

## The Power of Ancient Stones: Protecting Children in Greek Sicily

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**ABSTRACT** - The paper focuses on the occurrence of Castelluccian (Early Bronze Age) pebble pendants in subadult tombs found in Greek, but also indigenous sites in Sicily from 8<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards. These pebble-shaped pendants are made of various materials, especially alabaster and translucent stones. They are usually unearthed with shells, perhaps to form a single ornament, in close bond with selected people.

The occurrence in archaic infant burials, both in Greek and indigenous contexts, without being documented meanwhile, brings up a challenging issue: we can argue that these items, discovered accidentally in very ancient tombs, were considered to be old and therefore deemed particularly valuable also due to the intrinsic properties of the stones, being shiny and translucent. As a consequence (by drawing inspiration from native women's ancient knowledge?) they were probably conveyed a new meaning and turned into apotropaic amulets in order to protect children from diseases during life, and from perils in afterlife.

Greek Sicily, Gela, Castelluccian *facies*, pebble pendant, necropolis, funerary scenario, premature death

This paper focuses on the occurrence of Castelluccian pebble pendants, that is, those belonging to the Early Bronze Age, in some archaic sub-adult tombs excavated in Greek Sicily<sup>1</sup>. This occurrence, which has been attested in only a small number of infant burials until now (but on-going research could enrich the available data for sure), raises quite a challenging issue about their meaning as exceptional “objects with biography”<sup>2</sup>.

Let me begin by presenting some noteworthy examples of their presence in the archaic necropolis of Gela. Between 2012 and 2013 -- following my publication of the archaic necropolis of Gela<sup>3</sup>, which had been excavated in the early 1900s by Paolo Orsi<sup>4</sup>-- among the numerous ideas and

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<sup>1</sup> I worked at improving this paper during my stay at the Trendall Research Centre, La Trobe University, Melbourne/Australia (January-February 2019), thanks to the La Trobe Trendall Fellowship 2018. I am extremely grateful to Gillian Shepherd, Ian McPhee and Elizabeth Pemberton, who made my ‘Australian’ period absolutely unforgettable, as well as fruitful. Great is also my debt to the Directors and the staff of both the Regional Archaeological Museum of Gela and Syracuse for their constant support.

<sup>2</sup> For the notion of “objects with biography” and their centrality in shaping identity and social order see S. Langdon: *Beyond the Grave: Biographies from Early Greece*. *AJA* 105, 4 (2001) 579-606; J. Whitley: *Objects with Attitude: Biographical Facts and Fallacies in the Study of Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Warrior Graves*. *CArchJ* 12 (2002) 217-232; Ch. Gallou, M. Georgiadis (eds.), *The Past in the Past: the Significance of Memory and Tradition in the Transmission of Culture*, Oxford 2009; A. Reiterman, *Keimelia in Context: Toward an Understanding of the Value of Antiquities in the Past*, in J. Kier, C. Pierer (eds.), *Valuing the Past in the Greco-Roman World*, Boston-Leiden 2014, 146-170.

<sup>3</sup> C. Lambrugo, *Profumi di argilla. Tombe con unguentari corinzi nella necropoli arcaica di Gela*, Roma 2013; following studies are C. Lambrugo, *Reconstructing Early Colonial Identity: Funerary Space in Archaic Gela (Sicily)*, in J.M. Álvarez, T. Nogales, I. Rodà (eds.), *XVIII Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica, XVIIIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Centro y periferia en el mundo clásico, Centre and Periphery in the ancient World*, Proceedings of International Conference (Mérida, May 2013), Mérida 2014, vol. II, 1269-1271; C. Lambrugo, *Dying Young in Archaic Gela (Sicily): From the Analysis of the Cemeteries to the Reconstruction of Early Colonial Identity*, in M. Sánchez Romero, E. Alarcón García, G. Aranda Jiménez (eds.), *Children, Spaces and Identity*, The 2012 Sixth International Conference of Society for the Study of Childhood in the Past (Granada 2012), *Childhood in the Past Monograph Series vol. 4*, Oxford & Philadelphia 2015, 282-293; C. Lambrugo, *Hoping for Continuity. Being born and dying young in Archaic Gela (Sicily): from the analysis of the cemeteries to the reconstruction of cultural identity. With an appendix on religious folklore in nowadays Sicily*, in G. Shepherd (ed.), *South Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean: Cultural Connections*, Proceedings to the International Conference (Melbourne 2012), forthcoming; C. Lambrugo: *Gela: la necropoli arcaica. Il paesaggio funerario, i rituali, la società*. *AION* (forthcoming).

<sup>4</sup> P. Orsi: *Gela. Scavi del 1900-1905*. *MonAL* 17 (1906) 31-268.

reflections derived from the investigation of the burial ground, my attention turned to two unusual-looking, rarely documented stone pendants found in two tombs belonging to sub-adult individuals.

Prior to describing these said tombs, it must be specified that the archaic necropolis of Gela consists of 636 tombs, mostly dating from the second quarter of 7<sup>th</sup> Century to the late 6<sup>th</sup> Century BC. Of these, about 43% belong to newborns, children, and adolescents, that is, 276 tombs among *enchytrismòì*, i.e., burials in monolithic sarcophagi, pits and clay *larnakes*. This figure is substantially consistent with the high infant mortality rate, estimated at around 50% in all the ancient world. In order to contextualize further the ensuing debate, it is equally important to mention that 268 out of 636 unearthened tombs did not display any grave goods. In addition, it is worth highlighting that Gela's funerary scenario seems to suggest a preference for basic burial ceremonies and the assemblage of modest grave goods. Whilst this is known to be a common habit in the Sicilian Greek communities of the archaic period, in Gela it appears to take the tone of a peculiar *mesotes*, i.e., a display of wealth already alien to the Greek mentality, which appears to be even more contained in Gela, almost a celebration of modesty. This is attested by the small number of cremations (slightly over one hundred) and by the scarcity of metal ornaments and valuable *exotica* among the grave goods of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Centuries BC.

Within this framework, especially between the middle of 7<sup>th</sup> and the middle of 6<sup>th</sup> Centuries BC, considerable attention was devoted to conferring a 'formal burial' to a selected group of sub-adult individuals - a sort of *jeunesse dorée*, consisting of very young aristocratic Geloans, upper-class young girls and infants, all of whom were probably descendants of *élite* families. Restricted almost exclusively to them were lavish funerals and precious artefacts, among which metal ornaments and accessories in bronze, silver and gold to be worn on clothes, as well as valuable alabaster unguent jars or imported vases, abundantly laid out in the grave goods assemblage (**Fig. 1**). The funerary visibility reserved to young and very young members of leading families, however, is not an isolated ritual behavior. As outstanding studies conducted by Gillian Shepherd in 2006 and 2007 clearly illustrate<sup>5</sup>, this behavior was concurrently shared by other Greek colonies in Sicily, including Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea, Agrigento and Selinus, each one of them with its own cultural practices. This was a funerary rite clearly associated with a substantial social investment in their descendants by the most prominent *ghene*, each of them competing for leading roles within a society that was in the process of coming-into-being. When faced with the trauma of a tragic premature death, their immediate reaction was to start a process of reconstructing a family identity and memory by arranging sumptuous funerals in commemoration of their loved ones, thus exorcising the fear of their dynasty becoming extinct<sup>6</sup>.

After this brief yet essential introduction, let me proceed to the two tombs preserving the stone pendants that originally captured my attention. Both burials are located in the so-called Borgo necropolis, West of ancient Greek settlement of Gela, and precisely Tomb 77, which was unearthened in the western part of Via Buscemi<sup>7</sup>, and Tomb 99 in the southern part of Via Smecca<sup>8</sup>.

The first tomb (**Fig. 2**) is an *enchytrismòs* in a large *dolium* (a storage vessel) containing two small skeletons, the one a few months old, the other a few years old (quoting from Paolo Orsi). Among the grave goods found inside the *dolium* are a Corinthian *alabastron*, type NC 376, an East-Greek

<sup>5</sup> G. Shepherd, *Dead but not buried? Child disposal in the Greek West*, in E. Herring, I. Lemos, F. Lo Schiavo et Alii (eds.), *Across Frontiers. Etruscans, Greeks, Phoenicians and Cypriots. Studies in honour of David Ridgway and Francesca Romana Serra Ridgway*, London 2006, 311-325; G. Shepherd, *Poor little rich kids? Status and selection in Archaic Western Greece*, in G. Shepherd, S. Crawford (eds.), *Children, Childhood and Society*, Oxford 2007, 93-106.

<sup>6</sup> For these aspects mainly refer to Lambrugo 2015 (n. 3); Lambrugo, *Hoping for Continuity*, forthcoming (n. 3); see also V. Nizzo, "Antenati bambini". *Visibilità e invisibilità dell'infanzia nei sepolcreti dell'Italia tirrenica dalla prima età del Ferro all'Orientalizzante: dalla discriminazione funeraria alla costruzione dell'identità*, in V. Nizzo (a cura di), *Dalla nascita alla morte: antropologia e archeologia a confronto*, Atti dell'Incontro Internazionale di studi in onore di Claude Lévi-Strauss (Roma 2010), Roma, 51-93; G. Shepherd, *Display and the Emergence of Elites in Archaic Sicily*, in H. van Wees, N. Fisher (eds.), *Aristocracy in Antiquity. Redefining Greek and Roman elites*, Wales 2015, 349-379.

<sup>7</sup> Lambrugo 2013 (n. 3) 97-98.

<sup>8</sup> Lambrugo 2013 (n. 3) 167-169.

pomegranate-shaped vase, type Ducat 1966, Grenade I, and the stone pendant discussed here. This is unfortunately no longer available but was sketched by Rosario Carta and described by Orsi as a pendant amulet made from polished hard stone<sup>9</sup>. The ceramic artefacts suggest that the *enchytrismòs* was used twice: it was originally laid in the Early Corinthian Period (chronology of the *alabastron*) and reopened in the decades 590-570 BC (chronology of the pomegranate-shaped vase). We clearly lack the evidence to define which of the two infant burials the stone pendant is to be referred to.

The second tomb - Tomb 99 in Via Smecca - is a rock cut *fossa* belonging to an infant skeleton (I am quoting Orsi again), buried with a Corinthian scale *alabastron*, type NC 379, a local *kalathiskos* and (I am still quoting Orsi since these artefacts are also no longer available) two unwrought stone slabs of peculiar form, i.e. one with both sides presenting a concave-cylindrical shape and the second one with a truncated conic shape<sup>10</sup>. This tomb, based on the *alabastron*, dates to Transitional Period.

Orsi's intuition<sup>11</sup> and a footnote by Rosa Maria Albanese Procelli<sup>12</sup> set me on the right course. The two pendants are indeed identical to the pebble-shaped pendants uncovered in the burial grounds of the Castelluccian *facies*. This coincides with the culture that developed in Sicily in the Early Bronze Age and dates to between the last two centuries of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC and the transition to the Middle Bronze Age, around 1600 BC, based on the most recent calibrated dates<sup>13</sup>.

Until a few years ago there was only one study on Castelluccian stone beads and pendants (I am referring to the study by Ornella Adamo back in 1989<sup>14</sup>). Today, with the contribution of a lithic analysis expert, Ilaria Matarese's recent research (a 2014 PhD thesis) has produced an extensive *dossier*<sup>15</sup> providing us with a systematic typology of the stone pendants (disc-shaped, flattened globular, biconical, oval, rectangular, sub-rectangular and axe-shaped) and recurrent lithic materials of which they are made (**Fig. 3**).

According to the aforementioned research, the pendants appear to be made mostly of common soft stones<sup>16</sup> -- sedimentary siliceous, sandstone and limestone rocks, not translucent or polished -- the most prominent being the so-called "*pseudolimonite*" or "*limonite*", which term had already been used by Orsi to identify a ferruginous rock with yellow and red tones<sup>17</sup>. This first category of stone pendants, which is deemed to be more extensive and generally of a poorer quality, is complemented by pendants made with precious soft stones which are mainly alabaster and steatite, both translucent or polished. But there are also sophisticated, masterfully hand-made pendants featuring translucent or polished hard stones, namely basalt, jasper and quartz. It is worth underlining that the provenance of most stone types seems to be from within Sicily, and mainly constituted from local stone materials. This is consistent with the general impression of a closed Castelluccian economy based on an agro-pastoral, eneolithic type, one in which chipped stone artefacts still played a dominant role (flint blades are commonly found at this time), while the presence of metal is still scant<sup>18</sup>.

It can be assumed that the occasional presence of a hole on both ends of the plaques and pebbles meant the lithic materials were not only conceived of as pendants but were also worn as bracelets. For reasons of time, I am not going to take into consideration in this paper the category of

<sup>9</sup> Orsi (n. 4) 59, fig. 33.

<sup>10</sup> Orsi (n. 4) 70.

<sup>11</sup> P. Orsi: Siracusa – Gli scavi nella necropoli del Fusco a Siracusa nel giugno, novembre e dicembre del 1893. NSA (1895) 126, n. 2; Orsi (n. 4) 59.

<sup>12</sup> L. Bernabò Brea, R.M. Albanese Procelli: Calascibetta (Enna) – La necropoli di Cozzo S. Giuseppe in Contrada Realmese. NSA (1982) 621.

<sup>13</sup> See I. Matarese, A. Crispino, R. Jung, M.C. Martinelli, P. Pallante, M. Pacciarelli: Vaghi e pendenti litici dell'età del bronzo dalla Sicilia e dalle Eolie. *Archeologia Austriaca* 99 (2015) 136.

<sup>14</sup> O. Adamo: Pendagli e amuleti della *facies* di Castelluccio in Sicilia. ASSO LXXXV (1989) 7-68.

<sup>15</sup> Matarese *et Alii* (n. 13); I. Matarese, P. Pallante, *Vaghi e pendenti in alabastro da contesti dell'età del bronzo italiana: tipi e luoghi di approvvigionamento*, in N. Negrone Catacchio (a cura di), *Preistoria e Protostoria in Etruria. Ornarsi per comunicare con gli uomini e con gli Dei. Gli oggetti di ornamento come status symbol, amuleti, richiesta di protezione. Ricerche e scavi*, Atti del Dodicesimo Incontro di Studi, Milano 2016, 251-254.

<sup>16</sup> Mineral hardness is determined on Mohs scale.

<sup>17</sup> Concerning "*limonite*" and "*pseudolimonite*", see Adamo (n. 14) 15.

<sup>18</sup> Matarese *et Alii* (n. 13) 145.

pebbles or plaques made of the same stone but without any holes or traces of stone perforation nor even any other system of hanging. It is indeed highly likely that these artefacts, recurrent in the Castelluccian age, share the same purpose as the previous ones, but were carried and displayed in a different manner, presumably inside sacks or net bags, rather than being worn around the neck or on the arm<sup>19</sup>. Furthermore, it is worth stressing how the stone pendants unearthed in Castelluccian tombs are frequently associated with shells<sup>20</sup>, perhaps forming a single necklace, as in Tomb 12 of the necropolis of Melilli<sup>21</sup>.

Despite the obvious lack of explicit literary sources on the customs of Sicily's prehistoric peoples, we have strong reasons to believe in the apotropaic nature of these stone pendants. They may have been held in high esteem for their magical powers because of some uncanny and curious properties, such as the capacity of making strange sound if shaken, of attracting straw, hay and bits of paper, or even of emitting a special odor when rubbed<sup>22</sup>.

According to many scholars, the therapeutic usage of stones can be traced back to a long-lasting tradition ranging from Antiquity to the Renaissance, which attributes healing properties to individual stones organized in an analogical system based on the principles of sympathetic magic<sup>23</sup>. We need only mention the frequent connection between stones - typically their colour - and specific parts of the human body and mood. For example, the bubble-like appearance of dark red stones, which resemble coagulated blood, consisting mainly of iron, such as aetites, limonite, hematite and magnetite, were traditionally considered to be powerful talismans for safe childbirth (aetites) and for love-magic (magnetite and hematite)<sup>24</sup>.

As to the brilliance and translucence of the stones, in the presence of jasper, quartz and alabaster, we could with due caution refer to what Giuman wrote about the power of specific unusual-looking or shiny amulets to keep the evil eye of the *baskanos* away, thus blocking or interrupting the visual contact between the curser and the victim<sup>25</sup>. It is also worth highlighting that in many ancient cultures shiny and brilliant objects were believed to possess special generative power and fertilizing energy, as translucence and brilliance were considered to be qualities imbued with a sacredness<sup>26</sup>. In addition, we have to mention that axe-shaped pendants (as well as other cutting small objects) are usually attributed powerful apotropaic qualities in rites of passage, both from adolescence to adulthood and from life to death<sup>27</sup>.

That said, it is still not easy to ascertain, considering the collective nature of the *grotticella* inhumations in the Castelluccian *facies*, whether or not all these pendant amulets were most commonly recovered in tombs of sub-adult individuals.

To return to Greek Sicily, it should be pointed out that, along with stone axe-shaped and pebble pendants, with or without a hanging hole, eye-shaped, miniature bronze double-axes also continued to be in use from the Late Bronze Age throughout the Early Iron Age and into the archaic period<sup>28</sup>. Matarese's research offered a significant contribution to a better understanding of how

<sup>19</sup> Adamo (n. 14) 7.

<sup>20</sup> Adamo (n. 14) 10.

<sup>21</sup> P. Orsi: La necropoli sicula di Melilli (Siracusa). *Bollettino di paleontologia italiana* XVII, 5-7 (1891) 64-69.

<sup>22</sup> An interesting example of sensory analysis carried out on some carved stone balls is in G. MacGregor: Making Sense of the Past in the Present: A Sensory Analysis of Carved Stone Balls. *World Archaeology* 31, 2 (1999), 258-271.

<sup>23</sup> V. Dasen, *Le sourire d'Omphale. Maternité et petite enfance dans l'Antiquité*, Rennes 2015, chapter I; see also Ch. A. Faraone, *The Transformation of Greek Amulets in Roman Imperial Times*, Philadelphia-Pennsylvania 2018, 89-100.

<sup>24</sup> Dasen (n. 23) 34-41, 45-46; Faraone (n. 23) 92-93, 94-97; see also V. Dasen, A.M. Nagy, *Gems*, in D. Frankfurter (ed.), *Guide to the Study of Ancient Magic*, Leiden-Boston 2019, 410-411.

<sup>25</sup> M. Giuman, *Archeologia dello sguardo. Fascinazione e baskania nel mondo classico*, Roma 2013, 116 ss.

<sup>26</sup> N.J. Saunders: Pearls, Transformations of Matter and Being, c. AD 1492. *World Archaeology* 31, 2 (1999), 243-257.

<sup>27</sup> Orsi (n. 21) 67 and n. 1; see also C. Dubois, *Des objets pour les bbs? Le dpt de mobilier dans les spultures d'enfants en bas ge du monde grec archaque et classique*, in A. Hermary, C. Dubois (ds.), *L'enfant et la mort dans l'Antiquit*, vol. III, *Le matriel associ aux tombes d'enfants*, Actes de la table ronde internationale (Aix-en-Provence 2011), Aix-en-Provence 2012, 339-340; Reiterman (n. 2), 153.

<sup>28</sup> R.M. Albanese Procelli, *Sicani, Siculi, Elimi. Forme di identit, modi di contatto e processi di trasformazione*, Milano 2003, 143-144; R.M. Albanese Procelli, *Pratiche religiose in Sicilia tra protostoria e arcaismo*, in P. Anello, G.

Castellucian pebble pendants did not completely disappear in the early phase of the Middle Bronze Age. Indeed, they were found in tombs of the subsequent Thapsos phase (dated to between 15<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> Centuries BC based on Mycenaean imports), albeit in smaller quantities due to the increased concentration of ornaments (which now appear to be more elaborate and made of glass and amber) in the hands of a restricted *élite*<sup>29</sup>. I myself noticed some examples among the tombs belonging to the Thapsos *facies* on display at the Archaeological Museum in Syracuse (autumn 2018)<sup>30</sup>.

Equally rare are finds of pebble pendants in the Pantalica *facies*. From chamber Tomb 133 of the NW necropolis of Pantalica - published by Orsi in 1899 - is (quoting from the excavator) «*un ciottoletto piatto ellittico di pietra schisto-ferruginosa (l. mm. 58) con due tentativi di pertugio all'apice, un pendaglio-talismano*» - says Orsi - «*nuovo, anzi unico per questa età, ma tanto frequente nella precedente, che non occorrono citazioni*»<sup>31</sup>. Another pendant, also uncovered in Pantalica, would be later on mentioned by Orsi in “Monumenti Antichi” 1912<sup>32</sup>. A final one comes from Tomb 241 of the South necropolis of Pantalica, on display at said Museum in Syracuse<sup>33</sup>. On the other hand, some axe-shaped and pebble pendants, with or without a hanging hole, such as the one unearthed in the necropolis of Cozzo S. Giuseppe in Contrada Realmese, in Calascibetta (Enna), date back to the turn of the 2nd and 1st millennium BC<sup>34</sup>.

Notwithstanding the abundance of stone pendants in Castelluccian contexts and their later persistence in much more uncommon examples of tombs dating to the Middle and Late Bronze Age until the Early Iron Age, however, what is worth mentioning here is that such stone amulets reappear within some archaic tombs in Greek Sicily. This brings us back to the two infant tombs in Gela that originally captured my attention.

Convincing comparisons to the Fusco necropolis in Syracuse can be offered. Among these, Tomb 175bis (**Fig. 4**)<sup>35</sup> is an *ossilegium* with an adolescent's skeleton (quoting from Orsi) pushed aside to make room for a later deposition inside the same rock-cut *fossa* for another deceased female infant, dating to the second quarter or to the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> Century BC, based on the rich ceramic grave goods. These included, among other things, Protocorinthian drinking vessels and a valuable grey bucchero *aryballos*. But particularly worth mentioning is a stone pendant (h cm 1,8 ca.) which resembles a Castellucian type (see Fig. 3). It is laid out with other precious ornaments, namely an iron *fibula* with ivory and amber beads, about forty faïence beads, and a heart-shaped pendant, perhaps made of bone or ivory. Still interesting from our point of view, but unfortunately no longer available (and therefore we are not able to verify whether it deals with a Castelluccian amulet or not), is a globular rock crystal bead from Fusco, Tomb 338, belonging to an adolescent<sup>36</sup>.

Another striking comparison comes from the North necropolis of Megara Hyblaea, where a jadeite axe-shaped pendant, probably belonging to an inhumation in a lithic *fossa*, was uncovered in 1951 (**Fig. 5, n° 4**)<sup>37</sup>.

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Martorana, R. Sammartano (a cura di), *Ethne e religioni nella Sicilia antica*, Atti del convegno (Palermo 2000), Roma 2006, 53. To give some examples of tombs with eye-shaped miniature bronze double-axes see F.S. Cavallari, P. Orsi, *Megara Hyblaea. Storia, topografia, necropoli e anathemata*, MonAL 1, part I (1890), Tomb CLVI, 860; H. Duda, M. Gras (éds.), *Megara Hyblaea 6. La nécropole méridionale de la cité archaïque*, 1. *Les données funéraires*, Rome 2018, Settore Cimiteria, Tomb Z 81, 110-111.

<sup>29</sup> Matarese *et Alii* (n. 13) 138, 146.

<sup>30</sup> Thapsos, Tomb 29, stone axe-shaped pendant, inv. n. 14721; Milocca necropolis, two stone amulets, inv. nn. 18714-15.

<sup>31</sup> P. Orsi: Pantalica. MonAL IX (1899) 66, fig. 20.

<sup>32</sup> P. Orsi: La necropoli sicula di Pantalica. MonAL XXI (1912) tav. VII, 43.

<sup>33</sup> Axe-shaped amulet, inv. n. 23665.

<sup>34</sup> Bernabò Brea, Albanese Procelli (n. 12) 620-621 (T. B10, No. 6; T. E48, No. 2; T. G5, No. 3).

<sup>35</sup> Orsi (n. 11) 126; H. Hencken: Syracuse, Etruria and the North: Some Comparisons. AJA 62 (1958) 260, plate 58.

<sup>36</sup> Orsi (n. 11) 151-152.

<sup>37</sup> G.V. Gentili: Megara Hyblaea – Scoperta di nuove tombe arcaiche della necropoli meridionale. NSA (1954) 90, fig. 10. I was not able to see the amulet in autumn 2018, because unfortunately not available.

The publication, between 2017 and 2018, of the archaic South necropolis of Megara Hyblaea provides us with other significant data<sup>38</sup>. There appear to be at least three burials containing stone pendant amulets which might belong to Castelluccian age, at least judging from shape and lithic materials of which they are made.

Here is a brief overview of the three tombs: the first is Tomb Z 20 (Settore Cimiteria), dated between the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> Century and the second quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> Century BC (**Fig. 6, n° 6**). It is an *enchytrismòs* of a 6-7 year-old child, inhumated in a Corinthian *pithos* of local production, whose handles are impressed with multiple circles, reminiscent of the Sikel taste of central-eastern Sicily. Apart from three ceramic vases (one Protocorinthian *skyphos*, one globular *lekythos* of unknown type, one flat-bottomed *oinochoe*), a matched set of ornaments belonging to a bronze indigenous parure<sup>39</sup> suggest «un lien fort de la famille de cet enfant avec le monde indigène»<sup>40</sup>. Within this framework, one engraved disc-shaped jet pendant is outstanding. Although engraved decoration is not so common among the Castelluccian stone pendants, jet is reported to be a powerful medium for different reasons: it has electrostatic properties that enable it to attract hay and small pieces of paper, and gives off an unpleasant smell when rubbed. Greek lapidaries prescribe jet to drive off snakes and other venomous animals and to cure demoniacs<sup>41</sup>.

The second burial is Tomb Z 42 (Settore Cimiteria)<sup>42</sup>, which is one of Megara's very common multiple inhumations in monolithic sarcophagus. This tomb contained three adults (one man of about 25 years and maybe two women) and two infants, aged 2-3 years and 4-5 years respectively. The grave goods found here included one Corinthian *alabastron* - which dates at least one of the numerous phases of tomb use to the late 7<sup>th</sup>, early 6<sup>th</sup> Century BC - a rich parure with bronze pins and bronze and silver rings, as well as one pendant-amulet in soft stone (**Fig. 7, n° 12**). More doubtful is a small cylindrical pendant in shiny black stone (jet?), unearthed in Tomb P 21 (Settore Pontile), possibly an infant double burial in clay box<sup>43</sup>. The grave goods uncovered in this latter tomb are also rich in both ceramics (among the finds is one cup of Euboic-Cycladic type, one rhodian *aryballos*, one Protocorinthian conical *oinochoe*) and especially bronze and silver ornaments and accessories to wear on clothes, as well as one amber scaraboid. Based on the ceramic grave goods, the editors suggest the presence of two subsequent burials, the former dating to the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> Century BC, the latter to the third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> Century BC.

Finally, excavated from an indigenous context dating to the 6<sup>th</sup> Century BC is Tomb 164 (**Fig. 8**), an extremely rich burial from Monte San Mauro di Caltagirone<sup>44</sup>. This tomb belonged to a young woman who was certainly a member of an aristocratic group. After dying around 570 BC, possibly prior to marriage, she was buried in a prestigious rock cut chamber, which features an extraordinary display of wealth, especially evident in the magnificent set of imported unguent jars. The tomb also preserved an oval-shaped stone pendant, without a hanging hole, but provided with incisions on the outer surface, which resembles similar Castelluccian amulets<sup>45</sup> (see Fig. 3).

Based on the evidence gathered, these tombs seem to share the following elements: a high chronology ascribed to the earliest colonial generations (this is the case for the abovementioned tombs from Gela, Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea); and their belonging to sub-adult individuals of an élite ruling class, as attested by the presence of rich ceramic and metal grave goods, often supplemented with exotic items (i.e., the amber scaraboid from Tomb 21 Settore Pontile).

<sup>38</sup> Duday, Gras (n. 28); R.-M. Bérard, *Mégara Hyblaea 6. La nécropole méridionale de la cité archaïque. 2. Archéologie et histoire sociale des rituels funéraires*, Rome 2017.

<sup>39</sup> Duday, Gras (n. 28) 29-31.

<sup>40</sup> Bérard (n. 38) 109.

<sup>41</sup> Faraone (n. 23) 91.

<sup>42</sup> Duday, Gras (n. 28) 49-55.

<sup>43</sup> Duday, Gras (n. 28) 44-46.

<sup>44</sup> M. Frasca: Monte San Mauro di Caltagirone. Quattro tombe di un nucleo aristocratico nel VI secolo a.C. BA 117 (2001) 6-16.

<sup>45</sup> Matarese *et Alii* (n. 13) 129, fig. 12A.

If, on the one hand, the common occurrence in said tombs of parures and clothing accessories of indigenous tradition does not necessarily imply that the buried infants had been born to indigenous mothers, on the other hand it does contribute to depicting a society in which the early colonial generations were characterized by episodes of Greek-indigenous cohabitation and forms of cultural and biological blending<sup>46</sup>. Moreover, if we consider that the way of clothing, feeding, protecting and taking care of the offspring is one of the most traditional forms of cultural identity, we should not underestimate the role played both by the bronze ornaments typical of rich indigenous parures in preserving the local clothing habits of mothers and children<sup>47</sup>, and by the very ancient Castelluccian pebble pendants in adopting kourotrophic practices of indigenous tradition.

Moreover, according to recent studies carried out by Massimo Cultraro and Anita Crispino<sup>48</sup>, beginning from the final stages of the Bronze Age, some prominent women of indigenous Sikel origin started to take increasingly leading roles in their community, and not only within their own families. They were key in forging strategic marriage alliances between different ethnic groups and in transferring dowries. They were also known for their magico-medical knowledge and for being employed in highly specialized jobs. In addition, the kourotrophic ‘specialization’ of indigenous Sicily has been convincingly proven by Giulia Pedrucci in her essay *L’isola delle ‘matri’*<sup>49</sup>. The author focuses her attention on the existence in Sicily of a significant number of local rites addressed to kourotrophic gods and on the abundance, in Sicily alone, of *kourophoroi* and *kourotrophoi* clay figurines.

Within this framework, it is of the utmost importance what Stéphane Verger points out by analyzing the metal deposits from layer 5 in the *Thesmophorion* of Bitalemi at Gela: between the last third of the 7<sup>th</sup> Century and the third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> Century BC, Geloan women would have been collecting various bronze and iron ornaments which came, both intact and broken into pieces, to be recycled, from the Balkans and the remote Languedoc. Being considered powerful *exotica* and originally belonging to prominent women in those very far-apart-countries, the ornaments probably conveyed a new meaning and were turned into apotropaic amulets for the protection of pregnant women and children, or into charms for devotional and magical practices to ward off premature death<sup>50</sup>. The same process could be applied to the Castelluccian pebble pendants (some of them are also attested in the *Thesmophorion* of Bitalemi<sup>51</sup>) which came as well from very far-apart-locations, not from a geographical, but from a chronological point of view.

<sup>46</sup> For the rather controversial topic of mixed marriage, see Lambrugo 2013 (n. 3), 396-398; Bérard (n. 38), 57-78, and related bibliography.

<sup>47</sup> As claimed several times in Albanese Procelli, *Sicani, Siculi, Elimi* (n. 28) 143-145; R.M. Albanese Procelli, *Presenze indigene in contesti coloniali: sul problema degli indicatori archeologici*, in H. Tréziny (éd.), *Grecs et Indigènes de la Catalogne à la mer Noire*, Actes des rencontres du programme européen Ramses (2006-2008), Paris 2010, 503-505; see also R.-M. Bérard: Le métal et la parure: identité ethnique et identité de genre dans les nécropoles de Grande Grèce et de Sicile. *DHA Suppl.* 10 (2014) 145-169.

<sup>48</sup> A. Crispino, M. Cultraro, *Il dolio e il fuso. Per una ricostruzione del ruolo e della sfera di azione della donna nella Sicilia orientale alle soglie della colonizzazione greca*, in R. Berg (ed.), *The Material Side of Marriage. Women and Domestic Economies in Antiquity*, Rome 2016, 69-80; A. Crispino, M. Cultraro, *Ambivalenze materne: rappresentazioni e costruzioni dell’identità femminile nella Sicilia protostorica*, in G. Pedrucci, F. Pache Guignard, M. Scapini (a cura di), *Maternità e Politeismi, Motherhood(s) and Polytheisms*, Bologna 2017, 517-534.

<sup>49</sup> G. Pedrucci, *L’isola delle ‘matri’*, Roma 2013.

<sup>50</sup> S. Verger, *Dévotions féminines et bronze de l’extrême nord dans le thesmophorion de Géla*, in F. Quantin (éd.), *Archéologie des religions antiques. Contributions à l’étude des sanctuaires et de la piété en Méditerranée (Grèce, Italie, Sicile, Espagne)*, Pau 2011, 15-76; S. Verger, L. Pernet (éds.), *Une Odyssée gauloise. Parures des femmes à l’origine des premiers échanges entre Grèce et la Gaule*, Arles 2013. For women’s special ability in making complex amuletic ornaments, also integrating ancient *keimelia*, see S. Verger, *Manipulation des objets et recomposition du passé dans les sociétés de l’âge du fer*, in R. Golosetti (éd.), *Mémoire(s) de l’âge du fer – Affacer ou réécrire le passé*, ..... 2019??, 274-282. It is also worth mentioning the extraordinary necklace with bronze pendants of different provenance and cosmological meaning from Tomb 660 at Megara Hyblaea; Verger believes that the necklace bears testimony to the special magico-medical powers of the deceased woman, buried in said tomb: S. Verger: Sotto la protezione delle Eliadi. La collana della tomba 660 di Megara Iblea. *Medicina nei secoli* 23/1 (2011) 151-172.

<sup>51</sup> *Odyssée gauloise* (n. 50) 254.

But there is a last issue to be tackled: how could women in Gela, Syracuse or Megara Hyblaea get hold of these ancient stone pendants? Pebble-shaped pendants and stone hatchets might as well have been the result of accidental discoveries as a consequence of archaic tombs overlapping prehistoric burials. Such is the case with Gela, where, back in the spring of 1900, while digging the archaic Borgo necropolis, Orsi uncovered some Castelluccian tombs with multiple inhumations containing numerous stone pendants<sup>52</sup>. But it might also have happened that the powerful talismans had passed down over different generations that were, however, unlikely to be related in direct line of descent all the way back to the Early Bronze Age.

In this case, according to the definition given by Whitley<sup>53</sup>, these pendants would be considered not so much *keimelia*, but rather objects “with their own biography”, credited with prophylactic properties and imbued with powerful symbolism, having been perceived as very old and therefore deemed particularly valuable, also due to the intrinsic properties of the stones, being shiny and translucent. Belief in the magical properties of things from deep antiquity is largely widespread in ancient societies, as well as is the notion that objects having a temporal depth are fitting accompaniments for children, who also embody the past, present and future simultaneously<sup>54</sup>.

In conclusion: the hypothesis of a possible transmission of the significance and use of Castelluccian stone pendant amulets and of their magico-medical powers both to Sikel mothers and women born and having grown up in the multicultural society of early Greek colonization, characterized by strongly hybrid cultural practices, is far from unlikely. The Castelluccian pebble pendants, buried with infants, come to the “end” of their long-lasting biography: while the object also “dies”, its being valued pays homage to the child and protects it from perils in its afterlife. In addition, the connection with the past and the control of the cultural imagination linked to previous eras might have played a significant role as means both to construct the family memory on the occasion of lavish funerals and to get and maintain power by *élites* groups<sup>55</sup>.

## Captions

Fig. 1. Gela, archaic Borgo necropolis, Tomb 476: an *enchytrismòs* belonging to a newborn, buried with imported unguent vases and a rich bronze parure; Late Protocorinthian Period. From Lambrugo 2013 (n. 3) fig. 97.

Fig. 2. Gela, archaic Borgo necropolis, Tomb 77, Via Buscemi. From Lambrugo 2013 (n. 3) figg 27, 29.

Fig. 3. Some Castelluccian pebble pendants as amulets from: (left) Monte Sallia necropolis (Ragusa) Tomb 9, except for n. 1 which is a decorated bone sword pommel, imported from Mycenaean Greece; (right) Castelluccio village’s dumps. Syracuse, Archaeological Museum. (Author’s photograph. Polo Regionale di Siracusa per i siti e i musei archeologici – Museo Archeologico Regionale “Paolo Orsi” di Siracusa; su concessione dell’Assessorato ai Beni Culturali e dell’Identità Siciliana – Palermo).

Fig. 4. Syracuse, Fusco necropolis, Tomb 175bis. Syracuse, Archaeological Museum. (Museum’s courtesy. Polo Regionale di Siracusa per i siti e i musei archeologici – Museo Archeologico Regionale “Paolo Orsi” di Siracusa; su concessione dell’Assessorato ai Beni Culturali e dell’Identità Siciliana – Palermo).

<sup>52</sup> P. Orsi: I Siculi della regione gelese. Bollettino di Paleontologia Italiana XXVII (1901) nn. 7-9, 154-157, fig. 2.

<sup>53</sup> Whitley (n. 2).

<sup>54</sup> Reiterman (n. 2), 166.

<sup>55</sup> I. Bossolino, *Keimelia e valore della memoria a Kamiros in epoca geometrica*, in M. Cipriani, A. Pontrandolfo, M. Scafuro (a cura di), *Dialoghi sull’archeologia della Magna Grecia e del Mediterraneo*, Atti del II Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Paestum 2017), Paestum 2017, 154, 156 with bibliography.

Fig. 5. Megara Hyblaea, North necropolis, jadeite axe-shaped pendant from Tomb D (n. 4). From Gentili (n. 37) 88, fig. 10.

Fig. 6. Megara Hyblaea, South necropolis, Settore Cimiteria, Tomb Z 20. From Duda, Gras (n. 28).

Fig. 7. Megara Hyblaea, South necropolis, Settore Cimiteria, Tomb Z 42. From Duda, Gras (n. 28).

Fig. 8. Monte San Mauro di Caltagirone, Tomb 164; part of the extremely rich grave assemblage; stone pendant in the middle. From Frasca (n. 44), 8, fig. 19.

