
Water for Athena: Votive Gifts at Lagaria (Timpone della Motta, Francavilla Marittima, Calabria)

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Water for Athena: votive gifts at Lagaria (Timpone della Motta, Francavilla Marittima, Calabria)

Marianne Kleibrink, Jan Kindberg Jacobsen and Søren Handberg

Abstract

The remains of monumental timber temples on the Acropolis of the Timpone della Motta from the end of the eighth century BC are the first temples on Italian soil. They are constructed on the remains of dwellings from the eighth century BC, among others a House of Weaving belonging to an aristocratic Enotrian clan, buried nearby. Comparisons between the fills of this house, rich female tombs and normal huts make it likely that it was used for a cult related to wool, perhaps weaving festivals. In early seventh-century BC timber temples a goddess of weaving, probably Athena, was still venerated, but contacts with Greeks brought a new cult practice, related to the legend of Epeios, creator of Troy's wooden horse. The thousands of *hydriskai* (small water jugs) and cups found on the Acropolis, show that people imitated Epeios, hoping for Athena's help, which he received because he carried water to the Greek kings during the Trojan War. The water cult for Athena and her artisan-hero identifies the sanctuary as that at Lagaria.

Keywords

Enotrians; Lagaria; Athena; Epeios; early temples; water cult; weaving cult; loom weights; hydriae.

An unfortunate site

From 1963 to 1969 Maria W. Stoop unearthed the remains of three temples and several votive deposits, as well as those of a Byzantine chapel on the Acropolis of the Timpone della Motta (Stoop 1971). The Timpone is a low hill (280m asl) situated south of the modern village of Francavilla Marittima, on the north bank of the Raganello (a seasonal river) and overlooking the coastal plain of Sibari and the Ionian Sea. In 1969, the same year that all attention turned to the first excavations for Greek Sybaris (Kleibrink 2001), Stoop was ordered to abandon her project and could therefore publish only the notes, maps and photos then in her possession (Stoop 1990, with references to earlier work).

Shortly afterwards, in the 1970s, a huge number of objects stolen from the Acropolis appeared on the Swiss antiques market. Among the buyers were the J. Paul Getty Museum and the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek (e.g. Mertens Horn 1992; Maaskant Kleibrink 1993; Johansen 1994: nos 34–6, 68–121); the unsold pottery ended up in the Archaeological Institute at Bern. After decades of denial, evidence of their original provenance became so strong that, thanks to many colleagues, some 6,000 objects were recently returned to the Sibari Museum.¹

Today, the huge holes dug by the *tombaroli clandestini* can still be seen on the upper south slope of the Acropolis. When robbery re-started on the north slope in the 1980s, the Archaeological Superintendency of Calabria unearthed a fourth building there (unpublished, but see Luppino in Lattanzi et al. 1996). Since 1993, a team from Groningen University (GIA) has excavated a fifth building. These recent excavations provide data with which the unfortunate remains on the Timpone della Motta may be interpreted afresh. Some examples concerning the votive objects will be given below.

Old and new data from the ‘Area Chiesetta’ (Byzantine chapel)

The *Scavi Stoop* '69 uncovered two 0.60cm-deep postholes of 0.50cm in diameter underneath the chapel, plus a shallower trench, cut out of the bedrock. The excavation plan shows Stoop was excavating at the time in the north-western corner of the *cella* of temples Vc/Vd (Stoop 1976: 159). Stoop's 1968 trench had also covered part of this area and is interesting because it contained eight complete and fragmentary loom weights, beautifully decorated with meander and labyrinth patterns (*GdS* 1968; Stoop 1976: 156ff., with references; Maaskant Kleibrink 1993: 20f.; Lattanzi et al. 1996: 3.31–2). Similar weights were found by Orsi at Canale (Orsi 1926: 340–1). Barber (1991: 98) discusses the history of loom weights and the fact that pots or baskets are often used in their storage. During our GIA excavations a few more pyramidal weights were found nearby; together they probably form a cache kept in the west room of the native timber dwelling (Vb) recently discovered underneath the temples. Inside the chapel Stoop found a spotty, but compact, yellow stratum of c. 5cm in the area of the postholes. In this, a number of small Greek objects had been deposited, mostly upside down (Stoop 1979b: 77–8). The excavator divided the finds into one group from the yellow layer, consisting of:

- 2 *aryballoi* (small vessels for perfumed oil)
- 2 *filetti* cups (drinking cups decorated with bands on the lip)
- 4 lids of *oinochoai* (wine jugs)
- 5 lids of *pyxides* (pottery boxes)
- 1 *kalathiskos* (miniature pottery imitation of a basket used for unspun wool)
- 2 *faience* bowls (*faience* is a substance used for luxury vessels and jewellery in Egypt and Eastern Greece)
- 1 alabastron (small vessel for perfumed oil).

and another group probably also from the yellow layer:

- fragments of a *kyathos* (drinking cup)
- a Rhodian *oinochoe* (wine jug)

- a black *lekythos* (oil jug)
- a fibula and bronze jewellery specimens.

Stoop postulated a temple beneath the chapel, dated on the basis of the latest objects from 590 BC onwards (Stoop 1979b: 83). Recently, similar finds from the yellow floor deposits excavated by the GIA have allowed a new reinterpretation (for an example of an unsuccessful interpretation, see Maaskant Kleibrink (1993)) of Stoop's findings and a division into four groups:

- 1 larger, complete vessels, like the black *lekythos* from circa 600 BC
- 2 yellow layer objects dating from the second half of the seventh century BC
- 3 fragments of Greek imported pottery like the *kyathos* and Rhodian *oinochoe* dating from the last quarter of the eighth century BC
- 4 bronze objects, partly from the postholes, partly from below the yellow layer, dating from the first three quarters of the eighth century BC. They all seem to be bronze jewellery items associated with women in the native tombs (Zancani Montuoro 1976: 9–106, 1979: 7–91, 1982: 7–129, 1984: 7–110).

The recent excavations produced the remains of seven subsequent structures in the Area Chiesetta:

- Va) a late Middle Bronze Age dwelling
- Vb) an Early Iron Age House of Weaving, to which the above *Scavi Stoop* loom weights and objects from nr. 4 belong
- Vc) a high Archaic timber-built temple constructed during the last quarter of the eighth century BC; the objects from no. 3 belong to this building
- Vd) a Colonial period temple built c. 660 BC, the objects from nos 1 and 2 belong here
- Ve) a gravel terrace with a sixth century BC temple
- Vf) a fifth-/fourth-century BC enclosure
- Vg) the Byzantine chapel itself.

An Oinotrian House of Weaving and its special contents (Vb)

During the GIA excavations quite a number of eighth-century BC bronze objects, similar to Stoop's 1968–9 finds, turned up in small crevices in the bedrock. Like the cache of loom weights, these stem from the west room of an elongated native timber dwelling, which had a hearth in its centre (Maaskant Kleibrink 2000: 171ff.). The finds from the lowest stratum (thickness >7cm) were mixed and belonged to this native room (phase Vb) as well as to the temples constructed over that dwelling (phases Vc and Vd). The hand-made pottery, such as brown-burnished *impasto* (i.e. not depurated clay) storage vessels and reddish *impasto* jars together with many *impasto* spindle whorls, and also fragments of matt-painted pots, such as jugs (Kleibrink and Sangineto 1998: pl. 1), will belong to this timber building. The many metal finds, however, were far more eye-catching: some thirty bronze rings, two braid fasteners, fibulae (of serpentine, shield and *placchetta* types: cf. Kleibrink in Lattanzi 1996: nos 3.33, 3.34, p. 231), wheel-shaped and double spiral pendants, a bronze pair of human figurines, fragments of iron knives,

of an iron dagger and sword, amber beads, buttons and *phalerae* (large bronze discs used as girdle pendants), bronze spirals and strips (e.g. Maaskant Kleibrink 2000: 172, fig. 90). The many metal objects in the hearth-room, as well as the pottery fragments and animal bones from its ashes, conserved outside its south wall (Kleibrink and Sangineto 1998: 1–60; Maaskant Kleibrink 2000: 171ff.), indicate that the room was a special place for the population. The original number of bronzes will have been far higher than the one now catalogued, as the items come exclusively from small crevices; the remainder must have vanished because the same bedrock was used as a floor in subsequent phases. Comparison with an eighth-century BC native hut recently unearthed on Plateau I of the Timpone della Motta by the GIA excavations shows that the timber building on the Acropolis is around three times as large. Moreover, large quantities of bronze jewellery, a large and central raised hearth platform, conserved ashes with bones and pottery fragments, as well as large and intricately decorated truncated-pyramidal loom weights were not found in this hut. Although much smaller weights and the remnants of two iron fibulae were found in this much smaller hut, as well as interesting storage jars and matt-painted pottery, special finds were totally absent (Kleibrink 2004). The fill of the Acropolis timber building Vb therefore seems not to belong to the normal domestic sphere, but to indicate religious use.

In archaeological literature the Early Iron Age inhabitants of the region, well known at Francavilla Marittima because of the huge Early Iron Age necropolis at Macchiabate (Zancani Montuoro 1984, with reference to earlier work), are referred to as Oinotrians. The metal objects from timber dwelling Vb are identical to those from the female Macchiabate burials; the weapons are probably similar to the ones known from male Macchiabate tombs. Among the jewellery, two bronze birds, one from the west and the other from the east room, are special finds because they have no parallels in the local tombs. The type of bird is Laconian (*‘Lakonische hoch-geometrische Gämse’*, cf. Heilmeyer 1979: nos 931–6, 186), and the occurrence of two almost identical specimens, perhaps from the same mould (the objects are heavily corroded), may indicate local manufacture, in view of the high-quality local bronze workshops. Water birds, together with stags, are the only decorative motifs on the native pots and the loom weights from the dwelling (e.g. Kleibrink and Sangineto 1998: pl. 10, AC 2009: 3). These birds (Fig. 1) must have been sacred (cf. also Castoldi 1997: 111), especially to women, since rows of tiny bone and amber water birds decorated the funeral dresses of the women buried in the richest tombs of Macchiabate, see T60 and U9 (Zancani Montuoro 1984, with references).

To the east of the west room, another room, with an eastern apse, contained a standing loom, the weights of which were recently found *in situ* (Fig. 2) (Maaskant Kleibrink 2000: 175ff.). In the loom area, *impasto* cooking stoves and pots were present as well, with spindles whorls and smaller weights indicating a female activity area where wool (and/or flax) were woven and probably cleaned and coloured. Judging from the weight of the weights (from 800 to 1200 grams) and the width of the rows (2–2.30m) the loom must have been a monumental specimen (for measurements, see Barber 1991: 103ff.). Weights from Oinotrian tombs at Macchiabate, Incoronata and Valle Sorigliano are much smaller (Chiartano 1994; Frey 1991). The idea that special burial gift weight miniatures existed does not seem to be always applicable (Frey 1991: 15), as two specimens recently excavated by the GIA-team from a hut on plateau I are also small (Kleibrink 2004), while

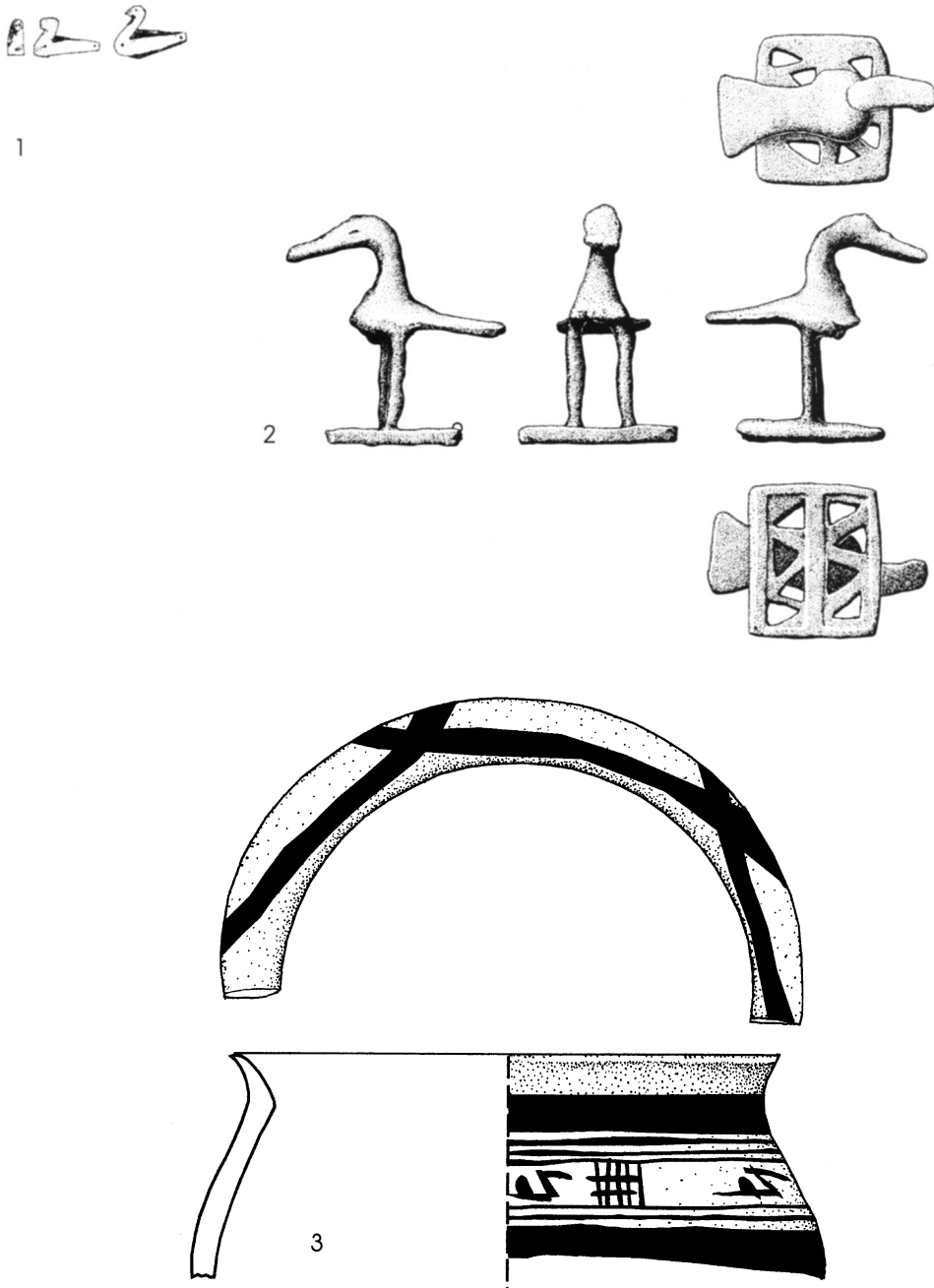


Figure 1 Waterbirds: 1. from the funeral dress in tomb T60, 2 at Macchiabate (after Zancani-Montuoro); 2. bronze Laconian-type bird on an open-work foot (stamp) AC5.15-1; 3. frieze from the matt-painted cup or jar AC16.2-200/02.

those from the Canale tombs are large (Orsi 1926). In Oinotria truncated pyramidal loom weights appear to be grave gifts exclusive to rich female tombs, always containing high quantities of bronze jewellery (Chiartano 1994: tombs 209, 235, 253; Frey 1991: tombs 79, 118, 120). Judging from the imperishable additions to their costumes, the Oinotrian weavers at the Acropolis were richly dressed in death as well as in daily life; theirs must have been a skill far above that normally seen in Iron Age Italy.²

In Indo-European weaving tradition, birds (and eggs) turn up with astonishing regularity, as do goddesses of the Berehinia-type (i.e. 'Protectress': Barber 1991: 292ff.). In this tradition, working parties like the one on a well-known early first-millennium BC pot from Hungary show weavers at work on a standing loom, while being entertained by a musician (Barber 1991: 295ff.). On the reverse of a seventh-century BC stele from Puglia an enthroned deity is depicted with her feet on the socle of a pilaster; a woman standing in front of it presents a pot to her. The pilaster may be interpreted as the side of a standing loom (Nava 1984), although Chamay sees it as a *naiskos* (Chamay 1993: no. 244). The goddesses depicted with raised arms, as on the Hungarian pot, or seated as on the stele resemble Athena in many striking ways (Barber 1991: 298). The finds from the Early Iron Age Acropolis on the Motta therefore indicate the existence of a special Weaving House, with several elements pointing to the sacredness of such places, a sentiment that certainly applied during the subsequent periods. In Greek myth, labyrinths and weaving are connected with Troy and Athena as well as with the Cretan princess Ariadne (Scheid and Svenbro 1994: 17ff.).

The pottery associated with the timber dwelling stems largely from the later Middle Geometric period. As for the absolute date of this important Oinotrian dwelling on the Acropolis, two charcoal and one bone ¹⁴C sample we obtained for the area with the loom weights gave dates of 930–790 BC and one further charcoal sample gave 940–830 BC (all dates calibrated at 95.4 per cent). As not all of these samples can concern old wood, they probably show that the Middle Geometric period occurs during 900–800 BC rather than the traditional pottery date of 775–725 BC (Yntema 1993: 48ff.). Evidence for a contemporary twin structure (Ia), parallel to Vb along the northern border of the Acropolis, is the presence of rows of postholes as well as pottery fragments from the period among the material from the *Scavi Stoop*.

The first cultural shift: three highly Archaic timber temples and the early Athena festival

A major cultural shift must have occurred on the Acropolis the moment the Oinotrian apsidal timber dwellings were replaced by temples (Fig. 3). The latter rectangular structures, with their front and rear porches and contents, demonstrate an interesting mixture of Greek design (temple plans, pottery types) and native techniques (matt-painting, posthole structures). In addition to the Late Geometric II finds in and around the postholes of the long walls of Temple Vc (e.g. fibulae of the *a staffa lunga* type, i.e. with long channel catch-plate, and a *drago* type, i.e. with knobbed arch bow, Thapsos class and fringe-style potsherds (Fig. 4) [cf. Maaskant Kleibrink 2000: 177]), a clear phasing indication is given by its easternmost short row of small postholes, which are not cut out from the conglomerate bedrock, but dug through the stratum of the previous Vb phase and

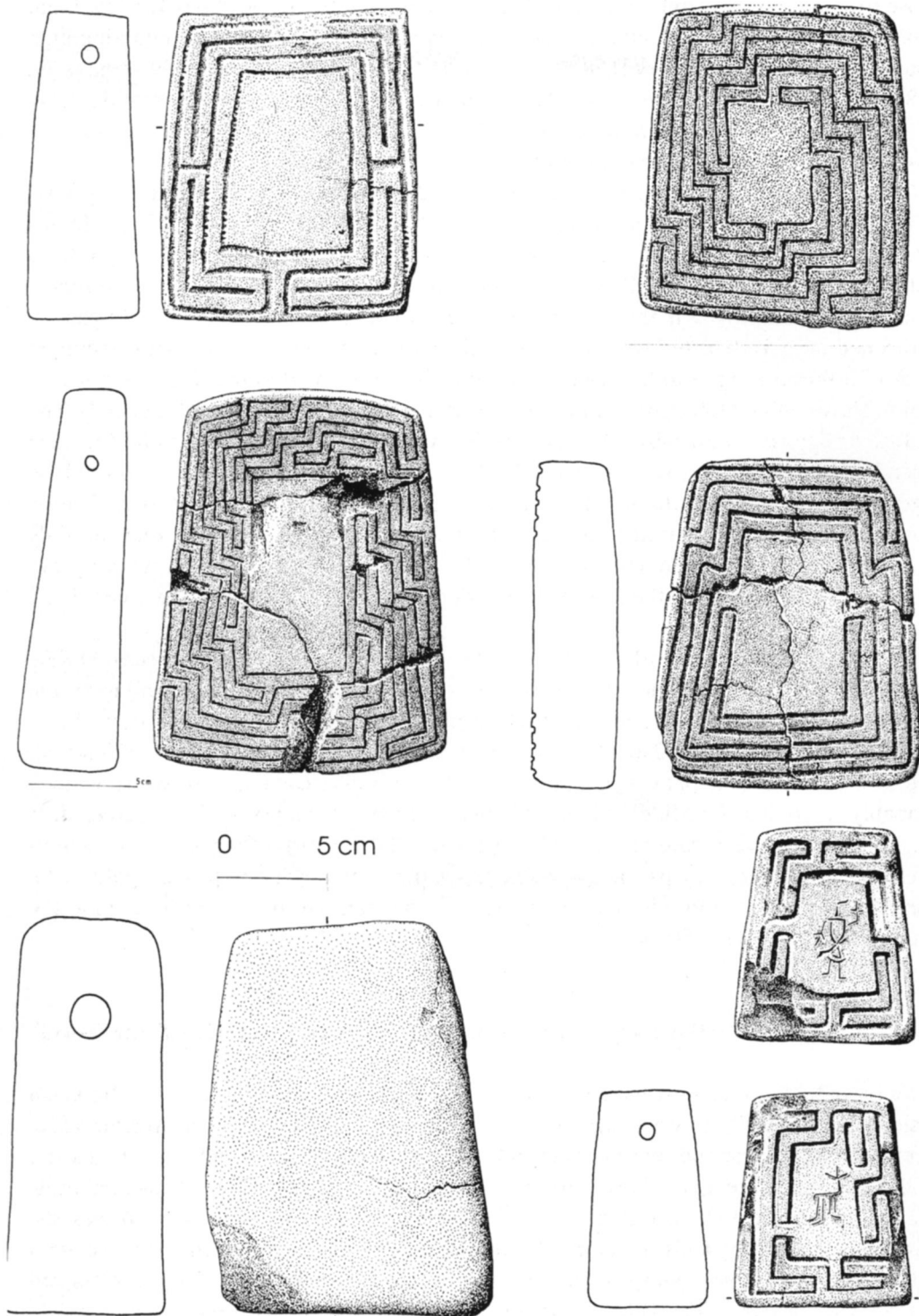
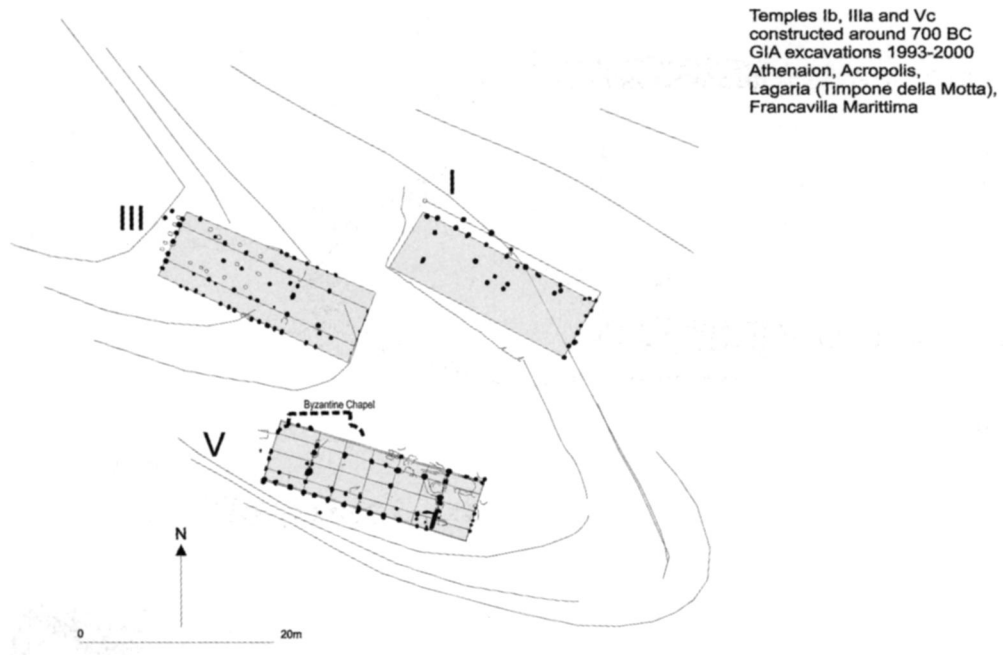


Figure 2 Loom weights from the House of Weaving: 1. AC2006-3; 2. AC4.30-5; 3. AC2.15 + AC4.30-12; 4. AC3.15-1; 5. AC4.30-11; 6. AC2813/1.



Temples Id, II, IIIb and IV,
constructed first half of the
6th c. BC, Athenaion, Acropolis,
Lagaria (Timpone della Motta),
Francavilla Marittima

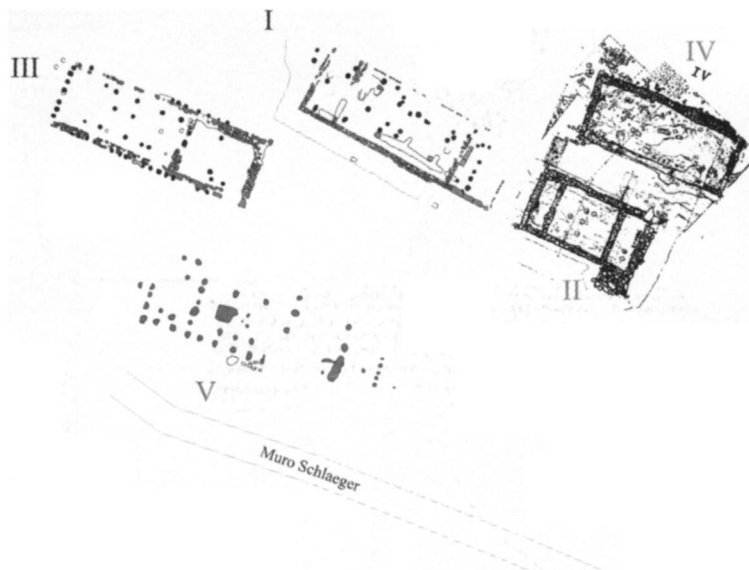


Figure 3 Plans of the Athenaion at Lagaria, above the phase of the timber temples (725–700 BC); below the phase of the temples on stone foundations (sixth century BC).

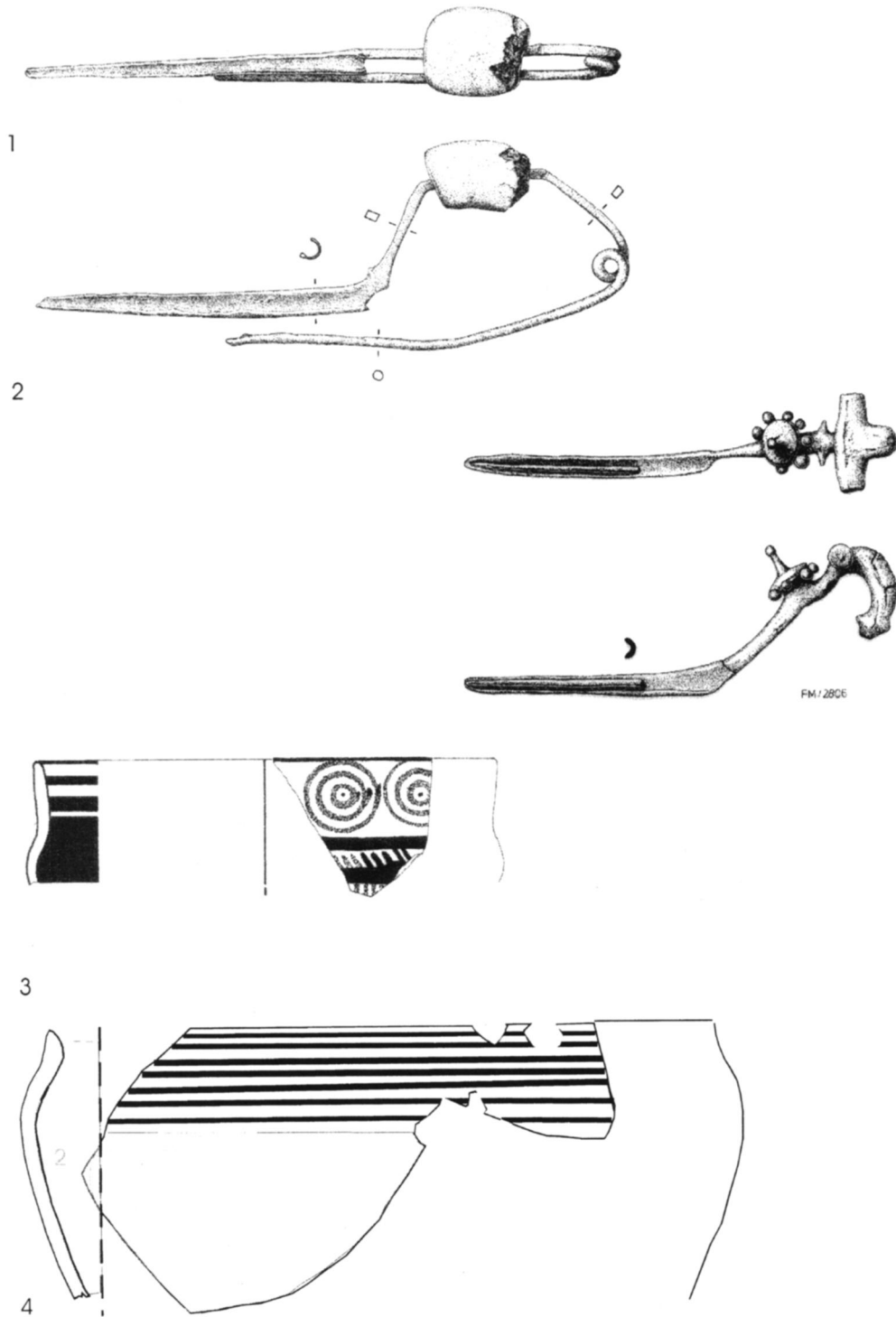


Figure 4 'A staffa lunga' fibula AP6-3 and 'a drago' fibula AC2806/1; rim fragment of an Euboian cup AC2777/3 and from a Thapsos class cup AC17.15-610+AC16.7-306+AC16.12-903 diameter 14cm, all from Temple Vc, c. 725-700 BC.

covered with the yellow floor deposit from the next phase (Vd). This east porch conforms to a Greek temple plan with a *pronaos* (frontal porch) and an *adyton* (rear porch) and cancelled the earlier apse. The rows of postholes underneath Stoop's Temples I and III should be assigned to this same construction phase, dating around 700 BC, because the plans of all three post-hole buildings are very similar (Kleibrink 2004).

The postholes of Temples Ib, IIIa and Vc indicate traditional Greek temple plans, with identical measurements of $c.22 \times 7.20$ m. Because, as far as we know, these are the earliest temples with such plans in Italy, this shift to temple building in a native site is of great importance for understanding the transmission of Greek religion to Oinotrian culture, especially since the temples replace earlier native buildings that already had religious functions. Since no baked elements of walls or roofs of the Oinotrian timber buildings were found, these earlier structures cannot have been destroyed by fire. Consequently, the replacement is unlikely to have been the outcome of a forceful colonization. It seems rather that, in this case, Greeks and Oinotrians co-operated in constructing a new sanctuary. This view is supported by the fact that, in the earliest temples, locally produced fringe-style pottery is abundant next to far fewer fragments of pottery imported from Greece or local imitations thereof. The view that the early Athenaion at Francavilla Marittima was constructed as a boundary sanctuary (*santuario di confine*) by Sybaris (De Polignac 1984, 1995; Guzzo 1987) can only hold if it is possible to push such actions back into highly Archaic periods, where, to our mind, they do not easily fit into Akhaian history.

Interestingly, the imported as well as the native pottery from Temple Vc consists mostly of drinking cups and pouring jugs, either manufactured locally or imported from Greece. The earliest Greek pottery from the deposit south of Temples Vc/Vd, the majority of which consists of Thapsos and pseudo-Thapsos sherds, dates to the last quarter of the eighth century BC (e.g. Fig. 4; Thapsos-class potsherds of the *Scavi Stoop*, Lattanzi et al. 1996: nos 3.77–80). Likewise dating to that period are fragments from late Geometric Rhodian oinochoai and birdbowls and a single sherd of a *kyathos* (cat. nos 1, 2, 3, 4, 9). A number of sherds from black *kantharoi* (drinking cups with high handles on both sides), probably imported from Akhaia (north-west Peloponnesos), are perhaps as early as the late eighth/early seventh century BC (Tomay 2002: 331, etc.).

Only in very few cases has it been possible to refit any of these late Geometric sherds. The majority were derived from contexts disturbed by clandestine activities, but surely they should be seen as belonging to the earliest temple phase. The overwhelming majority of jug and cup shapes among the pottery dedicated in the early Athenaion at Francavilla Marittima must already point to the cult practised in it, especially since, during the period 700–400 BC, miniature water jugs (*hydriskai*) and cups were dedicated in the Athenaion by the thousands (see below). Because no early jugs and cups were found *in situ* they can help only partially in reconstructing the cult connected to the first temples. Apart from *in situ* dedications, another possibility for learning of the cults of ancient Mediterranean sanctuaries stems from the imagery produced by their artisans. Also, in the case of the cult practised in this early Athenaion, we are aided by pictorial information, which comes from a *pyxis* (pottery box) stemming from the Timpone della Motta. A fragment of a figurative *pyxis* lid (Fig. 5.2), recently found in a clandestini pit, is of local manufacture, but produced after Greek examples (e.g. the famous sub-Geometric plate from the end of the eighth century BC found on the Kerameikos, Athens, with a similar scene: LIMC s.v.



Figure 5 Procession iconography: 1. sherd with three dancing women AC2823; 2. sherd from *pyxis* lid AC17.3; 3. scene on a *pyxis* stolen from Temple Vc, now in Ticino.

Athena no. 15). This very interesting lid matches the *pyxis* formerly at Ticino (Fig. 5.3) that we assigned to the Acropolis earlier on Jucker's indications (Maaskant Kleibrink 1993: 11ff.). The scenes on the *pyxis* and its lid show women carrying *hydriai* (water jugs) to pour a drink into a cup held by an enthroned goddess. It seems reasonable to think that the thousands of cups and jugs found on the Acropolis of the Timpone della Motta indicate that people actually did pour such drinks there, and left their vessels behind. The hitherto-known late eighth-century BC *hydriskai* from dated contexts are few and/or too fragmentary. However, morphological analysis has shown that the class is present in the period (cf. Stoop 1976: pl. L-LI); native jugs and cups decorated with fringe-style patterns are abundant. The one-handed cup in the hands of the goddess, though deep, may illustrate a native type such as the *atingitoio* (dipper cup) frequent in the sanctuary and dating from this period.

The 'Ticino' *pyxis*, together with other *pyxides* from the first Athenaion (e.g. an indigenous *pyxis* lid from c. 700 BC: Kleibrink and Sangineto 1998, AC2051/12) as well as the *kalathoi ajourés* (miniature pottery baskets with open-work sides) will not be related to

water but to unspun wool and perhaps jewellery. Spindles are also frequently present in all excavation layers. They are usually made of *impasto* clay and traditionally star-shaped, which makes them difficult to date accurately. The dedication of objects related to spinning shows that cult elements from the early Iron Age House of Weaving continued in the phases of the first temples. This makes one wonder about the connection between the historical water cult in the later Athenaion and the veneration of waterbirds in the House of Weaving.

The ‘Ticino’ *pyxis* and its lid show that the cult at the Athenaion had a festival character,³ with processions of warriors and women climbing the Motta at regular intervals. A contemporary sherd from building Vc shows us three dancing women, in cross-hatched dresses similar to the ones on the *pyxis* (Fig. 5.1); the seventh-century evidence also indicated processions (see below). The position of the three temples on the Acropolis makes it likely that the festival was held in front of the central Temple III. Of the three long rectangular temples, constructed with walls reinforced by sturdy wooden posts in deep rock-cut holes, the twin Temples I and V perched on the very edges of the Acropolis, with steep drops north and south. Thus the *piazza* in front of Temple III was intentionally kept as large as possible, presumably for the festival activities (no features have been found in this area).

The three early timber temples seem not to have had a long life. Very little Greek material was found dating to the period 700/690 BC–660/650 BC, although a few soldier-bird *kotylai* (cups) and a few Proto-Corinthian ovoid *aryballoi* (none, however, of the earlier globular shape) do exist, cult activities during the first half of the seventh century BC must have been few. Curiously, the dedicated material of thousands of pots from 660–600 BC (the period of the next generation of temples, see below) seems to be more abundant than that from any other published sanctuary in the Mediterranean, which contrasts sharply with the poor profile during the first half of the seventh century BC. There is some Oinotrian seventh-century BC bichrome material and material imitating Greek decorations among the pottery found (Yntema 1995: 13–23; Kleibrink and Sangineto 1998: pl. 21). In any case the seventh-century BC so-called matt-painted pottery is not very abundant in the Athenaion. This relative scarcity of early seventh-century BC material calls for an explanation, and one can be found in the suggestion that the Akhaian colonization occurred towards the middle of the seventh rather than at the end of the eighth century BC. However, the Greek plans of the timber temples and the ‘Greek’ ceremony with drinking sets and miniature wool baskets demonstrate definite Greek influences already at the end of the eighth century BC. As there are also native burials with grave gifts of Greek imported pots from this period at Macchiabate, it seems that, after a period in which Oinotrian aristocrats and Greek merchants and/or settlers enthusiastically co-operated in burial and cult practices, a period of stress and fewer contacts occurred during the first half of the seventh century BC. The building technique of the temples is clearly indigenous, and the indigenous *pyxis* and crater fragments also demonstrate that the population consisted of Oinotrians among whom Hellenization certainly had already begun. The absolute lack of inscriptions from the eighth- and seventh-century BC materials from the Timpona della Motta also points to a predominantly indigenous use of the sanctuary and not a Greek one, since Greek dedications often speak to the gods. Whatever the explanation for the

chronological gap, the next phase in the Athenaion shows similarities with as well as differences from the earlier periods.

A second shift: the Colonial mudbrick temples of the Athenaion (Vd)

Around or just before the middle of the seventh century BC a new generation of temples was erected on top of the demolished older timber structures. During the second half of the seventh century BC the Athenaion must have flourished in a very remarkable way. The thousands of objects from the Acropolis mainly belong to this period. They occur in Temple Vd as deposits related to the yellow floor inside the temple⁴ (labelled floor deposits: Fig. 6 and compare objects in Lattanzi et al. 1996: nos 3.37–43; Maaskant Kleibrink 2000) and outside the southern and eastern temple walls (labelled wall deposits). The idea that this later seventh-century BC material stems from a single huge votive deposit – Stoop's *Stipe I*, robbed in the 1970s – must now be abandoned. A plan of Stoop's first excavation of 1963 shows *Stipe I* as an area of $5 \times 3 \times 2.50\text{m}$, opposite Temple I, which is immediately to the east of the Byzantine chapel mentioned above; consequently the *Stipe I* material is related to the wall deposits south/south-east of Temple V. Equally, much of the material from Stoop's '*Area fra i due edifici*' and '*scarico meridionale e orientale*' stems from deposits south and south-east of the walls of Temple I, the twin to Temple V in the north. Part of the so-called *Stipe I* is recognizable as the area south of the *temenos* (boundary) wall, which bordered the southern edge of the Acropolis. Evidence of this wall has just (October 2003) come to light, as well as a fill to its south with seventh- and sixth-century material that strongly resembles that from *Stipe I* from the *Scavi Stoop* and Getty/Bern lists (Munzi et al. 1997).

Thanks to the recent excavations, the many repetitive groups of pottery on the floor of Temple Vd and at the frontal walls of Temples Vc/Vd (and the twin Temple I) are now better understood. Groups of pottery consisting of one or two *hydriskai* and drinking cups as well as pottery containers for perfumed oil and a pottery box (*pyxis*) or miniature pottery wool basket have been unearthed in the yellow floor of Temple Vd, especially around and in the upper part of the postholes of the previous Temple Vc, which were filled up with the yellow stuff and the pottery items mentioned. From these groups of pottery it may be deduced that water and wool must have been very frequent dedications in the Athenaion, since, on the evidence of the 'Ticino' *pyxis*, the *hydriskai* can be connected with the pouring of water to the goddess and the *kalathiskoi* among the pottery gifts point exclusively to dedications of unspun wool. Such dedications must have occurred frequently since the wall deposits of Temples I and Vd show large quantities of vessels. During the GIA 2000/2001 campaigns, wall deposits with seventh-century BC dedications were excavated just south-south-east of Temples Vc/Vd (units AC16/16A–17/17A). Due to extensive clandestine activity, much of the original stratigraphy was destroyed, but a small part of it (in AC16/16A) had been protected by a compact soil layer. Votive material was obtained from two vertically separated layers: the upper votive layer AC16A-context 9 of 2/3cm and the lower votive layer AC16A-context 18 of c. 10cm (the latter stratum corresponding to AC16-context 20 of the previous excavation). In the upper votive layer a large number of sherds of native and Greek origin were excavated along with sporadic finds of bronze jewellery, bone and amber beads and a number of terracotta *pinakes*

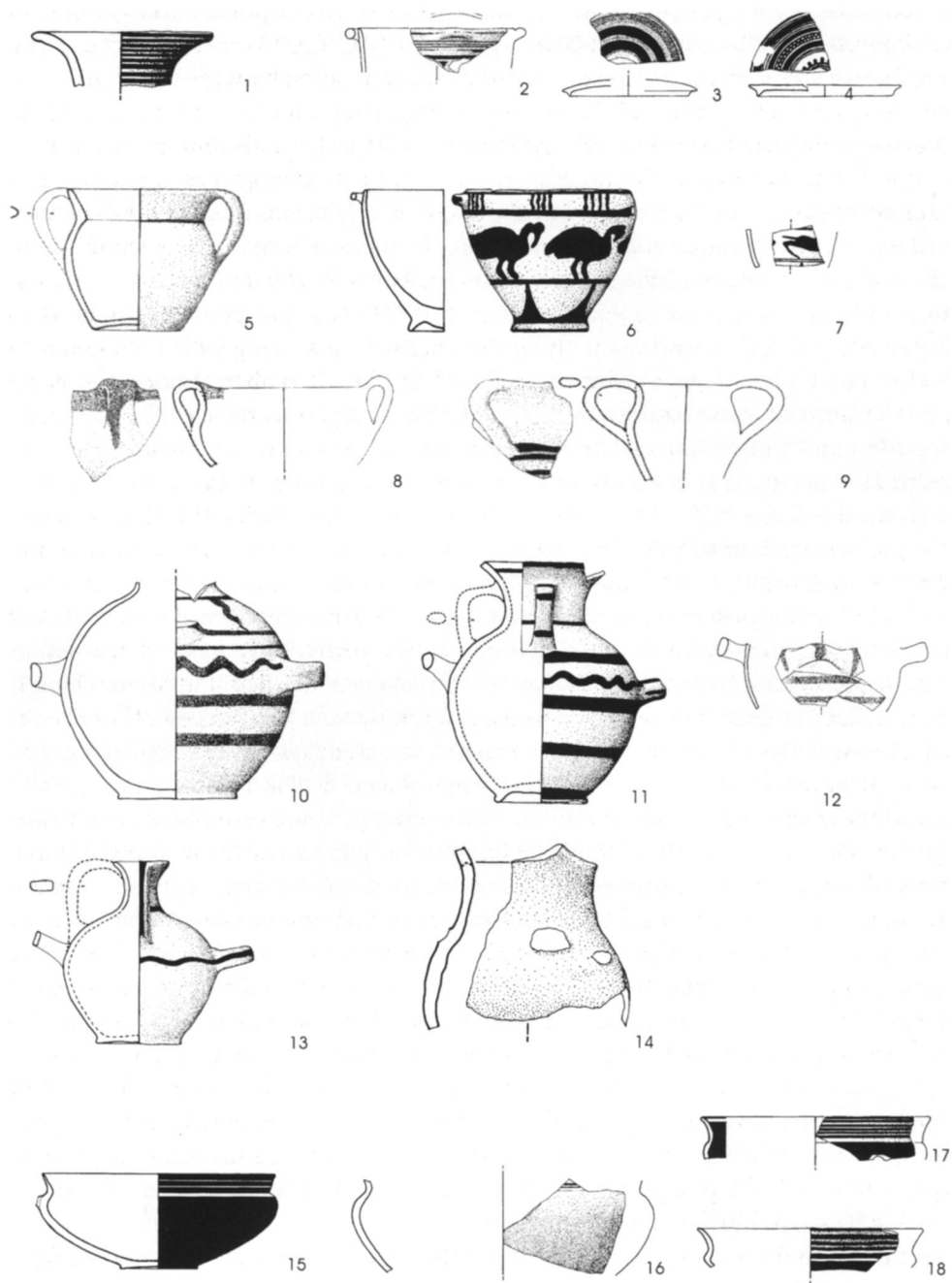


Figure 6 Objects from yellow floor deposit in AC9: locally produced *kanthariskoi*, *hydriskai*, *coppe a filetti* and *kalathiskoi*; Corinthian *kotylai* and *pyxides* (2nd half of the seventh century BC): 1. AC9.15-40; 2. AC9.15-46+ 7; 3. AC9.15-61; 4. AC9.15-63; 5. AC9 15-2; 6. AC9.21-2; 7. AC9.15-117; 8. AC9-15-156; 9. AC9.15-163; 10. AC9.21-r36; 11. AC9.15-1; 12. AC9.12-40 13. AC9.21-1; 14. AC9.15-9; 15. AC9.7-1+8-5; 16. AC9.12-30; 17. and 18. AC9.15-152.

(terracotta votive plaques with images). The majority of Greek pottery consists of Corinthian imports, dated within c. 660–610 BC. A fill layer (AC16A-13) consisting of c. 30cm of strong brown loose soil forms a clear stratigraphical separation between the upper and the lower layers of votive material. It contains matt-painted and *impasto* pottery of local manufacture dated exclusively to the eighth century BC; no seventh-century material at all was found in it. The lower votive layer again contained extensive groups of pottery vessels – often complete, but also sherds – of local and Greek origin, plus frequent finds of bronze jewellery, bone and amber beads, faience objects and a number of terracotta *pinakes*. Once again the majority of the pottery dates are between 660 and 610 BC with, as said above, only few sherds of earlier date (c. 680–660 BC) and sporadic finds of late eighth-century Greek pottery, notably of the Thapsos class, along with Late Geometric Rhodian pottery, which fit in with phase Vc of the LG II timber temple. The general interpretation of these seventh-century BC wall deposit layers starts from the fact that the objects (many almost complete) in the lower votive layer were not found in any clear pattern nor did they appear to have been grouped or sorted in any special way. Also vessels were often found upside down. All this seems to indicate that the objects were not in the position of meaningful primary deposits but had been placed, secondarily, south of Temple Vc/Vd, probably after having originally been used inside the temple or near an altar. The chronological and morphological correspondence between the material excavated inside and outside the temple suggests that, towards the end of the seventh/beginning of the sixth century BC, when the temple was levelled, the accumulation of objects halted. At that time the lower votive layer must have been sealed off by the thick layer of brown soil, which, because of the complete absence of seventh-century material in it, must have derived from elsewhere in the sanctuary. The reversed stratigraphical order of this layer corresponds to ashy deposits noted between seventh-century layers in large parts of the fill south of the temple walls as well as inside the frontal porches (Kleibrink 2004). In the upper votive layer quite a different pattern appears: a thin but continuous layer of fragments was excavated here, but no vessels were found intact as in the lower context. The fact that fragments found in a wide area (squares AC10-AC23) can be joined into almost complete vessels once again indicates that the upper layer material was not found in its original position. Moreover, a few sherds have successfully been joined across the upper and lower votive layers, suggesting that they were deposited not long after another deposited with a different fill in between. This observation is further supported by the close correspondence in date between the materials excavated from these two layers. It therefore seems likely that both contexts were the result of the closing down of Temple Vd. Subsequently, in the decades just after 600 BC, the entire area was covered by a several-metre-thick layer of gravel.

As already indicated, the main bulk of the thousands of fragments, stemming from a large number of intact vessels, dates between 660 and 610 BC. Equally, the thousands of objects excavated illegally in the area south of Temple, also belong mainly to this lot, as a large number of sherds (now over 100 fragments) from the excavated material fit the material that has recently returned to Sibari (Luppino 2001).

The cups and jug shapes of pottery related to Temple Vc in the previous period are still present in this period. The Greek pottery is most often represented by drinking vessels: Corinthian *kotylai* (drinking mugs) and *kylikes* (drinking bowls) and in some cases

Rhodian birdbowls. The Corinthian *pyxis* is also frequently found, and containers for perfumed oil appear in lesser numbers of Corinthian *aryballoi*, *alabastra* and *lekythoi*. Interestingly, almost no wine or pouring jugs manufactured in Greece, such as *oinochoai*, are found in the repertoire. Within the locally produced pottery miniaturized vessels now occur very frequently: *kotyliskoi* and *kanthariskoi* appear next to *kalathiskoi*, while the *hydriska* is by far the most preferred of the pouring vessels. Among the dedicatory objects, terracotta *pinakes* turn up (during the recent excavations this was literally the case: every now and then a *pinax* was found, sometimes upside down amid *hydriskai*, cups and *pyxides*). They carry the image of the goddess or dedicants in various forms. These terracottas and the colonial ware vessels are mostly produced from the local high-quality and easily recognizable clay (with the disadvantage of large lime inclusions), indicating that many participants in the festival must have bought vessels and image-plaques at the sanctuary itself.

As in the case of the 'Ticino' *pyxis* and the first Athenaion, the iconography connected to the second Athenaion is a welcome source of information concerning the cults practised there. The *pinakes* depicting standing or seated goddesses and dedicants show that she was still connected to weaving, a conclusion evident also from the many spindle whorls and *kalathiskoi* among the dedicated items. One *pinax* depicting a seated goddess from the sanctuary shows her with a roll of cloth or a mantle in her lap (Mertens Horn 1992; Maaskant Kleibrink 1993), while terracottas from the sixth century BC from the Motta show women carrying pieces of woven cloth (Kleibrink 2001: fig. 10). The *pinakes* in the form of an upright goddess of the 'Dama' type demonstrate several successive stages of manufacture: the Dama 1 is the large and famous acephalous *pinax* often published as the '*Dama di Sibari*' although she came in fact from the Motta (e.g. Croissant in Lattanzi et al. 1996: 189, no. 3.9, colour picture p. 226); the Dama 2 is a nice Cycladian and smaller variety (Fig. 7), e.g. as published in Maaskant Kleibrink (2000: 94); the Dama 3 is the still smaller variety, published, e.g., in Maaskant Kleibrink (1993: 10). In the case of the Dama 2, the artisans of the sanctuary made important changes to the imported Greek mould, in that they added a bunch of unspun wool to the lower right-hand part and added thread to the right hand of the image of a slender young girl to turn it into that of a spinner. The fragments of *pinakes* showing processions of ladies with flowers, walking or seated in a mule cart, or warriors in chariots, which have now returned to the Sibari Museum because they stem from the Athenaion, have been discussed by Madeleine Mertens Horn (1992). These images show that the Athenaion of the seventh century BC was still the focus of important processions.

The growing importance of the *hydriska*, which in the earlier dedication assemblages occurred only as a single pouring vessel to a number of cups, is evident in the fact that many specimens are now dedicated together in the absence of any other vessel type. To the participants in the final seventh- and sixth-century festivals, the *hydriska* must have represented the cult best. In Greek daily life and cult, the *hydria* was connected with water, and, although there are a few craters present, the evidence for wine drinking on the Motta is not overwhelming (for example, there is no production of craters as at Incoronata). Recent counts of the Scavi-Stoop material came up with 7,489 fragments of *hydriskai* for 'Stipe I', calculated at 1,095 individual vessels (a low estimate), and 8,471 fragments for the deposit between Temples I and II, calculated to stem from c. 300

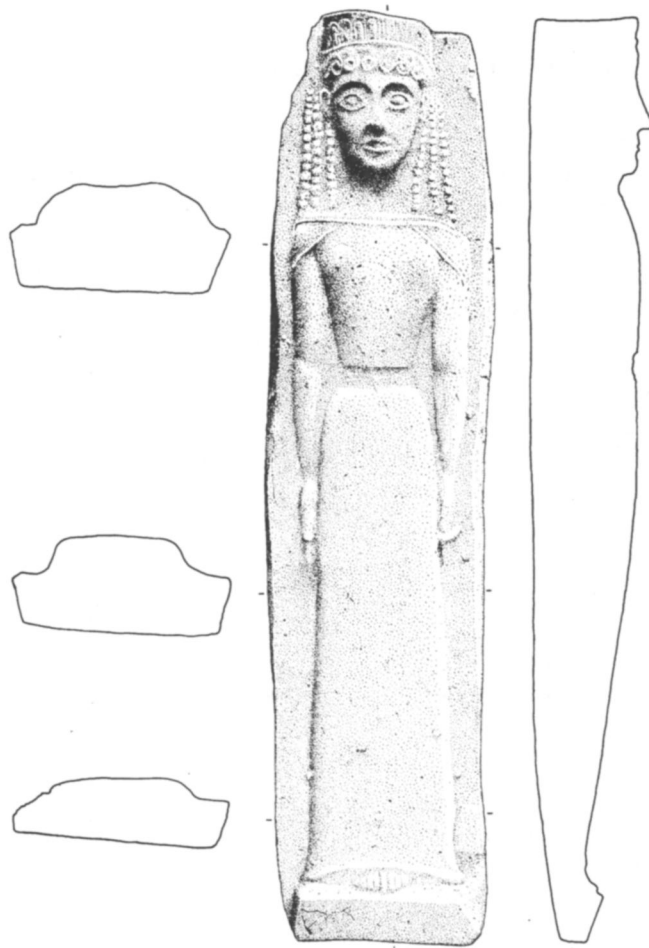


Figure 7 Pinax with standing goddess AC5.6–1, second half seventh century BC.

individual vessels; moreover there are forty complete specimens of ‘*Stipe I*’ from the *Scavi Stoop* (Munzi et al. 1997; Luppino et al. forthcoming). Photographs (Stoop 1976: pl. 43, 1, 2) of the *hydriskai* from ‘*Stipe I*’ typically show the presence of nothing but *hydriskai*, that is, not mixed with other vessel types: a situation I (Kleibrink) distinctly remember here as well as for the lot in front of Temple II. The occurrence of large numbers of *hydriskai* (and nothing else) is a phenomenon different from that of the floor and wall deposits of mixed groups of *hydriskai*, cups, *pyxides*, *aryballoi*, etc., and seems always connected with the walls on the Acropolis. Some of the *hydriskai* from these wall deposits, as shown on original photographs (Stoop 1971, 1972) may still date from the late seventh century BC; the bulk, however, dates from the sixth century BC (vessels lacking profiled bases, continuous in shape, with convex or bevelled rims and band handles and made of local soft clay).⁵

The presence of thousands of *hydriskai* is the more remarkable because there is no natural source of water on the Timpone della Motta now, and never has been in the past.

So the *hydriskai*, with a capacity of $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ litre, must have been used actually to carry water up the hill. In southern Italy the practice of dedicating water to Demeter was well-known (Zwierlein Diehl 1964); however, a Demeter cult is unlikely on the top of a hill, since the goddess and her daughter Persephone, who is connected with the underworld, are usually venerated in marshy places, like at Policoro at the foot of the main settlement hill. Goddesses are usually connected with water through the ritual bathing of cult statues; it is therefore possible that the cult statues of the goddess received ritual baths during the festivals on the Timpone della Motta, as the *pinakes* show that a statue also received new dress and it is known that these acts were often combined (e.g. Sismondo Ridgway 1992: 122ff.; see also Maaskant Kleibrink 1993). However, given the *pyxis* scene and the processions discussed earlier, it seems more likely that the goddess received the water to drink it. The images of the processions show that men and women alike participated in the Athenaion festival, the former carrying swords and the latter flowers, water and cloth.

The only literary evidence that connects Athena with water occurs in the legend of Epeios, whom Athena helped because among heroes he was a kind of underdog, having the duty to carry water to the heroes of the house of Atreus (Stesichoros frag. 200 PMGF; cf. Plato, *Ion*, 533b). This Epeios, victorious in the funeral games for Patroklos and maker of the Trojan horse, founded Lagaria near Thurioi and dedicated his tools there, at a famous sanctuary of Athena (Lykophron 930; Strabo 6, 1, 14). In ancient as well as modern times the sanctuary of Epeios and Athena has been placed at Metapontion, Amendolara and elsewhere, hitherto unconvincingly. It is now certain that the Timpone della Motta was once Lagaria, because the iconography as well as the famous sixth-century BC inscription and the many *kalathiskoi*, loom weights and spindles connect it firmly to Athena (Maaskant Kleibrink 1993), while at Metapontion and elsewhere⁶ no early, large Athena sanctuary has been found. Moreover, the enormous quantities of *hydriskai* brought to Athena on the Motta connect the sanctuary to the goddess as well as to Epeios, because they demonstrate that people expected the same help, victory and creative powers from the goddess as were received by Epeios, simply by showing themselves willing to be the carriers of water. Epeios in antiquity was known as *hydrophoros* (carrier of water) and donkeys were named after him.

Interestingly, the earlier supposition that an Athena sanctuary had been present nearer Sybaris at Cozzo Michellicchio has recently been proven correct (Pace 2001: 33–69; cf. objects published by Luppino in Lattanzi et al. 1996: 221). Sets of identical finds indicate that this was almost certainly a copy of the larger Athenaion of Lagaria located at the Timpone della Motta. As far as we know, *hydriskai* and cups are missing from the dedications, tempting us to suppose that the seventh-century BC processions, which acquired perhaps an Akhaian character in this period, started from this place. The missing link in this supposition is the presence of a large and famous well where people filled their *hydriskai*. It is significant that one of the standard types of cup accompanying the *hydriska* on the Motta from the middle of the seventh century BC onwards is the *kanthariskos* of a type recently recognized as Akhaian (Papadopoulos 2001: 373–460; Tomay 2002). The *kanthariskoi* recently found on the Motta are generally of local manufacture and to my knowledge there are very few cups from the earlier period that can be attributed to an Akhaian production as described by Papadopoulos; for instance, there are more east

Greek vessels than Akhaian ones. If the *kantharoskoi* were felt to represent Akhaian roots (but what of the 'Ionian' *hydriskai* always accompanying the cups?), then their sudden and abundant appearance in the second half of the seventh century BC may show that Sybaris was claiming the sanctuary.

The third shift: the Athenaion of the sixth century BC

A third temple, temple Ve, was built on top of a 2m-thick layer of gravel, used to level the 4 metres of elevation difference between the eastern and western surfaces of the conglomerate bedrock. The elevation difference existed during the earlier phases as well, but was less of a problem with timber buildings than with stone temples, which require an even foundation. One relatively 'late' votive assemblage was found dug into the gravel, containing late sixth-/early fifth-century BC *hydriskai*, iron spits, a terracotta statuette of an enthroned goddess, a faience *aryballos* and a glass *alabastron* (ACI-context 10: cf. Galestin and Kleibrink 1996: 52–7; Kleibrink in Lattanzi et al. 1996: nos 3.44–6). If this find is related to a temple from this period, that must have been a small structure to the west, as unit ACI is about halfway along the length of the former temples. In this period the gravel was used only to found Temple Ve, whereas the contemporary Temples IIIb and Ie were rebuilt on stone foundations of riverbed cobbles, using a technique familiar from the sixth-century BC Colonial period houses on the lower plateaux of the Motta and at Stombi di Sybaris and Amendolara (Maaskant Kleibrink 1970–1: 75–80, 1974–6: 169–74; SIBARI II-V; La Genière and Nichols 1975: 483–98). After the return of the stolen objects, it became clear that sixth-century BC architectonic terracottas are indeed extant (Heiden in Lattanzi et al. 1996: 204, no. 2.47). This date also fits Temple II, the small *doma* dedicated by the victorious athlete Kleombrotos to the goddess Athena, as is evident from a sixth-century BC bronze plaque with inscription (Stoop and Pugliese Caratelli 1965–6: 14–21, 208–14; Guarducci 1965: 392ff., 1967: 110; Stoop 1979b: 84ff.). Kleombrotos must have been one of the *hydriophoroi* asking Athena for a victory like the one Epeios received in the funeral games for Patroklos. When she granted him the victory, he dedicated one tenth of his prize (the small building) to the goddess. The date fits the sixth-century restructuring of the Acropolis (Mertens and Schläger 1983: 143–71) as well as the *hydriskai* placed against the eastern wall of Temple II. In the sixth century BC people must have continued the practice, known from Temple Vc ('*Stipe I*'), of depositing large numbers of *hydriskai* (and nothing else) against the walls of the then-standing structures of the temples and the defensive wall. For instance, against the east wall of the *pronaos* of Temple IIIb large deposits of *hydriskai* were found, as well as *hydriska* dedications on either side of the entrance to the *cella* (in small cavities on the outside (Stoop 1983: 25, wrongly dated). At the north-east corner of the east wall of Temple II an area of 0.70 × 2.50m was covered with *hydriskai* in two vertical rows, a single *kernos* among c. 300 *hydriskai* (Stoop 1983, with references). Silvana Luppino reported a different situation from the rescue excavations of the 1980s: three parallel walled-in deposits of votive *hydriskai*, mixed with cups, especially of 'Ionian' types (Luppino in Lattanzi et al. 1996: 195). Also, huge amounts of *hydriskai* and *kernoi-cum-hydriskai* are present on either side of the entire length of the 'Muro Schläger', the broad-based defence

wall encircling the Acropolis top (Mertens and Schläger 1982; now completely dismantled by robbers). Small buttresses with corbelled centres were built against this wall, and the small semi-vaults formed in this manner were especially attractive for the deposition of thousands of sixth- and, perhaps, fifth-century BC *hydriskai* and *kernoi-cum-hydriskai*. All these *hydriskai*, which as far as we can check were mostly piled up in single-period clusters against the walls of the buildings and the defence wall on the Acropolis, may be connected to single dedication events by large crowds of dedicants. The unprecedented scale at which this practice took place could perhaps be connected with the fact that, except for the *hydriskai*, far less sixth-century BC material is extant on the Acropolis compared to the seventh century BC.

The group of dedicated objects with the terracotta of the enthroned goddess seems to continue the practice of dedications of objects related to water and (perhaps) wool, but the dedications of large amounts of *hydriskai* and *kernoi-cum-hydriskai* is a phenomenon pointing to a different kind of cult practice. Perhaps the former dedications were directed to both Athena and Epeios and the latter exclusively to Epeios; in the absence of inscriptions this is only a hypothesis.

The fourth shift: a sanctuary of the fifth/fourth centuries BC

For what probably was the final ancient phase, we have an image of a still flourishing sanctuary, so much so that Stoop, wrongly, dated all temples to the period after 510 BC (Stoop 1983). The history of the central Temple III may be connected with a row of reused limestone blocks of a timber precinct, the '*base the recinto*', found for a length of 15m between Temples III and V (Stoop 1985: 4–12). The date for this precinct in the fifth century BC is secured by the finds in its neighbourhood, among which are *amphora* sherds inscribed with 'ATHA' and Attic pottery.⁷ The timber precinct runs parallel to Temple III and probably enclosed it. The building history of the sanctuary makes it likely that during the fifth/fourth centuries BC its southern rim, with its 4m of elevation difference, was not reused for a large temple. This southern part seems to have been left out of the *temenos* encircling the remainder of the sanctuary. It is evident that a cult which needed drinking sets of *hydriskai*, *kanthariskoi* and craters still continued at the western end of the sanctuary from finds of assemblages of such pots in the topsoil of the outermost south-west border. These miniatures are of the fifth-/fourth-century BC types present in many sanctuaries of southern Italy (e.g. the Parapezza pots: Lattanzi et al. 1996: 50). Their size is such that the vessels cannot contain any offerings and must have been purely symbolical. On the floor of Building IV terracottas of Pan and the nymphs as well as of Athena Promachos were found. The cult now evidently included Pan and the nymphs, one terracotta showing a nymph with a *hydriska* suggesting that a cistern had finally been constructed somewhere on the hill. Terracottas and related finds from the period show that Athena was still the main goddess (for the terracottas, see Stoop 1979b; Luppino in Lattanzi et al. 1996: 195). As the sixth century BC is the period of the Colonial settlement on the four plateaux of the Timpone della Motta (Maaskant Kleibrink 1970–1: 75–80, 1976: 169–47) and also the period of construction of the lower and upper defence walls, the appearance of Pan and the nymphs will be related to a period with widespread urban

activities in which Pan and the nymphs fulfilled roles similar to those on the slope of the Athenian Acropolis (Borgeaud 1988). The sanctuary must have been abandoned the moment the Bruttii conquered the region.⁸

Lagaria, the town with a famous Athena sanctuary near Sybaris/Thourioi, is put back on the map by the archaeological finds on the Timpone della Motta. In the ninth and eighth centuries BC it was a large Oinotrian settlement which included aristocratic families. During the seventh century BC, settlement must have been reduced, and certainly did not occur on the lower plateaux of the hill, but presumably at some other place nearby (there are a number of tombs from the period at Macchiabate). In the second half of the seventh century BC the Athena sanctuary was claimed by the Sybarites, who made it the focus of large and regular festivals. In the sixth century BC Lagaria saw intense building activity, as large colonial houses were built on all plateaux and the sanctuary itself was restructured. The contents from the sixth-century BC Macchiabate tombs demonstrate that the settlement prospered in this period.

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Notes

- 1 Immediately after seeing the newly bought objects at the Ny Carlsberg Museum Dr Stoop told Dr Poulsen, a colleague and friend, that they stemmed from her excavation; after her return from Copenhagen the senior author of this article was informed as well. However, it was not until 1993, following the publication of the splendid article by Madeleine Mertens Horn on the architectural terracottas from Metapontion (Mertens Horn 1992: 1–122) that Frel of the Getty Museum confessed that the source of their *pinakes* (terracotta plaques with images) – as well as of much other material purchased by the Getty – was the Timpone della Motta. This provenance is now legally established by over a hundred fitting fragments between the stolen and the newly excavated lots.
- 2 Little is known about the Oinotrians or the provenance of their obvious skills in bronze jewellery and weaving technology; during the Bronze Age at Broglio di Trebisacce the inhabitants are already associated with high-quality potting and olive oil production (Peroni and Trucco 1994). A number of Early Iron Age bronze items (double spirals, *phalerae*) can be associated with cultures in northern Greece/Albania. In non-Oinotrian areas of Early Iron Age southern and central Italy,

impasto spools were used for warp-weighted looms. The pyramidal weights must be connected with special weaving techniques, as the truncated pyramids make pattern weaving (which asks for double warps and triple heddle-bars and is difficult with spools; see Penelope's loom, e.g. Barber [1991: 108]) easier. No actual cloth has been found in Oinotria, but the existence of patterned cloth can be inferred from the bronze buttons and ornaments like the above-mentioned water birds, which will have been applied to woven friezes.

- 3 Evidence for the name of the deity venerated on the Motta comes only as late as the sixth century BC (see below with the Kleombrotos inscription); the deities proposed by la Genièvre and other scholars from the French/Italian School are not based on any profound knowledge of the archaeology of the site (e.g. La Genièvre 2000: 137ff.); the connections with weaving throughout point to a goddess of the loom, but whether she was already named Athena is impossible to say in the absence of inscriptions (another native trait).
- 4 A yellow layer related to floor levels was noted at several large sanctuaries: Bitalemi (cf. Orlandini 1966: 16–17); Selinunte (cf. Martin 1975: 59ff.).
- 5 Stoop's fifth-century BC (and even later) date is related to the location of the *hydriskai* against the east wall of Temple II, which she dated in the fifth century BC. Temple II, however, dates to the sixth century, for which the *hydriskai* against their wall certainly also are an indication.
- 6 A *hydriska* was found underneath (Stoop 1985: 7); this pot is part of a dedication found in grey soil outside the north wall of Temple Vd. A group of amphorae associated with the timber precinct wall dates to the middle of the fifth century BC (Stoop 1985: 7). Attic pottery, the only items extant, came from this area.
- 7 The theory that the sanctuary underwent a ritual closing (Stoop 1979a), deduced from the *hydriskai* against the wall foundations, does not have our support: the *hydriskai* are too different in date for that.

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