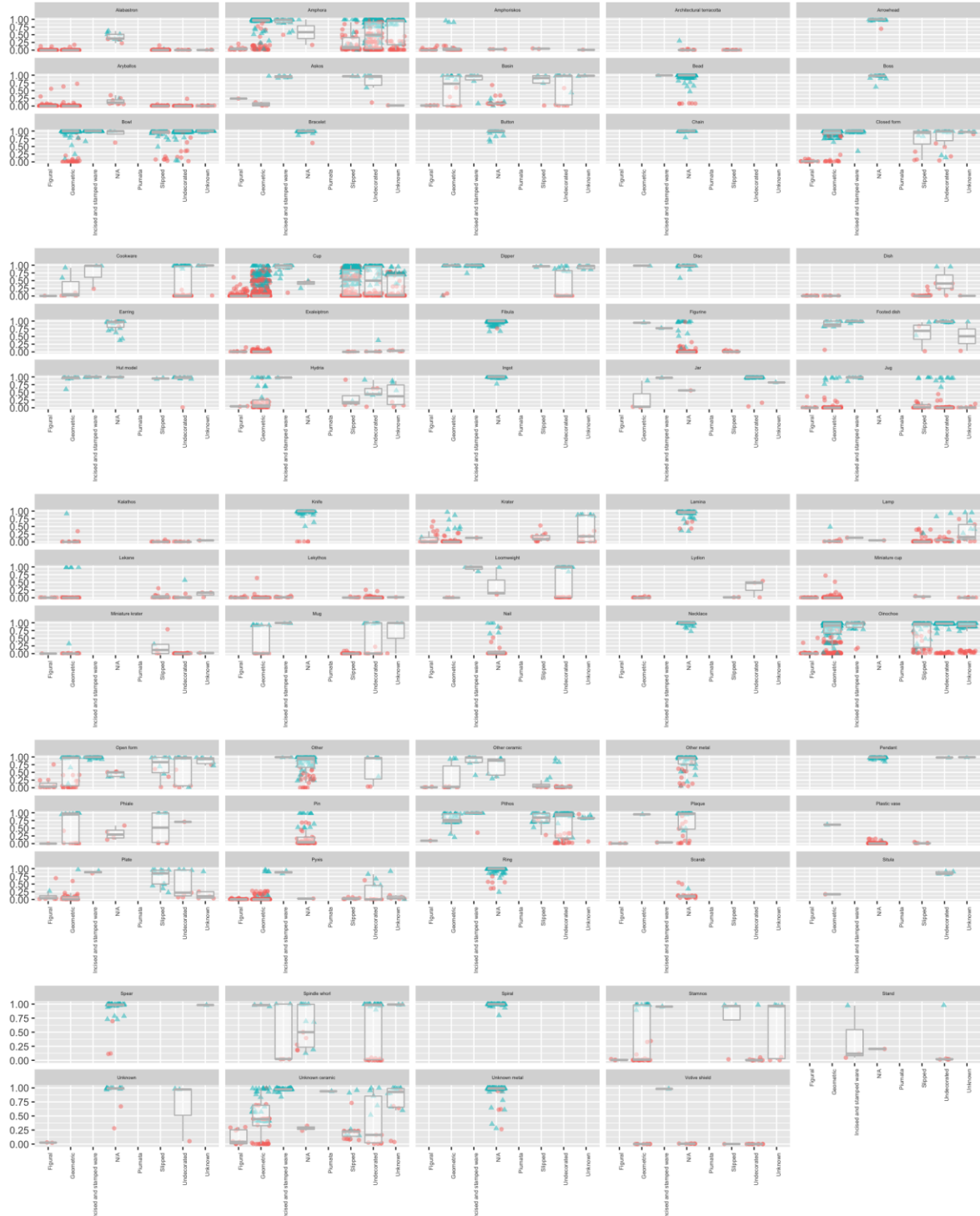


Table 7.29: Conditioning Plots by Object Use and Closest Settlement

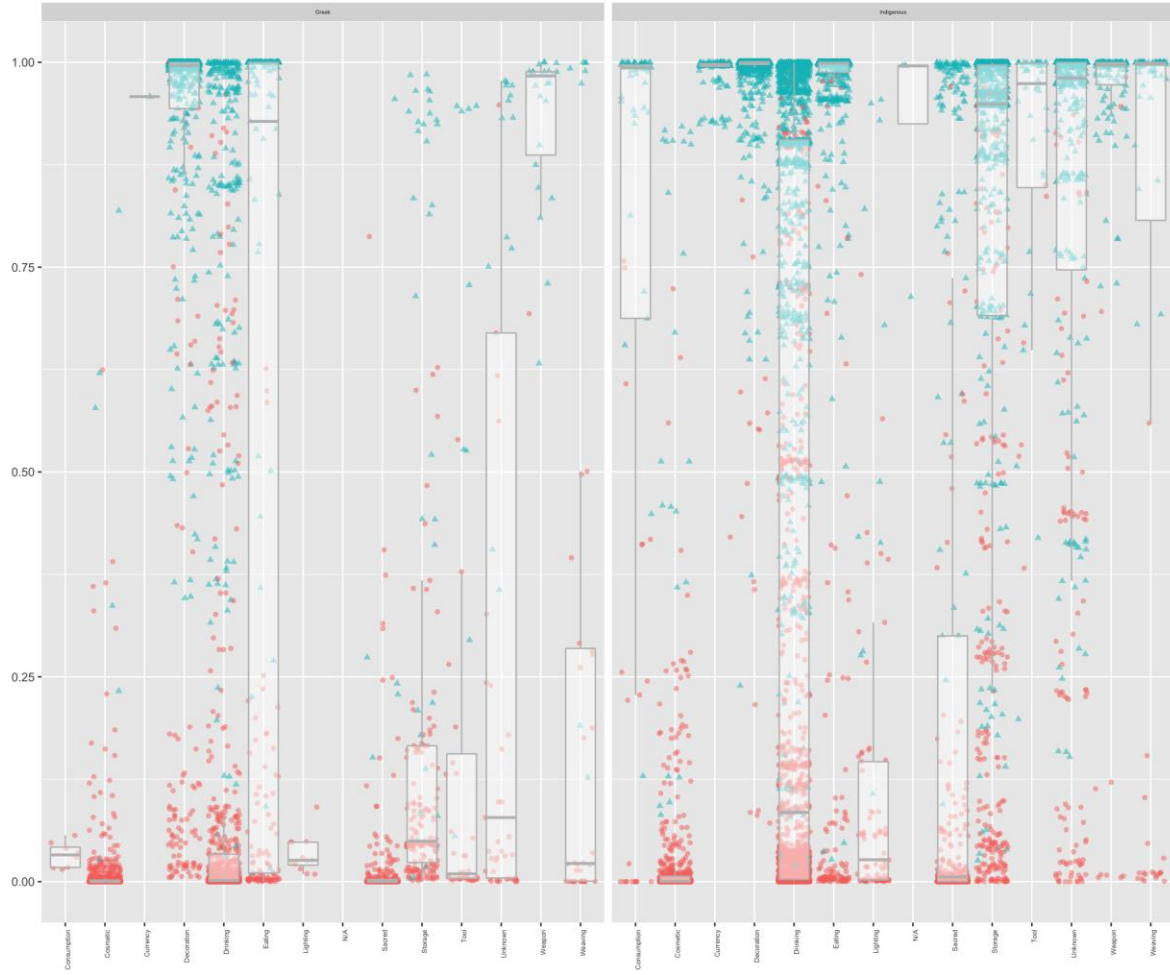


Table 7.30: Object Use Similarity Network with Highlighted Communities

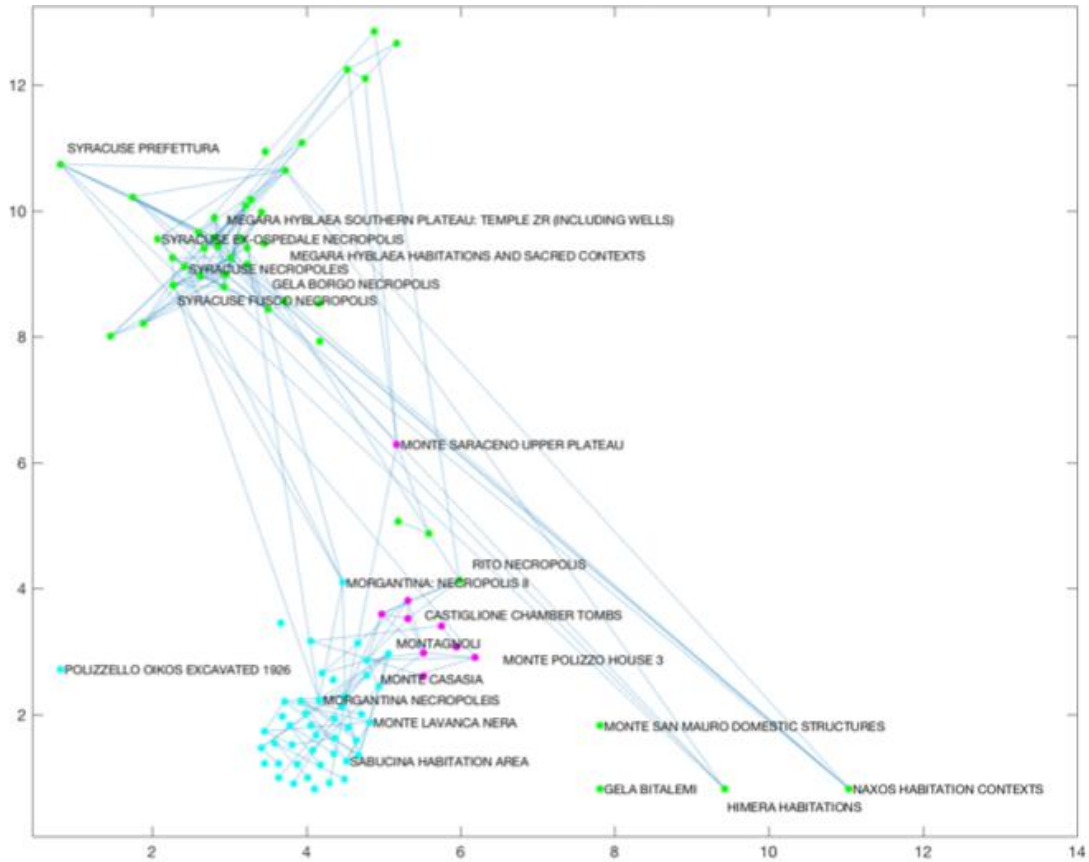


Table 7.31: Object Origin Similarity Network with Highlighted Communities

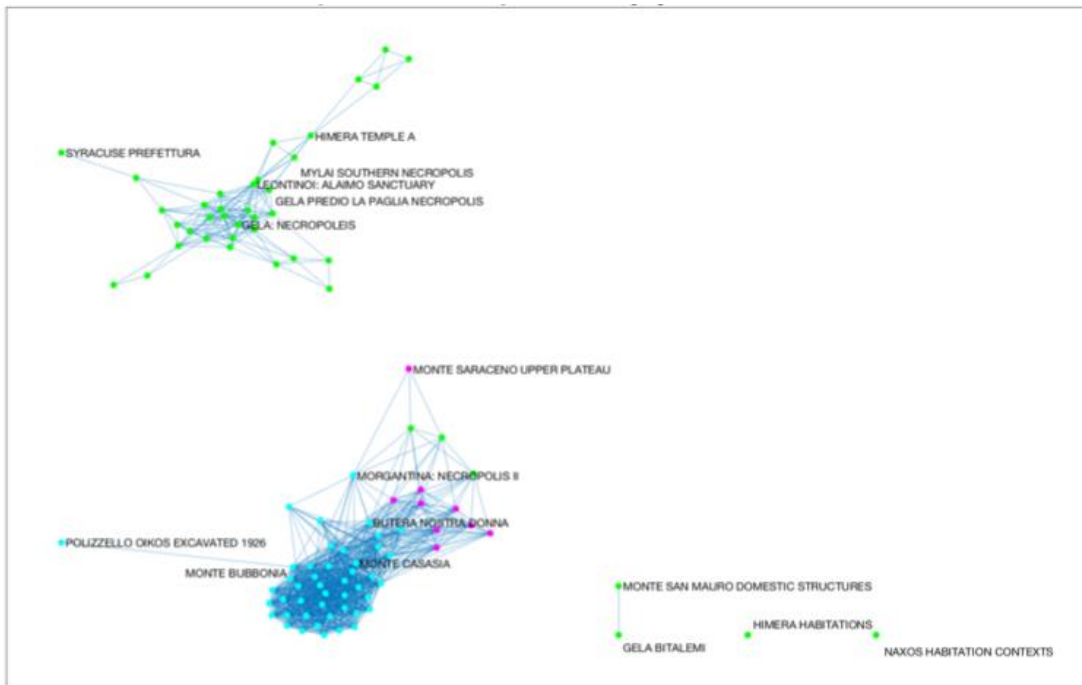


Table 7.32: Members of Each Community

<p>Community 1:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>'HIMERA TEMPLE A'</li> <li>'HIMERA EARLY ARCHAIC FOSSAS'</li> <li>'HIMERA PESTIVECCHIA NECROPOLIS'</li> <li>'HIMERA HABITATIONS'</li> <li>'SYRACUSE NECROPOLEIS'</li> <li>'SYRACUSE EX-OSPEDALE NECROPOLIS'</li> <li>'SYRACUSE FUSCO NECROPOLIS'</li> <li>'SYRACUSE VIALE P. ORSI NECROPOLIS'</li> <li>'SYRACUSE SACRED AND HABITATION CONTEXTS'</li> <li>'SYRACUSE PIAZZA DUOMO'</li> <li>'SYRACUSE PREFETTURA'</li> <li>'ZANCLE-MESSINA HABITATION CONTEXTS'</li> <li>'ZANCLE-MESSINA SAN RAINERI VOTIVE DEPOSITS'</li> <li>'NAXOS HABITATION CONTEXTS'</li> <li>'NAXOS LA MUSA SANCTUARY'</li> <li>'LEONTINOI: ALAIMO SANCTUARY'</li> <li>'MYLAI SOUTHERN NECROPOLIS'</li> <li>'MEGARA HYBLAEA NECROPOLEIS'</li> <li>'MEGARA HYBLAEA WEST NECROPOLIS'</li> <li>'MEGARA HYBLAEA SOUTH NECROPOLIS'</li> <li>'MEGARA HYBLAEA RAISON NECROPOLIS'</li> <li>'MEGARA HYBLAEA HABITATIONS AND SACRED CONTEXTS'</li> <li>'MEGARA HYBLAEA AGORA (SOUTH TEMPLE, WELLS)'</li> <li>'MEGARA HYBLAEA SOUTHERN PLATEAU: TEMPLE ZR (INCLUDING WELLS)'</li> <li>'MEGARA HYBLAEA: NORTHWEST SANCTUARY (TEMPLE B)'</li> <li>'GELA: NECROPOLEIS'</li> <li>'GELA VILLA GARIBALDI NECROPOLIS'</li> <li>'GELA PREDIO LA PAGLIA NECROPOLIS'</li> <li>'GELA BORGIO NECROPOLIS'</li> <li>'GELA NEW CITY HALL WELL 1'</li> <li>'GELA PREDIO SOLA'</li> <li>'GELA MOLINO A VENTO'</li> <li>'GELA OTHER SACRED CONTEXTS'</li> <li>'GELA BITALEMI'</li> <li>'RAMACCA SAGGIO DELTA'</li> <li>'RITO NECROPOLIS'</li> <li>'PALIKE'</li> <li>'PALIKE BUILDING A'</li> <li>'MONTE SAN MAURO'</li> <li>'MONTE SAN MAURO DOMESTIC STRUCTURES'</li> <li>'MONTE SAN MAURO NECROPOLIS'</li> <li>'CASTIGLIONE EAST NECROPOLIS'</li> </ul>	<p>Community 2:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>'RAMACCA'</li> <li>'MONTE SARACENO'</li> <li>'MONTE SARACENO ACROPOLIS'</li> <li>'MONTE SARACENO UPPER PLATEAU'</li> <li>'MONTE POLIZZO'</li> <li>'MONTE POLIZZO HOUSE 3'</li> <li>'CASTIGLIONE NECROPOLEIS'</li> <li>'CASTIGLIONE FOSSA TOMBS'</li> <li>'CASTIGLIONE CHAMBER TOMBS'</li> </ul>	<p>Community 3:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>'RAMACCA HOUSE RM'</li> <li>'RAMACCA SAGGIO BETA'</li> <li>'MONTE BUBBONIA'</li> <li>'TERRAVECCHIA DI CUTI'</li> <li>'SANT'ANGELO MIXARD'</li> <li>'SABUCINA: SETTLEMENT AND SACRED SPACE'</li> <li>'SABUCINA HABITATION AREA'</li> <li>'SABUCINA SACRED SPACE'</li> <li>'SABUCINA: OIKOS A'</li> <li>'SABUCINA: OIKOS B'</li> <li>'SABUCINA: NECROPOLIS'</li> <li>'PALIKE BUILDING F'</li> <li>'MONTE POLIZZO HOUSE 1'</li> <li>'MONTE POLIZZO HOUSE 2'</li> <li>'MONTE POLIZZO HOUSE 4'</li> <li>'MONTE LAVANCA NERA'</li> <li>'MONTE FINOCCHITO'</li> <li>'MONTAGNOLI'</li> <li>'ENTELLA'</li> <li>'MORGANTINA CITTADELLA'</li> <li>'MORGANTINA NECROPOLIS IV'</li> <li>'MORGANTINA: NECROPOLIS II'</li> <li>'MORGANTINA NECROPOLIS V'</li> <li>'MORGANTINA NECROPOLIS I'</li> <li>'MONTE MARANFUSA'</li> <li>'MONTE CASASIA'</li> <li>'CALASCIBETTA: COZZO S GIUSEPPE NECROPOLIS'</li> <li>'BUTERA LAYER II'</li> <li>'BUTERA LAYER I'</li> <li>'BUTERA CONTRADA CONSI'</li> <li>'BUTERA CONTRADA SANTA CROCE'</li> <li>'BUTERA NOSTRA DONNA'</li> <li>'BUTERA FONTANA CALDA'</li> <li>'POLIZZELLO SANCTUARY TOTALS'</li> <li>'POLIZZELLO TRIPARTITE BUILDING'</li> <li>'POLIZZELLO OIKOS C'</li> <li>'POLIZZELLO OIKOS D'</li> <li>'POLIZZELLO SPACE OUTSIDE OIKOS C'</li> <li>'POLIZZELLO OIKOS A'</li> <li>'POLIZZELLO OIKOS B'</li> <li>'POLIZZELLO PIAZZALE MERIDIONALE'</li> <li>'POLIZZELLO OIKOS E'</li> <li>'POLIZZELLO OIKOS EXCAVATED 1926'</li> <li>'POLIZZELLO NECROPOLIS'</li> <li>'COLLE MADORE'</li> </ul>
---	--	---

Table 7.33: Plot Showing Optimal Number of Network Communities

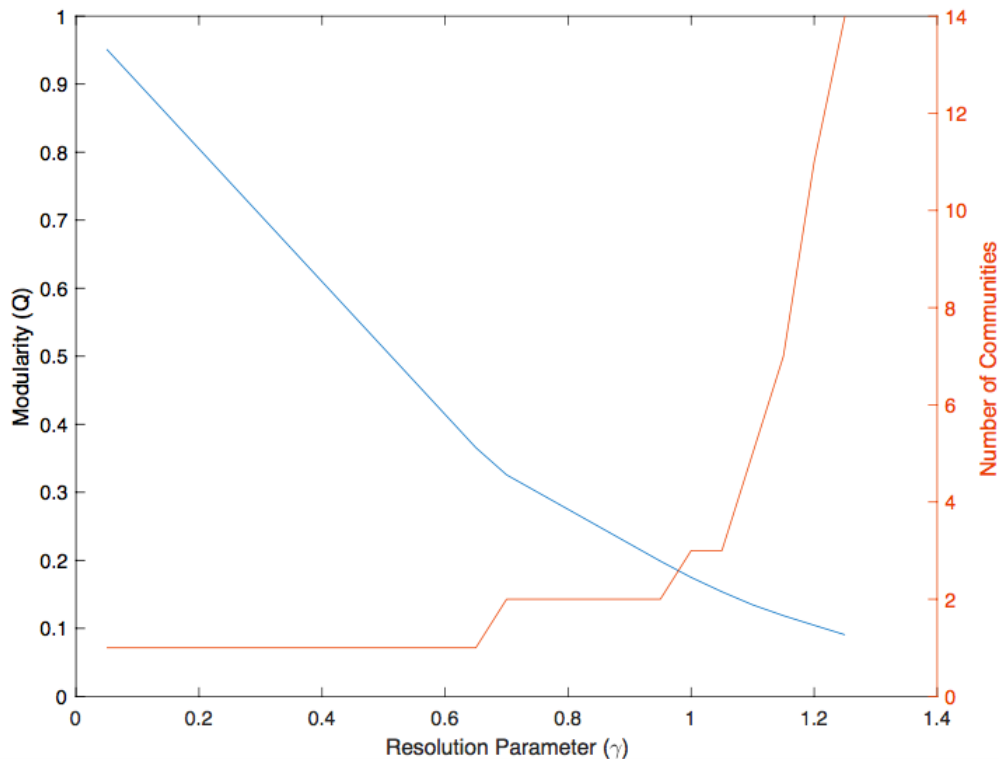


Table 7.34: Map of Sicilian communities

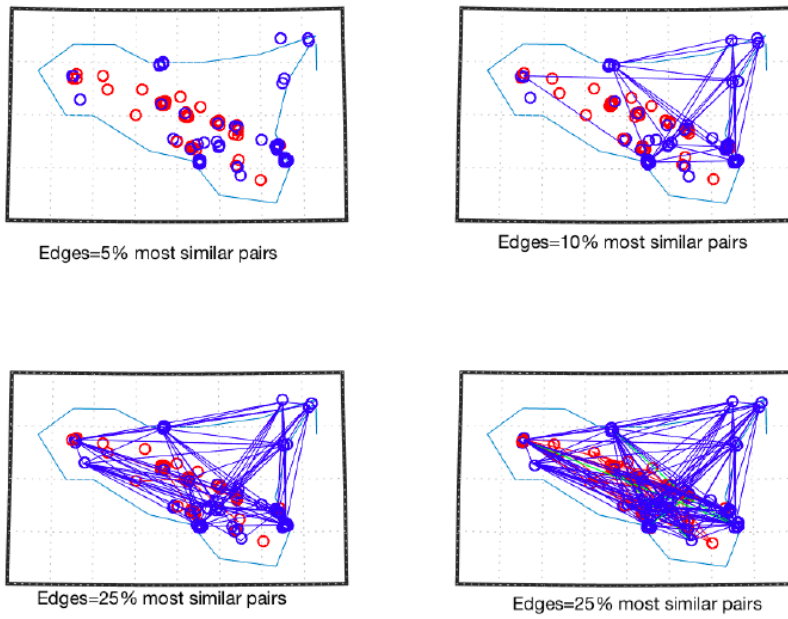


Table 7.35: Radii of Gyration: Relative Amounts of Objects in Sicilian Communities (by Object Origin)

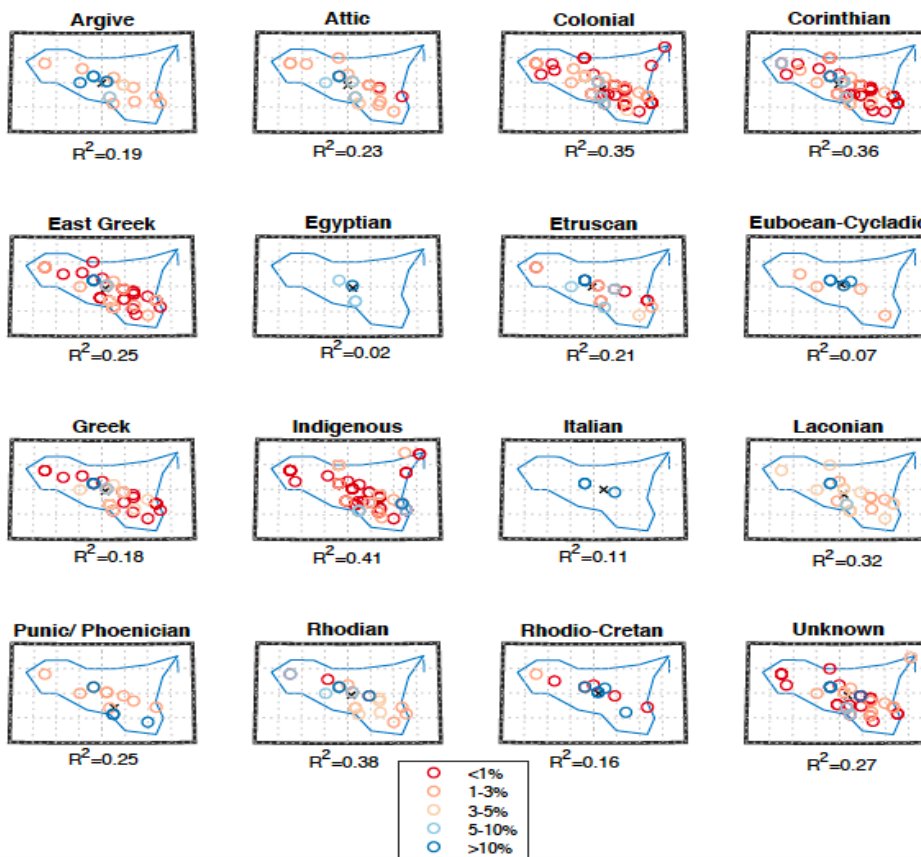
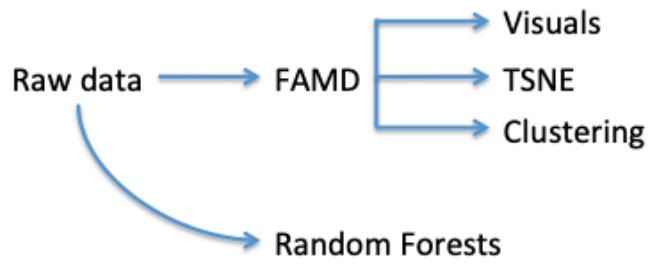


Table 7.36: Overview of statistical techniques used



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adamesteanu, D. 1953a. "Coppi con testate dipinte da Gela." *Archeologia Classica* 5: 1–9.
- . 1953b. "Vasi Gelesi Arcaici di Produzione Locale." *Archeologia Classica* 5: 244–47.
- . 1954a. "Siracusa." *Notizie Degli Scavi di Antichità* 8: 304–319.
- . 1954b. "Siracusa." *Notizie Degli Scavi di Antichità* 8: 390–402.
- . 1956a. "Le Fortificazioni Ad Aggere nella Sicilia Centro Meridionale." *Atti della Accademia Nazionale Dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche. Rendiconti* 8 (11): 358–372.
- . 1956b. "Lentini. Scavo Nell'area Sacra della Città di Leontini." *Notizie Degli Scavi di Antichità* 10: 402–14.
- . 1956c. "Monte Saraceno Ed Il Problema della Penetrazione Rodio-Cretese nella Sicilia Meridionale." *Archeologia Classica* 8: 121–146.
- . 1958a. *Butera: Piano della Fiera, Consi e Fontana Calda: scavi e scoperte dal 1951 al 1957 nella provincia di Caltanissetta*. Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.
- . 1958b. "Contrada Priorato (Butera). Scavo di Una Fattoria Greca." *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 8 (12): 335–82.
- . 1958c. "Gibil-Gabib (Caltanissetta). Scavi e Ricerche Archeologiche." *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 12: 387–408.
- . 1958d. "Monte Lavanca Nera (Mazzarino). Necropoli Sicula e Tracce di Abitato Arcaico." *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, 12: 383–87.
- . 1960. "Gela." *Notizie Degli Scavi di Antichità* 14: 116–227.
- . 1995. "'Anaktora' o Sacelli?" *Archeologia Classica* 10: 166–73.
- Adriani, A. 1970. *Himera, I. Campagne di scavo 1963-1965*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Adriani, A., and V. Tusa. 1971. *Odeon ed altri monumenti archeologici*. Palermo: Banco di Sicilia.
- Albanese, R. M. 1982. "Calascibetta (Enna): La Necropoli di Cozzo S. Giuseppe in Contrada Realmese." *Notizie Degli Scavi di Antichità* 38: 425–632.
- . 1988a. "Calascibetta, Malpasso, Carcarella, Valle Coniglio." *Notizie Degli Scavi di Antichità* 42–43 (Suppl. 1): 161–399.
- . 1988b. "Ramacca." *Notizie Degli Scavi di Antichità* 42 (Suppl. 1): 5–405.



- . 1989. “Tripodi Geometrici dal Ripostiglio di Bronzi del Mendolito di Adrano.” *Mélanges de l’Ecole Française de Rome. Antiquité* 101: 643–77.
- . 1993. *Ripostigli di bronzi della Sicilia nel Museo Archeologico di Siracusa*. Palermo: Accademia Nazionale di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Palermo.
- . 1996a. “Greeks and Indigenous People in Eastern Sicily: Forms of Interaction and Acculturation.” In *Early Societies in Sicily: New Developments in Archaeological Research*, edited by R. Leighton, 167–76. London: Accordia Research Institute.
- . 1996b. “Importazioni Greche Nei Centri Interni della Sicilia in Eta Arcaica: Aspetti Dell’«acculturazione».” In *I Vasi Attici Ed Altre Ceramiche Coeve in Sicilia: Atti del Convegno Internazionale : Catania, Camarina, Gela, Vittoria, 28 Marzo-1 Aprile 1990*, edited by G Rizza et al., 97–111. *Cronache di Archeologia* 29–30. Catania: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, Centro di studio sull’archeologia greca.
- . 1999. “Identità e Confini Etnico-Culturali: La Sicilia Centro-Meridionale.” In *Atti del XXXVII Convegno di Studi Sulla Magna Grecia (Taranto 1997)*. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l’Archeologia della Magna Grecia.
- . 2000. “Necropoli e Società Coloniali: Pratiche Funerarie Aristocratiche a Siracusa in Età Arcaica.” In *Damarato. Studi di Antichità Classica Offerti a Paola Pelagatti*, edited by P Pelagatti et al., 32–38. Milano: Electa.
- . 2003. *Sicani, siculi, elimi: forme di identità, modi di contatto e processi di trasformazione*. Milano: Longanesi.
- . 2004. “Pratiche Funerarie a Siracusa in Età Arcaica: Cremazioni Secondarie in Lebete.” *Κωκάλος. Studi Pubblicati dall’Istituto di Storia Antica dell’Università di Palermo* 46: 75–125.
- . 2005. “Bucchero Etrusco Da Leontinoi.” In *Megalai Nesoi. Studi Dedicati a Giovanni Rizza per Il Suo Ottantesimo Compleanno*, edited by R Gigli, 313–16. Catania: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche I.B.A.M.
- . 2009a. “Il Centro del Mendolito di Adrano: La Produzione Metallurgica.” In *Tra Etna e Simeto: La Ricerca Archeologica Ad Adrano e nel Suo Territorio : Atti Dell’incontro di Studi per Il 50° Anniversario Dell’istituzione del Museo di Adrano, Adrano, 8 Giugno 2005*, edited by G Lamagna, 105–14. Catania: Biblioteca della Provincia Regionale.
- . 2009b. “Lo Spazio Domestico nella Sicilia Indigena Tra La Protostoria e L’eta Arcaica.” *Contributo in Atti di Convegno* 4 (1): 349–62.
- . 2010. “Presenze Indigene in Contesti Coloniali Sicelioti: Sul Problema Degli Indicatori Archeologici.” In *Grecs et Indigènes de La Catalogne À La Mer Noire: Actes Des Rencontres Du Programme Européen Ramses 2 (2006-2008)*, edited by Henri Tréziny, 501–8. Paris: Errance.

- Alberghina, F. 2015. "Piano Dei Casazzi (Mineo, Catania). Data on the Proto-Historic Inhabitation." In *SOMA 2011: Proceedings of the 15th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Held at the University of Catania 3-5 March 2011*, edited by Pietro Maria Militello and Hakan Öniz, 249–52. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Albertocchi, M. 2015. "Considerazioni in Margine Ad Un Deposito Con Resti di Pasto Dal Thesmophorion di Bitalemi a Gela." *Thiasos* 4: 95–107.
- Allegro, N. 1976. *Himera, II: campagne di scavo 1966-1973*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- . 1991. "Il Santuario di Athena Sul Piano di Imera." In *di Terra in Terra: Nuove Scoperte Archeologiche nella Provincia di Palermo*, edited by C.A. di Stefano, 65–83. Palermo: Museo archeologico regionale di Palermo.
- . 2008. *Himera, V: L'abitato, Isolato II. I blocchi 1-4 della zona 1*. Palermo: Dipartimento di beni culturali, Università di Palermo.
- Allegro, N., and S. Fiorentino. 2010. "Ceramica Indigena Dall'abitato di Himera." In *Grecs et Indigènes de La Catalogne À La Mer Noire: Actes Des Rencontres Du Programme Européen Ramses 2 (2006-2008)*, edited by H. Tréziny, 511–19. Paris: Errance.
- Allen, H. L. 1976. "The Effect of Population Movements and Diffusion on Iron Age Morgantina." *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 22: 479–509.
- Allen, H. L. 1970. "Excavations at Morgantina (Serra Orlando), 1967-1969: Preliminary Report 10." *AJA* 74: 359–83.
- . 1977. "Luoghi Sacri di Morgantina." In *Il Tempio Greco in Sicilia. Architettura e Culti*, edited by G Carratelli, 132–39. Cronache di Archeologia 16. Catania: Università di Catania, Istituto di archeologia.
- Ampolo, C. 1989. *Italia: omnium terrarum parens: la civiltà degli Enotri, Choni, Ausoni, Sanniti, Lucani, Brettii, Sicani, Siculi, Elimi*. Milano: Libri Scheiwiller.
- . 2009. "Entella. Le Fasi arcaiche." In *La Sicilia in età arcaica dalle apoikiai al 480 a.C. Contributi dalle recenti indagini archeologiche*, edited by Rosalba Panvini and Lavinia Sole, 303–8. Palermo: Centro Regionale per l'Inventario, la Catalogazione e la Documentazione.
- Anagnostou, H. S. 1979. "S. Angelo Muxaro. Scavo nella Necropoli Meridionale del Colle di S. Angelo." *Cronache di Archeologia* 18: 50–58.
- Ancona, G., G. Bruno, and E. Messina. 2012a. "La Ceramica Pregiata di Importazione nella Polis Greca del VII Sec. a.C. Dagli Scavi del Cortile della Prefettura (Anno 2001)." *Archivio Storico Siracusano* 47: 525–32.
- . 2012b. "Scavo dell'Ex Ospedale Civile di Siracusa: Ambre e Borchie." *Archivio Storico Siracusano* 47: 547–51.

- Ancona, G., and E. Messina. 2003. "La Necropoli Arcaica del Giardino Spagna a Siracusa. Nuove Acquisizioni." In *Studi Classici in Onore di Luigi Bernabò Brea*, edited by G. M. Bacci and M. C. Martinelli, 49–72. Messina: Regione Siciliana, Assessorato Regionale dei Beni Culturali e Ambientali e della Pubblica Istruzione.
- Andersen, H. D., ed. 1997. *Urbanization in the Mediterranean in the 9th to 6th Centuries BC*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.
- d'Andria, F. 1982. "Il Salento nell'VII e VI Sec. A.C. Nuovi Dati Archaeologici." *ASAtene* 60: 101–16.
- Antonaccio, C. 1997. "Urbanism at Archaic Morgantina." In *Urbanism in the Mediterranean in the 9th to 6th Centuries BC*, edited by H. D. Andersen et al., 167–93. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.
- . 1999. "An Inscribed Stele from Archaic Morgantina." *KADMOS* 38 (1): 87–96.
- . 2001. "Ethnicity and Colonization." In *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, edited by I. Malkin, 113–157. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- . 2003. "Hybridity and the Cultures Within Greek Culture." In *The Cultures within Greek Culture: Contact, Conflict, Collaboration*, edited by C. Dougherty and L. Kurke, 57–74. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2004. "Siculo-Geometric and the Sikels: Ceramics and Identity in the Eastern Mediterranean." In *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean: Papers in Honour of Brian Shefton*, edited by K. Lomas, 55–81. Boston: Brill.
- . 2005. "Excavating Colonization." In *Ancient Colonizations. Analogy, Similarity, and Difference*, edited by H. R. Hurst and S. Owen, 97–113. London: Duckworth.
- . 2009. "Redefining Ethnicity: Culture, Material Culture, and Identity." In *Material Culture and Social Identities in the Ancient World*, edited by T. Hodos and S. Hales, 32–53. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2013. "Networking the Middle Ground? The Greek Diaspora, Tenth to Fifth Century BC." *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 28 (1): 241–55.
- . 2015. "Re-Excavating Morgantina." In *Classical Archaeology in Context: Theory and Practice in Excavation in the Greek World*, edited by C. Antonaccio and D. Haggis, 51–69. Boston: De Gruyter.
- Antonaccio, C., and D. Haggis. 2015. "A Contextual Archaeology of Ancient Greece." In *Classical Archaeology in Context: Theory and Practice in Excavation in the Greek World*, 2–20. Boston: De Gruyter.
- Antonaccio, C., and J. Neils. 1995. "A New Graffito from Archaic Morgantina." *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik* 105: 261–77.

- Antonetti, C., and S. De Vido. 2009. "Daedalic Selinuntia II: Osservazioni Sulla Coroplastica Selinuntina d'Eta Tardo-Orientalizzante." In *Temi Selinuntini*, 9–27. Pisa: Edizioni ETS.
- Attema, P. A. J. 2010. *Regional Pathways to Complexity Settlement and Land-Use Dynamics in Early Italy from the Bronze Age to the Republican Period*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Bacci, G. M. 1980. "Ceramica dell'VIII e VII Secolo a.C. a Messina." In *Insedimenti Coloniali Greci in Sicilia nell'VIII e VII Sec. a.C. Atti della II Riunione Scientifica della Scuola di Perfezionamento in Archeologia Classica dell'Università di Catania, Siracusa 1977*, 100–103. *Cronache di Archeologia* 17. Catania: Università di Catania, Istituto di archeologia.
- . 1998. "Zancle: Un Aggiornamento." In *Euboica: L'Eu-bea e La Presenza Eu-boica in Calcidica e in Occidente*, edited by Michel Bats and B D'Agostino, 387–92. Napoli: Centre Jean Berard: Istituto Universitario Orientale.
- . 2008. "Il Deposito Votivo di S. Raineri 'verso La Punta della Zancle.'" *Quaderni di Archeologia. Università di Messina* 11: 31–86.
- Bacci, G. M., and G. Tigano, eds. 1999. *Da Zancle a Messina Un Percorso Archeologico Attraverso Gli Scavi*. Palermo: Regione Siciliana. Assessorato dei beni culturali e ambientali e della pubblica istruzione.
- . 2012. "L'area Sacra dell'isolato Z a Messina e la Ktisis di Zancle." In *Alle Origini della Magna Grecia: Mobilità, Migrazioni, Fondazioni: Atti del Cinquantunesimo Convegno di Studi Sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto, 1-4 Ottobre 2010*, 927–45. Taranto: Istituto per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia.
- Bagnasco, M. 2006. *Da Terravecchia di Grammichele a Occhiola: Archeologia di Un Insediamento della Sicilia Centro-Orientale: Campagne di Scavo 2000-2001*. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.
- Balco Jr, W. M. 2012. "Material Expressions of Social Change: Indigenous Sicilian Responses to External Influences in the First Millennium BC." PhD Thesis, Milwaukee: The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.
- Bartoloni, G., and F. Delpino, eds. 2005. *Oriente e Occidente: metodi e discipline a confronto, riflessioni sulla cronologia dell'età del ferro in Italia: atti dell'Incontro di studi, Roma, 30-31 ottobre 2003*. Pisa: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali.
- Basile, B. 1993. "Indagini Nell'ambito delle Necropoli Siracusane." In *Atti Dell' 8 Congresso Internazionale di Studi Sulla Sicilia Antica*, 1315–42. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider.
- . 2001. "Siracusa: Indagini Archeologiche nel Biennio 2000/2001." *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 47–48: 729–82.
- . 2002. "Il Santuario di Scala Portazza: Prime Indagini." In *Leontini: Il Mare, Il Fiume, La Citta*, edited by M. Frasca, 99–116. Catania: G. Maimone.

- . 2003. “La Costa Nord-Occidentale di Ortigia (Siracusa): Nuovi Dati Dagli Scavi Urbani.” In *Studi Classici in Onore di Luigi Bernabo Brea*, edited by G. M. Bacci and M. C. Martinelli, 295–343. Messina: Regione Siciliana, Assessorato Regionale dei Beni Culturali e Ambientali e della Pubblica Istruzione.
- Bastide, R. 1960. “Problèmes de L’entrecroisement des Civilisations et de Leurs Oeuvres.” In *Traité de Sociologie*, 2: 315–30.
- Bats, M., and B. D’Agostino, eds. 1998. *Euvoica: l’Eubea e La Presenza Euvoica in Calcidica e in Occidente: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Napoli, 13-16 Novembre 1996*. Napoli: Centre Jean Bérard.
- Becker, M. 1986. “An Ethnographical and Archaeological Survey of Unusual Mortuary Procedures as a Reflection of Cultural Diversity. Some Suggestions for the Interpretation of the Human Skeletal Deposits from Excavations at Entella, Sicily, Italy.” *La Parola del Passato* 41 (226): 31–56.
- Belfiore, C. M., G. Barone, and C. Aquilia. 2010. “Western Production of ‘Ionian Cups of Type B2’: A Preliminary Archaeometric Study to Identify Workshops in Eastern Sicily.” *Periodico di Mineralogia* 79 (1): 57–80.
- Belfiore, R. 2000. “Il Centro Abitato Indigeno-Ellenizzato di Piano dei Casazzi (Mineo).” *Sicilia Archeologica* 33 (98): 259–76.
- Belvedere, O. 1980. “Nuovi Aspetti del Problema di Himera Arcaica.” In *Insedimenti Coloniali Greci in Sicilia nell’VIII e VII Sec. a.C. Atti della II Riunione Scientifica della Scuola di Perfezionamento in Archeologia Classica dell’Università di Catania, Siracusa 1977*, 75–89. *Cronache di Archeologia* 17. Catania: Università di Catania, Istituto di archeologia.
- . 2010. “Contatto Culturale e Interrelazioni tra Greci e Indigeni nel Territorio di Himera.” *Bibliothèque d’Archéologie Méditerranéenne et Africaine* 5: 55–62.
- Bennett, M. J., A. J. Paul, M. Iozzo, and B. White. 2002. *Magna Graecia: Greek Art from South Italy and Sicily*. Cleveland: Hudson Mills Press.
- Bergquist, B. 1992. “A Particular Western Greek Cult Practice? The Significance of Stele-Crowned, Sacrificial Deposits.” *Opuscula Atheniensia* 19: 41–47.
- Bernabò Brea, L. 1959. *Mylai*. Novara: Istituto Geografico de Agostino.
- . 1966. *Sicily before the Greeks*. New York: F.A. Praeger.
- . 1967. “La Necropoli di Longane.” *Bullettino di Paleontologia Italiana* 76: 181–254.
- . 1984. “Naxos (Messina).” *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 38–39: 253–497.
- Bettelli, M., C. de Faveri, and Massimo Osanna, eds. 2009. *Prima delle colonie: organizzazione territoriale e produzioni ceramiche specializzate in Basilicata e Calabria settentrionale ionica nella prima età del ferro: atti delle giornate di studio, Matera, 20-21 novembre 2007*. Venosa: Osanna.

- Bhabha, H. K. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Bietti Sestieri, A. M. 1979. "I Processi Storici nella Sicilia Orientale Tra la Tarda Era del Bronzo e La Prima Era del Ferro Sulla Base Dei Dati Archeologici." In *Atti della XXI Riunione Scientifica dell'Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria, Firenze 21-23 Ottobre 1977*, 599–628. Firenze: Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria.
- Biondi, G. 2005. "Cretese O Siceliota? Il Caso di Un Pithos Orientalizzante di Gela." In *Megalai Nesoi. Studi Dedicati a Giovanni Rizza per Il Suo Ottantesimo Compleanno*, edited by R Gigli, 307–11. Catania: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche I.B.A.M.
- Blake, E. 2013. "Social Networks, Path Dependence, and the Rise of Ethnic Groups in Pre-Roman Italy." In *Network Analysis in Archaeology New Approaches to Regional Interaction*, edited by Carl Knappett, 203–21. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Boardman, J. 1999. *The Greeks Overseas: Their Early Colonies and Trade*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- . 2004. "Copies of Pottery: By and for Whom?" In *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean: Papers in Honour of Brian Shefton*, edited by K Lomas, 149–62. Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca Classica Batava. Supplementum 246. Leiden: Brill.
- Bonacasa, N. 1981. "Il Problema Archeologico di Himera." *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e Delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente* 59: 319–41.
- . 1986. *Himera: zona archeologica e Antiquarium*. Palermo: Assessorato Regionale Beni Culturali Ambientali e P.I. Soprintendenza Archeologica della Sicilia Occidentale.
- Bonanno, C. 1997. "Recenti Esplorazioni a Pizzo Lando nel Territorio di Barcellona P.G." *Κοκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 43 (2): 375–99.
- Bongiorno, C. M. 2015. "The Fortified Settlement at Mura Pregne: An Indigenous Site close to the Greek Chora of Himera." In *SOMA 2011: Proceedings of the 15th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Held at the University of Catania 3-5 March 2011*, edited by Pietro Maria Militello and Hakan Ö niz, 507–10. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Bradley, G. J., E. Isayev, and C. Riva, eds. 2007. *Ancient Italy: Regions without Boundaries*. Exeter, UK: University of Exeter Press.
- Brijder, A. G., ed. 1984. *Ancient Greek and related pottery: proceedings of the International Vase Symposium in Amsterdam, 12-15 April 1984*. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum.
- Brisart, T. 2011. *Un art citoyen: recherches sur l'orientalisation des artisanats en Grèce proto-archaïque*. Bruxelles: Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres.
- Brocato, Paolo. 2011. *La necropoli enotria di Macchiabate a Francavilla Marittima (Cs): appunti per un riesame degli scavi*. Arcavacata di Rende: Università della Calabria.

- Bruyneel, K. 2007. *The Third Space of Sovereignty: The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.-Indigenous Relations*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Buchner, C. 1979. "Early Orientalizing: Aspects of the Euboean Connection." In *Italy Before the Romans: The Iron Age, Orientalizing and Etruscan Period*, edited by D. Ridgway and F. R. Ridgway, 129–44. London: Academic Press.
- Buchner, G., and D. Ridgway. 1993. *Pithekoussai*. Roma: G. Bretschneider.
- Burgers, G.J., and J.P. Crielaard. 2016. "The Migrant's Identity. 'Greeks' and 'Natives' at L'Amastuola, Southern Italy." In *Conceptualising Early Colonisation*, edited by L. Donnellan, V. Nizzo, and G.J. Burgers, 225–38. Bruxelles: Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome.
- Burgio, A. 1993. "Cinturoni di bronzo da Terravecchia di Cuti." *Bollettino d'arte* 77: 47–54.
- Burkert, W. 1992. *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Buscemi Felici, G., and A. Patane. 1997. "Scavi e Ricerche a Catania, Licodia Eubea, Grammichele, Ramacca." *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 43–44 (II, 1): 189–231.
- Caccamo Caltabiano, M., ed. 1985. *Greci e indigeni nella valle dell'Himera: scavi a Monte Saraceno di Ravanusa; Università di Messina - Aula Magna, 14 aprile - 9 maggio 1985*. Palermo: Regione siciliana, Assessorato dei beni culturali e ambientali e della P. I.
- Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard. 1982. *La Céramique Grecque Ou de Tradition Grecque Au VIIIe Siècle En Italie Centrale et Méridionale*. Cahiers Du Centre Jean Bérard 3. Naples: Centre Jean Bérard.
- Calderone, A. 1980a. "Ricerche Nell'abitato di Monte Saraceno." *Cronache di Archeologia* 19: 101–11.
- . 1980b. "Monte Saraceno Scavi Dell'abitato nel Biennio 1978-79." *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 26–27: 601–12.
- . 1984. "Monte Saraceno di Ravanusa. Abitato del Terrazzo Inferiore." *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 30–31: 529–38.
- . 1996. *Monte Saraceno di Ravanusa: un ventennio di ricerche e studi*. Messina: Sicania.
- Calderone, S. 1980. "Problemi Storici Relativi Alle Apoikiai Siceliote in Eta Protoarcaica." In *Inseguimenti Coloniali Greci in Sicilia nell'VIII e VII Sec. a.C. Atti della II Riunione Scientifica della Scuola di Perfezionamento in Archeologia Classica dell'Università di Catania, Siracusa 1977*, 11–22. *Cronache di Archeologia* 17. Catania: Università di Catania, Istituto di archeologia.

- Camera, M. 2012. "Greci e Indigeni nella Sicilia Sud-Orientale: Una Lettura Attraverso La Documentazione Ceramica." In *Ricerche e Attività del Corso Internazionalizzato di Archeologia. Catania, Varsavia, Konya 2009-2012, Syndesmoi 3*, edited by P. Militello and M. Camera, 121–28. Palermo: Officina di Studi Medievali.
- . 2013. "La Ceramica della Facies di Licodia Eubea." *Quaderni di Archeologia. Università di Messina* 3: 109–22.
- . 2015a. "Licodia Eubea-Style-Some Remarks." In *SOMA 2011: Proceedings of the 15th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Held at the University of Catania 3-5 March 2011*, edited by P. M. Militello and H. Öniz, 511–16. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- . 2015b. "'Sikelo-Geometric' Pottery between Indigenous Tradition and Greek Influences." In *Keramos. Ceramics: A Cultural Approach. Proceedings of the First International Conference at Ege University, May 9-13, 2011, İzmir*, edited by R. Gürtekin-Demir et al., 50–60. Izmir: Bilgin Kültür Sanat Yayınları.
- Campisi, L. 1997. "La Montagnola di Marineo. La Ceramica Indigena a Decorazione Dipinta." In *Archeologia e Territorio*, edited by A. Antona, 147–52. Palermo: G.B. Palumbo.
- Caputo, G. 1938. "Tre Xoana e Il Culto di Una Sorgente Sulfurea in Territorio Gelo-Agrigentino." *Monumenti Antichi* 37: 585–684.
- Caputo, G. 1971. "Il triscele arcaico di Bitalemi di Gela e Castellazzo di Palma: ipotesi dell'origine minoica e della formazione rodio-cretese." *Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Rendiconti* 8 (26): 3–9.
- Carbè, A., et al. 2011. *Siracusa: Immagine e Storia di Una Città; per Lo Studio Delle Fonti Letterarie, Epigrafiche e Numismatiche e della Storia della Ricerca Archeologica*. Edited by C. Ampolo and G. Voza. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale.
- Carter, J. 2006. *Discovering the Greek Countryside at Metaponto*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.
- Caruso, D., and A. Caruso. 2004. *Sicania: il sito sicano di Colle Madore: dalla leggenda alla realtà*. Catania: [s.n.].
- Castellana, G. 1980. "Indigeni Ad Himera?" *Sicilia Archeologica* XIII: 71–76.
- . 1982. "Nuove Ricognizioni nel Territorio di Palma di Montechiaro (Agrigento)." *Sicilia Archeologica* 15 (49): 81–102.
- . 1983. "Nuove Ricognizioni nel Territorio di Palma di Montechiaro (Agrigento)." *Sicilia Archeologica* XVI: 119–46.
- . 1988. "L'insediamento di Montagnoli Nei Pressi di Selinunte. Un Contributo per La Conoscenza Delle Poblazioni Anelleniche Lungo Il Corso Finale del Belice." *Archivio Storico Siciliano* 1: 325–33.



- . 1993. “Ricerche nel Territorio di Palma di Montechiaro, Ribera, Menfi e Favara.” *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall’Istituto di Storia Antica dell’Università di Palermo* 39–40 (April): 735–53.
- . 2000. “Nuovi Dati Sull’insediamento di Montagnoli Presso Menfi.” In *Terze Giornate Internazionali di Studi Sull’area Elima. Ghibellina - Erice - Contessa Entellina, 23 - 26 Ottobre 1997. Atti*, 263–71. Pisa: Gibellina: Scuola normale superiore.
- Cavallari, F. S. 1887. “Lentini – Rapporto del. Prof. F. Saverio Cavallari.” *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, 301–4.
- Cébeillac-Gervasoni, M. 1975. “Les Necropoles de Megara Hyblaea.” *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall’Istituto di Storia Antica dell’Università di Palermo* 21: 3–36.
- . 1976. “Une Étude Systématique Sur Les Nécropoles de Megara Hyblaea. L’exemple D’une Partie de La Nécropole Méridionale.” *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall’Istituto di Storia Antica dell’Università di Palermo* 22: 587–97.
- Ciurcina, C. 1977. “Nuovi Rivestimenti Fittili Da Naxos e Da Altri Centri della Sicilia Orientale.” *Cronache di Archeologia* 16: 66–81.
- . 2000. “Notizie Preliminari Delle Ricerche Archeologiche nel Cortile della Prefettura a Siracusa. Anni 1996 - 1998.” In *Damarato. Studi di Antichità Classica Offerti a Paola Pelagatti*, edited by P. Pelagatti et al., 86–91. Milano: Electa.
- Congiu, M. 2009. “Monte Raffè di Mussomeli. Considerazioni topografiche dalle nuove indagini.” In *Eis akra: insediamenti d’altura in Sicilia dalla preistoria al III sec. a.C.: atti del V Convegno di studi*, 117–47. Caltanissetta: S. Sciascia.
- . 2015. “The Necropoleis of Gela: Updated Researches and Topographical Observation.” In *SOMA 2011: Proceedings of the 15th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Held at the University of Catania 3-5 March 2011*, edited by P. M. Militello and H. Ö niz, 529–34. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Congresso L’ipogeismo nel Mediterraneo, ed. 2000. *L’ipogeismo nel Mediterraneo: origini, sviluppo, quadri culturali : atti del Congresso internazionale : Sassari-Oristano, 23-28 maggio 1994*. Sassari: Università degli studi di Sassari,.
- Cooper, J. M. 2008. “Traditions in Profile: A Chronological Sequence of Western Sicilian Ceramics (7th-6th C. BC).” Dissertation, Buffalo: State University of New York at Buffalo.
- Cordano, F., and M. di Salvatore, eds. 2002. *Il Guerriero di Castiglione di Ragusa: greci e siculi nella Sicilia sud-orientale : atti del Seminario, Milano, 15 maggio 2000*. Roma: L’Erma di Bretschneider.
- Corinto e L’occidente: Atti del Trentaquattresimo Convegno di Studi Sulla Magna Grecia : Taranto, 7-11 Ottobre 1994*. 1997. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l’Archeologia della Magna Grecia.

- Crielaard, J. P, and G. J. van Wijngaarden, eds. 1999. *The Complex Past of Pottery: Production, Circulation and Consumption of Mycenaean and Greek Pottery (Sixteenth to Early Fifth Centuries BC): Proceedings of the ARCHON International Conference, Held in Amsterdam, 8-9 November 1996*. Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben.
- Crielaard, J. P. 1999. "Production, Circulation and Consumption of Early Iron Age Greek Pottery (Eleventh to Seventh Centuries BC)." In *The Complex Past of Pottery: Production, Circulation and Consumption of Mycenaean and Greek Pottery (16th to Early 5th Centuries BC)*, edited by J. P. Crielaard, G. J. van Wijngaarden, and V. Stissi, 49–81. Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben.
- Crowley, J. L. 1990. "Heritage and Colonization-An Iconographic Analysis." In *Greek Colonists and Native Populations: Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology Held in Honour of Emeritus Professor A.D. Trendall, Sydney, 9-14 July 1985*, edited by J.-P. Descoedres, 207–15. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Cultrera, G. 1943. "Siracusa: Scoperte nel Giardino Spagna." *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 4: 33–126.
- Cutroni Tusa, A. 1963. "Osservazioni Sui Bronzetti di Castronovo. Contributo Agli Studi Sull'origine della Moneta." *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 9: 129–36.
- . 1971. "Chiarificazioni Sui Lettucci-Astragali di Castronovo." *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 17: 49–54.
- D'Agostino, B. 1977. "Tombe principesche dell'orientalizzante antico da Pontecagnano." *Monumenti antichi. Serie miscellanea* II (1): 1–74.
- . 2011. "Pithecusae e Cuma nel Quadro della Campania di Età Arcaica." *Mitteilungen Des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 17: 35–53.
- Danner, P. 1997. "Megara, Megara Hyblaea and Selinus: The Relationship between the Town Planning of a Mother City, a Colony and a Sub-Colony in the Archaic Period." *Urbanization in the Mediterranean in the 9th to 6th Centuries BC* 7: 143–65.
- De Angelis, F. 2000. "Archaeology in Sicily, 1996-2000." *Archaeological Reports* 47: 145–201.
- . 2003. *Megara Hyblaia and Selinous: The Development of Two Greek City-States in Archaic Sicily*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2004. "Equations of Culture: The Meeting of Natives and Greeks in Sicily (Ca. 750-450 BC)." *Ancient West and East* 3 (1): 19–50.
- . 2006. "Archaeology in Sicily, 2001-2005." *Archaeological Reports* 53: 123–90.
- . 2010. "Ancient Greek Colonization in the 21st Century: Some Suggested Directions." *Bollettino di Archeologia Online*, 18–30.

- . 2011. “Archaeology in Sicily, 2006-2010.” *Archaeological Reports* 58: 123–195.
- . 2016. *Archaic and Classical Greek Sicily: A Social and Economic History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- De Cesare, M. 2009. “Lo Scarico di Grotta Vanella a Segesta: Revisione di Un Problema.” In *Ceramica Attica Da Santuari della Grecia, della Ionia e dell'Italia. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Perugia 14-17 Marzo 2007*, edited by S. Fortunelli and C. Masseria, 639–656. Venosa: Osanna.
- De Cesare, M., and A. Serra. 2012. “Per Un Riesame della Documentazione Materiale Dello Scarico di Grotta Vanella a Segesta.” In *Sicilia Occidentale. Studi, Rassegne, Ricerche*, edited by C. Ampolo, 261–74. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale.
- de Domenico, C. 2012. “Le Tombe a Camera di Monte Iudica - Una Necropoli di Tradizione Indigena nella Chora di Leontinoi.” *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università di Siena* 33: 49–83.
- De Franciscis, A. 1979. *Il santuario di Marasà in Locri Epizefiri*. Napoli: G. Macchiaroli.
- De Miro, E. 1962. “La Fondazione di Agrigento e L’ellenizzazione del Territorio fra il Salso e il Platani.” *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall’Istituto di Storia Antica dell’Università di Palermo*, 8.1962 8: 122–52.
- . 1975. “Nuovi Dati del Problema Relativo All’ellenizzazione Dei Centri Indigeni nella Sicilia Centro-Occidentale.” *Bollettino D’arte* 60: 123–29.
- . 1977. “Nuovi Santuari Ad Agrigento e a Sabucina.” *Cronache di Archeologia e di Storia Dell’arte* 16: 94–104.
- . 1980. “Ricerche Archeologiche nella Sicilia Centro-Meridionale.” *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall’Istituto di Storia Antica dell’Università di Palermo* 26–27: 561–80.
- . 1983a. “Forme di Contatto e Processi di Trasformazione Nelle Società Antiche. Esempio Da Sabucina.” In *Modes de Contacts et Processus de Transformation Dans Les Sociétés Anciennes. Actes Du Colloque de Cortone (24-30 Mai 1981), Organisé Par La Scuola Normale Superiore et l’Ecole Française de Rome Avec La Collaboration Du Centre de Recherches D’histoire Ancienne de l’Université de Besançon*, 335–42. Rome: Scuola Normale Superiore (Pisa).
- . 1983b. “Gela Protoarcaica. Dati Storico-Artistici.” *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e Delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente* 61: 73–104.
- . 1985. “Ricerche a Monte Saraceno Presso Ravanusa (Agrigento).” In *Scavi e Ricerche Archeologiche Degli Anni 1976 - 1979*, 149–66. Quaderni de La Ricerca Scientifica 112. Roma: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche.
- . 1988. “Polizzello. Centro della Sicania.” *Quaderni di Archeologia. Università di Messina* 3: 25–44, Abb. Taf.

- . 1991. “Eredita Egeo-Micenee e Alto Arcaismo in Sicilia. Nuove Ricerche.” In *La Transizione Dal Miceneo All’alto Arcaismo. Dal Palazzo Alla Città. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Roma 14-19 Marzo 1988*, edited by D. Musti et al., 593–617. Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.
- De Miro, E, and G. Fiorentini. 1980. “Gela Nell’ VIII e VII Secolo a.C.” In *Insedimenti Coloniali Greci in Sicilia nell’VIII e VII Sec. a.C. Atti della II Riunione Scientifica della Scuola di Perfezionamento in Archeologia Classica dell’Università di Catania, Siracusa 1977*, 90–99. Cronache di Archeologia 17. Catania: Università di Catania, Istituto di archeologia.
- De Puma, Richard, R. 1986. “Orientalising Jewellery from the Tomba Galeassi at Palestrina.” In *Italian Iron Age Artefacts: In the British Museum: Papers of the Sixth British Museum Classical Colloquium*, edited by J. Swaddling, 383–87. London: British Museum Publications.
- De Vido, S. 1997. *Gli Elimi: storie di contatti e di rappresentazioni*. Pisa: Scuola normale superiore.
- Dehl-von Kaenel, C. 1995. *Die archaische Keramik aus dem Malophoros-Heiligtum in Selinunt: die korinthischen, lakonischen, ostgriechischen, etruskischen und megarischen Importe sowie die “argivisch-monochrome” und lokale Keramik aus den alten Grabungen*. Berlin: Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Demetriou, D. 2011. “What Is an Emporion? A Reassessment.” *Historia* 60 (3): 255–72.
- Denti, A. 1980. “Monte Saraceno di Ravanusa. Necropoli-Scavi nella Necropoli Occidentale (Anni 1978 e 1979).” *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall’Istituto di Storia Antica dell’Università di Palermo* 26–27: 620–42.
- . 1989. “Monte Saraceno di Ravanusa (Agrigento), Necropoli Orientale. Scavi 1985-1988.” *Quaderni di Archeologia. Università di Messina* 4: 13–28.
- Denti, M. 2008. “La Circulation de La Céramique Du « Wild Goat Style » (MWGS I), de La Mer Noire À L’occident. Les Contextes de Réception et de Destination.” *Revue Archéologique* 1: 3–36.
- Deschler-Erb, E., P. della Casa, and C. Tarditi. 2015. “Metal Finds from the Votive Deposits of the Archaic Sanctuary of Bitalemi, Sicily: Typological and Quantitative Remarks.” In *New Research on Ancient Bronzes. Acta of the XVIIIth International Congress on Ancient Bronzes*, 43–50. Zurigo: Chronos Verlag.
- Dewailly, M. 1992. *Les statuettes aux parures du sanctuaire de la Malophoros à Sélinonte: contexte, typologie et interprétation d’une catégorie d’offrandes*. Naples: Centre Jean Bérard.
- di Stefano, C. A. 1987 “Il Territorio di Camarina in Età Arcaica.” *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall’Istituto di Storia Antica dell’Università di Palermo* 33: 129–201.
- . 1991. *di Terra in Terra : Nuove Scoperte Archeologiche nella Provincia di Palermo*. Palermo: Museo archeologico regionale di Palermo.

- . 2006. “La Necropoli Greca di Castiglione: Notizie Preliminari.” In *Camarina: 2600 Anni Dopo La Fondazione: Nuovi Studi Sulla Città e Sul Territorio*, edited by P. Pelagatti, 359–66. Ragusa: Centro studi Feliciano Rossitto.
- . 2009. “Kamarina Arcaica.” In *La Sicilia in Età Arcaica. Dalle Apoikiai Al 480 a.C. Contributi Dalle Recenti Indagini Archeologiche*, edited by R. Panvini and L. Sole, 225–28. Palermo: Centro Regionale per l’Inventario, la Catalogazione e la Documentazione.
- . 2010. “Principi Greci e Comunità Sicule in Età Storica in Sicilia. Indicatori Funerari Aristocratici.” *Bollettino di Archeologia Online* 1: 47–54.
- di Stefano, G. 1979. *La Sicilia nella storiografia dell’ultimo trentennio: atti del congresso di Mazara*. Mazara del Vallo: Istituto di storia del Vallo di Mazara.
- . 2012. “Convivenza e Ostentazione. Tombe ‘aristocratiche’ Greche Nei Centri Siculi. I Casi Dell’entroterra di Camarina.” *Aristonothos. Scritti per il Mediterraneo Antico* 0 (7): 255–80.
- di Vita, A. 1951. “Comiso: Esplorazione Parziale di Una Necropoli Sicula del IV Periodo in Contrada Castiglione.” *Κωκάλος. Studi Pubblicati dall’Istituto di Storia Antica dell’Università di Palermo* 5: 335–60.
- . 1956a. “La Penetrazione Siracusana nella Sicilia Sud-Orientale Alla Luce Delle Più Recenti Scoperte Archeologiche.” *Κωκάλος. Studi Pubblicati dall’Istituto di Storia Antica dell’Università di Palermo* 2: 177–205.
- . 1956b. “Recenti Scoperte Archeologiche in Provincia di Ragusa.” *Archivio Storico Siracusano* 2: 30–44.
- di Vita, A. and M. A. Rizzo, eds. 2015. *La Necropoli di Rito Ed Altre Necropoli Greche Presso Ibla Heraia*. Bibliotheca Archaeologica 51. Roma: “L’Erma” di Bretschneider.
- Dietler, M. 1998. “Consumption, agency, and cultural entanglement: Theoretical implications of a Mediterranean colonial encounter.” In *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology*, edited by J. Cusick, 288–315. Carbondale: Center for Archaeological Investigations.
- . 2010. *Archaeologies of Colonialism: Consumption, Entanglement, and Violence in Ancient Mediterranean France*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Domínguez, A. J. 2004. “Greek Identity in the Phocaeen Colonies.” In *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean: Papers in Honour of Brian Shefton*, edited by K. Lomas, 429–56. Mnemosyne Supplementum 246. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2006. “Greeks in Sicily.” In *Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas*, edited by G.R. Tsetschladze and A.J. Graham, 253–357. 1. Leiden: Brill.

- Dommelin, P. van. 2006. "The Orientalizing Phenomenon: Hybridity and Material Culture in the Western Mediterranean." In *Debating Orientalization. Multidisciplinary Approaches to Change in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by C. Riva and N. C Vella, 135–52. London: Equinox Publishing.
- Donnellan, L. 2016. "A Networked View on 'Euboean' Colonisation." In *Conceptualising Early Colonisation*, edited by L Donnellan, V Nizzo, and G.J. Burgers, 149–66. Bruxelles: Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome.
- Donnellan, L, and V Nizzo. 2016. "Conceptualising Early Greek Colonisation. Introduction to the Volume." In *Conceptualising Early Colonisation*, edited by L Donnellan, V Nizzo, and G.J. Burgers, 9–20. Bruxelles: Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome.
- Dougherty, C. 1993. *The Poetics of Colonization: From City to Text in Archaic Greece*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dougherty, C, and L. Kurke, eds. 2003. *The Cultures within Ancient Greek Culture: Contact, Conflict, Collaboration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Duday, H. 2006. "La Tombe 12/99 de La Necropole de Castiglione: Une Relecture Des Pratiques Funeraires a La Lumiere Des Donnees Anthropologiques." In *Camarina: 2600 Anni Dopo La Fondazione : Nuovi Studi Sulla Città e Sul Territorio*, edited by P. Pelagatti, 367–76. Ragusa: Centro studi Feliciano Rossitto.
- Dunbabin, T. J. 1948. *The Western Greeks: The History of Sicily and South Italy from the Foundation of the Greek Colonies to 480 B.C.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Edlund-Berry, I. E. M., G. Greco, and J. Kenfield, eds. 2006. *Deliciae fictiles III: architectural terracottas in ancient Italy : new discoveries and interpretations : proceedings of the international conference held at the American Academy in Rome, November 7-8, 2002*. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Epifanio, E. 1984. "Terravecchia di Cuti. Scavi nel Santuario Extraurbano in Contrada Cuti, 1980 e 1982." *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 30: 651–53.
- Eren, K. 2015. "Ionian Sanctuaries and the Mediterranean World in the 7th Century BC." In *SOMA 2011: Proceedings of the 15th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Held at the University of Catania 3-5 March 2011*, edited by P. M. Militello and H. Öviz, 321–28. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Esposito, A. 2010. *La Méditerranée au VIIe siècle av. J.-C.: essais d'analyses archéologiques*. Paris: De Boccard.
- Falsone, G., A. Leonard Jr., and A. Fresina. 1980. "Quattro Campagne di Scavo a Castellazzo di Poggioreale." *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 26 (January): 931–72.

- Fatta, V. 1983. *La ceramica geometrica di Sant'Angelo Muxaro: analisi e classificazione della collezione del Museo di Palermo*. Palermo: Fondazione Giuseppe Whitaker.
- Feldman, M. H. 2014. *Communities of Style: Portable Luxury Arts, Identity, and Collective Memory in the Iron Age Levant*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Ferrara, B. 2009. *Acropoli di Gela: una nuova stipe per Atena*. Pozzuoli: Naus.
- Fidio, P. de. 1994. "Corinto e L'Occidente Tra VIII e VI Secolo A.C." In *Corinto e l'Occidente: Atti del Trentaquattresimo Convegno di Studi Sulla Magna Grecia: Taranto 7-11 Ottobre 1994*, 47–142. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia.
- Fiorentini, G. 1977. "Sacelli Sull'acropoli di Gela e a Monte Adranone nella Valle del Belice." *Cronache di Archeologia* 16: 105–14.
- . 1980. "L'attività della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Agrigento Dal 1976 Al 1980." *Beni Culturali e Ambientali Sicilia* 1 (1–4): 113–37.
- . 1985. "La Necropoli Indigena di Eta Greca di Valle Oscura (Marianopoli)." *Quaderni di Archeologia. Università di Messina*. 1: 31–54.
- . 1987. "Gela. Area del 'Bosco Littorio.'" *Beni Culturali e Ambientali Sicilia* IX–X (August): 23–26.
- Fitzjohn, M. 2011. "Constructing Identity in Iron Age Sicily." In *Communicating Identity in Italic Iron Age Communities*, edited by Margarita Gleba and H.W. Horsnaes, 73–89. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Fletcher, R. 2012. "Opening the Mediterranean : Assyria, the Levant and the Transformation of Early Iron Age Trade." *Antiquity* 86 (331): 211–20.
- François, V. 1969. "Mégara Hyblaea, IX : Les Problèmes de l'Agora et de La Cité Archaique." *Mélanges D'archéologie et D'histoire* 81 (1): 7–35.
- Frasca, M. 1979. "Nuovi Rinvenimenti nella Necropoli del Monte Finocchito (Noto)." *Sicilia Archeologica* 11 (39): 79–92.
- . 1981. *La necropoli di Monte Finocchito: estratto da contributi alla conoscenza dell'età del Ferro in Sicilia, Monte Finocchito e Polizzello*. Catania: Università di Catania, Istituto di archeologia.
- . 1983. "Una Nuova Capanna Sicula a Siracusa, in Ortigia. Tipologia Dei Materiali." *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Antiquité* 95: 565–98.
- . 1996. "Iron Age Settlements and Cemeteries in Southeastern Sicily: A Short Review." In *Early Societies in Sicily: New Developments in Archaeological Research*, edited by R. Leighton, 139–45. London: Accordia Research Institute.
- . 1997. "e Anonima La Città Siculo-Greca di Monte San Mauro di Caltagirone?" *La Parola del Passato* 52: 407–17.

- . 2001. “Monte San Mauro di Caltagirone–Quattro Tombe di Un Nucleo Aristocratico nel VI Secolo a.C.” *Bollettino D’arte* 117: 1–26.
- . 2009a. *Leontinoi: archeologia di una colonia greca*. Roma: G. Bretschneider.
- . 2009b. “Monte San Mauro di Caltagirone. Il Colle 1-2.” In *La Sicilia in Età Arcaica. Dalle Apoikiai al 480 a.C. Contributi Dalle Recenti Indagini Archeologiche*, edited by R. Panvini and L. Sole, 97–98. Palermo: Centro Regionale per l’Inventario, la Catalogazione e la Documentazione.
- . 2012a. “Greci a Monte San Mauro di Caltagirone.” In *Ricerche e Attività del Corso Internazionalizzato di Archeologia Catania, Varsavia, Konya 2009 - 2012*, edited by P. Militello and M. Camera, 107–19. Palermo: Officina di Studi Medievali.
- . 2012b. “Siculi e Greci Sui Colli di Leontinoi: Un Aggiornamento.” *Aristonothos* 7: 175–93.
- . 2015. “Grey Ware in Sicily, Between East and West.” In *Keramos. Ceramics: A Cultural Approach. Proceedings of the First International Conference at Ege University May 9-13, 2011*, edited by R. G. Gürtekin-Demir et al., 83–91. Ankara: Bilgin Kultur Sanat.
- . 2016. “Interazione Tra Greci e Indigeni nella Sicilia Orientale Il Caso Leontinoi.” *Colophon. Belgisch Historisch Instituut Rome*.
- Frasca, M., and P. Pelagatti. 1996. “Monte Casasia (Ragusa): campagne di scavo 1966, 1972-73 nella necropoli indigena.” *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 9 (5/6): 323–583.
- Frederiksen, R. 1999. “From Death to Life: The Cemetery of Fusco and the Reconstruction of Early Colonial Society.” In *Ancient Greeks West and East*, edited by G. R. Tsetskhladze, 229–65. Leiden, Netherlands; Boston: Brill.
- Gabba, E., and G. Vallet. 1980. “Catania: Stipe Votiva.” In *Citta Greche e Indigene di Sicilia: Documenti e Storia*, 3:537–43. La Sicilia Antica 1. Napoli: Storia di Napoli e della Sicilia Soc. Ed.
- Gabrics, E. 1925. “Polizzello. Abitato Preistorico Presso Mussomeli.” *Atti della Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Belle Arti di Palermo* XIV: 3–11.
- Gadoulou, A., N. Tsirliganis, A. Sakalis, and D. Tsiafakis. 2011. *Thapsos-Class Ware Reconsidered: The Case of Achaea in the Northern Peloponnese: Pottery Workshop or Pottery Style?* Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Gentili, G. V. 1951. “Siracusa: Le Tombe Arcaiche Ed I Loro Materiali.” *Κωκάλος. Studi Pubblicati dall’Istituto di Storia Antica dell’Università di Palermo* 5: 298–334.
- . 1954a. “Megara Hyblaea: Scoperta di Nuove Tombe Arcaiche della Necropolis Meridionale.” *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 8: 390–402.



- . 1954b. “Megara Hyblaea (Siracusa): Tombe Arcaiche e Reperti Sporadici nella Proprietà della ‘Rasiom’ e Tomba Arcaica in Predio Vinci.” *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 8: 80–113.
- . 1956. “Siracusa. Contributo Alla Topografia Dell’antica Città.” *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 10: 94–194.
- . 1961. “Calascibetta, Contrada Quattrocchi. Tombe Sicule a Camera del Tipo Licodia.” *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 15: 201–22.
- . 1969. “Piazza Armerina. Le Anonime Città di Montagna di Marzo e di Monte Navone.” *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 23 (2): 1–108.
- Germanà, G. 2011. “Necropoli e Società Aristocratica a Siracusa Durante L’età Arcaica.” In *Dalla Nascita Alla Morte: Antropologia e Archeologia a Confronto, Atti dell’Incontro Internazionale di Studi in Onore di Claude Lévi-Strauss, Roma, Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico “Luigi Pigorini”, 21 Maggio 2010*, edited by V. Nizzo, 689–99. Antropologia e Archeologia a Confronto 1. Roma: E.S.S.
- Giglio Cerniglia, R., et al. 2012. “Nuove Ricerche a Castellazzo di Poggioreale. Campagne 2008-2009.” In *Sicilia Occidentale. Studi, Rassegne, Ricerche*, edited by C. Ampolo, 239–50. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale.
- Gleba, M., and H. W Horsnaes. 2011. *Communicating Identity in Italic Iron Age Communities*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Graham, A. J. 2001a. *Collected Papers on Greek Colonization*. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2001b. “Commercial Exchanges Between Greeks and Natives.” In *Collected Papers on Greek Colonization*, 45-56. Boston: Brill.
- . 2001c. “Megara Hyblaea and the Sicels.” In *Collected Papers on Greek Colonization*, 149–64. Leiden; Boston: Brill Academic Publishing.
- Gras, M. 1975. “Nécropole et Histoire: Quelques Réflexions À Propos de Megara Hyblaea.” *Κοκκαλός. Studi Pubblicati dall’Istituto di Storia Antica dell’Università di Palermo* 21: 37–53.
- . 1997. *Il Mediterraneo nell’età arcaica*. Paestum: Fondazione Paestum.
- . 2002. “Périples Culturels Entre Carthage, La Grèce et La Sicile Au VIIIe Siècle Av. J. C.” In *Identités et Cultures Dans Le Monde Méditerranéen Antique*, edited by C. Müller et al., 183–98. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonn.
- Gras, M., and H. Duday. 2012. “La Necropoli Meridionale di Megara Hyblaea. Storiografia, Archeologia, Antropologia Biologica.” *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti* 85: 27–62.
- Gras, M., H. Treziny, and H. Broise. 2005. *Mégara Hyblaea. 5, La Ville Archaique, L’espace Urbain D’une Cité Grecque de Sicile Orientale*. Rome: Ecole Francaise de Rome.

- Grasso, L. 1998. *Stipe Votiva del Santuario di Demetra a Catania 1: Kotylai e Coppe Corinzie Figurate*. Catania: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche Centro di Studio sull'Archeologia Greca.
- . 2008. *La stipe del santuario di Alaimo a Lentini: un'area sacra tra la chora e il mare*. Catania: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche IBAM.
- . 2009. "Il Santuario di Alaimo a Lentini (Sicilia)." *Il Santuario di Alaimo a Lentini (Sicilia)* 6: 1–18.
- Greco, E. 1999. "Siculi Ed Enotri. Tra Analogie e Differenze." In *La Colonisation Grecque En Méditerranée Occidentale. Actes de La Rencontre Scientifique, Rome - Naples 15 - 18 Novembre 1995*, edited by G. Vallet, 281–92. Paris: Ecole française de Rome.
- Greco, E., F. Spatafora, and S. Vassallo. 1997. *Archeologia e Territorio*. Palermo: G.B. Palumbo.
- Gubel, E. 2006. "Notes on the Phoenician Component of the Orientalizing Horizon." In *Debating Orientalization. Multidisciplinary Approaches to Change in the Ancient Mediterranean*, 85–93. London: Equinox Publishing.
- Guglielmino, Riccardo. 1992. "Entella. La Necropoli A: Nuovi Dati." In *Giornate Internazionali di Studi Sull'area Elima, Gibellina 19 - 22 Settembre 1991. Atti*, 371–378. Gibellina: Centro Studi e Documentazione sull' Area Elima.
- . 1994. "La Necropoli di Entella." In *Necropoles et Societes Antiques (Grece, Italie, Languedoc): Actes Du Colloque International Du Centre de Recherches Archéologiques de L'université de Lille III (Lille, 2-3 Décembre 1991)*, 203–19. Naples: Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard.
- . 1997. "Materiali Arcaici e Problemi di Ellenizzazione Ad Entella." In *Seconde Giornate Internazionali di Studi Sull'area Elima, Gibellina 22 - 26 Ottobre 1994. Atti*, 923–78. Pisa: Centro studi e documentazione sull'area elima.
- Gulli, D. 1991. "La Necropoli Indigena di Eta Greca di Vassallaggi (S. Cataldo)." *Quaderni di Archeologia. Università di Messina* 6: 23–42.
- . 2009a. "Casteltermini." In *La Sicilia in età arcaica dalle apoikiai al 480 a.C. Contributi dalle recenti indagini archeologiche*, edited by Rosalba Panvini and Lavinia Sole, 253–58. Palermo: Centro Regionale per l'Inventario, la Catalogazione e la Documentazione.
- . 2009b. "I Modellini di Capanna a Pianta Circolare di Casteltermini." In *La Sicilia in Età Arcaica Dalle Apoikiai Al 480 a.C. Contributi Dalle Recenti Indagini Archeologiche*, edited by R. Panvini and L. Sole, 259–65. Palermo: Centro Regionale per l'Inventario, la Catalogazione e la Documentazione.
- Gullini, G. 1981. "Origini Dell'architettura Greca in Occidente." *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e Delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente* 59: 97–126.
- Gunter, A. C. 2009. *Greek Art and the Orient*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Guzzardi, L. 1997. "L'Attività della Soprintendenza Ai Beni Culturali e Ambientali di Enna nel Settore Archeologico: 1996-1997." *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 43–44: 291–310.
- Guzzone, C., and M. Congiu. 2005. *Sikania: tesori archeologici dalla Sicilia centro-meridionale (secoli XIII-VI a.C.): catalogo della mostra*. Catania: G. Maimone.
- Guzzone, C., R. Panvini, and M. Congiu. 2008. *Sabucina: cinquant'anni di studi e ricerche archeologiche*. Palermo: Regione Sicilia, Assessorato Regionale Beni Culturali Ambientali e Pubblica Istruzione.
- Guzzone, G. 1985. "Sulla Necropoli Protostorica di Butera: I Recinti Funerari 138 e 139." *Archivio Storico per La Sicilia Orientale* 81–82: 7–41.
- Hales, S., and T. Hodos, eds. 2010. *Material Culture and Social Identities in the Ancient World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hall, J. M. 1997. *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2002. *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 2004. "How 'Greek' Were the Early Western Greeks?" In *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean: Papers in Honour of Brian Shefton*, edited by K. Lomas, 35–54. *Mnemosyne Supplementum* 246. Leiden: Brill.
- Handberg, S., and J. K. Jacobsen. 2011. "Greek or Indigenous: From Pot Sherd to Identity in Early Colonial Encounters." In *Communicating Identity in Italic Iron Age Communities*, edited by Margarita Gleba and H.W. Horsnaes, 175–94. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Hencken, H. 1958. "Syracuse, Etruria and the North. Some Comparisons." *American Journal of Archaeology* 62: 259–72.
- Herskovits, M. J. 1958. *Acculturation: The Study of Culture Contact*. Gloucester, Mass.: P. Smith.
- Hodder, I. 2013. *Entangled: An Archaeology of the Relationships between Humans and Things*. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.
- . 2016. *Studies in Human-Thing Entanglement*. Stanford.
- Hodos, Tamar. 2006. *Local Responses to Colonization in the Iron Age Mediterranean*. London: Routledge.
- Holloway, R. R. 1983. "Primi Saggi di Scavo a 'La Muculufa' (Butera)." *Sicilia Archeologica* 52–53: 33–44.
- . 1993. "La Muculufa (Butera, CL): Indagini di Scavo e Ricerche Dal 1988 Al 1991." *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 39–40: 771–82.
- . 2000. *The Archaeology of Ancient Sicily*. London: Routledge.

- Hurst, H. R., and S. Owen, eds. 2005. *Ancient Colonizations: Analogy, Similarity and Difference*. London: Duckworth.
- Ingoglia, C. 2007. "Archeologia Urbana a Messina- Lo Scavo dell'Isolato 'P' in Via La Farina – Via Oddo Delle Colonne (Rapporto Preliminare)." *Quaderni di Archeologia. Università di Messina* 4: 83–105.
- Isler, H. P. 1968. "Selinunte. Due Tombe Arcaiche." *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 22: 293–303.
- . 1984. *Studia Ietina II: Der Tempel der Aphrodite, La ceramica proveniente dall'insediamento medievale: cenni e osservazioni preliminari*. Zürich: Rentsch.
- . 1999. "Indigeni e Greci nella Sicilia Occidentale. Le Più Antiche Importazioni Greche a Monte Iato." In *Kotva. Miscellanea di Studi Archeologici in Onore di Piero Orlandini*, edited by Marina Castoldi, 143–56. Milano: Edizioni ET.
- . 2000a. "Monte Iato: Scavi 1995-1997." In *Terze Giornate Internazionali di Studi Sull'area Elima. Ghibellina - Erice - Contessa Entellina, 23 - 26 Ottobre 1997. Atti*, 715–29. Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa.
- . 2000b. *Monte Iato: guida archeologica*. Palermo: Sellerio.
- . 2003. "Monte Iato: Scavi 1998-2000." In *Terze Giornate Internazionali di Studi Sull'area Elima. Ghibellina - Erice - Contessa Entellina, 23 - 26 Ottobre 1997. Atti*, 827–38. Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa.
- . 2005. "Mondo Indigeno e Mondo Greco: Il Caso di Monte Iato." In *Megalai Nesoi. Studi Dedicati a Giovanni Rizza per Il Suo Ottantesimo Compleanno*, edited by R. Gigli, 11–28. Catania: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche I.B.A.M.
- . 2010. "Die Siedlung Auf Dem Monte Iato in Archaischer Zeit." *Jahrbuch Des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 124: 135–222.
- . 2012. "Monte Iato: Scavi 2007-2008." In *Sicilia Occidentale. Studi, Rassegne, Ricerche*, edited by C. Ampolo et al., 91–103. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale.
- Isler, H. P., and R. B. Caflisch. 1991. *Studia Ietina IV: Die Firniskeramik vom Monte Iato: Funde 1971-1982*. Zürich: Rentsch.
- Ismaelli, T. 2011. *Archeologia del culto a Gela: il santuario del Predio Sola*. Bari: Edipuglia.
- Jeub, L. G. S., M. Bazzi, I. S. Jutla, and P. J. Mucha, "A generalized Louvain method for community detection implemented in MATLAB," <http://netwiki.amath.unc.edu/GenLouvain> (2011-2017).
- Johnston, A, and R. E. Jones. 1978. "The 'SOS' Amphora." *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 73: 103–41.

- Jones, R., and B. I. Garrigos, J. 2004. "The Identity of Early Greek Pottery in Italy and Spain: An Archaeometric Perspective." In *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean: Papers in Honour of Brian Shefton*, edited by K. Lomas, 83–114. Mnemosyne Supplementum 246. Leiden: Brill.
- Kistler, E, et al. 2015a. "Debating 'Sanctuaries and the Power of Consumption' or: Eight Points to an Alternative Archaeology of Proto-Globalisation." In *Sanctuaries and the Power of Consumption: Networking and the Formation of Elites in the Archaic Western Mediterranean World. Proceedings of the International Conference in Innsbruck, 20th –23rd March 2012*, edited by E. Kistler et al., 493–540. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- . 2015b. *Risultati della Quintesima Campagna di Scavi dell'Università Innsbruck Sul Monte Iato (2015)*. Innsbruck: Institut für Archäologien Klassische und Provinzialrömische Archäologie der Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck Zentrum für Alte Kulturen.
- . 2017. "Archaika as a Resource: The Production of Locality and Colonial Empowerment on Monte Iato (Western Sicily) around 500 BC." In *RessourceCultures: Sociocultural Dynamics and the Use of Resources - Theories, Methods, Perspectives*, edited by A Scholz et al., 159–78. Tübingen: Universität Tübingen.
- Kistler, E, and B. Öhlinger. 2012. *Risultati della Seconda Campagna di Scavi di Innsbruck Sul Monte Iato (2012)*. Innsbruck: Institut für Archäologien Klassische und Provinzialrömische Archäologie der Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck Zentrum für Alte Kulturen.
- . 2013. *Risultati della Terza Campagna di Scavi di Innsbruck Sul Monte Iato (2013)*. Innsbruck: Institut für Archäologien Klassische und Provinzialrömische Archäologie der Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck Zentrum für Alte Kulturen.
- . 2014. *Risultati della Quarta Campagna di Scavi di Innsbruck Sul Monte Iato (2014): Fra Il Tempio di Afrodite e La Casa Tardo-Arcaica II*. Innsbruck: Institut für Archäologien Klassische und Provinzialrömische Archäologie der Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck Zentrum für Alte Kulturen.
- Kistler, E., B. Öhlinger, and M. Steger. 2013. "Zwischen Aphrodite-Tempel Und Spätarchaischem Haus: Die Innsbrucker Kampagne 2011 Auf Dem Monte Iato (Sizilien)." *Jahreshefte Des Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut in Wien* 82: 227–58.
- Knappett, C. 2011. *An Archaeology of Interaction: Network Perspectives on Material Culture and Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2013. *Network Analysis in Archaeology New Approaches to Regional Interaction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kourou, Nota. 1998. "Euboea and Naxos in the Late Geometric Period: The Cesnola Style." In *Enboica: L'Eubea e La Presenza Euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente*, edited by M. Bats and B. D'Agostino, 167–77. Napoli; Paris: Centre Jean Bérard; diff. de Boccard.

- Kron, U. 1992. *Frauenfeste in Den Demeterheiligtümern: Das Thesmophorion von Bitalemi: Eine Archäologische Fallstudie*. Berlin.
- Kustermann Graf, A. 2002. *Selinunte: necropoli di Manicalunga: le tombe della contrada Gaggera*. Soveria Mannelli (Catanzaro): Rubbettino.
- La Genière, J. de, and B. Ferrara. 2009. "Molino a Vento." In *La Sicilia in Età Arcaica. Dalle Apoikizai Al 480 a.C. Contributi Dalle Recenti Indagini Archeologiche*, edited by R. Panvini and L. Sole, 171–78. Palermo: Centro Regionale per l'Inventario, la Catalogazione e la Documentazione.
- La Genière, J. de, and V. Tusa. 1978. "Saggio a Segesta, Grotta Vanella: Ottobre 1977." *Sicilia Archeologica* 11: 11–37.
- La Rosa, V. 1971. "Il Cratere Da Sabucina Ed Il Problema della Decorazione Figurata nella Ceramica Indigena di Sicilia." *Cronache di Archeologia e di Storia Dell'arte* 10: 50–63.
- . 1996. "The Impact of the Greek Colonists on the Non-Hellenic Inhabitants of Sicily." In *The Western Greeks: Exhibition. Venezia, Palazzo Grassi*, 523–32. Venezia: Bompiani.
- . 2009. "Per Una Rivisitazione Delle Tholoi di Sciare Manganelli." In *Tra Etna e Simeto: La Ricerca Archeologica Ad Adrano e nel Suo Territorio: Atti Dell'incontro di Studi per Il 50° Anniversario Dell'istituzione del Museo di Adrano, Adrano, 8 Giugno 2005*, edited by G. Lamagna, 95–103. Catania: Biblioteca della Provincia Regionale.
- La Rosa, V, and P. Caratelli, G. 1991. "Le Popolazioni della Sicilia: Sicani, Siculi, Elimi." In *Italia Omnium Terrarum Parens*, 3–110. Milano: Scheiwiller.
- Lagona, S. 1974. "Piatto Mesocorinzio Da Licodia Eubea." *Archivio Storico per La Sicilia Orientale* 70: 363–66.
- . 1975. "Nuove Esplorazioni nella Necropoli della Cava S. Aloe nel Territorio di Leontini." *Cronache di Archeologia* 14–15: 51–148.
- Lamagna, G. 1997. "Successione Stratigrafica in Un Saggio Nell'abitato Indigeno di Civita (S. Maria di Licodia - Paternò)." *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 43 (2): 83–114.
- . 2005. "Ceramiche Greche D'importazione e D'imitazione Dal Centro Indigeno del Mendolito: I Materiali del Museo d'Adrano." In *Megalai Nesoi. Studi Dedicati a Giovanni Rizza per Il Suo Ottantesimo Compleanno*, edited by R. Gigli, 317–39. Catania: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche I.B.A.M.
- . 2009a. "Il Centro Indigeno del Mendolito di Adrano." In *La Sicilia in Età Arcaica Dalle Apoikizai Al 480 a.C. Contributi Dalle Recenti Indagini Archeologiche*, edited by R. Panvini and L. Sole, 117–21. Palermo: Centro Regionale per l'Inventario, la Catalogazione e la Documentazione.

- . 2009b. “Note per Un Primo Bilancio Delle Ricerche Al Mendolito.” In *Tra Etna e Simeto: La Ricerca Archeologica Ad Adrano e nel Suo Territorio : Atti Dell'incontro di Studi per Il 50° Anniversario Dell'istituzione del Museo di Adrano, Adrano, 8 Giugno 2005*, 75–86. Catania: Biblioteca della Provincia Regionale.
- ., ed. 2009c. *Tra Etna e Simeto: la ricerca archeologica ad Adrano e nel suo territorio : atti dell'Incontro di studi per il 50° anniversario dell'istituzione del Museo di Adrano, Adrano, 8 giugno 2005*. Catania: Biblioteca della Provincia regionale di Catania.
- Lambrugo, C. 2013. *Profumi di argilla: tombe con unguentari corinzi nella necropoli arcaica di Gela*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- . 2014. “Reconstructing Early Colonial Identity: Funerary Space in Archaic Gela (Sicily), in XVIII Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica (Mérida 2013).” In *VIII Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica (Mérida 2013)*, edited by J. M. Álvarez, T. Nogales, and I. Rodà, 1269–71. Mérida: Museo Nacional de Arte Romano.
- . 2015. “Dying Young in Archaic Gela (Sicily): From the Analysis of the Cemeteries to the Reconstruction of Early Colonial Identity.” In *Children, Spaces and Identity*, edited by M. Sanchez Romero et al., 2–9. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Leeuw, S. van der. 2013. “Archaeology, Networks, Information Processing, and beyond.” In *Network Analysis in Archaeology New Approaches to Regional Interaction*, edited by Carl Knappett, 335–48. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Leighton, R. 1977. “Distribution of Pottery Styles in Greece, South Italy and Sicily and the Pantalica III Chronology.” *AJA* 81: 365–68.
- . 2000. “Indigenous Society Between the Ninth and Sixth Centuries BC: Territorial, Urban and Social Evolution.” In *Sicily from Aeneas to Augustus: New Approaches in Archaeology and History*, edited by C Smith and J Serrati, 15–40. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leighton, R. 1993. *Morgantina Studies: Results of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Sicily. Vol. IV*. Princeton: Princeton University press.
- . 1996. *Early Societies in Sicily: New Developments in Archaeological Research*. London: Accordia Research Centre, University of London.
- . 1999. *Sicily before History: An Archaeological Survey from the Palaeolithic to the Iron Age*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- . 2000. “Time Versus Tradition: Iron Age Chronologies in Sicily and Southern Italy.” In *Ancient Italy in Its Mediterranean Setting. Studies in Honour of Ellen Macnamara.*, edited by D. Ridgway et al., 33–48. London: Accordia Research Institute.
- . 2005. “Later Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in Sicily. Old Paradigms and New Surveys.” *European Journal of Archaeology* 8 (3): 261–87.

- Leighton, R., and L Bartosiewicz. 2012. *Prehistoric Houses at Morgantina: Excavations on the Cittadella of Morgantina in Sicily, 1989-2004*. London: Accordia Research Institute, University of London.
- Lentini, M. C. 1984. "Naxos. Esplorazione Nell'abitato Proto-Arcaico Orientale. Casa a Pastàs N. 1." *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 30: 809–38.
- . 1987. "Naxos nel Quadro Dei Rapporti Tra Egeo e Tirreno: Gli Apporti Delle Esplorazioni Più Recenti." In *Lo Stretto Crocevia di Culture. Atti del Ventiseiesimo Convegno di Studi Sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto - Reggio Calabria 9-14 Ottobre 1986*, 415–32. Napoli: Istituto per la Storia e L'Archeologia della Magna Grecia.
- . 1988. "Nuovi Documenti Inscritti Da Naxos di Sicilia." *Bollettino D'arte* 73: 15–17.
- . 1992. "Un Secondo Contributo Sulla Ceramica di Naxos: Idrie Ed Anfore." *Bollettino D'arte* 72: 11–34.
- . 1993. "Nuove Esplorazioni a Naxos. Scavi 1989 - 1994." *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 39: 1001–25.
- . 1998. "Nuovi Rinvenimenti di Ceramica Euboica a Naxos di Sicilia." In *Euboica: L'Eubea e La Presenza Euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente*, edited by M. Bats and B. D'Agostino, 16:377–86. Napoli: Centre Jean Bérard.
- . 2001. *The Two Naxos Cities: A Fine Link between the Aegean Sea and Sicily*. Palermo: Kalos.
- . 2004. *Le Due Città di Naxos: Atti del Seminario di Studi Giardini Naxos 29-31 Ottobre 2000*. Giardini Naxos: Comune di Giardini Naxos.
- . 2005. "Un'anfora a Rilievo di Lindos Dalla Necropoli Arcaica di Gela." In *Megalai Nesoi. Studi Dedicati a Giovanni Rizza per Il Suo Ottantesimo Compleanno*, edited by R. Gigli, 301–6. Catania: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche I.B.A.M.
- . 2008. "Naxos of Sicily: The First Colonial Settlement." *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e Delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente* 84: 493–508.
- . 2009. *Naxos di Sicilia: L'abitato Coloniale e L'arsenale Navale: Scavi 2003-2006*. Palermo: Regione Siciliana, Assessorato dei beni culturali, ambientali e della pubblica istruzione, Dipartimento dei beni culturali, ambientali e dell'educazione permanente.
- . 2012. "Resti di capanne della tarda età del Ferro a Naxos di Sicilia." *Aristonotbos* 7: 157–74.



- . 2015a. “Recent Investigation of the Early Settlement Levels at Sicilian Naxos.” In *Zagora in Context: Settlements and Intercommunal Links in the Geometric Period (900–700 BC). Proceedings of the Conference Held by The Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens and The Archaeological Society at Athens Athens, 20–22 May, 2012*, 25:309–16. Mediterranean Archaeology: Australian and New Zealand Journal for the Archaeology of the Mediterranean World. Sydney: Mediterranean Archaeology.
- . 2015b. “Some Late Geometric and Early Orientalising Tableware from Sicilian Naxos.” In *Pots, Workshops and Early Iron Age Society. Proceedings of the International Symposium Held at the Université Libre de Bruxelles, 14-16 November 2013*, edited by V. Vlachou, 241–50. Etudes d’Archéologie 8. Bruxelles: CReA-Patrimoine.
- Lentini, M. C., and J. Pakkanen. 2009. “The Sanctuary to the West of the Santa Venera: A Review.” In *Deliciae Fictiles IV: Architectural Terracottas in Ancient Italy. Images of Gods, Monsters and Heroes*, edited by P.S. Lulof, 417–25. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Lentini, M. C., M. G. Vanaria, and M. C. Martinelli. 2010. “Messina : Stratigrafia di Una Città. Resti Dell’antico Tessuto Urbano in Piazza Duomo (Campagna di Scavi 2005-2006).” *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 19–20: 359–416.
- Leone, R. 1998. *Luoghi di culto extraurbani d’età arcaica in Magna Grecia*. Firenze: Le lettere.
- Liebmann, M. 2013. “Parsing Hybridity: Archaeologies of Amalgamation in Seventeenth Century New Mexico.” In *The Archaeology of Hybrid Material Culture*, edited by J. J. Card, 25–49. Center for Archaeological Investigations, Occasional Paper 39. Carbondale, Illinois: Center for Archaeological Investigations.
- Liebmann, M., and U. Z Rizvi. 2008. *Archaeology and the Postcolonial Critique*. Lanham: AltaMira Press.
- Lo Presti, L. G. 2004. “Gela e l’entroterra tra il VII e VI secolo a.C.” *Κωκκαλος. Studi pubblicati dall’Istituto di storia antica dell’Università di Palermo* 46: 365–80.
- Lomas, K. 1995. “The Greeks in the West and the Hellenization of Italy.” In *The Greek World*, 347–67. London: Routledge.
- . ed. 2004. *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean: Papers in Honour of Brian Shefton*. Mnemosyne Supplementum 246. Leiden: Brill.
- Lorefice, G. 2012. “Monte Casasia. Alcune osservazioni sulla ceramica greca dalla necropoli.” *Aristonothos* 7: 229–54.
- Lynch, K. M. 2011. *The Symposium in Context: Pottery from a Late Archaic House near the Athenian Agora*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Lyons, C. L. 1996a. *Morgantina Studies: Results of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Sicily. Vol. V*. Princeton: Princeton University press.

- . 1996b. “Sikel Burials at Morgantina: Defining Social and Ethnic Identities.” In *Early Societies in Sicily: New Developments in Archaeological Research*, 177–88. London: Accordia Research Centre, University of London.
- . 2000. “Gender and Burial in Early Colonial Sicily: The Case of Morgantina.” In *Representations of Gender from Prehistory to the Present*, edited by M. Donald and L. Hurcombe, 87–103. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lyons, C. L., and J. Papadopoulos. 2002. *The Archaeology of Colonialism*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute.
- Mahoney, J. 2000. “Path Dependence in Historical Sociology.” *Theory and Society* 29 (4): 507–48.
- Malkin, Irad. 1998. *The Returns of Odysseus: Colonization and Ethnicity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 2002. “A Colonial Middle Ground: Greek, Etruscan, and Local Elites in the Bay of Naples.” In *The Archaeology of Colonialism*, edited by C. Lyons and J. Papadopoulos, 151–81. Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute.
- . 2011. *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mandolesi, A. 1994. “Note Sulla Fase Protostorica di San Giuliano.” *Archeologia Classica* 46: 305–18.
- Manganaro, G. 1979. “L’età greca.” In *La Sicilia nella storiografia dell’ultimo trentennio: atti del congresso di Mazara*, edited by Gianni di Stefano, 12–20. Mazara del Vallo: Istituto di storia del Vallo di Mazara.
- Maniscalco, L. 2008. *Il santuario dei Palici: un centro di culto nella Valle del Margi*. Palermo: Regione Siciliana.
- . 2012. *Il Museo Gaetano Savasta e Le Aree Archeologiche del Territorio di Paternò*. Palermo: Regione siciliana, Assessorato dei beni culturali e dell’identità siciliana.
- Maniscalco, L., and B. E. McConnell. 2003. “The Sanctuary of the Divine Palikoi (Rocchicella di Mineo, Sicily): Fieldwork from 1995 to 2001.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 107 (2): 145–80.
- . 2015. “Recent Discoveries at the Sanctuary of the Divine Palikoi.” In *SOMA 2011: Proceedings of the 15th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Held at the University of Catania 3-5 March 2011*, edited by P. M. Militello and H. Öniz, 517–22. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Marconi, C. 2012. “Le Attività dell’Institute of Fine Arts–NYU sull’Acropoli di Selinunte (2006–2010).” In *Sicilia Occidentale. Studi, Rassegne, Ricerche*, edited by C. Ampolo et al., 279–286. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale.

- Markoe, G. E. 1992. "In Pursuit of Metal-Phoenicians and Greeks in Italy." In *Greece between East and West 10th-8th Centuries BC: Papers of the Meeting at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, March 15-16th, 1990*, edited by I. Tokumaru and G. Kopcke, 61–84. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Martin, M. F. 2013. "Feasting the Community- Ritual and Power on the Sicilian Acropoleis (10th–6th Centuries BC)." *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 26 (2): 211–34.
- Martin, R. 1982. "Selinonte. Resultats et Problemes de La Premiere Phase de Recherches (1973-1979)." *ASAtene* 60: 183–88.
- Mazarakis Ainian, A. 1997. *From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples: Architecture, Religion and Society in Early Iron Age Greece, 1100-700 B.C.* Jonsered: Astroms.
- McDonald, W. A. 1943. *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.
- Meola, E. 1971. "Terrecotte Orientalizante di Gela." *Monumenti Antichi* 48: 11–85.
- . 1996. *Necropoli di Selinunte*. Palermo: Accademia nazionale di scienze lettere e arti.
- Mercuri, L. 2010a. "Monte San Mauro di Caltagirone. Histoire Des Interprétations D'un Site Du Premier Âge Du Fer." In *Grecs et Indigènes de La Catalogne À La Mer Noire. Actes Des Rencontres Du Programme Européen Ramses 2 (2006 - 2008)*, edited by H. Tréziny, 695–700. Bibliothèque D'archéologie Méditerranéenne et Africaine 3. Paris: Errance.
- . 2010b. *Archéologie Des Pratiques Funéraires En Grèce d'Occident Au Premier Âge Du Fer: De Quelques Idées Reçues*. Paris: Errance.
- . 2012a. *La necropoli occidentale di Castiglione di Ragusa (Sicilia): scavi 1969-1971. Monumenti antichi, serie miscellanea, 15; serie generale, 69*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider editore.
- . 2012b. "Convivenze Nei Monti Iblei? Il Caso di Castiglione di Ragusa." *Aristonothos. Scritti per Il Mediterraneo Antico* 7 (December): 281–99.
- Mertens, Dieter. 2006. *Città e monumenti dei greci d'occidente: dalla colonizzazione alla crisi di fine V secolo a.C.* Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Messina, F. 1971. "Ramacca (Catania). Esplorazione di Una Città Greco-Sicula in Contrada La Montagna e di Un Insediamento in Contrada Torricella." *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 25: 538–74.
- Miccichè, E., and R. Puglisi. 2000. *Selinunte: alla riscoperta della metropoli greca: guida confidenziale*. Catania: Le Nove Muse.
- Militello, E. 1960. *Terravecchia di Cuti: ricerche archeologiche nel territorio di Petralia Sottana eseguite dall'Istituto di archeologia dell'Università di Catania nel 1959*. Palermo: Banco di Sicilia.
- Militello, P., and H. Öñiz, eds. 2015. *SOMA 2011: Proceedings of the 15th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Held at the University of Catania 3-5 March 2011*. Oxford: Archaeopress.

- Mills, B., et al. 2013. "The Dynamics of Social Networks in the Late Prehispanic US Southwest." In *Network Analysis in Archaeology New Approaches to Regional Interaction*, edited by C. Knappett, 181–202. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Minà, P. 2005. *Urbanistica e architettura nella Sicilia greca*. Palermo: Regione siciliana, Assessorato dei beni culturali ambientali e della pubblica istruzione, Dipartimento dei beni culturali e ambientali e dell'educazione permanente.
- Mingazzini, P. 1938. "Su Un'edicola Sepolcrale del IV Sec. a.C. Rinvenuta a Monte Saraceno Presso Ravanusa." *Monumenti Antichi* 36: 621–92.
- Mizoguchi, K. 2013. "The Evolution of Prestige Good Systems: An Application of Network Analysis to the Transformation of Communication Systems and Their Media." In *Network Analysis in Archaeology New Approaches to Regional Interaction*, edited by C. Knappett, 151–78. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mohr, M., and E. Kistler. 2016. "The Archaic Monte Iato: Between Coloniality and Locality." In *Materielle Kultur Und Identität Im Spannungsfeld Zwischen Mediterraner Welt Und Mitteleuropa (Mainz 2016)*, edited by H Baitinger, 81–98. Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums.
- Montana, G., A. M. Polito, and W. Tsantini. 2015. "Ceramic Ethnoarchaeometry in Sicily: Recent Traditional Productions as a Tool for Understanding Past Manufactures." In *SOMA 2011: Proceedings of the 15th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Held at the University of Catania 3-5 March 2011*, edited by P. M. Militello and H. Öviz, 253–58. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Morgan, C. 1988. "Corinth, the Corinthian Gulf and Western Greece during the Eighth Century BC." *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 83: 313–38.
- . 1999. "Some Thoughts on the Production and Consumption of Early Iron Age Pottery in the Aegean." In *The Complex Past of Pottery: Production, Circulation and Consumption of Mycenaean and Greek Pottery (16th to Early 5th Centuries BC)*, 213–59. Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben.
- Morris, I., T. Jackman, E. Blake, and S. Tusa. 2001. "Stanford University Excavations on the Acropolis of Monte Polizzo, Sicily, II: Preliminary Report on the 2000 Season." *Memoirs of the American Academi in Rome* 46: 253–71.
- . 2002. "Stanford University Excavations on the Acropolis of Monte Polizzo, Sicily, II: Preliminary Report on the 2001 Season." *Memoirs of the American Academi in Rome* 47: 153–98.
- Morris, I., T. Jackman, E. Blake, S. Tusa, and B. Garnand. 2003. "Stanford University Excavations on the Acropolis of Monte Polizzo, Sicily, II: Preliminary Report on the 2002 Season." *Memoirs of the American Academi in Rome* 47: 153–98.

- Morris, I. 2016. "Religione e Mutamento Sociale in Sicilia Occidentale, 600-400 a.C: Scavi sull'Acropoli di Monte Polizzo (TP), 2000-2003." *Κωκυλλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 52: 195–214.
- Morris, I., and S. Tusa. 2004. "Scavi Sull'acropoli di Monte Polizzo, 2000-2003." *Sicilia Archeologica* 37 (102): 35–90.
- Morris, O. 2016. "Indigenous Networks, Hierarchies of Connectivity and Early Colonisation in Iron Age Campania." In *Conceptualising Early Colonisation*, edited by V. Nizzo, 137–48. Bruxelles: Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome.
- Morris, S. P. 1984. *The Black and White Style: Athens and Aigina in the Orientalizing Period*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- . 1992. *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Mosso, A. 1908. "Una Tomba Preistorica a Sant'Angelo di Muxaro nella Provincia di Girgenti." *Memorie della Reale Accademia Delle Scienze di Torino* LIX: 421–32.
- Mucha, Peter J., et al. 2010. "Community structure in time-dependent, multiscale, and multiplex networks." *Science* 328.5980: 876-878.
- Mühlenbock, C. 2008. *Fragments from a mountain society: tradition, innovation and interaction at Archaic Monte Polizzo, Sicily*. Göteborgs: Göteborg University, Dept. of Archaeology.
- . 2015. "Expanding the Circle of Trust: Tradition and Change in Iron Age Communities in Western Sicily." In *Tradition: Transmission of Culture in the Ancient World*, edited by J. Fejfer et al. Acta Hyperborea 14. Copenhagen: Collebium Hyeprboreum and Museum Tusculanum Press.
- Mühlenbock, C., et al. 2004a. *Archaeological Excavations at Monte Polizzo, Sicily. Reports 1998-2001*. Göteborg, Sweden: Göteborg University, Dept. of Archaeology.
- Mühlenbock, C. et al. 2004b. *Archaeological Excavations at Monte Polizzo, Sicily. Reports 2002-2003*. Göteborg, Sweden: Göteborg University, Dept. of Archaeology.
- Müller, S. 2016. "Revisiting the Archaic Chamber Tombs of Morgantina: Ethnicity and Identity Transition in an Ancient Intercultural Setting." *역사와 세계* 49: 161–98.
- Murgan, A. M. 2016. "Temples, Hoards and Pre(?)monetary Practices : Case Studies from Mainland Italy and Sicily in the 1st Millennium B.C." In *Materielle Kultur Und Identität Im Spannungsfeld Zwischen Mediterraner Welt Und Mitteleuropa*, edited by H. Baitinger, 277–90. Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums.
- Murtagh, F. and P. Legendre. 2014. "Ward's Hierarchical Agglomerative Clustering Method: Which Algorithms Implement Ward's Criterion?" *Journal of Classification* 31: 274-295.

- Naso, A. 2012. "Etruskische Und Italische Funde in Der Ägäis." In *Kulte, Riten, Religiöse Vorstellungen Bei Den Etruskern Und Ihr Verhältnis Zu Politik Und Gesellschaft : Akten Der 1. Internationalen Tagung Der Sektion Wien/Österreich Des Istituto Nazionale di Studi Etruschi Ed Italici (Wien, 4.-6. 12. 2008)*, 317–33. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Navarra, G. 1964. *Città sicane, sicule e greche nella zona di Gela*. Palermo: Andò.
- Neeft, C. W. 1997. "Corinthian Pottery in Magna Graecia." In *Corinto e l'Occidente: Atti del Trentaquattresimo Convegno di Studi Sulla Magna Grecia: Taranto 7-11 Ottobre 1994*, 367–76. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia.
- . 2012. "Absolute Chronology and Corinthian Pottery." In *La Sicilia in Età Arcaica Dalle Apoikiai Al 480 a.C. Contributi Dalle Recenti Indagini Archeologiche*, edited by R. Panvini and L. Sole, 485–96. Caltanissetta: Salvatore Sciascia Editore s.a.s.
- Neils, J. 1992. "The Morgantina Phormiskos." *American Journal of Archaeology* 96 (2): 225–35.
- Nenci, G., and M. J. Becker. 1993. *Alla ricerca di Entella*. Pisa: Scuola normale superiore di Pisa, Laboratorio di topografia storico-archeologica del mondo antico.
- Nicoletti, F. 2015. *Catania Antica: Nuove Prospettive di Ricerca*. Palermo: Regione Siciliana, Dip. dei Beni Culturali e dell'Identità Siciliana,.
- Nicotra, M., and G.G. Lidia Verde. 2015. "Rock Architecture and Some Colonial and Indigenous Centres: The Case of Leontinoi and Montagna di Ramacca (Ct)." In *SOMA 2011: Proceedings of the 15th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Held at the University of Catania 3-5 March 2011*, edited by P. M. Militello and H. Öviz, 523–28. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Nielsen, T. H. 1994. "Butera. Sede Temporanea di Una Colonia Greca Arcaica?" *Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia* 3: 109–17.
- . 2002. *Even More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*. Stuttgart: F. Steiner.
- Niemeyer, H. G. 1990. "The Phoenicians in the Mediterranean: A Non-Greek Model for Expansion and Settlement in Antiquity." In *Greek Colonists and Native Populations: Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology Held in Honour of Emeritus Professor A.D. Trendall, Sydney, 9-14 July 1985*, edited by A.D. Trendall and J.-P. Descoedres, 469–89. Canberra; Oxford [England]; New York: Humanities Research Centre ; Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press.
- Niemeyer, H.G., and R. Rolle, eds. 1996. *Die Akten Des Internationalen Kolloquiums, "Interactions in the Iron Age: Phoenicians, Greeks and the Indigenous Peoples of the Western Mediterranean" in Amsterdam Am 26. Und 27. März 1992*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

- Nigro, L. 2012. "Scavi e Restauri dell'Università di Roma 'La Sapienza' a Mozia, 2007-2009: Il Tempio del Kothon, Il Temenos Circolare, Il Sacello di Astarte e Il Tofet." In *Sicilia Occidentale. Studi, Rassegne, Ricerche*, edited by A Carmine, 207–18. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale.
- Öhlinger, B. 2015a. "Indigenous Cult Places of Local and Interregional Scale in Archaic Sicily: A Sociological Approach to Religion." In *Sanctuaries and the Power of Consumption: Networking and the Formation of Elites in the Archaic Western Mediterranean World. Proceedings of the International Conference in Innsbruck, 20th –23rd March 2012*, edited by E. Kistler et al., 417–30. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- . 2015b. *Ritual und Religion im archaischen Sizilien: Formations- und Transformationsprozesse binnenländischer Kultorte im Kontext kultureller Kontakte*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag.
- . 2016. "Ritual and Religion in Archaic Sicily: Indigenous Material Cultures between Tradition and Innovation." In *Materielle Kultur Und Identität Im Spannungsfeld Zwischen Mediterraner Welt Und Mitteleuropa*, edited by H. Baitinger, 107–20. Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums.
- Orlandini, P. 1961. "Omphake e Maktorion." *Κωκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 7: 145–49.
- . 1962a. "L' Espansione di Gela nella Sicilia Centro-Meridionale." *Κωκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 7: 69–121.
- . 1962b. *Il villaggio preistorico di Manfria, presso Gela*. Palermo: Banco di Sicilia.
- . 1963a. *Gela. La stipe votiva arcaica del predio Sola*. Roma: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei.
- . 1963b. "Sabucina. A. Scoperte Varie. B. Prima Campagna di Scavo, 1962. Rapporto Preliminare." *Archeologia Classica* 15: 86–96.
- . 1965a. "Gela, Depositi Votivi di Bronzo Premonetale nel Santuario di Demetra Thesmophoros a Bitalemi." *Annali. Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 12–14: 1–20.
- . 1965b. "Sabucina. La Seconda Campagna di Scavo, 1964. Rapporto Preliminare." *Archeologia Classica* 17: 133–40.
- . 1966. "Lo scavo del thesmophorion di Bitalemi e il culto delle divinità ctonie a Gela." *Κωκαλος. Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto di storia antica dell'Università di Palermo* 12: 8–35.
- . 1967. "Nuove Scoperte nel Thesmophorion di Bitalemi." *Κωκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 13: 177–78.
- . 1968. "Sabucina. La Terza Campagna di Scavo, 1966. Rapporto Preliminare." *Archeologia Classica* 20: 151–56.
- . 1971. *Vassallaggi, scavi 1961*. Roma: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei.

- . 1972. “Aspetti Dell’arte Indigena in Magna Graecia.” In *Le Genti Non Greche della Magna Grecia. Atti dell’Undicesimo Convegno di Studi Sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto, 10 - 15 Ottobre 1971*, 273–308. Napoli: L’Arte Tipografica.
- . 2003. “Il Thesmophorion di Bitalemi (Gela). Nuove Scoperte e Osservazioni.” In *Archeologia del Mediterraneo. Studi in Onore di Ernesto De Miro*, edited by De Miro, E, 507–13. Roma: L’Erma di Bretschneider.
- Orlandini, P., and D. Adamesteanu. 1961. *Gela: scavi e scoperte 1951-1956*. Roma: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei.
- . 1962. “Gela: L’ Acropoli di Gela.” *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 16: 340–91.
- Orsi, P. 1893. *Sepolcro arcaico dell’Acradina e terrecotte varie rinvenute presso Siracusa*. Roma: Tip. della R. Accademia dei Lincei.
- . 1894a. *La necropoli sicula del terzo periodo al Finocchito presso Noto (Siracusa)*. S.l.: s.n.].
- . 1894b. *Relazione sugli scavi eseguiti nella necropoli del Fusco nel dicembre 1892 e gennaio 1893*. Roma: Tip. della R. Accademia dei Lincei.
- . 1895. *Gli scavi nella necropoli del Fusco a Siracusa nell’anno 1893*. Roma: Tip. della R. Accademia dei Lincei.
- . 1897a. “D’una Città Greca a Terravecchia.” *Monumenti Antichi* 7: 201–74.
- . 1897b. *Esplorazioni archeologiche in Noto Vecchio (Netum)*. Roma: Tip. della R. Accademia dei Lincei.
- . 1897c. “Siracusa.” *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 5 (5): 471–504.
- . 1898. “Le Necropoli di Licodia Eubea Ed I Vasi Geometrici del Quarto Periodo Siculo.” *Mitteilungen Des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts. Roemische Abteilungen* 13: 305–66.
- . 1899a. “Camarina: Campagna Archeologica del 1896.” *Monumenti Antichi* IX: 201–78.
- . 1899b. “Nuove Esplorazioni nella Necropoli di Hybla Heraea.” *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, 402–18.
- . 1900. “Orsi Siculi e Greci in Leontinoi.” *Mitteilungen Des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Romische Abteilung* XV: 62–98.
- . 1904a. “Camarina: VIII Campagna nella Necropoli di Passo Marinaro.” *Monumenti Antichi* XIV: 757–956.
- . 1904b. “Siculi e Greci a Caltagirone.” *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, 65–98.
- . 1905. “Siracusa.” *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 2: 381–402.



- . 1906. *Gela: scavi del 1900-1905*. Roma: Tip. della R. Accademia dei Lincei.
- . 1909. “Sepolcri di Transizione Dalla Civiltà Sicula Alla Greca. Ipogeo Siculo Grecizzante di Licodia Eubea.” *Mitteilungen Des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts. Roemische Abteilungen* 24: 59–99.
- . 1915a. “Necropoli Sicula a Pozzo di Gotto in Quel di Castoreale (Messina).” *Bull. Paletn. It.* 41: 71.
- . 1915b. “Siracusa.” *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 12: 175–208.
- . 1919a. “Adernò. Insigne Ripostiglio di Bronzi Siculi.” *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, 387–388.
- . 1919b. “Gli Scavi Intorno all’Athenaion di Siracusa Negli Anni 1912- 1917.” *Monumenti Antichi* XXV: 353–762.
- . 1919c. “Taormina. Necropoli Sicula Al Cocolonazzo di Mola.” *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, 360–69.
- . 1925a. “Siracusa. Necropoli Greco-Arcaica nel Predio Ex-Spagna.” *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, 296–321.
- . 1925b. “Siracusa. Nuova Necropoli Greca Dei Secc. VIII-VI A. C.” *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, 176–208.
- . 1932. “La Necropoli di Sant’Angelo Muxaro (Agrigento) e Cosa Essa Ci Dice di Nuovo Sulla Questione Sicula.” *Atti della Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Belle Arti di Palermo* XVII: 271–84.
- Orsi, P., and F. S. Cavallari. 1889. “Megara Hyblaea: Storia-Topografia-Necropoli e Anathemata.” *Monumenti Antichi* 1: 689–950.
- Orsi, P., and D. Pancucci. 1972. “Esplorazioni a Monte Bubbonia Dal 1904 Al 1906.” *Archivio Storico Siracusano* 2 (March): 7–60.
- Orsi, P., and P. Pelagatti. 1967. “Adrano e La Città Sicula del Mendolito, 1898-1909.” *Archivio Storico Siracusano* 13 (August): 137–66.
- Orsi, P., R. Carta, and D. Comparetti. 1905. *di una anonima città siculo-greca a Monte S. Mauro presso Caltagirone (scavi dal 1903 al 1905)*. Roma: Tipografia della R. Accademia dei Lincei.
- Osborne, R. 2005. “Urban Sprawl: What Is Urbanization and Why Does It Matter?” In *Mediterranean Urbanization 800-600 BC*, edited by R. Osborne and B. Cunliffe, 1–16. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2016. “Greek ‘colonisation’: What Was, and What Is, at Stake?” In *Conceptualising Early Colonisation*, edited by L. Donnellan, V. Nizzo, and G.J. Burgers, 21–26. Bruxelles: Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome.

- Owen, S. 2005. "Analogy, Archaeology and Archaic Greek Colonization." In *Ancient Colonizations: Analogy, Similarity and Difference*, edited by H. R. Hurst and S. Owen, 5–22. London: Duckworth.
- Pace, B. 1935. *Arte e Civiltà della Sicilia Antica: 1. I Fattori Etnici e Sociali*. Milano: Dante Alighieri.
- . 1953. "Ori della Reggia Sicana di Camico." *Archaiologiki Ephemeris* 1 (April): 273–88.
- Pagès, J. 2004. "Analyse factorielle de données mixtes." *Revue de Statistique Appliquée* 52.4: 93–111.
- Pakkanen, J., A. Sarris, and M. C. Lentini. 2015. "Naxos of Sicily in the 5th Century BC: New Research." In *Greek Colonisation: New Data, Current Approaches. Proceedings of the Scientific Meeting Held in Thessaloniki (6 February 2015)*, edited by P. Adam-Velini and D. Tsangari, 23–35. Athens: Alpha Bank.
- Palermo, D. 1979. "S. Angelo Muxaro. Saggi di Scavo Sulle Pendici Meridionali del Colle Castello." *Cronache di Archeologia e di Storia Dell'arte* 18: 31–49.
- . 1983. *Contributi alla conoscenza dell'età del ferro in Sicilia: Monte Finocchito e Polizzello*. Catania: Università di Catania, Istituto di archeologia.
- . 1996. "Tradizione Indigena e Apporti Greci Nelle Culture della Sicilia Centro-Meridionale-Sant'Angelo Muxaro." In *Early Societies in Sicily: New Developments in Archaeological Research*, edited by R. Leighton, 147–54. London: Accordia Research Institute.
- . 1997. "I Modellini di Edifici a Pianta Circolare da Polizzello e La Tradizione Cretese Nei Santuari Dell' Area Sicana." *Cronache di Archeologia* 36: 35–45.
- . 2003. "Il Gesto e La Maschera: Rappresentazioni Umane Dal Centro Indigeno della Montagna di Polizzello." *Annali della Facoltà di Scienze della Formazione* 2: 145–56.
- . 2009. "Polizzello." In *La Sicilia in Età Arcaica. Dalle Apoikiai Al 480 a.C. Contributi Dalle Recenti Indagini Archeologiche*, edited by R. Panvini and L. Sole, 184–88. Palermo: Centro Regionale per l'Inventario, la Catalogazione e la Documentazione.
- . 2016. "L' Oro Dei Sicani." *Incontri. La Sicilia e L'altrove* IV (16): 12–16.
- Palermo, D., D. Tanasi, and E. Pappalardo. 2009. "Polizzello. Le Origini di Un Santuario." In *Atti del Convegno di Studi, EIS AKRA. Insediamenti D'altura in Sicilia Dalla Preistoria Al III Secolo A. C., Caltanissetta 10-11 Maggio 2008, Caltanissetta 2009*, 47–78. Caltanissetta: Sciascia.
- Pancucci, D. 1980. "Recenti Scavi Sull'acropoli di Monte Bubbonia (1976 - 1979)." *Κωκάλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 26: 649–55.
- Pancucci, D., and M. C. Naro. 1992. *Monte Bubbonia: campagne di scavo 1905, 1906, 1955*. Roma: G. Bretschneider.

- Panvini, R. 1988. "Scavi e Ricerche a Caltabellotta Tra Il 1983 e Il 1985." *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 34 (September): 559–72.
- . 1993a. "L'attività della Soprintendenza di Caltanissetta Tra Gli Anni 1992-93." *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 39–40 (2.1): 783–823.
- . 1993b. "Ricerche nel Territorio di Monte S. Giuliano (CL), Monte Desusino, S. Giovanni Gemini, Caltabellotta, Sant'Anna." *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 39–40 (April): 755–63.
- . 1994. "Monte Desusino (Butera). Campagne di Scavi 1987-88." *Siculorum Gymnasium* 47: 103–54.
- . 1996. *Gélas: storia e archeologia dell' antica Gela*. Torino: SEI.
- . 1997. "Indagini e Ricerche Archeologiche della Soprintendenza Ai BBCCAA di Caltanissetta." *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* XLIII–XLIV (August): 17–40.
- . 1998. *Gela, il Museo Archeologico: catalogo*. Gela: Regione Siciliana.
- . 1999. "Ricerche e Interventi di Restauro Conservativo Su Complessi Mattoni Crudi di Gela. Gli Esempi Dell'emporio Arcaico de Delle Mure di Cinta di Età Timoleontea." *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 45: 509–20.
- . 2000. *Marianopoli, il Museo archeologico: catalogo*. Caltanissetta: Regione Siciliana.
- . 2003. "Mid-Southern Sicily and Its Contacts with the Aegean and Crete between the 16th and 6th Century B.C." In *Sea Routes. From Sidon to Huelva. Interconnections in the Mediterranean 16th - 6th Century B.C.*, edited by N Stampolides, 131–36. Athens: Museum of Cycladic Art.
- . 2003. *Butera dalla preistoria all'età medievale*. Caltanissetta: Paruzzo.
- . 2005. "Ricchezza e Società in Un Centro Indigeno Dell'entroterra della Sicilia-L'esempio di Sabucina." In *Megalai Nesoi. Studi Dedicati a Giovanni Rizza per Il Suo Ottantesimo Compleanno*, edited by R. Gigli, 29–45. Catania: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche I.B.A.M.
- . 2006. *Caltanissetta, il Museo archeologico: catalogo*. Caltanissetta: Regione siciliana, Assessorato dei beni culturali ambientali e della pubblica istruzione.
- . 2009a. "L'emporio Greco in Località Bosco Littorio." In *La Sicilia in Età Arcaica. Dalle Apoikiai Al 480 a.C. Contributi Dalle Recenti Indagini Archeologiche*, edited by R. Panvini and L. Sole, 179–4. Palermo: Centro Regionale per l'Inventario, la Catalogazione e la Documentazione.

- . 2009b. “Sabucina: Scavi Recenti nel Quartiere Arcaico (1997, 2002 - 2004).” In *La Sicilia in Età Arcaica. Dalle Apoikiai Al 480 a.C. Contributi Dalle Recenti Indagini Archeologiche*, edited by R. Panvini and L. Sole, 189–93. Palermo: Centro Regionale per l’Inventario, la Catalogazione e la Documentazione.
- . 2010. “Le rayonnement des sanctuaires grecs de Géla sur l’arrière-pays sicane.” In *Les sanctuaires et leur rayonnement dans le monde méditerranéen de l’Antiquité à l’époque moderne*, edited by J. Leclant et al., 39–63. Paris: De Boccard.
- . 2012. “La fondazione di Gela e l’organizzazione degli spazi urbani in età arcaica.” In *Griechen in Übersee und der historische Raum : internationales Kolloquium Universität Göttingen, Archäologisches Institut, 13.-16. Oktober 2010*, edited by J. Bergemann, 71–79. Rahden: Verlag Marie Leidorf.
- . 2015. “Elite and Society in a Settlement in the Sicilian Hinterland: A New Interpretation of Some Funerary Assemblages from the Monte Castellazzo Necropolis Near Marianopoli.” In *SOMA 2011: Proceedings of the 15th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Held at the University of Catania 3-5 March 2011*, edited by P. M. Militello and H. Öniz, 543–56. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Panvini, R., and V. Caminneci. 1993. “Il Complesso Rurale di Contrada Piano Camera.” In *Atti Dell’ 8 Congresso Internazionale di Studi Sulla Sicilia Antica*, 2.1-2:825–43. Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall’Istituto di Storia Antica dell’Università di Palermo 39–40. Palermo: Flaccovio.
- Panvini, R., C. Guzzone, and D. Palermo. 2009. *Polizzello: scavi del 2004 nell’area del santuario arcaico dell’acropoli*. Palermo: Regione siciliana, Assessorato dei beni culturali, ambientali e della pubblica istruzione, Dipartimento dei beni culturali, ambientali, dell’educazione permanente, dell’architettura e dell’arte contemporanea.
- Panvini, R., and L. Sole. 2005. *L’acropoli di Gela stipi, depositi o scarichi*. Roma: G. Bretschneider.
- , eds. 2007. *Sicani, Greci e Sicelioti: ceramiche antiche dalle necropoli della Sicilia centrale: Kiel, Antikensammlung-Kunsthalle 27 maggio-23 settembre 2007 = Sikaner, Griechen, Sikelioten*. Caltanissetta: Soprintendenza per i Beni Culturali ed Ambientali.
- , eds. 2009. *La Sicilia in età arcaica dalle apoikiai al 480 a.C. Contributi dalle recenti indagini archeologiche*. Palermo: Centro Regionale per l’Inventario, la Catalogazione e la Documentazione.
- Pappa, E. 2013. “Postcolonial Baggage at the End of the Road: How to Put the Genie Back into Its Bottle and Where to Go from There.” *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 28 (1): 29–50.
- Parko, H. 2001. “Small Corinthian Oil Containers: Evidence of the Archaic Perfume Trade?” In *Ceramics in Context: Proceedings of the Internordic Colloquium on Ancient Pottery, Held at Stockholm, 13-15 June 1997*, edited by C. Scheffer, 55–60. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

- Patanè, A. 2009a. "Centuripe dall'VIII Secolo Al 480 a.C. Una Città Sicula di Età Greca." In *La Sicilia in Età Arcaica. Dalle Apoikiai Al 480 a.C. Contributi Dalle Recenti Indagini Archeologiche*, edited by R. Panvini and L. Sole, 111–14. Palermo: Centro Regionale per l'Inventario, la Catalogazione e la Documentazione.
- . 2009b. "Grammichele." In *La Sicilia in Età Arcaica. Dalle Apoikiai Al 480 a.C. Contributi Dalle Recenti Indagini Archeologiche*, edited by R. Panvini and L. Sole, 115–16. Palermo: Centro Regionale per l'Inventario, la Catalogazione e la Documentazione.
- Patané, R. 2012. "Centuripe Dalla Preistoria Alla Distruzione Medievale." In *I Quaderni del Patrimonio Culturale Ennese. Collana Interdisciplinare del Servizio Soprintendenza per I Beni Culturali e Ambientali di Ennadiretta Da Fulvia Caffo*, edited by L. Pinzino, S, 183–204. Enna: Soprintendenza per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali di Enna.
- Patrick, T. 2013. "Corinthian Pottery at Syracuse in the Late 8th and 7th Centuries BC." In *Pottery Markets in the Ancient Greek World (8th-1st Centuries B.C.): Proceedings of the International Symposium Held at the Université Libre de Bruxelles, 19-21 June 2008*, edited by A. Tsingarida, D. Viviers, and Z. Archibald, 159–70. Bruxelles: CReA-Patrimoine.
- Pautasso, A. 2009. *Stipe Votiva del Santuario di Demetra a Catania 2: La Ceramica Greco-Orientale*. Catania: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche IBAM.
- Pelagatti, P. 1964. "Naxos. Relazione Preliminare Delle Campagne di Scavo 1961-64." *Bollettino D'arte* 49 (49): 149–65.
- . 1972. "Naxos, 2. Ricerche Topografiche e Scavi 1965: 1970. Relazione Preliminare." *Bollettino D'arte* 57: 211–20.
- . 1973. "La Necropoli Arcaica del Rifriscolaro." *Archeologia nella Sicilia Sud-Orientale*, 139–50.
- . 1976. "L'attività della Soprintendenza Alle Antichità della Sicilia Orientale." *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 22: 230–33.
- . 1977. "Sacelli e Nuovi Materiali Architettonici a Naxos, Monte San Mauro, e Camarina." *Cronache di Archeologia e di Storia Dell'arte* 16: 43–65.
- . 1978. "Naxos nell'VIII e nel VII Secolo a.C." In *Insedimenti Coloniali Greci in Sicilia nell'VIII e VII Sec. a.C. Atti della II Riunione Scientifica della Scuola di Perfezionamento in Archeologia Classica dell'Università di Catania, Siracusa 1977*, 136–60. Cronache di Archeologia 17. Catania: Università di Catania, Istituto di archeologia.
- . 1980. "Siracusa. Elementi dell'Abitato di Ortigia nell'VIII e nel VII Secolo a.C." In *Insedimenti Coloniali Greci in Sicilia nell'VIII e VII Sec. a.C. Atti della II Riunione Scientifica della Scuola di Perfezionamento in Archeologia Classica dell'Università di Catania, Siracusa 1977*, 119–33. Cronache di Archeologia 17. Catania: Università di Catania, Istituto di archeologia.

- . 1981a. “Bilancio Degli Scavi di Naxos per l’VIII e Il VII Sec. a.C.” *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e Delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente* 59: 291–311.
- . 1981b. “L’attività della Soprintendenza Alle Antichità della Sicilia Orientale: Parte I.” *Κωκαλος: Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Sulla Sicilia Antica* 26–27: 694–736.
- . 1982. “Siracusa: Le Ultime Ricerche in Ortigia.” *ASAtene* 60: 117–64.
- . 1983. “I Più Antichi Materiali di Importazione a Siracusa, a Naxos e in Altri Siti della Sicilia Orientale.” In *La Céramique Grecque Ou de Tradition Grecque Au 8e Siècle En Italie Centrale et Méridionale. [Colloque À Naples En Mai 1976]*, 113–80. Cahiers Du Centre Jean Bérard 3. Napoli: Institut français de Naples.
- . 1984. “Ricerche nel Quartiere Orientale di Naxos e Nell’agorà di Camarina.” *Κωκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall’Istituto di Storia Antica dell’Università di Palermo* 30: 679–694, Abb. Taf.
- . 1997. “Le Anfore Commerciali.” In *Corinto e l’Occidente: Atti del Trentaquattresimo Convegno di Studi Sulla Magna Grecia: Taranto 7-11 Ottobre 1994*, 403–16. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l’Archeologia della Magna Grecia.
- , ed. 2006. *Camarina: 2600 Anni Dopo La Fondazione: Nuovi Studi Sulla Città e Sul Territorio Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Ragusa, 7 Dicembre 2002, 7-9 Aprile 2003*. Roma: Ist. Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato Libr. dello Stato.
- Pelagatti, P., and M. del Campo. 1971. “Abitati Siculi: Castiglione.” *Sicilia Archeologica* 4 (16): 31–40.
- Pelagatti, P., and T. Garetto. 1980. “L’attività della Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Sicilia Orientale. Parte II.” *Κωκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall’Istituto di Storia Antica dell’Università di Palermo* 26–27: 694–736.
- Picone, E. G. 1972. “Contributi per La Topografia Archeologica del Siracusano.” *Archivio Storico Siracusano* 2: 61–74, Abb. Taf.
- Pizzo, M. 1998. “Vassallaggi (S. Cataldo, Caltanissetta). La Necropoli Meridionale. Scavi 1956.” *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 9 (9–10): 207–395.
- Pizzo, M. 1999. “Sulla Ceramica Più Antica di Gela e La Topografia della Città.” In *Κοινα. Miscellanea di Studi Archeologici in Onore di Piero Orlandini*, edited by M Castoldi, 157–68. Milano: Edizioni ET.
- Pope, S. 2014. “An Indigenous Perspective on Urbanization in Archaic and Classical Sicily.” In *Papers on Italian Urbanism in the First Millennium B.C.*, edited by E. C. Robinson, 205–27. JRA Supplementary Series 97. Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology.
- Pratt, C. 2015. “The ‘SOS’ Amphora: An Update.” *Annual of the British School at Athens* 110: 213–45.

- Prescott, C., and C. Mühlenbock. 2013. "House 1, Monte Polizzo, Sicily: From Excavation of a Ruin to Steps Towards an Interpretation of a Household." In *The Archaeology of Household*, edited by G. Kovacs, M. Madella, I. B. Godino, and B. Berzsenyi, 217–34. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Privitera, F. 1997. "Scavi e Ricerche Nei Comuni di Calatabiano e Fiumefreddo di Sicilia e nella Necropoli di Monte Iudica." *Κωκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 43 (2): 275–89.
- . 2009. "Indagini Nei Comuni di Castel di Iudica, Valverde, Mascali, Maniace e Nelle Grotte di Catania." *Κωκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 47/48 (2): 519–25.
- Privitera, F., and U. Spigo. 2005. *Dall' Alcantara agli Iblei: la ricerca archeologica in provincia di Catania: guida alla mostra: Catania, Chiesa di S. Francesco Borgia, 22 ottobre-31 gennaio 2006*. Palermo: Regione siciliana.
- Procelli, E. 1976. "Ramacca. Ricerche Topografiche nel Territorio." *Κωκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 22: 615–18.
- . "Naxos Preellenica: Le Culture e I Materiali Dal Neolitico All'eta del Ferro nella Penisola di Schiso." *Cronache di Archeologia* 22: 9–82.
- Purcell, N. 2005. "Colonization and Mediterranean History." In *Ancient Colonizations. Analogy, Similarity, and Difference*, edited by H. R. Hurst and S. Owen, 115–39. London: Duckworth.
- Rallo, A. 1976. "Scavi e Ricerche nella Città Antica di Selinunte." *Κωκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 22–23: 720–33.
- . 1982. "Selinunte: Le Ceramiche di VII Secolo aC della Necropoli Meridionale di Manuzza Dopo Gli Scavi 1978." *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e Delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente* 60: 203–218.
- Rathje, A. 1979. "Oriental Imports in Etruria in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries." In *Italy Before the Romans: The Iron Age, Orientalizing and Etruscan Period*, edited by F.R. Ridgway and D. Ridgway, 145–83. London: Academic Press.
- Recami, E., C. Mignosa, and L. R. Baldini. 1983. "Nuovo Contributo Sulla Preistoria della Sicilia." *Sicilia Archeologica* 16 (52): 45–82, Abb.
- Reusser, C. 2013. "Forschungen Auf Dem Monte Iato 2012." *Antike Kunst* 56: 72–87.
- . 2014. "Forschungen Auf Dem Monte Iato 2013." *Antike Kunst* 57: 92–113.
- Reusser, C., L. Cappuccini, and M. Mohr. 2011. "Forschungen Auf Dem Monte Iato 2010." *Antike Kunst* 54: 71–104.

- . 2012. “Forschungen Auf Dem Monte Iato 2011.” *Antike Kunst* 55: 112–37.
- Ridgway, D. 1989. “La ‘precolonizzazione.’” In *Un Secolo di Ricerche in Magna Grecia. Atti del Ventottesimo Convegno di Studi Sulla Magna Grecia. Taranto 7-12 Ottobre 1988*, 111–26. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l’Archeologia della Magna Grecia.
- . 1990. “The First Western Greeks and Their Neighbours, 1935 - 1985.” In *Greek Colonists and Native Populations. Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology, Sydney 9 - 14 July 1985*, edited by A. D. Trendall and J. P. Descoeudres, 61–72. New York: Humanities Research Centre.
- Ridgway, D. 1992. “Demaratus and His Predecessors.” In *Greece between East and West 10th-8th Centuries BC: Papers of the Meeting at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, March 15-16th, 1990*, edited by I. Tokumaru and G. Kopcke, 85–92. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- . 1993. *The First Western Greeks*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2000. “The First Western Greeks Revisited.” In *Ancient Italy in Its Mediterranean Setting. Studies in Honour of Ellen Macnamara*, edited by D. Ridgway et al., 179–91. London: Accordia Research Centre, University of London.
- . 2004. “Euboeans and Others along the Tyrrhenian Seaboard in the 8th Century B.C.” In *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean. Papers in Honour of Brian Shefton*, edited by K. Lomas, 15–33. Boston: Brill.
- . 2007. “Some Reflections on the Early Euboeans and Their Partners in the Central Mediterranean.” In *Oropos and Euboea in the Early Iron Age: Acts of an International Round Table, University of Thessaly, June 18-20, 2004*, edited by A. Mazarakis Ainian, 141–52. Volos: University of Thessaly Publications.
- Ridgway, D., and F. R. Ridgway, eds. 1979. *Italy before the Romans: The Iron Age, Orientalizing, and Etruscan Periods*. London: Academic Press.
- Riva, C., and N. C. Vella, eds. 2006. *Debating Orientalization: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Change in the Ancient Mediterranean*. London: Equinox.
- Rizza, G. 1954. “Paternò (Catania): Città Siculo-Greca in contrada ‘Civita’. Scoperte Fortuite nella Necropoli Meridionale.” *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 8: 131–45.
- . 1960. “Stipe Votiva di Un Santuario di Demetra a Catania.” *Bollettino D’arte* 45: 247–62.
- . 1962. “Siculi e Greci Duo Colli di Leontini.” *Cronache di Archeologia e di Storia Dell’arte* 1: 3–27.
- . 1966. “Monte Casasia. Un Abitato Siculo nel Territorio di Monterosso Almo.” *Cronache di Archeologia* 5: 7–15.



- . 1972-3. “Nuove Ricerche a Centuripe.” *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 18 (March): 366–73.
- . 1976-7. “Monte Casasia.” *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 22–23: 527–33.
- . 1980. “Leontini Nell’ VIII e nel VII Secolo a.C.” In *Insedamenti Coloniali Greci in Sicilia nell’VIII e VII Sec. a.C. Atti della II Riunione Scientifica della Scuola di Perfezionamento in Archeologia Classica dell'Università di Catania, Siracusa 1977*, 26–46. *Cronache di Archeologia* 17. Catania: Università di Catania, Istituto di archeologia.
- . 1981. “Leontini e Katane nell’VIII e nel VII Secolo a.C.” *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e Delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente* 59: 313–17.
- . 1984. “La Necropolis di Butera e il Rapporto fra Sicilia e Creta in Eta Protoarcaica” *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 30–31: 65–70.
- Rizza, G., S. Garraffo, and D. Palermo, eds. 1980. *Insedamenti coloniali greci in Sicilia nell’VIII e VII secolo A.C.: atti della 2a Riunione scientifica della Scuola di perfezionamento in archeologia classica dell'Università di Catania: (Siracusa, 24-26 novembre 1977)*. *Cronache di Archeologia* 17. Catania: Università di Catania, Istituto di archeologia.
- Rizza, G., and D. Palermo. 2004. *La necropoli di Sant’Angelo Muxaro: scavi Orsi-Zanotti Bianco 1931-1932*. Catania: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche : IBAM, Sezione di Catania.
- Rizza, S., and G. Biondi. 2000. *Studi sulle fortificazioni greche di Leontini*. Catania: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, Centro di studio sull’archeologia greca.
- Rogers, J. D. 2005. “Archaeology and the Interpretation of Colonial Encounters.” In *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters: Comparative Perspectives*, edited by G. J. Stein, 331–54. Santa Fe: School for American Research.
- Sammartano, R. 1994. “Tradizioni Ecistiche e Rapporti Greco-Siculi. Le Fondazioni di Leontini e di Megara Hyblaea.” *Seia. Quaderni del Dipartimento di Scienze Archeologiche e Storiche Dell’antichità dell’Università di Macerata* 11: 47–93.
- Sammito, A. M. 1999. “La Necropoli di Contrada Mista a Modica.” *Sicilia Archeologica* 32 (97): 87–104.
- Scheffer, C., ed. 2001. *Ceramics in Context: Proceedings of the Internordic Colloquium on Ancient Pottery, Held at Stockholm, 13-15 June 1997*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Sciortino, G. 2012. “Materiali di Tradizione Fenicia a Siracusa in Età Arcaica. I Dati e Le Problematiche.” Edited by G. Bruno and E. Messina. *Archivio Storico Siracusano* 47: 533–45.
- Sedita Migliore, M. 1981. *Sabucina: studio sulla zona archeologica di Caltanissetta*. Caltanissetta: S. Sciascia.

- Serra, A. 2016. *La Ceramica a Decorazione Geometrica Dipinta Da Segesta nel Quadro Delle Produzioni della Sicilia Occidentale*. BAR International Series. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports Ltd.
- Sestieri, B. A. M., C. M. Lentini, and G. Voza. 1995. *Guide Archeologiche: Preistoria e Protostoria in Italia*. Forlì: A.B.A.C.O.
- Shepherd, G. 1999. "Fibulae and Females: Intermarriage in the Western Greek Colonies." In *Ancient Greeks West and East*, edited by G.R. Tsetschladze, 267–300. Leiden, Netherlands; Boston: Brill Academic Publishing.
- . 2000. "Greeks Bearing Gifts: Religious Relationships between Sicily and Greece in the Archaic Period." In *Sicily from Aeneas to Augustus: New Approaches in Archaeology and History*, edited by C. J. Smith and J. Serrati, 55–72. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- . 2005. "Dead Men Tell No Tales: Ethnic Diversity in Sicilian Colonies and the Evidence of the Cemeteries." *OJOA Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 24 (2): 115–36.
- . 2011. "Hybridity and Hierarchy: Cultural Identity and Social Mobility in Archaic Sicily." In *Communicating Identity in Italic Iron Age Communities*, edited by M. Gleba and H. W. Horsnaes, 113–29. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- . 2016. "From Innovation to Tradition: Seventh-Century Sicily." In *Conceptualising Early Colonisation*, edited by L. Donnellan, V. Nizzo, and G.J. Burgers, 339–48. Bruxelles: Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome.
- Siracusano, A. 1994. "Acropoli di Monte Saraceno di Ravanusa. Nuovi Resti Edilizi e Situazione Stratigrafica. Scavi 1991-92." *Quaderni di Archeologia. Università di Messina* 5: 41–48.
- . 2001. "Sicani e Greci a Confronto. La Ceramica Indigena di Monte Saraceno e Il Processo di Ellenizzazione." *Quaderni di Archeologia. Università di Messina* 2: 29–51.
- Sjöqvist, E. 1964. "Excavations at Morgantina (Serra Orlando). Preliminary Report 8." *American Journal of Archaeology* 68: 137–47.
- . 1973. *Sicily and the Greeks: Studies in the Interrelationship between the Indigenous Populations and the Greek Colonists*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Smith, C. J. 1999. "Medea in Italy: Barter and Exchange in the Archaic Mediterranean." In *Ancient Greeks West and East*, edited by G. R. Tsetschladze, 179–206. Leiden, Netherlands; Boston: Brill.
- Smith, C. J., and J. Serrati. 2000a. "Wine Wares in Protohistoric Eastern Sicily." In *Sicily from Aeneas to Augustus: New Approaches in Archaeology and History*, 41–54. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- . 2000b. *Sicily from Aeneas to Augustus: New Approaches in Archaeology and History*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

- Snodgrass, A. M., G. R. Tsetschladze, and F. De Angelis. 2006. "The Nature and Standing of the Early Western Colonies." In *Archaeology and the Emergence of Greece*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Sole, L. 2012. "Recenti Scoperte a Gela: Il Sacello Suburbano di Piazza Gorizia." In *Griechen in Ubersee Und Der Historische Raum*, edited by J. Bergemann, 81–87. Rahden: Verlag Marie Leidorf GmbH.
- Sommer, M. 2007. "Networks of Commerce and Exchange in the Iron Age. The Case of the Phoenicians." *Mediterranean Historical Review* 22: 97–111.
- Sourisseau, J.-C. 2002. "Les Amphores Commerciales de La Nécropole de Rifriscolaro À Camarine. Remarques Préliminaires Sur Les Productions Corinthiennes de Type A." In *Camarina, 2600 Anni Dopo La Fondazione. Nuovi Studi Sulla Città e Sul Territorio (Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Ragusa 7 Dicembre 2002/ 7-9 Aprile 2003)*, edited by P. Pelagatti, G. di Stefano, and L. de Lachenal, 129–47. Roma: Centro studi Feliciano Rossitto.
- Spatafora, F. 1986. "Monte Maranfusa. Un Insediamiento nella Media Valle del Belice." *Sicilia Archeologica* 19 (62): 13–27.
- . 1988. "Monte Maranfusa. Scavi 1986-87." *Archivio Storico Siciliano* 1: 293–99.
- . 1993a. "La Montagnola di Marineo. Campagna di Scavi 1991." *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 39 (April): 1187–98.
- . 1993b. "Monte Maranfusa: Campagna di Scavi 1989." In *Atti Dell' 8 Congresso Internazionale di Studi Sulla Sicilia Antica*, 1199–1209. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider.
- . 1997a. "La Montagnola di Marineo. Campagna di Scavi 1996." *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 43 (2): 703–19.
- . 1997b. "Monte Maranfusa. Campagna di Scavi 1995." *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 43–44 (2, 2): 687–701.
- . 2000. "Indigeni, Punici e Greci in Età Arcaica e Tardo-Arcaica Sulla Montagnola di Marineo e nella Valle dell'Eleuterio." In *Terze Giornate Internazionali di Studi Sull'area Elima. Ghibellina - Erice - Contessa Entellina, 23 - 26 Ottobre 1997. Atti*, 895–918. Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa.
- . 2003. *Monte Maranfusa: un insediamento nella media Valle del Belice: l'abitato indigeno*. Palermo: Regione siciliana, Assessorato dei beni culturali, ambientali e della pubblica istruzione.
- . 2009a. "Makella (La Montagnola di Marineo)." In *La Sicilia in Età Arcaica. Dalle Apoikiai Al 480 a.C. Contributi Dalle Recenti Indagini Archeologiche*, edited by R. Panvini and L. Sole, 296–302. Palermo: Centro Regionale per l'Inventario, la Catalogazione e la Documentazione.

- . 2009b. “Monte Maranfusa. Tra Indigeni e Greci nella Valle del Belice.” In *La Sicilia in Età Arcaica. Dalle Apoikiai Al 480 a.C. Contributi Dalle Recenti Indagini Archeologiche*, edited by R. Panvini and L. Sole, 215–17. Palermo: Centro Regionale per l’Inventario, la Catalogazione e la Documentazione.
- . 2009c. “Spazio Abitativo e Architettura Domestica Negli Insediamenti Indigeni della Sicilia Occidentale.” In *L’espai Domèstic I L’organització de La Societat a La Protohistòria de La Mediterrània Occidental*, edited by F. Belarte and M. Carme, 363–377. Barcelona: Departament de Prehistoria, Historia Antiga i Arqueologia de la Universitat de Barcelona.
- . 2010a. “Indigeni e Greci Negli Emporia Fenici della Sicilia.” *Bollettino di Archeologia Online*, 34–46.
- . 2010b. “Per Un’ ‘archeologia Degli Incontri’: Sicani Ed Elimi nella Sicilia Greca.” In *Grecs et Indigènes de La Catalogne À La Mer Noire: Actes Des Rencontres Du Programme Européen Ramses 2 (2006-2008)*, edited by H. Tréziny, 25–39. Paris: Errance.
- . 2012. “Rassegna D’archeologia: Scavi nel Territorio di Palermo (2007-2009).” In *Sicilia Occidentale. Studi, Rassegne, Ricerche*, edited by C. Ampolo, 13–22. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale.
- . 2016. “Insediamenti indigeni d’altura: relazioni interculturali nella Sicilia occidentale.” In *Materielle Kultur und Identität im Spannungsfeld zwischen mediterraner Welt und Mitteleuropa*, edited by H. Baitinger, 99–106. Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums.
- Spatafora, F., and S. Vassallo, eds. 2010. *L’ultima Città: Rituali e Spazi Funerari nella Sicilia Nord-Occidentale di Età Arcaica e Classica*. Palermo: Regione sicilia, Assessorato dei beni culturali e dell’identità siciliana, Dipartimento dei beni culturali e dell’identità siciliana : Sprointendenza beni culturali e ambientali di Palermo, Servizio beni archeologici.
- Speciale, C. 2015. “Francavilla Marittima: A Contextual Analysis of Male Burials in the Necropolis of Macchiabate (9th-6th Century BC).” In *SOMA 2011: Proceedings of the 15th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Held at the University of Catania 3-5 March 2011*, edited by P. M. Militello and H. Ö niz, 425–506. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Spigo, U. 1979. “Monte San Mauro di Caltagirone. Scavi 1978. Aspetti di Un Centro Greco della Sicilia Interna.” *Bollettino D’arte* 64: 21–42.
- . 1980a. “Monte San Mauro e Altobrando. Recenti Ricerche Sul Territorio di Caltagirone.” *Cronache di Archeologia e di Storia Dell’arte* 19: 145–67.
- . 1980b. “Ricerche a Monte S. Mauro, Francavilla di Sicilia, Acireale, Adrano, Lentini, Solarino.” *Κωκάλος. Studi Pubblicati dall’Istituto di Storia Antica dell’Università di Palermo* 26–27: 771–95.

- . 1984. “Ricerche e Rinvenimenti a Brucoli (Contrada Gisira), Valsavoia (Lentini), nel Territorio di Caltagirone, Ad Adrano e Francavilla di Sicilia.” *Κωκάλος. Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo* 30–31: 863–904.
- . 1989. “L’Anonimo Centro Greco di Monte S. Mauro di Caltagirone nel Quadro dell’Arcaismo Siceliota: Prospettive di Ricerca.” In *Decima Miscellanea Greca e Romana*, 1–32. Roma: Istituto italiano per la storia antica.
- . 1997. “Corinto e La Sicilia.” In *Corinto e l’Occidente: Atti del Trentaquattresimo Convegno di Studi Sulla Magna Grecia: Taranto 7-11 Ottobre 1994*, 551–84. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l’Archeologia della Magna Grecia.
- Steures, D. C., P. Orsi, and F. Lo Schiavo. 1980. *Monte Finocchito Revisited*. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Series.
- Stillwell, R. 1963. “Excavations at Morgantina (Serra Orlando). Preliminary Report 7.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 67: 163–71.
- Stissi, V. 1999. “Production, Circulation and Consumption of Archaic Greek Pottery.” In *The Complex Past of Pottery: Production, Circulation and Consumption of Mycenaean and Greek Pottery (16th to Early 5th Centuries BC)*, edited by J. P. Crielaard, V. Stissi, and G. J. van Wijngaarden, 83–113. London: Brill Academic Publishing.
- Stockhammer, P. W. 2013. “From Hybridity to Entanglement, from Essentialism to Practice.” *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 28 (1): 11–28.
- Storaci, E. 2012. “Alabastra Greco-Orientali nella Necropoli Ex Parco Giostre a Siracusa.” Edited by G. Bruno and E. Messina. *Archivio Storico Siracusano* 47: 553–64.
- Strobl, C., J. Malley, and G. Tutz. 2009. “An Introduction to Recursive Partitioning: Rationale, Application and Characteristics of Classification and Regression Trees, Bagging and Random Forests.” *Psychol Methods* 14 (4): 323–348.
- Sudano, N. 2015. “Greeks and Sikels in the Hyblaeon Area: An Historical Interpretation of the Epigraphic Evidence in the Chalcidian Hinterland.” In *SOMA 2011: Proceedings of the 15th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Held at the University of Catania 3-5 March 2011*, edited by P. M. Militello and H. Ö niz, 699–708. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Sulosky Weaver, C. L., and G. di Stefano. 2015. *The Bioarchaeology of Classical Kamarina: Life and Death in Greek Sicily*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Swaddling, J., ed. 1986. *Italian Iron Age artefacts in the British Museum: Papers of the Sixth British Museum Classical Colloquium*. London: British Museum Publications.
- Tamburello, I. 1970. “La Montagnola di Marineo.” *Sicilia Archeologica* 3 (10): 31–38.
- . 1972. “La Montagnola di Marineo, 2. Gli Scavi Archeologici del 1971.” *Sicilia Archeologica* 5 (18): 37–41.

- . 1975. “Marineo. Saggio di Scavo in Località Montagnola.” *Sicilia Archeologica* 8 (28): 101–10.
- Tanasi, D. 2008. *La necropoli protostorica di Montagna di Caltagirone*. Monza: Polimetrica.
- Terrenato, N., and D. C. Haggis. 2011. *State Formation in Italy and Greece: Questioning the Neoevolutionist Paradigm*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Tigano, G. 1985. “Ceramica Indigena Da Sabucina (Caltanissetta). Oinochoai Trilobate a Decorazione Geometrica.” *Università di Messina* 1: 55–78.
- . 2002. *Le Necropoli di Mylai: VIII-I Sec. a.C. : Catalogo*. Milazzo: Rebus.
- . 2009. *Mylai II: scavi e ricerche nell'area urbana, 1996-2005*. Palermo: Regione siciliana, Assessorato regionale beni culturali e ambientali e della pubblica istruzione, Dipartimento dei beni culturali ambientali ed educazione permanente ; Sicania.
- Tomasello, F. 1997. “Le Tombe a Tholos della Sicilia Centro Meridionale.” *Cronache di Archeologia* 34–5: 272 p., [6] leaves of plates (3 folded).
- . 1979. “S. Angelo Muxaro. Nuove Indagini Sulla Architettura Funeraria del Territorio.” *Cronache di Archeologia e di Storia Dell'arte* 18: 59–75.
- . 1988. “La Necropoli di Contrada Serpellizza di Licodia Eubea.” *Amministrazione Dei Beni Culturali e Ambientali della Regione Siciliana* 10–11 (3): 61–65.
- Tramontana, E. 2012. “Tra Gela e Platani: Organizzazione del Territorio e Dinamiche Insediative nella Sicilia Centro-Meridionale dall'Età del Ferro All'epoca Arcaica.” In *Griechen in Übersee Und Der Historische Raum: Internationales Kolloquium Universität Göttingen, Archäologisches Institut, 13.-16. Oktober 2010*, edited by J. Bergemann, 149–66. Rahden: Verlag Marie Leidorf.
- Trendall, A. D., and J.-P. Descœudres, eds. 1990. *Greek Colonists and Native Populations: Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology Held in Honour of Emeritus Professor A.D. Trendall, Sydney, 9-14 July 1985*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Tréziny, H. 2010. *Grecs et indigènes de la Catalogne à la Mer Noire: actes des rencontres du programme européen Ramses 2 (2006-2008)*. Paris: Errance.
- . 2012. “Grecs et Indigenes Aux Origines de Megara Hyblaea (Sicile).” *Mitteilungen Des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Romische Abteilung* 117: 15–34.
- . 2016. “Archaeological Data on the Foundation of Megara Hyblaea. Certainties and Hypotheses.” In *Conceptualising Early Colonisation*, edited by L. Donnellan et al., 167–78. Bruxelles: Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome.
- Trombi, C. 2015. *La ceramica indigena decorata della Sicilia occidentale: tipologia e produzione*. Mantova: Universitas Studiorum.

- Tsetskhladze, G. R. 1999. *Ancient Greeks West and East*. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2006. *Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas*. Leiden; Boston: Brill.
- Urquhart, L. 2017. “Graves, Gods, and Extratextual Ritual in Archaic Colonial Sicily.” In *Gods, Objects, and Ritual Practice*, edited by S Blakely, 305–28. Atlanta: Lockwood Press
- Tusa, V. 1970. “Tombe Delle Necropoli di Selinunte.” *Sicilia Archeologica* 3 (11): 11–20.
- . “Monte Polizzo: Scavi 1970.” *Sicilia Archeologica* 5: 119–21.
- . 1977. “Nuovi Rinvenimenti Nell’area del Santuario della Malophoros a Selinunte.” *Cronache di Archeologia* 16: 115–18.
- . 1980. “Materiali Greci Dell’ VIII e del VII Secolo a.C. nella Sicilia Occidentale.” In *Insedimenti Coloniali Greci in Sicilia nell’VIII e VII Sec. a.C. Atti della II Riunione Scientifica della Scuola di Perfezionamento in Archeologia Classica dell’Università di Catania, Siracusa 1977*, 47–51. Catania: Università di Catania. Istituto di archeologia.
- . 1982. “Ricerche e Scavi Nelle Necropoli Selinunte.” *ASAtene* 60: 189–202.
- Tusa, V. 1997. *Prima Sicilia: alle origini della società siciliana: Albergo dei poveri, Palermo, 18 ottobre-22 dicembre 1997*. Siracusa: Ediprint.
- Urquhart, L. M. 2010. “Colonial Religion and Indigenous Society in the Archaic Western Mediterranean, C. 750-400 BCE.” PhD Thesis, Stanford: Stanford University.
- Uznanski, J. 2009. “Iron Age Bronze Figurines on Sicily: The Elymi, Sicani, Sikels and the Mediterranean.” DeKalb: Northern Illinois University.
- Valenti, F. 1992. “Caltagirone. Saggi di Scavo Archeologico a Monte San Mauro” Beni culturali e ambientali. Sicilia: 15–17.
- . 2007. *Leontinoi: storia della città: dalla preistoria alla fine dell’impero romano*. Palermo: Publicicula.
- Vallet, G. 1964. “Megara Hyblaea VIII: Remarques Sur La Plastique Du VIIIe Siècle.” *Mélanges D’archéologie e D’histoire* 76: 25–42.
- . 1976. *Megara Hyblaea 1: Le Quartier de L’agora Archaique*. Mélanges D’archéologie et D’histoire. Suppléments 1. Rome: École française de Rome.
- . 1978. *Megara Hyblaea 2: La Céramique Archaique*. [Reprod. anastatique]. Rome: Ecole française de Rome.
- . 1983. *Megara Hyblaea 3. Guide Des Fouilles: Introduction a L’histoire D’une Cite Coloniale D’occident*. Rome: Ecole Français de Rome.

- , ed. 1999. *La Colonisation Grecque En Méditerranée Occidentale: Actes de La Rencontre Scientifique En Hommage À Georges Vallet, Rome-Naples, 15-18 Novembre 1995*. Roma: École française de Rome; diff. de Boccard.
- van der Leeuw, S. 1999. "Exchange and Trade in Ceramics: Some Notes from the Potters Point of View." In *The Complex Past of Pottery: Production, Circulation and Consumption of Mycenaean and Greek Pottery (16th to Early 5th Centuries BC)*, edited by J. P. Crielaard et al., 115–36. London: Brill Academic Publishing.
- Van Keuren, F. D. 1989. *The Frieze from the Hera I Temple at Foce del Sele*. Roma: G. Bretschneider ed.
- Vancheri, A. 2014. "Il Sito di Capodarso: Una Revisione Archeologica e Topografica." *Orizzonti. Rassegna di Archeologia* 15: 71–78.
- VanValkenburgh, P. 2013. "Hybridity, Creolization, and Mestizaje: A Comment." *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 28 (1): 300–322.
- Vassallo, S. 1991. "Il Santuario di Athena Sul Piano di Imera." In *di Terra in Terra: Nuove Scoperte Archeologiche nella Provincia di Palermo*, edited by C. A. di Stefano, 89–112. Palermo: Museo archeologico regionale di Palermo.
- . 1993. "Ricerche nella Necropoli Orientale di Himera in Località Pestavecchia (1990-1993)." In *Atti Dell' 8 Congresso Internazionale di Studi Sulla Sicilia Antica. 2, 1-2*, 1243–57. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider.
- . 1999. *Colle Madore: un caso di ellenizzazione in terra sicana*. Palermo: Regione siciliana, Assessorato dei beni culturali e ambientali e della pubblica istruzione.
- . 2000. "Abitati Indigeni Ellenizzati della Sicilia Centro-Occidentale Dalla Vitalità Tardo-Arcaica Alla Crisi del V Sec. a.C." In *Terze Giornate Internazionali di Studi Sull'area Elima. Ghibellina - Erice - Contessa Entellina, 23 - 26 Ottobre 1997. Atti*, 983–1008. Pisa: Scuola normale superiore.
- . 2003. "Ceramica Indigena Arcaica Ad Himera." In *Quarte Giornate Internazionali di Studi Sull'area Elima (Erice, 1-4 Dicembre 2000): Atti*, edited by A. Corretti, 1343–56. Pisa: Scuola normale superiore (Italy). Laboratorio di topografia storico-archeologica del mondo antico.
- . 2009. "Colle Madore." In *La Sicilia in Età Arcaica Dalle Apoikiai Al 480 a.C. Contributi Dalle Recenti Indagini Archeologiche*, edited by R. Panvini and L. Sole, 203–6. Palermo: Centro Regionale per l'Inventario, la Catalogazione e la Documentazione.
- . 2010. "L'incontro Tra Indigeni e Greci di Himera nella Sicilia Centro-Settentrionale (7 - 5 Sec a.C.)." In *Grecs et Indigènes de La Catalogne À La Mer Noire : Actes Des Rencontres Du Programme Européen Ramses 2 (2006-2008)*, edited by H. Tréziny, 41–54. Paris: Errance.



- . 2012. “Scavi nella necropoli occidentale di Himera, il paesaggio e le tipologie funerarie.” In *Sicilia occidentale. Studi, rassegne, ricerche*, edited by A Carmine, 49–71. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale.
- . 2015. *Montagna Dei Cavalli. Guida Breve*. Palermo: Biblioteca centrale della Regione siciliana “Alberto Bombace.”
- . 2016. “Il contributo delle importazioni allo sviluppo e all’identità culturale di Himera.” In *Materielle Kultur und Identität im Spannungsfeld zwischen mediterraner Welt und Mitteleuropa*, edited by H. Baitinger, 69–80. Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums.
- Verga, S. 1990. “Materiali Egittizzanti Conservati nel Museo Etneo di Adrano.” *Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche* 7: 65–90.
- Veronese, F. 2006. *Lo Spazio e La Dimensione del Sacro: Santuari Greci e Territorio nella Sicilia Arcaica*. Padova: Esedra Ed.
- Villa, A. 1997. “Indagini Archeologiche e Ricognizioni nel Territorio di Castronovo di Sicilia.” In *Seconde Giornate Internazionali di Studi Sull’area Elima, Gibellina 22 - 26 Ottobre 1994. Atti*, 1385–97. Pisa: Centro studi e documentazione sull’area elima.
- Villard, F., and G. Vallet. 1955. “Megara Hyblaea V: Lampes Du VIIe Siecle et Chronologie Des Coupes Ioniennes.” *Mélanges D’archéologie et D’histoire* 67: 5–32.
- . 1956. “Géométrie Grec, Géométrie Sicéliote, Géométrie Sicule. Étude Sur Les Premiers Contacts Entre Grecs et Indigènes Sur La Côte Orientale de La Sicile.” *Mélanges D’archéologie et D’histoire* 68 (1): 7–27.
- Voza, G. 1976. “L’attività della Soprintendenza Alle Antichità della Sicilia Orientale Kokalos 1976-77.” *Κωκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall’Istituto di Storia Antica dell’Università di Palermo* 22–23: 572–79.
- . 1980a. “Eloro in Eta Protoarcaica.” In *Insedimenti Coloniali Greci in Sicilia nell’VIII e VII Sec. a.C. Atti della II Riunione Scientifica della Scuola di Perfezionamento in Archeologia Classica dell’Università di Catania, Siracusa 1977*, 134–35. *Cronache di Archeologia* 17. Catania: Università di Catania, Istituto di archeologia.
- . 1980b. “La Necropoli della Valle del Marcellino Presso Villasmundo.” In *Insedimenti Coloniali Greci in Sicilia nell’VIII e VII Sec. a.C. Atti della II Riunione Scientifica della Scuola di Perfezionamento in Archeologia Classica dell’Università di Catania, Siracusa 1977*, 104–10. *Cronache di Archeologia* 17. Catania: Università di Catania, Istituto di archeologia.
- . 1980c. “L’attività della Soprintendenza Alle Antichità della Sicilia Orientale. Parte II.” *Κωκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall’Istituto di Storia Antica dell’Università di Palermo* 26–27: 674–93.
- . 1982. “Evidenze Archeologiche di VII e VII Secolo A.C. nel Territorio di Siracusa: La Necropoli di Villasmundo, nella Valle del Marcellino.” *ASAtene* 60: 169–71.

- . 1984. “Attività nel Territorio della Soprintendenza Alle Antichità di Siracusa nel Quadrennio 1980-1984.” *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall’Istituto di Storia Antica dell’Università di Palermo* 30–31: 657–78.
- . 1993. “Attività Archeologica della Soprintendenza di Siracusa e Ragusa.” *Κωκκαλος. Studi Pubblicati dall’Istituto di Storia Antica dell’Università di Palermo* 39–40: 1281–1294, Abb. Taf.
- . , ed. 1999. *Siracusa 1999. Lo Scavo Archeologico di Piazza Duomo*. Palermo: Lombardi.
- . 2000. “Primi Risultati della Scavo di Piazza Duomo a Siracusa.” In *Un Ponte fra l’Italia e La Grecia. Atti del Simposio in Onore di Antonino di Vita, Ragusa 13 - 15 Febbraio 1998*, edited by A. di Vita, 131–38. Padova: Bottega d’Erasmus - A. Ausilio.
- Walsh, J. St. P. 2014. *Consumerism in the Ancient World: Imports and Identity Construction*. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- White, Richard. 1991. *Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wijngaarden, G. J. van. 1999. “The Complex Past of Pottery: An Introduction.” In *The Complex Past of Pottery: Production, Circulation and Consumption of Mycenaean and Greek Pottery (16th to Early 5th Centuries BC)*, edited by J. P. Crielaard and G. J. van Wijngaarden, 1–19. Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben.
- Wilson, R. J. A. 1987. “Archaeology in Sicily, 1982-1987.” *Archaeological Reports* 34: 105–150.
- . 1995. “Archaeology in Sicily, 1988-1995.” *Archaeological Reports* 42: 59–123.
- Yll, M., and M. Bota. 1976. “La Necropolis de Cozzo Delle Giummare.” *Pyrenae: Revista de Prehistòria I Antiguitat de La Mediterrània Occidental* 12: 117–40.
- Yntema, D. 2016. “Greek Groups in Southeast Italy during the Iron Age.” In *Conceptualising Early Colonisation*, edited by L. Donnellan, V. Nizzo, and G.J. Burgers, 209–24. Bruxelles: Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome.