

# **It's Complicated: Relations Between Greek Settlers and Indigenous Sicilians at Megara Hyblaea, Syracuse, and Leontinoi in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Centuries BCE**

Aaron Sterngass

Professors Farmer, Edmonds, Kitroeff, and Hayton

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Degree of  
Bachelor of Arts in the Departments of Classical Studies and History at Haverford  
College

May 2019

# Table of Contents

Table of Contents.....	i
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Abstract.....	iv
<b>I. INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>II. BACKGROUND INFORMATION PRE-750 BCE .....</b>	<b>2</b>
<u>Greece</u> .....	2
Euboea .....	4
Corinth .....	5
Megara .....	7
<u>Sicily</u> .....	9
Sicels.....	11
Sicanians.....	13
Elymians .....	14
Phoenicians .....	16
<b>III. THE FOUNDATIONS OF GREEK “COLONIES” .....</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>IV. ANCIENT SOURCES .....</b>	<b>21</b>
Thucydides .....	21
Diodorus Siculus.....	23
Strabo .....	25
<b>V. HISTORIOGRAPHY OF GREEK “COLONIZATION” .....</b>	<b>27</b>
Curtius/Gwynn .....	27
Dunbabin.....	28
Graham.....	30
Boardman.....	31
Postcolonialism .....	33
Osborne.....	35
21 <sup>st</sup> Century Scholarship .....	36
<b>VI. OVERVIEW OF SOURCE MATERIAL.....</b>	<b>39</b>
Evidence Used .....	39
Challenges .....	40
Names, Terms, and Sites.....	40
Aspects Analyzed .....	42

<b>VII. MEGARA HYBLAEA</b> .....	<b>45</b>
Introduction .....	45
Destruction Evidence .....	46
Settlement Evidence .....	48
Burial Evidence.....	49
Conclusion.....	53
<b>VIII. SYRACUSE</b> .....	<b>54</b>
Introduction .....	54
Destruction Evidence .....	55
Settlement Evidence .....	60
Burial Evidence.....	62
Conclusion.....	64
<b>IX. LEONTINOI</b> .....	<b>65</b>
Introduction .....	65
Destruction Evidence .....	66
Settlement Evidence .....	68
Burial Evidence.....	72
Conclusion.....	73
<b>X. CONCLUSION</b> .....	<b>74</b>
<b>XI. SUGGESTED DIRECTIONS</b> .....	<b>76</b>
Further Analysis .....	76
Advances in Science .....	77
<b>XII. BIBLIOGRAPHY</b> .....	<b>80</b>
Primary Sources .....	80
Secondary Sources.....	80

## **Acknowledgements**

*Cui dono lepidum novum labellum?* I would like to thank all of the faculty and staff in the Classics and History Departments at the Bi-Co for helping get to this point and facilitating this unusual combined thesis. A special thanks goes to Professor Matthew Farmer who helped me translate articles from Italian to English and to Research Librarian Margaret Schaus for providing me an endless stream of resources over the summer to help stimulate my ideas. I would like to thank my friends for their endless support and good cheer which helped me get through the writing process. I would never have even considered majoring in Classics without the great experiences which I had in my high school Latin classes under the instruction of Magistra Elthea Sadlon. Lastly, I would like to thank my parents, Jon and Karen, and my brother, Eli, for encouraging my passion for history and research from a young age.

## **Abstract**

Greek interactions with indigenous Sicilians in the Archaic Period have traditionally been examined through the lens of violent colonization by historians from Ancient Greece all the way through the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. Recently, postcolonial studies and a new emphasis on material evidence have led scholars to change this narrative, highlighting the possibility of more peaceful and synergetic exchanges between Greeks and natives. This paper examines the relations between Greeks and native Sicilians in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE at Megara Hyblaea, Syracuse, and Leontinoi, three sites at which Thucydides recorded early interactions between Greek settlers and native communities/authorities. To supplement the evidence found at these sites, native communities and other Greek settlements associated with these sites were also analyzed. Through the analysis of ancient sources, material evidence, and modern interpretations which combined both, this paper argues that the earliest Greek settlers at Syracuse, Leontinoi, and Megara Hyblaea had far more complex relations with indigenous Sicilians than is described in the ancient texts and the all-but-recent scholarship. However, it also concludes that while the modern model of more peaceful and cooperative encounters is useful in studying Greco-native relations, it does not fully account for localized differences in these interactions, which often varied widely over short distances and periods of time. The paper advocates for an historical portrayal of indigenous Sicilians as dynamic and innovative whose influences on the Greeks are often overlooked in textbooks, but also encourages the depiction of both Greeks and indigenous peoples as active participants in systems of exchange instead of maintaining static, one-dimensional relationships such as “cordial” or “hostile.”

## **I. INTRODUCTION**

In the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE, groups from various Greek city-states founded trade posts outside the mainland called *emporía*, which gradually evolved into fully-fledged settlements called *apoikiai*, or “settlements away from home.” Many of these *apoikiai* were in Sicily, where the first, Naxos, was established around 735 BCE. Greek sources such as Thucydides, Strabo, and Diodorus Siculus briefly described encounters with indigenous peoples in Sicily, often emphasizing violence, conflict, and the barbarity of the natives. For millennia, scholars treated these accounts as the primary evidence on the subject, preserving the notion of the Ancient Greeks as colonizers and civilizers. Within the last 20 years, changing attitudes on race/culture and the rise of postcolonial studies have shifted the focus onto indigenous peoples and material sources to determine the true nature of early interactions between Greeks and indigenous Sicilians. In this vein, this paper examines these relations in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE at three *apoikiai* where Thucydides mentioned early Greco-native interactions: Megara Hyblaea, Syracuse, and Leontinoi. Megara Hyblaea was supposedly founded with assistance from the native Sicel king Hyblon, while Greek settlers purportedly expelled the Sicels immediately at Syracuse and Leontinoi. Of the three Greek sites, Megara Hyblaea, despite its peaceful beginning, demonstrated the least evidence of cultural hybridization. In and around Syracuse, new theories and archaeological finds have brought Thucydides’s account of destruction into question. The most complex Greco-native relations may have occurred at Leontinoi, where finds suggesting early cultural hybridization were discovered near evidence of possible forced integration or exile of the Sicels. While the finds expose the flawed model of Greeks conquering and civilizing the natives, the variety of Greco-native interactions within single generations at sites fewer than 50 kilometers apart shows how even modern postcolonial models can be guilty

of generalizing and oversimplifying these interactions. By bolstering the depiction of native Sicilians as dynamic and diverse contributors to systems of cultural exchange, the paper attempts to do some historical justice to the natives and the Greeks, whose interactions are all too frequently confined to straightforward themes of “peace” or “violence,” which fail to adequately describe the possible complexities of these interactions.

## **II. BACKGROUND INFORMATION PRE-750 BCE**

### **Greece**

In the Middle (MBA) and Late Bronze Age (LBA) from 1700–1200 BCE, Greece was dominated by the Mycenaeans, a warrior society which built and ruled large palatial centers in Mycenae, Tiryns, and Pylos in the Peloponnese. The Mycenaeans were famous for their massive Cyclopean stone architecture, Linear B script which was a forerunner to Ancient Greek, and trade connections with other powerful Near East entities such as Egypt, Hatti (in modern Turkey), and Babylon. Around 1200 BCE, a total systems collapse occurred, possibly triggered by a combination of famine, climate change, mass migrations of various “Sea Peoples,” advances in weaponry, and economic overreach by the palatial centers. By 1100 BCE, Hatti, Ugarit (in modern Syria), Babylon, the Canaanite city-states, Alasiya (Cyprus), and the Mycenaean cities had all collapsed and or been abandoned. This ushered in a period in Greece known as the Dark Ages, historically considered a time of less “complex” civilization characterized by a scarcity of written records, smaller villages, less social stratification, and simpler artistic designs. Some locations recovered from the LBA collapse faster than others, and by the Early Iron Age (EIA) around 1100 – 800 BCE, new cities such as Athens, Corinth, Sparta, and Thebes arose as

regional powers.<sup>1</sup> The Greek pantheon, which had its roots in Mycenaean religion, began to emerge with cults to Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo and Athena. Sacred sites such as the sanctuaries of Zeus at Olympia and Apollo at Delphi became Pan-Hellenic political, religious, social, and economic centers. These places were focal points for dedicating prestige goods to the gods, interacting with Greeks from other towns and regions, and hosting festivals and athletic games.<sup>2</sup>

By the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE, the old Bronze Age trade routes were reopened, and Greeks had access to goods from the Near East through Cypriot and Phoenician merchants. As new entities gained control in various parts of Greece, both inter-city and intra-city rivalries spurred desire for more prestige goods and status symbols. This competition, combined with greater stability in EIA daily life, led to dramatic changes in the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Small Greek villages began to urbanize, literacy spread due to the creation of the Euboean alphabet (adopted from the Phoenician alphabet), and groups of Greeks began to migrate to new settlements overseas.<sup>3</sup> The reasons for this sudden burst of migrations have been debated for decades. One prevalent theory was overpopulation: population levels on the mainland probably experienced a period of some growth, with some scholars speculating that it may have doubled in the 8<sup>th</sup> century alone.<sup>4</sup> However, research has failed to detect noteworthy growth in regions which could have triggered such migrations.<sup>5</sup> Other suggestions have included a desire for adventure, expulsion by aristocrats, trade connections, and possible starvation.<sup>6</sup> The lack of existing, let alone conclusive, literary and archaeological evidence has prevented scholars from reaching consensus on the stimuli behind these ventures. Nevertheless, the most commonly

---

<sup>1</sup> Eder 2018a, 211.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 212.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 212–3.

<sup>4</sup> Descœudres 2006, 326; DeAngelis 2016, 48.

<sup>5</sup> Garland 2014, 36.

<sup>6</sup> Booms and Higgs 2016, 41.

accepted theory is that Greece was already self-sufficient in the EIA and that the settlements were private enterprises which were not founded to provide goods for mother cities.<sup>7</sup>

## **Euboea**

The driving force behind the re-establishment of trade routes and many of the new Greek settlements abroad came from Euboea, a large island which at some places is only a few meters east of the Greek mainland. While much of Greece experienced massive political and economic upheaval throughout the so-called “Dark Ages,” Euboean towns, most notably Lefkandi, recovered rapidly. This was due in large part to the resumption of trade with the Near East at the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, the quantity of Near Eastern pottery unearthed in EIA Euboea is greater than anywhere else in mainland Greece.<sup>9</sup> Archaeologists have unearthed a variety of Phoenician, Syrian, and Egyptian objects in Lefkandi from the 10<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE.<sup>10</sup> The so-called Hero’s Tomb at Lefkandi may have even belonged to a Phoenician nobleman.<sup>11</sup> Conversely, trade with the Phoenicians resulted in Euboean pottery ending up as far away as Huelva in modern Spain.<sup>12</sup> These trade links ensured that Euboean polities had a rich merchant aristocracy class during the Dark Ages and provided a buffer against the drastic transformations which occurred elsewhere in Greece.<sup>13</sup>

Lefkandi’s decline began in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE and directly corresponded with the rise of nearby Eretria. Eretria, along with its main rival Chalcis, became the principle cities in Euboea, each with a propensity for trade and exploration. As with Lefkandi, numerous artifacts

---

<sup>7</sup> Descœudres 2006, 360–1.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 309.

<sup>9</sup> Ruppenstein 2018, 225–6.

<sup>10</sup> Hodos 2006, 129.

<sup>11</sup> Niemeyer 2006, 149.

<sup>12</sup> Ruppenstein 2018, 226.

<sup>13</sup> D’Agostino 2006, 202.

originating in the Near East have been unearthed at Eretria.<sup>14</sup> Conflicts between rich aristocratic factions in both cities often drove disaffected Euboeans to search for new opportunities elsewhere, such as southern Italy where exiled aristocrats engaged with Tyrrhenian elites.<sup>15</sup> In the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, Euboean mariners traded in Etruria, Latium, and Campania, resulting in Tyrrhenian artifacts ending up in Greek sanctuaries and vice versa.<sup>16</sup> Here the Euboean cities showed a rare moment of unity, when settlers from both cities founded Pithekoussai in the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The Euboeans had a reputation for metallurgical expertise, and many of their settlements, including Pithekoussai, were on trade routes which carried metal ores across the Mediterranean.<sup>17</sup> Euboean merchants soon hawked their wares to the southwest; the earliest imported Greek tableware in Sicily after Mycenaean works are Euboean and date from the mid to late 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>18</sup> The first Greek settlements in Sicily followed soon after, and the primary city from which settlers originated in many instances was Chalcis.<sup>19</sup> Over the course of the Archaic period, Eretria and Chalcis founded eight and seven settlements abroad respectively.<sup>20</sup> According to Thucydides, Chalcidians were instrumental in founding Naxos, the first Greek settlement in Sicily, around 735 BCE, and five years later made up a large contingent which founded Leontinoi.<sup>21</sup>

## **Corinth**

Even today, a visitor to the site of ancient Corinth needs just a glimpse at its location to understand why Corinth was one of the foremost cities in Archaic and Classical Greece. Situated

---

<sup>14</sup> Niemeyer 2006, 149.

<sup>15</sup> D'Agostino 2006, 219.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 203.

<sup>17</sup> Booms and Higgs 2016, 41.

<sup>18</sup> Hodos 2006, 129.

<sup>19</sup> Booms and Higgs 2016, 41.

<sup>20</sup> Garland 2014, 35.

<sup>21</sup> Thuc., 6.3.3. All translations of Thucydides by Rex Warner and M.I. Finley.

on a plain beneath the Acrocorinth, a large and easily-defensible monolith overlooking the entrance to the Peloponnese and the Isthmus of Corinth, Corinth's unique position allowed it to monopolize control of all land and sea traffic between Attica (and by extension the rest of mainland Greece) and the Peloponnese. Corinth had two ports on the Isthmus: Lechaemum on the north side (Corinthian Gulf) which traded with destinations in the western Mediterranean, and Kenchreai on the south side (Saronic Gulf) which had access with the eastern Mediterranean. A palatial center in Mycenaean Greece, Corinth was probably no more than a small village spread over a large area with hamlets grouped around the Acrocorinth in the Dark Ages.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, by the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century BCE, Corinth had become a dominant power in southern Greece, with the Bacchiad clan having ousted the last king to become the ruling aristocracy of the city. During this time, Corinth was a leading cultural center in Greece, producing innovations such as the Corinthian war helmet and the distinctive "black-figure" style of pottery, both widely utilized in Greece and beyond for 150 years. The ingenuity of the Corinthians was embodied by the *Diolkos*, a multi-kilometer proto-railroad concrete path which stretched across the small width of the Isthmus. Probably constructed in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, the Diolkos was used to drag ships on land for around six kilometers from the Corinthian Gulf to the Saronic Gulf and vice versa, cutting the travel time across Greece considerably. From its small origins in the Dark Ages Corinth became arguably the most powerful city-state in the Aegean from the 8<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE.<sup>23</sup>

The old historiography proposed that the burst of Corinthian settlements abroad in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century was a state-sponsored program resulting from the overpopulation of Corinthian

---

<sup>22</sup> Tsetschladze 2006c, xliii.

<sup>23</sup> Roebuck 1972, 97.

hill country by around 750 BCE.<sup>24</sup> However, modern scholars now believe that Syracuse and other Corinthian settlements abroad were founded as private enterprises.<sup>25</sup> These ventures were probably spurred by Corinth's rising stock politically and economically, as well as a desire for aristocrats to exchange luxury goods across the Mediterranean to add to their prestige. Although the Euboeans were the first Greek traders in Italy and Sicily, Corinthian merchants soon followed, with Corinthian-style pottery found across *Magna Graecia* in the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, the oldest ceramics discovered at native Sicel sites are generally Corinthian-made.<sup>27</sup> The growing rivalry between Euboeans and Corinthians led to a flurry of settlements abroad and competition for territory in multiple theaters.<sup>28</sup> Corinthians were responsible for establishing as many as 13 settlements during this period, the most important of them being Syracuse, which was founded around 734 BCE by an aristocrat named Archias.<sup>29</sup>

## **Megara**

On the Attic side of the Isthmus of Corinth, passage through the Isthmus was controlled by the city-state of Megara, an important center but always in the shadow of nearby polities, first Corinth and later Athens. Ancient Megara was located on the Saronic Gulf, consisting of five *komai*, or clusters of settlements, spanning two hills that served as the acropolises of the town.<sup>30</sup> Just like Corinth, Megara possessed two harbors: Pegae, on the Corinthian Gulf and Nisaea on the Saronic Gulf. However, there was no love lost between Megara and Corinth, whose battle for control of the Isthmus created hostile relations.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, for decades the smaller Megara was

---

<sup>24</sup> Roebuck 1972, 107.

<sup>25</sup> Morakis 2011, 468.

<sup>26</sup> Eder 2018b, 242.

<sup>27</sup> Hodos 2006, 29–30.

<sup>28</sup> Dominguez 2006, 261.

<sup>29</sup> Garland 2014, 35.

<sup>30</sup> Encyclopædia Britannica 2017, "Megara."

<sup>31</sup> DeAngelis 2017, 260

essentially a protectorate of Corinth, meaning that it was neither politically nor economically independent from Corinth until the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Restricted by Corinth to the west, Thebes to the north, and Athens to the south and east, Megara had few local outlets to expand its small territory, a mere 470 square kilometers.<sup>32</sup>

Roebuck hypothesized that the heightened period of Megarian colonization directly resulted from Megarian territorial losses in the Isthmus at the expense of Corinth.<sup>33</sup> Although the hypothesis is 45 years old, the claim remains both fascinating and plausible. Indeed, the height of founding settlements abroad for both Corinth and Megara occurred simultaneously between 750 BCE and 550 BCE. In the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century BCE, settlers from Megara set out for Sicily and after some harrowing adventures and the death of their leader Lamis, founded the city of Megara Hyblaea around 729 BCE.<sup>34</sup> As at home, Megara Hyblaea faced stiff competition from its neighbors, namely Corinthian Syracuse and Chalcidian Leontinoi, both of which were mere kilometers away.<sup>35</sup> Megara only achieved its zenith after throwing off Corinthian rule in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE, and her citizens subsequently founded settlements on the Bosphorus in modern-day Turkey at Chalcedon in 685 BCE and Byzantium in 660 BCE. Arguably the most prosperous Megarian settlement in the Archaic period was Selinous, a joint operation in western Sicily founded by settlers from both Megara and Megara Hyblaea around 628 BCE. The burst of Megarian *apoikiai* demonstrates that even relatively minor city-states in Archaic Greece had enough wealth and enterprise for their citizens to emigrate and found new settlements of their own.

---

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 263.

<sup>33</sup> Roebuck 1972, 107–8.

<sup>34</sup> See Thucydides under “Ancient Sources” for citations and elaboration on the episode.

<sup>35</sup> DeAngelis 2017, 263.

## Sicily

The ancient sources are in general agreement that long ago, Sicily was called Trinacria by the native inhabitants.<sup>36</sup> Thucydides claimed that the earliest inhabitants on the islands were the giant one-eyed Cyclopes and the cannibalistic, also gigantic Laestrygonians, both deriving their fame from Homer's *Odyssey*.<sup>37</sup> Concerning the peoples who lived in Sicily, the classical literature usually identifies three different groups: the Sicels, Sicanians, and Elymians. The identification of three distinct peoples is a wholly Greek idea; modern scholars have no notion as to what these groups called themselves. Furthermore, time after time the archaeological record has failed to establish a concrete geographical boundary between Sicels and Sicanians or between Sicanians and Elymians.<sup>38</sup> However, the few known linguistic fragments seem to indicate that two groups spoke separate Indo-European languages, while the third did not.<sup>39</sup> This implies that multiple, unique ethnic groups did inhabit Sicily in the Archaic period, albeit with more nuanced territorial boundaries than were defined in the ancient literature. This paper groups the three different peoples based on the roughly-correlating literary and archaeological evidence. Although this is not technically a true representation of Archaic Sicilian territorial divisions, it sheds light on both the cultural aspects common to each region and how the Greeks and Romans perceived pre-Greek Sicily.<sup>40</sup>

Other than lists of peoples and their semi-mythical origin stories, the Greco-Roman literature has little of substance concerning prehistoric Sicily, leaving archaeological evidence to fill the void. One of the phases which archaeologists have identified based on material finds is

---

<sup>36</sup> Diod. Sic. 5.2.1; Thuc. 6.2.1.

<sup>37</sup> Thuc. 6.2.1.

<sup>38</sup> Hodos 2006, 93.

<sup>39</sup> Fortson IV 2010, 469.

<sup>40</sup> For more clarification see Names, Terms, and Sites under the "Overview of Source Material" section

the Castelluccio culture, which flourished in eastern Sicily during the Early Bronze Age (c. 2500–1700 BCE). Although its economy was primarily agricultural, there is evidence of trade with Malta, Sardinia, and southern Italy. The most distinctive pottery of this era was coarse with “high ‘ear-shaped’ handles and elegant geometric patterns.”<sup>41</sup> In the MBA, the Thapsos culture, also in the east, had extensive contacts with the Aegean, as verified by burials with Mycenaean and Cypriot pottery. The Thapsos culture’s signature wares were tall, pedestaled basins used in drinking festivities. Thapsos experienced a decline during the LBA collapse of its Aegean trade partners, and many coastal settlements were subsequently abandoned.<sup>42</sup> Following in its stead was the Pantalica culture, which has been traced to both eastern and central EIA Sicily. The proclivity for drinking in the Thapsos culture is also evident in Pantalica, as evidenced by a number of red-burnished pottery vessels.<sup>43</sup> EIA sites often consisted of buildings with stone foundations, large mud-brick structures, and thatched roofs propped up by posts.<sup>44</sup> Western Sicily, dotted with small communities of huts, had limited contacts with the eastern Mediterranean, rendering it more isolated than the rest of the island.<sup>45</sup> Throughout Sicily, LBA sites, especially in the interior were continually occupied into EIA.<sup>46</sup> However, recent analyses estimate that 40% fewer LBA/EIA sites existed than in MBA. While this could demonstrate consolidation rather than population decline, either way Sicily was sparsely-populated in the Archaic period.<sup>47</sup> Some scholars calculate that around 100,000 people inhabited 12% of Sicily,

---

<sup>41</sup> Booms and Higgs 2016, 32.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 32–3.

<sup>43</sup> Booms and Higgs 2016, 34.

<sup>44</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 45.

<sup>45</sup> Kistler 2018a, 180.

<sup>46</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 44.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

equivalent to three people per square kilometer, which, if accurate, would contradict the narrative of the Greeks having to fight their way inland against dense populations of indigenous tribes.<sup>48</sup>

## **Sicels**

When the first mainland Greeks arrived in Sicily, the first people they encountered were the Sicels. It is unclear whether the Sicels are in any way related to the *Shekelesh*, one of the “Sea Peoples” referred to on the inscriptions on Medinet Habu in Egypt who supposedly laid waste to Egypt and Near Eastern kingdoms in the LBA. Antiochus of Syracuse, a predecessor of Thucydides, wrote that the Sicels originally lived in southern Italy but migrated to Sicily after being driven out by the Oenotrians.<sup>49</sup> Diodorus, who derived much of his research from Thucydides, agreed that the Sicels came from Italy, but did not mention the latter’s claim that they fled the Opicians (a different ethnic group in southern Italy).<sup>50</sup> Both sources stated that the island received its current name from the Sicels, who frequently quarreled with the Sicilians.<sup>51</sup> However, Diodorus affirmed that the Sicels made their home in lands already abandoned by the Sicilians,<sup>52</sup> while Thucydides said that the former pushed the latter inland to gain control of eastern Sicily.<sup>53</sup> Thucydides capped off his brief description of the Sicels by asserting that they held this territory for almost three hundred years before the arrival of the Greeks in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>54</sup>

Diodorus claimed that the Sicels and Sicilians eventually made peace and set up territorial boundaries between them.<sup>55</sup> However, there is very little evidence that the Sicels and

---

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>49</sup> Strab. 6.1.6. All translations of Strabo by Horace Leonard Jones.

<sup>50</sup> Thuc. 6.2.4.; Diod. Sic. 5.6.3. All translations of Diodorus Siculus by Charles Henry Oldfather.

<sup>51</sup> Thuc. 6.2.5.; Diod. Sic. 5.2.1., 5.6.4.

<sup>52</sup> For more on the Sicilians see the next section.

<sup>53</sup> Thuc. 6.2.5.; Diod. Sic. 5.6.3.

<sup>54</sup> Thuc. 6.2.5.

<sup>55</sup> Diod. Sic. 5.6.4.

Sicanians were ethnically or geographically-distinct peoples. The ceramic record has not demonstrated glaring differences in pottery found in the eastern “Sicel” region of Sicily and the central “Sicanian” region.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, scholars know very little about the Sicels beyond the stories told by the ancient sources. They lived in small, defensible inland communities such as Pantalica and Villasmundo, the latter thought to be the capital city of Hyblon, who supposedly helped the Megarian settlers found Megara Hyblaea.<sup>57</sup> Excavations in Pantalica and other eastern Sicilian sites have unearthed serpentine fibulae and pottery decorated with painted plumed motifs, typically linear in design.<sup>58</sup> Sicels predominantly worshipped chthonic (underworld) divinities such as the twin brothers called the Palikoi and the fire god Adranus.<sup>59</sup> Sicel burials typically constituted circular chamber tombs, such as at Pantalica, and more elliptical and rectangular designs, such as at pre-Greek Leontinoi and Villasmundo.<sup>60</sup> The ancient sources are no less vague on the Sicel language, with Thucydides translating *zanclon* as “sickle” and Strabo defining the same word as “crooked.”<sup>61</sup> A black glaze cup found at Morgantina in eastern Sicily contains the work *pibe*, which may be an imperative form of the word “drink.” Due to its similarity to the Latin *bibe*, scholars believe that the Sicels spoke an Indo-European language, yet only a handful of inscriptions exist.<sup>62</sup> It was this group of people with whom the ancient sources tell us that the Greek settlers of Megara Hyblaea, Syracuse, and Leontinoi interacted immediately upon arriving in Sicily.

---

<sup>56</sup> Hodos 2006, 93.

<sup>57</sup> Bérard 2016, 49.

<sup>58</sup> Hodos 2006, 98; 136.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 121.

<sup>60</sup> Hodos 2006, 113.

<sup>61</sup> Thuc. 6.4.5.; Strab. 6.2.3.

<sup>62</sup> Fortson IV 2010, 469.

## **Sicanians**

The second ethnic group listed by the Greco-Roman sources were the Sicanians. Both Thucydides and Diodorus agreed that Sicily was previously called Sicania prior to the Sicel migration.<sup>63</sup> Thucydides claimed that the Sicanians pretended to be native to Sicily but were actually Iberian in origin.<sup>64</sup> In contrast, Diodorus Siculus stated that Philistus (and Thucydides by extension) was incorrect, and that the Sicanians were actually the first inhabitants of Sicily. According to Diodorus, the Sicanians were governed by local chiefs and originally lived in hilltop villages due to rampant piracy. He further stated that the Sicanians once lived throughout Sicily, but migrated westward due to volcanic eruptions from Mt. Etna, leaving eastern Sicily free for the Sicels to inhabit. Diodorus wrote some of the most extensive information about the Sicanians in the ancient world and promised to write a further account about them, which unfortunately was either never written or not preserved.<sup>65</sup> By the late 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE, the people whom the Greeks called Sicanians probably inhabited much of central and western Sicily.

As with the Sicels, the problem with identifying the Sicanians is that the archaeological record does little to corroborate the ancient literature. There is not enough clear-cut evidence to categorize distinctive “Sicanian” styles from “Sicel” or even “Elymian” designs.<sup>66</sup> For example, geometric ceramic patterns found at central Sicilian sites are closely related to anthropomorphic decorations from western Sicily and are found as far east as Butera in southern Sicily.<sup>67</sup> Like the Sicels, the Sicanians were fond of painted plumed designs on pottery, as evidence by excavations

---

<sup>63</sup> Thuc. 6.2.2.; Diod. Sic. 5.2.1.

<sup>64</sup> Thuc. 6.2.2.

<sup>65</sup> Diod. Sic. 5.6.1–4.

<sup>66</sup> Hodos 2006, 93. See next section for more on the Elymians.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 113.

at Butera.<sup>68</sup> EIA sites such as Polizzello, Butera, and Sabucina, all in central Sicily, were probably located in “Sicanian” territory. The Sicanians, like the Sicels, buried their dead in rock-cut chamber tombs and preferred multiple inhumation type burials.<sup>69</sup> Analyses of bones found at Sicanian ritual sites such as Polizzello, generally in large circular buildings, suggest that they considered horned animals such as bulls and deer important in religious practices.<sup>70</sup> There are even fewer known Sicanian inscriptions than Sicel, but based off of the limited samples it is believed they did not speak an Indo-European language.<sup>71</sup> Extensive contacts between Greeks and Sicanians probably started around the early 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, when settlements such as Gela, a few kilometers from Butera, were founded in proximity to Sicanian towns.

### **Elymians**

The third “indigenous” ethnic group living in Sicily when the first Greek settlements were founded were the Elymians. Of the three aforementioned peoples, the Elymians are the least-mentioned in the ancient sources. Strabo and Diodorus Siculus are largely mute on them, forcing historians to rely largely on Thucydides for any written information. Thucydides declared that after the fall of Troy (c. early 12<sup>th</sup> century BCE), a group of Trojan exiles resettled next to the Sicanians under the name “Elymi” in the towns of Eryx and Segesta. He stated that they were joined by a group of Phocians who were set adrift from Troy by a storm.”<sup>72</sup> Thucydides also mentioned the Elymians in the context of his description of the Phoenicians, whom he said relocated to cities in western Sicily partially due to their alliance with the Elymians.<sup>73</sup> Other than this information, Greco-Roman authors wrote almost nothing about

---

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 118.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 113; 118.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 122–3.

<sup>71</sup> Fortson IV 2010, 469.

<sup>72</sup> Thuc. 6.2.3.

<sup>73</sup> Thuc. 6.2.6. See next section for more on Phoenicians and their relations with the Elymians.

Elymian culture or their relations with the other two indigenous tribes. In the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE, the Elymians lived primarily in western Sicily, probably in a smaller territory than either the Sicels or the Sicanians.

Other Greco-Roman historians such as Dionysus of Halicarnassus also mentioned the alleged Anatolian origin of the Elymians. However, this theory has not gained much traction in modern scholarship, which views this label as typical of ancient Greeks emphasizing the “eastern” attributes of their enemies.<sup>74</sup> Once again, scholars have been unable to establish solid territorial boundaries between Sicanians and Elymians.<sup>75</sup> However, archaeological evidence has validated Thucydides’ statement that the main Elymian towns were probably Eryx and Segesta.<sup>76</sup> These settlements, typical of western Sicilian settlements, were located on rocky outcrops overlooking river valleys, thus controlling trade and travel between the coast and the interior. The Elymians lived in huts of various shapes, of which the round variety served as meeting places and sites of ancestor worship. Rituals for the latter involved the usage of incised and stamped pottery with handles in the shape of either animals or humans.<sup>77</sup> Cemeteries in “Elymian” territory are neither numerous nor well-excavated, but as with the rest of Sicily, rock-cut chamber tombs with multiple inhumations were the preferred type of burial.<sup>78</sup> Although inscriptions written in Elymian appeared later than the chronological focus of this paper are and largely undeciphered, there are far more of them than either Sicel or Sicanian fragments. The word *emi*, which may mean “I am” and thus would be similar to Greek form *eimi*, could indicate

---

<sup>74</sup> Hodos 2006, 92. Much of this comes from when the Sicilian Greeks battled the Carthaginians and their Elymian allies in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE.

<sup>75</sup> Hodos 2006, 93.

<sup>76</sup> Spatafora 2018, 184.

<sup>77</sup> Kistler 2018a, 180.

<sup>78</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 43.

that Elymian was an Indo-European language.<sup>79</sup> Direct contacts between Greeks and Elymians did not commence until the founding of Selinous in 628 BCE, but interactions between Elymians and Phoenicians started at least a century earlier.

## **Phoenicians**

Although not indigenous to the island, the Phoenicians also maintained a presence in Sicily when the Greeks first arrived. A seafaring people from Syro-Palestinian cities such as Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos, the Phoenicians were the successors to the semi-autonomous Canaanite city-states which, like other Near East entities, collapsed around 1200 BCE.<sup>80</sup> The “Dark Ages” had less of an impact on Phoenician city-states than elsewhere, and the Phoenicians were flourishing two centuries after the LBA Collapse.<sup>81</sup> The Phoenician expansion across the Mediterranean started around this time, reopening old Bronze Age trade routes and trailblazing new ones fully two centuries before the Archaic Greek migrations.<sup>82</sup> In addition to their reputation as traders, the Phoenicians were also renowned as skilled builders, weavers, dyers, and scribes.<sup>83</sup> Nevertheless, some of the only known texts on the Phoenicians were written by the Greeks and Romans.<sup>84</sup> Of these, only Thucydides wrote in-depth on their early Sicilian activities, saying that they occupied promontories across Sicily to trade with the Sicels. However, after the Greeks arrived in large numbers, the Phoenicians retreated to western Sicily and consolidated in

---

<sup>79</sup> Fortson IV 2010, 469.

<sup>80</sup> Niemeyer 2006, 144.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 144–6.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 146–8.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

the cities of Motya, Panormos, and Soloeis because of their proximity to the Elymians and the sea route to Carthage.<sup>85</sup>

All too frequently, the ancient Greco-Roman sources represent the Phoenicians in an inadequate and biased manner as aliens and enemies.<sup>86</sup> However, in Thucydides's limited account, he does not overtly demonize nor denigrate the Phoenicians. Nevertheless, he does portray them as solely interested in trade with the Sicels. Contrary to the historiographical tradition, the Phoenicians' expansion was not solely motivated by trade, but also for agrarian purposes, contacts with locals, and acquisition and production of local materials.<sup>87</sup> Phoenician settlements are often described as cities without territories, but they evolved into production centers rather than merely trade redistribution sites.<sup>88</sup> A number of artisanal shops operated at Soloeis, and much of the material evidence discovered at 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century Motya and Panormos seems to have produced either on-site or in a Phoenician context.<sup>89</sup> Motya, the largest of these with 5,000 inhabitants, was a thriving center of iron working and purple dye production by the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>90</sup> Francesca Spatafora argues that the arrival of the Greeks merely caused a shift of populations on the islands, with the Phoenicians founding permanent settlements to compete with the new *apoikiai*.<sup>91</sup>

Although Spatafora's hypothesis is plausible, it is guilty of simplifying Thucydides' account into a Greek action and a non-Greek reaction. It does not address the likely possibility

---

<sup>85</sup> Thuc. 6.2.6.

<sup>86</sup> Niemeyer 2006, 143.

<sup>87</sup> Spatafora 2018, 186.

<sup>88</sup> Nigro 2018, 132.

<sup>89</sup> Spatafora 2018, 185; Hodos 2006, 132.

<sup>90</sup> Nigro 2018, 189; Hodos 2006, 91.

<sup>91</sup> Spatafora 2018, 183.

that the first permanent Phoenician settlements on Sicily predated the Greek *apoikiai*.<sup>92</sup> Motya, the first of these settlements, was founded on an island off the western Sicilian coast between 775–750 BCE, a few decades before Naxos was established.<sup>93</sup> Panormos followed in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century and Soloeis a century after that, both being situated on coastal promontories.<sup>94</sup> These settlements linked Phoenician posts across the Mediterranean in Iberia, North Africa, Sardinia, Etruria, and Phoenicia.<sup>95</sup> Excavations at Soloeis uncovered early imported pottery from Greece and Etruria, as well as evidence for links to the Near East and Egypt.<sup>96</sup> Incised impasto pottery from Motya attests to links with the Elymians as well, including possible alliances.<sup>97</sup> These exchanges were facilitated by Phoenician cult buildings which served as meeting places for Phoenicians, Elymians, and later Greeks. Phoenician settlers worshipped the popular Levantine deity Baal ‘Addir, as well as Melqart, the patron god of Tyre.<sup>98</sup> Although they typically used simple *fossa* burials with primary cremations, secondary cremation (Elymian) and individual inhumation (Greek) occurred early at Panormos, suggesting a diverse population.<sup>99</sup> The vibrancy of the Phoenician settlements in western Sicily contradict the notion that they were purely reactionary to the Greek migrations, and demonstrate that there was active cultural exchange between indigenous Sicilians and foreigners prior to the Greek settlements. Additionally, some scholars suggest that the Phoenician settlements in Sicily may have influenced the urbanization of Greek Sicily, which subsequently led to the rise of the *polis* on mainland Greece.<sup>100</sup>

---

<sup>92</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 46.

<sup>93</sup> Nigro 2018, 188.

<sup>94</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 47; Spatafora 2018, 183.

<sup>95</sup> Nigro 2018, 187.

<sup>96</sup> Spatafora 2018, 185.

<sup>97</sup> Nigro 2018, 188; Kistler 2018a, 181.

<sup>98</sup> Nigro 2018, 188.

<sup>99</sup> Spatafora 2018, 184.

<sup>100</sup> Kistler 2018b, 193.

### III. THE FOUNDATIONS OF GREEK

#### “COLONIES”

The first great wave of Greek settlements abroad occurred around 1000 BCE, but the first mass population movements beyond the Aegean truly began in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE. It is estimated that more than 10,000 Greeks had migrated by 700 BCE, and 40% of Greeks lived in nearly 300 different settlements outside mainland Greece by 400 BCE.<sup>101</sup> Historians have divided these settlements into two types which are not mutually exclusive: *emporion* and *apoikiai*. An *emporion* was essentially a small trading post, inhabited by independent merchants on a relatively temporary basis.<sup>102</sup> An *apoikia*, roughly translated as “a settlement away from home” and historically considered a “colony,” was a larger enterprise established by dozens of settlers, often primarily from a single mother city.<sup>103</sup> However, these distinctions should not be treated as clear-cut, as sites such as Pithekoussai in Italy fit the criteria for both categories. Additionally, unlike later Roman *coloniae*, *apoikiai* were not simple reproductions of the mother-city abroad, but rather functioned as communities that were semi-autonomous or even independent from the mother-city.<sup>104</sup> Southern Italy and Sicily were the first regions where Greeks established settlements, but by 600 BCE there were Greek settlements in Iberia, Gaul (France), Libya, throughout the Black and Adriatic Seas, the Ionian coast in modern Turkey, and even a Pan-

---

<sup>101</sup> DeAngelis 2008, 18; Garland 2014, 35.

<sup>102</sup> Garland 2014, 37.

<sup>103</sup> See Osborne under “Historiography of Greek ‘Colonization’” section for elaboration on why the word “colony” does not accurately describe these settlements.

<sup>104</sup> Greco 2006, 169.

Hellenic colony in Egypt named Naucratis. Sites were generally chosen, especially in Sicily, for their safe harbors, access to interior and fertile land, and dominance over trade routes.<sup>105</sup>

Because *apoikiai* were frequently founded in unfamiliar and sometimes hostile territory, families were probably not the primary settlers in the beginning stages of the colony. Although difficult to determine due to the dearth of archaeological finds, it would make sense that young, unmarried men constituted the vast majority of expatriate Greeks. While there must have been women present to ensure the next generation of settlers, they are almost never mentioned in the ancient literature, partially because they may have been a minority of the settlers, and also due to sexist attitudes in Greek literature and daily life.<sup>106</sup> Greek settlements abroad were generally led and founded by a man called an *oekist*. Oekists had plenty of responsibilities, naming the settlement and allotting land in the new settlement being just two of them.<sup>107</sup> Oekists had to be charismatic, confident, and versatile, as well as experienced travelers and sailors.<sup>108</sup> Additionally, they needed the funds required to send dozens of men overseas with provisions and construct a new settlement, indicating that oekists were usually members of the aristocracy. However, oekists were probably not wholly unfamiliar with the new territory, and pre-settlement contacts may have existed between the Greeks and the natives. At Gela in Sicily and Cumae in Italy, Euboean and Corinthian skyphoi respectively have been discovered prior to the Greek settlement period.<sup>109</sup> Although difficult to prove through material evidence, it seems logical that the Greeks, especially the Euboeans, brought experience from founding early Italian settlements such as

---

<sup>105</sup> Hodos 2006, 89.

<sup>106</sup> Garland 2014, 44.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>109</sup> Morakis 2011, 472; Thiermann 2018, 146.

Pithekoussai and Cumae, as well as from interactions with the Phoenicians, by the time they arrived in Sicily.<sup>110</sup>

## IV. ANCIENT SOURCES

### Thucydides

The oldest written source on Greek settlements in Sicily is the *History of the Peloponnesian War*, written around 410 BCE by Thucydides, an Athenian historian and general. As mentioned in the previous section, Thucydides dedicated a very small portion of his own *History* toward the supposed origins of the three native peoples in Sicily: the Sicels, Sicanians, and Elymians, as well as a small passage on the Phoenician colonies in western Sicily.<sup>111</sup> Subsequently, he included a slightly larger section covering the foundation stories of Greek settlements in Sicily, including Syracuse, Leontinoi, and Megara Hyblaea:

“The first of the Hellenes to arrive were Chalcidians from Euboea with Thucles, their founder. They founded Naxos... Syracuse was founded in the following year by Archias, one of the Heraclids from Corinth. First he drove out the Sicels from ‘the island’ [Ortygia] where the inner city is now... Later the outer city also was taken inside the walls and the place became very populous.<sup>112</sup> In the fifth year after the foundation of Syracuse, Thucles and the Chalcidians set out from Naxos, fought with and drove out the Sicels, and founded Leontini... About the same time Lamis arrived in Sicily with colonists from Megara. He founded a place called Trotilus on the river Pantacyas, and later went from there, and for a short time joined up with the Chalcidians in Leontini. After being driven out by them, he founded Thapsus, and then died. His followers were forced to leave Thapsus and founded a place called Hyblaeon Megara. Hyblon, a King of the Sicels, gave them the territory and having given up the place and inviting them thither.”<sup>113</sup>

These descriptions painted a tumultuous picture of Archaic Sicily which included brief but frequent instances of Greek settlers expelling natives or other Greeks. Thucydides merely intended to summarize the origins of the Greeks in Sicily as background information for the disastrous Athenian invasion of Sicily in 416 BCE. For thousands of years however, these side

---

<sup>110</sup> Hodos 2006, 89.

<sup>111</sup> Thuc. 6.2.1–6.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.3.2.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.3.1–6.4.1.

notes have served as the main source of information on the beginning of the Greek “colonial” presence in Sicily.

Although Herodotus is considered the Father of History, it was Thucydides’s account which more closely resembles a modern historiographical work. Thucydides seems to have conducted widespread research and depicted events as impartially as possible, and his historical credentials were already widely-recognized in antiquity.<sup>114</sup> Scholars generally agree that much of his information on Archaic Sicily was probably acquired from contemporary Greek historians such as Antiochus of Syracuse, whose *History of Sicily* only survives in fragments cited by later authors.<sup>115</sup> Some scholars believe that Antiochus based his history on older written records of the foundations of the *apoikiai* and that Thucydides would not have used his work if he was not a credible source.<sup>116</sup> The dates which Thucydides gave for Syracuse, Leontinoi, and Megara Hyblaea, are generally viewed as accurate by modern scholars and have been corroborated by archaeological evidence.<sup>117</sup> Additionally, evidence of an Archaic Greek settlement at Thapsos may vindicate Thucydides’s story of the Megarian settlers’ odyssey in eastern Sicily.<sup>118</sup> It is little wonder then that historians continue to this day to use Thucydides’s work as a blueprint for studying Archaic Sicily.

Nonetheless, Thucydides likely derived his information on the different peoples of Sicily strictly from Greek sources such as travelers’ tales and oral tradition.<sup>119</sup> Since ancient colonization was not his primary focus, Thucydides ignored any thorough exploration of Greco-

---

<sup>114</sup> Hall 2006, 402.

<sup>115</sup> Morakis 2011, 463 n. 18.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 465–6.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 469; DeAngelis 2016, 69.

<sup>118</sup> Bérard 2016, 49.

<sup>119</sup> Booms and Higgs 2016, 31.

native relations beyond his concise chronology of the Greek *apoikiai*. As a result, he portrayed these relations in the same vein as the events in the Peloponnesian War: a series of ethnic divisions that led to conflicts between different *poleis*, as well as between Greeks and non-Greeks. Written in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, Thucydides's *History* is more than 300 years removed from the foundation of Naxos. While there is no reason to believe that Thucydides attempted to present false information on the history of Greek Sicily, the aforementioned reasons for potential bias and inaccuracy may explain why archaeological evidence does not always validate his claims. One example is that Ortygia, the island on which Syracuse was built, was not fully settled and walled until the late 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, and the orthogonal street plan and spatial layout were not completed until the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, not in the first generation of the settlement.<sup>120</sup> This is not to take away from Thucydides's relative credibility in terms of classical historians, with whom he is still held in great esteem. Ultimately however, his reliance on Greek sources, perspective for writing about the Peloponnesian War, and temporal distance from the foundations of the settlements all invite deserved scrutiny upon the veracity of his descriptions of early Greco-Sicilian interactions.

### **Diodorus Siculus**

Many Roman historians who wrote on Greek colonies in Sicily cited earlier Greek historians such as Thucydides, Ephorus, and Antiochus of Syracuse. Diodorus Siculus, a Greek author from Roman Sicily who wrote his *Library of History* in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, more than 700 years after the first Greek settlements in Sicily, was no exception. One example is his agreement with Timaeus, a historian from the 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BCE, that the Sicilians were

---

<sup>120</sup> Kistler 2018b, 191.

indigenous to Sicily and not from Iberia as Philistus and Thucydides suggested.<sup>121</sup> This dependence on Greek accounts is reflected in how he posited the interactions between the natives and Greeks:

“And last of all, many generations later, the people of the Siceli crossed over in a body from Italy into Sicily and made their home in the land which had been abandoned by the Sicani. And since the Siceli steadily grew more avaricious and kept ravaging the land which bordered on theirs, frequent wars arose between them and the Sicani, until at last they struck covenants and set up boundaries, upon which they had agreed, for the territory. With regard to the Sicani we shall give a detailed account in connection with the appropriate period of time. The colonies of the Greeks—and notable ones they were—were the last to be made in Sicily, and their cities were founded on the sea. All the inhabitants mingled with one another, and since the Greeks came to the island in great numbers, the natives learned their speech, and then, having been brought up in the Greek ways of life, they lost in the end their barbarian speech as well as their name, all of them being called Siceliotae.<sup>122</sup>

Here Diodorus mentioned the first of two conflicts pertaining to the pre-Greek Sicilians, the second being a civil war amongst the Sicanians over control of the western Aeolides off the coast of Sicily.<sup>123</sup> In these brief accounts, both the Sicels and Sicanians are depicted as quarrelsome, barbaric, and shortsighted.

In marked contrast, he did not mention various intra-Hellenic tensions recorded by Thucydides, such as the banishing of the Megarians from Leontinoi, the expulsion of the Samians from Zancle by Anaxilas of Rhegium, and the exile of the Myletidae clan from Syracuse.<sup>124</sup> Instead, he stated that everyone (Greeks, Sicels, and Sicanians) mingled with one another.<sup>125</sup> Although this statement (*ἀναμιγνόμενοι δ' ἀλλήλοις*) paints a far more peaceful picture of Greco-Sicilian relations than Thucydides's descriptions, Diodorus subsequently presented these interactions as resulting in total Greek cultural dominance. In his defense, he

---

<sup>121</sup> Diod. Sic. 5.6.1.; Thuc. 6.2.2.

<sup>122</sup> Diod. Sic. 5.6.3–5.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 5.9.1.

<sup>124</sup> Thuc. 6.4.1, 6; 6.5.1.

<sup>125</sup> Diod. Sic. 5.6.5

proposed that the Hellenization of the native Sicilians resulted from the sheer number of Greeks who migrated to Sicily as opposed to an innate cultural superiority. While it is a credible statement that the natives gradually began to speak Greek, evidence of later linguistic hybridization between the Sicels and Greeks contradicts Diodorus' sweeping generalization.<sup>126</sup> Diodorus' brief hint at pacifist relations between Greeks and native Sicilians stands out among classical historians, but he too is guilty of simplifying these interactions as the lead-up to the inevitable Hellenization of Sicily. Additionally, the large temporal gap between his writings and these events calls his accuracy into question.

### **Strabo**

Strabo, a Greek historian from the Roman province of Asia Minor was a contemporary of Diodorus Siculus. Both authors probably used a similar range of older Greek sources in their works, as suggested by their similar stories about the foundation of Croton in Italy.<sup>127</sup> Strabo's *Geography* included a section on the Greek presence in Sicily:

The cities along the side that forms the Strait are, first, Messene [Zankle], and then Tauromenium, Catana, and Syracuse; but those that were between Catana and Syracuse have disappeared — Naxos and Megara... According to Ephorus these were the earliest Greek cities to be founded in Sicily, that is, in the tenth generation after the Trojan war; for before that time men were so afraid of the bands of Tyrrhenian pirates and the savagery of the barbarians in this region that they would not so much as sail thither for trafficking; but though Theocles, the Athenian, borne out of his course by the winds to Sicily, clearly perceived both the weakness of the peoples and the excellence of the soil, yet, when he went back, he could not persuade the Athenians, and hence took as partners a considerable number of Euboean Chalcidians and some Ionians and also some Dorians (most of whom were Megarians) and made the voyage; so the Chalcidians founded Naxos, whereas the Dorians founded Megara, which in earlier times had been called Hybla. The cities no longer exist, it is true, but the name of Hybla still endures, because of the excellence of the Hyblaeon honey.<sup>128</sup>

Strabo also devoted a section of this chapter to the foundation of Syracuse:

---

<sup>126</sup> Dominguez 2006, 338.

<sup>127</sup> Strab. 6.1.12.; Diod. Sic. 8.17.1–2.

<sup>128</sup> Strab. 6.2.2.

Syracuse was founded by Archias, who sailed from Corinth about the same time that Naxos and Megara were colonised. It is said that Archias went to Delphi at the same time as Myscellus, and when they were consulting the oracle, the god asked them whether they chose wealth or health; now Archias chose wealth, and Myscellus health; accordingly, the god granted to the former to found Syracuse, and to the latter Croton...Archias landed at Zephyrium, found that some Dorians who had quit the company of the founders of Megara [Hyblaea] and were on their way back home had arrived there from Sicily, took them up and in common with them founded Syracuse...Furthermore, the men of Syracuse proved to have the gift of leadership, with the result that when the Syracusans were ruled by tyrants they lorded it over the rest, and when set free themselves they set free those who were oppressed by the barbarians.<sup>129</sup>

Strabo's narrative for foundation stories mixed supposed fact with mythical origins, often descending into stereotypes of non-Greeks or Romans being savage and uncivilized. This is apparent when he stated that "men" were afraid of the Tyrrhenian pirates and savage barbarians, creating a contrast between Greek men and lesser barbarian men. Paradoxically, the following statement suggests that Theocles (whom he describes as Athenian in contrast to Thucydides), the future *oekist* of Naxos and Leontinoi, sensed the weakness of the inhabitants.<sup>130</sup> This implies that Greco-Roman authors were perfectly content to twist the image of the indigenous Sicilians to fit their narrative of Greek domination.

This is not to say that Strabo's account is totally inaccurate and unreliable. Modern scholars such as Adolfo Dominguez have hypothesized that his mention of Archias picking up homebound Dorians may have some truth to it.<sup>131</sup> Additionally, Strabo wrote later in his *Geography* that many of the settlers who joined Archias came from Tenea, a small village south of Corinth near the Argolid.<sup>132</sup> Although not a large amount of archaeological evidence exists which can verify the presence of Teneans in Syracuse, most scholars agree that a Tenean contingent did participate in the establishment of that *apoikia*.<sup>133</sup> Strabo's *Geography*, despite its

---

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.2.3.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.2.2.

<sup>131</sup> Dominguez 2006, 271.

<sup>132</sup> Strab. 8.6.22.

<sup>133</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 160; 178.

biases, is arguably the most extensive Classical source on Greek “colonization” in Italy and Sicily. Nevertheless, although the *Geography* is an invaluable account of the origins of *Magna Graecia*, Strabo, like Diodorus, was seven centuries removed from these events, and depicted native Sicilians in an even more brutish and belligerent manner than either Thucydides or Diodorus.

## **V. HISTORIOGRAPHY OF GREEK**

### **“COLONIZATION”**

#### **Curtius/Gwynn**

The concept of Greek colonists fighting with and conquering the natives in Sicily, perpetuated by classical historians, persisted for millennia. This influenced 19<sup>th</sup> century scholars such as German historian Ernst Curtius, who in 1883 described the Greeks as “masters of colonization” who brought their high civilization in an attempt to educate the subordinate barbarians.<sup>134</sup> Curtius also postulated that Greek colonization was driven by a desire to acquire goods not available in mainland Greece, a theory which lasted for over a century.<sup>135</sup> In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Irish historian Aubrey Gwynn deviated from that philosophy while still maintaining Eurocentric notions of racial and cultural hierarchies. Gwynn’s 1918 article “The Character of Greek Colonisation” suggested that the Greek race had not quite developed the instinct for trade before the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>136</sup> He stated that “as a rule, these settlers came into contact with native tribes of much ruder civilisation than their own,” and generally maintained their existence

---

<sup>134</sup> Kistler 2018a, 180.

<sup>135</sup> Descœudres 2006, 293–4.

<sup>136</sup> Gwynn 1918, 92

by force of arms.<sup>137</sup> Gwynn also postulated that the Greeks generally met tribes which, “though socially and intellectually their inferiors, were still, in feature and colour, of the same general type.”<sup>138</sup> Even in the peripheral regions of the ancient world, Gwynn claimed that Greek art and culture still maintained its “native genius,” and speculated that an inherent quality in the Greek mind led to their outburst of colonization and dominance over the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>139</sup>

Although these conclusions were common among turn-of-the-century philologists, they represent outdated notions of the superiority of Greek civilization and the racial inferiority of non-Greeks. While it is not inherently racist to marvel at Ancient Greek art and culture, the implication of a potential reduction in quality by foreign influences denigrates non-Greek cultures and ethnic groups. Additionally, Gwynn’s view of Greek dominance of the Eastern Mediterranean discounted the Phoenicians and Carthaginians, who also controlled vast swaths of territory in the mid-1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE. His article demonstrates that early-20<sup>th</sup> century scholarship cared little for the study of Greco-native relations, simplifying them to the conquest of an inferior race by a superior one. Gwynn’s article did attempt to analyze the ancient sources thoroughly, but his obsolete concepts of Greek racial jingoism and foreign barbarism render his work useful solely as a tool to study the historiography of scholarship on Greek colonization.

## **Dunbabin**

The next development in the evolution of the scholarship was a model which gained popularity in the 1930s. This framework promoted the idea of *apoikiai* that were politically independent from the mother city back in Greece.<sup>140</sup> Its principal proponent was T.J. Dunbabin,

---

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 110; 122–3.

<sup>140</sup> Kistler 2018b, 190.

an Australian classicist who in 1948 wrote his signature work, *The Western Greeks: The History of Sicily and South Italy from the Foundation of the Greek Colonies to 480 B.C.* Dunbabin was one of the first classicists to incorporate archaeological evidence into his theories, and his analyses of artifacts at colonies such as Gela are still studied today.<sup>141</sup> Some of his hypotheses, although now viewed as outdated, are not unfamiliar to modern scholars, such as his belief that the Delphic oracle played a crucial part in directing the foundation of Greek colonies overseas.<sup>142</sup> He also suggested that Italian and Sicilian Greeks collected records because they had a fixed chronological point of foundation in their colonies (i.e. Naxos in c. 735 BCE) and experienced more vivid trials and tribulations in founding these colonies than the mainland Greeks had in their ordinary lives.<sup>143</sup>

Dunbabin's book provided a comprehensive overview of Western Greek colonization, yet many of his aforementioned theories were influenced by contemporaneous colonialist notions.<sup>144</sup> Although he advocated a more autonomous colonial system than previous scholars, the significance of the Delphic oracle in his theory still indicated a centrally-organized enterprise. It also perpetuated the notion that the Greeks had a divine mandate to colonize foreign shores at the expense of the natives, a trope frequently seen in modern imperialism. Dunbabin's school of thought assumed that the Greeks brought culture to Sicily, and dismissed the possibility that they were influenced by their native neighbors.<sup>145</sup> Indeed, Dunbabin claimed that the Greeks learned little from the Sicels and that "any admixture of Sikel blood was so slight as not to affect the purely Greek culture."<sup>146</sup> While Dunbabin explored more aspects of Greek colonization than his

---

<sup>141</sup> Plekhov 2014, 43–44.

<sup>142</sup> Dunbabin 1948, 38.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 451–2.

<sup>144</sup> Hall 2006, 404.

<sup>145</sup> Kistler 2018b, 190.

<sup>146</sup> Dunbabin 1948, vi; 45.

predecessors, his perspective on Greek interactions with native Sicilians was nonetheless tainted by racist concepts which 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century scholars casually disseminated.

## **Graham**

With the end of *de jure* colonialism in the 1960s, the study of Greek colonization once more received heightened attention and experienced a flourishing of scholarship. Alexander John Graham, an English historian-cum-classicist, could be considered the father of modern studies on Greek colonization. Arguably one of the most prolific scholars of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, his 2001 publication *Collected Papers on Greek Colonization* compiled various papers which he wrote on the subject over more than four decades. His compendium covered dozens of topics which had previously been ignored or skimmed over, many of which were relevant to Greek interactions with natives. In contrast with earlier theories that colonial foundations were sudden, pinpoint events in time with no precedent, Graham speculated that pre-settlement contacts between Greeks and indigenous peoples were relatively common, a theory which still holds credence.<sup>147</sup> Graham also determined that archaeological excavations of cemeteries often corroborate foundation dates recorded in the literature, a plausible yet highly disputed theory among scholars.<sup>148</sup> His contributions to Classics are too numerous to record, but the modern scholarship on Greek colonization owes him a massive debt.

Nevertheless, Graham, like Dunbabin, is considered a “historical-positivist,” or a scholar who treats the ancient literature as fundamentally valid data from which the true nature of Greek colonization can be ascertained.<sup>149</sup> Graham believed that archaeological evidence was inferior to

---

<sup>147</sup> Graham 1990 (2001), 45.

<sup>148</sup> Graham 1982a, 90–1.

<sup>149</sup> Hall 2006, 384.

literary evidence, and that the archaeological record should be used to prove that the literature is “on the whole thoroughly trustworthy.”<sup>150</sup> This explains why both Graham and Dunbabin considered the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, consulted by Archias in Strabo 6.2.4, to be an integral part of founding a Greek colony.<sup>151</sup> On one hand, Graham wrote that “Oversimplifications, such as that all early colonies were private, or that colonial enterprises were generally official, should be avoided.”<sup>152</sup> On the other hand, he asserted that most Greek colonies were public ventures decided upon by an act of state.<sup>153</sup> Because he hypothesized that women were crucial for the practicing and transmission of religious activities, Graham believed that “the great majority of women in Greek colonies must have been from the beginning Greek.”<sup>154</sup> From this assumption, he dismissed the possibility of widespread intermarriage in Greek colonies with the exception of rare “semi-piratical ventures,” since he considered Greek women “essential to a well-ordered Greek community.”<sup>155</sup> Although much of Graham’s work is still applicable to studying Greek colonization, his conclusions on intermarriage and relations with the mother-city were influenced by European colonialism, rendering these theories relatively obsolete compared to the new direction of the scholarship.

## **Boardman**

Despite the broadening range of studies on Greek colonization, old concepts continued to die hard. John Boardman, also an English titan of classical history, wrote multiple editions of *The Greeks Overseas: Their Early Colonies and Trade*. Originally published in the 1970s, *The*

---

<sup>150</sup> Graham 1971 (2001), 6.

<sup>151</sup> Hall 2006, 400 n.57.

<sup>152</sup> Graham 1964, 7.

<sup>153</sup> Graham 1982a, 143.

<sup>154</sup> Graham 1984 (2001), 347.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 348.

*Greeks Overseas* provided a wide-ranging overview of Greek activities and settlements outside the mainland. Like Graham, Boardman was an early proponent of the pre-settlement encounter model, pointing to archaeological evidence as proof of contacts between Euboeans and indigenous Italians prior to the foundation of Cumae.<sup>156</sup> He was one of the first classicists to dismiss overpopulation as the primary reason for the explosion of Greek colonies, suggesting that the opportunity to trade rather than the promise of new lands was the main factor behind the establishment of the earliest sites.<sup>157</sup> The modern scholarship has taken its cue from these theories, agreeing that other reasons drove Greek exploration and that small trade *emporion* evolved into larger settlement *apoikiai*. He also gave native Sicilians credit for skills and innovations which was unusual at the time, highlighting their skill in metallurgy and speculating that clay revetments at Greek *apoikiai* in Sicily were probably inspired or invented by indigenous Sicilians.<sup>158</sup> In many ways, Boardman was a progressive classicist who, like Graham, was a trailblazer for the post-colonial direction of scholarship on Greek colonization.

Nevertheless, Boardman's perspective was still rooted in British imperialism and centralized control. He too was a historical-positivist, asserting that while archaeological evidence may sometimes claim priority in dating the establishment of a colony, it is generally dependent on the foundation dates of ancient historians.<sup>159</sup> Consequently, it is no surprise that Boardman followed in the footsteps of earlier scholars in advocating the role of the Delphic oracle in colonial foundations.<sup>160</sup> Boardman was also far more crude in his assessments of Greco-native relations than Graham was. He claimed that the work of artists who could be

---

<sup>156</sup> Boardman 1999, 168.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 189; 195.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, 161.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, 163.

tempted to migrate to Sicily from Greece “did not always suffer.”<sup>161</sup> This statement subliminally implies that the artwork of Western Greek artists could be compromised in Sicily due to the proximity to barbarians. He proposed that most Greek sites in Sicily were formerly occupied by Sicels who were always ejected, and that expansion in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE always came at the expense of the Sicels.<sup>162</sup> Even his theory that in most places Greeks and Sicels got along relatively well rested on an outdated rationale. Boardman stated that this peaceful relationship occurred “even if only in the relationship of master and slave,” and that natives had to weigh their new prosperity brought by the Greeks against the loss of sites and land “and were generally satisfied – or at least had short memories.”<sup>163</sup> He capped off this shocking portrayal of native Sicilians as noble and subordinate savages by stating that “in the west the Greeks had nothing to learn, much to teach” and in Sicily there was “no native art of a quality to invite imitation.”<sup>164</sup> Even though Boardman wrote decades after Dunbabin, his works carried the same imperialist, racist idea of innate Greek superiority over the uncivilized and complacent natives.

## **Postcolonialism**

While Graham and Boardman embraced some aspects of postcolonial scholarship, they still belonged to the generation which derived its perspective on Greek colonization from older colonizer vs. colonized models such as British imperialism.<sup>165</sup> A greater application of postcolonial theory in philological fields such as classics, history, archaeology, and anthropology was required to shift these studies away from their outdated concepts and tenets. In contrast to prior scholars who portrayed colonialism as a civilizing agent, postcolonial theory has focused

---

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 161.

<sup>162</sup> Boardman 1999, 189.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 190.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, 190; 193.

<sup>165</sup> Greenwood 2009, 657.

on the deconstruction of colonialism as a knowledge system, and the new theory has representation of colonizers shaped by the subordinate peoples rather than vice versa.<sup>166</sup> Postcolonial studies, along with literary and cultural theory, have been responsible for introducing the word “hybridity” into academic circles.<sup>167</sup> In addition to hybridity, developments in postcolonial studies led to the introduction of related terms and models such as “selective acculturation” and “indigenization.” These careful yet innovative introductions of synergetic models have the effect of shifting the analytical focus away from the Greeks and onto the underrepresented native peoples.<sup>168</sup> As a result, indigenous societies once viewed through the lens of their Hellenization are now understood through their role as “active partners in the cultural and economic exchange systems.”<sup>169</sup>

These developments soon had an impact on the study of the Greek presence in Archaic Italy and Sicily. Since the 1980s, archaeological excavations and finds have begun to favor gradual or selective acculturation perceived by funerary practices, as opposed to immediate and complete Hellenization. This also relates to an emerging concept in postcolonial theory that ethnic identity is fluid, and inclusion or exclusion from said identity is not innate.<sup>170</sup> The concept of ethnic acculturation and hybridity directly influenced an emerging model called the “Middle Ground” in Archaic Italy. Here, modern scholars maintain that Greeks, Etruscans, Phoenicians, and indigenous peoples mixed as traders, craftsmen, or migrants “in which Greek mythic frameworks were spread, adapted, and appropriated” in a new culture of accommodation rather than imperialism.<sup>171</sup> This “Middle Ground” model has also been applied to Sicily, where it

---

<sup>166</sup> Greenwood 2009, 655.

<sup>167</sup> Tsetskhldze 2006c, lvii.

<sup>168</sup> Kistler 2018a, 180.

<sup>169</sup> Esposito and Pollini 2016, 43.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>171</sup> Tsetskhldze 2006c, lvii.

represents dynamic acculturation not from a central Greek model, but from evolving local practices. As a result, interactions between Greeks and natives are beginning to be studied in ways which deviate from the old dichotomous model of encounter/clash of two cultures.<sup>172</sup>

## **Osborne**

With the birth of postcolonial studies and shifting attitudes toward race and culture, the scholarship has rapidly evolved, especially in the last 20 years. This was kickstarted in large part by a landmark article written by English historian Robin Osborne, who challenged numerous deep-rooted ideas about Greek colonization. In fewer than 20 pages, Osborne would forever change how scholars study Greek colonization in the Archaic period. The first outdated tenet which Osborne dislodged was the idea that Greek colonies were colonies at all. Since the Renaissance, scholars had compared the *apoikia* to the Latin term *colonia*, which translates as the English cognate “colony.” This endorsed the concept that the *apoikiai*, like the Roman *coloniae*, were state-led settlements under direct control of the mother city which were established to expand the metropolis’s territory and influence.<sup>173</sup> Osborne recognized that scholars such as Graham also assumed that the Classical model applied to Archaic Greece, which constrained the debate to “discussing why states sent out settlers.”<sup>174</sup> He attacked the usage of the word ‘colony’ itself, claiming that it has “‘statist’ overtones,” and that in the English language, a colony is a tool of political and cultural control of one population over another.<sup>175</sup> This vein of thinking showed the influence of discursive analysis and postcolonialism to which progressive scholars such as Osborne subscribed. As a result of these long-held biases, Osborne wondered if

---

<sup>172</sup> Esposito and Pollini 2016, 44.

<sup>173</sup> Kistler 2018b, 190.

<sup>174</sup> Osborne 1998, 256.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, 251–2.

it was accurate at all to tie the Roman model of colonization together with that of Greek settlements abroad.<sup>176</sup>

One of the major pieces of evidence which Osborne used to dispel this idea was the site of Megara Hyblaea, long posited as a prime example of a state-sponsored enterprise. Osborne found that the excavations at Megara Hyblaea proved the town had far more material contacts than Megara, the supposed mother city. This makes no sense if Megara Hyblaea, as the definition of colony would follow, was economically subservient to Megara.<sup>177</sup> The grid plan of Megara Hyblaea, now shown to have been a conglomeration of five separate grids, was believed to reflect the five villages of mainland Megara, further constituting proof of a state-sponsored settlement. However, Osborne offered another plausible explanation: several different groups of settlers planned their plots independently from one another and only coordinated when space became tight.<sup>178</sup> With this evidence combined with analyses of Archaic Greek settlements in Italy, Osborne concluded that the Roman colonization model did not easily fit into the burst of Greek settlements abroad during the Archaic period. By postulating that small groups of settlers moved abroad for their own gain, Osborne swept aside centuries-old notions of Greek settlements being state-sponsored colonies which were sent out due to overpopulation, desire to expand control, or “trade before the flag.”<sup>179</sup>

## **21<sup>st</sup> Century Scholarship**

As scholars realized that Osborne’s new hypothesis held validity, an explosion of new articles and hypotheses emerged which expanded upon his work. Hannes Rathmann in 2016

---

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, 256.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 259–60.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, 260–1.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, 268.

described the concept of state-sponsored Greek colonies as stripping away the historical agency of native populations, who were viewed as groups deprived of land and resources while being gradually Hellenized.<sup>180</sup> Andreas Morakis's 2011 article "Thucydides and the Character of Greek Colonization in Sicily" analyzed Thucydides to prove, contrary to prior analyses, that his writings are evidence that Sicilian *apoikiai* were private enterprises.<sup>181</sup> Another traditionally-held concept, the alleged role of the Delphic oracle as the mastermind behind Greek colonial operations, was challenged by Jean-Paul Descœudres in 2006 as an outdated Eurocentric globalization model.<sup>182</sup> In a database of 27 Archaic Greek settlements in Italy and Sicily created by Jonathan Hall in 2006, Delphi is only mentioned by the ancient literature in five of them.<sup>183</sup> In the same year, Adolfo Dominguez considered Strabo's mention of Archias consulting the oracle before founding Syracuse in 6.2.4 to be a later forgery.<sup>184</sup> There is now a nascent consensus that settlers from more than one city may have established settlements where the ancients only listed one group of settlers.<sup>185</sup>

The shift in treating Greek colonization as a private enterprise independent from city-states and Delphi has also changed how scholars examine Greek interactions with natives. Osborne hinted at this shift, utilizing evidence from Greek and indigenous settlements in Italy to paint a picture of Greeks and natives living side-by-side, rather than the old impression of Greek dominance over the natives.<sup>186</sup> However, it was Franco DeAngelis, one of Osborne's former students, who expanded on this concept, especially in Sicily. DeAngelis observed that "brief

---

<sup>180</sup> Rathmann et al. 2016, 454.

<sup>181</sup> Morakis 2011, 472.

<sup>182</sup> Descœudres 2006, 294.

<sup>183</sup> Hall 2006, 400.

<sup>184</sup> Dominguez 2006, 269.

<sup>185</sup> Hall 2006, 386.

<sup>186</sup> Osborne 1998, 263.

statements made by Thucydides...have been used to help formulate the absolute chronology of the Archaic period and have been taken as the model of (violent) culture contact between Greeks and natives in Sicily.”<sup>187</sup> As a result, DeAngelis argued that the traditional reliance on Greek written sources at the expense of material evidence implied that prehistoric peoples (i.e. Sicels) were less civilized than “literate” groups (i.e. Greeks).<sup>188</sup> This new mode of thinking suggests that the ancient written sources should be demoted in value in favor of material sources to more accurately represent Greco-native relations.

The new emphasis on archaeological evidence, combined with postcolonial studies, has reshaped how scholars examine interactions between Greeks and natives in Sicily. The “Middle Ground” model of coastal Sicily as a series of multi-ethnic “negotiation spaces” has gained traction in academic circles.<sup>189</sup> Instead of the Greeks colonizing foreign lands as a mission to civilize the barbarians, an explanation accepted for centuries, classicists and historians are starting to view Archaic Sicily as part of a “protoglobal Mediterranean world of multitrack, reciprocal transfer.”<sup>190</sup> Simply put, the early interactions between Greek settlers and native Sicels, Sicanians, and (to a smaller degree) Elymians were not characterized by a general pattern of violence and destruction. On the contrary, they may have involved extensive trade networks, intermarriage between Greeks and natives, and cultural hybridization of goods and ideas which went both ways. This paper seeks to apply this new mode of thinking in its assessment of the evidence on interactions between Greeks and natives at Megara Hyblaea, Syracuse, and Leontinoi in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE.

---

<sup>187</sup> DeAngelis 2008, 23.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, 23–4.

<sup>189</sup> Kistler 2018b, 190.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*

## **VI. OVERVIEW OF SOURCE MATERIAL**

### **Evidence used**

In order to provide as comprehensive analysis as possible at each of the three sites, three broadly-defined categories of evidence were consulted: literary evidence, material evidence, and general interpretations which often act as a synthesis of the first two categories. Although other Greek and Roman authors have relevant snippets about early Greek Sicily in their works such as Pausanias, Pseudo-Skymnos, and Polyaeus, this paper focuses on the three authors mentioned in the “Ancient Sources” section: Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus, and Strabo. This is because these historians wrote some of the most extensive descriptions of Archaic Sicily, and their accounts, especially that of Thucydides, continue to serve as useful frameworks for analyzing the nature of Greco-native interactions. However, because of these literary sources’ respective biases and chronological distance from the Archaic period, material sources are elevated in terms of analytical importance. Analyzing artifacts, ruins, and remains from cemeteries, temples, houses, indigenous settlements, and satellite communities can reveal various clues as to how Greeks and natives lived, died, ate, drank, and interacted with each other. The third category, interpretations, often follow a guideline summed up by Andreas Morakis’s article “Thucydides and the Character of Greek Colonisation in Sicily.” This article examines Thucydides’s descriptions in tandem with “other literary and archaeological evidence, as well as comparison with Thucydides’ other descriptions of colonising actions.”<sup>191</sup> A combination of these three groups of evidence facilitated the most effective way of gathering and deciphering evidence from sites in Archaic Sicily.

---

<sup>191</sup> Morakis 2011, 462.

## **Challenges**

In addition to the longstanding Hellenocentric view of Greek colonization, the paucity of ancient sites poses an additional challenge to interpreting the relatively small number of ancient texts which cover Greek interactions with natives. Of these sites, the vast majority are Greek, giving them disproportionate recognition in the archaeological record.<sup>192</sup> The few fragments of indigenous language known to archaeologists are of little use in assessing the earliest interactions with the Greeks. As a result, scholars do not know what the indigenous peoples called themselves, having to rely on ethnonyms and ethnic denominations constructed by Greeks. Even though Greek evidence is often put on a pedestal, it too is fragmentary at best; there are very few written sources on social aspects of Greek Sicilian life such as marriage, family structure, or inheritance.<sup>193</sup> The artifacts that are found at Greek and native sites, especially with the supposedly-hybrid nature of Sicilian settlements, often reveal little concrete information about the ethnicity of the possessor.<sup>194</sup> Additionally, the general lack of archaeological evidence for a theory does not automatically disprove that theory, while tantalizing evidence for a theory does not automatically prove it. These are just a handful of the problems which scholars face when researching events in Sicily from the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE. Nevertheless, this paper seeks to present Greeks and native Sicilians with the greatest possible parity by drawing on as much evidence from indigenous contexts as possible.

## **Names, Terms, and Sites**

Evidence for this paper was collected from in and around Megara Hyblaea, Syracuse, and Leontinoi, as well as nearby native sites and satellite communities of the *apoikiai*. The reason for

---

<sup>192</sup> DeAngelis 2008, 23–4.

<sup>193</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 135.

<sup>194</sup> Hodos 2006, 153.

this amalgamation of evidence is twofold: from necessity due to the scarcity of general evidence and to provide some parity of Greek vs. indigenous contexts and artifacts. For Megara Hyblaea, the nearby sites of Thapsos and Villasmundo, the latter thought to be the capital city of Hyblon, are examined.<sup>195</sup> In relation to Syracuse, the indigenous sites of Pantalica and Monte Finocchito, as well as the Syracusan *apoikiai* of Heloros, Akrai, and Kasmenai are all analyzed to some degree. The section on Leontinoi incorporates finds from the adjacent indigenous communities on the Colle San Mauro and Colle Metapiccola, as well as from Monte San Mauro di Caltagirone, believed to be the *apoikia* of Euboia which was established by Leontinoi in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

Although many modern scholars still use the term “colony” due to the lack of an English equivalent for the Ancient Greek *apoikia*, this paper refers to the Greek settlements with the Ancient Greek term. This is because the word *apoikia*, which translates as a “settlement abroad,” is a more appropriate description than “colony” for the settlements which the Greeks established. Since these *apoikiai* were generally private enterprises and not political or economic means of control by a mother-city over another group, it would be historically inaccurate to label them as “colonies,” which misconstrues both the original purpose of the *apoikia* and how its residents interacted with nearby indigenous communities. Leontinoi (modern-day *Lentini*) and Megara Hyblaea are referred to by their Ancient Greek names, while Syracuse is an anglicized form of the Ancient Greek *Syrakousai*. For indigenous sites, Italian names such as Pantalica, Villasmundo, and Monte Finocchito are utilized since scholars do not know what the native peoples called these sites.<sup>196</sup> Although the archaeological record is a more accurate identifier of

---

<sup>195</sup> Bérard 2016, 49.

<sup>196</sup> Since the *apoikia* Euboia is probably but not definitely the site of Monte San Mauro di Caltagirone, this paper uses the Italian name.

ethnic and cultural differences, this paper occasionally utilizes the Greek pseudo-cultural ethnonyms for the indigenous Sicilians, in particular the Sicels. This is because of the proximity of the three *apoikiai* to the territory which Greco-Roman authors considered to be “Sicel” lands, as well as the continuity of these labels as useful references to how the Greeks viewed the indigenous peoples with whom they interacted.<sup>197</sup> In general, the preferred word for evidence of cultural interactions is “hybridization” because it implies an exchange acted upon by both groups involved which neither “Hellenization” nor “indigenization” truly captures.

## **Aspects Analyzed**

### **Destruction Evidence**

Since the ancient sources tell stories of violence, expulsion, and conquest in Archaic Sicily, it logically follows to analyze potential evidence of conflict in the archaeological record. The most obvious indication of this would be the presence of a destruction layer, a stratum of a site in which there is evidence of a sudden change between the adjacent layers. This can take many forms such as a layer marked by ashes and burning, indicative of a fire, or one characterized by the hoarding of valuable possessions, indicative of an insecure time in the settlement, or even simply a sudden change in the style of artifacts at a certain layer. A smoking gun in any destruction layer is the presence of unburied skeletons or, better yet, skeletons that show signs of blunt force trauma or injury through weapons which are found nearby. However, archaeology is rarely that simple, and all of the aforementioned characteristics can be subject to deserved scrutiny before they are signed off on as evidence of destruction. Likewise, the lack of a destruction layer does not imply that a site escaped some sort of catastrophe, as events such as famines may occur over the course of many decades. Nevertheless, the presence of a concrete

---

<sup>197</sup> Booms and Higgs 2016, 31.

destruction layer, either at a native or Greek settlement, goes a long way in determining whether a site's fate, especially right before the arrival of the Greeks, was a violent one or not.

### Settlement Evidence

The most straightforward method of determining whether there was cultural hybridization is an analysis of the artifacts and ruins found at the site. In prior generations, scholars considered the existence certain objects as unshakeable evidence of ownership by either a Greek, a native Sicel, or someone born from an intermarriage of the two, a kind of Holy Grail in modern Classical Studies. In recent years, archaeologists like Saltini Semerari and Hodos have prudently advised against creating a direct correspondence between single objects and ethnic identity.<sup>198</sup> However, while a concrete identification of a certain object with a specific ethnic identity is ill-advised, the existence of said objects in specific contexts, such as at Greek or native sites and in locations such as a necropolis, house, or sanctuary, can prove highly informative. For example, plumed motifs, which were not previously seen on Greek wares, appeared on early Geloan pithoi, demonstrating the willingness of Greek potters to borrow designs from the nearby Sicilians. Likewise, trefoil *oinochoe*, wine jugs with spouts shaped like a three-lobed leaf, were adopted by Sicilian potters soon after the first Greeks came to Sicily.<sup>199</sup> Another good indicator of cultural hybridization is the existence of architecture outside its most common contexts, such as Greek-style houses in native settlements and vice versa. Since architectural styles rarely show similarities without outside influence, an oval-shaped hut in a Greek *apoikia* or a Greek-style sanctuary in a Sicel settlement often serves as the closest possible archaeological link to concrete ethnic identity. Although ownership by a specific ethnic group is almost impossible to prove

---

<sup>198</sup> Saltini Semerari 2016, 80.

<sup>199</sup> Hodos 2006, 135.

outright, finds like these indicate that cultural hybridization between Greeks and natives did occur, and at the very least prove that goods and ideas were exchanged between cultures.

### Burial Evidence

While ascertaining how people lived and interacted with each other can be a guessing game for archaeologists, graves are generally well-preserved and their objects are carefully chosen.<sup>200</sup> As a result, cemeteries and necropolises can provide insight into how people wished to be portrayed and accompanied in death. Archaeologists formerly treated burials and funerary arrangements as an indication of social status; this belief, starting in the 1980s, has been gradually cast aside.<sup>201</sup> At Gela, the necropolis failed to truly represent the cultural and ethnic interactions represented by the mobility of humans and goods with any distinction toward ethnicity or gender. Since the 1980s, archaeologists have tended to promote gradual or selective acculturation perceived by funerary practices, as opposed to a rigid dichotomy of either conservation or adaptation.<sup>202</sup> Since many sites are devoid of quality anthropological and skeletal remains, the grave goods, especially brooches called *fibulae*, are often interpreted as markers of ethnic identity, or at the very least an exchange of metallurgical knowledge and objects. However, while burial practices can be studied from the rites or the goods, it is difficult to match ethnic identity based on either grave goods or the style of burial.<sup>203</sup> Additionally, many cemeteries make no spatial distinction between Greek and indigenous burials, forcing archaeologists to treat each burial and necropolis on an individual basis.<sup>204</sup> However, like other examples of cultural hybridization, scholars can point to mixed assemblages of grave goods and

---

<sup>200</sup> Bérard 2016, 51.

<sup>201</sup> Esposito and Pollini 2016, 42.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

<sup>204</sup> Tsetskhladze 2006c, lxii.

multiple types of burials found in either native or Greek cemeteries as evidence that objects and customs flowed relatively freely between peoples.

## VII. MEGARA HYBLAEA

### Introduction

The approximate date of 729/8 BCE given by Thucydides for the foundation of Megara Hyblaea has been accepted by scholars for decades.<sup>205</sup> The site, on a “calcareous” plateau near the sea 20 km north of Syracuse, possessed no natural harbor but did have adequate anchorage for ships.<sup>206</sup> The settlement controlled the fertile Hyblaeian hills in the interior, and the existence of silos hints at a complementary relationship between agriculture and trade.<sup>207</sup> Megara Hyblaea was connected to interregional trade networks, with artifacts from the Balkans and Egyptian scarabs confirming its status.<sup>208</sup> From an initial population in the low hundreds, Megara Hyblaea grew rapidly, numbering at least 2,000 by 600 BCE, although some estimate as high as 10,000.<sup>209</sup> Megara Hyblaea was small in terms of Sicilian *apoikiai*, covering just 61 hectares and controlling around 400 square km of territory.<sup>210</sup> Initially a jumble of small huts, the eventual layout, although not perfectly orthogonal, was well-planned, designed around access to the ancient port.<sup>211</sup> The agora, streets, and other spaces were distinguished from the 8<sup>th</sup> BCE century onward, and commercial *stoas* may have existed from the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>212</sup> Once space was delineated, the residential areas were divided *per strigas*, with alignments of thin rectangular

---

<sup>205</sup> Morakis 2011, 469.

<sup>206</sup> Dominguez 2006, 276; Boardman 1999, 176.

<sup>207</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 49.

<sup>208</sup> Hodos 2006, 132; DeAngelis 2016, 252–3.

<sup>209</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 142.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, 143.

<sup>211</sup> Kistler 2018b, 192; Porciani 2015, 14.

<sup>212</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 98–100.

blocks crisscrossed by orthogonal roads.<sup>213</sup> By the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, houses at Megara Hyblaea had anywhere from one to four rooms and covered between 20 and 80 square meters, demonstrating early social stratification.<sup>214</sup> Within a century of its foundation, Megara Hyblaea was a thriving city with bustling trade and agricultural sectors.

### **Destruction Evidence**

As mentioned earlier, Thucydides claimed that the Sicel king Hyblon ceded some territory to the Megarian settlers who founded Megara Hyblaea at the location.<sup>215</sup> Remarkably, Megara Hyblaea was the only *apoikia* in Sicily which incorporated both a Greek and an indigenous name.<sup>216</sup> Some scholars have proposed that Hyblon may have helped install and lay out the site, a hypothesis which would have dismissed as heretical prior to 1990.<sup>217</sup> Whether this is true or not is unclear, but there is no reason to suggest that the site was not founded in a peaceful manner with close Sicel cooperation. Consequently, archaeologists have excavated for centuries without expecting the presence of a destruction layer. So far this assumption has proved correct, but only due to an equally-surprising discovery: no remains of a prior Sicel settlement exist beneath the first ruins of Megara Hyblaea.<sup>218</sup> The Sicels must have had some knowledge of the area, and Megara Hyblaea was likely designed with a preexisting native topographical configuration in mind.<sup>219</sup> One possible explanation for Hyblon donating strategically-advantageous land to the new Greek arrivals is that with the decline of coastal Sicily in the EIA, his people were unable to hold onto and exploit the location that would later become

---

<sup>213</sup> Greco 2006, 188–9.

<sup>214</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 177.

<sup>215</sup> Thuc. 6.4.1.

<sup>216</sup> Bérard 2016, 49.

<sup>217</sup> DeAngelis 2003, 35.

<sup>218</sup> Dominguez 2006, 276.

<sup>219</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 160 n. 133.

Megara Hyblaea. Indeed, by the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, some of the subterranean grain siloes had to be abandoned due to incessant flooding. By extension, this indicates that the surrounding area was still silvan as it was in the EIA, and that the Megarians probably had to clear out the forest to found Megara Hyblaea.<sup>220</sup>

Evidence has shown that Greeks traders were active in Sicily by the early 8<sup>th</sup> century, and the earliest *apoikiai* were generally planned based on prior reconnaissance. This makes it interesting that the Megarians had to deforest the land to plant their settlement instead of on a previously-cleared plot. However, after their various travels and the death of Lamis, the Megarians had already settled in three different locations and were landless in unfamiliar territory. By this time, outnumbered by both the Chalcidians and the Sicels, they were probably willing to accept any land offered to them after their travails in Trotilon, Leontinoi, and Thapsos. Likewise, the Sicels may have seen an opportunity to pawn off unused land and, if the settlement survived, Megara Hyblaea would provide a grateful ally in an increasingly competitive eastern Sicily. Some scholars have suggested the Megara Hyblaea may have served as a buffer state between two larger settlements of competing groups: Chalcidian Leontinoi to the north and Corinthian Syracuse to the south, both of which were founded right before Megara Hyblaea.<sup>221</sup> Therefore, the vague yet generous agreement suggested by Thucydides between Hyblon and the Megarians may have been first and foremost a marriage of necessity rather than immediate outward kindness between the two groups. However, since there is no destruction layer at Megara Hyblaea or the nearby native settlement of Villasmundo and no known written agreement exists, it is difficult to reach any conclusions about the initial encounters between the

---

<sup>220</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 230.

<sup>221</sup> Dominguez 2006, 279.

Greeks and Sicels beyond what Thucydides wrote. Due to the lack of archaeological evidence opposing the ancient tradition, it is best to cautiously accept Thucydides's tale of cooperation without delving too deeply into how those interactions panned out.

### **Settlement Evidence**

As expected, Megara Hyblaea and nearby indigenous communities have provided some proof of goods and ideas travelling both ways. An early Sicel imitation of a Greek krater and Phoenician pilgrim flasks unearthed at the nearby indigenous site of Villasmundo does indicate that trade between Greeks and Sicels started almost immediately. Egyptian scarabs were discovered at both Villasmundo and Megara Hyblaea, demonstrating that both native and Greek sites quickly became part of the larger Mediterranean trade networks.<sup>222</sup> By 650 BCE, Megarian artisans began to create a new style of figured polychrome pottery.<sup>223</sup> Since non-Greek polychrome styles only occur in central and western Sicily, it is likely that Greek potters, on top of drawing inspiration from contemporaneous Cycladic wares, adopted motifs and themes from indigenous Sicilian designs as well.<sup>224</sup> The linear designs, low relief, and incisions found on late-7<sup>th</sup> century BCE sculptures from Megara Hyblaea represent a unique Siceliote style which blended Greek and native Sicilian aspects.<sup>225</sup> The discovery of a *navicella* fibula by Temple B, a common style in native Italian and Sicilian contexts, as well as three fibulae found near the Archaic walls, contradicts Dunbabin's assertion that neither the town nor the cemetery yielded a single Sicel vase or bronze.<sup>226</sup> Although Dunbabin's sweeping generalization is outdated, the

---

<sup>222</sup> Hodos 2006, 132.

<sup>223</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 153–4.

<sup>224</sup> Hodos 2006, 142; Booms and Higgs 2016, 51.

<sup>225</sup> Hodos 2006, 144.

<sup>226</sup> Bérard 2016, 53.

aforementioned evidence does constitute a limited portfolio of evidence from the settlement itself to support Thucydides's tale of friendship between Greeks and natives.

## **Burial Evidence**

### Megara Hyblaea

While the towns of Megara Hyblaea and Villasmundo have not yielded much beyond the bare existence of trade and stylistic influences in pottery, the cemeteries at each site have provided much more tantalizing evidence. Excavations of the sprawling necropolis at Megara Hyblaea are arguably the most thorough out of any site in Archaic Sicily, having unearthed more than 1,000 tombs over more than 100 years. Scholars have identified indigenous individuals at Megara Hyblaea based on certain burial practices and grave goods such as fibulae and indigenous pottery.<sup>227</sup> DeAngelis determined that “Archaeology, particularly in the cemeteries, has independently confirmed the literary tradition, strongly suggesting via the formality of the burials that the natives were full-rights or normal members of society.”<sup>228</sup> The presence of some skeletons in *rannicchiata*, or in a crouched position, and others which were decapitated, both with the interment of the corpse without its cranium and vice versa, has been posited as proof of native burials at Megara Hyblaea.<sup>229</sup>

Some scholars have warned against treating either aspect as proof of indigeneity, speculating that *akephalia*, or decapitation, may have originated in a Cretan context and that crouched burials were phased out by native Italians and Sicilians in the Archaic period in favor of supine poses.<sup>230</sup> However, decapitation is later found at the Syracusan settlement of Kamarina

---

<sup>227</sup> Saltini Semerari 2016, 80.

<sup>228</sup> DeAngelis 2003, 35.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*, 29–30.

<sup>230</sup> Hodos 2006, 118; Bérard 2016, 52.

(founded 599 BCE) which had good relations with the Sicels, and the *rannicchiata* burials may still have been used by Sicels in a localized context around the Hyblaeon area.<sup>231</sup> Additionally, Megara Hyblaea's largest period of growth occurred in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, coinciding with the introduction of a burial ritual at the site with potentially native roots. While correlation does not imply causation, the simultaneous occurrence of this ritual with population growth and migrations from the interior to coast open the possibility of Sicels moving to Megara Hyblaea.<sup>232</sup> Although the burial styles do not establish clear-cut evidence of integration, they are adequate to hint at either the presence of Sicels who lived and died in Megara Hyblaea or a possibility, albeit less likely, of Greeks adopting indigenous burial customs.

If anthropological evidence for multiple ethnic groups was discovered at a necropolis in Megara Hyblaea, it would be an important step in proving peaceful interactions between the Megarians and Sicels. However, anthropological data such as anatomical variations in skulls and teeth has lagged behind the data from artifacts and burials themselves.<sup>233</sup> Some variations of skulls have been identified in the southern necropolis of Megara Hyblaea. Nevertheless, this cannot be treated as anything more than an indicative clue, and any skull evidence must be analyzed carefully to avoid similarities with eugenics, the 19<sup>th</sup> century pseudo-science which often used skull shapes to justify racial superiority or inferiority. Unfortunately, isotopic analysis of teeth and bones, a more reliable identifier of individuality, has yet to commence at Megara Hyblaea.<sup>234</sup> Another common method of trying to identify gender, and by extension ethnic identity, is to observe the funerary treatment of the dead. This turned out to be a dead end at

---

<sup>231</sup> DeAngelis 2003, 30; Bérard 2016, 52.

<sup>232</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 163.

<sup>233</sup> Bérard 2016, 51–2.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

Megara Hyblaea as well, since the proportion of sarcophagi, fossae (trench graves), cist graves, and chamber graves is pretty consistent regardless of sex. Combined with cremations accounting for 25% of all burials, also regardless of sex, the cemeteries at Megara Hyblaea display no noticeable difference existing between grave types or funerary treatment for men and women, native or Greek.<sup>235</sup>

Fibulae have often been cited as indicators of ethnic identity, or at least more cautiously as evidence of cultural hybridization at locations such as Pithekoussai and Syracuse, and Megara Hyblaea is no exception. However, the total number of fibulae at Megara Hyblaea is somewhat discouraging: 20 fibulae have been unearthed from around 1,000 graves, many of which were child burials.<sup>236</sup> Archaeologist Paolo Orsi, the father of Italian archaeology who excavated numerous sites and introduced new research techniques, noted the connection between child graves and the occurrence of fibulae over a century ago. Since then, scholars have interpreted the fibulae as correlating more with wealth than ethnic identity at the site.<sup>237</sup> Nevertheless, some of the wealthier graves do contain bone-and-amber and *navicella* fibula types, both of which are common among Sicel contexts such as at Monte Finocchito near Syracuse.<sup>238</sup> 25 other fibulae were found in unpublished graves in the western necropolis, all of which were Italic-style and similar to fibulae found at Villasmundo and Monte Finocchito. These fibulae were often associated with objects like bronze pendants and chains which were common in indigenous contexts.<sup>239</sup> While these fibulae do not tell archaeologists much about the ethnic identity of their

---

<sup>235</sup> Bérard 2016, 52.

<sup>236</sup> Shepherd 1999, 290–1; Bérard 2016, 53. There have been a handful of other fibulae discovered at Megara Hyblaea but the graves in which they were found have not been published.

<sup>237</sup> Shepherd 1999, 291.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, 281; 292.

<sup>239</sup> Bérard 2016, 53.

owners, they are tangible proof of some level of commercial interaction between the early inhabitants of Megara Hyblaea and the nearby Sicels.

One grave of special note contains the remains of a child around six to eight years old in a terracotta vase, a Greek rite, with the vase being a local Corinthian-style *pithos* but with atypical decoration which may be Sicel.<sup>240</sup> Among the grave goods were three bronze Italic fibulae, a small bronze chain, a bronze spiral, half a circular stone pendant, and three Corinthian terracotta vases dating to the early 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Reine-Marie Bérard interpreted the indigenous origin of the various metal objects, as well as their assemblage in a grave of mixed funerary and cultural traditions, as potential proof of a child from an ethnically-mixed marriage. A few other child graves show similar characteristics, raising the possibility that there may have been a number of mixed marriages by the early 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE. However, she also concluded that if this was the best evidence for indigenous people living in Megara Hyblaea, that only a select few were admitted and if so, they probably had a “limited cultural impact.”<sup>241</sup> This assessment is too dismissive of the aforementioned evidence of hybrid burial customs and trade. However, one would expect a far greater occurrence of both in the necropolis with the application of the “Middle Ground” model to a settlement already exceptional in the historical record for its nonviolent foundation.

### Villasmundo/Thapsos

Tombs outside Megara Hyblaea also provide some proof of an early Greek presence in the region. Interestingly, the oldest Greek pottery in Archaic Sicily often appeared in native sites rather than the *apoikiai*, further evidence of preliminary commercial exploration which occurred

---

<sup>240</sup> Bérard 2016, 53–4.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

before the foundation of the *apoikiai*.<sup>242</sup> At the necropolis of Villasmundo, archaeologists have excavated tombs containing Greek skyphoi and Euboean-Cycladic chevron type pottery from the early 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>243</sup> At Thapsos, where the Megarian colonists allegedly stayed after their exile from Leontinoi, a late 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE native tomb contained two Corinthian cups and a pair of bronze tweezers.<sup>244</sup> While this tomb has often been plausibly advertised as proof of the Megarians' short stay in the Magnisi peninsula, there is no evidence of cultic worship to prove that it is the legendary Tomb of Lamis as was previously thought.<sup>245</sup> Although somewhat anachronistic, it is possible that 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE reusage of ancient native tombs indicates ancestor worship by the descendants of peoples who were culturally integrated into Megara Hyblaea. At Villasmundo, MBA and LBA tombs have been discovered with much later and well-defined stratigraphy, as well as multiple inhumations with a variety of grave goods from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE. These burial practices and goods have striking similarities with later burials in the cemeteries of Megara Hyblaea.<sup>246</sup> Other than a handful of artifacts and a tentative connection with pre-Greek burials, little evidence indicates that extensive cultural hybridization occurred in native burial contexts near Megara Hyblaea either before or after the establishment of the *apoikia*.

## **Conclusion**

Having read Thucydides's account of the affable relationship between the Sicel king Hyblon and the Megarians, one would expect to find evidence that would support this: extensive trade, hybridization of goods, evidence of natives living on the site, and even possibly alliances

---

<sup>242</sup> Dominguez 2006, 266.

<sup>243</sup> Dominguez 2006, 268.

<sup>244</sup> Hall 2006, 410.

<sup>245</sup> Dominguez 2006, 276; Hall 2006, 410.

<sup>246</sup> DeAngelis 2003, 37–8.

and intermarriage. Sure enough, the presence of burial practices frequently employed at Sicel sites, coupled with a few instances of indigenous grave goods, may be proof of Sicels who lived in the *apoikia*. Nevertheless, the evidence from the town itself and the surrounding vicinity only provides fleeting hints of cultural interactions with the nearby Sicels. Even the burial evidence is ultimately not much better: the South necropolis contains the earliest graves where scholars would expect tentative evidence of intermarriage, but little metalwork, namely fibulae, has been unearthed there.<sup>247</sup> Therefore, it must be surmised that, other than the native-style burials, few elements of the graves in Megara Hyblaea corroborate Thucydides' story of cooperation. Bérard concluded that there was not much evidence for hybridization at Megara Hyblaea, and that Sicels and Greeks may have lived in neighboring communities, but with limited contact until the disappearance of the indigenous settlements by the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>248</sup> Although it is also possible that this assertion gives too much weight to the burial evidence, Shepherd too notes the peculiarity of Megara Hyblaea archaeologically showing little proof of the supposedly-cordial relations with the natives which Thucydides described.<sup>249</sup> While the evidence does not rule out friendly encounters between Greeks and Sicels, it is far less extensive and conclusive than one would expect having applied the "Middle Ground" model to Thucydides's account.

## **VIII. SYRACUSE**

### **Introduction**

Scholars also consider the date given by Thucydides for the foundation of Syracuse, 734 BCE, to be relatively accurate.<sup>250</sup> Syracuse is a prime example of how pre-settlement exploration

---

<sup>247</sup> Shepherd 1999, 293.

<sup>248</sup> Bérard 2016, 54.

<sup>249</sup> Shepherd 1999, 293.

<sup>250</sup> Morakis 2011, 469.

benefitted the new Greek arrivals. Centered on Ortygia, an easily-defensible island just off Sicily's east coast, Syracuse had a great natural harbor, a source of freshwater from the nearby Arethusa spring, and a rich hinterland exploitable for agriculture.<sup>251</sup> Like Corinth, early Syracuse was a conglomeration of small dwellings around water, but archaeological evidence shows that it grew quite rapidly.<sup>252</sup> Around 650 BCE, Syracuse consolidated its expanding territory and experienced a simultaneous building boom.<sup>253</sup> Developments in Corinth also spurred the meteoric rise of Syracusan power. In 657 BCE, Cypselus overthrew the Bacchiad dynasty, creating a wave of exiled elites and craftspeople who migrated to Syracuse.<sup>254</sup> By this time, Syracuse had enough resources and manpower to found its own *apoikiai*, establishing Heloros in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE, Akrai in 664 BCE, and Kasmenai 20 years later.<sup>255</sup> Artifacts such as five bronze animal fibulae, possibly from Northern Italy, and scarabs made in Egypt show that Syracuse engaged in international trade very early on.<sup>256</sup> Although the city center was relatively small, approximately 50–100 hectares, Syracuse's population has been estimated at anywhere from 7,500 to 20,000, and its burgeoning territory covered over 1,600 square kilometers.<sup>257</sup> By 600 BCE, Syracuse was the most powerful city in *Magna Graecia* and was beginning to rival mainland Greek powers such as Corinth and Athens in size and might.

## **Destruction Evidence**

### Ortygia

---

<sup>251</sup> Booms and Higgs 2016, 42.

<sup>252</sup> Osborne 1998, 262; Garland 2014, 36.

<sup>253</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 100.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.*, 167–8.

<sup>255</sup> Thuc. 6.5.2; Dominguez 2006, 274. Heloros was definitely a dependency of Syracuse but curiously was not mentioned by Thucydides in his list of Sicilian *apoikiai*.

<sup>256</sup> Shepherd 1999, 278; Hodos 2006, 132.

<sup>257</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 143.

Excavations of a prior native settlement on Ortygia have yielded Greek pottery shards, indicative of pre-settlement contact and trade.<sup>258</sup> However, early 20<sup>th</sup> century excavations, also led by Paolo Orsi, were once believed to corroborate Thucydides's tradition that the Corinthian settlers drove the Sicels out. The earliest levels of the Greek settlement on Ortygia are directly on top of a destruction layer of the native settlement, and Orsi described the presence of ash and a burning layer over a Sicel hut.<sup>259</sup> Although the native huts may have been destroyed by the Greek settlement, the expulsion of the Sicels from the island may not have been as straightforward as Thucydides claimed.<sup>260</sup> This is because these huts were occupied from the LBA through the 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE when they were abandoned. Because the pottery finds from the Fusco necropolis confirm a foundation date around 734 BCE, the huts must have been deserted fully two generations before the Corinthian and Tenean arrivals.<sup>261</sup> Furthermore, the destruction was probably not absolute, as excavations have unearthed a Sicel hut in use through the late 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>262</sup> Whether this constitutes a continued Sicel presence on the island or a new Greek settler living in a conveniently-abandoned dwelling is unknown. However, the Greek settlement on Ortygia with its north-south street may have been constructed with a plan which predated the Corinthians.<sup>263</sup> Instead of the Greeks expelling the Sicels from Ortygia and burning their dwellings, it seems more likely that they came upon an already-abandoned settlement and cherrypicked aspects which they deemed favorable for the new *apoikia*.

### Pantalica

---

<sup>258</sup> Boardman 1999, 172.

<sup>259</sup> Dominguez 2006, 272; Kistler 2018b, 191.

<sup>260</sup> Dominguez 2006, 272.

<sup>261</sup> Kistler 2018b, 191.

<sup>262</sup> Shepherd 1999, 277.

<sup>263</sup> Dominguez 2006, 272.

Although the evidence for the expulsion of the Sicels is not as definite as once thought, it is more widely accepted that Syracuse's growth, powered by the foundation of its own *apoikiai*, began to drive the Sicels into the hills of central and western Sicily in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>264</sup> Pantalica, a large indigenous EIA settlement and regional center about 20 kilometers northwest of Syracuse, has long been highlighted as a casualty of Syracusan expansion. Excavations have confirmed that Pantalica, whose roots stem from the LBA, was abandoned in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, shortly after Syracuse was founded.<sup>265</sup> Excavations at the Pantalica South necropolis, in use between 850–730 BCE, reveal a dearth of imported Greek material, suggesting limited material contacts with Greeks either before or after the establishment of Syracuse.<sup>266</sup> Nonetheless, there are a large number of trefoil *oinochoe* in the necropolis, a style which did not exist in traditional Sicilian forms prior to the arrival of the Greeks. The discovery of these *oinochoai*, often painted with geometric motifs, may indicate that a number of tombs in the necropolis were used after the foundation of Syracuse.<sup>267</sup> Furthermore, since Sicel potters crafted these wares in imitation of Greek designs, contacts between Sicels and Greeks may have been stable enough for exchanges of ideas between artisans at Pantalica and Syracuse in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

Pantalica's abandonment may have coincided with the foundation of Akrai in 664 BCE, about 35 kilometers west of Syracuse, and nearby Kasmenai, founded 20 years later, effectively sandwiching Pantalica between Syracusan strongholds. Scholars generally assume that the indigenous Sicels either moved away or were assimilated at Akrai and Kasmenai, probably by

---

<sup>264</sup> Hodos 2006, 99.

<sup>265</sup> Garland 2014, 49; DeAngelis 2016, 163.

<sup>266</sup> Hodos 2006, 98–9.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

force.<sup>268</sup> However, newer interpretations are challenging the supposed military nature of Kasmenai and Akrai. Instead of the traditional theory of hostile relations between Greeks and Sicels, this new theory speculates that the foundation of Kasmenai and Akrai was “synergistic,” and may have even benefitted the Sicels.<sup>269</sup> This proposal has not yet gained much traction in academic circles, and even if true would not disprove that Pantalica’s demise resulted from political or economic pressure from Syracuse or its *apoikiai*. Nevertheless, the abandonment of Pantalica may not have been as violent or thorough as scholars have envisioned.<sup>270</sup> The recent archaeological evidence, in tandem with new theories, does create a plausible scenario in which the residents of Pantalica simply migrated to Syracuse, Kasmenai, and Akrai to engage in the new Greek commercial and trade networks.

### Monte Finocchito

The same demise that supposedly occurred at Pantalica has also been proposed to have happened at Monte Finocchito, a site 40 km southwest of Syracuse which gave its name to the Finocchito phase of indigenous pottery (730–650 BCE). Located at the head of a fertile valley, Monte Finocchito had a dynamic native settlement which built fortifications and experienced population growth in the late 8<sup>th</sup> and early 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE.<sup>271</sup> This growth occurred around the same time as the establishment of Heloros, around 40 kilometers south of Syracuse, in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE, contrasting with the old model of native settlements declining as Greek settlements grew.<sup>272</sup> The presence of scarabs at Monte Finocchito, which previously had few connections with inter-Mediterranean trade, hints at the likely possibility that Greek traders exchanged these

---

<sup>268</sup> Booms and Higgs 2016, 43.

<sup>269</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 163–4.

<sup>270</sup> Dominguez 2006, 334–5.

<sup>271</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 163.

<sup>272</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 163; Hodos 2006, 99.

scarabs for Sicel goods.<sup>273</sup> This is given further credence by the presence of ceramic motifs and pottery shapes in the cemeteries which appear to be imitations of Late Geometric wares (c. 800 – 700 BCE) from Greece.<sup>274</sup> The initial growth of the indigenous settlement, coupled with the existence of trade and artistic inspiration from Greek objects, depict a relatively symbiotic relationship between the Sicels and the Greeks at Monte Finocchito and Heloros.

However, the foundation of Heloros meant that Monte Finocchito, like Pantalica, was now strategically surrounded, between Syracuse to the north, Heloros to the south, and eventually Akrai and Kasmenai to the west. Scholars traditionally thought that Heloros was built as a challenge to Monte Finocchito.<sup>275</sup> Indeed, the settlement at Monte Finocchito was abandoned by the end of the early 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>276</sup> As with Akrai and Kasmenai however, it is now believed that Heloros may have been a joint native-Greek project to secure control and exploitation of the valley.<sup>277</sup> This scenario, which would have been unthinkable in classical circles just 30 years ago, is not an outrageous one. On one hand, the Syracusans stood to gain territorial control by establishing a fortified outpost along the coast which could control traffic to the interior. On the other hand, the Sicels, although potentially having to relocate, could engage in Greek coastal commercial networks under Syracusan protection without having to live on a defensible inland mountaintop. Although it is also plausible that the Greeks presented the Sicels with an ultimatum of join or surrender, threats or violence seem like an unlikely first resort if cooperation was an option for the first generation of Syracusans. Like Pantalica, the abandonment of the settlement at Monte Finocchito may have resulted from the inhabitants

---

<sup>273</sup> Hodos 2006, 132.

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.

<sup>275</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 163.

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*

migrating to Greek *apoikiai* with more attractive locations and trade networks such as Heloros, Syracuse, Akrai, and Kasmenai.

### **Settlement Evidence**

Archaeological finds from the earliest levels of Syracuse also paint a more complex picture of Greco-Sicel interactions than has been historically described. As at Megara Hyblaea, figured polychrome pottery became in vogue in Syracuse around 650 BCE.<sup>278</sup> Since non-Greek polychrome styles have been found exclusively in central and western Sicily, potters in both Megara Hyblaea and Syracuse likely drew from indigenous Sicilian designs.<sup>279</sup> Beneath what would later become the agora, there is evidence of a cult site which was frequented by both Greeks and Sicels into the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century BCE. A bronze spearhead similar to types from Monte Finocchito, found with fibulae and other bronze artifacts in a similar manner to Sicel hoards from the LBA through the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, was unearthed beneath what would later become the Temple of Athena. Just north of this, archaeologists uncovered bones of sacrificial animals and shards of Greek wares used at cultic banquets. The proximity to the nearby hoard suggests that Greeks and Sicels may have simultaneously conducted religious ceremonies where the agora would later stand.<sup>280</sup> Furthermore, it is conceivable that the new Greek settlers met with the Sicels living in the area at this sacred space to work out their coexistence.<sup>281</sup> Whether this happened on-site is difficult to determine, but it is very likely that cultural syncretism occurred through the borrowing of certain aspects from religious ceremonies. From the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE onward, the bones of wild deer are commonly found in the contexts of religious rituals at Syracuse. The proclivity of both Sicels and Sicanians toward worshipping horned animals in

---

<sup>278</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 153–4.

<sup>279</sup> Hodos 2006, 142; Booms and Higgs 2016, 51.

<sup>280</sup> Kistler 2018b, 191.

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*, 191–2.

their religious practices may hint at a possible incorporation of Sicel customs by the early Syracusans into their own rituals.<sup>282</sup>

### **Burial Evidence**

As with Megara Hyblaea, the identification of individuals in the Greek cemeteries at Syracuse who may have been Sicels has traditionally hinged on certain burial rituals and grave goods.<sup>283</sup> Most of this evidence is drawn from archaeological evidence at the Fusco necropolis in the western part of the site, the earliest Greek cemetery in Syracuse.<sup>284</sup> The earliest excavations were led by Paolo Orsi, and although his methods were ahead of his time, he and his team failed to consider the importance of retrieving and analyzing skeletal remains. This has hampered the ability of modern archaeologists to conduct isotopic analysis and other similar studies which could reveal the gender and genetic makeup of those buried at Fusco.<sup>285</sup> Other complications inevitably surfaced which were beyond the archaeologists' control, such as prior grave disturbances, most likely from looting, and "uncertain skeleton association" in some graves, the result of thousands of years of decay and wear.<sup>286</sup> Nevertheless, material culture and interment features which parallel indigenous practices have been discovered at Fusco. DeAngelis proposes that the burials, which were formal, indicate an incorporation of native Sicilians, most likely elites from the nearby Sicel communities, into Syracusan society as equal members. While this may be an optimistic assumption, it is not outlandish, and the presence of native rites and goods

---

<sup>282</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 238.

<sup>283</sup> Saltini Semerari 2016, 80.

<sup>284</sup> Boardman 1999, 173.

<sup>285</sup> Shepherd 1999, 283.

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid.*, 286.

at Fusco indisputably proves that active exchanges between Greeks and Sicels took place in Syracuse's early years.<sup>287</sup>

The presence of fibulae at the Fusco necropolis until around 600 BCE makes them a reliable chronological marker for examining the events within the timeframe of this paper. Unfortunately, some of the same problems which make the association of fibulae with ethnic identification difficult at Megara Hyblaea also occur at Syracuse. The graves in which fibulae were discovered were either monolithic sarcophagi or fossae graves, both of which are Greek styles of burial.<sup>288</sup> The low number of serpentine fibulae, often indicative of male burials at other *apoikiai*, makes any determination of gender a difficult task.<sup>289</sup> Many of these fibulae were found interchangeably with Greek-made metal pins and other metal objects, often in large numbers. Some of the tombs in the Fusco necropolis contain numerous metal grave goods, with one tomb sporting two fibulae and two pins, another with seven fibulae and four rings, and a sarcophagus with a staggering 26 fibulae and four pins.<sup>290</sup> Since these numbers are far greater than what one person could have practically used, it makes sense that a trove of metal objects correlated directly with wealth and status.<sup>291</sup> Although troves of metal goods were typical of indigenous graves, these hoards should probably be viewed in the context with other rich graves in Syracuse rather than as ethnic identifiers.<sup>292</sup> As a result, the presence of fibulae is generally not a foolproof method to distinguish ethnicity in a majority of cases at Syracuse.<sup>293</sup> Additionally, more than half of the fibulae were found in association with child graves, a striking proportion which bears

---

<sup>287</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 164.

<sup>288</sup> Shepherd 1999, 278.

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*, 283.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*, 286.

<sup>291</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 151.

<sup>292</sup> Shepherd 1999, 286.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.*, 287.

similarities to the same correlation at Megara Hyblaea.<sup>294</sup> Ultimately, the fibulae at Syracuse reveal rough details about the general timeframe, age, and wealth of the possessor, but like the fibulae at Megara Hyblaea, they are often unreliable markers of gender and ethnicity.

Although the fibulae cannot tell scholars much about the gender or ethnicity of the owner in many cases, they do point toward a flourishing trade between groups. In select contexts, the presence of fibulae may have still designated indigenous identity. In the earliest layer of the Fusco necropolis, 80 fibulae have been discovered amongst Greek fossae graves and monolithic sarcophagi, quadruple the number unearthed at Megara Hyblaea.<sup>295</sup> All of these fibulae are either indigenous-made or Greek imitations of native types, and often appear alongside personal ornaments which have direct parallels to indigenous sites in Sicily and Italy.<sup>296</sup> These include 37 *navicella* fibulae of various designs, as well as 36 bone-and-amber fibulae in iron of two different styles: either pieces of amber inlaid in bone segments or an amber bead between two pieces of bone. While the latter type was probably produced at Pithekoussai, both types appear in noteworthy numbers at Monte Finocchito.<sup>297</sup> One burial from the late 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE consists of an adult and a child entombed in a monolithic sarcophagus. The adult was buried with a Greek ivory spectacle fibula and two iron pins, while the child has two bronze *navicella* fibulae. Gillian Shepherd suggests it could represent an instance of a Sicel woman burying her child with her personal jewelry.<sup>298</sup> Shepherd prudently avoids a full endorsement of this scenario, but the presence of Greek grave goods for the adult and native-type fibulae for the child, who were presumably related, is almost certainly intentional. Regardless of whether ethnically-mixed

---

<sup>294</sup> Shepherd 1999, 284.

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.*, 278.

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid.*, 283.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*, 278.

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid.*, 284–5.

burials exist at the Fusco necropolis, the large quantity of indigenous fibulae demonstrates that early Syracusans both acquired and used indigenous metal work on an extensive scale.<sup>299</sup>

## **Conclusion**

DeAngelis considers the presence of native burial rituals and fibulae to be damning evidence against the expulsion of the Sicels from Syracuse. He attributes this alleged discrepancy to either the “selective memory of the past by later Greek writers, or to the rhetorical nature of Thucydides’ account.”<sup>300</sup> Nonetheless, the accuracy of other aspects of Thucydides’ work means that the description of hostile relations should not be cast aside so lightly, especially when the counterevidence is often circumstantial. Yet as Shepherd notes, in contrast to Megara Hyblaea, Syracuse supposedly had a hostile relationship with the Sicels, but archaeologically shows evidence which is often used to prove cultural hybridization between Greeks and natives.<sup>301</sup> Burial rituals may hint at an early native presence in the *apoikia*, and the fibulae testify to a dynamic trade network between Syracuse and nearby Sicel settlements such as Monte Finocchito. This is supported by the destruction of pre-Greek Ortygia predating the Greeks by two generations, and the simultaneous presence of adjacent Greek and Sicel religious sites point to further evidence of cohabitation and possible hybridization. New theories have emerged that Heloros, Akrai, and Kasmenai had friendly relations with the natives and did not cause a violent demise for Pantalica and Monte Finocchito. Overall, the material and interpretive evidence paints a different picture than the historical assumption of outright Syracusan cultural and military supremacy. However, the abandonment of native settlements, in contrast with Syracuse’s meteoric rise, indicates that there are few possible scenarios in which the Greeks did not

---

<sup>299</sup> Shepherd 1999, 289.

<sup>300</sup> DeAngelis 2003, 30.

<sup>301</sup> Shepherd 1999, 293–4.

somehow benefit from interacting with the natives, whereas there are still plenty of scenarios such as integration and exile in which the natives could have lost homes, income, families, and even lives. It is still entirely possible that Syracuse used soft power to exert control over native settlements, a scenario which seems to be ignored by scholars such as DeAngelis. While the material evidence suggests that the early Syracusans interacted with their Sicel neighbors in a far more complex manner than the ancient sources had written, it does not immediately exonerate the Greeks of potentially integrating the natives by force or driving them out.

## **IX. LEONTINOI**

### **Introduction**

Archaeological evidence confirms Thucydides's rough date of around 729 BCE as the year in which Leontinoi was founded by Chalcidian settlers who had previously established Naxos, the first *apoikia* in Sicily.<sup>302</sup> Leontinoi was one of the few inland Sicilian *apoikiai*, lying around 10 kilometers west of the coast on a hill known as the Colle San Mauro today.<sup>303</sup> Located on the southern edge of the fertile Plain of Catania and in close proximity to the Symaitos (Simeto), Terias, and San Leonardo rivers, Leontinoi enjoyed strategic, communicatory, and agricultural advantages of which few other settlements could boast.<sup>304</sup> As with other Sicilian *apoikiai*, Leontinoi engaged in international trade soon after its foundation, with artifacts from trade with Balkans and central Europe testifying to these connections.<sup>305</sup> The production of architectural terracottas and tiles at Leontinoi in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE indicate a bustling

---

<sup>302</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 69.

<sup>303</sup> Boardman 1999, 169–70.

<sup>304</sup> Boardman 1999, 169–70; Dominguez 2006, 259; DeAngelis 2016, 69.

<sup>305</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 252.

production center at the site as well.<sup>306</sup> During that century, Leontinoi, albeit to a lesser degree than Syracuse, grew substantially both in political and economic stature, expanding its city limits and subject territory alike. Domestically, stone city walls were constructed in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century BCE which not only flanked the Colle San Mauro, but also the adjacent Colle Metapiccola to the east and the valley between them, and numerous sanctuaries were built both in and around the city.<sup>307</sup> Leontinoi also added territory from the countryside, pushing westward with fortified settlements such as Monte San Mauro, often associated with Euboia, one of Leontinoi's most prominent *apoikiai*. Much of this expansion can be attributed to Panaetios's rise to the tyranny in 614 BCE at the expense of the elite class of horsemen, the *hippeis*, which may have resulted in greater social and economic mobility for much of Leontinoi's population.<sup>308</sup> By 600 BCE, Leontinoi was home to around 10,000 residents, spanned around 40–60 hectares, and its westward expansion increased its territory to around 830 square kilometers.<sup>309</sup>

## **Destruction Evidence**

### **Colle San Mauro**

Archaeologists have uncovered the ruins of a Sicel settlement on the Colle San Mauro below the Greek *apoikia* and another on the adjacent Colle Metapiccola.<sup>310</sup> Following Thucydides's account and the “terminal date of the native cemetery,” many scholars still believe that both settlements were destroyed by the Chalcidians to make room for the *apoikia*.<sup>311</sup> However, the physical evidence suggests that this may not have been the case.<sup>312</sup> Excavations on

---

<sup>306</sup> Ibid., 244.

<sup>307</sup> Frasca 2016, 5.

<sup>308</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 169–70.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid., 143.

<sup>310</sup> Boardman 1999, 170.

<sup>311</sup> Boardman 1999, 169; Tsetskhladze 2006c, lxiii. Boardman does not list what this terminal date is, and the section only cites Thucydides.

<sup>312</sup> DeAngelis 2003, 30.

the southeast side of the Colle San Mauro have revealed sherds of indigenous pottery from the LBA and the EIA, confirming its ancient roots. Many of these artifacts were discovered in and around fragments of Greek wares from the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE.<sup>313</sup> Likewise, ceramics found in the fortifications of the Colle San Mauro have been dated both before and after the Greek arrival at Leontinoi.<sup>314</sup> Since both sets of finds date to when the Greeks would have already established the *apoikia*, their contexts hint at the simultaneous usage of Greek and indigenous vessels at the Colle San Mauro. The old theory maintained that the Chalcidians occupied the south side of the Colle San Mauro, where the indigenous settlement was located, implying its destruction to make room for the *apoikia*. However, the nucleus of the *apoikia* was actually on the north side, closest to the arable Plain of Catania. Although the finds do not reveal the demographics of the hill's inhabitants or the duration of coexistence, they plausibly demonstrate that not only did Leontinoi's construction not interrupt the indigenous settlement, but also that Greeks and natives lived together on the Colle San Mauro for a longer time period than was suggested by Thucydides.<sup>315</sup>

### Colle Metapiccola

Nevertheless, the finds on the Colle San Mauro do not confirm that Greco-Sicel relations were universally harmonious in the area around Leontinoi. Sicel settlements within 10 kilometers of Leontinoi were generally abandoned in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>316</sup> For decades, the indigenous settlement on the Colle Metapiccola was believed to be one of the causalities in this trend. As mentioned before, Leontinoi's city walls incorporated the Colle Metapiccola within its

---

<sup>313</sup> Frasca 2016, 3.

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>315</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>316</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 162.

boundaries by the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>317</sup> This led to the reasonable conclusion that Leontinoi simply swallowed up the native settlement and incorporated it into the booming *apoikia*. However, Italian archaeologist Giovanni Rizza carried out a series of excavations on the Colle Metapiccola in the 1950s and 1980s which cast doubt upon this assumption. These digs uncovered eight huts which were occupied from the LBA to the EIA. The excavators determined that none of the huts were inhabited past the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Although the dwellings constitute a small sample size, they may suggest that the Sicel village on the Colle Metapiccola was already abandoned generations before the Chalcidians arrived.<sup>318</sup> Consequently, while some sort of upheaval did take place in Leontinoi's vicinity which correlated with the *apoikia*'s rising stock, it appears unlikely that the settlement on the Colle Metapiccola succumbed to Leontinoi's influence.

## **Settlement Evidence**

### **Leontinoi**

With the archaeological evidence hinting at Greek and Sicel coexistence, some scholars have speculated that the *oekist* Theocles may have had a pact or agreement with the Sicels to share the space on the Colle San Mauro.<sup>319</sup> Although this could easily have happened, there is no literary or archaeological evidence to verify this theory, in part due to the paucity of archaeological knowledge about early Leontinoi. Nevertheless, as mentioned previously, there is evidence of possible early cohabitation, or at the very least a lengthier coexistence than that mentioned by the written sources.<sup>320</sup> In addition to the mixed pottery contexts finds, some extraordinary residences at Leontinoi testify to cultural hybridization: cave dwellings. Rock-cut

---

<sup>317</sup> Dominguez 2006, 262.

<sup>318</sup> Frasca 2016, 2–3.

<sup>319</sup> Booms and Higgs 2016, 42.

<sup>320</sup> Dominguez 2006, 262.

chamber tombs were common in native cemeteries throughout Archaic Sicily, and the Sicels may have used this same expertise to construct homes for the living as well. Current research in Pantalica, itself home to a famous rock-cut necropolis, has led archaeologist Robert Leighton to hypothesize a native origin for the idea and construction of the cave dwellings.<sup>321</sup>

Leontinoi's topography, despite being one of its great advantages, was not conducive for building more common house forms, except on the hilltops and the valley between the hills. There are numerous cave dwellings on both San Mauro and Metapicola, with the best known being in the Crocifisso and Caracausi districts, inside and outside the city limits respectively. These caves, with the oldest dating from the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE on the Colle San Mauro, remained in use until the Hellenistic period (323 – 31 BCE). These unique houses have no other known parallel in Sicily, either in Greek *apoikiai* or indigenous settlements, leading archaeologist Massimo Frasca to speculate that the caves were the result of mutual adaptation between Greeks and Sicels.<sup>322</sup> Ultimately, the unique nature of the hillside caves and the likelihood of cohabitation at Leontinoi stand as evidence of hybridization, with the tradition of rock-cut tombs at indigenous sites plausibly suggesting a Sikel origin for the construction of the caves.

Since Greek settlers and indigenous Sicilians shared the same hill, the proximity would have facilitated interactions and exchanges between the two groups. As at Syracuse, wild deer, based on the numerous bones found in the Greek sanctuaries, were commonly sacrificed in religious rituals at Leontinoi beginning in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Since the Sicels were avid hunters who incorporated both the hunt and the animal itself in sacred contexts, it is likely that the Greeks were influenced by the religious customs of their neighbors.<sup>323</sup> It did not take long for

---

<sup>321</sup> Frasca 2016, 5–6.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>323</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 238.

these interactions to stimulate new developments in pottery as well. In Leontinoi's hinterland, the earliest Greek materials found at Sicel sites are Euboean-made, attesting to early trade connections between Greeks and Sicels. Subsequently, Sicel potters near Leontinoi produced wares which bear unmistakable influence from concentric circles, a signature motif in Euboean pottery.<sup>324</sup> This fusion of styles spread to Leontinoi as well, where in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE a local tradition of figured pottery production appeared with geometric motifs, common in both Greek and indigenous contexts, on kraters and amphorae.<sup>325</sup> The evidence from religious contexts and pottery finds indicates that early encounters led to unique combinations of Greek and Sicel cultural aspects at Leontinoi.

#### Monte San Mauro (Monte San Mauro di Caltagirone)

Some of the most compelling evidence for exchanges between Greeks and natives comes from Monte San Mauro, approximately 50 kilometers southwest of Leontinoi. Originally a Sicel settlement, the site was re-founded by Greeks in the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>326</sup> Some scholars have proposed that Monte San Mauro corresponds with Euboeia, an *apoikia* which was established by Leontinoi around this time.<sup>327</sup> Indeed, Monte San Mauro seems to have been a satellite community of Leontinoi, as evidenced by fragments of a 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE law code written in the Chalcidian alphabet and Ionian dialect.<sup>328</sup> The location of Monte San Mauro on the fringe of Greek and Sicel territories suggests that it may have been the southwestern border of the Chalcidian sphere of influence, as well as a distribution center for Greek products into the interior.<sup>329</sup> The acquisition of foreign goods from such hubs would have enhanced the prestige of

---

<sup>324</sup> Hodos 2006, 129–130.

<sup>325</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 243.

<sup>326</sup> Hodos 2006, 101.

<sup>327</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 169.

<sup>328</sup> Hodos 2006, 105; DeAngelis 2016, 248.

<sup>329</sup> Dominguez 2006, 328.

Leontinoi's elites, suggesting that they probably had a stake in settlements like Monte San Mauro. Indeed, the discovery of numerous transport amphorae at the site may attest to extensive trade between Greeks and natives in at Leontinoi's frontier.<sup>330</sup> As a border trade center, Monte San Mauro was, in theory, as good a site as any for scholars to bolster the "Middle Ground" model.

Like many Sicilian *apoikiai*, Greek styles of architecture were frequently utilized at Monte San Mauro. Excavations have revealed four *pastas* houses, rectilinear buildings with several adjacent rooms opening onto a courtyard, which bear similarities to residences at Naxos and Megara Hyblaea. However, the interior of these houses may contain evidence of continued inhabitation of the site by Sicels, or at least a merging of Greek and Sicel décor. The *pastas* houses lack orthogonal plans and paved interiors characteristic of Greek dwellings, and indigenous cooking installations and sunken storage pithoi were discovered inside. Archaeologist Tamar Hodos interprets the Greek aspects of the homes as evidence of a mixed community of Greeks and Sicels.<sup>331</sup> Assuming that Monte San Mauro was a mixed settlement, it is fair to hypothesize that while the Sicels certainly appropriated Greek designs, they did this in their own unique social and political contexts, as opposed to copying the more civilized Greeks. Hodos prudently advises that the native hearth design and sunken storage pithoi may just as likely indicate Greek imitation of local forms as it could be evidence of cohabitation.<sup>332</sup> She concludes that the material evidence at Monte San Mauro shows "a hybrid community that unites elements of former habits and customs of all populations involved."<sup>333</sup> Bearing in mind the risk of

---

<sup>330</sup> Hodos 2006, 155.

<sup>331</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid.*, 102.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.

associating artifacts with ethnic identity, a resident of an affluent Greek-style *pastas* house probably had the means to import Greek cooking installations if they so wished, possibly indicating that well-to-do Sicels inhabited these houses. While the evidence at Monte San Mauro tentatively points toward a hybrid community of Greeks and Sicels, it definitively proves that Greek and indigenous aspects were intentionally fused in the wealthier dwellings at the site.

### **Burial Evidence**

Unfortunately for scholars, there is less quantitative data from the earliest Greek cemeteries at Leontinoi than at other Sicilian sites, suggesting that the old necropolis may have been covered by the *apoikia*'s expansion into the valley in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>334</sup> Nevertheless, nearby indigenous burial sites have revealed artifacts which provide further insight into early Leontinoi. These cemeteries were located at Cava Ruccia, an artificial cave necropolis on the eastern side of the Colle Metapiccola, and at Sant'Eligio-Sant'Aloe, on the eastern side of the Colle Ciricò west of the Colle San Mauro. In these locations, archaeologists found ceramic wares with morphological variations such as raised edges and the usage of thin brush strokes, characteristics typical of indigenous Sicilian pottery of the time.<sup>335</sup> Sicel craftsmen were the successors to the specialized vase-making tradition characteristic of the early phase of the Pantalica culture, which utilized a lathe, a rotating machine used to shape various materials. This expertise was demonstrated by the reworking of figurative motifs which originated in Greek models. On two vases, a pyx and an amphora, from the necropolis of Sant'Aloe with shapes and techniques typical of indigenous wares, the artist painted the procession of large water birds. This figurative scheme, along with human figures, was one of the signature motifs of Leontinoi's

---

<sup>334</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 177.

<sup>335</sup> Frasca 2016, 4.

local pottery production in the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>336</sup> The presence of both indigenous and hybrid pottery in indigenous cemeteries close to Leontinoi suggests that the Sicels continued to produce traditional pottery forms while simultaneously borrowing designs from their Greek neighbors in the first generations of the *apoikia*.

## **Conclusion**

In the first 75 or so years of Leontinoi's existence, the lack of destruction on the Colle Metapiccola, as well as mixed pottery finds, unique cave dwellings, religious syncretism, and simultaneous occupation of the Colle San Mauro all challenge Thucydides's narrative of immediate destruction. However, by the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, no new burials occurred at either Cava Ruccia or Sant'Eligio-Sant'Aloe.<sup>337</sup> As mentioned before, this occurs at the same time as the general desertion of Sicel settlements within 10 kilometers of Leontinoi. DeAngelis proposes that the archaeological and literary evidence indicate that both peaceful and violent integration occurred between the Sicels and the Greeks.<sup>338</sup> While this dichotomy is more balanced than the ancient tradition of immediate expulsion, it too is guilty of straightjacketing these interactions without fully analyzing possible complexities which do not fit in either category. It is likely that something happened to cause the end of native settlements and burials in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, but what this event(s) was is unclear. Frasca reasonably hypothesizes that the cessation of traditional burial practices could indicate the forced removal of the Sicels from the *apoikia*, coinciding with the definition of Leontinoi's new political-territorial structure and expansion at the expense of the natives. On the other hand, it could also be interpreted as proof of integration of the natives into the Greek settlements. Hypothetically, the

---

<sup>336</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>337</sup> Frasca 2016, 5.

<sup>338</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 162.

abandonment of family burial practices and possible adoption of individual burial forms in funeral spaces more characteristic of Greek practices would constitute an important step in this assimilation.<sup>339</sup> The continuity of the cave dwellings on the Colle San Mauro, as well as the evidence for a hybridized settlement at Monte San Mauro, tentatively points against the violent expulsion of the natives from Leontinoi's territory. Nevertheless, this does not rule out the possibility of Leontinoi using soft power to forcibly evict or integrate the natives without bloodshed. Without more archaeological evidence, the truth may be buried forever, but the existing evidence indicates that interactions between Greeks and Sicels were probably in constant flux, with coexistence and acculturation occurring in the same century as abandonment and consolidation.

## **X. CONCLUSION**

For thousands of years, the interactions between Greek settlers and indigenous Sicilians in Archaic Sicily have been presented in the literature as a one-sided affair, with the Greeks imposing their control and technological superiority over the natives via the pen or the sword. In the last few decades, the birth of postcolonial studies, as well as changes in how people view race and culture, have shifted this focus onto analyzing evidence from indigenous contexts and material finds in both Greek and indigenous sites. Following the "Middle Ground" model, one would expect Megara Hyblaea, a site unusually recorded as having been founded with native assistance, to provide a trove of evidence supporting cultural hybridization and extensive trade. At Leontinoi and Syracuse, locations where the Greeks allegedly drove out the Sicels, one would assume that while the ancient sources would not totally fabricate tales of interethnic hostility, the evidence would demonstrate more early interactions between Greeks and natives than were

---

<sup>339</sup> Frasca 2016, 5.

described in the ancient sources. However, the evidence shows that none of these assumptions truly hit the mark at any of the sites. Megara Hyblaea, despite the presence of native-style burials and a supposedly-peaceful beginning, revealed the least evidence of cultural exchange of the three sites. At Syracuse, a re-examination of old material evidence showed possible cohabitation, cooperation in both Syracuse and its later *apoikiai*, and extensive trade with native communities, casting doubt upon Thucydides's account. Leontinoi and its surrounding territory exhibited compelling evidence for early cohabitation and cultural hybridization, but the abandonment of nearby native towns and burial practices in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century BCE raises questions about possible forced integration or exile.

Although the evidence in many instances is fragmentary, it demonstrates that Greek settlers and native Sicilians had frequent interactions which were far more nuanced than the ancient historians and generations of scholars described, a hypothesis which has become relatively mainstream in academic circles. However, it also shows that while the “Middle Ground” model is a helpful starting point in analyzing encounters between Greeks and natives, it cannot be accurately applied on a site-by-site basis. This is because even recent theories like the existence of peaceful interactions and cultural synthesis are not immune to the conditioning of our postcolonial ideas.<sup>340</sup> One manifestation of this conditioning is that scholars can be guilty of searching too extensively for evidence of hybridization and coexistence at a given location to offset centuries of scholars proposing violent conquest and cultural isolation. However, as the existing evidence from Megara Hyblaea goes to show, some sites may simply not reveal much proof of participating in “Middle Ground” exchanges. On the other hand, sites such as Syracuse and Leontinoi may demonstrate evidence of trade, cooperation, and cohabitation, yet none of

---

<sup>340</sup> Porciani 2015, 11.

these aspects rule out the possibility of antagonistic relations such as animosity, forced integration, exile, or even violence. The overarching postcolonial paradigm of the “Middle Ground” has effectively shifted the focus onto indigenous peoples and provided a more nuanced analysis of Greco-native relations. However, its general application throughout Archaic Sicily does a historical disservice to both Greeks and natives by defining their interactions as universally dynamic and fluid, creating a blueprint similar in its rigidity to the traditional framework of the civilized Greek conquering the barbarians. Just as scholars should take care to avoid promoting theories which highlight the superiority of the Greeks, so too should they avoid making sweeping generalizations about Greco-native relations in any given region, especially one so unique as Sicily. Instead, the most beneficial approach to studying these relations is to analyze complexities of Greco-native relations on a localized basis without ruling out any sort of possible interaction, be it peace, trade, cohabitation, cultural hybridization, integration, exile, hostility, or violence. Only then can scholars begin to discern the fascinating and fluctuating encounters between Greek settlers and native Sicilians in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE.

## **XI. SUGGESTED DIRECTIONS**

### **Further Analysis**

One of the primary impediments to studying interactions between Greeks and natives is the lack of field work done at sites, albeit frequently due to constraint on resources for archaeological digs. There are estimated to be around 230 Greek settlements across the Mediterranean from the Archaic and Hellenistic period, of which fewer than half have been

studied by archaeologists.<sup>341</sup> As mentioned earlier, native material contexts receive far less attention than the already-fragmentary Greek evidence. Pre-Greek native cemeteries in western Sicily are neither numerous nor well-explored, and their accompanying settlements are even more poorly known.<sup>342</sup> Even at sites such as Megara Hyblaea and Leontinoi which have been excavated for centuries, plenty of work can still be done to fill in archaeological gaps. Paolo Orsi excavated over 1,000 graves in Megara Hyblaea but only 324 were published in useful detail, and many more recent finds have not been published yet.<sup>343</sup> Further excavations at these sites will provide more material evidence which could enhance scholars' understanding of interactions at each location. Scholars such as Giulia Saltini Semerari have brought new approaches to Classics such as a gender studies lens to the topic of intermarriage, once viewed as unlikely but now studied through its potential impact on gender roles, social expectations and power dynamics between Greeks and indigenous peoples.<sup>344</sup> Hellenic studies and postcolonial studies are still often seen as antagonistic, and blending these two fields would help change how scholars view Greek settlements abroad.<sup>345</sup>

### **Advances in Science**

Recent advances in science are starting to catch the attention of classicists and archaeologists, who can utilize these technologies to learn more about ancient interactions. Studies were conducted utilizing destructive thin sectioning with X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) and non-destructive portable X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (pXRF) to ascertain the chemical origins of pottery exchanged between Ognina (near Syracuse) and Malta

---

<sup>341</sup> Tsetskhldze 2006c, lxiv.

<sup>342</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 43–4.

<sup>343</sup> Shepherd 1999, 291; Frasca 2016, 4–6.

<sup>344</sup> Saltini Semerari 2016, 77. For more on Gender Studies see “Suggested Directions”

<sup>345</sup> Greenwood 2009, 656.

in the MBA.<sup>346</sup> New approaches such as bio-archaeology, biological anthropology, genetics, and the study of biological isotopes are constantly changing archaeologists' understanding of burials.<sup>347</sup> The analysis of strontium and lead isotopes in bones found at a given location could indicate if a person died in the place they were brought up in, thus contributing to anthropological data at places such as Megara Hyblaea.<sup>348</sup> While this has not yet been applied to Sicilian sites, analysis has started at Italian locations, where isotopic analysis from remains in the Macchiabate necropolis near the Italian *apoikia* of Sybaris could indicate that the cemetery was a common burial ground for people from different settlements in the Sibaritide or even further away.<sup>349</sup> A study of dental non-metric traits of remains excavated in another Italian *apoikia*, Metaponto revealed that the gene pool of Greek Metaponto differed from those of indigenous populations in the vicinities, significant biological diversity between the inhabitants of the rural and urban areas of Metaponto; and the indigenous populations were relatively homogeneous.<sup>350</sup> These are just a handful of the types of studies which could be employed to enhance understanding of interethnic interactions in Archaic Sicily.

Recently, studies of the Archaic world have begun to incorporate an interdisciplinary approach which incorporates research outside of the humanities. However, there are plenty of studies which have not yet been conducted which could shed light on the climate of the time. Although some research has been conducted on the remains of ancient forests around Gela and Himera, little has been studied concerning Sicilian paleoclimatology.<sup>351</sup> The paleobotanical record is still scarce in Sicily, and scientific studies could help scholars determine if the Greeks

---

<sup>346</sup> Tanasi et al. 2016, 590.

<sup>347</sup> Esposito and Pollini 2016, 45.

<sup>348</sup> Bérard 2016, 52.

<sup>349</sup> Colombi et al. 2016, 217.

<sup>350</sup> Rathmann et al. 2017, 459.

<sup>351</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 226; 230.

introduced different plants and agricultural methods, such as wine and vineyards, to Sicily.<sup>352</sup>

The climate of Geometric Greece, which could provide clues as to why the Greeks set out from the mainland in such great numbers, has also yet to be extensively analyzed.<sup>353</sup> Quarries of stone are largely unknown in native Sicilian contexts, and their potential discovery could indicate whether sculptures in hybrid contexts were locally made/influenced or imported from Greece.<sup>354</sup>

These advances and possible areas of exploration and analysis await future scholars who wish to explore the true nature of interactions between Greek settlers and indigenous Sicilians in the Archaic period.

---

<sup>352</sup> DeAngelis 2003, 40; Hodos 2006, 154–5.

<sup>353</sup> Descœudres 2006, 301.

<sup>354</sup> DeAngelis 2016, 248–9.

## **XII. BIBLIOGRAPHY**

### **Primary Sources**

- Bérard, Reine-Marie. 2016. "Greek and Indigenous people: investigations in the cemeteries of Megara Hyblaea." In Herring and O'Donoghue (eds.) 2016, 48–55.
- Colombi, Camilla; Villa, Igor M.; and Guggisberg, Martin A. 2016. "Identità e isotopi: il contributo delle analisi scientifiche all'interpretazione della necropoli enotria di Francavilla Marittima." In Herring & O'Donoghue (eds.) 2016, 217–226.
- Diodorus Siculus. 1970. *Library of History*. Translated by Charles Henry Oldfather. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Herodotus. 2009. *The Histories*. Translated by Andrea L. Purvis. Edited by Robert B. Strassler. New York: Anchor Books.
- Herring, Edward & O'Donoghue, Eòin (eds.). 2016. *The Archaeology of Death: Proceedings of the Seventh Conference of Italian Archaeology held at the National University of Ireland, Galway, April 16-18, 2016*. Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing.
- Rathmann, H.; Saltini Semerari, G.; and Harvati, K. 2017. "Evidence for Migration Influx into the Ancient Greek Colony of Metaponto: A Population Genetics Approach Using Dental Nonmetric Traits." *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* Vol. 27: 453–464. Published online 16 December 2016 in Wiley Online Library (wileyonlinelibrary.com). doi: 10.1002/oa.2569.
- Strabo. 1924. *Geography, Volume III: Books 6-7*. Translated by Horace Leonard Jones. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Strabo. 1927. *Geography, Volume IV: Books 8-9*. Translated by Horace Leonard Jones. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Tanasi, D.; Tykot, R. H.; Pirone, F.; and McKendry, E. 2016. "Chemical characterization of EBA/MBA pottery from Ognina (Sicily)." In Herring and O'Donoghue (eds.) 2016, 590–598.
- Thucydides. 1972. *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Translated by Rex Warner and M.I. Finley. New York: Penguin Books.

### **Secondary Sources**

- Boardman, John. 1999. *The Greeks Overseas: The Early Colonies and Trade, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Booms, Dirk and Higgs, Peter. 2016. *Sicily: Culture and Conquest*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press.
- D'Agostino, Bruno. 2006. "The First Greeks in Italy." In Tsetskhladze (ed.) 2006a, 201–239.

- DeAngelis, Franco. 2003. "Equations of Culture: The Meeting of Natives and Greeks in Sicily (ca. 750-450 BC)." In *Ancient West and East, Volume 2. No. 1*, Tsetskhladze, Gocha R. (ed.). Leiden: Brill, 19–50. Accessed March 25<sup>th</sup>, 2019. [https://www.academia.edu/3335241/Equations\\_of\\_Culture\\_The\\_Meeting\\_of\\_Natives\\_and\\_Greeks\\_in\\_Sicily\\_ca.\\_750-450\\_BC](https://www.academia.edu/3335241/Equations_of_Culture_The_Meeting_of_Natives_and_Greeks_in_Sicily_ca._750-450_BC) .
- DeAngelis, Franco. 2008. "Ancient Greek Colonization in the 21st Century: Some Suggested Directions." In *Bollettino di Archeologia On Line*. Rome. [http://www.bollettinodiarcheologiaonline.beniculturali.it/documenti/generale/5\\_DEANGELIS.pdf](http://www.bollettinodiarcheologiaonline.beniculturali.it/documenti/generale/5_DEANGELIS.pdf) (site discontinued).
- DeAngelis, Franco. 2016. *Archaic and Classical Greek Sicily: A Social and Economic History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- DeAngelis, Franco. 2017. "Between Localism and Diaspora: The Sicilian Perspective on Megara's World." In *Megarian Moments. The Local World of an Ancient Greek City-State, Volume 1*, Beck, Hans and Smith, Philip J. (eds.). Montreal: McGill University Library, 257–271. <http://teiresias-supplements.mcgill.ca/article/view/12/41>.
- Descœudres, Jean-Paul. 2006. "Central Greece on the Eve of the Colonization Movement." In Tsetskhladze (ed.) 2006b, 289–382.
- Dominguez, Adolfo J. 2006. "Greeks in Sicily." In Tsetskhladze (ed.) 2006a. Leiden: Brill, 253–357.
- Dunbabin, Thomas James. 1948. *The Western Greeks: The History of Sicily and South Italy from the Foundation of the Greek Colonies to 480 B.C.* Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Eder, Birgitta. 2018a. "2.5.1. Overview: Greece and Greeks in the Mediterranean world." In Wittke (ed.) 2018, 209–216.
- Eder, Birgitta. 2018b. "2.5.9. Peloponnese." In Wittke (ed.) 2018, 238–244.
- Esposito, Arianna and Pollini, Airton. 2016. "Have you said *métissage* or hybridization? A view from the graves." In Herring & O'Donoghue 2016, 41–47.
- Frasca, Massimo. 2016. "Interazione tra Greci e Indigeni nella Sicilia orientale: *Il caso Leontinoi*." In *Forum Romanum Belgicum*, Article 13.4. Brussels: Belgian Historical Institute in Rome, 1–6. Accessed April 7<sup>th</sup>, 2019. [http://www.bhir-ihbr.be/doc/3\\_13\\_4.pdf](http://www.bhir-ihbr.be/doc/3_13_4.pdf).
- Fortson IV, Benjamin W. 2010. *Indo-European Language and Culture: An Introduction, Second Edition*. Chichester, Wiley-Blackwell.
- Garland, Robert. 2014. "The Settler." In *Wandering Greeks: The Ancient Greek Diaspora from the Age of Homer to the Death of Alexander the Great*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 34–56. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.haverford.edu/stable/j.ctt6wq011.8>.
- Graham, A. J. 1964. *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*. Chicago: Aries Publishers Inc.

- Graham, A. J. 1982. "The Colonial Expansion of Greece." In *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Boardman, John and Hammond, N. G. L. (eds.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 83–162.
- Graham, A. J. 1984 (2001). *Religion, Women, and Greek Colonisation*. In Graham 2001, 327–348.
- Graham, A. J. 1990 (2001). "Pre-Colonial Contacts: Questions and Problems." In Graham 2001, 25–44.
- Graham, A. J. 2001. *Collected Papers on Greek Colonization*. London: Brill.
- Greco, Emanuele. 2006. "Greek Colonisation in Southern Italy: A Methodological Essay." Translated by Pierpaolo Finaldi. In Tsetskhladze (ed.) 2006a, 169–200.
- Greenwood, Emily. 2009. "Postcolonialism." In *The Oxford Handbook of Hellenic Studies*, Boys-Stones, G.; Graziosi, B.; and Vasunia, P. (eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 653–664.
- Gwynn, Aubrey. 1918. "The Character of Greek Colonisation." In *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 38: 88–123. doi:10.2307/625677.
- Hall, Jonathan M. 2006. "Foundation Stories." In Tsetskhladze (ed.) 2006b, 383–426.
- Hansen, Mogens Herman. 2006. "*Emporion*: A Study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods." In Tsetskhladze (ed.) 2006a, 1–40.
- Hodos, Tamar. 2006. *Local Responses to Colonization in the Iron Age Mediterranean*. London: Routledge.
- Kistler, Erich. 2018a. "2.3.21. Sicily." In Wittke (ed.) 2018, 179–183.
- Kistler, Erich. 2018b. "2.3.24. Greeks on Sicily." In Wittke (ed.) 2018, 190–193.
- Morakis, Andreas. 2011. "Thucydides and the Character of Greek Colonization in Sicily." In *The Classical Quarterly* 61, no. 2: 460–92. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41301549>.
- Niemeyer, Hans Georg. 2006. "The Phoenicians in the Mediterranean. Between Expansion and Colonisation: A Non-Greek Model of Overseas Settlement and Presence." In Tsetskhladze (ed.) 2006a, 143–168.
- Nigro, Lorenzo. 2018. "2.3.23. Motya." In Wittke (ed.) 2018, 187–190.
- Osborne, Robin. 1998. "Early Greek Colonization? The nature of Greek settlement in the West." In *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence*. Fisher, N. & van Wees, H. (eds.). London: Duckworth, 251–69.
- Plekhov, Daniel. 2014. "Ethnicity, Nomima, and Identity: A Study of the Multi-Ethnic Cities of Himera and Gela." *Dickinson College Honor Theses*, Paper 159. <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.685.4157&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

- Porciani, Leone. 2015. "Early Greek Colonies and Greek Cultural Identity: Megara Hyblaia and the Phaeacians." In *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne*, vol. 41, no. 2, 9–18. Persée, [https://www.persee.fr/doc/dha\\_0755-7256\\_2015\\_num\\_41\\_2\\_4162](https://www.persee.fr/doc/dha_0755-7256_2015_num_41_2_4162).
- Roebuck, Carl. 1972. "Some Aspects of Urbanization in Corinth." In *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 41, no. 1: 96–127. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/147478>.
- Ruppenstein, Florian. 2018. "2.5.4. Thessaly, central Greece and Euboea." In Wittke (ed.) 2018, 223–228.
- Saltini Semerari, Giulia. 2016. "Greek-Indigenous marriage: a gendered perspective." In *Conceptualising early Colonisation*, L. Donnellan, V. Nizzo, G. J. Burgers (eds.). Brussels: Belgian Historical Institute in Rome, 77–88. Accessed January 4<sup>th</sup>, 2019. [https://www.academia.edu/29729344/Greek-Indigenous\\_intermarriage\\_a\\_gendered\\_perspective\\_Conceptualising\\_Early\\_Colonisation](https://www.academia.edu/29729344/Greek-Indigenous_intermarriage_a_gendered_perspective_Conceptualising_Early_Colonisation)
- Shepherd, Gillian. 1999. "Fibulae and Females: Intermarriage in the Western Greek Colonies and the Evidence From the Cemeteries." In *Ancient Greeks West & East, Volume 196*, Tsetschladze, Gocha R. (ed.). Leiden: Brill, 267–300.
- Spatafora, Francesca. 2018. "2.3.22. Phoenicians on Sicily." In Wittke (ed.) 2018, 183–187.
- The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. 2017. "Megara." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, inc: June 29, 2017. Accessed April 4<sup>th</sup>, 2018. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Megara-Greece>.
- Thiermann, Ellen. 2018. "2.3.10. Campania." In Wittke (ed.) 2018, 145–147.
- Tsetschladze, Gocha R. (ed.). 2006a. *Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas, Volume 1*. Leiden: Brill.
- Tsetschladze, Gocha R. (ed.). 2006b. *Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas, Volume 2*. Leiden: Brill.
- Tsetschladze, Gocha R. 2006c. "Introduction: Revisiting Ancient Greek Colonisation." In Tsetschladze (ed.) 2006a, xxiii – lxxxiii.
- Wittke, Anna-Maria (ed.). 2018. *Brill's New Pauly: The Early Mediterranean World, 1200-600 BC, Volume 9*. Translated by Duncan Alexander Stuart. Leiden: Brill.