

The Search for Sybaris: an Evaluation of Historical and Archaeological Evidence

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'Many times during these past years of searching for concrete evidence of Sybaris I have felt that the famed city was a myth' (Fro. Rainey, in Rainey/Lerici 1967, XIX)

The ancients contrasted normal life sharply with that at Sybaris. Many ancient tales of excess do not just describe the luxuries in the streets and houses of this Greek colony in Southern Italy, but focus on the wickedness and spoiled ways of its inhabitants (Ampolo 1993). The story of the complete disappearance of Sybaris in the floods of the river Krathis in 510 BC after its southern rival colony, Kroton, had destroyed it (Strabo VI.1.13), seems at first sight no less fabulous than these tales. A 'Sodom and Gomorrah' ending is a good way to enhance such stories with a sense of impending doom. However, the meagre results of the many searches for the famed city of Sybaris have reminded even the most tenacious of archaeologists of divinely sent ill fate (witness the citation above).

This paper is once again concerned with the contrast between the ancient texts and the archaeological evidence regarding Sybaris and the Achaian colonisation of the coastal plains along the Ionian Sea.

1 SHORT HISTORY OF THE SEARCH FOR SYBARIS

Modern archaeological research in the plain of Sybaris is clearly the legacy of François Lenormant's *La Grande Grèce. Paysage et histoire* I-III (Paris 1881-1884). Lenormant, a learned traveller and author, tried as much to encourage the French government to search for Sybaris as to excite the European elite into travel to Calabria. After all, brigands no longer were a problem after unification, and the new railway, running straight through the previously impenetrable coastal marshes, now halted at Buffaloria. This station was situated conveniently near the confluence of the rivers Crati and Coscile, where the site of Sybaris was thought to be.

Lenormant's travelogue is a mix of a report on his own visit to the area in 1880, a reworking of the various information found with ancient writers, and quite a number of fanciful conclusions: '*description des lieux et de l'aspect du pays, histoire, mythologie, archéologie monumentale, topographie et géographie, il y a*

peu de tout pêle-mêle dans ce livre' (Lenormant 1881, iv). Because the ancient sources on the location of Sybaris are meagre, and only report that Sybaris was located between the river Sybaris in the north and the river Krathis in the south (Diodoros XI 90. 3; XII. 9. 2; Strabo VI. 1. 13; Pliny III. 10. 97; XVI. 33. 81),¹ Lenormant's book caused excitement as well as confusion. Excitement because he stated that the discovery and excavation of Sybaris would certainly surpass that of Pompeii, since it would give Europe a Greek town of extreme riches; moreover, a town dating to the most exciting Archaic period in Magna Graecia. Even the well-known temples from this period at Paestum were, after all, only constructed by a town dependent on Sybaris. The metropolis itself would certainly render buildings far grander, in size as well as in sculptural splendour. His admiration for the splendid Sybarite silver coins, the beautiful stateres with a bull with turning head, caused Lenormant to write that silver mines had been extant in the Crati and Trionto valleys, even though there is no evidence for this supposition. At times, the excitement expressed by Lenormant still dominates the discussions on Sybaris, although not many treasures have ever come to light.

Lenormant's identification of the archaeological site of Sybaris on the higher grounds south-west of the confluence of the Crati and Coscile rivers have confused subsequent searchers for a long time. He identified the Le Muraglie plateau (*Fig. 1*) as the site of Thurioi-Copiai (Copiai is considered to be the Roman successor to Thurioi, which in its turn is considered successor to Sybaris). Here he noted an area of 2.5 km² full of remains in *opus reticulatum*, while the nearby area of la Caccia di Favella della Corte (*Fig. 1*) could only have been one huge

¹ According to Strabo (VI.1.13) the names of the rivers derive respectively from a spring near Bura and a river near Agai, both in Achaia. Nowadays, the river Coscile (formerly Sybaris) abuts into the Crati to the west of the ancient colony; in ancient times the rivers - of which the Crati has wandered circa 3 km to the north - flowed separately into the Ionian Sea. In 1525 Leandro Alberti describes the 'Cochili' as flowing into the Gulf 'non però molto discosto dalla foce del Grati' (Cotecchia 1993, 22). On maps of the 18th century the rivers still are separate (e.g. Zannoni map, Venice 1783 and others (*fig. 2*)).



Fig. 1. Map of the Sibaritide.



Fig. 2. Old maps of the Sibaritide.

necropolis with its tufa sarcophagi lying about in disorder together with 'decadent' red-figure vases (Fig. 1; cf. Osanna 1992, 155). A group of artificial mounds running east from the Torre del Fico were thought to belong to this necropolis too and to contain the richer graves. Sybaris itself he thought lay in the Pattursi zone, a low area bordered by the promontory of Pollinara in the north and the plateau of the

Fonte del Fico in the south (Fig. 1). Lenormant projected Sybaris at this location because he firmly believed that it was here that Kroton's victorious soldiers led the Krathis away from its bed to flood the town. In his eyes, the ancient town could be quite easily found west of the place where the Crati leaves her ancient bed, which is between Pollinara and Fonte del Fico. A second reason for Lenormant to

project Sybaris away from the coast was a description by Athenaios (*Deipnosophistai* XII, 519), of the wine transport at Sybaris: from the vineyards the wine flowed through pipelines towards the storage rooms that the inhabitants of Sybaris owned on the coast. Part of the wine was sold abroad, part was transported in boats to the city. The mention of boats for transport to the city implies that Athenaios was referring to quite a respectable distance from harbour to city. Three stages can be discerned in the archaeological search for Sybaris - each with different, time-related scopes.

The first stage

Although certainly the most stimulating and widely read explorer among the early researchers, Lenormant was not in fact the first to look for Sybaris. Almost immediately after the founding of the new state of Italy, Italian archaeological explorations in various backward regions began. These early activities during the latter decades of the 19th century must be regarded as the state's demonstration that it was not only Rome which was important to the new Italia. Moreover, Lenormant's exhortations to the European elite to travel in Magna Graecia demonstrate that a dash for impressive roots certainly could be of help to Italy's standing in Europe.

On the 30th of January 1879, Francesco S. Cavallari, then director of the Museum at Syracuse, began his search for Sybaris in the malaria-infested swamps near the Crati and Coscile rivers (Cavallari 1879, 49-52, 122-124, 156-159, 245-253). He had been sent by Giuseppe Fiorelli, general director of the Ministry of Public Instruction in Rome, to whom Lenormant later dedicated his book. Cavallari started an excavation near the confluence of the Crati and the Coscile (probably the ancient Sybaris river). Crossing these rivers was often difficult because they were so swollen that they could not be forded by the hired *buffale*. In the Caccia di Favella zone, at the Timpone Grande (*timpone* = mound in the regional dialect) Cavallari unearthed a grave (*Fig. 1*) with two Orphic inscriptions on gold foil (Zuntz 1971, 4A and C). Three more tombs on the Timpone Piccola (*Fig. 1*) each contained a further Orphic gold leaf (Zuntz 1971, A1, 2 and 3; Osanna 1992, 155 ff.).

In 1887 Luigi Viola, director of the Museum at Taranto, was sent by Fiorelli to discover Sybaris as well. Drilling deeply into the soil Viola, although practicing a revolutionary new way of research, failed to strike Sybaris because he followed Lenormant's topographical indications. His search in the end led him to explore the vast flat hilltop called Torre del Mordillo (*Fig. 1*), where in 1888 he brought to light an important Oenotrian *fossa* necropolis, the

precise location of which is now lost (Pasqui 1888, 239-268, 462-480, 575-592, 648-671).

Edoardo Galli, in the *Sibaritide* in 1928-'30, initially excavated upstream from Pollinara on the right bank of the Coscile, where he found a number of Roman villae (Galli 1929, 7-128; Osanna 1992, 155-156). From a small hill south of Pollinara, known as Michellicchio (*Fig. 1*), he reported marble fragments and ancient pottery. From a peasant he purchased three terracotta 'masks' (almost certainly heads of terracotta statuettes or *pinakes*) and fragments of a terracotta horse, all dating to the Archaic period (Cavallari 1879, 50, 87; Arias 1941a, 49-56; Quilici et al. 1969, 130 no. 510 with literature; Guzzo 1982a, c, 1987, 166; Osanna 1992, 155). Galli relates that the stationmaster sold many similar masks to tourists, and draws attention to an Archaic marble head which had also surfaced, perhaps between Spezzano and Terranova di Sibari. One wonders if these important finds, which all suddenly turn up in Galli's time, are at all related to the very intensive reclamation works which were carried out in the plain from 1928-'32 by the *Società Anonima per le Bonifiche del Mezzogiorno*. These vast earth-moving projects included the excavation of canals like the Scavolino ditch, which crosses the region explored by Cavallari; the construction of artesian wells and roads; the channeling of rivers and torrents by dykes and embankments; as well as the building of two villages. One of these was named Sibari. However, Galli himself, keeping a close watch on the *bonifica* works, reported only negative results as to the presence of archaeological remains: the deep and extensive trenches for the bridge just above the junction of Crati and Coscile only turned up layers of sterile sands, as did the digging at the Valle del Marinaro, thought to be the ancient bed of the Crati. These reports are in contrast to his comments on the Archaic terracottas (a problem to be dealt with below).

Aware of these negative results near the confluence of the Coscile and the Crati, Ulrich Kahrstedt, professor at the University of Göttingen, after a visit to the area (Kahrstedt 1931, 279-288; 1932a, 1-9; 1932b, 130-136), promoted the idea that the Coscile was not to be identified with the Sybaris of ancient times, and that the *torrente* San Mauro was a more likely candidate (*Fig. 1*). This then would mean that ancient Sybaris would have been situated further to the south and that the earthen mounds, of which Cavallari had excavated a few, would belong to the original necropolis of Sibari/Thurioi/Copiai. In fact, various authors had already contributed to the creation of a necropolis of mythical proportions by interpreting all of the circa 40 dunes along one of the old riverbeds as grave mounds (Zanotti Bianco 1960, 7f.).

Umberto Zanotti Bianco, founder and director of the *Società Magna Graecia*, immediately dug trenches through several of these mounds as well as many trenches of 2 m. deep in the areas indicated by Kahrstedt, and found nothing but sand (Zanotti Bianco 1960, 7-20). He laments that not even a single pebble was found. However, by moving his searches to the north bank of the Crati, he discovered the large public hemispherical complex of Copiai, a theatre which, thanks to Kahrstedt, the learned world for a long time regarded as a Roman villa. Although Zanotti Bianco immediately opposed Kahrstedt's opinion, and although later excavations made it increasingly clear that this building was not a villa, Kahrstedt maintained his view (Zanotti Bianco 1932, 283-291; Kahrstedt 1960a, 90; Kahrstedt 1960b, 61-64). At last, in 1932, it was senator Zanotti himself who, during further excavations in the theatre area, found a sculpted stone head from the middle of the 6th century BC, which was regarded as proof for the existence of Sybaris on the north bank of the Krathis (Zancani Montuoro 1961, 8-63; Zanotti Bianco 1960, 7-20). Many thought it insufficient proof, because the piece remained an *unicum*.

Because Galli had reported the finding of a column in this area shortly before Zanotti's discovery (Galli 1932, 130-136), a controversy arose between Galli and Zanotti as to who had been the first to discover ancient Sybaris. The conflict was heightened by the fact that the *Soprintendenza Archeologica* at Reggio Calabria had nominated Galli as their archaeologist but was in fact supporting Zanotti, who was not only interested in archaeology but was also an important political figure in the *mezzogiorno* (Sabbione/Spadea 1981, 115-136). In any case, by the activities of both gentlemen it became known, though not very widely, that evidence for public Greek buildings had been found near the mouth of the Krathis. In European archaeology, however, Kahrstedt's villa-identification was still circulating, and not much attention was paid to the discoveries until long after the Second World War. The fascist police had interrupted Zanotti Bianco's enterprise, and archaeological excavations were anyway halted by the war. The main publications on this episode appeared long afterward. Lost cases full of Sibari material that had been re-found in the Museum at Reggio Calabria were finally published by Paola Zancani Montuoro, the Naples/Sorrento based discoverer of the Heraion on the Foce del Sele (Zancani Montuoro 1961, 8-63). Zanotti Bianco, by then a politician busy rebuilding Italy, added a short report only (1960, 7-20).

The second stage

The second stage of the search for Sybaris took place during the 1950s and 1960s. First by Donald F.

Brown, who subsequently worked at Harvard (Brown 1960, 144; 1963, 40-47). Later by Frölich Rainey, director at the Pennsylvania University Museum, together with the Lerici foundation, which was invited to join the search by the '*Ritorno a Sibari*' association (Lerici 1960, 303-337; Rainey & Lerici 1967; Rainey 1969, 261-273). These activities clearly are an outcome of American post-war military and economic interests in Europe. The military was physically present in the Mediterranean with the famous 6th fleet. American museums and universities wished to know and see more of European culture. New archaeological sites and objects had to be exciting enough to attract sponsoring and the interest of the general public. In Southern Italy malaria was no longer a problem, the first good hotels (Jolly!) were available, and a number of passable motoring roads had been constructed (Morton 1969, 309). In the case of Sybaris the earlier explorations had sufficiently demonstrated how difficult it was to locate this ancient city under layers of waterlogged alluvial clay and coastal sands. But in the optimistic post-war decades it was thought that new technological equipment would, in a short time, overcome these problems. The primary objective of much of the American search was to test the application of new prospecting devices - resistance apparatus for measuring electrical conductivity in soils, seismic instruments for detecting the refraction of shock waves in the earth, magnetic instruments, primarily magnetometers, sonic devices to record reflections of high-frequency impulses introduced into the ground, and a variety of metal-detectors. Orville Bullitt, a rich American sponsor of archaeology who paid for much of this research, in his reports not only makes clear the tremendous costs and energy poured into the effort, but also his personal interest in the search for the riches of Sybaris (Bullitt 1971). With steadily better magnetometers and drills, the Pennsylvania team worked for seven years in the plain of Sybaris. Every time roof tiles and wall parts turned up, hopes arose of having struck ancient Sybaris. However, each time closer analysis of the finds (Paola Zancani Montuoro, Maria W. Stoop and the writer of this article were working nearby at Francavilla Marittima and were often consulted) showed mortar particles, terra sigillata, or other indications that the date of the buildings more likely was Medieval, Roman, or, in a few cases, perhaps Hellenistic. The American instruments turned up the largest ancient features, such as the 'long walls', first. Drilling in the Parco del Cavallo area rendered a few, minuscule, Archaic sherds. But sherds were not enough; the director of the enterprise, Rainey, evidently deeply convinced of Lenormant's idea that Archaic cities are associated with large temples,

admirably refused to announce that he had found Sybaris, because he had found nothing remotely looking like a temple.

By excavating a single long transverse trench across it, the Museum of Pennsylvania together with the *Soprintendenza Archeologica della Calabria* in these years also further explored the plateau of Torre Mordillo. The Americans expected to find Thurioi here and indeed managed to unearth, on top of proto-historical layers, not Thurioi but an unidentified Hellenistic settlement (Colburn 1967, 30-38; Colburn 1973; Colburn 1977, 423-526; Edwards 1969, 30-35; Osanna 1992, 156-158). Italian excavators would later demonstrate that ancient Thurioi, the famous new colony founded by the Sybarites with the help of Athens in 443 BC (Diodoros XII.10.7), was located in part underneath Roman Copiai (Guzzo 1970, 15-23).

All in all the American explorations of the Sybaritic plain confirmed Zanotti's conclusions regarding Archaic Sybaris: in the Parco del Cavallo subsequent strata of Roman, Hellenistic, Attic as well as Archaic Greek sherds were drilled up, so Parco del Cavallo covered the three ancient settlements. The Americans interpreted this part of the site as the harbour. A second location where the Americans drilled up Archaic sherds was called Stombi, 1.5 km to the north of Parco del Cavallo and immediately south of the ancient bed of the Coscile (Bullitt 1971, 199, 207). These activities were not only financed and followed up by Americans; Italian private societies also played a part, most prominently the already mentioned *Società Magna Grecia* and the *Ritorno a Sibari* association founded by E. Candido, A. Putignano and A. De Santis in 1959. These amateur archaeologists recuperated the material of the Zanotti-Bianco excavations, and helped to create an archaeological room in the new village of Sibari.

The third stage

The American activities excited the Italians into further action; in 1969 a new phase in the search for Sybaris began with extensive Italian excavation campaigns. Scholars and politicians present at the VIIIth Archaeological Congress at Taranto were just in time to prevent the installation of a large petrochemical plant on top of the ancient site. In return, the industrialists forced the politicians and archaeologists to immediately demonstrate the importance of the site. A board of consultant and assisting archaeologists was created in order to oversee archaeological research at Sybaris undertaken with the finances of the Ministry of Public Works (*Ministero di Pubblica Istruzione* - the money was separately paid into the *Cassa per il Mezzogiorno*).² The first result

was a survey of the whole of the *Sibaritide* directed by Lorenzo Quilici (Quilici et al. 1968-69, 89-155); the second a string of excavation campaigns, directed from 1969-'74 by Pier Giovanni Guzzo (published in five supplements to the *Notizie degli Scavi* 1970, 1973, 1974, 1978 and 1992; here SIBARI I, II, III, IV and V).

Trial trenches were dug at five locations, and these indeed demonstrated the subsequent presence of Sybaris, Thurioi and Copiai, and made clear that these settlements overlap only partially. The archaeological zone was estimated to be 50 ha in size, of which today only circa 16 ha have in fact been explored. The maintenance of the excavated area became an urgent problem for the archaeological committee, since the monuments were several metres below ground water level and had to be kept dry by continuous pumping. The pumps and machinery of the famous well-point system, already used in a limited way by the American team, were now applied extensively and were kept working day and night. An extensive maintenance workshop started to function at the *Scavi di Sibari* and does so till today in order to keep dry the steadily appearing monuments of Copiai-Thurioi which were declared an Archaeological Park and opened to the public. An office with a responsible archaeologist, detached by the *Soprintendenza archeologica di Calabria*, and a restoration workshop and laboratory were installed in the Park as well, in order to continue the archaeological exploration of the site.

Another important result of the Committee's work in the 1970s was the creation of a small museum in a building vacated by the Reclamation Office (*Consorzio di Bonifica*) near the station at Sibari. This museum later became famous because of its exhibition of tombs excavated at the Macchiabate necropolis by Paola Zancani Montuoro in the 1960s, and finds from the Athenaion excavated on the nearby hilltop of Timpone della Motta. This sanctuary was excavated by Maria W. Stoop from Leiden University, who at the time also installed the exhibitions. A collection of sherds from Sybaris, also exhibited at the museum, unfortunately presented a poor show against the splendid material from Francavilla Marittima.

Today the preliminary reports on all the Sibari excavations have appeared, and much can be learned from these detailed publications. In the first place it has become clear that the mud brought on by the Crati and Coscile rivers since antiquity has moved

² The commission consisted of D. Adamesteanu, F. Castagnoli, A. Croce, N. Degrassi, V. Di Gioia, M. Pallottino, E. Paribeni, G. Pugliese Caratelli, G. Rossi, S. Serangeli and P. Zancani Montuoro (from 1969-1975).

the coast line out to sea by 2.5 km, while the soil these rivers deposited over the ancient remains is at places over 6 m. thick. The excavations took place at the following areas.

1. *Parco del Cavallo* (Fig. 3), the site of the theatre where Archaic remains were found incorporated in Roman buildings. The semicircular theatre, itself constructed on top of a levelled older Roman *domus* (Paoletti 1993, 379-430), is located at a crossing of two ancient streets; the North/South street has a width of 13 meters and the East/West one is half as wide, i.e. 6.50 m. Next to the theatre two other large public buildings, a *macellum* in *opus reticulatum* and a bath house were found, all dating to the Roman period and thus part of Copiai (founded in 194 BC as a *colonia latina*). The excavators think that the site of Parco del Cavallo was the centre too in the period of Sybaris, in the first place because here the public buildings of Copiai contained as *spolia* the finely sculpted limestone parts of two temples, one with triglyphs and metopes, the other with a sculpted frieze (Mertens 1993, 567-569). And in the second place because in the lower strata limestone blocks were found (see paragraph below). Behind the large public buildings of Copiai Roman private houses came to light, in which various trial trenches could be dug into the deeper strata. Potsherds dating from the 7th, 6th and 5th centuries BC appeared, confirming the American conclusions that underneath Copiai older layers were present at this location. In the trial trenches at the locations of the 'rectangular building' and 'Fehlmann 3' the already mentioned Archaic limestone blocks turned up (SIBARI V, 73f). These blocks lay in a layer containing exclusively Archaic material, which were found beneath almost sterile alluvial strata. These alluvial strata mark the division between the Archaic and the Classical/Hellenistic layers, since the strata above the alluvium contained pottery not older than the 2nd half of the 5th century BC. The streets mentioned above (the broader ones often indicated, after ancient usage, as *plateiai* and the smaller ones as *stenopoi*) belong to Thurioi as well as Copiai. One would like to think that the Romans respected the work of the famous architect Hippodamos of Miletos, who designed Thurioi on an orthogonal plan (Greco & Torelli 1983; Greco 2000, 575-583).
2. The second site Guzzo's team excavated is labelled *Prolungamento Strada* (Fig. 3) because it concerns the stretch of *stenopos* from the crossing at the theatre towards the next crossing to the east, found at 295 meters (= 1000 Attic feet) distance. This section of road is bordered with

Roman houses as well, some of which must go back to the period of Thurioi but are so perfectly incorporated into the Roman buildings, that their identification poses as yet insurmountable trouble.

3. *Casa Bianca*, the third area explored (Fig. 3), lies along the same street again, at 700 meters eastward from the crossing at Parco del Cavallo. It is thought that Thurioi ended here because an open area paved with stones and the remains of two flanking round buildings were found. The former identification of the paved area as a ship portage, and hence the entire location as part of the port of Thurioi, has now been abandoned; it seems at that time open water did not reach this part of the town. At Casa Bianca the so-called 'long walls' (a Roman defence system) turn inland.
4. *Incrocio*, the fourth area excavated (Fig. 3), is at 3.50 m. from the crossing at Parco del Cavallo. Here the *plateia* has been followed until one of the gates was met.
5. The fifth area, the so-called *Stombi*, also named *Parco dei Tori*, all in all brought the most surprising results (Fig. 3). In the first place because Archaic houses came to light without much overbuilding by either Thurioi or Copiai, and in the second because it lies 1.8 km to the north of Parco del Cavallo. The Stombi houses are of a private nature, constructed on foundations of river cobbles, probably with walls of pisé or mudbrick. This layout is fairly regular according to a rectangular system; some of the houses have courtyards, some porches, others have wells, and two contained small pottery kilns. The roofs were covered with pan tiles and pentagonal *imbrices*. In house f a small votive deposit came to light, indicating a house cult. The only precious object found at Stombi is a gilded silver pectoral (Guzzo 1993b, 265 nr. L.IIIA1 with lit.). These buildings belong to the last part of Sybaris' life, the second half of the 6th c. BC (the last datable pottery consists of Bloesch type C cups). The excavators think that earlier houses, of a more or less similar lay-out, were removed in favour of the constructions found. They interpret trenches with sterile sand appearing beneath the 6th c. BC houses as evidence for earlier constructions. The stones of former walls are thought to have been removed because of the scarcity of that material in this alluvial coastal area (Guzzo 1996, 123). The large-scale excavations at Sibari were halted in 1974; excavation still continues on a smaller scale, today directed by Silvana Luppino and Emanuele Greco, who is exploring Thurioi (Greco 2000, 575-583). It must be feared that the first days of Sybaris and the reality of the famed splendour of the Archaic



Fig. 3. Map of the Sibari excavation pits 1960-1974.

city will remain a mystery for many generations to come, because excavation of the lowest levels of the site has been cancelled after the few trenches dug with so much trouble under the directorship of Pier Giovanni Guzzo. Geologists fear that further lowering of the groundwater level, which collects 4 m. below the present surface, could lead to the total collapse of the area (Guzzo 1993, 54).

2 LEADING OPINIONS ON THE COLONISATION OF THE SIBARITIDE

Pier Giovanni Guzzo and Emanuele Greco, today the leading scholars for the archaeology of the ancient Greek colonisation period in the *Sibaritide*, both extensively excavated at the site of Sybaris/Thuriol/Copiai and in various articles and books presented influential views on the founding and expansion of this Greek *polis* (Guzzo 1982a,b,c, 1984, 1987, 1993, 1996; Greco 1990, 1993, 1999, 2000). Noteworthy in their works is the fact that archaeological evidence from native sites surrounding the plain of Sybaris (Guzzo) as well as towns probably founded by her (Greco), plays a larger role than that from the colony itself.

In Guzzo's eyes it was the early Greek activities in the *Sibaritide* that first attracted the native Oenotrians to settle near the coast, at sites such as Torre del

Mordillo and Francavilla Marittima (Guzzo 1982a, 146-151). This scholar interprets the presence of Greek and Phoenician objects from the first three quarters of the 8th c. BC in a number of female tombs near the native hill-top villages around the plain as evidence for pre-colonisation activities of Peloponnesian seafarers, *en route* via eastern Sicily and the Straits of Messina to the Euboian colonies of Pithekoussai (on Ischia) and Kyme (on Italy's west coast near Naples). Peloponnesian interests are deduced from the foreign imports, for example the 'lyre-player group' scarab from tomb T69 of the Macchiabate necropolis at Francavilla Marittima (a scarab of the same group as those found in children's tombs at Pithekoussai: Boardman 1990, 1-17) and the chevron MG *skyphos* from Torre Mordillo as well as the Thapsos- and Protocorinthian *kotylai* in tombs T8 and U15 at Macchiabate and the *kotyle* from tomb 5 of the Roggiano-Prunetta necropolis (table 5). Two votive objects at Olympia, a serpentine fibula with flattened end (a type otherwise known only from the *Sibaritide*) and a 4-spiral fibula which certainly had its main distribution in the *Sibaritide* too, are also mentioned as the outcome of Peloponnesian colonial interests (Guzzo 1982b, 237-250).

As to the next step in the Greek colonisation of the *Sibaritide*, early sanctuaries are an important argument in Guzzo's work (Guzzo 1987, 373-379). At Francavilla Marittima a large temple precinct existed on the Timpone della Motta, and in analogy Guzzo reads finds from Torre Michellicchio and Torre Mordillo - where Protocorinthian pottery of the same character as at Francavilla Marittima, and in the case of Torre Michellicchio also similar terracotta *pinakes*, are reported to have been found - as evidence for the foundation of several Greek sanctuaries around the plain. These are seen as Greek *santuari di frontiera*, i.e. as a purposeful means to control the plain. Recently, Renato Peroni also read the few Greek 7th c. BC sherds which came to light at Broglio di Trebisacce as evidence for religious activity of some kind, adding to the idea that the 7th c. BC Greeks first dominated the *Sibaritide* by way of sanctuaries (Peroni 2000, 81-83). Frontier sanctuaries existed on the Greek mainland as well, and were for the Greeks a well-tested system to defend a cultural and political area; in fact Guzzo here follows De Polignac, who discussed the phenomenon in his dissertation and was the first to draw attention to the temple precinct on the Timpone della Motta at Francavilla Marittima as a frontier sanctuary (De Polignac 1984, 1995, 1999; G. Greco 1999, 231-247).

Guzzo's date for the foundation of Sybaris follows the literary sources (last decade of the 8th c. BC: Eusebius, Dionysios of Halikarnassos, (table 6)) but

the archaeological evidence again mainly derives from the surrounding native villages. What counts heavily in Guzzo's reasoning is the argument that apart from the few sites which in his view came under Sybarite influence early on (Torre Michellicchio, Torre Mordillo, Francavilla Marittima, Amendolara), after 700 BC little archaeological evidence of settlement can be presented for a wide arc around Sybaris. Guzzo then follows the historical sources, and especially Antiochos (in Strabo 6.1.15). These describe an early 7th c. BC spreading of Achaian power along the Ionian coast. We are told that Achaian aggression was directed against the Tarantines, and culminated in the Achaian foundation of the *polis* of Metapontion. The date mentioned by Eusebius for the foundation of Taras is 706 BC (III.4). In accordance with these literary sources, Guzzo's next important argument stems from the presence of Greek cups, dating to the 1st half of the 7th c. BC, in native tombs in the Paladino/Uomo Morto necropolis at Amendolara (table 5). In fact in each grave one Greek cup was present among grave gifts of native

pots. This combination of grave gifts is explained as evidence for the existence of a native settlement dominated by Sybaris at an important point in the landscape. Amendolara, located at the northern end of the Sybarite plain, was in Guzzo's view an important bridgehead for the Sybarites during their struggle with Siris and their activities towards the foundation of Metapontion. However, archaeological evidence for the domination of the Achaians in the *SiritidelMetapontino* is usually dated no earlier than the second half of the 7th c. BC (cf. the next paragraph). Implicit to Guzzo's theories are Greek oppressing activities of an as yet undiscovered nature in the *Sibaritide*, during the first half of the 7th c. BC, which would account for the absence of archaeological data for this period in this region. The problem is that the evidence gained to date from the Sibari trial trenches does not support Guzzo's conclusion: the first half of the 7th c. BC, except for Francavilla Marittima, is archaeologically largely unattested anywhere in the *Sibaritide*, the site of Sibari itself included (see tables 1-5).

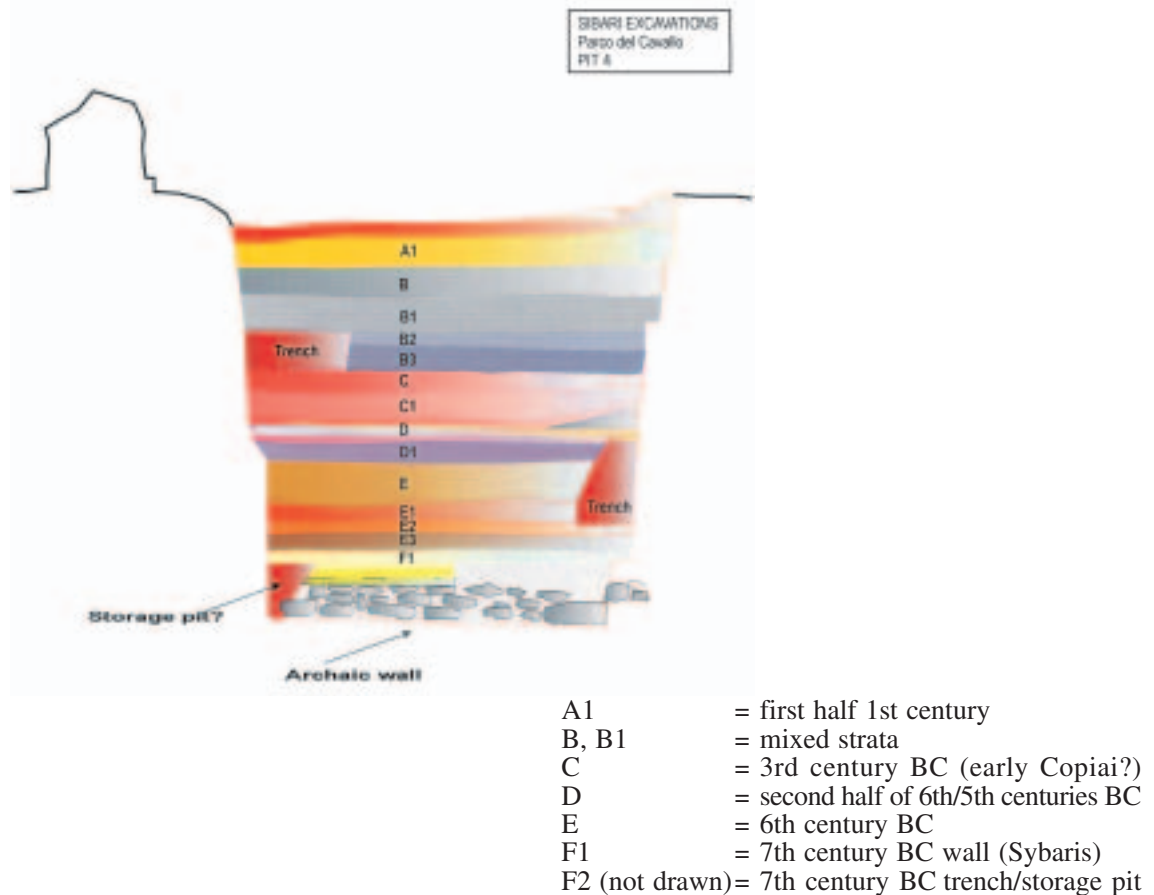


Fig. 4. Parco del Cavallo area, test pit 4.

A wall is visible on the plan of test pit 4 in Parco del Cavallo (SIBARI II, fig. 91), which is not discussed with layer F2 and indeed seems unconnected to it (Fig. 4). Layer F1 above corresponds to the structure to which this wall probably belongs; the material from F1 is not older than early Corinthian (SIBARI II, p. 165). Test pit 4 was 4.70 to 4.80 m. deep and reached a 'trench with clay, bones and sherds' among which the neck of a Rhodian jug (SIBARI II, n. 378), three matching Thapsos cup fragments (SIBARI II, n. 349-351) and an Oenotrian fragment (SIBARI II, n. 411). Thus this feature with sherds and bones, cut by a wall of later date, is a true remains of the late 8th/early 7th c. BC (table 1). Further evidence of 7th c. BC occupation consists of constructed wells (Fig. 5) in the Parco del Cavallo Fehlmann 3 area (SIBARI II, V, Fig. 53), that contain some early 7th c. BC pottery, but most dates from the second half of the 7th c. BC (tables 1-2).

At Stombi, trench 6 south perhaps dates to the end of the 7th c. BC (table 3). Earlier structures must have been about underneath the houses of the second half

of the 6th c. BC, because 7th and 6th c. BC potsherds turned up (tables 3 and 4). The earliest structures built at Stombi, according to the excavators, left no sherds *in situ*; but only sterile trenches; compare for instance the trench with sterile sand underneath *edificio M* (SIBARI III, 35; SIBARI IV, 32-36 fig 15-19) and underneath house c (SIBARI V, 175). To these sterile trenches, which according to the excavators belong to 7th c. BC houses. Similar trenches beneath a 6th c. BC house recently excavated beyond the north gate of Thurioi/Copiai, must be added; again no 7th c. BC sherd material turned up in them.

The fact that Greek imported pottery fragments from the end of the 7th c. BC appeared at the *Prolungamento Strada*, is interpreted by the excavators as proof that all the main occupational areas, some 1500/2000 m. apart, at that time were already completely parceled out to colonists (Guzzo 1982b, 245f).

Although neither the Sibari trenches nor any other archaeological features in the *Sibaritide*, *Siritide* and *Metapontino* at the moment warrant such a conclusion, Guzzo is convinced of the early domination of

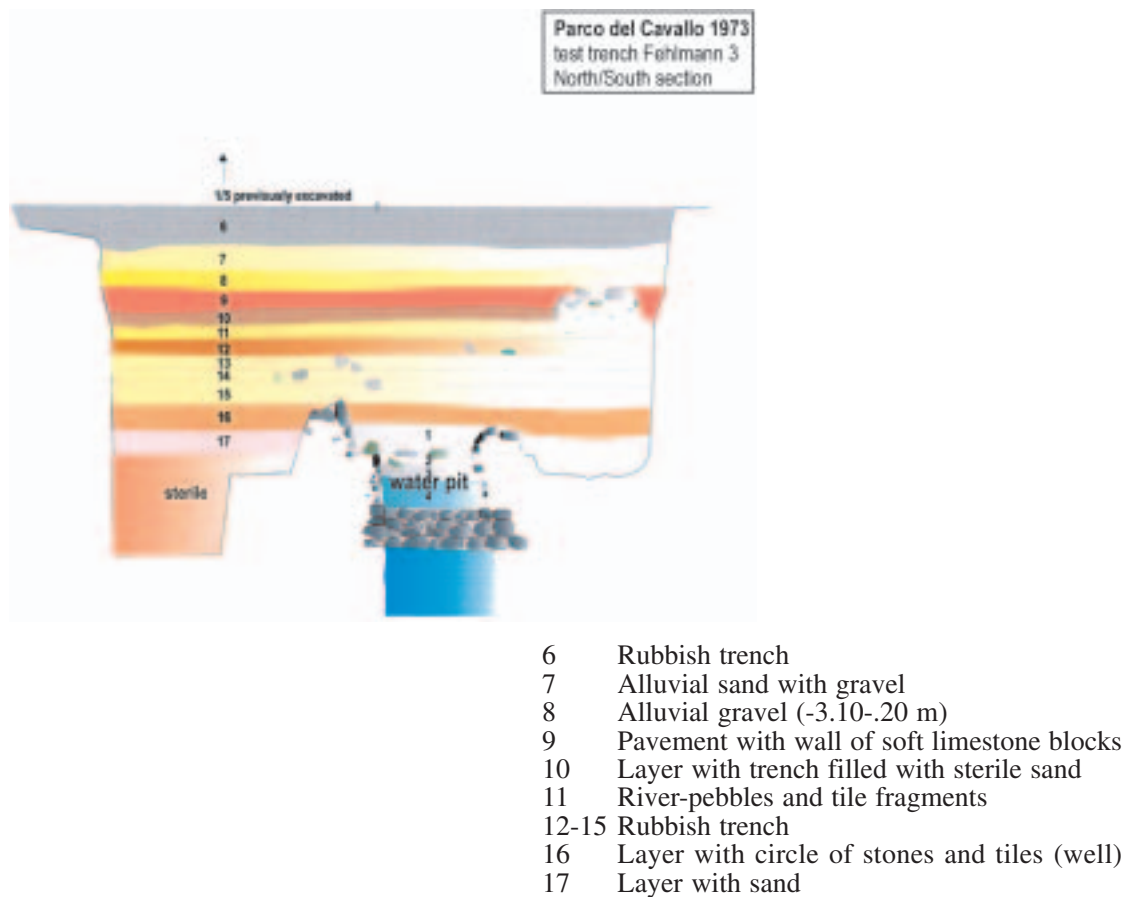


Fig. 5. Parco del Cavallo area, pit Fehlmann 3.

the Achaïans in these areas. For instance, he pictures the Sybarites as the founders of a frontier temple at Siris/Polieion already as early as the first generation of their existence at Sybaris (Guzzo 1989, 37-46). Guzzo's publications on the *Sibaritide* are very stimulating for the study of this area, but at times they seem to be too partial to the Achaïans. It seems the colonial theories of the 19th and 20th centuries strongly influenced his work. Especially (1) the use of the Megara Hyblaia model for the distribution of colonial land (Guzzo 1982b, 243f.), (2) the reading of fragments of native pottery in the lowest occupational levels at Sybaris as evidence for native labour in the service of the Greeks (Guzzo 1982b, 243f), and (3) the use of fibula with long pin as evidence for intermarriage of colonists and native women (Guzzo 1982d, 60-61).

Emanuele Greco reads a different story in the archaeological features in the *Sibaritide*, a story that incorporates the natives more (Greco 1999, 281-292). Moreover, he does not assume an early date for the power ascribed to Sybaris - Strabo writes that it reigned over three tribes (*ethnai*) and 25 towns (*poleis hypekooi*), as well as had an army of 300,000 men against Kroton and a city wall of 50 stadia (Strabo VI, 1, 13; Greco 1993, 459-485). On the contrary, he holds a date in the 6th c. BC for the rise of the 'imperium of Sybaris' far more likely, since inscriptions like PAL/MOL and SIRINO-PYXOES on 6th c. BC coins with types of Sibarite influence, were struck by native towns on the Tyrrhenian coast which thus almost certainly were dominated at that time by Sybaris. Recent archaeological research has demonstrated that during the 6th c. BC many new native towns arose on the first hills east of the Tyrrhenian coast (cf. also La Torre 1993, 180-202). New settlement under Sybaris would date earlier if Sybaris had been powerful earlier on; earlier periods, however, show an 'empty' coast. These facts for Greco are sufficient reason to interpret a bronze plaque found at Olympia, with an inscription praising the *philotas* between Sybarites and Serdaioi, as referring to a native population along the Tyrrhenian coast. The people with that ethnic nomen must have struck the famous coins dated to the end of the 6th/start of the 5th c. BC and inscribed SER-SERD with Dionysiac types. Similar 6th c. BC Sybarite expansion also happened to the south. Greco interprets the well known 6th c. BC blocks of houses excavated by Juliette de la Genière at Amendolara (De la Genière & Nickels 1975, 483-498), as evidence for Sybarite expansion in this direction. This is especially convincing, as the S. Nicola houses are very similar to the ones at Stombi. Today, the houses excavated at Francavilla Marittima may also be seen as the result of 6th c. BC Sybarite expansion. The houses on the terraces of

the Timpone della Motta are slightly different in layout, but demonstrate the same construction techniques and contain the same materials as do the houses at Stombi and Amendolara. However, the main occupants of these villages, as on the Tyrrhenian coast, still were natives (Kleibrink forthcoming).

3 SETTLEMENT MODELS FOR THE 7TH CENTURY BC IN SOUTHERN ITALY

Kroton

An interesting comparison for the colonisation of Sybaris and its territory is the situation at Kroton, a Greek colony on the Ionian coast to the south, which was also founded by Achaïans (Justinian 709-708 BC). In the area of the later *polis*, at many points far apart, evidence for Greek immigrants consists of a relatively large number of Thapsos and sub-Thapsos fragments. Deeper digging at a number of locations rendered native potsherds (Osanna 1992, 168ff). As the excavations mostly have been carried out underneath the houses and streets of the Crotone of today, not much is known of the contexts of these potsherds. A single necropolis has come to light at the site of Carrara, and over 500 of its tombs have been excavated (Osanna 1992, 168f). Burial started here in the 8th and 7th c. BC, sporadic serpentine fibulae indicate disturbed native tombs, while a few tombs with pottery of the Thapsos and sub-Thapsos classes indicate Greek interest. The territory north of the river Neto was densely settled by natives: Murge di Strongoli, Cirò-S. Elia and Cirò-Cozzo Leone, three sites never systematically excavated but rather systematically plundered, are known to have consisted of huts, tombs and, at Murge, a sacred building. The goddess of Murge was venerated from the second half of the 7th c. BC onward with, among other things, terracotta statuettes and mini *hydriksai*. She had her sanctuary on the highest top of the hilly system (400 m. asl); lower down natives and 'Greeks' - recognised by a few cremation tombs among the native *fossa* graves - settled the gentler slopes at least until the end of the 6th c. BC; the votive deposit of the sanctuary held datable material until the 3rd c. BC (Osanna 1992, 197ff). Another sanctuary in a native context was erected on the Timpone del Gigante at Cotronei (Osanna 1992, 199ff), again known only because of a plundered votive deposit with miniature vessels and potsherds dating from the middle of the 7th c. BC onwards. This sanctuary dominates the Neto valley, meandering inland to the higher slopes of the Sila, an indication that the native village (as in the *Sibaritide*) controlled the main corridors in the river valleys from the sea towards the

hinterland. Other such villages controlling river valleys were probably (no systematic excavations!) S. Mauro Marchesato (Tacina river) and S. Severina-Altilia (Neto river) (Osanna 1992, 170ff). Large Archaic sanctuaries of ancient Kroton itself are the Apollo sanctuary at Punta Alice, and the Hera sanctuaries at Cape Lacinia and at Vigna Nuova (the deity is less certain here). The sanctuary at S. Anna di Sutro, at a distance of 10 km from Kroton, has been compared to that at S. Biagio near Metapontion (both sanctuaries have been attributed to a chthonian Artemis). That official *polis* cults started in these extra-urban sanctuaries after the middle of the 7th c. BC has been deduced from the votive deposits, which contain *filetti* cups, 'daedalic' statues and the like. However, from underneath the Hera Lacinia temple earlier precious native objects have come to light (Spadea 1997, 244), which indicate that in this case the cult may have started earlier and that native interest was certainly involved.

Siris-Polieion

Although lacking at Sibari, archaeological evidence for the early 7th c. BC is present at the site of Siris/Polieion, where this horizon is much discussed because archaeological features make it likely that the founding of this *polis* took place only later, probably just before the middle of the 7th c. BC. Written sources place the first Greek activities in this region far back. Strabo (VI.1. 14) writes that Trojans founded Siris at the homonymous river (now Sinni), but later Ionians took the site and renamed it Polieion (Timaios and Aristoteles in Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* XII.532c). These Ionians originated from Kolophon, which they fled because of its occupation by Gyges and his Lydians. Siris/Polieion was destroyed by a united force of its neighbours Metapontion, Sybaris, and Kroton, between 560 and 530 BC (Justinus XX. 2. 1-10).

The 7th c. BC necropoleis of Schirone and Madonelle at Siris/Polieion therefore often are seen as evidence for proto-colonial activities of several different groups of East Greeks and native peoples. At Siris/Polieion, in the western part of the Castello hilltop and underneath Hellenistic house blocks, sets of Archaic pots came to light as well as shallow round pits (usually with a maximum depth of 1.25 m. and a diameter of between 1 and 4/5 m.), which originally must have contained the vessels (Giardino 1998, 105-122). This kind of shallow pit, which also appeared during the excavations at Incoronata, Metapontion, and Termito, is much discussed (Orlandini 1986a, b, 1991; De Siena 1986a, b, 1996). The fact that no post-holes appeared in connection with any of the pits (except perhaps in one case) makes it difficult to interpret them as deepened hut floors. The only

currently apparent fact about these pits is that the many sherds in them can almost always be reconstructed into complete vessels. Moreover, many of the smaller pits seem to contain the fitting sherds of storage jars and other larger containers. The best explanation so far is therefore, that these shallow pits belong to storage rooms excavated below the hut floors (De Siena 1996). It seems the original hut floors and fills, as well as the post holes, have completely disappeared, either because of levelling for new buildings (as at Siris/Polieion) or by erosion and agricultural activities (as at Incoronata).

At Siris/Polieion the pots reconstructed from the sherds in the pits are either imported from Corinth, for instance ovoid Protocorinthian *aryballoi* and *filetti* cups, or locally produced, for instance distinctive banded wares and pots decorated in Euboian and Cycladic styles. Elaborately decorated craters and *deinoi* were especially popular. The Archaic pots from this area date from two centuries, the 7th and 6th, the latest Greek pottery being black gloss Bloesch C cups from the end of the 6th/ start of the 5th c. BC.

More or less circular shallow pits with pottery were also present in quarter I of the Castello hill, where an Archaic house was constructed over seven such pits (Giardino 1998, 105-122). Thus there are two successive Archaic settlement phases, the first with huts, the second with a rectangular house of 4 x 7 (or more) m. Precise dating of the transition from huts to houses is impeded by the leveling for the construction of the house; most likely the transition dates well into the 6th c. BC. This is the date for a fine *bucchero* amphora decorated with spirals found in pit A, transected by the wall of the house. Several interesting rectangular houses of Archaic date were also found near the post-office and the adjacent Cospito-Caserta area. Most significant here is a rectangular house with a porch, internally divided into three rooms, with lengths of 4.80 m. (2x) and 3.20 m. (1x). This house type, usually labeled a *pastas* house, dates to the second half of the 7th c. BC. A number of smaller houses identified nearby, date from the second half of the 7th c. BC as well (Tagliente 1986b, 131-132 and Tagliente 1986a, 195). In fact, although constructed on a stone foundation and with mud brick walls, these are only cabins: for instance, one of them, with walls of 0.50 m. thick, measures only 4.50 x 2.50 m. Although these constructions were severely damaged by the Hellenistic necropolis laid out over them, it is certain that they had similar orientations. Interestingly, in this part of the settlement shallow pits have come to light east of the Cospito-Caserta property. It seems another such area could be identified on the southeast slope of the Castello hill (Bianco 1996, 17). A conclusion from the recent

discoveries, accepted by most scholars, is therefore that Greek 7th c. BC settlement at Siris/ Polieion was nucleated and consisted first of small hut compounds, each with its own small graveyard, and later of clusters of cabins, also with their own small groups of graves.

A monumental defensive wall constructed of mud bricks on a stone foundation, part of which was found at the post-office site, part along the southern slope of the Castello hill, has been dated to the middle of the 7th c. BC; most scholars see it as evidence of a restructuring of Siris/Polieion into a centralised *polis*. The archaeology of the sacred area in the valley south of the Castello hill seems to confirm this, the oldest objects found there dating to the beginning of the 7th c. BC, while the earliest certain cult objects (daedalic statuettes) date to the final quarter of that century. The earlier specimens copy Ionian styles, the later specimens are clearly Achaian (Otto 2000, 193-197).

Since early Greek settlement seems not to have been confined to the Castello hill, but was spread out more widely, one of the questions remaining from the new discoveries on the early history of Siris/Polieion is whether the nuclei belonged to a *polis* or to its *chora*. Another question is whether the different types of dwelling - huts, small rectangular cabins, *pastas* houses - indicate different periods, different ethnicities or different social levels of the inhabitants of Siris/Polieion.

Metapontion

The excavations carried out at Incoronata/Metapontion have been of great help in the reconstruction of early Greek settlement forms at Siris/Polieion. Ancient sources place the founding of Achaian Metapontion, an act of the Achaians against Taranto, around the beginning of the 7th c. BC (Antiochos in Strabo VI. 1.15); archaeological evidence places it, however, nearer the middle of that century. It was in the *Metapontino* that shallow pits filled with pottery were first found, occurring in two different contexts: 1) without any other structures present, 2) intersected by small rectangular cabins (*oikoi*). The University of Milano (INCORONATA I, II) excavated 40 shallow pits containing mostly native pottery; pit no. 1 contained 2400 potsherds, pit no. 4 2200 sherds. Pit no. 4 is interesting because it contained native pots decorated in two colours, usually considered to have been manufactured in the 7th c. BC, as well as a fragment of a Greek *kylix* decorated in the early Protocorinthian style - one of only three Greek fragments of imported pottery extant in native contexts (table 5), and the last in date (Orlandini 1998, 92). The excavators of the University of Milano divide settlement at Incoronata in two different periods.

From the 8th c. BC a native hut compound existed on the larger hilltop, the destruction of which is dated in the first decades of the 7th c. BC. A Greek *emporion* is thought to have been *in situ* around 675 BC on the nearby smaller hilltop. At 'Greek' Incoronata the excavators found a cluster of cabins with mud brick walls on stone foundations, now familiar from Siris/Polieion as well. At Incoronata the cabins often had partially sunken floors and some had sunken annexes of a rounded shape. The cabin in area T measured 3 x 4 m. and contained *pithoi*, Greek *amphorae*, Protocorinthian vessels, cups of grey buccheroid ware, and numerous locally made vessels such as *stamnoi* and *deinoi*. The latter are often decorated with horses (Orlandini 1998, 92-93). The inhabitants are thought to have been Ionians of the same origins as the inhabitants of Siris/Polieion. Orlandini explains the pottery fills in the cabins as commercial goods to be traded with the native Oenotrians. He dates the destruction of the Greek site to 640 BC and reads it as a consequence of the founding of Metapontion by the Achaians. The University of Milano's interpretation of the remains at Incoronata as subsequently a native and a Greek village is debatable, especially after Antonio De Siena discovered, quite near 'Greek' Incoronata, a native group of graves from the first half of the 7th c. BC, as well as shallow pits filled with indigenous and Greek pottery at the Andrisani and Lazzazera locations underneath the later site of Metapontion itself (De Siena 1986a, 199-212; De Siena 1986b, 135-156; De Siena 1996, 161-195). The native 7th c. BC graves are relatively poorly outfitted and predominantly male. The presence of groups of natives not far from 'Greek' Incoronata during the 7th c. BC is evident also from the native settlement remains at S. Theodoro, a hill adjacent to Incoronata, as well as at Termitito, which is located 10 km to the south of Incoronata (De Siena 1996, 161-195).

De Siena does not believe in two different ethnicities and a violent take-over of the native settlement at Incoronata. He points to the fact that the shallow, rounded annexes at 'Greek' Incoronata continue into the second half of the 7th c. BC and that, except for the contents, they are identical to the 'native' ones located on the larger hill (De Siena 1996, 192). He sees a predominantly native society in which renovation occurs in the 7th c. BC - a moment of complete hellenisation of the society. Consequently, De Siena interprets cabin 6 in area T as a normal house (instead of Orlandini's *emporion* storage room). Besides the vessels, which consist in all cases of native local manufacture, imports, and colonial productions, De Siena found many similarities between 'native' and 'Greek' Incoronata, as well as with the huts beneath Metapontion, which from their contents would also be

'native'. The destruction of the Andrisani huts is contemporaneous with that of 'Greek' Incoronata and probably due to the Achaians. At Termitito similar pits with pottery are seen as the remains of smaller indigenous dwellings, that survived until, in the second half of the 7th c. BC, rectangular houses with several rooms are constructed out of mud brick on stone foundations (De Siena 1996, 161-195). Because no matching sanctuaries or Greek necropoleis have been found at Incoronata, S. Theodoro or Termitito it seems to me that the degree of 'Greekness' of these settlements is indeed very low. The removal of dwellings from one hill to another nearby, together with a renovation at Incoronata during the 7th c. BC, recalls the often cited settlement migration at Amendolara (De la Genière 1978, 335-354). Instead of a manifestation of Sybarite power, the migrations of this village clearly may also be explained as the outcome of power shifts and changes in native societies.

Taras

However, the evidence from the site of L'Amastuola at Taranto is interpreted in the Orlandini manner, as a violent take-over: at 14 km to the north-west of Taranto a site has been discovered with flattened native huts overbuilt by 'Greek' cabins (Maruggi 1996, 197-218). The cabins are coeval with a nearby large necropolis, dating from the second quarter of the 7th c. to the first decades of the 6th c. BC. They have a foundation, circa 0.40 m. in height, of stone slabs alternating with smaller cobbles; the walls probably were in mud brick. Cabin γ measures 3.80 x 2.80 m.; cabin β constructed similar to γ measures 3.60 x 2.70 m. cabin β may have been constructed in a courtyard of 120 square metres, a lot size similar to that known from Megara Hyblaia. House α intersects a previous native subcircular hut, its Iapygian potsherds dating for the most part to the LG II period (730/20 - 690/80 BC). These discoveries at L'Amastuola confirm the pattern established by earlier excavators for the native coastal site of Torre Castelluccia east of Taranto, which is thought to have been completely destroyed by Greek settlers, while there is a period of abandonment between the native Borgo Nuovo and Saturo sites underneath the colonial settlement (Osanna 1992, 2-3). Whether we can decide for a violent take over by the Laconians at Taranto in contrast to a more gradual infiltration of native societies by Ionians in the Siritide/Metapontino depends on further discoveries.

Pithekoussai/Kyme

The presence of Greek settlers on the island of Ischia as well as in native or new sites along the Tyrrhenian

coast is already manifest early on. From the third quarter of the 8th c. BC onwards, a large part of the low hills behind the sea must have been occupied by small hut compounds, either for agricultural purposes or industrial ones (Coldstream 1994, 47-61; De Caro 1994 39f.). This pattern may have been present at Kyme too, since a Late Archaic defense wall contained sherds datable to LGI or even earlier. On Ischia the various archaeological features contain Phoenician red slip ware and its local imitations, as well as carinated local *impasto* bowls, amidst Greek sherds from Euboea and Corinth (D'Agostino/Soteriou 1998, 427-428). The population seems a mixed one, and the compounds of huts and cabins spread out over the island. The relation to purely native sites on Ischia is not yet well studied.

Conclusions on Sybaris

In view of the archaeological evidence obtained in the *Siritide* and *Metapontino* as well as from the colonised areas around Sybaris and from the excavated features at the site itself, it seems possible that the first occupation at the Parco del Cavallo and Stombi areas consists of huts with deepened storage areas. It is likely that the 'trench with pottery and bones' may be interpreted as such a feature. As elsewhere, these will have had a strongly 'native' character. On the evidence of the wells in Parco del Cavallo and the sterile wall trenches in the Stombi area, the next stage in the 7th c. BC possibly was the construction of clusters of cabins when the settlement was thoroughly hellenised. There is no early 7th c. BC evidence for any larger structures.

4 POTTERY EVIDENCE AND THE PHASES OF GREEK COLONIAL ENTERPRISE

The view one is likely to develop on the Greek colonisation of the *Sibaritide* and *Metapontino* depends heavily on the dating of the Corinthian imported material and especially the so-called Thapsos cups, fragments of which do occur in native tombs and in the lower strata at Parco del Cavallo and Parco dei Tori/Stombi, albeit in relatively late contexts (tables 1, 3). Guzzo considers these to be evidence for the activities of the Achaians in Sibari as well as in Amendolara (table 5) (e.g. Guzzo 1982a, 146-151). Sherds of this kind have been much discussed lately. Differences in date between Thapsos cups with a panel decoration between the handles and those with a continuous pattern of horizontal parallel lines on the lip are not uniformly accepted, nor is the division proposed by Dehl between early (= Late Geometric) cups with a lower body decoration of parallel horizontal lines and later

(= Early Protocorinthian) cups with uniformly black bodies (Dehl 1984). The discussion among archaeologists focuses on the question of which cups refer to pre-colonial and which ones to colonial economies; or in other words, the imported pots are used to establish the difference between Greek traders and settlers in the West (*Céramique* 1982; see also Crielaard 1995).

Recent discoveries have totally uprooted these earlier pottery models of trade and settler colonisation in Southern Italy. In the first place there has been discovered a number of Early and a very large quantity of Middle Geometric *skyphoi*, manufactured in several different Greek centres, in native hut compounds at Otranto: for instance, entirely painted cups from Corinth; pendant circle cups from Euboia; cups with chevron, bird, or meander panels, as well as proto-*kotylai* from Corinth (D'Andria 1985, 321-377; 1995, 457-549). Such early cups also surfaced in another, quite different native settlement: at Sant'Imbenia on Sardinia (e.g. Ridgway 1998, 317ff). Interestingly, in both cases we are dealing with native trading posts. The early cups in these native *emporion* do not yet occur on Ischia, from which only a few chevron cups are known (Coldstream 1995, 251-267). A second important discovery were dumps with Greek settlement material in several different locations on Ischia itself, dating from the 8th century BC, which show that the infill of the landscape around Pithekoussai was already well underway in that period - i.e., the site can no longer be called an *emporion* but must be considered to have been an *apoikia*. Finally, a third discovery concerns the typology of the Euboian pendant semi-circle cups. These vessels are not only found in the west, but also at Al Mina in the east, where they occur in the first stratum and are dated by Kearsley mainly in the Late Geometric period (Kearsley 1999, 108-134). Thus the following new facts emerge.

1. Part of the Euboian trade with the later Greek colonial areas can no longer be labelled 'pre-colonial' because Type 6 pendant semi-circle *skyphoi* (e.g. those from Veii and Villasmundo) date well into the second half of the 8th century BC. This revised date may change the dating of associated native fibulae.
2. The spread of MG and LGI Corinthian pottery items in native burials, for instance in the *Sibaritide*, does not necessarily indicate Corinthian or Greek trade. The discoveries at Otranto and Sant'Imbenia of large amounts of this pottery in native trading posts may well mean that indigenous aristocrats traded also these pottery items among themselves.
3. It has been established that Phoenicians played an important role in the development of trading and

settlement in the western Mediterranean. It could be established that Euboians in the late 8th and early 7th c. BC traded Corinthian pottery; it is therefore likely that Phoenicians also bought and traded Corinthian and other 'foreign' Greek material - the SOS amphorae of the late 8th c. BC seem a case in point. It is commonplace that the pre-colonial Greeks in the West were attracted by mineral resources; the rulers of Tyre perhaps even more so. The Phoenician red wares inspired the natives of Italy into the production of red slip wares (*impasto rosso*), which is widespread in Etruria, Lazio and some parts of Southern Italy. The character of the contacts between natives and Phoenicians is not yet well studied.

Because of this new evidence, the question of trade versus settler colonisation has been updated and revised. D'Agostino (D'Agostino/Soteriou 1998, 427-28) recently developed the clearest model.

- A. Early 8th century trade routes from Greece towards the West were Corinthian enterprises which involved northern Greece, the Western Greek islands and Italy's east coast, and evidently the Iapygians. This route is seen as one exploited by private Corinthian ships with what D'Agostino calls 'weak' economic interests.
- B. Contemporary trade routes were mostly exploited by Euboians, who focused on the larger Villanovan proto-urban settlements along Italy's west coast, like Veii and Pontecagnano, and the western islands, especially Sicily. This trade system probably was an extension of earlier 9th c. BC contacts, and brought the Villanovan elite the desired life-style and the attributes that went with it.
- C. The above trading resulted in the settlements at Ischia and in a fundamental change around the middle of the 8th c. BC within the contexts of the Etruscan and Tyrrhenian orientalising cultures. Euboian and Corinthian cups were now produced in local workshops, while the development of Pithekoussai during LGI and II resulted likewise in local imitations of Aetos 666 cups and Thapsos cups with and without panels.
- D. The export of the products of pottery workshops at Corinth itself overtook all other pottery exports at Pithekoussai during the LGII/Early Proto-Corinthian period, a phenomenon, which only grew in strength during the 7th c. BC. This phase, labelled LGII on Ischia, is characterised by 20% Corinthian imports with *aryballoi*, *oinochoai*, *skyphoi*, *kantharoi* and *kotylai* at S. Montano. The cups called 'Thapsos without panel', considered to be manufactured at Corinth too although scarcely represented in the local finds, are for the most part contemporary with the first Protocorinthian *aryballoi* and *fibulae* dated to Villanova IIIA.

Clearly d'Agostino reasons from a Greek viewpoint, since the trade routes he discusses will have been connected with native expansion far more than his model allows for. Still, his chronological list of activities is useful to gauge the situation in the *Sibaritide* from. In the *Sibaritide*, even the material for situation D above is largely absent (see tables 1-4) and the new facts do not make it easy to see what role it can have played in early trade or colonisation politics. Perhaps the spread of a few early cups in indigenous tombs was a spin-off from the Iapygian trading post at Otranto (D'Andria 1995, 457-549; Lippolis 1995, 514). One important implication would be that the dispersal of such cups has nothing to do with Euboian or Corinthian trade in the *Sibaritide*, but would indicate traffic of goods between the Iapygians at Otranto and the Oenotrians in the *Sibaritide*.

Interestingly, the already mentioned 'Greek' features at Metapontion and Siris-Herakleia do not include any Thapsos cups or Protocorinthian globular *aryballoi* either, nor are tall *kotylai* a highly favoured item (see table 5). The earliest items are two fragments of tall *kotylai*, one with soldier birds the other with sigma's, and ovoid *aryballoi* and conical *lekythoi* and the rest of the material dates to the Middle Protocorinthian period. In other words, in the coastal plain of Siris/Polieion, and Metapontion and Sybaris and their hinterlands, there is convincing evidence of a mixed population at least well into the 7th c. BC. The *floruit* of 'Greek' Incoronata takes place after the period in which Thapsos cups, globular *aryballoi* and tall *kotylai* with floating sigma's were popular. In fact one such *kotyle* is associated with a native dump or storage area (INCORONATA II, fig. 46). The same situation is recognisable along the entire Ionian coast, and strongly contrast with the Tyrrhenian coastal situation and the Ionian coastal situation in Puglia, where early Greek imports were abundant at Otranto and elsewhere.

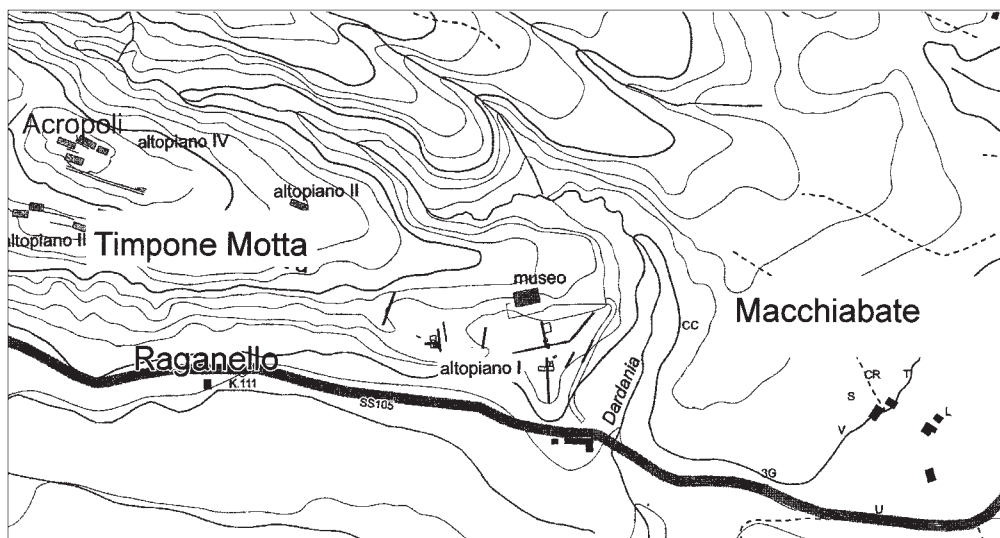
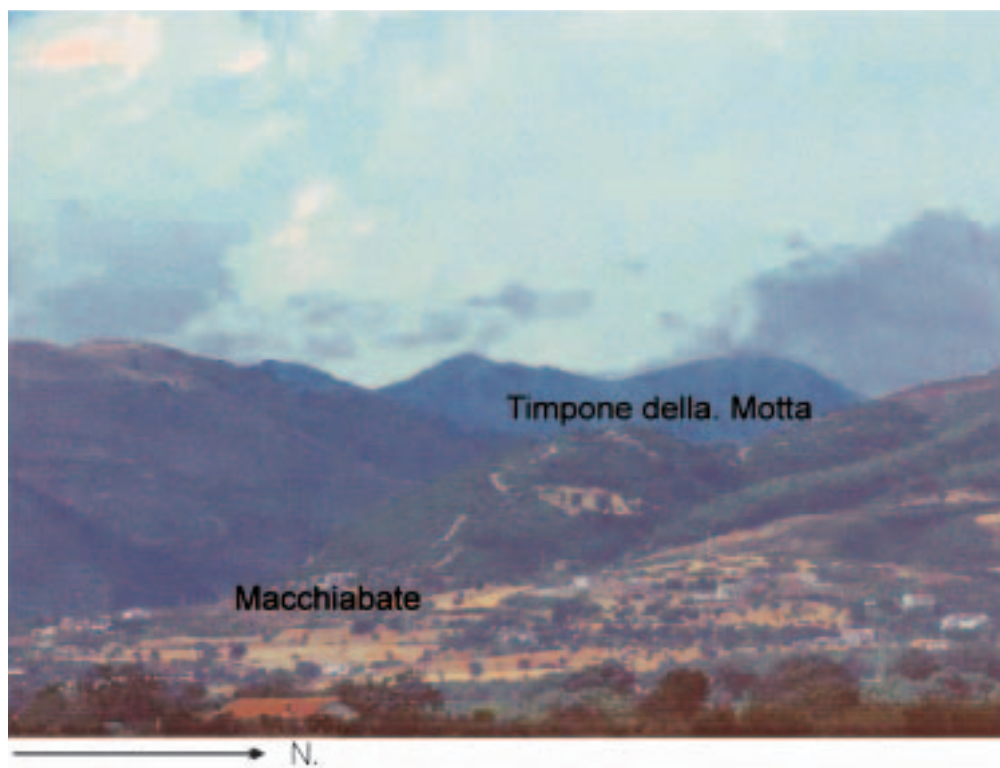
It seems to me that the presence of strong native groups in the *Metapontino*, *Siritide*, *Sibaritide*, and *Crotonide* in the 9th and 8th c. BC precluded the speedy development of early Achaian settlement colonisation. It was only during the first half of the 7th c. BC that the natives in the coastal and sub-coastal settlements began to associate themselves with groups of Greek traders. The evidence gained so far at Sibari and Crotone makes it likely that settlement here was not very different from that at Siris/Polieion and Incoronata/Metapontion, i.e. it may have consisted first of clusters of huts with dug out storage facilities and later of clusters of cabins. From the presence of potsherds of Thapsos and sub-Thapsos cups at Crotone, Sibari and Francavilla Marittima we may perhaps infer hellenising influ-

ences half a century or a quarter century earlier than in the *Metapontino* and *Siritide*. Still the natives, and especially the coastal elite chiefs among them, must have played an important part in these early settlements at the sites of the later Greek colonies along the coast. Greek colonisation in the centres of the large plains along the Ionian coast initially will mostly have been gradual. While the power of the natives weakened (probably because they were not able to unite) the power of the Greeks grew, until during the last half of the 7th c. BC the Greek settlers were powerful enough to reorganise and restructure the sites, and to marginalise the natives more. The evidence at Sibari and Crotone is too scanty to support a hypothesis of early, strong Achaian colonies; it is only from the middle of the 7th c. BC, during the final phase of the Middle Protocorinthian and the phase of the Late Protocorinthian pottery, that Sibarite power and spread is recognisable (tables 1-5), as at Crotone.

A question that must be kept for a future paper is whether this updating of the Greek colonisation activities would not in fact coincide better with the radiocarbon dates for this period in the Mediterranean. It is by now certain that the imported pottery should be downdated and if this would be by half or a quarter century, the ancient literary sources on the colony dates could still be correct. A case in point are the carbon dates from the Temple precinct on the Timpone della Motta at Francavilla Marittima and the tombs at Macchiabate, some 8 km to the north of Sibari.

5 SHORT DISCUSSION OF THE EVIDENCE AT FRANCAVILLA MARITTIMA (Fig. 6)

From votive deposit I of the temple precinct on top of the Timpone della Motta quite a few Thapsos fragments are known to have been excavated by M. W. Stoop in the period 1963-'69 (Guzzo 1982, fig. 11; Dehl 1984, nos. 7-11). Many more Thapsos and sub-Thapsos fragments, and even a complete cup, recently surfaced in the enormous quantity of material from this almost completely plundered votive deposit (over 5000 objects including complete vessels, bronzes, potsherds, as well as terracotta pinakes and statuettes). Formerly in the collection of the Bern Archaeological Institute (Raselli Nydegger 2000), the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (e.g. Johansen 1994, nrs. 34-37, 68-123), and the J.P. Getty Museum (Mertens Horn 1992 - only knowing shortly after publication where the material stemmed from and telling me instantly: Maaskant Kleibrink 1993, 1-47). The material has recently been restituted to Italy and has been housed in the *Museo Archeologico*



della Sibaritide. Fortunately Stoop's notes make clear that the Thapsos fragments as well as the *kyathos*-with-chevrons fragment (Dehl 1984, 206) have the same provenance as the LG vessels and the robbed sherds: they stem from the floor of *Edificio V* as well as from votive deposit I. Unfortunately, it cannot be established whether the Stoop's early imported sherds stem from the native long house or from the first temple, because the sherds were found immediately on the conglomerate rock, which was in use in both phases. To put the problem in context, a description of the successive construction phases of *Edificio V* of the sanctuary on the Acropolis of Francavilla Marittima is necessary. The floor in the *Edificio V* area consists of natural conglomerate, which was levelled and used first by native aristocratic families. Several subsequent construction phases could be reconstructed from floors, postholes and related finds. The first hut dates to the last phase of the Middle Bronze Age and was not associated with any Iron Age sherds. The subsequent constructions date from the early Iron Age and are evidence of the complex relations between Greeks and Oenotrians, as outlined below.

Phase I

The first Iron Age feature is a large apsidal wooden house with a hearth/altar where bronze objects were found (*Fig. 7*). The hearth/altar is also associated with a layer of ash (2 m. thick in places, and spread over an area of 6 x 15 m.) which contained many unburned matt-painted pottery sherds and bones. Contemporary standing looms with large loom weights decorated with labyrinth motifs, found *in situ*, are also closely associated with activities in this aristocratic dwelling on the top of the Timpone della Motta (Kleibrink/Sanginetto 1998, 1-61; Maaskant Kleibrink 1993, 1-47; Maaskant Kleibrink 2000a, 407-410; Maaskant Kleibrink 2000b, 165-185). This apsidal wooden house dating from the second half of the 9th and the 8th c. BC (in traditional dating) is largely native in context, but the copper alloy Laconian birds and the four-spiral ring found among the objects near the hearth/altar have their best parallels in Olympia, and demonstrate overseas contacts (Maaskant Kleibrink 2000b, 165-185). The looms associated with this house indicate special weaving activities. The intricate and time-consuming decoration of the loom weights with meander and labyrinthine patterns, as well as their disposition and heavy weight (over 800 gr), indicate pattern weaving. Fortunately finds of similar weights in the Macchiabate tombs of aristocratic ladies give the weavers of patterned cloth an identity. Thus we know that aristocratic Oenotrian women at Francavilla Marittima were involved in special weaving activities taking place

in a large wooden house on the top of the Timpone della Motta during the 8th c. BC (traditional date). However, the calibrated radiocarbon date for the stratum with the loom weights is circa 850 BC. The hearth/altar, in a separate room or courtyard, was honoured with bronze jewellery.

In the 8th c. BC the aristocratic house with the looms on the top of the Timpone della Motta was accompanied by at least one other similarly oriented monumental house. It was discovered underneath the large *edificio I* by M. W. Stoop in the 1960s, but not recognised as such at the time (Stoop 1983, 16-52). It may have consisted of two separate sections (Mertens & Schläger 1982). In the native period these large and centrally located aristocratic houses were accompanied by smaller huts built around the edge of the top plateau. One large round hut was recently found on the ridge south of *edificio V*, and a long rectangular hut existed to the east of it.

In view of the disposition of the finds, and in view of what happened in phases II and III of this sanctuary (see below), a reduction of the early history of the sanctuary on the Timpone della Motta into the usual 'frontier sanctuary' story seems to me unwarranted (de la Genière 2000, 357-371; G. Greco 1999, 238f.). In the case of the Italian/Dutch excavations on the Timpone della Motta we can grasp, for the first time, a good deal of the early history of a later colonial sanctuary, and the new evidence merits discussion, not outright rejection.

Phase II

For this phase, the period around 700 BC, three sacred buildings have been discovered so far: *edificio III* in the centre, flanked by *edificio I* to the north and the recently discovered *edificio V* to the south. All three were constructed in the native technique with the help of huge holes (60/50 cm in diameter and 60/70 cm deep) cut in the natural conglomerate to accommodate sturdy posts. The larger buildings had a double row of these, fixed with oblique smaller posts or flat river cobbles.

The newly discovered building V makes clear that the apsidal wooden house was levelled during the last quarter of the 8th c. BC (traditional dating), and a 26 m. long temple was built on the same spot (*Fig. 7*). The evidence for the construction of temple V around 700 BC stems from a row of post holes in the East, perpendicular to long North and South walls. The wall constructed with the posts in these holes must have been the Eastern wall of a porch which cancelled the former apse. The holes have been cut through the dark fill of the apsidal long house, a fill dating up to the end of the 8th c. BC (traditional date). The row of post holes were covered with the yellow floor of the colonial period temple building V.

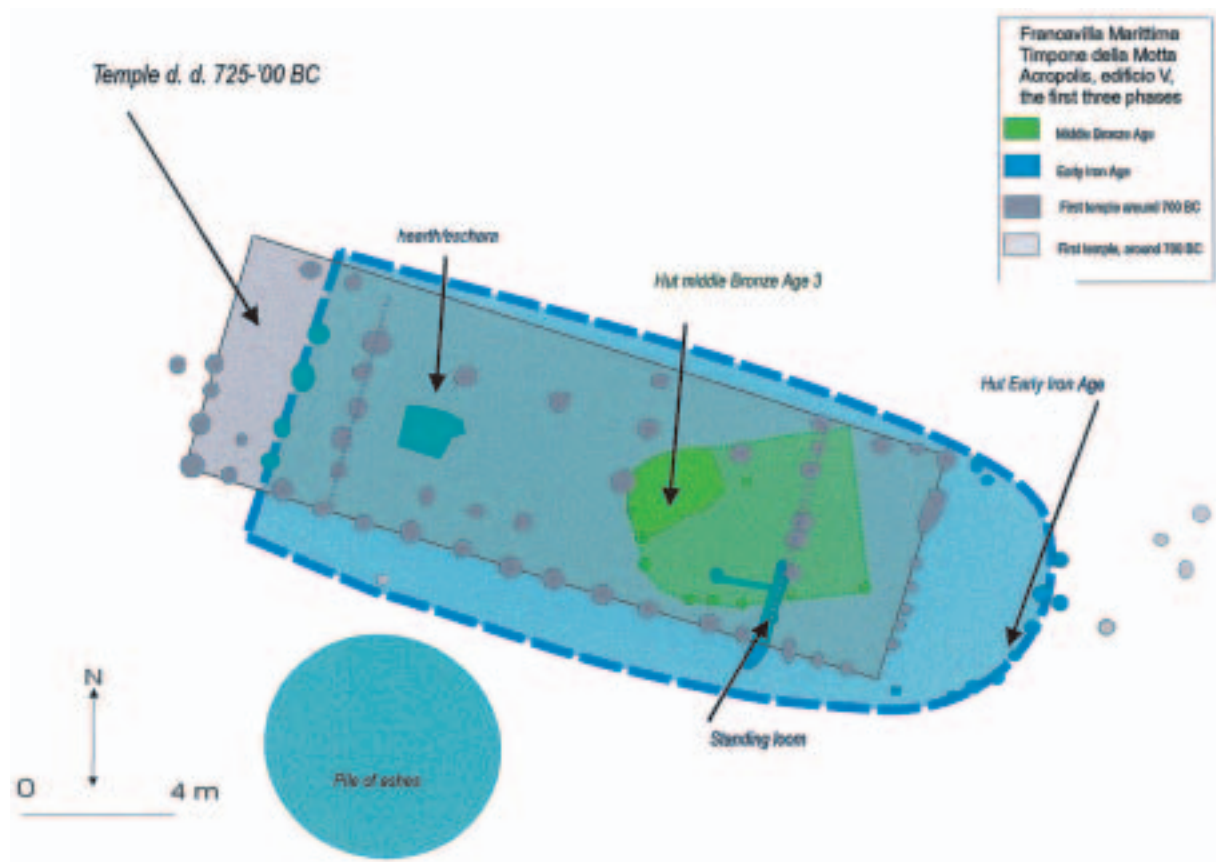


Fig. 7. Plan of the construction phases of Building V, Timpone della Motta, Francavilla Marittima.

Interestingly, Building III and I demonstrate similar East walls constructed with the help of small post holes.

Also the date of construction of this second building can be deduced from objects found in brownish loose soil deep in the post-holes: fibulae with long catchholders, an ivory figure-of-eight fibula, and pots decorated in the 'elegant fringe' style, datable by its similarity to the *askos* from a child's tomb with the seal of Pharaoh Bocchoris (Maaskant Kleibrink 2000b, 165-185). The hearth/altar of the former house may still have been in function but the looms were flattened and buried underneath a red-dish clay stratum. Besides the finds from the post-holes, the evidence for this phase consists of pockets of brownish loose soil in the conglomerate with small sherds of imported cups and an occasional scarab in them. Orate *impasto* spindles and ditto beads, also of glass, as well as *impasto* sherds and potsherds of locally produced vessels were found in these pockets too.

Of especial interest among the finds associated with *edificio V* is a sherd decorated with a lady carrying a pot and holding hands with a nude warrior (Fig. 8, 1). The sherd is very similar in style to that of a *pyxis* among the objects stolen from votive deposit I (and now in the collection of a dentist in Ticino, Switzerland; Maaskant Kleibrink 1993, fig. 10), decorated with a procession of ladies, the first one holding a jug used to pour a drink to an enthroned goddess (Fig. 8, 2). These decorations, painted by a local vase-painter shortly before 700 BC, depict a cult act taking place in one of the three temples on the Timpone della Motta, since thousands of *hydriskai* and small cups were found in the sanctuary. The deity venerated on the Timpone della Motta almost certainly had several different identities, one of which required this drinking ceremony; another was associated with weaving and a third perhaps with flowers. As the drinking ceremony involves *hydriskai*, which in the Greek world were associated with water, one would like to think that the ritual on



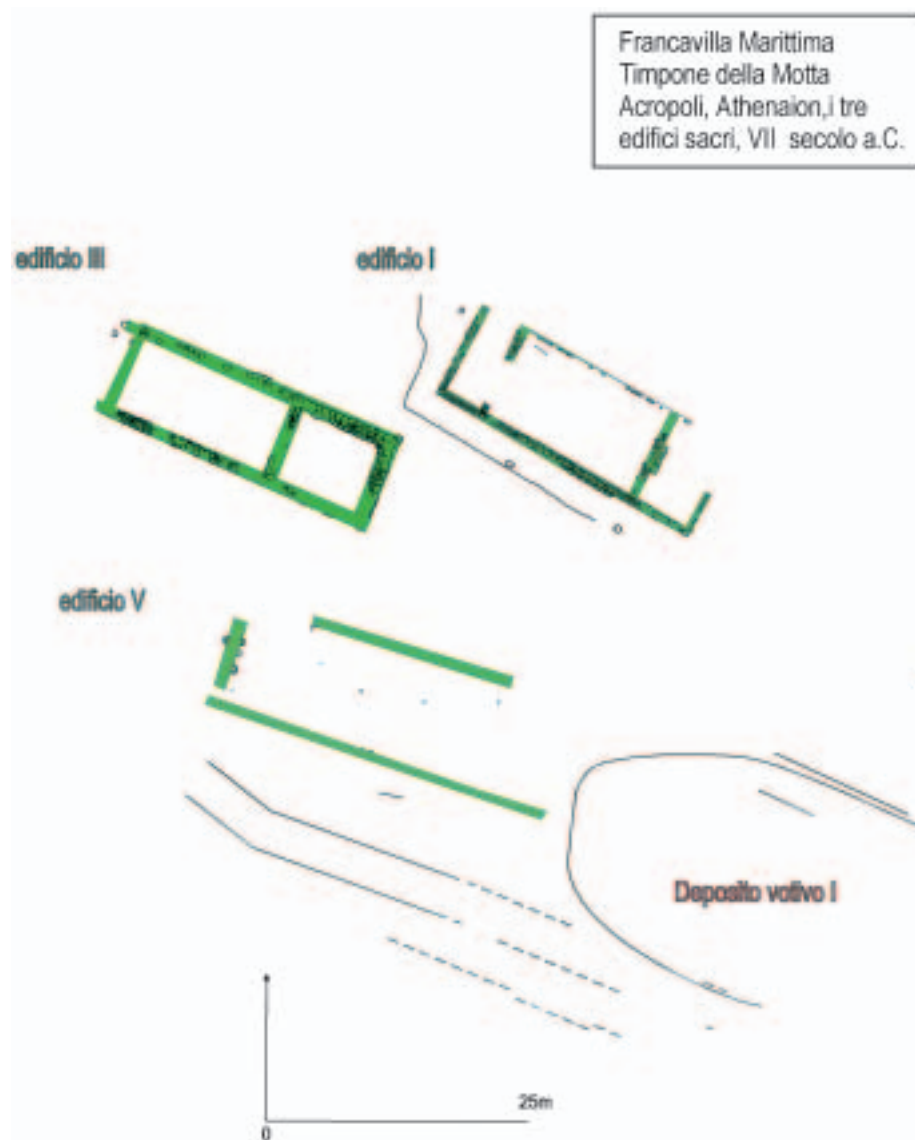


Fig. 9. Plan of the main Buildings in the 7th c. BC sanctuary on the top of the Timpone della Motta.

of their empty vessels in and against the buildings, the dedicants may have quenched their own thirst too, since the climb up the circa 300 m. high hill is rather steep. As *hydriskai* were hardly present among the objects in votive deposit I we can safely infer that the bulk of them was not buried but simply left about, or piled up against the walls of the sacred buildings. However, the drinking cups, *aryballoi*, *alabastra*, *pyxides*, etc. were left inside the building, and were only removed when it was decided to construct yet another new temple on the same spot.

Phase IV

The IIIrd phase of *Edificio V* was later covered over with a huge amount of gravel, certainly a platform for a new temple, of the 6th c. BC. Although nothing remains of this phase IV building because a Byzantine chapel was built on the same spot, 6th c. BC roof tiles and votive objects buried in the gravel attest to its existence. Moreover, a 6th c. BC construction phase is indicated by the small temple *edificio II*, as well as by *edificio IV* and the terracotta architectural decorations found sporadically on the hilltop.



Fig. 10. Terracotta statues of Ladies holding pieces of cloth, first quarter of the 6th century BC, National Archaeological Museum of the Sibaritide.



Fig. 11. Reconstruction of the woman buried in Tomb 8, Temparella, Macchiabate, Francavilla Marittima, dating from the early 7th c. BC.

In view of the evidence from Sibari, Francavilla Marittima and elsewhere in the *Sibaritide*, the absence of Early Protocorinthian material among the abundant finds from the Timpone della Motta is interesting (table 5). The absence of globular *aryballois* and the scarcity of early tall *kotylai* is especially noteworthy; the Protocorinthian material from *edificio V* (phase III) for the most part consists of *hydriskai* with banded decoration and small drinking vessels, as well as concave *pyxides* and *lekythoi*. The material is for the larger part decorated in the so-called sub-Geometric style which usually is dated to the later phase of the Middle Protocorinthian period. The vessels from the Timpone della Motta published in the catalogue of the Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek are a fine example of the types commonly associated with this phase of *edificio V* (Johansen 1994, cat. nos. 68-121). The conical *lekythoi* 68-72 are dated, slightly too early, to the period 700-650 BC but are correctly classified as sub-Geometric. These specimens, comparable to the material from votive deposit I and *edificio V* on the Timpone della Motta, usually have narrow and low necks, while the pointed star on the shoulder is sloppily executed in dilute paint. In my view these are arguments to place them near the Middle Protocorinthian, in the period 660/650 BC. Early speci-

mens are referred to by Dehl (1984): two tall *kotylai* with soldier birds and two *kotyle* fragments with completely black gloss, one black specimen decorated with a light hour glass motif, the other with a light rosette (table 5).

In view of these data it seems there is a chronological hiatus between *edificio V* phases II and III, occurring in the first half of the 7th c. BC. This hiatus occurs between the temples erected in collaboration with the native elite as a replacement of their own cults, and the truly Achaian 'frontier sanctuary', which was built just before the middle of the 7th c. BC. The gap in my view indicates the period of transition and represents the true period of colonisation. It is probably the period in which the Achaians began to dominate the natives, and in which they almost certainly used their military power. However, the colonial temple was built to the same proportions as its forerunners, and evidently had to be traditional enough to be recognised by the native population. The finds at the Macchiabate necropolis show that native families remained in the village nearby.

The first native 'tumuli' burials of Cerchio Reale and Temparella, excavated by Paola Zancani Montuoro (Zancani Montuoro 1976, 1979, 1982, 1984) in the Macchiabate necropolis at the foot of the Timpone della Motta, are contemporary with the aristocratic wooden houses on its top. The burials belong to an extended family of which one branch, during the middle of the 8th c. BC, developed to aristocratic levels. The women in T60 and T63 for example were laid to rest with a high status burial, while the woman buried in Temparella tomb 8 must have been one of the last aristocratic descendants of this family (Fig. 11). Contrary to earlier and contemporary graves the pottery gifts received by the latter are exclusively Greek: a large SOS-amphora, a *pyxis* dated in the transitional phase from LGII to early Protocorinthian, and a *kotyle* probably entirely covered with black gloss. But she was buried in the native way in a 'tumulus' constructed of river cobbles, and the disposition of the objects in her grave is also according to the traditional customs. However, the bulk of the 7th c. BC tombs are simple *a fossa* burials with very few gifts, constructed in, or in between, the earlier 8th c. BC graves. Because the 7th c. BC burials are underneath the more elaborate 6th c. BC tombs it is not known how the elaborate native burial system developed into the simple *a fossa* system. But various interesting features, including a late 'tumulus' (T72) and a late *Hocker* burial (T73) and also the gift of a drinking set to a disturbed grave (T23a and b), demonstrate that the Temparella burials still belong to members of the same native extended family as those buried there during the 8th c. BC. In other words, they show that native existence at

Francavilla Marittima continued even though colonial temples existed nearby. The analysis of the Macchiabate burial system shows that during the first part of the 7th c. BC, as in the temple complex, there was little activity.

The significance of the Thapsos material is now clear. When dated to the first decades of the 7th c. BC, it is virtually the only material extant to 'prove' early Greek colonial activities in the *Sibaritide*. When dated to the final decades of the 8th c. BC, it confirms the activities of Greek or Phoenician traders, with the affluent indigenous families. The tomb contents at Amendolara remain very traditionally native throughout the 7th c. BC. That Sybarite Greeks, on their way to found Metapontion, were involved in subjecting this area (De la Genière 1978, 335-354; Guzzo 1982a, 146-151, 1982b, 237-250) does not follow from these tombs. The tradition of the gift of only a single Greek cup is maintained well into the second half of the 7th c. BC, even in a rich female grave in which a silver ornament was found which is otherwise only known to be given in Villanovan high status tombs.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The picture of the foundation of Sybaris in the period of the Thapsos cups depends on the interpretation of such finds elsewhere. At Francavilla Marittima evidence for hut compounds does indeed disappear after the period Thapsos cups were imported; at Mordillo stratum 8 underneath Hellenistic levels a native hut of the 8th c. BC, destroyed by fire, could be reconstructed (Arancio et al. 1995, 227-241). In view of the recent discoveries at Siris/Polieion and Metapontion the disappearance of hut features in the first decades of the 7th c. BC may also indicate a restructuring of the native society. The Macchiabate burials at Francavilla Marittima as well as the Uomo Morto burials at Amendolara make clear that native families continued to live in the *Sibaritide* also after 700 BC; on the acropolis of the Timpone della Motta they even helped to construct a sanctuary with three large temples.

For now, we may conclude that the interaction of Greeks and natives during the early period varied according to region and according to the strength and organisation of the natives (compare Morel 1984). At present it seems likely that Achaian power only became omnipresent in the *Sibaritide*, as in the *Metapontino* and *Siritide*, after the middle of the 7th c. BC. Before that time the interaction of natives and Greeks must have been of a different, more friendly, character. At Francavilla Marittima *edificio* V, erected on the Timpone della Motta around 700 BC, clearly honours traditions of an earlier native origin. The evidence at

Sibari, where a trench with a mixture of native, imported and locally produced wares are found together with charcoal and bones, makes it possible that huts with deepened pottery storage rooms were extant on the ridge of coastal dunes running from Stombi in the north to the *Parco del Cavallo*. If the excavators of Sibari are justified in interpreting the now empty wall trenches as traces of 7th c. BC housing, then it should be checked whether these are likely to have been cabins. The situation at Francavilla Marittima, though of a ritual nature, recalls the reorganisation of the native hut compounds at Incoronata into hellenised clusters of cabins during the 7th c. BC. At Francavilla, a large apsidal, native, wooden house with a special weaving area and a hearth cult, was rebuilt into a hellenised rectangular temple, with a cella and two porches. The native cult changed into the veneration of a goddess with many aspects, she may have been perceived mainly as the 'Lady of the loom'.

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Table 1. Examples of the earliest pot sherds in the layers excavated near the theatre at Parco del Cavallo, Sibari

Thapsos Ware (and imitations), late 8th/early 7th c. BC	Protocorinthian wares (EPC/MPC, often decoration not clear) first half 7th c. BC	East-Greek wares (and imitations) first half 7th c. BC	'a filetti' cups (early types) and other early cups (mostly local products), first half of the 7th c. BC	colonial wares with sub-geometric designs, probably first half of the 7th c. BC	native matt-painted and impasto wares, 8th and 7th centuries BC	imported transport amphorae, 7th c. BC
PdC, pit 3, layer f, inv. 8247bis, rim of cup with panel, SIBARI I, nr. 181; Dehl 1984, 261, nr. 5	PdC, pit 5, layer f2, inv. 1684, PC kotyle sherds, SIBARI I, nr. 168; Dehl 1984, 261, nr. 3	PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10953a-b, 10948a-b, rim sherd of Rhodian oinochoe, c. 700 BC: SIBARI II, nr. 378; Dehl 1984, 262	PdC, pit 5, layer f2, inv. 11688, 11660, '1 rims of filetti cups, SIBARI I, nr. 175-'7	PdC, pit 4, layer f1, inv. 10651-'52, deinós sherds with banded deco: SIBARI II, nrs. 324-'25	PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. nr. 14741, askos: SIBARI II, nr. 411	PdC, only a few sherdmnts of early imported specimen: Semeraro 2000, 470f
PdC, pit 3, layer f, inv. 8247, SIBARI I, nr. 182; Dehl 1984, 261, nr. 6	PdC, pit 5, layer f2, no inv., PC kotyle rim sherd, SIBARI I, nr. 196; Dehl 1984, 261, nr. 4	PdC, Fehlmann 3, SE part, 13th cut, inv. 4122, sherd of neck, Rhodian or local imitation: SIBARI V, nr. 173	PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 11205-'06, shoulder and base of cantaroid cup, SIBARI II, nrs. 351-'2	PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 13277, crater sherd with horizontal bands: SIBARI II, nr. 396	PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, SW, 13th cut, inv. 4431, base impasto pot: SIBARI V, nr. 175	
PdC pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10969-'70 + 1196, rim of cup with panel: SIBARI II, nr. 349; Dehl 1984, 261, nr. 1	PdC, pit 5, layer f2, inv. 11674 and no number, very small sherds PC cups and oinochoai, SIBARI I, nrs. 170-172		PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10916, sherd of glazed cup: SIBARI 11, nr. 353	PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10955, 14743c sherds of cylindrical pyxis: SIBARI II, nr. 397	PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, SW, 14th cut, inv. 4509, 2 impasto spindles SIBARI V, nr. 181	
PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 14726 rim of cup with filetti: SIBARI II, nr. 350; Dehl 1984, 261, nr. 2	PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 14739, wall + handle attachment of kylix, SIBARI II, nr. 354		PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10911, rim of filetti cup, SIBARI II, nr. 381	PdC, pit 4, layer , inv. 11207, sherd of deinós: SIBARI II, nr. 399	PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, SW, 14th cut, inv. 4508, wall sherd of impasto pot SIBARI V, nr. 182	
Rectangular building, south, layer 4, 2nd cut, inv. 3910, SIBARI V, nr. 39	PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10801b, kotyle wall sherd., SIBARI II, nr. 355		PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10751, 13275 rims of filetti cups, SIBARI II, nrs. 391A, 391bis	PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, well, cut 1, inv. 10206, oinochoe neck sub-geom. deco: SIBARI V, nr. 197	PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, SW, 16th cut, inv. 4811, impasto rim SIBARI V, nr. 186	

Rectangular building, layer 5, 1st cut, inv. 61, cup sherd: SIBARI V, nr. 31	PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10954a-c, pyxis sherds. with line decorations: SIBARI II, nr. 356		PdC, rectangular building, layer 4, cut 2, inv. 4237, sherd of filetti cup: SIBARI V, nr. 40	PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, well, cut 4, inv. 10354 stamnos with banded deco: SIBARI V, nr. 200	PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, SW, 16th cut, inv. 4824, impasto rim SIBARI V, nr. 187	
Rectangular building, north, layer 9, inv. 3499, 3764, cup sherds, SIBARI V, nrs. 124-'25	PdC pit 4, layer f2, inv. 14729 skyphos sherd. with chevrons on shoulder: SIBARI II, nrs. 359, 360			PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, well, cut 4, inv. nr. 10452 pyxis with banded deco: SIBARI V, nr. 203	PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, interior well, inv. 10447, sherds of impasto bowl: SIBARI V, nr. 209	
Rectangular building, deep cut nr. 6, inv. 12164, cup sherds, SIBARI V, nr. 197	PdC pit 4, layer f2, inv. 14703, 14717-'8, 14734a-b, 14720, 14735, kotyle sherds among these a few imported MPC			PdC, pit Fehlmann3, well, cut 4, inv. Nr. 10409 anfora with banded deco, SIBARI V, nr. 205	PdC, pit Fehlmann3, interior well, inv. 10542 neck of matt painted vessel: SIBARI V, nr. 211	
	PdC, rectangular building, SW, South, 9+10th cut, inv. 2731; SW, North, 12th cut, inv. 3689; SW, 14th cut, inv. 4435, kotyle sherds: SIBARI V, nrs. 133, 159, 176			PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, well, cut 1, inv. 10206 sub-geom. oinochoe: SIBARI V, nr.197	PdC, pit Fehlmann3, interior well, 6th cut, inv. 10543-'44, 10548-'49 wall sherds closed vessel (matt p. or close) SIBARI V, nrs. 214-217	
	PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, interior of well, cut IV, inv. 10385, oinochoe neck: SIBARI V, 201				PdC, pit Fehlmann3, interior of well, inv. 10536 impasto bowl sherd: SIBARI V, nr. 221	
					PdC, pit Fehlmann3, interior of well, inv. 10535 impasto bowl rim: SIBARI V, nr. 222	

Table 2. Examples of pot sherds from the second half of the 7th c. BC in the layers excavated near the theatre at Parco del Cavallo, Sibari

Protocorinthian wares (MPC/LPC,EC) and good imitations, second half 7th c. BC	East-Greek wares, second half 7th c. BC	Filetti cups and other specimens, second half 7th c. BC	Colonial wares decorated with bands etc., second half 7th c. BC	Colonial glazed wares, second half 7th c. BC	amphorae, second half 7th/early 6th c. BC
PdC, pit 3, layer f, inv. 8249, 8072, no nr., 8162, 8960, 8259, cup/skyphos sherds: SIBARI I, nrs. 183-'6, 189-'90	PdC, pit 4, layer f1, inv. 13082, 14699, 10650, sherds of chalices from Chios: SIBARI II, nr. 326	PdC trench 3, layer f, inv. 8038, 7862, 8030,8008, 8050, 8037, 8055, 8240 SIBARI I, nrs. 216a-c, 217, 218a-c, 219, rims of filetti cups with various sections, some perhaps early	PdC, pit 3, layer f, inv. 8089, sherds of amphora, SIBARI I, nr. 208	PdC, pit 5, layer f1, inv. 11337, 11336a-h, sherds large closed vessels: SIBARI I, nrs. 18-'9	Many specimens from Chios and Samos, cf. Semeraro 2000, 470f.
PdC, pit 3, layer f, inv. 8826bis, 8257, 8066, pyxis sherds: SIBARI I, nrs. 193-'5	PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 14722/22bis, 10801, 14742, sherds of chalices from Chios SIBARI II, 377a-d	PdC, pit 5, layer f2, inv. 11660-'1, filetti cups, SIBARI I, nrs. 176-'7	PdC, pit 5, layer f1, inv. 11332, 11324, 11354, kylix sherds: SIBARI I, nrs. 152-'4	PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10960a,b, rim sherd of oinochoe in diluted red glaze SIBARI II, nr. 425	
PdC, pit 3, layer f, no number, aryballos sherdment: SIBARI I, nr. 199	Further cf. Semeraro 2000	PdC, pit 4, layer f1, inv. 13074, 10643-'4, 13073, 13078, 13091, 10640a-b, 10956, filetti cups: SIBARI II, nrs. 329-335	PdC, pit 5, layer f1, inv. 11374, 11315 hydria/oinochoe sherds: SIBARI I, nrs. 155-'6	PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 11224, carinated cup w. diluted black glaze SIBARI II, nr. 426	
PdC, pit 3, layer f, inv. 8954, 8095, 7864, 8963, kotyle sherds: SIBARI I, nrs 196-'8, 200, 203		PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10943, 10750, 10912a-b, 10749, 10909, 10752, 11188, 13276, 1233b, 11221, 4737b, 11222, 11187, 10906, 11190, 10751, 10907, 13275, 10913-15, 10753, 10950, 11219, 11233, 14727-28, sherds of filetti cups SIBARI II, nrs. 379-394	PdC, pit 5, layer f2, inv. 11428,11674, 'oinochoe' sherds SIBARI I, nrs. 178-'9	PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 11233c, rim sherd semi-globular cup diluted black glaze SIBARI II, nr. 427	
PdC, pit 3, layer f, inv.8235, plate sherds: SIBARI I, nr. 211		PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, SW, South, 10th cut, inv. 4889, filetti cup sherds, SIBARI V, nr. 139	PdC, pit 4, layer f1, inv.10651-'2, deinokos sherds: SIBARI II, nrs. 324-'5		

PdC, pit 5, layer f1, inv. no number, aryballos sherd: SIBARI I, nr. 148		PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, SW, 13th cut, inv. 4129-'30, 4445, filetti cup sherds, SIBARI V, nr. 170-'71	PdC, pit 4, layer f1, inv. 10641, lekane sherd, SIBARI II, nr. 335		
PdC, pit 5, layer f1, inv. no number, skyphos sherd: SIBARI I, nr. 149		PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, interior well, 2nd cut, inv. 10226, filetti cup fairly complete, SIBARI V, nr. 198	PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10748, 10763, 10903a-c, 10904, 10940, 10945, 11223, sherds of large closed vessels (hydriai/amphorai) SIBARI II, nrs. 415-'6, 418-'9, 421-'2, 436		
PdC, pit 5, layer f2, inv. 11669, 11433 aryballos sherds: SIBARI I, nrs. 162, 164		PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, interior of well, 4th cut, inv. 10451, filetti cup, fairly complete, SIBARI V, nr. 202	PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10959, 10957a-h, 10973, 10769a, 14712, 10960a-b, 11223, sherds of closed vessels (oinochoai?): SIBARI II, nrs. 423-'5, 436		
PdC, pit 5, layer f1, inv. 11433 alabastron sherd: SIBARI I, nr. 146			PdC, pit 4, layer f1, inv. 10651-'2, deinokos sherds: SIBARI II, nrs. 324-'5		
PdC, pit 5, layer f1, inv. 11432, 11697, 11428 oinochoe sherds: SIBARI I, nr. 165-'7			PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 11233c, 13273, 13274, 10952, 10905, 11220, cup sherds, SIBARI II, nrs. 427, 429, 433-'4		
PdC, pit 4, layer f1, inv. 10646, 10761, aryballoi sherds: SIBARI II, nrs. 308, 314			In PdC, pit 4, layer f2, many more of the above small banded sherds of open and closed pots, cf SIBARI II, nrs. 395-410, some dating end 7th/early 6th c. BC		
PdC, pit 4, layer f1, inv. 10648,'9, 10758,'8bis, 14715a-c, pyxis sherds: SIBARI II, nrs. 310-'12			PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, SW, 16th cut, inv. 4786, closed vessel sherd: SIBARI V, nr. 185		

PdC, pit 4, layer f1, inv. 13071, oinochoe sherds: SIBARI II, nr. 315			PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, SW, 16th cut, inv. 4833, 4822, 4870, cup sherds: SIBARI V, nrs. 188, 189, 191		
PdC, pit 4, layer f1, inv. 13070, 13080, 13096, 14700, kotyle sherds: SIBARI II, nrs. 317-'22			PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, SW, 16th cut, inv. 4834, 4871, closed vessel sherds: SIBARI V, nr. 190, 192		
PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10958, 112000 sherd of pyxis, metallic black with purple band, SIBARI II, nr. 357			PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, interior well, 6th cut, inv. 10459, 10542m 10545, 10594, 10543,-'4, 10548-'9, 10633, 10651, closed vessel sherds, SIBARI V, nrs. 211-'20		
PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 11197, sherd of powder pyxis SIBARI II, nr. 358					
PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10923, sherd of oinochoe with running dog frieze, SIBARI II, nr. 370					
PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 10936c, sherd of oinochoe SIBARI II, nr. 371					
PdC, pit 4, layer f2, inv. 11233a, sherd of oinochoe SIBARI II, nr. 372					
PdC, pit Fehlmann 3, inv. 10385, rim sherd of oinochoe SIBARI V, nr. 201					

Table 3. Examples of the earliest pot sherds from the layers excavated at Stombi

Thapsos Ware, end of 8th/beginning 7th c. BC	Protocorinthian ware, first half 7th c. BC	East-Greek wares	'a filetti' cups, first half 7th c. BC	Colonial wares decorated with bands etc., first half 7th c. BC	native wares, 8th-7th centuries BC
Stombi 1970, inv. 25827: SIBARI II, nr. 6; Dehl 1984, 261, nr. 7	skyphos sherd with sigmas: SIBARI III, 283; Dehl 1984, 261, nr. 8	only a few sherds of early imported specimen: Semeraro 2000, 470f		Stombi 1974, inv. 4000 crater sherd: SIBARI V, nr. 237	Stombi 1970, inv. 27166, impasto spindle: SIBARI II, nr. 479
Stombi, trench 4, 5th cut, inv. 8312: SIBARI III, nr. 297; Dehl 1984, 262, nr. 12	kotyle sherd with sigmas: SIBARI III, 136; Dehl 1984, 261, nr. 9				Stombi 1970, inv. 22958, impasto cup-handle: SIBARI II, nr. 470
Stombi Pit I south trench V and Pit 2 south trench VI, inv. 33850: SIBARI III, nr. 90, Dehl 1984, 262, nr. 13	kotyle sherd with sigmas: SIBARI III, nr. 272; Dehl 1984, 261, nr. 10				Stombi 1970, inv. 23989, impasto spindle: SIBARI II, nr. 480
Stombi 1971, trench 3, 3rd cut, inv. 3150, cup rim, sub-Thapsos: SIBARI II, nr. 71	jug: SIBARI III, 284; Dehl 1984, 261, nr. 11				Stombi below house c; inv. 3484, impasto spindle SIBARI V, nr. 251
Stombi 1974, below house c, 15th cut, inv. 3423, cup rim: SIBARI V, nr. 236					Stombi below house c, inv. 3515 sherd of impasto jug, SIBARI V, nr. 262
					inv. 7341, sherd matt painted vessel, SIBARI IV, nr. 218
					Sherd of matt painted vessel, inv. 8347: SIBARI IV, nr. 361
					inv. 3484 impasto spindle: SIBARI V, nr. 251
					inv. 3515 sherd of impasto jug: SIBARI V, nr. 262

Table 4. Examples of the pot sherds from the second half of the 7th c. BC excavated at Stombi

Corinthian wares (MPC/LPC,EC) and good imitations, second half 7th c. BC	East-Greek wares, second half 7th c. BC	Filetti cups and other specimens, second half 7th c. BC	Colonial wares decorated with bands etc., second half 7th c. BC	amphorae, second half 7th/early 6th c. BC
Stombi 1969, inv. 12950a-b, oinochoe sherds: SIBARI II, nr. 38	Cf. Semeraro 2000, 470f.	Stombi 1970, inv. 23034, 23037, 23117, 23856, 24707, 24589, 24333, 26751, 2506a, 25277, 25584, 26800b, 23073, 25085, 24706bis, 23025, 24706ter, 25499, 23610, 24281, 25254, filetti cup sherds (some of later date): SIBARI II, nrs. 174-179	Stombi 1970, nrs 25560a, 26215, 26811bis, sherds of large pyxis, SIBARI II, nrs 284, 284bis; moreover vessels decorated with bands, many dating from the late 7th/early 6th c. BC SIBARI II, nrs. 261-'83,	Cf. Semeraro 2000, 470f.
Stombi 1969, inv. 12143, 13546, aryballos sherds: SIBARI II, nrs. 61, 89		Stombi 1974, inv. 3232, SIBARI V, nr. 212	Stombi 1972, inv. 886, 892 large vessel sherds: SIBARI IV, nrs. 18-19	Stombi 1972, inv. 12597 sherds of amphora from Chios SIBARI IV, nr. 161
Stombi 1969, inv. 13577a, kotyle sherds, decoration unclear: SIBARI II, nr. 91		Stombi 1974, inv. 3133, 3225, 3240, 3246, SIBARI V, nrs. 215-'9	Stombi 1972, inv. 2987, 2598, 3114 large vessel sherds: SIBARI IV, nrs. 30, 45, 58	Stombi 1972, inv. 10725, SOS amphorae sherds, SIBARI IV, nrs. 353-'4
Stombi 1970, inv. 25049, 25187, 25000, 23380, 24274 kotyle sherds (deco not clear): SIBARI II, nrs. 1-5		Stombi 1974, inv. 3330, SIBARI V, nr. 242	Stombi 1972, inv. 6861, 10289, 10290 large vessel sherds: SIBARI IV, nrs. 141, 362-'3	
Stombi 1970, inv. 25011, 24069, 23068, 25083, kylix sherds: SIBARI II, nrs. 7-9bis; furthermore comparatively large amounts of MC kotylai, aryballoi, pyxides and oinochoe sherds SIBARI II, nrs 15-105		Stombi 1974, inv. 3641, 3657, 3647, 3499, SIBARI V, nrs. 255-'8	Stombi 1972, inv. 6743 sherd decorated with running dogs frieze: SIBARI IV, nr. 308	
Stombi 1970, inv. 24427, 22880bis, 24137, 25287, 24338, oinochoe sherds: SIBARI II, nrs. 10-14		Stombi 1974, inv. 3691, 3692, 3696, SIBARI V, nrs. 264-'6		
inv. 1590, kotyle sherd: SIBARI IV, nr. 57				

Inv. 8762, 8216, 11097,9897, 14630 sherds of large vessels: SIBARI IV, nrs. 285-289 Stombi 1974, inv. 3129, powder pyxis, SIBARI V, nr. 209 Stombi 1974, inv. 3221 black lekythos, SIBARI V, nr. 211 Stombi 1974, inv. 3994, pyxis, SIBARI V, nr. 239				
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Table 5. Sites in the Metapontino, Siritide and Sibaritide with Middle Geometric to Middle Protocorinthian imported pots

Sites	Middle Geometric II, 800-760/750 - chevron skyphos (790-770); proto-kotyle (770-750)	Late Geometric I 750-'20, Aetos 666 (750), heron kotylai (740-720) kotylai with double axe metopes?; Euboian metope skyphoi with circles on the rim	Late Geometric/Early Protocorinthian Thapsos cups with and without panels	Early Proto-Corinthian (Late Geometric II on Ischia) 720-690 globular aryballoi, tall kotylai with soldier birds, floating sigmas	Middle Proto-Corinthian	Transport amphorai	VIIIth/early VII c. not Corinthian
Alianello			necropolis sub-Thapsos cups: Atti Taranto 1995, 536 (E. Lippolis)	aryballoi: Atti Taranto 1995, 536 (E. Lippolis)			
Altamura				Popolizio area: Geom. ?/PC vessel sherd: Atti Taranto 1995, 536 (E. Lippolis)			
Amendolara			Thapsos cup, Morgette/Uomo Morto necropolis tomb 105: Dehl 1984, 187-'8, nr. 1 (with bibl.)	sub-Geometric cup, Morgette/Uomo Morto necropolis tomb 126; De la Genière 1969, 79-89, around 700 BC	kotylai, skyphoi, kylikes, aryballoi, Morgette/Uomo Morto necropolis: Dehl 1984, 187-188 (with bibl.)		
Crotone		Station: kotylai with herons, Atti Taranto 1995, 538 (E. Lippolis)	Thapsos cups at Station, Post office, Cutro, Pertusola, Batteria, Vigna di Galluccio and Acquedotto: Atti Taranto 1995, 538 (E. Lippolis)	Kotylai with soldier birds etc.: Sabbione 1982, nrs. 12-13, 19-22 (e.g. Via Firenze)	?		Local imitations of Proto-Corinthian vessels: Sabbione 1982, nrs. 30-38, 39-46

Francavilla Mma		Aetos 666 cup, habitation, Timpone Motta (unp.); Euboian cup with circles on rim, native long house Acropolis (unp.); kyathos scavi Stoop, now attrib. to native long house: Dehl 1984, 55; kotylai Macchiabate tombs: T8, T88, U15 and CR1 (all of insecure dating because decoration vanished; Dehl 1984, 41 and D'Agostino, Céramique 61f. place them in LG; the cup in tomb CR1 is perhaps earlier because a chevron cup	Thapsos cups from unidentified Acropolis features: Dehl 1984, 7-9; from Building V in the Acropolis (unp.) circa 30 sherds and one complete cup from Stipe I on the Acropolis (unp. material scavi Stoop, unp. material recently returned to Sibari Mus., material from recent excavation.)	Pyxis Macchiabate T8, often dated LG (Dehl 1984, 12, 13 with lit.), slightly advanced EPC more correct. Kotylai with soldier birds: Dehl 1984, 14-15; dark ground kotylai with hourglass decoration and rozette decoration. Among unpublished material from Stipe I: soldier bird kotylai circa 30 sherds, piriform aryballoi circa 7 sherds, conical lekythoi, circa 40 sherds	Late MPC ovoidal aryb.: Dehl 1984, 205-208 (with lit.); also Neeft 1987, 427; 48 pots from stipe I (Johansen 1994, 82-115); stipe I, MPC II skyphos (Stoop 1972, 59); hundreds of pots now returned to the Sibari Mus. (unp.); finds from recent excavated temple V colonial phase (unp.)	Macchiabate T8 SOS amphorastipe I: Rhodian jug; hundreds of vessels locally produced (mainly second half 7th c. BC)	stipe I: Rhodian jug; hundreds of vessels locally produced (mainly second half 7th c. BC)
Incoronata	Proto-kotyle inv. 124418, MG II trench A, pit 6, GsB, nr. 55; Dehl 1984, 210, nr. 1	Heron kotyle, GsB, nr. 61		EPC kotyle inv. 299742 trench T, pit 4 (Metaponto 2, 57ff.); conical lekythoi (GsB, nrs. 56-58) nr. 57 is from trench A; nr. 58 from trench O of the habitation; ovoidal aryb. GsB, nrs. 59-60; LPC kotyle and skyphoi, GsB, nrs. 62, 65-67 trench O pit 1	kotylai, GsB, nrs. 63-64; trench T 'oikos greco', broad bottom oinochoe and kotylai (Metaponto 2, 57 ff)	transport amphorae habitation areas, trenches E, F, P, T, etc., see GsB from Sparta, Athens and Corinth 700-630 BC	Rhodian jug GsB, nr. 68

Metapontion	Proto-kotyle MG II, 'castrum' site at Metapontion: Atti Taranto 1995, p. 500, fig. 31				Kotylai, localita' Andrisani	Corinthian transport amphorae localita' Andrisani	
Cozzo Presepe					pc aryballos Neeft 1987 inv. 134805		
Policoro				piriform aryballoi datable to mid 7th c. BC from the Castello slope (Giardino 1998, 114); PC kotylai from fortification site; kotyle 680/70 BC from Demeter sanctuary: necropolis contrada Schirone; see also Dehl 1984, 245, nrs. 1-14	Aryballoi from the necropolis Madonelle; kotylai from Collina del Castello, Giardino 1998, 114	Laconian and Corinthian transport amphorae from Schirone and Madonnelle (Giardino 1998)	Rhodian bird bowl: Dehl 1984, 247
Roggiano Prunetta		kotyle Tomb 3: Dehl 1984, 41 (with bibl.) attributes the cup to the dark kotyle class					
S.Maria Anglona					tomb 14 aryballos, Neeft 1987, attribution to the Tor Pisana workshop		
Sibari			Rims from Thapsos class cups from Parco d. Cavallo and Stombi (Dehl 1984, 71 with bibl.), see table 1	See tables 1-4			

Torre del Mordillo	skyphos with chevrons: Dehl 1984, 105 with bibl.	horse-head of a geometric statue, trench 19, American excavations			PC skyphoi sherds kept in the Cosenza, Mus.: Guzzo 1982b, 246, fig. 17		
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Table 6. Colony dates deduced from the various ancient writers

Colony	Thucydides	Eusebius (Armenia)	Eusebius (Jerome)
Pithekoussai			(1050)
Kumai			
Naxos	734	736	741
Syrakousai	733	734	738
Leontinoi	729		
Megara Hyblaia	728		
Kroton			709
Sybaris		708	709
Siris			
Metapontion		773?	
Taranto			706