

In search of Greek women in Pithekoussai

*An analysis of female graves in Lefkandi, Pithekoussai
and Pontecagnano based on artefactual material*

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Abstract

This paper seeks to analyse the available, i. e. published, data from the necropolises of Pithekoussai, Lefkandi, and Pontecagnano. The goal is to potentially examine a first generation of Greek women at the Greek colony, Pithekoussai, through analysis of artefactual remains deposited in the cemeteries during the Geometric period (c. 750-625 BC). Also to investigate if Greek women were a part of the Greek colonising expeditions. The first phase of the project involved finding a Greek female grave model from Euboea where artefact occurrence was analysed by a multivariate correspondence analysis, to distinguish different functions of objects with reference to each grave. The second phase compared the Greek female grave model to the graves from Pithekoussai which had been assigned anthropologically to be female graves to identify the graves as Greek. The graves at Pithekoussai were also compared to indigenous graves from Pontecagnano from the Italian mainland. The analyses led to a concept borrowed from current literary and cultural theory; *hybridity* and a *hybrid burial pattern*. Through the concept hybridity it was possible to search for the building blocks constructing a new hybrid burial pattern, and look for their origins.

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Structure of thesis

The thesis is divided into eight chapters with varying numbers of subchapters. Chapter 1 introduces the reader to the topic of the research, and the ensuing research questions associated to the topic. In Chapter 2 the research history for Pithekoussai is described, including ancient and contemporary literary sources. Previous research of Pithekoussai is also discussed in this chapter, as I believe it will give the reader an idea of why I chose the specific methodological approach in this thesis.

In Chapter 3 I have combined the theory and method in one chapter. I have done this because the theoretical framework and methodological approach used in this thesis are intertwined, and will therefore be more comprehensible when written as one chapter. The theory part will come first with an explanation of the theoretical framework used in the thesis, which also explains the methodological approach.

Chapter 4 gives a short introduction of the cemeteries which I have chosen to include and the reasons why these specific cemeteries were chosen. In Chapter 5 the analyses are conducted employing the statistical tool correspondence analysis with the archaeological material, which follows with comparative analyses in Chapter 6. A discussion of my research is presented in Chapter 7 and the conclusion of my thesis in Chapter 8.

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1. Introduction

There is a theory, which is widely held today, that Greek women did not participate in the foundation of Greek colonies during the Geometric period (900-700 BC) (Tsetschladze 2006:xlvi). The colonies were foundations of Greek men, who ensured the continuance of their new settlements by taking wives from the local indigenous population (Coldstream 1993; Hodos 1999). An example of a colony is Pithekoussai, which lies on the island of Ischia in the Bay of Naples. Pithekoussai is known as one of the oldest colonies Greek settlers founded during the eighth century BC (Hodos 1991:61; Coldstream 1993:90). Ancient literary texts state that eighth century Greeks from Euboea were the first Greeks who settled down on the island (Strabo 4.5.9; Livy 8.22.5-6). Ancient texts do not clarify if the 'ones' travelling from Euboea to Pithekoussai were either male, female or both. They are referred to as 'them', 'navigators' or 'Euboeans' in texts concerning Greek colonisation and Euboea (Ridgway 1992:3). The excavations of the cemetery and the material record from Pithekoussai have not clarified whether the female graves are of indigenous or Greek origin (Buchner and Ridgway 1993). The material excavated from Pithekoussai is so far substantially unpublished and has therefore not been assessed in detail or as a whole by scholars other than the excavator and his immediate collaborators. The theories and conclusions that are put forward are therefore speculations resting on material they have examined, and are in my opinion, up for a reconsideration. One can therefore question whether Greek women from Euboea participated in the Greek colonising expeditions.

1.1 Research questions

I will through a correspondence and comparative analysis of depositions in the graves investigate three research questions. They are as follows:

1. Did Greek Euboean women participate in the colonisation of Pithekoussai during the late Geometric period (750-700 BC)?
2. How with the skeletal (bones from cremation and inhumation) and artefactual material (e.g. pottery, metallic objects) available from the cemeteries in Pithekoussai, Lefkandi and Pontecagnano, is it possible to detect presence of Greek women to the Pithekoussan colony?
3. To what extent can the archaeological material demonstrate female Greek presence in the graves in Pithekoussai?

2. Research history

2.1 Early Greek colonisation – from Euboea to Ischia

‘They went forth, urged by the love of adventure, by the passion for discovery, by the desire for a freer life in new countries. Wherever they went, they carried with them the traditions, the habits, the ideals of their Mother Country. Wherever they settled they planted a new homeland. And, though mountains and the waste of seas divided them, they never lost that golden thread of the spirit which drew their thoughts back to the land of their birth’.

Stanley Baldwin, Empire Day
message (1925)

The quote above is from the 1920s when the contemporary Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin described the British colonists during the Empire Day. The quote shares similarities with the romantic visualisation of Greek colonisation and how it might have been pursued. The study of Greek colonies and other settlements overseas has a long story, and the greatest colonising achievement, where Greek cities were spread around the Mediterranean coastline is said to be that of the Late Geometric period and the beginning of the Archaic period (c. 800 – c. 550 BC) (Graham 1970:264).

When writing about Greek colonialism, the term colonisation should be defined. Colonial as a term has been widely used in Mediterranean archaeology to describe situations where archaeological and historical evidence show people living in different settlements within a distance from their place of origin (Van Dommelen 2002:121). A traditional, but still widely held, view of the Greek colonisation is that the colonies were either organised by a mother-city as an act of the state, or by an individual or group of settlers (Tsetskhladze 2006:xlvi; Owen 2005:6). An *oikist* (an individual chosen by the state as the leader) was chosen, which in many instances was a nobleman. Before settling on a land he had never set foot on, he had to consult the Delphic Oracle in order to obtain the approval of the gods for his venture, because the settlement would be a new home for the Greek gods as well as for the settlers (Tsetskhladze 2006:xlvi). The area the Greeks colonised would reproduce the same political and social patterns as their mother city. This is a highly stereotypical characterisation of the Greek colonisation, where the processes and formalities of founding a colony have been received from the Classical (c. 480- 323 BC) period and later authors (Tsetskhladze 2006:xlvi). Another definition of colonialism is the term used from the eighteenth and

nineteenth century structured by the European experiences (Stein 2005:10). The definition is based on the European colonial period (1500- 1800 AD), where the colonists dominated the indigenous population in their political organisation, culture and social infrastructure (Stein 2005:10). A direct connection between ancient and modern colonisation should not go unquestioned, as they both represent two completely different colonial situations. The modern connotation of colony and colonisation is the “duty to educate and civilise the colonised indigenous people” under the concept of imperialism. The Greeks were motivated for different reasons without the associations of conquest and exploitation (Stein 2005:110). According to Stein, the modern definition does not reflect the colonial experiences from Ancient Greece. Stein (2005:10) suggests a rather neutral definition of the term colony and defines it as “a settlement established by a society in either uninhabited territory or the territory of another society”. He rejects the definition of the term where the incoming settlers dominate the indigenous people, but rather states that the two communities were spatially and socially distinguishable. Furthermore, the new established settlers were to bring their distinct identity including cultural, ritual, economic, military and political traits to the new land (Stein 2005:11). The ancient Greeks also seem to distinguish between two different kind of colonial settlements. An *apoikia*, a settlement colony that reproduced the same features as their mother city, and an *emporion*, a trading post (Stein 2005:12).

The actual process of organising a colonial settlement outside of Mainland Greece probably differed from city to city. The term colony will not be discussed further, but what can be concluded is that an exact formal establishment of Greek colonies in the western Mediterranean differed (Tsetschladze 2006:xlvi). What we know for certain is a Greek presence in southern Italy and Sicily from the eighth century BC, which gave the region its name, Magna Graecia (Tsetschladze 2006:xxvi). In the rest of my thesis, I will draw on the definition by Stein when using the word colony or colonialism.

The earliest Greek material in Pithekoussai suggests that the foundation of the island took place during the eighth century BC, supposedly around 775/770 BC (Donnellan 2016:111). The period from c. 750-700 BC has been given the name ‘Euboean period’, and it has been observed that three sites on the island were all fully operational by 750 BC (Ridgway 1992:40-41). There are two literary sources which connect Euboea to the island, Ischia. The first author is Strabo (63 BC – 24 AD), who writes that Pithekoussai was once inhabited by Eretrians and Chalcidians, two principal cities in Euboea during the Archaic period (Ridgway

1992:14; Strabo 5.4.9). He further states that the inhabitants' prosperity was assured by the fertility of the soil and by the activities of their goldsmiths. However, they seemed to have left the island because of internal conflict, earthquakes and eruptions of fire (Strabo 5.4.9). The other author, Livy (59 BC – 17 AD), writes how the Cumaeans (another colony founded on the coastline of current Italy) also traced their origin from Euboean Chalcis, and how the fleet brought them from their homeland where they first landed on the islands of Aenaria and Pithekoussai, and later decided to move to the mainland (Livy 8.22.5-6). Euboea lies diagonally of the east coast of Boeotia to the north and Attica to the south. To the east, Euboea is exposed to the islands in Central Greece, and also has good access to western Asia Minor (fig. 1).

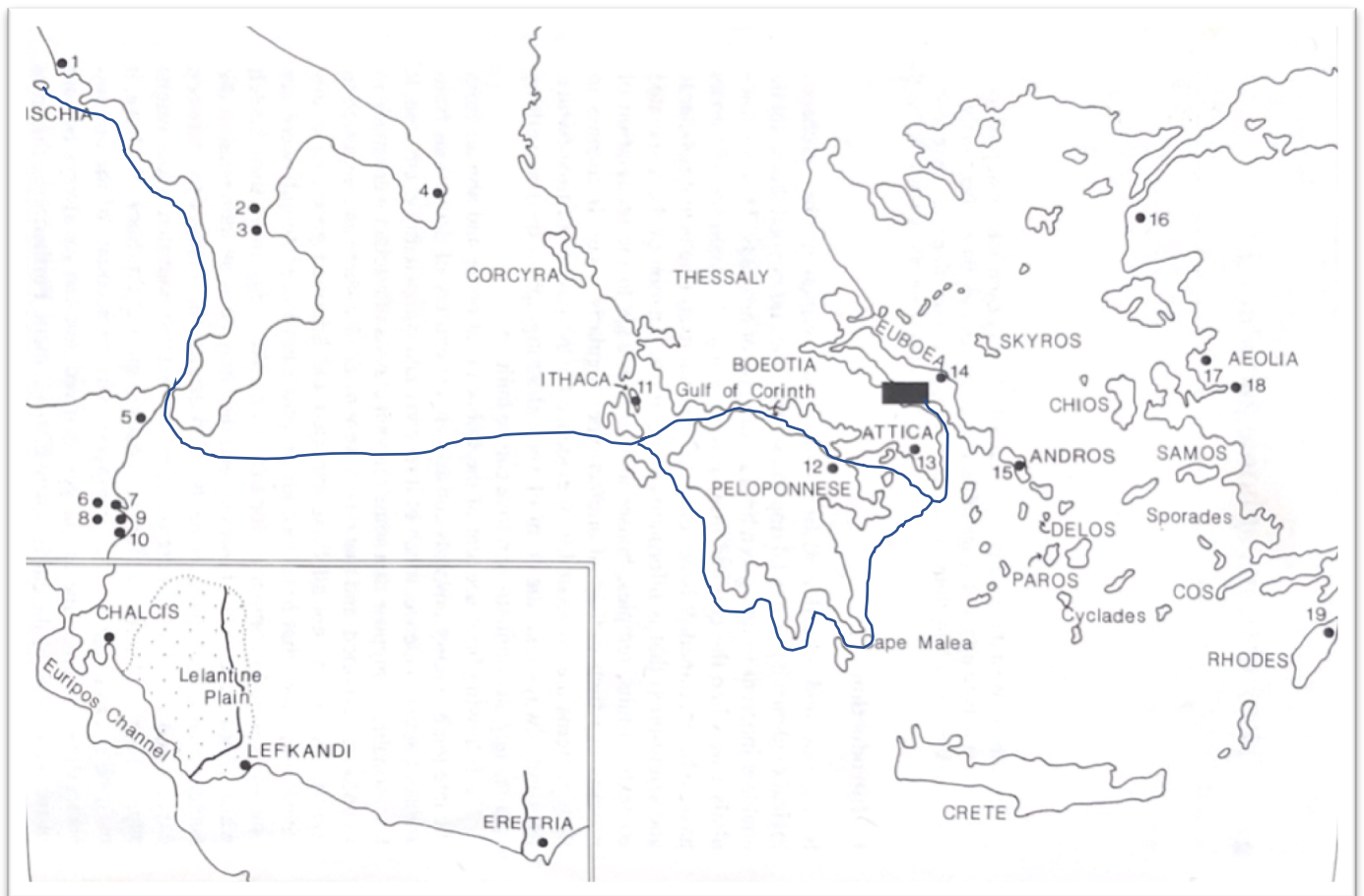


Fig. 1: Euboea and the Mediterranean: main sites. Blue lines represents the possible different routes from Euboea to Ischia (Ridgway 1992:fig. 2).

The route to Pithekoussai looks more complicated, and the possible route the voyagers must have taken could have been down to Cape Malea (the south-east tip of the Peloponnese), crossing the Ionian Sea, and then up the coastline of Italy to Pithekoussai. Other routes could either be through Boeotia to the Gulf of Corinth, or down the coastline of Attica and then to the Gulf of Corinth, which opens to the Ionian Sea (fig. 1). Even though Euboea has been said to be ‘the furthest point of all’ (Hom. *Od.* 7.321-2), and the position of the island was an ill-placed starting point for long voyages to the western lands (fig. 1), Euboea is also said to be famous for its ships (Hom. *Hymn Ap.* 219; Ridgway 1992:16). This could be confirmed by a painting of a sea voyage on a local pyxis from the Toumba cemetery in a site named Lefkandi in Euboea (which lies between Eretria and Chalcis). It is dated around 850-825 BC making it among the earliest post-Bronze Age representation of a ship found on Mainland Greece (Popham 1987: 355-56). There are also sherds found in the Skoubris cemetery in Lefkandi showing another painting of a ship, dated to around 825 BC (Popham 1987:357).

The two principal cities (or inhabitants) mentioned in Strabo are Chalcis and Eretria. Due to the scanty archaeological material from Chalcis, the archaeological material only suggests human occupation from the fourteenth century BC, and probably long before (Ridgway 1992:15). Eretria, on the other hand, seems to have been founded in the late ninth century BC based on the archaeological evidence, and flourished after what seems to be an abandonment of Lefkandi (Ridgway 1992:15). The settlement in Lefkandi can be traced back to the Bronze Age and extends to Late Geometric times. A theory, the Lefkandi-Eretria equation, suggests that after the abandonment of Lefkandi around 825 BC, the settlement in Eretria grew and Lefkandi might be the original ‘Old Eretria’ (Ridgway 1992:15).

Both Strabo and Livy lived and worked during the reign of the Roman Emperor Augustus, which put them around seven centuries after the foundation of Pithekoussai (Ridgway 1992:31). A question arises as to whether Strabo knew about the Lefkandi-Eretria equation before he attributed Chalcidians and Eretrians to Pithekoussai (Ridgway 1992:16). Or did he simply mean Chalcidians and Eretrians from the two principal cities in Euboea? The Lefkandi-Eretria equation actually suggests that Lefkandi was the mother city of Pithekoussai. Furthermore, according to an analysis established by Mössbauer spectroscopy (an analytical tool that can provide information on the origin and producers of ancient pottery) there is some imported Euboean pottery from Pithekoussai which is of the same origin as the pottery from Lefkandi, rather than from any other Euboean sites (Deriu,

Buchner and Ridgway 1986:100-106). The Mössbauer spectroscopy is based on chemical characterisation of pottery, and was able to distinguish between pottery made in Pithekoussai and similar pottery imported to Pithekoussai from Euboea. The method helped identify manufacturing techniques (selection of raw material, firing techniques) from the pottery, and was able to reveal common features from the pottery found in Pithekoussai and the contemporary pottery on the Euboean homeland (Deriu, Buchner and Ridgway 1986:100-106).

2.2 Literary sources

A general view of women during the ancient times in the Mediterranean was that their only activity was set in the home, rearing of the children, and activities concerning the household (Frost 1971:77, 81). The women were a piece of property where her aspirations were limited by the man whose property she was (Frost 1971:80). However, later research has revealed that Greek women often rose above their legal status, and had more or less the same opportunities regardless of their position in society (Frost 1971:80-81). Yet, most evidence about Greek women during the Archaic period comes primarily from Athens, and not from the region of Euboea. One cannot be certain whether the women in Euboea had the same mentality and purpose of life as the women in Athens, but one can draw a comparison based on the fact that Athens and Euboea lie in the same geographical area.

According to the research history, Pithekoussai was probably colonised by Euboeans, though from which geographical area in Euboea is uncertain (Ridgway 1992:29). Based on literary information from Thucydides (c. 460-400 BC) only men set off to colonise:

“Of the Hellenes, the first to arrive were Chalcidians from Euboea with Thucles, their founder. They founded Naxos and built the altar to Apollo Archegetes (...) Syracuse was founded the year afterwards by Archias, one of the Heraclids from Corinth (...) Gela was founded by Antiphemus from Rhodes and Entimus from Crete, who joined in leading a colony thither, in the forty-fifth year after the foundation of Syracuse (...) Near one hundred and eight years after the foundation of Gela, the Geloans founded Acragas (...) and made Astironous and Pystilus their founders (...) Zancle was originally founded by pirates from Cuma, the Chalcidian town in the country of Opicans (...) the founders being Perieres and Crataemenes” (Thuc. 6.3-5).

Thucydides narrative supports the general theory that only men set off to colonise, and instead of bringing their wives or Greek women in general to the colony, the Greek men took local women as their brides. This seems to be supported by Herodotus (c. 484-425 BC) who not only writes that men colonised but also left their wives behind:

“...those of them who set out from the Prytaneum of Athens, and who deem themselves the most noble of the Ionians, brought no wives with them when they came to settle in this country, but seized a number of Carian women, after they had killed their men” (Hdt. 1. 146).

Herodotus is referring to Miletus, the only Greek colonial foundation where sources expressly state that the colonists took no women with them (Ridgway 1992:328). Scholars are divided about the theory of intermarriage, as some have given their consent to this hypothesis (e.g. Buchner 1975; Hodos 1999), while others believe that the material does not support such a claim (e.g. Coldstream 1993; Kelley 2012). Intermarriage may have been practised, and there are examples of intermarriage in the literary record; Miltiades (550-489 BC), who married Hegesipyle, a Thracian princess, and Demosthenes' grandfather (c. 450-400 BC), who married a rich Scythian woman (Graham 2001:237). However, these accounts of intermarriage relate to rather isolated or unusual circumstances and are also of much later date than the Archaic colonisation. The literary records of Thucydides, Herodotus, Miltiades and Demosthenes' grandfather are set during the sixth and fifth century BC.

On the other hand there are examples which contradict the general theory that Greek colonists took native wives, but rather let the women embark on the voyages with them. Polybius (c. 264-146 BC) claims that women of Epizephyrian Locri in Italy are of noble bloodline and descendants of the 100 leading families of Locris in Greece (Polyb. 12.5.3-11; Graham 2001:332; Shepherd 2012:219). Greek women belonging to the 100 leading families in Locris participated in the Archaic colonial enterprise, and together with slaves founded the colony Locri in southern Italy (Graham 2001: 332). This is based on the Aristotelian tradition claiming that Locrian men let their wives befriend their slaves and gave the unmarried women greater range of freedom, which culminated in migration (Polybius 12.6b.10). Polybius seems to agree with the Aristotelian tradition about the foundation of Locri rather

than that given by Timaeus (Polyb. 12.3.4). Timaeus (c. 345-250 BC), another Greek ancient historian, completely disagrees with the Aristotelian tradition of Locri and says that: “[Aristotle] is daring, unscrupulous and reckless and he has audaciously slandered Locri by claiming that the colony was founded by runaway slaves, adulterers and kidnappers” (Polybius 12.8.2). However, it may not come as a surprise that Polybius agrees with Aristotle rather than Timaeus. Throughout book 12 in Polybius’ *Roman History* Timaeus is the *bête noire* (French: black monster/animal, synonym with ‘a person one particularly dislikes’). The reason for Polybius’ scepticism towards Timaeus might be that the latter not only criticised his fellow contemporary historians, but also his predecessors (Marincola 2001:109).

In the foundation story of the colony Taras in Italy, the wife of the *oikist* Phalanthos plays a crucial role in the establishment of the colony. According to a riddling oracle, Phalantos would establish his city when rain would fall from a clear sky, which reaches its fulfilment when the wife starts to cry (Graham 2001:332). Another example is in the foundation of Massalia by the Phocaeans, where a Greek priestess, Aristarche of Ephesus, sailed away with the Phocaeans and introduced the cult of Ephesian Artemis (Strabo 4.179). According to Diodorus Siculus (c. 90-30 BC) Greek women passively participated in the events of Thurii during the fifth century BC as well (12.11.1; Graham 2001:335-36). The Athenians sent colonists to Thurii in 444/3 BC to reinforce the Sybarites, and upon arrival the Sybarites thought that their wives should be given preference over the wives of the new colonists in sacrifice to the gods. Hence, the colonists of Thurii brought wives with them (Diod. Sic. 12.11.1).

The examples in the literary sources of women participating in colonial enterprises have been criticised for their credibility. Modern scholars have shown that the story of the Epizephyrian Locri women is unconvincing questioning the Aristotelian tradition (Graham 2001:332). Compernelle (1976) discusses the Aristotelian tradition concerning the Locri women and argues that it was a Classical fabrication only to serve political purposes (Fisher and Wees 2015:353). In the story of Taras, Phalanthos’ wife was already an upper-class member of the settler group, being the wife of the *oikist*. Her active role in the foundation of Taras is therefore questionable as being representative of regular participation of Greek wives in colonisation voyages (Shepherd 2012:219-20). The story of both Taras and Massalia are based on a riddling oracle and this kind of oracle have been seen as a fictitious element in the traditions about colonial foundations, and should therefore be rejected (Graham 2001:332). It

is also very rare to preserve names of men or women who took part in the Archaic colonial foundations, which undermines the reliability of the Greek priestess, Aristarche of Ephesus (Graham 2001:336). Hence, the literary examples above cannot be regarded as complimentary evidence in the discussion of women and colonisation.

Also, the texts as sources of evidence comes with issues regarding their credibility. As mentioned earlier, Strabo and Livy write about the foundation of Pithekoussai which takes place seven centuries before their time – a great time difference. That also includes the differences between the Classical and Late Geometric foundations. How can the authors be certain about the Late Geometric and Archaic history when it happened long before their time? The written sources often illuminate other aspects than the archaeological materials and are therefore unsuited of directly correlation with each other because they work on completely different time scales (Owen 2005:7). It can be concluded that we have no credible evidence from the literary sources (Tsetskhladze 2006:xlvi). The literary evidence suggests that intermarriage between Greeks and the indigenous people was a possibility but does not strictly tell us whether the women of the first settlement of a colony were Greek or indigenous (Graham 2001:331).

Another important aspect to keep in mind is that even though women are not mentioned as often as men in the colonising voyages in the literature, it is not a permissible argument to conclude that they did not participate at all. The events from Thurii is an example of how contemporary historians omitted women in the history. During the same period as the foundation of Thurii, Thucydides (1.27.1; 1.100.3; 3.92.5; 4.102.2-3) mentions several fifth-century colonial ventures (unfortunately not Thurii) but uses only the masculine gender in his descriptions of the colonists. The absence of any mention of women in contemporary colonisation, does not necessarily mean that women did not participate. It means that it was considered unnecessary to mention them and should therefore be concluded to have no evidential value.

Why was the notion of mentioning women considered unnecessary? Only a century ago, scholars could not believe that Greek women were allowed to visit theatres because of improper displays, obscene language, or that they were unable to understand the themes of a tragedy (Frost 1972:80). Scholars in all periods are usually influenced by their own political agenda and accordingly liable to project the priorities, practices and terminology of their own

times to the interpretation (Ridgway 1996:362, cited in Tsetskladze 2006:xxv). Hence, scholars from earlier generations devoted little effort to investigate women's role in detail or raise issues as to whether women were a part of Greek colonisation. Their reflection of the subsidiary roles of women in contemporary society was perhaps the reason. In other words, previous scholars did not believe that women participated in activities that were supposed to be 'manly'.

This scholarly attitude must have had an impact on opinions advanced by, for example Finley during the late 1960s. He declared that "it is hardly likely that an adequate number [of women] (if any) were brought from Greece (Finley 1968:18). Pomeroy (1975:33-34) went on to support Finley saying "when colonising expeditions were predominantly or totally male, the colonists were often forced to find wives among the native population". One must point out that these theories were not supported by material evidence and were therefore probably at the mercy of wider contemporary thinking about the positions of women and inter-cultural relations (Shepherd 2012:221). In contrast to Finley and Pomeroy, Dunbabin (1948:46) argued that intermarriage might have occurred in some Greek settlements. When excavating several colonies in the Mediterranean area, thousands of Archaic graves have been unearthed, and not more than one or two of them contained objects which can be regarded as Italian. This casts doubt on intermarriage as the regular tradition when colonising new land and territory. It raises questions about Greek women and their participation in an establishment of colonies during the Archaic period, Pithekoussai being one of them.

2.3 Previous research of Pithekoussai

Pithekoussai lies on the north-west extremity of the island of Ischia in the Bay of Naples. The site itself revealed five features of the Pithekoussan topography, where only three were excavated during seasons of excavation (1952-1961 and 1965-1982); the cemetery in Valle di San Montano, the Acropolis Dump and the metal-working quarter in the Mazzola area. These three sites have been observed as operating all together during the same time period (Ridgway 1992: 41). Two other features of Pithekoussai have not been excavated yet; the Acropolis of Monte Vico and Baia di San Montano (Ridgway 1992:40-41). Since excavation in Pithekoussai began in 1952 with Giorgio Buchner as main excavator, several research articles have been published concerning the ethnicity of the people found in the graves (Buchner 1975; Coldstream 1993; Hodos 1999; Kelley 2012).

One particular archaeological object which is frequently mentioned is the fibula, an ornament pin used to fasten dresses. The fibulae found in the graves at Pithekoussai during the excavation season led by Buchner raised questions of their origin because they demonstrated striking similarities with the fibulae found on mainland Italy. The reason for questioning their origin was based on the fact that the graves were supposed to be Greek according to literary sources. Buchner argued that the fibulae must have derived from the indigenous population because they were quite similar to the ones on mainland Italy (Buchner 1975:135). He concluded that this was clear evidence of intermarriage between the indigenous women and Greek colonists and pointed out that the indigenous women in Pithekoussai were not prepared to abandon their customary ornaments (Buchner 1975:135; Shepherd 2012:222). The fibulae in Pithekoussai are primarily made of iron and bronze and includes several variations with arched bows and an invariably long foot. The Pithekoussan cemetery revealed four different types, 1) the lozenge fibula, which is diamond-shaped with a long foot (fig. 2a), 2) *ad arco serpeggiante*, which is the fibula where the bow assumes a serpentine form (fig. 2b), 3) *ad arco rivestito*, which is the one where bone or shell are threaded on a thinner bow (fig. 2c), and 4) *fibula con arco a piccolo sanguisuga piena*, which is the fibula with a bow that has a swollen leech shape (fig. 2d) (Hodos 1999:63). Excavations at Quattro Fontanili cemetery in Veii (located north-northwest of Rome) revealed the same four types (Hodos 1999:64).

The fibulae from both figure 2 and 3 happen to be very much alike, and it is tempting to equate the appearance of the fibulae in the Pithekoussan graves with the indigenous women and their culture. However, one difference of the fibulae must be noted. In figure 1 all of the objects are produced with a long foot. On figure 3, only the fibulae *ad arco rivestito* and *ad arco serpeggiante* have the same long foot, while the lozenge fibula and *fibula con arco a piccolo sanguisuga* are produced with a short foot.

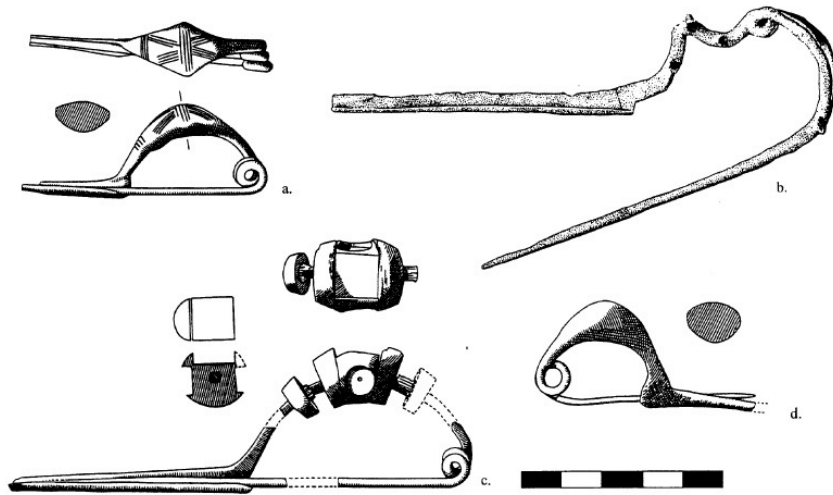


Fig. 2: Fibulae from Pithekoussai (Hodos 1999:63).

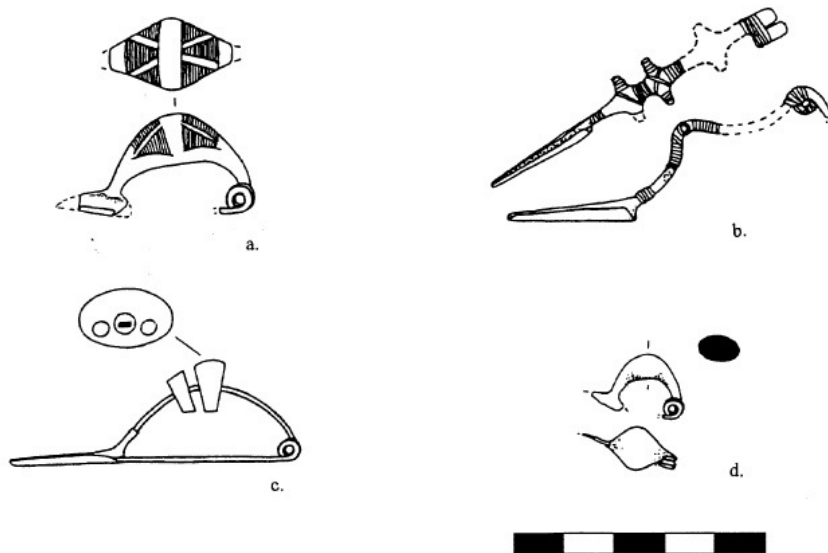


Fig. 3: Fibulae from Veii (Hodos 1999:64).

In this context another archaeological site needs to be taken into consideration; the Mazzola habitation site in Pithekoussai (the metal-working quarter). The fibulae fragments in the quarter have been dated to the middle of the eighth and beginning of the seventh centuries, being contemporary with the finds from the cemetery (Ridgway 1992:92). Pieces of iron and slag were found, making it clear that this was a workshop. Among the metal waste, fragments of fibulae were found, including an unfinished fibula. The fibula could be compared with a fibula ad arco serpeggiante based on the way the bow was curved on the upper part (Ridgway 1992:93). The metal-working quarter and the fragments of fibulae are positive proof that it

was not necessarily indigenous women who brought the fibulae from the Italic mainland, but that the community of Pithekoussai manufactured the fibulae themselves. According to Kilian (1973, cited from Buchner 1975:141), the current material available, the *ad arco rivestito* (bone or shell are threaded on the bow) represent a type developed by Greek colonists out of the indigenous forms. He recognised a Greek detail in the fibula with a globe at the highest point of the bow – a detail that has no precedent among the native Italic fibulae, but which can be found in Greece.

There are other objections to the theory Buchner has brought forward as well. First, from the same period we have a number of famous princely tombs at Cumae which include metal ornaments and fibulae of Italic type (Graham 2001:335). Most of the graves have been identified as those of men, and these are said to be of Greek noble lines. As Graham states, if the Greek men possessed and wore these objects in Cumae, they cannot have been specific to either women or to the indigenous population (Graham 2001:335). Second, the early graves excavated in the Fusco cemetery in the colony of Syracuse revealed women buried with two pins at their shoulders, indicating that they wore a Greek traditional dress, the *peplos* (Graham 2001:335). They were also found with a large number of fibulae of Italic type as well. Thirdly, believing that Italic fibula types can be seen as a direct image of Italic identity, especially Italic women, is to approach the archaeological material in a static manner (Kelley 2012:246). The approach has been criticised by scholars and will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

These facts are not compatible with Buchner's hypothesis of a connection between the Italic indigenous women and the fibulae in Pithekoussai. A potential hypothesis on the basis of the fibulae from Pithekoussai and the metalworking-quarter is that Greek colonists of Sicily and Italy took over metal personal ornaments, especially of the Italic type, and abandoned the types of fibula current in Greece (Graham 2001:335). In my opinion, tracing ethnicity through examination of only fibula types is a limited approach. The remaining objects deposited in the graves with fibulae are ignored and not taken into consideration. Conclusions based only on fibula types are insubstantial in that there is focus on one particular object in a grave that also includes other objects as well. Identity does not tend to come from a single type of object. On the contrary, it is various objects together that can present visible expression of a certain ethnicity.

Research of the indigenous population at Pithekoussai conducted by Olivia Kelley (2012) is in my opinion, the most thorough and credible so far. She examines how the indigenous have been interpreted as a passive population (e.g. intermarriage, slavery, minor and unimportant population, a subordinate position) in Pithekoussai, and argues that they seem as active as the Greeks based on the deposition in the graves. Instead of correlating a specific type of object to ethnicity, she examines how burial traditions and deposition patterns can be an indication of ethnic groups. Her study is based on a number of inhumation burials with marginal grave goods. They were particularly noticed because they were set apart from other tombs in clusters. The distance between the inhumation burials and the other tombs as well as the marginality of grave goods, have led scholars believe that these burials were the province of the indigenous Italic population (Kelley 2012:247; Ridgway 1992:71; D'Agostino 1999:58-59). In her study she reveals that one grave from the distant inhumation burials contains both Greek and Italic burial customs, which led her to the concept of hybrid identities; a unique Pithekoussan burial tradition (Kelley 2012:256). She concludes by rejecting the thought of the native population as passive members and intermarriage between indigenous women and Greek colonists (Kelley 2012:256). Her methodological approach towards the archaeological material is similar to the approach which I intend to apply in my thesis. However her focus is rather different in that she examined the indigenous population whereas I intend to search for the Greek (Euboean) women.

3. Theory and method

3.1 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework will be based on the expression of ethnicity¹ and how ethnicity can be expressed through the archaeological material. According to Hodos (1999:67) it is the burial evidence that provides one of the best means to observe ethnicity. The archaeological material from burials has been regarded as of great importance. It is possible to construct social, political, historical and cultural aspects in a community (Hall 1997:111; Chapman and Randsborg 1981:2). Hence, my approach throughout the thesis is to analyse the graves and their grave deposits.

¹ Ethnicity in the sense used by Morgan (2009:12): "... a continuing process of choice, manipulation and politicisation, highlighting traits accorded active importance in the structuring and expression of socio-political relations within the community and in relation to outsiders". See also Patterson (1975:308).

3.1.1 Burials

The archaeology of burials and mortuary practices are not new subjects. The subjects have been central throughout the development of archaeology to its present disciplinary status (Chapman and Randsborg 1981:1). In the pre-scientific period of archaeology, antiquarians and travellers encountered burials and other forms of monumental burial from an early date (Chapman and Randsborg 1981:2). From the late eighteenth century, burials became the subject of the first systematic excavations, by Thomas Jefferson in Virginia (Willey and Sabloff 1974:36-38), Colt-Hoare and Cunnington, Bateman, Mortimer and Greenwell in England, and Worsaae in Denmark (Marsden 1974; Daniel 1964, 1975). For the Neolithic, Bronze and Iron Ages, burial evidence was the most substantial body of data available in the nineteenth century, as other known settlements were few (Chapman and Randsborg 1981:3). In short, it can be stated that the early history of archaeology was very much the history of burial studies (Chapman and Randsborg 1981:3).

Graves present the archaeologist with an ideal circumstance since each one constitutes a synchronous unit. A cemetery can be described as a stratified deposit whose depositional units are a priori separate, and readily distinguishable (Bietti Sestieri 1992:9). The internal spatial organisation of each unit is also rather close to the original one, which is in striking contrast with the usual state of other types of stratified complexes, e.g. remains from house structures in settlements (Bietti Sestieri 1992:9). Grave assemblages vary in forms and shapes, where corpses are burned or buried, with or without animal or human sacrifice. Others are ritually exposed or abandoned. Some contain more grave goods or different types than others (Huntington and Metcalf 1979:1). Thus, the diversity of cultural reaction of the graves has played a central role in the study of social, cultural, chronological, ethnic and racial problems (Chapman and Randsborg 1981:2). Huntington and Metcalf (1979:1) interpret the diversity of cultural reaction to death as not a random reaction, but it being meaningful and expressive for each individual or society it eventually impacts.

Burial evidence is an extremely valuable archaeological resource since it represents the direct culmination of conscious behaviour – a degree of interdependency between the burial material from a community and its structural and organisational principles (Bietti Sestieri 1992:9; O’Shea 1981:39). The reasons are that materials from grave goods are ‘closed’ (or self-contained) and are likely to remain intact (Hall 1997:111). Furthermore, the usually good state

of preservation of non-organic grave goods are in most cases substantially better than is the case with settlement material.

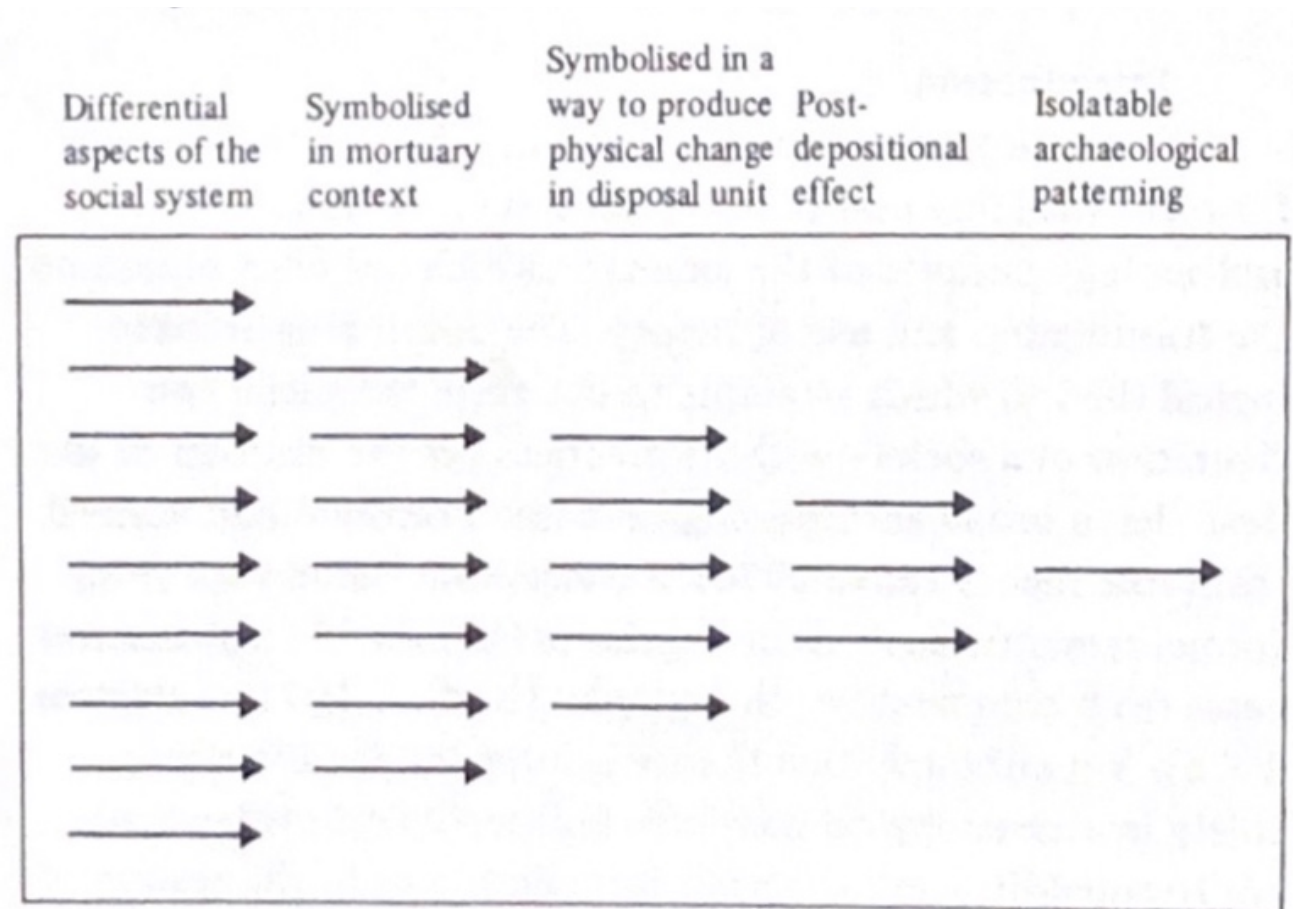


Fig. 4: Filtering processes affecting burial evidence (O'Shea 1981:40)

Yet, transformations occur between the actual burial employed by a society and the evidence which comes to be observed archaeologically (see fig. 4). Many of the observed elements of burials are the direct and purposeful result of patterned behaviour. While other aspects of funerary rituals, for example, ritual activity prior to the actual closing of the burial, are not seen (O'Shea 1981:40). Additionally, there is a range of transformations reflecting the failure of preservation and archaeological recovery, e.g. contamination and disturbances such as looting or natural disasters (Hall 1997:111; O'Shea 1981:40). This filtering process affects the burial evidence and causes limitations to the archaeologist's ability to discriminate and explain burial patterning (O'Shea 1981:40).

Scholars agree that burial evidence can help construct and express an individual or a group identity (Bietti Sestieri 1992:9; Donnellan 2016:114-15; O'Shea 1981:40). One approach to

finding the distinction in the burial evidence which may signify ethnic expression involves establishing a dominant group identity and the ground principles of social behaviour/pattern to which ‘all’ citizens would follow, and then look for breaks in these principles (Morgan 2009:22). This approach has been applied to Donnellans’ analysis of Pithekoussai where she examines funerary rites (cremation, inhumation, *enchytrismo*) and the typology of objects to identify ethnicities. She discusses the distinction of funerary rites where cremation has been attributed to Euboeans and inhumation (also known as *a fossa* culture) being customary among the indigenous population. According to Donnellan (2016:118) a typical pattern in the Pithekoussan graves consisted of Greek vessels, metal objects and seals and scarabs. However, she also points out that in the earliest tombs found in Pithekoussai the pattern of consumption of objects points to a gradual introduction of Greek vessel shapes rather than a massive import through a quick colonisation process (Donnellan 2012:118).

Furthermore, she argues that a burial is a coherent set of actions carried out by a group of people with the purpose of burying a deceased friend or relative (Donnellan 2016:114). She continues by saying that these acts are carried out according to norms and expectations set out by the society to which they belong, and the decisions of what has been placed in the burials are made within a framework of social interaction and ideology (Donnellan 2016:114-15). Thus, we seek regularities in the material record which are interpreted as representing the norms and social patterns of a community. In theoretical terms the approach equals the historical-behaviourism of Gordon Childe (1929:v-vi, 1956: 9-10; McNairn 1980:70-73) and goes no further than his general normative, cultural approach² (Morgan 2009:22). It equates objects and people in a straightforward manner and assumes that differences in material culture are best explained in terms of different ethnic groups (Vives-Ferrándes 2011:201). This basic paradigm classifies material culture into ethnic groups and takes for granted the idea that not everything can be classified and assigned archaeological groupings. Ethnicity is not a “thing” attached to people or objects, but is incorporated in the processes of differentiation and identity creation (Vives-Ferrándes 2011:201).

² When approaching the burial material archaeologists classify patterns of spatial variation as archaeological cultures. These cultures have been constructed and regarded on the historical stage, playing the role for prehistory individuals and groups (Shennan 1989:5). Thus, the archaeological cultures have been regarded as indicators of ethnicity and identity.

3.1.2 The concept of ethnicity

As mentioned, the theoretical framework will be based on the expression of ethnicity. When ethnicity is used in this thesis I refer to the definition by Morgan (2009:12). The definition builds on the way a society chooses to emphasise their most meaningful basis of primary identity which reflects on their cultural traits (Patterson 1975:308, Morgan 2009:12). To find these traits that perhaps correspond to a given ethnicity is problematic and has plagued the field of archaeology since its earliest antiquarian origins. Trying to recover or uncover a past ethnicity requires the assumption of a direct relationship between the discovered material remains and ethnic identity (Casella and Fowler 2005:1). The assumption of a direct relationship between material remains and ethnicity have been criticised for many reasons, e.g. paucity of archaeological record, no material assemblages contains all the cultural artefacts signalling a single ethnicity, and questions of the very existence of ethnic groups (Jones 1997:106-108). Even though it has been problematic, artefacts have in some way represented specific cultures, and archaeologists have explicitly used material remains in examinations of identity in analyses (Casella and Fowler 2005:1). However, it is now generally accepted that reading expression of ethnicity using a straightforward approach, e.g. a direct relationship between material remains and ethnicity, does not work.

The question is how to use ethnicity as part of the theoretical framework in a manner that works? According to Siân Jones (1997:120) the expression of ethnicity is linked to what may be called *habitus*. In Bourdieu's term that is the "principles of generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without in any way being the product of rules" (Bourdieu 1977:72). In other words, *habitus* can be translated to learned patterns of thoughts and behaviour. These different patterns are the result of cultural learning and acquisition of social structures through experiences between individuals and groups. The *habitus* of an individual is often characterised by a dominant *habitus* of the social group the individual belongs to. It creates common perspectives on the outside world and self-understanding, is an instrument of distinguishing the group from other groups and characterises the way of living (Jones 1997:120). An ethnic connection within a group are therefore recognised through similar habits embodied in cultural practices, for example on how they bury their dead and the distribution of grave material laid down in each grave (Casella and Fowler 2005:7; Jones 1997:120).

However, practices do not simply equate identities in straightforward manner. People are not static but move through life continuously and shift affiliations from one position to another, depending on the context of interaction (Casella and Fowler 2005:2). For example, an indigenous woman could possibly marry a Greek colonist, or a Greek woman could adopt traditions unlike hers, which culminates to her shifting her 'cultural practices'. Is she then a Greek female or an indigenous female? Is it even possible to detect ethnicity in the archaeological material? According to Casella and Fowler (2005:7) adopting practices affiliated to one group do not signal their shifting in ethnicity as their origin will still be the same. Being aware of the theoretical problems surrounding ethnicity and archaeological material, the thesis chooses to rely on how cultural practices and norms can indicate appearance of ethnicity. With support from the idea that it is through similar cultural practices individuals within a group can trace their sense of belonging (Casella and Fowler 2005:7), I will examine cultural norms in graves which I have divided into normative and non-normative burial practices. I will explain normative and non-normative burial practices in subchapter 3.2.2.

3.2 Methodological approach

My analytical method this thesis will follow is a correspondence- and comparative analysis of graves from cemetery sites in Ischia, Euboea and mainland Italy. My approach is twofold; the first approach involves to create an Euboean female grave model based on the archaeological material from Lefkandi. I will examine objects found in male, female and unidentified graves in Euboea to establish if there is a customary norm that characterises female graves through a correspondence analysis. By creating an Euboean female grave model I can compare the norm for female burials in Lefkandi to the graves in Pithekoussai and thereby be able to possibly identify Euboean female individuals. The graves in Pithekoussai will also be compared to indigenous graves from Pontecagnano, since the indigenous graves might show another norm in funerary depositions. The selection of the archaeological samples are based on 59 female graves from Pithekoussai dated to the Late Geometric period (c. 750-700 BC), 56 graves from Lefkandi (including male, female and unidentified graves) dated to the Sub-Protogeometric I-III periods (c. 900-750 BC) and six female graves in Pontecagnano dated to the Early Iron Age 2 Early, equivalent to phase IIA -B and II for Veii and Tarquinia respectively. The phase on mainland Italy corresponds to Middle Geometric period in Greece (c. 850-750 BC) (Buchner and Ridgway 1993; De Natale 1992; Popham et al. 1980).

Lefkandi and Pontecagnano are chosen as locations in the comparative study for different reasons. As introduced in Chapter 2, Lefkandi might be the mother city of Pithekoussai. It is therefore natural to start with a study of the graves in Lefkandi since they might share similarities with graves in Pithekoussai. Lefkandi is also the site in Euboea which have been excavated more extensively compared to Chalcis and Eretria. The Pontecagnano graves were picked out for comparison because of the close location to Pithekoussai, and the site being indigenous in that it was not colonised by Greeks. The cemetery in Pontecagnano is also the only one where the field work has been published within Campania, the area which Pontecagnano belongs to (Bietti Sestierie 1992:65). I want to stress that I have excluded burial types (e.g. cremation tombs, inhumation tombs, *enchytrismo* tombs) as a variable for comparison. Even though there might be a difference in burial types between the different locations, I have rather focused on what has been deposited.

	<i>Latium Vetus</i>	Southern Etruria		Aegean / Greece
AGE	Period/Phase	Period/Phase		Period/Phase
Final Bronze Age 3	I	Protovillanovan	Protovillanovan	Proto-Geometric
Early Iron Age 1 Early	IIA	Veii IA	Tarquinia IA	Early Geometric
Early Iron Age 1 Late	IIIB	Veii IB-IC	Tarquinia IB	
Early Iron Age 2 Early	IIIA	Veii IIA-IIB	Tarquinia II	Middle Geometric
Early Iron Age 2 Late	IIIB	Veii IIC	Tarquinia II	Late Geometric
Early Orientalizing Age	IVA1	Veii IIIA	Tarquinia IIIA	Proto-Corinthian
Middle Orientalizing Age	IVA2	Veii IIIB	Tarquinia IIIB	
Middle Orientalizing Age	IVB	Veii IV	Tarquinia IV	Early Corinthian

Table 1: Early periods for mainland Italy and Greece, following culture and design of geometric motifs in vase painting (Attema, Seubers and Willemsen 2016:85).

3.2.1 The skeletal remains – cremations and inhumations

Human remains from the graves are fundamental in this analysis, as it does not depend on the archaeological objects in the burials alone. From the Lefkandi cemeteries, some of the graves have been identified, though not all (Popham et al. 1980). I have included all the graves which date to the Geometric period in Lefkandi. Buchner and Ridgway (1993) have confirmed some of the graves in the Pithekoussai cemetery as either male, female or

unidentified. They have based their evaluation of gender on the basis of associated artefacts where grave depositions were present. A research project of the human skeletons from Pithekoussai conducted by Marshall J. Becker (1992b; 1995; 1999) opened up opportunities for reinterpretation of the archaeological material from the cemetery. His goal was threefold; provide as much information regarding age, sex and funerary practices (cremations and burials), demonstrate direct biological information of ethnic origin, and search for evidence indicating biological change over time (Becker 1999:219). Becker (1992b; 1995; 1999) confirmed the data of the human skeletons (cremated and inhumated material) from Pithekoussai through several techniques of physical anthropology. The identification of the specific graves was conducted without any knowledge of the archaeological record (Becker 1999:219). The methods employed for investigating cremated material involved visual evaluation with focus on size and contour of each fragment where 200 grams of bone or more were recovered. The use of polyvinyl acetate solution was used as glue where bone fragments could be joined, creating a better opportunity to evaluate the bone fragments. Whereas for the inhumations, focus was based on long bone shaft diameters (Becker 1999:220). According to Becker the population in Pithekoussai appeared to be quite slender, resulting in that anatomical characteristics considered reliable indicators e.g. cranial morphology, were not employed (Becker 1999:220). From the Geometric period Becker analysed 72 graves where 32 were believed to be female. Becker also did the anthropological analysis of the human remains found in Pontecagnano (1992a). His methodological approach followed the same procedure as in Pithekoussai, where the skeletal research was conducted in 'blindfold' (Becker 1992a:149). With exception of rare fragments, the skeletons of the inhumations had completely decayed. The physical data presented by Becker were recovered from the cremated remains. He analysed 38 cremation tombs, but only 19 graves could be assigned to a certain sex. Of the 19 graves Becker concluded with 6 being male adults, 6 believed to be female, whereas the rest could not be determined or could possibly be children (Becker 1992a:158).

Becker did not examine all the graves which have been published (in Pithekoussai and Pontecagnano), therefore not all of the selected graves which I intend to include have been evaluated using techniques of physical anthropology. As it is not possible for me, nor do I have the qualifications to examine the remaining graves using scientific techniques to determine the sex, the graves which have already been assigned a specific sex (in this case, female graves) will be a starting point when correlating archaeological objects to graves. I

will also from now on use the word gender and not sex, as those are two different concepts, but have been used synonymously as the basic principle of both concepts are separation between male and female. However, biological sex is the classification by genital and anatomical differences between males and females, as conducted by Becker. Gender is the cultural ideals that determines a man or a woman and which is embedded unconsciously or consciously in the gender ideology in a given society (Doming 2016:3). Biological sex is evaluated by anthropology and osteological remains (bone fragments), while gender is evaluated by the archaeological objects deposited in the graves.

3.2.2 Normative and non-normative burial practices

With Greek colonies, the identification of ethnicity in the archaeological record becomes a central problem with the use of the basic classificatory system: that of archaeological cultures (Owen 2005:8). The general point is to be able to identify and distinguish between the Greeks and the local populations in the archaeology. Instead of using a normative cultural approach, a distinction can be made of the archaeological material between what John O'Shea calls 'normative burial practices', i.e. treatment which virtually all individuals receive, and 'differential' or 'non-normative practices', which are restricted to a specific subset of the population (Crielaard 1998:45, O'Shea 1981:41). The analysis will allow separation of graves that differ to some extent and in some characteristics from the 'normative' material and which testify to a more particular attitude to the deceased, e.g. 'non-normative' material. For example, if there is a large group of rich graves in a cemetery, then they should be considered as customary for a limited portion of the population. However, exceptional rich graves in an otherwise homogenous cemetery will be considered 'non-normative' (Damyanov 2012:35-36).

As mentioned, a cemetery may be considered a monument which, at least to some extent, reflects the social structure of a given community. In every Greek city there were Greek citizens, foreigners, and groups of dependent population (slaves, but also natives in the colonial settlements) (Damyanov 2012:35). One can therefore not expect to discover a homogenous Greek cemetery in a colony with certainty. A Greek colonial settlement usually existed in a foreign ethnic surrounding, leaving room for the possibility that individuals of other ethnic origins were buried in a predominantly Greek settlement (Damyanov 2012:36). What we can presume is that both the indigenous and Greek population group had their customary (or 'normative') burial practices (Damyanov 2012:35-36). A grave might be 'non-normative' against the background of graves demonstrating a normative pattern of burial

practices. A ‘non-normative’ burial practice can be attributed to different ethnic origin of the deceased (Damyanov 2012:36). In this sense, archaeological objects deposited in graves can also be divided into normative and non-normative burial practices/objects. For example, if one particular object is seen in 80 of 100 graves, then the archaeological object demonstrates a normative object, since it is deposited in the majority of the graves, and vice versa. I interpret less than 50 percent appearance of a certain category as non-normative deposition, while 50 percent and above would be a normative deposition.

3.2.3 Correspondence- and comparative analyses

My approach is divided into two parts. First I will use correspondence analysis as a methodological tool on Pithekoussai, Lefkandi and Pontecagnano, and investigate the correspondence between the archaeological material and the graves. In other words, I want to search for patterns based on the quantity of the archaeological material in the graves, and examine what objects are frequently seen in each grave. I have divided the archaeological material into their different functions³ based on a theoretical framework which is grounded in how a cultural group share a sense of belonging through similar habits (Table 2).

Jugs and cups	Cup, skyphos, bowl, oinochoe, jug, amphoriskos, kantharos, kotyle.
Storage vessels	Hydria, amphora, pyxis, krater.
Cosmetic vessels	Lektyhos, aryballos.
Handmade Coarse Ware (HCW)	Pottery of handmade coarse ware.
Wool tools	Kalathos, clay weights, buttons, spindle whorls.
Clothing and other associations	Fragments of clothes, pins, fibulae.
Jewellery	Earrings, rings, bracelets, necklace, diadem, hair stoppers/spirals, pendants etc.
Weapon	Swords, spearheads, knives.

Table 2: The archaeological objects divided into their function of use. Includes the archaeological objects found in Lefkandi and Pithekoussai in the same table.

With the graves from Lefkandi the goal is to produce a Euboean female *model* or a Euboean female normative burial. Artefact occurrence in the graves analysed by a multivariate

³ See also appendices B-C

correspondence analysis, distinguishes different functions of objects in each grave from the site. Quantification of the archaeological material is important in this thesis because it will show a number of the different objects' function in the graves. A relative frequency of objects present in a majority of graves could be an indicator of a customary, normative burial pattern; a Euboean female grave model. The archaeological material from Pithekoussai and Pontecagnano will also be analysed through a correspondence analysis, but here the tool is not used to create a model. The scatterplots produced using the material from Pithekoussai and Pontecagnano form the basis of the comparative analysis.

The second part of the methodological approach employs a comparative analysis based on the results from the analyses in Lefkandi, Pithekoussai and Pontecagnano. A comparative analysis is necessary to identify regularities in human behaviour, and to identify unique features of the societies (Smith and Peregrine 2012:4), e.g. the way in which the graves in Lefkandi have been organised versus the Pithekoussan graves versus the Pontecagnano graves. With a comparison, it is easier to pick up the differences between the material, but also the similarities. The Euboean female grave model created from the Lefkandian material is compared to the graves in Pithekoussai. The Euboean female grave model is used as a starting point in the comparative analysis which will examine how the graves from Pithekoussai differ from or share similarities with the model. The graves from mainland Italy, Pontecagnano, will also play a part in the comparative analysis. Since the graves from Pontecagnano are indigenous, they might demonstrate a different customary burial material than that of Lefkandi and Pithekoussai. Comparing the indigenous graves with the Pithekoussan graves might show a difference in what is laid down in female graves. It could possibly strengthen my argument about whom the female graves belong to.

Reservations must be made regarding the databases used. The cemeteries from Lefkandi only contain around 50-60 graves to be analysed from the Geometric period. This is a low number of graves which are supposed to represent a burial pattern from the Greek island of Euboea. Other cemeteries in Euboea could be included (e.g. Eretria, Chalcis), but the documentation of the sites is limited. The cemetery in Pithekoussai yielded around 50-60 female graves which could be included in this thesis. The remaining graves from the Geometric period were either male or children while other graves were dated to a different time period (e.g. Roman period, fifth century BC and a very few graves to the sixth century BC). Thus the low number of female graves in Pithekoussai should also be questionable of being representative.

Additionally, according to Ridgway (1992:46), no more than ten percent of the cemetery's verified extent has been fully excavated. This leaves room for further excavation at Pithekoussai. For the Pontecagnano cemetery, only six female graves could be compared to the Pithekoussan material. The reason only six graves have been retrieved to be a part of the analysis is based upon the analysis of sex conducted by Becker. All conclusions and observations offered here should be regarded as preliminary, and some of them as hypothetical and speculative. There are still grounds to excavate in Pithekoussai which could reveal other data than what is available at this point and could radically change the picture presented here. Future results could modify or overturn what we know at present.

4. The cemeteries in Lefkandi, Pithekoussai and Pontecagnano

4.1 The cemeteries in Lefkandi

The first excavations in Lefkandi took place in 1964-6 under the direction of M. R. Popham and L. H. Sackett. Lefkandi is first and foremost a major Bronze Age and Early Iron Age site, and only a small portion of it has been excavated (Popham 1980:ix). The cemeteries of Lefkandi are situated on the slopes immediately to the north of the village, about 600m from the main settlement (Popham 1980:101). The cemetery area is divided into five separate burial grounds; Khaliotis, Skoubris Cemetery, Palia Perivolia Cemetery, East Cemetery and Toumba Cemetery. However, only Skoubris, Palia Perivolia and the Toumba cemeteries are taken into account here as they are the only burial grounds which contain graves from the Geometric period. When first excavated natural soil or rock was encountered in places beneath the layer of cultivated topsoil, and at a depth of c. 20-40 centimetres tombs and pyres were found (Popham 1980:102). From the three cemeteries there are 56 graves that date from the Geometric period. Of the 56 graves, 11 are from the Skoubris Cemetery, 23 are from the Palia Perivolia Cemetery and 22 are from the Toumba Cemetery. Since the graves come from different cemeteries in the same area I have chosen to adopt the same system as Popham (1980) when referring to specific graves. For the individual cemeteries Skoubris will be abbreviated with an S, Palia Perivolia with a P, and Toumba with a T. Tombs and pyres also form separate series and are also abbreviated either with a (T) or (P), respectively. For example, Skoubris tomb 5 will be written like (T) S 5, while Skoubris pyre 2 will be written like (P) S 2. The differentiation between the tombs and pyres are important because the

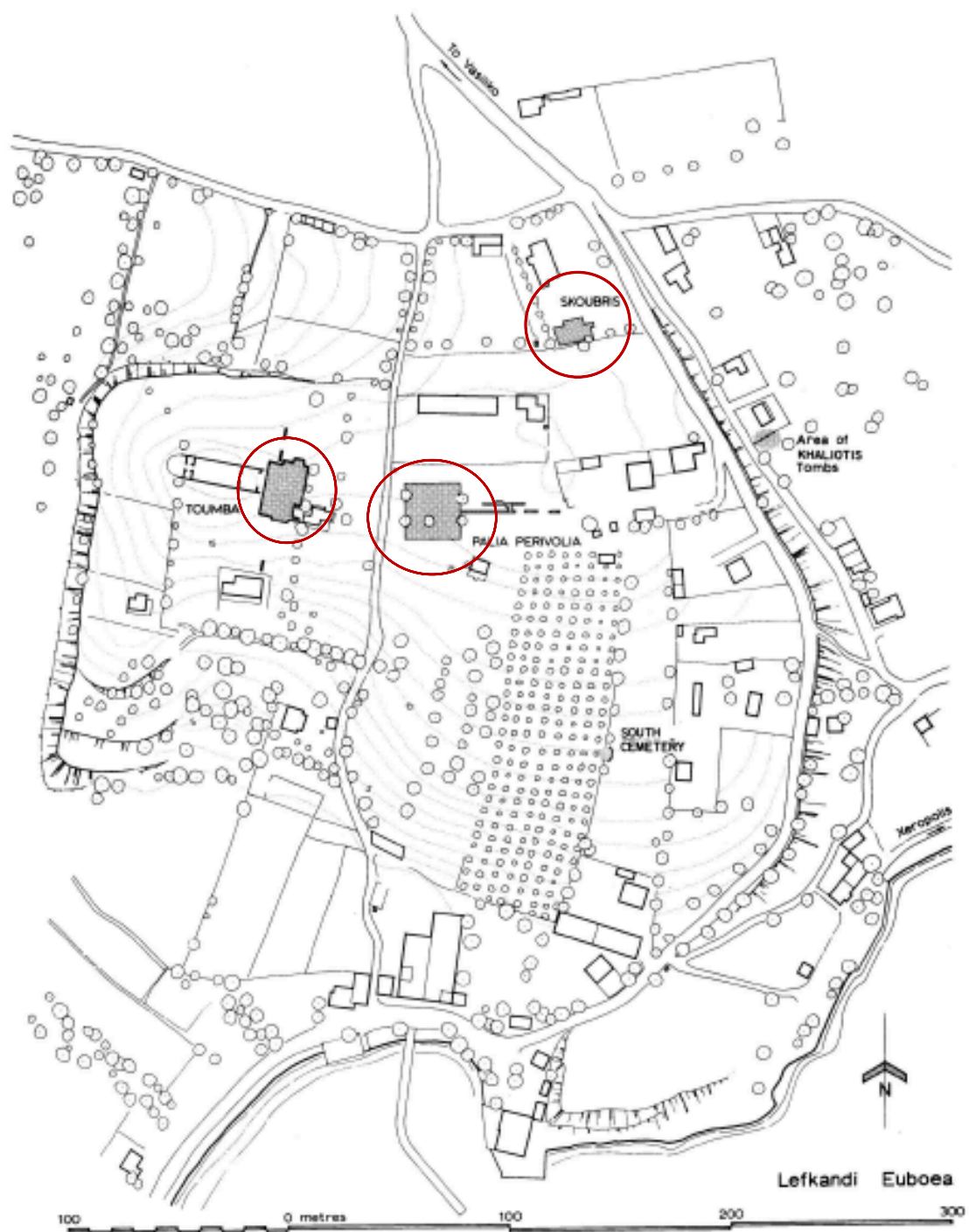


Fig. 5: Cemetery area showing the location of the burial grounds in Lefkandi (Popham and Lemos 1996:PLATE 2).

tomb/pyre number can be assigned the same number from the same cemetery, e.g. (T) T 3 and (P) T 3. Without referring the graves to either a tomb or a pyre one might confuse between the contents of the two.

The archaeological material from the 56 graves in Lefkandi varies in both style and function. The pottery in the collection varies between cup, skyphos, shallow bowl, kalathos, amphoriskos, lekythos, trefoil oinochoe, jug, pyxis hydria, amphora and handmade coarse ware, among others. The metallic objects in the collection vary between different types of pins and fibulae, earrings, rings, bracelets, diadems, iron sword, spearheads and knives, and other attachments. Fragments of clothing were found in six of the graves. In total, the 56 graves contained 298 pieces of pottery and 283 metallic objects. These were graves of both male, female and children. Only eight of the 56 graves in Lefkandi are identified as female individuals (Popham 1980:420).

4.2 The cemetery of Valle di S. Montano in Pithekoussai

The cemetery in Pithekoussai has been preserved completely and is fully intact without being plundered, because of a massive overlay of alluvial soil several meters deep (Coldstream 1993:90). The area revealed a vast cemetery below the acropolis, in the San Montano valley (Coldstream 1993:90). Since 1952, over 1300 graves have been excavated, exposing single graves of men, women and children, where 501 graves belong to the Late Geometric period (Shepherd 2012:222). Buchner claims that he knows the limits of the cemetery, and that he has excavated only five percent in total (Coldstream 1993:90). Ridgway states that it is ten percent (1992:46). In addition, only half of the graves have been analysed and published, leaving the percentage of the material that can be interpreted to as low as two and a half percent. Since the cemetery has not been excavated completely, one might not fully understand the whole picture of Pithekoussai as a settlement. The burials excavated will not theoretically be representative for the whole of Pithekoussai, and how many of possible Greek women could have come along with the establishment of the colony. However, for the time being, the two and half percentage of material from the cemetery is what we have to work with and interpret.

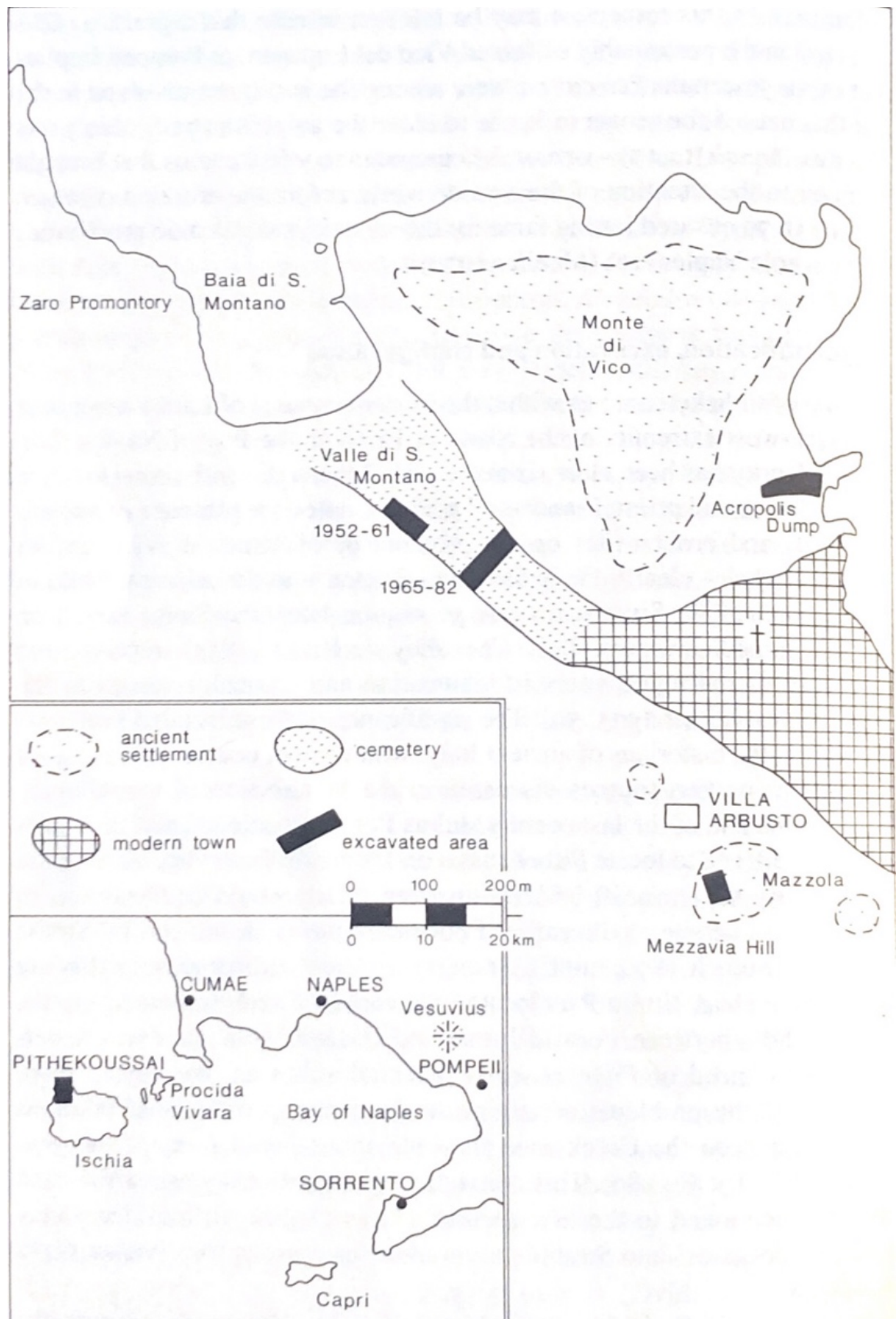


Fig. 6: The cemetery, ancient settlement and modern town in Pithekoussai (Ridgeway 1992:38).

The archaeological material from the 59 female graves in Pithekoussai varies in style and function. The pottery in the collection vary between cup, skyphos, bowl, oinochoe, jug, kantharos and kotyle, amphora, pyxis, lekythos and aryballos. The metallic objects in the collection vary between different types of pins and fibulae, earrings, fingerings, necklaces, hair spirals, pendants, bracelets and knives. In total, the 59 graves consisted of 176 pieces of pottery and 236 pieces of metallic objects. In addition, only 32 of the 59 female graves have been identified anthropologically by Becker. The remaining 27 graves have been identified as female based on archaeological material by Buchner and Ridgway.

4.3 The cemetery in Pontecagnano

The tombs in Pontecagnano were found during a preventive exploration of a vast area in the locality of San Antonio where, as part of an ECI subdivision, three buildings were to be built for civilian homes and a school building (De Natale 1992:3). The cemetery area in question, between the site SS 18 to the south and Via Palinuro to the east, is located at the western edge of the eastern necropolis of Pontecagnano, in an area immediately to the east of the ancient town (De Natale 1992:3). Compared to the other necropolis areas identified in Pontecagnano, the eastern necropolis appears, as a whole, the most extensive. Thanks to numerous recent emergency excavations conducted in several points in the area of San Antonio, it is possible to indicate with relative precision the topographic limits (De Natale 1992:3). The excavation of the Pontecagnano cemetery has been pursued for the past 30 years resulting in discovery of more than 4000 tombs. The total of 69 tombs from the area belong to the eight century BC (period II in the Iron Age sequence equivalent to that established for Tarquinia and Veii). Of the 69 tombs only 6 female graves have been identified anthropologically by Becker (1992a).

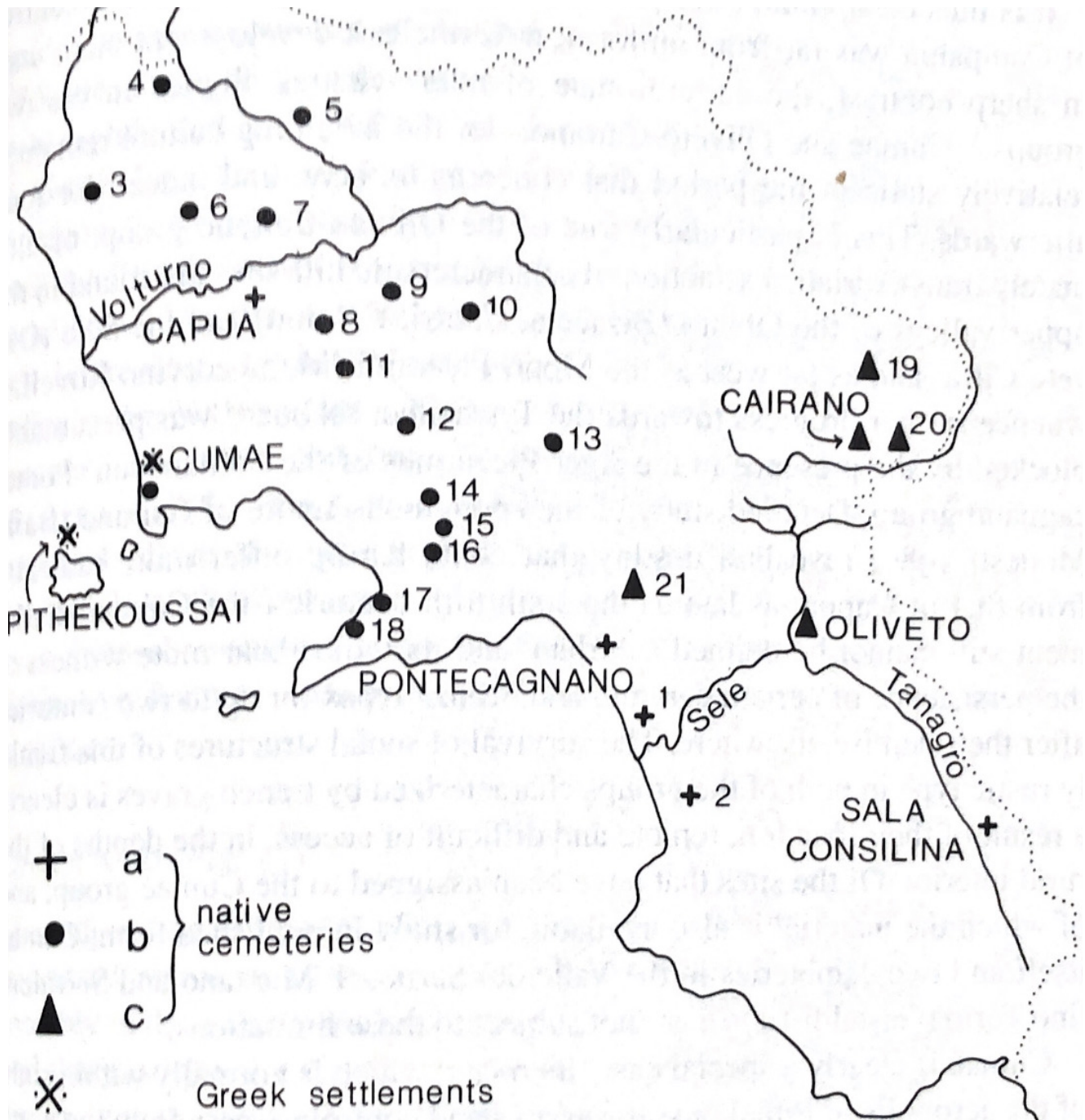


Fig. 7: Cemeteries in Campania, including Pithekoussai and Pontecagnano (Ridgeway 1992:123).

5. Correspondence analyses of the archaeological material

The correspondence analyses are based on a number of graves from the cemeteries in Lefkandi, Pithekoussai and Pontecagnano. The number of graves included in each of the analyses from the different cemeteries varies based on how many have been excavated and are dated to the same period. Anthropological studies have only been conducted in Pithekoussai and Pontecagnano by Becker, while the cemeteries in Lefkandi have not. The way that correspondence analysis works is through comparison between row labels (graves) with column labels (objects) based on distances seen in a graph, resulting in a possible pattern. A correspondence analysis will separate and characterise each tomb on the basis of its grave goods and possibly demonstrate a pattern specifically intended for female graves.

In the thesis, I have taken the same number of objects from the catalogues (Buchner and Ridgway 1993; Popham 1980; De Natale 1992) but scaled the numbers to make it more sensible to the correspondence analyses. The scaling method is specific to correspondence analysis, as it is the relative frequency of each variable which are calculated in the analysis. The analysis does not recognise a difference between tombs with more than two objects in the graves and multiple objects:

0 = no observation of the category

1 = one observation of the category

2 = two or more observations of the category.

For example, I have 20 graves containing a various number of jewellery. Two of the graves contain 13 and 18 pieces of jewellery while the rest contain a number between one and two. The graves containing 13 and 18 pieces are scaled to two objects of jewellery in each grave, (because we are looking for the relative frequency and not the actual number of deposition) and the rest maintain their number as they are in accordance with the scaling numbers. Multiple scatterplots have been produced and can to some extent demonstrate patterns of the archaeological material in the graves. Statistical checklist tables were also produced to cross off what each of the graves contained and are presented along with the correspondence scatterplots in Chapter 5.

5.1 Pottery and metallic objects in Lefkandi

The first scatterplot (fig. 8) demonstrates different types of pottery in correspondence with the graves from Skoubris, Palia Perivolia and Toumba cemeteries in Lefkandi. Of the 56 graves, only 40 graves were included in the scatterplot. Six of the graves were omitted because of lack of material record (no content), and the other ten were not included because they were interpreted as child burials, and therefore not relevant to the analysis. The graves were analysed based on the relative frequency of each of the objects using a scaling method specific to correspondence analysis (see subchapter 3.2.3). Each grave was plotted on a linear graph according to standard rules of correspondence analysis. The data was taken from the publication of the excavation done in Lefkandi by Popham et al. (1980:420)⁴.

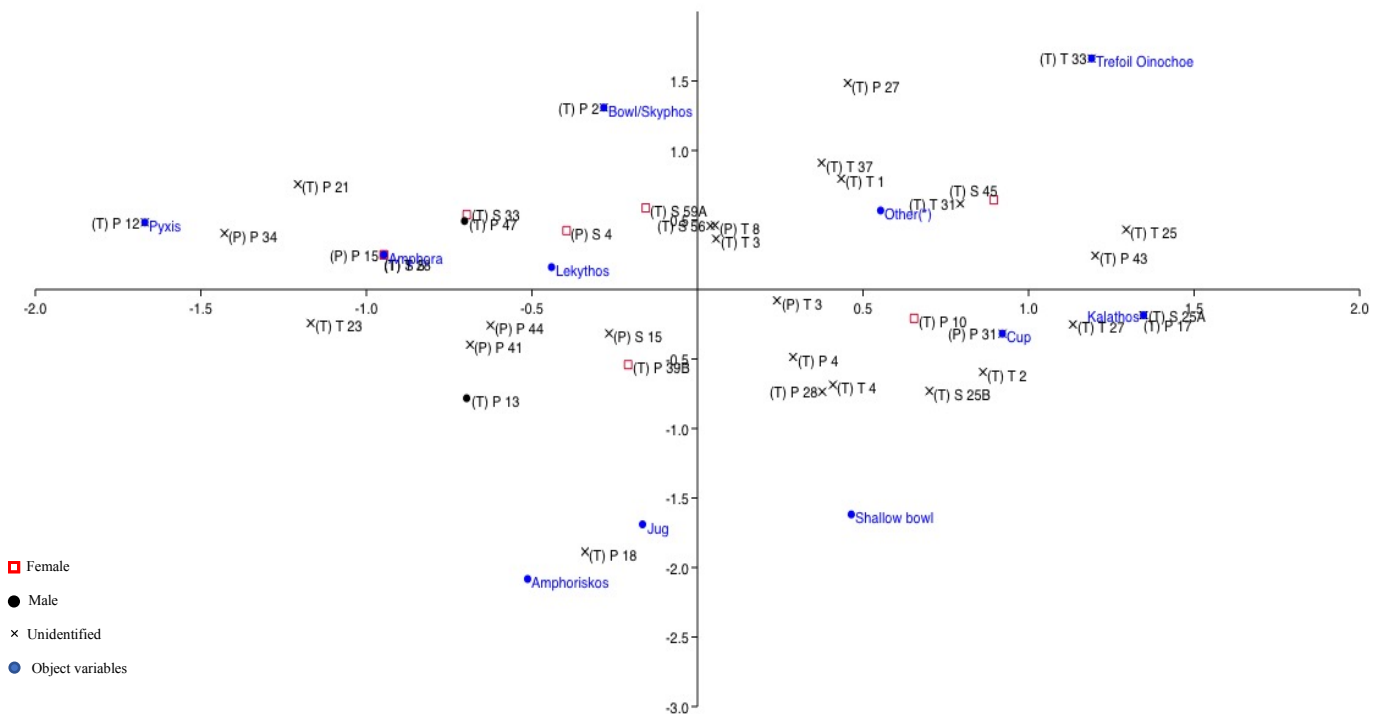


Fig. 8: Statistical distribution (scatterplot) of the different pottery types in Lefkandi.

The aim of the first scatterplot was to see which of the graves contained what type of pottery. The types of pottery differ between cup, skyphos, shallow bowl, kalathos, amphoriskos, lekythos, trefoil oinochoe, jug, pyxis, amphora, and other (e.g. dishes, plates, multiple vase, mug, kantharos). The scatterplot does not show any sign of a pattern which delegates different types of pottery to the graves. The female graves marked as red squares are seen

⁴ See appendix A

scattered all over the scatterplot, but some are seen closer to pottery types such as lekythos, amphora and skyphos. However, the male graves are also close to lekythos and amphora, while the unidentified graves are spread all around the scatterplot. It illustrates a rather random deposit of pottery in the graves than a significant pattern among the graves.

Instead of categorising the pottery into different types and styles, I rather made the decision to group the types of pottery into what kind of function they had. The categorisation is as follows:

Jugs and cups	Cup, skyphos, bowl, amporiskos, oinochoe, jug
Storage vessels	Hydria, amphora, pyxis
Cosmetic vessels	Lekythos
Handmade Coarse Ware (HCW)	Pottery of handmade coarse ware
Wool tools	Kalathos, clay weights, buttons, spindle whorls

Table 3: Pottery divided into categories based on function.

As one might notice in the categorisation, I placed pyxis in the category ‘storage vessels’. A pyxis is a cylindrical box used by women to hold cosmetics and jewellery, and the jewellery box should perhaps be considered as a ‘cosmetic vessel’. However, the word cosmetic derived from the Greek word *kosmetike tekhnē* meaning the art or technique of dress and ornament, involving liquids beautifying skin and hair, e.g. oils and perfumes (Ferrari 2002:94). Vases like lekythoi and aryballoi are used for holding oils and perfumes, and should therefore be considered cosmetic vessels. Pyxis on the other hand is a storage vessel where cosmetic vessels could be put in place, automatically placing pyxis in the category ‘storage vessels’. The HCW is a category which I think is important to include, as female graves are usually associated with that kind of grave goods (Popham et al. 1980:206). It is also worth noting that including HCW as a category is possible as it does not interact with other pottery categories. A cup or a storage vessel in the database is not a HCW, and vice versa. All of the pottery in the other categories are of local wheel, made in Lefkandi (Sackett 1980:420). The ‘wool tools’ category is included because one of the characteristic tasks falling within the women’s remit was wool working, where the tools needed for these tasks were spindle whorls, loom weights and kalathos (Trinkl 2014:190, Popham et al. 1980:206). G. Ferrari (2002), who intensively studied the interaction of men and women in ancient

Greece, defines wool working ‘the quintessential marker of femininity’ in the period from Late Archaic to Late Classic. It is also said that in Archaic Greece, the dress was essential in the construction of individual and group identity (Lee 2012:179). Since the women were responsible for the production of textile, e.g. weaving, the dress was more associated with women rather than the men (Lee 2012: 179).

The second scatterplot (fig. 9) included 41 graves, resulting in 15 graves being left out. Similarly as the first scatterplot, ten of the graves were child burials, and the remaining five had no content, and were therefore not included in the correspondence analysis. The scatterplot shows a possible pattern, but some graves are still scattered. Most of the female graves are now clustered near the ‘jugs and cups’, ‘storage vessels’ and ‘wool tools’ categories. This scatterplot gives a cleaner picture of what is deposited in the graves, because the types of pottery have been categorised by function instead of many different types of pottery. In figure 8 the graves and the type of pottery were scattered all over because the variables were associated with almost all the graves one way or the other.

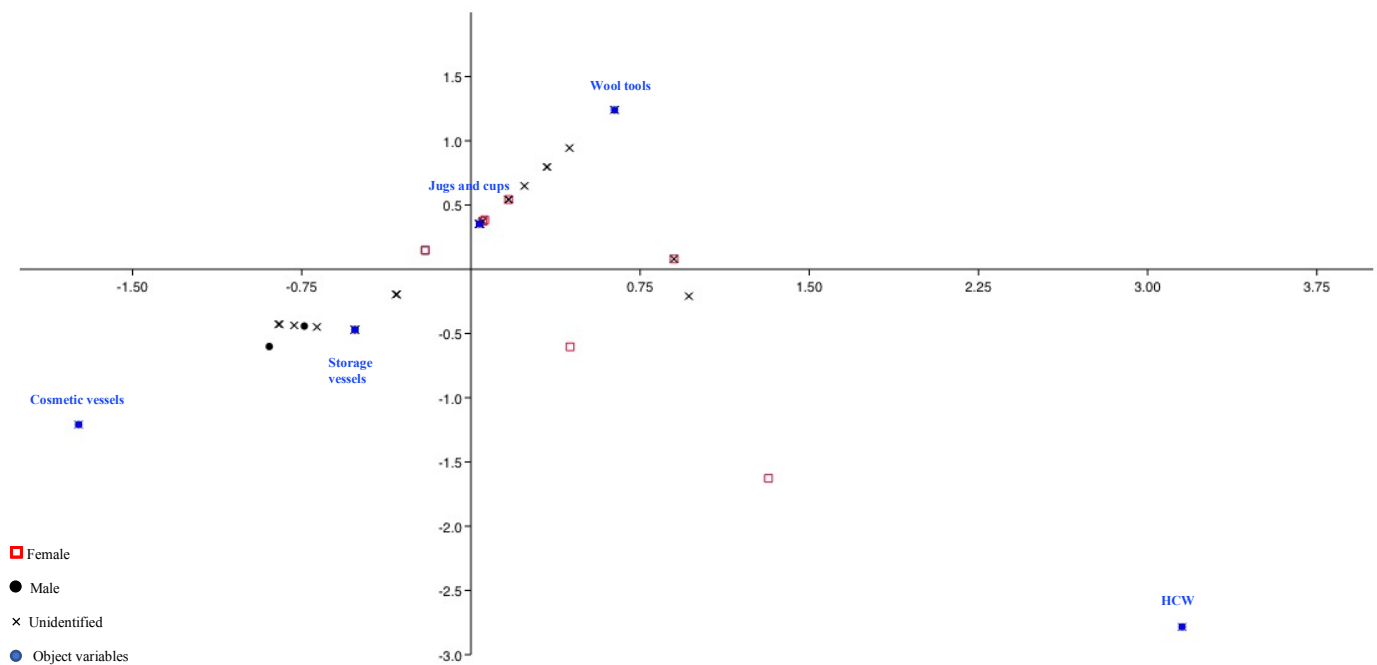


Fig. 9: Statistical distribution (scatterplot) of functions of pottery in Lefkandi.

There is also a cluster of unidentified graves around the categories ‘jugs and cups’, ‘storage vessels’ and ‘wool tools’. The male graves are both near the ‘storage vessels’ and the ‘cosmetic vessels’, which is a bit interesting. The ‘cosmetic vessels’ include the lekythos, and functions as a vase for different oils and perfumes. Lekythoi have been ascribed as a toilet vase, and is therefore associated with women (Sourvinou-Inwood 1996:333). Here the lekythoi seems to be more common to male graves. Why then are the male graves closer to pottery associated with women? The evidence of perfume in the archaeological material has been complex, since perfume in its form is liquid and therefore difficult to identify. However, from previous research, perfume was used by both genders with different scents for men and women (Lee 2009:170-72). Five lekythoi were found in (T) P 13, and five lekythoi in male grave (T) P 47 (Popham et al. 1980:206), making the male also close to the ‘cosmetic vessels’ category. The vessels were also used for the Greek *symposiums*, holding olive oil which was rubbed on male bodies and scraped off with a metal blade (Lane 1971:10). This might be the reason the lekythoi are mostly found in male graves compared to female graves (Lee 2012:185). Still, even though some pottery might be associated with a specific gender in the daily living life, it does not necessarily mean that it is a gender marker in the death (i.e. the graves). The scatterplot also reveals that some of the female graves are closer to ‘HCW’, and not one male grave is seen either near or being close to that category. But then again, there are not many unidentified graves close to ‘HCW’ either, except for (T) S 21 and (T) T 31. In grave (T) S 21 only HCW artefacts were retrieved, while (T) T 31 contained jugs and cups, HCW and wool tools.

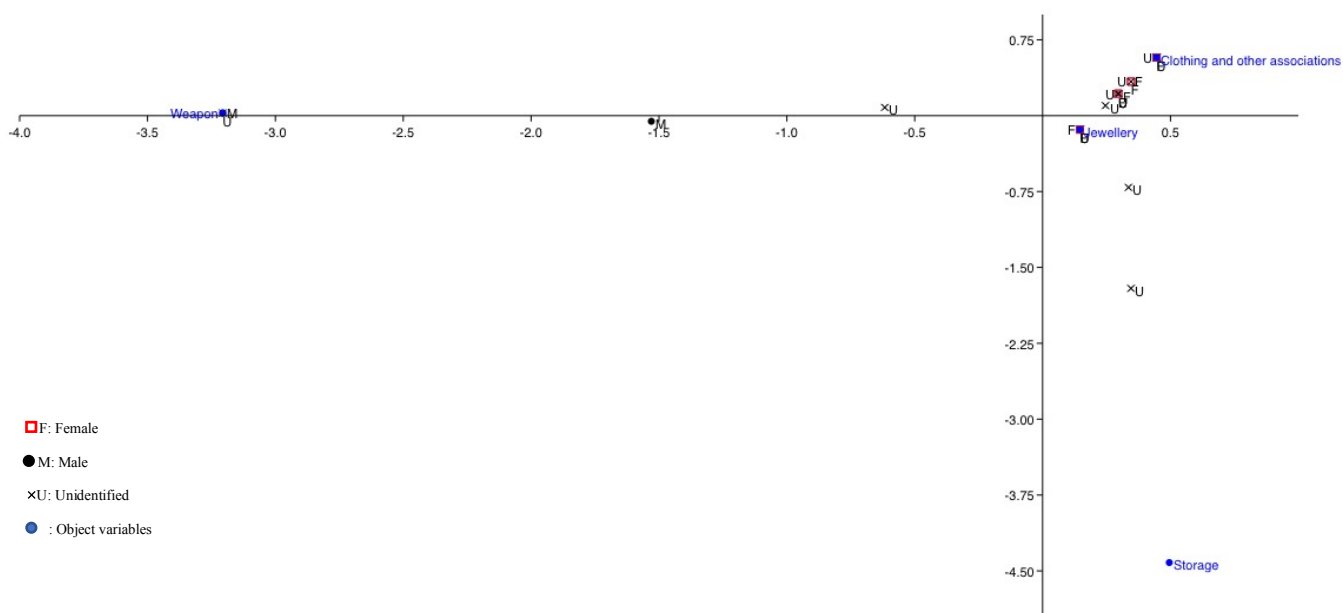
The difference between the two scatterplots (fig. 8 and 9) is that the first gives an answer to what types of pottery are deposited in the graves and the relative frequency the pottery types are seen in each grave. The second scatterplot demonstrates the pottery in the graves that have the same specific function in each grave. Since there are many types of pottery that can have the same function, they have been categorised together. Whether one grave contained a cup, while another contained skyphos, the two graves would have been placed at the same spot in the second scatterplot since cup and skyphos are in the same category. This would not be the case for first scatterplot since the variables are divided into types and not functions. I produced the two scatterplots using the same data because I wanted to demonstrate how it is possible to examine the same data using the same methodological approach and end up with different results. The first scatterplot shows no sign of a burial pattern, while the second scatterplot demonstrates signs of a possible burial pattern.

I also carried out a correspondence analysis of the metallic objects. Using the same approach as for pottery in dividing the objects to different function, the metallic categories are as follows:

Clothing and other associations	Fragments of clothes, pins, fibulae
Jewellery	Earrings, rings, diadem, attachments, clay beads, faicence, amber, crystal, glass
Weapon	Iron sword, spearheads, iron knives
Storage	Bronze vessels

Table 4: Metallic objects divided into categories based on function.

Pins and fibulae are separated from the ‘jewellery’ category as I believe their function were more related to clothing than to the aesthetic, though they bore some aesthetic value. The pins and fibulae would not have differed in styles without aesthetic value. From the table⁵ by Popham et al. (1980:420), it seems as though there were not as many metallic objects distributed in all of the graves. In the correspondence analysis over half of the 56 graves could not be considered as they did not contain any metallic objects.



⁵ Appendix A

Only 24 graves could be considered, after excluding child burials and those without any metallic artefacts. The scatterplot (fig. 10) is difficult to read without the database⁶. The confusing part of the scatterplot is that when examining the graph from a distance it does not seem to include the 24 graves which I claim to consider. The scatterplot does in fact include all the 24 graves. They have clustered themselves on top of each other. Next to the category ‘clothes and other associations’ lies female (T) P 39 B (a red square with an F). However, because some of the unidentified graves also associates with ‘clothes and other associations’ they have placed themselves on top of the female grave. The clusters of graves are seen on four different spots in the graph (fig. 11).

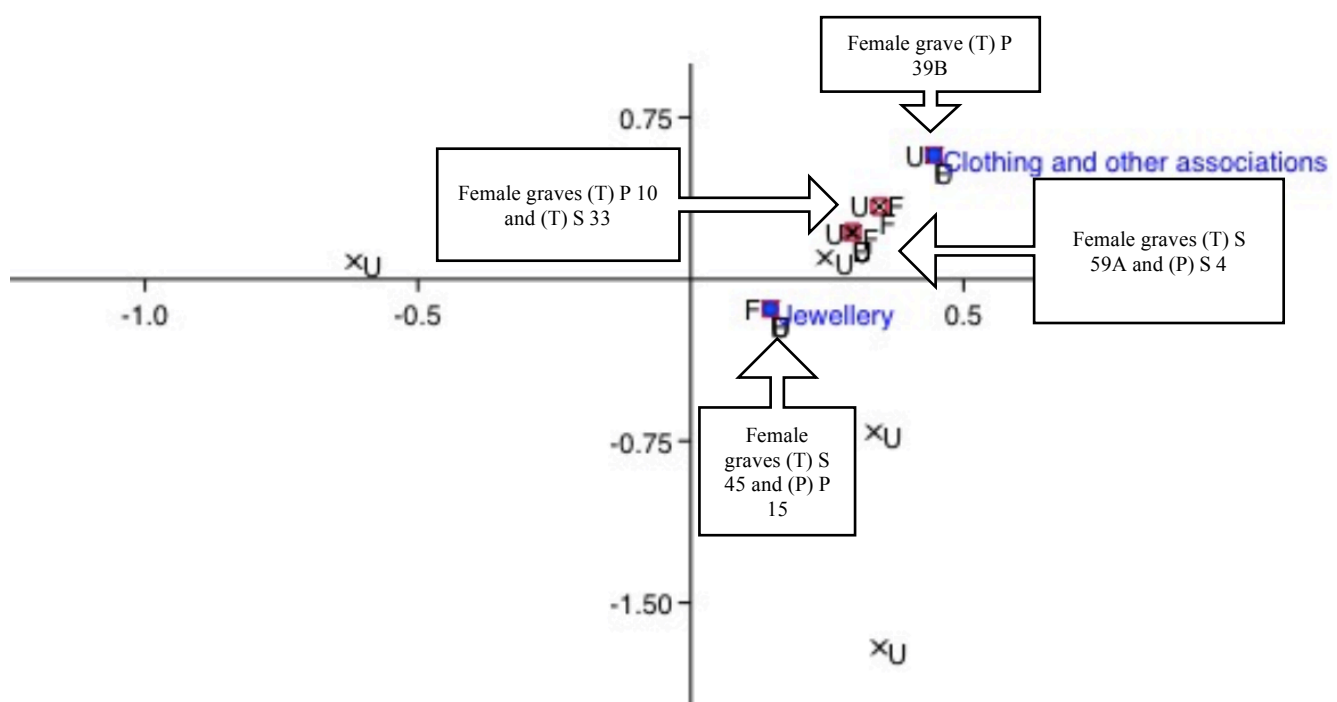


Fig. 11: Micro-scale of scatterplot number three. Some of the graves are invisible in the graph because they lay on top of each other.

The scatterplot (fig. 10) clearly shows a cluster of graves near the ‘clothing and other associations’ and ‘jewellery’, including all the seven female graves. The last eighth female grave could not be included, as it did not contain any metallic objects. What is left of the male graves are associated with the ‘weapon’ category with two other unidentified graves. The female graves contained no weapon, while two of the male graves contained weapon,

⁶ Appendix C

including two other unidentified graves. This is also the same unidentified graves showing in the correspondence analysis together with the male graves.

The pottery and the metallic objects are in many cases found together in the graves, and the final correspondence analysis (fig. 12) of the Lefkandi cemeteries illustrates variables from both pottery and metallic objects. Placing both the pottery and metallic objects variables in a scatterplot gives a better overview of the graves in Lefkandi as all the archaeological artefactual materials are now included. The first one might notice is the cluster of female graves in the middle of the graph, illustrating that the female graves seem to have a strong correspondence to ‘jugs and cups’, ‘wool tools’, and ‘jewellery’. This is not surprising, as it is quite the same results from the other scatterplots (see fig. 9 and fig. 10).

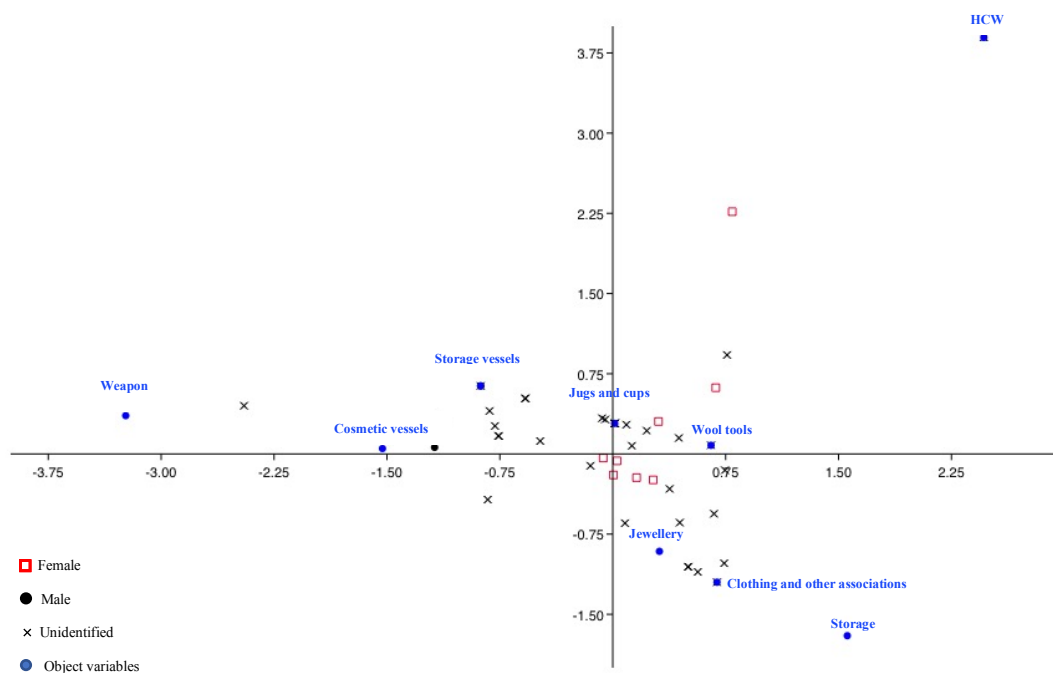


Fig. 12: Statistical distribution (scatterplot) of functions of pottery and metallic objects in Lefkandi.

The category ‘jugs and cups’ might not be the first thought that comes to mind when thinking about ancient women. Jugs and cups are functionally related to the consumption of wine (Kelley 2012:253). Consumption of wine in ancient Greece is quite related to the Greek

symposium, a male activity involving drinking, conversations and other satisfactory enjoyment (Osborne 2014:38-39). By the late sixth century BC there was established a repertoire of symposium vessels which included oinochoe (wine pitcher), various drinking cups, jugs and mixing bowls (Folsom 1967; Lane 1971:9-10). The function of the category 'jugs and cups' seems to be more related to men than women in the ancient society, because of the association to the Greek *symposium*. However, jugs and cups are in fact kitchen wares, which in most cases belongs to the household. And we know through ancient literature, the household was both the working and personal space for the women, making the jugs and cups also relatable to women ((Xenophon *Oec.* 7, 22.35-36; Lewis 2002:62-65; Trinkl 2014:190). The 'jewellery' category is a category which the female graves are closely connected to. In six of the female graves jewellery appears. There is also a cluster of unidentified graves near the categories 'jugs and cups', 'wool tools' and 'jewellery'. Could the unidentified graves actually be female? If they are, then the categories associated with the female graves will be even stronger. The categories 'weapon', 'cosmetic vessels' and 'storage vessels' are all far from the female graves, and rather closer to the male graves. The weapons are rather self-explanatory, even though weapons have been found in an ancient female grave as well, e.g. Heroon burial in Lefkandi where a inhumed female was found with an iron dagger (Doming 2016:13). However, in this case, the weapons are only to be found in identified male graves and unidentified graves.

5.2 Creating an Euboean female grave model

The correspondence analyses of the Lefkandi cemeteries were employed to investigate a possibility to uncover a pattern of grave goods distribution in Euboean female graves. What can be seen from the correspondence scatterplot is that most of the female graves contained jugs and cups, wool working tools and jewellery. The scatterplot does not reveal how frequently the objects are observed in each of the graves. Because the correspondence only shows which category is most present, I wanted to dissolve the correspondence analysis to better evaluate the frequency of each variable. A checklist table (with quantity) was produced with the variables horizontally and graves vertically. I made a checklist table of all the female and male graves, and the unidentified graves which contained either 'jugs and cups', 'HCW', 'wool tools' and 'jewellery'. I included both the genders to try to find a gender marker. With a checklist table I was able to cross off (including the quantity of the variables in each category) which grave contained a variable, and analyse the frequency of the variables in the graves.

Tomb and pyre	Gender	Jug and cups	Storage vessels	Cosmetic vessels	HCW	Wool tools	Clothing & other assoc.	Jewellery	Weapon	Storage
(T) S 33	Female	3	7	-	1	-	6	1	-	-
(T) S 45	Female	4	-	-	1	2	-	1	-	-
(T) S 59A	Female	3	4	1	-	2	12	10	-	-
(T) P 10	Female	4	1	-	-	2	2	1	-	-
(T) P 39B	Female	5	2	1	-	2	3	-	-	-
(T) T 28	Female	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
(P) S 4	Female	2	3	-	-	6	10	11	-	-
(P) P 15	Female	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-

Table 5: Checklist table of female graves and variables in Lefkandi (pottery and metallic objects).

Tomb and pyre	Gender	Jug and cups	Storage vessels	Cosmetic vessels	HCW	Wool tools	Clothing & other assoc.	Jewellery	Weapon	Storage
(T) S 21	Unidentified	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
(T) S 25A	Unidentified	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-
(T) S 25B	Unidentified	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
(T) S 56	Unidentified	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
(T) P 4	Unidentified	2	1	-	-	2	-	1	-	-
(T) P 17	Unidentified	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
(T) P 28	Unidentified	6	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
(T) P 43	Unidentified	2	-	-	-	2	1	3	-	-
(T) T 2	Unidentified	2	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-

(T) T 4	Unidentified	2	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
(T) T 25	Unidentified	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
(T) T 27	Unidentified	1	-	-	-	1	6	9	-	-
(T) T 31	Unidentified	3	-	-	1	1	3	7	-	1

Table 6: Checklist table of unidentified graves and variables in Lefkandi (pottery and metallic objects).

Tomb and pyre	Gender	Jug and cups	Storage vessels	Cosmetic vessels	HCW	Wool tools	Clothing & other assoc.	Jewellery	Weapon	Storage
(T) S 5	Male	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(T) P 13	Male	4	4	5	-	-	-	-	1	-
(T) P 47	Male	1	9	5	-	-	-	2	2	-

Table 7: Checklist table of male graves and variables in Lefkandi (pottery and metallic objects).

According to the checklist table of female and unidentified graves in Lefkandi, the most characteristic appearance of archaeological material in a female Euboean grave are jugs and cups, storage vessels, wool working tools and jewellery (appearing six, seven, six and six times out of eight graves, respectively). However, when wool tools are not found in a grave, HCW is usually a replacement, or they both appear in the same grave. This is also a pattern which can be seen for those unidentified graves which contain most of the variables along with either wool tools or HCW, or both. Cosmetic vessels and clothing and other associations appear more sporadically in the female graves. Cosmetic vessels also appear in graves that contains weapons. In two of the four graves with appearance of weapon, they have been identified as male, demonstrating that cosmetic vessels can appear in both male and female graves. Jugs and cups, and jewellery also seem to appear in both male and female graves, but never in combination with either HCW or wool tools in male graves. The quantity of jewellery and clothing and other associations in the female graves compared to the ones found in the male graves differs. Additionally, clothing and other associations are completely

absent from the male graves. Even though jewellery appear in both male and female graves, it is quite clear that jewellery was more likely to be deposited in female graves than male. However, the preponderance of jewellery is only seen in two of the eight female graves and could therefore be exceptions in the tradition of deposition.

My interpretation here is that the HCW and/or wool tools are a gender marker, while the other variables appear sporadically in the graves, and are thus not necessarily an indication of a female grave. HCW and/or wool tools seem to be the only variables where they appear in all the identified female graves, but not in the identified male graves. This is based on a small number of male graves (only three male graves), but it nevertheless shows a system in the deposition of graves. Through analyses of both the scatterplots and the checklist tables I produced a model which is based on how many times the variables appear in all of the female and unidentified graves. I also included the unidentified graves (table 6) in the calculation because some of the graves followed the same pattern as some other female graves. It gives a clear indication of what might always appear in a female Euboean grave of the late Geometric period, and what occasionally appears in the Euboean female graves. While the HCW and/or wool tools are a gender marker, it is also a normative burial object in the female graves. The three other categories after HCW and/or wool tools are also seen as normative burial objects, as they appear in over 50 percent of the female graves.

Always present	Appears in three-quarters of the graves ($\approx 75\%$ appearance)	Appears in two-quarters of the graves ($\approx 50\%$ appearance)	Sporadically (below 40 % appearance)
HCW or wool tools, or both.	Jugs and cups	Storage vessels Jewellery	Cosmetic vessels Clothing and other associations

Table 8: Female Euboean grave model (*Percentage calculated from appearance of variables when HCW or wool tools (or both) were present in the grave).

The female Euboean grave model however, is not without errors. First the model above establishes the HCW or wool tools (or both) as a gender marker for female graves. It is a fact that the HCW or wool tools (or both) appear in all of the female graves, and not in one of the male graves. But they do appear in the unidentified graves, and there is a difficulty to compare the unidentified graves with the female/male graves, especially when the

unidentified graves could contain both categories which appears in female and male graves (e.g. 'jugs and cups', 'jewellery' and 'storage vessels'). Then again, the frequency of HCW and wool tools are greater in the female graves, and also in the unidentified graves which also contains 'jugs and cups', 'storage vessels' and 'jewellery'.

Second, this model implies that the Euboean female grave will in all cases either include 'HCW' or 'wool tools', or both. The handmade coarse ware speaks for itself of what it is. If a cup is made of handmade coarse ware, it is classified as 'HCW' and not as 'jugs and cups'. The 'wool tools' category on the other hand contains kalathoi, clay weights, buttons and spindle whorls. The female Euboean grave model table does not consider that all of the objects in the 'wool tools' category are found in the same grave, but rather count presence of one or more of the objects in the 'wool tools' category. For example, if only buttons are found in (T) S 45, but kalathoi, clay weights and spindle whorls are absent, the model would still consider that the grave contained wool tools. A presence of one of the objects in a category represents the category as a whole, since that is the function of the object. This can cause an error because a button found in a grave does not necessarily imply that it was used as part of wool tools. This error applies for all of the categories used as variables as well.

5.3 Pottery and metallic objects in Pithekoussai

In the analysis over the Pithekoussan cemetery, all of the 59 graves identified as female are included. As previously mentioned, 32 of the graves have been anthropologically identified by Becker, while the 27 graves are identified by Buchner and Ridgway based on the archaeological material. I decided to include both female graves identified by Becker and female graves identified by Buchner and Ridgway. The reason for including both identifications is because of the 32 identified female graves conducted by Becker, 22 were compatible with the identification conducted by Buchner and Ridgway based on archaeological material (Becker 1999:226-228). In graves where a grave could not be identified by anthropological studies, the archaeological material could be a complementary verification of the gender. The correspondence analysis (fig. 13) made of the Pithekoussan graves are also categorised into functions. The categories have mostly the same category name as the ones from Lefkandi, but differ in what they contain.

Jugs and cups	Cup, skyphos, bowl, oinochoe, jug, kantharos, kotyle
Storage vessels	Amphora, pyxis, krates
Cosmetic vessels	Lekythos, aryballos
Wool tools	Loom weights
Fibulae and pins	Fibulae, pins
Jewellery	Earrings, rings, necklaces, hair stoppers/spirals, pendants, bracelets, silver and iron fragments

Table 9: Pottery and metallic objects divided into categories based on function.

The variables differ from the ones in Lefkandi in what they contain because of what is deposited in the graves in Pithekoussai. However, the differences in content will not have a huge impact in the analysis as the functions of the variables are quite similar. Worth noticing is the absence of HCW in the graves. Only one grave of the 59 graves contained HCW, which is also why I omitted the category in the correspondence analysis. A noticeable element with the correspondence analysis from Pithekoussai is that all the graves are female. The reason is because with this correspondence analysis the main point was not to look at the differences between a male and female grave and try to produce a female grave model, but rather examine how the different objects were deposited in the female graves.

As one can see from the correspondence analysis there is a cluster of female graves which can be seen close to ‘jugs and cups’, ‘jewellery’ and ‘fibulae and pins’. This is the same picture as the Lefkandi cemeteries presents. There are however two elements that stands out. The category ‘wool tools’ is far away from almost all of the graves. There are only four graves (tomb no. 208, 323, 640 and 699) that contained wool tools. One grave is very closely associated with wool tools, while the other three graves seems related to wool tools by their position in the scatterplot. The three graves not only contain wool tools, but also jugs and cups, fibulae and pins, and/or jewellery. Almost half of the graves are associated with ‘cosmetic vessels’, whereas in Lefkandi this category was associated more with male graves. The main reason for the change in the movement of the female graves is that the category ‘cosmetic vessels’ not only contains lekythos, but also aryballos. With the addition of aryballos as part of the ‘cosmetic’ category, it changes how the female graves move around. However, even with the addition of aryballos, the female graves are not as associated with the ‘cosmetic vessels’ as with the other three categories mentioned above.

In figure 14 I excluded the category wool tools as only four graves of the 59 graves contained wool tools. Here it is quite clear that the female graves in Pithekoussai are closely related to jugs and cups, jewellery and, fibulae and pins. I also believe that figure 14 demonstrates deposition patterns better than figure 13. The wool tools cannot count as being part of a pattern when only four of 59 graves contain wool tools. That is also the case for storage vessels and cosmetic vessels as well. Based on the correspondence analysis scatterplots, the Pithekoussan female graves seem to contain grave goods such as jugs and cups, jewellery and fibulae and pins. The three categories are therefore also the normative burial objects found in female graves in Pithekoussai. Occasionally cosmetic vessels also appear in the graves, while wool tools and storage vessels are rarer. And again, one must mention the total absence of HCW.

In Archaic Greece the women were responsible for the production of textiles and the wool working tools were essential (Lee 2012:179). An explanation regarding the rarity of wool working tools in the Pithekoussan female graves is that the women there did not produce their own textiles. They rather got them from the indigenous population through trade. A trade between the women from Pithekoussai and the indigenous population can also explain the different Italic fibulae types found in the graves. Presumably, the textiles and different fibulae types were imported from the Italic mainland and thereby brought to Pithekoussai. The archaeological material from the indigenous graves from Pontecagnano will possibly shed light on this hypothesis.

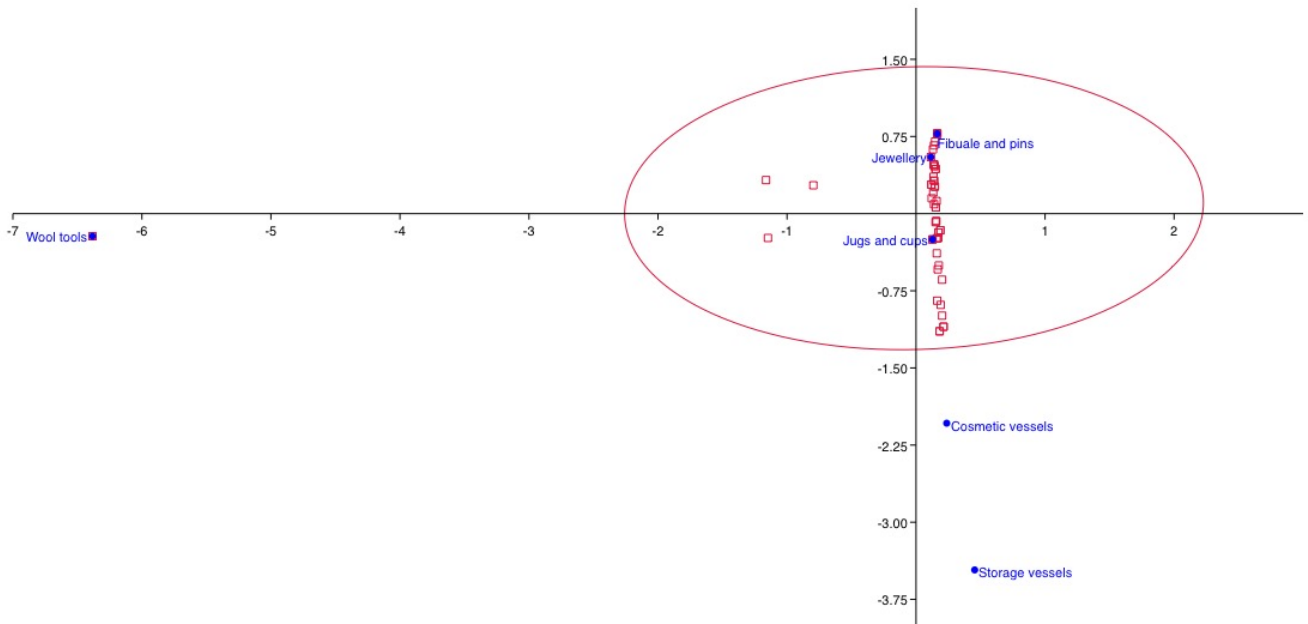


Fig. 13: Statistical distribution (scatterplot) of functions of pottery and metallic objects combined in Pithekoussai.

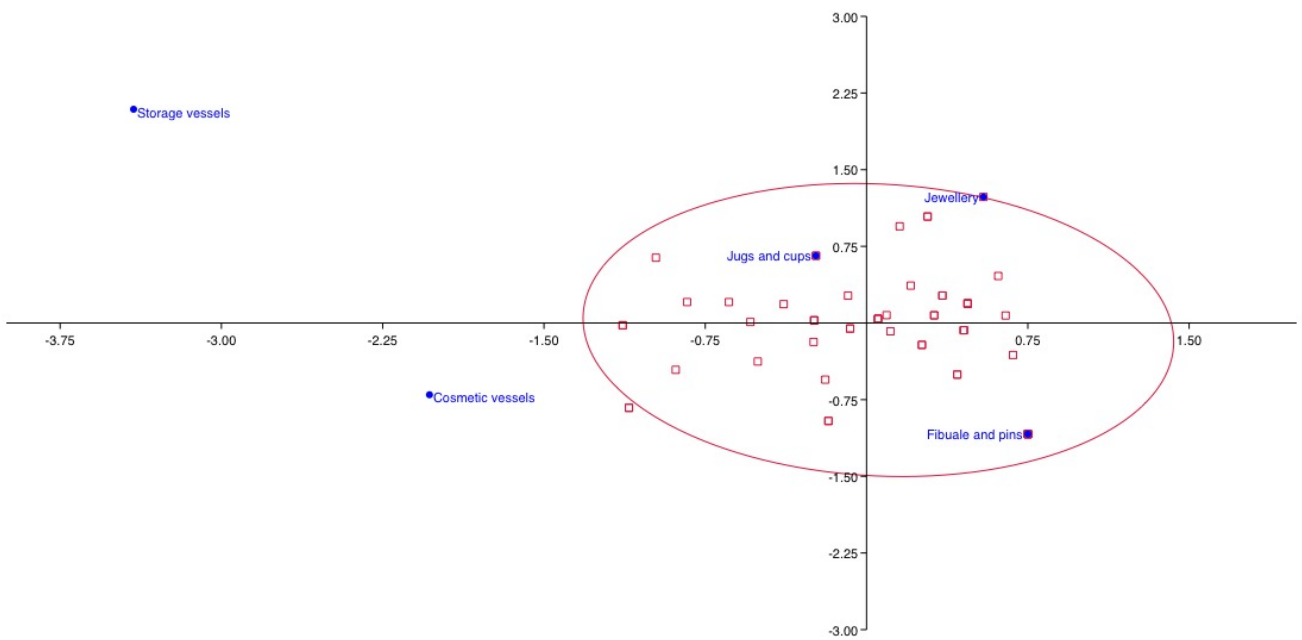


Fig. 14: Statistical distribution (scatterplot) of functions of pottery and metallic objects without the category 'wool tools' in Pithekoussai.

5.4 Pottery and metallic objects in Pontecagnano

Since I only had six female graves from Pontecagnano, applying a correspondence analysis seemed unnecessary. Examining a table with the quantity of the archaeological material in each grave was possible because of the spatial room that six graves gives. It would be impossible to demonstrate a connection between 50 graves and their grave depositions, which is the case for Lefkandi and Pithekoussai. Not only would the table be quite complex with various variables horizontally and 50 vertically, but the examination would also be time consuming. Six graves on the other hand are easier to examine. The graves have been identified as female. I only included the female graves from Pontecagnano since the aim is not to create a female grave model, but to examine their burial pattern. The six graves contained both pottery and metallic objects, and varied between jugs and cups, storage vessels, cosmetic vessels, wool tools, fibulae and jewellery. In total, the graves included 53 items of ceramic pots, 36 ceramic tools and 120 metallic objects.

Tomb no.	Gender	Jugs and cups	Storage vessels	Cosmetic vessels	Wool tools	Fibulae	Jewellery
T 3212	Female	6	1	0	1	6	7
T 3214	Female	10	0	0	11	17	5
T 3266	Female	7	0	0	12	21	18
T 3276	Female	5	1	2	8	16	16
T 3289	Female	13	1	0	0	1	0
T 3295	Female	6	1	0	4	8	5

Table 10: Jugs and cups (jar, ladle, cup, bowl and jug), storage vessels (amphora, vase), cosmetic vessels (oil and perfume diffuser), wool tools (needle, spindle whorls, loom weights), fibulae and jewellery (spirals, rings, bobbins, pendants, studs and boss).

When looking at table 10 the most prominent categories in the female graves in Pontecagnano are ‘jugs and cups’, ‘wool tools’, ‘fibulae’ and ‘jewellery’. Not only do the categories appear in almost all the graves, but the quantity of the categories in each grave is also remarkable. The exception is T 3289, which is already marginal in material except the ‘jugs and cups’ category with its 13 objects. I describe the quantity as remarkable because the number of metallic objects found in Pontecagnano are greater than the metallic objects found in Lefkandi and Pithekoussai. If we divide the number of metallic objects and the female

graves of all the cemeteries, the graves in Lefkandi yields eight metallic objects in average (63 metallic objects divided by eight female graves), Pithekoussai only four (236 metallic objects divided by 59), while in Pontecagnano the average is 20 (!) metallic objects in each grave (120 metallic objects divided by six). That is a great amount of metallic objects in an average female grave. Storage vessels appear in four of six graves, but not great in quantity. However, it is not how many of each of the objects which is of importance, but the appearance in itself. It demonstrates that over half of the female graves contained storage vessels, and therefore being a normative custom among the Italic female burials similar to 'jugs and cups', 'wool tools', 'fibulae' and 'jewellery'. It is also interesting to see that wool working tools have been found in the graves in Pontecagnano. The evidence of wool working tools in the graves effectively amplifies the argument that the women in Pithekoussai got their textile through trade from the indigenous population. The women in Pithekoussai would presumably rather trade with a community within a distance than many sea miles away.

6. Comparative analyses of the archaeological material

The comparative analyses of the graves in Lefkandi, Pithekoussai and Pontecagnano is important, as it is here we will see the differences and similarities in the deposition patterns from the cemeteries. A couple of differences between the cemeteries have already been shed light on in the previous chapter, e.g. absence of HCW and wool working tools, differences in type of pottery in the same category, number of objects in graves. However, I believe structuring the differences and similarities between all the three cemeteries will be an excellent starting point for further discussion. I will first compare the Euboean female grave model with the graves from Pithekoussai. Furthermore I will make a comparison between the Pithekoussan graves and the graves from Pontecagnano. Lastly, I want to examine the differences and similarities between the Euboean female grave model and the graves from Pontecagnano.

6.1 Lefkandi and Pithekoussai

A significant difference between the Euboean female grave model and the graves in Pithekoussai is the absence of HCW in Pithekoussai. The HCW category in the Euboean female grave model has been mentioned earlier as the one category which is always present in a Euboean female grave. In the Pithekoussan female graves not a single HCW (except for one grave) have been deposited. However, referring to the HCW category as a category that will always be present in a Euboean female grave model is misleading. As previously

mentioned, the HCW does appear if the category wool tools is absent. Only in one grave ((T) S 45) in Lefkandi have they been found together. The HCW category on its own is therefore a non-normative burial object, since it only appears in three of eight female graves. As mentioned in Chapter 3, (3.3.2 Normative and non-normative burial practices) I interpret less than 50 percent appearance of a certain category as non-normative burial object, while 50 percent and above would be a normative burial object. This is the case for the wool tools category where we see that six of eight graves contain wool tools. However, even though HCW now has been characterised as a non-normative burial object, and wool tools as normative burial object, it does not change the fact that neither of these are a normative burial object in Pithekoussai. The wool tools category has been categorised as non-normative in Pithekoussai, since it only appears in four of 59 graves. The difference is quite significant in that the HCW/wool tools in the Euboean female grave model not only was paramount in being a gender marker for the construction of the model, but also because the category is an indicator of Greek female burial tradition. The absence of HCW/wool tools category in female graves in Pithekoussai suggests the women were not Greek women from Euboea.

There is a minimal difference between the categories ‘clothing and other associations’ from Lefkandi and ‘fibulae and pins’ from Pithekoussai. The category ‘fibulae and pins’ only contain fibulae and pins, but ‘clothing and other associations’ contain fibulae, pins and clothing fragments. It is natural to include clothing fragments together with fibulae and pins because their function usually involves fastening dresses. Fibulae and pins are thereby closely related with dresses in the daily life, which could also be reflected in the depositions. While the category ‘clothing and other associations’ has less than a 50 percent appearance in the Euboean female grave model, the ‘fibulae and pins’ in Pithekoussai demonstrates being a normative burial object. The deposition of fibulae and pins in Euboean female grave is not as common as it is in Pithekoussai. This also applies for the category ‘storage vessel’, though conversely. The storage vessels are normative burial objects in female graves in Lefkandi, while they are rarer in Pithekoussai.

The burial patterns which are similar between the Euboean female grave model and the female Pithekoussan graves are ‘jugs and cups’ and ‘jewellery’. They are characterised as normative burial objects in both cemeteries. The content in each of the categories also resemble one another. The category ‘jugs and cups’ contains the repertoire of consuming wine and/or corpus of kitchen ware, and ‘jewellery’ containing earrings, rings, necklaces and

diadems. The household equipment and aesthetic ornaments from the graves in each of the cemeteries seem almost inseparable in content – supporting the idea that the communities from both cemeteries share the same custom in what they deposited specifically from these two categories. The two burial patterns also share a lack of cosmetic vessels. In both of the cemeteries the cosmetic vessels are closely related to the male graves than the female graves. This could also be a supporting factor to the idea on how both cemeteries socially differed between what was deposited in male and female graves. The Euboean female grave model demonstrates clear distinctions compared to the graves from Pithekoussai. Even though all of the categories are present in both cemeteries (except for HCW in Pithekoussai), they vary in distribution in the graves.

6.2 Pithekoussai and Pontecagnano

The difference between Pithekoussai and Pontecagnano are the categories ‘wool tools’ and ‘storage vessels’. The wool tools and storage vessels are normative burial objects in female graves in Pontecagnano similar to Lefkandi, while they are rarer in Pithekoussai. It is clear that the burial pattern of the female graves in Pithekoussai are not identical to the burial pattern from the female graves in Pontecagnano. However, there are more similarities of the burial patterns between Pithekoussai and Pontecagnano than Pithekoussai-Lefkandi. Likewise as Pithekoussai-Lefkandi, Pithekoussai-Pontecagnano also share the categories ‘jugs and cups’ and ‘jewellery’. There is also one more category they share; fibulae and pins. In Chapter 2 I mentioned that the fibulae found in Pithekoussai could be traced to be of Italic origin. I rejected the theory because it was only explained with the support that the types of fibulae were a direct image of ethnicity. However, a similar burial pattern can give an explanation as to why the fibulae found in Pithekoussai are so similar to the ones on mainland Italy. Perhaps the Italic women brought not only Italic fibula types, but also the burial tradition they were used to. Of the 59 female graves in Pithekoussai, 48 contain fibulae and or pins making the category a normative burial object. The cosmetic vessels are not a popular deposition in the female graves in Pontecagnano, as is also the case for Pithekoussai. It seems that the cosmetic vessels are associated with men in all the three cemeteries. However, cosmetic vessels have not been examined in detail in Pithekoussai and Pontecagnano. The category could be a non-normative burial object in male graves as well. In other words, cosmetic vessels are not a part of a burial pattern in Pithekoussai and Pontecagnano.

6.3 Lefkandi and Pontecagnano

Knowing that there is no reason to compare Lefkandi and Pontecagnano with each other (Pontecagnano being an indigenous site with no reference of being colonised by Euboeans, and Lefkandi with no relations concerning inhabitants from Pontecagnano), I think it is interesting to examine how similar the burial patterns are from these two sites. First and foremost, they both share the depositions of wool tools. As I have already mentioned, six of eight graves in Lefkandi revealed wool tools indicating a percentage of 75. In Pontecagnano, five of six graves revealed wool tools, a sum of 83 percent of the graves. It is quite clear that the women in Pontecagnano are associated with wool working, as is one of the Greek female characteristics (Trinkl 2014:190). Both of the sites also share the appearance of ‘jugs and cups’, ‘jewellery’, and ‘storage vessels’ in more than 50 percent of their female graves. The only category which separate the burial pattern in Lefkandi and Pontecagnano is the deposition of fibulae. I think it is quite exciting to see how similar these two burial patterns are, especially when they are a part of two different social communities, and geographically far apart.

6.4 Summary

Although all three cemeteries share characteristic, there are difference in several categories. It is interesting that the Euboean female grave model has more in common with the graves in Pontecagnano than the graves in Pithekoussai. The graves in Lefkandi and Pontecagnano contain wool tools whilst in Pithekoussai they have been found in marginal portions. They also share the categories ‘jugs and cups’, ‘jewellery’ and ‘storage vessels’. The Euboean female grave only share the categories ‘jugs and cups’ and ‘jewellery’ with Pithekoussai. It seems that Lefkandi and Pontecagnano share more similarities in deposition patterns than Lefkandi-Pithekoussai, or Pontecagnano-Pithekoussai (Table 11).

Euboean female grave model (Lefkandi)	Pithekoussai	Pontecagnano
HCW or wool tools	Wool tools	Wool tools
Jugs and cups	Jugs and cups	Jugs and cups
Jewellery	Jewellery	Jewellery
Clothing and other associations	Fibulae and pins	Fibulae
Storage vessels	Storage vessels	Storage vessels

Cosmetic vessels	Cosmetic vessels	Cosmetic vessels
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Table 11: Burial patterns. Illustrating the normative burial objects/categories deposited in the three cemeteries. The categories in bold are the non-normative burial objects in each of the cemeteries with less than 50 percent appearance in the graves.

There is one issue I want to address. When assigning the categories into normative and non-normative burial objects, I explained that the requirement to be assigned a normative burial object is that it must appear in over 50 percent of the graves. The problem is that there is a difference in the number of graves from each cemetery. For example, if I only consider the female graves, I have 56 graves in total from Lefkandi where only eight have been identified as women. In Pontecagnano the number is as low as six female graves. On the other hand, Pithekoussai reveals 59 female graves, identified both anthropologically and archaeologically. The basis of comparison is uneven since the number of graves differs drastically, especially with the graves from Pithekoussai. However, the female graves from Lefkandi have been examined with the unidentified and male graves at the site, constituting 56 graves in total. The graves from Pontecagnano are so few in number that I question the burial pattern constructed and its representative. Yet, those are the only female graves from Pontecagnano which are comparable to the graves from Pithekoussai and Lefkandi being since they are dated to Early Iron Age 2 Late equivalent to the Middle Geometric period.

In summary, it is evident from the comparative analyses that all three cemeteries present a number of characteristics that set each of them apart from the other two. A peculiar result from the comparison analyses are the similarities between the graves in Lefkandi and Pontecagnano, which unfortunately will not be discussed further as they are of no relevance to the thesis. The impression seems to be that Pithekoussai does not share any obvious common burial traits with the Euboean female grave model. The graves between Pithekoussai and Pontecagnano are more similar, but not identical. The Pithekoussan burial pattern could, from the looks of Table 11, be a mixture of the Euboean female grave model and the burial pattern from Pontecagnano. Is it possible that through interaction and negotiation between female Euboeans and the indigenous, the inhabitants in Pithekoussai invented new traditions representing a unique hybrid burial pattern as previously put forward by Kelley? (2012).

7. Discussion

Before embarking on a discussion concerning the Pithekoussan burial pattern and hybrid burials, one cannot forget that the main focus of this thesis is the search for Greek (Euboean) female graves in Pithekoussai. While the concept of hybrid burials does not seem to have any connection with Greek female burials, I believe otherwise. I think it is exactly through examination and discussion around burial patterns and hybrid burials that we may find or detect female Euboean characteristics, as shall be discussed. In order to understand more fully the correlation between burial patterns, hybrid burials and identification of Euboean women within Pithekoussai, it is necessary to look closer at Pithekoussai as a colony and its colonial context.

7.1 Pithekoussai in a colonial context

It is important to keep in mind that Pithekoussai was first and foremost a colony, while the two other sites (Lefkandi and Pontecagnano) were not. Identification of a colony is through the colony's architecture, site plan and material cultural assemblages, which should be identical to their original city. The Classical framework we have of Greek colonial adventure is that they never should lose their sense of identity. As Bonna Westcoat (1989:16, in Antonaccio 2003:65) describes so clearly, the colonists would according to norm "speak Greek, structure their society according to Greek institutions, worship the same Olympian deities, design their cities with the same public and sacred buildings, patronise Greek artists, raise horses, participate in the pan-Hellenic games and set up monuments in honours of the victories". If a city wanted to reproduce their city into a replica, then all aspects of that city would have to be reproduced, including the cultural, social and political aspects, as well as those pertaining to women.

However, colonial settlements are more often than not depicted as lesser variations or a derivation of the mother city of the colonisers. The settlement is colonial in origin and their experiences would therefore be different from that of the Greek mother cities (Van Dommelen 2005:116; Antonaccio 2003:65). What does 'as lesser variation or a derivation of the mother city' mean exactly? I understand it literally, meaning that the colonies would be somewhat different from their mother cities, but still holding onto some significant aspects of their culture. Whether Pithekoussai was an *apoikia* or an *emporion* has been debated a lot, a debate I do not intend to participate in (Ridgway 2000:185-6; D'Agostino 1994:19-20;

Kelley 2012:245). However, Pithekoussai is said to have been a settlement with a vast network of trade and relations within the Mediterranean, also being a mixed settlement including Greek, Levantine and Italic inhabitants (Kelley 2012:245; Ridgway 1992:13, Osborne 1998:258). It is possible to argue that trade between the Pithekoussan women and the indigenous occurred. The archaeological material clearly demonstrate that the women in Pithekoussai did not manufacture their own textiles. Instead they must have communicated with the indigenous population and rather got their textiles through exchange. Wool working tools are absent in the Pithekoussan female graves, but occur in both Lefkandi and Pontecagnano. The lack of wool working tools in Pithekoussai can prove that Euboean women who followed their men did not bring their personal equipment to the new land. They rather relied on what their new surrounding might offer. Trade between the Pithekoussan women and the indigenous women also might explain the occurrence of Italic fibulae types. Textile and fibulae are closely associated with each other. If the Pithekoussan women imported textile then there is no reason to question if they imported Italic fibulae as well.

It is more credible that the Euboean women would abandon their wool working tools than the indigenous women. First the distance between Lefkandi and Pithekoussai is greater than Pontecagnano and Pithekoussai. Bringing wool working tools from Euboea would imply larger storage rooms on the boats, resulting in more expenses for the colonisers. Second if Pithekoussai already was inhabited by an indigenous population, why are wool working tools absent? The indigenous from Pontecagnano seemed to manufacture their own textile, so why did not the indigenous population operate in a similar way in Pithekoussai? It is possible that the indigenous in Pithekoussai actually produced their own garments. Wool tools appear in four graves in Pithekoussai, so one cannot exclude the fact that some women did practice wool weaving.

A mixed settlement composed of people of indigenous and colonial settlers had no obstacles in creating new communities and social norms through interactions and negotiations (Van Dommelen 2005:117), especially when living as ‘neighbours’. This is inevitably the case if the territory was already inhabited by an indigenous population as well. Saying that the indigenous population and the colonisers lived as ‘neighbours’ may be a bit naïve with the interpretation of Pithekoussai as a colony. As expressed earlier, it has been assumed that the inhabitants of Italic origin lived as a minority based on the number of inhumation burials that were set apart from the other tombs, including their marginal content (Kelley 2012:246-47).

However, as we have witnessed with the archaeological record from Pithekoussai, a mixture of negotiations and communications are visible in the burial pattern.

7.2 A hybrid burial pattern

Another term which could cover “a mixture of negotiations” is a term I have mentioned several times in this thesis without any clear explanation; *hybridity*. It is a concept borrowed from literary and cultural theory, particularly from postcolonialism (Antonaccio 2003:59). Hybridity is a concept first put forward by the postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha (1985), who explains the term as a “means to capture the in-betweenness of people and their actions in colonial situations” (Van Dommelen 2005:117). The in-betweenness is a combination of the similarities and differences from the colonisers and the indigenous cultural backgrounds, but does not equate with either of the two (Van Dommelen 2005:117). The in-betweenness can also be referred to as the ‘third space’ where communication and negotiation occur (Antonaccio 2003:59), as could be the case for Pithekoussai.

The concept of hybridity has had appeal for the study of material culture in ancient or colonial context, because it steers away from the opposition between the Greek and indigenous, and the interpretation where a Greek (or indigenous) artefact can trace its ethnicity or origin (Antonaccio 2003:60). One example is the research conducted by Kelley, where she points out one specific tomb demonstrating hybrid tendencies in Pithekoussai. She uses the depositions of iron tools as evidence for indigenous customs, as well as other archaeological material related to Greek burial patterns. However, Kelly points out only one tomb demonstrating hybrid elements, opposed to the rest of the graves in Pithekoussai: “It is clear that this [the only] burial was simultaneously part of both the Italic tradition and that of colonial Pithekoussai. In this way this tomb is indicative of the hybridity and middle ground nature of colonial contexts” (Kelley 2012:255). The tomb Kelley says is a hybrid burial, is also a non-normative burial practice. It means that the specific burial is an exception which shows Italic and Greek traditions, whereas the majority of the graves do not. While Kelley argues that one grave in Pithekoussai is a hybrid burial (for good reason, she has worked on other archaeological material and research questions), my correspondence and comparative analyses of the graves in Pithekoussai, especially the female graves, seems to correspond with the concept of hybrid burials. In other words, my correspondence and comparative analyses demonstrates that the female graves in Pithekoussai (which includes the specific burial pattern requirements: over 50 percent of jugs and cups, jewellery and fibulae, and less

than 50% percent or total absence of wool tools, storage vessels and cosmetic vessels) show hybrid tendencies.

As summarised in Chapter 6, the Pithekoussan burial pattern demonstrated similarities with the Euboean female grave model and the indigenous graves from Pontecagnano. The Pithekoussan burial pattern corresponds to the hybrid idea by following the colonial norms and standards as well as certain indigenous aspects, creating new cultural norms and traditions that are characteristic for that specific colony (Van Dommelen 2005:117). However, when examining the three burial patterns together one can notice a couple of things. The category 'wool tools' has low numbers in Pithekoussai, but is seen in both the graves in Lefkandi and Pontecagnano. The only similarities between the Euboean female grave model and the graves in Pithekoussai are 'jugs and cups' and 'jewellery'. The problem here is that this is also the case with the graves in Pithekoussai and Pontecagnano. Can the categories 'jugs and cups' and 'jewellery' be derived from the Euboean female grave model or the Italic graves in Pontecagnano? If the depositional patterns are from the Euboean female grave model, then we can conclude that the Pithekoussan grave pattern could be a new hybrid pattern and a certain identification of Euboean female individuals. However, if the depositional patterns stem from Pontecagnano, then it seems certain that Euboean women did not participate in colonial voyages to Pithekoussai since the Pithekoussan burial pattern shows no sign of Euboean female burial pattern. The only category separating the Euboean female grave model from the Pithekoussan graves is the 'fibulae'. The category 'fibulae' is however incorporated in both the Pithekoussan and Pontecagnano burial patterns, resulting in the Pithekoussan graves being more similar to the indigenous graves in Pontecagnano.

The 'fibulae' category is interesting for different reasons. First, it is the only category which sets the burial pattern from Pontecagnano closer in similarity to the burial pattern from Pithekoussai than the burial pattern from Lefkandi. Second, it is significant because it is a theory (mentioned in the Chapter 2, 2.2) that the fibulae did not stem from Italic indigenous women nor Euboea, but were produced at the site itself. From Euboea several fibulae have been recovered, which can be seen from the correspondence and comparative analyses. One example is from the heroon site in Eretria from the end of the eighth century. This site yielded only one fibula, which was a fragmentary iron bow with a rectangular section (Coldstream 1993:93; Bérard 1970 pl. 12.50, see fig. 14). The cemeteries in Euboea yielded several

fibulae with flattened crescent bow bearing engraved decoration on a flat surface (Catling 1980:241-244, see also Popham, M., Sackett, L., et al. 1979, pl. 214a-b).

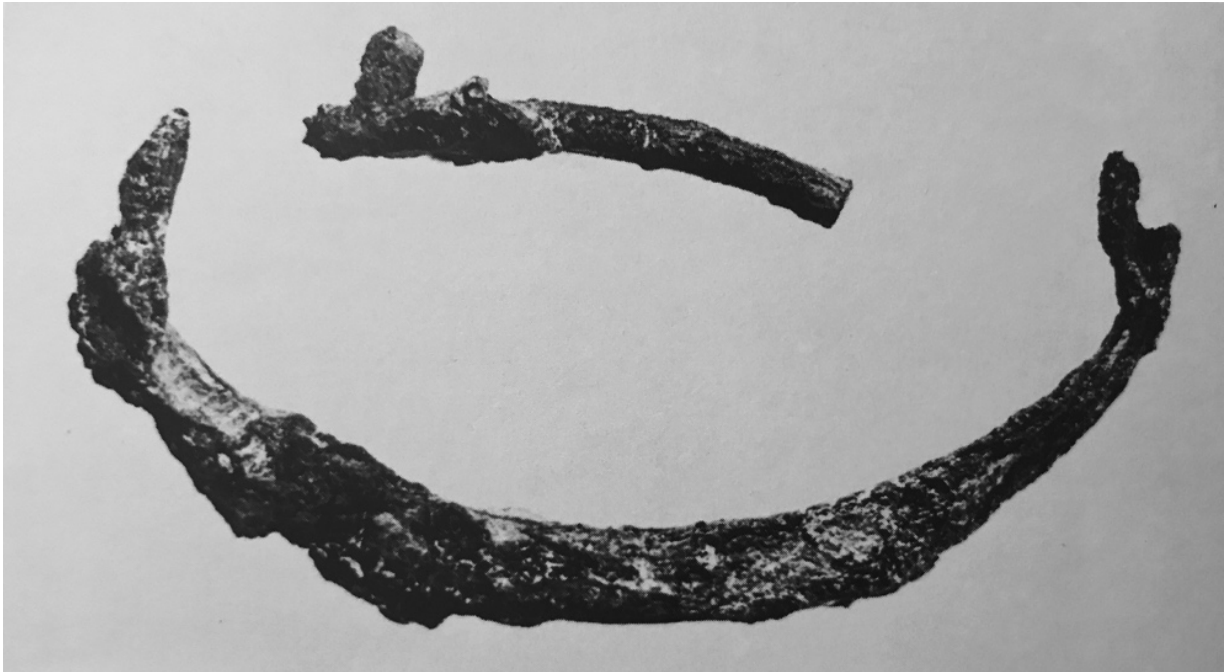


Fig. 14: Fragmentary fibula from the heroon site in Eretria (Bérard 1970, pl. 12.50).

Other fibulae in Lefkandi are the types of the swollen bow with fine mouldings. It resembles the leech form from Pithekoussai, except that the fibulae from Lefkandi appears to be thicker in the middle of the bow and it does not have a long foot, as is very characteristic of the fibulae from Pithekoussai. All the Euboean fibulae are invariably short footed, making them quite unlike any of the Italic types found at Pithekoussai. Furthermore, it seems like the fibulae in Pithekoussai include no types known from Euboea. If the fibulae found at Pithekoussai did not stem from the indigenous population nor the Euboeans, where did they come from?

The excavation of the Mazzola habitation site (the metal-working quarter) in Pithekoussai revealed a miscast fibula, with casting seams and a foot too long for usage (Buchner 1970-71:66). This is of considerable significance, because it demonstrates that some of the fibulae

were in fact produced in Pithekoussai. Instead of exogenous factors⁷ (e.g. indigenous women) having an impact on changes on the burial pattern, the miscast fibula points to the fact that the usage of this type of fibula could be explained by internal factors. The settlers at Pithekoussai seemed to have been the innovator of the fibulae with long foot and can be supported by the context of the miscast fibula. The archaeological evidence of the manufacture of fibulae (where bone or shell are threaded on a thinner bow) strengthens the argument of a working quarter where fibulae generally were produced (Buchner 1970-71:135). Thus, the Pithekoussan inhabitants produced their own metal ornaments, e.g. the fibulae, which means that they invented products of their own and included them in their burial pattern. It has led Graham (2001:335) to believe that the fibulae in Pithekoussai and the metal-working quarter are clear evidence that Greek colonists took over metal personal ornaments from the Italic mainland. Whatever theories or hypothesis regarding the origin of the fibulae in the Pithekoussan graves, the miscast fibula and the metal-working quarter are confirmation that the settlers constructed a new hybrid identity, culminating in a new hybrid burial pattern.

7.3 Identification of Euboean females in the hybrid burial pattern

Apart from identifying the burial pattern in Pithekoussai as hybrid, is it possible to detect some Euboean characteristic to the female graves in Pithekoussai within the hybrid burial pattern? It has now been established that the some fibula types in the category ‘fibulae’ have not come from the indigenous female pattern. The ‘fibulae’ category was the only category separating the similarities in burial patterns between Lefkandi-Pithekoussai and Pithekoussai-Pontecagnano. Both burial patterns of Lefkandi and Pontecagnano now seem equal to the burial pattern of Pithekoussai. The question now depends on how the other two categories, ‘jugs and cups’ and ‘jewellery’ in the Pithekoussan burial pattern reflect either the Euboean or indigenous women.

Research conducted on the shapes and types of pottery in general has led Lane (1971:9) to believe that the Greek pot shapes remained the same for centuries because they functioned in accordance to the need of Greek society. The average function of the pottery was storage or pouring of wine, water, oil, perfume or other liquids (Lane 1971:9). The category ‘jugs and

⁷ Exogenous factors meaning ‘outside’ factors that changes the cultural aspect of burials and grave goods. Here it is the other way around, where the newcomers settle with their culture and the indigenous bring something new to the table, e.g. the fibulae. However, the principle is the same.

cups' in all three cemeteries includes pottery which are closely associated with the consumption of wine; cups (skyphos, kantharos), bowls, ladles, jugs (oinochoe), water-pitcher (hydria). The cups (includes skyphos/kotyle, kantharos) are deep or shallow vessels with or without handles. They are usually used for drinking wine, and are in most cases larger than the normal size of cup we are used to in modern times. During ceremonial festivities or events the cup would be passed around the whole company of guests, hence the reason for the cup to be large (Lane 1971:9). A Greek custom was to drink the wine mixed with water usually coming from a hydria, a pot with vertical handle at the back and two horizontal handles at the side. A mixing bowl was needed to mix the wine and water together, usually with a ladle. The ladle was also used for dipping the mixtures into jugs (oinchoe) or directly into cups. The consumption of wine is closely associated with the Greek symposium, and the process of drinking the wine was within the framework of the symposium.

As mentioned the Greek symposium was only facilitated and organised by men. No Greek women were allowed to take part in these gatherings, unless they were entertainers or prostitutes. However, critics have emerged on the topic of women's part in the ancient Greek dining and drinking parties. Burton (1998) pursued with her article to correct scholars and their traditional view of the ancient Greek women. She argued that the interpretation of non-participation of women in symposium is a broad generalisation (Burton 1998:143; Corner 2012:34). Furthermore, she argues that several sources in the literary records suggest that respectable women were a part of gatherings that included the opposite sex (Corner 2012:37). We have for example Hipparchia, wife of Crates the Cynic, who attended a symposium. However, she was frowned upon by men who were not accustomed to an upper-class woman's presence (Corner 2012:37). The reactions of the men signals that women in general did not take part in the symposiums, even though there might have been exceptions.

Since men spent most of their time away from home, the household was dominated by the women. Along with raising children, spinning and weaving, the women might possibly have had responsibility in the kitchen. If Greek women were involved in using kitchen utensils and cooking, the ancient literature is sparse in mentioning that specific activity. Debate surrounding the presence of women at symposiums and private meals have flourished between scholars (Dalby 1996; Wilkins 2000). Dalby and Wilkins conclude the debate with that women did not eat alongside men, but rather cooked their meals (Neagu 2016:1). In the literary sources Aristotle announces that the women needed less food than the men, and it

was therefore acceptable to avoid serving them food as well as wine. In the myth, *Nostoi*, Medea transform a man with the help of her cooking knowledge: “she transformed Aeson, into a beautiful young man, after she erased his old age, thanks to her scientific knowledge, by cooking in the gold lebes a certain amount of drugs” (*Nostoi*, fr. 6). Another example of Greek women in the kitchen is in Aristophanes ‘Assembly Women’, where an Athenian woman utters to the Athenian Assembly that “...the women sit down to cook, just as they always did, (...) they knead their cakes just as they always did” (Ar. *Eccl.* 220, 223). The literary record reflects the women as part of the activity within the household and the kitchen. The kitchen was therefore the female domain, which is also the natural habitat for jugs and cups. It is natural to form the opinion that the reason for deposition of jugs and cups in female graves is their association in the daily life. However, even though a domain would primarily be associated with women does not necessarily imply that they did. The literary record only presents us with two examples of women and cooking, which is meagre to say the least. The literature is also from the Classical period, which is a couple of centuries before the Geometric period and the colonisation of Pithekoussai. There is no clear evidence as to whether women cooked or not. Furthermore the category ‘jugs and cups’ is also visible in the male graves in Lefkandi, and is therefore not specific to the Euboean female graves.

All supplements to the body, such as garments, cosmetics and jewellery, functions in the construction of identity, especially gender, status and ethnicity (Lee 2012:180). According to Lee, the category jewellery is a variable which can help in the identification of ethnicity. Jewellery is frequently found in female graves, which is quite visible from the archaeological material from Lefkandi, Pithekoussai and Pontecagnano. In Lefkandi, six of eight graves contained jewellery, and in two of six the quantity was ten or more. The average number of jewellery deposited in the female graves in Lefkandi is 3. In Pithekoussai 35 of 59 graves contained jewellery, and no graves were found with more than nine jewellery artefacts. In only two of the 59 graves was the quantity nine. The average number of jewellery artefacts found in the female Pithekoussan graves is thus 1,6. In fifth century Athens, we are told that the women had limited freedom and belonged in the household with no participation in the public life (Henry and James 2012:102). They were looked upon as danger to the society if uncontrolled. A certain characteristic of being ‘out of control’ was an indulgence in luxury (Henry and James 2012:84), owning gold or a preponderance of jewellery. In 215 BC the tribune Gaius Oppius actually carried out a law providing that no woman should have no more than an ounce of gold, not wear a multi-coloured dress, nor ride in a carriage within one

mile of the city (Culham 1982:786). Now, fifth century Athens and the Roman period do not specifically represent why there are such low numbers in the deposition of jewellery in Lefkandi and Pithekoussai, especially since the two examples represent two different periods. There can be a number of reasons why the numbers are low in both cemeteries. However, the concept that Greek women were not allowed to own or wear a considerable amount of jewellery could be reflected in their graves. The cemeteries in Lefkandi and Pithekoussai show the same amount of jewellery deposited in the female graves, which might reflect their similar social burial pattern. As for the graves in Pontecagnano, the average number of jewellery items deposited is 8. It demonstrates a much higher frequency in deposition of jewellery than Lefkandi and Pithekoussai.

Following the hybrid hypothesis, I believe that the identification of Greek women is possible to detect. It is because of the hybrid burial pattern that, in some way or another, Euboean women must have participated in the Greek colonising voyages. If not, the female burial pattern in Pithekoussai would consist of features only derived from the indigenous burial pattern. The Pithekoussan burial pattern demonstrates similarities with the Euboean grave model in the categories 'jugs and cups' and 'jewellery'. Furthermore, the amount of deposition of jewellery artefacts is similar in Lefkandi and Pithekoussai, whereas Pontecagnano differs immensely. The category 'jugs and cups' is similar in all three cemeteries, and it is impossible to trace a certain origin of the category. Yet, a uniform statement could be made of the similarities between the Pithekoussan graves and the graves in Pontecagnano. The identification of indigenous interaction is also detectable in Pithekoussai with the presence of 'jugs and cups' and 'jewellery'. There is no category in the Pithekoussan burial pattern which explicitly reflects an ethnicity. The burial pattern instead shows an aberration from both Euboea and mainland Italy – a transformation in culture and identity produced from communication between groups of different cultures, languages and ideologies.

8. Conclusion

It is impossible to discuss Greek colonialism and interaction between ethnic groups without addressing the women in Magna Graecia. The interest in exploring and finding out their ethnicity has flourished between many scholars (Becker 1999; Buchner and Ridgway 1993; Coldstream 1993; Hodos 1999; Kelley 2012; Ridgway 1999; Shepherd 1999, 2012). The main interest of scholars mentioned above is the ethnicity question regarding the women

from Pithekoussai. The reason for this is perhaps that Pithekoussai was the first colony to be founded during the eighth century BC (Osborne 1998:257), and could therefore set the bar for how a colony was founded compared to others in Magna Graecia. There is some literary evidence relating to the roles of women in Greek settlement overseas, but as we have seen, they do not give a better insight than recognising a few circumstances. It is the material evidence from graves which have been the most profound evidence in the identification of ethnicity, even though interpreting ethnicity with archaeological objects is problematic.

Let us rewind to the research questions mentioned at the beginning of the thesis and summarise the results and the possible answers reached. How is it possible to detect appearance of Greek women to Pithekoussai based on skeletal and artefactual material? As discussed earlier, the relationship between specific objects and an established ethnicity (here female Euboeans), is problematic. Trying to avoid the much criticised approach where one straightforwardly correlate an object to an ethnicity, the method conducted was with the help of a theoretical framework which is grounded in how a cultural group share a sense of belonging through similar habits. The habits could be expressed in the material culture, e.g. burial customs being one of them. That is the reason the method of this thesis based itself on producing a Euboean burial pattern. The possibility to detect appearance of Greek women were therefore not based on specific types of objects, but rather examine how a Euboean female burial was built up, and then compare this model to the female graves in Pithekoussai. It was by comparing the two burial patterns that a possible detection of Euboean females could be visible in the archaeological material. The results of the thesis showed both similarities and differences between the female graves in Lefkandi and the graves from Pithekoussai. A second comparison between the graves from Pithekoussai and mainland Italy, Pontecagnano, was conducted to see if the burial pattern from Pithekoussai rather derived from the indigenous population than the Euboeans.

The comparisons demonstrated both differences and similarities. The three burial patterns revealed that wool weaving was not a general activity practiced in Pithekoussai. The Euboean women might have abandoned the tools before arriving Pithekoussai and imported textiles from the indigenous population. If the female graves in Pithekoussai were indigenous in origin, then absence of wool working tools is strange. The indigenous population would probably bring their wool working tools with them, especially consider the short distance between the Italic mainland and Pithekoussai. The Euboean women would abandon their

wool working tool because of distance, storage and expenses. The comparisons also revealed how different and similar the burial patterns are. The result was that the Pithekoussan female burial pattern was neither strictly indigenous nor Euboean, but a possible mixture of the two; a hybrid burial pattern.

To what extent can the artefactual material demonstrate female Greek presence in the graves in Pithekoussai? A hybrid burial is a confirmation of interaction between Euboeans and the indigenous population culminating in creating new social norms which are visible in the archaeological material, e.g. burial patterns. What is problematic is the search for Euboean women in Pithekoussai because the material record does not confirm or reject the possibility that they came along. Still, as we are aware of, Pithekoussai was a mixed settlement, and one cannot exclude the fact that if one compare the graves from Pithekoussai with the graves from mainland Italy, Pontecagnano, there is a striking similarity in burial pattern similar to the comparison between Lefkandi and Pithekoussai. In regard to answer the research question, yes, one can detect Euboean female grave characteristics in the Pithekoussan grave. However, when looking at the burial pattern from the indigenous perspective, one might say the same.

And finally, did Euboean women participate in the colonisation of Pithekoussai during the Late Geometric period (750-700 BC)? It is impossible to say for certain that all the 59 female graves from Pithekoussai represents female Euboean individuals. The uncertainty relies on the relationship with equating archaeological objects to ethnicity, because material culture does not reflect a single social identity. I will however say that the majority of the Pithekoussan graves represents female Euboean individuals rather than indigenous women. The conclusion is based on the similarities in the burial pattern between Lefkandi and Pithekoussai, especially 'jugs and cups' and 'jewellery'. It is also the absence of wool working tools in the Pithekoussan female graves that amplify an Euboean female presence in Pithekoussai. Wool working tools have been found in indigenous graves in Pontecagnano, so if indigenous practiced wool weaving, why are wool tools underrepresented? It seems more credible that the Euboean female abandoned wool working tools when following their men, and retrieved textiles and Italic fibulae through trade with the indigenous population. The concluding marks of the research are that Euboean women did participate in the colonisation of Pithekoussai, and there is a possibility that women in general actually did follow their men to a new settlement.

B) Database of the function of pottery in Lefkandi (scaled).

(T)omb/(P)yre no	Gender	Jugs and cups	Storage vessels	Cosmetic vessels	HCW	Wool tools
(T) S 5	Male	0	2	0	0	0
(T) S 21	Unidentified	0	0	0	2	0
(T) S 25A	Unidentified	0	0	0	0	2
(T) S 25B	Unidentified	2	0	0	0	1
(T) S 33	Female	2	2	0	1	0
(T) S 45	Female	2	0	0	1	2
(T) S 56	Unidentified	1	1	0	0	1
(T) S 59A	Female	2	2	1	0	2
(T) P 2	Unidentified	1	0	0	0	0
(T) P 4	Unidentified	2	1	0	0	2
(T) P 10	Female	2	1	0	0	2
(T) P 12	Unidentified	0	2	0	0	0
(T) P 13	Male	2	2	2	0	0
(T) P 17	Unidentified	0	0	0	0	1
(T) P 18	Unidentified	2	0	0	0	0
(T) P 21	Unidentified	1	2	0	0	0
(T) P 27	Unidentified	2	0	0	0	0
(T) P 28	Unidentified	2	1	0	0	1
(T) P 36	Child	2	0	0	0	1
(T) P 39A	Child	1	0	0	0	0
(T) P 39B	Female	2	2	1	0	2
(T) P 43	Unidentified	2	0	0	0	2
(T) P 44	Child	2	0	0	0	1
(T) P 45	Unidentified	0	0	0	0	0
(T) P 46	Unidentified	0	0	0	0	0
(T) P 47	Male	1	2	2	0	0
(T) T 1	Unidentified	1	0	1	0	0
(T) T 2	Unidentified	2	0	0	1	2
(T) T 3	Unidentified	0	0	2	0	0
(T) T 4	Unidentified	2	1	0	0	2
(T) T 5	Child	2	0	1	0	2
(T) T 13	Child	2	0	0	0	2
(T) T 15	Child	2	1	2	0	1
(T) T 19	Child	0	1	0	0	0
(T) T 22	Child	2	0	0	0	2
(T) T 23	Unidentified	1	2	0	0	0
(T) T 23A	Child	2	1	0	0	0
(T) T 24	Unidentified	0	0	0	0	0
(T) T 25	Unidentified	1	0	0	0	2

(T) T 27	Unidentified	1	0	0	0	1
(T) T 28	Female	0	1	0	1	0
(T) T 31	Unidentified	2	0	0	1	1
(T) T 32	Unidentified	0	0	0	0	0
(T) T 33	Unidentified	1	0	0	0	0
(T) T 36	Child	0	0	0	0	2
(T) T 37	Unidentified	1	0	1	0	0
(P) S 2	Unidentified	0	0	0	0	0
(P) S 4	Female	2	2	0	0	2
(P) S 15	Unidentified	2	1	2	0	0
(P) P 15	Female	0	1	0	0	1
(P) P 31	Unidentified	1	0	0	0	0
(P) P 34	Unidentified	0	2	0	0	0
(P) P 41	Unidentified	1	2	0	0	0
(P) P 44	Unidentified	1	2	1	0	0
(P) T 3	Unidentified	1	0	1	0	0
(P) T 8	Unidentified	0	1	0	0	0

C) Database of function of the metallic objects in Lefkandi (scaled).

(T)omb/(P)yre no	Gender	Clothing and other assoc.	Jewellery	Weapon	Storage
(T) S 5	Male	0	0	0	0
(T) S 21	Unidentified	0	0	0	0
(T) S 25A	Unidentified	2	0	0	0
(T) S 25B	Unidentified	0	0	0	0
(T) S 33	Female	2	1	0	0
(T) S 45	Female	0	1	0	0
(T) S 56	Unidentified	0	0	0	0
(T) S 59A	Female	2	2	0	0
(T) P 2	Unidentified	0	0	0	0
(T) P 4	Unidentified	0	1	0	0
(T) P 10	Female	2	1	0	0
(T) P 12	Unidentified	0	1	0	0
(T) P 13	Male	0	0	1	0
(T) P 17	Unidentified	0	0	0	0
(T) P 18	Unidentified	0	0	0	0
(T) P 21	Unidentified	1	1	0	0
(T) P 27	Unidentified	0	0	0	0
(T) P 28	Unidentified	0	0	0	0
(T) P 36	Child	0	1	0	0
(T) P 39A	Child	0	0	0	0
(T) P 39B	Female	2	0	0	0
(T) P 43	Unidentified	1	2	0	0
(T) P 44	Child	1	0	0	0
(T) P 45	Unidentified	2	2	0	0
(T) P 46	Unidentified	2	0	0	0
(T) P 47	Male	0	2	2	0
(T) T 1	Unidentified	2	2	0	0
(T) T 2	Unidentified	0	0	0	0
(T) T 3	Unidentified	1	2	1	0
(T) T 4	Unidentified	0	0	0	0
(T) T 5	Child	2	2	0	0
(T) T 13	Child	2	2	0	0
(T) T 15	Child	2	2	0	0
(T) T 19	Child	0	1	0	0
(T) T 22	Child	2	2	0	1
(T) T 23	Unidentified	0	0	0	0
(T) T 23A	Child	0	0	0	0
(T) T 24	Unidentified	0	0	0	0
(T) T 25	Unidentified	0	0	0	0

(T) T 27	Unidentified	2	2	0	0
(T) T 28	Female	0	0	0	0
(T) T 31	Unidentified	2	2	0	1
(T) T 32	Unidentified	2	2	0	0
(T) T 33	Unidentified	1	2	0	2
(T) T 36	Child	2	2	0	0
(T) T 37	Unidentified	0	0	0	0
(P) S 2	Unidentified	2	1	0	0
(P) S 4	Female	2	2	0	0
(P) S 15	Unidentified	0	0	0	0
(P) P 15	Female	0	1	0	0
(P) P 31	Unidentified	0	0	0	0
(P) P 34	Unidentified	0	0	0	0
(P) P 41	Unidentified	0	0	0	0
(P) P 44	Unidentified	0	0	0	0
(P) T 3	Unidentified	0	0	0	0
(P) T 8	Unidentified	0	0	2	0

D) Database of function of pottery and metallic objects in Pithekoussai
(scaled). Includes female, male and unidentified graves.

Tomb no		Skeletal evaluation of sex (M. B.)	Archaeological evaluation of sex (G. B.)	Jugs and cups	Storage vessels	Cosmetic vessels	Wool tools	Fibulae and pins	Jewellery	Weapon
145	Female?	Female		0	0	2	0	1	0	0
146	Female???	Female		0	0	2	0	1	0	0
147	Female???	Unidentified		2	1	2	0	0	2	0
148	Female???	Unidentified		2	0	1	0	0	0	0
149	Male???	Male		1	0	1	0	1	0	0
150	Female??	Unidentified		1	0	1	0	0	0	0
151	Unidentified	Male		1	0	0	0	1	2	0
152	Female	Female		2	0	2	0	1	2	0
153	Unidentified	Male		0	0	0	0	1	0	0
154	Female???	Unidentified		1	0	0	0	0	2	0
155	Unidentified	Unidentified		1	0	0	0	0	0	0
156	Male	Unidentified		1	0	0	0	0	0	0
157	Female	Female		2	0	0	0	1	0	0
158	Female???	Female		2	0	0	0	2	1	0
159	Male	Female		2	0	2	0	2	2	0
160	Female	Female		2	0	2	0	2	2	0
161	Male?	Unidentified		2	0	1	0	0	0	0
162	Male	Unidentified		1	0	0	0	0	0	0
163	F??	Unidentified		1	0	0	0	0	2	0
164	Unidentified	Unidentified		1	0	0	1	0	0	0
165	Unidentified	Female		1	0	1	0	2	2	0
166	Female	Female		1	1	2	0	2	2	0
167	Unidentified	Male		2	0	2	0	1	0	0
168	Unidentified	Male		2	2	2	0	1	0	0
169	Male??	Female		1	0	0	0	2	0	0
170	Unidentified	Unidentified		1	0	0	0	0	0	0

171	Unidentified	Unidentified	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
172	Unidentified	Male	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
173	Female	Female	1	0	2	0	1	0	0
174	Female	Female	0	0	1	0	2	2	0
175	Female???	Unidentified	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
177	Male?	Unidentified	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
178	Unidentified	Unidentified	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
179	Unidentified	Female	0	0	2	0	2	2	0
180	Female???	Female	2	0	0	0	2	2	0
181	Female???	Female	1	0	0	0	2	2	0
182	Female???	Female	1	0	0	0	2	0	0
183	Male???	Unidentified	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
184	Unidentified	Unidentified	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
185	Unidentified	Unidentified	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
186	Unidentified	Unidentified	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
199	Female	Female	2	0	0	0	0	2	0
200	Female???	Unidentified	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
201	Male???	Unidentified	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
203	Male	Unidentified	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
204	Male?	Unidentified	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
205	Unidentified	Unidentified	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
208	Female?	Female	2	0	2	2	2	2	0
209	Male??	Unidentified	2	0	2	0	0	0	0
210	Female???	Female	1	0	0	0	2	1	0
212	Female?	Unidentified	2	0	2	0	1	1	0
213	Male	Male	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
215	Male?	Male	1	0	2	0	1	0	0
216	Unidentified	Unidentified	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
217	Unidentified	Unidentified	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
218	Female	Female	0	0	1	0	2	0	0
220	Female	Female	1	0	1	0	1	2	0
222	Unidentified	Female	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
223	Female	Female	1	0	0	0	2	2	0
224	Male??	Female	1	0	1	0	2	2	0
225	Male???	Unidentified	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
226	Female???	Female	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
227	Male?	Unidentified	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
228	Unidentified	Female	1	0	0	0	2	2	0
229	Male???	Unidentified	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
230	Female	Female	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
232	Female???	Female	2	0	0	0	2	0	0
235	Female???	Unidentified	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
238	Female???	Unidentified	2	0	0	0	1	1	0

	239	Male???	Unidentified	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	240	Male???	Unidentified	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	241	Male?	Male	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
	242	Unidentified	Unidentified	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	243	Female	Female	2	0	1	0	2	1	0
	251	Unidentified	Female	2	0	2	0	2	0	0
	267	Unidentified	Male	1	0	1	0	1	2	0
	283	Unidentified	Unidentified	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
	291	Unidentified	Unidentified	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
	300	Unidentified	Female	0	0	1	0	2	0	0
	304	Unidentified	Female	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
309A		Unidentified	Unidentified	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
309B		Unidentified	Male	2	0	0	0	1	0	0
	312	Unidentified	Male	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
	315	Unidentified	Female	2	0	0	0	2	1	0
	321	Unidentified	Unidentified	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	322	Unidentified	Male	2	0	0	0	1	0	0
	323	Unidentified	Female	2	0	0	1	2	2	0
	328	Unidentified	Female	2	0	1	0	2	1	1
	329	Unidentified	Male	1	0	0	0	1	2	0
	330	Unidentified	Unidentified	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	370	Unidentified	Female	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
	379	Unidentified	Male	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
	404	Unidentified	Female	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
	457	Unidentified	Female	0	0	0	0	1	2	0
	463	Unidentified	Male	2	0	0	0	0	2	0
	482	Unidentified	Female	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
	537	Unidentified	Unidentified	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
	541	Unidentified	Female	0	0	0	0	2	1	0
	547	Unidentified	Female	1	0	0	0	2	2	0
	548	Unidentified	Female	1	0	0	0	2	1	0
	640	Unidentified	Female	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
	649	Unidentified	Female	1	0	1	0	2	0	0
	650	Unidentified	Female	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
	653	Unidentified	Female	1	0	0	0	2	2	0
	655	Unidentified	Female	1	0	1	0	2	2	0
	699	Unidentified	Female	1	0	0	1	2	1	0
	720	Unidentified	Female	0	0	0	0	2	0	0

E) Database of function of both pottery and metallic objects in Pithekoussai (scaled). Only female graves.

Tomb no	Skeletal evaluation of sex (M. B.)	Archaeological evaluation of sex (G. B.)	Jugs and cups	Storage vessels	Cosmetic vessels	Wool tools	Fibuale and pins	Jewellery	Weapon
145	Female?	Female	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
146	Female???	Female	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
147	Female???	Unidentified	2	1	2	0	0	2	0
148	Female???	Unidentified	2	0	1	0	0	0	0
150	Female??	Unidentified	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
152	Female	Female	2	0	2	0	1	2	0
154	Female???	Unidentified	1	0	0	0	0	2	0
157	Female	Female	2	0	0	0	1	0	0
158	Female???	Female	2	0	0	0	2	1	0
159	Male	Female	2	0	2	0	2	2	0
160	Female	Female	2	0	2	0	2	2	0
163	F??	Unidentified	1	0	0	0	0	2	0
165	Unidentified	Female	1	0	1	0	2	2	0
166	Female	Female	1	1	2	0	2	2	0
169	Male??	Female	1	0	0	0	2	0	0
173	Female	Female	1	0	2	0	1	0	0
174	Female	Female	0	0	1	0	2	2	0
175	Female??	Unidentified	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
179	Unidentified	Female	0	0	2	0	2	2	0
180	Female???	Female	2	0	0	0	2	2	0
181	Female???	Female	1	0	0	0	2	2	0
182	Female???	Female	1	0	0	0	2	0	0
199	Female	Female	2	0	0	0	0	2	0
200	Female???	Unidentified	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
208	Female?	Female	2	0	2	2	2	2	0
210	Female???	Female	1	0	0	0	2	1	0

212	Female?	Unidentified	2	0	2	0	1	1	0
218	Female	Female	0	0	1	0	2	0	0
220	Female	Female	1	0	1	0	1	2	0
222	Unidentified	Female	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
223	Female	Female	1	0	0	0	2	2	0
224	Male??	Female	1	0	1	0	2	2	0
226	Female???	Female	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
228	Unidentified	Female	1	0	0	0	2	2	0
230	Female	Female	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
232	Female???	Female	2	0	0	0	2	0	0
235	Female???	Unidentified	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
238	Female???	Unidentified	2	0	0	0	1	1	0
243	Female	Female	2	0	1	0	2	1	0
251	Unidentified	Female	2	0	2	0	2	0	0
300	Unidentified	Female	0	0	1	0	2	0	0
304	Unidentified	Female	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
315	Unidentified	Female	2	0	0	0	2	1	0
323	Unidentified	Female	2	0	0	1	2	2	0
328	Unidentified	Female	2	0	1	0	2	1	1
370	Unidentified	Female	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
404	Unidentified	Female	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
457	Unidentified	Female	0	0	0	0	1	2	0
482	Unidentified	Female	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
541	Unidentified	Female	0	0	0	0	2	1	0
547	Unidentified	Female	1	0	0	0	2	2	0
548	Unidentified	Female	1	0	0	0	2	1	0
640	Unidentified	Female	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
649	Unidentified	Female	1	0	1	0	2	0	0
650	Unidentified	Female	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
653	Unidentified	Female	1	0	0	0	2	2	0
655	Unidentified	Female	1	0	1	0	2	2	0
699	Unidentified	Female	1	0	0	1	2	1	0
720	Unidentified	Female	0	0	0	0	2	0	0

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