



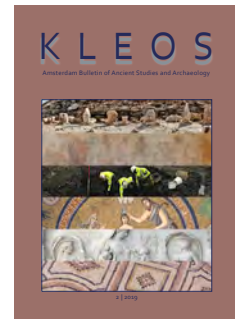
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New observations on the Sybaritide between 510 and 444 BC

MATTIA D'ACRI

ABSTRACT

In 510 BC, the city of Sybaris, an ancient Achaean colony founded in 720/710 BC, was destroyed by the city of Kroton by diverting the river Crathis, according to Strabo. Some seven decades later, in 444 BC, the same site saw the foundation of the Panhellenic colony of Thurii, situated just above the remains of the ancient settlement. While the centuries preceding the destruction of Sybaris and following the foundation of Thurii are widely documented both archaeologically and historically, research on the period between these two cities has been based almost entirely on historical and numismatic sources, without serious reference to the regional archaeological data. During this seventy-year period, contrary to the prevailing hypothesis, life in Sybaris and its territory continued, as testified by archaeological evidence from the city and its chora. This paper focuses on this particular historical period, drawing on that evidence, especially ceramics and related contexts, and provides an initial interpretation of the data in their regional context, re-establishing a forgotten connection between the Achaean colony and its Panhellenic successor.

INTRODUCTION

The historical vicissitudes of the period between the destruction of the Achaean colony of Sybaris and the Panhellenic foundation of Thurii have been examined by various scholars, primarily through the use of historical and numismatic sources.¹ The picture that emerges from these data is that of a territory reeling in the absence of Sybaris, in which Kroton, on one side, and Metapontum, on the other, tried to extend their influences, expanding to the north and south respectively, so as to replace

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¹ Among others, see Guzzo 1976; Bugno 1999; Fischer-Hansen et al. 2004, 295-299; Napolitano 2016; Colelli 2017, all with numerous further references. These studies generally seek to verify notices in ancient historical sources of attempts, failed or otherwise ephemeral, by the Sybarite exiles to restore the Achaean colony.

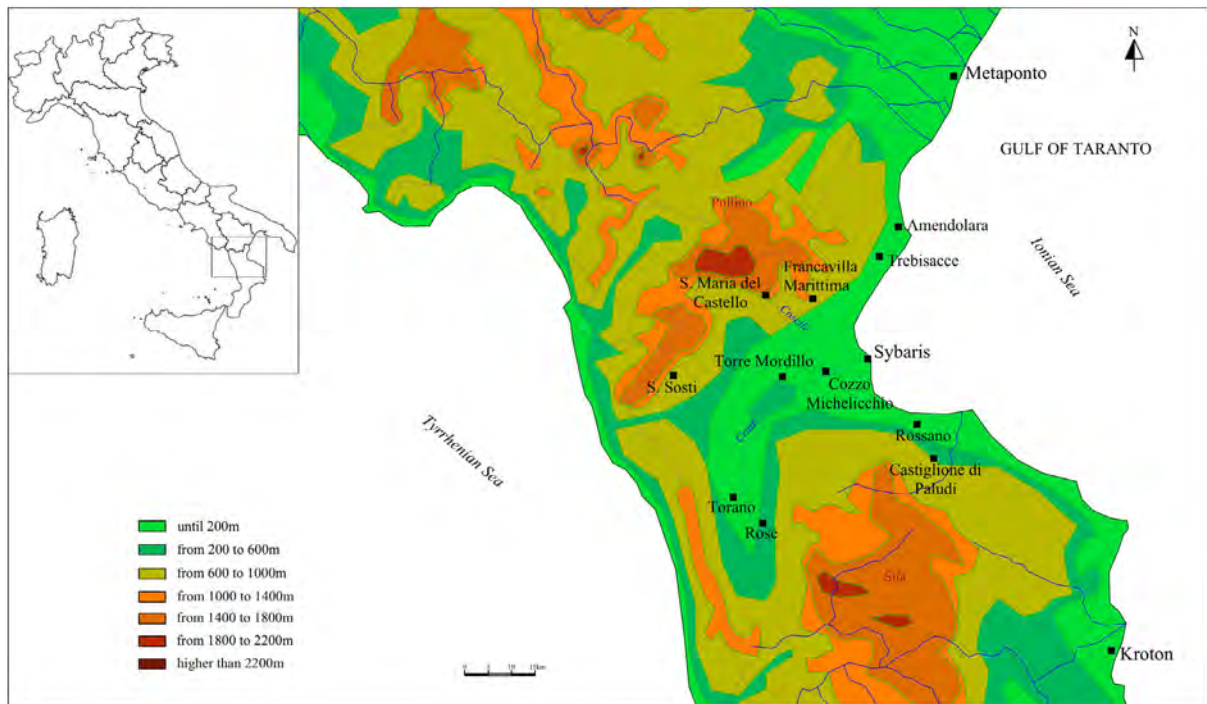


Figure 1
Sybaris and other sites examined in the text (created by author).

the destroyed city (Figure 1).² Both poleis, however, faced severe and destabilising internal crises. Moreover, the distance made it particularly difficult for both centres to control the wide extent of the Sybarite territory.³ In the first years after the destruction of Sybaris, it was especially Kroton that tried to keep the Sybaritide territory under its control, and had to face the attempts to re-establish the city by the Sybarite exiles, before the eventual Athenian intervention that sanctioned the foundation of Thurii.⁴ These attempts to recolonise the area have been interpreted by scholars as evidence for a total or near-total abandonment of Sybaris and its surroundings during the seventy-year period examined here.

The following contribution examines this alleged abandonment of the territory around Sybaris from an archaeological point of view and questions whether the area was really abandoned in this period by collecting all the relevant published data for the region. First, all sites that have signs of frequentation in this particular historical period will be identified, including Sybaris,

2 Especially for Metapontum. Thanks to the systematic studies carried out, it was possible to interpret the entire territorial order of the period (see Zuchtriegel 2017, 131-136 with bibliography). We can see how Metapontum extended its influence to the south at least up to the site of Cugno dei Vagni, where a small village of 12 huts dated between the sixth and fifth century was found (unpublished, some notes in Bianco 2000 and Zuchtriegel 2017, 134-136). The site of Cugno dei Vagni can be considered a satellite centre of Metapontum, it is approximately 50 km from Sybaris. On the role played by Kroton and Metapontum in this period, see also Colelli 2017 with previous bibliography.

3 Zuchtriegel 2017, 133.

4 Napolitano 2016, 175. For a summary of all the attempts to refound Sybaris, see for example Guzzo 1976 and Nafissi 2007.

by means of both stratigraphic investigations and other research such as surveys, occasional digs and so on, as well as chance finds.⁵ The sites are grouped into those of the nearer hinterland of Sybaris – Francavilla Marittima, Cozzo Michelichio, Torre Mordillo, Trebisacce, and Rossano – and into those of the city's further hinterland - Amendolara, S. Maria del Castello, S. Sosti, Torano, Castiglione di Paludi, and Rose.⁶ This summary of the data will be followed by a contextualisation and discussion with the aim of providing a historical and archaeological interpretation of the period between the fall of Sybaris and the foundation of Thurii. The aim of this paper is not only to try to demonstrate the settlement continuity of the Sybaritide after the destruction of Sybaris, but also to interpret its nature.

ANALYSIS OF SITES

The territory of Sybaris is characterised by a large plain, the valley of the Crathis river, which originates southeast of the city in the foothills of the Sila massif and flows north to the Ionian Sea. The northern reach of Sybarite territory is delimited by the mountain massif of Pollino, where the source of the Coscile river – the ancient Sybaris and a tributary of the Crathis – is located (Figure 1). Sybaris stood alone on the plain, while the other centres treated here were located on hills of varying heights, naturally fortified and easily defensible. In this study, those sites nearer to the polis centre have been distinguished from those more distant, in order to see whether the fall of Sybaris had different effects on the indigenous settlements in the poleis' close orbit.⁷

SYBARIS

The analysis must begin with the site of Sybaris itself (Figure 2) during the aftermath of the diversion of the Crathis and Sybaris rivers, as mentioned by Strabo.⁸ Though archaeological confirmation is difficult to obtain, the destruction of the site by a flooding event would seem to be corroborated by the discovery of destruction layers and a layer of alluvial silt, on average often

5 In fact, it should be noted that one of the problems is the lack of systematic research on the territory, with certain key exceptions. Moreover, one of the objectives of the study is precisely to bring out these critical issues and begin to revise all the data at our disposal.

6 The division was not based solely on the real geographical distance, but also on the ease of access to the sites.

7 All sites other than Sybaris are here considered indigenous. Without entering into the merits of the colonial-indigenous relationship, still the subject of debate in the scientific world, during the historical period examined in this article, some two centuries after the foundation of the colony, there seems to be a relatively peaceful and integrated relationship. The relationship will change with the arrival of the Lucani in Calabria after the conquest of Poseidonia at the end of the fifth century BC.

8 Strabo, 6.1.13.



Figure 2
General plan of the site of Sybaris with the location of the excavations (from Greco 2013a, 77, fig. 1).

about 40 cm thick, covering the Sybaris phase.⁹ Other alluvial layers found in recent excavations in the area seem to be due to the continuous flooding of the Crathis, which occurred after the destruction of Sybaris, likely due to the cessation of river maintenance.¹⁰ Flooding of the area still occurs today and remains an unfortunate problem of the area, including the frequent flooding of the Sybaris archaeological park. This characteristic of the area must be taken into consideration with regard to the visibility of the archaeological data in the Sybaris plain.

Despite these floodings, the site does not seem to have been completely abandoned: activity is attested by ceramics found during the extensive excavations undertaken between 1969 and 1976 at Stombi, Parco del Cavallo, Prolungamento Strada, and Incrocio ("Lungo Muro").¹¹ Among the finds, I mention in particular miniature vessels and terracotta votive statuettes (Figure 3)

9 Greco 2013a, 78; Greco 2013b, 200.

10 D'Alessio et al. 2017, 965.

11 While there does not seem to be any material dating between 510-444 BC during the initial investigations (see Sybaris I, 139-144), this changes with the continuation of the excavations: Sybaris II, 17-18, 87-88 note 23, 95, 101-102, 110, 113, 130 note 113, 143; Sybaris III, 104 note 173, 115 note 209, 124 note 232, 441-448; Sybaris IV, 57 note 47, 61 note 65, 535-536, 153; Sybaris V, 108 note 95, 238, 252 note 12, 286 note 162; 506 note 554. For a review of the findings relevant to this chronological period, see Guzzo 1976. Greco 2013a, 78 note 9, notes a layer of silt of ca. 40 cm deep that physically separates Sybaris and Thurii. He also highlights new fragments dated to the period of the hiatus, discovered by S. Luppino, still unpublished but exhibited at the Museo archeologico nazionale della Sibaritide, especially from the locality of Favella della Corte. Perhaps it is possible that part of the material recovered from the new excavations may also be included in this chronological period, but this material remains unpublished to date, and is only known by mentions (D'Alessio et al. 2017, 964-965).

which could suggest cult activities practised by the last remaining inhabitants of Sybaris.¹² These small finds are of considerable importance as a clear indicator of a certain continuity in the life of the site, despite the heavy demographic and spatial contraction at the site which seem to be attested by the thick layers of alluviation. Taking these layers into mind, I of course do not mean to state that the site of Sybaris was frequented consistently, but these small discoveries are signs of small groups of people, perhaps exiles.¹³

SITES IN THE NEARER HINTERLAND OF SYBARIS

The extent and power of the Sybarite domain were so well known in antiquity that we may speak of a real 'Sybarite empire', even if this characterisation is more suitable for understanding the extent of the polis' territory, than its political structure.¹⁴ It is not by chance that even sites situated relatively far away from the Achaean colony were somehow affected by its fall. Among the sites in the immediate vicinity and more easily reached from Sybaris are Francavilla Marittima, Cozzo Michelichio, and Torre Mordillo, to which we can add chance finds from Trebisacce and Rossano (Figure 1).

The first site, Francavilla Marittima, has been the subject of numerous studies and research projects, during both the last century and the current one.¹⁵ On the Timpone della Motta of Francavilla there is a notable sanctuary, which perhaps was already active before the Achaean foundation of Sybaris.¹⁶ This is a fundamental site for the interpretation of the relationship between indigenous peoples and colonists during the migratory movements from Greece. After 510 BC, the sanctuary suffers a contraction of cult activities, leading some scholars to posit a complete cessation of activity.¹⁷ However, numerous finds are ascribable to the period between the end of the sixth and the middle of the fifth century BC, including fragments of Black and

Figure 3
Votive terracotta figurine, representing a female face (from Sibari III 1972, 104 fig. 105).



12 Unfortunately, the contexts in which these objects were found cannot be associated with architecture, and precise stratigraphic associations are lacking. In fact, all the materials seem to come from secondary deposits. Admittedly, the objects in question are few in number (consisting of a few dozen of those published), insufficient to prove the continuation of regular cult activities. It is worth noting that other excavated materials from the site need to be restudied and could in fact date during the hiatus (see below, note 43).

13 Greco 2013a, 78.

14 Greco 1993; Greco 2013a; Greco 2013b.

15 The bibliography concerning the site of Francavilla Marittima is extensive. For a history of studies and a summary of the research see Kleibrink 2010 and the most recent publications of Colelli 2014 and Brocato/Altomare 2018.

16 The sanctuary includes five different structures and a huge amount of archaeological material including imported pottery, votives, architectural terracottas, and a Greek bronze inscription of the sixth century BC with dedication to Athena by "Kleombrotos son of Dexilawos," victor at Olympia. Athena was probably one of the sanctuary's gods.

17 E.g. Granese 2013, 59.

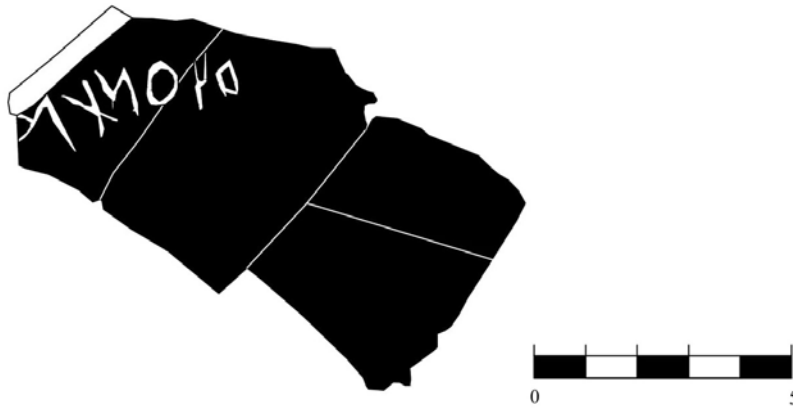


Figure 4
 Reconstructive drawing of the Attic Black Figure kylix sherd with a retrograde inscription "DIONYS" from Torre Mordillo (created by author from Colburn 1977, 502 fig. 86).

Red Figure ceramics (with the former more commonly attested), votive terracottas, and possibly structures connected to a temple building.¹⁸ The materials have a certain importance because they show that the sanctuary remained in use in this phase, and the presence of ceramics also indicates that commercial traffic did not cease in the investigated area after 510 BC. There is, however, a reduction of activities at the site, plausibly related to the demographic contraction after the fall of Sybaris. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that even the well-known necropolis of Francavilla does not appear to contain burials dating beyond the end of the sixth century BC.¹⁹

Another site very close to Sybaris is Torre Mordillo. This site is mostly known due to the discovery of an Iron Age necropolis and a settlement related to the Middle Bronze Age, which saw habitation – with alternating phases – until the end of the third century BC.²⁰ With regard to the seventy years which are analysed in this paper, I highlight the presence of a well-known fragment belonging to an Attic Black Figure kylix, bearing the retrograde inscription "DIONYS" and datable to 500-490 BC (Figure 4).²¹ In addition to this imported fragment, there are other finds, including pottery and votive statuettes, that have been related to a possible sanctuary frequented from the middle of the sixth century into the following century.²²

18 Osanna et al. 2009, especially 475-476, from Stoop 1989. See also Maaskant-Kleibrink 1993, 44; Granese 2013, 59, in which the author also mentions other unpublished artifacts from Building IV, datable to the first half of the fifth century BC.

19 Osanna 1992, 138-139; Granese 2014 with further bibliography.

20 For the Iron Age see: Pasqui 1888; Trucco/Vagnetti 2001; Mollo/Smurra 2012 with further bibliography.

21 Colburn 1977, 500 pl. 50, fig. 86; Osanna et al. 2009, 476.

22 Colburn 1977; Genovese 1999, 46-48. Colburn and Genovese interpret it as a sanctuary, or at least a place of worship, based on the nature of the material found. As in Sybaris, the quantity of relevant artifacts is not large and requires more detailed analysis: "L'esistenza di statuette, circa una quarantina in gran parte femminili, consente di ascrivere la frequentazione del luogo di culto ad un periodo oscillante fra il VI ed il III sec. a.C." (Genovese 1999, 46).

Completing the picture of the sites in the near hinterland of Sybaris is Cozzo Michelicchio. At this site, no systematic excavations have been carried out, despite the undeniable archaeological potential of the site.²³ Still, chance finds and those recovered during brief investigations have made it possible to ascertain the sacred nature of the site. This is indicated by the probable presence of a temple building adorned with architectural terracottas, mostly from the second half of the sixth century BC, but with some specimens that could fall in the years after 510 BC.²⁴ There are also some ceramic fragments, even if few in number, dated between the late sixth and the middle of the fifth century BC, also attributable to a cultic assemblage.²⁵ As with the previous cases of Torre Mordillo, Francavilla, and Sybaris itself, therefore, the activity of a sanctuary, or in any case a place with a cultic function, can be hypothesised at Cozzo Michelicchio.

Rounding out the picture of the nearer hinterland of Sybaris is an isolated female burial in the municipality of Trebisacce and other chance finds from the territory of Rossano. The burial is datable to around 460 BC based on the presence of an Attic Red Figure stamnos, and also included three lekythoi.²⁶ Attested at Rossano, and probably part of one or more grave assembles, are a bronze mirror with a female figural support, datable to the first quarter of the fifth century BC, and other fragments, including some Attic ceramics of the same period.²⁷ These finds, though isolated, still indicate some continuing, albeit not very intensive, occupation of the territory.

SITES IN THE FURTHER HINTERLAND OF SYBARIS

Despite a higher degree of heterogeneity in the data, it is possible to outline an overall picture for those sites located further away from Sybaris, including the sites of Amendolara, S. Maria del Castello – Castrovillari, S. Sosti, Torano, Castiglione di Paludi, and Rose (Figure 1). These sites have also provided materials for the

23 For a history of the studies on Cozzo Michelicchio see Quondam 2014.

24 Aversa 2014, in particular an antefix (Aversa 2014, 384-386 fig. 5, 443-444 nr. 1287), which has an iconographic parallel with an Etruscan Black Figure hydria dated to 510-500 BC. The proposed date of the antefix is 530-500, so production prior to the destruction of Sybaris cannot be ruled out.

25 For the pottery, see Quondam 2014, 379 note 23, 420 nr. 1186 (head of a terracotta figurine), 434 nr. 1237 (fragment of bronze hydria handle). Only these two objects can be dated with certainty to the period in question, but there are many others whose chronology is uncertain, and could fall within the hiatus (Quondam 2014, 379 nrs. 1216-1224). Quondam writes that "La successiva storia del luogo di culto è più evanescente: come Timpono Motta, è probabile che anche Cozzo Michelicchio risenta della traumatica fine di Sibari. All'assenza di votivi inquadrabili con sicurezza nella prima metà del V sec. a.C. fa seguito una certa ripresa dell'attività culturale tra la seconda metà del V e il IV sec. a.C." (Quondam 2014, 379) — illustrative of the general scholarly tendency to lead with an assumption of general abandonment in the Sybaritide.

26 Masneri 2006.

27 Orsi 1919; Guzzo 1976.

period analysed, although it is important to note that different materials were found when the study was in a different stage and the researchers did not have the knowledge they have now.

Amendolara has traditionally been defined as an indigenous site that was abandoned with the destruction of Sybaris and is known for some research carried out by J. de La Génierre, among others.²⁸ Thanks to other recent research (surveys and archival research), it has been possible to verify the presence of materials dating between the sixth and fifth centuries BC. These seem to point to sporadic and disjointed zones of occupation. The material found is mainly ceramic. Unfortunately, the quantity, the precise chronology and the interpretation of these data during the period under investigation are not further clarified by De La Genière.²⁹

The second of these sites, S. Maria del Castello –Castrovillari, is located on the slopes of the Pollino mountain range and has never been the subject of systematic research; all the known artifacts are chance finds.³⁰ An Attic lekythos, a bowl, rims of louteria, and fragments of votive statuettes can certainly be dated to the chronological period examined, implying a site frequented from the seventh to the third century BC, and interpreted as a place of worship. At another locality of S. Maria del Castello, Ietticelle, the remains of an antefix and a bronze representing Herakles were found, both dated within the fifth century.³¹

A similar case, also located at the foot of the Pollino massif, is the site of S. Sosti. During recent excavations inside the Chiesa del Carmine in the historic centre, numerous archaeological remains and stratigraphies emerged, dating from the Bronze Age to the Medieval period.³² For the phase in question, there is evidence of a sacred area, including a possible temple, which came into use in the sixth century BC and continued without interruption until the fourth century.³³ Imported Attic pottery, miniature vessels, and coroplastics (Figure 5) are clues that can let us attribute a cultic function to the area.

From the foot of Monte Pollino, we now pass to two sites in the middle of the Crathis river valley. The first, Torano – Cozzo

28 Including the necropolis in the Paladino district (De La Genière 2012). The other research projects carried out on the territory are mentioned in Colelli/Altomare 2018.

29 De Rose 2008; Colelli/Altomare 2018.

30 Novellis 2003.

31 Novellis 2003, 19.

32 The excavation and material are almost entirely unpublished, known only from a preliminary article (Marino/Papparella 2008), so at present it is not possible to define with certainty which material is attributable to the period concerned.

33 Marino/Papparella 2008, for the remains of the building interpreted as a temple, see table I, fig. 4.

La Torre, has been investigated only minimally in a scientific manner, through the excavation of 13 tombs and scarce remains of the city walls, but its territory has provided abundant evidence, mostly unpublished.³⁴ These excavations do not do justice to the enormous potential of the site, in which activity seems to span from the Iron Age to the Hellenistic period.³⁵ The publication of a quantity of Archaic material from the territory of Torano, recovered through surface collections, attests some fragments relating to the period examined, datable between the end of sixth and the end of the fifth centuries BC, including a miniature vase and some Black Gloss pots.³⁶ So far, imports are lacking amongst this material, unlike in the cases discussed above. This absence can perhaps be attributed to the dearth of systematic research. In this case, the fragmentary data simply indicate some presence during the hiatus period, and do not allow for a more exhaustive interpretation of the site, nor establishing the nature and dimensions of the site itself.

A site investigated only in very recent years is that of Rose, already known from chance finds, including the so-called Kore of Rose, a bronze statuette of exquisite workmanship dated to the end of the sixth century BC (Figure 6).³⁷ In recent years, stratigraphic excavations have brought to light the remains of a structure in the 'Area delle Fate', interpreted by researchers as a place of worship, due to the presence of coroplastics, miniatures, and imported pottery.³⁸ The structure, which has only been published in preliminary form, has produced material that ranges from the Iron Age to the fourth-third century BC, among which are a kotyle and a small olpe, both in fine ware fabric, dating from the middle of the fifth century BC, and an Attic lekythos dating to the period of 480-470 BC.³⁹ In contrast with the other cases, the Rose site is quite notable because a high percentage of the published artifacts (a few dozen in total) fall within the chronological period under investigation. Before it can be confirmed as a possible cult



Figure 5
Terracotta figurine from S. Sosti (from Marino/Papparella 2008, 3 fig. 6).

34 Pace 2011, 40, who notes materials originating from occasional chance finds made by local farmers, rather than from scientific research. This is a widespread problem throughout Calabria, and such chance finds are often simply stored and not studied.

35 De La Genière 1977.

36 Pace 2011, 45-46. In this case, the date indicated for the material slightly postdates the analysed chronological period, considering the difficulty of a more precise dating for the material itself.

37 Arias 1941.

38 D'Alessio/Taliano Grasso 2014a, D'Alessio/Taliano Grasso 2014b.

39 The first two fragments come from the foundation trench of an ashlar structure. However, these blocks seem to have been removed from the original monumental structure of the Late Archaic period and reused (D'Alessio/Taliano Grasso 2014a, 96). From the same context, we can also note a miniature bronze olpetta dated to the fifth century BC and a fragmentary fibula dated to the last quarter of the sixth century BC (D'Alessio/Taliano Grasso 2014a, 98-99 note 273-281).

place in operation between the end of the sixth and the middle of the fifth century, however, we must await final publication of the excavation.

There are also signs of activity, albeit fragmentary, between the end of the sixth and the middle of the fifth century BC at Castiglione di Paludi. This is a hillside site located south of Sybaris and is located the nearest to Kroton of the sites collected here. Associated with the remains of a building made of sandstone blocks are a fragment of an Attic Black Figure krater dated to the end of the sixth century BC and other ceramics of the late sixth and fifth centuries BC, including fragments of stamnos with brown strips, hydriai, small cups and plates in Black gloss fabric, lamps, miniaturist pottery, and so on.⁴⁰ From another area of the site, there is a bronze statue depicting Herakles, dated between the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century BC.⁴¹ Unfortunately, the nature of the site during this period has not yet been interpreted. However, based on the published data, there could be another cultic area at Castiglione di Paludi, corresponding to other, similar findings from the worship contexts analysed so far.

DISCUSSION

Between its foundation and destruction, the polis of Sybaris had set up a very specific settlement system, which, in the sixth century, seemed to be powerful and extensive enough to be called an empire. Having presented the data that have been published thus far, it is now necessary to consider how further research, including the study of unpublished materials, may revise the picture.

Many problems arise from all the sites examined, including data scarcity. The data in question are not always obtained through scientific research, but mostly come from sporadic findings, rather than from stratigraphic investigations or surveys. Moreover, for the territory of Sybaris, especially that of the plain of the Crathis, it is necessary to take into consideration the scarce archaeological visibility that makes it even more difficult to know the real archaeological data of the territory.⁴² Despite all these problems, this study has tried to make the most of the available

Figure 6

The kore of Rose, dated to the end of the sixth century BC (from Museo Archeologico Nazionale della Sibaritide, photograph by Dr. Daniel P. Diffendale).



40 Novellis/Paoletti 2011, 195, 199 note 23, note 53. A recent paper on all the excavation campaigns carried out until 2008 in Castiglione di Paludi (Tosti 2017, 710-712 especially), assumes, taking into account these findings, that the site was frequented between the Archaic and Classical periods.

41 Tosti 2017, 689 note 76. Although they are not accurately dated in the text, it has been suggested that even the architectural elements from the so-called "Saggio Triglifi" may be dated to the period in question (Tosti 2017, 689 note 76, 704, 710-711, 724-725).

42 Factor also emphasised in Osanna 1992, 229.

data. With regard to the first part of this paper's research question, on the presence of habitation in the area, even if we are forced to come only to preliminary conclusions due to the imperfect nature of the data, it seems that there are non-negligible quantities of material dating between the end of the sixth and the mid-fifth century present, although not so abundant as throughout the previous centuries.⁴³ According to a settlement model for the territory of Sybaris proposed by Osanna, a cornerstone of archaeological literature, the territory was the subject of violent conquest by Achaean colonists, which led to a widespread destructuring of the indigenous sites in favour of the needs of the polis.⁴⁴ According to the same model, this system collapsed with the destruction of Sybaris, causing the territory of Sybaris to be abandoned after 510 BC, with continued habitation restricted to Francavilla Marittima.⁴⁵ This model, however, though of great importance, should be re-evaluated in light of the data collected in this article. Though these data suggest that Sybaris certainly influenced all the centres of the surrounding area, they evidently suggest at the same time that the site was not fundamental for the continuity of survival of these centres.

With regard to the nature of the settlement pattern and habitation – the second part of this article's research question – a picture emerges from the archaeological data of a territory populated in a manner less extensive than in the preceding period, whilst remaining vibrant despite the significant demographic decline. This decline cannot be precisely quantified, but the almost total absence of burials in this period compared to the previous or the following moment speaks volumes.⁴⁶ In the areas surrounding Sybaris, there is a more variable and unstable situation due to the absence of the city itself: the small indigenous communities seem to survive, as evidenced by the overview presented above.⁴⁷ All the same, such sites probably suffered from the fall of Sybaris,

43 There is also a need to revisit the dating of some materials, which may have been assigned dates before or after the hiatus on the basis of now-superseded chronologies, or which may have been dated before or after on the assumption that the area was abandoned. It should be noted, in fact, that only Attic imports fall unequivocally within the seventy years examined, thanks to a greater progress of studies and to a rigid chrono-typological seriousness that does not oscillate too much. An example of the materials that should be restudied are the type B2 Ionic cups or the Bloesch C amphorae, whose chronology has been lowered, thanks to the advancement of research since the 1990s, to between the second half of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth centuries BC.

44 Osanna 1992.

45 Osanna 1992, 140. Also recalling the attempts of refoundation by the exiles (see below also).

46 Only two burials are known from the period in question, compared to the numerous graves known from the early to mid-sixth century BC from, for example, Amendolara (De La Genière 2012) and Francavilla (Brocato 2011; Brocato 2014). A change in funerary customs cannot be ruled out, but a lack of systematic research is certainly a factor.

47 Lombardo 1993, 274 defines the Sybaritide as "un territorio senza città".

given the abundance of evidence from these sites from the seventh and sixth centuries, a probable indication of a peaceful coexistence between Achaeans and indigenous inhabitants in that period, in contrast to scarce data for the period under study. This scarcity does not suffice to illuminate settlement patterns during the hiatus, but the consistent presence – sometimes subtle, sometimes more marked – of cultic materials suggests that groups continued to congregate at religious sites.

From the contextualisation of the data collected and the results obtained, it is also possible to make some brief observations on the inhabitants of Sybaris who, once the polis had fallen, found refuge elsewhere. In fact, of the Sybarite exiles, on the other hand, it is known from textual sources that they found refuge in the sites of Laos, Skidros, and Pyxous, all sub-colonies of Sybaris.⁴⁸ While not yet securely identified archaeologically (with the probable exception of Laos), these sites should all be located on or near the Tyrrhenian coast, and therefore separated by the Pollino massif and the western mountain range from the plain.⁴⁹ From these sites, the exiles prepared vain or, in any case, brief attempts to re-establish Sybaris, as attested by ancient sources and by certain coin types minted together with these sub-colonies. A coin series of Sybaris dated to 453 BC, for instance, would represent one of these attempts at recolonization by the exiles with the help of Laos and Poseidonia. The diobolo with Poseidon and a bird enclosed within a crown seems to allude to the types and cults of those two cities (Figure 7).⁵⁰

The Sybarite exiles coming from the territory of the sub-colonies, located on the Tyrrhenian coast, or in the immediate vicinity, had to pass near the indigenous centres during their re-foundation attempts. There are no indications that suggest a hostile relationship between the parties, although on the whole there is little evidence one way or the other. Moreover, the presence of places with a sacred nature in the indigenous settlements also suggests a phenomenon that is extremely well known and archaeologically verified in the contemporary contexts of Basilicata. For example, at Timmari and Garaguso,

48 Guzzo 1976; Bugno 1999, 36-55. The main sources are: Herodotus 5.45, 6.21; Diodorus Siculus 11.48.3-5, 11.90.3, 12.10; Iamblichus, *De vita Pythagorica liber*, 74.

49 Guzzo 1976, 53. The Tyrrhenian area was excluded from the present work as it is located in an area rich in finds for the period in question and probably suffered less from the fall of Sybaris, gravitating more in the Poseidoniatic orbit — even if it was probably a territory closely linked to the Achaean colony, given the presence of the three sub-colonies discussed.

50 Rutter 2001, note 1744; Spinelli 2010, 64. It should be reiterated that even historical sources recall attempts, albeit very ephemeral, to re-found Sybaris, of which these monetary issues are the only evidence. For all other numismatic aspects, see Guzzo 1976 and Bugno 1999.

and particularly in the colony of Metapontion, there were areas of worship that aimed to connect Greeks with the indigenous communities.⁵¹ This clue could corroborate the hypothesis of a peaceful relationship between the parties, and might even mean that even some of the exiles lived in these places. There is nothing inconsistent with a coexistence between exiles and autochthonous peoples, which lasted until the foundation of Thurii and the arrival of people of Lucanian ethnicity in Calabria after their conquest of Poseidonia at the end of the fifth century BC. Even though, in this case, the archaeological visibility of the Sybarite exiles is difficult to find and demonstrate, it is a factor that cannot be left out, considering the aim of the paper and this scenario deserves to be further contextualised within future studies. The overall picture is particularly interesting because it shows a frequentation of the area between the destruction of Sybaris and the foundation of Thurii. As to why the evidence from the hiatus is almost exclusively related to cult, this may be due to a lack of systematic research; indeed, such material is more easily recognisable, and it is worth highlighting how much of the evidence is due to chance finds. In addition, systematic research has focused more on sites of the Iron Age or the Roman period. A research program targeted at recovering evidence from the period between the fall of Sybaris and the establishment of Thurii would be likely to yield interesting results.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the period between 510 and 444 BC is characterised by serious uncertainty and instability. Between its foundation in 720 BC and its destruction two centuries later, Sybaris had built itself an empire, founded numerous sub-colonies, and become famous for its power and wealth. After its devastation by Kroton, the whole territory was affected by the absence of the Achaean colony, to such an extent that modern scholars have spoken of abandonment of the area, while surviving exiles took refuge in the sub-colonies. Compared with the pre-destruction period, there is an apparent contraction in habitation traces registered by the archaeological data, but not an abandonment. Rather, all the sites examined show continuity. Almost all of the contexts known from the period of hiatus seem to be attributable to places of a sacred nature, some of which had already been frequented since the Archaic period.



Figure 7

The back of the Sybaris coin with chronology at 453 BC with bird enclosed within a crown (from Spinelli 2010, 70 TAVOLA III nr. 16).

⁵¹ Osanna 2010; Osanna 2011. We must however consider the different knowledge of the investigated sites compared to the Lucanian ones, so the comparison remains partial and is proposed with caution.

From the evidence collected here, it is clear that after the destruction of Sybaris, the Sybaritide was in fact still occupied, even if it is not clear to what degree, and many sites continue to exist. The Sybarite exiles who found refuge along the Tyrrhenian coast are likely to have known these sites from their frequentation of the territory. Moreover, it is conceivable that places of worship in the indigenous centres played a role in guaranteeing peaceful contact and coexistence between the parties. Considering their poor relationship with the poleis of Kroton and Metapontion, it is likely that the Sybarite exiles found some kind of support among the indigenous communities, perhaps in the form of allies, or of hospitality within their former territory.

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