

GREEK PERCEPTIONS OF FRONTIER IN MAGNA GRAECIA: LITERATURE AND ARCHAEOLOGY IN DIALOGUE

Percepciones de la frontera en la Magna Grecia: el diálogo entre las fuentes literarias y arqueológicas

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RESUMEN: El artículo trata de las percepciones griegas de la frontera en la Magna Grecia, a partir de una perspectiva de la Arqueología Histórica contextual. Considerando la relación compleja entre fuentes literarias y arqueológicas, el artículo usa como estudio de caso la Italia meridional, discutiendo las percepciones subjetivas de griegos e indígenas en interacción.

Palabras clave: Magna Grecia, frontera, literatura antigua, fuentes arqueológicas.

ABSTRACT: The paper deals with Greek perceptions of frontier in Magna Graecia, from a historical archaeological, contextual standpoint. Considering the complex relationship between literary and archaeological evidence, the paper uses as a case study the frontier in Southern Italy, discussing the subjective frontier perceptions by Greeks and Natives in interaction.

Key words: Magna Graecia, frontier, ancient literature, archaeological evidence.

INTRODUCTION

The study of ancient Greek politics has been carried out mostly through the study of ancient literary evidence, usually by historians, as well as by scholars concerned with Greek philosophy. Archaeology though can contribute in different ways to the discussion of political matters, particularly when we use a postprocessual, contextual approach to such issues as social identities and perceptions (Funari, Zarankin and Stovel, 2005). Greek archaeology can gain from a broader, historical archaeology approach. Historical archaeology is still broadly conceived as the study of societies with written records, but over the last two-three decades its distinguishing characteristics have been subject to much debate in a desire to escape the supplementary, 'handmaiden of history' role, as well as to raise the professional standing of the field and its proponents. Emphasis has shifted away from the use of archaeological evidence to merely fill in the gaps in historical knowledge, and in its place historical archaeologists have advocated for the study of past life ways and social processes (Deagan, 1996, pp. 25-28; Little, 1996, p. 45).

We consider that there are a number of things, which distinguish the study of societies with written documents from those without written documents (Funari, Hall and Jones, 1999). First, despite diversity in the role of writing in processes of communication and representation in different societies, the fact of documentation itself is an agent of transformation often associated with centralization and early states or empires. In this respect, it can be argued that 'a society which documents itself is of its very nature a different form of society from one which does not (Austin, 1990, p. 30), and archaeologists engaging in the study of such societies must be alert to such differences. Secondly, documentary history plays a specific role in constructing the past for societies with written records. It is often argued that written accounts are created and used by the elite to organize their own understanding of social life and their own creation of remembrance. As Dyson (1995, p. 36) emphasizes, the dominance of written records resulted «until recently, in the creation of a text that neglects not only the urban poor, but also rural life in general». Archaeology can thus contribute to our understanding of past societies even where it appears that historical records provide a relatively «full» picture, providing insight into the world of social practice, the non-literate and the subaltern. Whilst the new culture history has extended the scope of the study of written documents into the everyday, it is still generally acknowledged that archaeology has the power to subvert the master narratives, which so often dominate written records, to find the spaces between words and things. But in order to do so, to bring ordinary people back into scholarly discourse, archaeologists must take written discourses and their relation to material culture into account (Ober, 1995, p. 111). Verbal and artefactual discourses intersect with one another in diverse ways in past societies, and the development of techniques for addressing their inter-relationships remains a fundamental methodological question binding together the field of historical archaeology, within which we include Greek archaeology (Couse, 1990, p. 57; Little, 1996, p. 50).

A variety of approaches towards the combined analysis of written and material evidence are advocated. There are those who use the two sources of evidence to complement one another, to fill in where one or another lacks detail. Then there are those who look for contradictions between material and written evidence. In still other cases, one source of evidence, usually the documentary, is used as a means to construct hypotheses, which are then tested out in the other data set. We consider that material and written evidence constitute independent sets of data, produced by *different* processes, even if they are a product of the *same* social processes. In this paper, we study a case from Magna Graecia to show the intricate relationship between literary and material evidence, concerning identity perceptions.

Power relationships, expressed in terms of concepts such as domination and resistance, inequality, the subaltern and the colonized and so on, have been a central focus of archaeological research in general over the last decade (e.g. see, amongst others, Miller *et al.*, 1990; McGuire and Paynter, 1991; Bond and Gilliam, 1994). To some extent, this concern is a product of first Marxist and then post-structuralist influences on archaeology (see Austin, 1990, p. 35).

LITERARY EVIDENCE

This case study takes into consideration short texts by Timaeus (*FGrHist* 566 F43; *apud* Strabo 6, 1, 9; *apud*. Antigon of Carystos, *Mir*, I; *apud*. Conon *apud*. Photius, III, 229) by Diodorus Siculus (4, 22, 5) and by Aelian (*On the characteristics of Animals*, V, 9) to propose the existence of two different perceptions of frontier in Greek colonies: a precise one, which refers to boundaries between two cities, and another undefined, in reference to indigenous territories and which could be analyzed using the concept of *Frontier History*. We acknowledge that boundaries in mainland Greece were defined within a classic *pólis* setting, as notes André Leonardo Chevitaese (2004), but we propose that in the colonial context the analogy of the American frontier can be useful to understand the dynamics of colonizers and natives.

Timaeus talks about the difference between cicadas (*tettiges*) on both sides of the Halex river, which defines the boundary between Locris and Rhegion: on the Locrian riverbank cicadas sing as they normally do whereas on Rhegion's side they have the particularity of being mute. In Strabo's version the reason given is that Rhegion's riverbank is always in shadow and, in the absence of sunlight, cicadas' membranes are humid, impeding them to «sing». In a Pythian contest at Delphi, the Locrian candidate, Eunomos, defies his Rhegion adversary, Ariston, arguing that in a city where even cicadas, which are the most harmonious of all creatures, cannot sing one should not participate in singing contests. During the contest, a chord of Eunomos's cithara broke down but a cicada lit on his instrument and helped him win the contest with its harmonious voice replacing the broken chord.

Other versions of the same story include Diodorus Siculus and Aelian. In Diodorus (4, 22, 5), Herakles was passing by the frontier between Rhegion and Locris but willing to rest from the journey when the cicadas' noise wouldn't let him sleep;

he then asked the Gods to make them disappear and ever since cicadas are absent in that region. Aelian (*On the characteristics of Animals*, V, 9) has a very peculiar version: the people of Rhegion and of Locris had an agreement to share and cultivate one another's land but their cicadas did not respect this agreement: Locrian cicadas did not sing in the Rhegion territory and vice-versa. Also very interesting is a parallel made between the Halex and a river, which interferes with the fertility of cicadas in Cephallenia.

This story is not the only one that make animals part of the definition of a frontier. Aristotle, in his *Animal History*, VIII, 28, talks about two regions in Greece (Milesia and the island of Cephallenia) in which the difference between two sides of the same area is the absence of cicadas. In the case of Aristotle, as that of Diodorus Siculus, cicadas are not mute but absent. Aristotle's aim is to explain that animals vary according to the places where they are found, even though these places are located very near, in a neighboring area. The entire passage says that in two neighboring parts of Milesia we can find cicadas in one but not in the other. In Cephallenia it is also a river that marks the borderline between the part with cicadas and the other one, where they are absent. Further on, Aristotle comments on other animals absent in several places in Greece: the weasel in Pordoselene; moles in Lebadia; horseman-ants in Sicily; and in Cyrene frogs are mute.

A particular importance should be conferred to cicadas for it seems to be an animal with several very peculiar characteristics and rich in symbolic meaning. Among insects, the cicada is by far the most intriguing one for ancient Greeks (Bodson, 1976, p. 75). The first and most obvious reference to cicadas is in Plato (*Phaedrus*, 259b-c), in which this author tells the legend about the origin of cicadas: once, in a time before the existence of the Muses, cicadas were men; when the Muses were born and singing appeared on Earth, some men were so pleased with singing that they forgot to eat and drink, finally dying from inattention to sustenance. That's why cicadas, which were born from these men, do not need to eat or drink until the moment of death and, when they finally die, the Muses welcome them. This legend should have intensified the innumerable comparisons between cicadas and poets: above all, the fact that both of them sing for the Muses.

Following the analysis by Brillante (1987), cicadas convey a very particular and strong symbolic meaning. This author analyses several Greek stories involving cicadas, which we will but very briefly comment here. First there is the story of Tithonos who, by the desire of Eos, received immortality, but not eternal youth. In the end, when Tithonos was very old, his body very weak, he was transformed into a cicada, so that he should not suffer from his weakness anymore and Eos could still hear his voice.

Taking this legend as a starting point, Brillante (1987) proposes to compare the Greek image of cicadas and that of old men. Both cicadas and old men have a very weak body but a strong voice, their bodies are dry and cold; they do not eat (or almost). Its capacity of changing skin makes a cicada an example of longevity: it can almost win against death, since instead of dying; it simply changes skin and

starts a new life. As happens with the Nymphs or Tithonos, cicadas' longevity approximates them to Gods, giving them an almost divine character: as Gods, cicadas don't have blood, don't eat or drink, and the only foodstuff they get is the dew (cf. Aristotle, *H.A.*, IV, 7 = 532b; Theocritus of Syracuse, *Idylls*, IV, 15-16; Aelian, *On the characteristics of Animals*, I, 20), which is not to put very different from the ambrosia of the Gods in Greek symbolic representations. Another symbolic aspect of cicadas is their connection to sleep, since their song invites somnolence and calms poetic intensity (cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 259b-c); it is important to remember that sleep is an intermediary state between life and death, as Hypnos and Thanatos are brothers in Greek mythology. At last, the legend about the hero Tettix, who founded Tenaros in Laconia, the place of the *psychopompeion*, where humans could communicate with the Hades. In all these citations, cicadas show the complexity of their symbolic character, a living being which is in communication between all spheres: human, heaven, and hell.

In the point of view we try to argue for, there is not a simple coincidence between all these stories about cicadas and the legend of the mute ones by the Halex river. There is a probable symbolic representation, which conveys a message known for ancient Greeks. This message of an animal that has an intermediary status between mortal and immortal, between carnal and divine, between men and Gods, is a particularly appropriate one to serve as an allegory of a real boundary.

Passing from the symbolic to the historic aspect, we should evoke another story related to cicadas in the Locrian territory. We will not comment here the well-known passage by Thucydides (I, 6, 3) about aristocratic Athenians wearing golden cicadas as brooch in their hair but rather two texts, one by Stesichorus (*apud* Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, II, 21, 1394b-1395a) and another by Demetrius (*On Style*, pp. 99-100), which talk about a story of cicadas and the boundary between Locris and Rhegion. In the first, Stesichorus advises for countenance instead of pride (*hybris*) if we do not want the cicadas to sing from the ground. A short text by Demetrius (*On Style*, 243) clarifies the sense implied by the former: the threat to make cicadas sing from the ground is an allegory to the devastation of the land, and particularly fruit-trees. Aristotle says that Stesichorus was speaking in Locris and we may believe that his sentence was pronounced in reference of a precise event. According to Cordiano and Accardo (2004, pp. 36-37), the reference to the cicadas is a proof that it was a real episode and that it occurred by the border between Locris and Rhegion. In confirmation of their hypothesis, they evoke the second text, by Demetrius (*On Style*, pp. 99-100), in which the author comments the actions and sayings by Dionysios of Syracuse (the text does not determine which Dionysios is the protagonist of that history, either the father or the son; following the analysis by Cordiano and Accardo (2004, pp. 36-37), we tend to say it was Dionysios I). The tyrant would have threatened the Locrians saying that their cicadas were to sing from the ground. Then Diodorus Siculus (XIV, 100, 1-2), commenting on the tyrant's expedition against Rhegion, tells of the transfer of Dionysios's army to the Locrian borderline (*horos*) and that he proceeded against the territory of Rhegion moving through the interior.

Back to the text by Timaeus, it has probably various connections to the symbolic character of cicadas as well as real military events, which took place on the frontier between Locris and Rhegion. We can say that the historian Timaeus had a perfect knowledge of the historical facts involving these two cities, in particular Dionysios expedition against Rhegion, which happened at about Timaeus' age. Another example that confirms the existence of a precise boundary between two Greek cities is to be found in Thucydides (VII, 35, 1-2), where the historian mentions the prohibition against the inhabitants of Thurii to cross the Hylis River, which defined the frontier between Thurii and Croton.

These texts sanction an analysis on Greek perceptions of frontier and can therefore reveal an important aspect of their imaginary and of their values. Firstly, not only did Greeks have a consciousness of a precise limit between two cities, but also they gave an important symbolic representation of that boundary when using cicadas as allegory. That remark is not an obvious one, since we are analyzing a colonial context, where neither landmarks nor any other epigraphic evidence has ever been found defining the frontier between two *poleis*.

A second and stronger conclusion may also be proposed. Literary narrative, when talking about boundaries between Greek cities and Indigenous populations, are always indeterminate, imprecise and vague. The lack of any literary narrative, which defines precise boundaries between a Greek city and the indigenous territory, comparable to that indicated by Timaeus for these two colonies as well as several other authors who deal with Magna Graecia's geography, implies different treatments for different realities. Our argument here is that Greeks used a precise indication of boundary only between two Greek cities; in a colonial context, the limit between Greeks and Indigenous territories has never such a precise indication. Following the passage by Strabo on the Halex river (VI, 1, 9), this author comments that the Brettii, with no further precision, holds the interior beyond the cities of Rhegion and Locris. This simple evidence indicates the difference of treatment of these two kinds of frontier.

Greeks used an obvious Hellenic-centered point of view and considered the territory, which was not occupied by Greeks as empty (*eremos chora*. cf. Diodorus Siculus, V, 53, 1; V, 81, 2; V, 83, 2; Strabo, IX, 5, 12). In this sense it is not a surprise that they should not dedicate much interest to the frontier between a Greek city and «the empty». Literary evidence is more complicated than that, as we can find several texts talking about non-Greek populations in Magna Graecia (and Strabo is particularly talkative on this topic). The real difference is that when related to Indigenous, written testimonials are always imprecise. Strabo, our main source, talks about Oenotrians, Chones, and Leucani, but their territory, and their possessions are mentioned in a vague way. When talking about the Leucani, Strabo (VI, 1, 4) says that their territory extended from the river Silaris to Laos, and from Metapontus to Thurii. It is clear the Greek point of view in the text by Strabo, since even the Indigenous territory is defined in relation to Greek cities. The most precise indication of the Indigenous is about Cosentia (the Brettian capital) and Pandosia that

is evoked in relation to Alexander the Molossian's death, always from a Greek point of view.

It is important nevertheless to indicate a single exception in Magna Graecia: the river Silaris, which constituted the northern border of Poseidonian territory and which separates this Greek colony from Campano-Etruscan populations. These Etruscan peoples were probably considered differently from other indigenous populations, as they represented a more organized and maybe a stronger opponent to the Greeks. This frontier was the only one between a colony and the Indigenous territory in Magna Graecia attested by literary evidence; moreover, this borderline was the only one that seems to be constant and not subject to dispute. It was used to establish the frontier between Poseidonia and the Campano-Etruscan populations; it was the northern boundary of the Leucanian territory; it was also used as the limit between the Augustean regions I and III.

Consequently, modern historians may use the concept of *Frontier History* –as F. J. Turner developed it and as it is used to explain the progressive conquest of American continent's territory– to analyze the also progressive conquest of territory by Greek colonies. The first aspect to be stressed is the definition of a frontier which is not an imaginary and fixed line separating two states, like the 19th century European sense of the word, but on the contrary, the frontier is the zone of contact between a civilized society and a unoccupied land. Therefore, the idea of an empty space is central and this empty space should be integrated into the civilization. This unfixed frontier enabled the appropriation of a territory without a connotation of unfair conquest or usurpation, and in the case of the United States of America it exalted the pioneer as a brave man, responsible for the development of the country and of its democratic institutions.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF ARCHAEOLOGY

Archaeology can provide us with fresh evidence about frontiers in southern Italy, unlimited by the inevitably Greek centered outlook of our literary sources. Archaeology indicates in Magna Graecia two perceptions of a frontier, one between two Greek cities and a different one related to indigenous populations. For the latter, archaeological data suggest the same process of progressive conquest of that by European colonization in the American continent. This type of frontier is fluid, undefined, and related to a world where pioneers are always eager to conquer a larger territory in order to expand colonial possessions.

We would like to use the example of the boundary between Rhegion and Locris to maintain the same two *poleis* of analysis. Nevertheless, the archaeological evidence of that region is rather meager and do not allow thorough conclusions. If we are to believe literary evidence about the Halex river as the border between these two cities, we still do not have a consensual identification of its location; two are the most probable hypothesis: either the Fiumara Galati-Aranghìa (cf. Sabbione, 1977; Sabbione, 1976) or the Fiumara di Palizzi (cf. Cordiano and Accardo, 2004,

pp. 68-72), both of which depend on solely toponomastic analysis. Archaeological data related to sites of possible military function near the riverbank of Palizzi River is the result of only surface survey without deeper excavation. Some pottery was found at Agrillei, Magallena, Monte Rotonda, and Monte Grappidà and was dated from the last quarter of 6th century to the first half of 5th century. These sites are placed in areas which are not adequate for agricultural purposes, on top of hills, along a riverbank; for these characteristics, the military function was proposed for those sites (cf. Costamagna, 2000, pp. 6-8). In another case, besides the localization in the same line along the riverbank, the site of Pirigaglia offers a toponomastic evidence to relate it to a military function: its place name would have the Greek word *pyrgallia* (little tower, derived from *pyrgos*) as origin (Rohlf's, 1974, p. 246). The possible military function of those sites could corroborate our hypothesis of a well-defined borderline between two Greek cities; yet, we still need a great increase in our knowledge of the area before proceeding in such analysis of the frontier between Rhegion and Locris.

Therefore, we will use here the example of Metapontus because it is the best known western colonial territory; comparison could be made with Chersonesos, in Crimeria, but we will limit ourselves to South Italy and Metapontus, even though we could also use the example of Poseidonia, which we think followed the same process.

Metapontus was founded in late 7th century, roughly in 630 B.C.¹. Archaeological evidence points to the contemporary occupation of the urban center and of two important sanctuaries, which formed the initial boundary of that city's territory: the Heraion of Tavole Palatine (number 1 on the chart) and the Artemision of San Biagio della Venella (#2), alongside Basento river. According to Strabo (VI, 1, 15), who used Antiochus as his source, the intention of the Sybarites to persuade new comers from Achaia to colonize Metapontus was to establish a barrier to the possible expansion of Taras (modern Taranto). It is clear that the frontier between these two cities should be well defined, especially if we are to believe Strabo's narrative about the hate (*misos*) of Achaeans against Lacedaemonians. Moreover, it is emblematic for our study that the precise location of a new colony should have been determined by a border contest, as seems to be the case of Metapontus.

That frontier was indeed very well defined by the banks of the river Bradano and by the establishment of an important sanctuary to Hera (Tavole Palatine). It is not a coincidence that two rivers with two important Heraia were strong frontiers of two Achaean cities: the goddess was particularly important for Achaeans and this two limits (Bradano in Metapontus and Silaris in Poseidonia) were used as such up

1. Thorough analysis on the foundation, the history, and recent archaeological evidence of this colony is to be found in GIARDINO and DE SIENA, 1999, with extensive previous bibliography. An excellent summary of our knowledge about this territory from the second half of 6th century to the end of 4th century B.C. is present in CARTER, 2000.

to the Augustean regions, since the Bradano represented the boundary between the regions II and III and the Silaris was the border between regions I and III.

The text by Strabo and the sanctuary at Tavole Palatine present a clear opposition between two Greek colonies that implies the importance of a territorial contest and the definition of a frontier as a central part in the goal of a colonial foundation. Metapontus, and the Heraion in particular, represented a real limit to the possible expansion of Taranto.

Archaeological data show that the most ancient material found in the urban center of Metapontus and in the sanctuaries at Tavole Palatine and at San Biagio are contemporaneous. It means that the foundation of a colony followed a consciousness about the limits of its territory since its establishment, at least for those colonies founded at the end of 7th century onwards (archaeological evidence is still too meager to infer such consciousness for earlier colonies as Sybaris or Croton). A first commentary can be made upon this observation: the territorial limits of occupation in Metapontus were signed exclusively in relation to its two Greek neighbors, Taranto and Siris, but no mark dating of the early days of the colony has ever been found in the direction of the hinterland, in relation to the Indigenous populations.

However, the two sanctuaries at Tavole Palatine and at San Biagio della Venella do not seem to have the same functions over time. Although both apparently served the same reasons, only the first one gave place to the construction of a monumental temple by the 6th century and continued to define a border of metapontine territory. The frontier between Metapontus and Taranto was a very strong one, which deserved to be well signed by a huge temple; on the other hand, the Artemision at San Biagio fulfilled the function of indicating the southern border of metapontine territory only temporarily.

It is nowadays excluded the hypothesis of attributing the sanctuary at San Biagio to Zeus; Artemis seems to be the only divinity honored there (cf. Osanna, 1992, 48-52; Lo Porto, 1988, 14). The identification of the divinity is of particular importance for an analysis of the characteristics of that border. Rather than the divinity dearest to Achaeans in a place opposing Lacedaemonians, Artemis is a divinity in perfect accord to the natural environment where her sanctuary stood. She is a goddess connected to the passage from the wilderness to civilization and her sanctuary was placed on the margins of the fertile coastal plain, where the first hills begin. San Biagio marks the passage from the cultivated land, where one produced the cereals to nourish the colony's population, to the region of hills, the most appropriated location to look for wood and where one could go hunting wild animals. We can therefore assert first that the Artemision was placed on the margins of metapontine *eschatia*, where the land directly occupied and cultivated finished, and second that this sanctuary seems to have fulfilled the function of borderline during the first decades of the colony.

The first important commentary to be made is the observation that those two sanctuaries, however their functions differ, were established contemporaneously to each other and to the urban center of the new city. It seems to confirm a preoccupation to

delimitate space in three different levels: the urban center, where people should be installed; in opposition to another Greek city, to mark clearly the area under control of Metapontus and which Taras will not be able to conquer; and the neat separation between civilized (cultivated) land and the wild hinterland of the hills. We cannot affirm that those three levels had the same degree of importance, probably not, but we can insist on the attention devoted to the delineation of space in these three different contexts at the same time.

It is only after the destruction of Siris by the Achaean colonies, in the first half of 6th century, that some sites are to be found beyond San Biagio: Lago del Lupo (#3) and Cugno del Pero (#4) were probably the most advanced sites of the Metapontine occupation from the middle of 6th century. With the inclusion of an extended territory to the southwest, San Biagio lost its characteristic of indicating the frontier of Metapontine occupation. At the moment of the construction of the monumental temple at Tavole Palatine, Siris had already been destroyed and Metapontus had already expanded its territory beyond San Biagio. We follow the hypothesis of Osanna (1992, p. 51) that the Artemision was not only a rural sanctuary for Metapontus but had important political functions; nevertheless, most of those functions seem to vanish after Siris destruction and Metapontine expansion to the southwest. It is probably the loss of the function of indicating the maximum extent of Metapontus's territory that could partly explain the absence of a monumental temple at San Biagio. The same movement of expansion can be seen in the direction of the hinterland, along the Basento's riverbank: farms at Ponte Fabrizio (#5), Masseria S. Angelo Vecchio (#6), S. Angelo Grieco (#7) were in use from the second half of 6th century and a farm at Vinella (#8) shows signs of occupation from the first half of the 5th century.

Between the Basento and the Cavone rivers, two small sanctuaries were erected at Incoronata (#9) and at Tinchì (#10) and give the impression of a religious protection to a new extension of the Metapontine territory. In this sense, the sanctuary at Incoronata has particular aspects of great interest for us. First, the site was previously occupied by the Indigenous and was completely destroyed by the Greek arrival at the end of 7th century. Second, it is located by the Basento's riverbank, on a hill of good visibility over the coastal plain and over the course of the river; most significant could be the fact that it is in an almost symmetric position opposed to San Biagio. After passing beyond the river, which constituted the previous boundary, Greeks established a new sanctuary at a former Indigenous center. Thus, the example of Metapontus confirms the hypothesis of the use of sanctuaries as important markers of territory occupation and as guarantor of a frontier (De Polignac, 1995). The Indigenous site of Pisticci (#11) seems to confirm that impression: it is located farther away in relation to Metapontus's urban center and was an important Indigenous center without Greek interference. Osanna (1992, p. 54) argues that Pisticci is such a strong Indigenous site that it was for sure beyond Greek direct control.

The destruction of Siris by the Achaeans of Metapontus, Sybaris, and Croton constitutes a historical event of capital importance for those cities. Literary sources inform us about that episode and archaeology confirms not only the fact but also the chronology, which can be fixed by the beginning of 6th century B.C. The destruction of the urban center of Siris disorganized the territories of that city, leaving a large «empty space» in the region. That is what most probably explains the fortune of territorial expansion by Sybaris and Metapontus. It seems that these two cities needed the annihilation of Siris to expand their own territory, which leads to the conclusion that such expansion could be made in two different ways in a colonial context: either by annexing the land previously occupied by native population and, in this case, an imprecise border could only facilitate this expropriation; or, on the other hand, by appropriation of the land under direct or indirect control of another Greek colony. It is in this second possibility that the concept of a defined borderline between two cities has its complete signification: the expansion of a city happens only at the expense of another and going past a certain established limit, a frontier well defined, even in the absence of landmarks, leads to a conflict with the attacked city.

For our study, the site of Cozzo Presepe (#12) is of capital importance (cf. Morel, 1987, with previous bibliography). This site is one of the best known Greek fortification in Magna Graecia and it is situated by the Bradano's banks, where an Indigenous site existed during all 7th century. By the end of the century the site is suddenly abandoned and the Greek fortification is constructed some time later, at the beginning of 6th century. In the northern direction and along the Bradano River, Cozzo Presepe seems to indicate the maximum extent under direct control of Metapontus². Placed on the summit of a terrace, it could control and protect a vast area on the cultivated plain as well as Bradano's riverbanks, which constituted an important fluvial route connecting the Ionian Sea to the hinterland. The fact of being a fortification is very symptomatic about the type of relation between Greeks and Indigenous peoples: potential conflict and demonstration of the Greek military power dominated the contacts between these two populations.

The opposition between the fortification of Cozzo Presepe and the sanctuaries of Tavole Palatine, San Biagio, and Tinchì seems to indicate a very different treatment of two different sorts of frontier, against indigenous populations and against other Greek colonies. If a sanctuary, that could have the function of intimidation and discouragement to the Tarantine expansion, signaled the border between Metapontus and Taranto, Cozzo Presepe was a fortification whose goal was to show Greek military power against the native population. In the relationship with

2. On the basis of archaeological evidence found in the necropolis of Ginosa, DE SIENA, 2000, p. 765 proposes to see an occupation by the Metapontines beyond the Bradano river. Even if an actual occupation did exist beyond the Bradano, this river could still have the function of representing the frontier between Metapontus and Taranto in the minds of Ancient Greeks.

the natives of that region, only military force seems to ensure the limits of direct Greek control over the land.

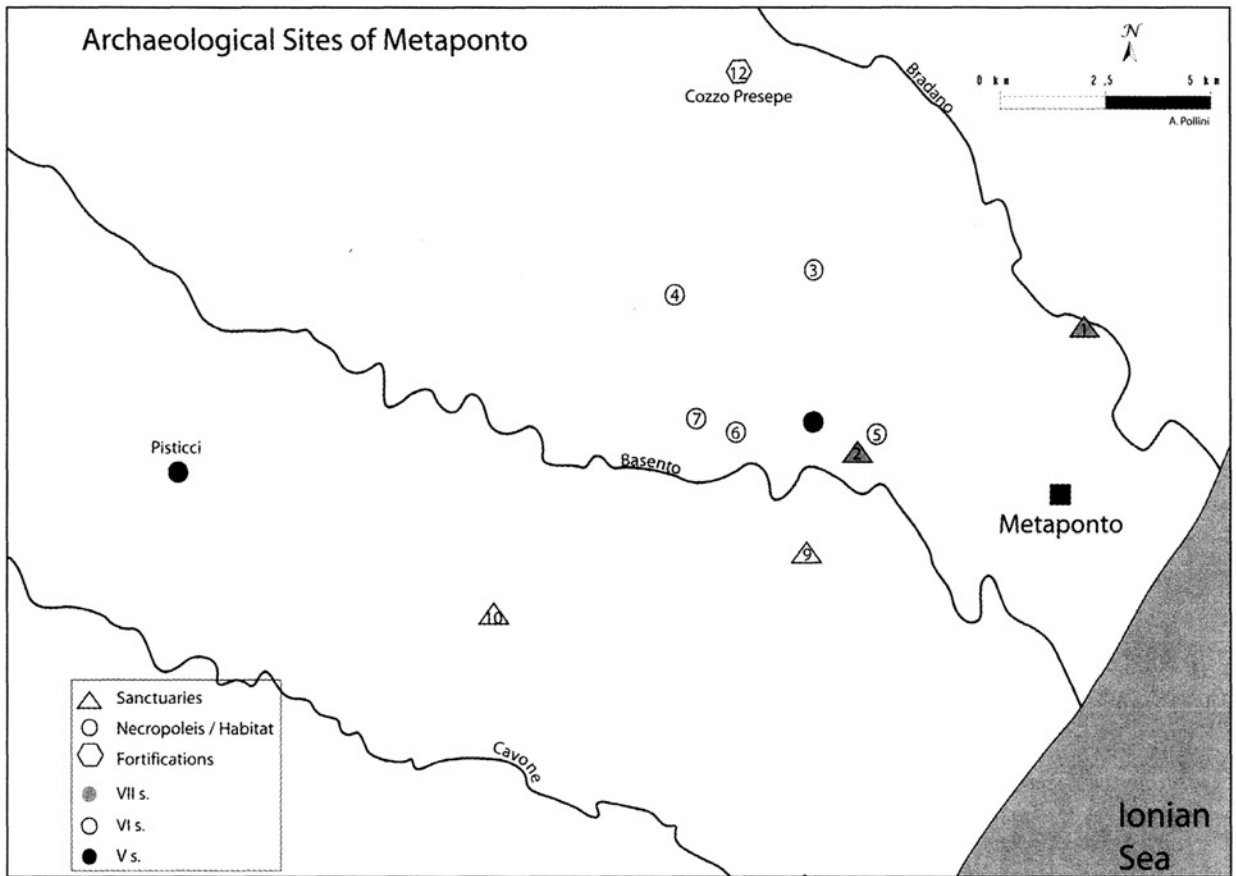
A second hypothesis may be raised by the example of Cozzo Presepe. At the establishment of a new colony, the natives are intimidated and forced back into the hinterland by the arrival of the Greeks. The destruction of the Indigenous centers at Cozzo Presepe and at Incoronata serves to demonstrate the Greek command over the land, with the consequent retreat of those populations into the interior. During Metapontine territorial expansion in the 6th century, after roughly one hundred years of Greek presence, conflict relations led to the construction of a fortification, symbol of the possibility of battles. Conscious of the risks of anachronism, we can compare that situation to several examples of colonial experience in Modern Age. Repressive attitude against natives ought to be stronger in a second time, when colonized peoples, after the first aggressive shock, start to demonstrate signs of stronger resistance. It is our hypothesis to see the construction of Cozzo Presepe's fortification under the same angle, that of an intensification of the repressive attitude against Indigenous populations.

Cozzo Presepe shows the limits of Greek occupation opposed to Indigenous peoples and, using the concept of the *Frontier History*, we can assume that frontier to be a zone of contact opposing two populations; nevertheless, a rather conflictual relation characterized that contact. On the other hand, the absence of such a definition in literary evidence is not casual. Above all, Greek writers used the Greek point of view that consisted of talking only about the Greek world. However, we propose that in a colonial context such as that of Magna Graecia, one could not completely disregard Indigenous populations, and indeed the most important writers who were interested in Magna Graecia had something to say about Oenotrians, Iapyges, Leucani, Brettii and so forth. What should be noticed, though, is the choice between what to say or not and how to say it. Concerning the frontier, writers could be very precise as long as they were talking about two Greek cities; a rather vague and imprecise narrative was used when related to the Indigenous.

Back to the mute cicadas, the simple fact that this story was recopied from 4th century BC up to 9th century AD proves, however untruthful the story might be, that Greeks gave particular importance to boundaries between two colonial *poleis*. The lack of such references concerning Indigenous territories implies different perceptions of two sorts of frontiers. Archaeology and literary evidence represent two different and parallel sources of knowledge and our main goal was to show the intricate relationship they can have and how an analysis which combine them can contribute to a better understanding of ancient realities.

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