

L'Incoronata (southern Italy): ceramics productions and identities in a VIIth century BC Greek-indigenous pottery workshop. Beyond the differences

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L'Incoronata (Italy). Aerial photography of the hill. *Fouilles et recherches à Incoronata* (Mario Denti, dir.) Centre Jean Bérard.

4.4. L'INCORONATA (SOUTHERN ITALY): CERAMICS PRODUCTIONS AND IDENTITIES IN A VIITH CENTURY BC GREEK-INDIGENOUS POTTERY WORKSHOP. BEYOND THE DIFFERENCES

L' INCORONATA (SUR DE ITALIA): PRODUCCIONES CERÁMICAS E IDENTIDADES EN UN TALLER CERÁMICO INDÍGENO-GRIEGO DEL SIGLO VII AC. MÁS ALLÁ DE LAS DIFERENCIAS

Clément Bellamy[1] and Mathilde Villete[2]

Abstract

L'Incoronata (Italy) is an important proto-archaic key-site where Indigenous South-Italian communities met the first Aegean migrants, between the 8th and the 7th century BC. This hill housed an important craft area at least during the 7th century BC.

The structures we still unearth are characterized by the association of both Indigenous and locally produced Greek pottery, within the same stratigraphic contexts. It allows us to observe a 'middle ground' between these two craftspeople communities. Sometimes, attributing a sherd to one production or another seems impossible, or at least irrelevant.

Here we will talk about the issues of 'mixity', hybridity and identity, and about the sharing of areas, know-how and technical skills through a critical overview of the various ceramic productions and craft structures. These themes will be discussed with some methodological perspectives, under different prisms as many as archaeological, technological, archaeometrical or ethnoarchaeological.

Key words: Ceramic Workshop, Southern Italy, L'incoronata, Greek-Indigenous Settlement, Hybridity, Identity, South Italian Iron Age, Proto-Archaic Period.

Resumen

L'Incoronata (Italia) es un yacimiento proto-arcaico clave, donde comunidades Indígenas del Sur de Italia entraron en contacto con los primeros inmigrantes del Egeo, entre los siglos VIII y VII a.C. Esta colina alberga un área artesana activa, al menos desde el s.VII a.C.

Las estructuras que todavía estamos sacando a la luz se caracterizan por la asociación de cerámica, tanto Indígena como de producción griega local, en los mismos contextos estratigráficos. Ello nos permite la posibilidad de observar un "punto de conexión" entre estas dos comunidades artesanas. A veces, la atribución de un fragmento a una producción u otra parece imposible, o al menos irrelevante.

Aquí hablaremos de cuestiones de "mezcla", hibridación e identidad, así como sobre el reparto de áreas, de saber y de habilidad de las técnicas, a través de una visión crítica de las diferentes producciones cerámicas y estructuras artesanas. Estos temas serán discutidos con ciertas perspectivas metodológicas y bajo diferentes puntos de vista, englobando lo arqueológico con lo tecnológico, arqueométrico o etnoarqueológico.

Palabras clave: Centros Alfareros, Sur De Italia, L'incoronata, Asentamientos Greco-Indígenas, Hibridación, Identidad, Edad Del Hierro En El Sur De Italia, Periodo Proto-Arcaico.

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1. INTRODUCTION

"*And Homer sang to them the following song* [...] *: 'If you pay me, Potters, I will sing. Come here Athena, and stretch out your hand over the kiln.* [...] *But if you potters turn to shamelessness and try to cheat, I then call down upon your kiln destroyers*"

Herodotus, *Life of Homer* 32.
(Quoted from Humphrey *et al.*, 1998:372).

From the 8th century BC onwards, and particularly in the 7th century BC, Southern Italy has witnessed many cultural changes along with more numerous contacts between Indigenous communities and Aegean migrants. The soil of the L'Incoronata site recorded in this regard a very interesting aspect of the relationships which are set up in the proto-archaic Mediterranean world.

This site is located on a hill 7 km away from the Ionian coast and the future polis of Metaponto, on the right bank of the Basento river (Fig. 1), in the middle of a hilly complex where Indigenous, Greek and mixed occupations have been recognized, between the 9th century and the 6th century BC. Discovered by Dinu Adamesteanu (Soprintendenza Archeologica della Basilicata) in the 1970s, it was excavated under the direction of Piero Orlandini (Università di Milano) until the 1990s. Then the excavations resumed in 2002 under the direction of Mario Denti (Université Rennes 2).

So far, the structures and the artefacts which have been unearthed have revealed a first exclusively Indigenous occupation in the 8th century BC, characterized by two large successive pavements separated by a thick layer of fill (Denti, 2013a). It was then followed by a mixed Indigenous-Greek occupation, materialized by a craft area dedicated to the production of ceramics, active throughout the first half of the 7th century BC at least (Denti, 2012). Finally, the occupation of the western part of the hill ended with an exclusively (or almost) Greek occupation, datable to the end of the 7th century BC, preceded by an obliteration of the craft structures, and consisting of multiple ritual deposits, 'constructed' with a large proportion of entirely reconstructible wares, stones and bricks, as well as faunal remains and some occasional metal objects (Denti, 2013b).

The most important aspect, for our purpose, consists in finding a space dedicated to the production of ceramics, where some features such as reject features (*e.g.* US 37) have clearly documented the association of both Greek and Indigenous productions. These mixed contexts have led us to consider a coexistence of both Indigenous and Greek communities, on a craft level: more precisely, the establishment of a Greek community near or with an Indigenous community already settled down on the hill. In addition, recent excavations seem to indicate the presence of an exclusively indigenous ceramic production (Denti, 2013a) already in the 8th century BC.

Regarding the craft production of the 7th century BC, the following evidence can be noted: a great amount of ceramics over the entire surface of the hill; clay settling basins, the hill itself constituting an important source of raw material; firing structures, which can be connected with a large number of kiln pieces, discarded in various features throughout the hill; and many characteristic overcooked, misfired ceramics wasters attributable to both Indigenous and Greek productions (Denti, 2012).

This work is an attempt to investigate the production of ceramics as well as its organization, the structures and the techniques of this production, exploring the following issues:

a. The identities of the craftspeople, and its implications on the productions as on our considerations.

b. The cultural hybridity and quotation marks of some productions.

c. "Mixity" within the craft area, and its implications in the organization and the share of spaces and production structures, and finally the exchange of technology and know-how.

We will base our reflection on the study of archaeological findings and structures - some of which have not been entirely excavated yet. The relative weakness of existing contemporary archaeological comparisons will lead us to explore ethnographical and ethnoarchaeological perspectives. This opening on ethnoarchaeology will be an opportunity to consider at the same time the relevance of ethnographic analogy, in a regularly discussed discipline.

As previously mentioned, a large quantity of pottery was found in various reject-pit features. One particularity of these features is the combination

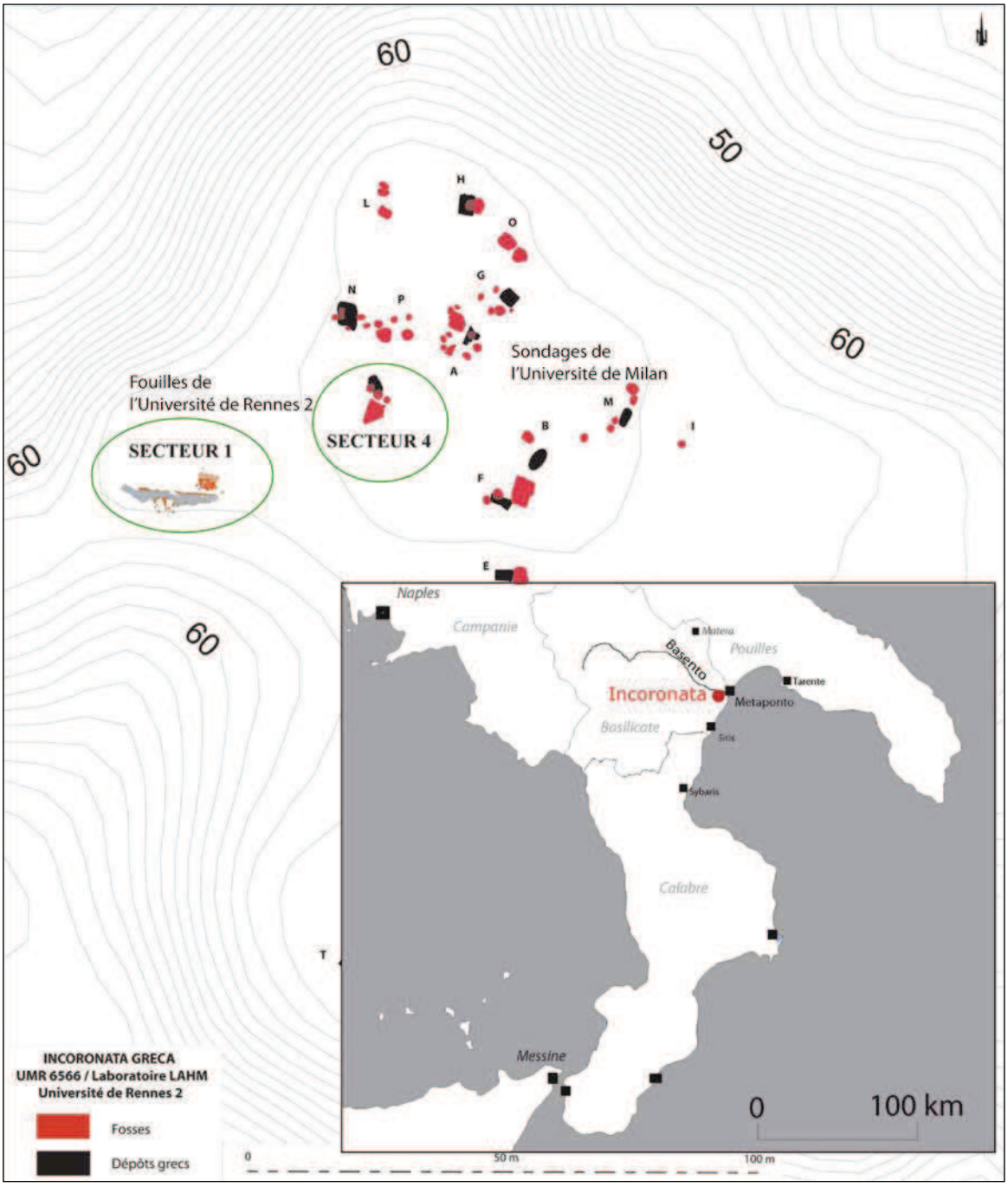


Fig. 1. Southern Italy map with localization of Incoronata, and topographical organization of the test excavations on the hill (DAO: F. Meadeb, elaborated by C. Bellamy and M. Villette).

of ceramics attributed to both Greek and Indigenous productions. Shape and decorative elements of those both Greek and Indigenous productions, plus the stratigraphical data, have allowed us to date those productions to the 7th century BC (Denti, 2013a: 2). In addition, some artefacts are hardly 'culturally' recognizable and attributable to a particular production. This leads us to consider a hybrid production. All these elements have indeed allowed us to hypothesize the existence of a mixed craft area, where both Indigenous and Greek craftspeople used the same local workshop (Denti, 2012: 249-250).

This scenery can now be easily linked to a variety of experiences in the Archaic Mediterranean world, where Greek and Indigenous communities seem to have regularly developed various modes of coexis-

tence as well as local and mixed productions, from the shores of the Black Sea to the extreme-western Mediterranean basin (Tréziny, 2010).

At L'Incoronata, the vision of a possible coexistence between Greeks and Indigenous elements has not always been accepted[1], in accordance with the tenacious historiography of the so-called Greek 'colonization'; even if at the time of this discovery, D. Adamesteanu, superintendent at the time, already foresaw a Greek-Indigenous cohabitation on the hill (Adamesteanu, 1974: 73-75). While this Greek-Indigenous coexistence is not questioned on the archaeological ground any more, our analysis will now be dedicated to the terms and the materialization of this interaction.

2. IDENTITIES AND CERAMIC PRODUCTIONS

We will focus here on a few significant examples, often taken among the Indigenous matt-painted pottery production[2], as well as on some more problematic elements, which have already started to be discussed elsewhere (Denti, 2009b; Bellamy and Villette, 2013). Firstly, let us briefly review the characteristics of the 7th century BC productions at L'Incoronata.

The Indigenous matt-painted pottery, which is the most widely represented, can be linked to the regional style 'Bradano Late Geometric' dated by D. G. Yntema between 725 and 690/670 BC (Yntema, 1990: 159), and the following style 'Bradano Sub-Geometric', dated between 690/670 and 640/620 BC (Yntema, 1990: 169). This matt-painted pottery is particularly characterized by a geometric decoration, highly enriched since the 'Bradano Late Geometric' period with motifs borrowed from the Greek repertoire, such as meanders (Fig. 2) and squared lozenges (Fig. 3), along with local innovations such as the appearance and the development of the bichrome painting. This punctual introduction of new elements does not make part of the 'natural' development of ceramics (Herring, 1998: 8). There are many innovations between the late 8th and the early 7th century BC, in a presumably relatively short period, maybe 30 years. Rather than a simplistic 'artistic influence', this could be explained by the intensification of social and economic stress: caused by external factors of course, like the arrival of the Greek migrants and the economic 'competition' due to the imported Greek pottery, but probably along with internal factors such as competitive interaction between regions (Herring, 1998: 162). But then, should we consider this matt-painted ceramic as an ethnic indicator? This assumption depends on the idea that objects and decorations have meanings behind their basic function, and that these meanings can be understood. The argument is that the regionally differentiated phases of matt-painted vases are the physical expression of the Indigenous communities' cultural identity. In areas where competition for resources is low, the cultural 'distinctiveness' is not important, and ethnic information is not expressed on the material culture (Herring, 1998: 12). But if the competition is stressed, must we can expect an 'ethnic response' through material culture?

In the same context, beside this Indigenous production, a smaller quantity of locally produced Greek pottery has been identified, *i.e.* one Greek for four Indigenous ones. It has been dated to the 7th century BC, and characterized by a particularly strong influence from the Eastern Greek and Cycladic productions. This was enough to assume rather quickly that at least part of the migrants had come from areas between the Cyclades and the Eastern Greece, or at the very least consciously claimed themselves from the Eastern Greece cultural sphere, using it to create a new "cultural identity" (Denti, 2002).

This short presentation, deliberately dichotomous, brings out two issues: why working side by side and still maintain two specific productions? In this particular context, what do recurring terms such as identity, cultural or ethnic identity, really mean and imply?

We have to remember that we are dealing with a period where identities are not 'set'; they are being constructed, precisely through observation and mutual recognition of the 'other' (Denti, 2009b: 85) and therefore through the interaction phenomena that we are studying.

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[1] As it can be seen for example in the exhibition catalog from 1986 *I Greci sul Basento. Mostra degli Scavi Archeologici all'L'Incoronata di Metaponto 1971-1984*, New Press, Como, or simply in the fact that the hill has traditionally been called L'Incoronata *Greca*.

[2] This particular material is studied by one of the authors, Clément Bellamy, in a doctoral thesis in progress, under the direction of M. Denti (Rennes 2) and co-directed by M. Osanna (Foggia).



Plate 1. Incoronata, a choice of Indigenous matt-painted ceramics with motifs of lozenges, all sized 1/1 (except from 7, sized ½). 1: bichromatic, from feature US37, Secteur 1 (Photo: C. Bellamy). 2, 3, 5: monochromatic, from feature US37, Secteur 1 (Photo: C. Bellamy). 4: bichromatic, from feature US15, Secteur 4 (Photo: C. Bellamy). 6: monochromatic, from feature US3, Secteur 4 (Photo: C. Bellamy). 7: monochromatic, from the so-called *oikos*, Saggio E, Orlandini's excavations (DAO: C. Bellamy). 8, 9: bichromatic, from pit 1, Saggio P, Orlandini's excavations (DAO: C. Bellamy).



Plate 2. Incoronata, examples of hybridity, all sized 1/1 (except from 4, sized ¼). 1: Indigenous bichromatic matt-painted ware with meander, from feature US37, Secteur 1 (Photo: C. Bellamy). 2: Indigenous monochromatic matt-painted ware with maltese cross, from feature US37, Secteur 1 (Photo: C. Bellamy). 3: Indigenous bichromatic matt-painted ware with Meanderbaum, from pit 1, Saggio P, Orlandini's excavations (DAO: C. Bellamy). 4: Greek figurated *deinos*, with unique motif of a kind of curtain between the horses, from the so-called *oikos*, Saggio T, Orlandini's excavations (Photo: M. Denti).

Without any prejudice on the merits of concepts borrowed from anthropology, such as cultural identity or ethnic identity, it is worth noting that the current actors of anthropological and ethnographical disciplines increasingly tend to distrust or even abandon the notions of culture and ethnicity, especially when they lead to simplistic and rigid equations like 'material culture = ethnic group', or other equivalences linking ethnic groups to fixed geographic areas (Boissinot, 1998: 20-21) (Dores Cruz, 2011: 343) (Gosselain, 2011b: 11). When Levi-Strauss defines what a culture is, by taking over the tylorian definition, he notes that culture, as a complex set of symbolic systems, is the ability to be distinguished among a plurality of cultures, of which exchange is the social fundament (Maniglier, 2002: 14-16) -this exchange being, in particular, the system of *don* and *contre-don*. But let us keep in mind that the traditional tylorian definition of culture brings together elements that, regarding these past societies, we can barely 'touch': arts, objects or knowledge- not to mention other elements such as rules, languages or beliefs, that we cannot even dare to imagine. Is it then possible to speak of ethnic identities, still vague, or even cultural identities, whereas those can only be very partially approached, if we take into account the heterogeneity of the material, the lack of contemporary texts, and the very little information available on daily life? Or should we perhaps limit ourselves to talking about visible phenomena, like certain material hybridity? But should we apply this hybridity to other levels of the organization of society?

The concept of hybridity is nowadays used in a constantly growing number of works in both anthropological (Burke, 2009) and archeological studies (Van Valkenburgh, 2013), including studies on the Archaic Mediterranean World (Balco, 2012: 24) (Kleibrink and Masci, 2012: 91-92) (Morel, 2010: 281). This concept effectively overcomes the one-way vision of the Hellenization. 'Hellenization' is a dangerous term: it implies a one-way phenomenon, along with the domination of one entity on another, since the latter is (or at least seems) structurally, culturally or politically weaker. Admitting the existence of hybrid cultures allows to perceive a 'middle ground' (Malkin, 2005), a hybridized culture, or rather a culture which is in a process of

hybridization, to use I. Morris' words. Morris proposed to replace the static *Mediterraneanism* by the dynamic process of *Mediterraneanization* (Morris, 2005: 51) in which handicraft proves to be a favourable means to exchange ideas, techniques and symbolics between communities that are not that different. To this extent, identity is one of the concerns in the craft strategies, such as other concerns like innovation (Boissinot, 1998: 22) (Dores Cruz, 2011: 351).

To illustrate this idea, let us examine a sample of the Indigenous matt-painted pottery class unearthed from the rejected waster's features. As noticed in other contemporary contexts on the hill, recurring motifs such as squared lozenges can be observed (Plate. 2). We are now perfectly sure that these patterns are from Aegean as well as Eatern Greece inspiration; this is proven by a Late Geometric Oinochoe imported from Eastern Greece and unearthed during earlier excavations on the hill. It should be reminded that, in addition to the squared lozenges, the Meanderbaum motif is also present, reproduced at L'Incoronata on both Indigenous bichrome matt-painted pottery (Orlandini, 1986) (Plate. 1) and locally produced Greek ceramics (Denti, 2000: 797-798). Defining whether Indigenous potters were directly inspired from the Greco-Oriental style or whether they 'copied' off the next-door Greek potter, and, in the end, not that important. It seems complicated as well to figure out whether the Meanderbaum motif had the same symbolic for both communities, and whether the Indigenous potter easily gave it an anthropomorphic significance (Orlandini, 1986: 56-57). It should however be noted that this motif has a similar meaning in both communities, and thus bear in mind that there was a common language, or at least a shared lexicon.

This hypothesis is also illustrated by findings in other South Italian sites. Already in the 8th century BC in Calabria, at Francavilla Marittima, some mixed situations have been recognized: more specifically where the ceremonies and rituals would have required a 'specific instrument', a new instrument developed by craftspeople using local creativity and external influences, including Levantine and Euboeans influences, and where hybridization occurs at technological and decorative levels (Kleibrink and Masci, 2012: 91-93).

At L'Amastuola, in Puglia, between the end of the 8th century and the beginning of the 6th century BC, Greek and Indigenous elements are associated in different contexts (funerary, votive, domestic): in regards to the ceramics, some specimen occasionally present a technological and or stylistic hybridity (Burgers and Crielaard, 2007: 113), while the motifs of meanders and lozenges are not rare, the latter often associated with the swastika (Burgers and Crielaard, 2011: 73). D. Yntema wrote elsewhere that the lozenges, among other motifs, first 'arrived' in this Salento region, before 'contaminating' the South Italian matt-painted productions from east to west (Yntema 1990: 206). Typological comparisons can be made between this L'Amastuola site and L'Incoronata. Indeed, we observed at L'Amastuola local Greek pieces of pottery identified as coming from L'Incoronata and dating from the first half of the 7th century BC, particularly in the context of ritual deposits, involving a majority of Greek pieces of pottery and some Indigenous ones in smaller quantity. The shapes are mainly associated with 'drinking', and with banqueting or offering (Burgers and Crielaard, 2011: 70-72). Let us not forget that at L'Incoronata, similar ritual gestures have been observed at the end of the 7th century BC, into many deposits (Denti, 2013b), involving the same type of locally produced Greek pottery service and occasionally some Indigenous vessels[3] (Bellamy, 2013).

This ritual aspect embodies yet another 'common ground' between Greeks and Indigenous; in other words, the Aegean migrants seem to arrive on 'favourable' humus. It is tempting to link these facts to the likely high antiquity of the relationships between South Italian Indigenous communities and the Aegean people. We are well aware of many Mycenaean visits in Southern Italy dating to the Bronze Age, where most of the Mycenaean material found was produced *in loco* (Graziadio and Guglielmino, 2011). This could partly explain why the Greeks arrived in these areas, in some kind of 'continuity', which cannot but evoke Homer's stories (taking into consideration the time of writing and the time of the action within the narrative); as well as explain the Indigenous favourable -we might say 'usual'- reception[4].

[3] In addition, these data provide a partial answer to the issue of the destination of these productions.

[4] As such, we must remember the many nostoi: one can find a summary for the region we are concerned, for example in the article by M. Denti, "Des Grecs très indigènes et des Indigènes très grecs. Grecs et Oenôtres au VIIe siècle av. J.-C.", pp. 84-87.

As a temporary conclusion on those matters, let us expose some ethnoarchaeological perspectives. As exposed earlier, the ethnographic analogy to correlate a material culture with ethnic and linguistic identities, or some similar artefacts with continuity in time and space, is regularly undermined (Dores Cruz, 2011: 343). Going 'beyond' this analogy was one of the important issues of our meeting. Nonetheless, it is clear that the task is arduous, and even some of the most enthusiastic supporters of ethnoarchaeology sometimes fancy questioning the usefulness of this 'old new discipline' (Gosselain, 2011a). In fact, one of the fundamental problems of ethnoarchaeology is the choice of an 'ethnographic context of reference', *i.e.* identifying an appropriate society, which should correspond to the image that one has of the past populations that are to be studied (Gosselain, 2011a: 91). This choice is not without consequence, and is particularly complicated in a context which does not offer the sacrosanct 'proven historical and cultural continuity' (Gosselain, 2011a: 94).

Nevertheless, some 'logical' analogies can be made, those which make sense if the described features are related to the universals of properties (Roux, 2007). Following these precepts, and trying to go beyond the simple analogy, some remarks - very short to respect the presentation support - can be made concerning our study subject. About the polysemic aspect of some motifs, it should be remembered, for instance in the case of the centuries-old Berber motifs, that often, the 'meaning' does not preexist, but rather is a continuous construction depending on practices, places or situations (Gosselain, 2011b: 10), factors that all explain the decoration. The study of M. Dores Cruz in Ghana allowed her to note that the function of a vessel is given by the user, while the function/form/decoration relationship only acquires a symbolic role during the use, especially in the context of a ritual (Dores Cruz, 2011: 347).

At last, in many ethnographic cases, it is quite clear that the elite are the one that controls the contacts and exchanges with outside groups (Dores Cruz, 2011: 337). The possession and redistribution of imported goods becomes a way of expressing a high status. Homer highlights this phenomenon when his Athena, in the features of King Taphos, landed on the Tyrrhenian coast, in a community using another tongue, to exchange metal (Od. I, 184). It reminds us of the important role played by the Greek aristocracy, previously engaged in this more private and less autonomous 'trade' called *prexis* (Gras, 1995: 138).

The ceramic production at L'Incoronata was special and symbolic enough to be linked to the Archaic Mediterranean world's elites, given the hybrid nature of a part of the production (see also Bellamy and Villette, 2013) as well as the contexts of destination previously mentioned. These contexts of destination seem to be twofold: in the ritual sphere, as shown by the ritual deposits identified at L'Incoronata involving locally produced ceramics (Denti, 2013b) (Denti and Villette, 2013); or the funeral sphere, as a grave in Policoro seems to point out. This grave is located in a marginal position in the archaic necropolis, characterized by some particularly rich grave goods, including a figured L'Incoronata-type Greek piece of pottery[5] (Osanna, 2012: 18). Therefore, an ideological horizon common to both Greek and Indigenous *élites* starts to come out more and more precisely of our recent research.

3. SPACE SHARING AND KNOW-HOW WITHIN A MIXED POTTERY WORKSHOP

In this part of our work, we will try to understand the issue of the contact between the two communities, in the *kerameikos* of L'Incoronata, and therefore, the contact between Greek and Indigenous craftspeople through technology. 'Mixity' envisaged within a craft area is not insignificant since it raises the question of the transfer of know-how and technical changes that have occurred in the pottery modes of production. More than an answer to these questionings, we would like to present here research tracks, reflections on the phenomena of contact and diversity, by reflecting on how to observe these phenomena with the help of our archaeological data and material study, as well as on the relevance, to this extent, of the contribution of archaeometry and ethnoarchaeological examples.

Mixity within a craft area is a delicate theme to consider, especially as there is only few bibliographical data (Jacobsen *et al*, 2009) for the area concerned, presenting situations comparable to those obser-

[5] This figured local Greek pottery strongly reminds the L'Incoronata production, as well as the Policoro's. Whether it has been produced at L'Incoronata or elsewhere is not the major issue; but rather is important its presence as an indicator of prestige, in a situation of *convivence*.

ved on the site of L'Incoronata[6]. This investigation is made possible on our excavation site thanks to the discovery of a potter's workshop dated to the mixed occupation phase of the hill, in the 7th century BC, and of which we were able to bring to light the components of each stage of the *chaîne opératoire* for ceramic production: from clay extraction to ceramic firing (Denti and Villette, 2013).

As mentioned in the introduction, thousands of pottery wasters mixed with ash and fragmented kiln pieces were discovered in 2005 and 2006 in the western part of the hill of L'Incoronata, near the southern slopes (U.S. 37 and 44) (Fig. 4). In this closed context, we find both Indigenous fine matt-painted and local Greek pottery, all belonging to the 7th century BC rejections, although the Greek ones have been found in smaller quantities. Considering this context and sherds found around one of the firing areas of the workshop, we can demonstrate the existence of a mixed production, betraying in all likelihood, the presence of Greek craftspeople within the Indigenous workshop (which was besides already existing in the 8th century BC. Cf. Denti, 2013a; Denti and Villette, 2013). This Greek presence is further confirmed by the discovery, in the same context, of Greek letters incised on some sherds (Denti, 2009a: 126; Denti, 2012: 249), as well as by the excavation of Greek houses, at the foot of the hill of L'Incoronata (De Siena, 2000).

We could then consider an exchange of skill between these Greeks and Indigenous craftspeople, which each possessed a particular knowledge of ceramic production. We are thus going to try to collect proofs of changes in the pottery manufacturing process, from the technological point of view, on the hill of L'Incoronata, around the arrival of the Greek component, at the end of the 8th century and in the 7th century BC. The association of various ceramic productions unearthed on the site (fine ware, cooking ware etc.) within different contexts and phases makes this work possible.

We will therefore analyze the various productions, focusing on the techniques of clay preparation (depuration, choice of the temper), techniques of shaping, surface finishing and firing, before focusing on the mixed organization of the workshop.

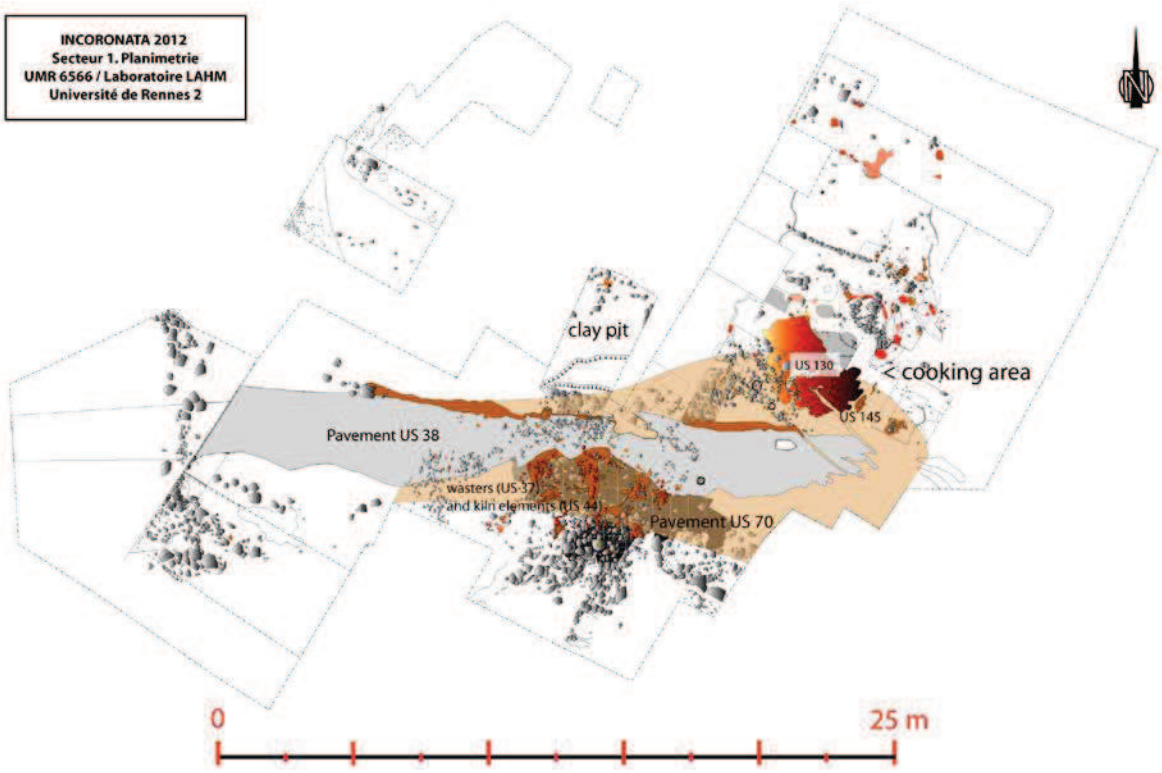


Fig. 2. Incoronata, map of archaeological records found in the Secteur 1 by the University of Rennes 2. (DAO: F. Meadeb).

[6] A conference organized by Clément Bellamy and Mario Denti took place at the University of Rennes 2, about mixed context, in May 2013. Another conference organized by Mathilde Villette and Mario Denti on methods of excavation of a potter workshop is expected in June 2014.

4. CONTINUITY AND TECHNOLOGICAL BREAK THROUGH WITHIN THE PRODUCTION OF COOKING AND FINE WARE: THE *IMPASTO* POTTERY[7]

We shall begin our technological analysis with the case of the 'coarse' ceramic called *impasto*. This production was identified in abundance in the rejection layers of the workshop. Traditionally, it is a ceramic which is little depurated and non-wheeled. Its main function is culinary, for food storage or cooking. Its analysis is essential in our case because this type of production provides important data concerning the technological evolutions, since it has to respect precise physical characteristics, in particular to resist thermal shocks (Picon, 1995b: 143). Within this production, we can observe various techniques for preparing clay and carrying out the pots. The paste is more or less thick and we observe temper there among which the size and quantity can vary considerably, betraying choices, additions in the clayey matrix, following a precise order to better resist thermal or mechanical shocks.

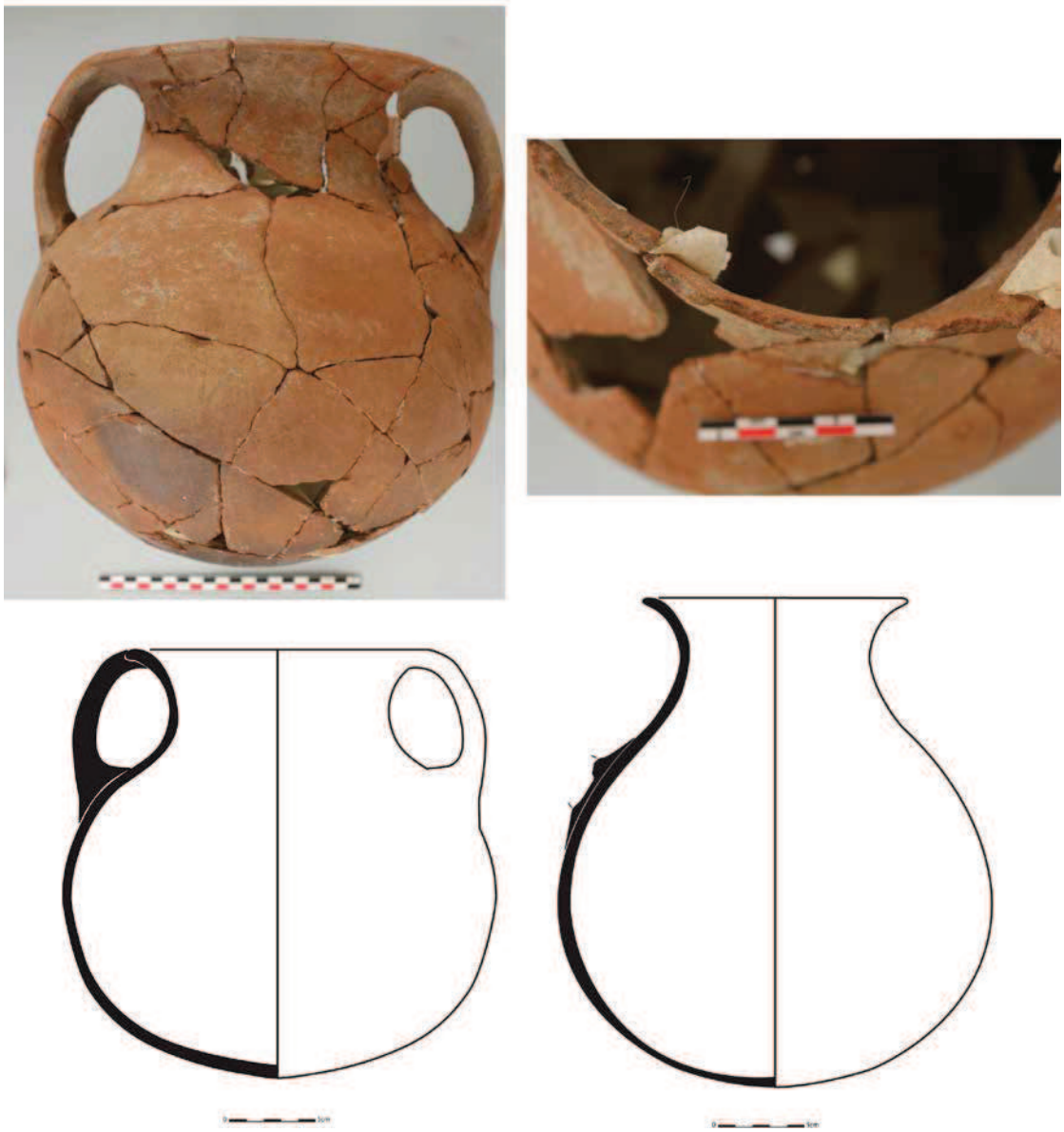


Plate 3. Incoronata, Coarse ware *impasto*, *Chytrai*, deposit, US 2, Secteur 1 (Photo and DAO: M. Villette).

[7] This production is the subject of a Master thesis, which will be presented soon, by Solenn Briand, under the direction of M. Denti.

In the ceramic deposits identified on the hill, dated to the end of the 7th century BC, we observe cooking wares as *chytra* (marmite/*pentola*), most of which bear traces due to fire. Their paste still presents numerous small tempers, but is homogeneous (Plate 3). Walls are rather thin but the ceramic is relatively robust. Looking at the context, in which we find a majority of Greek pottery, this type of ceramic seems to be attributable to the Greek sphere and corresponds to a specific culinary use, which is to boil food (unknown until today in the Indigenous world). From a technical point of view, it seems that there is a choice of temper. On the other hand, the quality of the depuration of the paste is not better than before. Concerning the shaping, it is very difficult to come to a conclusion on any technical change with the coarse ware dated to the 8th century BC. However, we may notice that the shape of pottery and their profile are more regular.

What can be learned about these considerations is that at the end of the 7th century BC, craftspeople carry out cooking pots presenting walls rather thin in spite of their numerous tempers. It is probably the presence and the choice of these tempers that confers them a good thermal shock resistance despite the thinness of the wall.

Finally, we cannot make any progress on the question of the structure used for firing this type of pottery. We would tend to favor the use of an opened area (bonfire), to respect low temperatures of firing, which are necessary to preserve a good dilation of the ceramic during its passage on the fire, if the clay is not of very high quality. On the other hand, as M. Picon (Picon, 1995b: 144) pointed out, a low-temperature firing does not convey a good resistance to mechanical shocks, and makes it necessary to create ceramic pieces with a thick wall, which is not the case here. Moreover, a firing in bonfire does not allow controlling the temperature, which is quite important if we want to keep it low. We may also note that very numerous sherds of *impasto* were discovered in the rejections of the workshop zone, upon contact with kiln pieces.

The contribution of ethnoarchaeology is very interesting in this case, because, as underlined by M. Picon, it is very useful in understanding the technological choices of the potters (Picon, 1995a: 135). In a study which he led in Morocco (Picon, 1995b), he was precisely able to put in relation the quality of the clay used in the production of pottery pieces and their resistance to mechanical or thermal shocks. He insists on the technical choices of craftspeople to get round the defects of the clay. With this approach, we realize that the choices made by the craftspeople, from a strictly technical point of view, correspond to an adaptation to the natural constraints of their raw material. We are thus entitled to wonder about the relevance of the research for evolution in the craft practices within a production (the coarse ware), highly constrained by this technical aspect.

At L'Incoronata, archaeometric analyses were performed on the *impasto* pottery sherds from rejections of the worshop, as well as on *chytra* of the more recent phase. These results, coming soon, will perhaps allow to establish the choice of the tempers used in paste of coarse pottery, between the 8th and the 7th century BC, and to estimate a technical change or an adaptation to the quality of the clay, in order to answer the technical constraints relative to this cooking ware.

5. THE FINE WARE

The painted fine ware is easily attributable to either of the two communities, with, on one side, the Indigenous geometrical matt-painted pottery (Plate 4) and on the other side, the local Greek ceramic.

The Indigenous matt-painted pottery (Yntema, 1990; Castoldi, 2006; Bellamy, 2012) may be well studied as it is found in large quantity for all phases of the hill: at first, in the earliest phase, dated to the 8th century BC (cf. Fig. 4, at the pavement US 70). Then in layers connected to the 7th century BC workshop, and finally in the deposits of the most recent phase, at the end of the 7th century BC.

The manufacturing of this type of ceramic is attested within the workshop of the 7th century BC by wasters discovered in rejections in the south-western part of the hill (US 37) and by other wasters (US 145) trapped in the remains of a kiln, further north. They may be dated to the 7th century BC (Denti and Villette, 2013).

Whether for the 8th or the 7th century BC, no significant change is perceptible in the preparation of the clay used to make this production. It constantly appears depurated through the same process. On the other hand, we observed a change, between the



5 cm

Plate.4. Incoronata, traditional Greek form cup, not wheeled, with Indigenous-made decoration, from feature US37, Secteur 1 (Photo: C. Bellamy).



10 cm

Plate.5. Incoronata, indigenous matt-painted ware *brocca*, dated to the 8th BC, from feature covering the earliest pavement, US 199, Secteur 1 (Photo: M. Villette).



10 cm

Plate 6. Incoronata, indigenous matt-painted ware *olla*, dated to the 7th, from workshop rejection, US 37, Secteur 1 (Photo: M. Villette).

8th and the 7th century BC, which concerns the shaping. Found in the features which covered the oldest pavement (Denti, 2013a) dated to the 8th century BC, this ceramic has a rather irregular shape, its walls are rather thick and awkwardly regularized (Plate 5). Pottery found in the contexts of the craft area, dated to the 7th century BC, have on the other hand a very regular shape and relatively thin walls. They are very well regulated and we observe the traces of this smoothing on their surface (Plate 6).

For D. Yntema (Yntema, 1990: 145, 154 and 165), as for M. Castoldi (Castoldi, 1986:76) or O. Pancrazzi (Pancrazzi, 1979:139) the matt-painted pottery is hand-made or slow-wheel made, throughout both centuries. We are sometimes doubtful, nevertheless, in front of certain perfectly regular pieces of pottery from the workshop of the 7th century BC, which present particular traces that might be attributable to the use of the potter's wheel, as M. Castoldi (Castoldi, 1986: 76) already underlined. Anyway, there is an evolution in the attention brought to the shaping of the Indigenous painted fine ware, between the contexts of the 8th and those of the 7th century BC. Should this change be attributed to the arrival of Greek craftspeople on the hill, working beside the Indigenous craftspeople? Or on the contrary, to a 'natural' process of evolution in the technical choices of the Indigenous potters? Should we, in this case, imagine other intrinsic socio-cultural factors to the Indigenous community for the choice of pottery shaping, at the beginning of the 7th century BC?

Another change, which takes place between the 8th and the 7th century, is the emergence of bichromy in the Indigenous painted fine ware (Yntema, 1990: 72). We will not dwell on this change which seems to have happened without any external influence (Yntema, 1990: 72) (Castoldi, 2009: 241). However, from a technical point of view, this bichromy implies new pigments choices (Castoldi, 2009: 239). By observing the painted decorations made on potteries with a microscope, or even a binocular, we can identify significant differences with the paint used in the local Greek ceramic: paint used for Indigenous pottery is very opaque, homogeneous (Pancrazzi, 1979: 139) (Plate. 7), whereas it appears more diluted in the case of the Greek ceramic (Plate. 8). Similarly, the color tones seem different). Again, we hope that the results of the archaeometric analyses will help us to identify the origin of the pigments used in the paint. In any case, even if the bichromy appears to be a technological change that occurred around the turn of the century, it seems, at first sight, that Indigenous or Greek craftspeople have chosen different pigments and have used different methods to apply their paint except on some sherds which have already been discussed elsewhere (Bellamy and Villette, 2013).

Finally, as regards the firing features used for Indigenous matt-painted pottery, there is no doubt that in the 7th century BC, they used features like kilns. This assertion is based on the archaeological data briefly evoked above, i. e. that Indigenous wasters dated to the 7th century BC were literally found stuck on kiln pieces, along the firing feature US 130. On the other hand, the Indigenous wasters from the rejection US 37 were discovered upon contact with big kiln pieces, among which a perforated kiln floor (Denti and Villette 2013). We can therefore consider that the Indigenous matt-painted pottery dated to the 7th century BC was fired in two volumes kilns with perforated floor. Even without this discovery, we could already notice that the Indigenous painted pieces of pottery dated to the 7th century BC were homogeneously fired and that the consistency of the paste appears fired as well (D. Yntema indicates a firing at 900° C. Yntema, 1990:156; the bichrome pottery of Sala Consilina is fired between 850 and 900° C: Settembrino *et al.*, 2006: 39). As already mentioned above, craft pottery traces dated to the 8th century BC were highlighted in the same part of the hill. Evidences of this craft are supplied by a large quantity of misfired and some distorted sherds. Besides, on pieces of pottery from the oldest pavement layer (US 68), we observe that the firing is not uniform. Thus, we might think that this ceramic firing was done in bonfire where the firing control is difficult, causing differences of exposure to fire. However, a trapezoid adobe element was discovered with these sherds (Denti and Villette, 2013), as well as other unidentified pieces which could suggest that an adobe feature was used for firing.

We shall end this development with some short technological observations concerning the local Greek painted fine ceramic. First of all, from the clay preparation point of view, the paste contains here few tempers as well, and seems very well depurated. As regards their shaping, the potter's wheel is used. It is visible as much as by the regular traces left on their internal walls than by the regularity of the shape or by the extreme thinness of their wall. It does not seem that such thinness is reached in Indigenous fine ceramic. It is although probably not to be attributed



Plate.7. Incoronata, indigenous bichromatic sherds, from workshop rejection, US 37, Secteur 1 (Photo: C. Bellamy).

5 cm



Plate.8. Incoronata, greek local fine ware cup, from deposits, US 2, Secteur 4 (Photo: M. Denti).

10 cm

to a lack of knowledge, but rather to the type and to the function of Indigenous vessels. We have already mentioned a different choice of pigments used in the paint. Finally, wasters of local Greek ceramic beside the Indigenous ceramic, within the firing rejection context, let us claim that these two fine ceramic productions were fired in the same firing feature a kiln.

We would obviously be tempted to imagine that Greek craftspeople have imported with them the type of kiln with two volumes like those represented on *pinakes* of Penteskouphia (*e.g.* F 893: Cook, 1961) (Hasaki, 2002) (Cuomo di Caprio, 1984). We also would be tempted to think that the leveled kiln (US 130) discovered at L'Incoronata dating back to the 7th century BC corresponds then to a change in firing methods. To be able to assert it, it would be necessary to know the firing feature used during the Iron Age in Southern Italy and which remains unknown at the time. Is this absence due to the lightness of these features in the Iron Age, as was able to suppose N. Cuomo di Caprio (Cuomo di Caprio, 2007: 502) and would be consistent with a change in firing feature with the arrival of the Greek component? Or is this absence to be put in connection with the difficulty to recognize these features?

6. WHICH DATA HAVE WE TO OBSERVE SHARING IN THE CRAFT AREA?

In connection with the technological observations mentioned here, we can emit some propositions concerning the organization of the craft area, by craftspeople of both communities. First of all, it appears very delicate to formulate any hypothesis about a differentiated management by one or another community for the supply in raw material. Based on examples of other potter's workshop, or on ethnoarchaeological examples (*e.g.* Bazzana *et al.*, 2002: 53) (Settembrino *et al.*, 2006), we can consider that both communities stocked up with raw material locally, especially as the hill of L'Incoronata is in itself a clay deposit. Concerning clay preparation, we noted that both communities are familiar with the principles of clay depuration, with the aim of realizing fine ware. This suggests that the clay settling basins (Denti, 2012) (Denti and Villette, 2013) excavated on the hill have been used by Indigenous and Greek craftspeople. Without any dating allowing knowing when they were used, it is impossible to know whether these basins already existed when Greek craftspeople arrived. However, considering the good depuration of clay used for the Indigenous fine ware dated to the 8th century, it is likely that Indigenous craftspeople already used clay settling basins or other techniques to clear the clay of its impurities. On the other hand, differences have been recorded in the filling of basins discovered in Secteur 4 excavated by the Université Rennes 2; these differences may indicate a differentiated use in time of these features. While the circular pits were filled with some ash containing Indigenous and Greek ceramic (Denti, 2010: 316) (Denti, 2012: 239) (Bellamy and Villette, 2013), the rectangular pit has an organic filling, with very few sherds, that are only of Greek manufacture.

Regarding the organization of the shaping, while we know that local Greek pottery is wheeled, it is in this case also impossible to know how the shaping was organized. The only archaeological evidence on this matter is the discovery of the *crapaudine* (bearing stone) of a potter's wheel (Denti, 2013a: 18). Besides, no trace of the location of this wheel was identified. It is thus impossible, at the time, to identify areas where this activity took place and even more to claim to understand if Indigenous or Greek craftspeople worked side by side. The ethnoarchaeological studies are, from this point of view, of no help, especially since the organization of the current traditional workshops (*e.g.* Nijboer, 1998) (Cuomo di Caprio, 2007: 261) is not comparable to the archaeological remains of the workshop organization of the 7th century BC.

It is during the phase of firing that the 'mixity' on the site is revealed: Indigenous and Greek wasters, rejected in the same layer, suggest that craftspeople of both communities fired their pottery in a close area, and perhaps even in the same kiln.

In spite of the complexity to identify, in an archaeological sense, the craft area organization between craftspeople of different origins, this last consideration reveals that these craftspeople could share the same feature or the same area. Typological, stylistical and technical differences could be kept by Indigenous craftspeople in their pottery conception while various changes could be attributable to the arrival of the Greek component. If, of course, these observations prove to be systematic, to be true for all productions on various chronological contexts, then perhaps we could speak of technological hybridity.

7. CONCLUSIONS

Although it has been questioned for a long time, mixed occupation between Greek and Indigenous communities is today archaeologically well attested on the hill of L'Incoronata, in the 7th century BC, in particular with the sharing of a potter's workshop. This craft area, as well as the complex stratification of the site, provides us with a privileged situation to understand this phenomenon of contact, also observed in all of the Mediterranean Basin at the same period.

More than mere indications on an identity, observations made in the study of the ceramic found in large quantity on the site give us the possibility to discuss the concepts of stylistic and technological hybridization, which concern the productions of these communities.

On the other hand, the progressive excavation of the earliest phases of the site reminds us that we are on an Indigenous site in which, at some point, a group of migrants from the Aegean Sea came to work (for the reasons, cf.: Denti, 2009b; Denti and Villette, 2013). This nuance is evident thanks to the quantity of Greek ceramic discovered in the contexts of the workshop, in a much fewer number than Indigenous ceramic. It allows us to wonder about the form of these first contacts and the changes that may have affected the ceramic production.

As D. Yntema was able to underline it (Yntema, 2011: 255), it is difficult to imagine a few dozen people, even hundreds, to land locally on the coast of regions already occupied by structured societies with a hierarchical organization, controlling the territory, with only the desire to battle with the natives and to settle down wherever they like, regardless of the pre-existing habitats and territories in surroundings that are unknown to them.

This diversity, this sharing of areas is thus a reality which raises new questions, for example: why did this Greek community come to settle down precisely on this hill? One of the key answers very probably lies in the forms of occupation of the Oinotrian Iron Age at L'Incoronata, that have been able to provoke such an attraction, favoring these contacts[8].

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[8] This contribution has been written in 2013. We invite the readers to examine our later papers, where they should find some adjourned data, as some precisions and corrections on this complex matter.

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