Greek colonists and indigenous populations at L'Amastuola, southern Italy II

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Abstract

*This article represents a second preliminary report on the fieldwork conducted between 2005 and 2010 in and around the Archaic site of L'Amastuola (Apulia) by VU University Amsterdam. The activities included excavations on the site's south terrace, the use of surface surveys and satellite images to study landscape and settlement patterns around L'Amastuola, and excavations in the necropolis area. The excavations brought to light more evidence to support our thesis of Greek–indigenous cohabitation at the site, as well as some invaluable information about the post-abandonment phase at the site, when a cult of the Dioskouroi was installed, presumably by the Tarentines who were occupying L'Amastuola. A tomb-like cult structure associated with this cult was erased during the early 3rd century BC, possibly in the wake of the Roman conquest of southern Italy.**

1. Introduction

In 2003, the Department of Archaeology of VU University Amsterdam (ACVU), in collaboration with the *Soprintendenza ai Beni Archeologici della Puglia*, started a fieldwork project at the site of L'Amastuola, which is 15 km north-west of Taranto. The project encompasses both excavations and field surveys, as well as non-destructive geophysical surveys and geo-archaeological and botanical analyses. An article published in the 2007 *BABesch*[1] provides descriptions of the site and its environs, previous archaeological research at L'Amastuola, the aims of the project and the scientific framework within which the fieldwork takes place. The core of that article is a preliminary report on the excavations, the surface surveys and the survey of the cemetery area that took place during the 2003-2005 field seasons, followed by a first analysis of the pottery found in the excavations, and some preliminary conclusions regarding the indigenous habitation of the site, the relationship between Greeks and indigenes, local material culture and the layout of the colonial landscape.

We concluded that Iron Age inhabitation at L'Amatuola started in the later 8th century BC, when more indigenous sites in Salento were occupied for the first time. In the early 7th century, Greeks settled at L'Amastuola, marking the beginning of a phase of cohabitation of a probably peaceful nature. At about the same time, the site was fortified with a double circumvallation. Domestic, cultic and funerary evidence shows that elements of native and Greek cultural traditions became increasingly integrated and evolved into a shared, 'third culture'. During the 7th and 6th centuries, L'Amastuola had its own metal and pottery production workshops and, as indicated by ceramic and other finds, maintained links with the wider Greek and indigenous world around it. All this suggests that L'Amastuola was home to an independent community with a mixed indigenous-Greek background. Around the mid 5th century, substantial alterations in the organization of settlement and cemeteries and in land use took place; this can be related to the conflicts that written sources say arose between the colonists of Taras and the indigenous population of the region, coinciding with a phase of territorial expansion by the Tarentines. It was presumably at this point in time that L'Amastuola ceased to exist as an independent settlement and became part of the *chora* of Taras. We feel that the outcomes of the first campaigns have shed important new light both on the character of the site and on the relationships between indigenous peoples and Greek settlers in southern Italy during the Archaic period. In any case, our first preliminary report has stirred the debate on the Greek colonization in the region.[2]

The present article represents a second preliminary report on the fieldwork and other research activities that were carried out in and around L'Amastuola in the period 2005-2010. It contains:

1. the results of the last two campaigns of excavations of the settlement on the south terrace (2007-2008),
2. a study of landscape and settlement patterns around L'Amastuola, combining information from surface surveys and satellite images (2005-2010), and

3. the results of the excavations in the necropolis (2010).

This article follows the structure of our earlier report. First, brief reports on the fieldwork are given (parts 2-4; including in part 2 an overview of the findings in the various excavation trenches). These are followed in part 5 by preliminary conclusions in relation to the themes that we focus on in our research project (i.e. Greek-indigenous relationships, early colonial material culture, local identity, and the layout of the colonial landscape).

2. Overview of the Excavations on the South Terrace (2007-2008)

Excavations were carried out in three trenches (*fig. 1*). In Trench 4 only some earlier layers underlying *oikos ε* were exposed. In Trench 6 we dug until we reached the levels associated with the earliest phase of the potter's workshop; the trench was also substantially extended to the north and the south-east, where evidence of cult activities post-dating the settlement came to light. Trench 5 was also enlarged in order to further expose the parts of walling found in 2005; this led to the finding of the remains of an indigenous hut and a later domestic complex with storage facilities.

Trench 4 (Q21cd … S23ac)

Excavated: 2007. Location: directly north-west of the *Soprintendenza*'s central test trench. Aim: to find evidence of continuation of occupation in a north-westerly direction, and to determine the size, nature and density of occupation and diachronic developments in architecture and use of space.

Excavations in 2004-2005 had brought to light the foundations of a small rectangular building (building δ) - possibly the kitchen of a larger edifice - and those of a somewhat larger building (*oikos ε*) that had been used for the production of iron implements but had also had a domestic function.[3] The floor and the floor matrix of *oikos ε* still awaited excavation, which was accomplished during the first week of the 2007 season. The floor matrix in the south part of *oikos ε* yielded a fragment of a banded skyphos, datable to the late 6th century. This find allows *oikos ε* to be attributed with greater certainty to the end of the 6th century BC.[4] Its floors, walls, furnace and bench were all set in or on top of a layer of *terra rossa*. At L'Amastuola, this type of soil is found lying on the bedrock and generally contains the earliest evi-

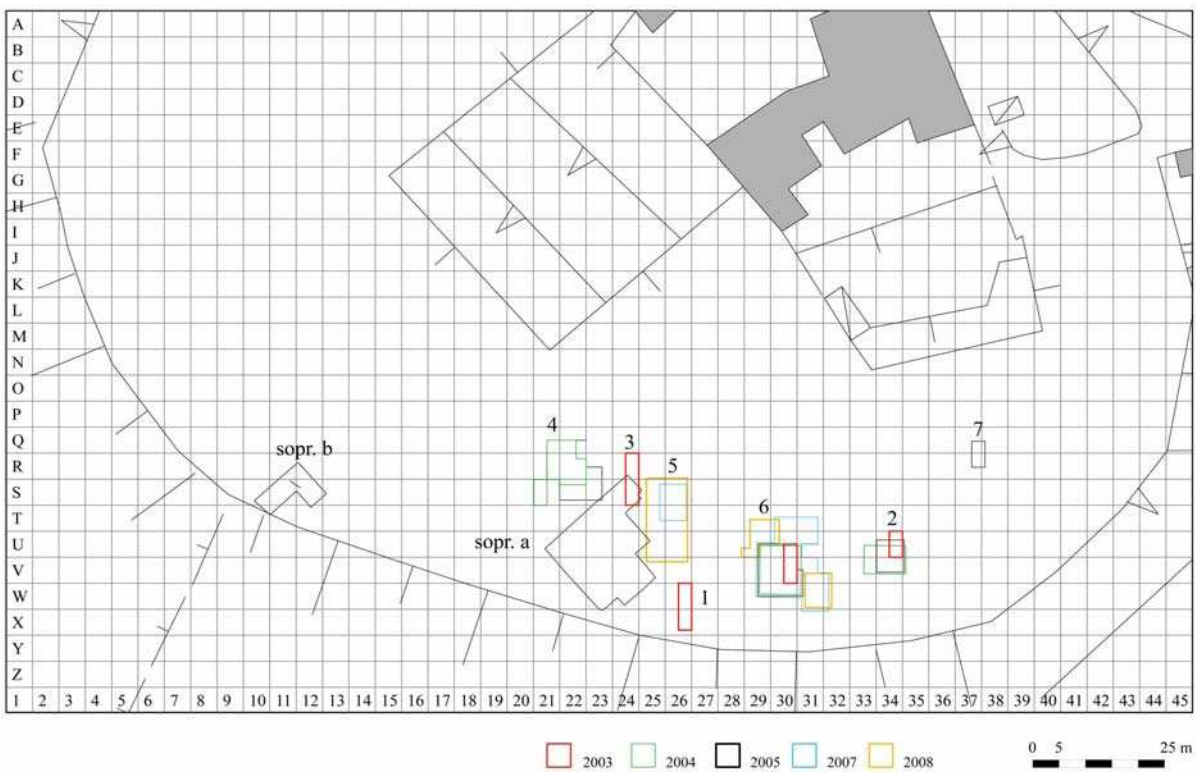


Fig. 1. L'Amastuola, south terrace: location of the trenches (2003-2008).

Fig. 2. Trench 4: oikos ε *(from NE).*

Fig. 3. Trench 4: oikos ε *a.-b. stamnos found under the portico (un. 172/175 #444 SF39); c.-d. same stamnos in the process of restoration.*

dence of occupation on the hill, often in the form of scattered *impasto* fragments. A heavily burnt spot was located under the south wall of *oikos ε*; not far from this and within the *terra rossa* layer we found the bones of an almost complete leg of a goat or sheep. This suggests that before the construction of *oikos ε* this was an outside area where fires were lit and refuse was deposited. To find confirmation of the above date, we turned our attention to the portico or antechamber, which is paved with large stones (*fig.* 2: top of photo). We selected a part where no stones were present and soon noticed the fragments of a large vessel (*fig. 3a-b*). It appeared to be an almost complete stamnos (*fig. 3c-d*) that had been partly dug into the *terra rossa*. Later, it had been smashed - deliberately, it seems - by a large flat slab belonging to the porch's pavement; the slab was found lying right on top of the vase (see *fig. 3a*). The exact relationship between the stamnos and *oikos ε* is not clear. In any case, the date of the vase in the 2nd or 3rd quarter of the 7th century provides a *terminus post quem* for the construction of this building.[5]

Trench 5 (S25 … V26ab)
Excavated: 2005-2008. Location: directly north-east of the *Soprintendenza*'s central test trench, and east of Trench 3. Aim: to find evidence of continuation of occupation in a north-easterly direction, and to determine the size, nature and density of occupation and diachronic developments in architecture and use of space.

In 2005, only a small part of this trench was excavated. On the basis of what was visible then, it was thought that this area contained wall remains belonging to a rectangular structure that, like buildings α and ε, was oriented north-east/south-west. Part of a curving wall was found more to the west. Its function was not exactly clear; one possibility is that it constituted a terrace and/or a division wall that continued in a north/ north-westerly direction.[6] When in 2007 and 2008 the trench was expanded to the west and south (see *fig. 4*), it became clear that this interpretation was only partly correct. The curvilinear wall appeared to belong to a larger structure, probably an oval hut (*figs 4-5*). Its stone foundation had been partly constructed on top of the bedrock. The stratigraphy connected with this initial phase is not intact, but relevant layers incorporate patches of burnt material, including burnt clay and burnt botanical remains. Among the associated finds probably belonging to floor deposits were a spindle whorl, a grinding stone, and an interesting mixture of pottery types and shapes, including pieces of pithoi, cooking ware, *impasto*, a 'colonial' hydria, a Corinthian type-A transport amphora, a possible stamnos and an aryballos; finewares comprise a few Sub-Geometric and Proto-Corinthian style pieces and a considerable amount of both matt-painted and 'colonial' pottery (ratio ca 40:60). This provides a rough date for the hut in the first half of the 7th century. During a second stage, this hut was overbuilt by a rectangular structure (*figs 4-5*: building ζ). Stones from the hut's foundation were possibly reused for its construction, which may explain why the northern part of these foundations was dislocated and why its southern part is not very well preserved. Associated pottery comprises 'colonial' finewares, *impasto*, a Corinthian type-A transport amphora and storage jars. It is not yet possible to provide a date for this structure. During a third stage, another quasi-rectangular room (*fig. 4*: building θ) was added to the south of building ζ. Both buildings seem to

Fig. 4. Trench 5: plan showing oikoi ζ, η *and* θ *curvilinear hut and circular stone structures.*

have had an entrance to the north-east as well as a small bench built against the exterior of the back wall to the south-west; both had most probably been covered by roof tiles. Building θ clearly had a domestic function, as is indicated by the type of pottery that was found (coarse cooking wares, 'colonial' fine and medium wares, matt-painted ceramics), bone, burnt botanical material, burnt loam, a trapezoidal and a rounded cone-shaped spindle whorl, and a loomweight (*fig. 6*); however, this room also contained a bronze arrow-

Fig. 5. Trench 5: oikoi ζ *and* θ *and curvilinear hut (from NE).*

head and a ca 15 cm long iron double axe (*fig. 7*). Bones of red deer (*Cervus Elaphus*) were found inside and just outside this room.[7]

To the south of this complex, part of another building was excavated (*figs 4 and 8*: building η). This building could be entered from the south-west via a porch that was separated by an internal division wall from the building's main room. A row of medium-sized stones was found lining the face of the building's west wall; they were probably put there to protect the wall's exterior. The building possibly had a tile roof. At least two floor levels could be discerned. The older floor contained fragments of 'colonial wares'; the more recent surface produced pieces of coarse cooking ware, 'colonial' wares, hydriai, a Corinthian type-A transport amphora and pithoi, but no matt-painted ceramics, which would make this building slightly later in date than the building complex ζ and θ.

Immediately west of this and located between buildings θ and η were two circular stone platforms (*figs 4, 8 and 9a*). The westernmost platform (un. 69) has a diameter of 1.87 m (measured north-south); the one in the east (un. 70) measures 1.93 m (also measured north-south). They were constructed mainly of small stones, delineated by a ring of neatly laid, medium-sized stones. Some of the latter were found standing vertically, suggesting that the platforms supported some kind of superstructure. Next to the exterior ring of medium-sized stones and following the contours of the platforms, bands of yellowish soil were found surrounding each of the platforms (*fig. 9b*). These features can perhaps also be connected to the superstructures of the platforms. The sparse evidence available for dating them (a hydria handle from the yellowish soil) suggests that the plat-

Fig. 6. Objects related to textile production. Trench 6, indigenous contexts: a. spindle whorl (un. 549 #1339 SF75); b. 'spool' (un. 631 #1607 SF71); c. stone loom weight (un. 626 #1606 SF70); d. spindle whorl (un. 626 #1578 SF61). Trench 5, floor of building θ: e. trapezoidal spindle whorl (un. 72 #206 SF72); f. rounded cone-shaped spindle whorl (un. 72 #206 SF71); g. loom weight (un. 72 #206 SF 68). Trench 5, oval hut: h.-i. two loom weights (un. 30 #208 SF69-70).

Fig. 7. Trench 6: a. hard-baked, ring-shaped object (un. 549 #1386 SF73). Trench 5, building θ b. bronze arrow head (un. 63 #197 SF60); c. iron double axe (un. 75 #211 SF73).

forms are contemporaneous with buildings θ and ζ. The absence of finds made it difficult to establish the function of these structures. For this we may look at comparable stone platforms that have been found in the Aegean, for instance at Old Smyrna in Asia Minor, Lefkandi on Euboia, Mende in Chalkidike and Halai in Phthiotis (*fig. 10*; *table 1*). The ones at Lefkandi have two parallel slots running across the platform (*fig. 10b*). As a cognate type of building, we should mention a number of relatively small structures with a circular ground plan or foundation, usually consisting of a single line of stones, that have been unearthed

Fig. 8. Trench 5: oikos η *and circular stone structures (from S).*

Fig. 9. Trench 5: a. circular stone structures (from S); b. detail showing band of yellowish soil surrounding platform un. 69.

in a number of places, notably Skala Oropou (*fig. 10d-e* and *table 1*). Both the circular stone platforms and circular structures occur in domestic areas,[8] and both have been connected with clay models of granaries discovered in Attic graves from the mid 9th to mid 7th centuries BC, the most well known of these being the five models sur-

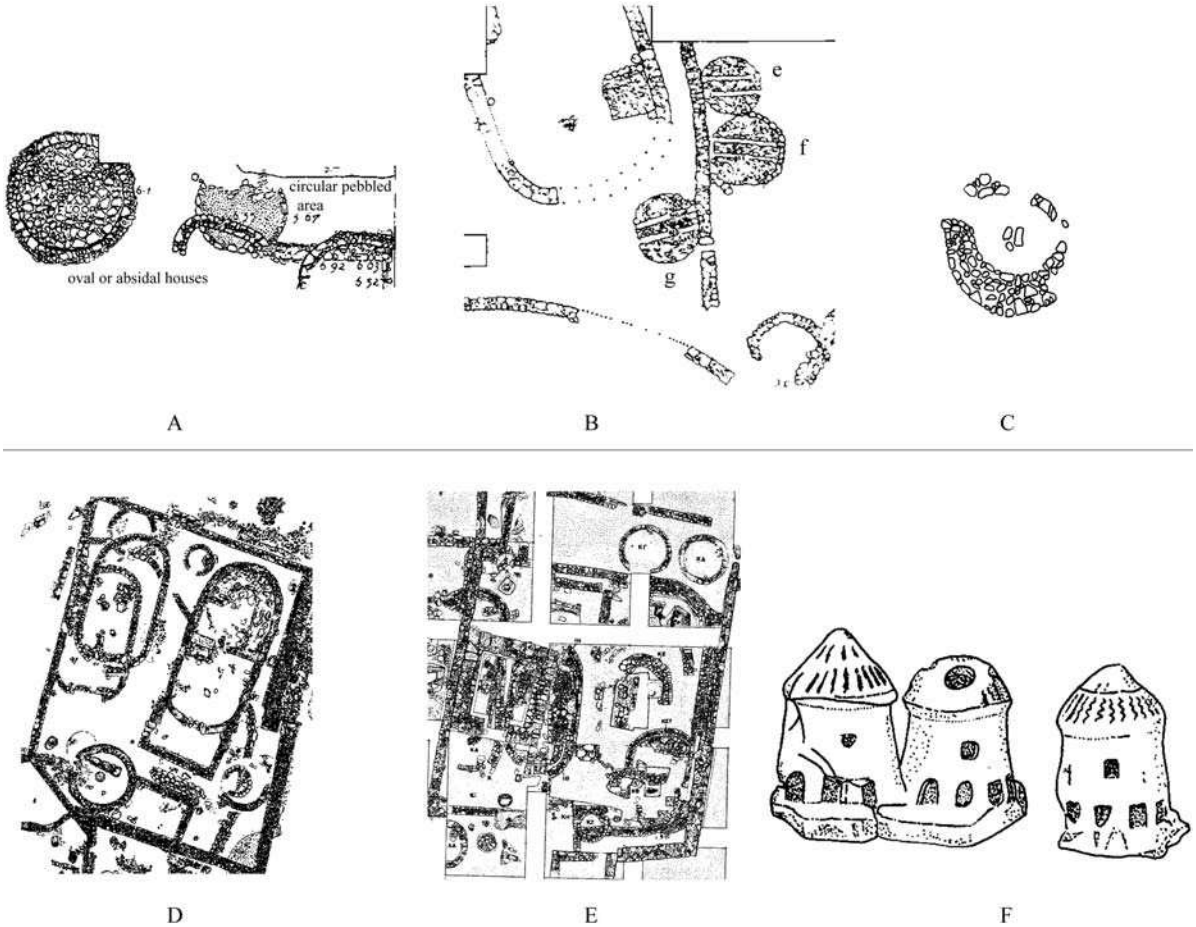


Fig. 10. Stone platforms: A. Old-Smyrna (ca 900 BC); B. Lefkandi-Xeropolis (e., f., g.; ca 750-700 BC). Circular stone structures: C. Larisa (Geometric period); D. Skala Oropou, Central Quarter: Η, ΙΓ, ΙΔ, ΙΕ *(ca 750-600); E. Skala Oropou, Western Quarter:* ΚΓ, ΚΔ, ΚΖ *(ca 700-600); F. clay model of granaries, Ano Mazaraki (ca. 750-700 BC). Drawings A.-C., F.: Mazarakis Ainian 1997, figg. 57, 96, 410a, 498; D.-E.: Mazarakis Ainian 2007, 121 fig. 4, 375 fig. 1.*

mounting the lid of a clay chest found in the 'Tomb of the Rich Lady of the Areiopagos' (end of the Early Geometric period, ca 850 BC); another clay model of three granaries, presumably of Late Geometric date, has occurred in a votive deposit associated with the Geometric temple at Ano Mazaraki in Achaia (*fig. 10f*).[9] The models from the Athenian Areiopagos and Ano Mazaraki have slots at the base, like the circular stone platforms at Lefkandi. The stone platforms at Smyrna and Lefkandi and the circular structure with socle at Larisa are delineated by an outer ring of larger stones, just like the stone platforms at L'Amastuola. It has been suggested that this was to support a mudbrick superstructure.[10] The one at Smyrna was found next to one of the two 'tholoi', probably granaries partly sunk into the earth.[11] Summing up, the context, date, diameter and evidence of a superstructure allow us to place the stone platforms at L'Amastuola within this group of circular structures and thus interpret them provisionally as granaries.

Trench 6 (U29 ... V31)

Excavated: 2007-2008. Location: between Trench 2 and the central test trench of the *Soprintendenza*. Aim: to obtain insights into site-formation and post-depositional processes, stratigraphy, and the nature and date of architectural remains.

In the northern half of this trench we found a circular feature of hard-packed material (*figs 11 and 12a*: un. 501/510). Under this, a much larger, semicircular area with traces of burning came to light. At a lower level the soil became more loose

Location	Shape	Diam. (m)	Date	Function	Reference
L'Amastuola	circular stone platforms - un. 69 - un. 70	 1.87 1.93	later 7th / 6th c.		
Smyrna	circular stone paving	ca. 2	Early Geometric	for threshing or winnowing?	Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 122, with fig. 410a
Lefkandi-Xeropolis	3 stone platforms - E - F and G	 1.6 2.2	Late Geometric	granaries (?)	Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 122, with figs. 96, 98
Mende	3 superimposed, circular pavings	1.7-1.8	ca. 750-725	granaries?	Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 122
Halai	circular stone platforms		7th c.	granaries? for mudbrick production?	Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 122
Larisa	circular structure with broad stone socle	3.7 (tot.) / 1.85 (int.)	Geometric (- Archaic)	granary?	Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 114-5, with fig. 57
Lefkandi-Xeropolis	circular structure		Late Geometric	hut? animal pen?	Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 116, with fig. 96
Oropos, Centr. Quarter	circular structure H	2.9	ca. 700-650	storeroom? pottery kiln?	Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 115-6, with fig. 77; Gounaris 2007, 111
Oropos, Centr. Quarter	circular structure IΓ	1.7	Late Geometric	?	Gounaris 2007, 114
Oropos, Centr. Quarter	circular structure IΔ	2.8	Late Geometric	?	Gounaris 2007, 114
Oropos, Centr. Quarter	circular structure IE	1,8	Late Geometric	granary?	Gounaris 2007, 114
Oropos, West Quarter	circular structure KΓ	2.6	ca. 700	granary?	Gounaris 2007, 115
Oropos, West Quarter	circular structure KΔ	2.4	Early Archaic	granary?	Gounaris 2007, 115
Oropos, West Quarter	circular structure KZ	< 1.8	Early Archaic	granary? cultic building?	Gounaris 2007, 116

Table 1. Stone platforms and circular structures in the Aegean

and ashy, and then very dark, almost black (un. 513). As *fig. 13* shows, stones delineate this area in the north-west, while in the centre there is a concentration of charcoal, and around it a mixture of burnt material, stones and chunks of baked clay. This unit contained a host of pottery fragments (*fig. 14*). Some fragments bearing traces of burning were retrieved from the charcoal spot, while unburnt sherds - sometimes belonging to the very same pots - were found around it. Together with the pottery fragments, bone material and remains of cereals and other charred botanical remains were discovered. The pottery comprises especially Sub-Geometric finewares (of which

Fig. 11. Trench 6: plan showing potter's workshop (Phase 1), and circular sacrificial area to the north-east, and area of stone blocks to the south-east.

almost 13.5 kg were retrieved, see *fig. 14* and table 2 below), with a minority of coarse wares and handmade wares, including matt-painted (a little over 6.5 kg; *figs 15-16*). The pottery fragments represent a limited range of vase shapes. Almost all of them can be linked to drinking, viz. wine consumption.[12] Some of the vase shapes can be associated with communal food consumption and/or food offerings or food sacrifices, probably of a ritual nature. After the consumption of food and drink, the pottery was smashed and the fragments were left to the flames, as is suggested by the fact that some sherds of one and the same pot were burnt, whereas others remained unaffected by the fire.

It is not easy to determine in what kind of spatial setting these activities took place. Spread around the circular area that we excavated first

Fig. 12. Trench 6: a. plan and b. photograph of upper part of circular sacrificial area (un. 501), after removing un. 500 around it (from S).

(un. 501/510), we found a grinding stone and terracotta loomweights, terracotta 'spools',[13] a marble, a spindle whorl and a conical object. These seem at home in a domestic setting, but no walls were found nearby. A few metres to the north, a smaller area of clayish material was located; bone, 'colonial' and matt-painted pottery, and pestles suggest that this area was also associated with food preparation. The remains of possibly ritual activities involving fire present in un. 513 (the unit that contained most of the Sub-Geometric pottery) indicate that during this Sub-Geometric phase this was an outdoor area, an impression confirmed by the find of a strip of small stones and cobbles that seem to constitute a pathway (*fig. 11*: north-east corner).[14] The fire was possibly lit in a depression in the ground and later covered with earth.

The conclusion that these are the remains of what was probably a ritual meal that was consumed in the open air, leads us to theorize about the setting in which such rituals took place. Or, to put it differently, it poses the question for whom these rituals were performed and why exactly they were performed there. In answer to these questions, two further observations must be made. First, the location where the ritual meal took place is within the area of the settlement or in its periphery. There is no indication that this ritual took place regularly, let alone evidence of continuity of cult. This means that the ritual might have been a one-time cultic event. Second, if we wish to pinpoint the chronological setting of this event, both the Sub-Geometric 'colonial' pottery and the indigenous matt-painted pottery[15] place it in the first half of the 7th century BC. In other words, it can be related to an early stage in the settlement's occupation history, probably not long after Greeks had settled at L'Amastuola. For further hints towards a possible interpretation we may look at Siris, which has yielded comparable evidence, although of a somewhat later date (late Archaic). In the area of the extra-urban well sanctuary, remains of ritual meals were found, for which a variety of pottery shapes had been used (cooking ware, tableware, oil flasks, etc.). They were found next to a ritual hearth (*eschara*), which consisted of a simple depression in the ground in which a layer of stones had been placed. Another *eschara* in this area provided evidence of burnt sacrifices of seeds and fruits. One hydria without a base and another with a perforated base were used for making libations into the earth. These chthonic rites can be associated with Gaia, who according to an Archaic graffito mentioning 'GE-GE' was venerated in this sanctuary. Gaia may have been venerated as a deity responsible for the earth bearing fruit, but she may also have had a more specific meaning as one of 'the gods who possess the land'. As B. Otto in her discussion of these finds from Siris points out, in Aeschylus' *Suppliants* (680-903, esp. 890, 900) the Danaids address Ga (Gaia) when they find themselves as strangers in Argos searching for a new homeland.[16]

Vase types	No. of fragments	Weight (g)	Minimum no. of individual vessels
Wheelmade, 'colonial'			
drinking vessels (skyphoi, one-handled cups, shallow bowls)	181	1.509	20
pouring vessels (oinochoai, jugs)	20	898	12
hydriai	145	3.690	10
uncertain: oinochoai or hydriai (body frs.)	173	1.285	–
juglets, flasks	14	262	7
oil flasks	1	6	1
krateriskoi	13	380	4
amforai (incl. transport amphorai)	44	3.375	-
stamnoi	3	-	3
fragments of medium wares, diagnostic	15	325	1
fragments of medium wares, undiagnostic	251	1.175	1
heavily burnt body frs.	76	575	1
Total	***936***	***13.480***	***60***
Handmade, indigenous			
matt-painted wares (incl. krater, amphora, drinking cup, kantharos, flask, globular vessel)	79	1,120	6
pithoi	34	4.100	2
basin	1	36	1
cooking wares, *impasto*	61	1.312	3
Total	***175***	***6.568***	***12***
Other objects			
limestone shell	1	16	1
jug stopper	1	125	1
flint (flakes)	2	--	2
Total	***4***	***141***	***4***
Total entire find assemblage	***1,115***	***20,189***	***76***

Table 2. Finds in the Sub-Geometric ritual deposit

The south-central part of Trench 6 is occupied by a pottery workshop that was established in this area in a succeeding occupational period (*fig. 11*). Due to the progress made during the 2007 excavation season in this part of the trench, we have been able to redefine the three phases in its development; this division differs slightly from the one suggested in the first preliminary report.[17] Phase 1 is represented by a floor constructed with the help of large flagstones and by kiln D, which is approximately 1.7 m wide and 3.5 m long (*figs 11 and 17*). It is keyhole-shaped, with the stoke hole giving access to the combustion chamber being oriented towards the south-east (*fig. 18*: un. 346). Part of the

Fig. 13. Trench 6: burnt area un. 513 that contained Sub-Geometric and matt-painted fragments.

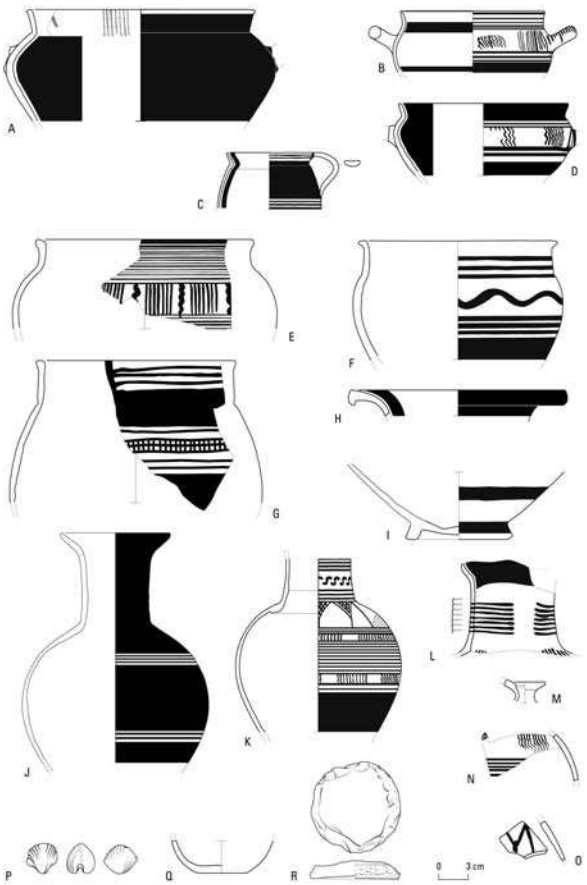


Fig. 14. Trench 6: selection of pottery from Sub-Geometric ritual deposition (un. 513): a.-d. skyphoi and one-handled cup; e.-g. kraters/krateriskoi; h.-i. hydriai; j.-l. oinochoai/jugs; m. flask; n.-o. stamnoi; p. limestone shell; q. handmade basin; r. terracotta jug stopper.

Fig. 15. Trench 6: large vessel with incised decoration from un. 513.

Fig. 16. Trench 6: matt-painted pottery from un. 513.

Fig. 17. Trench 6: pottery workshop in the process of excavation; in the foreground the flagstones, belonging to the earliest phase of the workshop (from SW).

kiln's perforated floor or 'grill', which is clearly defined by its ventilation holes, is the only part of the firing chamber that has been preserved (*fig. 18*: un. 334); un. 331 is a short stretch of walling that

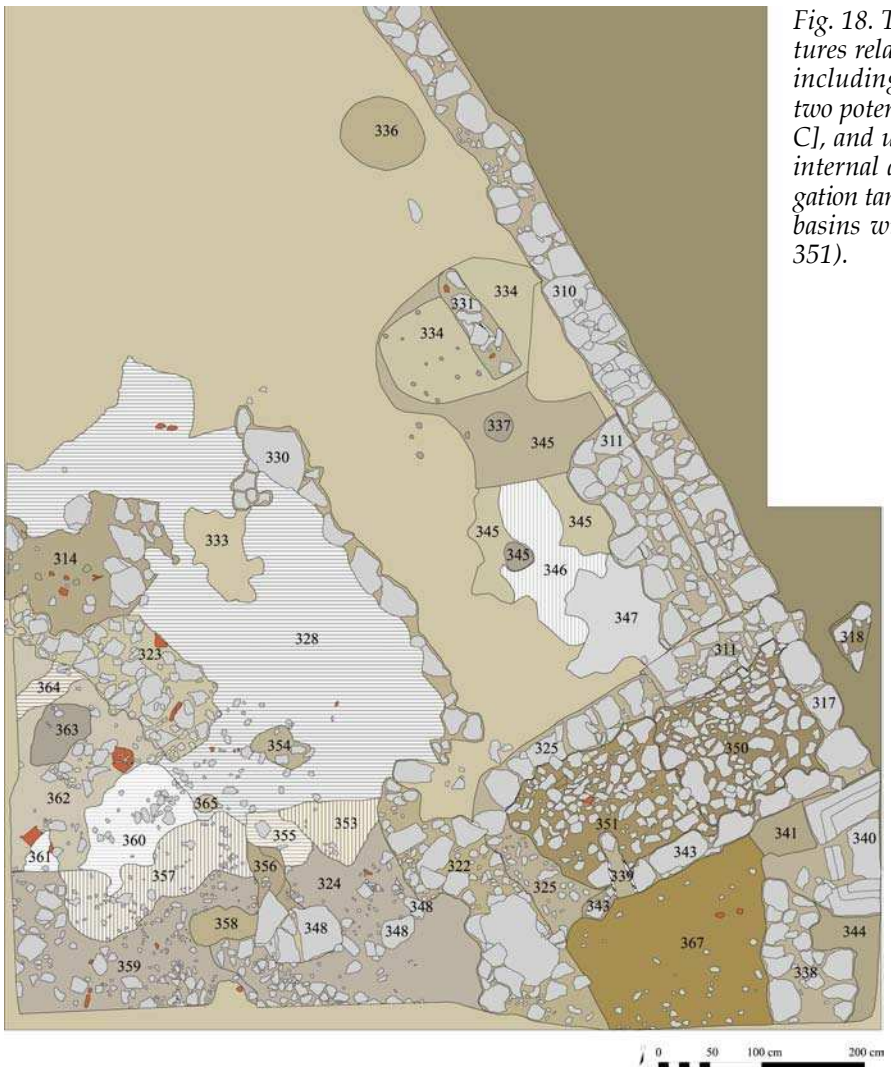


Fig. 18. Trench 6: plan showing structures related to the potter's workshop, including courtyard wall (un. 310), two potery kilns (un. 314, 323 [= kiln C], and un. 331, 334, 345 [= kiln D), internal division wall (un. 330), levigation tank (un. 311), and two rounded basins within stone casing (un. 350, 351).

presumably originally supported the kiln floor. Kiln E, which is situated more to the west, perhaps also belongs to this phase.

Phase 2 saw the construction of the more than 10 m long courtyard wall, running north-west/south-east and delineating the workshop in the east (*figs 11 and 18*: un. 310). In the south-east, a stone levigation tank was found (*fig. 18*: un. 311) with immediately to its south-west a large amount of compact material, possibly clay ready to be processed (*fig. 18*: un. 347). To the south of this levigation tank and at a slightly higher level were found two rounded basins (*fig. 18*: un. 350, 351), which in antiquity were presumably lined with clay, within a stone casing that is demarcated by walls un. 317, 325 and 343. The long courtyard wall un. 310 cuts through part of kiln D; this and the fact that the levigation tank and the watery substances it must have contained are too close to the fuel hole of kiln D to allow it to operate well, show that in this second phase kiln D was no longer used. At the beginning of this second phase, a layer of earth was deposited on the floor of the workshop, covering most of the flagstones, although some of these were reused to construct a low wall (*fig. 18*: un. 330) that marked off the area where the potter's clay was prepared in the levigation tanks in the south-east corner. It is possible that this part of the workshop - that is, the area that runs parallel to its east wall - was roofed. Kiln C, which has a stone supporting wall to its south-east (*fig. 18*: un. 314 and un. 323, respectively), also belongs to phase 2. This kiln was possibly oval in shape, with its stoke hole facing north. The find of a misfired skyphos of local clay but of a type that in Metapontion is known from the early 5th

Fig. 19. Trench 6: blocked entrance in north wall (un. 528) of potter's workshop (from NE).

Fig. 20. Trench 6: domestic area immediately north of potter's workshop, with two spots for cooking (from S).

Fig. 21. Trench 6: iron object, probably an obelos *(un. 536 #1381 SF67).*

century,[18] suggests that phase 2 lasted until at least this point in time. It seems that the potter's shop was part of a larger area devoted to ceramic production, as the remains of one or more pottery kilns were uncovered to the east of this walled space.

When in 2007 and 2008 Trench 6 was extended towards the north, we found the stretch of wall that delineates the potter's workshop in the north-west (*fig. 11*: un. 528). This wall indeed makes a right angle with the long eastern wall (un. 310) of the potter's workshop. Careful observation of the stone courses that form this wall's north face shows that there was originally an entrance here that was later blocked with a large stone and some smaller ones placed on top of it (*fig. 19*). Ceramic finds indicate that this happened relatively early in the workshop's history (late 7th/early 6th century?). The entrance was further marked by flagstones lying within and in front of it (*figs 19-20*). At some point in time, and possibly related to the blocking of the northern entrance, two sections of walling were added, one running towards the north-west (un. 530), following the same direction as the eastern wall un. 310 (*figs 11 and 20*), the other running more towards the west but parallel to this (only a small part was excavated). These walls thus seem to have created a space that was closed on three sides and open to the north. The eastern wall (un. 530) was set more or less directly on top of the bedrock. Within this space we discovered a succession of floors or surfaces that testify to its domestic use. Associated with one of the lower lying floors are two cooking areas (*fig. 20*), one in the middle of the room in the form of a hearth or fireplace for cooking at moderate temperatures (un. 538), the other more to the east for high temperature cooking enhanced by a fireplace on top of flat stone that would have reflected the heat (un. 540). Associated with this surface as well as with surfaces found at a higher level were objects that typically testify to a domestic function of this room, such as grinding stones, a pounder, a whetstone and loomweights.

During the final phase (phase 3), most of the workshop's area seems to have had a thick floor. The many finds associated with this floor show that the area now had a domestic function.[19] In the north-western corner of the walled space, directly south of wall un. 528, we found an area of burnt clay surrounded by stones. This could be the remains of either yet another kiln or (more likely) a fireplace. Partly beneath it was a second fireplace; next to it was found part of an iron object, which is interpreted as an *obelos* (*fig. 21*) for roasting meat.

In 2007, Trench 6 was extended to the south-east in order to investigate the area that lay outside the pottery workshop, that is, east of the long wall un. 310 (*fig. 11*). During our excavations, we did not find indications that this area was used for

Fig. 22. Trench 6: enclosed space (un. 515, un. 604), east of potter's workshop (from NW)

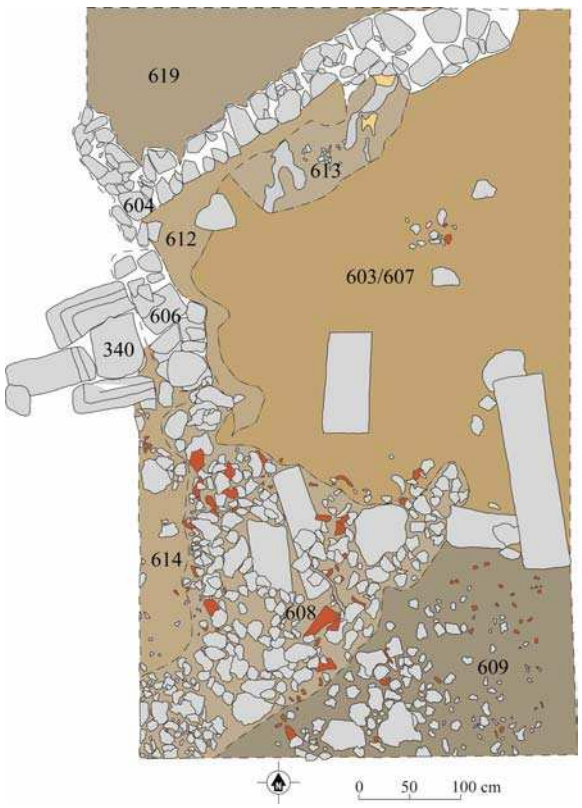


Fig. 23. Trench 6: plan showing area south of wall un. 604 with stone blocks and stone concentration (un. 608).

pottery production. We uncovered three stretches of walls that seem to have formed an enclosed space (see *fig. 11*: un. 515 and 604) that had the same orientation as long wall un. 310. In the northwest section of this room, parts of the walls were missing, but at a deeper level the foundation trenches in which the lowest courses of stones had

Fig. 24. Trench 6: stone blocks and stone concentration (un. 608), south of wall un. 604 visible in the upper right corner of the photograph (from E).

Fig. 25. Trench 6: two intact amphoriskoi, found under one of the stone blocks.

originally been placed, could be clearly discerned, which shows that the walls continued in both directions (*fig. 22*). Although the enclosed space within these walls produced evidence of one or two floors, the associated finds did not give a clear indication of the function of this room. As these walls and associated floor remains were found at a higher level than long wall un. 310, this room or building appears to have been constructed after this wall had already been built.

The area south of this building yielded finds of a completely different nature. Close to the room's southern wall (un. 604), we first found a strip of compact soil containing lime particles running parallel to the wall, which we interpret as the remains of a surface (un. 602), and indications of a second surface (un. 612; see *fig. 23*) at a somewhat deeper level. Where these surface remains came to an abrupt end, the soil was considerably less compact. It was in this looser soil (un. 607/

Fig. 26. Trench 6: votive offerings. a. piece of bronze sheet (un. 332 #1004 SF164); b. rim of basin(?) (un. 608 #1529 SF16); c. foot of terracotta statuette (un. 608 #1509 SF13); d.-e. handles with plastic snakes (un. 609 #1528; un. 600 #1505); f. fragments of volute krater(?) (un. 600 #1505 SF6-7).

Fig. 27. Trench 6: votive or ritual vases: a.-b. amphoriskoi (un. 618 #1601 SF63-64); c. small flask (un. 618 #1601 SF62); d.-e. amphoriskoi (un. 608 #1529 SF25); f.-g. miniature vases (un. 609 #1528 SF17, SF 23).

609, and partly in the overlying layer un. 600) that the first of a large quantity of small finds and a series of large, hewn stone blocks came to light. To the west and south-west of this area, a concentration of smaller and bigger stones occurred (*fig. 23*: un. 608), some of which lay on a surface or floor (un. 612/615/616). As *fig. 24* clearly shows, more stone blocks were present within and under this stone concentration. The large stone blocks

Fig. 28. Fragments of matt-painted and other indigenous pottery. Trench 5: a. biconical jug(?) (un. 33 #100); Trench 6: b. shoulder fragment (un. 37 #116); c. krater (un. 618 #1536 SF31); d. base/strainer (un. 618 #1567); e. handle (un. 613 #1546); f. ceramica indigena 'incisa' *(un. 626 #1587); g. krater (un. 626 #1578); h. small jug (un. 541 #1360); i. relief decorated ware (un. 585 #1330).*

were found lying in random, often sloping positions, some of them on top of each other. Small objects and ceramics continued to be found in considerable quantities in the area of the stone concentration un. 608 and below this (un. 618), as well as in the direct vicinity of the stone blocks (un. 601, 609, 618; *fig. 25*). Similar types of finds were sometimes discovered at depths that could vary by as much as 0.70 m. Among the finds are loomweights, 'spools' and spindle whorls, metal objects (e.g. an arrowhead, pin and other items of iron, and a bronze pin and plate; see *fig. 26a*), a piece of a large terracotta washbasin or bathtub (*fig. 26b*), a foot that must have belonged to a terracotta statuette (*fig. 26c*) and much pottery. The pottery finds include many special types of vases, a number of which were complete or semi-complete. Amphoriskoi and other miniature vases were especially numerous (*fig. 27*). Some of these were painted white with additional decoration in red or pink (see e.g. *fig. 27a-d*). Also notable are two vase handles decorated with plastic snakes (fig. *26d-e*). These finds have a wide chronological range, spanning the period from the earlier 7th century (see e.g. matt-painted krater: *fig. 28c*) and the later half of that century (ovoid aryballos: *fig. 30e*), to the 4th century (ribbed black glazed ware: *fig. 31f*)[20] and even the decades around 300 BC (fragments of a volute krater with added white paint, ca 360-250 BC: *fig. 26f*). The period in between is covered by 'colonial' wares and what is either Corinthian or imitation-Corinthian pottery.

Fig. 29. Sub-Geometric pottery. a. wall fr. (un. 259 #974); b. skyphos (un. 358 #966); c. skyphos (un. 513); d. flask (un. 608 #1532); e. jar(?) (un. 608 #1532); f. large, open vessel (lebes-krater or stamnoid krater; un. 608 #1532); g. handle of drinking vessel (un. 608 #1532); h. bowl or krateriskos (un. 617 #1535); i. wall fr. (un. 618 #1536); j. wall fr. (un. 618 #1533); k. wall fr. of hydria(?) (un. 1513 #1302).

Fig. 30. (Proto-)Corinthian and (Proto-)Corinthianizing pottery fragments. a. Thapsos cup (un. 618 #1536); b. PC kotyle (un. 27 #82); c. PC kotyle (un. 18 #64); d. PC kotyle (un. 374 #1011); e. ovoid aryballos (un. 609 #1533); f. PC kotyle (un. 358 #982 SF153); g. Early or Middle Corinthian kotyle (un. 601 #1508); h. fr. showing feline, Middle Corinthian(?) (un. 601 #1508); i. fragment showing dancing figure(?) (un. 305 #953).

The position of the stone blocks suggests that they had been deposited in a large pit (*fig. 34*). This pit was dug, as indicated above, through a number of surface layers that we retrieved to the north, west and south-west of this pit (= un. 602 and un. 612/615/616; at a lower level and beneath the latter: un. 613 and 620). The soil in between the stone blocks (un. 607, 609) was homogeneous in colour and texture, as might be expected of material that was used for backfilling this pit.

Ten large stone blocks (A-J) of varying dimen-

Fig. 31. Black-figure and black glazed fragments. a.-b. ring base frs. of Attic-type skyphos (un. 618 #1536); c.-d., g. black-figure frs. (un. 600 #1503); e. black-figure fr. (un. 33 #100; f. ribbed black glazed ware (un. 600 #1503).

Fig. 32. Trench 6: stone blocks (un. 618, 620, 624) (from S).

Fig. 33. Trench 6: detail of stone blocks A and B (from N).

sions were discovered (*fig. 32*). The majority of them clearly belong together, but the question is: what kind of construction were they part of? Block A holds the key to this. It is the most characteristic specimen, combining a long, rectangular section

and a triangular section (l. 1.71, w. 0.46, h. 0.36 m.; *figs 32-33*). The two short sides of this triangular section are adorned by a stylized cornice or sima, with two sets of acroteria on each side, now partly broken off. At the time of its discovery, faint traces of red and white paint could still be observed on both sides. The width of this block determines how we should reconstruct the original shape of the structure, which must have been either a very narrow or a stepped building.

Fig. 34. Trench 6: digital reconstruction of stone blocks dumped in pit.

Two examples of such a stepped building can be seen exhibited in the garden of the Museo Nazionale della Siritide di Policoro, Basilicata (*fig. 35*). Originally they stood inside a *temenos* in the *chora* of Siris-Heraclea. This open-air sanctuary was interpreted by the excavator, D. Adamesteanu, as a heroon for Chalkas, but recently I. Battiloro, A. Bruscella and M. Osanna have attributed it to the Nymphs on the basis of decorated pottery and fragments of terracotta statues that were among the contents of a votive deposit found inside the *temenos*. The stepped structures are identified as bases of an altar (our *fig. 35 A-B*) and a small *naiskos* (our *fig. 35 C-D*), respectively. The votive material suggests that the complex was frequented from the first or second quarter of the 4th century to the first quarter of the 3rd century BC.[21]

With these two stepped cult structures in mind, we attempted to make a digital 3D reconstruction of the structure to which the blocks belonged (*figs 36–38*). The broken blocks D and I can be comfortably fitted together to form one large block, as can blocks B and H. Blocks D/I and B/H have virtually equal dimensions (l. 1.84/1.85, w. 0.46, h. 0.29 m.); both are carefully worked and have

Fig. 35. Two small cult buildings from sacred area in Siris-Policoro (4th century BC), Museo Nazionale della Siritide di Policoro, Basilicata (front side and back side).

Fig. 36. Trench 6: digital reconstruction of cult building (front view).

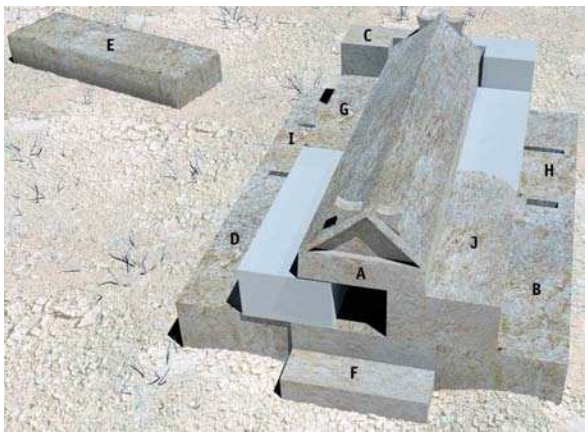


Fig. 37. Trench 6: digital reconstruction of cult building (letters indicate individual blocks).

Fig. 38. Trench 6: digital reconstruction of cult building (back view).

smooth surfaces, and both have a longer and a shorter indentation cut into one side. Block F, which is slightly longer (l. 1.91, w. 0.56, h. 0.28 m), may be placed between them, so that one of its short sides makes a sort of step (*fig. 37*). Blocks G and J are both broken off and in our reconstruction are restored to function as supports for 'roof block' A. Block C is also broken, but the rebate is almost the right size to accommodate the lower, rectangular section of block A; in our reconstruction, about half of the original block is missing and is digitally restored. Two pieces could not be fit into our reconstruction: block J - which has a very irregular shape and is probably severely damaged - and block E, which differs from the other blocks in that it lacks their worked and smoothened surfaces. Block E was found at a higher level than the other blocks and somewhat eccentric from where the other blocks were concentrated.

We assume that the small finds and ceramics discovered between and around the stone blocks were associated with this cultic building; it is even possible that they were originally stored inside or around it. Many of the finds can be interpreted as votive offerings, especially in the case of the terracotta foot and the miniature vases. In this connection it may be pointed out that some of the vases were painted in the same white and red as 'roof block' A. The building as we reconstruct it, is reminiscent of both a cult building and a stepped tomb. It may therefore be suggested that it was associated with the cult of the dead or with figures belonging to the netherworld. Further support for this is provided by some of the votives. The amphoriskoi and the plastic snakes decorating the vase handles are elements that frequently occur in the iconography related to the cult of the Dioskouroi. For instance, a Late Archaic marble stele from Sparta shows Kastor and Polydeukes with two amphorai between them, standing inside a naiskos, the pediment of which shows two coiled snakes and an egg.[22] The combination of amphorai or amphoriskoi, snakes and the *dokana* (the mysterious attribute or symbol associated with the Dioskouroi) seems to be part of a specific 'Laconian' variety of their cult and iconography that has been attested especially in Sparta and Taras.[23] They represent chthonic aspects of the cult that was centred on the tomb of the Dioskouroi.[24] Important testimony from Taras are the many terracotta plaques (*fig. 39*) dating to the late 4th or early 3rd centuries BC that came to light in a votive deposit associated with the cult of the Diokouroi, found close to the Chiesa del Carmine in Taranto-Borgo Nuovo (4th-3rd centuries BC), and

Fig. 39. Two terracotta plaques showing the Dioskouroi, Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Taranto (published with permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali - Direzione Regionale per i Beni Culturali e Paesaggistici della Puglia - Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Puglia*).*

in a deep pit or well containing material from the second half of the 4th century BC, located amidst a number of tombs in Contrada Solito, Masseria Tesoro, near Taranto.[25] The amphorai seem to represent the twins while the amphoriskoi must be directly related to the cult of the Dioscuri.[26] There is even a direct link between the cult of the Dioskouroi at Taras and the finds from Trench 6 at L'Amastuola. This is formed by a number of amphoriskoi decorated with pinkish-red blobs painted on the belly (*fig. 27a-b*) that find close parallels in specimens discovered in the same votive deposits as some of the terracotta pinakes just mentioned.[27] Amphoriskoi of the same distinct shape can also be seen on some of these clay plaques.[28] In the context of the apparent connection with the Dioskouroi, we may even suggest that the building that we have digitally reconstructed is associated with the 'subterranean dwelling' of the Dioskouroi that is mentioned by the late 7th-century Spartan poet Alkman (fr. 2 Page),[29] or with the tomb of Kastor at Sparta, over which a sanctuary was constructed and where divine honours were paid to 'the sons of Tyndareus' (Paus. 3.13.1). Also of interest in this connection is 'the open tomb', which is referred to by other ancient sources (*Etymologium Magnum*, s.v. 'dokana'). Here, it may be noted that both our reconstructed building and the two 'cult buildings' at Siris look like tombs and are not entirely closed.

The following reconstruction of events can be made. The earliest datable finds that can be identified as votive offerings indicate that cultic activities in this particular area of the site went back to the first half of the 7th century BC. Unfortunately, they do not provide clues about a specific deity or other sacred entity that was venerated. At some point, probably in the 4th century BC, a partly subterranean and tomb-like cultic structure was built from large stone blocks, most likely for the Dioskouroi. The place became the focus of intensive cult activities. To judge from the latest datable votive material, the cult came to an end in the decades around 300 BC. This was presumably marked by the demolition of the cult building. A large pit was dug and the stone blocks were dumped in it, together with votives and other sacred objects. In the process, a rubble wall was probably also destroyed (=stone concentration un. 608); this wall may have been a temenos wall or, less likely, may have belonged to another built structure.

After excavating the pit fill and the stone blocks that had been dumped in the pit, we turned our attention to the area around it, which still contained the strata through which the pit had been

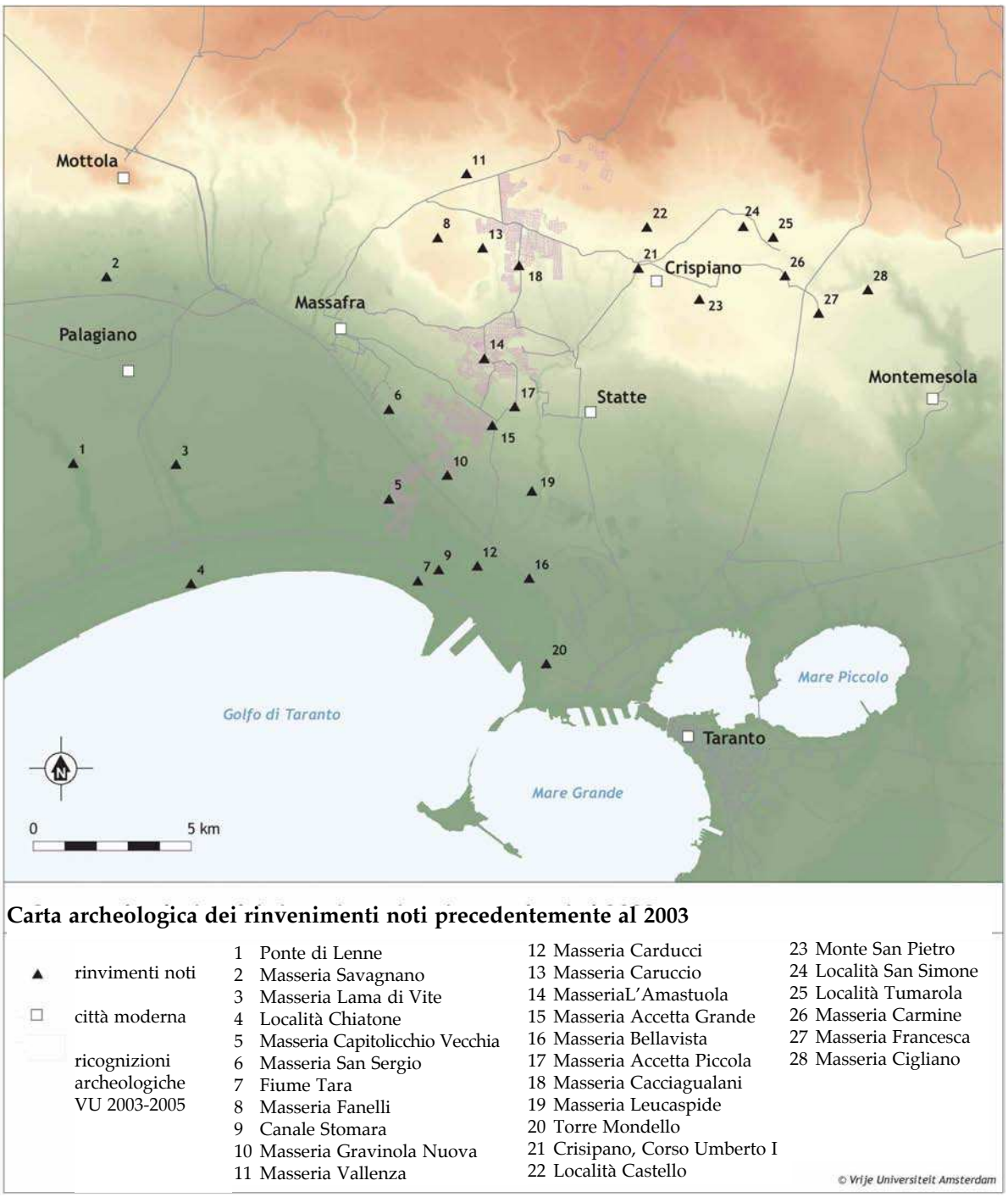
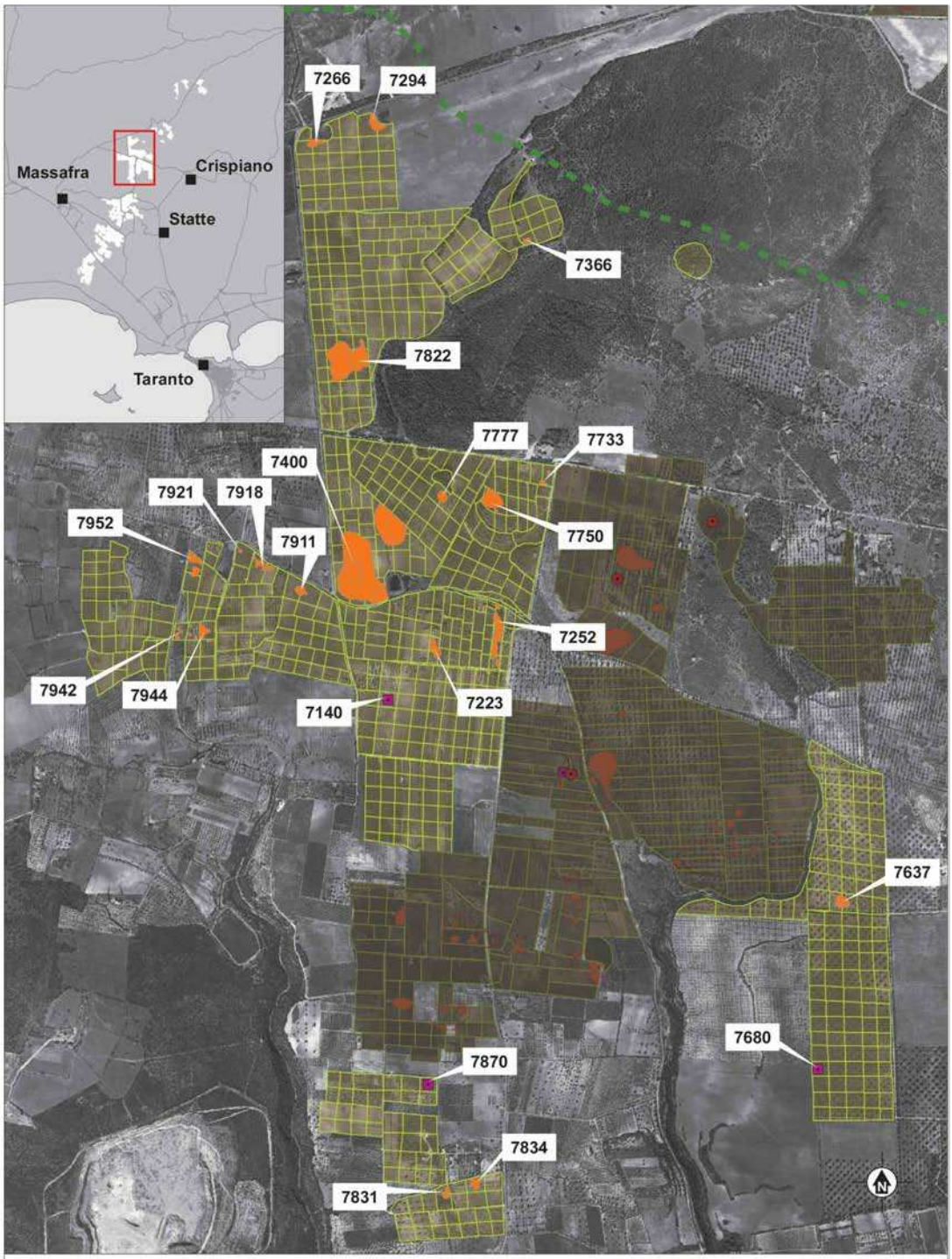


Fig. 40. Archaeological map showing: a. triangles: sites known upto 2003 (numbered); b. violet: grid system surveyed between 2003 and 2005, within a transect crosscutting the land systems of the north-eastern Tarantino (map by Maurice de Kleijn).

Fig. 41. Grid (green) and surface concentrations (orange; numbered) of the 2005 field survey campaign. In the background (shadow) the grid and sites of previous campaigns. Red dot: ancient structure: purple square: known sites not identified in the field (map by Maurice de Kleijn).


Massafra
Crispiano
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Ricognizioni di superficie 2005
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Pendio ondulato terrazzamenti più alti
siti/evidenze archeologiche
unitá di racolta
strutture antiche
siti/evidenze archeologiche non deliminati in campo
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dug. The upper layers contained a mixture of colonial wares and *impasto* and matt-painted pottery, but as we dug deeper, the last two categories predominated (including bichrome matt-painted pottery). On two sides and below the actual pit we discovered ashy spots, burnt material (including botanical macro-remains), many bone fragments, burnt clay and large quantities of matt-painted sherds, as well as a bronze pin. The whole area had been severely disturbed, but we think that these were the remnants of an indigenous hut, one or more fireplaces, and a clay oven.

Fig. 42. The hill top on which S7400 is located.

3. Field Surveys and Satellite Images (2005-2010)

In the 2007 *BABesch* report, we discussed the results of the ACVU field surveys carried out in the context of the L'Amastuola project in 2003 and 2004. From 2005, these surveys were extended to include larger parts of the most northern sample area in the Mottola landscape unit, and control surveys were executed to check up on the earlier fieldwork. The Mottola landscape is one of the three major land systems in which we selected and subsequently surveyed sample areas of 1-2 km^2 (*fig. 40*). Two sample areas were selected in this land system, one covering the immediate surroundings of L'Amastuola, the other the fertile soils of the highest terraces just north of Masseria Cacciagualani (*fig. 40* no 18). In 2005, we continued working on the latter area, which still had to be enlarged in order to be comparable with the other sample area. Moreover, an unusually high density of late Classical-Hellenistic rural sites had been encountered here during the previous surveys. It was hoped that the enlargement would contribute to the understanding of the rural organization of this part of the Taranto *chora*.

The basic field surveys here were done in 2005; further extensions and control surveys followed later (*fig. 41*). As in most of the units already surveyed in this sample area, a continuum of low-density artifact spread was found all over the fields, also in the extension. Amongst this continuum, 22 artefact concentrations stand out either because of their relatively high densities or due to the presence of specific artifact categories, such as ancient funerary wares. Of these, 7 can be dated between the late 5th and the late 3rd century BC, and another 11 between the late 4th and the late 3rd century BC. Most of these sites are interpreted as the surface residues of rural farms and adjacent burial plots. The majority are relatively small (ca 200-500 m^2); a few are larger (ca 1000-5000 m^2) and occupy dominant locations on hilltops, overlooking the surrounding countryside. Amongst the latter sites are S7952 (40 x 60 m) and in particular S7400 (*fig. 42*), which measures approximately 50 x 100 m and is located on the flanks of a hilltop 500 m west of Masseria Pizzica. S7400 overlooks a range of smaller sites in its vicinity, which seem to be organized in a halo around it (*fig. 41*). It is also amongst the sites with the largest variation in artefact debris. Whilst the smaller sites are composed of tiles, cooking wares and some black gloss pottery, at S7400 the artefacts range from finewares to large storage containers, and from terracotta figurines to ceramic misfires and stackers (which indicate the presence of pottery kilns). Another outstanding feature of this site, and clearly related to the pottery production, is the presence of a spring, at the southern periphery of the site.

Another, even larger site (S7822) is found nearby, approximately 400 m north-west of Masseria Pizzica (*fig. 41*). It too is located in an elevated position, overlooking in this case a large area to the north, towards the Murge plateau proper. It is the largest site detected in this sample area, covering 150 x 200 m. It originated in the late 4th century BC, as did almost all the sites found here. However, it differs significantly from all these sites because of the presence of Roman imperial artefacts and in particular of African red slipwares of the 2nd to 4th centuries AD. They are found distributed all over the site, whilst the earlier, Hellenistic material is limited to a small nucleus in the centre of the site. The extraordinary dimensions of this site seem to relate directly to an exponential growth of the settlement at some point during the 1st or 2nd century AD. A similar situation can be observed in the other L'Amastuola sample areas.[30] In the imperial period, however, the extremely dense and dispersed, but hierarchical rural settlement pattern that had come into being in this part of the Taranto chora in the late 5th and

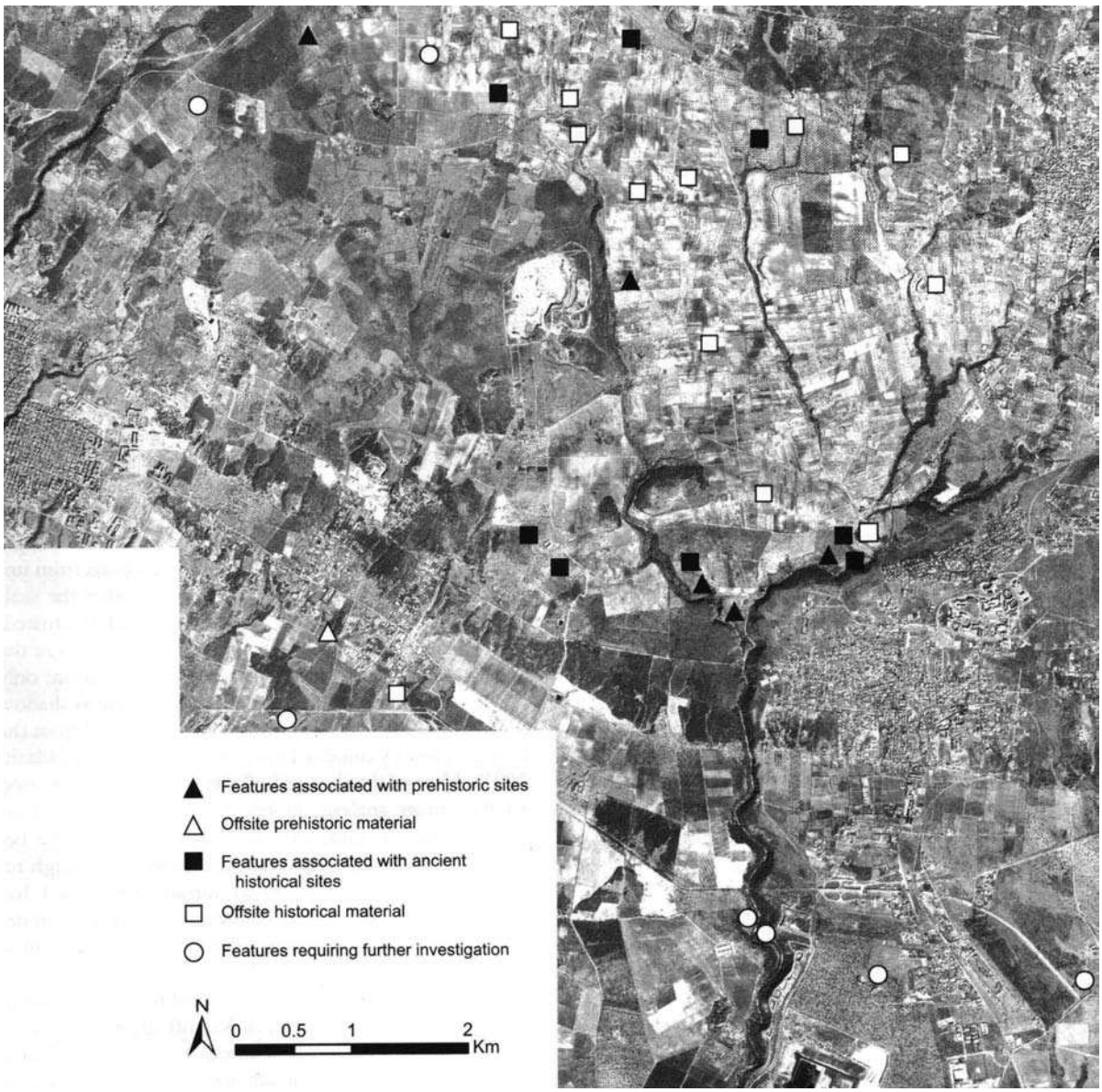

Fig. 43. Satellite image of the L'Amastuola research area analysed in 2007 and 2008 with image features indicated. From Ross/ Sobotkova/Burgers 2009, 431, fig. 5.

especially the late 4th century BC, seems to have been replaced by one marked by a few isolated village-like villas.

In 2007 and 2008, the landscape around L'Amastuola was also investigated by means of an analysis of a high-resolution satellite image. The analysis covered 70 km² and was carried out by Dr. Shawn Ross (University of New South Wales) and Dr. Adela Sobotkova (University of Michigan) (*fig. 43*).[31] This satellite image was used to locate previously unknown archaeological features. The first stage of this research, which was completed in 2007, involved processing and enhancing the image in order to identify features that were likely to yield archaeological remains on the surface. That season, Ross and Sobotkova analysed 50 km² of the image. Ground control executed by the field survey teams then investigated the identified features. During this, the nature of the feature visible in the image was evaluated and archaeological artefacts were sought on the surface. Work continued in 2008 with image analysis and ground

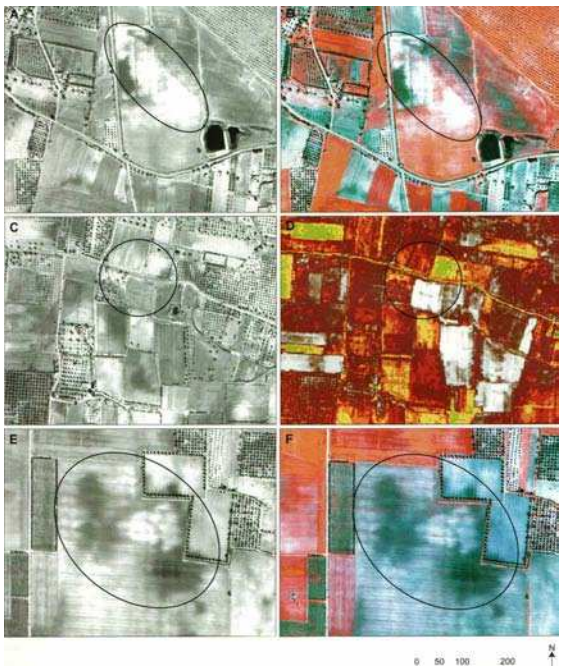

Fig. 44. Features detected in the satellite image. Left column is panchromatic. B) and F) are multispectral (4-1-2 band combination); D) is a Normalized Difference Vegetation Index (NDVI); A-B) Rectilinear feature F1025 (confirmed by ground control as a Hellenistic/Roman site); C-D) Grid pattern F1023, only visible in the 4-1-2 band combination and the NDVI reproduced here (confirmed by ground control as a Hellenistic/Roman site); E-F) Rectilinear feature F1017, a promising anomaly perhaps indicating a buried structure (ground cover prevented confirmation) (from Ross/Sobotkova/Burgers 2009, 429, fig. 3).

Fig. 45. Comparison of satellite image features and sites found through field survey (2007-2008) in the north-eastern part of the satellite research area. Image features are solid black. The surveyed sites that overlap or fall within 25 m of the remotely sensed features are solid white; false negatives (surveyed sites more than 25 m beyond the image features) are crosshatched. Solid light gray background represents the transect units of the field survey grid (from Ross/Sobotkova/Burgers 2009, 433, fig. 6).

control performed on the remaining 20 km² of the research area.

The process of analysis was facilitated by the type of imagery used. Quickbird satellite imagery is not only high resolution - about 60 cm in the 'panchromatic' (black-and-white) component of the image - but also 'multi-spectral', that is, it contains four separate colour bands covering red, green, blue and infrared (*fig. 44*). These four bands can be viewed individually, recombined or otherwise processed to indicate such information as the vigour of surface vegetation or the composition of topsoil.

In all, 114 suspected features were identified in the image and investigated through field survey (*fig. 45*). Of these features, 29 were associated with surface artefacts; judging by the density of these artefacts, 14 of the features are likely to represent significant archaeological sites; an additional 13 features could not be evaluated because they were inaccessible or overgrown. This success rate (29 of the 105 features investigated associated with surface artefacts) is much higher than would be expected from random chance, demonstrating the usefulness of satellite image analysis for archaeological reconnaissance. Our field surveys, furthermore, indicated that in most cases satellite image analysis did not directly reveal hidden archaeological remains such as buried walls; instead, analysis seems to pinpoint places conducive to past human settlement, such as those that are well watered or easily defensible.

4. Excavation and other Analyses of the Archaic Necropolis (2010)

In our previous report on the L'Amastuola project, we briefly discussed the results of a topographic survey we carried out in 2004 and 2005 at the Archaic necropolis, which is located some 800 m south of the L'Amastuola hill. It was first discov-

Fig. 46. Location of the Archaic necropolis.

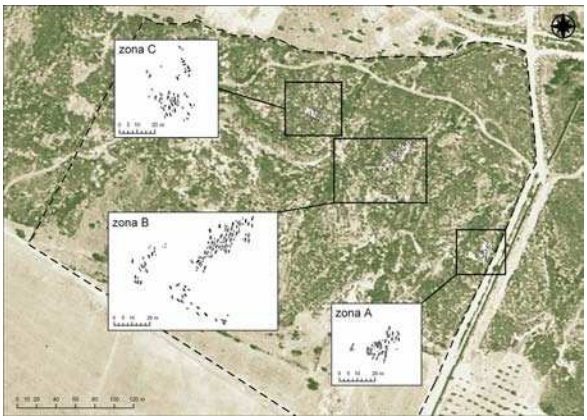

Fig. 47. The three burial plots in the Archaic necropolis identified by Maruggi (map by Jitte Waagen).

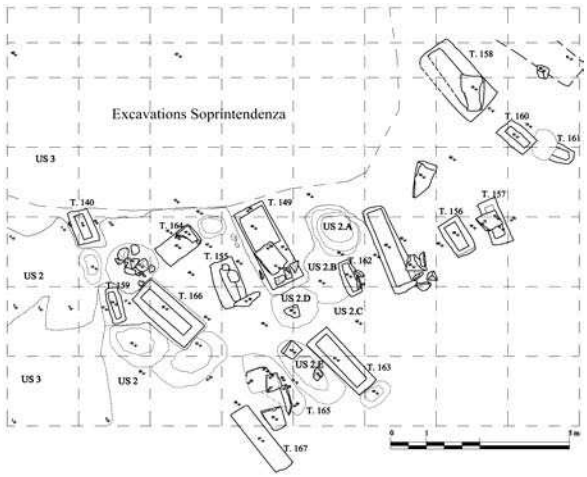

Fig. 48. Plan of the 2010 excavations in area C of the Archaic necropolis (plan by Amadeo Rossi).

ered in 1988 by d.ssa Grazia Angela Maruggi of the *Soprintendenza ai Beni Archeologici della Puglia*

Fig. 49. The area of the 2010 excavations after removal of the macchia *bushes.*

(*fig. 46*). In 2010, these investigations were continued through excavation of one of the main clusters of burials within this cemetery; the excavation was directed in the field by Dr. Alfonso Santoriello and Dr. Amadeo Rossi of the Laboratorio di Archeologia 'M. Napoli' of the *Dipartimento di Beni Culturali* of Salerno University.[32] Here, we summarize the preliminary results of these excavations, in conjunction with more detailed analyses of the earlier research on the necropolis.

The necropolis is the only one in the L'Amastuola area that has hitherto yielded Archaic tombs. It was first investigated in 1988, when Maruggi identified three distinct burial plots within it, separated from each other by small gullies (*fig. 47*). Maruggi excavated a sample area within each of these plots. That year saw the excavation of 154 tombs, representing about 15% of the 1000 graves that Maruggi estimated to be present in the Archaic necropolis. Our 2010 excavations were focused on the western sample area she excavated, which is called area C, where the oldest burial hitherto had been found, dated by Maruggi to the second quarter of the 7th century BC. Here, the digs were extended both southwards (6 x 16 m) and eastwards (4 x 6 m; *fig. 48*). The new area investigated has a total surface of 233 m^2. After removing the thick, spontaneous vegetation cover that is characteristic of the whole necropolis area (typical Mediterranean *macchia* bushes), we found 17 burials (*fig. 49*). They were all of the *a fossa* type, marked by relatively straightforward shafts (*fosse*) cut into the bedrock to an average depth of 0.50 m (*fig. 50*). At the top, these shafts are delineated by *controfosse*, that is, shallow cut depressions that served to hold the cover slabs.

Only a few of these cover slabs were still *in situ*; the rest had been either partly displaced or tossed

Fig. 50. Typical a fossa tomb in the Archaic necropolis (photo Amadeo Rossi).

Fig. 51. Detail of T156, showing the top of the one-handled cup (photo Amadeo Rossi).

into the macchia bushes (*fig. 49*). Almost all tombs had been looted in recent times, with the exception of T155 and T156 (*fig. 48*). Although their cover slabs were missing, the compactness and texture of the soils accumulated in the tombs indicate that they had not been touched by looters in modern times. Nonetheless, T155 turned out to contain no remains at all - neither bones nor grave goods. It was presumably emptied in antiquity. Another possibility is that the tomb was never used for an actual burial. For T156, however, a burial could be ascertained: the grave seemed not to have been disturbed at all. Unfortunately, only very few bone fragments turned out to have survived, a phenomenon also noted by Maruggi with regard to the other tombs in the Archaic necropolis. Bad preservation conditions have also had their effects on the only burial gift present in T156, namely a small one-handled cup (*fig. 51*). It was found *in situ* in the middle of the tomb, but upon excavation it crumbled into numerous fragments. Although a more detailed analysis of this cup has to await restoration, on the basis of the *in situ* examination, it has been preliminary identified as a *coppa a filetti* of local fabric, dating to the 7th century BC.

The shafts of both T155 and T156 are relatively small and can be ranged amongst the group of tombs of minor dimensions (9 specimens; max. l. 1.10 m, max. w. 0.70 m), which are probably related to child burials. The other 8 of the 17 tombs excavated in 2010 are large (max. length 2.50 m, max. width 1.00 m) and probably represent adult burials. Of course, due to the absence of skeletal remains or grave goods, these inferences remain hypothetical. This also goes for observations on chronological relations between the tombs. The most that can be said is that the earliest pottery fragment found as a 'left-over' in one of the looted graves is a Proto-Corinthian sherd, whereas the latest fragment, which was discovered in another grave, is a red-figure one. This more or less conforms to the date range of between ca 675

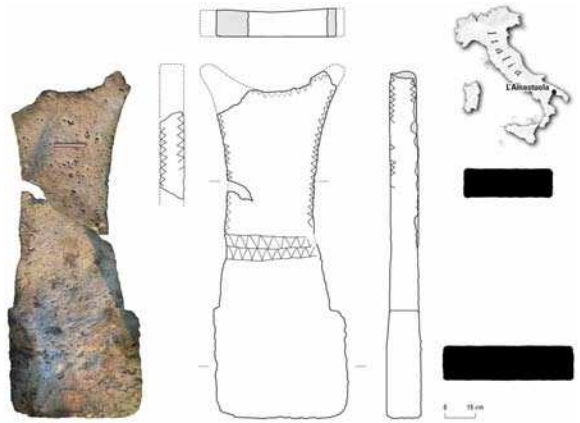

Fig. 52. Photo and drawing of the L' Amastuola stele.

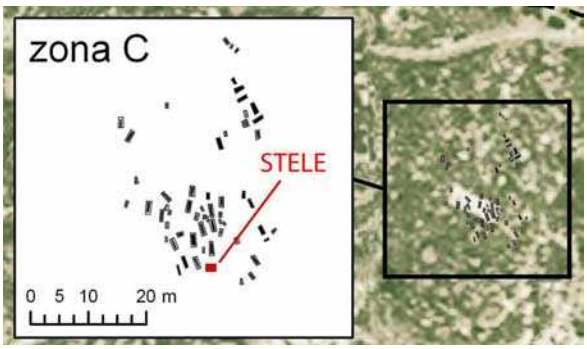

Fig. 53. Location of the find spot of the L'Amastuola stele (map by Jitte Waagen).

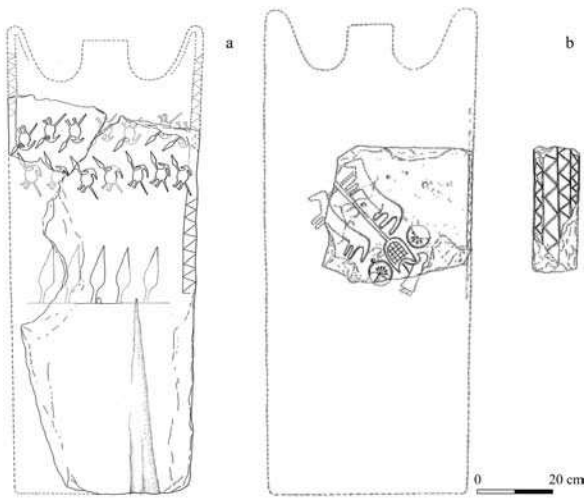

Fig. 54. a. The Messapian stele from Muro Tenente. From D'Andria & Mastronuzzi 2008, 228, fig. 12; b. One of the Messapian stelae from Cavallino (from D'Andria 2005, 37).

BC and the mid 5th century proposed by Maruggi for the necropolis as a whole. As to spatial patterning, it must be noted that, with the exception of T164 (orientation E-W), all graves have more or less the same orientation, that is, N-S/NW-SE (*fig. 48*). They seem to be organized in parallel rows that cover almost the entire excavated surface. Moreover, if we relate area C to the rest of the Archaic necropolis, more observations can be made on spatial patterning, drawing on the detailed topographical survey that we carried out in 2004 and 2005. In those years, we pinpointed 259 tombs (previously excavated by the *Soprintendenza* and/or looted) with the help of a Total Station: 59 in area A, 85 in area B1, 55 in area B2, 58 in area C and a few out of place (*fig. 47*).[33] As said, these areas are separated from each other by shallow gullies; they all demonstrate a high density of tombs similar to the one excavated in 2010. Moreover, they are all composed of both adult and child burials (ratio of 1:1 on average). There is no evidence of the spatial separation of age groups. This suggests that the various areas constitute the burial plots of separate extended families and that the organization of the necropolis was based on kinship, possibly lineages.

As regards this necropolis, additional observations on social organization can be made in relation to the stele discovered by our team in area C in 2005 (*figs 52-53*). In 2008, D'Andria and Mastronuzzi published a contextual study of similar stelae that provides new insights into their dating and significance, which is also important for the L'Amastuola specimen. The two scholars classify these stelae as Messapian, distinguishing them from other cippi and stelae found in Magna Grecia;[34] they are found exclusively in indigenous Messapian Salento sites. Among this group are four specimens from Cavallino di Lecce,[35] four from Mesagne[36] and one from Muro Tenente.[37] All these stelae are made of local stone; they have a height of 1.6 m on average and a thickness of between 10 and 15 cm. Like the L'Amastuola specimen, both the fronts and the backs of the stelae are carefully dressed, as are the two slightly concave flanks. At the top, left and right, the stelae carry upward-pointing projections. Moreover, in almost all cases decorative zigzag patterns run all along the borders of the front of the stele, as well as on both flanks. What sets the L'Amastuola specimen apart is the lack of figurative relief decorations, which can be found on the other stelae. Three of the four Mesagne stelae, for instance, are decorated with lances and carts drawn by horses. The same type of decoration is found on one of the

Cavallino stelae (a cart; *fig. 54b*) and on the one from Muro Tenente (three lances; *fig. 54a*). On another stele from Cavallino we see a deer, and above the lances on the upper half of the Muro Tenente example, are two series of seven heavily stylized hoplite warriors, one above the other, the upper one upside down (*fig. 54a)*. Because of the activities symbolized by these depictions - namely riding, hunting and war - D'Andria and Mastronuzzi relate them to male elite contexts.[38] In this light, it is significant that on the L'Amastuola stele we find a belt-like decoration instead of the above 'male' symbolism, suggesting an interpretation of the stele as representing a female figure.

In the case of the L'Amastuola stele, its presence in the midst of an extensive necropolis suggests that it was closely related to funerary practices, at least if one excludes the possibility that the stele was brought into the necropolis as *spolia* in a later phase; an interpretation as grave markers has also been given for the other stelae.[39] More problematic is the dating of the Messapian stelae. The only ones found in stratigraphical contexts are those excavated in Via Castello at Mesagne by d.ssa Assunta Cocchiaro of the *Soprintendenza ai Beni Archeologici della Puglia*. Here, they were found on top of a mound of stones, identified by the scholar as part of the defensive wall of the Iron Age settlement. The context is dated to the later 8th century BC, which, accordingly, is argued to constitute a *terminus post quem* for the dating of the Mesagne stelae.[40] If this dating also holds for the L'Amastuola stele, it is likely to relate to the earliest, pre-Greek settlement on the hilltop. However, in that case, what is surprising is its location some 800 m south of the settlement, in an area not yet used for burial purposes (note that the earliest tombs found here date to the second quarter of the 7th century BC) and that is void of other traces of contemporary human activities. It is possible that commemorative stelae were erected in this area, in relation to funerary rites that did not leave any archaeological traces. However, an important argument against such a hypothesis is the fact that hitherto no similar contexts have been attested in the indigenous Salento world, which stands out for the particularly close vicinity of settlement and burial plots. In this light, one must also consider a later date for the L'Amastuola stele. This is strengthened by D'Andria and Mastronuzzi's study of the other stelae.[41] On the basis of a comparison of the stylistic characteristics of the figurative representations with those present on indigenous figurative pottery, they date the stelae to the period between the second half of the 6th and the early 5th century BC.[42] In the case of the L'Amastuola stele, this is clearly not the soundest evidence, since the decoration of this particular specimen is limited to a simple belt. However, the late date is much more in line with the chronological context of the necropolis as a whole, viz. between the second quarter of the 7th and the mid 5th century BC; in this necropolis the stele is, indeed, likely to have functioned as a grave marker, most probably in the burial plot of area C.

5. Preliminary Conclusions

Here, we first give a brief update on the analysis of the pottery found during the excavations. Most of this section, however, is devoted to our conclusions regarding the main themes of our research project, which revolve around the question how indigenes and Greeks interacted in this part of southern Italy in the period between the 8th and 5th centuries BC.

1. Pottery analysis

Much of the pottery found during the 2007–2008 campaigns fits within the ceramic spectrum known from the earlier seasons. For instance, another Thapsos fragment was found (*fig. 30a*), which together with Corinthian Late Geometric finewares and perhaps some of the Corinthian type-A amphorai belongs to the earliest imports at the site.[43] There are, however, two important pottery groups (located at either end of the ceramic spectrum) that until now were less well represented. The first is the complex of Sub-Geometric finewares that form a unity in terms of context and function and were probably deposited in one ritual action (*fig. 14;* cf. *fig. 29*) in the north part of Trench 6.[44] The Sub-Geometric pottery provides good parallels to material from L'Incoronata, Metapontion-Andrisani and Siris.[45] Among the recently found pottery dating to the 7th century BC, there is a Sub-Geometric fragment that bears figurative decorations, although it has no clear parallels in L'Incoronata, Metapontion or Siris (where figurative Sub-Geometric pottery is more plentiful) but shows a bird executed in what may be called Euboio-Boiotian tradition (*fig. 29i*).[46] These finds support our earlier observation that both the indigenous matt-painted and the 'colonial' wares of the 7th and 6th centuries indicate that L'Amastuola in this period shows an orientation towards the region of L'Incoronata and Siris,[47] and belonged to the same 'cultural region' or contact zone as the Materano. The ceramic links with the Tarentines seem to be less strong, although

in this connection it is fair to admit that we have less information about what, for instance, 7th-century pottery from Taras looks like. The other pottery category that is now more strongly represented are finds from the 4th to early 3rd centuries (*figs 26f, 27 and 31f*). Although the majority do not come from well-stratified contexts, they can be associated with the large stone blocks and therefore with the cult that continued to flourish in this part, while the settlement on the south terrace had ceased to exist.

The potter's workshop excavated in the south-central part of Trench 6 suggests that in this part of the settlement pottery production took place on a considerable scale, perhaps as early as in the 7th century (phase 1). Especially in its second phase, the workshop is one of the best preserved in the Archaic Greek world.[48] It combines a number of features that are also known from other pottery production sites. As can be expected, it is located on the periphery of the settlement.[49] The long wall constructed during the beginning of this phase formally delineated this working area, as was sometimes also the case at other pottery production sites.[50] During the workshop's second phase, the clay was processed in the levigation tanks and the two rounded basins in the south-east corner of the workshop. The round or keyhole-shaped kilns belong to Cuomo di Caprio's type 1, which is a shape common in the Archaic and Classical periods.[51] In contrast to some other known pottery production sites, we did not find dumps of wasters or other production discards. The few misfires that were found in this area show that this workshop was (or that neighbouring workshops were) involved in the production of finewares.[52] However, a closer examination of the test pieces from the same trench[53] might reveal that not only tablewares were manufactured. John Papadopoulos in his comprehensive study of the evidence of pottery production in the area of the Classical Agora at Athens illustrates a great number of test pieces from very different periods.[54] What these Athenian and other specimens have in common is that scraps of damaged pottery were very often used (identifiable as test pieces because of the draw-holes cut into them before firing). They were placed inside the kiln and withdrawn with hooks at intervals during the firing in order to test the progress of the kiln.[55] We may deduce from this that, quite naturally, a close relation existed between the character of the test pieces and the material that was produced. Taking this idea further and observing that the L'Amastuola pieces are square and rather thick, we suggest that they were meant for testing products of a related shape, namely roof tiles. The test pieces in question show that they were also used for testing how the colour on the clay surface came out during the firing process. This is not a counter-argument against their connection with tile production, as a number of painted tiles were found at L'Amastuola (see *fig. 55*). Moreover, the colour of the clay of the test pieces (either orange or buff to yellow) corresponds to that of the tile fragments that we find in our excavations.[56] The L-shaped stack pieces or kiln firing supports found in association with the L'Amastuola pottery workshop[57] can perhaps also be considered especially useful for stacking tiles in the kiln. Apart from these, we also have stack pieces that resemble miniature vases and that are likely to have been used for firing pots. Anyway, the levigation tanks and the two rounded basins just mentioned are of too limited capacity to allow the processing of the large amounts of clay necessary for the production of tiles,[58] but seem to suit the production of pottery. The production of vases required a good supply of water and this applies even more to the manufacture of tiles. At many other contemporary potters' workshops we find the appropriate infrastructure for this (water conducts, basins, etc.),[59] but how the water supply on L'Amastuola's south-terrace was organized remains somewhat enigmatic, especially since the subsurface of dolomite does not retain rainwater (there are no wells at L'Amastuola; the modern masseria on the hill top used cisterns). It is possible that water was transported all the way from the Gravina di l'Amastuola to the east of the site.

Fig. 55. Painted roof tile, found in colluvial layer (Trench 6, un. 257 #583).

2. Greek–indigenous relationships

Nothing is known about the origins of the indigenous groups that settled at L'Amastuola, probably during the late 8th century BC. Nor, for that matter, is anything known about the precise origins or background of the Greek settlers who arrived at L'Amastuola one or two generations later. The earliest pottery of Greek type is not very informative in this respect. As noted in the preceding section, the Sub-Geometric pottery that forms part of the ritual deposition found in Trench 6 has good parallels in material from L'Incoronata, Metapontion-Andrisani and Siris. This large and coherent lot gives a general idea of the settlers' cultural horizon but does not provide clear indications of their homeland. The one-room houses provide parallels to the eastern Aegean (e.g. at Emporio on Chios and Smyrna),[60] which is also the region from which, according to the literary tradition, the colonists of Siris came; on the other hand, this house type is too unspecific to base far-reaching conclusions upon.

In the course of the 7th century, the indigenous elements in the local material culture at L'Amastuola waned, in favour of what is usually called 'Greek' culture. This is visible in a number of domains. Handmade matt-painted and *impasto* pottery stayed in use for much of the 7th century, along with wheelmade wares that stand in a Greek tradition;[61] these became dominant in the course of the later 7th and the 6th centuries and were produced on the spot, perhaps as early as the 7th century. A similar situation exists in the domain of domestic architecture (*fig. 57*): during the 7th century, rectangular houses existed next to curvilinear huts, as is indicated by the hut remains found in Trench 2. There seems to have been a 'smooth' transition from huts to houses, as is indicated by our discoveries in 2008 in Trench 5: the oval hut that was found here appeared to have been replaced by a rectangular stone dwelling(?), probably in the later 7th century. There were no signs that the hut had met a violent end. In fact, more or less the contrary is true, since some of the hut's foundation stones had been dug up and reused for constructing the house. Its location in exactly the same place and its similar orientation suggest that hut and house represent two consecutive phases of continuous inhabitation at this particular spot; this is also suggested by the pottery assemblages of both phases which are largely comparable. This should warn us once more against interpreting these different types of dwellings entirely in ethnic terms.

This brings us to the question of the degree of social and cultural integration, and to the adherence to traditions and identities or the redefinition of identities. Although Greeks and indigenous peoples seem to have started to live at L'Amastuola on an equal footing, the archaeological evidence suggests that in this early period integration varied according to the occasion or context. In the ritual or cultic sphere, we have the two depositions of pottery fragments and burnt material in two locations that are some 22 m apart from each other: one inside an indigenous hut (Trench 2), where predominantly matt-painted wares (and an isolated colonial Greek vase fragment) were found,[62] and the other in a hypaethral setting, where Sub-Geometric dinner wares and a minority of matt-painted vessels were used (above, part 2: Trench 6). The two depositions are more or less contemporary and the ritual in question seems comparable (i.e. communal eating and drinking, food sacrifices and the ritual destruction of dining equipment). In both cases, the selectivity in types of pottery that are employed seems to be significant and may be connected to differences in the composition of the groups involved in the celebrations or to differences between the (presumably supernatural) entities that were venerated or the occasions that were celebrated. This seems to stem from differences in cultural or ethnic affiliations or identities. Or, to put it simply, during this early stage of contact or cohabitation, Greeks and indigenous populations had their own celebrations, or may have celebrated together, but then performed rituals in accordance with each other's traditions.

The cemeteries also provide important evidence of Greek–indigenous relationships and, more in general, of the social structure of the community of the living at L'Amastuola. The 2010 excavations in the Archaic necropolis suggest that much information can still be retrieved from systematic research of this site, despite the heavy looting that has taken place in the past; some of the tombs appear intact and even looted burial plots can be studied for general patterns as well as for specific items, such as a single stele. With regard to general patterns, we have concluded that, for instance, the various, spatially separated burial areas that can be identified in the Archaic necropolis constitute the burial plots of family groups (possibly extended families), and that segmentary social structures are among the guiding principles in the organization of the necropolis. Another pattern that must be discussed is the presumed Greek character of the burial customs,

suggested in particular by the frequent occurrence of Corinthian pottery as grave goods, as reported by Maruggi. First of all, it still has to be established to what degree this pottery is indeed imported or whether it is imitation, perhaps locally made. Even more important is that Corinthian and, more in general, 'Greek' pottery is a common category of the funerary assemblages in many indigenous and colonial-Greek cemeteries. At the same time, we find that this pottery is extremely rare in the domestic contexts at L'Amastuola (see *fig. 30*), whereas other types of Greek imports and local products in the same tradition occur abundantly. Corinthian pottery apparently had distinct funerary connotations. We are probably wrong to evaluate this pottery in ethnic terms. It is more likely that in the Italic world, for Greeks and natives alike Corinthian ceramics were connected primarily with ideas about what was proper burial. We may say that Corinthian or Corinthian-style pottery was part of a supra-local 'burial language' or shared 'funerary idiom'.[63]

As to specific items, moreover, particularly intriguing is the presence of a Messapian stele in the necropolis. The stele suggests that some individuals at L'Amastuola had chosen to add a native touch to the common supra-local burial language. This may have been done to, for instance, emphasize the indigenous background of some of the community's members, whether this was sought in the 'deep' past going back to the settlement's origins, or in the present, if the deceased originated from a contemporary 'Messapian' community that maintained links (e.g. intermarriage) with the community at L'Amastuola. Whatever the case, it may be beneficial to bear in mind that this stele presumably also referred to aspects of the deceased's social identity other than ethnicity. Conspicuous grave markers of this kind were probably reserved for a restricted group of people and are likely to have also expressed high status. In brief, we may consider the L'Amastuola stele an expression not only of ethnic identity but also of gender, status, elite solidarity with peer groups in indigenous Salento, and amity and connectivity with a world outside the own community.

3. Indigenous and colonial landscapes

The field surveys carried out since 2005 in the Mottola landscape north of L'Amastuola have confirmed the picture of a very high density of rural settlement in the L'Amastuola countryside, as already indicated by our earlier surveys. They also point to the early Hellenistic period as the booming phase of rural presence, with a take-off in the late 5th century BC. In comparison, the Roman period is under-represented in the surface debris of the sample areas. Even more evident is the relative dearth of Iron Age and Archaic traces in the ACVU transects: the only Iron Age and Archaic site identified hitherto is that of the hill of L'Amastuola and its adjacent necropolis. It has to be emphasized, however, that in this part of the Taranto hinterland Archaic finds have been reported in the past. This goes, for instance, for several locations on the coastal plain near the estuary of the Tara rivulet (*fig. 40*, no 7), for example the *località* Bellavista, Ausonio and La Croce. Here, occasional finds of tombs are recorded that are said to have contained 'Greek', Proto-Corinthian and later ceramics.[64] Moreover, the Taranto museum is reported to have discovered at the beginning of the 20th century an Archaic necropolis in *località* Gravinola (*fig. 40*, no 10) containing Corinthian pottery and Attic black-figure vases dating between the late 7th and the end of the 6th centuries BC. Other 'Greek' necropoleis with Archaic grave goods are said to have been found near the Accetta Grande, Accetta Piccola and Leucaspide masserie (*fig. 40*, nos 15, 17 and 19).[65] Most recently, the presence of such early burial plots has been confirmed in the case of the *località* Capitolicchio Vecchia, Gravinola Nuova and Carducci (*fig. 40*, nos 5, 10 and 12). Here, an extensive necropolis was detected thanks to excavations carried out in 2001 and 2002 by the *Soprintendenza ai Beni Archeologici della Puglia*. The 83 tombs excavated in those campaigns date between the early 6th and the 4th centuries BC.[66] All these finds are echoed elsewhere in the northern Taranto hinterland, and we must conclude that small Archaic cemeteries were present in significant numbers. One of these sites is L'Amastuola (*fig. 40*, no 14).

Nevertheless, the fact that our systematic pedestrian field surveys, carried out in large sample areas throughout the landscape, produced only a handful of Archaic artefacts outside the immediate L'Amastuola perimeter, should warn us against overemphasizing the above incidental reports. This is especially so because the surveys detected numerous non-Archaic artefact scatters, even poorly diagnostic Bronze Age impasto sherds. We conclude that the density of Archaic sites in this landscape is relatively low and that the settlement pattern in this phase is of the nucleated type, being organized in a series of spatially separated villages.

As we suggested earlier,[67] the change in settlement type at L'Amastuola and the infill of the rural landscape around the site after the mid 5th

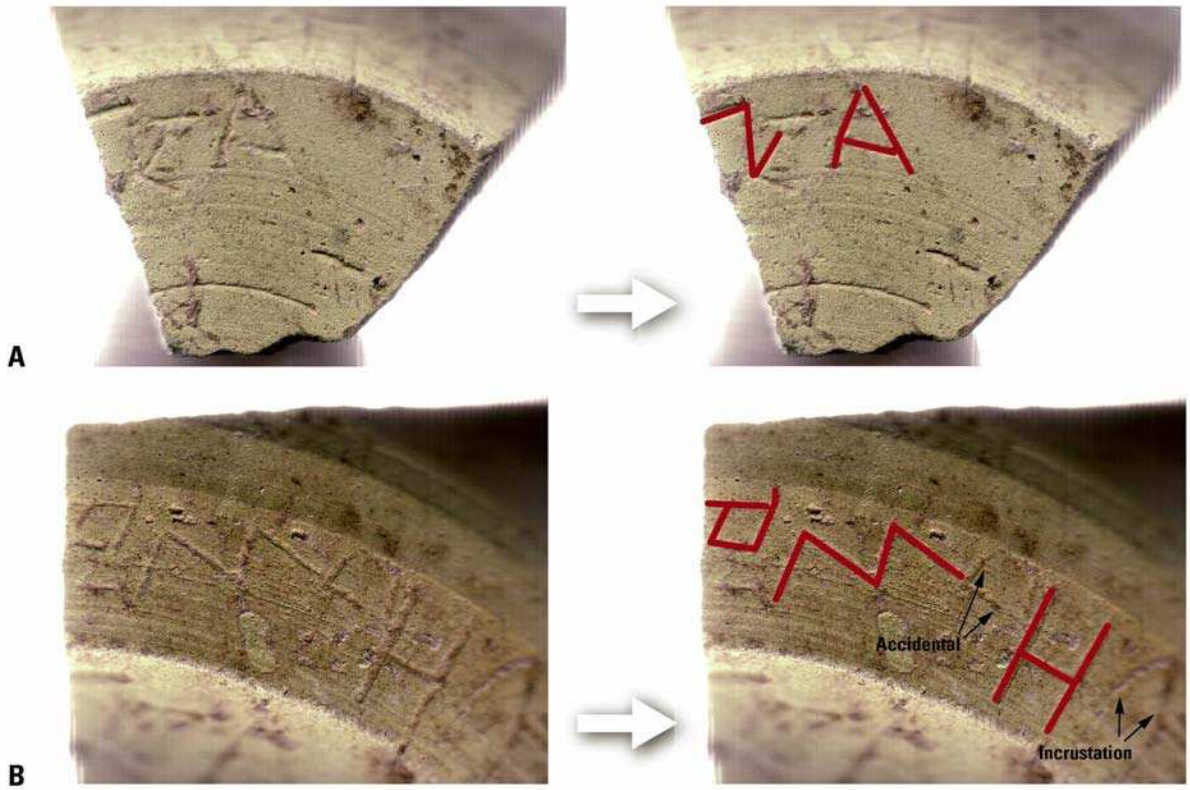

Fig. 56. Graffiti on lower part and base of small vessel, probably of local manufacture (Trench 2: un. 235 #563 SF13).

century - culminating in the early Hellenistic period with its very high density of rural settlement (see above) - may be related to the northward and westward expansion of the Tarentine *chora*. In this context, the find of the large stone blocks in the south-east part of Trench 6 on the south terrace of L'Amastuola, which can be attributed to a destroyed cult building, is particularly revealing. The construction of the subterranean cult building and the installation of a cult of the Dioskouroi, probably at a spot that already fulfilled cultic functions, followed closely upon the restructuring of the site in the late 5th/early 4th century. As a working hypothesis, we suggest that this act also belonged to the Tarentine takeover of L'Amastuola, possibly to mark that the site was now part of the Tarentine territory. Perhaps the destruction of the monument, probably at some time during the early 3rd century BC, is associated with the Roman conquest of southern Italy. The burying of the blocks might be taken to symbolize the clearance of signs of Tarentine domination in the area.

Concluding Observations: Greeks and Indigenes at l'Amastuola

The earliest preserved architectural remains and other artefacts found in stratified contexts present a picture of an apparently thriving indigenous community living in oval huts, protected by a defensive system constructed according to local insights, and using pottery made in an indigenous tradition. Presumably from ca 675 BC onwards, we find alongside these huts and within this indigenous defensive system Greek-type rectangular houses (*fig. 57*). Together they are evidence of a mixed community. Pottery assemblages tell a similar story: Greek vase types existed next to indigenous ceramics; the latter remained in use down to the later 7th century BC. In contrast to earlier interpretations, we see clear indications not of Greek aggression against indigenous inhabitants, but of prolonged and presumably peaceful cohabitation between indigenes and Greeks. After the later 7th century, the manufacture of pottery and domestic architecture in an indigenous tradition disappeared. Rectangular house types

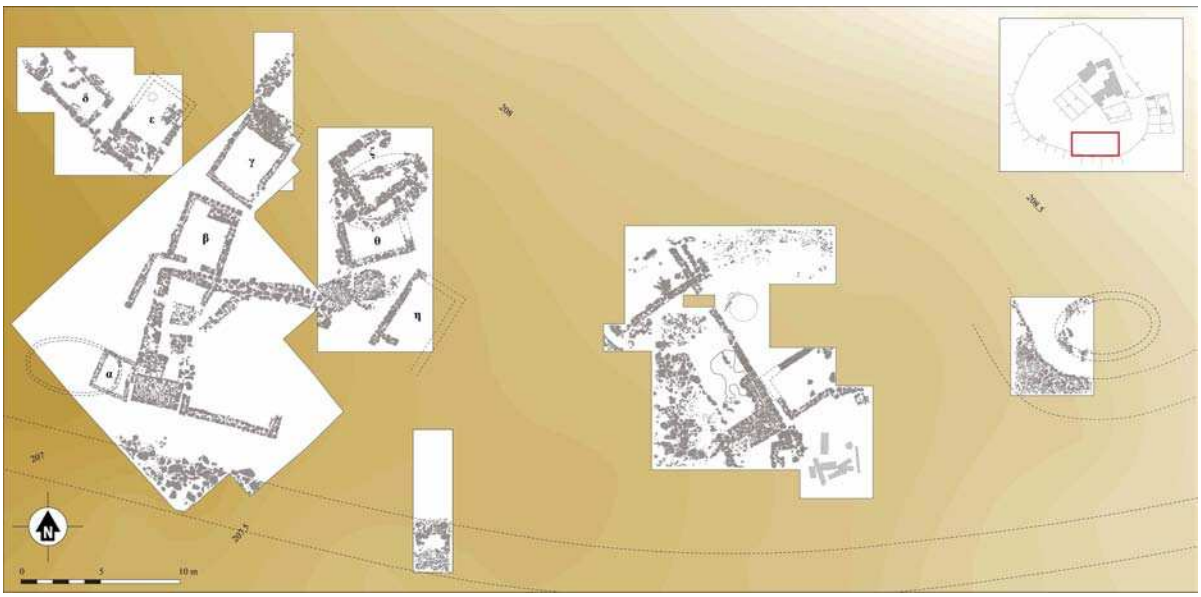

Fig. 57. L'Amastuola, south terrace: structures belonging to successive occupation phases. Dotted lines: hypothetical.

and types of pottery that we as modern archaeologists identify as 'typical Greek' became the standard. One possible interpretation is that Greek culture gradually became dominant, but it is equally justifiable to conclude that initial cultural differences became gradually more diffused. To put it simply, after one or two generations the originally mixed indigenous-Greek community at L'Amastuola gradually forgot about its roots. L'Amastuola was one of a series of settlements that developed in the coastal area around the Gulf of Taranto and included L'Incoronata, Siris-Polieion, Metapontion-Andrisani/Lazzazzera and, slightly later, Termitito.[68] These settlements shared certain elements of material culture, and it seems likely that the cultural identity that developed among the members of the community at L'Amastuola was shaped in relation to and in communication with these other settlements. The Materano type of matt-painted pottery at L'Amastuola indicates that this development had already started in the 7th century. If we are allowed to draw conclusions on the basis of the distribution of regional styles of pottery, we may say that during the 7th century L'Amastuola belonged to the same 'cultural region' or contact zone as the Materano. The 7th- and 6th-century pottery in Greek style could show a similar orientation towards the region of L'Incoronata and Siris. This outward-looking tendency becomes stronger especially during the 6th century. For example, the development towards more complex and functionally diversified house plans, the use of relief-decorated storage vessels[69] and the adoption of alphabetic writing (*fig. 56*) do not seem to have been part of the inheritance of the earliest Greek settlers, but must have been adopted as part of general trends that are also manifest elsewhere in south-east Italy and, indeed, the Mediterranean. It is important to realize that this material culture did not stand by itself but carried with it a whole world of ideas. More complex house plans were connected with notions of gender segregation[70] and relief-decorated storage vessels with the notion of conspicuous storage, signalling wealth and power derived from the control of surplus.[71] The identity of the community at L'Amastuola was at this point in time communicated in the context not of the past but of the interconnectivity with the contemporary world around it.

We may try to place the developments at L'Amastuola from the late 8th to early 5th centuries in a somewhat wider interpretative framework. There is no denying that during this first generation of cohabitation (after ca 675 BC) there must have been differences in cult, language, diet, use and production of pottery, and other habits between the indigenous and Greek settlers. However, there also must have been many communalities and some kind of social and cultural continuum that made cohabitation possible. Therefore, the question that we should pose in the case of L'Amastuola and comparable sites is not so much whether,

for instance, linguistic or cultural differences existed, as whether these formed impermeable boundaries. The answer to this question seems to be in the negative. Our study of the archaeological finds of the later 7th and 6th centuries allows us to conclude that the following generations saw a cultural fusion or - in the terminology of post-colonial approaches to Greek 'colonization'- went through a process of integration, accommodation and hybridization, resulting in a colonial 'middle ground' and a new, 'third culture'.[72] It is likely that a 'middle ground' was also found in the domain of immaterial culture: for the period under discussion there are, for instance, some interesting hints at bilingualism and the use of indigenous linguistic idioms in southern Italy and Sicily.[73] In this connection of multiple cultures within colonial settings, Maurizio Giangiulio prefers to think in terms of what he designates 'volatile overlappings' and 'intertwinings of identities and practices'. Giangiulio proposes a model of culture contacts in which different cultures exist next to each other and individuals possess the flexibility to combine elements of these cultures or switch from one culture to another (and back), depending on context and circumstances.[74] The archaeological material from L'Amastuola provides grounds to assume that multiple identities indeed existed. The stele in particular shows that some kind of awareness of ethnic diversity was present or continued to be present until a point in time long after the establishment of the settlement. But this apparently did not pose a problem. The stele is a telling example of the multiplicity of identities and of multilayered identities. It must have been a conspicuous statement that L'Amastuola was a place were ethnic boundaries were weak: multiple identities and varied senses of membership coexisted; the identities were changeable and not ethnically salient.[75]

The consequence of a post-colonial approach to Greek 'colonization' is that we must be more hesitant to describe or interpret phenomena in the sphere of cultural encounters, exchanges and socio-political developments in oppositional, ethnic terms. We should reconsider to what extent and for which cases such catchphrases as 'Greek colonists and indigenous populations', 'Greek traders in native contexts', 'Greek-indigenous encounters', etc. are appropriate characterizations of the phase that follows first-contact situations. Such dualistic labels are based on the *a priori* assumption that ethnic differentiation was the most salient line of demarcation. It would be rather one-sided or naive to think that being Greek or being indigenous would have been the only, or the most important category of social identity. Instead of a static dichotomy, we should think in terms of the fluidity and multiplicity of identities. Moreover, most scholars now agree that it was only in the 5th century that Greeks started to develop ideas about ethnicity that envisaged an oppositional rather than aggregative notion of other ethnic or cultural groups, bringing with it relatively sharp boundaries between the Self and the Other.[76] And even in this period ethnicity was only one of many possible forms of group identity, which was not always given prominence but was expressed in specific situations; it was not a static, ascribed aspect of people's lives: it was contested, negotiable and subject to change. On the whole, it is probably more correct to give more credit to local or regional entities and identities in our attempts to explain the sociocultural dynamics in Archaic southern Italy.

Notes

* The L'Amastuola project is directed by Gert-Jan Burgers (field surveys) and Jan Paul Crielaard (excavations). Staff members: Bert Brouwenstijn (object drawing, photography and digital reconstructions) and Jaap Fokkema (surveyor). Other team members: Dorota Biesiekirska (analysis of survey pottery), Daphne Lentjes (botanical analysis) and Edwin de Vries (analysis of pottery from 2007-2008 excavations). Trench supervisors during the 2007-2008 seasons: Tessa Beukelaar, Ruben Brugge, Timothy Frese, Christien Heethuis, Stefan Kooij, Ilona Venderbos and Jeroen Weterings; Anne van Hilst acted as assistant site supervisor and trench supervisor. Field survey supervisors: Francesca Laera (2005), Merel Schoen and Nadir James (2007/2008), Maurice de Kleijn and Dorota Biesiekirska (2010). Supervisor of the necropolis survey in 2004 and 2005: Jitte Waagen. Directors of the necropolis excavation in 2010: Amadeo Rossi and Alfonso Santoriello. The satellite image analysis was conducted by Shawn Ross (University of New South Wales) and Adela Sobotkova (University of Michigan). The fieldwork was sponsored by the Faculty of Arts of VU University Amsterdam, the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) and the *Laboratorio di Archeologia 'M. Napoli'* of the *Dipartimento di Beni Culturali* of Salerno University (in 2010). We are grateful to the various team members and organizations for their contributions to the project. We also wish to thank all students and other volunteers for their invaluable help in the field, and Douwe Yntema for sharing with us his expertise in virtually every kind of pottery. Drawings and maps for this article were produced by Bert Brouwenstijn and Jaap Fokkema, unless otherwise stated; we thank them for their outstanding work. In Italy, our gratitude goes to the municipality of Crispiano for the hospitality shown to us, and to the *Società Kikau* for letting us excavate its fields. We are also particularly grateful for the constant collaboration of our colleagues of the *Soprintendenza ai Beni Archeologici della Puglia* and of the *Scuola di Specializzazione in Archeologia Classica e*

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1 Burgers/Crielaard 2007. Brief reports have appeared in *Taras* 24, 2004 and following issues. See further Burgers/Crielaard 2008; Crielaard/Burgers 2011; Burgers/Crielaard 2011 and in press. The archaeobotanical data were analysed by Daphne Lentjes as part of her PhD thesis, titled *Man, Settlement and Landscape: Land Use Developments and Settlement Dynamics in First Millennium BC South-East Italy* (VU University Amsterdam).

2 Greco 2009; Vanzetti 2009, 192-193.

3 Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 89-90, with fig. 15 for a trench plan.

4 Cf. Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 90.

5 Cf. Orlandini/Castaldi 1995, 59-60 no 8, with fig. 190.

6 Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 90-1, with fig. 20.

7 Perhaps this shows that meat of wild animals was consumed (cf. Carter 2004, 386: L'Incoronata). The iron double axe may have been used for hunting or butchering large animals. Note that deer hunting was a prestige-providing activity, judging from representations of deer and deer hunting on Messapian stelae (see section 4 below: Cavallino stele) and Daunian stelae (e.g. Nava 1980, pls. 73, 327-28).

8 Stone platforms of somewhat smaller dimensions are found in funerary contexts and have been associated with chthonian cults, although others clearly had a domestic function, see Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 122-123; also Gounaris 2007, 114 (building IZ, Central Quarter Oropos).

9 Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 120-121, with figs. 497-498; cf. Lang 1996, 139.

10 Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 122. Note that the vertical wall faces of circular structure H at Skala Oropou are coated in clay, Gounaris 2007, 111.

11 Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 119-120.

12 We started studying the pottery during the 2008 season; our statements about it must therefore be regarded as preliminary.

13 'Spools' were probably weights for tablet weaving narrow strips of textile, possibly patterned; see Gleba 2008, 140ff.

14 Unless we are to interpret this, as at L'Incoronata, as a hut floor; see Denti 2010, 356.

15 This date is suggested by the absence of bichrome matt-painted sherds. The matt-painted pottery has stylistic links with both the Bradano and the Salento area.

16 Otto 2005, 7-9. Gaia cults probably also existed at Satyrion and Taranto (Contr. Pizzone).

17 Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 91-92.

18 Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 91-92, with figs 24a and 44a.

19 Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 92, with figs 25, 39a, b, d, 42b, e, 41d, h, 43b-c, 44g.

20 Cf. e.g. Pemberton 1989, 93 no. 80 (krateroid skyphos, decorated with narrow vertical ribs, third quarter 4th c.).

21 Osanna et al. 2008, 51-62; Battiloro/Bruscella/Osanna 2010, with refs. to earlier literature. For plans and reconstructions, Battiloro/Bruscella/Osanna 2010, 242-3 figs. 4 and 6. The authors assume that both structures carried a superstructure of smaller stone blocks, the 'naiskos' housing the (seated) statues of terracotta, Battiloro/Bruscella/Osanna 2010, 242, 263. The smaller roof block visible in *fig. 35 A-B* is similar in proportions to our roof block A; the authors contemplate that it either adorned the upper part of the 'altar' (together with a twin block, now lost) or did not belong to this structure at all and might even have belonged to the 'naiskos', Osanna et al. 2008, 56, 61. In our 3D reconstruction below we do not include the hypothesized superstructure.

22 *LIMC* III-2 (1986), 461 no 59.

23 *Dokana* and amphorai: *LIMC* III-2 (1986), 465 no 122, p. 476 no 225b. Dioskouroi and snakes: 476 no 246, 477 no 257. Dioskouroi, *dokana* and snakes: 461 no 58, and *LIMC* III-1 (1986), p. 586-587 no 224 (= late Archaic marble stelai from Sparta). Dioskouroi, amphorai and snakes: Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1977, pls 9, 29, 31, 33, 65; Dioskouroi, amphorai and *dokana*: pls 29, 30, 33, 48. We wish to thank Stefan Kooi for his iconographic observations on the *pinakes*. On *dokana*, see further Guarducci 1984, 141ff.

24 Gury 1986 (= *LIMC* III-1), 589.

25 Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1977, 310ff., 380; De Juliis 2000, 94-95.

26 De Juliis 2000, 94; also Guarducci 1984, 135.

27 Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1977, 382; De Juliis 2000, 94-96.

28 Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1977, 382-3: shapes II and III, 'con le caratteristiche anse chi si incurvano sormontando la bocca del vaso'.

29 See also *Il*. 3. 243; *Od*. 11. 301ff.; Pindar, *Pyth*. 11.61-64; *Nem*. 10.56-57.

30 Burgers/Biesiekirska/Laera 2011.

31 Ross/Sobotkova/Burgers 2009; S. Ross/A. Sobotkova, internal report 05072008.

32 A. Santoriello/A. Rossi, internal report 28012011.

33 Waagen 2011.

34 D'Andria/Mastronuzzi 2008, 226-229.

35 Pancrazzi 1979, 233-235; D'Andria 1979, pl. 23; D'Andria 1983, 45-46, pl. 26, fig. 3; D'Andria 2005; Melissano 2005, 71-72; D'Andria/Mastronuzzi 2008.

36 Cocchiaro 1999; 2002.

37 D'Andria/Mastronuzzi 2008, 228.

38 D'Andria /Mastronuzzi 2008, 229.

39 Lombardo 1994.

40 Cocchiaro 2002, 82; D'Andria/Mastronuzzi 2008, 227.

41 D'Andria/Mastronuzzi 2008.

42 D'Andria/Mastronuzzi 2008, 228-229.

43 Early imports from 2003-2005 seasons: Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 102-104. Origin Thapsos class: Coldstream 2008, 461.

44 Sub-Geometric fragments have also been found in domestic contexts at L'Amastuola, see Maruggi 1996a, 214-215, figs 17-18; 1996b, 262-266; Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 104, figs 44-45.

45 E.g. skyphoi: cf. our fig. 14b and d, with Maruggi 1996b, 255; Orlandini/Castoldi 1995, 156 fig. 207 (right); Hänsel 1973, tav. II; one-handled cups: cf. our fig. 14c, with Orlandini et al. 1986, 132 no 71; krateriskoi: cf. decoration of our fig. 14f. with De Siena 1986, tav. 42-43; hydriai: cf. our fig. 14h-i, with Orlandini et al. 1986, 162 no 116; stamnoi: cf. our fig. 14n-o, with Orlandini/ Castoldi 1992, 126-127 figs 188-189; handmade basin: cf. our fig. 14q, with Orlandini/Castoldi 1997, 148 fig. 257. For Siris, see also Giardino 2010.

46 Another example of figuratively decorated, Sub-Geometric pottery are two fragments of a dinos found by Maruggi, originally showing two antithetic horses; the vase is probably an import from L'Incoronata or Siris; Maruggi 1996b, 258, 263, 266, nos. 248-249.

47 Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 106-107.

48 For overviews, see Blondé/Perreault 1992; Seifert 1993;

Lippolis 1996; Fischer-Hansen 2000. We thank Timothy Frese for sharing with us the results of his work on pottery workshops in the Archaic Greek world.

[49] As e.g. at Corinth, Metapontion and (presumably) Taras, see Cracolici 2003, 14; Fischer-Hansen 2000, 109.

[50] E.g. at Kerkyra, see Preka-Alexandri 1992, 43ff.

[51] Cuomo di Caprio 1979; 1992.

[52] Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 92.

[53] Ibid., 92 fig. 23a.

[54] Papadopoulos 2003, figs 2.2-2.22, 2.60, 2.69, 2.82-2.83, 4.1-4.26, 4.28-4.34.

[55] Ibid., 8-9.

[56] Clay rods, referred to as *bastoncelli*, have been found among the 5th/4th-c. BC potter's debris at Taranto (see Papadopoulos 2003, 18, 265-266). Closer to our test pieces, however, are the rectangular 'plaques' with a circular hole at one end that came to light in large quantities in the pottery workshop at Phari on Thasos (ca 525-450 BC); the only example that has been illustrated has the shape of rectangular bar (ibid., 17, 260-261, with refs.; test piece mentioned is reproduced as fig. 4.27). Although it is not certain that they were connected to the manufacture of roof tiles, it may be noted that the Phari workshop produced not only fine wares, but also coarse wares and Laconian tiles, see Perreault 1999, 296-297.

[57] Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 92 fig. 23b.

[58] Cf. the size of one of the kilns and the structures that are part of the 'decantation' complex found at Phari, Thasos (see n. 56 above).

[59] See e.g. Preka-Alexandri 1992, 43-51 (Kerkyra); Dell'Aglio 1996, 56ff. (Taranto); Papadopoulos 2003 (Athens); Perreault 1999 (Phari, Thasos).

[60] Mazarakis Ainian 1997, figs 376-381.

[61] Cf. L'Incoronata 'greca': Carter 2004, 379.

[62] Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 86-87.

[63] See also Crielaard/Burgers 2011.

[64] Stazio 1968, 271.

[65] Stazio 1968, 270-272; Lippolis 1990, 416; Menchelli 1991, 470-474; Biffino 2001, 188, site no 2.

[66] Dell'Aglio 2002, 115; Mattioli 2002, 116-118; Andreassi 2003, 761-762.

[67] Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 111.

[68] Termitito: Giardino 2010, 355-356. There are good reasons to think that Taras and Torre Saturo also fit into this type of settlement. Biological evidence for 'mixed' community at Metapontion, see Carter 2004, 389.

[69] Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 107-108.

[70] Morris 1998, 27-28.

[71] Ebbinghaus 2005. See further Burgers/Crielaard 2011, 133-158.

[72] E.g. van Dommelen 1998; Malkin 1998, 5-6; 2004, 355-357; Antonaccio 2005, 100.

[73] See Hall 2004, 42.

[74] Giangiulio 2010.

[75] Cf. Giangiulio 2010.

[76] Hall 2002; 2004, 38-39, 45, 50; Crielaard 2009.

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