

ASPECTS OF BEING A GIRL IN FRANCAVILLA MARITTIMA-LAGARIA (CALABRIA) IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY BC: A RECONSTRUCTION BASED ON TERRACOTTA FIGURINES AND THEIR ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXTS

Aspectos de ser niña en Francavilla Marittima-Lagaria (Calabria) en el siglo VIII a.C.:
una reconstrucción a partir de las figurillas de terracota y sus contextos arqueológicos

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ABSTRACT In this article, terracotta figurines from four burials of girls of an Italic-Chonian community at Macchiabate, together with terracotta figurines from ritual assemblages of the Athenaion at Timpone della Motta, are studied using concepts of archaeological “agency” and “personhood” theory. These approaches are different from the commonly used in Italian mortuary and sanctuary archaeology, which, by focusing on what may be called symbolic reading, regard grave- and votive-goods as attributes of the buried individuals and thus as straightforward presentations of status. The explanation current in agency and personhood theory, however, by focusing on active reading, prefers to see individuals and objects as producing social order and not merely reflecting it. Terracotta figurines, unearthed in the Macchiabate necropolis near the Calabrian village of Francavilla Marittima, and figurines excavated in the sanctuary on the Timpone della Motta near that same Francavilla Marittima, provide interesting cases of objects functioning as key actors in processes of personal and social change. The figurines from the eighth and the first quarter of the seventh centuries BC were made and used to act as intermediates between the natural and the supernatural worlds on behalf of girls and their parents in transitional situations. In the presented cases the figurines and the girls are, moreover, related to “Middle Ground” situations of social change in operation with indigenous Italic-Chonian inhabitants and new settlers from the Eastern Mediterranean (likely Euboea, Samos and the Cycladic islands) in the pre-urban coastal area of Ionian Calabria.

Keywords: Pre-roman Italy, Necropolis, Athenaion, Gender, Childhood, Female Space, Agency, Terracotta.

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RESUMEN En este artículo se estudian distintas figurillas de terracota procedentes de cuatro enterramientos de niñas de una comunidad italo-choniana en Macchiabate, junto con figurillas de terracota procedentes de conjuntos rituales del Athenaion de Timpone della Motta, utilizando los conceptos de “agencia” arqueológica y teoría de la “personalidad”. Estos enfoques son diferentes de los utilizados habitualmente en la arqueología de la muerte y sobre los santuarios italianos que, al centrarse en lo que puede llamarse lectura simbólica, consideran los objetos funerarios y votivos como atributos de los individuos enterrados y, por tanto, como simples presentaciones de estatus. Sin embargo, la explicación actual de la teoría de la agencia y de la persona, al centrarse en la lectura activa, prefiere ver a los individuos y a los objetos como productores del orden social y no como meros reflejos del mismo. Las figurillas de terracota desenterradas en la necrópolis de Macchiabate, cerca de la localidad calabresa de Francavilla Marittima, y las figurillas excavadas en el santuario del Timpone della Motta, muy cerca a la anterior, ofrecen interesantes casos de objetos que funcionan como actores clave en procesos de cambio personal y social. Las figurillas del siglo VIII y del primer cuarto del VII a.C. se fabricaban y utilizaban para actuar como intermediarios entre el mundo natural y el sobrenatural en nombre de las niñas y sus padres en situaciones de transición. En los casos presentados, las figurillas y las niñas se relacionan, además, con situaciones “intermedias” de cambio social en las que operan los habitantes indígenas italo-chonianos y los nuevos colonos del Mediterráneo oriental (probablemente Eubea, Samos y las islas Cícladas) en la zona costera preurbana de la Calabria jónica.

Palabras clave: Italia prerromana, Necrópolis, Santuario, Género, Infancia, Espacio femenino, Agency, Terracota.

INTRODUCTION

In the social sciences, a concept of ‘personhood’ developed that is relevant to historians and archaeologists through its view that the individuality of today is specific and not applicable to past societies, that created different modes of personhood and self-consciousness. In this approach, personhood is constructed by specific historical and cultural conditions, and is dependent on relations with other human beings, material objects, as well as with the natural and spiritual worlds. This means that personal identity is built up by specific environments, experiments, stories, and objects, while especially marriage rites, mortuary practice, feasts, and group memberships reveal how much persons are composed of social relations with others (Thomas, 1996; Fowler 2004:5).

The tendency to pay attention to how individuality was constructed is an extension of agency theory that archaeologists employ already for some time. It is, however, a difficult and much discussed key in the study of past societies and seems for practical archaeology still too fragile a tool to be successful in the explanation of the assemblages in the tombs and sanctuaries it uncovers, although progress is everywhere (Brumfiel, 2000:249-255). Moreover, in archaeological and material culture studies, a divide is widening between two different academic positions: the older one sees society and the individual as fairly static and status related, in the sense that “the material world is created and manipulated by more or less freely

acting individuals” leaving behind material artifacts that are essentially “inactive traces, residues or correlates of human activity and agency.” (Dobres and Robb, 2000b:12). An example of status related interpretation is Andrea Babbi’s conclusion in relation to the presence of terracotta figurines in the graves of children, since this scholar sees the link between terracotta figurines and high-ranking child graves as related to the rise of settlement nucleation and a growing social antagonism, which would have introduced the need of granting visibility to all family members. In his view, ancient Mediterranean cemeteries and sanctuaries became arenas where social competition was symbolically expressed. Children would have taken part in this competition as useful instruments to express and preserve the opulence and power of their *oikos* (Babbi, 2012). Another example is the analysis of the Macchiabate burials at Francavilla Marittima and the S. Maria d’Anglona cemeteries in status related frames by Francesca Ferranti and Francesco Quondam (2015:48-87). In this way, culture is reduced to a status game for elites.

The more recently developed view in material culture studies, states, however, that “meanings and values, histories, and biographies, even personhood and agency can be attributed to material things”, which opens a perspective in which material artifacts do not count as passive products but as active agents in the creation of environments and societies (Dobres and Robb, 2000b:12).

The agency of objects in relation to their origin and use, on the basis of Mauss’ analysis of systems of gift-giving, has been made especially explicit by Alfred Gell (1998) and Bruno Latour (2007). Bruno Latour’s “Actor Network Theory” proposes that any system we research can most effectively be approached if we look at all of the parts — whether they’re natural, technological, or human — as interacting and active members of the social system. Their views invite us to place objects, in themselves inanimate in terms of matter, on the same level as living specimens with regards to their effectivity, because in this way important processes, for example in the field of human expectation, can be detected and described. Following this, it seems to me that the best advice is to judge the ‘cause and effect’ of historical objects the same way we judge the cause and effect of individuals.

Given the gap between the way I used to consider archaeological objects and the contradiction inherent in assigning action to inanimate objects, I was interested in trying out an ‘ascribed personhood’ for a number of terracotta figurines from Francavilla Marittima; the applications are found in Section 3. Section 2 offers a description of the terracotta figurines and their contexts, both in a local and in a historical sense, the latter having more information on the ‘Middle Ground’ situation. ‘Middle Ground theory’ was introduced to replace ‘colonial’ archaeology by Irad Malkin (1998, 2002) to describe situations that arise in societies consisting of indigenous inhabitants and settlers from outside. It has been noted that in areas with a mixed population a double effect in cultural processes occurs in which a Middle Ground is created, which is — paraphrasing Malkin — an area in which both peoples play roles according to what each side perceives to be the other’s perception of itself. In this role-playing, the result is a kind of double mirror reflection, creating a civilization that is neither purely native nor entirely imported. Further valuable

explanation and insights on ‘Middle Ground’ and ‘Network-Activity’ analyses in archaeology are offered by Carla M. Antonaccio (2013). In the final part of my article, an interpretation follows along the concepts described above and by using further historical sources and contextual data.

TERRACOTTA FIGURINES OF THE EIGHTH AND EARLY SEVENTH CENTURIES BC IN CONTEXT

In the 1960’s, the famous Neapolitan archaeologist Paola Zancani Montuoro unearthed three graves of girls containing, next to other grave gifts, a terracotta figurine each. The burials belong to “Temparella”, a name deriving from local tradition for a large cluster of graves from the Early Iron Age of which Zancani Montuoro excavated and published about half (Zancani, 1970-1971:9-33, 1974-1976:9-82, 1977-1979:7-91, 1980-1982:7-130, 1983-1984:7-110). Temparella itself is part of the burial field “Macchiabate” near the village of Francavilla Marittima in Calabria and located at the foot of “Timpone della Motta”, a foothill (280 ASL) of the higher westward Pollino mountains. The hill is the site of the remains of an important early sanctuary at its top, and settlement features at the flanking terraces, roughly all from the same time (eighth to fourth century BC). At Macchiabate, men, women and children were individually inhumed in trenches covered by stone cairns made up of river boulders and cobbles, while in between, babies were buried in large conical cooking pots. The tombs belong to *Chones*, the Italic inhabitants of the Ionian coastal areas. Greek historians considered them to belong to the Italic-Oinotrians, settled more inland (Mele, 2017a:19-59, 2017b:223-237). Historical written sources are scarce and it is mainly archaeological research such as that of Zancani Montuoro and archaeologists working at other Italic sites that we are beginning to know more about the tribes that inhabited the coastal area before and during the foundation of the Greek city-states of *Kroton*, *Sybaris*, *Siris-Polieion* and *Metapontion* (an overview is offered in Bianco and Preite, 2014).

The archaeological developments at Francavilla Marittima are important in the study of the relationship between the native *Chones* and groups of settlers from the Greek archipelago. On the one hand, there is Macchiabate/Timpone della Motta at Francavilla Marittima with indigenous activity areas as the enormous burial field of Macchiabate, the early goddess sanctuary and settlement remains of Timpone della Motta, and on the other hand there is the city-state of *Sybaris* founded around 720 BC at about 12 km south of Francavilla Marittima (FM) (literature on the sites is extensive, references are to be found e.g. in: Kleibrink, 2001, 2010a, 2017; De Lachenal, 2007; Guzzo, 2011; Mittica, 2019; Brocato and Altomare 2021; Altomare, 2022). The historical circumstances render the *Sibaritide* important for a reconstruction of the course of events before, during and after the implementation of the Greek city-state of *Sybaris* in the indigenous Italic area. The sanctuary of Athena on the Timpone della Motta is, in our view, associated with the legend on the settlement of *Lagaria*, which according to ancient sources was founded by *Epeios*,

the maker of the Trojan horse (an overview in Colelli, 2017; Brocato, 2014, 2015; Iusi, 2014; Kleibrink 2017, 2020a, 2020c, all with references to earlier literature).

Temparella tomb 78, in which a small terracotta figurine was found (fig. 1), belongs to a child (Zancani, 1983-1984:7-8, 70-73; the figurine also 1974-1976:53-55; Babbi, 2008, nr 33), as evidenced by the size of the burial trench (1 × 0.50 m, whereof the cairn cover measures 2.20 x 1.50 m), as well as the small *askos* in it, a type of jar that at Macchiabate was given almost exclusively to small children. Indications provided by Zancani Montuoro regarding the age of the inhumed children are imprecise and rarely based on anthropological research of the skeletal remains, which in many cases were very poorly preserved anyway. In order to place the children within the usual archaeological categories of *infans* I (3-6 years old) or *infans* II (6-12 years, cf. Rebay and Salisbury, 2020), we have to look for clues among the grave gifts. Features pointing to careful inhumation lie in the fact that the child was given to wear both a droplet-shaped terracotta object, that with its height of only 4 cm is probably an amulet, and finger spirals. Finger spirals seem not to occur in male burials and amulets are reserved for small children. No fibula was found in the grave, which may indicate that the girl did not yet participate in gendered dress codes. The terracotta informs us further on the sex and age of the dead child. Where it is known that such figurines are found in girls' graves and derive their meaning from maturation and marriage rituals, as will be explained below, we assume that this also concerns this girl who was probably buried while belonging to a later phase of *infans* I or an early phase of *infans* II. Below the *askos*, a terracotta figurine in stylized anthropomorphic shape was unearthed. Unfortunately, it was badly damaged when found, but cooperation between excavator and skillful restorer saw it credibly restored. The solid figurine is made from refined clay, it has a round head with a hole at the center of the top (diam. 0.5 × deep 3.5 cm), and an overly long neck and arms that from the shoulder spread sideways but are only partially rendered (probably because wide-spread arms in clay easily break). The figurine is dressed in a long robe that reaches over the feet. Striking are the ring incisions



Fig. 1.—Terracotta figurine from Tomb 78 of the Temparella cluster of graves on Macchiabate, h. 13 cm, first half 8th c. BC (source: photo by the author. National Archaeological Museum of the Sibaritide, inv. nr 66723). Figure in color in the electronic version.

at the neck and those at the chest and on the skirt of the robe, where vertical and parallel incisions are present.

Fortunately, a better-preserved terracotta figurine from Torre del Mordillo (De la Genière, 1992:111-132; on Torre del Mordillo: Cerzoso and Vanzetti, 2014), presumably also from a grave of a girl (although no further context is known), has similar incisions (fig. 2). Rings are incised around its neck while on the chest a series of ornamental necklaces are indicated and decorated with a small piece of amber in the center, which the artisan must have added in order to specify that the necklaces should be thought of as consisting of amber beads. On either side of the waist are two slightly cloverleaf-like motifs, which may be interpreted as representations of four-spiral fibulae that are specific to the period of the terracotta (see below), but for which the coroplast did not find room on the shoulders due to the necklaces she drew in wide lines. The left part of the robe below the waist has the same vertical lines as the T78 terracotta, but in this case the lines can be better understood by the clearly rendered truncated ends of the bar at the top as a bronze belt pendant, with chains hanging from a stylized boat shape. Such belt pendants are well-known from Early Iron Age tombs as Juliette de la Genière already noted in her publication of the terracotta. Both figurines testify to the fact that in Chonian mortuary practice of the eighth century BC terracottas of fully dressed and adorned female figurines in a pose with outstretched arms were added to tombs of small girls.

The manufacture and detailing of the figurines seemed to me at first study, characteristic of artisans with little or no skill in the production of human figures.

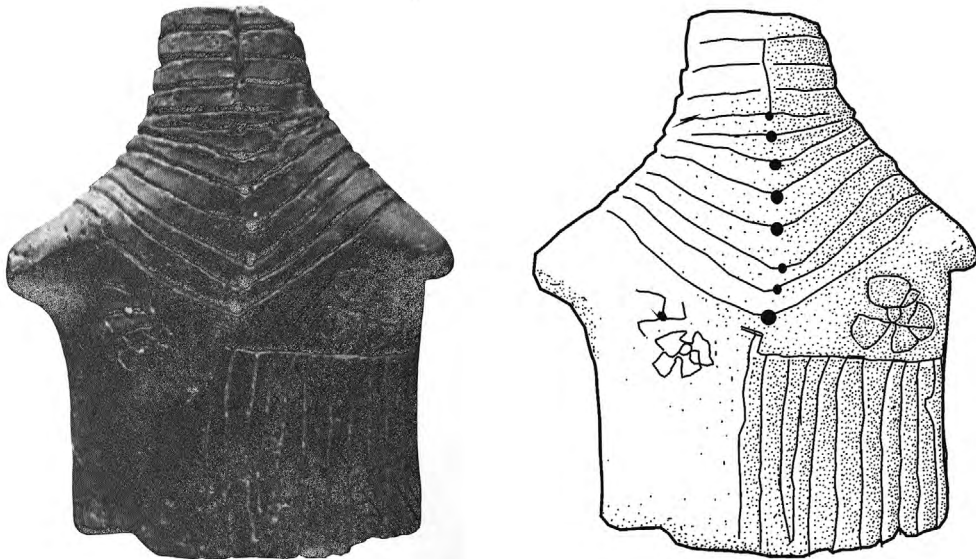


Fig. 2.—Terracotta figurine from Torre del Mordillo (source: image and drawing by the author adapted after de La Genière, 1992:pl. XIV, 2. Private Calabrian collection).

The fact that these figures were made anyway, I thought, indicated their ritual importance. A great surprise was the discovery of very similar figurines, although painted and not incised, from the Greek archipelago. A figure from the grave of a girl in the Seraglio necropolis on the island of Kos has the same long neck, round head and long decorated dress (Higgins, 1967) (fig. 12). Even more important was the discovery of a very small head of such a Cycladic terracotta among the material plundered from the Timpone della Motta sanctuary – later returned from collections at Bern and Malibu to the National Archaeological Museum of the Sibaritide (fig. 13). The head is part of the more than 5.000 objects and pottery fragments returned to the Italian government by the Paul Getty Museum, the Bern Archaeological Institute and the Ny Carlsberg Museum because they originally had been robbed from the Timpone della Motta in the 1970s (Mertens-Horn, 1992; Kleibrink, 1993; De Lachenal, 2007; Paoletti, 2017; Mittica, 2019 all referring to further literature). From the obviously imported little head it follows that the local Chonian artisans were not the inventors of their figurines but that they copied Cycladic examples, while decorating them with incisions that depict the bronze jewelry familiar from local Chonian women. In other words, the figurines are borrowed but they refer to indigenous ornamental practices.

Before we take a look at the Greek figurines, first the other known Francavilla specimens and their contexts must be described:

Grave T69 contained the burial of a girl (Zancani, 1974-1976:51-66, 1983-1984:49; Babbi, 2008:nr 34), as can be concluded from the size of her grave (burial 1.15 x 0.35: cairn 2.10 x 1.30 m) and her three bronze bracelets (diam. 4/5.5 cm);. Bracelets are not known from male burials and customary in well-furnished female graves. Two *askoi* confirm the presence of a child. The tomb was placed on a fill of sterile soil that covered an older grave with male grave gifts. The burial of the girl is famous for its large scarab of the so-called Lyre-Player Group (Buchner and Boardman, 1966:1-62) that will have adorned strings of amber and terracotta beads; in each category more than 20 beads were found. Also present in the grave were two fibulae, one certainly of the type decorated with a rhomboid bone plaque (Lo Schiavo, 2010:nr 7546). These typical local brooches, presumably one on each shoulder, make it likely that the girl was dressed according to a Chonian female dress code, further apparent from burials of adolescents and adults.

The terracotta figurine found above the girl's head is almost undamaged (fig. 3). Striking is its fuller shaped appearance in comparison to the figurines from T78 and T2, and its face with the big nose. There is also a diadem around the head and a hole in its top. Based on Paola Zancani's notes about damage around that hole, it may be suggested that a chain, found in the vicinity of the figurine, served to suspend it, a use that applies also to the other holed terracotta figurines. All the more so because it is known that Greek figurines of similar type were suspended too (see below). The position of the terracotta above and against the girl's head suggests that such dolls originally hung above the heads of the deceased girls. This is unlikely to have been the case in the grave itself because coffins of perishable



Fig. 3.—Terracotta figurine from Tomb 69 of the Temparella cluster of graves on Macchiabate, h. 18.5 cm, second half 8th c. BC (source: photo by the author. National Archaeological Museum of the Sibaritide, inv. nr 56644). Figure in color in the electronic version.

material can be postulated, and in any case the cairns of river cobbles offer little space. Most likely then, the figurines were suspended above the girls' heads during the period they were laid out after death.

Due to the presence of the fibulae, T69 can be dated within Fulvia Lo Schiavo's system, here followed, to Early Iron Age transitional 2A/2B. The diameter of the bracelets, the clothing and the size place the girl in the *infans II* category.

Tomb 10 of burial group Est on Macchiabate contained a terracotta of similar type to the figurines discussed above (Guggisberg *et al.*, 2018:77-81) (fig. 4). It has a hole in its head and therefore seems intended to be suspended. Because of similar incised decorations, the figurine is close to the T87 terracotta, but its shape is more akin to the T69 figurine as both these specimens do not have the fanning seam of a robe like the earlier figurines, but instead are curiously truncate and split towards their lower ends (legs?) on which they seem to be positioned. It probably does not, however, indicate a sitting position because that would contradict suspension. The figurine from Tomb Est 10 poses problems in terms of attribution because it stems from a double grave in which skeletal remains of an adult 20/30 years old and a child of about 5/7 years of age were found, together with

the terracotta, an *askos*, an iron lance point, an iron knife and two loom weights. The *askos* and the terracotta figurine suit a girl of the physically established age class, but the loom weights less so because the muscle needed for weaving and the usual height of a loom with such heavy weights call for older children and, of course, women. Nevertheless, the loom weights can be attributed to the girl as gifts in association with her wished-for future, just like the figurine, as is explained in section 3. Based on the lance, it may be assumed that the adult was a man and that he was buried with a girl belonging to the *infans II* category.

Tomb 2 of Temparella with the burial of a small girl (Zancani, 1980-1982: 16-19, 1983-1984: 71-72; Babbi, 2008:nr. 109; Lo Schiavo, 2010:nr 8002 attributed to Early Iron Age phase 2a). The measurements of the burial area itself are unknown,

but the cairn measures 2.50 × 2.0 m. In the grave, a child of about 6/7 years old was buried, which could be established physically in the 1960's. A date for the burial may be based on the four-spiral fibula of Lo Schiavo's Sila-Aspromonte type, placed in Early Iron Age phase IIA. The figurine in this grave differs considerably from the above figurines in that it consists of two stylized individuals next to each other (fig. 5). Its stylistic similarity to the T78 terracotta proves that the figurines were locally made and probably by the same coroplast; they are the earliest known so far. Paola Zancani Montuoro noted a series of dots at the chin of the slenderest figure and proposed to read these as indications of a beard, identifying that figure as the male of the couple. This fits in with the usual position of the males on the left of the female with the bronze anthropomorphic couple figurines (see below).

On Macchiabate, so far, only one other terracotta with two anthropomorphic figures has been found (Guggisberg *et al.*, 2016:62-63) (fig. 6). A further related type, unprovenanced, from Torre del Mordillo, abbreviated into a figurine with a single body decorated with neck chains and with two heads (de La Genière, 1992:pl. XIV, 3), features the same rendering of its lower end as the T69 and Est10 figurines. This shows that these figurines are established types, made because of a current demand (fig. 7).

To my knowledge, in southern Italy these couple figurines have only a single parallel, which is the anthropomorphic couple, also in terracotta, placed on a helmet-shaped lid from a funerary urn (Archaeological Museum of the Picentino inv. nr 13765; Babbi, 2008: nr 108, with previous literature). It is a stray find from near a necropolis at Pontecagnano and has, according to Bruno d'Agostino, an origin in a concept of Underworld gods (D'Agostino, 1963) (fig. 8). That this pair is divine is evident from their headdresses and the fact that the female figure is taller than the male one, which points to her identity as a great goddess protecting a male junior god. In various articles I have associated the couples from Temparella T2 and Pontecagnano with small bronze pendants from contemporary tombs at Macchiabate



Fig. 4.—Terracotta figurine from Tomb 10, Area Est, Macchiabate, h. 13cm. Source: courtesy Francavilla project Basel University (National Archaeological Museum of the Sibaritide). Figure in color in the electronic version.



Fig. 5.—Terracotta figurine from Tomb 2 of the Temparella cluster of graves on Macchiabate, h. of figurines 8.7 cm, total preservation 10.1 cm, first half 8th c. BC (source: photo by the author. National Archaeological Museum of the Sibaritide, inv. nr 65897). Figure in color in the electronic version.



Fig. 6.—Terracotta figurine, stray find, Macchiabate necropolis, h. 8.6 cm, 8th c. BC. (Source: courtesy Martin Guggisberg, Francavilla project, University of Basel. National Archaeological Museum of the Sibaritide). Figure in color in the electronic version.



Fig. 7.—Terracotta figurine, stray find from Torre del Mordillo, 8th c. BC (source: image adapted after De La Genière 1994, pl. XIV, 3. Calabrian Private collection).

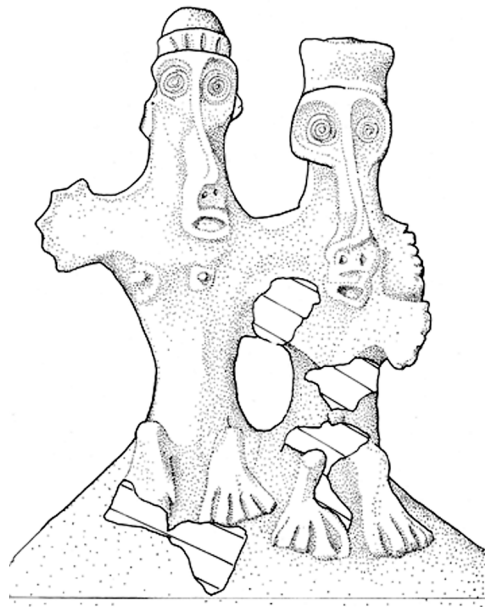


Fig. 8.—Divine couple, Goddess on the left, from a funerary-urn lid in the form of a helmet, stray find from Pontecagnano, h. of the left figure 13.6, the one on the right 12.9 cm. Archaeological Museum at Pontecagnano (source: adjusted after Babbì, 2008:pl. 88).

necropolis and further Calabrian Italic cemeteries and the sanctuary of the Timpone della Motta (figs. 9 and 11) (Kleibrink and Weistra, 2013:35-55; Kleibrink, 2016, 2020). An interesting variant is the bronze pair from Vizzini (fig. 10) because its heads have more or less the same appearance as the specimen from the vicinity of the Timpone della Motta (fig. 9).

All pendants consist of two anthropomorphic figures and, more clearly than in the case of the T2 terracotta pair, the one on the right is usually female and the other male. These small bronze couples indicate an elevated status of local craftsmen as their manufacture requires adept knowledge in casting. There are two types of such bronze pendants, type A with two seated figures (fig. 9), a woman on the right and a man on the left next to her who holds one of her breasts (in the Francavilla specimen) or reaches for her vulva (in the Bucita one), and type B where the man and woman have put their arms around the other person's shoulder (fig. 11). Based on anthropomorphic pairs from the

Near East and from the island of Crete in bronze and terracotta, and further on the fact that the female figure is usually slightly taller than the male and in one case is holding the man's wrist, I concluded that this must be a divine pair with the right figure representing an important goddess and the left representing a young god under her protection (Kleibrink and Weistra, 2013:35-55). In myths from the Near East great goddesses descend to the realm of the dead to save their male partners from eternal oblivion and this theme seems to fit the more elaborate type A pendants and further examples. D'Agostino identifies the female figure on the helmet (dated at the end of the ninth/beginning eighth century BC) as a goddess of the Netherworld too. Although there are very few clues regarding religious experiences of the *Italici*, the terracottas and bronze pendants of anthropomorphic pairs seem to relate to the sphere of a Great Goddess of the universe and the 'aldilà'.



Fig. 9.—Divine couple in hierogamy, bronze pendant, h. 5 cm, stray find from Macchiabate/Timpone della Motta. Private Calabrian collection (source: photo courtesy A. Taliano Grasso). Figure in color in the electronic version.



Fig. 10.—Bronze divine couple, h. 7.4 cm, dating from the late ninth/early eighth c. BC, from Vizzini, Sicily (source: public domain. National Archaeological Museum, Syracuse).



Fig. 11.—Anthropomorphic couple from the sanctuary at Timpone della Motta, bronze pendant, h. 3 cm, excavation GIA 1991-2004. National Archaeological Museum of the Sibaritide (source: photo M. Kleibrink). Figure in color in the electronic version.

As far as is known, the bronze pendants come from richly furnished women's graves and the double burials of couples (see now Quondam, 2021). Hitherto, only in one case, could it be established that the dead individual was a child, buried with a bronze chain embellished by bronze pendants of different types (Juon, 2021:130-131).

'Hanging dolls' and girl burial in the Greek archipelago

The hitherto first known Greek specimens of terracotta 'dolls' date to the tenth century BC and stem from the remains of funeral pyres and pit burials in Athenian "Kerameikos" and "Agora" grave plots, while at Nea Ionia near Athens similar cremations with dolls as gifts are known. These are hand-made figurines decorated



Fig. 12.—Terracotta figurine, Seraglio necropolis, h. 15.6 cm, dated around 800 BC (source: drawing by the author after Higgins, 1967:pl. 9c. Archaeological Museum Kos, inv. nr. 586).



Fig. 13.—Terracotta head of a Cycladic figurine, from the sanctuary of Timpone della Motta, h. 4.7 cm, 8th c. BC (source: photo by the author. National Archaeological Museum of the Sibari-tide). Figure in color in the electronic version.

with incisions (fig. 14) (Langdon, 2007:173-191, 2005:1-27). At Lefkandi on the island of Euboia, figurines have been found that look so much like the Athenian ones that adoption of the idea seems clear (fig. 15) (Popham *et al.*, 1979:pl. 137). Special with these terracottas are the loose legs that are attached to the inside of flared skirts in such a way that they move within the skirts and tingle when the figurines are stirred. The American archaeologist Susan Langdon has pointed out that not only are these figurines decorated with various incised motifs, but that other types of hand-made objects from similar pyre burials, for instance miniature boxes, *kalathoi*, *pyxides* and large beads, bear the same kind of incised decorations (Langdon, 2005, 2007, 2008). According to Langdon, these objects form a special class of handmade incised ware, manufactured by women who dedicated the objects to the funerary pyres of their prematurely deceased family members. The few physically examined remains place the deceased girls between 10 and 18 years of



Fig. 14.—Two terracotta figurines from grave 33 at the Kerameikos necropolis, Athens, tenth century BC (source: drawing by the author after a post card and image adapted after Langdon, 2007:fig. 9.10. Kerameikos Museum, Athens). Figure in color in the electronic versión.

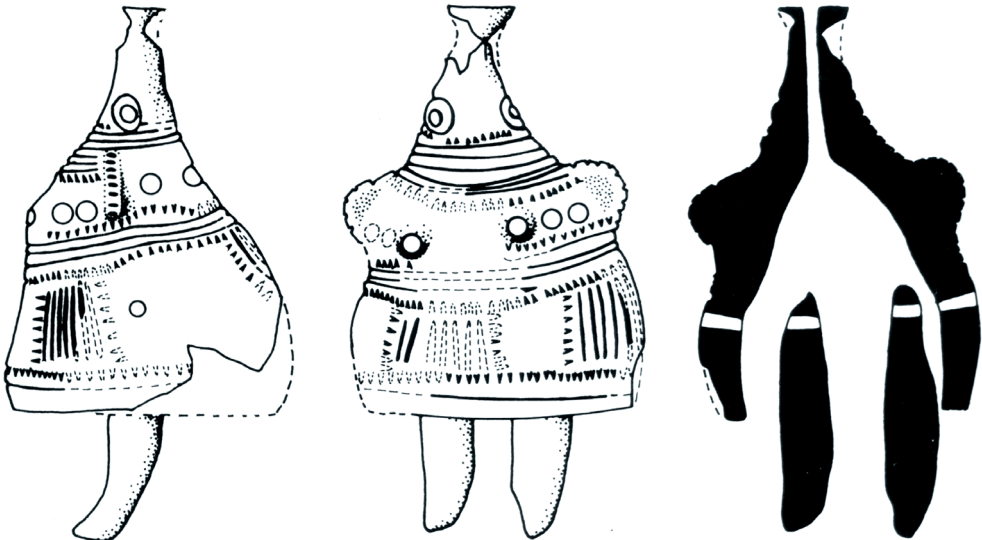


Fig. 15.—Euboian Hanging doll from the Palia Paravolia cemetery at Lefkandi. H. 8.4 cm (source: image adapted after Popham *et al.*, 1979:pl. 137).

age. The above-mentioned items are identified as “maiden kits” by Langdon, and are placed in further perspective because related items, in somewhat later times made by potters, appear in later Attic graves of girls. “The dolls, like the boots, were not themselves toys but may symbolically have enabled the young deceased to complete her preparations for marriage, much as in later customs of placing bridal finery and wedding vases in graves.” (Langdon, 2005:13). The scholar associates the kits of special grave gifts for prematurely deceased maidens with a belief that people hoped that the deceased girls would follow the maiden goddess Kore in celebrating their marriages in the Netherworld (Langdon, 2005:14-16). This is an extremely important inference as it connects the burial gifts, and especially the figurines, to a belief in a young goddess of fertility and regeneration, who in the ancient Greek world was connected to Demeter and seen as her daughter *Korē/Persephone*, bride of the god of the Underworld.

In Attica and Lefkandi, the above maiden kits were already replaced as early as the eighth century BC by different grave gifts, equally associated with marriage. But this was not the case elsewhere in the Greek archipelago or south Italy to which the custom of adding a figurine to the grave of a girl had spread, probably from Euboea. Not only the terracottas but also the ideas behind them may have reached for instance the Cycladic islands and later Italy. A specimen from S. Anna on Skyros shows much more clearly than other figurines that the coroplast combined the doll idea with the function of a bell (fig. 16) (Babbi, 2012; Sapouna-Sakellarakis, 2002). Rightly, Mureddu notes that these early figurines are not so much bell idols as bells in the form of dolls, which in her opinion were so constructed to keep the spirits of the unfulfilled dead away from the living with their sound (Mureddu, 2017).

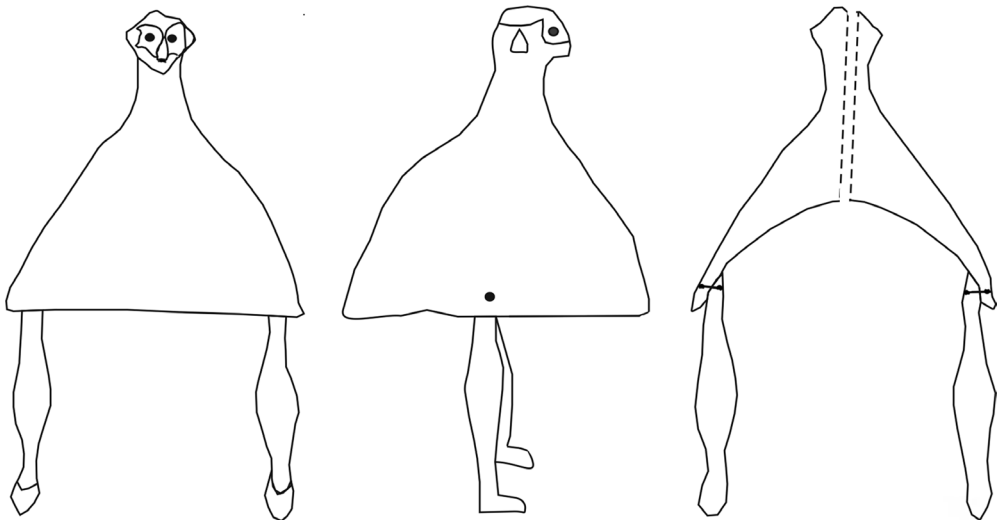


Fig. 16.—Bell idol, Skyros, Balassos plot tomb 2, Ayia Anna (source: image adapted after Sapouna-Sakellarakis, 1986:41, fig. 21).

To conclude this brief overview, two more remarks: the most elaborate terracotta ‘doll’ is no doubt the one from Ialysos on Rhodes (fig. 17) that shows, much more than other specimens, stylistic affinity with the famous female terracottas with raised arms from Mycenaean culture (D’Acunto, 2008-09) of which Andrea Babbi gives examples (Babbi, 2012). It is not possible within the scope of this article to go into all possible developments of the figurines and the ideas behind them, but it is sufficiently accepted that to Mycenaean culture worship of goddesses of fertility and regeneration was important, and that she was possibly referred to as *Potnia* in the linear B texts (Kourou, 2015; on possible transitions Mureddu, 2017). A similar goddess was probably also known in South Italy, as may be hypothesized based on terracotta figurines from Scoglio del Tonno and Roca Vecchia (Babbi, 2008:25-26 and 2008:nr 11). The second remark concerns the fact that especially in Boiotia, ‘hanging dolls’ were made that faithfully reflect the type with their long necks and fanning skirts, but in a larger size (fig. 18). They are painted with symbols

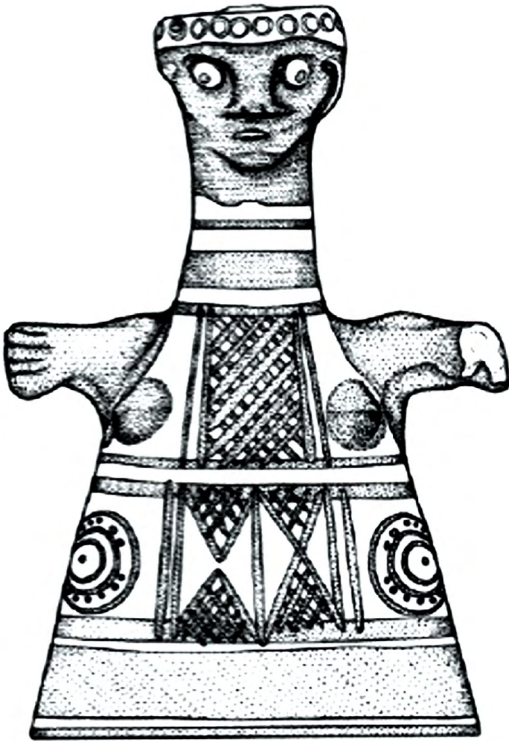


Fig. 17.—Terracotta figurine, from Ialysos, wheel made, early ninth century BC, h. 15 cm. Archaeological Museum Rhodes, inv. nr 11961 (source: image adapted after the drawing by Nadia Sergio in D’Acunto, 2008-2009:fig. 1).



Fig. 18.—Terracotta figurine, from Boiotia, h. 33 cm, Louvre Museum, Paris (source: public domain).

that connect them with nature and fertility and wear what are likely bridal boots, which play an important role in Attic mortuary practice. How these Boiotian dolls were actually used is not known (Louvre CA623 e CA573, h. 33 cm, last decades of the eighth century BC, source: Wikicommons).

Terracottas from the Timpone della Motta sanctuary, 720-680 BC

Terracotta Stoop, Archaeological Museum of the Sibaritide inv. nr 64707 (fig. 19) (Stoop, 1974-1976:129, pl. LXIV,1, 1983:23; Babbi, 2008:nr 41).

A small and damaged terracotta, found by Maria W. Stoop, the Leiden archaeologist who excavated the remains of three temples of the *Athenaion* on the Timpone della Motta in the years 1963-1969, is interesting, because of its similarity with the tomb figurines discussed above (see especially fig. 4). The figurine shows the same incised decorations that represent necklaces and a belt pendant, but is different from the older terracottas in its more realistic representation of a female body, even though breasts are not rendered. Andrea Babbi found a convincing parallel for such body modelling in a fragmentary figurine from the *Heraion* on Samos (fig. 20) (Babbi, 2008:nr 41, pointing to Jarosch, 1994:nr 993).

The Stoop figurine has the same truncated, spread arms as the tomb figurines and is therefore also related to an impressive type of terracotta figurine from the Timpone della Motta, for which its creator found a curious solution for displaying



Fig. 19.—Terracotta figurine from the Stoop excavations 1963-1969, preserved h. 8.3 cm. Archeological Museum of the Sibaritide, inv. nr. 64707 (source: photos M. Masci/M. Kleibrink). Figure in color in the electronic versión.

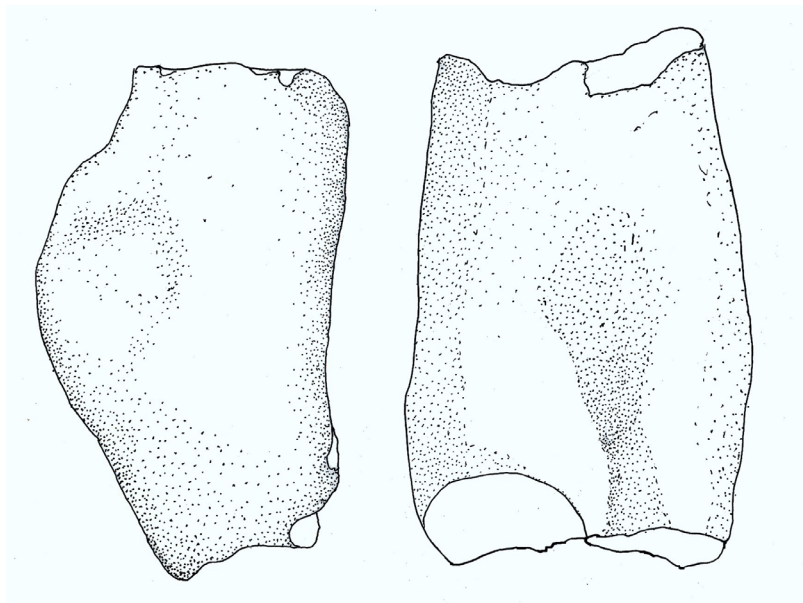


Fig. 20.—Fragment of a terracotta figurine from the Heraion on Samos
(source: drawing by the author after Jarosch, 1994:nr 993).

raised arms, rendering these close to the head; these specimens are named by us “Copenhagen type”.

Terracotta figurines of “Copenhagen Type”. (Mittica, 2019:nr 54; Paoletti, 2019:125-142 with references to previous studies) (figs 21-22). Hitherto, three specimens are known: a complete figurine, looted from the Timpone della Motta sanctuary in the 1970’s, bought by the Ny Carlsberg Museum and now in the National Archaeological Museum of the Sibaritide (fig. 21), and two fragments, also in the latter museum’s storerooms, from the GIA excavations 1991-2004 in the sanctuary under this author’s direction (fig. 22). The latter specimens have interesting excavation contexts because they are part of assemblages identified as remains of ritual feasting, containing fragments of flame-discoloured cooking pots in local coarse ware and matt-painted drinking sets together with a number of special kraters, *pyxides*, and cups imported from Greece or locally manufactured in a Greek style (Kleibrink, 2020b:20-80, Kleibrink, in preparation).

The Stoop terracotta and the imposing figurines of the Copenhagen Type show influences from Samian terracotta production that can be narrowly dated within periods of flooding in the *Heraion* where they were found. A *rhyton* and a partially preserved terracotta figurine with a similar type of face are important indications for the date of the Copenhagen Type terracottas (*cf.* Jarosch, 1994:40) (figs 25, 26). The heads in a slightly backward tilted position are most likely influenced by figurines from Cyprus. A specimen that shows Cyprus’ influence on Mediterranean



Fig. 21.—Terracotta figurine of “Copenhagen type”, with a provenance from the 1970s Timpone della Motta robbery, alt. 25 cm. Archeological Museum of the Sibaritide (source: image adapted after Mittica, 2019:fig. p. 117). Figure in color in the electronic versión.



Fig. 22.—Fragments of two figurines of “Copenhagen type”, GIA excavations 1991-2004 (source: photos M. Kleibrink). Figure in color in the electronic versión.

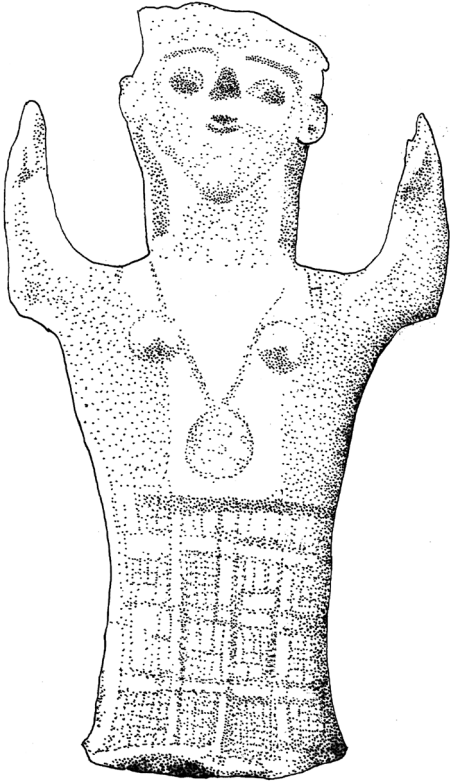


Fig. 23.—Terracotta figurine with raised arms and polos (broken), h. 21.6 cm, from Cyprus, Eighth century? BC. Metropolitan Museum, New York (source: photo in public domain).

terracotta production is the figurine with raised arms and tilted head in the Metropolitan Museum, Karageorghis, 1977) (fig. 23). Based on the Samian influences, the above figurines from the *Athenaion* will date to the period 720-680 BC, which fits the dating for the pottery in the feasting assemblages mentioned. On the basis of their correspondences to the older Macchiabate tomb figurines, especially between the Est10 figurine and the Stoop terracotta, it must be assumed that the figurines from the sanctuary are not smaller images of a cult statue of a goddess (as I used to think, Kleibrink, 2016a) but of girls associated with coming-of-age/marriage rituals taking place in the sanctuary. This hypothesis is strengthened by scenes related to initiations/marriage rituals depicted on the so-called “Ticino Pyxis” (fig. 24) (Jucker, 1982 and e.g. Kleibrink, 1993, 2016b, 2020b; Granese and Tomay 2008; Martelli, 2008), a vessel originally stemming from the Timpone della Motta sanctuary, but now of unknown whereabouts. It dates



Fig. 24.—Pyxis decorated with choral adoration of a seated goddess, with a provenance from the 1970s Timpone della Motta robbery, present location unknown. Preserved height 21 cm. Dated to 725-710 BC (source: image adapted after Jucker, 1982).



Fig. 25.—Rhyton from the Heraion on Samos (source: drawing by the author after Jarosch, 1994:23f).

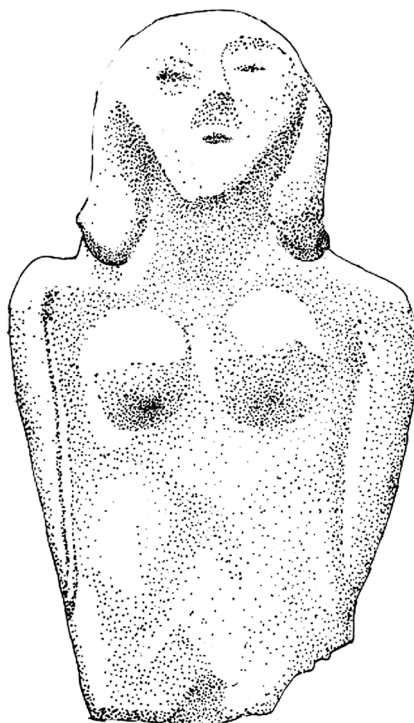


Fig. 26.—Figurine from the Heraion on Samos (source: drawing by the author after Jarosch, 1994:23e).

from about the same period as the figurines of the Copenhagen Type, and the raised arms and rough similarity between the girls painted on the *pyxis* and formed from clay show that the mentioned objects are associated with the same cultic acts. We interpret this attitude as one of worship and surrender, and see it as an expression of the ‘agency’ of the figurines, which can be understood as rather generic substitutes of the *parthenoi* expressing the surrender of their maidenhood to the goddess; a maidenhood that after their transition into adult- and personhood will be absorbed by the goddess. It seems the ancients believed that the girls no longer existed after the goddess had turned them into women ready to marry and bear children.

As mentioned above, there is archaeological evidence that the coming-of-age/marriage rituals around the important transition of girls into women were intensively celebrated with meals in which special food was consumed and libations were celebrated. Most likely these were rituals of birth, of renewal, and of hope towards a future generation (Kleibrink, 2020b and forthcoming). The roots of such festivities are to be sought both in indigenous and in Euboian culture. According to the evidence, a group of ceramists working in Euboian tradition were settled at the foot of Timpone della Motta and in a sanctuary uncovered at Plakari on Euboia evidence of similar festivities has been discovered (Crielaard, 2017:127-144) while in indigenous Italic culture, remains at, for instance, Coppa Nevigata, show similarities in cultic cooking mode (Cazzella and Recchia, 2018). An interesting fact is that this form of festivity decreases in the course of the first half of the 7th century BC, and around 650 definitively stops to make way for rituals of the *kosmesis* type (Kleibrink, 2017). It seems that the consequences of the Lelantine war on Euboia resulted in the gradual disappearance of Euboian influences in the indigenous culture of Francavilla-*Lagaria*, while Corinthian and Achaian influences augmented and were at the basis of cultural change.

GIRLS IN TRANSITION

From Greek mortuary practices around girls deceased before their marriage as explained by Susan Langdon, and by the many myths that depict the death of virgins as collected by Ken Dowden, it seems that hardly any positive social personhood was conceded to *parthenoi* (Langdon, 2005, 2007, 2008; Dowden, 1989). Unmarried girls seem to have been perceived as liminal, wild beings that for a large part belonged to the natural environment and whose maidenhood had to be watched all the time (Walker, 2020). Only after marriage were they granted a social status which depended mainly on the husband’s family, and for which the girl provided the children and thus ensured the future.

The term for the sexually mature unmarried girl *nymphe* expresses the half-hearted personhood of not-yet-married maidens. It concerns a tricky concept because in Greek culture imaginary nymphs presided over trees, grottoes and ponds (Larson, 2001). In further social context the word *nymphe* has the primary meaning of young woman, bride, young wife (on her position and related concepts: Ferrari, 2002;

Dillon, 2003; Walker, 2020). But there is more to be gathered from the sources of myth, mortuary practice and iconography, for in Greek mythology the transition to an adult status and the termination of the girl-person is presented as an end, a death, and also a sacrificial death, so often, that we may assume that the end of girlhood was socially and ritually really imagined as an end or even a sudden termination. In the transition from unmarried *nymphe* to *gunè*, the girl ‘died’ and a woman was born, fit to function as a wife in her husband’s *oikos*. In everyday life these views will have had already much impact, as a religious concept they will have played a major role in the lives of women. The weak personhood of maidens enlightens the active role of terracotta figurines. The figurines were necessary additions to the burials in order to ‘picture’ the dead girl as a bride and a married woman, which must have been necessary for the relatives to be able to bury and mourn the girl as a person. Paradoxically, only in her married status did the dead girl count as a person and was attributed individuality, and the projection of that status in the realm of the dead must have been a necessity to finally value and mourn her. Girls’ graves containing figurines are in this light very interesting when studying views on personhood, marriage, procreation and dying, and hopefully we will be able to contrast them to contemporary girl burials without such figurines in future. In the context of the Temparella cluster at Macchiabate, Francavilla Marittima and the graves with figurines are only a few among many more child burials, which contrasts their families to other burying parents who, for reasons unknown – ethnicity? gender? age? belief? status? — do not adhere to the same practice.

For the families adding the figurines they are essential grave-gifts, because in the agency assigned to them they bridge the dangerous transition from the marginal ‘nymph’ existence of the deceased to their survival in a fully adult form, where the idea seems to be that the objects function as a permanent magically charged source. In other words, the most ‘unreal’ or magical-religious element, which is the imagined transition, is locked up in the figurines, and with that they represent faith and belief in the power of the goddess to successfully complete the maiden transition. This goddess is perhaps best called *potnia* because we do not know when the name Athena spread around the Mediterranean (Kourou 2008, 2015; Meyer, 2017). Moreover, we may hope that the identity of ‘Potnia’ (mistress) goddesses becomes more elaborate as further characteristics of early Iron Age religion are discovered.

The above elements known from Greek culture likely did not play a role in this form under the *Chones* of Francavilla Marittima, but the tomb figurines from the first half of the 8th century BC and the developing cult in the *Athenaion* at the top of the hill do show that the native inhabitants had incorporated influences from the Greek world and had arrived at local interpretations. The influences most likely ended up with the *Chones* via Euboian settlers, but more direct influences from the Near East are also possible, and even remnants of Mycenaean religious ideas cannot be ruled out. At the foot of Timpone della Motta, near the Raganello, potters — perhaps settlers from Euboea — produced pots in Euboean style (Mittica, 2019 with reference to further literature), which were part, but in small quantities,

of dedicated assemblages (Kleibrink, 2020b, forthcoming). The role of FM as part of Phoenician overseas trade routes is manifest from the splendid Phoenician *phialē* from Tomb Strada I of Macchiabate (Quondam, 2021:19-42). After the discoveries of Mycenaean influences at Broglio di Trebisacce and Torre del Mordillo, and to a very small extent on the Timpone della Motta, one may wonder whether the theory of Pugliese Caratelli, Zancani Montuoro and Godart will become sustainable, with the postulation of connections between the *Atana potnia* and the sanctuary of the Timpone della Motta (Zancani, 1975:125-140, commentary in Kleibrink, 2010a:13-21; Pugliese, 1996; Godart, 1992:195-203).

An important conclusion seems to be that the above magical-religious ideas of early eighth century BC date are not associated with the city-state of *Sybaris* founded circa 720 BC from Achaia, but belong to a ‘mixed culture’ or ‘Middle Ground’ situation effective in the century before that foundation. *Sybaris* and its associated belief systems comes into play with the Timpone della Motta marriage assemblages only from the second half of the seventh century BC, a period in which the coming-of-age/marriage festivities had changed considerably and absorbed characteristics of Greek *kosmesis* ritual aimed at a cult image of the goddess and at performances of her protogées (Kleibrink, 2017).

Another important lesson learned from the grave-gift figurines in girls’ graves is the paradox in that the figurines represent the moment of transition from the girl’s maidenhood into her married state, a moment that in itself cannot be pictured because it is an idea. However, as said representation was a necessity in order to be able to bury and mourn the girl as a social person. A comparable element in the ancient belief system is also underlying the terracotta figurines from the sanctuary of a somewhat later date.

The dead girls are apparently placed in a pre-projected marriage in order to see and treat them as a person. Greek mythology repeatedly shows that girls cannot simply marry, but because of their small personhood and – contrary to this – especially their bad qualities, have to ‘die’ before they can marry. There is much ambivalence to be drawn from Greek culture about the nature that was granted to girls, but often the restless, unreliable and untamed nature of the *parthenos* is portrayed and are therefore qualities that must disappear if she is to be suitable for marriage and the production of posterity. The change seems to take place in sanctuaries with coming-of-age rituals where the transition from *parthenos* to *gune* takes place and a woman finally acquires her social personhood. A good example is the myth of the daughters of *Proitos* who, by challenging the goddess Hera, wander the countryside half wild and infected until they are rescued and changed by Artemis. They show themselves domesticated and grateful by thanking the goddess with singing, line dances and libations (Kowalzig, 2007).

Aided by the “Ticino Pyxis” and the terracottas of the “Stoop” and “Copenhagen” types, we can afford a hypothetical reconstruction of the coming-of-age ritual in the sanctuary of Timpone della Motta. In the ritual, the *parthenos* surrenders to the goddess and thus ceases to exist. It is a ceremony that in all probability took place in groups and with purification ritual, libations, and song and dance, after

which people consumed special food stuffs in a larger company. This eating could be reconstructed by the dedicated pottery and is, in my view, strongly linked to aspects of the belief in Athena (Kleibrink, 2020b). That aspect, to be described as an end, a sacrifice, a ‘death’ of the girl, is clearly evident from one of the many myths about the *Palladion*. This legendary cult statue, attributed to the citadel of Troy and distributed after the destruction of that city, among other places, to Italy, was — so one of its myths recounts — made by Athena herself as a reminder of the girl *Pallas*. Athena, after her birth from the head of Zeus, grew up with Pallas, daughter of the sea god Triton. The goddess accidentally killed her in one of their playful skirmishes and in great sorrow absorbed her, after which as a most powerful and magic memento, made the *Palladion* (Apolodoros 3.12.3).

The end of *Pallas* can be understood as a mythical parallel to the ritual ‘end’ of *parthenoi* who celebrated their coming-of-age and wedding feasts in Athena sanctuaries, after which figurines or statues were left behind that are substantiations of the girls’ maidenhood pasts. It are precisely such ideological elements that theories about “personhood” and “agency” bring to the fore. Not only does “agency” clarify the necessity of figurines to embody something that in real life is invisible (*nymph* status) and cannot be absorbed by a goddess or buried in her sanctuary, but it also shows how ideas circulating in a specific historical period, in which special elements of girlhood, the necessity of watching them, and exaggerated feasting at transition, result from the importance of control over fertile young women in a society structured by masculine domination. As we saw, comparable elements were also the reason for the presence of the dolls in the maiden graves, which were needed to mourn the deceased girl, but at the same time mourn what could have been: the flourishing female half of a couple that complemented and supported society.

CONCLUSION

Problematization of the “personhood” of the four girls buried at Macchiabate by using knowledge on maidenhood from written sources, iconographic representations, archaeology, and assigning “agency” to the terracotta grave-gifts, mainly based on comparison with specimens from Greek mortuary practices, the dressing, and the objects related to them, leads to more nuanced conclusions than the status story. The latter needs to be nuanced because of the fact that the terracotta figurines occurring in relatively rich tombs are not exclusively born from the wish to display special objects. On the one hand it shows indeed the privilege of an upper class to introduce new things, but on the other, it is also proof of the willingness to adopt elements of another culture, which is typical of the attitude attributed to “Middle Ground” situations. The single-figurine terracottas owe their existence to providing a link between the goddess and the human being. The very fact that they were necessary informs us on the restrictions to which girls and women were subjected.

The terracotta figurines of anthropomorphic couples are more difficult to fit into a historical period by using the same theories of personhood and agency (which is, of course, necessary to prove the usefulness of such theories), because it is clear that the objects are associated with contemporary Chonian families, and must therefore also have been connected to their ideas. A difference with the single-terracotta category is that for the double-figurine bronze pendants similar iconographic characteristics exist that occur, not only in child graves (so far only one), but especially in graves of women and again, in richly furnished ones. It is also significant, I think, that in the burial field of Torre del Mordillo bronze *coppiette* stem from double graves of a man and a woman, while there are no examples known from only men's graves (Cerzoso and Vanzetti, 2014: Tomb 78; Quondam designates the *coppietta* from T21 at Torre del Mordillo as among the first ones produced, Quondam, 2021:27-32).

The fact that these pendants do occur in rich female graves raises the problem of how to categorize these women qua personhood and leads to the question of what these pendants can do for these women. What was their agency? In a functional sense, it is striking that the type B figurines have loops to attach them, while there are also indications that necklaces of bronze double links are related to the pendants. The figurines may have served as clasps as proposed by Paola Zancani Montuoro and myself for the necklace and the pendant of grave T57 of Macchiabate (Kleibrink, 2016b). A recently found trio of *coppiette* with rings in the loops and five almost identical figures from a grave in Torano give reason to consider those pendants as linked elements of a larger ornament (Guggisberg *et al.*, 2016; de La Genière, 1977). This seems to contradict a unique character of the type B pendants. That is also the case now that a much larger number of these figures are known. All this does not alter the fact, however, that the burying community seems to have considered these women in the first-place part of a couple, and in that capacity connected to a divine couple, because the development of the iconography from A-types to B-types points that way. This means that problematizing the personhood of these women leads to further development of the ideology behind the single-person terracotta figurines in the form of a strong contrast, since the maidens were considered almost empty of personhood, whereas these upper class women possess a personhood that is very 'full', in the sense that abundant and costly jewellery and other objects are added to the burial in order to express the self of these women and to enable her to fulfill her role forever, as in the case of the burial of the woman in Strada Tomb 1 (fig. 27). The figurines among the grave gifts emphasize couple formation, marriage, and its divine background, and in that role and in that reflection, the couple terracottas and pendants are also active. This means that for upper class women, the level of ambition was set very high in fulfilling their duties as female heads of households/estates and as part of the community, especially because of their connection and comparison to the female part of a divine couple. The patterns of expectation seem representative of a "Middle Ground" situation in which the change of religious values and, in my view, especially the introduction of anthropomorphic forms of previously present

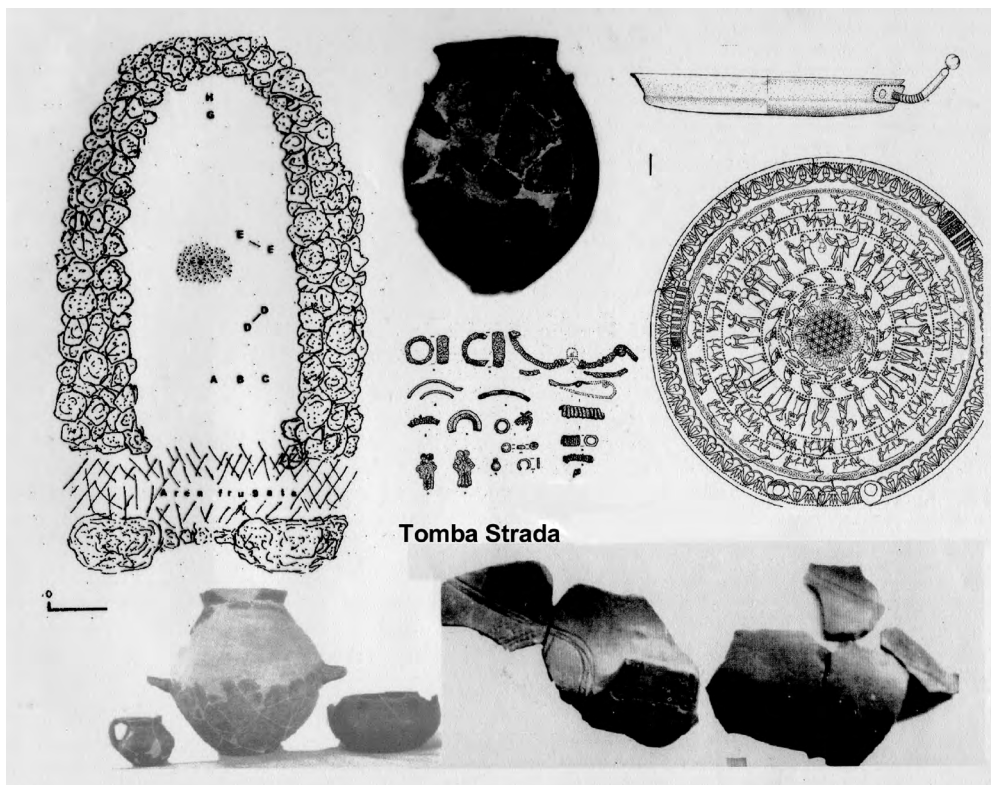


Fig. 27.—Burial Strada 1 (source: image adapted after Zancani, 1970-1971).

but aniconic elements, goes hand in hand with the agency of new forms such as the terracottas and pendants, which provide support for ideological values in a changing environment.

The figurines of Francavilla-*Lagaria* are part of social expressions spreading across the Villanova-Etruscan, Latial and Italic cultures via clay figurines as coherently illuminated by Andrea Babbi. On a more abstract level, as with the Pallas myth, we see a relation between Greek culture and the terracotta figurines through the Myth of Pandora, the first woman to be made of clay, robes, and jewels. It is a myth with which the deep roots of the figurines and the traditionally attributed relationship with personhood and the possibility of figurine agency are clear. In this light, the discussed figurines should be regarded as specific, time- and culture-bound elaborations of ideas and impulses circulating around the Mediterranean on girls, women, human death, indestructible clay, and society.

In a further conclusion, it is important to note that in the case of the elements discussed here we are dealing with provenanced finds from an Italian-Chonian coastal settlement from the eighth and first quarter of the seventh century BC (in my opinion the *Lagaria* from the —scarce— historiographical sources). The presence

of remains of a large burial field, of habitation, and of an important sanctuary make it possible to go further in hypotheses and inferences regarding explanations of the reasons behind the objects from graves and sanctuaries, than if one considers the objects only from an aesthetic or iconographic side because of missing contexts. It is always the contextual analysis, preferably as broad as possible, that enables us to place the objects back in the frameworks formed by the makers and users and their worlds of ideas. Specific ‘tools’ from the social and anthropological sciences such as “agency” and “personhood” make it possible to represent the connection between the factuality of the material object, the contextual situation, and the world of ideas without having to travel very long explicative roads. With these tools, more immediate discussions can be held on the connection between the materiality of the objects and the world of ideas of the ancients.

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