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► **To cite this version:**

Reine-Marie Bérard. Greek and Indigenous people: investigations in the cemeteries of Megara Hyblaea. 7th Conference of Italian Archaeology, Apr 2016, Galway, Ireland. halshs-02068979

HAL Id: halshs-02068979

<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-02068979>

Submitted on 15 Mar 2019

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Greek and Indigenous people: investigation in the cemeteries of Megara Hyblaea

Reine-Marie Bérard

Abstract

Megara Hyblaea is the only Greek colony which name takes both from Greek and Indigenous roots: indeed, the name “Megara” refers to its mother-city Megara Nisaea, whereas the name “Hyblea” refers to the King Hyblon, who offered land for the colonists to settle down after the various misadventures they went through on their arrival to Sicily. Megara Hyblaea could thus appear as a particularly good site to look for archaeological traces of ethnical and cultural contacts between Greek and Indigenous people in the Archaic Period. To confirm or infirm this hypothesis and try to define the possible nature of the links between Greek and Indigenous people in Megara Hyblaea and its surroundings, we will examine funerary data in three different ways. Firstly, we will consider the possibility of anthropological clues showing the presence of Indigenous people in the necropolises of the Greek city. Secondly, we will examine the variations of funerary practices according to the age and sex of the deceased. Thirdly, we will analyse the presence of Indigenous artefacts in the necropolises of the Greek colony and the possible explanations for their presence there. By doing so, we will try to give an answer to the famous historiographical debate about the origin of the colonists’ wives for the specific case of Megara Hyblaea.

Key-words

Megara Hyblaea – Greek colonization – Sicules – intermarriage.

Paper

One of the greatest debates in colonial studies, both for the ancient and contemporary world, has always been the nature and type of contacts that colonists may or may not have maintained with native populations. When it comes to Ancient Greek colonisation, the debate has particularly focused on the nature of relationships that existed between Greek colonists and Indigenous populations in Southern Italy and Sicily. Many works have been written, based both on written historical and epigraphic sources and field archaeological and anthropological data. Many terms have been used or even created to describe the processes at play in these archaic encounters. “*Métissage*”, “acculturation” or “hybridization” are the most frequent, but “syncretism”, “transculturation”, “middle ground” or even “*créolisation*” are also sometimes used to try and define the relationships between Greek and Indigenous people in archaic Italy. Depending on the historiographical school of the researcher (and his country of formation) these terms tend to be directed more towards an ethnical or a cultural perspective. But this multiplication of terms hides (and is certainly partly the cause of) a form of vagueness, characterised by semantic redundancy, restrictions of meanings and even a certain poverty of the concepts themselves behind the grand-sounding words¹. The same word is now sometimes used in very different ways by different researchers, and it has become very difficult to propose a stable definition of each term that could be accepted and adopted by everyone. It is thus crucial to try and go back to the facts, since it seems to us less important to find a name to designate the relationships that may have existed between Greek colonists and Indigenous people in the past than to actually reconstruct and describe them, in the most accurate possible way.

The aim of this presentation, centred on the necropolises of the Greek colony of Megara Hyblaea, will thus be double. Firstly, I will use the archaeological and anthropological data retrieved from the study of the graves to try and reconstruct the nature of

the relationships established between Greek colonists and native Sicule populations, from the first decades of existence of the colony at the end of the eighth century until the beginning of the fifth century BC. Secondly, I will try to replace the analyse of these data in the frame of the main steps and arguments of the historiographical debate about the nature of the relationships that existed between Greek and Indigenous people in Archaic Southern Italy and Sicily and the possible terms to name them.

Megara Hyblaea: a promising site for Graeco-Italic relationships studies

According to ancient sources (mainly Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, VI, 4 and secondarily Polyen, V, 5), Megarian colonists from Megara Nisaea founded the colony of Megara Hyblaea on the Eastern coast of Sicily, 22 kilometres North of Syracuse, in the last quarter of the eighth century BC. But it was only after they had faced various failures at other nearby places. Indeed, they first attempted to settle down at a place called Trôtilon, above the river Pantakyas (nowadays called Porcaria). The site offered a welcoming small harbour but the Megarians soon left it when called by the Chalcidian colonists of the nearby city of Leontinoi who asked for their help in expelling Indigenous people from their colony. The Megarians then formed for a while a joint community with the Chalcidians. But as soon as the Indigenous had been expelled from Leontinoi, the treacherous Chalcidians also expelled the Megarians. Once more on the road, they then settled down on the small peninsula of Thapsos (today called Magnisi) in the Gulf of Augusta, where the *oikist* of the expedition, Lamis, died. Traces of Greek settlement have indeed been discovered on the peninsula and the Italian archaeologist Paolo Orsi even believed that one of the graves he excavated there, which yielded two geometric cups, could actually be the grave of Lamis (Orsi 1895: 103-104). But even if this hypothesis remains fragile, Lamis' death is clearly an important event for the story of the foundation of Megara Hyblaea. Indeed, Thucydides affirms that the Megarians, left without a chief, were finally offered land by the local Sicule king Hyblon, whose capital city, Hybla, is today thought to have been located near the modern Villasmundo, eight kilometres north of Megara Hyblaea (Tréziny 2011). The city was thus called Megara Hyblaea, referring both to its Greek motherland, Megara Nisaea, and its Indigenous welcoming land of settlement, the Hyblaeian mountains. It is actually the only Greek colony which names takes both from its Greek and Indigenous background.

This happy ending (or beginning) after a difficult start in the West is certainly unusual. Many stories about Greek colonisation in the West indeed describe Greek violence towards Indigenous people and strict separation of the two populations. The already mentioned case of Leontinoi is just one example, but the most well known is probably that of the foundation of Syracuse, where Greek colonists expelled Indigenous people from Ortygia (Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, VI, 3). Because of its specific context of foundation, Megara Hyblaea could thus appear as a good place to look for traces of pacific relationships, contacts and exchanges between Greek and Indigenous people in the West and try to understand their precise nature.

Besides, the archaic remains of the city have been remarkably preserved. Indeed, according to the same excerpt from Thucydides, Megara Hyblaea was emptied of its inhabitants on the occasion of a conflict with the too-close-to-be-trusted city of Syracuse at the very end of the Archaic period, in 483 BC. After this traumatic event, the site was abandoned for a while and only sporadically reoccupied afterwards. The appearance, structures and remains of the archaic Greek *polis* were thus left almost untouched for centuries. In addition to that, both the city itself and its surroundings have been widely and thoroughly excavated, firstly by Italian archaeologists from the national archaeological services – from the end of the nineteenth

century until the mid twentieth century, then by French archaeologists from the French School in Rome from 1949 until our days.

Three main necropolises have been discovered north, west and south of the city walls (Fig.1). For my PhD, I studied 507 graves of the Southern necropolis and 325 graves of the Western necropolis, setting apart the small Northern necropolis, already under study by L. Mercuri (University of Nice Sophia-Antipolis). The Western necropolis is the first part of the territory of Megara Hyblaea where official governmental excavations actually took place at the end of the nineteenth century, as a response to massive looting of the graves and illegal selling of the artefacts they contained. Started in 1879 (Bérard 2016), these excavations were lead from 1889 onwards by the famous Italian archaeologist Paolo Orsi – well known for having excavated for the first time almost all the major archaeological sites of Southern Italy and Sicily, both from prehistoric and historical times (Momigliano 1980). In the Western necropolis of Megara Hyblaea, Orsi excavated around a thousand graves between 1889 and 1892, only a third of which he published in 1892 (Cavallari & Orsi 1892) and I studied for my PhD. Paolo Orsi was a brilliant archaeologist and he left remarkable field diaries, including drawings of the graves and stelae, locating grave-goods in relation to the skeleton(s) and even paying fair attention to the skeletons themselves, which was pretty unusual for his time. The documentation available is thus exploitable.

The Southern necropolis, on the other hand, has been excavated much more recently, mostly between the seventies and the nineties by French archaeologists from the French School at Rome in collaboration with the Italian *Soprintendenza* of Syracuse². The necropolis, threatened by the massive industrialization of the eastern coast of Sicily after the Second World War, underwent rescue excavations in rather difficult conditions. Nonetheless, the study of this necropolis appears to be particularly important for our reflexion since most of the human bones discovered in the graves were preserved and studied in laboratory by the French anthropologist Henri Duday, precursor in the study of ancient graves by an anthropological and archaeo-thanatological approach (Duday 2006). Anthropological data about the sex, age and/or health state of the deceased were thus available for 132 out of the 507 graves of the Southern necropolis I studied for my PhD. Though the presence of anthropologists on archaeological field is getting more and more frequent and though keeping and studying human bones from ancient necropolises is now becoming the rule, such an important corpus of anthropological data sill remains today an exception in the world of Greek colonial studies (the major exception being the colony of Himere, which spectacular necropolis is still under study though many preliminary articles have been released (Vassallo 2009; 2010; 2014)). Willing to take advantage of this rare opportunity, I thus decided to base my PhD on the confrontation of archaeological and anthropological data. Trying to shed light on the relationships that existed between the biological identity of the deceased (his sex, age and possible pathologies) and his social identity such as displayed through the filter of funerary practices, I gave particular attention to the funerary treatment of women and children. Through these two study perspectives, I looked for the possible traces of indigenous presence in the necropolises of Megara Hyblaea, in order to understand if the special conditions of settlement of the colony had led to special relationships between Greek and Indigenous people in the *polis*.

“Cherchez la femme”: *the question of the origin of the colonist’s wives*

The first thread I followed was the possible variations in the funerary treatment of women as compared to men. Indeed, one of the great questions related to the Graeco-Indigenous debate in colonial studies has been, for over half a century, that of the ethnic origin of women in the colonies. Did the colonists bring Greek women along, or did they take³ native women to be

the mothers of their children? This debate may first seem of secondary importance, but it has become one of the main concerns of colonial studies (see, between others Coldstream 1003; Graham 2001; Hodos 1999; Shepherd 1999), mostly because it hides another major problem: the question of the supposed purity of ancient Greek identity. Heavily influenced by the history of modern colonisation, many historians have indeed claimed for long that Greeks were culturally highly superior to the native populations they came into contact with, and that they could never have corrupted their pure and superior identity by marrying native women. The famous historian T. J. Dunbabin already wrote in 1948: “I am inclined to stress the purity of the Greek culture in the colonial cities” (Dunbabin 1948: VI) and thus affirmed: “Any admixture of Sikel blood was so slight as not to affect the purely Greek culture” (Dunbabin 1948: 45). Dunbabin defended the idea that the complete political, cultural and religious submission of the colony to its mother-city was actually “the pride of most colonials” – as it was indeed the case during the European colonisation, contemporary to Dunbabin’s writings. But much more recent studies have jumped to similar conclusions, supported by cultural arguments. A. J. Graham has for example dedicated an important study to religious practices in the colonies and their mother-city. Insisting on the importance of women for the accomplishment and transmission of cult practices in Greek religion, he finally concludes: “We are led inescapably to the conclusion that the great majority of women in Greek colonies must have been from the beginning Greek” (Graham 2001: 347).

On the other hand, various scholars have underlined the toughness and danger of the colonial expeditions, insisting on how difficult, perilous and inconvenient it would have been to bring women and children on the ships sailing towards unknown and potentially hostile land. Many authors thus follow the conclusion of M. Finley: “It is hardly likely that an adequate number of women (if any) were brought from Greece” (Finley 1968: 18). According to him and other authors defending the same idea, Greek colonists were thus probably all men who, only once they were properly established, would have begun to look for suitable women to bear their children and taken the most readily available ones, native women.

Various reasons explain why historians would jump to such opposing conclusions; one of them is without doubt the scarcity and ambiguity of written sources⁴. Indeed, there are very few texts giving information about the origin of the colonists’ wives, and the existing ones have oftentimes been interpreted as exceptions, recorded precisely because they were atypical. Whether they indicated the presence of Greek or Indigenous women in the colony, they were usually not trusted as a solid base for general reflexion. Since historical sources were scarce and difficult to interpret, archaeological data has soon appeared as the best way to approach this problem and try to find an answer to it. In this regard, graves are particularly precious: firstly because they are usually archaeologically closed and well-preserved contexts; secondly because the objects and characteristics they show were voluntarily and consciously chosen and assembled before closing the grave (contrary to what happens for domestic contexts for example); thirdly because graves are highly symbolic and significant places for the representation of personal and social identity as well as funerary ideology (NIZZO 2015). Many studies thus concentrated on the graves to try and find, in the variations or not of the funerary treatment of women as compared to men, traces of their possible Greek or Indigenous origin. But in the absence of anthropological data – and whatever their assertions, these studies could only reach the gender of the deceased, a social construction that may be misleading. The sex of the deceased, on the other hand, remained unknown. The fact that anthropological data were available for Megara Hyblaea, allowing to know the sex of 82 individuals, thus appeared as a great opportunity to reach these mysterious women, and try to determine if they were Greek or Indigenous.

The funerary treatment of women in the necropolises of Megara Hyblaea

Three threads are usually followed to try and spot ethnic diversity in ancient necropolises from the study of the graves. The first one relies on anthropological data themselves. Indeed, some authors consider some specific anatomical variations, especially on the skull and teeth, as good indicators of the ethnic origin of the individual showing them. In Pithekoussai for example, M. J. Becker interpreted variations in the teeth roots pattern of some skeletons as a sign that the dead were of indigenous origin (Becker 1995). I personally find such assertions very risky and fragile, firstly because they remind of past-century anthropological studies on races that proved to be very dangerous and misleading. Secondly, if some anatomical and morphological characteristics may vary from a population to another, these differences usually disappear after just one generation, as soon as the two populations have lived side by side in the same environment – all the more if they procreate a mixed offspring. Such arguments should thus be considered with the greatest caution and should not be regarded as conclusive on their own. This is why, though H. Duday noted some interesting anatomical variations on some of the skulls found in the graves of the Southern necropolis of Megara Hyblaea, they were not considered as more than an indicative clue, to be confirmed or infirmed by other sources.

Great hopes have been raised recently by the analysis of strontium and lead isotopes preserved in the bones and teeth. Indeed, they notably allow determining if a person died in the place where he was brought up – a kind of information that could obviously be of great help to analyse the phenomenon of Greek colonization. First attempts have been made on the skeletons of Pithekoussai and their promising results should be published soon⁵. But as long as such analyses have not been made at Megara Hyblaea, anthropological data on their own cannot give reliable information about the ethnic origin of the dead in the necropolises of the city.

Since anthropological data were of no direct use on that matter, I thus turned to funerary practices. Variations in burial position, funerary treatment of the corpse and grave types are indeed often considered possible indicators for ethnic diversity. For example, while Greeks buried their dead in supine position in Archaic times, contracted burials found in Greek colonial necropolises have often been interpreted as those of Indigenous people, generally considered as women or/and slaves or servants of the Greeks. L. Mercuri has brightly shown how such an interpretation was contradictory with the fact that at the same period, the native populations of Southern Italy and Sicily themselves had abandoned the contracted burial for supine burial (Mercuri 2010); but such atypical burials still raise questions. In Megara Hyblaea, three contracted burials were found in the Southern necropolis and the hypothesis that they could be Indigenous burials, maybe women's burials, was proposed at the time of their discovery in the mid seventies. But anthropological analyses showed that two out of these three dead were men (the biological sex of the third dead could not be determined) while C14 analyses allowed to date them back to the Hellenistic period. These contracted burials had thus nothing to do with possible interethnic unions between Greek colonists and Indigenous women in the very first times of existence of the colony.

I also turned my research towards other aspects of funerary practices, between which the grave type. But it appeared no remarkable difference between the grave types chosen for men and women: the proportion of monolithic sarcophagi, fossae, cist graves and chamber graves is more or less the same, whatever the sex of the deceased they contained. Moreover, about a third of the graves for which anthropological data are available were multiple burials, containing both men and women. It is thus clear that there was no difference in grave type according to the sex of the deceased in Megara Hyblaea.

I finally decided to analyse the funerary treatment of the dead body and thus examined the proportion of cremation and inhumation according to the sex of the deceased. But, once more, it appeared absolutely no difference in the funerary treatment of men and women, since there was the exact same proportion of cremation (about 25 per cent of the dead) whatever the sex of the deceased. This last observation appears to me particularly significant since cremation has often been considered to be a heroic treatment mainly used for warriors, that is to say mostly men. Considering that in various cases in Megara Hyblaea, a same cinerary urn contained the mixed burned remains of both a man and a woman, cremation should not be considered a reliable sex marker, but much more probably a status indicator. But whatever its interpretation, the equal use of cremation for men and women in Megara Hyblaea clearly appears as one of the strongest facts showing the absence of notable variation in the funerary treatment of men and women in the necropolises of the colony.

Having found no sign of ethnic diversity by comparing the funerary treatment of men and women, I finally turned to the comparison of their funerary deposits and grave goods. The presence of indigenous objects in colonial necropolises is indeed the third main fact usually considered to be a good clue for the presence of Indigenous people, possibly women, in the colony. Obviously, there are many reasons why indigenous objects could end up in a Greek grave: trade and swap are some of them, and maybe the most frequent. Greek colonists, on their arrival in a foreign land, may have first needed to buy some ready-made objects from the natives before organizing their own production. Moreover, they may just as well have bought these objects because they appreciated them, even if they already had organised their own production. The place of production of an object should clearly thus not be considered systematically as an indicator of the ethnic origin of the person who owned or used it. Nonetheless, there is still a possibility that Indigenous objects were brought in the colonies by Indigenous people. In colonial contexts, a great deal of attention has thus been dedicated to cooking pots and metal ornaments and jewellery, considered to be – for slightly sexist but nonetheless reasonable reasons – more specifically linked to women. Once more, the debate has focused on the site of Pithekoussai, where G. Buchner and D. Ridgway have found hundreds of fibulae in the graves of the San Montano necropolis (Buchner & Ridgway 1993). All these fibulae were of Italic types, well known in Villanovian settlements such as Veies and Quattro Fontanili (Guidi 1993). Underlining the origin and abundance of such ornaments in the graves as well as the absence of traditional Greek pins, Buchner concluded that many, if not all the women of Pithekoussai must have been natives (Buchner 1979: 133-135).

This conclusion has often been transposed to other sites where the presence of Italic fibulae has been considered as a sign of the presence of Indigenous women – regardless of their number and context although many different reasons could explain the presence of Italic fibulae in Greek graves, as we already mentioned. Keeping in mind that example but also its risks and limits, I examined the metal ornaments in the graves of Megara Hyblaea. As it turned out, there were only 11 fibulae in the 832 Megarian graves I studied and not a single one of them was found associated with an adult. On the contrary, Greek pins were numerous and they even appeared as a reliable sex indicator since they were exclusively found with women – whenever sex could be determined. Based on the metal ornaments, it was thus absolutely impossible to even suppose the presence of Indigenous women in the necropolises of Megara Hyblaea. In fact, no other significant indigenous object could be associated with women's graves either.

Still trying to bring to light some possibly significant variations in the funerary treatment of men and women, I turned to the grave-goods in general and tried to find out if some of them were strictly characteristic of men or women's graves. I examined all the main categories of objects usually thought to be gender-specific in the Ancient Greek world: perfume vases

(*aryballoi*, *alabastra*, *lekythoi*, etc.), weaving implements (spinning tools, spools, loom weights), drinking vessels, etc. But the only object that happened to be strictly specific to women was the already mentioned Greek metal pin and no object could be proved to be specific for men.

In the end, although – or maybe because – we had exceptional anthropological data to distinguish men and women’s graves in the necropolises of Megara Hyblaea, we could find no significant difference in their funerary treatment. No difference was spotted in their grave type, burial position, funerary treatment of the dead body and grave-goods. This conclusion is interesting in two ways: firstly, because it leads to say that if there were indigenous women in the colony, nothing in the funerary treatment of adults allows seeing them. Secondly because, set aside the Indigenous question, it shows a form of funerary equality between men and women, from every single point of view. Of course, the fact that no object (except for the Greek traditional metal pin) could be found to be sex-specific may only reflect our own flaws and the fact that our data were not sufficient, however good they were, to identify such objects. But it is nonetheless very important to show the danger of the still widespread practice of “sexing” the dead according to the objects that were found in their graves, in Greek colonies and elsewhere. If such practice had been adopted in Megara Hyblaea, it would have led to massive errors

A purely Greek city?

Though analysing women’s funerary treatment in the necropolises of Megara Hyblaea had yielded no clue for the presence of Indigenous people in the city – not even for privileged contacts and exchanges between the two populations, I continued my investigation. Indeed, Dunbabin was wrong when he wrote, in 1948: “Megara Hyblaea has been thoroughly excavated and neither the town nor the cemetery has yielded a single Siculan vase or bronze” (Dunbabin 1948: 192). In the city, few objects have been found, but some are of noticeable importance, such as the *navicella* fibula found by Paolo Orsi in the area of the temple B, in the North-Western part of the city, and the three fibulae found near the Archaic walls by H. Tréziny in 2006 (Tréziny 2011: 27). Besides, in the graves under study here, various metal Italic objects have been found, among which the 11 fibulae already mentioned. Orsi also mentions in his article dedicated to the fibulae of Megara Hyblaea (Orsi 1913) 25 others fibulae discovered in the still unpublished graves. They were all of Italic types and very similar to those that can be found in great numbers in the nearby Indigenous settlements of Villasmundo or Monte Finocchito (Frasca 1982). Moreover, they were often associated with other Indigenous objects such as small bronze pendants, axes or chains that clearly recall Indigenous background.

Characteristic of this kind of deposition is the grave Z 20, where a 6 to 8-year-old child was buried in a terracotta vase, following a common Greek rite. But the vase itself was a local *pithos*, imitating a Corinthian type but bearing atypical decoration that could be inspired by the Sicule tradition. Besides, between the grave-goods are three bronze Italic fibulae, a small bronze chain, a bronze spiral and half of a circular stone pendant, decorated with radiant lines (Fig. 2). On the other hand, it also contained three small terracotta vases of fine ceramic, typical of Greek Corinthian tradition, dating the grave back to the first half of the seventh century BC approximately. Considering the Indigenous origin of the metal objects, but also their assemblage and the cohabitation, in the same grave, of Greek and Indigenous funerary and cultural traditions, it seems reasonable to suggest that this child, as well as the few others children whose graves show the same characteristics, could be the offspring of an ethnically

mixed couple. In such a case, it is without doubt tempting to attribute the Indigenous part to women. But one should never forget that nothing, in their funerary treatment, allowed to distinguish them from Greek women nor, actually, Greek men, in the necropolises of Megara Hyblaea. Whether they were women or not though, we are led to conclude that Indigenous people were probably admitted, in the *polis* of Megara Hyblaea. The frailness of the traces that drove us to this conclusion may be the sign that the Indigenous admitted in the colony were very few, or that they had a limited cultural influence. In both cases, children's graves appear of major importance to understand the formation of the Greek *polis* in an ethnically mixed context.

Conclusion

Though the foundation story of Megara Hyblaea attests good relationships between Greek colonists and native populations at the origin of city, very few elements in the necropolises of the colony testify of these possible contacts. No clear indicator of the existence of massive intermarriage between Greek colonists and Indigenous women could be retrieved from the study of the funerary treatment of women as compared to men. It is only through the study of children's graves that slight indicators of Indigenous presence, or at least cultural influence could be found. Given the small number of children concerned though, these indicators can only be considered as a sign of scarce relationships. Based on the analysis of funerary data, it thus appears difficult to speak about an acculturation or hybridization process giving much way to Indigenous influence in the colony of Megara Hyblaea. Though the Sicule king Hyblon had been particularly welcoming to the Greeks, the two communities do not appear to have maintained special bounds and contacts. The colonial data seem to indicate that they peacefully developed side by side, the Greeks on the seashore and Indigenous people in the mountains where their settlements progressively disappeared at the end of the seventh century BC for reasons still to be precisely understood.

¹ On the multiplication of terms used to describe cultural and ethnical contacts in ancient and modern studies, see the very interesting article of L. Turgeon : Turgeon 2004.

² A general monograph of the Southern necropolis is about to be completed under the supervision of M. Gras and H. Duday but various articles are already available. See: Cébeillac 1975, Duday et al. 2013, Duday & Gras 1990, Gras 1975, Gras & Duday 2012.

³ I voluntarily hereby avoid the reference to « marriage », a term often used in studies dealing with that matter but which is problematic in many ways – firstly, because we know very little about marriage in Archaic times in the Greek world; secondly because there is a good probability that many of these unions were neither pacific nor legal.

⁴ Specific studies are dedicated to the foundations of Marseille (Pralon 1992), Thourioi (Ehrenberg 1948), Thasos (Graham 1978), Cyrene (Malkin 2003). More widely on colonial foundation stories, see: Malkin 1985. See also all the already mentioned papers dedicated to the questions of « intermarriage » which often discuss ancient written sources dedicated to colonial foundations.

⁵ Personal communication of Luca Bondioli and Melania Gigante (Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico Luigi Pigorini).

Figures

Figure 1. *Localisation of the three main necropolises of Megara Hyblaea* (Map: H. Tréziny, CNRS)

Figure 2. *Pithos and metallic objects from the grave Z 20* (drawing: P. Duboeuf, EFR; photos: H. Duday, CNRS)

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