LOCAL RESPONSES TO COLONIZATION IN THE IRON AGE MEDITERRANEAN

Tamar Hodos

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

LOCAL RESPONSES TO COLONIZATION IN THE IRON AGE MEDITERRANEAN

LOCAL RESPONSES TO COLONIZATION IN THE IRON AGE MEDITERRANEAN

Tamar Hodos

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2006
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
270 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Hodos, Tamar.
Local responses to colonization in the Iron Age Mediterranean /
Tamar Hodos.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
1. Mediterranean Region—Colonization. 2. Mediterranean Region—Antiquities. 3. Iron age—Mediterranean Region.
I. Title.
DE60.H6 2006
930.1′6—dc22
2006004392

ISBN10: 0–415–37836–2 (hbk)

ISBN13: 978–0–415–37836–9 (hbk)

CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful for the library assistance and financial support from various institutions, particularly the British Institute at Ankara and the British School in Rome, and the Universities of Oxford, Leicester and Bristol.

The following individuals have my deep gratitude for their encouragement, guidance, assistance, constructive criticisms and, in some cases, manuscripts: Carla Antonaccio, John Boardman, Neil Christie, Lin Foxhall, Marie-Henriette Gates, Matt Gibbs, Sue Grice, Linda Hulin, Thomas Keller, Bernard Knapp, Gunnar Lehmann, Kathryn Lomas, Roger Lonsdale, Jonathan Lucas, David Mattingly, Nicoletta Momigliano, Margaret Morrison, Josh Pollard, Joe Shaw, Anthony Snodgrass and Peter van Dommelen.

This book would never have even been conceived if it had not been for my parents, Bill and Nira Hodos, who have always encouraged me to wear my travelling hat, and I happily dedicate this work to them.

1

INTRODUCTION

The Iron Age remains one of the most dynamic periods of Mediterranean history. Individuals travelled further than ever before, with various peoples settling along foreign shores throughout the Sea, not just the central or eastern regions as during the Bronze Age. Greeks and Phoenicians, in particular, established themselves on all coasts, from North Syria and Cilicia to France and Spain, from North Africa to the coasts of the Adriatic. This is the age of the dissemination of the alphabet from Phoenicians to Greeks, and the subsequent development of alphabetic scripts based upon the Phoenico-Greek model by populations throughout the Mediterranean. This is also the period that generated the so-called Orientalizing Movement, in which other aspects of Near Eastern cultures, particularly material goods and religious ideas, inspired and motivated the Greeks and others in their own products and practices. The volume and variety of items traded throughout the Mediterranean, via long distance and more localized routes, expanded to unprecedented levels.

This book explores one major aspect within this vibrant setting: the responses by local populations to the permanent establishment of nearby foreign communities. Virtually every element of this statement demands explanation, justification and parameter-setting, although an even greater question that deserves an answer first is *why*. The Iron Age Mediterranean as a place during a particular time falls between spheres of scholarship, particularly those traditionally defined as Classical Archaeology and Near Eastern Archaeology. Study of the Greeks, as one significant culture active throughout the Mediterranean, represents a major component of the former, while study of the Phoenicians, as another significant, active culture across the Mediterranean, is usually addressed by scholars in the latter (but not exclusively). Both disciplines, however, have a reputation for working in isolation from other archaeological fields and are perceived to have been slow to adopt innovations in scholarship, particularly the integration of archaeological theory. While this is not the forum for a debate about the merits or deficiencies of the application of theoretical models to a body of data, developments in theoretical interpretations do provide an impetus for reflection upon previous

views. Inspired by postcolonial perspectives in particular, this volume aims to reinterpret data from across the Mediterranean as a means of shedding new light on ancient interactions.

To do so, it will be necessary to reassess patterns in and distributions of material evidence and social practices, and interpretations surrounding them, as a means of exploring the impact that the Iron Age colonial movements had on various populations. This book is not about the development of colonial identities, however, but rather will examine material culture associated with and from the perspective of those populations already settled in the areas where foreign colonies were then established, with explicit interest in comparing and contrasting the influences of colonies on such populations. The foreign communities in question are those settlements that are commonly identified as Greek and Phoenician colonies. The nearby aspect mentioned above reflects a dual meaning: as a geographical territory in which both Greeks and Phoenicians established settlements, and as the notion that the Greeks and Phoenicians were competing for the attention of a particular population or populations. It is especially with this point that the scope of the present study becomes bounded to three areas: the north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean, in particular North Syria; the island of Sicily; and ancient North Africa. In all three regions, Greeks and Phoenicians settled and were therefore forced to interact with the same existing populations as well as one another. Although colonies were founded elsewhere in the Mediterranean, the prospect of competing influence over a territory and its population(s) exists nowhere else than in these three regions, and this is the defining feature of such a comparative study. Phoenicians did not found colonies in the Black Sea, although the Greeks did so abundantly. On the island of Sardinia, only the Phoenicians established colonies, and the dynamics of their activities, especially interactions with the Etruscans, Greeks and Sardinians, remain a separate and distinctive sphere of analysis (van Dommelen 1998); while a regional study of Sicily, Sardinia and Italy would be illuminating, this would be situated amid very different cultural, economic and political circumstances and thus would address diverse questions and issues. Similarly, the nature of foreign settlement on Cyprus is distinct. Greek migrations to Cyprus occurred at the end of the second millennium BC, while the Phoenician settlements of the first millennium were ruled from Tyre. As such, Cyprus represents a unique situation worthy of its own study. The far west Mediterranean is excluded for temporal reasons, since by the time the Greeks established their own settlements in France and Spain, the Punic phase of Phoenician history can be considered to have begun. The Phoenician homeland had been incorporated comprehensively into the Neo-Assyrian empire by the end of the seventh century, and Tyre itself was finally destroyed by the Neo-Babylonians in the middle of the sixth century, eliminating any practical political motherland. Thus Phoenician overseas settlements turned to Carthage as their cultural focal point, giving rise to the Punic era. The

development and role of Carthage as a political power player on the Mediterranean stage, in archaeological as well as historical terms, are significantly beyond the scope, and even aim, of the present study. Therefore focus within the Iron Age in this study lies between the eighth and sixth centuries BC, which encapsulates the main thrust of overseas foundations prior to the Punic period of Mediterranean history.

Much within even this brief explanation requires further discussion at the theoretical level and with regard to background scholarship. The Iron Age as a period needs temporal definition, since its dates are geographically contextual. The identification of foreign settlements as colonies, trading sites or other has been contentious in recent literature, and the utilization of the term 'colony' in this study must be situated. Previous methods for reinterpreting the archaeological evidence for early Iron Age cultural contact and colonial influences also need to be presented to contextualize the present study and its conclusions. The rest of this chapter therefore explains these points, and others, as a means of providing the necessary frameworks for the subsequent examinations of the case-study regions.

When is the Iron Age?

To Near Eastern and Greek archaeologists, the Iron Age begins during the twelfth century BC, after the migration of the Sea Peoples and the general collapse of the Mycenaean palace system. In Sicily, however, the Iron Age is perceived as beginning only during the ninth century BC, when long-standing Bronze Age chiefdoms gave way to more egalitarian communities, and with associated material developments. The presence of iron, itself, is not always a necessary factor for the beginning of an Iron Age anywhere in the Mediterranean; in Sicily, for instance, iron was in use by the end of the second millennium BC. Along coastal North Africa, an Iron Age may be considered to commence with the foundation of Carthage, historically dated to the twelfth century yet archaeologically supported only from the eighth century; for the interior, however, traditional scholarship considered all periods prior to Roman contact, which dates to the fourth century, as merely Prehistoric.

One of the defining features of the Iron Age as broadly applied to the Mediterranean is the perception of renewed cultural links after the widespread destructions and subsequent community withdrawals from regular long-distance communication during the twelfth and eleventh centuries BC. This period used to be described as the Dark Age of Mediterranean history, but research increasingly demonstrates that this period was not so dark, nor so isolated, although it remains seemingly so in comparison to what was before and what came after. It is particularly evidence for trade, in its most general sense, that characterizes the beginning of a new impetus in the Mediterranean in the early first millennium, initially conducted by individuals

working in an independent rather than state capacity. This in turn gave rise to broader, more regular trading activities, and ultimately the movement of peoples through the establishment of overseas settlements, often viewed as to capitalize upon commercial opportunities.

The end of the Iron Age is rarely defined, as the period segues into the Archaic phase of Classical civilization, which coincides with the advent of the Punic era of Mediterranean history, the full development of the city-state in the Greek world, and the very beginning of Rome's Republican period. Often literary references to major historical events, however the events in question might be portrayed, have prompted scholars to define new phases with regard to these events. Thus in the Near East, Iron Age terminology is replaced in the sixth century BC with Persian periodization (Lehmann 1998: 1 and 30 for the use of such ethno-political tags), while in North Africa, it is Roman occupation at the end of the first century BC that heralds this change, despite continuity in the material culture on which the previous periodizations had been based. By contrast, in Sicily, the Iron Age as a chronological term ceases to have relevance after the fifth century, for by the end of this time the local pottery forms on which the periodization had been based were no longer broadly produced; this change in terminology has been materially-led.

Early exchanges

Our evidence for international contact comes from foreign objects found across the Mediterranean, items that arrived in various places only because someone brought them there and offered them to an individual. In particular, these are Near Eastern and Greek goods. The nature of these earlier Iron Age exchanges is difficult to view as widespread and regular trade. Rather, Greek and Near Eastern finds are sporadic in the other's contexts largely until the eighth century. Many have therefore viewed these nascent links as evidence of gift exchange between elites, rather than regular contact through established mercantile networks (recently: Crielaard 1998; Coldstream 2000; Lemos 2001, 2005). Such gifts often may be interpreted as representations of the obligations men assume in relation to one another as the symbols of friendship, solidarity, peace, indebtedness and obligation, and reflect an understanding of social context, custom, classification and hierarchy.[1] Some scholars have emphasized the reciprocal nature of gift-exchange and its ability to socialize aggressive behaviour, while others lend primacy to the motivation to retain possessions in the context of a non-destructive mechanism of social competition.[2] The gifts in question tend to be lasting works of craftsmanship that circulated, such as bronze and silver vessels, items of jewellery, or even classes of ceramics. Thus, the high prestige value of the Near Eastern objects and their Greek contexts – deliberately disposed in burials – articulate to some the status relationship, political obligation and

social ranking aspects of gift exchange (Finley 1979; Coldstream 1983, 2000; Morris 1986; Crielaard 1998; Lemos 2001, 2005). Jones rightly points out, however, that the different interpretations regarding gift exchange rest on assumptions; there are no characteristics of the goods themselves or their contexts that could be used to reject or accept any hypothesis regarding gift exchange, since the motivations are unobservable (Jones 2000: 63). Nevertheless, gift exchange remains a valuable hypothesis to explain the seeming discrepancies between the metal vessels and faience jewellery offered by Near Easterners – objects we view as of high value – and the pottery vessels circulated by the Greeks, which we do not consider to be of similarly high value given the more ubiquitous nature of such clay goods. The somewhat occasional nature of these finds, with regard to type of object, context and date, still strongly imply an exchange between individuals – likely to be elite – and must reflect some sort of cross-cultural understanding for the pattern to be repeated during the tenth and ninth centuries in particular.[3]

By the end of the eighth century BC, there is a clear increase in the volume of Near Eastern and Greek goods in foreign contexts, with a wider variety of types, particularly pottery forms, including those that carried organic products (oil, wine, foodstuffs). Such items appear with sufficient regularity in urban, domestic contexts (as opposed to funerary or religious ones) that these exchanges are more easily marked as evidence of broader trading activities. Such activity developed as merchant enterprise rather than state-controlled exchange (Sherratt and Sherratt 1993), and various trade routes emerged as individuals forged links between specific regions and settlements. During the tenth and ninth centuries, Cyprus to Crete emerged as one route, and Rhodes to the Aegean as another. Links extended subsequently to the Near Eastern mainland, uniting Phoenicia into the Cyprus–Crete route; expanded to the western Mediterranean; and integrated North Syria more directly with the Aegean. These particular routes are implied by the quantities and origins of eastern goods found in various contexts and locales throughout the Mediterranean (such as at various coastal sanctuaries). By the eighth century, such goods appear regularly, suggesting steady trade, and during the seventh century, Egypt and North Africa entered into the Mediterranean network.

Early studies of the ancient economy viewed much of this exchange specifically as trade in prestige goods, since the economy itself revolved primarily around subsistence practices, and the main basis of wealth was found in agriculture and land ownership. As a result, inter-regional trade was small in scale and expensive, with only luxury goods, used for high-status competition and ostentatious display in state, community and individual contexts, being transported. Thus, in this model, advocated initially by Hasebroek and Finley, the traders and craftsmen were of more lowly status than their elite, gift-exchanging predecessors (Hasebroek 1933; Finley 1973; for discussions of the development of interpretations of the ancient economy, see Hopkins 1983; Cartledge 1983, 1998; Davies 1998; Andreau 2002;

Reed 2003). The impetus to colonize has often been viewed as a direct result of the need to broaden mercantile and hence financial opportunities within such an economic sphere for these less upwardly mobile traders,[4] at least for the Greeks. There is little evidence regarding the social status of their Phoenician counterparts from a Phoenician perspective, since such records do not exist. This relationship between trade and colonization, therefore, requires further discussion here, especially with regard to models that address issues of production and distribution.

Discussions surrounding the ancient economy that rely upon archaeology have often been posited in terms of the discourse of World-Systems Theory – such as Sherratt and Sherratt 1993, expressly for the Mediterranean – which suggests a model to understand the relationships between various societal divisions of labour, from the acquisition of raw materials to the markets. Developed by Wallerstein as a means of studying the rise of capitalism, it incorporated the raw materials, labour and markets into the industrial process that began in the sixteenth century AD in Europe, culminating in the imperial forms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries across the world. This truly global approach was the fundamental distinction between Wallerstein's model and those proposed by Marx and his followers, who focused on Europe exclusively. A world-system may be defined as a unit with a single division of labour and multiple cultural systems. In other words, it is an inter-societal system marked by a self-contained division of labour. It depends upon the identification of a core with advanced production and distribution, and a periphery that provides the raw materials, as well as a semi-periphery, which both exploits and is exploited (Wallerstein 1974; Hall 2000; for core-periphery theory explicitly, see Rowlands *et al.* 1987; Champion 1989; Rowlands 1998a). The model has been explicitly linked to the study of colonial movements, since colonial foundations are often regarded as a result of the expansion of trade (see, for instance, Dyson 1985).

Yet the applicability of this model to non-capitalist societies has been widely challenged on the grounds that there is little evidence for trade that supports systemic regional relations of dependency in such societies. The model dictates that the same set of economic forces be applied, which may not necessarily be appropriate. With particular regard to the Iron Age Mediterranean, dependency or exploitation may not have been a characteristic of the economies of the ancient world. It has been argued that Greece could not have served as a core, for instance, since there was no concept of a state, but rather in the Greek world a variety of state models were utilized, and there is no indication of the kind of cooperation necessary between them for the successful functioning of a stable economic core. Furthermore, social meanings behind the acquisition of certain objects and reinterpretations in other cultures are neglected in the model (with specific regard to the Mediterranean: Arafat and Morgan 1994; Woolf 1990; for general applications and criticisms, see Peregrine 1996; Dietler 1999; Gosden 2004; various

essays in Kardulias 1999; Denemark *et al.* 2000). These criticisms also set it up in direct contrast with the Finley view of the ancient economy, which denies any kind of systemic regional relationship, since in the Finley model trade was only in luxury products, and thus there can be no notion of exploitation through production for trade.

The dialogue has developed in both spheres recently. From the view of the ancient historian, one new model presents an almost three-dimensional image of ancient exchanges. It discusses flows, rather than exchanges, in three stages of complexity. The first stage is between cells from the smallest individual household to those between a city agora and 'out of region'. The second stage incorporates a wider range of transactions not apparent in the size-related increments of the previous stage, such as those involving private employment or cultic entities. The third stage addresses state-related flows, such as state wages and taxation (Davies 1998). The strength of such a model is that it allows for the mapping of all the economic flows within a society, describing structures and networks within a single model. It does not, however, shed light on the motivations of individuals, for instance, nor necessarily will it map relationships between two regions.

From the archaeological perspective, a recent development has been to view the core and periphery (and semi-periphery) not as opposite, exclusive spaces (Rowlands 1998a: 225), but rather to explore them as spheres for interaction, viewed by some as the 'middle ground' (White 1991; Malkin 2002, 2004; Gosden 2004). The middle ground, which acts as core and periphery, in both geographic and social contexts, serves as a means of interpreting the physical, material and social interactions of cultures, interactions in which everyone had agency and mutual need. It emphasizes mutual accommodation and requires an inability of both sides to gain their ends through force, which is why new conventions for cooperation must develop (White 1991: 52). As a process, therefore, it unites value systems to create a working relationship between them, often resulting in new sets of meanings and interactions over time. One might see a middle ground in North Syria, for instance, a region where Phoenicians and Greeks lived and interacted with the local cultures and one another, creating new meanings in material usages and cultural ideologies. One of the most obvious results deriving from this particular middle ground was what we discuss as the orientalization of Hellenic culture, which in reality was the Greek reinterpretation of selective eastern practices and traditions from the fostering of cross-cultural interactions. Dominance and exploitation are not features of this particular model and, indeed, this is borne out in the evidence from North Syria, as will become apparent in the next chapter. Middle grounds may be also found in Sicily and North Africa.

The various paradigms for examining spheres of multi-cultural interaction come together in the ideas of connectivity across frontiers and between microregions of the Mediterranean through the redistribution of commodities,

as expounded recently by Horden and Purcell (2000). The metaphor of a slope of connectivity is used explicitly to draw us away from notions of centrality and peripherality in our interpretations of interregional interactions (Purcell 2003: 22) and to refine notions of the frontier from physical (e.g. land/sea) or political boundaries to gateways of human mobility through which the relocation of producers and consumers in different microregions took place (Purcell 2005a: 121–4). Despite an emphasis on production and labour regimes, and movement, in the connectivity model (see Purcell 2005a and 2005b for the ancient world in particular), our understanding of connective distributive patterns still revolve around the idea that consumption is a stage in a process of cultural communication in which social and/or cultural value is embodied in commodities exchanged. Desire, demand, exchange of one thing for another and power all interact to create economic value in specific social situations of the moment, and drive production. The social readings are reflected in the desire, demand for and economic value of an item, since desire creates demand, leading us to consume (Bourdieu 1984; Appadurai 1986; Douglas and Isherwood 1996). This consumptive angle requires us to focus upon the perspective of the experiences and interests of the consumer, rather than the producer, since objects were produced in response to demand. This is especially in the case of luxury and desired items, which are the primary commodities exchanged between different cultural communities across the Mediterranean during the Iron Age. The limited circulation of luxury goods and the need for centres of production and reception return us to the broader views of ancient economic practice, where while consumption must be recognized as an important factor on a more globalized scale (Purcell 2003, 2005a, 2005b), its importance to the local extraction of value must not be overlooked (Miller 1995). This is essential for our interpretations surrounding early colonial exchanges with local populations.

Luxuries play a particularly important role in the communication of cultural values and can be viewed as a special register of consumption, as part of a large-scale consumption pattern, in which their principal use is rhetorical and social, as goods that are incarnated signs. The deliberately limited circulation of an object and its social significance promotes exclusivity in knowledge of the cultural code, and this is often manipulated to promote power and status.[5] Luxuries, therefore, may be characterized by restriction in price or law to elites; complexity of acquisition; capacity to signal fairly complex social messages; specialist knowledge as a prerequisite for their 'appropriate' consumption; and/or a high degree of linkage of their consumption with body, person and personality (Appadurai 1986: 38). In other words, knowledge of the cultural code is important to the value of luxuries. New commodities may begin as luxuries but develop into perceived necessities, or at least become culturally standardized. Luxuries can therefore lose their exclusive nature, as knowledge of the cultural code spreads (Douglas and Isherwood

1996: 68–9, 106) or develops as it is reinterpreted within the recipient culture (Howes 1996). This aspect is particularly significant for colonial situations, where it is important to understand the cultural codes of the recipient cultures if an understanding of the impact and influences of colonizing cultures is to be better gained. Thus notions of agency and resistance must be examined, as one scholar has recently phrased it, to 'identify the local social and cultural logic of consumption of foreign goods and practices and to understand the unintended consequences of such consumption in the entanglement of the colonial situation' (Dietler 1999: 483). This entails an emphasis upon how and why goods were selected for use and foreign customs modified, why other cultural aspects were not adopted, and the resulting cultural developments.

The developing consumptive role of luxuries can be identified easily in the patterns of imported goods exchanged between the Near East and Greece before and after the eighth century BC. Prior to the eighth century, the exclusive nature of the types of goods and their findspots suggest selective consumption identified with elite individuals in both communities, while their more widespread presence and provenances during the eighth and seventh centuries imply a broader understanding of the code that is no longer restricted to the elite (e.g. Lemos 2005). As a more detailed case study, in Sicily, initially only Greek drinking vessels associated with the symposium were of interest to the non-foreign populations, despite the range of materials otherwise available from the Greeks. Used in accordance with local traditions and customs, the sympotic wares initially had a restricted circulation before becoming more widely used, and finally imitated in local production (Hodos 2000c; for other specifically Mediterranean examples of consumption, see also Snodgrass 1983; Osborne 1996; Crielaard 1999a, 1999b).

These two examples, one general, one specific, contribute to the notion of Mediterraneanization, the dynamic process of connectedness in the Mediterranean (Morris 2003: 33). As a concept, it derives much from recent theories of globalization, particularly its emphasis on the *process* of connection. It stands as an embellishment to the theory of connectivity in that it emphasizes states of flux, takes into account sociological elements, and addresses the winners and losers in the process. The active elements of the processes of connection are the focus of the present volume, in which the specific case studies developed in the following chapters examine the conditions of connectivity and highlight the varied processes and outcomes across the Mediterranean in a snapshot of the Iron Age.

Colonization in the ancient world

Those engaged in the transport and exchange of goods, whether as gifts, commodities or other, gained detailed knowledge of other regions of the Mediterranean as prospects for viable, sustainable settlement, opportunities

for expanding commercial opportunities, and ways and means of doing things. One of the direct results of the earlier Iron Age exchanges was the foundation of colonies. The reasons are varied and contentious, and it is not my intention to engage in a discussion of why the Greek and Phoenician colonies were founded, although overpopulation, land shortage and commercial ambition are generally cited as reasons that the Greeks, in particular, established colonies; the Phoenician settlements are often characterized as expressly interested in trade opportunities, particularly for raw resources. Means of legitimization were often tied in with perspectives of cultural superiority or dominance in our ancient sources. Foundation myths, first recorded centuries after settlement, may subsequently have been used as a method of establishing rights to the territory, and sometimes were based upon mythic occupation tales. Religious sanction was another tool to justify aggressive action on the part of the new settlers. Lands often described as 'empty' were empty only in the eye of the beholder, or authors legitimizing the Greeks' claim, in particular, to territory on foreign shores (Malkin 1987, 1997; Dougherty 1993).

For the ancient world, the movement of groups of individuals to settlements in foreign territories has traditionally been discussed through the active voice of colonization, rather than through the politically-laden overtones of colonialism. Scholarship in the field of Greek colonization movements has been dominated by two Oxford University archaeologists in particular: T.J. Dunbabin, Reader in Classical Archaeology, and his successor, John Boardman. Dunbabin was an Australian by birth and grew up in the 1910s and 1920s, during the time that his nation, itself a colonial frontier, was striving to define itself against an indigenous substratum. He moved to Britain in the 1930s, the final era of the British Empire, when notions of colonialism were still held in high regard (de Angelis 1998). His research focused on Greek activities in the central Mediterranean, and Greek interactions with the civilizations of the eastern Mediterranean. His first book, *The Western Greeks* (1998), explored Greek activity particularly in Italy and Sicily. Only limited attention was given to the non-Greek populations in terms of discussion and significance. Rather, they are generalized as primitive and in need of the benefits of Hellenic civilization with nothing to offer the Greeks in return.

Strong in Dunbabin's background was the cultural primacy assigned to Classical Greek civilization by the modern West, as rooted in the classical tradition (Morris 1994; Shanks 1996), and this theme is perhaps more pervasive in scholarship on Greek colonization than any perceived colonialist ideologies. Even when Dunbabin turned his attention to the supposedly more enlightened eastern Mediterranean civilizations, who bestowed their artistic styles and techniques, as well as religious ideas and practices, upon the Greeks, he still found supremacy in Greek actions, since 'the Greeks learnt more, and made more use of these [Syrian] works, than Syrians or

Phoenicians did of the Greeks' works at this time [ninth to eighth centuries]' (Dunbabin 1957: 37). Even though the Greeks took much and gave little in return in this instance, in Dunbabin's eyes they still managed to make more of the situation than anyone else involved, reinforcing the notion of the time of Greek cultural superiority.

Emphasis on the importance of Greek civilization in the Mediterranean world perhaps culminates in the works of John Boardman. Boardman became Reader in Classical Archaeology after Dunbabin's death. Although he may be more widely recognized for his extensive contributions to the study of Greek art (e.g. Shanks 1996), he has maintained a substantial publication record in the archaeology of Greek colonization. In 1964, Boardman published his seminal work on the subject, *The Greeks Overseas*, which appeared in its fourth edition in 1999. Boardman's focus, like Dunbabin's, has been on the spread of Greek civilization throughout the Mediterranean. Unlike Dunbabin, Boardman was explicit in his examination of the material evidence for relations between Greeks and non-Greek speakers by examining the influences the Greeks had upon these non-Greek cultures. To Boardman, however, Greek culture (itself viewed as somewhat static) overwhelmed others with its sophistication of objects and artefacts, and enlightened customs and traditions. In his essentialist view, there is little consideration of acts of agency on the part of the non-Greeks, nor of any reciprocity. This is best summed up in his description of Greek interaction with the non-foreign populations of Sicily and Italy, when he states, 'In the west the Greeks had nothing to learn, much to teach' (Boardman 1999c: 190).

These scholars worked within a framework dominated by the notion of Hellenization, a concept broadly applied to the adoption of Greek cultural elements by non-Greek populations, usually as a result of direct contact with Hellenes through trade and/or, more often, colonization. It thus incorporates both colonialist and philhellenic ideologies. As a term, however, it lacks analytical power, since not all aspects of Greek culture were adopted by those with whom the Greeks came into contact through prolonged settlement, and different aspects were preferred by some and not others. Its usage, most frequently in colonialism contexts, implies a passive acceptance of Greek material goods and ideologies on the part of the non-Greeks, with no consideration of agency, nor of reciprocity. Furthermore, it obscures the fact that any adoption that did occur was not at a uniform rate. Hellenization, as a result of colonization, remains a form of colonialism.

While Hellenization has been criticized, it is only most recently that scholars are beginning to modify their interpretations and actively apply more encompassing frameworks from other disciplines of archaeology, particularly ideas and models drawn from postcolonialism. The result is a much more nuanced view of Greek activities abroad, and especially the responses of other cultures to the Greeks as a result of direct contact. The ideologies of postcolonial scholarship strive to articulate the active histories of the

colonized and to deconstruct the binary models of colonized and colonizers. Boardman's recent criticisms of postcolonial scholarship as a replacement of old prejudices with modern ones[6] ignores the fact that postcolonial scholarship does not deny the impact of the foreign, colonizing cultures; it continues to assesses their influences, but now takes into account notions of agency, reciprocity and hybrid developments in the process.

Study of the Phoenician colonial movement in the Mediterranean can be similarly criticized. This sphere of research as an archaeological discipline was initiated by Sabatino Moscati, who published the first archaeological synthesis in 1966 (*Il Mondo dei Fenici*), at roughly the same time Boardman produced *The Greeks Overseas*. In many respects, Moscati's work presented a similar monocultural understanding of the Phoenicians in their overseas settlements, and focused exclusively on Phoenician characteristics within the colonies, using Carthage as the archetype rather than an unusual exception. Orientalists have a tendency to downplay Phoenician feats or conflate them with Greek achievements, and Phoenician activities in the Mediterranean are often still assessed from evolutionist and dualist frameworks (see the discussion in van Dommelen 1998: 17–24). More recent scholarship, such as the works of H.G. Niemeyer and M.E. Aubet's recent synthesis (Aubet 2001), continues to set the study of Phoenician colonization within a framework of opposition to and competition with Greek colonies, often paying little interest to Phoenician interactions with and influences upon local populations, and even less to any reciprocity or the development of hybrid cultures as a result of such contacts (e.g. Niemeyer 1990, 1993, 1999, 2002; Aubet 2001). It is only very recently that this trend is altering (the work of van Dommelen, in particular).[7]

Until the rise of Carthage as a major Mediterranean power base and focus for the other scattered settlements after the destruction of the Phoenician homeland, the Phoenician settlements abroad were assumed to be not as land-hungry as their Greek counterparts. Tales of hostile and aggressive territorial conquest on the part of the Phoenicians are not mentioned in any literary record. Distinction must be made, however, between those areas where the Phoenicians were in competition with Greek settlements, and those where they were not. In the former (which include the case-study regions of this book), the material impact of the Phoenicians on other cultures is less dramatic during the earlier colonial period; Sicily, for instance, has been broadly interpreted as Hellenized, not Phoenicianized. The fact that few areas are considered to have been Phoenicianized is intriguing, as the impetus for Phoenician expansion overseas is generally held to have been for the acquisition of raw materials, and thus implies commercial exchanges, so it may be surprising that lasting cultural influences as a result of such exchange are not readily apparent. In fact, the very basic forms of exchange, themselves, may be masked by the intrusion of Greek cultural artefacts, contributing to the debate regarding who transported what.

Where Phoenicians maintained a geographical monopoly on colonial settlements, there is strong evidence that they did adopt strategies of territorial control. Sardinia is one such example. The Phoenicians initially founded the coastal settlements of Nora and Tharros along the south and western coasts respectively, and Sulcis on the south-western offshore island of Sant'Antioco, in the middle of the eighth century BC. During the later seventh century, new sites were established, presumably to facilitate contacts with the interior. Their situations reflect a strategic awareness of routes between the coast and the mineral-rich interior, and thus avenues of control, and include hilltop strongholds. Some were pitched to secure easy and direct access to inland fertile plains. The location of these sites and the subsequent distribution of Phoenician pottery throughout the island, in comparison with previous distribution patterns of Etruscan wares, in particular, reveal an increased Phoenician involvement in the internal affairs of Sardinia (van Dommelen 1998).

Nevertheless, parallels in Greek and Phoenician colonial scholarship can still be drawn. On the one hand, Greek and Phoenician activities abroad are no longer viewed as replications of life in the mother-cities. The colonial experience is acknowledged as a modification into something new, framed within ideologies of hybridity (Malkin 2003; Antonaccio 2005). It has been demonstrated that the Greek colonists in Sicily, for instance, made active decisions about the burial forms they utilized more in competition with neighbouring Greek settlements rather than in replication of homeland practices. A sense of distinct identity, developed and nurtured in foreign shores and explicit from the mother-city, was extended to the pan-Hellenic religious sphere, observable in the architecture of Sicilian Greek sanctuaries and the dedications that Sicilian Greeks made in the international sanctuaries of Greece (Shepherd 1995, 2000, 2005b). Approaches to Phoenician colonization have undergone a similar renaissance, with the recognition that Phoenician colonies highlighted certain features not common in the homeland, such as the *tophet*, and created distinctly colonial cultures, including more localized cultural spheres (Aubet 2001; van Dommelen 1998, 2002, in press a). In addition, there is an emphasis on the articulation of voices of the so-called native populations from the material remains, and a focus upon why elements of foreign culture were only selectively adopted, and adapted, with regard and in response to active local social mechanisms rather than mere emulation, and why other aspects were rejected (Dietler 1989, 1999; Hodos 2000c; Albanese Procelli 2003; Antonaccio 2004). All these avenues of study underline the local significance of any colonial-sphere interaction.

Colonialism in the ancient world

Scholarly interpretations of colonial movements have been related frequently to our experiences of more recent colonial activities, especially those influenced

by the British Empire and its particular colonialist aspect. Colonialism itself refers to the colonial system or principle, one in which foreigners are resident outside of their homeland and engaged in the socio-economic exploitation or domination of the otherwise existing population. It therefore addresses power relations, and those of domination and resistance. As a process to be examined archaeologically, it has been defined as one where 'material culture moves people, both culturally and physically, leading them to expand geographically, to accept new material forms and to set up power structures around a desire for material culture' (Gosden 2004: 153; see also Rowlands 1998b; Gosden 1999; with specific regard to the Iron Age Mediterranean: Dietler 1999; Morris 1994; Shanks 1996; van Dommelen 1997, 1998).

Colonialism in modern thinking finds its origins in the empires of the post-Renaissance world, and from which parallels to ancient forms of colonialism were drawn, often as a means of legitimizing the economic and political domination of foreign territories by European cultures (Rowlands 1998b; Gosden 1999; van Dommelen 1998, 2002; Malkin 2004). It was initially applied to the ancient world as a means of exploring the Roman empire from a perspective other than that of imperialism, which was rooted in the post-Medieval phenomenon of imperialism as bound to economic exploitation and Marxist ideologies that linked imperialism with capitalism (Bartel 1985; Millett 1990; Woolf 1990; Webster 1996; see Mattingly's North Africa case study: Mattingly 1996b). Thus it has only recently been considered as a framework for examination in Mediterranean archaeology, particularly when compared with the study of colonialism within the sphere of anthropology (van Dommelen 1998: 15–36; Malkin 2004).

The term itself derives from the English word *colony*, initially meaning nothing more than a settlement in a new country which was subject to a parent state. This term, of course, originated from the Latin *colonia*, which was used to indicate a variety of settlements that seem to have been distinguished by their constitutions with an emphasis on citizenship, and were often federal foundations. Some were for territorial control, perhaps as a defensive settlement established by the Roman administration, or to provide land grants to retired legionaries (Sherwin White 1973: 76–94; for a comparison of *coloniae* in Britain, see Millett 1990: 85–91). None of these usages compares with the varieties of overseas settlement types of the Greeks and Phoenicians, however, and this has given rise to recent dissatisfaction with English terminology to describe and discuss the nature of Iron Age settlings at overseas sites (see below; Osborne 1998).

Perhaps even greater dissatisfaction can be found in the colonialist terminology used to describe those peoples and cultures with whom the Greeks and Phoenicians came into contact in these foreign regions, particularly the terms 'native' and 'indigenous'. Indigenous, which should refer to a culture that originated in its region of settlement, implying permanent habitation since the beginning of time (Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989: 124, note 1), is

often taken to mean those cultures who were settled and established for some time in a given territory before the arrival of new foreign settlers, even though the already-resident population may have migrated from elsewhere only a century or two prior to the arrival of the new colonists. Such is the case of the Aramaeans in North Syria, who settled in the region only during the Early Iron Age, mixing with the existing populations to such an extent that many generalize the North Syrian population of the Iron Age as simply Aramaean, even though it was culturally mixed. Equally, the Ausonian culture in Sicily migrated from the Aeolian Islands during Sicily's Late Bronze Age, the most recent cultural migration in prehistory, yet they are often discussed as one of the so-called indigenous populations of the island. The semi-nomadism practised by North African populations clearly defies a permanently sedentary characterization. 'Native' is equally unsatisfying, as it is imbued with nineteenth-century notions of the inequality of races, influenced by Darwin's evolutionary theories of race and human nature, in which natives were seen as socially primitive and culturally static, who simply passively accepted enlightened Western civilization. In such views, the idea of agency has been disregarded (Trigger 1989; Gamble 1992; Bowler 1992). The term 'local' may initially appear to be a simple solution to this dilemma of what to call the pre-existing populations, since it is unencumbered with past overtones. Yet the term can also incorporate those who descended from colonists and who have remained in the colonial context for some time, 'local' therefore taking on a geographical meaning rather than a temporal-related classification for 'indigenous' (van Dommelen 1998: 214–15). I do, however, use 'local' to distinguish the origins of pre-existing populations and their material culture from those peoples and goods that were initially colonial; I speak in terms of hybrid communities to reflect the new cultural values that emerged in these mixed contexts.

This terminology comes into play with discussions of cross-cultural interaction and impact, or the anthropological notion of acculturation, which may be defined as those phenomena which result when different cultural groups come into continuous, first-hand contact, resulting in changes in the original culture-patterns of either or both groups. In most cases, however, it is used as a model to highlight the processes by which the pre-existing cultures adopted and adapted the material and social cultures of the foreign settlers. In general, acculturation perspectives have similarly been criticized for the applied view that the societies who had to respond to colonial movements were somehow static, unchanging cultures within themselves who accepted the foreign goods and ideas offered to them, and that change was dynamically introduced by contact with resident foreigners. They do not address ideas of individual choice vs. group decision, modification, selectivity, rate or reciprocal influence (Bartel 1985; Dietler 1999). Hellenization is a classic example of this, as by its very name it implies unidirectional influence from the Hellenes upon the other cultures they came into contact with, without

any indication of reciprocity, nor of agency on behalf of the non-Greek cultures, or how any such cultural influences may have been reinterpreted by them to accord with their own customs and traditions (acculturation: Dietler 1999: 478–9; Hellenization: Morel 1983; Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989; Curti *et al.* 1996; and Romanization as a parallel: Jones 1997: 34–6).

Colonialism in the Iron Age Mediterranean has, in fact, recently been redefined as a 'history of selective indigenous consumption of alien goods and practices across cultural frontiers and the unintended social and cultural consequences of that consumption' (Dietler 1999: 475). Others describe it as a new grip that material culture gets on people, where people are moved by objects into new structures of production, exploitation and social division (Gosden 2004: 39), or a situation in which power over part of the 'connectivity slope' is applied from a region of low or high connectivity (Purcell 2003: 20). While these modified definitions acknowledge that cultural influences and inspirations can and often do develop into something new – perhaps hybrid – that is locally specific, the focus for influences remains a unidirectional one. Any reciprocal impact that contact with indigenous populations may have had upon the colonizers is still largely overlooked. Furthermore, the ways in which meanings behind goods may have been modified is also not considered. For example, Gosden characterizes the early Greek expansion as colonialism in a shared cultural milieu, or colonialism without colonies, processes whereby 'the values attached to material culture are created and appropriated by a few, and become attractive to an elite over a large area, but still maintaining a symbolic centre of reference, which is an important part of their power' (Gosden 2004: 41).[8] While this can be supported archaeologically, such a broad characterization offers no means by which to explore reciprocity or the manipulation of values by those doing the appropriating. Yet it is apparent that local populations did exercise choice, that the meanings behind the acquisition and use of goods were modified to accord with local customs and practices, and that reciprocity can be seen. In sum, to continue to assess the interactions of Greek and Phoenician colonists with others within a framework of colonialism ignores significant aspects of the picture.

Such dissatisfactions have given rise to interpretations that do focus on those very interactions, often dubbed 'a postcolonial perspective'. Postcolonialism as an ideology arose from the independence movements of former European colonies after the Second World War, and it began as an interest in the perspectives of the colonized and the exploration of the effects of colonial discourses, particularly in the spheres of economic ideologies, social and literary criticisms (Loomba 1998; see also Said 1978, 1993; Spivak 1987; Bhabha 1994; for its archaeological applications, see most recently Gosden 1999; Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002; Given 2004; for its application in specifically Mediterranean archaeology, see van Dommelen 1997, 1998, 2002, in press a, in press b; Antonaccio 2003, forthcoming; Malkin 2004).

Postcolonial theory may be defined as the exploration of colonial cultural politics. Originally, it developed through critique of the processes by which knowledge of the colonial other was produced, and its early proponents were social critics such as Said, Spivak and Bhabha. Its initial aims were to decenter the dominant self-histories of the West and Western categories of knowledge. Within such a framework, therefore, aspects of agency began to be examined, as many recognized that colonized cultures manipulated colonial systems and reinterpreted foreign goods and ideals to accord with their own customs and traditions.

More recently, there has been an emphasis upon the new cultures that emerged out of colonial encounters, cultures that are a blend of indigenous and foreign traditions, actively reinterpreted into something new that is specific to a particular situation. This is the notion of hybridity (a term sometimes interchanged with creolization, which should explicitly apply to language modification in such contexts; for extensive bibliographies on the development and criticisms of hybridity theory in general and its application to archaeology, see van Dommelen in press a; Antonaccio 2003, 2005, forthcoming). The focus of hybridity studies rests upon the active construction of local identities in contact situations, whether these are shared cultural milieux, a middle ground or a *terra nullius*.

To some, however, hybridity and creolization, like acculturation, also imply that there were fixed forms of identity that met and mixed. This is simply not the case in the Iron Age. Greek identities, in particular, were in the process of creation during the eighth and seventh centuries BC, and their evolution is related to the development of the polis. It therefore was not a Greek culture that founded these settlements (they were not even exclusively Greek), nor were they established to benefit the Greek states from which they derived. In fact, it could be argued that the colonies altered the homeland as well as the colonized. Similar arguments may be made for Phoenician culture.

This leads directly to issues surrounding the expression of ethnic identity in such mixed contexts, and its identification in material culture. The root of the term 'ethnicity' derives from the Greek *ethnos*, which was used in Greek literature to categorize a class of beings who shared a common identification, although often extended to distinguish those who were somehow outside the sphere of Greek social normality (Chapman *et al.* 1989: 12; Hall 1997: 34–5, 2002: 17). Yet in today's usage it is related to notions of shared culture, origin, language and other social traits (see Malkin 1998: 55–61 for an explanation of the development of studies of ethnicity in archaeology).

Ethnic identity is accepted by its very nature to be geographically and temporally rooted, as it is dynamically, actively constructed (Shennan 1989: 14–17; Díaz-Andreu 1996; Graves-Brown 1996; Hides 1996; Jones 1996, 1997; Jones and Graves-Brown 1996). Ethnicity may be defined as a form of self-conscious self-description that is constructed through comparison

with others, rather than a passive reflection of cultural tradition. An ethnic identity can only arise once there is a collective view of its characteristics. For some, this is intrinsically political (Morgan 2001: 75). For others, these must include perceived cultural differentiation and/or common descent (Gosden 2004: 69; Jones and Graves-Brown 1996: 6; Jones 1997). More explicitly, these might include a common myth of descent and kinship, association with a particular territory, and a sense of shared history (Hall 1997: 17–33, 2002: 9–14 for criticisms and counter-criticisms).[9] Others characterize ethnicity less explicitly as any such identity based on situational identifications that are rooted in the localized contexts of daily life of that particular individual or group (Jones 1997: 13–14).

Ethnic groups or cultures are not natural categories. They are actively formed and manipulated, like other social constructs, and are temporally and contextually contingent, and they must be taught. No one possesses a 'natural' affinity with an ethnic identity, as it is not inherent within us, nor is it a biological characteristic. A difficulty arises, therefore, when one attempts to study ethnicity using a postcolonial ideology: how should we discuss the ethnicities of new, hybrid cultures? By what criteria can we identify ethnicities in a new, mixed milieu, especially as the study of ethnicity relates to broader discussions of social performance and display, and the shaping of social structure, such as Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977)?[10] Cultural distinctions in the ancient world were manifested in literature more as expressions of superiority and inferiority and largely do not appear in Greek writings until the fifth century BC, by which time they are related to contemporary issues surrounding the Persian War and the need to identify the enemy as a collective object of hostility.[11]

Shared attributes are integrated into different societies in different ways; cultural identities, therefore, are multifaceted (Graves-Brown 1996: 91). Even with the integration of biological analyses (e.g. Mattingly with Edwards 2003: 232–4), the fact that ethnic identity is socially constructed means that we will never be able to arrive at an absolute identification from the material record alone, since our interpretations of the material past are subjective. Yet this is essentially all we are left with, particularly given the multiply-biased nature of literary references to ancient 'others'. Furthermore, it could be argued that while collective identities may share general attributes, individuals who share in that identity may choose to express it in a manner that incorporates some, all or none of the traits. Therefore, any discussion of ethnicity and ethnic identity must be taken as subjective, and more often be in collective terms. In any event, any material display may have as much to do with other categories of society than just ethnic affiliation and reflection. This study therefore speaks in terms of culture, defined as a constantly-evolving system of shared beliefs and practices between people, and which has contesting substrata (Dougherty and Kurke 2003: 1–2), rather than ethnicity, which is just one facet of culture (2003: 6).

What is a colony and when is it not?

So what of the nature of these overseas sites? The Greeks, for instance, were not consistent regarding their terminology for various kinds of settlements and communities. A general distinction between the two primary terms, *apoikia* and *emporion*, has been sought, with the former defined as a home away from home, whereas the latter functions explicitly as a trading station. The identification of *apoikia*, in particular, as a form of *colony* stems from the fifteenth century AD translation of the Greek word to the Latin *colonia*, lending it the overtones of Roman imperialism which have tormented our English translation to this day (de Angelis 1998 with bibliography). Furthermore, it has been recently noted that in classical literature, an *apoikia* must also possess *polis*-related (or even *ethne*-related: Morgan 2001, 2003) socio-political characteristics, as well as physical elements, such as a hinterland, while the *emporion* model has a distinctly economic function, generally relying upon the import and export of goods as the site's primary reason for existence, with little need for self-sufficiency generated by control of an agricultural base (Malkin 1997: 27; Moscati 1984–85: 14; for the relationship between the development of the *polis* and *apoikiai*, see Malkin 1994; Wilson 1997). A settlement was not designated as one or the other mutually exclusively, however, and both *apoikiai* and *emporia* could also be *poleis*. Herodotus, for instance, talks about Olbia in the Black Sea as the *emporion* of Borysthenes (4.17.1), and yet the residents of Olbia identify their city as a *polis* in their own description of themselves as *Olbiopolites* (4.18.1). Herodotus' choice emphasizes particular characteristics in the specific passages. Prior to the fourth century BC, commerce served as an integral aspect of the city-state, so a settlement could be described as both a *polis* and an *emporion*. The term *emporion* also designates part of a coastal town separated from the rest of the city that was devoted to foreign commerce, characterized by a harbour, quay, warehouses, associated administrative buildings and its own food market, as in Herodotus' description of Naukratis (2.178–9).

Apoikiai as *poleis* are found more commonly in literature, and Malkin discusses at length the relationship between colonies and the development of the institutions and characteristics of the *polis* (Malkin 1987, 1994). Distinctions between these terms reflect the concerns and ideals of the Classical period, however, and not of the actual times of the foundations of the settlements in question. Thus, by the late fifth century BC, an *apoikia* was viewed as a community on foreign shores in the image of the mother-city *polis* (Wilson 1997). Yet in the eighth and seventh centuries, when many overseas settlements were first established by a variety of Greek mother-cities, the *polis* itself was not fully fledged in its ideologies nor physical traits. Any quest for such characteristics during our particular period of interest will be of the chicken-and-egg variety, since overseas settlements were being

established at the same time as the political, physical and ideological features of the *polis* were cementing.

Such variation in terminology is generally not attributed to the Phoenician settlements abroad, since they are usually described as purely trading sites (Niemeyer 1990: 485; Boardman 2001a). Yet there is more to these settlements than just trade. In fact, they may be characterized as a trade diaspora, defined as interregional exchange networks composed of spatially dispersed, specialized merchant groups (Stein 2002; Cohen 1971). These groups will be culturally distinct, socially independent and organizationally cohesive from the communities in which they have settled. They will retain close economic and social ties with related communities who define themselves in terms of the same general cultural identity. In short, these are communities that specialize in exchange while maintaining a separate cultural identity from their host community. A degree of political stability needs to exist within such communities in order for the long-distance exchanges with other similar communities to be secured and maintained. It is the shared identity (which may extend to linguistic, religious or other cultural criteria, not just descent) among different diaspora communities, as distinct from their host communities, that provides the framework for the exchange system to function reliably over time.

The Phoenician overseas settlements maintained close economic ties with one another while retaining shared sociocultural practices (especially language and religion). Phoenicians generally produced, exchanged and consumed goods within their own encapsulated social domains, and spheres of localized production and exchange can also be seen (see Chapter 3). Individual communities did not dominate – culturally, politically or economically – the societies in which they cohabited and with whom they interacted, and this is perhaps the most fundamental difference between the Phoenician and Greek overseas settlements. Their settlements were also economically self-sufficient. At Motya, for instance, ceramic production, iron working and purple dye manufacturing industries developed soon after the settlement was established. The site was thus a production centre in its own right, and in many instances producing goods for local consumption (especially ceramics and iron products) and not merely serving as a conduit for goods produced elsewhere. In Sardinia, there is certainly evidence for use of the hinterland (van Dommelen 1998). Expansion into the hinterland and ideas of self-sufficiency contradict the Greek definition of an *emporion*, and so it is inappropriate to characterize Phoenician colonies as such. (One might also consider the sea to be another kind of hinterland for the Phoenicians, or perhaps even an inhabited space, following Purcell 2003: 18, as Phoenicians are well attested in literary records as experienced seamen and traders; there is evidence that they did control various routes across the sea with the situation of their colonies.)

There are clearly different political and economic reasons underlying colonial settlements, and various scholars have focused on particular elements in

their search for unifying features. Many have tried to characterize the establishment of all communities on foreign shores as colonies, conscious of the variety of forms an overseas settlement might take (such variation was not lost on Finley: Finley 1976: 174).

Political control has been one means used to assess the nature of settlements abroad (Branigan 1981). *Governed colonies*, for instance, are defined as existing settlements that have a foreign administration imposed upon them by force and are then governed in the interests of the foreign state. By such a definition, the Neo-Assyrian conquest of various cities in the Near East would have resulted in many sites becoming governed colonies. The phrase *settlement colonies* applies to those sites founded and subsequently occupied by a foreign people, retaining strong links with the homeland culture. Such a settlement may be self-governing, governed from the homeland or achieve self-government. The Greek and Phoenician colonies of the Mediterranean Iron Age would fall under this general category. Finally, some may function as *community colonies* (related to *enclave colonies*: Tournavitou 1990), in which a significant element of a settlement's population comprised foreign residents. Tell Sukas may be one such example.

The economic nature of overseas settlements has been another area of emphasis, in which such settlements are viewed as having primarily an economic and commercial purpose as specifically ports of trade (thus avoiding the laden term 'colony') (Polanyi 1963). This model, however, also integrates varying degrees of political control, and by extension protection of a site's neutrality as a safe place for exchanges to take place. Various types include a port whose neutrality may have been safeguarded by the agreement of the hinterland empire which it served; a port as part of, rather than controlled by, the hinterland; a port whose neutrality is overseen by the consensus of the overseas powers that utilized it; a port that provided for its own security, perhaps through a navy.[12] These categories were not mutually exclusive, however. Al Mina, for instance, served as the port of an independent small state and was safeguarded by that empire which it served; Tyre also served as the port of an independent small state, yet provided its own naval strength. The emphasis on professional trade and maintenance of neutrality rather than as part of a more complex system related to *polis*-type characteristics provide a better model in general for the Phoenician overseas settlements.[13]

One of the difficulties in reconciling these models to literary and archaeological evidence is that each site is unique in terms of its historical circumstances and material culture patterning. This is one of the reasons why scholars find it increasingly difficult to apply generalizing models to specific case studies; this is also why within the postcolonial movement, the individual nature of contexts is emphasized. The terminology above is particularly difficult to relate to the variations visible in the Iron Age. The case for enclaves (a geographical notion), communities (more socially based), or ports of trade (an economic basis) – all of which may be indicated archaeologically by

warehouses, foreign goods and perhaps even specialist workshops producing distinctive, foreign styles, as well as foreign weights, measures and scripts – merely indicates the movement of people. In the case of the political models, it can be interpreted as colonialist to brand pre-existing local settlements which subsequently acquire Greek or Phoenician settled populations as colonies of any type, since the use of the word colony itself gives a priority to the presence of foreign residents over the nature of the settlement as a whole, although such a dominance may not be reflected in the site's broader archaeological record and social practices.

None of this makes it any easier to use the term colony, and it has recently been suggested that the term be discarded altogether in favour of viewing Greek and Phoenician overseas settlements solely as culture contact (Osborne 1998; Gosden 2004: 33). It has already been noted that the trading links developed initially through individuals, whether elites or merchants, rather than state-controlled commerce. This, for some, stretches the notion that the subsequent settlements should be deemed colonies, since they were not necessarily state-directed.

Yet a distinction must be drawn between trading/commercial contacts and contacts through settlement. The creation of colonies gives a very different dynamic to the idea of culture contact than regular trading or gift exchange contact because the latter lack the daily experience and juxtaposition of 'self' and 'other' (van Dommelen, personal communication). One might therefore argue that these are cultural colonies and their impacts in communicating cultural codes were profound, for through them objects, cultural tools and practices were disseminated to other cultures and reinterpreted by them throughout the Mediterranean. The emphasis on culture is one of the themes of postcolonialism.[14] Therefore it can be argued that within a postcolonial framework, it is appropriate to continue to utilize the term colony, although perhaps with more specific parameters. A colony demands more than just one foreign resident (not necessarily from the same place of origin) living in a geographic community abroad. A colony also necessitates spatial distinction from either the rest of the community or the host society. By its very nature it will be socially distinctive and will retain some ties, not necessarily political but certainly cultural ones, with its homeland culture which may be viewed almost as a corporate identity. Material manifestations of this will vary. At its barest minimum, a colonist can be nothing more than a settler overseas, without judging motivations, professions or even numbers, but the shared cultural features remain a key difference between colonist/colonies and individual or family migrations. Such a definition does not need to incorporate issues of political domination of the colony by the mother-city, nor judge the colony's own interaction with surrounding communities and populations. Colonization, therefore, is not an institutional or political manifestation but a movement of people or individuals who collectively identify themselves with a certain social coherence.

What comes next

While broad studies such as those from the perspective of a global economy or acculturation have provided useful models for our study of the nature and impact of the colonial movements of the Iron Age in the Mediterranean, it has become clear that the generalizations they encourage can be deconstructed on a more localized level. The present study celebrates these local dynamics through an exploration of material culture patterns and an examination of the mechanisms and ideologies behind them.

Some of the models that have been applied to this dynamic period and the approaches previous studies have taken have been been outlined in this chapter. The following chapters therefore offer a re-examination of a variety of material evidence from each of the case-study regions as a means of assessing the impact of Greek and Phoenician colonies upon the local populations to demonstrate the variety of responses, and the localized nature of colonial influence. The scope of the project has rendered it necessary to accept many of the judgements of a site's original excavators, however, and it was never my intention to revisit every sherd from every site. There is, however, a question of scale to be asked: at what scale is it appropriate to accept generalizations or reject them? Clearly, Mediterranean-wide generalizations about how local populations responded to Greek and Phoenician colonization are rejected. At the other extreme, differences in a culture can also be identified between individual neighbouring sites within the same cultural population, and even within a single site (and a site with a single cultural population). For the purposes of this study, it is at the level of a microregion of coresidentiality, defined as an area that is smaller than a settlement region but larger than a single site (Yaeger and Canuto 2000: 10). Within such a scale, which delimits a mid-level scale of analysis, intra-site comparison becomes possible, although the differences between a culture's substrata as reflected in the corpus of material and practices at an individual site are kept in mind and acknowledged.

Each subsequent chapter is divided into sections with parallel headings to facilitate comparison and contrast between areas. These include a discussion of who the local populations were within each region; local chronologies as tied to the ceramic sequence; communities, with a special emphasis on the physical expressions of such communities (Yaeger and Canuto 2000: 9–12); burial customs; religious practices; consumption patterns as seen in material culture distributions; artistic styles; and written voices. Embedded within each chapter are also discussions of diet and settlement patterns, both of which constitute significant avenues of study in other colonial contexts. In the case-study regions, however, relevant floral and faunal analyses or high-quality survey data are not widely available. Many of the sites discussed were excavated before archaeobotanical and zooarchaeological sampling became standard field practices. With regard to survey data, it is only in Libya that a

detailed regional survey has taken place to assess broad settlement patterns. This has been limited to the desert and pre-desert regions, however, and with emphasis on the Roman and subsequent periods, which are beyond the temporal scope of this work; no such survey data exists for the immediate hinterland of the Greek and Phoenician colonies. Discussion of these features in the present work therefore is necessarily limited.

The subheading designates reflect the active nature of the evidence to demonstrate the ways in which material culture was used socially and to assess the behaviours behind both the archaeological and social contexts as hybrid cultures develop in each region. Yet within each section, it is the local material culture itself that is presented, and there is a particular emphasis on the continuity of forms, shapes, styles and ideas, rather than an exclusive focus on changes. This is to help contextualize the extent of material developments. Furthermore, a more descriptive approach has been adopted to compensate for the disciplinary boundaries that have traditionally divided these regions. Someone familiar with North Syrian material may not necessarily recognize local Sicilian or North African types, while Greek and Phoenician examples are generally easily recognized. Only by understanding the local material can interpretations about the choices people made as reflected in subsequent typological development be assessed. Much that is synthesized here has been published in scattered works, some of which are quite obscure, and not every example has been included, as to be expected in works of a synthetic nature. My aim has been to provide a flavour of cultural continuities, modifications and reinterpretations as a result of and in response to colonization. It is from such a foundation that social issues surrounding material development within the community as a whole can then be explored. Although the material elements are classified into distinct categories (e.g. Albanese Procelli 1996b), these cannot be considered independently of the various social components that produced them (e.g. craftsmen and their patrons). Therefore this work aims to offer an understanding of the material culture from which social interpretations have then been drawn.

2

NORTH SYRIA

The Iron Age of the eastern Mediterranean is marked by a period of cultural movements and interactions. From the lands of the East, the Assyrians began actively to extend their empire through aggressive military campaigns. Across the Mediterranean itself, new goods and ideas began to circulate courtesy of the seaborne activities of a variety of peoples, primarily Phoenicians and Euboean Greeks. This chapter is not so much concerned with the impact of the Bronze Age–Iron Age transition as seen in the Early Iron Age (Iron Age I, generally dated to between 1100 and 900 BC), but rather with the multicultural and international developments during the Middle Iron Age (Iron Age II: 900–600 BC), when Mediterranean cultures began to actively trade and interact with one another in the Near East and throughout the Mediterranean. This is also the period that coincides with the Assyrian Imperial period (930–610 BC). The region where these cultures come together is, in fact, the north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean, particularly the North Syrian littoral (Figure 2.1). Phoenician, Greek and Aramaean settlements have all been argued for on the basis of archaeological evidence, making this one of the most dynamic areas for studies of cultural interaction.

Literature has tended to identify the peoples of the eastern Mediterranean who travelled by sea at this time as Phoenicians. Assyrian annals refer to the Phoenicians by their city of origin (Sidonians and Tyrians, for example), a distinction also found in Homer, while later Greeks used the term *phoinikes* (Phoenician) to generalize about all eastern maritime merchants, rather than to specify a particular city-state, much less an ethnic, linguistic or cultural group (Frankenstein 1979; Burkert 1992; Morris 1992; Röllig 1992; Winter 1995; it may have also sometimes been a question of linguistic convenience: for instance, Culican 1982: 28 suggests that σιδονιη provided a better scan than the Tyrian alternative). The Phoenicians most likely also referred to themselves by city (Frankenstein 1979: 288; Morris 1992: 130; Burkert 1992: 28; Röllig 1992: 93; but cf. Bonfante 1941: 1, who says they called themselves Sidonians; this may be related to the notion that Tyre-Sidon functioned as a single state during the ninth and eighth centuries: Aubet

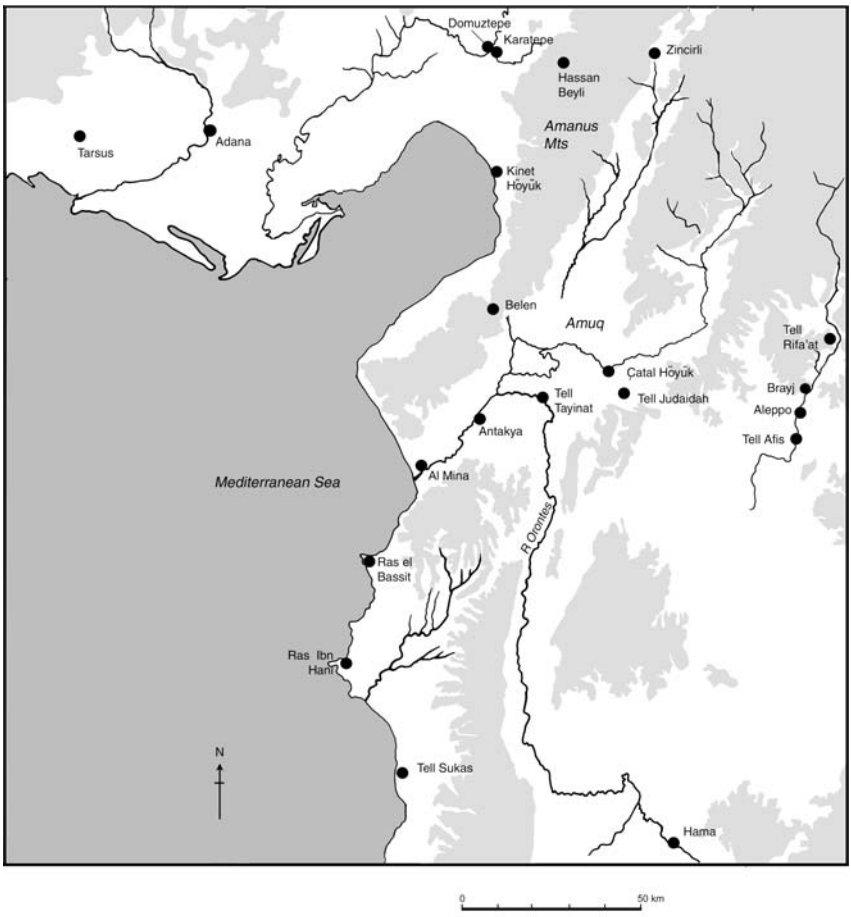


Figure 2.1 North Syrian littoral.

2001: 46). They may also have referred to themselves as Canaanite (the Phoenicians used the Canaanite script until the ninth century BC. Frendo 1993; Kestemont 1983).

One effect of the Neo-Assyrian conquest of the eastern Mediterranean was that the Phoenicians became the main suppliers of primary raw materials for the empire and were thus compelled to extend their trading network beyond the confines of their ninth-century territory. Neo-Assyrian pressure on Phoenician coastal settlements for tribute is well known, as are campaigns against individual city-states during the eighth and seventh centuries when they occasionally rebelled (Oded 1974; Zaccagnini 1984 for Assyrian tribute payments and gifts, especially by the Phoenicians; see also Kestemont 1972;

Frankenstein 1979). This necessitated expansion into areas beyond the Eastern littoral, from Cyprus and Cilicia to North Africa, the central Mediterranean, and as far west as Spain. No doubt this need is also related to the territorial erosion that followed successive incursions by the Israelites, Philistines and Aramaeans since the eleventh century, which by the tenth century had reduced Phoenician territory to a narrow coastal fringe,[1] forcing the Phoenician city-states to consider economic alternatives, given the loss of much of their own natural resources (Niemeyer 2002). Thus we hear about a mid-tenth-century joint Phoenician–Israelite Red Sea merchant fleet to tap into Asian trade routes (1 Kings: 9–10), while archaeologically this may be reflected in the occasional Near Eastern item, mostly faience and glass beads and the sporadic bronze or pottery vessel, that found its way into graves particularly on Euboea, Skyros and Crete (although the transporter remains unidentified) (Lemos 2002: 226–7; Hoffman 1997; Jones 2000).

During the ninth century, Tyre had expanded its sphere of influence with the foundation of Kition in Cyprus. Close political control of the settlement was maintained by Tyre through a governor who was subject to the king. Phoenician settlement in Cilicia is presumed to be contemporary (Kestemont 1972, 1985; Lipiński 2000). Myriandros is mentioned by Xenophon and Pseudo-Skylax as a Phoenician port near the Cilician Gates, although it was probably situated somewhere along the Bay of Iskenderun (Xenophon: *Anabasis* I.IV.6; Pseudo-Skylax: *Periplous* 102; Kestemont 1985: 135 suggests Iskenderun itself). Stephanos Byzantios suggests that Aiga lies in the same area (under *Aiga*). Herodotus also mentions Phoinike (IV.38) and Kilix (VII.9) as additional Phoenician settlements in the region. Archaeology so far has not identified any sites along this shoreline as Phoenician. Phoenician and Cypro-Phoenician pottery have a wide distribution among many sites in the region, and therefore cannot be taken as indicative of resident ethnic Phoenicians. Thus, Phoenician presence in Cilicia has traditionally been argued for on other artistic and epigraphic grounds, such as the Phoenician-style reliefs at Karatepe, accompanied by Phoenician inscriptions. It has been suggested, however, that the non-standard Phoenician elements within the carvings imply they were produced by local rather than Phoenician stone carvers, while the texts, themselves, may reflect a political function of the Phoenician language, rather than Phoenician settlement itself (Winter 1979: 138, note 96; Aubet 2001: 50).

Greek colonization east of Aegean waters is attested in literature, although along the southern coast of Turkey these sites are confined to Pamphylia and Cilicia Tracheia, significantly to the west of our region of interest. Greek mercenaries along the Eastern littoral of the Mediterranean in the service of Near Eastern kings, however, are well attested in literature, and their activities date back at least to the eighth century (Kestemont 1985; Kearsley 1999; Niemeier 2001 with references). For instance, literary references indicate that Greeks participated in the 10-year Cilician revolt against

the Assyrian king Sennacherib between 705 BC and 696 BC (Bing 1971: 100–1 with references). It is difficult to find archaeological correlates for such references, however. A Greek greave and shield from Carchemish from the context associated with the Babylonian overthrow of 605 BC may be one attestation of Greek fighters, as may be a pictorial allusion on a silver bowl from Amathus. Greek cooking pots from the fortress sites of Meşad Hashavyahu and Tel Kabri similarly suggest the presence of Greek mercenaries during this period.[2] Recently, Al Mina has been proposed as another mercenary settlement, a compelling argument based on historical references and archaeological parallels alongside its distinctive absolute and relative quantities of Greek pottery, especially at its foundation level.[3]

No literary sources mention the coast of North Syria as a site of early Greek colonial activity, however.[4] Nevertheless, it is held by some that Greek settlers founded Al Mina as an *emporion*, or port of trade, while archaeological evidence suggests a number of Greeks were also resident at Ras el Bassit and Tell Sukas, both with a character more like an *enoikismos*, a settling of Greeks among others. These will be discussed below.

It was not just the Phoenicians or Greeks who were actively travelling overseas. At Pithekoussai, it is likely that North Syrian Aramaic-speakers were resident as well as Phoenicians, attested by Aramaic inscriptions (which may refer to units of measurement, and perhaps also a religious symbol) (Garbini 1978; Amadasi Guzzo 1987; Docter and Niemeyer 1994: 112, number 47; for other evidence, see Boardman 1994a; the connections with Phoenician Carthage, however, are stronger: Docter and Niemeyer 1994). While no mention is made in Assyrian sources of Aramaeans travelling, and Aramaeans are not mentioned in Greek works at all, in Deuteronomy: 26.5, Moses declares 'a wandering Aramaean was my father', and the legend is repeated in the Haggadah, which, although compiled sometime during the first millennium AD and referring to the Jewish exodus from Egypt during the second millennium BC, suggests that Aramaeans were not adverse to living elsewhere.[5] Although originally nomadic, during the Early Iron Age, they migrated to and settled in the region of North Syria, an area defined by the boundaries of the Taurus and Amanus mountain ranges and the Euphrates river and Orontes river valley.

The North Syrian populations

The ethnic/cultural make-up of the local populations of the eastern Mediterranean littoral, particularly North Syria, are not clearly identifiable materially nor in literary sources. Luwian-speaking Hittites were no doubt the Hatti described by the Neo-Assyrians, yet sources attest that Aramaeans also were settled in this region, particularly in the area around the Orontes itself (Amadasi Guzzo 1987; Klengel 2000; Dalley 2000). In fact, Neo-Hittite

Luwians and the originally nomadic Aramaeans settled into communities alongside long-established North Syrian populations.

Politically, the situation is equally complex, as rather than a unified political entity, the region consisted of small city-states, diffuse kinship-oriented urban settlements that replaced the regional powers of the Bronze Age palace towns, and each of which had varying political alliances with one another and their regional neighbours (Bunnens 2000; see also Thuesen 2002). Even once this region was annexed into the Neo-Assyrian administration system, some cities and alliances would rebel or refuse to pay tribute, forcing the Assyrian army to return again and again (Bing 1971: 100 with references; Thomason 2001: 67).

The Neo-Hittites of this region are not migrated remnants of the Bronze Age Hittite civilization, but rather represent a blending of traditions resulting in an Iron Age identity characterized by Hittite traits found amongst several states in North Syria, Cilicia and south-central Anatolia. Particular sculptural styles and techniques that were features of the Bronze Age Hittite empire continued to be used in these regions after 1200 BC, while certain onomastic elements, including Hittite rulers' names and the use of a form of Hittite hieroglyphs to express the Luwian language on public inscriptions, characterize a continued sense of shared culture (Luwians were Anatolian in origin and came to this region already during the period of the Hittite empire and again during the Early Iron Age) (Klengel 2000). Bunnens (2000) suggests that Carchemish, which survived the interregional collapse at the end of the Bronze Age, may have served as a model for an integrated state to these communities. It certainly was the main power-base for the Neo-Hittites (yet is also closely connected with the Aramaeans). This would explain why so many monumental inscriptions in Syria were written in Luwian, an Anatolian language used in the Carchemish inscriptions (Bunnens 2000: 17).

The rise of the Aramaeans was the result of a long period of peaceful sedentarization and consolidation of power through urbanization in a kinship system that emerged after the Late Bronze Age, when local North Syrian communities and nomadic groups bound together to replace the former territorial palace-oriented states, merging Luwian, Neo-Hittite and Aramaean cultural elements to form new hybrid identities in the Iron Age (Mazzoni 1995; Bunnens 2000; Klengel 2000; Sader 1987, 2000; Harrison 2001; Peckham 2001). Aramaic itself is a new language in the first millennium BC, utilizing a linear, alphabetic system of writing (Klengel 2000: 25; but Bunnens 2000: 17 notes that it has linguistic features that can be traced to the second millennium, and thus represents a later development of those spoken semitic languages, particularly Canaanite). This sense of developing identity during the Early Iron Age may explain why Aramaeans are not mentioned by name or identified as such in Assyrian sources before Tiglath-Pileser III (third quarter of the eighth century) (Bunnens 2000: 16–17).[6]

There were several principalities active in North Syria at this time attested in Assyrian texts (Figure 2.2). These include Carchemish, Milid (Malatya), Unqi/Pattina (Amuq), Gurgum, Que and Kummuh, all of which relate to the Luwians. Others that were primarily Aramaean include Sam'al (Zincirli), Bit Agusi (Arpad), Hadatu (Arslan Tash), Bit Adini (Tip Barsip) and Hamath (Hama) (Klengel 2000; Mazzoni 2000; see Parker 2002: 373 for distinctions between boundary, border and frontier; for more on frontiers see Purcell 2003: 20–2 and 2005a: 121–4). Some of these encompassed sizeable territories. Sam'al, for instance, was located at the eastern edge of the Amanus mountain range, and its territory extended between the northern border of

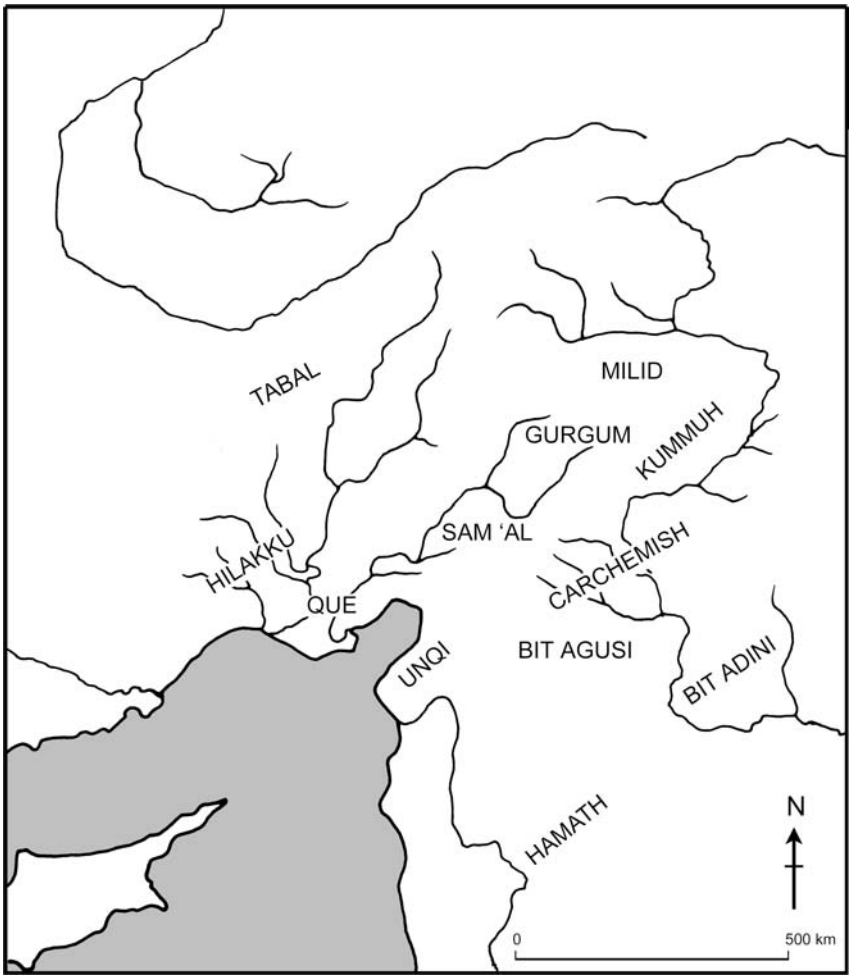


Figure 2.2 North Syrian territories.

Unqi and the southern confines of Gurgum, incorporating several smaller sites (Hawkins 1995). 'Ain Dara may have been part of this state, as suggested by sculpted stonework from the site (Abou Assaf 1985). Cultural-ethnic differences between these territories are not always clear cut, however. For example, the rulers of Sam'al have Anatolian/Neo-Hittite/Luwian names (Panamuwa, Kilamuwa) as well as Aramaean ones (Bar-rakib, BRṢR), while Aramaic inscriptions with Aramaean and Semitic names have been found at Hama (Sam'al: Bunnens 2000; Hama: Otzen 1990).

The foundation history of the fortress of Karatepe, in the Taurus hills above the Ceyhan valley, sheds light on the organization of these communities. It was founded by the Luwian Azitawada, who called his site Azatiwataya, although at its foundation, during the reign of the Assyrian king Sennacherib (early seventh century), it was probably under the domination of Que, the seat of the local dynasty (Bing 1971; Hawkins 1995), which today lies under modern Adana. The eponymous territory of Que, called so by the Assyrians, also is known at other times as Plain Cilicia, Cilicia Pedias and Cilicia Campestri.[7] It is a well-defined geographical entity, bounded by the sea to the south, the Taurus mountains from the west around to the north, and the Amanus range to the east. Que refers to the plain only (Seton-Williams 1954: 124, although when under Hittite control it may have also been referred to as Hatte). Entry into the territory is limited by natural features to its western coastal strip and the Cilician and Amanus Gates.

The founding of Karatepe was commemorated in an early seventh century Neo-Hittite/Luwian hieroglyphic inscription with a parallel Phoenician text, accompanied by lively reliefs in North Syrian and Phoenician styles (Winter 1979; Hawkins 1979; Hawkins and Mopurgo Davies 1978; Bron 1979; Hawkins 1999). The texts explain that Azitawada was promoted by the Adana king Awarikas, and that he extended the territorial control of Adana and prospered; Que is designated in the Karatepe bilingual by the Luwian hieroglyphics as 'city Adana(wa)' and 'Adanawa plain' and the Phoenician text as 'Danunym' and 'plain of Adana' (Hawkins 1995). The political structures may be more nuanced, for Karatepe is also identified as part of the smaller kingdoms of Kundo and Sissu; while the location of Kundo itself remains unidentified, Sissu has been sited at Kinet Höyük.[8]

Of particular interest is the coastal region of the north-eastern Mediterranean, since this was the area of greatest interest to other Mediterranean populations, particularly the Greeks and Phoenicians, and the importance of this region cannot be underestimated for its natural resources and trading links. The Taurus mountains to the west are rich in iron and silver, which presumably played a role in Que's power, wealth and interest to the Assyrians (Bing 1971: 100 with references; see also Parker 2002. The Assyrians hardly ventured further west than Que and Hilakku: Hawkins 1995, 1999: 40–3), while the Amanus mountains to the east had natural gold, copper and arsenic

resources (Yener *et al.* 2000: 167). The Amanus mountains themselves are also surprisingly formidable, as Alexander the Great discovered when he could not find Darius III's army to engage at the time of the Battle of Issos in 333 BC. This region also inspired the Assyrians for its landscape, vegetation and timber, particularly shrubs, fruit trees, cypress, boxwood and especially cedarwood (Alkım 1965; Thomason 2001). Agricultural products, including cereals and olives, are attested in storage contexts at various sites (Bonatz 1993: 131). Resources extended to sea-related output and the production of purple dye. While purple dye manufacture is usually attributed to the Phoenicians in literary sources, evidence for possible purple dye production from Kinet Höyük suggests that this activity was not limited to the Phoenicians, since there is no indication from the archaeology that the residents of the site at this time were Phoenician.[9] Purple dye was, in fact, produced elsewhere in the Mediterranean, at Taras in Italy since at least the fifth century BC, as well as on Euboea, Kythera and Crete, although in the case of the Greek examples, literary references indicate a Phoenician identity of the purple producers (Morris 1992; one exception, judging by his name, may be Korobios, the Cretan purple-fisher who showed the Therans to Platea, where they established the first North African colony; for purple production at Taras, see Morel 1978). Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the two North Syrian states of Que and Unqi controlled the inland (riverine) routes between the Mediterranean and the iron resources of eastern Anatolia (Winter 1995: 254). The lower Orontes valley, today known as the Amuq plain, politically is identified as Unqi. Its capital city was Kinalua/Kullania/Kunulua/biblical Calneh, known today as Tell Tayinat, where a temple and palace have been excavated (Hawkins 1974: 82–3; Harrison 2001). It lies at the end of the shortest caravan route from Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean. As such, the Orontes river served as a natural route to the interior of Syria, and by extension to the Anatolian highlands, Mesopotamia and Palestine (Pamir and Nishiyama 2002; for a discussion of the designation of Syria, see Bunnens 2000; Seton-Williams 1954 views the Amanus range as a barrier, isolating the Syrian coastal strip, especially pp. 121 and 126). There are only two points of entry into the Amuq: Arslanlı Bel at the western end of the Amanus chain, which gave access to the northern Amuq valley, and via Belen, just where the mountains turn south at the coast, allowing entry into the Amuq near Antakya (ancient Antioch) (Alkım 1965; Ozaner and Çalık 1995). During the eighth century, when Greek pottery begins to arrive in the Near East with regularity, it is in this region that it is most concentrated, not elsewhere along the Levantine coast (Boardman 2002b: 3).

The Neo-Assyrians became particularly interested in the eastern Mediterranean coastline only during the second half of the eighth century under Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727 BC). In the earlier years of their Imperial period, they seem to have concentrated on the annexation of territory to the east,

towards the Zagros mountains and Elam, before turning their attentions to the eastern Mediterranean littoral eventually to encompass the coastline from the Cilician Gates to the Nile Delta. Tiglath-Pileser III was the first to annex part of the Phoenician coast directly into an Assyrian province, rather than engage in seasonal campaigns that seem to have marked his predecessors' interactions with the coastal zones. There is no written record of the military campaigns in this region of Tiglath-Pileser III's successor, Shalmaneser V (726–722 BC). It is assumed that the territories of Sam'al and Que came under Assyrian rule during the reign of Shalmaneser V, but this is suggested simply because they are not explicitly mentioned as provinces falling under Assyrian control in either the records of Tiglath-Pileser III or those of Shalmaneser V's successor, Sargon II (721–705 BC), although they are included as holdings subsequently.

The change in leadership seems to have inspired a revolt among these western regions of the Assyrian empire. The provinces of Bit Agusi, Simirra and Damascus further south were badly beaten during the second year of Sargon's reign, when Hamath also became an Assyrian province. In 717 BC, he destroyed Carchemish, the last independent state in inland Syria, deporting the population and settling Assyrians in their place. Sargon II's successor, Sennacherib (704–681 BC), equally took seriously this western edge of the Assyrian empire. In 696 BC, he destroyed the town of Tarsus after yet another rebellion and established an Assyrian presence at the site, presumably to guard against subsequent dissent in this region. Thus, the North Syrian states lost their political independence by the end of the eighth century, as the Neo-Assyrian empire swept across these regions, incorporating them into the Assyrian provincial administrative system.[10]

Chronologies in the Near East

In the Near East, the Iron Age chronology is associated with a strong literary record primarily from Assyrian annals and the Bible. The relationship between absolute dates and destruction deposits is often difficult to correlate, however, as history attests recurring military incursions to quell rebellious populations, and local pottery styles have long durations. For this reason, scholars have turned to the more finely tuned absolute and relative chronologies of associated Greek pottery (Hannestad 1996; Coldstream 2003; Tarsus is a case in point: cf. Goldman 1963 with Boardman 1965, but see also Forsberg 1995). Late Geometric sherds have been found sporadically in the eastern Mediterranean from Tarsus, Kinet Höyük and Al Mina, and along the Orontes river valley down to Hama, as well as at various sites on the Levantine coast (Ras el Bassit, Ras Ibn Hani, Tell Sukas, Tabbat al Hamman), the Phoenician ports of Sidon and Tyre, various sites in Palestine (Tell Qiri, Tell Abu Hawam and Phoenician Tell Kabri), inland at Megiddo and Samaria, and the Philistine capitals of Ashkelon and Tel Miqne-Ekron, to name a few

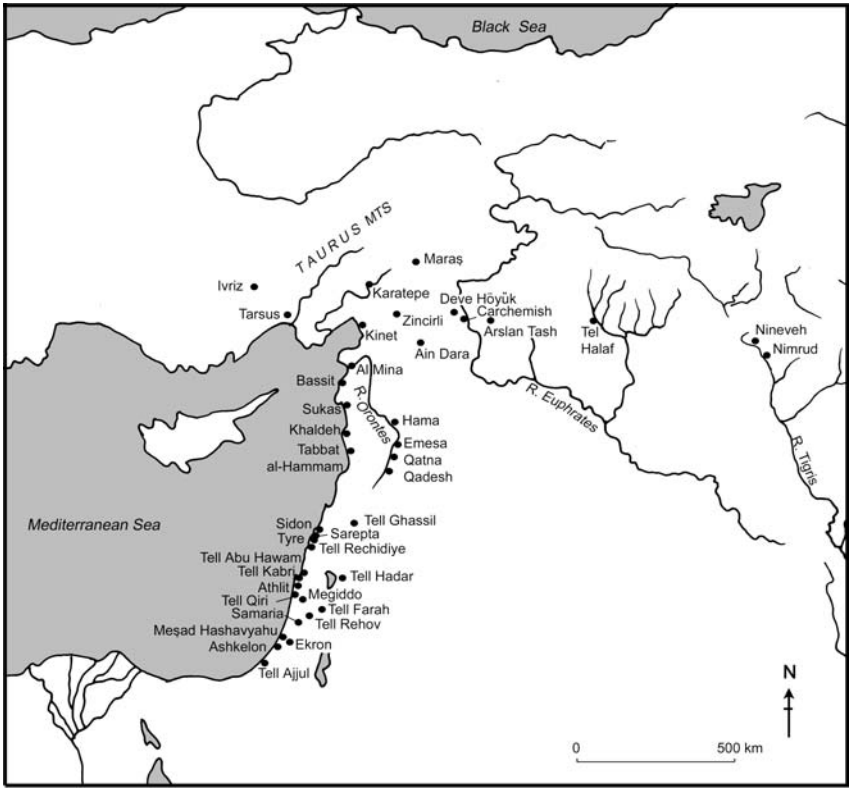


Figure 2.3 The Levant.

(Figure 2.3) (Luke 2003: 31–42; Waldbaum 1994, 1997; Waldbaum and Magness 1997, all with bibliography; Waldbaum 1994 in particular summarizes finds dated to the ninth century and later). This relative period, which is absolutely dated to the eighth and seventh centuries, correlates well with dated Assyrian and Babylonian campaigns and serves as a firm absolute chronological anchor. Hama, for instance, was destroyed in 720 BC by the Assyrian Sargon II and not re-occupied, thereby serving as a *terminus ante quem* for the late eighth century, while Ashkelon's destruction in 604 BC by Babylon's Nebuchadnezzar II forms another anchor at the end of the seventh century, as do contemporary destruction levels at Tel Miqne-Ekron and Tell Kabri (Waldbaum and Magness 1997, who convincingly refute Francis and Vickers' 1985 downdating of Meşad Hashavyahu). These well-stratified destruction levels and their associated ceramic sequences have helped to date the influx of Greek pottery with related wares. Lehmann's important study of the later Iron Age and Persian assemblages across the eastern Mediterranean

seaboard now also allows for detailed internal developments from the eighth century onwards.[11]

It is with ninth-century material that the correlation between the relative and absolute dates of Greek ceramic chronology begins to diverge from Near Eastern sources, as there are few similarly securely-datable contexts (James *et al.* 1991; Morris 1998; Papadopoulos 1998). At Tell Abu Hawam, for instance, the destruction of stratum III has been dated to 926 BC, 840 BC and c.750 BC (926 BC: Hamilton 1935; 840 BC: Aharoni and Amiran 1958; c.750 BC: Herrera and Balensi 1986; Francis and Vickers 1985). A Greek pendent semi-circle skyphos and glazed cup from this stratum have been correlated with Attic Early Geometric II and Middle Geometric I respectively, which are conventionally dated to between 850 and 800 BC (Coldstream 1968: 303, note 2), and therefore is problematic for the proposed 926 BC destruction date, in particular. Megiddo stratum V has produced five Greek – perhaps Attic – Geometric sherds (two rims and three body sherds) also attributed to Early Geometric II and Middle Geometric I. This stratum has been dated by some to the tenth century and by others to the ninth century (Kenyon 1964; Coldstream 1968: 303, 305–10; see also Balensi 1985; Fantalkin 2001a), although the latter is finding increased support (Finkelstein 2004; Coldstream 2003). Although eleven fragments of Greek Geometric pottery have been found at Samaria, few of them come from a secure context: period V (although they all probably derive from two vessels, one Attic and one Argive: most recently Coldstream 2003: 249; Fantalkin 2001a: 119). Evidence for Samaria period V suggests that the deposit was sealed c.722 BC, when Sargon II destroyed the city (for the context, see Riis 1970: 146, who cites a letter from Kenyan; cf. Fantalkin 2001a; see also Tufnell 1959: 97). Dating conventions for Greek ceramics, however, dictate that Middle Geometric II ended near the middle of the eighth century. This does not have to be particularly problematic as it is quite possible that the vessels were not recent imports to the site; their preservation for a period of time may reflect a status value the items held. Tyre, which has similar imports and in greater quantity, is not sufficiently well stratified to be used to refine absolute dates (thus Coldstream 2000 must still keep discussion relative).[12]

Examples of Greek imports in stratified contexts prior to the ninth century call into greater question the absolute dates for Greek ceramic production when compared with conventional Near Eastern chronologies. For example, a Euboean Protogeometric lebes from Tel Hadar has been dated stylistically to Middle Protogeometric or early Late Protogeometric, which in absolute terms date to the tenth century BC (Coldstream 1998b, with reference to Lemos, personal communication on 358–9, note 25; Kopcke forthcoming; Morris 1998: 361). Yet the rest of the pottery assemblage, of Near Eastern types, fits very will within the eleventh century, although perhaps extending as far as 980 BC. A similar circumstance exists with regard to

the (possibly) Argive deep skyphos from Tell Afis, which finds near-identical parallels to Argive imports at tenth century Lefkandi yet whose Tell Afis deposition context appears to be eleventh century, or at least after 1050 BC (Bonatz 1998: 214–15). Other poorly stratified findspots with tenth-century Greek material include Ras el Bassit (four Euboean amphoras); Tyre (three amphoras, one krater, one cauldron, and 3 concentric circle skyphoi, all Euboean); and Tell Abu Hawam (one Euboean pendent semi-circle skyphos, although Kearsley has dated it to the eighth century: Kearsley 1989: 104).[13] Excellent tenth-century contexts at Tel Dor and Tel Rehov, however, where tenth-century Greek sherds have been found, offer promising, more secure contributions (Tel Dor: Gilboa and Sharon 1997 and 2003; see also Fantalkin 2001a; Tel Rehov: Coldstream and Mazar 2003; Finkelstein 2004).

The slippery slope of circular arguments for dating has not been lost on scholars in recent years (e.g. Fantalkin 2001a). As a result, these findings have suggested to some that perhaps (Attic) Protogeometric should be raised to before 1100 BC (Saltz 1978, for instance, suggests raising the beginning of Attic Protogeometric to before 1100 BC; see also James *et al.* 1991; Morris 1998: 361; Papadopoulos 1998). Such a restructuring would have a far-reaching impact upon the internal chronologies of various Greek Protogeometric productions that would be inconsistent with the relative parallels across different manufacturing regions (Coldstream 2000, 2003; Fantalkin 2001a). The Low Chronology advocated by Finkelstein, however, based upon Near Eastern ceramic outputs and dating calibrations and which redates to the tenth century a number of Near Eastern destruction strata conventionally dated to the eleventh century, complements the relative chronology of Greek pottery attributed to the tenth century at Lefkandi and elsewhere (Low Chronology: Finkelstein 1996, 1999; Fantalkin 2001a; Gilboa and Sharon 2003; see also Crielaard 1998; Lemos 2001, 2005; Coldstream 2003; Finkelstein 2004 for specific reference to the dating of tenth-century Greek pottery). This is not the forum to engage with the debate surrounding Finkelstein's Low Chronology, as its impact lies before the chronological focus of the present study, but it is sufficient to note that regardless of the chronologies adopted, the gap under dispute is narrowing: it seems to be now more a question of precisely where in the tenth century this early Greek material should fit in with Near Eastern chronologies: before 980 BC, or the middle or second half of the tenth century.

Near Eastern bronzework found its way to Greece as early as Greek ceramics appeared in the East. The earliest may be the bronze bowl with a Phoenician inscription from Knossos' Tekke Tomb J on Crete, which has been dated by some to be a product of the eleventh century, although it is associated with a later context and may represent an heirloom (see below; Coldstream 1982; Cross 1980, 1986; Sznycer 1979; Puech 1983; Falsone 1988a; Hoffman 1997: 12; Jones 2000: 87). A Syro-Palestinian juglet was found at Lefkandi in a late eleventh-century context. More securely dated are

tenth-century bronzeworks at Lefkandi and Knossos, as well as contemporary Near Eastern faience and ivory, and the occasional ceramic vessel (Hoffman 1997; Jones 2000; Lemos 2002). These attest more broad connections with Cyprus and the Levant, and by the ninth century, such types of craftsmanship appear with increasing regularity at the major Greek sites of the period.

Despite these chronological debates, it is clear that by the tenth century, material was already beginning to find its way between the East and West (Coldstream 2000; Lemos 2001, 2005). From these few Near Eastern findspots and Greek contexts, it appears that Greek ceramics travelled to the East, while Near Eastern bronze bowls, carved ivory and jewellery went to the West. One could argue that in terms of material worth, such exchange was unbalanced, with the eastern Mediterranean populations exchanging their valuable metalwork and carved ivories for a commodity type they already produced themselves: clay vessels.[14] These vessels, and the items given in exchange, therefore, must have held another kind of non-material significance, probably one of social value. The limited quantities and types of goods, and their restricted findspots, has suggested to many that such exchange be viewed as a specific form of gift-exchange between rulers later characterized in Greek literature as *xenia*, or ritualized friendship. This is part of the elite consumption of luxury goods, whereby the cultural codes between the exchanging elite must be understood for the bestowing of the gift to generate the desired outcome. The luxury in question, however, does not necessarily have to be something that is financially more valuable. Rather, it is the social obligations implied by the gift that are significant. This is much more complex than mere reciprocity (Herman 1987; Coldstream 1998b: 356–7; Luke 2003: 50–3; cf. Jones 2000: 59–66). This is why an elite-class consumption-oriented view may be more appropriate to explain general patterns in exchange of primarily pottery (Coldstream 1998a; Crielaard 1999a). By the eighth century, evidence of regular exchange is seen in both the Near East and Greece, giving rise to the theory of foreigners settling in these overseas lands to facilitate what was moving away from an elite-oriented system to one that was developing into a growing trade network which embraced more levels of society.

North Syrian coastal communities

It is Al Mina that is cited most frequently as evidence of a Greek colony in the eastern Mediterranean. It is situated near the mouth of the Orontes river. Historical texts indicate that Al Mina lay in the territory of the state of Unqi/Pattina, and the site may be referred to in an inscription attributed to Tiglath-Pileser III that discusses a coastal emporium with royal storerooms.[15] Today, the site is marked by the tomb of a local sheik, and pottery, in particular, can still be seen in the surrounding orange grove.

The nature of the settlement's origin has been a source of debate amongst

scholars since it was first excavated in the 1930s. Neither its foundation date nor its founders have been agreed upon (for neat, recent summaries, see Niemeier 2001; Descoeudres 2002; Luke 2003; Niemeyer 2004). Greek pottery seems to have been used almost exclusively during the earliest period of occupation, stratum 10, which has given rise to the hypothesis that the foundation of the settlement was by Greeks. This pottery is dated to c.770 BC at the earliest, although c.750 BC seems to be more generally attributed as a foundation date.[16] Yet the earliest Cypriot and Phoenician pottery, which are generally associated with stratum 9, have most recently been dated to the second half of the ninth century (850/825–800 BC) (850 BC: Lehmann 2005; 825 BC: du Plat Taylor 1959; Gjerstad 1974; cf. Descoeudres 1978: 17, note 81). Woolley had suggested that earlier levels may have been washed away by flood, but archaeologically this seems unlikely. Additionally, Woolley himself could not always distinguish between strata 10 and 9 and was unsure to which the 'sub-geometric' material belonged (Woolley 1959: 174; Boardman 1999b: 142; Kearsley 1995: 16–18). More recently, Kearsley's arguments for a Greek mercenary foundation merge the two levels and speak only in terms of stratum 9 (Kearsley 1999: 110–11).

The absolute chronology becomes more secure in stratum 8, when associated ceramic assemblages at Al Mina and the Amuq phase Oc concur (Lehmann 1996, 1998, 2005; Swift 1958). This period may also be associated with the Neo-Assyrian campaigns in North Syria by Tiglath-Pileser III in 738 BC and Sargon II in 720 BC. An apparent interruption of Greek pottery in this stratum coincides with a predominance of Cypriot ceramics in terms of imported wares. Furthermore, continuity in the Phoenician pottery types between strata 8 and 7 contrasts with a corresponding break in the local Syrian ceramic sequence.[17] Therefore, the heavy import of Cypriot and Phoenician wares may be a reflection of the political and economic consequences of the Neo-Assyrian interests in this region, as it has been argued that the Neo-Assyrians entrusted coastal trade to the Phoenicians, perhaps at the expense of the more rebellious North Syrians (on Assyrian supervision of conquered ports in Phoenicia and with regard to Egypt and Philistia, see Elat 1978: 26–7 and Na'aman 1979: 83–4).

The arguments for Al Mina being a Greek foundation rest solely on the Greek ceramics attributed to strata 10 and 9, the earliest of which is Euboean Sub-protogeometric, although most are Late Geometric. Vessel shapes include an abundance of Euboean skyphoi, as well as kotylai, kantharoi, kraters, some dinoi and plates, and a lekanis and a pyxis. Imports from elsewhere in Greece, such as East Greece, the Cyclades, Attica and Corinth, also reached Al Mina in its early period, but in extremely few numbers (Kearsley 1999: 112–16; Luke 2003: 26–7; see also Kearsley 1995; Boardman 1999b, 2002a).

None of these finds is indicative of the users, however. Primarily, this

pottery represents fine table wares, not kitchenwares,[18] and similar examples found their way to the major polities of the Amuq, the hinterland for the port. In particular, Tell Tayinat, the capital, had the greatest number of similar types of Greek ceramics, including in palace contexts, while Çatal Höyük and Tell Judaidah, which also were the second and third largest settlements in the Amuq at this time, had, respectively, the second and third largest quantities of Greek material.[19]

The presence of Greek cooking pots in the Near East has been used to support arguments for Greek occupation elsewhere, specifically mercenary bases at Meşad Hashavyahu and Tel Kabri. The recent identification of two Greek cooking pots at Al Mina thus has formed part of the archaeological argument proposed to explain the foundation of Al Mina and its collection of Greek drinking wares: as a Greek mercenary encampment (Kearsley 1999; cf. Waldbaum 1997: 8 and note 16 for arguments against culturally-specific kitchenwares equalling the presence of such cultures). They were found only in stratum 8, however,[20] during which time the site attests interaction with areas other than Greece and was therefore clearly serving as a port of trade with a culturally diverse population engaged in mercantile activities. Greek presence in such a commercial and temporal context therefore would not be surprising.

Others have countered a Greek foundation for Al Mina by promoting the site as Phoenician (in particular, Graham 1986; Perreault 1993 says Levantines; see also Boardman 2002a: 323), yet this is equally misleading. As with the Greek foundation argument, any explicit Phoenician connection is most often sought in the pottery, particularly the Red Slip ware, usually taken as the hallmark of the Phoenicians. It has been demonstrated recently that Red Slip ware was produced broadly in the Near East, however, and not just in Phoenicia. Analysis of Red Slip from Tell Ajjul and Tell Fara in Palestine, for instance, reveals that Red Slip at these sites was locally produced (Liddy 1996), while the results of an unpublished neutron activation analysis report on Red Slip dishes from Hama, Tell Rifa'at, and the Amuq (Çatal Höyük, Tell Judaideh, Tell Tayinat) suggests that the fabric of such dishes varies considerably from site to site, and concludes that they were locally produced and hardly travelled (Hughes, cited in Lehmann 2005: 64). The Al Mina examples are also most likely locally produced, as suggested by atomic absorption spectroscopy, which has identified two distinct clusters (Liddy 1996). That the Red Slip from Al Mina is not identical to that of Samaria was already observed by du Plat Taylor (1959: 79; but see Lehmann 2005: 84). None of this should be surprising as the Orontes Delta lies in the area outside of direct Phoenician control at this time (Winter 1976: 21). Even small finds such as faience scarabs do not match examples that are attributed to Phoenician production, while the site lacks other Phoenician hallmarks, such as inscriptions, hard-stone glyptic, lamps and wall brackets, and even the architectural construction technique of pillar and rubble.[21]

With the exception of the presence of only Greek ceramics at the foundation level, Al Mina is otherwise typical of other contemporary North Syrian sites. Cooking wares are mostly of Syrian types; Greek cooking pots are rare, while Phoenician types are so far represented by a single unstratified example (BM1995.12–27.88, cited in Lehmann 2005: 68). Most of the identifiable jars that may have been used for storage were originally used for transport, whether from Greece, Cyprus or the Levant, and therefore merely attest Al Mina's commercial interests; other storage jars are North Syrian (Luke 2003: 17–18). The architecture is similar to forms and techniques elsewhere in the region, such as at Kinet Höyük and Tarsus, where houses were constructed with riverstone foundations and mudbrick walls (Luke 2003: 13–17, 23–4).[22] Of furniture, only lamps have been found, the earliest of which occurs first in stratum 8 and is the pinched saucer type, a typical Near Eastern lamp shape with a wide geographical distribution. The same can be said about the fibulae (du Plat Taylor 1959: 86–7; Stronach 1959). Other artefacts, like glazed earthenware vessels and jewellery moulds, find closer parallels at regional sites like Kinet Höyük, where similar glazed vessels and a stone jewellery mould (Figure 2.4) have been found in contexts contemporary with the Al Mina examples (on North Syrian jewellery moulds: Treister 1995; Kinet glazed alabastra: Gates 1999a: 262 and Figure 6; the Kinet jewellery mould: Gates 2001: 208, note 19). Even a model boat containing ashes, from stratum 8 and identified as MNP 659 in the field register, described but never drawn or photographed, has parallels from Çatal Höyük in the Amuq, Zincirli, Megiddo and Tell Ghassil (see below). Finally, an interpretation excluding substantial Greek settlement accords well with Assyrian references, which suggest that Greek links with the Assyrian empire at this time were slight (Kuhrt 2002).

A question remains, however, over the material in its earliest strata (10 and 9), particularly the overwhelming abundance of imported Greek fine tablewares.[23] Thus, there is still scope for discussion regarding the nature of the foundation of the site. This does not exclude that Greeks and Phoenicians may have been settled at this North Syrian port town, however, whether permanently or seasonally. Recent survey work around the site reveals that the settlement was considerably larger than Woolley concluded, particularly to the west of the site (Pamir and Nishiyama 2002). Therefore, the most likely conclusion is that Al Mina was founded by the local population to serve as the port for Tell Tayinat, the dominant settlement of the Amuq during the Iron Age, and fell under Neo-Assyrians control during the second half of the eighth century, along with the rest of North Syria.[24] Most likely a community that was multi-cultural in its make-up, Al Mina specialized in the import of primarily Greek ceramics for its hinterland, although Cypriot and Phoenician material passed through, with North Syrian carved ivory, seal stones and metal bowls being exported in exchange.

Ras el Bassit is another site that is often regarded as Greek. It has been

Figure 2.4 Jewellery mould from Kinet Höyük (published with kind permission from M.H. Gates).

identified as Posideum, based on references to a site of that name in the region allegedly founded by Greeks at the end of the Trojan War (Herodotus 3.91 and Strabo 14.4.3; 16.751; see also Courbin 1978: 53–4). Arguments for this association rest primarily on the site's location with regard to sailing times from Seleucia during the era of Ptolemy III in the third century BC, and the fact that the port has a Bronze Age foundation, unlike Al Mina (Graham 1986; Courbin 1978). The Greek references give no indication of the precise foundation date, although Herodotus does claim that it was founded by one Amphilochus. It has been argued that justification for a foundation myth can only be found in a permanent Greek settlement at the site, yet the early foundation date suggests that this founder is more likely a mythic figure, like Mopsos, whose legend of settlement foundation appears in Greek and Phoenician traditions, rather than a true oikist (Courbin 1986: 194; for mythic founders, see Malkin 1987: 207; for Mopsos, see Bron 1979: 172–6).

Archaeologically-speaking, there is very little to substantiate claims for a Greek settlement, much less a Greek foundation. One Greek graffito, which may represent the Greek *eta*, has been found on a Late Geometric skyphos fragment, although the letter may also represent the Phoenician character *het*. Another more lengthy incised Greek inscription on an Ionian bowl attests an Ionian name, as does one on a Levantine torpedo-shaped amphora (Figure 2.5a and b) (Late Geometric inscription: Courbin 1986: 194, fig. 20; Ionian bowl: Courbin 1978: figure on p. 58; Levantine torpedo-shaped amphora: Courbin 1986: 199, fig. 31, 1990: 508, pl. 48.1). Otherwise the quantities and types of Greek pottery imported to the site find parallels with sites like Tarsus and Kinet Höyük, where Greek settlement is not argued for, indicating instead more about trade and ceramic influence between Greece and the eastern Mediterranean during the eighth and seventh centuries.

Its sixth-century occupation, however, does demonstrate closer links with the Greek world than noticed amongst its neighbours in its breadth of ceramic imports. Chian, Clazomenian and Fikellura ware have been found in abundance, but so has a variety of Attic types,[25] as well as Lakonian types and even an Etruscan kantharos. Such a range is unparalleled at Al Mina, Kinet Höyük or Tarsus. Therefore if a Greek *enoikismos* did exist at Bassit, its period would be the sixth century, not before.

Little else in the archaeology of the site suggests foreign settlement or influence, however. Like other urban areas in the region, the city is characterized during the Iron Age by rectangular and trapezoidal structures that were constantly built and rebuilt, some with several rooms (Figure 2.6), although no sense of the urban layout has been achievable. One trapezoidal-shaped structure, thought to be of the second half of the seventh century, had the ground outside the house covered in a thick layer of crushed murex shells. Crushed murex flooring was also found at nearby Kinet Höyük, both inside and outside buildings of the seventh century.[26] During the seventh century, a

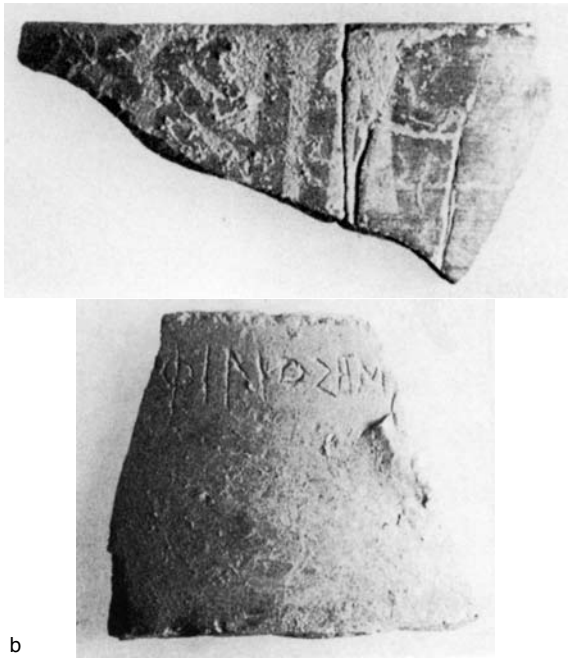


Figure 2.5 Inscriptions from Ras el Bassit (© Geuthner 1986 and reproduced with permission from P. Courbin, *Bassit*).
a: Graffito (Courbin 1986: fig. 20).
b: Inscription on a Levantine amphora (Courbin 1986: fig. 31).

warehouse was constructed, subdivided into a series of rooms. A merchant's house of the sixth century has been identified. No public buildings were found, however (Courbin 1986, 1990). Thus, its architectural nature implies a community of primarily North Syrians into which Greeks integrated and coexisted.

Tell Sukas was in the territory of Hamath, outside Unqi's borders. While architecturally typical of other North Syrian sites, Tell Sukas is significant because it is widely postulated that a number of Greeks made their home here, too. While the earliest Greek material at Tell Sukas can be dated to the ninth and eighth centuries, it is not until after the destruction of the site by Assarhaddon in 675 BC that a more permanent Greek establishment can be considered.[27] Such an argument rests on the identification of a seventh-century rectangular structure as a temple of Greek type, later dedicated to Helios (see below), as well as an abundance of Greek drinking vessels of the Archaic period coupled with the identification of Greek burials in the contemporary cemetery.

The domestic architecture of the site does not betray any Greek influence.

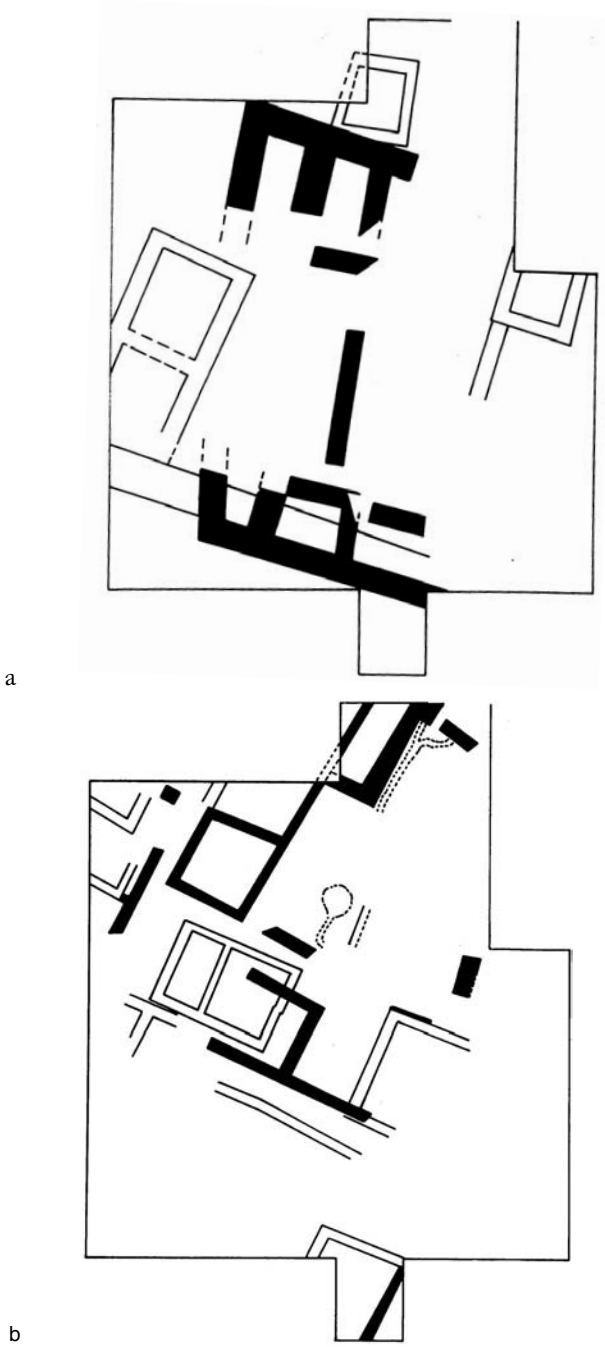


Figure 2.6 Plans of Ras el Bassit (© Geuthner and reproduced with permission from P. Courbin *Bassit*).
a: Iron Age 1 (Courbin 1986: fig. 22).
b: Iron Age 2 (Courbin 1986: fig. 32).

Domestic architecture of the earlier Iron Age seems to have been of typical Levantine form, with houses consisting of a rectangular room with a second room adjacent to one of the short walls of the main room (Figure 2.7) (Lund 1986: 187–9; in particular, this is Braemer's type Ia: Braemer 1982). Walls were generally built of local sandstone and limestone rubble laid in clay or earth in a shallow foundation trench (Riis 1970: 18). The post-675 BC periods maintain local building styles despite near-complete rebuilding and reorienting of the settlement itself.[28]

While there is an abundance of imported Greek ceramics at the site (Ploug 1973), these are mostly fine drinking and pouring vessels. These are all highly decorated and would be suitable for household display; for example, there is a particular abundance of Wild Goat closed vessel shapes. No transport amphoras have been found, however, nor have any Greek cooking pots. The only cooking pots that have been identified are of local types (Buhl 1983: 27–9, 115). The imported wares are particularly prevalent from the sixth century onwards, especially Ionian bowls and Wild Goat ware, yet it is exactly these types that were popular throughout the eastern Mediterranean at this time and widely imported to the region. Tell Sukas, therefore, could have served as a major transit point from sea to land for such wares. The discrepancy between the earlier seventh-century date of the construction of the first so-called Greek temple and near total lack of Greek imported seventh-century ceramics, especially when compared with the absolute quantities imported during the sixth century, requires further consideration (Luke 2003: 36–7).

Nevertheless, it is possible that Tell Sukas did contain a few foreign residents, perhaps serving as an *enoikismos* for Greek and Phoenician merchants active in the Near East. Six fragments of East Greek lamps may reflect a small number of resident foreigners, to be compared with the 24 examples of lamps of Near Eastern types (although one cannot be later than the ninth century) (Figure 2.8) (East Greek: Ploug 1973: 87–8; Near Eastern: Buhl 1983: 61–5, 118). Other domestic items are generally also typically Levantine, such as wall brackets (Buhl 1983: 65–7, 118). The temple at the site, discussed below, may have served all the members of the community, as did the cemetery, where a diversity of rites suggest that Greeks and Phoenicians were buried alongside one another, and the other members of this mixed settlement (see below) (Riis 1979).

It has also been suggested that Tarsus had a Greek foundation, as a colony of Lindos, and that during the seventh century it possessed a temple dedicated to Athena (Bing 1971), although neither is widely accepted. Tarsus, in fact, represents one of the few well-published sites in the north-eastern Mediterranean, lending itself well to comparative study. It lies at the western end of the province of Que, and was a major urban settlement, characterized by curving streets lined with multi-roomed houses (Figure 2.9) (Goldman 1963: 5–8). The excavators note that with the exception of an apsidal

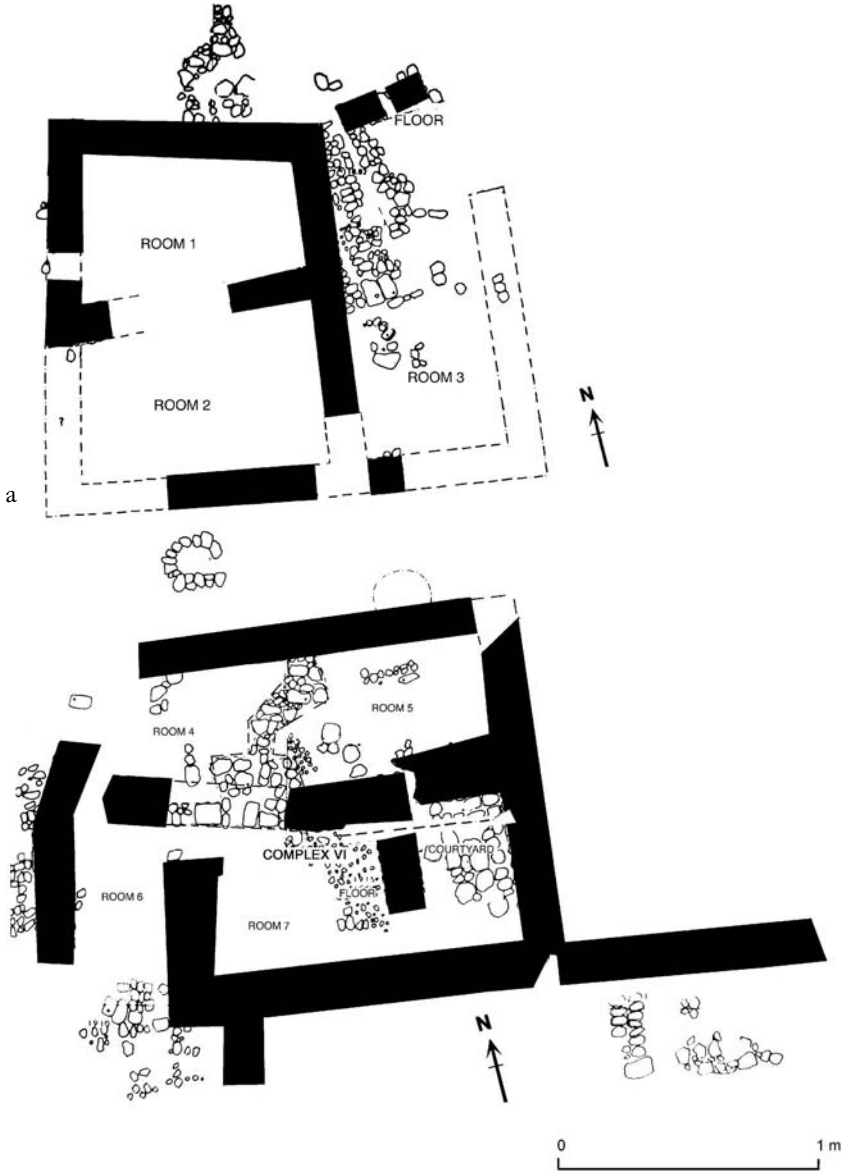


Figure 2.7 Houses at Tell Sukas.
a: Complex V (after Lund 1986: pl. 9).
b: Complex VI (after Lund 1986: pl. 11).

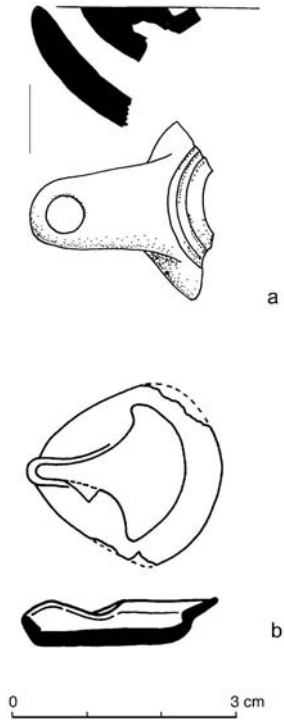


Figure 2.8 Lamps from Tell Sukas.
a: Greek (after Ploug 1973: 87–8).
b: Near Eastern (after Buhl 1983: 62).

building of the Early Iron Age, the general character of the houses and layout of the town changed little during the course of the Iron Age. Rooms of buildings were rectangular or sometimes trapezoidal in shape, constructed with stone foundations to support mudbrick superstructures. Often they contained small ovens, bins, storage jars and other ceramics and items associated with domestic use. Evidence for roofing materials are slight, so it is presumed they were organic. Second floors are sometimes suggested, and there is the occasional pebbled public space. In addition, a potter's quarter was situated to the east of the main settlement, near the steep slope of the hilltop edge, allowing winds to carry the heat and fumes away from the settlement. There is no question of the occupants of the site being anyone other than the local population, as there is simply no archaeological evidence for widespread foreign settlement at Tarsus.

Following Sennacherib's destructive campaign during 696 BC,[29] the site was rebuilt along similar lines and a circuit wall was constructed for the first time since the Bronze Age. While generally city walls are assumed to serve a

Figure 2.9 Plan of Early Iron Age Tarsus (after Goldman 1963: plan 1).

defensive purpose, it is possible that this wall reflects an offensive stance, perhaps motivated by the presence of a small Assyrian administrative guard that may have been stationed at Tarsus, as suggested by an archive of Assyrian tablets discovered in a single room in an area of the town that was undistinguished materially or otherwise (Goldman 1963: 8–11).

Kinet Höyük was also located in the territory of Que, but its Iron Age material culture demonstrates particular syncretism with North Syria, particularly that of the ancient territory of Unqi. The site itself is located on the eastern shore of the Iskenderun Bay, where it served as a port of trade throughout its long periods of habitation (Gates 1999b). Its material culture links with Unqi are evident particularly during the ninth and first half of the eighth centuries BC: rectilinear mudbrick buildings rested on stone foundations, while the local pottery output imitated Cypriot and Phoenician styles (Hodos 2000b; Hodos *et al.* 2005). Small finds such as weaving equipment and personal ornaments (including their techniques of manufacture) also find close parallels with types common in Unqi.

During the Middle Iron Age, its situation served as the maritime edge of the Assyrian empire at its maximum expanse. Much like other regions in the

Assyrian empire, the political structures of this littoral zone seem to have been left largely intact, perhaps creating a buffer zone between the core of the Assyrian empire and the pirate cultures of the Mediterranean attested in Assyrian records (i.e. the Greeks).[30] The Assyrian phase at Kinet can be seen archaeologically in both a dramatic change in the ceramic assemblage during the second half of the eighth century BC, and sudden developments architecturally. With regard to the ceramic assemblage, there appears abruptly vessels tempered with chaff, rib-rimmed bowls, occasional pieces of Assyrian Palace ware, and particularly an overwhelming abundance of plain wares. Imports from Cyprus and their local imitations drop dramatically during this phase of occupation. The buildings of this stratum were reconstructed along a different orientation from the previous (and subsequent) period, in a somewhat haphazard manner. Unusually for the site, associated walls had jogs and shallow niches, and the mudbrick sometimes had no stone foundations at all, which contrasts with the building technique both before and after this phase, which always utilized fieldstones and riverstones as foundations. Even the diet of the people living at the site changed suddenly during this time – hardly any fish seems to have been consumed, suggesting that the occupants were not accustomed to the rich offerings of the sea, and perhaps hailed from inland territories. In contrast, fish was a regular part of the diet of their immediate predecessors and successors (Gates 2004: 411; cf. Parker 2003: 547–8, for example). The end of this phase is represented by a violent fire and was followed by a very brief break in occupation (Gates 2001: 208). This is most likely to have occurred at the end of the eighth century, or possibly beginning of the seventh century, in which case it may be related to Sennacherib's 696 BC campaign against Cilicia, which resulted in the destruction of Tarsus during that year.

Other sites along the north-eastern Mediterranean coast have been less extensively excavated or published. Tabbat al Hamman is located near the mouth of the Eleutheros river; it was an Iron Age resettlement whose port was constructed during the ninth century to serve as a gateway to the Syrian settlements of Emesa, Qatna and Qadesh further along the river valley, and ultimately Hama. The breakwater itself was constructed of ashlar blocks of local porous limestone. Finds from the site – mostly Phoenician pottery – have resulted in the settlement being viewed as a Phoenician one, although Cypriot pottery and some Greek fragments were also recovered (including a pendent semi-circle skyphos). Therefore arguments of a Phoenician settlement here are not well supported by evidence other than pottery. The architecture, for example, is mostly of stone foundations with mudbrick superstructures, with close parallels at Hama and elsewhere during this time (Hama: Fugmann 1958; Tabbat al Hamman: Braidwood 1940; Riis 1970: 152, 158; Luke 2003: 37; for a comparative study, see Braemer 1982).

Even less can be said about the settlement at Ras Ibn Hani, a site with Iron Age occupation although no architectural forms could be identified. The

dating of these strata to between the ninth and sixth centuries has been based largely upon ceramic remains, particularly Cypriot White Painted and Bichrome wares of Cypro-Geometric III and Cypro-Archaic I styles, although a range of local shapes have also been identified, as well as the occasional pendent semi-circle skyphos, East Greek Wild Goat ware and Ionian bowls, attributable to the eighth, seventh and sixth centuries respectively (Bounni *et al.* 1976, 1978).

Although many generalize that the architectural forms and construction techniques of buildings are common throughout the Levant, in fact regional variations may be observed. We have already seen that house forms may be rectangular or trapezoidal, and with two or more rooms. Buildings may have stone foundations or be entirely stone built. Riis, for example, notes that the prevalence of stone-built structures at Tell Sukas is in contrast to a more widespread use of mudbrick further north, at Al Mina, Kinet Höyük, Tarsus, and at sites in the Syrian interior (Riis 1970: 18 and note 16). Crushed murex shells to line floors and courtyards seems to be a feature of the seventh century at several sites, as well.

In sum, it is quite likely that a small number of Greeks and Phoenicians were settled in these north-eastern Mediterranean communities to facilitate trade with their homeland and respective foreign enclaves (e.g. Peckham 2001: 29–31), but there is nothing in the urban architecture of these sites to suggest that colonial settlements were established by them in this region. The temple at Tell Sukas, discussed below, may have been used by a number of individuals. Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, for instance, received dedications of foreign items, which may have been from Greek merchants or equally from others selling their merchandise in foreign waters, and it is known that in later times the Persian kings made dedications and consulted Greek oracles. Thus, the dedication of one small votive to Helios – who is not widely recognized as a deity to whom temples are dedicated, nor is he popular outside of Rhodes – could be indicative of an individual Greek using the sanctuary in a manner he or she was familiar with. Other dedications from the sanctuary could equally be Levantine.

Only the Assyrians seem to have left a marked impact, albeit briefly, during the eighth and early seventh centuries, with architectural changes, particularly at Tarsus and Kinet Höyük, in addition to sharp alterations in the ceramic assemblages notably at the latter. Yet not all sites have destruction layers that can be associated with these campaigns. Al Mina and Tell Sukas, for instance, do not demonstrate any such level, although the Assyrians were aggressively active in these regions during this time. Tarsus, of course, has a significant destruction layer that is associated with Sennacherib's campaign in 696 BC. It is Kinet Höyük, however, that bears the most striking hallmarks of this interference. Given its sudden architectural changes and ceramic developments that are associated with Assyrian traditions, it is possible that Kinet served as a regional Assyrian post,

perhaps as early as the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III.[31] Equidistant between Tarsus and Al Mina, and with good harbours and the protection of the Amanus Mountains, the site was ideal as a major base looking to the western extent of the Assyrian empire towards the end of the eighth century, with Tarsus then serving as the Assyrians' westernmost outpost after Sennacherib quelled the local rebellion in 696 BC.

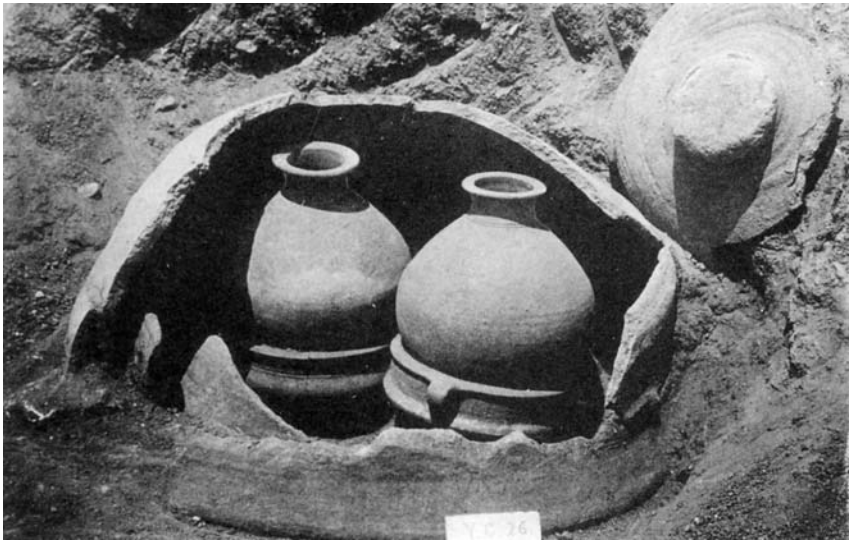
Burial customs

From the few cemeteries that have been excavated, it seems that cremation was the preferred practice in the greater North Syrian region during the Iron Age, a custom generally attributed to Hittite influence (Moorey 1980: 6; Courbin 1993: 106). The practice can be seen at Carchemish between the tenth and seventh centuries, and Deve Höyük between the eighth and sixth centuries. The cremations were contained within North Syrian clay vessels, including those of Cypriot styles as well as occasional examples from further afield, sealed with a ceramic plate or bronze bowl, with an inverted bell krater or terracotta bath on top (Figure 2.10). Locally-made jewellery also was interred, and in the case of Carchemish so was a rich variety of additional personal ornaments and votives, particularly in children's graves (Carchemish: Woolley 1939; Deve Höyük: Moorey 1980). At Hama, cremation was also exclusively practised. Those burials dated to between c.925 BC and 720 BC (periods III and IV) also contained occasional fragments of an armour breastplate, but no weapons, and very little jewellery was interred. More frequent, however, were objects made of bone or ivory (Riis 1948: 37, who suggests that these are relatively poor burials and presumes that the elite were buried elsewhere). At Assyrian Tell Halaf, both cremation and inhumation were practised during the tenth and ninth centuries (Riis 1948: 38 with references), while the eighth- and seventh-century Phoenician centres of Tell Fara, Tell Ajjul and Athlit, situated along the coast of Palestine, practised primary and secondary cremations. In the case of the latter, cremated remains were often interred, along with smaller vases, inside a main burial receptacle, which was then covered with an upsidedown plate. At Sidon and Tell Rechidiye, near Tyre, during the sixth century, cremation burial vessels were found, although inhumation was also practised at the latter (Riis 1948: 39 with references).

At Ras el Bassit, the oldest Iron Age tombs identified so far date to the ninth century, although some may go back to the tenth century. The majority, however, are dated to the eighth and seventh centuries. These include some poor intramural infant burials as well as a more substantial dedicated cemetery to the south-west of the settlement, where family burials were clustered together in shallow niches in the bedrock (Figure 2.11) (Courbin 1986, 1990, 1993).[32] All these burials were secondary cremations in primarily Phoenician vessels, although Cypriot, North Syrian and local vases were

a

b



c

Figure 2.10 Graves at Carchemish.
a: cremation burial YB47 under bath (Woolley 1939: pl. 5.1).
b: cremation burial YB 58 after removal of bath (Woolley 1939: pl. 5.4).
c: double cremation burial YC 26 under bath (Woolley 1939: pl. 6.1).

Figure 2.11 Graves at Ras el Bassit (Courbin 1993: pl. 3, reproduced with kind permission from Erc-ministère des affaires étrangères, 6 rue Ferrus, 75683 Paris cedex 14, France. Paul Courbin, *Fouilles de Bassit – Tombes du fer*, 1993).

used as well; none, however, were Greek. Spindle whorls, bronze fibulas and rings, silver earrings, bone spatulas, decorated shells, and occasionally weapons were also interred. The preponderance of cremation burials at Ras el Bassit may be related to the site's pre-Assyrian designation as the port of Hama.

At Tell Sukas, however, both cremation and inhumation rites were practised, as evidenced in the 34 graves dated to between the end of the seventh and the early fourth centuries BC found in the cemetery associated with the settlement (Figure 2.12) (Riis 1979: 30–2). Such mixing of practices is typical of the Phoenician homeland.[33] The inhumation graves were simple oblong pits dug into the sand, some of which were then lined with clay. The cremation burials, almost all secondary, contained either burned or unburned bones; there was one example of a primary cremation burial. There may also be one example of a tumulus.[34] Both Greek and Phoenician pottery were placed in many of the burials, particularly Greek drinking sets and Phoenician storage jars, jugs and juglets. We know from elsewhere in the Phoenician world that Greek pottery was commonly interred in funerary contexts, particularly drinking vessels (see Chapter 3). The use of sacrificial pyres, urn graves and simple pit graves are also common in Phoenician contexts, and taken together with the pottery finds suggest to some that the cemetery was

a

b

Figure 2.12 Graves at Tell Sukas.
a: urn burial (Riis 1979: fig. 50).
b: inhumation burial (Riis 1979: fig. 22).

predominantly Phoenician (Riis 1979: 31). The stacking of vessels, common at Carchemish, does not seem to have been practised here.

Some terracotta roof tile fragments, which were found as stray finds in the area of the cemetery, might be associated with eight of the burials. This has given rise to the interpretation that roof tiles may have been used to cover tombs, a practice associated with Greek burial customs (Riis 1979: 30–2, 1982: 249–50). Sacrificial pyres, urn graves and simple pit graves are also not unknown in the Greek world at this time. In fact, Riis speculates that the west-facing orientation of five of the inhumed may reflect an Ionian Greek tradition of placing the corpse to face the home of the dead, which according to Homer lay in the west (Riis 1979: 32).

This, of course, is highly speculative, as eight of the inhumations face east, while it has been further demonstrated that the Greeks generally did not follow a fixed orientation for their deceased (Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 209). Furthermore, none of these is earlier than the beginning of the sixth century. Any seventh-century Greek residents that might have been settled at Tell Sukas do not seem to have been buried in this particular cemetery. Nevertheless, one or a cluster of ashlar blocks or stones near six burials might have functioned as grave markers; this is another feature associated with Greek burial customs. The cemetery itself, however, was situated upon Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age occupation, material from which the grave diggers occasionally brought up, while the remains of the sanctuary above concealed two fifth-century graves. The associated rubble and ashlar stones, therefore, could reflect either brought-up material from the digging of the pits or building activity from the subsequent periods. This may find additional support in the fact that in all cases, any such stones were placed about half a metre away from the graves in question. In sum, there is no firm evidence to support an argument for the burial of a significant Greek population in this cemetery. If anything, the variety of burial practices supports the notion of a culturally mixed community probably consisting of local and foreign (Greek and Phoenician) residents, although a more specific identification is difficult to establish.

Religious practices

Little can be gleaned from archaeology about the material practices of the religious rituals of the various cultures in North Syria, as epigraphy remains the main source for local practices (Greenfield 1987). Our primary archaeological evidence comes from buildings and their associated finds, and interpretations surrounding objects that may have served a ritual purpose. Few temples have been found in the coastal urban sites, however, and little in the way of domestic cult practice has been identified.

A small, one-roomed rectangular building of the seventh century at Tell Sukas was identified as a Greek temple by its orientation and plan,

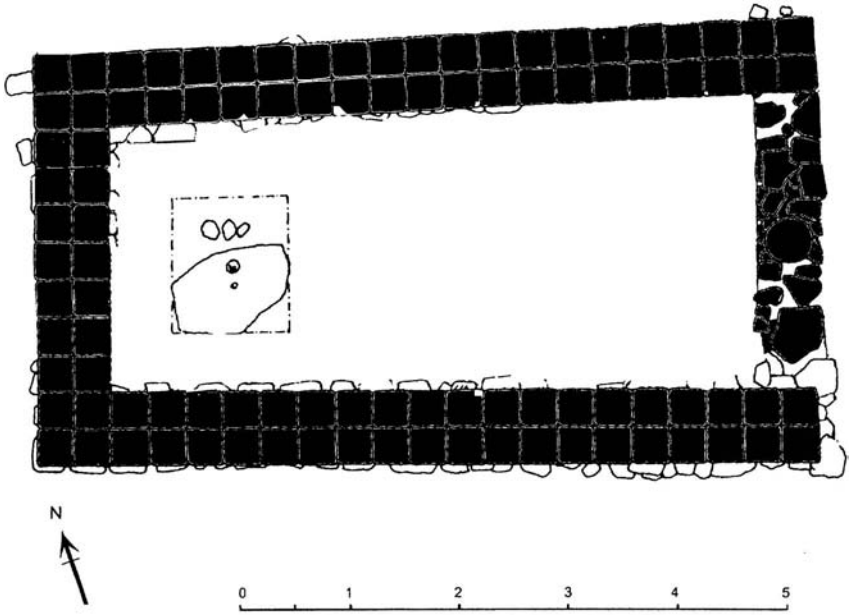


Figure 2.13 Temple at Tell Sukas: after Riis 1970: fig. 18.

with a large altar to its east front and situated within a walled temenos (Figure 2.13). In the west end of the room, there was a large stone slab with a hole in it, perhaps to secure a wooden cult statue (Riis 1969: 446, 1970: 40–59, 1982: 240–1, 246–9). Two roof tile fragments, although found in the sixth century rebuilding phase (i.e. after a destruction dated to 588 BC), are associated with this previous late seventh-century rectangular structure. After the 588 BC destruction, the temple was rebuilt and expanded to follow what may have been a cella-and-pronaos form, with two columns *in antis*, and a third in the deep pronaos, where there was also a libation altar (Figure 2.14) (Riis 1970: 69, fig. 23 is labelled as a hypothetical ground plan of this temple). A base for the cult image was identified in the cella, while a partial inscription on a sherd (*alioem*) has been interpreted as a dedication to Helios *(halios emi*) (Figure 2.15) and thus suggesting to some that the temple by this time may have been dedicated to Helios (Riis 1970: 60–87, esp. 85; for the roof tile fragments, see Riis 1970: 52). Yet the rest of the archaeological remains suggest more strongly that the temple was one of Phoenician worship than Greek.

To begin with, elements of the temple plan are more in keeping with Near Eastern traditions than Greek ones. The presence of two columns in front find parallels with Melqart's temple in Tyre, and possibly at Gadir (Aubet 2001: 153), as well as more locally at the Tell Tayinat temple, a plan possibly

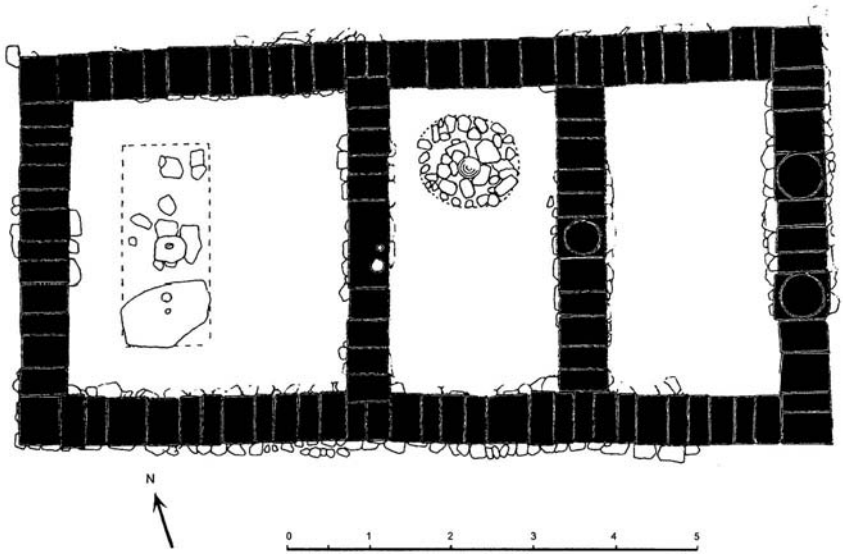


Figure 2.14 Rebuilt tripartite temple at Tell Sukas: after Riis 1970: fig. 23.

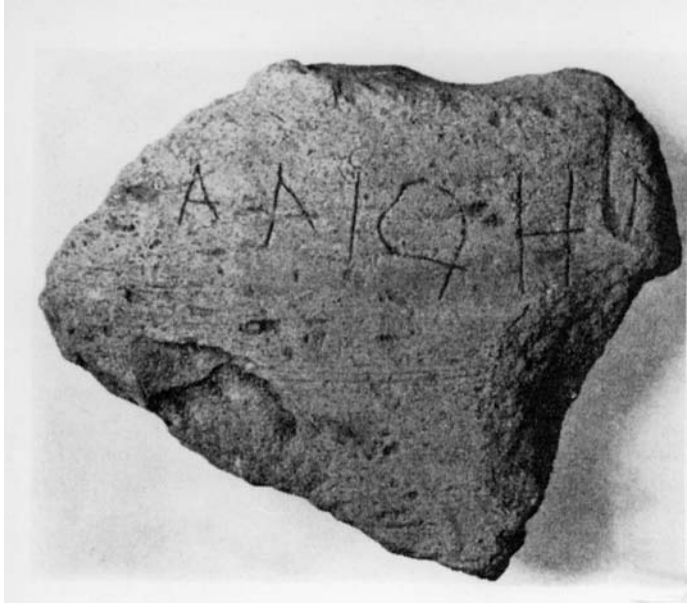


Figure 2.15 Inscription from Tell Sukas (Riis 1970: fig. 26e).

devised from placing an open porch with columns *in antis* in front of an Assyrian-style cella (Haines 1971: 53). The plan of this rebuilt temple may also be interpreted as of tripartite form, which would still be more in keeping with local Syrian architectural traditions, as well as Phoenician and Cypriot religious architectural forms (for local examples, see Bonatz 1993: 132; for Phoenician and Cypriot examples, see Shaw 1989). There are no other architectural features of Greek style of the period, such as temple decorations like triglyph-and-metopes.

Based upon the quantities and types of animal bones (oxen, sheep, pigs, goats, asses, stags and some birds), as well as the presence of a libation altar, it is likely that a chthonic deity was worshipped (Riis 1969: 447, 1970: 60–87). While such finds may be associated with Greek chthonic worship, they are also easily associated with Eastern cultic practice. Libations formed part of Phoenician religious rituals, as did the sacrifice of animals, for example (Aubet 2001: 253). The Greek ceramics found at Sukas were largely drinking and pouring shapes, and although used regularly in religious ritual are also of types common throughout the Near East at this time. The ceramics therefore are perhaps indicative more of the popularity of the forms with various cultures than the explicit presence of resident Greeks.

As for the inscription, even Riis admits that Helios cults were not common outside of Rhodes and that it would be astonishing if the temple or its predecessor had been originally founded as a sanctuary of Helios (Riis 1970: 85). Helios was identified with Apollo from the fifth century BC; the Phoenician god Rashaph sometimes also takes the name Apollo in Greek texts. Furthermore, a mould for casting bronze votive Rashaph figures was found in an earlier Iron Age context adjacent to the area of the subsequent so-called Greek temple. Given the quantity of stag bones, which are also associated with Rashaph in Phoenician cultic ritual, it seems more likely that this temple was in fact a Phoenician shrine to Rashaph, whom the Greeks associated with Helios/Apollo and thus perhaps made the occasional votive offering accordingly.

There is strong evidence for another Phoenician sanctuary elsewhere at Sukas that was active between the later sixth century and first century BC at Mina Sukas. This sanctuary overlooked the South Harbour of Sukas, and associated finds include representations of Astarte and Melqart, Phoenician pottery, sacrificial pits, merlons, a baetyl and an obelisk, all typical of Phoenician cultic ritual (Riis 1979; see also Vella 1998: 65–8).

Evidence for religious or cultic practice elsewhere is less well documented. A temple of Athena at Tarsus as early as the first decade of the seventh century has been postulated (Bing 1971: 103, 1991: 163), but there is no archaeological evidence to substantiate its existence. Few contexts from excavated sites in the region offer any additional indication of the nature of religious rituals and practice.

We are therefore left largely with the occasional dedications at temples

and sanctuaries, none of which demonstrate the settled presence of foreigners at any given site. A large late ninth-century Attic krater was offered as a votive in a local shrine at Hama, for example (Riis 1970: 152, 154 and fig. 55a; Coldstream 1968: 311), but this does not necessarily indicate that it was a Greek who offered it, nor does it imply that Greeks regularly worshipped at Hama. Other dedicatory inscriptions and petition formulas were found on pavement slabs in front of Hama's various temples and shrines. Evidence of cultic rituals include the presence of clay lamps and basalt basins, as well as dedications of objects such as bronze jewellery, bone pins, and faience or stone seals (Fugmann 1958). Little else is known about the precise rituals, however.

Evidence of other forms of ritual practice are even more rare in these coastal communities. No other buildings have been identified as serving a religious function, and there is little that can be inferred from domestic and other urban contexts as cultic observance. One exception is the boat model found at Al Mina that was described as containing ashes. The ashes suggest a ritual function, perhaps of purification nature, although neither this example nor its parallels from Zincirli, Çatal Höyük in the Amuq, Megiddo or Tell Ghassil were found in contexts or in conjunction with other items that might suggests more precisely their role in ritual practice (Figure 2.16) (Lehmann 2005: 68–9).

Consumption patterns

Phoenician forays into the Mediterranean can be traced in Cyprus to the twelfth century BC, to Rhodes during the eleventh century, and to mainland and island Greece by the tenth century, with Phoenician craftsmen working on Crete from the ninth century (Lemos 2002: 226–7; for Crete: Hoffman 1997; see also Jones 1993). Throughout these periods, the recipients of Phoenician and other Near Eastern goods seem to be the elite (at Lefkandi, for instance: Crielaard 1992/93: 240–1; Crete: Hoffman 1997: 248). In return, perhaps, Iron Age Greek pottery first appears in the Near East possibly as early as the eleventh century, although certainly by the tenth century (see above). Euboean pottery was the earliest, particularly skyphoi, but also amphorae, plates, and the occasional oinochoe, krater and cauldron, supplemented by similar shapes from the Cyclades, Attica and the Argolid.[35] Early findspots include, in particular, the ancient territory of Hamath (Tell Afis, Ras el Bassit, Tell Sukas, Tabbat al Hamman, Ras Ibn Hani and Hama itself), Phoenicia (Tyre, Khaldeh, Tambourit, next to Sidon, Tell Rechidiye and Sarepta), Philistia (Ashkalon and Ekron/Tell Miqne), ancient Israel (Tell Abu Hawam, Megiddo and Samaria) and Assyria (Nineveh and Tell Halaf) (Haider 1996; Luke 2003: 32–4). These findspots, in fact, are often elite contexts: palaces, public buildings, 'royal' religious centres, and elite burials.

It is clear from provenances and quantities that the territory of Hamath

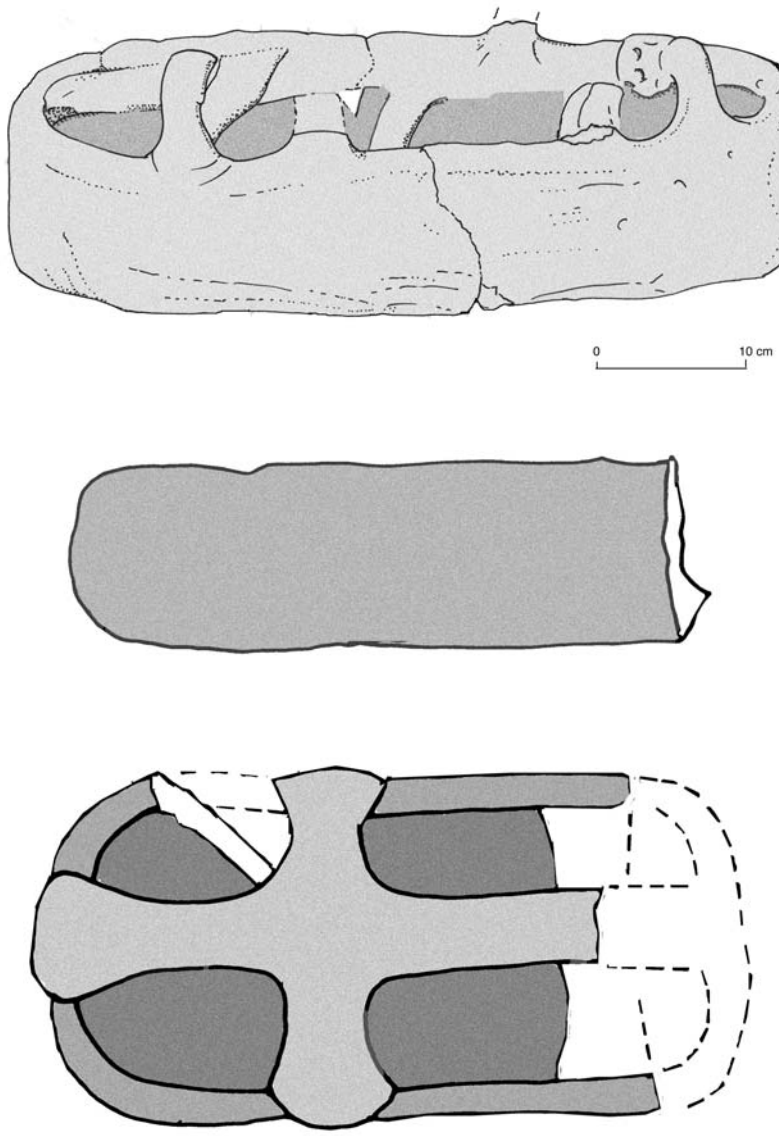


Figure 2.16 Model boats or baths.
a: Megiddo (after Lamon and Shipton 1939: pl. 43.14, called basket or birdbath).
b: Tell Ghassil (after Baramki 1964: fig. 22, called footbath).

was one of the primary importers of Greek ceramics from the Early Iron Age. This was also the destination of the highest quality Red Slip produced in the Near East (Lehmann 1998: 13). This may perhaps be best explained by the North Syrians having several gift-exchange, or *xenia*, partners, among them Euboeans (e.g. Luke 2003: 56). It has been observed that exchange itself is a central mechanism by which social relationships are established; therefore it is significant with whom gifts are exchanged.[36] This may be the case in the initial phases of tentative Euboean interactions overseas. By the eighth and seventh centuries, however, this becomes more intensified and broad-based, with a greater variety of shapes and diversity of producer regions appearing in North Syria (what Crielaard calls 'commoditization': Crielaard 1999a: 282). A ninth-century BC burial at Lefkandi may provide evidence for a transitional phase between these two periods, when an individual may have been both an elite member, represented in death as a warrior, and a trader (Popham and Lemos 1995).

Discussion regarding the identities of the early traders has been polarized around Phoenician or Greek initiatives.[37] At the heart of this is the debate of whether or not the presence of foreign pottery reflects the presence of the people who produced that pottery. As Luke has observed, this stems from the beliefs that Greeks would always carry Greek pottery and that Near Eastern populations of the Early Iron Age had no interest in Greek wares (Luke 2003: 25; Riis 1970: 129; Coldstream 1979: 255; Cook 1972: 276; Riis 1969: 442). The assumption of such strict divisions has been used to promote the Greek, Phoenician and even Cypriot sides of the Al Mina debate.[38]

Yet Boardman continues to argue that Greek-style pottery was not a serious item of bulk trade for Easterners (most recently 2001a and 2002b), pointing out that Easterners used, and continued to do so, handleless and usually footless cups, unlike the Greeks, or the Cypriots for that matter.[39] He asserts that there is no suggestion from the material evidence of Eastern sites that they were willing to change their ways and accept Greek cups of mere clay. He suggests, therefore, that pottery is a good indicator of the presence and active interest of the producing state.

Consumption, however, is driven by the consumer, not the producer. Goods always must be contextualized to be utilized, and there is no guarantee that the intention of the producer will be recognized by the consumer, much less respected, especially by a consumer from another culture (Howes 1996: 6). This is why Boardman is incorrect to insist that Greek drinking cups would not be of interest to Near Easterners. He is assessing the reception of such wares in Greek cultural terms, rejecting the possibility that they might have been utilized in other contexts and with meanings or intentions that were modified from those of Greek contexts. Greek goods and values were often reworked in the context of local practices (see Chapter 3, in particular), and this is another such example.

Boardman's arguments are also not supported by the discoveries of Greek vessels in contexts that do not otherwise indicate Greek presence (Papadopoulos 1997, 1998; Morris 1998; Waldbaum 1997). By the time more regular exchange is evident, it is clear that those involved in the market trade knew what their recipients wanted. Plates, for instance, are not particularly common in Greek contexts but are well known in the Levantine and Cypriot ceramic repertoire. Nevertheless, Euboea produced a class of plates decorated with pendent semi-circles that is well circulated in the Near East, but not so in Greece or the Greek world, particularly when compared with the circulation of the decoratively-related skyphos (Figure 2.17) (see below) (see, for example, Coldstream 1998a for arguments of Euboean market research with regard to these plates). In this case, it was trade and production ultimately driven by the consumer, not initiated by the manufacturer. Papadopoulos, in particular, notes that Greek shapes in the Near East are largely only open forms (plates, bowls and drinking cups like skyphoi and and kotylai), while the closed vessels utilized are Eastern in origin (Phoenician, Cypriot, Cypro-Phoenician or Levantine), implying a specific and coordinated market strategy (that does not clearly point to the Greeks as instigators) (1997: 200). At Al Mina, in particular, the transport amphoras found are Near Eastern and similar to types found throughout Syria and Palestine, including Tell Tayinat (Lehmann 1996: types 390–2).[40]

Nor can primacy be given to Eastern merchants. Although Syrian, Phoenician and Cypriot goods travelled regularly to Crete and Attica from the ninth century, and master jewellers are speculated to have settled in the

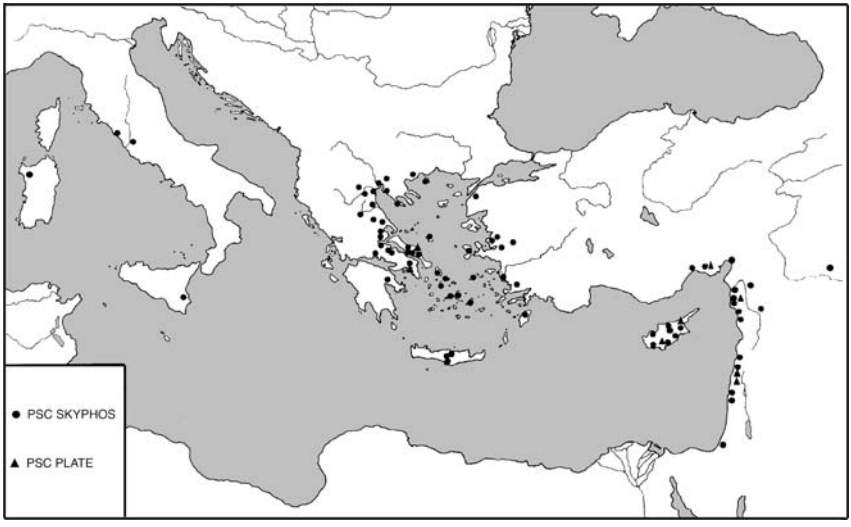


Figure 2.17 Distribution of pendent semi-circled bowls and plates: after Popham 1994: fig. 2.12.

latter, no contemporary Cretan objects have been found in the Eastern littoral (Boardman 2001a: 36; on foreign jewellers, see Coldstream 1995: 398 with references). If such exchanges were solely in the hands of Easterners, it seems strange, then, that the items they wanted from Greece were almost solely Euboean drinking vessels, even though they had close contacts with and were established in other regions.

In fact, evidence suggests that there were several regular trade spheres across the Mediterranean, which were not mutually exclusive, as discussed in Chapter 1. Less frequently considered are the more localized routes, although these are equally significant. For instance, in the Near East, the import of Cypriot ceramics and their local imitations produced at Kinet Höyük and Tarsus during the ninth and eighth centuries points to strong regional links at this time that excluded regular trade with Greece (Hodos 2000a, 2000b; Fourrier 2003).

Differences can also be seen between coastal and inland assemblages, which may point to redistribution routes from the coast to the interior. During the eighth century, individual coastal vessels are found occasionally at inland sites, although inland types hardly ever appear at coastal sites, suggesting transport containers must have been organic, as very few coastal transport amphoras have been found in inland assemblages. By the seventh century, a wider range of transport amphoras in particular reflects increased trade connections between the Near East and the Mediterranean, with broader distribution and production. Globular-bellied pointed amphoras, for instance, have been found at sites across the eastern Mediterranean from Cyprus to Nimrud. Such regional exchange systems may explain the distribution patterns of Greek and Cypriot imports, which are mostly found at coastal sites; when such types do appear inland, they are fewer in absolute numbers and only at regional royal centres, whether in the Amuq or further inland (Lehmann 1996: 434, type 384, 1998).

Trade and influence within Greece itself may also have involved an element of redistribution from ports of trade, with Crete as the main international point of exchange between the Greek world and the eastern Mediterranean (Markoe 1996; Morris 1992; Hoffman 1997; Jones 2000). Coldstream once suggested there may be specific routes for export and import, with Euboea and Attica being points of export for local goods, while Crete and the Dodecanese (Cos and Rhodes) were entry points for Eastern crafts (Coldstream 1982: 264; Stampolidis 2003).

An argument for different trading spheres becomes even more likely when one considers the sheer range of goods being exchanged. Perhaps even more than ceramics, other regional products provide a broader perspective of commercial and exchange activities, whether attested in literature, as with the case of textiles (*Iliad* 6.288–94), or from the provenance of ivories and carved stone seals elsewhere in the Mediterranean. Winter has noted specific social spheres for the acquisition of goods in the world of the elite, in which

women are associated with luxury and commodity, whereas men acquire by fellowship and gift-exchange (Winter 1995: 247–8). Small carved ivory objects, which may be seen as 'the coin of small luxury trade for a less-elite' (Winter 1995: 252), viewed side-by-side with ceramics, bronzes and other objects that were regularly traded, reflect a multivariant system of production and exchange, one that could not have been focused solely around elite needs, desires and interests.

The tendency to view cultural interaction in the north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean in bipolar terms of Greeks vs. Phoenicians neglects to take into account the influences and activities of the other populations of the region, in particular the Aramaeans and other North Syrians. The presence of several hundred Euboean sherds in the Amuq of the ninth and eighth centuries indicates that North Syrians at this time did have an interest in Greek ceramics, perhaps more so than other neighbouring regions. It has already been demonstrated from inscriptions at Pithekoussai that the Aramaeans were settled overseas,[41] and in sites that were predominantly Greek.

More telling for any such overseas activities may be the range of non-ceramic Near Eastern objects that were in demand in the Mediterranean, such as ivory, carved tridacna shells, seals and metal bowls. In fact, it is these non-ceramic goods that represent the majority of items that moved from East to West. These are often small objects that were easily transported, and in materials that were of value, such as ivory, bronze or faience.

Carved ivory has already been described as the coin of small luxury trade for a less-elite or less discriminating population than the ruling classes of the Mediterranean during the Iron Age (Winter 1995). Phoenician and Syrian schools of ivory furniture details have been distinguished, with the artistic style of the former conveying a sense of balance and symmetry, while the latter imparts a sense of action, with less balance between proportions (Figure 2.18).[42]

Syrian ivories have a localized distribution, being exported to the Aegean. Phoenician ivories, on the other hand, seem to have a much wider Mediterranean distribution, having been found in Palestine, Cyprus, North Africa (Carthage), Spain and Sardinia (Pisano 1999; Niemeyer 2003). The distribution and associated dating suggests that the North Syrian examples were circulating already during the ninth century, while the Phoenician works begin to circulate somewhat later, from the middle of the eighth century (Pisano 1999).

Carved tridacna shells are another item of Near Eastern origin widely distributed in the Mediterranean. Nearly 120 examples of the carved shells of these giant clams have been found at findspots in Israel, Turkey, Jordan, Iraq and Iran, as well as Cyrene and Naukratis in North Africa, various sanctuary sites in Greece, such as Lindos, Samos, Delphi, Olympia and Perachora, and even at Vulci in Italy (Figure 2.19) (most recently Brandl 2001; see also Curtis 1995; Reese 1991; Stucky 1974). Although the shells themselves

a

b

Figure 2.18 Carved ivory (© British School of Archaeology in Iraq and reproduced with permission).
a: Phoenician (Winter 1976: pl. 6a).
b: Syrian (Winter 1976: pl. 6d).

Figure 2.19 Carved tridacna shell (© British Museum and reproduced with permission).

come from the Red Sea, their decorative style demonstrates strong links with Syrian ivory carving. Images include winged beings but also banqueting scenes, warfare and hunting, supplemented by lotus flower and bud motifs. It is likely that the shells arrived in Syria via Egypt. These items had a very limited production period, between 630 and 580 BC, and they were probably used to hold cosmetics, as suggested by coloured deposits on some examples. In some cases, they are associated with domestic cultic practice (for Ammonite domestic cult involving tridacna shells, see Daviau 2001: 219–21). Their production has been linked to a carving revival in Syria, which had previously been effectively wiped out by the Assyrian conquest of the region, which also extinguished the local source of ivory, the Syrian elephant.[43] This revival in carving was brought about by the withdrawal of the Assyrians

from the Syrian coast, although it was short-lived as the industry was permanently destroyed by the Babylonians.

In a similar context, one must consider the distribution of Lyre Player seals in the Mediterranean (Buchner and Boardman 1966; Boardman 1990b). This is a class of seals made usually of red serpentine. Often they depict animal and floral motifs (Figure 2.20), although sometimes divine figures are shown, including individuals playing a lyre-like instrument (Figure 2.21). The image is generally incised, although blobs, which may indicate a head or body, were drilled. It is widely accepted that they were manufactured during the second half of the eighth century BC, but their place of manufacture is harder to identify: the subject matters draw parallels from the themes of Neo-Hittite relief work, although the image of a lyre player itself may have explicitly Phoenician connections, suggested by an eighth-century cast seated lyre player found at Tyre (Figure 2.22);[44] the shape of seals themselves derives from Phoenician types, yet the blob technique relates to Palestinian examples (Porada 1956). Rhodes, Cilicia, North Syria and Phoenicia have been suggested as their place of manufacture.[45] The suggestion of Rhodes may find support with the identification of Phoenician unguent factories on the island at this time (but see Jones 1993), while close stylistic similarities between Phoenician ivories and the lyre player seals seem to further reinforce the Phoenician connection (e.g. Winter 1995). Red serpentine occurs naturally and frequently in North Syria, however, and this region has the highest concentration of provenances (Boardman 1990b: 10 and Bonatz 1993).[46]

Figure 2.20 Lyre player seal from Kinet Höyük (photo by author).

Figure 2.21 Lyre player seal with lyre: after Boardman 1990b: fig. 13.

They had a wide distribution across the Mediterranean, including Cyprus, throughout Greece, Etruria, and at Pithekoussai (Figure 2.23) (Boardman 1990b). But such a distribution pattern does not account for differences in function, significance or use. Examples in the West come from funerary contexts. In Italy, on Ischia and at Francavilla, some of the seals were mounted, suggesting that they were worn as amulets. In contrast, examples found in Greece and Cyprus come largely from sanctuary contexts, while those in the Near East are from urban contexts. At Tarsus, a clay impression of a lyre player seal was recovered from the Middle Iron Age destruction level of section B (Porada 1963: seal 11), suggesting a practical function in the Near East, and in contrast to their apotropaic role in the West or dedicatory function in Greece and Cyprus.

For Boardman, they represent a kind of bazaar good, a product that could be manufactured cheaply and quickly, that answered a consumer demand (Boardman 1990b). This combines well with Winter's views of con-

Figure 2.22 Cast lyre player from Tyre (© Peeters Publishers 1983 and reproduced with permission from E. Gubel, *Art in Tyre in the First and Second Iron Age)* 1983: fig. 4).

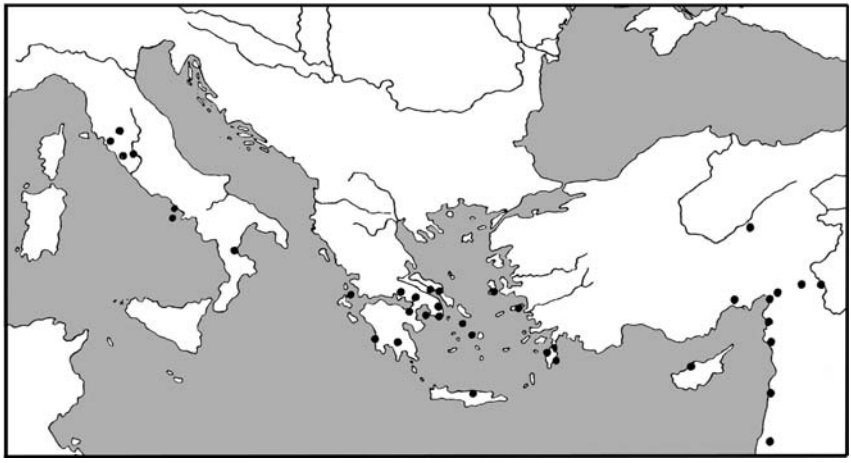


Figure 2.23 Distribution of lyre player seals: after Boardman 1990b: fig. 20.

temporary carved ivories in the West, as products for a less elite or less discriminating population than the ruling classes (Winter 1995: 252). The distribution of other small goods of Eastern manufacture, such as scarabs of various materials and faience in various forms, in the western Mediterranean

reminds us of the mixed tastes of residents and attests broader evidence for widespread trading activities.[47]

It is Near Eastern metalworking that receives the greatest mention in literature. Greek writers refer to the Phoenicians as skilled metalworkers, particularly of silver, producing kraters of superb craftsmanship which were used as prizes in funerary games (*Iliad*: 23.740) or for royal gift exchange (*Odyssey* 4.614–19; 15.113–20). While it has been observed that Greek literature has a tendency to generalize all the populations of the eastern Mediterranean simply as Phoenicians, Neo-Assyrian sources similarly affirm the Phoenicians as producers of silver bowls (Zaccagnini 1984; see also Pisano 1999: 23, note 4).

But is it really the case that all Near Eastern metal products are Phoenician? There is a well-noted overuse of the designate 'Phoenician' in such regard (Frankenstein 1979: 288; Morris 1992: 130). Some prefer to use 'Levantine' instead, since it is not so culturally or geographically specific (Boardman 1990b: 10–11). Indeed, trends in our terminology for the designation of Near Eastern metalwork in the Greek world during the Iron Age can be observed: a century ago, Near Eastern metalwork was identified as Hittite; by the 1950s and 1960s, Urartu was cited as the source; this was subsequently replaced by Phoenicia; today, North Syria seems to be a popular choice, supported particularly by Assyrian tribute and booty records (Hoffman 1997: 112; Dalley 1988: 100–2; Walker 1988).[48] This latter option is not unfounded for some products, given recent archaeological evidence. The identification of Aramaic script in eighth- and early seventh-century contexts in Italy on two silver bowls from Praeneste and Pontecagnano, as well as on a scarab at Francavilla Marittima (Amadasi Guzzo 1987, but cf. Boardman 1990b: 6–7, who does not think the scarab is inscribed at all), and on a clay vessel at Pithekoussai (Garbini 1978, but cf. Amadasi Guzzo 1987: 37–9 with references), when so few inscriptions have been found, whether eastern Mediterranean or Greek, must force us to reconsider the roles traditionally ascribed to the various Near Eastern populations.

One of the difficulties of this terminology is the mixed use of cultural designates and geographic regions of production. The term 'North Syria' does not indicate Aramaean or Luwian, or even Phoenician, for that matter, whereas 'Phoenician' is ambiguous and can refer to Phoenicia proper or also extend to Cyprus and North Syria. Similarly, the identification of Cyprus as the origin of a number of metalwork items in the Mediterranean may reflect Phoenician production, since Phoenicians were resident on Cyprus and actively engaged in trade at this time, but equally it may not necessarily be just the Phoenicians who were working metal on Cyprus. Indeed, much of our understanding of Phoenician art and style is based upon finds from the Phoenician diaspora, and certainly until only fairly recently artistic analysis did not consider local influences or regional developments.[49] Rather than linking style with a particular culture or

ethnicity, it is perhaps least problematic to use geographic designates of production.

Despite the lack of identifiable production centres (most recently, Guralnick 2004), North Syria seems to have been an advanced and intensive metalwork, and ivory, manufacturing zone. An Aramaic inscription on a plaque for a horse harness, or frontlet, which depicts two rows of female nude figures under a winged sun, found in a sixth-century context in the sanctuary of Hera on Samos, attests the plaque's original function as a tribute from Unqi to King Haza'el of Damascus (Figure 2.24) (Mazzoni 2000: 45–6, note 65 for references). Dated stylistically to the third quarter of the ninth century, it is typologically similar to examples found at Tell Tayinat and Miletus, and to horse blinkers from Eretria and Samos. It has been argued that the bronze bowls from the Kerameikos belong to this genre, as well as a bronze lion head

Figure 2.24 Horse harness from Samos (© Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut Athen, neg. 1988/1022 and reproduced with permission).

and a repoussé bronze frieze from Olympia (Winter 1995; Mazzoni 2000; Guralnick 2004). Cast cauldron attachments on Crete have also been attributed to North Syrian craftsmanship (Boardman 1990b; Hoffman 1997). In fact, North Syria is recognized from finds and in Assyrian records for its production of bronze equestrian ornaments, vessels, hammered sheet metal, statuettes, and even weights (Winter 1988). The sanctuary and royal contexts beyond North Syria further indicate that such objects were valued elsewhere.

But bronzework was not necessarily exclusively produced in North Syria. Two engraved bowls from Lefkandi have been described by various scholars as North Syrian or Phoenician,[50] and there are bronze relief bowls from Crete that do appear to be more Phoenician in style (Figure 2.25) (Hoffman 1997: 129; Gubel 2000). The inscribed bronze bowl from Tekke Tomb J has a Phoenician inscription of ownership, although this does not prove that it was a Phoenician product; some have attributed its origin to Cyprus (Boardman 1990a: 177; Muhly 1985: 184), although it may still have been produced by a Phoenician resident on the island (Figure 2.26). The Phoenicians did produce a number of bronze statuettes, however, as well as jugs and bowls, all

Figure 2.25 Phoenician bronze bowl from Crete (© British School at Athens and reproduced with permission of the British School at Athens).

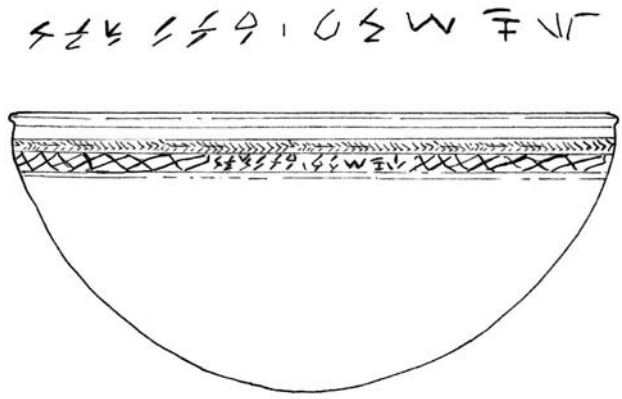


Figure 2.26 Tekke bronze bowl (Jf1).

of which have a broad distribution across the Near East, Greece, and even Italy (Falsone 1988a). Cyprus is widely considered to be the origin of a large number of bronze items found in Greek contexts during the Iron Age, from figurines to bowls, open work stands and wall brackets, some imported perhaps as early as the twelfth century BC (Gjerstad 1946; for Crete, for instance, see Hoffman 1997) and may be related to Phoenician settlement and/or activity.

Pisano has recently argued for a chronological distinction in the metal products of Syria and Phoenicia that coincides with that of the ivory carving schools: ninth and early eighth century for Syria, and mid-eighth and early seventh century for Phoenician products, tying this in to the political history of the Near East, in which the North Syrian Aramaic states flourished prior to their subjugation under Tiglath-Pileser III during the middle of the eighth century. Furthermore, it has been suggested that while North Syria may have been a bronze-working region, silver and silver gilt vessels were, indeed, Phoenician products, based upon similarities with the ivory carving styles (Pisano 1999).

There is also evidence of Assyrian bronze and silver working, albeit mostly literary than material.[51] The silver and bronze relief bowls from Nimrud, however, were acquired as booty or tribute, manufactured in North Syria and Phoenicia. Near Eastern metal reliefwork circulating in the Mediterranean justifiably continues to be attributed to North Syrian or Phoenician production (Markoe 1985).

One aspect that does not seem to have been imported or exported is stone sculptural work. Most stonework of Near Eastern origin was reliefwork decorating monumental buildings of political importance, rather than free-standing stone sculptures as the Greeks and Phoenicians preferred (Fourrier 2001: 40). Greek sculptures rarely come as far east as Cilicia. The furthest

east is a Greek marble kouros, just under life-size, dated to 540–480 BC, which was found on the grounds of the current Archaeology Museum of Mersin, in antiquity the site of the Greek city of Zephyrium (Laflı in press). It is possible, however, that the sculpture came from Soloi, where Classical marble stelae and sixth-century Greek-type architectural terracottas have been excavated (see the annual reports by Yaĝcı in *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*). Carved stonework, therefore, is one area where the North Syrian populations seem to have had no interest in other cultural models (they seem to have been equally disinterested in smaller terracotta figurines, as well: Fourrier 2001).

Artistic styles

With such cultural interactions in terms of material exchanges, influence upon regional styles would be expected. Al Mina ware is one such example. Boardman was the first to identify a number of vessels at Al Mina, primarily skyphoi, that looked to be Euboean Late Geometric with regard to shape and decorative motifs (birds or quatrefoils in banded metopes, but which also had multiple bands in otherwise plain interiors, and sometimes bichrome decoration). He called this Al Mina ware and speculated that Euboean potters were producing this type at Al Mina (Figure 2.27) (Boardman 1959; most recently Boardman 2004a). Al Mina ware is, in fact, best characterized as a blend of Greek and Cypriot ideas. The shapes derive from Euboean and Cycladic examples, and the decorative painted motifs are usually Greek in style and applied, when appropriate, with a multiple brush, another feature of Greek pot painting at this time. Cypriot features of the ware include the painted bands inside the vessels, as opposed to the Greek tradition of black glazed interiors, and the painting of Greek motifs in bichrome, another Cypriot characteristic (Boardman 2001b: 19; although sometimes the shapes are Cypriot; Descoeudres 1978: 11–12). Based on finds and the appearance of the fabric, some maintain that Al Mina ware is a North Syrian product, perhaps produced at Al Mina itself, although kilns were never found.[52] Chemical analyses, however, suggest the ware is made from East Cypriot clay (Jones 1986: 694–6; Liddy 1996).

That Greeks or Cypriots were producing pottery with intended markets in mind is no surprise. The example of KW or spaghetti aryballoi is a case in point (Figure 2.28). These are well distributed in the West and have been found in abundance in Rhodes, where it seems they were produced (Coldstream 1969; Boardman 1994a: esp. 97; Peserico 1996: 899, note 4 and 904; Kourou 2003; Boardman 2004a; there may also have been glassmakers: Bisi 1987). The aryballos form has its origin in the Phoenician repertoire of small flasks, however, while the decoration is specifically Cypriot in style. The fact that they are similar to black-on-red flasks, which have been argued to be exclusively Cypriot products,[53] leads to the

Figure 2.27 Al Mina ware (after Boardman 1959 and Riis 1970: fig. 15c).

possibility that the Rhodian producers may have been Cypriot Phoenicians in particular (see also Morris 1992: 129).

Whether Al Mina was a Greek foundation or not, the presence of Greek ceramics in any such quantity had little impact on local production beyond the limited examples of Al Mina ware. Drinking cups are a prime example, where there is a clear difference in traditional shapes between East and West, where the former is typically handleless and footless, while the latter has handles and a foot. Boardman explains that this difference must reflect drinking habits, whereby 'the Greeks went for draughts of diluted wine, returning

Figure 2.28 KW aryballos.

often to the cup which between whiles they put down; the Easterners went for the quick gulp from a generally smaller cup which was constantly being replenished by the attendant always shown in drinking scenes. If it is set down a separate ring base would need to be supplied' (Boardman 2002b: 8), and he notes that stand-rings were common at Nimrud, for example. Nevertheless, it is apparent that eighth-century North Syrians, Aramaeans, Assyrians and Phoenicians did enjoy using Greek drinking vessels. This use, however, did not influence the shapes and styles their own potters produced.

By the seventh and sixth centuries, the active mechanisms of distribution in the eastern Mediterranean encompassed East Greek products, which did result in localized imitation (Collombier 1987). The wide distribution of East Greek wares, particularly wave-line ware and so-called Ionian bowls, has often resulted in generalizations regarding widespread trade. Comparative scientific analyses on East Greek-type assemblages from more easterly contexts, however, coupled with kiln finds have demonstrated that, in fact, these are widely imitated and reproduced, quickly becoming part of the local

repertoire, rather than widely imported (Dupont 1978, 1983; Collombier 1987). At Kinet Höyük, for instance, a study of the wave-line amphoras found that only two were of a different fabric than the rest, which otherwise were of a fabric used consistently at the site in other periods and for a variety of shapes; pieces of wave-line ware were also found in a contemporary kiln context (Songu 1997; Hodos 2000a).

Even before East Greek imitations, the potters of the Near East littoral were skilled in imitating foreign styles, particularly those of Cyprus, whose shapes and decorative motifs had a huge impact on local production prior to the Assyrian period at the end of the eighth century (for Cyprus as a recipient of Greek goods, see Crielaard 1999a). Recent results from thin section and neutron activation analyses on Iron Age pottery from Kinet Höyük's kilns and related deposits demonstrate that, amongst others, white painted wares, which visually look like Cypriot examples, are local products (Hodos *et al.* 2005). Similar wares are found at Al Mina, Tarsus, Tell Sukas and elsewhere. It has been suggested that such wares be called Cypro-Levantine (Boardman 2001b: 19), although Cypro-Cilician may be geographically more appropriate and less misleading (Hodos 2000a, 2000b).[54]

Importation at this time was intentional and deliberate on the part of the purchasers, creating demand systems for particular types of foreign goods. The Euboean pendent semi-circle plate is a good example of this (Coldstream 1998a; Boardman 2004a).[55] This plate was distributed primarily in Cyprus, Phoenicia (Tyre, Tell Rechidiye, Ras el Bassit), North Syria (Al Mina) and Cilicia (Tarsus), but also found at Lefkandi and in Athens (see above). A preference for Euboean shapes and styles is clear already during the ninth century on Cyprus, when Euboean imports outstrip Attic with regard to shapes and absolute quantities (Sørensen 1988). Trade between the Near East and Greece may have been via Cyprus during this time, and by the seventh century, Cyprus became a big importer of East Greek bowls, cups and amphoras (Popham *et al.* 1983; Coldstream 1988, 1989a, 1994; Lemos and Hatcher 1991; Sørensen 1988). Chian ceramics, such as the polychrome chalice cups produced during the second quarter of the sixth century, seem to have particularly influenced local Cypriot production of Bichrome IV or V (Collombier 1987: 246). In turn, such Cypriot pottery was exported to the mainland, evidenced by Cypriot vessels in the 588 BC destruction contexts of Tell Sukas (Lund 1986: 190; for Cyprus as a major dissemination player, see Crielaard 1999a). In sum, a case could be made for widespread imitation and marketing, with Greeks producing objects of specific interest to the Cypriots and Near East, and the Cypriots themselves manufacturing for the Near East, with the Near East in turn exporting its own products of specific interest to Cyprus and Greece.

Part of the ease of material trade may be thanks to the political activities of the Neo-Assyrians. As Lehmann has noted, with fewer borders to cross, there may have been an increased development of unified measurement units

and improvement in goods trafficking, which may have formed the background for the standardization processes in the pottery, as Syria developed from a pottery district to a pottery region (as defined by transportation systems) (Lehmann 1998: 30 with references). Such control may be evidenced by the appearance at this time of Assyrian Palace ware and other Assyrian ceramic types at coastal sites like Tarsus and Kinet Höyük.

Other cultures resident in this region also clearly benefited from Assyrian control. The Phoenician cities were granted autonomous status – for a tribute price – and prospered as a result (Oded 1974; Bunnens 1983). This included securing economic control over the Syrian hinterland, leading to a kind of Phoenician hegemony over the region's economic affairs.[56] One material impact is rapid change in the pottery repertoire, which may reflect new customs in food processing and consumption as a result of such multiple influences. Lehmann's studies reveal progressively diminishing continuity in local forms throughout the Iron Age: along coastal sites, 71 per cent of ceramic forms common between 720 and 700 BC appear in the subsequent phase (700–650 BC); only 60 per cent of these types appear in the following phase (650–580 BC). In turn, new forms and types appear. Mortaria were introduced at the end of the eighth century, for example, and their rapid imitation throughout Syria, Lebanon and Palestine during the seventh century attests an indirect influence from other Mediterranean cultures among Near Eastern littoral populations (Lehmann 2005: 74 with references). Pots do not equal people, and neither does economic (or political) hegemony mean that traditional styles and customs disappeared entirely. Boardman's revised slogan that 'pots are for people' (2004a: 150) should remind us of this.

Written voices

A variety of languages was spoken and written in Cilicia and North Syria during the Iron Age. Aramaic graffiti and Luwian hieroglyphic texts appear from Hama to Zincirli (Otzen 1990; Jasink 1995; Hawkins 1999: 398–423; Röllig 1992: 97), while Luwian inscriptions, in fact, have been found from as far as the ancient territory of Tabal (Kayseri), Que (particularly Karatepe and Domuztepe), Hatti/Carchemish, Gurgum (Maraş), Milid, Unqi (including Tell Tayinat and elsewhere in the Amuq), Hamath (particularly Hama itself), and Bit-Agusi (the region of Aleppo, although the inscriptions themselves were excavated in Babylon, presumably brought there as booty by Nebuchadnezzar) (Hawkins 1999). At many sites, graffiti and formal inscriptions in Aramaic, Luwian and Phoenician are found side-by-side, and sometimes in translation of one another. Eighth-century inscriptions from Arslan Tash have parallel Assyrian, Aramaic and Luwian versions, for instance. Mostly these are monumental inscriptions, although formal examples, such as short dedications or economic texts, are found, albeit more rarely.

In Cilicia, Luwian seems to have served as a public language alongside Phoenician, attested by a series of public bilingual inscriptions from the region around Adana. The most famous, perhaps, is Azitawada's bilingual Luwian-Phoenician inscription of the early seventh century at Karatepe (Figure 2.29).[57] As well as explaining the foundation history of the site, the text outlines the concept of loyalty towards a suzerain and implies the ideals of royal responsibility for justice, and for the security and prosperity of the country and its inhabitants. Another bilingual royal inscription, also in Luwian hieroglyphs and Phoenician letters, was recently discovered at Çineköy, south of Adana in the Cilician plain, and is similarly dated to the late eighth century (Figure 2.30) (Tekoğlu and Lemaire 2000). It is a commemorative inscription of the reign of Awarikas/Urikki, king of Que (738–709 BC) and Azitawada's father, who constructed 15 fortresses and had an alliance with Assyria (which implies the presence of an Assyrian governor). A contemporary Phoenician inscription from Hassan Beyli, near Zincirli, also mentions Awarikas (Lemaire 1983). A Luwian-Phoenician bilingual from Ivriz, near Konya, is similarly utilized in a royal context and attests the wide geographical use of both scripts together for politico-symbolic purposes. This stela depicts King Warpalawa/Urballu of Tuwana (c.738–710 BC), and its inscriptions suggest it was commissioned by his son Muwaharna (Röllig 1992: 98) or by Warpalawa himself (Dinçol 1994: 119, note 1). These imply that there were a series of public languages regularly used on monumental works to express royal commemorations, piety acts and treatises, perhaps to account for the mixed populations throughout these regions.[58]

Other inscriptions remind us of the deep and pervasive Phoenician cultural influence. A ninth-century inscription from Brayj, in northern Syria, tells us that Bar-Hadad, the king of Arpad, dedicated to Melqart, the Phoenician god (Puech 1992). A Tyrian inscription by Iariris of Carchemish (Jasink 1995: 36) and reference to a Phoenician scribe at ninth-century Guzana (Lipiński 2000: 130 with bibliography) similarly attest the prestige and extent of the Phoenician language. They do not imply necessarily that Phoenician was a language spoken by the local population. In fact, the nature and locations of such inscriptions suggest that Phoenician served as a regional, political language, a theory that derives additional support from the late eighth-century finds from Ivriz, behind the Taurus mountains, mentioned above, and a seventh-century land deed near Çebal Ires-Dağı (15 km east of Alanya, in Rough Cilicia) (Röllig 1992: 98).[59] Such a notion is perhaps best exemplified by the most famous stela from Zincirli, that attributed to Kilamuwa of Sam'al (c.825 BC), a king with a Luwian name, whose father had an Aramaean name (Hayanu) and whose territory is generally associated with the Aramaeans (Donner and Röllig 2002: 24). The inscription on the stela, itself, however, is in Phoenician, while the text is actually in relief, a purely Luwian-Hittite

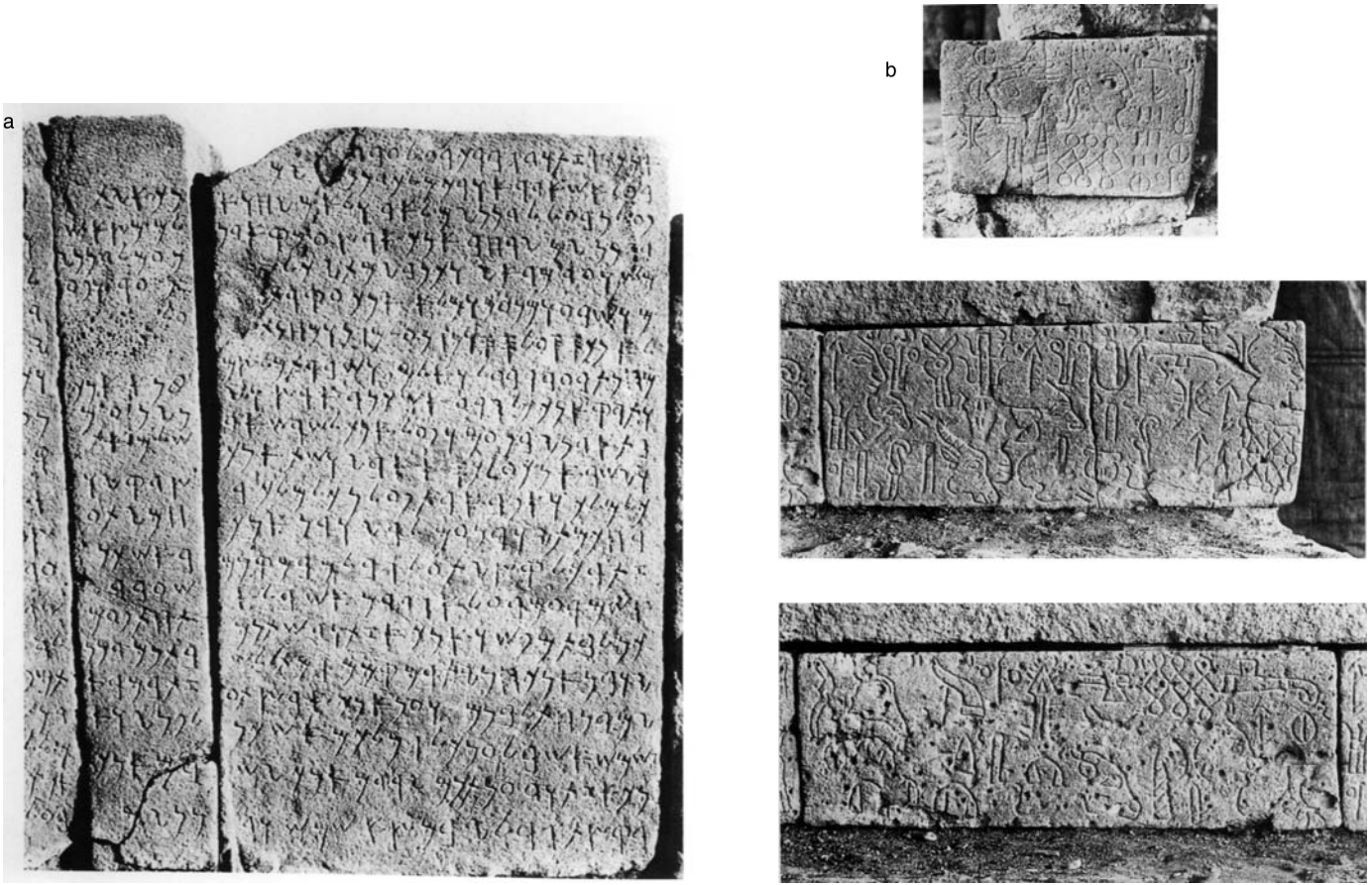


Figure 2.29 Inscription from the North Gate at Karatepe (© De Gruyter and reproduced with permission).
a: Phoenician text (Çambel 1999: pl. 8).
b: Hieroglyphic text (Çambel 1999: pl. 57).

Figure 2.30 Çineköy inscription (© Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres and reproduced with permission from Tekoğlu and Lemaire 2000: fig. 26).

trait. Even more interestingly, the decorative reliefs that accompany the inscription are Assyrian in style. Other monumental inscriptions from the site, also in relief, were written in Aramaic, and further attest the mixed natures of cultural identities and communities at this time (Bunnens 2000; Peckham 2001).[60]

More personal, non-royal inscriptions are less common. One has recently been excavated at Kinet Höyük (Figure 2.31), possibly attesting a Luwian

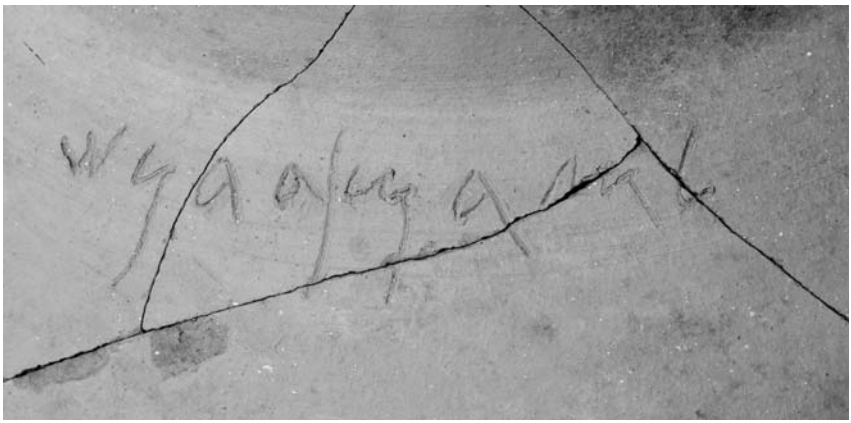


Figure 2.31 Inscription from Kinet Höyük (reproduced with kind permission from M.H. Gates).

name written in Phoenician. It was inscribed before firing on to the shoulder of a large storage jar, and seems to be a dedicatory onomastic that may be read as 'To Sarmakaddmis'. If the inscription is indeed in Phoenician, then it represents an early example of the cursive version of the script. The vessel itself is associated with a monumental building on the west side of the site that was destroyed some time during the second half of the eighth century, when it was subsequently levelled to make way for the structures associated with the Neo-Assyrian occupation of the settlement (Gates 2004: 408).

In comparison, Greek inscriptions are restricted to the coastal trading ports of the region and remain relatively few and are extremely minor in nature (no more than dedicatory words or graffiti). From Al Mina, there is only one Greek inscription of a relevant context. It is identified as from strata 7/6 (between c.720 BC and the second half of the seventh century) and consists of part of a name on a Late Geometric Attic skyphos fragment (Figure 2.32) (Boardman 1982; Graham 1986). The inscription was applied post-firing, and therefore we do not know where it was inscribed. Other inscriptions from Al Mina are Phoenician and Aramaic (Bron and Lemaire 1983).

A dedication from Tell Sukas' sanctuary attests a woman with a Greek name. The name Pesachore was inscribed on a locally-made Greek-style spindle whorl of a type datable to between the eighth and sixth centuries BC (Figure 2.33) (Riis 1970: 158, fig. 53d, 1982: 240–1, fig. 3.1; Ploug 1973: 90, no. 424, pl. 19f–g). Other graffiti, of the first half of the sixth century, include Greek, sometimes on ceramics of local fabric, and Semitic, once again reinforcing the mixed nature of the community (Ploug 1973: 54, 84–5).

Figure 2.32 Greek inscription from Al Mina (© Oxford University Press and reproduced with permission: Boardman 1982: fig. 1).

Figure 2.33 Greek inscription cast from Tell Sukas (Riis 1970: fig. 53d).

Several Greek graffiti were found at Bassit. The earliest one, on a locally-made imitation of a Late Geometric skyphos, has been noted already as the Phoenician character *het* as much as the Greek *eta* (Courbin 1986: 194, fig. 20). The two other published Greek graffiti date to the end of the seventh century and are Ionian personal names. One, on an Ionian cup (Courbin 1978: figure on p. 58), could have been inscribed before it arrived at the site; the other one must have been inscribed locally, as it appears on a Levantine torpedo-shaped amphora (Courbin 1986: 199, fig. 31, 1990: 508, pl. 48.1). The

extent to which one can discuss Greek residents at the site is limited on this basis, however, and these two inscriptions may reflect merely Ionian traders transporting goods to and from the eastern Mediterranean. Phoenician inscriptions have also been found at Bassit (Courbin 1978: 58).

This leads to the obvious question of the dissemination of the Greek alphabet. It is not disputed that the Greek alphabet derived from the Phoenician; the question has centred around precisely when and where (Powell 1991, 2002; see also Naveh 1987 for a Near Eastern perspective).[61] The location undoubtedly must have been somewhere where Greeks and Near Eastern populations had close, regular contact, whether in the Near East or resident together elsewhere. The spread of written Phoenician across the Mediterranean points to somewhere along the trade route from Syria to Ischia via Cyprus and Rhodes.

The date has been controversial. The earliest Phoenician examples have been dated on palaeographic grounds alone to the eleventh century BC. These are primarily the Tekke bronze bowl from Crete, and the Nora Fragment of Sardinia. The Nora Fragment remains untranslated and has no archaeological context by which to utilize other means to date it. On the other hand, the Tekke bowl, whose inscription attests private ownership as 'the cup of Ş . . . son of L . . .,' (Sznycer 1979) was found in association with an early ninth-century burial. There are convincing arguments against dating Semitic inscribed artefacts solely by means of palaeography, however, the least of which is that either example could have been ancient when it arrived at its final destination (there is no indication that the Nora Fragment was inscribed in situ) (Millard 1976: 140–2; Gibson 1982: 25; Negbi 1992).

A more likely date is the ninth century, as the earliest indication of literate Phoenician activity in the Mediterranean can be more securely dated to this time. A ninth-century inscription from Old Paphos on Cyprus in crude Phoenician-type letters that has yet to be deciphered is one such example (Boardman 2001b: 9). The Cypriot connection is further reinforced by the identification of the Tekke bowl as a specifically Cypriot product (Boardman 1990a: 177; Muhly 1985: 184). The Nora Stela on Sardinia, another early Phoenician inscription, also has a ninth-century context.

The earliest examples of Greek writing so far are from Pithekoussai and are dated to the late eighth century.[62] The Aramaean presence at Pithekoussai may be telling, however, as there is evidence of grammatical overlap between written Phoenician and written Aramaic (Lipiński 2000: 139; Peckham 2001: 33–7), and so it is possible that dissemination may have involved the Aramaeans in the West. Others, however, suggest that the Euboean Greeks learned alphabetic writing directly from Aramaeans in North Syria.[63] An Aramaean role in the teaching of the alphabet seems likely given the vibrancy of writing during the ninth and eighth centuries in the Near East, particularly the highly visible monumental inscriptions, which would have been apparent to any elite coming to offer a gift to an Eastern king. As the

Greek elites seem to have been Euboean, it should not be surprising that one of the first places we find the use of the Greek alphabet is in the first Euboean overseas colony, Pithekoussai.

Conclusions

During the first millennium BC, a variety of Mediterranean populations were settled along the sea's north-eastern coast and interacting with one another in a new era of international interaction. The dynamism of these contacts and exchanges led directly to the seventh-century Orientalizing Revolution, which can also be interpreted in terms of hybrid development. The manifestation of influences from the Near East appears materially most obviously in the imagery of the age, as Greek artists began to regularly depict Eastern animals and motifs on their pottery, and in manners directly derived from Near Eastern imports. They adopted the miniaturization and incised decoration techniques of Eastern craftsmen, some elements of which are thought to be in imitation of metalworking, and their elite patrons popularized them. Near Easterners had a profound impact upon the religious practices and literary forms of the Greeks, more so than they had on Greek material goods. The Near Eastern cultures introduced divination and healing practices to the Greeks; their gods became integrated into the Greek pantheon, while their epics were modified by the Hellenes into tales of mythological heroism. This Orientalizing Revolution can be summed up as a movement about the strategic and innovative use that people made of material and social culture (after Gosden 2004: 155).

The contribution of North Syria to this cultural fertilization has tended to be subsumed into a general attribution to the Phoenicians or the Near East in general (see Boardman 2000, for example). In fact, many products and cultural elements of North Syria were widely exported to the Greek world during the Iron Age, and there may be arguments for North Syrians themselves being among those enterprising merchants who ventured overseas and settled abroad. Boardman rightly points out that in Phoenician contexts in the western Mediterranean from the eighth century, the Eastern items found are primarily Phoenician, whereas in Greek contexts, there are more Syrian goods and materials (Boardman 1999a: 40–1). This immediately suggests different spheres of exchange. Cypriot and Rhodian workshops also exported items to the same destinations as objects of Syrian manufacture, such as Pithekoussai (Boardman 1994a, 1999a: 45). It would have been an easy pick-up across all three areas before a cargo vessel headed west. Archaeological evidence suggests that this was the movement of traders and even individual craftsmen, such as faience makers and metalsmiths on Crete and Euboea, rather than more broad colonization.[64] In sum, what begins as ruling class gift-giving and gift-exchange in the tenth and ninth centuries develops by the eighth and seventh centuries into specialized market economies

facilitated by individual craftsmen and merchants, with Greek, Cypriot and Levantine artisans producing goods for one another's consumers. The Greeks produced and exported specialist ceramics, and the Near Eastern populations manufactured textiles, finely carved ivories and gemstones, and metal work.

It is in this way that North Syria, in particular, served as a middle ground for the interactions between the Greeks, Phoenicians and North Syrian populations. Between these cultures along the North Syrian coast, there is no element of dominance or exploitation. Their interactions with one another resulted in the modification of existing products to accord with new meanings in their usages and ideologies, as well as the development of new goods designed with these particular meanings in mind. One result was the production of specialized goods for specific markets as a result of the new appreciations of the value systems of the consumer, such as Euboean plates, Al Mina ware, carved ivories and shells. Cypriot craftsmen also produced both specialist ceramics to export to the east and metalwork for distribution in the west; Cyprus itself thus may also be viewed as part of this Middle Ground. Only the Neo-Assyrians utilized North Syria as an exploitable periphery to their own geographical and political core (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 383–5).

Perhaps the most interesting observation from the discussion of the various goods produced and exchanged between the Near East and the Greek world is that the Near Eastern communities were interested in only a narrow variety of goods, namely pottery, and only in limited forms of pottery, primarily drinking vessels. Nor were the regional patrons interested in locally-produced versions; thus, the North Syrian artists did not imitate Greek goods or styles. This contrasts with Hellenic patrons in Greece, who had an insatiable hunger for orientalia materially and socially. The suggestion that Greek vessels in the Near East were solely for the use of Greeks does not account for the limited circulation of types in the region – primarily drinking cups – when compared with the variety of vessel shapes and types the Greeks used at home. Greek mixing bowls are rare, although the Phoenicians at Tyre used them (Luke 2003: 32–5), and pouring vessels virtually unknown in the Near East (Luke 2003: 32–5 cites one oinochoe of ninth-century date and two of eighth-century date at Ras el Bassit, yet none from anywhere else), yet these types are ubiquitous in Greek contexts. Furthermore, there is no evidence for other material culture forms. No evidence for Greek dress has been identified; evidence of Greek religious ritual practices is rare, as are Greek household items like lamps. That a number of Greeks should insist upon bringing one type of familiar pottery but abandon all others along with their traditional dress and the trappings of their religion as well as of their homes when settling down across a broad swathe of the Near East in the eighth century seems unlikely, although it is certain that pockets of Greeks were settled along the coast by the seventh century, such as at Tell Sukas and Al Mina. Instead, the wide distribution of these vessels in very small

numbers throughout the Levant suggests a scenario in which Near Eastern elite society used these Greek drinking cups as a means of status display. Perhaps they reminded the elite of the eighth and seventh centuries of the gifts from Greek leaders to their own kings in the tenth and ninth centuries. Yet it may not have been the case that an elite reflected his social standing through the quantity of goods, but rather by his ability to procure items in a range of materials (the same may be suggested for Greek elites at this time, as well). Possession of such types of vessels by the new elite class of the Middle Iron Age reinforced their high standing within their own society as one small means of this social display.

The dissemination of the alphabet is perhaps one of the most significant aspects of this period of Iron Age enlightenment, since, as Burkert and others have noted, the transmission of the technique of teaching and learning how to read and write was just as significant as the copying of the script. In this regard, the Phoenician and Aramaean scribal classes may have been of use, helping to transmit not just the alphabet but also other non-material cultural elements, such as the divination practices and myths readily adopted by the Greeks, their Eastern origins betrayed philologically (Burkert 1992; Morris 1992; Malkin 1998). The multi-lingual nature of the Near East during the Iron Age necessitated that a number of scripts be used to transmit official information to the populations, hence the number of bilingual royal inscriptions, while the wide distribution of Aramaic, Phoenician and Luwian graffiti and minor inscriptions across similar areas not only implies that local populations were mixed, but also presumes an ability to communicate verbally. The addition of Greek speakers to the mix would not have vexed any member of these eastern Mediterranean communities at this time.

Within this period of oriental influences on Greek artistic production, Greek craftsmen expressed their tastes more regionally. Eighth-century Athenian pot painters began to depict Near Eastern animals in bands and holding poses that are strongly reminiscent of Near Eastern metalwork, or the Eastern tree-of-life motif (for a summary, see Markoe 1996), and they imitated North Syrian artists in the depiction of banquet scenes with lyre-players on contemporary funerary vases (Ahlberg 1967). Seventh-century Corinthian ceramic craftsmen popularized miniature shapes and utilized incision as a decorative technique, in direct response to this world of international travel and trade, and with its local adaptations in a religious sphere and with regard to new expressions of power.[65] In fact, throughout not only Greece but also Cyprus, artists and patrons demonstrated a wave of interest in Eastern shapes, styles and techniques with regard particularly to pottery, carved items, and jewellery (Bisi 1987; Burkert 1992; Morris 1992; Markoe 1996; Boardman 2001b: 21–3). The dependence of the Greeks on the Near East was strong: Greeks took employment as mercenaries in Eastern armies and as craftsmen and learned men under Eastern royal patronage; they utilized Eastern styles in their art; they adopted the Phoenician alphabet to

express their own language (Kuhrt 2002 with references).[66] What we see is the development of hybrid cultures in Greece that incorporated elements from the eastern Mediterranean (part of the cultures within Greek culture, to borrow from Dougherty and Kurke). Greek craftsmen, traders, their patrons and priests adopted and adapted material goods, artistic styles and religious elements in accord with their own local customs, resulting in new cultural norms which we have come to classify as general characteristics of the Orientalizing Revolution, yet regional preferences for various elements must be highlighted as a reminder of the localized nature of such developments.

Some credit must be given to the Neo-Assyrians for the multi-cultural understanding and appreciation in North Syria. Through their campaigns of the eighth and early seventh centuries, they provided a means for people to move within their empire, whether through craftsmen seeking opportunities and given patronage, or through population resettlement, which arguably may not have been a desired move for those who were forced to relocate. This movement of individuals enabled ideological fertilization to extend beyond the coastal fringe of North Syria and the Levant. Thus, Syrian architects influenced their Neo-Assyrian counterparts to try their designs and techniques (Bunnens 1996), while the Phoenician producers of Red Slip shared their methods of production with other potters of the Near East, resulting in a wide production of this ware for common use, perhaps as a decorated table ware for the less elite of society, or a more regular use table ware for the elite instead of their best, Greek, plate. Once again, however, consumption was the driving force.

3

SICILY

The island of Sicily, situated in the central Mediterranean off the toe of mainland Italy, has been a crossroads of cultures for millennia. Its Iron Age period of history provides one of the best stages to explore cultural contact and the varying impacts of colonization movements, for both the Greeks and Phoenicians established colonies on the island towards the end of the eighth century. Their interactions and impacts upon the populations already resident on the island, however, were varied and distinctive. Recent analyses of dialogues of colonization have highlighted the difficulties in terminology (Morel 1997; Cataldi 1999), and the complex relationship between these colonial movements, myth-histories and developing forms of the city-state (Malkin 1997; Cusumano 1999).

The Greeks arrived in Sicily during the third quarter of the eighth century BC, knowledgeable about settlement potential from their contacts at Pithekoussai and interactions with the Phoenicians. The variety of goods from across the Mediterranean that have been found at Pithekoussai – including Phoenician, North Syrian, Egyptian, North African, Spanish, Greek and Italic wares and objects – betrays a complex system of exchange and interaction already in the eighth century (see various contributions in d'Agostino and Ridgway 1994).

The Euboeans, who had founded the first overseas western settlement at Pithekoussai, were among the first to establish settlements in Sicily, at Naxos, Leontini, Catania and Zancle, during the last third of the eighth century (Figure 3.1). Yet by this period, other rising poleis in Greece began to send out overseas settlements as well, such as Megara and Corinth, founding respectively Megara Hyblaea (eventually) and Syracuse. These sites were strategic for their safe harbours, access across the island for trade, travel and communication, accessibility to fertile landscapes, and dominance over key points for long-distance shipping routes as traffic between the Mediterranean sea and the Tyrhennian ocean increased (Boardman 1999c; Holloway 2000).

During the early seventh century, settlers from Greece continued to arrive in Sicily. Rhodes and Crete founded Gela, for instance, c.688 BC. By this time, the first wave of Sicilian Greek colonists had realized the potential of

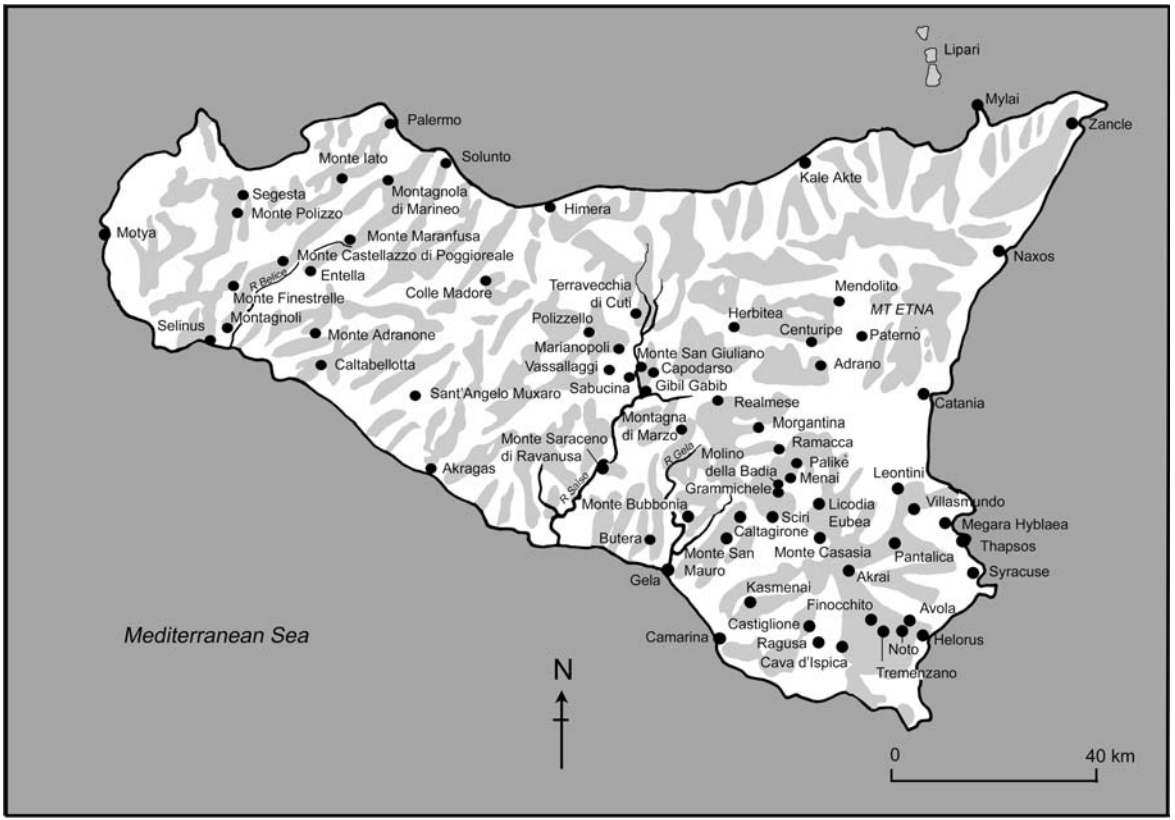


Figure 3.1 Sicily.

Sicily for economic and political control, and the original colonies began to established sub-colonies, creating alliance links and carving up the island into spheres of politico-military influence. Syracuse's foundation of Helorus, Akrai, Kasmenai and Camarina bound the south-east of the island to Syracusan control, while Gela's foundation of Akragas secured the south-western coastline, as Zancle's establishment of Himera did for the northern coast. Megara Hyblaea's foundation of Selinus gave the Megarians their own foothold in western Sicily. Leontini founded the subcolony of Euboia, probably on the south-west margin of the Catania Plain at what is known today as Monte San Mauro di Caltagirone (Frasca 1997). Thus the stage was set for the subsequent inter-Greek battles for territorial control, conflict that ultimately involved all peoples living on the island.

Although Thucydides indicates that the Phoenicians had been resident all around the island prior to the arrival of the Greeks, no archaeological evidence has yet been found to corroborate this (see below; Tusa 1986; Moscati 1984–85; Bondì 1980). Our earliest archaeological evidence for what could be called a Phoenician settlement comes from Motya, an island just off the western coast of Sicily, and dates only to the end of the eighth century (Tusa 1999; Longo 1999; Falsone 1988b; Spatafora 2000b). Material evidence to categorize other Phoenician settlements, particularly at Solunto and Palermo, date only to the early sixth century.

Phoenician settlements are usually described as cities without territories. Their scope is taken to be commercial and without any interest in control of surrounding territory for agricultural or other purposes, not even to control overland trade routes. Yet during the seventh century, Phoenician enclaves in Sicily evolve into more urban settlements and develop production centres, rather than serving simply as trade redistribution sites. The settlement of Motya, for instance, expanded during the seventh century to facilitate its mercantile activities, incorporating iron working and purple dye production (Aubet 2001). During this period, religious practice took on a more permanent form with the establishment of the Cappiddazzu sanctuary (but see Vella 1998: 178–80, 2000: 29) and the tophet, used for the immolation of children. The site adopted its urban character, particularly its monumental buildings, during the sixth century, during which time a defensive city wall was constructed for the first time.

The fall of Tyre's monarchy ultimately in 564 BC was a turning point in Phoenician history. During the eighth and seventh centuries BC, in particular, the growing power of the Assyrian empire had made rule over the Phoenician homeland cities a key factor in the politics of the Near East, and the Assyrian monarchs had a great interest in controlling the Phoenician ports and their commercial networks. Systematic Assyrian campaigns during this time reduced the Phoenician territories. With the conquest of Tyre itself by the Neo-Babylonian ruler Nebuchadnezzar, the diaspora settlements effectively had no homeland with which to maintain links. Its central location

and longevity in relation to other settlements afforded Carthage, the first Phoenician settlement in the western Mediterranean, its hegemonic rise. A distinction between Phoenician and Punic activity therefore is conventionally drawn c.550 BC (Aubet 2001: 341; for an overview of Punic activity as reflected archaeologically after this date in western Sicily, see most recently Di Stefano 1999).

The Sicilian populations

With the arrival of foreign populations as permanent residents, the lifestyles of the pre-existing peoples changed. The centralized settlements characteristic of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age appear to devolve into smaller, more egalitarian communities away from the coastal areas as the Greeks and Phoenicians established their own littoral settlements (Albanese Procelli 1997b, 2003; Leighton 1999). Many of these were sited in the various mountainous regions of the interior of the island. Located high along mountain river valleys, such sites provided natural defences while maintaining easy communication routes to facilitate exchange, commerce, and even collective lines of defence when necessary. Furthermore, there is every indication that there were local spheres of resistance. The settlement of Villasmundo, in the Marcellino valley, is reputed to be the home of the Sikel leader Hyblon, and certainly it was central to what may be viewed as the area of Hyblaean control. During the early phase of colonization, this served as a kind of frontier area guarded by sizeable settlements, such as Monte Casasia, Licodia Eubea and Castiglione.

Greek and Roman writers, particularly Herodotus, Thucydides and Diodorus Siculus, have passed on to us names and natures of the populations in Sicily during the Iron Age. It hardly needs to be pointed out that none of these is contemporary with the periods they discuss; there are no contemporary historical sources that do survive. These literary sources must be considered with regard to the authors of the texts, who were writing in a manner and with reference to systems and structures that would have been familiar to them and to their readers in their own time. Thus Greek identity is described as ethnic/tribal, political/civic, and common territorially, while the Sicilian peoples are recognized by an ethnic/tribal identity or collectively as *barbaroi* (Antonaccio 2001: 114 and 121, 2004: 60; Malkin 1998: 19 suggests they may have been viewed more like *proxenoi* or *xenoi*). The alleged Anatolian origins of the Elymian culture in western Sicily is raised in Greek literature at the same time as the Greeks themselves were involved in major conflict in Sicily against the Carthaginians (De Vido 1997; Nenci 1999a, 1999b; Spatafora 1996; Tusa 1997a), thus the extension of an eastern attribute to the Elymians renders them an appropriate enemy, like the Persians were to the Greeks not so long before.

The terms used by these later authors to describe the peoples of Sicily are

imbued with Greek significance that masks more nuanced social differences. Archaeological work has often begun with these extant literary sources and has searched for material correlates, but this has proved difficult to reconcile in virtually every context, as material differences are not always perceivable (La Rosa 1999; Albanese Procelli 1999; Raccuia 1999). The identification of the different peoples in Sicily as Sikel, Sikan and Elymian has a long historiography that is tied into the fact that the surviving literary sources are ultimately Greek (for a discussion of the Elymians and their territory as emerges in ancient literature, for instance, see de Vido 1997; Cataldi 1999; for ethnic identities in the Bronze Age, see La Rosa 1999). Thus scholarship has been unable to establish a geographic boundary between Sikel and Sikan territory on the basis of material distinctions, particularly pottery, that might be associated with one or other culture attested in literature, nor materially to identify Elymians from their Sikan neighbours.[1] Names, themselves, rather than demonstrating distinctions, sometimes reflect mixed cultural influences: the late fifth-century Sikel leader of the town of Herbiteia was named Archonides, clearly derived from the Greek word *archon*, or leader, while it has been suggested that the name of the great fifth-century Sikel Ducetius may be a title rather than a personal name (Agostiniani 1988–89: 191–2; Diod. Sic. 12.8, 14.16 for Archonides). Diodorus describes Sikel communities as *autonomous*, and while some have noted that this seems to place the Sikels outside any sort of state-like hierarchy (Maniscalco and McConnell 2003: 171), surely any such explanation would have been phrased in terms with which Diodorus' readers would have been familiar. If anything, such a description seems much like the idea of the Greek city-states themselves, which did not adhere to any sense of national hierarchy but maintained individual *polis* laws. Furthermore, it is often difficult to reconcile such references with the material remains of the cultures in question, since ethnic significance lies not in the existence of regional styles but in their manipulation for social significance (Morgan 1999).

More recently, some have turned to anthropology for alternative methods of interpretation, discussing the settlements of the Bronze Age as chiefdoms, with clear evidence of a stratified society, including an elite, warrior element, that evolved towards a social structure with more tribe-like aspects of egalitarianism during the Iron Age.[2] But the story does not end with the establishment of tribal systems during the Iron Age. Sicilian society continued to develop and alter through the course of the Iron Age, often in response to and certainly influenced by Greek and Phoenician political, commercial and military activity. There is evidence of complex political structures of the Elymian communities by the fifth and fourth centuries, indicated by the Entella decrees, which discuss legal terms regarding intermarriage and political equivalence between Greek Selinus and Elymian Segesta (Nenci 1993; Marconi 1997: 1094–5, foreshadowed by Thucydides 6.6.2). The following will assess how these communities developed in archaeological terms.

Chronologies in Sicily

Thucydides is perhaps our richest source of information regarding the foundation of the Greek colonies themselves.[3] He is the earliest author to discuss the Phoenician and Greek colonial movements to Sicily, although he draws on the work of Antiochus of Syracuse. While there have been challenges to his proposed relative and absolute chronology based on literature and archaeology (recently Morris 1996), his primacy remains largely uncontested, as does the tight chronology of the imported Greek pottery that is used to date not only the colonial histories but also to relate those histories to the unwritten histories of the Sicilian cultures. It has been more challenging to reconcile this chronology to the Sicilian archaeological record, however.

This leads us to the question, therefore, of evidence for what has been dubbed trade before the flag. Pre-colonial trade between Greece and the West was first postulated by Blakeway, whose arguments were based on Late Geometric pottery that has since been dated to the end of the eighth century and not earlier. Nevertheless, the presence of pendent semi-circle and chevron skyphoi and occasional Middle Geometric pottery in Etruria, Latium, Campania and Sicily, has fuelled arguments in favour of trade before the establishment of the Greek colonies in the West (various contributions in Gabba and Vallet 1980; Descoeudres 1990; Tsetskhladze and de Angelis 1994; see also d'Agostino 1974; Gras 1985; Dominguez 1989; Ridgway 2004).

For Sicily, the bulk of the evidence for contact between the Greeks and Sicilians before the establishment of Naxos and the subsequent colonies during the last third of the eighth century rests on a handful of Greek cups from the inland necropolis of Villasmundo, not far from Megara Hyblaea. Villasmundo itself bears all the hallmarks of a Sicilian cemetery typical of its period. Nearly 150 tombs were cut into the rock in clusters along the banks of the Marcellino and Belluzza rivers. The most common tomb type was of rectangular form with a level ceiling and a low bench along the back wall, preceded by a dromos and antechamber, which sometimes contained objects and burnt remains, evidence of funerary ritual (Figure 3.2) (Voza 1976–77: 568, 1978). The tombs were used primarily between the tenth and early seventh centuries, mostly for multiple burials (they were reused during the second half of the sixth century and the fifth century, as well as during the Byzantine period).

Of the Greek pottery (Figure 3.3), the Villasmundo pendent semi-circle skyphos has been compared with an example from Veii dated to the first third of the eighth century (Ridgway and Dickinson 1973: 191; Popham and Lemos 1992; Snodgrass 1994: 4), or possibly the middle of the eighth century (Descoeudres and Kearsley 1983: 33–4; Kearsley 1989: 127); a Thapsos skyphos has been dated to the third quarter of the eighth century (following Neeft 1981); chevron skyphoi and an Aetos 666 kotyle are dated to the middle of the eighth century (Coldstream 1982). Another Thapsos skyphos from Modica and an imitation chevron skyphos from Cozzo della Tignusa also fit

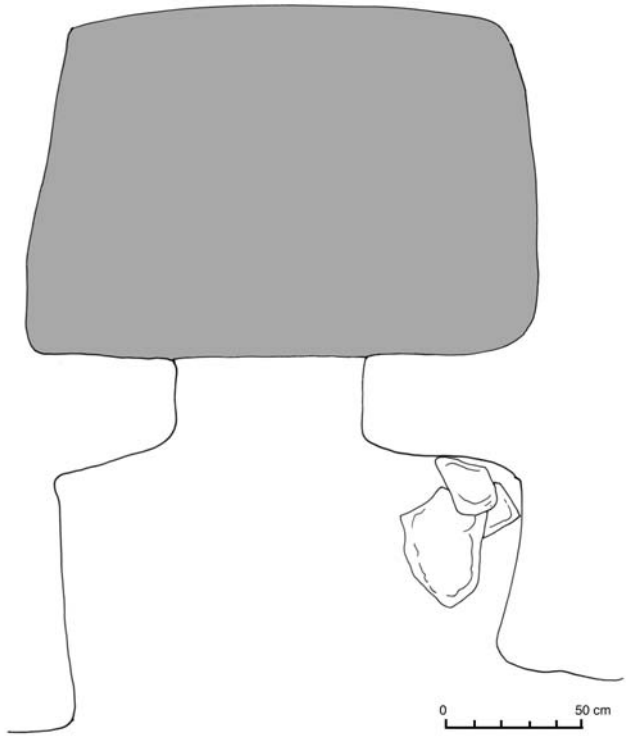


Figure 3.2 Villasmundo tomb plan (after Voza 1978: pl. 23).

well with examples dated to shortly after the middle of the century.[4] There are also a number of cups which fall into the earliest colonial period that found their way to non-colonial contexts, particularly skyphos and kotyle shapes, and the occasional amphora (Albanese Procelli 1997b: 517; Hodos 2000c: 45). It is impossible to determine precisely when these objects arrived in Sicily, but the appearance of Greek vessels at Villasmundo has led to the speculation that the site was the base of a regional leader at least during the second half of the eighth century and that their occurrence here has to do with early Greek overtures, similar in type and manner to the *xenia* gifts made by Greeks to Near Eastern rulers. What the Greeks might have received in return is not materially preserved. While it may have been organic goods, it may have even been something less materially tangible but more important for the Greeks' immediate livelihood and more significant for the long-term repercussions of both communities: acknowledgement of Greek presence in Hyblaean territory and an agreement to peaceful co-existence. Trade in any commercial sense, as Blakeway and others have argued for, can no longer be substantiated.

Figure 3.3 Greek vessels from Villasmundo (reproduced with permission from Museo Paolo Orsi, Assessorato ai Beni Culturali e Ambientali and by the E.P. della Regione Siciliana – Palermo. It is forbidden to reproduce, even partially, the objects without written permission from the appropriate Amministrazione dei Beni Culturali: Voza 1978: pl. 27).
1. Pendent semi-circled skyphos.
2. Chevron skyphos.
3. Aetos 666 kotyle.
4. Thapsos skyphos.

Several sherds from the Fusco necropolis of Syracuse and the settlement of Megara Hyblaea have been identified by some as Middle Geometric (Figure 3.4) (Leighton 1999: 224–5), which would date them conventionally to no later than the middle of the eighth century, although this attribution can be questioned. The Fusco piece, a stray find, depicts a circle with a reserved cross surrounded by a series of concentric circles, a common Middle Geometric, and even Protogeometric motif, yet the filling ornament in the corner indicates a later date of Late Geometric, and even Orsi comments on the piece's stylistic relationship to Dipylon works (Orsi 1895: 189–90). As for the Megara Hyblaea examples, with hatched triangles and coaxial chevrons, Coldstream suggests that while they may be Middle Geometric, they may also be slightly later.[5] It seems most unlikely, however, that they represent evidence of any precolonial activity at these two sites.

It is equally unlikely that these sherds represent early Phoenician activity. Archaeological evidence does not support Thucydides' claim that the Phoenicians were resident all around the island before the Greeks arrived. Our earliest evidence for Phoenician settlement on the island dates only from the eighth century at Motya, although Bernabò Brea postulated that elements in the Sicilian material culture of the eleventh to ninth centuries BC belonged

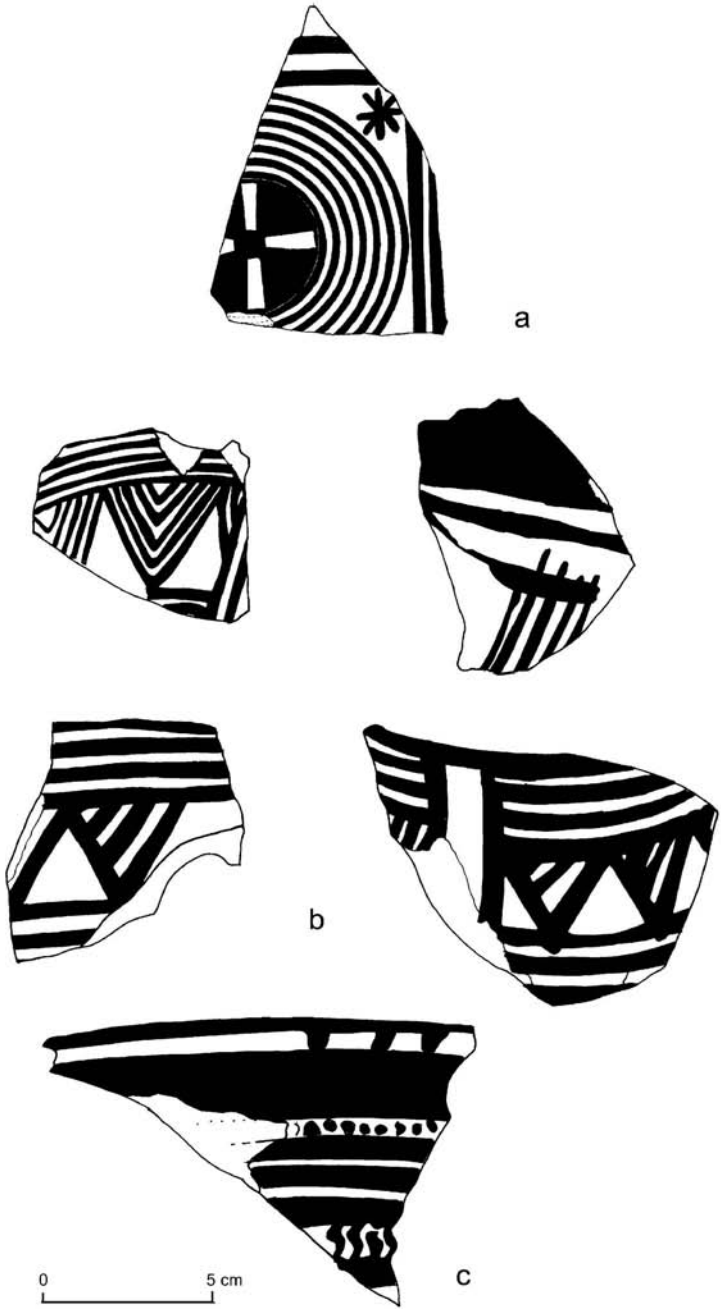


Figure 3.4 Alleged Middle Geometric sherds.
a: Syracuse (after Orsi 1895: fig. 90).
b and c: Megara Hyblaea (after Villard 1982: fig. 1.6 and fig. 6).

to a Mediterranean koine, for which the Phoenicians were the protagonists (Bernabò Brea 1964–65). These aspects, however, such as the elbow and eye fibulas of the tenth and ninth centuries, the strainer-spout jug, and the trilobe oinochoe, the first appearance of which Bernabò Brea dated to the tenth century, cannot be definitively linked to any Phoenician product, nor can they be related to any specific evidence for Phoenician activity during this time. Furthermore, developments in our understanding of the Sicilian Bronze Age and early Iron Age chronology has rendering many of these 'inspirations' chronologically unsustainable. It is now presumed that the trilobe oinochoe form dates to the earliest period of Greek colonization, and probably derives from Greek prototypes (Fouilland *et al.* 1994–95: 542). Iron finger rings from a tenth-century context at Molino della Badia, at one time considered to represent objects that might be of Phoenician manufacture, may very well have been produced in Italy (Tusa, S. 1988–89; La Rosa 1988–89), while strainer-spout jugs were in use in Sicily during the Mycenaean period (Leighton 1981). Products of clear Phoenician manufacture are found in Sicily only in conjunction with Greek material of the eighth century and later. Thus it seems that both Greeks and Phoenicians bypassed Sicily until the eighth century.[6]

Nevertheless, the archaeological history of Sicily's local material culture does not have as tight a chronology as for Greek material found on the island, and important questions have recently been raised regarding the development of our understanding of the chronological Iron Age sequence (Alessandro Guidi and Whitehouse 1996; Leighton 2000b). Conventional chronology indicates a change in the nature of Sicilian ceramics, and to a lesser extent metallurgical products, at the end of the eighth century, when the Greeks first settled on the island. The previous period, the Pantalica South phase, is characterized by serpentine fibulas and painted plumed pottery motifs, and conventionally dated between 850 and 730 BC. Subsequently, these types evolve into a greater variety of fibula forms, such as the gondola shape and those covered with bone and amber beads, and ceramic motifs and vessel shapes, which are in clear imitation of Greek Late Geometric wares. These developments are exemplified in the cemeteries of Finocchito, which has lent its name to this phase, dated absolutely by associated Greek ceramics to c.730–650 BC. The presence or absence of these material chronological indicators has been used to date archaeological contexts that lack absolutely-dated Greek wares.

Yet serpentine fibulas and plumed pottery have recently been found in late eighth- and early seventh-century contexts, alongside material typical of the subsequent phase and in contexts datable by imported wares (most recently Leighton 2000b: 30–40). It could be argued, therefore, that not only did these types have a longer use than previously assumed, but also quite possibly a longer period of production; thus, their presence can no longer serve as fixed chronological indicators. Similarly, the absence of Greek or colonial

pottery may not mean that related contexts must predate colonization. This is the fundamental difficulty with the absolute chronology of the Pantalica South necropolis itself, which seemingly lacks imported Greek material. At Pantalica South during the phase for which the site is eponymous, there is a proliferation of the oinochoe form with trefoil rim. Such forms have also been found at later sites in association with Late Geometric Greek material, of both Sicilian and colonial Greek manufacture (Leighton 2000b: 40). The question has been whether or not the development of the trefoil oinochoe was one of indigenous inspiration that spread to the colonies, which would maintain the current chronology, or of import, which would require reconsideration of the Pantalica South necropolis and its associated absolute chronology.

There are no precedents for a trefoil shape of rim in the traditional Sicilian repertoire of forms (Fouilland *et al.* 1994–95: 542); only round-neck jugs appear in earlier contexts. In Greece, however, the form was particularly popular during the Protogeometric period (Lemos 2002: 67–72), and when the form appears in Greek colonial contexts, it is found with imported antecedents and colonial imitations. It can therefore be justifiably argued that this shape was brought to Sicily by the Greeks. Therefore, the presence of trefoil oinochoai and painted geometric motifs in the southern necropolis of Pantalica must indicate that a certain number of tombs can be dated to after the arrival of the Greeks, even though Greek imports are lacking from identifiable burial contexts. Such an argument gains support from the stray find of a Protocorinthian skyphos fragment from the site (Pelagatti and Voza 1973: 53). Whether it was simply a question of taste or preference not to include Greek material in the graves, or a more culturally significant statement, remains unknown.

Sicilian communities

The arrival of foreign settlers on the coast of Sicily altered the settlement landscape of the island. Many of the Sicilian communities that had occupied littoral regions abandoned the coast and retreated to the mountainous hinterlands. During the late eighth and early seventh centuries, new sites were established in the interior while other ones swelled in size. The population of Finocchito, for instance, along the Tellaro river, increased during the early seventh century, just at the time the Greeks founded nearby Helorus. Many such sites occupied commanding hilltop positions along the network of rivers that led from the interior to the sea. The rapid expansion of Syracuse and its subcolonies across the south-eastern corner of the island during the first half of the seventh century, and subsequent coastal foundations by colonies and subcolonies elsewhere around Sicily, resulted in a population push to the central and western hills of the interior.

Many of these sites demonstrate continuous occupation throughout this

politically turbulent period, as well as cultural continuity through architectural forms. Circular structures, characteristic of Bronze Age settlements throughout Sicily (e.g. Leighton 1999), continued to be standard during the late eighth and seventh centuries, even among recent foundations. At Montagnoli, in the far west of the island, the earliest occupation is dated from the eighth century and characterized by several round structures ranging in area from 12.5 m^2 to 19.6 m^2, with internal benches (Figure 3.5) (Castellana 1992: 195). One in particular, with an internal area of over 40 m^2, is distinguished by painted fine wares, mixing and pouring vessels with impressed decoration, firedogs and an enormous terracotta tray decorated with incised concentric circles, and may be associated with an elite element of the community (Castellana 2000: 267–8; this structure may also have served a community religious function: see below). Monte Castellazzo di Poggioreale at the end of the seventh century had oval and circular buildings that were open around a courtyard with hearths; associated ceramics

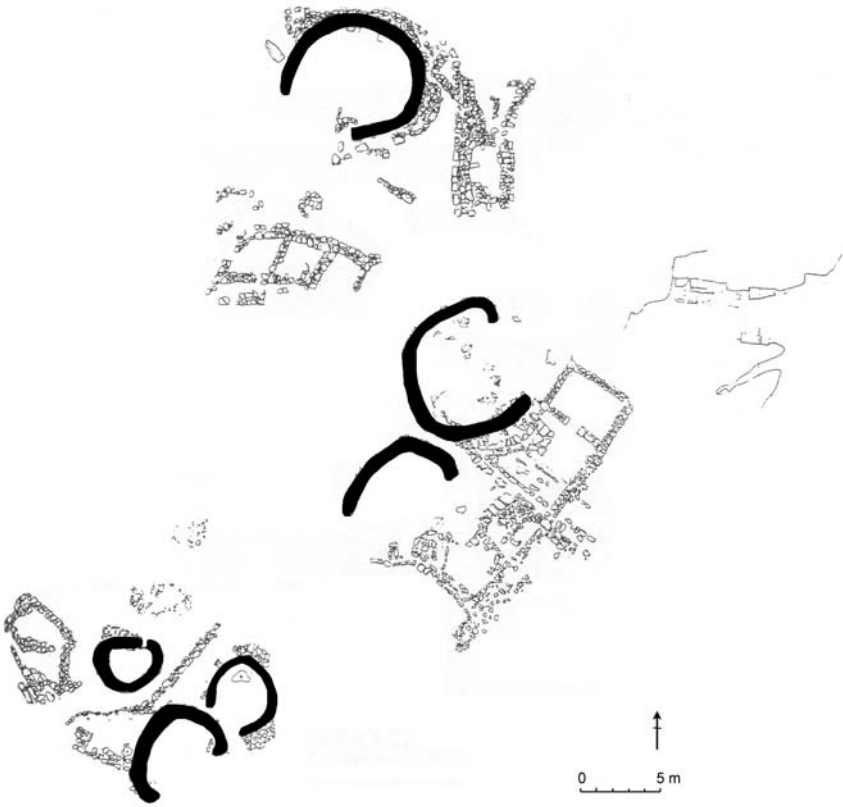


Figure 3.5 Circular houses at Montagnoli (after Castellana 2000: pl. 35).

included Sicilian and Greek wares, although this stratum lay on top of a stratum characterized exclusively by Sicilian types. The settlement of Monte Iato also had circular houses dated to before the first half of the sixth century, in which the associated ceramics were of incised and painted styles typical of the local output. Monte Adranone had elliptical or semicircular structures (Spatafora 1996 with references; see also Spatafora 1997, 2000). In central Sicily, Polizzello circular houses had an area of c.18 m^2, while those of Sabucina ranged from 12.5 m^2 to 28 m^2. Monte Bubbonia, Butera and Vassallaggi, among others, attest similar circular architecture at this time; apsidal structures have been found at Castiglione, Monte San Mauro, Monte San Giuliano and Morgantina (Spatafora 1997 with references).

These house forms are in contrast to the 16 m^2 square structures of the early Greek colonies of Naxos, Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea (Figure 3.6). Although many are lined with a stone bench along one wall, the generally smaller internal area was unlikely to have been worthy of imitation (Leighton 2000d: 35–6). Not all the early colonies used such boxy designs, however. A rectangular building was constructed before the end of the eighth century at Naxos, while a rectilinear multi-roomed structure was built shortly afterwards at Leontini. Apsidal and oval house forms, not unknown in the Greek homeland, do not seem to have been used by the early colonists. Similarly, the earliest Phoenician houses on Sicily, known from Motya, are also quadrangular structures, but slightly more generous in space. Courtyards became more common during the first half of the seventh century. Like their Greek colonial counterparts, especially Megara Hyblaea, a sense of urban planning from the beginning of the settlement is indicated by features such as late eighth-century silos (Famà 2002).

Multi-roomed rectilinear houses are a feature of Greek domestic architecture, and the seventh-century *pastas* form, with two or three adjacent rooms opening onto a common corridor or courtyard area, is one form used in Sicily. Individual *pastas* houses were utilized at Naxos and Megara Hyblaea in association with ritual function and prestige status respectively, and in the sixth century at Akragas, where it is not similarly distinguished. Four such houses were also constructed at Monte San Mauro during the late seventh century (Figure 3.7) and may be attributed to the refounding of the site by the Greeks during the second half of the seventh century, when the settlement takes on almost exclusively Greek material and political ways of life (Frasca 1997). Leighton has recently countered that features of the individual *pastas* houses contain elements of Sicilian continuity, such as the lack of orthogonal plans and unpaved interiors, and the presence of traditional cooking installations, sunken storage pithoi with barley, wheat and legumes, lava millstones and loomweights, while the Greek elements should be interpreted as reflections of local concessions to modernization in a Hellenizing world (Leighton 2000a). In fact, this community was more likely a mixed one. Greeks consumed more than just olives and grapes, and loomweights, pithoi contents

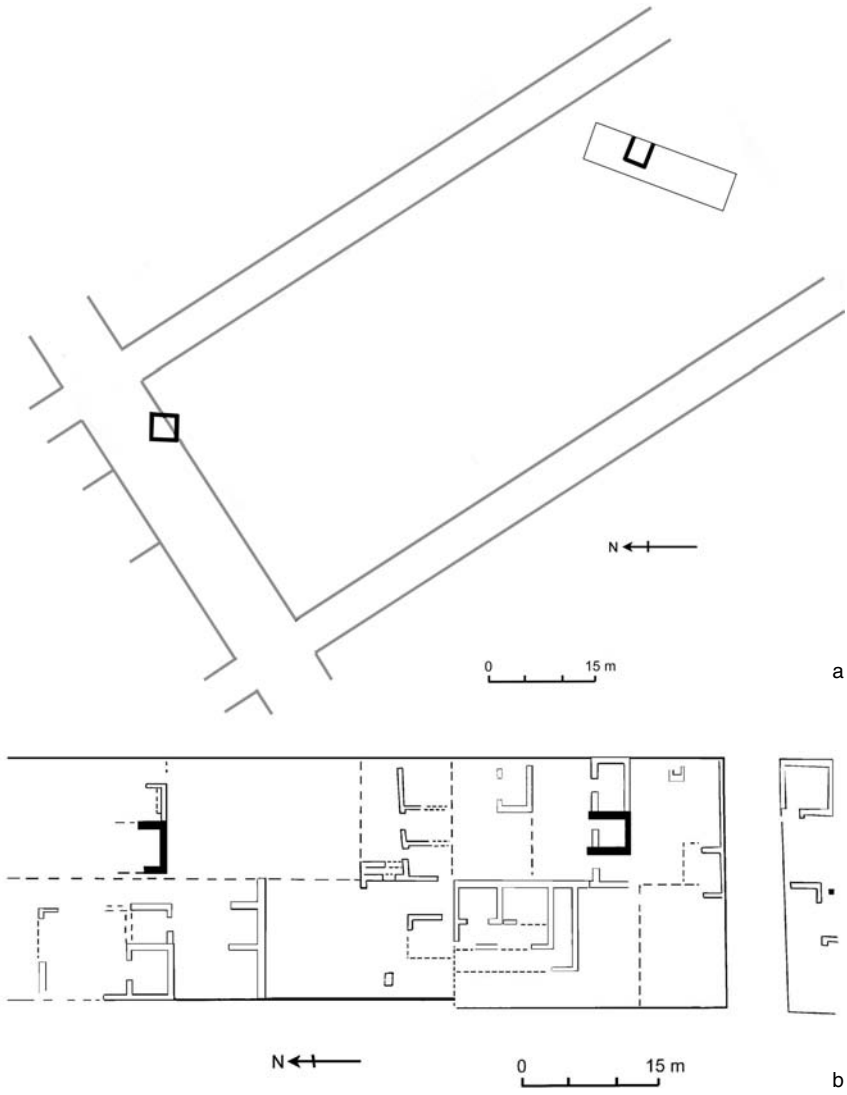
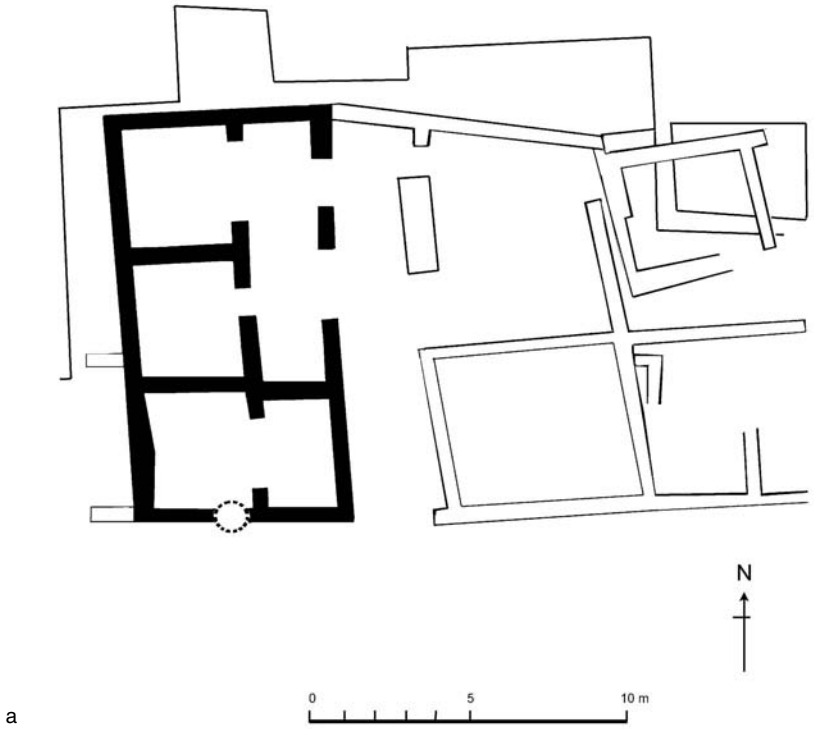
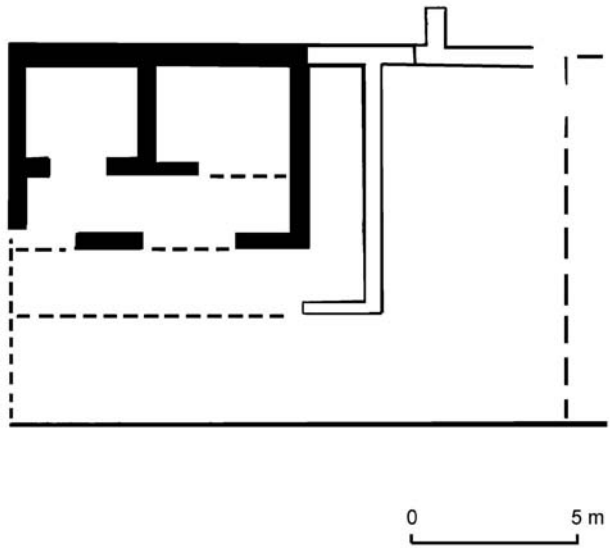


Figure 3.6 Square houses of the Greek colonies.
a: Syracuse (after Pelagatti 1982: fig. 5).
b: Megara Hyblaea (after Villard *et al.* 1976: fig. 34).

and grinding stones are necessary for daily life in any community; the hearth design and sunken storage may be indicative of Greek members of the community who learned from their Sicilian neighbours as much as they might indicate resident Sicilians. However, the terracing itself may account for the



a



b

Figure 3.7 *Pastas* house plans.
a: Naxos (after Lentini 1984–85: fig. 2).
b: Megara Hyblaea (after Fusaro 1982: fig. 23). (*Continued*)

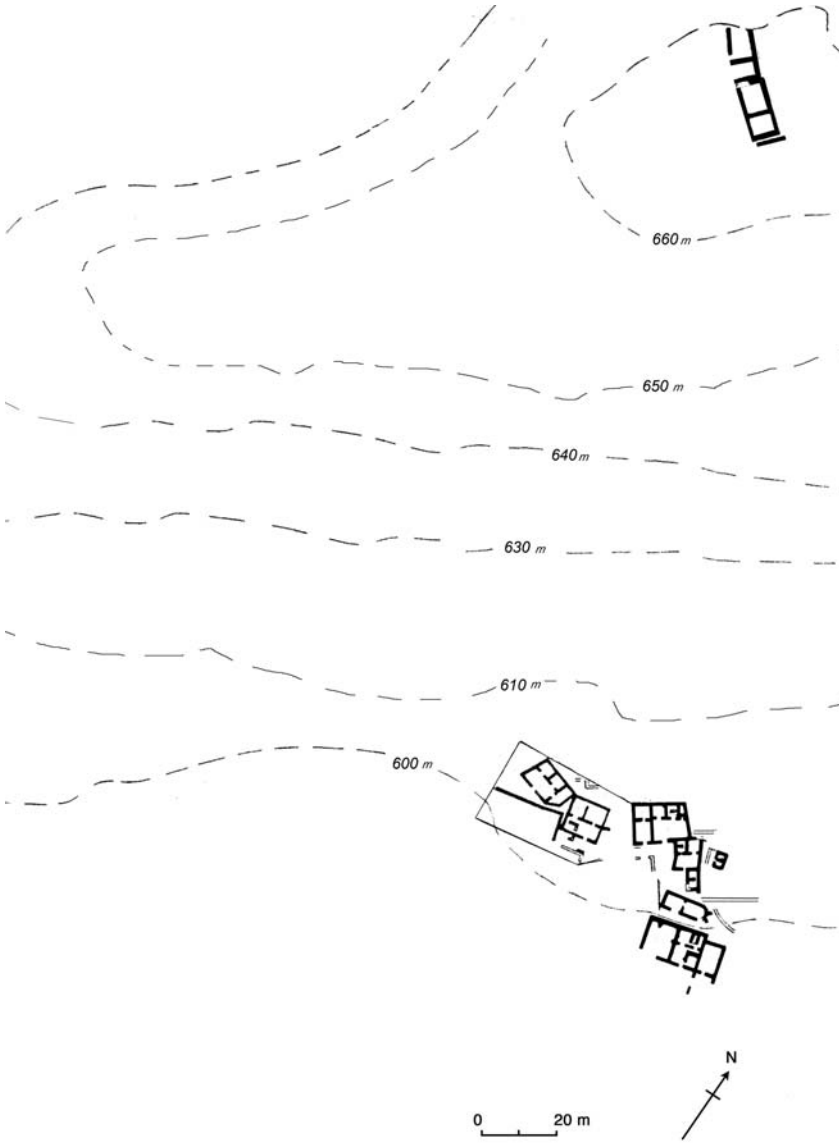


Figure 3.7 c: Monte San Mauro (after Spigo 1986: pl. 2).

trapezoidal shape of three of the buildings, while floors were not always paved in the Greek or Phoenician colonies (the early houses of Megara Hyblaea and Motya had simple beaten earth floors, for instance). Furthermore, *arulae* or portable house altars, which are a distinctive and explicit feature of Greek domestic religious traditions, were found in abundance – at least ten – in these *pastas* buildings, which may have served a function with regard to the monumental building on the acropolis. Finally, the presence of Greek law-codes in the Chalkidian alphabet and Ionian dialect indicates a more aggressive control by Leontini over the settlement. Political domination does not reveal who all the inhabitants were, only what laws they were subject to. The refoundation of the site included a substantial settlement of Greeks, but this community was not a replica of a Greek city-state. Even though material elements may be predominantly Greek, these are clearly being reinterpreted in this culturally-mixed context to produce a hybrid community that unites elements of former habits and customs of all populations involved.

The tradition of rectilinear houses also exists in specific early Iron Age Sicilian contexts and is one that is independent of Greek models. This form finds its origins in the Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age settlements on Lipari, associated by ceramics with the Ausonian culture. Such structures have been found at pre-Greek Morgantina and Leontini (most recently Leighton 2000a with references). Some of these structures are quite large – one at Morgantina is 18.75 m × 4.25 m – and often have low stone benches running along the inside against the wall. Cooking, food storage, spinning and weaving took place in these buildings.

During the sixth century, many communities began to adopt more formal urban elements already widely in use in the Greek colonies, in particular. Circular styles were replaced by rectilinear structures, perhaps somewhat sooner in central Sicily than the western region, and attributed to Geloan influences (Spatafora 1997: 154), while general urban layouts took on more formal plans. Often this change goes hand-in-hand with other elements of cultural adoption, including in the spheres of ceramic consumption patterns and religious practices. Monte Saraceno di Ravanusa, in the hinterland of Gela, had previously consisted of circular houses, some of which were quite sizeable and may have served a religious or community function. During the sixth century, the settlement was redesigned with a more regular layout of multi-roomed rectilinear houses constructed along orthogonal roads. The lower terrace of was constructed with regularized blocks along major avenues (*plateiai*) and minor cross streets (*stenopoi*), similar to developments at Akragas at this time, and a city wall was constructed (Figure 3.8) (Calderone *et al.* 1996; Calderone 1999). Sacred buildings were built on the acropolis of the site that remained in use into the fifth century.

The plan of one of the buildings, without a colonnade, is rectangular and bipartite. The remains of two *arulae* and a terracotta statuette of an offerant with a piglet[7] nearby confirm the strong influence of Hellenic practices. This

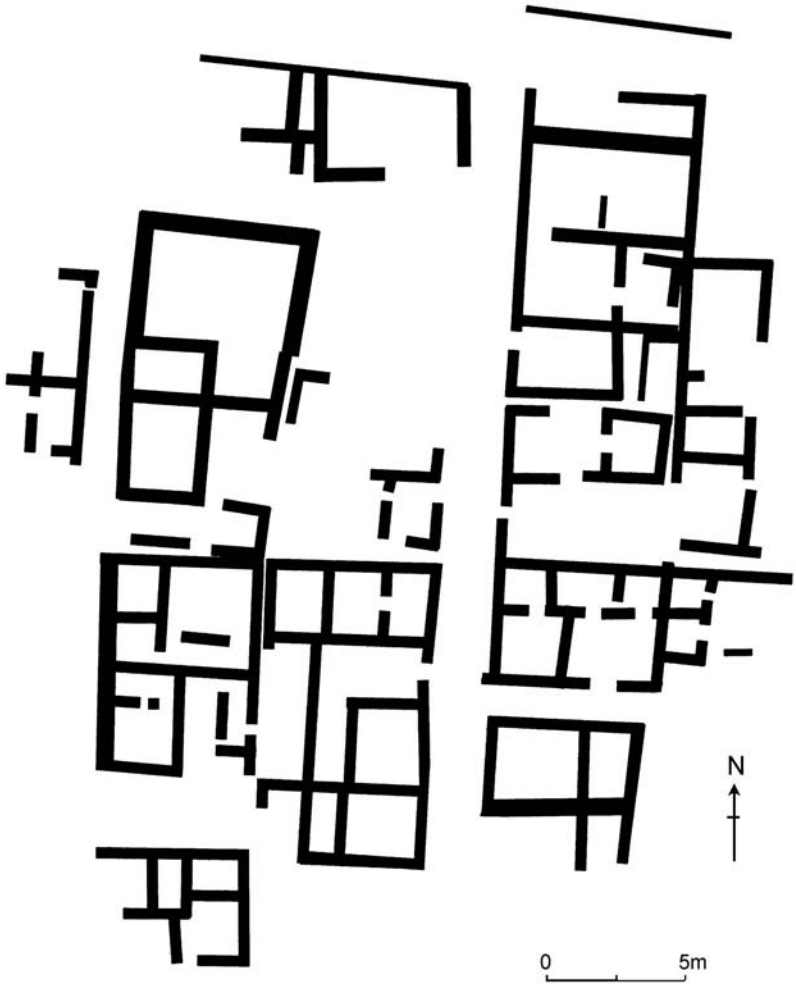


Figure 3.8 Monte Saraceno di Ravanusa sixth-century town planning (after Calderone *et al.* 1996: fig. 5).

temple utilizes the Greek form known as *oikos*, a rectangular plan with an entrance along the short side of the solid wall (Figure 3.9).[8] The basic idea is a simple rectangular building, variously subdivided, and without a peristyle, usually used for chthonic cults (for the significance of the lack of peristyle, see Siracusano 1989: 64). Variations of the *oikos* form appear in various Greek and non-Greek contexts in Sicily. For instance, sometimes the first room acts almost like a vestibule, such as in the late sixth-century South temple of Megara Hyblaea, the Anaktoron of Monte San Mauro, temple C of Himera

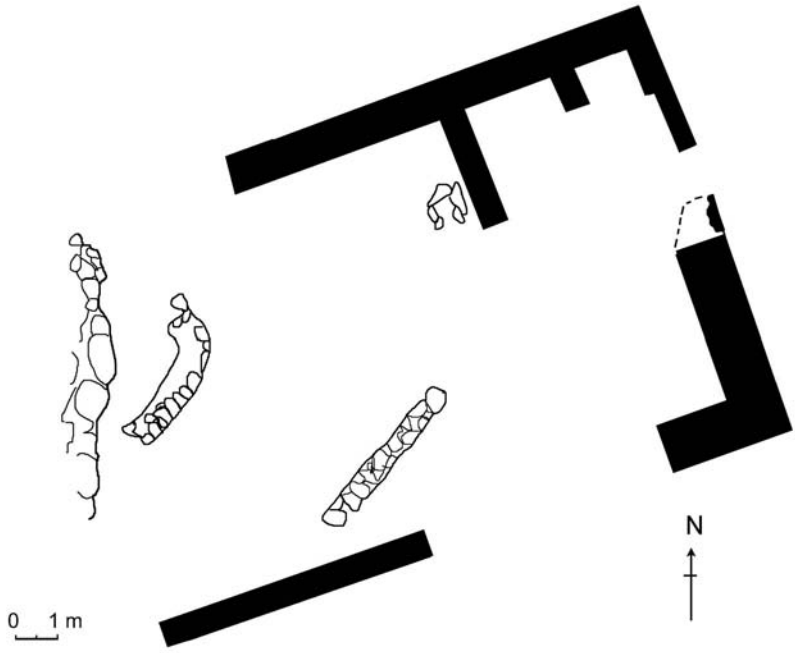


Figure 3.9 *Oikos* plan of Monte Saraceno di Ravanusa temple (after Calderone *et al.* 1996: fig. 13).

(at least with regard to the distribution of space, with a somewhat deep vestibule and a second longer room, but not for the building technique or cult practice), and at Monte Saraceno di Ravanusa. Elsewhere, the first room is bigger, while the second room lies deep within the first, more like an *adyton*, as at building VI at Gela, Temple A at Himera, the Aphrodite temple at Monte Iato, and the Archaic shrine at Vassallaggi. Yet another variation does not seem to show any such hierarchy in the subdivision of the building, as in building VII on the Gela acropolis, the Archaic shrine of Monte Bubbonia, the shrine on the edge of the habitation area of the upper terrace at Monte Saraceno di Ravanusa, or the little temple with spiral akrotiria at Selinus (Siracusano 1989: 55, notes 15 and 16 with references).

The settlement of Monte Bubbonia is another hilltop site, strategically placed to manage the valley routes down to the Gela plain. During the sixth century, the site similarly underwent a rapid transformation, adopting many aspects of Greek urbanism. The city wall was first constructed at this time, with an access artery, while the settlement itself took on a more formal, orthogonal layout. Two large rectangular buildings were erected, one on the acropolis and one on the northern hill. These structures were built along Greek models, with Greek-style architectural terracottas, and votive terracottas

found in a contemporary bothros, with bird, rabbit and pig bones attesting ritual practice (Pancucci 1977; Pancucci and Naro 1992).

Monte Iato, like other sites, also underwent a dramatic transformation during the sixth century (Isler 1991, 1993). The site was occupied at least during the tenth and ninth centuries, but settlement remains of this time were badly cut by structures built in the mid-sixth century as part of urban redevelopment, although the earlier settlement seems to be characterized by circular houses and outside hearths. A temple was constructed in 550 BC and dedicated to Aphrodite. It was built in a tripartite, *oikos* form with a closed room in the back, which was used as an *adyton* for animal sacrifice on an altar. Votive deposits contained imported drinking vessels side by side with banded bowls of local manufacture, reminding us of the evolving nature of status reflection and social norms in these communities at this time; the use of imported drinking vessels may no longer have been preserved for the most elite of any community, but was enjoyed by an increasing number of community members, regardless of where they were and what cultural identity they might have maintained.

Some settlements were already using quadrangular building plans before the end of the seventh century, however. The Archaic settlement at Ramacca, in the western part of the Catania Plain, had adopted quadrilinear architecture in its domestic contexts during the seventh century, although the site was destroyed in the early sixth century before being subsequently rebuilt (Procelli and Albanese 1992: 143–6; Patanè and Felici 2002). Prior to its destruction, there was a large elongated building covering an area 13.3 m × 3.9 m, called building N and dated to the seventh and early sixth centuries. There were no internal divisions within the structure, but there was a low bench along three walls and a small, circular hearth (Figure 3.10). The roof was probably made of organic material. The ceramics from the building are typical of many assemblages from Sikel settlements of this period, including colonial two-handled drinking cups and trefoil oinochoai, Sikel bowls and large pithoi. The excavators interpret the structure as one with a domestic rather than public function, given the small size of the hearth, suitable for cooking, and the benches, which would have been used to store foodstuffs (Patanè and Felici 2002: 213–14). It may have been the residence of the community leader, distinguished by its form and size. Although the rectangular plan is well documented in Greek colonial contexts, Greek buildings of this date used roof tiles (Vallet *et al.* 1976: 255–7). Other similar-sized structures in nearby settlements were subdivided, such as the Four Room Building of Morgantina, or the Anaktoron of Monte San Mauro di Caltagirone. Thus, only some characteristics of Greek models seem to have been adopted here, reinterpreted presumably to accord with local needs.

When Vassallaggi was founded in the seventh century, the urban area was organized into blocks, with various residential complexes, including multi-roomed houses, around a courtyard (although a different form of

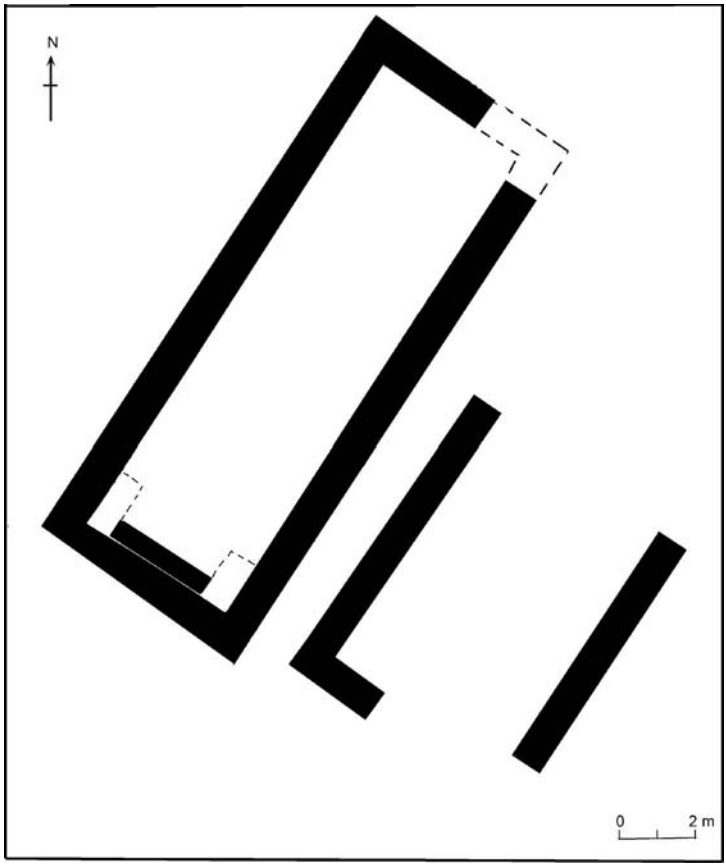


Figure 3.10 Building N, Ramacca (after Patanè and Felici 2002: fig. 8).

courtyard house from the *pastas* form) (Figure 3.11). By the sixth century, the settlement also boasted a city wall and an agora, as well as an intramural, enclosed sacred area, with a central little *oikos*-form temple and an altar in front, surrounded by a series of buildings in service to the sanctuary (Figure 3.12), all of which are typical of the cultic architectural tradition of Greek Sicily (Romeo 1989). But as we shall see below, other elements of the material culture of Vassallaggi demonstrate persistent Sicilian traditions.

The redevelopment of Morgantina during the later sixth century followed Greek urban and architectural models, like many other sites in the region. The community replaced earlier structures with building complexes aligned along narrow streets. Greek-style monumental buildings were constructed in several areas of the site utilizing Greek building techniques, often decorated with architectural terracottas and Ionic-style stone mouldings, but not

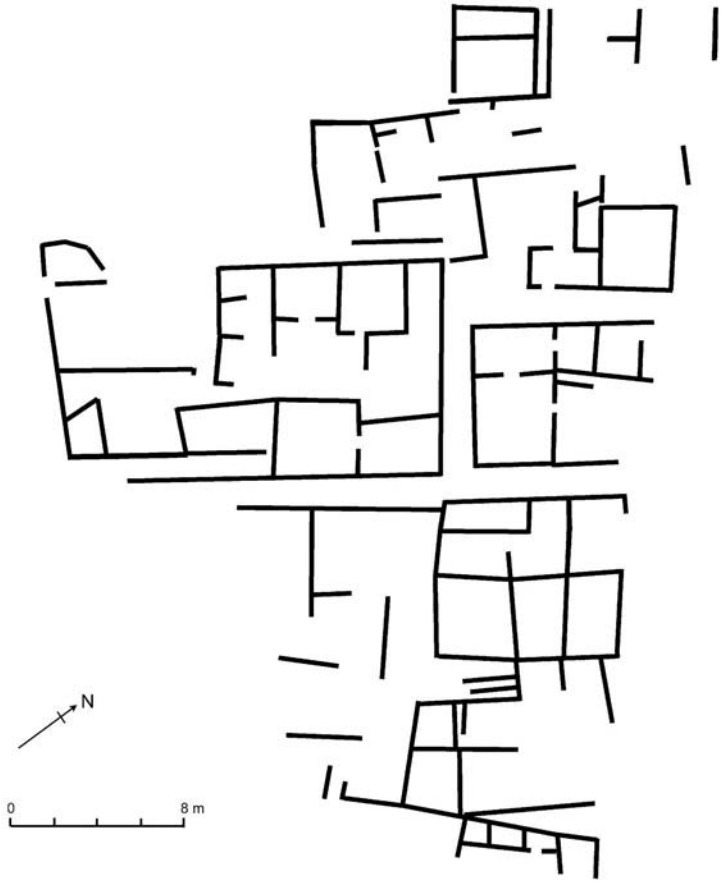


Figure 3.11 Vassallaggi seventh-century town plan (after Pizzo 1998–99: fig. 3).

necessarily always following the strict Greek cannon: the early form of one *naiskos* on the summit measured 35 m × 7 m and had a pitched tile roof, yet the building had no peristyle (Antonaccio 1997).

Sabucina seems to tell a similar tale of selective adoption (Orlandini 1963, 1965, 1968; Sedita Migliore 1981; De Miro 1999). The Iron Age settlement founded during the early seventh century had multi-roomed rectangular buildings with rock-cut foundations.[9] They were organized around yards with drainage channels and water cisterns. Towards the middle of the sixth century, the settlement shifted to a higher part of the hill, and an initial fortification wall was constructed. The plans of these houses maintained a rectangular layout, and were oriented orthogonally with respect to the defensive wall. Increasing Greek influence can be seen by the fifth century, when

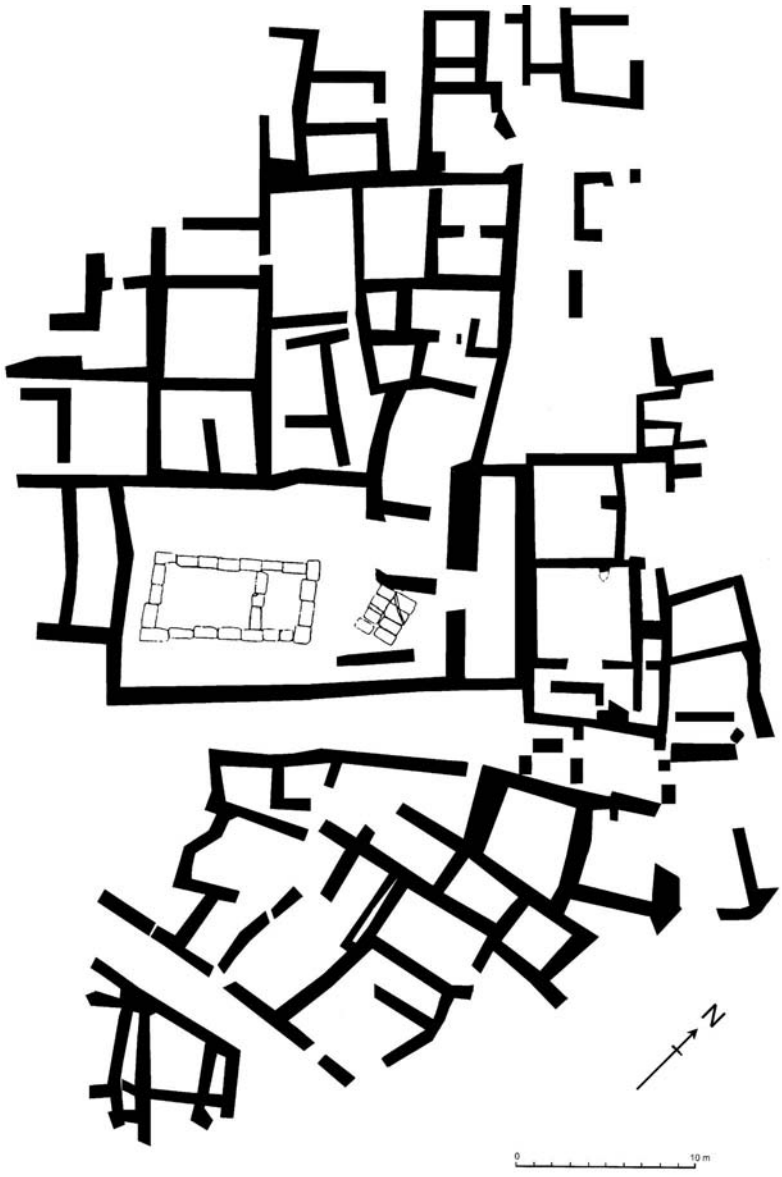


Figure 3.12 Vassallaggi sixth-century sacred area plan (after Pizzo 1998–99: fig. 4).

buildings were decorated in a Greek colonial style, with gorgons and silenus antefix figures recalling Syracusan and Geloan models. Yet throughout this period, circular structures typical of the Bronze and early Iron Age continued to be used for religious purposes (see below for further discussion).

In contrast, the sanctuary at Segesta during the sixth and fifth centuries utilized Greek forms of religious architecture, as illustrated by a rectangular temenos and two Doric buildings. Yet these buildings do not contain any of the terracotta goddess figurines or ceramics associated with Greek cult practice at this time, but rather were associated with ceramics with painted motifs typical of western Sicilian production (Tusa 1987–88). The vessels inscribed in Elymian from nearby Grotta Vanella imply that this sanctuary was not frequented by those who followed Greek religion. Despite elements of Greek religious tradition – architecture – the sanctuary seems to have been used in a manner consistent with traditional Sicilian religious practices.

Despite the adoption of elements of Greek urbanism at Sicilian sites, there were settlements that did not do so. At Monte Maranfusa, in western Sicily far inland along the Belice river, the habitation area of sixth-century date does not seem to follow the Greek model of aligned urban development, although rectilinear structures were used. Each building consists of two or three rooms clustered around an open courtyard, where the remains of hearths suggest that the cooking for the household took place there (Figure 3.13). The construction technique is consistent with that found in local sites of the protohistoric period: dry stone wall constructed of irregularly cut medium-sized blocks. One building had an apsidal corner, which recalls the circular and apsidal structures of earlier periods in Sicily. Grinding platforms inside two different structures suggest an economy based on the production of household products; there is no evidence of another type of specialist activity. The aggregation of small rooms around courtyards suggests a social organization that privileges the nuclear family and household production, rather than an urban economy (Spatafora and Fresina 1993; Spatafora 1997).

These examples serve to reveal that while elements of Greek forms of architecture and town planning were adopted over the course of the seventh and sixth centuries, they were utilized in ways that accorded with local needs and preferences, sometimes side by side with traditional architectural forms. Architectural continuity may be observed in the continued use of circular structures expressly for religious purposes, or modified forms of Greek temples to accord with contemporary preferences for the community. The selectivity of aspects of Greek architectural and town planning traditions that were adopted and adapted leads one to argue that generalizations about the influence of Greek architecture upon the various Sicilian populations cannot be made. Individual settlements used only particular aspects of Greek architectural and urban ideas, and not necessarily the same ones as a neighbouring site. This is why the localized context must be emphasized in any study of the impact of foreign settlement, since responses were neither identical nor uniform.

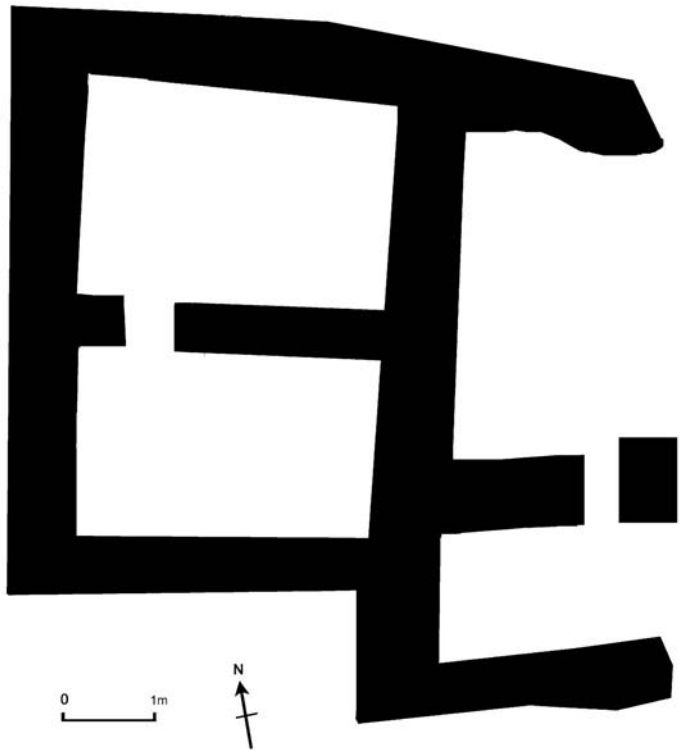


Figure 3.13 Monte Maranfusa sixth-century house plan (after Spatafora 1997: pl. 13.1).

Burial customs

A chamber tomb cut into bedrock was the preferred method of formal burial throughout Sicily since the Copper Age (although with antecedents in the Middle Neolithic: Mannino 1991: 74; Leighton 1999), although variation in the shape and size of these can be observed throughout Sicilian prehistory. By the early Iron Age, in eastern Sicily chamber tombs seem to take the form of either circular chambers, such as at Pantalica, or else more elliptical or quadrangular in shape, and with flat ceilings, as can be found at Finocchito, Leontini, Noto, Tremenzano and Villasmundo. Many of these chambers had lateral rock-cut shelves or benches on which the deceased would be laid out, or with their heads resting on a raised ledge. At some sites, such as Villasmundo and Leontini, there were vestibules or antechambers, where offerings may have been left for the dead. Sometimes, the chambers consisted of a series of rectangular rock-cut chambers with little corridors and side

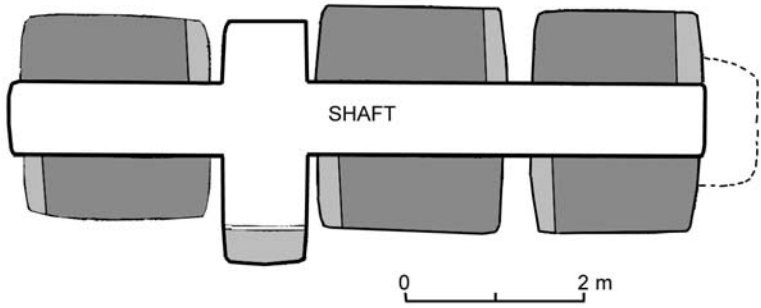


Figure 3.14 Licodia Eubea tomb plan (after Orsi 1898: fig. 2).

rooms, which occasionally had a rock-cut burial pillow for the deceased, as at Licodia Eubea (Figure 3.14) (Orsi 1898).

During the seventh and sixth centuries, elaborate architectural features such as pitched ceilings and the more elaborate klinai become more common. Sometimes the chambers were entered through vertical shafts, such as at Monte Casasia. At Morgantina, it seems that irregularly rounded plans of chambers were used in the Early Iron Age, while trapezoidal and rectangular forms were preferred later, particularly during the sixth and fifth centuries. Most of these cemeteries did not have a rigid, planned layout. Rather, the natural landscape determined the location of individual chambers, although occasionally the appearance of façade alignment was created, as at Villasmundo.

Throughout this time, multiple burial remained common. At Monte Casasia, for instance, the dead were inhumed together in groups of three to six individuals, perhaps indicative of nuclear families (Frasca 2000). At Villasmundo, as many as 20 individuals were recorded in a single chamber tomb. Bodies were often placed in contracted positions, but supine depositions were far from uncommon.

In western Sicily, rock-cut chamber tombs also prevailed until the end of the sixth century. The dead of Polizzello were interred together in circular and quadrangular rock-cut chamber tombs that were sometimes preceded by a dromos, although during the sixth century, individual burials in niches and child inhumations in earthen fossas or pithoi (*enchytrismos*) outside the entrance to the chamber tombs appear (Fiorentini 1999). At Sant'Angelo Muxaro, a few of the circular chamber tombs had a rock-cut, raised bench similar to those found in eastern Sicily (where such benches are usually found in rectilinear chambers rather than circular ones: Albanese Procelli 1982: 629–30) upon which in some cases deceased had been laid to rest, raised above tens of other dead. It is this context from which come the famous gold rings and repoussé bowls. Such goldwork is almost unique in contemporary Sicily, and while the objects and their contexts, particularly in the case of the gold finger ring on a skeleton lying on the elevated bier, may be taken as evidence for a

local, wealthy elite (Palermo 1996), the goldwork itself may also represent one of the few examples of Phoenician goods in a non-colonial context at this time.[10]

Changes in burial custom among the Sicilian populations occur during the seventh century but become particularly widespread during the sixth and fifth centuries BC. The adoption of cremation and single inhumation forms of burial are often viewed as evidence of the influence of foreign customs and traditions. Many of the Greek colonies buried their dead in a number of ways, with different burial methods and receptacles viewed as reflective of distinctions in social status and inter-colony competitive emulation (Snodgrass 1986: 51; Shepherd 1995). Greek burial types in Sicily include the various forms of fossa grave, a rectangular trench surrounded by a shallow ledge to support stone covering slabs or terracotta rooftiles; tile-built; sarcophagus (constructed of stone slabs, terracotta, or rock-cut); primary and secondary cremation; and jar inhumation for infants (*enchytrismos*)[11] (Figure 3.15). Wooden coffins, attested by the remains of iron nails and sometimes pieces of wood, were also used.

Cremation was the preferred method of burial for the Phoenicians in their homeland and abroad (although inhumation was not unknown in Phoenicia). The necropolis of Motya is characterized by over 100 cremation burials, the earliest dating to the end of the eighth century. Palermo has evidence for both primary and secondary cremation. During the first half of the sixth century, however, the Phoenicians also began to adopt single inhumation practices, at the same time as it becomes widespread elsewhere in Sicily. At Palermo, single cist inhumations appear at this time, while more elaborate cists with lateral niches and headrests were used at Solunto (Greco 1997a, 1997b). The Phoenicians also utilized chamber tombs, but in a different manner from their Sicilian neighbours. At Palermo, for instance, the chambers were generally rectangular or trapezoidal, and the dead were placed inside sarcophagi in the chambers (Di Stefano 1999: 232). A change to inhumation during the sixth century in Phoenician contexts is not limited just to Sicily, however. Even at Carthage, inhumation became more common during this time (Aubet 2001: 332). Its adoption in Sicily, therefore, may be related to developments in the central Mediterranean Phoenician world rather than specific influence from the Greeks in Sicily alone.[12]

Nevertheless, the presence of these new and very different forms of burial among communities that had previously used multiple inhumation in chamber tombs, or the inclusion of such forms in chamber tombs where collective inhumation continued, have traditionally been interpreted as evidence for the adoption of foreign customs, particularly Greek burial customs, whether influenced from afar or through joint settlement with Greeks. It is difficult to associate these new forms with a sense of higher social display, however, unless the form itself is the representation, for often associated grave goods are not significantly more prestigious. Despite the adoption of new forms of

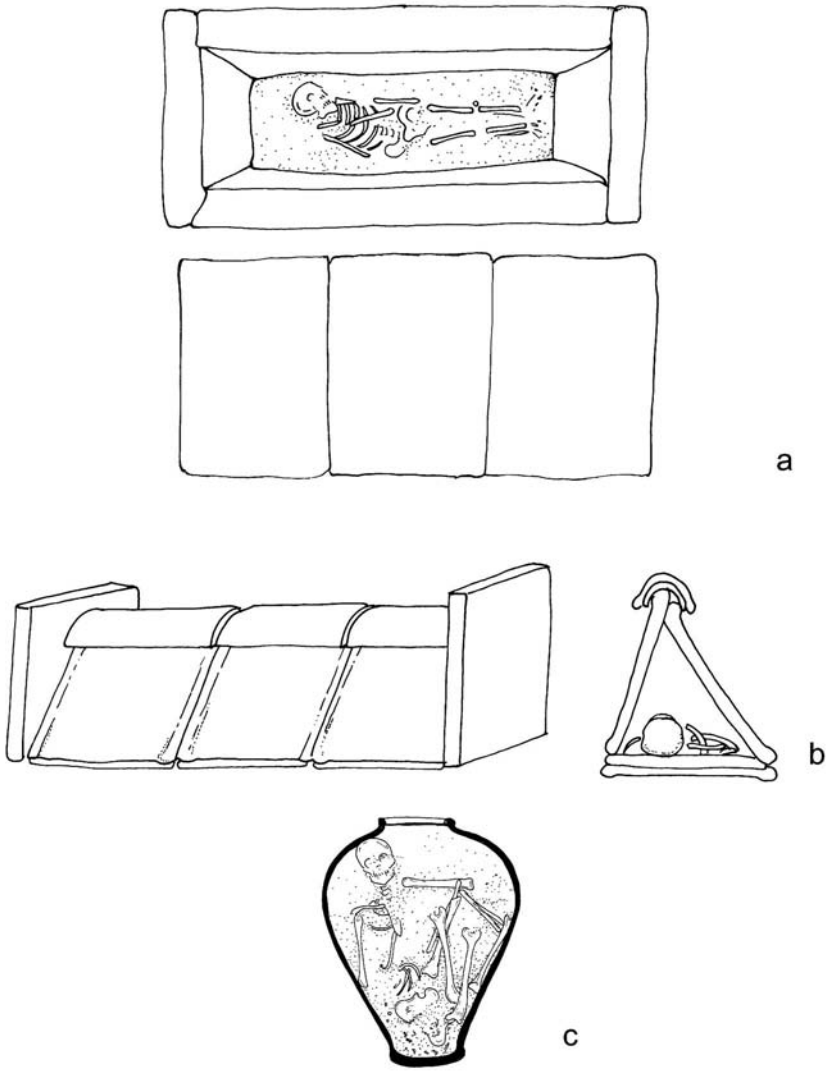


Figure 3.15 Greek forms of burial.
a: sarcophagus; b. *a cappuccina*; c: jar inhumation (*enchytrismos*).

burial, a number of communities continued to observe traditional burial customs, and the new burial methods were often used side by side with traditional forms. At Morgantina, for instance, chamber tombs continued to be utilized throughout the fifth century, with occasional reuse in the fourth century and later. In many of these, individual inhumations and the

occasional cremation were interred in the floor of the chamber. Here, any community-wide correlation between burial in a Greek style of grave and the use/presence of imported pottery as a means of status display cannot be sustained, since the Greek-type tombs at Morgantina did not have a greater proportion of imported pottery, but rather the opposite seems to be true (Lyons 1996b). Thus, in the case of Morgantina, burial customs on their own may have been the community's choice of status display, rather than the interment of imported pottery, or vice versa, or they may be better related more broadly to personal histories and cultural backgrounds than status within the community.

At Castiglione, chamber tombs were in use from the eighth century to the sixth century, sometimes continuously, as attested by pottery, which included local pouring, mixing and drinking wares of the Finocchito and Licodia Eubea traditions supplemented by Middle and Late Corinthian containers of various sizes (lekythoi, aryballoi, pyxides, kothones) and Ionian B2 drinking cups. By the sixth century, Greek burial forms such as cist graves, *a cappuccina* and *enchytrismos* burials had been introduced. While these are generally associated with the adoption of Greek burial forms, the presence of several individuals, sometimes adults and children, in a single grave may be a local custom reminiscent of multiple burials. The choice of Greek ceramic shapes implies a greater knowledge of Greek burial practices than otherwise observed outside colonial necropoleis, however. Most such sites inter a range of drinking vessels, yet here the emphasis is on scent containers of varying sizes. In the Greek world, scent is as much associated with the dead as with the living, and such containers are commonly used in preparing the body for burial and often interred within the grave (see the discussion in Shanks 1999: 172–5; residue analysis suggests that some perfumes were pungent rather than floral). The Castiglione burials suggest that this community was particularly cognisant of these Greek customs and found them worthwhile to adopt (there is no small jar shape, or box-like container, in the Sikel ceramic repertoire), perhaps interpreting the associated rituals, which are not visible archaeologically, in a manner consistent with other local traditions. There is little sense of individual status display through the use of these vessels, however, and perhaps may be better viewed in terms of community display.

The community at Monte Bubbonia during the late sixth and early fifth centuries used a variety of burial methods, including traditional circular and chamber forms (including a subdivided chamber tomb dated to the end of the sixth century), as well as Greek types such as *a cappuccina*, sarcophagus, *enchytrismos* and earthen fossa graves. The chamber tombs had a higher proportion of traditional ceramic forms, particularly bowls, amphoras and trilobe oinochoai similar to examples from Licodia Eubea and Monte Casasia, supplemented by Greek and colonial skyphoi, kothones and Ionian bowls. In contrast, the burials of Greek type, particularly the *a cappuccina* graves, were distinguished by imported Late Corinthian and Attic Black Figure pottery,

bronze and silver jewellery, and Greek-style statuettes. Within these, however, every burial also contained a one-handled thick-walled bowl with a trilobe jug inside (Pancucci and Naro 1992). Oinochoai and bowls are standard features of Sicilian burial tradition, with antecedents in the Bronze Age. Such continuity of tradition can also be seen at Morgantina, where nearly every tomb of the Archaic period contained small oinochoai and an almost equal number of bowls (Lyons 1996b). Thus, the mixing of practices varies from community to community at this time.

This is, perhaps, most vivid at Butera, where burials of types other than multiple inhumation in chamber tombs begin to appear during the second quarter of the seventh century. At this time, rites such as *enchytrismos* burials for infants and secondary cremations for adults, as well as fossa inhumations, begin to be utilized to such an extent that a cemetery with these burial forms would not be out of context at Archaic Gela, which is credited with the introduction of such rites, and the proximity of Butera to the Greek colony may explain the early introduction of Greek burial methods. One such custom is decapitation of the dead, or *akephalia*, which in the case of Butera, involved the inhumation of the head and cremation of the body (Albanese Procelli 1997b: 520). A decapitation rite has no recent antecedents in Sicilian tradition,[13] while in the Greek world it is associated with Cretan custom. Cretans were among the founders of Gela, along with Rhodians, so it has been presumed that the custom was adopted from Gela, where only a few examples have been found, or introduced by Cretan settlers at Butera itself (Adamesteanu 1958, 1994–95; Rizza 1984–85; Panvini 2003).

These headless burials were, in fact, partial cremation burials in which the cremated body remains were placed inside large storage jars, such as pithoi and amphoras, along with whole skulls or skull fragments. Some of these were found in a cist built into the wall of a stone-foundation building, perhaps a shrine (Guzzone 1985–86). Many of the associated grave goods were of local forms and traditional types, including the personal ornaments and pithoi decorated with plumed patterns. This mixing of traditions can be explained by remembering that the adoption of selective elements of Greek culture do not necessarily have to be used in the same, specific manner they were originally intended. Thus, the fact that residents of Butera demonstrated a preference for headless burials, which are, in fact, not particularly common at Gela, suggests that the rite held certain significance to the Buteran community, perhaps as a means of reflecting elevated status, given the location of the burials as well as the rite itself.

Similar status may be indicated in a monumental chamber tomb at Castiglione of the early sixth century (Cordano and di Salvatore 2002). Inside the chamber was a large fossa grave, with six decapitated heads aligned along the edge of the fossa. The grave goods include a mix of imported and local vessels, including a Chalkidian krater, two lamps, a B1 kylix, and a local amphora. This tomb was further embellished with a carved limestone sculpture of a

horseman, further indication of the status of the deceased (see below). The sculptural theme may indicate a relationship between this form of burial and a warrior class of Sicilian society. An association between fighters and those accorded this special form of funerary treatment may be reiterated in the collective deposition of skulls at sixth-century Rossomanno, in which a series of chamber tombs contained skulls on the chamber floor or collected in large bowls of traditional type. The careful placement of many of the crania indicates a deliberate practice for the community, perhaps in acknowledgement of a battle (Albanese Procelli 2003: 170, who speculates it may also have been an epidemic, although one might wonder if there would have been time for such careful, formal practice in the face of such outbreak).

Evidence for class differentiation within a single community can be demonstrated in the necropolis of Polizzello through the deposition placements of the dead and in grave goods. Some members of the community were interred within rock-cut chamber tombs, while others – adults and children – were buried in shallow graves outside the entrance to the chambers, suggesting that they were of a status (class or age) so as to not be accorded a grander place of rest. A sense of social hierarchy is reiterated by the grave goods interred within the chamber tombs themselves. The chamber tomb burials included a variety of familiar funerary objects, including drinking and pouring vessels of imported and local manufacture, and fibulas. Those buried in tomb 25, however, seem to have been a particularly wealthy family during the seventh century, as they were buried with a cache of Egyptianizing scarabs in addition to the standard elite pottery and metal goods (De Miro 1988).[14] Scarabs are unusual, but not unknown, in Sicilian contexts (see below). Their presence here implies a greater international awareness than seen in other communities in the interior of the island at this time.

In western Sicily, the introduction of single inhumation and other methods of burial do not appear largely until the later sixth century and particularly during the fifth century. Thus, chamber tombs with multiple inhumations were in use at Vassallaggi from the seventh century to the first half of the fifth century, and the burials contained within had traditional contemporary assemblages of local oinochoai, bowls and jugs, as well as imported black glaze and banded lekythoi, typical of burials elsewhere during this period (Gullì 1990, 1991; Pizzo 1998–99). During the first half of the fifth century, however, a cluster of *a cappuccina* graves were constructed within the main necropolis, suggesting that by this time, burial forms were used as a means of social-standing display.

Vassallaggi's graves of the second half of the fifth century, which have been linked to the post-Ducetian resettlement of the site, reflect a greater range of Greek burial methods and forms, with sarcophagi and *a cappuccina* tombs reserved for adults and *enchytrismoi* for children; there are also rare examples of primary and secondary cremation. Male graves of this phase are characterized by the inclusion of an iron knife or dagger inside a krater, and a strigil.

Oinochoai, amphoras and pelikes were secondary choices. Those graves that contained exclusively Attic vessels appear to be the richest, since they always included the metal-edged tools; those that contained a krater or oinochoe in local fabric did not always include a strigil amongst the grave goods. The importation of Attic vessels may therefore be interpreted as a reflection of the wealth of the individuals and the community as a whole, and as a social statement in discourse with standards of the Greek world and elsewhere in the Mediterranean at this time.

The strong relationship between the inclusion of kraters, strigils and knives in graves associated with males reflects the hybrid nature of this fifth-century Sicilian community, for here there is a mixture of the Greek status and cultural values of the male symposium and emphasis on athletic prowess alongside the Sicilian custom of weapons burial.[15] (In Italy the burial of arms in non-colonial funerary contexts is viewed as a sign of the local aristocracy adopting practices that reflect Greek-inspired traditions of demonstrating social status: Mazzei 1996. The presence of arms in Phoenician contexts may also provide a model for Sicily, however: Motya: Ciasca 1988–89: 83, note 35 for references; Palermo: Tisseyre 1998.) The women are buried almost exclusively with cosmetic vessels, as commonly found in contemporary Greek contexts, while the inclusion of lamps at this time is also significant with regard to the adoption of Greek ways of burial, since lamps are a feature of Greek cultic practice and occasionally are included as grave goods in Greece, whereas they are not a common feature in Sicilian burials by this period. Again, there may be a Phoenician inspiration here, too, as lamps are also found in Phoenician funerary contexts, such as Solunto, where both Phoenician and Greek types have been found in chamber tombs (Greco 1997b).

Limited continuity of burial traditions can also be observed for a time at Sabucina. Many of the seventh-century burials were in reused Bronze Age chamber tombs, in which the earlier depositions had been cleared and piled along the walls of the chambers. During the sixth century, the residents of Sabucina also began to adopt a number of Greek burial practices, such as the use of stone-covered fossa and *a cappuccina* graves for individual inhumations, as well as secondary cremations. Two of the chamber tombs were given Greek facades, and the ceramic grave goods were exclusively imported Attic kylikes and kraters. This blend of traditional use of the chamber tomb with the influence of Greek architecture and the presumed status that the inclusion of the imported ceramics accorded the deceased is particularly interesting when contrasted with the single inhumations, the majority of which did not contain any grave goods at all. This may be related to the fact that many of the single inhumations included a high number of infants and children, the non-adult status perhaps reflected in the lack of grave goods. Yet by the fifth century, little remains of Sicilian traditions in this community, and wealth and status are expressed in forms familiar from the Greek world. One fifth-century inhumation had exclusively bronze vases, such as basins and

amphoras (most recently Oliveri 2002). Two chamber tombs of the early fifth century seem to be imitations of built (as opposed to rock-cut tombs of Bronze Age tradition) tholos tombs, constructed of stone blocks and each preceded by a small dromos, although the chambers themselves are rectangular rather than round inside. One of these contained the body of a woman, who wore iron jewellery with large amber beads, had bronze objects, and local and Attic vases. The built tomb and grave goods may say something about the rank of this woman in society at the time.

Elsewhere, the continuity of Sicilian traditions are more visible. In the second stratum of chamber tomb 21 at Marianopoli, which dates to between the late sixth century and the early fifth century, objects including amber beads, an amber ram pendent, bone-covered iron fibulae, an iron knife and a dagger were found in conjunction with two Greek-style lamps, imported trilobe oinochoai, a Sicilian krater and large, two-handled bowls. As the fifth century progressed, although single inhumation and infant *enchytrismos* burials were common, small rock-cut chambers with rough benches continued to be used for multiple burials, even though the grave goods interred were completely of Greek types (Fiorentini 1985–86). Thus here as elsewhere in Sicily during this broad period, the continuity of some practices (inclusion of bowls and weapons; multiple inhumation; the use of chamber tombs) with the integration of foreign ones (single inhumation graves types; Greek-style pottery; *akephalia*) suggests the creation of new cultural norms in various communities that incorporated elements of foreign and Sicilian tradition.

Religious practices

It is often extremely difficult to interpret cultic worship and observed rituals, since the material forms of architecture and religious artefacts do not necessarily explain how, exactly, a structure or item was used in ritual practice. Furthermore, in multi-cultural contexts it is not easy to determine who was practising the cultic rituals.

Rural cult seems to have occurred in connection with rivers and springs, although few have been excavated. Palikè, which became a major political centre of the Sikels during the fifth century, had been the site of a cult centred around a geyser lake possibly since the Bronze Age (although it is unknown when, exactly, the cult first appeared; most recently, see Maniscalco and McConnell 2003). While it is generally thought that the Sikel gods were chthonic divinities, the location of the large Archaic sacellum on the acropolis suggests that heavenly divinities may have also been worshipped (Maniscalco and McConnell 2003: 155). The earliest Iron Age structures date to the seventh century, and by the fourth century, Palikè had become a cult centre dedicated to the divine Palikoi, twin brothers sacred to the Sikels. It was a place where war-spoils could be dedicated, similar to one of the functions of pan-Hellenic sanctuaries in Greece. The settlement is famous

for being the most likely location of Ducetius' short-lived league capital, although the Sanctuary of the Divine Palikoi continued to serve as a place of dedication and sanctuary well into the Roman period. At Palikè, and Adrano, a fifth-century chthonic cult site with evidence of ritual activity dating back to the eighth century (Morawiecki 1995), divine dogs allegedly judged the relative purity or impurity of those wishing access to the sanctuary and participation in its rites.

Urban contexts provide greater evidence for community worship practices. On the acropolis at Polizzello, a seventh-century sacred area indicates local cult practice in a series of circular and semi-circular structures used for ritual observance with votive deposits inside and outside the buildings (De Miro 1999). The offerings include bone, ivory, amber, turquoise, and silver jewellery, bronze, bone, and clay figurines of rams, bulls (Figure 3.16) and dedicants, ceramics of traditional and Greek types (the use of Greek vessels in such a context does not necessarily suggest Greek cultic practice), and bronze and iron knives, perhaps used in the ritual sacrifice of animals, which is attested by herbivore jawbones and deer antlers.[16] Within this context of this sacred area, loom weights, weaving tools and a crude lamp were also found, suggesting the participation of women in cultic practice.[17]

The religious structures are also distinguished from previous circular buildings by their larger dimension; those circular buildings used for cultic purposes had internal areas of 50 m^2 and 78.5 m^2. The cults were probably chthonic, given the sacrificial rams and bulls, but the variety of votive

Figure 3.16 Clay models of bulls from Polizzello (reproduced with permission from Museo Archeologico di Caltanissetta. It is forbidden to reproduce, even partially, the object without written permission from the appropriate Amministrazione dei Beni Culturali: De Miro 1988: pl. 12, fig. 2).

offerings suggests not only broad-based cult practice, but also a class structure. A number of expensive imported objects such as silver, turquoise, ivory and amber were dedicated, a sign of a local elite that was wealthy enough to afford such objects and to dedicate them.

Religious ritual practices for burial of the dead can also be seen in the necropolis area of Polizzello (Figure 3.17). Two clay circular building models found outside tomb 5 probably represent cultic buildings (Figure 3.18) and through their imagery tie the places of worship in urban contexts to the rituals observed by the graveside in honour of the dead. Sacrificial tables and altars, as well as sacrificial pits with the remains of cow jaws, in the necropolis area reveal the communal nature of feasting in funeral rituals. The importance of the bull to local cult practice has already been seen at the acropolis, while the imagery is repeated in the necropolis, as some of the impressed motifs on ceramics from the necropolis depict bull horns (Figure 3.19). The image of the bull is one of the most potent and repetitive in Sicilian cult practice, in fact, with bull figurines from Thapsos and Molino della Badia revealing a cultic tradition that goes back to the Bronze Age (Voza 1973: 51–2; Nicoletti 1997). Horned animals in general were important to Sicilian cults. In addition to the deer antlers from Polizzello, an ivory plaque in the shape of a ram from a late sixth-century votive deposit at Montagnola di Marineo finds a close parallel in amber from Valle Oscura and reminds us of the agro-pastoral nature of traditional Sicilian religion (Spatafora 2000a).

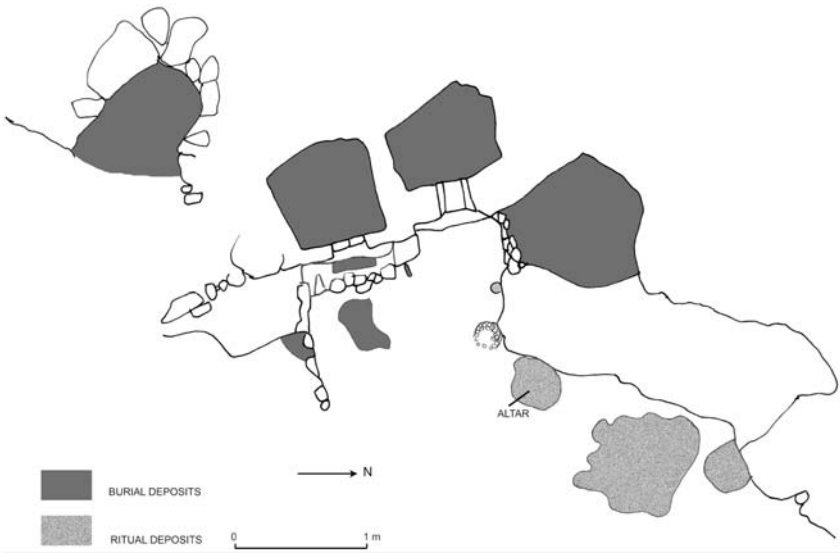


Figure 3.17 Necropolis area A of Polizzello (after De Miro 1988: fig. 8).

Figure 3.18 Circular shrine models from Polizzello (reproduced with permission from Museo Archeologico di Caltanissetta. It is forbidden to reproduce, even partially, the object without written permission from the appropriate Amministrazione dei Beni Culturali: De Miro 1988: pl. 13, fig. 5).

Figure 3.19 Impressed bull horn motif (reproduced with permission from Museo Archeologico di Caltanissetta. It is forbidden to reproduce, even partially, the object without written permission from the appropriate Amministrazione dei Beni Culturali: De Miro 1988: pl. 16, fig. 6).

Although rectilinear structures are known in Sicily during the Late Bronze Age and early Iron Age, the rectangular porticoes in front of some of the circular buildings hint at the beginning of developments in religious architecture along Greek models (Spatafora 1997: 154 attributes these to Mycenaean memories, which seems unlikely). By the sixth century, other rectilinear structures were constructed on the temenos, replacing the circular sacred buildings. Nevertheless, the use of large circular buildings for cultic practice at Polizzello during the seventh century is significant as it reflects a considered continuity with the past tradition of circular architecture that has been elevated specifically to religious structures as part of the community's contemporary evolution.

At Sabucina, evidence of religious practice has been found at several locales within the urban area of the settlement during the sixth century. The settlement had a dedicated sacred area, where a circular structure also seems to have been used as a temple or shrine dedicated to a chthonic cult. The cult building itself had a vestibule in antis, the entrance to which was flanked by two columns (Figure 3.20). Ceramics within the shrine date it to the late seventh century and early sixth century. Architecturally, it reflects a uniquely local blend of the circular plan with the addition of the pronaos of a Greek temple.

A clay model of a temple was found in this area, of a rectangular plan on a high-footed circular base (Figure 3.21), and dated to the last quarter of the

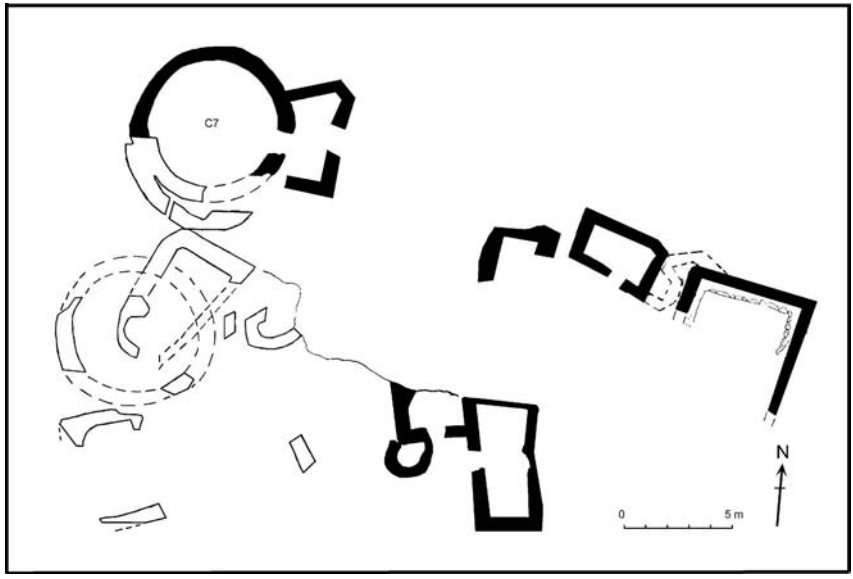


Figure 3.20 Sabucina cult building (C7) (after Mollo Mezzana 1993: fig. 10).

Figure 3.21 Rectangular temple model from Sabucina (reproduced with permission from Museo Archeologico di Caltanissetta. It is forbidden to reproduce, even partially, the object without written permission from the appropriate Amministrazione dei Beni Culturali: Sedita Migliore 1981: fig. 58).

sixth century. The temple resembles more closely Greek structures, with two columns in the pronaos, and the building itself decorated with representations of Selinus and a gorgon, and equestrian akroteri atop a barrel-shaped roof with painted tiles. Equestrian akroteri are not uncommon elsewhere in Sicily and Italy in areas with Greek influence, and may be influenced by Greek marble and terracotta architectural revetments (Castellana 1983: 6).

Another shrine, rectangular in plan and with an *oikos* form (Figure 3.22), dates to the middle of the sixth century and was constructed in an area that had previously been used for ritual depositions, reinforcing the sacred nature of its context within the site. It is attributable to a chthonic cult, given the presence of two circular altars with remains of ritual meals, bones of small

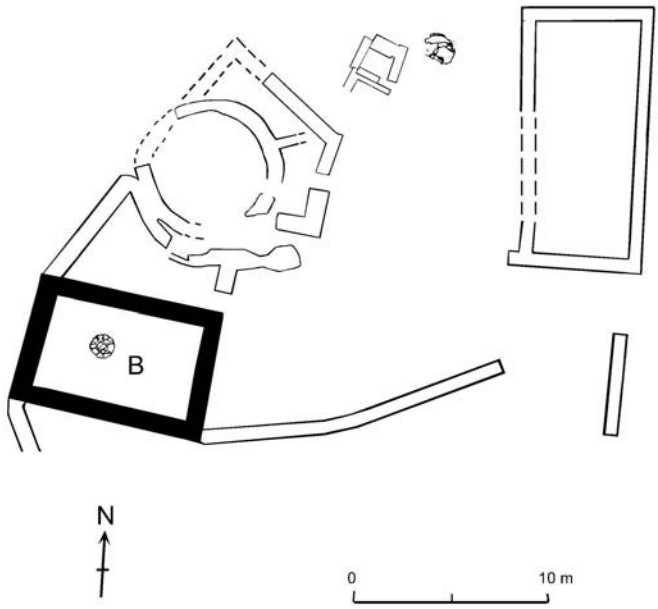


Figure 3.22 Plan of rectangular temple B at Sabucina (after Mollo Mezzana 1993: fig. 4).

animals, and a pile of pig jawbones. The shrine also contained traditional painted ceramics alongside a column krater of Attic-Corinthian type, remains of cups with graffiti and metal objects. Despite the rectangular plan of the building that appears to derive from the Greek *oikos* model, nothing suggests that this was a Greek cult, as the assemblage and evidence of practices are comparable to other local religious contexts.

In between the houses and the city wall in one sector of the settlement, a number of Demeter statuettes were found adjacent to a small shrine, alongside an incense burner, offering cups, bronze jewellery, a ram figurine and a model temple in the form of a circular building with pitched walls decorated with animal protomes (Figure 3.23). It has been argued by many that the synergy between Demeter's chthonic nature and the agro-pastoral form of traditional religious practice in Sicily facilitated the widespread adoption of Demeter cults in contexts beyond Greek ones. While the synergy between Demeter and other chthonic cults is no doubt true, the rate and date at which Demeter worship was adopted by Sicilian communities suggests that it was a slower, more gradual metamorphosis. The case of Sabucina exemplifies this. This is one small area within the settlement, tucked away in a residential area, where Demeter worship may be seen, and contrasts with the other sacred areas within the settlement that had no such figurines. Furthermore, the ram

Figure 3.23 Pitched temple model from Sabucina (reproduced with permission from Museo Archeologico di Caltanissetta. It is forbidden to reproduce, even partially, the object without written permission from the appropriate Amministrazione dei Beni Culturali: Sedita Migliore 1981: fig. 57).

and circular temple model suggests links to traditional cultic rituals, and thus not straightforward traditional Demeter worship. Therefore, it is not clear whether the community members utilising this shrine in particular were worshipping Demeter in a manner heavily influenced by local religious traditions, or a local deity for whom Demeter's attributes and physical form had been reinterpreted and reassigned in practice.

Elsewhere in Sicily, however, there is evidence for the establishment of Greek and Phoenician cults in non-colonial contexts, although not until the sixth century at the earliest, and in most cases much later. At Monte Iato, for instance, the first public building was constructed during the middle of the sixth century and is associated with Aphrodite.[18] The temple is of the *oikos* form, with an *adyton*, a cella and an altar, all constructed in a purely Greek style. The utterly Greek nature of the architecture and associated cultic objects suggests that Greek rituals were being observed here, and may be indicative of

a Greek enclave resident at the site. Aphrodite worship is similarly attested at Segesta in fifth-century graffiti from Grotta Vanella.

The establishment of Phoenician cults beyond the Phoenician settlements, in Elymian territory, does not occur until the fifth century, by which time intense relations between the Phoenicians and the Elymians were driven by Carthage's need for an ally in Sicily against the Greeks. Thus the famous Astarte cult that develops at Erice is best linked to Carthaginian activity in Sicily, rather than Phoenician, and so lies beyond the scope of the present work.

In sum, religious practices and customs varied from community to community throughout Sicily. Some cult sites remained rooted in traditional forms of dedication and veneration, while others incorporated elements of Greek practice, such as the use of Demeter figurines. In addition, selective architectural features of Greek religious tradition were included in local sacred places, whether or not the associated cult contained Greek elements or traditional practices. It is difficult to assess who was practising these religions at any given site, however, or even if the material culture patterning is reflective of individual religious identities or indicative of new or developing community religious practices and ways of observance.

Consumption patterns

During the tenth and ninth centuries, there was renewed interest in overseas trade between the Greek and Near Eastern worlds. In particular, Euboean ceramics find their way to Cyprus and the Levantine coast, while Phoenician, North Syrian and Egyptian objects, such as faience jewellery, vases, seals, figurines, glass beads, bronze bowls and pottery, begin to appear in Greek mainland and island contexts, particularly Lefkandi and Skyros (Lemos 2002: appendix 1 and 2). Shortly afterwards, the Greeks turned their attention to western prospects. In Sicily, the earliest imported Greek tablewares since Mycenaean decline are also Euboean and date to the middle and end of the eighth century. By the end of the century, Corinthian wares begin to appear, with increasing regularity over the course of the seventh century and becoming common by the sixth century. East Greek ceramics also first arrive early in the seventh century, particularly transport amphoras, while kraters, aryballoi, amphoras and hydrias from Lakonia similarly start to appear at this time (Roller 1991; Stibbe 1991). Attic transport and table wares began to be imported during the early seventh century, eclipsing all other Greek imports by the fifth century, a pattern seen elsewhere in the Mediterranean (Albanese Procelli 1996a).

The presence of Greek and colonial products in Sicilian centres seems to be based upon convenience and availability. In the hinterland of the colony of Leontini, the earliest Greek material in Sikel sites is predominantly Euboean, while around Corinthian-founded settlements, such as Syracuse, the initial

ceramics in surrounding settlements are mostly Corinthian, rather than Euboean. Furthermore, inspiration from the originating colony with regard to local production is also evident. In the Leontini hinterland, Sikel craftsmen clearly derived decorative inspiration from the specifically Euboean motif of concentric circles (Branciforti 1999). At Monte Casasia the high-footed krater began to be imitated by the late seventh century and early sixth century, based upon the Euboean form and decorated in a similar manner (Albanese Procelli 1996b; Frasca 2000). Locally-made products in Gela's hinterland, such as at Butera and Sabucina, reveal motifs that can be traced back to seventh-century styles of Crete and East Greece (Siracusano 1994). Yet taste on the part of the Sicilians must also account for the distribution of wares in sites that were not colonial foundations. In the Archaic necropolis of Morgantina, just over a quarter of the vases interred were Greek imports, nearly another quarter were colonial products, while just under half of the total were locally produced. In contrast, at Mendolito at the end of the sixth century, the vast majority of the vessels were local wares (Albanese Procelli 1991: 104 with references).

Overseas trade in Greek ceramics was a very complex affair (with specific regard to Sicily, see Giudice 1985 and various contributions in *Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell'arte, Università di Catania* 30 (1991) *II vasi offici ed altra ceramiche coeve in Sicilia*). The network of early Euboean colonies in Italy and Sicily, for instance, secured trade routes and no doubt contributed to the smooth transport of goods required and desired by the Greeks in their new settlements, facilitating trade in Euboean, Corinthian and East Greek storage and table vessels. During the Archaic period, vessels such as Corinthian and East Greek wine amphoras and Lakonian kraters complement the abundance of Attic and Ionian table wares, supplemented by the occasional examples of western Mediterranean amphoras, as well as Carthaginian and Etruscan wares, in Greek and Sicilian contexts.[19] Redistribution throughout Sicily and clear reuse of foreign wares, such as transport amphoras as grave goods or water jars for infant inhumations, reminds us of the complexity of more localized trade, since clearly these were not the first destination of such vessels.

At Morgantina, for instance, imports from Attica, primarily amphoras of both SOS and *à la brosse* types, begin to appear in domestic contexts during the late seventh century. Attic wares are not commonly found in the site's funerary contexts until the third quarter of the sixth century, however, by which time a distinct preference for vessels connected with wine storage, mixing, pouring and drinking can be observed, although serving dishes and unguent containers are also found. Corinthian imports date primarily to the sixth and fifth centuries, with a peak during the second half of the sixth century. In total, double the number of Corinthian ceramics were imported over Attic. Like Attic pottery, though, the finer pieces were used in domestic contexts while plainer pottery furnished the graves (Lyons 1996a, 1996b).

There is no doubt that a degree of prestige can be associated with wine consumption and banqueting. Drinking cups represent the earliest Greek imports to Sicily (see above), where social prestige is interpreted from their inclusion in non-colonial burials (Hodos 2000c). The fact that many inscriptions of Greek and non-Greek names occur on sympotic vessels indicate that prestige was attached to banqueting and the symposium by everyone living at Morgantina (despite their cultural origins), and reflects elevated social status.

The Greek Sicilian colonies themselves had their own thriving pottery production industries that enjoyed reception in not only other Greek colonies, but also Sicilian centres. Ceramics produced in the Sicilian Greek colonies are often referred to as 'Sikeliot wares', to distinguish them from wares of Sikel or Sikan manufacture, and developments in colonial vessel shape and decorative styles may be related to broader colonial intentions to differentiate themselves from their mother-city (e.g. Shepherd 1995; for a study of the various colonial ceramic production centres, see Siracusano 1994; Antonaccio 2003). Colonially-made examples of East Greek shapes, such as the B2 kylix, banded skyphos and Type B kothons, are particularly common. Sikeliot products, rather than direct imports from Greece, form the bulk of the non-local, non-traditional vessels found at any non-colonial Sicilian site between the eighth and fifth centuries (and even in the colonies: Barone *et al.* 2004).

Such wares were also often found in Phoenician contexts, along with Greek imported fabrics. At Motya, for instance, Greek imported and locally imitated ceramics, particularly Protocorinthian and colonial wares, Attic SOS amphoras, various Ionian bowl-types, Attic black glaze and local varieties have been found in urban contexts alongside Phoenician-type wares, such as red slip table ware and various amphora forms and cooking pots, as well as unguentaria and lamps (most recently and with bibliography, Famà and Toti 2000). Greek-type drinking cups have also been found in the earliest levels of the tophet.

At Solunto, the earliest Phoenician-type material is dated to the first half of the sixth century by association with imported B1 and Corinthian vessels and Etruscan bucchero. The necropolis of Solunto also has a variety of imported wares, especially several Corinthian mixing vessels and perfume flasks. Interestingly, at both Palermo and Solunto, the Greek and Sikeliot vessels in the necropolis are predominantly to do with drinking, particularly kylix and skyphos forms, rather than the large mixing and pouring vessels associated with the symposium, similar to the pattern in contemporary Phoenician settlements in Sardinia (Di Stefano 1997; van Dommelen 1998). There are few East Greek wine amphoras, only Corinthian (and mostly type B). Instead, a group of Massalian amphoras has been found, suggesting preferred (regional) links with the Greek West (Di Stefano 1999: 233).

While wares from the Greek world are frequently found in Phoenician sites in the Mediterranean, in contrast Phoenician-type pottery appears in Greek colonial contexts in significantly lesser quantities (see various articles in D'Agostino and Ridgway 1994). In Sicily the absolute numbers are low, but the distribution is unsurprising: red slip ware and Phoenician-type transport amphoras have been found in Greek Sicily at Syracuse, Himera, Megara Hyblaea, Camarina, Mylai and Zancle, for instance (including a Carthaginian amphora in the south-east corner of the Syracuse Athenaion: Orsi 1919: fig. 55; see also Ciasca 1988–89: 77 and 78; Falsone 1988b: 44). Wares produced at Solunto have a distribution not only around other Phoenician sites of western Sicily, but also have been found away from the coast in non-colonial contexts like Sabucina and Colle Madore, as well as at Himera and Lipari.[20] Presumably wine and oil, and perhaps garum, would have been held in these containers. The distribution of scarabs, a product of the eastern Mediterranean, at non-colonial sites such as Finocchito, Villasmundo, Polizzello and Monte Finestrelle, as well as the Greek colonies, including Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea (Ciasca 1988–89: 82; Tusa 1997a: V.185; Albanese Procelli 1997b: 515), reminds us that intra-Sicilian trade is still little understood.[21] The early Sikel-produced imitations of a Greek krater and Phoenician pilgrim flasks at Villasmundo – although no imports of any such prototypes have been found at the site – suggest an early network of trade and influences whereby a local artisan would have seen Greek and Phoenician wares well enough to copy them at such an early date.[22]

It has been noted that the limited variety of wares in use in the early years of the Phoenician colonies in Sicily, in particular Motya, connote a sense of poverty among the colonists, especially when compared with types found in Phoenicia or Cyprus (Ciasca 1991: 185). Any such sense must surely be related to the politico-economic upheaval in the eastern Mediterranean during the eighth and early seventh centuries BC, which would have prevented a continued wide production and distribution of homeland wares. But, in fact, the material of the second half of the eighth century and early part of the seventh century found in the west, which is different from common types in contemporary Phoenicia and Cyprus, can be explained by self-sufficient production (particularly given the political difficulties in the homeland) and the beginning of the establishment of a central Mediterranean Phoenician koine. In the central Mediterranean, the popular ceramic forms were not imports from the homeland or Cyprus, but rather were locally produced with a regional distribution between Carthage, Motya and Sardinia, encompassing Pithekoussai and extending peripherally to Phoenician settlements in Spain (Docter and Niemeyer 1994; Durando 1998; Ridgway 1998; an amphora of Iberian-Phoenician origin has been found in a seventh century Motya tomb: Ciasca 1979: 213, pl. 78.3). It was a koine that catered to the consumption demands of those involved.

To be even more precise, western Phoenician workshops produced wares

following motherland prototypes until 650 BC, after which time new regional variations in different forms can be observed in the production centres of the Phoenician western Mediterranean (Peserico 1998). At Carthage itself, two phases of pottery production have been identified, one dating from c.750 to c.650 BC, and the second one between 650 BC and 500 BC. Archaeometric analysis has revealed that each phase utilized different mineral and chemical clay composition (Amadori and Fabbri 1998). Clearly, 650 BC was a turning point in the production of ceramics at Carthage, which may have used commercial trade to enhance its political strategy of territorial control and resource exploitation (Acquaro 1998), impacting on production in other Phoenician settlements in the Mediterranean at this time.

This regional consumption koine can be seen also in the distribution of scarabs. The scarabs from Motya are mostly Classical and later Egyptian types, Phoenician and Naukratis products (Egyptianizing artefacts for the wider Phoenician and Punic worlds). This range is similar to the variety found at Ibiza and Carthage, and such a distribution may be interpreted as a reflection of Carthaginian dominance during the sixth century. They contrast with the types found in Italy, which are of the mass-produced varieties from Naukratis and Rhodes, and probably arrived via Etruscan links with the Greek world (Gordon 1996).

Artistic styles

It has already been observed that the majority of colonial and Greek vessels used by the Sicilian peoples are related to banqueting, and in particular are those types used in the Greek symposium, and have been related to elite activity and prestige value when first introduced in the eighth century (Hodos 2000c). By the sixth century, the inclusion of sympotic wares in funerary contexts develops into a more widespread standard; funerary sets often include a locally-made oinochoe and a Greek or colonially-manufactured drinking cup (Albanese Procelli 1991). At Marianopoli, miniature kraters are often included in burials, not normal-sized Greek examples (Albanese Procelli 2003: 192–3). In consumption terms, the symbolism of sympotic wares has thus altered from one of reflection of elite status in contrast to locally-produced, traditional wares, to become the generic funerary panoply, in which ideas and objects originally from other cultural groups have been reinterpreted and become engrained within society to form contemporary cultural norms.

Despite the widespread use of Greek and Sikeliot ceramics, during the seventh, sixth and fifth centuries traditional forms of pottery were still widely produced. The variety of wares is more limited than in the earlier Iron Age, consisting of a series of large bowls (with one or two horizontal handles, or three or four vertical handles), the amphora, the askos, and the trilobe oinochoe (Figure 3.24).[23] The restricted variety of forms must be viewed as a

Figure 3.24 Later Iron Age vessel forms (after Frasca 1996: figs 2 and 3).

question of taste and function. At Morgantina, for instance, just under half of all the vessels catalogued from the necropolis are locally-made and are of types to do with food storage, preparation and serving. Painted and plain wares of Sicilian tradition, including cooking wares, continued to be used in domestic contexts through the sixth century (Cemetery: Lyons 1996b: 76; Settlement: Leighton 2000a: 38). There is even evidence of design innovation at this time. In central sites such as Butera, Ramacca, Caltagirone and Morgantina, an amphora with a low spout above the base, possibly used for honey or hydromel, was locally produced and circulated during the seventh and sixth centuries (Albanese Procelli 1996a, 1997a; see also Antonaccio 2001: 147, note 98).

Nevertheless, traditional shapes and decorative motifs evolve more slowly than contemporary Greek wares. Since their production is long-lived, they may appear to stagnate typologically, since innovation in extant shapes is not particularly common. Rather, production developments appear in the locally-produced imitations of Greek and colonial forms such as the skyphos, kyathos, hydria, kelebe, dinos and phormiskos (Albanese Procelli 1991). The adoption of plumed motifs on Geloan pithoi reminds us that the potters in the colonies and their consumers were not immune to stylistic influences of Sicilian origin, either (Adamesteanu 1958: 574–8).

One of the most characteristic vessels of this period is the trefoil oinochoe, Greek in origin but quickly adopted into the local repertoire, and which continued to be produced and interred throughout the island well into the fifth century. For instance, the form is the most common vessel shape in the graves of Sabucina, where its evolution between the seventh and fifth centuries can be observed (Tigano 1985–86). While the shape itself develops from a globular one to a more streamlined profile over these centuries, the decoration remains rooted to seventh-century Protocorinthian, Corinthian and Rhodian motifs (exactly the imported prototype wares found in nearby Gela), with bands, undulating lines and geometric patterns such as chevrons and concentric circles forming the corpus of motifs (Figure 3.25). The continued production of the trefoil oinochoe shape by the fifth century with motifs of an earlier period may reflect a form of continuity with Sicilian traditions (albeit more recent ones) and serve to contrast with the prevalence of other material forms of Greek culture, such as architecture and burial

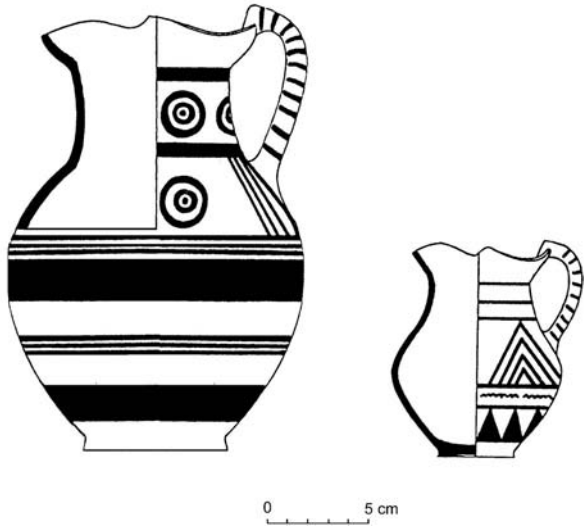


Figure 3.25 Oinochoai motifs (after Tigano 1985–86: CL 973 and CL 987).

methods, found otherwise in non-colonial contexts. This is indicative of the vessel's emblematic reinterpretation by contemporary Sicilian culture, where it has taken on new significance distinct from its original role in the Greek pottery repertoire (Hodos 2005).

Yet perhaps such a pattern may be better viewed in artistic rather than cultural terms. For instance, there is very little distinction between the material culture of settlements defined as Elymian with the material culture associated with Sikan territory. Recent evidence relates the ceramic styles produced and distributed around Entella, Monte Iato, Monte Castellazzo di Poggioreale, Monte Maranfusa, Monte Polizzo, Monte Finestrelle of Gibellina, among others,[24] to the Sant'Angelo Muxaro-Polizzello tradition of incised and impressed geometric and anthropomorphic decoration of western Sicily. These wares even have a distribution as far east as Morgantina, Butera and Paternò (Spatafora 1996: fig. 3). Such a broad distribution of style argues in favour of an artistic koine rather than distinctive cultural traits (Di Noto 1995; Gargini 1995), punctuated by more regional tastes, such as the preference for polychrome at Segesta, Terravecchia di Cuti and Montagnola di Marineo (Tusa 1987–88: 49, 1988–89: 44; Militello 1960: 43; for Montagnola di Marineo: Spatafora 2000a: 907).

It is primarily geometric motifs that are reproduced over the centuries by Sicilian pottery painters, particularly in central and western Sicily, such as at Capodarso, Gibil Gabib, Marianopoli, Vassallaggi, Butera, Realmese, Polizzello, Sant'Angelo Muxaro and Monte Iato, and silhouette figures more rarely (Figure 3.26) (Tigano 1985–86: 76; Isler 1996: 22–3). In contrast, the painted motifs common in non-colonial contexts from eastern Sicily during this period are almost strictly linear (Figure 3.27).[25] Linear motifs were also utilized in western Sicily at this time, but in the incised and impressed wares centred around Sant'Angelo Muxaro and Polizzello (Figure 3.28) (Fatta 1983; Palermo 1992). As stated above, these wares had a distribution as far east as Paternò and Avola, in chronological contexts ranging from the ninth century down to the sixth century, whereas incised ceramics continued to be interred in western Sicily, their area of production, until the fifth century (Albanese Procelli 1982: 562, fig. 119).

Occasionally Sicilian artists did imitate contemporary Greek styles, such as with the Sabucina krater of the sixth century, reused in an infant burial during the second half of the fifth century (Figure 3.29) (La Rosa 1971). The decoration, a pair of wild animals (perhaps wolves or dogs, and lions or panthers) on either side in a frieze, recalls Middle Corinthian heraldic animal processions, but without the filling ornaments or incised detailing typical of the Greek products (Figure 3.30). The colour of the clay seems to be in imitation of Corinthian, while the shape of the vase suggests Attic prototypes. Imports to Gela and Gela's own ceramic output (Figure 3.31) may have served as the most likely inspiration, with the local artist combining the shapes and motifs in a new, distinctly local, juxtaposition.

Figure 3.26 Painted motifs of central and western Sicily (top row after Gabrici 1925: fig. 11; bottom left after Fiorentini 1985–86: pl. 36.4; bottom right after Tigano 1985–86: CL940).

Orientalizing vessels from the Valle Oscura necropolis of Marianopoli similarly demonstrate striking use of Greek styles of pottery decoration, including creative combinations of geometric motifs as well as figured and zoomorphic decoration (Fiorentini 1985–86). Variations of stylized birds appear particularly on trilobe oinochoai and kraters (Figure 3.32). The figures are illustrated in a frieze on the shoulder of the vessel; the shapes of the birds clearly recall Corinthian methods of depiction (Figure 3.33), although some that are in silhouette look like a cross between Geometric bird files but aligned and in proportion with the Late Corinthian cannon (Figure 3.34). Interestingly, this cemetery begins only during the last third of the sixth century; the oldest vessel dates to 550 BC. This cemetery is

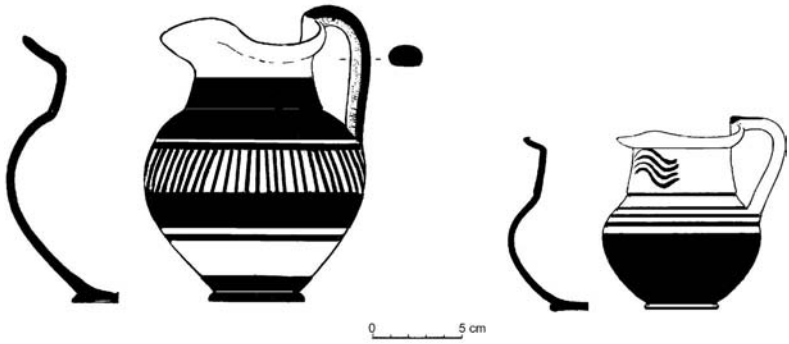


Figure 3.27 Painted motifs of eastern Sicily (after Fouilland *et al*. 1996: figs 163.293 and 30).

Figure 3.28 Incised and impressed motifs of western Sicily (reproduced with permission from Museo Archeologica di Caltanissetta. It is forbidden to reproduce, even partially, the object without written permission from the appropriate Amministrazione dei Beni Culturali: De Miro 1988: pl. 15, fig. 1).

Figure 3.29 Krater from Sabucina (reproduced with permission from Museo Archeologica di Caltanissetta. It is forbidden to reproduce, even partially, the object without written permission from the appropriate Amministrazione dei Beni Culturali: Sedita Migliore 1981: figs 102 and 103).

Figure 3.30 Middle Corinthian heraldic animal motif (reproduced with permission from Museo Archeologico Regionale di Camarina. It is forbidden to reproduce, even partially, the object without written permission from the appropriate Amministrazione dei Beni Culturali: Cristofani and Martelli 1991: fig. 6).

Figure 3.31 Geloan amphora (© 1994 – Regione Siciliana Assessorato dei Beni Culturali e Ambientali e della Pubblica Istruzione per concessione del Museo Archeologica Regionale di Gela. It is forbidden to reproduce, even partially, the object without written permission from the appropriate Amministrazione dei Beni Culturali: Panvini 1996: pl. 7).

Figure 3.32 Stylized birds from Marianopoli (after Fiorentini 1985–86: pl.36.5 and 40.2).

Figure 3.33 Corinthian bird (Cristofani and Martelli 1991: fig. 5).

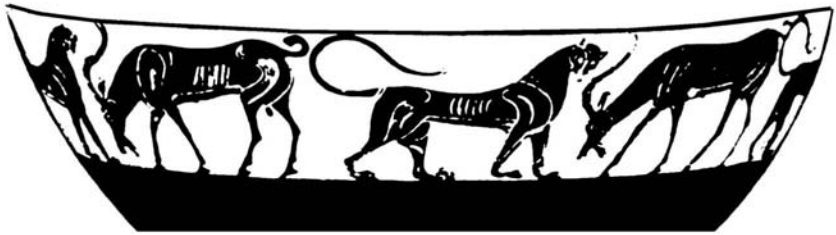


Figure 3.34 Late Corinthian cannon of proportions (drawing of Vatican 16448, Corinthian krater by Cocodcade Painter, after Boardman 1998: 399).

associated with the second stratum of the settlement along Monte Balate, dated from the middle of the sixth century until the middle of the fifth century.

The creative juxtaposition of such motifs by Sicilian artists is particularly notable for its localized context. For instance, Megara Hyblaea produced polychrome figured pieces, yet non-Greek polychrome styles have only been found in central and western Sicily. In eastern Sicily, zoomorphic motifs are rare, perhaps maybe only stylized files of birds, yet the Greek workshops of the region were particularly innovative: Syracuse had an Argive-style workshop that produced a series of horse-decorated kraters interred in the Fusco necropolis, yet this style was not imitated by potters working in the nearby non-colonial centres. Instead, it was at Sabucina, Segesta, Monte Iato, Polizzello and Colle Madore where human and animal images were painted on ceramics (Spatafora 1996: 62 with references), while the impressed wares of western Sicily often had anthropomorphic or zoomorphic motifs. Some of these motifs may even have been influenced by Phoenician styles. One such example is the little tree (*albarello*) motif, found on vases from Marianopoli, Sabucina, Terravecchia di Cuti and Vassallaggi. It is Near Eastern in origin and also appears on Punic pottery of the Archaic period (Albanese Procelli 2003: 192; similar stylized trees are also found on Greek Late Geometric pottery, however). We are thus reminded of the mutable nature over time and location of the tastes of the various communities in Sicily.

The tradition of artistic bronzeworking (as opposed to tool and weapon production) is another feature of the Iron Age, with a flourit between the eighth and fifth centuries BC, characterized by impressed sheet bronze, thought to be apotropaic belts or parts of armour sets, and figurine production. The belts often depict repoussé zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figures in a style similar to the impressed and incised ceramics of contemporary western Sicily. From a domestic context of mid-seventh-century

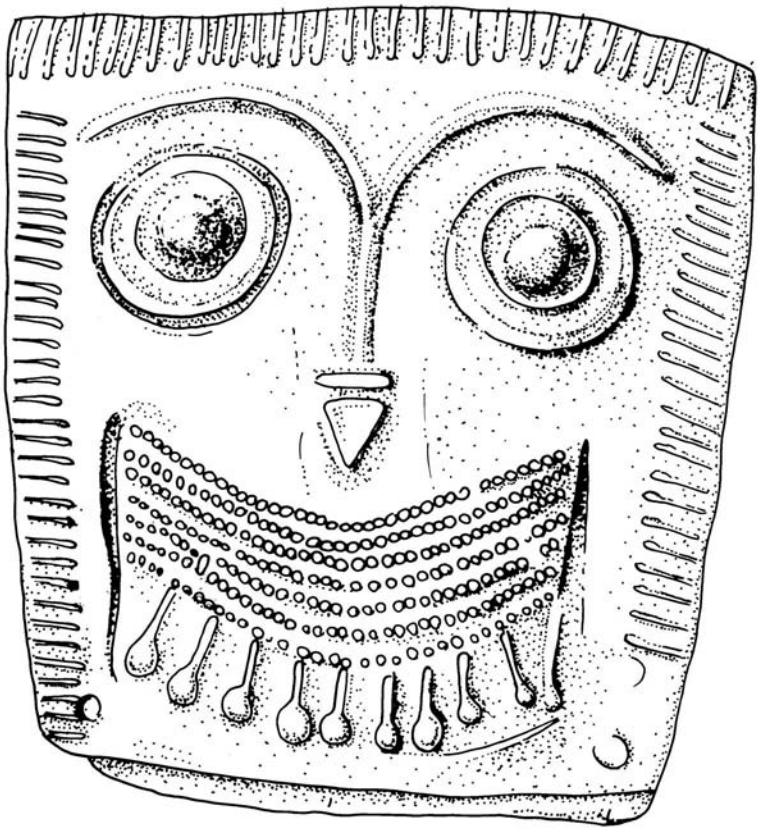


Figure 3.35 Sabucina plaque (after Sedita Migliore 1981: fig. 44).

date at Sabucina, for instance, come plaques depicting stylized human faces (Figure 3.35). The huge circles under arches represent enormous eyes staring out from under eyebrows. They form part of the broader sequence found sporadically throughout Sicily, with parallels from Terravecchia di Cuti and in the Mendolito hoard near Adrano (Nicoletti 1997), and belong to a stylistic genre extending to Latium and Etruria (Albanese Procelli 1993: 174).

Bronze figurines have a broader distribution during the Iron Age, extending to southern Italy, Sardinia and Greece and the Greek world, suggesting a more widely recognized symbolism. In Sicily, pairs of figurines, often male, are depicted with an offering bowl, or sometimes a spear, suggesting dedicants and warriors, respectively (Figure 3.36). Occasionally females are represented.

Figure 3.36 Bronze figurine pair (reproduced with kind permission by the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali: Frasca 1992: fig. 7).

Animal figures are also depicted. Very few have precise contexts, although they seem to have served a votive purpose, as suggested by the dedication of a male offerant in one of the sacred buildings on the acropolis of Polizzello (De Miro 1988). Figurine pairs from Catania and Centuripe with fourth- to third-century contexts imply an extended significance (La Rosa 1989; Frasca 1992; for a distribution map of bronze hoards and figurine provenances, see *La Prima Sicilia* map 8, pp. 640–1).

Sicilian interest in figural work extended to the larger-scale terracotta and stone works of Sikeliot production, although to a limited extent. Most of the sculptural works found in non-colonial contexts are in all likelihood the product of colonial craftsmen. The linear designs, use of low relief, incisions and modelling that can be seen on sculptural works from Grammichele, Megara Hyblaea, Selinus and Akrai, form part of the general style of works in the late seventh- and early sixth-century horizon that adheres to a distinctly Sikeliot tradition, one that should be viewed as reflective of local colonial tastes rather than as lesser imitations of Greek mainland preferences (argued as early as 1975 by Holloway).

A terracotta statuette in daedalic style dated to the end of the seventh century or beginning of the sixth century from Caltabellotta (Figure 3.37) is attributed to Selinus because of the similarity to other clay examples from the Malophorus sanctuary (Papadopoulos 1981). Selinus is credited with facilitating the movement of other Greek material, especially Corinthian and East Greek ceramics, particularly along the Belice river valley to settlements in the interior. Whether or not this early terracotta reflects an interest in Greek religion or was merely an object of unusual nature to the

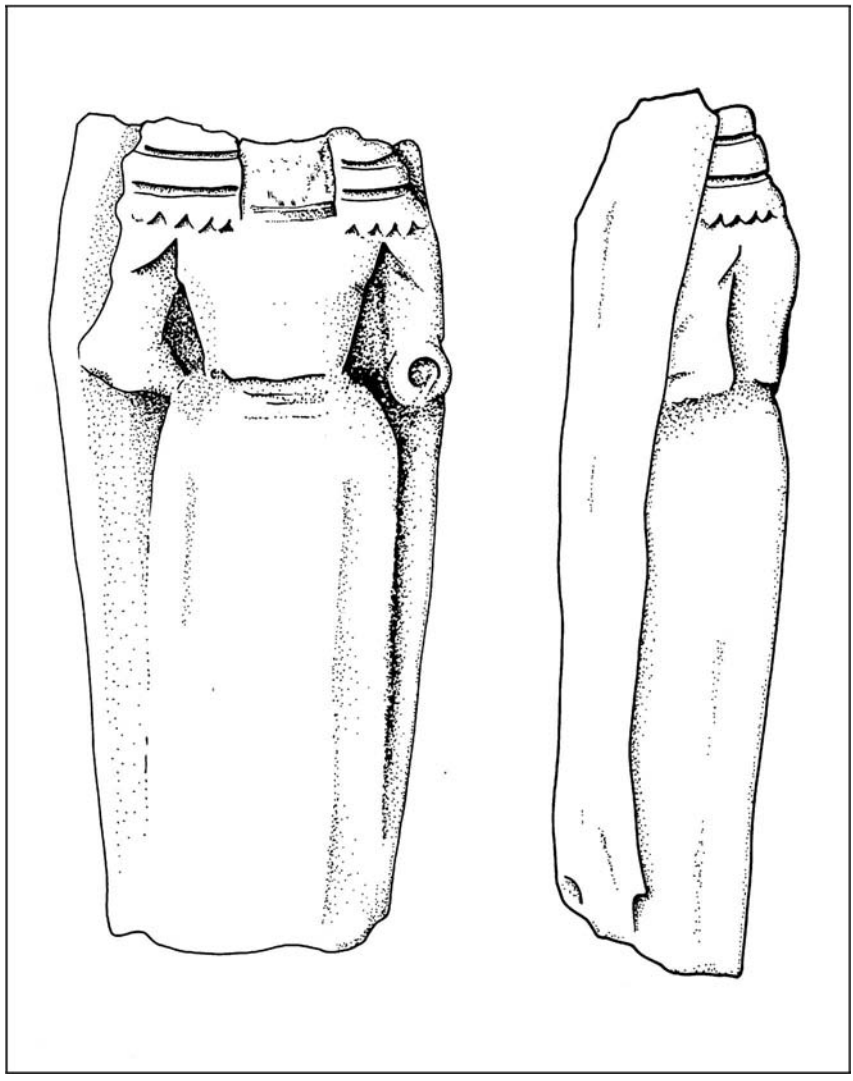


Figure 3.37 Terracotta statuette from Caltabellotta (after Papadopoulos 1981: fig. 5).

Caltabellotta community is unclear. On the other hand, a handmade, unevenly fired, bichrome painted statue of a seated female divinity from the Pojo Aquja sanctuary of Grammichele seems to be of non-colonial manufacture, although heavily influenced by Greek types (Albanese Procelli 2003: 217 and pl. 31).

A limestone sculpture of a cavalryman was found in Castiglione in the

monumental chamber tomb with the decapitated burials (see above) of secure early sixth-century date (Figure 3.38) (Cordano and Di Salvatore 2002). The figured scene in the middle represents an armed warrior with a shield on a horse that is facing left. The oversized head of the warrior is in the round and frontal, while the profile horse and frontal shield are in low relief. The head of a sphinx facing outward is carved in the round on the left side of the stone, while the head of a bull is similarly positioned and worked on the right. On the underside of the limestone is the profile of a horse in relief; as this would have been visible only from the bottom, it suggests that the entire piece might have been part of an architrave or tympanum decoration. The position of the horse and warrior with his panoply of armour suggest social and military status, enhanced by the image of the bull protome, a long-standing symbol of Sicilian cult. The sphinx implies a chthonic sentiment, although it is a figure of Near Eastern origin and thus may be an orientalizing influence.

In the lower left-hand corner of the scene, just in front of the warrior's low-relief horse, was an incised inscription in Archaic Greek letters, which, along with the style of the sculpture, date to the late seventh or early sixth century. The inscription names one Pyrrinos as the dedicant, along with the patronym Pytik(k)as, while the artist was called Skyllos. It is unknown who Pyrrinos was, although the name is not uncommon during the seventh century in the Greek world (Cordano and Di Salvatore 2002: 94), but it is telling that the dedicant used the Greek language to express an elevated social position, perhaps one of authority, in a non-foreign community at a time of great change and development. While an insular Greek artist by the name of Skyllos is attested by Pliny 36.9–10 and Pausanias II.15.1 and

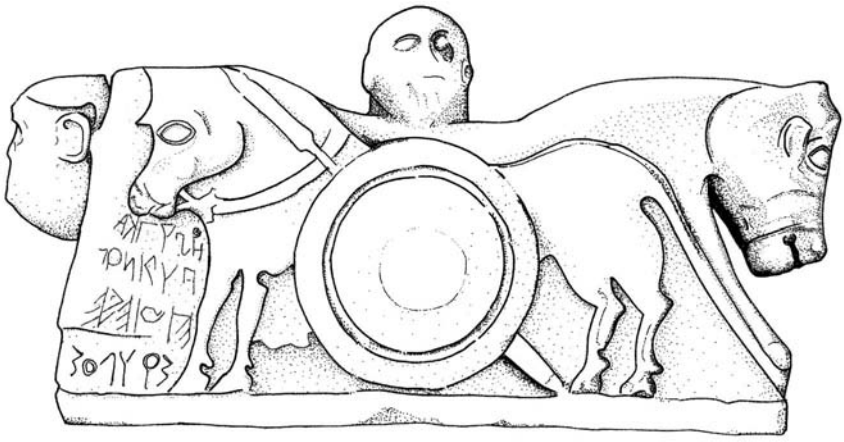


Figure 3.38 Limestone sculpture from Castiglione (after Cordano and Salvatore 2002: fig. 18).

II.22.2, a sixth-century sepulchral inscription in Greek from Castiglione itself attesting a family of mixed Greek and Sikel cultures (Pugliese Carratelli 1942) reminds us that names may reflect only part of an individual's identity, and may have little bearing on that individual's cultural beliefs or affiliations. The representation and inscription suggest that the monument was a product of the Sicilian Greek school of sculpture, although it may be attributable to a local official or artist, and made to order. This suggests a merging framework of status discourse, in which sculptures and Greek inscriptions are a visual language of elite identity and display common throughout Sicily's various communities.

The horseman motif appears in the fifth-century incised drawings in chamber tombs in contrada Caratabia, to the east of Menai (and within the territory of ancient Palikè) (Messina 1965); another cavalry depiction has been found at Cava d'Ispica (Di Stefano 1988–89: 103–5). Such representations go along with warrior and weapon burials at this time. Tomb East 31 of Montagna di Marzo, a chamber tomb dated to the first half of the fifth century, contained inside a chamber tomb two sarcophagus burials of warriors with Greek panoply, yet with banqueting services lacking kraters (perhaps reflective of Sicilian tradition with regard to banqueting sets), and Sikel inscriptions on Attic and local wares (Albanese Procelli 1999: 349–51). Weapons were buried in graves in the West necropolis of Sabucina at this time, as well. In the graves of Vassallaggi during the second half of the fifth century, male graves almost always include an iron knife or dagger in a locally-made krater, and often supplemented by a local oinochoe (Orlandini 1971). Horseman representations, weaponry and warrior burials of the fifth century remind us of the military struggles between Greeks and non-Greeks attested in the literary record and reveal a growing warrior and equestrian elite class among those of Sicilian origin.

Written voices

The use of language is another aspect of identity formation and reflects cultural choice on the part of the writer, commissioner or manufacturer of the inscription. The adoption of the alphabet of one culture to express the language of another was hardly ever done so uncritically, since an alphabet needs adaptation to transcribe a different language with a different range of phoenetic values. Even within the same language group, variations in letter forms and alphabet typology often occur; these are too systematic to be accident or incompetence. Rather, they should be read as cultural markers and assertion of cultural choice (Lomas forthcoming).

In the case of Sicily, during the sixth century, the Sicilian populations used the Greek alphabet with some variation to express their spoken dialects, adopting the script of their nearest Greek neighbour: Catania for the Etna region; Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea for the region of the Hyblaean hills and

other centres along the Catania Plain; Gela for its hinterland in central Sicily; Selinus for western Sicily (Marchesini 1999).[26] These are not distinctive alphabets, however, since the Greek alphabet is more than recognizable in the various inscriptions (Agostiniani 1997; cf. Morgan 1999: 112, who sees a distinctive Sikel alphabet derived from Greek in use at Licodia Eubea and Catania). Rather, particular letter forms may have served as identity markers or some other form of deliberate distinction from the original written Greek models (Agostiniani 2000). This is perhaps best illustrated by the use of a three-lined arrow-tip shape for the letter alpha (⩓), which is known as the 'Sikel alpha' since it appears in inscriptions in Sikel contexts in eastern Sicily but not in the nearby Greek centres.

There are clear localized differences in the scripts of eastern non-Greek Sicily. An alphabetic variant was used at Mendolito: vertical apexed epsilon (∧) and lambda (/ˆ); acute-angled gamma (<); delta (▷); and a squared omicron (□), as well as the Sikel alpha (Figure 3.39). These particular letter forms are limited to inscriptions that have been found at Mendolito. The scripts from Sciri, Licodia Eubea and Monte Casasia together use the same letter forms, without the Mendolito variations. In other words, there seems to be an alphabetic koine based around the Sikel alpha, with more localized distinctions. This has parallels elsewhere in Italy (Lomas forthcoming), and is analogous to the variety of Greek scripts in Greece itself at this time, with each *polis* and area having slight variations of letter forms from one another.

No anhellenic inscriptions have been found in central Sicily with the exception of those from Montagna di Marzo. While their geographic provenance has led to a speculative association with the Sikan population, the alphabetic forms are of the same type as in eastern Sicily and so do not appear to represent a different script (Agostiniani 1980–81). A graffito

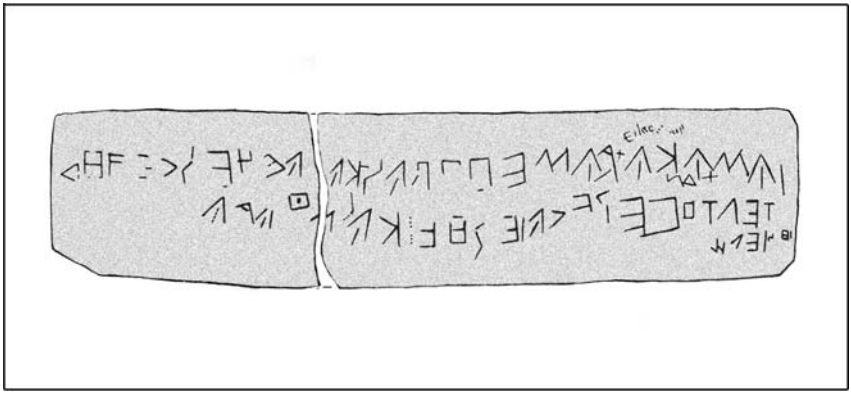


Figure 3.39 Mendolito script (after Pelagatti 1964–65: fig. 19).

from Morgantina – located in territory attributed by ancient authors to the Sikels – with the name Teutos, a Sikan ruler, reminds us that such strict ethno-geographic boundaries may be misguided (Antonaccio 2001: 146, note 86). While it is possible that different dialects were spoken, their written representations may not have been sufficiently distinct to reflect the spoken differences, particularly as seen in the small corpus of inscriptions. Therefore it is difficult to assess any ethnic, cultural or dialectic distinctions beyond observing that there seems to have been no standardization of the alphabetic system among central and eastern Sicilian communities.

In contrast, nearly 400 graffiti, including non-alphabetic symbols, letters, numeric representations, and figurative elements found in western Sicily, have been used as the primary archaeological argument for an identifiable Elymian culture (De Vido 1997). Although there are debates surrounding Anatolian and Italian origins to the language these inscriptions reflect, and the translation of sounds into its alphabetic representation (Agostiniani 1999 with bibliography), these do represent a different script from those of eastern Sicily. This script is derived from the Selinus alphabet, indicated by the beta form as an upsidedown N (Ⱶ), common at Selinus and in the anhellenic inscriptions of the region.[27] It also uses the letter B, but its phoenetic value is closer to the sound represented by the letter *f* in English, for which there is no sound in Greek (the phoenetic value sound indicated in Greek by φ is not *f* but one particular to *þ*) (Agostiniani 1997). Thus, there is a clear example of linguistic restructuring, although the differences are not great enough to argue that these represent a different alphabet; rather, they reflect the written representation of a different dialect.

What of the nature of these inscriptions? Most of the anhellenic written evidence consists of short inscriptions of ownership or greeting etched onto ceramic vessels after firing (Agostiniani 1984–85, 1988–89, 1992, 2000). The earliest appear on sixth-century Ionian B2 drinking cups, although the majority date to the fifth century and appear on Attic black glaze vessels and their local imitations.[28] The fact that many of these are on drinking cups indicates a relationship between wine consumption and writing, the inscriptions perhaps enhancing the status of the vessel owner. This interpretation may be supported by the fact that the majority of these ceramic inscriptions are on imported or Sikeliot wares (Hodos forthcoming). A relationship between wine consumption, status and inscriptions in the West goes right back to the early period of Greek writing. The Nestor cup from Pithekoussai, a kotyle of Rhodian manufacture with an inscription in the Chalkidian alphabet that was deposited c.720 BC, toasts the drinking of wine (Buchner and Ridgway 1993: kotyle 168–9). The adoption of this relationship by the non-colonial peoples of Sicily is perhaps best illustrated by the retrograde inscription on the bottom of a black glaze cup from Morgantina which reads [pibe], a Sikel imperative ordering its reader to drink (Antonaccio and Neils 1995: 277, notes 44–5).

Anhellenic inscriptions have also been found carved into the stone walls of chamber tombs, as at Licodia Eubea and Palikè (Agostiniani and Cordano 2002: 80–2), or in the Greek tradition of stela inscription, as at Sciri, Licodia Eubea/Serrapiccola, Mendolito, and in boustrophedon at Entella on a cippus.[29]

Only one monumental inscription has been found, set into the fortification wall of Mendolito (Pelagatti 1964–65; Durante 1964–65: 439–43; Parlangèli 1964–65: 222–6; Prosdocimi and Agostiniani 1976–77: 242–3; La Rosa 1989: 93; Agostiniani 1980–81, 1984–85, 1988–89; Albanese Procelli 1997b, 1999: 339; Marchesini 1999: 205–6). Dated to the second half of the sixth century, it seems to indicate civic institutions and possibly a specific civic area within the settlement. Words such as *touta*, a form of political organization that is Italic, particularly Oscan, and *verega*, which is close to the Oscan *vereiia* and refers to a walled settlement (Rix 1999), suggest a politico-social organization that is territorially circumscribed. It is unclear, however, whether or not these institutions represent civic traditions that betray an Italic origin of some of the Sicilian cultures (Hodos forthcoming).

Anhellenic fifth-century monetary legends from Erice and Segesta suggest that the traditional language of western Sicily not only was current but also used in an official capacity, on par with respect to Greek (Nenci 1999a: 307). By the fourth century, Greek became the official language but its use is not necessarily reflective of the means of local governance, indicated by the bronze decrees from Entella, which refer to an assembly, a council, leaders, military alliance, citizenship rights and juridical procedures (Nenci 1993). While many of these translate easily into concepts and ideas familiar to a Greek, some of these, particularly the nomination of three wise men to resolve property conflict by a system of lots, are distinctly un-Greek (and un-Phoenician).

Despite the close political alliance between the Elymians and the Phoenicians, it is clearly the Greek alphabet and its syntax that was adopted and utilized, rather than the Phoenician, although Phoenician inscriptions from as early as the sixth century have been found in Sicily, and followed the Phoenician standard (as opposed to the Carthaginian standard, which became more common after the fifth century) (Amadasi Guzzo 1999; de Simone 1999; see Burkert 2004: 16–20 for distinctions between the Phoenician and Greek alphabets).

Many of these non-Greek inscriptions reflect a multi-stage process in which a foreign language must be learned and its associated alphabet understood before those letters can be used to approximate similar sounds in the original language. The margin for error between spoken language expressed in a script is great and can often lead to what is known as linguistic interference: when one does not know a foreign language well, there is a tendency to transfer into it traits of the individual's own mother-tongue with direct reliance on accent, morphology and syntax (most recently Agostiniani and

Cordano 2002: 88–9). For example, a native French-speaker learning Italian would quite possibly translate *Ce livre est à Maria* into *Questo libro è a Maria*, Italianizing the French preposition, rather than *Questo libro è di Maria*, which is the correct expression of possession in Italian.

Endings in *-ai* to express possession is found among the anhellenic inscriptions of Sicily, but it is common particularly in western Sicily. Such an ending has been interpreted by many to reflect the dative. The syntax in Greek would be the genitive form. This is not to say that all Greek inscriptions from Greek contexts were perfectly expressed in Greek. For example, the name [nendas] appears on the Sciri stela, two Greek cups from Castiglione di Ragusa tomb 111, and on a high-footed patera from tomb 211 of Montagna di Marzo, while two two-handled bowls also from Montagna di Marzo have the graffiti [nen], which may be an abbreviation of the same word, and a graffiti from Gela – . . . [ndai eimi karimaioi] – may also be the dative form of [nendas]. These various Greek and non-Greek contexts suggest that [nendas] is a name, and its distribution implies that it is not an uncommon name. In the case of the example from Gela, the name is expressed in the dative. The correct morphology for Greek would be the genitive form, since [eimi] takes the genitive. While this could be indicative of a non-Greek speaker in a Greek context, if it should be by the hand of a Greek-speaker, it would represent a case of linguistic interference back onto the Greek language; linguists have argued that this would necessitate a strong non-Greek presence in Gela to have had such an effect (Cordano 1993; Agostiniani 2000; for examples in Greek and from Greek contexts where inappropriate forms are used, see Cordano and Agostiniano 2002: 87–9).

The diffusion of Greek throughout Sicily eventually rendered a written form of the local language largely unnecessary. We can already see this in the sixth-century inscription on the neck of a Lakonian krater from Morgantina with the words [kupara emi], I am Kypara's. The lettering and grammar are in perfect Greek, yet Kypara is the Sikel name for the Arethusa spring in Syracuse and is an attested female name elsewhere.[30] The vessel therefore could belong to an individual named Kypara, or may represent a dedication to the Arethusan divinity. Equally, the term may be part of a bilingual pun referring to the shape of the vessel, as it has an etymological relation to the Greek adjective for 'hollow' (Antonaccio and Neils 1995). The common Greek name Pyrrhias appears in inscriptions at Gela, Selinus, Morgantina, Sabucina and Castiglione (Cordano and Salvatore 2002 for Castiglione; Lyons 1996b: 56 and note 11 with references for others), but whether these refer to Greek individuals living in these various sites or reflect that the name itself became popular generally during the sixth and fifth centuries remains unclear.

Intermarriage no doubt facilitated the diffusion of Greek. Epigraphic evidence of intermarriage appears at Castiglione during the second half of the

sixth century. The funerary stela, written in Greek, names a Sikel Katelós (or Ápelos) and a Greek Khoro, and was found in a small chamber tomb (Dubois 1989: 140–1, note 127; Arena 1992: 60, note 15). Similarly, the Comiso stela from Camarina attests interethnic marriage (Cordano 1984: 33). In the communities of Sicily at this time, however, the names themselves may no longer be ethnically significant, instead reflective of the contemporary cultural standards drawn from Greek and non-Greek origins. Three Greek funerary inscriptions have even been found in the Birgi necropolis of Motya. These are dated to between the beginning of the sixth century and the first half of the fifth century (De Vido 1997: 133–5 with references). These, in particular, provide tangible evidence of Greek-Phoenician interaction and co-residence, and reminds us of the fluid nature of movement of individuals in the past.

Conclusions

It is clear that the adoption of elements of Hellenic culture in particular by the peoples of Sicily is in no way uniform with regard to the aspects adopted, nor to the rate of adoption. One community may have used particular forms of domestic and religious architectural forms and features of urbanization, while a neighbouring community demonstrated alternative preferences, and at different times. The same can be argued for those burying their dead in their choices of grave forms and goods. To many, some Greek pottery shapes became highly emblematic, such as the trefoil oinochoe, and geometric motifs and the representation of Corinthian-type heraldic animals continued to be produced by Sicilian artists long after they ceased to be of interest to Greek and Sikeliot pot painters. More regional patterns of preference can also be easily observed: pottery decorators in eastern contexts preferred almost strictly linear painted decoration, while their counterparts in more westerly contexts preferred to incise those same motifs (and anthropomorphic figures), saving the more geometric and zoomorphic motifs for their painted repertoire. Polychrome finds even more localized preference. Similarly, communities demonstrate their own syncretism of religious practices, architectural styles and objects appropriate for ritual use.

These examples highlight one side of the effects of the middle ground discourses in Sicily during the Iron Age: the specific developments within the material cultures of the Sicilian populations. The strategies adopted by individual Sicilian communities to address the material, social and even political offerings of their new neighbours resulted in changes to their own material and social cultures. Middle grounds also existed between the various colonies themselves, as reflected in the competition with one another through emulation (e.g. Shepherd 1995, 2005a) and mythological integration (e.g. Malkin 2004), although these have not been explored here. Rather, the focus has been on one side of that middle ground shared

between the local, Sicilian communities and their neighbouring colonial populations.

Our vocabulary is not particularly well developed to account for the nuances of such multi-cultural development, and to generalize discussion of these changes denies us the opportunity to explore the role of agency and self-determination in the past. For example, terms like *polisma*, as a *polis*-like community to describe those communities that adopt some characteristics of the Greek *polis* without necessarily taking on the political ideologies associated with the *polis* (Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 47–8), are appealing but not necessarily specific enough for our own use, since each community seems to respond to cultural pressures uniquely; the ancient authors themselves were not always consistent with their terminology (De Miro 1999; Fischer-Hansen 2002).

Yet the question of distinguishing identities in culturally-mixed settlements remains a vexed one. As noted in the Introduction, ethnic identity must also be contextually-dependent, as it is a social construct that changes over time, which may be as a result of interaction with other populations. Indeed, ethnic affiliation may not have been the driving factor in an individual's choice of material culture to use, but some other social factor(s). These identities need to be redefined, therefore, in light of cultural modifications, especially in mixed contexts. People of Greek and colonial origin living in interior sites was not an uncommon occurrence by the sixth century. This is implied in a range of evidence, from epigraphy to Greek cooking pots (Albanese Procelli 2003: 199, for instance). Comparable evidence for non-Greeks resident in the colonial sites is less apparent. Arguments for widespread intermarriage as far back as the eighth and seventh centuries have largely rested on the presence of Italic fibula types associated with women that have been found in the Greek colonies (e.g. Coldstream 1993), but with little else of the customs or material culture of the Sicilian populations (contracted burials do occur but are very uncommon: Albanese Procelli 2003: 143–4; Shepherd 2005a: 123). While common sense and human nature reason that it is extremely likely that multicultural unions did occur, the few burial examples and sporadic pottery remains in the colonies that may be attributed to Sicilian cultures hardly begins to account for the much more widespread use of Sicilian and Italic-style fibulas. Trade therefore still explains best the presence of these fibulas and associated ornaments in the colonies during the earlier colonial period, perhaps as the reciprocity for those particular Greek ceramics the non-Greek cultures wanted (e.g. wine wares but not perfume flasks) (Hodos 1999; Shepherd 1999; cf. de Angelis 2003b: 54; indeed, many of the fibulas at Megara Hyblaea are associated with children's burials and may therefore have other social symbolisms unrelated to ethnic affiliation). This is one example where it is particularly misleading to continue to make ethnic associations with artefacts, especially in light of the hybrid nature of settlements in Sicily. As emphasized already,

in such contexts material remains may take on different meanings from their original intended significance. This is part of the cultural codes of consumption, which modify as cultures develop through interaction and integration, and is related to the performative nature of identity display. The Sicilian Greek colonists embraced these fibulas as part of their own development as an evolving colonial culture.

It is clear that the Phoenicians also appreciated elements of Greek culture and shared similar values of status display.[31] Phoenician imitation of Greek decorative styles can be seen with the occasional use of the metope motif on ceramics found at Motya during the seventh century, a style that seems to have originated in Motya before spreading to Carthage and North Africa (Falsone 1988b: 45). Doric capitals and Greek sculptural styles were also used at Motya (Ciasca 1988–89: 85 for references), while the marble ephebe from the island site is an early fifth-century work by a Greek artist, most probably working in the Selinuntine workshop. There remains scholarly dissent over the identity of the figure, with some suggesting he is a Punic subject who commissioned the work, while others maintain that the subject is a Greek character, perhaps a charioteer or representation of Daedalos, and that the sculpture was carried off by the Phoenicians after the sack of Selinus at the end of the fifth century (Di Vita 1988; Diodorus 18.108.2–3 records the practice of taking sculptures as war booty from Akragas, Gela and Camarina by the Carthaginians at the end of the fifth century). The fact that a marble work of Greek craftsmanship was found at the Phoenician settlement betrays the interrelation between Greek and Phoenician cultural values by the fifth century. Such merging may have been helped by the presence of resident Greeks. In addition to the Greek funerary inscriptions in Motya mentioned above, a group of 15 tombs in one area of the Palermo necropolis with exclusively Greek material of the late sixth and fifth centuries – in contrast to the other contemporary tombs, which include Phoenician wares – may represent the burials of resident Greeks in this community (Tamburello 1966).

Shared material and related social values can be seen in the actions of the Sicilian populations during this time as well, evidenced most prominently by wine consumption and related rituals. Dietler's discussion of *commensal politics* (Dietler 1996, 1999) with regard to the cultural roles of food and drink consumption is reflected in the fact that the Greek ceramics in which the various cultures in Sicily were most interested were those related to wine consumption, which in the Greek world are ritually charged. As Dietler has explained, feasting rituals serve a variety of functions in the larger regional political economy, whether to articulate regional exchange systems, provide links to gods or ancestors, or as a means of labour mobilization.

So how might we interpret the role of these wine wares in Sicilian communities? There is little evidence of wine production in Sicily prior to the arrival of the Greeks. Wine may have been exchanged in more limited

quantities in organic containers rather than in their original shipping containers, or vessels we generally categorize as oil carriers may have been used for wine, such as Corinthian Type A and Attic SOS amphoras (Foxhall 1998: 302; Hodos 2000c: 48).[32] The exotic origin of wine would no doubt have been of great interest to the various communities. As Dietler has argued for France (Dietler 1999: 491–2), wine might have expanded the base for political competition, allowing individuals to bypass the traditional methods of the elite in power strategies. The early Iron Age is a period of increasing egalitarianism in Sicily in terms of material culture, so it is possible that the use of wine in political, social and religious arenas here may have played a similar role to that in France, allowing individual elites to compete for social prestige using a new vocabulary rooted in customs and practices more than and not just materials.

As the pottery associated with wine consumption becomes increasingly common during the seventh and particularly the sixth centuries BC in non-colonial contexts, the association transfers from one of individual display to group definition (Foxhall 1998: 298; Antonaccio 2001: 132), in a manner commensurate with contemporary practices.[33] In turn, power and status were derived from the organization of exchange. For instance, it has been argued that sanctuary areas at settlements such as Monte San Mauro and Morgantina served as safe exchange points for local communities (for Sikel exchanges and Sikel–Greek exchanges), evidenced by quantities of transport amphoras, and that control of such exchange enhanced elite power, including the ability to acquire additional foreign goods (Antonaccio 2001: 131–4).

Reinterpreted value systems of shared origin are characteristic of the Sicilian communities emerging during the sixth and fifth centuries. Many communities adopted certain common elements of Greek culture, such as geometric motifs on pottery, Ionian drinking cups or trefoil oinochoai. Yet the local artists and community members modified the manner in which these ideas had been used originally to imbue them with more localized significance. The Sicilian populations were very specific in their interests in Greek culture, however, and chose not to adopt other traits, such as Greek dress, jewellery and even coinage (for a time).[34] It must be remembered that there is no evidence of the Sicilian peoples being forced to use Greek ceramics or to change their burial practices to Greek ones (agency could even be appreciated even if there was a wholesale adoption of Greek rites). There is no evidence that the use of a Greek form of burial was a symbol of social status, since in many cases associated grave goods do not appear to be of higher worth. There are no written sources that suggest that traditional practices were outlawed; Sikels and Sikans made deliberate choices about the materials they used, the customs they adopted and adapted, and the manner in which they reinterpreted these ideas for their own purposes.

One of the central and defining aspects of a middle ground is the willingness of those who created it to justify their own actions in terms of what they

perceive to be their partner's cultural premises; while those operating in the middle ground may have acted for interests derived from their own culture, they had to convince people of another culture that some mutual action was fair and legitimate (White 1991: 52). Ducetius's historical actions and archaeological legacies reflect this very scenario and reveal the true extent of shared and modified cultural values developed from the middle grounds of Sicily by the fifth century BC.

During the middle of the fifth century, Ducetius established himself as leader of a Sikel federation after leading a successful Sikel–Syracusan alliance against Aetna/Catania in 461 BC (Diodorus 11.76.3). He went on to establish Menainon, above Palikè, in 459 and redistributed the surrounding land to his settlers in a manner typical of the earlier Greek colonists and subsequent tyrants. He destroyed and refounded Morgantina in the same year, and in 451 moved against Inessa, threatening territory in the region of Akragas. He was captured by Syracuse and exiled to Corinth. Ducetius returned to Sicily in 448, pardoned and armed with an oracle from Delphi instructing him to found a new settlement, which he did at Kale Akte, dying there in 446 BC.

There is strong evidence that a massive banqueting hall, a *hestiaterion*, was constructed at Palikè during the time that the site served as Ducetius' confederation seat. The plan of the core of the building, three rooms on the north side of a central court, seems to have been adopted directly from the Hestiaterion of Megara Hyblaea, with the addition of two extra rooms along the court on the east and west sides (Maniscalco and McConnell 2003: 157–8). The monumental and dramatic setting for the sanctuary buildings at Palikè reflect a vision by Ducetius, who seems to have aligned the Palikè structures on an axis running from the nearby town of Menai, not coincidentally Ducetius' birthplace, through the natural sanctuary of the boiling lakes to the built sanctuary of his creation (Maniscalco and McConnell 2003: 163). The prominence of the Hestiaterion rather than a temple further differentiates this sanctuary from Greek ones, even though architecturally the buildings are in complete accordance with contemporary structures throughout the Greek world.

Ducetius's actions throughout this period of history as described by Diodorus are exactly those of an oikist or a tyrant, as noted by Malkin, Demand and others (Malkin 1987: 89 and 239; Demand 1990: 45; Manganaro 1999; Antonaccio 2001: 136–7). He obtains foundation oracles, refounds cities, and parcels out land. His actions are, in fact, very Greek, albeit in the name of Sikel hegemony. Antonaccio notes that Ducetius' use of Greek political, cultic and settlement forms 'only indicates the thorough entanglement of Greek and Sikel interests and modes by the mid-fifth century' (Antonaccio 2001: 137). It may be more than a mere entanglement. Ducetius uses his understanding of Greek ways to manipulate the political situation in Sicily during this time. His exile to Corinth and return armed with a foundation

oracle, in particular, demonstrate his deep understanding of Greek myth-politics, heroization and political control, allowing him to act in a manner understandable to the Greeks, and to interact with the Greeks using concepts they would understand. At the same time, his actions in the name of Sikel culture remind us of the complexity of cultural distinctions borne out of the middle grounds of Iron Age Sicily.

4

NORTH AFRICA

North Africa has been traditionally one of the most difficult areas in which to assess the impact of colonial movements upon non-colonial populations during the Mediterranean Iron Age, largely because extremely little of Libyan material culture has been dated to this period. Despite recent detailed survey projects, such as the UNESCO Libyan Valleys Archaeological Survey and the Fazzan Project, much of the material culture in the pre-desert and desert regions can only be dated through association with imported goods, none of which have been dated to before the fourth century at the earliest. Part of this may be related to the fact that many of the Libyan populations were largely nomadic or semi-nomadic groups at this time, leaving little occupational build-up as associated with sedentary societies. Evidence for the adoption and adaptation of foreign ideas by these peoples in their own territories is scarce until the second and first centuries BC, by which time epigraphic remains support the integration of North Africans in the coastal settlements founded originally by Greeks and Phoenicians.

This Libyan disinterest in Greek and Phoenician social and material culture was interpreted by earlier scholarship solely from a colonial perspective and taken as evidence that the Greeks and Phoenicians themselves had concerns in North Africa only for reasons of agricultural self-sufficiency and profit, rather than for commercial opportunities with new markets. Law, for instance, states that the Greeks were not interested in trading with the Libyan populations but merely in acquiring good agricultural land; he claims the inland location of some colonial foundations as further evidence that trade with others was not the primary function of these settlements but that agricultural and related opportunities were. He argues that the Phoenicians, whose interests were in trade over agriculture, merely used their North African settlements as resupply stations for their ships en route to Spain, or perhaps as trading posts for minor exchanges (Law 1978). The idea of agency on the part of the Libyans with regard to any exchange was, and has continued to be, largely ignored.

Twelfth-century BC mythological foundation dates are attributed to the Phoenician settlements of Lixus, on Morocco's Atlantic coast, and Utica, in

the Gulf of Tunis. Archaeologically, however, the oldest Phoenician colony is Carthage, also in the Gulf of Tunis. Its foundation date is given as 814 BC, but the earliest archaeological evidence so far dates only to the eighth century BC. Most Phoenician settlement in North Africa dates archaeologically to the seventh and sixth centuries. Further east of Carthage, sites were established along the coast of Libya at Lepcis Magna, Sabratha and Oea (Figure 4.1). These three cities were collectively known as Trepolis by the Greeks, and the term ultimately gave rise to the Roman designate Tripolitania for this region.

It is thought that some of these sites were originally only seasonally occupied. At Sabratha, for instance, the earliest levels (sixth century BC) consisted of mudbrick houses, small in size and regularly interspersed with windblown sandy deposits, implying brief periods without occupation between the regular reconstruction of the houses (Ward 1970; Kendrick 1986; Dore and Keay 1989; Fulford and Tomber 1994). At Lepcis, however, the earliest structures, which are dated by corresponding ceramic finds to the seventh century, are stone-built (Bandinelli *et al.* 1964; Carter 1965; Bakir 1968); this implies more settled occupation. Oea has not been systematically excavated, as it lies under modern-day Tripoli (Jones 1989; Mattingly 1995).

The Greeks also became interested in North Africa during the seventh century. Therans settled on the Cyrenaican coast at Aziris sometime during the 630s BC before moving to the Gebel Akhdar plateau above, where they founded Cyrene. This site gave its name to the region, which is where the next good harbours can be found east along the North African coastline from Tripolitania (Mattingly 1995). Almost immediately, colonists from Cyrene founded several other settlements along this coastline, including Apollonia, Ptolemais, Euesperides and Tocra, and Barca further inland. As noted above,

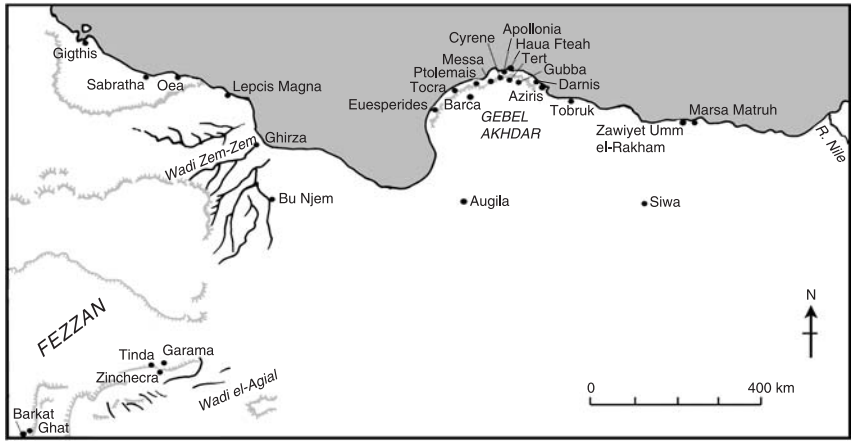


Figure 4.1 North Africa.

there is a widely held conviction that the Greeks' interest in this territory, which extended as far as 40 km inland (Goodchild *et al.* 1976), was for its agricultural prospects; thus their foundations around the fertile coastal plain consolidated their hold on this land, much as Syracuse did to control south-eastern Sicily through its strategically-placed offshoot settlements. With the second wave of colonists who arrived c.580 BC, pressure upon this territory became acute. Local resistance, even reinforced by Egyptian allies, failed, and land in the chora was parcelled out between the various Greek settlements (Jones-Martin *et al.* 1998; see also Laronde 1994; Chamoux 1953). The Greeks next tried to expand to Tripolitania, just east of Lepcis, but the nascent settlement founded by the Spartan Doreius in 515 BC was expelled after two years by the Macae and the Phoenicians. This effectively limited Greek expansion. Competition for territory remained, however, and during the fifth and fourth centuries there continued to be altercations over land between the Greeks and their Libyan neighbours (Laronde 1990).

Tripolitania and Cyrenaica possess the two areas with the highest rainfall in the otherwise desolate Libyan littoral (McBurney and Hey 1955), while the coastal stretch in between, Syrtica, remains one of the least hospitable in the Mediterranean (Mattingly 2000b), so the former are the natural territories for settlement by those used to and interested in more fertile environments and safe harbours. They also represent the Mediterranean end of the caravan routes from the Sahara desert to the south (Law 1978: 127), and there is literary evidence that implies awareness of these routes and the possibilities of trading opportunities with the interior populations for the colonial economies. Herodotus' description (4.196) of the trade mechanism between an unnamed Libyan people and the Carthaginians, whereby goods were deposited on the beach and gold left in exchange, with the two populations never meeting, implies that exchange did occur between the Phoenicians and Libyans, although this better fits a model related to gift-exchange than trade-for-profit (Parise 1976). Elsewhere we are told that the Phoenicians acquired precious stones from the Nasamones and Garamantes (Law 1978: 127; Smith 2003: 59). Herodotus' references to Libyan activities in the harvesting of silphium for the Greeks in Cyrenaica, who then exported it throughout the Mediterranean (Figure 4.2), demonstrates that trade of agricultural produce was also a major force in the Greek colonial economies. The Libyans involved in this activity are not described as slaves, however, but more like collaborators; this implies more complicated networks and levels of interaction and exchange between the Libyan and foreign populations (see below, and also Barker 1996: 83–109).[1] Fourth-century conflicts with the Libyan populations may therefore have been closely integrated with Barcan and Cyrenean competition against Carthage for control over the trans-Saharan caravan routes as much as for territorial control in littoral regions (Laronde 1987b: 199–218, 1990).

Figure 4.2 Lakonian cup by the Arkesilas painter showing King Arkesilas II (569–568 BC) supervizing the loading of silphium (or perhaps wool) for export (© Bibliotheque Nationale, Cab. Med. 189).

The North African populations

Underlying these interpretations is the premise that the Greeks and Phoenicians were largely focused on their Mediterranean opportunities rather than inland ones. One obvious reason for this is simply that the Libyans themselves were disinterested in the material offerings of the colonists, and that they were active agents in their interactions with the Greeks and Phoenicians. The fact that there is little evidence of foreign influence on their ways of life until the first century BC only serves to reinforce this notion. This is most significant given traditional scholarship that has seen and considered only a unidirectional impact of Greek and Phoenician colonization on local populations elsewhere in the Mediterranean, for here are populations who demonstrate no interest in the material trappings of Hellenic and Oriental civilizations for centuries.

There has been a dependency upon the literary sources for an understanding of the nature of the Libyan populations, yet these sources are ultimately Greek and therefore must be subject to the same interpretative biases

outlined before.[2] Herodotus' references in book 4 remain our primary earliest source for the interactions between the Libyan peoples and the foreign populations along the coast (although Hekataios wrote about the Libyans at the end of the sixth century, only fragments of his work survive). Subsequent authors, such as Diodorus Siculus and later Roman writers, ultimately relied upon these Greek authors, each other, or their own experiences and interpretations within the political and historical contexts in which they were writing. For instance, Herodotus names 18 different Libyan groups whose territories spread from the Egyptian border to western Tripolitania, while Pliny cites 516 *populi* in North Africa, excluding Cyrenaica and the Mauretanian provinces. The likely explanation for this may be different interpretations of social hierarchy with regard to contemporary social contexts. Herodotus may be referring to the most major social groupings; in contrast, it is unlikely that Pliny's list represented only one stratum in the hierarchy. Furthermore, multiple hierarchical identities were probably at play at any given time, ranging from perhaps close kin groups all the way to the most broad tribal-like confederation. Mela alludes to extensive family ties as a form of confederation (1.8.41–8), for example, while Diodorus Siculus demonstrates that a number of ethnic identities or sub-groups made up the Macae (3.49.1). The various levels of the social hierarchies of the Libyan societies did not necessarily map neatly onto Roman social distinction terminology, and so terms such as *natio* and *gens* were used interchangeably by some authors and not others (Mattingly 1995: 19–37).

As Mattingly has neatly observed (1995: 22–4 and table 2.1), these Roman literary descriptions arrange the discussion of populations with an increasing sense of decivilization as one progresses further and further inland. Thus, those who dwell near the coast or coastal plain of the Mediterranean live in towns and are sedentary agriculturalists (the Libyphoenices); Proximes and Gaetuli, whose territory lies in the coastal hinterland, live in huts and are non-sedentary pastoralists; those in the interior, such as the Garamantes and Augilae, are described as barbaric and promiscuous; in the deeper interior of Africa, Troglodytae live underground and are utterly uncivilized, while in the deepest interior of the continent, mythical populations such as Blemys and Satyres live; efforts by Roman geographers to locate the Lotophages were utterly anachronistic. Even from our limited archaeological understanding of many of these populations, we know that this broad picture cannot be even slightly accurate. The Garamantes, for instance, were skilled agriculturalists and pastoralists and were settled in towns and villages deep in interior oases. The relative sophistication of sedentary agriculture over pastoralism as described by Roman authors is more reflective of Roman social values than any kind of accurate reflection of the Libyan societies. Diodorus Siculus, for instance, uses agriculture as a criteria for social hierarchy, distinguishing farmers from pastoralists from those who provided a kind of military protection, although there is no indication that sedentary populations were

politically dominant over pastoral ones in this area, and intervention by military force may have also resulted in changeable social structures.

Herodotus expresses his categorizations differently, distinguishing the populations east of the Gulf of Gabes as nomadic pastoralists from those to the west of the Gulf of Gabes, who practised sedentary agriculture and lived in permanent settlements. We are told that the Nasamones, for instance, lived in portable dwellings made of plant materials; they grazed their cattle by the sea to the west of the Greek settlements at Tocra and Euesperides, and harvested dates considerably inland to the south, in a region that took 20 days to reach from Thebes in Egypt. Herodotus's emphasis that the populations within Cyrenaica engaged in nomadic activities over a large geographical area served as a means of justifying earlier Greek occupation of the cultivatable areas of the Gebel Akhdar.

Strict divisions along agricultural practices are perhaps a simplistic interpretation of the past realities, for it is more likely the pastoralists and sedentary agriculturalists had a more symbiotic relationship (Mattingly 1995: 37–8; Barker 1996: 109). Today, tribes transhume from the various hillgroups along the coasts of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica to Fezzan, and in the more marginal ecological areas, pastoralism is of greater importance, although there remains a degree of mixed economy (part pastoral, part cultivator: Mattingly 1995: 38). According to ancient literary sources (see Applebaum 1979: 82–7 for references), the Libyan economy was based on seasonal transhumance, especially the pastoral grazing of sheep, goats, cattle and horses, and Libyans continued to manage livestock and agricultural resources for the Greeks and Phoenicians, whether by coercion or economic incentives. But crop cultivation was clearly well-known, since literary references emphasize that the Libyans harvested silphium for the Greeks (Chamoux 1987; El-Athram 1986). However, the deliberate cultivation in North Africa of other crops and foodstuffs such as wheat and barley, grapes, olives, figs, cumin, saffron, dates and honey, as well as citrus wood, salt, purple, perfumes and vegetables are all attributed to Greek and Phoenician colonial initiatives (Applebaum 1979: 84–6; Elrashedy 2002: 4–15; established farms in the hinterland of the Phoenician settlements of Tripolitania have not been dated to before the Roman period: Jones 1989). The early cultivation of bread wheats, date palms and irrigated crops by the Garamantes, however, is attested by palaeobotanical samples and remains of irrigation systems from and around Zinchecra, indicating sedentary agricultural practices in the northern Sahara oases as early as the ninth century BC (Daniels 1970; van der Veen 1992; Mattingly 1995).[3]

Ancient caravan routes connected oases to the north and south, and east and west. Most datable evidence come from Roman-period cippi and monuments, but it is extremely probable that these routes would have been used far earlier (McBurney and Hey 1955; Luni 1980). Horses were probably the main transport animal and would have been used to draw wheeled vehicles.

This is suggested by Herodotus' observations of the use of wheeled vehicles by several of the Libyan populations and indicated by the representations of several types of horse-drawn chariot-type vehicles in rock art. Herodotus, in fact, credits the Asbystae with the introduction of the four-horse chariot to the Greeks, while he notes that among the Zaueces, it is the women who drive the war chariots. According to him, the Garamantes also have chariots, yet this appears to be in contradiction to an earlier comment that they have no weapons, do not defend themselves, and generally strive to avoid interaction with other peoples. This particular description is, in fact, more in keeping with Pliny and Mela's descriptions of the Gamphasantes, and can be dismissed by archaeological evidence for metalworking technology in Garama. Although this material correlate dates to the Roman period (Daniels 1970: 41; Mattingly 2003: 121–2 and 356), metalworking must have been introduced by contact with others (even if the Garamantes really did not use it previously in conjunction with the wheeled vehicles Herodotus was impressed by). Bronzeworking was known by at least those Libyans in contact with Egypt and the wider Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age at Marsa Matruh (see below), although Libyan access to metal resources remains difficult to assess.

The use of wheeled vehicles also implies a degree of cavalry-based warfare, and in fact it is Roman authors such as Livy and Lucan who discuss the riding and fighting styles of the various peoples (see Mattingly 1995: 40–1 with particular regard to Roman conflicts with North African populations). Greek and Roman references to the Libyan use of horses may be a reflection of their own social values, however, where cavalry members maintained a higher social status than, say, infantry, since the rearing of horses was a costly activity. Cavalry members therefore had to have a certain amount of financial collateral. References to the interest by Libyan kings in horse-breeding might imply social differentiation within broader Libyan society to a readership that would associate horses with elite status. The emphasis on horses in Pliny may also be related to his own career as a cavalry officer, and therefore a reflection of personal interest.

Chronologies in North Africa

The tight chronology of Greek decorated pottery provides clear chronological frameworks for the Greek and Phoenician settlements. The disinterest in any foreign ceramics on the part of the Libyan populations for several centuries after the colonial foundations has made the study of the Libyan ceramic chronology particularly challenging, as shapes and motifs in the Libyan repertoire seem to have a long periods of use with little typological development.

To date, McBurney 1967 remains the best attempt to classify the Libyan pottery sequence for Cyrenaica. His chronology was based upon his finds at the prehistoric site of Haua Fteah, a large natural cave on the coast just east

of Apollonia, from where he classified pottery production techniques and styles that changed intermittently over broad swaths of time. Levels III and IV are dated only to between 2500 and 500 BC, for instance, with no more specific a breakdown. Before this period, virtually all pottery was tempered with shell and grit, and burnished. During this time, however, a higher proportion was fired in fully oxidized conditions. Coarser surface treatments were gradually introduced; only one-third of ceramics attributed to strata associated with these later levels were burnished; the rest had roughened interior and exterior vessel walls, with careful horizontal tooling being used for the outside faces (Figure 4.3). As for the vessels themselves, they continued to be handmade, relatively thin-walled, and rounded/globular, as in earlier periods. There seems to have been developments in rim types during the later phases, however, with the introduction of jars with inverted lips and thickened rims, and a true, flattened rim with a curved, everted neck.

A more articulated chronology can only be arrived at if there is a contextual relationship with closely datable imports, which in this case would be ceramics from the Mediterranean. The area of Marsa Matruh on the northwest coast of modern Egypt has been the subject of such an examination. Excavations on Bates' Island, just off the coast at Marsa Matruh, have revealed that Mediterranean merchants brought Cypriot, Canaanite, Minoan and Mycenaean pottery, Egyptian faience, stone and metal tools and weapons to the resident population, presumably in exchange for North African specialities such as ostrich eggshell and other organic goods. Stone tools and other

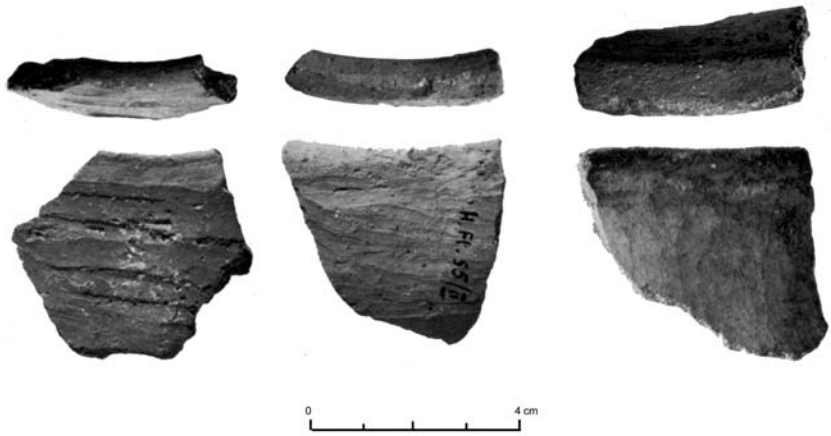


Figure 4.3 Bronze Age/Iron Age Cyrenaican pottery (© Cambridge University Press 1967 and reproduced with permission from C.B.M. McBurney *The Haua Fteah (Cyrenaica) and the Stone Age of the South-East Mediterranean*: McBurney 1967: pl. ix.10: 1, 3, 4).

lithics, as well as bronzeworking remains, evidenced by bronze detritus and crucible pieces, demonstrate that the settlement's inhabitants were producing sinkers, weights, points, blades and fish hooks, which were most likely for their own local use. The chronological range of foreign items demonstrates that the site was active during the fourteenth century BC and continuing into the thirteenth century (Bates 1927; Knapp 1981; White 1990, 1994, 2002a, 2002b; White and White 1996).

To the south-east of Marsa Matruh itself, a Bronze Age cemetery was found (Bates 1915, 1927: cemetery A; White 1994, 2002a). Five shallow cist burials had been cut into the sandstone ridge. Each of the two burials that were not empty contained a single adult skeleton in a semi-contracted position. The graves had a few basalt and terracotta vessels, several sherds and an assemblage of mollusc shells. This cemetery has been attributed to the Libyans, as opposed to Egyptians, and Bates dated it to somewhere between 2000 and 1500 BC by comparison with stone and clay vessel techniques in Old Kingdom Egypt. A date of c.1500 BC was recently assigned to two of the terracotta vessels as the result of luminescence dating (White 1994).

Bates' vessels from his cemetery (Figure 4.4) and pottery from the recent excavations at Marsa Matruh (Figure 4.5) find similarities with McBurney's descriptions of his Late Bronze Age Libyan types from Haua Fteah. The Marsa Matruh examples were usually made of black coarse shell-tempered, burnished ware. Vessel shapes include round-bodied jars with everted rims, or flat-based, round-bellied jars with a flared neck and plain or squared-off rims. Horned handles or loop handles at the shoulder were also found (Hulin 1989: 121–3). The Haua Fteah examples, described above, included a slightly globular body form, similar rim types and burnishing. Decoration in both areas included incised geometric lines and cross-hatching. Parallels may

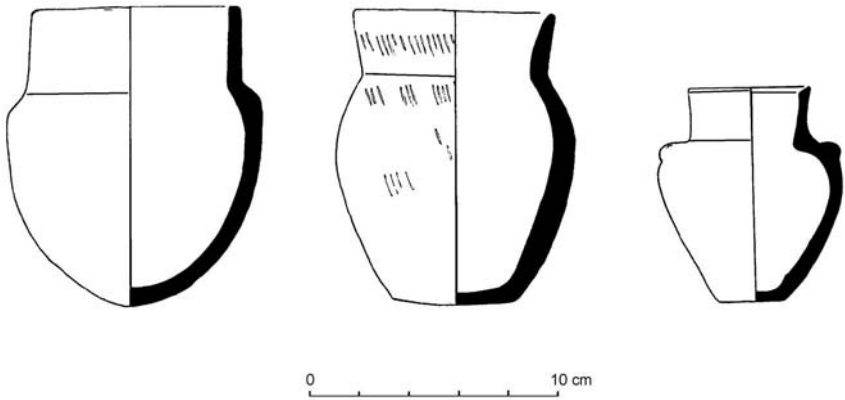


Figure 4.4 Terracotta Late Bronze Age vessels from Bates' Libyan cemetery near Marsa Matruh (after White 1994: fig. 1: d, e, f).

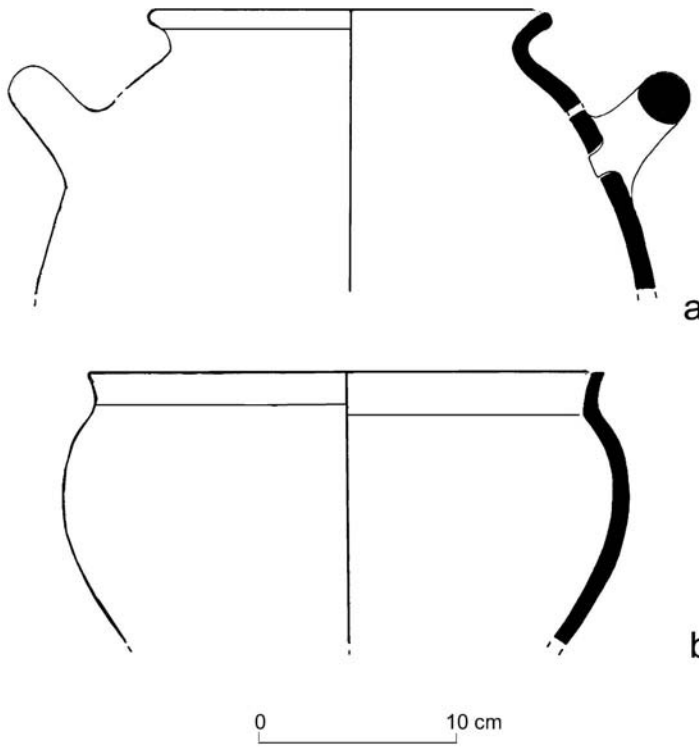


Figure 4.5 Pottery from Marsa Matruh (after Hulin 1989: fig. 6a and b).

also be seen in the handmade grey-black sherds from Cyrene's pre-Greek level directly underneath the Archaic city, whose fabrics also contained shell (Figure 4.6) (and it has been suggested that McBurney's sequence be raised from 500 to 700 BC so as to allow for a pre-Greek occupation: Baldassare 1987). Shell-tempered body sherds have also been found at Archaic Tocra

Figure 4.6 Pre-Greek sherds from Cyrene: (© L'Erma di Bretschneider and reproduced with permission: Baldassarre 1987: 20–1, pl. 1, nos. e–h).

and Euesperides (Tocra: Boardman and Hayes 1966: 142, 1973: 3–4, 66; Euesperides: Wilson *et al.* 2001: 171). It is tempting, therefore, to relate these examples to one another, with the Haua Fteah and Marsa Matruh examples reflecting Bronze Age types, and the sherds from Cyrene, Tocra and Euesperides representing the seventh and sixth centuries.

This cannot be fully substantiated, however, as some of the Marsa Matruh examples have recently been redated to the Roman period, and perhaps as late as the seventh century AD (Hulin 1999, 2001), while the Black Coarse ware has been reclassified as Cypriot and Egyptian coarseware imports (Hulin 2002). Hulin's analyses of the pottery from recent work in the Marsa Matruh region and from nearby Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham furthermore suggest that shape and decoration must be the defining factor of date, rather than fabric, since the same natural resources were exploited for long periods of time. In addition, although the pots from Bates' Libyan cemetery are probably Late Bronze Age in date, their fabric bears little relation to other local wares found in the Marsa Matruh region or around Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham (Hulin, personal communication). Only the decoration of a bag-shaped jar in Marmaric Fabric 1 (non-shell tempered) finds comparison with a piece from Bates' Libyan cemetery (Hulin 2001: 67).

Marmaric Fabric 2, which is shell-tempered, may be Bronze Age or Iron Age in date, but it may also belong to the Roman period (Hulin 2001: 69–70).[4] Various ceramic remains demonstrate a long period of production for this type of pottery. The shape of vessels in this fabric consists of open, flat-bottoms bowls, sometimes with cloth and coil impressions, lug-handled bowls, and flat-bottomed jars. Similar difficulties with more precise dating can also be found in the Libyan interior, in the territory of the Garamantes, where the traditional Libyan pottery tradition of handmade vessels decorated with incised motifs on the rims and shoulders continued to be produced into the first centuries AD (Azebi *et al.* 1998).

Like pottery, flint tools also had a long period of production. Microflints similar to those on Bates' Island were discovered by the 1962 survey of the Cyrenaican coast between Tocra and Tobruk and are presumed to be Bronze Age in date.[5] Flint tools continued to be manufactured by various Libyan populations through the Roman period and possibly later (Barker 1996: 105).

In sum, insufficient fieldwork has taken place to allow for anything other than very general chronological or typological reconstruction of the materials made and used by the Libyan populations. In most regions, excavation work has tended to focus on major urban settlements, whether Libyan or foreign. In Tripolitania, for instance, only Lepcis Magna, Sabratha and Gigthis (in existence by the third century BC at the latest) have been well-excavated (limited excavation has taken place at other well-preserved sites, such as Ghirza: Mattingly 1995). Even in the Fezzan, excavation has focused on the urban complexes of Garama and Zinchecra (Daniels 1970), although recent

survey work throughout the region has revealed more extensive non-urban activities (Barker 1996; Mattingly 2003). With the use of applied scientific methods, specific dates for pre-Roman material is being fine-tuned: radiocarbon dates from Zinchecra, one the Garamantes centres, demonstrates occupation from the ninth century BC, for instance (van der Veen 1992). Only the unification of current knowledge from survey evidence and past fieldwork with present techniques and future fieldwork will allow us to further our understandings, chronological and otherwise, of the various Libyan populations.

Libyan communities

Occupation beyond the colonial centres in North Africa was centred on wadis, perennial springs or oases in the pre-desert and desert regions (Mattingly 1995, 2003), and recent research by the UNESCO Libyan Valleys Survey and the Fazzan Project in particular has revealed a variety of settlement types in the pre-desert landscape and the desert oases respectively.

One feature common in the pre-desert valleys and desert oases are *pyrgoi* or *gasr*, fort-like towers which Diodorus suggests were constructed to be used as store-houses at noted water sources (3.49; for their typology in Fezzan, see Mattingly 2003: 151–4). Their fortified nature implies that permanent and defensive structures were built possibly to serve the dual function of protecting water rights and acting as repositories for non-portable goods and crops (Mattingly 1995, 2003). Stone *pyrgoi* were constructed in Cyrenaica proper as well. At sites along the coast, such as at Gariet Sidi Omran below Cyrene, and Eluet Baya, 5 km to the west of Apollonia (Laronde 1990; see also Laronde 1987a, 1987b: 257–323), they formed the nucleus of small settlements, where they were surrounded by closed courtyard buildings of rectangular plan which were generally constructed of mudbrick with stone foundations. Elsewhere in the Gebel Akhdar, particularly the next band of settlement along the route from Darnis to behind Cyrene, larger villages such as Gubba and Tert were established to take advantage of the agricultural potential of the region (Laronde 1990). These may reflect communities of local Libyans, including those who managed the silphium harvest for the Greeks, for the architecture within these sites bears little resemblance to those of the Greek colonies: at Tocra, for instance, the first houses, of the late seventh and early sixth centuries, were curvilinear in plan; houses in rectilinear form were not constructed until after the first half of the sixth century (Boardman and Hayes 1966; see also Stucchi 1975).

Hillfort sites are another common settlement type. These were located generally on flat-topped, steep-sided spurs of wadi systems in the pre-desert and in the oases of Fezzan, usually with a single point of entry. They were probably regularly occupied by populations engaged in a degree of sedentary agriculture, but not necessarily year-round, at least in the

pre-desert given the limited water resources. A series of hillforts in the Zem-Zem wadi, in the territory of the Macae, were of the *éperon barré* type, whereby the narrow isthmus that joined the promontories to the main escarpment was fortified with walls, rock-cut ditches and gates. The interiors of these hillfort settlements were often densely built up. Architecture and associated remains, which have dated many of these to the first millennium AD, may overlie earlier phases (ZZ7 has pre-Roman occupation: Barker 1996; see also Mattingly 1995).

Zinchecra in Fezzan is a well-excavated example of this kind of site. Occupied as early as the ninth century BC, its initial area of habitation was on the north face of the settlement spur, where post holes, rough hollows carved in the hillside and hearths have been found (Daniels 1989). Contemporary examples may also be seen at Cyrene, where there is evidence of open-air huts ('abitati all'aperto, in capanne e non in grotta': Baldassare 1987: 22) underneath Archaic strata to the west of the Greek city's agora; Carter and Bates came across them elsewhere in Cyrenaica (Carter 1963; Bates 1914: 183, 247–8). Circular squatter huts have also been found at Zawiyet umm-el Rakham (Hulin, personal communication). This implies that such a settlement style was used over a wide geographical area, and therefore by different Libyan communities, during the earlier part of the first millennium BC.

At Zinchecra, these were soon replaced by structures of oval or sub-rectangular plan constructed with dry-stone walling and wattling (Figure 4.7), after which the site itself was enclosed within a terrace wall. This served more to pen livestock, attested by rich dung remains within the enclosed area, than for defensive purposes, although a wall across the neck of the promontory was clearly for protection, and is one of the defining features of an *éperon barré*. By the end of the first millennium, mudbrick had gradually become the primary building material (or mudbrick-coated palm fronds: Mattingly 2003: 162), and during the first century AD, cut and dressed stone foundations were used to support mudbrick superstructures of rectilinear plan. In total, eight hectares of the northern slopes and top of the spur were occupied by over 200 structures (Daniels 1970, 1989; Mattingly 2003).

Another Fezzan site, Tinda, is of the *flatiron* type, with a hillslope in front of the main escarpment and steep slopes extending into deep gullies on either side. The settlement itself was situated on terraces down the slope, while a narrow land bridge connected the flatiron to the escarpment slope. The domestic structures, built of mudbrick, remained oval in plan even at the end of the first millennium BC (Mattingly 2003: 162–3). At Garama itself, where the earliest occupation has been dated by accelerator mass spectrometry to the fourth century BC (Mattingly 2003: 163), mudbrick was the initial building material, and the structures, rectangular in plan with beaten floors and interior hearths, were well planned and well laid out. These were replaced by larger mudbrick buildings on trench-dug stone foundations (Daniels 1970, 1989). During the course of the first millennium, these sites

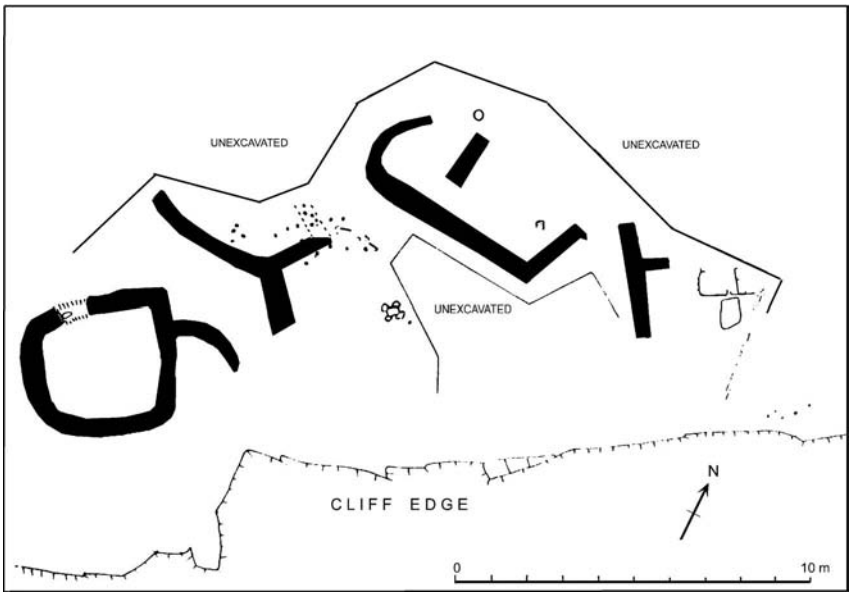


Figure 4.7 Drystone houses from Zinchecra (© Oleander Press and reproduced with permission: Daniels 1970: pl. 10.2).

display evidence of building orientation, street grids, sometimes buildings of a public nature, and perhaps even reflect social status through domestic architectural developments, all of which suggest that urbanism, with its broader ideologies, was an independent evolution among some of the Libyan populations, unrelated to Greek, Phoenician or even Roman activities. This is not to say that they were uninfluenced by foreign tastes. The use of dressed stone may reflect a technique known already in Fezzan that was given supplemental impetus as a result of Roman contact (Mattingly 2003: 165).

In conjunction with hill settlements in the Fezzan oases, farms were built in the nearby wadi-like valleys (Figure 4.8).[6] The architecture of these farms was often elaborate. Some were built with ashlar masonry, while others had carefully-coursed blockwork masonry similar to *gasr* constructions. There were farms, in fact, that do seem to have been fortified with the tower-like *gasr* structure. More common, however, were courtyard farms, in which a series of rectangular or sub-rectangular rooms were attached to an enclosure and constructed with roughly coursed, irregular dry-stone walling (Mattingly with Dore 1996). Although the earliest imported ceramics at such farms date to the Roman period, it must be noted that many of these sites have been surveyed rather than excavated. Given the early dates for occupation and agricultural activities at Zinchecra, it is more than likely that farming in the wadi-like oasis valleys was already a practice in the

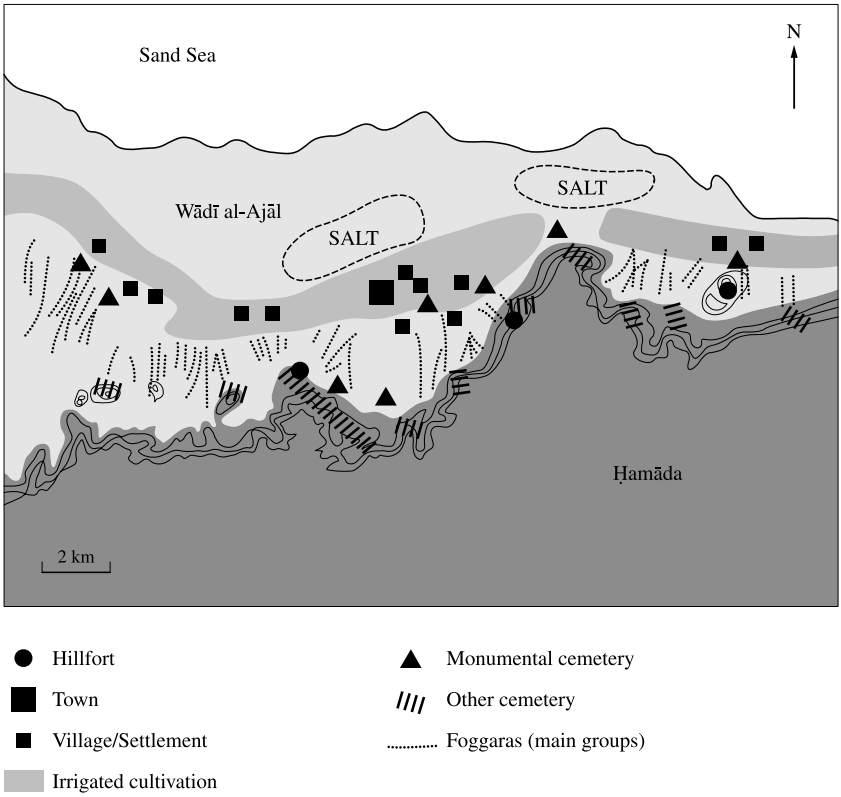


Figure 4.8 Garamantian settlement pattern (reproduced with kind permission from D. Mattingly: Mattingly 2003: fig. 9.15).

pre-Roman period. It has been suggested that the *foggara* irrigation systems were known at this time, as there is evidence that they were utilized at least by the second half of the first millennium BC in western Egypt (Mattingly 2003, but see van der Veen 1992).

The nucleated settlement pattern and necessary investment in the extensive *foggara* infrastructure suggests that farming management in the desert oases was a state-controlled enterprise. In contrast, the more dispersed pattern of occupation in the pre-desert implies an agricultural system based on elite control of farming in the wadis (Mattingly 2001). Here, occasional hilltop villages were augmented by a series of elite-controlled farms and farmsteads near and around wadi junctions and headwaters (Barker 1996: 191–225); although these farms are Roman in date, some must have functioned in earlier times to support the hillfort settlements.

Burial customs

The burial customs of the Libyan populations are difficult to date with certainty in the absence of associated diagnostic examples of objects with better-established chronologies. It is largely only by the end of first millennium BC that foreign items appear in such contexts, particularly those further away from the coastal settlements: Garamantian burials contained glassware and various pottery forms imported from Italy, for instance (Daniels 1989). A close dating of pre-Roman burials therefore remains problematic. This is particularly the case for the more basic grave types, such as simple tumuli, stone mounds or tumuli surrounded by bands of stones, as they have a long history of use. In Cyrenaica, for instance, the earliest simple tumuli or stone mounds date to the Neolithic period, while the enormous mound near Messa is dated to the late seventh or early sixth century BC (Figure 4.9) (Stucchi 1964, 1987), with the custom continuing into the Hellenistic period (Stucchi 1987; Laronde 1990; Gosline 1995). Tumuli with patterned enclosures also have Neolithic origins, as do circles of stone around tumuli and stone cylindrical tombs (Gosline 1995), although it is impossible to determine how long these forms continued to be utilized. This suggests long-standing social hierarchy, as it is assumed that the leading community members were accorded such elaborately built tombs.

In the inland wadis and oases, cemeteries were often located on a skyline ridge or some other elevated position to be highly visible, serving perhaps as territorial markers or landscape reference points. In Fezzan, for instance, there is almost continuous burial along 75 miles of escarpment (Mattingly 2000a). A variety of tomb types was utilized, ranging from the most simple cairn-like forms to cylindrical, quadrangular and pyramid-shaped tombs (see Mattingly with Edwards 2003 for the most recent typology). The earliest seem to be the simple cairns. Stelae are associated with the more complex tomb types, and appear to date largely to the Roman period, judging by associated pottery. The increasing elaboration of graves and their superstructures perhaps culminates with the famous Germa Mausoleum, which many have interpreted as a reflection of Roman-influenced ideas of appropriate representation of wealth and status after life, notions that were reinforced by the inclusion of imported objects as graves goods (Mattingly with Dore 1996; see also Daniels 1975; El-Rashdy 1986; Gosline 1995). It is not a case of wholesale adoption, however. While the Germa Mausoleum may resemble examples from Sabratha, for instance (Di Vita 1968), the lack of an underground chamber, the use of a pedimental roof similar to those found in contemporary buildings in Germa, and the presence of two cremation burials next to the structure itself suggest a reinterpretation of such burial ideologies within the context of Garamantian culture.

A closer look at the variety of stelae used also suggests reinterpretations and hybrid cultural developments. The adoption of the idea of the stela by

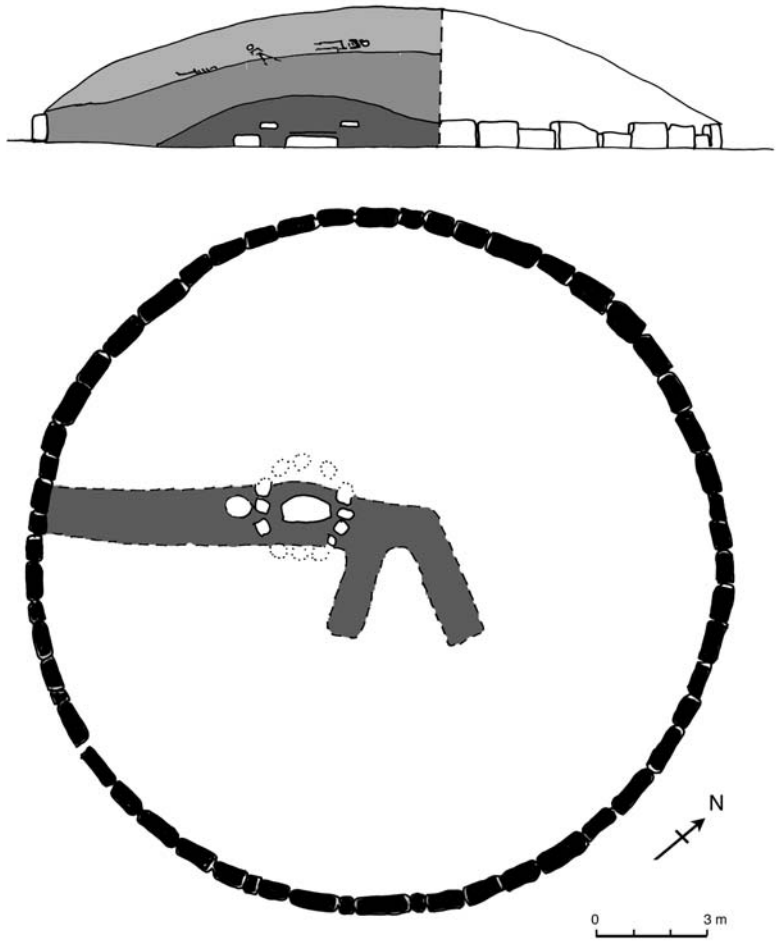


Figure 4.9 Messa burial mound (after Stucchi 1964: pl. 64).

Libyan communities is, actually, a late one, as suggested by Imperial-dated epigraphy, and community preferences are clear. Among the Libyans resident in the hinterland of the coastal settlements of Cyrenaica, anthropomorphic funerary stelae were popular. These were limestone blocks with projections on top into which facial features were summarily carved (Figure 4.10); a single example of this type was also found in the necropolis of Cyrene itself (Bacchielli 1987: 464–5 with bibliography). Some with flanking projections may represent the arms of the deceased raised in prayer (Bacchielli 1987). Non-freestanding stelae were also carved (Figure 4.11), a clear Libyan interpretation of the Graeco-Roman standard stela format.

Figure 4.10 Anthropomorphic funerary stela from the Cyrenean hinterland (© L'Erma di Bretschneider and reproduced with permission: Bacchielli 1987: fig. 4).

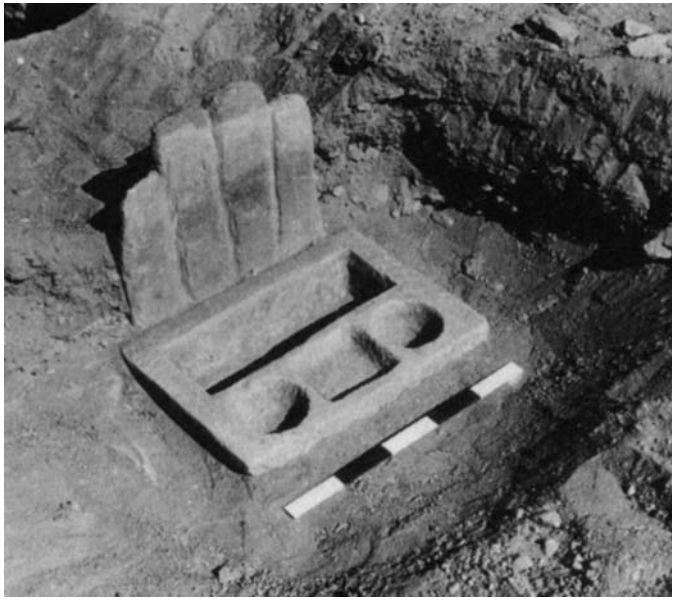
Stela styles amongst the Garamantes are different, and include the plain stela shape, the horn shape, and the hand shape (Daniels 1975; Mattingly with Edwards 2003) (Figure 4.12). They are often paired with an offering table. The simple shape derives from the Graeco-Punic world, while the horn shape may be attributed to the long-standing Libyan beliefs in a horned god. The hand motif may relate to Punic symbolism of the baetyl, which appears on stelae in North African Phoenician sites, and sometimes on the seat of a throne cippus (Figure 4.13). The custom of an offering table may ultimately find its origin in Egypt, as offering tables were common in the Old Kingdom, and may have been disseminated directly to the Phoenicians, who in turn might have passed the idea on to the Garamantes (Bisi 1967; offering tables are not common during the New Kingdom, however, and thus there is a major chronological discrepancy for arguments for cultural transmission of this idea during this later period: El-Rashdy 1986). More likely, however, is that the inclusion of an offering table finds its antecedents in the tradition of placing ceramic and stone bowls alongside tombs (most recently Mattingly

Figure 4.11 Non-freestanding stelae from the Cyrenean hinterland (© L'Erma di Bretschneider and reproduced with permission: Bacchielli 1987: fig. 9).

with Edwards 2003: 210 with bibliography). Herodotus 4.172 discusses consultation of the dead for oracular purposes by the Nasamones, and so presumably the offering tables played a role in this practice.

Virtually all the Garamantian burials were inhumations, with an increasing preference for individual internment during the first millennium BC (Mattingly with Edwards 2003: 218). The bodies themselves were often placed in various positions of contraction. Sometimes the head was supported by a wooden head rest, another tradition common in Egypt, while objects were placed around the bodies. A number of these were imported goods (pottery, glass), but traditional grave goods continued to be interred, such as ostrich eggshells, which occur in burials of all periods throughout North Africa, going back to the Neolithic period (Gosline 1995; Daniels 1970; El-Rashdy 1986). The uniformity of these grave goods – wine amphoras and drinking vessels, as well as oil lamps and oil amphoras, and a preference for glassware – leads to the conclusion that the selection of funerary assemblages has much to do with local preferences for particular kinds of imported goods

a



b

Figure 4.12 Stelae from Garama (© UNESCO and reproduced with permission).
a: horn-shaped (el-Rashdy 1986: fig. 19).
b: hand-shaped (el-Rashdy 1986: fig. 20).

Figure 4.13 Punic baetyl sitting on a throne cippus (© Istituto di studi del Vicino Oriente and reproduced with permission: Bisi 1967: pl. 123.1 from Tharros).

(Mattingly with Edwards 2003: 228–9). The inclusion of such grave goods and development of more elaborate forms of burial after 500 BC may go along with similar changes observed in settlement architecture for increased social stratification.

Herodotus notes (4.191) that several Libyan groups painted the corpses of their deceased with red ochre. Examples of this have been found in a first-

century AD tomb at Roknia in Algeria, which contained two skulls with red pigment (Gosline 1995). At Germa during the Roman period, skeletons stained with red ochre have been recorded, while stelae and the outer surfaces of tombs were also sometimes painted red (Mattingly with Edwards 2003: 227).

It is difficult to say how these relate to burial customs in the Greek and Phoenician settlements. Nothing is known about pre-Punic burial customs in the Tripolitanian settlements. Evidence from Carthage and other settlements of the Phoenician diaspora demonstrate that cremation was popular until the sixth century, after which inhumation practices become common. A similar pattern may be likely in the Tripolitanian sites.

We do know more about Greek burial customs in Cyrenaica, where the earliest tombs associated with the Greeks were chamber tombs carved out of the walls of wadis. The dead were buried collectively in these chambers, usually in family groups. In the plains and on the terraces, however, built circular and rectangular tombs were preferred, and were supplemented by sarcophagi for single inhumations (Cassels 1955). The earliest Greek burials from Cyrene itself date to the sixth century, particularly the rock-cut tombs and the circular tumuli; there is evidence that wooden coffins were used as well (Rowe *et al.* 1956; Rowe 1959). The extant tomb of Battos in the Cyrenean agora is a Roman construction but probably replaces an earlier tomb of the late seventh century (Stucchi 1975: 12 and fig. 4). The use of chamber tombs early on in the life of the colony may reflect the Theran origin of the city's founders, since seventh-century Theran burials were known to be in chambers carved out of the hillside (Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 177–8). Each Greek city utilized different grave forms, however, despite their common origin as foundations from one another. In the fourth century, for example, the sarcophagus tomb type had become popular in Cyrene, although at contemporary Tocra and Apollonia, cist graves remained common (Dent 1987).

In the hinterland of the Greek settlements, a diversity of burial practices can similarly be observed, including a number that demonstrate an intimate knowledge of Greek burial customs. A fifth-century tomb found in the far hinterland of Barca is one such example (Vickers and Bazama 1971). The tomb contained a wooden coffin and a number of imported Greek vases, including a Panathenaic amphora heirloom, an Attic Red Figure pelike, several Attic black glaze vessels, an alabaster alabastron, a glass bowl, fragments of a silver gilt wreath and a bronze strigil. Who was this individual? Although old and arthritic upon death, the deceased may have been an athlete in life, suggested by the strigil and Panathenaic amphora amongst the goods selected for inclusion in the grave. Reference to Barca's 460 BC Olympic pentathlon champion, Amesinas, provides a tantalizing parallel. While the likely conclusion is that this burial belonged to a Greek, its location so far from an urban settlement and in an area where Libyans worked the land nevertheless allow for the possibility that it might belong to a

Libyan cognisant of Greek burial traditions and funerary social values to an idealized extent, or at least those persons burying the deceased were.

Religious practices

Literary references to Libyan religious traditions are imbued with comparison to Greek practices. According to Herodotus, peoples around Lake Tritonis (near Euesperides) sacrifice to Athena, Triton and Poseidon. He claims that a number of festivals observed by several Libyan groups include worship of Athena, such as by the Auses, but he notes that these clearly have strong origins in Libyan religious practices. He adds that the Greeks obtained knowledge of Poseidon from the Libyans, suggesting that a sea god was held in high repute in Libyan culture. Additionally, he assures us that Athena's aegis derived from Libyan women's dress.

More intriguingly, we are told that the Libyans do not eat pigs or cows, and that some of these practices are replicated in the Greek cities of North Africa: at Cyrene, the women do not eat cows, while at Barca, they consume neither cows nor pigs. This has been the point of departure for arguments in favour of intermarriage between Greeks and Libyans in Cyrenaica. They are supplemented by a few additional references: Pindar's Pythian Ode 9.105–25 relates how one of the early Cyreneans successfully competed in an athletic competition at Irasa, in the territory of the Giligamai, to win the hand of a Libyan woman. The city's Ptolemaic constitutional grant of citizens' rights to the sons of mixed marriages in 322 BC attests the continuation of such practices, and also implies enduring cultural distinctions between the Greeks and their non-Greek neighbours, regardless of any similarity in material tastes or religious practices (*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 9, 189).

Women played a significant role in Greek religion, particularly those rituals involving the worship of Demeter, who was popular in colonial contexts (de Polignac 1995). The overwhelming preference for pigs and piglets for sacrifice and consumption has been revealed throughout all the phases of the Demeter sanctuary at Cyrene, and suggests it was the Thesmophoria that was the dominant ritual (Kane 1998). Butchery marks on the forelimbs and the separate dumping of differentiated animal parts inside the sanctuary indicate that specific animal parts were reserved for eating, burnt sacrifice or ritual burial (White 1984; Warden *et al.* 1990).

The relationship between particular foods and festivals is an integral aspect of every religious practice where food or drink is shared or consumed as part of the observance (Dietler and Hayden 2001). Therefore, the fact that Libyan women in Herodotus' time would not eat pigs presents difficulties for arguments in favour of widespread intermarriage, given the prevalence of pig consumption as part of the ritual associated with women's cults in the Greek cities. Since (Greek) men were excluded from such cults, it has been argued that it is difficult to accept the performance of the rituals of Greek women's

cults by a population of largely non-Greek women. In other words, a new Greek community must have had Greek women in order for the cult practices to be so well observed (Graham 1984). Yet overwhelming epigraphic evidence of Libyan names attests the integration of Libyans in the Greek settlements (see below).

In fact, what we have is a mixing of cultures and customs which over time have been modified into something acceptable and appropriate for these integrated communities. A taboo against porcine consumption also appears in the cult of Isis (Herodotus 2.41, 4.186), and this may be related to the customs Herodotus observed among Libyan women, who nevertheless conflated Isis with Demeter (White 1987) and their own Libyan divinity. Therefore, we should not be too concerned by Herodotus' black-and-white cultural pronouncements, since epigraphic, archaeological and art historical evidence can be pulled together to demonstrate that the more likely scenario is something of a hybrid nature, drawing upon practices that were Libyan and Greek in origin. Herodotus' Cyrenean women who would not eat cows, for instance, may be Libyan or the offspring of a Greek-Libyan couple. In the latter context, in particular, assimilation of customs is understandable (Coldstream 1993).

Such mixing of customs can be more widely observed in a general syncretism of divinities, particularly those of a chthonic nature, such as Demeter, Isis, Hekate, Kybele, and especially the Libyan chthonic goddess who was depicted in Libyan sacred places (Kane 1998). This syncretism between Libyan cult places and deities with Greek ones is particularly apparent in the Cyrenaican hinterland, where worship of a chthonic nature was most significant. At the rock sanctuary of Budrasc, 3 km southwest of Cyrene, several rock-cut chambers were used in the worship of a female divinity. Terracotta heads and figurines from the site, clear influence from Greek sculptural traditions (for comparisons with funerary sculpture, see Cassels 1955), suggest that she may have been protector of the harvest (Ferri 1922). An emphasis on agrarian aspects of rural cults is echoed at the Cyrenaican Sanctuary of the Ploughs at Hagfa el-Khasaliya (Figure 4.14) (Purcaro 1974–75), which demonstrates continued use of what was originally a Libyan sacred place, later modified and modernized with contemporary cultural expectations such as architectural courtyards (see below). In other cave shrines in the countryside, Zeus Ammon, Demeter and Kore were frequently depicted (Fabbricotti 1997), although women in Libyan dress in agricultural and pastoral scenes were also shown (Wanis 1992; Fabbricotti 1996) (Figure 4.15).

While many of these representations are Hellenistic in date, if not later, a pre-Greek Libyan origin for the shrines is likely (Purcaro 1974–75; Abdussalem *et al.* 1997). Many other rock outcrops and caves continued to be regularly used as sacred places of worship as late as mid-imperial times, such as Slonta, around Messa, and in local wadis (Fabbricotti 1987, 1996; Luni 1987; Wanis 1992; Abdussalem *et al.* 1997). At the Cave of the Birds in Wadi Zaza in Cyrenaica, for example, incised drawings of gazelles and birds

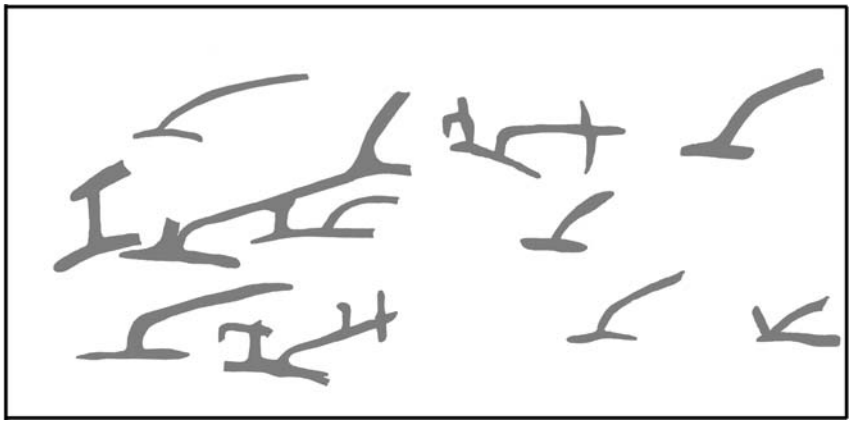


Figure 4.14 Agrarian scene from Sanctuary of the Ploughs (after Purcaro 1974–75: p. 290, fig. 3).

of prehistoric date have been found. Niches in this rock shelter suggest that it was a cave shrine. Inscriptions in the Greek alphabet include Greek, Latin and Libyan names, including Gobba the god, a Libyan deity. The inscriptions, no earlier than the third century BC, attest acts of adoration and suggest that the gods were approachable (Abdussalem *et al.* 1997). Such examples demonstrate a selective adoption and adaptation of Greek practices in harmony with traditional Libyan ones, and the continuity, even with modification, of Libyan sacred places.

Syncretism is even more apparent between the Egyptian god Amun with the Greek Zeus, the Phoenician Ba'al, and the Libyan ram-horned deity Ammon (Law 1978; Bisi 1985; cf. Mattingly 1995: 168). The prophetic god of the Siwa oasis was known by Greek times as Zeus-Ammon, a clear blending of Greek and Libyan deities (but still distinct: Ghazal 1986). Yet the Libyan origin of the cult is clear in several other respects. Siwa itself held a fountain that was sacred to the sun, and Herodotus tells us that the sun and the moon were the only divinities to whom the Libyan populations made sacrifices (4.181). Furthermore, while the Egyptian god Amun is associated with the ram, the ram also held sacred significance among Libyan populations, as evidenced in prehistoric rock carvings throughout the desert oases. The syncretism that developed is understandable. The spread of the cult may be seen in the establishment of *Ammonia* through the oases, including at Augila, which served as a second oracular centre. Ammon worship became a unifying element among the Libyans, particularly during the Roman period, not only with regard to religious practices but also for united action (Mattingly 1995).

This is not to say that this syncretic deity was worshipped in the same way

Figure 4.15 Libyan-dressed women in pastoral scenes (© The Society for Libyan Studies and reproduced with permission: Wanis 1992: fig. 1).

by all. The Greeks adopted Amun/Ammon as Zeus-Ammon, although Law notes that the Greeks worshipped him as a Greek god and did not adopt the Libyan or Egyptian forms of ritual (1978: 116 although he does not elaborate). At Germa, a statuette identified as Ammon wearing a crown was found, alongside a bronze Silenus mask (Mattingly with Edwards 2003: 177 with references), indicative of the merged traditions from foreign cultures into Libyan practices.

Consumption patterns

Vast quantities of ceramics from all over the Mediterranean found their way to the North African shores, and various routes to North Africa seem to have been utilized. Some, no doubt, came directly from Greece via Crete, while others followed from Egypt, as suggested by the range of ceramics from Naukratis and Tell Defenneh, and the occasional presence of Egyptian scarabs, beads and goldwork dedicated in the Greek sanctuaries of Cyrenaica (Purcaro Pagano 1976; for a discussion about Cyrenean links with Egypt, see Schaus 1980; in general, see Elrashedy 2002).

Cyrene and Tocra's Demeter sanctuaries received significant numbers of Corinthian, Attic and East Greek ceramics of types that were widely distributed throughout the Mediterranean during the Archaic period. Yet the distribution of wares is not identical at the two sites, and nor would one necessarily expect it to be. The differences are slight yet specific. For instance, a handful of Clazomenian-type and Fikellura wares were found in the Cyrene sanctuary, along with some black-figure Wild Goat ware. None of these were recovered at Tocra. Instead, several pieces of Melian ware were found, which have no parallels in the Cyrene collection. Furthermore, some Chian shapes found at Cyrene also were discovered at Tocra, while others were not. Much more rarely identified are Etruscan vessels. One piece of late sixth-century Etruscan bucchero was recorded at Tocra, while a class of Etruscan red-figured plates of the second half of the fourth century was identified at Cyrene (Tocra: Boardman and Hayes 1973; Cyrene: Bacchielli 1976).

The quality of some ceramic types and distribution of shapes at Tocra has suggested to some that the dedicants at this Demeter sanctuary had to make do with the leftovers of shipping cargoes. This argument has been based upon the poor quality of the Corinthian wares and the relatively high number of Corinthian plates, which were not especially popular elsewhere in the Greek world, even in religious contexts, particularly when compared with the assemblage from Cyrene and its cult of Demeter (Boardman and Hayes 1966; Boardman 1968, 1994b; Schaus 1980). Such an interpretation rests on the assumption that Cyrenaica in general, and Tocra in particular, was the last destination on a circuit that did not include the collection of goods for sale at forthcoming destinations; in other words, either the routes did not include new cargoes being picked up along the way, or else any new cargoes were reserved for other ports. Given Cyrenaica's wealth, it seems unlikely that traders would not wish to exchange with the region, while Cyrenaica's monopoly of the silphium plant, which was valued in the Mediterranean for its medicinal properties, gave it a product that was in demand elsewhere. It seems more likely that such a distribution is the result of the specific interests of the dedicants at Tocra and not a question of availability (see also Osborne 1996: 35). The presence of Cretan and Melian pottery and carved gemstones must similarly reflect the particular interest of the Greeks in

Cyrenaica, which Boardman argues specifically reflects continued links with the mother-city (1994b: 146). On the other hand, the presence of Lakonian low-grade pottery at Tocra contemporary with its foundation has been interpreted as indicative of the presence of Lakonian immigrants, since such pottery was not readily exported otherwise (Boardman and Hayes 1966: 41).

Of course, pottery for religious use, whether as dedications or with regard to ritual feasting, will not necessarily be the same as those used in daily life in urban contexts. The overwhelming quantities of imported wares selected for dedication at the sanctuaries contrasts with assemblages from urban contexts. Some 75–80 per cent of the Tocra sanctuary assemblage was imported, for instance, and the locally produced colonial ware consisted mostly of miniature vases used as votive offerings (Boardman and Hayes 1966). At urban Euesperides, there is far more evidence for local pottery production, which focused more on coarsewares, although fine imported pottery was in high demand, particularly during the fifth to third centuries (Buzaian and Lloyd 1996; Wilson *et al.* 1999; Bennett *et al.* 2000; Wilson *et al.* 2001). While Attic wares dominated the imported types, Corinthian, East Greek and Lakonian were utilized with some regularity, less so South Italian and Punic types. The presence of imported coarsewares from the Aegean, including Attic cooking pots and Corinthian mortars, may suggest that cooking wares were traded on occasion between region at this time. Equally, given the cosmopolitan nature and prosperity of Cyrenaica itself, it is perfectly likely that traders or others from Athens and Corinth may have chosen to make their home here, and brought their cooking pots with them.

Interests in particular wares can also be witnessed in the Phoenician settlements. One of the most striking features is the regular import of Greek ceramics, as well as types from southern Italy, Massalia, and elsewhere, particularly when compared with the relative disinterest on the part of the Greeks in non-Greek wares. At Sabratha, for instance, nearly half of the amphoras dated to between the mid-fifth century and the end of the third century were imported, the earliest of which were from Corinth and Massalia and were later supplemented by Graeco-Italic, Iberian and Carthaginian types. Over half, however, were locally-manufactured types. South Italian and Attic black glazed finewares were also regularly imported during the fifth century, and in quantity during this time, as there is no evidence for the local production of black-glazed pottery until the fourth century (amphoras: Dore and Keay 1989; other types: Fulford and Tomber 1994; see also Fulford 1989 and Keay 1992 for later periods). Lepcis also imported Attic wares during the fifth century, supplemented less frequently by Corinthian and South Italian vessels. Prior to this time, however, Corinth seems to have provided the earliest imports (Carter 1965).

Direct Phoenician trade with Greece should not be particularly surprising, and can be demonstrated by the occasional pricing graffito on Attic vases found in Phoenician contexts (number 91 from Sabratha: Gill 1986: 276–7;

see also Johnston 1978). Pseudo-Skylax 112 notes that goods traded by the Phoenicians on the Atlantic coast of Africa include Attic wares, while Thucydides 7.50.1 implies that Tripolitania may have been on one of the routes from Greece to Sicily. The prospect of a successful escape on a Phoenician ship by Odysseus (*Odyssey* 14.285–313) implies that even Greeks and Phoenicians working together on cargo ships was not an uncommon occurrence. Phoenicians are also known to have been resident in Greece during the Archaic and Classical periods.

Thus, Greeks and Phoenicians were happy to trade their goods with one another, and presumably with anyone who expressed interest. Therefore, the disinterest on the part of the Libyans is worthy of consideration with regard to our understandings of consumption and cultural values. There is virtually no evidence for the import of Greek, Phoenician or other Mediterranean goods to interior Libyan sites until the fourth century BC, when black-glaze Greek wares were imported into the oases of the Garamantes (Daniels 1989). Punic black-gloss sherds are found in Garamantian burials of the third to first century BC near Zinchecra (Daniels 1970, 1989). It is presumed that salt, skins, ivory and slaves would have been offered in return (Barker 1996: 105). The fact that neither Greek nor Phoenician wares were found at Zinchecra previously suggests that the Garamantes were not interested in these foreign ceramics prior to the fourth century. With the acquisition of these goods came the introduction to other aspects of Punic and Greek culture, including social customs and values. It is not a question of access, for the migratory nature of the the Libyan populations suggests communication and access between various communities in the interior and coast. The Greeks and Phoenicians may have had no interest in travelling beyond the coastline of North Africa themselves to pursue new markets, but if the Libyan communities were interested in what the foreigners had to offer, it can be presumed that they would have made the effort for acquisition. When they finally were interested, they utilized these goods in a similar social manner as the providers. The interment of non-local goods in funerary contexts, for instance, may reflect the association between foreign goods and high social status in funerary display, a long-established relationship in Greek and Punic cultures.

Artistic styles

The individual foreign settlements often manufactured their own ceramics. At Tocra, for instance, a successful industry producing miniature vases, particularly hydriae, is attested from the votive dedications associated with the sanctuary, alongside a workshop specializing in polychromy and domestic wares (Boardman and Hayes 1973; Boardman 1968). As mentioned above, the Phoenician settlements of Tripolitania similarly produced Phoenician wares, usually for their own consumption.

Of course, these styles had little impact on the Libyan populations who were

not settled in these sites. Libyan pottery production during the first millennium BC is remarkably poorly understood beyond the generalized longevity of shapes and styles since the Bronze Age. The similarities between the Bronze Age material from Haua Fteah and the pre-Greek examples from Cyrene immediately below the earliest Greek stratum have been noted above. The incised decoration from Marsa Matruh find decorative parallels with motifs common among the prehistoric assemblage from Bu Njem (Figure 4.16). While these may be prehistoric in date, they clearly derive no inspiration from foreign imports, even those of the Bronze Age attested on Bates' Island.

Locally-made ceramics that have been found alongside imported wares towards the end of the first millennium BC continue to be handmade and in similar shapes and styles (e.g. Daniels 1968; Azebi *et al.* 1998). Material from Daniels' survey and excavation around Zinchecra has provided the most extensive catalogue so far of pottery types from well-stratified contexts for any Libyan population, yet with imports not present before the fourth and third centuries BC, it proved impossible for Daniels to offer any closer chronology, or any significant sense of typological development (advances can be expected as Mattingly's Fazzan Project publications appear). The fabric is generally grey or black in colour, with surface colours ranging from black to red, even on the same vessel, which implies uneven oxidation and reduction conditions within the kiln. Burnishing was common. Material associated with Roman imports were more consistently red in surface colour, indicative of improved technology, perhaps influenced by Roman potters. Many of the

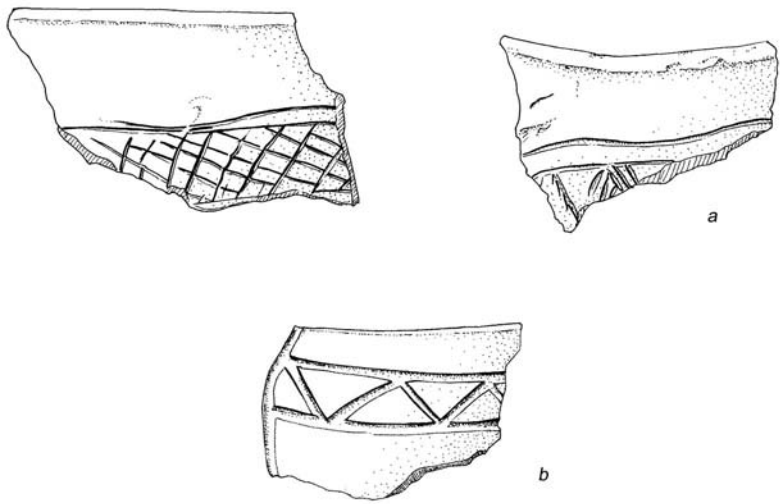


Figure 4.16 Incised prehistoric ceramics.
a: Bu Njem (after Souville 1970: fig. 1.5 and fig. 2.8).
b: Marsa Matruh (after Bates 1927: pl. 26, fig. 7).

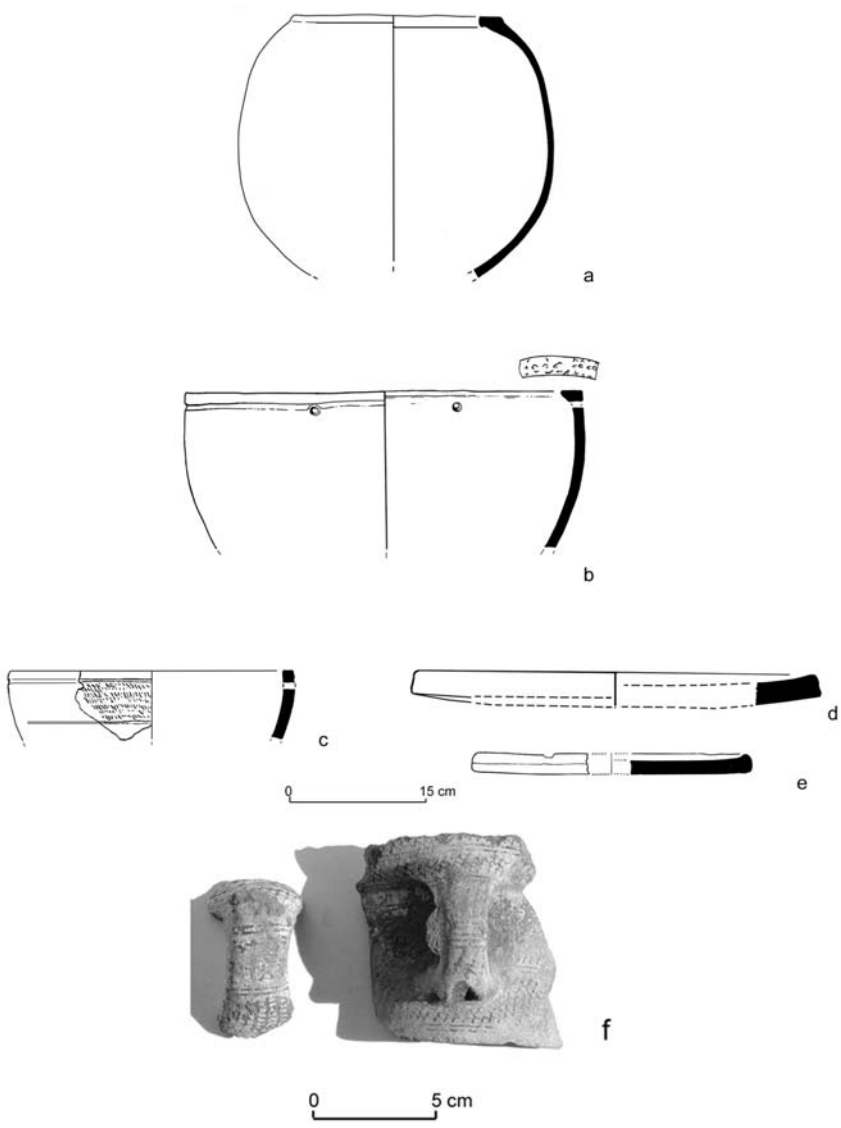


Figure 4.17 Garamantian pottery.
a: inturned-rim jars, rounded base (after Daniels 1968: 56).
b: inturned-rim bowl (after Daniels 1968: 285).
c: rimless, curved bowl (after Daniels 1968: 74).
d and e: platter/frying pan (after Daniels 1968: 25 and 284).
f: Late Garamantian painted pottery (reproduced with kind permission by D. Mattingly: Mattingly 2003: fig. 9.24a).

shapes, however, remained the same and include inturned-rim jars and bowls with rounded bases, rimless bowls, and platters or frying pans. Some were decorated with incised geometric patterns and stippling effects, while during the later Garamantian period, geometric motifs began to be painted (Figure 4.17). Only selected Roman styles were imitated (Figure 4.18). Therefore, generally speaking, traditional Garamantian pottery continued to be produced and utilized, with little influence in shape or style from imported examples.

Most Libyan artistry is reflected in the rich and diverse collection of rock carvings and paintings. Rock art by Libyan tribes dates back to the eighth millennium BC (for the most recent classification, see Barnett with Mattingly 2003). Early examples illustrate wild and domestic animals, and later human figures. The fourth millennium rock-cut representations at Karsa include long-horned cattle, a cow, a bull or sheep, and an elephant (Mohammed 1994). A stylistic change is observable during the second millennium BC, with the introduction of carts and 2- and 4-horse-drawn chariots (Figure 4.19). In Fezzan, these drawings are associated with the Garamantes during the first millennium BC (Mattingly 1995; Barker 1996; Barnett with Mattingly 2003). The two-pole chariots and quadrigas resemble types utilized elsewhere in the Mediterranean after 700 BC (Muzzolini 1993). Above all, they reveal a development in social emphasis, reflecting an iconography not seen

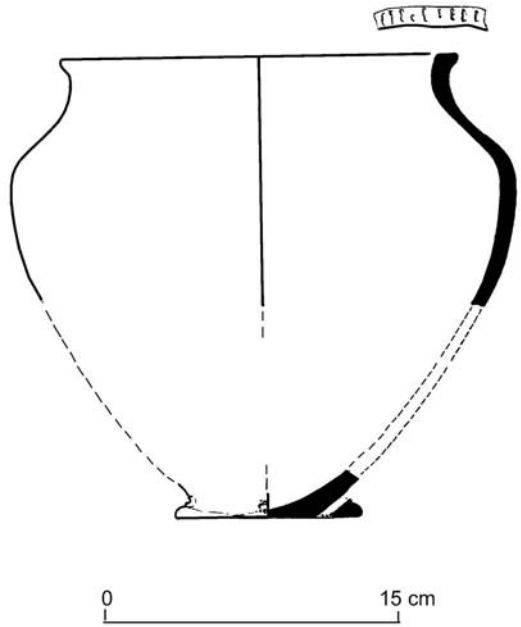


Figure 4.18 Imitation of a Roman shape (after Daniels 1968: 287).

Figure 4.19 Horse-drawn chariots from Fezzan (reproduced with kind permission by D. Mattingly: Mattingly 2003: fig. 8.27a).

Figure 4.20 Graeco-Roman architectural features in a Libyan funerary context (© L'Erma di Bretschneider and reproduced with permission: Bacchielli 1987: fig. 13).

previously of male-oriented power: animals are decidedly male, as are the human figures, who are depicted riding, hunting and brandishing weapons.

Relief sculptures are more common in the rural sanctuaries of the Gebel Akhdar, many of which were long-standing places of worship for the Libyan populations, utilized again during the Iron Age as places of worship and veneration of the dead. At Slonta, for instance, the rock-carved sanctuary has been interpreted as a place of Libyan ritual, perhaps a *necromanteion* (Luni 1987). The present form of the complex, with its series of rooms and figures carved out of the rock, is of Imperial date, however, as suggested by some of the architectural features like the carved columns and moulding details, which are similar to contemporary funerary monuments (Figure 4.20). Influences from Graeco-Roman religious practices may be suggested by the animal iconography, particularly serpents and pigs, the former maintaining an important role in mythology while the latter is a significant aspect in Demeter-related worship, as discussed above (see also Bacchielli 1987). Yet the human figures, depicted in low relief, do not resemble closely the sculptural styles found in the major polities. Heads are almost cannonball in shape, with fleshy, roughly carved features. Hair is not often rendered, although facial hair can sometimes be seen; fabrics are extremely stylized (Figure 4.21). A number of free-standing sculptures from the Cyrenean

Figure 4.21 Slonta heads (© L'Erma di Bretschneider and reproduced with permission: Luni 1987: fig. 6).

Figure 4.22 Freestanding funerary sculpture from Cyrenaica (© L'Erma di Bretschneider and reproduced with permission: Bacchielli 1987: fig. 19).

hinterland are similarly rendered (Figure 4.22). The poses of the Slonta figures are also unrelated to Graeco-Roman portraiture, as a number of figures have their arms around their heads, their arms raised or their heads in their hands (Figure 4.23). This implies that the artisans were Libyan who were inspired by some elements of the established portraiture cannons but not others; they took stylistic and architectural elements and reinterpreted them in a culturally acceptable manner. Similar examples can be seen in other sanctuaries (Purcaro 1974–75; Fabbricotti 1987, 1996, 1997; Wanis 1992).

Figure 4.23 Slonta figures (© L'Erma di Bretschneider and reproduced with permission: Luni 1987: fig. 18 and pl. 7).

The figures represented also reflect the strong continuity of Libyan practices in hybrid cults of the Roman period.

Such influence was not one-way. The recent find at Euesperides of an engraved ostrich shell from a third-century BC context decorated in Greek patterns raises a number of interested aspects with regard to artistic hybridity (Wilson *et al.* 2001). As noted above, ostrich shells are a commodity associated with the Libyan populations, an item that was traded during the Bronze Age and interred in Libyan burials as early as the Neolithic period. It is perhaps pointless to speculate whether a Greek or Libyan carved it, as the coastal communities were very mixed settlements by this date. Nevertheless, a Greek pattern on a traditionally Libyan artistic medium in a mixed context – whether produced by a Libyan with the Greek market in mind, or by a Greek who enjoyed working with the exotic material – demonstrates the close cultural interactions and integrations by this time.

Artists of the Cyrenaican schools of sculpture provide some of our best artistic evidence for the integration of Libyan populations in foreign settlements, particularly among the Greek sites. Local terracotta and marble-carving factories produced the figurines and sculptures dedicated in the Demeter sanctuaries at Tocra and Cyrene, manufacturing objects for dedication as early as the sixth century (Jerrary 1987; Goodchild *et al.* 1966–67; Sadawya 1968; Bacchielli 1979). It has been suggested that distinctive Libyan physiognomy can be seen in a number of portrait dedications at the

a

b

Figure 4.24 Libyan portraits (© The British Academy 1960. Reproduced by permission from E. Rosenbaum, *A Catalogue of Cyrenaican Portrait Sculpture*).
a: with moustache and high cheek bones (Rosenbaum 1960: 191).
b: with eyes with curved upper lid (Rosenbaum 1960: 230).

c

d

e

Figure 4.24 c: with turban-like headdress (Rosenbaum 1960: 224).
d and e: with other headdresses (Rosenbaum 1960: 267 and 268).

Cyrene sanctuary (Kane 1998 with bibliography). Even well into the Roman period, non-Graeco-Roman physical features and costume interpreted as Libyan – such as a moustache and high cheek bones, eyes depicted with a curved upper lid, and distinctive headgear – are still portrayed on Imperial funerary busts (Figure 4.24). These representations say much about the nature of society by this time. Facial hair styles and headdresses may reflect diverse cultural origins, yet any differences did not prevent fluid integration within society. Indeed, such costume may have been accepted as regular dress in Cyrene. These individuals were obviously wealthy, as they could afford to commission such busts, and were well educated in the social symbolisms of such dedications. Any diverse cultural origin clearly had no bearing on an individual's ability to achieve high social status within these urban contexts. Yet this kind of portraiture remained in the sphere of the coastal communities and did not permeate the oasis centres, even though other elements of Greek and Punic culture were imported by the end of the first millennium BC.

Written voices

Epigraphic evidence attests the hybrid nature of many of these communities that were Greek and Phoenician foundations, particularly through the continued use of Libyan names. Herodotus claims that the name Battos was the Libyan word for 'king' in origin (4.155.2), but others have suggested that this is an interpretive mistake on Herodotus' behalf, as it may also mean 'stammer' and reflect the Cyrenaican dialect (Masson 1976b; Dobias-Lalou 1987). However, Alazir, Barca's ruler murdered in 515 BC (Herodotus 4.164.4), bears an unquestionable Libyan name. The integrated nature of Cyrenaican society in general is demonstrated through the use of Greek and Libyan names by many of the dedicants at Cyrene's Demeter sanctuary during the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Kane 1998 with bibliography), while a sculptor active at Cyrene during the first century BC had a name with a Libyan root: Tabalbios (White 1987). In the Cyrenean hinterland, graves dated to the first century AD on epigraphic grounds attest Libyan words written in the Greek alphabet (Reynolds 1987; Laronde 1990; Mohamed and Reynolds 1995). A similar circumstance can be found in Tripolitania. Around Lepcis, for instance, epigraphic records in the Latin alphabet are not Latin words nor neo-Punic, and so are presumed to be Libyan, while Libyan, Punic and Latin names appear throughout pre-desert inscriptions (Brogan 1975: 268; for later examples and references, see Mattingly and Hitchner 1995: 173).

It is unclear whether there was a uniform Libyan language, as several alphabetic variants have been recognized (Mattingly and Hitchner 1995: 172 for references). More likely is that dialects were spoken by the various Libyan populations. Written Libyan (Figure 4.25) is widely thought to be no earlier

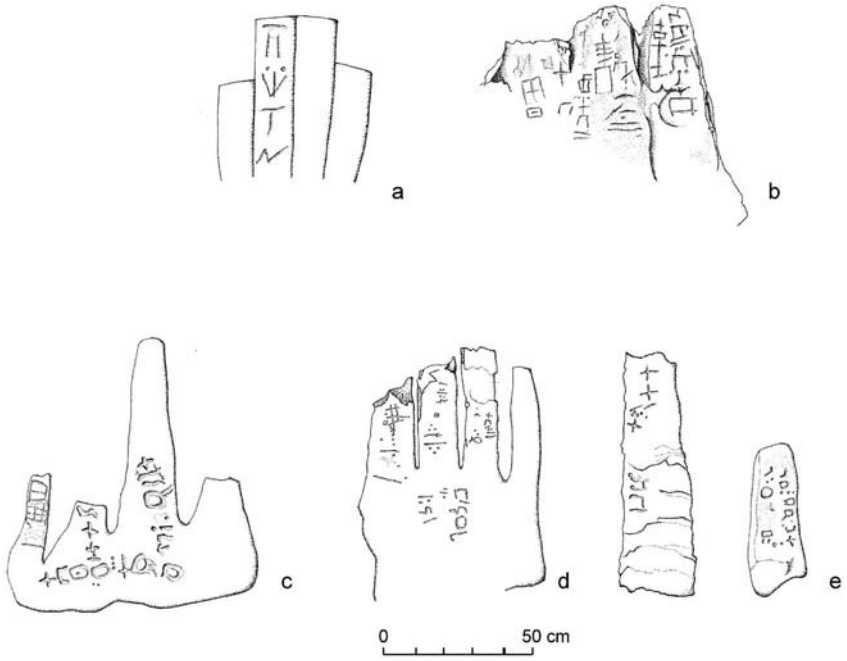


Figure 4.25 Inscriptions on Garamantian funerary stelae (reproduced with kind permission from D. Mattingly: Mattingly 2003: fig. 8.32).

than the third century BC, although such inscriptions can be difficult to date because of the continued use of the Libyan script by the Tuareg nomads (Barnett with Mattingly 2003: 317). The fact that written texts probably date no earlier than this time indicates that the Libyan populations had no need for the written word in their exchanges, rituals or commemorations, despite centuries of the Greek and Phoenician communities doing so to facilitate trade, declare piety in religious offerings, advertise political decrees, celebrate athleticism with poetry, entertain through plays and so on. When the Libyans do adopt writing, however, they utilize it exclusively in religious and commercial contexts. For instance, the Libyan alphabet was found on votive altars at the Ghirza temple in the pre-desert Zem-Zem wadi (Brogan 1975: 275–6). In Garamantian contexts, graffiti on portable items like pottery may denote ownership, while those on funerary structures probably reflect personal commemoration, and those associated with rock art may reveal more spiritual mediation embedded within the landscape (Barnett with Mattingly 2003: 323–4). By this time, literacy itself was no longer a mark of elite status (the use of Punic and Latin may have been used to reflect higher social standing instead: Mattingly and Hitchner 1995: 172).

Conclusions

One question that arises from this study is why, after three centuries of disinterest in the material trappings of the Greeks and Phoenicians resident in North Africa, did the Libyan populations of the interior begin to develop an interest in goods and ideas from the coast. Intermarriage arguments go back to the Archaic period in the Greek settlements, yet there is no archaeological evidence that these relationships had a material, religious or social impact on the Libyan populations within their own territories, as might be suggested by the presence of Greek or Phoenician goods or influences in pre-desert and desert communities. Rather, the lack of any such finds suggests that Libyan populations outside the immediate hinterland of the foreign communities maintained no interest in Greek and Phoenician material shapes or styles. Their potters faithfully reproduced vessels and decorative techniques and patterns that had served their purposes ideally for generations. Their rulers and elite had no need for scribes at this time. They continued to bury their dead with the same ritual gestures and grave offerings as they had done for centuries until the fourth century BC, and in many cases until the end of the first century BC (Daniels 1975). Cyrenaica and Tripolitania were not uninhabited regions when the Greeks and Phoenicians arrived, and these colonies were established alongside Libyan communities, burial grounds and sacred spaces. Yet any influence remains negligible archaeologically-speaking. This was not a middle ground of mutual accommodation, since there is little sign of accommodation.

Within the coastal sites, however, a very different circumstance arose over time, with Libyan cultural traditions helping to forge the identities of the coastal communities, particularly those of Cyrenaica. Elite members of Cyrenean society maintained an appearance of Libyan origin through their dress and hairstyles, while commissioning portraits of themselves adorned so from Cyrenean sculptors for public display as the patrons and wealthy dedicators in the religious arena that they were. They emphasized Libyan origins through dress and hair style while engaging in a social dialogue utilizing the Greek vocabulary of portrait sculpture. Yet any such identity was clearly no bar to one's status as an elite member of society, and these individuals clearly understood and responded to the expectations society placed upon them and other members of the elite class in terms of patronage and dedications. Their names became popular within society and were used by all, a result of middle ground accommodation. Laronde's prosopographical studies demonstrate that, in Greek contexts, Libyan names were used in alternation with purely Greeks ones within the same family (1990; Masson 1976a). This suggests that not everyone with a Libyan name was necessarily Libyan in origin, nor was someone with a Greek name from an originally Greek family. Similarly, Libyan dress may have been nothing more than an aspect of local normative fashion. Such cultural fusions that formed Cyrenaican society were not

restricted to elite members. The artist who carved the ostrich egg at Euesperides used mixed cultural emblems and materials as a comment on the nature of contemporary culture. In sum, urban Cyrenaican society incorporated elements of Greek and Libyan cultures to produce the social norms.

Similarly, the Garamantes utilized ideas, iconography and structural forms from a variety of other cultures (Egyptian, Graeco-Roman, Phoenician-Punic) in the development of their own cultural identity only towards the end of the first millennium BC, blending them in a manner unique to themselves, and in accordance with their own customs and traditions (Mattingly 2003: 234). We return, therefore to the question of why this change occurred when it did. A similar question has been asked regarding the change towards sedentary communities and the development of intensive cultivation in the pre-desert by the end of the first millennium BC. For a long time, this development was attributed to Roman colonists and Punic civilization. The results of the UNESCO Libyan Valleys Archaeological Survey have demonstrated that colonists from outside the pre-desert played no role in this transformation, but rather this should be viewed as the Macae's response to the new socio-economic and political conditions of Roman territorial pacification and control, and an integration of existing agricultural practices (Mattingly 1996a: 321 and 348, in particular).

Changes in cultural practices and tastes can be observed from the fourth century, among the Garamantes, as far as excavated remains from any Libyan population allow us to assess. Most historical records related to North Africa that pertain to this period focus on the Mediterranean sphere, discussing Carthage's conquest of western Sicily during the first half of the century and the First Punic War at the end of the century, contemporary with Ptolemaic control of Cyrenaica. It is this atmosphere of overseas interaction, which encouraged territorial control both within and beyond Libya, in which the Libyan populations may have had to become more deeply involved with the coastal communities as both mercenaries and in response to new encroachments upon their lands. The incorporation of Greek and Punic goods and ideas thus may be a side-effect of other social developments these populations favoured in reaction to this new middle ground with a different politico-military climate. This is highly speculative, however, and must remain so until detailed fieldwork similar to the that of the pre-desert and desert territories takes place in the immediate and remote hinterlands of the coastal communities. Only then will we begin to understand how the land was used during the Iron Age and by whom, and ultimately to address the 'why' of developments in the material culture of the Libyan communities who claimed these lands as their own territories.

5

CONCLUSIONS

From the case-studies presented here, it is clear that the processes of connectivity were varied and the outcomes diverse. In specifically colonial contact situations, we can no longer generalize about responses to other cultures. This book has focused particularly upon the processes of connectivity in the Mediterranean Iron Age as reflected in the responses of local populations to resident Greeks and Phoenicians in the areas they both chose for settlement. It is apparent that each population the Greeks and Phoenicians interacted with responded differently and in manners that were in accordance with their own cultural traditions and customs. Although not the focus of the present work, it is also obvious that even the Greek and Phoenician colonists responded differently to their individual and distinct situations, developing their own colonial identities as a direct result of their particular locales and interactions. In this respect, therefore, all such communities became hybrid cultures.

One of the difficulties, therefore, has been how to describe these cultures after the initial period of colonial foundation, since no culture is static. Traditionally, various populations have been identified by their material culture – the correlation of material culture with ethnic identity. Since ethnic identity is a social construct, it is subject to modification and development over time as society itself changes. Therefore its identification archaeologically must always be dependent upon geographic, temporal and other contextual features. This is particularly the case in colonial contexts, where interactions with existing populations result in the creation of new cultural norms of a hybrid nature for all parties involved. This can be seen easily in North Syria, Sicily and North Africa. Within these three regions, however, the rate of change and development was not uniform between regions, and with regard to the pre-existing populations as well as the colonial cultures of each area.

Elements of cultural continuity have been emphasized in each case-study region as a means of highlighting what was adapted from elsewhere and how it was reinterpreted in these Mediterraneanization processes. Ultimately, we have no way of knowing what an individual who possessed a Phoenician

or Greek vase or was buried in a Greek-style grave meant by this act of possession or burial, especially when this feature alone distinguishes the context from others. Therefore, one of the overarching questions raised by the present study is the role of agency, and this is best addressed at the level of community, where broader patterns may be observed and thus allow us to assess cultural agency. Greek material culture had little impact on that of North Syria, significant influence in Sicily, and was largely ignored in North Africa, where it was not until the Roman period that there is archaeological evidence for external cultural influences. In contrast, it could be argued that Phoenician material culture had greater impact in North Syria, and less so in Sicily and North Africa (where Punic influences were greater). These ideas can be deconstructed yet further, as individual communities adopted and adapted only selective elements from the foreign cultures, and reinterpreted them strictly in accord with their own needs and habits. Furthermore, in each case, it is the non-colonial populations who were the active agents for influences upon their cultures as consumers of goods and ideas, for there is no evidence that they were forced to use Greek and Phoenician goods, architectural styles, modify their funerary and ritual practices and so on. Each community modified whatever elements of other cultures they took to suit their own needs and interests. Hence the ease with which some forms of pottery, art, architecture, burial customs, religious cults and even writing were integrated and adapted while others were not. Such a picture can only be gained by examining a spectrum of data, and not concentrating on one material form, however.

The question of why Greek cultural influences seem to have been more profound than Phoenician ones is also related to the different nature of the two colonial movements, one with an emphasis particularly on broad exchange links, and the other with added interest in territorial acquisition, which perhaps required different kinds of interactions with local populations. Although Phoenician communities did have hinterlands to support their settlements, their primary area of territorial interest remained the sea, not land. The idea that land acquisition may have had more to do with subsequent cultural influences in the processes of Mediterraneanization than just the establishment of settlements may be supported by the fact that when Phoenician cultural influences do become more profound, they are Punic in date and Carthaginian-derived, in particular. The nature of Carthage as a Mediterranean city-state actively engaged in Mediterranean affairs, including territorial control and land acquisition elsewhere, however, lies beyond the scope of the present work.

The role of the consumer as agent runs strongly through all the case-study regions, beginning with initial Iron Age overtures through the gift-giving of luxuries between elites to broader trade markets. Luxuries are so designated partly by their exclusivity in promoting the knowledge of the cultural codes rather than their financial worth, leading to their role in the exchange of gifts

between elites. As Dietler (1999: 487) has observed, exotic goods must be imbued with culturally relevant meaning locally, and incorporated into local social relationships if they are to be desired and utilized. It is this redefinition and reorientation of such objects that allow us to explore the impact of cross-cultural interaction (and not just consumption). In the Near East, this is designated initially by the exchange of Greek ceramics for Near Eastern metalwork and ivory crafts and has been explicitly related to ideas of gift-exchange between Greek and Near Eastern elites. There is evidence not long after this period of the production of specific ceramic forms and small finds by all the resident populations for exchange explicitly with one another, demonstrative of the broader understanding of cultural tastes and, arguably, respective cultural codes. In Sicily, a similar pattern can be seen in the initially selective use of Greek drinking vessels, which are quickly incorporated into the general pottery repertoire and become culturally standardized. Of equal importance are those items that were not adopted and adapted. In Sicily, for instance, it is only drinking-related wares, and primarily only cups and pouring shapes rather than mixing ones, that are of early interest to the Sicilians, not aryballoi, which the Greeks were happy to exchange elsewhere. In contrast, Libyan populations demonstrate no interest in foreign goods or ideas for centuries. An active reinterpretation of artefact use in accord with local customs, in both scenarios of deliberate use and deliberate non-use, is reflective of the power of the consumer as agent rather than the producer as agent in the economies of the ancient colonial world. It is therefore not a question of who initiated these exchanges. No one forces the consumer to consume, although the choice of what to consume is determined by the producer/supplier. If supply were the driving force, one might expect greater uniformity in what circulated. For example, while the Greek pottery that has been found throughout the Mediterranean may generally be related to drinking and pouring, the same varieties are not found in each region; instead we see evidence of more localized tastes, including wares produced for specific markets, such as Euboean plates and Al Mina ware, which suggests supply in response to demand. This is not to deny the producer/supplier a vital and active role in exchange, for the producer/supplier determines what is available to consume, and therefore is able to control the rate at which something is consumed, thereby maintaining the status of prestige and common goods where that status is determined by availability.

This pulls us into the Mediterranean stage of connectivity and methods of interpreting the processes of those connections. Interpretations depend upon perspective. Production for specific markets and interpretations from the perspective of the consuming populations allow the same region to serve as both a middle ground for some populations and a politico-economic periphery for others. North Syria is a case in point, where the Greeks, Phoenicians, Aramaeans and other North Syrians worked together and accommodated one another, producing goods specifically to cater to intended markets. One

result developing from this middle ground was the orientalization of Greek culture. Indeed, the middle ground that Malkin highlights in his analysis of the Herakles myth in Sicily (2004) derives its vocabulary from the middle ground of North Syria, which enabled the Greeks and Phoenicians of Sicily to continue to communicate in mutually accommodating terms, and thus fostered the continued assimilation of cultural facets as each achieved their own purposes in the Mediterranean arena. But the region did not serve as a middle ground for all the connected populations. In contrast, the Neo-Assyrian populations viewed the territory as a periphery whose material resources and wealth from trading enterprises could be exploited for the Empire's economic benefits through political and military control.

The role of agency, therefore, is one that must be assessed in light of local conditions, although perhaps in response to developments in local political circumstances. This is as opposed to class structures, economic systems, military power or population alone being decisive in shaping community responses. It can be argued that these elements cannot be singled out, since each community's society works as a whole and must be viewed as such; potters, architects, masons, sculptors, scribes and other artisans work for patrons, whether elite leaders or individual community members. All members of society act with regard to contemporary social issues, whether internal or external to the community. None of the communities discussed here operated in a social, commercial or political vacuum, however. In other words, internal and external factors acted as catalysts to produce cultural change, in addition to middle ground accommodations.

In North Syria, it is during the period of Neo-Assyrian activity in the region that we see changes particularly in the consumption patterns of the local populations, more so than other cultural changes, such as in burial customs or religious practices. This may be related to the nature of Neo-Assyrian political control, which operated a system of administrators who maintained the local industries and networks to produce the necessary tribute and goods the Neo-Assyrian centre demanded. Thus, underneath this new political superstructure, the connectivity between the participating populations was sustained and their mobility, social systems and cultural practices maintained in a middle ground of mutual accommodation. The thrust in change was a collective one to satisfy the controlling force.

By contrast, in Sicily there was no direct empire-driven interest in the island. Rather, the Greek and Phoenician colonies were established by individuals and small communities from diverse city-states for a variety of reasons, no doubt one of them being commercial opportunities to capitalize upon mobility. Each community – Sicilian, Greek and Phoenician – was subject only to its own leaders, not to a mother-city, state or empire. The Sicilian communities may therefore be assessed in a similar manner alongside their colonial neighbours, as settlements interacting with other settlements and in terms of elite discourse within a community and between communities.

These competing discourses with one another can be viewed as the dialogue of the middle ground, for the adoption of foreign elements and their reinterpretation within society allowed for social display that would be recognized and understood by all parties engaged in the middle ground. Thus, for the Sicilians, foreign ceramics may initially have belonged to the realm of their elite through communication in the middle ground, but their styles very quickly came to reflect part of the cultural standard within local Sicilian communities, reflective of the hybrid cultural developments resulting from middle ground discourse. No doubt this multi-cultural fusion of identities was facilitated by individual integration, especially given the bounded area of the island, which by its very nature is restricted space.

Proximity does not necessarily result in connectivity, and so the arrival of colonies alone may not prompt cultural developments in local populations. This is clear particularly in North Africa. Influence from the coastal communities among the Libyan populations only comes during the period of Ptolemaic subjugation of Cyrenaica and Carthaginian military activity in the Mediterranean. The local elite prior to this time maintained firm control over their communities' practices and society, as reflected archaeologically and despite the interactions attested in ancient literary sources. Community leaders felt no need to engage in the elite exchanges common elsewhere, nor did any local craftsmen embrace foreign ideas, to the extent our archaeological knowledge allows us to determine. It is perhaps with the later territorial incursions by the Ptolemaic and subsequently Roman empires, which advanced much deeper into the Libyan heartlands than the Greeks and Phoenicians had done, that Libyan leaders developed new dialogues with the coastal settlements, as a middle ground emerged, with cultural fertilization as one outcome.

The result of any such connectivity, regardless of the sphere, is that new material and social norms are established by the interacting cultures as they incorporate elements gleaned from their connected neighbours through their discourses: the process of Mediterraneanization. This is also the nature of hybrid development. Even Greek culture of the Archaic period – the orientalizing period – can be described as a mixture of Greek traditions fused with Near Eastern practices, the incorporation of which gave rise to new social and religious norms and artistic standards that became engrained aspects of what we think of as Greek civilization (although the constantly changing nature of cultures makes it difficult to define Greek civilization without a temporal parameter). The same could be argued for the so-called Hellenization of Phoenician cultures. Thus, the Iron Age remains not only a period of renewed contact and interaction between Mediterranean populations, but one of rapid and diverse fusion of customs, practices, beliefs and traditions, which were constantly modified and reinterpreted in unique ways by each population as they continued to develop their cultural identities. The dynamism of this time cannot be underestimated.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1 Based upon the scope of exchanges illustrated in the works of Homer: Mele 1979; see also von Reden 1995. While such a generalization may be broadly attributable, this does not rule out the possibilities of other forms of gift exchange, such as for marriage (Gjerstad 1979: 93) or mere commodities (Coldstream 1979: 268).

2 Jones 2000: 59–66 provides a concise summary of Mauss', Sahlins', Wiener's, Finley's and Beidelman's views of gift exchange, and how they have been applied to Early Iron Age Greece.

3 See Foxhall 1998: 300 for criticisms of those who simplify the exchanges to reciprocity, the long-term relationships established on the basis of the exchange of gifts with irrelevant monetary value and for which there may not be an exact equivalence between items exchanged.

4 Reed 2003: 66–7 supports the idea of these traders acting as agents on behalf of the wealthier shipowners, who would also have controlled the cargoes, and therefore were presumably elite; for a member of the aristocracy, engaging in trade indirectly in this way would not have jeopardized one's social status. There is limited evidence for itinerant Greek craftsmen by the eighth century, as well, such as potters: Crielaard 1999b.

5 Douglas and Isherwood 1996: 99 define large-scale consumption patterns as low-frequency, high-ranking activities involving large social units, perhaps the elite class, and putting those engaged in them into contact with centres of power and influence. This is in contrast to small units, such as households, which are engaged in high-frequency, low-ranking activities, which characterize small-scale consumption patterns.

6 Boardman 1999c: 268: 'Most recently a strange measure of political correctness has crept in, thrusting the desired modern standards on to antiquity and making assumptions about the prejudices of recent generations of scholars, replacing them with new prejudices which are poorly established on any basic academic principle. To be Greco-centric is no longer a matter of being prejudiced by the quality of evidence and historical observation, but simply a matter of being wrong. Some areas of study are by now awash with babies and their bath water.' See also 2001a.

7 Similar developments are appearing in Greek colonial scholarship, as well: Osborne 2004: 92.

8 This is distinct from his other two models of colonialism: the middle ground, discussed above, and *terra nullius*, the total domination method resulting in loss of land of those already living in the territory in question.

9 Barth, one of the most influential anthropologists in the field of ethnicity studies, advocated against discussing ethnic identity through markers (dress, food, language) in favour of considering the boundaries that mark the limits of the content of ethnic identity: Barth 1969. For recent summaries of anthropological approaches to the study of ethnicity in general, see Banks 1996; Jenkins 1997.
10 This also finds parallels in anthropological approaches: Jenkins 1997: 13–14 and 165–6. For archaeological applications of *habitus* with regard to ethnicity, see Jones 1997: 87–100.
11 In the Greek world, the original criterion of Greekness was linguistic (Hall 1989: 166). This has been challenged by Hall 1995.
12 The emphasis on neutrality provided by one means or another is emphasized by Revere 1957.
13 Niemeyer 1990, who summarizes a port of trade as an institution of professional trade on the border between a non-market-oriented society and a market economy, and one that is independent from the hinterland and the business leaders of the mercantile system.
14 Gosden 2001: 243, despite a lack of emphasis on the material. By the very nature of the discipline, postcolonial approaches in archaeology are material.

NORTH SYRIA

1 According to Winter, Phoenician territory itself only extended north as far as Awrad: Winter 1995: 265 note 7; Amadasi Guzzo suggests the boundary was at Tell Sukas: Amadasi Guzzo 1987: 41; cf. also Graham 1986.
2 Meşad Hashavyahu: Naveh 1962; Wenning 1989; Reich 1989: fig. 4.1–2; de la Genière 1999; Fantalkin 2001b, who dates the site to 620–605 BC. Tel Kabri: Niemeier 1990: xxxvi, fig. 22.4; 1994: *33, fig. 19.10. For a recent discussion of whether such mercenaries were individual adventurers or small groups of soldiers, or a larger, more organized movement under Egyptian authority, see Niemeier 2002.
3 Kearsley 1999. Boardman 1999b: 153, note 34 revises his 1990 calculations of Greek pottery down to 47 per cent, still a considerable percentage (Boardman 1990a); cf. Hodos 2000b. Despite recent discussions of the pottery from Al Mina (most recently Kearsley 1999; Boardman 1999b, 2002a; Luke 2003; Lehmann 2005), doubt must remain on the nature of the entire assemblage as no scholar has yet secured permission to examine the collection held in the Antakya Museum, and no one knows exactly what is held there from any period. This is particularly important for any discussion regarding the plain wares, such as cooking vessels, Greek or otherwise.
4 Bing's 1971 proposal that Tarsus, just to the west, was a Rhodian colony is generally not accepted.
5 The Wandering Aramaean is described as the father of the Jews in Egypt who were the slaves that built the Pyramids. In fifth century BC sources, the Jews of Elephantine in Egypt are described as Aramaeans, and Aramaic inscriptions have been found there.
6 It could also be, however, that the Assyrians were not sufficiently interested in this region prior to Tiglath-Pileser III to warrant mention. See Parker 2002, for instance, for Assyrian interests elsewhere beforehand.
7 Classical Tracheia, or Cilicia Aspera, to the west or northwest of Tarsus in the Taurus mountains, is the territory of Hilakku/Kilakku mentioned by Assyrian sources.

8 Bing 1993: 106; both Bing 1991: 165 and 1993 relate Sissu to classical Issos, which is known today as Kinet Höyük, although others continue to place it inland at Kozan, north of Adana: e.g. Nevling Porter 2000: 144, fig. 1.
9 In a late seventh–early sixth century industrial context, crushed and ground murex shell, found in separate pise bins in the potters' quarter for use in pottery production, may represent a secondary use in pottery manufacture after the production of purple dye. Elsewhere on the site during the seventh century, crushed murex was used to cover floors of entire rooms. See Gates 1999a: 262, 263, 1999b: 308, 2003: 284.
10 One wonders if these North Syrian states did not have themselves to blame for this ultimately, since during the ninth and eighth centuries, their disputes were frequently settled by the Assyrians, as indicated by stelae from Antakya and Pazarcık: Donbaz 1990; Wazana 1996.
11 Lehmann 1996, 1998. For instance, his study reveals a distinction between the coastal and inland assemblages of Syria during the Iron Age, with convergence only by the end of the seventh century, and presumably attributable to Neo-Assyrian activity.
12 Fantalkin 2001a questions the accuracy of the stratifications at Tell Abu Hawam, Megiddo and Samaria, however, and suggests that these examples cannot be used as a chronological foundation. See also Kenyan 1964.
13 Summarized in Luke 2003: 31–42. Early and Middle Protogeometric (1050/1025–960/950 BC) vessels at Tel Hadar and Tell Afis; Late Protogeometric (960/950–900 BC) findspots include Ras el Bassit (four Euboean amphoras); Tyre (three amphoras, one krater, one cauldron, and three concentric circle skyphoi, all Euboean); Tell Abu Hawam (one Euboean pendent semi-circle skyphos of Kearsley's type 6, which she dates to the eighth century (Kearsley 1989: 104); Fantalkin 2001a notes three Late Protogeometric sherds from phase 8b, tenth-century, from Tel Dor. Tel Rehov, with its two tenth-century Euboean krater sherds, provides an additional inland context (Coldstream and Mazar 2003); the strong stratigraphy and archaeometric analysis from Tel Rehov offer promising, more secure contributions to this debate as work continues at the site: Finkelstein 2004.
14 Homer cites as exchanged gifts among the elite metalwork, ivory, precious stones, faience, livestock and slaves, which do not appear to be on a similar status par as ceramics: Papadopoulos 1997: 199–200.
15 Ahta, the emporium at the seashore with a royal storehouse, and in proximity to Mount Sapuna, known today as Jabal al-'Aqra or Mount Cassius (Bonatz 1993: 123–4, note 1). Tadmor 1994: 104, notes 12 and 13, and 105, lines 12 and 13.
16 c.770 BC: Boardman 1999b: 145, 153; c.750BC: Woolley 1938: 16; Gjerstad 1974: 122; Kearsley 1989: 145, 1995: 67–9, 1999: 12–15; Boardman 2002a: 327; Popham and Lemos, however, favour a ninth-century date for the pendent semi-circle skyphoi and plates: Popham and Lemos 1992.
17 Descoeudres 1978: 19; Kearsley 1995: 75 argues not for a cessation in Greek imports but that it was eclipsed by imports from Cyprus and Phoenicia. Tyre seems to have had a particularly close relationship with Al Mina, as many of the Phoenician types have parallels with examples from Tyre and its extended hinterland, including Sarepta, Keisan, and even Kition on Cyprus. See Lehmann 2005: 83–4.
18 See Luke 2003: 24–5 and noted by Woolley, himself: 1937: 9, 1938: 16. Boardman 2002a: 324 suggests that less highly decorated vessels may have served as kitchenware.
19 See Luke 2003: 20 and 27 with references. These other findspots of Greek wares

are overlooked by Boardman 2002b as he presents his arguments in favour of the Greek pottery equalling the presence of Greeks.

20 Kearsley 1999: 128, note 29. Boardman, discussing strata 9 and 10, argues that it is 'unreasonable to suppose that in a level where virtually all the decorated wares are Greek, the kitchenware need have been of other origin; even so, it could be, and local supply or replacement of plain wares was the obvious answer to needs, while for decorated wares of a type peculiar to Greek requirements, import from home was the only option' (2002a: 324). While this may be true, arguments *ex silencio* are not sound. Boardman 2001b: 19 notes that the Cypriot pottery from Al Mina is also of relative quantity compared with similar material elsewhere in the region. Thus, all the more this supports the hypothesis that Al Mina served as the primary regional port, and not one exclusively for Greeks. Boardman still maintains with regard to Al Mina that strata 10 and 9 are virtually Greek, but that from 8 onwards the site was shared with both Cypriots and Syrians, although remaining more Greek or Graeco-Cypriot than anything (much of the so-called Cypriot seems locally produced) (2002a: 325). As for the cooking pots themselves, they were only ever briefly described and have remained in Antakya, unavailable for study ever since. Boardman implies that 'masses' of Greek kitchenware were found in levels 7/6, however: 2004b: 191.

21 Inscriptions: before the fifth century, at least: Bron and Lemaire 1983; it must be argued that inscriptions are never plentiful at a single site; glyptic: Boardman 2002a: 322; architectural features: Luke 2003: 28 with references.

22 Boardman argues that the rectangular form of the mudbricks from Al Mina, common in Greece and Cyprus, is a reflection of Greek architectural influence, since the shape more typically found in the region is square (1999b: 158, note 41, 2002a: 326, note 24). Luke 2003: 14–16 points out that the dimensions of the preserved Al Mina bricks are, in fact, perfectly in keeping with Levantine tradition, along with other architectural features, such as floor and wall construction, doors and hinge stones. These too find parallels in contemporary levels at Kinet Höyük. On Levantine architecture in general during this period, see Braemer 1982 and 1997.

23 Regardless of what was kept and what was discarded, Woolley, himself, mentions that the quantity of imports in levels 10 and 9 were abundant (Woolley 1938: 16). Boardman's 1999 notes that a reading of the fieldnotes gives the impression of overwhelming quantities of Greek pottery (Boardman 1999b: 152).

24 The lack of lasting Greek influence at Al Mina is unusual if one continues to view the site as Greek, unsurprising if it is seen as a local site with perhaps some Greeks passing through, along with other trading peoples. For a detailed analysis, see Luke 2003. Boardman maintains that Euboeans had special interests at Al Mina (1990a, 2002a: 327–30). See also Tandy 1997: 62–6. Al Mina's relationship with nearby Sabouni (Sabouniyeh) is similarly not entirely clear. Woolley likened the relationship to Piraeus' with Athens (Woolley 1959: 179), but there is no direct evidence that such a symbiotic relationship existed between the two Orontes centres. While Sabouni may have been the port for the Bronze Age kingdom centred at Tell Atchanah, material evidence suggests that the port was not abandoned during the earlier Iron Age (Pamir and Nishiyama 2002). The continued use of Sabouni during the Iron Age, prior to the foundation of Al Mina, may explain the presence of an Atticizing Euboean amphora and Greek (i.e. not Eubeoan) hydria at Çatal Höyük in the Amuq which are dated stratigraphically to the tenth century (Saltz 1978: 81–3 and 284; Catling 1990: 9; Luke 2003: 20).

25 Altogether about 200 vessels, including Siana cups, lip cups, band cups, Cassel,

Droop, floral, palmette and eye cups: Courbin 1986: 201–2; 1990: 509. In comparison, Tarsus only has about 30 contemporary Attic vases (Goldman 1963), while Al Mina has hardly any (Robertson 1940).

26 Gates 2003: 284, although this may have been a means of sealing off the previous building stratum of Neo-Assyrian occupation to begin afresh: Gates 2004: 407.

27 Like Al Mina, no destruction level can be directly associated with earlier Assyrian activities in the region, such as Tiglath-Pileser III's incorporation of Hama and its province into the Assyrian empire in 738 BC. Ploug suggests that no Greek building activity took place at Tell Sukas until 600 BC: Ploug 1973: 93.

28 This includes period G3 (675–588 BC) and G2 (588–552 BC). Only one building has a sufficient plan to allow for comparison, and it is either of Braemer's type IIA3 or IIB1, and thus still Levantine in form: Lund 1986: 189–92; Bonatz 1993: 125–6.

29 Forsberg (1995) has recently challenged the association between Sennacherib's 696 BC campaign and the so-called destruction contexts of the site. The destruction of Tarsus itself is mentioned by name in Sennacherib's written records after his fifth campaign (Luckenbill 1927: 137). Forsberg's archaeological arguments against dating a perceived destruction level by the excavators with this campaign rest on a lack of evidence for widespread conflagration. This, however, assumes that fire damage should be uniform across the site, rather than concentrated in various buildings or rooms, which is far more likely. Evidence of fire damage in various strata at Kinet Höyük, for instance, is reflected in lenses of ash of varying thicknesses that often peter out across a trench. A fire in part of a building could have had a devastating effect on the entire building, necessitating its reconstruction, even though the stratum to be rebuilt may not be entirely burnt. Forsberg admits, 'the evidence for extensive building activity in Section B and its surroundings, involving substantial, topographical change (the fortification), and the connection of this building activity with the spreading of debris of destruction by fire forms a suggestive set of features which makes the archaeological part of the excavator's case look fairly plausible' (1995: 57). With regard to ceramic finds, Boardman 1965 did question the dating by the excavators of some of the Greek material, but largely did not challenge the dating of the destruction level to Sennacherib's 696 BC campaign, merely some contexts within Section B. Finally, Forsberg's literary criticism of the Assyrian record of Sennacherib's campaign rests on the suggestion that the reference in Eusebius to the rebuilding of Tarsus by Sennacherib is one of local conjectur to provide a suitable foundation myth rather than an historical record. However, a careful analysis by Dalley (1999) of the texts attributed to Berossus, which were transmitted by Eusebius, affirms that Berossus provided accurate information about Sennacherib's activities at Tarsus that was almost certainly based upon contemporary Mesopotamian sources in cuneiform or Aramaic.

30 Compare with the Bohtan and Garzan river valleys: Parker 2003. The earliest raid by Greeks on the eastern Mediterranean coast can be dated to the end of the eighth century: Kearsley 1999: 120–1. For Saggs 1963: 77–8, however, Cyprus or the coast of Asia Minor west of Tarsus are more likely the origin of these pirates, with a preference for the latter. He adds that the Assyrians themselves may have not known where their homeland was precisely.

31 In 738 BC, he marched to the coast west of Hamath, dominating Unqi, at the least: Oded 1974.

32 There are, however, only 61 burials in total, few of which are infants.

33 Chapman 1972: 57.

34 Burial 29, although in another area, what seemingly appears to be a tumulus is in

fact the later formation of a stormbeach. The depression of a stone upon an accumulation of earth above burial 29, however, led Riis to conclude that this was, indeed, man-made and that a stela had been placed on top: Riis 1979: 26.

35 See, for instance, Luke 2003: 32. An early Argive skyphos has been identified at Tell Afis, which also had early Cypriot imports: Bonatz 1998: 214–15. See also Collombier 1987.

36 In Homer: Beidelman 1989; for Athens and Knossos: Coldstream 1983; in the discussion on p. 207, Murray notes that it is not the exchange of gifts but the giving of a gift to a person with the expectation that the giver will be given something in return some day, and that this is not the primary aspect of the ritual; for late Mycenaean Greece: Peltenberg 1991; Greeks and Cypriots: Coldstream 1994: 84, note 49; Crielaard 1999a.

37 Those who emphasize Greek initiatives and activities include Boardman 1990a, 2001a; Crielaard 1992/93; Markoe 1996 (secondhand trade and influence to Attica via Crete); Popham and Sackett 1979: 247; Ridgway 2000, 2004. Those who see this activity as Phoenician-led include Kopcke 1992; Lehmann 1998; Morris 1992; Morris and Papadopoulos 1998; Papadopoulos 1997, 1998; Negbi 1992; Pisano 1999; Waldbaum 1994; Winter 1995.

38 Greeks: Boardman 1999a, 2002a; Kearsley 1995, 1999; Phoenicians: Graham 1986; Culican 1982: 79; Cypriots: Coldstream 1989: 94.

39 Bowls with stems are not unknown in the local pottery from Hama, however.

40 Few transport vessel fragments are to be found in any of the scattered Al Mina collections, although Woolley makes frequent references and sketches of such types in his field notes: Lehmann 2005: 67–8. Woolley apparently discarded them, or at least did not bring them out of the Hatay.

41 On a local red burnished kantharos and an Ionian amphora: Docter and Niemeyer 1994: 112, number 47.

42 Winter 1976, 1981 for distinctions of the South Syrian style, which seems to be a hybrid between the two and is centred around Damascus. See also Herrmann 2000.

43 Winter 1976: 17–19 notes that this also coincides with the cessation of Syrian metalwork and argues that it is related to Assyria's campaigns against Syria to control land routes, particularly campaigns by Sargon II, which destroyed the local economy, and hence its luxury-goods-producing industries. Elephant tusks have been found at Al Mina (eighth to sixth century BC: Barnett 1975: 165, note 1, but Boardman 1999c: 299, note 8 suggests they are ox horns) and Kinet Höyük.

44 Another example has been found in Crete, while a third was discovered at a Punic settlement on Sardinia. The relationship between this image and Phoencian culture is notable. Falsone 1988a: 233–4 with references.

45 Rhodes: Porada 1956; Cilicia or North Syria: Buchner and Boardman 1966; Aramaea/North Syria: Boardman 1990b; Ridgway 1998; Phoenicia: Winter 1995: esp. 267, note 39. Buchner and Boardman also speculate that they may have been the product of one craftsman.

46 But in terms of absolute quantities, more have been found at Rhodes, and the largest collection comes from Pithekoussai.

47 Rhodes, Phoenicia, Cyprus and Egypt are the most cited sources for faience that appears in the Mediterranean, although little is known about the actual production locations. For North Syria as a likely production centre, see Peltenberg 1969.

48 There is evidence that Assyria itself was a bronzeworking territory between the ninth and seventh centuries, although Assyrian handiwork does not seem to have travelled beyond the major centres: Curtis 1988.

49 On the development of Phoenician artistic styles, see Muhly 1985; Markoe 1990. See also Markoe 2003.
50 North Syrian: Popham 1994: 17–19. Phoenician: Winter 1995: 250, where she cites one of these bronze bowls, from tomb 55, as the earliest decorated Phoenician product in *mainland* (author's italics) Greece.
51 For Nimrud, see, for instance, Barnett 1974: 33. For evidence of Assyrian metalworking, see Curtis 1988 and Dalley 1988.
52 Most recently, Kearsley 1999; Boardman 2002a, 2004: 152, where he suggests an eastern source manned by Greeks; cf. Boardman 2002b: 6, note 29, where he implies they are not local as a result of the NAA analysis by Jones 1986: 696.
53 Brodie and Steel 1996; but Schreiber 2003: 277–80 accepts that local production may have occurred in Cilicia and perhaps as far south as Israel. Preliminary results of petrographic and chemical analyses from Kinet Höyük suggest that black-on-red was locally produced at the site: Hodos *et al.* 2005.
54 The beginnings of this imitation at Kinet Höyük remains to be assessed, although an early imitation of Cypriot Bichrome I from Tel Dor, decorated with a goat design, in keeping with the pictorial styles emerging in Cyprus in the eleventh century (Gilboa 1989; Yellin 1989), suggests an earlier date for Kinet is probable.
55 Coldstream 1994 phrases it in terms of the efforts of the Euboean Late Geometric donors, who were aware of distinctly Cypriot tastes and made efforts to cater to these tastes in their gifts. This could also be viewed as a question of specific demand on the part of the Cypriot elite recipients.
56 See, for example, Ezekiel 26–8. Although his dates are early sixth century and it may not be until the fifth of fourth centuries before his writing was compiled into the form in which we now know it, he may be referring to events of the eighth century. Aubet 2001: 120–6.
57 For the Phoenician, see Donner and Röllig 2002: 26. For the Luwian, see now Çambel 1998. It may date to between 705 and 696 BC: Tekoğlu and Lemaire 2000: 1001.
58 Such mixed populations may also have been a result of forced resettlement throughout the Early and Middle Iron Age by the Assyrians. See Oded 1979; Winter 1979.
59 The names are Anatolian but the text is in Phoenician, implying that Phoenician was used for official records and still actively so by the end of the seventh century.
60 Aramaic continued to be used down to the fifth and fourth centuries, as suggested by finds at Daskyleion, Sardis, Limyra, Xanthos and Bahadirli, and even Elephantine in Egypt, as Aramaean scribes followed in the wake of Persian acquisitions: Röllig 1992: fig. 13; Yardeni 1994.
61 The debate has also focused on why the Greeks modified the Phoenician syllabic-consonant value of some letters into vowels, but this lies beyond the scope of the present work.
62 The *eulin* graffito from Osteria dell'Osa, of c.770 BC, may or may not be Greek: Ridgway 1996; Johnston 2003.
63 Recently, Marek 1993. For the overlap between Greek and Semitic languages (Akkadian, Aramaic and Phoenician), see Burkert 1992: 25–40.
64 Hoffman 1997 summarizes the various arguments. See also Morris 1992; Markoe 1996; Treister 1995. Evidence beyond artistic output may be seen at Arkades, where the North Syrian burial custom of stacking vessels inside one another, seen at Carchemish, may be found: Morris 1992: 160–1.
65 Shanks 1999. For Corinth in particular this seems to have been heavily influenced by the Phoenicians, given the Phoenician origin of Corinthian deities, and the

introduction of the month of Phoinikaios in the Corinthian calendar: Morris and Papadopoulos 1998;

66 Even Boardman 2002b agrees, although he still sees an active Ionian sea presence interacting.

SICILY

1 The geographic division between Sikel and Sikan territory has been placed by some at the Gela river and others at the Salso river (which is also known as the southern or lower Himera river). Gela river: Dunbabin 1948; Salso river: Pace 1958; Holloway 2000. The origin of the Elymians has been associated with Anatolia, Italy, and even Sicily itself, for which see Tusa, V. 1987–88, 1988–89; Spatafora 1996; Mele 1997. For literary and epigraphic arguments for a distinct Elymian culture, see Tusa, V. 1987–88, 1988–89; de Vido 1997 with references. For ceramic arguments, see Tusa, S. 1988–89.

2 Leighton 1996; Albanese Procelli 1999: 332–3. While perhaps more egalitarian, these tribes still had individual leaders, or at least an individual in a position of sufficient authority to be called *basileus* in later texts (Diod. Sic. 5.6.2), which may have been the closest parallel to which later authors could liken such an individual.

3 Boardman's *The Greeks Overseas* (1999c) remains the most succinct account in English of the Greek foundations of their colonies in Sicily and elsewhere in the Mediterranean. For more detailed studies, in Italian, see, for instance, Gabba and Vallet 1980; Consolo Langher 1996.

4 The running motif on the Modica example also appears on Thapsos ware from Delphi and Aetos dated to between 750 and 730 BC, and does not appear later than 730 BC: Neeft 1981: 37. The Modica piece therefore would have been manufactured either at a pre-colonial or very early colonial date. For the Cozzo della Tignusa example, see d'Agostino 1974: 77.

5 The pieces are illustrated in Villard 1982: figs 1, 6 and 6, 1–4. Coldstream's comments appear in the discussion of the volume, p. 221.

6 Sicilian elbow fibulas which have been found in the Iberian peninsula have been cited as evidence for early Phoenician activity in the western Mediterranean. The chronologies of the find spots, however, are imprecise and may still allow for their arrival during the eighth century. See Leighton 2000b.

7 Which compares with fifth-century Agrigentine examples, although a late sixth-century example has been found at Gela: Calderone *et al.* 1996: 24, note 106.

8 Needless to say, the development of this and other architectural forms in the colonies is much more complicated than simple transplantation from mother-city to colony. See, for example, Siracusano 1989 for architectural forms and also 53, note 4 for references; Shepherd 1995 and 2000 for religious practices themselves. See Mazarakis Ainian 1997 for homeland architecture. Oikos refers to a house which was dedicated to or inhabited by a god. Architecturally, it generally has a closed façade, rather than a protruding antis, but it can have one or more rooms and be with or without a porch: Mazarakis Ainian 1997: 259.

9 De Miro 1999: 192 argues that these buildings may be only slightly earlier than the seventh century; cf Albanese Procelli 2003: 44, who dates the structures to the tenth and ninth centuries.

10 Arguments have also been presented in favour of their being Sicilian products (Rizza 1979) or Greek work (Vagnetti 1972). See also Falsone 1988b: 43.

11 *Enchytrismos* burials were utilized occasionally during the Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age throughout Sicily, however, most famously at the Molino della Badia

and Madonna del Piano necropoleis near Grammichele during first half of the ninth century BC, where cremation burials also occurred. *Enchytrismos* burials also occur in peninsular north-eastern Sicily at this time. See Albanese Procelli 2003: 68–76.

12 A dramatic change in Phoenician burial customs also occurs on Sardinia at this time, where cremation is replaced by inhumation, and where some prefer trench and chest graves, while others prefer chamber tombs. See van Dommelen 1998: 124–5.

13 Differential skull treatment may have existed during the Copper Age: Becker 1986: 35–6 and 51–3. The Iron Age T.5 at Morgantina, dated to the eighth century, has two child skulls alongside adult inhumations. These are less likely to be remains of *akephala* burials than infant inhumations for which the bones were discarded during tomb cleaning or rearrangement for additional burials (Lyons 1996b: 120). The same could be said for examples at Finocchito (Frasca 1981; Steures 1980). *Akephalia* is attested, however, at Rossomanno, but not until the sixth century (Fiorentini 1980–81: 599), and Castiglione (Cordano and Salvatore 2002) as well as at Gela (Lap. 8 and B 178) and Megara Hyblaea (t. 309), while examples of separate head and body inhumation appear at Camarina (t. 1067), Megara Hyblaea (t. 208 and 235) and Morgantina (T. 21 and T. 26). Examples at Syracuse, Himera, and Entella are probably redepositions: Albanese Procelli 1997b: 520. The dates of these examples indicate that the custom is not indigenous to Sicily, in contrast to what De Angelis 2003a: 53 suggests (see Albanese Procelli 2003: 170–1). Nevertheless, the sporadic examples of these mixing of burial customs within a single context in Greek colonial settings may, indeed, be indicative of resident non-Greeks. See Shepherd 2005a. See de Angelis 2003b: 53 for contracted inhumations at Megara Hyblaea, also attributed to Sikels. All of these contracted burials are in monolithic sarcophagi, a Greek burial custom in origin. He cites eleven tombs out of over several hundred in total at Megara Hyblaea dating between 675 and the early fifth century that demonstrate this mixing of rites and tomb types, hardly an 'abundant' number (cf. de Angelis 2003a: 29). This is a period by when one would certainly expect to have culturally mixed communities in settlements that were colonies in origin, and de Angelis is correct to assert that a number of those Sicilians living in colonial sites would likely have been full members of the community and not merely the enslaved people the Greek historians speak of.

14 De Miro has interpreted the motifs on one vessel from Polizzello as Cypriot-inspired (De Miro 1988). In fact, the motifs find closer parallels to the incised geometric patterns common on contemporary incised wares from the site.

15 Weapons were not buried in Greek contexts by this time: van Wees 1998, and they do not occur often in Sicilian contexts, either. Arms have been found at Montgana di Marzo, Paternò, and Mendolito; there are other examples in private collections with uncertain provenance. See Spatafora 2000a: 918, note 69 for references. Occasionaly, weapons appear in votive deposits, such as at Montagnola di Marineo, which contained several bronze helmets, greaves, and what may be the remains of a shield. Many vases were found in this area, including closed shapes such as hydrias and amphoras decorated in polychrome (a specialist production) (Termini 1997), numerous local wares, jugs with animal remains, and what may be a small votive altar and hearth. Most weapons of the later Iron Age have been found in metal hoard deposits, which has suggested to some a centralized form of hoarding, in which the weapons were collected for civil or sacred purposes: Albanese Procelli 1993: 232. Much metalwork was supplemented by Italian, particularly Calabrian, goods (Albanese Procelli 1990) and form part of

the pan-Italian metal exchange system (Hodos 1999). This would include bronze figurines found throughout Sicily and southern Italy: Albanese Procelli 1993: 233 and 234; Albanese Procelli 1995: 41. Iron weapons and bronze bowls are also attested at Sabucina in the West necropolis, also dated between the second half of the sixth century and the first half of the fifth century (Orlandini 1968: 152), where a similar interpretation may be valid. This is distinct from the tenth and ninth century weapon production at Sabucina: cf. Albanese Procelli 2000: 79.

16 Deer were also sacrificed at Monte Polizzo: Morris 2003: 48–9 and deer bones were found in a circular building of religious purpose of Colle Madore: De Miro 1988–89.

17 The dedication of textiles and related tools, especially weaving implements, as well as the use of lamps, is well known from Greek cultic practice (Foxhall and Stears 2000); kernoi are associated with traditional cultic practices and are occasionally found in Late Bronze Age contexts (Leontini-Metapiccola; Sabucina) as well as slightly later (Colle Madore; Morgantina): Albanese Procelli 2003: 133.

18 The temple can only be definitively connected to Aphrodite in the fourth century from graffiti, but practice of her cult may be circumstantially attested by the quantities of lamps found from sixth-century contexts, as her cult is known for its nocturnal rituals.

19 On Mediterranean trade with specific regard to Sicily: Morel 1997; D'Agostino 1999; Schnapp 1999. On the so-called Ionian-Massaliot type, with examples at Mendolito and Monte Saraceno di Ravanusa, see Albanese Procelli 1991: 108, note 38 with references; for circulation and redistribution of transport amphoras, see Albanese Procelli 1996a, 1997a. With regard to luxury goods, for the distribution of Greek products, see Foxhall 1998; for Phoenician products, see Pisano 1999; for the few Etruscan wares, see Albanese Procelli 2003: 209.

20 By the fifth century, kiln evidence indicates a thriving ceramic production industry, producing Punic types, particularly of transport amphoras: Greco 1997c, 2000 with bibliography.

21 Antonaccio has recently identified pottery from Marianopoli at Morgantina in a seventh-century context (Antonaccio 2004: 73 and note 47), while stamped and incised wares from western Sicily have already been recognized.

22 For the krater, see Hodos 2000c; for the pilgrim flasks, see Albanese Procelli 2003: 135.

23 For regional distinctions in clays and vessel typologies, see Trombi 1999; Lamagna 2002. For a discussion of the non-colonial ceramic forms in eastern Sicily during the seventh to fifth centuries, see Albanese Procelli 1991. But for the askos, see Palermo 1983.

24 For a discussion of Elymian centres in general, see Anello 1988–89 and the update in Nenci 1999a and 1999b. For Entella, most recently see Guglielmino 2000.

25 The only non-linear motif on the ceramics of Monte Casasia, for instance, is the undulating line. This matt-painted geometric style is often referred to as Siculo-Geometric: Antonaccio 2004: 58–60 and 2005: 105–6.

26 Manganaro 1998 sees influence from the Chalkidian script at Mendolito, Poira, Inessa and Centuripe; influence from the Camarina-Hyblaean script at Ragusa, Monte Casasia, Licodia Eubea, Sciri and Morgantina; influence from the Geloan script at Montagna di Marzo.

27 An example has also been found on an unprovenanced Ionian cup from the Ragusa area: Arena 2000.

28 Eastern Sicily: Castiglione, Ragusa Ibla, Monte Casasia, Licodia Eubea, Sciri, Grammichele, Palagonia, Palikè, and Ramacca. In western Sicily: Montedoro

near Montelepre, Entella and Grotta Vanella, Segesta, Poggioreale. See most recently Agostiniani and Cordano 2002. See also Agostiniani, 1984–85; 1988–89; Cordano 1993; Manganaro 1998.

29 Sciri: Schmoll 1958: note 16; Licodia Eubea/Serrapiccola and Mendolito: Albanese Procelli 2003: 221; Entella: Nenci 1990: 548, although its intramural provenance casts doubt on whether it is a funerary inscription.

30 Antonaccio and Neils 1995, although the names on the loomweights from Terravecchia are [kupura] and [kupra]: cf. Agostiniani 2000 and Brugnone 1993.

31 In contrast, the Phoenicians do not appear to have had much material impact on their Sicilian neighbours. The period of Phoenician influence in Sicily is, in fact, Punic in both date and nature.

32 While many of these amphora types in non-colonial contexts are of later seventh- and sixth-century dates, eighth- and earlier seventh-century examples have been found in colonial communities, in domestic contexts and reused in the necropoleis: Albanese Procelli 1996a.

33 Albanese Procelli 1999: 348 suggests that the abundance at Marianopoli of locally-produced krateriskoi and only four imported Laconian and Attic kraters suggests a lack of comprehension about sympotic practices. More probable is that these vessels have simply been adopted for use in local tradition, rather than a misinformed Greek symposium: see Hodos 2000c.

34 A parallel may be observed in the contemporary emergence of a Greek colonial culture in contrast with homeland culture (e.g. Shepherd 1995, 2005b; Antonaccio 2001, 2003, and forthcoming).

NORTH AFRICA

1 Indeed, an empancipated relationship would also address why the attested intermarriage between Greeks and Libyans remains uncriticized by ancient authors, for if the Libyans were enslaved, such relations on a wide basis would be unacceptable to Greek society.

2 The general term 'Libyan' derives from Lebu or Rebu, which was utilized by the Egyptians by the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BC (Beltrami 1985; Gosline 1995). Literary evidence and pictorial representations have suggested to some scholars that there were Libyans who were closely integrated into the ruling Egyptian family by the 22nd Dynasty (948–715 BC), and probably before (Leahy 1985; Kitchen 1990; O'Connor 1990; del Carmen Perez Die 1990; Gosline 1995). Although the use of temple precincts for the burial of important persons does not appear before the 22nd Dynasty, there is no evidence that this was a Libyan tradition in origin (compare Leahy 1985 with Gosline 1995). Few specifically Libyan elements can be identified in the material remains from these Egyptian royal burials, while most of the representations come from temple or tomb settings and therefore may reflect a more mythologized view of the material culture. Any such interpretations must also be subject to the localized contextualization of the hybrid nature of such elements.

3 Pulses seem to have not been cultivated, a category of crop noted by its absence. It is difficult to determine any changes in agricultural traditions in Fezzan between the pre-Roman and Roman periods, however, as practices seem to have changed little. Indeed, even up until the nineteenth century, farming methods were extremely similar to those described by Herodotus. The *foggaras* were also in use for a considerable time. See van der Veen 1992. As for the pre-desert, and even the early phases of the Greek and Phoenician colonies, insufficient contemporary archaeobotanical sampling has taken place to allow for comparison. For later periods, however, see Mattingly and Hitchner's 1995 review.

4 Hulin thinks it is likely that this type is Bronze Age in date, for in its Marsa Matruh and Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham contexts, although it always appears on multi-period sites, the ware almost always appears in conjunction with New Kingdom pottery. Although there are two sites Hulin has examined where it was found without New Kingdom pottery, both these sites are low-lying and could easily have been contaminated by washdown. Hulin pers. com.

5 Carter 1963: 23; White 1994. White and White speculate that wadi mouths in which these flints were found may have served as Bronze Age harbours but note little else supports such an argument: White and White 1996.

6 Although often called wadis, these are actually depressions in the landscape fed by subterranean water sources, usually tapped into by *foggaras*, which are underground irrigation canals. They contrast with the true wadi, found in the pre-desert zones, which is a seasonal river-course; cultivation in these is based upon floodwater farming. See Mattingly 2001.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abdussalem, M., A. Abdussaid, J. Reynolds (1997) Partridges, gazelles and Greek inscriptions: a report on visits to the Cave of the Birds in Wadi Zaza. *Libya Antiqua* new series 3: 47–50.

Abou Assaf, A. (1985) 'Ain Dara. In H. Weiss, ed. *Ebla to Damascus: art and archaeology of ancient Syria* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Travelling Exhibition Service) 347–50.

Acquaro, E. (1998) Industria ceramica e archeologia della produzione nel mondo fenicio e punico. In E. Acquaro and B. Fabbri, eds. *Produzione e Circolazione della Ceramica Fenicia e Punica nel Mediterraneo: il contributo della analisi archeometriche* (Faenza: Istituto di Ricerche Tecnologiche per la Ceramica) 95–108.

Adamesteanu, D. (1958) Butera: Piano della Fiera, Consi e Fontana Calda. *Monumenti antichi* 43–4: 205–672.

Adamesteanu, D. (1994–95) Butera: sede temporanea di una colonia greca arcaica? *Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia* series 3: 109–17.

Agostiniani, L. (1980–81) Epigrafia e linguistica anelleniche di Sicilia: prospettive, problemi, acquisizioni. *Kokalos* 26–27: 503–30.

Agostiniani, L. (1984–85) Epigrafia e linguistica anelleniche di Sicilia: bilancio di un quadrienno. *Kokalos* 30–31: 193–222.

Agostiniani, L. (1988–89) I modi del contatto linguistico tra Greci e indigeni nella Sicilia antica. *Kokalos* 34–35.1: 167–208.

Agostiniani, L. (1992) Les parlers indigènes de la Sicile prégrecque. *Lalies* 11: 125–57.

Agostiniani, L. (1997) L'emergence della lingua scritta. In V. Tusa, ed. *Prima Sicilia, alle origini della società siciliana* (Palermo: Ediprint) 579–81.

Agostiniani, L. (1999) L'epigrafia Elima. In *Sicilia Epigraphica: atti del convegno internazionale, Erice, 15–18 ottobre, 1998* (Pisa: Classe di Lettere e Filosophia) 1–13.

Agostiniani, L. (2000) L'area degli Iblei: per una impostazione del problem linguistio. In *Un pont fra l'Italia e la Grecia. Atti del Simposio in onore di A. Di Vita (Ragusa-Chiarmonte Gulfi 1998)* (Padova: Bottega d'Erasmo) 161–72.

Agostiniani, L. and F. Cordano (2002) L'ambient Siculo. In F. Cordano and M. Di Salvatore, eds. *Il Guerriero di Castiglione di Ragusa. Greci e Siculi nella Sicilia sud-orientale*. *Hesperìa* 16: 77–89.

Aharoni and Amiran (1958) A new scheme for the sub-division of the Iron Age in Palestine. *Israel Exploration Journal* 8: 171–84.

Ahlberg, G. (1967) A late geometric grave-scene influenced by North Syrian art. *Opuscula Atheniensia* 7: 171–86.

Akkermans, P.M.M.G. and G.M. Schwartz (2003) *The Archaeology of Syria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Albanese Procelli, R.M. (1982) Calascibetta (Enna). Le necropoli di Cozzo S. Giuseppe in Contrada Realmese. *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 36: 425–632.

Albanese Procelli, R.M. (1990) Appunti sui rapporti tra la metalluriga calabria e siciliana in età protostorica. In *A Sud di Velia* (Taranto: Istituto per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia) 117–32.

Albanese Procelli, R.M. (1991) Importazione greche nei centri interni della Sicilia in età arcaica: aspetti dell' 'acculturazione.' *Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell'arte, Università di Catania* 30: 97–111.

Albanese Procelli, R.M. (1993) *Ripostigli di bronzi della Sicilia nel Museo Archeologico di Siracusa* (Palermo: Accademia Nazionale di Scienze, Lettere e Arti).

Albanese Procelli, R.M. (1995) Contacts and exchanges in Protohistoric Sicily. *Acta Hyperborea* 6: 33–49.

Albanese Procelli, R.M. (1996a) Appunti sulla distributzione delle anfore commerciali nella Sicilia arcaica. *Kokalos* 42: 91–137.

Albanese Procelli, R.M. (1996b) Greeks and indigenous people in eastern Sicily: forms of interaction and acculturation. In R. Leighton, ed. *Early Societies in Sicily* (London: Accordia Research Centre) 167–76.

Albanese Procelli, R.M. (1997a) Echanges dans la Sicilie archaïque: amphores commerciales, intermédiares, et redistribution en milieu indigène. *Revue Archéologique* 1997: 3–25.

Albanese Procelli, R.M. (1997b) Le etnie dell'età del ferro e le prime fondazioni coloniali. In V. Tusa, ed. *Prima Sicilia, alle origini della società siciliana* (Palermo: Ediprint) 511–22.

Albanese Procelli, R.M. (1999) Identità e confini etnico-culturali: la Sicilia centro-orientale. In *Confini e Frontiera nella Grecità d'Occidente. Atti del trentasettesimo Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto, 3–6 ottobre 1997* (Taranto: Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia) 327–59.

Albanese Procelli, R.M. (2000) Bronze metallurgy in protohistoric Sicily: the stone moulds. In D. Ridgway, F.R. Serra Ridgway, M. Pearce, E. Herring, R.D. Whitehouse and J.B. Wilkins, eds. *Ancient Italy in its Mediterranean setting: studies in honour of Ellen Macnamara* (London: Accordia Research Institute) 75–90.

Albanese Procelli, R.M. (2003) *Sicani, Siculi, Elimi: forme di identità, modi di contatto e processi di trasformazione* (Milan: Longanesi).

Alessandro Guidi, V. and R. Whitehouse (1996) A radiocarbon chronology for the Bronze Age: the Italian situation. *Acta Archaeologica* 67: 271–82.

Alkım, U.B. (1965) The road from Sam'al to Asitawandawa. *Anadolu Araştirmaları* 2: 1–46.

Amadasi Guzzo, M.G. (1987) Fenici o Aramei in Occidente nell'VIII sec a.C.? In E. Lipínski, ed. *Studia Phoenicia V: Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium* BC (Leuven: Peeters) 35–47.

Amadasi Guzzo, M.G. (1999) Epigrafia fenicia in Sicilia. *Sicilia Epigraphica: atti del convegno internazionale, Erice, 15–18 ottobre, 1998* (Pisa: Classe di Lettere e Filisophia) 33–45.

Amadori, M.L. and B. Fabbri (1998) Indagini archeometriche su ceramica fenicia da mensa proveniente da Cartagine (VIII–VI sec. a.C.). In E. Acquaro and B. Fabbri, eds. *Produzione e Cricolazione della Ceramica Fenicia e Punica nel Mediterraneo: il contributo della analisi archeometriche* (Faenza: Istituto di Ricerche Tecnologiche per la Ceramica) 43–55.

Andreau, J. (2002) Twenty years after Moses I. Finley's *The Ancient Economy*. In W. Scheidel and S. von Reden, eds. *The Ancient Economy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press) 33–49.

Anello, P. (1988–89) Gli Elimi e le popolazioni 'indigene' nella Sicilia occidentale. In *Gli Elimi e l'area elima fino alla prima Guerra punica. Atti del Seminario di studi, Palermo-Contessa Entellina 1989* (Palermo: Società siciliana per la storia patria) 14–15: 55–72.

Anello, P. (2000) Grecità periferica in Sicilia: Himerioi e Selinountioi. *Hesperìa* 10: 99–115.

Antonaccio, C. (1997) Urbanism at archaic Morgantina. *Acta Hyperborea* 7: 167–93.

Antonaccio, C. (2001) Ethnicity and colonization. In I. Malkin, ed. *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press) 113–57.

Antonaccio, C. (2003) Hybridity and the cultures within Greek culture. In C. Dougherty and L. Kurke, eds. *The Cultures within Ancient Greek Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 57–74.

Antonaccio, C. (2004) Siculo-Geometric and the Sikels: ceramics and identity in eastern Sicily. In K. Lomas, ed. *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean* (Leiden: Brill) 55–81.

Antonaccio, C. (2005) Excavating Colonization. In H. Hurst and S. Owen, eds. *Ancient Colonizations: analogy, similarity and difference* (London: Duckworth) 97–113.

Antonaccio, C. (forthcoming) *Excavating Colonization* (Austin: University of Texas Press).

Antonaccio, C. and J. Neils (1995) A new graffito from archaic Morgantina. *Zeitschrift für Papirologie und Epigraphik* 105: 261–77.

Appadurai, A. (1986) Introduction: commodities and the politics of value. In A. Appadurai, ed. *The Social Life of Things* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 3–63.

Applebaum, S. (1979) *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene* (Leiden: Brill).

Arafat, K. and C. Morgan (1994) Athens, Etruria and the Heuneburg: mutual misconceptions in the study of Greek-barbarian relations. In I. Morris, ed. *Classical Greece: ancient histories and modern archaeologies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 108–34.

Arena, R. (1992) *Iscrizioni greche archaiche di Sicilia e Magna Grecia II* (Milan: Cisalpino-Goliardica).

Arena, R. (2000) Forme Elime in aree marginali. *Terze Giornate Internazionali di Studi sull'Area Elima (Gibellina-Erice-Contessa Entellina, 23–26 ottobre 1997)* (Pisa-Gibellina: Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa) 41–6.

Aubet, M.E (2001) *The Phoenicians and the West: politics, colonies, and trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Azebi, I., M. Cremaschi and M. Liverani (1998) Italo-Libyan joint mission for prehistoric research in the Sahara (Tadrart Acacus and Messak). A preliminary report on the 1997 field season. *Libya Antiqua* new series 4: 250–3.

Bacchielli, L. (1976) Un piattello 'di Genucilia': i rapporti di Cirene con l'Italia nella seconda metà del IV sec. a.C. *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia* 8: 99–107.

Bacchielli, L. (1979) Due statuette di Cirene: testimonianze della produzione arcaica locale. *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia* 10: 7–13.

Bacchielli, L. (1987) La scultura *libya* in Cirenaica e la variabilità delle riposte al contatto culturale greco-romano. *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia* 12: 459–88.

Bakir, T. (1968) *Historical and Archaeological Guide to Leptis Magna* (Tripoli: Press of the Ministry of Information and Culture).

Baldassare, I. (1987) Tracce dell'abitato prelattiaco ad Ovest dell'Agorà di Cirene. *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia* 12: 17–24.

Balensi, J. (1985) Revising Tell Abu Hawam. *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 257: 65–74.

Bandinelli, R.B., E.V. Caffarelli and G. Caputo (1964) *The Buried City: excavations at Leptis Magna* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson).

Banks, M. (1996) *Ethnicity: anthropological constructions* (London: Routledge).

Baramki, D. (1964) Preliminary report on the excavations at Tell el-Ghassil. *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 17: 47–103.

Barker, G. (1989) From classification to interpretations: Libyan prehistory, 1969–1989. *Libyan Studies* 20: 31–43.

Barker, G., ed. (1996) *Farming the Desert: the UNESCO Libyan Valleys Archaeological Survey. Volume one: synthesis* (Tripoli and London: Department of Antiquities, Tripoli, and Society for Libyan Studies).

Barnett, R.D. (1974) The Nimrud bowls in the British Museum. *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 2.1: 11–33.

Barnett, R.D. (1975) *A Cataologue of the Nimrud Ivories* (London: British Museum Press).

Barnett, T. with D. Mattingly (2003) The engraved heritage: rock-art and inscriptions. In D. Mattingly, ed., *The Archaeology of Fazzan* (London: Society for Libyan Studies) 279–326.

Barone, G., V. Crupi, S. Galli, D. Majolino, P. Migliardo, G. Spagnolo (2004) Mineralogical-petrographic and spectroscopic investigations on coarse pottery and transport amphorae from Agrigenti. *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 4.1: 47–59.

Bartel, B. (1985) Comparative historical archaeology and archaeological theory. In S. Dyson, ed. *Comparative Studies in the Archaeology of Colonialism* (Oxford: BAR) 8–37.

Barth, F., ed. (1969) *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: the social organisation of culture difference* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget).

Bates, O. (1914) *The Eastern Libyans* (London: Macmillan).

Bates, O. (1915) Archaic burials at Marsa Matruh. *Ancient Egypt* pt 4: 158–65.

Bates, O. (1927) Excavations at Marsa Matruh. *Harvard Africa Studies* 8: 125–97.

Becker, M.J. (1986) An ethnographical and archaeological survey of unusual mortuary procedures as a reflection of cultural diversity. Some suggestions for the interpretation of the human skeletal deposits from excavations at Entella, Sicily. *La Parola del Passato* 41: 31–56.

Beidelman, T.O. (1989) Agonistic exchange: Homeric reciprocity and the heritage of Simmel and Mauss. *Cultural Anthropology* 4: 227–59.

Beltrami, V. (1985) Population of Cyrenaica and eastern Sahara before the Greek

period. In G. Barker, J. Lloyd and J. Reynolds, eds. *Cyrenaica in Antiquity* (Oxford: BAR) 135–43.

Bennett, P., A.I. Wilson, A. Buzaian, K. Hamilton, D. Thorpe, D. Robertson, E. Zimi (2000) Euesperides (Benghazi): preliminary report on the spring 2000 season. *Libyan Studies* 31: 121–43.

Bernabò Brea, L. (1953–54) La Sicilia Prehistórica y sul relaciones con Oriente y con la Peninsula Ibérica. *Ampurias* 15–16: 137–235.

Bernabò Brea, L. (1964–65) Leggenda e archeologia nella protostoria siciliana. *Kokalos* 10–11: 1–33.

Bernabò Brea, L. E. Militello and S. La Piana (1969) Mineo (Catania) – le necropoli detta del Molino della Badia: nuove tombe in contrada Madonna del Piano. *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*: 210–76.

Bhabha, H. (1994) *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge).

Bing, J.D. (1971) Tarsus: a forgotten colony of Lindos. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 30: 99–109.

Bing, J.D. (1991) Alexander's sacrifice *dies praesidibus loci* before the battle of Issus. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 111: 161–5.

Bing, J.D. (1993) Sissu/Issus and Phoenicians in Cilicia. *American Journal of Ancient History* 10: 97–123.

Biondi, L. (2000) Riflessioni sull'onomastica Segestana. In *Terze Giornate Internazionali di Studiy sull'Area Elima (Gibellina-Erice-Contessa Entellina, 23–26 ottobre 1997)* (Pisa-Gibellina: Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa): 135–51.

Bisi, A.M. (1967) *Le Stele Puniche* (Rome: Istituto di studi del Vicino Oriente).

Bisi, A.M. (1985) Origine e diffusione del culto Cirenaico di Zeus Ammon. In G. Barker, J. Lloyd and J. Reynolds, eds. *Cyrenaica in Antiquity* (Oxford: BAR) 307–17.

Bisi, A.M. (1987) Ateliers Phéniciens dans le monde Égéen. In E. Lipínski, ed. *Studia Phoenicia V: Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium* BC (Leuven: Peeters) 225–37.

Blakeway, A. (1933) Prolegomena to the study of Greek commerce with Italy, Sicily and France in the eighth and seventh centuries BC. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 33: 170–208.

Boardman, J. (1959) Greek potters at Al Mina? *Anatolian Studies* 9: 163–9.

Boardman, J. (1965) Tarsus, Al Mina and Greek chronology. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 85: 5–15.

Boardman, J. (1968) Reflexions on the Greek pottery trade with Tocra. In F. Gadallah, ed. *Libya in History* (Benghazi: University of Libya) 89–91.

Boardman, J. (1982) An inscribed sherd from Al Mina. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 1: 365–7.

Boardman, J. (1990a) Al Mina and history. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 9: 169–90.

Boardman, J. (1990b) The Lyre Player group of seals: an encore. *Archäologischer Anzeiger*: 1–17.

Boardman, J. (1994a) Orientalia and orientals on Ischia. In B. d'Agostino and D. Ridgway, eds. *Apoikia: scritti in onore di G. Buchner. I più anitichi insediamenti greci in Occidente: funzione e modi dell'origine dell'organizzazione politica e sociale* (Naples: AION) 95–100.

Boardman, J. (1994b) Settlement for trade and land in North Africa: problems of identity. In G.R. Tsetskhladze and F. de Angelis, eds. *The Archaeology of*

Greek Colonisation (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology) 137–49.
Boardman, J. (1998) *Early Greek Vase Painting* (London: Thames and Hudson).
Boardman, J. (1999a) Greek colonization: the eastern contribution. In (no editor) *La Colonisation Grecque en Méditerranée Occidentale* (Rome: École Française de Rome) 39–49.
Boardman, J. (1999b) The excavated history of Al Mina. In G. Tsetskhladze, ed. *Ancient Greeks West and East* (Leiden: Brill) 135–61.
Boardman, J. (1999c) *The Greeks Overseas* (London: Thames and Hudson).
Boardman, J. (2000) Images and media in the Greek world. In C. Uehlinger, ed. *Images as Media: sources for the cultural history of the Near East and the eastern Mediterranean (1st millennium* BCE) (Fribourg: University Press) 323–7.
Boardman, J. (2001a) Aspects of colonisation. *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 322: 33–42.
Boardman, J. (2001b) *Cyprus between East and West* (Nicosia: The Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation).
Boardman, J. (2002a) Al Mina: the study of a site. *Ancient West and East* 1.2: 315–31.
Boardman, J. (2002b) Greeks in Syria. Pots and people. In G.R. Tsetskhladze and A.M. Snodgrass, eds. *Greek Settlements in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea* (Oxford: BAR) 1–16.
Boardman, J. (2004a) Copies of pottery: by and for whom? In K. Lomas, ed. *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean* (Leiden: Brill) 149–62.
Boardman, J. (2004b) Review of Luke, *Ports of Trade*. *Ancient West and East* 3.1: 190–2.
Boardman, J. and J. Hayes (1966) *Excavations at Tocra 1963–1965: the Archaic deposits* vol. 1 (Athens and London: British School at Athens, and Thames and Hudson).
Boardman, J. and J. Hayes (1973) *Excavations at Tocra 1963–1965: the Archaic deposits* vol. 2 (Athens and London: British School at Athens, and Thames and Hudson).
Bonatz, D. (1993) Some considerations on the material culture of coastal Syria in the Iron Age. *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 16: 123–57.
Bonatz, D. (1998) Imported pottery. In S.M. Cecchini and S. Mazzoni, eds. *Tell Afis, Siria: scavi sull'acropoli 1988–1992. Ricerche di archeologia del Vicino Oriente* (Pisa: ETS) 211–28.
Bondì, S.F. (1980) Penetrazione fenicio-punico e storia della civiltà punica in Sicilia. La problematica storica. In E. Gabba and G. Vallet, eds. *La Sicilia antica* I.1 (Naples: Società editrice storia di Napoli e della Sicilia) 163–225.
Bonfante, G. (1941) The name of the Phoenicians. *Classical Philology* 36: 1–20.
Bounni, A., E. Lagarce, J. Lagarce, N. Saliby (1976) Rapport préliminaire sur la première campagne de fouilles (1975) à Ibn Hani (Syrie). *Syria* 53: 233–79.
Bounni, A., E. Lagarce, J. Lagarce, N. Saliby (1978) Rapport préliminaire sur la deuxième campagne de fouilles (1976) à Ibn Hani (Syrie). *Syria* 55: 233–301.
Bourdieu, P. (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste* (London: Routledge).
Bowler, P.J. (1992) From 'savage' to 'primitive': Victorian evolutionism and the interpretation of marginalized peoples. *Antiquity* 66: 721–9.

Braemer, F. (1982) *L'architecture domestique du Levant à l'Âge du Fer* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations).

Braemer, F. (1997) Architecture domestique de l'Âge du Fer. In C. Castel, M. al-Maqdissi and F. Villeneuve, eds. *Les Maisons dans la Syrie Antique de IIIe Millénaire aux débuts de l'Islam: pratique et représentations de l'espace domestique* (Beyrouth: Institut Français d'Archéologie du Proche-Orient) 61–71.

Braidwood, R.J. (1940) Report on two sondages on the coast of Syria, south of Tartous. *Syria* 21: 183–221.

Braidwood, R.J. (1960) *Excavations in the Plains of Antioch* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press).

Branciforti, M.G. (1999) Siti e insediamenti nella regione etnea. In M. Barra Bagnasco, E. De Miro, A. Pinzone, eds. *Magna Grecia e Sicilia: stato degli studi e prospettive di ricerca* (Messina: Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità dell'Università degli Studi di Messina) 241–8.

Brandl, B. (2001) Two engraved tridacna shells from Tel Miqne-Ekron. *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 323: 49–62.

Branigan, K. (1981) Minoan colonialism. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 76: 23–33.

Brodie, N.J. and L. Steel (1996) Cypriot Black-on-Red: towards a characterisation. *Archaeometry* 38.2: 263–78.

Brogan, O. (1975) Inscriptions in the Libyan alphabet from Tripolitania and some notes on the tribes of the region. In J. Bynon and T. Bynon, eds. *Hamito-Semitica* (The Hague: Mouton) 267–89.

Bron, F. (1979) *Recherches sur les inscriptions phénicienns de Karatepe* (Geneva: Droz).

Bron, F. and A. Lemaire (1983) Inscriptions d'Al Mina. *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider) 677–86.

Bron, F. and A. Lemaire (1989) Les inscriptions araméennes de Hazael. *Revue archéologique* 83: 35–44.

Brugnone, A. (1993) Pesi da telaio. In A. Marotta, ed. *Di Terra in Terra. Nuove scoperte archeologiche nella provincia di Palermo* (Palermo: Museo Archeologico Regionale) 53–60.

Buchner, G. and J. Boardman (1966) Seals from Ischia and the Lyre-Player group. *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 81: 1–62.

Buchner, G. and D. Ridgway (1993) *Pithekoussai I: La necropoli: tombe 1–723 scavate dal 1952 al 1961* (Rome: Bretschneider).

Buhl, M.-L. (1983) *Sukas VII: The Near Eastern pottery and objects of other materials from the upper strata* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard).

Bunnens, G. (1983) Considérations géographiques sur la place occupée par la Phénicie dans l'expansion de l'empire assyrien. In E. Gubel, E. Lipinski and B. Servai-Sayez, eds. *Redt Tyrus/Sauvons Tyr: Histoire phénicienne/Fenicische Geschiedenis*. Studia Phoenicia I/Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 25 (Leuven: Peeters) 169–93.

Bunnens, G. (1996) Syro-Anatolian influence on Neo-Assyrian town planning. In G. Bunnens, ed. *Cultural Interaction in the Ancient Near East* (Louvain: Peeters) 113–28.

Bunnens, G. (2000) Syria in the Iron Age. In G. Bunnens, ed. *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age* (Louvain: Peeters) 3–19.

Burkert, W. (1992) *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern influence on Greek culture in the early Archaic age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).

Burkert, W. (2004) *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis: eastern contexts of Greek culture* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press).

Buzaian, A. and J. Lloyd (1996) Early urbanism in Cyrenaica: new evidence from Euesperides. *Libyan Studies* 27: 129–52.

Calderone, A. (1999) Greci e indigeni nella bassa valle dell'Himera: il sito di Monte Saraceno di Ravenusa. In M. Barra Bagnasco, E. De Miro and A. Pinzone, eds. *Magna Grecia e Sicilia: stato degli studi e prospettive di ricerca. Atti dell'Incontro di studi, Messina, 2–4 dicembre 1996* (Messina: DiScAM) 203–12.

Calderone, A., M. Caccamo Caltabiano, E. De Miro, A. Denti and A. Siracusano (1996) *Monte Saraceno di Ravanusa. Un ventennio di ricerche e studi* (Messina: Sicana).

Çambel, H. (1998) *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions II: Karatepe-Aslantaş (Berlin: de Gruyter).*

Carter, T.H. (1963) Reconnaissance in Cyrenaica. *Expedition* 5.3: 18–27.

Carter, T.H. (1965) Western Phoenicians at Lepcis Magna. *American Journal of Archaeology* 69: 123–32.

Cartledge, P. (1983) 'Trade and politics' revisited: Archaic Greece. In P. Garnsey, K. Hopkins and C.R Whittaker, eds. *Trade in the Ancient Economy* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press) 1–15.

Cartledge, P. (1998) The economy (economies) of Ancient Greece. *Dialogos* 5: 4–24.

Cassels, J. (1955) The cemeteries of Cyrene. *Papers of the British School at Rome* 23, new series 10: 1–43.

Castellana, G. (1983) Il tempietto votivo fittile di Sabucina. *Rivista di Archeologia* 7: 5–11.

Castellana, G. (1992) Nuovi dati su scavi nel versante del Basso Belice. In *Atti Giornate internaziondli di studi sull'area elima, Gibellina 1991*, I (Pisa-Gibellina: Scuola normale superiore di Pisa and Comune di Gibellina) 191–202.

Castellana, G. (2000) Nuovi dati sull'insediamento di Montagnoli presso Menfi. In *Terze Giornate Internazionali di Studiy sull'Area Elima (Gibellina-Erice-Contessa Entellina, 23–26 ottobre 1997)* (Pisa-Gibellina: Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa and Comune di Gibellina) 263–71.

Cataldi, S. (1999) Storia e storiografia della Sicilia Greca: richerche 1993–1996. *Kokalos* 43–44.1.2 (1997–98): 497–553.

Catling, R.W.V. (1990) Fabric, technique and paint. In M.R. Popham, P.G. Calligas and L.H. Sackett, eds. *Lefkandi II. The Protogeometric building at Toumba. Part 1. The pottery* (Athens and London: British School at Athens, and Thames and Hudson) 9–12.

Chamoux, F. (1953) *Cyrene sous la monarchie des Battiad*es (Paris: de Boccard).

Chamoux, F. (1987) Du silphion. In G. Barker, J. Lloyd and J. Reynolds, eds. *Cyrenaica in Antiquity* (Oxford: BAR) 165–72.

Champion, T. (1989) Introduction. In T.C. Champion, ed. *Centre and Periphery: comparative studies in archaeology* (London: Unwin Hyman) 1–21.

Chapman, M., M. McDonald and E. Tonkin (1989) Introduction. In E. Tonkin, M. McDonald, M. Chapman, eds. *History and Ethnicity* (London: Routledge) 1–21.

Chapman, S.V. (1972) A catalogue of Iron Age pottery from the cemeteries of Khirbet Silm, Joya, Qrayé amd Qasmieh of South Lebanon. *Berytus* 21: 55–194.

Ciasca, A. (1979) Scavi alle mura di Mozia (campagna 1978) *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 7: 207–27.

Ciasca, A. (1988–89) Fenici. *Kokalos* 34–35.1: 75–88.

Ciasca, A. (1991) La ceramica fenicia di Sicilia e i suoi rapporti con le produzioni coeve. *Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell'arte, Università di Catania* 30: 179–86.

Cohen, A. (1971) Cultural strategies in the organization of trading diasporas. In C. Meillassoux, ed. *The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa* (London: Oxford University Press) 266–81.

Coldstream, J.N. (1968) *Greek Geometric Pottery* (London: Methuen).

Coldstream, J.N. (1969) The Phoenicians of Ialysos. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 16: 1–8.

Coldstream, J.N. (1979) Geometric skyphoi in Cyprus. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 1979: 255–69.

Coldstream, J.N. (1982) Greeks and Phoenicians in the Aegean. In H.G. Niemeyer, ed. *Phönizier im Westen* (Mainz: von Zabern) 261–72.

Coldstream, J.N. (1983) Gift exchange in the eighth century BC. In R. Hägg, ed. *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century* BC (Stockholm: Paul Astroms) 201–6.

Coldstream, J.N. (1988) Early Greek pottery in Tyre and Cyprus: some preliminary comparisons. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, 1988*, Part 2: 35–44.

Coldstream, J.N. (1989) Early Greek visitors to Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean. In V. Tatton-Brown, ed. *Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Iron Age* (London: British Museum Press) 90–5.

Coldstream, N. (1993) Mixed marriages at the frontiers of the early Greek world. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 12.1: 89–107.

Coldstream, J.N. (1994) Pithekoussai, Cyprus and the Cesnola painter. In B. d'Agostino and D. Ridgway, eds. *Apoikia: scritti in onore di G. Buchner. I più anitichi insediamenti greci in Occidente: funzione e modi dell'orogine dell'organizzazione politica e sociale* (Naples: AION) 77–86.

Coldstream, J.N. (1995) The Rich Lady of the Areiopagus and her contemporaries. A tribute in memory of Evelyn Lord Smithson. *Hesperia* 64.5: 391–403.

Coldstream, J.N. (1998a) Drinking and eating in Euboean Pithekoussai. In M. Bats and B. d'Agostino, eds. *Euboica: l'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente. Atti del convegno internazionale di Napoli, 13–16 novembre 1996* (Naples: Centre Jean Bérard) 303–10.

Coldstream, J.N. (1998b) The first exchanges between Euboeans and Phoenicians: who took the initiative? In S. Gitin, A. Mazar and E. Stern, eds. *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition. In Honor of Professor Trude Dothan* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society) 353–60.

Coldstream, J.N. (2000) Exchanges between Phoenicians and early Greeks. *National Museum News* 11: 15–32.

Coldstream, J.N. (2003) Some Aegean reactions to the chronological debate in the southern Levant. *Tel Aviv* 30: 247–58.

Coldstream, J.N. and A. Mazar (2003) Greek pottery from Tel Rehov and Iron Age chronology. *Israel Exploration Journal* 53.1: 29–48.

Collombier, A.-M. (1987) Céramique grecque et échanges en Méditerranée orientale: Chypre et la côte Syro-Phénicienne (fin VIII^{e} – fin IV^{e} siècle av. J.-C.) In E. Lipínski, ed. *Studia Phoenicia V: Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium* BC (Leuven: Peeters) 239–48.

Consolo Langher, S.N. (1996) *Siracusa e la Sicilia Greca tra età arcaica ed alta ellenismo* (Messina: Societá Messinese di Storia Patria).

Consolo Langher, S.N. (2000) Erice e il *koinon* degli Elimi nella storia della Sicilia

occidentale tra Vi e IV sec. a.C. In *Terze Giornate Internazionali di Studiy sull'Area Elima (Gibellina-Erice-Contessa Entellina, 23–26 ottobre 1997)* (Pisa-Gibellina: Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa) 287–310.

Cook, J.M. (1972) *Greek Painted Pottery* (London: Methuen).

Cordano, F. (1984) Camarina VII. Alcuni documento iscritti importanti per la storia della città. *Bollettino d'Arte* 26: 31–54.

Cordano, F. (1993) Le coppe ioniche usate dai Siculi. *Bollettino d'Arte* 80–81: 155–8.

Cordano, F. (2002) Le identità dei Siculi in età arcaica sulla base delle testimonianze epigrafiche. In L.M. Castelnuovo, ed. *Identità e Prassi Storica nel Mediterraneo Greco* (Milan: Edizioni ET) 115–35.

Cordano, F. and M. Di Salvatore, eds. (2002) Il guerriero di Castiglione di Ragusa. Greci e Siculi nella Sicilia sud-orientale. *Hesperìa* 16.

Courbin, P. (1978) A-t-on retrouvé l'antique Posideion à Ras el Bassit? *Archéologia* 116 (March): 48–62.

Courbin, P. (1986) Bassit. *Syria* 63: 175–220.

Courbin, P. (1990) Bassit-Posideion in the Early Iron Age. In J.P. Descoeudres, ed. *Greek Colonists and Native Populations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press) 503–9.

Courbin, P. (1993) *Fouilles de Bassit: Tombes du Fer* (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations).

Crielaard, J.P. (1992/93) How the West was won: Euboeans vs. Phoenicians. *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie* 19/20: 235–60.

Crielaard, J.P. (1998) Surfing on the Mediterranean web: Cypriot long-distance communications during the eleventh and tenth centuries BC. In V. Karageorghis and N. Stampolidis, eds. *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete 16th–6th C* BC (Athens: University of Crete and A.G. Leventis Foundation) 187–204.

Crielaard, J.P. (1999a) Early Iron Age Greek pottery in Cyprus and North Syria: a consumption-oriented approach. In J.P. Crielaard, V. Stissi and G.J. van Wijngaarden, eds. *The Complex Past of Pottery* (Amsterdam: Gieben) 261–90.

Crielaard, J.P. (1999b) Production, circulation and consumption of Early Iron Age Greek pottery (eleventh to seventh centuries BC). In J.P. Crielaard, V. Stissi and G.J. van Wijngaarden, eds. *The Complex Past of Pottery* (Amsterdam: Gieben) 49–81.

Cristofani, M. and Martelli, M. (1991) La distribuzione dei crateri corinzi: il mito e l'immaginario dei Simposiasti. *Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell'arte, Università di Catania* 30: 9–25.

Cross, F.M. (1980) Newly found inscriptions in old Canaanite and early Phoenician scripts. *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 238: 1–20.

Cross, F.M. (1986) Phoenicians in the West: the early epigraphic evidence. In M.S. Balmuth, ed. *Studies in Sardinian Archaeology*, vol. 2 (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press) 117–30.

Culican, W. (1982) discussion contribution in H.G. Niemeyer, ed. *Phönizier im Westen* (Mainz: von Zabern) 28.

Curti, E., E. Dench and J. Patterson (1996) The archaeology of central and southern Roman Italy: recent trends and approaches. *Journal of Roman Studies* 96: 170–89.

Curtis, J. (1988) Assyria as a bronzeworking centre in the Late Assyrian period. In J. Curtis, ed. *Bronzeworking Centres of Western Asia c. 1000–539* BC (London: Kegal Paul) 83–96.

Curtis, J. (1995) Tridacna shells. In J.E. Curtis and J.E. Reade, eds. *Art and Empire:*

treasure from Assyria in the British Museum (London: British Museum Press for the Trustees of the British Museum) 148–50.

Cusumano, N. (1999) Culti e miti. *Kokalos* 43–44.1.2 (1997–98): 727–811.

D'Agostino, B. (1974) Civiltà del Ferro nell'Italia Meridionale e nella Sicilia. *Popoli e Civiltà dell'Italia Antica* 2: 11–91.

D'Agostino, B. (1999) Pitecusa e Cuma tra Greci e Indigeni. In (no editor) *La Colonisation Grecque en Méditerranée Occidentale* (Rome: École Française de Rome) 51–62.

D'Agostino, B. and D. Ridgway, eds. (1994) *Apoikia: i più antichi insediamenti greci in Occidente: funzioni e modi dell'organizzazione politica e sociale: scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner* (Naples: Annali di archeologia e storia antica. Dipartimento di studi del mondo classico e del Mediterraneo antico) Nuova series 1.

Dalley, S. (1988) Neo-Assyrian textual evidence for bronzeworking centres. In J. Curtis, ed. *Bronzeworking Centres of Western Asia c. 1000–539* BC (London: Kegal Paul) 97–110.

Dalley, S. (1999) Sennacherib and Tarsus. *Anatolian Studies* 49: 73–80.

Dalley, S. (2000) Shamshi-Illu, language and power in the Western Assyrian Empire. In G. Bunnens, ed. *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age: Period between c. 12000 and 300* BC (Louvain: Peeters) 79–88.

Daniels, C. (1968) Garamantian excavations: Zinchecra 1965–67. *Libya Antiqua* 5: 113–94.

Daniels, C. (1970) *The Garamantes of Southern Libya* (Stoughton, WI: Oleander Press).

Daniels, C. (1975) An ancient people of the Libyan Sahara. In J. Bynon and T. Bynon, eds. *Hamito-Semitica* (The Hague: Mouton) 249–57.

Daniels, C. (1989) Excavation and fieldwork amongst the Garamantes. *Libyan Studies* 20: 45–61.

Daviau, P.M.M. (2001) Family religion: evidence for the paraphernalia of the domestic cult. In P.M.M. Daviau, J.M. Wevers and M. Weigl, eds. *The World of the Aramaeans: Biblical studies in honour of Paul-Eugène Dion*. vol. 2 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press) 199–229.

Davies, J.K. (1998) Ancient economies: models and muddles. In H. Parkins and C. Smith, eds. *Trade, Traders and the Ancient City* (London: Routledge) 225–56.

De Angelis, F. (1998) Ancient past, imperial present: the British Empire in T.J. Dunbabin's *The Western Greeks*. *Antiquity* 72: 539–49.

De Angelis, F. (2003a) Equations of culture: the meeting of natives and Greeks in Sicily (ca. 750–450 BC). *Ancient West and East* 2.1: 19–50.

De Angelis, F. (2003b) *Megara Hyblaia and Selinous: the development of two city-states in archaic Sicily* (Oxford: University of Oxford, Committee for Archaeology).

De la Genière, J. (1999) De la céramique pour les mercenaires. In (no editor) *La Colonisation Grecque en Méditerranée Occidentale* (Rome École Française de Rome) 121–30.

Del Carmen Perez Die, M. (1990) Fouilles récent à Heracleopolis Magna. In A. Leahy, ed. *Libya and Egypt, c. 1300–750* BC. (London: SOAS and the Society for Libyan Studies) 115–29.

Demand, N. (1990) *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greece* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press).

De Miro, E. (1988) Polizzello, centro della Sicania. *Quaderni dell'Istituto di archeologia della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia della Università di Messina* 3: 25–42.

De Miro, E. (1988–89) Gli 'indigeni' della Sicilia centro-meridionale. *Kokalos* 34–35: 24–34.

De Miro, E. (1999) L'organizzazione abitativa e dello spazio nei centri indigeni delle valli del Salso e del Platani. In M. Barra Bagnasco, E. De Miro and A. Pinzone, eds. *Magna Grecia e Sicilia: stato degli studi e prospettive di ricerca* (Messina: Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità dell'Università degli Studi di Messina) 187–93.

Denemark, R.A., J. Friedman, B.K. Gills and G. Modelski, eds. (2000) *World System History: the social science of long-term change* (London: Routledge).

Dent, J. (1987) Burial practices in Cyrenaica. In G. Barker, J. Lloyd and J. Reynolds, eds. *Cyrenaica in Antiquity* (Oxford: BAR) 327–36.

De Polignac, F. (1995) *Cults, Territory and the Origins of the Greek City-State* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press).

Descoeudres, J.-P. (1978) Euboeans in Australia: some observations on the imitations of Corinthian kotylai made in Eretria and found in Al Mina. *Eretria* VI (Berne: Francke): 7–19.

Descoeudres, J.-P., ed. (1990) *Greek Colonists and Native Populations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).

Descoeudres, J.-P. (2002) Al Mina across the great divide. *Mediterranean Archaeology* 15: 49–72.

Descoeudres, J.-P. and R. Kearsley (1983) Greek pottery at Veii: another look. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 78: 9–53.

De Simone, R. (1999) Reflessioni sull'onomastica Punica. *Sicilia Epigraphica: atti del convegno internazionale, Erice, 15–18 ottobre, 1998* (Pisa: Classe di lettere e filosofia) 205–19.

De Vido, S. (1997) *Gli Elimi: storie di contatto e di rappresentazioni* (Pisa: Scuola normale superiore).

Díaz-Andreu, M. (1996) Constructing identities through culture. In P. Graves-Brown, S. Jones and C. Gamble, eds. *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: the construction of European communities* (London: Routledge) 48–61.

Dietler, M. (1989) Greeks, Etruscans, and thirsty barbarians: Early Iron Age interaction in the Rhône Basin of France. In T.C. Champion, ed. *Centre and Periphery: comparative studies in archaeology* (London: Unwin Hyman) 127–41.

Dietler, M. (1996) Feasts and commensal politics in the political economy: food, power and status in prehistoric Europe. In P. Wiessner and W. Schiefenhövel, eds. *Food and the Status Quest* (Oxford: Berhahn) 87–125.

Dietler, M. (1999) Consumption, cultural frontiers, and identity: anthropological approaches to Greek colonial encounters. In *Confini e Frontiera nella Grecità d'Occidente. Atti del trentasettesimo Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto, 3–6 ottobre 1997* (Taranto: Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia) 475–501.

Dietler, M. and B. Hayden, eds. (2001) *Feasts* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press).

Dinçol, B. (1994) New archaeological and epigraphic finds from Ivriz: preliminary report. *Tel Aviv* 21: 117–28.

Di Noto, C.A. (1995) La ceramica indigena a decorazione geometrica incisa ed impressa. In G. Nenci, ed. *Entella* I (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa) 77–110.

Di Stefano, C.A. (1997) Ceramiche a vernice nera attiche o di tradizione attica dai centri punici della Sicilia occidentale. In H.P. Isler and D. Käch, eds.

Wohnbauforschung in Zentral und Westsizilien (Zurich: Archäologisches Institut der Universität Zürich) 19–28.

Di Stefano, C.A. (1999) Insediamienti fenicio-punici della provincia di Palermo. Stato attuale delle ricerche e delle prospettive future. *Magna Grecia e Sicilia: stato degli studi e prospettive di ricerca. Atti dell'Incontro di studi, Messina, 2–4 dicembre 1996* (Messina: DiScAM) 223–33.

Di Stefano, G. (1988–89) Indigeni e greci nell'entroterra di Camarina. *Kokalos* 34–35: 89–105.

Di Vita, A. (1968) Influence grecque et tradition orientale dans l'art punique de Tripolitaine. *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 80: 7–80.

Di Vita, A. (1988) La statua di Mozia. In *La statua marmorea di Mozia e la scultura di stile severo in Sicilia. Atti della giornata di studio. Studi e materiali* 8: 39–52.

Dobias-Lalou, C. (1987) Noyau grec et éléments indigènes dans le dialects cyrénéen. *Quaderni di Archeologica della Libia* 12: 85–91.

Docter, R.F. and H.G. Niemeyer (1994) Pithekoussai: the Carthaginian connection. On the archaeological evidence of Euboeo–Phoenician partnership in the eighth and seventh centuries BC. In B. d'Agostino and D. Ridgway, eds. *Apoikia: i più antichi insediamenti greci in Occidente: funzioni e modi dell'organizzazione politica e sociale. Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner. Annali di archeologia e storia antica (Dipartimento di studi del mondo classico e del Mediterraneo antico)* n.s. 1: 101–15.

Domínguez, A.J. (1989) *La colonización griega en Sicilia: griegos, indígenas y púnicos en la Sicilia arcaica: interacción y aculturación* (Oxford: BAR).

Donbaz, V. (1990) Two Neo-Assyrian stelae in the Antakya and Kahramanmaraş museums. *Annual Review of Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia* 8: 5–24.

Donner, H. and W. Röllig (2002) *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz).

Dore, J. and N. Keay (1989) *Excavations of Sabratha 1948–1951: vol. II.1: the finds: the amphorae, coarse pottery, and building materials* (London: Society for Libyan Studies).

Dougherty, C. (1993) *The Poetics of Colonization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Dougherty, C. and L. Kurke (2003) Introduction: the cultures within Greek culture. In C. Dougherty and L. Kurke, eds. *The Cultures within Greek Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 1–19.

Douglas, M. and B. Isherwood (1996) *The World of Goods. Towards an anthropology of consumption* (London: Routledge).

Dubois, L. (1989) *Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Sicile* (Rome: École Française de Rome).

Dunbabin, T.J. (1948) *The Western Greeks* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).

Dunbabin, T.J. (1957) *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours* (London: Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies).

Du Plat Taylor, J. (1959) The Cypriot and Syrian Pottery from Al Mina, Syria. *Iraq* 21: 62–92.

Dupont, G. (1978) Une approche en laboratoire des problèmes de la céramique de Grèce de l'Est. In *Les Céramiques de Grèce de l'Est et leur Diffusion en Occident* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique) 290–7.

Dupont, G. (1983) Classification et détermination de provenance des céramiques grecques orientales archaïques d'Istros. Rapport préliminaire. *Dacia* 27: 19–43.

Durando, F. (1998) Phoenician and local amphorae from Pithekoussai: archaeometrical

tests. In R. Rolle and K. Schmidt, eds. *Archäoloische Studien in Kontaktzonen der antiken Welt* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht) 389–400.
Durante, M. (1964–65) Il Siculo e la sua documentazione. *Kokalos* 10–11: 417–50.
Dyson, S. (1985) Introduction. In S. Dyson, ed. *Comparative Studies in the Archaeology of Colonialism* (Oxford: BAR International Series 233) 1–7.
Elat, M. (1978) The economic relations of the Neo-Assyrian empire with Egypt. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 98: 20–34.
El-Athram, R. (1986) The silphium plant in Cyrenaica. In (no editor) *Libya Antiqua* (Paris: UNESCO) 23–7.
El-Rashdy, F. (1986) Garamantian burial customs: their relation to those of other peoples of North Africa. In (no editor) *Libya Antiqua* (Paris: UNESCO) 77–105.
Elrashedy, F.M. (2002) *Imports of Post-Archaic Greek Pottery into Cyrenaica* (Oxford: BAR).
Eph'al, I. and J. Naveh (1989) Hazael's booty inscriptions. *Israel Exploration Journal* 39: 192–200.
Fabbricotti, E. (1987) Divinità greche e divinità libie in rilievi di età ellenista. *Quaderni di Archeologica della Libia* 12: 221–44.
Fabbricotti, E. (1996) Lastra pastorale dal territorio di Cirene. *Libya Antiqua* new series 2: 23–5.
Fabbricotti, E. (1997) Relievi culturali del mondo pastorale cirenaico. *Libya Antiqua* new series 3: 75–81.
Falsone, G. (1988a) Phoenicia as a bronzeworking centre in the Iron Age. In J. Curtis, ed. *Bronze-working Centres of Western Asia c. 1000–539* BC (London: Kegan Paul) 227–50.
Falsone, G. (1988b) The Bronze Age occupation and Phoenician foundation at Motya. *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, London* 25: 31–53.
Famà, M.L., ed. (2002) *Mozia. Gli scavi nella 'Zona A' dell'abitato* (Bari: Edipuglia).
Famà, M.L. and M.P. Toti (2000) Materiali dalla 'Zona E' dell'abitato di Mozia. Prime considerazioni. In *Terze Giornate Internazionali di Studiy sull'Area Elima (Gibellina-Erice-Contessa Entellina, 23–26 ottobre 1997)* (Pisa-Gibellina: Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa) 451–78.
Fantalkin, A. (2001a) Low chronology and Greek Protogeometric and Geometric pottery in the southern Levant. *Levant* 33: 117–25.
Fantalkin, A. (2001b) Mezad Hashavyahu. *Tel Aviv* 28.1: 3–165.
Fatta, V. (1980–81) Note su alcune iconografie della ceramica indigena. *Kokalos* 26–27: 959–72.
Fatta, V. (1983) *La Ceramica Geometrica di Sant'Angelo Muxaro* (Palermo: Fondazione G. Whitaker, Studi Monorafici 2).
Ferri, S. (1922) Il santuario di Budrasc. *Notiziario Archeologico* 3: 95–9.
Finkelstein, I. (1996) The archaeology of the United Moarchy: an alternative view. *Levant* 28: 177–87.
Finkelstein, I. (1999) State formation in Israel and Judah. *Near Eastern Archaeology* 62: 35–52.
Finkelstein, I. (2004) Tel Rehov and Iron Age chronology. *Levant* 36: 181–8.
Finley, M.I. (1973) *The Ancient Economy* (London: Chatto and Windus).
Finley, M.I. (1976) Colonies – an attempt at a typology. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 26: 167–88.

Finley, M. (1979) *The World of Odysseus* (London: Penguin).

Fiorentini, G. (1980–81) Ricerche archeologiche nella Sicilia centro-meridionale. *Kokalos* 26–27: 581–600.

Fiorentini, G. (1985–86) La necropoli indigena di età Greca di Valle Oscura (Marianopoli). *Quaderni dell'Istituto di archeologia della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia della Università di Messina* 1: 31–54.

Fiorentini, G. (1999) Necropoli dei centri indigeni della valle del Platani: organizzazione, tipologie, aspetti rituali. In M. Barra Bagnasco, E. De Miro and A. Pinzone, eds. *Magna Grecia e Sicilia: stato degli studi e prospettive di ricerca* (Messina: Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità dell'Università degli Studi di Messina) 195–201.

Fischer-Hansen, T. (2002) Reflections on native settlements in the dominions of Gela and Akragas – as seen from the persepctive of the Copenhagen Polis Centre. In T.H. Nielsen, ed. *Even More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre* 6 (Stuttgart: Steiner) 125–86.

Forsberg, S. (1995) *Near Eastern Destruction Datings as Sources for Greek and Near Eastern Iron Age Chronology. Archaeological and historical studies. The Cases of Samaria (722 BC) and Tarsus (696 BC)* (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press).

Fouilland, F., M. Frasca and P. Pelagatti (1994–95) Monte Casasia (Ragusa). Campagne di scavo 1966, 1972–73 nella necropoli indigena. *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* series 9, vol. 5–6: 323–583.

Fourrier, S. (2001) Naucratis, Chypre et la Grèce de l'Est: le commerce des sculptures 'chypro-ioniennes.' In U. Höckmann and D. Kriekenbom, eds. *Naukratis. Beziehungen zu Ostgriechenland, Ägypten und Zypern in archaischer Zeit* (Möhnesse: Biliopolis) 39–54.

Fourrier, S. (2003) Cyprus and Cilicia in the Iron Age: a review of the evidence. *Olba* 7: 79–91.

Foxhall, L. (1998) Cargoes of the heart's desire. In N. Fisher and H. van Wees, eds. *Archaic Greece: new approaches and new evidence* (London: Duckworth) 295–309.

Foxhall, L. and K. Stears (2000) Redressing the balance: dedications of clothing to Artemis and the order of life stages. In M. Donald and L. Hurcombe, eds. *Gender and Material Culture in Historical Perspective* (London: Macmillan) 3–16.

Francis, E.D., and M. Vickers (1985) Greek geometric pottery at Hama and its implications for Near Eastern chronology. *Levant* 17: 131–8.

Frankenstein, S. (1979) The Phoenicians in the Far West: a function of Neo-Assyrian imperialism. In M.T. Larsen, ed. *Power and Propaganda: a symposium on ancient empires* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag) 263–94.

Frasca, M. (1981) La necropoli di M. Finocchito. *Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell'arte, Università di Catania* 20: 13–102.

Frasca, M. (1992) Tra Magna Grecia e Sicilia: origine e sopravvivenza delle coppie-amuleto a figura umana. *Bollettino d'arte* 76: 19–24.

Frasca, M. (1996) Iron Age settlements and cemeteries in south-eastern Sicily: a short review. In R. Leighton, ed. *Early Societies in Sicily* (London: Accordia Research Centre) 139–45.

Frasca, M. (1997) E anonima la città siculo-greca di Monte San Mauro di Caltagirone? *La parola del passato* 295–97: 407–17.

Frasca, M. (2000) Monte Casasia: un villaggio indigeno prima di Camarina. In *Un*

pont fra l'Italia e la Grecia. Atti del Simposio in onore di A. Di Vita (Ragusa-Chiarmonte Gulfi 1998) (Padova: Bottega d'Erasmo) 143–7.

Frendo, A.J. (1993) Some observations on the investigation of the Phoenicians/Canaanites in the Ancient Mediterranean World. *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 3: 169–74.

Fugmann, E. (1958) *Hama II.1: l'architecture des périodes pré-héllenistiques* (Copenhagen: National Museum).

Fulford, M.G. (1989) From east to west: the Mediterranean trade of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania in antiquity. *Libyan Studies* 20: 169–91.

Fulford, M. and R. Tomber, eds. (1994) *Excavations at Sabratha 1948–1951: vol. II.2: the finds: the finewares and lamps* (London: Society for Libyan Studies).

Fusaro, D. (1982) Note di architettura domestica greca nel periodo tardo-geometrico e arcaico. *Dialoghi di archeologia* n.s. 4: 5–30.

Gabba, E. and G. Vallet, eds. (1980) *La Sicilia antica* (Naples: Storia di Napoli e della Sicilia Società editrice).

Gabrici, E. (1925) Polizzello. Abitato preistorico presso Mussomeli. *Memorie della Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Belle Arti di Palermo* 14: 3–11.

Gamble, C. (1992) Archaeology, history and the uttermost ends of the earth – Tasmania, Tierra del Fuego and the Cape. *Antiquity* 66: 712–20.

Garbini, G. (1978) Un'iscrizione aramaica ad Ischia. *La parola del passato* 33: 143–50.

Gargini, M. (1995) La ceramica indigena a decorazione geometrica dipinta. In G. Nenci, ed. *Entella* I (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa) 77–110.

Gates, M.-H. (1999a) 1997 archaeological excavations at Kinet Höyük (Yeşil – Dörtyol, Hatay) *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 20: 259–81.

Gates, M.-H. (1999b) Kine Höyük in eastern Cilicia: a case study for acculturation in ancient harbors. *Olba* II.2: 303–12.

Gates, M.-H. (2001) 1999 excavations at Kinet Höyük (Yeşil – Dörtyol, Hatay) *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 22: 203–22.

Gates, M.-H. (2003) 2001 season at Kinet Höyük (Yeşil – Dörtyol, Hatay) *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*: 24: 283–98.

Gates, M.-H. (2004) 2002 excavations at Kinet Höyük (Yeşil – Dörtyol, Hatay). *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 25: 405–16.

Ghazal, A.H. (1986) New lights on the distinction between Ammon of Libya and Zeus of Cyrene. In (no editor) *Libya Antiqua* (Paris: UNESCO) 173–7.

Gibson, J.C.L. (1982) *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press).

Gilboa, A. (1989) New finds at Tel Dor and the beginning of Cypro-Geometric pottery import to Palestine. *Israel Exploration Journal* 39: 204–18.

Gilboa, A. (1999) The dynamics of Phoenician bichrome pottery: a view from Tel Dor. *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 316: 1–22.

Gilboa, A. and I. Sharon (1997) Dor in the Iron Age I period – a port and trading settlement under cultural and economic changes. In E. Regev (ed.) *New Studies on the Coastal Plain. Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Conference of the Department of Land of Israel Studies, Bar Ilan University* (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University) 12–33 (in Hebrew).

Gilboa, A. and I. Sharon (2003) An archaeological contribution to the Early Iron Age chronological debate: alternative chronologies for Phoenicia and their effects on

the Levant, Cyprus and Greece. *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 332: 7–80.
Gill, D.W.J. (1986) Attic black-glazed pottery. In P.M. Kendrick, ed. *Excavations at Sabratha 1948–1951* (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies) 275–96.
Giudice, F. (1985) Gela e il commercio attico verso l'Etruria nel primo quarto del V sec. a.C. *Studi Etruschi* 103: 115–39.
Given, M. (2004) *The Archaeology of the Colonized* (London: Routledge).
Gjerstad, E. (1946) Decorated metal bowls from Cyprus. *Opuscula Archaeologica* 4: 1–18.
Gjerstad, E. (1974) The stratification at Al Mina (Syria) and its chronological evidence. *Acta Archeologica* 45: 107–23.
Gjerstad, E. (1979) A Cypro–Greek royal marriage in the eighth century BC? In V. Karageorghis, ed. *Studies Presented in Memory of P. Dikaios* (Nicosia: Lions Club) 89–93.
Goldman, H., ed. (1963) *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus* vol. III (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
Goodchild, R.G., J.G. Pedley and D. White (1966–67) Recent discoveries of archaic sculpture at Cyrene. *Libya Antiqua* 3–4: 190–7.
Goodchild, R.G., J.G. Pedley and D. White, eds. (1976) *Apollonia, the Port of Cyrene. Excavations by the University of Michigan 1965–1967* (Tripoli: Department of Antiquities).
Gordon, A.F. (1996) *Egyptian and Egyptianizing Scarabs: a typology of steatite, faience and paste scarabs from Punic and other Mediterranean sites* (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology).
Gosden, C. (1999) *Anthropology and Archaeology: a changing relationship* (London: Routledge).
Gosden, C. (2001) Postcolonial archaeology: issues of culture, identity and knowledge. In I. Hodder, ed. *Archaeological Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity Press) 241–61.
Gosden, C. (2004) *Archaeology and Colonialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Gosline, S.L. (1995) Libyan period royal burials in context. *Libyan Studies* 26: 1–20.
Graham, A.J. (1984) Religion, women and Greek colonisation. *Religione e città nel mondo antico. Atti Centro ricerche e documentazione sull'antichità classica* 11: 293–314.
Graham, A.J. (1986) The historical interpretations of Al Mina. *Dialogues d'histoire Ancienne* 12: 51–65.
Gras, M. (1985) *Trafics tyrrhénes archaïques* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome).
Graves-Brown, P. (1996) All things bright and beautiful? Species, ethnicity and cultural dynamics. In P. Graves-Brown, S. Jones and C. Gamble, eds. *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: the construction of European communities* (London: Routledge) 81–95.
Greco, C. (1997a) La necropolis di Solunto: problemi e prospettive. In *Archeologia e Territorio* (Palermo: G.B. Palumbo) 25–33.
Greco, C. (1997b) Lucerne Greco. In *Archeologia e Territorio* (Palermo: G.B. Palumbo) 71–3.
Greco, C. (1997c) Nuovi elementi per l'identificazione di Solunto arcaica. In H.P. Isler and D. Käch, eds. *Wohnbauforschung in Zentral und Westsizilien* (Zurich: Archäologisches Institut der Universität Zürich) 97–111.

Greco, C. (2000) Solunto: nuovi dati dalla campgna di scavo 1997. In *Terze Giornate Internazionali di Studi sull'Area Elima (Gibellina-Erice-Contessa Entellina, 23–26 ottobre 1997)* (Pisa-Gibellina: Scuola normale superiore di Pisa) 681–700.

Greenfield, J.C. (1987) Aspects of Aramaean religion. In P.D. Millar, P.D. Hanlon and S.D. McBridge, eds. *Ancient Israelite Religion* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press) 67–78.

Gubel, E. (1983) Art in Tyre in the first and second Iron Age. In E. Gubel, E. Lipinski and B. Servai-Sayez, eds. *Redt Tyrus/Sauvons Tyr: Histoire phénicienne/Fenicische Geschiedenis*. Studia Phoenicia I/Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 25 (Leuven: Peeters).

Gubel, E. (2000) Multicultural and mutimedia aspects of early Phoenician art, c. 1200–675 BCE. In C. Uelinger, ed. *Images as Media: sources for the multicultural history of the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean (1st Millennium* BCE) (Fribourg: Göttingen University Press) 185–213.

Guglielmino, R. (2000) Entella: un'area artigianale extraurbana di età tardoarcaica. In *Terze Giornate Internazionali di Studi sull'Area Elima (Gibellina-Erice-Contessa Entellina, 23–26 ottobre 1997)* (Pisa-Gibellina: Scuola normale superiore di Pisa) 701–13.

Gullì, D. (1990) Vassallaggi (San Cataldo). In *Da Nissa a Maktorion. Nuovi contriubuti per l'archeologia della provincia di Caltanissetta*. Catalogo della Mostra (Caltanissetta) 47–60.

Gullì, D. (1991) La necropolis indigena di età greca di Vassallaggi (S. Cataldo) *Quaderni dell'Istituto di archeologia della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia della Università di Messina* 6: 23–42.

Guralnick, E. (2004) A group of Near Eastern bronzes from Olympia. *American Journal of Archaeology* 108: 187–222.

Guzzone, C. (1985–86) Sulla necropoli protostorica di Butera. I recinti funerari 138 e 139. *Archivio Storico per la Sicilia Orientale* 81–82: 7–41.

Haider, P.W. (1996) Griechen im Vorderen Orient und in Ägypten. In C. Ulf, ed. *Wege zue Genese griechischer Identität: Die Bedeutung der früharchaischen Zeit* (Berlin: Akademie) 59–115.

Haines, R.C. (1971) *Excavations in the Plains of Antioch* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press).

Hall, E. (1989) *Inventing the Barbarian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Hall, J. (1995) The role of languages in Greek ethnicities. *Papers of the Cambridge Philological Society* 41: 83–100.

Hall, J. (1997) *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Hall, J. (2002) *Hellenicity* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press).

Hall, T.D. (2000) World-Systems analysis: a small sample from a large universe. In T.D. Hall, ed., *A World-Systems Reader* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield) 3–27.

Hamilton, R.W. (1935) Excavations at Tell Abu Hawam. *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine* 4: 1–69.

Hannestad, L. (1996) Absolute chronology: Greece and the Near East c. 1000–500 BC. *Acta Archeologica* 67: 39–49.

Hansen, M.H. and T.H. Nielsen (2004) *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Greek Poleis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Harrison, T.P. (2001) Tell Ta'yinat and the kingdom of Unqi. In P.M.M. Daviau,

J.M. Wevers and M. Weigl, eds. *The World of the Aramaeans: Biblical studies in honour of Paul-Eugène Dion*. vol. 2 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press) 115–32.
Hasebroek, J. (1933) *Trade and Politics in Ancient Greece* (London: Bell).
Hawkins, J.D. (1974) Assyrians and Hittites. *Iraq* 36: 67–83.
Hawkins, J.D. (1979) Some historical problems of the hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions. *Anatolian Studies* 29: 153–68.
Hawkins, J.D. (1995) The political geography of North Syria and South-East Anatolia in the Neo-Assyrian period. In M. Liverani, ed. *Neo-Assyrian Geography* (Rome: Quaderni di Geografica Storica 3) 87–101.
Hawkins, J.D. (1999) *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*. vol. 1.1 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter).
Hawkins, J.D. and A. Mopurgo Davies (1978) On the problems of Karatepe: the hieroglyphic text. *Anatolian Studies* 28: 103–20.
Herman, G. (1987) *Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Herrmann, G. (2000) Ivory carving of first millennium workshops: traditions and diffusions. In C. Uehlinger, ed., *Images as Media: sources for the cultural history of the Near East and the eastern Mediterranean (1st millennium* BCE) (Fribourg: University Press) 267–82.
Herrera, M.D. and J. Balensi (1986) More about the Greek Geometric pottery at Tell Abu Hawam. *Levant* 18: 169–71.
Hides, S. (1996) The genealogy of material culture and cultural identity. In P. Graves-Brown, S. Jones and C. Gamble, eds. *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: the construction of European communities* (London: Routledge) 25–47.
Hodos, T. (1999) Intermarriage in the western Greek colonies. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 18: 61–78.
Hodos, T. (2000a) Kinet Höyük and Al Mina: new views on old relationships. In G. Tsetskhladze, A.M. Snodgrass and A.J.N.W. Prag, eds., *Periplous: Festschrift to Professor Sir John Boardman* (London: Thames and Hudson) 145–52.
Hodos, T. (2000b) Kinet Höyük and Pan-Mediterranean Exchange. In R. Brock, T. Cornell, S. Hodkinson and G.J. Oliver, eds. *The Sea in Antiquity* (Oxford: BAR) 25–37.
Hodos, T. (2000c) Wine Wares in Protohistoric Eastern Sicily. In C.J. Smith and J. Serrati, eds., *Ancient Sicily: archaeology and history from Aeneas to Augustus* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press) 41–54.
Hodos, T. (2005) Changing Communities in Iron Age Sicily. In P. Attema, A. Nijboer and A. Zifferero, eds. *Communities and Settlements from the Neolithic to the Early Medieval Period: proceedings of the sixth Conference in Italian Archaeology, Groningen, April 15–17, 2003* vol. 2 (Oxford: BAR).
Hodos, T. (forthcoming) Writing more than words in Iron Age Sicily. In K. Lomas, R. Whitehouse and J. Wilkins, eds. *Literacy and State Societies in the Ancient Mediterranean* (London: Accordia Research Institute).
Hodos, T., C. Knappett and V. Kilikoglou (2005) Middle and Late Iron Age painted ceramics from Kinet Höyük: macro, micro and elemental analyses. *Anatolian Studies* 55: 61–87.
Hoffman, G. (1997) *Imports and Immigrants: Near Eastern contact with Iron Age Crete* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press).
Holloway, R.R. (1975) *Influences and Styles in the Late Archaic and Early Classical Greek*

Sculpture of Sicily and Magna Graecia (Louvain: Institut supérieur d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art).

Holloway, R.R. (2000) *The Archaeology of Ancient Sicily* (London: Routledge).

Hopkins, K. (1983) Introduction. In P. Garnsey, K. Hopkins and C.R Whittaker, eds. *Trade in the Ancient Economy* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press) ix–xxv.

Horden, P. and N. Purcell (2000) *The Corrupting Sea* (Oxford: Blackwell).

Howes, D. (1996) Introduction: commodities and cultural borders. In D. Howes, ed. *Cross-Cultural Consumption* (London: Routledge) 1–16.

Hughes, M.J. (no date) Neutron activation analysis of red-burnished platter bowls found in Northern Syria, 9th–8th centuries BC. Unpublished research report.

Hulin, L. (1989) Marsa Matruh 1987, preliminary ceramic report. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 26: 115–26.

Hulin, L. (1999) Marmaric wares: some preliminary results. *Libyan Studies* 30: 11–16.

Hulin, L. (2001) Marmaric wares: New Kingdom and later examples. *Libyan Studies* 32: 67–78.

Hulin, L. (2002) Shell-tempered ware. In D. White, ed. *Marsa Matruh: the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology's Excavations on Bates's Island, Marsa Matruh, Egypt, 1985–1989. Vol. 2: The objects* (Philadelphia, PA: Institute for Aegean Prehistory Academic Press) 94–101.

Isler, H.P. (1991) *Monte Iato: guida archeologia* (Palermo: Sellerio).

Isler, H.P. (1993) Monte Iato: l'aspetto anellenico. In *Studi sulla Sicilia Occidentale in onore di Vincenzo Tusa* (Padova: Bottega d'Erasmo) 85–92.

Isler, H.P. (1996) Monte Iato. La ventiseiesima campagna di scavo. *Sicilia archeologia* 29.90–92: 7–30.

James, P., I.J. Thorpe, N. Kokkinos, R. Morkort and J. Frankish (1991) *Centuries of Darkness* (London: Jonathan Cape).

Jasink, A.M. (1995) *Gli stati neo-ittiti. Analisi delle fonti scritte e sintesi storica* (Pavia: G. Iuculano).

Jenkins, R. (1997) *Rethinking Ethnicity: arguments and explorations* (London: Sage).

Jerrary, M.T. (1987) Some observations about local influence on Greek sculpture in Cyrene. *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia* 12: 41–55.

Johnston, A.W. (1978) Some non-Greek ghosts. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 25: 79–84.

Johnston, A. (2003) The alphabet. In N.C. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis, eds. *Sea Routes: interconnections in the Mediterranean 16th–6th C* BC (Athens: University of Crete and the A.G. Leventis Foundation) 263–76.

Jones, D.W. (1993) Phoenician unguent factories in Dark Age Greece: social approaches to evaluating the archaeological evidence. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 12.3: 293–303.

Jones, D.W. (2000) *External Relations of Early Iron Age Crete, 1100–600* BC (Philadelphia, PA: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania).

Jones, G.D.B. (1986) Town and city in Tripolitania: studies in origins and development 1969–1989. *Libyan Studies* 20: 91–106.

Jones, R.E. (1986) *Greek and Cypriot Pottery: a reivew of scientific studies* (Athens: British School at Athens).

Jones, S. (1996) Discourses of identity in the interpretation of the past. In

P. Graves-Brown, S. Jones and C. Gamble, eds. *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: the construction of European communities* (London: Routledge) 62–80.

Jones, S. (1997) *The Archaeology of Ethnicity* (London: Routledge).

Jones, S. and P. Graves-Brown (1996) Introduction: archaeology and cultural identity in Europe. In P. Graves-Brown, S. Jones and C. Gamble, eds. *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: the construction of European communities* (London: Routledge) 1–24.

Jones-Martin, G.D.B., A. Webb and N. Bevan (1998) 'Pleasant Libyan acres': the territory of Cyrene. In E. Catani and S.M. Marengo, eds. *La Cirenaica in età antica: atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Macerata, 18–20 Maggio 1995* (Macerata: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici internazionali) 281–8.

Kane, S. (1998) Cultic implications of sculpture in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore/Persephone at Cyrene, Libya. In E. Catani and S.M. Marengo, eds. *La Cirenaica in età antica: atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Macerata, 18–20 Maggio 1995* (Macerata: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici internazionali) 289–300.

Kardulias, P.N. (1999) *World-Systems Theory in Practice* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield).

Kearsley, R. (1989) *The Pendent Semi-Circle Skyphos* (London: Institute of Classical Studies).

Kearsley, R. (1995) The Greek Geometric wares from Al Mina levels 10–8 and associated pottery. *Mediterranean Archaeology* 8: 7–81.

Kearsley, R. (1999) Greeks overseas in the eighth century BC: Euboeans, Al Mina and Assyrian imperialism. In G. Tsetskhladze, ed. *Ancient Greeks West and East* (Leiden: Brill) 109–34.

Keay, S. (1992) Amphorae and the Roman economy. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 5: 353–60.

Kendrick, P.M. (1986) *Excavations at Sabratha 1948–1951: a report on the excavations conducted by Kathleen Kenyon and John Ward-Perkins* (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies).

Kenyon, K.M. (1964) Megiddo, Samaria and chronology. *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London* 4: 143–56.

Kestemont, G. (1972) Le commerce phénicien et l'expansion assyrien du Xie–VIIe siècle. *Orient Antiquus* 11: 137–44.

Kestemont, G. (1983) Tyr et les Assyriens. In E. Gubel, E. Lipinski and B. Servai-Sayez, eds. *Redt Tyrus/Sauvons Tyr: Histoire phénicienne/Fenicische Geschiedenis*. Studia Phoenicia I/Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 25 (Leuven: Peeters).

Kestemont, G. (1985) Les Phéniciens en Syrie du Nord. *Studia Phoenicia* 3: 135–53.

Kitchen, K.A. (1990) The arrival of the Libyans in Late New Kingdom Egypt. In A. Leahy, ed. *Libya and Egypt c.1300–750* BC (London: SOAS and the Society for Libyan Studies) 15–27.

Klengel, H. (2000) The 'crisis years' and the new political system in Early Iron Age Syria: some introductory remarks. In G. Bunnens, ed. *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age: Period between c. 12000 and 300* BC (Louvain: Peeters) 21–30.

Knapp, B. (1981) The Thera frescoes and the question of Aegean contact with Libya during the Late Bronze Age. *Journal of Mediterranean Anthropology and Archaeology* 1: 249–79.

Kopcke, G. (1992) What role for Phoenicians? In G. Kopcke and I. Tokumaru, eds. *Greece between East and West: 10th–8th centuries* BC. Papers of the Meeting at the

Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, March 15th–16th 1990 (Mainz: Verlag Philipp vom Zabern) 103–13.

Kopcke, G. (forthcoming) A Greek Protogoemetric bowl krater from Tel Hadar. In P. Beck, M. Kochavi and E. Yadin, eds. *Tel Hadar I. The Early Iron Age Pillard Building Complex* (Tel Aviv: University Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology).

Kourou, N. (2003) Rhodes: the Phoenician issue revisited. Phoenicians at Vroulia? In N.C. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis, eds. *Sea Routes: interconnections in the Mediterranean 16th–6th C* BC (Athens: University of Crete and the A.G. Leventis Foundation) 249–62.

Kuhrt, A. (2002) Greek contact with the Levant and Mesopotamia in the first half of the first millennium BC: a view from the East. In G.R. Tsetskhladze and A.M. Snodgrass, eds. *Greek Settlements in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea* (Oxford: Archaeopress) 17–25.

Kurtz, D.C. and J. Boardman (1971) *Greek Burial Customs* (London: Thames and Hudson).

Laflı, E. (in press) A late Archaic kouros from the Museum of Mersin in Cilicia (southern Turkey).

Lamon, R.S. and G.M. Shipton (1939) *Meggido* I. Oriental Institute Publications 42 (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press).

Laronde, A. (1987a) Aspects de l'exploitation de la chôra Cyrénéene. In G. Barker, J. Lloyd and J. Reynolds, eds. *Cyrenaica in Antiquity* (Oxford: BAR) 183–91.

Laronde, A. (1987b) *Cyrène et la Libye hellénistique. Libykai historiai: de l'époque républicaine au principat d'Auguste* (Paris: Éditions du Centre de la Recherche Scientifique).

Laronde, A. (1990) Greeks and Libyans in Cyrenaica. In J.-P. Descoeudres, ed., *Greek Colonists and Natives Populations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press) 169–80.

Laronde, A. (1994) Le territoire de Taucheira. *Libyan Studies* 25: 23–9.

La Rosa, V. (1971a) Il cratere di Sabucina e il problema della decorazione figurate nella ceramica indigena di Sicilia. *Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell'arte, Università di Catania* 10: 50–63.

La Rosa, V. (1971b) Archeologia sicula e Barocca: per la ripresa del problema di Noto Antica. *Atti e Memorie: istituto per lo Studio e la Valorizzazione di Noto Antica* 2: 43–102.

La Rosa, V. (1988–89) Intervento. *Kokalos* 34–35.1: 70–1.

La Rosa, V. (1989) Le popolazioni della Sicilia. Sicani, Siculi, Elimi. In C. Belli, P. Orlandini and G. Pugliese Caratelli, eds. *Italia Omnium Terrarium Parens: la civiltà degli Enotri, Choni, Ausoni, Sanniti, Lucani, Brettii, Sicani, Siculi, Elimi* (Milan: Libri Scheiwiller) 3–110.

La Rosa, V. (1999) Processi di formazione e di identificazione culturale ed etnica delle popolazioni locali in Sicilia dal medio-tardo bronzo alla età del ferro. In M. Barra Bagnasco, E. De Miro and A. Pinzone, eds. *Magna Grecia e Sicilia: stato degli studi e prospettive di ricerca* (Messina: Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità dell'Università degli Studi di Messina) 159–85.

Lagona, S. (1971) La necropoli di Ossini-S. Lio. *Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell'arte, Università di Catania* 10: 16–40.

Lamagna, G. (2002) Successione stratigrafica in un saggio nell'abitato indigeno di Civita (S. Maria di Licodia – Paternò). *Kokalos* 43–44 (1997–98) 2.1: 83–114.

Law, R.C.C. (1978) North Africa in the age of Phoenician and Greek colonisation. In J. Fage, ed. *Cambridge History of Africa*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 87–147.

Leahy, A. (1985) The Libyan period in Egypt: an essay in interpretation. *Libyan Studies* 16: 51–65.

Lehmann, G. (1996) *Untersuchungen sur späten Eisenzeit Syrien und Libanon* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag).

Lehmann, G. (1998) Trends in the pottery development of Late Iron Age Syria and Lebanon, ca. 700 to 300 BC. *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 311: 7–37.

Lehmann, G. (2005) Al Mina and the East: a report on research in progress. In A. Villing, ed. *The Greeks in the East* (London: The British Museum) 61–92.

Leighton, R. (1981) Strainer-spouted jugs and the problem of the earliest Phoenician influence in Sicily. *Journal of Mediterranean Anthropology and Archaeology* 1: 280–91.

Leighton, R. (1996) From chiefdom to tribe? Social organisation and change in later prehistory. In R. Leighton, ed. *Early Societies in Sicily* (London: Accordia Research Centre) 101–15.

Leighton, R. (1999) *Sicily before History* (London: Duckworth).

Leighton, R. (2000a) Indigenous society between the ninth and sixth centuries BC: territorial, urban and social evolution. In C. Smith and J. Serrato, eds. *Sicily from Aeneas to Augustus: new approaches in archaeology and history* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press) 15–40.

Leighton, R. (2000b) Time versus tradition: Iron Age chronologies in Sicily and southern Italy. In D. Ridgway, F.R. Serra Ridgway, M. Pearce, E. Herring, R.D. Whitehouse and J.B. Wilkins, eds. *Ancient Italy in its Mediterranean Setting: studies in honour of Ellen Macnamara* (London: Accordia Research Institute) 33–48.

Lemaire, A. (1983) L'inscription de Hassan-Beyli reconsidérée. *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 11: 9–19.

Lemos, I. (2001) The Lefkandi connection: networking in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean. In L. Bonfante and V. Karageorghis, eds. *Italy and Cyprus in Antiquity: 1500–400* BC (Nicosia: Costakis and Levo Severies Foundation) 215–26.

Lemos, I. (2002) *The Protogeometric Aegean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Lemos, I. (2005) The changing relationship of the Euboeans and the East. In A. Villing, ed. *The Greeks in the East* (London: The British Museum) 53–60.

Lemos, I. and H. Hatcher (1991) Early Greek vases in Cyprus: Euboean and Attic. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 10: 197–207.

Lentini, M.C. (1984–85) Naxos: esplorazione nell'abitato proto-arcaico orientale – casa à pastas n. 1. *Kokalos* 30–31, 2.2: 809–38.

Liddy, D.J. (1996) A chemical study of decorated Iron Age pottery from the Knossos North Cemetery. In J.N. Coldstream and H.W. Catling, eds. *Knossos North Cemetery Early Greek Tombs. II. Discussions* (London: British School at Athens) 465–514.

Lipiński, E. (2000) The linguistic geography of Syria in Iron Age II (c. 1000–600 BC). In G. Bunnens, ed. *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age* (Louvain: Peeters) 125–42.

Lomas, K. (forthcoming) The Greek alphabet in south-east Italy: the culture of writing between Greeks and non-Greeks. In P. Haraar, ed. *Alphabetic Responses to Western Semitic Writing* (Oxford)

Longo, A. (1999) *Mozia: crocevia di culture nel Mediterraneo* (Messina: Società Messinese di Storia Patria).

Loomba, A. (1998) *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (London: Routledge).
Luckenbill, D.D. (1927) *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia, vol. 2: from Sargon to the end* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press).
Luke, J. (2003) *Ports of Trade, Al Mina and Geometric Greek Pottery in the Levant*. BAR IS 1100 (Oxford: Archaeopress).
Lund, J. (1986) *Sukas VIII: The Habitation Quarters* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard).
Luni, M. (1980) Apporti nuovi nel quadro della viabilità antica della Cirenaica interna. *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia* 11: 119–37.
Luni, M. (1987) Il santuario rupestre libya dell 'Immagini' a Slonta (Cirenaica). Testimonanze della cultura *Libya* in ambienta greco-romano: originalità e dipendenza. *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia* 12: 415–58.
Lyons, C. (1996a) Sikel burials at Morgantina: defining social and ethnic identities. In R. Leighton, ed. *Early Societies in Sicily* (London: Accordia Research Centre) 177–88.
Lyons, C. (1996b) *Morgantina V: The Archaic cemeteries* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
Lyons, C.L. and J.K. Papadopoulos (2002) Archaeology and colonialism. In C.L. Lyons and J.K. Papadopoulos, eds. *The Archaeology of Colonialism* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute) 1–23.
McBurney, C.B.M. (1967) *The Haua Fteah (Cyrenaica) and the Stone Age of the South-East Mediterranean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
McBurney, C.B.M. and R.W. Hey (1955) *Prehistory and Pleistocene Geology in Cyrenaican Libya* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Malkin, I. (1987) *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (Leiden: Brill).
Malkin, I. (1994) Inside and outside: colonization and the formation of the mother city. In B. D'Agostino and D. Ridgway, eds, *Apoikia: i più antichi insediamenti greci in Occidente: funzioni e modi dell'organizzazione politica e sociale: scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner* (Naples: Annali di archeologia e storia antica, Dipartimento di studi del mondo classico e del Mediterraneo antico) 1–9.
Malkin, I. (1997) Categories of early Greek colonization: the case of the Dorian Aegean. In C. Antonetti, ed. *Il dinamismo della colonizzazione greca* (Naples: Loffredo) 25–38.
Malkin, I. (1998) *The Returns of Odysseus* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press).
Malkin, I. (2002) A colonial Middle Ground: Greek, Etruscan, and local elites in the Bay of Naples. In C.L. Lyons and J.K. Papadopoulos, eds. *The Archaeology of Colonialism* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute) 151–81.
Malkin, I. (2003) Networks and the emergence of Greek identity. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 182: 56–74.
Malkin, I. (2004) Postcolonial concepts and ancient Greek colonization. *Modern Language Quarterly* 65.3: 341–64.
Manganaro, G. (1997) Mondo religioso greco e mondo 'indigeno' in Sicilia. In C. Antonetti, ed. *Il dinamismo della colonizzazione greca* (Naples: Loffredo) 71–82.
Manganaro, G. (1998) Modi dell'alfabetizzazione in Sicilia (dall'Arcaismo all'Ellenismo). *Mediterraneo Antico* I.1: 247–70.
Manganaro, G. (1999) La Syrakosion dekate, Camarina e Morgantina nel 424 a.C. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 128: 115–23.
Maniscalco, L. and B.E. McConnell (2003) The Sanctuary of the Divine Palikoi

(Rocchicella di Mineo, Sicily): fieldwork from 1995 to 2001. *American Journal of Archaeology* 107: 145–80.

Mannino, G. (1991) Ustica: nuove e più antiche testimonianze archeologiche. *Sicilia Archeologia* 24: 65–85.

Marchesini, S. (1999) Confini e frontiera nella Grecità d'Occidente: la situazione alfabetica. In *Confini e Frontiera nella Grecità d'Occidente. Atti del trentasettesimo Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto, 3–6 ottobre 1997* (Taranto: Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia) 173–213.

Marconi, C. (1997) Storie di Caccia in Sicilia Occidentale. *Seconde Giornate Internazionali di Studi Sull'Area Elima, Gibellina 22–26 ottobre 1994, Atti II* (Pisa-Gibellina: Centro Studi e Documentazione sull'Area Elima) 1071–120.

Marek, C. (1993) Euboia und die Entstehung der Alphabetscrhift bei den Griechen. *Klio* 75: 27–44.

Markoe, G. (1985) *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press).

Markoe, G. (1990) The emergence of Phoenician art. *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 279: 13–26.

Markoe, G. (1996) The emergence of Orientalizing in Greek art. *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 301: 47–67.

Markoe, G. (2003) Phoenician metalwork abroad: a question of export or on-site production? In N.C. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis, eds. *Sea Routes: interconnections in the Mediterranean 16th–6th C* BC (Athens: University of Crete and the A.G. Leventis Foundation) 209–16.

Masson, O. (1976a) Grecs et Libyens en Cyrénaïque, d'après les temoignages de l'epigraphie. *Antiquités Africaines* 10: 49–62.

Masson, O. (1976b) Le nom de Battos, fondateur de Cyrène et un groupe de mots grecs apparentes. *Glotta* 54: 84–98.

Mattingly, D.J. (1995) *Tripolitania* (London: Batsford).

Mattingly, D.J. (1996a) Explanations: people as agency. In G. Barker (ed.) *Farming the Desert: the UNESCO Libyan Valleys Archaeological Survey. Vol. 1: synthesis* (Tripoli and London: Department of Antiquities, Tripoli, and Society for Libyan Studies) 319–42.

Mattingly, D.J. (1996b) From one colonialism to another: imperialism and the Maghreb. In J. Webster and N. Cooper, eds. *Roman Imperialism: post-colonial perspectives* (Leicester: School of Archaeological Studies, University of Leicester) 49–69.

Mattingly, D.J. (2000a) Tripolitania. In R.J.A. Talbert, ed. *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press) 529–44.

Mattingly, D.J. (2000b) Syrtica. In R.J.A. Talbert, ed. *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press) 552–7.

Mattingly, D.J. (2001) Farming the Desert: two contrasting Libyan case-studies. In N. Higham, ed. *Archaeology of the Roman Empire: a tribute to the life and works of Professor Barri Jones* (Oxford: BAR) 245–56.

Mattingly, D.J. (2003) Fortifications, settlement and domestic architecture. In D.J. Mattingly, ed., *The Archaeology of Fazzan* (London: Society for Libyan Studies) 136–76.

Mattingly, D.J. and R.B. Hitchner (1995) Roman Africa: an archaeological review. *Journal of Roman Studies* 85: 165–213.

Mattingly, D.J. with J. Dore (1996) Romano-Libyan settlement: typology and chronology. In Barker, G. (ed.) *Farming the Desert: the UNESCO Libyan Valleys Archaeological Survey. Vol. 1: synthesis* (Tripoli and London: Department of Antiquities, Tripoli, and Society for Libyan Studies) 111–58.

Mattingly, D.J. with D. Edwards (2003) Religious and funerary structures. In D.J. Mattingly, ed., *The Archaeology of Fazzan* (London: Society for Libyan Studies) 177–234.

Mazarakis Ainian, A. (1997) *From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples: architecture, religion and society in early Iron Age Greece* (1100–700 BC) (Jonsered: Paul Åströms förlag).

Mazzei, M. (1996) Le armi. In E. Lippolis, ed. *I Greci in Occidente: arte e artigianato in Magna Grecia* (Naples: Electa) 119–28.

Mazzoni, S. (1995) Settlement pattern and new urbanization in Syria at the time of the Assyrian conquest. In M. Liverani, ed. *Neo-Assyrian Georgraphy* (Rome: Università di Roma 'La Sapienza', Dipartimento di Scienze storiche, archeologiche e antropologiche dell'Antichità) 181–91.

Mazzoni, S. (2000) Syria and the periodization of the Iron Age. In G. Bunnens, ed. *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age* Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement 7 (Louvain: Peeters) 31–59.

Mele, A. (1979) *Il commercio greco arcaico. Prexis ed emporie* (Naples: Institut Français de Naples).

Mele, A. (1997) I Focidesi nelle tradizioni precoloniali. In C. Antonetti, ed. *Il dinamismo della colonizzazione greca* (Naples: Loffredo) 39–42.

Messina, A. (1965) Grotta con graffiti nella campagna di Mineo. *Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell'arte, Università di Catania* 4: 30–8.

Militello, E. (1960) *Terravecchia di Cuti* (Palermo: Banco di Sicilia, Fondazione per l'incremento economico cultura e turistico della Sicilia 'Ignazio Mormino').

Millard, A.R. (1976) The Canaanite linear alphabet and its passage to the Greeks. *Kadmos* 15: 130–44.

Miller, D. (1995) Consumption as the vanguard of history: a polemic by way of introduction. In D. Miller, ed. *Acknowledging Consumption: a review of new studies* (London: Routledge) 1–57.

Millett, M. (1990) *The Romanization of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Mohammed, F.A. (1994) Appendix on prehistoric rock-carvings at Kharsah. *Libyan Studies* 25: 40–4.

Mohamed, F.A. and J. Reynolds (1995) Inscriptions from the cemetery at Karsa. *Libya Antiqua* new series 1: 73–8.

Mollo Mezzana, R. (1993) Sabucina. Recenti scavi nell'area fuori le mura. Risultati e problematiche. In S.N. Consolo Langher and G. Manganaro, eds, *Atti del Convegno Storia e Archeologia della media e bassa Valle dell'Himera, Licata-Caltanissetta 1987* (Caltanissetta and Licata: Associazione Archeologica Licatese and Associazione Archeologia Nissena) 137–81.

Moorey, P.R.S. (1980) *Cemeteries of the First Millennium BC at Deve Huyuk, near Carchemish, Salvaged by T.E. Lawrence and C.L. Woolley in 1913*. BAR IS 87 (Oxford: BAR).

Morawiecki, L. (1995) Adranos, una divinità dai molteplici volti. *Kokalos* 41: 29–50.

Morel, J.-P. (1978) La laine de Tarenta. *Ktema* 3: 93–110.
Morel, J.-P. (1983) Greek colonization in Italy and the West (problems of evidence and interpretation). In T. Hackens, N.D. Holloway and R.R. Holloway, eds. *Crossroads of the Mediterranean* (Louvain: Université Catholique de Louvain) 123–61.
Morel, J.-P. (1997) Problématiques de la colonisation grecque en Méditerranée occidentale: l'exemple des réseaux. In C. Antonetti, ed. *Il dinamismo della colonizzazione greca* (Naples: Loffredo) 59–70.
Morgan, C. (1999) The archaeology of ethnicity in the colonial world of the eighth to sixth centuries BC: approaches and prospects. In *Confini e Frontiera nella Grecità d'Occidente. Atti del trentasettesimo Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto, 3–6 ottobre 1997* (Taranto: Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia) 85–145.
Morgan, C. (2001) Ethne, ethnicity and early Greek States, ca. 1200–480 BC: an archaeological perspective. In I. Malkin, ed. *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* (Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies) 75–112.
Morgan, C. (2003) *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis* (London: Routledge).
Morris, I. (1986) Gift and commodity in Archaic Greece. *Man* 21: 1–17.
Morris, I. (1994) Archaeologies of Greece. In I. Morris, ed. *Classical Greece: ancient histories and modern archaeologies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 8–47.
Morris, I. (1996) The absolute chronology of the Greek colonies in Sicily. *Acta Archaeologica* 67: 51–9.
Morris, I. (2003) Mediterraneanization. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 18.2: 30–55.
Morris, S. (1992) *Daedalos and the Origins of Greek Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
Morris, S. (1998) Bearing Greek gifts: Euboeans pottery on Sardinia. In M.S. Balmouth and R.H. Tykot, eds. *Sardinian and Aegean Chronology: towards the resolution of relative and absolute dating in the Mediterranean*. Studies in Sardinian Archaeology V (Oxford: Oxbow Books) 361–2.
Morris, S.P. and J. Papadopoulos (1998) Phoenicians and the Corinthian Pottery Industry. In R. Rolle and K Schmidt, eds. *Archäologische Studien in Kontaktzonen der antiken Welt* (Göttingen: Veröffenlichung der Joachim Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften) 251–63.
Moscati, S. (1984–85) Fenici e greci in Sicilia: alle origini di un confronto. *Kokalos* 30–31: 1–19.
Moscati, S. (1996) *Il Mondo dei Fenici* (Milan: Saggiatore).
Muhly, J.D. (1985) Phoenician and the Phoenicians. In J. Amitai, ed. *Biblical Archaeology Today. Proceedings of the international congress of biblical archaeology* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society) 177–91.
Muzzolini, A. (1993) Chronologie raisonnée des diverses écoles d'art rupestre du Sahara central. *Memoria delal Società Italiana di Scienze Naturali e del Museuo Civico di Storia Naturale di Milano* 26: 387–97.
Na'aman, N. (1979) The brook of Egypt and Assyrian policy on the border of Egypt. *Tel Aviv* 6: 68–90.
Naveh, J. (1962) The excavations at Meşad Hashavyahu. *Israel Exploration Journal* 12: 89–113.
Naveh, J. (1987) Proto-Canaanite, archaic Greek and the script of the Aramaic text on the Tell Fakheriyah statue. In P.D. Millar, P.D. Hanlon and S.D. McBridge, eds. *Ancient Israelite Religion* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press) 101–13.

Neeft, C.W. (1981) Observations on the Thapsos class. *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité* 93.1: 7–88.

Negbi, O. (1992) Early Phoenician presence in the Mediterranean islands: a reappraisal. *American Journal of Archaeology* 96: 599–615.

Nenci, G. (1990) Iscrizione elime, greche e latine. *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore della Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*. series 3, vol. 20: 547–52.

Nenci, G. (1993) Fonti epigrafiche. In G. Nenci, ed. *Alla Ricerca di Entella* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Laboratorio di Topografia Storico-Archeologia del Mondo Antico) 35–50.

Nenci, G. (1999a) Bilancio Elimo (1983–1995) In *La colonisation grecque en Méditerranée occidentale* (Rome: École Française de Rome) 303–14.

Nenci, G. (1999b) Siti e insediamenti nel territorio elimo. In M. Barra Bagnasco, E. De Mire and A. Pinzone, eds. *Magna Grecia e Sicilia: stato degli studi e prospettive di ricerca: atti dell'Incontro di studi, Messina 2–4 dicembre 1996* (Messina: DiScAM) *Pelorias* 4: 213–22.

Nevling Porter, B. (2000) Assyrian propaganda for the West: Esarhaddon's stelae for Til Barsip and Sam'al. In G. Bunnens, ed. *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age* (Louvain: Peeters) 143–76.

Nicoletti, F. (1997) La bronzistica figurata indigena. In V. Tusa, ed. *Prima Sicilia: alla origini della società siciliana* (Palermo: Ediprint) 535–7.

Niemeier, W.-D. (1990) Area E: the Greek pottery. In A. Kempinski and W.-D. Niemeier, eds. *Excavations at Kabri 4: Preliminary Report of the 1989 Season* (Tel Aviv: Tel Kabri Excavations, Tel Aviv University) xxxiv–xxxix.

Niemeier, W.-D. (1994) Area E. C: Greek Pottery. Evidence for Greek mercenaries at Kabri. In A. Kempinski and W.-D. Niemeier, eds. *Excavations at Kabri 7–8: Preliminary Report of the 1992–93 Seasons* (Tel Aviv: Tel Kabri Excavations, Tel Aviv University) *31–*38.

Niemeier, W.-D. (2001) Archaic Greeks in the Orient: textual and archaeological evidence. *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 322: 11–32.

Niemeier, W.-D. (2002) Greek mercenaries at Tel Kabri and other sites in the Levant. *Tel Aviv* 29.2: 328–31.

Niemeyer, H.G. (1990) The Phoenicians in the Mediterranean: a non-Greek model for expansion and settlement in antiquity. In J.P. Descoeudres, ed., *Greek Colonists and Native Populations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press) 469–89.

Niemeyer, H.G. (1993) Trade before the flag? On the principles of Phoenician expansion in the Mediterranean. In A. Biran and J. Aviram, eds. *Biblical Archaeology Today 1990* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society) 335–44.

Niemeyer, H.G. (1999) Die frühe phönizische Expansion im Mittelmeer. Neue Beiträge zu ihrer Beschreibung und ihren Uraschen. *Saeculum* 50: 153–75.

Niemeyer, H.G. (2002) The early Phoenician city-states on the Mediterranean: archaeological elements for their description. In M.H. Hansen, ed. *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures* (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab) 89–115.

Niemeyer, H.G. (2003) On Phoenician art and its role in trans-Mediterranean interconnections ca. 1100–600 BC. In N.C. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis, eds. *Sea Routes: interconnections in the Mediterranean 16th–6th C* BC (Athens: University of Crete and the A.G. Leventis Foundation) 201–8.

Niemeyer, H.G. (2004) Phoenician or Greek: is there a reasonable way out of the Al Mina debate? *Ancient West and East* 3.1: 38–50.
O'Connor, D. (1990) The nature of Tjemhu (Libyan) society in the Later New Kingdom. In A. Leahy, ed. *Libya and Egypt c. 1300–750* BC (London : SOAS Centre of Near and Middle Eastern Studies and Society for Libyan Studies) 29–114.
Oded, B. (1974) The Phoenician cities and the Assyrian Empire in the time of Tiglath-pileser III. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 90: 38–49.
Oded, B. (1979) *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Weisbaden: Reichert).
Oliveri, R. (2002) Sabucina – necropoli ovest. Campagna di scavo 1996. *Kokalos* 43–44 (1997–98) 2.1: 55–6.
Orlandini, P. (1963) Sabucina. Scoperte varie. Prima campagna di scavi (1962). Rapporto preliminare. *Archeologia Classica* 15: 86–96.
Orlandini, P. (1965) Sabucina. La seconda campagna di scavo (1964). Rapporto preliminare. *Archeologia Classica* 17: 133–40.
Orlandini, P. (1968) Sabucina. La terza campagna di scavo (1966). Rapporto preliminare. *Archeologia Classica* 20: 151–6.
Orlandini, P. (1971) Vassallaggi (S. Cataldo). Scavi 1961: La necropoli meridionale. *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* supplement to vol. 25.
Orsi, P. (1892a) La necropoli sicula di Castelluccio. *Bollettino di paleontologia italiana* 18: 1–32, 67–84.
Orsi, P. (1892b) Il sepolcreto di Tremenzano. *Bollettino di paleontologia italiana* 18: 84–94.
Orsi, P. (1895) Siracusa. Gli scavì nella necropoli del Fusco a Siracusa nel giugno, novembre e dicembre del 1893. *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*: 109–92.
Orsi, P. (1897) Noto Vecchio (Netum) – esploazioni archeologiche. *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*: 69–90.
Orsi, P. (1898) Le necropoli di Licodia Eubea. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 13: 305–66.
Orsi, P. (1899) Pantalica e Cassibile, necropoli sicule del II periodo. *Monumenti antichi* 9: 33–146.
Orsi, P. (1900) Siculi e Greci in Leontinoi. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 15: 62–98.
Orsi, P. (1904) Caltagirone – Siculi e Greci a Caltagirone. *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*: 65–98.
Orsi, P. (1909) Sepolcri di transizione dalla civiltà sicula alla greca. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 24: 55–99.
Orsi, P. (1919) Gli scavi intorno all'Athenaion di Siracusa negli anni 1912–1917. *Monument Antichi* 25: 353–754.
Orsi, P. (1928) Nuove scavi nella necropoli di Cassibile (gruppi di Montedoro – Siracusa) *Bollettino di paleontologia italiana* 48: 71–5.
Osborne, R. (1996) Pots, trade and the archaic Greek economy. *Antiquity* 70: 31–44.
Osborne, R. (1998) Early Greek colonization? The nature of Greek settlement in the West. In N. Fisher and H. van Wees, eds. *Archaic Greece: new approaches and new evidence* (London: Duckworth) 251–69.
Osborne, R. (2004) Greek archaeology: a survey of recent work. *American Journal of Archaeology* 108: 87–102.

Otzen, B. (1990) The Aramiac inscriptions. In P.J. Riis and M.L. Buhl, eds. *Hama II/.2: Les objets de la période dite syro-hittite (Âge du Fer)* (Copenhagen: Fondation Carlsberg) 267–318.

Ozaner, F.S. and A. Çalık (1995) New thoughts on the battlefield of Issus. *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 13: 153–75.

Pace, B. (1958) *Arte e Civiltà della Sicilia Antica*, I (Milano: Editrice Dante Alighieri).

Palermo, D. (1981) Polizzello. *Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell'arte, Università di Catania* 20: 103–47.

Palermo D. (1983) Askoi ornitomorfi dalla Sicilia indigena. *Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell'arte, Università di Catania* 22: 93–7.

Palermo, D. (1992) La ceramica 'geometrica' di Sant' Angelo Muxaro. *Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell'arte, Università di Catania* 31: 17–22.

Palermo, D. (1996) Tradizione indigena e apporti greci nelle culture della Sicilia centro-meridionale: il caso di Sant'Angelo Muxaro. In R. Leighton, ed. *Early Societies in Sicily* (London: Accordia) 147–54.

Pamir, H. and S. Nishiyama (2002) The Orontes Delta Survey: archaeological investigations of ancient trade stations/settlements. *Ancient West and East* 1.2: 294–314.

Pancucci, R. (1977) Precisazioni sul sacello di Monte Bubbonia. *Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell'arte, Università di Catania* 16: 119–24.

Pancucci R. and M.C. Naro (1992) *Monte Bubbonia. Campagne di scavo 1905, 1906, 1955* (Rome: Bretschneider).

Panvini, R. (1996) *Gelas. Storia e archeologia dell'antica Gela* (Torino: Società Editrice Internazionale).

Panvini, R., ed. (2003) *Butera: dalla preistoria all'età medieva*le (Palermo: Regione Siciliana, Assessorato dei Beni Culturali, Ambientali).

Papadopoulos, J. (1981) Una terracotta dedalica da Caltabellotta. *Xenia* 2: 8–12.

Papadopoulos, J.K. (1997) Phantom Euboians. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 10: 191–206.

Papadopoulos, J.K. (1998) From Macedonia to Sardinia: problems of Iron Age Aegean chronology, and assumptions of Greek maritime primacy. In M.S. Balmouth and R.H. Tykot, eds. *Sardinian and Aegean Chronology: towards the resolution of relative and absolute dating in the Mediterranean*. Studies in Sardinian Archaeology V (Oxford: Oxbow Books) 363–9.

Parise, N.F. (1976) 'Baratto silenzioso' fra Punici e Libi 'al di là delle colonne di Eracle' *Quaderni di Archeologica della Libya* 8: 75–80.

Parker, B.J. (2002) At the edge of empire: conceptualizing Assyria's Anatolian frontier ca. 700 BC. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 21: 371–95.

Parker, B.J. (2003) Archaeological manifestations of empire: Assyria's imprint on southeastern Anatolia. *American Journal of Archaeology* 107: 525–57.

Parlangèli, O. (1964–65) Il sostrato linguistico in Sicilia. *Kokalos* 10–11: 211–44.

Patanè, A. and G.B. Felici (2002) Scavi e ricerche a Catania, Licodia Eubea, Grammichele, Ramacca. *Kokalos* 43–44 (1997–98) 2.1: 188–227.

Peckham, B. (2001) Phoenicians and Aramaeans: the literary and epigraphic evidence. In P.M.M. Daviau, J.M. Wevers and M. Weigl, eds. *The World of the Aramaeans: Biblical studies in honour of Paul-Eugène Dion*. vol. 2 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press) 19–44.

Pelagatti, P. (1964–65) Response to Parlangèli 1964–65. *Kokalos* 10–11: 245–52.

Pelagatti, P. (1977) Sacelli e nuovi materiali architettonici a Naxos, Monte San Mauro e Camarina. In *Atti 1.a reunione scientifica della scuola di perfezionamento in Archeologia classica dell'Università di Catania 'Il tempio greco in Sicilia. Architettura e Culto' (1976). Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell'arte, Università di Catania* 16: 43–65.

Pelagatti, P. (1978) Monte Casasia (Regusa). Notiziario. *Studi etruschi* 46: 578–80.

Pelagatti, P. (1982) L'ultime ricerche in Ortygia. *Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente* n.s. 44: 117–63.

Pelagatti, P. and G. Voza, eds. (1973) *Archeologia nella Sicilia Sud-Orientale* (Naples: Centre Jean Bérard).

Peltenberg, E. (1969) Al Mina glazed pottery and its relations. *Levant* 1: 73–96.

Peltenberg, E. (1991) Greeting gifts and luxury faience: a context for orientalizing trends in Late Mycenaean Greece. In N.H. Gale, ed. *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 90: 162–79.

Peregrine, P.N. (1996) Archaeology and World-Systems Theory. *Sociological Inquiry* 66.4: 486–95.

Perreault, J.Y. (1993) Les *emporia* grecs du Levant: mythe or réalité? In A. Bresson and P. Rouillard, eds. *L'Emporion* (Paris: De Boccard) 59–83.

Peserico, A. (1996) L'interazione culturale greco-fenicia. In E. Acquaro, ed. *Alle Soglie della Classicità, Studi S. Moscati* (Pisa: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali) II: 899–924.

Peserico, A. (1998) La ceramica fenicia da mena: la produzione di Cartagine e della altre regioni fenicie d'Occidenta (VIII–VI sec. a.C.). In E. Acquaro and B. Fabbri, eds. *Produzione e Cricolazione della Ceramica Fenicia e Punica nel Mediterraneo: il contributo della analisi archeometriche* (Faenza: Istituto di Ricerche Tecnologiche per la Ceramica) 27–42.

Pisano, G. (1999) Remarks on trade in luxury goods in the Western Mediterranean. *Studia Punica* 12: 15–30.

Pizzo, M. (1998–99) Vassallaggi (S. Cataldo, Caltanissetta) La necropolis meridionale, scavi 1956. *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* series 9, vol. 9–10:

Ploug, G. (1973) *Sukas II: The Aegean, Corinthian and Eastern Greek Pottery and Terracottas* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard).

Polanyi, K. (1963) Ports of trade in early societies. *Journal of Economic History* 23: 30–45.

Popham, M. (1994) Precolonization: early Greek contact with the East. In G.R. Tsetskhaldze and F. de Angelis, eds. *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation* (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology) 11–34.

Popham, M., A.M. Pollard and H. Hatcher (1983) Euboean exports to Al Mina, Cyprus and Crete: a reassessment. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 73: 281–90.

Popham, M. and I. Lemos (1992) Review of Kearsley 1989. *Gnomon* 64: 152–5.

Popham, M. and I. Lemos (1995) A Euboean warrior trader. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 14: 151–7.

Popham, M. and L.H. Sackett (1979) *Lefkandi I: the Iron Age* (London: British School of Archaeology in Athens).

Porada, E. (1956) A Lyre Player from Tarsus and his relations. In *The Aegean and the Near East. Studies presented to Hetty Goldman* (Locust Valley, NY: Augustin) 185–211.

Porada, E. (1963) Seals. In H. Goldman, ed. *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus* vol. III (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press) 347–58.

Powell, B.B. (1991) *Homer and the Origins of the Greek Alphabet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Powell, B.B. (2002) *Writing and the Origins of Greek Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Procelli, E. (1983) Naxos preellenica. *Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell'arte, Università di Catania* 22: 9–82.

Procelli, E. and A.M. Albanese (1992) Ramacca (Catania). Saggi di scavo nelle contrade Castellito e Montagna negli anni 1978, 1981 e 1982. *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 42–43 (1988–89): 7–159.

Prosdocimi, A.L. and Agostiniani, L. (1976–77) Lingue e dialetti della Sicilia antica. *Kokalos* 22–23: 215–52.

Puech, É. (1983) Présence phénicienne dans les îles à la fin du II^{e} milénaire. *Revue Biblique* 90: 365–95.

Puech, É. (1992) La stèle de Bar-Hadad à Melqart et les rois d'Arpad. *Revue Biblique* 99: 311–44.

Pugliese Carratelli, G. (1942) Comiso. Epigramma sepolcrale greci del VI sec. a.C. *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*: 321–34.

Purcaro, V. (1974–75) Il santuario degli Aratri di Hagfa el Khasaliya. *Libya Antiqua* 11–12: 287–94.

Purcaro Pagano, V. (1976) Le rotte antiche tra la Grecia e la Cirenaica e gli itinerari marittimi e terrestri lungo le coste cirenaiche e della Grande Sirte. *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia* 8: 285–352.

Purcell, N. (2003) The boundless sea of unlikeness? On defining the Mediterrnaean. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 18.2: 9–29.

Purcell, N. (2005a) Colonization and Mediterranean history. In H. Hurst and S. Owen, eds. *Ancient Colonization: analogy, similarity and difference* (London: Duckworth) 115–39.

Purcell, N. (2005b) The ancient Mediterranean: the view from the customs-house. In W.V. Harris, ed. *Rethinking the Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) 200–32.

Raccuia, C. (1999) Presenze e contatti fra le genti nell'area di Gela nelle età preistorica e protostorica. In M. Barra Bagnasco, E. De Miro and A. Pinzone, eds. *Magna Grecia e Sicilia: stato degli studi e prospettive di ricerca* (Messina: Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità dell'Università degli Studi di Messina) 321–30.

Reed, C.M. (2003) *Maritime Traders in the Ancient Greek World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Reese, D.S. (1991) The trade of Indo-Pacific shells into the Mediterranean basin and Europe. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 10: 159–96.

Reich, R. (1989) A third season of excavations at Meşad Hashavyahu. *Eretz Israel* 20: 228–32.

Revere, R.B. (1957) 'No man's coast': ports of trade in the Eastern Mediterranean. In K. Polanyi, C.M. Arensberg and H.W. Pearson, eds. *Trade and Market in the Early Empires* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press) 38–63.

Reynolds, J. (1987) Libyans and Greeks in rural Cyrenaica. *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia* 12: 379–83.

Ridgway, D. (1996) Greek letters at osteria dell'Osa. *Opuscula Romana* 20: 87–97.

Ridgway, D. (1998) The Carthaginian connection: a view from San Montano. In R. Rolle and K. Schmidt, eds. *Archäologische Studien in Kontaktzonen der antiken Welt* (Göttingen: Veröffenlichung der Joachim Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften) 301–18.

Ridgway, D. (2000) The first western Greeks revisited. In D. Ridgway, F.R. Serra Ridgway, M. Pearce, E. Herring, R.D. Whitehouse and J.B. Wilkins, eds. *Ancient Italy in its Mediterranean Setting: studies in honour of Ellen Macnamara* (London: Accordia Research Institute) 179–91.

Ridgway, D. (2004) Euboeans and others along the Tyrrhenian seaboard. In K. Lomas, ed. *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean* (Leiden: Brill) 15–33.

Ridgway, D. and O.T.P.K. Dickinson (1973) Pendent semi-circles at Veii: a glimpse. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 68: 191–2.

Riis, P.J. (1948) *Hama 2.3: Les cimetières à crémation* (Copenhagen: I Kommission hos Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag).

Riis, P.J. (1969) First Greeks in Phoenicia and their settlement at Sukas. *Ugaritica* 6: 435–50.

Riis, P.J. (1970) *Sukas I. The North-East Sanctuary and the First Settling of Greeks in Syria and Palestine* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard).

Riis, P.J. (1979) *Sukas VI. The Graeco-Phoenician Cemetery and Sanctuary at the Southern Harbour* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard).

Riis, P.J. (1982) Griechen in Phönizien. In H.G. Niemeyer, ed. *Phönizier im Westen* (Mainz: von Zabern) 237–60.

Rix, H. (1999) Oskisch *vereiia-* à la Mommsen. In J. Habisreitinger, R. Plath and S. Ziegler, eds. *Gering und doc von Herzen* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag) 237–57.

Rizza, G. (1979) S. Angelo Muxaro e il problema delle influenze micenee in Sicilia. *Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell'arte, Università di Catania* 18: 19–30.

Rizza, G. (1984–85) La necropolis di Butera e i rapporti fra Sicilia e Creta in età protoarcaica. *Kokalos* 30–31: 65–70.

Robertson, M. (1940) The excavations at Al Mina, Soeuidia, IV. The early Greek vases. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 60: 2–21.

Roller, L. (1991) East Greek pottery in Sicily: evidence for forms of contact. *Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell'arte, Università di Catania* 30: 89–95.

Röllig, N. (1992) Asia Minor as a bridge between East and West: the role of the Phoenicians and Aramaeans in the transfer of culture. In G. Kopcke and I. Tokuaru, eds. *Greece between East and West: 10th–8th centuries* BC (Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern) 93–102.

Romeo, I. (1989) Sacelli arcaici senza peristasi nella Sicilia greca. *Xenia* 17: 5–54.

Rosenbaum, E. (1960) *A Catalogue of Cyrenaican Portrait Sculpture* (London: British Academy and Oxford University Press).

Rowe, A. (1959) *Cyrenaican Expeditions of the University of Manchester, 1955, 1956, 1957* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).

Rowe, A., D. Buttle and J. Gray (1956) *Cyrenaican Expedition of the University of Manchester, 1952* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).

Rowlands, M. (1998a) Centre and periphery: a review of the concept. In K. Kristiansen and M. Rowlands, eds. *Social Transformations in Archaeology: global and local perspectives* (London: Routledge) 219–42.

Rowlands, M. (1998b) The archaeology of colonialism. In K. Kristiansen and

M. Rowlands, eds. *Social Transformations in Archaeology: global and local perspectives* (London: Routledge) 327–33.

Rowlands, M., M. Larsen and K. Kristiansen, eds. (1987) *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Sadawya, A.M. (1968) The Greek settlement in Cyrenaica, with notes on pottery discovered there. In F.F. Gadallah, ed., *Libya in History. 16–23 March 1968* (Benghazi: University of Libya) 93–8.

Sader, H. (1987) *Les états araméens de Syrie depuis leur fondation jusqu'à leur transformation en provinces assyriennes* (Wiesbaden: Steiner).

Sader, H. (2000) The Aramaean kingdoms of Syria: origin and formation processes. In G. Bunnens, ed. *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age* (Louvain: Peeters) 61–76.

Said, E. (1978) *Orientalism* (London: Routledge).

Said, E. (1993) *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Random House).

Saggs, H.W. (1963) The Nimrud letters, 1952 – part VI. *Iraq* 25: 70–80.

Saltz, D.L. (1978) *Greek Geometric Pottery in the East: the chronological implications*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Harvard University.

Schaus, G.P. (1980) Greek trade along the North African coast in the sixth century BC. *Scripta Mediterranea* 1: 21–7.

Schmoll, U. (1958) *Die vorgriechischen Sprachen Siziliens* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz).

Schnapp, A. (1999) Les voies du commerce Grec en occident. In (no editor) *La colonisation grecque en Méditerranée occidentale* (Rome: École Française de Rome) 63–9.

Schreiber, N. (2003) *The Cypro-Phoenician Pottery of the Iron Age* (Brill: Leiden).

Sedita Migliore, M. (1981) *Sabucina. Studio sulla zone archeologica di Caltanissetta* (Caltanissetta and Rome: Sciascia).

Seton-Williams, M.V. (1954) Cilician survey. *Anatolian Studies* 4: 121–74.

Shanks, M. (1996) *Classical Archaeology of Greece: experiences of the discipline* (London: Routledge).

Shanks, M. (1999) *Art and the Greek City State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Shaw, J.W. (1989) Phoenicians in southern Crete. *American Journal of Archaeology* 93: 165–83.

Shennan, S. (1989) Introduction: archaeological approaches to cultural identity. In S.J. Shennan, ed. *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity* (London: Routledge) 1–32.

Shepherd, G. (1995) The pride of most colonials. Burial and religion in the Sicilian colonies. In T. Fischer-Hansen, ed. *Ancient Sicily. Acta Hyperborea* 6: 51–82.

Shepherd, G. (1999) Fibulae and females: intermarriage in the western Greek colonies and the evidence from the cemeteries. In G. Tsetskhladze, ed. *Ancient Greeks West and East* (Leiden: Brill) 267–300.

Shepherd, G. (2000) Greeks bearing gifts: religious relationships between Sicily and Greece in the archaic period. In C. Smith and J. Serrati, eds. *Sicily from Aeneas to Augustus: new approaches in archaeology and history* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press) 55–70.

Shepherd, G. (2005a) Dead men tell no tales: ethnic diversity in Sicilian colonies and the evidence of the cemeteries. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 24.2: 115–36.

Shepherd, G. (2005b) The advance of the Greeks: Greece, Great Britain and archaeological empires. In H. Hurst and S. Owen, eds. *Ancient Colonization: analogy, similarity and difference* (London: Duckworth) 23–44.

Sherratt, S. and A. Sherratt (1993) The growth of the Mediterranean economy in the early first millennium BC. *World Archaeology* 24.3: 361–78.

Sherwin White, A.N. (1973) *The Roman Citizenship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).

Siracusano, A. (1989) Tradizione architettonica sacra siceliota e ordine dorico. *Quaderni dell'Istituto di archeologia della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia della Università di Messina* 4: 51–69.

Siracusano, A. (1990) Acropoli di Monte Saraceno di Ravanusa. Nuovi resti edilizi e situazione stratigrafica (scavi 1991–92) *Quaderni dell'Istituto di archeologia della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia della Università di Messina* 5: 41–8.

Siracusano, A. (1994) Ceramica di produzione coloniale nell'VIII e nel VII sec. a.C. *Quaderni dell'Istituto di archeologia della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia della Università di Messina* 9: 49–61.

Smith, R.L. (2003) What happened to the ancient Libyans? Chasing sources across the Sahara from Herodotus to Ibn Khaldun. *Journal of World History* 14.4: para. 85.

Snodgrass, A.M. (1983) Heavy freight in archaic Greece. In P. Garnsey, K. Hopkins and C.R. Whittaker, eds. *Trade in the Ancient Economy* (London: Chatto and Windus) 16–26.

Snodgrass, A.M.S. (1986) Interaction by design: the Greek city state. In C. Renfrew and J.F. Cherry, eds. *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 47–58.

Snodgrass, A.M.S. (1994) The growth and standing of the early western colonies. In G.R. Tsetskhladze and F. de Angelis, eds. *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation* (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology) 1–10.

Songu, F. (1997) *Wave-Line Pottery from the Late Iron Age Levels of Kinet Höyük*. Unpublished MA dissertation, Bilkent University.

Sørensen, L.W. (1988) Greek pottery from the Geometric and Archaic Period found on Cyprus. *Acta Hyperborea* 1: 12–32.

Souville, G. (1970) L'industrie préhistorique recueille à Bu Njem (1967–1968). *Libya Antiqua* 6–7: 169–73.

Spatafora, F. (1996) Gli Elimi e l'età del ferro nella Sicilia occidentale. In R. Leighton, ed. *Early Societies in Sicily* (London: Accordia) 155–65.

Spatafora, F. (1997) Tipologie abitative archaiche nei centri indigeni occidentali: il caso di Monte Maranfusa. In H.P. Isler and D. Käch, eds. *Wohnbauforschung in Zentral und Westsizilien* (Zurich: Archäologisches Institut der Universität Zürich) 151–64.

Spatafora, F. (2000a) Indigeni, Punici e Greci in età arcaica e tardo-arcaica sulla Montagnola di Marineo e nella Valle dell'Eleuterio. In *Terze Giornate Internazionali di Studi sull'Area Elima (Gibellina-Erice-Contessa Entellina, 23–26 ottobre 1997)* (Pisa-Gibellina: Scuola normale superiore di Pisa) 895–918.

Spatafora, F. (2000b) La ceramica preistorica dalla 'Zona E' dell'abitato di Mozia. In *Terze Giornate Internazionali di Studi sull'Area Elima (Gibellina-Erice-Contessa Entellina, 23–26 ottobre 1997)* (Pisa-Gibellina: Scuola normale superiore di Pisa) 919–56.

Spatafora, F. and A. Fresina (1993) Monte Maranfusa. In A. Marotta, ed. *Di Terra in Terra. Nuove scoperte archeologiche nella provincia di Palermo* (Palermo: Museo Archeologico Regionale) 2–26.

Spigo, U. (1986) L'anonimo centro greco di Monte San Mauro. *Miscellanea Greca e Romana* 10: 1–32.

Spivak, G. (1987) *In Other Worlds: essays in cultural politics* (London: Routledge).

Stampolidis, N.C. (2003) On the Phoenician presence in the Aegean. In N.C. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis, eds. *Sea Routes: interconnections in the Mediterranean 16th–6th C* BC (Athens: University of Crete and the A.G. Leventis Foundation) 217–32.

Stein, G. (2002) Colonies without colonialism: a trade diaspora model of fourth millennium BC Mesopotamian enclaves in Anatolia. In C.L. Lyons and J.K. Papadopoulos, eds. *The Archaeology of Colonialism* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute) 27–64.

Steures, D.C. (1980) *Monte Finocchito Revisited. Part 1: the evidence* (Amsterdam: Allard Pierson).

Stibbe, C.M. (1991) Forme commune ed eccezionali di vasi laconici in Sicilia. *Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell'arte, Università di Catania* 30: 159–66.

Stronach, D. (1959) The development of the fibula in the Near East. *Iraq* 21: 181–206.

Stronach, D. (1995) The imagery of the wine bowl: wine in Assyria in the early first millennium BC. In P.E. McGovern, S.J. Fleming and S.H. Katz, eds. *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine*. Food and Nutrition in History and Anthropology 11 (Luxembourg: Gordon and Beach) 175–96.

Stucchi, S. (1964) La tomba a tumulo presso Messa in Cirenaica. *Libya Antiqua* 1: 127–31.

Stucchi, S. (1975) *Architettura Cirenaica* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider).

Stucchi, S. (1987) L'architettura funeraria suburbana cirenaica in rapporto a qualla della chora viciniore ed a qualla libya ulteriore, con speciale riguardo all'età ellenistica. *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia* 12: 249–377.

Stucky, R.A. (1974) *The Engraved Tridacna Shells. Dédalo* 19 (São Paulo: Museu de Arqueologia e Etnologia, Universidade de São Paulo).

Swift, G.R. (1958) *The Pottery of the 'Amuq Phases K to O*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Chicago.

Sznycer, M. (1979) L'inscription phénicienne de Tekke près de Cnossos. *Kadmos* 18: 89–93.

Tadmor, H. (1994) *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III King of Assyria* (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities).

Tamburello, I. (1966) Punici e greci a Palermo nell'età arcaica? *Kokalos* 12: 234–9.

Tandy, D.W. (1997) *Warriors into Traders* (Berkeley, CA and London: University of California Press).

Tekoğlu, R. and A. Lemaire (2000) La bilingue royale louvite-phénicienne de Çineköy. *Comptes Rendus des séance de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 2000: 961–1006.

Termini, A. (1997) La Montagnola di Marineo. Le anfore. In *Archeologia e Territorio* (Palermo: G.B. Palumbo) 157–69.

Thomason, A.K. (2001) Representations of the North Syrian landscape in Neo-Assyrian Art. *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 323: 63–96.

Thuesen, I. (2002) The Neo-Hittite city states. In M.H. Hansen, ed. *A Comparative Study of Six City-State Cultures: an investigation conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre* (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab) 43–55.

Tigano, G. (1985–86) Ceramica indigena da Sabucina (Caltanissetta): oinochoai tri-

lobate a decorazione geometrica. *Quaderni dell'Istituto di archeologia della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia della Università di Messina* 1: 55–78.
Tinè, S. (1987) Ceramica prebattiaca nell'area cirenea. *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia* 12: 15–16.
Tisseyre, P. (1998) Armi. In C.A. Di Stefano, ed. *Palermo Punica* (Palermo: Enzo Sellerio) 360–70.
Tournavitou, I. (1990) Enclave colonies model – true or false? *Annual of the British School at Athens* 85: 415–18.
Treister, M. (1995) North Syrian metal workers in Archaic Greek settlements? *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 14: 159–78.
Trigger, B. (1989) *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Trombi, C. (1999) La ceramica indigena dipinta della Sicilia dalla seconda metà del IX sec. a.C. al V sec. a.C. In M. Barra Bagnasco, E. De Miro and A. Pinzone, eds. *Magna Grecia e Sicilia: stato degli studi e prospettive di ricerca* (Messina: Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità dell'Università degli Studi di Messina) 275–93.
Tufnell, O. (1959) Hazor, Samaira and Lachish. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 91: 90–105.
Tusa, S. (1988–89) Preistoria e protostoria nel territorio degli Elimi. In G. Nenci, S. Tusa, V. Tusa, eds. *Gli Elimi e l'area elima fino all'inizio della prima guerra punica: atti del seminario di studi, Palermo – Contessa Entellina, 25–28 maggio 1989* (Palermo: Società siciliana per la storia patria) 31–54.
Tusa, V. (1986) I Fenici e i Cartaginesi. In G. Pugliese Caratelli, ed. *Sikanie. Storia e civiltà della Sicilia greca* (Milan: Garzanti) 577–631.
Tusa, V. (1987–88) Gli Elimi e l'Anatolia. *Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell'arte, Università di Catania* 26–27: 37–51.
Tusa, V. (1988–89) Sicani ed Elimi. *Kokalos* 34–35.1: 47–70.
Tusa, V. (1997a) Gli Elimi. In V. Tusa, ed. *La Prima Sicilia: alla origini della società siciliana* (Palermo: Ediprint) 521–6.
Tusa, V. (1997b) L'elemento figurative presso gli Elimi. In *Atti delle Seconde Giornate Internazionali di Studi sull'area Elima, Gibellina 1994* (Pisa-Gibellina: Scuola normale superiore di Pisa and CESDAE) 1315–27.
Tusa, V. (1999) Archeologia e storia nella Sicilia antica: la componente fenicio-punica nella provincial di Trapani. *Magna Grecia e Sicilia* 235–41.
Tsetskhladze, G. and F. de Angelis, eds. (1994) *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation* (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology).
Vallet, G., F. Villard and P. Auberson (1976) *Megara Hyblaea I: Le quartier de l'agora archïque* (Paris: de Boccard).
Vagnetti, L. (1972) Un anello nel Museo archeologica di Firenze e le oreficerie di Sant'Angelo Muxaro. *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 15: 189–201.
Van der Veen, M. (1992) Garamantian agriculture: the plant remains from Zinchecra, Fezzan. *Libyan Studies* 23: 7–39.
Van Dommelen, P. (1997) Colonial constructs: colonialism and archaeology in the Mediterranean. *World Archaeology* 28: 305–23.
Van Dommelen, P. (1998) *On Colonial Grounds: a comparative study of colonialism and rural settlement in first millennium* BC *west central Sardinia* (Leiden: Faculty of Archaeology, University of Leiden).
Van Dommelen, P. (2002) Ambiguous matters: colonialism and local identities in

Punic Sardinia. In C.L. Lyons and J.K. Papadopoulos, eds. *The Archaeology of Colonialism* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute) 121–47.

Van Dommelen, P. (in press a) The orientalising phenomenon: hybridity and material culture in the western Mediterranean. In C. Riva and N. Vella, eds. *Approaching Orientalisation* (London: Equinox).

Van Dommelen, P. (in press b) Colonial matters: material culture and postcolonial theory in colonial situations. In C. Tilley, W. Keane, S. Kuechler, M. Rowlands and P. Spyer, eds. *Handbook of Material Cultures* (London: Sage).

Van Wees, H. (1998) Greeks bearing arms: the state, the leisure class, and the display of weapons in archaic Greece. In N. Fisher and H. van Wees, eds. *Archaic Greece: new approaches and new evidence* (London: Duckworth) 333–78.

Vella, N. (1998) *Ritual Landscape and Territory: Phoenician and Punic non-funerary religious sites in the Mediterranean. An analysis of the archaeological evidence*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Bristol.

Vella, N. (2000) Defining Phoenician religious space: Oumm el-'Amed reconsidered. *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 37: 27–55.

Vickers, M. and A. Bazama (1971) A fifth century BC tomb in Cyrenaica. *Libya Antiqua* 8: 69–82.

Villard, F. (1982) Le céramique géométrique importée de Mégara Hyblaea. In *La Céramique Grecque ou de Tradition Grecque au VIIIe siècle en Italie Centrale et Méridionale* (Naples: Centre Jean Bérard) 181–5.

Von Reden, S. (1995) *Exchange in Ancient Greece* (London: Duckworth).

Voza, G. (1973) Thapsos. In P. Pelagatti and G. Voza, eds. *Archeologia nella Sicilia Sud-Orientale* (Naples: Centre Jean Bérard) 30–52.

Voza, G. (1976–77) L'attività della Soprintendenza alle antichità della Sicilia Orientale. *Kokalos* 22–23: 551–86.

Voza, G (1978) La necropoli della Valle del Marcellino presso Villasmundo. *Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell'arte, Università di Catania* 17: 104–10.

Waldbaum, J.C. (1994) Early Greek contacts with the southern Levant, ca. 1000–600 BC: the eastern perspective. *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 293: 53–66.

Waldbaum, J.C. (1997) Greeks *in* the East or Greeks *and* the East? Problems in the definintion and recognition of presence. *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 305: 1–17.

Waldbaum, J.C. and J. Magness (1997) The chronology of early Greek pottery: new evidence from seventh-century BC destruction levels in Israel. *American Journal of Archaeology* 101: 23–40.

Walker, C.B.F. (1988) Further notes on Assyrian bronzeworking. In J. Curtis, ed. *Bronzeworking Centres of Western Asia c. 1000–539* BC (London: Kegal Paul) 111–18.

Wallerstein, I. (1974) *The Modern World-System: capitalist agriculture and the origins of European world-economy in the sixteenth century* (New York: Academic Press).

Wanis, S. (1992) A new relief from Cyrene with a Libyan scene. *Libyan Studies* 23: 41–3.

Ward, P. (1970) *Sabratha: a guide for visitors* (Harrow: Oleander Press).

Warden, P.G., A. Oliver, P.J. Crabtree and J. Monge (1990) *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone 4: the small finds; glass; faunal and human skeletal remains* (Philadelphia, PA: University Museum of Pennsylvania).

Wazana, N. (1996) Water division in border agreements. *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 10: 55–66.

Webster, J. (1996) Roman imperialism and the 'post-imperial age'. In J. Webster and N. Cooper, eds. *Roman Imperialism: post-colonial perspectives* (Leicester: School of Archaeological Studies, University of Leicester) 1–17.

Wenning, R. (1989) Meşad Hašavyāhū: Ein Stützpunkt des Jojakim? In F.L. Hossfeldt, ed. *Vom Sinai zum Horeb: Stationen alttestamentlicher Glaubensgeschichte* (Wurzburg: Echter) 169–96.

White, D. (1984) *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya. Final report: background and introduction to the excavations* (Philadelphia, PA: University Museum of Pennsylvania).

White, D. (1987) Demeter Libyssa, her Cyrenaean cult in light of the recent excavations. *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia* 12: 67–84.

White, D. (1990) Provisional evidence for the seasonal occupation of the Marsa Matruh area by Late Bronze Age Libyans. In A. Leahy, ed. *Libya and Egypt, c.1300–750* BC (London: SOAS Centre of Near and Middle Eastern Studies, and Society for Libyan Studies) 1–14.

White, D. (1994) Before the Greeks came: a survey of the current archaeological evidence for the pre-Greek Libyans. *Libyan Studies* 25: 31–43.

White, D., ed. (2002a) *Marsa Matruh: the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology's Excavations on Bates's Island, Marsa Matruh, Egypt, 1985–1989. Vol. 1: The excavation* (Philadelphia, PA: Institute for Aegean Prehistory Academic Press).

White, D. ed. (2002b) *Marsa Matruh: the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology's Excavations on Bates's Island, Marsa Matruh, Egypt, 1985–1989. Vol. 2: The objects* (Philadelphia, PA: Institute for Aegean Prehistory Academic Press).

White, D. and A. White (1996) Coastal sites of northeast Africa: the case against Bronze Age ports. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 33: 11–30.

White, R. (1991) *The Middle Ground: Indians, empires, and republics in the Great Lakes region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Whitehouse, R. and J. Wilkins (1989) Greeks and natives in south-east Italy: approaches to the archaeological evidence. In T. Champion, ed. *Centre and Periphery: comparative studies in archaeology* (London: Unwin Hyman) 102–26.

Wilson, A., P. Bennett, A. Buzaian, S. Ebbinhaus, K. Hamilton, A. Kattenberg, E. Zimi (1999) Urbanism and economy at Euesperides (Benghazi): preliminary report on the 1999 season. *Libyan Studies* 30: 147–68.

Wilson, A., P. Bennett, A. Buzaian, V. Fell, K. Göransson, C. Green, C. Hall, R. Helm, A. Kattenberg, K. Swift, E. Zimi (2001) Euesperides (Benghazi): preliminary report on the spring 2001 season. *Libyan Studies* 32: 155–77.

Wilson, J.P. (1997) The nature of Greek overseas settlements in the Archaic period: *Emporion* or *Apoikia*. In L.G. Mitchell and P.J. Rhodes, eds. *The Development of the Polis in Archaic Greece* (New York: Routledge) 199–207.

Winter, I. (1976) Phoenician and North Syrian ivory carving in historical context: questions of style and distribution. *Iraq* 38: 1–26.

Winter, I. (1979) On the problems of Karatepe: the reliefs and their context. *Anatolian Studies* 29: 115–51.

Winter, I. (1981) Is there a South Syrian style of ivory carving in the early first millennium BC? *Iraq* 43: 101–30.

Winter, I. (1988) North Syria as a bronzeworking centre in the early first millennium BC. In J. Curtis, ed. *Bronzeworking Centres of Western Asia c. 1000–539* BC (London: Kegan Paul) 193–225.

Winter, I. (1995) Homer's Phoenicians: history, ethnography, or literary trope? [a persepctive on early orientalism]. In J.B. Carter and S.P. Morris, eds. *The Ages of Homer: a tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press) 247–71.

Woolf, G. (1990) World systems analysis and the Roman empire. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 3: 44–58.

Woolley, L. (1937) Excavations near Antioch in 1936. *Antiquaries Journal* 17.1: 1–15.

Woolley, L. (1938) Excavations at Al Mina, Suedia I and II. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 58: 1–30 and 133–70.

Woolley, L. (1939) The Iron Age graves of Carchemish. *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 26: 11–37.

Woolley, L. (1959) *A Forgotten Kingdom* (London: Parrish).

Yaeger, J. and M.A. Canuto (2000) Introducing an archaeology of communities. In M.A. Canuto and J. Yaeger, eds. *The Archaeology of Communities* (London: Routledge) 1–15.

Yardeni, A. (1994) Maritime trade and royal accountancy in an erased customs account from 475 BC on the Ahiqar Scroll from Elephantine. *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 293: 67–78.

Yellin, J. (1989) The origin of some Cypro-Geometric pottery from Tel Dor. *Israel Exploration Journal* 39: 219–27.

Yener, K.A., C. Edens, T.P. Harrison, J. Verstraete and T. Wilkinson (2000) The Amuq Valley Regional Project, 1995–1998. *American Journal of Archaeology* 104.2: 163–220.

Zaccagnini, C. (1984) La circolazione dei beni di lusso nelle fonti assire (IX–VII sec. a.C). *Opus* 3: 235–52.

Zamboni, A. (1978) Il siculo. In A. Prosdocimi, ed. *Popoli e civiltà dell'Italia antica VI. Lingue e dialetti* (Rome: Biblioteca di Storia Patria) 949–1012.

INDEX