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Ties that bind: Assessing Ancient Networks in Iron Age Campania

By

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Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Supervisors Dr Caspar Meyer and Dr Christy Constantakopoulou

July 2021

Declaration of Authorship

I, Owain Morris, declare that the thesis entitled “Ties that bind: Assessing Ancient Networks in Iron Age Campania”, and the work presented in it is entirely my own, and have been generated by me as a result of my own original research.

Signed: Owain Morris

Date: 27.07.2021

Abstract

This thesis explores social network connections in Campania from the Iron Age to Orientalising period using Granovetter's concept of strong and weak ties. Because weak ties allow greater access to new innovations, they offer a novel insight into how culture, technology and ideas entered the region. I move away from current interpretations that maintain that the superiority of Greek culture saw incoming Greeks dominate interactions with local groups. With the archaeological data from this period coming almost exclusively from funerary contexts, eight settlements were chosen as a sample. Imports, imitations, and locally produced objects in the grave good assemblages were identified to ascertain connections between other regions. Using a specific weighting for local and foreign objects the connections were classified as either strong or weak ties.

My study shows the existence of an indigenous network along the Tyrrhenian coast of Campania that had long-distance ties with the western and central Mediterranean in the early Iron Age. Pontecagnano was the most important node in this network and the weak ties it held gave it access to what was a global culture circulating the Mediterranean. Amongst these weak ties were Euboian Greeks, who by later establishing Pithekoussai and Cumae, displaced Pontecagnano as the key nodes in the network. Such new dynamics did not mean that the Greeks dominated Campania, but by working as weak ties, they bridged the local clique of ties and connected them with the wider Mediterranean. Access to new ideas and technologies was a clear consequence of this network change. Pontecagnano and other settlements therefore acquired elements of the global culture which found their way into the so-called 'princely' tombs of central and southern Italy. Furthermore, I demonstrate that some areas of the region were not as isolated as previously argued, particularly the Oliveto-Cairano and Sarno Valley areas.

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Notes

I will briefly explain here some of the terminology used in this thesis and the reasons for their use. Firstly, I have used some standard abbreviations for the dating periods that this thesis is focused on. These abbreviations include The Early Iron Age which is simplified to EIA and is the main dating period that this study is concerned with. Some occasional reference is made to the Bronze Age, which is divided into three phases with each finding a corresponding abbreviation: The Early Bronze Age (EBA), Middle Bronze Age (MBA) and Late Bronze Age (LBA). Similarly, the Geometric style of pottery (and art) sees the Middle Geometric and Late Geometric abbreviated to MG and LG, respectively. This has been done for the sake of convenience.

I have decided not to translate the names of the diverse ceramic vessels from Italian into English. This is because there is rarely a clear and accurate translation for these pots in English. By retaining the original Italian names there is increased scope for recognising the various functions each pot held. Following Italian conventions, I have abbreviated the word tomb into a 't' followed by the number of the grave where necessary. This is again motivated by convenience.

The micro area of modern Irpinia in Campania has been referred to by the Latin name of Hirpinia, as this is more reflective of the Hirpini tribe that inhabited the area in the pre-Roman period. The Greek form of Euboia instead of Euboea has been used here, and this is mainly due to personal preference for this particular spelling. However, with the case of the site of Cumae an issue arises with regards its pre-Greek phases. Because the name of the ancient indigenous site is unknown, I have decided to use two names for the settlement in order to distinguish between its two different phases. Again, following Italian convention, I have used the name 'Prehellenic Cuma' to indicate the Iron Age period (a translation of *Cuma preellenica*) and 'Cumae'/Greek Cumae to indicate the period associated with the Greek colony.

Acknowledgements

This thesis has its origins in a chance find on a market stall back in 2002. Shortly after having begun working as a volunteer in the Department of Greece and Rome at the British Museum, I stumbled across a copy of A.G. Woodhead's *The Greeks in the West* on a stall in Barnet market. Thumbing through the book I discovered that Phocaean Greeks had founded ancient *Massalia* (modern day Marseilles) in the late 7th century BC. Intrigued by the fact that the Greeks had brought their civilisation so far across the western Mediterranean, I decided to buy the small book, and so began a journey which has led me to study a BA and MA, alongside the PhD that comprises this thesis at Birkbeck College.

From 2002 until the present day, I have been lucky enough to have studied under a series of fantastic scholars and I am greatly indebted to them for the inspiration they have been to me. I am eternally grateful to my supervisors, Caspar Meyer and Christy Constantakopoulou, whose continued guidance, support, and mentoring have been a huge factor in getting me through this research project, as well as having been inspirational lecturers that challenged us as students at both graduate and postgraduate level.

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From 2002 to 2003 I worked as a volunteer at the British Museum and this in turn led to a position as Museum Assistant from 2007 to 2010 within the Departments of Greece and Rome and Coins and Medals. Although I held these positions before I began this thesis, my time at the Museum was extremely beneficial, not only in terms of the knowledge I acquired and the friends and colleagues I made, but also due to many of the ideas behind this thesis being formed during that time. I was also extremely lucky to be surrounded by academics and an amazing library to dip in and out of, both of which helped to further inspire me. I would especially like to thank Dr. Peter Higgs and Dr. Thomas Kiely for their constant encouragement and faith in my research but also for their friendship.

Thanks are also due to my friends, who have continued to offer support often simply by listening to me while I babbled on about the archaeology of ancient

Campania and the importance of networks within that region. While there are too many to mention, I would like to single out for special thanks Dr. Chris Webb, who proofread chapters 1, 2 and 3 and whose continued friendship and moral support through thick and thin are greatly appreciated.

Alongside friends, family have been a further source of encouragement, love and understanding, and I am very grateful to my sister Sian and mother Chris for having always been there. I would not have been able to write or undertake the research for this thesis without the love and support from my mother and father-in-law, and so to Giovanna and Vincenzo I am eternally grateful (*grazie mille, siete sempre nel mio cuore*). Likewise, my sister in-law, Mariarosaria (Sara) Perna has been a big help with both the pictures in this thesis and as a friend in supporting me through this project. I can only express in words half the love and gratitude I have for my wife Simona Perna, for putting up with me all these years while finishing this project. You are the only person who fully understands the sacrifices I have made to get to this point, your constant love and support, especially through difficult times, have kept me going and enabled me to finish this and I am so grateful for everything you have done for me.

Finally, this thesis is dedicated to the memory of my grandfather, James Richard Brice (1916-2002). A man who taught me never to give up, who taught me how to ask questions and to never be afraid to delve deeper to find answers, no matter how hard the questions may be. I only wish you had still been here to share this journey with me.

1. Introduction

1.1 Setting the Scene

The Iron Age Mediterranean was an area of intense connectivity, where Greeks, Phoenicians, Etruscans, and others exchanged objects and ideas. Their interaction led to the dissemination of writing and literacy, advancements in metallurgy, and developments in socio-political organisation. Following these exchanges, Greeks and Phoenicians settled in new areas, a phenomenon usually termed 'colonisation'. These new communities formed a complex network where settlements were inextricably tied to one another through socio-economic and cultural interaction. This conception of Mediterranean space is relatively new as until recently the Early Iron Age (EIA) was seen as emerging from a 'Dark Age' as a result of colonisation.[1] The region was considered a 'closed' arena where only the Greeks and Phoenicians were mobile, and other groups were seen as less advanced, passive actors in an asymmetrical discourse of power. The spread of various objects was interpreted as evidence of the presence of Greeks and Phoenicians in foreign contexts. This approach restricted Mediterranean studies to a core-periphery perspective that ignored alternatives.[2]

However, recognition of the intense connectivity of the Iron Age has prompted scholars to challenge the term 'Dark Age.' New approaches have conceptually shrunk the space of the Mediterranean itself.[3] Amongst these is the realisation that networks played a role in connecting disparate regional communities. The dynamic nature of networks contrasts with the rigid core-periphery understanding of the Mediterranean, and allowing instead for temporal change.[4] While studies regularly stress the role of networks in the diffusion of new ideas and the promotion of mobility, little quantitative analysis has been undertaken on the strength of such connections. Their strength and frequency among settlements and individuals impacted upon the movement of ideas, objects, and peoples. The underlying processes require further consideration.

Given the scale of regional and long-distance mobility, a study of the ancient networks of the entire Mediterranean region is not feasible here. Thus, the region of Campania in Southern Italy has been chosen due to its place in the discourse of colonisation as the location of the earliest Greek settlements in the West – notably, Cumae and Pithekoussai – but also because the sole study on Campania in English is

[1] Desborough 1964, 1972; Snodgrass 1971; Coldstream 1977.
[2] Cunliffe 1988; Champion 1989; Dietler 1999 p480-482; Gosden 2004 p11-13; Owen 2005 p15; Hodos 2006.
[3] Horden/Purcell 2000; van Dommelen/Knapp 2010; Langdon 1997; Dickenson 2006.
[4] Malkin *et al.* 2009; Malkin 2011; Watts 2003.

Frederiksen's 1984 monograph. Campania has yet to become the subject of reassessment, and current scholarship has remained largely indifferent to wider debates in archaeology. While a certain degree of empiricism is unavoidable in processing the enormous volume of data the region continues to produce, this does not justify the lack of engagement in broader archaeological debates concerning the ancient world. The focus in existing scholarship has instead been on reconstructing Campania's social development, while teleological ideas of state formation and urbanism tend to dominate. Although there are underlying 'social transformation processes' along the Tyrrhenian that can be traced to the Bronze Age, existing literature argues that the 'impetus' behind these changes was provided by the incoming Villanovans and Greeks. This hypothesis led Cerchiai to construct a developmental hierarchy for Campania based on perceived levels of advanced or primitive status.[5] The mechanisms behind the formation of this hierarchy are rarely explained; exactly how the Greeks and Villanovans stimulated the cultural development of Campania needs greater consideration. The fact that funerary contexts are the sole evidence available to scholars compounds the problems with the way they have studied Campania.

This region needs reassessment, and I aim to re-contextualise the interactions of the various cultures in Campania by drawing on network approaches that have recently been used to examine the Mediterranean space. As both global and local identities are often formed through heightened contact, this study seeks to consider how local communities adapted to new connections. Furthermore, I suggest that new connections granted access to new opportunities, and local agency played an important role in determining how external innovations were locally accepted. In order to introduce a network approach, it is necessary to first explore previous approaches to the Mediterranean and Greek colonisation.

1.2.1 Approaches to Greek Colonisation and the Ancient Mediterranean

The traditional explanation of the so-called period of Greek colonisation is heavily conditioned by how the Mediterranean space was treated until recently. Initially the ancient Mediterranean was viewed as a static sea where very little movement occurred. Consequently, Greek mobility was frequently characterised as furtive explorations of unknown lands. Despite its problematic nature, the term

[5] Cerchiai 2005 p188.

colonisation was used to describe the movement from Greece to the Western Mediterranean emerging from the much debated 'Dark Ages'. The Dark Ages followed the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial system, and the generally poor quality of the archaeology gave this period its name.[6] Greek colonisation was viewed as a renaissance that saw a gradual opening up of the Mediterranean, with the Euboians being widely seen as pioneers, the first to 'penetrate' the West and establish new settlements *apoikai* or *emporia*.[7] Such foundations are often thought to have been preceded by a phase of pre-colonisation, where 'trade came before the flag.' Local communities were characterised as primitive and backward with the Greeks undertaking a civilising mission to educate the barbarous natives by Hellenising them culturally.[8] Dominated by core-periphery thinking, traditional interpretations envisage non-Greeks as being dependent on Greek settlements for access to luxury goods.[9] Unable to move around the Mediterranean, indigenous populations were supposedly passive actors: any Greek pots found in non-Greek contexts were taken as evidence of Greek presence, in an empiricist and under-theorised application of the 'pots equal people' equation.[10] At the heart of this perspective is the presumption of the superiority of Greek material culture. Such a view, which can be summarised by the term Hellenisation, maintains that non-Greeks would automatically desire Greek goods because they were more advanced.[11]

Similarly influential was the association of prehistoric 'archaeological cultures' with historical population groups mentioned in literary traditions.[12] This culture-history approach, exemplified by the work of V. G. Childe, equated cultures (which went through stages of birth, development and decline) with human life, an interpretative framework echoing 19th century evolutionary thinking.[13] Its basic premise was that individual population groups had stable correlates in material culture, whose distribution could be reliably identified over extended regions and periods. Therefore, ancient identities were treated as bounded, fixed categories in line with modern ideas on nationality and ethnicity.[14] Also influential, in terms of social development, is

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[6] Desborough 1964, 1972; Snodgrass 1971; Coldstream 1977; Langdon 1997; Dickenson 2006.
[7] Boardman 1999; for the Black Sea, Petropoulous 2005.
[8] Owen 2005; Dietler 2010; Hodos 2006. Trade before the flag: Blakeway 1935; Boardman 1999. Pre-colonisation: Coldstream 2003. Malkin 1998 p10-14 prefers 'proto-colonisation'.
[9] Wallerstein's 1974, 1980 'World Systems Theory' was highly influential, see Champion 1989; Cunliffe 1988; Sherratt/Sherratt 1993. *Contra* Hodos 2006 p6; Dietler 1999 p480-482; Owen 2005 p10-14.
[10] Waldbaum 1997 p1-7; Hodos 2006 p78.
[11] Morris 1994.
[12] Shennan 1989; Jones 1997; Meskell/Preucel 2004.
[13] Diaz-Andreu/Lucy 2005 p2; Jones 2007 p45-47; Lucy 2005 p88-90.
[14] Jones 1997, 2007.

Childe's 'urban revolution' a ten-point model that outlined the stages societies moved through to progress from primitive agricultural villages to complex states.[15]

Such views drew criticism in post-colonial approaches, which emphasised the agency of local groups, challenged Hellenisation theories and reviewed the terminology of colonisation, calling into question the problematic ancient terms *apoikia* and *emporion* and the modern words colony, 'native', 'barbarian' and 'indigenous.'[16] Post-colonial approaches recognised the possibility of negotiation, reciprocity, and resistance resulting from culture contact. This contact could lead to the formation of hybrid cultures through *middle ground* zones of interaction, which allows a role for social actors.[17] With a focus on the 'biographies' of objects, these approaches highlighted how objects can be reinterpreted through re-contextualisation.[18]

The approaches that sought to overturn the reductionist schemes offered by the traditional explanations of ancient interaction emerged from broader changes within the social sciences. These changes had implications for how we view Greek colonisation and the space where much of it took place, namely the Mediterranean. A general shift in the social sciences has brought an end to the historicism that emphasised time over space and introduced a new focus on how space is "intimately tied to lived experience," a shift termed the spatial turn.[19] This was the backdrop to recent reassessments of the Mediterranean space (see below), but, prior to it, Romanticism of the sea, the peoples it circumscribed, and their cultures had long characterised the historiography of this context.[20] This romantic Mediterranean was central to the interactionist approach of many scholars, who, since the Enlightenment, emphasised the unity of the region in social, cultural and ecological terms.[21] Amongst these was Braudel, whose two-volume *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II* marked a new era in the historiography of the Middle Sea. Braudel also emphasised the unity of the Mediterranean region,[22] yet what set his account apart from others was its contempt for a history of events and its pursuit of geographical, environmental, and cultural changes over the long-term, alongside his placing the sea at the centre of his enquiry rather than

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[15] Childe 1950 p9-16 (for a review see Smith 2009 esp. p10-14). These 10 points are: 1. increased population, 2. specialised workers, 3. production of an agricultural surplus, 4. monumentalisation, 5. formation of a ruling class, 6. emergence of writing, 7. the emergence of predictive sciences, 8. sophisticated art, 9. regular foreign trade, 10. residence replacing kinship as state organisation.
[16] Osborne 1998 p251-2; Hodos 2006 p14-19; Wilson 1997 p200-203; Gosden 2004 p1-6.
[17] Malkin 2002, 2004, 2011; Antonaccio 2003, 2005; Van Dommelen 1997, 2002; Knapp 2008 p57-61; Hodos 2009 p222.
[18] Kopytoff 1986; Appadurai 1986; Gosden/Marshall 1999.
[19] Warf/Arias 2009 p2-4; Knappett 2011 p22-23.
[20] Horden/Purcell 2000 p28-30.
[21] Horden/Purcell 2000 p31-39.
[22] Braudel 1972 (2nd ed.) p14.

the continents around it.[23] Braudel divided Mediterranean history into three time categories: 1) the *longue durée* of permanent, constant, and unchanging features where life plays out through ever-recurring cycles; 2) *conjonctures*, medium-term cycles of 50 years maximum involving economic systems, wars, and social history in general; and 3) *l'histoire événementielle*, the random momentary events of a political and diplomatic nature that traditionally formed historical narratives.[24] Due to its focus on this novel division of time that emphasised the minutiae of the ebbs and flows of local history and the ecology of the sea that constrained these cycles of time, Braudel's work was widely described as a masterpiece. The sheer scope of his study, which took him 25 years to produce, probably explains the cessation of further studies of the Mediterranean as a cohesive unit.[25] Until Horden and Purcell's *The Corrupting Sea* (see below), specific socio-economic narratives of the region were emphasised, such as Finley's *The Ancient Economy*.

The Finley model of a single ancient economy from 1000 BC to AD 500 saw the Mediterranean through a primitivist lens. He divided the Mediterranean into East and West, both marked by minimalism.[26] In this world, change was slow, institutions were static, and exchange was played out at a local level with cities extracting wealth from their hinterlands through taxes and rents.[27] Greek and Roman cities were consumer cities that exploited the countryside and merely provided market places for local goods to be exchanged as the high-costs of long-distance trade were largely prohibitive. Neither goods nor people travelled far or often within this Mediterranean divided between a Greek/Roman Western world and an Egyptian/Near Eastern zone in the East.[28] Despite attempts by modernist approaches to displace the Finleyan model of the ancient economy, it remained an orthodoxy throughout the 1980s and 1990s.[29]

Following on from Braudel's emphasis on the *longue durée*, Horden and Purcell challenged the East/West division of the Mediterranean, replacing it with a single context marked by fluidity and a lack of boundaries.[30] Ignoring the fixed binary categories previously applied to the Mediterranean (town-country, mountains-plains, pastoralists-agriculturalists), they emphasise a series of fragmented, inter-connected

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[23] Braudel 1972 p103-167.
[24] Braudel 1972 p20-21; Horden/Purcell 2000 p36-37; Broodbank 2013 p18.
[25] Horden/Purcell 2000 p39; Broodbank 2013 p19.
[26] Horden/Purcell 2000.
[27] Finley 1973/1985 p123-149; Morris 2005 p37-8; Manning/Morris 2005 p13-14; Morris/Saller/ Scheidel 2008.
[28] Manning/Morris 2005 p1.
[29] Morris/Saller/Scheidel 2008 p3-5.
[30] Horden/Purcell 2000 p146-148, p53-88.

units forming the whole. The vastness of the Mediterranean space is transformed through their three fundamentals of connectivity, ecological fragmentation, and risk management. Connectivity tied the fragmented micro-ecologies together by short-distance cabotage and long-distance trade.[31] In contrast to Finley's minimalist Mediterranean, people and objects moved across wide areas through redistribution networks.[32] This approach has been praised for its new conception of space that reorients our view of the ancient world towards a looser and more fluid arena.[33] Such a view, which departs from the romanticism of the Braudelian unity of the Mediterranean by stressing the smaller fragmented units forming the whole, has also received encouragement, as has their model of connectivity and criticism of Finley's minimalism.[34] However, Broodbank ponders why they only focus on the period from 800 BC to AD 1300, thus ignoring much of prehistory.[35] Others feel that their conception of space is too broad and overly ambitious, their connectivity model too vague, and their ecological model poorly explained.[36] The lack of archaeology in their study has also been noted.[37]

Archaeological studies of the Mediterranean have tended to follow their own trajectory. The Mediterranean space was not constrained by the East/West divide that characterised the historical approaches listed above. Yet early studies focused on intercultural contact and exhibited diffusionist overtones, such as Childe's *The Dawn of European Civilisation*, which relied on culture-history and the assumption that civilisation and technological innovation irradiated from the Near East to a Barbarian West.[38] In response to the dominance of diffusionist frameworks, Processual Archaeology of the 1960s and 1970s leant heavily on an interregional scale with an over-formalistic approach to interaction. Renfrew's *The Emergence of Civilisation* personified this micro-regional scale. His focus on the Aegean highlighted the presence of a capacity for internal change within all Mediterranean societies.[39] The first model with a serious theoretical framework for explaining how intercultural contacts directed cultural change was the World-Systems Theory developed by Wallerstein to explain

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[31] Horden/Purcell 2000 p137-152,
[32] Horden/Purcell 2000 p342-400.
[33] Morris 2005 p31; Malkin 2005 p57-60; Shaw p419 on their map of land visibility he feels is as original as Braudel's earlier upside-down map of the Mediterranean, also p434.
[34] Shaw 2001 p422; Laurence 2001 p100; Fentress/Fentress 2001 p208-209.
[35] Broodbank 2013 p20-22.
[36] Harris 2005 p11-12, p15-16; Fentress/Fentress 2001 p204-211; Shaw 2001 p424-434; Malkin 2011 p44.
[37] Knapp 2001 p233-235.
[38] Childe 1925; Fulminante 2014b p171; Broodbank 2013 p23; Knappett 2013 p6.
[39] Renfrew 1972; Broodbank 2013 p23.

the rise of modern capitalism from the 16th century onwards. Its appeal lay in enabling trade to be understood within the framework of interaction, and many variations of this approach have been applied to different areas and periods.[40] It was attractive to archaeologists because it offered an improvement on diffusionism: a centre produced luxury goods that flowed out to a periphery dependent on the core.[41] In terms of Mediterranean space, it was used by Sherratt and Sherratt to examine patterns of Bronze Age trade.[42] However, this model was criticised for reworking the diffusionist idea it set out to displace by arguing that Europe and the Mediterranean were transformed through interaction with the Near East from 3500 BC onwards.[43] A key issue with this approach is its assumption of a relationship of dominance and dependency that sustained contact and trade over long distances.[44] Furthermore, it is aimed at intersocietal rather than intra-societal dynamics, thus reflecting its limitations for considering multi-scales of interaction and its roots in processual archaeology, where themes relating to inter-regional interaction were highly prominent.[45] Emerging from World-Systems Theory was the Core-Periphery model, which Cunliffe applied to a Classical Mediterranean core and a Barbarian European periphery as a unified but complex economic system. However, Cunliffe's work was heavily based on the idea of an advanced centre holding sway over the cultures on its margins. Both the World-Systems Theory and Core-Periphery models are criticised for their limits in examining micro-scale interactions. Similarly, the understanding of regional space in these two models is focused on zonal interaction, which implies uniformity in influence radiating out from the centre.[46] Broodbank has recently adopted a multi-scalar approach to the Mediterranean that acknowledges its multifarious local trajectories within a wider framework. Taking his cue from Horden and Purcell, especially their triad of common features (ecological fragmentation, connectivity, risk/uncertainty), he seeks to explore the environmental and human history of the Mediterranean across the vast phases of prehistory, from the formation of the sea itself until 500 BC.[47] Another key approach to the Mediterranean space is globalisation, to which we now turn.

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[40] Kardulias/Hall 2008; Bauer/Agbe-Davies 2010 p39.
[41] Wallerstein 1974, also Fulminante 2014b p168; Knappett 2013 p5.
[42] Sherratt/Sherratt 1993; Sherratt 1993.
[43] Broodbank 2013 p24.
[44] Dietler 1999 p480-482; Gosden 2004 p11-13; Hodos 2006 p6.
[45] Knappett 2013 p5.
[46] Knappett 2013 p5-6.
[47] Broodbank 2013.

1.2.2 Global and Local Mediterraneans

The new understanding afforded by the spatial turn has informed many archaeological approaches to the landscape, which is no longer viewed as a passive backdrop to human existence but an active agent in human behaviour, with collective memory and experience being key to its construction.[48] As discussed in the previous section, understanding of the Mediterranean space has now changed from a static arena to a connected context. The Mediterranean had a huge impact on the diverse communities living around it, and they benefitted from its rich and varied natural resources. They developed complex social and economic systems that, in turn, served to compress and shrink the space of the sea itself.[49] A new way to understand the Mediterranean and the space it encompasses has thus emerged from such reassessments.

Two recent approaches have shed light on the development of Iron Age connections and the space they created.[50] The first is Hodos' study of Iron Age Sicily, which not only offers a contemporary parallel to this study on Campania but also provides a globalisation model as a heuristic tool for the analysis of Campanian networks. Globalisation refers to a sense of global compression, where the modern world is increasingly viewed as a bounded, coherent place.[51] Within this context lies a global culture that despite being unified, is "extremely abstract." By tending towards high levels of differentiation, it shows "tolerance for diversity and individual choice."[52] This space has no central organising authority, but is based upon shared practices, ontologies and values "that transgress national or cultural ideas."[53] The space within which this global culture was formed further illustrates the shrinking of space outlined by the spatial turn: it is as easy for people in disparate locations to form relationships as it is for those in proximate ones.[54]

Ancient historians with a grounding in post-modernism tend to see globalisation as similar to the World-Systems Theory; however, I believe this view is erroneous because it perceives the world as fragmented.[55] Instead, local cultures feature prominently due to increased contact with the global culture. The heightened communication intensity that follows frequently leads to conflict and a greater

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[48] Ashmore/Knapp 1999; Ucko/Layton 1999; Meskell/Preucel 2004 p219.
[49] Knapp/Blake 2005 p1.
[50] Hodos 2009, 2010a, 2010b; Riva 2005, 2010.
[51] Robertson 1992; Waters 2001 p4; Hodos 2009, 2010a.
[52] Waters 2001 p5.
[53] Hodos 2009 p221, 2010a p82, 2010b p23.
[54] Waters 2001 p5.
[55] Hodos 2010b p23-24.

definition in group boundaries.[56] However, conflict between the local and the global is not always the outcome as these two often intersect to produce what is known as *glocalisation* or local globalisation.[57] On other occasions, global cultures can also encourage integration or hold populations in a position of dependence, excluding them from the centres of power.[58] Nevertheless, local cultures can impart specific attributes to the global culture, illustrating that each individual context is different.

Hodos sees the Mediterranean as a global arena where local cultures, such as the Greeks and Phoenicians, moved and interacted with others, such as the Sikels, through local networks. In her case study on Iron Age Sicily, she presents evidence for both a global culture circulating the Mediterranean and for *glocalisation.* She observes how Sikel groups were decidedly selective in the material they adopted: they engaged with global culture, but on their own terms. While they imported drinking cups and pouring vessels, the Sikels did not import *kraters* or *aryballoi*, demonstrating that Greek ceramic shapes could be utilised alongside pre-existing Sikel shapes.[59] The iconographic representations on these wares show regional variations that either follow contemporary or outdated styles. An articulation of Sicilian identity and a rejection of the global were at work, which she considers an active manifestation of *glocalisation*. The global culture she identifies was therefore formed by many cultures in the Iron Age, not just those of the Greeks and the Phoenicians.[60]

Hodos' recent volume on globalisation and archaeology explores the global and local in material culture analysis.[61] This work presents a wide range of case studies from diverse geographical, historical, and cultural contexts with a particular focus on the analysis of exotics and trade in a local setting.[62] Amongst these case studies, the chapters by Sherratt and Van Dommelen are of particular interest for my study of Campania. Sherratt argues that increased connectivity across the Bronze to Iron Age Mediterranean was caused by a desire for materials and goods "which conferred distinction."[63] Acquiring such materials and goods brought new lifestyle values that, once adopted, saw the acquisition of their accompanying technologies and infrastructures, which were themselves new developments for many local contexts.[64]

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[56] Hodos 2010a p82, 2010b p23-24, 2017 p5-7; Waters 2001 p5.
[57] Hodos 2010a p83, 2017 p6-7; Malkin 2011 p14.
[58] Hingley 2005, 2010.
[59] Hodos 2009 p234, 2010a p97-100.
[60] Hodos 2009 p228, p234-235.
[61] Hodos 2017 p8-9.
[62] Hodos 2017 p9.
[63] Sherratt 2017 p602-617, esp. p613.
[64] Sherratt 2017 p613.

Consequently, a proliferation of complex networks around the Mediterranean ensued, with surpluses of locally produced goods that could be exchanged for more prestigious items.[65]

Similarly, Van Dommelen reviews globalisation across the Archaic to Classical Mediterranean, with particular reference to Phoenician and Greek colonisation.[66] Presenting three different case studies of these colonial contexts, he argues for a return to the post-colonial insistence on including all actors and their agency and an awareness of the local situation over the current concern with "grand narratives and grandiose terms."[67] He advocates for a closer critique of material culture and the contexts of colonial interactions as they gave meanings to those objects in both social and local terms.[68] The answers to questions on interaction should not be sought within supra-regional or global Mediterranean networks but via a focus on the 'nodes' or local contexts within that web of connections.[69] An emphasis on the spatial spaces of global and local is central to the work of Castells, who has had some influence in archaeology.[70] Castells sees globalisation as ushering in an information age, which produced two distinct zones: a "space of flows" and a "space of places". The former is created by heightened diffusion of communication systems and technologies; the control of these flows, however, lies in the hands of the élite.[71] These technologies include the internet, fast transportation, and information systems, which transform space.[72] The space of places is where the majority of people live and these mixed communities invoke a strong regional or local identity in reaction to the global culture in the space of flows.[73]

The second important study that has significance for this thesis is Riva's work on Etruria. She highlights how local élites created a common culture, or an Orientalising *koine*, from the end of the Iron Age.[74] She identifies a shift in funerary ideology in Etruria, from the individual male warrior EIA to the élite as a group, with warrior attributes extended to both men and women in the Orientalising period.[75] Burials in Etruria changed from single depositions to chamber tombs, which became

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[65] Sherratt 2017 p613.
[66] Van Dommelen 2017 p618-619.
[67] Van Dommelen 2017 p621-625, p628.
[68] Van Dommelen 2017 p628.
[69] Van Dommelen 2017 p628-629.
[70] Labianca/Scham 2006.
[71] Castells 2000b p445-447.
[72] Castells 2000a p696.
[73] Castells 2010 *xxxix*.
[74] Riva 2005, 2010.
[75] Riva 2010 p72-105.

the locus of collective displays of an élite lifestyle. These new burials allowed the élite to institutionalise their lifestyle by conflating the material repertoire of their familial tombs with that of the domestic sphere, transforming the warrior tomb into an ancestral cult place.[76] Riva directly connects the increased cohesive cultural outlook and mobility behind this shift to the circulation of Orientalising objects and ideas.[77] She believes that, while Etruscan élites were actively appropriating Orientalising culture, they were not aware of the geographical origins of the objects they used, indicating a proximate rather than ultimate knowledge of the East.[78] Nevertheless, these Eastern objects enabled Etruscan élites to institutionalise power through their exclusive access to them. These long-distance connections created a "new material aesthetics" or a shared Orientalising *koine*.[79] Although the élites transformed Orientalising objects and ideas through their use, they were themselves transformed by the new power structures they created.[80] This Orientalising *koine* can be recognised beyond Etruria and shares features of Hodos' conception of global culture. While the manipulation of these novel ideas varied from region to region, they included diverse objects, such as lyre player seals, metal vessels (cauldrons, basins, drinking and pouring vessels), Kurd *situlae*,[81] Greek drinking cups and Phoenician red-slip wares. Ideas, practices, and new technologies are also attested, including alphabetic writing, symposiastic dining, filigree and granulation metalworking, the Homeric myths, and new burial practices.[82] As Crielaard neatly puts it, élites formed "a virtual community" that "surfed" the Mediterranean connective web based on shared "access to the same information...similar ideas and values."[83]

Combining these approaches allows a better understanding of how objects, people and ideas were mobile and how their movements created dense networks that compressed the Mediterranean space. Shared practices and material repertoires formed a global culture involving many different cultural groups. Since reactions to this culture were not always positive, it is likely that discrepant identities emerged from resistance at a local level. Using Riva's and Hodos' ideas on the existence of a shared

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[76] Riva 2010 p95, p106, p121-122.
[77] Riva 2005 p203, 2010 p56-59.
[78] Riva 2010 p47. She is also against the use of the term 'princely' p9 and p40.
[79] Riva 2005 p203-204, 2010 p40.
[80] Riva 2010 p47.
[81] Kurd *situlae* are large bronze buckets of a conical shape that derive their name from the hoard found at the village of Kurd in Hungary. They were widely circulated throughout Bronze Age Central Europe and in Italy during the Iron Age, especially in Etruria, which then produced its own versions. See Jankovits 2017; Gerloff 1986; Hawkes/Smith 1957.
[82] Riva 2010 p55-59.
[83] Crielaard 1998b p194.

Orientalising material *koine* or a global culture, I intend to look for ways in which individuals embraced or rejected global practices. Furthermore, I will also examine how practices and objects led to the formation of new networks.

1.3.1 Network Theory and Archaeology

The changing perspectives on space and communication discussed in the preceding sections were reactions to what was for a long time a rather static view of interaction. Exemplary was the abovementioned World-Systems Theory, which dominated many archaeological approaches to intercultural interaction from the 1980s onwards. Despite attempting to address the problems of diffusionism in archaeology, the World-Systems Theory, along with Core-Periphery models, inadvertently confirmed a number of its principles, such as the view that material culture spreads out from a single source. It is such problems that the rise of network approaches in archaeological scholarship aimed to tackle. The roots of network analysis lie in graph theory, a branch of mathematics analysing the structural relations between objects, of which Euler's novel understanding of the Königsberg bridge system in 1736 is an example.[84] Since this early development, formal network analysis has become multi-disciplinary and is applied to real world interactions, fostering the growth of the sub-discipline social network analysis (SNA). A network is represented by a *graph* with *ties* (or *edges*) joining *nodes* (or *actors*), similar to the interconnecting lines and dots on a map.[85] Many measures may be used to understand the relationship between *nodes* and *ties* and the structure of the network. Amongst these are density, centrality (degree, closeness and betweenness), degree of actors, distance, diameter, and clustering.[86] Density of ties is the ratio of the actual number of ties to the number of all possible ties. Centrality measures identify the ranked position of a given node and its relation to other nodes in a network.[87] The distance between nodes can be measured by path length, the number of ties or edges needed to reach one node from another.[88] Networks can be *connected* or *disconnected* (with all nodes linked or isolated respectively), and ties *directed* or *undirected* depending on the direction of the flow of the relationship.

Amongst the first network studies was the *random* network developed by the mathematicians Erdős and Rényi. It was based on a series of randomly chosen nodes

[84] Barabasi 2003 p10-13; Watts 2003 p28.
[85] Wasserman/Faust 1994.
[86] For an overview of these terms, Collar *et al.* 2015 p17-25.
[87] Mills 2017 p382.
[88] Collar *et al.* 2015 p17-25.

they connected, and these links indicated that a "giant cluster" (also called the *giant component*) emerged when each node had an average of *one* link.[89] Any randomly chosen node could then establish a link to all the others in the network.[90] When such links are possible through random selection, the network undergoes a *phase transition*, from a *disconnected* to a *connected* graph. [91] Subsequent studies on real world data, such as Milgram's six degrees of separation indicated that connections are far from random and require a degree of order.[92] Since humans have a tendency to form cliques, and society is rarely egalitarian, each individual's clique has consequences for the potential social network connections that can be maintained.[93] This realisation led to the development in scholarly literature of the *small-world* network. The term describes a network where the introduction of a few random ties can reduce the overall average path length (the number of ties needed to reach one node from another node) in a network mostly made up of local ties.[94] In §1.3.3 we will see how the small-world model of local clusters being connected by random ties was important for Granovetter's work on strong and weak ties. Work by Watts and Strogatz has been important in showing how common the small world phenomenon is.[95] Another important network type is Barabasi's *scale-free* network, which designates the tendency of new nodes to seek out and lock onto pre-existing nodes of a similar size.[96]

Although there are many types of networks, it is still necessary to explain how such analytical tools benefit archaeology. As Knappett highlights, the term network is not new to archaeology, although it was used in a rather generic way until recently to discuss trade, interaction, and road networks.[97] This probably resulted from a geometric conception of space, where connections were expressed in distribution maps as evidence for migration, contact and interaction.[98] The use of formal network analysis and SNA as an archaeological tool over the last ten years has changed these conceptions in archaeology by allowing new understandings of relationships between things, people, and space. This has spawned studies of Palaeolithic social networks, Roman religious and communications networks, Viking urban networks, Bronze Age polity networks as well as a series of studies on the networks of pre-Roman Italy (see

[89] Barabasi 2003 p17.
[90] Barabasi 2003 p17-18; Watts 2003 p46.
[91] Barabasi 2003 p16-18; Watts 2003 p43-47.
[92] Milgram 1967.
[93] Barabasi 2003 p49-50; Watts 2003 p40-41.
[94] Mills 2017 p380; Collar *et al.* 2015 p23; Watts 2003 p99-100.
[95] Watts 2003.
[96] Barabasi 2003 p86-87.
[97] Knappett 2013 p3.
[98] Knappett 2011 p15-22.

§1.3.2).[99] Network approaches avoid many of the problems associated with the World-Systems and Core-Periphery theories. As Knappett notes, "Networks do not bring necessary directionalities [nor]...oblige the drawing of boundaries, zones or territories based on limited information. They can be relational and/or spatial...And most importantly, they can cross scales."[100] Networks can be used to explore data or confirm a hypothesis, depending on the available dataset.[101] In order to do either of these, a degree of abstraction is necessary whereby archaeological data are translated into network data and represented in graph form (Fig. 1.1).[102] For example, a site can be thought of as a *node*, and the goods flowing between sites can be conceived of as the *ties*. Since relationships constitute the actual network in network analysis, it is vital that the nodes and ties are properly defined.[103] The type of graph chosen for visualising the relationships also needs justification, while the pictorial conventions are likely to differ depending on whether the graphs are drawn by hand with specialist software.[104] Networks can often be produced by constructing a matrix to illustrate connections or affiliations. From this, a one-mode or a two-mode (one or two sets of *nodes*, respectively) network can be produced.

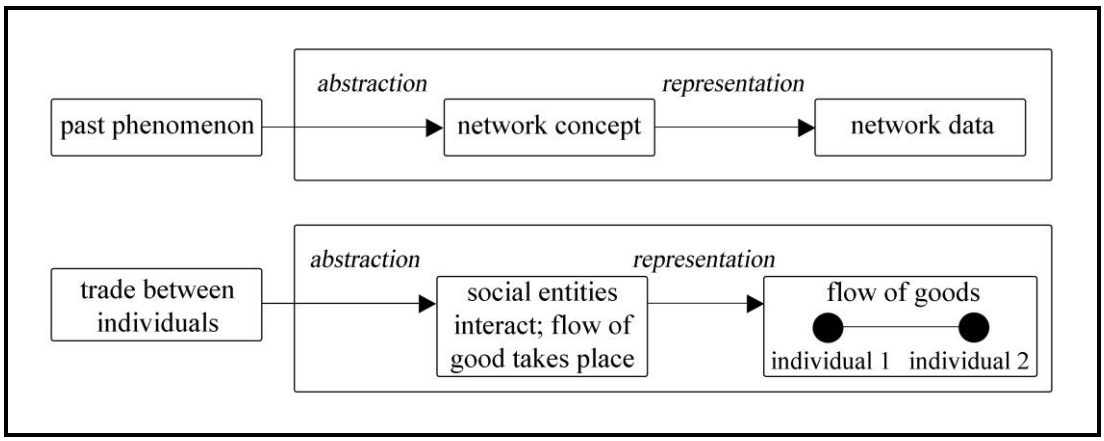

Fig. 1. 1. Abstracting archaeological data into network data (adapted from Collar *et al.* (2015) p5, fig.3)

Algorithms can be used to measure different aspects of the network, which is closer to the mathematical roots of network analysis. However, the majority of archaeological studies have used SNA, probably because it is considered more accessible than approaches based on complex statistics and probability schemes.[105]

[99] Gamble 1998; Collar 2009, 2011, 2013; Graham 2006; Sindbæk 2007; Knappett *et al.* 2008. See also Constantakopoulou 2007 and Malkin *et al.* 2009 for more historical-based approaches, Knappett 2013 and Brughmans *et al.* 2016 for studies of other archaeological periods and cultures.
[100] Knappett 2011 p10-11, 2013 p6.
[101] Brughmans 2010 p298.
[102] Collar *et al.* 2015 p4-5; Brughmans *et al.* 2016 p7-11.
[103] Wasserman/Faust 1994 p30.
[104] Collar *et al.* 2015 p12-14.
[105] Knappett 2013 p7; Mills 2017 p380.

SNA has its roots in sociology and differs from other forms of network analysis in that it is principally concerned with relational networks, with geographical issues a secondary consideration.[106] SNA is currently used in archaeology largely as an exploratory tool that offers a wide set of techniques, some of which involve algorithms. While these may be designed to tackle mathematical research questions when network theory is applied in physics, computer science and geography, archaeological studies using SNA have tended to avoid the use of algorithms. Indeed, the wide range of specialist network analysis software available to researchers means that there is little need to design complex algorithms when a tool exists that does it automatically. Consequently, many of the current applications of SNA in archaeology do not use any algorithms.[107] Nevertheless, knowledge of the various measures used to study networks is essential for the researcher to ensure the correct questions are asked of the software package.

Despite the increasing appeal of SNA to archaeologists, its use in the discipline is still in its infancy. However, a growing polarisation between two main approaches has been noted, with one group using network terminology as a metaphor and another using formal network analysis and/or SNA as a quantitative tool.[108] The first group is relatively small but includes Malkin's study of Greek colonial networks (§1.3.2). The second comprises an increasingly varied number of applications, which, unlike Malkin's, tend to employ network software tools. Network approaches in archaeology are now referred to as a paradigm rather than a theory due to their incorporation of multiple theoretical perspectives.[109] Archaeological network applications are therefore marked by heterogeneity rather than a single concise approach. There is not a single way to use networks and more often than not they do not include algorithms.

Such heterogeneity has been seen as both positive (as it reflects an ongoing healthy debate) and negative (for a lack of standardisation).[110] This probably derives from the fragmentary nature of archaeological data, which are susceptible to bias and poor chronological control.[111] Sindbæk likens this problem to investigators working with black boxes where some of the inputs and outputs can be understood, but the circuit board, the network itself, remains hidden.[112] With SNA being attractive to both

[106] Mills 2017 p383; Knappett 2013 p7-8; Brughmans 2012 p191.
[107] Mills 2017 p381.
[108] Fulminante 2014b p167-170.
[109] Mills 2017 p383.
[110] Brughmans 2010 p277-278; Knappett 2013 p3 ; Collar *et al.* 2015 p16 ; Brughmans *et al.* 2016 p6-7.
[111] Brughmans *et al.* 2016 p11.
[112] Sindbæk 2013 p75-77.

archaeologists and historians, who have borrowed these techniques from sociology, there is a risk that too much emphasis is placed on person-person relations or on material and textual sources. A consequence of this is that object-person and object-object relations are potentially ignored.[113] Some have questioned whether SNA is suitable for archaeologists who, unlike sociologists, do not have access to a full dataset that they can reconstruct.[114] While much still needs to be defined in terms of how archaeologists handle their use of network analysis, this approach is still developing and proving a useful tool in many case studies. However, studies on entanglement, meshworks, and thing theory have sought to show how networks are not the only way to understand relationality and connectedness.[115] Despite potential pitfalls, I believe that an SNA approach to Iron Age Campania has much to offer. Before exploring the methodology behind this, it is necessary to highlight some recent case studies on pre-Roman Italy, which have used SNA or network analysis.

1.3.2 Social Network Analysis in pre-Roman Italy

Since the application of algorithms is by no means mandatory for the use of SNA, in this section I review some examples that do not employ algorithms, such as Blake's and Donnellan's studies on pre-Roman Italy. Blake adopted the notion of "path dependence" to understand the emergence of ethnic groups in pre-Roman Italy.[116] She argues that the ethnic formation of groups, such as the Latins and Etruscans, can be traced back to the Bronze Age via exchange patterns, which essentially amount to a form of social interaction. She makes assumptions on how connections were formed based on the nature of Bronze Age trade. Key among her premises is that shared consumption of specific imports (amber beads, bronzes, and Mycenaean or Mycenaean-inspired pottery) at geographically proximal sites "must be the result of mutual awareness and direct contact between them."[117] This is because overland long-distance trade in the Bronze Age was slow and laborious, limited to rivers and waterways, with shorter, small-scale exchanges very much the norm.[118] Blake argues that groups of sites were already favouring each other in exchanges during the Late Bronze Age (LBA) and that the network structure engendered by these pre-existing patterns presages the later Latin and Etruscan ethnic groups. Blake's

[113] Brughmans *et al.* 2016 p11.
[114] Knappett 2013 p7-8.
[115] Hodder 2012; Ingold 2007; Gosden 2005; Knappett 2011 p12, 2014 p180.
[116] Blake 2013, 2014 esp. p76-79.
[117] Blake 2014 p19.
[118] Blake 2014 p71-73.

comprehensive study utilises many network measures to support her argument including connectivity (geodesic distance and network diameter), flows, cut points and node centrality. Despite examining much of the Italian peninsula, she leaves out Sicily and Sardinia and, most importantly for this thesis, she ignores Campania a choice that goes unjustified.[119]

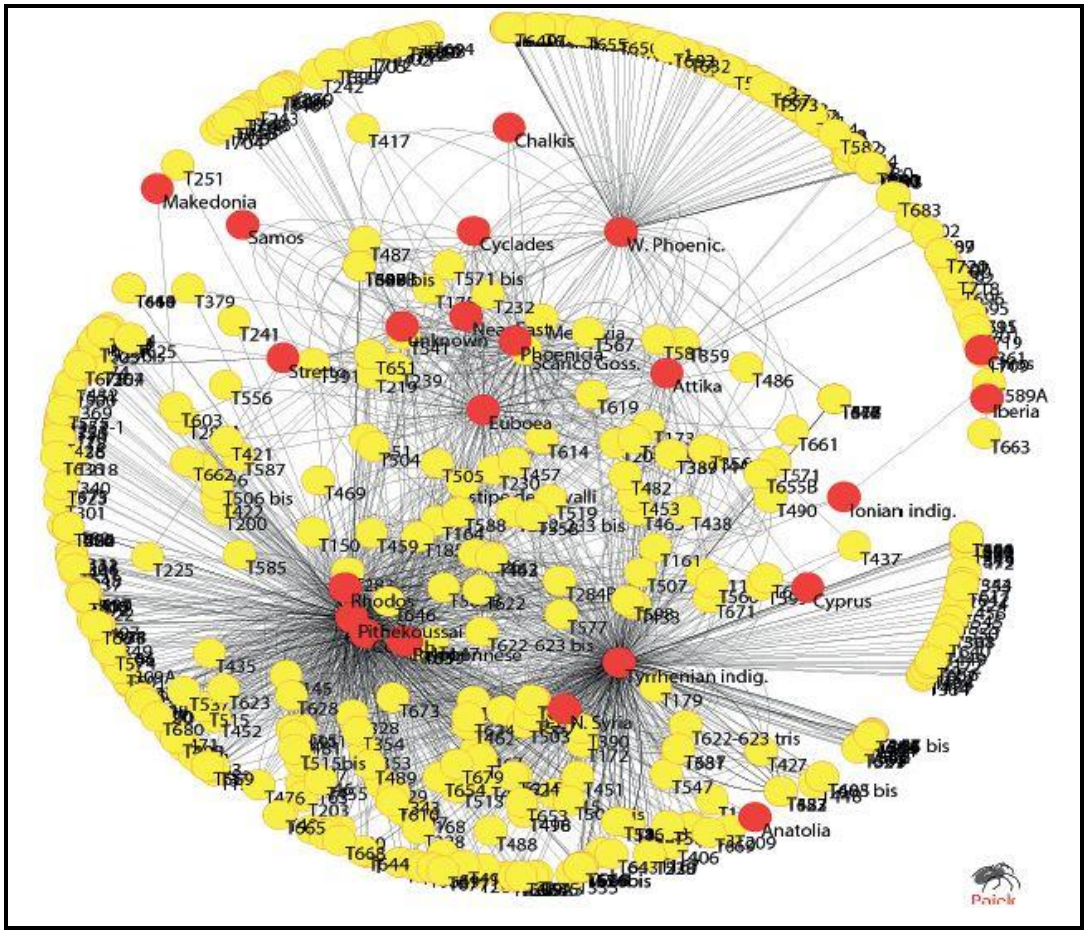

Fig. 1. 2. Two-mode affiliation network (after Donnellan (2016) p159, fig. 3)

Donnellan's work on Pithekoussai does focus on Campania.[120] Examining Euboian funerary practices in Greece, she argues that there was no fixed funerary culture that could be exported to the 'Euboian' colonies in the Central Mediterranean.[121] To counter current debates on the 'colonial' status of Pithekoussai, she uses a two-mode affiliation network (Fig. 1.2) to analyse the provenances of the tomb assemblages at Pithekoussai. Based on the simple idea that an object in a tomb reflects an affiliation with its place of production (either a region or a specific site), she connects assemblages with various areas of the Mediterranean.[122] This highlights that Pithekoussai shared a much higher density of connections with the indigenous sphere

[119] Blake 2014 p20-33.
[120] Donnellan 2016 p149-166.
[121] Donnellan 2016 p149-151.
[122] Donnellan 2016 p156-158.

on mainland Italy than previously thought. The results therefore present a convincing case for identifying the earliest phases at Pithekoussai mainly with indigenous and other non-Greek cultural affiliations.

Another study that seeks to examine the Greek colonisation period through networks is Malkin's book on the Archaic period. While Malkin does not use formal network analysis, network-thinking very much underpins his work. He argues that the ancient Mediterranean was a decentralised network that underwent a phase transition (§1.3.1) from a fragmented network in the Archaic period to a more homogenised one by ca. 500 BC.[123] Citing Watts and Strogatz's *small world* model (which requires a combination of randomness and order or long-distance ties amongst clusters or cliques), Malkin says that the Mediterranean was akin to a small world, where a Greek network emerged from local interactions.[124] At the outset, a small world of cliques or colonies were co-joined by long distance ties. When these new ties were added to the network, they linked to best connected nodes, and the cultural back-ripple effect of this network eventually led to the formation of the Greek poleis.[125] Malkin's proposed model provides an innovative view of the emergence of Greek civilisation, but his network is purely Greek in character. He hardly considers other Mediterranean communities and their place in local networks prior to the arrival of the Greeks. The reassessment of the connections held by each node in each local context, especially with regard to their strength, is something that Malkin fails to address.

Two other studies are worthy of mention here, Iacono's and Fulminante's. Iacono combines Marxist social theory with network analysis into his case study of MBA-LBA southern Italy.[126] His focus is on the transmission and sharing of stylistic features in Apulia at a time when the region was in close contact with Minoan/Mycenaean Greece. He uses weighted degree centrality to understand how different sites were able to access resources from multiple contacts.[127] His method awards a weighting to a number of stylistic ceramic features shared by various sites. From this evaluation of stylistic traits network graphs are produced.[128] He concludes that the Aegean held hegemony over local Apulian communities and that unequal power structures led to the acquisition and imitation of Aegean goods. This allowed some groups inside these communities to obtain more surplus goods and gain a

[123] Malkin 2011 p40.
[124] Malkin 2011 p33; Watts (2003) p89, 100.
[125] Malkin 2011 p58, p222, 1994, 1998, 2002.
[126] Iacono 2016 p121-140.
[127] Iacono 2016 p124.
[128] Iacono 2016 p126.

privileged role in interactions with Aegean visitors.[129] Iacono's work has brought fresh perspectives to Bronze Age Italy, complementing Blake's study described above.

Fulminante's research on the urbanisation of *Latium Vetus* combines landscape archaeology and spatial analysis to assess how Rome came to dominate the other Iron Age centres in the region.[130] Her book does not explicitly reference SNA but follows on from an earlier article that uses SNA to predict the locations of proto-urban and urban settlements from the FBA to the Archaic Age.[131] She does this by assessing the connections these settlements shared "via rivers and road networks, as a means of social communication," calculating the SNA centrality indexes and comparing the outcomes of her formal method with historical attestations of known and unknown sites.[132] Although part of an ongoing study, her work has accurately predicted the emergence of many historically known sites through SNA.

While all the aforementioned studies have brought new and innovative techniques to long-contested archaeological questions, they are all largely concerned with macro-scale site to site, interactions rather than with the social dimensions of network connections and how they formed. This thesis aims to assess the strength of the Greek role in EIA interaction in Campania, which was often conceived to have been dominated by the superior Greek colonists (§1.4.2). Because SNA can indicate the ties held by individual actors, it presents a unique opportunity for analysing the cultural significance of the grave items from Campanian settlements. Furthermore, network analysis in archaeology can be productively integrated with the above-mentioned scholarly debates (§1.2.2), which identify a global culture or cultural *koine* that transcended group boundaries and established a new material aesthetics. The key to comprehending the movement of objects and ideas in the ancient Mediterranean is potentially linked to the kinds of ties an individual had access to, which is discussed in the next section.

[129] Iacono 2016 p124-135.
[130] Fulminante 2014a p133-215; Fulminante/Stoddart 2013.
[131] Fulminante 2012 p27-53.
[132] Fulminante 2012 p27.

1.3.3 Strong and Weak Ties

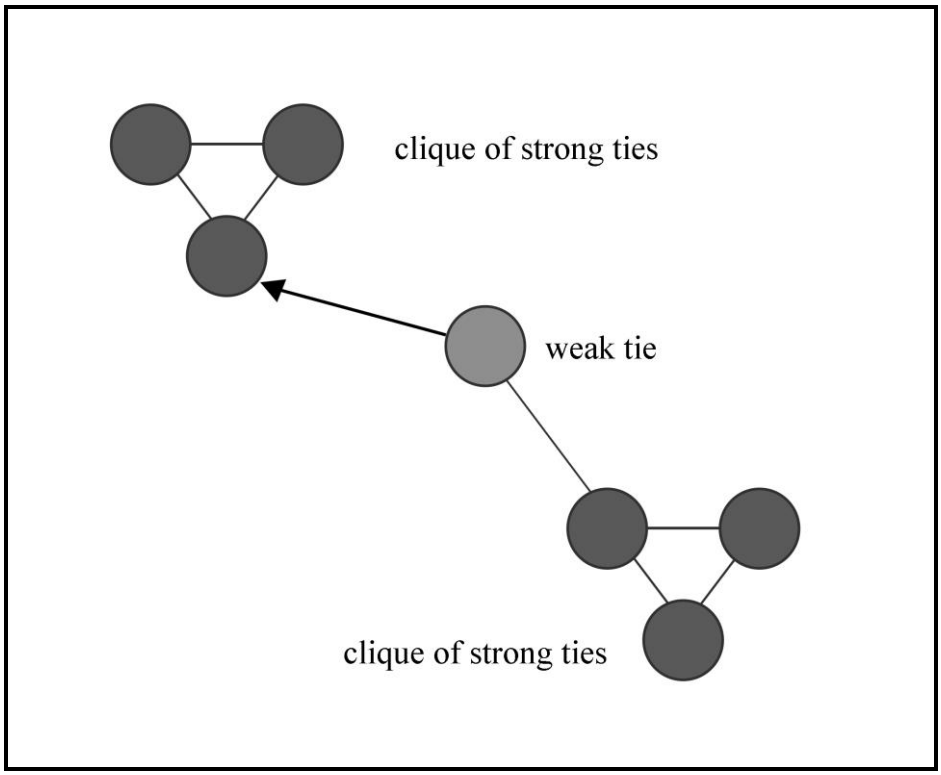

Fig. 1. 3 How weak ties bridge cliques

In 1973, Mark Granovetter published "The Strength of Weak Ties," now one of the most widely cited articles in sociology.[133] The paper analysed the connections among individuals in Boston (USA) and how these connections led to people finding new employment opportunities. Taking a random sample of professional, technical, and managerial job changes from a Boston suburb (100 from 282 respondents), he asked who found a new job through a contact and how frequently they had seen the contact at the time the person had passed on the information about the available job.[134] Although his random sample was small, he divided the respondents into categories based on frequency of contact: "often = at least twice a week; occasionally = more than once a year but less than twice a week; rarely = once a year or less."[135] Granovetter did not complicate his study by applying algorithms, but merely used the frequency categories to obtain a percentage to represent how often a respondent had contact with and if they already knew the people telling them about the job. Examining interpersonal ties (the relationships between actors) for their strength, Granovetter discovered that individuals commonly found new jobs through infrequent contacts rather than through people with which they formed a clique. He called these infrequent

[133] Granovetter 1973; Barabasi 2003 p42.
[134] Granovetter 1973 p1371 and his fn. 16.
[135] Granovetter 1973 p1371.

contacts weak ties and the more frequent connections strong ties.[136] Individuals often form cliques with their closest friends and these function as strong ties. Cliques can involve as few as three people, creating what sociologists call a closed triad. Individuals also have many other transient links with acquaintances, and these peripheral weak ties are essential to the spread of information around the network.[137]

Weak ties allow new contacts and new opportunities by bridging two or three different cliques; this phenomenon is encapsulated in his seminal phrase "the strength of weak ties" (Fig. 1.3). Weak ties are our casual acquaintances and are extremely useful "...because they can give you information you would never otherwise have received."[138] Granovetter presents a fragmented society with a "web of fully connected clusters communicating through weak ties."[139] A lack of weak ties and a dependency on cliques (closed triads) has major implications for people as "individuals with few weak ties will be deprived of information from distant parts of the social system and will be confined to the provincial news and views of their close friends. This deprivation will not only insulate them from the latest ideas and fashions but may put them in a disadvantaged position in the [labour] market, where advancement can depend...on knowing about appropriate job openings at just the right time."[140] Central to the strength of weak ties is the term "bridge", which refers to the way weaker ties bind different cliques to each other. This ability to bridge two sets of closed triads facilitates the flow of information and demonstrates the importance of weak ties to network mutations and development.[141] From this understanding springs the idea that weak ties are, in fact, strong.

However, Granovetter's approach does not ignore the immense influence strong ties have on our lives, which he himself acknowledged.[142] Although Granovetter's understanding of interaction has yet to be applied to the archaeology of Iron Age Italy, Collar has recently explored the potential relevance of his ideas to identity and religious networks during the Roman period. She recognises the importance of strong ties attendant on their ability to operate over long distances in Roman religion.[143] She believes that weak ties "do not generally exert great influence

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[136] Granovetter 1973 p1371 "Of those finding a job through contacts, 16.7% reported that they saw their contact often at the time, 55.6% said occasionally, and 27.8% rarely", 1983 p201-203.
[137] Granovetter 1983 p201-202.
[138] Watts 2003 p49.
[139] Barabasi 2003 p44.
[140] Granovetter 1983 p202.
[141] Granovetter 1973 p1364 "no strong tie is a bridge".
[142] Granovetter 1983 p209.
[143] Collar 2009, 2013.

on people where fundamental issues of serious change or adoption of new ideas are concerned. Strong ties do because they are our closest family, most trusted friends, and so on. It is these people that form the core of our social network, and who exert the most influence on an individual's decisions when it comes to the 'complex' transmission of new ideas or information".[144] Thus, while "weak ties are powerful...strong ties have the power to change the way think and believe."[145] However, Collar's work does not explore the role played by weak ties in any depth, and she often asserts her conviction that religion and belief systems are more likely to be spread and maintained via strong ties without actually proving it.[146] Although the role of strong ties in religious diffusion may be accepted for the Roman period, it would have been useful if she had engaged more specifically with Granovetter's work on weak ties. Granovetter himself emphasised the role that strong ties play in new opportunities, but he highlighted that cultural diffusion is made possible through strong ties when they are "small cohesive groups who are liable to share a culture [but] are not so cohesive that they are entirely closed; rather, ideas may penetrate from other such groups via the connecting medium of weak ties."[147] This demonstrates that a combination of both strong and weak ties is important for the movement of information. Although Collar's study leans on Granovetter's, she does not use a percentage approach to her evidence as Granovetter's article did. Opting instead for proximal point analysis (PPA), she draws lines between the nearest findspots of inscriptions from around the Roman Empire that refer to the religious movements she examines. As will be discussed in §2.1, her work uses a simple method (which she concedes), but it is unfortunate that she fails to explain how she awards the points to the findspots under investigation. Collar's work shows the potential a strong and weak ties approach can have for contexts of interaction, but a more robust method is needed for this thesis. Neither Granovetter nor Collar use algorithms in their work, with the former demonstrating that network approaches focused on tie strength can instead rely on percentages of the chosen sample. Granovetter's approach will be adopted in this thesis with a frequency of contact percentage applied to the material culture found in the cemeteries in the region of Campania.

With respect to Campania, I define as strong ties those that have the closest and most constant (or the most intense and most frequent) material links between ancient

[144] Collar 2013 p12-13.
[145] Collar 2013 p244.
[146] Collar 2013 p73-74, p94, p165.
[147] Granovetter 1983 p209-213 and p215.

settlements and as weak ties those which create more peripheral and infrequent links. As a weak tie, a site on the periphery of a closed triad probably had greater influence over the transmission of information, ideas, and objects into that local network than the sites of the closed triad themselves. I shall discuss the quantification model adopted in this thesis in Chapter 2. The next section will review the context of Campania and the populations that formed its ancient networks.

1.4.1 Ancient Campania: Geography and Populations

Modern Campania is framed by the Volturno and Garigliano rivers on the northern border with Lazio and by the mountainous Cilento area to the south (Fig. 1.4). To the east and south are the regions of Puglia and Molise and of Basilicata and Calabria, respectively. The western side of Campania lies on the Tyrrhenian Sea, with the islands of Capri, Ischia, and Procida just off its coastline. The region includes volcanic and mountainous areas and two plains in its northern and central stretches. It is intersected by several rivers, including the Volturno, the Sele, and the Sarno. While its climate is generally similar to that of the other Tyrrhenian regions of Lazio and Etruria, differences in temperature tend to occur between its upland and lowland areas.[148] The variations in geographical definition have resulted in different scholarly approaches. For example, Frederiksen's monograph, which remains the only survey of the region in English, follows the ancient region of Polybius and Ptolemy the geographer.[149] This ancient region was a much smaller area than modern Campania. It lay on the stretch of coastline between Mons Massicus in the north and the Sorrentine peninsula in the south. It was further delimited by the volcanic areas to the west and east of Naples but included the plain area that extended to the edge of the Apennine range. On the other hand, the majority of Italian scholars have studied ancient communities within the bounds of the modern region. Because the EIA featured cultures that extended beyond the ancient region of Polybius and Ptolemy, I will follow Italian scholarship in its focus on the ancient communities within the modern region as this allows me to analyse wider networks than those circumscribed within the ancient definition of the region.

[148] Ruocco 1965; Bietti Sestieri 1992 p27-28; Frederiksen 1984 p4-17; Cerchiai 2010 p9-11.
[149] Frederiksen 1984 p1-2.

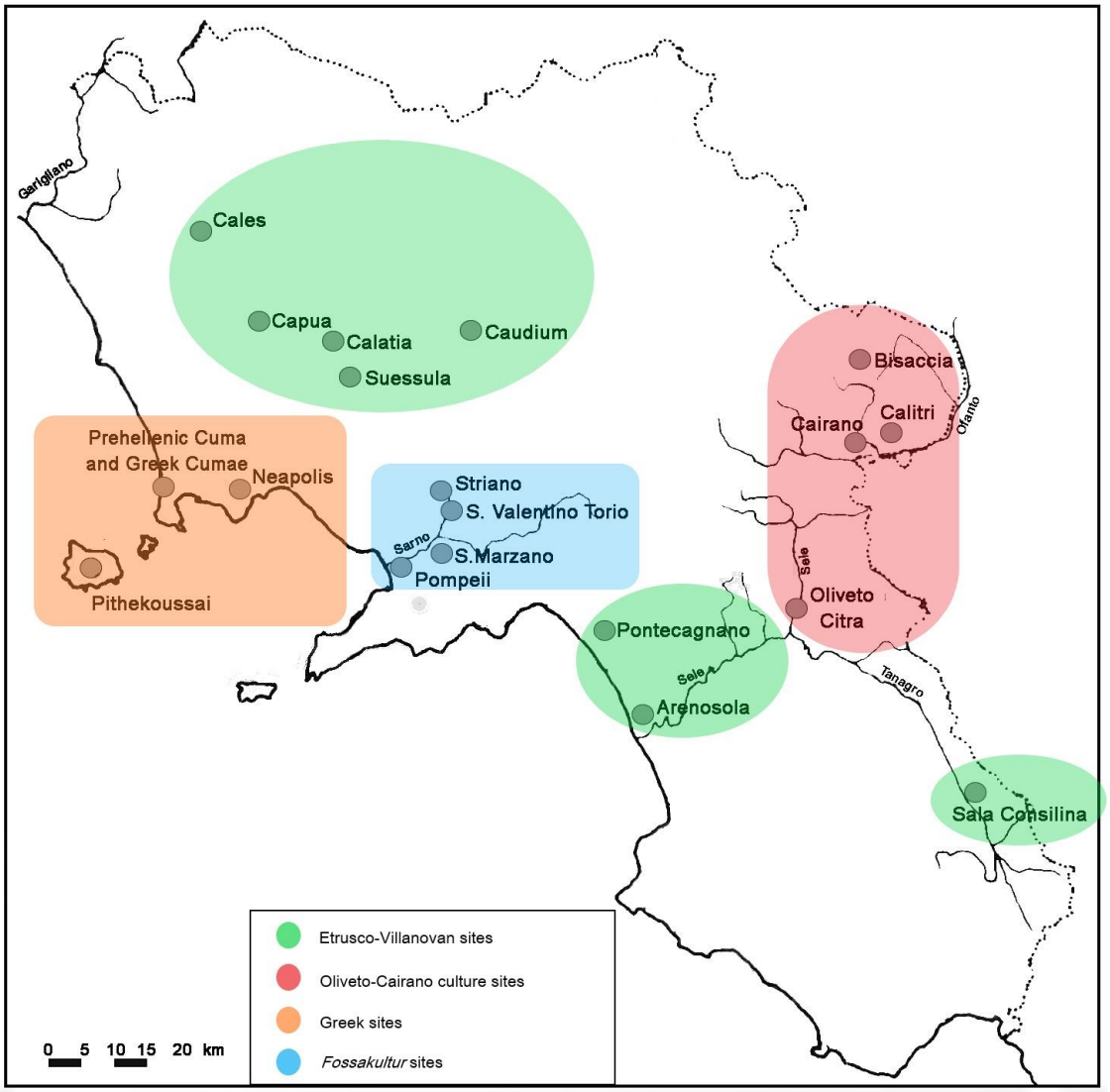

Fig. 1. 4. Map of Campania and some of its ancient sites (M. Perna)

It is commonly believed that Campania was populated by two main groups (one of them comprised of two subgroups) of varying degrees of social development around the time that Pithekoussai and Cumae came into being. These groups are identified through their burial record, which is almost the sole type of archaeological context available for this period:[150] the *Fossakultur*, which is divided into two subgroups (the Cuma-Torre Galli *facies* and the Oliveto-Cairano culture) and the Villanovans-Etruscans. The indigenous *Fossakultur* group extended from Campania down to Calabria and was characterised by inhumation in a trench (*fossa*). This group has been widely associated with the names of peoples described in ancient sources including the Opici, Ausones and Aurunci.[151] Despite the continual association of the *Fossakultur* with these ancient peoples, none of the populations mentioned in the ancient texts can

[150] Cerchiai 1995 p9; D'Agostino 1988 p533.
[151] Diodorus Siculus V.7.5-6; Antiochus of Syracuse cited by Strabo V.4.3, Thucydides VI.4, Polybius Hist. XXXIV, 11.7 all mention this *ethnoi* in relation to Campania.

be definitively identified in the archaeology of the region.[152] This arbitrary association of material culture with populations mentioned in the sources indicates a problem that conventional approaches to Greek colonisation share with the culture-history approach (§1.2.1). The Cuma-Torre Galli *facies* is located along the northern coast and in the Campanian plain and includes Prehellenic Cuma and the Sarno Valley.[153] The second subgroup, the Oliveto-Cairano culture, is located deep in the hinterland of the lower Sele and upper Ofanto valleys. These scattered communities differ from the other *Fossakultur* sites with their presumed link to the Balkans, particularly Dalmatia and Illyria (Chapter 4).[154] The sites within these two subgroups are characterised as conservative or 'closed,' as in the case of the Oliveto-Cairano communities, where the lack of Greek ceramics is viewed as either resulting from conservatism or denoting cultural resistance.[155] The second cultural group is comprised of the Villanovan settlements of Capua, Pontecagnano, and Sala Consilina, whose material remains demonstrate affinities with the cremating cultures of the Villanovan-Etruscan communities from Tuscany, Lazio and near Bologna. Each of the three sites in Campania shows different affinities with the Villanovans/Etruscans: Capua exhibits closer material links with Tiburnine Etruria (particularly Chiusi) through its use of an *olla* as cremation urn, whereas Pontecagnano is associated with maritime Southern Etruria (Veii, Caere/Cerveteri) because it preferred the biconical urn (Fig. 1.5).[156] The presence of the Villanovan-Etruscans in Campania is taken as some form of colonisation or at least migration to the region from Etruria in search of land.[157] There is no space to discuss this here, but it should be noted that it remains a debated issue in Italian archaeology, with some arguing that an earlier Villanovan ethnicity in Etruria itself never existed.[158] Finally, the establishment of the Greek-speaking settlements of Pithekoussai (on Ischia) and Cumae (on the mainland) forms another cultural group in Campania. These foundations involved Greeks, such as the Euboians and migrants from the Levant, often referred to as the Phoenicians. Both of these sites were founded during the 8th century BC, but with regard to Pithekoussai, its status as either an

[152] Exemplary are Cerchiai 1995 p21-25, 2010 p29-32; Frederiksen 1984 p134-148; D'Agostino 1988 p533-537; De Juliis 2004 p5-10.
[153] Cuozzo 2007 p227.
[154] Bailo Modesti 1982 p241, 1996 p38; Galasso 2005 p51.
[155] Cuozzo 2007 p240-241, 2016 p17-25.
[156] Cerchiai 1995 p10-11; D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p38-42; D'Agostino 1988 p531-533; Cuozzo 2007.
[157] D'Agostino 1988 p533; Bonghi Jovino 2000 p157.
[158] Peroni 1994a p46-48; Bietti Sestieri 2012; Iaia 2013 p71-72.

emporion (trading post) or fully-fledged *apoikia* (colony) has been much debated. Both cases presuppose a Phoenician component.[159]

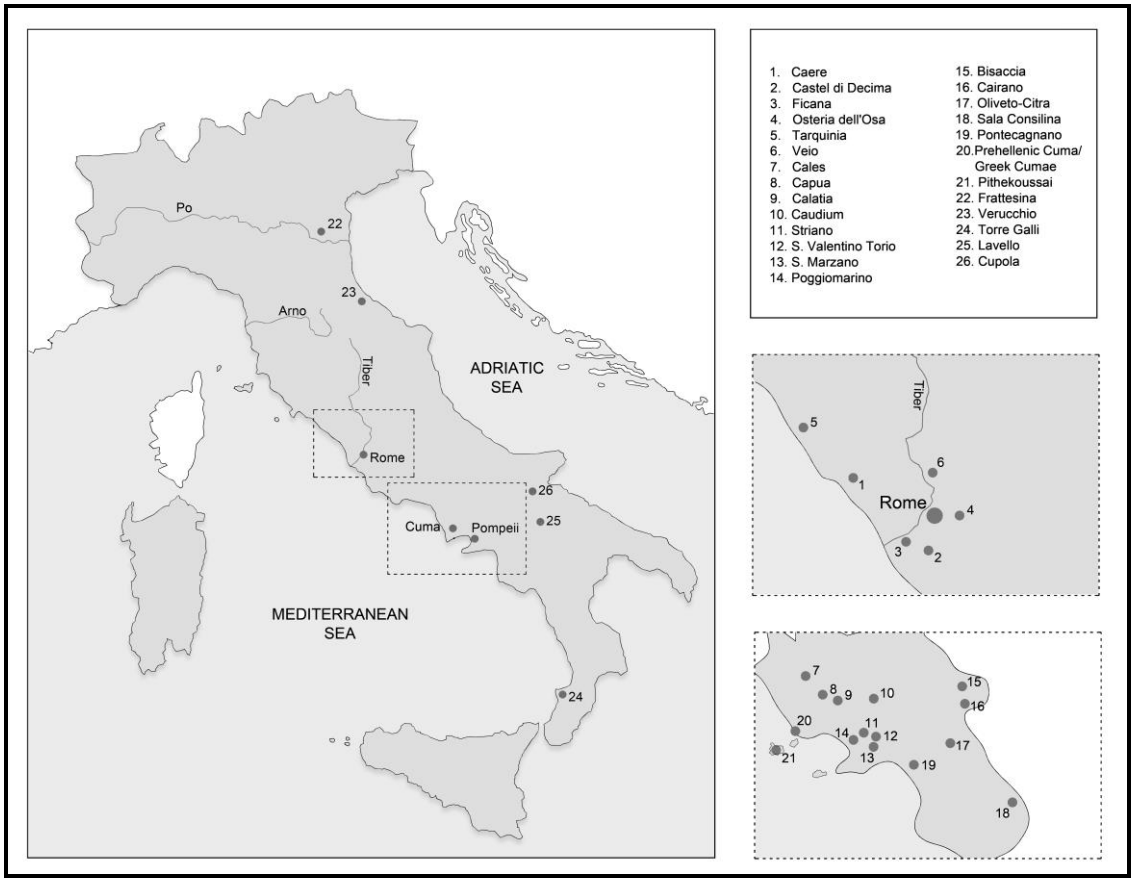

Fig. 1. 5. Map of Italy and sites mentioned in the text (M. Perna)

Cumae, on the other hand, is considered an *apoikia*, with the ancient sources designating it the first Greek colony in the west.[160] It was apparently established on the site of a Prehellenic settlement, as one literary reference suggests (Ch. 6). Like the other cultures in the region, these supposedly Greek settlements are known primarily through their cemeteries although Pithekoussai is associated with two other sites on Ischia: the industrial area at Mazzola and the farm building at Punta Chiarito.[161] While Cumae has recently yielded new graves from the Prehellenic necropolis, its later archaic and classical phases were already well attested through its fortifications.[162] Prior to this, the site had been the subject of rudimentary excavations in the 19th century, which are still being reassessed.[163]

[159] On this see D'Agostino 1994, 2006, 2011; Coldstream 1994a, 2003; Ridgway 1992, 1994, 2000a, 2000b; Buchner/Ridgway 1993.
[160] Cf. Strabo *Geog.* 5.4.4-9.
[161] Ridgway 1992; Gialanella 1994; De Caro/Gialanella 1998.
[162] Zevi *et al.* 2008; D'Agostino/Fratta/Malpede 2005, Cuozzo/D'Agostino/Del Verme 2006.
[163] Nizzo 2007a, 2007b on Pellegrini 1903 and Gabrici 1913.

1.4.2 Iron Age Campania: Current Approaches

The populations of Campania all form the basis of a complex narrative with neo-evolutionary overtones to explain the Iron Age to Orientalising periods. It begins in the LBA, when socio-political processes are supposed to have caused a shift in habitation patterns from scattered village communities towards larger aggregated sites located in strategically important positions in the landscape. The shift in habitation patterns is frequently associated with possible visits by Mycenaeans to the Tyrrhenian coast, which is attested by the presence of imported ceramics.[164] At some later point, Villanovan groups migrated to Campania and founded Capua, Pontecagnano, and Sala Consilina. These incoming settlers are deemed more advanced than the indigenous communities because the Villanovans were supposedly 'proto-urban.'[165] The chief argument for designating the Villanovans/Etruscans proto-urban is that their cemeteries were from an early stage placed well outside the nucleus of the settlement, something that indicates urban planning to accommodate future expansion. Observing a similar situation in Campania, many view the Villanovan sites there as proto-urban too, while other sites showing a different pattern are characterised as less advanced.[166]

The proposed proto-urban status of the Villanovans suggests that they provided the impetus for the local transformation processes that began in the LBA. Consequently, Cerchiai and others envisage a structured hierarchy of indigenous settlements, based on their perceived level of political development, at the top of which was Prehellenic Cuma (Fig. 1.6).[167] The reasons for attributing such an exalted status to the settlement are complex, but they include its large size and openness to trade as well as its 'strategic' location on a rocky outcrop that constituted a joint defensive system with indigenous Castiglione on Ischia that lay opposite Cumae.[168] While the Prehellenic phases of Cumae are discussed in Chapter 6, it is worth highlighting here that this proposed advanced status allowed the site to dominate the coast and maintain close links with both the Villanovans and the visiting Greeks and Phoenicians. The Greeks are believed to have traded with many sites along the Tyrrhenian through links described as 'pre-colonial.'[169] The discovery of MG drinking cups at Capua, Pontecagnano, Prehellenic Cuma, and in the Sarno valley and Etruria seem to confirm

[164] Cerchiai 2005 p185-186; Bietti Sestieri 1992 p64.
[165] Cf. D'Agostino 2006.
[166] Cf. Cerchiai 1995 p42 on Capua, and p53 on Pontecagnano, 2005 p187, 2010 p14-15; Bietti Sestieri 1992 p68; D'Agostino 1988.
[167] Cerchiai 2005 p188.
[168] Cerchiai 1995 p3-14; 2010 p18; Cuozzo 2007 p244.
[169] Coldstream 1994a; D'Agostino 2006.

such contacts from around 780 BC.[170] The distribution of these vessels encouraged Coldstream to argue for Euboian "market research" in the West.[171] The motivations behind this mobility are often explained in terms of a search for metals, with the Etruscan metal-rich Tolfa mountains and the island of Elba providing ample opportunities for the Greeks and Phoenicians (§2.3, Appendix II).[172]

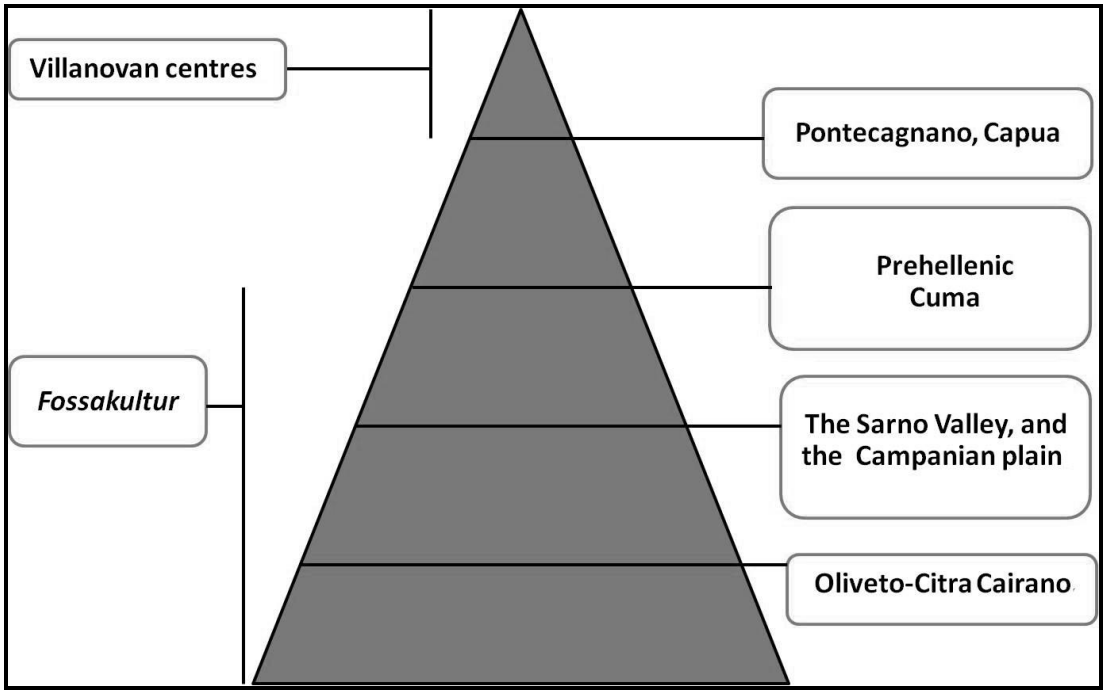

Fig. 1. 6. Diagram of the indigenous hierarchy scholarship has outlined for Campania (author)

While the status of Pithekoussai is vigorously debated (Appendix VI.2 and VI.4), it apparently lacked an adequate *chora* to support the settlement; therefore, contact with indigenous communities is thought to have been aimed at acquiring foodstuffs.[173] D'Agostino and Cerchiai argue that local groups received more advanced technologies, such as the potter's wheel and improvements in metallurgy, in exchange for food supplies. The interaction apparently caused the first signs of social stratification (such as tomb monumentalisation) and moves towards aggregation into larger settlements.[174] Although it is difficult to substantiate this interpretation (§1.4.3), many scholars amplify the traditional narrative by extending external cultural hegemony over the local Opicians from the Villanovans to the Greek newcomers. D'Agostino's work exemplifies the overall Hellenocentric bias of the conventional

[170] Cerchiai 2010 p23; D'Agostino 1979, 1999a; Dé Spagnolis 2001; Johannowsky 1983; Zevi *et al.* 2008; Descoeudres/Kearsley 1983.
[171] Coldstream 1994a p47.
[172] Ridgway 1992, 1994; Coldstream 1994a; Markoe 1992; D'Agostino 2006.
[173] Ridgway 2000a p186; Cerchiai 1995, 2005 p189-90; D'Agostino 1988, 2006, p536; Bietti Sestieri 1992 p68.
[174] D'Agostino 1988 p535-537; Cerchiai 2010 p22-28, 1995 p18, 2005 p190; Bietti Sestieri 1992 p68-69.

interpretation when stating that "the rather backward nearby farming communities were stimulated into rapid social change through their contacts with the more advanced Greek civilisation."[175]

The consequences of these interactions reached their climax with the foundation of Cumae on the mainland. The reasons for such an intervention are believed to be the lack of a *chora* on Ischia and the presumed defensive system between Prehellenic Cuma and Castiglione. While the relations with the locals were once amicable, they had by this time regressed to such an extent that the Greeks took the most important Opician settlement, razed it to the ground, and established a Greek colony in its place. D'Agostino calls this "a show of strength," invoking Phlegon of Tralles' citation of a Sibylline oracle that hints at the destruction of the site (Appendix VI.3).[176] The notion of violent destruction is highlighted by D'Agostino and others to argue for the dominance of Greek Cumae over the indigenous hinterland.[177]

By subjugating Prehellenic Cuma, the Euboians apparently gained immediate control over a large agricultural plain, which was achieved without any disruption to the previous Prehellenic level of agricultural production.[178] Greek Cumae therefore replaced its Prehellenic counterpart at the top of the hierarchy.[179] Some scholars further hypothesise that the Opicians were expelled to the hinterland and 'hemmed in' by the Greeks and Villanovans on the coast and the plains. This marginalisation caused a process of 'internal restructuring', with the locals forming new settlements at Calatia, Suessula, Nola, and Avella. The indigenous '*riaggregazione*' (joining together) is proposed as a consequence of being relegated to the periphery and barred from settling within the *chora* at Cumae.[180]

By this point, both the Greeks and Etruscans had begun to adopt structured political systems, where an aristocracy, or '*elite gentilizia*,' maintained control over the land through hereditary ownership. The Orientalising 'princes' emerged from this structure and are seen as the individuals interred in the 8th-century tombs at Pontecagnano and Cumae.[181] These figures were awarded a heroic cremation burial rite with similarities to that awarded to Patroklos in the Iliad.[182] For many, the prototype of these cremations is found in the Greek world, from where it spread to Cumae and then

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[175] D'Agostino 2006 p231-2.
[176] D'Agostino 2006 p233. Phlegon of Tralles *FGrH II.257 F.36.x.53-55.*
[177] D'Agostino 2006 p233.
[178] Cerchiai 2005 p190, 2010 p24.
[179] Cerchiai 2005 p190; D'Agostino 1988 p537; Cuozzo 2007 p248.
[180] D'Agostino 1988 p537; Cerchiai 1995 p26, 2010 p46-53.
[181] D'Agostino 1988; Cerchiai 2005 p190, 2010 p33-46; Cuozzo 2003, 2007 p233-238.
[182] *Iliad* XXIII.702.

into Campania, Lazio and into Etruria.[183] The emergence of these aristocratic figures in the Italic communities was coupled with a wave of Hellenisation, which further pushed local groups into the hinterland. According to this view, the Opicians formed their own élite in response to these socio-political conditions. Furthermore, the much later 5th-century conquest of Capua, Poseidonia/Paestum, and Cumae by the Campanian tribes is explained as a direct result of the earlier expulsion of the Opicians, who scholars feel had long resented being shunted to the periphery of the Campanian plain.[184] These developments, culminating in the arrival of Rome, take us beyond the chronological limits of this study.

1.4.3 Discussion

Many questions arise from the narrative summarised in the previous section. Firstly, I argue that the idea of the incoming Greeks and Villanovans being culturally superior is erroneous as it maintains the view that identities were bounded categories and makes arbitrary value judgements on the levels of development of ancient cultures. As we shall see, both Greek and Villanovan ethnicities show regional variations, making the existence of a single identity unlikely.[185] The proto-urban nature of the Campanian Villanovan settlements has been inferred merely from the location of their cemeteries outside the city walls. However, this may not provide sufficient evidence to argue that the urban development of these sites was planned from the start.

Villanovan superiority does not seem to be supported by current evidence nor is the proposed dominance over other Campanian communities. The developmental hierarchy scholars propose for the region has many similarities with other neo-evolutionary schemes, such as the typological hierarchies of anthropologists Service and Fried, where settlements moved through the stages of band, tribe, chiefdom (Service) or egalitarian, ranked, stratified (Fried) before becoming a fully-fledged state society.[186] Similar to this is Childe's urban revolution, which outlined how societies could evolve from primitive agricultural villages to complex states after fulfilling ten criteria (§1.2.1).[187] Such evolutionary schemes have been extremely influential, but they have been criticised for being teleological and upholding the state as an ideal, whereby settlements are locked into a linear development from which they cannot

[183] Cerchiai 1995 p90-98, 2010 p39; D'Agostino 1977a p44-51.
[184] D'Agostino 1988 p571; Cerchiai 2005 p192.
[185] On the Villanovan identity, see Peroni 1994a p46-48; Iaia 2013 p71-72.
[186] Fried 1967; Service 1971 and 1975; Johnson 1999 p139-141; Meskell/Preucel 2004 p125.
[187] Childe 1950; Smith 2009.

deviate.[188] As Hodder notes many schools in European archaeology are deeply entrenched in this evolutionary framework and have remained largely indifferent to the processual and post-processual revolutions.[189] Processual archaeology was seen as ahistorical and thus held little attraction for a Europe rooted in historical readings of material culture.[190] Italy followed the historicism of Benedetto Croce from an early stage, and historical explanations were therefore predominant, especially in classical archaeology, where art historical approaches prevailed, while Italian prehistory (*paletnologia*) relied on the natural sciences.[191] Italian archaeology adopted a Marxist approach from the 1960s onwards, and this has been described as having a 'parochial' character,[192] which has restricted the scholarship of Campania to a neo-evolutionary narrative that has endured for the last 40 years or more.

This historiographical background set in motion the conjectural hierarchical models of social evolution in the region, with Prehellenic Cuma in a preeminent position. As seen, supporting this notion of regional superiority is Prehellenic Cumae's openness to trade, its place in the assumed defensive system in combination with Castiglione, and the relative size of the site. Little excavation has taken place at Castiglione, and the early phases at Prehellenic Cuma await publication. As I aim to show in Chapter 6, since Prehellenic Cuma differs little from other Campanian sites in both scale and material culture, the reasons for deeming it more advanced are hard to fathom because they are based on speculation. Moreover, new evidence from Cumae may challenge the notion that the Prehellenic settlement was destroyed by Euboians from Pithekoussai. Similarly, the teleological approaches to Campania require reconsideration in light of the discovery of the riverine settlement at Poggiomarino near the river Sarno (Chapter 5). This settlement was made up of wooden cabins built on stilts and positioned on artificial man-made islets in the swampy marshland around the Sarno river. The unique form of habitation at Poggiomarino clearly differs from the rest of Campania, where most sites were on hilly defensible outcrops.

The idea that the Greeks brought a more advanced culture must be re-evaluated against the possibility of local agency. While changes did occur in the region following the Greek arrival, these require evaluation through a new approach rather than evolutionary schemes. For example, although it has long been asserted that the

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[188] Terrenato/Haggis 2011; Yoffee 2005; Gledhill 1988. See Izzet 2007 p21-22 on the use of neo-evolutionary schemes in Etruscan archaeology.
[189] Hodder 1991.
[190] Hodder 1991 p11-13
[191] D'Agostino 1991 p53.
[192] Guidi 2002 p356.

‘princely’ funerary culture found along the Tyrrhenian was brought to Cumae by Euboian Greeks, there is now evidence of earlier burials from the indigenous site of Montevetrano (near Pontecagnano). They predate Cumae’s t.104 by 30 to 50 years, indicating they were the earliest burials of this type (Chapter 3). This seems to challenge the Hellenocentric view that the innovative burial type depended on Euboian cultural imports.[193]

Similarly, there seems to be no evidence supporting the claim that the remaining Campanians resented being shunted to the edge of the region - a theory used to explain the later 5th-century conquest of the city as a ‘retaliatory’ move. Although this *reaggregazione* may have remained in collective memory, there is no way to substantiate local traditions, meaning that the conventional account remains speculative. As the agency of local groups is rarely considered, the traditional narrative is no longer a sufficient explanation for the social changes in Iron Age Campania. I argue that the use of SNA techniques to examine the ties that bound these settlements together offers a much better understanding of the dynamics of interaction than a narrative imbued with neo-evolutionary thinking.

In terms of the dynamics of interaction in Campania, not only is local agency ignored, but so are the contexts of exchange themselves. For example, much has been made of the Greek influence over the peoples of Campania and their supposed adoption of the symposium. However, little exploration has been undertaken of the kinds of ceremonies, such as feasts, where Greek ceramics were first integrated into local practices. For many societies, feasts remain important occasions for interaction and the acquisition of new social network ties.[194] Hospitality plays a central role in feasts, and goods are often exchanged as gifts during such ceremonies.[195] Such events were likely to have been the occasions when Greek drinking cups were introduced to local élites in Campania. However, research on feasting in pre-Roman Italy has been disproportionately focused on the Etruscan banquet and the idea that it derived from the Greek symposium.[196] Some recent recognition of local agency in feasting practices in Iron Age Italy is found in work by Riva and Nijboer, but on the whole, these contexts of exchange and commensality have been under investigated.[197] I argue that feasts played a key role in the interactions between Greeks and locals along the Tyrrhenian coast. Therefore, I also aim to investigate the evidence for feasting practices in the

[193] Ianelli 2011 p166-180; Cerchiai *et al.* 2012-2013; Cuozzo 2016; Cuozzo/Pellegrini 2016.
[194] Dietler/Hayden 2001.
[195] Dietler 1990, 2001.
[196] Rathje 1988, 1990.
[197] Riva 2010; Nijboer 2013.

grave goods discovered in some of the sites in the region. This will help to challenge current ideas of Greek dominance over the indigenous populations. While the literature on feasting is discussed in more detail in Appendix I.1, the chapters that follow will examine the evidence for such ceremonies and how they may have changed as a result of contact with new network ties.

1.5 Thesis and Chapter Outline

To analyse Campania for strong and weak ties, I have selected a sample of sites that were contemporary to the Greek 'colonies' of Pithekoussai and Cuma. The analysis of strong and weak ties attempted in this thesis will focus on the four archaeological cultures described in §1.4.3. I intend to examine the ties each culture held, but the sheer number of cemeteries and the quantity of data require a sampling strategy. One site or a small group of sites for each of these archaeological cultures will therefore be studied for their tie strength. These sites include Pontecagnano (from the Villanovan group), San Marzano, San Valentino Torio, and Striano from the Sarno Valley (the *Fossakultur*), Bisaccia, Cairano, and Oliveto-Citra (from the Oliveto-Citra Cairano group), and Prehellenic/Greek Cumae. The settlements have been chosen because their cemeteries are either the best published or the grave goods are on display in local museums. While many sites in the region have been identified through their cemeteries, most of the settlement nuclei are yet to be discovered. Since little study of the landscape has been undertaken, it remains uncertain whether the cemeteries pertain to actual settlements or were shared by disparate villages.

I believe this is an original contribution to archaeological research for three reasons. Firstly, no analysis of strong or weak ties has been applied to Iron Age Campania. Secondly, no synthesis of Campania has been offered in English since Frederiksen's 1984 monograph. The region merits another study to reintegrate it with recent developments in the discipline, such as network approaches. Thirdly, Italian scholarship of Campania has created a narrative driven by neo-evolutionary schemes. For all these reasons, the region deserves reconsideration through a methodological framework that eschews overarching teleological progressions from simple to complex societies.

The study will be structured as follows: after the introduction and methodology (Chapters 1, 2), each chapter will deal with a specific site/culture dating from the Iron Age to the Orientalising period and explore its archaeology through a network approach. Chapter 3 will examine Pontecagnano for its strong and weak ties, and

Chapter 4 will deal with the Oliveto-Citra Cairano culture. The Sarno Valley will form Chapter 5, while Chapter 6 will focus on the transition from Prehellenic Cuma to Greek Cumae and the role network ties played in this process. Each chapter will include a brief overview of the research on each culture and the nature of the available evidence, followed by a conclusion that elaborates on the role of strong and weak ties in the region and how network analysis enables us to link the region to the wider Mediterranean world.

2. Methodology

2.1 Defining Strong and Weak Ties

In order to identify direct and indirect contact between settlements, it is necessary to look for ties through material culture. These are difficult to identify because contact also takes place between people using material culture and acting as the mediator between different groups, and these are hard to track in the archaeological record. Furthermore, material culture includes the biographies of objects and their 'life stages,' that is, when and how specific objects arrived in any context- another thing hard to ascertain.[198] The purpose of my study is not to trace these life stages, although I remain aware of their importance; rather, the focus is on tracing connections through material objects. Consequently, specific aspects of material culture will be examined as evidence for tie strength. Any study seeking to examine strong and weak ties through material culture needs to find signs of stability or continuity in the former and change or transformation in the latter. Although I will follow the archaeological cultures scholarship proposes for Campania, I intend to consider the agency of both groups forming strong and weak ties in order to avoid a unidirectional discourse. Not all forms of material culture survive in the archaeological record, but a series of categories that could be examined for connections between communities include:

- material culture (typology, iconography)
- burial type
- domestic structure (layout, form, and decoration)
- architectural features (public, civic and religious buildings, domestic architecture)
- religious/ritual practices
- feasting/drinking practices
- language and literacy
- social structure (social hierarchy, social identities)
- the transmission of skills, ideas, and techniques

These categories have been widely utilised in studies of culture contact, yet some are more abstract than others. The specific categories I examine for Campania will be detailed in section §2.1. Arguably, the clearest evidence of culture contact is an imported object found at a specific site that had been transported there from its place of production.

[198] Kopytoff 1986; Appadurai 1986; Gosden/Marshall 1999.

As a tie to another area, imports are useful indicators of the frequency of interaction. Imported objects are relatively easy to recognise and count, and, depending on the quantity, may enable us to infer either a strong or weak tie. As seen, a successful application of a network approach focused on imports has already been undertaken by Blake in her study of ethnic identities in Bronze Age Italy. (However, it should be noted that she neither focuses on nor defines strong or weak ties).[199] Imitations of foreign objects may also indicate culture contact and a strong or weak tie. Therefore, a definition of what constitutes a strong or weak tie is important. Unfortunately, little effort has been made by archaeologists to define clearly these two types of ties aside from work by Collar. However, her work does not define what a strong or weak tie is in terms of how it is reflected in material culture, nor does it examine weak ties. Since this thesis is the first to examine weak ties in this way, the definition of strong and weak ties used here cannot be compared to other studies. As detailed in section §1.3.3, in this thesis, a strong tie reflects close and constant material affinities between communities, such as locally produced objects that are stylistically or typologically linked to a specific area. A weak tie is represented by material that indicates infrequent contact. This material could be imports but also local imitations of foreign goods. Such changes might indicate the role of weak ties in allowing access to new ideas and practices. To be measured archaeologically, ties need to be quantified, and two possible approaches may be utilised to this end.

Firstly, a given sample could be examined for the total number of imports and local objects it included. From these totals, percentages could be chosen to distinguish between strong and weak ties. As discussed in section §1.3.3, Granovetter avoided algorithms in his two seminal articles and used categories of frequency to study levels of contact between people. Unfortunately, his chosen categories would be impossible to directly apply to ancient networks. Relying on direct interviews with his subjects, he was able to uncover the exact number of days they were in contact with their strong and weak ties, an approach that cannot be replicated in this thesis as we do not know a) the identity of ancient Campania's inhabitants and b) cannot interview them. With regard to this problem, Brughmans dryly observes that "the ability to interview individuals in interaction and observe human behaviour directly is an advantage most of the social sciences have over archaeology, until time travel becomes a possibility that is."[200] Yet a percentage-based approach to frequency of contact as deduced from burial evidence

[199] Blake 2014 p85.
[200] Brughmans 2012 p195.

could still be used to examine the notion of strong and weak ties in the region. Granovetter noted that his original frequency categories of 'often' (twice a week), 'occasionally' (more than once a year, but less than twice a week), and 'rarely' (once a year or less) could be represented in percentages as 29%, 14%, and 0.3%, respectively.[201] The question remains whether these percentage categories of frequency designed for human contact are applicable to contact implied through material culture. We cannot be certain how many times a week or a year ancient peoples were in direct contact with each other; yet they were in direct contact with many types of material culture on a *daily* basis. As recent studies have shown, how material culture is essential to what it means to be human.[202]

This close proximity to the material culture includes imported goods and their local imitations along with heirlooms, gifts, *spolia*, and many forms of locally produced objects. A category of 'often' could correspond to a strong tie, but at only 29% of the total grave goods in a cemetery in Campania, it would not only miss the vast majority of the local material in the tombs but would also ignore links with other nearby settlements of the same archaeological culture. Similarly, at 14% and 0.03%, the 'occasionally' and 'rarely' categories could each potentially miss a higher quantity of foreign material culture that could represent an increased frequency of contact with a weak tie. With strong ties representing local material culture or high intensity of contact with an external tie, and a weak tie defined by infrequent contact with an external culture, a more dynamic use of percentages is required to measure the types of contact. Because strong ties refer to frequent contact and a high quantity of material culture, they should be defined by a higher number, such as 75% of the sample. Similarly, the infrequent contact encompassed by weak ties should form no more than 25% of a sample. Both figures would be in keeping with Granovetter's ideas on strong and weak ties. I believe both the total numbers of objects and strong and weak ties could then be automatically represented on network graphs via the use of specialised network software.

A second option could be to utilise proximal point analysis (PPA) to examine the ties each settlement held. PPA has its roots in graph theory but has a long history of use in archaeology and anthropology, especially in research on Oceania, where it has been a key technique in interaction studies.[203] It is worth reviewing some recent examples to illustrate its main principles. Perhaps the best known case of applying PPA in

[201] A minimum of twice a week= 2÷7x100, a minimum of once a week= 52÷365x100, a maximum of once a year 1÷365x100.
[202] Miller 2005; Meskell 2005; Olsen 2005; Knappett 2011; Hodder 2012.
[203] Terrell 1977; Irwin 1983; Hage/Harary 1991, 1996.

archaeology is Broodbank's study of the Cyclades, which sought to explain the development of specific Bronze Age sites in terms of the interactions between them.[204] Following on from the earlier studies on Oceania, Broodbank applied PPA to the Cycladic archipelago by first estimating the population of each island through site survey data.[205] Based on its hypothesised population, each island is then awarded a certain number of 'points,' which essentially equate to the nodes used in network theory.[206] The main reason for applying the number of points based on population size is the imprecise knowledge of settlement patterns across the islands. While some islands have been extensively surveyed (such as Melos), others are hardly known, and not all sites were synchronously occupied.[207] Nevertheless, basing his model on population sizes, Broodbank drew links from each point/site to its three closest neighbours.[208] He then compared his PPA results with the archaeological data from five of the early Cycladic sites to argue that local power and prestige were emerging from network interactions.[209]

PPA has also been used by Collar to study Roman religious networks.[210] Taking her lead from Broodbank, she applies the principles of PPA to the findspots of epigraphic data throughout the Roman Empire. By linking the three nearest inscriptions connected to a particular Roman religious cult, she investigates the introduction and spread of these new spiritual ideas around the Empire.[211] Her discussion of strong and weak ties is also one of the few examples of Granovetter's work being applied in archaeology.[212] However, as Collar admits, her methodology is rather simple. She merely connects the three closest findspots of her various inscriptions to create her links.[213] Despite her discussion of the importance of strong ties in the spread of religious information, there is little consideration of how to measure strong ties archaeologically; her work only mentions tie strength in a largely metaphorical way.[214] Furthermore, although she

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[204] Broodbank 2000.
[205] Broodbank 2000 p176-180.
[206] Broodbank 2000 p184 "Points are allocated in proportion to island size, each being a surrogate for the settlements scattered over the area that the point represents. Placement is governed by uniform rules: one point at the centre of an island, two at the ends of its longest axis, three along this axis, four or more as suits an island's shape. Dense clusters of small islands have their combined areas treated collectively."
[207] Broodbank 2000 p181-182.
[208] Broodbank 2000 p184-185.
[209] Broodbank 2000 p195-361.
[210] Collar 2009, 2011, 2013a, 2013b.
[211] Collar 2013b p79-286.
[212] Collar 2013a p224-226, p244.
[213] Collar 2013b p289-290.
[214] Collar 2013b p94 highlights that the Jupiter Dolichenus cult was transmitted by the strong-tie community of the military, but she does not explore the frequency of the interaction of this group as Granovetter had originally outlined. This oversight is part of a wider problem in her model, where religious groups are viewed as strong-tie communities but rather than measuring this in quantity, it is merely deduced from epigraphic distribution patterns.

devotes an entire chapter to network tools, terminology and concepts, her methodology is only briefly outlined on three pages.[215]

It is important to note that neither Broodbank nor Collar use algorithms in their models as PPA allows for a relatively simple network to be formed, yet its "complexity and nuancing [comes] instead in the questions asked of the patterns generated by this technique."[216] Such algorithmic complexity is instead seen in another network study of the Aegean Bronze Age, where an archaeologist collaborated with two physicists. Developing their analysis from Broodbank's study, Knappett *et alii* incorporate formal network analysis into their own PPA, which aims to understand the various island site interactions and the costs needed to maintain them.[217] They produce more mathematical models than Broodbank and Collar and use complex algorithms, which, as we have seen, is not the case with many network studies.[218] They challenge the 'site centrism' of Broodbank's PPA by treating the interactions between sites as their primary concern and the sites themselves as secondary.[219] This approach confirms their assumption of 'gravitational pulls' or large Aegean sites requiring information about resources being likely to seek out other large sites.[220] Nevertheless, the fact that Knappett needed to collaborate with a physicist to produce the algorithms is indicative of the high level of specialism involved, which is not only beyond most archaeologists but may also inhibit them from using formal network analysis themselves.

This study of ancient networks in Campania could, therefore, apply a PPA approach to the dataset similar to Broodbank, Collar, or Knappett. However, systematic survey of the region is lacking meaning that population numbers (as in Broodbank) cannot be accurately measured. Similarly, constructing a PPA on the findspots of imported objects (thus following Collar) would not allow the strong and weak ties of the region to be properly understood. A model similar to Knappett's is also arguably unnecessary for this study as the level of formal analysis he needed was not even attempted by Granovetter himself. Another option could be to create a PPA where each site in the study is connected to its three closest neighbours, but each one is given a weighting depending on the number of connections it holds. For example, the site with the most ties could be assigned a weighting of 5 and those with fewer ties a weighting

[215] Collar 2013b p37-39.
[216] Broodbank 2000 p180.
[217] Knappett *et al.* 2008 p1011.
[218] Knappett *et al*. 2008 p1010-1014, p1022-1024.
[219] Knappett *et al*. 2008 p1010-1011.
[220] Knappett *et al.* 2008 p1011.

between 4 and 1. These values could then be entered into a specialised network program, that would automatically convert them into a network graph. The assignment of values in this way would be arbitrary, tend to favour excessively larger sites, and make assumptions of site size, rank, and hierarchy, which are amongst the common criticisms of PPA. Furthermore, value-based approaches are often impervious to subtle changes over time.

The problem is that no real study of strong and weak ties in a quantitative sense has been attempted in archaeology. Being the first of its kind, this one has no model to cite or to follow. Still, Granovetter's idea of categories of frequency that rely on percentages is close to the sense of the original weak ties argument, and this method will be employed here although the exact percentage that the sub-categories relate to needs clarification. Depending on the context of analysis the percentages awarded to a strong or weak tie should also vary. For example, contexts with only one available aspect of ancient life (e.g., the funerary record) should not use too high a figure for tie strength as nuances can be overlooked. Table 2.1 provides a guideline for the quantity of the sample formed by imports and imitations, which allows them to be measured for tie strength.

Strong Tie		**Weak Tie**	
Object properties and quantity.		Object properties and quantity.	
Import	Imitation	Import	Imitation
An object produced in another locality. Strong tie =much **higher** quantity than locally produced objects. More than **40%** of the total assemblage for a particular site.	Closely follows an object produced in another locality, region, or geographical area, but to a degree where some level of local input is discernible. Strong tie =much **higher** quantity than locally produced objects. More than **40%** of the total assemblage for a particular site.	An object produced in another locality. Weak tie=much **lower** quantity than locally produced objects. Less than **25%** of the total assemblage for a particular site.	Closely follows an object produced in another locality, region, or geographical area, but to a degree where some level of local input is discernible. Weak tie=much **lower** quantity than locally produced objects. Less than **25%** of the total assemblage for a particular site.

Table 2. 1 Defining strong and weak ties.

The concept of strong ties put forward in this study is that traces of frequent contact between the local population and other settlements belonging to the same cultural group

are likely to be visible in the archaeological record. For example, a site in Campania that is traditionally identified as an Etruscan settlement is likely to include a large quantity of local Etruscan material deposited in its cemeteries. Therefore, if a single Greek-produced pot is found in a grave in the same cemetery, it is an indicator of a foreign or weak tie rather than a strong tie. In line with Granovetter's work, a strong tie should represent the close cultural links of enduring quality and thus a large quantity of the total material culture for a particular period. A weak tie represents the infrequent links which bridge cliques to provide access to new ideas and information and would thus comprise a smaller quantity of the total assemblage. Therefore, the table above allows for both of these types of frequencies to be inferred from the imports and imitations found amongst the grave good assemblages of the cemeteries in Campania. However, some problems arise from the values above. Firstly, are strong ties fully represented in the surviving site sample, and if not, exactly what level of strong tie does 40% indicate? Unfortunately, this percentage is conditioned by the types of contextual data available and, as most excavations rarely provide the full set of domestic, ritual, civic, and funerary contexts, it should not be set too high overall.

This factor leads into the question of why the two percentages in the table have been chosen. Although local material will likely form the majority of all objects found in the cemeteries, imports and imitations could themselves reach such an intensity that they become strong ties, thus indicating that the contact with these external groups has become more frequent. A study based on 80% for strong ties and 5% for weak ties may well miss the nuances of the available material at a particular site. I therefore believe that the 40%-25% figures allow greater scope for weaker ties to be identified in the total site sample, and these numbers are closer to Granovetter's categories discussed above. These thresholds are adopted as an expedient to provide a consistent basis for the present study. However, the role of strong ties should not be under-valued. These are actually essential to many social networks because they represent more frequent links and "have greater motivation to be of assistance and are typically more easily available" than weak ties due to their role in an individual's clique.[221] In network terms, though, only weak ties possess the ability to bridge cliques, making them important intermediaries in the flow and spread of innovations. With material culture being the index of both strong and weak ties, it remains necessary to first explore what issues this is likely to present in Campania, especially with regard to identifying provenances.

[221] Granovetter 1983 p209.

2.2 Strong and Weak Ties in Campania

Network approaches to EIA Campania are rare, with only Donnellan's work providing an example of SNA's potential (§1.3.2). Nevertheless, any study of Campania's Iron Age networks faces a series of issues. Firstly, while a significant number of sites are known, no single 'urban' nucleus has been uncovered, only their cemeteries excavated. The absence of further contextual data may present a distorted view of ancient life; this is especially the case when the funerary record is the only data available. Consequently, not all the analytical categories listed above are available for Campania. Secondly, the publication history of the various settlements in the region is patchy. While much excavation has taken place, little has actually been published. This lacuna in data creates many difficulties for any study hoping to quantify material, analyse tie strength, and evaluate the size, demographics, or social development of any site. Moreover, many perishable objects that may further identify connections, such as food, drink, clothing, and textiles, do not survive in the archaeological record and they cannot be considered here. Equally problematic are those categories that cannot be easily quantified for their connection to other cultures, such as architectural forms, and the adoption of foreign deities and languages. Lastly, even the objects uncovered from the cemeteries of Campania, which are closed contexts, present problems if they are to be examined for their links to other geographic areas or cultures. Exemplary are objects produced from materials that are hard to provenance, such as metals and amber (see below), but also objects associated with a specific culture on the basis of style, such as ceramics. Nonetheless, Campanian Iron Age sites have yielded sufficient sets of object categories that I will use to assess the region's networks through strong and weak ties. What follows in the next section is a discussion of the types of grave goods from the cemeteries under analysis and the methods used to identify their provenances. The importance of characterisation is especially relevant with regard to imports. Where the provenances of the objects studied here are yet to be established, the general state of research on a given object or material will be reviewed. Furthermore, a definition of what constitutes an import, and an imitation will be provided to allow greater clarity for how ties are to be measured.

2.3 Characterisation, Trade, Objects, and Imports

The importance of characterisation for identifying the chemical and physical properties of objects to uncover their original sources has been well-noted.[222] While archaeometric studies have become more frequent in archaeology, no extensive characterisation work is available for finds from Campania, especially as regards the Iron Age. Because this has implications for the discussion of networks ties in this thesis, it is opportune to review the status of the evidence on the region's material culture and the current treatment of the diverse objects. The grave goods uncovered from the cemeteries in Campania consist of various categories of objects that include the materials themselves, amongst which are metals, amber, glass, pottery, and other ceramic objects (e.g., textile tools), and clothing/textiles (e.g., wool), many of which were sourced from outside the region. For example, while clay for pottery and materials for textiles are found in Campania, the region has no known sources of metals or amber, and no glass is known to have been produced there in antiquity. Therefore, due to the lack of certain raw materials, a considerable number of the grave goods from the Campanian sites discussed in this thesis must have been made locally from imported materials or imported from elsewhere as finished objects. A variety of techniques may be used to identify the provenances of the grave goods and their materials, such as scanning electron microscopy (SEM); however, the application of such techniques to objects found in Campania has been extremely scarce. I will therefore review the main materials used to produce the objects found in Iron Age Campania and the current state of research into the possible sources of these materials.

Perhaps the most common of these Campanian grave goods are those produced from metal. Such objects can be classed as decorative items, (*fibulae*, brooches, clasps), jewellery (necklaces, bracelets, rings), work tools (knives, axes, chisels), weapons (javelins/spears, swords, shields), and items with food or ritual functions (bowls, cups, dishes, *paterae*). A number of metals are used for these objects, including bronze, copper, lead, iron, silver, gold, and electrum. Unfortunately, these objects are usually studied from a typological and iconographical perspective and then categorised accordingly, while detailed mineralogical and geochemical studies on the composition of these raw materials remain extremely rare.[223] It is well-known that, except for Calabria and Sicily, there are no known metallic ore deposits in Southern Italy, including Campania.[224] This means that

[222] Renfrew 2005 p31-35.
[223] Balassone *et al.* 2009 p45-46.
[224] Giardino 2005 p494; Balassone *et al.* 2009 p45-46.

any metal objects found in Campania must have been produced locally from imported raw materials or imported as finished objects from elsewhere.

Both mainland Italy and the islands show an abundance of metal resources, yet these are unevenly distributed and often absent from particular regions. A cursory glance reveals that the Eastern Alps, Tuscany, Calabria, and Sardinia are the areas with the most abundant metal resources, while the rest of the peninsula has yet to yield evidence of localised resources.[225] In terms of the types of metals, copper alloys (from which bronze can be obtained), lead, iron, silver, and tin are available locally, but gold is not, which means that it had to be imported.[226] The vast majority of these metals are found in Etruria in two main areas: the *Colline Metallifere* (or metal-bearing hills) south of the Arno river in what is now Tuscany and the Tolfa mountains in South Etruria (near modern-day Lazio). Besides these two areas, the island of Elba is also rich in iron (see below).[227] Etruria is thus part of a wider area of resources that extends all the way up to the Alps,[228] and this has seen much of the research focused on these two pockets. The abundance of resources in Etruria and the Alps has also seen an overemphasis on the Bronze Age as compared to the Iron Age, with the sites of the Bronze Age *Terramare-Palafitte* culture and the Bronze-Iron Age sites of Frattesina and Veruchio in the north of Italy receiving much attention.[229] This is partly due to the flourishing Bronze Age metal industry in Northern Italy and partly due to a general lacuna in scholarship on Iron Age metallurgy.[230] For example, Jung *et alii* recently examined the metals from northern contexts via lead isotope analysis. They point out that the bronze workshops in Veneto and Lombardy were sourcing their raw materials from the same copper ore deposits throughout the Bronze Age, namely the Southern Alps, and despite there being less evidence in Southern Italy, it is likely that it also obtained its metals from the Alps.[231]

Yet the picture is very sketchy for the Iron Age as little archaeometric analysis has been undertaken, especially for Southern Italy. What studies have been concerned with is whether metallurgy can be connected to the arrival of the Greeks and the establishment of their colonies at Pithekoussai and Cumae. Iron is not found in Campania, but Hartmann argued that ironworking and its technology were introduced in Italy by the Greeks as

[225] Giardino 1995 p304-305, 2005 p491-495; Bietti Sestieri 1997 p374.
[226] Giardino 2005 p491-495; Nijboer 1998 p142-143.
[227] Giardino 2005 p494, 2013 p724.
[228] Nijboer 1998 p162-165.
[229] Bietti Sestieri *et al* 2015.
[230] Giardino 2005, Bietti Sestieri 1997 p375-376.
[231] Jung et al 2011 p242, p244-245.

Greece shows earlier signs of iron metallurgy.[232] More recent research questions this theory and points to iron technology as being present some time before Euboians and others arrived in Italy.[233] Exemplary is the EIA site of Torre Galli (Calabria), where 56 out of 205 tombs dating to the 10th and 9th centuries BC include locally produced iron objects (most likely imported as raw materials from Etruria), which shows that iron was not a novel material at that time and neither was the ability to work it.[234] Giardino found evidence of early ironworking in Puglia and Sardinia, yet he concedes it is still difficult to say where iron technology was first introduced into Italy (for example, via Calabria and Sardinia in Southern Italy, via Cyprus, or directly from the Aegean) or whether it was discovered independently.[235] Others have argued that both the Phoenicians and the Greeks were searching for metals along the Tyrrhenian.[236] Although iron is frequently seen as the main attraction, silver and gold have been discussed by Markoe, who argued that while the Euboians were actively seeking iron, the Phoenicians were looking to acquire silver, and the Etruscans were working both materials.[237] However, Nijboer has countered this hypothesis as Markoe's view presupposes large-scale exploitation of local silver deposits by the Etruscans, but there is no evidence of gold or silver smelting or smithing, nor debris from activity in Etruria, which means Markoe's ideas cannot be fully supported.[238] Similar to the lack of evidence of silver working, the evidence of metal exploitation at many sites in Etruria is not consistent. For example, at Populonia, no iron object dates to the Villanovan period; at Vetulonia only a few date to the 8th century; at Tarquinia and Veii, iron objects increase during the 8th century, but at Satricum iron work intensifies from the second half of the 7th century BC although this is seen in the form of actual iron processing evidence (slag and raw iron).[239] Knowledge is just as scarce about the Etruscan period, which comprises the Orientalising and Archaic periods, and the modern extraction of metals at these sites, including that of Medieval date, has often been taken as evidence of ancient mining.[240] The situation is not any clearer as regards two other sites on the Tyrrhenian, associated with both iron and Greek colonisation, namely Elba and Pithekoussai. Although these two are discussed in-depth in Appendices II and VI, the

[232] Hartmann 1982, 1985 p285-289, although in a later article 1989 he accepts some local involvement.
[233] Corretti and Benvenuti 2001 p130-131.
[234] Nijboer 2011 p14; Giardino 2005 p500; Delpino 1988 p 49; Pacciarelli 1999.
[235] Giardino 2005 p500-502.
[236] Coldstream 1994a p55; Ridgway 1994 p40; Osborne 1996 p113-127; Tandy 1997 p66-78; Charalambidou 2017 p95.
[237] Markoe 1992 p71-80.
[238] Nijboer 1998 p143.
[239] Giardino 2005 p498-499.
[240] Giardino 2013 p725.

evidence for ironworking on Elba is no earlier than either the 6th or the 4th century BC, since later exploitation of the island's resources destroyed any earlier traces of metalworking.[241] With regard to Pithekoussai, the island of Ischia has no known metal deposits, but evidence of metalworking has been discovered in the Mazzola area, which includes workshops with iron slag and a lead disc that has been interpreted as used for weighing metals.[242] Some metalworking evidence has recently been found at Greek Cumae in the form of debris (iron slag, layers of metal fragments) and *fibulae*.[243] The evidence from these two sites suggests that iron was being imported into Campania and worked locally, but without archaeometric analysis, its provenance remains unknown. I have been able to identify only one such study for the whole of Bronze-Iron Age Campania. It was undertaken on some of the lead and copper-rich objects and slag fragments of EIA date from Poggiomarino, the Sarno Valley, and Monte Vetrano and has produced some interesting conclusions. The laboratory analyses on these samples point to Sardinia and Southern Spain as the sources, thus supporting the hypothesis of trade in both rough ores and refined metals between Southern Spain and Southern Italy, with Sardinia functioning as a probable intermediary.[244] Such new evidence suggests that not all the metals needed to produce local grave goods in Campania were sourced from inside the Italic Peninsula. These materials could have been sourced from Etruria, Elba, Calabria, the Eastern Alps, Sardinia, or Southern Spain, and without archaeometallurgical analysis, none of these mining areas can be confirmed. To conclude, the origin of the iron and bronze objects found in the cemeteries of Campania cannot be clearly established. Such a conclusion has implications for a study of the region's network links, especially because the provenance of objects and materials is essential.

Amber is a fossil resin made up of different chemical components from both the original plant resin and from the fossilisation processes that led to its preservation.[245] Deposits are found around the world, but the vast majority of amber found in European archaeological contexts comes from the Baltic sources: a type called succinite, which originates from Latvia to Poland.[246] Within Italy some deposits producing a type called simetite are known on Sicily, while others are found in the Apennines and in the Alps,

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[241] Corretti/Benvenuti 2001 p128-129, p142; Tannelli *et al.* 2001 p239; Corretti/Firmati 2011 p231; Benvenuti *et al*. 2013 p482-483.
[242] Ridgway 1984 p105-112, 1992 p34, p91-103, p139; Coldstream 2003 p208; Nijboer 1998 p166-167, p220-221; Giardino 2005 p499; Charalambidou 2017 p104-105.
[243] D'Acunto 2017 p301.
[244] Balassone *et al.* 2009 p46-54, p59.
[245] Angelini/Bellintani 2005 p441.
[246] Orsini 2010 p29.

but the extent to which they were exploited in antiquity is yet undetermined.[247] Therefore, it seems clear that none of the amber found in Bronze and Iron Age Campanian sites was locally sourced and, like metal, it must have been imported raw and locally worked or brought in as finished objects; however, the lack of comprehensive analyses of the amber objects found in the region means it is almost impossible to be certain as to where the amber was sourced from. For example, in his recent article on the amber objects in Campania, Luciano merely surveys the principle finds from various funerary contexts in the region without contextualising them against their possible sources.[248] A number of techniques can be used for the characterisation of amber, but perhaps the most well-known one for identifying provenance is infrared spectroscopy (IR) (used by Beck in his studies of Protohistoric Italian amber) and the more recent diffuse-reflectance infrared fourier transform spectroscopy (DRIFTS).[249]

Some of these techniques have been applied to amber objects from Italy, but most studies have focused on Bronze and Iron Age finds from Northern Italy, especially the aforementioned sites of Frattesina and Verucchio. Northern Italy, particularly the Adriatic area, has long been seen as a crucial gateway for the amber road into Italy, with De Navarro's amber routes model a prime example.[250] This model identified a system of trade routes from the Baltic: a central route down into Central Europe, through the Alps into Italy and along the Adriatic coast, and an eastern route via the Vistula and Danube rivers towards the Adriatic sea.[251] He argued that there was an increase in amber in Italy during the Iron Age due to the opening of the eastern route, while the central route flourished in the Bronze Age.[252] De Navarro's model assumed that all the amber found in Italy was of Baltic origin. Beck's use of IR analysis in the 1960s largely confirmed this, while more recent analyses have shown that Baltic succinite amber was the main type found in Italy during this period.[253] Negroni Catacchio argues that in the Bronze Age, amber only circulated around Italy in the form of finished objects (especially necklaces and beads) and never as a raw material.[254] It is difficult to confirm her theory, but most scholars agree that by the EBA, amber had found its way into Northeast Italy.[255]

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[247] Angelini/Bellintani 2005 p447; Cultraro 2007.
[248] Luciano 2016.
[249] Beck 1965, 1972; Angelini/Bellintani 2005 p441-442.
[250] De Navarro 1925.
[251] De Navarro 1925 p483-500.
[252] De Navarro 1925 p502; Bellintani 2016 p111-112.
[253] Beck *et al.* 1965; Beck 1972; Angelini/Bellintani 2005 p447-452.
[254] Negroni Catacchio *et al.* 2006 p1461-1463.
[255] Bellintani 2014 p114, 120-126; Orsini 2010 p31-33; Negroni Catacchio 2011a p56-57.

Amber thus played a prominent part in Bronze Age trade in Italy as shown by the Bronze Age sites of Campestrin and Frattesina and the Iron Age site of Verucchio, which were working amber from the Baltic.[256] Bellintani has recently argued that amber circulated within the Alpine copper network, which encompassed both the Central and Eastern Alps and drew in the Po Valley and the Upper Tyrrhenian areas.[257] Trade in the goods produced at Frattesina and Verucchio saw the amber network come to include the areas that had Proto-Villanovan populations, such as Tuscany, Umbria, Marche, and the stretch along the Tyrrhenian, which was in close contact with Sardinia.[258] From the LBA down to the 5th century BC, the Adriatic has been described as 'the sea of amber' with trade dominated by the Veneti and Picene peoples.[259] Nijboer has recently argued that the amber found at Torre Galli in the Iron Age appears to have travelled from North-east to South-west Italy, while iron went in the opposite direction, from the south-west to the centre and the north.[260] As Negroni Catacchio points out, trade in amber thus brought many cultures into contact, intensifying cultural relationships and the exchange of artefacts. Moreover, whoever possessed amber demonstrated to others that they belonged to an intercultural élite extending from Greece to Central and Southern Europe.[261] Regrettably, little investigation of the provenances of Iron Age amber has taken place, which is especially the case for Campania, rendering the study of imported materials and network ties proposed in this thesis a difficult task. However, some recent evidence comes from the above-mentioned Poggiomarino site. Analyses of the amber found there indicate that it was not only imported in bulk, but also that objects were being produced *in situ*.[262] Furthermore, the DRIFTS technique identified both Baltic and non-Baltic amber and some probably of Apennine origin.[263] Nevertheless, while this single study cannot be taken as definitive evidence of the provenance of all the amber in Campania it is clear that the material was imported in pre-Roman Italy. Therefore, with amber being an imported material in Campania, but of unknown provenance, it will be treated accordingly when producing network graphs in each case study.

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[256] Bietti Sestieri 2005 p9-18, 2009 p32-33; Negroni Catacchio 2011a p65-67; Von Eles/Trocchi 2011 p99-104; Bellintani 2014 p126; Bietti Sestieri *et al.* 2015; Bellintani/Gonzato 2017 p176-182 summarise the evidence from Campestrin and Frattesina.
[257] Bellintani 2014 p120-121, 125-126; Bellintani/Gonzato 2017 p178.
[258] Bietti Sestieri 2005 p17-20, Bellintani 2014 p126.
[259] Negroni Catacchio 2011b p71.
[260] Nijboer 2010 p7-10, 17.
[261] Negroni Catacchio 2011b p72-73.
[262] Cicirelli/Albore Livadie 2008 p477-478; Albore Livadie 2008 p483; Livadie 2012a p21; Cicirelli 2003 p358; Guzzo 2006 p220; Albore Livadie *et al.* 2005 p701.
[263] Bellintani/Angelini 2012 p162-164.

Another material is glass or, as it is referred to in Italian publications, *pasta vitrea*. While similar to amber due to its transparency, glass is an artificial solid material first produced in Syria and Iraq ca. 2500 BC.[264] Henderson likens its emergence to a paradigm shift, a material transformation of various elements into a glossy, translucent, smooth refractive object.[265] The majority of ancient glass was produced from a chemical base of silica fluxed with soda. Silica-soda-based glass has two main production techniques: plant-ash glass and natron glass. The former is made by mixing plant ash with quartz pebbles, while the latter requires a combination of soda-rich minerals (e.g., natron) and quartz sand.[266] Ash from desert plants was used as flux for glass for more than a thousand years, but it was gradually replaced by natron or mineral soda during the 1st millennium BC. It is this substitution of one technology with another that marks the Bronze-Iron Age transition as a key period in glassmaking.[267] However, as Henderson notes, the archaeological evidence for glassmaking is often variable and inevitably incomplete.[268]

Consequently, the majority of studies on ancient glass focus on the objects themselves. Similar to the situation with both metals and amber, research on Protohistoric glass in Italy has disproportionately concentrated on the north of the peninsula and the Bronze Age materials found there. Again, the site of Frattesina in Veneto (see above) has received a lot of attention as the evidence of a glass workshop suggests full-time craft specialists were at work there.[269] This imbalance has left the material from Southern Italy largely unexamined.[270] However, a handful of recent studies have used laboratory techniques to examine samples of glass beads from Bronze and Iron Age sites in Campania, such as Sarno, Cumae, Capua, Pompeii, and Pozzuoli.[271] While the majority of beads are from unknown contexts, a small number come from two burials studied in this thesis: San Marzano t.928 and San Valentino Torio t.818. Conte *et alii* highlight that the first phase of the beads they analysed from Southern Italy (9th to mid-8th century BC) are natron glass with links to Egypt.[272] Furthermore, they argue that these objects were carried by the Phoenicians and this "testifies that this indigenous population was involved in Mediterranean trade even before coming into contact with the first Greek settlers."[273]

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[264] Henderson 2013 p8; Conte *et al.* 2016b.
[265] Henderson 2013 p19.
[266] Henderson 2013 p22-55 ; Conte *et al.* 2016a.
[267] Conte *et al.* 2016a p409; Conte *et al.* 2018 p1814.
[268] Henderson 2013 p18.
[269] Henderson 2013 p153.
[270] Conte *et al.* 2018 p1813.
[271] Conte *et al.* 2016a; Conte *et al.* 2016b; Conte *et al.* 2018.
[272] Conte *et al.* 2016a p430.
[273] Conte *et al.* 2016a p430.

Unfortunately, as in the case of metals and amber, the provenances of glass cannot be identified for all the sites in this thesis. Yet it seems fair to assume that the glass objects discussed in the following chapters were carried by the Phoenicians. This will be recalled when producing the network graphs for each chapter.

Another important object in this study is pottery. It requires a clayey raw material, which is shaped and then fired in a kiln. Unlike amber, iron, and glass, it is found in Campania, and many pottery workshops existed in antiquity.[274] Because ceramics were also imported from outside the region, provenance remains an important issue. A number of different ceramic types are found in Iron Age Campania and are defined by the technique used to produce them. However, the terminology used to discuss ceramics is problematic and rarely consistent. Firstly, *impasto* refers to handmade ceramics with inclusions that can be both coarse ware and tableware. Although the most common ceramic type found throughout Italy from the 11th to 6th centuries BC, "it is the pottery category with the loosest of definitions" as it can refer to pots of non-depurated clay but also to the actual mixture of clays used in pottery production.[275] *Impasto* fabric was largely unsuitable for throwing on a potter's wheel, yet it changed from handmade coils or slabs of a single clay type built up into a pot shape during the Iron Age to a depurated clay with more standardisation and better firing control during the Orientalising period.[276] Secondly, the *figulina* type refers to a purified, levigated clay that can be adapted and adjusted for modelling on a fast wheel. It is indicative of a more advanced production system.[277] However, Nijboer notes that the description of these two types is hampered by a clear lack of fabric studies, and both *impasto* and *figulina* are often used for numerous fabrics of diverse origins across all of Italy.[278] The word *argilla* normally means clay but is often used for both fine ware and coarse ware in the literature, which adds to the confusion. In Italian coarse ware is referred to as *ceramica grezza*, *ceramica comune* or *ceramica di uso domestico*, terms which reflect the everyday, domestic, and kitchen function of these types. Such vessels are distinguishable from *impasto* and *figulina* wares by the much higher visibility of inclusions in the fabric. The repertoire of coarse ware forms is limited to a small group of shapes (*olletta*, *dolium*, *bacino*, *mortaio*), and these show a marked uniformity.[279] Alongside these types, there are Italo-Geometric, Etrusco-

[274] De Bonis *et al.* 2013 p478.
[275] Gnade/Stobbe 2014 p1248.
[276] Nijboer 1998 p70; Gnade/Stobbe 2014 p1249.
[277] Nijboer 1998 p70.
[278] Nijboer 1998 p70 fn. 112.
[279] Gnade/Stobbe 2014 p1253-1256.

Corinthian, and *bucchero* wares, all of which developed in Central and Southern Italy after the introduction of wheel throwing in the 8th century BC.[280] While the Italo-Geometric type was based on Greek Geometric pottery, *bucchero* emerged from the native *impasto* tradition and may have followed Oriental metal vessels, resulting in its metallic sheen.[281] *Bucchero* was first produced at *Caere* around 700 BC, spreading to *Veii*, Tarquinia, Vulci and then Southern Italy.[282] It is traditionally divided into three or four stages based on its firing technique: *sottile* (fine) for its early form, *transizionale* (transitional) for the middle stage, *normale* (ordinary) for the 6th century, and *pesante* (heavy) for its final stage.[283] While initially a luxury ceramic displayed in élite tombs, it appears to have gradually devalued until it became common tableware by the 5th century BC.[284] In order to produce any of these ceramic types, a settlement or pottery production centre needs access to sources of clay. According to Nijboer, a pottery-making community is normally located between 1 and 7 km away from clay and temper sources. However, both paint and slip resources can be obtained from much further afield.[285] Such evidence is important for any investigation of the provenances of pottery because the geological surroundings of a settlement may provide an answer on clay and temper sources. Ceramic studies in Iron Age Italy have focused on typological and stylistic features when attempting to understand provenance, especially with Greek ceramics where archaeometry is rarely utilised. D'Agostino's recent discussion of the role of Greek pottery and its reception along the EIA Tyrrhenian makes no mention of fabric or chemical analysis.[286] The publication of the first volume of the *Dizionario della cultura materiale* of Pontecagnano treats Greek pottery in similar typological terms, and local *impasto* is only examined for its position in producing an absolute and relative chronology for the EIA.[287]

Archaeometry has much to offer, and a number of techniques could be used to understand the characterisation and provenances of the ceramics produced in Iron Age Italy.[288] Because many of the available laboratory techniques are costly and time-consuming, the vast majority of analysis is undertaken by eye, such as fabric analysis,

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[280] Nijboer 1998 p68-72; Gnade/Stobbe 2014 p1252-1253.
[281] Nijboer 1998 p56-58, p68; Rasmussen 1979 p2, p157.
[282] Bartoloni 1989 p211; Nijboer 1998 p58; Gnade/Stobbe 2014 p1250-1251.
[283] Rasmussen 1979 p3 notes that these terms are all used rather loosely and for a wide variety of types, usage, and meanings from one publication to the next. Gnade/Stobbe 2014 p1251-1252.
[284] Gnade/Stobbe 2014 p1250-1252; Nijboer 1998 p58.
[285] Nijboer 1998 p58-59.
[286] D'Agostino 2015.
[287] D'Agostino 2015, Pontecagnano III.1 2016.
[288] For a discussion of these techniques, see Orton/Hughes 2013 p155-189.

with a magnifying glass or a low-power binocular microscope.[289] Little archaeometric research has been completed on the Iron Age ceramics in Campania aside from some recent studies of the later phases at Cumae that point to clay from Ischia playing an important role in production.[290] Indeed, Ischia was one of the most important pottery production sites around the bay of Naples down to the Hellenistic period, when its clay was transported to the mainland.[291] Mermati mentions some chemical and petrographic analysis on the wares produced in Pithekoussai and Cumae, which have very similar styles. However, the clay is so homogenous that it has not been possible to identify a clear difference between them, resulting in both being called *Phlegrean*.[292] Many pottery workshops are likely to have existed in Campania in antiquity, but knowledge of the raw materials they used is still largely missing.[293] Nevertheless, with regard to both Pithekoussai and Cumae, speculation has focused on the location of workshops. Early on, Buchner asserted that they were located only on Ischia as it had better clay than Cumae due to the volcanic inclusions found on the island.[294] However, the earliest evidence of a kiln on Ischia dates to the Hellenistic period, which means that Buchner's theory lacks support.[295] More recent hypotheses have placed the pottery workshops first at Pithekoussai and then, following the abandonment of the site and the move to the mainland, at Cumae.[296]

It is unclear whether the move to Cumae no longer saw clay removed from Ischia. Mermati quite rightly observes that with Ischia around 20 km away from Cumae, it would not make sense logistically to rely on clay imports from Pithekoussai.[297] At the same time, this conclusion does not take into account the fact that in the 4th century BC, clay from Ischia was being used to produce the black glaze vessels in the sanctuary at Cumae.[298] This later use of Ischian clay means that it could have also been sourced from Pithekoussai at an earlier stage, but for now the question remains open. To sum up, the origins of the clay beds for most of the sites in Campania remain unknown and await further archaeometrical analysis. As this overview shows, a variety of terms are applied to the

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[289] Orton/Hughes 2013 p71-74, p155-160.
[290] Munzi *et al.* 2014 p69-85 have studied the 4th century black glaze wares at Cumae using a combination of XRF and XRPD (semi-quantitative X-Ray Powder diffraction analysis). Their study showed that clay from Ischia was used to produce the pots from Cumae.
[291] De Bonis *et al.* 2013, 2014 p3229, 2018.
[292] Mermati 2012 p43.
[293] De Bonis *et al.* 2013 p478, however on p498 they note that archaeometry is slowly making progress on the provenances of the clayey raw materials used in the region.
[294] Mermati 2012 p237; Buchner-Rittman 1948; Buchner 1954.
[295] Cuozzo *et al.* 2006 p25.
[296] Both Nizzo 2007c p37 and Mermati 2012 p238 find this idea compelling.
[297] Mermati 2012 p238-239 fn.25.
[298] Munzi *et al.* 2014 p69-85.

ceramics of this period. It should be noted that the publications dealing with Campania are not always accurate with the terms they use. Consequently, I will refer to handmade wares as *impasto*, locally made depurated pots as *argilla*, and everyday wares as coarse ware.

The final materials with importance for this study are textiles, which are perishable materials. The focus here will be on wool, the second major type of textile fibre in antiquity after linen.[299] Wool comes predominantly from sheep and is a hair fibre composed of the protein keratin.[300] The coat, or fleece, of a sheep consists of the outer layer of coarse kemp, the hair, and the underwool.[301] Wool was already being used to produce textiles in Europe by the early 2nd millennium BC, and evidence exists of the long-distance trade of woollen textiles by the 14th century BC.[302] While trade is an important part of the wool economy, many other activities are involved before textiles can be exchanged. These include a long chain of manufacturing processes, from sheep herding and management to the preparation of wool fibres, the spinning and weaving of the wool, post-weaving treatments, and tailoring.[303] Consequently, large-scale production of wool required access to significant numbers of woolly sheep and well-organised production strategies to manage them.[304] The introduction of more advanced wool production techniques (such as sheepherding and remodelling of the landscape) would have led to extensive economic, social, and cultural changes in ancient societies. In turn, these changes could give rise to urbanisation, social complexity, city-states, and empires.[305] Despite the importance of the ancient wool economy, Gleba notes that textiles are frequently ignored in studies of craft production, especially those of ancient Italy.[306] This oversight may be explained by the fact that textiles rarely survive in the archaeological record or are often poorly preserved.[307]

However, textile tools deposited as grave goods are frequently taken as evidence of a female identity of the deceased. Similarly, hooks for carding wool, such as those in t.5946 at Pontecagnano, have been taken as evidence of specialised textile workers (Ch.3).[308] Identifying the gender of textile workers is a difficult task, but the idea that this

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[299] Gleba 2008 p72.
[300] Gleba 2008 p72, 2012 p3643.
[301] Gleba 2008 p72, 2017a p11.
[302] Sabatini 2017 p43.
[303] Sabatini 2017 p44-45.
[304] Sabatini 2017 p45.
[305] Sabatini 2017 p45; Gleba 2017b p1206.
[306] Gleba 2007 p3; 2017b p1205.
[307] Gleba 2007 p4.
[308] Gleba 2008 p99; Bailo Modesti 1996 p45-46; Cerchiai 1995 p94.

was women's work is widespread. Sabatini notes that evidence is lacking for Bronze Age Europe to prove or refute that textiles were predominantly made by women.[309] While weaving has frequently been associated with women, doubts have recently been voiced. Gleba argues that spinning should be understood as symbolic of women rather than weaving.[310] Her view is based on the single spindle and distaff for spinning being much more portable than the heavy looms needed for weaving. These tools would have enabled women "to perform the task [of spinning] practically anywhere and [made] it more visible."[311] For Gleba, a spindle in a grave is more decisive evidence of spinning and a female identity, while multiple implements indicate weaving, thus a specialist textile worker.[312] Tools are important evidence, but they are only indirect attestation of the wool economy and should be used in tandem with animal bones or textile fragments in order to argue for evidence of wool production.[313] Wool is obtained from sheep, which means that the study of faunal remains can provide significant information on wool production to reinforce the evidence from the tools themselves.

Another source of evidence on the wool economy are the textiles themselves. While textile remains have been known since the 19th century, technology has only recently started being used to analyse them. For example, Gleba has studied the organic remains preserved on metal objects from various Iron Age burial contexts.[314] These organic textile traces were created when the metal corrosion formed casts around the fibres, which then preserved their size and external form.[315] Gleba has used archaeometric techniques, such as SEM to examine these remains and has drawn some interesting conclusions on textiles in Bronze-Iron Age Italy. She points out how most textiles in Italy show links to the traditions of Central Europe, such as the Hallstatt sphere, while Greece had affinities with the Near East. However, evidence exists that the Adriatic coast of Italy had affinities with the textile traditions of the Balkan side of the Adriatic.[316] By the Iron Age, this situation changed, and the textiles produced in Southern Italy show affinities with the Eastern Mediterranean, which Gleba associates with the Orientalising revolution.[317] By the 7th and 6th centuries, these textiles also demonstrate the development of hybrid forms. Finds from Ripacandida (an Iron Age site in modern Basilicata) combine a Greek weave with a

[309] Sabatini 2017 p44.
[310] Gleba 2009, 2011.
[311] Gleba 2009 p76.
[312] Gleba 2009 p76.
[313] Sabatini 2017 p48.
[314] Gleba 2012, 2017a, 2017b; Gleba *et al.* 2017.
[315] Gleba 2017b p1207.
[316] Gleba 2017a p23, 2017b p1213-1214.
[317] Gleba 2017a p24.

typically Italic tablet-woven border that functioned as a status or rank indicator.[318] These hybrid textiles speak of interaction and adaptation, yet earlier evidence from Cumae also points to the continuation of tradition. As we shall see in Chapter 5, the weaving technique of the fabric used to wrap the bones in the series of rich 8th century burials at Cumae was analysed by Gleba and identified as Euboian Greek rather than Italic (Chapter 6).[319] Furthermore, these textiles remained in use at the site well into the Archaic period, which suggests that the Greek colonists continued the traditions of their homeland long after they had settled in Italy.[320] Textiles are emblematic of the problems archaeologists face when trying to establish where materials and objects come from. Many objects and raw materials were imported in antiquity, but their true origins can often be established only through laboratory analysis. The cost of such techniques makes them prohibitive for this thesis. Consequently, for this study of network ties, where the provenance of objects is essential, the opinions of the excavators and researchers on the imports and imitations from the various sites discussed here will be assumed correct when producing the network graphs for each site.

2.4 Status, Gender, and Funerary Archaeology

The Iron Age evidence in Campania is entirely funerary in nature. Burial contexts reflect the end of an individual's life, while funerals themselves are open to manipulation, negotiation, and re-evaluation; as closed contexts, burials rarely indicate how the status of the deceased changed over their life span.[321] Information on the gender and status of the inhabitants of ancient Campania is important for this study. Understanding the different network ties every individual had can help to shed light on the dynamics in each cemetery. This section will outline some of the pitfalls in relying on a single context to uncover such information and offer some solutions on how to identify status in Iron Age Campania. In terms of wealth and rank, processual and post-processual archaeologists were concerned with uncovering social class in past societies. While the former tended to see funerary practices as a mirror of contemporary society, the latter emphasised the dynamism of funerals as contested events where the status and rank of the deceased could be exaggerated or misrepresented for political gain.[322] Part of the problem in interpreting

[318] Gleba 2017a p24.
[319] Gleba *et al.* 2017 p45-61 and p58-61.
[320] Gleba *et al.* 2017 p61.
[321] Parker Pearson 2003.
[322] Parker Pearson 2003 p32.

these contexts is neatly summarised by Parker Pearson who says that we "cannot dig up funerals only the deposits resulting from their terminating practices."[323] The final moments of such ceremonies are susceptible to change and show wide variability even across the same cultural and temporal context. For example, the Roman Empire was marked by a great diversity of funerary rituals, which Pearce describes as possessing a "kaleidoscopic character" characterised by a "nuanced mosaic of practices".[324] Amongst this mosaic of rituals are differences in the grave goods deposited, the ritual used, the size and structure of the tomb, and also bone evidence. Pearce's observations on Roman Britain indicate how such diversity marked the more micro- as well as the macroscale: while the funerary practices in the province show the Roman preoccupation with ranking people socially, the sheer variety of burial practices illustrates how élite and poor burials did not adhere to one clear pattern. The problems in offering a clear definition of élite burials are not limited to the Roman Empire but are arguably something faced by all archaeologists. In the case of Iron Age Campania, scholars normally define the status of burials on the basis of the number of grave goods, their prestige status (or lack thereof), the size of the grave, and the type of rite used. Because this study is concerned with tie strength, it is not incumbent upon me to define the status of each individual burial in each case study. However, it is worth reviewing how élite/poor status and gender are currently interpreted and indicating some criteria that can be used to define élite burials.

Whenever status has been considered in Campania, it has tended to be approached via social-evolutionary narratives, which, as discussed in §1.4.2, argue that the EIA settlements progressed from an egalitarian to a stratified form of political organisation. For example, D'Agostino argues that the cremation and inhumation tombs of the earliest phases at the Villanovan site of Pontecagnano show no signs of differentiation in terms of rank or status (Chapter 3).[325] Yet the apparent lack of differentiation and the sense of egalitarianism may reflect a problem common to all Villanovan sites. Bietti Sestieri notes that in Etruria itself, it is rare to find signs of prestige and rank in Villanovan cemeteries.[326] The notion of egalitarianism being visible through grave goods assemblages has received criticism from scholars working on the cemeteries at Bronze Age Jericho. While Shay argued there was nothing to distinguish between any social strata in the grave goods or treatment of the body, Palumbo analysed the same dataset and

[323] Parker Pearson 2003 p49.
[324] Pearce 2017 p3-4.
[325] D'Agostino 2015 p237
[326] Bietti Sestieri 1997 p385.

found clear differences in the types of grave goods and mortuary rite.[327] Therefore, Palumbo's conclusions challenge the idea that egalitarianism can be easily uncovered in the burial record, which in turn has consequences for how we understand the evidence at Pontecagnano.

In the case of large-sized graves, especially those covered with tumuli or burial mounds, it may be argued that archaeologists are on safer ground when it comes to interpreting the status of the deceased, namely an élite individual. This is true up to a degree. The burial monuments of warrior chiefs often formed important parts of the landscape in association with earlier monuments, thus helping to create a sense of continuity and common identity with the land and particular people. The burials of such individuals have often generated much discussion, especially as they can be the locus of competition and occasions to display the warrior character of the chief.[328] Consequently, chiefs and male warriors have long been seen as agents of social change, especially in terms of the European Bronze Age.[329] As we will see, a series of rich burials in Campania come under the term 'princely' tomb due to their prestigious and luxury grave goods, and these tombs are comparable to the chief or warrior burials found in Bronze-Iron Age Europe. However, recent studies have reassessed the role and status of chiefs, especially with regard to the special nature awarded to their grave goods. Brück and Fontijn observe that many of the grave goods associated with a male warrior character, such as swords, are deposited in rivers and on hilltops in the European Bronze Age. Such cases of selective deposition were not based on the object's form but the life-path it had (e.g., used in battle, given as gifts, etc.).[330] Placing objects in contexts other than tombs challenges their exclusive association with chiefly figures and shows how weapons were not always relevant to the cultural values and social identities that mourners emphasised during burials.[331] Grave goods in the European Bronze Age were thus more representative of the interpersonal relationships of the bereaved and the deceased and helped to construct identities for these diverse individuals.[332]

Complex treatments of grave goods may also have marked the Iron Age in Europe. For example, Olivier's research on the Hallstatt 'princely' burial at Hochdorf in SW Germany demonstrates how hybrids of local and foreign practices can play equal roles in

[327] Palumbo 1987 p45; Shay 1983.
[328] Earle 1987 p299-300.
[329] Brück/Fontijn 2013 p203.
[330] Brück/Fontijn 2013 p200-201, p205.
[331] Brück/Fontijn 2013 p209.
[332] Brück/Fontijn 2013 p207.

the burial rite. The grave goods from the burial, which lay under a large tumulus, were often interpreted as influenced by Greek or Etruscan banqueting culture, but Olivier has shown that they instead reflect a hybrid of local meat consumption practices and those of a wider Mediterranean origin.[333] Banqueting thus loses its archaeological unity as an interpretation because the Hochdorf grave goods show combinations of different meanings from different cultural and temporal contexts. The complexity of the Hochdorf burial is further illustrated by the fact that the grave goods were all placed in the tomb at different moments over a long period of time, and neither the structure of the grave nor the grave goods reveal a single unequivocal meaning.[334] Olivier's work, therefore, demonstrates a need to examine the whole burial context rather than merely the objects interred within it in order to uncover the social status or identity of the deceased.[335] The evidence on Bronze Age chiefs and the Iron Age Hochdorf tumulus indicate how a single definition of an élite burial based on the grave goods deposited or size of the tomb may be problematic for Campania as well. Nevertheless, such burials have been interpreted as of élite status, especially when they have been the subject of reuse and reinterpretation strategies. Viking reuse of barrows on older pre-Christian burial sites in 9th century AD Halland (Sweden) helped to create a sense of continuity with the land. Moreover, these barrows served as ritual tools where collective memory could be invented and repeated rituals could reinforce links with ancestors, either real or imagined.[336] A shift in the burial culture of Etruria from the EIA to the Orientalising period from individual burials to élite chamber tombs, which were placed inside large tumuli, provides a similar case and was already discussed in §1.2.2.[337] Both of these two examples thus confirm the importance of collective memory and of funerary monuments as enduring alterations of the landscape, anchoring time and forming associations with ancestors and deities.[338] However, such burials with either tumuli or chamber tombs are generally lacking in the cemeteries of Campania, which again indicates potential problems in identifying élite tombs.

Some archaeologists, such as Tainter, have questioned the assumption that elaborate mortuary behaviour equates with high social status.[339] One way around this may be attempting to compare the élite burials with the more modest graves in a cemetery and then using a wealth measure to define a value for wealth that can be applied to other case

[333] Olivier 1999 p116-119.
[334] Olivier 1999 p119, p124-126, p132.
[335] Olivier 1999 p127.
[336] Artelius 2013 p37.
[337] Riva 2010 p72-105.
[338] Jones 2007 p54.
[339] Tainter 1978 p125-126.

studies. Such an exercise was attempted by Shennan and Hodson for EBA Branč (Slovakia) and EIA Hallstatt, respectively. Shennan devised a scale of value for the grave goods in the Branč cemetery based on the distance and difficulty needed to obtain the raw materials and the estimated time to produce the objects.[340] Viewing female ornaments as of higher value than those associated with males, she concluded that women either had a higher status than men or were dressed in funerary costumes that displayed the wealth accumulated by their male kin.[341] Hodson's study of Hallstatt organised the objects into hierarchies of types and examined whether the more elaborate types occurred regularly alongside each other in graves.[342]

Wealth measures have been criticised, however, as the value they attribute to objects may tell us more about our modern preconceptions than ancient ideas of wealth. Bradley points out that wealth scores only work if we assume that all examples of a particular object in a cemetery were equivalent to each other, and since this is problematic, there is a need to confirm perceived values with analysis of the same types found in other contexts (settlements, ritual and refuse deposits, etc.).[343] As discussed above, in Bronze Age Europe, the value of objects, such as swords, was not static and fixed but context-dependent, rendering wealth scores based only on grave goods arbitrary and potentially unreliable.[344] Binford and Tainter both placed more emphasis on the energy expenditure of the entire community to construct or prepare an élite burial as a sign of the deceased's higher rank rather than the wealth attributed to the grave goods.[345] How useful wealth measures would be for this study remains to be seen. To reiterate, my goal is not to study the social status of each burial in Campania but to focus on the network ties of each one. Wealth measures apply arbitrary values to burial contexts that are questionable in their accuracy and the lack of non-funerary contexts in Campania makes it difficult to compare a specific wealth measure across a given society. Consequently, this method will not be used here. A working definition of élite burials in Campania could be made based on tombs of a large size, with rich or large grave goods, with funerary markers, tumuli, or burial markers, and/or using a privileged rite (cremation or inhumation). As stated above, in other contexts, such as ancient Rome, such definitions are as arbitrary as the aforementioned wealth measures. For the purpose of this thesis, I

[340] Shennan 1975 p284.
[341] Shennan 1975 p285-287.
[342] Hodson 1977, 1985 p194-195.
[343] Bradley 1988 p328-329.
[344] Brück/Fontijn 2013 p200-201, 205.
[345] Binford 1971 p17, p21; Tainter 1978 p125.

will follow what the excavators of each site define as élite and more modest burials. Nevertheless, there is a need to examine what competition there may have been between élite and non-élite groups in society.

One important study has shown how competition between social groups can lead not only to the emulation of élite funerary practices but also to measures by the élite to counter this emulation. Cannon's research on 19th century gravestones in Cambridgeshire led him to conclude that emulation of the rich by the lower classes caused the former to restrict their own funerary practices, a process of display he describes as elaboration and restraint.[346] He believes this process is inevitable because continued excess, elaboration, and expense in funerary displays cease to impress onlookers and catalyse a move towards simplicity.[347] A year earlier, Bradley speculated on whether emulation of upper by lower ranking groups resulted from the wider availability of particular object types that, in turn, caused these elite symbols to lose their restricted currency, and new prestige goods had to be adopted to replace them.[348] He points to *terra sigillata* in Roman Britain and grave goods in North American cemeteries as instances of emulation and its role in stripping the objects of value. Similarly, Cannon cites ancient Greece and the Northeast Iroquois as examples of emulation that are visible in archaeology.[349] However, Cannon's ideas have been criticised for not taking sample size, corpse disposal and regional variations into account and for reducing mortuary practices, which are extremely complex, to a mere matter of fashion.[350] Furthermore, Cannon's study ignores how emulation may cause the élite to shift their conspicuous consumption to different spheres, as in from display in funerary contexts to religious dedications as seen in ancient Greece.[351] Bradley notes the exact circumstances that lead to Cannon's phenomenon need to be clearly defined, which he fails to do. Consequently, we no longer have an objective basis to provide a fixed value for objects, making it difficult to compare wealth between graves.[352] Despite Cannon's work having much potential, it does not supply a clear method of measuring cases of emulation elsewhere, especially as his case studies rely on historical sources along with archaeological data, and such sources may be lacking for other contexts. These issues do not mean that emulation did not exist in the past, only that it is extremely difficult to spot if the evidence relies merely on funerary data. With this in mind, this thesis will follow

[346] Cannon 1989 p438-439.
[347] Cannon 1989 p444.
[348] Bradley 1988 p328.
[349] Cannon 1989 p442-445.
[350] Cannon 1989 p447-454 responses from Runnels and Bartel.
[351] Cannon 1989 p449 and p451-452 comments by Bradley and Morris.
[352] Cannon 1989 p448-449 Bradley's response.

the identifications made by scholars of the region on what designates each tomb as of upper or lower social status. A clear definition of these cannot be given at the outset, which, as we have seen, is a common problem in archaeology. I will therefore trust the opinions of the excavators and leave issues of defining status to someone undertaking future research on Campania's cemeteries.

Similarly, a problem is found with the treatment of gender in current scholarship of the region. While considerable research on gender has been undertaken in archaeology in general terms, a serious lack of engagement appears to mark Italian archaeology. As Whitehouse observed, Italian studies assume gender to be fixed rather than something to be negotiated or performed, which is largely a result of the historical development of Italian archaeology from both the natural sciences and Classical archaeology.[353] Cuozzo has recently highlighted that little interest in gender or archaeological theory is now found in Italy despite the significant debates of the 1970s and 1980s inspired by Marxism.[354] The lack of engagement has meant that the difference between social gender and biological gender has rarely been the subject of discussion. In archaeology in general, social gender is increasingly understood as a social construct rather than biologically determined, and multiple gender identities in the past have been recognised.[355] Italian archaeology identifies gender based on the grave goods in each burial, which is clearly the case with Campania. The two main reasons for this are the lack of non-funerary contexts and the need to assign gender to the deceased as the acidic soils in Campania destroy physical anthropological data.[356] Such an approach defines males by the presence of weapons and particular types of *fibulae* and females by weaving tools, various types of decorative objects and 'female' *fibulae* types. This arbitrary approach was criticised by Vida Navarro, who re-analysed the gender attributions of 99 graves from the Picentino necropolis of Pontecagnano. She strongly criticised the idea that specific *fibulae* could be identified as male or female[357] since these objects could not always be matched with osteoarchaeological data.[358] Vida Navarro asserted that biological sex and social gender cannot be attributed on a one-to-one basis with particular objects, proposing instead the use of 'warriors' and 'weavers' as perhaps more adequate gender categories than simple male and female identities.[359]

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[353] Whitehouse 2001 p50.
[354] Cuozzo 2016 p8-9.
[355] Herring and Lomas 2009 p1.
[356] Vida Navarro 1992 p73.
[357] Vida Navarro 1992 p77.
[358] Whitehouse 2001 p86
[359] Vida Navarro 1992 p95; Whitehouse 2001 p86; Gilchrist 1999 p78.

While Vida Navarro's work has been widely cited in Anglophone studies of pre-Roman Italy, it has been virtually ignored by Italian scholarship. Reviewing Vida Navarro's article, Gastaldi, who excavated at Pontecagnano, was largely dismissive of its findings. Gastaldi was adamant that Vida Navarro's approach was wrong and her own gender attributions were correct because the *fibulae* had been accurately attributed a male or female gender.[360] Gastaldi advised Vida Navarro, who was then an MA student, to spend her study grants more wisely and visit the museum at Pontecagnano instead of criticising the attribution of gender through the *fibulae*.[361] Her terse dismissal of Vida Navarro's work demonstrates the theoretical void existing between Anglophone and Italian scholarship. While Vida Navarro's study demonstrates the circularity between attributing gender on the basis of grave goods without corroborating skeletal remains,[362] it does not follow that all men and women fit the warrior and weaver types she proposed. There does not appear to be a general correspondence between biological sex and grave goods across the European Bronze and Iron Ages. Robb has studied gender and objects in Italy from the Neolithic to the Iron Age and noted that there is a broad trend of males using weapons to demonstrate their capacity for violence, while females utilised various objects to demonstrate beauty.[363] However, this does not mean that gender identities were binary during the Bronze and Iron Ages.[364] Weapons in graves did not always equal warriors, or men as some bladed objects were actually tools. Despite the possibility of the blade being a metaphor for a phallus, men were not only warriors; they could also hold other roles, such as heads of families, farmers, herdsmen, craftsmen, merchants, and scribes.[365]

The modern notions of what constituted male and female roles in past societies need to be reconsidered. For example, the modern notion of the male warrior as linked to warfare, masculinity, and the discipline of the military has been questioned for Bronze Age Europe by Treherne in his seminal article. He argued that a new pan-European lifestyle appeared in Bronze Age Europe focusing on a form of beauty that was unique to the male warrior in both life and death.[366] Highlighting the frequency of toilet articles (tweezers, razors, mirrors, combs, etc.) amongst the grave goods at this time, he argued that from the Bronze Age to the early Medieval period, masculinity was linked to bodily

[360] Gastaldi 1993 p342-344.
[361] Gastaldi 1993 p341.
[362] Herring and Lomas 2009 p2.
[363] Robb 1997 esp. p54-55.
[364] Robb and Harris 2017 p1-6.
[365] Arnold 2016 p841.
[366] Treherne 1995 p106.

regimes where combing long hair demonstrated sexual potency.[367] Treherne's article has been well received and highlights the problematic association of grave goods and gender roles. Recent criticism has pointed out that Treherne largely ignores the issue that various life stages of males (prepubescent or senescent) may have been less linked with the warrior status, and he presented a sanitised view of masculinity that not all men may have conformed to.[368] Evidence from Iron Age Lazio and Etruria shows how both male and female identities did not necessarily depend on the grave goods deposited with them. In these two regions, both toilet equipment and weapons were also found in female tombs, while female 'princely' tombs included chariots and weapons that are viewed as typical male grave goods.[369] As discussed in §2.3, it is not clear that only women undertook textile production jobs, such as weaving and spinning. Although textile tools may indeed signal female identity, other objects also serve this purpose. As Arnold has observed for the head ornaments and metal belts of the Iron Age Heuneberg area of SW Germany, some objects mark a rite-of-passage event (e.g., marriage), while others may have been worn throughout life as inalienable objects, thus marking the social persona of an individual in life and death.[370] This brief review shows that gender is a complex area for archaeologists to identify; it is contextually contingent and requires profound consideration. However, the tendency remains in Campania to equate specific objects with a specific gender without skeletal evidence to support such conclusions. As this study is not explicitly focused on gender, little will be presented here to remedy this theoretical lacuna. While remaining aware of the issues in equating binary genders with personal ornaments (especially *fibulae*), I will follow the associations scholarship ascribes to each individual burial for the purposes of convenience.

2.5 Identifying Imports and Imitations: Style, Material Culture, Artisans, and Ethnicity

Despite the issues outlined in §2.3 on defining the provenance of objects, the most suitable category to measure the ties each settlement held remains the objects themselves. This suitability is based on the inherent characteristics of each object that have allowed archaeologists to assign it to particular cultures and geographical areas. It is therefore worth exploring how objects are classified and associated with particular cultures,

[367] Treherne 1995 p120-129 esp. p125-126.
[368] Gilchrist 1999 p65-66.
[369] Robb 1997, Herring/Lomas 2009 p2.
[370] Arnold 2016 p842-846.

especially with regard to how imports and local imitations of imports are currently defined. At the heart of archaeology lie classification systems (typologies, seriation, etc.), which order material culture into temporal and spatial sequences.[371] Style plays a central role in ordering material culture, functioning as an analytical tool for archaeologists to identify the similarities between artefacts, map their spatial distribution, and create stylistic sequences.[372] However, style is also a quality of past human actions that is visible in material culture, and for this reason, it is often a means of identifying archaeological cultures.[373] Both the stylistic traits on objects and their form can be connected with a possible centre of production and cultural origin. In Campania, for example, the Geometric style can connect a pot to a specific region of Greece and then class it as an import. Similarly, the analysis of pots that copy the Geometric style may allow an archaeologist to define them as imitations of Greek pots and link them to a local workshop.

Although style remains an important archaeological tool for analysing material culture, it has not always been used in a uniform way, and its utility has been intensely debated. As discussed in §1.2.1, the culture history framework took patterns of material culture for reflections of bounded ethnicities. Within this approach, style was taken to derive from a set of mental rules shared by a particular group. These rules operated within a set of cultural norms that were projected onto material culture in the form of colour choices, decorative motifs, themes, techniques, and the shape of artefacts.[374] Analysing the spatial distribution of objects with these stylistic traits allowed archaeologists (e.g., Childe) to delineate the boundaries of "archaeological cultures" and form the guiding principles of archaeological periodisation.[375] This framework was criticised by processual archaeologists such as Binford, who saw culture not as a shared set of rules but a system that was participated in, and style was therefore separate from function.[376] Then post-processual archaeologists took issue with the idea of culture as a system. This criticism was part of a wider review of processual frameworks, with post-processualists seeing instead style as an active (rather than passive) factor in the production and manipulation of material culture.[377] This reassessment of style led to a debate between

[371] Adams/Adams 1991 p9.
[372] Sanz/Fiore 2014 p7104.
[373] Sanz/Fiore 2014 p7104.
[374] Sanz/Fiore 2014 p7105.
[375] Sanz/Fiore 2014 p7105; Jones 1997 p1-39.
[376] Binford 1965 p205, Sanz/Fiore 2014 p7106.
[377] Sanz/Fiore 2014 p7107-7108.

Sackett and Wiessner who, through a series of articles, expressed two different views on the relationship among style material culture and ethnicity.[378]

While Wiessner argued that style was separate from function and served as the main means of communicating identity, especially ethnicity, Sackett saw style and function not as separate but embedded in each other and stylistic variation in material culture as mainly passive and a product of the artisan's enculturation within an ethnically bounded context.[379] Sackett's ideas were criticised by Shennan, who argued that ethnicity is a specific and contingent phenomenon.[380] Both Shennan and Hodder favoured Wiessner's view of style having an active role, but as Jones noted, none of them describe how ethnic identity is produced, reproduced, or transformed, nor do they provide an account of the social production of style.[381] Moreover, she highlights how the existence of ethnic groups as fixed bounded entities has been questioned, which has led to the understanding of ethnicity as dynamic and the central role played by material culture in the justification and manipulation of group boundaries.[382] Since it is difficult to link style and material culture with specific ethnicities, defining imports and imitations remains problematic.

Despite the issues in identifying ethnicity through either the style or context of objects, both are still important ways of discerning social identities and defining imports and imitations.[383] Style is the most widely used index for defining the provenance of any object found in Campania and relies heavily on the many typological studies of ancient artefacts in order to pinpoint an object's place of production. Similarly, the context or findspot is an important factor in identifying production centres, trade routes, and inter-group interaction. Very few studies have explicitly examined imports and imitations and the theory behind them. However, Hoffman's work on imports and immigrant craftsmen in Iron Age Crete provides a useful example of how to tackle the issue of the presence of foreign artisans and the objects they produced. Hoffman argues that imports themselves provide a basis for the study of who carried traded goods, the routes of exchange, and the time and location of trade.[384] Going through each class of object individually, she assesses the available evidence on whether they were imports or locally

[378] Sackett 1977, 1982, 1985, 1986, 1991; Wiessner 1983, 1984, 1985, 1989.
[379] Wiessner 1983 p257-258, 1989; Sackett 1977 p371, 1986 p630, 1991 p33-37; Shennan 1989 p18; Jones 1997 p113-114.
[380] Shennan 1989 p19-20.
[381] Hodder 1982 esp. p.55-58 and 186-188; Jones 1997 p116.
[382] Jones 1997 p108-110, p123; Shennan 1989 p11-14; Ucko 1989 pix-xx.
[383] Sanz/Fiore 2014 p7108.
[384] Hoffman 1997 p5-6.

produced imitations. Hoffman defines imports as "any worked object that was found on Crete but presumably produced elsewhere, that is, an object produced in the Near East or in Cyprus and physically transported to Crete."[385] In order to understand whether an object was produced elsewhere, she examines its style or form to see whether it had an association with a specific group with a geographic distribution of material culture. Such an approach allows us to define imports in Campania, but she does not offer as concise a definition on what constitutes an imitation. Less work has been undertaken on imitations although Jimenez has recently discussed the role provincial imitations of various objects played in leading to a standardisation of material culture at the heart of the Roman Empire.[386]

For the purposes of this thesis, I will follow Hoffman and classify imports as any object found at a site in Campania but produced either in another site in the region or in Italy or the wider Mediterranean.[387] Yet, unlike Hoffman, I will not explore each class of object individually as my own study is not a catalogue of finds. Such an in-depth analysis is beyond the bounds of this thesis and merits a study in its own right. The identification of imports by specialists and excavators publishing this material is generally accurate due to the wealth of typological studies already undertaken in Italy. This is especially the case with Pontecagnano, which, having been continuously studied since the 1960s, has allowed an almost unparalleled depth of knowledge about the typologies of the local material culture for this period in all of Italy.[388] Such a high level of typological analysis will allow me to trust and follow the attributions in the literature on imports and imitations. Where a study defines an object as an import or an imitation, I will follow this interpretation. In contrast to imports, I define imitations as locally produced objects that either closely follow a foreign object in style or shape or are a hybrid of two or more cultural references. Imitations have frequently been viewed as inferior, flawed copies, but I intend to distance myself from this approach and consider instead why local cultures adapted foreign ideas. Furthermore, imitations are often connected to the presence of resident immigrant artisans, who are seen as teaching their local counterparts; the latter are consequently characterised as somehow technologically backward in comparison.[389] As Hoffman noted, the difficulty in ascribing ethnic identities to objects means that greater consideration of the ability and techniques used

[385] Hoffman 1997 p19.
[386] Jimenez 2017 p76-77.
[387] See Hoffman's definition of an import 1997 p19.
[388] Gastaldi 2016.
[389] For example, Boardman 1999; D'Agostino 1999a; Cerchiai 1995.

by artisans is necessary in order to identify foreign presence.[390] I will now explain the method I will use to examine tie strength via imports and imitations in Campania.

2.6 Strong and Weak Ties Methodology

As discussed in §2.1, several categories could be examined for tie strength and evidence of cultural interaction. The most reliable of them is the grave goods found in the region's cemeteries. Depending on their function these objects will be grouped into the following categories: pottery, decorative objects, weapons, weaving tools, *fibulae* and other. However, other categories will be added when they are relevant to a specific site. Examples include objects that are only found in the tombs of a single archaeological culture, such as the bracelets of the Oliveto-Cairano culture discussed in Chapter 4. The function of each object is usually specified in site reports and other publications, but where an attribution is lacking, I have based my analysis on relevant handbooks (such as Peroni's *Introduzione alla protostoria italiana*).[391] After the material is divided into the above-listed categories, the totals for each phase at each site will be presented in table format, including the total imports and imitations for each object type.

While all object types will be included in this analysis, it must be stated that pottery is the most common object category in Campanian cemeteries as pots tend to be more durable than other object types and are frequently interred as grave goods. Site reports and catalogues have already defined the majority of the imports and imitations in Campania through analysis of both their style and typology. Examining these publications will allow me to count the total foreign objects in each cemetery. By counting the total number of objects, imports, and imitations, I will then calculate what percentage each object type comprises of the total site goods. I am inclined to believe that imports featured in direct exchanges between locals and their social network ties where they were given as gifts. Although imports and gifts comprised various object types, we do know that ceramics were central to ceremonial events in ancient societies, especially where drinking and alcohol consumption are concerned (Appendix I.1). Therefore, I intend to examine the burial contexts in Campania to determine the vessel shapes deposited and uncover which forms the locals were acquiring from outside and whether these had implications for local feasting or banqueting rituals. This focus will also be applied to any metal containers that may have been used in such ceremonies. Table 2.2 is based on previous

[390] Hoffman 1997 p16-17.
[391] Peroni 1994b.

studies of ceramic use in the ancient world and handbooks on Iron Age ceramics.[392] This table will assist in identifying the ceramics imported, imitated, and influencing local rituals.

Each case study chapter will review a site or group of sites following its standard periodisation. A table will present the total objects in each phase for each object category outlined at the start of this section. The tables will list the number of locally produced objects alongside imports and imitations. From these figures, a percentage will be calculated to indicate tie strength. This format allows objects to be studied from a quantitative perspective and provides insights into the strong and weak ties for each period. Each phase at each site will also include graphs for the imported and imitated ceramics, which will be examined by their shape and function in line with table 2.2. Understanding function will reveal how the introduction of new ceramics altered existing feasting and burial practices at each settlement. From these tables strong and weak ties for each phase will be proposed and network graphs produced to visualise the connections held for each site across each phase. The methodology behind the network graphs is discussed in §2.1, but the tomb sample for each site will be listed in a table in the appendix. These tables will include the total number of objects for each tomb and how many of these were imports, imitations, or local production.

Alongside imported objects, there are also raw materials that are not indigenous to Campania. Clays used for pottery were widely available and probably locally sourced, but little is yet known about the location of the main workshops for each settlement. Raw materials sourced from outside Campania include metals (bronze, iron, silver, and gold) and amber, both of which were used to produce a variety of individual objects but also in combination to produce composite *fibulae* (e.g., a metal arch/pin and an amber decorative element). While the exact provenance of the raw materials for these objects is impossible to pinpoint without characterisation or provenance studies, they were nevertheless imported at some point before being worked into a particular object. Therefore, such raw materials need to be recognised as reflecting network connections. Metal and amber will

Shape	**Function**
Scodellone (large bowl) *Scodella* (bowl) *Piattello* (small plate/saucer) *Piatto su piede* (Stemmed plate) *Piatto*	Eating
Bicchiere (cup) *Tazza* (cup)	

[392] See Lyons 1996 p184; Morgan 2009 p158; Peroni 1994b.

Coppa (cup) *Coppetta* (small cup) *Coppa su piede* (stemmed cup) *Cuppella* *Kotyle* *Kylix* *Kantharos* *Brocca* (jug) *Oinochoe trilobata* (trefoil oinochoe) *Olpe* *Askos* *Anfora* *Anforetta* *Attingitoio* (scoop/ladle) *Calice* (chalice) *Boccale* (tankard/mug) *Bottiglia* Krater *Krateriskos* *Capeduncola* *Ciotola* *Stamnos* Wine/Transport amphora	Pouring and drinking (the symposium)
Vaso Biconico (Biconical vase) *Olla* *Ziro* *Secchiello* *Coperchio*	Storage or cooking
Lydion *Aryballos* *Pyxis* *Lekythos* *Kothon* *Anforisco* (amphoriskos)	Cosmetic and unguents
Vaso a barchetta (boat shaped vase) *Incensiere* *Kernos* *Situla* *Phiale* *Patera*	Ceremonial or ritual
Lekane *Bacino* *Lebete* Tripod (bronze or ceramic) Cauldron	Unclear or multipurpose

Table 2. 2 Ceramics by function

therefore be given an important place in each chapter as they indicate trade links with as yet unidentified sources. On network graphs the imported materials will be given their own nodes, which will be based on the total objects in each phase at each site. In the case

of composite *fibulae*, it is difficult to identify exactly where these were produced. They may have been worked locally from imported materials or imported directly in their finished state. Since their status is uncertain, I will treat the material used to produce them as obtained from outside the region even if they were worked locally. However, although these *fibulae* will be allotted their own node on graphs (based on the total number of examples), I will not treat the *fibulae* themselves as imports. In the case of pottery, all types that have not been defined as an import or imitation in the literature will be defined as local and represented by a node called local clay. Despite the lack of archaeometric analysis for much of the region's pottery, I will follow Nijboer's assertion that clay was usually sourced from near an ancient settlement rather than traded over long distances.[393]

2.7 Applying Social Network Analysis (SNA) to Iron Age Campania

It is important to reiterate here that using complex algorithms to analyse network data is not necessary. While such techniques are available, they are generally avoided by most archaeologists undertaking network studies due to the specialist knowledge needed to produce them. As Donnellan writes, "Network-based approaches in archaeology are based on social network analysis...a formal method of analysis for studying relations; it can be descriptive or statistic."[394] Although archaeologists largely choose not to produce algorithms, they also have at their disposal a wide range of network software tools that do the work for them. Once the program has been chosen and data has been entered, archaeologists simply select a measure to analyse the data, and the program converts the data to a network accordingly. Nevertheless, it is essential that archaeologists think carefully about the kinds of measures to use and how to represent the data in a network form. As explained in §1.3.1, archaeological data, such as the objects found in Campania, can be translated into network data through abstraction, and the type of network to represent them can then be considered. A number of options are available for this. For example, Blake used a symmetric binary, one-mode adjacency network to examine ethnic groups in Italy. She constructed a simple matrix where two sites sharing the same object were awarded a value of 1 and those without a 0. Her *nodes* were thus sites and her ties the shared objects.[395] However, Blake decided against a weighting for her objects because presence rather than quantity was her guiding factor. Iacono used *weighted degree centrality* to award a value to shared stylistic features between sites, with 1 being

[393] Nijboer 1998 p58-59.
[394] Donnellan 2016 p154.
[395] Blake 2014 p90.

a single shared feature, 2 being two shared features, and so on. Again, his *nodes* were sites, while his *edges/ties* were the co-presence of shared ceramic features.[396] Both of these studies use one-mode networks, where there is only *node* type, whereas Donnellan used a two-mode affiliation network, with two *node* types to analyse grave goods at Pithekoussai. Her *nodes* were tombs, sites, regions, and geographic areas, with the presence of objects in the tombs acting as ties with an area of cultural origin or affiliation.[397] Therefore, an individual object in a tomb was connected to a specific geographical area. She entered her datasets into network software program Pajek to produce graphs for formal analysis, resulting in a rather large and dense graph (Fig. 2).

None of these three studies used algorithms, relying instead on software packages to convert their data. I follow their lead here and will not produce any algorithms as they are not essential for this analysis. While it would be possible to adopt Blake's or Iacono's ideas here, their focus is on ethnicity and specific stylistic traits, respectively. My own study is concerned with tie strength, thus a level of quantification is necessary when thinking about tomb assemblages. Donnellan's work is much closer to what I aim to achieve for Campania, but her tomb sample is much larger than each site in my study. Unlike Donnellan, my case studies will not produce a network based on each tomb but on the overall connections a particular site had at a given time. Therefore, my case studies will be a macro- rather than micro-scale visualisation. I will do this for each site or cultural group in every individual chapter, but these will then be combined into larger regional network graphs for my concluding chapter. Each object in each tomb will be entered into a specialist network software program designed for producing larger graphs. For this, I have chosen UCINET because it allows the strength of each tie to be measured. This method will produce a final comparative network based on the quantity of material at each site. For the final graphs, I will utilise an affiliation network, which is useful for understanding ties in a cemetery context. While each chapter will treat each site using the same percentage variable, the site of Bisaccia (Chapter 4) presents a problem as it has not been fully published (Appendix IV.1). To circumvent this problem, when the graphs are produced in Chapter 4, the material from the sites of Cairano and Oliveto-Citra will be given a value of 1 and that from Bisaccia a value of 0.5. This value can compensate for the uncertainty as to whether the tomb assemblages in the museum are fully represented. These same values will then be applied to the other sites in the

[396] Iacono 2016 p124-126.
[397] Donnellan 2016 p155-158.

concluding chapter for the purposes of consistency and to ensure that the Bisaccia sample remains statistically relevant.

Finally, an important difference between my study and Donnellan's study of Pithekoussai needs to be highlighted. She connects each object to its place of production, but when encountering one that is not imported, she defines it as "local." This label allows her to then categorise a large number of objects that cannot easily be ascribed to a particular source, such as imports that were unidentified at the time of publication or uncertain locally produced objects. However, the label "local" is problematic because it glosses over many of the intricacies found in locally produced objects, such as what I define here as imitations. For example, a locally produced bronze *fibula* with amber attachments is indeed "local" in the sense that it may be attributed to local artisans. Yet, such a label ignores the embedded connections the *fibula* has, such as the bronze and amber attachments demonstrating links to the trade routes of Northern Italy. Furthermore, what does "local" actually mean? In Donnellan's case, does it merely refer to Pithekoussai, or did she extend it to all the indigenous production centres of Campania? If so, which indigenous group in Campania does she refer to with this label? Scholarship of the region categorises the peoples of the Iron Age into archaeological cultures (see § 1.4.2), yet her work does not adequately distinguish between these different local styles. These questions go unanswered and are not treated satisfactorily in her work. To counter this issue, I will assume that each local site has ties to the other sites in its archaeological culture. Where this connection is reflected in the grave goods to a high degree, I will assume that this corresponds to a clique of strong ties. The assumption I make is that each local site is tied to the others in its cultural group. This assumption is based on the similarity that scholarship currently sees in the material culture between sites in the same archaeological culture. For example, the Oliveto-Cairano culture is seen as a homogenous group due to the specific object types found in this area of the region (Chapter 4). When awarding a tie to the objects found in the Oliveto-Cairano cemeteries, those that are of local production will be awarded a connection with one of the other sites in that culture. For instance, a locally made *fibula* at Bisaccia can be awarded a link to Cairano and a local pot at Cairano a link to Oliveto-Citra. This method allows a local object to also reference a style shared by other sites in a particular archaeological group. Another example is the Villanovan/Etruscan site of Pontecagnano, which scholarship associates with Etruria, Lazio, and the *Fossakultur* in Campania (Chapter 3). Locally made objects at Pontecagnano will therefore be awarded a link to these three areas based on their common stylistic traits. It is for this reason that

a site can have both a locally produced object stylistically tied to a particular region and an imported object from the same area. As we will see, there are both local objects and imports at Pontecagnano showing connections with Etruria, for example. This site serves as the focus of the next chapter, to which we shall now turn.

3. Pontecagnano

3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 Site Overview

This chapter discusses the site of Pontecagnano, which lies under the modern city (from which it takes its name), 10 km south of Salerno. While Cuozzo reports that over 8,000 burials have been excavated at the site, only a small sample are examined in this chapter (Appendix III.3).[398] The reason for this is that much of the excavated material remains unpublished. The sample reviewed here is still representative of the EIA and Orientalising periods, since much of what scholarship argues for the development of this settlement is based on the tombs that have so far been published. Therefore, the material presented here is an accurate reflection of contemporary funerary practices.

Pontecagnano lies in an area that in antiquity was known as the *Ager Picentinus*. While its ancient name is unknown, scholars associate it with the *Picentia* mentioned by Strabo.[399] The *Ager Picentinus* is a triangular plain traversed to the north and south by the Picentino, Tusciano, and Sele rivers. Its western extremity lies on the Tyrrhenian coastline, into which the rivers flow. The eastern boundary of the plain is delimited by the Picentini Mountains that extend to the northeast, where they meet the Apennine Mountains separating Campania from Adriatic Italy.[400] This geographic location and access to a considerable river network have promoted the idea of Pontecagnano being an 'open' settlement. Pontecagnano has long been associated with the Etruscans on the basis of anecdotal literary sources, which describe the *ager Picentinus* as being under Etruscan control,[401] and it is assumed to have been one of the twelve cities of the Etruscan *Dodecapolis* led by Capua.[402] However, most of the evidence for this *Dodecapolis* is literary-based and therefore outside the scope of this investigation. Spatial constraints also make any contemplation of the issues surrounding the proposed Villanovan-Etruscan colonisation of Campania in the Early Iron Age, or the problematic Villanovan ethnicity itself, extremely difficult. Nevertheless, I should note that close

[398] Cuozzo 2007 p230-231.
[399] Strabo *Geog.* 5.4.
[400] Cuozzo 1994 p265; Cerchiai 1995 p50-51; Ruocco 1965 p18, p30.
[401] Pliny the Elder *Nat.Hist. 3*.70.
[402] Strabo *Geog.* 5.4.3; Livy *AVC* VII.21.

material affinities exist between Pontecagnano's earliest phases and the Villanovan cultures found in Northern Italy.

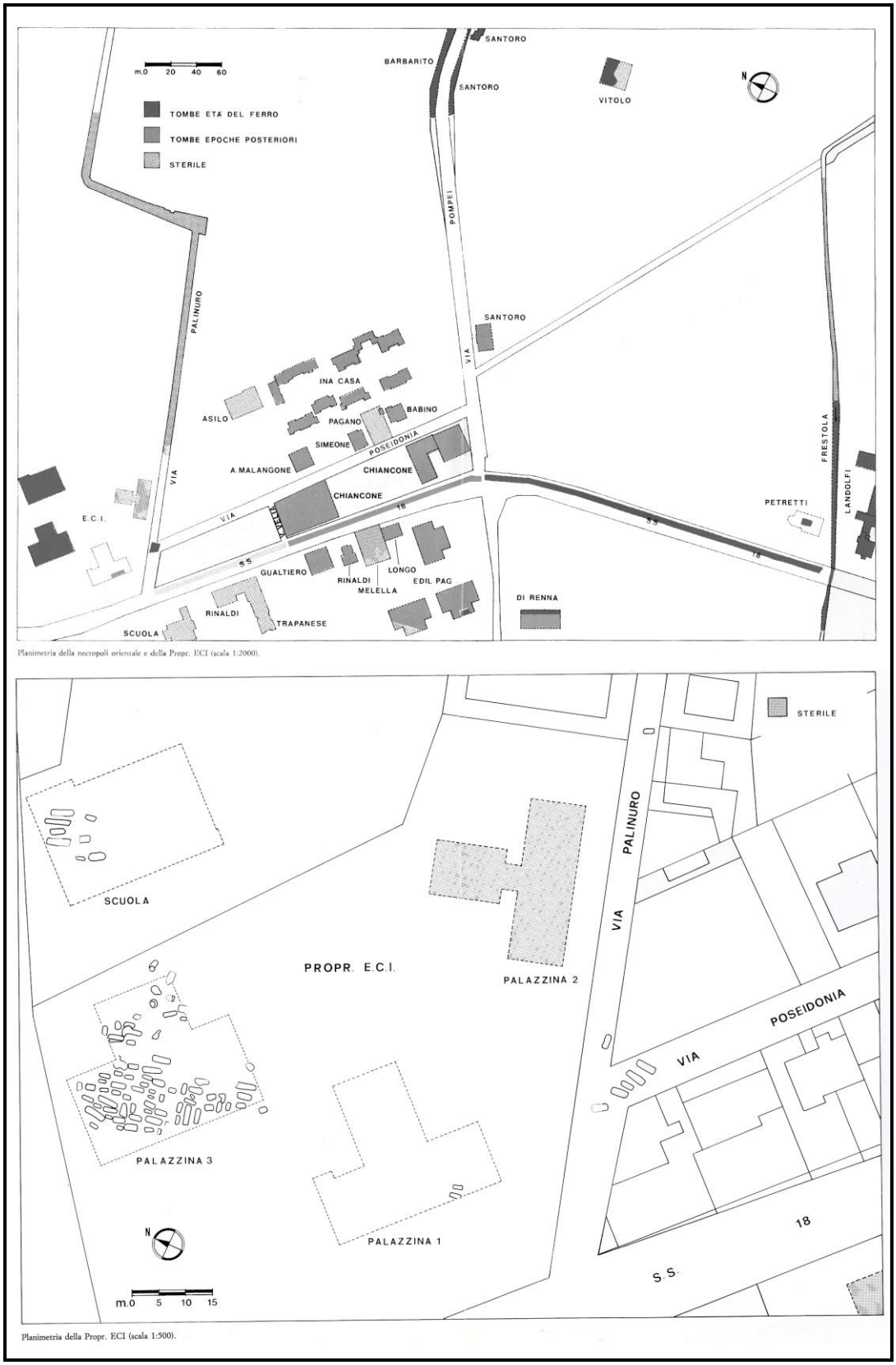

Fig. 3.1. Map of the San Antonio area of the necropolis (adapted from De Natale (1992) fig.1)

Pontecagnano is mainly known through the excavation of its large cemeteries, where (as stated above) over 8,000 tombs have been uncovered dating between the 9th to 4th centuries BC.[403] Although some GIS and Aerial reconnaissance investigations have been undertaken,[404] little is known of the actual Iron Age settlement, which lies under the modern town, meaning that the funerary contexts are the key data for understanding the site's development (Fig. 3.1). Iron Age material from Pontecagnano has been known for more than a century, but it was only the rescue excavations from the 1960s onwards that have expanded our knowledge of the ancient settlement.[405] Sestieri was the first to highlight the links between the Villanovan *facies* and Pontecagnano in his 1960 publication of sporadic finds from the *San Antonio* necropolis. However, the first real excavations of the Iron Age strata took place in 1933 at Pagliarone, 2 km to the south of Pontecagnano.[406] Archaeologists have since uncovered material from the Neolithic to Roman periods that has been divided chronologically into specific phases. The sample for this study is formed by a total of 217 tombs, the majority of which come from the Iron Age (145 burials) as the Orientalising period (72 tombs) has not been as well published. The excavators of the cemeteries were able to divide the tombs and grave goods into a phase I and a phase II based on the typologies of the material. These were then divided into subphases IA and IB and IIA and IIB. However, some of the tombs could not be placed into these subphases and were thus assigned a generic date of phase I-II and phase II by those publishing the tombs. I will follow the dates assigned for the Iron Age, but the Orientalising phases have less tombs and require a different strategy to allow greater comparison with the Iron Age. The Orientalising period is traditionally divided into 3 phases: *antico* (730-675 BC), *medio* (680-630 BC), *recente* (630-580/70 BC). Unfortunately, there are not enough tombs to follow this traditional chronology. I have therefore divided the Orientalising tombs into a phase I (dating 730-675 BC) and phase II (675-575 BC). Within this periodisation of local burial practices, the so-called 'princely' tombs are often treated as a separate group in the literature on Campania on account of the status and ostensible links to the Greek world, which their contents seem to signal. They are often assigned a separate section and independent periodisation in discussions of the Orientalising period. While my discussion places these burials also in

[403] Cuozzo 2007 p230-231.
[404] Cuozzo *et al.* 2005.
[405] Horsnaes 1991 p222; Cuozzo 2007 p230.
[406] See D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p3 for bibliography.

a separate category, I am not singling them out temporally. My goal is to highlight their links to local material practices by studying the grave offerings within the same quantitative framework which I applied to other Campanian burials. Detailed discussion of the tomb sample chosen for this data analysis and a table listing total number of grave goods, imports, and locally produced objects for each tomb are given in Appendix III, which also discusses the site's publication history. Appendix III.4 contains tables on the unpublished imports from Pontecagnano. These are not included in my analysis due to incomplete quantitative data.

3.1.2. Pontecagnano 900-550 BC

As discussed in §1.4.1 and §1.4.2, the regional narrative that proposes an evolutionary progression from an egalitarian to a stratified society, sees Pontecagnano gradually move through different socio-cultural stages along a preconceived developmental settlement sequence.[407] To substantiate this theory 'stand-out' tombs are emphasised at the expense of quantification, while a retrojection of later literary sources onto the material record perpetuates this teleological scheme. Each phase is analysed on what came next rather than on the evidence of contemporary change. Pontecagnano is thought to have founded several satellite sites in and around the *Ager Picentinus* to defend its territory in both the Iron Age and Orientalising periods. However, these satellite sites are only physically attested by the evidence from their cemeteries. An example is *Pagliarone,* which was apparently founded in the EIA immediately after the Villanovan/Etruscan colonisation of the plain, followed by the site at *Località Casella* soon after.[408] While this secondary colonisation may have continued into the Orientalising period with foundations at Arenosola, Eboli, and Capodifiume in the 7th century BC, the evidence for this strategic 'colonisation' is never provided, which casts doubt on its validity.

The earliest graves in the main cemeteries of phase IA (900-850 BC) were mainly small *a pozzo* cremations in shaft graves (alongside some *a ricettacolo* tombs), where the remains were interred within an *impasto* biconical vase covered by imitation bronze

[407] For example, Cerchiai 1995, 2010; D'Agostino 1988, 2015.
[408] Cerchiai 1995 p53-54.

impasto helmets (*elmo fittile*).[409] Grave goods are scarce early on but the deceased occasionally received a *fibula* and a weaving tool or weapon. Cremation is seen as exclusively a male rite at this stage due to the similarities found with Villanovan burial rites of Northern Italy and Etruria.[410] These similarities include the type of ceramic vessel used to contain the ashes, the presence of a spear and of an *impasto* helmet. Little or no analysis of any bones in these vessels has been undertaken and the male status of cremation burials relies on the notion that weapons, and the *impasto* helmets were male objects. Similarly, some inhumations have been found and are seen as female burials, another interpretation that is not based on any osteoarchaeological data but instead lies on the assumption that cremation was exclusively for males.[411] However, it remains generally difficult to distinguish between male and female graves and discern social status due to small numbers of grave goods deposited. Consequently, it is difficult to recognise an élite group until the end of this phase, when according to D'Agostino and others the settlement begins to stratify itself. The view they hold is that an élite group emerges from the main social group. They feel this new figure is best illustrated by the prominent male warrior in t.180 and his imported weapons from Calabria and Etruria.[412] The deposition of weapons rises considerably in phase IB (850-780 BC) and is linked to the appearance of these 'big men', who were apparently also emerging in coeval Etruria and Lazio.[413] Continued social stratification marks Phase IB evidenced through the monumentalisation of the tomb, family plots, a rise in inhumation and increased diversity in tomb types from the *a pozzo* to include the *a fossa* and *a ricettacolo* types.[414] Imported pots first appear in phase IB demonstrating links with Basilicata, Sybaris, and Sicily, while metal objects are also imported from Etruria and Sardinia.[415] Phase II witnesses an increase in inhumation as cremation becomes a more privileged rite.[416] This coincides with a decline in the use of traditional Villanovan objects in the funerary rituals, such as the use of the Villanovan *impasto* helmet to cover the ash container, a change that appears unnoticed by those studying the region. The inhumations of phase II

[409] Cuozzo 2007 p230; D'Agostino 1990 p531; Cerchiai 1995 p55-56.
[410] D'Agostino 1982 p208.
[411] D'Agostino 1982 p208-209.
[412] D'Agostino 1982 p208; Cerchiai 1995 p59.
[413] D'Agostino 1982 p208; Cuozzo 2007 p234; Cerchiai 1995 p55-56.
[414] Cerchiai 1995 p59; D'Agostino 1988 p535. The *a pozzo* and *a ricettacolo* types were cremation burials and the *fossa* was an inhumation trench.
[415] Cerchiai 1995 p61-62.
[416] See D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p241.

themselves, indicate competing local identities by exhibiting degrees of monumentality albeit coupled with modest grave goods. Nevertheless, there is scope that the élite were attempting to find different ways to represent themselves through funerary rituals. The first Greek imports appear in phase IIA marking what has been deemed a phase of 'pre-colonial' trade. With the foundation of a settlement at Pithekoussai the Greeks helped transform these 'simple peasant societies' into forming a social hierarchy (§1.4.2).[417] This contact resulted in a 'more profound cultural integration of the region' through the introduction of more advanced technologies.[418]

These complex processes continue into the Orientalising period. Cerchiai argues that the Villanovan sites in Campania transformed themselves into Etruscan settlements by the end of the 8th century.[419] This change is never fully explained but is connected to the complex nature of the Etruscan identity. There is not the space to discuss this identity here, but one notes that by the end of the 8th century the Iron Age cemeteries at Pontecagnano were abandoned and new burial grounds inaugurated nearby.[420] Cuozzo interprets the consequent lacuna in the use of the earlier cemeteries as a case of 'symbolic violence', where the new burial grounds allowed a shift away from old established practices and a 'reinvention of tradition'.[421] However, Cuozzo's reinvention hypothesis relies on the notion of 'progress,' and is linked to neo-evolutionary schemes of state development. Dynamic changes, such as new burial ideologies, may instead result from new connections with the wider networks of the global Mediterranean. These assumptions on progress and traditions being reinvented will thus be scrutinised in the following sections. An important final point is the proposed existence of an enclave from Southern Hirpinia living amongst the community at Pontecagnano during the Orientalising period (§3.2.3). This hypothesis is based on pottery and jewellery pertaining to Oliveto-Cairano types (Chapter 4) being found in the graves at Pontecagnano.[422] Furthermore, Cuozzo believes that this cultural group, both at Pontecagnano and in Hirpinia, actively rejected Greek culture, akin to Scott's notion of

[417] D'Agostino 1988 p536-537, 1995 p34-36; Cerchiai 2005.
[418] Cerchiai 1995 p67, 2010 p24-25; D'Agostino 1982 p221, 1988 p542, 2004 p242.
[419] Cerchiai 2010 p35.
[420] Cuozzo 2007 p232 citing Scott 1984; Cerchiai 1995 p53; Pellegrino 1999, Cuozzo/D'Andrea 1991.
[421] Cuozzo 2003.
[422] D'Agostino 1964; Cerchiai 1995; Cuozzo 2003, 2007, 2012.

silent resistance.[423] Although the use of such theories should be applauded, the evidence for the notion of resistance requires caution and is reviewed in Chapter 4.

3.2 Data Analysis

3.2.1.1. Phase IA (900-850 BC)

Object type	Number	%	Imports	%
Weaving tools	7	7.2%		
Weapons	5	5.2%	3	3.1%
Decorative objects	10	10.3%		
Fibulae	29	30%		
Razors	2	2%		
Pottery	44	45.3%	1	1%
Total	97		4	4.1%
Tombs	17			

Table 3. 1. Total objects for Pontecagnano phase IA

The 17 tombs in phase IA (900-850 BC) included 97 objects with pottery the largest single category (Table 3.1). One tomb was empty, and the others rarely contained more than two or three objects, except for two burials (t.199, t.2075) with five and six objects, respectively. The majority were cremations (14) with a biconical urn covered by either a *scodella* or a *scodellone*, akin to Villanovan practices further north. There were three inhumations, including the male warrior in t.180 (see below), and two females identified by their weaving tools. These 17 tombs have very plain and simple grave good assemblages. The only decorative elements are *fibulae* and various bronze objects, all of which do not outnumber the pots deposited. In some cases, it is hard to distinguish between male and female graves, since only one contained weapons, while six tombs had weaving tools. More burial types are utilised by the community at the end of this phase with the *a ricettacolo* now found alongside the *a pozzo* types,[424] suggesting some signs of later social stratification.

The ceramic shapes are limited to seven varieties, mainly linked to eating and cooking,[425] with the biconical vase (13), and *scodellone* (12) the most common forms due to their use in Villanovan cremations. These vessels are linked to storage and

[423] Scott 1984. Cuozzo 2016 p17-25; Cuozzo/Pellegrini 2016 p119-120.
[424] Cerchiai 1995 p55.
[425] These include the *brocca*, *tazza*, biconical vase, *scodella* and *scodellone*, and the *anfora*.

eating, yet it remains unclear whether they were made specifically for burial. Pouring and drinking vessels formed a low number in the sample (Fig. 3.2).

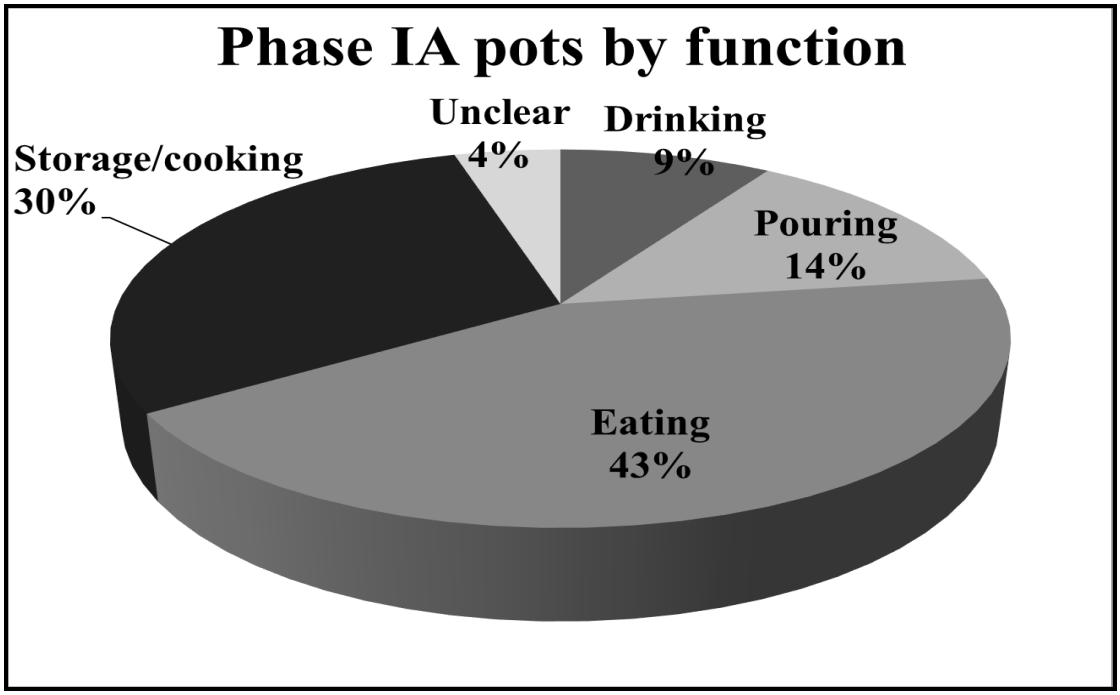

Fig. 3.2 Pie-chart showing the percentages of pots in phase IA divided by function

Despite the prevalence of eating vessels, they were mainly used to cover cinerary urns, consequently commensal rites or feasts are unidentifiable at this stage. If feasting did take place in phase IA, then ceramic items were removed after the closure of the tomb. This cannot be confirmed and so this assemblage confirms the picture of relative austerity in terms of ceramic variety and limited depositional practices. The only ceramic import is the *anfora* in the female inhumation t.2042. This vessel was imported from a nearby *Fossakultur* site, most likely Prehellenic Cuma. Along with the *anfora* was a spindle, an *impasto* cup, two bronze *fibulae* and a bronze spiral decoration. The only other imports were the weapons in t.180 warrior burial, which was rich in weaponry with a locally made bronze spear and javelin alongside an imported sword and scabbard from Etruria and greaves from Torre Galli (Calabria).[426] This tomb is frequently cited to support the existence of a dominant warrior figure in EIA Campania. These figures were apparently the most powerful in the community, whose exhibition and accumulation of weapons functioned as symbols of power (Fig. 3.3).[427] Because

[426] D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p76-77 (sword and scabbard types 57A1 and 57B1) p79-80 the greaves are identical to those in Torre Galli t.86 (type 63), see also Gastaldi 1994 p54.
[427] Cerchiai 1995 p59 links this to the warrior in t.232 at San Marzano.

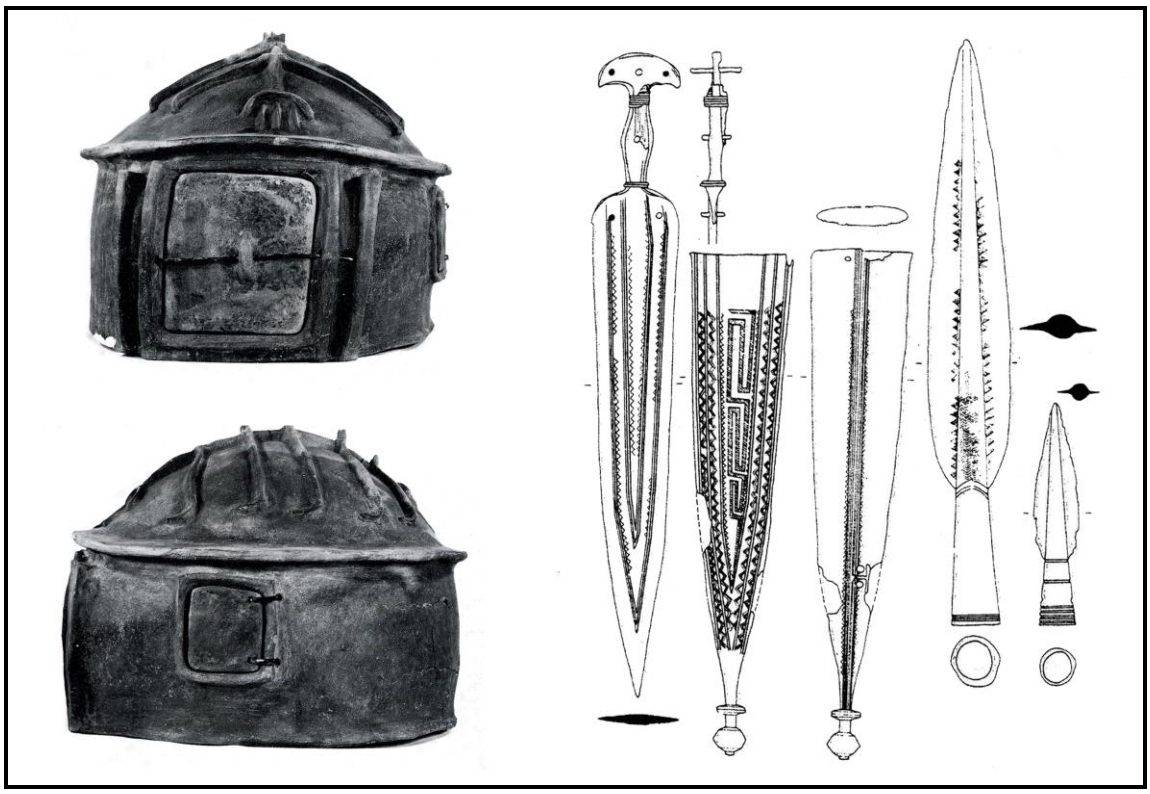

Fig. 3.3. Left: Hut-urn from t.2500 (after D'Agostino/Gastaldi (1988) fig.a.1-2); Right: Sword, scabbard, and spearheads from t.180 (after Cerchiai (1995) pl. VI.3)

their preference for inhumation over cremation is seen as an alien rite for 'Villanovan' Pontecagnano, Cerchiai interprets them as immigrants.[428] This figure is further associated with the hypothesised emergence of a hierarchical class in contemporary Campania. The notion of an emergent aristocracy is questionable when based upon a small data set, which is formed mainly of funerary contexts. Furthermore, the proposed immigrant status of the individual in t.180 owes much to a monolithic view of identity and the equation of ethnicities with specific object types. Arguably more worthwhile is to view these imports as offering an idea of weak ties. Viewed in similar terms is the unpublished t.2500 and its unique hut-urn, an *impasto* reproduction of a circular house, which probably served as a funerary urn. The excavators view this as produced at Vulci or Vetulonia and imported to Pontecagnano.[429] As the sole example found at Pontecagnano, Cerchiai argues for it representing an immigrant from Etruria or Lazio where such hut-urns are more frequent.[430] There is no reason to view t.2500 as exclusively an immigrant burial purely on the basis that the urn is linked to a Villanovan

[428] Cerchiai 2010 p21.
[429] D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p37 (type 23A).
[430] Cerchiai 1995 p57. Bartoloni 1994 p213-214 criticises its interpretation as an import and cites another hut-urn at Sala Consilina, the only two examples in Campania.

rite. Despite Pontecagnano being viewed as a Villanovan settlement, the use of both cremation and inhumation early on questions how rigidly such ethnic identities should be used. Ucko highlighted that the small range of burial types available to both modern and ancient peoples means that "non-meaningful similarities" between cultures are frequently found, however, this does not necessarily infer cultural connections.[431] Work by Shepherd on Greek Sicily further highlights the problems in associating burial forms with specific ethnicities.[432] It is perhaps more acceptable to view this site as particularly open to mobility even though equating individual burials with specific ethnicities is clearly problematic. Nevertheless, the weapons in t.180 reflect how Torre Galli was one of the key nodes along the route north to Etruria.[433] The presence of the hut-urn, the formal similarities between the *fibulae* and corresponding objects in Villanovan Etruria,[434] alongside the import from Prehellenic Cuma, also suggest a dense regional network along the Tyrrhenian connecting all these sites with Pontecagnano.

Tomb	**Import**	**Typology**	**Provenance**
180	Sword	57A1	Southern Etruria
180	Scabbard	57B1	
180	Greaves	63	Torre Galli (Calabria)
2042	*Anfora cultura delle tombe a fossa*	7IMP	Prehellenic Cuma

Table 3. 2. Imports during phase IA at Pontecagnano

At first glance, the four imports comprise a mere 4% of the total assemblage, suggesting that interregional contact and exchange was limited (Table 3.2). Further examination of the assemblage reveals several long-distance trade links, which are rarely acknowledged by those studying the region. As previously discussed (§2.3), Campania lacks many mineral resources, such as amber and metals. When locally made objects produced from such materials are found in the cemeteries, they must have been worked from imported raw materials. Bronze is the only non-ceramic object category in this phase, yet bronze objects still count for nearly 50% of the grave goods (Table 3.3). It is highly likely that bronze was obtained from Northern Italy. Therefore, Pontecagnano held network ties that allowed access to the northern metal trade as early as the 10th or 9th century BC. With Pontecagnano being a Villanovan settlement, ties

[431] Ucko 1969 p273-276.
[432] Shepherd 2005 p115-136.
[433] Gastaldi 1994 p52.
[434] See the Etruscan pin in t.723 D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 type p62 (type 33A).

with metal-rich Etruria are hardly surprising, yet it is only when we examine the materials used at the site that ties with other areas not represented by imports become visible. The exact nature of the acquisition of metal in Campania, especially in terms of the sources of the bronze, must remain speculation at this stage. Only archaeometric analysis of the chemical composition of the objects can reveal their provenances. Nevertheless, the close cultural ties between Pontecagnano and the Villanovan sphere points to most of the metals being obtained directly from Etruria itself.

Material	**Total**	**%**
Bronze	46	47%
Total	**46**	**47%**
Total metals	**46**	**47%**
Total assemblage	**97**	**100%**

Table 3. 3. Pontecagnano imported materials during phase IA

Additionally, the fact that imported materials from Northern Italy account for nearly 50% of the assemblage poses questions for current interpretations of the EIA in Campania. Indeed, the bronze objects at Pontecagnano counter the theory that Tyrrhenian trade routes were controlled by Prehellenic Cuma and Castiglione on Ischia (§1.4.1 and 1.4.2). Instead, there is evidence that Pontecagnano held a prominent role in coastal trade and had links with the *Fossakultur* at Prehellenic Cuma and in Calabria. While the material culture at Pontecagnano during this period shows affinities with both the local *Fossakultur*, Lazio, and Villanovan Etruria through its handmade pottery, *fibulae* and bronze decorative elements, imported raw materials and imports show these ties extended along the whole Tyrrhenian coast.[435] This regional network existed long before the arrival of the Greeks at Pithekoussai and allowed access to new ideas and innovations.

[435] D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p40 on the *impasto* ceramics and p80-82 the decorative metal objects and their links to these areas.

3.2.1.2 Phase IB (850-780 BC)

Object type	Number	%	Imports	%
Weaving tools	16	3.5%		
Weapons	17	3.7%		
Decorative objects	57	12.6%		
Fibulae	71	15.7%		
Razors	5	1%		
Beads	6	1.3%		
Iron spits/firedogs	1	0.2%		
Elmo fittile	13	3%		
Pottery	265	59%	4	0.9%
Total	451			
Tombs	40			

Table 3. 4. Total objects for Pontecagnano phase IB

Phase IB has 40 tombs containing 451 objects, with pottery again the largest category (Table 3.4). Several tombs have more than six objects and some had more than ten pots (Appendix III.3). Particularly rich is t.2106 with 16 pots, 16 decorative objects and one spindle. Cremation remained the dominant rite (32) despite an increased number of inhumations (7), which probably results from the higher tomb sample for phase IB. An increase in weapons and weaving tools has also been observed, which is linked to the emergence of a social hierarchy (see below).[436] Also significant are the *impasto* helmets (*elmo fittile*) and razors, which closely tie the site into the Villanovan sphere for their use in cremation rites and stylistic similarity, respectively. Metal spits also appear, and their significance is discussed below.

While eating and cooking shapes still predominate, an increase in drinking vessels signals increased consumption of alcohol and new graveside practices (Fig. 3.4). The most common forms are the *scodella* (55), *tazza* (50), *scodellone* (36), *brocca* (32), and biconical vase (29), while the continued importance of the latter and the *scodellone* in cremation rites remains clear through their high number. The emergence of plates and an increase in the variety of pouring shapes may indicate some form of feasting took place, differing from phase IA.

The miniature *impasto* “boat-dish” in t.2162 is ceremonial in function and is also found in four other unpublished Iron Age tombs. It is a rare type for the *Fossakultur*

[436] D’Agostino 1982 p208; Cerchiai 1995.

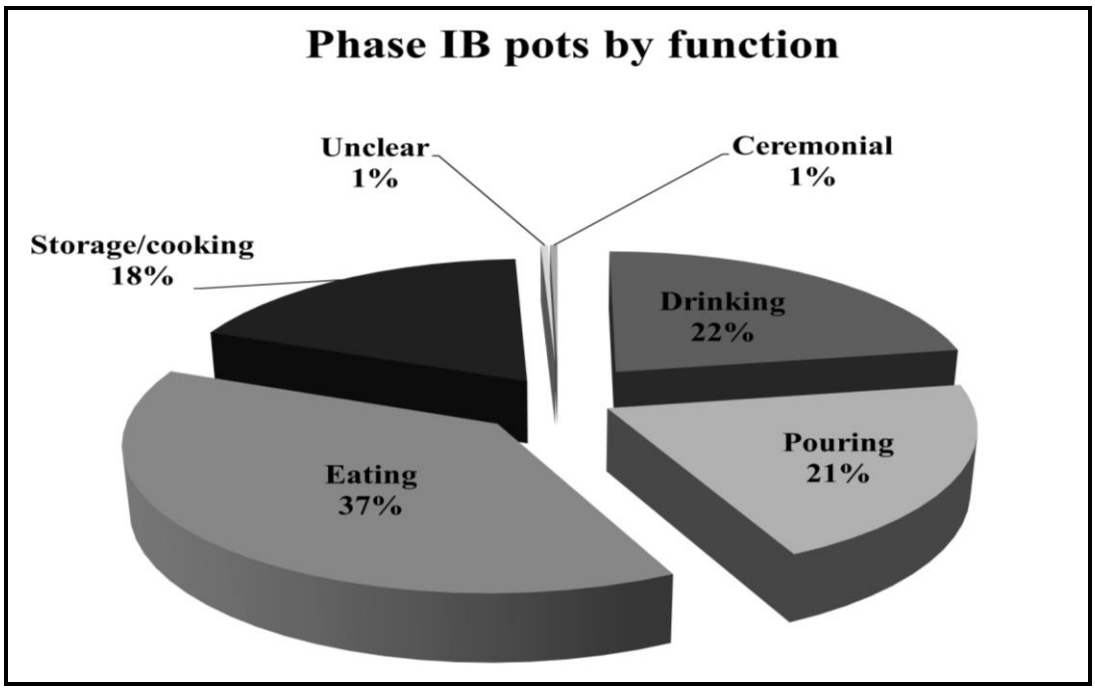

Fig. 3.4 Pie-chart showing the percentages of pots in phase IB divided by function

and, although not an import, it is more regularly found in the cemeteries of Lazio.[437] The four imports listed in table 3.5 attest to connections with the Italian Peninsula and Sicily, and these were pouring vessels of the *a tenda* type, produced somewhere in Basilicata.[438] These can be divided into two subcategories *a tenda elegante* and *a tenda grossolana*, due to the quality of the tent-like pattern painted in the middle of the vase.[439] Dating to between the end of the 9th and the mid-8th century BC, both types are attested in phase IB, although those from the unpublished tombs are excluded from this study (Appendix III.4). The other import is an *olla* of the *piumata* type decoration from Sicily. *Piumata* type vessels are present in other tombs at Pontecagnano but this is the only one from a published burial (Appendix III.3). *Piumata* vessels are rare outside Sicily and the Aeolian islands, making their presence here indicative of high connectivity. Other contemporary imports in unpublished burials indicate connections with Sardinia, Sybaris and Etruria that are not included here as their assemblages cannot be quantified.

Cerchiai has argued for these imports being representative of individuals from Basilicata and Sicily at Pontecagnano. This is especially the case with the *a tenda* and

[437] D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p35 type 18A, p41 on boat-dishes in Lazio.
[438] Fabricotta/Martella 2001 p6.
[439] Fabricotta/Martella 2001 p45, D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p42-43.

Tomb	Import	Typology	Provenance
223	*Brocca a tenda elegante*	26A/B	Basilicata/ Lucania.
2068	*Brocchetta a tenda grossolana*	26B2	
4851	*Anfora a tenda grossolana*	26B1	
174	*Olla con decorazione piumata*	27A	Sicily.

Table 3. 5. Imports during phase IB at Pontecagnano

piumata cinerary urns in female t.166 (which dates to phase II) and t.174, which he views as evidence for intermarriage. This view maintains that such vessels result from long distance trade relations focused on political intermarriage,[440] similar to how the warrior in t.180 and hut-urn in t.2500 in phase IA were treated. While it cannot be ruled out that these are indeed immigrants, it is by no means the only possibility. Viewing these objects as the exclusive property of immigrant wives, who brought them to their new homes and were later buried with them, is reductive.

A closer look at the four tombs shows that three had many objects. T.2068, t.174, and t.4851 all included a high number of pots (12, 9 and 13, respectively) and, although all three were cremation burials, only the first two were identified as female.[441] T.223, was an inhumation with a small assemblage (4 pots and a *fibula*) and the sex of the deceased is unclear.[442] The majority of the tombs with imported ceramics are linked to cremation, the more traditional burial rite at the settlement. Furthermore, with two being female and one male, intermarriage is not the only possible explanation. The larger sample in three of these, when compared to contemporary tombs, suggests that they were from the upper strata of society. The imports they contain suggest new connections that the élite were indirectly referencing in their graves. However, in the case of t.223, it may be that such connections were not confined to the élite or this burial may even represent an example of *glocalisation*, a combination of local and global elements.

How phase IB is interpreted is made further complex by the weaving of specific tombs into a narrative of socio-evolutionary progress. D'Agostino, for example, argues that the increased tomb monumentalisation and richer grave goods denotes the emergence of the élite in Villanovan Campania, and in the process he retrojects aspects

[440] Cerchiai 1995 p61-62 these urns "evidenziando...l'origine allogena delle defunte e di conseguenza il funzionamento di un sistema di relazioni su lunga distanza fondate sullo scambio matrimoniale."
[441] D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p179-181 t.2068; p131-132 t.174; p208-209 t.4851.
[442] D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p154.

of later historical periods, such as the *gens*, onto the Iron Age.[443] An example is t.2145, and its particular burial rite, which bears similarities to the Roman *bustum*,[444] where the funeral pyre was constructed over a ditch (*fossa)*, which would then be filled with the deceased's burnt remains and grave goods. Located in an area where other burials were initially absent, but later joined by four similar monumental tombs, it is interpreted as a family plot (Fig. 3.5).[445] The tomb was surrounded by a horse-shoe ditch and covered by a raised tufa platform, upon which lay a sort of cabin (attested by post-holes).[446] The elaborate structure housed an otherwise simple burial of weapons (spears), an *impasto* helmet (*elmo fittile*), two *fibulae* alongside ten *impasto* vessels (a large *ziro*, a biconical vase, a *brocca*, an *attingitoio*, two cups, a *scodellone*, and three *scodelle*) all associated with commensality and drinking. The male warrior character of t.2145 sees it linked to a narrative of social change at Pontecagnano occurring between phase IA-IB. Cerchiai maintains that these male warriors were the catalyst behind the formation of a "classe elitaria fondata su basi familiari in cui il rango comincia a essere correlato al legame di parentela."[447] He views these simple goods in male tombs as representing a conservative warrior ideology, where this figure acted as the guarantor of the community and thus a different role from the females, who included imports.[448] These males, such as the individual in t.2145, were not merely traditional in their funerary rites. The *elmo fittile* in t.2145 has a common lid or cover for Villanovan cremation urns, which links the deceased to traditional practices. However, that this is an inhumation hints at something more complex.

Inhumation is associated with the main burial practices of the nearby *Fossakultur* and implies instead a desire to embrace ideas from outside the settlement. Cerchiai and Gastaldi maintain that these male warriors controlled the trade links between Pontecagnano, Sardinia, Sicily, and mainland Italy, allowing them ostentatious funerals and monumentalisation of the tomb.[449] That the élite played a role in trade is highly

[443] D'Agostino 1988 p535-536.
[444] D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p197-198 changes in the earth around the grave suggest the deceased was burned on a *ustrinum*.
[445] Cerchiai 1995 p60, 2010 p22; Gastaldi 1994 p58, D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p236-238 see this as a *gens*.
[446] D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p197-198
[447] Cerchiai 1995 p60.
[448] Cerchiai 2010 p22.
[449] Cerchiai 1995 p61-62 and Gastaldi 1994 p58.

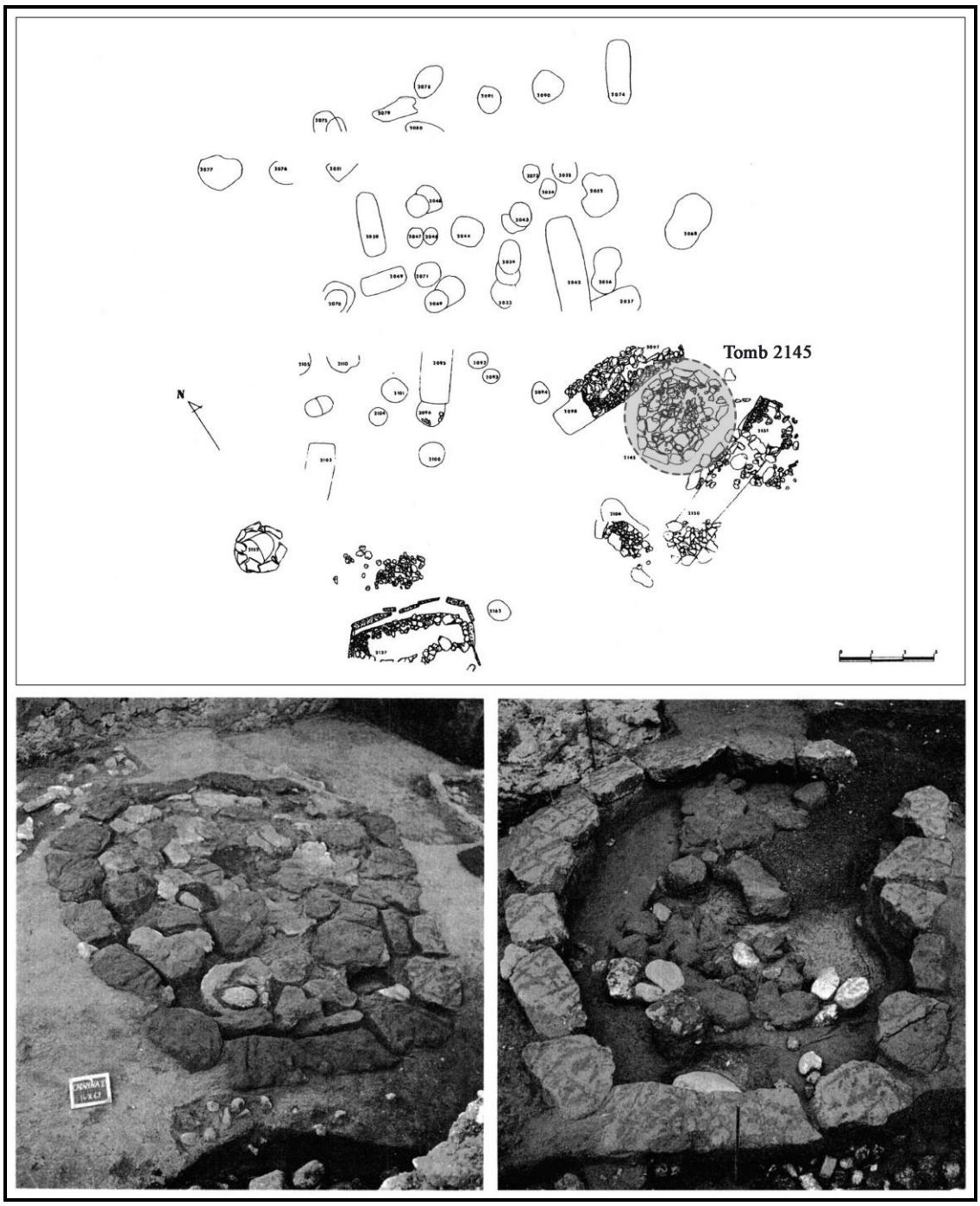

Fig. 3. 5. Position of t.2145 in the *Proprietà Bisogno* area of the Picentino cemetery and photos of the tomb during its excavation (adapted from D'Agostino (1982) figs. 3-5)

likely, but to explain this through such as evolutionary perspective of a progression from egalitarian to stratified socio-political organisation is teleological. Not only were the élite already present in phase IA, but it was the new connections they forged that allowed them access to new ways to express power. They became more visible, rather than emerging from an egalitarian community. The imported weapons in phase IA tied the settlement to Calabria and Etruria and brought new ideas into it, and probably new

funerary rites, such as inhumation. Imported ceramics first appear in the published tombs in phase IB and may or may not be evidence for immigrants from other areas of Italy. The idea of the élite emerging from the community is linked to the emergence of a new artisanal class, recalling Childe's urban revolution (§1.2.1). According to D'Agostino, the only specialised artisans in phase IA are those engaging in metallurgy, with ceramic production remaining a domestic activity limited to a few shapes to fit the needs of a small agricultural community.[450] From the mid-9th century BC, however, an apparent standardisation of the forms and decorations appears on *impasto* vessels. The process is interpreted as a division of labour within the community, where one group produced a surplus to maintain the second group. The second group was composed of both the new artisans and the élite constituting "un passo importante sulla strada che porta all'emergere della società urbana."[451]

This view has several problems. Firstly, the full number of ceramic shapes produced for the community remains unknown, when the sole evidence for the EIA are funerary contexts. We may infer from this that the production of vessels for burials became more standardised, which makes it uncertain whether this was also extended to the domestic and ritual spheres as these contexts are lacking. The standardisation hypothesis itself is problematic, because it is based on decorative motifs now being consistently placed in the same area of each vessel, while the morphology of shapes remains unchanged.[452] There is no prerequisite for the emergence of a new specialist ceramic group in order for such developments to occur and production may therefore have remained domestic.[453] The interpretation bears similarities to the evolutionary thinking behind Childe's ten-point criteria for urban status (§1.2.1). D'Agostino echoes Childe's points two and three, where he argues that a surplus is needed to support specialised members of society.[454] It is plausible instead that this standardisation may derive from changes in local funerary practices, such as the appearance of inhumation that possibly required different graveside rituals. The increase in shapes may also indicate commensality had come to play a role in funerals, where new forms of ceramics including decorations were required. Such changes could find further support

[450] D'Agostino 1988 p536.
[451] D'Agostino 1988 p536.
[452] D'Agostino 1988 p536.
[453] D'Agostino 1988 p536.
[454] Childe 1950 p11.

in the case of t.3184. This less well-known inhumation included *fibulae*, weapons (spearheads and a sword), six *impasto* pots (*olla*, *anfora*, *attingitoio*, *tazza*, *scodellone*, *scodella*), iron spits, and a lead cauldron (*bacino*). These last two objects came to be linked with feasting and were the élite funerary symbols *par excellence* in the Orientalising period (§3.2.3.2).[455] Furthermore, the vessels in this tomb are all ascribable to pouring, drinking, eating and storage functions similar to t.2145. While studies have not been undertaken on the possibilities of feasting in these EIA contexts, the rise in ceramic forms, the types of imports and tomb monumentalisation strongly suggest that commensal practices took place at the graveside of ostentatious burials. By linking the power of these individuals to their trade links, Cerchiai and others indirectly acknowledge how access to weak ties produced new opportunities. The élite were not absent in earlier periods, but it could be argued that weak ties provided them new ways to express power and become more visible in the necropolis.

While the four imported vessels suggest limited contact outside the region, with both Sicily and Lucania (Basilicata), a similar situation to that in phase IA marks phase IB (Table 3.6). Examination of the materials used to produce local objects indicates a series of connections that are less obvious at first glance. Metal, amber, and glass (*pasta vitrea*) are not found in Campania, they must have been acquired from elsewhere. Metal objects account for nearly 30% of the assemblage, this suggests that access to metals continued from the 9th into the 8th century BC. Few amber and glass objects were found in the graves along with some bronze and iron *fibulae* that had amber attachments.

Material	**Total**	**%**
Bronze	124	27.5%
Iron	7	1.6%
Lead	2	0.5%
Gold	1	0.25%
Amber	3	0.75%
Glass (*pasta vitrea*)	1	0.25%
Bronze and Iron *fibulae*	1	0.25%
Bronze, Iron and Amber *fibulae*	1	0.25%
Bronze and Amber *fibulae*	1	0.25%
Total	**141**	**31.3%**
Total metals	**134**	**29.7%**
Total assemblage	**451**	**100%**

Table 3. 6. Pontecagnano imported materials during phase IB

[455] De Natale 1992 p49-50; D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p76 iron spits (type 56A); De Natale 1992 p24 lead basin/*bacino* (type 31C).

These objects attest to access to the metal-rich areas of Northern Italy, where amber was also arriving at sites, such as Frattesina. Without laboratory analysis it is impossible to know the exact origin of these imported materials, yet Etruria is the most likely candidate. Amber possibly travelled down the same routes where at Pontecagnano it was fashioned into decorative objects, such as *fibulae* attachments. However, the single glass bead in this assemblage highlights a different connection. The glass object indicates that Phoenician traders were beginning to arrive with new goods that could be integrated into local jewellery. These combined connections demonstrate that Pontecagnano was involved in Mediterranean trade even before the Greek arrival. Over 30% of the grave goods are made from imported materials, which is a substantial number with connections to the trade routes circulating Northern and Southern Italy.

3.2.1.3 Phase I-II (900-780 BC)

Object type	**Number**	**%**	**Imports**	**%**
Weaving tools	4	5%		
Decorative objects	28	35%		
Fibulae	16	20.5%		
Beads	2	2.5%		
Pottery	29	37%	1	1.3%
Total	79			
Tombs	6			

Table 3. 7. Total objects for Pontecagnano phase I-II.

A small number of tombs could not be accurately dated to phase I or II and sit across the boundary of the two (Appendix III.1). There is scant evidence for this group save that pottery remains the most prominent category. Decorative objects and *fibulae* combine to form a considerable quantity and the two beads in the assemblage possibly indicate some concern for beauty, decoration, and personal appearance (Table 3.7). The most common ceramic forms are the *scodella* (8), *tazza* (4), *scodellone* (4), *brocca* (5), and biconical vase (4). The majority are eating shapes, but pouring and drinking vessels combined followed close behind (Fig. 3.6). Although the sample is small, there are eight different shapes. Plates, and the *anfora* shape feature in two of the tombs, but there is only a single import amongst all the grave goods, a drinking vessel (or *tazza-attingitoio*) from Prehellenic Cuma (Table 3.8). However, out of a total of 29 pots, this single pot does not allow us to draw conclusions on contemporary network ties other than the fact that some of the connections Pontecagnano already held with Prehellenic Cuma in

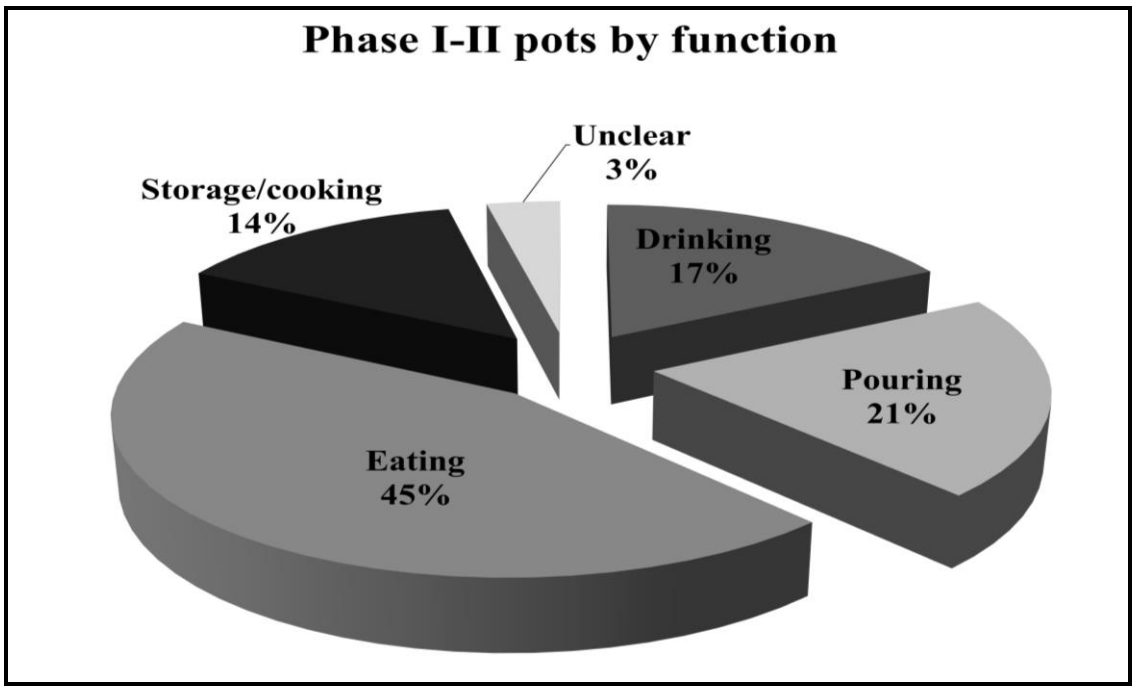

Fig. 3.6 Pie-chart showing the percentages of pots in phase I-II divided by function

phase IA-IB continued here. It is not possible to provide any further conclusions on emerging social roles due to the small sample of tombs and objects. While the single import from Prehellenic Cuma shows ties with the *Fossakultur*, the grave goods include objects made from materials sourced from outside the region (Table 3.9). Bronze and amber objects show that more than 30% of the grave goods relied on materials that were widely available in Northern Italy. During the EIA Pontecagnano held various connections to areas outside the region with access to material resources. The most likely source for the bronze and amber is Etruria, but archaeometric analysis is needed to confirm this. Despite being small, this sample supports the evidence in phases IA and IB that trade along the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy and Sicily was thriving before the Greek arrival.

Tomb	**Import**	**Typology**	**Provenance**
G149	*Tazza-attingitoio*	12IMP	Prehellenic Cuma

Table 3. 8. Imports during Pontecagnano phase I-II

Material	**Total**	**%**
Bronze	43	27.5%
Amber	2	0.75%
Bronze and amber *fibulae*	1	0.25%
Total	**46**	**31.3%**
Total metals	**43**	**29.7%**
Total assemblage	**79**	**100%**

Table 3. 9. Pontecagnano imported materials during phase I-II

3.2.1.4 Phase I Network

The networks for Phases IA, IB and I-II have been combined here to allow comparison with the other case studies in the chapters to follow. Graphs of the network and the materials used to produce local objects for the three sub phases of phase I were completed using UCINET. To reiterate the method described in Chapter 2 (§2.1), no algorithms are needed to produce these networks as all the quantifiable data is used by UCINET to calculate the strength of the ties. The three network graphs based on the imports and local objects in phase IA, IB and I-II reveal ties with Calabria (Torre Galli), Sicily, Prehellenic Cuma, Etruria, and Lucania (Basilicata). During the EIA, the Tyrrhenian coast formed a network that included many prominent indigenous sites, amongst which was Pontecagnano itself. The locally produced material accounts for 95.9%, 99% and 98.7% phase IA, IB and I-II, respectively. As discussed in Chapter 1 (§1.4.1), Pontecagnano is referred to as a Villanovan settlement and its material culture is stylistically linked to the Villanovan and Etruscan culture in the north, the Faliscans in Lazio, and the *Fossakultur* group in the south. With the local material being heavily linked to these areas, it is therefore assumed here that due to stylistic and typological similarities the local material formed a strong tie with the areas of Etruria, Lazio, and the *Fossakultur* in Campania. The imports highlight how weak ties played a role in local interactions. In phase IA the four imports account for 4% of the grave goods and show ties with Torre Galli in Calabria, Prehellenic Cuma, and Etruria at 1%, 1%, and 2%, respectively (Fig. 3.7). Four imports in phase IB only form 1% of the grave goods but show ties with Lucania/Basilicata (0.75%), and Sicily (0.25%) (Fig. 3.9). Similarly, a single import from Prehellenic Cuma in the tombs dating from phase I-II is 1.3% of the grave goods (Fig. 3.11). The imports in all three phases are all well below the threshold outlined in Chapter 2 (§2.1) and therefore constitute weak ties. As a result, they are positioned far away from Pontecagnano on the network and the lines that join these nodes are thin, representing the low strength of the tie. In contrast, the local material culture at Pontecagnano is linked to Etruria and Lazio/*Fossakultur*. These three nodes form what Granovetter calls a clique of strong ties and have much thicker lines connecting them. The EIA phases highlight the existence of a regional network running down the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy. In phase IA there is an import from Etruria and the

local material culture is also linked to Etruria. The node represented by the import is called Etruria2 to distinguish it from the locally made objects which were not imported.

While the imports provide us with a picture of direct contact, the network is not complete, and many connections remain hidden. An examination of the locally produced objects can help us to tease out some of these hidden ties and these have been drawn in UCINET. As already underlined, Campania lacks many resources and, when these are present in the form of locally made grave goods, they indicate the importation of raw materials from outside the region. In phase IA nearly 50% of the grave goods are bronze objects, with the rest made from local clay (Fig. 3.8). Unlike phase IA, which only featured objects made from bronze and local clay, phase IB included bronze, iron, gold, lead, amber, and glass (Fig. 3.10). The grave goods in phase I-II include bronze and amber as imported raw materials alongside those produced in local clay (Fig. 3.12). These imported raw materials have been represented in graph form. Each type of material used to produce a local object is given a node and a line is drawn between them and their findspot, Pontecagnano. The line for each node is drawn depending on the quantity of material: a thick line indicates a high amount of grave goods produced in a particular material, and a thin line a low amount. This is also why some nodes are positioned closer or further away from the node of Pontecagnano itself. Amongst the individual nodes are also those that combine two or more materials, such as the metal *fibulae* with amber attached. Although the source is unclear for the clay used to produce pottery, I have assumed that this is local based on Nijboer's theory of a maximum of 7km distance for pottery sources.[456] Local clay is also represented as a node to illustrate how high the quantity of imported raw materials were. Aside from the objects produced in local clay, which formed most of the objects deposited in each phase, bronze features prominently. Amber is also found in a small quantity and suggests ties outside the region. These materials cannot accurately be linked to a specific source, but because Pontecagnano was a Villanovan settlement it remains likely that trade with Etruria and the Villanovan sphere enabled the settlement to access raw materials. With regards to the provenance of the bronze, it is likely that it was acquired directly from Etruria which, as discussed in Chapter 2, had abundant metal resources. While the bronze suggests the link with Etruria was much more intense than that shown by contemporary

[456] Nijboer 1998 p58-59.

imports, the amber was acquired indirectly from the amber trade routes of northern Italy. As we shall see in Chapter 5, the site of Poggiomarino may have been a key site in the down-the-line trade in amber, but it remains feasible that Pontecagnano obtained its amber from Etruria, an area which also had links to Northern Italy. Archaeometric analysis can confirm such a hypothesis, but such studies are yet to be forthcoming.

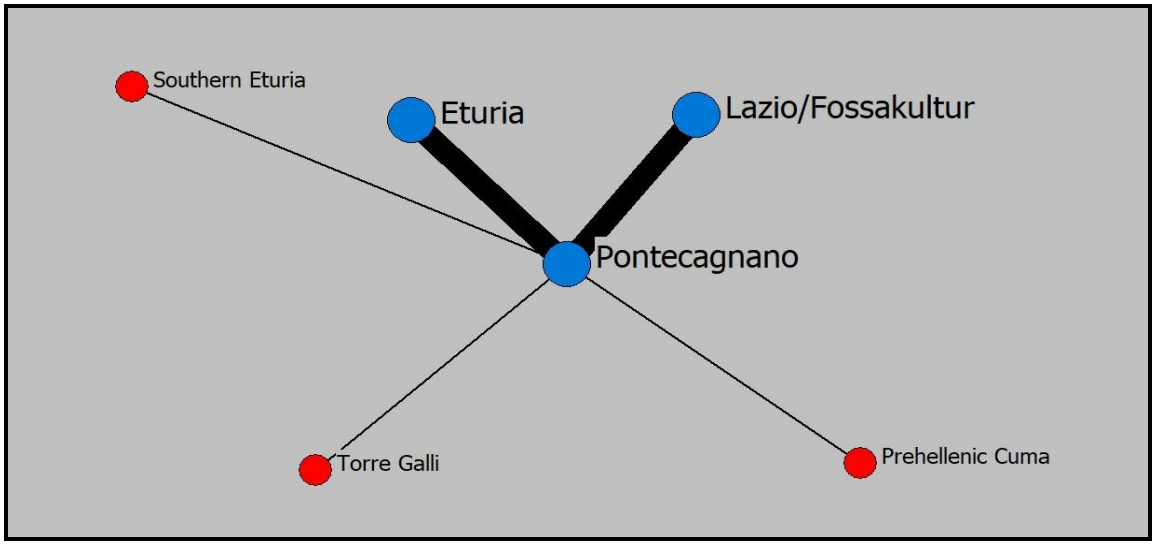

Fig. 3. 7. Pontecagnano network phase IA showing the ties with external sites based on the imports (using UCINET)

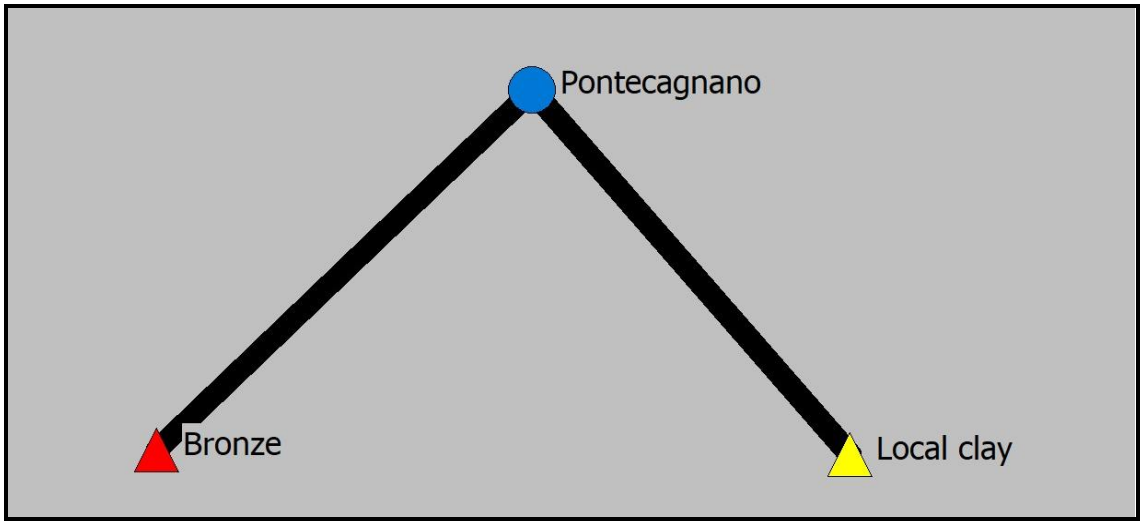

Fig. 3. 8. Pontecagnano network phase IA showing the ties with external sites based on the raw materials (using UCINET)

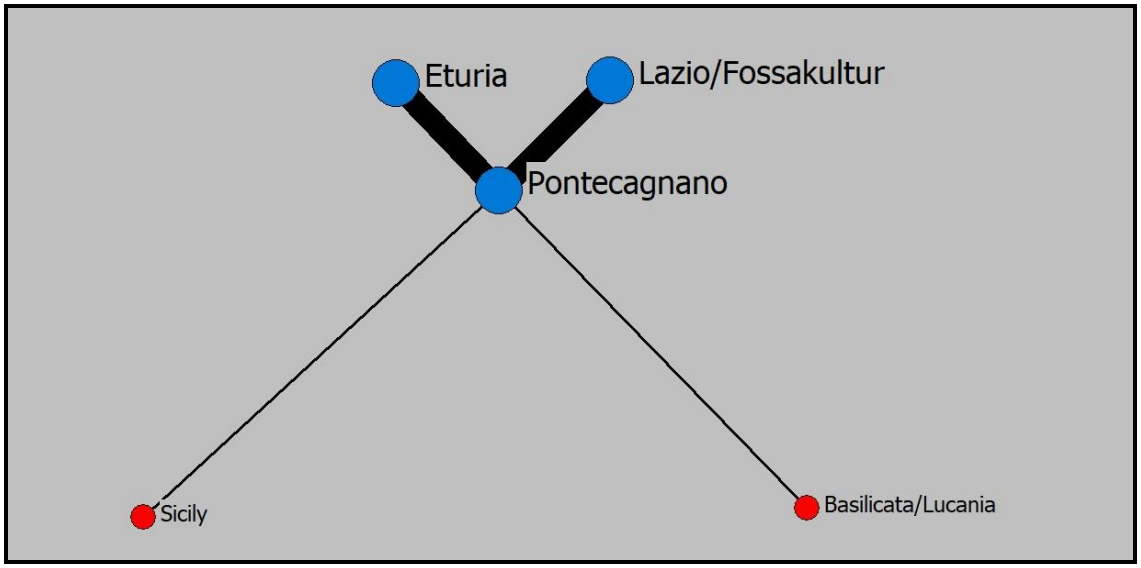

Fig. 3. 9. Pontecagnano network phase IB showing the ties with external sites based on the imports (using UCINET)

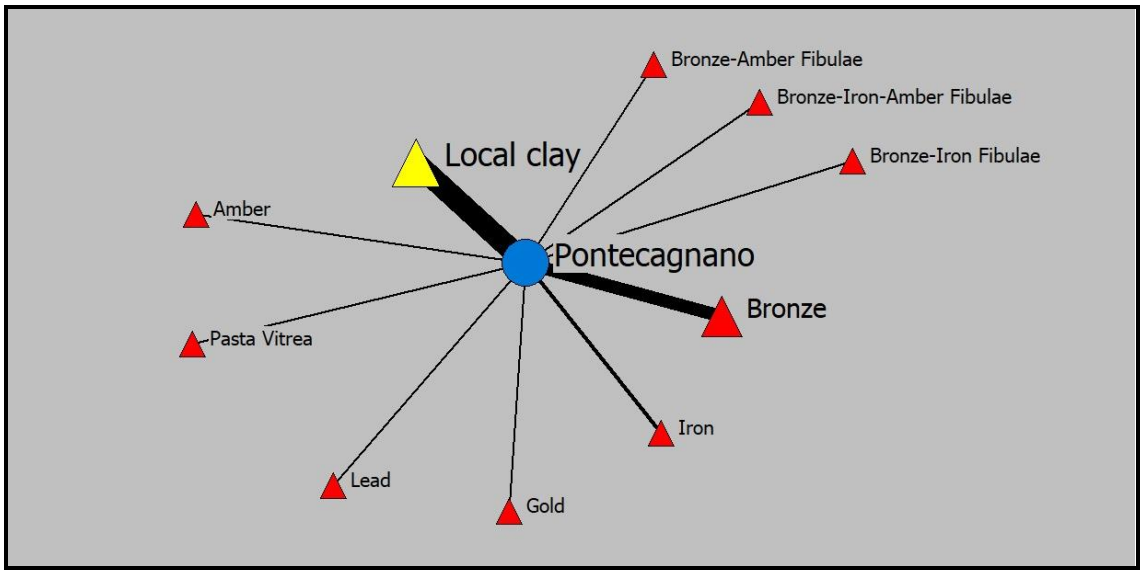

Fig. 3. 10. Pontecagnano network showing the ties in phase IB based on the raw materials (using UCINET)

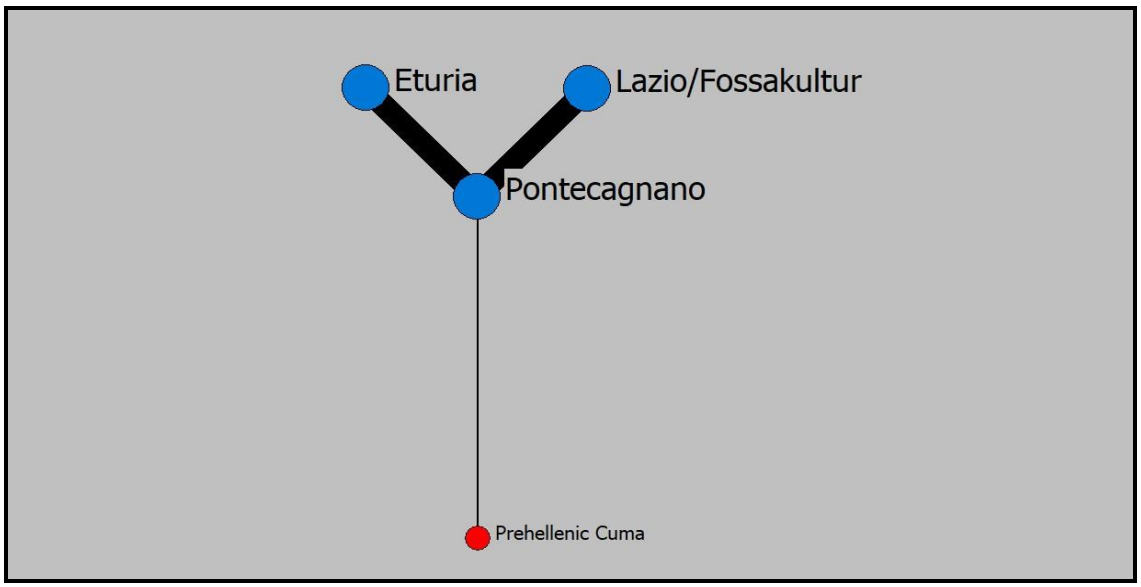

Fig. 3. 11. Pontecagnano network phase I-II showing the ties with external sites based on the imports (using UCINET)

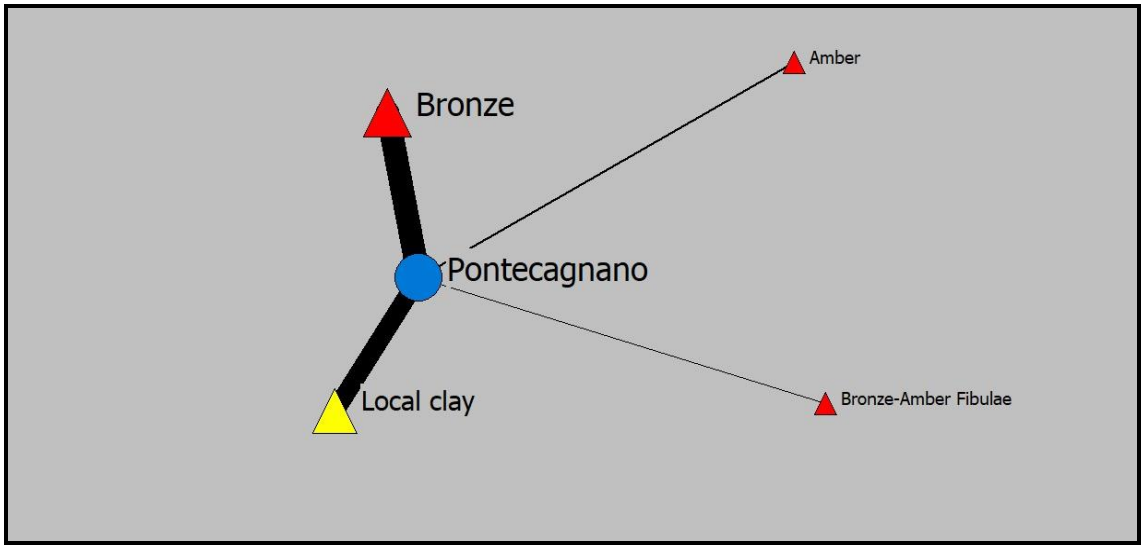

Fig. 3. 12. Pontecagnano network phase I-II showing the ties with external sites based on the raw material (using UCINET)

3.2.2 Phase II

3.2.2.1 Phase IIA (780/770-750 BC)

Object type	Number	%	Imports	%	Imitations	%
Weaving tools	22	4.2%				
Weapons	14	2.7%				
Decorative objects	90	17.3%				
Fibulae	94	18%				
Razors	3	0.6%				
Beads	50	9.6%				
Other	43	8.2%				
Metal vessels	3	0.6%				
Elmo fittile	4	0.8%				
Pottery	196	38%	5	1%	1	0.2%
Total	519					
Tombs	27					

Table 3. 10. Total objects for Pontecagnano phase IIA

The 27 tombs dating to phase IIA contained 519 objects with pottery being the largest category (Table 3.10). A series of differences from the earlier phase I are notable. Firstly, the number of *fibulae* and decorative elements increases, and beads jump from six to 50 examples, suggesting an increased desire to decorate the body. Whether this funerary evidence also accounts for daily life is unknown. Secondly, the number of ceramics is lower, but this probably results from the smaller tomb sample than in phase I. Most tombs now contain more than six to seven pots, with five tombs having more than ten vessels each (t.3192, t.3211, t.3248, t.3276, t.3289) (Fig. 3.13). Two simple *fossa* inhumation tombs (t.3256, t.3260) had no pottery and only featured *fibulae*.

Although cremation is still the dominant rite, inhumation rises significantly (12) which coincides with a decline in traditional Villanovan practices: only six biconical vases and four *elmo fittile* out of 15 cremation burials date to this phase. This is a much lower number than in phase I and is strongly suggestive of alternatives being sought for cinerary urns and their covers. However, with no obvious change in the number of weapons and weaving tools deposited, it seems likely that the prominence of the warrior and weaver social roles continued in this phase. There are occasional increases in the number of *fibulae* and elaborate decorative objects deposited, such as in t.3276 where 17 *fibulae* decorated a corpse also decked out in gold and silver objects, amber and *pasta vitrea* beads. This female inhumation also contained two ceremonial *incensieri*.

Fig. 3. 13. Handmade (*impasto*) ceramics from t.3208 and t.3211 (adapted from De Natale (1992) figs. 47 2-4, 48.2, 5, 6)

New ceramic forms appear such as the *boccale* and miniature versions of shapes present in the previous phases.[457] The most common forms are the *tazza* (49), *scodellone* (35), *scodella* (17), *olla* (18), and *brocca* (15), a change from phase IB where the *scodella* and *brocca* were more highly represented. As discussed above, the number of biconical vases declined in number in this phase, signalling a change in funerary rite. Three bronze vessels date to this phase and are all unusual shapes, such as the two *incensieri* in t.3276 in bronze and copper, and the bronze *situla* in t.3248. All three may be imports, but as the excavators do not list them as imports, I have included them among the locally produced objects.[458] Although Figure 3.14 indicates that eating and drinking vessels comprise a similar number, the considerable rise in drinking

[457] See the miniature biconical vase in t.3224 and *coppetta* in t.3211.
[458] On t.3276 and t.3248 see De Natale 1992 p104-107 and p85-87. The *incensiere* are D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 type 29A. The bronze *situla* is linked to Giuliani-Pomes 1954 type B, but no provenance is given for this object.

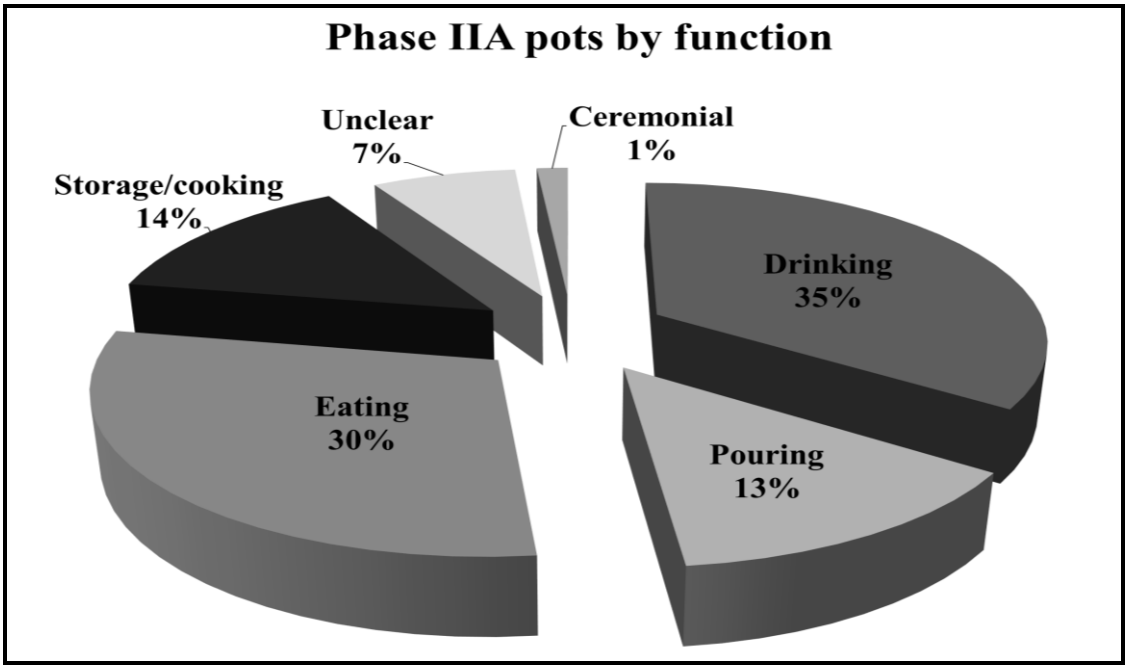

Fig. 3.14 Pie chart showing the percentages of pots in phase IIA divided by function

Tomb	Import/imitation	Typology	Provenance
3208	Cup (MG Attic type)	28A1e	Attic.
3211	Cup (LG bird cup)	28A1g	Euboian or Cycladic.
3211	Cup (LG bird cup)	28A1g	
3224	Cup (chevron)	28A1d	
3280	*Olla*	3IMP	South Etruria.
3288	*Anfora*	28B3a	Local shape, Greek style.

Table 3. 11. Imports during Pontecagnano phase IIA

vessels is linked to the first appearance of Greek imports. A change has been noted in the locally produced ceramics by those studying the region, towards a more homogenous and standardised repertoire. De Natale argues this shows a "cambiamento di gusto", which is linked to a faster potter's wheel ("un tornio più veloce").[459]

The five imports in this phase are all associated with drinking or food storage. However, there is also a solitary imitation combining a local shape with Greek décor (Table 3.11). While there are four imported Greek drinking vessels, the fifth is an *olla* from Etruria. There is a notable absence of imports from Italic sites, which possibly shows a change in the local network, where the weak ties with Basilicata were replaced by the Greek arrival on the coast. Such a change coincides with the first locally produced imitations of Greek pots, with the *anfora* in t.3288, where a Greek decorative motif is applied to a local shape. The imports and imitation mark a change from

[459] De Natale 1992 p40.

imported Italian pouring vessels in phase I to imported Greek drinking vessels. Three of these are Euboian or Cycladic types fitting in well with the so-called phase of "pre-colonial trade", where Greek drinking cups were exchanged along the Tyrrhenian from Prehellenic Cuma to Capua, and Etruria.[460] These are associated with guest-friendship exchanges between Greeks and locals that increased institutionalised wine consumption.[461] It is likely that these were first exchanged during indigenous feasts, with local élites meeting their Greek peers and exchanging banqueting customs, as Riva and Nijboer have argued for the 8th century Tyrrhenian.[462] However, that imported cups are not followed by transport amphorae suggests their incorporation into local rituals but also that wine was not imported. This finds some confirmation in the presence of *vitis vinifera* in Italy since at least the times of the Bronze Age Terramare culture as archaeobotanical evidence has shown.[463] Iaia mentions the MBA site of San Lorenzo a Greve in Northern Tuscany, where over a thousand grapevine pips were found in a wood-framed silo.[464]

The decorative motifs on the Tyrrhenian drinking cups vary from chevrons and meanders to a single bird between vertical lines (Fig. 3.15).[465] While these are simple decorations, these ideas were absent from the local repertoire and probably appealed to locals in contact with these new weak ties. Only three tombs feature these cups, while one other (t. 3288) has an imitation vessel. As discussed above, this imitation vessel combines Greek decor with a local shape. Unfortunately, I am unable to provide any illustrations of this vessel because no images of this pot have been published. However, the vessel is described as a hybrid and interpreted as most likely produced in Campania.[466] The *anfora* shape is already well attested in phase I at Pontecagnano and is associated with drinking and pouring. With regard to the imitations in the unpublished phase II tombs, D'Agostino explained these as produced by immigrant Greeks resident at Pontecagnano.[467] However, it is never argued that these were instead produced by local artisans who were inspired by a decorative motif, which they

[460] Cerchiai 2010 p23.
[461] Cerchiai 2010 p23.
[462] Riva 2010 p147; Nijboer 2013 p119.
[463] Bartoloni 1989 p188-189, also section §2.3.
[464] Iaia 2013 p373.
[465] D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p45-46, t.3280, 3211, 3208.
[466] D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p48; Bailo Modesti/Gastaldi 1999 p60. Although the tomb dates differ between these two publications.
[467] See D'Agostino's comments 1999a p20 on the *ollae* from t.3892 and t.538.

combined with a pre-existing local drinking vessel shape, via the medium of the potters' wheel. This equates to the "complex hybrid" ceramics produced by local groups in Southern France after contact with the Greeks at *Massalia*.[468] Instead, agency in Campania is regularly given to the incoming Greek craftsmen.

I will counter the immigrant artisan argument on three grounds. Firstly, most imports across phase IIA-IIB (including those in unpublished tombs) are connected with drinking, while pouring, eating, storage/cooking and cosmetic types are rare. Imitations on the other hand, frequently combine a local shape with a Greek motif. This is strongly suggestive of an appreciation of the style or decoration on these vessels alongside their connection with wine consumption. Secondly, other available vessel types connected with either drinking (e.g., *kraters*) or cosmetics (e.g., *aryballoi*) are absent demonstrating their undesirability for the local population. As mainly drinking cups are imported, they do not reflect the full available ceramic repertoire associated with Greek drinking and other rituals, pointing to selectivity by Pontecagnano's inhabitants.[469] Lastly, identifying the ethnicity of craftsmen through stylistic analysis is extremely problematic.[470] The *anfora* in t.3288 may well demonstrate a preference for a particular style rather than a desire to 'mimic' or 'imitate' Greek culture. I believe that the *anfora* itself was sufficient enough for the user to simultaneously appreciate and adapt Greek decorations to a local drinking cup and indicates what became a major trend in later phases, the acquisition of characteristics that comprise what Hodos terms a "global culture" (§1.2.2).[471] Initially, this only saw the acquisition of decorative motifs and drinking vessels, but their role in funerary rituals, heightened the competition between individuals in the community.

Unfortunately, a neo-evolutionary approach to settlement analysis has prevailed. Exemplary is the female child inhumation t.3211, where an ostentatious tomb structure and a large set of grave goods were decidedly out of character for such a young individual. This *fossa* burial was ringed by a large tufa enclosure and covered with boulders that probably functioned as a *sema*. Around it were a series of smaller burials,

[468] Dietler 1998 p306.
[469] See Hodos 2010a p87 for similar selectivity by the Sikels.
[470] Hoffman 1997 p9-16.
[471] Hodos 2009, 2010a.

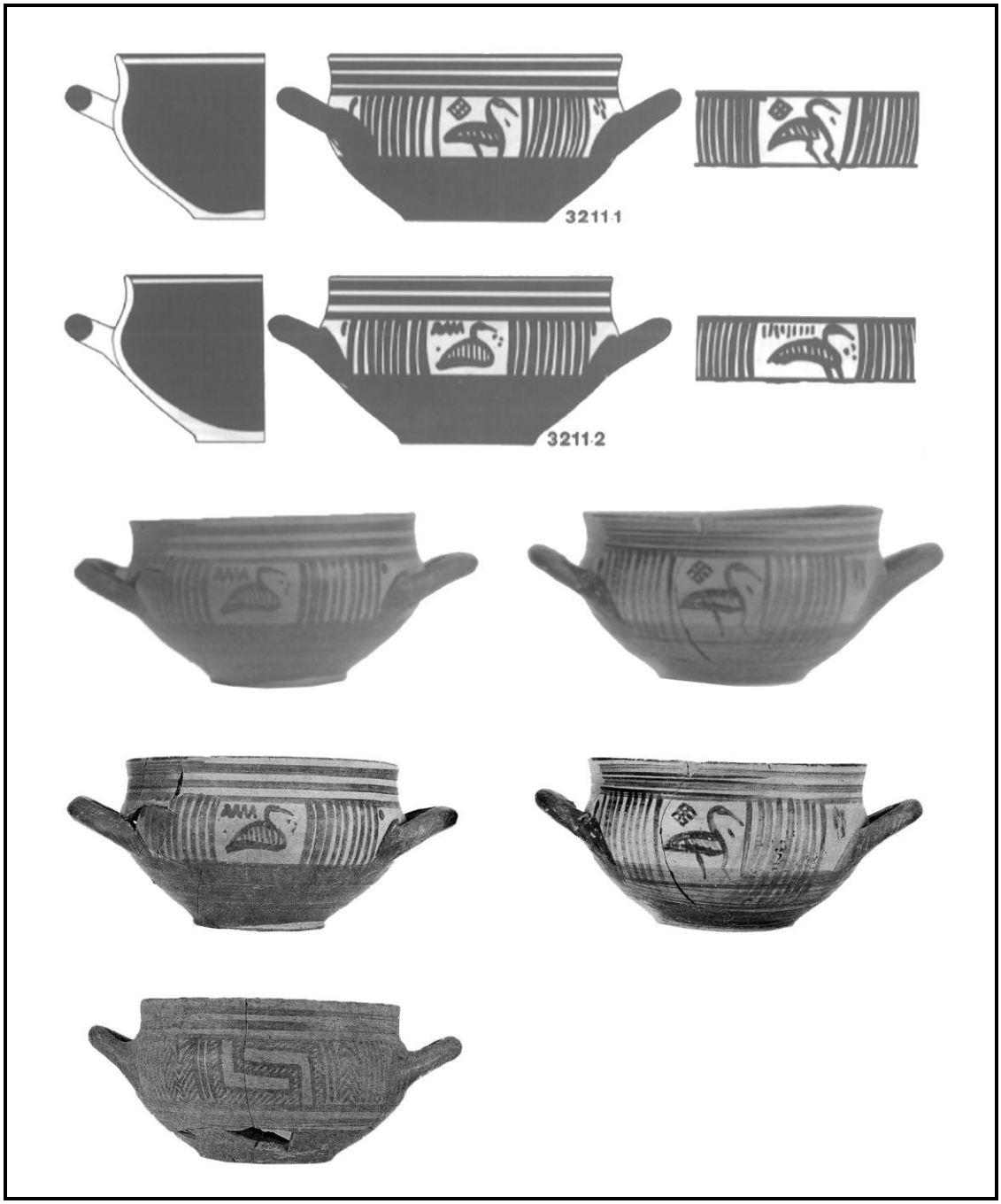

Fig. 3. 15. Greek pots from t.3211 and t.3208 (adapted from De Natale (1992) figs. 48 1, 3-4 and Bailo Modesti/Gastaldi (1999) fig. 6 2.7)

all of which were empty.[472] Amongst the grave goods were seven *impasto* vessels (and 4 unidentified fragments) connected to eating and drinking, two Greek drinking cups, 12 weaving tools, ten bronze *fibulae* and a series of decorative objects (including *pasta vitrea* beads and a silver pendant).[473] For Cerchiai the extension of 'adult' grave goods to a child burial signals a change in the socio-political organisation of the community

[472] De Natale 1992 p62-65.
[473] De Natale 1992 p62-65.

from a hierarchy of roles (e.g., warrior vs. weaver) to genealogical links with specific family groups.[474] His view is dependent on the perceived development of the cemetery in phase I, its increased monumentality and the emergence of family plots. However, there are many reasons why a child burial would be treated so ostentatiously and does not *a priori* imply a shift from an egalitarian to a stratified community. The weaving tools could symbolise the adulthood and female role the child would never attain, and thus be a gift from mother to daughter. Although the ostentation is unusual it could be explained by the trauma surrounding a child death and a need to offer a more elaborate funeral for a life unfulfilled. Gender-specific objects in infant burials at Tarquinia have been linked to status now being "inherited" and displayed through such male or female objects.[475] An infant burial may thus have increased the need to reaffirm existing status at a very public event, where, despite the trauma, the deceased parents in t.3211 were articulating their élite status. While there is no need to link this burial into the *emergence* of an élite group, the funeral may have been a locus for competition and imported vessels appear to have played some role in this. They feature prominently in female tombs, which poses questions on whether they were gifts from mourners or were originally owned by the deceased in life. Either way they represent weak ties which enabled the élite new ways to articulate their status.

Material	**Total**	**%**
Bronze	170	32.7%
Iron	16	3.1%
Silver	6	1.2%
Gold	3	0.6%
Amber	43	8.3%
Glass (*pasta vitrea*)	33	6.4%
Bronze and amber *fibulae*	7	1.3
Bronze and silver *fibulae*	1	0.2%
Total	**279**	**53.8%**
Total metals	**195**	**37.6%**
Total assemblage	**519**	**100%**

Table 3. 12. Pontecagnano imported materials during phase IIA

Returning to the imports and imitations, while these five vessels point to some of the contemporary network connections, table 3.12 shows more than 50% of the grave goods were produced from materials that are not found in the region. The largest

[474] Cerchiai 1995 p66.
[475] Riva 2010 p80.

category was metals, with bronzes being particularly high (170 objects at 32.7%), although small quantities of iron, silver, and gold were also present. Amber and glass objects also counted for about 15% of the total objects deposited. Alongside these individual objects were composite *fibulae* of bronze-amber or bronze-silver types. The locally produced objects indicate that a considerable quantity of raw materials was imported by the community at Pontecagnano. It is highly likely that the metals were acquired from Etruria, which was closely connected to Pontecagnano due to both being Etruscan areas. The amber was probably acquired through trade moving down the Adriatic coast of Italy. As discussed in Chapter 2, sites such as Frattesina and Verucchio in Northern Italy were important in the trade and production of amber during the Bronze and Iron Ages. Amber probably moved down the Adriatic towards Daunia, where it then moved west in the direction of the Tyrrhenian coast along with wool. However, only archaeometric analysis can reveal the provenance of the amber and metals in this sample. What these objects do reveal is that Pontecagnano held important ties prior to the arrival of the Greeks on the Tyrrhenian coast.

3.2.2.2 Phase IIB (750-730 BC)

Object type	Number	%	Imports	%	Imitations	%
Weaving tools	11	3.3%				
Weapons	11	3.3%				
Decorative objects	68	21%				
Fibulae	62	19%				
Razors	1	0.3%				
Beads	55	17%				
Other	9	2.8%				
Elmo fittile	1	0.3%				
Pottery	107	33%	9	2.8%	3	0.9%
Total	325		9		3	-
Tombs	12					

Table 3. 13. Total objects for Pontecagnano phase IIB

Phase II had 12 tombs with 325 objects, and although pottery was the largest single category, *fibulae*, decorative objects, and beads combined outweigh the ceramics (Table 3.13). Because this is a low tomb sample it is not clear to what extent it is representative of the community during the mid-8th century BC. Nevertheless, all these burials include pottery and only three had less than seven vessels. These are not poor burials, however, as female inhumations t.3266 and t.3287 feature a total of 49 and 21

objects (all associated with decoration or weaving), respectively. The male inhumation t.3267 has less objects but includes weaponry and *fibulae* alongside ceramics. A group of tombs, all of different sex and burial type, contained nine pots each (t.3214, t.3241, t.3264, t.3284, t.3286, t.3892), and there is no homogeneity in the vessel types deposited. Two tombs in this phase have 13 pots each: t.3230 (a female cremation with 31 other objects), and t.3285 (a male cremation with four other objects including a Greek import).

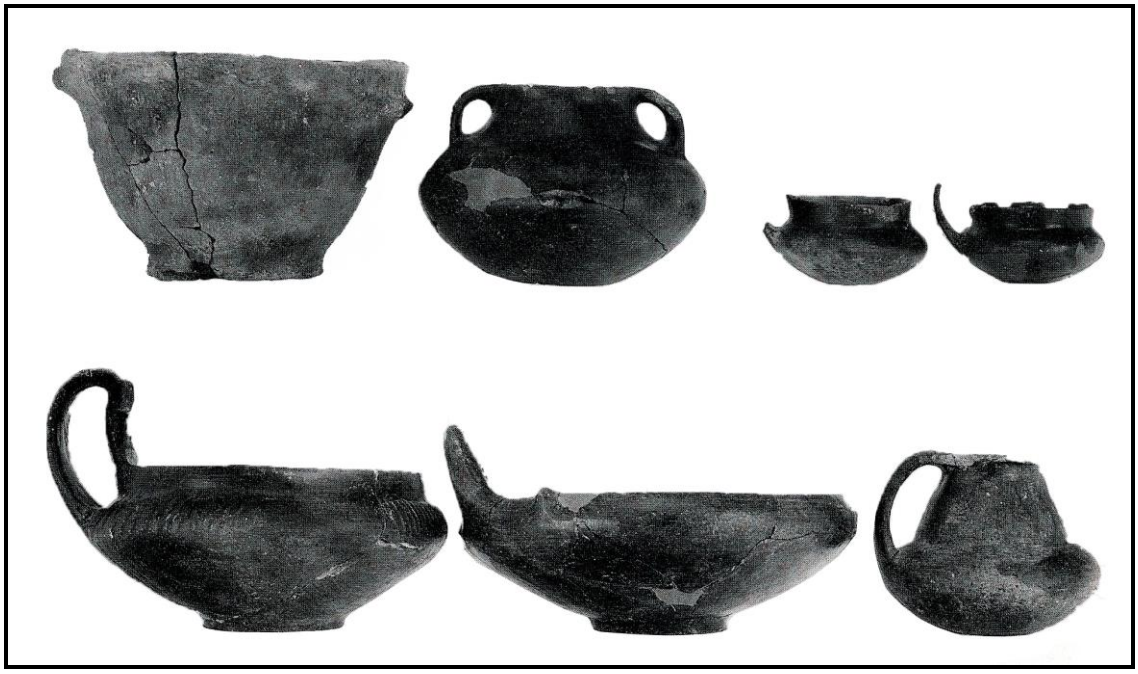

Fig. 3. 16. Examples of handmade ceramics in phase IIB (adapted from De Natale (1992)

Despite the small tomb sample, cremation is no longer the dominant rite as seven of the burials are inhumations and five cremations. Linked to this is an almost complete disappearance of the Villanovan biconical vase, with only two examples used in cremations. Of these two, the male in t.3241 also included the only *elmo fittile*, while the female in t.3892 featured an imitation Greek vessel. The extremely low number of these two 'Villanovan' objects suggests a change from the earliest phases and a desire to use different cinerary urns. A decrease in depositions of weapons and weaving tools, along with less ceramic shapes in this phase, probably results from the small tomb sample. The most common forms are the *scodellone* (24), *tazza* (19), *brocca* (14), and the *olla* (10) (Fig. 3.16). Every tomb includes at least one *scodellone* and only one tomb is without a *tazza* (t.3266) or an *olla* (t.3264). A change in the local network may explain the decrease in the Villanovan style cremations, since Pithekoussai, which is

associated with the Phoenicians and Euboians, and then Cumae were founded during this phase. Interaction between these sites and Pontecagnano potentially enabled these new nodes to bridge the clique Pontecagnano held with its Villanovan roots. As Figure 3.17 indicates, both drinking and eating vessels feature prominently, with the former being higher in number than the vases for food consumption; there is also a slight increase in pouring vessels. While the number of vessel shapes does not increase for this phase, the types deposited, and the increased number of ceramics in this sample imply different practices from phase I. Whereas before it was sufficient to deposit a modest assemblage at the graveside, a much higher number of grave goods is now the norm.

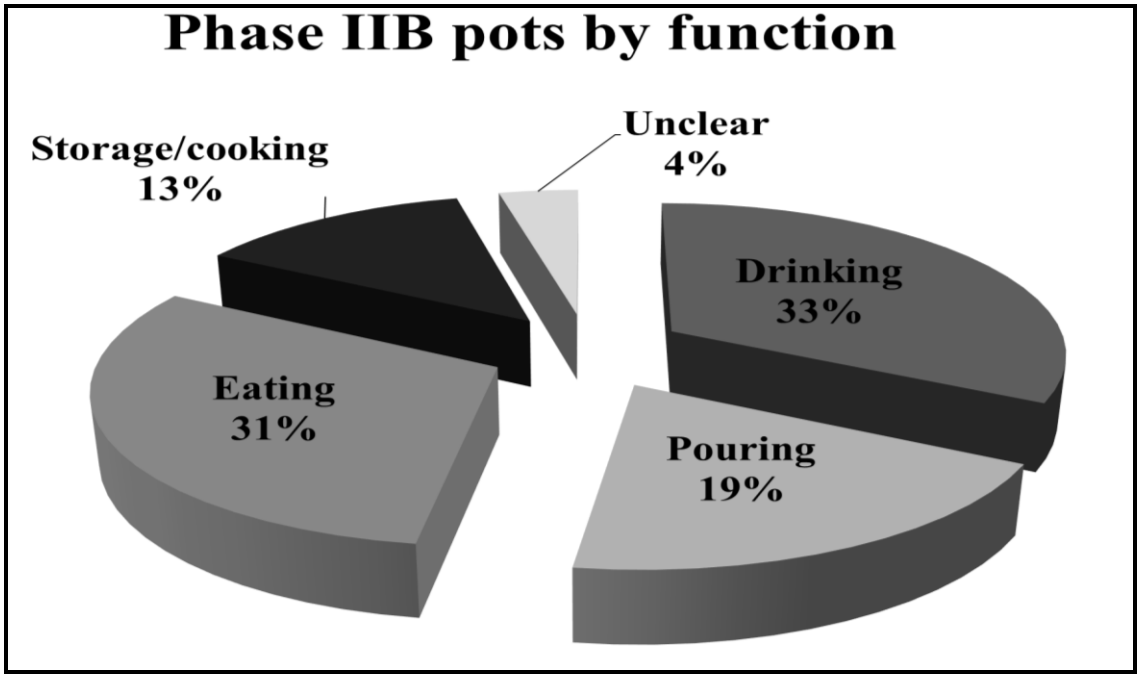

Fig. 3.17 Pie-chart showing the percentages of phase IIB pots by function

The change coincides with an increase in imports, although only those from the published tombs are considered here (Table 3.14). Imitations also rise pointing to a clear interest in Greek decorated ceramics and shapes. Nine imports were found within five tombs while three other different tombs had an imitation each. Of the five tombs with imports four were inhumations, one cremation. Two were male, two were female and one unidentified. Two of the tombs with imitations were female and one male, two were inhumation and one cremation. Most imported vessels are connected to either females in general or inhumations of both sexes. Although based on too small a sample to allow concrete conclusions, the connection of the imports and inhumations appears to reflect a shift from Villanovan cremations to inhumation rites. Aside from two plates, the

Tomb	Import/imitiation	Typology	Provenance
3214	Cup (LG chevron)	28A1c	Euboian
3214	Plate	28B4f	Greece or Campanian Greek.
3264	Cup (LG rhomboid chain)	28A1f	Attic/Euboian.
3264	Cup (MG Attic type)	28A1e	Attic?
3284	Cup (chevron)	28A1d	Euboian/Cycladic.
3285	Cup (LG chevron)	28A1c	Euboian.
3285	Cup (wave motif)	28A1i	Greek.
3285	Plate	28A1c	Greece or Campanian Greek.
3286	Cup (chevron)	28A1d	Euboian/Cycladic.
3266	*Brocca*	28B3b	Local shape but Greek style.
3892	*Olla*	28B5	Local shape but style linked to Pithekoussai and the Cesnola painter.
3267	*Coppetta*	28B2d	Local shape but decor is Euboian/Cycladic.

Table 3. 14. Imports and imitations during Pontecagnano phase IIB

imports are almost exclusively drinking cups of chevron, wave, and chain motifs and either Attic, Euboian, or Cycladic production (Figs. 3.18). The plates were either made in Greece or one of the newly founded Greek settlements in Campania. The continued absence of transport amphorae amongst the grave goods points to cups and plates being integrated into pre-existing local rituals, or if wine was imported then its containers were disposed of elsewhere and not interred in the grave. These imports are all connected to commensal practices and are still not representative of the full available Greek ceramic repertoire. They do show a weak tie with the newly founded Greek settlements nearby. The three tombs that include imitations do not include any Greek imports.

Two of these vessels are pouring and drinking in function and combine local shapes with a Greek décor, while the third is a storage vessel. Using stylistic analysis, D'Agostino and Gastaldi have linked the *olla* in t.3892 to the Cesnola painter. Some argue that this vessel could only have been realised by a Euboian artisan from Pithekoussai resident at Pontecagnano.[476] Not only can this identity attribution of the artisan not be confirmed, but it also ignores the local shape of the vessel. The current level of the publication for Pontecagnano's cemeteries means that I am unable to provide images for all vessel types because many are lacking a published image. I have based my review here on the description of each vessel in the literature, where they are

[476] Cerchiai 1995 p67-68; D'Agostino 1999 p20; De Natale 1992 p22-24.

frequently called hybrid vessels (or *imitazioni*). These hybrid vessels reveal a preference for a particular style that was so important as to prompt its use upon vessels of local tradition. Driving this phenomenon is increased contact with the global culture now circulating around the Mediterranean, which caused locals to compete for power. Such hybrid vessels allow us to understand the network ties held by the community during the 8th century. Access to particular ties also permitted access to new ideas. However, this is rarely acknowledged and instead Cerchiai is exemplary of the view that contact with the Greeks accelerated internal developments and caused a "più profondo processo di integrazione culturale."[477] Increased production of weapons and tools in iron over bronze is explained as new metallurgical techniques entering the site, while a standardisation of local ceramics is attributed to the introduction of the potter's wheel. Both things are associated with contact with the Greeks, who provided local craftsmen access to more advanced techniques. According to this theory, these new techniques led to the formation of a new specialised artisanal class which, in turn, Cerchiai maintains, marks an evolution from a more basic production system to one based upon "una struttura produttiva di carattere familiare."[478] An introduction of new production techniques does not mean that the community suddenly became more stratified, yet Cerchiai feels that these evolutionary processes were already underway from phase I, but were given an impetus by contact with the Greeks.[479] Key to this is t.3892 that along with the other tombs in this area of the necropolis, Cerchiai argues was not only the emergent aristocracy, but the historical *gens* attested by later Roman sources for Early Republican Lazio.[480]

This narrative results from a socio-evolutionary understanding of site development, and although recognising internal developments, too much emphasis is awarded to the Greeks as catalysts. Any changes to Pontecagnano's social structure cannot have occurred without internal agency. A huge effort is required to completely overhaul production techniques especially from handmade to wheel-made pottery, which, for Dietler, incurs considerable material costs such as "permanent workshop equipment [the wheel, closed kilns, clay purification tanks, storage facilities]...new

[477] Cerchiai 1995 p67.
[478] Cerchiai 1995 p63-64.
[479] Cerchiai 2010 p24.
[480] Cerchiai 1995 p68 "L'immagine che attraverso la documentazione archeologica si ricava del gruppo di via Palinuro è tutto simile alla descrizione che la tradizione storica tramanda della *gens* arcaica."

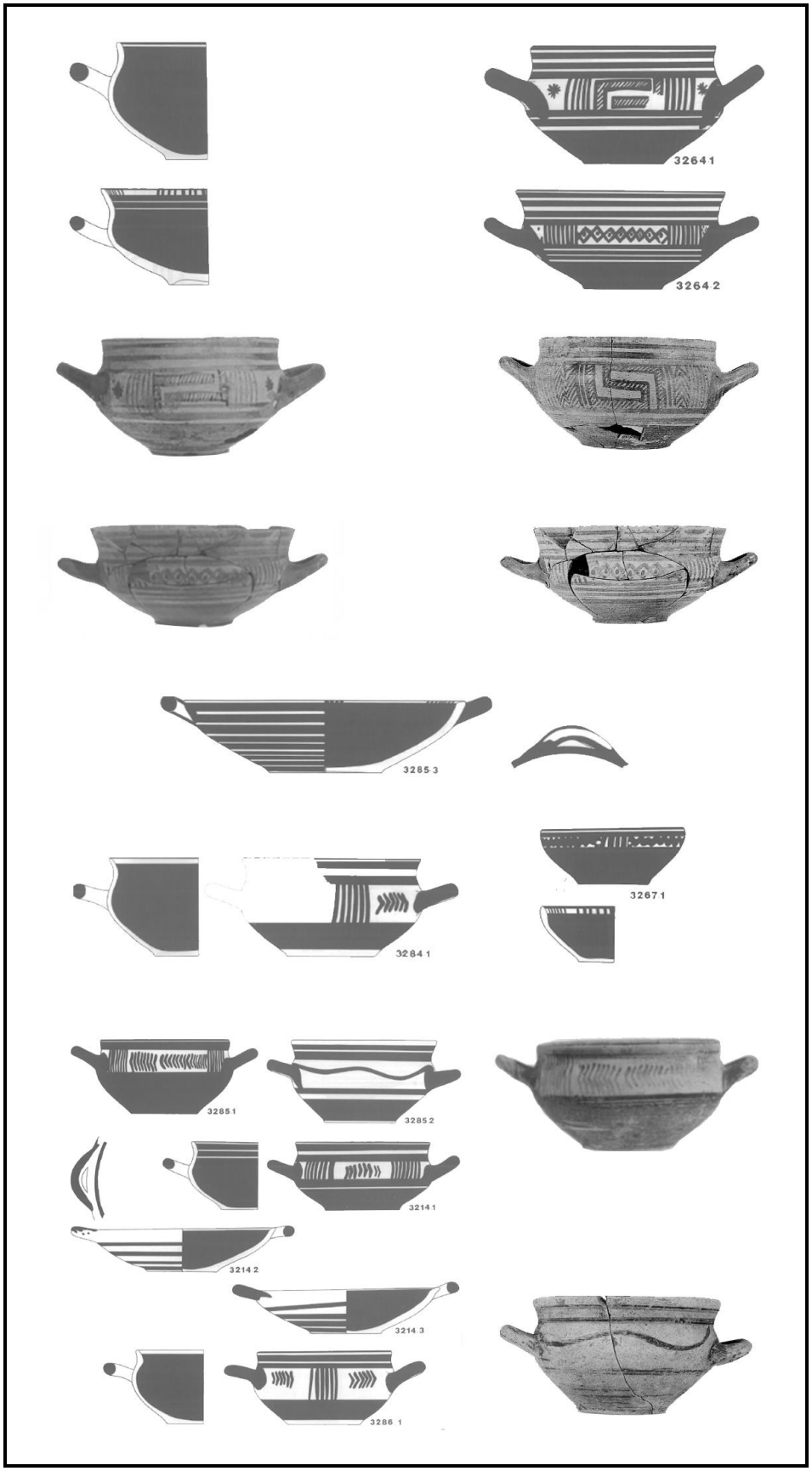

Fig. 3. 18. Greek imported pottery in t.3264, t.3285, t.3267, and t.3284 (adapted from De Natale (1992) fig. 59 1-2, 64 7, and Bailo Modesti/Gastaldi (1999) 9, 4.1-2, 15-14)

specialised knowledge and completely new motor skills."[481] With all this at stake, such transformations are evidence that locals were selecting new ways to represent themselves through the materiality of iron (increased tools and weapons) and more efficient ceramic production techniques, which met an increased demand for the 'global culture,' of which Greek ceramics were a major, though not exclusive component. Contact with the Greeks did not cause the social fabric to become more stratified but much more competitive, especially through the funerary sphere.

Material	**Total**	**%**
Bronze	113	34.8%
Iron	11	3.4%
Silver	10	3.1%
Gold	3	0.9%
Amber	8	2.5%
Glass (*pasta vitrea)*	47	14.5%
Bronze and amber *fibulae*	12	3.7
Iron and silver *fibulae*	1	0.3%
Total	**205**	**63.1%**
Total metals	**137**	**42.2%**
Total assemblage	**325**	**100%**

Table 3. 15. Imported materials during Pontecagnano phase IIB

I suggest that the role of Greek ceramics in the transformation of local society has been overplayed by scholarship (§1.4.2 and §3.1.2). The overemphasis on Greek material ignores the pre-existing network connections that were discussed above for phase I. Echoes of these connections are visible in the material used to produce local objects at Pontecagnano. As discussed above, metal and amber must have been acquired from outside the region. If we examine the assemblage in more detail, we find that more than 60% was sourced from elsewhere (Table 3.15). Similar to the preceding phases, bronze objects form the highest number of the imported raw materials (113 objects, 34.8% of the assemblage). Other metals are also found, such as iron, silver, and gold, all of which were precious materials due to their absence in Campania. The metals account for 42.2% of the grave goods. A small number of amber objects are present, which includes composite bronze-amber *fibulae*. A sizeable amount of glass (*pasta vitrea*) objects show an increase from the previous phase. All the materials listed in the table above indicate long-distances network ties with the metal- and amber-rich areas of Northern Italy, along with contact with Phoenician traders arriving on the Tyrrhenian.

[481] Dietler 1998 p306.

3.2.2.3 Phase II (780-730 BC)

Object type	Number	%	Imports	%	Imitations	%
Weaving tools	24	4.2%				
Weapons	18	3.1%				
Decorative objects	94	16.3%				
Fibulae	83	14.4%				
Razors	1	0.2%				
Beads	28	4.9%	2	0.3%		
Metal spits or firedogs	2	0.3%				
Elmo fittile	5	0.9%				
Scarabs	4	0.7%	4	0.7%		
Other	14	2.4%				
Pottery	302	52.6%	13	2.6%	9	1.5%
Total	575		19		9	
Tombs	43					

Table 3. 16. Total objects in Pontecagnano phase II

In this section I discuss several burials that date across phase II but cannot be assigned to either of the two subphases A-B. Inhumations outnumber the cremations from 27 to 14 (with 2 burials of unclear ritual) (Table 3.16). Ceramics were again the largest category although the combined total of decorative objects, *fibulae* and beads was not far behind. Amongst the 17 were four scarabs and two Rhodian beads, probably imports from the nearby Greek settlements, although they possibly travelled with Phoenician or Euboian merchants to Campania. There are a few interesting objects in this phase, which are worthy of note. Firstly, t.220 includes a form of bracelets interpreted as Balkan in origin ('*armille a spirale*' type 37A), however, because these are not defined as imports they are treated here as locally produced. Secondly, potential evidence for funerary commensality is seen with t.224 and t.4870. Whether this shows feasting took place or merely food gifts for the deceased needs exploration. T.224 includes andirons and t.4870 a metal *bacino*, which is linked to an example at Lefkandi, but it remains unknown as to whether it is an import.[482] Both of these items are associated with more complex rituals, such as feasting or the consumption of food, and although not definitive evidence for feasting, this is clearly reflective of a diverse ritual from that in other tombs. While feasting remains an unexplored area in Iron Age Campania, I believe it represents the use of a funerary rite that came to play a key role in the Orientalising period.

[482] D'Agostino and Gastaldi 1988 p49 (type 55A), p81 (type 31A) "potrebbe essere importato dall'Eubea".

With regard to the ceramics in this sample, the most common pots were the *tazza* (49), *scodellone* (47), *scodella* (35), *olla* (27), and *attingitoio* (22), all connected to eating, drinking, and food storage (Fig. 3.18). Similarities are found here with the ceramics in phases IIA and IIB, where the *tazza* and *scodellone* formed the highest number and there was a clear decrease in the biconical vases, showing that there was a shift from Villanovan cremations to other rites.

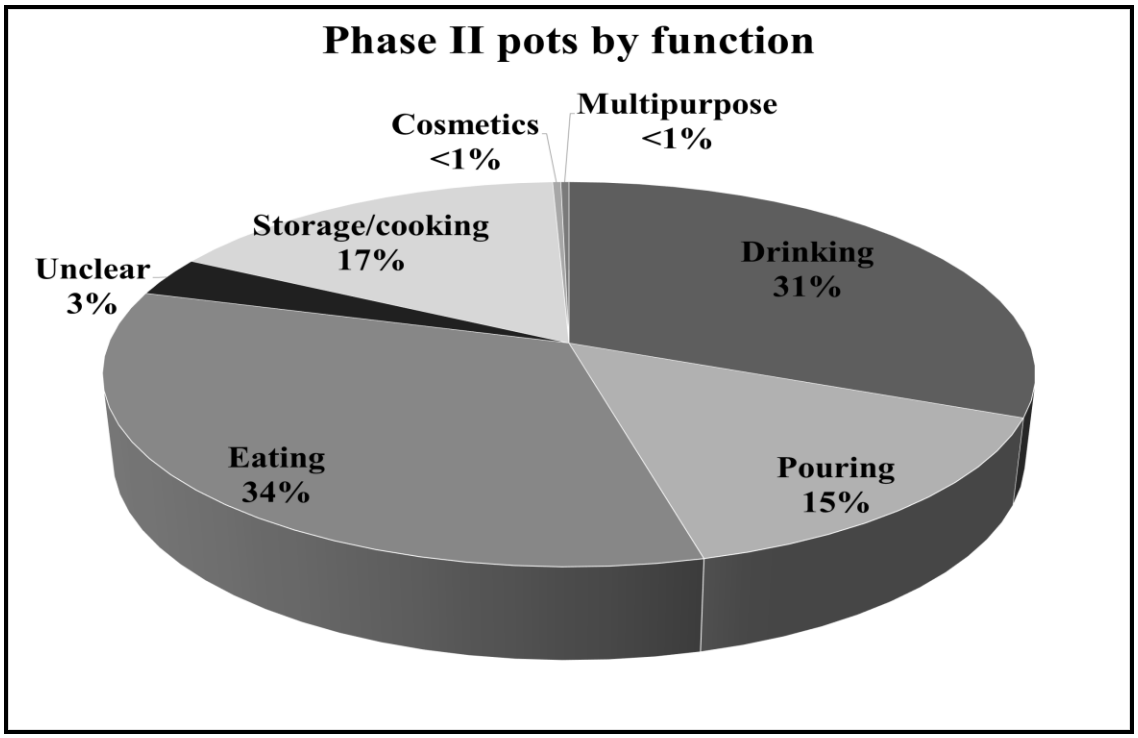

Fig. 3.19 Pie-chart showing the pots in phase II divided by function

The change is likely to have had a connection with the change in network dynamics which the imports shed more light on. There are 13 imported pots in total of which eight are Greek, three are associated with Capua (another Villanovan site in Campania) and two with Basilicata. These imports are exclusively connected to drinking, such as the Greek MG chevron cups, *Aetos 666 kotyle*, and the Capuan *tazza-attingitoio*. The vessels from Capua may reflect a continued tie with the Villanovan *facies* in Campania. However, it should be recalled that in this period there is a shift away from Villanovan burial practices at both sites. It is not clear if the *a tenda* vases imported from Basilicata point to a continuation in phase IB of the link with this area to the south of Pontecagnano, because the tombs with these vessels cannot be assigned to either the sub-phase IIA or IIB. However, the absence of this link in phase IIB suggests that the connection with Basilicata continued from phase IB into IIA but not into IIB.

The halt in connections with Basilicata may possibly be due to the advent of new nodes to the network. Despite the chronological problems surrounding the phase II tombs, it does appear that the network changed when the Greek settlements appeared and the tie with Basilicata was disrupted and displaced. The Greek drinking cups in the phase II tombs thus demonstrate a weak tie with the newly formed Greek settlements in Campania, and some tombs feature more than one Greek vessel (t.204, t.231) (Fig. 3.19) (Table 3.17).

Two other tombs have another imported object alongside an imported vessel. For example, the female inhumation t.211 contained a Capuan *tazza*, a scarab with a hieroglyphic inscription, which was probably not produced in Egypt, and an imitation Greek cup (see below).[483] Inhumation t.4870 features two scarabs and two beads, all of which are imports. One scarab is the same type as the example in t.211 but is "certainly Egyptian in origin," while the other is Phoenician.[484] The two beads are connected to Rhodes, where they may have been produced.[485] These objects are made of materials that are not indigenous to Italy, such as white steatite and blue faience and probably appeared novel to the communities of Campania. It is likely that these objects arrived at Pontecagnano via Pithekoussai or Cumae, from where a Phoenician/Levantine presence spread *Aegyptica* along the Tyrrhenian. This is in keeping with the increased competition for the global culture at Pontecagnano visible across the tombs of phase IIA and IIB.

Tomb	**Import/imitation**	**Typology**	**Provenance**
204	Cup (MG "interamente vernice")	28A1l	Euboia?
204	*Kotyle* (Aetos 666)	28A1m	Ithaka.
206	Cup (MG II chevron)	28A1b	Corinthian?
229	Cup (MG "interamente vernice")	28A1l	Euboia?
231			
231			
4866			
4871	Cup (MG II chevron)	28A1b	Corinthian?
203	Cup (*Tazza-attingitoio*)	12 IMP	Capua
211			

[483] D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p145-149 (type 41Id1).
[484] D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p68 type I in t.4870 dates to the Middle Kingdom 2000-1700 BC, but the origin of the example in t.211 is unclear. T.4870 includes a Phoenician type (41IId5) similar to the example in t.227.
[485] D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p69 (type 42E4).

221			
166	*Brocca (a tenda grossolana)*	26B2a	Basilicata
2150	*Tazza (a tenda grossolana)*	26B3	
211	Scarab	41IIId5	Pithekoussai
227			
4870		41Id1	
4870		41IId5	
4870	*Pasta vitrea* bead *"a forma di uccellino"*	?	Pithekoussai (but produced on Rhodes)
4870		?	
204	*Anforetta*	28B1b	Local shape but Greek style. Made by a Greek artisan resident at Pontecagnano.
204	*Tazzina*	28B4e	Local shape but Greek style.
204	*Tazzina*	28B4e	
206	Cup	28	
206	Cup	28	
224	*Lekane*	28B2c	
211	*Scodella*	28B4c	
226	*Scodellone*	28B4e	
3231	*Olla*	3D	Combines *Fossakultur* shape with a Capuan decorative motif.

Table 3. 17. Imports and imitations Pontecagnano phase II

The nine imitations were mainly local shapes that combined a Greek-inspired motif. However, in one case a shape from the nearby *Fossakultur* was combined with a Capuan decoration. The combination of a Greek-style with a local shape continues in this phase and these vessels are almost exclusively connected with drinking and, to a lesser extent, eating. This reinforces the connection between Greek vessels and local drinking practices and their increased desirability for the community. Whether these imitations were made by local potters or Greek artisans residing at Pontecagnano, is less important than how they were used by the community. Cerchiai argues that the locally made imitations in the early Orientalising period (c700 BC) were a consequence of a demand for Greek vessels. This demand was unable to keep up with the influx of imports and so Pontecagnano became dependent on the Cumaean sphere for these pots.[486] While this recognises the increasing interest Pontecagnano had in the global culture, it unfortunately gives little agency to the local community. If Greek potters at Pithekoussai or Cumae made the vessels, then they deliberately produced a local pot to

[486] Cerchiai 1995 p82.

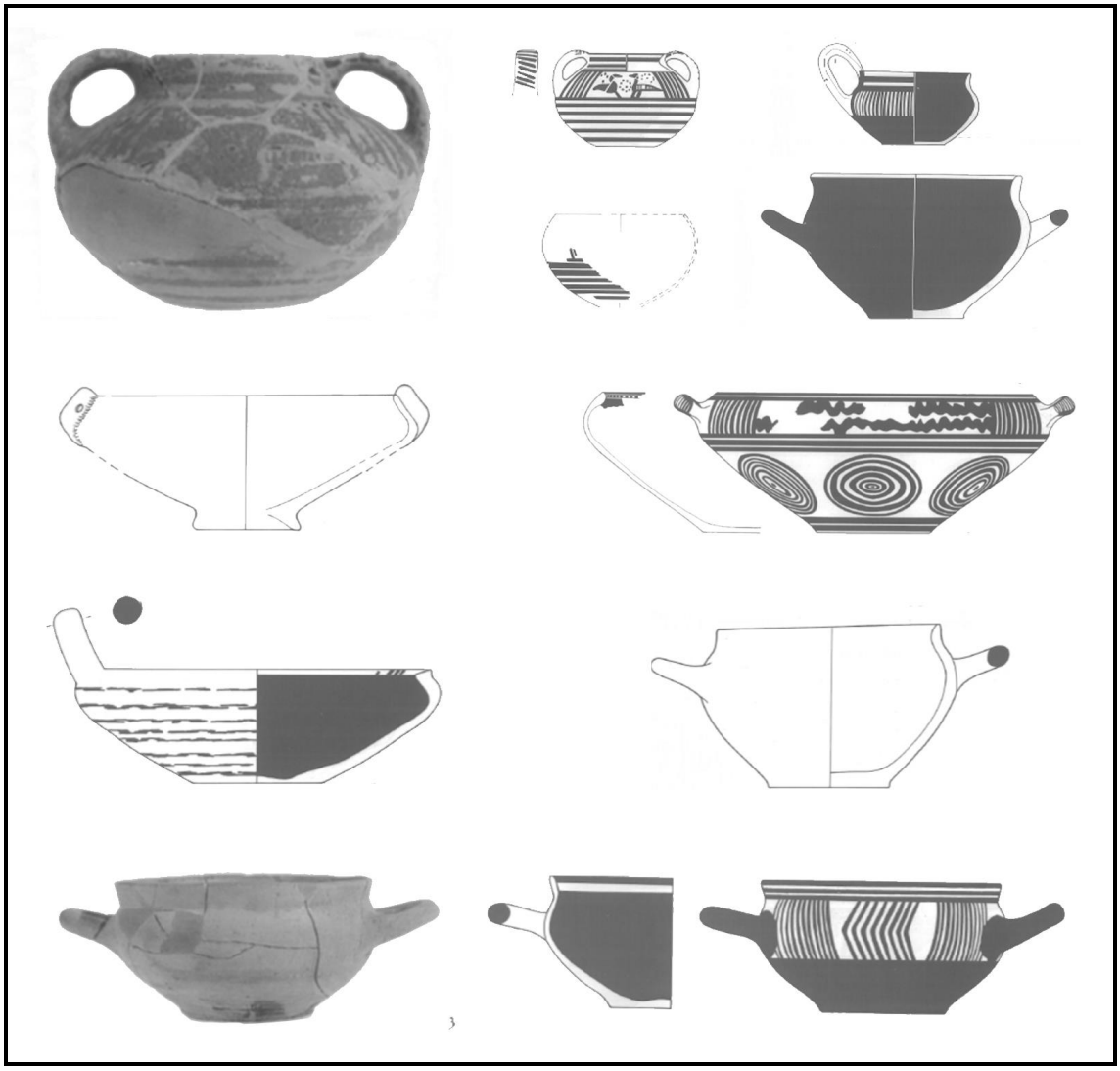

Fig. 3.20. Imported Greek pottery from t.204, t.211, t.224, t.226, t.229, t.4891 (adapted from Bailo Modesti/Gastaldi (1999) figs. 12-4.4-22-16-22-13-7-3.3)

be painted with a Greek motif. If they were produced by local craftsmen, then it suggests that the decoration was indeed attractive for the community and the demand much higher than the supply. Either way the combination of a local shape with a Greek décor implies that these vessels were incorporated into pre-existing local rituals. A Greek vessel shape was not necessary as it was not imitated, the evidence instead points to a degree of agency within the local community to import designs they liked but also to adapt their own to include such designs. Further evidence that foreign motifs were desired is seen in the locally produced *olla* in t.3231 where a shape from outside the local repertoire was combined with a motif from Capua.[487] This vessel should be included alongside the locally produced *anforae* of the *tipo cultura delle tombe a fossa*,

[487] De Natale 1992 p15 type 3D.

which although produced at Pontecagnano are also linked to the *Fossakultur*.[488] Pontecagnano therefore presents changes associated with the arrival of weak ties during phase II, which brought new ideas into the settlement and bridged the material clique it previously held with the Villanovan sphere.

However, the material affinities Pontecagnano had with the Villanovan world did not end with the establishment of the Greek-speaking settlements in Campania. An examination of the grave goods demonstrates large quantities were produced at Pontecagnano using material that was sourced from outside the region (Table 3.18). Similar to the previous phases, bronze was the main metal used (30% of the grave goods in this group). Small quantities of iron, silver, and gold were also present (all under 3%). The combined total of metal objects demonstrates a continued link with metal rich Northern Italy, in particular Etruria, which Pontecagnano held close cultural ties with. Amber and glass (*pasta vitrea*) were found and highlight a connection with the amber trade routes of northern Italy and Phoenician traders, respectively. The exact provenance of these objects can only be verified through archaeometric analysis. Nevertheless, the imported raw materials attest to further network connections that are not immediately visible when only the imports are considered.

Material	**Total**	**%**
Bronze	172	30%
Iron	17	3%
Silver	1	0.2%
Gold	1	0.2%
Amber	9	1.6%
Glass (*pasta vitrea*)	14	2.4%
Bronze and amber *fibulae*	8	1.4%
Total	**222**	**38.6%**
Total metals	**191**	**33.2%**
Total assemblage	**575**	**100%**

Table 3. 18. Imported materials during Pontecagnano phase II

[488] D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p24 (type 7E).

3.2.2.4 Phase II Network

Following the discussion of the networks in phase I, I have been combined the three subphases of phase II into a single section to allow greater comparison of the contemporary networks of the other case studies. UCINET was again used to produce the network graphs, because this software allows the tie strength of nodes and ties to be measured automatically. Graphs were produced to show the connections visible through the imports and those connections that are hidden or embedded in the raw materials used to produce local objects. Beginning with the networks based on the imports, the grave goods in phases IIA, IIB, and II are predominantly of local production at 98.8%, 96.3%, and 95.2%. Across these three phases, imports are found with south Etruria and Pithekoussai/Cumae. With regard to the import from South Etruria, as discussed in §2.7, it is possible for a settlement to have an import from one area and have its own local material culture showing affinities with the same area. In this way a settlement/region can be both referenced as both a strong and a weak tie. Pontecagnano is defined as an Etruscan settlement and its material culture thus has affinities with Etruria as well as other areas. However, this Etruscan material is produced locally and is not directly imported from Etruria, but an import is. In all three phases there is a continuation of the strong ties with Etruria and Lazio/*Fossakultur* due to the local material culture at Pontecagnano being Villanovan (and later Etruscan). In phase IIA 1.2% of the grave goods were imports linking the settlement with South Etruria and Pithekoussai (0.4% and 0.8%, respectively) (Fig. 3.20). In phase IIB 3.7% is connected to Pithekoussai/Cumae (9 imports, 3 imitations) (Fig. 3.22). Examining phase II shows that 4.8% were imports from Pithekoussai/Cumae (3.8%), Capua (0.7%), and Basilicata (0.3%) (Fig. 3.24). All the connections visible through the imports are within the threshold for weak ties and are consequently small nodes with thin ties placed further away from the node representing Pontecagnano. While the imports in the phase II tombs show a continuation of the link with Lucania/Basilicata visible in phase IB, a change has occurred to the connections Pontecagnano held. With the emergence of the Pithekoussai node, it is clear that the difference between phase I and II is that the tie with Pithekoussai has now displaced the ties with Sardinia, Sicily, Calabria, and Basilicata and has thus become the key weak tie in the region. By acting as what Granovetter calls weak ties, the Greek speaking settlements bridged the clique Pontecagnano held with

Lazio, Etruria, and the *Fossakultur*. The new ideas they brought, however, were reworked into the community and caused a fracture from the Tyrrhenian network to one where Pithekoussai and Cumae became the key nodes in the network, linking Pontecagnano with the wider Mediterranean. The change can be explained as a result of the opportunities these new nodes offered: they bridged the Tyrrhenian clique to bring Pontecagnano into a wider network with access to global ideas moving around the Mediterranean. This was not a Greek-led venture, for the inhabitants at Pontecagnano were happy to paint Greek motifs onto their pots, thus reworking new ideas into the local repertoire. Most objects were of local production, indeed, Pontecagnano remained very much in control of its own place in the network.

Despite the ties represented by the imports, the network should not be considered complete without consideration of the local objects that were produced using materials sourced from outside Campania. Many ties remain hidden and embedded in local material culture. The network graphs highlight some interesting points. Locally produced goods in phase IIA leant heavily on material acquired from outside the region, with nearly 54% of all the grave goods being produced with imported raw materials. Bronze, iron, silver, and gold are found with the former being the largest material type. Amber and glass also form a considerable number and some *fibulae* of composite materials were present (Fig. 3.21). Phase IIB has an even higher number of grave goods that are made from imported materials at 63%. Amongst these is a large quantity of bronze while other metals (such as silver and gold) are a small total in comparison. Glass outnumbers amber by a considerable amount and some composite *fibulae* are found (Fig. 3.23). Out of the nearly 39% of the grave goods in phase II that were made from imported materials, bronze counts for the majority. Other metals are found but in smaller numbers as are glass and amber (Fig. 3.25). The different totals for each phase result in a different thickness of the ties connecting the material nodes to Pontecagnano and their proximity or distance to the central node. Objects produced in local clay are included in these graphs and frequently form a significant portion of the grave goods. With bronze and other metals being found along with amber, considerable quantities were imported from outside Campania. The most likely sources for these materials are Etruria and North-eastern Italy where the metal and amber trade routes were located. These materials were likely acquired via down-the-line exchanges and despite the

emergence of the Greek settlements on the coast, the imported raw materials show how across Iron Age phases I-II Pontecagnano maintained contact with a wider network circulating the various regions of Italy. The local network was not interrupted through contact with the newly founded Greek-speaking settlements, but instead the new nodes of Pithekoussai and Cumae bridged the Italian and Eastern Mediterranean network, allowing new ideas and objects to enter Italy.

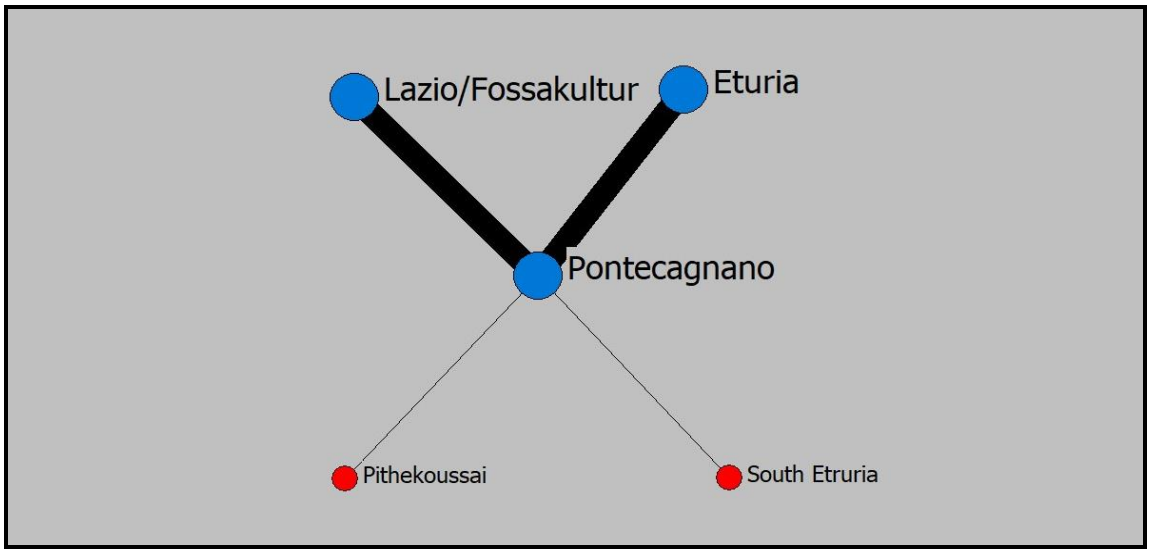

Fig. 3. 21. Pontecagnano network phase IIA showing the ties with external sites based on the imports (using UCINET)

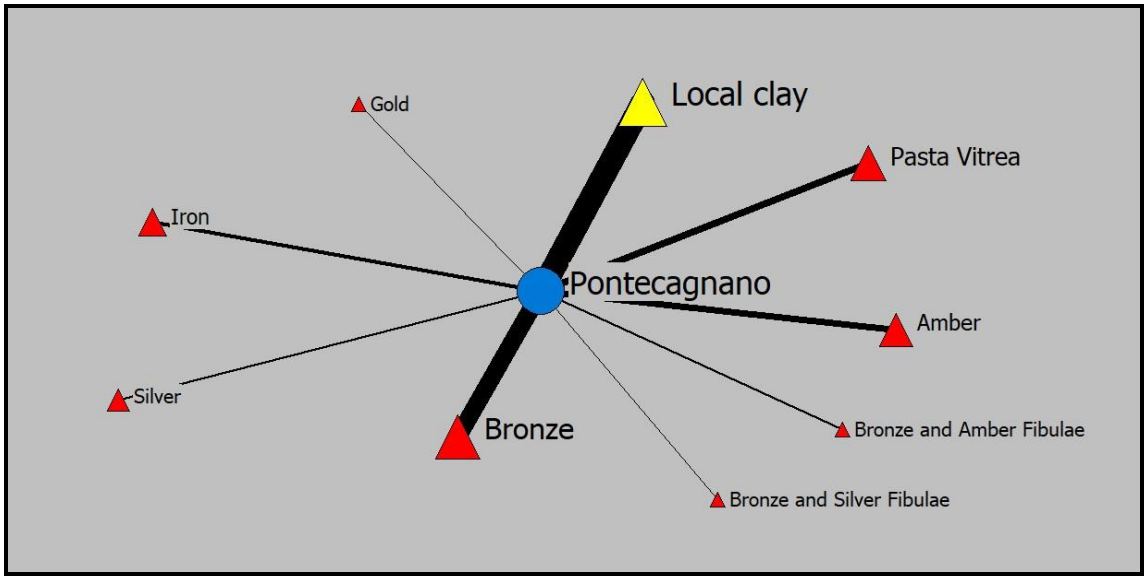

Fig. 3.22. Pontecagnano network showing the ties in phase IIA based on the raw materials (using UCINET)

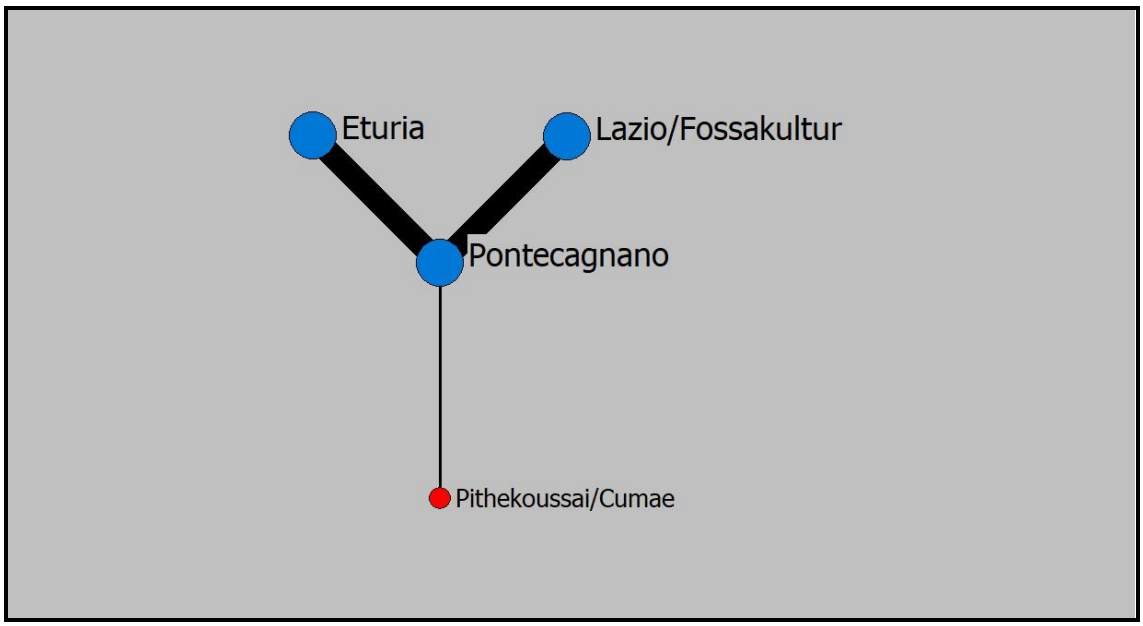

Fig. 3.23. Pontecagnano network phase IIB showing the ties with external sites based on the imports (using UCINET)

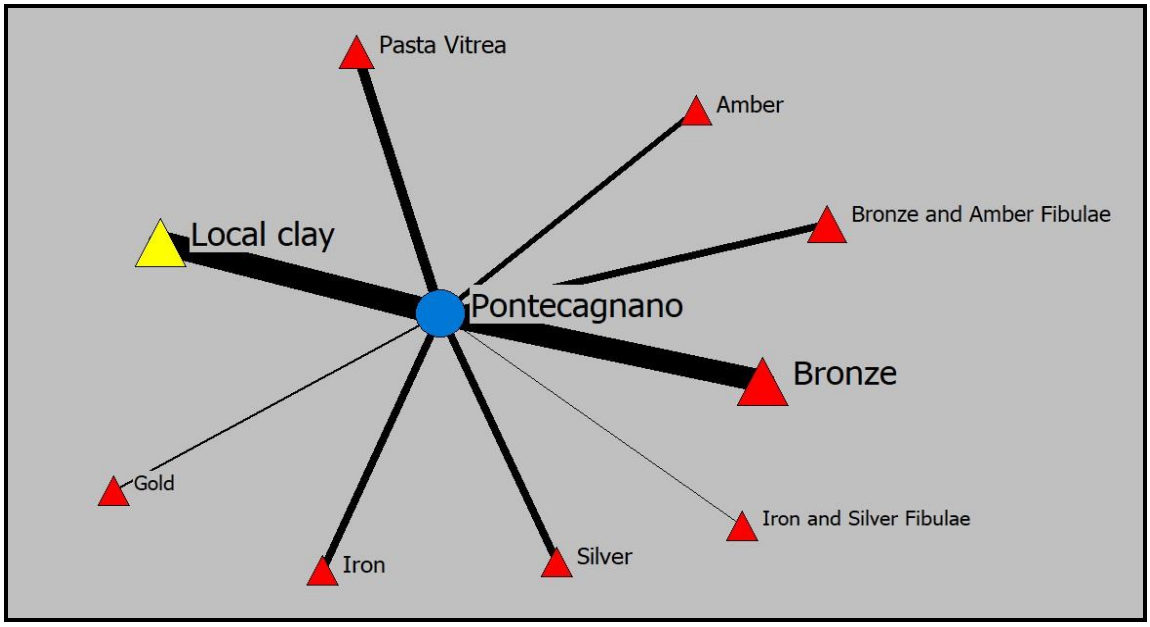

Fig. 3.24. Pontecagnano network showing the ties in phase IIB based on the raw materials (using UCINET)

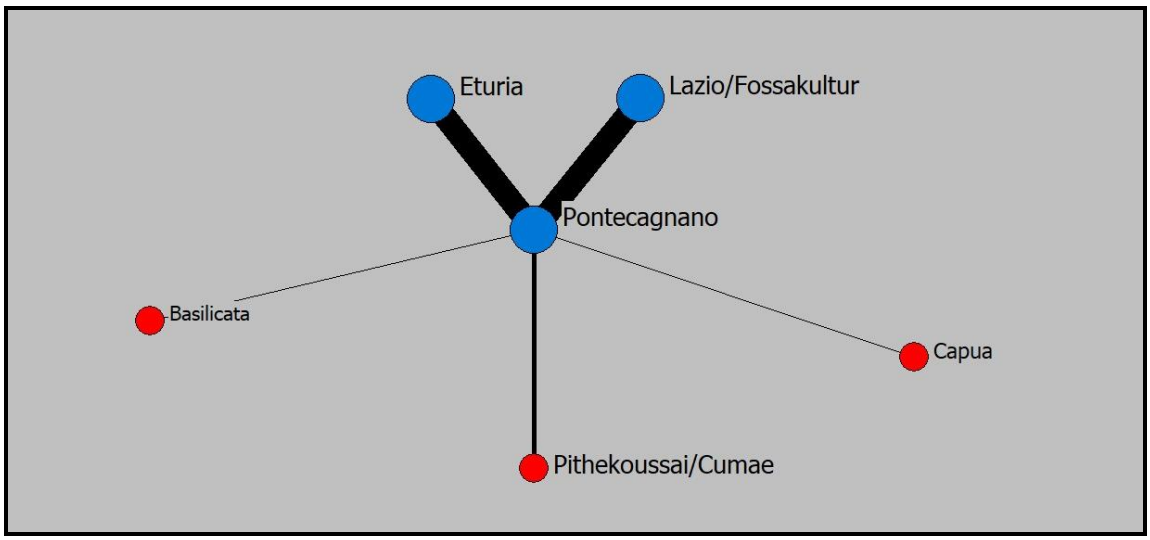

Fig. 3.25. Pontecagnano network phase II showing the ties with external sites based on the imports (using UCINET)

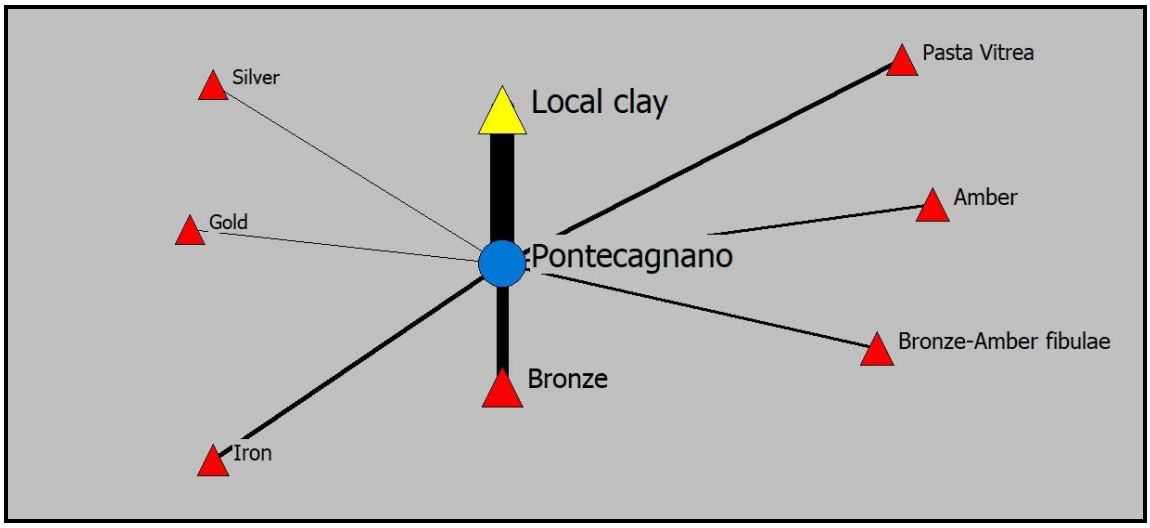

Fig. 3.26. Pontecagnano network showing the ties in phase II based on the raw materials (using UCINET)

3.2.2.5 Conclusions: the Iron Age at Pontecagnano (900-730BC)

As the discussion in sections §3.2.1.1 - §3.2.2.3 show, Pontecagnano held a series of network connections across the EIA. According to the literature, Pontecagnano was closely linked to Etruria as a Villanovan and later an Etruscan settlement. Its material culture has affinities with Etruria, Lazio and the *Fossakultur*.[489] Therefore, following scholarship, these affinities can be assumed to have been strong ties. In terms of weak ties, the imports in phase I show links with Prehellenic Cuma, Southern Etruria, Torre Galli (Calabria), Sicily, and Basilicata/Lucania. These connections demonstrate that a local network connected Pontecagnano to other areas along the Tyrrhenian, the hinterland of Campania and other nearby regions. Moreover, the locally produced objects reinforce this picture by showing how raw materials, such as metals and amber were imported from areas to the north. However, this network had few long-distance ties at this stage (aside from Sicily) and much of the materials it acquired likely came via down-the-line type exchanges. Therefore, during the EIA the Tyrrhenian coast formed what is referred to as a small world network: a small number of long-distance links connected the diverse clusters transforming them into a 'small world' (§1.3.1; §1.3.3).[490] Pontecagnano was becoming an important node in a network that incorporated the small worlds of the West, Central and Eastern Mediterranean. This network was characterised by increased mobility that emerged at the end of the Bronze Age.[491]

Involved in this EIA network were the Cypriots, Sardinians, and Phoenicians with their movements in the central Mediterranean eventually drawing in the Euboians and possibly other Greeks to the Tyrrhenian world. Nuragic objects from Sardinia have been found on Sicily, Crete, at Carthage, in Iberia, and along the coast of central and southern Italy (including Pontecagnano) from the 9th-8th centuries BC.[492] The Phoenicians and Euboians also had a heightened presence in the central Mediterranean, as the considerable quantity of Euboian pottery found at the Phoenician sites of Sulchis, Sant'Imbenia, and the gulf of Olbia from the late 9th to early 8th centuries BC shows.[493] However, this *small world* only enabled the élite access to a limited number of new

[489] D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p38-42; Cerchiai 1995 p55-62.
[490] Watts 2003; Barabasi 2003 p53.
[491] Riva 2010 p47-48.
[492] Riva 2010 p51 for bibliography.
[493] Ridgway 1992 p26-29, 2000a p182-183, 1994 p40-41, 2006 p244-247, 2007 p144-145; Aubet 1993 p235-245; Demand 2011 p241-242.

ideas. Traditional practices dominated during phase I at Pontecagnano and eating and commensal practices beside the grave cannot be clearly identified. If such ceremonies did take place, then equipment was removed rather than interred after the funeral. Although this phase evokes a sense of simplicity in the grave goods this does not mean that the élite did not exist or that this was an egalitarian society as has been widely proposed. It is argued here instead that there were limited opportunities to display and compete for power. The élite in this society were present but just less visible in archaeological terms.

The published tombs show an observable shift away from Villanovan style cremations to inhumation from phase I to phase II. The shift is seen in increased inhumation burials but also a decrease in the deposition of objects connected to Villanovan cremation rites, such as the *impasto* helmets to cover the biconical funerary urns, both of which begin to disappear. The shift is puzzling when considering that Pontecagnano is classified as a Villanovan settlement that later became Etruscan. If archaeological cultures in Campania are defined by their chosen funerary rite then this shift poses serious questions on how rigidly the ethnic label Villanovan should be applied to Pontecagnano. Ucko argued against equating burial types with specific ethnicities and his conclusions are apt here.[494] Yet the association of the Villanovan label with Pontecagnano has implications for understanding how the settlement later developed. Cerchiai has argued that Pontecagnano became Etruscan in the 8th century, but if the settlement was not clearly Villanovan early on, then how did it *become* Etruscan? The answer seems to be tied into similar shifts in burial practices in contemporary Etruria, so the assumption is that because Pontecagnano and Capua were Villanovan they were somehow telepathically in tune with Etruria, and they all became Etruscan at the same time.

This monolithic view of identity ignores the shift in burial rites and how these are not necessarily tied to ethnicity. However, this shift has been connected with the Euboians, who apparently inspired new forms of cremation, especially the use of an enclosure around a cist grave.[495] While this fits in with my approach where a global culture allowed new ways to represent power, there is too much influence awarded to the Euboians here and local agency goes unrecognised. The early burial practices are

[494] Ucko 1969 p273-276.
[495] Cerchiai 1995 p67.

best understood as connected to the cultures with which Pontecagnano formed a network clique, namely the Villanovan and *Fossakultur* spheres, or two cultures focused on cremation and inhumation, respectively. Greater contact with the latter in phase I coincides with a rise in élite inhumations, epitomised by the warrior figure in t.180. The burial shows that the élite were already using new ideas to demonstrate power. Inhumation increased across phases I-II becoming the main rite by phase IIB. The increase is likely due to increased competition for display with more individuals seeking to emulate warrior tombs. This situation changed once heightened contact with diverse ties brought new ideas into the community which is seen with the imported Greek ceramics in phase II.

These vessels are predominantly drinking cups, although a small sample of plates is found in phase IIB. The interaction with Greek speaking visitors in phase II apparently caused a 'standardisation' of the local *impasto* production replacing the heterogeneity of phase I.[496] This "cambiamento di gusto" was made possible by the introduction of a fast potter's wheel ("tornio più veloce").[497] There is a change to the local ceramic repertoire with more forms now being produced.[498] Closer inspection is required of this change in taste, as these observations give little agency to the consumers. The imitations in phase II are exclusively local shapes which incorporate a Greek-inspired decor. Furthermore, the functions of the pottery across phase II do not dramatically change, with an almost consistent spread between drinking, eating, and pouring vessels. The importation of Greek vessels does not see any dramatic increase in the total percentage of drinking vessels at Pontecagnano implying that their impact was confined to the individuals with whom they were in direct contact. The imitation vessels show that it was Greek decorative motifs rather than Greek shapes that had the greatest impact. While contact with the Euboians and others saw new technologies enter Pontecagnano, these were adapted to fit local selection.

Yet the importation of drinking vessels was not a case of Greek dominance as Coldstream and others have argued. While viewing the network from the outside gives the impression that when using their cups in *xenia* type exchanges the Euboians were

[496] De Natale 1992 p40; D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p41.
[497] De Natale 1992 p40.
[498] D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p234.

involved in what Coldstream calls 'market research,'[499] viewed from the inside this was not a Greek dominated interaction. Although their arrival did see a change in the network, this was motivated by local choices. Drinking cups and other Greek vessels were imported, but not once are transport amphorae found, which strongly suggests that the vessels and not Greek wine were reworked into local rituals. Whether or not local wine was being produced remains an open question, although evidence from Poggiomarino suggests that Iron Age Campania at least had access to cultivated vines at this time (§5.1.3, Appendix V.2).[500] Because there is a lack of domestic contexts it is not possible to understand whether imported amphorae are found there instead of in burials. Palaeo-botanical studies on the organic remains found at Pontecagnano by specialists from the University of Pisa indicate that the inhabitants consumed agricultural produce from the local area.[501] Similar to the situation in much of coeval continental Europe, some form of grain-based alcohol may already have been produced by the local community at Pontecagnano. As we have seen, both *vitis silvestris* and *vitis vinifera* are known from at least the Bronze Age in Italy (§3.2.2.1), indicating that the locals did not lack access to the vine. Based on this evidence, Greek vessels were integrated into local drinking practices and possibly used at the graveside to pour libations to the dead. This indicates local agency with regards to vessel selection rather than a discourse of Hellenisation.

Communal feasting and drinking would have been nothing new to Pontecagnano, the community had its own traditions and cultural practices associated with commensality. Yet there were also implications for the Greeks as a consequence of this contact. Pontecagnano became a weak tie for the Greek settlements and such interaction had a back-ripple effect that led to the foundation of the Greek *polis*.[502] Furthermore, the Euboians came into contact with Phoenicians and others at Pithekoussai, where they swapped new ideas, especially regarding drinking. As Murray highlighted, the practice of reclining rather than sitting upright during feasts was a predominantly Eastern or 'Orientalising' practice that Greeks and Etruscans adopted during the 8th and 7th

[499] Coldstream 1994a p47.
[500] Cicirelli *et al.* 2008 p574-575 the grape pip remains from context MAF 29A at Poggiomarino were mainly of the cultivated rather than wild variety. This shows that vine cultivation and wine making took place in the Iron Age.
[501] Gastaldi 1994 p58-59; D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p258.
[502] Malkin 2011.

centuries BC. The practice was introduced to the Greek settlers at Pithekoussai by resident Levantine traders around this time.[503] Therefore, imported Greek cups appeared in Campania when the Greeks themselves were also adopting new ideas. These ideas combined to form a global culture that had its roots in the east. This was a dynamic culture and local groups also contributed to its formation.[504] The imitated vessels in Campania, whether produced by Greeks or locals, merely added to this global culture by merging local forms with global decorations. These hybrid vessels can be associated with Hodos' *glocalisation*: the assimilation of external ideas and objects that "combine cultural elements to create new systems of meaning to articulate...local self-identity within the global environment".[505]

Nevertheless, there was an impact on the local network. As the imports highlight, the network in phase I was focused along the Tyrrhenian with links down to Calabria and Sicily and up to Etruria. The imported raw materials also point to connections with the metal-ore rich hills of Etruria and the amber road that ran down the Adriatic coast of Northern Italy. Yet the imports show the emergence of a new tie in the network and contact with the Greeks as important weak ties for Pontecagnano in phase II. This did not cause Pontecagnano to lose its connections with the mineral rich north, since the imported metal and amber materials to produce local objects indicate. Nevertheless, direct imports from local connections, such as Sicily, Calabria, Basilicata, and Capua decline and become less important. These changes were not the result of a Greek-inspired push towards state formation and the evolution of the *gens*. It is argued here that this was instead a period of increased competition brought about by the ties specific individuals held outside the settlement. The élite did not "emerge" at this time but were given new ways to demonstrate and compete for power. It is problematic to view the Greeks "accelerating" processes of stratification and causing what Cerchiai calls a "salto di qualità" (or increase in wealth and quality of goods).[506] Similarly, increased 'stratification' (family plots, appearance of child graves, new artisanal class) at this time does not signal the evolution of the *gens* but increased competition causing the élite to reassert their position. The pattern continues into the Orientalising phases, as the next sections demonstrate.

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[503] Murray 1994; Hodos 2010a p88.
[504] Hodos 2010a p82 global culture was "constantly evolving".
[505] Hodos 2010a p83.
[506] Cerchiai 2010 p24-26.

3.2.3 The Orientalising Period

3.2.3.1 Orientalising I (720-675BC)

Object type	Number	%	Imports	%	Imitations	%
Weaving tools	27	4%				
Weapons	12	2%				
Decorative objects	92	14%				
Fibulae	94	14.3%				
Beads	93	14.2%				
Scarabs	9	1.4%	9	1.4%		
Metal vessels	2	0.3%	2	0.3%		
Other	15	2.3%				
Pottery	312	47.5%	51	7.8%	31	4.8%
Total	656					
Tombs	52					

Table 3. 19. Total objects for Pontecagnano Orientalising phase I.

Spanning 720 to 675 BC, this group includes tombs from *Località Casella*, which date across the Iron Age- Orientalising transition, and those from the *Proprietà Chiancone*. These two burial areas have 29 and 38 published burials, respectively (Appendix III.1). Many objects in this assemblage are connected to beauty and treatment of the corpse (e.g., various decorative objects, *fibulae*, and beads), but this category still did not outnumber the quantity of ceramics (Table 3.19). Nine tombs (t.4890, t.4891, t.561, t.582, t.579, t.604, t.748, t.742, t.605) now have over ten pots showing an increase in number deposited. This trend is reflected in t.748 and t.605, which include 18 and 24 vessels, respectively.

The complete absence of the *elmo fittile* and biconical vase show a change in funerary ideology away from Villanovan practices, which coincides with other changes in the cemeteries. These include a reorganisation of the burial grounds where the Iron Age cemeteries were abandoned, and new ones established, which Cuozzo calls a 'reinvention of tradition'.[507] This break with tradition is contemporary to similar shifts away from Villanovan practices in Etruria. Riva observes a shift there from a funerary ideology concentrated on the male warrior at the end of the Iron Age, to one focused on the wider élite group in the Orientalising period with warrior attributes extended to both men and women.[508] This change features an almost widespread adoption of inhumation

[507] Cuozzo 2003; Pellegrini 1999.
[508] Riva 2010 p72-105.

and the emergence of wealthy graves,[509] similar to what is visible in the rest of Campania. The 'Villanovan' settlements in Campania are considered culturally tied to Etruria so when the Villanovans in Etruria 'became' Etruscan, both Pontecagnano and Capua apparently underwent the same identity 'transformation' by association.[510] The 'princely' figures, who are bound up with the *gens* and the later Roman *rex*, also "emerged" during the Orientalising period,[511] further demonstrating that the Tyrrhenian was marked by a series of changes, which at Pontecagnano directly resulted from its network connections.

The ceramics include a higher number of shapes than in earlier phases: several variations of pre-existing shapes develop but these same shapes also exist in imported and imitated forms.[512] This change suggests a high degree of selectivity in the vessel types deposited and used beside the grave. The main individual forms are the *anfora* (64), *attingitoio* (55), and the *anforisco* (19) with most of the assemblage connected to drinking and pouring. Eating and cosmetics only form a small percentage (Fig. 3.26).

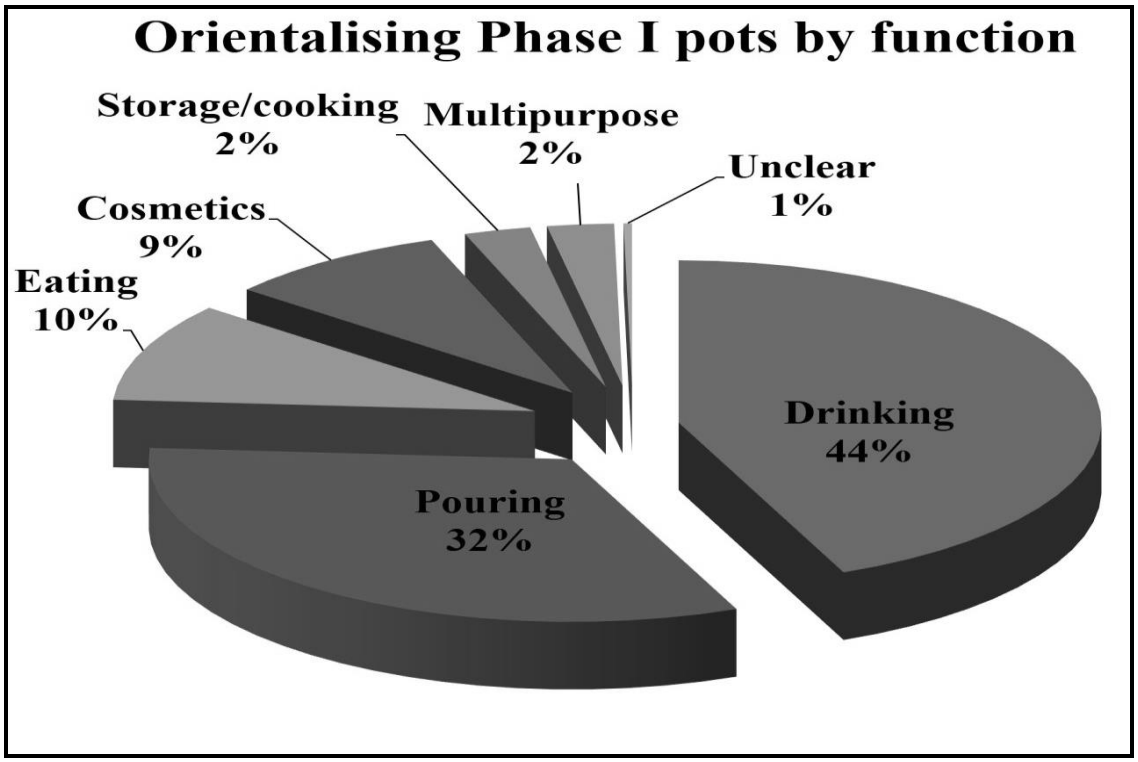

Fig. 3.27. Pie-chart showing the pots for Orientalising phase I by function

[509] Riva 2010 p84.
[510] According to Cerchiai 2010 this identity change occurs almost overnight.
[511] Cerchiai 2010 p35.
[512] D'Agostino 1968.

Graveside communal feasting was possibly less important than communal drinking, as witnessed in the rise in imported vessels. Cuozzo highlights the deposition of a contemporary 'basic ceramic set' across rich and poor tombs (a Greek *oinochoe*, *skyphos/kylix*, with a locally produced *anfora* and bowl).[513] This is hard to discern in the published tombs from this area, however, and must result from unpublished burials in her sample.

A series of changes at Capua and Pontecagnano are observed by Cerchiai and Cuozzo during this phase.[514] The Iron Age at Pontecagnano saw improvements in *impasto* production. In the early phases it was fired at a low temperature, resulting in a flaky and powdery clay. This changed in the Orientalising period, with ceramics now fired at a higher temperature to produce a more compact and harder fabric with a brown-maroon coloured gloss.[515] According to D'Agostino, local *impasto* production no longer shows affinities with Etruria and therefore becomes 'autonomous'.[516] While this is in keeping with the general shift away from Villanovan style characteristics, this autonomy is unexplained given that the settlement apparently became 'Etruscan' in the 8th century BC. Despite such a change to what is deemed to be an ethnic marker, the implications for an Etruscan identity at Pontecagnano are not discussed. While there is not the space to discuss this here, this represents a contradiction in the argument that the settlement was Etruscan. The fact that an apparently Etruscan site was no longer using Etruscan material culture needs explanation, something which as yet D'Agostino and others seem unwilling to do. Despite such problems, I will still treat the local material culture as presenting a strong tie with Etruria due to Pontecagnano's proposed Etruscan status. Other developments occurring to local ceramic production at Pontecagnano are also worth discussion. A series of *impasto* vessels either imitate the forms normally found in *argilla* clay or are inspired by metal vessels imported from the Near East, such as the *oinochoe trilobata* and the carinated cups and plates that are extremely similar to coeval Italo-Geometric production.[517] Italo-Geometric wares apparently went through two main phases: 720 to 625 BC, where they follow the Greek vessels produced at nearby Cumae

[513] Cuozzo 2007 p234, 2003; Cerchiai 1995 p84.
[514] Cerchiai 1995 p81-89; Cuozzo 2007 p233.
[515] D'Agostino 2000 p36.
[516] D'Agostino 2000 p37.
[517] Cerchiai 1995 p84.

and Pithekoussai; and 620 to 575 BC, following the Etrusco-Corinthian wares produced at Pontecagnano.[518]

Most of the imports are Greek and increase considerably, when compared to the Iron Age. The increase results from heightened contact with newly established Greek Cumae (Fig. 3.27: t.4900) (Table 3.20). As D'Agostino and Cerchiai observe, the Orientalising material culture formed at this time was "reshaped as a result of [Pontecagnano's] privileged relationship with the Greek Cumaean-Pithekoussan milieu," which was not the adoption of a more advanced culture by a subordinate, but an "act of active appropriation."[519] Locals were adapting material culture they were acquiring from the nearby Greek settlements. Contemporary to this, however, is the appearance of a new tie with the Oliveto-Cairano culture visible in the many tombs that include an *anfora* of Hirpinian type (unfortunately the relevant publications do not include images of this vase and I am unable to find any photos of it anywhere). While the imports do not outnumber the locally produced vessels, they do form a considerable portion of the ceramic assemblage for the first time. Twenty-one out of the 52 tombs include imports. Greek vessels comprise 16% of the total ceramics, but 98% of the imports for this period, with one other vessel coming from Apulia (*olla* "*di tipo apulo*"). Two bronze vessels were found in t.575 (a cauldron and a *coppa*/*phiale baccellata*) and, although produced in the Levant, were probably imports from Cumae/Pithekoussai. They are described as identical to those in the later t.926 and t.928 (§3.2.3.2) - entering into a class of objects that are associated with the so-called 'princes' - and to the *bacino* in t.4870 in phase II.[520] Metal vessels are associated with the Homeric banquet, but their presence in non- 'princely' tombs may indicate that the practice of meat consumption was not merely confined to the 'princes' (§3.2.3.2). The imports are mainly drinking types with various forms of Proto-Corinthian cups comprising a large proportion. Pouring vessels are also substantial, but cosmetic vessels increase in comparison with phase II, including the first *aryballoi* in five tombs. These *aryballoi* may indicate an interest in Greek or eastern oils and perfumes, but little can be concluded on a mere seven examples out of fifty-one Greek imports and only five tombs of the 20 with Greek imports have *aryballoi*.

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[518] Cuozzo 2003 p53. On the Etrusco-Corinthian production see Cerchiai (1990).
[519] Cuozzo 2007 p234 citing D'Agostino/Cerchiai (1999) p8.
[520] D'Agostino 1968 p85-86; Sciacca 2005 p198-199 and p372-373.

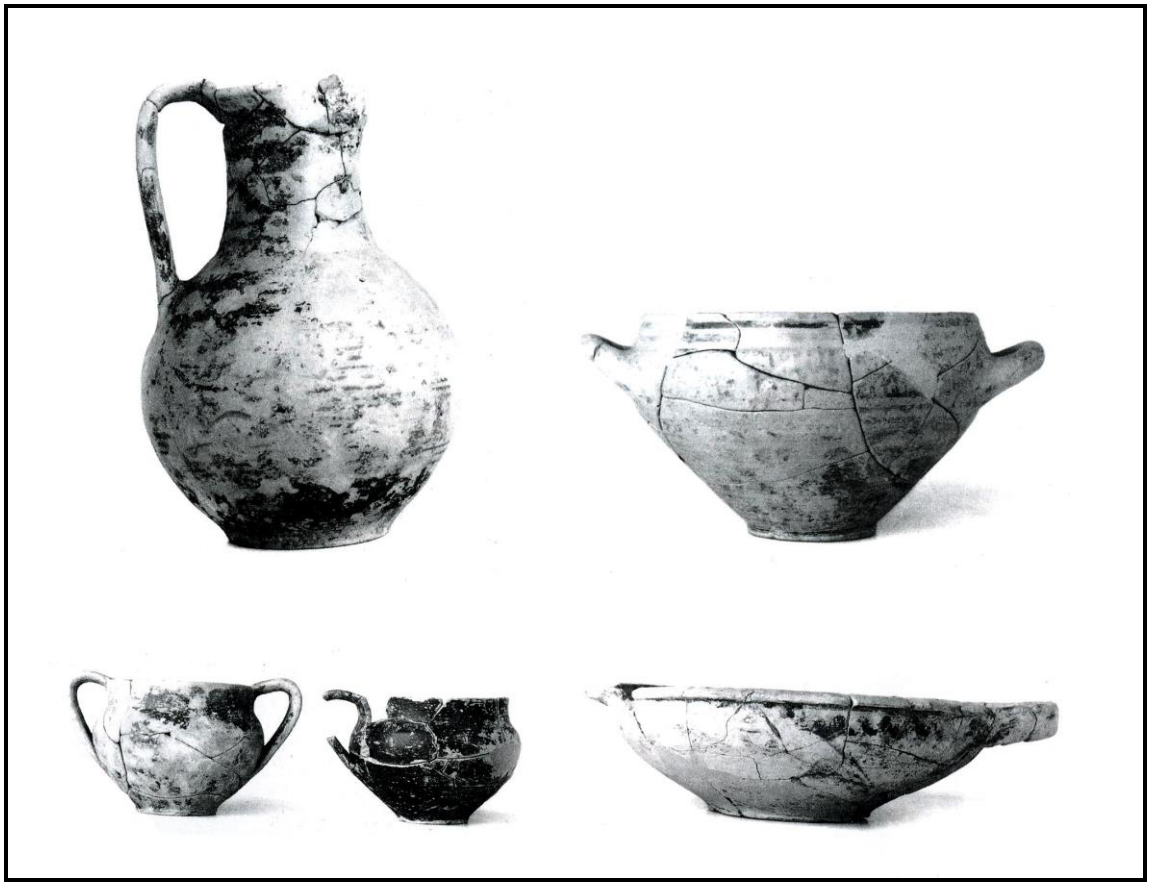

Fig. 3.28. Imported Greek pottery in t.4900 (adapted from Cinquantaquattro (2001) figs. 47-48 21-24)

Interestingly, no imports are connected to eating practices, suggesting that local shapes were sufficient for this purpose. This picture echoes Hodos' observations of Greek Sicily that although pouring and drinking vessels were imported, no interest in importing mixing (such as *kraters*) or cosmetic vessels is discernible.[521] Nine scarabs featured in this assemblage, all of which are likely to have been imported from Pithekoussai/Cumae and are associated with child burials.[522] Although the imitations are markedly different from the imports, with which they are frequently deposited, they remain material references to diverse ties. Sixteen tombs contained imitations and ten of these also included imports. As stated earlier, speculation has surrounded the existence of a South Hirpinian enclave at Pontecagnano attestable through the presence of vessels and jewellery (§3.1.2).[523] There is some uncertainty as to whether these material references point to the presence of actual individuals. Cerchiai promotes these locally produced vessels as direct evidence for Hirpinians at Pontecagnano who infiltrated the

[521] Hodos 2010a p86-87 and p97-98 the Sikels did not import *aryballoi* or *kraters*.
[522] D'Agostino 1968 p83-84.
[523] D'Agostino 1964; Cuozzo 2003.

local ceramic workshops, which illustrates the complex dynamics between the settlement and its hinterland.[524] Cuozzo is not as sure about the presence of actual Hirpinians being behind these vessels and despite attributing the vessels to Pontecagnano workshops she highlights the difficulty in distinguishing imports from the locally produced imitations.[525] Nevertheless, these vessels do signal a weak tie with Hirpinia. Twenty-four local imitation vessels are closely tied to Oliveto-Cairano types within 14 of the 16 tombs with imitations. Reinforcing this connection, Cuozzo's study of the unpublished tombs also included many vessels and decorative objects linked to Hirpinia.[526]

Tomb	**Import/ Imitation**	**Typology**	**Provenance**
IX/561	Bottle (*bottiglia*)	21	Pithekoussai/ Cumae
XII/582		22	
XXII/605		22	
4900	*Oinochoe* (LG)	?	
XVI/604	*Oinochoe* (PC)	20	
XVIII/748	*Oinochoe* (MC)	17	Proto-Corinthian or Corinthian
XVIII/748	*Oinochoe* (MC)		
XXII/606	*Oinochoe* (PC)		
XXII/606	*Oinochoe* (PC)	18	
XVIII/748	*Oinochoe* (PC Conical)	15	
IX/561	Trefoil *oinochoe* (PC)	16	Cumae
X/566			
4894	*Kantharos* (Ithaka type)	?	Proto-Corinthian or Corinthian
4900		?	
XV/745	Stemmed cup	30	Pithekoussai/Cumae
XX/742		30	
XXII/605		31	
XXII/605		34	
XVII/592	Carinated cup	27	
VIII/567	*Kylix*	12	Proto-Corinthian or Corinthian
XVIII/748		12	
XIXbis/595		11b	
XXII/605		11a	
XXII/605		12	
XXII/605		12	
XVIII/748	*Kotyle*	8	Proto-Corinthian
XXII/605		8	
XXII/605		8	
4900	Thapsos cup	?	Pithekoussai

[524] Cerchiai 1995 p84.
[525] Cuozzo 2003 p56.
[526] Cuozzo 2003. This link is also seen in Cinquantaquattro 2001 with Cairano type 46A and 47A beads.

III/575	Thapsos cup (without panel)	10b	Protocorinthian or Corinthian
VI/568		10a	
VII/570	Thapsos cup	10a	
XVI/604		10a	
XVI/604		10b	
XVII/592		10b	
V/563	*Kylix* (Thapsos)	10a	
XIII/579			
XV/745			
XIXbis/595		10b	
XV/745	Rhodo-Cretan *Aryballos*	1	Rhodes/Crete
XX/742			
XXII/605			
XVII/748	*Aryballos*	3	Greece (unclear)
XXI/690		2	Argos/Corinth
XXII/605		?	Greece (unclear)
XXII/605		4	
4900	*Lekane*	?	Pithekoussai
XI/571		24	Pithekoussai/Cumae
XXII/605		25	
XXII/605		25	
III/575	*Olla* (*"di tipo apulo"*)	38	Apulia (Italy).
III/575	Cauldron (*bacino*?)	N	Levant
III/575	*Coppa/phiale baccellata*	O	Levant?
4892	*Kotyle* (LG)	?	Locally made imitation of LG Corinthian type.
4900	*Kotyle* (LG)	?	
X/566	*Anfora*	42b	Imitation of Oliveto-Citra Cairano type.
X/566		42b	
XII/582		42a	
XII/582		42b	
XIII/579		42c	
XIII/579		42c	
XV/745		42d	
XVI/604		42a	
XVIII/748		42b	
XVIII/748		42c	
XIX/595		42c	
XIXbis/595		42b	
XIXbis/595		42d	
XX/742		42a	
XXI/690		42a	
XXI/690		42b	
XIX/595		47	
XX/742			
XX/742			
4882	Small plate (*piattello*)	?	
4897			

4896	Cup (*Tazza-attingitoio*)	?	
4882	*Anforisco*	?	
4891	*Scodellone* (*casella* type *"con ansa figurata"*)	?	
XX/742	*Brocca*	60	*Buccheroide-impasto* copies Oliveto-Citra *brocca* type C
XIX/595	*Anfora*	42a	*Buccheroide-impasto* imitation of Oliveto-Citra Cairano type.
XIX/595		42a	*Buccheroide-impasto*.
XIXbis/595	*Oinochoe*	66	
XIXbis/595	Plate (*piatto*)	99	
4891	Scarab	?	Pithekoussai/Cumae
4900		?	
V/563		b	
VI/568			
XI/571			
XI/571			
XI/571			
XIV/606			
XVII/592			

Table 3. 20. Imports and imitations in Pontecagnano Orientalising phase I

The most common vessel in the published tombs is the distinctive *anfora*, a pouring vessel, but eating and drinking types are also found.[527] Alongside these, two *buccheroide* vessels combine Oliveto-Cairano shapes with a *buccheroide impasto* and therefore merge two different cultures, the South Hirpinian and the Etruscan. Again, there are no available images in the publications of these tombs that allow the forms of these vessels to be visualised. The identification of these vessels as hybrids is based on their description in the aforementioned publications. Three other *buccheroide* vessels are found in this assemblage, but without a reference to the Oliveto-Cairano *facies*. The production of *buccheroide impasto* vessels saw a degree of innovation by combining the local ceramic repertoire with the styles of Etruria. *Buccheroide impasto* was an intermediate clay between *impasto* and *bucchero*.[528] Yet this does not mean that local potters were unable to produce *bucchero*. At this stage, they preferred instead to combine both styles into a hybrid rather than aping an Etruscan prototype.

Amongst the imitations are also two *kotylai*, but these Greek-inspired imitations are much lower in number than in phase II (a decrease from 8 to 2 examples). It is

[527] D'Agostino 1968 p 110-111 type 42; Peroni 1994b p120 on the function of the *anfora* in general.
[528] Rasmussen 1979 p2; Riva 2010 p160.

uncertain as to whether this decrease reflects a drop in the demand for Greek imitations and rise for those of other cultures. Indeed, the unpublished tombs for this period may present a different picture. However, the larger tomb sample for this period does suggest a change in vessel selectivity. For example, the majority of imitation vessels are connected to pouring, while drinking and eating shapes form a small percentage. The types of imitations, imports and local pots suggest that while the community was content to import Greek vessels for drinking, their use of imitations (particularly Oliveto-Cairano types) for pouring and eating by the graveside possibly decreased. The available data shows that many individuals at Pontecagnano had access to different connections during 730-675 BC, visible to us through their deposition of grave goods.

The picture finds confirmation in the local objects produced at Pontecagnano during this phase. Non-ceramic objects from Pontecagnano were all produced using raw materials acquired from outside the region. It is notable that despite the high number of imports across the late 8th to early 7th centuries BC the imported raw materials still account for 44% of the grave goods. Bronze is the main material deposited (21%), but iron and silver feature, both bringing the total metals up to 25% of the sample. There is a limited quantity of glass and the first appearance of ivory (two pendants in tomb 4891 one in the form of a fish and the other a sea snail shell).[529] Of much interest here is the major increase large in amber objects (15.5%) showing greater access to this material at a time when imported ceramics were also on the rise. Amber is mainly found in 4 tombs, all of which have no gender information but based on the other grave goods may be female burials: 4891 (11 amber pieces), 4896 (10 amber pieces), XIII/579 (36 amber pieces) and XVI/604 (24 amber pieces).[530] Alongside the individual amber pieces are two silver earrings with amber beads and composite *fibulae* which incorporate bronze, silver, and amber, bronze and amber, and bronze, amber, and gold. This material indicates that the network ties Pontecagnano held with the metal and amber trade routes in Northern Italy were still in place during the Orientalising period. The ivory and glass indicate some kind of connection with the Eastern Mediterranean. It is difficult to tell exactly which area, but these two object categories may indicate a link with Phoenician

[529] Cinquantaquattro 2001 p27-34.
[530] On t.4891 and t.4896 see Cinquantaquattro 2001 p27-34, p41-42, on t.XIII/579 and t.XVI/604 see D'Agostino 1968 p145-147, p151-152.

traders along the Tyrrhenian. Unfortunately, scholarship has not indicated them as imports, and I have defined them as imported materials here (Table 3.21).

Material	**Total**	**%**
Bronze	140	21%
Iron	23	3.5%
Silver	3	0.4%
Silver and amber	2	0.2%
Amber	102	15.5%
Glass (*pasta vitrea*)	1	0.1%
Ivory	2	0.3%
Bronze and silver *fibulae*	1	0.1%
Bronze, amber gold and *fibulae*	1	0.1%
Bronze and amber *fibulae*	15	2.3%
Total	**290**	**44%**
Total metals	**166**	**25%**
Total assemblage	**656**	**100%**

Table 3. 21. Imported materials during Pontecagnano Orientalising phase I

Returning to the imports, two groups are therefore visible in the community: half of the tombs only include local material while the other half contains either an import or imitation. The first group was either deliberately traditional in their grave good choices or alternatively had no access to these new connections. If we understand this group as traditional, then this group occupied Castells' 'space of places' (§1.2.2), or similar to what Hodos' argues for Sicily: an area of the cemetery reacting to the increased flow of global culture through the creation of a more localised identity, grounded in the material culture of the Iron Age.[531] However, if this group did not have access to imports and weak ties, it may be because access was dominated by the second group. The second group instead actively embraced the global culture evident in the number of imports (the ceramics and the scarabs) and they also welcomed the new tie with the Oliveto-Cairano culture. The group occupies a place suggestive of Castells' 'space of flows': an area marked by heightened communication and increased access to new technologies (§1.2.2). The local and the global have also intersected here as most tombs with imports also contained local *impasto* wares, possibly pointing to *glocalisation.* Furthermore, these two groups have been identified in the published tombs at *Località Casella* by Cinquantaquattro and in the unpublished tombs in the eastern cemetery by Cuozzo.[532] The visibility of these two groups in two different areas of the site is therefore, also a

[531] Hodos 2010a p82.
[532] Cinquantaquattro 2001 p73; Cuozzo 2003 p219-223, 2007 p238.

sign of who held access to weak ties in the Orientalising period. The group of tombs embracing imports and imitations may indicate an active demonstration of one's social ties, at the expense of those with a smaller network of contacts. It is possible that this more open group was comprised by members of the élite, but not exclusively so. Nevertheless, public displays of one's social ties will undoubtedly have caused tension and competition between peers to increase their own contacts. It is perhaps best to see both interpretations as being possible rather than relying solely on one fixed hypothesis. The emergence of these two identities can still be associated with the changes that transformed the élite in the Orientalising period, which I examine further in the next section.

3.2.3.2 The 'Princely' Tombs (c725-670 BC)

Object type	**Number**	**%**	**Imports**	**%**
Weaving tools	5	1.6%		
Weapons	33	11%		
Decorative objects	40	13%		
Fibulae	18	6%	1	0.3%
Beads	2	0.6%		
Horsemasks	2	0.6%	2	0.6%
Scarabs	1	0.3%	1	0.3%
Bronze vessels	21	7%	7	2.3%
Silver vessels	5	1.7%	5	1.7%
Iron spits	25	8.2%		
Iron firedogs	6	2%		
Animal bones	48	15.8%		
Other	50	16.4%		
Pottery	48	15.8%	8	2%
Total	304		25	
Tombs	4			

Table 3. 22. Total objects in the Pontecagnano 'princely' tombs

The four tombs discussed here receive their name due to a level of ostentation, which is lacking in their contemporaries and the affinities they share with a series of similar tombs across the Mediterranean. The grave goods within them attest to pan-Mediterranean connections and illustrate the complex social dynamics from the end of the Iron Age to early Orientalising periods (Table 3.22). Although contemporary to the burials in Orientalising I, the way they have been treated by scholarship has prompted me to examine them as a separate group. As exceptional burials they are frequently cited as evidence for the presence of a *gens* at Pontecagnano, often to the detriment of

an analysis of contemporary burials. By studying them separately, my aim is not to reinforce the views of previous scholarship (nor to treat them differently in temporal terms) but to compare them with other contemporary graves. The four tombs date from the late 8th century (t.4461, t.2465) to c670 BC (t.926 and t.928) and differ from each other as well as from their contemporaries. Notable in two instances is the use of cremation, a rite which declined in use from phase IA onwards. Cremation appears to be a link to traditional practices but is reconfigured in a new and innovative way. Three of the tombs are male and one female. While all four feature an enclosure, or *recinto* of travertine slabs, the earliest two tombs are anomalous for being a female inhumation (t.2465) on the one hand and for an unusual treatment of the corpse (t.4461) on the other.

Beginning with the earliest tomb, t.4461 was covered with a large tumulus, the corpse was incomplete, and the flesh was removed from the bones before internment.[533] The bones of the deceased were collected, wrapped in a cloth alongside selected goat bones and placed inside a bronze *lebes*. The unusual form of secondary burial has no clear precedent in the Iron Age and is linked by Cuozzo to the *bellicam pellegrinamque* burials mentioned in the *Twelve Tables*.[534] The fact that the deceased's skull is missing has led to the interpretation of death in war or foreign lands, with only a few bones collected for a funeral by the individual's *gens*.[535] Similarly, in cremations t.926 and t.928 the bones of the deceased were collected together, wrapped inside a cloth but then enclosed by two arch serpentine *fibulae* and finally placed inside a bronze *lebetes* or cauldron.[536] However, these two tombs differ from t.4461, in terms of their layout: placed side-by-side they both feature an additional travertine *recinto* or *ricettacolo*, inside the monumentalised *recinto*, where the bronze cauldron and other objects were placed, segregating them from the rest of the assemblage.[537] This is not the space to discuss the interpretations of this separate enclosure, but I should note that D'Agostino views these two separate areas as spaces to contain the *agalmata* (objects pertaining to heroic or godlike status) and *ktemata* (those objects acquired through trade) based on

[533] Cerchiai 1995 p88, 1987 p29; D'Agostino 1988 p542.
[534] Cicero *De legibus* II, 24, 60.
[535] Cuozzo 2004-2005; Cerchiai 1987a p29, on the *gens* 1995 p86, 2010 p42. Also, Shepherd 2005 p123-128 on acephalus burials in Iron Age Sicily.
[536] Cerchiai 1995 p86.
[537] D'Agostino 1977b p9-13, 1988 p542.

the set object types found within each section.[538] This interpretation is dependent on this burial form being appropriated from nearby Cumae, where parallels exist with the Fondo Artiaco t.104. While this burial is discussed in Chapter 6 it is worthwhile briefly describing it here. Although roughly contemporary with Pontecagnano t.4461, Fondo Artiaco t.104 features the two separate enclosures found in the later tombs t.926 and t.928 (Fig. 3.28). These are again explained in t.104 as holding the *agalmata* and *ktemata*.[539] In contrast to the Pontecagnano tombs, the remains of the deceased in t.104 were placed within a silver cinerary urn, which was in turn placed inside a bronze *lebetes*. In further contrast, this first *lebetes* was covered by a purple cloth,[540] placed within another larger *lebetes* and then covered by a Villanovan shield akin to a Russian-doll effect.[541] A large majority of the objects are linked to Etruria, and some go so far as to argue the deceased was an Etruscan 'prince' buried at Greek Cumae.[542] As the earliest of the 'princely' tombs in Campania this tomb is viewed as the catalyst behind its counterparts at Pontecagnano, which was apparently exported to the West from Greece, due to its similarities with the cauldron burials found around the West Gate Heroon at Eretria. By extension, all of these co-called 'princely' burials have been bestowed with a heroic quality. Ostentatious male cremations are of a similar character are found in Greece, Cyprus, Italy, and Iberia all with rituals and grave goods analogous to t.104. Despite such similarities each of these tombs demonstrates regional idiosyncrasies of a regional character. The use of the term 'princely' has therefore evoked criticism for imposing a single model on this widespread dataset and ignoring regional differences.[543] The emergence of these figures at Pontecagnano supports the existence of tensions within Orientalising society that are visible in the Western and Eastern cemeteries.

Cuozzo identifies a dramatic rupture with Iron Age traditions leading to a "reinvention of tradition" from the late 8th century BC.[544] This saw the inauguration of

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[538] D'Agostino 1977a p57-61, 1977b, 1988; Shanks 1999 p77-82.
[539] Cerchiai 1995 p77-81.
[540] Gleba 2008 p57-61 discusses the fabric remains.
[541] Cerchiai 1995 p77-78; Strøm 1971; Buchner 1979 p130-131; Malkin 1998 p163-164, Frederiksen 1979 p290-292, 1984 p71-72.
[542] Strøm 1971 an Etruscan burial, *contra* Buchner 1979 p131-133.
[543] Morris 1999 p57; Riva 2010 has called for the term to be dropped entirely.
[544] Cuozzo 2003.

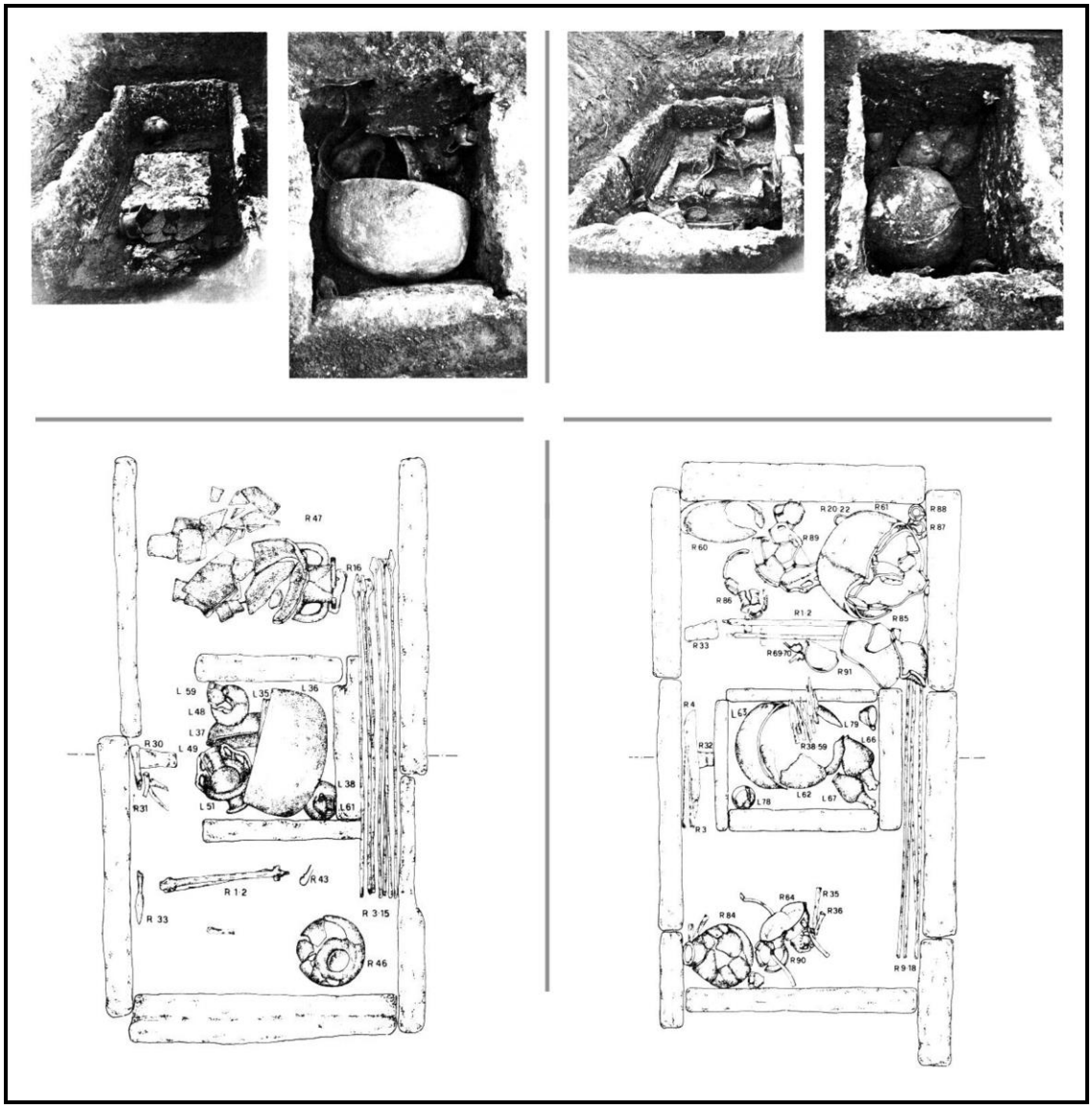

Fig. 3.29. T.926 (left) and t.928 (right) (adapted from D'Agostino (1977 figs. 5.6,7)

new burial grounds where 'princely' burials were a central element. Around these tombs the community utilised heroic rites focused on the "ceremonial wine drinking, sacrifices and meat banquets" prevalent in the Greek and Oriental worlds.[545] Later on, these eminent tombs were encircled by enclosures and smaller tombs, and possibly featured funerary cults, prompting Cuozzo to compare them to "the powerful Etruscan and Latial *gentes*."[546] This new "symbolic universe" also extended full burial to infants and children for the first time which apparently indicates ancestral or genealogical links with the 'princes.'[547] While the western necropolis includes the three male 'princes', the

[545] Cuozzo 2007 p233.
[546] Cuozzo 2007 p233.
[547] Cuozzo 2007 p233-234, 2005 p92.

eastern necropolis has a closer relationship with female figures and includes t.2465. While the 'princely' female t.2465 is as ostentatious as the western male 'princes', but no male tomb in the eastern cemetery is allowed similar ostentation: males are interpreted as unable to demonstrate their status in this area.[548]

The method of deposition in t.4461, t.926 and t.928 is linked to the heroic burial bestowed upon Patroclus and these tombs are therefore "ideological models [elaborated] from the Greek élites at Cumae".[549] The Pontecagnano 'princely' tombs are believed to be the inspiration for similar burials at Calatia, the Sarno Valley, and Bisaccia.[550] The spread of this burial type from Cumae into the Campanian hinterland and also into

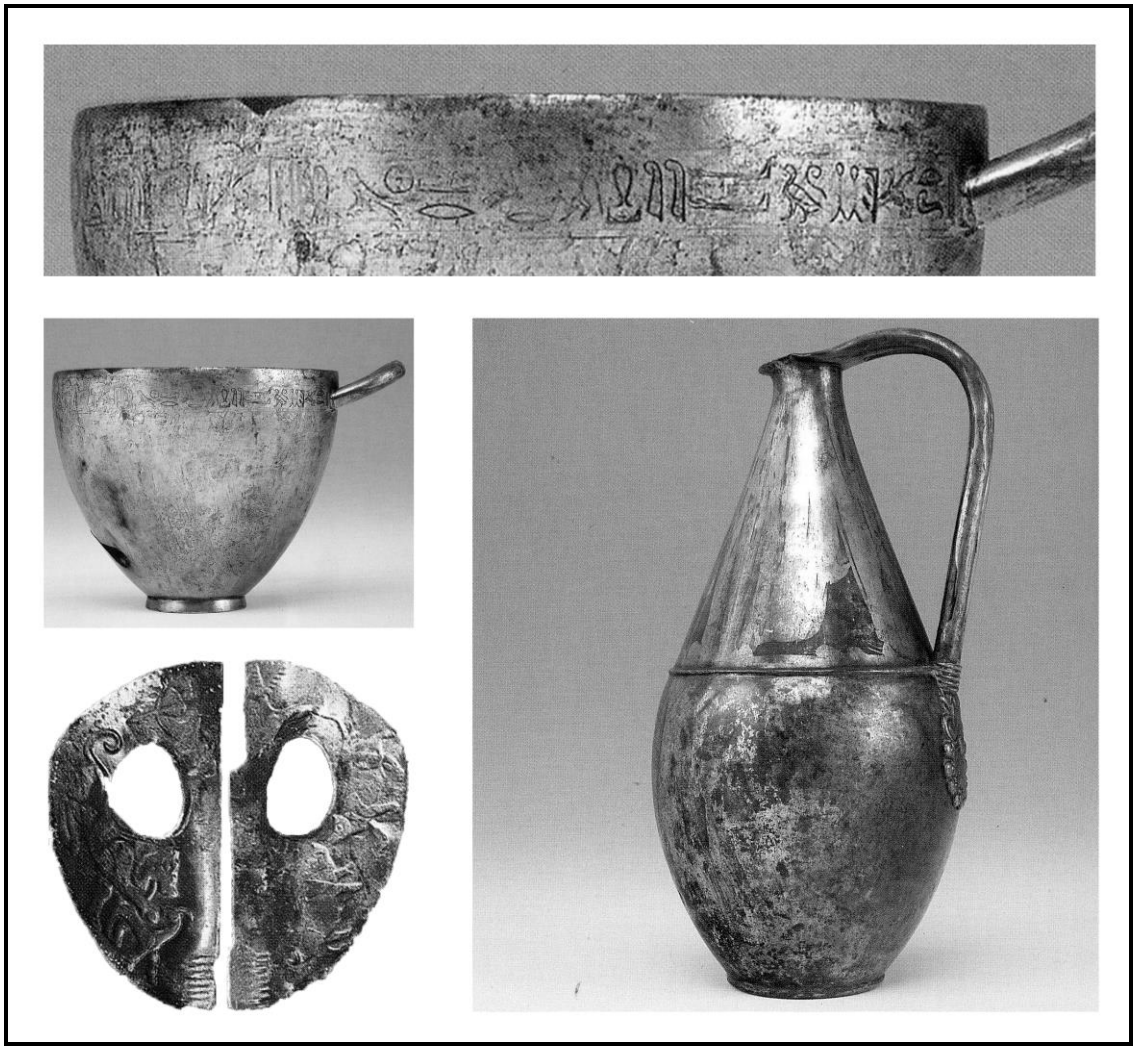

Fig. 3. 30. Top: detail of false inscription on *kotyle* in t.928; below (clockwise) silver *oinochoe*, horse mask and *kotyle* in t.4461 (after D'Agostino (1996) p536-537 figs.5-7)

[548] Cuozzo 2007 p235.
[549] Homer *Il.* XXIII. 702; D'Agostino 1977a p59-60; Cerchiai 1995 p89, 2010 p39-42.
[550] Cerchiai 1995 p90-98.

Etruria is regularly asserted, yet the reasons for this diffusion are rarely questioned.[551] It is simply taken for granted that Euboian burial forms would be transplanted from the Greek *metropolis* to the colony at Cumae.[552] While similarities exist between all the 'princely' tombs, current interpretations ignore the wider socio-political context behind such phenomena and the agency of local individuals to adapt and rework these ideas in circulation. These tombs are pan-Mediterranean because they were part of the global culture, formed of diverse elements by diverse cultures. Two of these tombs remain unpublished (t.4461 and 2465). The conclusions I present here are dependent on the brief descriptions found in excavation reports and general monographs on the region. Identifying the place of production of the objects in these tombs is therefore difficult and only a handful of imports can be determined (Fig. 3.29).

While the origins of the ceramics in this group can be identified, the metal vessels described here are much harder to pin down. For example, bronze vessels are known to have been produced in Italy in the 9th century, yet the examples in this sample are described as either produced in Italy by Oriental craftsmen or imported directly from the Eastern Mediterranean. Most publications dealing with these vessels treat them as imports but do not specify where they were imported from. As a result, I have only treated as imports those vessels that have been given a provenance in the literature. The remaining vessels have been treated here as 'local', until of course further information is available on their origins. Despite these problems, the combined 'princely' sample still exhibits differences from its contemporaries (Table 3.23). Firstly, a higher number of weapons are deposited in these four 'princely' tombs than in the 52 tombs of Orientalising I, the majority of which are in t.928. Secondly, the extremely high number of iron spits and firedogs than in earlier and contemporary phases is indicative of some form of graveside commensality. Additionally, an extremely large concentration of animal bones and a major rise in metal vessels (bronze but also silver) marks the assemblage. The number of *fibulae*, beads, decorative objects, and scarabs are much lower than in Orientalising I, probably a result of there being only one female 'princely' tomb.

[551] D'Agostino 1999b.

[552] D'Agostino 1977a p44-51, 1988 p542; Cerchiai 1995 p80, 2010 p39-42. Although these ideas are starting to change, and the notion of hybridity has entered the debate: see more recent work by D'Agostino/Gastaldi 2012 esp. p428; Cerchiai 2017.

Ceramics offer a different picture from the previous phases and contemporary tombs with a much higher concentration of pouring vessels compared to other forms in the 'princely' tombs (Fig. 3.30). The most common shapes are the *anforisco* (7), *scodellone* (6), and the *oinochoe trilobata* (6), which is also represented in bronze (3). Other common bronze forms are the *lebetes* (5) and the *bacino* (4). These shapes include the silver vessels in t.926 and t.928 that form a drinking set. The only imported

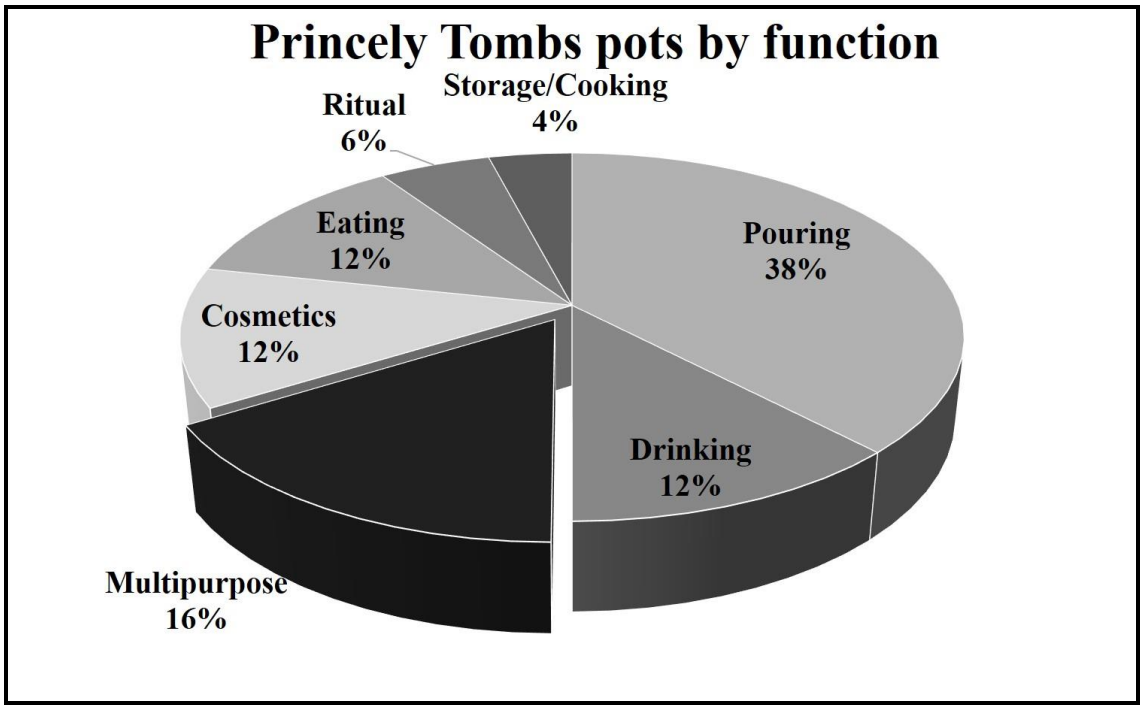

Fig. 3. 31. Pie-chart showing the percentages of pots from the 'princely' tombs by function

ceramics are the two PC *kylix* in t.2465,[553] the PC *oinochoe*, *aryballos*, and Phoenician red-slip plate in t.4461, and the solitary Corinthian wine amphora in t.926. However, both t.926 and 928 include a single Enotrian wine amphora each, a vessel imported from Southern Italy. The absence of Greek pots in t.926 and t.928 led D'Agostino to speculate on whether these individuals were reacting against the Greek world.[554] The speculation focuses on whether these two élite burials retained some form of conservative warrior ideology from the earlier Iron Age.[555] The absence of Greek vessels is not a complete rejection of Greek practices, however, as the grave has still been connected to Greek prototypes at Cumae and Eretria. I believe this is instead more likely a reaction against what the rest of the community was doing. The graves in

[553] T.2465 may include more imports (Cuozzo 2003 p108-112) but remains unpublished.
[554] D'Agostino 1977a p56.
[555] D'Agostino 1977a p56.

Orientalising I demonstrate that Greek imports were more frequently deposited, suggesting that individuals were competing in displaying material culture from the wider Mediterranean, which reveals their social network ties. The upper levels of society reacted to this by demonstrating their exclusive access to ideas from outside the community and combined these with a much more ostentatious message.

They achieved this by depositing metal vessels, a silver drinking set, iron spits, and by utilising a heroic burial rite. The use of metal vessels as funerary containers has no parallel in the Villanovan sphere, demonstrating that they possessed a new ritualised function. In three of the four tombs were a series of bronze *paterae* or *phialai* that are linked to the Near East. It is not clear if these vessels were made in Italy by Oriental craftsmen or imported directly from the Eastern Mediterranean, but they are an indication of a globalising practice.[556] Bronze *paterae* have a pan-Mediterranean distribution from Syria to Iberia and Sciacca believes they are evidence for the "frutto della selezione operata dalle élites locali."[557] Alongside these are bronze serving vessels, such as the *oinochoe* in t.2465 and the *oinochoai trilobate* in t.926 and 928. Although a lower number of bronze vessels mark the earliest tombs, t.4461 includes a biconical *anfora* and a Kurd-type *situla* probably imported from Vetulonia.[558] The majority of the metal vessels in all four tombs are either produced by Etruscan or Oriental immigrant artisans in Etruria, indicating close ties between Pontecagnano and Etruria. Silver vessels also imply globalising practices such as the *oinochoe* with palmette handle in t.928, whose closest parallels lie in Cyprus or Nimrud, but was apparently produced by an Oriental artisan resident in Etruria.[559] In the same tomb is a silver *kotyle* with a 'false' hieroglyph inscribed around the rim.[560] The hieroglyph is not translatable as it is a series of random, unintelligible symbols,[561] but the result does not indicate a failure of the artisan to faithfully copy hieroglyphics. This is again evidence for the use of another global trait: writing. Whether the result is a failure or not, the outcome offers the effect of writing and thus simultaneously associates the owner with

[556] Sciacca 2005 p198 -200.
[557] Sciacca 2005 p396.
[558] Cerchiai 1987a p41, 1995 p87.
[559] D'Agostino 1977a p37-39 L78.
[560] D'Agostino 1977a p31-36 L79; Cerchiai 1995 p88.
[561] Markoe 1985 p147-148 type E14. Sees this as a Cypro-Phoenician product but decorated in Etruria.

the wider cultural transformation taking root in the Western Mediterranean: the emergence of literacy and the alphabet.

Both t.926 and t.928 included Greek-inspired silver *skyphoi* and the latter tomb also contained a silver *phiale*. Yet these are also viewed as produced by an Oriental artisan in Etruria.[562] The rarity of silver vessels in Italy indicates the high status of these individuals. Close affinities exist between the vessels in t.926 and t.928 and other 'princely' tombs, such as the *oinochoe* with *palmette* motif in Fondo Artiaco t.104 (Cumae), the Bernardini and Barberini tombs (*Praeneste*), the Regolini Galassi tomb (*Caere*), and the Tomba del Duce (Vetulonia).[563] The inscribed silver *kotyle* recalls the Bernardini and Barberini examples, and a further silver bowl of Phoenician production, said to be from Pontecagnano, now forms part of the Dutuit collection. Despite little available information on its excavation and acquisition, this Dutuit example may indicate another 'princely' burial at Pontecagnano.[564] A silver *a drago fibula* in t.928 (possibly imported from Cumae) also demonstrates the importance of precious metals for these individuals.[565]

Tomb	**Import/imitation**	**Typology**	**Provenance**
4461	Protocorinthian *oinochoe*	?	Cumae
	Protocorinthian *aryballos*		
	Phoenician red slip plate		Cumae?
	Bronze *anfora*		Etruria (Vetulonia?)
	Bronze Kurd-type *situla*		Vetulonia
	Bronze *lebete* (Euboian type)		Cumae
	Bronze horsemask		Vetulonia
	Bronze horsemask		
2465	Protocorinthian *skyphos*		Cumae
	Protocorinthian *skyphos*		Cumae
	Bronze *oinochoe*		Cumae?
	Bronze *bacino*		?
	Bronze *phiale baccellata*		
	Bronze *lebete*		
	Italo-Geometric *lekane*		

[562] Sciacca 2005 p409.
[563] D'Agostino 1977a p38a, Frederiksen 1979 p292. Cf. Strøm 1971.
[564] Markoe 1985 p198 type E10, also p141.
[565] D'Agostino 1977a p30; Cerchiai 1995 p88.

	Thapsos cup x4		Cumae?*
	Silver bracelet		Etruscan
926	Bronze *lebete*	L35	Etruria
	Bronze cauldron	L36	Cumae?
	Bronze *bacino*	L37	?
	Bronze *oinochoe trilobata* (Cypro-Phoenician)	L38	Cumae?
	Bronze *bacino*	L39	Etruria? Cumae?
	Bronze *phiale baccellata*	L40	Caere
	Silver *fibula a drago*	L44	?
	Silver *skyphos*	L45	North Syrian artisan resident in Etruria
	Enotrian *olla*	R46	Basilicata
	Corinthian wine amphora	R47	Cumae?
928	Bronze *bacino*	R60	?
	Bronze cauldron	R61	?
	Bronze *lebete*	L62	Etruria
	Bronze *lebete*	L63	Euboian but made at Cumae?
	Bronze tripod	R64	?
	Bronze *phiale baccellata*	R65	?
	Bronze *oinochoe trilobata* (Cypro-Phoenician)	L66	Cumae?
	Silver *oinochoe* x2	L67	
		L78	Syrian?
	Silver *kotyle* (with hieroglyphic inscription)	L79	Oriental artisan resident in Etruria
	Silver *phiale*	L80	North Syria
	Silver *skyphos*	L81	North Syrian artisan resident in Etruria
	Silver *fibula a drago*	L82	Cumae
	Oinochoe (MPC)	R83	
	Enotrian *olla*	R84	Basilicata

Table 3. 23. Imports in the Pontecagnano 'princely' tombs

The recurrence of these objects in many prominent tombs suggests a standardisation of the imports throughout the 'princely' tombs.[566] The imported metal vessels indicate that this group was not opposed to outside contact. Their reaction was therefore against the increased deposition of Greek ceramics within the tombs of less

[566] Frederiksen 1979 p292.

distinguished individuals, locals who were competing with the élite to publicly display status. The élite were therefore motivated to redefine their own funerary practices resulting in more ostentatious burials and a consolidation of their exclusive access to foreign ideas. The new burial practice is in line with what Cannon observed for Victorian funerary monuments (§2.4). In his study, sequences of vertical social competition caused a cycle of increased display that eventually led to the élite towards restraint in their burial practices.[567] Through the formation of new power structures, the élite at Pontecagnano reinforced their hegemony by referencing global ideas but were themselves transformed through this process. This is further apparent in their deposition of objects connected to feasting and the equestrian sphere. Three of the four tombs include iron spits and firedogs (t.926, t.928, t.2465), the presence of which have been interpreted in different ways. D'Agostino links these to the domestic hearth due to their placement in the tomb's small inner *ricettacolo*. This connection with the hearth is understood as reflective of the male role of guarantor of the family and of lineage transmission from father to son.[568] With spits also found in the female t.2465 the extension of the guarantor role to women in Campania remains possible. This is not unusual for Italian societies at this time as Etruscan women featured prominently in public life. Riva notes that spits and firedogs are regularly associated with drinking and banqueting equipment in central Italy and there is cause for a similar interpretation for Campania.[569]

T.928 also includes a bronze grater, an object probably introduced into Italy by the Greeks and adopted by Etruscan élites, who inspired by their role in Homeric epic, adopted the Euboian ritual of adding spices and cheeses to wine.[570] Such rituals and their paraphernalia constituted new food technologies that transformed the local élite by encouraging new conceptions of the self and the body.[571] Metal vessels similarly transformed the local élite in a physical sense, through their use as funerary containers. A tendency to study these vessels and Phoenician red-slip wares from a chronological and typological approach has led to their treatment as evidence for the adoption of the

[567] Cannon 1989 p437-458.
[568] D'Agostino 1977a p54-56. Cf. Frederiksen 1979 p294; Courbin 1957; Kurtz/Boardman 1971 p211.
[569] Riva 2010 p92.
[570] Ridgway 1997 p331-334 and Hom. *Iliad* 11.628-43.
[571] Ridgway 1997 p337-339; Riva 2010 p55, p144, p147. Sherratt 2004 p327-328 on graters and opium.

eastern banquet.[572] Bronze vessels were already being produced in 9th century Italy and are present in the earlier t.3184 and t.4870 at Pontecagnano (§3.2.1.2 and §3.2.3.3). The production of such containers increased during the 8th century so the acquisition of Eastern imports should be contextualised against local demand.[573] The demand reflects the transformation of pre-existing drinking and banqueting practices from the 8th century resulting from contact with weak ties. This contact intensified the access to the global culture that characterises the 'princely' tombs.

The deposition of iron spits, metal vessels (as cremation urns), and the treatment of the ashes are also connected to Homeric rituals, which were themselves another global trait. In Homer, the roasting of meat on spits was reserved for the aristocratic warrior group while the boiling of meat in cauldrons for the wider community.[574] The link to Homer is further seen in the deposition of an *oinochoe* to quell the flames of the funeral pyre with wine and also the wrapping of the cremated remains with a cloth,[575] all of which are present in the 'princely' tombs at Pontecagnano. According to some, the use of metal cauldrons and *bacini* as cremation urns in Homer, symbolically tied the warrior's incineration to the animal sacrifice and transformed the male warrior into a sacrificial victim to the gods.[576] While the exact nature of ancient Greek funerary rituals cannot be confirmed, this theory is interesting when considering that the deceased's bones in t.4461 were mixed with those of a goat or sheep, the Homeric animal of sacrifice *par excellence*. Animal bones are known in large quantities in t.926 and t.928 and Barker interpreted them as "...whole cuts of meat either cooked or raw: joints of mutton (for the greater part) deposited in the graves with the dead, rather than food refuse of meals taken at graveside by the living."[577] This does not exclude graveside feasting but merely argues that these particular joints of meat were not consumed. It cannot be ruled out that alongside those joints interred and offered as sacrifice others were consumed by mourners at the graveside, with the refuse deposited elsewhere. Riva has recently argued for an increase in funeral banqueting and feasts in coeval Etruria where the prominent use of bronze vessels indicates the scale of these new funerary

[572] Riva 2010 p142-144.
[573] Riva 2010 p149.
[574] Riva 2010 p156-158. Cf. Detienne 1979 p76-77.
[575] Riva 2010 p158.
[576] Vernant 1982 p66, 1989 p39-41; Riva 2010 p158-159.
[577] Barker 1977 p17; D'Agostino 1977a p57.

consumption practices.[578] The composite objects in the 'princely' *corredi* illustrate how the adoption of foreign traditions and objects were the key to the transformation and manipulation of the funerary rites of the local élite. While their contemporaries deposited Greek objects to emulate élite funerary display, the élite instead 'raised their game' and demonstrated their pan-Mediterranean links through a 'princely' grave good assemblage with its roots in the global culture of the Eastern Mediterranean.

The need to distinguish themselves from their contemporaries is made further apparent in a series of objects linked to the equestrian sphere. All four 'princes' feature the remains of chariots to varying degrees of preservation.[579] Chariot burials are rare in Etruria and Latium and only extended to the extremely wealthy. Their appearance in Campania, the Faliscan area, and Picenum indicate how widespread this "new Orientalising funerary ideology" had become.[580] These are not war chariots, however, but the funeral carriages to transport the corpse to its final resting place. This would have been a very public procession which further marked the 'princes' out from their contemporaries. Unfortunately, the ancient settlement of Pontecagnano has not been excavated making that the position of these burials in comparison with the settlement itself and their relationship within the landscape unclear. The fact that many Iron Age and Orientalising tombs include tumuli may suggest, however, that these 'princely' tombs were identifiable from the settlement. Visible chariot processions may therefore have asserted and confirmed their position at the top of the social strata. Similarly linked to the funerary role of horses are the horse masks in t.4461. These depict an archer hunting a lion and were apparently produced at Vetulonia.[581] Cerchiai believes that the deceased in t.4461 and his grave goods were led to the tomb by a two-horse chariot akin to the Greek *ekphora*.[582]

The bronze *anfora* in this tomb is seen as analogous with the examples in the 'princely' tombs of Etruria that also include chariots.[583] Furthermore, a large number of horses themselves were deposited in 'princely' t.79 at Salamis dating to the 10th century BC.[584] That the horse was an important aristocratic symbol in the ancient world is seen

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578 Riva 2010 p149.
579 Cerchiai *et al.* 1997 p25; Cuozzo 2003 p111.
580 Riva 2010 p95.
581 Cerchiai 1987a p31-42.
582 Cerchiai 1995 p87.
583 Cerchiai 1995.
584 Coldstream 2003 p349.

in the other three 'princely' tombs which include a *scodellone 'con ansa a cavallini'*, an *impasto* bowl with a zoomorphic horse figure on the handle.[585] These bowls only feature in eminent tombs which further signals the high status of the 'princes.'[586] In her study of the unpublished tombs, Cuozzo highlights that on one side of the necropolis these vessels are reserved for men and on the other for women.[587] The zoomorphic design on the handle is also reminiscent of the 'Lord of the Animals' figure that was a common motif in antiquity and probably originated in the East. The figure is found on the handle of an *impasto* cup in Capua t.697 (imported from the Faliscan area) (Fig. 3.32)[588] and also painted on the body of an *impasto olla* at San Marzano, a vessel associated with the Cesnola Painter (§5.2.3).[589] The élite at Euboia, the metropolis of Cumae, were called the *Hippobotai* or cavalry, and in Homer Diomedes was known as a tamer of horses. The references to the horse have links to the Western and Eastern Mediterranean and should thus be seen as another aspect of this global culture the 'princes' were creating. Five vessels in two of the tombs are possibly imitations of Oliveto-Cairano types. Three *anforette*, an *anfora*, and an *anforisco* are linked to south Hirpinian types.[590] Unfortunately, the excavators do not confirm whether these are the same as the imitation vessels found in the contemporary tombs as there is little detail on these vessels in the publications concerning these tombs. Although this creates interpretation problems, I will treat these vessels as imitations here although it remains possible that they are not connected to this culture.[591] Nevertheless, the complex character of these burials has led scholars to a complex interpretation. The way the ostentatious funerary rites awarded to these individuals have been explained has leaned heavily on ancient Roman literary sources.

Central to the interpretation of these 'princely' tombs in Campania is the complex notion of the *gens*, a familial or clan organisation of social groups. It is worthwhile discussing this interpretation here because it plays an important role in how the social organisation of Iron Age Italy is currently understood and explained by scholarship. The

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[585] D'Agostino 1977a; Cuozzo 2003 p112.
[586] Cerchiai 1995 p88. I have included these in the eating category, but they potentially held a drinking role as well.
[587] Cuozzo 2003 p112.
[588] Cerchiai 1995 p49-50.
[589] Greco/Mermati 2006.
[590] In t.4461 (3 *anforette*) and t.928 (*anfora, anforisco*).
[591] Cerchiai 1987a p31 links the three *anforette* in t.4461 to D'Agostino 1968 type 42A but this connection remains uncertain.

idea of *gens* is tied up with interpretations of the social changes throughout Italy around the Iron Age to Orientalising transition.[592] Clusters of burials appear around many prominent tombs across Etruria, Lazio, and Campania and are interpreted as evidence for familial or clan groups. This is widely explained as the emergence of the élite, as such familial groups apparently traced their patrilineal descent to a shared ancestor, the *gens*.[593] This client-based economy saw all agricultural land controlled by the aristocracy (*gente*s). At the top of this hierarchy, the 'princes' held control over their *clientes*, who were obliged to provide military support to the 'prince' (*patronus*) as and when required.[594] The *gentes*' ancestral power was conveyed through the *nomen gentilicium* two-name system, which consolidated their link to a real or mythical ancestor. Although the concept of the *società gentilizio-clientelare* is widespread in Italian scholarship, Riva has criticised its use for Etruria. She argues that the two-name system tells us little aside from who the deceased's parents were.[595] Similarly, Smith challenges the hypothesised presence of a *gens* in the Osteria dell'Osa cemetery (Latium) as the evidence there is not conclusive.[596]

Despite such criticisms many maintain that the *gens* existed in coeval Campania, with 'princely' t.926 and t.928 used in support of this.[597] Central to this argument is t.3509, an infant burial located close to the two 'princely' tombs, where an *impasto* chalice inscribed in Etruscan provides evidence for a *nomen gentilicium* at Pontecagnano. The inscription provides what scholars interpret as the names of the infant's parents: *mi mulu venelasi velχaesi rasuniesi*, ("I am given by Venela and Velchae Rasunies") (Fig. 3.32).[598] Alongside their *praenomina* (or first names) is the *nomen gentilicium* 'Rasunies', which Colonna traces to an Etruscan root indicating those able to carry arms within the community, essentially an Etruscan military office.[599] Both Colonna and Cerchiai take this name as evidence for a *nomen gentilicium* at Pontecagnano, the emergence of the élite and the 'princely' *clientes* system.[600]

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592 Cerchiai 1995; D'Agostino 1988.
593 Cornell 1995 p84.
594 Cerchiai 2010 p35-36.
595 Riva 2010 p7.
596 Smith 2006 p147-150.
597 Cerchiai 2010 p35-36, 1995; Cuozzo 2007, 2003; D'Agostino 1988.
598 Cerchiai 2010 p36-37; Colonna 2002b p385-388.
599 Colonna 2002b p387.
600 Cerchiai 2010 p36, Colonna 2002a p199.

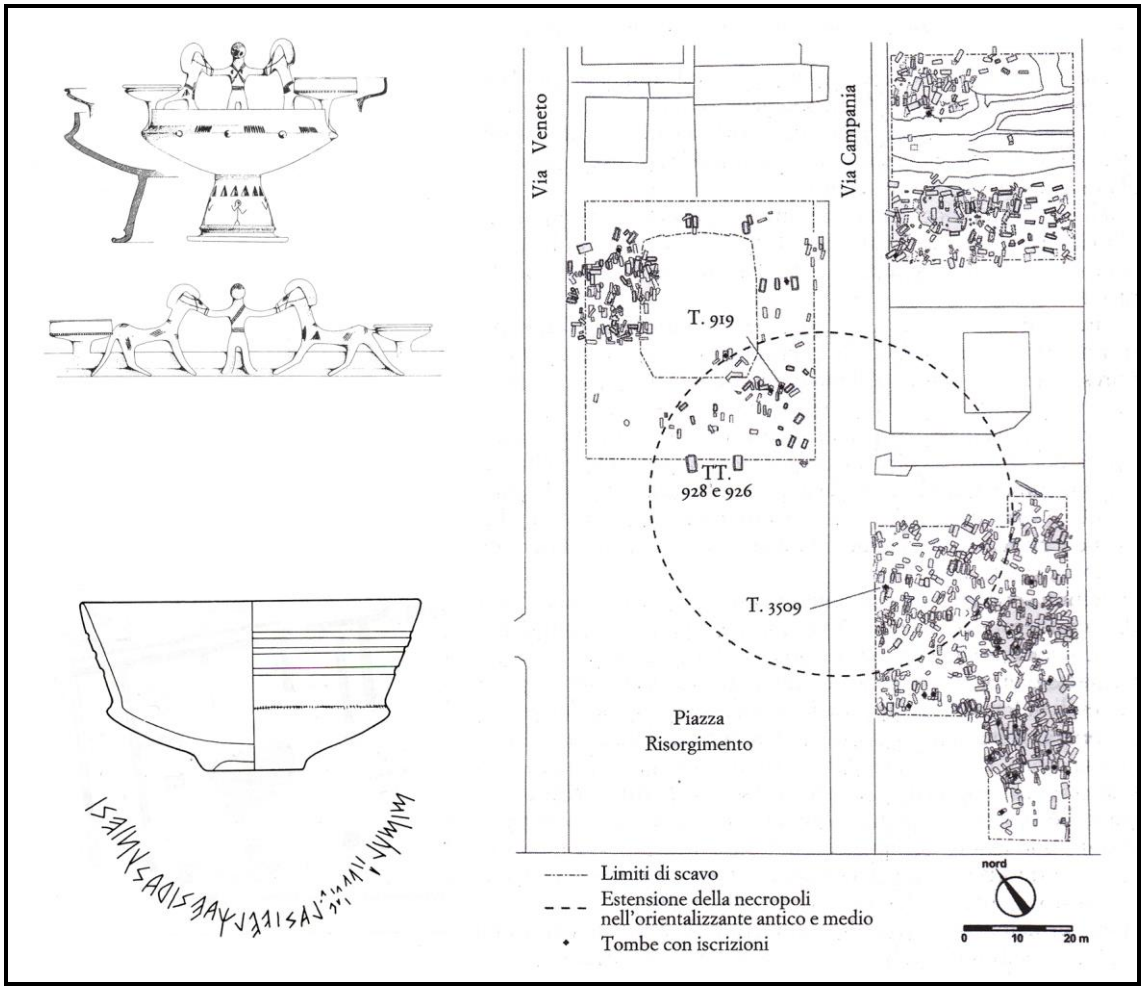

Fig. 3.32. Top left: imported Faliscan cup in Capua t.697, bottom left: Etruscan inscription on chalice t.3509, right: excavated area of necropolis with t.926, t.928, and t.3509 (adapted from Cerchiai, (1995) v.2; Colonna (2002) p198 fig.7; Cerchiai (2010) 40 3-4)

Furthermore, the tomb is directly linked by Cerchiai to t.926 and t.928, as he feels that t.3509 was part of a cluster around the two 'princely' burials.

Although t.3509 (ca. 650 BC) and the two nearby 'princely' tombs are only 20 years apart, the plan of this area of the cemetery shows that despite some proximity t.3509 does not form part of an obvious cluster around either 926 or 928 (Fig. 3.32). Furthermore, a lack of inscriptions in all four 'princely' tombs makes it difficult to sustain Cerchiai's theory that t.926 and t.928 can be linked to the name 'Rasunies' in t.3509. While other burials in the cemetery include Etruscan inscriptions, only t.3509 provides a *nomen*, making it the sole contemporary claim to a *gens* in the cemetery. Therefore, even if 'Rasunies' is a *gens,* it cannot be directly connected to t.926 or t.928, nor the earlier 'princely' tombs at Pontecagnano, as Cerchiai has done. Furthermore, if 'Rasunies' indicates a *nomen gentilicium* and an Etruscan military office, it is still

unclear whether a) the vessel belonged to the deceased, b) was deposited by the deceased's parents (thereby naming them), or c) that any of them were able to read Etruscan. Other infant burials in Campania feature inscribed vessels, such as the Nestor's Cup, which is linked to the symposium.[601] Furthermore, in Chapter 2, I mentioned Hoffman's work on defining imports and immigrant craftsmen in Iron Age Crete (§2.5), which presents us with a similar situation as the in t.3509. Amongst her corpus of objects Hoffman discusses a bronze hemispherical bowl with in-turned rim found in Tekke tomb J (Knossos, Crete). The Phoenician inscription on this bowl has led to the grave being interpreted as belonging to a Phoenician resident at Knossos. She highlights instead how problematic it is to attribute any ethnicity (in this case a Phoenician identity) to the deceased based on a single object, especially when the rest of the grave goods are largely Cretan in cultural terms. Hoffman believes that other motives may explain the bronze bowl's deposition (heirloom, gift, trade), making its identity complex.[602] Returning to tomb 3509 at Pontecagnano, it includes other *impasto*, Italo-Geometric and Proto-Corinthian vessels alongside the inscribed chalice, none of which supports an Etruscan ethnicity for the deceased.[603] Therefore, following Hoffman's conclusions concerning the bowl found in Knossos, rather than being *a priori* inscribed and interred by the infant's parents, many other factors may explain the deposition of the chalice.

Smith's work shows that the *gens* is not as clearly definable as many suggest.[604] The ancient sources are vague about its nature and origins and nowhere is membership of the *gens* linked to political power; nor is there reason to believe that the *princeps gentis* was a formal office.[605] Many of the ancient links with a mythical *princeps* were actually made in the late Republic when earlier links could be reinvented and even realigned with an alternate *princeps*.[606] Modern interpretations of the *gens* have placed it as a stage along the history of human progress, an approach characterising much of Italian archaeology due to its Marxist orientation in material culture studies.[607] These

[601] Malkin 2002 p162-165; Murray 1994; Ridgway 1992.
[602] Hoffman 1997 p12, p120-123. "Without further corroborative evidence, very little can be ascertained about the possible ethnicity of the owner of the Tekke bronze bowl."
[603] On the grave goods, although unpublished, see Pellegrino 2002 p384-385.
[604] Smith 2006, 1996.
[605] Smith 2006 p34, p64.
[606] Smith 2006 p40-41.
[607] Smith 2006 p65-113.

modern ideas of the *gens* are therefore based on erroneous anthropological and historical constructs essentially making it a "shadowy institution" and extremely problematic for early Rome and Latium, let alone Campania.[608]

Scholars of Etruria are consequently accused of retrojecting later political institutions onto the 'princely' period.[609] Given the problems in identifying the *gens* in Latium and Etruria, it is unreasonable to extend it to Campania, a different context where diverse structures existed. Cerchiai's interpretation owes much to a later Roman Republican understanding of political institutions and therefore cannot explain the complex socio-political changes of the Iron Age to Orientalising periods. Yet this narrative of the Villanovan settlements in Campania undergoing a change of identity has persisted. The development from an egalitarian Iron Age to the competing identities and the *gens* characterising the Orientalising period is apparently inspired by the Greeks and Etruscans.[610] The presence of these external cultures supposedly allowed Capua and Pontecagnano to "transform themselves into Etruscans as occurred in contemporary Etruria", a process as simple as changing ones name overnight.[611] This identity shift is postulated for the end of the 8th century BC, yet relies on assumed connections to Etruria (where similar changes are visible) and the large presence of Etruscan inscriptions at Pontecagnano from 625 BC.[612] Despite the large number of Etruscan inscriptions for the 7th century, the number is actually low for the 8th century, when writing was still a nascent technology. The idea that this later evidence is a reference to a new Etruscan identity for the settlement in the 8th century is erroneous as the ethnicity of individuals cannot be based on the presence of inscriptions. Languages can be adopted for economic or political reasons, and when a change occurs this is rarely connected to a change in identity.[613] There is no indication that Etruscan had become the official language of Pontecagnano as evidence for another language is lacking at this time. While Pontecagnano cannot be assumed Etruscan on this evidence, we can at least argue that the use of Etruscan text held increased importance in the funerary sphere. This traditional interpretation is reminiscent of the cladistic approach to language

[608] Smith 2006, 1996 p189-190.
[609] Riva 2010 p7.
[610] Cerchiai 1995, 2005, p190, 2010 p24-25.
[611] Cerchiai 2010 p35 "Come accade contemporaneamente in Etruria, gli insediamenti villanoviani di Capua e Pontecagnano si trasformano alla fine dell'VIII secolo a.C. in comunità di cultura etrusca."
[612] Cerchiai 2010 p35-46.
[613] Lucy 2005 p92.

history that ignores the multiple reasons behind the use of a second language.[614] Moreover, it disregards current debates on identity formation, and owes much to culture history and the evolutionary schemes entrenched in the regional narrative. Such changes are rarely explained, especially concerning identity: how did the Greeks and Etruscans cause local identity shifts and the 'birth' of an aristocracy? I believe a network perspective that considers both the global and local offers a more subtle approach.

Moreover, a network approach also reveals that a considerable amount of the grave goods deposited in these four burials have ties with other areas of Italy. The locally produced objects were made from raw materials that were imported from outside the region and account for 63% of the grave goods (Table 3.24). Similar to the other phases discussed above, metals dominate the sample. However, bronze is no longer the

Material	**Total**	**%**
Bronze	56	18%
Iron	110	36.2%
Silver	14	4.6%
Gold	4	1.3%
Amber	6	2%
Ivory	1	0.3%
Total	**191**	**63%**
Total metals	**184**	**61%**
Total assemblage	**304**	**100%**

Table 3. 24. Imported materials in the Pontecagnano 'princely' Tombs

main metal as iron accounts for more than double the number of bronze objects. There is a small quantity of silver, gold (which as detailed above are vessels or *fibulae*), amber, and ivory. Yet the increased number of iron objects needs some explanation here. As the discussion of the earlier phases shows, the imported raw materials attest to connections with the metal-rich hills of Etruria and the amber road of North-Eastern Italy. While there is a high quantity of bronze in the other phases, in this group we find a higher quantity of iron objects. The reason for this may lie in the attempts these individuals, the so-called 'princes,' took to redefine their burial practices. They not only embraced a banqueting culture that had global references, but they also used iron as a new symbol of power. The material qualities of iron allowed them to represent themselves as peers with the visiting élites and traders from Greece and the Levant based at Pithekoussai and Cumae. While imported goods allowed them to participate in

[614] Lucy 2005 p92.

banqueting practices of an Eastern Mediterranean origin, locally made objects were produced with imported materials and allowed these individuals to represent themselves as powerful figures with access to local networks in Campania and beyond.

3.2.3.3 Orientalising II (675-600 BC)

Object type	Number	%	Imports	%	Imitations	%
Weapons	5	2.2%				
Decorative objects	15	6.3%				
Fibulae	33	14%				
Beads	2	0.8%				
Scarabs	1	0.4%	1	0.5%		
Other	24	10.1%				
Pottery	157	66.2%	57	24%	5	2%
Total	237		58	24.5%	5	2%
Tombs	16					

Table 3. 25. Total objects for Pontecagnano Orientalising phase II

The published tombs for this phase are small in number as is the sample of goods but still present some changes from the previous phase (Table 3.25). Firstly, there are a lack of cremation burials, with all the tombs being inhumations of either *a cassa di travertino* or *a fossa* type. This demonstrates that cremation was now a burial type reserved for specific individuals such as the 'princely' tombs. Pottery remains the largest object category deposited while weapons are scant and weaving tools are absent, suggesting that identity symbols had also changed in line with burial types. Social identity now appears to be articulated through the deposition of imports (see below).

There are now 21 different shapes including imports and imitations. Interestingly, locally produced *impasto* includes shapes inspired by Greek types such as an *aryballos*, *olpe*, *kylix*, and an *oinochoe*. While the main shapes are linked to pouring and drinking, eating vessels are slightly higher than in Orientalising phase I (Fig. 3.33). Drinking at the graveside was the main activity and feasting was not a major component in funerary ritual. A slight rise in cosmetic vessels in this assemblage indicates a continued concern with dressing the corpse. The most frequent locally produced ceramic shape is the *anfora* (30), but imported Greek pots, namely the *kylix* (12), *oinochoe* (10), and *coppa carenata* (9), are higher than other local shapes (*anforisco* 7, *oinochoe trilobata* 7). A

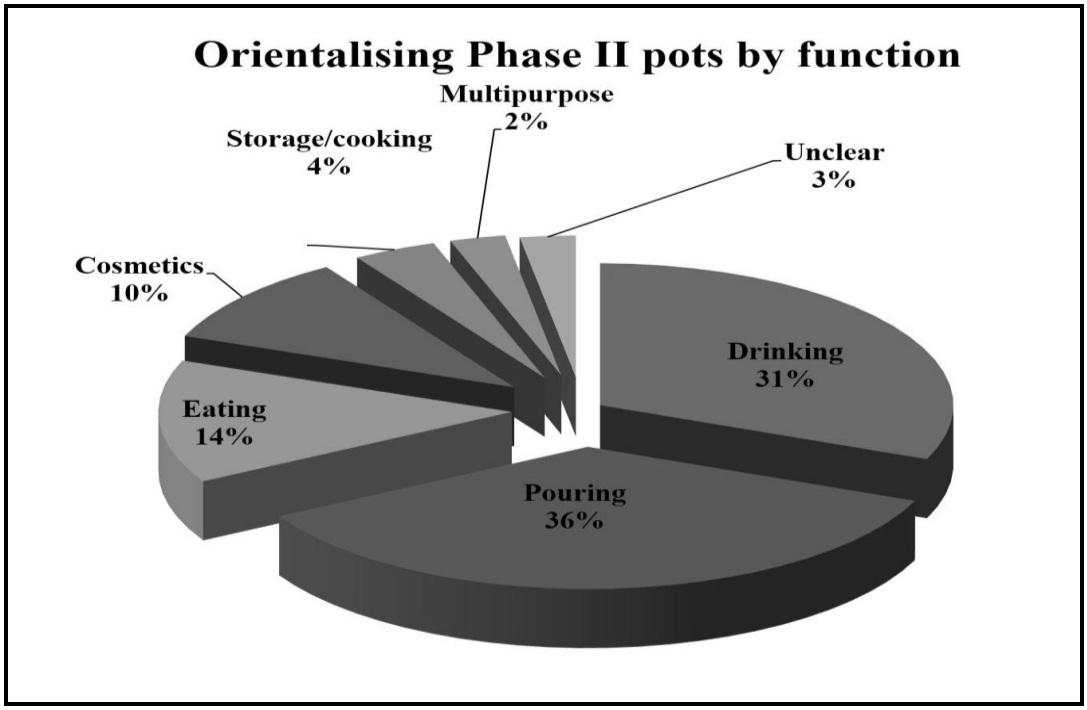

Fig. 3.33 Pie-chart showing the percentages of pots from Orientalising phase II by function

diversity in local ceramic production can be seen, not only in terms of the shapes but the techniques used to produce them. In this phase, local *impasto* features alongside Italo-Geometric pots, Etrusco-Corinthian production, and eventually local *bucchero*. From the mid-7th century local *impasto* production is bolstered by the adoption of a fast wheel.[615] While remaining a key component of Orientalising assemblages, local *impasto* presents a 'discontinuity' with the forms of the *prima età del ferro*.[616] At the end of the 6th century BC *impasto* becomes influenced by local *bucchero* leading to a cessation in its production, with only a few sporadic examples known by the end of the century.[617] This development is tied into the apparent appearance of workshops specialising in Etrusco-Corinthian vessels in Campania set up by Etruscan artisans during the first quarter of the 6th century BC. [618] Cerchiai argues that the earlier appearance of new urban settlements at Nola, Pompeii, Nocera, and Fratte from the end of the 7th century was an Etruscan 'colonisation' led by the arrival of Etruscan *gentes* from Etruria to Campania.[619] These changes occur across the *Orientalizzante recente* to Archaic period and lie beyond the confines of this study. However, when considering the local ceramic production and

[615] Cerchiai 2000 p38.
[616] Cuozzo 2003 p53.
[617] Cuozzo 2003 p53; Cerchiai 2000 p38.
[618] Cerchiai 1990; Cuozzo/D'Andrea 1991 p63.
[619] Cerchiai 2000 p37.

supposed Etruscan character of the area, it is rarely explained why colonisation or immigrant workshops occurred when according to Cerchiai, the settlement had already 'become' Etruscan in the 8th century BC. Such an issue is never tackled and instead a regional narrative is promoted where a gradual evolution to Etruscan identity in the region figures prominently.

While the 7th century *impasto* may well be linked to Etruria, it was still locally produced and local agency needs consideration when making assumptions about local identities. *Bucchero* produced locally should also be viewed as a new aspect in the global culture, a new technique available which saw inhabitants choose a shinier, glossier fabric that referenced the metal vessels deposited by the local élite. The rise in *bucchero* deposited in later periods thus explains why Italo-Geometric vessels and pots with other painted decoration disappear from Pontecagnano from the first quarter of the 7th and last quarter of the 6th century BC respectively.[620] Cuozzo feels this reflects the adoption of an anti-luxury ideology in the cemetery, but when contextualised against a rise in *bucchero* it may also be argued that this is another aspect of competition within the settlement and emulation of the globalising culture surrounding the élite.

Returning to the 7th century ceramics under analysis here, there is a considerable increase in the number of Greek imports to a sizeable 50 out of 157 pots and only two out of the 16 tombs do not feature Greek vessels (Table 3.26). These imports vary in type and more than one example is generally found in each tomb. Exemplary are t.691 and t.608 dating from 675 to 650 BC with seven and nine Greek vessels, respectively. The most frequent Greek vessel is the *kylix* (12 examples, 8 tombs), but the *oinochoe* also features prominently ten examples in eight tombs. Drinking at the graveside with an imported pot is now a pivotal aspect of funerary rituals. Most vessels can be associated with drinking but pouring is close behind and cosmetic vessels rise in number. However, distinguishing between imports from mainland Greece and those so-called 'imitations' produced by the local Greek settlements,[621] is tricky and attributions are made by visual fabric or stylistic analysis.

[620] Cuozzo 2003 p53-54.
[621] Cuozzo 2003 p54.

Tomb	**Import**	**Typology**	**Provenance**
XXV/603	Cup	28	Pithekoussai/Cumae
XXIII/691	*Oinochoe*	18	
XXIV/692		18	
XXIV/692		19	
XXV/603			
XXVII/739			
XXVII/739			
XXX/740			
XXXI/743			
XXXII/576		20	
XXXIV/601		1	Cretan?
XXIII/691	*Kylix*	11b	Pithekoussai/Cumae
XXIV/692		11a	
XXIV/692		11b	
XXVIII/608		11b	
XXVIII/608		14	
XXIX/689		11a	
XXIX/689		11b	
XXX/740			
XXXII/576			
XXXIV/601			
XXXIV/601			
XXXVII/749		13	
XXXIV/601	*Kotyle* (EC)	9	Corinth?
XXIII/691	Stemmed cup (*"coppa su piede"*)	32	Pithekoussai/Cumae
XXIII/691		32	
XXVIII/608		33	
XXVIII/608		34	
XXXVII/749		2	Argos/Corinth
XXXI/743	Carinated cup	29	Pithekoussai/Cumae
XXXI/743			
XXVI/600			
XXXI/743			
XXIV/692		27	
XXIV/692		28	
XVIII/608			
XVIII/608			
XXVII/739			
XXIII/691	*Lekane*	25	
XXV/603		26	
XXVI/600		26	
XXIII/691	*Bottiglia*	23	
XXXI/743			
XXVIII/608	Plate (*piatto*)	35	
XXVIII/608	*Kothon*	36	
XXVIII/608	*Aryballos* (ovoid)	5	Corinth?

XXXV/737	*Aryballos* (*piriform*)	6	
XXXVIII/744	*Aryballos*	?	?
XXXVIII/744	Attic cup	39	Attica.
XXIII/691	*Aryballos conico*	4	Corinth?
XXXVII/749	Italo-Corinthian *aryballos*	7	Pithekoussai/Cumae
XXXVII/749			
XXXVII/749	Italo-Corinthian *kotyle*	9	
XXIV/692	*Anforetta* (Faliscan)	49	Lazio.
XXXVI/738	*Coppetta su piede* (*bucchero*)	40	Etruria?
XXXVI/738	*Kantharos* (*bucchero*)		
XXXVII/744	*Coppa carenato* (*bucchero*)		
XXXV/737	*Olpe* (*buccheroide*)	67	Local. Combines *bucchero* and *impasto* styles.
XXIV/692	*Anfora*	42a	Imitates Oliveto-Citra Cairano type
XXIV/692		42c	
XXXI/743		42a	
XXXV/737			
XXIX/689	Faience scarab	?	Pithekoussai/ Cumae

Table 3. 26. Imports, imitations, and scarabs for Pontecagnano Orientalising phase II

These popular vessels, regardless of their exact origin, completely outnumber all the other imports. Next in frequency is *bucchero*, with three vessels from the tombs dating to the end of this period (from 625 to 575 BC),[622] and alongside these was a sole import from the Faliscan area. Imitations are almost exclusively connected to the Oliveto-Cairano sphere as in Orientalising I, but the lower number in this sample probably results from the lower number of tombs. The four imitations all appear in tombs with Greek imports, but not in those with *bucchero*. By the early 6th century BC, then, the weak tie with this area had probably decreased, or the enclave at Pontecagnano began using other types. One other imitation combines *impasto* and *bucchero* firing techniques, this *olpe* was found in t.737 with a Greek import and an Oliveto-Cairano imitation. The *buccheroide* production, therefore, continued from Orientalising I but was later replaced by the local production of *bucchero* proper. Interesting is also the *scodellone ad ansa a cavallini* or bowl with a zoomorphic handle depicting horses in t.603. The horses on the handle indicate that this was an object with élite connotations. An Attic cup is found in t.744 c575 BC, signalling the change in connections in the Archaic period with the emergence of imported Athenian ceramics. A single scarab is

[622] D'Agostino 1968 p109 type 40.

present in t.689, probably imported from Cumae, which further illustrates how this weak tie had become key to the settlement and its access to new ideas.

Material	**Total**	**%**
Bronze	43	18%
Iron	13	5.5%
Silver	1	0.4%
Amber	1	1.6%
Pasta vitrea	3	0.1%
Total	**61**	**26%**
Total metals	**57**	**24%**
Total assemblage	**237**	**100%**

Table 3. 27. Imported materials during Pontecagnano Orientalising phase II.

While ceramics form most of the grave goods (including a substantial number of imported pots), there is still an ample quantity of imported raw materials (Table 3.27). However, this total has decreased from 44% imported raw materials in phase I to 26% of the sample in phase II. Metals account for 24% with bronze (18%) the highest individual material type. A small quantity of iron, silver, amber and glass (*pasta vitrea*) is also found in the sample. The decrease in these imported raw materials may be explained by two factors. Firstly, a much smaller tomb sample marks phase II (only 16 tombs) when compared with phase I (52 tombs). Secondly, there appears to be a rise in the deposition of local ceramics. It remains feasible that the sample for this period is not fully representative of contemporary funerary practices. Alternatively, it could be that there were changes in graveside practices from feasts to simple drinking rites. These rites would have required greater emphasis on the deposition of ceramics and less consideration of metal grave goods. Another explanation could also be that the network began to change and Pontecagnano may have had some disruption in its access to imported raw materials from northern Italy. This final possibility is hard to gauge based on 16 tombs and I believe this should remain an open question. Nevertheless, the high number of imported ceramics suggests an intensification of contact with weak ties had occurred.

During the *Orientalizzante Medio* and *Recente*, Pontecagnano apparently founded satellite settlements at Arenosola, Eboli, and Capodifiume to strategically defend its territory.[623] This coincided with other Etruscan settlements appearing in the region at Nola, Pompeii, Nocera, and Fratte all of which were urban in character. Cerchiai has

[623] Cerchiai 1995 p55 on Arenosola.

deemed this to be evidence of an Etruscan 'colonisation' of the area led by Etruscan *gentes* from Etruria.[624] However, the actual evidence for Etruscan colonisation is rarely substantiated and a network perspective prompts new angles on this story. If these sites were established by Pontecagnano they may be connected to a need to obtain new ways to access global ideas rather than an act of colonisation. These new satellite settlements may have been attempts to insert new nodes into the network to monopolise access to Tyrrhenian trade. Until more data is published on these satellite settlements this issue will unfortunately remain speculation.

3.2.3.4 Orientalising Period Network

The Orientalising phases have been combined into a single section here to allow for greater comparison with the other case study chapters. Following the previous phases network graphs have been produced to illustrate both the ties visible through the imports and those hidden in locally produced goods that were made using imported materials. Beginning with the ties visible through the imports, 85.7% of the grave goods in Orientalising phase I were locally produced. Examining the grave goods in the 'princely' burials reveals that 92.8% were locally produced. A caveat here is that this number results from the lack of clear information on the provenances of many of the objects. For example, similar to the composite *fibulae* discussed elsewhere, the metal vessels in the tombs may have been imported, but they could equally have been made at Pontecagnano as similar vessels were produced in Italy from the 9th century onwards. However, until further information is available the metal vessels that are not defined as imports in the excavation reports are treated here as local objects. Orientalising phase II has a small sample yet 73.2% of these objects were of local production. The continued dominance of local objects amongst the grave goods in all three phases demonstrates that the strong ties with Etruria and Lazio/*Fossakultur* continued long after the establishment of Pithekoussai/Cumae. The local material culture at Pontecagnano is Etruscan at this stage and stylistically and typologically linked by scholars to that area. Nevertheless, a number of imports in all three samples point to a series of network ties.

In Orientalising I, 14.3% of the grave goods are linked to weak ties. Many objects show a tie with the eastern Mediterranean including Greece proper, Rhodes/Crete,

[624] Cerchiai 2000 p37.

Argos/Corinth, and the Levant. These objects have been classed as coming from Pithekoussai/Cumae as it is less likely that they were acquired directly from Greece. This tie counts for 9.3% of the grave goods. Further weak ties are held with the Oliveto-Cairano culture at 4%, Apulia (0.2%), Eturia/Oliveto-Cairano culture (0.3%), and Etruria2 (0.5%). The fact that local material shows affinities with Etruria is the reason why the node for the three imitation *bucchero* pots is defined as 'Etruria2'. This label allows for the representation of a node for an import and imitation tied to a particular area and also the locally produced material that is tied to the same geographic area (Fig. 3.34). In the 'princely' tombs 7.2% of the grave goods can be connected to weak ties which include Etruria2 (1.6%), Oliveto-Cairano culture (1.6%), Vetulonia (1.3%), Cumae (1.3%), Enotria (0.7%), and Etruria/Pithekoussai/Cumae (0.7%) (Fig. 3.36). Despite the smaller sample in Orientalising phase II, 26.8% of the grave goods are weak ties. The highest of these is with Pithekoussai-Cumae which has risen to 23%. This can therefore be classed a 'high-weak' tie, the total is high, but still not high enough to outnumber the local objects. The other ties with Lazio (0.4%), the Oliveto-Cairano culture (1.7%) and a further tie with Etruria2 (1.7%) are all under 2% (Fig. 3.38). All of the weak ties in the three phases, except for the Pithekoussai/Cumae link in Orientalising I and II, are small nodes and have been placed further away from the tie representing Pontecagnano. However, the Pithekoussai/Cumae nodes are positioned closer to the central node indicating the greater intensity of these ties than the others despite also being weak ties themselves.

While the imports suggest that the connections with Pithekoussai/Cumae were now essential to trade at Pontecagnano, analysis of its locally produced artefacts poses problems to the notion of Greek dominance over the region. Examining the grave goods made at Pontecagnano reveals how the sample continues to feature raw materials acquired from outside Campania. Orientalising phase I has 44% of the grave goods made from imported raw materials, including a considerable quantity of bronze and amber. Small quantities of other metals, glass, ivory, and composite *fibulae* complete the sample (Fig. 3.35). The 'princely' tomb group has a higher quantity of the grave goods being made from imported materials at 63%. This time iron features more prominently than bronze, while silver, gold, amber, glass, and ivory are also found but in smaller numbers (Fig. 3.37). In Orientalising phase II there is a lower number of imported raw

materials at 26% of all grave goods. Bronze and iron again form the majority of these materials, although amber, glass and silver are also present (Fig. 3.39). The ties in each phase are represented on a graph at close proximity or far from the central node of Pontecagnano depending on the number of grave goods each had. The same quantities lie behind the thickness of each tie and the size of each node. Although objects made from local clay also feature prominently in all three graphs, there is evidence that the connections with the metal and amber trade circulating northern Italy continued to involve Pontecagnano in the Orientalising period. The amber and metals were probably acquired through down-the-line exchanges and then worked locally rather than through a direct connection with the north. Without archaeometric analysis it is impossible to tell exactly from which sites this material was acquired. However, the abundance of this material further disproves the regional narrative of Greek dominance over Campania. Instead, the evidence points to a thriving network along the Tyrrhenian within which both Pontecagnano and Pithekoussai/Cumae were important nodes.

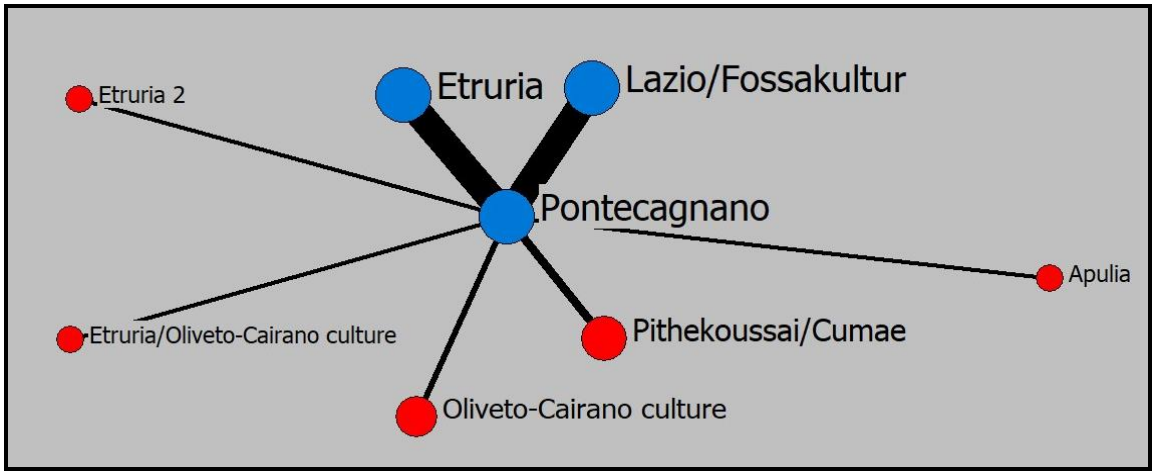

Fig. 3.34. Pontecagnano network Orientalising phase I showing the ties with external sites based on the imports (using UCINET)

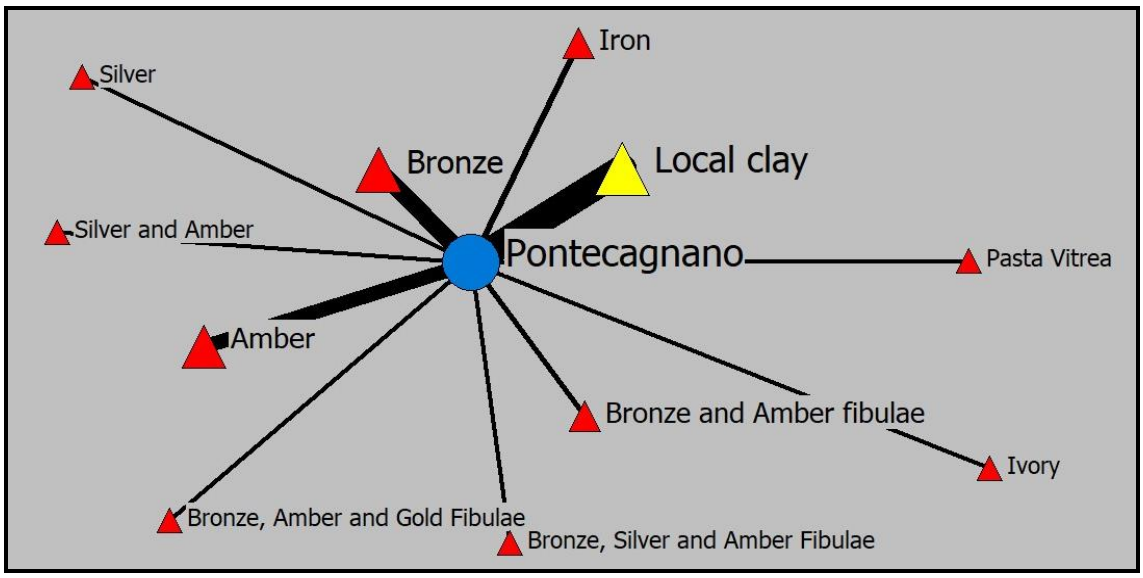

Fig. 3.35. Pontecagnano network showing the ties in Orientalising phase I based on the raw materials (using UCINET)

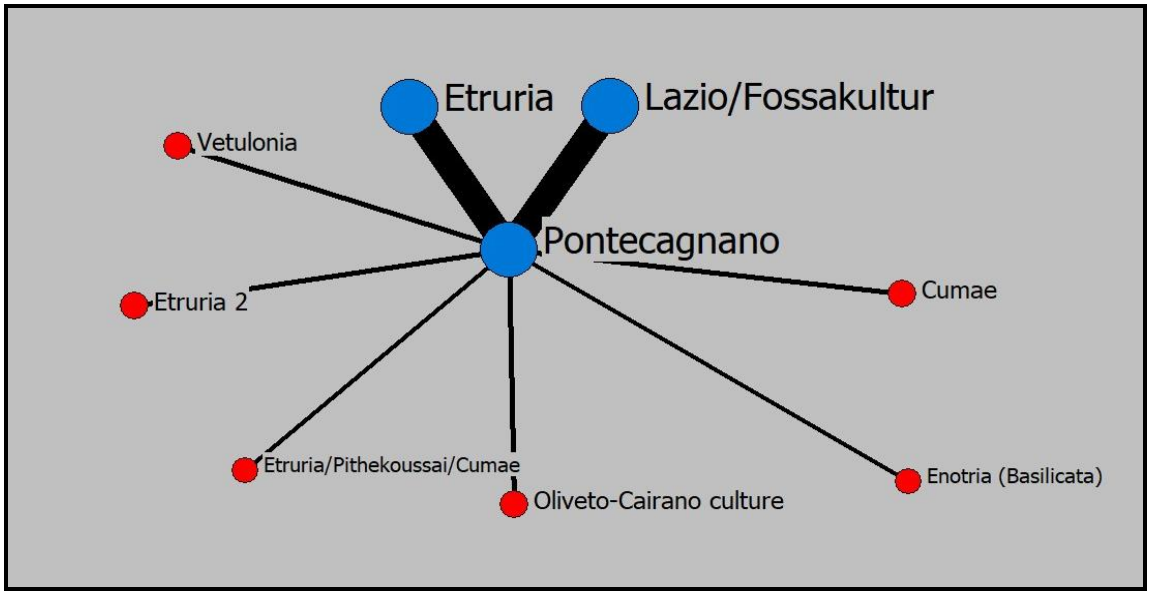

Fig. 3.36. Pontecagnano network of the 'princely' tombs showing the ties with external sites based on the imports (using UCINET)

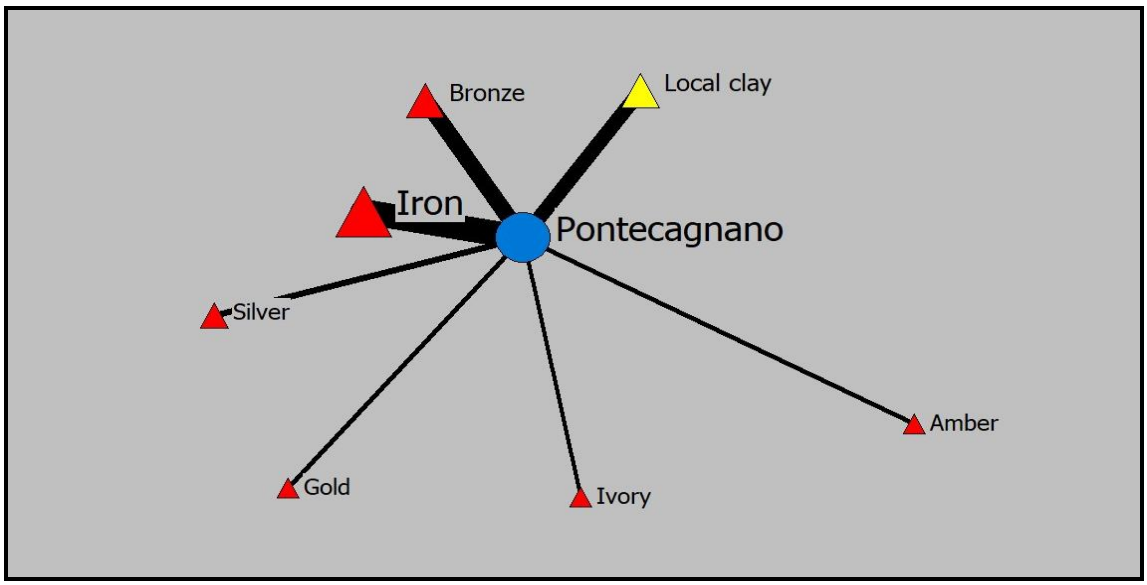

Fig. 3.37. Pontecagnano network showing the ties of the 'princely' tombs based on the raw materials (using UCINET)

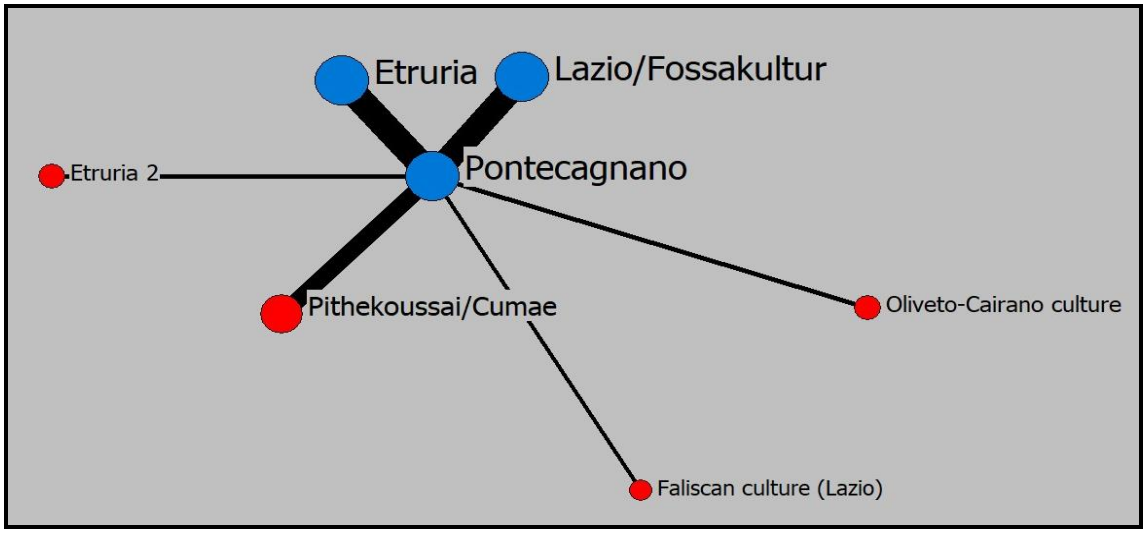

Fig. 3.38. Pontecagnano network Orientalising phase II showing the ties with external sites based on the imports (using UCINET)

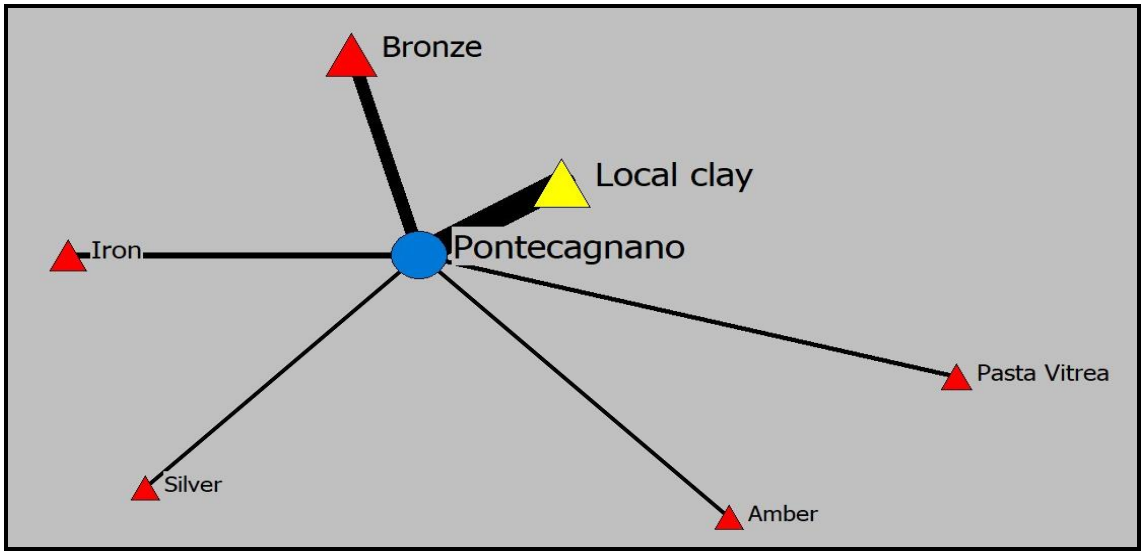

Fig. 3.39 Pontecagnano network showing the ties in Orientalising phase II based on the raw materials (using UCINET)

3.2.3.5 Conclusions: the Orientalising Period at Pontecagnano (725-600 BC)

The Orientalising period exhibits several differences from the Iron Age phases. Firstly, there is a rise in the deposition of all object types, especially pottery. A much higher number of ceramic shapes are deposited than in the earlier phases and many variations of pre-existing shapes produced. Scholars view local ceramic production as now more standardised. The *impasto* is a much higher quality as it has a purer fabric and was fired at a higher temperature.[625] However, these changes are not evidence of an artisan class emerging to supply the élite as D'Agostino argues,[626] but of increased demand across the whole site for new shapes and a better quality of fabric. This demand followed contact with weak ties that allowed the appropriation of new techniques. Increased demand, in turn, caused increased production and increased deposition in the tomb.

Imported pottery also increases in the grave goods deposited and is almost exclusively Greek. By Orientalising II only two of the burials in the sample lack Greek or Greek-inspired pottery. However, the main shapes are connected to drinking, eating, and pouring, and not all the available repertoire was imported; *kraters* and ritual vessels are notably absent. Perfume vessels are limited and may indicate that they were not

[625] Cerchiai 1995; D'Agostino 1988; Cuozzo 2007.
[626] D'Agostino 1988 p536.

important for the community, but as Cuozzo observes, such vessels, are present in the unpublished tombs in a higher number. Absent from both the published and unpublished tombs are wine transport amphorae, suggesting wine was not being imported, or was not deposited in the tomb. The imports and imitations demonstrate weak ties with the Greek-speaking settlements on the Tyrrhenian and the Oliveto-Cairano vessels with Hirpinia. It remains debatable whether these pots represent an Hirpinian enclave resident at Pontecagnano, as Cuozzo argues, or merely an influx of imports.[627] Coinciding with the appearance of Oliveto-Cairano pots are *impasto buccheroide* types that combine *bucchero* firing techniques with Hirpinian shapes. Hybrid wares were being produced at a local level signalling a blending of global and local ideas. Whether individuals from Hirpinia were resident or not is a moot point; these objects still demonstrate a new link and style that became popular in the community.

However, this popularity was not shared by all groups in the society. Cuozzo identifies two groups in the necropolis: one open to new ties and embracing foreign material culture, the other exhibiting *silent resistance* to the "Hellenising traits" of the first group.[628] Such tension is seen in the objects from the published tombs of Orientalising I, where 27 out of the 52 tombs include either an import or an imitation. Based on this, it can be argued that in the wider necropolis two groups established weak ties with the Greeks on the coast but reacted in different ways. The first group featuring many imports embraced the global culture available through new network ties: this is akin to Castells' "space of flows". The second group, reacting to the increased flows of global culture by redefining their own group boundaries, inhabited Castell's 'space of places'. This can also be *glocalisation* (§1.2.2). Yet this reaction is not *silent resistance*, which is archaeologically hard to discern, but evidence for local agency motivated by contact with the Greeks on the Tyrrhenian. On the one hand, it spurned a desire for new objects, and on the other, a desire to return to the traditions of the Iron Age.

These trends continued into Orientalising phase II, but also played a role in the complex dynamics surrounding the so-called 'princely' figures. These individuals figured prominently in the first cemetery group that embraced global culture and imports. They feature different burial rites from the main group, something which has been characterised as representing 'a way of life' exported from the Eastern

[627] Cuozzo 2005 p96-98, 2007 p235-238.
[628] Cuozzo 2003 p219-223 2007 p238, 2016 p17-20; Cuozzo/Pellegrino 2016 p119-120.

Mediterranean to Italy. However, such a conclusion ignores local agency and how these figures utilised new objects to create a new form of material culture. Amongst these objects were metal vessels, spits and firedogs that conflated warrior cremations with the symbolic language of animal sacrifice, bestowing them with a heroic quality. By using silver drinking sets they further isolated themselves from the community through their link to Homeric funerary rites and Near Eastern banquets.[629] The privileged metal vase set included the *kotyle* inscribed with fake hieroglyphs discussed above. This *kotyle* indicates how writing had entered an élite vocabulary that referenced many different areas and cultures of the Mediterranean. A role for horses, both in symbolic and functional terms, was also awarded importance. Such composite features forged what became a 'global culture' imbued with shared ideas and values but open to variation and re-interpretation at local level.

Similarities between the 'princely' tombs of the Mediterranean reflect a shared language that was neither Greek, Phoenician, nor Etruscan but combined elements of many cultures to consolidate their position in their respective societies. These élites formed a 'virtual community' based on shared "access to the same information...similar ideas and values."[630] The use of global language at Pontecagnano was a direct result of the increased competition in the cemeteries from Iron Age phase I onwards. By allowing the élite a means to exhibit their status, Greek drinking vessels became central to this competition during phase II. However, the deposition of Greek vessels increased and expanded; by the Orientalising period they were more widely available and no longer exclusively an élite status marker. Consequently, the Pontecagnano élite adapted to more people depositing Greek pots by reconfiguring their own élite imagery to include Orientalising objects and Homeric-inspired burials to maintain their hegemony.

A shift to inhumation across the cemeteries beginning in the Iron Age saw cremation becoming the preserve of the élite during the Orientalising period. Alongside the exclusive nature of this rite was the use of Orientalising objects as grave goods. Riva connects the circulation or Orientalising objects and ideas with an increased cohesive cultural outlook and mobility in the Iron Age.[631] Yet Etruscan élites had a proximate rather than ultimate knowledge of the East and, thus, the appropriation of Orientalising

[629] Precious metals used for drinking cups and for the ceremonial vessels used for washing before a feast in Homer, see Sherratt 2004 p306-308.
[630] Crielaard 1998b p194.
[631] Riva 2010 p56-59.

culture is not imitation as others suggest.[632] Instead, eastern objects enabled Etruscan élites to institutionalise power through their exclusive ability to obtain them, which in turn created a "new material aesthetics." The élites transformed Orientalising objects and ideas through their use, but through this process of recontextualisation they were themselves transformed by the new power structures they created. I believe that a similar process of transformation occurred at Pontecagnano. The local élite consolidated their position using a new funerary language that encompassed many diverse cultures. A new material paradigm that included not only Orientalising objects (lyre player seals, metal vessels, Phoenician red-slip wares, Kurd-type *situlae*) but also Orientalising ideas and practices (writing and the alphabet, symposiastic dining, new technologies, the Homeric myths, and new burial practices). In addition to these elements, were more local features, such as *bucchero* wares, Oliveto-Cairano vessels and the use of metals, amber and glass sourced from Northern Italy to produce local objects. Rather than a context dominated by the incoming Greeks, the evidence here strongly suggests that local agency created a dynamic arena for interaction with references to many regions reflected in the material culture at the site.

3.2.4 Conclusions. Pontecagnano from the Iron Age to the Orientalising Period

Summarising, the period spanning 900 to 575 BC sees Pontecagnano as a node in a regional network marked by interaction with diverse ties. This network underwent a series of changes: the Iron Age network was concentrated along the Tyrrhenian Sea from Etruria down to Calabria and Sicily. Interaction occurred between Pontecagnano and several cultures including the Villanovans, Faliscans, and the *Fossakultur* communities accompanied by some long-distance nodes, such as that with Sicily and Basilicata. A new node with Nuragic Sardinia emerged on the back of increased movements from the East to West Mediterranean, which is visible in the unpublished material discussed in the literature (§3.1.2). At this stage, the Mediterranean was still engaged in a many-to-many type network,[633] while the regional cluster involving Pontecagnano was very much focused on the Western and Central Mediterranean, with

[632] Riva 2010 p47.
[633] Malkin 2011 p40.

a clique of strong ties around Etruria, Lazio, and the *Fossakultur* (as the local material culture at Pontecagnano demonstrates). The arrival of the Greeks in Campania saw them act as weak ties. They did this by bridging the Tyrrhenian 'clique' and connected the Picentino area around Pontecagnano with the Eastern Mediterranean and the wider network forged through Euboian and Phoenician movements in the Western Mediterranean. As Riva observes, from the second half of the 8th to the end of the 7th century BC increased mobility led to an intensification of interaction, which established a line of constant communication through long-distance trade across the Mediterranean.[634] These connections provided new opportunities for Tyrrhenian élites to express their power and assert their position in the local community. Greek imports, especially drinking cups were key to what later became a 'global' culture, but at this early stage they were mainly exchanged between local élites, Greeks, and Phoenicians during occasions of guest-friendship. The arrival of the Greeks on the Tyrrhenian led to the establishment of Pithekoussai then Cumae. By bridging the network, they altered its dynamics and both Pithekoussai and Cumae became the gateways to accessing new ideas. However, this connection still only accounts for a small percentage of the excavated material, rendering Pithekoussai/Cumae a weak tie until at least the early Orientalising phase.

The access to this link was initially controlled by the élite, yet this situation was threatened when access to the 'global culture' became more widespread across the community from phase IIB. Early on this 'common material culture' was formed through a "pan-Mediterranean *koine*" but was open to local variation.[635] This culture was increasingly formed of prestigious objects of eastern production (such as metal vessels), which were 'coated with an aura of grandeur' and exchanged between élites. Therefore, many individuals were "using or displaying Orientalising material to enforce an ideological system which maintained their social distinction."[636] The purveyors of these eastern objects were traders of both Greek and Levantine origins. The Phoenicians were driven West by political events in the Near East, but this was not the only factor, as they were linked to continued trade from the Late Bronze Age.[637]

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[634] Riva 2005 p203.
[635] Riva 2005 p203.
[636] Riva 2005 p203-204.
[637] Aubet 1993; Riva 2005 p207.

In many areas of Campania Greek drinking vessels were exchanged, which, as Riva states, were an "an integral part of that Orientalising material 'package' [that reached] the Aegean and the Central Mediterranean both through Phoenician and Euboian hands."[638] These wares were exchanged between élites of diverse backgrounds at important social occasions, such as feasts, where they became important status markers imbued with their own personal histories.[639] However, these drinking cups were not venerated for their appearance but because they referenced another important global idea: the consumption of wine. Their diffusion shows that "the display of certain goods meant boasting the practice of a specific lifestyle."[640] By the Orientalising period, these became the key objects to place in the tomb as the rise in Greek vessels (largely drinking or pouring) indicates.

Pontecagnano's development between the Iron Age to Orientalising period is marked by competition between the élite and the rest of the community. The closely connected Tyrrhenian network of Iron Age phases I and II changes in the Orientalising period as the weak tie with Greek Cumae and Pithekoussai becomes the most important node in the area. This tie bridged the regional 'clique' that included Pontecagnano allowing the settlement to connect with the wider Mediterranean as Granovetter outlined for weak ties.[641] Social competition increased from phase IIB onwards with a higher number of Greek pots deposited across all social strata. The consequences of increased competition for the élite, for whom these cups had originally been the main status symbol, were obvious. No longer having exclusive access to these ceramics they had to adapt this 'common culture' by making it 'global'. They did this by utilising a variety of objects that referenced global ideas, such as Homeric funeral rituals, the sacrifice to the gods, ostentatious funerary processions and communal feasts focused on single tombs.

Recent evidence from the nearby site of Montevetrano (which has not been fully published) shows how the roots of the Homeric-inspired funerary culture can be traced back to at least the mid-8th century. Montevetrano t.74 and t.111 date to 750-725 BC

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[638] Riva 2005 p205.
[639] Sherratt p307-308 in Homeric myths Greek drinking cups are frequently in gold and often given as guest-friendship gifts (*Iliad* 6.220, 23.741-748, 24.233-234; *Odyssey* 4.591, 615-619, 8.430, 9.203, 15.85, 115-119, 24.275), "These vessels [were] frequently regarded as their current owner's most prized possession."
[640] Riva 2005 p205.
[641] Granovetter 1973 p1364, 1983 p202.

and exhibit early signs of the Greek style cremations found at Pontecagnano nearly 50 years later. While t.111 has a small assemblage (including a Euboian chevron *skyphos*, and a local *fibula*), it contains a cremation in a bronze *lebes*, which was imported from Euboia.[642] T.74 is much more ostentatious and includes an ample collection of bronze vessels (a biconical vase, an *incensiere*, a Kurd-type *situla* and a bronze *cista*) imported from Etruria and the Adriatic. Amongst the graves was also a silver cup decorated with a bull and heifer motif, imported from the Near East, a bronze tray (*presentatoio*) from Capua, a miniature Nuragic model boat imported from Sardinia, a Lyre-player type scarab, iron spits, firedogs, and finally a ceramic bowl with horses incorporated into the handle (*scodellone con anse configurate a cavallini*), which is an élite symbol at Pontecagnano and Capua.[643] The female in t.74 is linked to the slightly later t.7178 and t.7765 at Pontecagnano as all three share similar objects.[644] Such grave goods serve to illustrate how the so-called 'princely' culture seems to have appeared in Italy before the first cauldron-cremation burials at Cumae. Furthermore, these assemblages have been used to argue that the neo-evolutionary development towards the emergence of the aristocracy began before phase IIB.[645] However, as argued in this chapter, the notion that the élite emerged is misleading, and is perhaps better understood through attention to how specific objects allowed for the display of social status.

As Hodder asserts "all the connections of things are often hidden away" and we need to look beyond objects and humans to examine how they are inter-dependent; things are not isolated or inert.[646] On the flaunting of Orientalising grave goods, Riva states that they "served the élites as a strategy for asserting social and ultimately political authority within increasingly complex societies. Wealth and power went beyond any economic and social definition and converged into the notion of prestige. Luxury and a taste for the East represented, above all, a claim to intrinsic superiority."[647] Viewing such competition as the rise of the historically attested *gens* is not only anachronistic, as it projects a later institution back onto earlier periods, but it also misses the point. These social changes happening at this time are better seen as

[642] Cerchiai *et al.* 2012-2013 p73-89; Cuozzo 2016 p23.
[643] Iannelli 2011 p166-181; Cerchiai *et al.* 2012-2013 p93-95; Cuozzo/Pellegrino 2016 p124-125.
[644] Cuozzo 2016 p21-25; Cuozzo/Pellegrino 2016 p124-125; D'Agostino/Gastaldi 2012 p424-427, 2016 p173-174.
[645] D'Agostino/Gastaldi 2012 p426-427, 2016 p171-174.
[646] Hodder 2012 p11.
[647] Riva 2005 p207.

resulting from the circulation of Orientalising material culture that caused increased competition in local communities. From this competition the 'princely' figures reasserted their position and contributed to the global culture of the Mediterranean. This was not a homogenous culture because it was also susceptible to local variation, or glocalisation. Yet this global culture did eventually allow these Tyrrhenian communities to move towards urban status, which emerged later in the 6th century in Etruria and along the Tyrrhenian coast.

4. The Oliveto-Cairano culture

4.1.1 Defining the Oliveto-Cairano Culture

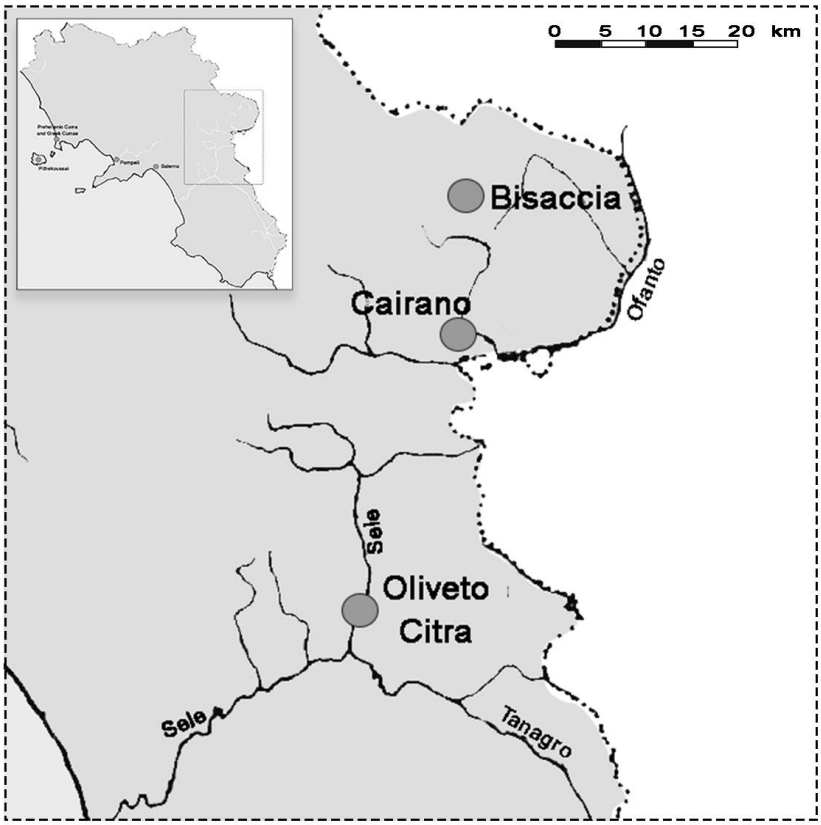

Fig. 4. 1. Map of Campania with the location of the Oliveto-Cairano culture settlements (author: M. Perna, adapted from Cerchiai 1995: p7 fig.1)

The term Oliveto-Cairano culture is applied to a group of hilltop sites overlooking the Ofanto and Sele river valleys.[648] These scattered, diverse settlements are located in Hirpinia in modern Campania and three are studied here: Bisaccia, Cairano, Oliveto-Citra. Due to the material culture they share, the sites have been classed as an archaeological culture and studied as a whole. Amongst the objects identified as part of this culture are jewellery items such as the distinctive *fibulae*, bracelets, and a local form of *anforetta* that was exported to Pontecagnano during the Orientalising period. It remains difficult to precisely identify the site of the culture responsible for producing its distinctive objects, which has led to these communities being studied as one group. However, no previous study has undertaken a quantitative analysis, this thesis represents the first attempt to examine the network connections these settlements held. In terms of burial practices this group preferred inhumation and is thus considered a subgroup of the *Fossakultur*.[649] There is some debate on the origin of this group, with

[648] Bailo Modesti 1996 p33; Cuozzo 2007 p240.
[649] Sestieri 1952; D'Agostino 1964; Pescatori Colucci 1971.

Bailo Modesti proposing that they emigrated from Illyria on the eastern side of the Adriatic (§4.1.4).[650]

The position of these three sites on the edge of the modern region of Campania has led to their near almost marginalisation in scholarship (§4.1.2). The river valleys they overlook promoted trade and contact with areas outside Hirpinia. Modern Bisaccia lies on a hill 860m above sea level, making it easily visible from the surrounding areas. Continual occupation of the hill from the 9th century BC has made it difficult to locate the Iron Age settlement. Evidence of that phase relies solely on the cemetery, which was excavated in the 1970s, but the findings remain unpublished. Rescue excavations interrupted the illegal construction of a new housing project on the hill, leading to the discovery of 54 tombs dating from the 7th century BC.[651] Cairano is located on a small hill at 806m above sea level.[652] While the surrounding landscape consists of a series of undulating hills, the rock of Cairano emerges from a valley, making it an anomalous feature of the environment. This characteristic invested Cairano with a strategic importance accentuated by the river Ofanto passing at the base of the hill.[653] Cairano is one of the few sites in Campania to have yielded non-funerary contexts, yet it is best known for the material discovered in its cemetery, which produced some of the earliest iron finds in the region. The third site in this chapter is Oliveto-Citra; it lies on a small hill at around 300m above sea level, yet its strategic importance has still been recognised.[654] To the east, Oliveto-Citra overlooked the Sele valley, where an important river flowed from the mountains of lower Hirpinia into the Tyrrhenian Sea.[655]

Despite forming an archaeological culture, these three settlements are not all located in close proximity to each other. Bisaccia and Cairano are about 13km apart, and they lie 38km and 25km, respectively, away from Oliveto-Citra (Fig. 4.1). The settlements of the Oliveto-Cairano group shared material culture traits even though they were located some distance from each other, and with rivers flowing nearby, communication among these sites likely took place via the Ofanto (close to Cairano and Bisaccia) and Sele (near Oliveto-Citra) river networks. The shared material culture includes the distinctive bronze female *ad arco inflesso* (convex arch) bracelets that completely covered the forearms of those wearing them. The significance of these decorative objects has rarely been explored, and for this reason, I have devoted a

[650] Bailo Modesti 1975 p513, 1980 p57-58, 1982 p241, 1996 p37-38, 2009 p6.
[651] Bailo Modesti 1975 p511-512.
[652] Bailo Modesti 1980 p3.
[653] Bailo Modesti 1980 p3.
[654] Marzullo 1930 p229; Sestieri 1952 p52; D'Agostino 1964 p40-41.
[655] Marzullo 1930 p229; Sestieri 1952 p52.

section to them in §4.1.5. Of further significance is the possibility that these communities were involved in the wool trade, which is discussed in §4.1.6. Our attention will now turn to how the Oliveto-Cairano culture has been treated by modern scholarship.

4.1.2 Hirpinia: Between Insularity and Connectivity

The Oliveto-Cairano culture spread across much of what is the modern microregion of Hirpinia. Scholarship of Campania has included this area in its narrative of the EIA, yet the three settlements discussed here rarely receive the same level of attention as that awarded to other sites in the region. While this is partly explained by geography and historiography, the result is that the Oliveto-Cairano culture occupies a kind of a liminal space, somewhere between insularity and connectivity. It does not help that the location of these settlements high in the mountains on the edge of Campania has caused these communities to be viewed as 'closed,' 'backward,' or 'insular'.[656] Consequently, many studies appear to have been uncertain as to how to treat these Hirpinian communities. Cerchiai and D'Agostino only briefly mention them when discussing the 'princely' tombs and the supposed disparity between the 'Hellenised' coast and the 'primitive' hinterland.[657] Cuozzo only discusses an enclave of individuals from the Oliveto-Cairano culture possibly living at Pontecagnano but ignores the other settlements of Hirpinia.[658] Archaeological handbooks on ancient Italy, such as De Juliis' manual on Magna Grecia and Bietti Sestieri's recent volume on Bronze to Iron Age Italy, have also addressed the Oliveto-Cairano culture, although in the latter case, this only amounts to two pages.[659] In contrast, Bailo Modesti, who specialised in the Oliveto-Cairano culture, and Galasso give these settlements more prominence in the regional narrative.[660] Some of these inconsistencies derive from the way Campania is studied. A series of books published in Italian by Longanesi focused on specific cultural groups in Italy mentioned by ancient sources. However, the Oliveto-Cairano culture finds no real place in such volumes on Campania by Cerchiai or the Samnite or Lucanian areas by Tagliamonte and Pontrandolfo Greco, respectively.[661] Where it is discussed, it receives a very brief mention at best. The Oliveto-Cairano culture falls within a gap in scholarship and there is a clear sense of liminality in how this cultural

[656] Marzullo 1930 p249; D'Agostino 1964 p94-99; Cuozzo 2003, 2007 p240.
[657] D'Agostino 1988 p543-544; Cerchiai 1995 p91-94, 2010 p45.
[658] Cuozzo 2003 p219-223, 2007 p227 & p240-244.
[659] De Juliis 1996 p58-61& 111-113; Bietti Sestieri 2019 p309-310.
[660] Bailo Modesti 1982, 1996; Galasso 2005 p41-64.
[661] Cerchiai 1995 p91-94; Pontrandolfo Greco 1982 p36-41, p45-56; Tagliamonte 2005.

group is currently treated. I believe this to derive from the position of the modern micro-region of Irpinia (ancient Hirpinia), which lies somewhere between Campania and Puglia. Alongside liminality exists a clear sense of insularity that characterises both modern and ancient Hirpinia.

The concept of insularity is inextricably linked to the study of islands and isolation, both deriving from the Latin root *insula* (an 'island' or an apartment block).[662] Islands and mountain areas have frequently been viewed as "distinct 'closed' worlds, ideal locations for the extraordinary and the bizarre" but simultaneously marked by connectivity.[663] Such places occupy a space between worlds, and isolation may often be an externally applied *topos* based on a perceived distance in geographic or cultural terms or self-imposed by the islanders themselves.[664] By virtue of being mountain communities, the Oliveto-Cairano settlements may appear, like other mountain areas, "...bleak, windy and cold...dissected and impenetrable, a barrier to communication."[665] Yet, these stereotypes often overlook the high degrees of connectivity that characterised mountain communities in the ancient world.[666] The potential for connectivity is rarely acknowledged in scholarship of Campania, with the Oliveto-Cairano culture often portrayed as an isolated society that actively opposed Greek material culture. This notion of insularity and resistance to Greek culture marks the academic work on both the Iron Age and later phases of the Oliveto-Cairano culture and will therefore be questioned in this chapter.

The modern micro-region of Irpinia, where the Oliveto-Cairano communities are located, has associations with the Hirpini, who are generally believed to be one of the four Samnite tribes that migrated to the area from Sabina in Lazio.[667] This places the territory of the Hirpini and, by association, the Oliveto-Cairano culture in the Samnite sphere of influence. Still, the three settlements covered in this chapter receive little attention in the discussion of the Samnite Wars with Rome during the 4th century BC. Although this lies outside the chronological parameters of this thesis, it is important to note that little research has been undertaken on this period of history in

[662] Knapp 2008 p18.
[663] Constantakopoulou 2007 p2; Braudel 1972 p160-161 argued for many places on land having the same character as islands.
[664] Constantakopoulou 2007 p3; Knapp 2008 p15-18.
[665] Horden/Purcell 2000 p80.
[666] Horden/Purcell 2000 p80-82; Broodbank 2013 p67.
[667] Tagliamonte 2005 p3-21.

Hirpinia.[668] Such oversight most likely results from this area of Campania being viewed as a cultural backwater. D'Agostino characterised Hirpinia as backward, a laggard compared to the coast, and a culturally closed area when discussing the lack of Greek imports at Oliveto-Citra.[669] The assumption that Oliveto-Citra was impervious to the cultural trends along the Tyrrhenian has been extended to Hirpinia as a whole. Cuozzo views these communities as conservative, characterised by "social control, uniformity, persistence and prohibitions...possibly connected with the building of a contrastive ethnic and social identity" in a reaction against the Hellenising traits of the Tyrrhenian.[670] Of the three sites explored here, far more attention has been awarded to Bisaccia and Cairano, while Oliveto-Citra has been frequently overlooked in studies of Campania. However, I will demonstrate that these communities were far from isolated or backward; instead they were fully involved in local networks similar to those at Pontecagnano, as discussed in Chapter 3.

4.1.3 Oliveto-Cairano Culture: Sampling Issues

One major problem with any attempt to understand the Iron Age in Hirpinia is the dataset (Appendix II.1). All three sites have yielded cemeteries dating to this period, but unfortunately, numerous gaps exist in the evidence, and none of the sites has a continuous series of tombs running from the 10th to 6th centuries BC. An inconsistent sample has undoubtedly led to these diverse, scattered settlements being studied as a single culture. While I believe this approach to be flawed, I also recognise that there is no alternative if this part of the region is to be included in this study. In order to compare the datasets of Hirpinia and sites, such as Pontecagnano, the three Oliveto-Cairano sites will be merged in a single sample. While this precludes a direct comparison due to the inconsistencies in publication, this study nonetheless represents the first attempt at quantifying the data from these three sites to examine strong and weak ties.

It is still necessary to remain aware of the problems with the sample across the Oliveto-Cairano culture and to highlight how it is to be studied. The cemetery at Bisaccia remains unpublished, and although a number of tombs are displayed in its museum, they represent a fraction of the 150 tombs that were reportedly excavated.

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[668] For Salmon 1988 p225 the archaeological evidence for these Hirpini is visible from the 6th century BC but ignores the Oliveto-Cairano culture. Scopacasa 2015 p69-70, p98-100 briefly discusses these communities and their relationship to Samnium.
[669] D'Agostino 1964 p99.
[670] Cuozzo 2007 p243, 2016.

Moreover, only a selection of the grave goods is displayed for some burials, while others lack any information on their chronology. The analysis in this chapter is based on 36 tombs on display with a clear date and what appears to be a complete set of grave goods. Being unpublished, the Bisaccia data is potentially incomplete, and to account for this, the material will be awarded a 0.5 weighting when included in the UCINET network program. The use of such weighting is expedient for reducing this cemetery's quantitative impact on this case study. However, it also leaves scope for assessing and refining the possible methods that allow such compromised datasets to be included. Due to the prominence of the 'princely' t.66 at Bisaccia in the regional narrative, this burial will be examined in its own section, similar to the 'princely' tombs at Pontecagnano. As stated above, it is rather inconvenient that the tomb samples from the sites diverge: Bisaccia has tombs from the earliest phases and none from the later ones, Cairano has burials from the earliest phases and only one tomb from the 7th to 6th centuries, and Oliveto-Citra also has most of its funerary contexts dating from the 7th to 6th centuries BC. The generally inconsistent sample across the three settlements means that they cannot be studied following the same phases as at Pontecagnano. Therefore, the Oliveto-Cairano settlements have been grouped into two phases: phase I dating from 900-699 BC and phase II from 699-500 BC. This strategy will provide a larger sample for the two phases and a better comparison with the other case studies in this thesis. While non-funerary evidence is available from Cairano, it is not studied here for consistency with the rest of the sample where only funerary contexts are examined.[671]

4.1.4. Oliveto-Cairano 900-550 BC: Current Interpretations

Bisaccia, Cairano, and Oliveto-Citra are incorporated into a regional narrative that promotes an evolutionary development towards complexity. In contrast to Pontecagnano, this group is characterised as insular and lagging behind the settlements on the coast. Some discussion has concentrated on the status of these communities, especially with regard to whether they were scattered villages or centralised settlements,[672] but the prevailing view is that these sites never reached the proto-urban status of the Etruscan settlements in Campania.[673] Such a hypothesis is partly based on the lack of Greek imports in the Oliveto-Cairano cemeteries until the 6th century BC and

[671] Galasso 2005 p52-54.
[672] Cuozzo 2007 p240; D'Agostino 1988 p543; Bailo Modesti 1996 p33, 2009 p6.
[673] Bailo Modesti 1996 p35; D'Agostino 1988 p543.

has led to the notion that Hirpinia had no links with the Campanian plain.[674] Cuozzo argues instead that these were conservative communities that rejected the Hellenising traits of the Tyrrhenian coast through 'silent resistance'.[675] As she observes, the typical Oliveto-Cairano ceramics and metalwork do not appear until the late 8th century BC, meaning that this cultural group was a creation of the late 8th to early 7th century BC, a reaction against the Hellenising coast that instilled a degree of conservatism in Hirpinia.[676] However, her hypotheses are based solely on funerary evidence and the idea that this was an isolated part of the region cannot be sustained on grave goods alone. Cuozzo's theory of the creation of an entirely new culture is never explained and it does not seem to fit with the earliest evidence for the Oliveto-Cairano group, which dates to the early 9th century BC and was found in t.3 at Cairano.[677] This tomb had the corpse lying in a crouched/flexed (*rannicchiato*) position, something which has been associated with the Iapygians from Southern Puglia, due to this shared practice.[678] Bailo Modesti concedes that this may be an exceptional burial as the cemetery has not been fully explored but does not provide further evidence for this Iapygian connection.[679]

Of further interest is Bailo Modesti's other migration hypothesis according to which this culture has its roots on the eastern Adriatic in the Balkans, from where its people migrated to Campania.[680] Bailo Modesti connected the shape of the *anforetta ad ansa complessa* to various sites in the Balkans[681], and the *a doppio spirale* type *fibula* and the distinctive bronze bracelets of *ad arco inflesso*, which are the most characteristic elements of the Oliveto-Cairano culture, to the Illyrian area of the Balkans[682] Because of these affinities Bailo Modesti argued that this group originally emigrated from the Balkans to the Adriatic coast of Italy before settling in Hirpinia.[683] While his theory is not fully supported by current evidence, it is undeniable that these particular objects have affinities with the material culture of the Balkan coast of the Adriatic. For example, Iaia, Nijboer and Gleba have all noted more recently the similarities in female costumes

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[674] De Juliis 1996 p61.
[675] Cuozzo 2007 p241, 2003 p221-222, 2016 p25.
[676] Cuozzo 2007 p240-241, 2016 p25.
[677] Pescatori Colucci 1971 p517-518; Bailo Modesti 1996 p33-35; Galasso 2005 p52.
[678] Pontrandolfo Greco 1982 p37; D'Agostino 1988 p543-544; Galasso 2005 p51; Cuozzo 2007 p240; Cerchiai *et al.* 2013 p82.
[679] Bailo Modesti 1996 p35.
[680] Bailo Modesti 1975 p513, 1982 p241, 1996 pp37-38 2009 p6; De Juliis 1996 p59; D'Agostino 1988 p543-544.
[681] Bailo Modesti 1980 p57-58 also p204 connects this vessel shape to Vergina, Maria Rast, Saraj, Starčevo and Dobrače (in the Bronze Age), Nin (in the Liburnian phases of the Iron Age) Titovo Uzice and Jagodnja Gornja.
[682] Bailo Modesti 1975 p512, 1982 p241 & p247, 1996 p36-40.
[683] Bailo Modesti 1975, 1982, 1996, 2009.

(*fibulae*, bracelets, headdress, textiles) from the central-South Balkans, South-East Italy and the area that is now Basilicata (Fig. 4.2).[684]

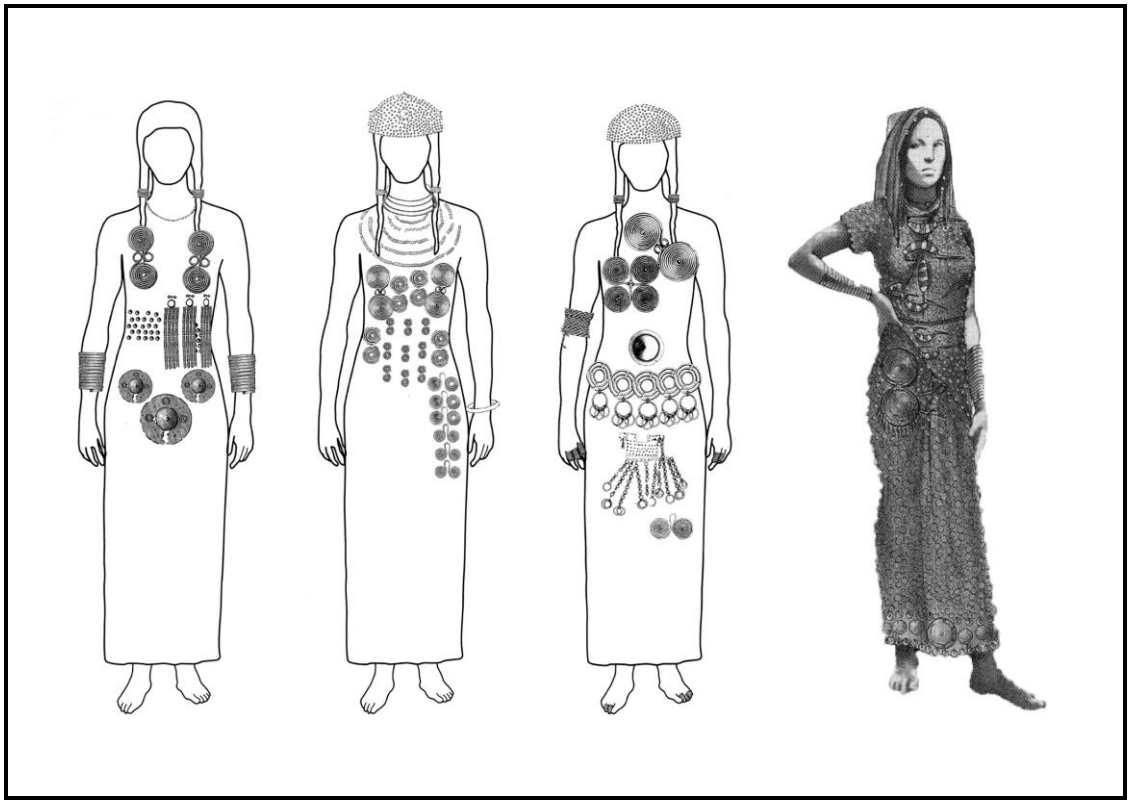

Fig. 4. 2. Female funerary costumes from (left to right) Macedonia, Slovenia, Metaponto and Bisaccia (adapted from Nijboer (2010) p5 fig. 2 and Galasso/Fariello (2008) p.30)

Although they exclude Hirpinia from this, the female tombs of the Oliveto-Cairano sites may be assimilated to the burials in Macedonia and Slovenia along with sites in Eastern and Southern Italy (Marche, Picenum, Daunia, and Enotria/Lucania). Iaia explains this *koine* in terms of political intermarriage along the Adriatic coast, which is a sign of group alliances of a familial or tribal size, whereas Nijboer links it to the amber trade network that connected Adriatic Italy with Illyria, Dalmatia, the Hallstatt sphere, and the Baltic.[685] As discussed in Chapter 2, the majority of the Iron Age amber found in Italy is of Baltic origin, although local deposits may also have been accessed in Southern Italy.[686] The site of Verucchio in Northern Italy was key to this trans-Adriatic trade, and Nijboer links Verucchio with possible migrations from the Balkans into the southern Adriatic coast of Italy from the late 9th century BC.[687] He also notes that while amber was moving down the peninsula from Northern Europe, the gradual adoption of iron in 9th century Italy was moving in the opposite direction, from

[684] Iaia 2007 p34-36; Nijboer 2010 p4-6; Gleba 2017b p1218, 2017a p23.
[685] Nijboer 2010 p7-9.
[686] Nijboer 2010 p8.
[687] Nijboer 2010 p4-7.

south to north.[688] Despite the absence of the Oliveto-Cairano communities from the discussion on the Adriatic *koine*, I believe they should be considered an important part of this shared culture. As we shall see, Bailo Modesti argued that women in the Oliveto-Cairano communities played a role in the wool trade with Daunia (a region located on the SE Adriatic coast of Italy), which is another factor that may have contributed to this *koine*.[689] However, the exact origins of these Hirpinian communities remain open to debate.

Some discussions involve speculation as to whether these communities were centralised settlements or scattered villages, with opinion tending more toward the latter.[690] Such a view is often based upon evidence from the cemeteries, and since these burial grounds rarely show any signs of overcrowding, it is assumed that there was no shortage of land. Consequently, these communities are seen as simple farming societies marked by egalitarianism, whose land was cultivated merely for subsistence purposes.[691] This idea of simplicity is also supported by the lack of differentiation between male and female grave goods at both Bisaccia and Cairano.[692] The typical ceramic service in the earliest tombs was a large biconical vase intended for storage purposes and a smaller pouring vessel; only rarely was there a third vessel, but either way, this ceramic set was afforded to males and females alike.[693] Decorative objects were rare across burials for both genders, but female ornaments, such as bracelets, necklaces, small bronze buttons, rings and spirals, were discovered.[694] The only other objects commonly found in the burials were either a single weaving tool for females or a weapon or razor for males.[695] It is also argued that there were no specialised artisans during this early phase and that pottery and bronze were produced domestically.[696]

While evidence for social differentiation is lacking, some special considerations appear to have been given to younger members of the community. Although they were allowed access to formal burial from the earliest phase of the cemeteries, such individuals had a liminal status. The graves of the new-borns and infants include few grave goods, and the adult ceramic service is notably absent.[697] Yet such burials often have an oversized 'adult' object that is out of place for a child, for example large 'male'

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[688] Nijboer 2010 p10-17.
[689] Bailo Modesti 1996 p45-46.
[690] D'Agostino 1988 p543; Bailo Modesti 1996 p33, 2009 p6; Cuozzo 2007 p240.
[691] Bailo Modesti 1982 p243, 1996 p35, 2009 p7; Galasso 2005 p51.
[692] Galasso 2005 p55; Bailo Modesti 1975 p512, 1982 p241-243, 1996 p36.
[693] Bailo Modesti 1996 p36, 1975 p512, 1988 p242.
[694] Bailo Modesti 1982 p241, 1996 p36.
[695] Bailo Modesti 1982 p243, 1996 p36.
[696] Bailo Modesti 1996 p35.
[697] Bailo Modesti 1982 p243-245, 1996 pp36-37.

fibulae or weaponry. These objects were not the personal possessions of the deceased but were probably owned by family members or the child's parents. Exemplary in that respect is Bisaccia t.33, the only *enchytrismos* burial outside the Greek settlements in the region. This child was interred with a lancehead, an iron blade (possibly a knife), and an oversized serpentine *fibula*.[698] With regards adolescent burials, they normally only feature a single pot from the adult ceramic set (a *tazza*) but are denied the biconical vase reserved for adult males.[699] Such differences are attributed to younger individuals not having achieved full status in the community and being only awarded an identity in death through their father.[700]

The simple goods in the early graves have thus fostered the interpretation of this being a community with little contact with the outside world. Writing in 1964, D'Agostino described these communities as undergoing "un lungo attardamento" when compared to the Tyrrhenian coast. Furthermore, because the Oliveto-Cairano sites yielded no Greek pottery, "si tratta quindi di un ambiente culturalmente chiuso."[701] This interpretation has generally been upheld. As seen above, Cuozzo recently put forward the idea that Hirpinia was culturally conservative or was reacting against contact with the Greeks by accentuating its local identity.[702] She uses Scott's notion of 'silent resistance' (a theory applied to understand power structures in Malaysia) to suggest that the Oliveto-Cairano cultures reacted against Greek culture.[703] However, her ideas are strongly based on Pontecagnano and tend to overlook evidence from Hirpinia itself.

Despite the notion of this being a closed environment, the Oliveto-Cairano communities are believed to have gone through a period of increased wealth, which subsequently led to social stratification around the end of the 8th century BC a period referred to as the *seconda età del ferro*.[704] While funerary assemblages do show a higher number of vessels and *fibulae*,[705] this view of greater wealth across the culture is very much based on evidence from Bisaccia only. The tombs there show how male and female grave goods changed; male tombs contain vessel shapes connected to a desire to display agricultural wealth, while some female tombs now include imported ceramics from nearby Daunia.[706] Bailo Modesti argued that males preferred to represent

[698] Bailo Modesti 1975 p512, 1996 p37, 1982 p243-245.
[699] Bailo Modesti 1996 p36.
[700] Bailo Modesti 1982 p245-246, 1996 p37.
[701] D'Agostino 1964 p94, p99.
[702] Cuozzo/Pellegrino 2016 p119-120; Cuozzo 2016 p16-26, esp. p25.
[703] Scott 1985.
[704] Bailo Modesti 1982 p246-247, 1996 p37; Pontrandolfo Greco 1982 p37; D'Agostino 1988 p543.
[705] Bailo Modesti 1982 p246, 1996 p37-39, 2009 p8-9; Galasso 2005 p51.
[706] Bailo Modesti 2009 p8-9.

themselves as guarantors of the group by refuting decorative objects and imports, both of which are present in female graves.[707] The increase in wealth is most clearly seen in t.66 at Bisaccia, which dates to the last quarter of the 7th century BC, but it is questionable to what extent this increased wealth is representative of the whole community (§4.1.4). At this stage, Bisaccia is seen as the most important site in Hirpinia, which Bailo Modesti links to the wool trade with Daunia. He believes that the wealth following this trade led to the emergence of élite females, often weavers, including the female in t.66.[708] Evidence from Cairano of a later date enters the narrative and is used to argue that Bisaccia lost its prominence and was replaced by Cairano as the most important site in Hirpinia. At Cairano, the élite apparently 'emerged' and then separated from the rest of the community. According to Bailo Modesti, this move included building a palace on the hill at Cairano and imposing a trade levy on all commercial traffic in the Ofanto river valley below.[709] Yet even at this stage the idea of this area being closed off to the outside world persists. Ridgway notes the persistence of certain ceramic and bronze types for two centuries at Cairano (after their disappearance elsewhere) and the lack of urban status in the 5th century BC. He explains the "survival of social structures of this frankly rustic [group of communities]" as a result of their remote location, which was "in the depths of the rural interior."[710] In the late Archaic period, the region underwent changes associated with the arrival of the Samnites, which Bailo Modesti terms a "reorganisation." Although he does not explain what happened to the Oliveto-Cairano culture after this Samnite reorganisation of Hirpinia, he believes that the Oliveto-Cairano *ethnos* did not die out but was absorbed into the Samnite one; however, these developments lie outside the scope of this study.[711]

4.1.5 The Significance of the *Ad Arco Inflesso* Bracelets

These being among the most characteristic objects of the Oliveto-Cairano culture, it is worthwhile reviewing the nature and significance of the *ad arco inflesso* bracelets frequently found on the arms of deceased adult females. Firstly, it is interesting that there is regularly one more on the right arm than on the left. These items were probably heavy, bulky, and largely immoveable once secured in place. Therefore, wearing these bracelets must have had some significance that cannot be explained by

[707] Bailo Modesti 1996 p40, 2009 p9-10.
[708] Bailo Modesti 1996 p45-46, 2009 p14.
[709] Bailo Modesti 1980 p211, 1996 p48, 2009 p15-16; Galasso 2005 p53.
[710] Ridgway 1992 p124.
[711] Bailo Modesti 1996 p42 2009 p16.

decorative reasons alone.[712] Yet, little explanation has been offered in that regard aside from Bailo Modesti speculating as to whether the females with an odd number of coils in their bracelets may represent an age or life stage category, such as being adult females.[713] Despite the fact that the female wearing these bracelets in t.66 was a child (§4.2.3), an age or life stage interpretation is interesting and may help us to understand the significance of the bracelets.

These objects could be seen as restrictive forms of ornamentation that do not allow a woman to move freely. Elaborate, yet restrictive jewellery is worn by the Padaung (Kayan Lahwi) women of Burma, who from a young age have their necks lengthened by brass coils, which fulfil a traditional role in Kayan Lahwi culture.[714] Similarly, the South Ndebele peoples of Africa wear metal rings around their necks, arms, and ankles as part of their traditional dress to indicate wealth and status. The copper and brass rings worn around the wrists, neck, and legs are called *dzilla*, and they rings are restricted to married women only.[715] These items are traditionally made by husbands as a wedding present for their new brides and are not to be removed until his death.[716] Such exclusivity reduces these women to a position of ownership by their men, and a thin line exists between bodily objects designed to incapacitate or denote ownership and those recognised as ornamental. Therefore, some necklaces, anklets, and bracelets may have the same function as a ball and chain, handcuffs, and slave collars, namely to reduce an individual's ability to move.[717] As Ross Russell noted, jewellery "is frequently used to emphasise the differences between the male and female body for the purpose of social interaction."[718] Moreover, the physical transformation the Padaung (Kayan Lahwi) and Ndebele women undergo by wearing these ornaments (Fig. 4.3) demonstrates the deliberate targeting of the neck, head and legs as areas to control. Furthermore, their "limbs and head, the loci of motion, sight and thought, are colonised and disabled. Women not only cannot run, they cannot turn their heads or control their own senses of sight, smell, taste".[719] Jewellery also serves to symbolise the ownership of sexuality, which is another area often controlled and dictated by men.[720]

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[712] Galasso 2005 p51.
[713] Bailo Modesti 2009 p12.
[714] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/7215182.stm accessed February 2014. Waddington, R. 2002, http://www.peoplesoftheworld.org/text?people=Karen accessed February 2014.
[715] On "ndebele traditional dress" https://www.vukuzenzele.gov.za/ndebele-traditional-dress accessed September 2017.
[716] Howard 2008 p355-356.
[717] Ross Russell 2010 p12.
[718] Ross Russell 2010 p14.
[719] Ross Russell 2010 p17.
[720] Ross Russell 2010 p21-32.

Fig. 4. 3. Women from the Padaung Kayan Lahwi (top l-r) and the South Ndebele communities and their jewellery (adapted from peoplesoftheworld.org and vukuzenzele.gov.za)

Whether similar male ownership of women lies behind the use of the Oliveto-Cairano bracelets is unknown. Yet, females clearly had some power in the community since only they were buried with imports (e.g., Daunian pots below). The *ad arco inflesso* form is also referred to as heartshaped (*cuoriforme*) in Italian, which may suggest some type of adornment alongside a possible marker of age, gender, status (female, married, adult), or ownership. Similar to these objects is the neck ring (*goliera*) in t.110, which closely mirrors Celtic torques. It is feasible that the arms and necks of the Oliveto-Cairano women were loci of motion, sight, and thought to be colonised and disabled or viewed as surfaces to be written on only by males, denoting personal property. Rather than negate this idea, the exclusive presence of Daunian imports in female tombs may further substantiate it.

Norman has recently studied the limestone stelae dating to late 7th to mid-5th centuries BC from Daunia. These stelae frequently present an anthropomorphic form

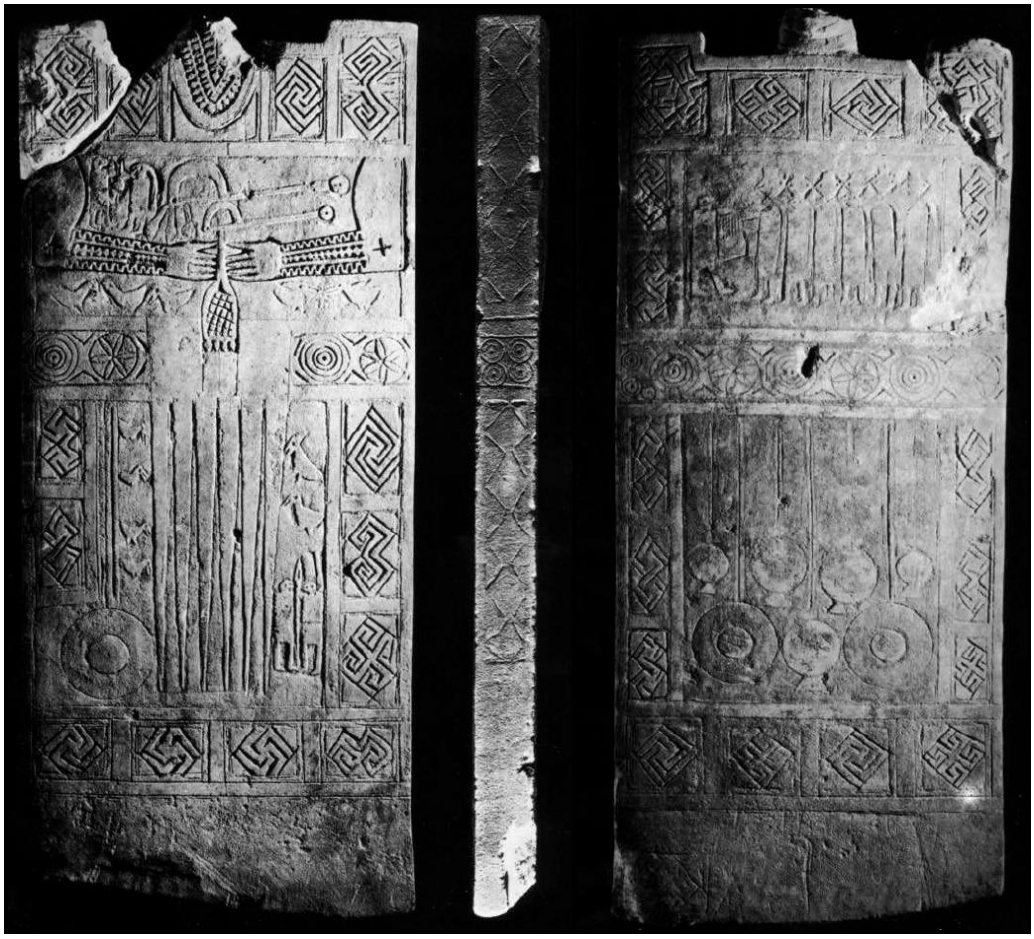

Fig. 4. 4. Female Daunian stela with tattooed arms (from Norman (2011b) p135, fig.3)

with incised decoration reminiscent of robes and textiles.[721] Many of them have incised arms and hands resting on the chest area of the anthropomorphic figures, while the central panel of the dress they wear features carved scenes of food production, cult activity, hunting, and weaving (Fig. 4.4).[722] As seen above, there are potentially close connections between Daunia and the Oliveto-Cairano culture, a contact which has been linked to the wool trade. Given that weaving is often seen as a female activity in Italy, it is possible that the stelae depicting weaving represented women.[723] Furthermore, the stelae were probably élite funerary markers intended to depict the customs, rites, and cosmological views of the Daunians.[724] These female stelae often incorporated what appear to be either gloves or tattoos on their lower arms, but Norman is more inclined to view them as tattoos.[725] Comparing them to ethnological evidence, she argues that in Daunian society, which is likely to have been unstratified society, these tattoos were "done at the onset of menstruation and indicate that a girl has become a woman, that

[721] Norman 2009, 2011a, 2011b and 2016.
[722] Norman 2009 p48.
[723] Gleba 2009 p72; Norman 2011a p42.
[724] Norman 2011b p136.
[725] Norman 2011b p151.

she is of age and is fertile."[726] The nearby region of Daunia has a close connection with weaving and the women there appear to have undertaken permanent transformations of the body to reflect rites of passage or stages of life. With the Oliveto-Cairano culture also having a connection with weaving and the wool trade, the *bracciali ad arco inflesso* may have held a similar significance for the Hirpinian communities although the female in Bisaccia t.66 is now understood to have been a very young child (§4.2.3). If Norman's interpretation of Daunian tattooes being linked to a female coming of age can be applied to the women in Hirpinia, then t.66 either presents an exception to this rule or an example of how a single interpretation of these *bracciali* is not sufficient. Although the exact nature of these objects remains unconfirmed until further publication of the cemeteries of Hirpinia, Norman's work offers a useful parallel to the question of female identity within the Oliveto-Cairano culture.

4.1.6 Women and the Wool Trade

As discussed in §2.3, wool was used to produce textiles in Europe from the 2nd millennium BC.[727] In Italian Iron Age contexts, Vida Navarro proposed the use of 'weaver' in place of female gender as it offered a more neutral term for archaeologists.[728] Even if the term 'weaver' is used to replace the words 'woman' or 'female' with regard to ancient identities, it still illustrates how important the task of producing textiles from wool was for the ancient economy. Much of the research undertaken by Gleba has broadened our understanding of women's role in the ancient textile industry, especially in pre-Roman Italy.[729] As stated above, the Oliveto-Cairano culture has been associated with both the wool economy and female weavers. For example, the Daunian imports in the female burials at Bisaccia are associated with the wool trade between Daunia and the Tyrrhenian coast. However, as we shall see, this theory is mainly argued by Bailo Modesti based on Strabo's description of the high quality of the wool in Daunia.[730]

Bailo Modesti viewed women in Hirpinia as expert weavers with highly sought-after skills and connected the Daunian imports at Bisaccia and the Oliveto-Cairano enclave at Pontecagnano with the wool trade.[731] His interpretation characterises

[726] Norman 2011b p152.
[727] Sabatini 2017 p43.
[728] Vida Navarro 1992 p95.
[729] Gleba 2007, 2008, 2012, 2017.
[730] Bailo Modesti 1996 p45; Strabo, *Geog.* §6.3.6 and §6.3.9.
[731] Bailo Modesti 1996 p45-46.

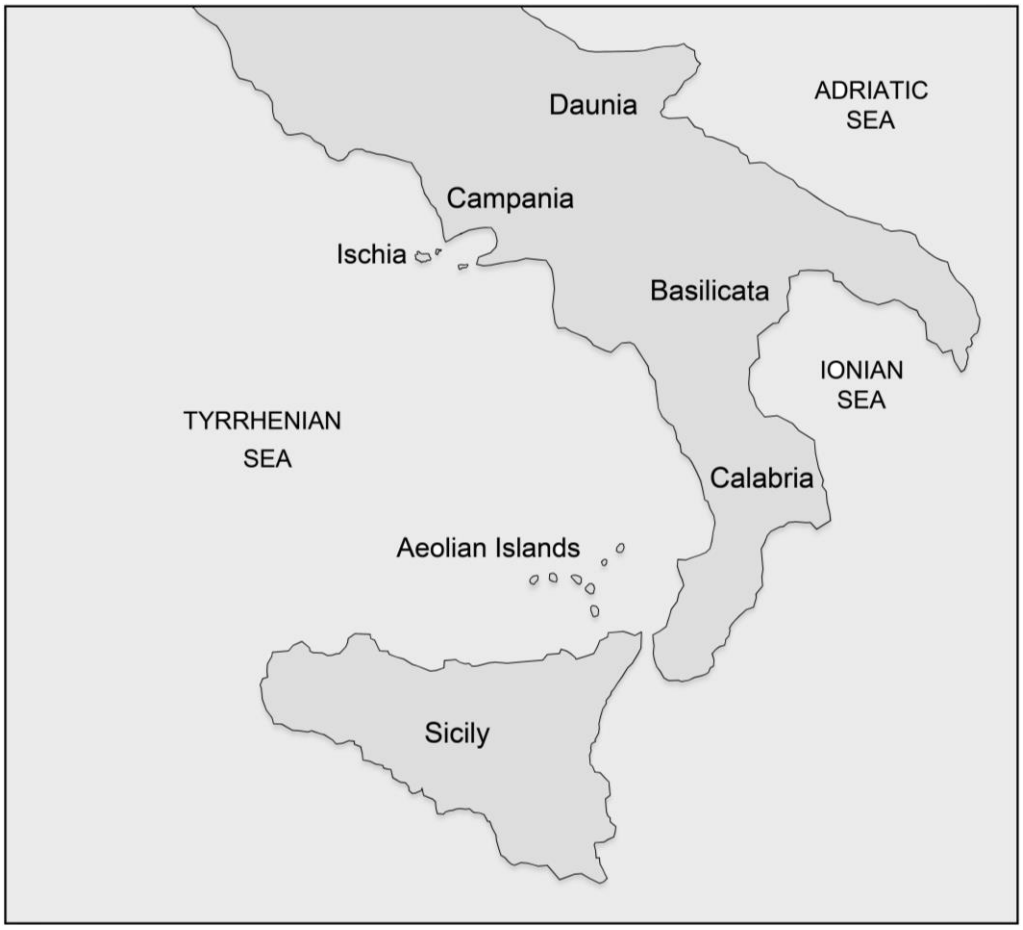

Fig. 4. 5. Map of Southern Italy showing the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic coasts (author: M. Perna)

Hirpinia as an intermediary route through which the wool trade was obliged to pass in order to reach the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic coasts (Fig. 4.5).[732] As will be discussed in this chapter and in Chapter 5, there is evidence of trade between Daunia and Campania in the form of Daunian imports in other sites in Campania (such as the Sarno Valley) which are believed to have first passed through Hirpinia.[733] Recent research from the Sarno Valley site of Poggiomarino has led Pappalardo *et alii* to agree with Bailo Modesti and argue for female textile specialists from Daunia or Hirpinia being present at the site.[734] The possibility of connections between the women in Daunia and the Oliveto-Cairano culture in terms of their bodily decorations, was discussed in the previous section. Although little is known about the history of the Daunians, they are said to have descended from the Iapygians, who in turn probably came from Illyria.[735] Strabo describes the Iapygians as a mixed Celtic and Illyrian tribe, who were tattooed and, as seen above, this area of south-eastern Italy was in close contact with the Balkans

[732] De Juliis 1996 p110-111; Bailo Modesti 1996 p45.
[733] Cerchiai 1995 p93-94.
[734] Pappalardo *et al.* 2011 p25; Bailo Modesti/Gobbi 2010.
[735] Norman 2011b p146 who cites De Juliis 1988 p10-15.

from at least Mycenaean times.[736] The connections between the Balkans, Daunia and the Oliveto-Cairano culture make Bailo Modesti's hypothesis of an Illyrian origin for the Oliveto-Cairano culture extremely persuasive. However, caution is warranted as this shared material culture may not necessarily indicate a shared ethnicity. Furthermore, Bailo Modesti's idea that wool and textile workers from Daunia and Hirpinia were moving west is based on Strabo's description of the wool in Daunia. Yet, Strabo only mentions the quality of the wool and does not directly connect this with a trans-Adriatic trade, which is arguably not enough to sustain Bailo Modesti's theory. Neither does Strabo mention that the women of Daunia or Hirpinia were renowned weavers. As discussed in §2.3, Gleba feels that spinning rather than weaving should be seen as women's work, and the presence of weaving tools in a grave should indicate the identity of a specialist textile worker.[737] Sabatini also highlighted how textile tools on their own should not be the sole evidence for the textile production and need further data, such as animal bones to confirm such activities. Therefore, Bailo Modesti's ideas require caution in their application here.

Nevertheless, it remains feasible that wool from Daunia and female textile workers from both Daunia and Hirpinia moved from the south-east to the south-west coasts of Italy. Although Strabo does not mention the trade of wool or workers from these two places, it is likely that most communities produced their own textiles and therefore exchanged ideas, techniques, resources, and specialist workers with their neighbours. As will be discussed later in this chapter, the metal vessels interred with the deceased female in Bisaccia t.66 have parallels with other vessels at Pontecagnano (t.926 and t.928) and at Lavello (in Basilicata). The location of Bisaccia, Cairano, Oliveto-Citra, and Lavello on hills overlooking the Ofanto-Sele river valleys is noteworthy and suggests that they controlled the communication routes connecting the east and west coasts of Italy.[738] In discussing the metal vessels at Pontecagnano, Bisaccia, and Lavello, Cerchiai argues that they reflect a network of long-distance relationships connected by caravan routes controlled by the local aristocracy and facilitated by the exchange of women through political intermarriage.[739] Indeed, Gleba notes how textiles formed part of dowries or bride prices in political intermarriages, which created links between aristocratic families and served to maintain their powerful

[736] Strabo, *Geog.* §7.5.4; Norman 2011b p146-147.
[737] Gleba 2009 p76.
[738] Pontrandolfo Greco 1982 p55.
[739] Cerchiai 1995 p93.

alliances.[740] Consequently, these links also helped the spread of textiles, tools, textile workers and the transfer of textile-related know-how.[741] In support of the argument for intermarriage in Campania, both Bailo Modesti and Cerchiai cite the unpublished female t.5496 at Pontecagnano dating to the mid-7th century and featuring iron spits, firedogs, and knives.[742] On her arms were the distinctive *bracciali ad arco inflesso* identifying her as a member of the Oliveto-Cairano culture, but her grave goods also featured what has been interpreted as weaving equipment, particularly the type needed for carding the wool.[743] Consequently, Bailo Modesti believes that the women of Bisaccia were central to the wool trade by being expert weavers. Emblematic of this new role was the so-called 'princess' in t.66, who, despite being a very young child appears to symbolise the weaving role held by adult females.[744] The possibility that prominent female textile workers from Hirpinia were involved in the wool trade between Daunia and Campania will therefore be kept in mind when reviewing the data from the Oliveto-Cairano culture.

4.2 Data Analysis

4.2.1 Oliveto-Citra Cairano Culture Phase I (900-699 BC)

Object type	Number	%	Imports	%
Weaving tools	31	12.9%		
Weapons	7	2.9%		
Decorative objects	43	17.7%		
Fibulae	40	16.4%		
Instruments	4	1.6%		
Beads	16	6.6%		
Bracelets (*ad arco inflesso*)	21	8.6%		
Razors	3	3%		
Iron spits	1	0.4%		
Pottery	77	31.7%	2	0.8%
Total	243		2	0.8%
Tombs	36			

Table 4. 1. Total objects for Oliveto-Cairano phase I

The 36 tombs for this first phase included 243 objects, pottery representing the largest category. However, more than half of the assemblage is comprised of other objects, with the number of *fibulae* (40), decorative objects (43), beads (16), and the *ad*

[740] Gleba 2011 p31.
[741] Gleba 2017b p1219.
[742] Bailo Modesti 1996 p45-46; Cerchiai 1995 p94.
[743] Bailo Modesti 1996 p45-46; Gleba 2008 p99.
[744] Bailo Modesti 1996 p46.

arco inflesso bracelets (21) pointing to an obvious desire to decorate the body. While this is a substantial sample, these 36 tombs come from all three sites and date across the 9th-8th centuries. Consequently, this sample is not fully representative of this period nor any of the individual sites. Nevertheless, the composite dataset allows the notion of this culture as isolated and backward to be questioned through the use of SNA, which is the first time this has been attempted for Hirpinia. Except for one burial, all the tombs are simple "a fossa" type inhumations, with the corpse laid out on the floor of the tomb. However, Bisaccia t.33 was the infant *enchytrismos*, thus an exception to the fossa type: it contained an oversized adult *fibula* and a spear head placed with the deceased's remains in an *impasto* biconical *olla*. This is the only known burial of this type within the Oliveto-Cairano culture. Such burials are rare in Campania, with save for the exception of Greek Cuma.[745]

Alongside the infant burial, gender and age information is available on ten other burials, nearly all of them from Bisaccia. Despite skeletal finds being mentioned for the published tombs at Cairano and Oliveto-Citra, no information is provided on gender because many burials were damaged by later activity, such as ploughing and other agricultural endeavours. However, at Oliveto-Citra, gender is only provided for t.7, probably because it had a weaving tool and *ad arco inflesso* bracelets.[746] The museum display at Bisaccia describes five tombs as male (all adults) and two as two female (1 is an adult), while two other adult burials have unknown gender. In this phase, four other tombs include weapons and may be male, while five female burials may be proposed on the basis of *ad arco inflesso* bracelets or weaving tools (Appendix IV.2 for the tomb sample).[747] Amongst these female tombs is Cairano t.21, which has the highest number of beads in the sample (13 pieces).[748] This sample contains seven weapons and 31 weaving (or textile) tools. While the former rarely account for more than one example per tomb, the latter are mainly concentrated in Bisaccia t.76 (10 loom weights and 1 spindle) and Cairano t.13 (11 loom weights and 1 spindle).[749] Interestingly, the supposedly male t.25 at Bisaccia also contains a weaving tool (a spindle whorl). It is problematic that both male and female possess the same status markers, suggesting either an error in the museum display, wrong gender attribution, or an individual of ambiguous gender. Until the cemetery from Bisaccia is published, such an anomaly

[745] Bailo Modesti 1975 p512, 1982 p243-245, 1996 p37.
[746] D'Agostino 1964 p94.
[747] Pescatori Colucci 1971 p502-524; D'Agostino 1964 p77-80.
[748] Pescatori Colucci 1971 p523-524.
[749] T.76 is unpublished, for t.13 see Pescatori Colucci 1971 p505-508.

cannot be fully explained. Similarly, t.11 at Cairano includes both male and female objects (weapons, weaving tools and *ad arco inflesso* bracelets).[750] Pescatori Colucci published the tomb but did not discuss the gender of the deceased, thus ignoring the combination of grave goods that clearly contradicts traditional Italian ideas on gender identities.

It is unfortunate that neither of the two publications on Cairano discusses the gender of the individuals buried in the tombs, especially as Bailo Modesti argues that males and females held equal status in Oliveto-Cairano communities during the EIA.[751] Nevertheless, these early graves are important for the way the development of the Oliveto-Cairano culture is interpreted. For example, as discussed in §4.1.4, Bailo Modesti connected Cairano t.3 to the Iapygian culture (Puglia) due to the corpse being laid out in a crouched/flexed position (*rannicchiato*). This burial is used to support the argument that these individuals migrated to Puglia from Illyria, to which this position is attested.[752] While some connection among the Oliveto-Cairano culture, Illyria, and Puglia is conceivable, it is difficult to sustain on a single tomb from only one of the three sites. Moreover, it is one of merely two burials dating to the first half of the 9th century BC.[753] Therefore, it is likely that the crouched/flexed corpse in t.3 at Cairano is an isolated case. This makes it further apparent that studying this group of communities as a homogenous culture owes much to a culture-history approach to material distributions and presents problems for the determination of gender and ethnic identity.

In terms of how the assemblage is spread across the cemetery, the majority of burials include fewer than ten objects, as in the case of t.20 (Fig. 4.6), which at first glance seems to confirm Bailo Modesti's idea that these were simple societies.[754] Only seven out of 36 tombs had more than ten objects and these date from 850 to 690 BC.[755] Most of the grave goods in these seven tombs consist of decorative objects, weaving tools, and beads, which may indicate that these were female burials. Although pottery represents the largest individual object category across the three sites, a small quantity was deposited at this time and probably means that funerary practices, such as feasting, were limited in scope. Indeed, Bisaccia t.25, has eight pots (one of them is a Daunian import), and no tomb contains more than that number.

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[750] Pescatori Colucci 1971 p502-504.
[751] Bailo Modesti 2009 p7.
[752] Bailo Modesti 1996 p35.
[753] Colucci Pescatori 1971 p517-518, 527-528 t.3; Bailo Modesti 1980 p95 the "Punto Y" tomb at Cairano.
[754] Bailo Modesti 1982 p241, 1996 p36.
[755] Cairano t. 21, t.11, t.13, t.7, Bisaccia t.25, t.76, Oliveto-Citra t.7.

The ceramics were predominantly locally handmade *impasto* wares (65 pots), and there was a small quantity of coarse ware (10 vessels) and imported pots (2). The most common shapes are the *brocca/brocchetta* (13 pots), *scodella/scodellone* (11),

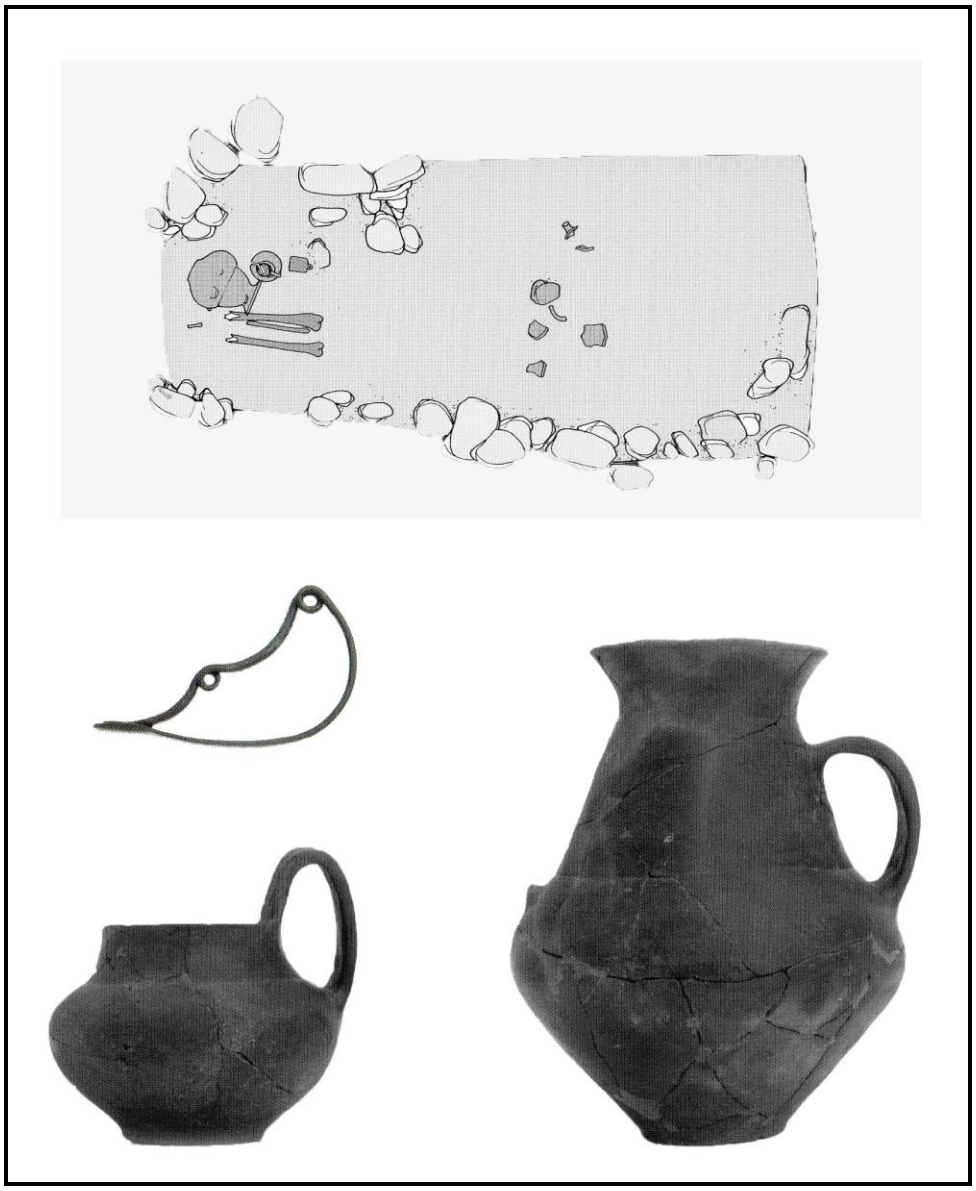

Fig. 4. 6 Bisaccia t.20 and grave goods (adapted from Galasso/Fariello (2008) p10).

olla (9), and *anforetta* (7). As figure 4.7 shows, pouring and drinking vessels accounted for a large portion of the assemblage, but eating and storage/cooking shapes had a relatively high share. The low number of eating vessels suggests that any graveside ceremonies were limited to the consumption of liquids rather than food even though some shapes (such as the *anforetta* and *ciotola*) may have associations with eating. Therefore, if feasting took place during funerals, commensal rites were simple in character. It is interesting that an iron spit was found in Oliveto-Citra t.21 (mid-8th century) as this suggests that meat was possibly roasted at a funerary banquet. The lack of the metal vessels usually associated with this activity means that this isolated example may simply be a random deposition. However, there are other spits in 8th

century Italian burial contexts, such as t.132 at Castel di Decima, which Nijboer views as the earliest find of a spit in Italy. Nevertheless, since t.132 is an isolated example, caution is needed.[756] The standard ceramic set Bailo Modesti identified for this period (an *olla/brocca* and a *tazza/anforetta*) is found in Bisaccia t.20, t.30, t.31, and t.39, while t.37, t.46, and t.76 have a third vessel (a *tazza-attingitoio*, *ciotola-attingitoio*, or *scodellone*).[757]

Alongside the locally produced ceramics are two imported pots *brocchette*, which are connected to pouring (Table 4.2), from nearby Daunia; they were found in Bisaccia t.25 (Fig. 4.8) and t.23 (second half of the 8th century BC and early 7th century BC, respectively). Besides the imported *brocchetta*, t.25 contained eight pots, while t.23 only had three other objects as grave goods with its Daunian import. At the time, Daunian imports were probably not prestige items to display, but they do reflect a network connection with this area. The small juglets may have been used to pour libations to the deceased or distribute liquids at the graveside. These imports were found only at Bisaccia, and since no imports have been discovered in the cemeteries of Cairano and Oliveto-Citra, this culture has been viewed as primitive and isolated.

Import	**Site**	**Tomb**	**Date**	**Provenance**
Brocchetta	Bisaccia	25	Second half of the 8th century BC	Daunia
		23	End of the 8th-early 7th century BC	

Table 4. 2. Oliveto-Cairano phase I imports

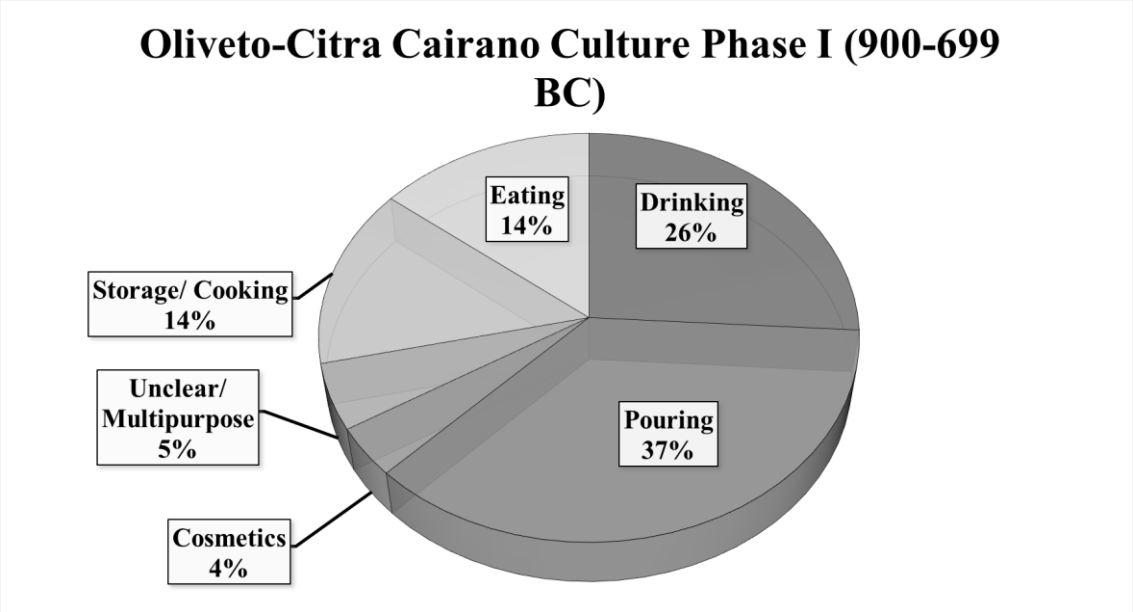

Fig. 4. 7. Pie-chart of the Oliveto-Citra Cairano phase I vessel types

[756] Nijboer 2013 p112.
[757] Bailo Modesti 1975 p512, 1988 p242, 1996 p36.

However, looking at these grave goods solely through the lens of imports and locally produced objects does not offer a complete picture of contemporary interaction. While there are few imported objects, the majority of studies on the Oliveto-Cairano culture have so far ignored the large quantity of imported materials used to make local grave goods. Table 4.3 shows that 55% of the grave goods were made of metals, amber, and glass (*pasta vitrea*). As seen, Campania lacks metal and amber resources, indicating that these materials had to be procured from elsewhere. By overlooking these imported raw materials, scholarship, particularly D'Agostino, has characterised Hirpinia and the Oliveto-Cairano culture as somehow lagging behind the coast, being less advanced than other areas of the region and isolated in cultural terms.[758] Yet the metals and amber acquired by these communities do not support such hypotheses. The nature of Iron Age trade is likely to have been focused on down-the-line rather than direct long-distance exchanges, similar to what Blake has highlighted for Bronze Age Italy.[759] These imported materials potentially originated in the centre or north of Italy (the metal-rich areas of Tuscany and the East Alps) and the Baltic (amber) but circulated the peninsula via localised trade networks. Unfortunately, without scientific sampling of the bronze, iron, and amber, it is difficult to understand where these materials were obtained from, but it is highly probable that no single site provided access to these goods. Pontecagnano on the coast may have been a source of metal, which it obtained through its links to Etruria. The metals from Pontecagnano may have been traded for Daunian wool that passed through Hirpinia. Moreover, as will be seen in Chapter 5, the site of Poggiomarino in the Sarno Valley was working both amber and metals and may have been the source of the imported materials found at Bisaccia, Cairano, and Oliveto-Citra; still caution is required at this stage.

Towards the end of phase I, there is a group of tombs that belong to the *seconda età del ferro* (mid-8th to early 7th century BC), a period that Bailo Modesti argues saw the emergence of an élite, an increase in wealth, and the first signs of social stratification. According to Bailo Modesti, finer purified clay (*argilla*) wares were produced for the first time, but appear later here than elsewhere in Campania.[760] However, he notes that the quality of these finer ceramics is poor as a potter's wheel was not used until the 5th century BC.[761] Handmade *impasto* production retains a high

[758] Marzullo 1930 p249; D'Agostino 1964 p94-99; Cuozzo 2003, 2007 p240.
[759] Blake 2014 esp. p71-76.
[760] Bailo Modesti 1982 p37-38.
[761] Bailo Modesti 1980 p200 at Cairano, 1996 p37-38.

degree of uniformity well into the Archaic period although new shapes emerge.[762] Bailo Modesti highlights the appearance of differences between male and female burials and changes to the ceramic service deposited in tombs of both genders in the late 8th century

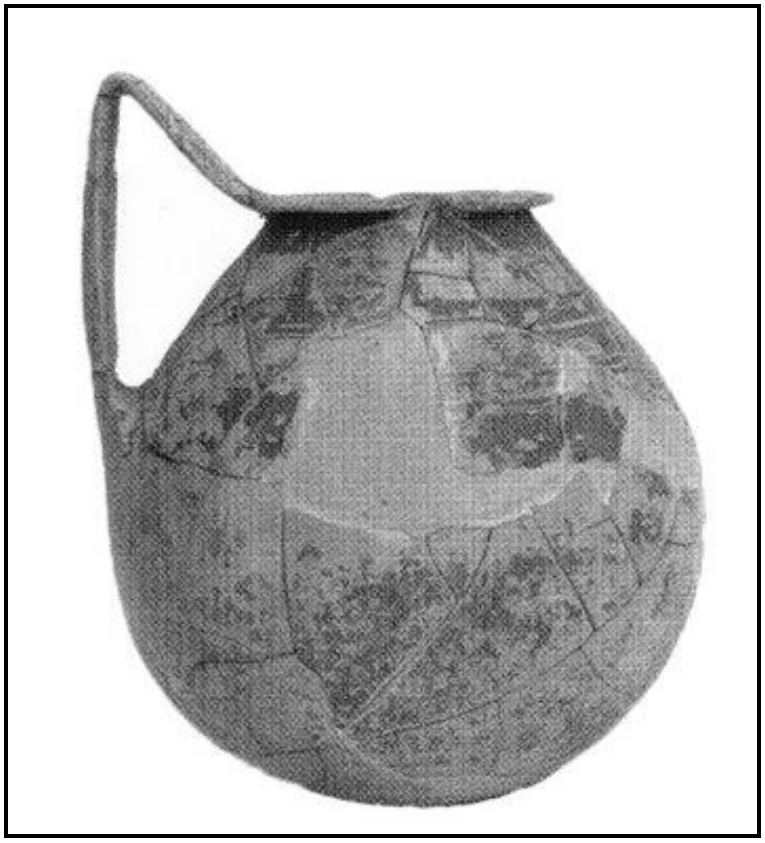

Fig. 4. 8. Bisaccia t.25 imported Daunian *brocchetta* dating to phase I Galasso/Fariello (2008) p15)

Material	**Total**	**%**
Bronze	106	43.6%
Iron	12	4.9%
Amber	15	6.17%
Glass (*pasta vitrea*)	1	0.4%
Total	**134**	**55%**
Total metals	**118**	**48.5%**
Total grave goods	**234**	**100%**

Table 4. 3. Oliveto-Cairano imported materials phase I

BC, when a secondary set appears.[763] The main ceramic service of a large *olla* is now combined with the *attingitoio* but confined to adult males. A secondary service of a *scodellone* and a *ciotola*, *anforetta*, or *brocchetta* is extended to both males and females.[764] Yet despite male graves featuring weapons, they still lack decorative objects, while females are decked out from head to foot in bronze decorations, which include earrings, necklaces, spirals, rings in bronze and iron, and bronze bracelets of the

[762] Cuozzo 2007 p241; Cuozzo/Pellegrino 2016 p119-120.
[763] Bailo Modesti 1982 p247, 1996 p37-39, 2009 p8-9.
[764] Bailo Modesti 1982 p247, 1996 p39.

ad arco inflesso type.[765] As seen above, these distinctive bracelets are regularly found in odd numbers with one extra on either the right or left arm; they were immoveable once in place, perhaps serving as markers of female identity from an early stage and possibly connected to the wool trade (see §4.1.5-4.1.6).[766]

Also notable within the Bisaccia female tombs of this period are the aforementioned Daunian imports, which are lacking from male tombs across this culture. Bailo Modesti believes that males renounced decorative objects and imports, preferring to represent themselves as the guarantors of the continuation of the group identity.[767] With the new ceramic set being confined to males, he also views them as the holders of wealth in the community as they alone could deposit the *olla* in their burials.[768] However, there are only six burials in this sample from the *seconda età del ferro*, and all are from Bisaccia. This raises the question of whether Bailo Modesti's work includes unpublished material from Cairano or Oliveto-Citra. The emergence of the élite and increased wealth he proposes are difficult to identify in the tombs at Bisaccia although t.76 and t.25 do have much higher assemblages than the other tombs in the cemetery. The dataset at Bisaccia is very small and cannot support the hypothesis of greater wealth across the whole culture, nor the emergence of the élite. However, it can be concluded that some tombs at Bisaccia now deposited a higher number of grave goods.

4.2.2 Oliveto-Cairano Culture Phase I network

As the previous section highlighted, locally produced objects comprise 99.2% of the grave goods between 900 and 699 BC. While the two imports from Daunia total a mere 0.8%, they are still evidence of weak ties. Scholarship emphasises how difficult it is to separate the material culture of these three sites defining them as one archaeological culture. Therefore, they probably formed a clique in terms of their material culture. The network in fig. 4.9 was produced using UCINET with Bisaccia awarded a 0.5 factor. The three Oliveto-Cairano sites are closely connected, but only Bisaccia has a long-distance tie with Daunia due to its imports from there. At first glance, this network seems to confirm the interpretation that these settlements were isolated and lagged behind the coastal sites. However, the second graph (Fig. 4.10) challenges the idea that Hirpinia was a backward and isolated place. A considerable

[765] Bailo Modesti 1982 p247-248, 1996 p38-40, 2009 p8-9.
[766] Galasso 2005 p51.
[767] Bailo Modesti 1996 p40, 2009 p9.
[768] Bailo Modesti 1996 p39-40.

quantity of raw materials was imported to produce the grave goods (55%). Each material has a thick or thin line and a large or small node depending on the quantity of grave goods it corresponds to. Access to these materials shows the Oliveto-Cairano culture was not as isolated as current interpretations propose.

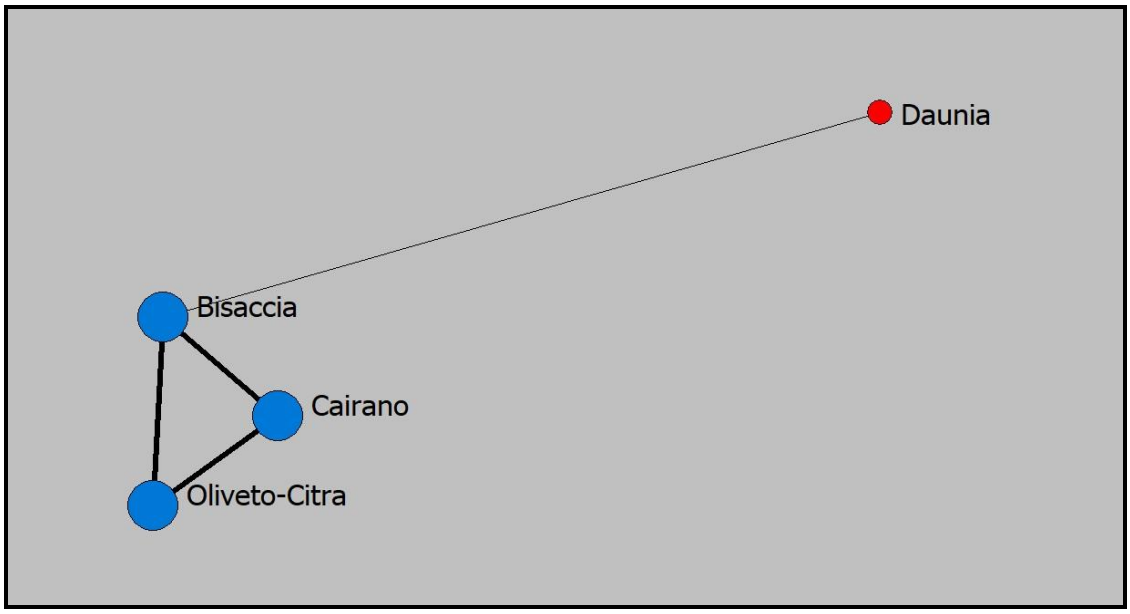

Fig. 4. 9. Oliveto-Cairano network graph showing ties between the three sites and Daunia phase I (using UCINET)

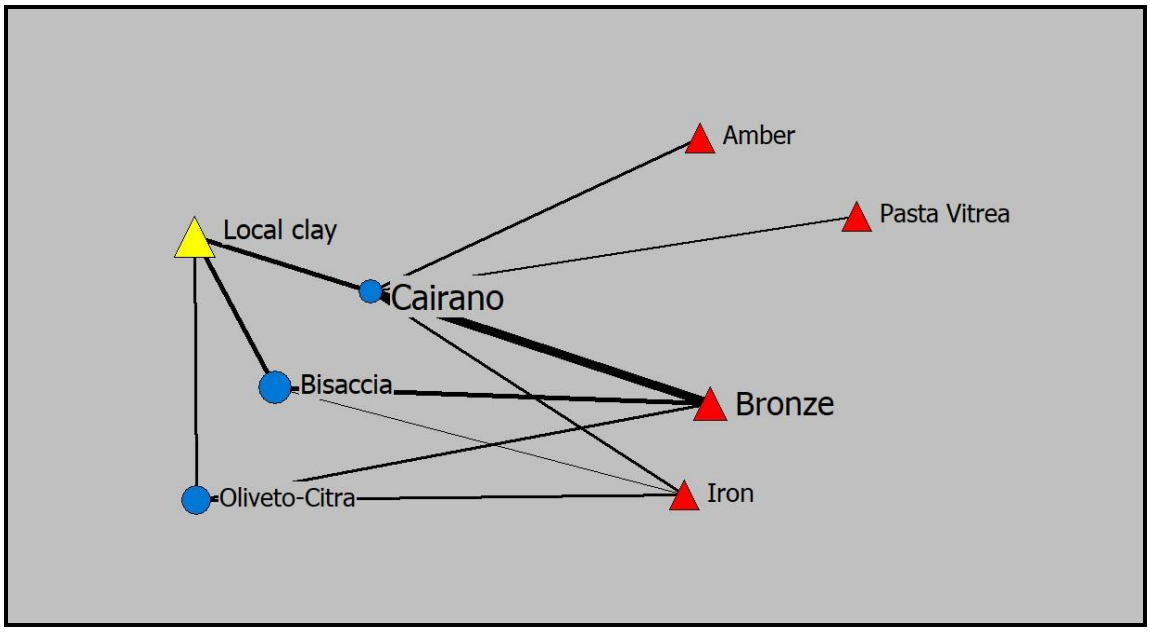

Fig. 4. 10. Oliveto-Cairano network graph showing ties based on imported materials phase I (using UCINET)

4.2.3 Bisaccia Tomb 66 '*La Tomba della Principessa*' (675-650 BC)

Object type	Number	%	Imports	%
Weaving tools	6	6.1%		
Decorative objects	7*	7.1%		
Fibulae	11	11.2%		
Bracelets (*ad arco inflesso*)	51	52%		
Metal vessels	4	4.1%	4	4.1%
Iron spits	3	3.1%		
Pottery	16*	16.4%		
Total	98			
Tombs	1			

Table 4. 4. Bisaccia t.66 total objects

The so-called 'princess' t.66 at Bisaccia is the most ostentatious burial of this culture and dates to the second quarter of the 7th century BC. It is thus coeval to the tombs discussed in the next section but is unfortunately unpublished. The information presented here is taken from the display in the *Museo Civico di Bisaccia*. Regrettably, neither the museum nor the authors discussing t.66 provide a list of the total number of objects. What follows here relies on what has been discerned through visits to the museum since 2010. It is difficult to identify the exact number of the *anforette*, *tazze*, and *ollette* as the tomb is displayed in a reconstruction of how it appeared at the time of its discovery in the 1970s (Fig. 4.11).[769] Since then, the 'princess' has held continued appeal for the local population. Appearing at the Bisaccia summer festival in August 2012, Neapolitan comedienne Loredana Simioli performed as the 'princess' in a replica of her funerary costume. Interviewing local people on stage, she compared life in ancient and modern Bisaccia.[770] Such a reconstruction of the 'princess' as a woman, initially endorsed by the opulence and quality of the objects in her grave, was clearly oblivious of the fact that the remains were those of a girl. As Bailo Modesti later noted, the osteological analyses had indicated this was actually "una bambina di pochi anni di età, sepolta con il vestito di una adulta"[771] Unfortunately, he gave no information on the publication of the osteological data and his article relaying this information was published after his death, making his conclusion difficult to verify.

[769] Bailo Modesti 1996 p40-41, 1982 p8; Pontrandolfo Greco 1982 p46 and Cerchiai 1995 p92-93 do not give numbers for each ceramic shape found.
[770] "Spettacolo di Cabaret Teatro. *La principessa sul Castello*: La vera storia della Principessa di Bisaccia con Loredana Simioli", Wednesday the 8th August 2012, 22:00 at the "Castello Ducale". See http://bisaccia.info/ or http://www.irpiniaturismo.it/eventi/evento.php?id_evento=2157 [both accessed November 2013].
[771] Bailo Modesti 2009 p13.

Fig. 4. 11. Left: t.66 during excavation; middle: reconstruction of female in t.66 (adapted from Bailo Modesti (1982), fig. 2; Galasso/Fariello (2008) 30); right: Loredana Simioli (S. Perna)

From her head down to the hem of her dress, the 'princess' was covered in bronze. Her funerary attire featured an extravagant number of small bronze studs that are impossible to count, and no number is provided on the museum display. A series of prominent oversized *fibulae* were placed on her chest, including the *a doppia spirale* type (Fig. 4.12) and the *ad arco rivestito d'ambra* type that featured large discs of amber.[772] The veil over her head was held in place by a bronze *tutulus*, and her arms were covered by 51 *bracciali con l'arco superiore inflesso* (26 on the right and 25 on the left).[773] The privileged status this female held in the community is evident from both the volume and the quality of the grave goods accompanying her. Not only do they exceed the number found in other female graves, but they are also in stark contrast with the greater simplicity of contemporary male burials. For example, the six weaving tools incorporated into her necklace far exceed the single example given to other females.[774] Furthermore, the presence of three iron spits, which are also only found in t.111 at Bisaccia, shows a link to the globalising traits of the Tyrrhenian.

No data is available on the exact number of pots, but I estimate a total of 16. The *anforette ad anse complesse* (8 or 9) were the most common shape, with *brocche* (5), *attingitoi* (2), and a large *olla* completing the ceramic assemblage. It is interesting to note that this *olla* was normally only reserved for the males in the community.[775] Alongside these ceramics were four bronze vessels imported from Pontecagnano a *phiale baccellata*, a *lebes*, and two *bacini*. These were placed on the deceased's limbs, which indicates her élite status. All four were connected to banqueting, especially the consumption of meat. The ceramic assemblage contained mainly pouring (7) and

[772] Bailo Modesti 1982 p250; Cerchiai 1995 p92.
[773] Bailo Modesti 1982 p250, 2009 p12; Cerchiai 1995 p92; Pontrandolfo Greco 1982 p46, D'Agostino 1988 p543.
[774] Bailo Modesti 1996 p41, Cerchiai 1995 p92-93.
[775] Bailo Modesti 2009 p11.

Fig. 4. 12. *Fibula* and metal vessels from t.66 (from Galasso/Fariello (2008) p.28, 30-31).

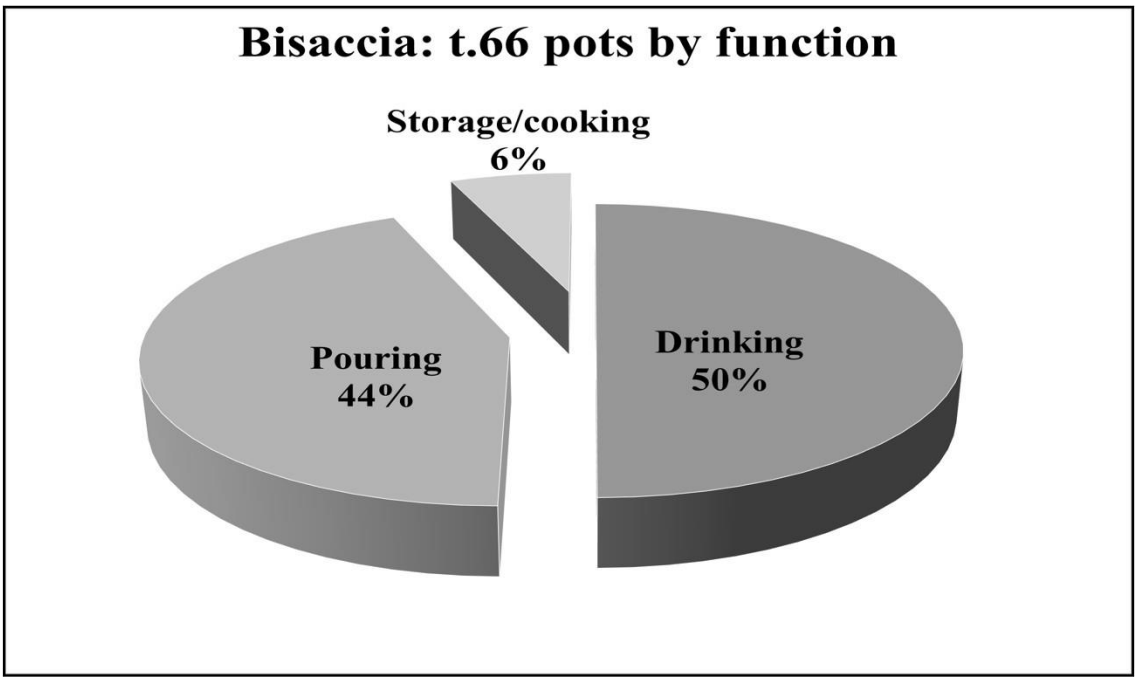

Fig. 4.13. Pie-chart of t.66 pots divided by function

drinking (8) shapes along with a single storage vessel (Fig. 4.13). Although ceramic eating vessels are notably absent, this does not preclude feasting activities around the tomb as the iron spits and metal vessels indicate a ceremony similar to those in the 'princely' burials of Pontecagnano.

The metal vessels clearly evoke the distribution of meat and heroic type cremations discussed in Chapter 3 (Table 4.5). One of those was the *phiale baccellata*, which was studied by Sciacca, but with t.66 being unpublished, he was unable to position it within his typologies.[776] The Homeric myths show a contrast between the roasting of meat on spits and its boiling in cauldrons, reserved respectively for the

[776] Sciacca 2005 p377.

aristocratic warrior and wider community.[777] The bronze vessels in t.66 reflect what Riva calls the "magnitude of the ideological impact of new modes of consumption at the funeral...,"[778] and their deposition suggests that feasting took place during the funeral of this prominent individual. Through the grave goods, the young girl's burial highlights how the local élite manipulated their funerary rites to assert their power.

Import	**Site**	**Tomb**	**Provenance**
Bronze *bacino*	Bisaccia	66	Pontecagnano
Bronze *bacino*			
Bronze *phiale baccellata*			
Bronze *lebes*			

Table 4. 5. Bisaccia t.66 imports.

Furthermore, these metal vessels, which were imported from Pontecagnano,[779] may have been used by the Bisaccia élite to demonstrate their exclusive access to global culture. While possibly unaware that such ideas originated in the Eastern Mediterranean, they may have recognised their connection with Pontecagnano. Nevertheless, these global ideas had implications for the peoples of inland Campania and beyond. It should be noted that similar vessels from Pontecagnano are also present in eminent graves at Lavello (Basilicata). The high status of t.66 is evident from the burial's location in the cemetery, which may have become the site of a funerary cult after the girl's death.

As the cemetery plan shows, t.66 is clearly isolated from the rest of the burials by an enclosure of large stones (Fig. 4.14), and four other burials are found around this enclosure.[780] On one side were the infant burials (t.71 and t.72), next to it was the 'warrior' (t.59), and at the feet were two adult burials (t.67 and t.68), all with modest grave goods. These latter graves are seen as defending the 'princess' figure.[781] The cluster around t.66 is described as a *gentilicial* or *gens* group, which has also been connected to the funerary cult that this female was awarded sometime after her death.[782] Supporting the cult interpretation is the construction of a second stone circle around the tomb and fragments of a *brocca* found nearby that are taken as evidence of continued veneration after the girl's death.[783] However, the evidence of a second enclosure and a single jug, which may have been a random deposition, hardly support a funerary cult.

[777] Riva 2010 p156-158; Detienne 1979 p76-77.
[778] Riva 2010 p149.
[779] Cuozzo 2007 p243.
[780] Bailo Modesti 1996 p40, 1982 p250.
[781] Bailo Modesti 1982 p251-252, 1996 p41-44; Cerchiai 1995 p93.
[782] Cerchiai 1995 p93; Galasso 2005 p57; Pontrandolfo Greco 1982 p49.
[783] Cerchiai 1995 p92; Bailo Modesti 1982 p250, 1996 p40-41, 2009 p12-13; D'Agostino 1988 p543-544.

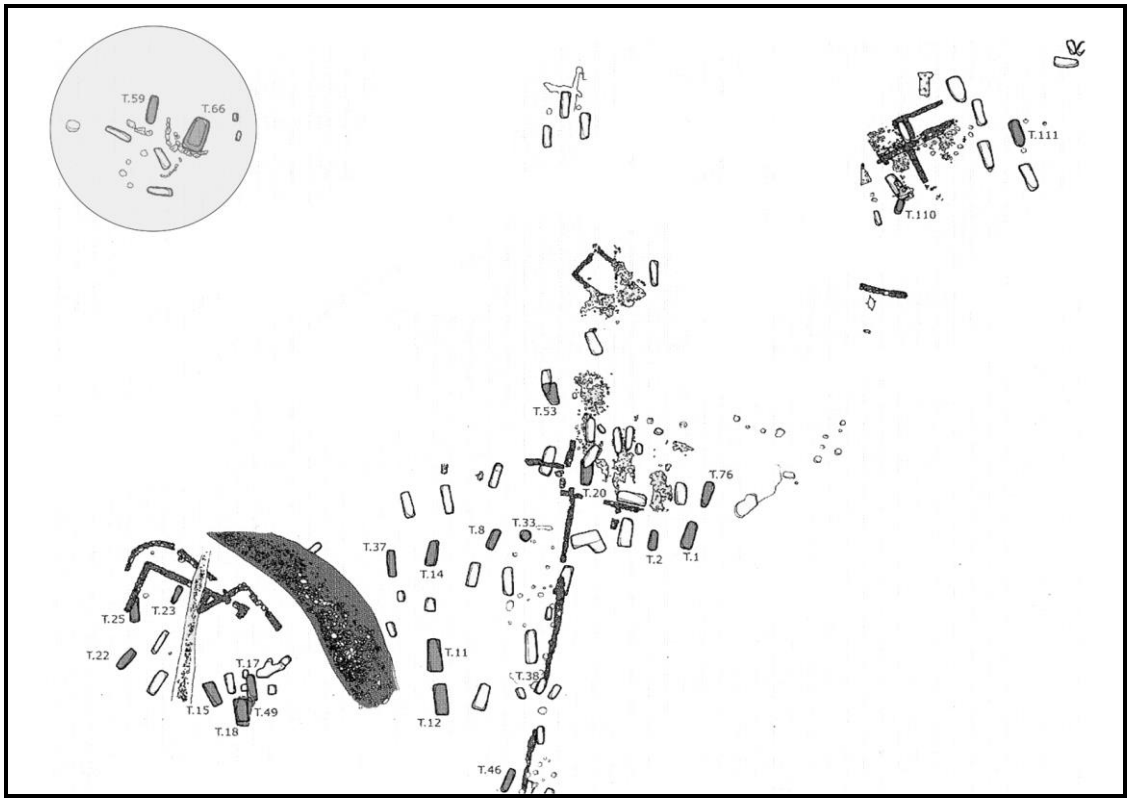

Fig. 4.14. Bisaccia cemetery plan with t.66 and t.59 circled top left (from Galasso/Fariello (2008) p.8).

Similarly, the theory that this was a *gens* or family group, which had Bailo Modesti as one of its main advocates, is difficult to sustain due to the state of publication of the cemetery and its anachronism, *gens* being an institution described by later Roman sources and retrojected onto the Iron Age. Moreover, if the deceased in t.66 was a young girl, then the other two infant burials next to her cannot be her children, nor can the warrior in t.59 be her husband, as originally thought. Even if Bailo Modesti's argument that this was an élite group that broke away from the rest of the community is acceptable, it is at most an unconventional family group, which hardly equates to a *gens*. Nevertheless, the studies that discuss t.66 continue this *gens* interpretation. They associate the burial with the emergence of the élite in Campania after contact with external stimuli, a central feature of the regional narrative that has undertones of neo-evolutionary thinking.[784] While it remains feasible that the élite were present before the burial of the female in t.66, as we have seen, the tomb sample for this culture is small and does not show clear signs of social competition. There is therefore little testimony for the emergence of the élite during the 8th century BC in Hirpinia. A case may exist for the presence of higher strata in the Oliveto-Cairano culture at a much earlier stage. For example, if the culture migrated to Italy from the Balkans before the 8th century BC, then such a move could only have taken place within a stratified group with some form

[784] Cerchiai 1995; Galasso 2005; Cuozzo 2007.

of centralised power structure. However, the theory that the élite of the Oliveto-Cairano culture emerged and broke away from the rest of the community remains unconfirmed by the current sample from the three sites.[785]

Moreover, despite its unique status in this area of the region, this burial has been viewed through a Hellenocentric lens as a more diluted version of the 'princely' burials. For example, Cuozzo asserts that the grave goods do "...not otherwise depart from the conservatism of the local tradition: Greek or Greek-type pottery…is rejected and the dress merely elaborates on the local traditional costume."[786] The idea that this burial was conservative is problematic as it is clearly an anomalous one across all Oliveto-Cairano cemeteries. Her funerary dress more than "elaborates on the local costume", it is far more ostentatious than that bestowed upon the female in t.2465 at Pontecagnano. Moreover, it is difficult to accept Cuozzo's idea that this individual actively rejected Greek pottery. The rejection of Greek material culture in Hirpinia is hard to prove since it presumes some prior knowledge of its existence and popularity on the Tyrrhenian coast. There is no Greek pottery at any of the Oliveto-Cairano sites from 850-600 BC, indicating that these communities had probably not come into direct contact with Greek material. Therefore, approaching this tomb from the perspective of whether it contains Greek pots smacks of Hellenocentrism.

A more useful comparison is that with other 'princely' burials, which also lack Greek pottery, such as t.926 and t.928 at Pontecagnano. These two graves only featured a solitary Corinthian transport amphora between them, but do include metal vessels (*bacini*, *lebetes*, and *phiale baccellate*). However, Cuozzo ignores the absence of Greek vessels here because the majority of the other burials at Pontecagnano include Greek pots. Taking this into consideration, Bisaccia t.66 shows that a tomb may be 'princely' but simultaneously include only a selection of the so-called 'princely' items. These burials should thus be understood as part of a global culture where the metal vessels and spits associated them with a Homeric-inspired funerary culture that revolved around new banqueting ideas (Chapters 2 and 3). Local variation appears to be a particular trait of all the 'princely' burials in Italy, and t.66 at Bisaccia is therefore no different. It shows similarities to other parts of the region through the imported materials used to produce local objects. Nearly 80% of the assemblage is connected to materials that have no known source in Campania (Table 4.6). Metal objects accounted for 71% of the grave goods, which highlights the notion that the ties with the metal and amber trade

[785] For this theory see Bailo Modesti 1982 p246-247, 1996 p37-39, 2009 p8-9; Galasso 2005 p51.
[786] Cuozzo 2007 p243.

routes found in phase I continued into the 7th century. Without further scientific analysis of the provenance of these objects, the exact sources behind this trade remain unknown.

Material	**Total**	**%**
Bronze	67	69%
Iron	3	3%
Bronze and amber *fibulae*	6	6%
Total	**76**	**77.5%**
Total metals	**70**	**71%**
Total grave goods	**98**	**100%**

Table 4. 6. Bisaccia t.66 imported materials.

4.2.4 'Princess' Tomb Network (t.66)

The so-called 'princess tomb' is contemporary to the phase II group yet has a small number of imports. Locally produced material comprises 95.9% of the grave goods. The imports (4.1%) show links to Pontecagnano, which makes this the only burial with access to the globalising trends of the Tyrrhenian. Unlike contemporary burials at Bisaccia this tomb has no direct link with Daunia. The graph based on t.66 (Fig. 4.15) shows how this individual tomb was still mainly tied to the other Oliveto-Cairano culture sites. As a weak tie, Pontecagnano is positioned further away from the strong ties among the Oliveto-Cairano communities. However, local objects were made from imported raw materials (77.5%), which indicates indirect access to the metal and amber trade routes of the north. The likely candidate for this is Pontecagnano, which, as discussed in Chapter 2, had close connections with metal-rich Etruria. Unfortunately, until archaeometric analysis is undertaken, this conclusion remains nothing but a mere hypothesis. Graph 4.16 shows the imported materials with bronze having a thick tie and a large node, but the small quantities of amber (as *fibulae* attachments) and iron see them receive smaller nodes and thinner ties.

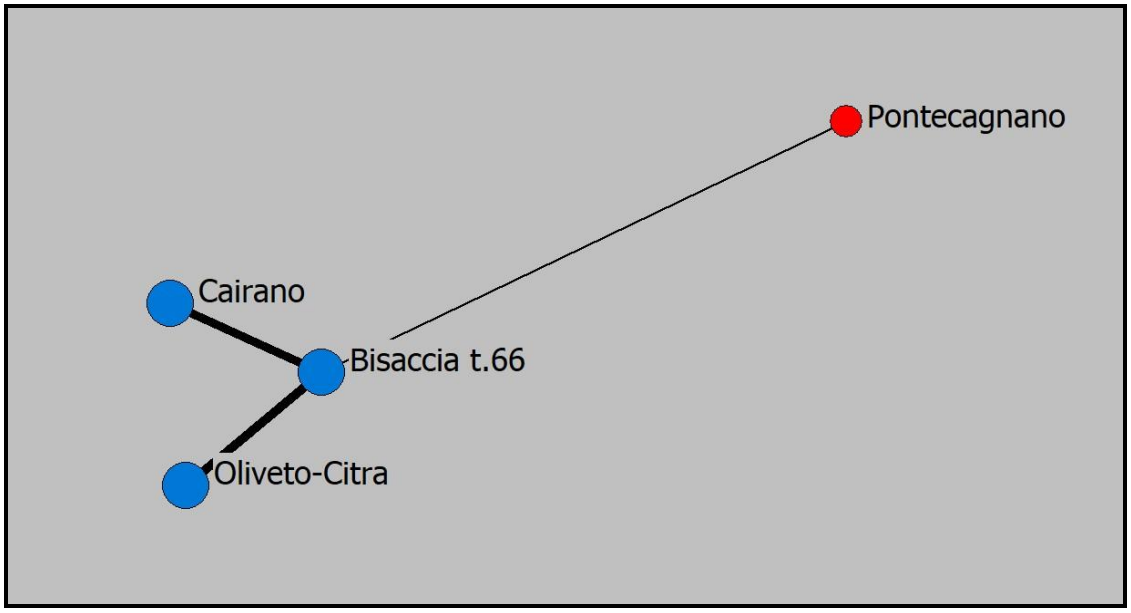

Fig. 4.15. Bisaccia t.66 network graph showing ties among all three sites and Pontecagnano (using UCINET)

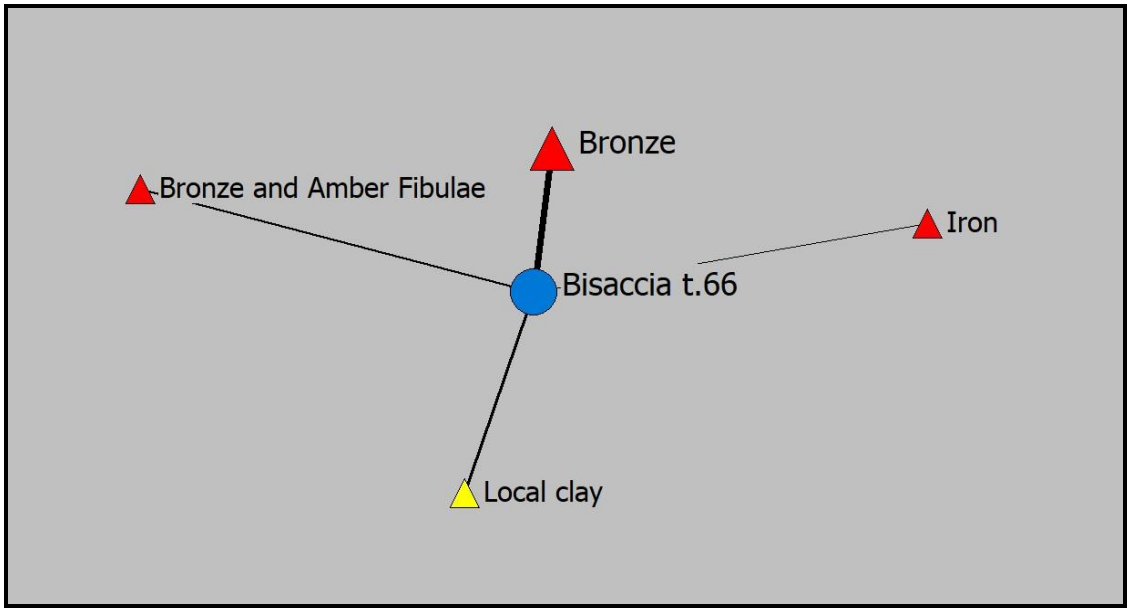

Fig. 4.16. Bisaccia t.66 network graph showing its ties based on imported raw materials (using UCINET)

4.2.5 Oliveto-Cairano Culture Phase II (699-550 BC)

Object type	Number	%	Imports	%	Imitations	%
Weaving tools	18	1.8%				
Weapons	31	2.9%	1	0.1%		
Decorative objects	122	11.3%				
Fibulae	119	12.7%				
Instruments	27	3.7%				
Beads	70	7.2%				
Bracelets (*ad arco inflesso*)	73	5%				
Iron firedogs	2	0.2%				
Iron spits	26	5.3%				
Iron knives	2	0.6%				
Metal vessels	10	1%	9	0.9%		
Other (bones etc)	40	4.7%				
Pottery	419	43.6%	47	4.9%	7	0.2%
Total	959		56	5.9%	7	0.2%
Tombs	61+2					

Table 4. 7. Oliveto-Cairano total objects phase II

There are 61 tombs and two sporadic contexts for this second phase, which has a considerably higher sample than the previous one. These burials come from all three sites and all are of the *fossa* type. They held 961 objects, with pottery comprising nearly half of the total grave goods (Fig. 4.17). The greater number of pots may be an indicator of increased wealth or an intensification of local network ties. Similar to the previous phase, other objects outnumber the ceramics, with decorative items and *fibulae* featuring prominently amongst the grave goods. Such a combination of objects shows a continued desire to decorate the body in death and possibly in everyday life as well. The second phase sample is more widely representative of the culture overall as it is more evenly spread across the three sites (Table 4.7). However, it covers 150 years and is not completely representative of this period, nor of any of the individual sites. The general problems with the tomb sample were discussed in §4.1.3, but it is important to recall that there is a lack of data at Cairano for the 7th century BC, while evidence from Bisaccia and Oliveto-Citra mainly covers the early 7th century. As for the gender of the individuals, the museum at Bisaccia often provides more information than the publications on Cairano and Oliveto-Citra. Overall, gender and age information is only supplied for 18 burials (11 male, 5 female, 3 and with no sex), ten of which are from Bisaccia, five from Cairano, and three from Oliveto-Citra (Appendix IV.2).[787] More

[787] Bailo Modesti 1980 p97-103, D'Agostino 1964 p50-51, p60-64, p66-67, p94-95.

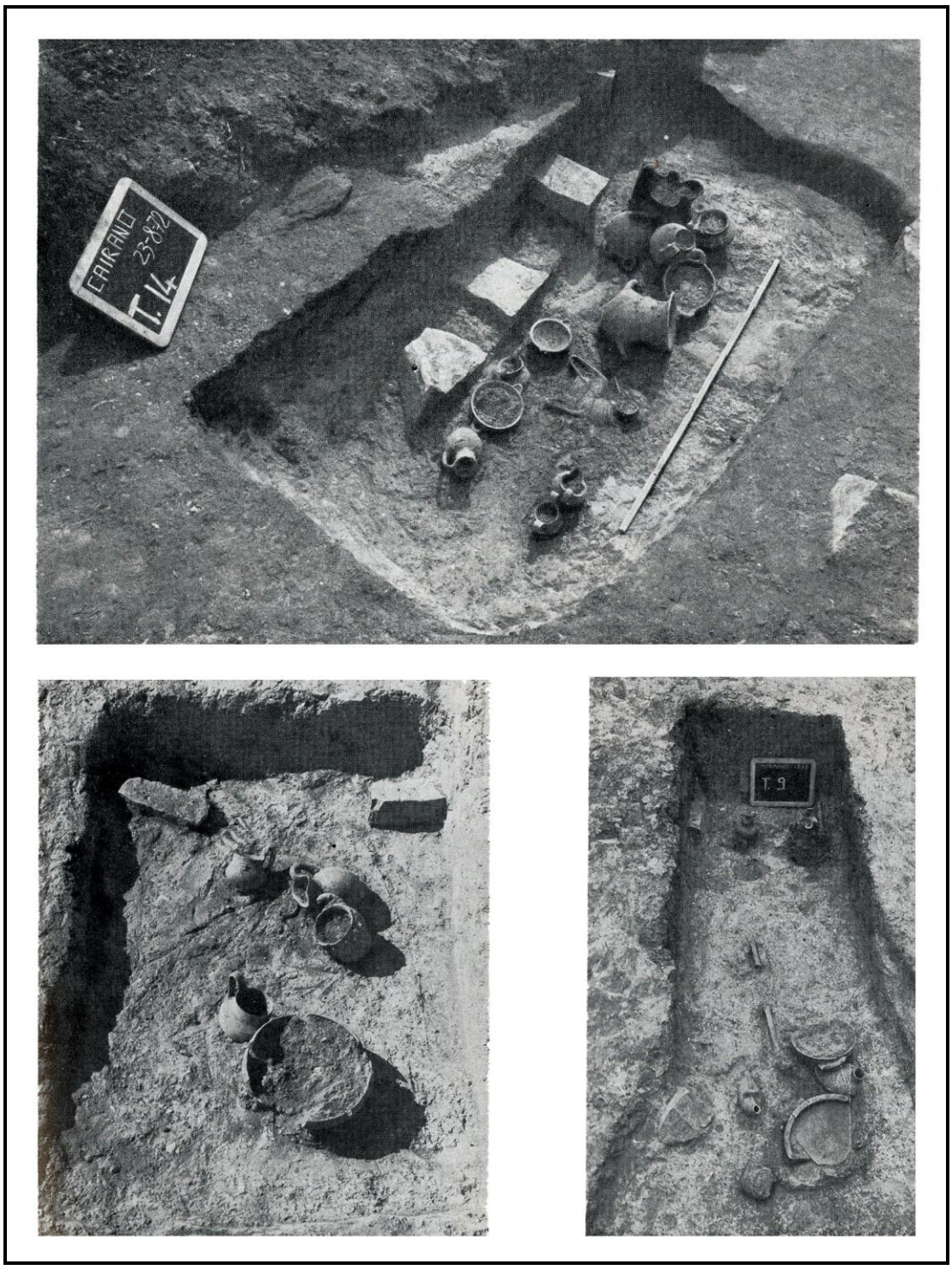

Fig. 4.17. Cairano t.IX, t.XI, and t.X (adapted from Bailo Modesti (1980) pl. 59 A-B-C)

weapons and weaving tools are deposited than in the first phase and some of these objects explain the gender attributions. However, other tombs without gender information may be male or female based on the presence of weaving tools or weapons.[788] As a consequence of the scarce details on the individuals in these cemeteries, it is difficult to analyse gender across all three sites. This situation has

[788] Based on the presence of weapons or weaving tools, 5 tombs may be either male or female: 3 males (Cairano t.VII, t.VIII, t.XI) and 2 female (Cairano t.IX, Bisaccia t.18). However, this needs further confirmation via osteoarchaeological data and is only an estimation at this stage.

implications for Bailo Modesti's idea that males were more conservative, and women were open to external contact.[789]

Still, some burials have high numbers of gendered objects. For example, 66 beads (out of a total of 70) were found in Cairano t.IX, along with two *ad arco inflesso* bracelets and 12 other decorative elements. The female in t.110 at Bisaccia (see below) had 29 *ad arco* bracelets and an iron knife (*machaira*) an object connected with the act of sacrifice, which is often associated with females. Similarly, t.10 at Oliveto-Citra held 26 decorative objects and a weaving tool, which may indicate female gender. Two tombs from Oliveto-Citra feature the combination of at least one weaving tool and a weapon (t.12 and t.16). This combination may indicate either that the deceased had a blurred gender identity, that the objects were deposited by the mourners and did not belong to the deceased, or that the current criteria for assigning gender in burials is flawed and misleading. However, these two tombs, have not been awarded a gender and indicate a clear need for osteoarchaeological data to confirm the practice of assigning gender via gendered objects.

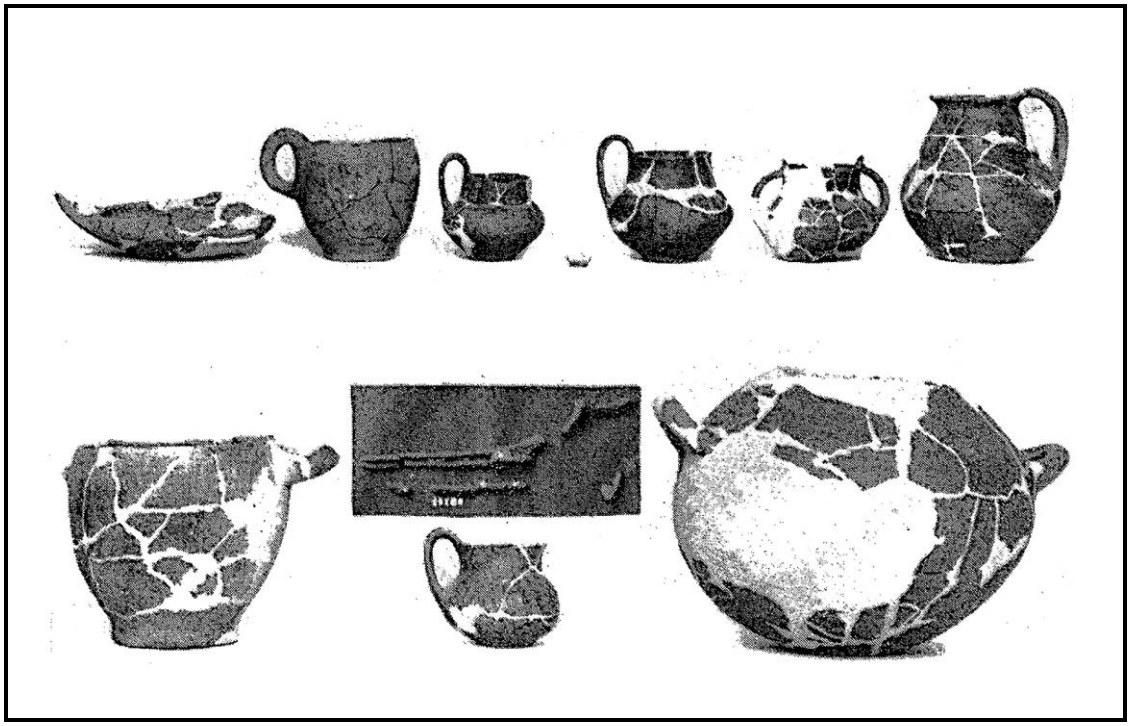

Fig. 4.18. Ceramics from Oliveto-Citra t.4 and t.5 (adapted from D'Agostino (1964) p53-53 figs.11-12)

Turning to the ceramics, the majority are local handmade *impasto* (259), but coarse and finer wares still make up a considerable total (112). Alongside the locally made vessels are 47 imported or imitation pots. The start of phase II sees a series of changes during what is called the *seconda età del ferro*, including the application of advanced technical skills by local craftsmen. According to Bailo Modesti, while local

[789] Bailo Modesti 1996 p40, 2009 p9-10.

pottery now uses purified clay, handmade forms dominate into the Archaic period.[790] This sample confirms his findings as the *impasto* wares far outnumber the fine and coarse wares. The *anforetta* (70), cups (of various types, 59), the *brocca* or *brocchetta* (48), and *scodellone* (44) are the most common shapes and are found across all tombs (Fig. 4.18). As regards the male and female burials, only four graves are identified as female. Although two of these females (t.110 and t.IV) have a large number of grave goods, there is not enough evidence to confirm Bailo Modesti's assertion that males were conservative and females were open to new ideas.[791] As Figure 4.19 shows, drinking (174) and pouring (138) vessels accounted for a large number in the assemblage, significantly ahead of eating wares (56) and storage/cooking (25) vessels. The *anforetta* is present in 36 of the 61 tombs and eight of these have more than three examples (Bisaccia: 5 examples in t.110, 5 in t.55, 4 in t.14, and 3 in t.18; Oliveto-Citra: 5 in t.V, 4 in t.2, 3 in t.16 and t.27). The increased number of these pots when compared to phase I may indicate that some funerals involved graveside feasting (see below). Another significant shape is the *oinochoe trilobata*, which is found in 11 burials. Bailo Modesti noted that it was not a local shape and may have its origins in Daunia.[792]

A number of graves in this sample stand out because they have a large number of grave goods or because these have some unique quality. In total, eight burials feature more than 29 objects, with t.IX at Cairano having the most at 122.[793] At Bisaccia, the female in t.110 is referred to as '*la Signora con la goliera*' due to the presence of a bronze torque (Fig. 4.20). The museum display at Bisaccia describes "a full table service" interred with this individual a rare inclusion in a female tomb as it was usually reserved for males. This set comprised both drinking and pouring vessels, including five *anforette ad anse complesse*, two *tazze-attingitoio*, an *olla*, and a *scodellone*. An imported Daunian *askos* with geometric decor and a zoomorphic face on the handle was also present. The arms of the deceased were covered with 19 *bracciali ad arco inflesso*, with 15 on the right arm and 14 on the left. Such bracelets probably indicated that she was a prominent female in the community. As discussed in §4.1.6, Bailo Modesti assigned a key role as weavers in the wool trade to these prominent females, who, through intermarriage connected the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian coasts.[794] This idea

[790] Bailo Modesti 1980 p200, 1996 p37-38.
[791] Bailo Modesti 1982 p247-248, 1996 p40.
[792] Bailo Modesti 1975 p514, 1982 p248-249; Pontrandolfo Greco 1982 p46.
[793] Cairano t.IX, t.VII, t.VI, Bisaccia t.110, t.18, Oliveto-Citra t.10, t.27 and *Contrada Piceglia* tomb.
[794] Bailo Modesti 1996 p45-46, 2009 p13-15.

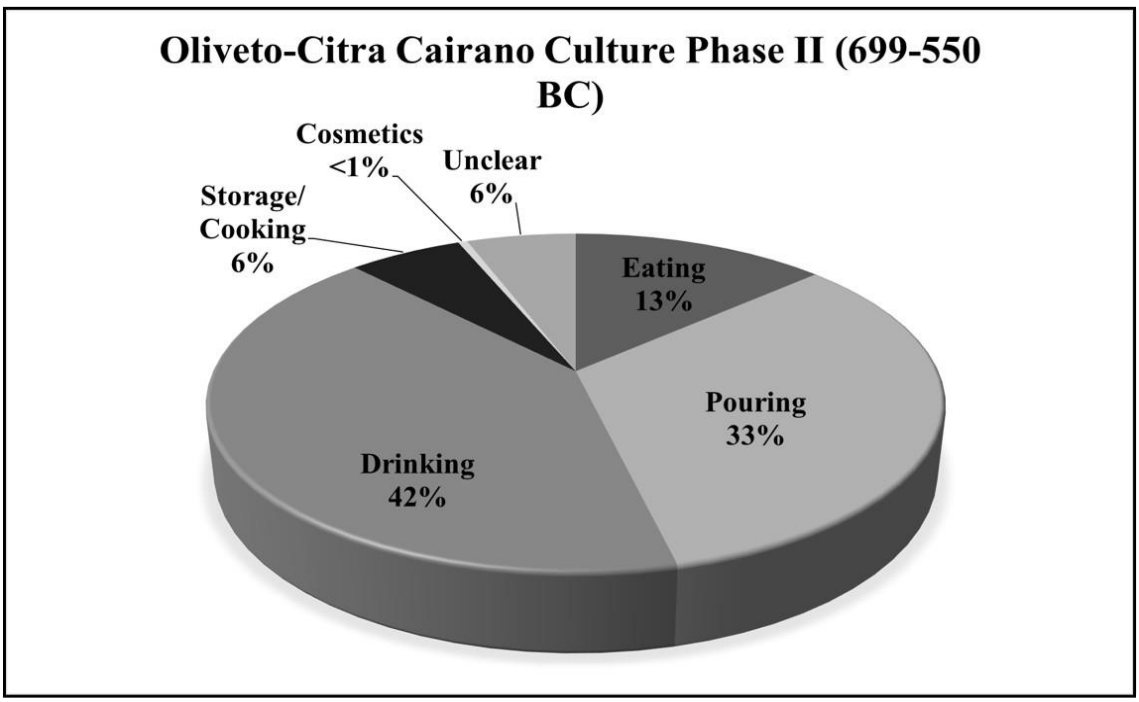

Fig. 4. 19 Pie-chart of t.66 pots divided by function

deserves further exploration, especially with an enclave of females from Hirpinia being proposed at coeval Pontecagnano.[795] It is possibly a step too far to see these females as the weavers who worked this wool, as Bailo Modesti argues. Little research has been done on the significance of the bracelets they wore, but the fact that they are extremely bulky and immoveable once secured in place makes them a hindrance in weaving. Therefore, it may be that other females from Hirpinia, who did not wear these bulky bracelets, were doing the actual weaving.

Also worthy of mention here and dating to this phase are Bisaccia t.59 and t.11. The male in t.59 has a much more traditional set of grave goods and has consequently been cited in support of the theory that males in Hirpinia were more traditional than females and avoided imports. This individual was buried with four spears and an iron knife (*machaira*) but only two pots (a *tazza* and a *scodellone*). Similarly, t.11 has fewer grave goods, but is treated as an important burial. The display panels in the museum refer to t.11 as the '*tomba del guerriero'* because this male figure was buried with a javelin, two spears, an axe, a knife, and iron spits. The ceramics include five *oinochoai*, three *brocchette*, an *askos*, a *brocca*, and a locally made *anforetta di lamelle di stagno applicate* with geometric decorations (Fig. 4.21). These pots have led to the tomb being associated with the Greek banquet, which was apparently appropriated by local élites.[796] While the *oinochoe* is not a local shape (see above) it cannot be assumed that the Greek

[795] Cuozzo 2005 p96-100; Cuozzo/Pellegrini 2016 p118-121; Bailo Modesti 2009 p14-15; Bailo Modesti/ Gobbi 2010 p500.
[796] Information taken from the display boards during April 2011.

Fig. 4.20. Left: Bisaccia t.110 and some of its grave goods (top right *askos*, bottom right torque, bottom left *ad arco inflesso* bracelets); right: close up of *askos* and zoomorphic handle (adapted from Galasso/Fariello (2008) p24-25)

symposium was adopted across the whole of the Oliveto-Cariano culture on the basis of a single tomb. Nevertheless, the iron spits in t.11 do evoke the global practices seen at Pontecagnano in the previous chapter. Bisaccia and Pontecagnano indeed appear to have been connected during the 7th century and a bronze *bacino* included in this phase, which was a sporadic find at Bisaccia, shows similarities to those in the 'princely' tombs at Pontecagnano.[797] Unfortunately, this and other tombs and sporadic finds from Bisaccia remain unpublished, which makes further direct comparison with Pontecagnano extremely difficult.

The other two sites also include burials of a prominent character. T.18 at Oliveto-Citra dates to the mid-7th century BC, and despite having only 13 objects, it includes a single iron spit.[798] The *Contrada Piceglia* tomb at Oliveto-Citra dates to somewhere between the 7th and the end of the 6th centuries BC and was robbed in antiquity. For this reason, it contains no pottery, but amongst its 42 objects were three bronze vessels (a *hydria* and 2 *oinochoai*, unfortunately in a fragmentary state), amber and silver elements elements, and a small bronze figurine.[799] T.27 at Oliveto-Citra dates to the second quarter of the 6th century BC. This was a large *fossa* burial with 23 pots, amongst them a number of imports (see below) and a locally produced cup with animal protomes around the rim.[800] Completing the assemblage were a lance, a *fibula*, four

[797] Because no typological information is available on this vessel, I will treat it here as a local object.
[798] D'Agostino 1964 p73-74, for the date see p93-95.
[799] Sestieri 1952 p58-63.
[800] D'Agostino 1964 p89. No information is given on this vessel, but it looks similar to the cups in the 'princely' tombs at Pontecagnano with the lord of the animals motif.

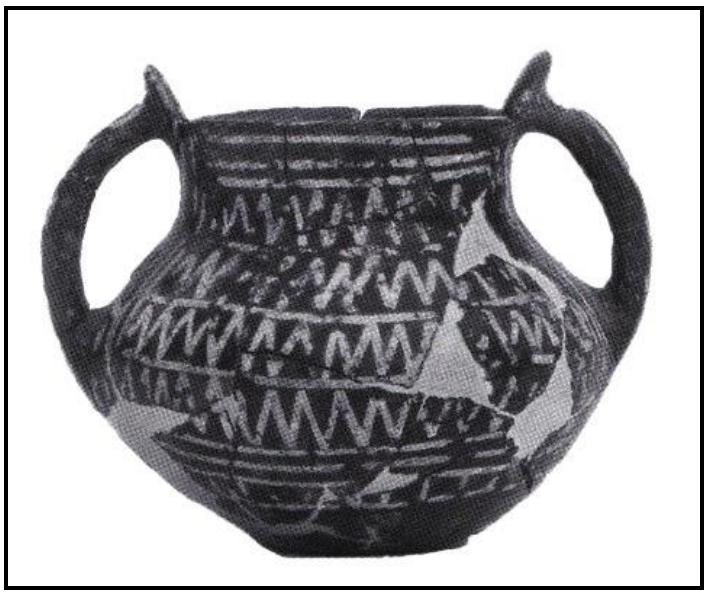

Fig. 4.21. Bisaccia t.11 *Anforetta lamelle di stagno applicate* (adapted from Galasso/Fariello (2008) p26)

bronze rings, an iron spit, and a bronze *situla*.[801] Cairano t.VII also dates towards the end of this phase. It was a large-sized *fossa* with a substantial number of grave goods that indicate it was the tomb of an important individual. Although the ceramic set inside was modest, locally produced pots were deposited along with *bucchero* vessels and Ionic drinking cups. The deceased was decorated with 17 *fibulae* and interred with 12 iron spits and two firedogs.[802] The other grave goods deposited were three spearheads, a helmet imported from Picenum,[803] and five bronze vessels (an *oinochoe*, a *situla*, a *kotyle*, and 2 *bacili*). The *oinochoe* was of "tipo Rodio," which, according to Bailo Modesti, was produced in Etruria but likely imported from Pontecagnano or Capua.[804]

The imports in phase II show a considerable increase from phase I, with 47 ceramic imports and 7 imitations (Fig. 4.22). Of the ten metal vessels in this phase, nine can be classed as imports that, along with the imported helmet, bring the total number of objects indicating an external tie to 64. Furthermore, the imports during phase II clearly demonstrates that each of three sites had its own connections with different areas of the region and the Italian Peninsula. For example, the seven imports at Bisaccia all come from the south-east of Italy and show a tie with Daunia and the Enotrian area (modern Basilicata). The 21 imports and imitations from Cairano indicate ties with Capua, Picenum, Pontecagnano, Populonia, Enotria, and possibly Daunia. Oliveto-Citra has 36 imports and imitations with links with Pontecagnano, Cumae, Caudium, and Lucania.

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[801] D'Agostino 1964 84-91.
[802] Bailo Modesti 1980 p141-151.
[803] On this helmet Bailo Modesti 1980 p24-29 type 12A and p206 it was imported from Picenum.
[804] On the *oinochoe* Bailo Modesti 1980 p19-20, he discusses the burial on p141-151.

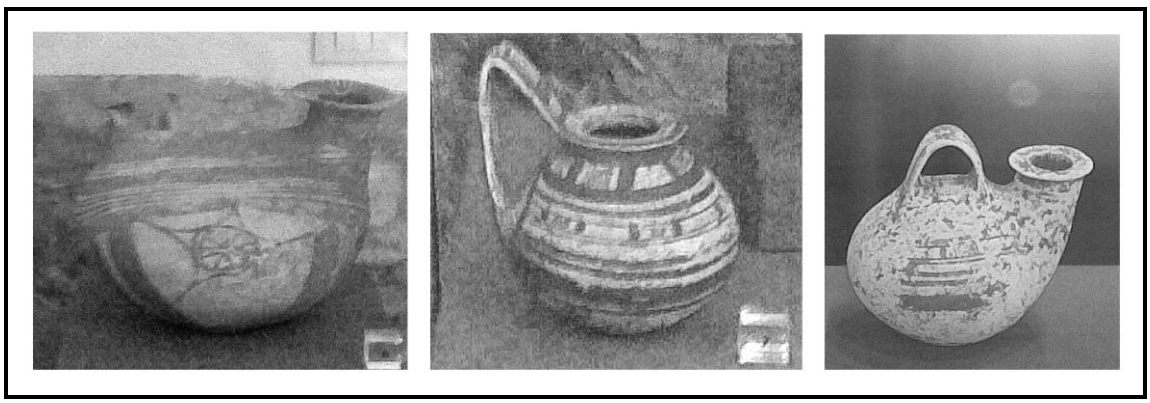

Fig. 4.22. Oliveto-Cairano imports phase II at *Museo Civico Archeologico* Bisaccia (the author)

The imports at Bisaccia are all pots from tombs dating across the 7th century and come mainly from Daunia.[805] In addition, there is a single bronze *bacino*, which may have been an import but unfortunately lacks any typological information. The Daunian imports feature a geometric décor that is absent in the local ceramic repertoire. Exemplary is the *askos* with a zoomorphic face on the handle from t.110. Such a design may have had an apotropaic effect or may have added an exotic element to the act of pouring liquids, especially those of the alcoholic variety. It is notable that the only locally produced painted vessel with geometric designs is the above-mentioned contemporary *anforetta* of the *lamelle di stagno applicate* type in t.11. The geometric decorations of the Daunian style may have inspired similar patterns on these locally produced vessels. Alongside the Daunian wares was the sporadic find of an Enotrian *askos* from somewhere in Basilicata. With all of the imports being pouring shapes, it is feasible that they were used to pour libations to the deceased and may have been incorporated into pre-existing local funerary practices.

Although locally produced, this type of *anforetta*, which is the only example in this sample, is found at nearby Lavello (Roman *Forentum* in Basilicata). This site is associated with the Daunians, and both t.6 and t.279 at Lavello include these imported *anforette* from Hirpinia along with iron spits, metal vessels, and Greek and Daunian drinking cups.[806] Other examples of imported Oliveto-Cairano vessels are seen in later 6th century tombs at Lavello that also link the site with Hirpinia.[807] Lavello appears to have played an important intermediary role in the trade between the Adriatic and

[805] A *brocchetta* from Daunia was found in tomb Gr.93, while t.55 and t.110 had a Daunian *askos* each (these 3 tombs date to 699-650 BC), t.14, t.8, and t.6 (699-600 BC) have a Daunian *askos*, *attingitoio* and a *brocchetta* respectively. On the Daunian imports see Bailo Modesti 2009 p9; Bailo Modesti/Gobbi 2010 p501-502.

[806] This tomb assemblage was recorded by myself during a visit to the Museum of Melfi on the 2nd August 2010. See Pontrandolfo Greco 1982 p52; De Juliis 1996 p112-113 and the brief report in Bottini 1981 p481.

[807] See Bottini 1988 p184 on the *ceramica ad ingubbiatura monocroma* of 6th century date in t.196 (p100 *brocca*), t.293 (p133 *brocchetta*) and t.306 (p137-138 *olla*).

Tyrrhenian coasts due to its being able to produce an agricultural surplus that could be exchanged. Therefore, it is no coincidence that Bisaccia and Lavello are both located on what have been defined as "punti nodali" along the Ofanto-Sele river valleys.[808] The Daunian vessels at Bisaccia and Oliveto-Cairano vessels at Lavello make it highly likely that Bisaccia was linked to both Pontecagnano and Basilicata during the 7th century BC. Furthermore, t.6 has bronze vessels similar to those in Bisaccia t.66 and the 'princely' burials at Pontecagnano. The spread of the 'princely' type burials from the Tyrrhenian into the hinterland involved Bisaccia t.66, which also shows a connection with a 'princely' type tomb at Cupola in the Daunian area (see §4.3). A network therefore appears to have linked Hirpinia and the eastern Adriatic which may have had a link with the wool trade.

A much higher number of imports and imitations is found at Cairano, including 15 imported or imitation pots, five metal vessels, and an imported bronze helmet. There are eight *bucchero* pots from four tombs (t.4, t.VII, t.X, t.VII), five Ionic cups found in two tombs (t.VII and t.IX), and two other pots connected to Enotria and Daunia (a *brocchetta-attingitoio* in t.X and a *lekane* in t.IX). In terms of the *bucchero*, Bailo Modesti linked the vessels with Capua,[809] but he was unable to trace the origins of the Ionic cups. Consequently, he ruled out their direct importation from Attica or Ionian Greece and their production at Cairano.[810] However, they may have been imported from Pontecagnano, where they were produced by Greeks or other local artisans or possibly imported directly from Greece. Alternatively, the cups may have come from Capua, which was also closely linked to the Greek sites on the coast. The *brocchetta-attingitoio* in t.X was imported from either Enotria or Daunia.[811] In terms of the imitations, a locally made *lekane* combines both an Ionian and a Daunian shape. For this reason, it is linked to both areas.[812] The metal helmet in t.VII was imported from Picenum and was part of a prestigious set of grave goods that illustrate Cairano was far from isolated during the 6th century BC.[813]

T.VII had a rich set of grave goods including imported *bucchero*, Ionic cups, and five metal vessels (Fig. 4.23). Bailo Modesti associated the bronze Rhodian type *oinochoe* in t.VII with Capua but provided no information on the *situla* other than

[808] Bottini 1982a p159; Pontrandolfo Greco 1982 p55.
[809] Bailo Modesti 1980 p209.
[810] Bailo Modesti 1980 p81.
[811] Bailo Modesti 1980 p90-92.
[812] Bailo Modesti 1980 p78 on *lekane* type 93A & B.
[813] On this helmet, Bailo Modesti 1980 p24-29 type 12A and p206 it was imported from Picenum.

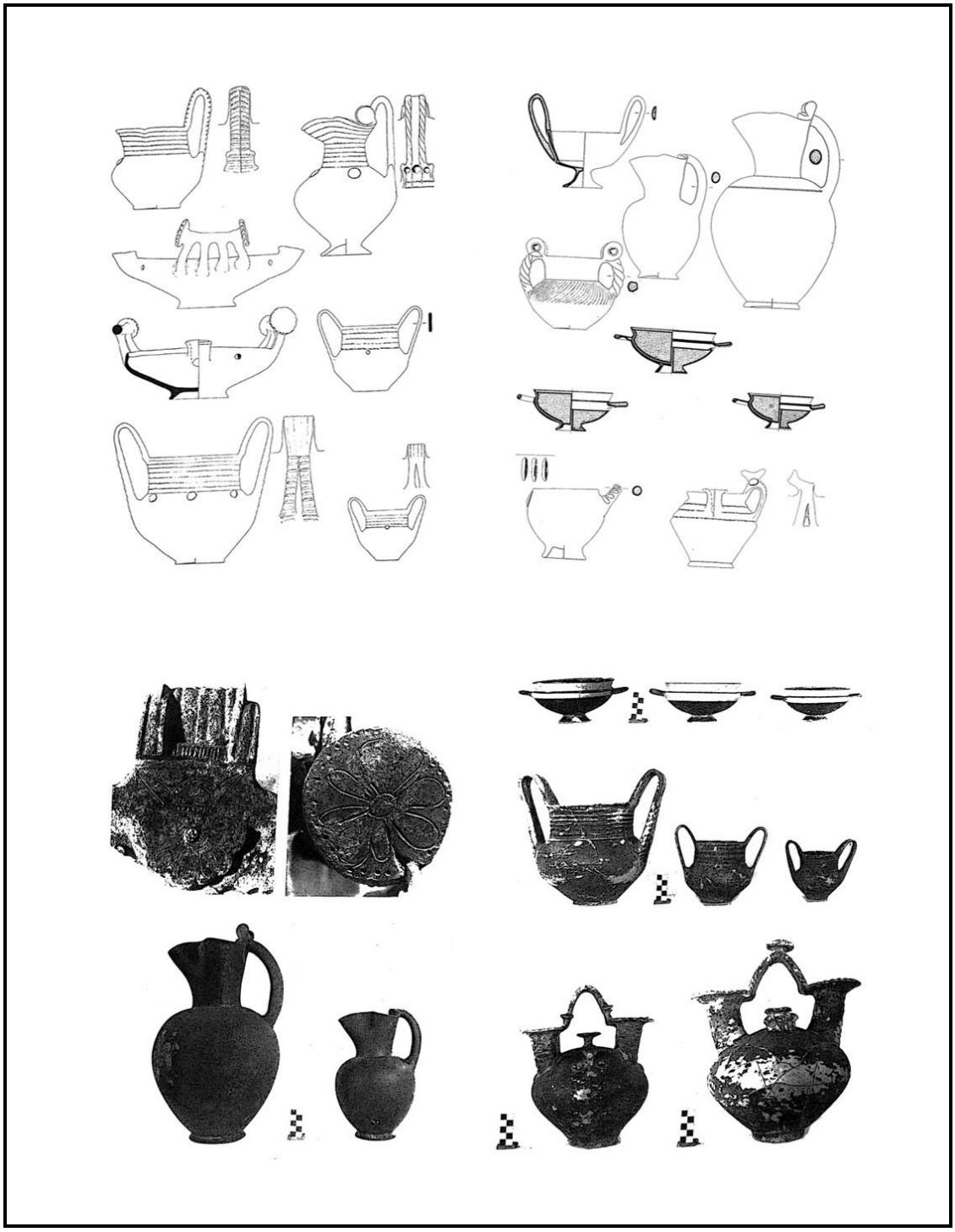

Fig. 4.23. Pottery from Cairano t.VII (adapted from Bailo Modesti (1980) p70-72 figs.27-69 pl.98a-c, 99a-d)

noting its affinities with types from Populonia and Etruria (Fig. 4.24).[814] Nor is any information given for the *tripode-bacino* or the *bacile*, while the *kotyle* is merely compared to examples produced at Syracuse, Perachora, and Cumae. Although Capua may be a candidate for the production and transmission of the bronze and *bucchero* vessels in t.VII, it cannot be ruled out that these metal vessels were imported from Pontecagnano following the wool trade Bailo Modesti proposed between Daunia and

[814] Bailo Modesti 1980 p20-21, p208.

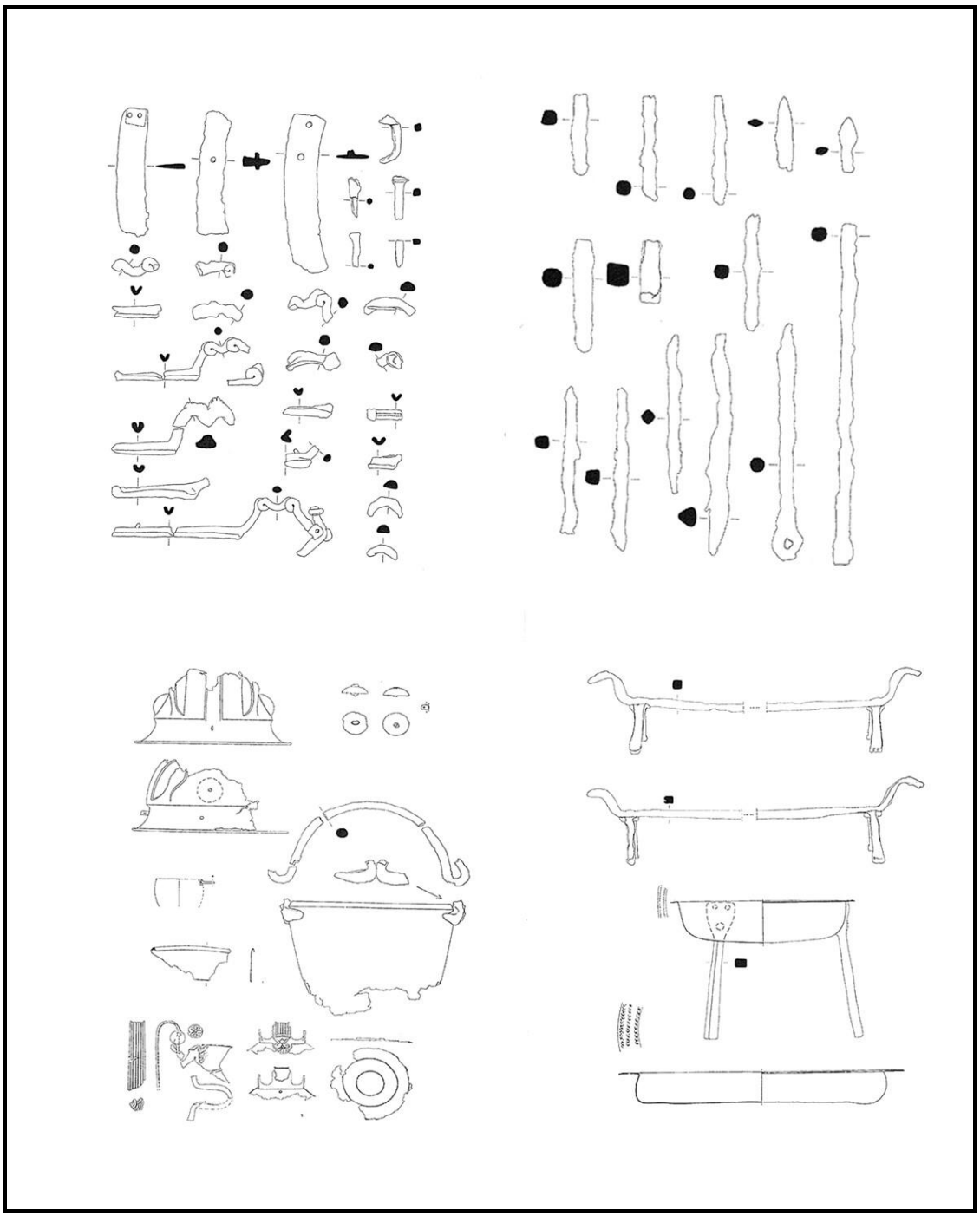

Fig. 4.24. Metal grave goods from Cairano t.VII adapted from Bailo Modesti (1980) p66-68 figs.1-23)

Campania. A similar tomb at Cairano is t.VIII, which included iron spits, but had no pottery.[815] Those were both important individuals, who held a similar status to the deceased in t.66 at Bisaccia and other élite burials in Campania. Despite this status, D'Agostino, Cerchiai, and Cuozzo seem to have ignored t.VII and Cairano itself in their discussions of the 'princely' tomb phenomenon in Campania. In contrast, Bailo Modesti and Galasso include t.VII and the later 5th century 'princely' t.XIII in their narrative of the Oliveto-Cairano culture. The importance of the individuals in these Cairano tombs

[815] Bailo Modesti 1980 p17 types 2 and 3.

goes some way towards countering the idea that this area of Campania lagged behind the Tyrrhenian coast. Viewing Hirpinia as completely isolated or insular ignores the network of ties, which can be seen in the imports from Bisaccia and Cairano.

The highest number of imports during this phase comes from Oliveto-Citra, whose 36 objects outnumber those from Bisaccia and Cairano combined. The majority are imported or imitation ceramics of both drinking and pouring shapes. *Bucchero*, Greek, and Lucanian ceramics along with metal vessels are all attested. Nevertheless, the exact provenance of many of these vessels remains unclear as identifying them is extremely difficult. The two existing reports on the excavations at Oliveto-Citra rarely give the exact provenance of the objects they list, and little description of the material or typological analysis is undertaken. Sestieri identified local *argilla* ceramics in t.I and t.II from the *Località Turni* area of the site that imitated Greek forms, as well as vessels from Greece and the Diano Valley (Southern Campania).[816] Sestieri believed that the Greek and the indigenous imports were brought to Oliveto-Citra via the Diano and Tanagro river valleys by indigenous merchants.[817] Although the theory is difficult to prove, these vessels do indicate that Oliveto-Citra held different connections from Bisaccia and Cairano. However, the origins of other objects are much harder to define due to a lack of information. These are listed in Table 4.8, but amongst them are the *anfora di tipo Pontecagnano* in t.9 and t.10 (Fig. 4.25), the *bucchero*, Ionic vessels in t.6, t.9, t.12, t.22, t.24, t.27, and the metal vessels in t.27 and the *Contrada Piceglia* tomb (Fig. 4.25). The problem with identifying provenances mainly stems from the lack of information in D'Agostino's publication of the tombs. For example, he supplies no information on where the *bucchero*, Ionic cups or the *anfora di tipo Pontecagnano* were produced.[818] It is extremely unlikely that the *bucchero* and Ionic wares were made at Oliveto-Citra, yet without further information, there is no way to be certain of where these vessels were produced or imported from. For the purpose of this study, I have assumed that the *bucchero* and Ionic cups are imports from Pontecagnano and Cumae as a joint node. The *anfora di tipo Pontecagnano* has also been treated as an import based on D'Agostino's view that two *brocchette* in the same tomb were imported from Pontecagnano and Caudium respectively.[819] With regard to the *brocchette*, D'Agostino

[816] Sestieri 1952 p54-55, p83.
[817] Sestieri 1952 p83-85.
[818] D'Agostino 1964 p44-47 only mentions the *bucchero* and Ionic cups in passing and does not give them a typological number/reference. Writing on the Orientalising material from Pontecagnano, D'Agostino 1968 p110 described these *anfora* as influenced by those at Oliveto-Citra but did not state where they were made.
[819] D'Agostino 1964 p45, p63-64.

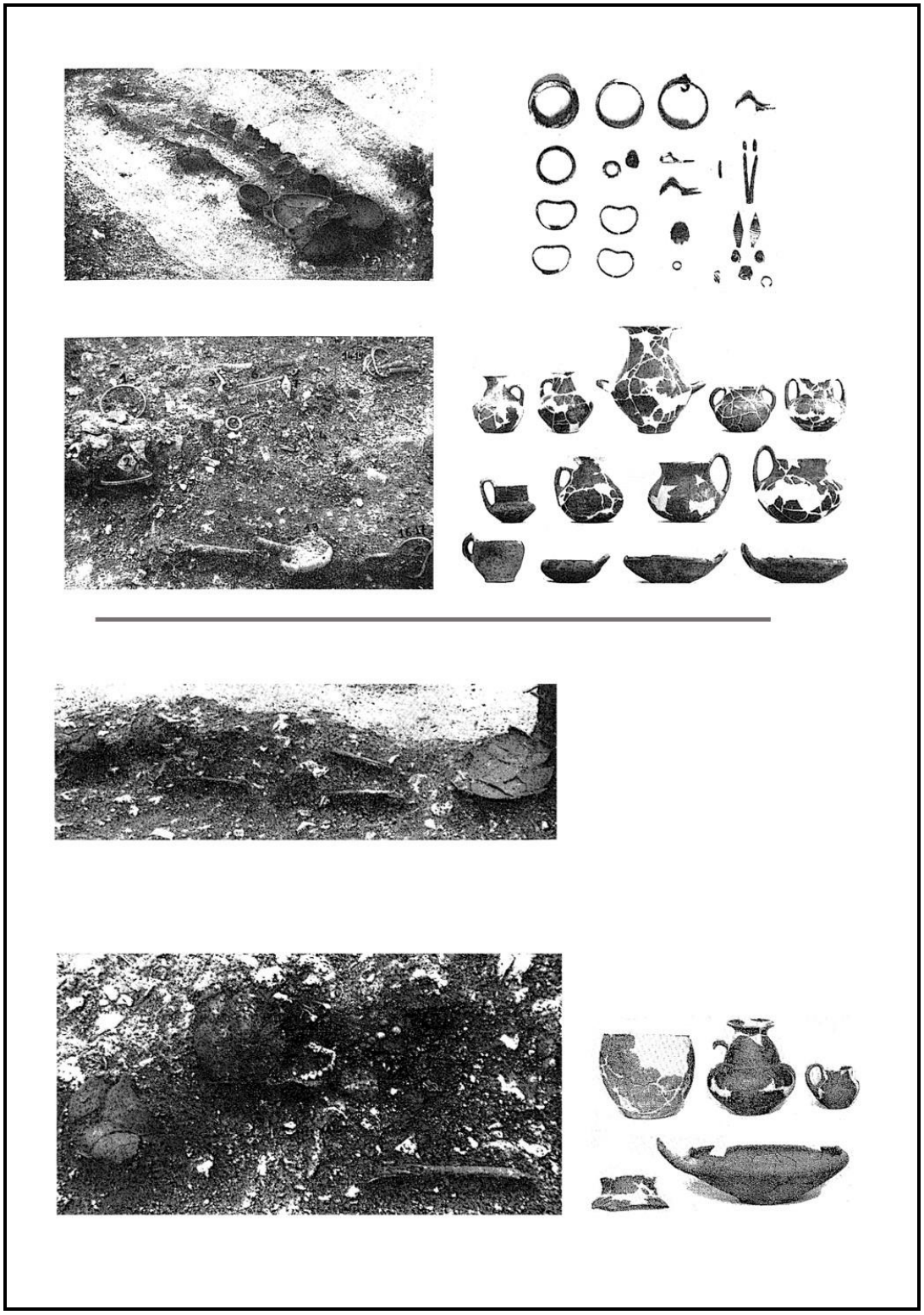

Fig. 4.25. Top: Oliveto-Citra t.10, grave goods, and tomb during excavation; bottom: Oliveto-Citra t.18 excavation and ceramics (adapted from D'Agostino (1964) p61-63 figs.20-23)

describes a third *brocchetta* in t.10 as having a close relationship with Caudium but does not classify it as an import.[820] Despite this ambiguity, I have treated all three *brocchette* as imports although more clarity in future publications may change this attribution. The four metal vessels are harder to assign a place of origin to. However,

[820] D'Agostino 1964 p99.

the bronze *situla* is of the *Giuliani Pomes* type A3, thus the same type as the example in t.4461 at Pontecagnano.[821] Therefore, these vessels have been treated as imports from Pontecagnano although this attribution may also be subject to change if further research emerges. The tombs from the 7th century at Oliveto-Citra do present a slightly different picture from the other two sites studied here. The Greek drinking vessels and imitations indicate a closer link between this site and the Tyrrhenian coast, which is unsurprising given Oliveto-Citra's geographic position when compared to other Hirpinian settlements. Nevertheless, there is evidence that all of the sites in this culture had acquired some form of global culture.

Site	**Tomb**	**Import**	**No. of examples**	**Provenance**
Bisaccia	110	*Askos*	1	Daunia (modern Puglia)
	55	*Askos*	1	
	Gr. 93	*Brocchetta*	1	
	14	*Askos*	1	
	8	*Attingitoio*	1	
	6	*Brocchetta*	1	
	Sporadic find	*Askos*	1	Enotria (Modern Basilicata)
Cairano	4	*Bucchero pesante kantharos*	1	Capua?
	Vignale VII	*Bucchero pesante kantharos*	1	
	Vignale VII	*Bucchero pesante oinochoe*	2	
	Vignale IX	*Bucchero pesante oinochoe*	2	
	Vignale X	*Bucchero pesante oinochoe*	1	
	Vignale VII	Ionic cup	3	Pontecagnano? Capua?
	Vignale IX	Ionic cup	1	
	Vignale IX	Ionic cup	1	?
	Vignale XI	*Bucchero pesante brocchetta-attingitoio*	1	
	Vignale VII	Bronze Rhodian type *oinochoe*	1	Produced in Etruria but imported from Capua?
		Bronze *situla tronco-conica*	1	Etruscan production (Populonia?)
		Bronze *bacile*	1	Capua? Place of production not given

[821] D'Agostino 1964 p85-86.

		Bronze *kotyle*	1	? Similar to those produced at Perachora, Cuma and Syracuse
		Bronze *bacino* tripod	1	Capua? Place of production not given
		Bronze helmet	1	Picenum (equates to modern regions of Marche and Abruzzo)
	Vignale X	*Brocchetta-attingitoio*	1	Enotrian subgeometric production
	Vignale IX	*Lekane*	1	Local imitation of a Greek pot; possible connection also to Daunian shapes
Oliveto-Citra	Tomb I	Greek *stamnos* (imitation)	1	Locally produced, imitating Corinthian types
	Tomb II	Greek *krater* (imitation)	1	Locally produced, imitating Greek types
		Greek *coppetta*	2	
		Black glaze *kylix*	1	
		Geometric *vasetto* (imitation)	1	Possibly inspired by vases from the Diano Valley area of Campania with geometric decor from trade with the Greek coastal sites
	Tomb 10	*Anfora di tipo Pontecagnano*	1	Pontecagnano
		Brocchetta con collo a tromba	3	Pontecagnano/Arenosola, Caudium (x2)
	Tomb 12	*Bucchero pesante coppetta*	1	Pontecagnano? Cuma?
	Tomb 9		2	
		Bucchero pesante coppa carenata	1	
	Tomb 6		1	
	Tomb 27		1	
		Bucchero pesante oinochoe trilobata	1	
	Tomb 6		1	
	Tomb 22		1	
		Bucchero pesante kantharos	1	
	Tomb 27	Ionic *kylix*	3	
	Tomb 6		1	
	Tomb 9		2	
	Tomb 24		1	
	Tomb 27	MC *kotyle*	1	
	Tomb 9	*Anfora tipo Pontecagnano*	1	
	Tomb 27	Geometric Lucanian *askos*	2	Basilicata/Lucania

		Geometric Lucanian cup	1	
		Bronze s*itula tronco-conica*	1	Pontecagnano?
	Cont. Piceglia Tomb	Bronze *hydria*	1	
		Bronze *oinochoe*	2	

Table 4. 8. Imports and imitations Oliveto-Citra Cairano phase II

Besides the connection with the global culture of the Tyrrhenian, locally produced objects required raw materials that were imported from outside the region. These imported materials represent about 56% of the grave goods (Table 4.9). Metals make up the majority of this total, but amber and glass are also present. Only archaeometric analysis can reveal the exact sources of these materials, but such studies are yet to be undertaken. However, combining these objects with the imports allows some speculation on where they were obtained from. The helmet from Picenum, the ceramics from Capua, Caudium, and Pontecagnano, and the bronze vessels from Etruria attest to indirect links between Hirpinia and the metal and amber roads of Northern Italy. While it is difficult to trace these links, it appears that the localised network of phase I that gave the Oliveto-Cairano access to the bronze, iron, and amber trade routes continued into phase II. With Pontecagnano having close links with Etruria and its *Colline Metallifere*, it may be the most likely candidate for the source of these materials found in Hirpinia. Possibly heading in the opposite direction from what is now Puglia were Daunian imports and wool that could be worked by weavers into textiles on the Tyrrhenian coast.

Returning to the possibility of feasting, an increase in eating vessels is evident across all three sites. Further evidence of increased public display and funerary feasting is found in the form of iron spits and metal vessels. Although there are only 26 spits and ten metal vessels across 150 years of activity at three sites, these objects attest to the transmission of a globalising culture, especially in terms of funerary feasts, from the Tyrrhenian into the hinterland around Hirpinia. As discussed in Chapter 3, spits and firedogs were important elements of feasts as they allowed meat to be grilled, roasted, and offered as sacrifice to the gods. These objects were found in five of the 61 tombs in this phase.[822] While it is unknown whether these communities also offered meat as sacrifice to the gods, it is possible that they adopted the commensal part of these ceremonies. The metal vessels present in three tombs and one sporadic context hold a

[822] Oliveto-Citra t.27 and t.16 1 spit each; Cairano t.VII had 12 and t.VIII 9 spits, respectively; Bisaccia t.11 had 3 spits.

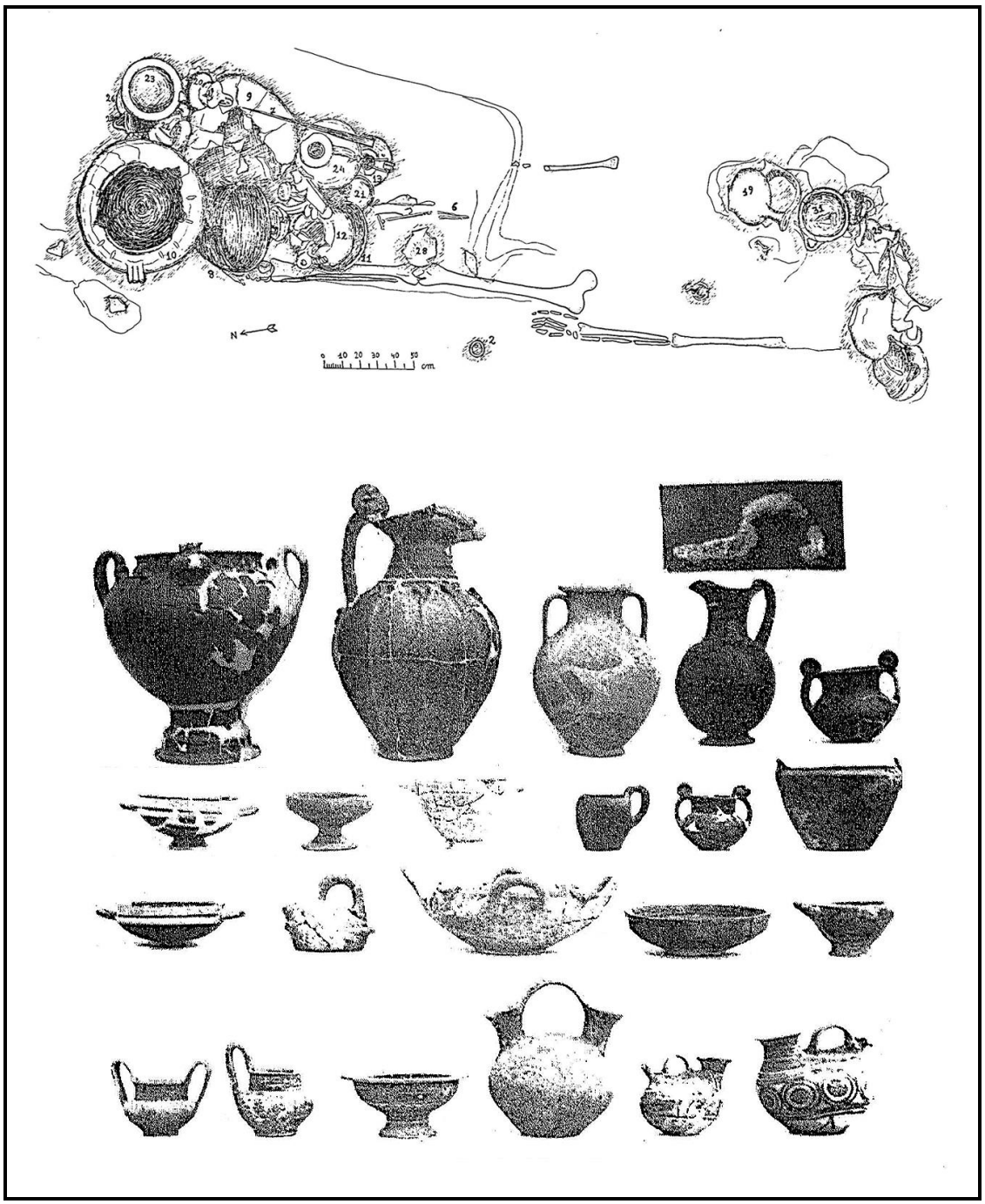

Fig. 4.26. Oliveto-Citra t.27 and its ceramics (adapted from D'Agostino (1964) p86-87 figs.48-49).

similar significance to the spits and also signal the adoption of new funerary rituals.[823]

Funerals possibly became more public across all three sites although this occurred earlier at Bisaccia than the other two settlements. Bisaccia t.110 dates to the first half of the 7th century. The large number of vessels it contained confirms an élite status for the interred female. An iron spit and a knife in Bisaccia t.11 suggest that some feasting or at least sacrificial activity also took place at the funeral of this male warrior. Of a slightly later date at Cairano is t.VII, which contained 12 iron spits and two firedogs

[823] Alongside the single bronze *bacino*, which was a sporadic find at Bisaccia, Cairano t.VII had 5 metal vessels, Oliveto-Citra t.27 had 1 and the Contrada Piceglia tomb at the same site had 3 vessels in a fragmentary state.

Material	**Total**	**%**
Bronze	301	31%
Iron	149	15.5%
Silver	3	0.3%
Amber	72	7.5%
Glass *(pasta vitrea)*	3	0.3%
Iron and amber *fibulae*	4	0.4%
Total	**532**	**55.7%**
Total metals	**453**	**47%**
Total grave goods	**959**	**100%**

Table 4. 9. Oliveto-Cairano imported materials phase II

along with five metal vessels. These grave goods point to an elaborate funeral ritual which may not have been a feast, as the ceramic assemblage is relatively small. Amongst these ceramics were imported *bucchero* and Greek vessels. Such imports may have played a role in pouring libations to the deceased, especially the *bucchero oinochoai* and *kantharos*. Nine iron spits were also placed in Cairano t.VIII along with locally made ceramics. These two burials suggest that new feasting activities, similar to those at Bisaccia were taking place at Cairano. The iron spits and metal vessels reference the banquet and the Homeric practices of roasting meat on spits and boiling of meat in cauldrons. Similarly, t.18 at Oliveto-Citra (699-600 BC) has a single iron spit, while t.27 (600-550 BC) has both an iron spit and a bronze situla.[824] Although the *Contrada Piceglia* tomb at Oliveto-Citra was robbed in antiquity and its date is less precisely known, its three metal vessels are luxury objects of a ceremonial nature that were well known in other sites in Campania during the 8th to 6th centuries BC. The quantity of the ceramics in t.27 strongly suggests a ceremony focused on the consumption of liquids rather than food due to the predominance of pouring and drinking vessels. While banqueting was much smaller in scale across the Oliveto-Cairano culture than at Pontecagnano, the use of imports, spits, and metal vessels shows how new ideas had begun to gradually infiltrate the hinterland. Although Greek pottery is notably absent across this culture, this absence need not indicate it was rejected. For example, Greek vessels are also lacking in many of the prominent 'princely' burials in Campania, Lazio, and Etruria, which clearly had contact with global culture. Furthermore, the Oliveto-Cairano ceramics that are found in tombs nearby in Basilicata indicate network connections, arguing against this being an isolated area of Campania. Therefore, these communities were not as closed as Cuozzo, D'Agostino, and others would have us believe.

[824] D'Agostino 1964 p74, p85.

4.2.6 Oliveto-Cairano Culture Phase II Network

In phase II locally produced objects total 93% and imports and imitations 7%. While there is some difficulty in identifying where these imports came from, 4% of the grave goods can be connected to either Capua, Pontecagnano, or Cumae. Despite accounting for a large share of the imports, this link with the Etruscan/Tyrrhenian sphere still constitutes a weak tie. Hirpinia lies close to Daunia, Lucania, and Enotria, and imports from these areas combine to form 1% of the grave goods, thus a weak tie. Other weak ties constitute a much lower number of the grave goods assemblage but show that the Oliveto-Cairano culture was in contact (probably indirectly) with Caudium (0.2%), Populonia (0.1%), and Picenum (0.1%). Alongside these imports, seven locally made imitations are connected to Greek styles and shapes and other decorative motifs from Daunia and the Valle di Diano area of Campania. A further 0.3% of the assemblage could not be associated with a particular tie and is assigned an unclear status.

The three Oliveto-Cairano sites are closely linked in a material clique due to each of them being a part of this archaeological culture. The strong and weak ties are presented on the network graph (Fig. 4.27), and the objects from Bisaccia are awarded a 0.5 factor. In contrast to phase I, there are now many more long-distance ties on the graph and they are positioned further away from the Hirpinian nodes, which are closer together. While each of the three sites now has a link to the Daunian-Enotrian-Lucanian sphere, Cairano and Oliveto-Citra now also have a link to the Tyrrhenian coast or Etruscan milieu (either Capua, Pontecagnano, or Cumae), which accounts for the globalising elements found in their cemeteries. Although Bisaccia lacks a direct tie with the Tyrrhenian in this graph, it should be recalled that t.66 is contemporary to phase II, meaning that Bisaccia was also connected to Pontecagnano at this time. The network indicates how the hinterland acted as an intermediary between the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic and tied the two coasts together.

The material used to produce the grave goods in the three sites challenge the idea that Hirpinia lagged behind the Tyrrhenian. While local clay remains a substantial part of these materials, metals, amber, and glass total 55.7%. It is still unclear from where these resources were acquired, yet it can be concluded that prior to the Greek arrival on the coast, the communities of Hirpinia were involved in a localised network that gave them access to the metal and amber roads of the north. Bronze is an important imported material at all three sites as is iron albeit to a lesser degree, while amber is present at Oliveto-Citra and Cairano (Fig. 4.28). The lines between each node are thinner or

thicker depending on their quantity. This status was automatically assigned by the tie strength weighting provided by UCINET.

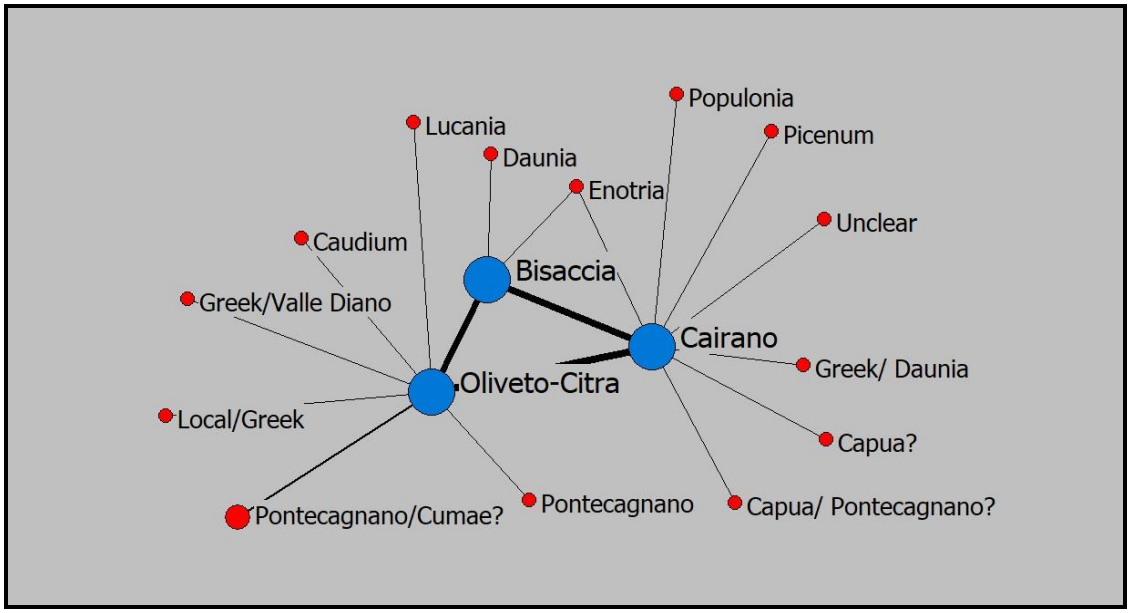

Fig. 4.27. Network graph showing Oliveto-Cairano phase II ties based on imports (using UCINET)

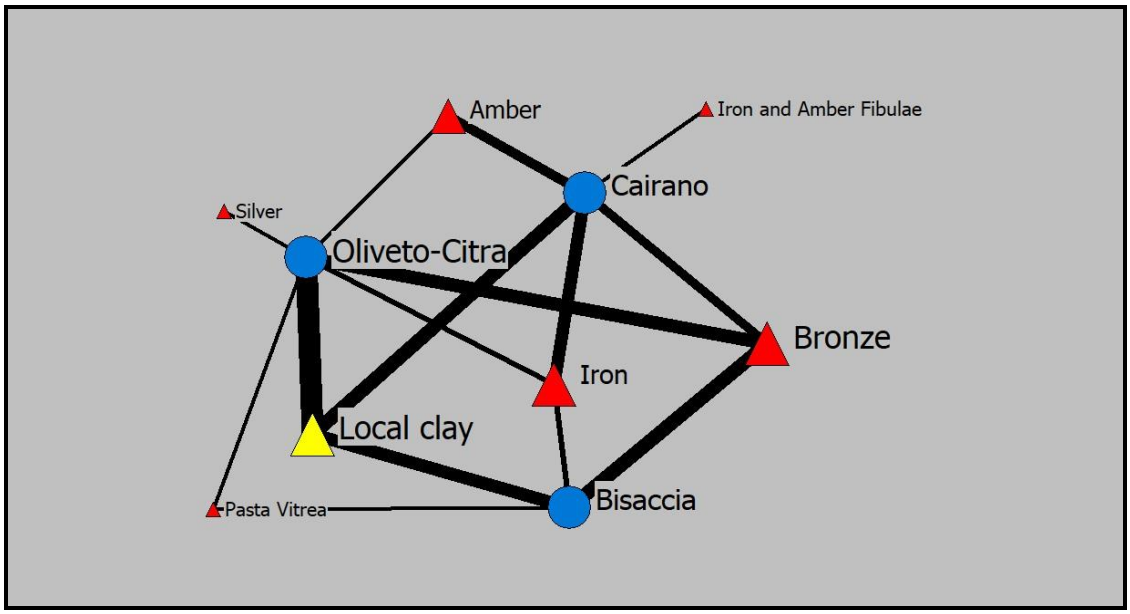

Fig. 4.28. Network graph showing Oliveto-Cairano phase II ties based on raw materials (using UCINET)

4.3 The Oliveto-Citra Cairano Culture Conclusions

As this study has shown, the Oliveto-Cairano communities were not as insular as has previously been argued. All three sites have network connections with various areas of the Italian Peninsula from the 9th century onwards. At first sight, these communities appear to have been a clique of inward-looking strong ties, but the raw materials they used to produce local objects demonstrate that Hirpinia had access to a range of metals and amber obtained through long-distance trade. It is likely that these contacts with the northern metal and amber routes were indirect rather than direct, with a nearby local tie,

such as Pontecagnano or Capua, serving as an intermediary. Unfortunately, the precise identity of the intermediary remains unconfirmed as the materials require scientific analysis. However, the imports highlight that the Oliveto-Cairano communities had connections with the Adriatic coast from the 8th century and the Tyrrhenian from the 7th century BC. These ties illustrate how Hirpinia itself was an intermediary for trans-Apennine trade in Southern Italy.

The idea that the Oliveto-Cairano culture was somehow primitive, backward, and lagging behind the Tyrrhenian has a long standing tradition. It is based on the notion that mountain areas are isolated and closed environments. This sentiment is evident in Marzullo's comments about Oliveto-Citra lying in "an impervious area between Lucania and Hirpinia." Marzullo was among the first to excavate in Hirpinia and his view undoubtedly influenced D'Agostino's conclusion that it was a culturally closed area, when he later excavated at Oliveto-Citra.[825] While it is true that mountain communities often face adversity as a result of their locations, these interpretations do not recognise that some mountain societies are marked by connectivity and others by insularity.[826] Marzullo and D'Agostino drew their conclusions on the lack of Greek material at Oliveto-Citra at a time when Hellenocentric approaches dominated. Yet Cuozzo's view that these communities actively rejected Greek pottery should be supported by some evidence that Hirpinia actually came into direct contact with Greek material culture, which has so far not been forthcoming. To actively reject something a community needs to be aware of its existence. However, such awareness cannot be assumed based on the available evidence. Approaching these communities from a Tyrrhenian-oriented perspective has overprivileged the Greek presence on the coast and ignored the local connections of the Oliveto-Cairano culture. It is these Hellenocentric interpretations that have isolated Hirpinia rather than its geography.

The interpretations of the Iron Age phases at these communities are strongly influenced by the lens of insularity through which they have been viewed. However, not all scholars have emphasised insularity as the defining feature of this culture. Initially, the Oliveto-Cairano sites were believed to have been simple agricultural societies, which first underwent a gradual increase in wealth. This increase in wealth was then followed by the eventual emergence of the élite from the social body towards the late 8th century. Bailo Modesti asserted that the greater wealth was not a result of internal

[825] Marzullo 1930 p249; D'Agostino 1964 p94 and p99.
[826] Broodbank 2013 p67.

pressure on local agricultural resources but could be explained by external factors.[827] Firstly, he connected this wealth growth to the once profitable wool trade between Daunia and the Tyrrhenian coast, as attested to by the Daunian imports from Bisaccia.[828] As mentioned, his view relied on Strabo's description of the quality of the wool produced in Daunia. Regrettably, Strabo did not directly mention Hirpinia,[829] but Bailo Modesti argued that the role of women in these communities was elevated in comparison with other cultures due to their skills as weavers. Consequently, he associated the Daunian imports at Bisaccia with the wool trade and the subsequent appearance of female burials from the Oliveto-Cairano culture at Pontecagnano (see Chapter 2).[830] Although he did not argue for direct contact with the Greeks on the coast, he viewed the increased wealth in the hinterland and Hirpinia as an indirect result of the foundation and success of the nearby Euboian settlements.[831] This conclusion assigns Hirpinia the role of an intermediary between Daunia and the Tyrrhenian coast.[832] Bailo Modesti's narrative contrasts that of D'Agostino and Cuozzo, who see Hirpinia as an isolated and closed area. However, the evidence for the increased wealth that Bailo Modesti and others propose across the whole culture comes solely from Bisaccia as the other sites lack data from the 9th-8th centuries BC. Therefore, the evidence from one site has been used to fill the chronological gaps in the cemeteries of the other two so as to flesh out a narrative. Any conclusions on wealth across the whole culture require further corroborative data from the 8th century. Until such data becomes available, the explanation for the perceived increase in wealth cannot be sustained.

A similar case can be made for the origins of this culture, which are associated with both the Iapygians and the Balkans. The connections with the Iapygian culture of Puglia rest solely on t.3 at Cairano and the crouched/flexed position of the corpse. While some link between the Oliveto-Cairano culture and the Iapygians is not impossible, it cannot be supported by a single tomb. Furthermore, the lacuna in the data for the 8th to 7th centuries BC at Cairano does little to shed light on this situation. Still, a stronger case can be advanced for the connection between Hirpinia and the Balkans. There is scope to argue that a cultural *koine* existed in Italy that converged on women, amber, and weaving skills. As discussed in §4.1.4, Iaia highlights the fact that similar funerary costumes are found along both sides of the Adriatic in Marche, Picenum,

[827] Bailo Modesti 1982 p253.
[828] Bailo Modesti 1996 p45.
[829] Strabo *6.3.6* and *6.3.9*.
[830] Bailo Modesti 1996 p45-46, 2009 p9; Bailo Modesti/Gobbi 2010 p501-502.
[831] Bailo Modesti 1996 p44-47.
[832] De Juliis 1996 p110-111; Bailo Modesti 1996 p45.

Daunia, and Enotria/Lucania, but also on the Illyrian side of the Adriatic in the Liburnian and Iapodian areas.[833] While he does not include the women of Hirpinia, there are clear similarities between female funerary costumes in the Oliveto-Cairano tombs and the areas he mentions. This affinity may affirm his idea that the similarities between the costumes on both sides of the Adriatic resulted from women being exchanged across the Adriatic for political intermarriage.[834]

As Bailo Modesti proposed, such prominent females in Hirpinia may have been specialist textile workers involved in the wool trade between the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian coasts. The Daunian imports at Bisaccia in phase I and II are the remnants of this trade and potentially signal how the site acted as a weak tie with Pontecagnano. Bisaccia may have provided Pontecagnano with access to wool, clothing, and other textiles from South-East Italy, which may explain the presence of the Hirpinian immigrants at Pontecagnano (Chapter 3). This trans-Apennine trade could also account for the individual in t.66 or her relatives and the male in t.11 at Bisaccia acquiring access to 'global' banqueting practices (especially metal basins and spits). Initially, this global material appears restricted to an élite few at Bisaccia, with no visible evidence of competitive dynamics in the community. Yet, by the 7th and 6th centuries, it is also visible at Cairano and Oliveto-Citra, especially with the metal vessels in t.VII and t.27.

Cairano continued to access global ideas into the 5th century BC, as evidenced by the 'princely' style burials in its cemetery. These lie chronologically outside this study, so they are not covered in depth here. Noteworthy though is t.XIII of early 5th century date, which includes a grater, a bronze *situla*, a *bacino*-tripod, and a *falera ombellicata* (breastplate medal).[835] This and other burials illustrate that 5th century Cairano had stronger links with other sites in neighbouring regions (including Daunia,[836] Basilicata,[837] and Enotria) than in the 6th century.[838] These later connections must be behind Galasso and Bailo Modesti's theory that control over the wool trade passed from Bisaccia to Cairano. They argue that Cairano became the most important site in Hirpinia and controlled trade along the Ofanto-Sele river axis. While the evidence supports Cairano being well-connected in the Archaic period, it cannot support the idea that these 'princes' emerged from the social group at Cairano, built a "palace on the

[833] Iaia 2007 p25-34.
[834] Iaia 2007 p35-36.
[835] Bailo Modesti 1980 p162-165 types 1, 88, 10A and 44.
[836] Bailo Modesti 1980 p86-90 on the imports in the 5th century tombs.
[837] Bailo Modesti 1980 p86-87 *brocca* type 103B in t.XVI, t.XVII were probably produced in Melfi-Pisciolo; p87 *brocchetta* types 104A and 104B are linked to Melfi and Ruvo del Monte.
[838] Bailo Modesti 1980 p90-92 on *askos* type 110 and *brocchetta-attingitoio* type 111A (t.XIII) and 111B2 (t.XII).

hill," and then imposed a levy on local river valley traffic, as these two authors propose.[839]

The notion of the élite emerging from the social group across the culture is never fully supported by the evidence from either Bisaccia or Cairano. Whether this emergence took the form of a violent struggle or a slow transition is not stated. None of the three sites has sufficient tombs available for phase I or phase II to argue for an increase in wealth or the emergence of the élite. It appears that the evidence from each site has been used in combination to cover the lacunae in the cemeteries and to argue for changes occurring for the culture as a whole. When they are examined individually, there is a clear lack of data for such social changes. Yet the existence of the élite should not be in doubt and their access to the global feasting practices of the Tyrrhenian are likely to have accelerated the movement of goods and people. Although Hirpinia is seen as lagging behind the sites on the coast, the presence of global culture in these communities cannot be denied despite its arrival being later than at Pontecagnano.

A female tomb at Cupola near Foggia shows how these globalising traits moved gradually east from the Tyrrhenian towards the Adriatic coast. The Cupola 'princely' burial is roughly contemporary to Bisaccia t.66 and shares some common traits. Despite the similarities, it is arguably more ostentatious than its Hirpinian counterpart. Ten metal vessels were deposited in this adult female tomb alongside iron spits and firedogs. The body of the deceased was decked out in silver and gold jewellery and a large cache of amber.[840] The cemetery at Cupola is located in what was once Daunia and this tomb also included many Daunian vessels produced at either *Herdonia* (modern Ordona) or Canosa.[841] The metal vessels were Etruscan produced but probably imported from Pontecagnano.[842] All of these basins were of the beaded (*bacile ad orlo perlinato*) or brimmed rim (*bacile con orlo a tesa*) types, which are associated with the banquet and the consumption of meat.[843] Montanaro argues that the 'princely tomb culture' extended from the Tyrrhenian into the hinterland but arrived in Daunia "...con un certo ritardo..." when compared with Campania.[844] However, his view fails to recognise the role played by networks as the Cupola tomb may reflect the contacts forged through the wool trade between Daunia and Campania. Other networks were present in this area, too, such as the amber and iron trade that, according to Nijboer,

[839] Bailo Modesti 1980 p211, 1996 p48, 2009 p15-16; Galasso 2005 p53.
[840] Montanaro 2010 p23-26 for catalogue entries.
[841] Montanaro 2010 p29-32 for catalogue entries.
[842] Montanaro 2010 p27-28, p78 on Pontecagnano as a possible source for these *bacile*.
[843] Montanaro 2010 p77-79.
[844] Montanaro 2010 p100.

argues moved from the Baltic to Southern Italy and from Calabria into Northern Europe, respectively, from the late 9th century BC.[845] These exchanges were still in progress by the time the 'princely tomb culture' was forming in Italy. The Cupola tomb and the 'princely' burials at Cairano, Bisaccia, and Oliveto-Citra all appear to be entwined within a series of complex networks involving the movement of wool, amber, and people.

The later appearance of these 'princely' individuals in Hirpinia, Basilicata, and Puglia is best explained by the availability of weak ties rather than a cultural lag (*ritardo*). Nijboer's thoughts on Northern Italy and its lack of Greek pottery also offer a useful parallel here. He emphasises the strong possibility that "...the Villanovan exchange network prevented Hellenic goods from entering North and Central-East Italy till the 6th century BC. Another option is that people of these regions were not interested in Greek ceramics since it was not valued as a prestige commodity, being just pottery."[846] Bats has described the series of indigenous settlements that appeared around Greek Massalia in Southern France as "gateway communities" that were deliberately set up to access trade with the colony.[847] A similar situation to these two examples may have occurred around the Campanian plain, where gateway communities prevented Greek material from moving into Hirpinia. Contemporary trade was probably conducted via short distance exchanges, and the Greeks on the coast may have been more closely connected to the settlements nearest to them than those in the hinterland. Indigenous feasts were frequently the arena for new ideas, objects, and skills to be introduced by visitors to their hosts and global culture to be first acquired by local indigenes at sites around the Campanian plain, which may have prevented these commodities from passing into the hinterland.[848] This buffer zone may explain why new innovations took longer to move from the Tyrrhenian coast east to Hirpinia and Puglia. However, the presence of metal vessels along the Ofanto-Sele river valleys at Bisaccia, Cairano, and Oliveto-Citra does indicate that this global culture was gradually being acquired by hinterland communities. Whether they were aware of it or not, by using Orientalising material culture prominent members of these Hirpinian communities were able to reference the new burial practices taking hold at Pontecagnano.

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[845] Nijboer 2010 p7-17.
[846] Nijboer 2010 p17.
[847] Malkin 2011 p163-164 citing Bats 1992.
[848] Nijboer 2013 p96.

5. The Sarno Valley

5.1 Introduction

5.1.1 Defining the Sarno Valley Culture

Fig. 5. 1. Map of the Sarno Valley area (M. Perna)

The sites discussed in this chapter are located in an area known as the Sarno Valley. These are San Marzano sul Sarno, San Valentino Torio, Striano, and Poggiomarino. Aside from Poggiomarino, they are only known from their cemeteries and are in close proximity to each other, at a maximum distance of 4km. Such proximity raises the question of whether each cemetery belonged to an individual site or served a single but as yet unidentified, settlement located somewhere in the area. This question cannot be currently answered without further data. While I am aware that these may have been individual settlements, this chapter combines all three sites into a single case study and follows Italian scholarship by treating them as an archaeological culture. However, the aim is not to confirm culture-history approaches but to allow a closer comparison with the much larger dataset from Pontecagnano (Chapter 3).

The Sarno Valley is located to the south-east of Naples on an extensive fluvial plain. It is defined by Vesuvius on the west and the Monte Lattari range on the east

while, its southern extremity lies on the Tyrrhenian (Fig. 5.1).[849] The plain is divided in two by the river Sarno (Lat. *Sarnus*), which gives the area its name.[850] The Sarno was an important conduit between the sea and the communities that sprang up around it in antiquity.[851] Strabo notes its importance when describing the flow of goods along the Sarno from Nola to Pompeii, but he calls Pompeii merely the port town that served Nola, Nucceria (Noceria), and Acherrae (Acerra).[852] While describing the Sarno area as controlled by the Oscans, Tyrrhenians, Pelasgians, and then the Samnites, he omits the Greeks from his list, whereas Pliny the Elder includes them in his.[853] Other Roman sources, such as Silius Italicus and Vergil, mention the *Sarrasti* as the inhabitants of the Sarno plain, an identity that possibly survives in the inscription *Sarrhastes* on the Hellenistic coinage of Nuceria.[854]

While the exact identity of these Iron Age populations is unknown, they are materially associated with the *Fossakultur*. Greek and Roman writers mention the presence of the *Opicians* and *Ausones* in the Sarno area; these tribes have consequently been associated with the *Fossakultur* group. The Sarno Valley settlements therefore share affinities with Prehellenic Cuma, Stabia, Nola, and Avella.[855] Cemeteries were discovered at San Marzano, San Valentino Torio, and Striano, but the actual settlements they correspond to are unknown. Consequently, these three burial areas are often studied as a homogenous cultural group, which blurs our understanding of this part of Campania. This is probably necessitated by the state of the publication record and an overdependence on funerary data. Yet this method has also permitted the construction of a regional narrative promoting the idea that external groups were culturally superior. Recent evidence from Poggiomarino has the potential to transform our knowledge of the area (§5.1.3 and Appendix V.2). This chapter will redress such an imbalance by examining the strong and weak ties held by the Sarno Valley communities. The funerary data from the sites of San Marzano, San Valentino Torio, and Striano will be grouped together into four phases to enable comparison with Pontecagnano and the Oliveto-Cairano culture. A total of 124 tombs from all three sites are studied in this chapter. The Sarno Valley area has traditionally been divided into five chronological

[849] Dé Spagnolis 2001 p15.
[850] Dé Spagnolis 2001 p15.
[851] Dé Spagnolis 2001 p23; Frederiksen 1984 p19.
[852] Strabo *Geog.*V.4.8; Guzzo 2006 p222.
[853] Strabo *Geog.* V.246-247; Pliny *Nat. Hist.* III.60; Dé Spagnolis 2001 p26.
[854] Silius Italicus *Punica* VIII, 536-537; Vergil *Aeneid* VII.733-738; Dé Spagnolis 2001 p15, 2000 p27.
[855] Cerchiai 2010 p13.

phases covering the Prehellenic to Archaic periods,[856] but there are not enough tombs to place them into each phase. Consequently, to facilitate a comparison with the case studies in the previous chapters, I have divided them into four phases: phase I (850-775 BC), phase II (775-725 BC), phase III (725-640 BC), and phase IV (640-500 BC). For further discussion of the tomb sample and the publication history of these sites, see Appendix V.1.

5.1.2 The Sarno Valley Area from the 9th to the 6th Centuries BC

The cemeteries in San Marzano, San Valentino, and Striano were occupied from the 9th century BC.[857] A fourth site discovered at Poggiomarino/Longola shows signs of continuous occupation from the Bronze to Iron Ages (§5.1.3, Appendix V.2). The exact status of the Sarno culture remains unclear, as does the issue of whether these closely located cemeteries corresponded to a single settlement. Despite such uncertainties, scholarship has treated these communities as a homogenous and primitive cultural group. The absence of imports in the early phases, the layout of the cemeteries, and the lack of differentiation among the various burials has led to the idea that these were simple farming communities with no social structure or a simple subsistence economy. According to current interpretations, a large area of land was set aside for these three cemeteries, with ample space around each tomb. Their largely diffused layout has led Cerchiai to argue that there was no pressure on land for funerary purposes and that little of the land was required for agriculture.[858] He continues his argument by asserting that these communities produced no agricultural surplus. They used the available land for subsistence farming, therefore constituting "simple backward farming communities" of the pagus-vicus system. This system derives from the Latin term *pagano-vicanica*, which has been used to classify the pre-urban organisation of the pre-Roman countryside. Combining the Latin words *vicus* (village) and *pagus* (the administrative district the villages were incorporated into), the model has been applied by both Italian and Anglophone scholarship.[859] This interpretation of the Sarno Valley by D'Agostino and others has led to these communities being viewed as backward or less advanced.[860] However, the retrojection of the later Roman term *pagano-vicanica* onto Iron Age

[856] For the conventional chronologies see Dé Spagnolis 2001 p61.
[857] Cerchiai 1995 p30; Dé Spagnolis 2001 p23-31. On the Bronze Age see Guzzo 2006; Albore Livadie/Cicirelli 2003; Albore Livadie *et al.* 2005.
[858] Cerchiai 1995 p31.
[859] See Scopacasa 2015 p161 and Stek 2009 esp. p65-68, 107-121 with reference to this model in Samnium and cult place in Republican Italy respectively.
[860] Frederiksen 1979, 1984 p135; D'Agostino 1988 p540; De Juliis 1996 p32.

Campania is ill-advised, especially when considering that, as Stek observes, the *pagus* appears to have Roman rather than pre-Roman origins.[861]

Although the theory of a backward culture has persisted, it is problematic to deconstruct due to the condition of current evidence. The skeletons are rarely preserved because of the acidity of the soil.[862] This makes gender difficult to assign and reliant on the deposition of specific objects. Unfortunately, weapons and weaving tools are rare finds and the use of *fibulae* in the Sarno Valley defies traditional classification systems of male and female identity.[863] Despite the sparse nature of the evidence, D'Agostino and others still refer to the Sarno communities as simple, backward, and primitive when compared with the Greek and Villanovan settlements.[864] This sentiment explains how the earliest phases (850-775 BC) are interpreted: homogenous and egalitarian, reflecting a closed culture.[865] According to this view, social status markers are absent in burial assemblages, and these societies were organised on the basis of life-stages rather than status.

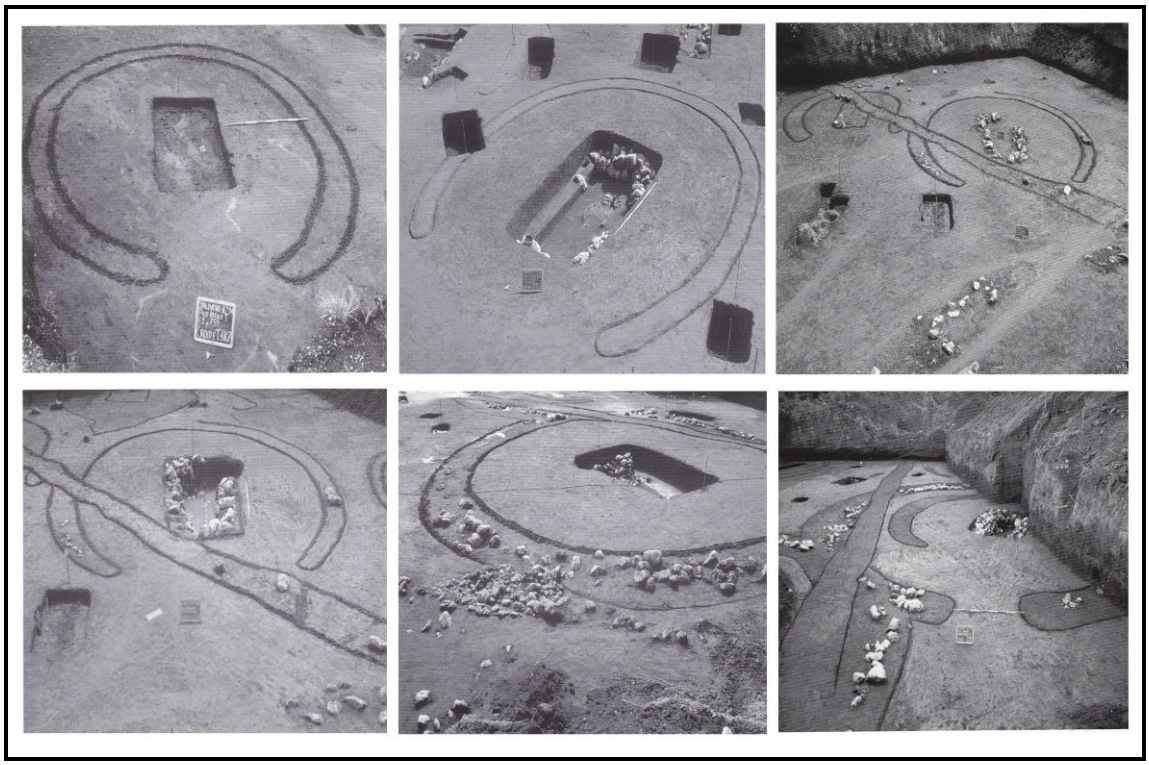

Fig. 5. 2. Unpublished tombs from the San Marzano and San Valentino Torio cemeteries (after De Spagnolis (2001) p52-55 figs. 11-16

The burials during this period are of the *Fossakultur* type: an inhumation trench (*fossa*) lined and covered with pebbles and, in some cases, a secondary outer trench cut

[861] Stek 2009 p120-121.
[862] Gastaldi 1979 p14-17.
[863] D'Agostino 1970 p577-579.
[864] D'Agostino 1990 p74-75 2006 p231-232. Similarly, Cerchiai 2005 p189-190; Cuozzo 2007 p250, 2016 p20.
[865] Gastaldi 1982 p226; Dé Spagnolis 2001 p63; Cuozzo 2007 p252-253.

(*controfossa*), where a ledge sometimes holds further grave goods (Fig. 5.2).[866] Some tombs include an additional circular canal trench around them, with an opening near the feet of the deceased that creates a kind of a 'doorway' to the tomb. This feature is specific to the Sarno Valley. It is often explained as the foundation trench for a cabin or hut above the tomb. Present around many prominent tombs at San Marzano and San Valentino, it is viewed in some cases as a higher status burial.[867] Dé Spagnolis refutes this cabin hypothesis due to the lack of evidence of post holes in the foundation trenches. Yet such structures may reflect the actual domestic structures of the Sarno communities. While the main evidence relating to this culture has long been the tombs and their grave goods, some evidence of wooden habitations was proposed by early excavators. At the turn of the 20th century, Dall'Osso discovered a series of wooden posts at *Località Zecchignoli*, (San Marzano), which he believed to be the buildings of the ancient settlement. Pais reviewed Dall'Osso's evidence and concluded that these features were instead evidence of land reclamation from the Sarno River a view that was widely accepted.[868] However, the discovery of wooden posts at Poggiomarino nearly 100 years later (§5.1.3) suggests that Dall'Osso's interpretation may have been correct. The evidence from Poggiomarino has thus revived questions regarding the Sarno Valley.

However, others have used the evidence of the possible domestic structures to reinforce the interpretation that the Sarno Valley communities were backward and less advanced than their peers. The presumptive wooden huts have been combined with ancient sources to promote this interpretation. For example, Strabo's description that the *Opicians* in Campania lived in wooden huts in sparse villages has been used by Cerchiai to support the idea that these communities were less advanced than the Villanovans in the region.[869] Cerchiai uses Strabo's observation to support both his subsistence farming hypothesis and egalitarianism for the Iron Age.[870] Admittedly, these communities may have lived in wooden huts, but the settlements themselves remain unidentified much of the evidence on the earliest phases at these sites is unpublished, so their less advanced status cannot be confirmed.

Current interpretations argue that social stratification emerged during the 8th century BC following a phase of egalitarianism. The monumentalisation of the tomb

[866] D'Agostino 1975 p504; Gastaldi 1982 p223; Cerchiai 1995 p30-31; Dé Spagnolis 2001 p48-51.
[867] D'Agostino 1975 p504; Cerchiai 1995 p31.
[868] Dé Spagnolis 2001 p43-44 with bibliography; Longo 2010a p71-72.
[869] Cerchiai 1995 p31, Strabo *Geog.*V.4.12.
[870] Cerchiai 1995 p31, Strabo *Geog.*V.4.12.

and the cemetery layout plan (with areas left in the centre for what is described as a 'village of the dead') at San Marzano and San Valentino are taken as evidence of social stratification.[871] Amongst the many unpublished graves at San Marzano were cremations with bronze cauldrons similar to those discussed in Chapter 3.[872] Yet, more illustrative of the new wealth are t.178 and t.180 at San Valentino, both dating to the mid-8th century BC. The woman in t.178 had her arms covered with bracelets, and she was buried with a bronze scythe (unique among female burials), an imported Greek jug, nine weaving tools, and two small iron hooks "that were maybe instruments for carding wool."[873] These hooks recall the ones identified by Bailo Modesti in t.5496 at Pontecagnano for the same purpose (§4.1.6). T.180 was a male warrior burial with a rich cache of weapons, a razor, and 13 ceramic vessels a higher number than in other contemporary male burials.[874] These burials are cited by Cerchiai and others when they argue for an increase in the wealth of the community (*salto di qualità*) due to contact with Euboian Greeks after the foundation of Pithekoussai.[875]

Three unpublished tombs dating to the last quarter of the 8th century BC show how San Valentino was also open to ideas prevalent on the Tyrrhenian coast. The female in t.630 was interred with metal vessels and a Proto-Corinthian *oinochoe*, and the male burial t.633 included iron spits, horse bits, and a rich warrior assemblage.[876] In t.168, a prominent female was buried in the centre of the necropolis along with weaving tools and imported pots, including a Daunian *askos* and an extremely large LG *krater* made at Pithekoussai and then transported to the Sarno Valley.[877] Both Cerchiai and D'Agostino highlight the rarity of this vessel shape on the mainland and its role in Greek drinking rituals to argue that the symposium had been adopted in the Sarno Valley and that this female participated in such ceremonies.[878] However, it is unlikely that this single vessel, the only *krater* found in Iron Age Campania, reflects a wholesale adoption of the symposium and its accompanying equipment across the entire valley. Such a theory cannot rest on one vase alone. The *krater* does indicate that Greek vessels were accepted as gifts which could then be integrated into local grave good offerings.

Interaction between the Sarno communities and Pithekoussai is normally explained as resulting from the Greek's motivation to find food since the *chora* on

[871]Gastaldi 1982 p239; Cerchiai 1995 p33-36; Dé Spagnolis 2001 p66-72; Cuozzo 2007 p253.
[872] Frederikson 1979 p297 mentions six burials but provides neither tomb numbers nor their dates.
[873] Gastaldi 1979 p23 and p50, Cerchiai 1995 p35-36.
[874] Gastaldi 1979 p49-50; Cerchiai 1995 p35.
[875] Cerchiai 1995 p35; Gastaldi 1982; D'Agostino 1990; Dé Spagnolis 2001.
[876] Rota 1981 p375-376; Cerchiai 1995 p98.
[877] Cerchiai 1995 p98; Dé Spagnolis 2001 p73-75.
[878] D'Agostino 1975 p507; Cerchiai 1995 p98, 2010 p51-52.

Ischia is believed to have been inadequate for the settlement's needs.[879] Consequently, there followed a period of trade for food with the local communities, leading to increased wealth in the Sarno area. Built into the trade-for-food hypothesis is the perception that these communities were backward, agricultural societies that apparently had little to offer the advanced Greeks.[880] However, the inadequacy of the *chora* to support Pithekoussai is debatable given that palaeo-botanical samples from the Punta Chiarito farmhouse on the island point to vines, olives, and apples being cultivated and grown during the 8th century.[881] In addition, Dé Spagnolis highlights the lack of identifiable traces of cultivation around the Sarno Valley settlements,[882] something that challenges the hypothesis that the Sarno Valley was producing food for Pithekoussai. Nevertheless, Cuozzo and others still characterise the once-closed Sarno communities as 'opening up' to external contact with the Greeks on the coast.[883] Expanding on this idea, Cerchiai and Dé Spagnolis believe that contact with the Greeks led the Sarno communities to forge their own ethnic identity in opposition to the newcomers. Prior to the foundation of Cumae, the number of grave goods deposited in the cemeteries rises, which is interpreted as a growing preference for quantity over quality.[884] Higher numbers of Greek ceramics are almost exclusively deposited in either female or infant burials.[885] Cerchiai argues that male warriors reacted to Greek contact by rejecting their ceramics in favour of a traditional form of self-representation.[886] However, this repudiation does not explain the simultaneous decline in weapons in male burials.[887] If traditional warrior roles were being emphasised, it does not follow that fewer weapons would be deposited. It is instead feasible that males were replaced as the key figures in the community by more prominent females, as the presence of sacrificial knives in their tombs may indicate.[888]

The way Cerchiai, D'Agostino and Cuozzo interpret the development of the Sarno Valley again derives from a Hellenocentric approach to interaction. These scholars adhere to the view that supplying Pithekoussai with foodstuffs rendered the Sarno Valley settlements dependent on the trade of Greek goods. They view the contact with

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[879] For example De Juliis 1996 p32; Cerchiai 2005 p190; Guzzo 2006 p222.
[880] Cerchiai 1995 p36, 2005 p189-190; D'Agostino 2006 p231-232.
[881] De Caro 1994; Coubray 1994; Gialanella 1998 p96; D'Agostino 1999d; Coldstream 1994a p51 argues that the whole island was a Euboian *chora.*
[882] Dé Spagnolis 2001 p34-35 and p42.
[883] Gastaldi 1982 p239; Dé Spagnolis 2001 p69 p41-42; Cuozzo 2007 p253.
[884] Gastaldi 1982 p230; Cerchiai 1995 p96; Dé Spagnolis 2001 p69.
[885] Cerchiai 1995 p36; Dé Spagnolis 2001 p73-77; Cuozzo 2007 p253.
[886] Cerchiai 1995 p36.
[887] Dé Spagnolis 2001 p73.
[888] Dé Spagnolis 2001 p77-82.

the more advanced Greek culture as accelerating the slow emergence of social stratification in the area.[889] However, this relationship did not last for long. The widely held view is that the foundation of Cumae was a violent conquest of the indigenous settlement that finally provided the colonists with a sufficient *chora*. Trade with the Sarno Valley ceased, which pushed its communities into an internal crisis.[890] Cumae now controlled the Campanian plain, and all indigenous groups were driven to its edge. This exclusion from the plain caused much resentment triggering what is called "un processo di riaggregazione del mondo indigeno," and new settlements emerged on the edge of the plain.[891] The resentment the *Opicians* felt fermented over time and led to the later Oscan invasions and reconquest of Campania in the 5th century BC.[892] While the need-for-food hypothesis has tried to explain the reasons behind the foundation of Cumae, little evidence is offered regarding the crisis in the Sarno area or indigenous groups being forced to the edge of the plain. Moreover, although Cumae is explained as dominating the plain, by the mid-7th century BC, much of Campania apparently changed from a Greek to an Etruscan *koine*. This view undoubtedly draws a description in later ancient sources of an Etruscan league of 12 cities (*Dodecapoli*), as well as from accounts of the battle of Cumae in 474 BC, which was motivated by a Greek desire to curtail the Etruscanisation of Campania.[893] These latter events are combined with the increased presence of *bucchero* and Etruscan inscriptions in the cemeteries to argue for Etruscan hegemony over the Sarno area.[894] Therefore, it appears that the theories of trade in foodstuffs, dependency on the Greeks, and internal crisis in the Sarno area are a convenient way of creating a linear narrative to explain the progression from Greek, Etruscan, and later Oscan domination over the area. If this is the case, then Oscan resentment at losing their territory has been retrojected onto their Iron Age ancestors, an ethnic group whose identity remains blurred and who possibly had little connection to the later Oscans. The Sarno Valley settlements were supposedly abandoned around the mid-6th century BC, and the population is believed to have relocated to the newly founded settlements of Pompeii and Nuceria.[895] This migration is a notion rarely

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[889] D'Agostino 1975 p506, 1990 p74-75; Dé Spagnolis 2001 p74; Guzzo 2006 p222; Cuozzo 2007 p252-253.
[890] D'Agostino 1990 p74-75; Cuozzo 2007 p253.
[891] Cerchiai 1987b p45-48, 1995 p36 and p99, 2005 p192; Dé Spagnolis 2001 p73; Cuozzo 2007 p253-5.
[892] Cerchiai 1987b p45-48.
[893] On the Dodecapoli see Livy VII.21, Strabo *Geog.* V.4.3. On the battle of Cumae, Diodorus *Bibl.*11.51; Pindar *Pyth* 1.72.
[894] D'Agostino 1988 p544-568; Lomas 1993 p29; Cerchiai 1995 p103-104, 2010 p65-66; Dé Spagnolis 2001 p83.
[895] Dé Spagnolis 2001; Cerchiai 1987b p46, 1995 p127, 2010 p60-61.

reinforced with evidence, but the site of Poggiomarino may shed light on the final phases of the Sarno Valley and whether such a population move took place.

5.1.3 Poggiomarino

The remnants of an ancient settlement occupied from the Bronze Age until the mid-6th century BC were discovered at Poggiomarino/Longola in the summer of 2000. The finds from this unique site have shown that it has the potential to challenge current ideas on regional interaction in Campania.[896] Waterlogged conditions have preserved wooden domestic structures, canals, and an unprecedented variety of objects that attest to daily life in the Sarno Valley (Fig. 5.3).[897] Poggiomarino sits inside a natural basin surrounded by a series of small hills where the modern towns of San Marzano, San Valentino Torio, and Striano lie.[898] Poggiomarino's proximity to the Sarno River was crucial to the development of the site and its unique layout and buildings.[899] Initially, the river passed through the area upon which the settlement was later established, but it had begun to silt up by the Bronze Age and resembled a marshy swamp.[900] Poggiomarino was first occupied during the Mid Bronze Age, but it is likely that the Sarno River still gave the inhabitants access to the Tyrrhenian.[901] The evidence indicates a deliberate alteration of the marsh area by the local population through a continuous and comprehensive process of land reclamation, which involved damming the marshes into a series of canals to form artificial islands on the dry spaces between the waterways.[902] The canal banks were consistently reinforced and maintained through palisades, while the floor level of the islands underwent constant increases as a result of deliberate interventions. From the Bronze Age onwards, the maintenance of a settlement between the canals continued until its abandonment in the mid-6th century BC.[903] This abandonment coincides with the emergence of the nearby protourban settlements at Pompeii and Nuceria, leading to the assumption that the population at Poggiomarino moved to these two sites.[904]

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[896] Cicirelli 2003 p351, 2008 p473; Albore Livadie *et al.* 2005 p699.
[897] Cicirelli/Albore Livadie 2008 p475-476; Albore Livadie *et al.* 2005 p699.
[898] Albore Livadie *et al.* 2005 p700; Cicirelli 2003 p354; Guzzo 2006 p218.
[899] Guzzo 2006 p218-219.
[900] Albore Livadie *et al.* 2005 p700.
[901] Albore Livadie/Cicirelli 2003 p97.
[902] Cicirelli/Albore Livadie 2008 p475-477 and p480, 2003 p354-355; Albore Livadie 2012A p21, Albore Livadie/Cicirelli 2003 p89-91 ; Albore Livadie *et al.* 2005 p700; Guzzo 2006 p219.
[903] Albore Livadie 2008 p480-481; Albore Livadie/Cicirelli 2003 p108, 124.
[904] Cicirelli 2012a p22.

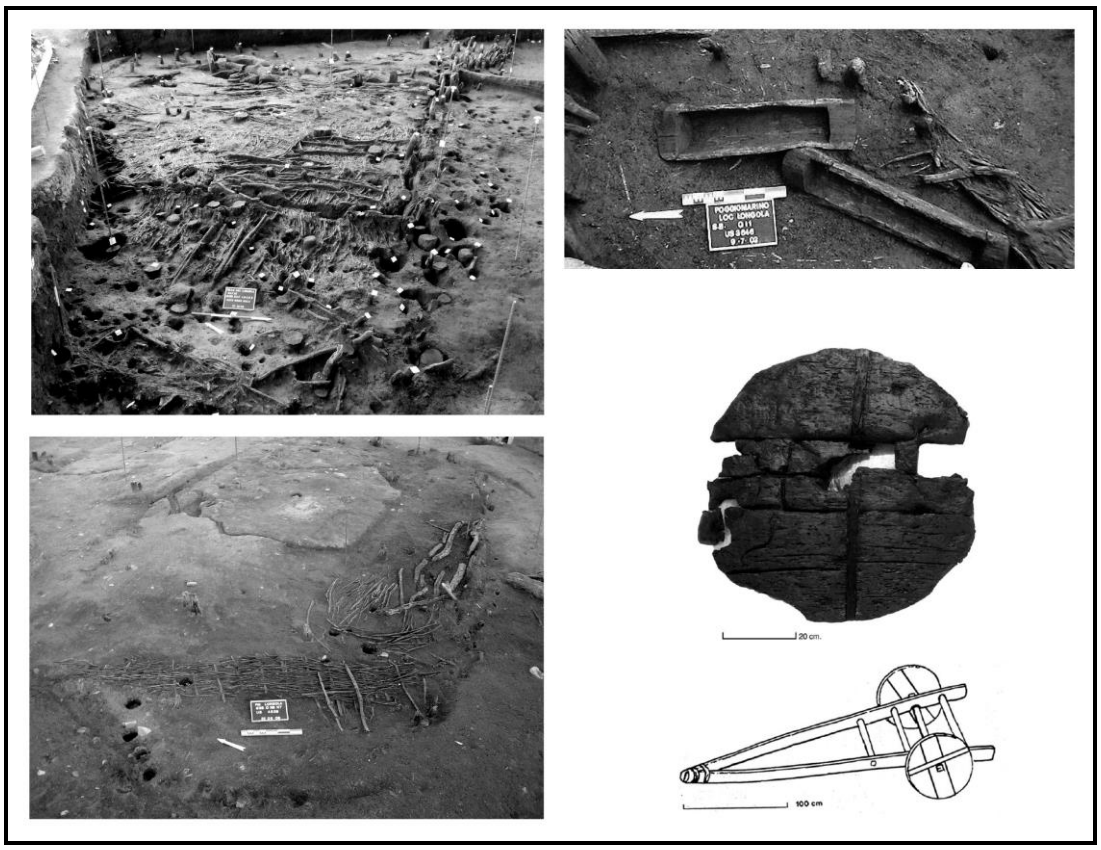

Fig. 5. 3 Wooden structures and objects from Poggiomarino/Longola (adapted from Cicirelli-Albore Livadie (2008) p478-479 figs. 6-7, p480 fig.8, p485 fig.12).

The islands held houses, stables, and buildings for specialised crafts, all built of wood and located on platforms above the water.[905] Divided into rooms by partition walls, these structures were generally 12/10 x 5/3 m in dimension. Hearths were found in many buildings, and the external areas were often the locus of industrial or craft activity.[906] Each island was connected by the canals, as the canoes discovered in them show.[907] This unique site recalls Dall'Osso's discoveries at San Marzano in the early 20th century. While he believed he had discovered a settlement, his contemporaries refuted his interpretation.[908] Albore Livadie, the excavator of Poggiomarino, now feels that Dall'Osso's theory was correct and that he had found a type of settlement similar to that at Poggiomarino. Investigations by the *Soprintendenza di Pompeii* along the Sarno River in 2007 revealed other possible riverine settlements at *Località Martucciello* and *Località Acquarossa*. Albore Livadie believes that this habitation type was used by the

[905] Albore Livadie *et al.* 2005 p704.
[906] Albore Livadie 2012b p46-50, 2008 p483; Albore Livadie *et al.* 2005 p704; Albore Livadie/Cicirelli 2003 p112-114; Cicirelli 2008 p476, 2003 p356.
[907] Cicirelli/Albore Livadie 2008 p477; Guzzo 2006 p220 ; Albore Livadie *et al.* 2005 p700; Albore Livadie/Cicirelli 2003 p97-98.
[908] Dé Spagnolis 2001 p43-44; Longo 2010a p71-72; Guzzo 2006 p220; Albore Livadie/Cicirelli 2003 p115-118; Cicirelli/Albore Livadie 2008 p476.

majority of the Sarno Valley communities.[909] While Poggiomarino is enriching our knowledge of the diverse forms of settlement possible in Campania, the finds from the site challenge the notion that the Sarno Valley was a culturally closed area until the Greeks arrived. At Poggiomarino, considerable evidence exists of diverse crafts that accentuate its unique status. Aside from the vast corpus of wooden objects produced there,[910] metallurgy, amber working, and wine making are all also attested.[911] Studies on the grape pips from Poggiomarino found them to be predominantly of the cultivated rather than wild variety. This shows that vine cultivation and wine making took place in the Iron Age.[912] The craft activities undertaken at Poggiomarino point to ties the settlement held before the Euboians and others arrived. For example, the *fibulae* and pins recovered from refuse and domestic contexts show links with Sicily, Bologna, Villanovan sites in Etruria and Campania, Picenum, and the *Fossakultur* in Calabria.[913] Isotope analysis of the lead slag samples from Poggiomarino revealed two possible provenances – South-Western Sardinia or Southern Spain (the Rio-Tinto Huelva or Alpujarride areas of Andalusia).[914] Furthermore, lithic analysis on a large number of pebbles found at Poggiomarino pointed to either Sardinia or Ischia as their place of origin. Di Mais suggests the pebbles were ballast from ships arriving at Poggiomarino and were left behind after the vessels were loaded with cereals or other local goods.[915] Most significant are the blocks of imported raw and worked amber, which indicate it was being processed *in situ* from the Bronze Age to the Orientalising period.[916] This material is difficult to source, and the DRIFTS analyses identified Baltic, non-Baltic, and Apennine amber in the sample,[917] thus reinforcing the idea of long-distance links with the amber road in Northern Italy.[918] Furthermore, the abundant tools associated with textile production at the site have been connected to the presence of specialised female weavers from Hirpina and Daunia.[919]

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[909] Albore Livadie 2012a p20; Albore Livadie/Cicirelli 2003 p89-90 *contra* Dé Spagnolis 2001 who believes the communities lived on the hills above the cemeteries in the area.
[910] Pappalardo/Albore Livadie 2012 p174-180.
[911] Guzzo 2006 p220; Cicirelli/Albore Livadie 2008 p476, 2003 p358; Cicirelli *et al.* 2008; Albore Livadie *et al.* 2005 p701; Albore Livadie 2012a p21, 2012e p142-147.
[912] Cicirelli *et al.* 2008 p574-575.
[913] Cicirelli 2012b p155-157.
[914] Cicirelli/Albore Livadie 2008 p478.
[915] Cicirelli/Albore Livadie 2008 p480 [Di Mais].
[916] Cicirelli/Albore Livadie 2008 p477-478; Albore Livadie 2008 p483; Livadie 2012a p21; Cicirelli 2003 p358; Guzzo 2006 p220; Albore Livadie *et al.* 2005 p701
[917] Bellintani/Angelini 2012 p162-164.
[918] Cesarano/Bellintani 2012 p168-169.
[919] Pappalardo *et al.* 2011 p25; Bailo Modesti/Gobbi 2010.

Imported vessels at Poggiomarino further demonstrate its connections. The early phases yielded fragments of Villanovan vessels of a style that influenced the local *impasto* production.[920] The *saggio 2A* area of the excavation contributed diverse fragments of Greek LG and MG cups, Enotrian *a tenda* vessels, a Daunian LG *olla*, and fragments of *bucchero*.[921] A recent monograph on the site has done much to improve our knowledge of the area; yet most of the information it provides is in report form, especially the sections concerning the imported pottery. These sections do not provide an exact number for fragments or individual pots, something the excavators readily admit.[922] I was fortunate to visit the site in November 2011 and can attest to the vast stores of pottery held in large storage containers still to be catalogued. This accounts for the monograph being a preliminary study. The combined data from amber, lead, pebbles, imported *fibulae*, pins, and pots shows that the Longola/Poggiomarino site had numerous diverse connections from the Bronze to the Iron Age. As Albore Livadie suggests, there is ample evidence for an extensive network of relationships in place before the Greeks arrived. Poggiomarino was a key node in this local network, not only because its location was perfect for trade but also because it produced a wide variety of objects.[923] These connections should be kept in mind when drawing conclusions on the notion that the Sarno Valley was less advanced or closed to external contact.

[920] Bartoli 2012 p140-141.
[921] Albore Livadie/Cicirelli 2003 p123.
[922] Albore Livadie 2012c p124, Albore Livadie 2012d p131-133.
[923] Albore Livadie 2012a p21.

5.2 Data Analysis

5.2.1 The Sarno Valley Sites Phase I Tombs (850-775 BC)

Object type	Number	%	Imports	%
Weapons	4	8%		
Decorative objects	10	19%		
Fibulae	11	21%		
Instruments	1	2%		
Razors	1	2%		
Pottery	25	48%		
Total	52	-	0	
Tombs	7	-		

Table 5. 1 Total objects for Sarno Valley phase I

Phase I has seven tombs and a total of 52 objects, with pottery forming nearly half of the grave goods (Table 5.1). These burials date across Prehellenic phases I (850-800 BC) and II (800-775 BC) and at first glance point to a simple community that was unstratified in social terms. The burials come from only two of the sites: one tomb is from San Marzano and six from Striano. No burials from San Valentino are published across this period (Appendix V.1-V.2). This is a small sample that covers about 75 years. Therefore, these burials are not fully representative of this cultural group for the

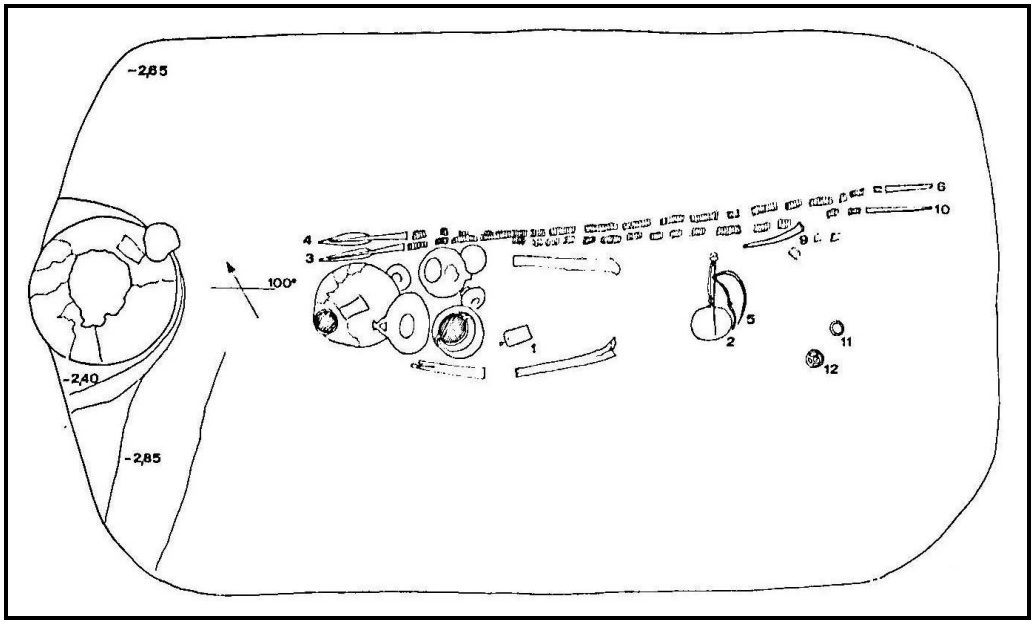

Fig. 5. 4. San Marzano t.4 (after D'Agostino (1970) p574, fig. 2)

EIA. Furthermore, most of the objects comes from Striano, which also has a higher number of tombs. In terms of the gender, age and status of these individuals, information is only provided for three of the tombs from Striano. The excavators deem

both *Via Serafina* t.40 and *Via Palma* t.1 to be adult male burials, while *Via Serafina* t.41 is believed to be a child burial based on the size and length of the grave trench.[924]

It is generally hard to identify gender in the Sarno Valley as no osteological remains survive. Unsurprisingly, no female tombs were identified in this phase since no weaving tools were found. Despite gender information not being forthcoming for t.4 at San Marzano, a male burial is possible based on the presence of weapons (Fig. 5.4). The burials in this phase have modest grave goods, with four of the seven tombs having a minimum of eight and a maximum of 16 objects. All of the pottery is local handmade *impasto*, with no imports or imitations present in the sample. Pouring (11) and drinking (7) shapes dominate, and eating vessels are low in number (Fig. 5.5). If any feasting practices took place as part of local funerary rituals, then they involved the pouring of libations, not the consumption of food at the graveside. The most frequent pot types are variations of the *brocca/brocchetta* (6), *anfora/anforetta* (5), and the *tazza/coppa* (4). Only a very small quantity of amber and pasta vitrea objects are found in this set (1 bead of each). There are no observable signs of social stratification, but this is probably due to the small tomb sample rather than this culture being an egalitarian community.

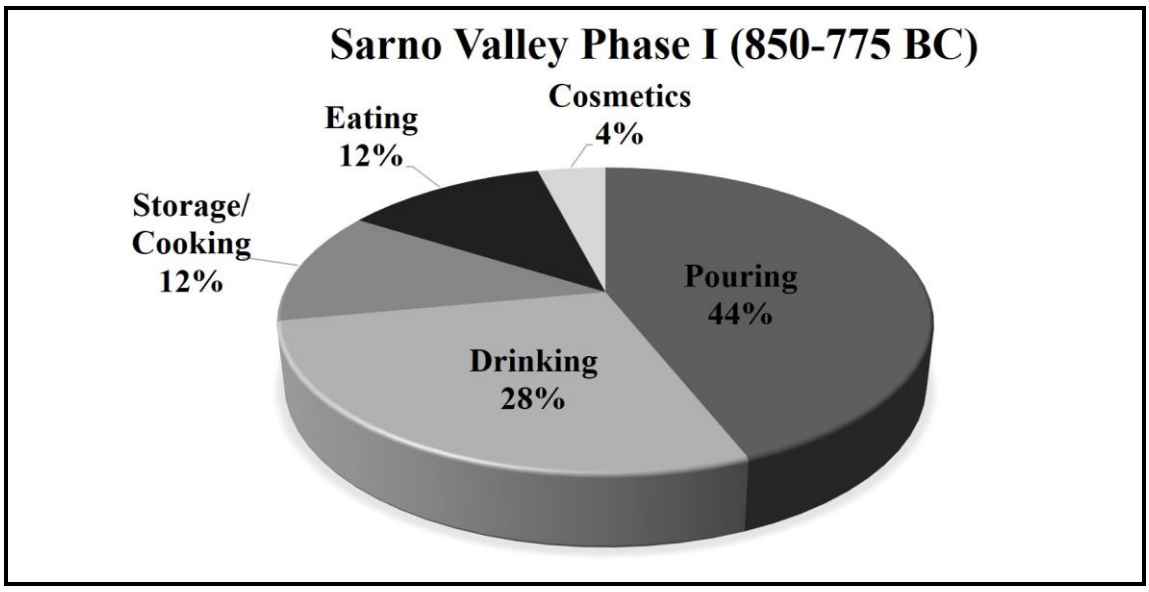

Fig. 5. 5 Pie-chart showing the Sarno Valley pots from phase I by function

These seven tombs suggest the communities had no connections outside the Sarno Valley area, yet the raw materials used to produce their grave goods show that more than 50% were imported from outside the region (Table 5.2). Therefore, the bronze, iron, and amber objects attest to the existence of a local network before the Greek arrival that gave the valley communities access to the metal and amber trade routes of

[924] D'Ambrosio 1988 p87-90; Ambrosio 2009 p167-170.

Northern Italy and the Alps. Furthermore, the single glass bead in the sample indicates a link with the Tyrrhenian coast.

Material	**Total**	**%**
Bronze	22	42%
Iron	3	6%
Amber	1	2%
Glass (*pasta vitrea*)	1	2%
Total	**27**	**52%**
Total metals	**25**	**48%**
Total grave goods	**52**	**100%**

Table 5. 2 Sarno Valley imported materials in phase I

As discussed in Chapter 2, Conte *et alii* have shown that the Sarno Valley area was involved in trade with the Mediterranean before the Greeks arrived. They believe that glass was brought to Italy by the Phoenicians.[925] Although the amber and glass objects are very few, they still challenge the image of an isolated community. The Sarno area clearly had network ties with wider exchange networks even in the 9th century BC. While it is impossible to pinpoint the exact node or nodes providing the access to metals and amber, the most likely candidate is Pontecagnano, which had close connections to Etruria and the north during the 9th century BC. Further archaeometric analysis will help to uncover the nature and extent of this trade.

5.2.2 The Sarno Valley Network Phase I (850-775 BC)

Because no imports are known in phase I, locally produced objects accounted for 100% of the grave goods. At first glance, the lack of imports seems to confirm the notion that these communities were culturally closed. The three sites examined here are defined as an archaeological culture by Italian scholarship. The similarities in their material culture means they probably formed a clique of strong ties. The graph based on the grave goods (Fig. 5.6) shows the three Sarno Valley sites as closely connected, with no known long-distance ties. However, the conventional interpretation of these settlements as closed and backward is challenged by the second graph (Fig. 5.7). With over 50% of the grave goods made using imported material, the Sarno communities clearly had connections to the metal and amber trade across Northern Italy. The Sarno Valley was far from closed and had access to various materials long before the Greeks began trading with its inhabitants for food.

[925] Conte *et al.* 2016 p430-431.

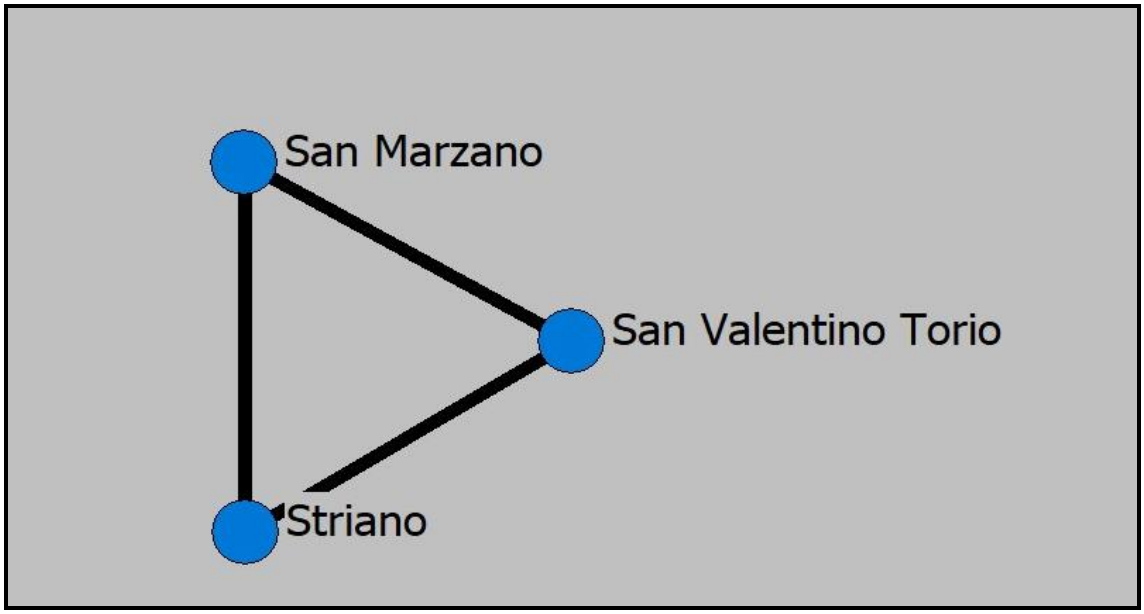

Fig. 5. 6. Network graph showing the ties of the three Sarno Valley sites in phase I based on similarities (using UCINET)

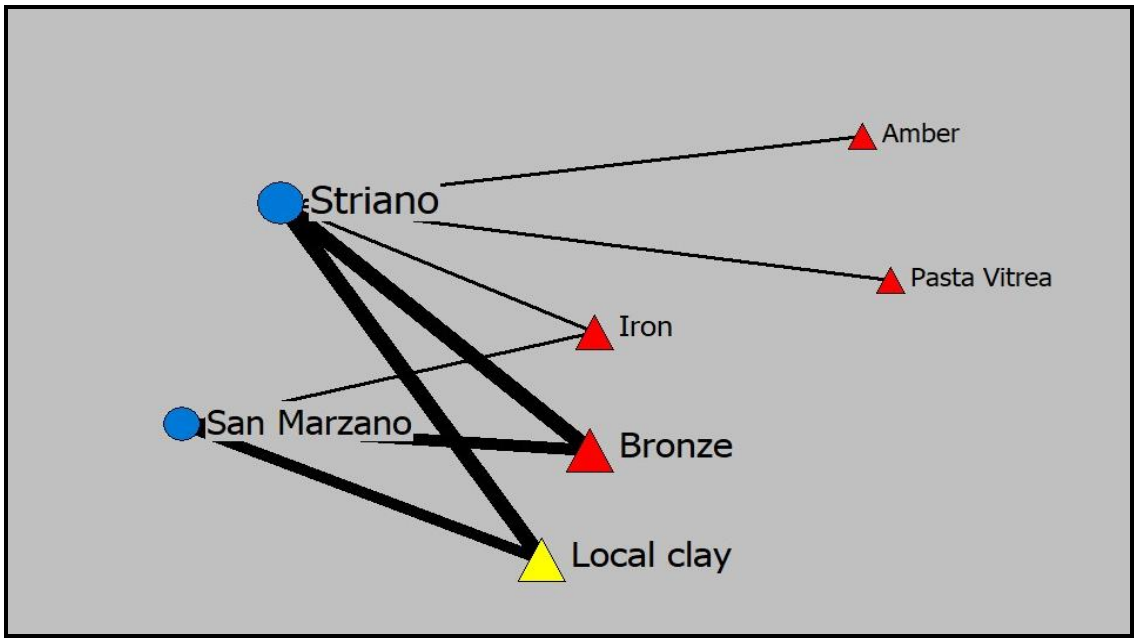

Fig. 5. 7. Network graph showing the ties of the three Sarno Valley sites in phase I based on raw materials (using UCINET)

5.2.3 The Sarno Valley Sites Phase II Tombs (775-725 BC).

Object type	Number	%	Imports	%	Imitations	%
Weaving tools	22	7%				
Weapons	2	0.6%				
Decorative objects	135	42%				
Fibulae	29	9%				
Instruments	5	1.6%				
Beads	44	13.8%				
Pottery	83	26%	1	0.3%	1	0.3%
Total	320		1	0.3%	1	0.3%
Tombs	17					

Table 5. 3 Total objects for Sarno Valley phase II

Phase II is marked by a larger sample and a higher number of burials (Table 5.3). Ceramics represent a significant number (83), but the largest single category is decorative objects (135). Weaving tools were absent in the previous phase, while in phase II, they are present in five out of the 17 tombs. Weapons are low in number and only found in two burials. Imports are seen for the first time and attest to some interesting connections (see below). Although the evidence appears to support the argument for an increase in wealth in the local communities during the 8th century, the tomb sample is still only based on San Marzano and Striano, with no known published tombs from San Valentino Torio.[926] Gender and age information is available for 14 of the 17 tombs and has been assigned by the excavators largely on the presence of particular grave goods or the dimensions of the *fossa* trench. The higher number of weaving tools accounts for the seven tombs being viewed as adult females and only two tombs are deemed male. A single burial is interpreted as an adult of unknown gender, while four others are child tombs, both assumptions being based on the size of the grave (Appendix V.3). In terms of objects, five tombs include more than 20, ranging from 70 to 21 objects in each, yet none of these feature more than eight pots. T.35 from Striano contains only 14 objects but has the highest number of pots (11). Some of the tombs in this phase include a circular canal around them, which is a sign of élite status in the Sarno Valley. Examples of such tombs are San Marzano t.928 (Fig. 5.8) and Striano *Via Serafina* t.23.[927] A total of three burials, all from Striano, are covered with a stone tumulus. Among them is t.2, which has a particularly large assemblage of 54 objects. This female burial included a considerable cache of amber and glass that once formed at least two necklaces. Silver and bronze-amber *fibulae* were deposited along with four

[926] Savella 2006 p56-75; Greco/Mermati 2006 p189-214; D'Ambrosio 2009 p95-160.
[927] Greco/Mermati 2006 p185; D'Ambrosio 2009 p134-135.

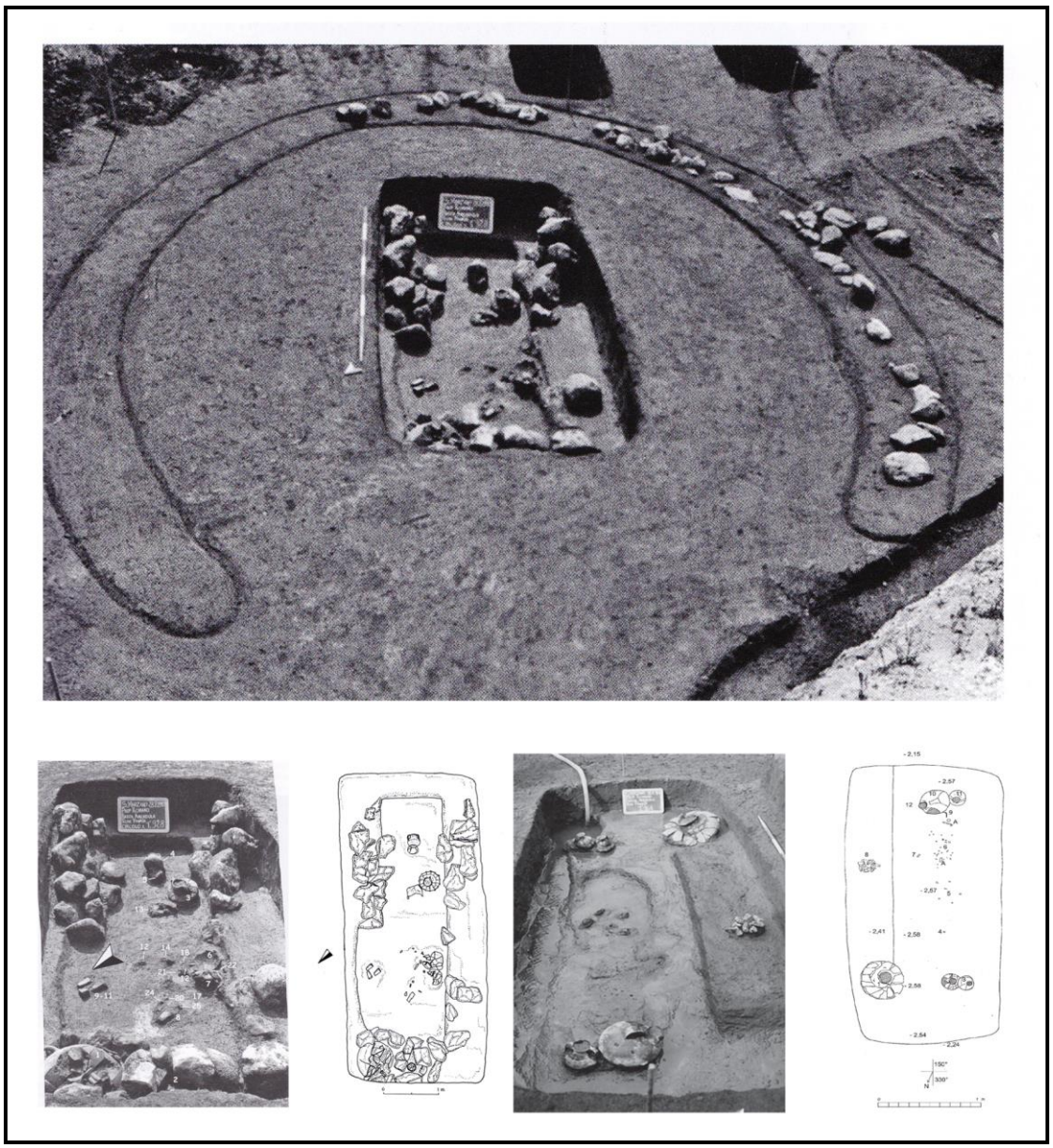

Fig. 5. 8. T.928 and t.964 from San Marzano (after Greco-Mermati (2007) p185-187 figs. 1-3; Savella (2007) p57 figs. 1-2)

loomweights, suggesting that this female was an important member of the community. The tomb also highlights a link between female weavers and the amber trade seen elsewhere in the Sarno Valley.

In terms of the ceramics, aside from a single Greek import, all the vessels in this are handmade *impasto*. Both drinking and pouring vessels represent most of the shapes (35 and 26 pots). However, eating wares increase especially the *scodella* type (Fig. 5.9). Eating shapes are now found in ten out of the 17 burials in phase II compared to three out of the seven tombs in phase I. The most common shape is the *anforetta* (27 examples), which is associated with drinking. Nevertheless, the *anforetta* may have been used for eating if liquids, such as soups were being consumed. A greater increase in the number of these vessels may indicate a shift in funerary rites from an earlier

consumption of liquids to a more communal graveside banquet. Alternatively, a smaller tomb sample for phase I may create a bias towards the increase in phase II.

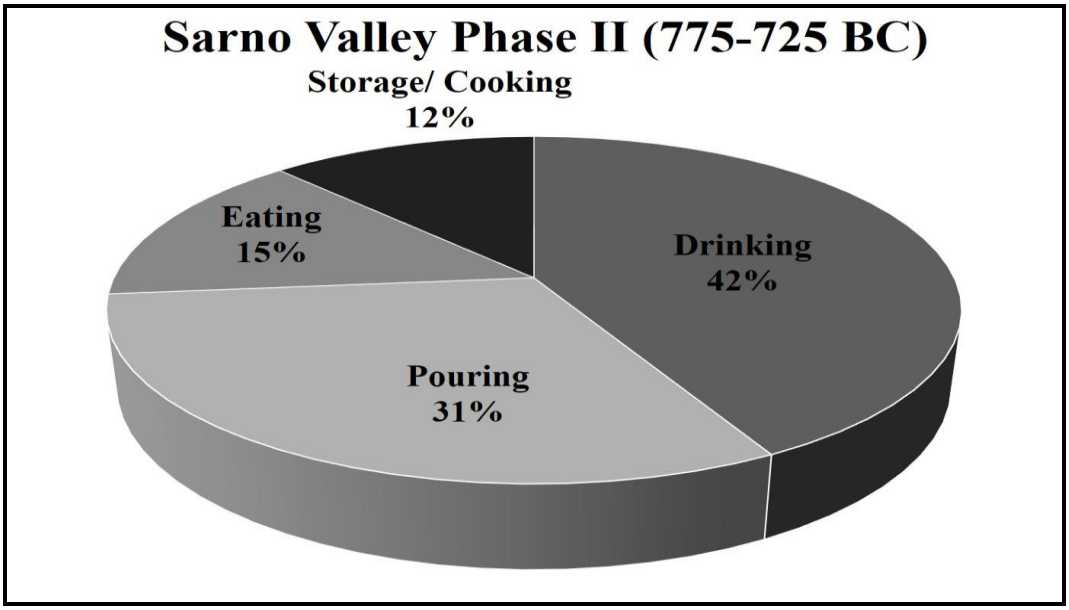

Fig. 5. 9 Pie-chart showing the Sarno Valley pots from phase II by function

This small sample comes from only two of the three sites and covers 50 years of occupation making it difficult to determine whether graveside feasting was now taking place. As the discussion below illustrates, the two imports in this phase are from San Marzano, with none visible in the cemeteries at Striano. Any potential changes to local funerary practices cannot be directly associated with external contacts. There are few imports then at the time when Cumae itself was founded and trade with the Sarno Valley apparently ended once the Greeks found a *chora* to support their settlements. Therefore, evidence of contact with the Greeks is lacking at Striano as is evidence of the proposed dependency of the Sarno Valley on trade with the Greek sphere. This does not mean that the community at Striano had no contact with the outside world; it had other connections that allowed the inhabitants access to amber. The other sites in the Sarno Valley, such as San Marzano, also had amber, again indicating external contact (possibly with the north of Italy). However, unlike Striano, San Marzano does show evidence of contact with the Greek settlements. T.928 and t.964 from San Marzano include quantities of amber and imports (or local imitations), and both show an obvious desire to decorate the body. This desire explains why they have been viewed as female burials. Yet this gender is based on the grave goods rather than osteoarchaeological analysis, as both burials returned scant skeletal remains.[928] The circular canal surrounding t.928 is a feature associated in the literature with élite burials. However, both t.928 and t.964 also include the so-called *controfossa* ledge, where more objects

[928] Savella 2007 p56; Greco/Mermati 2006 p187.

were placed above the main set of grave goods to distinguish them from each other and other tombs. Excavated in 1990, t.928 was located in one of the Orientalising cemeteries, where 56 tombs were found dating from the end of the 10th to the 6th centuries BC (all of which are unpublished).[929] Published in 2007, t.964 came from an area of the cemetery that yielded more than 100 graves dating from the 8th to 6th centuries BC (all of these are unpublished as well).[930] A significant quantity of amber and glass (*pasta vitrea*) beads was found in t.964 along with a large necklace of amber beads and two amber pendants.[931] Despite having fewer amber and glass beads, t.928 still features these objects, which are not naturally occurring in Campania. Moreover, weaving tools were present in both tombs – 12 in t.964 and three in t.928.[932] The fact that these two burials are both female is thus further attestation of the connection seen in the Oliveto-Cairano culture between eminent females and the amber trade. A small group of objects was found outside t.928, among them the blade of an iron knife, which supports the hypothesis that women were involved in the ritualised distribution of meat, as this instrument was only found in male tombs.[933]

Only 15 pots were placed in these two tombs, which highlights how these élite individuals had comparatively few ceramic grave goods. However, t.928 featured a large *olla* placed at the feet of the deceased (regrettably there are no images of this pot), a custom that is typical of the Sarno Valley. This *olla* was a reference both to the local economy, which was predominantly agricultural in nature, and to the disposable wealth of the deceased's family.[934] Greco and Mermati argue that the number of pots in t.928 supports Gastaldi's theory of quantity being more important than quality in contemporary élite burials.[935] It is difficult to endorse this idea when there are no other published contemporary tombs at San Marzano to enable a comparison. It could be argued that some of the grave goods in t.928 actually express quality as much as quantity, which questions the idea of the *olla* referencing the local economy.

No studies of the original contents of these *ollae* have been undertaken, which makes it uncertain whether or not they contained grain. These storage vessels may have had a more contextually specific function relating to the funeral banquet, especially if

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929 Greco/Mermati 2006 p185.
930 Savella 2007 p55-56.
931 Savella 2007 p79; Greco/Mermati 2006 p203.
932 Savella 2007 p64-67 and p78 figs. 12-14; Greco/Mermati 2006 p195 and p204 fig 25.6.
933 Greco/Mermati 2006 p204; D'Agostino 1970 p584, 1975 p506; Gastaldi 1979 p23; Dé Spagnolis 2001 p77-82.
934 Greco/Mermati 2006 p204-205 citing D'Agostino 1970 p581; Gastaldi 1982 p232, 1994 p74; Dé Spagnolis 2001 p35.
935 Greco/Mermati 2006 p203-204.

Imitation/import	Site	Tomb	Provenance
Capuan cup	S. Marzano	964	Capua?
Olla-hydria		928	Pithekoussai? Cumae?

Table 5. 4. Imports and imitations for Sarno Valley phase II

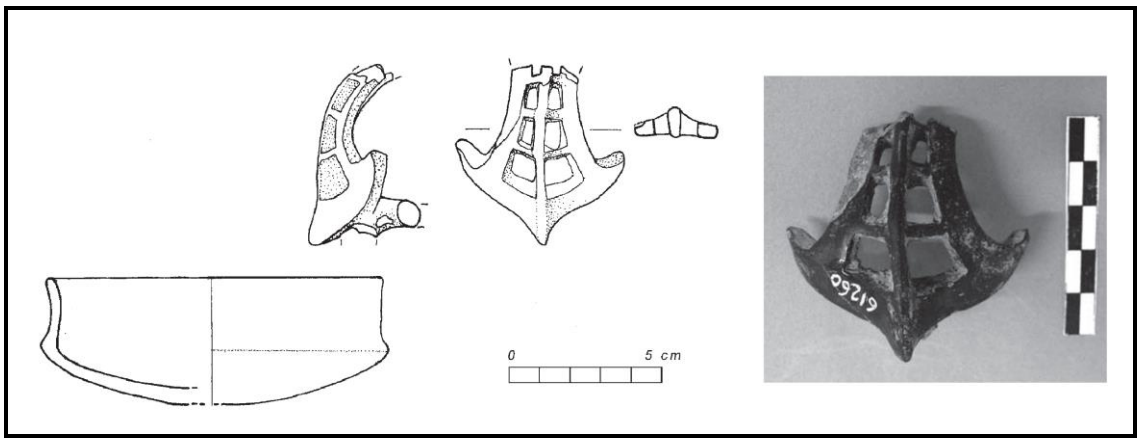

Fig. 5. 10. Imported cup from Capua in t.964 from San Marzano (after Savella (2007) p71 figs. 20-21)

if they held locally produced alcoholic beverages. Although this cannot be confirmed here, the *olla* may have referenced both the abundance of the funerary banquet and the family's personal wealth. However, as stated above, banqueting evidence is scant in this small sample, and evidence of iron spits, bronze vessels, and other paraphernalia is lacking. The only two imports in this phase come from t.964 and t.928 (Table 5.4). T.964 had an imported cup from Capua and t.928 an *olla-hydria* imported from Pithekoussai or Cumae. The Capuan cup is only attested by its *ansa finestrata a lira* type handle, the only other known example being a cup from t.697 at Capua (Fig. 5.10).[936] This cup was subjected to a fabric analysis, which revealed the clay to be local. Nevertheless, it is still indicative of strong links between the Sarno Valley and the Villanovan sites in Campania – connections which are also found in other contemporary tombs.[937] Savella proposes that the cup was made by a Capuan immigrant living at San Marzano.[938]

While difficult to confirm on the basis of one handle, this vessel undoubtedly attests to ties that the Sarno Valley had with Capua during phase II. The *olla-hydria* in t.928 combines the shapes of a local *olla* and a contemporary Greek pouring vessel (Fig. 5.11). It was made of purified clay rather than the usual coarse variety befitting a local *olla*.[939] Morphological analysis shows that although inspired by the local *olla con ansa*

[936] Savella 2007 p72 type B1, 2011 p605.
[937] Savella 2007 p77 see her fn.3 for bibliography, 2011 p605. The appendix by Ottomano p81-82 discusses the fabric analysis undertaken using a microscope.
[938] Savella 2007 p77.
[939] Greco/Mermati 2006 p181.

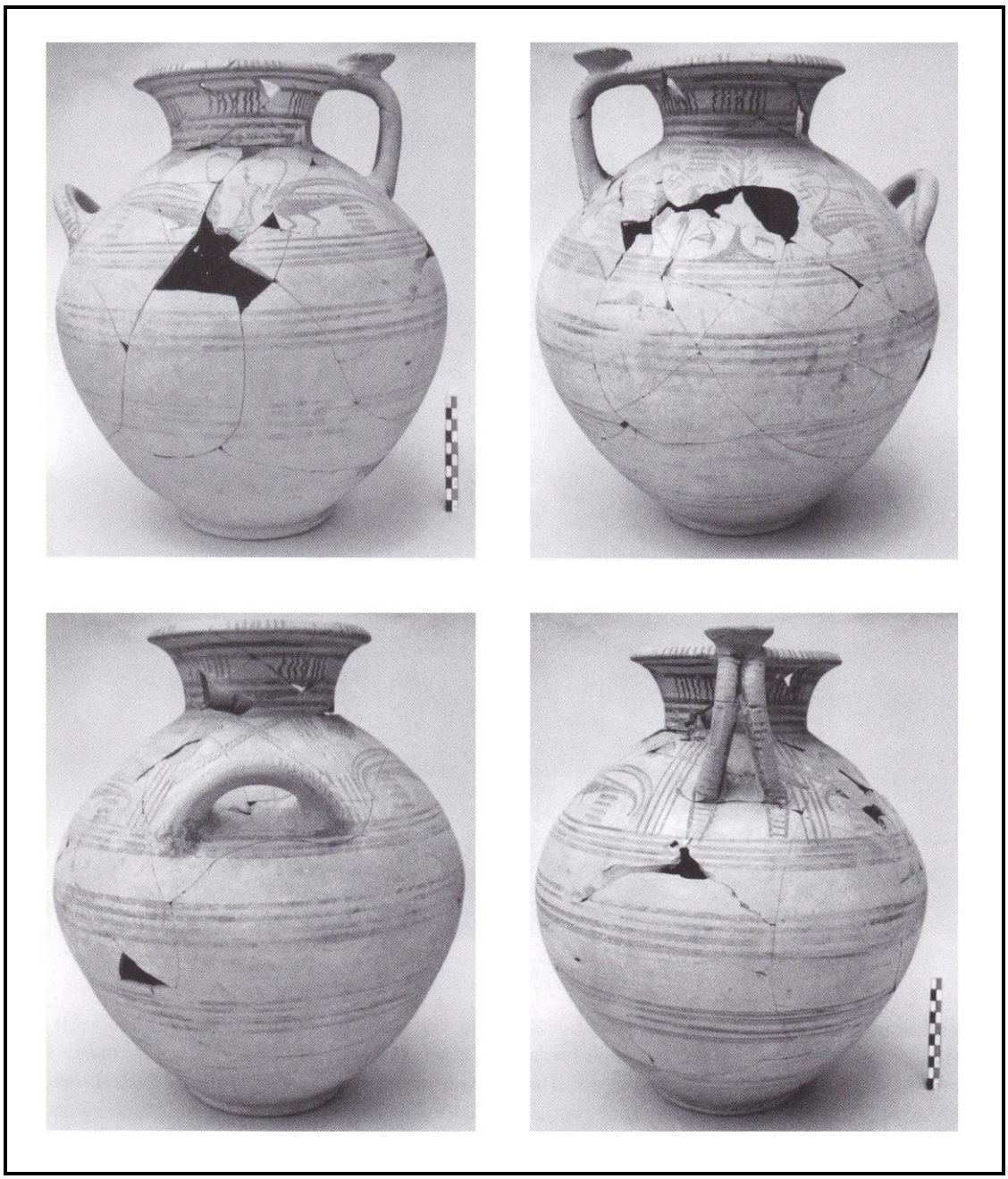

Fig. 5. 11. *Olla-Hydria*, a locally produced Greek-inspired vessel, with Cesnola decoration from San Marzano t.928 (after Greco-Mermati (2007) p188 figs. 4-7)

a piattello (a common form throughout the valley), it does not completely follow the local *olla* and has more in common with vessel types from Pithekoussai.[940] The handles sit high on the shoulder, ruling out its use as a grain container, so it is more likely to have been employed for pouring liquids.[941] By combining local and Greek shapes, the artisan demonstrates a high level of technical skill. As the clay suggests a Greek workshop, Greco and Mermati are certain that the vase was produced by a Greek artisan from Pithekoussai commissioned by a member of the local élite since the *olla* shape lies

[940] Greco/Mermati 2006 p181-183, p206-207.
[941] Greco/Mermati 2006 p205-206.

outside the Greek artisanal repertoire.[942] Despite the local shape, its style and decoration have been linked to the Cesnola painter.[943] The decorative scheme is focused on the shoulders of the vessel (Fig. 5.12). On one side is a female figure with two large water birds on either side of her. Greco and Mermati interpret her to be the Mistress of the Animals (*Potnia Theron*) – a figure diffused throughout Near Eastern and Greek art.[944] On the other side of the vase, a central tree is flanked by a goat and a large water bird, which may be a version of the Tree of Life motif that was favoured by the Cesnola painter. Figure 5.11 shows the Cesnola *krater*, an Attic *kantharos* from Kition, and a *lekythos* base from Pithekoussai t.967, all featuring a similar scene drawn by the Cesnola painter.[945] According to Greco and Mermati, the decoration has a link to both Euboia and Corinth and is therefore typical of Pithekoussan workshops.[946] Furthermore, they believe that the heron-type bird may reference the marshy world around Licola (on the mainland opposite Pithekoussai) and that the decoration was chosen by a member of the élite at San Marzano.[947] They further argue that this *olla-hydria* demonstrates the transmission of culture and ideology from the Greeks to local indigenes, whose élites assimilated these new ideas.[948] The vase was placed next to a locally produced *impasto olla*, that, as discussed above, held grain to indicate the disposable wealth of the deceased's family. However, the use of the *olla-hydria* in this particular case is believed to reference not only the role of the local *olla* as a grain container but also of the *hydria* in the pouring and serving of wine.[949] Greco and Mermati take the position of this Greek import in the tomb to assert that contact with the Greeks accelerated the social changes that led to the emergence of the élite *gentilizia*. They compare the presence of this vase to the *krater* in the unpublished t.168 from San Valentino to argue that women were actively involved in the Greek symposium (Fig. 5.13).[950] Cerchiai uses the *olla-hydria* to further support his narrative of Greek trade with the Sarno Valley being motivated by a need for food.[951] Thus, current explanations are Greek-driven and fail to recognise local agency.

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[942] Greco/Mermati 2006 p181-183, p206; Mermati 2013 p104; Cerchiai 2010 p52.
[943] Greco/Mermati 2006 p181; Mermati 2013 p104. Cf. Coldstream 1981 p241-249, 2003 p173; Ridgway 1992 p31.
[944] Marinatos 2000; Greco/Mermati 2006 p181-183.
[945] Greco/Mermati 2006 p181, p206; Cerchiai 2010 p52-53. On the Cesnola *krater*: Coldstream 1994b p77-84, 2003 p173; Kourou 2001 p41-43; on t.967: Coldstream 2003 p209 fig. e; Ridgway 1984 p75 fig. 11, 1992 p60 fig. 11; Buchner 1971 p64 fig. 2.
[946] Greco/Mermati 2006 p206-207.
[947] Greco/Mermati 2006 p183, p207-208; Mermati 2013 p104.
[948] Greco/Mermati 2006 p184.
[949] Greco/Mermati 2006 p206.
[950] Greco/Mermati 2006 p206.
[951] Cerchiai 2010 p52-53.

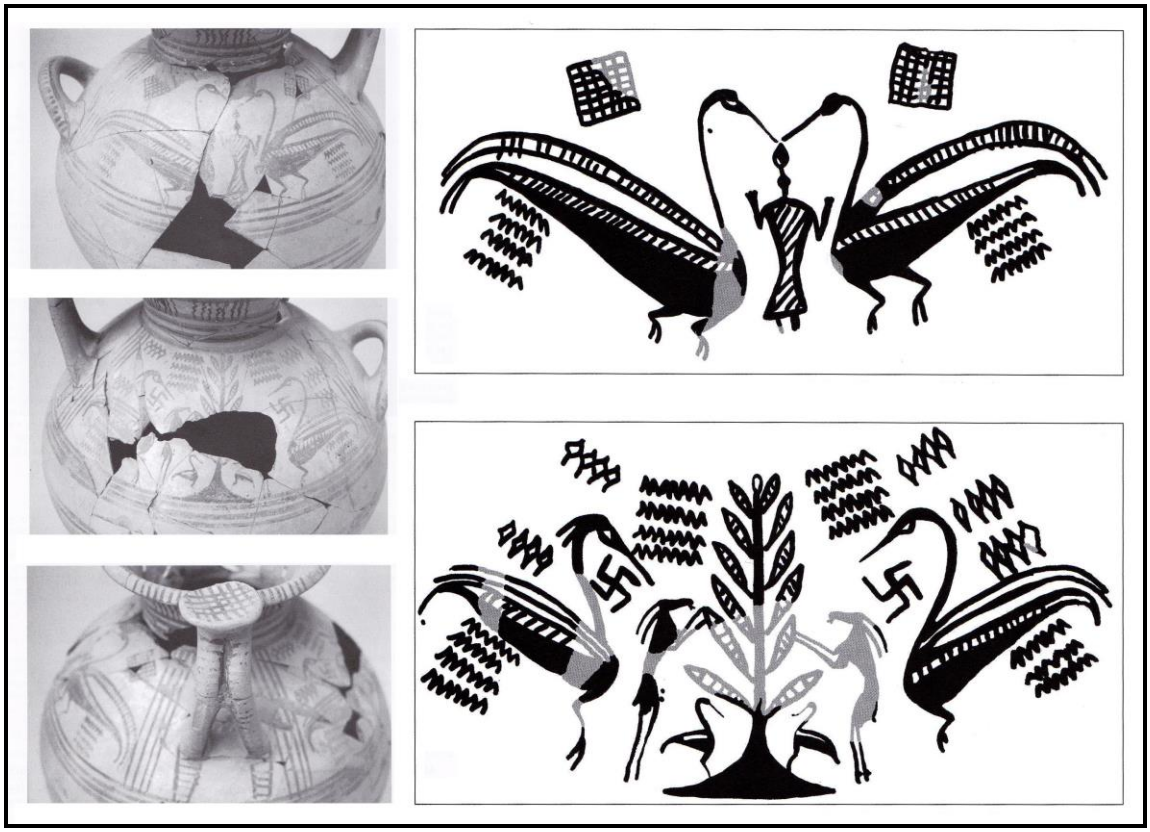

Fig. 5. 12. *Olla-Hydria* from t.928 San Marzano, detail of the Cesnola decoration (after Greco-Mermati (2007) p189 figs. 8-10, p203 figs. 26-27)

The presence of the *olla-hydria* in a female burial does not confirm that women were taking part in the Greek symposium. Other vessels associated with the symposium practice, such as *kantharoi*, *skyphoi*, and *kylixes*, are notably absent. Although Mermati has noted the spread of the Cumaean type *oinochoe* throughout Campania, especially the Sarno Valley,[952] it is absent here in t.928. Contrary to Mermati's opinion, this tomb suggests that the symposium was not actually the medium used for local funerary banquets. The *olla-hydria* and its position in the tomb are better explained through the global and local cultures found in Campania. If a local élite commissioned the iconography and shape of the vase, then it may be that the herons referenced the marshy world encompassing the river Sarno, which was the lifeblood of these communities, rather than Licola, which is nearer to Pithekoussai. As discussed earlier, the site of Poggiomarino was located upon a series of artificial islands in the marshes near the Sarno River. Thus, the water birds on the *olla-hydria* may have referenced this local area and therefore indicate local agency. The Master of Animals is a similar motif to the *Potnia Theron*, and Langdon notes that the former flourished "in spaces of cultural hybridity where intensive contact sparks innovation."[953] The mixing of these

[952] Mermati 2013 p113, on p104 she argues that "in the eyes of a non-Greek," *oinochoai* and cups "encapsulate the Greek way of drinking wine."
[953] Langdon 2010 p120.

Fig. 5. 13. Cesnola painter scenes: a) Cesnola *krater* New York (after Kourou (1998) fig.1; b) Attic *kantharos* from Kition (Cyprus) (after Kourou (1998) fig. 13 c) *lekythos* base from t.967 at Pithekoussai (after Coldstream (1998) fig.4)

iconographic elements thus formed a new local language of eclecticism where the loaning and reinterpretation of ideas were prevalent. Therefore, both local considerations and global themes may also explain the position of the vase along with its iconography. Its hybrid form references global ideas (wine consumption, new banqueting techniques), while its placement next to an *impasto olla* alludes to local practices (the deposition of an *olla* as a grain container in local burials). Similarly, the Tree of Life and Mistress of Animals motifs have their roots in the Near East, further extending the global references found within the vase. Consequently, this is not assimilation of a Greek culture because the locals were themselves actively involved in contributing to and transforming global ideas and practices.

The adoption of Greek objects does not equate to a Greek domination in the Sarno Valley area and the subsequent emergence of the *gens*. The current Hellenocentric view ignores other connections, especially those indicated by the amber in both t.928 and

t.964. Savella sees the amber beads and the loomweights in t.964 as evidence of the increased visibility of women in the Sarno Valley communities.[954] Furthermore, she associates these objects with the large numbers of weaving tools and the vast amount of amber worked at Poggiomarino.[955] Rather than simply confirming increased female visibility in these communities, the presence of amber and weaving tools in t.964 demonstrates how diverse networks were converging on the same nodal points. Similar to the case of the women in the Oliveto-Cairano culture in Chapter 4, the women of the Sarno Valley and the grave goods they were buried with attest to a network of textile workers throughout Southern Italy. Furthermore, these objects show how the amber network was entangled with female identity. Negroni Catacchio asserts that women in Orientalising Italy not only decorated their sumptuous garments with *fibulae* and amber, but also wove and made their own dresses.[956] In turn, Gleba stresses the close connection between Italy and Central Europe in terms of where it adopted its textile technology. She believes it is no coincidence that evidence for new emerging twill techniques in EIA Italy have been found at Verucchio in Northern Italy, a settlement which has also yielded huge quantities of Baltic amber. Gleba concludes that "textiles arrived in Italy by the same routes which also brought this highly prized substance."[957] The presence of amber and weaving tools in t.964 therefore attests to the complex entanglement of long-distance and localised trade networks (amber and possibly wool), skills and expertise (weaving), and people (women who were possibly involved in intermarriage) into one network that converged on élite female burials at this time. Just as networks can also be dependencies between humans and things,[958] people in Campania were dependent on weavers to produce the fabrics they wore. The weavers themselves were dependent on the trade routes that brought wool and other fabrics, the amber to be woven onto them, and new ideas and technologies into sites such as San Marzano. Ties with the Greek settlements of the Tyrrhenian were far from the only influence on contemporary society. Rather, the Sarno Valley was involved in a series of networks, all of which played a role in the increased visibility of women and the élite as a dominant group.

Further confirmation of the Sarno communities' networks is provided by the local objects, with more than 60% of the grave goods produced from imported raw materials

[954] Savella 2007 p80.
[955] Savella 2007 p80.
[956] Negroni Catacchio 2011b p63, 2007.
[957] Gleba 2008 p192.
[958] Hodder 2012 p88-112.

Material	Total	%
Bronze	118	37%
Iron	3	5.7%
Amber	1	0.3%
Glass *(pasta vitrea)*	1	13%
Bronze and amber *fibulae*	2	0.6%
Total	**212**	**66%**
Total metals	**137**	**43%**
Total grave goods	**320**	**100%**

Table 5. 5 Sarno Valley imported materials in phase II

(Table 5.5). Bronze, iron, and silver constitute 43% of the sample, while amber and glass objects total 22%. While it remains impossible to precisely identify the sites from which this material was acquired, both Pontecagnano on the coast and nearby Poggiomarino remain candidates. As an Etruscan settlement, Pontecagnano was well-connected to Etruria, from where metals could be obtained. Similarly, Poggiomarino was a site where metals and amber were being worked locally. Without further archaeometric analysis, these trade links are hard to ascertain. However, it is clear that the Sarno Valley communities were not the closed culture that scholarship currently maintains.

5.2.4 The Sarno Valley Phase II Network 775-725 BC

Phase II coincides with the Greek arrival on the Tyrrhenian coast, but save for two imports, the grave goods are all locally produced (99.4%). The Capuan cup and *olla-hydria* with Cesnola painter decoration, which connect the Sarno area to Capua and the Greek settlement of Pithekoussai, account for 0.3% of the sample, and each signal weak ties. The graph shows these ties (Fig. 5.14), but only San Marzano has external ties as Striano has no known imports at this time. Due to the abundance of local material, the Sarno Valley cemeteries are still presented as a closely linked set of nodes. Nevertheless, the other graph shows that the local objects were still made from imported raw materials (Fig. 5.15). Therefore, the Sarno communities continued to have access to the network of phase I. The metal and amber trade upon which this network was based increased in phase II to more than 60% of the assemblage produced from imported materials. Rather than the Greeks at Pithekoussai engaging the Sarno Valley in trade for foodstuffs, it may be that access to the local metal and amber network was more attractive. Either way, the two graphs here show that the Sarno communities were involved in local networks before the Greek arrival. Moreover, the proposed trade between the Sarno Valley and Pithekoussai finds little support in phase II.

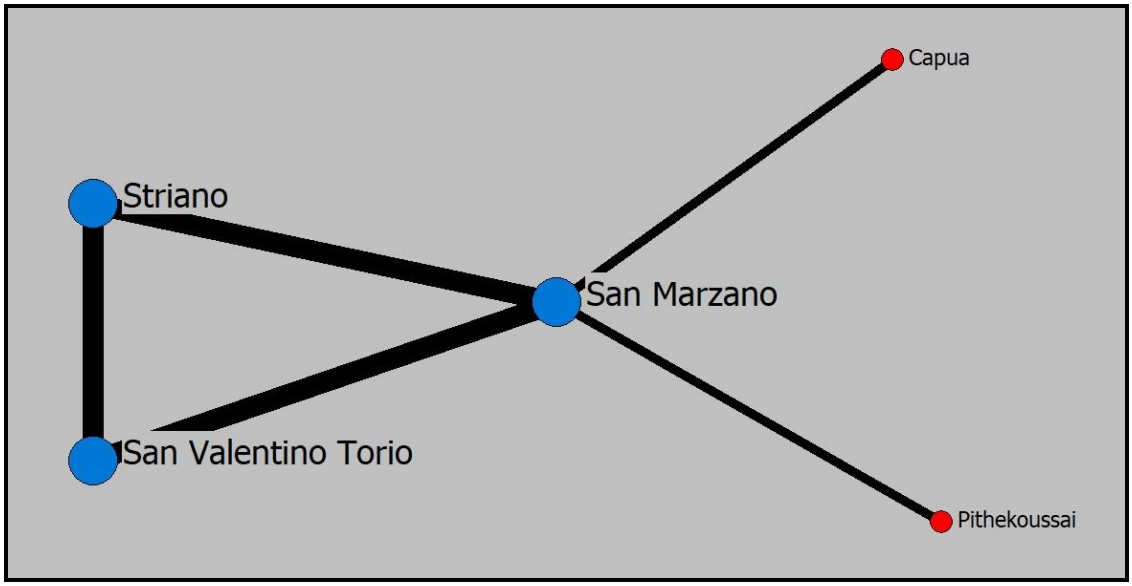

Fig. 5. 14 Network graph showing the ties of the three Sarno Valley sites in phase II (using UCINET)

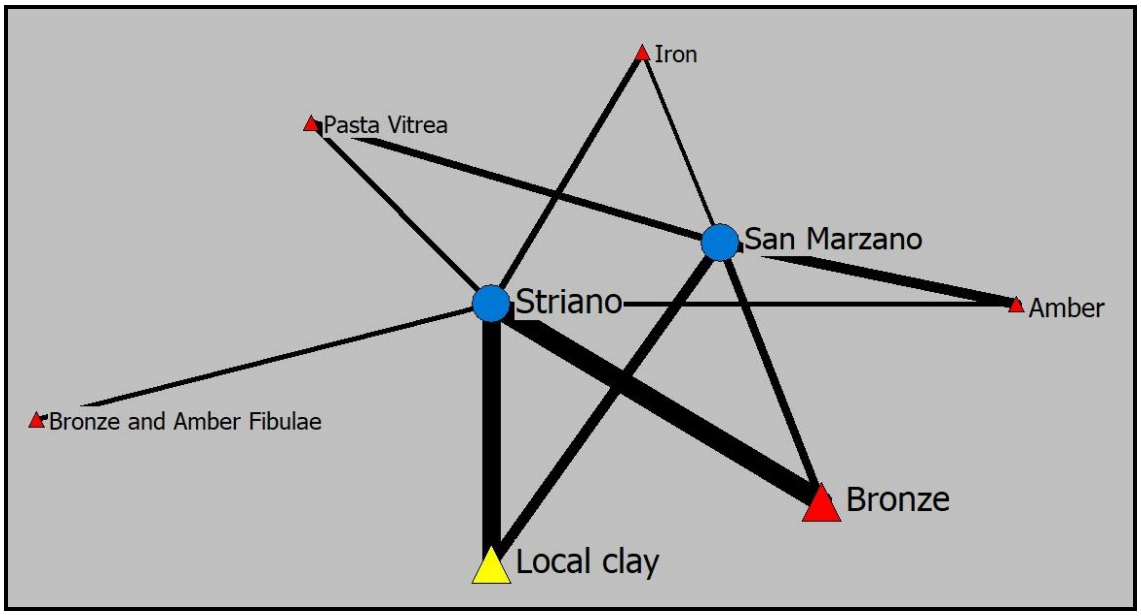

Fig. 5. 15 Network graph showing the ties of the three Sarno Valley sites in phase II based on raw materials (using UCINET)

5.2.5 The Sarno Valley Sites Phase III Tombs (725-640 BC)

Object type	Number	%	Imports	%	Imitations	%
Weaving tools	16	1.6%				
Weapons	7	0.7%				
Decorative objects	245	25%				
Fibulae	78	8%				
Instruments	9	1%				
Beads	41	4.2%				
Iron spits	3	0.3%				
Scarabs	5	0.5%	5	0.5%		
Pottery	575	58.7%	37	3.8%	4	0.4%
Total	979		42	4.3%	4	0.4%
Tombs	64					

Table 5. 6 Total objects for Sarno Valley phase III

A much larger sample of tombs and objects is found in phase III (Table 5.6). Unsurprisingly, there is now greater evidence of external ties than in the previous phases. The burials now come from all three sites, with most tombs and objects hailing from Striano and a mere handful from the other two sites (Appendix V.3). Dating from 725 to 640 BC, the sample represents almost 100 years of occupation, and since it is biased towards Striano, it is hardly representative of all three sites.[959] Ceramics constitute more than half of the grave goods, yet the combined total of decorative objects, *fibulae*, and beads reveals a continuation of the desire to decorate the body, as seen in phases I and II. While the number of weaving tools and weapons is surprisingly low, these objects did allow the excavators to assign gender to some individuals (10 in total). In their absence, gender and age attributions were made based on the presence of particular *fibulae*, decorative objects, or the dimensions of the grave – an approach normally undertaken for other sites in Campania. Out of 64 tombs, 34 have gender or age information; there are 14 females, four males, 15 child/infant burials, and one male child burial. Despite weaving tools and weapons guiding some of these identifications, the poor preservation of skeletal remains and many tombs being reported as damaged may explain why gender was difficult to assign across these three cemeteries. However, the reliability of the gender and age statuses assigned by the excavators should also be questioned. The main example of this are the 15 child burials. Without accompanying skeletal evidence, the vast majority were assigned a child status due to the small dimensions of the grave or, in a small number of cases, based on the position of the ceramic vessels.

[959] D'Ambrosio 1988 p93-97, 1990 p23-40, 1999 p143-164, 2003 p108-136, 2005 p121-150, 2009 p93-167.

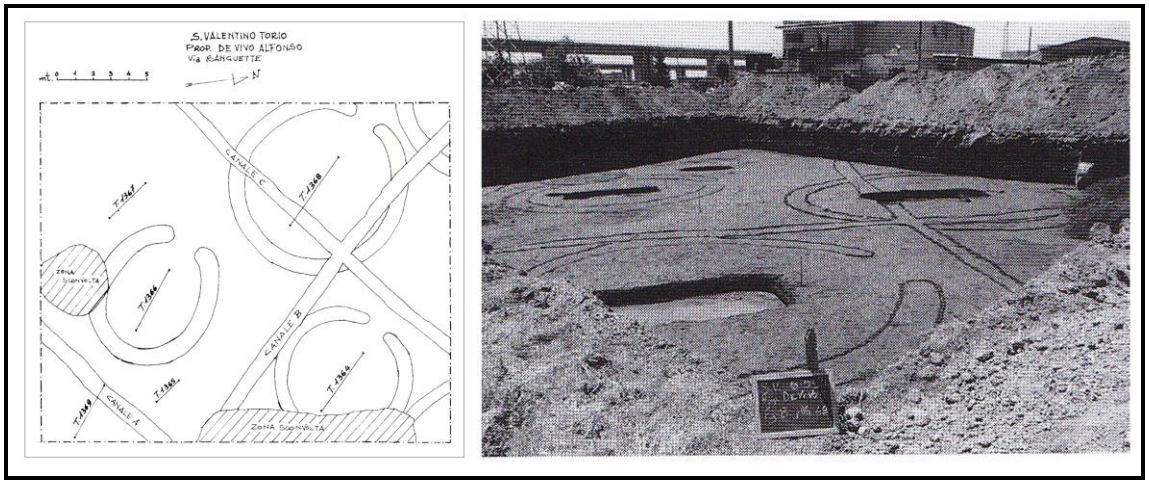

Fig. 5. 16. *Scavo de Vivo* area of the excavation at San Valentino Torio plan and excavation area (after Dé Spagnolis (2001) p90 fig. 29; p95 fig. 36)

In the latter case, the assumption was that the vases were placed at the head and feet of the deceased, and since the space between was rather small, it was concluded that these were child burials.[960] The number of child burials is surprisingly high, yet it remains unclear whether infant death was a real demographic phenomenon or a bias created by the methods used to assign gender and age. Similarly, males were all identified based on the presence of spears and female graves through weaving tools or decorative objects. While the lack of corroborating evidence on the identity of these individuals is unfortunate, the reliability of current gender attributions is far from conclusive. Consequently, recent Sarno Valley interpretations asserting that male warrior figures were more traditional and females more open to external contact cannot be confirmed on the basis of the published evidence (§5.1.2).[961]

However, status (in terms of élite or lower social strata) can be inferred from the number of grave goods deposited. Some of the tombs in phase III have a circular canal feature around them, others a stone tumulus above them, and in a single case, a contrafossa ledge where some of the grave goods were separated from the others (Fig. 5.16).[962] These features have been associated with élite burials elsewhere in the Sarno Valley (§5.1.2). In terms of grave goods, a number of tombs stand out from their contemporaries due to the total number of objects they included. In this phase, there is a greater quantity of objects accompanying the deceased: 35 of the 64 tombs included more than ten objects, and six tombs had more than 30 objects (Appendix V.3).

[960] Of the 16 child burials, 12 were assigned their age based on the size of the tomb, and two on the position of the ceramics; two others had no information on how gender was assigned.
[961] Cuozzo 2007 p253; Cerchiai (1995) p36.
[962] San Valentino t.1366 and Striano *Via Poggiomarino* t.7(13) have circular canal features (see Dé Spagnolis, 2001 p90-92, 99-100 and D'Ambrosio 1990 p28-36). *Via Serafino* t.34 had both a circular canal and a *controfossa* feature, t.1 and t.3 from the same area were covered by a stone tumulus (D'Ambrosio 2009 p94-95, p99-100 p150-156).

Amongst these were San Valentino t.818 (end of 8th-early 7th century BC, 188 objects, 59 pots), t.1366 (675-640 BC, 42 objects, 34 pots), and Striano *Via Poggiomarino* t.7 (13) and *Via Traversa Serafino* t.5 (both dating 725-650 BC, 51 and 47 objects, 40 and 28 pots, respectively). While the rise in the number of objects deposited may support the theory of trade with the Greek settlements (§5.1.2), caution is warranted as most of the burials are from Striano. Nevertheless, San Valentino t.818 stands out in this phase, both for the number of grave goods deposited and the clear links they show to graveside feasting. Although unfortunately unpublished, t.818 has been displayed in the Museum at Sarno since 2011, which provides enough information for our purposes here. While the museum display boards provide no gender for the deceased, a female gender remains likely as the grave goods include weaving tools and abundant decorative objects, among which was amber. Other objects deposited were iron spits, various *fibulae* of bronze-amber and silver types, a silver necklace with faience beads, several glass beads, and a bronze belt.

A large number of the grave goods in t.818 were ceramic, and with 59 pots, this tomb boasts more vessels than many other eminent burials in Campania.[963] Amongst the ceramics were 27 *anforae*, an Italian name for a squat vessel with high handles that is connected to drinking. The next most frequent pot types are the *tazza* (4), *scodella* (3), and *impasto olla* (3). Despite the lack of bronze vessels, t.818 retains a real 'princely' quality. The large set, local drinking vessels, iron spits and Greek imports thus attest to another eminent female figure in Campania that was contemporary to similar individuals at Bisaccia and Pontecagnano. A lack of other contemporary burials at San Valentino makes it difficult to assess how representational t.818 is of the Sarno Valley at this time. However, the unpublished t.168 (§5.1.2; Fig. 5.18), which has a large LG *krater* that has been linked to the symposium, is contemporary to t.818. As discussed in §5.2.1 and §5.2.3, no other published tombs are available from San Valentino until phase III. The publication record for this site makes it difficult to confirm how representational t.818 is of the Sarno area. Other unpublished burials that are not discussed here such as t.630, t.633, and t.168 (§5.1.2), also fall within this phase. Although only known from brief reports, other graves show how the Sarno Valley was far from conservative and impervious to contact as some maintain.[964] Three other tombs from San Valentino t.1368, t.1364, and t.1366 all date between c675 and 640 BC (Figs. 5.17-5.18). These were all large graves and included substantial quantities of ceramic

[963] T.818 is contemporary to Pontecagnano t.928, 926 and the unpublished t.66 from Bisaccia, which had 29, 26, and 14 vessels, respectively.
[964] Cuozzo 2007 p250, 2016 p20 views these communities as conservative.

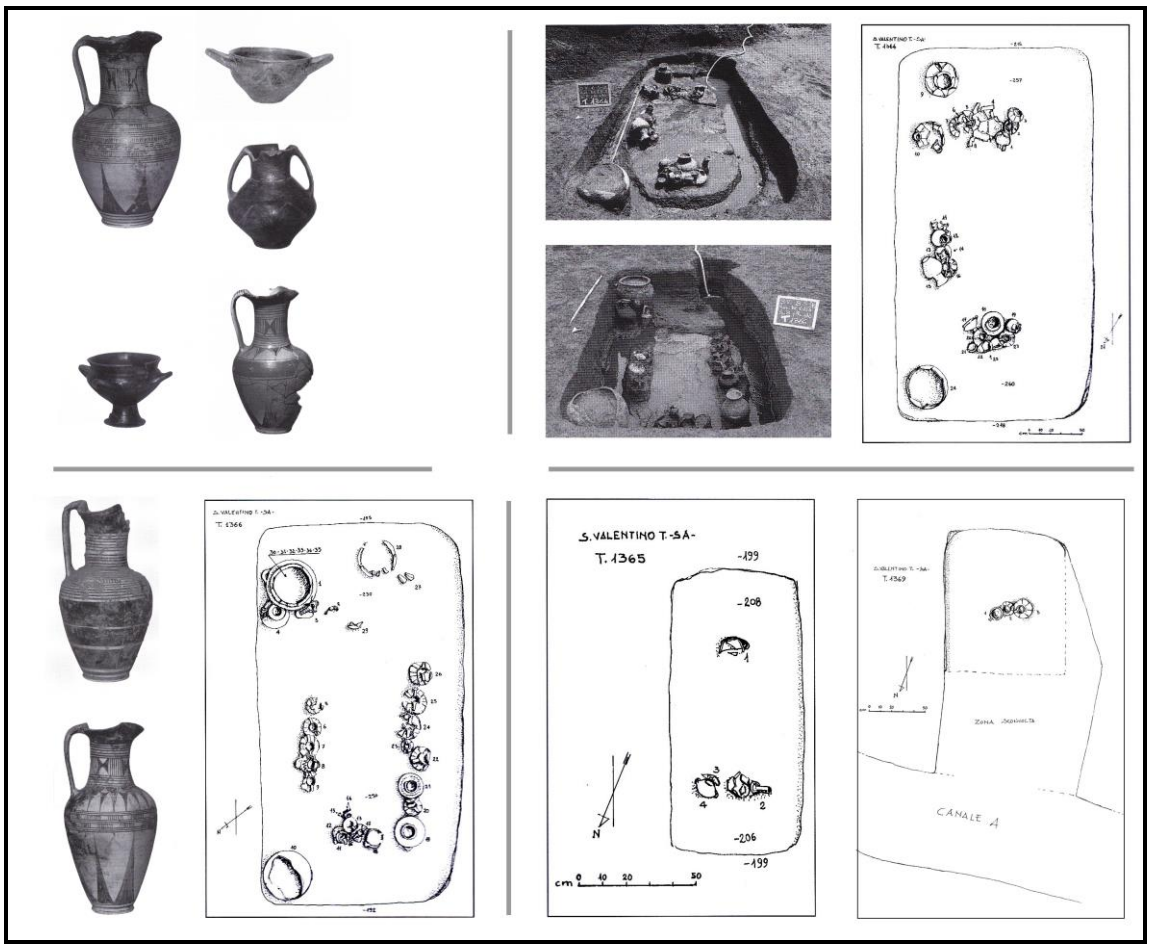

Fig. 5. 17. Material and tombs from San Valentino Torio a) vessels from t.1364; b) t.1364 c) t.1366 and ceramics; d) t.1365 and t.1369 (after Dé Spagnolis (2001) a) p98 and 101 figs. 40-44; b) p95 figs. 37 and 38; c) p32 fig. 32, p101 figs. 45-46; d) p91 fig. 31 and p94 fig. 35)

grave goods, with local *anforette* featuring prominently. Two of these t.1364 and t.1366 were female burials with circular trenches surrounding the grave (Fig. 5.19).[965] Each of the three burials included Greek vessels produced in Campania of the Italo-Geometric type. The prominence of the *anforette* suggests some form of ceremony at the graveside. Furthermore, the correlation between the circular canals and large assemblages, indicates that these are possibly high-status burials.

Dating to the end of the 8th or early 7th century BC, t.7 from the *Via Poggiomarino* area is described as the largest, richest, and most complex burial at Striano.[966] Assigned a male gender based on the presence of a single spear, this tomb was surrounded by a circular feature. The large set of ceramics included two Greek imports (see below), which, like the locally produced pots, were placed along both sides of the corpse. Some form of post-depostional ritual may have taken place as ceramic fragments were found in the layers above the tomb cover.[967] The large number of drinking vessels also

[965] See Dé Spagnolis 2001 p89-102 on all three assemblages.
[966] D'Ambrosio 1990 p28, 2009 p12.
[967] D'Ambrosio 1990 p41-42, 2009 p12.

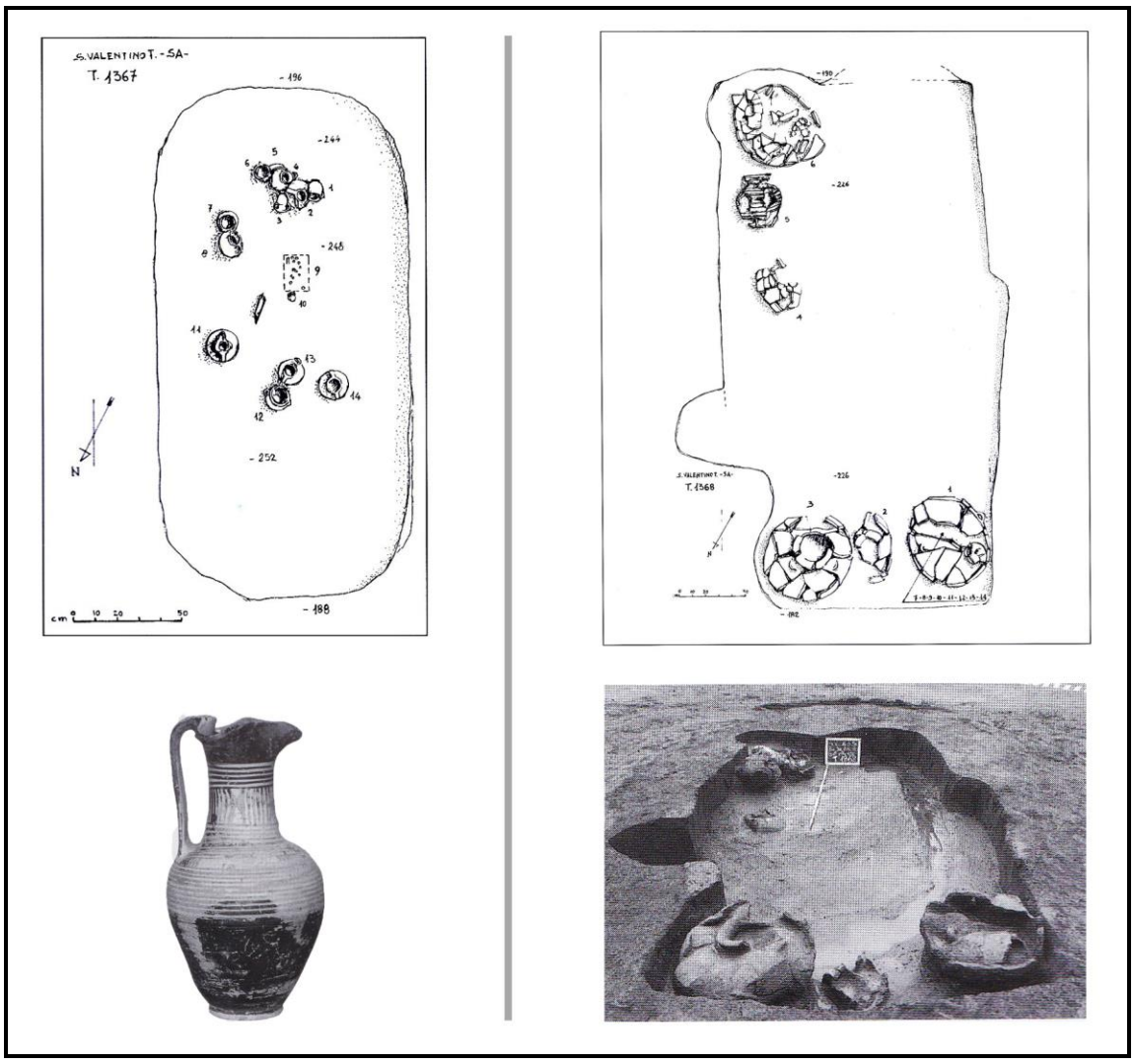

Fig. 5. 18. T.1367 and t.1368 from San Valentino Torio (after Dé Spagnolis (2001) p95 fig. 39, p92-93 figs. 33-35, p101 fig. 47)

suggests a communal funerary rite. Furthermore, the size of the burial and the circular canal feature around it point to an important member of the community, probably from the upper social strata. Another grave from Striano is t.5 from *Via Traversa Serafino*. This tomb dates to the first half of the 7th century BC and was classed as a female tomb due to the weaving tools it held. Among the 28 pots were 12 *anforette* (which, as highlighted above, is a drinking shape) and seven storage vessels (5 *ollae*, 1 *olla biansata*, and 1 *ziro*).[968] Storage vessels were usually placed at the feet in male burials as a sign of the collective wealth of the community. In this case, however, these vessels were deposited in a female tomb, which appears to confirm Dé Spagnolis' observations that women replaced men as the key figures in the community.[969] Only two published tombs from San Marzano fall into this period, both dating to c670 BC. These were published in report form by Sestieri in 1949. This publication is extremely rudimentary

[968] D'Ambrosio 2005 p126-134 type IIA1 (or Gastaldi type 1B), IIE2 (x4), IIE4, IIR1and IIE11 (x1 each).
[969] Dé Spagnolis 2001 p77-82.

Fig. 5. 19. Top: grave goods from t.818 from San Valentino Torio on display at the Museo Archeologico della Valle del Sarno (photo by the author); bottom Grave goods from t.168 at San Valentino Torio (after De Spagnolis (2001) p76-77 figs. 24-25)

by modern standards as the exact number of objects in these tombs is not clearly stated. However, this is not entirely Sestieri's fault because the tombs were discovered during the construction of an irrigation well, and some of the objects, such as the spearhead in t.1, were damaged irreparably.[970] The two tombs contain 12 pots between them (see below). The ceramics in phase III are predominantly handmade *impasto* wares (521 out of 575 pots), with fine and coarse clay wares and *bucchero* some way behind (51 and 3, respectively). The continued dominance of *impasto* into the 7th century highlights the belief that the potter's wheel was not adopted by the Sarno communities until much later. The absence of this technology in the ceramic repertoire raises questions about the contemporary Greek influence over the Sarno settlements, especially when recalling current interpretations which argue that the Sarno communities were by now dependent on Greek culture (§5.1.2). The most common shape in this phase is the *anforetta* (181 in 46 of the 64 burials), followed by the *brocca/brocchetta* pouring vessels (55), the *coppa/coppetta* drinking wares (52), and interestingly the *olla* (63), which appears in

[970] Sestieri 1949 p178.

various types in 36 of the tombs in phase III. Storage shapes, such as the *olla*, feature across a wide range of burials, including infant and female tombs. As Figure 5.20 shows, drinking and pouring vessels dominate (306 and 150, respectively). There are only a small number of storage/cooking, eating and cosmetic shapes (74, 22, and 24, respectively).

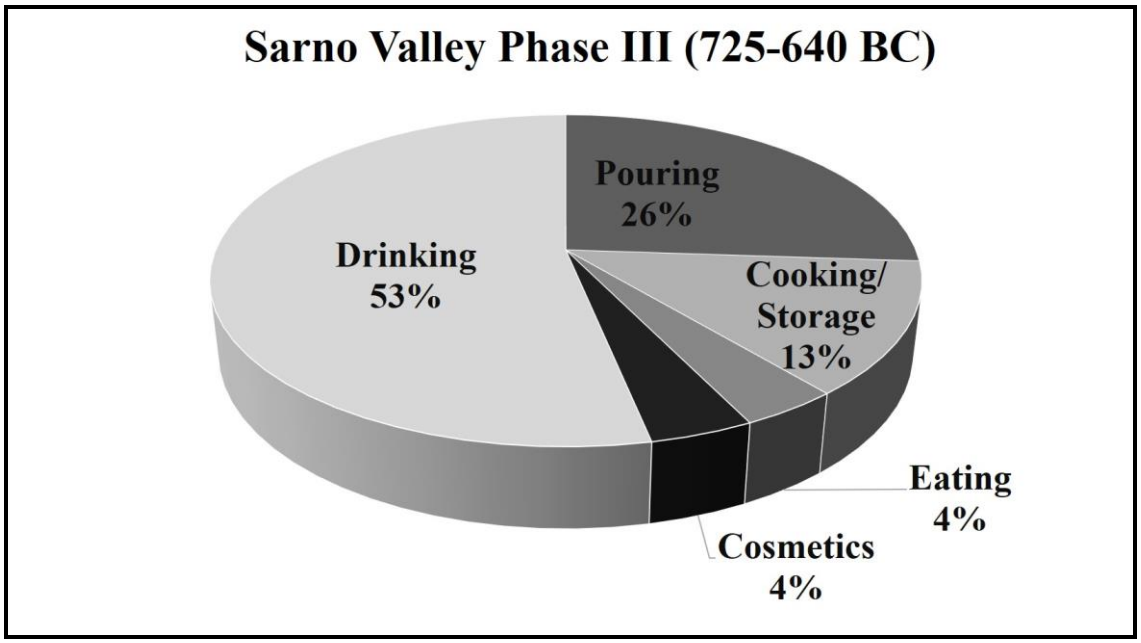

Fig. 5. 20 Pie-chart showing the Sarno Valley pots from phase III by function

The rather small quantity of eating vessels does not necessarily indicate a lack of graveside feasting. Indeed, the high numbers of *anforetta* vessels point to some form of graveside banquet with a focus on the consumption of liquids. Evidence of these vessels and such ceremonies can be seen in San Valentino t.818, t.1366, t.1364, and t.1368, and Striano t.7. Similarly, iron spits were found in both t.818 and Striano *Via Palma* t.2. As shown in Chapter 3 (§3.2.3.2 on the 'princely' tombs), iron spits are feasting objects *par excellence*. When meat was roasted as part of a funeral, spits are possibly evidence of a feast. However, the low number of spits in the Sarno tombs and the high number of *anforae* point to the consumption of meat being restricted to a smaller group or simply deposited as an offering to the deceased. It is not clear whether such funerary practices varied across the Sarno Valley as the tomb sample is not spread equally across all three sites in phase III. While a change in funerary practices towards increased commensality is possible, most of the evidence comes from Striano. Caution is thus advisable before assuming that data from Striano reflects the situation at the other two sites.

Nevetheless, the imports do show the external ties held by these communities at this time. There are 42 imports and four imitations in phase III, which are largely ceramic in nature. The vast majority of these show a connection to the Tyrrhenian coast

and the Greek settlement at Pithekoussai. There are 32 imported vessels of mainland Greek or Campanian Greek (made in Italy) production. Alongside these are four imitation Greek vessels, which have been identified as made in Campania (Pithekoussai or Cumae) but closely following a Corinthian style. Besides the pots that can be linked to the Greek-speaking settlements on the Tyrrhenian, there were also five scarabs and one Phoenician transport amphora, which are also likely imports from Pithekoussai or Cumae. A total of 42 objects can be connected to the Greek settlements on the Tyrrhenian, but other ties are also found in this phase. Rounding off the assemblage are three *bucchero* vessels and a single *a tenda brocchetta*, showing trading connections with Capua/Pontecagnano and Basilicata, respectively (Table 5.7).

All three sites in phase III have imports although the majority come from Striano (27 objects), which has more tombs than the other two sites. These objects are spread across 19 of the 55 tombs at Striano. Aside from the aforementioned *a tenda brocchetta* in t.19 from *Via Serafina*,[971] the other 26 objects all show a connection with either Pithekoussai or Cumae. However, the publications dealing with these objects often only indicate the origin of each vessel, without providing a typology or any further information on where the objects were imported from. For example, ten were simply described as Greek, while six others were defined as Italo-Geometric made either by Greeks in Campania or by local artisans using Greek motifs. A further four vessels were described as imitations, but unfortunately, no typological information is given for them. *Via Orto delle fabbriche* t.3 has a local *olla* decorated in a style that is possibly influenced by contemporary Italo-Geometric vessels.[972] However, it has not been classed by the excavator as an imitation and is thus treated as a locally produced vessel here. San Valentino has 15 imports from its seven tombs. Half of these come from t.818, which the museum display describes as of Corinthian production. However, similar to Striano, little information is provided on their typologies. There is no obvious preference for particular types of imported vases in t.818 as eating, pouring, drinking, and cosmetic vessels are all found. The absence of larger vessels, such as *kraters* and mixing containers suggests that these imports were still adapted to local rituals although the form this took is uncertain. While t.818 is unpublished, Dé Spagnolis has published the imports in San Valentino t.1364, t.1366, t.1367, and t.1368, which are all Italo-Geometric types and pouring shapes. Despite the small number of tombs from this site, the ceramic assemblage demonstrates how the local community chose mainly local

[971] Dé Spagnolis 2001 p67.
[972] D'Ambrosio 1999 p147-154.

drinking cups while importing Greek wares for pouring libations for the deceased.[973] However, the number of imports and imitations at San Valentino may actually be much higher. The reason for this is that Dé Spagnolis regularly describes vessels as merely *argilla* but not whether they were locally produced, imported, or imitations. While the pictures she supplies suggest some pots may have been produced outside San Valentino, this cannot be confirmed without further typological information. Therefore, they have been treated here as locally made vessels. San Marzano shows different network connections from the other two sites. There are two tombs from San Marzano, but only one has imports. Interestingly, three of the four imports were *bucchero pesante*, which Sestieri deemed to be made in Campania, the other was a PC *oinochoe trilobata*. All four are linked to pouring and drinking.[974] The three *bucchero* vessels attest to a direct or indirect link with either Capua or Pontecagnano. This link was already attested for San Marzano in phase II and continues into phase III.

Although the imports and imitations indicate some of the network ties for phase III, they only account for 7.3% of all the ceramics deposited. Such a small amount suggests that funerary practices were still driven by the deposition of local handmade wares. Some scholars, such as Mermati, argue that Greek vessels were valued in the Sarno Valley because they were foreign and connected to the symposium. She maintains that local banquets were consequently adapted to fit in with the Greek model.[975] As discussed in §5.1.2, the current narrative concerning the Sarno area maintains that trade with the Greeks at Pithekoussai caused an increase in wealth (or *salto di qualità*) in the Sarno communities.[976] The argument follows that the Sarno Valley came to depend on the Greeks for trade in luxury goods but suffered a crisis when trade came to an end after the foundation of Cumae. However, this view can be questioned through the archaeological evidence presented here. The increase in wealth in phase III did not require the deposition of high numbers of Greek vessels. Instead, the grave goods indicate that local vessels dominate. Imported Greek wares were thus adapted and reworked into local funerary practices. While these practices may have included some Greek-inspired elements (an *oinochoe* to pour libations or spits to roast meat), it is a step too far to argue that the symposium was adopted en masse. Moreover, it is important to recognise how local agency reinterpreted and reworked Greek vessels

[973] The abundance of the *oinochoe* in the Sarno valley has been noted by Mermati 2013 p104.
[974] Sestieri 1949 p179.
[975] Mermati 2013 p105, p113.
[976] Gastaldi 1982; D'Agostino 1990; Cerchiai 1995; Dé Spagnolis 2001.

into local funerals. This adaptation was a local response to a global culture creating an interesting hybrid.

Site	Tomb	Imitation/Imports	No.	Provenance
San Valentino Torio	818	Corinthian *oinochoe*	1	Pithekoussai?/ Cumae?
		Corinthian *coppa-kotyle*	1	
		Corinthian *piatto su piede*	1	
		Corinthian *aryballos*	1	
		Corinthian *kylix*	2	
		Corinthian *piatto tripode*	1	
	1364	*Oinochoe*	3	
		Kylix	1	
	1366	*Oinochoe trilobata*	2	
	1367	*Oinochoe*	1	
	1368	*Oinochoe*	1	
San Marzano	1	Proto-Corinthian *oinochoe trilobata*	1	
		Bucchero pesante skyphos	1	
		Bucchero pesante Oinochoe	1	Capua? Pontecagnano?
		Bucchero pesante kantharos	1	
Striano	*Via Serafina 19*	*a tenda brocchetta*	1	Basilicata.
	Via Palma 1	Phoenician transport amphora	1	Pithekoussai/ Cumae?
	Via Palma 5	Greek *olla*	1	
	Via Palma 3		1	
	Via Orto delle Fabbriche 1		1	
	Via Traversa Serafina 10	Greek *oinochoe trilobata*	1	
	Via Poggiomarino 7	LPC *kotyle*	1	
	Via Palma 2	Greek *skyphos*	1	
	Via Traversa Serafina 9	Greek *skyphos*	1	
		Greek *aryballos*	1	
	Via Traversa Serafina 1	Greek *brocca*	1	
	Via Palma 2	Greek *kotyle*	1	
	Via Palma 13	Italo-Geometric Greek *olla*	1	
	Via Serafina 38	Italo-Geometric Greek *skyphos*	1	
	Via Palma 7	Italo-Geometric Greek *brocchetta*	1	
		Italo-Geometric Greek *coppa*	1	
		Italo-Geometric Greek	1	

		poppatoio/ kyathos		
	Via Foce Tomb	Italo-Geometric Greek *bottiglia*	1	
	Via Serafina 12	Greek imitation *oinochoe*	1	
		Greek imitation *tazza-poppatoio*	1	
		PC imitation *skyphos*	1	
	Via Poggiomarino 7	PC imitation *skyphos*	1	
		Scarab		
	Via Palma 9	White steatite (soapstone)	1	Cypriot/Greek
	Via Orto delle Fabbriche 3.		1	Greek
	Via Palma 11	Amber	1	?
	Via Poggiomarino Tomb 6	White steatite (soapstone)	2	

Table 5. 7 Imports and imitations for Sarno Valley phase III

The five scarabs in this phase were mainly of white steatite and found in four tombs. While three tombs feature a single scarab, *Via Poggiomarino* t.6, which was damaged and had no gender assigned, contained two examples.[977] Both of these were made from white steatite and had inscriptions: one was inscribed NEB-AMUN and dates stylistically to the Hyskos-Middle Kingdom (c1674-1087BC); the other was inscribed with a name corresponding to RAMSES IV, and by its style is dated to New Kingdom (1575-1087 BC).[978] According to D'Ambrosio, if these are not imitations, then their date may indicate that they are heirlooms.[979] Either way, such objects signal external ties with the Greek settlements, something which was also visible in the ceramic assemblage (see above). Writing in D'Ambrosio's report on Striano, Cozzolino notes that the scarabs from the site are all marked with accurately inscribed hieroglyphs.[980] The use of these scarabs in Campania closely follows Egyptian functions as amulets and apotropaic devices for passage to the afterlife.[981] It could be argued that such amulets were also part of the global culture that was now circulating the Tyrrhenian coast.

That one of these scarabs (in *Via Palma* t.11) was made of amber accentuates their apotropaic function since amber was revered for its magical properties in antiquity.[982]

[977] D'Ambrosio 1990 p24-28.
[978] D'Ambrosio 1990 p22.
[979] D'Ambrosio 1990 p22.
[980] Cozzolino 2009 p32-33.
[981] Cozzolino 2009 p34.
[982] Negroni Catacchio 2011a p56-57.

This is a rare substance for a scarab, suggesting that it was locally produced.[983] Furthermore, this object provides possible evidence for the convergence of two networks on a single object. As discussed in Chapter 2, the amber network connected the Baltic with Northern Italy, from where much of the amber in Italian contexts was sourced in antiquity.[984] Therefore, the scarab in *Via Palma* t.11 shows links with the amber trade in Northern Italy and, through its hieroglyphs, to the global culture in circulation throughout the Mediterranean. Even if the Sarno community was unaware of such associations, this single object shows how a corner of Campania that Cuozzo describes as "conservative" was instead involved in important networks.[985] Moreover, these connections occur when the Sarno Valley was apparently undergoing an internal crisis following the Greeks severing ties with the area. Yet the evidence shows that contact with the Greeks continued into the 7th and 6th centuries BC. This realisation prompts a more profound understanding of the development of the Sarno Valley communities.

Material	**Total**	**%**
Bronze	257	26.2%
Iron	42	4.3%
Silver	2	0.2%
Amber	59	6%
Glass (*pasta vitrea*)	16	1.6%
Bronze and amber *fibulae*	7	0.7%
Total	**383**	**39%**
Total metals	**301**	**30.7%**
Total grave goods	**979**	**100%**

Table 5. 8 Sarno Valley imported materials in phase III

The amber scarab was not the only amber object in this sample. An examination of the raw materials used to produce the local objects in phase III shows that the Sarno area had continued access to the amber and metal networks of Northern Italy seen earlier in §5.2.1 and §5.2.3 (Table 5.8). Substantial quantities of amber were found in the prominent tombs of San Valentino, such as the three necklaces with large amber chunks and a number of amber beads in t.818. Smaller quantities of amber were discovered in t.1364, t.1366, t.1367. Examining the raw materials used for the grave goods during phase III reveals another interesting occurrence. Across the three sites, nine tombs included more than ten objects made from metals, amber, or glass. For example, t.818 contained 95 metal objects (bronze, iron, and silver), 17 amber, one

[983] See Cozzolino in D'Ambrosio 2009 p32.
[984] Negroni Catacchio 2007.
[985] Cuozzo 2007 p252-253 2016 p20.

glass bead, and three composite bronze-amber *fibulae*. These 116 objects make up 30% of the raw materials used in the Sarno Valley and 12% of the whole sample. At 39% overall, the raw materials used in phase III are lower in number than the ceramics and the total raw materials deposited in the previous phases. Yet this total still indicates that a substantial amount of material was imported from elsewhere. Furthermore, the materials highlight how the connections the Sarno communities held in earlier phases were not interrupted by the Greek arrival on the coast. Although the table above shows that bronze forms 26.2% of the grave goods, this total of 257 objects is much higher than in the previous phases. Indeed, all the raw materials rise in total in this sample. These quantities challenge the narrative of Greek influence over the Sarno area during the 8th and 7th centuries BC.

5.2.6 The Sarno Valley Network Phase III (725-640 BC)

Despite the foundation of Cumae in phase III, the network presented here shows only a slight change from phase II. Merely 46 out of a total of 979 objects can be connected to external ties (Fig. 5.21). Locally produced material accounts for 95.3% of the grave goods and the combined imports and imitations total 4.7%. This low total indicates a small group of weak ties with Capua/Pontecagnano (0.3%), Basilicata (0.1%), and Pithekoussai/Cumae (4.3%). For the first time, all three sites have a tie with a site outside the Sarno Valley. Nevertheless, the network shows that the Sarno communities were still largely connected to each other; the material clique between them continued in phase III. The dominance of local material is strange considering that scholarship maintains the Greek sphere held the Sarno communities in an asymmetrical power relationship. The archaeology of phase III casts doubt on the narrative of Greek dominance, suggesting instead that trade with the Greek settlements functioned as an exchange with a weak tie that brought new opportunities to the Sarno area (Fig. 5.22). Nevertheless, the Sarno communities still retained access to the local networks they held in phases I and II. Pottery constitutes most of the sample and has a thick tie and large node with the Sarno sites. Bronze accounts for about 25% of the sample and all the metals combined bring this total up to 30%. Along with the metals, amber and glass indicate that the Sarno communities retained their access to local networks despite the Greek arrival on the Tyrrhenian. These materials receive a thick or thin line and large or small node depending on the amount the grave goods they each form. While the sites supplying the Sarno Valley with these materials remains unknown, it is possible that Pontecagnano played some role.

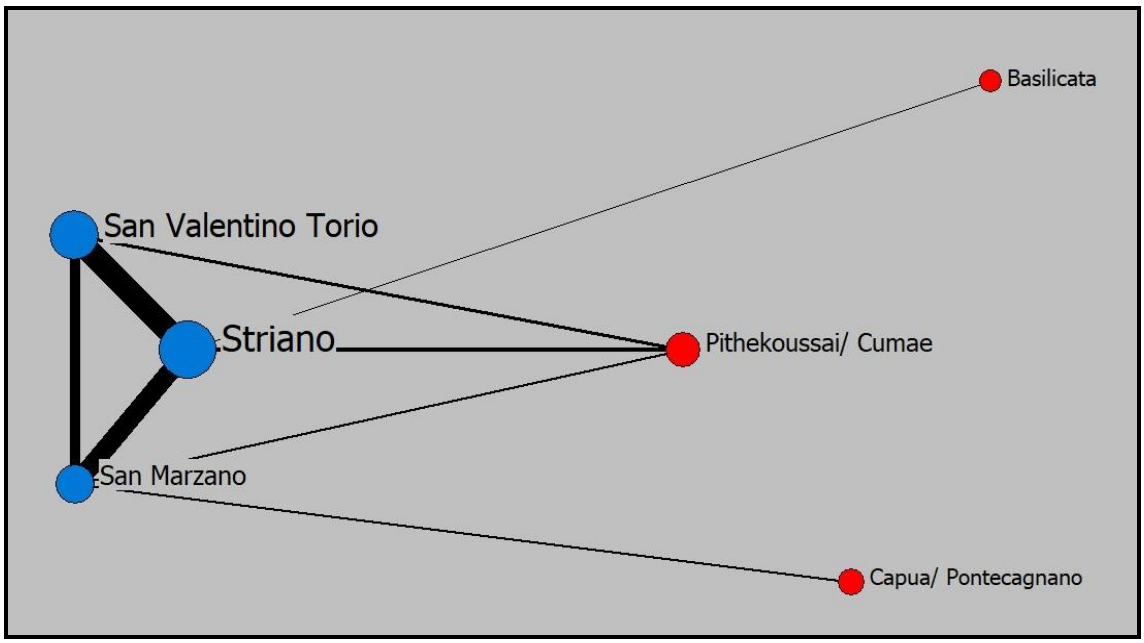

Fig. 5. 21. Network graph showing the external ties of the three Sarno Valley sites in phase III (using UCINET)

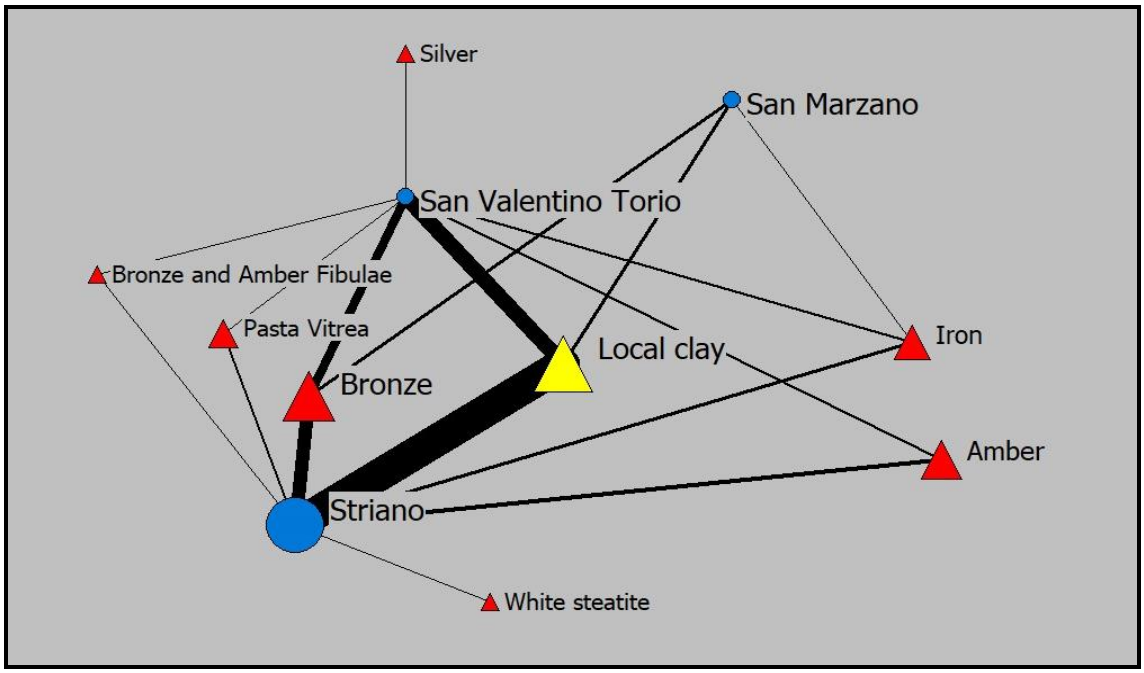

Fig. 5. 22. Network graph showing the ties of the three Sarno Valley sites in phase III based on raw materials (using UCINET)

5.2.7 The Sarno Valley Sites Phase IV Tombs (640-500 BC)

Object type	Number	%	Imports	%
Weaving tools	22	3.2%		
Weapons	12	1.7%		
Decorative objects	85	12.2%		
Fibulae	56	8.2%		
Instruments	8	1.6%		
Beads	14	2%		
Bronze grater	1	0.1%		
Iron spits	3	0.4%		
Iron fire rake	1	0.1%		
Scarabs	3	0.4%	3	0.4%
Other	1	0.1%		
Pottery	480	70%	61	8.8%
Total	686		64	9.3%
Tombs	36			

Table 5. 9 Total objects for Sarno Valley phase IV

The final phase examined here comprises nearly 150 years of occupation in the Sarno Valley. There are burials from all three sites, each having roughly an equal number of tombs in the sample. Striano and San Valentino have 11 burials each, while San Marzano has 14 of the total graves in phase IV (Fig. 5.23, Appendix V.3). The 36 tombs in this first phase held 686 objects, with ceramics representing the largest single category (480 pots at 70% of the assemblage) (Fig. 5.24 and 5.25) (Table 5.9).[986] The next largest object categories were decorative objects (85) and *fibulae* (56), illustrating a persistent desire to decorate the body in death. Gender and age information is given for 23 of the 36 burials, with the majority either adult males or child graves (8 each) (Appendix V.3). Alongside these were a small number of adult female and other adult burials that had no gender assigned. Of the male burials, only three were identified based on weapons, and the reasons for the others being assigned this identity were not specified by the excavators. The child burials were defined based on the size and dimensions of the graves, not on any skeletal finds. The poor preservation of osteological remains in the Sarno area rarely allows analysis of the bones to determine gender or age. For this reason, gender was assigned in phase IV based on the presence of particular objects. Despite the number of male graves being high, the number of weapons in this assemblage was low. The small number of weaving tools probably explains the few female graves identified in phase IV.

[986] Dé Spagnolis 2001 p103-113, p118-135, p147-167; D'Ambrosio 1990 p8-22, 1994 p106-133, 2005 p122-141.

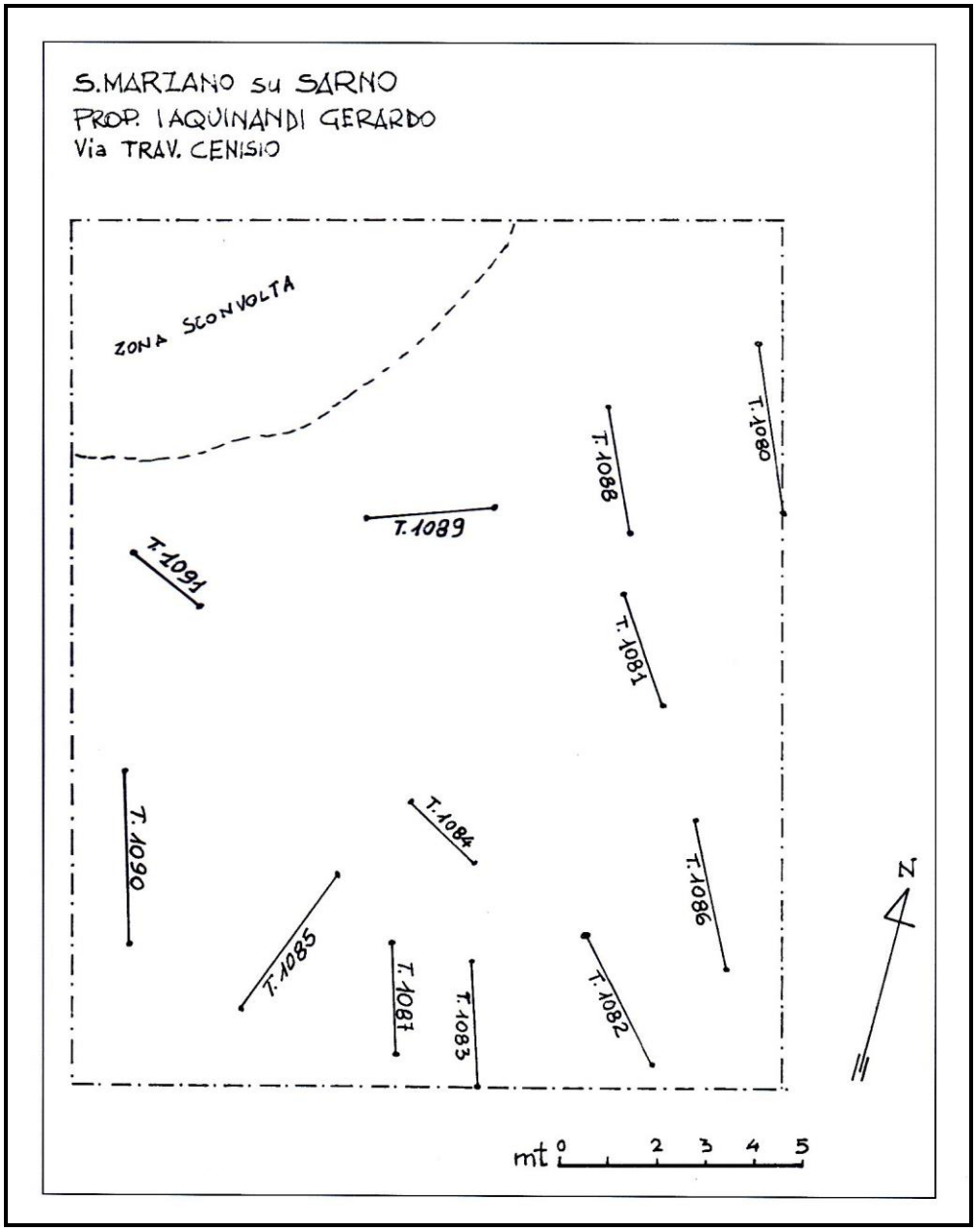

Fig. 5. 23. Excavation plan of the *Scavo Iaquinandi* area at San Marzano (after De Spagnolis (2001) p 148 fig. 105a)

There are seven tombs that include more than 30 objects, the majority of which come from San Valentino and Striano. Several objects stand out here. T.1358 at San Valentino has many grave goods and a circular canal feature around it, which suggests an élite burial.[987] Amongst its ceramics are *bucchero*, and Corinthian imports, and a solitary vase from Daunia. A bronze *fibula* with amber attachments and a bronze *bacile* similar to those from Pontecagnano demonstrate the tomb's link to the global culture of the Tyrrhenian. Striano *Via de Pace* t.3 included a single Italo-Geometric kotyle along with some objects of a globalising character, such as an iron spit and a fire rake (*rastrello da fuoco)*.[988] As regards the fire rake, it is rare in Campania with the only

[987] Dé Spagnolis 2001 p109, 131-135.
[988] D'Ambrosio 1994 p123-133.

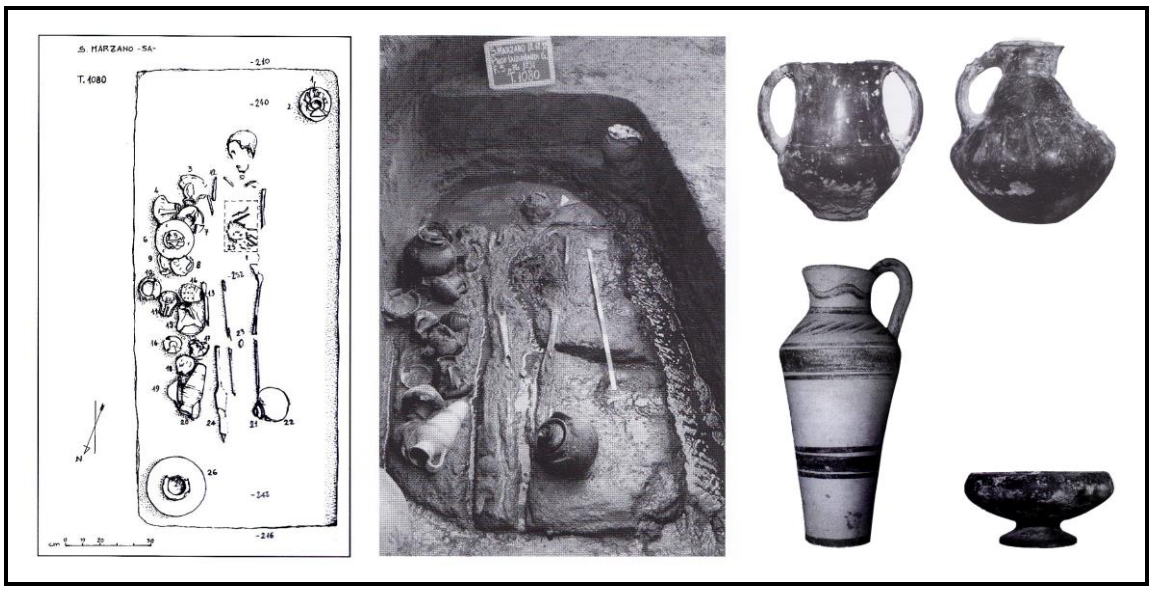

Fig. 5. 24 T.1080 from San Marzano and ceramics (after De Spagnolis (2001) p149 fig.106, p155 fig.118, p157-158 fig.123-126)

known coeval example hailing from a 'princely' tomb at Cales.[989] The female in t.3 at Striano was also buried with a bronze axe and an iron knife, both of which are found in many rich female burials and are associated with sacrificial rites.[990] Also from Striano are *Via Poggiomarino* t.2 and *Via de Pace* t.2. The former is notable for the six storage containers (*olla*), 15 locally made drinking vessels, and a Thapsos cup. Alongside a small corpus of amber, *Via Poggiomarino* t.2 also had a scarab in green faience dating to the New Kingdom (c1575-1087 BC).[991] *Via de Pace* t.2 counted an imported Italo-Geometric *alabastron* and 19 drinking vessels among its ceramic assemblage; it had amber and glass beads and a circular canal around it, which points to this being an élite burial.[992] These tombs with large numbers of objects could confirm what scholarship calls 'emphasis on quantity over quality' in the deposition of grave goods in the 7th century (see §5.1.2). However, with only 36 tombs available for analysis across these three sites, how representative these quantities are remains debatable.

In terms of the ceramics, most pots are still of the local handmade variety (359 out of 480). Alongside these vessels are coarse and fine wares (87 pots which include imports and are defined in Italian literature as *argilla*) and a small corpus of imported *bucchero* (34 pots). The most common forms are the *anforetta* (118), a vessel that is present in 27 of the 36 tombs. San Valentino t.1358 has 23 *anforetta* vessels amongst several others that are all drinking shapes. The second most common shape is the *olla*;

989 D'Ambrosio 1994 p132; Valletrisco 1972 p231; Johannowsky 1983 p231; Chiesa 1993.
990 D'Ambrosio 1994 p130-132, that the deceased in t.3 held this role see p124.
991 D'Ambrosio 1990 p16-22.
992 D'Ambrosio 1994 p114-122.

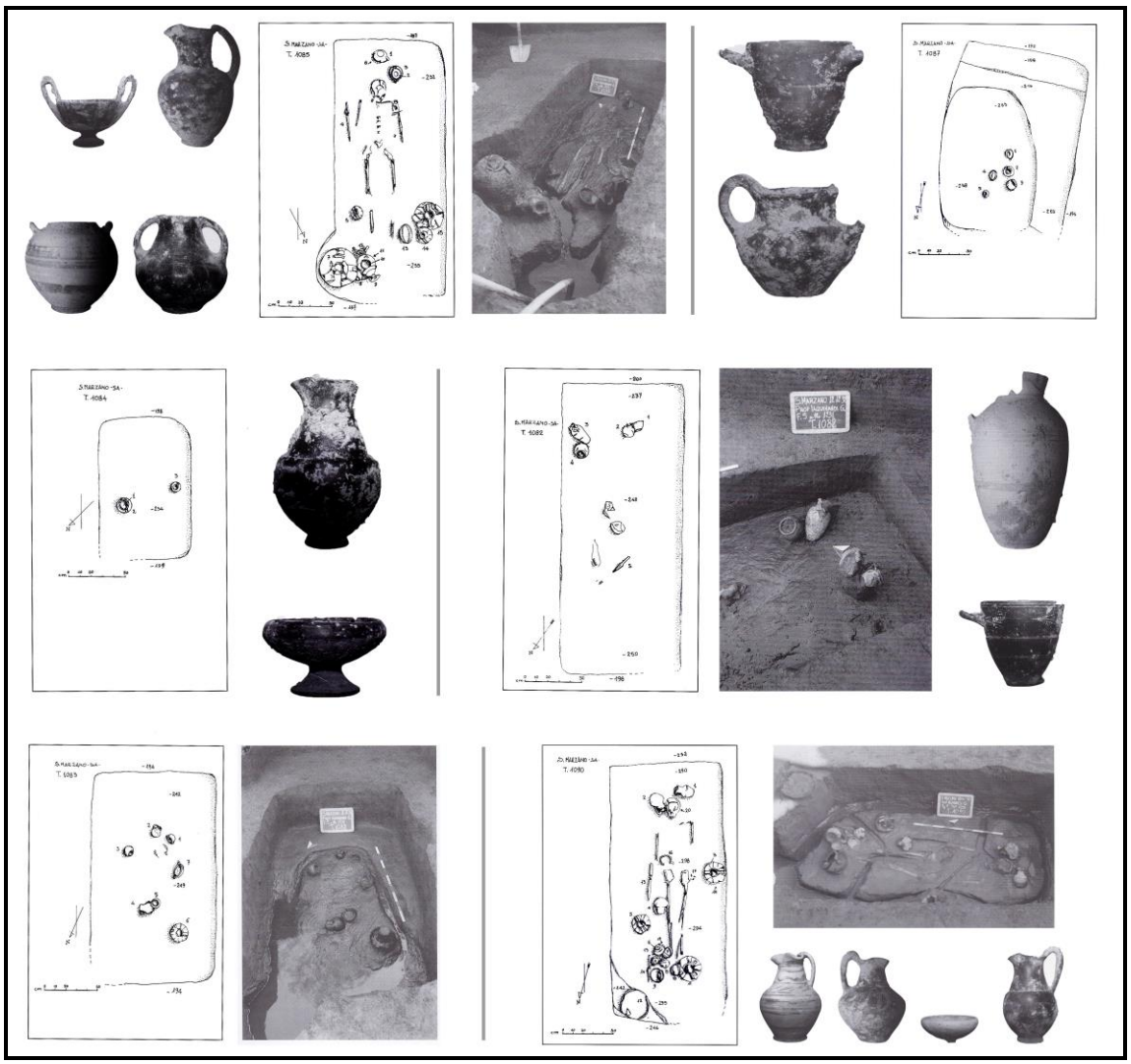

Fig. 5. 25. Tombs 1082-1083-1084-1087-1085-1090 from San Marzano and ceramics (after Dé Spagnolis (2001) p150-156 fig. 108-111, p159 fig. 127-128,165-166 fig.138-139-140-143)

there are 62 of these storage wares (when combining the various types together) in 16 of the tombs in phase IV. As Figure 5.26 shows, the ceramics were largely drinking or pouring shapes (292 and 87, respectively), and cooking and storage vessels are also strongly represented (65 pots), but eating and cosmetic shapes account for only a small number in this sample. Therefore, with drinking and pouring shapes dominating over other types, graveside commensality did not take the form of consuming food. Instead, the consumption of liquids is highly likely. The possibility remains that alcohol was consumed at the graveside, and in the case of t.1358 (which has 61 pots), a large number of mourners deposited vessels for the deceased. While imported vessels undoubtedly played a role in these ceremonies, the influence of the Greek symposium over them should be questioned (Fig. 5.27).

Before the imports are discussed, some problems with the publications of the Sarno Valley cemeteries and how they define imports should be highlighted. The cemeteries of San Marzano and San Valentino Torio (the *Farina* and *Iaquinandi* areas,

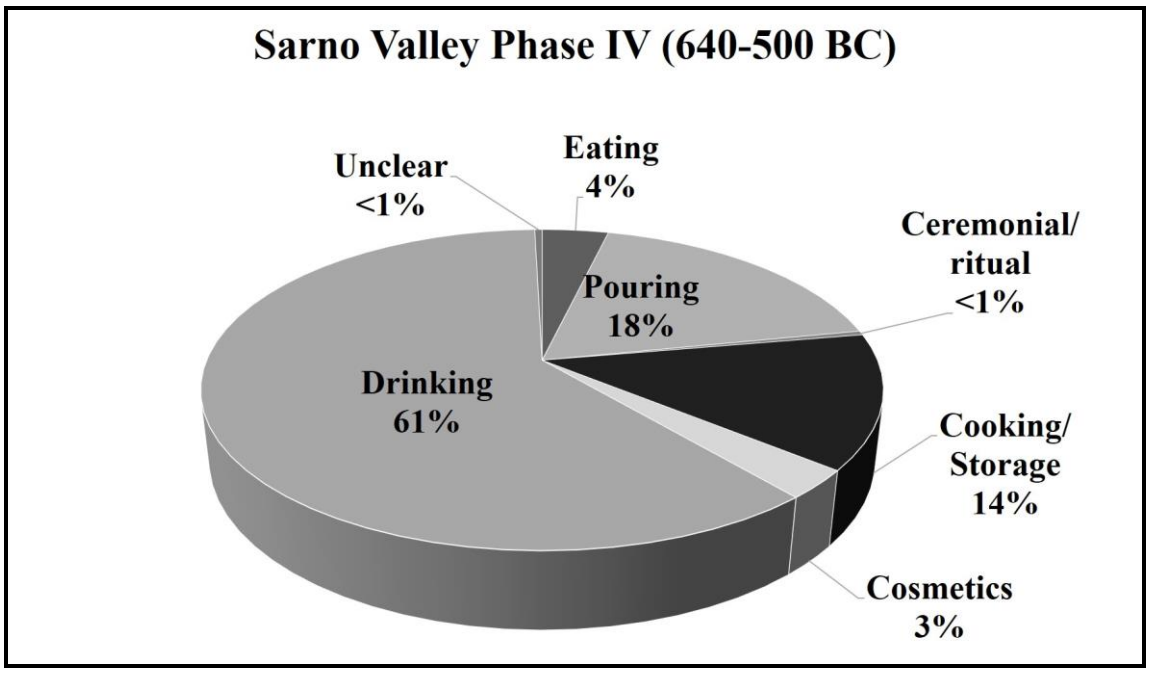

Fig. 5. 26 Pie-chart showing the Sarno Valley pots from phase IV by function

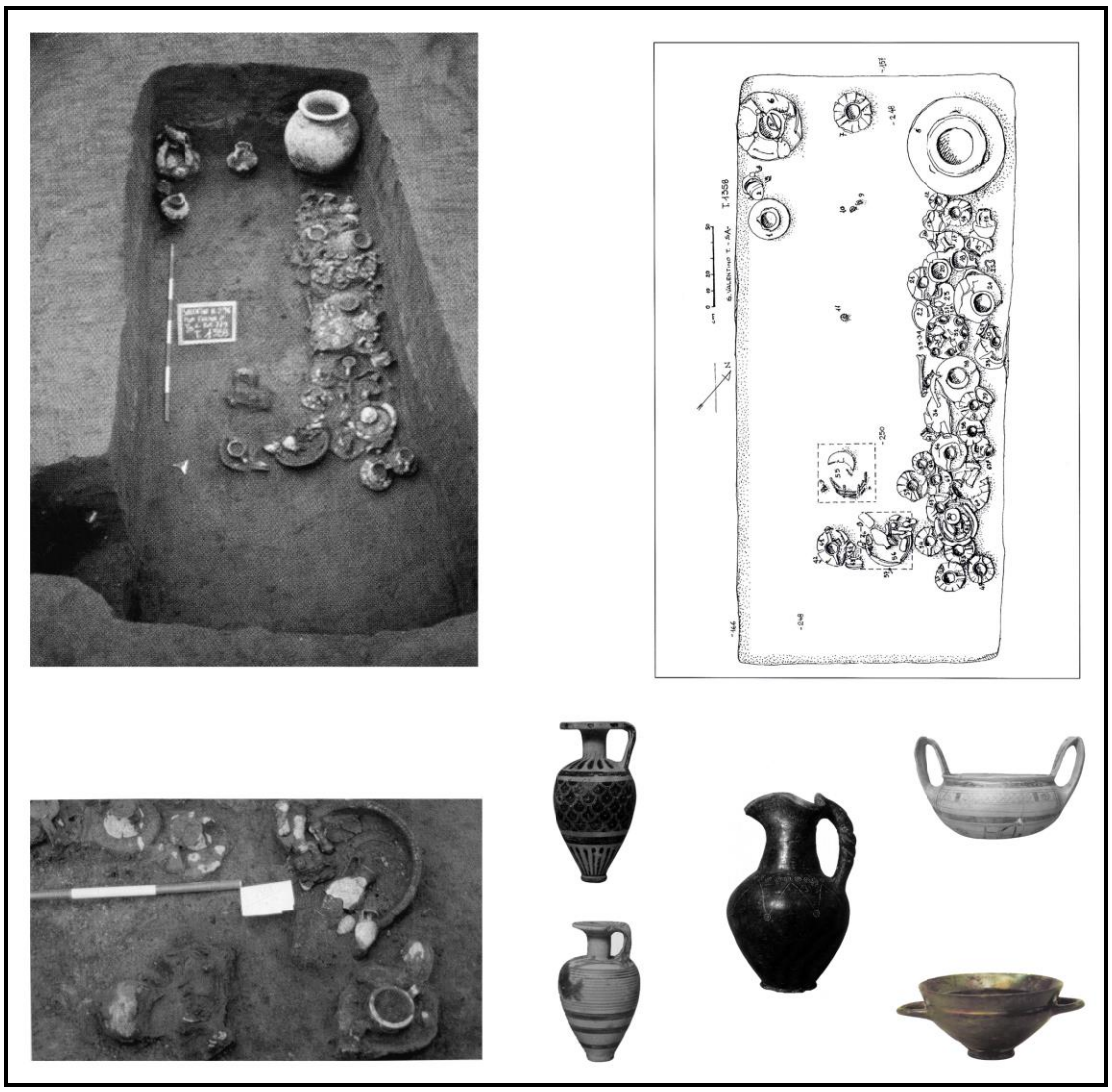

Fig. 5. 27 T.1358 from San Valentino Torio and ceramics (after Dé Spagnolis (2001) p.110 fig. 55, p115 fig.61-62, p133-136 fig.86-90)

Fig. 5. 28. T.1083 from San Marzano (after Dé Spagnolis (2001) p150 fig. 109)

respectively) were both published by Dé Spagnolis (Fig.5.28). Despite the overall quality of this volume, it is unfortunate that the information she provides is vague and inconsistent. For example, she labels the imports as *argilla* but neglects to state whether these are imports or locally made imitations. Problems with terminology also create confusion: Dé Spagnolis regularly uses more than one name to describe a single object, such as the vessels in San Valentino t.1357. Here, she refers to the *coppa biansata* as a *lekythos*, the *kotyle* as a *kantharos*, and the *pyxis* as a *stamnos* (Fig. 5.29).[993] In addition, she provides photos for some of the vessels from both sites, yet without further information it is difficult to tell whether these *argilla* pots are Greek, locally made, or imported from elsewhere. Exemplary are the 28 vessels from San Marzano that Dé Spagnolis and the display panels at the Sarno museum describe merely as *argilla*, with

[993] See Dé Spagnolis 2001 p103-146 figs. 66-105.

no information supplied on their provenances. Given that the focus of this study is on tie strength, there is a need for an approximate description of an object's provenance.

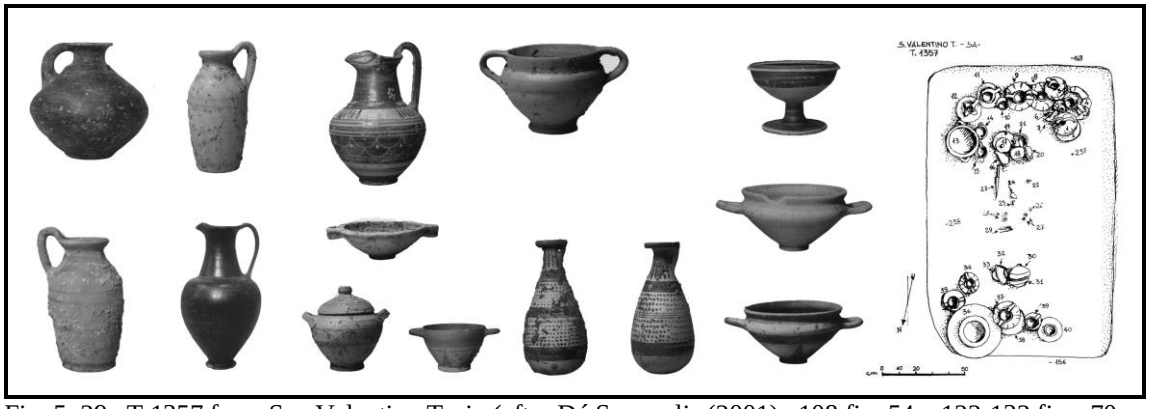

Fig. 5. 29. T.1357 from San Valentino Torio (after Dé Spagnolis (2001) p108 fig. 54, p122-132 figs. 70-85)

Fig. 5. 30. T.1362 from San Valentino Torio and ceramics (after Dé Spagnolis (2001) p113 fig. 59, pa116 fig. 63-64, p138-145 fig. 92-103)

Therefore, the lack of further details about these vessels is problematic. Unfortunately, the images in the monograph do little to help. While some photos appear to show Greek or Italo-Geometric pots, identification is impossible. Consequently, they have been excluded from this study, with only the pots labelled as imports or imitations included. Nevertheless, there is still a considerable number of imports to review here. All three sites have imports, with 23 of the 36 tombs in this sample demonstrating an external tie (Table 5.10).[994] There are 64 imports in total: 34 *bucchero* vessels, 23 Greek pots (7 of them Italo-Geometric), three scarabs, two Daunian pots, one Etrusco-

[994] Striano has 10 tombs with imports, while San Marzano and San Valentino have 9 and 4, respectively.

Corinthian and one Etrusco-Lazial vessel (Fig. 5.30). Therefore, many of the imports show a connection with either the Etruscan settlements of Campania or Pithekoussai/Cumae (although Pithekoussai was in decline at this stage). According to current interpretations, the cessation of trade between Pithekoussai and the Sarno Valley following the foundation of Cumae in the 8th century led to a period of internal crisis for the valley communities (§5.1.2).[995] Furthermore, D'Agostino and Cerchiai maintain that in terms of dominance, the Greeks were replaced by the Etruscans, who subsequently held hegemony over the whole Sarno area.[996] Their view is based on both literary sources and the spread of *bucchero* throughout the cemeteries (see §5.1.2). However, if the Greeks ended trade with the Sarno Valley in the 8th century, why does the number of Greek imports increase from phase III into phase IV? This increase in imports seriously challenges the notion of an internal crisis in the Sarno Valley because trade with the Greeks at Cumae clearly did not end. In addition, the higher numbers of *bucchero* may attest to a stronger connection with the Etruscan settlements of Campania but locally made ceramics still outnumber both the Greek and Etruscan imports. Unless the two hypotheses are based on unpublished material that few have access to, they cannot be accepted as adequate interpretations of the period. The archaeology presented here does not show a culture in decline but one exhibiting an increase in wealth.

The provenance of the *bucchero* is difficult to ascertain, but these items are likely to have been imported directly from Etruria to both Capua and Pontecagnano and then acquired by the Sarno sites. Publications of the Sarno cemeteries do not mention any archaeometric analysis of the clay, tending instead to associate the origin of these pots via typological and stylistic factors.[997] Dé Spagnolis believes the *bucchero sottile* during this phase was produced at *Caere*. According to her, it travelled along the same routes south as the bronze vessels found in Campania, namely from Etruria, overland into Campania, then onto Basilicata (via Melfi) and finally into Daunia.[998] Although she specifically connects *Caere* with the two *bucchero sottile* pots in San Marzano t.1357, she does not say whether the other *bucchero* vessels came via the same route. However, she does highlight that by the end of the 7th century, *bucchero sottile* was no longer imported from Etruria. Instead, the production of *bucchero* of the transitional (*transizione*) type began at both Capua and Pontecagnano.[999] Furthermore, similarities

[995] D'Agostino 1990 p74-75; Cuozzo 2007 p253.
[996] D'Agostino 1988 p544-568; Lomas 1993 p29; Cerchiai 1995 p103-104, 2010 p65-66; Dé Spagnolis 2001 p83.
[997] Dé Spagnolis 2001 p83-85.
[998] Dé Spagnolis 2001 p84.
[999] Dé Spagnolis 2001 p84-85.

are visible between the *bucchero* in the San Marzano tombs and the banqueting service Cerchiai identified for Pontecagnano t.4306 and t.4307.[1000] Therefore, both Capua and Pontecagnano are the most likely candidates behind the arrival of *bucchero* in the Sarno area.

Site	**Tomb**	**Import/ imitation**	**No.**	**Provenance**
San Marzano	1080	*Bucchero kantharos*	1	Capua? Pontecagnano?
		Bucchero anforetta	1	
		Bucchero coppetta	1	
	1082	*Bucchero kotyle*	1	
	1084	*Bucchero coppetta*	1	
		Bucchero oinochoe	1	
	1085	*Bucchero kotyle*	1	
		Bucchero (pesante campano) kantharos	1	
		Bucchero oinochoe	1	
		Bucchero coppetta	1	
	1087	*Bucchero kotyle*	1	
		Bucchero coppetta	1	
	1089	*Bucchero kantharos*	1	
	1090	*Bucchero kantharos*	1	
		Bucchero oinochoe	1	
		Bucchero coppetta	1	
	336	*Bucchero piatto*	1	
		Bucchero skyphos	1	
		Bucchero kantharos	2	
	556	*Bucchero kantharos*	1	
		Bucchero oinochoe	1	
		Bucchero brocca	2	
		Bucchero vasetto a calamaio	1	
	1085	Stamnoid *olla*	1	Possibly Pithekoussai/ Cumae?
	336	*Olla*	1	
		Corinthian *kylix*	1	
	556	Corinthian *kotyle*	1	
		Corinthian *aryballos*	1	
		Vernice nera Ionic type cup	1	
San Valentino Torio	1357	*Bucchero sottile Oinochoe*	1	Caere?
		Bucchero sottile kylix	1	
		P.C. *alabastron*	1	Pithekoussai/ Cumae?
	1358	P.C. *alabastron*	1	
		Corinthian *aryballos*	2	
		Daunian *kantharos*	1	Daunia
	1362	Daunian *olla*	1	
		Bucchero oinochoe trilobata	1	Caere? Etruria?

[1000] Dé Spagnolis 2001 p154 and Cerchiai 1990 p6-9.

	607	*Bucchero* cup	1	Capua? Pontecagnano?
		Bucchero plate/*patera*	1	
		Bucchero kantharos	2	
		Corinthian *lekythos*	1	Cumae?
		Corinthian *kotyle*	2	
		Corinthian *aryballos*	1	
Striano	*Via Traversa Serafina 7*	Greek *skyphos*	1	
	Via Poggiomarino 2	Greek Thapsos cup	1	
	Via Poggiomarino 1	Italo-Geometric Greek plate	1	
	Via Poggiomarino 1A	Italo-Geometric Greek *oinochoe*	1	
		Italo-Geometric Greek *coppa carenata*	1	
	Via Serafina 2	Italo-Geometric Greek *piattello*	1	
		Italo-Geometric Greek Ionic cup	1	
	Via De Pace 2	Italo-Geometric Greek *alabastron*	1	
	Via De Pace 3	Italo-Geometric Greek *kotyle*	1	
	Via De Pace 1	Etrusco-Corinthian *alabastron*	1	
	Via Poggiomarino 1	Etrusco-Lazial *anforisco*	1	Lazio/Etruria.
		Bucchero kotyle	1	Etruria? Capua? Pontecagnano?
	Via Poggiomarino 1A	*Bucchero anforisco*	1	
		Scarab		
	Via Poggiomarino 6	White steatite	2	Cumae?
	Via Traversa Serafina 6	Green faience	1	Rhodes? Cumae?
	Via Poggiomarino 2	Green faience	1	Cumae?
		White steatite	1	

Table 5. 10 Imports and imitations for Sarno Valley phase IV

Most of the imports are from San Marzano (31 pots), while San Valentino and Striano have a very similar number each (17 and 16 respectively). Amongst the tombs with imports, five have more than four each.[1001] San Valentino t.607 dates to the first half of the 6th century BC. Although unpublished, this tomb t.607 is displayed in the *Museo di Sarno*. It has five *bucchero* and four Greek pots. Scant information is available at the museum on the typologies of these imports, making exact provenances difficult to ascertain. However, *bucchero* was being produced in Campania at this time, making it likely that these vessels were from Capua or Pontecagnano. The Corinthian

[1001] San Valentino Torio t.607 (9 imports), San Marzano t.556 (8), t.336 (6), t.1085 (5), Striano V. Poggiomarino t.1A (4).

vessels in t.607 were probably imported from Cumae. Of the three tombs from San Marzano, two are on display at the museum (t.336 and t.556), and one other is published by Dé Spagnolis (t.1085). Most of the imports in the first two burials (t.336 and t.556) are *bucchero* (9 pots, 4 and 5, respectively), with a small number of Greek pots each (5 in total, 2 and 3 pots respectively). These two tombs are unpublished, but it is likely that their wares come from the same areas as those discussed above. T.1085 was discovered in the *Scavo Iaquinardi* area of San Marzano and has a group of four *bucchero* vessels and a single Greek pot.[1002] Alongside the ceramics were five scarabs from Striano in *Via Poggiomarino* t.2 and *Via Traversa Serafino* t.6. The first burial has a single green faience scarab dating to 750-675BC, inscribed with a hieroglyph[1003] and of Rhodian production, which is also found in Campania at Pontecagnano, Calatia, and Ischia. The two scarabs in *Via Poggiomarino* t.2 are made of green faience (which stylistically dates to the New Kingdom c1575-1087 BC) and white steatite.[1004] D'Ambrosio provides only a provisional note that these scarabs may be imitations or, alternatively, they could be heirlooms,[1005] yet the publication of these tombs is still rudimentary. While awaiting confirmation of their provenances from further publication, the most likely candidate for place of origin of these objects at this stage remains Cumae.

Some evidence of feasting is found in this sample. The most notable examples are the iron spits in San Marzano t.1089, San Valantino t.607, and Striano *Via de Pace* t.3. These objects hint at some funerals involving the roasting of meat across all three sites, and combined with other objects, they also allow for the possibility that contemporary graveside feasting took place in some form. For example, in San Valentino t.1358, there was a bronze basin (*bacile*), which is a key component of the 'princely' grave goods at Pontecagnano (Chapter 3). Other objects of a feasting nature include the bronze grater in San Valentino t.1362 and the iron fire rake in Striano *Via de Pace* t.3. Similarly, the systematic placement of the pots on both sides of t.1362 (an adult grave) and the large assemblage of pots deposited along one side of the trench in t.1358 suggest some form of ceremony, possibly a feast. While this is limited evidence of banqueting activity across three sites over a period of more than a hundred years, the large number of drinking vessels in phase IV makes some form of libation to the deceased likely. Ample evidence exists that Greek-inspired ritual objects were being acquired in the Sarno Valley, similar to the case studies in Chapters 3 and 4. The presence of bronze vessels,

[1002] Dé Spagnolis 2001 p p149-150, 162-164.
[1003] D'Ambrosio 2005 p134-140 type VE1; Gorton type XXIIA.
[1004] D'Ambrosio 1990 p16-22.
[1005] D'Ambrosio 1990 p22.

iron spits, and graters defies the notion that the Sarno Valley communities were backward. Instead, these objects strongly argue for the spread of globalising practices, especially those focused on the funeral banquet.

The globalising traits in phase IV are accompanied by the importation of raw material to make local objects (Table 5.11). These raw materials demonstrate how the network ties with the metal and amber trade in phases I-III continued into phase IV. Despite representing less of the sample than in phase III at 25.4%, sufficient evidence exists here to demonstrate the continuation of the indirect connection with Northern Italy. Examining the three sites in this study shows that six tombs have more than ten objects of either bronze, iron, amber, or glass.[1006] Among these were Striano *Via de Pace* t.3 and *Via Poggiomarino* t.2, which had, respectively, 27 and 33 local objects produced from imported raw materials. At 16% bronze is the leading imported material, with iron, amber, and glass totalling 5%, 3%, and 1.2%, respectively. Some composite bronze and amber *fibulae* are found, and although their number is negligible, they show that trading links in the earlier phases were not interrupted by the Greek arrival and the Sarno area communities did not descend into a crisis when the Greeks stopped trading with them. Any internal crisis would be apparent in the types of network links these sites held, yet there is no evidence of such a crisis in any of the three sites. Current scholarship maintains that in this period, the Sarno plain came under Etruscan hegemony after the withdrawal of Greek influence. Such socio-economic and political changes would have had an impact on the ability of the Sarno sites to gain access to metals and amber. Yet the picture presented in phase IV is of a slight decrease in imported raw materials that could just as easily be explained by the small tomb sample as by a presumed crisis.

Material	**Total**	**%**
Bronze	110	16%
Iron	35	5%
Amber	21	3%
Glass	8	1.2%
Bronze and amber *fibulae*	2	0.2%
Total	**176**	**25.4%**
Total metals	**145**	**21%**
Total grave goods	**686**	**100%**

Table 5. 11 Sarno Valley imported materials in phase IV.

[1006] Four of these tombs were from Striano, while San Marzano and San Valentino Torio had one each.

Only archaeometric analysis can ascertain the provenances of the raw materials used to produce the objects in the Sarno Valley, but Pontecagnano and Poggiomarino remain candidates. These two sites either had close links with areas where such resources were found (such as Pontecagnano's ties with metal-rich Etruria) or were producing objects locally on a large scale by working imported raw materials (as the evidence of metal- and amber-working at Poggiomarino demonstrates). However, in the case of the latter, it is interesting that the occupation at Poggiomarino ceases in the mid-6th century BC, when the canal system silted up, possibly as a result of a natural disaster.[1007] Consequently, the population is believed to have abandoned the site and joined the newly founded sites of Pompeii and Nuceria.[1008] The establishment of the latter has also been used to support the hypothesis of the Sarno Valley now being under Etruscan hegemony, largely because Pompeii and Nuceria are seen as responsible for the decline of the Sarno Valley communities.[1009] The main evidence cited for this Etruscan domination is the increased deposition of *bucchero* and the gradual impoverishment of the local grave goods.[1010] However, there is no evidence of this decline in the phase IV sample, as seen. Similarly, Greek vessels are found in tombs that also include *bucchero*. Although the latter are higher in number than Greek ceramics, these still feature across all three sites in no negligible quantity. The rise of *bucchero* vessels alone cannot be explained through the notion of Etruscan hegemony. Such an interpretation ignores the myriad ways that foreign material culture can be reinterpreted and adapted by local groups. In conclusion, the image of a conservative community undergoing an internal crisis after the cessation of Greek trade with them is not borne out by the evidence. Nor is there a clear case for the notion of abandonment and decline.

[1007] Albore Livadie/Cicirelli 2003 p108, 124; Guzzo 2006 p220-221; Albore Livadie 2008 p480-481, Cicirelli 2012a p22.
[1008] Cicirelli 2012a p22.
[1009] Dé Spagnolis 2001 p83-87, p170.
[1010] Dé Spagnolis 2001 p87.

5.2.8 The Sarno Valley Network Phase IV (640-500 BC)

The network graphs for phase IV illustrate some slight changes from phase III. Locally produced material accounts for 90.6% of the grave goods, but at a combined total of 9.4%, the imports indicate weak ties with Etruria and the Etruscan sites of Campania, Pithekoussai/Cumae, and the nearby area of Daunia (Fig. 5.31). With most of the grave goods still showing links to the *Fossakultur* cultural horizon, the Sarno Valley settlements continued to maintain close material links with each other, functioning as strong ties even into the final phases of occupation. Nevertheless, seven different weak ties can be identified: Daunia (0.3%), *Caere* (0.3%), Lazio/Etruria (0.3%), Etruria/Capua/Pontecagnano (1%), Capua/Pontecagnano (3.6%), Rhodes/ Cumae (0.1%), and Pithekoussai/Cumae (3.6%). A small amount of the sample is connected to Daunia, but the other weak ties either show a link to the Etruscan or Greek spheres (at 5.2% and 3.7%, respectively). These ties are positioned at a distance depending on their respective share of the grave goods which also accounts for the size of each node.

The grave goods of this period show a continued connection with the metal and amber trade at 25.4%. The metals deposited in this phase are fewer than in phase III but still attest to the continued access the Sarno area had to the metal trade routes of Etruria and elsewhere. It may be that this number decreased due to Etruscan control over the area, which disrupted the access to metals; alternatively, it could be the result of the smaller tomb sample for phase IV. A link is also found with the amber trade circulating Northern Italy, which also decreases slightly from phase III. The second graph shows the imported raw materials used to produce the objects in phase IV (Fig. 5.32). These connections do not have ties as thick as in the previous phase, but access to these trade routes clearly continued despite the supposed Etruscan domination and eventual decline of the Sarno Valley. However, the sites supplying these materials to the three Sarno communities remain unknown and cannot be identified without further archaeometric analysis.

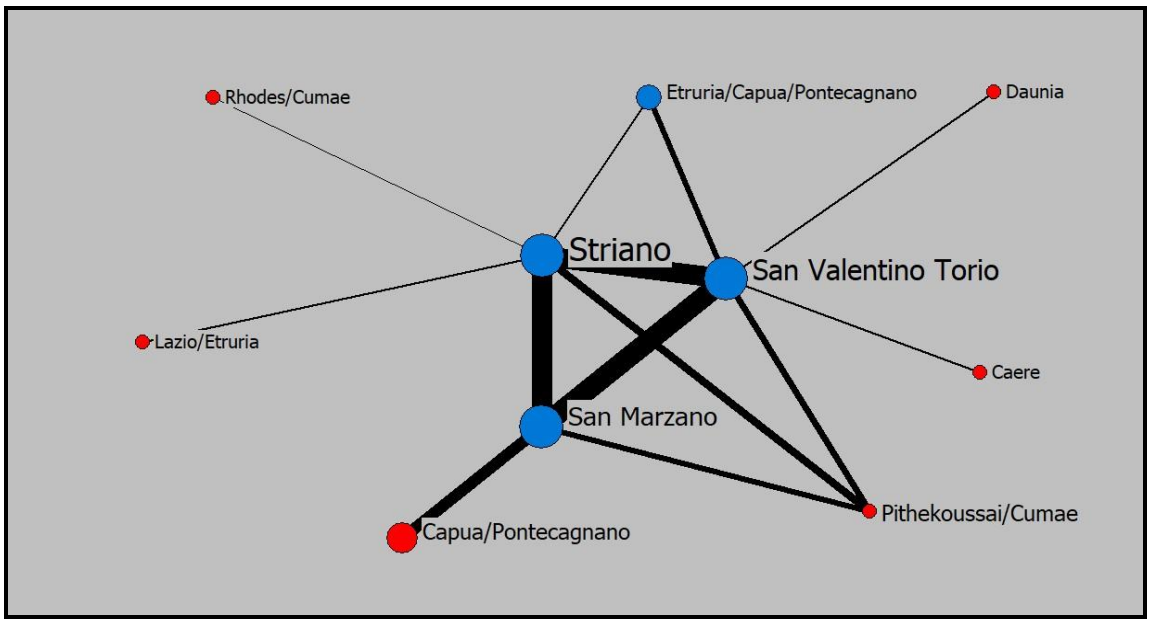

Fig. 5. 31. Network graph showing the external ties of the three Sarno Valley sites in phase IV (using UCINET)

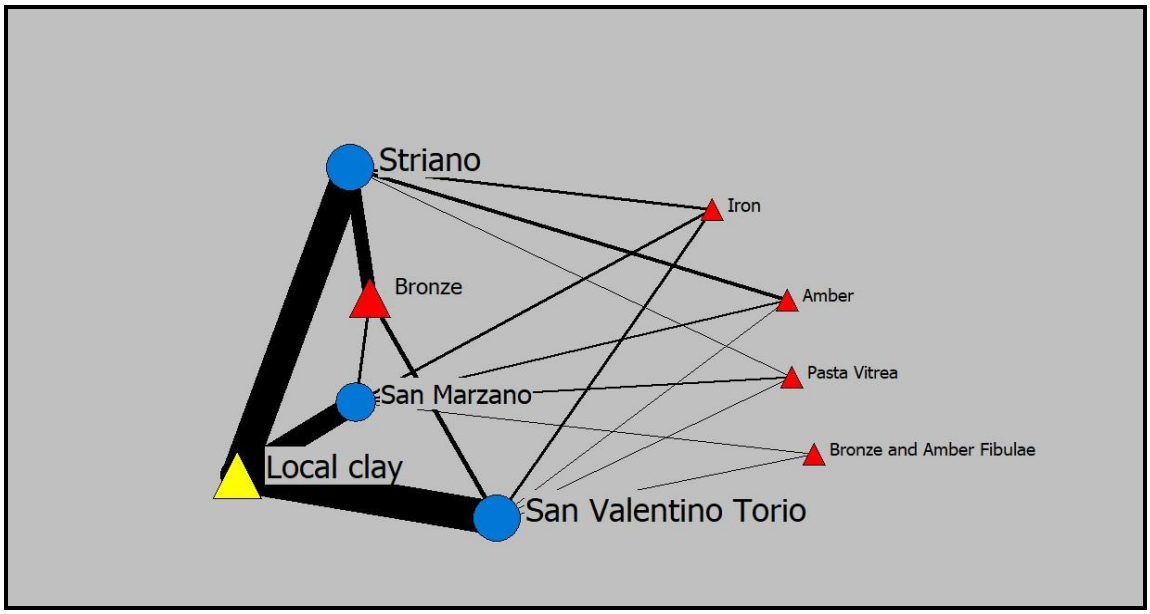

Fig. 5. 32. Network graph showing the ties of the three Sarno Valley sites in phase IV based on raw materials (using UCINET)

5.3 The Sarno Valley Conclusions

This chapter has examined the network ties held by the three Sarno Valley settlements across the Iron Age to Orientalising periods. A re-evaluation of the interpretations proposed by current scholarship has also been attempted here. Exploring the narrative that has been constructed to explain the development of the Sarno Valley settlements reveals an influence of neo-evolutionary thinking. The three sites are believed to have progressed from a stage of egalitarianism to a phase of stratification due to an external impetus from the Greek settlements. Yet combining the available data from San Marzano, San Valentino, and Striano, shows how current interpretations

of the valley's development are based on conjecture. The available dataset for the period covering 900 to 550 BC is not large enough to support the theory that the Sarno Valley was a closed environment until becoming dependent on Greek trade. Current interpretations of the valley area are heavily reliant on unpublished material, especially from San Marzano and San Valentino Torio (§5.1.2 on t.168, t.178, t.180, t.630, t.633). Unpublished evidence from these two sites is often combined to weave the narrative of an archaeological culture inhabiting the Sarno Valley. However, since the actual settlements remain unidentified, the real development of these communities is open to debate. A further issue concerns the lack of published burials for the early phases across all three sites. This issue makes it extremely difficult to understand the alleged emergence of the élite from a phase of egalitarianism. If there are only a handful of tombs from the EIA, how can either social stratification or the lack thereof be fully visible? Unfortunately, this question is never tackled by those studying the Sarno sites. The apparent egalitarianism can be countered by the fact that some of the valley tombs have the circular canal features around them, which indicates forms of complexity. The idea that the élite emerged from the social body appears to be based on a lack of evidence of their existence in earlier periods. It is essentially based on silence, but arguments based on silence are not always valid. For example, the earliest phases at San Marzano have no weaving tools, yet it is never argued that women must therefore be absent early on. The low number of published burials for the earliest phases also makes the proposed pre-colonial trade between the Sarno Valley and visiting Greeks hard to assess. Trade did take place, as the imports show, but it is the scale of influence that needs clarification, and the sample for the earliest phases of the Sarno Valley do not support a Greek domination over the area. In fact, this part of the region was not as primitive, conservative, or backward as many maintain. The evidence shows that from the start, the valley area had access to long-distance trade routes, especially those involving the amber and metals of Northern Italy. Furthermore, these links continue right up until the final phases of the cemeteries belonging to these communities. Such continued access to metals and amber challenges the idea that the Greek sites on the Tyrrhenian dominated the area. There is no evidence of a disruption in these pre-existing trade links following contact with Pithekoussai. Furthermore, this sample has implications for the view that the Greeks needed to trade with the Sarno Valley due to the *chora* on Ischia being insufficient for their needs. A handful of tombs cannot confirm the nature of this trade, especially when only four tombs from San Marzano and San Valentino combined date from 850 to 725 BC. While Striano has 20 tombs dating

from 850 to 725 BC, these do not include any imports. On the basis of this evidence, a Greek domination of the Sarno Valley is non-existent, to say the least. Moreover, the idea that the Greeks needed food from the Sarno Valley is never supported by evidence that demonstrates the Valley was the main agricultural producer in the area. Little or no study of the landscape has been undertaken in Campania, making it hard to agree with the idea that 1) the Greeks needed to acquire foodstuffs and 2) they did so by trade with the Sarno Valley. The proposed increase in wealth following contact with the Greeks is not supported by the tomb sample, which is not spread equally across all three sites until phase IV. Similarly, the subsequent crisis in the Sarno Valley that supposedly resulted from the foundation of Cumae is not visible in the archaeology of these three sites. Because the imports from the 8th to the 6th century show a continued link with the Greek sites, there is little evidence for the theory proposed by D'Agostino that the decline in trade caused a crisis in the Sarno Valley.[1011] Although there is an increase in Etruscan material from the 7th century until the final phases of occupation, these imports do not outnumber locally produced objects. In addition, locally produced objects continued to be made from raw materials that can only have been acquired from outside the region. This evidence appears to have been ignored until now, and it calls into question the current understanding of the Sarno area. While the presence of *bucchero* and later literary sources have been used to argue for Etruscan control over the plain, it does not mean that this was the all-pervading cultural influence in the area.[1012] As this chapter shows, an increase in *bucchero* is visible in the cemeteries, yet whether this equates to an actual Etruscan domination over the area is questionable, especially when it is based on funerary evidence alone. The presence of *bucchero* should now be considered against the evidence from Poggiomarino, where Villanovan ceramics are known from an earlier date (§5.1.3 and Appendix V.2). These Poggiomarino ceramics question how new the connection between the valley settlements and the Etruscans at Capua and Pontecagnano was. In addition, the notion of Etruscan control ignores the presence of Greek-produced or inspired wares that are still found in later graves at Striano, San Marzano, and San Valentino. Nevertheless, this supposed phase of Etruscan dominance does coincide with the beginning of the final occupation of these communities, and the three sites went into gradual decline, ending up abandoned by the mid-6th century BC. This event coincides with the rise of Pompeii and Nuceria, where the Sarno Valley

[1011] D'Agostino 1990 p74-75; Cuozzo 2007 p253.
[1012] Dé Spagnolis 2001 p83.

population is deemed to have moved to.[1013] The exact nature of this exit is unclear. However, as the case of Poggiomarino shows (§5.1.3), the move to Nuceria and Pompeii may merely have resulted from the geological problems at Poggiomarino, which led to the decline of the settlement's importance. Lastly, not enough is known about whether the Sarno Valley cemeteries relate to a single site or separate settlements. It is feasible that these burial areas served the riverine settlement at Poggiomarino or that more than one of these riverine settlements may have existed. Dall'Osso's discovery of the wooden posts at *Località Zecchignoli* at San Marzano suggests that the area may have had several similar settlements. At present, all that can be confirmed is that the final phases of activity in the valley date to the mid-6th century BC. More evidence is needed to support the theory that Pompeii and Nuceria superseded the Sarno Valley sites and absorbed their population.

[1013] D'Agostino 1988 p544-568; Cerchiai 1987b p46, 1995 p127, 2005 p192; Dé Spagnolis 2001 p34, p87, p170. Cerchiai 2010 p60-61 sees this as a result of a move towards *synoecism* manifest in the form of proto-urbanism.

6. Prehellenic Cuma and Greek colonial Cumae

6.1 Introduction

6.1.1 Site Introduction

Ancient Cumae lies some 15 km west of modern Naples upon a large outcrop looming over the Tyrrhenian coast.[1014] Despite some evidence existing for the Neolithic, the site only appears to have been continuously occupied from the LBA until the mid-8th century BC by a community pertaining to the *Fossakultur*.[1015] This settlement is viewed as unique in the region since it occupies an important strategic position, which made it open to foreign contact. Prehellenic Cuma is thus deemed to have been the most advanced of the *Fossakultur* sites in Campania.[1016] However, the evidence behind this interpretation owes much to conjecture. Current interpretations maintain that during the 8th century, this important indigenous community was displaced by Euboian Greeks from Pithekoussai, who by a "show of strength," founded the 'colony' of Cumae. Support for this theory is far from solid, and an overreliance on later Roman literary sources has done much to muddy the waters. The archaeological evidence for the early phases at Cumae is far from clear, as the discussion in §6.1.2 will show. Recent progress at the site has been made by the *Progetto Kyme* team, whose excavations have brought much new evidence to light. Yet for a long time, Cumae was only known through a series of investigations from the late 19th and early 20th century that appear poor by modern standards.[1017] Much of this material remains unpublished or in museum storage, rendering it largely inaccessible (Appendix VI.1). A meta-narrative has thus been constructed around the history of Prehellenic Cuma based mainly on its later fame as a Greek settlement.

Problematic ancient sources supply the information about the identities of the local peoples contemporary to the Greek arrival. Prehellenic Cuma is viewed as a *Fossakultur* site, a cultural group associated with the *Opicians*, *Ausonians*, and *Aurunci*, three *ethnoi* mentioned by ancient literary sources in an unfortunately confusing way. Both Thucydides (5.6.4) and Strabo (5.4.3) place Cuma within the land of the *Opicians*. Strabo states that Polybius saw the *Opicians* and *Ausonians* as two separate peoples, both "living around the crater" (the Vesuvius).[1018] While Aristotle

[1014] See Albore Livadie 1985a p62; Cerchiai 1995 p13-14.
[1015] Albore Livadie 1985a p62; Jannelli 1999 p82; Aurino 2006 p17-18; Cuozzo *et al.* 2006 p138-139; Cerchiai 2005 p186.
[1016] Cerchiai 1995 p14; D'Agostino 2006 p204, 2008a p77, 2011 p36-37; Cuozzo 2007 p244-245.
[1017] Livadie 1985a p63; Cerchiai 1995 p12-13; Nizzo 2007a.
[1018] See also Cerchiai 1995 p21-25.

(*Pol*. Vii.10) conflates the two groups, the picture is further blurred by Diodorus Siculus, who connects the eponymous *Auson* with the Tyrrhenian coast and Sicily and his son *Liparus* (the eponymous hero of the island of Lipari) with Sorrento (5.7-8). To further compound the ambiguity relating to the local populations, the Romans frequently called the *Ausonians*, the *Aurunci*.[1019] As Blake has recently shown, there is strong evidence that ethnic groups visible in the EIA and Roman periods were already formed in the Bronze Age.[1020] This means that the identity of the people of Campania is likely to have been forged long before the Greeks arrived in the region. The issues surrounding the identity of Campania's indigenous peoples of Campania will not be handled here due to their problematic nature. Following the tendency of modern scholarship, the EIA settlement will be referred to here as 'Prehellenic Cuma' and the subsequent Greek colony as 'Greek Cumae'.

6.1.2 Tomb Sample for Prehellenic and Greek Cumae

The tombs and material discussed in this chapter are in much lower quantity than those covered in the previous chapters. The main reason for this imbalance is the omission of data that is problematic in nature. Various issues surround both the early excavations of the site and the publications of the finds that followed (Appendix VI.1). Clandestine investigation, especially in the form of tomb robbing, has long plagued the area around Cumae. The first systemic digs were undertaken in the late 19th century by Stevens, who was ahead of his time in keeping an excavation diary. Notwithstanding, Stevens' work was not flawless. He marked many Iron Age burials with the generic label "Archaic," which led to uncertainties around the dates of the earliest phases. He also threw out local handmade pottery due to a preference for Greek ceramics. More issues arose after Stevens' death, when his collection of grave goods from tombs of various dates was mixed up, first by family members and then, on more than one occasion, in the storage spaces of the National Archaeological Museum of Naples after its acquisition.[1021] The Stevens collection, together with material from the 1904 excavation undertaken by the director of the Neapolitan museum Osta, was published by Gabrici in 1913. Gabrici used Stevens' original notebooks and was able to link most of the grave goods back to the correct tombs. However, Gabrici's work is also problematic. For example, he only provided vague dates for the Prehellenic and Greek

[1019] Livy is an example of this and he refers to them frequently in his work as the Aurunci.
[1020] Blake 2014 p8 some of the myths concerning the Oenotrians and the Aeolian islands (including Lipari) are quite fantastical.
[1021] Mermati 2012 p28.

burials and was very selective about the tombs he published without specifying his reasons, the result being that many of these burials have missing or incomplete documentation.[1022] Gabrici tells us that 227 Greek tombs were excavated by Stevens, but he would only publish 39 of them. He offers no explanation for his sampling strategy.[1023] His volume lists over 1,300 tombs from the Prehellenic to late Roman periods. Yet, out of a total of 384 burials he mentions for the Prehellenic to Greek periods, he only published 107 (Appendix VI.1).[1024] This low number may be attributable to Gabrici choosing to ignore tombs with poorer grave goods, selecting for publication only those with richer grave goods.[1025] Therefore, the tombs he published are not fully representative of the cemetery as a whole and do not have reliable dates. A review of his work would warrant a study of its own and such a task lies outside the bounds of a single thesis.

A number of recent publications, however, have republished some of the Gabrici tombs, which now have more reliable dates after their reassessment and can therefore be studied here. These include a handful of Greek burials published in the *Cuma* catalogue to mark the opening of the *Museo dei Campi Flegrei* (Baia) in 2008. Summing up, the contexts and tombs examined here are: the 11 Gabrici and two Granata burials, which were republished in the *Cuma* catalogue; six Prehellenic tombs, which are published in the same catalogue on account of being recently excavated by the *Centre Jean Berard* (*CJB*) and therefore having reliable chronologies; and the Fondo Artiaco t.104 and three Osta tombs, which were republished in the *Napoli Antica* monograph and have more reliable dates than the other tombs in the original Gabrici volume. These tombs will be discussed in the sections on the Prehellenic and Greek phases and indicated by the Roman numerals originally assigned by Gabrici.

Excluded from my quantitative analysis are the finds from the fortification areas due to their being difficult to quantify and from Gabrici tombs that have not been republished. With regard to the chronology of Prehellenic Cumae, Müller Karpe distinguishes two phases based on the finds: Prehellenic phase I (850-770 BC) and Prehellenic phase II (770-730 BC).[1026] While convenient, this chronology cannot be followed here because it does not encompass the recently excavated *CJB* Prehellenic burials, which date from 900-750 BC and would risk all being placed in Müller Karpe's

[1022] Gleba *al.* 2017 p45; Nizzo 2007a.
[1023] Gabrici 1913 col. 214.
[1024] Gabrici 1913 col. 62-272.
[1025] Valenza Mele 1982 p97-129.
[1026] Müller Karpe 1959.

phase I. Therefore, I have therefore divided my small sample of tombs into a phase IA (900-850 BC) and a phase IB (850-750 BC) to allow for a more efficient comparison with Pontecagnano and the other case studies. Furthermore, where possible, the Gabrici tombs that could not be included in my analyses will be reviewed and compared with the ones I have included in order to establish how different the networks would be if all the Gabrici burials were to be included in this study.

6.1.3 Prehellenic Cuma and the Scholarship of Iron Age Campania

A clear and concise narrative has been constructed to explain the development of Cumae from its Prehellenic to 'colonial' Greek phases. It is worth discussing this narrative here because it allows us to understand how Prehellenic Cuma has traditionally been characterised as superior to all the other indigenous sites in this thesis. As explained in §1.4.2, Prehellenic Cuma is associated with the *Fossakultur* group that extended from Campania into Calabria. This cultural group is seen as less advanced or backward in comparison with others in Campania, yet despite belonging to a primitive cultural cluster, Prehellenic Cuma is somehow viewed as the most advanced indigenous site in the region. Its apparent openness to inter- and intra-regional contact and trade is visible in its material culture, which shows connections with Sardinia, Calabria, Lazio, and Etruria.[1027] Cuozzo argues that this open character contrasted with the rest of conservative Campania.[1028] This sense of openness, coupled with the size and location of the settlement, is used to argue for its advanced status. Furthermore, it has been proposed that its strategic location overlooking the coast allowed it to control all maritime traffic in partnership with another indigenous site at Castiglione on Ischia. In this view, the two sites are believed to have acted as a kind of defensive system.[1029] Although internal processes are deemed to be behind Cumae's advanced status, contact with the Villanovans in Campania is still believed to have accelerated these processes towards state-formation and proto-urbanism.[1030]

This way of thinking has led to the EIA communities in Campania being arranged into a hierarchical scheme based on their perceived level of political and technological development. Since this hierarchy also rests on the idea of the settlements being 'open' or 'closed' to external contact, it comprises what I term a sort of

[1027] Albore Livadie 1985 a p63; Cerchiai 1995 p14-16; D'Agostino 2011 p36-37.
[1028] Cuozzo 2007 p244-245.
[1029] Cerchiai 1995 p13-14; D'Agostino 1988 p534, 2006 p204; Cuozzo 2007 p244.
[1030] Cerchiai 2005 p188.

'hierarchy of connectivity.'[1031] The interactions among the settlements in this scheme had consequences for Campania's socio-political makeup. However, lying outside this 'hierarchy' are the Proto-Etruscan settlements of Capua and Pontecagnano, which are considered more advanced than any indigenous site. The notion that the Proto-Etruscan sites were more advanced relies on the position of the cemeteries at Capua and Pontecagnano being outside the habitation areas. The formation of the cemeteries and urban centre at these two sites is believed to be contemporary to similar developments in the Villanovan settlements in Etruria. Consequently, the presence of both an urban centre and extra mural cemeteries at any Villanovan site is taken as evidence of early urban planning and a 'proto-urban' character transferred from Etruria to Campania.[1032] Barker and Rasmussen have criticised this view of Etruria because the internal organisation of such settlements is rarely clear.[1033] Nevertheless, this hypothesis appears to have taken hold in the scholarship of EIA Italy. The perceived proto-urban status of the early Etruscans sees them credited with providing the impetus behind any processes of transformation within local indigenous settlements. At the top of this hierarchy of the Campanian indigenous sites sits Prehellenic Cuma, while other sites are supposedly less advanced and conservative.[1034] This hypothesis depends on a number of criteria that are reviewed below (see §6.1.4), yet it is interesting to note that scholars studying the region not only see the Villanovans/Etruscans as having influence over Prehellenic Cuma, but they go on to assert that this influence passed to the Euboian Greeks when they began to visit the Tyrrhenian. Although the level of influence the Etruscans and Greeks held over local groups is debatable, evidence exists of early contact between Greeks and locals along the Tyrrhenian.

Attesting to this contact are the MGII drinking cups (produced in Euboia, Attica, and the Cyclades) from 780/770 BC discovered along the coast, especially at Capua, Pontecagnano, Prehellenic Cuma, Veii, Cerverteri, and Tarquinia.[1035] These vessels were probably gifts exchanged during ceremonial occasions, such as feasts where local élites played host to visiting Greeks (Appendix I).[1036] The terminology for this contact has invariably been pre- or proto-colonisation, a controversial view that these interactions formed part of a premeditated stage in a Greek plan to settle in Italy.[1037] As

[1031] Morris 2016.
[1032] Cerchiai 1995 has applied this interpretation to Capua p42 and p53 Pontecagnano.
[1033] Barker/Rasmussen 1998 p65.
[1034] Cerchiai 2005 p188.
[1035] D'Agostino 1999a p17; Cerchiai 2005 p188-189; Cuozzo 2007 p244-246.
[1036] Cerchiai 2010 p23.
[1037] For example Malkin 1998 esp. p10-14.

discussed in Appendix II (also §2.3), there is a strong possibility that these movements by Euboians and others in the central Mediterranean were motivated by a desire to access the metal trade. Whatever their reasons were, the Euboians founded the settlement of Pithekoussai on the island of Ischia in the mid-8th century BC.

Initially, Pithekoussai was only known through its cemetery and the *Scarico Gosetti* refuse dumps on the acropolis.[1038] More recent evidence reveals that the whole island was settled by the community at Pithekoussai. A farmhouse building was found at Punta Chiarito and an industrial metal working area at Mazzola.[1039] Although debates have focused on what kind of colony Pithekoussai was,[1040] it has long been recognised that it was a mixed community that included Phoenicians.[1041] Grave goods, especially the *fibulae*, also support the presence of Italic groups at Pithekoussai and suggest the intermarriage between Greeks and local women.[1042] Cuozzo and Cerchiai believe that Pithekoussai could only have been founded with the consent of local tribes. They maintain that the strategic partnership between Castiglione and Prehellenic Cuma continued after Pithekoussai was established.[1043] Trade with the mainland then intensified, which, as discussed in the chapter on the Sarno Valley, is widely explained as a Greek need for food due to the inadequacies of the *chora* on Ischia.[1044] At this time, the settlement became an entry point for many of the ideas and technological advances covered by the term 'Orientalising phenomenon.' Illustrative of these advances is the alphabet and the development of writing, such as the verses etched onto the so-called 'Nestor's cup,' a LG Rhodian *kotyle* deposited in t.168 (child's grave) at Pithekoussai that features one of the first Greek inscriptions in the Western Mediterranean.[1045] The hexameter verse on the *kotyle* has been associated with the arrival of the Greek myths and symposium in Italy.[1046] According to this view, visiting Greeks asserted a high degree of cultural influence over Etruria and Lazio, which included the Euboian alphabet that provided the model for early Etruscan writing.[1047]

[1038] Buchner/Ridgway 1993; Ridgway 1984, 1992.
[1039] Ridgway 1992; De Caro 1994a, 1994b; Gialanella 1998.
[1040] D'Agostino 1994; Greco 1994.
[1041] Ridgway 1992 p107-118, 1994; Boardman 1994 p99; De Juliis 1996 p51-52; Coldstream 1994a p53, 2003 p210-211; Osborne 1996 p115; Cerchiai 2010 p23; D'Agostino 2009 p186; Cuozzo 2007 p246.
[1042] Coldstream 1993 p89-107; Buchner 1979 p135; Shepherd 1999 p274-277, p289-290, p294-298; Ridgway 2007 p146. *Contra* Hodos 1999 p74; Cuozzo 2007 p247; Kelley 2012.
[1043] Cuozzo 2007 p246; Cerchiai 1995 p18, 2010 p22-23.
[1044] Cerchiai 2010, 1995.
[1045] Ridgway 1992 p55-58; Malkin 1998 p156-160; Coldstream 2003 p282; Powell 1991 p163-167; Bietti Sestieri 1992 p184-185; Holloway 1994 p112; Ridgway 1994 p42-43 for an earlier inscription at Osteria dell'Osa.
[1046] Malkin 1998, 2002; Murray 1994.
[1047] Frederiksen 1984 p58; Cornell 1991 p7-33, 1995 p86-92 p103-104; De Juliis 1996 p54; Osborne 1996 p126-127; Cerchiai 2005 p189-190.

By bringing new ideas to the Tyrrhenian, the Greeks apparently added to the initial impetus given by the Proto-Etruscans. As discussed in §1.4.2, D'Agostino argues that contact with what he calls the more advanced Greeks stimulated social change in the backward indigenous communities.[1048] With Prehellenic Cuma located at the top of the hierarchy of these 'backward' settlements, it was a site that the Greeks clearly needed to 'take out.' Although relations between Pithekoussai and the mainland were probably peaceful early on, scholars maintain that they deteriorated to such an extent that the indigenous settlement was razed to the ground and replaced with the Greek colony Cumae.[1049] D'Agostino and others call this a "show of strength," a need to fully establish a colony on the mainland as part of a preconceived plan (Appendix VI.2).[1050] This interpretation owes much to an anecdote reported by Phlegon of Tralles, who was a freedman of the Roman Emperor Hadrian. As a paradoxographer, he recorded wonders and prodigies, and amongst these was a Sybelline oracle who reported how the use of force in the foundation of Cumae would require the colonists to set up a temple to Hera. However, Phlegon's account has several issues (Appendix VI.3). While the reliance on this single literary source is ill-advised, the view of a violent conquest of the indigenous site has persisted and been largely unchallenged until more recent work by the *Progetto Kyme* team, whose excavations have shed much light on Cumae's early phases.[1051] A reassessment of current interpretations of ancient Cumae and the evidence from recent excavations serve as the focus of the next two sections.

6.1.4 Ancient Cumae: New Evidence and New Ideas

A number of issues surround the way Cumae is treated by current scholarship. Firstly, the hierarchy constructed to explain the diversity between Campania's Iron Age settlements is problematic. Indigenous sites are positioned onto a continuum from primitive to advanced status, which has its roots in neo-evolutionary approaches to state formation (§1.4.1-1.4.3). Such developmental schemes place societies in a highly teleological unilinear progression and have drawn criticism from archaeologists specialising in multiple periods and cultures.[1052] Similarly, ideas on socio-development are found in the culture history model, where change is also explained by external

[1048] D'Agostino 2006 p231-232; Cerchiai 2005 p189-190.
[1049] For this view D'Agostino 2006 p233, 1988 p537, 2009 p189-190, 2011 p44; Cerchiai 1995 p21, 2005 p190, 2010 p24; Cuozzo 2007 p248; Coldstream 2003 p212; Bietti Sestieri 1992 p69.
[1050] D'Agostino 2006 p234, 2008 p76; Frederiksen 1984 p59; Cuozzo 2007 p248.
[1051] D'Agostino *et al.* 2005; Cuozzo *et al.* 2006; Gasparri/Greco 2007.
[1052] Terrenato/Haggis 2011; Yoffee 2005; Chapman 2003.

rather than internal factors.[1053] Placing settlements in an evolutionary hierarchy on the basis of their grave goods, especially imports, ignores how and why those objects were deposited there. Similarly, reductionist is the association of Campanian settlements with an 'open' or 'closed' status which, defines less well-connected sites as 'backward' and primitive when compared to the Greeks and Etruscans. However, the idea that Cumae was a more advanced site than its peers due to its openness is flawed. It ignores the networks that brought foreign objects to the site. Cumae established connections against a backdrop of increased mobility between the Eastern and Western Mediterranean beginning in the LBA. This mobility involved Sardinians, Cypriots, Phoenicians, and North Syrians, who from the 14th to 19th centuries BC created what Crielaard calls a "virtual community" that shared access to similar ideas, information, and values.[1054] By the 9th century BC, both the Phoenicians and Euboians had joined this network, with the former establishing settlements on Sardinia, such as the one at Sant'Imbenia.[1055] The contact between the two groups on Sardinia probably afforded the Euboians knowledge of the Tyrrhenian sphere. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Pontecagnano possessed links with Sardinia and the Phoenicians prior to the Euboian arrival.[1056] Prehellenic Cuma was therefore connected to a regional network where long-distance ties brought contact with the west and central Mediterranean.[1057] Quantifying these wider connections would require a study of its own, but what is contestable is the idea that such openness equates to political or technological superiority. Many factors prompted this openness, and it does not follow that well-connected sites are open to foreign contact due to some inherent quality, nor does it follow that less well-connected sites are by definition backward. What I argue here is that network connections allowed communities access to ideas in circulation, which, if properly utilised, could enable them to develop their own internal systems of organisation.

The supposed size of Prehellenic Cuma and its proposed alliance with Castiglione to control traffic passing the mainland and Ischia is similarly problematic (Fig. 6.1). It is frequently stated that the position of its cemetery outside the Archaic

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[1053] Jones 1997 p21.
[1054] Crielaard 1998b p194. Cf. Riva 2010 p47-53; Osborne 1996 p113-114; Ridgway 2007 p142-146.
[1055] Lo Schiavo *et al.* 1985; Lo Schiavo 1986, 1995; Vagnetti/Lo Schiavo 1989 p227; Giardino 1992, 1995; Osborne 1996 p113-114; Matthäus 2001; Ridgway 2007 p144-145, 2000a p182-183, 2000b p237; Botto 2004-2005 p19-26, 2007 p81-84; Riva 2010 p208.
[1056] D'Agostino 2006 p208.
[1057] Greco 2014 p62-63 on Prehellenic Cuma's connections with Sardinia, Southern-Etruria and the Aegean.

walls indicates that Prehellenic Cuma was a large settlement.[1058] While the cemetery area was likely defined from an early stage, little of the Iron Age urban centre (both the Prehellenic and Greek) has actually been identified or excavated. The position of the cemetery alone cannot account for the settlement being more advanced than its contemporaries. However, as discussed in §6.1.3, Proto-Etruscan sites in both Campania and Etruria appear to have been interpreted in a similar way. Such thinking seems to have been extrapolated from Etruria onto Prehellenic Cuma, ignoring the lack of data for the Iron Age settlement itself. It is true that Prehellenic Cuma's position overlooking the coast does differ from other *Fossakultur* sites in Campania, which are generally located near plains and river valleys. However, as discussed in §6.1.2, the problems with the nature of the evidence from the site (e.g., the mixing up of the Stevens collection and the lack of clear dating from Gabrici) renders our knowledge of the burial grounds and the Prehellenic-Greek transition vague and unclear (Appendix VI.1). The muddled nature of the grave goods and the way they were excavated still attests to why they cannot be used to define the political structure of Prehellenic Cuma.

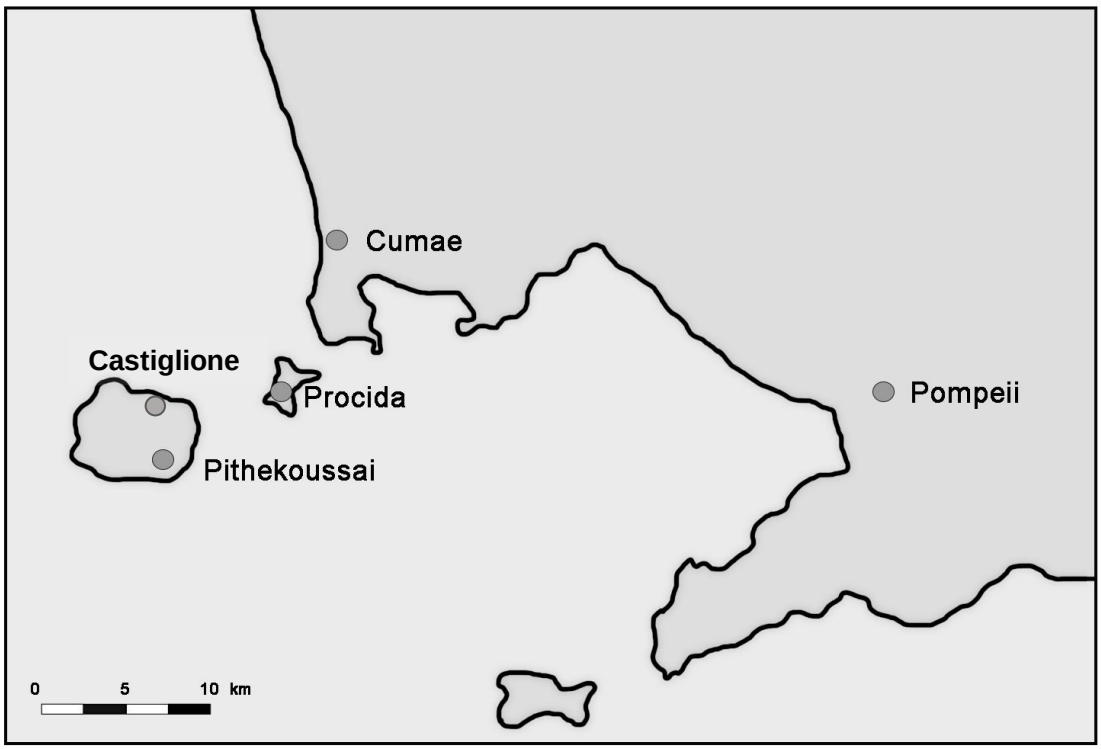

Fig. 6. 1. Pithekoussai, Castiglione (Ischia) and Cumae (M. Perna)

Further controversy surrounds the hypothesis that Prehellenic Cuma and Castiglione formed a strategic partnership to control the coast. Firstly, the evidence for this is rather scant. Aside from the occasional mention of unpublished sherds from

[1058] Criscuolo/Pacciarelli 2009 p334.

Prehellenic Cuma at Castiglione, actual support for this theory is rarely provided.[1059] Nevertheless, Cerchiai assumes that this system existed and views it as "a complex strategic use of the surrounding territory, exceeding the capabilities of a simple economic subsistence model and suggests a community with a high level of political organisation."[1060] Cuozzo shares this view, yet neither of them offers any evidence to substantiate what is essentially a mere theory. While Ischia is clearly visible from the site of Cumae (and vice versa) even on a cloudy day, this does not prove that they controlled the straits. Such a system would require complex naval technologies that Prehellenic Cuma and Castiglione are unlikely to have possessed at this stage. Indeed, the idea of a defensive system must derive from a retrojection of Livy's description of the later Greek colony at Cumae. He depicts Cumae as possessing a mighty fleet that enabled it to wield power over the coast – a description which scholars have retrojected onto the earlier Iron Age.[1061] Until more evidence of the relationship with Castiglione is provided, this hypothesis is mere conjecture, as is the idea of Prehellenic Cuma occupying a lofty perch on a hierarchy of connectivity. These assumptions about Prehellenic Cuma are combined with controversial written sources to promote the idea that it was violently destroyed by Greeks from Pithekoussai. As the next section shows, new evidence challenging this hypothesis has come to light.

6.1.5 'A show of the spade'? Recent evidence from Cuma

Excavations by the *CJB* near the *Porta Mediana* (southern city gate) and by the University of Naples (*Federico II*) near the forum area allow new perspectives on Cumae's earliest phases. Beginning with the southern gate area, 27 new graves dating from 900 to 750 BC were found, expanding the corpus of Prehellenic burials. These are typical *Fossakultur* burials both for the *fossa* inhumation ditch and accompanying grave goods.[1062] Given this new data, the Prehellenic necropolis is now estimated to be c10 hectares, extending it considerably to the north and south of the city walls.[1063] Therefore, the indigenous necropolis was in use until at least the mid-8th century BC, which is contemporary with the foundation of Pithekoussai. Greco has re-interpreted the layout of the indigenous settlement to be a series of small nuclei sparsely positioned

[1059] Jannelli 1999 p86; Pacciarelli 2011 p51-56.
[1060] Cerchiai 1995 p14.
[1061] Livy 8.22.5 *classe, qua advecti ab domo fuerant, multum in ora maris eius quod accolunt potuere*.
[1062] Brun *et al.* 2009.
[1063] Criscuolo/Pacciarelli 2009 p332; Greco 2009 p387, 2014 p60.

across the terraces on the hill.[1064] The excavations near the forum produced many LG fragments, with a considerable quantity made of local Phlegraean clay and similar to Pithekoussan types.[1065] These LGI and LGII fragments are accepted as evidence of the earliest phases of Greek presence rather than of trade or gift exchange. This material has reduced the chronological gap between the foundation of Pithekoussai and Cumae.[1066] The combined evidence not only indicates that the Greeks arrived at Cumae earlier than first thought but also that they did not violently destroy the pre-existing indigenous site. Therefore, some form of cohabitation between the two groups took place. Finds from the northern walls and the black layer (mixed with impasto ceramic frags) were once cited as a destruction layer, but are now understood as earlier indigenous graves displaced when the later Archaic walls were constructed, which muddled the stratigraphy.[1067] This realisation emerged from the discovery between 2006-2008 of a built structure, the first Iron Age structure at Cumae, most likely a house although an artisanal structure cannot be ruled out.[1068] While still unpublished, this find seems to further question the destruction theory (Fig. 6.2).[1069]

Discovered on the southern side of the forum and to the west of the *Tempio con Portico*, the building was rectangular in shape, with its external walls preserved on three sides, and it is around 30m^2 in size.[1070] Consisting of an internal room and an external space, it was in use over two phases: 725-650 BC and 625-550 BC.[1071] Furthermore, the building underwent a series of renovations in phase II, with some areas demolished and others incorporated into a new structure.[1072] Like much of the site, the house was built over in the Samnite period, disrupting its size, which means it was potentially much bigger than it seems now.[1073] Further disruptions to the building occurred in the 1st century BC when a refuse ditch severely damaged the walls.[1074] However, enough of the house remains to offer an insight into the earliest stages of Prehellenic and 'colonial' Cumae. Some internal features survived, such as a hearth in room A (phase I), and some *ollae* found *in situ* (phase II) indicate a storage area.[1075]

[1064] Greco 2009 p388 and p413-414.
[1065] Greco 2010-2011 p109.
[1066] Greco 2010-2011 p110; Greco 2009 p390; D'Agostino 2009 p172 and p189, 2011 p44.
[1067] D'Agostino 2006 p232-233, 2009 p188, 2011 p43; Jannelli 1999 p73-75.
[1068] Greco 2009 p391-392.
[1069] Greco 2008 p159.
[1070] Greco 2009 p391.
[1071] Greco 2009 p391-411, 2014 p66.
[1072] Greco 2009 p405.
[1073] Greco 2009 p392, also p397.
[1074] Greco 2009 p396.
[1075] Greco 2009 p395, 406-408, 2010-2011 p111.

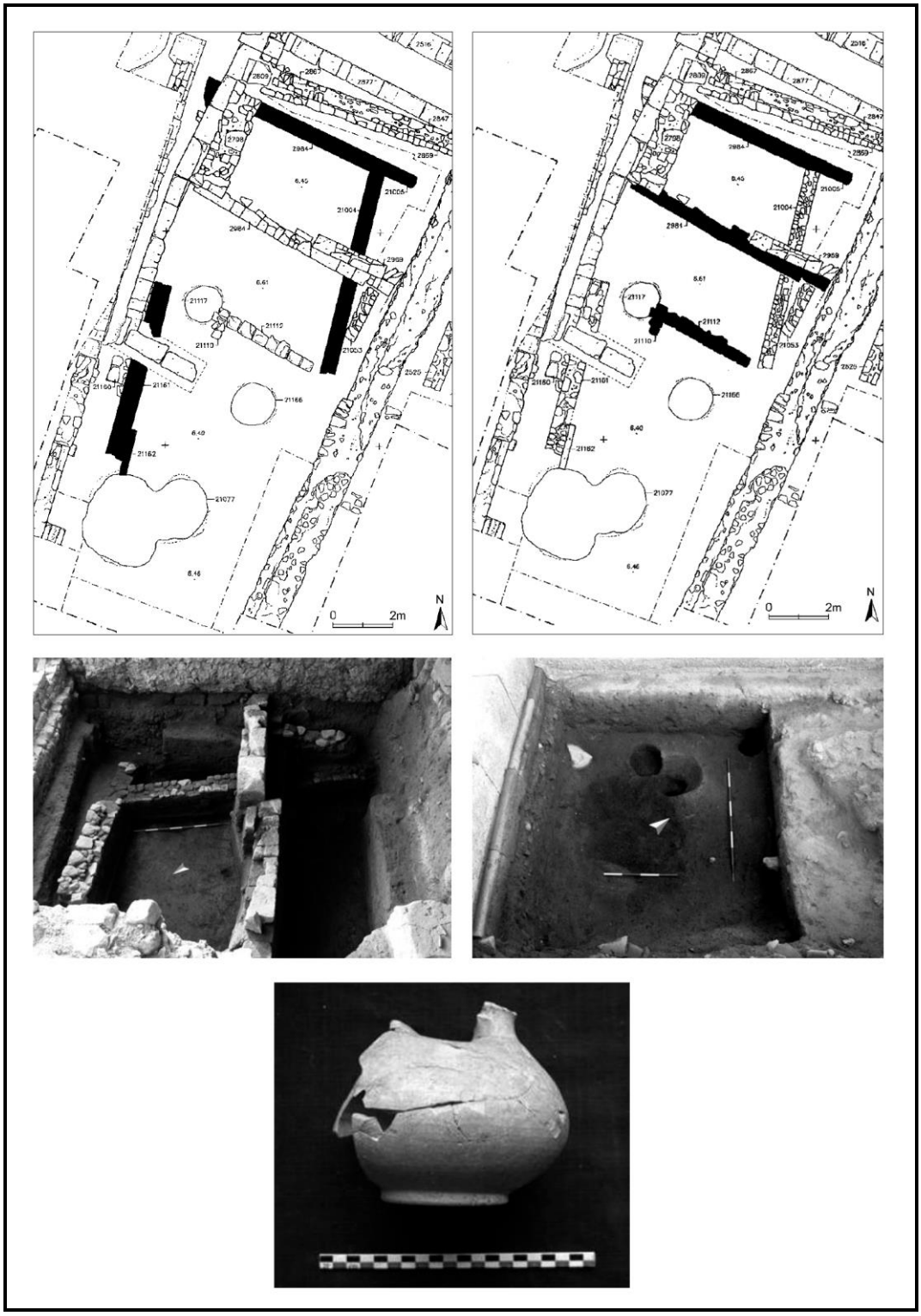

Fig. 6. 2. Photo of Greek house from Cumae; left: rectangular room; right: storage floor (after Greco (2010-2011) p111 fig. 3-6

While the remains generally suggest a domestic setting, this space was probably multifunctional. For example, a bronze trapezoidal ingot (weighing 2.58kg), iron slag, worked stone, and a series of raw amber frags were discovered, implying that artisanal work took place in the building.[1076] This evidence recalls the similar use of space at Poggiomarino, where industrial and domestic areas were entwined (Chapter 5;

[1076] Greco 2009 p397, p412, 2014 p67.

Appendix V.2), thus showing that Greek settlements in Campania were not so different from their indigenous counterparts.

A further rapport between the two communities is seen in the ceramics from the house. In phase I, imported Corinthian wares and locally produced Greek vessels of LG II-EPC date were present. Alongside these were considerable quantities of wheel-made coarse ware (*argilla grezza*), which closely followed the Prehellenic ceramic repertoire.[1077] These pots included an undecorated *askos*, which combines the use of the potter's wheel and a finer clay with an indigenous shape.[1078] Such a mixed ceramic collection did not end with the renovations to the house in phase II. Geometric-style pots and a locally made plate (mirroring Phoenician red-slip ware production) were coupled with significant quantities of *argilla grezza* that again reproduce indigenous ceramic forms.[1079] For some, this mix of indigenous and Greek ceramics and their hybrids is problematic as the settlement is still believed to have been purely Greek at this time. Although Gabrici had already mentioned earlier *impasto* vessels found in some Greek tombs, the presence of indigenous material alongside Greek objects was more recently explained away by Tocco Sciarelli as a bizarre anomaly for a Greek colony.[1080] Cuozzo argued that these vessels were possibly the result of further trade between the Greek colonists and local groups but did concede that some indigenes may have remained at the site after it became a Greek settlement.[1081] While the ceramics from the house still await full publication, the idea that this was a pure Greek colony has persisted in scholarship. However, the question remains as to whether the presence of pottery also equates to the presence of actual people from a particular group. The association of classes of artefacts with the presence of specific cultural groups has been widely criticised in recent years. It has become increasingly recognised that the presence of pots does *not* equal the presence of people. Nevertheless, a Greek sherd in Campania is still frequently taken as evidence of the presence of actual Greeks. If a Greek pot in Campania is widely viewed as evidence for a Greek person, by the same line of reasoning, the presence of this indigenous pottery in a Greek house should at the very least be taken as evidence of indigenes living within the Greek community. Consequently, pointed questions are posed on exactly how Greek this settlement was. It would seem exclusive to assume that so-called Greek colonists were producing and

[1077] Greco 2008 p158, Greco 2009 p397, 2011 p110; D'Agostino 2011 p44; D'Acunto 2009 p513.
[1078] Greco 2009 p403, 2010-2011 p113, 2014 p67-68.
[1079] Greco 2009 p406-408.
[1080] Gabrici 1913 col. 245-246 and 254-255 on Sep.XXXVII and Sep.LI; Tocco Sciarelli 1985 p97-98.
[1081] Cuozzo 2008 p186.

using indigenous pottery. Also unlikely is the idea that the Greeks enslaved the locals only to allow them to live in a Greek house and use local pottery. Similarly, it is hard to accept D'Agostino's recent reassessment of Phlegon's oracle that an initial phase of cohabitation allowed the Greeks to gain the strength to later destroy the indigenous settlement.[1082] The continued presence of Greek and local pottery in this building into the mid-6th century does not sit easily with Phlegon's oracle, which hints at a violent destruction. In fact, the ceramics strongly support the idea that these two groups lived side by side, not only after the move from Pithekoussai, but also down into the 6th century BC.

Additionally, other structures are reported to have been uncovered by the *Progetto Kyme*. Two wooden hut-like structures (not completely domestic in function) and a series of pits (most likely for storage purposes) all dating to phase II were found close to the 'Greek' house.[1083] The evidence for these huts were postholes, in and around which were quantities of both Greek and indigenous pottery, but much of it still awaits full publication. Based on this new evidence, Greco argues that there was a close association between the two communities.[1084] Many of the previous interpretations of the site were hampered by the numerous alterations to the stratigraphy in the Archaic, Samnite and Roman periods,[1085] and a new understanding of the earliest phases at Cumae based on the recent discoveries is therefore necessary. Contrary to previous interpretations, it is clear that this was a mixed community of some sort and "...the old hypothesis of a native village destroyed and discarded down the slope of the acropolis can no longer be sustained."[1086] A review of the burial evidence may therefore shed more light on the network ties held before and after the Greeks joined the community.

[1082] D'Agostino 2011 p44-45.
[1083] Greco 2009 p408-411.
[1084] Greco 2009 p412.
[1085] Greco 2009 p416-423.
[1086] Greco 2011 p110.

6.2 Data Analysis

6.2.1 Prehellenic Cuma: Phase IA (900-850 BC)

Object type	Number	%	Imports	%
Weaving tools	1	3%		
Decorative objects	7	20%		
Fibulae	6	17%		
Pottery	21	60%		
Total	35			
Tombs	3			

Table 6. 1 Total objects for Prehellenic Cuma phase IA

Three Prehellenic tombs are examined here for Phase IA (Fig. 6.3). These are from the recent *CJB* excavations of the *Porta Mediana* and were published in 2008 in the *Cuma* catalogue (Appendix VI.5). Their grave goods are therefore reliably dated (Table 6.1). Most of the objects were ceramics, with decorative items and *fibulae* some way behind. Two of the burials include more than ten objects: SP700716 has six pots, two *fibulae*, and eight decorative objects, while SP700675 (an adult female) has 11 pots, three *fibulae*, one bronze ring, and one weaving tool.[1087] The third burial SP700703, is an adult with only five objects (4 pots and 1 *fibula*).[1088] Nonetheless, these graves cannot be fully representative of Prehellenic Cuma in phase I because, with many of the Prehellenic Gabrici tombs excluded here, the period 900-850 BC is only represented by these three tombs. Their rather modest sample offers a meagre picture of 9th-century Cuma, which comprises the first half of Müller Karpe's Prehellenic phase I; nor can they support the idea that Cuma was the most advanced site in Campania. In contrast, Criscuolo and Pacciarelli, upon reviewing the data from the 9th-century burials published by Gabrici, claimed they found evidence of social stratification. In §6.1.2 (Appendix VI.1), I discussed the problems with earlier 19th century excavations at Cumae and how much of the material published by Gabrici has been excluded from this dataset. To reiterate the reason for this briefly here, while Gabrici did his best to restore the Stevens tomb groups that had been mixed up in the museum of Naples, doubts remain about the accuracy of his conclusions for each tomb. He also left out many burials without specifying a reason for their omission, and those that he did publish lacked precise dates. Therefore, this thesis takes into consideration only the Gabrici tombs that have been republished in more recent publications with more accurate chronologies.

[1087] Abellon/Munzi 2008 p104-105 on SP700716, p105-108 on SP700675.
[1088] Abellon/Munzi 2008 p103 on SP700703.

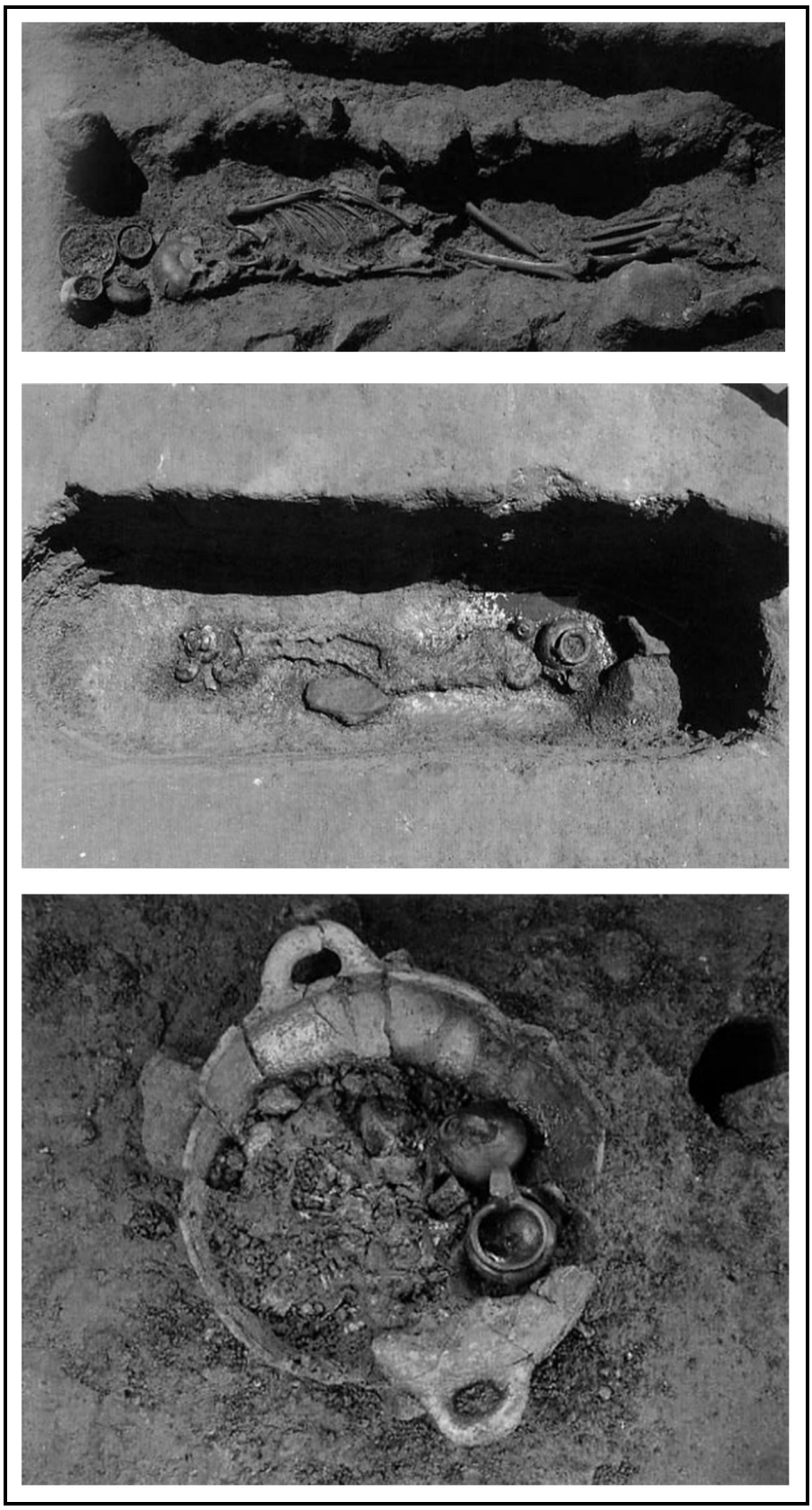

Fig. 6. 3. Cremation burial SP700716, SP700703, and SP700675 from Prehellenic Cuma (after Abellon/Munzi (2008) p103-105, fig.1-3

Criscuolo and Pacciarelli's theory of social stratification is difficult to entertain because they do not provide a full list of the Gabrici burials they base it on. Moreover, they assert that male objects denote military and political roles, while female ones the

available wealth of the family unit.[1089] They also note that while Prehellenic Cuma is associated with the *Fossakultur*,P rehellenic phase I shows affinities with the Villanovan and Tyrrhenian spheres. This changes during Prehellenic phase II towards greater material links with the *Fossakultur*.[1090] Unfortunately, these ties cannot be quantified and will not be acknowledged on the network graphs because they are based on the Gabrici burials not included in this sample for the reasons explained above; however, it seems clear that some long-distance connections are indeed present in the Gabrici data (Appendix VI.1). Moreover, Criscuolo and Pacciarelli also observe a series of changes from the Bronze Age among the material of Prehellenic I, especially the ceramics and metal work. These changes are also noticed by Cerchiai, who points out that large vases connected to the deposition of foodstuffs are placed in tombs, and many vessels now feature plastic stud (*bugne*) and groove (*solcature*) decorations.[1091] According to Cerchiai, the metalwork, especially the *fibulae*, shows signs of standardisation, leading him to argue for a highly specialised artisanal class in the settlement. However, he believes that this was a particular class of artisans that pertained to an advanced settlement, not to the class found in the backward villages characterising the other *Fossakultur* sites.[1092] The evidence behind this theory is ambiguous due to it being based solely on the metal work, such as *fibulae*, while the provenance of the raw metal is hard to isolate without archaeometric analysis (see below). Moreover, the fact that no weapons and only one weaving tool were found within the three tombs analysed here makes it difficult to confirm the alleged existence of an élite at Prehellenic Cuma. Until the Gabrici tombs are republished, much of the current knowledge about this phase remains open to interpretation. It is unlikely that there were no élite strata at this stage; however, their presence is difficult to gauge based on a handful of tombs. Nevertheless, many scholars firmly believe that Cuma held ties along the Tyrrhenian from Etruria down to Calabria during Prehellenic I based on the Gabrici material.[1093]

Similarly, although ceramics are the largest object category from these three tombs, they provide little scope for understanding the socio-economic situation during the EIA. A total of 21 pots is consistent with this small tomb sample, and the majority of the nine shapes are tied to either drinking or eating (Fig. 6.4).

[1089] Criscuolo/Pacciarelli 2009 p337-342.
[1090] Criscuolo/Pacciarelli 2009 p334-335.
[1091] Cerchiai 1995 p15.
[1092] Cerchiai 1995 p15.
[1093] Albore Livadie 1985a p63; Cerchiai 1995 p14-18; Cuozzo 2007 p244-246; Criscuolo/Pacciarelli 2009 p334-335; Brun *et al.* 2009 p379-380.

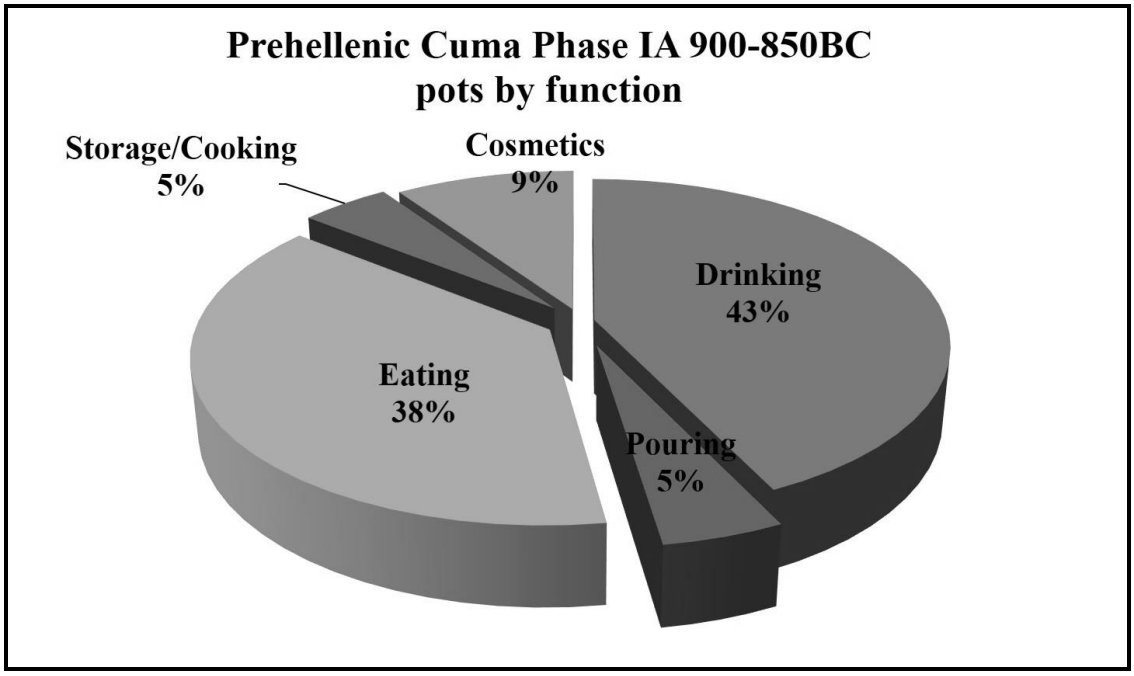

Fig. 6. 4 Pie-chart showing the pots from Prehellenic Cuma phase IA by function

All these vessels are locally produced, so if any imports existed during the 9th century, they remain unpublished. While the larger storage vessels Cerchiai recognised in the Gabrici tombs are absent in these three graves, they each feature an eating (*scodellone* or *scodella* bowl) and drinking vessel (either an *anfora*, a *tazza*, or a *boccale*). The *anfora* is the second most frequent shape (4 examples) behind the *scodella* (5), and both are connected with eating. Some form of commensal rite is therefore feasible. The lack of imports and globalising elements at this stage recalls the earliest phase at Pontecagnano, which makes it hard to see the role that wider Mediterranean ties played in funerary ceremonies.

Material	**Total**	**%**
Bronze	13	42%
Total	**13**	**37%**
Total metals	**13**	**37%**
Total grave goods	**35**	**100%**

Table 6. 2 Prehellenic Cuma imported materials phase IA

Despite the small size of this sample and the lack of imports, some connections are still visible amongst the grave goods. A small number of locally produced bronze objects indicate that Prehellenic Cuma had access to the metal resources of Italy (Table 6.2). Bronze is not found in the region and raw materials must therefore have been acquired to produce these local objects. Without archaeometric analysis, it is impossible to accurately identify the sources of the bronze artifacts. However, as seen in the previous chapters, bronze was possibly obtained from Northern Italy via down-the-line trade links. Alternatively, certain metal sources (mainly iron) are known in

Calabria, which leaves some potential for the materials being obtained through trade with the Southern Italy. Either way, this small tomb sample still shows that Prehellenic Cuma had a role to play in regional and supra-regional exchange systems. This evidence is illustrated further when the phase I burials are compared with the Gabrici assemblages that are excluded from this study (see below).

6.2.2. Phase IB (850-750 BC)

Object type	Number	%	Imports	%
Weaving tools	2	3%		
Weapons	1	2%		
Bronze and iron decorative objects	12	18%		
Fibulae	19	29%		
Silver decorative objects	4	6%		
Pottery	27	42%	3	4.6%
Total	65		3	4.6%
Tombs	6			

Table 6. 3. Total objects for Prehellenic Cuma phase IB

The mid-9th to mid-8th century BC covers the end of Müller Karpe's Prehellenic I and all of Prehellenic II. There are only six tombs and 65 objects available for this period (Table 6.3). Three are recently excavated burials and have a reliable date, while the other three were excavated by Osta in 1904.[1094] Despite being published by Gabrici, doubts on the precise date of the Osta burials continue. It is not possible to place all the Osta tombs in Prehellenic I or II phase because Gabrici did not provide dates for them. However, three of the Osta tombs were republished and reassessed by Albore Livadie in the *Napoli Antica* volume. The more reliable chronology she provides means that they can be included here (Appendix VI.5).[1095] Pottery is again the leading category (27), but *fibulae* (19) and decorative objects (12) are not far behind. Only the female in Osta t.29 has more than ten objects. Although only four of its 27 objects were pots, two were Greek imports. The rest of the grave goods consisted of 11 decorative objects and 14 *fibulae*. Only two of the five other burials feature eight objects (Osta t.3 and t.9). In terms of gender, there are three adult female tombs, one male, and two classed as infants. However, the 27 pots do show a continued predominance of drinking (16 examples, 6 shapes) and eating vessels (5 pots, 2 shapes). The *anfora* (6) and *tazza* (5) are the most frequent shapes, and both are associated with drinking (Fig. 6.5). The storage vessels Cerchiai discusses as appearing in Prehellenic I are now visible, such as

[1094] Gabrici 1913 coll. 91-118; Abellon/Munzi 2008 p109-112.
[1095] Albore Livadie 1985a p70-75.

the *dolia* and two *ollae* in SP700637 (Fig. 6.6). Most ceramics are connected to commensal activities rather than cosmetic or ritual functions.

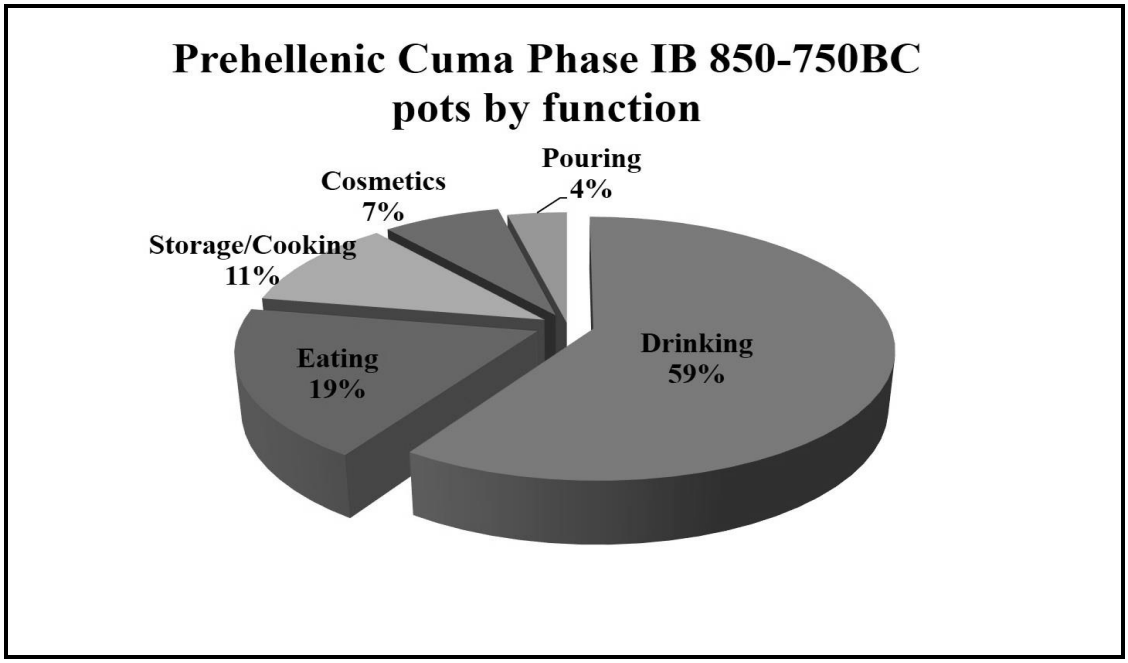

Fig. 6. 5 Pie-chart showing the pots from Prehellenic Cuma phase IB by function

This evidence suggests some form of funerary meal but still on a small-scale when compared with Pontecagnano. The deposition of imported ceramics should be placed within this context. These three drinking vessels are all of MG Greek production and, alongside coeval examples at Capua and Pontecagnano, are widely cited in support of precolonial trade.[1096] All three cups were found in female burials, and Cerchiai questions whether this reflects a male desire to maintain a traditional warrior identity, while women were more open to foreign contact. [1097] This theory finds some support in the similar situation at Pontecagnano and the Sarno Valley. Yet a degree of circularity resulting from the problematic approach of basing identity and gender on *fibulae*, weaving tools, or weapons over osteological evidence conditions such thinking.[1098]

Although the burials in Gabrici's publication are of uncertain date, it is possible that the deposition of weapons in male graves and jewellery and decorative objects in female tombs increased during Müller Karpe's Prehellenic II (770-750BC) (§6.1.2; §6.2.1). Exemplary are swords, such as in Stevens t.6 and the other 'Cuma-type' swords that are sporadic finds (Fig. 6.7).[1099] Similar swords of Cumaean production in

[1096] D'Agostino 1988 p534; Cerchiai 2010.
[1097] Cerchiai 1995 p17-18.
[1098] Herring/Lomas 2009.
[1099] See Cerchiai 1995 p17, for the sporadic material Albore Livadie 1985a p64-69.

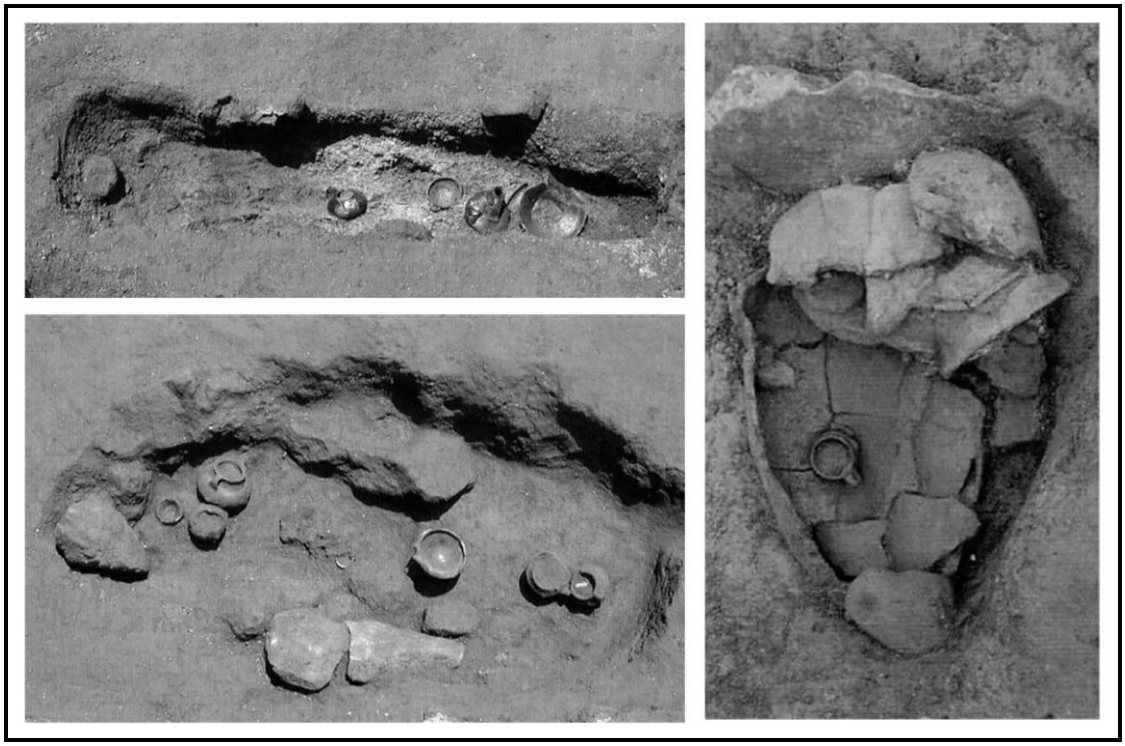

Fig. 6. 6 Enchytrismos burial SP700637 and inhumations SP300146 and SP300156 from Prehellenic Cuma (after Abellon/Munzi (2008) p109, fig.1)

bronze and iron, with richly decorated scabbards, are found in southern Etruria, suggesting that Prehellenic Cuma held influence over a vast territory and was involved in inter-regional trade. Given the level of craftsmanship and the workshops needed to produce these luxury weapons, Cerchiai argues that a highly specialised artisanal class was contracted by the élite to produce the metal objects they desired.[1100] Daggers are higher in number than spears in the Osta tombs and are seen by Criscuolo and Pacciarelli as symbolic of a small but powerful élite group in Italian contexts.[1101] A bronze tripod in Osta t.4 (mistaken by Gabrici and Müller Karpe for a cup and a helmet, respectively) further illustrates the luxury objects now deposited in graves.[1102] Female burials now include more jewellery. Exemplary is the faience amulet in Osta t.29 that has unfortunately since been lost.[1103] According to Cerchiai, the increased number of jewellery pieces and the deposition of storage vessels for foodstuffs in male tombs represent the display of the wealth available to the deceased. He maintains that the settlement was therefore moving towards a structured hierarchy controlled by a small élite group.[1104]

[1100] Cerchiai 1995 p17.
[1101] Criscuolo/Pacciarelli 2009 p340.
[1102] Criscuolo/Pacciarelli 2009 p328 and p348; Greco 2014 p62. Cf. Müller Karpe 1959 table 17B32.
[1103] Criscuolo/Pacciarelli 2009 p342. Albore Livadie 1985a p71 notes that it is now lost but was an Egyptian amulet depicting the apotropaic goddess Mut from Thebes.
[1104] Cerchiai 1995 p18a, Criscuolo/Pacciarelli 2009 p340-344.

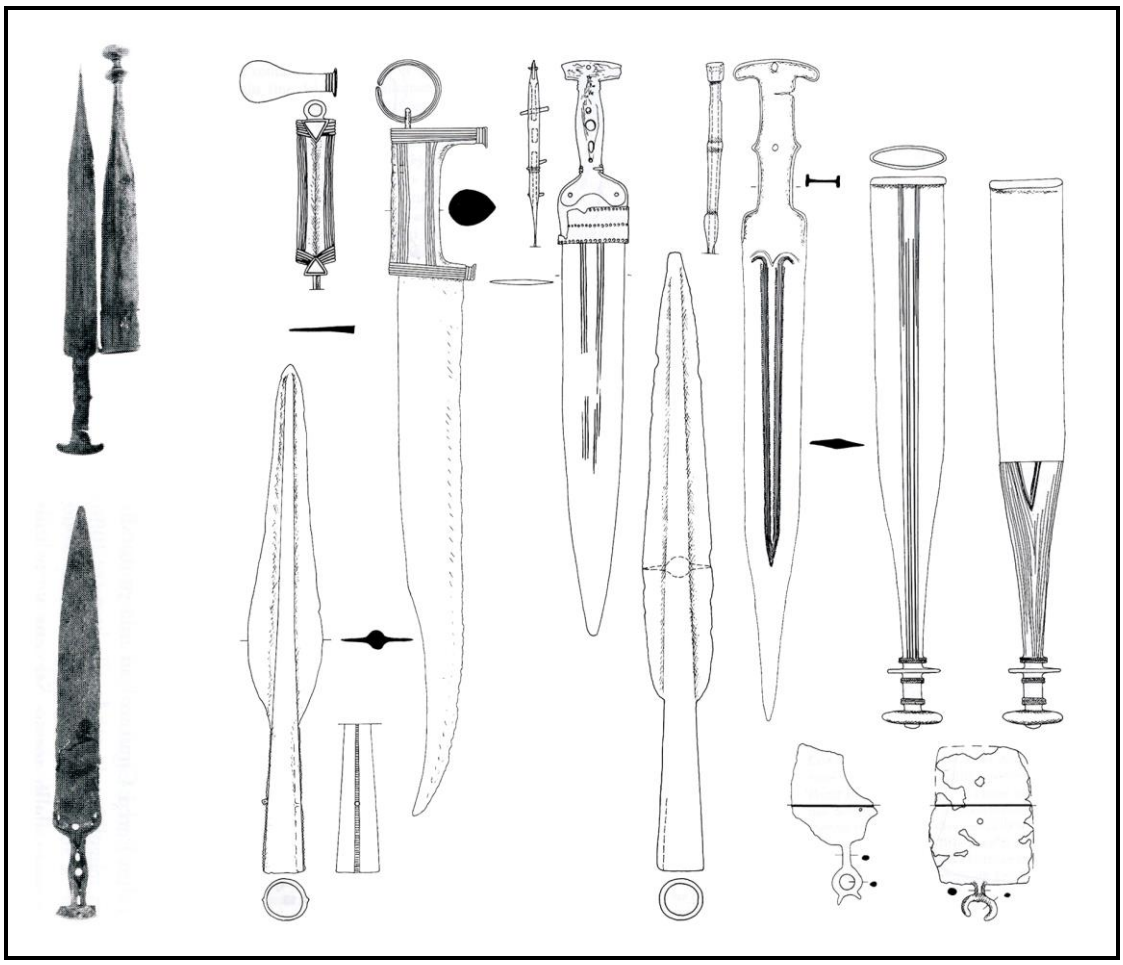

Fig. 6. 7. Sporadic material from the Prehellenic necropolis at Cuma (after Albore Livadie (1985) p65 tav.XII, p66 tav.XIII)

Although the word *gens* is not mentioned, this notion of Prehellenic Cuma moving towards an élite stratum is extremely teleological and recalls similar interpretations Cerchiai and others apply to contemporary Pontecagnano. This accumulation of surplus wealth theory is thus analogous to Childe's second criterion for urban status (Chapters 1 and 3). The excluded Gabrici tombs cannot be accurately placed into either Prehellenic phase IA or IB. The uncertain dates make any arguments for social development unreliable. Even if the other Gabrici burials had been included here, at a total of 39 (out of 42 for both Prehellenic phases), the tomb sample would still be too small to argue that the élite emerged.

The imported raw materials do support Cerchiai's claim that Prehellenic Cuma was involved in inter-regional trade (Table 6.4). Yet, despite the claims that it was an open settlement, the globalising objects that are present at Pontecagnano are largely absent at Prehellenic Cuma. For example, the iron spits and bronze basin (*bacino*) in Pontecagnano t.3184 during phase IB precede the deposition of such objects in the Orientalising period. The absence of iron spits at Prehellenic Cuma suggests they possibly played no role in contemporary funerals there. While such evidence may yet

be found at the site, their absence there and presence at Pontecagnano suggests interesting dynamics at work. Although evidence for globalising practices is scant, the élite were likely to have been present at Cuma from the Bronze Age, but interaction with new ties allowed them new ways to articulate their power.

Material	**Total**	**%**
Bronze	32	51%
Silver	2	3%
Total	**34**	**54%**
Total metals	**34**	**54%**
Total grave goods	**63**	**100%**

Table 6. 4. Prehellenic Cuma imported materials during phase IB

Regardless of the status of the élite at this stage, Prehellenic Cuma shows network connections outside the region. As already observed, Campania lacked many resources that could only be obtained from outside the region. Trade in raw materials was therefore essential to the artisans who produced local objects at the site. More than 54% of those in phase IB were made from metals obtained from outside Campania (mainly bronze although a small amount of silver is found). To reiterate the points made in other chapters, without archaeometric analysis, the precise origins of these artefacts cannot be accurately ascertained. It could be that these raw materials were sourced from Etruria. Combining them with the aforementioned findspots of the Cumaean swords in Etruria, Northern Italy seems a likely source for the metals used by artisans at Prehellenic Cuma. If this hypothesis is correct, then there was substantial trade in materials and goods among the settlements along the Tyrrhenian coast prior to the Greek arrival.

6.2.3. Prehellenic Cuma Phase IA-IB conclusions

Scholarship has tended to view Prehellenic Cuma as the most advanced settlement in Campania and placing it at the top of an indigenous settlement hierarchy (§6.1.3; §1.4.2).[1105] Yet there is little evidence available in the sample reviewed here to support the factors adduced to sustain such a hierarchy. Traces of the settlement's connections emerge from the grave goods, but these often come from reports that do not quantify the total. While Prehellenic Cuma undoubtedly participated in Tyrrhenian trade, the three tombs reviewed in phase I do little to confirm this. Nevertheless, any contact the settlement had from 900 to 850 BC is likely to have been a weak tie. The

[1105] Cerchiai 1995 p3-14, 2005 p188, 2010 p18; Cuozzo 2007 p244.

potential links with the Villanovan and Sardinian spheres reported in unpublished female burials are not supported by this tomb sample.

However, this picture changes during Prehellenic II, as the late 8th century sees connections forged with the Eastern Mediterranean. Aside from the three imported *skyphoi*, Osta t.29 also featured glass beads and a faience Egyptian amulet. Another Osta burial that shows evidence of long-distance trade is t.36. It contained a scarab, glass and amber beads, and a laminated gold disc.[1106] Similarly, Osta t.4 held a bronze tripod that Greco believes to be of Cypriot origin and Nuragic bronze buttons from Sardinia.[1107] Unfortunately, t.36 and t.4 cannot be included here as they have not been republished since Gabrici's volume. Nizzo's work has shown that the Prehellenic tombs remain in a mixed-up state.[1108] The exact dates of Gabrici's Prehellenic graves cannot be accurately placed into either the Prehellenic I or II phases, which also excludes them from this analysis. The accuracy of Gabrici's restorations of the grave goods remain questionable but sketching the types of objects he listed helps us to understand the connections missing from the Prehellenic graves studied in this thesis. Gabrici published 39 burials from three areas: three from the *Proprietà Correale*, three from the *Proprietà D'Isanto* and 36 from the Osta excavations near the city walls.[1109] While local handmade pottery features in many of the graves, there is a large quantity of bronze (122 objects in 29 of the 39 tombs). Alongside the bronze objects are smaller quantities of iron and silver (14 objects in 8 tombs and 1 object in 1 tomb, respectively). Other connections are visible in a small amount of amber (8 objects in 5 tombs) and a substantial number of glass beads (28 in 7 tombs). The Gabrici material shows that Prehellenic Cuma had links to the amber and metal trade and the Phoenician traders who were visiting the Tyrrhenian coast and bringing glass from Egypt. If the Gabrici tombs were included here, then the networks in graphs 6.8 to 6.11 below would look considerably different and indicate much wider connections.

With regard to the potential for funerary feasts, what commensal rites took place across the two phases is vague. This tomb sample is too small to draw any obvious conclusions. However, the higher prevalence of eating and drinking vessels over other forms possibly denotes some kind of funerary feast. While the increased deposition of objects from 850 BC supports the greater visibility of the élite during this period, caution is again necessary. The tombs that have been chosen for publication, especially

[1106] Gabrici 1913 col. 64 and 114-118.
[1107] Greco 2014 p62 and p76.
[1108] Nizzo 2007a and 2007b.
[1109] Gabrici 1913 col. 62-118.

those with Greek imports, probably provide a biased picture of contemporary society. Instead of arguing for a gradual elevation leading to the emergence of the élite, it is preferable to argue that such figures were always part of the social fabric but were now simply more visible.

6.2.4 Prehellenic Cuma network

The material culture at Prehellenic Cuma is part of the *Fossakultur*. Cerchiai highlights a number of common traits between the pottery and *fibulae* at Prehellenic Cuma, Torre Galli (Calabria), and the Sarno Valley area.[1110] Based on this, I believe it is fair to assume that the material culture at Prehellenic Cuma shared affinities with the other sites of this culture, forming a clique of strong ties. These affinities are reflected in the phase IA network (Fig. 6.8) because 100% of the grave goods are made locally, with no imports found. Despite being a small tomb sample and not fully representative of the connections the Prehellenic Cuma community possessed, the phase I burials analysed here suggest that this was a closed settlement with few ties outside of the *Fossakultur*. Phase IB begins to show some differences from phase IA (Fig. 6.10) as imports allow us to see the emergence of the first external ties for the community. These imports are all Greek and account for 4.6% of the grave goods. It is likely that these imported pots result from trade that led to the foundation of Pithekoussai at the end of this phase. However, with 95.4% of the grave goods still being of local production, the main material ties again lie with the *Fossakultur*, which forms a strong tie. The imports remain much lower in number than the locally produced objects which suggests a weak tie.

The materials used to produce the local objects at Prehellenic Cuma were examined to ascertain their origins. Unfortunately, the small sample here only allows us to see that bronze was acquired in phase IA (Fig. 6.9), and both bronze and silver were obtained in phase IB (Fig. 6.11). These metals show links with other areas of Italy, most likely Etruria, and therefore provide evidence of other ties the community held in the EIA. However, these four network graphs do not do full justice to the contact and interaction between the community at Prehellenic Cuma and other sites in Italy and the wider Mediterranean. As discussed above, Cumaean-type swords produced at Prehellenic Cumae have been found in Etruria.[1111] Evidence from phase IA and phase I at Pontecagnano shows that trade between the two communities existed

[1110] Cerchiai 1995 p12-18.
[1111] Cerchiai 1995 p17, Albore Livadie 1985A p64-69.

(§3.2.1.1; §3.2.1.3). The Osta tombs that were not included in this analysis yielded objects from Cyprus, Sardinia, and Egypt. Furthermore, quantities of amber, glass, silver, and iron are found in the Gabrici tombs. These materials attest to further connections that unfortunately cannot be quantified here due to dating issues, but if added to the network, they would highlight that Prehellenic Cuma had connections throughout the peninsula and across the Mediterranean. These connections need to be kept in mind when conclusions are drawn on the networks the settlement was involved in prior to its Greek phases.

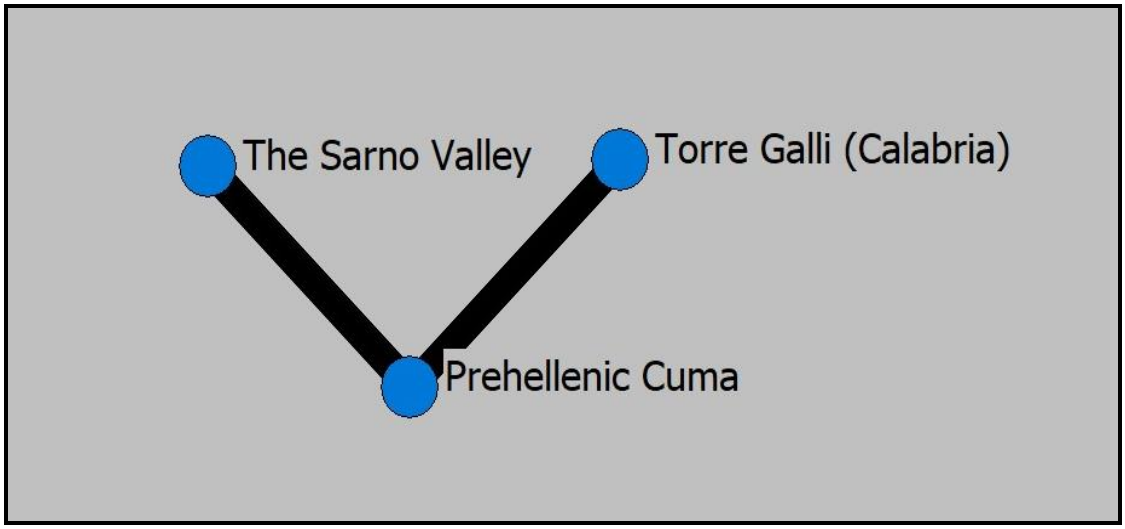

Fig. 6. 8. Prehellenic Cuma phase IA network graph showing the external ties based on objects (using UCINET)

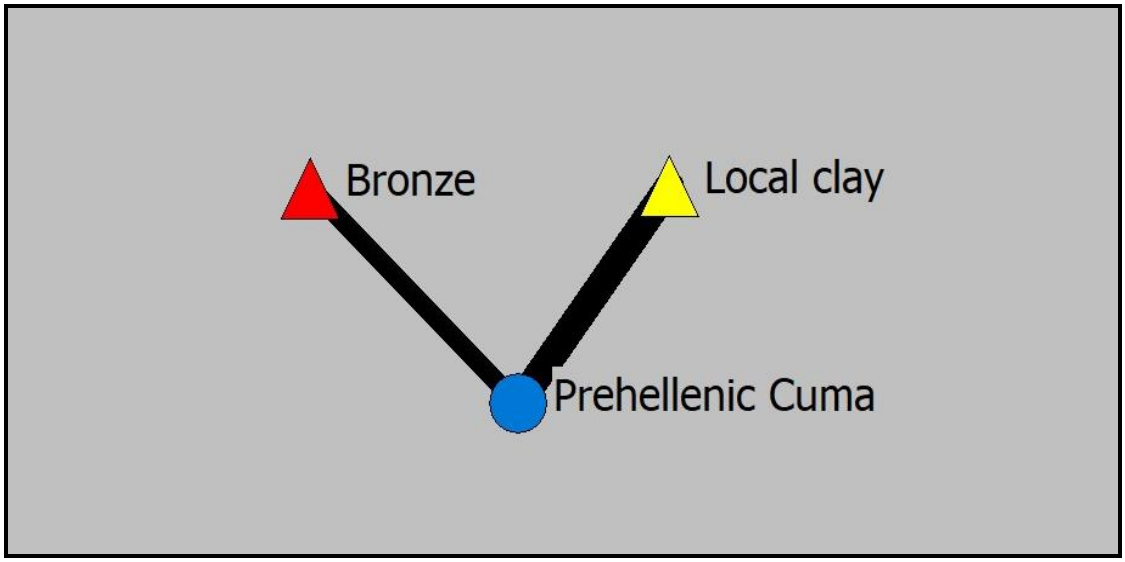

Fig. 6. 9. Prehellenic Cuma phase IA network graph showing ties based on imported materials (using UCINET)

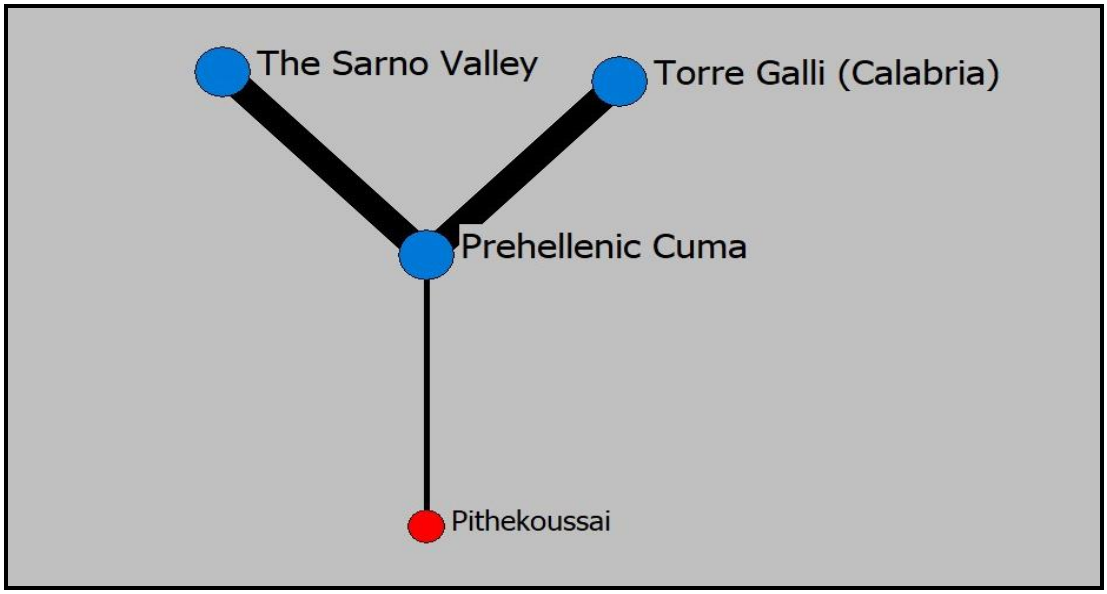

Fig. 6. 10. Prehellenic Cuma phase IB network graph showing external ties based on objects (using UCINET)

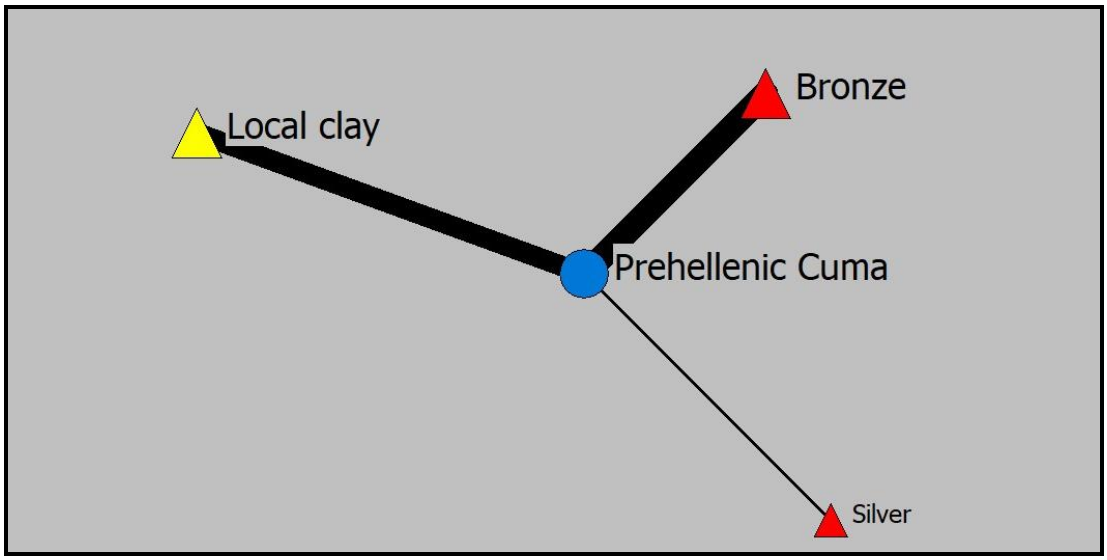

Fig. 6. 11. Prehellenic Cuma phase IB network graph showing ties based on imported materials (using UCINET)

6.2.5 Greek Cumae Phase I (720-650 BC)

Object type	Number	%	Imports	%
Weaving tools	54	40%		
Weapons	2	1.5%	1	0.75%
Decorative objects	2	1.5%	1	0.75%
Fibulae	9	6.7%		
Metal vessels	16	9%	5	3.75%
Scarabs	2	1.5%	2	1.5%
Beads	1	0.7%		
Silver and gold decorative objects	14	10.5%	3	2.3%
Pottery	34	25%	10	7.5%
Total	134		22	16.6%
Tombs	10			

Table 6. 5. Total objects for Greek Cumae phase I

The ten tombs for this period exceed in number the combined total for the previous two phases (Appendix VI.5). The largest object category is now weaving tools, which increase from the EIA (Table 6.5). These 54 textile tools were split across two tombs, with 33 in t.XVIII and 21 in t.XXXVI.[1112] Ceramics and metal vessels followed closely behind, with the latter attesting to a change in funerary rites initiated after the new Greek members joined the community (Fig. 6.12).

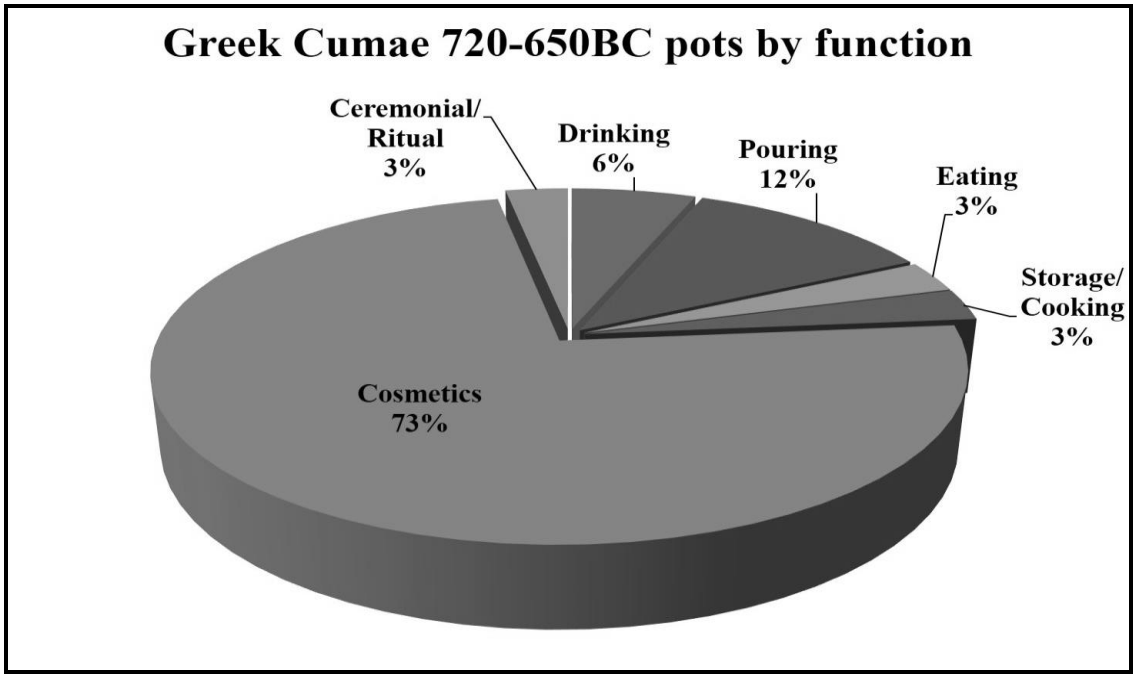

Fig. 6. 12 Pie-chart showing the pots from Greek Cumae phase I 720-650 BC by function

These ten tombs were excavated in the late 19th century by either Stevens or Granata and contained scant skeletal remains. Therefore, many burials lack information

[1112] On the former Tocco Sciarelli 1985 p94-96 and Petacco 2008 p198 on the latter.

on gender and identity,[1113] while the exact total of objects in each tomb remains uncertain due to the existing level of publication. Four tombs were assigned an identity, and although the evidence for this is rarely given, weapons and weaving tools are still the main indices for male and female graves, which appears to be the case with the shield in Fondo Artiaco t.104 and *fuseruole* in t.XXXVI.[1114] Two infant burials were also proposed on the basis of the small dimensions of the trench.[1115] However, clearer indications are available when examining the data for signs of social strata. Three tombs now feature more than 20 objects, while one other includes more than ten. Tomb XVIII has the highest number of goods at 40 objects although 33 were weaving tools, and seven were pots. The most prominent tomb was Fondo Artiaco t.104, which included nine metal vessels and an imported Villanovan shield brought from Tarquinia (Fig. 6.13).[1116] Other objects stand out from t.I, t.XI, t.XVI, which had either scarabs or metal vessels amongst their grave goods. These are luxury objects connected to an ostentatious funerary ritual.

Cuozzo describes four burial types within Cumae's 'colonial' cemeteries. The first was a simple inhumation trench; the second was a cremation where a tufa cist held a bronze cauldron with the deceased's ashes; the third involved placing the cremated bones directly into the tufa receptacle; and the fourth had the ashes laid onto the floor of the grave and covered over, similar to the burials at Pithekoussai. Since all four types are present at Cumae, Cuozzo argues for clear affinities with the funerary customs of the Euboian motherland.[1117] She regards the cauldron cremations (type 2) as 'princely' tombs of an aristocratic character, the burials of the first Greek colonists and the social class that Aristotle and Herodotus called the *hippobotai*.[1118] In contrast, in her study of Pithekoussai, Donnellan stresses there was no single fixed burial type at 8th-century Euboia that could readily be exported west. She finds that much variability marked the burial practices of the cemeteries at Lefkandi, Chalcis, and Eretria.[1119] However, recent work by Gleba shows that some practices were exported to Cumae. Gleba analysed the textile traces found on metal vessels in some of the rich cremation burials at Cumae. These burials were excavated by Stevens, but being

[1113] Gabrici 1913 coll. 213-272.
[1114] Tocco Sciarelli 1985 p90-94; Petacco 2008 p198.
[1115] Tocco Sciarelli 1985 p96-97.
[1116] Strøm 1971 the t.104 shield is type AI1 cat. no.3, t.XI type AIV1 cat. no.1. On p20-21 she notes similar bronze shields in Gabrici t.56, t.59, and an unstratified example from the Prehellenic necropolis.
[1117] Cuozzo 2008 p184
[1118] Cuozzo 2008 p184. For similar sentiments Cerchiai 1995 p74; Frederiksen 1984 p75; Tocco Sciarelli 1985 p87-88.
[1119] Donnellan 2016 p150.

uncontextualised, they formed part of the *Raccolta Cumana* collection of sporadic finds. Gabrici discussed this collection, but the tombs these vessels came from and their dates are unknown.[1120] For this reason, they are not included here. The cremated remains of adult males and females in these tombs were wrapped in woollen textiles and then placed into bronze or silver containers. Due to the mineralisation of copper, casts formed around the textile fibres, which preserved the external morphology of the original fabrics.[1121] Using scanning electron microscopy (SEM), Gleba analysed the textiles and found they were closer to Euboian Greek than Italic traditions.[1122] She also points out that these types of textiles remained in use at Cumae into the Archaic period, which suggests that the Greek settlers may have continued the traditions of Euboia centuries after they had settled in Italy.[1123]

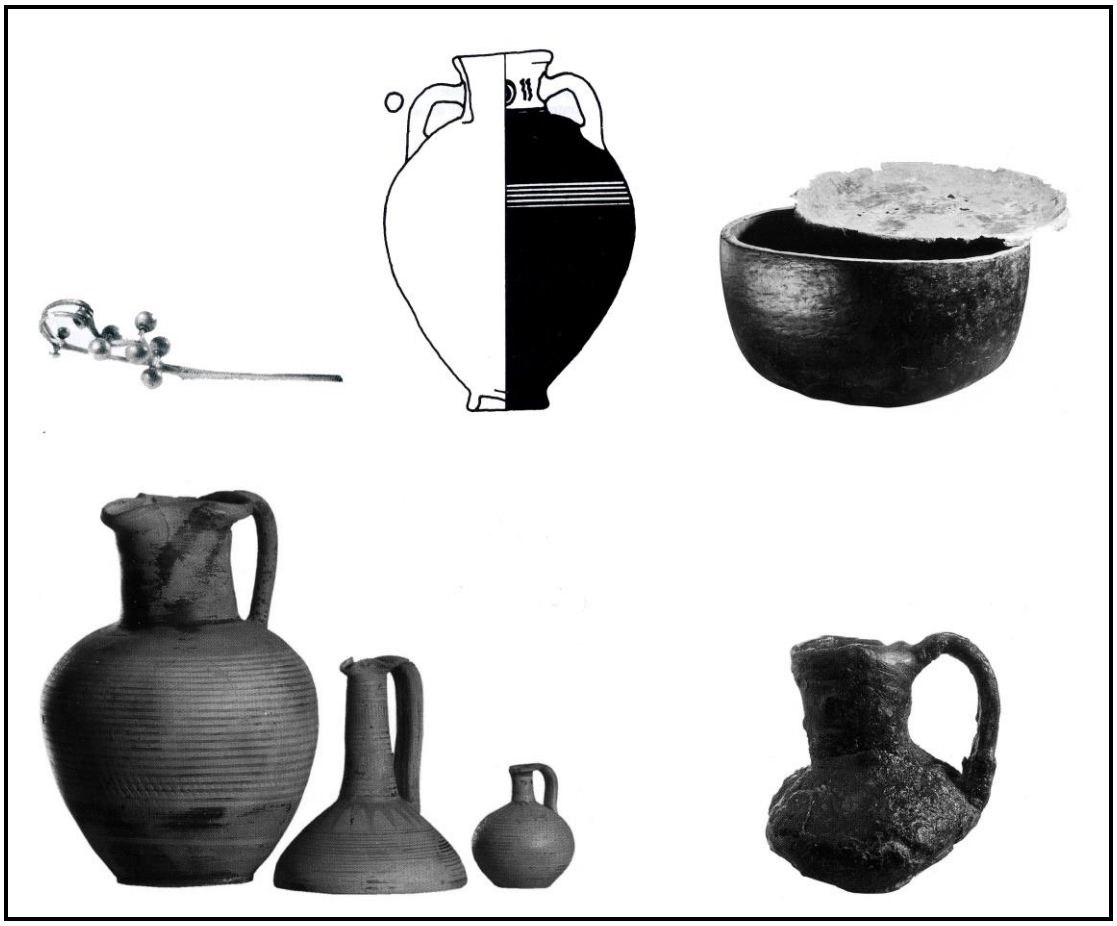

Fig. 6. 13. Material from t.104 from the Fondo Artiaco at Prehellenic Cuma: bronze cinerary urn (cauldron) with cover from Gabrici tomb and ceramics from Gabrici t.XVII (after Tocco Sciarelli (1985) p91 16.5, p94 16.22; Rescigno (2008) p189, fig.1; Petacco (2008) p190, fig. 1

Overall, Stevens discovered six cauldron burials at Cumae, which were amongst the tombs published by Gabrici. These are not included here due to the lack of

[1120] Gabrici 1913 col. 51-54 & 61; Gleba *et al.* 2017 p51-52.
[1121] Gleba *et al.* 2017 p45-61.
[1122] Gleba *et al.* 2017 p58-61.
[1123] Gleba *et al.* 2017 p61.

chronological information accompanying them (§6.1.2).[1124] In this type of cremation, the ashes of the deceased were collected and deposited inside a silver urn, then placed in a cauldron (*lebetes*) and covered with another cauldron.[1125] Such burials probably included a bronze cauldron imported from Northern Syria, which is now in the museum at Copenhagen.[1126] Furthermore, t.I and t.XI that are studied here show similarities with the well-known Artiaco t.104 that Pellegrini uncovered in 1902.[1127] T.104 is widely discussed as the inspiration behind t.926 and t.928 at Pontecagnano and t.66 at Bisaccia (Chapters 3 and 4).[1128] Dating to c730-720 BC, t.104 was located close to the city's acropolis and featured an intricate funerary ritual.[1129] Cut into the rock, this trench grave held a stone cist with a central depression for a silver *lebetes*. Inside this vessel was a silver *oinochoe* containing the deceased's ashes, wrapped in a purple cloth and then covered with a second bronze *lebetes*. The cauldrons were placed in an even larger bronze *lebetes* covered by the Villanovan shield from Tarquinia.[1130] Alongside the silver *oinochoe*, the grave goods include a silver *kotyle* and two *paterae*. Inside the tufa cist, was a ritually destroyed bronze stand along with *fibulae*, decorative objects, and an SOS transport amphora.[1131] The western corner of the tomb was destroyed by a later Hellenistic *tholos*, but overall, the assemblage remained intact.[1132] Many of the grave goods, especially the jewellery, are seen as either Etruscan or produced at Pithekoussai, prompting questions about the deceased's ethnicity. Strøm connects the jewellery and metal vessels to Etruria, deeming this to be the tomb of an Etruscan.[1133] Buchner instead stressed that all of the gold jewellery from Cumae was produced at Pithekoussai due to Strabo's mention of goldworking on Ischia.[1134] Although Buchner and Frederiksen argue for a Greek ethnicity, Guzzo asserts that t.104 contained the last indigenous chief of Prehellenic Cuma.[1135] Despite the different opinions, a consensus appears to be that this was a Greek form of burial exported to the west from Euboia.

[1124] Gabrici 1913 col. 213-448 noted metal vessels in t.II, t.XLII, t.LVI, t.LIX, t.LXIII, t.LII, t.LVII, t.LXII.
[1125] Buchner 1979 p130; Cerchiai 1995 p74-75.
[1126] Cerchiai 1995 p74.
[1127] Pellegrini 1903 col.201-294; Petacco 2008 p189 and p197; Tocco Sciarelli 1985 p90-94.
[1128] Cerchiai 1995 p69-98; D'Agostino 1999 p81; Cuozzo 2007 p250.
[1129] Strøm 1971 p146-148; Albore Livadie 1975 p53-58; Buchner 1979 p130-131; Tocco Sciarelli 1985 p90-94; Coldstream 1994a p54-55; Cerchiai 1995 p77-78.
[1130] Strøm 1971 p42 type AI1, p56 feels that a similar shield at Olympia must have arrived there via Cumae.
[1131] Tocco Sciarelli 1985 p90-94; Strøm 1971 p146.
[1132] Strøm 1971 p146.
[1133] Strøm 1971 esp. p147.
[1134] Buchner 1979. *Contra* Strøm 1990 p87-9.
[1135] Guzzo 2000 p135-137; Frederiksen 1979 p290.

Both the burials in the West Gate cemetery at Eretria and the aristocratic burials at Salamis (Cyprus) are taken as the inspirations behind the 'princely' burials in Italy.[1136] Although this rite is intriguingly absent at Pithekoussai, the élite apparently brought this funerary tradition and its close link to Homeric burials from Eretria to Campania. Seven secondary cremations lay near the West Gate, but t.6 shows clear similarities to Fondo Artiaco t.104. The cremated ashes were wrapped in a cloth and then placed in a large bronze cauldron with another on top as a cover. Five other cremations encircled t.6, while a short distance away were nine infant inhumations. All these burials dated from 720-680 BC.[1137] Around 680 BC, a *peribolos* wall and a triangular structure were erected over the tombs, bestowing t.6 with a heroic character. A *bothros*, which was in use from 675 to 625 BC, was located to the SW of this structure where carbonised fragments of figurines, vases and bones were found.[1138] This cremation rite was apparently then exported to Cumae, but despite its similarities, it was at most a contemporary to Fondo Artiaco t.104, making it unclear which site has the earliest burial of this type. Crielaard recently illustrated how the West Gate and western cemeteries represent two separate élite groups at Eretria with different funerary practices although the West Gate had access to the more luxurious grave goods.[1139] As there was no fixed burial tradition that could be exported to the west and little evidence of similar monumentalisation of the tomb at Cumae, it is not clear in which site these burials originated. Both the Eretria and Salamis tombs date to c720 BC and are thus roughly contemporary to the cauldron burials at Cumae. This does not mean that such funerary rituals were exported in their entirety from Greece. With all these burials being coeval, it is equally conceivable that they were devised and elaborated upon in the west and then exported back to Greece.

The link with the *hippobotai* in Eretria is also questionable. Aristotle (*Pol.* 1289 B39) and Herodotus (5.77) discuss the *hippobotai* at Chalcis not Cumae. Despite being credible sources, they are of a later date. There is no reason to assume that the customs and political systems of 5th–4th-century Eretria would be in place in the 8th century BC, nor that they were transferred wholesale to Southern Italy. As both Pithekoussai and Cumae appear to be mixed settlements, this cannot be a purely Greek burial type. A cursory glance at the other 'princely' burials in Etruria, Lazio, and Campania, shows

[1136] Albore Livadie 1975 p53-58; Cerchiai 1995 p75; De Juliis 1996 p107-108; Cuozzo 2007 p259; D'Agostino 2006 p234, 2011 p45-46.
[1137] Crielaard 1998a p45.
[1138] Crielaard 1998a p45.
[1139] Crielaard 2007 esp. p187-188.

that despite many shared objects, no single tomb has exactly the same grave goods, corpse treatment, or tomb design. A checklist for these tombs is rarely possible even though some have attempted this.[1140] Reiterating Morris' view in Chapter 3, thinking about these 'princely' tombs as a type imposes a single model on the data[1141] and ignores the dynamic nature of 8th century Campania. With many groups mixing and sharing ideas in the Mediterranean, the inspiration for these 'princely' tombs was arguably the product of global ideas, a common élite culture that transcended ethnic boundaries. While the 'princely' tombs at Cumae and Pontecagnano show similarities with Homer's description of Patroclus' funerary games, such an affinity does not make this an exclusively Greek burial form. Campania was a middle-ground, frontier zone where the Homeric poems found their earliest expression in Nestor's cup. Being oral poems, they were not yet in their completed written form. It is possible that these poems were open to further adaptation in the contexts of feasts between travelling Greeks and the locals they recounted them to.

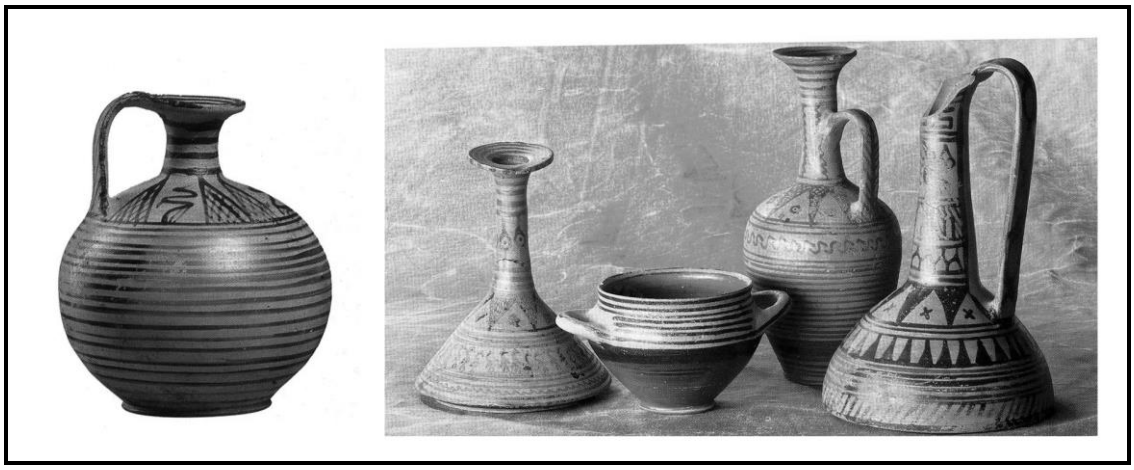

Fig. 6. 14 Ceramics from Gabrici t.XXXII (after Petacco (2008) p192-193, fig..1.1

No single group dominated these global ideas, which were instead characterised by dynamism and flexibility. However, it remains surprising that iron spits and firedogs are absent from the 'princely' burials at Cumae, especially given their presence in earlier élite tombs in Greek contexts, such as Lefkandi and Knossos.[1142] The three tombs with metal vessels (t.I, t.XI, and t.104) closely follow the idea of the Homeric burial: a bronze or silver funerary urn covered by other cauldrons, a silver *oinochoe* to extinguish the flames of the pyre, and a *kotyle* to pour libations to the deceased.[1143] Cerchiai explains the use of cauldrons for the deceased's ashes as a symbolic conflation of the ritual bathing of the hero and the process of boiling meat. Furthermore, he notes

[1140] For example, Winther 1997.
[1141] Morris 1999 p57-58.
[1142] See Nijboer 2013 p106 fn.17.
[1143] Cerchiai 1995 p75.

the association of the *lebetes* in myths where the resurrection of the human corpse was possible through its boiling in hot water.[1144] While such interpretations explain the use of the bronze containers and the sombre rite of the Euboian aristocrats, it does not explain the use of iron spits in 'princely' graves in Central and Southern Italy. Strøm has argued for the use of spits in Italian banquets being a Cypriot invention based on their presence in Mycenaean tombs in Cyprus.[1145] This hypothesis is not compelling as there is no reason to see a direct continuation between Bronze and Iron Age feasting practices. Despite their attestation in Greek contexts (Lefkandi, Knossos, Cyprus), iron spits are found early on in Italy, with t.132 at Castel di Decima (which Nijboer dates to c825 BC) being exemplary.[1146] The use of spits in Italy suggests that graveside communal feasting was possibly an Italian addition to the 'princely' tomb culture, further illustrating their multifaceted nature.

Tomb	**Import**	**Provenance**
XXXII	Thapsos cup	Pithekoussai? Corinth?
104	SOS amphora	
XXXVI	*Anforetta acroma* (Phoenician)	
XVIII	Proto-Corinthian a*ryballos* x6	
LIV	Early proto-Corinthian *oinochoe*	
XXV	Proto-Corinthian miniature *kotyle*	
XVI	Scarab	
104	Scarab	
	Bronze pendant (*brocchetta di bronzo a ventre carenato*).	Balkans
	Bronze conical stand	North Syria
	Electrum bracelet	Etruria
	Gold pendant	
	Necklace	
	Villanovan shield	Etruria

Table 6. 6. Greek Cumae imports in phase I

Table 6.6 lists the imports from these tombs and their possible places of production. With regard to metal vessels, t.104 had nine of the 16 examples, including the silver *lebetes*, *oinochoe*, and *kotyle* (all three imported from North Syria), two silver *paterae*, a silver cup, and three bronze *lebetes* (only one of which is viewed as an import).[1147] Tomb I was less ostentatious; a silver funerary urn was placed inside a bronze cauldron with a bronze cover. A silver cinerary urn and cover were interred in

[1144] Cerchiai 1995 p75-76.
[1145] Strøm 1995 p368.
[1146] Nijboer 2013 p110-112.
[1147] Tocco Sciarelli 1985 p90-94; Strøm 1971 p146-147 sees this cauldron as import from Etruria.

t.XI along with a bronze *lebetes* and a bronze *olla* and its cover. Of these metal vessels, 75% represent the multipurpose category (12 examples), referring to their use as funerary vessels or their accompanying containers. The remaining metal vessels were drinking (2), storage (1), and pouring (1) shapes. Most of these vessels reflect a more sombre ceremony at the graveside, differing from the communal banquets at Pontecagnano, which are more connected to feasting practices. How many were imported remains an open question. While the silver *lebetes*, *oinochoe*, and *kotyle* in t.104 are of North Syrian production, only one of the three bronze *lebetes* in t.104 is classed as being from Etruria.[1148] The other vessels in this burial show affinities with oriental types but no exact provenance is given. Therefore, it cannot be confirmed that these are imports. Although the other two tombs were republished in the *Cuma* catalogue, no further information is provided on the origins of their metal vessels.[1149]

Also imported in this period were a series of scarabs and Egyptianising material. A significant number were deposited in the tombs excavated by Stevens. Although these objects were republished in De Salvia's *Egyptomania* volume, they were presented as single objects rather than part of a complete set of grave goods.[1150] A total of 17 scarabs (many placed in silver pendants), two faience *fusaiole*, and five necklaces dating from the 8th to 7th centuries BC feature in De Salvia's catalogue. However, these objects cannot be included in this quantitative study of tie strength since the tombs they relate to remain unpublished. This is unfortunate as such objects could shed light on contemporary connections with Pithekoussai, where many scarabs were found. Being unquantifiable, this data does not reveal whether such objects arrived at Cumae directly from the Eastern Mediterranean (Rhodes) or via Pithekoussai. A mere glimpse of this contact is afforded by two scarabs encased in silver pendants in t.XVI, a female burial included here. Such objects were also apotropaic devices to protect the deceased.[1151] Gabrici originally saw these as locally produced imitations of Oriental prototypes, and it is entirely feasible that they came from Pithekoussai, where imported scarabs were also placed inside local silver pendants. Although no information is available on the provenance of the scarabs, I have treated them as imports from Pithekoussai due to the large number of scarabs known there. However, a miniature Balkan *brocchetta a ventre carenato* bronze pendant, which Petacco deems an import as it is rare outside the

[1148] Tocco Sciarelli 1985 p92; Cerchiai 1995 p77-78.
[1149] See Petacco 2008 p189 and p196.
[1150] De Salvia 2006 p33-44.
[1151] Petacco 2008 p190-191; Gabrici 1913 col. 368.

Balkans, was found in t.XVI.[1152] T.104 included an imported Villanovan shield, a bronze conical stand from Northern Syria, and three pieces of jewellery possibly from Etruria, but the remainder of the ornaments are unclear. Ceramics offer greater clarity in identifying imports although an important change in Cumae's material culture requires recognition. Cumae became either a *bona fide* colony or had a large Greek component within the community. Under such conditions, Greek material can no longer be considered imported, especially when it was now being produced locally, in the colony itself. Therefore, the only vessels considered imports here are those from Greece itself (Corinthian, Athenian, or Euboian wares) or those from elsewhere such as the Phoenician *anforetta* in t.XXXVI. Reviewing the ceramics shows their presence in all but three of the ten burials (t.VI, t.I, and t.XI) (Fig. 6.14). No tomb has more than seven pots: t.VI and t.XVIII contained seven each, t.XXXII and t.XXXVI had five each, and t.LIV had four pots. As regards function, a complete change from the EIA is apparent, similar to the other sites examined in this thesis. By far the most frequent shape was the *aryballos* with 16 pots in five tombs, five of which were Proto-Corinthian imports. A *lekythos* was also deposited in these five tombs and one other burial, making it the second most common shape at nine vessels. These two shapes show an increase in cosmetic vessels, while pouring, drinking, and eating shapes only account for seven vessels between them.

This rise suggests that contemporary funerary practices changed from a communal feast or libation to something more sombre after the Greeks arrived. Communal banqueting around the 'princely' tombs in Campania therefore appears an Italic addition, while more private rites were held for the 'princes' at Cumae. The cosmetic vessels in five inhumations may represent the anointing of the corpse before burial, meaning that the mourners of these five individuals may have seen the beauty of the body in death as important or, alternatively, had perfume vessels play a role in their funerals. In terms of the imports, five imported PC *aryballoi* were deposited in t.XVIII. This was probably a female tomb given its 33 weaving tools although information on the status of this individual is lacking. These imported vessels were only accompanied by two other locally made Greek pots, both cosmetic shapes (an *aryballos* and a *lekythos*). Further imported Greek vessels were present in t.XXXII (a Thapsos cup), t.LIV (an EPC *oinochoe*), t.XXV (a miniature PC *kotyle* with probably symbolic function as this was a child burial), t.104 (an SOS transport amphora), and t.XXXVI (a Phoenician vessel was deposited with the female there). Overall, these ten imports

[1152] Petacco 2008 p190.

show no clear consumption pattern, making it difficult to argue for any major changes from the Prehellenic phase. It could be argued, however, that some funerary rites were now more sombre, with a concern for bodily beauty absent in earlier burial practices. Still, it must be noted that the tombs examined here reflect a certain bias.

A complete lack of local *impasto* pottery in this assemblage does not tally with the recent finds from Cumae, where significant quantities of impasto featured alongside Greek ceramics in domestic contexts (§6.1.5). Frederiksen notes that Stevens had thrown some vases away while excavating tombs.[1153] Moreover, with the grave goods stored in poor conditions at the museum of Naples from the late 19th to early 20th century,[1154] it is highly likely that *impasto* vessels were discarded due to their being perceived as of lower value than Greek pottery. This appears to be the case from reviewing what Gabrici published. The grave goods in the 69 Greek burials he listed show a large quantity of silver and Greek vessels, and only one burial is reported as having an *impasto* pot.[1155] Therefore, the full extent of the connections Cumae held at this time is not ponderable from this small sample. Yet a discussion of the imported raw materials (see below) and a brief review of the material in the Gabrici graves that are excluded from this analysis (§6.2.7) will broaden our understanding of this period. Furthermore, some evidence exists across the 7th to 6th century to challenge the idea that Cumae was purely Greek in character. The new status of the settlement at this time did not have a major impact on the access to resources from outside Campania. The change from indigenous settlement to a Greek colony (however that may have occurred) did not eliminate the need for artisans to source material to produce local objects. However, there is a decrease in the ratio of raw materials deposited when compared to total grave goods (Table 6.7). Excluding the imported metal objects leaves a quarter of the locally produced grave goods (26%). These objects are made from various metals that can only have been acquired from outside the region. Although some of the metal vessels may have been imported into Cumae, the case for local production is equally possible. D'Acunto has recently highlighted the discovery of a 7th-century metal workshop at the site (Appendix VI.3).[1156] This increases the likelihood that some of the bronze funerary containers were produced at Cumae.

[1153] Frederiksen 1984 p62.
[1154] Albore Livadie 1985a p63;Tocco Sciarelli 1985 p88.
[1155] Gabrici 1913 col. 214-272, also col. 246-247 on t.XXXVIII which has an *impasto anforetta*.
[1156] D'Acunto 2017 p301.

Material	Total	%
Bronze	8	6%
Silver	20	15%
Silver and gold	2	1.5%
Electrum	2	1.5%
Electrum, silver, and bronze	1	0.75%
Electrum and silver	1	0.75%
Glass	1	2%
Total	**35**	**26%**
Total metals	**34**	**25.3%**
Total grave goods	**135**	**100%**

Table 6. 7. Greek Cumae imported materials during phase I

Nevertheless, bronze decreases from 51% in Prehellenic phase IA to 6% in this sample. Yet there is a much higher quantity of silver when compared to the earlier phases (15% versus the 3% in Prehellenic IB) alongside the first appearances of gold and electrum. While bronze was possibly sourced from Etruria, there is still some debate over the sources of gold and silver in ancient Italy. With regard to the former, it has been noted that it is not found on the Italian peninsula and must therefore have been imported from outside Italy.[1157] As discussed in §2.3, it remains unclear if and where exactly in Italy any silver sources exist. Markoe believes that the Etruscan silver industry brought the Phoenicians to Italy, while Nijboer disagrees due to a lack of evidence for silver working in Etruria.[1158] With this in mind, both silver and gold may have been obtained from Greece by the inhabitants at Cumae. This theory needs confirmation through archaeometric analysis, but if it is acceptable, it would be another example of the new opportunities the Greek settlers brought to the Tyrrhenian coast. Despite the unknown origins of these objects, the imported raw materials still highlight the wide network connections Cumae held during this period.

6.2.6 Greek Cumae Phase II (650-550 BC)

Object type	Number	%	Imports	%	Imitations	%
Metal vessels	1	11%				
Pottery	8	89%	5	62.5%	2	25%
Total	9		5	62.5%	2	25%
Tombs	4					

Table 6. 8. Total objects for Greek Cumae phase II.

An extremely small sample characterises the final phase under consideration (Appendix VI.5). Although it covers the start of the Archaic period, scant data prevents

[1157] Giardino 2005 p491-495; Nijboer 1998 p142-143.
[1158] Markoe 1992 p71-80; Nijboer 1998 p143.

an understanding of how the community developed. The four tombs yield a sample of nine objects which, aside from a bronze cauldron, is almost exclusively ceramic (Table 6.8). The cauldron suggests that the so-called 'princely'-style cremations continued into the Archaic period. Information on identity is only available for t.LI – a child or infant burial based on the small size of the grave (Fig. 6.15).[1159] Unfortunately, the status of the other tombs is unknown as *fibulae*, weapons, and weaving tools are absent. Both t.XII and t.LI were inhumation *fossae*, while t.CVI and t.XVII were cremations, with the ashes interred in an Attic *krater* and the aforementioned bronze cauldron, respectively. However, the total assemblage for these four tombs is unclear. Although this study focuses on the Gabrici tombs that were republished, these publications mention other objects that are not included in the list of accompanying grave goods. Exemplary is t.XVII, which is published in the *Cuma* catalogue and dates to 600-550 BC. Despite only the C group painter Attic BF *lekane* cover being listed in this catalogue, the discussion of the burial context itself mentions a *krater* (as the container of the deceased's ashes) and a *lydion* as additional grave goods. This inconsistency in publication may explain why this sample has a complete absence of *fibulae* and other object categories.

Fig. 6. 15 Ceramics from Gabrici t.LI and ceramics and bronze cauldron from Gabrici t.XVII, t.CVI, and t.XII (after Rescigno (2008) p200-202, figs. 1-1-1; Petacco (2008) p199, fig.1)

[1159] Tocco Sciarelli 1985 p97-98; Petacco 2008 p199-200.

Ceramics comprised 89% of the assemblage, with drinking shapes (4) accounting for the majority, although cosmetic vessels (3) were not far behind. While the most frequent shape is the *kotyliskos* (at two examples), little can be concluded, and eight pots in three tombs cannot be representative of contemporary consumption patterns (Fig. 6.16). Of the three locally produced vessels, two are imitations and the other is a

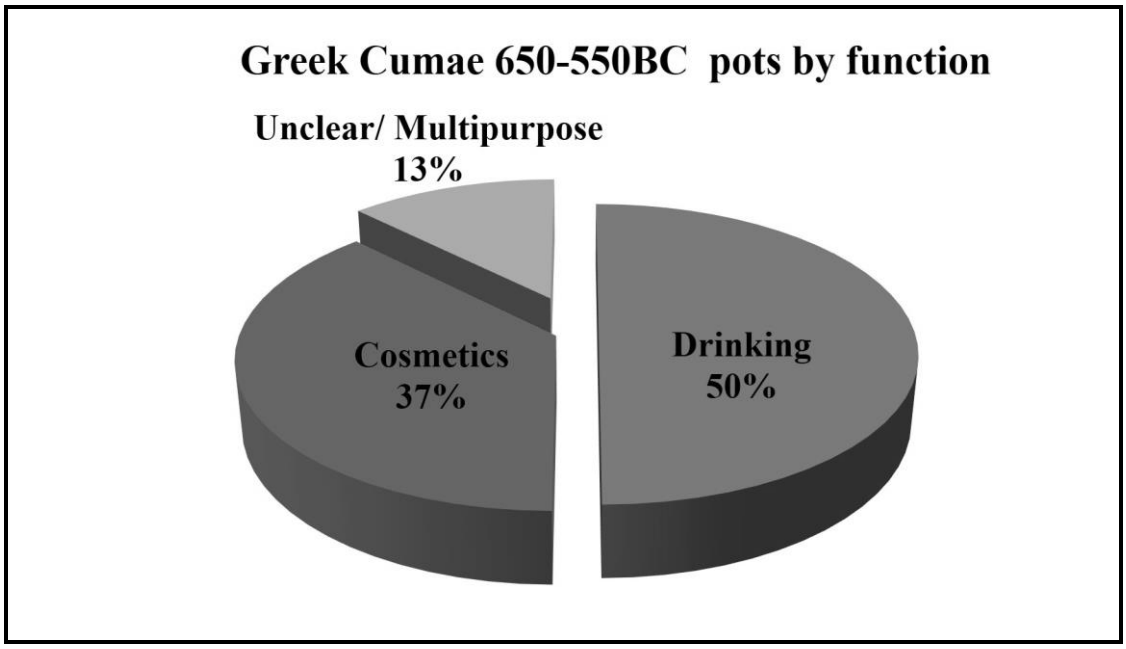

Fig. 6. 16 Pie-chart showing the pots from Greek Cumae phase II 650-550 BC by function

handmade *anforetta* derived from the Prehellenic repertoire. This vessel was found in t.LI, and before the recent evidence from the 8th-century house emerged (§6.1.4), the discovery of Greek and local pottery in the same context at Cumae was largely ignored. The idea that this was a pure Greek colony has generally persisted in scholarship. However, new evidence points to some form of co-habitation and argues against the notion of Greek dominance. The discovery of indigenous material in both domestic and funerary contexts surely demonstrates that Cumae was actually a mixed community of Greeks and locals. Nonetheless, the imports still show strong ties with the Greek world across the mid-7th to mid-6th centuries BC. The five imported pots are of either Attic or Corinthian production. These are either drinking or cosmetic shapes, but from such a small sample, no obvious pattern is discernible. Amongst the pots were also two *aryballoi*. One is of a Corinthian type and the other is an Etrusco-Corinthian type, meaning that it was possibly produced in Etruria by a Greek potter. They have been classed here as imitations. This composite dataset illustrates some of the connections Cumae held from the 7th to mid-6th century BC, yet it only provides a glimpse at the connections at this time.

Although this is a small sample, we can briefly compare it to contemporary material found in other areas of the site. Such a comparison can allow us to understand how representative these four burials are of this period at Cumae. For example, *bucchero* is notably absent in them, yet fragments have been reported in the excavations around the fortifications.[1160] However, the imported Greek vessels in these four tombs are analogous to most of the pottery fragments from the wall contexts. Along the fortifications, Corinthian and locally made Italo-Geometric wares dominate. There are no transport amphorae in these four tombs, but such containers are known from the wall area and they show different connections from those visible in this sample. Moreover, the fragments from the wall contexts (mostly dating to the end of the 6th century BC) included wine and oil containers imported from the Greek islands of Samos, Chios, and Lesbos, from Clazomenia and Miletos in Asia Minor, and from Athens, Corinth, and Laconia on the mainland. Other containers arrived from Etruria, Sybaris, and Locri in Italy.[1161] The slightly later date means that these fragments are outside the chronological bounds of this study and are not included in the quantitative analysis here. Nevertheless, they indicate that the ties visible in this small sample do not reflect the full network connections for this phase.

Material	**Total**	**%**
Bronze	1	10%
Total	**1**	**10%**
Total metals	**1**	**10%**
Total grave goods	**10**	**100%**

Table 6. 9 Greek Cumae imported materials during phase II

Unfortunately, this tomb sample is too small to draw any definitive conclusions on the imported materials. There is only one object in this phase that is non-ceramic: the single bronze cauldron in t.XVII representing 10% of the total grave goods (Table 6.9). The possibility remains that this was an imported cauldron; however, given the aforementioned evidence of the metal workshop, it may also have been produced at Cumae,[1162] something that cannot be established without laboratory analysis. If produced locally then it still attests to the metal trade seen in the earlier phases. Local production also means that metal was still being obtained through links with Northern Italy, particularly Etruria – an area which had very close connections with

[1160] Cuozzo *et al.* 2006 p135-137, p139-142 and p172-173.
[1161] Cuozzo *et al.* 2006 p188-202.
[1162] D'Acunto 2017 p301.

Pontecagnano at this time (Chapter 3). In the next section, the two Greek phases will be compared with the Gabrici tombs excluded from the quantitative analysis.

6.2.7 Greek Cumae 720-550 BC Conclusions

At first glance, the ten tombs dating across 720 to 550 BC seem to confirm the destruction theory, which posits that the indigenous settlement was razed to the ground and replaced with a new Greek colony. Yet, as seen, such a view can no longer be sustained due to new evidence indicating cohabitation in both domestic and funerary contexts down to the 6th century BC. The destruction interpretation is over-reliant on the data published by Gabrici, which, as discussed in §6.1.2, is not a reliable tomb sample because precise dates are lacking and the accuracy of Gabrici's grave good restorations are open to question. Poor museum storage and selective excavation strategies render these assemblages unrepresentative of contemporary Cumaean society. The so-called 'princely'-type burials at Cumae should therefore be placed within this context of cohabitation. Although it is argued that this burial type was exported to the west from Greece into Campania, Lazio, and Etruria,[1163] the mixed frontier zone in which these interactions took place explains why such aristocratic tombs were not completely Greek in character. Furthermore, the idea that the Euboians exported a single preferred burial type to Pithekoussai and Cumae has been recently challenged (Appendix VI.4).[1164]

Greek Cumae, therefore, maintained wide-reaching ties during its earliest phases. To illustrate this connectivity further, we can briefly examine the Gabrici tombs that were excluded from the quantitative study here. Gabrici published 68 Greek tombs, which he dated generally across the 9th to 6th centuries BC. As mentioned above, he did not place any of these into a more precise chronological sequence and was highly selective with the 39 of the 227 tombs Stevens excavated in the *Fondo Maiorano* area he chose to publish (Appendix VI.1; §6.1.2). His justification for this was that the 39 tombs were the only ones deserving of publication.[1165] He did not state why these particular 39 were chosen over the others or why the other 188 were left out. Nevertheless, we can quickly sketch the kinds of materials included in the 68 tombs he published, which will allow us to see how the network would look if these burials were included in the quantitative analysis. The majority of the 68 Gabrici burials that he

[1163] Cerchiai 1995 p71-72; Cuozzo 2007 p250; D'Agostino 1999 p81; De Juliis 1996 p107-108.
[1164] Donnellan 2016 p150.
[1165] Gabrici 1913 col. 213-214.

called “Archaic” contained Greek pots. Judging by his comments, many of these were locally made, and some were indicated as imports, such as from Crete or Athens.[1166] It is unsurprising then that these tombs show a link to Greece or Greek culture as the settlement is believed to have become a Greek colony at this point. There is roughly the same quantity of amber as that found in the Prehellenic graves he published (7 objects in 4 tombs), but glass objects are much fewer in the Greek tombs (8 objects in 6 tombs). Yet it is striking that there is a major rise in the number of metals deposited, mainly due to the high quantity of silver, which is present in more than half of the burials (172 objects in 37 tombs). There are a number of burials that feature metal vessels, which demonstrates that the use of a funerary container to collect the cremated ashes of the deceased was a widespread practice at Cumae.[1167] Gold is seen for the first time with three objects in three tombs. However, bronze and iron are represented in smaller numbers (36 objects in 14 tombs and 4 objects in 3 tombs, respectively) than in the Prehellenic burials. This decrease in bronze and iron and the rise in silver may be due to Stevens prioritising the richer burials, a selection strategy that may have influenced Gabrici’s decision on what to publish. Alternatively, the increase in silver may reflect a change in the network. With the community becoming a Greek-speaking settlement, it may be that the ties with the metal-rich Northern Italy were reduced. Gold and silver sources are not known in most of Italy. However, it may be that some silver sources were accessible in Etruria at this time, as Markoe proposed (§2.3; §6.2.5; Appendix II). I believe it is more likely that the silver shows a greater connection with the Eastern Mediterranean. With the arrival of Greek speakers and a gradual change in the culture of the settlement, more connections were opened with the Eastern Mediterranean, which allowed Orientalising objects to arrive. Amongst these objects were the silver vessels, which, coupled with the greater quantity of silver in the Gabrici burials, attest to the ability of the Greeks to act as weak ties and bridge different cliques of strong ties across the Mediterranean network.

The Egyptianising material published by De Caro is further testimony of the connections with the eastern Mediterranean. The scarabs and other Orientalising objects probably arrived at Cumae via Pithekoussai, which acted as an intermediary node even after Greek settlers joined Prehellenic Cuma. With the ‘princely’ funerary culture spreading from Cumae around Campania and becoming a globalising cultural trait, intra- and inter-regional ties within Italy are also recognisable. Despite these local

[1166] Gabrici 1913 col. 213-448.
[1167] See Gabrici 1913 col. 213-272 on Sep II, XVI, XLII, LVI, LIX, LXIII, LII, LXII.

connections, objects from Italian sites are unfortunately lacking in the tombs analysed here and in the other Gabrici burials. Instead, the imports are heavily weighted towards mainland Greece, particularly Corinth, aside from the solitary Phoenician vessel. This situation continues into the 6th century BC where the imports from the tombs and from the fortifications point to strong ties with Greece. However, it is highly likely that this does not reflect an accurate pattern of consumption across the 7th-6th centuries BC. A local handmade pot (*impasto*) from the Prehellenic repertoire is mentioned by Gabrici in t.XXXVII, which is not included here.[1168] This vessel can be combined with the single locally produced *impasto* sherd in t.LI and the local and Greek ceramics found in the newly discovered domestic context, strengthening the evidence for cohabitation between the two communities.

6.2.8 Greek Cumae 720-550 BC Network

The graphs in this section display the network of connections and imported materials for the two Greek phases of occupation at the site. Figure 6.17 shows the period when Prehellenic Cuma became Cumae, a Greek colony, during the 8th-7th centuries BC. Most of the grave goods (83.4%) are linked to local production with 16.6% connected to external ties. Because the settlement is now believed to be Greek in status, its local material culture has changed from indigenous to Greek. Greek material is now produced at Cumae and represents a strong tie. However, any objects produced in Greece itself or in Pithekoussai still represent imports. The first graph shows a link with Greece/Pithekoussai, which at 12% of the grave goods is still under the 40% required for a strong tie status but it represents a much more frequent tie than that seen in Prehellenic phase IB. The other imports indicate weak ties with Etruria and North Syria (at 3% each), along with ties to Cyprus/Etruria and the Balkans (at 0.75% each). During this period, Cumae thus functioned as a weak tie with the hinterland, including Pontecagnano and the Sarno Valley. The lack of imports from these sites at Cumae suggests this connection was *directed* in network terms, flowing from Cumae out to the hinterland. With the new Greek presence in the community, Cumae no longer formed a clique with the *Fossakultur,* but through the changes to its social fabric, it became one of the most important *nodes* in the area and broke the tightly connected network characterising the Iron Age. This picture changes in Cumae phase II, although it has an extremely small tomb sample. The graph in fig. 6.19 shows the connections

[1168] Gabrici 1913 col. 246-247.

Cumae held during the 7th-6th centuries, which are mainly to Greece (Attica at 20% and Corinth at 40%) or to nearby Pithekoussai. External ties make up most of the grave goods, and these are largely strong ties. However, a single handmade pot retains a link to the Prehellenic phases (at 10%) and supports the theory of Greeks and indigenes living together at the settlement. Nevertheless, the main ties are now with the Eastern Mediterranean, which is a complete change from the earlier Iron Age phases.

Figures 6.18 and 6.20 show the differences between the local material used across these two periods. There is a considerable presence of silver and electrum in phase I that were most likely sourced from somewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean. These metals were also used together to make composite objects, such as brooches or *fibulae*, although it remains unclear whether these items were produced locally or imported. Bronze is still found, albeit in a much smaller quantity. Its presence suggests that the links with the metal trade of Northern Italy were not disrupted by the change from Prehellenic Cuma to Greek Cumae. While there are not enough grave goods in phase II to allow us to interpret the graph in fig. 6.19, the Gabrici material that was left out can help to illustrate how these two networks would appear if the other Greek tombs were included. Firstly, amber, which is absent in our two graphs here, would be present as a node. This would also indicate that the connection with the amber trade routes running from Northern to Southern Italy continued after the settlement became Greek Cumae. Secondly, the network would include iron and gold that are also absent here, but the intensity of the tie with silver would also be increased as many of the other Gabrici tombs included this precious metal. Although the network would still show its main ties lay with the Eastern Mediterranean, there is evidence that the local network ties with the metal and amber trade were not disrupted after the Greeks arrived, but that as a weak tie, the Greek nodes bridged the cliques held by local Italic groups.

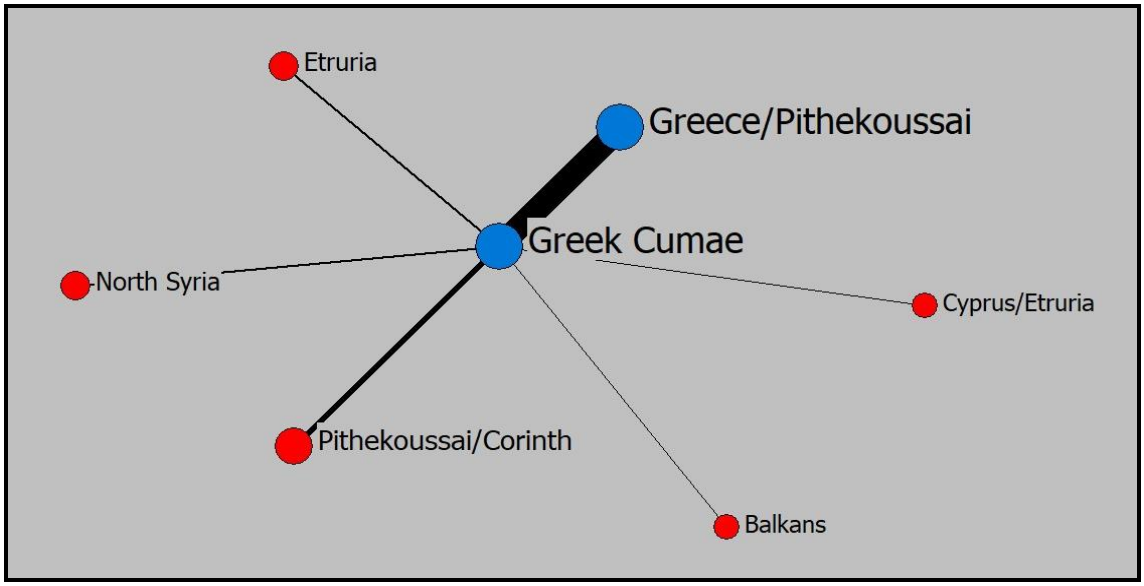

Fig. 6. 17. Greek Cumae phase I network graph showing the external ties based on objects (using UCINET)

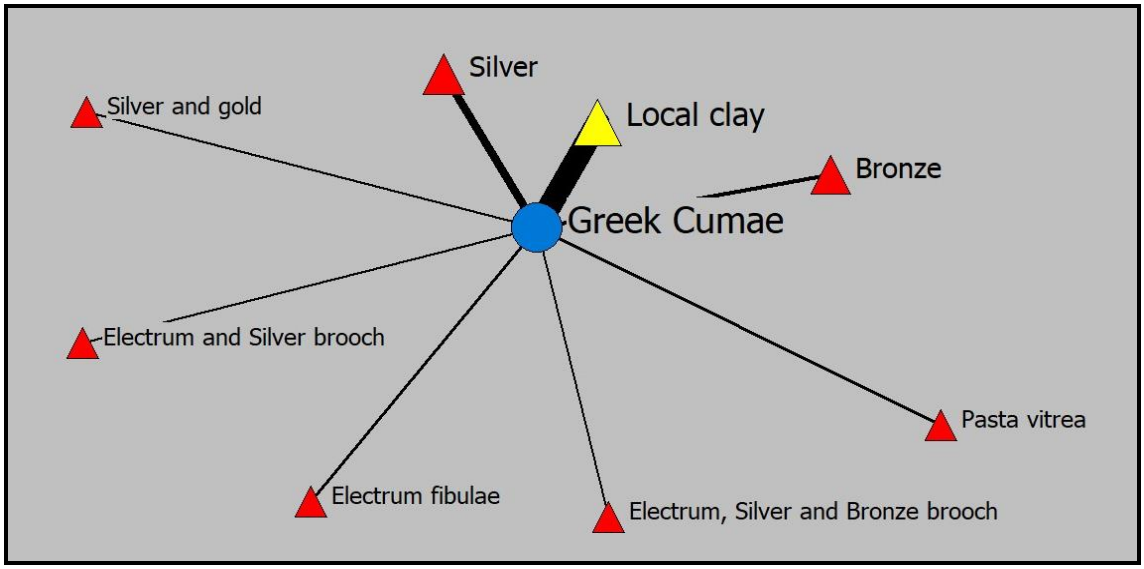

Fig. 6. 18. Greek Cumae phase I showing ties based on imported materials (using UCINET)

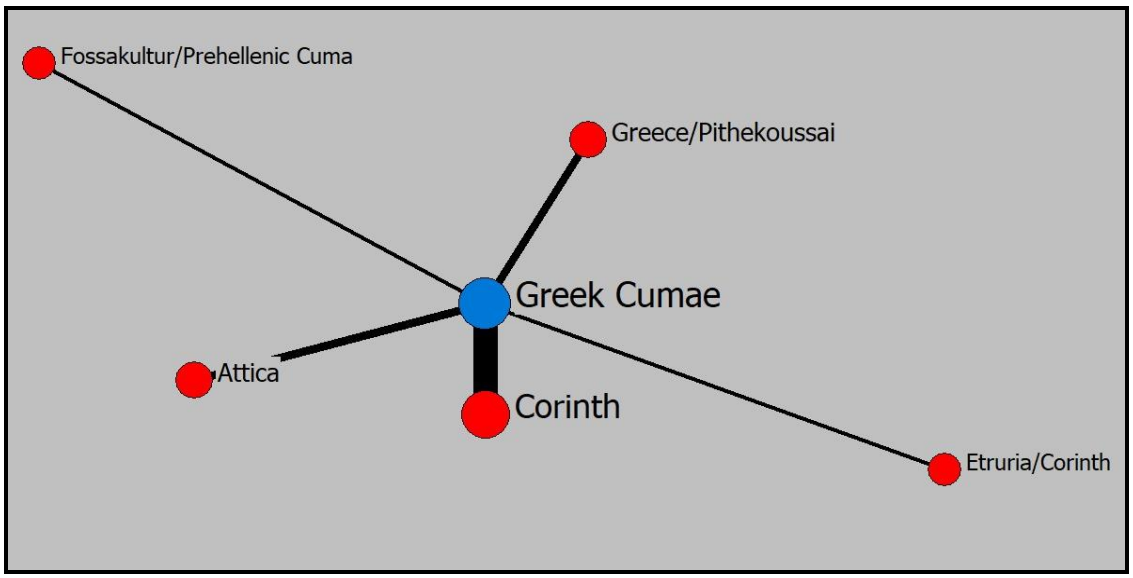

Fig. 6.19. Greek Cumae phase II network graph showing the external ties based on objects (using UCINET)

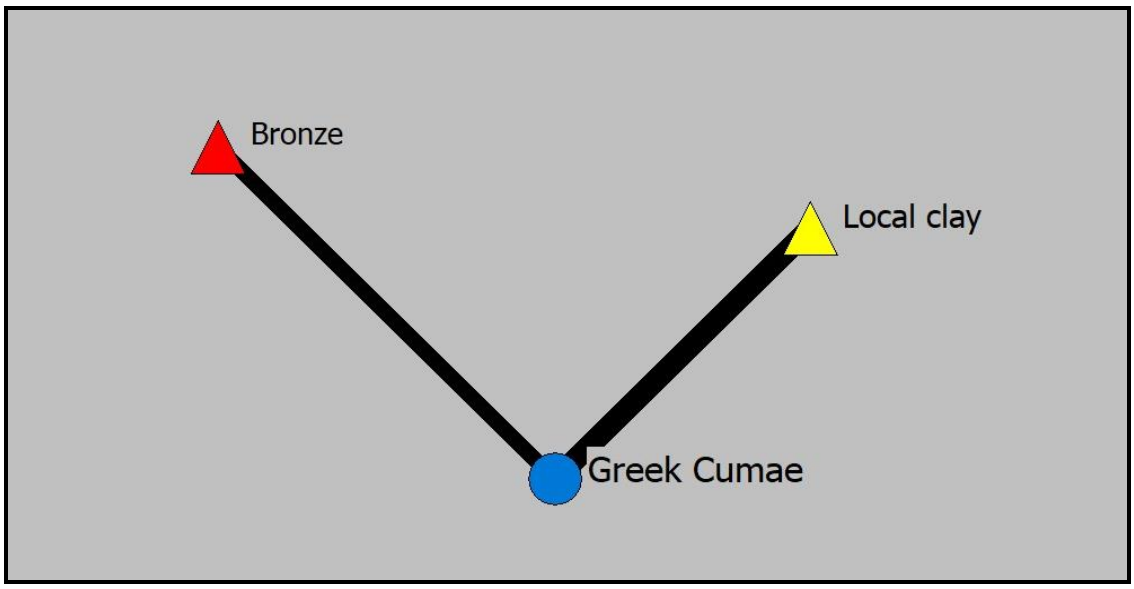

Fig. 6.20. Greek Cumae phase II imported materials network graph showing ties based on imported materials (using UCINET)

6.3 Prehellenic and Greek Cumae Conclusions

The nature of the available data means that only general rather than precise conclusions can be drawn on ancient Cumae. As seen, this situation has been created by the excavation methods of the 19th century and the subsequent storage problems at the museum of Naples (Appendix VI.1). Consequently, the widely shared notion that Prehellenic Cuma was the most advanced indigenous site based on its location, size, and openness cannot be confirmed. Unpublished data may support this to a degree, but this advanced status theory ultimately relies on a retrojection of the later reputation of colonial Cumae onto its Iron Age past. The defensive system controlling the

Tyrrhenian should similarly be discounted for lack of evidence and because a retrojection of Livy's description of the strength of colonial Cumae's navy lies behind the idea. An over-reliance on literary sources also accounts for the use of Phlegon's controversial oracle to support the idea that Prehellenic Cuma was violently destroyed (Appendix VI.2). Little archaeological evidence supported this theory even before recent finds challenged such an interpretation. These recent finds, of which the domestic context and its ceramics are exemplary, strongly suggest cohabitation between Greeks and indigenes. That the indigenous settlement continued to exist even with its Greek component seriously challenges the 'colonial' status of Cumae at this early stage. If the Greeks joined an indigenous majority, then we cannot assume that it simply became a colony overnight. While Cumae probably became a Greek settlement with all its accoutrements further down the line (as its coinage, temples, and fortifications suggest), during the 8th century, it was possibly a mixed settlement similar to Pithekoussai. However, the picture is not made any clearer by the recent evidence published by D'Acunto of a metal workshop in the northern area of the city. [1169] This workshop dates to LGII (720-690 BC), and it operated under some form of industrial partnership with the Mazzola metal workshops at Pithekoussai. This may suggest that the settlement became a *bona fide* Greek colony or alternatively that the indigenous inhabitants played some role in the metal working industry. Gleba's research work on the textile finds at Cumae also poses interesting questions. She highlights the similarity of the textiles used to wrap the deceased's ashes in the cremation burials with metal vessels to the fabrics found at Euboia.[1170] These cremation burials continued to be performed in a largely unchanged rite down into the Archaic period. Gleba argues that Cumaean élites therefore held a preference for the traditional funerary practices of their homeland. [1171] Combining this with other recently published data, while there is clear evidence of cohabitation at the site, it is possible that the élites chose to reorient their burial practices towards Greece as opposed to other inhabitants adopting more hybrid practices. The Prehellenic burials highlight that the settlement was mainly tied to the local *Fossakultur* until the foundation of Pithekoussai, and ties were formed with the Eastern Mediterranean. Similarly, the tombs from the Greek period only feature material connected to Greece. Nevertheless, a clear change to the network occurred. Imports show a reorientation towards the Eastern Mediterranean, while locally produced objects demonstrate that materials continued to be acquired from Northern

[1169] D'Acunto 2017 p301-302.
[1170] Gleba *et al.* 2017 p58-61.
[1171] Gleba *et al.* 2017 p61.

Italy. Whatever form the arrival of Greeks at Cumae took, it did lead to greater access to new ideas circulating the Mediterranean, including the globalising traits we find at Pontecagnano. However, the data emerging from the domestic context at Cumae illustrates how a substantial indigenous group remained at Cumae deep into its Greek period. This observation highlights the notion that far from being a Greek-dominated context, this was a story to which the indigenes had much to contribute.

7. Conclusions

7.1 Ties that Bind. The Regional Network

This study has sought to examine and uncover the network ties held by a sample of sites in Iron Age to Orientalising Campania. Before summarising the results of this research, it is necessary to combine the network graphs from each individual site into a regional network graph to understand the nature of connectivity in Campania. The same method used in the preceding chapters was also applied to produce the graphs here. The data from all of the sites has been combined and using UCINET the graphs allow a macro view of the region alongside the micro view presented in chapters 3-6. The nodes on the graphs that follow have been given different colours to distinguish between the groups studied here: Pontecagnano is purple, the Oliveto-Cairano culture green, the Sarno Valley sites red, and the Greek Cumae is in blue. The other nodes in Italy are in yellow and the wider Mediterranean nodes are in blue. The size of each node and the ties connecting them corresponds to the quantity of material culture that creates the link between them.

Beginning with the graph in figure 7.1, which depicts the regional network from 900 to 500 BC, we can see that Pontecagnano held a key role in the network, with strong ties connecting the settlement with Lazio/*Fossakultur* and Etruria. Most of its material culture forms a clique with these areas of Italy. However, a wide range of weak ties are visible including the southern Tyrrhenian coast (e.g., Torre Galli in Calabria), Sicily and other regions in the hinterland (Apulia, Basilicata, and the Faliscan sphere) as well as with Cumae and Pithekoussai. Pontecagnano also acted as a weak tie for Bisaccia, Oliveto-Citra, and Prehellenic Cuma. The Sarno Valley settlements and those of the Oliveto-Cairano culture form their own cliques but are not isolated and have weak ties with the eastern coast of Italy (Daunia), the hinterland (Enotria, Lucania) and in the case of the Sarno Valley with Prehellenic Cuma and the Greek settlements on the Tyrrhenian coast. While Prehellenic Cuma has ties with local nodes, with Pithekoussai and as far afield as Torre Galli (as they are both part of the *Fossakultur*), once the settlement becomes Greek Cumae it demonstrates ties with the wider Mediterranean.

Network software, such as UCINET, offers a tool that gives us a further means to assess the importance of particular sites, namely the extraction tool. This tool allows individual nodes to be extracted or removed from the network as a way to understand the impact on the wider group of nodes when a single node is taken away. In general,

the reasons for doing this are to identify the key actors in a network, to examine the general properties of a network, such as its robustness, structural stability, and to ascertain the centrality of particular nodes. By extracting the prominent nodes, such as Pontecagnano and Cumae from the network we are able to imagine what kind of connections would be possible if these nodes were no longer part of the network. Therefore, extraction also allows us to see how fragile or robust the network would be without such key nodes. The importance of Pontecagnano as a node is seen in figure 7.2, here the node is extracted from the network to examine how well the network stays

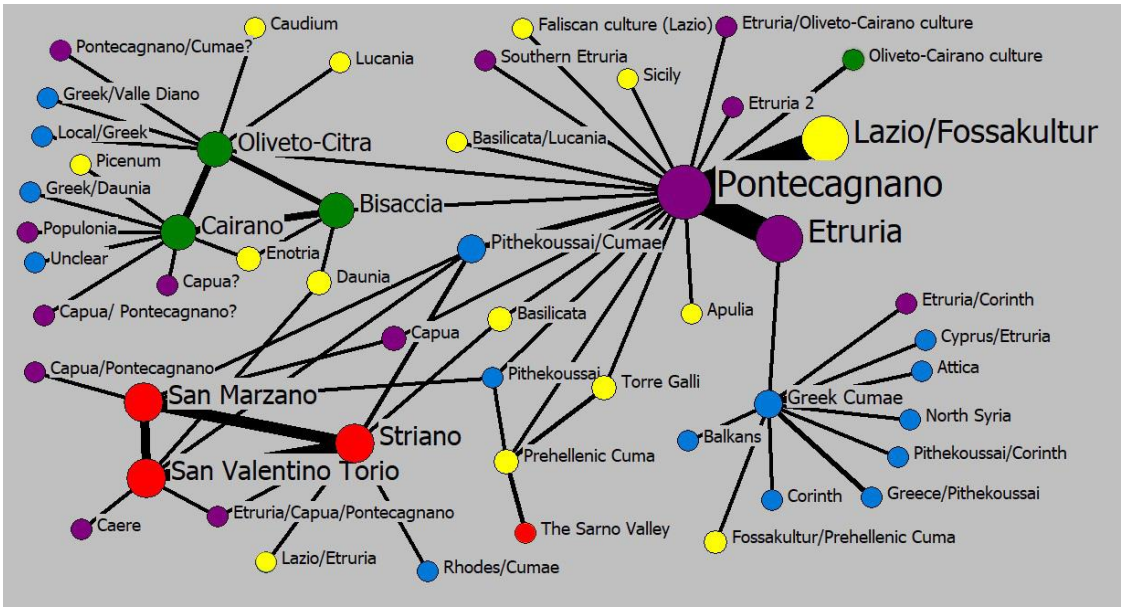

Fig. 7. 1. Campania regional network (900-500 BC) (using UCINET)

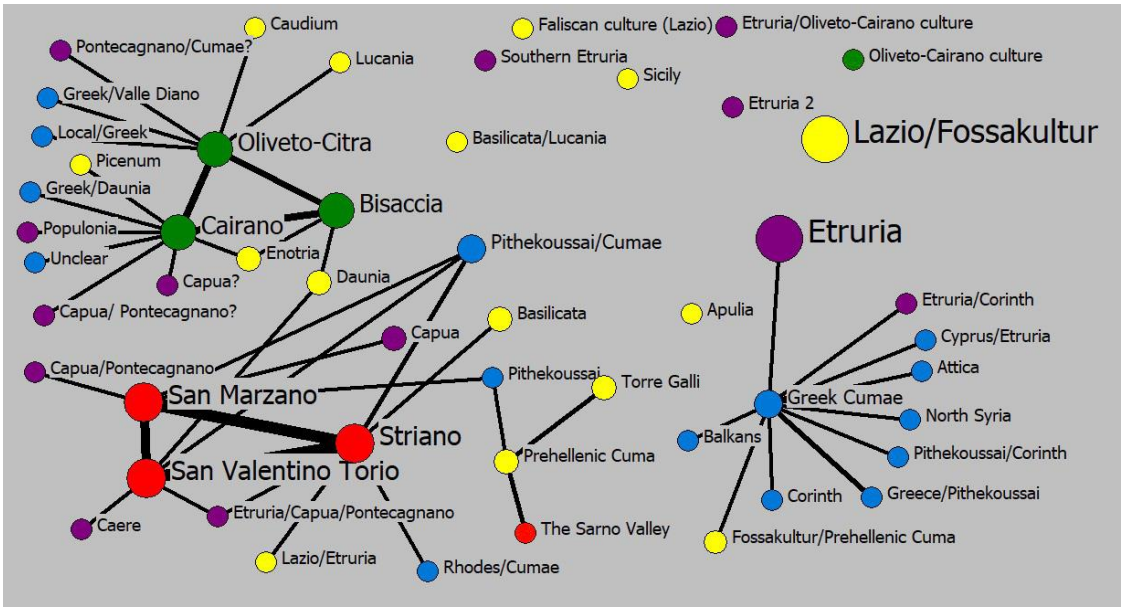

Fig. 7. 2. Campania regional network (900-500 BC) with Pontecagnano removed (using UCINET)

together. Removing Pontecagnano leaves some isolates, or nodes that are no longer connected, such as Sicily, which is no longer a part of the network. Furthermore, Greek Cumae is now left on its own and only its ties with Etruria serve to connect it to Italy.

The Sarno Valley and Oliveto-Cairano nodes are still connected to each other through Daunia, which becomes a key weak tie bridging the two cliques. The graph in figure 7.3 repeats this extraction but this time with Greek Cumae removed. The graph again highlights a series of isolates, but this time these are nodes from mainland Greece and the eastern Mediterranean. The network is thus held together by Pontecagnano, which links the cliques in the hinterland with the Tyrrhenian. A caveat here is that the nodes of Pithekoussai and Pithekoussai/Cumae remain, and these also allow a connection

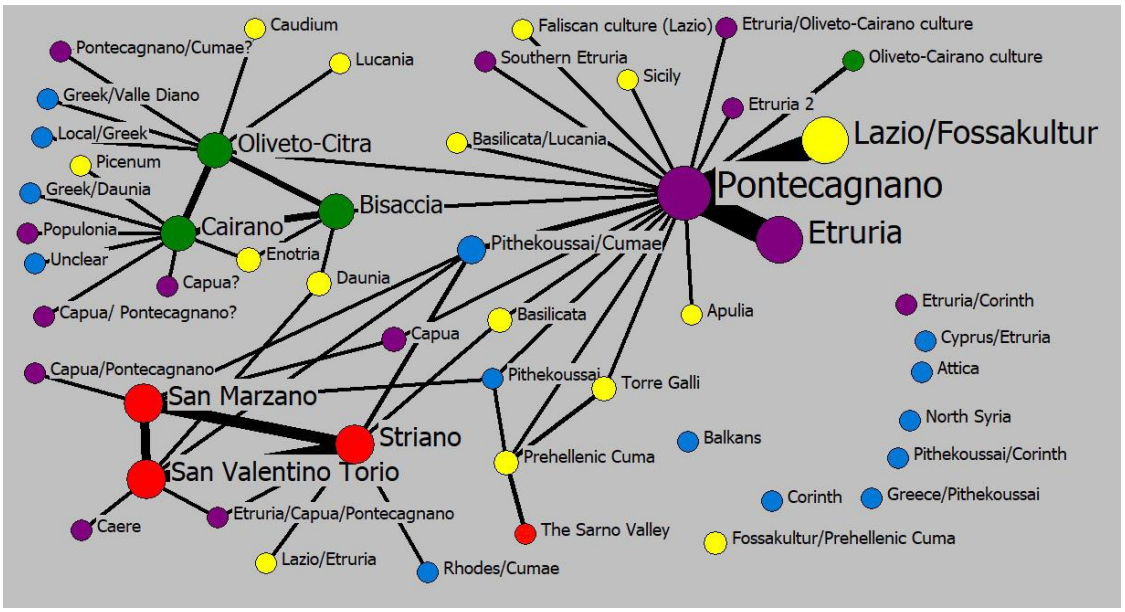

Fig. 7. 3 Campania regional network (900-500 BC) with Cumae removed (using UCINET)

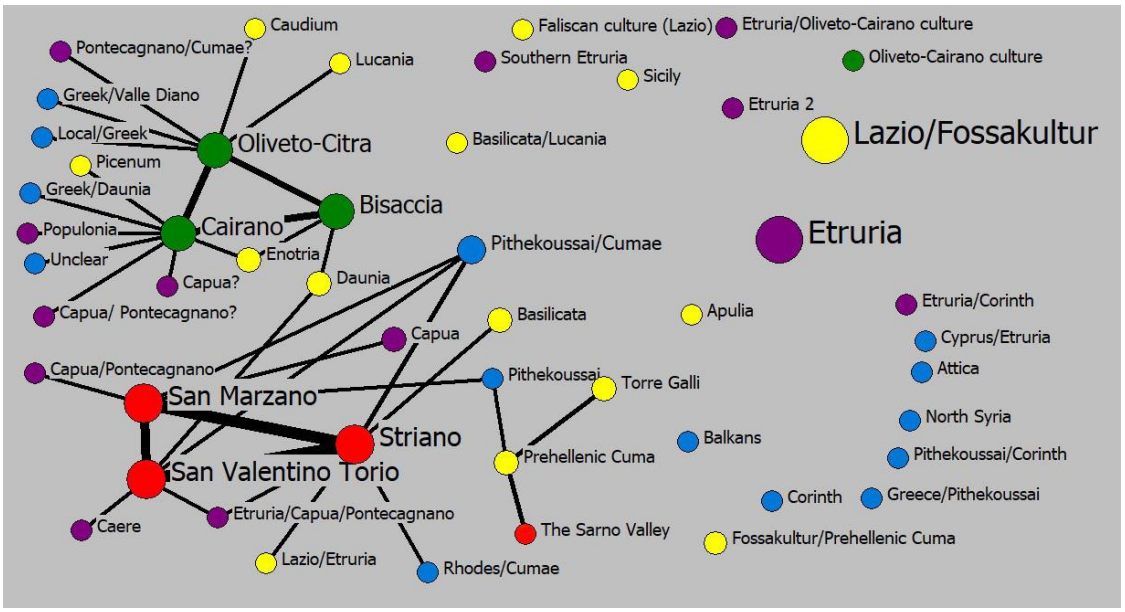

Fig. 7. 4. Campania regional network (900-500 BC) with Cumae and Pontecagnano removed (using UCINET)

with the Greek world. Taking the extraction of nodes further, figure 7.4 removes both Pontecagnano and Cumae to emphasise the isolates in figures 7.2 and 7.3. The graph thus demonstrates how the rest of the network is composed of two cliques, formed by

the Sarno Valley and the Oliveto-Cairano culture, with a series of weak ties. Figure 7.5 shows the network with Pontecagnano, Cumae, Pithekoussai, and Capua all extracted. Although the network remains largely connected it is a much smaller localised cluster with no long-distance outside Italy. In this graph we can see the importance of Daunia as a weak tie as it links the Sarno Valley and Oliveto-Cairano culture together through the imports at both Bisaccia and San Valentino Torio. This connection is an echo of the wool trade that moved from Daunia on the Adriatic to the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy as Bailo Modesti argued. However, a large number of ties in figure 7.5 remain disconnected isolates, which further illustrates the importance of the extracted nodes.

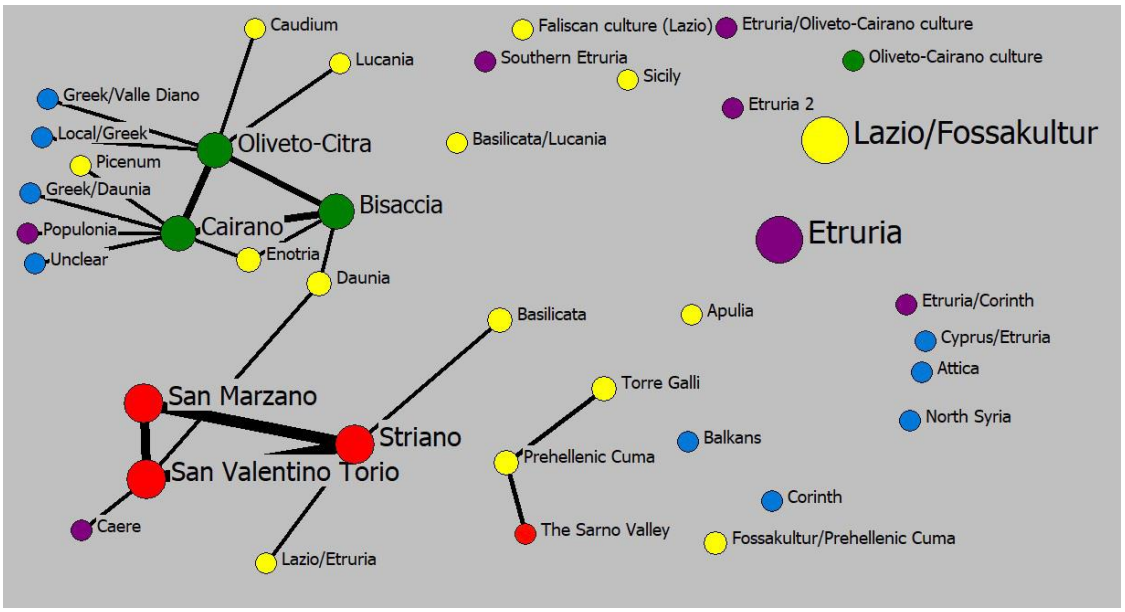

Fig. 7. 5. Campania regional network (900-500 BC) with Cumae, Pithekoussai, Capua and Pontecagnano removed (using UCINET)

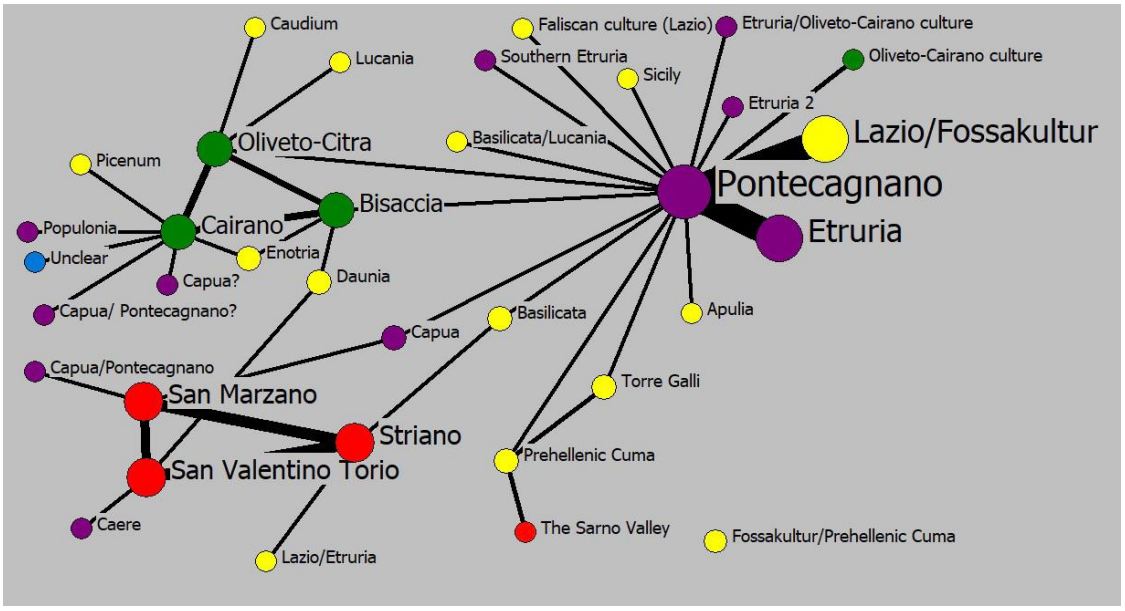

Fig. 7. 6. Campania regional network (900-500 BC) with all non-Italian ties removed (using UCINET)

Figure 7.6 shows a further graph with all the non-Italian ties extracted. The network now shows a dense group of local ties with Pontecagnano the key node. No connections with the wider Mediterranean are found (aside from a link with Sicily). The graph in figure 7.6 indicates how the Greek settlements of Pithekoussai and Cumae bridged the local cliques of strong ties in Campania. By acting as weak ties they connected Campania with the eastern Mediterranean and this in turn brought new ideas, technologies, and objects into the region and further developed the global culture, which had Orientalising material as its central element. Furthermore, figure 7.6 highlights how a regional network was in place prior to the Greek arrival, and this too

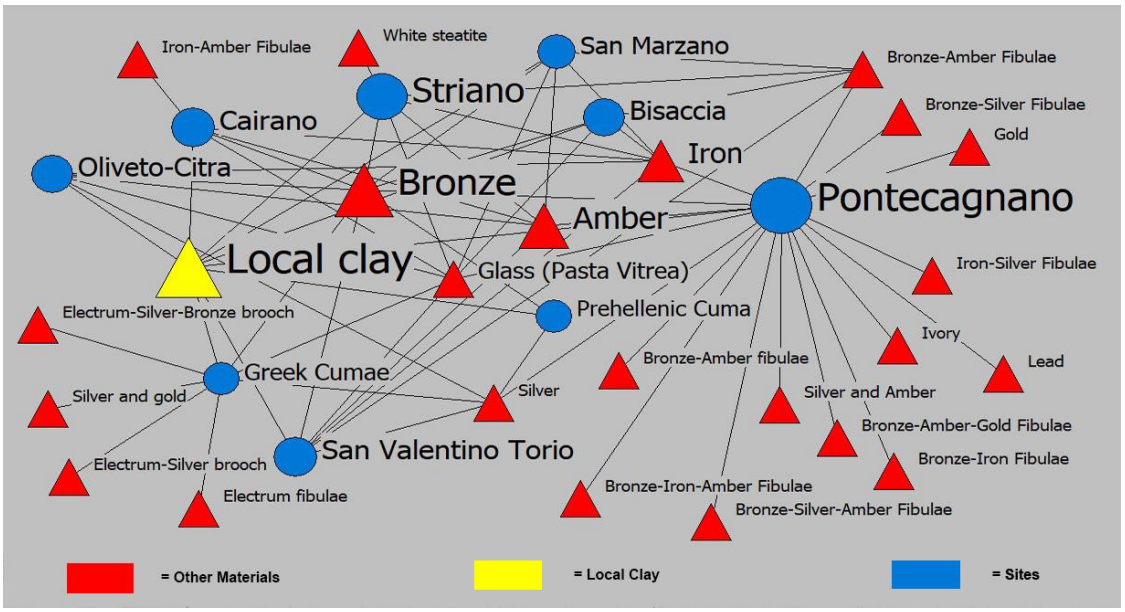

Fig. 7. 7. Campania materials network (900-500 BC) (using UCINET)

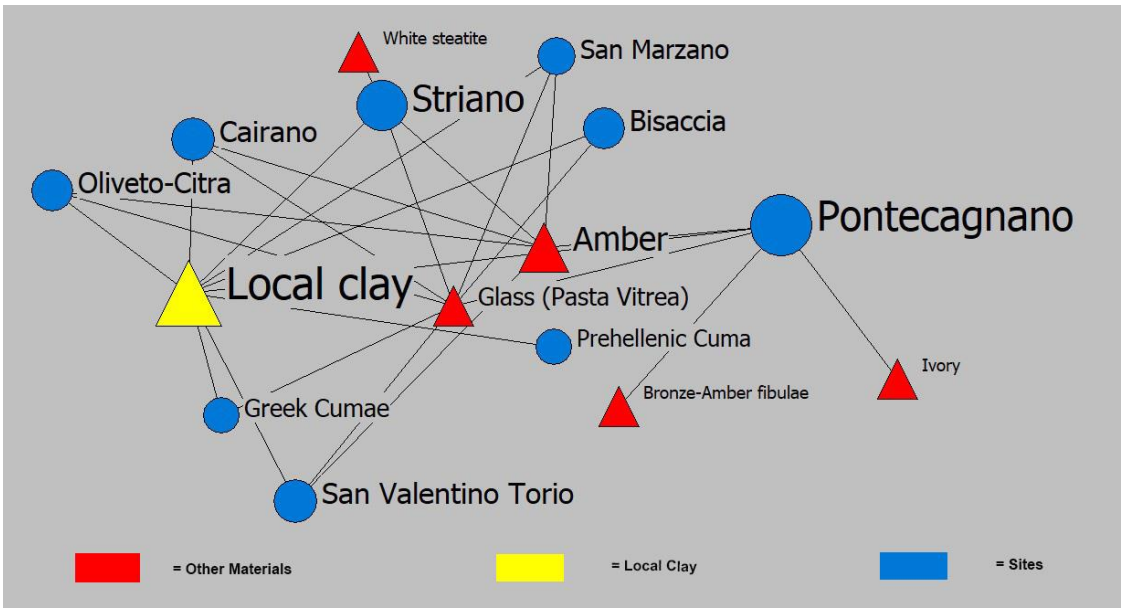

Fig. 7. 8. Campania materials network (900-500 BC) with metals removed (using UCINET)

allowed the communities in Campania access to many trading opportunities including raw materials. The importance of imported materials can be seen in figure 7.7 and 7.8.

In the first of these two graphs the prominence of local clay can be seen for each site, but also the large quantities of bronze, amber, iron, and glass that were all acquired from outside the region. Pontecagnano features prominently, but interestingly, so does Striano. Although this relates partly to the size of the sample available at these two sites, the access that all the indigenous sites had to raw materials seriously challenges D'Agostino's idea that they were backward farming communities (§1.4.2). To further emphasise the importance of Pontecagnano, the graph in figure 7.8 shows all of the metals extracted, which demonstrates how Pontecagnano had access to a wide variety of metals that the other sites did not.

7.2 Summary of Research Results and Concluding Remarks

This thesis has sought to address several problems with current scholarship on ancient Campania and to offer a new approach to how the region is currently understood. Taking my lead from recent approaches to interaction in the Mediterranean, I have re-contextualised the interactions of the various cultures in Campania by drawing on network approaches that have recently been used to examine Mediterranean space and introduced the concept of globalisation for the first time (§1.2.1 and 1.2.2). Acknowledgement of these recent theories has been combined with a network approach that is built on the theory that weak ties are strong and can provide us with unique opportunities our other connections do not have access to. Network approaches help us to move away from the linear progression of World-Systems Theory and Core-Periphery models to interaction (see §1.2.1 and 1.3.1). Networks allow us to see greater dynamism in interactions and how they are rarely top-down, one-sided discourses. Combining these approaches has allowed a better understanding of how objects, people, and ideas were mobile. Moreover, the movements of people and things created dense networks that compressed Mediterranean space. A series of shared practices and many kinds of material formed a global culture that involved many different cultural groups. This global culture was susceptible to change. It could be adapted and exhibit local variations, but at its heart were elements from Homeric funerary practices and Near Eastern, Greek, and local feasting practices.

This thesis has seen the first investigation of feasting practices in Iron Age Campania and this has offered an alternative to current studies, which are driven by Hellenisation. I have therefore given more agency to local indigenous groups in what has traditionally been seen as a Greek dominated narrative (§1.4.1 and 1.4.2). I have questioned the narrative and tried to move away from the current teleological

approaches to state formation that bear the influence of neo-evolutionary schemes or hierarchies. The network approach used here has also allowed me to question the idea that Prehellenic Cuma was the most advanced site in the region, prior to the Greek arrival. There are only 42 tombs that date to this period, which have been published in a very problematic volume, and these cannot on their own bear testimony to the dominance of the indigenous site. I have also challenged the notion that the Greeks brought banqueting and funerary practices that were readily taken up wholesale by the local groups in Campania. In this thesis I have instead shown that there is ample evidence for local agency in choosing what to adopt, when to adopt it, and for what reason. The networks based on the grave goods of these communities shows some of the key nodes in the region, such as Pontecagnano, Striano, and San Valentino Torio. While recognising the importance of Pontecagnano is nothing new, the Sarno Valley sites can no longer be seen as backward as has previously been argued (§1.4.2). What is different here in this thesis is that by viewing sites through their network ties we recognise their development independent of an overarching narrative that leads to state formation. Network approaches instead allow us to see that sites develop, not due to some inherent quality they possess, but due to the access to new ideas and opportunities that network ties gave them. This thesis has also demonstrated the network ties the settlements in Campania held through a focus on the materials used to produce their grave goods. Such focus shows how a rich network of contacts and trade was in place prior to the Greek arrival, and that many of the so-called backward and conservative cultures were not so closed and backward but were involved in a web of contacts that traversed the length of the Italian peninsula.

Furthermore, other sites, such as Montevetrano, show how the so-called ‘princely’ tomb culture arrived in Italy some time before the more well-known burials at Cumae and Pontecagnano (Appendix III.2). While the earliest ‘princely’ tomb at Cumae is contemporary to the appearance of cauldron burials in Eretria, it is possible that this funerary rite was formed in the western Mediterranean. The ‘princely’-tomb culture may have its roots in Euboia, but it was adapted by local groups in Campania and turned into something new. I suggest that this burial type emerged through cultural exchanges, feasts and commensal events held in Campania. It was at such gatherings that individuals would get together, eat, drink, and share stories. The performance of Homeric epics at these feasts creates a clear link with the Patroclus-inspired ‘princely’ burials in Campania from 725 BC. The prominence of ‘princely’ style burials at Montevetrano, Pontecagnano, Bisaccia, Oliveto-Citra and other sites in southern Italy

highlights how it spread across a wide geographic area. As this burial form was adapted by Italic communities it was thus a malleable rite and open to reinterpretation.

Similarly, the finds at Poggiomarino suggest that it was potentially a key node in this region throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages and a source of metals and amber products. These two sites have not been included here as they are yet to be fully published. Yet the brief reports of the grave goods at Montevetrano and material in the domestic contexts at Poggiomarino show that they have the potential to alter the networks presented here because they have ties with the Western and Central Mediterranean. The study of other sites in the region through this network perspective has also challenged other widely held ideas on their status. For example, while Pontecagnano is a key node in the network, there is little evidence to suggest it was 'proto-urban' in status. This theory owes much to the idea that the position of the cemeteries outside the city walls was planned in advance. However, the settlements in Campania are yet to be located, and the example that Etruscan sites in Etruria had similar positions for their cemeteries does not provide sufficient evidence to argue that the Villanovan/Etruscan sites in Campania had an urban development that was planned from the start. Similarly, the evidence emerging from the new excavations of ancient Cumae do not support the idea of a violent conquest of the Prehellenic site and replacement with a Greek colony (§6.1.5). Although the Gabrici tombs were not included in this study, they show that Prehellenic Cuma was involved in the same network as the other indigenous sites and had access to metals, amber, and glass (see §6.2.3). Both the Oliveto-Cairano culture and the Sarno Valley sites have been called backward by scholarship. Yet this thesis has shown that they played important roles in the regional network. This network involved a number of important agents, such as artisans, but arguably the most important actors were women. The rich female burials of the indigenous sites in Campania strongly suggest that indigenous women were involved in the textile industry and the wool trade. This is particularly the case with the Oliveto-Cairano culture and the Sarno Valley sites and their connections with nearby Daunia. Furthermore, elements of global culture are found at sites within both cultural groups alongside imports from other areas of Italy.

Central to how this thesis has offered a new perspective on ancient Campania is the use of the concept of weak ties. Weak ties allow new contacts and new opportunities by 'bridging' two or three different cliques; this phenomenon is encapsulated in Granovetter's seminal phrase "the strength of weak ties." The ability to "bridge" two sets of closed triads facilitates the flow of information and demonstrates

the importance of weak ties to network mutations and development. From this understanding springs the idea that weak ties are in fact strong (§1.3.3). The importance of weak ties in the regional network has allowed us to move away from other network approaches that see the Mediterranean through the lens of a single culture, such as Malkin's Greek-oriented small-world Mediterranean. This focus on weak ties thus allows us more agency for the role local groups played in their own history.

Overall, I believe that the weak ties approach applied here has offered a new way to look at the region and provides an alternative to the narrative sustained by current scholarship. However, due to the nature of the dataset, it has been most fruitful in its application to Pontecagnano. The network contacts at this site prior to the Greek arrival show us how connections with the metal and amber trade in Italy was a key factor in it being a regional hub. The arrival of the Greeks and others at Pithekoussai and Cumae brought new ideas and new opportunities. With a rise in imported Greek ceramics in the cemeteries a period of emulation of élite burial practices ensued. I argue here that this led important members of the community to change and adapt their burial practices in response to the wider availability of Greek material culture. They did this by adopting Homeric style funerary practices that had a global feel. I believe that while this global culture is seen elsewhere in the Mediterranean, at Pontecagnano it emerged due to emulation akin to what Cannon observed in his classic study (§2.4). I believe there is also evidence for *glocalisation* at Pontecagnano and in Hirpinia. Rather than the indigenous Hirpinian enclave at Pontecagnano, and Hirpinia as a whole, reacting to Greek culture and rejecting it via what Cuozzo calls "silent resistance", I believe this reaction is better viewed through the concept of *glocalisation*, where the global and the local have clashed and caused a more traditional response in the Hirpinian communities.

7.3 Future Directions

Several issues arose from researching this thesis, which thus allow me to recommend some directions for future scholarship to focus on. Firstly, there is a lack of published data from all the cemeteries in Campania, with the exception of Pontecagnano. The state of publication has meant that many settlements or cemeteries mentioned in the literature have been excluded from my analysis, a study which has required a quantitative approach. Similarly, little of what has been reported as excavated material is on display in museums. These two factors have potentially

brought a bias into my study, and I therefore recommend that further publication of all the cemeteries of the region, and at least further publication of the settlements discussed in this thesis should be a priority for any future work on Campania. Alongside the settlements studied here, the cemeteries of Calatia, Nola, Sala Consilina, Vico Ecquense, Gricignano d'Aversa, and Montevetrano require full publication to produce a more comprehensive network picture of Iron Age to Orientalising Campania. Also requiring further reassessment are the early phases at Prehellenic Cuma and Greek Cumae. As discussed earlier and is also explained in more depth in Appendix VI.1, Gabrici's volume lacks precise dates for the burials. There is uncertainty on whether the grave goods he listed belong to the right graves, and his preference for richer tombs means that it is not fully representative of the cemetery. These issues have excluded Gabrici's publication from the quantitative analysis here. However, such an important site deserves a more prominent place in the study of the region. While a key avenue for future research is to publish more tombs overall, there is also a need for a complete reorganisation of the burials at Cumae that were excavated in the 19th century and an updated publication with accurate and reliable dating and typologies.

Secondly, there is a clear need to undertake more archaeometric analysis of the grave goods in the region. The provenances of many objects currently depend on stylistic analysis that does not always give a clear indication of where an object was produced or where its materials were sourced from. This thesis has shown that a network of imported raw materials existed in Iron Age Campania and greater consideration of these long-distance connections is clearly needed. While some archaeometric analysis has taken place on finds from Poggiomarino (metals and amber) and the Sarno Valley (glass), more is needed to further expand our knowledge of the regional network both before and after the Greek arrival. Central to this are the finds from Poggiomarino that require full publication and have the potential to completely change how the region is currently understood.

The finds from Poggiomarino lead us confront a research problem with network approaches in archaeology. Poggiomarino has only been partially published and was not included in the quantitative analysis here. The reason for this is also partly connected to the kinds of data that network analysis is suited for. As Donnellan has stated with regards tombs, these are "closed contexts" and therefore provide us with a way to quantify the material in use at a particular site. Quantitative analysis is central to the way network studies currently operate. For example, the only way that weak ties could be analysed in this thesis was through a quantitative approach to the grave goods.

The problem with the non-funerary evidence from sites, such as Poggiomarino, is that they are not published and so cannot be quantified. However, if they were to be included in this study, the method would need to change as this would require qualitative nodes to be added to the network that could not accurately be measured for their tie strength. Until such contexts are published, they cannot be included in a quantitative analysis. These are general issues in how qualitative material may be incorporated with the quantitative in network analysis. Therefore, a further area for future research is for archaeologists to consider how the two might be best combined. This could mean that specialist network software is developed for archaeologists to allow such studies. Unfortunately, the current state of what is a developing sub-discipline of archaeology precludes the combination of these two types of data here. Nevertheless, there is a need for future studies to strengthen the statistical bases for the thresholds used to identify strong and weak ties in this thesis. Future applications of network analysis of this kind should also seek to adjust these statistical bases in order to treat compromised datasets.

Similarly, greater consideration of feasting practices in Campania prior to the Greek arrival will enable a more balanced understanding of how these weak ties influenced contemporary banqueting practices. Reassessment of the way the local indigenous communities in Campania are examined should be a priority for future studies of Campania, especially in light of the new discoveries at Montevetrano and Poggiomarino, which point to more complexity than is currently recognised. This new focus on feasting should also include greater analysis of any archaeobotanical finds that may highlight whether grave goods contained foodstuffs. Such scientific investigations will also enable a greater understanding of the kinds of ceremonies that took place at the graveside in Campania. Finally, alongside this thesis, I would like to see further research using a network-based approach, as I feel this approach offers much potential as a heuristic tool.

Appendix I. Feasting and EIA Campania

I. Contexts of Exchange. The Importance of Feasts, Poets, Artisans, and Princes

The types of contexts and social actors involved in the transmission of the global culture discussed in §1.2.2 need consideration. Feasts are extremely important contexts where new goods are often exchanged as gifts. Such occasions are inherently political, involve the communal consumption of food and drink, and a series of dramaturgical events (singing and dancing, dramaturgical displays, theatre) serve to underline their ritual nature.[1172] Dietler proposes three heuristic divisions of the feast: empowering/entrepreneurial, patron-role, and diacritical feasts. While empowering/entrepreneurial feasts could be held by diverse hosts to acquire prestige and social status, patron-role feasts are organised by a single host to subvert, reinforce, assert and legitimise power hierarchies.[1173] Diacritical feasts are comprised of 'commensal politics', where the introduction of differentiated cuisine (often foreign) acts as diacritical symbols to distinguish between social classes. Such foods and accompanying material culture were closely guarded by élite groups, who had exclusive access to *exotica*. This exclusive access makes diacritical feasts the *loci* for both the manipulation of élite power and also its emulation by groups aspiring to similar status.[1174] Acts of emulation could only be restricted by sumptuary laws on consumption or increased expense and use of *exotica* by the élite.[1175]

Feasts are frequently the nodal contexts that articulate regional exchange systems, where hospitality serves as the conduit for the exchange of gifts, bride wealth and other valuables. Hospitality is thus an important aspect of feasting that operates along the lines of reciprocity, and when hospitality is not returned by a guest to a host, it leads to a relationship of social superiority and inferiority.[1176] Behind feasts lie a series of resources that require substantial investment of labour and time, and prominent amongst these are food and drink.[1177] Both food and drink are perishable goods that necessitate their consumption shortly after production, but both have symbolic power. For example, while the consumption of meat in feasting contexts is a

[1172] Dietler 2001 p65-69; Dietler/Hayden 2001 p3-4; Steel 2004 p283; Bray 2003; Hayden 2014 p8-12.
[1173] Dietler 1999 p142-144, 2001 p76-85.
[1174] Dietler 1999 p145, 2001 p85-88.
[1175] Dietler 2001 p86.
[1176] Maus 1966; Dietler 1990 p363, 1999 p142, 2001 p74.
[1177] Dietler 1990 p365-370, 2001 p80-81.

clear display of wealth and status,[1178] yet the consumption of alcohol has arguably the more privileged role in rituals due to its psychoactive properties.[1179] Alcohol has been produced for millennia across wide geographic areas, as a variety of natural products allow its production.[1180] Such wide availability, the labour and time requirements to produce it, and its psychoactive properties all serve to imbue it with a desirable quality. The practices surrounding the consumption of alcohol are inherently social; drinking itself facilitates the flow of social relations.[1181] Drinking also marks social categories, boundaries, and identity at both individual and group level.[1182] This distinction is especially pertinent when an exotic alcoholic beverage is introduced into a new context as it can acquire symbolic power in a diacritical or associative sense. When foreign drinking customs are adopted, the symbolism of alcohol is amplified due to the exclusive access to such beverages and how they are consumed.[1183] Changes to drinking patterns have a profound effect on social relations, and social changes in general will also be visible in changes to traditional drinking customs.[1184] Both alcohol and food played important roles in funerary feasts, an event which has much significance for this study. Food and drink are intricately linked, and Hamilakis notes that, while humans make themselves as social entities through food and drink, death itself unmakes humans: they are consumed by death and vanish in the same way as food and drink consumed during funerals.[1185] As discussed in §1.2.2, Riva makes a compelling argument for Orientalising feasting equipment transforming élite funerary rites in Etruria. Wine-drinking, meat consumption and feasting in Etruria became increasingly focused on and around the graveside, where funerary rites emphasised a shared ancestry and had a more communal character.[1186] With the emergence of chamber tombs the Etruscan élite institutionalised their lifestyle through funerary display leading to an ancestral cult.[1187]

It remains to be explained how feasts and changes to drinking habits may be traced in the archaeological record. Feasts and drinking rituals take place in specific contexts, such as domestic contexts (e.g., the Roman banquet or Greek symposium) or religious/ritual contexts, but rarely do such conditions survive for the archaeologist.

[1178] Dietler 2001 p73; Steel 2004 p283.
[1179] Dietler 1990 p369, 1998 p303, 2001 p72-73, 2006 p231.
[1180] For example, on beer see Nelson 2005; Dietler 2006 p232-235.
[1181] Dietler 1990 p361, 1998 p302.
[1182] Dietler 2006 p235-236; Pollock 2003 p19.
[1183] Dietler 1990 p377; Miller 2011 p116.
[1184] Dietler 1990 p373.
[1185] Hamilakis 1998 p115-116.
[1186] Riva 2010 esp. p72-107, p141-176.
[1187] Riva 2010 p95, p106, p121-122.

Arguably more recognisable are feasts taking place in a funerary context where that context is immediately sealed after the ritual has finished.[1188] The perishable nature of food and drink means that feasts are often only identifiable via their accompanying paraphernalia, such as ceramic assemblages, metal finds (feasting equipment) and animal bones. This examination has been attempted in various case studies including Bronze Age Cyprus, Early Dynastic Mespotamia, Middle Kingdom-Late period Egypt, Iron Age Southern France and Achaemonid Anatolia.[1189] With the pre-eminence of funerary contexts in Campania, there is ample potential for the presence of feasting evidence in the tombs of the region.

Unfortunately, little investigation of feasts has been undertaken for EIA Italy, where there is instead a tendency to examine the Euboian, Cypriot or Near Eastern influences on the Etruscan banquet.[1190] While others stress the Villanovan roots of Etruscan rituals,[1191] there has been no consideration of the possible indigenous feasting culture in Campania prior to the Greek arrival. The general assumption is that the foundation of Pithekoussai saw the introduction of the symposium and its earlier form, the Homeric banquet, as ritual drinking and eating practices. Despite work by Iaia and others on LBA feasting culture in Italy, there are yet to be any discussions of local feasting practices from the 10th to the 8th centuries BC and how they might have changed after contact with the Greeks and Phoenicians at Pithekoussai.[1192] The principal assumption is that the Etruscans adopted their version of the banquet from the Greeks, who also introduced wine and the cultivation of the vine itself to Italy.[1193] A review of feasting and funerals in early Greece, especially that found in the Homeric epics, is therefore worthwhile.

Feasting is second only to fighting as the most frequent activity in Homeric epics and is closely linked to heroes and hospitality.[1194] Odysseus encapsulates this importance when describing the banquet with the bards singing, tables full of food and wine abundant as the most beautiful thing he knows.[1195] The Homeric feast was thus a locus of dramaturgical performances as well as commensality. Gifts were also exchanged in feasting contexts, with *keimelia*, namely precious metal vessels given to

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[1188] Dietler 2001 p72.
[1189] Steel 2004; Pollock 2003; Tyson Smith 2003; Dietler 1990, 1999; Miller 2011.
[1190] Rathje 1988 p85, 1990 p379-382, 1995 p175; Strøm 2001 p368-371.
[1191] Tuck 1994 esp. p617-623.
[1192] Iaia 2013, 2016.
[1193] Rathje 1990 p279-288; Murray 1994 p53-54, 2009 p521-522; Coldstream 1998 p309-310, Bartoloni *et al.* 2012, Zifferero 2012.
[1194] Sherratt 2004 p301-302; Segal 1994 p113-163.
[1195] *Odyssey* 9.5; Rathje 1990 p282-283.

guests.[1196] Seating order in Homeric feasts saw a rank awarded to guests, who were placed next to the host, bestowing him with prestige.[1197] These feasts were held in large halls (*megaron/megara*), with the participants seated, and were events confined to the aristocratic warrior group.[1198] The consumption of meat was a central element of such feasts, and a further way to demonstrate one's social status was the provision of meat for sacrifices, funerals and banquets.[1199] Nevertheless, receiving one's share of food was important, and the word *dais* for feast in Homer literally means 'share', 'portion' or 'division'.[1200] In the Mycenaean period, meat was boiled or stewed for feasts in large containers, while in the Iron Age (which Homeric cooking practices mainly reflect), it was roasted on metal spits.[1201] The influence of such ideas can be seen in the use of the bronze cauldrons and iron spits in Orientalising burials along the Tyrrhenian.

Rathje feels that the culture of the Homeric banquet can be connected with the Orientalising banquet in Central Italy, but also with the funerary ideology of the so-called 'princely' tombs, due to both reflecting the same system of guest-friendship and guest-gifts.[1202] While there is some continuity between the Homeric banquet and what became the *symposion* in Archaic Greece, there is a much greater elaboration of new practices and luxurious behaviour from the Near East (such as reclining on benches) in the latter.[1203] Similarly, the symposium of Central Italy is not the same as the Greek *symposion*. Although both share an appreciation of *orientalia*, the symposium in Italy allowed women to be participants in the banquet, and there was some continuation of seating alongside the adoption of the new reclining sofa.[1204] A further difference concerns the dead, who in Archaic Greece were denied the pleasures of the living, such as the *symposion*. In contrast, the symposium could be extended to the dead in places like Etruria and Lycia, as these societies maintained some sense of continuity of physical life after death.[1205] Despite these geographical differences, Italic feasting and funerary practices along the Tyrrhenian coast were transformed during the 8th-7th

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[1196] For example, *Odyssey* 4.613-19 Menelaos gave a gold bowl to Telemachos. See Sherratt 2004 p307. For other examples, Finley 1977 p61-64, p129-136; Rathje 1990 p281; Raaflaub 1998 p637-638.
[1197] Rathje 1990 p283.
[1198] Murray 2009 p513; Tandy 1997 p143; Raaflaub 1998 p634.
[1199] Raaflaub 1998 p647; Sherratt 2004 p305.
[1200] Sherratt 2004 p309; Seaford 2004 p41, Segal 1994 p144 fn. 8.
[1201] Sherratt 2004 p311-314.
[1202] Rathje 1990 p280.
[1203] Murray 2009 p513-514. Nijboer 2013 p106 for example graters were a Euboian addition to the Greek *symposion*, which was itself a banquet adapted from the Near Eastern *Marzeah*.
[1204] Nijboer 2013 p107-108. Murray 2009 p514 the reclining banquet was adopted in the late 8th century in Italy.
[1205] Murray 1988 p244-245.

centuries as élites exchanged banqueting techniques.[1206] The locus for this exchange was undoubtedly during the feast itself where both *exotica* and foreign food, drink and modes of consumption could be exchanged as gifts. Dietler highlights that food and drink that are introduced and validated during feasts could enter daily meals and practices or "remain special ritual foods that become indexical markers of ritual".[1207] This emphasis on food and drink exchange in feasting contexts can also be extended to other innovations, such as storytelling, exchange of language, iconography, religion, textiles alongside goods and technologies, and even people themselves (e.g., slaves).[1208] Furthermore, Nash Briggs' study of the economy of Etruscan feasts shows how work could be rewarded with a feast or food.[1209] With both Greeks and Phoenicians visiting coastal sites, feasting was particularly intense along the Iron Age Tyrrhenian. Yet it has been argued that festivals and feasts during the FBA were also the conduits for *exotica* to enter sites.[1210] With the exchange in of *exotica* in mind, it is worthwhile highlighting some of the potential social actors involved in transmitting new ideas within EIA feasting contexts.

Feasts were also the stage of dramaturgical performances, poetry, storytelling, singing and dancing, these were likely performed by both local and visiting poets and bards. Very little material evidence exists for such figures at this early stage, but the Homeric epics do hint at this.[1211] Two bards are mentioned in the Odyssey, namely Phemios (in Odysseus' court in Ithaca) and Demodokos (in Alkinoos' court on Phaeacia).[1212] In the Iliad there is also a brief mention of Thamyris the Thracian, who met the muses in Dorion, and is thus the only poet in the epics that is described as wandering.[1213] Both Achilles and Odysseus fulfil the role of bard and storyteller in the Iliad and Odyssey, and as Hunter and Rutherford observe, the latter is the archetypal wandering poet, although they argue that the majority of poets were attached to a single court and did not travel.[1214] However, the well-known inscription on the Nestor's cup from Pithekoussai shows that the poems and the songs themselves travelled and have been linked to symposiac contexts.[1215] This cup has been dated to c720 BC, yet Malkin

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[1206] Riva 2010 p147; Nijboer 2013 p119.
[1207] Dietler 2010 p189.
[1208] Steel 2004 p283; Dietler 2001 p69; Nash Briggs 2002 p155-157.
[1209] Nash Briggs 2002 esp. p155.
[1210] Blake 2014 p74.
[1211] See Sherratt 2017 p41-48 on the archaeological depictions of bards from the 13th-8th centuries.
[1212] *Odyssey* 1.53-55, 1.325-344, 22.330-49 and 8.4-8.64.
[1213] *Iliad* 2.591-600; Wilson 2009 p48.
[1214] *Iliad* 9.186; *Odyssey* 9-12; Hunter/Rutherford 2009 p10.
[1215] The inscription alludes to *Iliad* 11.632-7 and *Odyssey* 3.51-53. Murray 1988; Powell 1991 p163-167.

believes that Homeric poetry was familiar to the community there by 750 BC.[1216] It is therefore highly plausible to envisage Homeric epics being performed by Greek bards at guest feasts along the Tyrrhenian coast from the mid-8th century and possibly earlier. Yet, for such poems to be understood, they will have required local translators. These will have worked in a similar way to the language teachers that have been proposed by Burkert for the transmission of the Phoenician alphabet to the Greeks and then from the latter to the Etruscans.[1217] Alongside poets and translators, were the itinerant artisans that produced the orientalising objects found in the 'princely' tombs. These figures were crucial to the transformation of the Tyrrhenian élites and helped to create a shared culture found from Etruria to Campania.[1218] Literary sources provide us with the anecdotal story of Demaratus being exiled from Corinth and going to Rome where he took some Greek artisans with him.[1219] While the archaeological evidence to support this story is sketchy,[1220] what can be taken from this is that foreign artisans were found along the Tyrrhenian coast and contributed much to what has been referred to as the 'Orientalising' material culture. These artisans later came to be focused around a master craftsman and based at a single workshop, yet there is scope that such masters moved between workshops, following their patrons, and in this way transmitted their skills.[1221] During the mid-8th century, however, these artists were likely to have been individuals, and such social agents probably first introduced many of their luxury objects to local élites during ritual feasts, which were the loci of much innovation and cross-cultural exchange during the 8th to 7th centuries BC. Such élite patrons were the so-called princes, a term Riva has criticised but is retained here for the sake of convenience.[1222]

[1216] Malkin 1998 p158; Ridgway 1992 p52-56; Buchner/Ridgway 1993.
[1217] Burkert 1992 p28-30; Malkin 1998 p165-166.
[1218] Riva 2010.
[1219] Livy *AVC* 1.34.2; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.46.3-5, Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 35.43.152; Blakeway 1935.
[1220] Ridgway/Ridgway 1994 p13; Smith 1998 p37.
[1221] Smith 1998 p39-40.
[1222] Riva 2010 p9, p40.

Appendix II. Metalworking

II. Metalworking along the Tyrrhenian Coast of Italy.

The movement of various groups of people around the Mediterranean during the LBA and EIA is linked to the lure of, and search for, metals. Access to raw resources, such as metals, was likely an extremely attractive motive for trade, migration, and conflict. As discussed in §1.4.3 and §2.3, the metal resources on the Italian peninsula are believed to have brought Phoenician and Greek trade to the West and Central Mediterranean. Notable amongst the scholars taking this view are Coldstream and Markoe, who believe that the Euboians were looking for iron while the Phoenicians were seeking silver.[1223] Hartmann has argued for ironworking technology being introduced into Italy by the Greeks as Greece shows earlier signs of iron metallurgy.[1224] However, evidence from earlier contexts in Italy challenges this theory and suggests that ironworking was taking place during the 10th century BC. Amongst these contexts are Torre Mordillo and Torre Galli in Calabria, Coppa Nevigata in Puglia, and Fossa in Abruzzo.[1225] This section will review the state of the evidence for metalworking along Tyrrhenian Italy.

Working from the Northern Tyrrhenian coast down, the metal resources found in Etruria have been linked to the emergence of Etruscan civilisation, with the local exploitation of metal resources providing indigenes a base to engage in trade with foreign communities. This situation saw Etruria involved in a broad interregional network based on its metals and its connections extended beyond the Alps.[1226] New settlements were established near the metal ore deposits on Elba during the EIA, while in Southern Etruria the old settlements were replaced by the new Villanovan centres of Vulci, Cerveteri and Tarquinia and in Northern Etruria, Vetulonia and Populonia began to flourish.[1227] With regard to Central Italy, *Latium Vetus* (modern Lazio) has until recently been seen as lagging behind Etruria in terms of the adoption of iron. This view has much to do with Snodgrass' understanding of the adoption of iron across the Mediterranean as a three-stage process and his conclusion that *Latium Vetus* did not work iron before the 7th century BC.[1228] His three-stage process of the adoption of iron technology began with: 1) the production of iron ornaments; 2) the introduction of iron

[1223] Coldstream 1994a p55; Markoe 1992 p71-80.
[1224] Hartmann 1982, 1985 p285-289, 1989.
[1225] Giardino 2005 p500-502; Corretti/Benvenuti 2001 p130-131; Pacciarelli 1999; Nijboer 2011 p14, 2018; Delpino 1988 p 49.
[1226] Bietti Sestieri 1997 p380-390; Nijboer 1998 p135.
[1227] Giardino 2005 p494.
[1228] Snodgrass 1980 p335-375, esp. p362.

tools with sharp cutting edges (but a lower quantity is still produced when compared with copper alloy tools); 3) iron tools now dominate over copper alloy tools.[1229] Yet Nijboer notes data that has come to light since Snodgrass' paper demonstrating the use of iron in Lazio in the late 8th centuries BC. This new data includes the sites of Satricum, Castel di Decima and Osteria dell'Osa.[1230] Despite this data illustrating that *Latium Vetus* did not lag behind Etruria, it is Etruria that has nevertheless received the majority of scholarly attention, most likely due to its abundance of metal resources.[1231] However, the evidence for the exploitation of these metals in Lazio and Etruria in antiquity is far from clear, as ancient mines and metalworking areas have seen continued use up until modern times, often rendering the objects in the cemeteries of the region the main indications of Iron Age metallurgy.[1232]

Strabo describes there being old mines at Populonia that were already abandoned by his day. [1233] Yet the evidence for the exploitation of metals at these various sites is not consistent. For example, at Populonia no iron object dates to the Villanovan period, at Vetulonia only a few date to the 8th century, at Tarquinia and Veii iron objects increase during the 8th century, but at Satricum iron intensifies from the second half of the 7th century BC, although this is seen in the form of actual iron processing evidence (slag and raw iron).[1234] For the Etruscan period, which comprises the Orientalising and Archaic periods, the knowledge is just as scarce and the modern extraction of metals at these sites, including that of Medieval date, has often been taken as evidence of ancient mining.[1235] With the iron-working on mainland Etruria being scarce for the EIA, it is therefore worthwhile examining the case of Elba, which is clearly tied to the foundation of Pithekoussai and the perceived quest for metals.

Elba lies opposite Populonia and has regularly been cited in connection with the Euboians arriving in Italy.[1236] The picture presented by the evidence is very similar to that for the rest of Etruria, namely that later metalworking activity has blurred any earlier traces of work. Unfortunately, the 6th, or more likely, the 4th century BC is the earliest date for ironworking on the island, rendering its pre-Roman period production

[1229] Snodgrass 1980 p362.
[1230] Nijboer 1998 p158-159, p168-184 on Satricum. Castel di Decima, Osteria dell'Osa, and 1993/1994 p90 on Satricum.
[1231] Bietti Sestieri 1997 p385 says mining was one of Etruria's defining features.
[1232] Corretti/Benvenuti 2001 p128; Giardino 2013 p725-728, 1995 p304-307.
[1233] Strabo *Geog.* 5.2.6.
[1234] Giardino 2005 p498-499.
[1235] Giardino 2013 p725.
[1236] Coldstream 1994a p49-50; Hartmann 1982, 1985.

an open question.[1237] Continued exploitation of the island's ancient slag heaps up until the 1950s have destroyed much of the earlier evidence, which certainly has not helped.[1238] Recent surface surveys have sought to remedy this situation and have yielded over 160 smelting sites, but these sites were unfortunately poorly preserved and dated to the Roman and Medieval periods (11th-14th century AD), the two phases that Corretti and Firmati observe to be the peak times of iron activity on the island.[1239] A recent study by Cambi *et alii* also shows the close links that Elba had with nearby Corsica throughout its history.[1240] Yet, despite the lack of concise evidence for EIA exploitation of Elba's metals, it has been argued that the islands iron resources have been transported over long distances and were particularly attractive for the Greeks.[1241] It is highly likely that ancient literary sources that refer Elba have helped to further this idea of the island being the source of much of the iron in EIA Italy. Elba was called *Aithalia* in ancient Greek which means smoke on account of the metalworking on the island. Pseudo-Aristotle describes copper being produced on Elba and after a break in production (when copper was apparently exhausted) iron began to be worked, which was still being exploited later by the Populonians.[1242] Diodorus Siculus describes the iron process in more depth and states that it was smelted into great lumps like sponges, which were then taken down to Pozzuoli (near Cumae in Campania) where they were exchanged with metalworkers for money or other goods.[1243] Apollodorus of Rhodes describes the Argonauts arriving on the shore of the island and wiping the sweat off of their hands and onto the pebbles on the beach, an anecdote that Dini *et alii* connect with the mineral deposits on some of Elba's beaches.[1244] Later Roman writers, such as Pliny the Elder, mention the iron production of Elba and its abundant resources.[1245] All of these ancient sources do much to assert Elba's reputation. As we have seen, however, contemporary mining is not attested archaeologically, and it is necessary to look at Pithekoussai to understand how the idea developed that Elban ores were widely available and also attracted foreign craftsmen.

[1237] Corretti/Benvenuti 2001 p142; Tannelli 2001 *et al.* p239; Corretti/Firmati 2011 p231; Benvenuti *et al.* 2013 p482-483.
[1238] Corretti/Benvenuti 2001 p128-129.
[1239] Benvenuti *et al.* 2013 p482-483; Corretti/Firmati 2011 p232-237.
[1240] Cambi *et al.* 2016 esp. p58.
[1241] Bakhuizen 1976 p66; Fedeli 1983 p183, 178-179; Ridgway 1984 p104-105, 1992 p99-100, Triester 1996 p29-30, p147; De Juliis 1996 p48-51; Cornell 1995 p86; Hodos 1999 p73; Boardman 1999 p168.
[1242] Pseudo-Aristotle *De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus* 93.
[1243] Diodorus Siculus *Bibl.* 5.1.3.1-2.
[1244] Dini *et al.* 2007; Apollodorus *Bibl.* IV 654-658.
[1245] Giardino 2013 p728-729; Corretti/Benvenuti 2001 p137-140: Corretti 2004 p269-286.

As stated above, Ischia has no known metal deposits (although some minor traces of mineralisation on the beaches of Casamicciola have been mentioned),[1246] which means that any iron found at Pithekoussai must have been imported and worked locally. The settlement at Pithekoussai has yielded substantial evidence of metalworking and also links to the island of Elba. Regarding the former, the Mezzavia ridge and the Mazzola industrial area, a complex of four buildings were the loci of much metallurgical activity in the EIA. Dating from the second half of the 8th century BC, buildings IV and III have both been interpreted as blacksmith's workshops due to the presences of furnaces and large quantities of metalworking debris (iron slags, copper alloy sheet and wire snippets, lead fragments and a copper alloy ingot).[1247] Building IV also included a miscast *fibula* that was discarded during production, it is likely that it would have been decorated with bone and amber discs leading to the conclusion that bone and amber were also worked in the workshop.[1248] Of much interest was also a lead disc that was found in building III, and, because its weight (8.79kg) is close to the standard weight of the Euboic-Attic stater (8.72kg), it has been interpreted as used for weighing the metalworking products from the workshops.[1249] Furthermore, Kroll believes that the Euboic weight standard became influential from the 7th to 6th century BC due to the pioneering role the Euboians had in long-distance trade during the 8th century BC.[1250]

The measuring of metal products at Pithekoussai also leads us into the evidence of the raw materials used to produce them. A mixed refuse context on the Monte Vico acropolis of Pithekoussai, which is commonly referred to as the *Scarico Gosetti*, contained large quantities of pottery. More important for this discussion here is a hematite iron slag lump, which has been traced to Elba as its place of origin, was also discovered in the *Scarico Gosetti*.[1251] It is tempting, as many have done, to combine the iron slag with the metalworking evidence discussed above and conclude that Elba was supplying all of the iron being worked at Pithekoussai, and this was what drew the Euboians and others to the bay of Naples.[1252] Yet caution is needed and a closer

[1246] Corretti/Benvenuti 2001 p136-137 mention this possibility but do not provide further information on the material found there.
[1247] Ridgway 1984 p105-112, 1992 p91-103; Coldstream 2003 p208; Nijboer 1998 p166-167, Giardino 2005 p499; Charalambidou 2017 p104-105.
[1248] Nijboer 1998 p166 notes that only some fragments of bone (and not amber) were found in the building.
[1249] Ridgway 1984 p109, 1992 p34, p95, p139; Nijboer 1998 p220-221; Charalambidou 2017 p105.
[1250] Kroll 2008 p44.
[1251] Ridgway 1984 p105, 1992 p91 who points out that this analysis is "conclusive evidence".
[1252] Coldstream 1994a p55; Ridgway 1994 p40; Osborne 1996 p113-127; Tandy 1997 p66-78, Charalambidou 2017 p95.

inspection of the evidence is advisable. For example, the *Scarico Gosetti* deposit cannot be accurately dated, as it is mixed in nature with ceramic fragments from the MBA to the 1st century BC.[1253] Without a concise date it is extremely difficult to a) connect the single fragment of Elban iron slag with the Euboians; b) argue that all iron on Pithekoussai or even in Campania was Elban in origin; c) argue that the Elban iron mines were in full activity as early as 750 BC; and d) that they were transported over long-distances.[1254] Nijboer highlights that this fragment is also in ore form, which requires smelting, and, although iron-smithing evidence exists in the Mazzola industrial area during the 7th century BC, there is no visible evidence of iron-smelting. He observes that iron ores are normally processed near the mine and then transported as ingots or bars, a system which requires a sophisticated level of social organisation, which Etruria may not have had at this time.[1255] Benvenuti *et al.* are also critical of the analysis undertaken on this single fragment, which despite Ridgway describing as conclusive in character, they argue it was undertaken by a non-specialist without proper geochemical or mineralogical characterisation rendering it unreliable.[1256] Despite their almost mythical status, the ores from Elba only constitute a fraction of the ores found in central Italy, and with many deposits known on Elba, identifying the exact provenance is extremely difficult.[1257] Corretti and Benventuti discuss other areas along the Tyrrhenian coast, such as beaches in Lazio, that are much closer to Ischia and are rich in magnetite or have iron deposits. They also remind us that iron was widely available in Greece (especially Euboia) at this time, which cautions us against relying on a single fragment of iron from Pithekoussai as evidence for the exploitation of Elba's iron resources.[1258]

Summing up, although there is considerable evidence for metal sources in Italy, it is unclear exactly when the mining and production of iron first began. The transition from bronze to iron is not clearly visible in the archaeology of many of the sites that are believed to have been working the two metals, a problem that extends from Etruria and Lazio down to Pithekoussai in Campania. There is clear evidence at Elba, Pithekoussai and Cumae that both copper alloys and iron were simultaneously worked.[1259] When these sites moved over to iron only is difficult to pinpoint based on the current evidence.

[1253] Corretti/Benvenuti 2001 p134-135.
[1254] Corretti/Benvenuti 2001 p134-135; Nijboer 1998 p167, p179.
[1255] Nijboer 1998 p31-32.
[1256] Benvenuti *et al.* 2013 p499; Ridgway 1984 p104-105, 1992 p91.
[1257] Nijboer 1998 p179.
[1258] Corretti/Benvenuti 2001 p136-137.
[1259] Nijboer 1998 p160 notes this for Elba and p166-167 for Pithekoussai; D'Acunto 2017 p301-307 on Cumae.

The adoption of iron and the replacement of bronze could incur considerable costs as new technologies and infrastructures are required.[1260] Due to many of these sites being in continuous even up until modern times, the replacement of bronze and adoption of iron cannot be easily identified in the archaeological record other than through an examination of the evidence in cemeteries that date to the EIA. The connections many see between Elba and Pithekoussai are not strong enough to argue that all the iron in the south of Italy was acquired from Elba. However, it remains a strong possibility that bronze and iron were being traded over long distances. Blake argued that Bronze Age trade in Italy consisted of down-the-line type exchanges.[1261] It is feasible to consider the Iron Age as characterised by the same down-the-line type trade and such a system could allow raw metals to be acquired via network links. As the case studies in this thesis show, there are large numbers of grave goods made of metals that could only have been acquired from outside Campania. Instead of iron being transported by sea from Elba to Pithekoussai, it is therefore highly likely that a metal trade existed long before the Greek arrival. While the exact sources are still unidentified, the metal for the grave goods in Campania, or the grave goods themselves, must have been acquired from somewhere. With iron being transported over long-distances during the EIA, it is not inconceivable that techniques and craftsmen also travelled over considerable distances around the Mediterranean, helping to move metallurgical skills with them. However, it remains unclear as to where and through whom such technological skills were transmitted. The only way to fully answer the questions surrounding the working of and trade in iron is greater archaeometric analysis on the grave goods of Campania.

[1260] Corretti/ Benvenuti 2001 p133-134.
[1261] Blake 2014 p71-73.

Appendix III. Pontecagnano

III.1 Early Excavations, Publication History and Tomb Sample

The Iron Age			
Cemetery Location: West or "Picentino"			
Cemetery area	**Date Excavated**	**No. of Tombs.**	**Publication**
Prop. Stanzione.	1962	42	D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988.
Prop. Bisogno.	1969	48	
Prop. Aedilia.	1977-1978	26	*Unpublished.*
Prop. Bovi.	1978	17	D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988.
Cemetery Location: East or "San Antonio"			
Cemetery area	**Date excavated**	**No. of Tombs.**	**Publication**
Prop. ECI.	1977	75	De Natale 1992.
Prop. Santoro-Barbarito.	1960	108	*Unpublished.*
Prop. Vitolo.	No info	No info ('un gruppo di tombe')	*Unpublished.*
Strada Statale 18	No info	No info	*Unpublished.*
Area della Frestola.	1984	50	*Unpublished.*
Prop. Landolfi.	1969-1974	367	*Unpublished.*
Cemetery Location: South			
Cemetery area	**Date excavated**	**No. of Tombs.**	**Publication**
Prop. Montecani.	1974	26	*Unpublished.*
Cemetery Location: Pagliarone c1.5km from Pontecagnano			
Cemetery area	**Date excavated**	**No. of Tombs.**	**Publication**
Prop. D'Aiutolo.	1964-1967	108	Gastaldi 1998.
Prop. Viviani-De Rosa.	1964-1967	4	*Unpublished.*
Provisional Tomb Total		**879**	
The Orientalising period			
Cemetery Location: West or "Picentino"			
Cemetery area	**Date Excavated**	**No. of Tombs.**	**Published**
Prop. Stanzione.	1966	2	D'Agostino 1977.
Corso Italia.	1983	1	Cerchiai 1987.
Cemetery Location: East or "San Antonio"			
Cemetery area	**Date Excavated**	**No. of Tombs.**	**Published**
Prop. INA CASA.	1969-1972	312	*Unpublished.*
Chiesa di San Antonio	1968	10 (and 2 other contexts)	*Unpublished.*
Prop. Chiancone I	1963-1964	34 (and 4 disturbed contexts)	D'Agostino 1968.

Prop. Chiancone II	1984	73 (and 8 contexts)	*Unpublished*.
Prop. Chiancone III	1988	(5 other contexts)	*Unpublished*.
Prop. Chiancone IV	1989	160	*Unpublished*.
Prop. Localita Casella.	1984	29	Cinquantaquattro 2001.
Lo Scavo Alfinito	1965	5	D'Agostino 1968.
Lo Scavo Simeone	1968	12	*Unpublished*.
Lo Scavo Babino	1968	20	*Unpublished*.
Lo Scavo Malangone	1984 & 1994	18 & 48	*Unpublished*.
Provisional Tomb Total		**724 tombs (19 contexts)**	-

The early phases at Pontecagnano are associated with the Villanovan cultural *facies*, which was first revealed in Sestieri's publication of the San Antonio necropolis in 1960.[1262] However, the first excavations of the Iron Age phases took place in 1933 at Pagliarone. It is still unknown exactly what status the site at Pagliarone had, but it has been speculated that it was possibly a satellite settlement of Pontecagnano, founded to control Picentino river traffic.[1263] Since the first excavation at Pagliarone, archaeologists have uncovered material from the Neolithic to Roman periods at Pontecagnano and around the Picentino plain attesting to a sustained occupation of the *ager Picentinus*.[1264] The investigations of the Iron Age to Orientalising periods have mainly been rescue excavations with archaeologists having to react to finds emerging during the construction of new properties. Other excavations have approached the site with the aim of uncovering specific phases. While many tombs have been discovered, traces of the settlement itself are scant with only domestic buildings of a Hellenistic/Roman date, and religious structures dating from the Archaic period have been found. Nevertheless, much more excavation than publication has taken place at Pontecagnano. In terms of publication, there is also a disproportionate amount of

[1262] D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p3.
[1263] Cerchiai 1995 p53-54 connects Pagliarone to the Villanovan phase of colonisation of the Picentino plain, which eventually led to its abandonment when Pontecagnano rose in prominence.
[1264] D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988; De Natale 1992; Gastaldi 1998; Bailo Modesti/Salerno 1998; Serritella 1995; Tang 2007.

attention that has been placed on the Iron Age phases, which are well published. In contrast, the Orientalising period is largely unpublished.[1265]

Pontecagnano's main cemeteries lay to the west and east of the modern town, with the urban centre sited on higher ground.[1266] Further burial grounds lie 1.5-2km away at the aforementioned site of Pagliarone, at *Località Casella* (see below), and also to the south. Gastaldi published 108 burials from the cemetery at Pagliarone with many including imports. This burial ground is roughly contemporary to the large number of tombs from the Picentino (or west necropolis) and San Antonio (or east necropolis) cemeteries published by D'Agostino/Gastaldi and De Natale.[1267] The material found in the Iron Age cemeteries show close connections with Southern Etruria and this continues into the Orientalising period despite there being a much smaller number of tombs available for analysis. A small group of Orientalising tombs was published by D'Agostino (including two 'princely burials'), and a monograph on the cemetery at *Località Casella* covers the transition from the end of Phase IIB to the early Orientalising phase, which only occurs in one area of the necropolis. Furthermore, Cuozzo's study of some unpublished Orientalising tombs (from the *Proprietà INA CASA* and *Proprietà Chiancone IV* areas of the eastern necropolis) indicates a series of complex changes from the Iron Age. These changes include the abandonment of the Iron Age burial grounds and the inauguration of new Orientalising cemeteries. The main Iron Age cemeteries lie to the west, east and south of the city. Sections of the western and eastern cemeteries have been excavated since the 1960s and conventional practice usually sees each excavated area awarded the name of the landowner. Table III.1 above lists the excavated and published tombs for Pontecagnano from 900 to 575 BC.[1268] With there being a much higher number of published tombs dating to the Iron Age than the Orientalising period, a series of sampling issues are apparent. Firstly, if all the published tombs are examined for tie strength then there will be a disproportionately larger sample for the Iron Age. Such a sampling strategy would bias the sample towards the Iron Age and away from the Orientalising period, which is viewed as a time of change. With Pagliarone being contemporary to the 182 tombs published from the Picentino and San Antonio cemeteries, there is a more than adequate sample for the Iron Age. A focus on these Picentino and San Antonio tombs

[1265] Cuozzo 2007 p230-238 on these two phases.
[1266] Cuozzo 2007 p230.
[1267] D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988; De Natale 1992.
[1268] This information was taken from D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p3-7; Cuozzo 2003 p37-44, 2007 p230. However, a full list of all the tombs excavated has not yet been provided.

not only enables a more representative tomb sample for the settlement between the Iron Age and Orientalising periods but also avoids any questions relating to the status of Pagliarone.

However, another satellite site is proposed for Pontecagnano at the nearby necropolis at *Località Casella*. Although continuity suggests this also be excluded as in the case of Pagliarone, the *Località Casella* site has a unique position in Pontecagnano's chronology. A notable lacuna in burials at Pontecagnano is found between the Iron Age-Orientalising phases which was partly due to the inauguration of new burial grounds. *Località Casella* has produced 29 tombs that bridge this gap (720-680 BC).[1269] With regards the Orientalising period, 35 tombs and four disturbed contexts from the *Proprietà Chiancone I* area of the Eastern necropolis dating from 730 to 500 BC, were published by D'Agostino. Furthermore, four 'princely' tombs date to the Orientalising period and have a central role in the narrative used to explain the development of ancient Campania. Although only two of these have seen publication in the form of brief excavation reports, I have included all four burials here due to their importance in the way the Orientalising period is currently understood. Two of these 'princely' burials are analysed based on museum displays and the brief reports they receive in other publications. Another important study is Cuozzo's 2003 monograph on the Orientalising burial grounds. Her work focused on unpublished tombs which are still not displayed in the museum at Pontecagnano. While identifying many important social changes to the period, the fact that her data remains unpublished precludes its discussion here. However, her monograph has been consulted for the general conclusions she draws on the Orientalising period.

A note should also be made on the layout of the cemeteries at Pontecagnano. Most tombs from the Iron Age phases show levels of organisation and planning. Space is made available around each burial and some even form groups which are interpreted as family plots. The later Orientalising period instead shows a more haphazard layout of the tombs throughout much of the necropolis with tombs regularly overlying each other and competing for space. This change seems to coincide with an inauguration of new burial grounds and a respect for the earlier Iron Age burials by not reopening them for burial despite spatial constraints. Unfortunately, the necropolis has not yet been completely excavated, which along with a minimal knowledge of the settlement itself means we can only speculate on the position of these tombs within the landscape.

[1269] Cinquantaquattro 2001.

Iron Age empty tombs or uncertain date				
Object type	**Number**	**%**	**Imitations**	**%**
Decorative objects	3	4%		
Fibulae	6	8%		
Razors	1	1%		
Beads	4	5%		
Elmo fittile	2	3%		
Other	1	1%		
Pottery	58	78%	1	1%
Total	75		1	1%
Tombs	34			
Orientalising empty tombs or uncertain date				
Object type	**Number**	**%**	**Imports**	**%**
Pottery	25	100%	9	36%
Total	25	100%	9	36%
Contexts	4			

Alongside the unpublished tombs that are excluded here, a further 34 Iron Age burials and four contexts pertaining to disturbed Orientalising burials are also left out of this study. With regards the former, these burials are either not assigned to a specific subphase due to dating problems, because they were empty or damaged. These tombs are listed in the above table and contained largely pottery amongst which was a *kernos* in t.152 and an imitation Greek cup in G.228. The *kernos* shape is connected with both a ritual and an eating function and as an isolated example it is of much interest at the site.[1270] Because these burials do not have a precise date, they are not considered within this study of tie strength. The four Orientalising contexts were published as part of D'Agostino's report of *Chiancone I* area of the necropolis. Although they only contained pottery, these assemblages included 9 imports from Greece ranging from drinking (*kylix*, *coppa carenata*), pouring (*oinochoe*, *bottiglia*) and cosmetics (*lekane*). Very little can be drawn from this material as these contexts are disturbed and/or undated tombs and are therefore not included in this study.

III.2 Montevetrano: New Evidence

The evidence emerging from the site at Montevetrano suggests that it has considerable potential to change much of the current thinking on EIA Campania. Similar to Poggiomarino (Appendix VI.2), Montevetrano is unpublished and what is described here results from the reports of some of the rich tombs from the cemeteries. The settlement at Montevetrano was spread across three small hills and the cemeteries

[1270] D'Agostino/Gastaldi 1988 p35 (type 19a), p160, cup type 28.

were positioned on the slopes below.[1271] Around 350 tombs have so far been discovered dating from 750 to 600 BC.[1272] Evidence from other areas of the site show that it was occupied from the Neolithic, but an intense period of activity marked the Bronze Age when a sacred or cult building of monumental size was constructed in tufa blocks which dominated the Picentino river below.[1273] The Iron Age was a period of considerable growth and the necropolis was arranged into sections with small streets in between. The most ostentatious burials belonged to the female members of the community.[1274]

Located around 3km from Pontecagnano on the opposite side of the Picentino river, Montevetrano held a strategic position controlling the routes between the coastal plain and the hinterland of the Picentini mountains and the Irno valley.[1275] This location enabled the settlement to act as a key node in the trade networks along the Tyrrhenian, which is seen in the 8th century tombs discussed below. However, the exact status of the Montevetrano settlement during the Iron Age is unclear. It may have been a satellite site of Pontecagnano similar to that proposed for Pagliarone and *Località Casella*, but the possibility remains that Montevetrano was a separate site that was in competition with Pontecagnano.[1276] Nevertheless, the two sites were closely linked during the Iron Age, and the burial grounds at Montevetrano demonstrate similar links with the Mediterranean as those found at Pontecagnano.[1277] Excavations of the site took place in 2008 as the result of the construction of an energy plant. These explorations brought an area of 230m^2 and 135 tombs to light.[1278] Despite the area having been damaged by ploughing and other agricultural activity, a series of élite burials were found, including some which have been described as of a 'princely' character.[1279] Amongst these was t.111 from the eastern cemetery, a female tomb dating from 750 to 725 BC.[1280] This burial was a secondary cremation, where the burnt remains of the deceased and the accompanying grave goods (a *fusaiola*, three *a sanguisuga fibulae*, bronze rings and a Euboian chevron *skyphos*) were collected from the pyre and placed in a bronze cauldron imported from Euboia.[1281] For Cuozzo and Pellegrino, the combination of

[1271] Cerchiai *et al.* 2012-2013 p74.
[1272] Cuozzo 2016 p23; Cuozzo/Pellegrino 2016 p123.
[1273] Cerchiai *et al.* 2012-2013 p73-74.
[1274] Cuozzo 2016 p23; Cuozzo/Pellegrino 2016 p123; Cerchiai *et al.* 2012-2013 p73 and p76.
[1275] Cerchiai *et al.* 2012-2013 p73; Cuozzo/Pellegrino 2016 p121-122.
[1276] Cuozzo 2016 p23; Cuozzo/Pellegrino 2016 p123.
[1277] Cerchiai *et al.* 2012-2013 p73-74; Cuozzo 2016 p23.
[1278] Cerchiai *et al.* 2012-2013 p76.
[1279] Cerchiai *et al.* 2012-2013 p74-76.
[1280] Cerchiai *et al.* 2012-2013 p76.
[1281] Cerchiai *et al.* 2012-2013 esp. p73-89; Cuozzo 2016 p23.

local objects and a Euboian-type cremation highlight how foreign burial rites were being mixed with local grave goods as was the case in coeval Pontecagnano.[1282]

Dating to the same period is t.74 from *Località Boscariello*, which is also female, but features a much more ostentatious grave good assemblage rivalling those found at Pontecagnano towards the end of the 8th century BC. Arguably amongst the most prominent of these objects were the imported bronze and silver vessels, including a bronze cauldron from Euboia, a biconical vase, *cista tipo Novilara* and an *incensiere* all from Etruria. Alongside these were a Kurd type *situla* from the Adriatic area of Italy, and a silver cup decorated with a bulls and heifer motif from the Near East.[1283] Other objects in the grave good set were a bronze tray (*presentatoio*) imported from Capua, a bronze distaff and a Nuragic model boat from Sardinia, a Lyre-Player type scarab, a LG *olla* that has been linked to the Cesnola painter, and 11 locally made *impasto* pots, including a *scodellone con anse configurate a cavallini*, which, as discussed in chapter 3, is a symbol of the élite at Capua and Pontecagnano.[1284] An absence of bones in this burial has led to the conclusion that this was a cremation with the bones placed in the bronze biconical vase, an interpretation supported in some ways by traces of burnt earth.[1285] The rich funerary costume decorated with bronze studs, rings and amber beads the deceased wore, along with bronze and amber *fibulae*, amber figurines and an amber belt have seen t.74 assigned a female gender.[1286] Weaving tools in the tomb also reinforce this female identity and highlight the important role this individual performed in contemporary rituals. Exemplary are the instruments connected to sacrificial rites, the banquet, and the consumption of meat, such as iron spits, firedogs, and an iron knife but also the bronze distaff that reflects the weaving sphere.[1287]

Some aspects of this burial also indicate a ritual treatment during the funeral itself, for example the *scodellone con anse configurate a cavallini* and the knife (which was used for cutting and thus distributing meat) were both ritually destroyed prior to their deposition in the tomb.[1288] Furthermore, an organic residue found in the imported *cista* and in two *impasto ollae* appears to have been an aromatic drink, possibly fermented cereals.[1289] Also viewed as possessing a ritual character is the bronze tray and silver cup whose decoration of bulls and heifers evokes the themes of fertility and

[1282] Cuozzo/Pellegrino 2016 p124.
[1283] Iannelli 2011 p166-171; D'Agostino/Gastaldi 2012 p427; Cerchiai *et al.* 2012-2013 p91-94.
[1284] Iannelli 2011 p166-171; Cuozzo 2016 p23-24; Cuozzo/Pellegrino 2016 p124-125.
[1285] Iannelli 2011 p166.
[1286] Iannelli 2011 p167.
[1287] Iannelli 2011 p166-167.
[1288] Iannelli 2011 p169.
[1289] Iannelli 2011 p169.

abundance.[1290] As discussed in chapter 3, t.74 has been compared to two recently excavated burials at Pontecagnano (t.7178 and t.7765) due to the similarities in the grave goods.[1291] However, the bronze Nuragic model boat in t.74 appears to be a unique find and Ianelli believes that its link with Sardinia demonstrates how the deceased was an aristocratic female who held an intermediary role in the long-distance trade in metals and precious objects with the western Mediterranean.[1292]

These two tombs at Montevetrano prompt a review of the way EIA Campania is currently understood. D'Agostino highlights the Greek character of the cremation in t.111, as the Euboian *skyphos* evokes the wine libations poured on the pyre as attested at the *heroon* at Eretria.[1293] The date of this burial and of t.74, along with their grave goods, illustrate how 8th century Campania already possessed its own network of short and long-distance trade links before the Greek settlements were established on the Tyrrhenian coast. Furthermore, the early 8th century date of these burials questions the supposed Greek dominance over the so-called 'princely' tomb culture in Italy. With a wide range of imports, the Greek component in t.74 is not as prevalent as has been argued for similar tombs at Pontecagnano. Tombs 74 and 111 are also considerably earlier than tomb 104 from the Fondo Artiaco at Cumae, which is frequently viewed as the inspiration for the 'princely' tombs in Campania, Lazio, and Etruria. Taking these points into consideration highlights how this 'princely' culture was not exported wholesale from Greece to Campania but was constantly elaborated and added to with elements of a global nature. With regards t.74 there is also further attestation of the unique role females held within Tyrrhenian communities, especially in terms of an openness to imports and their role in sacrifice and the banquet.

As a site, Montevetrano remains unpublished, but other burials there further illustrate its wide-ranging contacts. Tombs 24, 51 and 127 all show links with the Enotrian culture of Basilicata and Calabria, by including either a sword (of the *a coda di rondine*, or swallow-tail type) or an *a tenda* style pot.[1294] These burials were found near t.111 in the eastern cemetery and also featured iron spits, firedogs and bronze basins.[1295] Alongside the imports in these three tombs is mention of a connection with the Oliveto-Cairano culture, although this awaits further publication.[1296] Such a variety

[1290] Iannelli 2011 p169.
[1291] Cuozzo 2016 p24-25; Cuozzo/Pellegrino 2016 p124-125.
[1292] Iannelli 2011 p170.
[1293] Cerchiai *et al.* 2012-2013 p83-84.
[1294] Cerchiai *et al.* 2012-2013 p74; Cuozzo/Pellegrino 2016 p123-127 and p130-131; Cuozzo 2016 p23.
[1295] Cuozzo/Pellegrino 2016 p125-127.
[1296] Cuozzo 2016 p23; Cuozzo/Pellegrino 2016 p127.

of connections for Cerchiai and others indicate that trade between Montevetrano, other regions in Italy and the wider Mediterranean was controlled by a small élite group until the site was abandoned in the 7th century, which coincided with the restructuring processes seen at its neighbour Pontecagnano.[1297]

III.3 Tomb Sample from Pontecagnano

Tomb Number	Period/ Date	Total Objects	Imports/ Imitations	Locally produced objects	Bibliography
t.180	Phase IA	12	3	9	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p132-133.
t.199		8	0	8	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p136-137
t.201A		3	0	3	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p138
t.210		11	0	11	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p144-145
t.2033		5	0	5	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p167
t.2042		9	1	8	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p168-169
t.2043		4	0	4	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p169-170
t.2046		3	0	3	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p170-171
t.2048		8	0	8	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p172-173
t.2050		7	0	7	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p173
t.2053		3	0	3	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p174
t.2054		5	0	5	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p174-175
t.2073		6	0	6	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p183
t.2075		7	0	7	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p184
t.2093		3	0	3	D'Agostino/

[1297] Cerchiai *et al.* 2012-2013 p75.

					Gastaldi 1988 p188-189
t.2094		3	0	3	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p189
t.153	Phase IB	10	0	10	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p127-128
t.164		11	0	11	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p128-129
t.172		6	0	6	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p129-130
t.173		7	0	7	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p130-131
t.174		18	1	17	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p131-132
t.187		10	0	10	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p133-134
t.200		10	0	10	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p137
t.215		10	0	10	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p150-151
t.216		10	0	10	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p151-152
t.223		5	1	4	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p154
t.225		16	0	16	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p156-157
t.2034		7	0	7	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p167-168
t.2047		16	0	16	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p171-172
t.2052		5	0	5	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p174
t.2055		9	0	9	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p175-176
t.2056		22	0	22	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p176-178
t.2057		17	0	17	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988

					p178-179
t.2068		21	1	20	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p179-181
t.2069		7	0	7	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p181
t.2070		6	0	6	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p182
t.2074		8	0	8	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p183-184
t.2077		8	0	8	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p184-185
t.2090		8	0	8	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p186-187
t.2091		6	0	6	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p187-188
t.2096		5	0	5	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p189-190
t.2101		13	0	13	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p191-192
t.2102		4	0	4	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p192-193
t.2103		4	0	4	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p193
t.2105		2	0	2	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p194
t.2106		33	0	33	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p194-196
t.2145		17	0	17	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p197-198
t.2152		6	0	6	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p202
t.2162		11	0	11	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p203-204
t.4851		17	1	16	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p208-209
t.4852		18	0	18	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p209-211
t.4854		14	0	14	D'Agostino/

					Gastaldi 1988 p211-213
t.4862		8	0	8	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p216
t.3184		14	0	14	De Natale 1992 p49-50
t.3188		14	0	14	De Natale 1992 p52-53
t.3190		10	0	10	De Natale 1992 p53-54
t.2092		5	0	5	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p188-189
t.118	Phase I-II	6	0	6	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p123-124
t.149		16	0	16	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p124-125
G.149		19	1	18	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p125-126
t.194		9	0	9	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p134
t.197		20	0	20	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p135-136
t.3185		7	0	7	De Natale 1992 p50-51
t.3191		18	0	18	De Natale 1992 p54-55
t.3192		25	0	25	De Natale 1992 p55-57
t.3205		8	0	8	De Natale 1992 p58
t.3208		21	1	20	De Natale 1992 p59-61
t.3210		11	0	11	De Natale 1992 p61-62
t.3211	Phase IIA	57	1	56	De Natale 1992 p62-65
t.3212		31	0	31	De Natale 1992 p65-67
t.3216		6	0	6	De Natale 1992 p73-74
t.3224		24	1	23	De Natale 1992 p76-78
t.3248		33	0	33	De Natale 1992 p85-87
t.3250		9	0	9	De Natale 1992 p88

t.3252		11	0	11	De Natale 1992 p89
t.3253		12	0	12	De Natale 1992 p89-90
t.3255		28	0	28	De Natale 1992 p91-92
t.3256		6	0	6	De Natale 1992 p92
t.3260		11	0	11	De Natale 1992 p92-93
t.3265		22	0	22	De Natale 1992 p96-97
t.3275		21	0	21	De Natale 1992 p103-104
t.3276		55	0	55	De Natale 1992 p104-107
t.3280		15	1	14	De Natale 1992 p108-109
t.3288		9	1	8	De Natale 1992 p114-116
t.3289		19	0	19	De Natale 1992 p114-116
t.3294		16	0	16	De Natale 1992 p121-122
t.3295		10	0	10	De Natale 1992 p122-124
t.3213		46	0	46	De Natale 1992 p67-70
t.3214		51	2	49	De Natale 1992 p70-73
t.3230		44	0	44	De Natale 1992 p78-81
t.3241		12	0	12	De Natale 1992 p82-83
t.3264		10	2	10	De Natale 1992 p95-96
t.3266		58	1	57	De Natale 1992 p97-101
t.3267		9	1	8	De Natale 1992 p101-102
t.3284		20	0	20	De Natale 1992 p109-111
t.3285		17	3	14	De Natale 1992 p111-113
t.3286		11	1	10	De Natale 1992 p113-114
t.3287		28	0	28	De Natale 1992 p114-116
t.3892		21	1	20	De Natale 1992 p124-126
t.3213		46	0	46	De Natale 1992

					p67-70
t.3214		51	2	49	De Natale 1992 p70-73
t.3230		44	0	44	De Natale 1992 p78-81
t.3241	Phase IIB	12	0	12	De Natale 1992 p82-83
t.3264		10	2	10	De Natale 1992 p95-96
t.3266		58	1	57	De Natale 1992 p97-101
t.3267		9	1	8	De Natale 1992 p101-102
t.3284		20	0	20	De Natale 1992 p109-111
t.3285		17	3	14	De Natale 1992 p111-113
t.3286		11	1	10	De Natale 1992 p113-114
t.3287		28	0	28	De Natale 1992 p114-116
t.3892		21	1	20	De Natale 1992 p124-126
t.166		12	1	11	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p127
t.201B		17	0	17	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p138-139
t.203		10	1	9	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p139-140
t.204		11	6	5	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p140-141
t.205		6	0	6	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p141-142
t.206		3	3	0	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p142
t.208		12	1	11	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p142-143
t.209		18	0	18	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p143-144
t.211		71	4	67	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p145-149
t.212		11	0	11	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p149-150

t.214		2	0	2	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p150
t.220	Phase II	21	0	21	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p152-153
t.221		7	1	6	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p153-154
t.224		38	1	37	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p154-156
t.226		19	0	19	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p157-158
t.227		17	1	16	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p158-160
t.229		6	1	5	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p160-161
t.231		11	3	8	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p161-162
t.2078		7	0	7	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p185-186
t.2097		13	0	13	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p190-191
t.2151		16	0	16	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p200-202
t.2157		10	0	10	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p202-203
t.4853		5	0	5	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p211
t.4855		14	0	14	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p213
t.4856		8	0	8	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p214-215
t.4858		8	0	8	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p215-216
t.4863		8	0	8	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p216-217
t.4866		16	1	15	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p217-218

t.4867		29	0	29	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p222
t.4868		17	0	17	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p220-221
t.4870		10	4	6	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p222-223
t.4871		19	1	18	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p223-225
t.3207		6	0	6	De Natale 1992 p58
t.3222		2	0	2	De Natale 1992 p75
t.3223		5	0	5	De Natale 1992 p75-76
t.3231		13	0	13	De Natale 1992 p81-82
t.3247		7	0	7	De Natale 1992 p84-85
t.3261		9	0	9	De Natale 1992 p93-94
t.3262		12	0	12	De Natale 1992 p94-95
t.3268		11	0	11	De Natale 1992 p102
t.3290		2	0	2	De Natale 1992 p119
t.3293		13	0	13	De Natale 1992 p120-121
t.3243		5	0	5	De Natale 1992 p83-84
t.4875		1	0	1	Cinquantaquattro 2001 p12
t.4876		6	0	6	Cinquantaquattro 2001 p12-13
t.4878		2	0	2	Cinquantaquattro 2001 p13-14
t.4879		2	0	2	Cinquantaquattro 2001 p14-15
t.4881		6	0	6	Cinquantaquattro 2001 p15-16
t.4882		6	2	4	Cinquantaquattro 2001 p16-17
t.4883		11	1	10	Cinquantaquattro 2001 p17-19
t.4884		1	0	1	Cinquantaquattro 2001 p19-20
t.4886		2	0	2	Cinquantaquattro 2001 p20-21

t.4887	Orientalising I	8	0	8	Cinquantaquattro 2001 p20-21
t.4888		1	0	1	Cinquantaquattro 2001 p21-22
t.4889		19	0	19	Cinquantaquattro 2001 p22-25
t.4890		18	0	18	Cinquantaquattro 2001 p25-27
t.4891		38	2	36	Cinquantaquattro 2001 p27-34
t.4892		14	0	14	Cinquantaquattro 2001 p34-36
t.4893		7	0	7	Cinquantaquattro 2001 p36-37
t.4894		21	1	20	Cinquantaquattro 2001 p37-40
t.4895		7	0	7	Cinquantaquattro 2001 p40-41
t.4896		17	0	17	Cinquantaquattro 2001 p41-42
t.4897		5	0	5	Cinquantaquattro 2001 p42
t.4898		31	0	31	Cinquantaquattro 2001 p42-46
t.4899		3	0	3	Cinquantaquattro 2001 p42-46
t.4900		11	3	8	Cinquantaquattro 2001 p46-49
t.4930		5	1	4	Cinquantaquattro 2001 p49-50
t.4931		4	0	4	Cinquantaquattro 2001 p50
I/596		3	0	3	D'Agostino 1968 p129
II/557		9	0	9	D'Agostino 1968 p129-130
III/575		18	4	14	D'Agostino 1968 p131-133
IV/573		5	0	5	D'Agostino 1968 p133-134.
V/563		14	2	12	D'Agostino 1968 p134-136
VI/568		13	2	11	D'Agostino 1968 p136-138
VII/570		16	1	15	D'Agostino 1968 p138-139
VIII/567		9	1	8	D'Agostino 1968 p140-141
IX/561		10	2	8	D'Agostino 1968 p141
X/566		13	3	10	D'Agostino 1968

					p141-142
XI/571		10	4	6	D'Agostino 1968 p143
XII/582		20	2	18	D'Agostino 1968 p143-145
XIII/579		65	3	62	D'Agostino 1968 p145-147
XIV/606		6	0	6	D'Agostino 1968 p147-148
XV/745		10	4	6	D'Agostino 1968 p148-151
XVI/604		41	3	38	D'Agostino 1968 p151-152
XVII/592		8	4	4	D'Agostino 1968 p153
XVIII/748		26	8	18	D'Agostino 1968 p153-155
XIX/595		9	3	6	D'Agostino 1968 p155
XIXbis/595		11	6	5	D'Agostino 1968 p156-157
XX/742		24	6	18	D'Agostino 1968 p157-160
XXI/690		10	4	6	D'Agostino 1968 p160-162
XXII/605		39	15	24	D'Agostino 1968 p162-165
t.4461	'Princely' tombs	23	7	16	Cerchiai 1987 p27-42
t.2465		59	11	48	Cuozzo 2003 p108-112
t.926		62	9	51	D'Agostino 1977 p9-12
t.928		115	11	104	D'Agostino 1977 p12-16
XXIII/691	Orientalising II	44	7	37	D'Agostino 1968 p166-168
XXIV/692		14	9	5	D'Agostino 1968 p168-170
XXV/603		17	3	14	D'Agostino 1968 p170-171
XXVI/600		11	2	9	D'Agostino 1968 p171-172
XXVII/739		9	3	6	D'Agostino 1968 p172-173
XXVIII/608		12	9	3	D'Agostino 1968 p173-174
XXIX/689		13	3	10	D'Agostino 1968 p175-177
XXX/740		10	2	8	D'Agostino 1968 p177-178

XXXI/743		11	6	5	D'Agostino 1968 p178-179
XXXII/576		21	2	19	D'Agostino 1968 p179-181
XXXIII/688		5	0	5	D'Agostino 1968 p181
XXXV/737		18	1	15	D'Agostino 1968 p183-185
XXXIV/601		21	4	17	D'Agostino 1968 p182-183
XXXVI/738		14	2	12	D'Agostino 1968 p186-187
XXXVII/749		11	5	6	D'Agostino 1968 p187-188
XXXVIII/744		6	3	3	D'Agostino 1968 p188-189

III.4 Unpublished Imports from Pontecagnano

Tomb	Import	Typology		Provenance
t.649B	*Olla "a tenda elegante"*	26A1	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p42-43	Basilicata
t.528	*Anfora "a tenda elegante"*	26A2		
t.639	*Anfora "a tenda elegante"*	26A2		
t.679	*Brocca "a tenda grossolana"*	26B2b		
t.517	*tazza "a tenda grossolana"*	26B		
t.517	*tazza "a tenda grossolana"*	26A/B		
t.664	*pyxis "a piumata"*		Gastaldi 1994 p54	Sicily
t.580	*tazza "a piumata"*	27B	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p44	
t.580	*tazza "a piumata"*	27C		
t2207	buttons	39IMP	Gastaldi 1994 p50, Lo Schiavo 1994, D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p66	Sardinia
t.639	buttons	39IMP		
t.585	buttons	39IMP		
t.2198	buttons	39IMP		
t.2198	pendant			
t.6107	Miniature Nuragic basket (bronze)		Gastaldi 1994 p50-52, Lo Schiavo 1994 p73	
t.639	Miniature Nuragic basket (bronze)			
t.494	*askos "ceramica tipo Torre del mordillo"*		D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p43 (type C1).	Sybaris/ Francavilla Marittima
t.496	*Incensiere sferico*	29A	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p48-49	Etruria (?)
494?	*Rasoio "lunato ad arco interrotto"*	45B1	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p72	Tarquinia/ Vulci
889?	*Fusi*	46A1	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p73	
547?	*Spada*	57A1	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p76-77	
?	*Spada*	57B1	?	
494?	*Fodero*	57B1	?	

t.727	*Scodella carenata*	15IMP	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p34	Sarno Valley
t.540	*Bicchiere globulare*	10IMP	D'Agostino/ Gastaldi 1988 p27	

III.5 Greek Imports from Pontecagnano (Bailo Modesti/Salerno 1999)

Tomb	**Phase**	**Vessel**	**Bibliography**
7129	II	Semicircle pendant cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p27-28
		Semicircle pendant cup	
		Semicircle pendant cup	
		Chevron cup	
		Chevron cup	
		Brocca	
7739	?	Semicircle pendant cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p29-30
		Semicircle pendant cup	
7392	IIA	Semicircle pendant cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p30
4697	IIA	Semicircle pendant cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p31
		Black cup	
		Cup (uncertain type)	
6605	II	Chevron cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p31-32
		Bird type *Brocca*	
		Bird type *Brocca*	
6509	IIA	Bird type *Brocca*	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p32-33
7738	IIA	Chevron cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p33-34
		Bird cup	
		Oinochoe	
7386	IIB	Bird cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p34
3211	IIA	Bird cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p34-35
		Bird cup	
6504	IIA	Chevron cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p35-36
6528/29	IIA	Chevron cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p36
4871	IIA/II?	Chevron cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p36-37
231	IIB	Chevron cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p37
		Chevron cup	
		Chevron cup	
7121	IIA	Chevron cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p37-38
7103	II	Chevron cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p38
7106	II	Chevron cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p38-39
		Black cup	
		Cup (uncertain type)	
7110	IIA	Chevron cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi

		Meander cup	1999 p39-40
		Bird type cup (“*tipo Calcide*”)	
3264	IIB	Meander cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p40
		Rhomboid-chain cup	
3146	IIA	*Kantharos* (Meander type)	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p41
3208	IIA	Meander cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p41-42
7107	II	Cup with linear decor	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p42-43
		Tazza (“*tipo Calcide*”)	
6500	II	Cup (“*tipo Calcide*”)	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p43
4866	IIA	Black Cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p43
3179	IIB	Black cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p50
		Cup with linear decor	
		Anfora with line motif	
2325	II	*Tazza*	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p50-51
3111	IIB	Black cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p51
		Black cup	
2327	IIA	Black cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p51-52
229	II	Black cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p52
7394	IIB	Cup (uncertain type)	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p52
204	II	Cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p52-54
		Anforetta	
		Tazza	
		Tazza	
		Black cup	
3285	IIB	Chevron cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p53-54
		Cup with line motif	
		Lekane	
6547	IIA	Black cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p54-55
		Lekane	
6598	II	Cup (uncertain type)	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p55
		Piattello	
3286	IIB	Chevron cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p55-56
3284	IIB	Chevron cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p56
3224	IIA	Chevron cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p57
3214	IIB	Chevron cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p57-58
		Lekane	
		Lekane	
3099	IIB	Chevron cup	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p58-59
		Lekane	

3091	IIB	*Brocca* wave motif	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p58-59
		Brocca wave motif	
3288	II/IIA?	*Anfora* wave motif	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p60
3089	IIB	*Brocca*	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p60-61
3266	IIB	*Brocchetta*	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p61
3009	IIA	*Olla*	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p61-63
		Chevron *Brocchetta*	
		Brocchetta	
		Lekane	
3093	IIB	*Lekane*	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p63-64
224	IIA/II?	*Lekane*	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p64
538	IIA	*Brocca*	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p64-65-66
		Olla	
		Olla	
7780	II	*Pyxis*	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p65-66
3892	IIB	*Olla*	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p66-67
3267	IIB	*Coppetta* wave motif	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p67
3006	IIB	*Scodellone*	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p67-68
226	IIA/II?	*Scodellone*	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p68
6527	II	*Scodellone*	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p68-69
7384	IIA	*Scodella*	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p69-70
3098	IIB	*Scodella*	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p70
211	IIB/II?	*Scodella*	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p70-71
7077	IIB	*Tazza*	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p71
7732	II	*Scodella*	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p71-72
7737	II	*Lekane*	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p72
		Lekane	
		Lekane	
7765	IIB	*Olla*	Bailo Modesti/ Gastaldi 1999 p73-74
		Oinochoe	

Appendix IV. The Oliveto-Cairano Culture

IV.1 Publication History and Tomb Sample

Site/Location	**Date excavated**	**No. of tombs.**	**Publication**
Bisaccia			
Cimitero Vecchio	1975	54	*Unpublished*.
Provisional tomb total	-	?	-
Cairano			
Località Vignale	1967	24	Pescatori Colucci 1971
Località Vignale/ Località Calvario	1970-1972, 1976	21	Bailo Modesti 1980
Provisional tomb total	-	45	-
Oliveto-Citra			
Contrada Turno	1928	18	Marzullo 1930
Contrada Turni	1950	6	Sestieri 1952
Località Turni	1961	27	D'Agostino 1964
Provisional tomb total		51	-
Oliveto-Cairano Culture tomb total	-	150	-

Prior to the 1960s the Oliveto-Cairano culture was only partially understood. Early excavations took place in the *Contrada Turno* area at the site of Oliveto-Citra in 1928, which were published by Marzullo in 1930.[1298] Eighteen tombs were brought to light, dating from the 7th to the early decades of the 6th century BC,[1299] all of which were inhumations in *fossae* lined with pebbles and large boulders.[1300] Because Marzullo's publication was the first to discuss this culture, he was only able to conclude that his data were "ancora troppo scarsi, per poterne ricavare un quadro meno incompiuto della civiltà di questa chiusa e impervia regione ai confini fra Lucania e l'Irpinia".[1301] As discussed in §4.1.2 and §4.3, this was the first sign of the area being treated through the lens of insularity. Investigations at Oliveto-Citra continued in January 1950, where agricultural activity led to the discovery of six Iron Age tombs in *Contrada Turni* and a large tomb in *Contrada Piceglia*.[1302] Published by Sestieri, these tombs were again *fossae* inhumations lined with pebbles, although the majority were lacked a cover, aside from a few with boulders and pebbles placed over the corpse sealing the tomb.[1303] Sestieri believed his publication offered an insight into the "civiltà" of Oliveto-Citra and "i suoi rapporti con Greci e altre popolazioni indigene, e quindi circa

[1298] This was led by prof A. Maiuri, see Marzullo 1930 p229.
[1299] Marzullo 1930 p249.
[1300] Marzullo 1930 p229-230.
[1301] Marzullo 1930 p249.
[1302] Sestieri 1952 p52.
[1303] Sestieri 1952 p52.

la cronologia della necropoli dell' età del ferro".[1304] However, the Oliveto-Cairano culture was not yet understood as either a sub-group of the *Fossakultur*, or a cultural group. These two interpretations emerged after D'Agostino's excavations at Oliveto-Citra in 1961. These excavations yielded 27 tombs, all of which were inhumation *fossae*, that D'Agostino published in 1964.[1305] The finds in these tombs combined with those in the earlier excavations, pointed to the existence of a cultural group at Oliveto-Citra and the nearby sites of Montecorvino Rovella, Cairano and Calitri, which was distinct from the other cultures in Campania.[1306]

Further excavations were undertaken by Pescatori Colucci at Cairano, Calitri and Bisaccia in 1967.[1307] While the latter two mainly yielded sporadic material, Cairano revealed 24 tombs in the *Località Vignale* dating from 900 to 550 BC, amongst which was t.3. This tomb was one of the earliest Iron Age tombs in Campania dating to the first decades of the 9th century BC.[1308] The sporadic material from Calitri is now held in the Museo Irpino (Avellino) totalling nine objects, while the objects from Bisaccia were chance finds recovered from the *Cimitero Vecchio* hill by local archaeologist Nicola Fierro.[1309] Pescatori Colucci's report thus confirmed that this cultural group extended inland from Oliveto-Citra to Cairano, Calitri and Bisaccia. It was around this time that this group of sites was first called the Oliveto-Cairano culture. In 1980 Bailo Modesti published his excavations from Cairano that took place between 1970 to 1972 and also in 1976. [1310] These included 21 tombs, a domestic structure (*abitato*) and a possible ritual or refuse contact (*fossato*). While the *abitato* is a rare non-funerary context in Campania and presents an opportunity to examine the material culture used in daily life, it unfortunately dates to the Archaic period and therefore outside the chronological bounds of this thesis.[1311] The *fossato* was left open to the elements throughout the use of the necropolis (to which it seems linked in function), but I have excluded it from my analysis here as it too dates largely to the Archaic period.

Although barely published, the sites of Bisaccia, Lacedonia, Calitri and Morra de Sanctis have seen differing levels of excavation and exploration. According to Bailo Modesti's report of 1975, he excavated a total of 54 burials on the *Vecchio Cimitero*

[1304] Sestieri 1952 p52.
[1305] D'Agostino 1964 p40-42.
[1306] D'Agostino 1964 p99.
[1307] Pescatori Colucci 1971 Cairano p481-528, Calitri p528-531 and Bisaccia p476-480.
[1308] Pescatori Colucci 1971 p517-518; Bailo Modesti 1996 p33.
[1309] Pescatori Colucci 1971 p476.
[1310] Bailo Modesti 1980 p7.
[1311] Bailo Modesti 1980 p104-113.

hill at Bisaccia earlier that year. The rescue excavations he undertook are unpublished and his report presented a brief description of the finds within discussion of Bisaccia's development from the 8th century onwards.[1312] A single tomb from nearby Lacedonia was briefly noted by D'Agostino in his report a year earlier. In his report he mentioned a vast 'Protovillanovan necropolis' at Lacedonia, but regrettably this 11th century burial is the only one discussed.[1313] This *olla* cremation burial is more reflective of the FBA, but it is unclear whether the necropolis at Lacedonia only dated to the Bronze Age or also included Iron Age graves of the Oliveto-Cairano culture. Furthermore, the purported Protovillanovan element in the Lacedonia necropolis would be of much interest towards examining the origins of this cultural group, but like much of the evidence from Hirpinia the tomb remains unpublished. Calitri received some attention in Pescatori Colucci's publication, but only in the form of sporadic material.[1314] Nevertheless, this site is frequently cited as pertaining to the Oliveto-Cairano culture despite little having been published. *Il Calitrano*, a local journal specialising in the culture of modern Calitri, states that 18 tombs were excavated some time before 2010, dating from the 8th and 7th centuries BC but, again, these are unpublished. Furthermore, the article laments the transfer of these assemblages from Calitri to the storage deposits at the *Soprintendenza* of Avellino, which has meant that there is no museum at Calitri to display this material.[1315] A similar situation concerns Morra de Sanctis, where a necropolis at *Piano di Cerasuoli* dating from the end of the 8th to the 7th century BC was uncovered.[1316] The burials were discussed in a brief article by Romito, with little published in any detail.[1317] Consequently, both Morra de Sanctis and Calitri are excluded from this study.

Therefore, several issues surround the current level of publication and the quantity of material displayed in local museums. Problems also emerge connected to the number of available tombs for each phase at each site. For example, Cairano has 20 tombs spanning the late 10th to mid-8th centuries BC, but a lacuna of evidence across the middle of the 7th century BC. It has a single tomb dating somewhere generically across the 8th to 6th centuries BC and 13 burials dating from the end of the 7th to the mid-6th century BC. A further seven tombs date from 500 to 400 BC, yet they fall outside the bounds of this study. As mentioned above, Cairano also features several

[1312] Bailo Modesti 1975 p511-512.
[1313] D'Agostino 1974 p109-111.
[1314] Pescatori Colucci 1971 p528-531.
[1315] Salvante 2010 p3.
[1316] Galasso 2005 p58.
[1317] Romito 1984 p533-534.

non-funerary contexts which are notably absent elsewhere in EIA Campania. The date of these contexts is not given by the excavators, but much of the material at Cairano appears to date to the Archaic period.

Bisaccia presents a different situation: only 13 tombs date from the 9th to the early 7th century BC, but 23 tombs (including sporadic finds) are datable to the 7th century BC. Twenty-six other tombs and sporadic contexts are displayed in the museum, but no information is provided on their dates and their full assemblages do not appear to be on display. Information panels at the museum of Bisaccia state that over 150 tombs have so far been excavated, but only 36 are on display with their grave goods. Moreover, no tombs are on display for the period 600 to 575 BC, meaning that the later Orientalising to Archaic period and beyond at Bisaccia is unknown. In contrast, Oliveto-Citra has three tombs from the late 8th century, but the majority date between the end of the 7th to the 6th century BC. Five tombs are of mid-7th century BC date, seven others from the end of the 7th to the early 6th century BC, and another five possibly date to the 7th century, but their chronology is not specified in the excavation report. A further six burials span the second quarter to mid-6th century BC, but, because another six and a possible hearth are not dateable, they are not examined here.

This brief review demonstrates the much smaller tomb sample that is available from the Oliveto-Cairano sites when compared to other sites in Campania. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that the Oliveto-Cairano settlements are studied as one cultural group rather than on an individual basis. The small sample at these three sites illustrates the difficulties in examining the development of this culture. Furthermore, a lack of chronological study of the material culture means it has yet to be divided into the subphases that have been outlined for Pontecagnano or the Sarno Valley. Despite such issues, the Oliveto-Cairano culture remains key to current thinking which portrays Hirpinia as a conservative hinterland that lagged behind the Tyrrhenian coast which was fully embracing Hellenic culture. Due to the lack of subphases available for this culture, I have grouped all the tombs from all three sites into two phases: phase I (900-699 BC) covering the so-called first Iron Age and the start of the second (*prima-seconda età del ferro*), and phase II (699-600 BC) covering the end of the Iron Age, the Orientalising period and into the Archaic period. Although the first phase is contemporary to the Greek arrival at Pithekoussai and Cumae, it is not possible to divide it into the three subphases used at Pontecagnano due to the small tomb sample. The second phase will allow an understanding of how the Oliveto-Cairano culture developed in later periods. I recognise that these are completely arbitrary phases and

not based on changes to the material culture, yet they are necessitated by the nature of the dataset.

IV.2 Tomb Sample from the Oliveto-Citra Cairano culture

Phase I					
Tomb No.	Tot. Objects	Imports/ Imitations	Locally prod. Objects	Gender	Bibliog.
Cairano					
3	6	0	6	-	Pescatori Colucci 1971 p517-518
Punto y	4	0	4	-	Bailo Modesti 1980 p95
5	8	0	8	-	Pescatori Colucci 1971 p497
6	2	0	2	-	Pescatori Colucci 1971 p499
8	5	0	5	-	Pescatori Colucci 1971 p500-502
10	3	0	3	-	Pescatori Colucci 1971 p502
12	8	0	8	-	Pescatori Colucci 1971 p504-505
14	8	0	8	-	Pescatori Colucci 1971 p508-510
22	8	0	8	-	Pescatori Colucci 1971 p514
20	2	0	2	-	Pescatori Colucci 1971 p520-521
21	18	0	18	-	Pescatori Colucci 1971 p523-524
15	2	0	2	-	Pescatori Colucci 1971 p510
16	3	0	3	-	Pescatori Colucci 1971 p511
17	6	0	6	-	Pescatori Colucci 1971 p511-512
18	2	0	2	-	Pescatori Colucci 1971 p513
19	5	0	5	-	Pescatori Colucci 1971 p513
7	10	0	10	-	Pescatori Colucci 1971 p499
9	4	0	4	-	Pescatori Colucci 1971 p502
11	22	0	22	-	Pescatori Colucci 1971 p502-504
13	25	0	25	-	Pescatori Colucci 1971 p505-508
Bisaccia					

33	3	0	3	-	Unpublished. Displayed in Museum.
37	3	0	3	-	
39	2	0	2	-	
31	4	0	4	M	
46	4	0	4	M	
30	3	0	3	M	
20	3	0	3	M	
76	18	0	18	F	
1	6	0	6	-	
2	2	0	2	ADULT	
25	14	1	13	M	
22	2	0	2	F	
23	3	1	2	ADULT	
Oliveto/Citra					
7	12	0	12	F	D'Agostino 1964 p56-57
21	6	0	6	-	D'Agostino 1964 p77-78
23	7	0	7	-	D'Agostino 1964 p79-80
Phase II					
Cairano					
Vignale VI	3	0	3	F	Bailo Modesti 1980 p103
Vignale Punto x	9	2	7	-	Bailo Modesti 1980 p95-96
23	16	0	16	-	Pescatori Colucci 1971 p515-516
4	13	1	12	-	Pescatori Colucci 1971 p518-520
Vignale VII	62	12	50	-	Bailo Modesti 1980 p141-151
Vignale VIII	37	0	37	-	Bailo Modesti 1980 p151-154
Vignale IX	122	4	118	-	Bailo Modesti 1980 p151-154
Vignale X	8	2	6	-	Bailo Modesti 1980 p157-159
Vignale XI	17	2	15	-	Bailo Modesti 1980 p159-160
Vignale I	7	0	7	-	Bailo Modesti 1980 p96-97
Vignale II	12	0	12	M	Bailo Modesti 1980 p97-98
Vignale III	6	0	6	F	Bailo Modesti 1980 p98-99
Vignale IV	29	0	29	F	Bailo Modesti 1980 p99-100
Vignale V	16	0	16	M	Bailo Modesti 1980 p101-103
Bisaccia					
66	98	4	94	F	
59	7	0	7	M	
68	9	0	9	M	

129	1	0	1	-	Unpublished. Displayed in Museum.
130	2	0	2	-	
Gr. T.93	1	1	0	-	
55	16	1	15	M	
110	25	1	24	F	
111	7	0	7	M	
12	9	0	9	-	
67	1	0	1	-	
18	46	0	46	-	
Gr. 3	2	0	2	-	
Sporadic material	2	1	1	-	
6	8	1	7	M	
11	24	0	24	M	
49	6	0	6	M	
17	24	0	24	ADULT	
14	13	1	12	ADULT	
15	18	0	18	-	
38	2	0	2	-	
8	3	1	2	-	
Oliveto/Citra					
2	18	0	18	-	D'Agostino 1964 p48-50
3	8	0	8	M	D'Agostino 1964 p50-51
11	9	0	9	-	D'Agostino 1964 p65
14	9	0	9	M	D'Agostino 1964 p66-67
15	6	0	6	-	D'Agostino 1964 p67-68
14/15?	11	0	11	-	D'Agostino 1964 p68-69
17	6	0	6	-	D'Agostino 1964 p71-72
19/19A	15	0	15	-	D'Agostino 1964 p74-76
18	13	0	13	-	D'Agostino 1964 p73-74
16	18	0	18	-	D'Agostino 1964 p69-71
5	7	0	7	-	D'Agostino 1964 p52-53
4	7	0	7	-	D'Agostino 1964 p51-52
10	48	4	44	F	D'Agostino 1964 p60-64
I	7	1	6	-	Sestieri 1952 p53
II	11	5	6	-	Sestieri 1952 p54-55
III	3	0	3	-	Sestieri 1952 p55
IV	3	0	3	-	Sestieri 1952 p55-56
V	13	0	13	-	Sestieri 1952 p56-57
27	31	10	21	-	D'Agostino 1964 p84-91
6	19	3	16	-	D'Agostino 1964 p53-54
9	12	5	7	-	D'Agostino 1964 p59-60
12	8	1	7	-	D'Agostino 1964 p66
22	6	2	4	-	D'Agostino 1964 p78-79
24	13	1	12	-	D'Agostino 1964 p80
26	6	0	6	-	D'Agostino 1964 p82-84
Contrada Piceglia	42	3	39	-	Sestieri 1952 p58-63

Appendix V. The Sarno Valley.

V.1 Publication history

Site/Location	**Date excavated**	**No. of tombs.**	**Publication**
San Marzano			
Via Piave/ Proprietà Tufano/ Proprietà Ambrosio/ Proprietà Viscardi/Pascale	1968-1976	55?	Unpublished. But partially published in D'Agostino 1970.
?	?	?	Patroni 1904
?	?	?	Pais 1901
Provisional tomb total	-	?	-
San Valentino Torio			
?			Patroni 1904
?			Pais 1901
Provisional tomb total	-		-
Striano			
Via Poggiomarino	1983	?	Unpublished. Report in D'Ambrosio 1990.
Via Serafino	1983	42?	Published? D'Ambrosio 2009.
Prop. Ambrosio/Via Orto delle Fabbriche	1994	27	D'Ambrosio 1999 and Rivista studi Pompeiani XIV 2003 p228.
Via Palma	?	?	Unpublished. Report in D'Ambrosio 1999, D'Ambrosio 1988, D'Ambrosio 2003.
Via Foce	?	?	Unpublished. Report in D'Ambrosio 1988.
Via De Pace	?	?	Unpublished. Report in D'Ambrosio 1994.
Via Garibaldi	?	?	Unpublished. Report in Rivista studi Pompeiani V 1991-1992 p214.
Traversa Serafino	?	?	Unpublished. Report in D'Ambrosio 2005.
Provisional tomb total			-
Sarno valley tomb total	-		-

Although the Sarno Valley sites have been widely discussed, the cemeteries remain only partially published and few tombs are displayed in the *Museo archeologico nazionale della Valle del Sarno*. Consequently, there has been a heavy focus on unpublished burials, especially those of an eminent character. These rich tombs are used to highlight specific developments that are perceived to be key to the evolution of the valley area. The first recorded excavations in the area began in the early 1900's after the Sarno Valley had already become well known for sporadic

finds.[1318] Until the 1960s the Sarno area was hardly explored (aside from Sestieri's brief report which was published in 1950). Investigations by the *Soprintendenza* of Salerno at San Marzano in 1968 were published by D'Agostino in 1970. His report was concerned with the Iron Age tombs. Unfortunately, this article focused on the typologies of the material found, but at no point is a tomb catalogue provided so that the exact number of objects for each tomb could be ascertained. This lack of a full publication results from D'Agostino's stated intention to only publish a brief report of the material, which would then be followed by a more comprehensive catalogue at a later date.[1319] However, the proposed publication of the graves has yet to materialise, which means that D'Agostino's brief report on the tombs from San Marzano cannot be included here in this study of tie strength, as an exact number of objects for each burial is not available. Similarly problematic are D'Agostino' and Gastaldi's 1979 articles (who both published in the same volume). D'Agostino published a typological list of the imported Greek ceramics and local imitations into the Sarno Valley, but this is not a comprehensive tomb catalogue. His use of the generic term 'Valle del Sarno' does not specify whether these vessels are from San Marzano or San Valentino Torio, making it impossible to quantify the imports at each site. Gastaldi's article places greater emphasis on establishing the absolute and relative chronologies for the Sarno Valley and their division into subphases, and it is again difficult to understand the total objects in each tomb. While these articles are extremely valuable for the typological information they include, they unfortunately offer little in the way of quantification, which poses issues for a study of tie strength.

I cannot establish the total number of tombs that have been discovered in the Sarno Valley or which periods they pertain to. Dé Spagnolis states in her volume that up until the year 2000 (the year she published her book), over 1,500 tombs had been found at San Marzano and San Valentino, and around 70 from Striano.[1320] She provides no further information on when these tombs were excavated, from which areas of each site they come from, and how the 1,500 tombs were split between San Marzano and San Valentino. However, Dé Spagnolis does indicate that hundreds of tombs have been discovered but subsequently destroyed as a result of clandestine digging. A large quantity of material has therefore resurfaced in diverse private collections.[1321] Similarly problematic is the tomb sample studied by Gastaldi when she

[1318] Dé Spagnolis 2001 p43.
[1319] D'Agostino 1970 p572.
[1320] Dé Spagnolis 2001 p33-34 & p47.
[1321] Dé Spagnolis 2001 p35.

established the chronological phases of the area. In two articles she describes her results as being based on over 300 tombs from San Valentino and San Marzano combined, but the background of these excavations is vague.[1322] While San Marzano was excavated between 1968 and 1976, the evidence she mentions from San Valentino appears to come from private collections. Gastaldi does not mention any specific excavation campaigns at San Valentino and no indication is given of the total tombs or objects for the two sites. Gastaldi did not publish a tomb catalogue and mainly discussed burials of an exceptional character to support the idea of different phases of socio-evolution at San Marzano and San Valentino Torio.[1323]

The study by Dé Spagnolis published 30 tombs (18 at San Valentino Torio and at 12 San Marzano) covering the Late to the Early Orientalising periods. This volume is extremely useful due to its discussion of the Orientalising phases, which were not covered by D'Agostino or Gastaldi.[1324] She also provides an overview of the Sarno area and its excavation history, but unfortunately fails to provide dates on all the tombs she includes; I obtained these instead from Ridgway's review of the book in the Journal of Roman Archaeology.[1325] Aside from these publications, some material from San Marzano and San Valentino Torio is on display at the Museum of Sarno, but it is limited to a mere five tombs for the period studied here.[1326] Striano has more available tombs than the other two sites in the valley, but the exact number of excavated burials is hard to establish. Sporadic material from various private collections was collated by Scatozza but was largely without context.[1327] However, D'Ambrosio has progressively published many of the tombs from Striano in a series of publications from 1988 to 2009. The most recent of these focused on 42 tombs from the *Via Serafina* area of the cemetery and is included in the analysis in chapter 5[1328] as are the other reports. Unfortunately, none of these studies provides a total number of excavated tombs from Striano. As I was unable to obtain the *Via Orto delle Fabbriche (Prop. Manfredi)* publication, the tombs from this area are not included in this study.

[1322] Gastaldi 1979 p13 and 1982 p223.
[1323] Gastaldi 1979 p13 and 1982 p223.
[1324] Dé Spagnolis 2001 p169.
[1325] Ridgway 2002.
[1326] The museum was inaugurated in 2011. I am grateful to Sig. Saverio De Rosa for his help and kindness during my visit in October 2014.
[1327] Scatozza 1978 p75-228.
[1328] D'Ambrosio 2009 p9-170.

Object type	**Number**	**%**	**Imports**	**%**
Pottery	10	100%	2	20%
Total	10	100%	2	20%
Tombs	n/a			

To further compound this problem concerning the tomb sample, some of the published tombs are empty (*Via Serafino* t.15, t.28, t.32), largely due to damage from later agricultural activity. Alongside this, the published sporadic finds are decontextualised, which unfortunately excludes them from this analysis. More significant were the undated sporadic finds from the *via Orto delle Fabbriche* and *via Traversa Serafino* areas. While nine pots came from the *via Orto delle Fabbriche* area of the excavation (8 *impasto* vessels and an Italo-Geometric *skyphos*),[1329] the most important find was from *via Traversa Serafino*, which was an Italo-Geometric *oinochoe* of the so-called *Cuma-Tarquinia-Pontecagnano* group, a type of ceramic production that was named on the inability to accurately identify which of these three sites they were produced at.[1330] However, it has now become clear that these *oinochoe* were probably produced either at Pithekoussai or Cumae.[1331] Mermati has noted that the *Cuma-Tarquinia-Pontecagnano oinochoe* are the most common Greek vessels in the Sarno valley graves and because "it is certain that non-Greek purchasers would readily identify this object with its provenience", she argues that the valley communities were actively acquiring these vessels for their use in the symposium.[1332] However, this is an isolated example and the other tombs from Striano (see sections §5.2.1 to §5.2.7) do not reflect this preference, meaning that her information must be based on unpublished assemblages. Furthermore, as stated above, these vessels are decontextualised, sporadic finds making it difficult to ascertain whether the *oinochoe* was from the funerary or domestic sphere.

Import	**Excavation**	**Bibliography**	**Provenance**
Italo-Geometric Greek *oinochoe*	*Via Traversa Serafino (Prop. Pellegrino)*	D'Ambrosio 2005 p150.	Pithekoussai? Cuma?
Italo-Geometric Greek s*kyphos*	*Via Orto delle Fabbriche*	D'Ambrosio 1999 p164-166.	

[1329] D'Ambrosio 1990 p164-166.
[1330] D'Ambrosio 2005 p150.
[1331] Mermati 2013 p100-101
[1332] Mermati 2013 p104, p113.

V.2 Poggiomarino

The remnants of an ancient settlement with evidence dating from the Bronze Age until the mid-6th century BC were discovered in the Longola area at Poggiomarino in the summer of 2000, during the construction of a water purification plant. Excavations began at the end of 2000 and the finds from the site have since shown that Poggiomarino has the potential to dramatically challenge current ideas on regional interaction in Campania.[1333] Waterlogged conditions have preserved wooden domestic structures, canals and an unprecedented variety of objects, which attest to daily life in the Sarno Valley and make the Poggiomarino site unique in Campania.[1334] Poggiomarino sits inside a natural basin surrounded by a series of small hills where the modern towns of San Marzano, San Valentino and Striano are located.[1335] Its proximity to the Sarno river was crucial to the development of the site and the unique design of structures adopted by the local population.[1336] Initially the river passed through the area upon which the settlement was later established, but it had begun to silt up by the Bronze Age and resembled a marshy swamp.[1337] The Longola area of Poggiomarino shows its first signs of occupation during the MBA and it is likely that at this time the Sarno river still able to give the inhabitants access to the Tyrrhenian coast.[1338]

From early on, evidence indicates a deliberate alteration of the marsh area by its inhabitants through a continuous and comprehensive process of land reclamation. This process comprised damming the marshes into a series of canals to form man-made islands on the dry spaces between the waterways.[1339] The canal banks were constantly reinforced and maintained through palisades, while the floor level of the islands underwent constant increases as a result of deliberate interventions. From the Bronze Age onwards this practice of creating a settlement between the canals continued uninterrupted until Iron Age phase 2B, when a process of systematically filling the canals with discarded wooden objects, pottery, and walls (from unused structures) began. Consequently, some of the previously wet areas were now being cultivated for agricultural purposes. Such a change signals the beginning of the final phases of

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[1333] Cicirelli 2003 p351, 2008 p473; Albore Livadie *et al.* 2005 p699.
[1334] Albore Livadie *et al.* 2005 p699; Cicirelli/Albore Livadie 2008 p475-476.
[1335] Cicirelli 2003 p354; Albore Livadie *et al.* 2005 p700; Guzzo 2006 p218.
[1336] Guzzo 2006 p218-219 notes that agriculture was not possible around the Longola site.
[1337] Albore Livadie *et al.* 2005 p700.
[1338] Albore Livadie/Cicirelli 2003 p97.
[1339] Albore Livadie/Cicirelli 2003 p89-91; Cicirelli/Albore Livadie 2003 p354-355, 2008 p475-477 and p480; Guzzo 2006 p219; Albore Livadie *et al.* 2005 p700; Albore Livadie 2012a p21.

occupation and the site was abandoned in the mid-6th century BC.[1340] Whether this abandonment was provoked by some form of natural disaster,[1341] is an area that requires further examination. Nevertheless, the abandonment coincides with the emergence of the nearby proto-urban settlements at Pompeii and Nuceria leading to the assumption that the population at Poggiomarino moved to these two sites.[1342]

The islands held houses, stables, and buildings for specialised crafts, all of wood, mainly oak and located on platforms above the water.[1343] In typological terms, these structures were nearly all of a horseshoe-shape with an opening on one side. Divided into rooms by partition walls, they were generally 12/10 x 5/3metres in dimension. Hearths were found in many buildings, while the external areas were often the locus of industrial or craft activity.[1344] The structures on each island were connected by the canals as attested by the discovery of canoes in section MAF 3.[1345] Poggiomarino thus provides evidence of a unique settlement for Bronze-Iron Age Campania which prompts a review of Dall'Osso's finds of the early 20th century. As discussed in §5.1.2, Dall'Osso believed he had discovered a settlement at *Località Zecchignoli* (San Marzano), but this was refuted by his contemporaries.[1346] Albore Livadie, the excavator of the site at Poggiomarino now feels that Dall'Osso's theory was correct and that *Località Zecchignoli* was a similar type of settlement to that at Poggiomarino. Furthermore, investigations by the *Soprintendenza* of Pompeii along the Sarno River in 2007 have revealed other possible other riverine settlements at *Località Martucciello* and *Località Acquarossa*, and Albore Livadie consequently believes that this habitation type was used by the majority of Sarno Valley communities.[1347] While Poggiomarino is increasing our knowledge of the diverse forms of settlement possible in Campania, the finds from the site themselves are throwing light on the notion of the Sarno Valley being a culturally closed area until the Greeks arrived.

Firstly, considerable evidence exists at Poggiomarino for diverse crafts that accentuate the unique status of this settlement. Aside from the vast corpus of wooden

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[1340] Albore Livadie/Cicirelli 2003 p108, 124; Albore Livadie 2008 p480-481.
[1341] Guzzo 2006 p220-221 discusses earlier Bronze Age eruptions and speculates how these possibly impeded the local community. Cicirelli 2012a p22 proposes disastrous alluvial events,
[1342] Cicirelli 2012a p22.
[1343] Albore Livadie *et al.* 2005 p704.
[1344] Albore Livadie/Cicirelli 2003 p112-114; Albore Livadie *et al.* 2005 p704; Ciccirelli 2008 p476, 2003 p356; Albore Livadie 2008 p483, 2012b p46-50.
[1345] Albore Livadie/Cicirelli 2003 p97-98; Albore Livadie *et al.* 2005 p700; Guzzo 2006 p220; Cicirelli/Albore Livadie 2008 p477.
[1346] Dé Spagnolis 2001 p43-44; Albore Livadie/Cicirelli 2003 p115-118; Guzzo 2006 p220; Cicirelli/Albore Livadie 2008 p476; Longo 2010a p71-72.
[1347] Albore Livadie 2012a p20. Cf. Albore Livadie/ Cicirelli 2003 p89-90 *contra* Dé Spagnolis 2001 who believes the communities lived on the hills above the cemeteries in the area.

objects produced on site,[1348] there is considerable evidence for metallurgy, amber-working and wine making.[1349] These activities point to the ties the settlement held before the Euboians and others arrived at Pithekoussai. For example, the *fibulae* and pins (*spilloni*) recovered from refuse and domestic contexts show links with Sicily, Bologna, Villanovan sites in Etruria and Campania, Picenum and the *Fossakultur* in Calabria.[1350] Lead slag samples from Poggiomarino were subjected to isotope analysis at the University of Bern which revealed two possible provenances, South-western Sardinia or Southern Spain (the Rio-Tinto Huelva or Alpujarride regions).[1351] Furthermore, a large number of pebbles from Poggiomarino underwent lithic analysis that highlighted either Sardinia or Ischia as their origin. Di Mais suggests that these were ballast from ships arriving at Poggiomarino that, having loaded up with cereals or other local goods, left the pebbles behind.[1352] Most significant, however, is the presence of various sized blocks of raw and worked amber and unfinished amber objects. These indicated that amber was not only imported in bulk but that objects were being produced in situ.[1353] Because is frequently difficult to source, it was analysed using the DRIFTS technique. This technique identified both Baltic (the most common source in antiquity) and non-Baltic amber in the sample, while three samples were possibly Apennine in origin.[1354] Long-distance links with the amber road in Northern Italy seem certain, but the possibility remains that a local Italian source was also exploited. In terms of its duration, amber working at Poggiomarino appears to have begun in the Bronze Age, peaked in the Iron Age, and started to tail off during the Orientalising period.[1355] Alongside amber, wine was also being produced at the site and was possibly traded with external contacts.[1356] Furthermore, the abundant tools associated with textile production at Poggiomarino have been associated with the presence of specialised female weavers from Hirpina and Daunia.[1357]

Imported vessels further demonstrate the site's connections, as the early phases have yielded fragments of Villanovan style (*a pettine*) decorated vessels, a style which

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[1348] Pappalardo/Albore Livadie 2012 p174-180.
[1349] Cicirelli/Albore Livadie 2003 p358, 2008 p476; Guzzo 2006 p220; Cicirelli *et al*. 2008, Albore Livadie *et al.* 2005 p701, Albore Livadie 2012a p21, 2012e p142-147.
[1350] Cicirelli 2012b p155-157.
[1351] Cicirelli/Albore Livadie 2008 p478.
[1352] Cicirelli/Albore Livadie 2008 p480.
[1353] Cicirelli Cicirelli/Albore Livadie 2008 p477-478; Albore Livadie 2008 p483; Livadie 2012a p21; Cicirelli 2003 p358; Guzzo 2006 p220; Albore Livadie *et al.* 2005 p701.
[1354] Bellintani/Angelini 2012 p162-164.
[1355] Cesarano/Bellintani 2012 p168-169.
[1356] Cicirelli *et al.* 2008.
[1357] Bailo Modesti/Gobbi 2010; Pappalardo *et al.* 2011 p25.

influenced the local *impasto* production.[1358] The *saggio 2A* area of the excavation yielded diverse fragments of Greek LG and MG cups, Enotrian *a tenda* vessels, a Daunian LG *olla* and fragments of *bucchero*.[1359] Although a recent monograph on Poggiomarino has done much to substantiate our knowledge of the area, a lot of the information provided remains in report form. For example, those sections concerning the imported pottery do not provide an exact number of fragments nor individual pots, which the excavators readily admit.[1360] I was fortunate to visit the site in November 2011 and can attest to the vast stores of pottery held in large storage containers still to be catalogued, which accounts for the monograph being a preliminary study. Nevertheless, the combined data of amber, lead, pebbles, imported *fibulae*, pins and pots show that the Longola/Poggiomarino site had many diverse connections from the Bronze to Iron Age. The connections demonstrate the existence of an extensive network of relationships in place before the Greeks arrived, and that Poggiomarino was a key node in this local network for its location being perfect for trade, but also because it produced a wide variety of objects.[1361] These connections seriously challenge the widely-held idea that the Sarno Valley was backward and conservative and dependent on trade with Pithekoussai.

[1358] Bartoli 2012 p140-141.
[1359] Albore Livadie/Cicirelli 2003 p123.
[1360] Albore Livadie 2012c p124 notes that there were too many Greek and Enotrian fragments to publish. Although Albore Livadie 2012d p131-133 lists 55 fragments from Saggio 2A and 28 from Saggio 3B, it is unclear if these were the only *bucchero* fragments from the site.
[1361] Albore Livadie 2012a p21.

V. 3 Tomb Sample from The Sarno Valley Sites

Phase I					
Tomb No.	Tot. Objects	Imports/ Imitations	Locally prod. Objects	Gender	Bibliog.
San Marzano					
4	16	0	16	-	Displayed in Museum; D'Agostino 1970.
Striano					
Via Serafina 40	6	0	6	M	Ambrosio 2009 p167-169
Via Serafina 41	9	0	9	CHILD	Ambrosio 2009 p169-170
Via Serafina 11	8	0	8	-	Ambrosio 2009 p112-113
Via Serafina 25	3	0	3	-	Ambrosio 2009 p137
Via Palma 1	8	0	8	M	Ambrosio 1988 p87-90
Via Palma 3	2	0	2	-	Ambrosio 1988 p91-93
Phase II					
San Marzano					
964	70	1	69	F	Savella 2007 p56-75
928	29	1	28	F	Greco/Mermati 2006
Outside 928	6	0	6	-	Greco/Mermati 2006
Striano					
Via Serafina 23	9	0	9	F	Ambrosio 2009 p134-135
Via Serafina 2	58	0	58	-	Ambrosio 2009 p95-99
Via Serafina 4	5	0	5	ADULT	Ambrosio 2009 p101
Via Serafina 6	3	0	3	CHILD	Ambrosio 2009 p104-105
Via Serafina 7	10	0	10	M	Ambrosio 2009 p105-108
Via Serafina 9	10	0	10	-	Ambrosio 2009 p109-110
Via Serafina 10	12	0	12	CHILD	Ambrosio 2009 p111-112
Via Serafina 14	10	0	10	F	Ambrosio 2009 p117-119
Via Serafina 17	18	0	18	CHILD	Ambrosio 2009 p120-122
Via Serafina 20	11	0	11	F	Ambrosio 2009 p127-129
Via Serafina 21	7	0	7	CHILD	Ambrosio 2009 p129-130

Via Serafina 22	21	0	21	F	Ambrosio 2009 p130-133
Via Serafina 31	21	0	21	F	Ambrosio 2009 p144-147
Via Serafina 35	14	0	14	M	Ambrosio 2009 p156-160
Phase III					
San Marzano					
Sestieri 1	5	4	1	-	Sestieri 1949 p179-181
Sestieri 2	9	0	9	-	
San Valentino Torio					
1364	37	4	33	F	Dé Spagnolis 2001 p89-90, p96-98
1365	4	0	4	CHILD	Dé Spagnolis 2001 p90
1366	42	2	40	F	Dé Spagnolis 2001 p90-92, 99-100
1367	15	1	14	-	Dé Spagnolis 2001 p92
1368	32	1	31	-	Dé Spagnolis 2001 p92-4, 102
1369	3	0	3	-	Dé Spagnolis 2001 p95
818	187	7	180	-	Unpublished. Displayed in Museum.
Striano					
Via Serafina 12	13	3	10	CHILD	Ambrosio 2009 p114-116
Via Serafina 18	16	0	16	-	Ambrosio 2009 p122-124
Via Serafina 19	11	1	10	CHILD	Ambrosio 2009 p125-126
Via Serafina 26	4	0	4	-	Ambrosio 2009 p138-139
Via Serafina 30	19	0	19	CHILD	Ambrosio 2009 p142-144
Via Serafina 33	12	0	12	F	Ambrosio 2009 p147-150
Via Serafina 38	11	1	10	CHILD	Ambrosio 2009 p163-165
Via Poggiomarino 5 (11)	6	0	6	-	Ambrosio 1990 p23-24
Via Poggiomarino 8	6	0	6	-	Ambrosio 1990 p36-38
Via Poggiomarino 7 (13)	51	2	49	M	Ambrosio 1990 p28-36
Via Orto delle Fabbriche 2	3	0	3	CHILD	Ambrosio 1990 p146-147

Via Palma (Lombardi) 2	13	2	11	-	Ambrosio 2003 p111-113
Via Palma (Lombardi) 6	21	0	21	-	Ambrosio 2003 p119-122
Via Palma (Lombardi) 7	12	3	9	CHILD	Ambrosio 2003 p122-123
Via Palma (Lombardi) 8	6	0	6	CHILD	Ambrosio 2003 p123-124
Via Palma (Lombardi) 9	10	1	9	CHILD	Ambrosio 2003 p124-126
Via Palma (Lombardi) 10	8	0	8	CHILD	Ambrosio 2003 p126-127
Via Palma (Lombardi) 11	8	1	7	-	Ambrosio 2003 p127-129
Via Palma (Lombardi) 4	13	0	0	M	Ambrosio 2003 p115-117
Via Palma (Lombardi) 5	15	1	14	CHILD	Ambrosio 2003 p117-119
Via Palma (Lombardi) 13	11	1	10	-	Ambrosio 2003 p131-132
Via Palma (Lombardi) 14	4	0	4	CHILD	Ambrosio 2003 p132-133
Via Palma (Lombardi) 15	11	0	11	-	Ambrosio 2003 p133-135
Via Traversa Serafino (Pellegrino) 10	11	1	10	CHILD	Ambrosio 2003 p143-145
Via Traversa Serafino (Pellegrino) 11	21	0	21	M	Ambrosio 2003 p145-150
Via Palma (Lombardi) 16	5	0	0	-	Ambrosio 2003 p135-136
Via Serafino 1A	2	0	2	-	Ambrosio 2009 p93-94
Via Serafino 1	17	0	17	F	Ambrosio 2009 p94-95
Via Serafino 3	7	0	7	CHILD	Ambrosio 2009 p99-100
Via Serafino 8	9	0	9	CHILD	Ambrosio 2009 p108-109
Via Serafino 13	4	0	4	-	Ambrosio 2009 p116-117
Via Serafino 16	2	0	2	-	Ambrosio 2009 p119-120
Via Serafino 24	1	0	1	-	Ambrosio 2009 p135-137
Via Serafino 27	9	0	9	F	Ambrosio 2009 p140-141
Via Serafino 29	12	0	12	F	Ambrosio 2009 p141-142
Via Serafino 34	25	0	25	F	Ambrosio 2009

					p150-156
Via Serafino 36	2	0	2	CHILD	Ambrosio 2009 p160-162
Via Serafino 37	7	0	7	-	Ambrosio 2009 p162-163
Via Serafino 39	9	0	9	-	Ambrosio 2009 p165-167
Via Traversa Serafino (Pellegrino) 1	2	1	1	-	Ambrosio 2005 p121-122
Via Palma (Lombardi) 3	20	1	19	F	Ambrosio 2003 p113-115
Via Poggiomarino 9	11	0	11	-	Ambrosio 1990 p38-40
Via Orto delle Fabbriche 1	12	1	11	F	Ambrosio 1999 p143-146
Via Orto delle Fabbriche 3	23	1	22	F	Ambrosio 1999 p147-154
Via Orto delle Fabbriche 5	9	0	9	M	Ambrosio 1999 p154-156
Via Orto delle Fabbriche 6	16	0	16	F	Ambrosio 1999 p156-162
Via Orto delle Fabbriche 7	10	0	10	F	Ambrosio 1999 p162-164
Via Palma (Lombardi) 12	9	0	9	CHILD	Ambrosio 2003 p129-130
Via Traversa Serafino (Pellegrino) 5	47	0	47	F	Ambrosio 2005 p126-134
Via Traversa Serafino (Pellegrino) 9	7	2	5	-	Ambrosio 2005 p140-141
Via Foce Tomb	13	1	12	-	Ambrosio 1988 p93-97
Via Palma (Lombardi) 1	13	1	12	-	Ambrosio 2003 p108-111
Via Serafino 5	11	0	11	F	Ambrosio 1990 p24-28
Via Poggiomarino 6 (12)	8	2	6	-	Ambrosio 1994 p106-113
Via Poggiomarino 3	5	0	5	-	Ambrosio 1990 p22-23
Phase IV					
San Marzano					
1080	27	3	24	M	Dé Spagnolis, 2001 p147, 155-p158
1081	6	0	6	-	Dé Spagnolis, 2001 p147
1082	5	1	4	M	Dé Spagnolis, 2001 p147-149, p158-160

1083	7	0	7	-	Dé Spagnolis, 2001 p149, p161
1084	3	2	1	-	Dé Spagnolis, 2001) p149, p161-162
1085	21	5	16	M	Dé Spagnolis, 2001 p149-150, p162-164
1086	8	0	8	ADULT	Dé Spagnolis, 2001 p150-151
1087	5	2	3	-	Dé Spagnolis, 2001 p151, p164-165
1088	6	0	6	-	Dé Spagnolis, 2001 p151
1089	6	1	5	-	Dé Spagnolis, 2001 p152, p165-167
1090	19	3	16	M	Dé Spagnolis, 2001 p152-153, p167
1091	2	0	2	-	Dé Spagnolis, 2001 p153
336	15	6	9	-	On display in Museum of Sarno
556	26	9	17	-	
San Valentino Torio					
1352	18	0	18	M	Dé Spagnolis, 2001 p103, 118-120
1353	1	0	1	-	Dé Spagnolis, 2001 p103
1355	7	0	7	-	Dé Spagnolis, 2001 p104
1357	39	10	29	-	Dé Spagnolis, 2001 p104-108, 121-131
1358	67	4	63	-	Dé Spagnolis, 2001 p109, 131-135
1359	4	0	4	-	Dé Spagnolis, 2001 p109
1360	10	0	10	-	Dé Spagnolis, 2001 p111
1361	10	0	10	-	Dé Spagnolis, 2001 p111
1362	46	3	43	ADULT	Dé Spagnolis, 2001 p111
1363	19	0	19	ADULT	Dé Spagnolis, 2001 p113
607	22	0	22	-	Unpublished. Displayed in Museum.
Striano					
Via Pace 1	31	1	30	M	Ambrosio 1994 p106-113
Via Pace 2	45	1	44	F	Ambrosio 1994 p114-122
Via Pace 3	61	1	60	F	Ambrosio 1994 p123-133

Via Traversa Serafino (Pellegrino) 4	6	0	6	-	Ambrosio 2005 p124-126
Via Traversa Serafino (Pellegrino) 6	24	1	23	F	Ambrosio 2005 p134-140
Via Traversa Serafino (Pellegrino) 7	8	1	7	CHILD	Ambrosio 2005 p140
Via Traversa Serafino (Pellegrino) 8	9	0	9	CHILD	Ambrosio 2005 p140-141
Via Poggiomarino 1A	7	3	4	M	Ambrosio 1990 p8-11
Via Poggiomarino 1	22	3	19	M	Ambrosio 1990 p11-16
Via Poggiomarino 2	66	3	63	F	Ambrosio 1990 p16-22
Via Traversa Serafino (Pellegrino) 2	9	0	9	-	Ambrosio 2005 p122-124

Appendix VI. Prehellenic Cuma and Greek Cumae

VI.1. Publication History

Site/Location	Date excavated	No. of tombs	Publication
Prehellenic Cuma (10th - 8th century BC)			
Stevens excavations (various areas of site).	1878-1896	6	Gabrici 1913.
Osta excavations (various areas of site).	1902.	36	Gabrici 1913 only published 33 out of the 36 Osta tombs.
Fondo Artiaco.	1902.	4?	Pellegrini 1903.
Centre Jean Berard/ *Progetto Kyme*.	2006	27	6 tombs published in Zevi *et al* 2008.
Tempio con Portico (Excavated as part of the *Progetto Kyme*).	2005/2006	1	Unpublished. Reported in Greco 2007 p27-48.
Greek Cumae (8th - 5th century BC)			
Various areas of the site.	1870's to present	25	At least 25 tombs published in Zevi *et al. Cuma* catalogue 2008.
Stevens excavations (various areas of site).	1878-1896	342	Gabrici 1913 only published 68.
Cumae provisional tomb total	**-**	441	**-**
Total published tombs		138	

Despite being an extremely important archaeological site, Cumae has been blighted by illegal tomb robbing and rudimentary excavation methods. This is particularly true of the investigations from the late 1800s to early 1900s. Amongst these early investigations is the work undertaken at the site by the English colonel Emilio Stevens that was later published by Ettore Gabrici. A series of issues surround both Stevens' archives and storage of the grave goods and Gabrici's subsequent publication of the finds from the site. This section discusses some of these issues and highlights why the tomb sample in this thesis has not been able to rely on this material. Recent work at Cumae by a team comprising archaeologists and other specialists from the *Soprintendenza Archeologica delle province di Napoli e Caserta*, two universities from Naples (*Università di Napoli "Federico" II* and *Istituto universitario Orientale*) and the *Centre Jean Berard* (*CJB*) have led to new excavations under the name *Progetto Kyme*. The project team have done much to change our understanding of the development of the site from its Prehellenic to Late Roman phases since 1994.[1362] Nevertheless, Cumae still suffers from a poor publication record, especially concerning its Prehellenic and Greek 'colonial' periods. The table above indicates the difficulties

[1362] D'Agostino *et al.* 2005; Cuozzo *et al.* 2006; Greco/Gasparri 2007; Zevi *et al.* 2008; *Cuma* 2009 in Studi della Magna Grecia.

in ascertaining the exact number of tombs that have been excavated. I have found no total number of burials excavated anywhere in the literature. However, with Gabrici describing 1,342 tombs dating from the Prehellenic to Late Roman periods having been unearthed, the *CJB* recently discovering 27 Prehellenic tombs and the reports of tomb robbing in the 19th century, it would not be an exaggeration to speculate that more than 2,000 tombs had been uncovered at the site.

The first recorded excavation at Cumae in the early 19th century when De Jorio identified the Roman forum. De Jorio's explorations led to excavation campaigns between 1852-1857 to ascertain the urban plan at the request of Leopold of the Bourbon Royal Family and the Count of Syracuse.[1363] Stevens began to explore the site from 1878 to 1896. He uncovered many Prehellenic and Greek burials from various areas of Cumae and demonstrated that the indigenous Iron Age cemeteries extended the beyond the fortifications.[1364] His finds formed a collection that was later acquired by the Museum of Naples, which is discussed below. His excavations were of a surprisingly well-recorded character for his day, and he kept an excavation diary with drawings that it still useful to the modern researcher. However, his work was not perfect, and he marked many Iron Age burials (e.g., 8th century BC) as 'Archaic', which confused the date of the material for later scholars, such as Gabrici. Stevens kept records for his collection with documentation on each tomb and corresponding grave goods stored together. [1365] Furthermore, Stevens employed a team of labourers to assist his work, which accounts for the high number of graves he was able to investigate until illness put an end to his explorations at Cumae. The period between his illness in 1897 and death in 1911 saw a return to the illegal tomb robbing activity that had marked the earlier 19th century.[1366] Nizzo has recently studied the correspondence between the Museum of Naples, and the various characters involved in this clandestine activity.[1367] His research in the archives has demonstrated how the Prehellenic graves uncovered by the excavations led by Edoardo Osta were far from a professional, scientific standard. Upon Stevens' illness, many of his labourers, who had excavated the Prehellenic graves, were left without paid work.[1368] Other amateur archaeologists, antiquarians, and collectors from the Italian middle classes, who had since come to understand the economic value of the finds from Cumae, funded excavations with the aim of acquiring

[1363] Greco 2009 p385.
[1364] D'Agostino 2008b p99: Greco 2009 p386; Albore Livadie 1985a p62.
[1365] Mermati 2012 p28.
[1366] Albore Livadie 1985a p62-63.
[1367] Nizzo 2007a, 2007b, 2008, 2011.
[1368] Nizzo 2007a p484.

objects for their own collections. They actively encouraged Stevens' ex-workers to undertake illegal digs, the most infamous of these labourers was Procolo Lubrano.[1369] Between 1898 to 1905, Procolo and his father Michele provided collectors with artefacts that are now housed all over Italy.[1370] Giuseppe Barone acquired a large corpus, which he donated to the *Museo Civico di Baranello* in Campobasso (Molise) in 1899 and formed their Barone collection.[1371] Proculo's finds enabled Osta to give away Cumaean material to Adriano Milani, so he could bolster the Protohistoric material at the museum of Florence.[1372] With such activity being unregulated and hard to control, the Neapolitan museum directors and other commissioners tried different strategies to stem the flow. Firstly, Paolo Orsi acquired material directly from Lubrano for the Museum of Naples and the Museo Pignorini in Rome in 1901.[1373] Secondly, Ettore Pais, the director of the Museum of Naples, felt compelled to bestow these 'scavatori' with an official license to excavate, as a last resort and the only way to control their illegal excavations.[1374] Consequently, the Osta tombs were uncovered in 1904 by a group of individuals of an untrustworthy character despite being supervised by the museum director. In 1903 Pellegrini excavated and promptly published a small group of tombs from the Fondo Artiaco which included tomb 104. This has since been known as the first 'princely' burial in Italy.

During this period of clandestine activity Stevens' family had begun to debate what to do with his collection and considered selling it outside Italy. The Italian state was alerted to this possibility and this accelerated the acquisition of the collection in 1902.[1375] Unfortunately, the collection had already been moved around the Stevens' family home by Emilio Steven's brother. This caused the objects and their documentation to become disorganised and mixed up. As Mermati notes, the mixing up of the grave goods and the archives "ancora oggi è una delle più gravi perdite scientifiche che caratterizzano la collezione stessa".[1376] Once the Stevens collection arrived at the Museum of Naples, which had acquired it, further mixing up occurred. Much of the collection, sporadic finds (which were called the *Raccolta Cumana*) and the Osta grave goods remained unpublished until 1913 when Gabrici reorganised the

[1369] Nizzo 2007a p484-485.
[1370] Nizzo 2007a.
[1371] Criscuolo 2007 has re-evaluated this material. See also Nizzo 2008.
[1372] Nizzo 2007b p621-623.
[1373] Nizzo 2007a p485 and 2007b p623; Criscuolo 2007 p264 fn.8 and 9 notes that further material was donated to Rome in 1912 by P. Carucci.
[1374] Nizzo 2007a p484.
[1375] Mermati 2012 p28.
[1376] Mermati 2012 p28.

Museum stores. When Gabrici published this material, he worked from Stevens notebooks to restore the original tomb groups and their accompanying grave goods. He created a chronology for the material dividing it into either 'preellenica' or 'calcidese' (Greek).[1377] As the only work that attempts to bring together all of the material that was excavated in the 19th century and then continuously mixed up and poorly stored in the Museum of Naples, Gabrici's volume is still of extreme importance. Nevertheless, Gabrici's publication was in vain as the material was disorganised again in the museum storage rooms. During his reorganisation of the stores following WWII, Buchner noted how the Stevens collection had become mixed up with other grave good assemblages from other sites in the region.[1378] Despite these problems, both Buchner and Gabrici's publications enabled Hans Müller Karpe to categorise Cuma's material culture into the Prehellenic I and II phases, as part of his work on the Italian Iron Age chronologies.[1379] Of crucial importance were the Osta tombs because Osta tomb 3 contained Greek MG drinking cups, which greatly assisted the dating.[1380] The disorganised nature of the museum storage had created an air of unreliability around these assemblages, lasting until the excavations at San Marzano and Pontecagnano in the 1960s, which confirmed Müller Karpe's chronologies.[1381] The museum collection was reviewed again during another reorganisation in the 1980s by Albore Livadie.[1382] The series of storage problems both before and after the publication of the Cumae material by Gabrici have confused the objects and their documentation. Furthermore, other problems relate to Gabrici's publication itself.

Gabrici exhibits problems of interpretation as he tended to view all cremation burials as belonging to "native intruders into the colony", thus ignoring the Greek practice of cremation.[1383] Despite Gabrici's volume being extremely valuable, it is not reliable in terms of the dating provided for the burials. He provides hardly any dates for the Prehellenic and Greek burials other than a vague reference to them dating respectively from the 11th-9th centuries and 9th-6th centuries BC. This lack of precision makes it difficult to accurately place the Prehellenic tombs into their subphases of I or II. For example, he publishes a total of 42 Prehellenic burials (including the 36 Osta

[1377] Gabrici 1913.
[1378] Buchner 1950 p97-107.
[1379] Müller Karpe 1959, also Nizzo 2007b p632.
[1380] Criscuolo/Pacciarelli 2009 p326.
[1381] D'Agostino 1968 and 1970.
[1382] Albore Livadie 1985a, 1985b.
[1383] Frederiksen 1979 p279; Gabrici 1913 col. 430.

tombs) but does not indicate their date in approximate terms.[1384] Alongside the lack of precise dating for both the Prehellenic and Greek burials, Gabrici does not fully explain why he published certain tombs over others. Listing the Greek burials, he tells us that over 227 tombs were excavated by Stevens from the *Fondo Mairano* area of the site. Yet, without any explanation, he states that out of the 227 "ho fatto una scelta di 39, che meritano di essere pubblicate".[1385] Similar comments without any justification are found where he discusses the tombs found in the *Fondo Scala* and *Fondo Micillo*.[1386] Over 1,300 tombs are mentioned by Gabrici as being excavated at Cumae across all periods. Out of a total of 384 Prehellenic and Greek burials he only chooses to publish 107 and does not explain why. Although he gives no justification for why many of these burials were unpublished, the answer may lie in his personal preferences for valuable objects. Valenza Mele noted that a key issue with Gabrici's volume remains his focus on tombs with rich grave goods and his complete disregard for those with poorer grave furniture and empty tombs. Unfortunately, this method gives the impression that the necropolis was full of rich tombs and had no burials of lower status.[1387] Moreover, the tombs he did publish were not only undated, but also not representative of the cemetery as a whole. Mermati highlights that "most of the individual objects are merely mentioned or only briefly described in the accounts of the grave-groups". He also omitted large quantities of objects that had been recovered from "the casual excavations undertaken at more or less the same time", which then "found their way to the storerooms of the National Museum in Naples in a somewhat haphazard way, and in the process often lost all indication of their provenance".[1388] Gleba *et alii* have also revisited some of the burials in their study of ancient textiles from the site. They highlight that many of the burials from both the Stevens collection and the *Raccolta Cumana* corpus of sporadic finds that were published by Gabrici "have missing or incomplete context documentation".[1389] Nizzo doubts whether Gabrici was able to accurately restore all of the right grave goods to the right tombs. He points out that many of Gabrici's assemblages were wrong and that further comparison

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[1384] Gabrici 1913 col. 62-118.
[1385] Gabrici 1913 col. 214.
[1386] Gabrici 1913 col. 247 and col. 268. For the *Fondo Scala* he only publishes 25 out of 69 tombs: "Furono scoperte 69 tombe, delle quali sono qui illustrate venticinque". The *Fondo Micillo* produced 46 tombs but he only publishes 4: "Illustro solo quattro delle dieci tombe del primo appezzamento."
[1387] Valenza Mele 1982 p97-129. "Ispirata come è ad un metodo particolarmente attento ai valori estetici, ai corredi « ricchi », l'opera del Gabrici trascura tutto ciò che non si conforma a canoni estetici, i corredi « poveri » o le tombe assolutamente prive di corredo, perdendo così di vista completamente la sintesi unitaria."
[1388] Greco/Mermati 2011 p114.
[1389] Gleba *et al.* 2017 p45.

of the finds and Stevens original notebooks are needed in order to restore the grave goods.[1390] Mermati observes that for a long time many scholars wishing to study the Stevens collection and *Raccolta Cumana* encountered extreme difficulties in comprehending the evidence. As she puts it: "infatti numerosi tentativi di riordino si siano succeduti nel corso del tempo, molti pezzi recano oggi indicazioni che rimandano *ora a questa ora a quella sepoltura*" [my italics]. L'associazione della maggior parte dei corredi è irrimediabilmente perduta, e spesso sembra ormai possibile avere solo un'idea sommaria del tipo di vaso presente nella singola sepoltura".[1391] It is lamentable that no scholar has been able to return to Gabrici's volume to reassess the grave goods and fully review the dates of the burials. Furthermore, most of the scholars that have revisited his work have not themselves published a list of objects for each burial. Consequently, when the finds from Cumae were chosen for display in the *Museum dei Campi Flegrei* at Baia (Naples), Rescigno decided to leave out the earliest Prehellenic graves, especially the Osta group, due to the unreliability of the accuracy of Gabrici's grave good reconstructions.[1392]

Summing up, Gabrici's volume lacks dates for the burials, it is marked by uncertainty on whether the grave goods belong to the right graves, and, because of its author's preference for richer tombs, it is not fully representative of the cemetery. These issues make Gabrici's publication an unreliable source on the Iron Age and early Greek phases. A key avenue for future research is, therefore, a complete reorganisation of the burials excavated in the 19th century and an updated publication with accurate and reliable dating and typologies. However, some publications have republished some of the Gabrici tombs and after reassessment these more recent works have more reliable dates and can therefore be included here. Some of the Osta tombs were included in the *Cuma* catalogue that was published in 2008,[1393] along with six of the 27 Prehellenic tombs the *Centre Jean Berard* (*CJB*) discovered in 2006.[1394] These new additions to the Prehellenic corpus show affinities with the Stevens and Osta tombs and have helped restore some credibility to the earlier excavations. The *CJB* explorations were part of the *Progetto Kyme* which produced another Prehellenic tomb near the so-called *Tempio con Portico,* although this burial remains unpublished.[1395] In conclusion, the contexts and tombs that are examined are 11 Gabrici and two Granata burials that

[1390] Nizzo 2007a.
[1391] Mermati 2012 p28.
[1392] Rescigno 2010 p349.
[1393] Zevi *et al.* 2008.
[1394] Brun/Munzi 2008 p101-112, Brun *et al.* 2009 p355-382.
[1395] Greco 2007 p27-48.

were republished in the Cuma catalogue. Albore Livadie republished three Osta tombs and Tocco Sciarelli published the Fondo Artiaco t.104 in the *Napoli Antica* monograph allowing these also to be analysed here. All these recent publications have more reliable dates than the original Gabrici volume. The majority of the material from the fortification areas dates to the 6th century BC (phase IC) and I have decided to exclude it.[1396] The Gabrici material that has not been republished will not be included in a quantitative analysis. However, these Gabrici burials are discussed in the sections on the Prehellenic and Greek phases. This discussion allows a comparison between the dataset used and that excluded to establish how different the networks would be if the Gabrici burials were to be included in this study.

VI.2 Ancient Sources on Pithekoussai and Cumae

During the 8th century BC Pithekoussai and Cumae were founded in the Bay of Naples. Both settlements are widely viewed as Greek foundations of either *emporion* (trading site) or *apoikia* (colony) status, respectively. The Greeks involved in these foundations are believed to be from Euboia, who learnt of the way west from the Phoenicians, both of whom were probably in search of metals.[1397] This view is controversial as it relies on the presence of Euboian pottery, which is often outnumbered by fragments from elsewhere in Greece. Some criticise this Euboian dominance with Papadopoulos going so far to refer to these Euboians as 'phantoms.'[1398] While these debates are not handled in this thesis, the Euboian connection probably originates in the foundation stories surrounding Pithekoussai and Cumae. Two authors dominate these stories: Livy and Strabo. Livy (8.22.5-6) does not discuss the foundation of Pithekoussai directly but says that Cumae traced its origins to Euboian Chalcis. According to Livy the colonists first settled on Pithekoussai before they decided (*ausi*) to take their chance on the mainland. In Strabo's (5.4.9) passage on Pithekoussai, he describes it as inhabited by Eretrians and Chalcidians, thus making the same connection with Euboia as Livy. However, Strabo provides two further details on the wealth of the settlement at Pithekoussai, namely the fertility of the soil (*eukarpia*) and the wealth of its goldmines (*chruseia*). Despite this mineral wealth, internal dissent led some of the community to leave, only to be followed later by the rest of the population due to earthquakes, eruptions, and other natural phenomena.

[1396] D'Agostino *et al.* 2005; Cuozzo *et al.* 2006.
[1397] Ridgway 1992 p99-100, 2007 p144-145.
[1398] Papapdopoulos 1997, *contra* Ridgway 2007 p147.

Despite Livy's account mentioning an establishment on Pithekoussai before Cumae, this is absent from Strabo's passage. In an earlier passage, Strabo (5.4.4) gives us the names of the *oikists* of Cumae as Megasthenes of Chalcis and Hippokles of Kyme (probably in Asia Minor). While Chalchis was selected as the mother-city of Cumae, the name of the colony was taken from Kyme. Velleius Paterculus (19 BC-AD 31) describes the *oikists* as being led west by a dove and the crash of cymbals thus linking the foundation to Apollo.[1399] Osborne advises caution with this account as Cumae is treated in similar terms to the foundation of a Roman colony, and therefore such accounts lack historicity.[1400] Strabo appears to ignore Pithekoussai, instead awarding Cumae the status of the earliest colony in Italian and Sicily. Ridgway pointed out that both Strabo and Livy only provide the Greek foundation story for Pithekoussai, disregarding the Levantine and Italic inhabitants who may have had alternative foundation stories.[1401] The discrepancies in these two accounts have seen much discussion, especially on which of the two was the first colony in the western Mediterranean. These debates are not covered here. It is sufficient to note that Cumae is largely viewed as a *bona fide* colony while Pithekoussai a less formal foundation.[1402] However, with regards the former, a key source for the foundation of Cumae in Italian scholarship is Phlegon of Tralles. His discussion of a Sybelline oracle has been used to argue that Prehellenic Cuma was destroyed, and the Greek colony founded in its place. This move has been described as a "show of strength",[1403] yet Phelgon's account is problematic and is discussed in Appendix VI.3.

Pithekoussai is mainly known for its cemetery at Lacco Ameno, which is only partially published. The burials at Pithekoussai included objects from mainland Italy and the eastern Mediterranean, leading to debates that this Greek settlement featured Italic women and Phoenicians living within the community. Alongside the cemetery, a metal-working quarter at Mazzola and farm buildings at Punta Chiarito were discovered on the island. The origins of the name Pithekoussai are not known, but ancient authors associated it with the Greek word *pithekos* or monkey.[1404] Cerchiai feels that this association reflects the Greek arrival in a new world where the locals

[1399] Velleius Paterculus 1.4.1 see also D'Agostino 2008a p76-77.
[1400] Osborne 1996 p127-128.
[1401] Ridgway 2000a p185.
[1402] D'Agostino 1994. Cf. Greco 1994 p17; Coldstream 1994a p55-56; Tsetskhladze 2006 *xxvii-xxviii*; Osborne 1998; Purcell 2005.
[1403] D'Agostino 2011 p44-45; Cerchiai 2010 p24.
[1404] Xenogras *FGrHist* II6 and Lycophron *Alexandra* 688-693.

were interpreted as wild and almost non-human.[1405] More recently, Connors has argued that the name instead derives from Pithekoussai's wealth gained through iron-smelting. The connection with monkeys derives from making money through trade, a practice frowned upon by traditional élites as it was akin to deception. Pithekoussai was thus characterised as an island of monkeys.[1406] Alternatively, Ridgway highlighted Pliny's explanation that Pithekoussai came from the word *pithoi* or pots in Greek and may indicate that pots were made on the island, or that this is a Graecised version of a local Italic name for the settlement.[1407]

Despite Strabo mentioning Pithekoussai as having had fertile soil (*eukarpia*), Ischia is often believed to be lacking an adequate *chora* to support the 'colony'. Bucking this trend, Ridgway argued that Strabo's notion of *eukarpia* refers not to arable or agricultural fertility, but to viticulture.[1408] Palaeobotanical evidence from the 8th century farm building at Punta Chiarito indicates that both vines, olives and cereals were being cultivated by the Greeks, adding weight to Ridgway's argument.[1409] Ridgway also highlighted a problem with the *chruseia* or goldmines that Strabo also equates with the settlement's success. He believed that the word *chruseia* has been incorrectly translated. For example, it could have been mistaken for the word *chrusia*, meaning goldsmith's workshops, by those transcribing the original manuscripts, as the presence of actual gold mines on Ischia is geologically impossible.[1410] More feasible in geomorphological terms, however, are the earthquakes and eruptions Strabo described, and these may well have led the Greek community to leave Pithekoussai for Cumae.

VI. 3 'A Show of Strength'? The Establishment of Greek Cumae

As discussed in Appendix VI.2, the most important sources on the foundation of Cumae are Strabo and Livy. Notably absent from both accounts is the notion of a use of force in the move to Prehellenic Cuma.[1411] For that idea it is necessary to examine an oracle reported by Phlegon of Tralles as this oracle is widely cited it is worthy of closer scrutiny. Phlegon was a Greek freedman who probably served on the Emperor Hadrian's staff.[1412] Although the author of several works, his *Book of marvels*, a

[1405] Cerchiai 1995 p8-9.
[1406] Connors 2004 p185-188.
[1407] Ridgway 1992 p36.
[1408] Ridgway 1992 p33.
[1409] Coubray 1994; De Caro 1994 p40; Gialanella 1998 p96.
[1410] Ridgway 1992 p34.
[1411] Despite this Frederiksen 1984 p59 felt that the word *ausi* suggested the use of force.
[1412] Hansen 1996 p1.

compilation of strange phenomena and events, includes an oracle describing the foundation of Cumae. The book of marvels belongs to the literary genre modern scholars call paradoxography. Focused merely on the compilation of marvels, these ancient compilers were rarely interested in interpreting their material.[1413] By being popular literature aimed at entertaining rather than challenging the reader, paradoxography thus finds much in common with the sensationalism of modern tabloid newspapers.[1414] Phlegon based his marvels on earlier authors, but unfortunately the initial pages have not survived. Whether he included an introduction to explain his collection or not is unknown.[1415] Moreover, Phlegon's book was hardly edited when compared to other paradoxographers and his marvels thus vary from a single reported sentence to a whole story copied out word for word.[1416] A disregard for explanation also marked his other books, such as the *Long-Lived persons*, a list of Romans who lived beyond a hundred years but without an explanation for its compilation.[1417]

The oracle that mentions the foundation of Cumae, therefore receives no investigation of its historicity, and is instead a mere detail buried within a Sybelline oracle. Yet the background to its presence in an oracle concerns the Roman senate's consultation of the Sybelline oracles after the discovery of a hermaphrodite, and this led Phlegon to publish two of these. From the consuls the oracles list this decision to consult the oracles can be dated to c125 BC, but Diels dated the oracles to 207 and 200 BC respectively.[1418] Satterfield notes that the publication of oracles was extremely rare, and the Sybelline oracles were kept secret and only accessible by a specific priesthood.[1419] With 125 BC being a tumultuous time in Rome, Satterfield believes this motivated the oracles being made public.[1420] She concludes that Phlegon was allowed to consult them as they reported the unusual event of a Hermaphrodite's birth. In a matter-of-fact way Phlegon provides us two long oracles that he neither edits nor interprets. Embedded within the second oracle are the following lines on Cumae:

> when the inhabitants of the islands earnestly settle in the Cumaean land
> of their opponents by force, not deceit, let them establish an image of the
> holy queen Hera and a temple in the ancestral manner.
>
> [FGrHII.257 f.36.x.53-5]

[1413] Hansen 1996 p8.
[1414] Hansen 1996 p9-14.
[1415] Hansen 1996 p15.
[1416] Hansen 1996 p11-12.
[1417] Hansen 1996 p18.
[1418] Diels 1890; Hansen 1996 p126-127; Orlin 2002; Santangelo 2013 p131-134.
[1419] Hansen 1996 p127-128; Satterfield 2011 p118.
[1420] Satterfield 2011 p119-120.

Unfortunately, the two verses before this section are missing, but overall, the two oracles provide instructions on how to propitiate various gods. That Hera is mentioned has led some to assert the role of her cult in establishing the colony.[1421] D'Agostino believes this account was based on an earlier source, such as Timaeus,[1422] but he also focuses on the oracle's use of the words *dolos* (deception) and *bia* (force) to argue for an act of violence.[1423] For D'Agostino, an immediate use of force by the Euboians before eventually taking over the settlement, similar to the case of the foundation of *Leontinoi* in Sicily, remains plausible.[1424] In the same article he criticises Anglo-American scholarship for ignoring ancient literary sources, which he deems 'puerile'.[1425] However, I believe that a similarly overzealous reading of the sources has done much to muddy the waters.

Of crucial importance is that the oracle's main motive was not to discuss the foundation of Cumae, but to propitiate Demeter, Persephone, Hera, and Apollo amongst others. Moreover, it only states that *when* the inhabitants of the islands settle on the land of their opponents that they should set up a temple (or image) to Hera. There is no mention of the 'people of the islands' being Greek, who the opponents were, nor that this move by force actually took place, only that Hera would approve of this outcome. However, we have no indication that this move was fulfilled. That the oracle dates to 200 BC, was consulted in 125 BC and then reported by Phlegon in the 2nd century AD, does little to clarify the picture. Both the context and date of this source are thus questionable evidence for the destruction of the indigenous site and its replacement with a Greek colony.[1426] Despite dating to more than eight hundred years after the event, Phlegon's account has been used to sustain the notion of violence. D'Agostino is exemplary of this by stressing a Euboian 'show of strength' from Pithekoussai,[1427] yet as this view is based on one controversial source that has been taken out of context, it can no longer be sustained.

Nevertheless, this hypothesis has been coupled with archaeological evidence of a similarly problematic nature. The destruction theory was long supported by a lacuna between the last indigenous and first Greek graves in the cemetery, along with a

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[1421] Valenza Mele 1977 p493-524; Breglia 1983 p31-32.
[1422] D'Agostino 2006 p221.
[1423] D'Agostino 1988 p537, 2009 p190, 2011 p44-45; Cerchiai 1995 p21, 2010 p24.
[1424] D'Agostino 2011 p44.
[1425] D'Agostino 2011 p43 fn.47.
[1426] See also my discussion of this source Morris 2016.
[1427] D'Agostino 2006 p234, 2008 p76; Frederiksen 1984 p59, Cuozzo 2007 p248.

possible destruction layer on one side of the acropolis.[1428] Despite this scant evidence, major problems concern the nature of early Cumae, which as we have seen in §6.1.2 and Appendix VI.1 result from rudimentary excavations of the late 19th - early 20th century.[1429] Secondly, the destruction hypothesis and the subsequent replacement of Prehellenic Cuma with the Greek colony was sustained despite no obvious signs of the early colony having been unearthed. Although fragmentary in nature, the evidence for the destruction theory found wide acceptance until more recent work by the *Progetto Kyme* team.[1430]

VI.4 New Ideas on Pithekoussai

Pithekoussai is generally understood to be a Greek settlement but with some form of Phoenician or Italic component present in the community. This interpretation relies on the presence in the cemetery of *fibulae* and pottery produced on mainland Italy and what is referred to as *orientalia* from the eastern Mediterranean.[1431] Despite the realisation that the settlement was not purely Greek, most interpretations still reflect a binary opposition between Greek and native, with Italic inhabitants characterised as mere passive recipients of Greek culture.[1432] Exemplary are the Italic *fibulae* in the graves, which are interpreted as belonging to Italic women who had married Greek colonists.[1433] Furthermore, a general assumption exists that cremation burials at Pithekoussai represent Greek colonists while inhumations belonged to indigenous slaves.[1434] Where indigenes are identified they are therefore believed to have been subordinate or marginal when compared to the Greek colonists.[1435] This is the case with t.678, the so-called Carpenter's tomb, a male individual of around 21 years old, laid out supine in an inhumation trench. He was buried with a small ceramic assemblage and nine instruments which are thought to have been woodworking tools.[1436] This individual is believed by D'Agostino and Cerchiai to have been

[1428] Jannelli 1999 p73-75 analysed Buchner's excavation diaries that report black earth mixed with *impasto* pottery in many areas at Cumae. Greco 2008 p157 this led to the theory of the destruction layer.
[1429] Nizzo 2007a; 2007b.
[1430] D'Agostino *et al.* 2005; Cuozzo *et al.* 2006; Gasparri/Greco 2007.
[1431] Ridgway 1992 p107-118, 1994; Boardman 1994 p99; De Juliis 1996 p51-52; Coldstream 1994a p53, 2003 p210-211; Osborne 1996 p115; Cerchiai 2010 p23; D'Agostino 2009 p186; Cuozzo 2007 p246.
[1432] Kelley 2012 p246.
[1433] On this see Coldstream 1993; Hodos 1999; Shepherd 1999; Ridgway 2007 p146; Saltini Semerari 2016; *contra* Cuozzo 2007 p247.
[1434] Boardman 1996 p155-160; D'Agostino 2009; Guzzo 2011 p71-92.
[1435] Kelley 2012 p246.
[1436] Buchner/Ridgway 1993 p657-659.

marginal or subservient to the rest of the Greek community.[1437] Kelley's recent reassessment shows that wood-working was a highly regarded trade in Italic contexts, thus making this individual a member of the local élite, if indeed he was of Italic identity.[1438] Moreover, the ceramics in t.678 are in keeping with other deposition patterns in the cemetery, leading to the realisation that rather than being an anomaly, this tomb was an integrated member of the Pithekoussan community.[1439] Furthermore, indigenous pottery appears to have been found alongside Greek at Pithekoussai analogous to the situation at Cumae.[1440]

Therefore, the Greek character at Pithekoussai is being challenged, which has also been the case in work undertaken by Nizzo and Donnellan. Nizzo's reanalysis of the typologies at Pithekoussai has allowed a better understanding of its stratigraphy, which Donnellan relied on for her own network approach.[1441] As highlighted in §1.3.2, she notes some previously unrecognised anomalies in the earliest phases at Pithekoussai. Firstly, there is little in the LG period graves that shows a link with Greece. Nizzo's layers 10 and 11 show how the site was actually more closely connected with the indigenous groups on the mainland than with either Euboia or Greece.[1442] Donnellan has demonstrated that the Phoenicians were the first to tap into an indigenous network at Pithekoussai so "...there is no evidence to support the idea that it was a substantial Greek presence or foundation that (re)initiated settlement in Early Iron Age Pithekoussai."[1443]

VI.5 Tomb Sample from Prehellenic Cuma and Greek Cumae

Tomb Number	**Total Objects**	**Imports/ Imitations**	**Locally prod. objects**	**Bibliography**
Prehellenic Cuma				
Sepoltura SP700703	5	0	5	Abellon/Munzi 2008 p103
Sepoltura SP700716	14	0	14	Abellon/Munzi 2008 p104-105
Sepoltura SP700675	16	0	16	Abellon/Munzi 2008 p105-108
Sepoltura SP700637	5	0	5	Abellon/Munzi 2008 p109

[1437] Cerchiai 1995 p20; D'Agostino 1999c p59, 2011 p40-41.
[1438] Kelley 2012 p252.
[1439] Kelley 2012 p253-255.
[1440] Greco 2014 p65.
[1441] Nizzo 2007c.
[1442] Donnellan 2016 p161-162.
[1443] Donnellan 2016 p163.

Sepoltura SP300156	6	0	6	Abellon/Munzi 2008 p110-111
Sepoltura SP300146	7	0	7	Abellon/Munzi 2008 p111-112
Osta T.3	8	1	7	Albore Livadie 1985 p70-71
Osta T.29	31	2	29	Albore Livadie 1985 p71-74
Osta T.9	8	0	8	Albore Livadie 1985 p74-75
Greek Cumae				
Gabrici I	4	0	4	Rescigno 2008 p189
Gabrici XVI	14	3	11	Petacco 2008 p190-191
Gabrici XXXII	5	1	4	Petacco 2008 p192-193
Gabrici VI	7	0	7	Petacco 2008 p194-196
Gabrici XI	9	0	9	Petacco 2008 p197
Fondo Artiaco 104	21	10	11	Tocco Sciarelli 1985 p90-94
Gabrici XXXVI	27	1	26	Petacco 2008 p198
Gabrici XVIII	40	5	35	Rescigno 2008 p202
Gabrici LIV	4	1	3	Tocco Sciarelli 1985 p96-97
Gabrici XXV	2	1	1	Tocco Sciarelli 1985 p97
Gabrici LI	6	5	1	Petacco 2008 p199-200, Tocco Sciarelli 1985 p97-98
Granata XII	1	1	0	Rescigno 2008 p200
Gabrici CVI	1	1	0	Rescigno 2008 p199-200
Granata XVII	1	0	1	Rescigno 2008 p202

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Livy. *Ab Vrbe Condita Libri (History of Rome)*. Book VIII.
Pindar. *Pythian odes*. Book I.
Pliny the Elder. *Naturalis Historia (Natural History)*. Book III.
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Strabo. *Γεωγραφικά (The Geographica)*. Book V.
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