Interpreting Incoronata:
Reconsidering Approaches and Comparing New Areas

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Abstract of Thesis

Interpreting Incoronata:
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Incoronata has been at the center of the debate on the nuances of Greek and Indigenous interactions during the colonization of southern Italy in the Early Iron Age. In this thesis I reevaluate traditional interpretations of the numerous pit features at the site which have tended towards binary classifications of "Greek" or "Indigenous." However, new research is pointing to evidence that some of these pits have ritual functions.

Comparing Incoronata to nearby sites allows us to identify similarities in the relationship between ritual and domestic spaces in the area. Viewshed analysis allowed for a better understanding of settlement interaction and the role of Incoronata as a regional center and a hub for Indigenous-Aegean interaction. Ultimately, this research needs to be grounded in close investigation of each context without assuming separate domestic and ritual spheres and bolstered by further comparative analysis.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

The western Mediterranean, including Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia, had been in direct contact with areas in the Aegean already during the Bronze Age in the second millennium BCE. With the collapse of the trade networks at the end of the Late Bronze Age, these connections were temporarily severed, but then slowly revived in the Early Iron Age and eventually flourished during the Classical period. During the Early Iron Age, people from the area now known as Greece began to move around the Mediterranean and "colonize" these areas. The nature of this colonization has been debated since the field of archaeology in the Mediterranean was created in the 18th century. Classical history was appropriated by northern Europeans and then used by Italians to foster narratives of cultural and political superiority, by referring to the colonial period as Greek "Hellenization" and equating it to European imperialism (Urquhart 2014). This helped form binary, etic, labels such as "Greek" and "Indigenous" that are hard to overcome in the field. Over time, archaeology has moved away from "Hellenization" and binary labels into a more nuanced view of this colonial time period encouraged by post-colonial studies. These studies have questioned the reliance of Greek written sources, which were usually written hundreds of years after the events themselves and began to look in earnest at the archaeology of the Indigenous people living there before the Greeks (Yntema 1990). They also questioned the term "Hellenization" as Early Iron Age colonization was hundreds of years before a unified empire expanded and before a concrete idea of what Hellenistic culture was (Urquhart 2014).

As these changes were made, frontier studies resurfaced the questions and debates about the nature of colonization and if colonization was the same type of violent endeavor for resources as in modern societies. Since people in the past have their own contexts and cultures, we do not know the nuances of the nature of the mixture of local and foreign factors enabling the colonization process. We also do not know the extent that previous deep trade relations before the "official" colonization affected how people saw their own identities and how much they had adopted Greek or Indigenous customs. These questions made the field investigate and use frontier history theories (particularly in Italy) and ideas about the nuances of hybridizations and third spaces, mostly in the anglophone world (van Dommelen 1997).

In Italy, where the transition from prehistory to history was often overlooked, this debate has come to a head in the south, near the gulf of Taranto, at the site of Incoronata where there is evidence for co-presence of both Indigenous and Greek groups (de Angelis 2011). The theories and interpretations of the site have shifted over the past 60 years from violent takeover of an Indigenous site by diverse groups of Greeks to finding evidence of co-presence in the structural features of co-existing local and foreign ceramic traditions (Handberg and Jacobson 2011). Mario Denti's post 2000s excavations have revealed that part of the nature of this co-presence may take a ritual form. As these interpretative changes have happened, they have also influenced and changed the archaeology of nearby sites and southern Italy. The newer debates at Incoronata are about determining the nature of the site itself as domestic, outpost or ritual center and to what extent Greeks and Indigenous people were adapting, sharing, and intermixing with each other's cultures.

With this discussion in mind, in this thesis I will attempt to reevaluate the interpretations from Incoronata by looking at the previous materials and artifacts found at the site. I will describe the work of the different excavators at the site, their evidence and the problems affecting the interpretation. I will also compare the artifacts and features found at Incoronata to those found at other sites nearby, located between the Bradano and Basento rivers in the coastal area of Basilicata, to point out local patterns in the archaeological features and materials.

Finally, an analysis of these sites through a viewshed/visibility analysis may help ascertain the nature of the role of an Incoronata with Greek and Indigenous co-presence and its relationship with nearby ritual, domestic and funerary sites. A map will then contextualize the ideas about the site and may allow predictions of where additional sites may be found for future excavations to further analyze the nature of these interactions. This will help move us towards a theory, and accompanying modern archaeometric methodology, where Greek and Indigenous are not mutually exclusive categories. Towards a perspective allowing multidirectional interaction and influence, fostering a more nuanced vision of the past.

FIGURE 1.a: General Overview of Southern Italy

Important sites in context with Incoronata in southern Italy as well as the five major rivers running through the area of interest. Source: Arantxa Bertholet del Barrio (2024).

The Site of Incoronata

The site of Incoronata is on a plateau that overlooks the Basento Valley, about 8 km from the Gulf of Taranto in the south of Italy, in the modern-day province of Basilicata (see fig. 1.a for context). It was active mainly during the Early Iron Ages from around 900–500 BCE (Chiartano 1991). In antiquity, this plateaued hill would have overlooked a large, navigable river, connecting the sea and inland southern Italy (Carter 2010). In modernity, the river has been reduced due to the sea rising in antiquity and to post-WWII efforts to prevent malaria outbreaks by draining the swamps and damming the river (Carter 2010). Since this area of Italy was formed by Pleistocene clays and is characterized by constant erosion, geologists believe that at least 2 m of Incoronata' s hillside has eroded away since the Bronze and Iron Ages, which accounts for some loss of data and context (personal correspondence with Spencer Pope). Other than the shifting

land and water, it has been a stable, fertile area with water sources consisting of the river nearby and three springs of uncertain location as they have been moved since antiquity to support local agriculture (Chiartano 1994a). It also has a diversity of wildlife and four seasons with a mild winter and support for early husbandry and agriculture (Carter 2010, Carter and Swift 2018). All these factors create an attractive site for long-term habitation.

Around 900 BCE a group of Italic peoples settled down and created what we now know as the site of Incoronata (Yntema 1990). In 700 BCE, peoples from the Aegean, referred to as "Greek" in local archaeological literature on the colonization, arrived in larger numbers than before and settled in the same area, bringing their culture with them (Orlandini 1991). In the beginning of the sixth century BCE, the site of Incoronata was abandoned, the reasons why are still unclear and will be addressed through the evidence below (Orlandini 1986).

The History of Excavations at the Site

Dinu Adamesteanu came across the site of Incoronata while conducting two extensive surveys in the 1960s for the Soprintendenza of Basilicata, which controls the cultural patrimony of the province (Carter 2010). These surveys were done to identify any potential archaeological sites ahead of construction of a gas and oil line that would cut through the province of Basilicata (Carter 2010). Later in 1986, Antonio De Siena and Joseph Coleman Carter undertook another survey as the new agricultural technology of deep ploughing was introduced into local agricultural practice (Carter 2010). This meant that the ploughs, which had been disturbing newer archaeological remains, would go an extra 20 cm deeper, creating a possibility for sites of the Greek Classical era and older to be disturbed or destroyed (Carter 2010). The surveys were supremely beneficial in

uncovering the considerable number of sites in Basilicata and to establish excavation projects of the most important ones. Incoronata was one of the sites that was identified and then excavated due to the large quantity and high quality of ceramics found during the survey (Carter 2010).

Interpretive Positioning and Preliminary Issues with Methodology

Before starting the analysis of the site of Incoronata, it is important to address some of the background of the theories on Greek colonialization agreed upon by archaeologists at this time as it affects how the site was interpreted. Dietler points out that until the 1980's, in European Ancient Mediterranean studies, archaeologists were either protohistorians or specialized in Classics, and were divided into two separate worlds that rarely interacted (Dietler 2010). In this system protohistorians looked at the illiterate "barbarians" and used meticulous prehistoric archaeology to learn about the culture of pre-colonial peoples in southern Italy (Dietler 2010). Classists instead focused on the literate, enlightened and "superior" peoples, who could write about their own culture and ancestors, but for the most part did not consider bias on the part of the authors (Dietler 2010). This meant that prehistoric and Classical communities were very well studied, but that the peoples during the transition between both periods, the Early Iron Age, were not. As researchers started to address the colonization process, Classist archaeologists relied on the writings of Greeks from the Classical period, or 200 years before the establishment of the Chora, that describe the Indigenous people as inferior. Yntema indicates that writings can be relied on for many things, but also should consider possible bias by the Greek authors that were trying to create the story of their people as one that was heroic and ethnically Greek (Urquhart 2014). Classical arguments for relying on Greek sources and the perspective that the Greeks were the ones that brought culture to Italy stemmed originally from northern European

appropriations of ancient Greek and Roman culture (Urquhart 2014). This ended up legitimizing European imperialism, which was seen to parallel Greek colonization and spread "civilization" (Urquhart 2014). Italian nationalism took advantage of this to legitimize themselves in the eyes of northern Europeans and turned the narrative around slightly to make Greeks, Italians (Urquhart 2014).

As ways of thinking about history and science changed, from the 1980s onwards, new archaeology has been done on Indigenous groups to try to create a clearer picture of Indigenous culture practices and ways of living before and during the colonization of the Early Iron Age. Looking at colonization from this more modern perspective will allow us to investigate the trade of Greek objects before colonization, local social dynamics tied to this trade and indigenous intergroup dynamics (Altema et al 2011). In this way, archaeologists are trying to get past looking at the Iron Age transition defined by the Greek perspective and examining the colonization from multiple perspectives (van Dommelen 1997). Places like Incoronata are great to examine this interaction as it is an important site that has unmistakable evidence of Indigenous and Greek co-presence.

The interpretive framework that Orlandini, Chiartano and De Siena were working from in the 1960s while interpreting and excavating surrounding sites was one that was moving away from these ideas of the larger role of Greeks in the colonization, but still held onto some of the more traditional ideas of Greek superiority. In the early 2000s, there was a paradigm shift in how Mediterranean archaeologists approached identity and colonialism by questioning the construction of identity or ethnic labels made by modern scholars. Denti and some foreign archaeologists like Gert-Jan Bergers at Amastuola come from this newer form of looking at the artifacts and archaeology of the Mediterranean.

Problems Affecting Interpretation

Apart from the ideological and theoretical differences which have influenced the interpretation and development of archaeology in this area, there are overall problems with lack of funding for archaeometric analysis and lack of publication. For example, parts of the undisturbed tombs and most of the disturbed tombs from San Teodoro, La Masseria and La Capella are not published in full (Chiartano 1994c). At Santa Maria d'Anglona, the full cemetery excavations done by De Siena are unpublished and the last book by Carter on the fifth century sanctuary at Incoronata is unpublished (Carter 2023). These yet-to-be published parts of excavations from all over Basilicata restrict inter-site comparative work and background knowledge imperative for archaeology. Furthermore, these omissions impede contextual and general knowledge about the Italic peoples of the Iron Age at these sites. Additionally in those articles published before the early 2000s, there is a lack of information required by present archaeology, like stratigraphy, which would enhance the clarity of the evidence found.

There are also issues and debates evaluating the extent of damage caused either by anthropic activities, taphonomic processes or agriculture. Interpretation of excavation data can vary greatly whether damage is considered the result of historic events, taphonomic processes, or agriculture. Carter's team makes clear that modern plough marks were found near their excavation area, suggesting agriculture as a possible explanation for damage (Carter 1978). However, on the other side of the hill, trying to distinguish historic vs taphonomic damage is less clear and can affect the interpretation of what is found. Orlandini posits that the degradation and destruction of walls of "houses," which would

have been the top parts of the pits, and lack of wood found for basement coverings or beams could be the result of destruction by invading Greeks or modern agricultural disturbance as there were sometimes clear marks of ploughs, (Orlandini 1997). Denti's side of the hill has similar features to Orlandini's but does not show the same levels of agricultural disturbance and some parts of Denti's excavations were covered with stratigraphic layers that contained substantial amounts of bricks (Denti 2013). This debate and the previously mentioned lack of documentation on the methodology further impacts the interpretation of the site and how much damage we can attribute to different processes.

Chapter 2 Historic contextualization

To place the artifacts and theories within context, I will do a chronological overview of the site and finds of Incoronata. The chronology of the excavated parts of the site all refer to relative dating. Yntema has argued that there are limitations and problems with chronology based on relative dating of sherds and finds, as such chronologies are subject to change with new finds (Yntema 1990). Overall, the current seriation can be found at most sites and is consistent within the south of Italy (Yntema 1990).

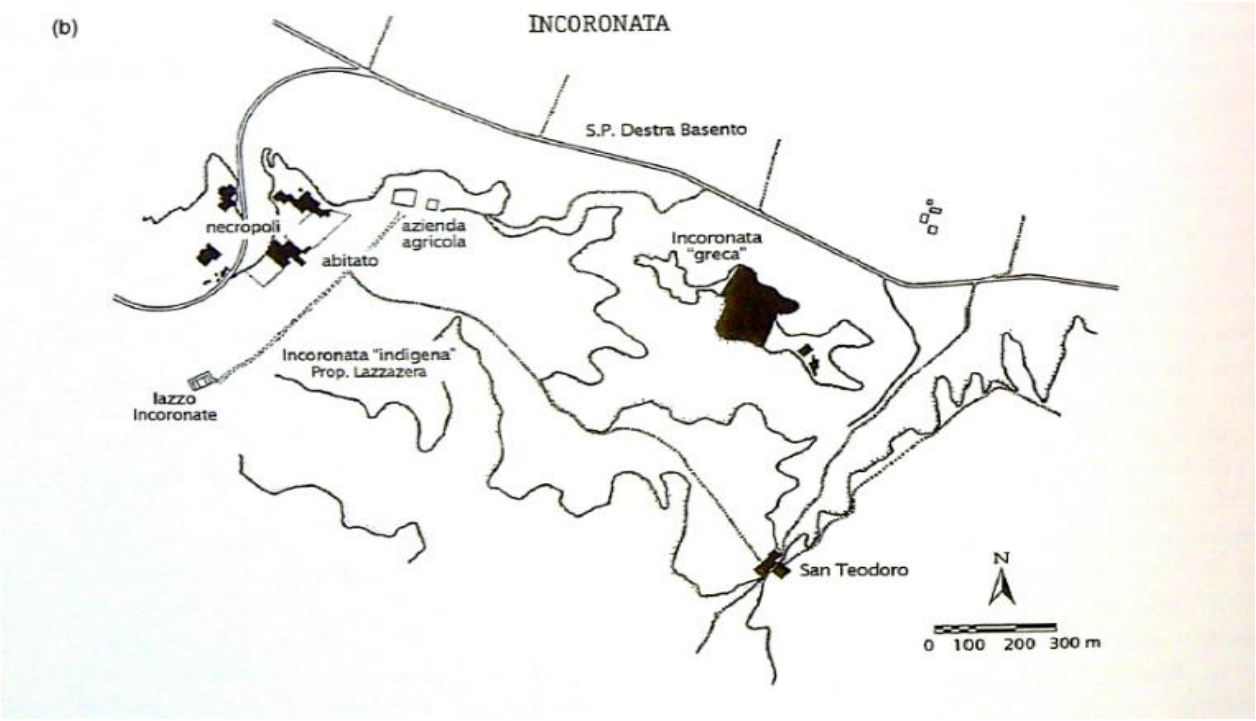


FIGURE 2.a: General Overview of Excavations done at Incoronata.

La Masseria is located near and to the south of "azienda agricola" and includes "abitato." La Capella is located where "necropoli" is labeled. Source: Ossana (2014).

The plateau hilltop site of Incoronata is divided into four areas. Three of which are on the hill of Incoronata and include: La Capella furthest west, La Masseria di Incoronata

(referred to La Masseria here) to the west, and Incoronata, the part that is considered "Greca." The fourth area associated with Incoronata is the necropolis on San Teodoro, which is the hill directly to the southeast of Incoronata (fig. 2.a). La Capella, La Masseria, and San Teodoro are a part of what is named in the literature Incoronata "Indigena" due to the Indigenous necropolis and domestic spaces found (Orlandini 1986, De Siena 1986). All three of these areas were excavated by Bruno Chiartano and Antonio De Siena starting in the 1960s (Chiartano 1994). What is named Incoronata "Greca" in the literature, contains substantial amounts of seventh-century Greek pottery across the hill and were excavated along with ninth and eighth-century Indigenous pottery on the western side of the hill (Chiartano 1994). Again, we must acknowledge that these labels are not perfect and that the realities of identity may have been more nuanced.

It is generally accepted that the site of Incoronata was first occupied in the late tenth and early ninth centuries BCE. The oldest parts of the site so far uncovered are the cemeteries, or necropolises, and structural features found at Incoronata "Indigena" by Chiartano and De Siena. As well as the ninth and eighth-century structures and features found by Denti in his 2016 excavation at Incoronata "Greca". The seventh and sixth century parts of the hill are all on Incoronata "Greca" and has been surveyed by Dinu Adamesteanu in the 1960s and then dug by Orlandini, Carter, and, most recently Mario Denti. Since this part of the site has been excavated and interpreted by different archaeologists, it is the area that has been debated the most. I will start by presenting the finds of the site in chronological order, moving from the oldest parts of Incoronata "Indigena" to the newest parts of Incoronata "Greca."

The Ninth and Eighth Century BCE

Between 1978 and 1985 the necropolises of La Masseria and La Cappella in the west and on San Teodoro in the east were excavated by Chiartano and De Siena excavated the settlement features found on La Masseria. In 1982 there was an expansion of the new agricultural cultivation programs, and many tombs and outlines of structures were destroyed (Chiartano 1994a). Even so, almost 450 burials were uncovered during various field excavations on La Masseria, La Capella and San Teodoro (Chiartano 1994b). Most of the burials are single/individual burials, but some contain two human skeletons (or more), either on purpose or as repurpose of the burial site (Chiartano 1994a). The human remains in the tombs are generally orientated with their head facing NE and most of the burials can be distinguished with distinctive grave goods that point to gender, age, and status differentiations (Chiartano 1994a).

While excavating, Chiartano realized from the body placement and grave goods that the graves are grouped together by their time periods, with the oldest graves grouped together in a central space on La Masseria (Chiartano 1994a). These serve as an epicenter as the oldest tombs; the further away from the epicenter the more recent they are, with the most recent being in San Teodoro (Chiartano 1994a).

Chiartano confirmed this through the style of the tomb, which can either be in the *cassa* style or cist tomb. The *cassa*-style tomb is a box-like tomb made from sandstone slabs and some of these are paved in or around the tomb (1994a). The other is a cist tomb done by digging a hole in the ground and grouping smaller stones along with some wattle and daub on top of and around the perimeter of the burial chamber, which also could have been paved (Chiartano 1994a).

The artifacts inside enhance this chronology of old *cassa* style to newer cist tombs, as Chiartano used the relative dating of fibulae (large, hooked tunic pins) and ceramics from other sites like Santa Maria d'Anglona (1994a, See Appendix B for visual). The fibula found in the central node of the Masseria tombs are arch fibulae, which can be found in the Final Bronze Age, and found in necropolises like Timmari, confirming that they had tenth to ninth century dating and that their associated cassa type graves were older (Chiartano 1994b). Which confirmed the hypothesis that the *cassa* type graves were older as they contained older styles of fibula (Chiartano 1994a). Further away from this epicenter and going into La Capella and San Teodoro, the fibula designs were newer or made from iron, which was introduced in the area after bronze and date to the later parts of the seventh century (Chiartano 1994b:33).

The ceramics found are limited in their capacity to date the tombs precisely as most of the people are buried only with one large vase and a cup (See Appendix B for full list of ceramic types found; Chiartano 1994a). From these limited ceramics, Chiartano compares the designs to the ceramics of the necropolis at Santa Maria d'Anglona, Sorgliano Nord which consists of a population that was around the mid to late eighth century (1994a). At Santa Maria d'Anglona Sorgliano Nord, the ceramics are painted with elegant *tenda (*or "tent shape") from the late eighth century to early seventh century (Chiartano 1994a:34). In contrast, the ceramics in the tombs at Incoronata are painted with *grossolana* (or ugly/thick) *tenda* shapes from the first quarter of the eighth century which are precursors to the latter elegant *tenda* (Chiartano 1994a).

Other than chronology, the burials and their grave goods can tell us about the identity, culture and social stratification of the people who lived here in the ninth-eighth

century. The people who lived at Incoronata at this time are referred to in the literature as Indigenous. This label works for our modern sensibilities, but we do not know the extent that they considered themselves Indigenous to the area and the number of influences from other areas they may have had through migration, immigration, or trade. The grave goods give us a better idea of the society, hierarchies, gender roles, and practices followed by this group of Italic people, allowing us to see their distinct style and practice before the Greeks arrive in substantial amounts.

We can identify two distinct types of grave good sets. One set consists of one or two weapons (one javelin or a sword plus a javelin), several types of hooked fibulae, a larger pot and cup, and sometimes bronze or iron rings (Chiartano 1994a). Sword/javelin combinations only appear on San Teodoro (Chiartano 1994c:20). This set is usually called the "masculine" set and those that were buried with it are considered male (Chiartano 1994b). An average masculine grave includes only a javelin point, a fibula, a biconic jar and a cup (Chiartano 1994, see Fig. 7.2,7.3). When found, the points of the javelins are always next to the head of the person and pointing up, except for two graves (Chiartano 1994c).

The other set of grave goods is the "feminine" set, and it is considered "richer" as it usually comes with more bronze personal accessories than masculine graves. Feminine sets can include: toe rings, finger rings, spiral fibulae, disk fibula, earrings, wire bracelets, belts, coils that are found near the head (thought to be for hair), sheets of hammered metal, or belts, sometimes with hanging spoked disks, or objects identified as a *calcaphone* (a percussive instrument made with bronze coils*)* (Chiartano 1994c, See Fig 7, 7.1). Non-bronze objects that are sometimes included are spindle whorls and loom weights, but all

tombs with feminine sets have some sort of ceramic object, such as: a large pot/jar for dipping cups, cups, or a vessel with a strainer in the spout sometimes referred to as "infusion jars" (Chiartano 1994c). At the San Teodoro necropolis, these infusion jars usually replace the large dipping jar and there is the presence of small amphorae instead of jars or cups (Chiartano 1994c:18). The number of objects and of ornaments in these "feminine" tombs vary; while some are richer than others, all contain more objects than the "masculine graves."

Comparing burial styles and artifacts is useful to determine how Indigenous local identity and role in society is formed before the Greeks. It is worth mentioning that determining the sex of the bodies from the gendered sets of grave goods is problematic as it is influenced by our modern etic labels. However, these distinct sets of grave goods can tell the story of how the Indigenous people had set binary gendered roles who possibly had different ranks, roles or functions in society. For example, amongst the women there is a marked difference between women who have infusion jars and *calcaphones* and those without. Also, as time progressed there were hierarchies formed, as some tombs are much more richly outfitted than others. These differences plus the increased presence of iron, swords, and amber means that there was an increase in trade connections, which may have stimulated the formation of hierarchies or made preexisting ones more pronounced. This also demonstrates how much people's interaction with other cultures can change or enhance people's customs, and how this most likely intensified with the increased presence of these outside groups.

Other than the graves at La Masseria and La Capella there are some other ninth- to eighth-century features to the east of La Masseria necropolis, which include a series of

postholes, pits, and pebbled pavements, which indicate possible structures or parts of an Indigenous settlement (De Siena 1990). This area has various postholes that form at least three long rectangular shapes, indicating a rectangular structure with pits either right in front of them or around them (De Siena 1990). Distinctly, one has a *situla* (a ceramic urn, see Fig.) in a posthole right in front of the opening of the structure (De Siena 1990:73,81). There are also round/oval pits and a series of pits with smaller pits cut into them that sometimes have postholes around them, possibly indicating smaller structures (De Siena 1990). Within some of the pits, they found *pithoi and dolia (*large storage jars, see Fig.), and a *situla* associated with a nearby inhumation of children (De Siena 1990).

They also found a six-meter-long linear pavement made of river rocks that extends across La Masseria and De Siena suggests that this pavement could extend across the hill to Incoronata "Greca" towards the east and even extend to La Capella in the west (De Siena 1990:76). The pits respect the linearity of the pavement overall, but the pavement cuts and covers Pit 88 which has evidence of material that belongs to near the end of the eighth to early late seventh century, which makes the pavement dating to the seventh century (De Siena 1990).

Nearby, in this later seventh century phase, on the La Masseria, are two other nuclei of local burials in the traditional format and indicate that there were still Indigenous people living in this area in the seventh century (De Siena 1990). De Siena posits that they may be a different local Indigenous group because of the lack of goods in their tombs, but this gradual trend of less grave goods overtime is seen throughout Basilicata, and they may also have been subject to grave robbing (De Siena 1990).

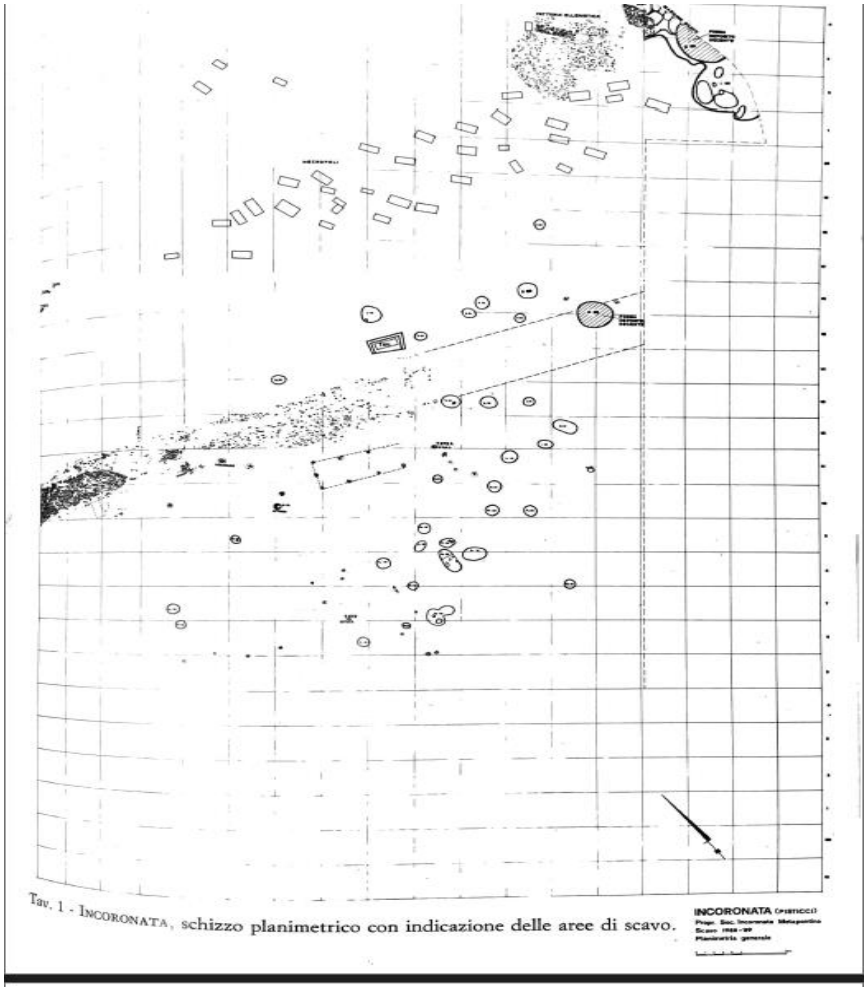


FIGURE 2.b: Close up of excavation with pebble pavement and Tomb 571. Source: De Siena (1990).

Interestingly, in line with the pavement, near these two nuclei of seventh century inhumations, there is a monumental tomb (Tomb 571) that is unlike any of the local Indigenous graves (De Siena 1990). It is laid right next to the pavement in a large, covered stone tomb and its body is laid out in a supine position (in fig. 2.b it is the tomb near the pavement with two outlines). This is unlike the Indigenous burials that are in a crouched position and are usually with specific kits as described above and so this tomb has been named the "tomb of the stranger" (De Siena 1990).

Another interesting feature is a 50 m long linear feature on San Teodoro, to the west of the cemetery, which is five meters deep which De Siena identifies as being similar to a pebble pavement (De Siena 1990:76, Chiartano 1994a). Chiartano and De Siena excavated it and call it a "canal" as it is what Carter named them, but they may be roads or lines of the countryside of Metaponto in the sixth century (De Siena 1990, Carter and Swift 2018). It seems to be from the seventh century as it contains some bricks and impasto ceramics, animal bones, carbon residue and has the general characteristics of Indigenous pebble pavements (De Siena 1990). These "canals" are present in classical times as identified by Carter, however the overall purpose of it is a mystery (Carter and Swift 2018). This one on San Teodoro has a section of it "canceled" by the modern-day sheep track which has limited further excavation.

In between San Teodoro, and La Masseria and La Capella necropolises, at Incoronata "Greca," Denti also finds eighth- and ninth-century structures, but no burials or tombs. During the 2010s excavation by Université Rennes 2, the oldest parts of Incoronata "Greca" were uncovered on the southwestern corner of the hill (Denti 2018a:41). In this corner, eighth- century and some ninth-century sherds were found associated with misfires, indicating ceramic production, and not fully understood features or structures that Denti interprets to be related to ritual activity (Denti 2018a:41). The oldest feature includes a large terrace, paved in pebbles and oriented east to west. Embedded within and on top of this pavement were large pieces of ceramics with *tenda* patterns, undecorated ceramics, animal bones and horns (Denti 2018b). To the south of this pavement is a triangular feature with multiple phases. The earliest phase was a pit with ninth-century pottery, including a biconical urn and burnt animal bones and then is closed by two layers of pebbles, possibly

a pavement. The next phase, on top of these two pebble layers, is a triangular enclosure/structure, which is then closed by an obliteration layer made of a large pile of rocks packed around and over a white stone (Denti 2018b:206). This large smooth white stone was placed on top of the two pebble layers closing the pit, therefore it dates to the same time as the triangular structure. Denti identifies this white stone as an aniconic idol form, symbolizing deities in early ritual practice (Denti 2018b:205). Within this obliteration layer, ceramics were placed whole and fragmented *in situ* and included prestige materials like glass beads, bronze studs, fine impasto, matt painted ollas (Denti 2018b:207). The ninth-century pit is thought to be the oldest feature in this part of the site as there is a complete absence of Greek-style ceramics in any of the strata of the structure, pebble pavement, or pit below. Seventh-century ceramics only appear above this triangular feature when a new pebble layer is placed on top of the older pebbled pavement to the north of this triangular feature (Denti 2018b). This seventh-century pebbled pavement marks the beginning of a new cultural paradigm on the hill as the process of Greek influence begins.

The Seventh and Sixth Century BCE

Thus far, seventh-century artifacts have only been found on the extensively excavated hill of Incoronata "Greca." I will discuss the finds of each researcher's relevant excavations, with these sections arranged in chronological order by the age of their finds. I will begin with Denti's (University Rennes2) excavations, continuing from his previously discussed ninth- and eighth- century finds onto his seventh- and sixth- century finds. Next, I will investigate the extensive seventh-century artifacts found by Orlandini (University of Milan) and then finish with Carter's (University of Austin Texas) late seventh- century

finds and the sixth-century sanctuary Carter found on the southwestern side. See fig. 2.c below based on their respective universities.

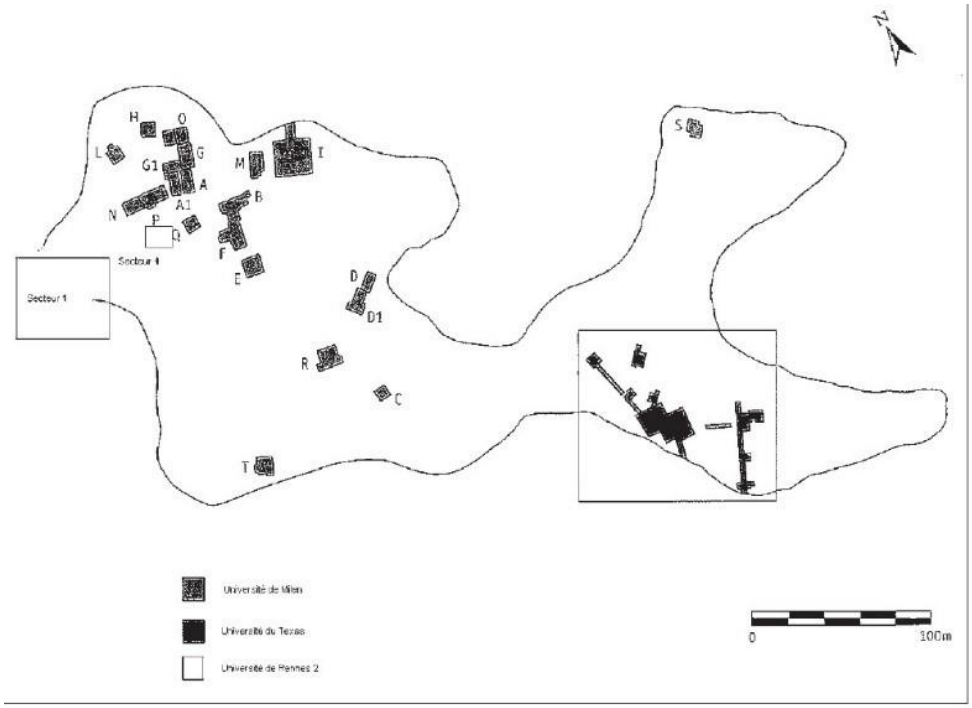
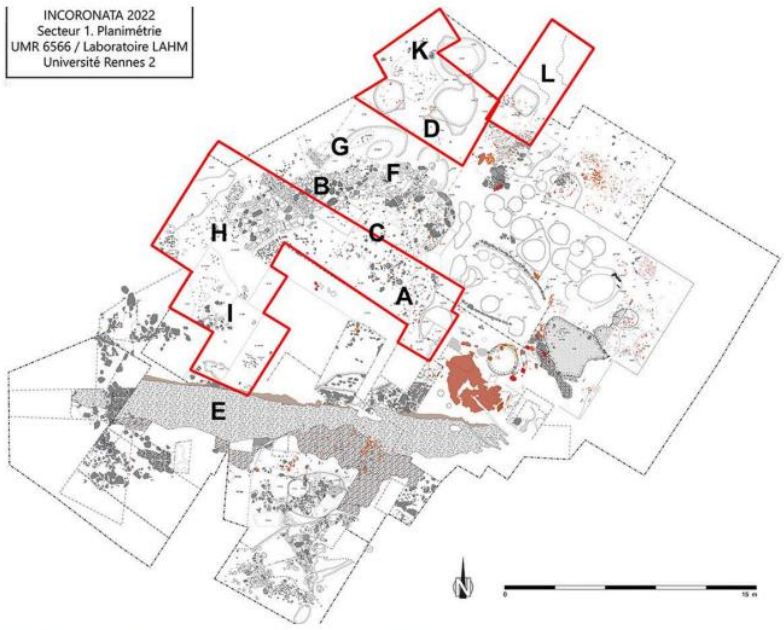


FIGURE 2.c: Excavations of Incoronata "Greca" by different excavators. Source: Denti and Lanos (2007).



DAO L. Marchand, sur concession du MiC – SABAP Basilicata. Tous droits réservés.

FIGURE 2.d: Excavations of Incoronata "Greca" in 2022

Source: Vita, Mandić and Denti (2023)

Incoronata "Greca": Excavation by Mario Denti.

Denti's excavations of the western side of the hill of Incoronata "Greca" are ongoing to the present. Denti identified this area by walking the surface near one of Orlandini's pits, where he saw the red of the brick contrasting against the area's natural soil. This most recent layer covers the central section (seen in fig. 2.d as A, C, B, F, G, H, I) that Denti has excavated up until now and consists of a large grey layer with layers of ceramics and broken, cooked, red, bricks dating to the early sixth century BCE, when Denti says it was abandoned (Denti 2018). These bricks mark a layer of purposeful obliteration, as the bricks found still have impact marks where they were purposefully broken (Denti 2018).

Between this obliteration layer and the eighth-century pavement, there is a large series of seventh-century structures and pits. The inhabitants of the hill covered the eighth-

century pavement in the site's southern area with layers of soil and stones and put another pavement of the same dimensions on top during the seventh century. This new pavement was made purposefully more even in nature, which allowed for a meticulously crafted top layer made of even smaller pebbles and fine flakes of rock (Denti 2018b). Like the previous pavement, the seventh-century pavement had broken ceramics and bone on top of it, which then was covered by large stones and a hard yellow clay which also may mark another decommissioning of the area (Denti 2018b:209). To the northeast of the pavement there is an area that has a three-meter patch of rubified soil and nearby there are three circular pits, one with remains of fragments of kilns with two postholes on either side and another directly dug into the sterile subsoil which was used as a furnace (Denti 2013). To the southwest of this production area there was a large rectangular pit which Denti identifies as a clay quarry (Denti 2013). Along with these furnaces and kilns there is evidence of misfires, potters' wheels, work tools, and clay decanters which indicate production of ceramics was taking place in this area (Denti 2018b). This area is interpreted by Denti as a ceramic production area that was then "closed" by destroying the kilns and putting them in pits. The clay quarry was "ritually closed" by a delimitation in stones the top halves of a *oinochoe* and an *amphoriskos* before they filled in the quarry with different types of remains including: misfires, pieces of bronze objects, sherds of local matt painted pottery, Greek ware, wasters, a pot half filled with solidified slip (liquid clay) and other artifacts that mark a ceramics workshop which was then covered by the obliteration layer on top (Denti 2013).

Directly a meter north of the kilns, Denti has identified a "cult area," which includes an apsidal building that is 6 m x 4 m, with the open side of the "U" facing west (Denti

2018b). The shapes of the walls are indicated by the u-shaped stone foundation, but the perishable materials of the ceiling and walls have worn away (Denti 2018b). As you enter the structure, in the middle of the apsidal building there are two stone bases, which suggests that there were pillars inside made of wood and that the postholes around the structure probably supported a roof (Denti 2018b:210). There may be two phases in the apsidal building the first containing a possible ritual deposit, with an area of carbon found in association with a mixed assemblage of Greek and Indigenous ceramics. This included a locally made Greek-style crater with its foot removed (presumably rendering it "useless" after the ritual was completed), two *askoi* of Indigenous make, and two bobbins (Denti 2022:499). This was then covered by a dirt floor and the last thing to be done was two ritual features. In the center of the apse, demarcated by pebbles, was the foot of an amphora, which, Denti posits that this was used as a direct pipeline or *tubo fittile* (tube made of clay) for directing libations to the earth (Denti 2018b).To the front of the building or the bottom of the "U," there is a small pit with a canal going down to a small round pit on the right side of the building (Denti 2021).

In front of the apsidal building, in the bottom of the "U," there was what Denti identifies as a bothroi (a ritual pit used in Chthonic religion to contact the underworld) which was a large three-meter-wide pit with seven successive pits cut into it (Denti 2022). It is delimitated by pebbles and then lined by pebbles, and filled with reddish earth, stained by the layer of broken brick fragments associated with the site's abandonment (Denti 2018b:210). Near the south-facing exterior walls of the apsidal building, they also found a small oven space with burnt acorns from an oak tree, which Denti also attributes to ritual practice (Denti 2022:80). By the north-facing exterior walls, there is a large pit with other

smaller pits cut into it (Denti 2022). Moving further north of the apsidal building and pit, there is an area that Denti identifies as an altar, with stone blocks making an elevated flat surface and a channel made with brick and stone around it, presumably for libations (Denti 2013). Near this is a rubified area lined by pieces of an achrome vessel that marks a hearth (Denti 2013). To the north of this altar is another bothroi, identified through delimitation of pebbles and then the inside was lined with the walls of several types of ceramic pots (Denti 2013). In this northern area to the north-west, areas K, D, and L (see Fig.4) have been recently excavated and indicate that more bothroi are being uncovered (Vita et al 2023). In area D, pit 851 is covered with a calf's head resting on a bed of pebbles as well as shreds of Greek seventh century cups (Vita et al 2023). Throughout there are multiple stratigraphic layers with evidence of libation cups and ceramic forms broken with pebbles, animal bones (sheep/goat, deer, turtle), a spindle whorl, assorted sizes of pebbles, bronze remains, and a ceramic bead (Vita et al 2023).

In the middle of the site, to the north of the pebbled terraces and west of the apsidal building, there is a series of pits surrounding a larger pit-like depression in the soil that contains a linear mound of stones that seem to form a monumental wall of some sort (Denti 2021). In this area, in a pavement layer full of ceramic sherds and pebbles that covered the monumental wall, there are several pits (Denti 2018b). Within one of these pits on the perimeter of the larger central depression area of the wall, Denti also found the head of a female figurine in Daedalic divine style. In this deposit there were numerous other Corinthian imports: Corinthian amphora, SOS amphora, *oinochoe* of proto-Corinthian, *skyphoi*, *kotylai,* and proto-Corinthian *krateriskos*, an *œnochoé*, a c*hytra*, and a *louteria* (see Appendix A for more details on shapes). These ceramics are usually found in post-

ritual, libation and sacrificial settings and provide a relative date for the closing deposit towards the end of the seventh century (Denti 2018b p.77, 2021).

Denti proposes that all these finds are indicative of a conscious, ritual closing of the site, the structures have been cleaned out of important material before being covered by an obliteration layer of purposefully broken and placed bricks (Denti 2018c). The pits in the north, north-western corner are ritual in nature and considered by Denti to be "decommissioned" as they are seemingly emptied of all whole or important objects and are filled with homogeneous colored soil. As time has gone on, some of these pits, like Pit 851, have shown that some of the bothroi may actually have multiple complicated strata of earth and lenses of ash that may indicate a more complicated, and perhaps purposeful, one time use and decommissioning (Vita et al 2023). Despite this soil difference, these pits are filled with different but similar pebble layers, animal bone layers and broken sherds of various kinds and time periods (Denti 2019). Denti argues that the sherds in these pits are all purposefully broken *in situ* due to the position of the sherds and the arrangements of bones, stones, and artifacts in and around the sherds (Denti 2019:500-501). An interesting observation is that some of the sherds from the same, sometimes finely made (such as proto-Corinthian *lekythos* or Oenotrian relief ceramic), ceramic vessels were often later scattered in different deposits (Denti 2019). These two practices of "emptying pits" and then placing sherds in different pits or areas is also seen on Orlandini's side of Incoronata.

Incoronata "Greca": Excavation by Piero Orlandini.

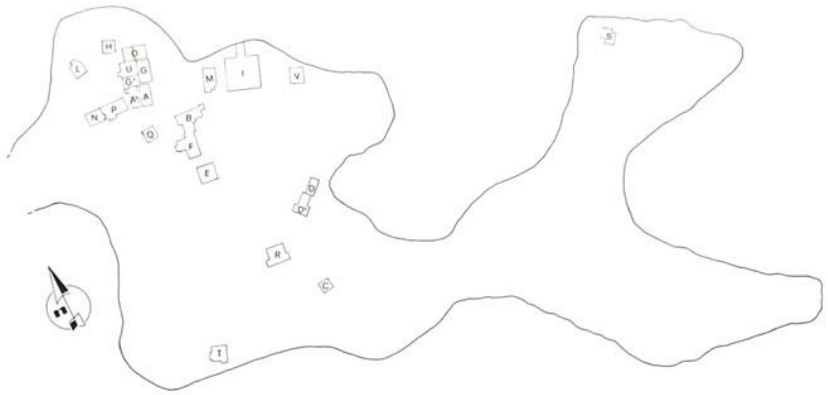


Fig. 1. Planimetria della collina dell'Incoronata (scala 1:2200).

FIGURE 2.e: Total Trenches Excavated by Orlandini. Source: Orlandini (1994).

See Appendix C for detailed view of trenches.

Orlandini mainly excavated on the northeastern spur of the hill from 1974 to 2000. He opened 18 trenches, or Saggi, named by alphabetic letters, and only published in depth the six that are presented here (for full trenches see fig. 2.e above). Trenches P, T, S, H, G, and E are published fully but some of the trenches, A, I, D, and C are not published fully. These latter trenches contain notable Indigenous features; for example, trench A has fragments of Indigenous walking surfaces and pebbled surfaces (Orlandini 1986:29). There is another fragment of an Indigenous pebble surface in Trench C, while Trench I contains an Indigenous walking surface cut by a square pit (Orlandini 2003:31). In trench D1, there is a hearth and a circular pit of burnt grain (Orlandini 1986:29). These features have been attributed to the previous eighth-century occupation of Indigenous people. One of

Orlandini's main arguments is that this Indigenous occupation ends in the seventh century due to the features he found.

While excavating, Orlandini found two primary types of features: square pits and round pits. Orlandini labels the square pits as domestic spaces, warehouses or waste pits used by Greeks when they took over in around 700 BCE. To support the claim for houses and the lack of walls, is that the tops of these "houses" were destroyed due to a mixture of agriculture and historical violent destruction (Orlandini 1994). The domestic and warehouse pits usually had some Indigenous pottery at the bottom, which Orlandini attributed to the previous occupation (Orlandini 1986). However, Yntema (1990) found that the Indigenous ceramics dated to the eighth and seventh centuries, and that they are coeval to one another. The round pits are identified as being Indigenous huts or waste pits from the previous occupation, or as designated sites that the Greeks used to deposit the waste made by flattening the hill and destroying the previous settlement (Orlandini 1986).

Most of the pits contained remarkably similar contents. Including stones, spindle whorls, loom weights, random bronze objects like bronze fibula pieces, animal bones, and ceramic sherds from domestic, ritual and transport ceramics (Orlandini 1986). Despite Orlandini's interpretation differing from other researchers, the actual artifacts, and structures he found are similar to those found by Denti and Carter. In fact, all the seventh century sites share the specific characteristic of round, cleanly cut pits full of broken pottery, animal bones and ash. Interestingly, both Orlandini and Denti both identify instances where sherds of the same pots are found in different areas (Orlandini 1997; Denti 2018c). By going in-depth into each of the trenches excavated by Orlandini and examining

the archaeological contents of the pits, we can look at the contents and see where the interpretations overlap or contradict one another.

Orlandini published trench P first, which contains two clear examples of what he considers to be “Indigenous” and “Greek” pits. Trench P contains three pits in line with each other which contained a majority of Indigenous ceramics from the eighth and seventh century (Orlandini 1991:24). Trench P also had two pits with mainly Greek ceramics, many ceramics of which were locally made while others had been imported (Orlandini 1991). These two “Greek” pits also contain Indigenous ceramics near the bottom of the pit which Orlandini uses to interpreted that the pit belonged to the previous Indigenous settlement (Orlandini 1991; See Appendix C). There are also faunal remains of cattle, pigs, deer, and sheep or goats demonstrating that the people relied on both domestic and wild animals for subsistence (Orlandini 1991:24).

Trench T has one square pit and one round pit with two smaller pits that could be postholes (Orlandini 1992:22). Near these they also found fragments of river pebble pavements, a hearth, and ash lenses with faunal remains and Indigenous ceramics which Orlandini says are a part of the Indigenous occupation (Orlandini 1992). The square pit is 80 cm in depth, which makes it one of two that Orlandini found of that depth. The other square pits are 30– 40 cm deep, which is similar to the nine others around the site from the same layer (Orlandini 1992:21). Trench T contains stones and at least 96 ceramic objects including 11 commercial Corinthian and Attic amphorae, 16 achrome *pithoi*, 5 *pentole*, 9 *perirrhanteria*, 4 proto-Corinthian imitation, 7 Buccheroid greyware vases, and 44 painted colonial vases (2 figurative) (Orlandini 1992). Inside the Greek pit they also find

perirrhanteria, louteria and basin forms which were associated with washing of the body or libations (Orlandini 1992:92-96).

Trench S contains a square pit with similar content to the other square pits previously mentioned but has evidence for a possible wall (Orlandini 1995). It is packed with at least 188 intricate and richly decorated ceramic objects, which is significantly more than the 101 objects in trench H and 96 in trench T (see Table 8.b for detailed counts) (Orlandini 1995:24). There are irregular stones on one side of the square pit, which Orlandini identifies as the remains of a 40 cm high wall that was 40–50 cm thick (Orlandini 1995:23). Orlandini argued that the uneven preservation and the interwoven jumble of displaced ceramics, stones and burnt wood is due to either: 1) an inward structural collapse caused by the invading Greeks or 2) modern agricultural activity, in which tractors may have pushed the walls off its perimeter (Orlandini 1995:23). Orlandini reasons that the considerable number of amphorae found in the pits was because it was intended for trade, rather than a secondary context like a necropolis (Orlandini 1995). There are also several examples of household pottery with charred bottoms, indicating people were making meals in or around the structure (Orlandini 1995). There were also several special finds like miniature ceramics, an iron spear head, amber beads, pasta vitrea (locally made pre-glass beads like faience), millstones, spindle whorls, spools, and a *tuyere* which may have been a part of a bellows, which are rare (Orlandini 1995).

Trench G contained one square pit, 40 cm in depth, which is covered partially by stones on the eastern side, while the western side seems to have been disturbed. It also contained three round pits, one with a relatively equal mix of Greek and Indigenous ceramics and the other two containing primarily Indigenous ceramics (Orlandini 2000).

Orlandini claims that an ashy layer separated the Greek ceramics on top and the Indigenous ceramics (Orlandini 2000). Therefore, his interpretation is that there was a previous Indigenous settlement which was promptly taken over and razed to the ground when the Greeks arrived in 700 BCE (Orlandini 1995).

The square pit had fragments of a highly decorated locally made *perirrhanterion* in Corinthian style with depictions of different epic myths, including Odysseus and Hercules (Orlandini 1995). There was also a, more detailed, *deinos* with winged horses, a globular vessel, and a number of storage jars and amphorae (Orlandini 1995). The one mixed ceramic pit was 1.6m in depth and 4m in diameter and contained animal bones from horses, turtles, deer, and domesticated animals (Orlandini 1995:16). The square pit in trench G is a prime example of the diversity of storage, household, decorated and undecorated vessels that are at the center of the debate over differentiating ritual and domestic contexts and whether Incoronata was an outpost, a settlement, or a ritual center.

Trenches H and E both contain square pits that crosscut the round "Indigenous" pits. In trench H, the square pit cuts into the two Indigenous pits and is characterized by a covering of at least 600 stones, clay bricks and yellow clay, superimposed over a brownish yellow layer containing vases, household pottery, and amphorae (Orlandini 1997). The square pit contained spools, spindle whorls, loom weights, and animal bones. Several metal objects were also found. Including an iron hatchet, iron bars, bronze plates, and bronze nails (Orlandini 1997). A piece of *perirrhanterion* found in Trench H was also found to have the same decoration as one found in Trench G, 20 meters away (Orlandini 1997).

Finally, trench E is characterized by a square pit with more Greek-style ceramics than Indigenous ones, as well as several ceramics found surrounding the square pit (See

Appendix C for full counts). Right outside of the square pit there is also a strange oval shallow pit containing both Indigenous and Greek material with clay which may have been associated with drainage (Orlandini 2003).

Orlandini's trenches and pits are divided into different ethnic identities by the number of ceramics and their style. This affects the interpretation of the site and will be further addressed in the discussion. Overall, the finds are similar to the rest of the seventh-century features and artifacts of the site found by Carter and Denti on other parts of the hill.

Incoronata "Greca": Excavation by JC Carter

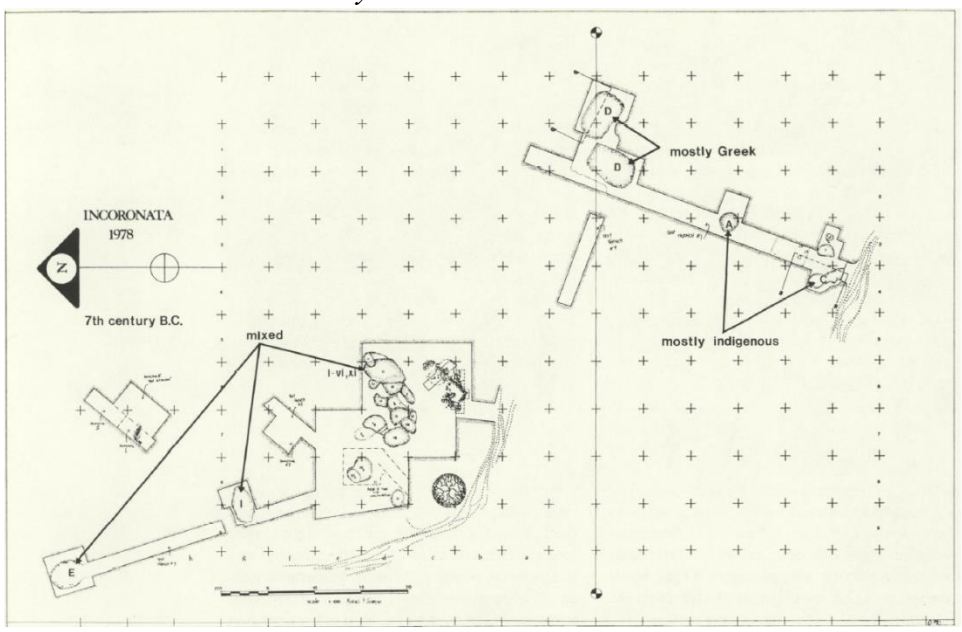


FIGURE 2.f: Plan of excavation. Source: Carter (1993).

The last phase of occupation and ritual obliteration and abandonment of the site was in the early sixth century BCE (Denti 2018c). Orlandini believes that the site and population were destroyed by the Metaponto Greeks, but Adamesteanu points out is that the only real thing that can be said is when Incoronata closes the life of Metaponto begins

(Adamesteanu 1986, Orlandini 1995). After some time, Carter and his team from the University of Texas found that people still used the hill after its abandonment, as they uncovered remains of a sixth-century sanctuary on the southeastern spur of Incoronata (Carter 1978). Amongst the finds, there were roof tiles, decorative antefixes, molded mudbrick, and figurines of female goddesses (Carter 1978). As they kept digging, they found a series of pits underneath the plough zone, which dated to the eighth and seventh centuries (Carter 1978). Pits A and C both were considered waste pits and contained Indigenous ceramics from the eighth and seventh century (impasto), but also contained imported Greek storage vessels (Carter 1993). Pits B and D were also considered waste pits, but they only contained Greek-style ceramics of local and imported make (Carter 1993). Then there are pits E and I in the area labeled as "i-vi, xi" where there were traces of mixed Indigenous and Greek-style ceramics (Carter 1993. See fig. 2.f). All the pits were determined to be contemporaneous to one another in the seventh century, which goes against Orlandini's interpretations of the Indigenous features and artifacts being from the eighth century (Carter 1993:384).

The team also found in relation to this area, the foundations of three (out of four) walls of a rectangular one-story structure, measuring approximately 5.3m x 2.5 m, made with mudbrick, thatched roof, and sunken floor with few artifacts inside (Carter 1978). Associated with structure was an *askos*, which is a rarely found Indigenous pouring vessel also found in Denti's apsidal building, as well as domestic animal bones, a broken *fibula* pin, household ceramic ware, and loom weights (Carter 1993). These artifacts are all consistent with the other seventh-century artifacts identified from the different excavations across the hill.

The northeastern spur overlooking the Basento on the hill of Incoronata "Greca" itself was surveyed with a gradiometer. This revealed that the hill was pockmarked with several pits of the same type. Any shallow features or features lower than ±2-3nT were missed because the extensive ceramic remains on the surface have enough thermoremanence to create "background noise" which make the results of the gradiometer unclear (Davis et al 2003). The gradiometer readings suggest that Incoronata still has an extensive portion of it unexcavated with hot spots that could be kilns or objects, as well as faint traces of lines that possibly indicate structures and more pits which could tell us more about the site itself (Davis et al 2003, to see visuals of results look at fig. 2.g-2.i below). Ground truthing or perhaps other archaeometric techniques, like ground penetrating radar which can be more precise or complement magnetometry, could be undertaken to reveal more insight into the nature of these results (Turner et al 2018). It also reveals that what has been uncovered so far at Incoronata is only a small part of a larger whole larger picture still to uncover.

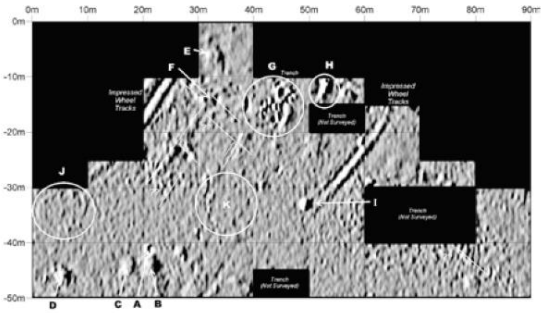


Figure 6. Magnetic shaded relief plot of Incoronata "*greca*" (northeast spur). Elliptical shapes at J and K are barely discernible, as are the linear features just to the north of K.

FIGURE 2.g: Magnetic Shaded relief with visible elliptical and linear features. Source: Davis et al (2003).

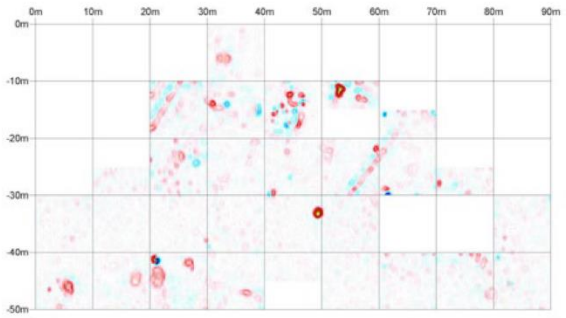


FIGURE2.h: Pits revealed by Magnetometer as seen from above.

Source: Davis et al (2003).

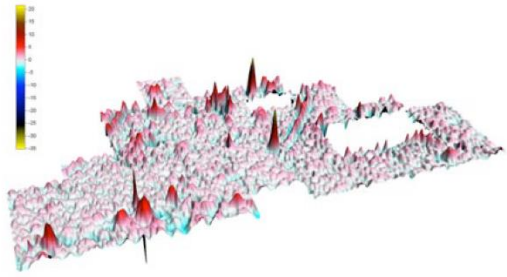


Figure 7. (Top) Magnetic contour map of Incoronata "*greca*." (Above) A 3D magnetic relief map of the same area. Note the strong ceramic noise throughout the site.

FIGURE2.i: 3D magnetic relief map revealing possible pits and ceramic noise.

Source: Davis et al (2003).

Potential problems with Previous Interpretations of Incoronata

After compiling as much of the evidence as possible from the different archaeological excavations at Incoronata, the next step is to discuss the results and reexamine the data of previous archaeologists. Part of the problem is that much of the excavations of Incoronata "Indigena" are unpublished and were a part of rescue archaeology, which limits our understanding of the Indigenous people of the site. Then the interpretations before 2000 have a set perspective about Mediterranean Greek/Indigenous colonial relations as unilateral, based off Greek written sources, the Greeks brought culture

to the Indigenous people, and the specific contexts that those relations and artifacts would be in. Which contradicts Denti's new evidence and more modern interpretation on the colonization, which is that Indigenous and Greek people may have had a more nuanced relationship than that.

From examining the raw data and accompanying interpretations from Incoronata there are two key issues that arise from Orlandini's hypothesis, which directly ties use of and function of structures and ceramics to a modern concept of identity of two groups of people. The main debates that arise from the interpretations are how do archaeologists distinguish between "Greek" or "Indigenous" identity, how did colonization affect this, and how do we identify and evaluate what is considered by the archaeologists in the area to be a "domestic" or "ritual" space. These debates should be addressed in relation to other sites to achieve a greater understanding of the Italic peoples that lived at these sites during the Early Iron Age. Further, comparative evidence from other excavations may reveal the purpose of Incoronata on the landscape and bring new understanding to the debate. I will compare Incoronata to sites near the Basento like the sites of Santa Maria d'Anglona, Timmari, Termitito, Ferrandina, San Biagio, and Cozzo Presepe before moving out to explore Siris, Metaponto, and the sanctuary of Timpone della Motta, while keeping in mind the lack of publication at many of these sites.

Chapter 3 Other Important Sites for Context

We have explored the site of Incoronata and the implications of the findings and excavations that have been conducted until now. The next step is to consider its place in the larger context of the area, consider different interpretations of Incoronata, and contextualizing the finds by putting Incoronata into dialogue with other sites to allow us to gain a better understanding of the nature of the site. It also could create more nuance for finds and interpretations at other sites and indicate places for further excavations.

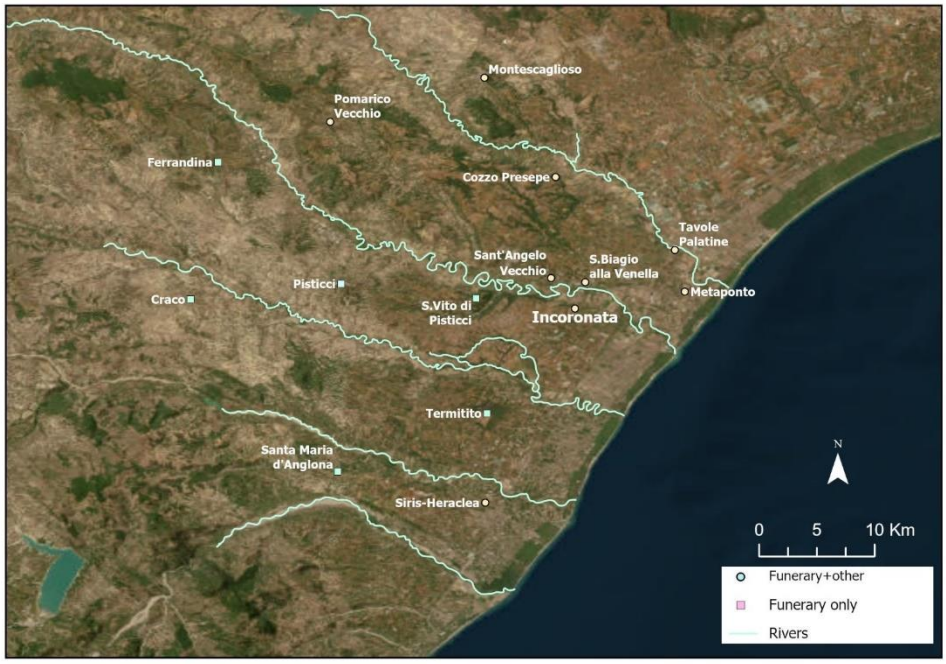


FIGURE 3.a: Sites referenced in Chapter 3.

Source: Arantxa Bertholet del Barrio (2024).

As mentioned previously, part of the problem of undertaking a comparison of Incoronata to other sites in the area is the overall lack of publication of nearby sites and to some extent limited excavations. Most of the sites that will be presented here have funerary

Early Iron Age contexts associated with them, however, at some sites like Craco, Pisticci and Ferrandina, they are the only feature that has been found (see fig. 3.a). Other sites have identified ritual and domestic features from trenches excavated like at Cozzo Presepe, L'Amastuola, Santa Maria d'Anglona and San Biagio (see fig. 3.a). The more extensively excavated sites like Incoronata, Siris, Metaponto, Taranto, and Timpone della Motta, have ritual, funerary, and domestic features have been found in context. I will briefly review the sites with available archaeological evidence before drawing further conclusions on the nature of Incoronata. This will also allow me to conduct preliminary spatial relationships between these sites.

Siris/Heraclea at Policoro

It is important to start with Siris/Heraclea, as pottery from Incoronata was found at Siris indicating direct trade between the two sites (Bellamy, Chiartano 1994b, Bianco 2020). Siris is a long-occupied site in the modern town of Policoro that extends across the top of a plateau-like hill to the surrounding coastal plain around it (Giardino 2010). Siris has two main necropolises on the northern side of the hill, one dating as far back as the eighth century and the other dates to the Classical period (Bianco 2020, Giardino 2010, Adamesteanu 1971). Across the southwestern end of the flats, there are tombs and features of habitation, and in the middle of the hill there are classical period structures (Bianco 2020). Like many archaeological sites in Italy, Siris has a long history of occupation.

The oldest parts of Siris are the necropolises that date to the end of the eighth and beginning of the seventh century at Madonelle, Chiarchito-Schirone and Presidio Ospedaliero (Bianco 2020, Giardino 2010). Schirone and Madonelle both have eighth-

century burials and artifacts, however only La Madonelle has evidence of continuous use past classical times (De Siena 1986b). The oldest graves are on the periphery of the necropolises and are generally organized in family groups like what has been found at Incoronata and Santa Maria d'Anglona (Berlingo 2010). Though at Schirone there are traces of tumuli/cist style tombs with similar covering of stones like at Incoronata, but most has been lost to agricultural disturbance (Berlingo 2010).

Some of the *enchytrismos* (ceramic pots for inhumations) used for inhumations included impasto *situlae*, *chytrai*, *hydria*, as well as *pithoi* from Rhodes and amphorae, including SOS amphorae, from: Corinth, Chio, Samos, Lesbos, and Milet (Berlingo 2010). The *enchytrismos* generally contained adult remains; those who died before adulthood tend to be buried in the ground, while babies were placed inside storage jars (Berlingo 2010). Grave goods in or next to the pots were few but people who were directly buried in the ground received more ceramics, as though compensating for the lack of an urn (Berlingo 2010). There is also evidence of secondary cremation done nearby but towards the sixth and seventh century, suggesting there were more people directly buried before a transition later to cremation (Berlingo 2010).

Out of the 450 burials, 3.5% were definitively "Indigenous" inhumations in the distinctive Indigenous semi-flexed position (Berlingo 2010). From the evidence above, archaeologists conclude that this indicates that the local Indigenous population gradually adopted Greek practices (Berlingo 2010). Overall, in the later tombs at Siris and surrounding areas of Siris there are less and less of the distinctive male and female bronze objects that are seen at the necropolises of Incoronata and Santa Maria d'Anglona,

indicating a different priority in burials, possible brought by the incoming Greeks (De Siena 1986b).

Nearby the cemetery of Presidio Ospedaliero, there is also evidence of round and square structures, interpreted to be huts with postholes around them as well as some stepped pits like at Incoronata (Bianco 2020, Giardino 2010). In them they found "pottery for conservation, preparation, cooking and eating food; tools related to domestic activities such as loom weights, fishhooks, mobile stoves, and grinding stones." (Bianco 2020, Giardino 2010:18). Presidio Ospedaliero and other excavations around Siris that have a variety of smaller grave sites and non-ritual artifacts demonstrate that even if these were not huts, there was large chance with the scattered sites and burials that seventh-century Indigenous people lived in small, scattered nuclei of huts around the main hill at the time (De Siena 1986a:118; Bianco 2020; Giardino 2010). In these areas, the local matt-painted ware outnumbers those made in Greek style or imports. The patterns on the Indigenous ceramics are like those found at Incoronata, Metaponto-Andrisani and the necropolises of Chiaramonte, Aliano, and Roccanova (Bianco 2020; Giardino 2010:19).

This population was also influenced by nearby sites, including Incoronata as many of the pottery forms and designs found at Siris were also found at Incoronata. Another site, Santa Maria d'Anglona, is also mentioned a lot as having a possible connection with Siris as both sites have pebbled walking surfaces facing each other (De Siena 1986a). These connections help bring up questions about trade, production centers, reuse of storage or transport containers for ritual use as well as possible production originating from Incoronata.

In the middle of the plateau-hill of Siris, the remains of the seventh-century habitation appear where there are pits that demarcate huts, both round and square as well as some similar pits to those at Incoronata. These pit "huts" also were identified to have a stepped "storage area" and were found under the city grid style of a Greek city that comes afterwards in the sixth/fifth century (Bianco 2020; Giadino 2010). There are many Greek forms uncovered in this area of Siris are the same forms uncovered in the so called "houses" of Greeks at Incoronata, including: *chytrae, coppa a filetti*, Incoronata-type *hydria, aryballoi,* and a *deinos* (De Siena 1986a). In this central area of the hill, a seventh-century furnace indicates traces of production and domestic contexts (De Siena1986)

In the area of the sixth/ fifth-century sanctuary of Demeter, excavators have found seventh century Daedalic terracotta, proto-Corinthian *aryballoi* and *lekythoi*, as well as Proto Corinthian *pyxeslate.* This assemblage is similar to artifacts found at San Biagio alla Venella, the sanctuary in the urban area in Metaponto and at Timpone della Motta in Francavilla Marittima (De Siena 2009). De Siena makes the connection that the "Metaponto *Siritide* and *Sibaritide*" *koine* styles of artifacts were similar, which contradicts the idea that Siris and Sibaris were in enough conflict to stop trade (De Siena 2009). It also suggests, due to the similarities across all three sacred sites, that there may have already been a sacred area in the eighth and early seventh century before the sanctuary of Demeter in Siris was officially made in a "Greek" style (De Siena 2009).

Santa Maria d'Anglona

The area of Santa Maria d'Anglona has a history of excavations around the main hill of funerary features, at the top of the hill there were preliminary excavations of settlements, but they did not reveal much (Frey 1991). There are three main necropolises: one excavated by Lattanzi in 1981, another by Frey in 1982, and the last by Malnati in 1986 and is on the slopes around the site (De Siena 1986b). Frey did rescue excavations of the cemetery that appeared as drainage for a road was being built (Chiartano 1994b). These tombs are similar to those at Incoronata/San Teodoro and Siris and seem to share burial traditions. The bodies in both were buried in a semi-flexed position, arranged in kin groups, and contained similar artifacts. At Santa Maria d'Anglona the ceramics and fibula date them from the mid-eighth to seventh century. Compared to Incoronata they are richer with increased amounts and variety of objects from both more inland traditions as well as imports, like amber and faience scarabs repurposed into beads or jewelry. These artifacts indicate that the area was involved in an extensive trade network, likely facilitated by its position between both rivers (that were navigable in ancient times) and their strategic controlling position between the coast and inland. To confirm this hypothesis and look for domestic structures, Whitehouse dug trenches at the top of the hill, near the still standing medieval church. These trenches contained prehistoric pits as well as some pits with matt-painted pottery which were identified in the "Hellenistic pits" (Whitehouse 1969). Some of these "prehistoric" ceramics were definitely impasto and it would be interesting to revisit this area with modern chronologies and interpretations. From what I could tell the pits mirror the ones found at Incoronata, however the limited pits and the levels of erosion

Whitehouse found may hinder that interpretation. More excavation of the area is needed for a clearer picture of the Early Iron Age time period.

Cozzo Presepe

Cozzo Presepe is on a hill along the western side of the Bradano river and is 15 km inland from the modern coastline. It overlooks the river and valley which is perfect for defense and controlling the valley (Ward-Perkins, Du Plat and Macnamara 1983:199). The site was examined through the excavation of 8 trenches, which revealed a square wall surrounding the entire site and four graves from the post-Classic period. Trenches A and B were the only two trenches containing artifacts spanning the archaic to classical period (eighth to first century BCE) (Morel 1970).

The site has three main phases: the first is dated using eighth-century impasto pottery, the second contains seventh-century pottery and an ash layer believed to be caused by invading Metapontine Greeks at the beginning of the sixth century, and the third is after this when the wall gets built larger (Du Plat and McNamara 1983:221).

In Phase I Trench A, there is evidence of the first occupation on the local natural layer which is a reddish friable layer of rock, with the two layers above being made of sand and then the uppermost layer is composed of a grey layer of ash (Du Plat and McNamara 1983). These soil patterns are also found in Incoronata and in the farmhouse of Andrisani at Metaponto. Some of the pits at Incoronata follow this pattern and were a part of how Orlandini interpreted the ash layer as the result of violent destruction. The artifacts of Trench A also include copious amounts of eighth-century impasto pottery (21 out of 800 sherds found were burnished), some which were *situla* forms (Du Plat and Macnamara 1983:213).

In Phase I Trench B, they found pottery sherds that date to the late seventh century; of these sherds, 500 are plain pottery sherds and 400 are sherds of matt painted Iron Age pottery with evidence of Greek influence. These sherds were found to come from a number of different vessel forms, including: an urn, a possible *kantharos*, jugs, bowls, *askoi*, strainers, open bowls, a pot with an outturned rim, and a pot with a wide mouth (Du Plat and Macnamara 1983:214). Researchers also found various worked bone and stones for tools, a glass bead, a bronze annular ring, a spindle whorl, and numerous bone fragments from pigs, red deer, cattle, and sheep/goats (Du Plat and Macnamara 1983:214). Overlying this IB phase there is a "distinctive grey, ashy layer, which contained much burnt material including charred pottery and bone." (Du Plat and Macnamara 1983:214).

Above the layer of ash found in both Trenches A and B there is what they call Phase II. I This phase sees a continuation of the impasto pottery from Phase I, but the amount of geometric pottery increases and surpasses impasto numbers. Phase II also sees the addition of more imported and local Greek pottery types, including: 75 sherds of SOS amphora, Corinthian-style amphora, and *skyphos* (Du Plat and Macnamara 1983:218). Around the finds in Phase II Trench A, they also found 400 sherds of impasto including a situla, 500 plain sherds, 110 Metapontine-style cups, 14 decorated bichrome sherds, and over 400 monochrome sherds including a globular urn and strainer (Du Plat and Macnamara 1983). Phase II also had worked bone tools, iron fragments, beads, spindle whorls, loom weights, a whetstone, a pestle, and animal bones from cattle, goat/sheep, ass/horse, pig, and deer.

Found in this same Phase II there was also a small carved stone stele similar to an Apulian grave stele, a carved stone basin, and louteria with rare decorations, which was

interpreted that there may have been a native cemetery or sanctuary before, but the Greeks came and destroyed everything (Du Plat and Macnamara 1983:219, 229). In the Phase IIA, a seventh-century ceramics layer was identified by Johnston as containing Corinthian-style pottery and other imported sherds that are types more often associated with funerary or votive context and not representative of utilitarian domestic forms (Du Plat and McNamara 1983). This suggests that there is continuous use of this area as a sacred space, with the ash features being part of that ritual or indicative of destruction. Interestingly, this directly parallels the issues of interpretation at Incoronata, as the ash is mainly found in the pits and the stratigraphy is unclear in Orlandini's work.

On the side of the hill on Area I, there was a large, wide, shallow depression that contained a great pottery deposit that had a grey ashy fill with greyware that are like the interpreted violent destruction layer in both trenches (Du Plat and Macnamara 1983:215). The "pottery deposit" contained amphorae sherds at the top, 300 impasto sherds, 350 geometric monochrome, 800 plain sherds, 24 wheel-made painted and 40 sherds of Greek style which may have been imported from Metaponto (Du Plat and Macnamara 1983:219). DuPlat and Macnamara reference Orlandini and agree with him that the ash and broken deposit may be due to destruction and evokes the *emporium* (trade post/warehouse) type deposits from Incoronata that Orlandini believes fell from shelving when the house or warehouse was destroyed.

DuPlat and Macnamara also found another depression where the base of a plain pithos was found standing upright at the bottom of the depression, but they conclude that this feature existed before Phase II and was filled at the same time as the destruction of the "native habitation of the site" (1983:18). The combination of jar within a depression or pit

has parallels to the half jar deposits, either foot or top, in a depression, at Incoronata which Denti characterizes as a libation practice (2018b).

In Area I III there is a point where the wall is based on an irregular line of uncut stones that were placed in a yellow sandy layer, identified as a foundation trench (Du Plat and McNamara 1983). The wall was oriented from east to west but tumbled off the hill at some point due to erosion (Du Plat and Macnamara 1983:215, 217). Similarly, at Incoronata there is a monumental wall that goes from east to west, however at Incoronata the wall is within a depression, stops suddenly and was covered by the obliteration brick layer which preserved it (Denti 2023).

Whatever Cozzo Presepe or Incoronata are, they definitely have characteristics in common. Some of the shared characteristics include the pottery that could be used for rituals found in an area that could have been a ritual space, as well as the ashy layers that appear in most of these pits. The monumental wall that stops near the edge of the hill is also similar, which, if more is excavated, there can be a better idea about what it was used for. The trenches at Cozzo Presepe should be expanded to see if there are more features directly correspond to ones found at Incoronata, it would be interesting to find more ritual features or find more comparisons of the pit features that help us determine that for which they were used.

San Biagio della Venella

Near Incoronata, on the other side of the Basento river at San Biagio, there is a series of necropolises where the fifth- and sixth-century tombs overlap seventh- and eighth-century tombs (Adamesteanu 1971). Nearby there is also evidence of small settlements spaced across the area with a series of furnaces which were in use from the seventh to third

centuries and produced bichrome, geometric and grey ware (De Siena 2009). There is a hypothesis that there may be possible seasonal valley-level occupations as the area has low density occupation (De Siena 2009). San Biagio and Incoronata both have indicators of ceramic production, but we are unsure if people were living there or performing rituals or other actions. Valley explorations would be interesting to explore but may be unrealistic as the change in the active river over hundreds of years has silted up into areas that could help answer questions about settlements in this area during this time period.

Pantanello and Sant'Angelo Vecchio

Nearby San Biagio there has been other occupation areas that have been documents in Pantanello, San Marco, and Sant'Angelo Vecchio. There, before the Greeks, there is evidence of larger neolithic settlements mainly where there is also the presence of springs (Silvestrelli and Edlund Berry 2016). This is important because there are indications of long-term settlement, however the Early Iron Age content is low and at Sant'Angelo Vecchio the evidence jumps to the classical period farmhouse there (Silvestrelli and Edlund Berry 2016). There is some evidence at Pantanello of seventh century out of context deposits of pottery indicating that there was a settlement before the sixth-century necropolis where there is evidence of both Greek supine graves and Indigenous flexed graves (Carter and Swift 2018a). Four hundred meters to the southeast there is a sanctuary near a spring, which may indicate that there may have been a ritual space before this newer sanctuary was put in place (Silvestrelli and Edlund Berry 2016). Perhaps like at San Biagio there were more people near the valley, which is hard to excavate or there may need to be some more analysis on the artifacts recovered from the trenches. Perhaps, it may indicate a reorganization of people in the Early Iron Age in this area. This area, including San

Biagio, are so close to Incoronata and the three may have been influencing each other, and was affected by Incoronata' s growth in the Early Iron Age.

Pisticci and San Vito di Pisticci

Various emergency excavations were undertaken in Pisticci as the town grew expanded, which revealed a variety of tombs dating from the seventh to third centuries (Adamesteanu 1971). Beginning in the sixth-century, grave goods included imported vases and bronzes from both Greece and Metaponto, which indicates increased interaction and importation between the coast and inland (Adamesteanu 1971).

However, at San Vito di Pisticci, there was evidence of a seventh-century kiln and abandonment in the sixth century like at Incoronata, followed by inconsistent occupation until the second century (De Siena 1986b). Interestingly, there are traces of a wall, a large pit filled with sand, impasto, matt-painted pottery (including *kylikes*, *skyphoi, crateri* and impasto cups), a square pit with a mobile stove, two weights, and an ash layer indicating, like everyone suggests, a destruction burnt layer (De Siena 1986b). The pottery in the square pit is 20% imported and 80% locally made, which also fits the description of the square pits at Incoronata during the seventh century and may indicate similarities in practice towards Greeks during this period by Indigenous peoples (De Siena 1986b). There is also a feature with no date that may be a road that is parallel to the coast (De Siena 1986a). This is interesting to consider as there also are possible road features or pavements on Incoronata and Siris from the Early Iron Age, indicating that there may have been a road system that may have connected some sites.

Ferrandina, Craco, and Timmari

Like at Pisticci, the towns of Ferrandina, Craco and Timmari undertook emergency excavations that revealed funerary features from the Bronze and Iron Ages. At Ferrandina, there were many tombs found throughout the town, including in the square, under the new school and most recently along the road leading out of the southwestern end of the town (Chiara Monaco et al. 2021; Adamesteanu 1971). Most of the tombs dated to the eighth and seventh centuries, with some areas extending into the succeeding classical period (Chiara Monaco et al. 2021). Adamesteanu believes that the actual Indigenous settlement is below the modern town and was concentrated on the hill of Croce del Calavario where the school was built (Adamesteanu 1971).

The main evidence of the Early Iron Age presence in Craco is the eighth-century tombs with burnished impasto at the bottom of the cliff that the medieval town sits on top of, along with other archaic burials. This suggests to Adamesteanu that Craco was a settlement during the Early Iron Age and that the medieval town covers the previous settlements (Adamesteanu 1971).

In Timmari there is an urn field from the eighth to seventh century which flourished until the third century BCE (Adamesteanu 1971). No domestic or ritual spaces have been found, and it is thought, like at Craco, that these features are under one of the nearby towns or on a defensibly elevated position (Adamesteanu 1971). Uniquely it is only in places like Incoronata, Siris, Metaponto and Cozzo Presepe where there is direct evidence of change in priorities of settlement and urbanization over time caused by probable overseas interaction and increased population.

Andrisani, Lazazzera and the Temple to Apollo at Metaponto

Metaponto helped start interest in the area as its classical area amphitheater and temple to Hera (Tavole Palatine) marked its significance as a place where Greek populations expanded. JC Carter took his time to survey all of what could be considered the Chora (or extended countryside controlled by the *polis* (city)) of Metaponto which extends to San Biagio (Carter 1993). This survey was able to identify neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age and Classical sites.

The oldest parts of Metaponto are at Andrisani, Lazazzera and the urban sanctuary to Apollo, which contain evidence of the people who occupied the area before the Greeks (De Siena 1990). The temple to Apollo in Metaponto has the Classic period layer and then a burnt layer which at the bottom is mixed with sand. De Siena suggests this burnt layer is a part of a propitiatory ritual with the start of the building. Below this layer, there is evidence of eighth and seventh century ceramics, suggesting there may have been a temple or something before the sanctuary to Apollo (De Siena 1990). At Lazazzera in the small trench dug there, under the Classic era phase, there are also pits reminiscent of Incoronata and Andrisani with content from the seventh century (De Siena 1990).

At Andrisani they were able to do a more extensive excavation and found many features that also were similar to Incoronata. There are 14 pits that were identified and excavated, nine of which are small (30– 40 cm width and diameter of 70 cm – 140 cm), pit F which is cylindrically shaped (75 cm wide and 210 cm deep), and two of which: pits A-B, measure 6.1 m wide and 3.5 m deep together (De Siena 1998). Since they are interrelated, they are thought to have been on the floor of one single structure (De Siena

1998). The last two, pits I and P (~175 cm deep), are close to the pebbled road/pavement that cuts through the western side of the site (De Siena 1998).

On the western side of Pit, A, there is an eighth-century child burial, but the pits are seventh- century, showing respect for the burials in later times (De Siena 1998). These pits have the same type of artifacts as in Incoronata as there are many pieces of concotto hearths and geometric Indigenous ceramics (De Siena 1998). In some of the pits there is evidence of an even burnt layer with ceramics, fragments of terracotta, a crater, and carbonaceous nuclei of bones (De Siena 1998). However, it was difficult for the excavators to even tell if it was a destructive moment, a reorganization of the area or something else, as there are chronological and typological divergences in the material (De Siena 1998:142).

To the south there is a large square pit (7.9 m long, 7 m wide and about 50-60 cm deep, and slopes up to 30 cm at the center) with a variety of irregularly distributed pits within that have distinctive characteristics (De Siena 1998). These include a pit 60 cm in depth that's edges were reinforced with clay and contained the upper part of *hydrae*, thought to be a stove (De Siena 1998). Throughout the large square pit there was a sandy surface fill with abundant ceramic material, *concotto*, bones, lithic elements, sandstone, charred wood nuclei, pieces of a decorated *perirrhanteria* with reliefs and designs of spirals and leaf pods, an SOS amphora, miniature *kantharoi* and *kotylai* as well as Proto-Corinthian pottery and matt painted pottery (De Siena 1998). De Siena interprets this sandy fill as perhaps a plan to regularize the area and flatten it, therefore the objects are interpreted as waste (De Siena 1998:143). Outside of the pits there is a large pit 80–90 cm deep and on the eastern end there is a concentration of cavities along the margins which may indicate postholes as well as a sandy bank that may have been a portico (De Siena 1998).

Chapter 4 Discussion and Further Analysis

From the evidence presented, there are two crucial issues with these sites. One problem is the limitations of their interpretation. Partially, this is caused by lack of data published on the domestic and ritual spaces of the of this area, an overabundance of data from the pre-Greek and Greek period. This contributes to the second problem, directly produced from this lack of publication, which is trying to identify and distinguish areas that are ritual, domestic, trade posts or for production. Continued horizontal excavation of specific areas is necessary to gain a larger picture of the ongoing debate on what the pits at Incoronata are for or by whom they were used. Denti's continuing excavations, which found a ritual center, demonstrate that more excavation of different sites is needed, or at least further connection between certain trenches to reveal features. More excavation with specialists and modern approaches may eventually update the archaeology of the area to meet current ideas about frontier history and the nuances of how Greek and Indigenous people interacted. Current and continued excavation will keep enhancing and encouraging the discussion of these sites beyond the established ideas of the sites of Basilicata.

Even though there is agreement to the presence of both Indigenous and Greek people existing at the same time at Incoronata, the nuances of their interactions are still under debate. To prepare for further archaeological exploration in the area, this discussion will first examine the nuances of the two main debates around interpretation of Incoronata. One of which is on the nature of the pits, either as domestic, ritual, or commercial in use, and tied to this is the second debate which is on the nature of relationship and identity of the people on the hill. To address the nature of the features and pits there needs to first be

a discussion of identity, destruction and how we view interactions between people in this area, which is directly tied to debates of the process of colonization. To do this I will discuss ash lenses, ritual obliteration, and artifact destruction. Then after the discussion about perceptions of Greek and Indigenous relations and ideas about identity and ethnicity, can we talk about how we interpret the use of the pits for ritual or other uses. By examining the diversity of ways pits, structures and ceramics are used, can bring nuance to the purpose of the site and the nature of the relationships between Greek and Indigenous people. The overall discussion will then consider anthropological perspectives that may allow for more nuance into this discussion going into the future including looking at communities of practice, reuse, and ethnographic evidence.

Lastly, I will consider how ancient people interact and organize their landscape through spatial archaeology and see if there is visual way to determine interaction and possible new places where excavations may take place. The nuances of these discussions need to be continued as we negotiate the past which may allow us to move past old binaries and discussions to look for new sites and form new opinions.

Examining Interpretation: Assumptions on Identity and destruction

The first problem of interpreting Incoronata is how to address the issues of interpretating identity of the people through the dichotomy of Greek and Indigenous labels and then assigning them to ceramics. This is important to consider for two reasons. One is that it evokes the binary imposed by northern Europeans to distinguish Greeks as the harbingers of civilization through colonization in the 1800s (Urquhart 2014). This has problems because it assumes Greek superiority and that Greeks kept themselves apart from Indigenous groups, which as we have seen is not true.

We see this influence in Orlandini's argument of Incoronata that there was first a an eighth-century Indigenous settlement that had round huts which were then leveled and destroyed to make way for a seventh-century Greek outpost with square houses, which were subsequently burned to the ground by invading Greeks from Metaponto in the sixth century (Orlandini 1993). This theory is put forth by Orlandini because he claims that in most of the pits the Indigenous ceramics are towards the bottom of the pits and are separated from the Greek pottery by an ash layer (Orlandini 1993). The contexts of the trenches and pits are not fully described, and the focus of the reports is mainly on ceramics (Denti 2018c). Carter, however, found that the ceramics in both round and square pits in his southeastern excavation contained Indigenous and Greek pottery from the same contemporaneous seventh century period, meaning that there was no clear transition, and that Indigenous and Greek people were more likely living together (Carter 1978). Like Carter, Denti also finds that there are only seventh-century ceramics, in the pits that are similar to Orlandini's pits as well as the *bothroi* ritual pit Denti found in the western part of Incoronata (Denti 2018b).

From an archaeometric perspective Bellamy examines the seventh- century ceramics found by Denti and Orlandini for breakage patterns and burns. Bellamy finds that the pottery and artifacts are not burnt, but that the wood or animal bones around the ceramics were burnt, indicating that the ceramics were placed after or separate from the burning of the other contents (2011). This calls into question Orlandini's claim that the village was violently burnt down, otherwise there would be signs of burning on the ceramics themselves. Further, Bellamy also examines the pottery and bricks from the square pit found by Denti, which is reminiscent of Orlandini's "warehouse" type pits and

demonstrates that the pottery and bricks were purposefully broken instead of randomly broken as there are places where there are clear punctures in the ceramics and bricks (Bellamy 2011). The breakage pattern on the ceramics of Denti's excavation matches many of the pottery sherds found on Orlandini's side (Bellamy 2011). We may argue that there was purposeful destruction of ceramics and that the colonizers may not have necessarily burned the houses down, just destroyed them. This still does not explain why the broken pottery found by Denti is intentionally packed together (Denti 2018c). Nor does it explain why some vessels were cut in half to cover offerings like miniature weapons or why pieces of the same pot have been found in different pits (Denti 2018c). From these archaeometric observations, is there enough evidence for two types of destruction happening, one violent and one purposeful? Or are the areas connected and it is all a part of the same type of ritual destruction and closure as seen clearly on Denti's side of the hill?

Beyond structural destruction, the other type of evidence one can use to critique the "burnt-to-the-ground" hypothesis are the inconsistencies of the ash deposits found at different sites. After looking at many of the nearby sites that also have strange ash layers and stratigraphy, archaeologists have taken Orlandini's interpretation about violent takeovers and applied them onto those sites. This is an issue because it turned out that at Incoronata this was untrue, so what about other sites where it also may or may not be true? There may have been violence, but directly assuming the Greeks took over without clearer evidence takes away the nuances of local Indigenous politics (maybe it was local violence), possible local ritual practices, and ignores the deep preexisting trade relations between Italics and Aegean/Greek peoples before 700 BCE (Yntema 2013).

From the evidence at local sites, there is a strong possibility that Cozzo Presepe faced fire destruction, due to the extensive ash deposit found above the Indigenous ritual area (Du Plat and Macnamara 1983). This evidence would need to be analyzed or excavated further as it suggests possible violent destruction, which would make sense because of Cozzo Presepe's strategically advantageous positioning (Du Plat and Macnamara 1983). However, this ash layer also has evidence of Indigenous ritual continuing and a stela into the period with Greek imports in the seventh century (Du Plat and Macnamara 1983). Similarly, at Andrisani, there is an ash layer in the pits and in the square structure (De Siena 1990). An extensive ash layer, with two eighth century sherds, was also found below the Classic layer at the temple to Apollo in Metaponto which may have been the result of a propitiatory ritual (De Siena 1990). There are theoretical stretches to exploring the possible parallels to previous Bronze Age ritual traditions in southern Italy that burn important buildings down every year like at Roca Vecchia, but more information would need to be gathered for this to be true (Scarano and Maggiulli 2014). As a general comparison, ash layers are common in Greek ritual areas; frequently, ash altars are found in front of apsidal buildings and temples where animal sacrifices were undertaken, though there are none found at Incoronata (Mazarakis- Ainian 1998). This may help point us in a direction for interpretation of these ash layers, but again, as with the violence interpretation, we need more evidence.

At Incoronata, there are no clear ash layers on the walking surfaces found by Orlandini, only within the pits (Orlandini 1993). The "clear demarcation" of time periods by this barrier of ash from the violent take over, has been questioned by Carter, Denti, and Orlandini himself over time (Denti 2018c). Since the stratigraphy of the ash layer is called

into question and is not clearly published, it cannot be used to delineate time between Indigenous and Greek habitation. Therefore, we can wholeheartedly agree with modern interpretations that Greek and Indigenous people had nuanced interactions past a perspective that the Greek violently imposed their life onto Indigenous people.

After getting past this first issue of addressing the outdated vision of interaction between Greek and Indigenous people we can address the second issue with the theory presented by Orlandini which is identity. This second issue asks, once we get past the dichotomy of Greek and Indigenous, is it possible to see this mixture of identity in the objects and features of the archaeological site? In this area of Italy and at Incoronata we mainly see this mixture in the designs and make of the ceramics themselves. The interpretation of the Early Iron Age colonization of south of Italy has a second problem based on this which is, even if two distinctive styles of pottery are found, there is no surety that the person using or making the pot is from one identity or the other.

At Incoronata this problem is exacerbated by Orlandini's first assumptions about the features he found. He equates the square pits to Greek houses because most of the pottery inside is of Greek style (Orlandini 1993). As well as, that the round pits are either Greek waste pits with the remnants of the previous Indigenous settlement (i.e., Greek ceramics were found on top and Indigenous ceramics near the bottom) or remnants of the previous Indigenous settlement (he found pits with mainly Indigenous ceramics) (Orlandini 1993). This is disrupted by Carter's evidence that there is no clear stratigraphy between Greek and Indigenous pottery and that they were both from the seventh century, thus meaning that both Greek and Indigenous people lived together (Carter 1978). We can take this evidence to say there is copresence of these two cultures, but equating ceramics and

identity in a mixed context is hard to disentangle. It is hard to say that a house was used by the Greeks because those ceramics were found there or if an Indigenous person only used Indigenous ceramic forms.

The presence of different decorative styles, however, represents choice, social relations, and communities of practice (Hegemon 1994). The people of the hill of Incoronata had enough choice to keep their respective local matt-painted style for it to show up so much through the large amounts of matt-painted mono- and bi- chrome, impasto, and locally made storage jars in the archaeological record found by Orlandini, Carter, and Denti (See Appendix A for examples). Keeping this style may mean that there was still separation between the people's identities. However, there is evidence for Greek-painted locally made pots which may mean they were either locally made pots created by Greeks or Greek pots made by locals. However, after a while of presumed mixture, to what extent can the identity of the people of the site be identified solely by the pots themselves? As we look more into the chaîne opératoire of the pots we may be able to distinguish identities or we may, more likely, be able to find the communities of practice found on the hill of Incoronata and how they changed over time.

Communities of practice and constellations of practice originate from Bourdieu's concept of habitus: how a person finds "belonging" in a culture (place, structure, environment etc.) (Wendrich 2013). In his concept of habitus, he creates a practice theory which balances structural approaches with an approach regarding individual agency; in other words, it examines how people live their lives in relation to existing structures (Wendrich 2013:4). Some of these questions have to do with how much agency do people have in a cultural structure and how much of that agency is created by that structure and

how much it is created by the individual, to which Bourdieu concludes that in most cases there is a combination of both.

Archaeologists use this theory to define how people create and reproduce the style and production found in artifacts. The consistencies of those changes across times, as well as the different mediums used to reproduce them, are defined by communities of practice, communities of identity and constellations of practice (Wendrich 2013:4). Communities of practice are social networks where a community shares a technological tradition (Eckert et al 2015:1). While constellations of practice are the interconnected networks of communities of practice. Pottery provides most of the examples in the literature regarding communities of practice, as it is easy to identify different practices (Jordan et al 2020:3). However, these communities of practice can encompass more than just potters; they can include families, socioprofessional groups like farmers or priests, and can even encompass a whole district (Jordan et al 2020:3). To learn a trade not only transmits knowledge to an individual but "corresponds to shared norms of a particular group" and thus shared norms across society, which in turn affect all the people in that society (Jordan et al 2020:3). Another part of this concept is communities of identity, which are how social groups are maintained "despite changes in membership and practice over time" (Eckert et al 2015:2).

Incoronata was a part of the Bradano matt-painted community of practice that made monochrome geometric ware because it was in dialogue with the rest of southern Italy (Yntema 1990). The Bradano area made elegant *tenda* patterns, differentiating them from the surrounding communities of practice (Yntema 1990). I would argue that in a broad sense, this area is also a part of a larger constellation of practice, first with Mycenean and later, Adriatic, and Mediterranean ways of production, decoration, and form, resulting in

similar ideas in geometric design. However, each area's approach to making geometric designs is slightly different, as is their choice in which vessel forms to use them on based on which different forms are useful to that society.

Communities of practice are useful in the discussion of the identity of the people living at Incoronata because of the possibility of its multiethnic makeup. There is no evidence that only Greek people were producing local ware with Greek-style motifs. For example, there were important pieces of pottery which included a *perirrhanteria* (ritual wash basin) and various *oinochoe* (used for libations) with horses or mythical beasts painted on them which were made locally with local techniques but with Greek designs (Orlandini 2000). Alongside with this mixture there was still pottery being imported from Greece and local impasto and matt-painted pottery was still being produced. This may indicate that a new community of practice was being created with a mix of local and foreign practices, in a constellation of communities of practice, that Incoronata was already a part of. This new practice was influenced by the Greeks and all the connections and knowledge they gained through trade before the Greeks settled in larger numbers.

New biodistance analyses on tooth crowns of local burials from Incoronata, Santa Maria d'Anglona, Siris, Metaponto, Taranto and Passo di Giacobbe was done to find out more about the mobility and possible identity of the people of this area (Rathman et al 2019). The study finds that before colonization there was not considerable migration but after colonization there was increased mobility of people and an 18% of people had Greek ancestry, found throughout all the sites analyzed (Rathman et al 2019). The suggestion that small populations of Greeks, including perhaps potters and craftsmen, moved to this area changes our perception of Greek colonization from one of total takeover with lots of people

to one of small amounts of people adapting and mixing (Rathman et al 2019). Archaeometric approaches and the mixed pottery design allows us to question binary labels of ethnic identity and introduce nuance in our academic discussions of an environment where identity was probably more than two options.

The Role of Incoronata

Our second problem with the overall interpretation of Incoronata after identity are ideas about use. Sackett states that the most important question about artifacts is who used something and what was that thing used for (1990). Sackett continues his observation to say that function and style are interrelated, as people who make objects are influenced by the culture they are acculturated by and thus are making objects for their culture (1990). We have considered the problem of who used the artifacts and structures on the site, as well as the dangers of identifying a structure by the identity of some of the artifacts found inside. Now we will consider what the role of the site was through the structures and artifacts of the different excavations while keeping in mind the nuanced identities that would have created these artifacts and structures.

Domestic and Ritual spaces

The evidence of structures at the site are nuanced and are dependent on the distinct types of features it has. There are multiple types of pits throughout these sites. Some of them are square or round/oval holes in the ground, some of these oval/round pits are deep and have other smaller pits cut into them (Denti 2018c). Other pits have smaller postholes around them; some of these appear in seemingly random positions near or around pits, while others are arranged in lines or large rectangles (Orlandini 1993; Denti 2018c). These features suggest that these pits were structures like storage houses, domestic spaces,

production spaces, or fences. However, it is not clear which features have a specific purpose or function that was tied to a certain group of people.

The only structure we can be sure of identifying in the seventh-century section of Incoronata, that has a well-documented use, is the apsidal building found by Denti in 2010. The libation features within the apsidal building, including the channel and the pits containing bisected pots, marks ritual practice taking place within this space (Denti 2018c). At various Late Bronze Age sites in Greece, apsidal buildings have been found that confirm that they were places where the elites both lived and performed ritual on behalf of the population of the town (Mazarakis Ainian 1998). Evidence for ritual sacrificial behavior is evident in deposits of ash and animal bones that have been found in front of buildings, altars and inside *bothroi*, while libation is hinted at by channels found in and near these structures (Mazarakis Ainian 1998). The artifacts usually found within Greek apsidal buildings and their rectangular annexes in Greece include objects of excellent quality for example, large concentrations of *pithoi* (storage jars), spindle whorls, loom weights, and precious objects like bronze knives, axes, pins, and jewelry as well as common shapes of cups, bowls and pouring shapes (Mazarakis Ainian 1998). It is hard to distinguish these structures as sacred or non-sacred spaces as both rulers' houses and cultic areas present evidence for multiple use contexts that could be different shapes including apsidal, round, oval and rectangular (Mazarakis Ainian 1998).

At Incoronata we see very clearly the same thing, but within the apsidal building there is evidence of a libation channel to the first of three circular pits, and the middle pit which contained the upper half of a pot (Denti 2018c). We also see evidence of libation and possible sacrifice rituals by the presence of a channel and hearth near the altar in the

northern part of Denti's excavation (Denti 2018c). Similarly, a rectangular structure at Andrisani was identified which contained a clay-lined pit with half of a pot within, along with a series of smaller pits with offerings and more broken pottery (De Siena 1986b). Four additional rectangular buildings have been found at Incoronata, but not as extensively documented as the one at Andrisani. Three of these are near the cemeteries of La Masseria, some of which have pits right outside the ends of the building, a hearth right outside the entrance and nearby a situla placed in a small pit or posthole (De Siena 1990). These three buildings are near funerary contexts, which may indicate some sort of association of use and function to the burials.

The southeastern end of Incoronata also had a clear delimitation of postholes that were arranged in a square/rectangular shape (Carter 1978). Considering that a sixth-century shrine was found nearby, suggests that there may have been continuity of use in the area and may also have been a building associated with ritual structures. There is evidence of temples, large rectangular buildings with lots of post holes in the seventh century at Timpone della Motta/, which were, before their creation, an important ritual space denominated "the House of Weaving" by the archaeologists (Kleibrink 2004). So, the square buildings at Incoronata and Andrisani may be a part of that community of practice of using rectangular shaped buildings for ritual spaces like an apsidal building.

In contrast to the structures known by their postholes, the pits without postholes are the ones that are contested over as they may or may not be structures. Orlandini found that the pits within pits at Incoronata had similar form and depth ranges (30—80cm) to the pit homes found along the Black Sea during the same Early Iron Age period prior to the establishment of a C*hora* (or Greek colonial control area) in the region (Tsetskhladze

2004:236). These Black Sea houses are also the subject of debate, as there are conflicting theories that they were homes, the basements of homes or just storage areas (Tsetskhladze 2004). However, Tsetskhladze goes into depth about the several types of pits he encounters and their diverse usages, unlike Orlandini.

The function of a pit can be suggested by their shape, contents, and associated features like postholes or ovens (Tsetskhladze 2004). The deeper ones with recesses and hearths and portable braziers nearby are determined to be production areas (Tsetskhladze 2004). This is similar to what Denti found in the eastern area to the south of the apsidal building, where a clay production area had two post holes next to it (Denti 2018c). Deep pits surrounded by smaller postholes on the surface are identified as storage areas, but if they have postholes on the inside and are wider and shallower, they are thought to be homes (Tsetskhladze 2004). Some are thought to just be waste pits for the surrounding area, especially if they do not have post holes (Tsetskhladze 2004). In contrast, most of the square pits that Orlandini published and claimed to be houses, did not have post holes within them, and none of the round pits had post holes within them.

Another interesting aspect of these Black Sea homes is that many of the pits without postholes are close together, like at Incoronata. Researchers in the Black Sea hypothesize that the pits that are close together are different usage pits within (and covered by) one large structure (Tsetskhladze 2004). This theory is brought up by Carter, citing that these pits are too small and close together to be houses themselves, and that they may be pits within a larger building (Carter 1978). This may be an interesting line of inquiry to explore, especially given the large size of the structures at Timpone della Motta (Kleibrink 2004). In all these spaces, Tsetskhladze also sees evidence of Indigenous and Greek people

coexisting side by side from the beginning. Tsetskhladze concludes from his general research in the Mediterranean is that the Greeks, wherever they went, underwent a process of adaptation to local culture as seen through pottery content, which is seen at Incoronata (2004:251).

The round pits without postholes or prepared floors at Incoronata are similar to waste pits identified by Tsetskhladze. At Incoronata however, Denti demonstrates that the waste pits in his area are very much ritual in nature. Where ritual took place, the breaking of important ceramics was done ritually and then the broken sherds would be covered after the ritual as the sherds still would hold power if not "decommissioned" (Denti 2018c). Considering the contexts of *bothroi* and apsidal buildings near these pits and the slowly uncovering of the full site under the purposeful breaking of the bricks, the ritual nature of these pits are clear. The question is if Orlandini's side of the hill also had the same ritual undertaking or not.

Ritual and Domestic Ceramics

Apart from shape of the structures, a part of Orlandini claims that Incoronata was an *emporium* (trade outpost), was based on the types of ceramics found. Denti points out that Incoronata would have been a horrible place for a trade outpost as it is not near any rivers for easy access (Denti 2018c). Also, the pottery at Incoronata was made and used at Incoronata and there is ritual activity at the site (Denti 2018). Therefore, the function and the identity of the houses or waste pits should not be hastily assigned to one function or another, or to one identity or the other.

We can explore the claims and determine the use and function of the area by the ceramics and small finds of the area. Other than pottery, small finds and artifacts are found

across Incoronata "Greca." From the multiple pits at Incoronata there are ash deposits, carbonized wood, animal bones, stones/pebbles, modified stones, *concotto* (cooked wattle and daub), loom weights, spindle whorls, imported faience, and various bronze small finds from fibulae to votive head of a goddess (Denti 2018c). All of these are found in ritual contexts found by Denti. Orlandini also had most of these small finds except for faience and the votive head but in general much of the content of the two areas are the same. However, Orlandini decides to identify some of the pits as being domestic through the presence of loom weights and spindle whorls (Orlandini 1995). This interpretation is contradicted by the presence of loom weights and spindle whorls at Siris, Timpone della Motta, and votive areas in Greece; demonstrating that these two everyday objects are found a lot in domestic contexts but also in ritual contexts (Adamesteanu 1986, Mazarakis Ainian 1998, Kleibrink 2004). They also appear in the *bothroi* where Denti is excavating at Incoronata (Denti 2013). Therefore, just the presence of these may or may not indicate that there were household activities happening.

These finds at Incoronata can also be found in ritual and funerary contexts at Santa Maria d'Anglona and in Greece. In Greece in temples, they find "small finds of lead figures, seals, Egyptian scarabs, spindle whorls, jewels, bronze fibulae, iron spit etc." and, fibula are not usually found in domestic contexts (Mazarakis 2014:302). All of these are also found in funerary contexts for example miniature vessels, Egyptian scarabs, loom weights, spindle whorls, fibulae, and iron objects which are all found in the necropolises of Santa Maria d'Anglona in the seventh century (Frey 1991). However, the most abundant artifact is the variety of pottery present, which I will go through briefly below and see if we can identify purpose and reuse.

Distinguishing ceramic use at these sites is difficult because pouring forms, cups, and bowls are not only forms that are a part of everyday life, but they are also the forms used to perform libation rituals to ancestors, heroes, and gods. Libation rituals were primarily associated with gods who come from under the ground like Demeter, Kore/Persephone, and Hades or the *chthonic* gods associated with the underworld (Denti 2018c). Sometimes people would pair a *chthonic* god with a certain ancestor or hero to personalize the experience and adapt the rituals to the needs of their community (Hurschman 2006). In the Metaponto area there has consistently been a female goddess of agriculture that appears in statues from the seventh century onwards to the Roman period (Carter 2005). In San Biagio, Pantanello and Timpone della Motta there is also evidence for libations using water instead of wine as is used in Greece sometimes (Carter and Swift 2018a; Kleibrink 2004).

The forms used to perform these libations are sometimes forms seen in domestic contexts with the assumption being that the domestic ones are less "fine." (Mazarakis-Ainian 1998). Mazarakis-Ainian finds that in Greece during time, the ceramic forms found in Sanctuary areas there were s*kyphos, kotylai, kantharoi, kraters, pyzides,* cups and miniature vessels found in depressions in the floor inside for libation dedications (1998). This is easy to see in Greek forms as we know what they were used for and we assume that the nice, fine, highly decorated ceramics are the ones used in funerary and ritual contexts (Mazarakis-Ainian 1998).

Such determinations become more difficult at Italian sites, where people have different existing traditions and gained new ones through trade from both the Mediterranean and inland. This means that transport amphorae are repurposed as urns for

enchytrismos in places like Siris as they have value as imported ceramics, and we should keep in mind the nuances of communities of practice that may reuse or change the purpose of ceramics and may have had multiple uses (Adamesteanu 1986).

The pottery at Incoronata includes fine, burnished Indigenous *impasto* pottery from the eighth century which turns coarse in the seventh century (Yntema 2013). Most of the forms at Incoronata seen in both funerary and non-funerary contexts are *situlas* which are urn vessel forms made from *impasto,* usually with handles (See Appendix A for more details). De Siena unearthed more *situlas* in front of the square buildings near La Masseria also in what first appeared to be postholes (De Siena 1990). Other Indigenous pottery includes matt-painted pottery either in one color (monochrome, black) or two/three colors (bichrome, usually black with white or red). These are present in all the pits found at Incoronata and are very widespread across all the sites analyzed in this paper, as they are commonly found in Indigenous burials (Orlandini 1993).

The pottery in funerary contexts at Santa Maria d'Anglona and Incoronata are usually monochrome or *impasto* and contain many shapes and designs that have been uncovered on the Incoronata "Greca" side of the hill, including *situlas*, *craters* and urns (Denti 2018c). Denti has also found pieces of incense diffusers, identified by the strainer part, which are only usually found in female funerary contexts (Denti 2018c).

One of the most compelling pieces of evidence that the forms in the trenches of Orlandini were for ritual use is the *perirrhanterion*. The *perirrhanterion* is a form of louterion, which means wash basin in Greek (Hurschmann 2006). Louterion are used in everyday bodily cleaning and is depicted as being present at rituals like marriages and at funerals but also appears later in Roman baths and in Roman agriculture as basins to make

wine and oil or hold small fruits (Hurschmann 2006). In contrast, the *perirrhanterion* is the highly decorated version that is thought to be solely used for ritual ablutions and is found in cultic places in buildings (Hurshman 2006). In Athens there is one in the middle of the Agora, and they are usually found at the entrance of sanctuaries and temples, given as votive offerings to sanctuaries of female deities (Hurschmann 2006). In the Chora of Metaponto in the sixth century, Carter finds a number of *perirrhanteria* and louteria scattered across the Chora but were mainly undecorated (Carter and Swift 2018a). The *perirrhanteria,* in ritual spaces were highly decorated with molded ware on it and were considered part of the installed environment and were not portable. This set of criteria matches Orlandini's "Great *Perirrhanterion"* and very unlike undecorated louteria that Carter found at the farmhouses (Carter and Swift 2018b:857). The intricacy and presence of the *perirrhanteria* can be explained at the site to fit Orlandini's ideas about an *emporium* and that it could be a ceramic in transit to another place but considering the rest of the pottery forms present and other features uncovered by Denti from 2000 to the present, it seems unlikely. Carter also points out that the pottery styles we see at Incoronata are not seen anywhere else in the Bradano/Basento/Cavone river areas other than a few that seem to have been traded at Andrisani, and Siris (2011). Further away we see stylistic influences from pottery found in Taranto but also from further abroad in Greece including Samos, the Peloponnese, Euboea, and Ithaca, suggesting that these pieces of pottery were not meant for trade but only were used in the greater area of Incoronata (Carter and Prieto 2011).

Many of these forms have also been seen in sanctuary contexts around the south of Italy. For example, in the seventh-century sanctuary thought to be dedicated to Athena in Timpone della Motta, which had already been in use from the twelfth to the sixth century,

thousands of cup and jar forms have been found (Kleibrink et al 2004). In the seventh century, there was evidence of libation forms including storage jars, *oinochoe*, other jug shapes, various cups forms like *hydria, filetti* and *kyathos* have been found; as well as vessels only associated with ritual spaces like miniature versions of these vessels and votive one-handed cups were found (Kleibrink et al 2004). However, due to the lack of wine pouring forms, the authors believe that they used water instead as the way the local cult to Athena expressed ritual (Kleibrink et al 2004:58). These water cults continue into the fifth century as Carter uncovered at the Pantanello sanctuary a water capture device (Carter and Swift 2018). From these examples, sanctuary contexts went on practicing religion but without wine, which is a conscious choice that would be interesting to explore the nuances of which may bring up ideas about communities of practice of religion in this area with incoming Greeks and present Indigenous people, surrounding and accessing wine for rituals.

Therefore, there is a history in the direct environs of Incoronata and in the south of Italy in general, indicating that the use of water for libations at sanctuaries were happening before and after the abandonment of the site. Which suggests that there is cultural connection and continuation of the same ritual practices, especially if there are a mixture of Greek and Indigenous people at the site who already practices libation, but perhaps in different forms. This again contradicts the emporium theory and strengthens the idea that the forms found at Incoronata are forms used for ritual or associated with funerary rituals, following Denti's evidence of ritual happening at the site.

Ethnographic Examples

Incoronata has plenty of ceramics to defend that it had ritual practice happening on the site. We know that the ceramics are pouring vessels because of the shape and the form, and we know they were used for liquids through their depiction on the sides of pottery in Greek and later Italic-Greek figure ware pottery. However, it is interesting to explore 20th century ethnographic examples in the Isle of Cyprus for libation which will give us a direct ethnographic documentation of ways that libation happened on a village level. Libations would happen before and after funerals (Ionas 2000). When the corpse of the dead person leaves the home all the jugs are emptied and the same was done in the homes which the funeral procession went by, in this case because of the fear that Charon may wash his sword in them (Ionas 2000). Then the family takes to the cemetery a juglet of water and a bowl of oil which are new but not made specially for funerary purposes (Ionas 2000). These are given to the priest who combines the water with soil to make mud and places it on each of the four corners of the coffin and then the oil was poured over the corners and then broken into the grave (Ionas 2000). The juglet of water is used to wash the hands of those in attendance and then was kept next to the grave for watering plants around the grave (Ionas 2000). This example is interesting to imagine and see how forms may have been used to undertake rituals, which may have happened in a comparable way at Incoronata.

Another way that ethnographic examples can aid our understanding of the past is in figuring out how people may have occupied and lived at a site. In Cyprus there are clear communities of practice of how pottery production is undertaken, which can give us a better idea about how people lived and worked producing ceramics at Incoronata. First there is a clear division of the traditions between coastal potters and mountainside potters. Coastal potters have large, specialized ateliers to make pottery for locals, visitors and now,

tourists (Ionas 2000). They have historically more influence from the rest of the Mediterranean in their form and decorations, and they are at the center historically of all the confluences of communities of practices (Ionas 2000). We can see parallels to this at Incoronata where there is a lot of production of both Greek and Indigenous forms, however it does not have the same access to trade as these coastal potters. On the other hand, there are the mountainside potters, which keep more ancient practices. Household potters are not potters all year, as most people also have to farm for subsistence (Ionas 2000). Pottery making is also kept within kin groups which may coalesce in villages for greater ease of communal kilns and pooling of ceramic making resources but usually kilns are small affairs in potters own backyard (Ionas 2000). Perhaps ceramic making at Incoronata started off as part of small kin group for ritual practice on the hill and when different people of different cultures arrived, it became a larger endeavor to make pottery for multiethnic needs.

This ethnographic example is useful for finding out the use of the ceramics of a site like Incoronata, as it gives a perspective of people using the pots in context, even if it is a modern context. By looking at ethnographic examples and examining pottery, structures, and artifacts at the site through a perspective of communities of practice, we can create nuanced visions of identities away from the narrative of Greece vs. Indigenous people. Communities of practice are not only for pottery and can be used to also bring nuance to the ideas of the practice of ways of settlement, political organization and hierarchies that would start to appear and change along with the mixed production of ceramics made with Greek design and Indigenous form of production. Another way to find out how these communities may have been interacting and organizing is by looking at a Viewshed analysis of the area, which we will examine next.

Chapter 5 Viewshed and Future Analysis Conclusion

Viewshed analysis facilitates the contextualization of multiple different sites by calculating what parts of the landscape can an observer see from a specific point in space. Through this we can calculate where two viewpoints may overlap, how much of the landscape can be controlled visually through the movement of people, and how easy communication, trade and knowledge exchange could be between sites. Bottini and Settari (1995) observe that many Early Iron Age around Italy and Europe are on top of hills or have views of other hills and mountains nearby, and that this practice continues for defensive purposes (Bottini and Settari 1995). Even in modern Basilicata, the towns look like boats of light cast adrift in a sea of black during the night. This trend is also present ancient Greece in which apsidal buildings that had been in the highest area of the town for easy access were slowly replaced with an acropolis or temple (Mazarakis Ainan 1998). Thus, high central places may have had a practical effect of control of the landscape but also became spaces of worship and centrality for the community. All the sites that were analyzed, except for a few like the pit houses in Siris near Presidio Ospedaliero, are on high plateau-like hills that seemingly, at first glance, overlook their respective areas.

Placing sites at the tops of hills is common during history for reasons of defense and centrality of culture but in this area these places were first found near sources of water (Du Plat and Macnamara 1983). In the Basento river basin near Sant'Angelo Vecchio and San Biagio, Neolithic settlements have been found near springs which would then later become more established settlements and ritual spaces (Carter and Swift 2018). Carter and Swift suggest that these the cult areas were created near the springs and at a later point the

communities continued and expanded this tradition during the Classic period when they moved to the Pantanello Sanctuary where they had a pool for water in their sanctuary space (Carter and Swift 2018).

Timpone della Motta also had evidence for a spring and evidence of a water cult dedicated to Athena in the Early Iron Age, so we know that water was an important part of cult during this time of transition, afterwards and probably before (Kleibrink 2004). The sanctuary to Demeter at Siris is thought to also have been a water cult as well, instead of a wine cult (De Siena 1986a). For future investigations of the nature of sites like Incoronata, it would be useful to figure out spring locations, and where those springs would have been in antiquity before being moved by modern agriculture. Most of the literature speaks of springs being nearby sites but not necessarily where they are, so for future research it would be useful to identify established sites not only through their possible defensive capabilities but also access to water, resources, and community needs.

Therefore, if the features on the hills are ritual then the question becomes where are the domestic spaces? Many of the other sites of Basilicata have been found near the rivers which have the benefits of connecting the area through trade, communication, and transportation (Carter and Prieto 2011). The Classic era farmhouses found by Carter were often found on the riverbed, however looking for evidence of earlier structures may be hard to find as the river may have carried the evidence away (Carter and Prieto 2011). Combining river archaeology, geology and magnetometry, we may find some remaining features or interesting ways that humans have interacted with the river.

Other than primary observations of the landscape through features like high places and rivers, Viewshed analysis can enhance these observations and hypotheses to create a

precise picture of what people see on the landscape. Viewshed analysis can create a clear map of where a good place may be to dig next or to think more generally about what ancient people could have seen on the landscape from their sites, how sites associate with one another, and how they organize themselves on the landscape.

Viewshed or Visibility Analysis is a tool that analyzes the digital elevation model (DEM) created from a LIDAR raster to figure out what area of the landscape is visible from a certain point or from where a certain point can be seen (Fábrega-Álvarez and Parcero-Oubiña 2019). For these sites I am limiting them to the few sites I have detailed in this thesis, and I include other sites for context in the overall map (fig. 5.c). Even though it is a great tool, Viewshed analysis is limited to the purely mathematical computations of the computer, for example, these analyses automatically assume that there is no foliage or other things breaking visibility and assume that it is clear day with ideal weather (Fábrega-Álvarez and Parcero-Oubiña 2019). It also only considers one point which may be useful if there is a highest part of the site that is particularly tall. Most of the sites in Basilicata have a high spot but the larger sites, like Incoronata, are spread out on a larger plateau, meaning that the Viewshed would be off, and the analyst would not consider what could be seen at other points on the perimeter of the site.

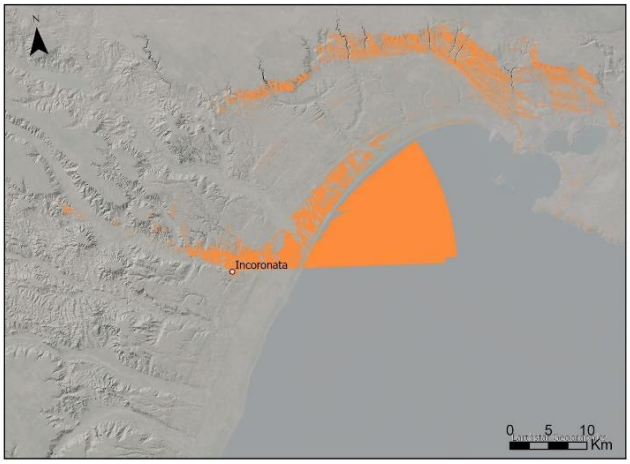


FIGURE 5.a: Highest point Viewshed.

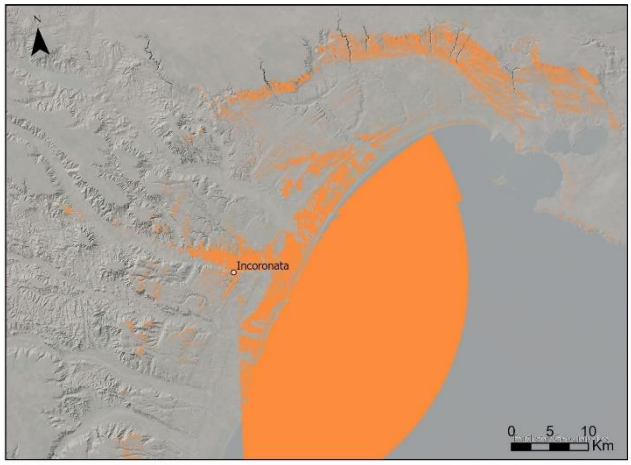


FIGURE 5.b: Perimeter Viewshed

Source: Arantxa Bertholet del Barrio (2024).

For example, the viewshed of figure 5.a is the viewshed from one of the highest points of Incoronata “Greca” which allows it to see a lot of the landscape. To show how much this can change the amount viewed, figure 5.b includes La Masseria, La Capella, and San Teodoro and we can see more of the area because it takes into account the whole site. These maps show us which parts of the general landscape can be seen with the naked eye from the perimeter of the site of Incoronata.

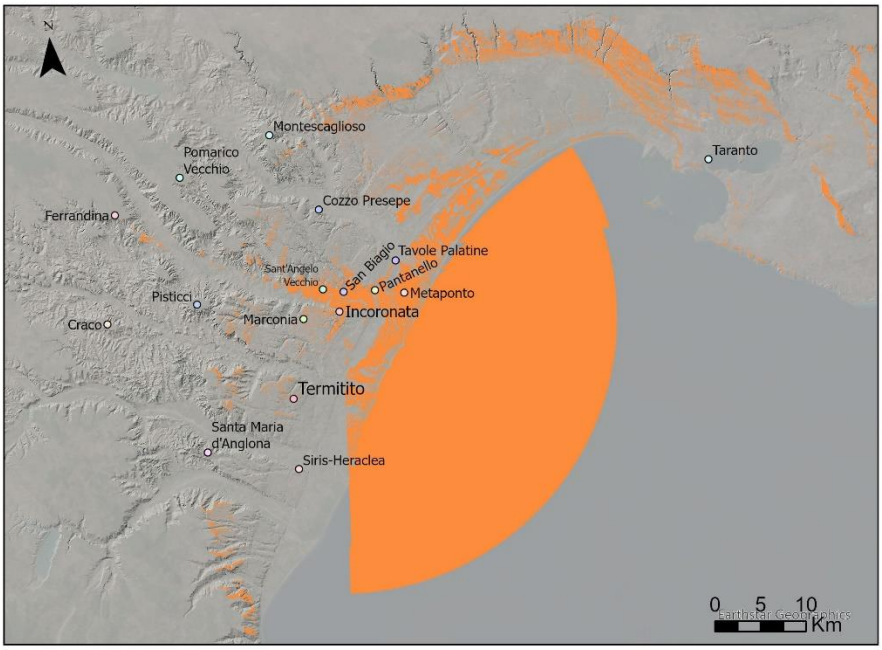


FIGURE 5.c: Showing the overall general viewshed.
Source: Arantxa Bertholet del Barrio (2024)

What stands out in figure 5.c is the amount that can be seen in general from Incoronata. Incoronata can see the whole river valley including Sant’Angelo Vecchio, San Biagio, Pantanello and most of what was considered the Greek countryside of Metaponto in Classical times. Aside from the river valley, when standing on the highest point of Incoronata one can see only very marginally towards the south and west. However, it sees enough of nearby Marconia and the Pisticci countryside, which would be an interesting

area to explore as well as the higher points of the southern region. Incoronata also can see a lot of the edge of the Murge plateau towards Taranto, which may be interesting to explore possible ways that the two areas could communicate or interact. The Viewshed map also demonstrates how well Incoronata can see into the ocean, and that it was at a great advantage of identifying changes in the ocean and perhaps even boats. Which would have been important to know when traders, colonists or others were coming in. Considering how far Incoronata can see into the ocean will be able to help us assess the extent of visibility and control to the many interactions people of this area had with foreigners.

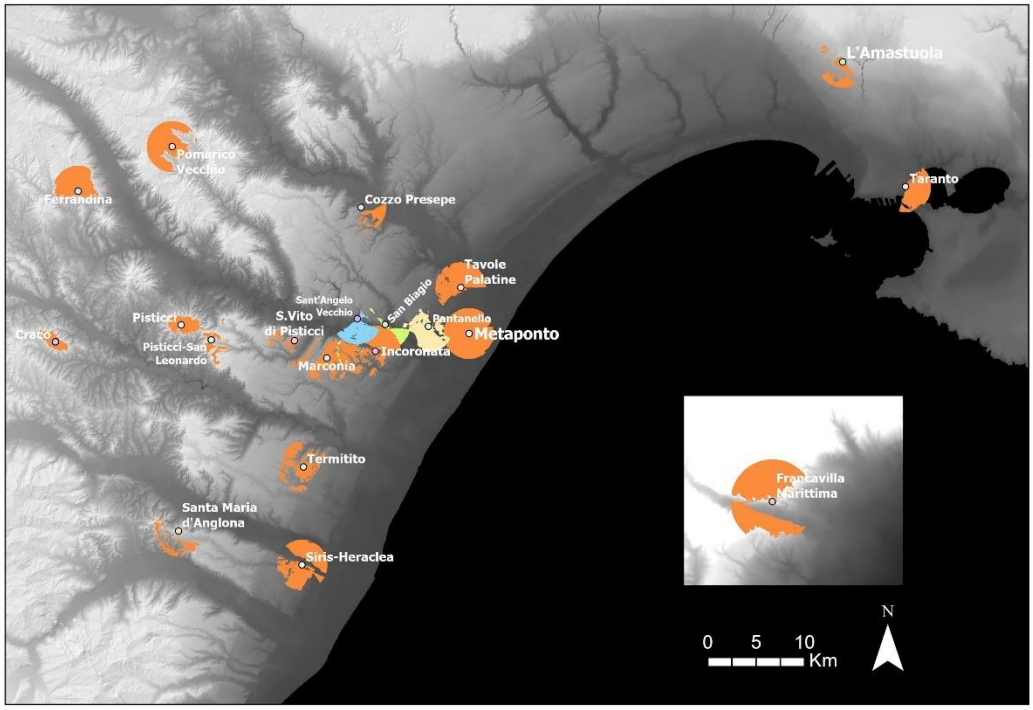


FIGURE 5.d: Human recognition viewsheds of the sites.

Source: Arantxa Bertholet del Barrio (2024).

Another limiting factor is how far humans can recognize others on the landscape which Fábrega-Álvarez and Parcero-Oubiña (2019) explore experimentally, and I include their parameters in my first Human Recognition viewshed analysis (fig. 5.d). According to

the experiment, the average human, around 1.5 m tall, can be first detected (depending of course on foliage and weather conditions) to be about 2000 m away (Fábrega-Álvarez and Parcero-Oubiña 2019). At around 1250-960 m, individuals can be identified as humans walking and clothing be recognized by its color.

Figure 5.d demonstrates that most of the sites can see in all directions the 2000 m and are able to effectively control their surroundings. It also makes clear that in the area around Incoronata to the coast, most of the sites can marginally see each other, and that despite the spread-out nature of the sites, domestic, funerary, and ritual, they are all close enough to each other to be able to identify humans on the landscape. It is interesting to look at Ferrandina, Pisticci and Craco as even though they are on one of the highest points in their area, they have a limited view and recognition of humans on the landscape due to the unevenness of the area (plateaus of various heights and valleys that cannot be seen into).

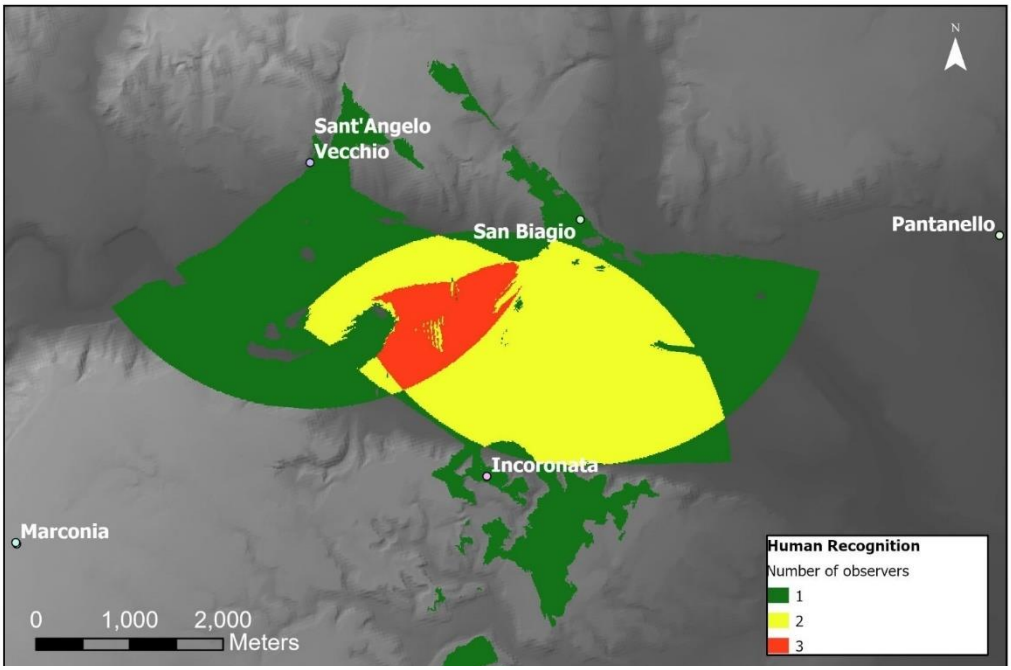


FIGURE 5.e: Human Recognition Viewsheds: Incoronata, San Biagio, Sant'Angelo Vecchio.
Source: Arantxa Bertholet del Barrio (2024)

Incoronata, as shown in Fig 5.e, is better positioned to be able to control the valley and the mouth of the Basento river and crosses over visibility with Marconia, Sant Angelo Vecchio, San Biagio della Venella, Pantanello, and obviously San Teodoro, La Masseria and La Capella. The map shows the "number of observers" which here are the three sites: Incoronata, San Biagio, and Sant'Angelo Vecchio. The extent of Incoronata' s human recognition viewshed can be seen in the green behind it on San Teodoro and in the yellow which overlaps with San Biagio's human recognition viewshed, which is why it appears as "2 observers". The red is where all three viewsheds overlap and people at all three sites can see that area.

From the highest point, Incoronata can recognize humans across most of the river in this section and has a wide view that can control of the mouth of the river valley (shown in yellow in Fig. 16). Adding to this fact the evidence of important ritual and production happening at Incoronata for an extensive amount of time, we can extrapolate may have been the major ritual center of the area. This follows with the Greek tradition of placing first the apsidal building and then the acropolis and temple at the highest point, and in the area of the mouth of the Basento it is Incoronata. The human recognition viewshed in Fig. 5.e overlaps Incoronata with the other two sites suggests that the three sites probably associated a lot, and it would be interesting to explore the landscape near the river in the red and yellow areas for scattered settlement domestic sites, as well as on the plateau behind Incoronata towards Marconia and Pisticci.

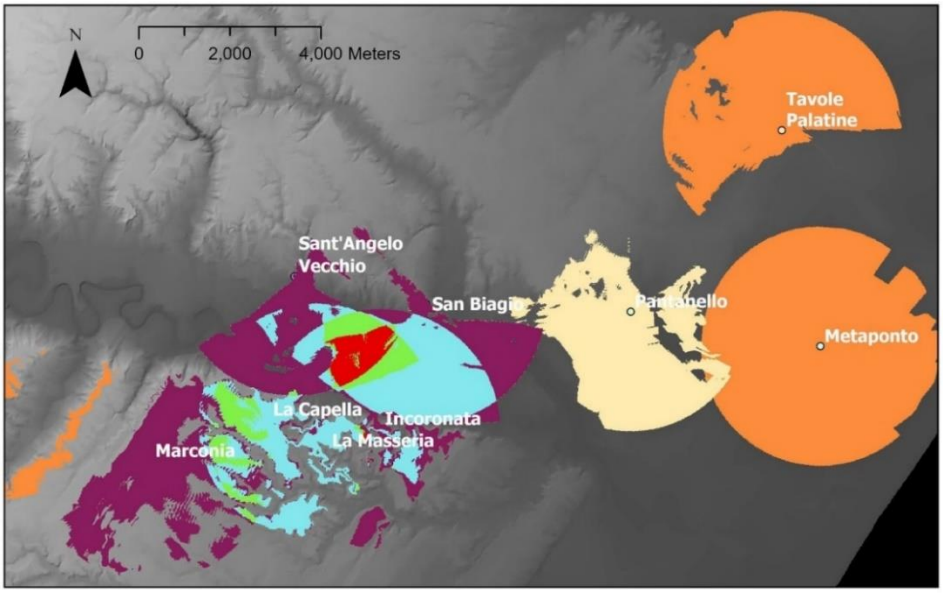


FIGURE 5.f: Human recognition viewsheds of multiple viewshed.

Incoronata, San Biagio, Sant'Angelo Vecchio, Marconia, La Capella, La Masseria, Pantanello, Metaponto and Tavole Palatine. Source: Arantxa Bertholet del Barrio (2024)

Another way to think about the use of space is to see if necropolises were also chosen for their ability to see the landscape. From Fig. 5.f, we can see that La Capella and La Masseria (which are included in the blue overlap area) are really just a part of the territory that made up Incoronata. They may have really good visibility, but that is because Incoronata itself controls the whole plateau, which can control visually most of the river valley and see the coast and ocean. The necropolis themselves, as seen by the burials at San Biagio and Santa Maria d'Anglona and Siris, are not chosen for their visibility but because of their association with the most visible area of their site, which is usually ritual and domestic in nature.

The organization of the larger sites can also shed light about what parts of the sites can see more of the landscape and how places were organized. Fig. 5g shows the organization of Timpone della Motta in Francavilla Marittima and Fig. 5.h shows the organization of Siris/Heraclea of Policoro. Both, like Incoronata, are organized on a large

plateau with the acropolis area near the front of the plateau and the production areas and necropolis areas to the left. Thinking that Incoronata may be similarly organized suggests to us that further excavations on La Masseria and La Capella may allow for more scattered settlement areas to arise and for more features of the site to be uncovered. What is certain is that Incoronata needs more excavations on the Eastern part of the plateau as well as La Masseria to keep uncovering features and understand more about the nature of the site.

FIGURE 5.g: Organization of Timpone della Motta/ Francavilla Marittima.

Section 4 is marked as the Acropolis, while sections 1-3 and 5-7 show the other plateau divisions where features have been found. Source: Altomare (2022).

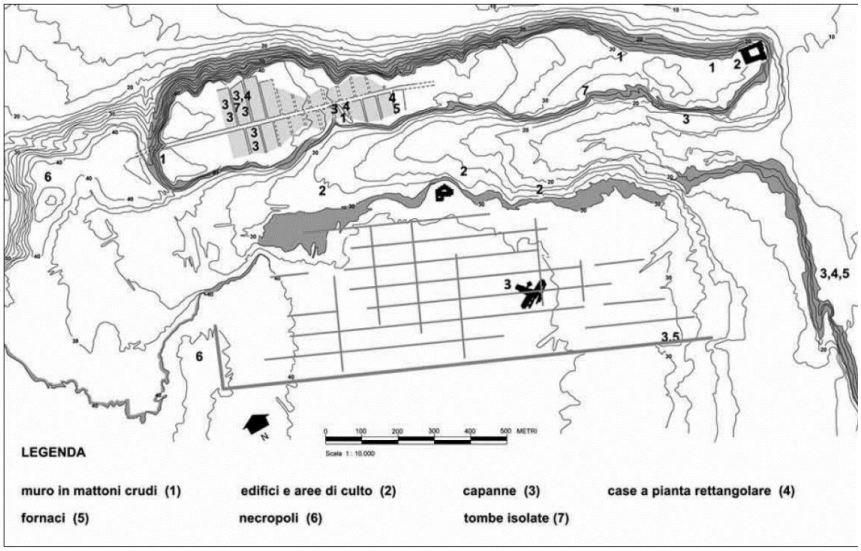


FIGURE 5.h: Organization of Siris/Heraclea.

Source: Bianco and Giardino (2010).

Moreover, in addition to future ground surveys which should be done with erosion in mind, it may be useful to look at the landscape using satellite-based Landsat high resolution multispectral imagery. An aerial survey of the Metaponto area was done by JC Carter, however, remote sensing using updated methodology through satellites may reveal more precise and clearer pictures of the "canal" features. As well as for identifying other possible sites on the riverbed as it worked very well for the site of L'Amastuola and identifying surrounding features of both prehistoric and classical sites. (Ross et al 2009) Considering these factors, the placement of the sites can be important to understanding the function, cultural influences, identity, and ideology of the people who lived there.

Conclusion

Incoronata stands at the center of a debate about the nuances of determining what a co-presence of Greek and Indigenous people looked like before Greek colonization took place. From the literature of this site and area, we see these debates play out and how they are being reformulated as new excavations are undertaken by people like Mario Denti. Incoronata is undoubtedly hosting Greek and Indigenous people at the same time and nearby sites are also experiencing this to different degrees. The similarities in material cultures, funerary contexts and pit structures that define the local community tell us a story on how the process of colonization was realized in southern Italy and that it was more than just the Greeks imposing their culture on Indigenous people. Incoronata stands out amongst them during the seventh century because of the large amount of diverse pottery scattered across the site found by Orlandini and the ritual contexts that Denti has found.

To move forward with a model of co-presence and cohabitation it was necessary in this thesis to address the various parts of debate around the site and propose ways for going forward. This included concerns about violent encounters, which at some sites, like Incoronata, can be tied to ritual obliteration processes. It was also necessary to address the site's interpretation through the pit features and material culture found. Apart from the apsidal building that has direct comparisons of purpose, the pits may have served many different purposes. What can be said is that there is evidence for ritual purpose, production seen throughout the site seen int the form of ceramic waste, ovens, and kilns as well as possible domestic contexts at the site, as the apsidal building in Denti's area could be both domestic and ritual in nature. Through this we can perhaps extrapolate, that for ritual and production to happen there may have been domestic spaces to support both of those practices.

The last thing to address was identity but without more information other than the ceramics found, identity is hard to pinpoint. Current research of funerary contexts by using archaeometric analysis is constructing a better idea of the possible identities of the people and their migration patterns (Rathman et al 2019). Considering the production of material culture and architectural processes (like ceramics and bricks) through chaîne opératoire and communities of practice will also allow for further nuanced discussion about the identity of people on the hill and in southern Italy. These perspectives are currently being undertaken by different researchers and should continue to be undertaken through new excavations, to continue to pursue questions of Early Iron Age colonization and bring nuance to understanding the nature of co-presence of Italian and Greek peoples on the hill.

Finally, from viewshed analysis I have been able to determine that Incoronata could easily control the valley and the people on the hill could recognize other people on the landscape from Sant'Angelo Vecchio and San Biagio della Venella. Necropolises were not chosen for good visibility but rather are attached to a larger area that did have good visible control. Hopefully with these maps a picture of where to continue to excavate to find domestic and ritual areas becomes clearer. It also may be useful to look for springs and try to figure out where they may have been in antiquity, which may give us a better understanding of Incoronata and other sites. The stagnation of the discussion of the nuances of early Greek colonization may be a byproduct of modern ideas about colonization. If we continue to question and problematize single perspective narratives of the past using modern technology and documentation, we may get closer to the realities of the people in this area in the Early Iron Age.

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Appendix A

Chantal Willborn (2023)

Fragments of impasto vases from Francavilla Marittima. Coarse impasto on the left and middle and fine impasto on the right (Colelli 2012, tav. 144,145).

FIGURE 6.a: Impasto

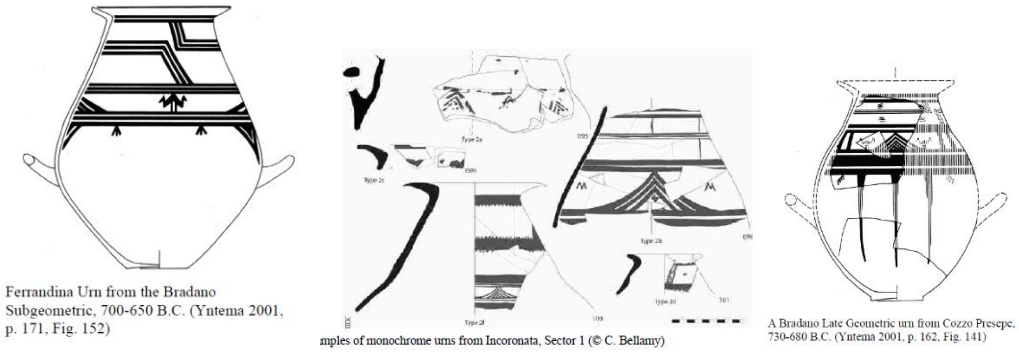
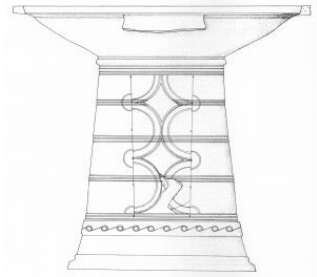


FIGURE 6.b: Examples of Local Indigenous Monochrome Matt Painted Pottery

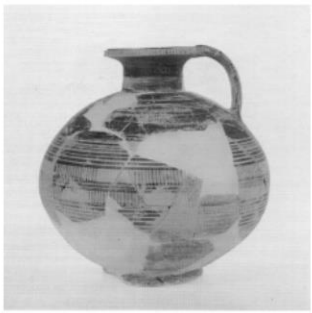
FIGURE 6.c: Achrome.

Basins/perirrhanteria



Decorated Perirrhanterion of local production from Incoronata (Incoronata 1992, p. 92, Fig. 145)

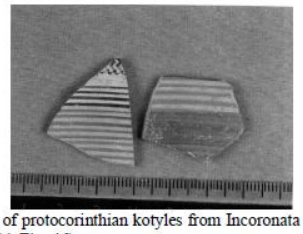
Jugs

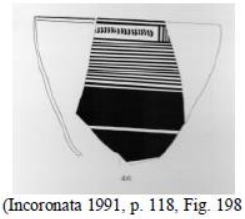


Local Greek jug from Incoronata (Incoroanta 1995, p. 154, Fig. 197)

FIGURE 6.d: Local made Greek Style

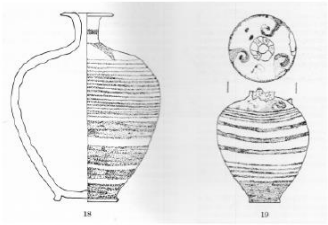
Protocorinthian kotyles





Fragments of protocorinthian kotyles from Incoronata (Incoronata 1991, p. 118, Fig. 198 ; 1992, p. 44, Fig. 46)

Aryballoi



Imported protocorinthian Aryballoi from Incoronata, first quarter of 7th c. BC(Incoronata 1995, p. 39, Fig. 18-19)

FIGURE 6.e: Imported Greek

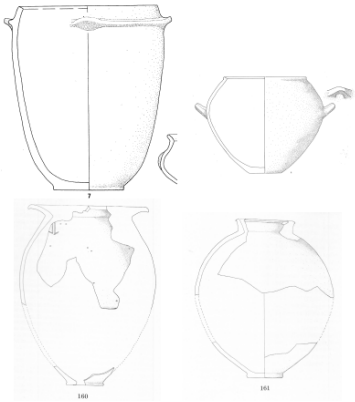
Large indigenous containers

Large Corinthian containers

Large Corinthian containers from Incoronata (Incoronata 1992: p. 106, Fig. 167; Incoronata 1995: Fig. 110; Incoronata 1997: p. 34, Fig. 15)

Large rhodian containers

Large Rhodian containers from Incoronata (Incoronata 1992: p. 105, Fig. 165; Incoronata 1997: p. 82, Fig. 81)



Large indigenous Iron Age containers from Torre del Mordillo (the two vases at upper left, Pascucci 1994, p. 723, tav. 145,1, p. 747, tav. 156,7 and p. 751, tav. 157,7), and from Incoronata (upper right and bottom row, Bron 2006, Catalogue, Plate LXXI; San Pietro 1992 p. 104, Figs. 160 and 161)

FIGURE 6.f: Large Storage Containers

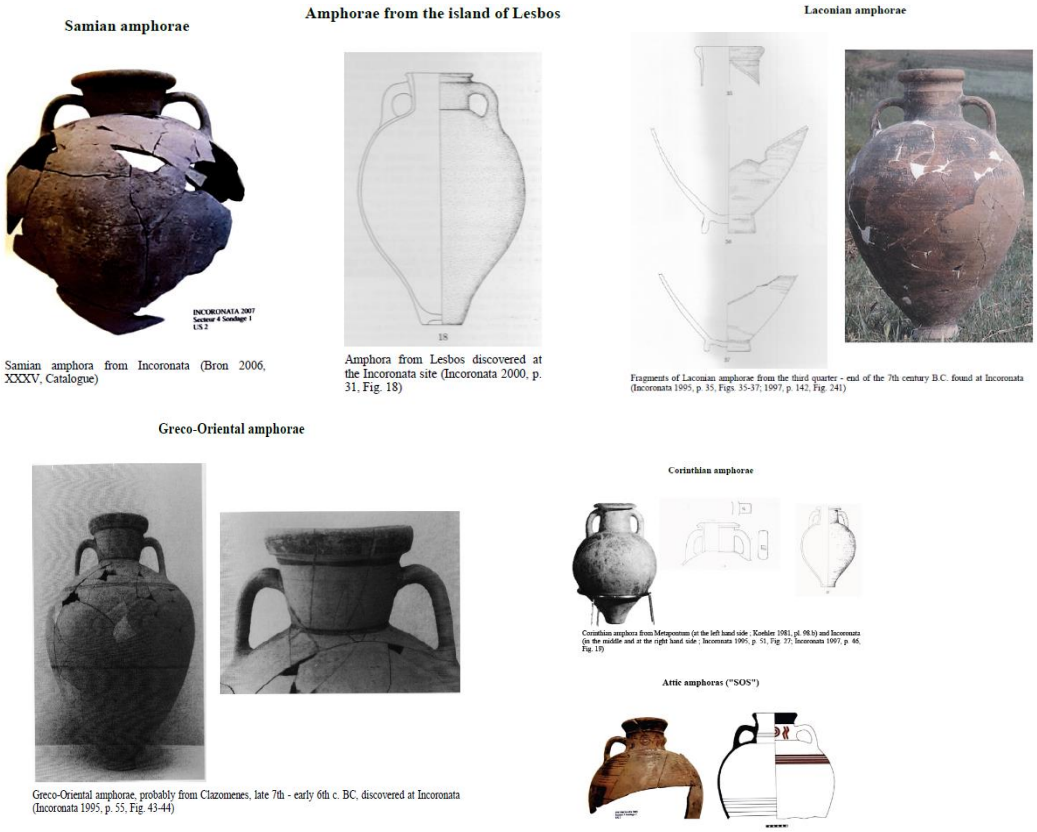


FIGURE 6.g Amphorae

- **Askos/askoi** : These vases with their characteristic shapes were used to contain and pour small quantities of liquids. Their shape could indicate a possible derivation from leather wineskins. Askoi appear in funerary contexts as offerings.

- **Basins**: The basins seem to be inscribed in the individual or collective use of food consumption, in the service and preparation of products.

- **Big cups/bowls (coppe)**: Cups are intended for table service and individual consumption of liquids.

- **Little cups/small plates**: Cups are interpreted as culinary vessels, part of the collective service or individual consumption. A ritual function is not excluded either. Traces of fire on some individuals could show a use in the context of cooking food.

- **Krater**: This container is used for mixing and serving wine, linked to collective and ritual consumption practices.

- **Jugs (boccali, brocche)**: These are vases for pouring, drawing, transporting, serving and containing liquids.

- **D(e)inos/d(e)inoi** : The deinos or dinos is a vase of Greek tradition, enthroned on a very high base. Like the krater, it is intended to contain and mix liquids.

- **Bowls (scodelle)**: Bowls are intended for the table service (collective service and/or individual consumption), but a conservational function of liquids is also possible for certain specimens with retracted edges. Some bowls were discovered in funerary contexts, used as lids for cinerary vases. Traces of fire on some individuals could show that they were used for cooking food.

- **Goblets (bicchieri)**: These vases are intended for drinking, but other functions are possible, as some specimens show everted lips that do not seem to be practical for drinking.

- **Large storage containers (grandi contenitori)**: These large containers are used for the conservation of liquid and/or solid foodstuffs, as well as for enchytrismos (funerary urns for deceased children/adolescents especially) in funerary contexts. They are also used as sêma (marker of graves and receptacle of funerary gifts and libations) and for transport, because some individuals present handles.

- **Hydria** : These vases are used for the conservation and the service of water.

- **Jars**: From the point of view of their size, the conservation of foodstuffs seems relevant, but ritual functions are not excluded either.

- **Big jars (scodelloni)**: These larger vases were probably used to hold and present foodstuffs (service and collective consumption), as well as to handle or mix other products or substances. Traces of fire on some individuals may indicate use for cooking food.

- **Kados/kadoi**: Kadoi are vessels used for drawing water from wells.

- **Kalathos/kalathoi** : Because of its very wide opening, this container is suitable for mixing and storing liquids.

- **Kotyle/kotylai** : These are drinking vessels.

- **Oinochoe/oinochoai** : These jugs of Greek tradition are intended to serve wine.

FIGURE 6.h: List of Descriptions of Pottery

- **Olpè/olpai** : An olpè is smaller than an oinochoé, provided with a vertical handle and intended to contain and pour liquids and ointments.

- **Perirrhanterion/perirrhanteria** : These are large basins often richly sculpted and placed on a vertical support. Discovered in contexts with ritual/cultural connotations, these large vessels were intended for purification activities (ritual ablution).

- **Dishes (piatti)**: These are ceramics intended for the consumption of foodstuffs, used in domestic and funerary contexts. Traces of fire on some individuals could show a use in the context of cooking food.

- **Cooking dishes (teglie)**: As the name suggests, these vessels are used for cooking, presentation and preparation of food.

- **Pots (olla/olle)**: These are vessels for cooking on the fire, as well as containers for holding and preserving a certain amount of food. The globular and ovoid monochrome pots have also been interpreted as individual drinking and serving vessels, as well as welling vessels.

- **Pyxis/pyxidis**: Small quantities of substances (cosmetics) or objects (ornaments) are kept within these lidded vessels, both in funerary/cultural and domestic contexts.

- **Situlae (situla)**: Situlae appear to have been used to contain and preserve foodstuffs. They are also present in funerary contexts, used as funerary urns.

- **Skyphos/skyphoi** : These are drinking vessels.

- **Stamnos/stamnoi** : A stamnos is a vase intended for serving and mixing liquids, especially wine. Two horizontal handles slightly below the shoulder allow to move this vessel.

- **Urns**: Urns are probably intended for preservation, presentation and serving of food. They are also often found in funerary contexts as vessels to receive the remains of the deceased.

- **Vases with a neck (vasi a collo)**: Vases with a neck may have had various functions (conservation, service, drawing of liquids etc.).

- **Biconical (vasi biconici) and globular (vasi globulari) vessels**: The function of these vessels of different sizes is still not clear today. Their shape could evoke conservation and service of solid or liquid foodstuffs. Biconical vases also appear in funerary context, where they are used as urns.

- **Filter-vessels**: These vessels filter liquid-solid food mixtures.

- **Sump vases (attingitoi)**: Sump vessels, also called attingitoi in Italian, seem to have been used to contain, draw and pour liquids. In burials they also covered funerary vases of small size.

FIGURE 6.i: List of Descriptions of Pottery

Appendix B

Funerary Kits of Chiartano 1994a 1994b and 1994c

Ceramics found (in order of appearance)

(Incoronata 1982 Chiartano pp.65-77)

- cioltole pateroidi
- tazze
- attigitoi
- ciotola d'impasto nero bruni monoasata
- brocce
- amphorae
- brocchete
- capeduncola
- ciotole pateroidi
- attingitoi
- scodelle
- tazze
- olle
- ollete
- askoi
- vasi di infusioni

Female Burial kit

Pendants, calcaphone, spiral pendants, spoked pendants, fibulae, spiral fibula, fibula with staff and disk, arm bands, rings, torques, studs, decorative circles, buttons, belt, amber, pastavitrea, bone decorations, Spatula ovale-metal hammered lamina, salta leone, Punteruolo, pesi da telaio.

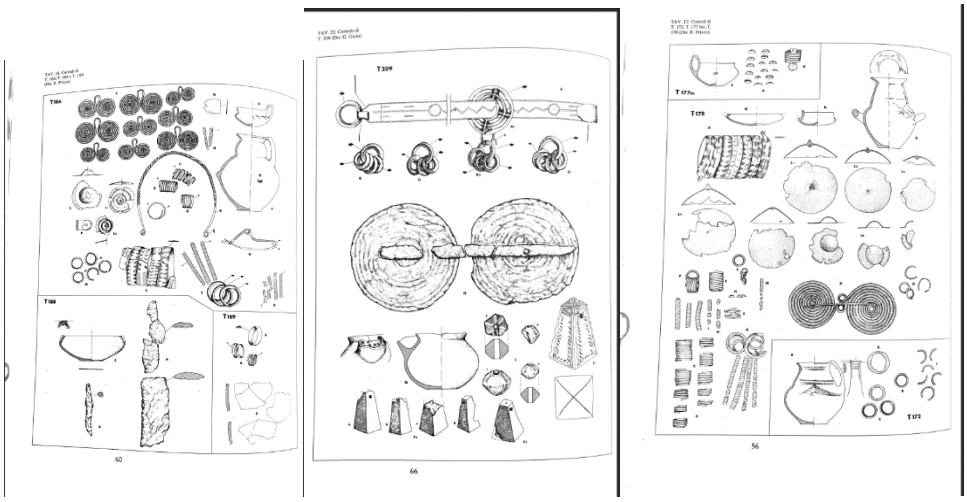


FIGURE 7.a: Female burial kit objects.

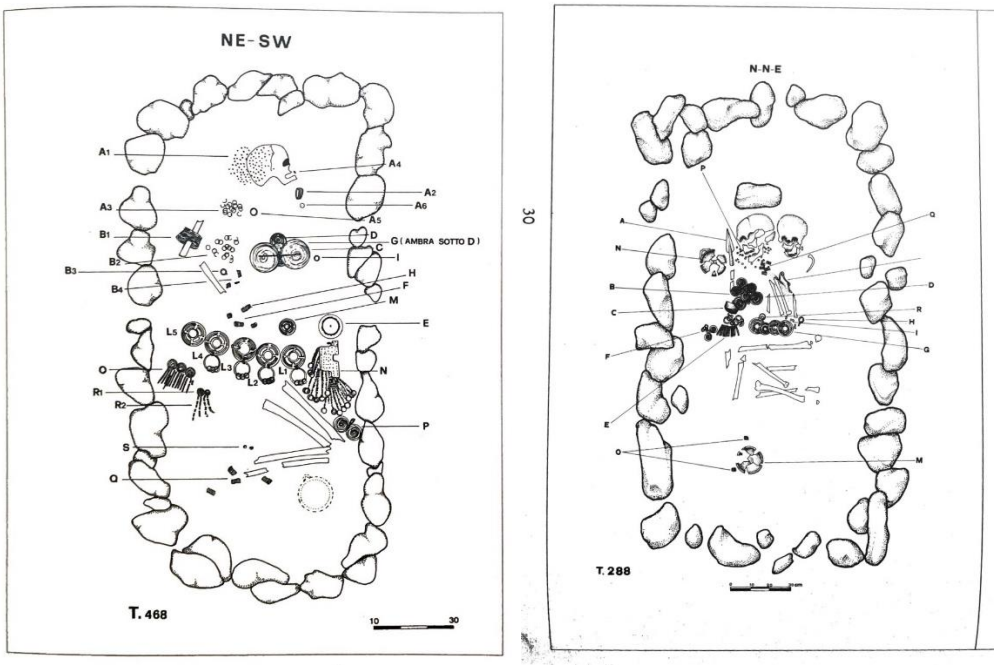


FIGURE 7.b: Female burials.

Male Burial Kits:

sickles, swords, javelines, knives/daggers, sword sheath,

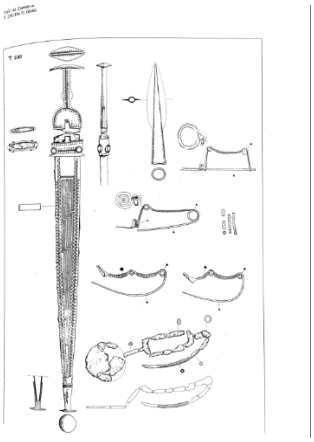


FIGURE 7.c: Male burial kit objects.

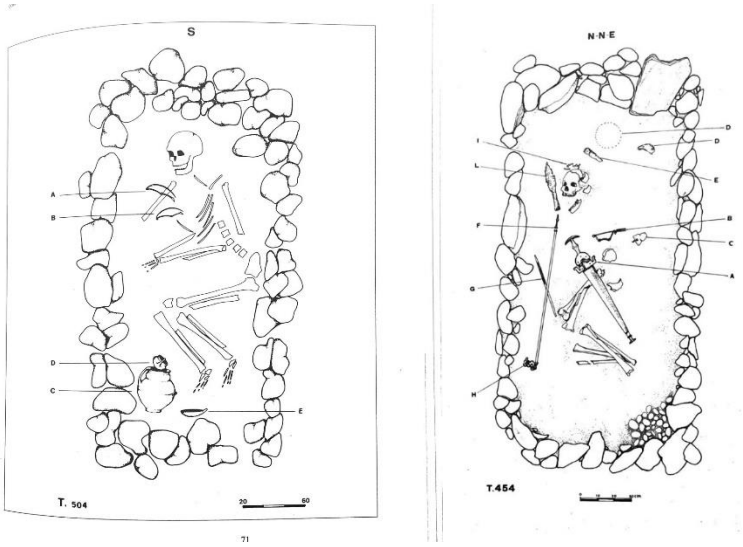


FIGURE 7.d: Male burials.

Appendix C

Orlandini's Pits and Corresponding Sherd Counts

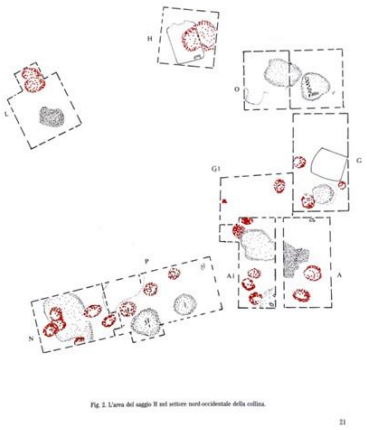


FIGURE 8.a: Orlandini Trenches 1.

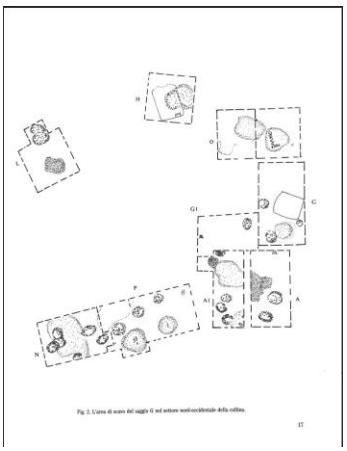


FIGURE 8.b: Orlandini Trenches 2

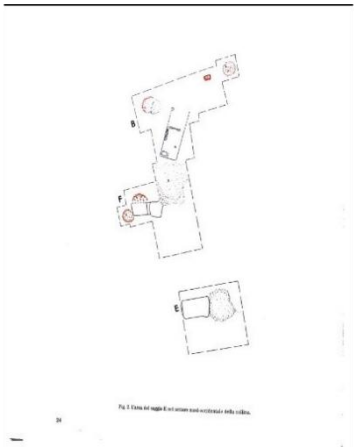


FIGURE 8.c: Orlandini Trenches 3

Trench (Saggio) P (Orlandini 1991)

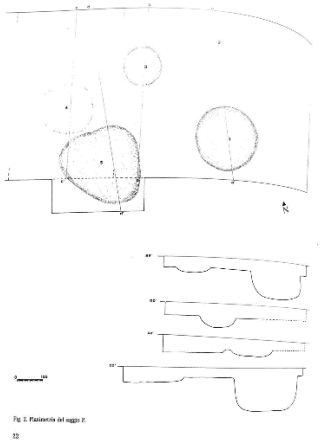


FIGURE 8.d: Trench P

Table 1: Saggio P- Indigneous Pit (Fossa Indigena) n2

Total sherds: 267

Impasto	52
Achrome	112
Monochrome	51
Bichrome	0
Large Storage Jars/ Amphora	52
Greek	0
Local Greek	0

Table 2: Saggio P: Indigenous pit n3

Total sherds: 181

Impasto-fine	29
Impasto Grossolano	87
Achrome	24
Monochrome	24
Large Storage Jars/ Amphora	17
Greek	0
Local Greek	0

Table 3: Saggio P: Indigenous pit n4

Total sherds: 189

Impasto	75
Bichrome	1
Achrome	69
Monochrome	21
Large Storage Jars/ Amphora	23
Greek	0
Local Greek	0

Table 4: Saggio P: Greek pit (Fossa Greca) n1

Total sherds: 2011

Impasto-fine	2
Impasto Grossolano	556
Achrome	503
Monochrome	371
Bichrome	23
Large Storage Jars “Pithoi Indigeni”	465
Local Greek	59
Imported Greek	32

Table 5: Saggio P: Greek pit n5.

Total sherds: 3335

Impasto-fine	4
Impasto Grossolano	987
Achrome	559
Monochrome	340
Bichrome	23
Large Storage Jars “Pithoi Indigeni”	1138
Local Greek	204
Imported Greek	80

Saggio T (Orlandini 2000)

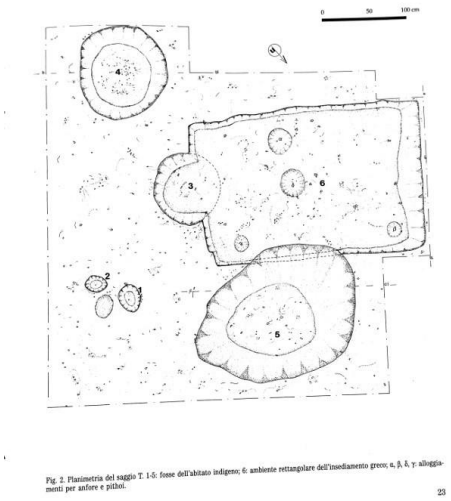


FIGURE 8.e: Trench T

Table 6: Saggio T: Indigenous pit n3

Total sherds: 150

Impasto	111
Achrome	
Monochrome	12
Bichrome	
Large Storage Jars “Pithoi Indigeni”	13
Concotto	14

Table 7: Saggio T: Indigenous pit n4

Total sherds: 2200

Impasto-fine	10
Impasto Grossolano	638
Achrome	988
Monochrome	287
Bichrome	19
Large Storage Jars “Pithoi Indigeni”	193

Concotto	50
Kotyle EPC Fibula	15 1

Table 8: Saggio T: Indigenous pit n5

Tota sherds: 2413

Impasto-fine	2
Impasto Grossolano	1017
Achrome	849
Monochrome	176
Bichrome	0
Large Storage Jars “Pithoi Indigeni”	367
Local Greek	0
Imported Greek	0

Table 9: Saggio T: Greek pit n1

Percentages of total sherds

Local Greek, monochrome and achrome	43.8%
Local Greek with figures	2.1 %
Buccheroide local Greek	7.3 %
Proto Corinthian imitation local	2.1 %
Commercial amphora	11.5 %
Basins, louteria, Perirrhanteria,	9.4 %
Pentole	5.2 %
Pithoi/ storage	16.7 %

Saggio S (Orlandini 1995)

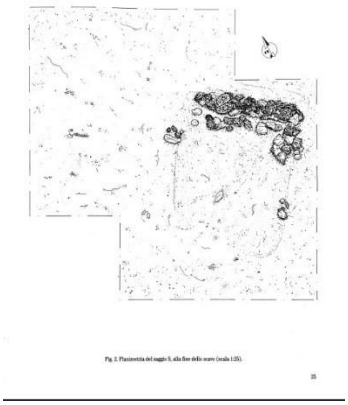


FIGURE 8.f: Trench S

Table 10: Saggio S

Percentages of total sherds:

Local Greek sub geometric/ monochrome/bichrome	41.4 %
Local Greek with figures	1.7 %
Buccheroide local Greek	4.4 %
Proto Corinthian imitation local	1.7 %
Commercial amphora	17.7 %
Basins, louteria, Perirrhanteria,	4.4 %
Pentole	9.9 %
Pithoi/ storage	2.8 %
Communal achrome	6.6 %
Ingenious achrome and impasto	6.1 %

Saggio G (Orlandini 2000)

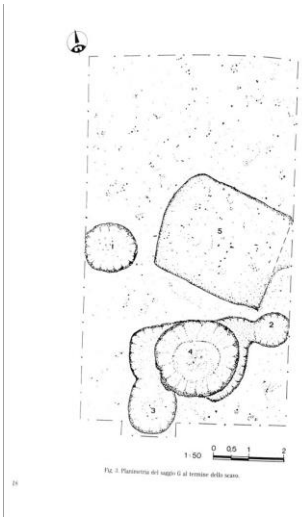


FIGURE 8.g: Trench G

Table 11: Saggio G: Large Greek pit (Grande fossa Greca) n4

Total: 1079 sherds

Impasto-fine	1
Impasto Grossolano	70
Achrome	278
Monochrome	280
Bichrome	23
Large Storage Jars “Pithoi Indigeni”	189
Local Greek	164
Imported Greek	74
Machine- Milling Stones	3
Grey ware	3
Grande Perirrhanterion	0
amphora	8

Table 12: Saggio G: Indigenous pit n1

Impasto-fine	2
Impasto Grossolano	138
Achrome	60
Monochrome	119
Bichrome	2
Large Storage Jars “Pithoi Indigeni”	42

Local Greek	0
Imported Greek	0

Table 13: Saggio G: Indigenous pit n2

Impasto-fine	0
Impasto Grossolano	41
Achrome	53
Monochrome	137
Bichrome	0
Large Storage Jars “Pithoi Indigeni”	42
Local Greek	0
Imported Greek	0

Table 14: Saggio G: Indigenous pit n3

Impasto-fine	1
Impasto Grossolano	30
Achrome	29
Monochrome	120
Bichrome	2
Large Storage Jars “Pithoi Indigeni”	17
Local Greek	0
Imported Greek	0

Saggio H (Orlandini 1997)

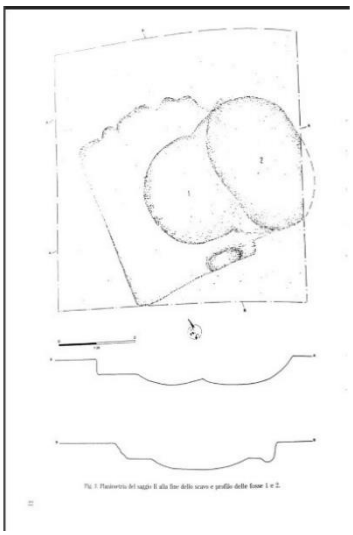


FIGURE 8.h: Trench H

Table 15: Saggio H: Greek pit

Types of pottery found, amounts not specified:

Proto-Corinthian ceramics	
Corinthian pithoi/amphora	At least the walls of 22 different amphora
Amphora	
Cermica dipinti di fabbirca colonial +greyware	
Common basins, pithoi, for cooking and everyday use and miniatures	
Diverse objects- loom weights, spools, spindle whorls, 6 bronze objects- laminas, nails, rings?	
Perirrhanterion pieces from Saggio G	
Monochrome	
impasto	
achrome	

Table 16: Saggio H: Indigenous pit n1

Types of pottery found, amounts not specified:

Impasto	

Achrome	
Monochrome/bichrome	
Imported Greek	

Table 17: Saggio H: Indigenous pit n2

Types of pottery found, amounts not specified:

Impasto	
Achrome	
Monochrome/bichrome	

Saggio E (Orlandini 2003)

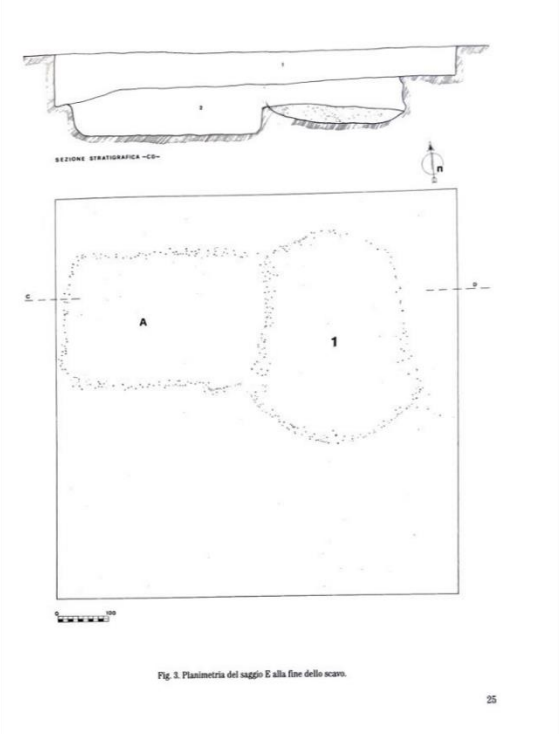


FIGURE 8.i: Trench E

Table 18: Saggio E: Greek Pit

Total 1450 Sherds

Impasto Fino	0
Impasto Grossolano	112
Indigenous achrome	4
Indigenous Monochrome	150
Indigenous bichrome	15
Corinzi di impasto	70
Corinzi figulia	9
Attica	8
Sub geometric colonial	802
Figural colonial	2
Colonial Greek painted	14
Colonial achrome	145
Colonial impasto	119

Table 19: Saggio E: Found outside the Greek pit.

Total: 644 sherds.

Impasto Fino	1
Impasto Grossolano	135
Indigenous achrome	2
Indigenous Monochrome	231
Indigenous bichrome	11
Corinzi di impasto	5
Coninzia figulia	0
Attica	0
Sub geometric colonial	89
Figural colonial	0
Colonial Greek painted	0
Colonial a chrome	170
Colonial impasto	0