



The Greeks and Sardinia at The Dawn of the 6th Century BC. Chronology and Rites of the Necropolis of Sulky: Tomb 1 in Belvedere street

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In memoriam Glenn E. Markoe
(NY City 1951, Kenwood 2012)

At the beginning of the 1980s, after a number of field experiences in Sardinia at the archaeological sites of Bithia, Monte Sirai and Sulky, I suggested a chronological seriation¹ based mainly on the combination of Phoenician and Punic and Greek pottery, especially of Euboic,² Corinthian³ and Attic origin,⁴ according to the respective chronologies proposed in the indicated period. At a later time, I suggested reconsidering this Phoenician and Punic chronology of Sardinia, basing this assumption on the historical events that involved Sardinia during the 6th century BC. In fact, between approximately 600 BC and 510 BC, the waters around Sardinia were the scene of decisive events for the history of the Mediterranean. Actually, during this period sources report events whose protagonists were the Phocaeans,⁵ the Carthaginians and the Caeretans, such as the foundation of Marseille, the battle of Alalia⁶ and the military campaigns of Malchus and the Magonids, approximately around 540 BC and 510 BC,⁷ respectively, in any case before the treaty between Carthage and Rome in 509 BC.⁸ With regard to the naval battle of Alalia, Jean-Paul Morel formed the interesting hypothesis that it was fought not by Carthaginian crews, but by ships armed by the Punics of Sardinia,⁹ nonetheless, although probable Greek remains appear in the Sulky grave goods, as will be seen later, nothing else actually proves their participation in the conflict, nor that the weapons come from that theatre of war. Moreover, Carthage's interests and the problems

¹ Bartoloni (1981a), 13-31; Bartoloni (1983a), 491-500, Bartoloni (1983b), 47-62.

² AA.VV. (1975); AA.VV. (1978); AA.VV. (1982).

³ Amyx, Lawrence (1975).

⁴ Sparkes, Talcott (1970).

⁵ Morel (2000), 19-36.

⁶ Gras (2000b), 37-46.

⁷ Bondi (1997), 63-66.

⁸ Meloni (1947), 107-13.

⁹ Morel (2006a), 1730.

caused by the Phocaean action were so wide-ranging that their direct participation cannot be excluded.

Actually, sources of Greek-oriental tradition and myths narrate the multiple links between Greek colonization and Sardinia¹⁰ and it is obvious that, in addition to commercial interests, one of the major drivers of the Phocaean migration towards the Mediterranean West was demographic pressure.¹¹ At present, thanks to new interpretations of events and sources, to the results of archaeological investigations and, last but not least, to the data proposed by archaeometry, I believe we can return to the chronological seriation before the turn of the century I originally proposed, i.e. shifting the pottery-based chronology by at least a quarter of a century.

At the same time, to find a historical justification to the possible change of the funeral rite from incineration to inhumation, I suggested to chronologically place this change in conjunction with Malchus and his feat, which I assumed was motivated by Carthage's desire to take possession of Sardinia,¹² thus importing customs already in place in Carthage. In fact, as seems most logical, the military interventions in Sardinia guided by Malchus and, later, by Hasdrubal and Hamilcar are some of the most impressive episodes in the history of the central-western Mediterranean, imagined and planned with a broad and circumstantial 6thsion.¹³ These events must necessarily be seen in close connection with what had pre6thously occurred along the coast of western Sicily, where the Phoenicians' trading activity in Sicily, and in particular in the city of Motya, had been seriously damaged by the feat of Pentathlos of Knidos.¹⁴ In particular, these events were probably also justified by Carthage's need to reopen the Tyrrhenian route and, above all, to remove Sardinia from eastern-Greek influence, in particular the city of Olbia, the settlements of the north-eastern coast and other centres of the Lower East Campidano. These actions currently appear strongly associated with the aggressive attitude of the Phocaean settlers in Alalia, who raged along the eastern coast of Sardinia, as suggested by the well-known passage by Herodotus.¹⁵ In fact, most of these small settlements on the western shore of the Tyrrhenian Sea seem to have features that are more those of trading centres than urban ones,¹⁶ even in the age before the one under examination, as if some circumstances had somehow limited or prevented their development. On the other hand, as pointed out by the late Víctor Guerrero Ayuso, as seems obvious, not even the Valencia and Alicante coasts,¹⁷ as well as the Balearic ones, were free from the often-unwanted attention of the Phocaean pirates, as can be inferred from both shipwrecks and their cargo, which show the intensity and origin of the commercial trade.¹⁸

A concrete example of the conflict between the Phoenicians of Sardinia and the eastern Greeks present on the island, caused by the piracy actions carried out by the Phocaean pirates,¹⁹ can be suggested by the events which involved the settlement of Cuccureddus²⁰ near Capo Carbonara, which can perhaps be associated to the site of Santa Maria di Villaputzu, the

¹⁰ Nicosia (1981), 423-26, 435.

¹¹ Gras (1985), 394-408.

¹² Bartoloni (1981a), 28-29; Bondi (1997b), 67-69.

¹³ Moscati (1997), 99.

¹⁴ Moscati (1986), 28-29; Bondi 1997b, 67

¹⁵ Erod. I, 166, 1-2.

¹⁶ Bartoloni (1990b), 157-67; Bartoloni (1996b), 165-75; Sanciu (2010), 1-12.

¹⁷ Almagro-Gorbea, Lorrio Alvarado, Torres Ortiz (2021), 22-30.

¹⁸ Guerrero Ayuso (2010), 131-160.

¹⁹ Morel (2006), 358-428.

²⁰ Bartoloni (1989b), 237-44; Bartoloni (2009a), 18, 23, 40, 47, 67-72, 93, 104-106, 126, 259, 271.

ancient *Sarcapos*.²¹ The events regarding the settlement of Cuccureddus, not agreed upon by some,²² but as recently proposed convincingly by Michele Guirguis,²³ represent one of the most important episodes in the conflicts between Phoenicians and Greeks for the control of landing places and commercial routes of the Tyrrhenian Sea, which ended with the battle of Alalia.²⁴ On the other hand, it is widely shared knowledge that the peaceful and constructive coexistence between the Phoenicians and the Euboic element was a fact, while similar attitudes cannot be counted among the Phoenician element and the cities of Doric and Ionic lineage, as widely attested since 1970 by the late historian Vitaliano Merante.²⁵ Therefore, sharing what has been argued since 1982 by Giovanni Ugas with a propositional formula²⁶ and, later, in 1984 by Ugas himself with Raimondo Zucca,²⁷ I believe that at least in the first half of the 6th century BC the presence of Greek settlers of Ionic lineage in eastern Sardinia was a less imperceptible fact than one might believe. Carlo Tronchetti is of the opposite opinion: in 1996 he excluded the presence of Greek inhabitants on the island after the 7th century BC, while reporting a considerable amount of Greek products.²⁸ David Montanero Vico seems to share this opinion, although he suggests a date shortly after the mid-6th century BC.²⁹

Ignazio Didu, in his careful analysis written in 2003, proposed, albeit doubtfully and very cautiously, a Greek presence in the enclave of Olbia,³⁰ in the north-eastern part of the island. However, also in the light of discoveries made both previously and in more recent times, it seems convincing that this presence occurred between the first decades and the mid-6th century. Numerous clues now confirm this and one cannot dismiss the hypothesis that both the coastal region of Olbia and Ogliastra, as well as the hinterland of the eastern Campidano, may have experienced a strong Greek-oriental influence, to be connected with a material as well as commercial presence.³¹

As a corollary, the analysis related to the presence of Eastern Greeks in the lands facing the Tyrrhenian Sea, who, as confirmed by the investigations carried out by Rubens D’Oriano, not only knew Sardinia very well, but as mentioned previously, had already settled there, with their epicentre in Olbia, in the last quarter of the 7th century BC. It certainly is not a random chronological datum devoid of concrete evidence, since as early as 1981 Francesco Nicosia had perceived a hiatus in Greek testimonies in the island and identified 620 BC as the beginning of a third phase.³² The events in Olbia support this, since, even if only in parts, with its natural port the city controlled and closed the Strait of Bonifacio to the south, a vital passage for the route that led from the Tyrrhenian Sea to the north-eastern basin of the Mediterranean and Marseille. Crossing from the Straits of the Rhone to Olbia presumably took about six days at sea.³³ It should be noted, in fact, that the Phoenician presence in the Tyrrhenian Sea was already considerable, both along the coasts of Sardinia, and on the islands,

²¹ Zucca (1984), 29-46; Zucca (2001), 311-15; Bartoloni (2009a), 69-70, 106, 183; Manunza (2013), 387.

²² Acquaro, Conti (1998), 7-13; Bartoloni (2000d), 125-28.

²³ Guirguis (2019a), 67-97.

²⁴ AA.VV. (2000).

²⁵ Merante (1970), 98-138.

²⁶ Ugas (1982), 463-478.

²⁷ Ugas, Zucca (1984), 58-86.

²⁸ Tronchetti (1996), 565.

²⁹ Montanero Vico (2018), 389-93.

³⁰ Didu (2003), 107-20.

³¹ Ugas, R. Zucca (1984).

³² Nicosia (1981), 462.

³³ Mastino, Zucca (1991), 215.

including the island of Ischia and Giglio,³⁴ and that the main landing points were already occupied by Greeks of Euboic origin, by the Phoenicians and by the Etruscans. Moreover, the same function was carried out to the north by the lagoon port of Alalia, which closed the passage of the Strait of Bonifacio in a tightly controlled grip. This situation is certainly not accidental but can only be part of a well-planned strategy. Some clues definitely cannot herald certainty, but coincidences are too numerous and circumstantial not to take due note of them.³⁵

The eastern Greek influence probably reached as far as Ogliastra and the eastern part of the Medio-Campidano, as suggested by Rubens D’Oriano’s research³⁶ and the further work carried out by Giovanni Ugas.³⁷ Therefore, Malchus’s feats both in Sicily and Sardinia should be considered as part of the problem created by repeated attempts at settlement, partly accomplished, but subsequently crushed,³⁸ made by the eastern Greeks along the coasts of the three large islands of the central Mediterranean.

In this regard, it is worth mentioning that Alberto Ferrero della Marmora, during his stay in Sardinia between 1819 and 1826, the year *Voyage en Sardaigne* was published in Paris, found three Corinthian helmets and some greaves in an underground tomb in Sulky. One of them, together with a greave, was later acquired by the Royal Armory of Turin and the remaining two by the National Archaeological Museum of Cagliari.³⁹ These weapons belong to the defensive equipment of several hoplites, since each soldier, in addition to the helmet, mainly wore his left greave, on the most vulnerable leg. The chronology proposed by the most recent studies places these defensive weapons between 580 and 540 BC.⁴⁰ The helmets, one of which is in an excellent state of preservation, have been correctly attributed: “...to the most authoritative members of a rich and powerful local family...”⁴¹ rather than to Greek mercenaries inserted in the community of Sulky. However, it is unlikely to be personal equipment, but rather *spolia* conquered in the conflict that opposed an eminent personage of Sulky, part of the armies of Malchus or the Magonids, to the Greeks temporarily stationed in Sardinia. In any case, the discovery of defensive weapons of Greek origin datable to the 6th century BC in a Phoenician environment is not to be considered exceptional, given also the Corinthian-style helmets found in the southern sector of the Iberian Peninsula.⁴² Nor should we forget the Corinthian helmet stolen and disappeared in Germany, found together with the fragments of two other specimens⁴³ in a shipwreck along the coast of the island of Giglio,⁴⁴ well known to the Phoenicians, perhaps belonging to a Phocaean ship. Therefore, having ascertained incidentally that in this period eastern Greeks travelled with their ships in the Tyrrhenian Sea, Greek weapons might have been laid as part of triumphal grave goods in the burial of a Sulky “hero”, a reminder of his participation in feats of arms and his value.

³⁴ Bartoloni (1986), 226.

³⁵ D’Oriano (2000), 205-16; D’Oriano (2004a), 37-48; D’Oriano (2005), 58-74; D’Oriano (2008), 9-25; D’Oriano (2010), 10-25; D’Oriano (2011), 171-81; D’Oriano (2021), 323-31. D’Oriano, Oggiano (2005), 169-199.

³⁶ D’Oriano (2004b), 102-103, 107, tav. I.

³⁷ Ugas (1982), 463-78.

³⁸ Moscati (1986), 29.

³⁹ Bartoloni (1988c), 132-38; Botto (2017), 498-504, figg. 494, 500-501.

⁴⁰ Quesada Sanz, García González (2018), 177-88; Graells i Fabregat (2021), 161-89.

⁴¹ Botto (2017), 504.

⁴² Martín Ruiz, García Carretero (2018), 279-93; Quesada Sanz, García González (2018), 117-198.

⁴³ Galasso (2012), 1-2.

⁴⁴ Bartoloni (1986), 219-26.

According to the lucid historical analysis recently presented by Raimondo Secci, which takes up with new and richer documentation what had already been suggested by Giovanni Garbini,⁴⁵ the decisive action of Carthage in the central-western Mediterranean should not be limited to the 6th century BC, but is already evident in the previous period, i.e. since the 8th century BC.⁴⁶ The result of Raimondo Secci's work is certainly not devoid of consequences, because not only does it downsize what I considered the decisive intervention of Carthage in Sardinia, but the chronology of events itself needs to be reassessed, as well as consequently the chronology of Phoenician and Punic pottery, which can be moved forward by at least 25 years. This is certainly supported without a doubt also by the archaeometric analyses recently carried out by Michele Guirguis⁴⁷ and the recent studies on Phoenician and Punic pottery in Sardinia by Rosana Pla Orquin.⁴⁸ The same can be said for the change in funeral rites,⁴⁹ not necessarily sudden, as I suggested in recent decades,⁵⁰ but progressive, as shown by the funerary practices of the necropolis of Monte Sirai⁵¹, and not necessarily linked to the Carthaginian intervention of 540 BC. It is the result of new customs that were gradually established, already started in the early years of the 6th century BC,⁵² as highlighted by the grave goods of the tomb of 6th a Belvedere in Sulky, examined herein.

The contents of a recent contribution by Martín Almagro Gorbea, Alberto José Lorrio Alvarado and Mariano Torres Ortiz,⁵³ if put in relation to the above-mentioned historical events occurred in Sardinia between the middle and the end of the 6th century BC, are illuminating to reconstruct the history of the central-western Mediterranean. In fact, it completes the framework of the consequences related to the Phocaean intervention in the indicated area and the reactions of the people involved by such interferences. The Phocaean political and commercial intervention,⁵⁴ although remarkable in many ways, turns out to be late in an already consolidated historical framework.

A clue in this sense, more relevant than it may appear, is offered to us by the pottery in use in Carthage, Cagliari and Ibiza, also compared to the vase production of the site of Vélez Málaga in the second half of the 6th century BC and the first decades of the following century. In fact, the materials from the necropolis in Cagliari reflect the series of historical events that involved Sardinia from the last years of the 6th century BC onwards.⁵⁵ Symptomatically, as will be noted, in addition to those found in the coeval hypogea of Carthage, in particular in the area of Ard el-Kheraïb⁵⁶ and Douimes⁵⁷ since it is the most documented, for what concerns the end of the 6th century BC, the V century BC and the end of the following one, the fragile forms closest to ours, for the same reasons, are those from the necropolis of Puig des Molins of Ibiza. This confirms the close dependence of the Pityusic islands on Carthage, reflected

⁴⁵ Garbini (1966), 111-47.

⁴⁶ Secci (2019), pp, 181-82.

⁴⁷ Guirguis (2019b), 115-21, figg. 11.2-11.

⁴⁸ Pla Orquin (2021), 53-78.

⁴⁹ López-Bertran (2019), 139-53.

⁵⁰ Bartoloni (1981a), 29.

⁵¹ Guirguis (2010a), 189-94; AA. VV (2015), 1-15.

⁵² Guirguis (2010a), 174-76; Guirguis (2011), 22-26.

⁵³ Almagro-Gorbea, Lorrio Alvarado, Torres Ortiz (2021), 1-48.

⁵⁴ Almagro Gorbea (2015), 417-33.

⁵⁵ Bartoloni, Bondi, Moscati (1997), 70-77, 81.

⁵⁶ Merlin, Drappier (1909), 5-20.

⁵⁷ Delattre (1897b), 169-77.

in a chronology anticipated by more than a century by the Diodorean tradition.⁵⁸ A further and indirect confirmation of this is represented by the materials of the necropolis of Jardin, almost coeval to those mentioned. The vascular forms of this funerary facility are instead the result of an evolutionary process within the Phoenician community of the southern coast of the Iberian Peninsula in symbiosis with the local element,⁵⁹ thus totally distant from the Carthaginian influence.

If one observes the geographical location of the sites mentioned in conjunction with the historical period, it is clear that these sites, Cagliari and Ibiza, were the cornerstones of the Carthaginian reaction to the colonial policy and a sort of “bridgehead” of the military operations that followed. Therefore, the correspondence of ceramic shapes could represent the direct consequence of the Carthaginians’ stay onsite for an extended period. Material evidence of this conflict is described by Joan Ramon Torres on the basis of arrowheads found in the southern bay of the island of Ibiza, especially associated to the town and its immediate surroundings.⁶⁰ The city, especially thanks to archaeological activities, appears to have been founded around 600 BC, thus coinciding with Massalia.

As pointed out by Paolo Bernardini since its first discovery,⁶¹ both for its topographic position and its shape, our hypogeum is among the most ancient ones as to this layout and structure. As a consequence of these considerations, in the light of the investigations carried out in this work, at present we can suggest the years between the end of the first quarter and the first years of the second quarter of the 6th century BC, i.e. between 580 and 570 BC for the chronology of the first use of tomb N. 1 in 6th a Belvedere. It should be noted that the chronology suggested by Paolo Bernardini was between the far end of the 6th and the very first years of the 5th century BC,⁶² based at least in part on the dating of the transport amphorae found in the tomb, thus following what I suggested in the works related to this type of vessels,⁶³ dating I then connected to the intervention of the Magonids Hasdrubal and Hamilcar. Actually, as far as the amphorae present in the hypogeum are concerned, as will be seen, they are not homogeneous, but also chronologically at least partly different from each other, as can be inferred from their respective rims: if the one of amphora N. 1 (Pl. I),⁶⁴ clearly the latest, appears datable to around the mid-6th century BC,⁶⁵ at least two seem to be linked to the type pertaining to the first half of the century⁶⁶ and, therefore, to a period before the one proposed initially. The most damaged specimen⁶⁷ that was perhaps below the others,⁶⁸ transport amphora N. 66 (Pl. LXV),⁶⁹ belongs chronologically to the type in vogue between the first and second quarter of the 6th century BC.⁷⁰ In this regard, it should be noted that in order to avoid further unnecessary repetitions or overlapping data, the individual dual finds will be listed here following the progressive number used in the official inventory of the branch

⁵⁸ Diod. V, 16, 2-3.

⁵⁹ Schubart, Maass-Lindemann (1995), 57-216.

⁶⁰ Ramon (2020), 205-35.

⁶¹ Bernardini (2006), 112.

⁶² †Bernardini (2021) [2013], 389-93.

⁶³ Bartoloni (1988a), 45-47, figg. 8, D2-D3, 9, D4; Bartoloni (1988b), 95-96, 105-106, figg. 6-7.

⁶⁴ Inv. MC 193229; Inv. MSA 10362.

⁶⁵ Bartoloni (1988a), 95-96, fig. 7, d.

⁶⁶ Bartoloni (1988b), 45-46, fig. 8, D2-D3.

⁶⁷ Inv. MC 193293; Inv. MSA 10426.

⁶⁸ Bernardini (2008a), 657, fig. 9, 1.

⁶⁹ Inv. MC 193293; Inv. MSA 10426.

⁷⁰ Bartoloni (1988a), 95, 105, fig. 6, a.

office of the Archaeological Superintendence of Cagliari in Sant'Antioco, which should in theory reflect the order in which the finds were collected from the hypogea. The next commercial amphora,⁷¹ dating to the first years of the 6th century BC, therefore part of the grave goods of one of the first burials in the hypogea, belongs to a type widely distributed in Sardinia, as confirmed by some specimens, cited as examples, found in towns well known for their commercial activity⁷² and in peripheral locations⁷³ apparently distant from possible centres of production.

The traces of the archaic cemetery related to the Phoenician settlement, between the 8th and 6th centuries BC, have now at least temporarily disappeared, as they are completely covered by the current town. However, road works and the renovation of residential buildings over the past years led to the discovery of some pit tombs, containing fragments of burnt human bones and some objects belonging to the accompanying grave goods. A part of the latter, including a so-called mushroom-lipped jug, coming from a lens of burnt earth, is still preserved among the materials of a private collection in Sant'Antioco and is so characteristic that it has allowed not only to attribute the remains to the particular funeral rite of incineration, but also to give a precise chronological collocation to the burial, which, in this specific case, is the second half of the 7th century BC. The tomb in question, no longer visible today, was found in the current centre of Sant'Antioco near Piazza Italia (Figg. 1-2), which houses the so-called Roman spring and, more precisely, in 6th a Perret, a road that starts from the northern corner of the square and that, moving eastwards, reaches the sea. The burial was not more than 120 metres from the ancient coastline and since it probably was not isolated, it was fully aligned with the characteristic topographical location of Phoenician necropolises of coastal settlements, known both in Sardinia and elsewhere and located mainly near the sea.⁷⁴ A further necropolis, with a burial not prior to the second half of the 7th century BC, was found in the north-western part of the ancient settlement of Sulky. The recent discovery of some pits in the southern sector of the Punic necropolis has led to the hypothesis of the presence of an incineration necropolis. However, these pits show no visible traces of combustion either inside or in their immediate vicinity. Moreover, among the isolated materials recovered in the area during earthworks, very few can be ascribed to the Archaic period and none of them can be attributed with certainty to the funerary environment. However, the presence of two distinct archaic funerary facilities would not be a novelty, as confirmed by the case of the settlement of Tharros.⁷⁵

The location of the Phoenician⁷⁶ and Punic⁷⁷ necropolis has been often discussed, even recently, on different occasions and in relation to objects from the funerary facility and preserved in public and private collections. In any case, the sectors of the ancient urban area of Sulky occupied in the course of time by spaces intended for the dead are well known, at least as far as topographical and urbanistic aspects are concerned.⁷⁸ Summarizing the topographical

⁷¹ Inv. MC 193231; Inv. MSA 10364.

⁷² Finocchi (2009), 373-467, figg. 29-34.

⁷³ Marras (1983), 161-162, fig. 3, c-d; Secci (1998), 158, 168, fig. III, 29.

⁷⁴ Pellicer Catalán (1962); Bartoloni (1996a); Aubet, Núñez, Trellisó (2004), 41-62; Tusa (2016); Mazzariol (2021), 93-128.

⁷⁵ Bartoloni (1981a), 25-27; Ferrari (1984), 97-106, fig. 1; Del Vais (2006), 7-41; Del Vais, Fariselli (2012), 261-82.

⁷⁶ Bartoloni (2004), 87-91.

⁷⁷ Bartoloni (1989a), 41-49.

⁷⁸ Bartoloni (1987), 57-73; Bernardini (2005a), 63-80.

situation, in addition to small rural burial areas,⁷⁹ two necropolises were identified where the rite of incineration prevailed. The first and oldest, according to what would seem to result from the material finds, was located near the coast⁸⁰ and, more precisely, in a sector that from the area behind the port reached the first slopes of the hill which rose to the west of the coastline. The chronology would seem to be between 800 and 550 BC. Another funerary installation of Phoenician age, for the moment testified by an incineration monosome tomb, can be dated between the last years of the 7th and the first years of the following century.⁸¹ This funerary facility must be prior to the previous one and was probably created as a consequence of the progressive expansion of the housing area towards the west and areas that could be cultivated. Because of the cultural progress and the evolution of rituals, which now involved polysome hypogea burials, the necropolis was placed on the above-mentioned hill, west of the coastal line. For a description of the hypogea necropolis of Sulky it is advisable to refer to Paolo Bernardini's work, who directed research activities in the cemetery between 1998 and 2008. The contribution summarizing his experience was published in 2018.⁸²

The sector of the necropolis which is currently at least partly visible (Fig. 1) has a sub-triangular shape and is located to the east of the Savoy Castle, near the area which has been indicated as a place of worship during Roman Republican age. The Punic funerary facility of ancient Sulky had, at the peak of its maximum expansion, a probable extension of over six hectares, occupying an area that today includes the sector between the surroundings of the parish church and the land around the Savoy fort, up to the centre of the current town. The tombs were mainly underground, thus dug into the thickness of the bank of trachytic tuff that occupies the surface of part of the island of Sant'Antioco. The tuff layer is the result of the millennial consolidation of volcanic ash, which, together with red trachyte, was erupted many million years ago by a volcano that still exists today, located in the channel of Sardinia, about 50 kilometres south-west of the island. The denomination of the zone is ambiguous, since it is not clearly divided between the almost homophonous toponyms of "Is Pirixeddus" (small wells), from the Sardinian term "Piri" (well) or "Is Spirixeddus" (small souls).⁸³ Given the presence of numerous wells and cisterns of Phoenician age dug in the area of the ancient adjacent settlement⁸⁴ and perhaps also of the numerous *dromoi* created in the ground and at least partly known and visible for a long period of time, it is reasonable to be in favour of the first one.

Given its chronology, the funerary facility was presumably created immediately after Carthage's progressive consolidation in Sardinia, which occurred around the first half of the 6th century BC. The necropolis, which was expanded in the following centuries, until the Roman conquest of Sardinia that took place in 238 BC, consists mainly of hypogea tombs, often on different levels. This was due to the thickness and compactness of the tuff bank on which the necropolis stands. The monumental complex of the Sulky Punic funerary complex represents undoubtedly one of the best examples of this type with in the Phoenician and Punic settlements of the Mediterranean. The vastness of the area which underwent archaeological investigation and the extension of the part open to the public allow a total and complete knowledge of each monument. In consideration of the fact that, together with

⁷⁹ Bartoloni (2012c), 75-81.

⁸⁰ Bartoloni (2004), 87-91.

⁸¹ Bartoloni (2009b), 71-80.

⁸² Bernardini (2018), 97-116.

⁸³ Bartoloni (1981a), 22-24; Bartoloni (2017), 266-81.

⁸⁴ Bernardini (1988), 75-76; Unali (2014), 12-16, 93-95.

Tuvixeddu, it is one of the largest and best-preserved Punic necropolises in Sardinia, currently larger than the one in Cagliari,⁸⁵ certainly easier to visit and in better condition than the two necropolises in Tharros,⁸⁶ the Sulky funerary complex has allowed to clarify many of the social and economic aspects of the Carthaginian civilization on the island, thus, of the ancient history of Sardinia. If the necropolis as a whole is dominated by hypogea tombs, characteristic both of the cultural environment and the historical period, there are, however, also some rare examples of pit tombs.

The burials meant for children and in no case attributed to adults were instead represented by large amphorae with no neck and no base, therefore of a commercial type. The large clay container was cut near the mouth or a rectangular door was opened, also near its opening. This was clearly to facilitate the introduction of small bodies inside the amphora. Stones were placed on the mouth of the vessels, so that the *rephaim*, the spirits of the small deceased, would not flee, disturbing the peace of the living. The amphorae were placed in a pit and buried. However, it should be added that at least in one case remains of infants have been reported, precisely four fallen teeth of children found in hypogea 12 PGR, perhaps laid on the floor.⁸⁷

As for hypogea tombs, mainly meant for the burial of several bodies, they are present in three distinct types, which, at least in one case, represent a precise chronological criterion. In the Sulky area there are rare cases of hypogea tombs holding only one body, perhaps reserved for eminent individuals.⁸⁸ The access corridor generally consists in a ramp, with numerous steps flanking it for about two thirds of its total length. The width of this ramp seems to vary according to the chronology of the tomb to which it leads. In fact, in the oldest type of tomb, relating to the mid-6th or the early 6th century BC and which will be referred to later, the width is uniform along the entire length of the ramp and normally exceeds 1.5 metres. In the later type, instead, characteristic of the necropolis from the mid-5th century BC onwards, the width of the access *dromos* decreases significantly, sometimes also in relation to the greater depth to be reached, very rarely exceeding 1 metre. At the end of the staircase, which usually occupied two thirds of the corridor, there is a landing of the same width with a surface of not more than 2 or 3 square metres. The hatch of the underground chamber opens at the base of the back wall, at a level slightly higher than the floor of the landing. This is to prevent rainwater from overflowing into the chamber or, at any rate, to limit its infiltration. The dimensions of the hatch are generally quite small and do not exceed 1.5 metres in height, while its width does not reach 1 metre. In ancient times it was closed by means of a large stone slab, as wide as the *dromos* and high enough to occlude the passage. Another closing system, used especially when after numerous openings the door was broken or was used differently,⁸⁹ was that of building with in the thickness of the hatch a wall made of unhewn stones, bound together with mortar mud, or large bricks of clay dried in the sun. Beyond the door threshold there was the burial chamber, which, in the first and oldest type consisted in a single rectangular cell, with the access located mostly along one of the two short sides. It was approximately 4 metres in width by 5 metres in length, with a consequent usable surface between 20 and 25 square metres. Along the walls there were rectangular niches originally considered similar to the “false doors” of Egyptian hypogea, that is, accesses to

⁸⁵ Stiglitz (1999).

⁸⁶ Del Vais (2006), 7-4; Del Vais, Fariselli (2012), 261-83.

⁸⁷ Lancia (2021), 254-55.

⁸⁸ Bernardini (1999), 133-46; Bernardini (2005a), 63-80.

⁸⁹ Bernardini (2018), 104.

the underworld, but they could contain part of the grave goods accompanying the deceased. The walls, floor and ceiling were normally lacking decorations, but there are examples in the Sulky necropolis, even if embryonic, of walls with lines of colour, especially red as it was related to funerary symbolism. However, it should be noted that inside the chambers there were sometimes monolithic structures in tuff stone, whose main purpose was to support the wooden bier above the ground. See for example tomb 2AR⁹⁰ and tomb 12 PGM.⁹¹ In the latter case, both editors assumed that at the top of the two blocks of tuff two baetyls were carved in relief,⁹² in what now seems to have become a frantic search for hidden thus more striking meanings, even where there were none. In fact, there is reason to believe that these are rather the two grooves bearing the two beams that in turn supported the funeral bed, as in the case of the above-mentioned tomb 2AR, where, however, the two blocks have no grooves.

The hypogea chambers belonging to the second type were much larger than those of the first and oldest one. In fact, the peculiar feature and substantial difference that distinguished them from the hypogea of the first type, illustrated above and prior to the mid-5th century BC, lays in the larger usable surface, as well as in the smaller spaciousness and width of the access corridor. The chambers of this period, in fact, had a large rectangular cell divided into two parts, often identical and symmetrical with the exception of a central partition, which, detached perpendicularly from the back wall and ceiling, came up to about 2 metres from the access door and that, of course, was meant to help in supporting the ceiling. In the case of some tombs no longer visible today, some partitions and pillars were found in recent decades, built artificially with overlapping stones that almost touched the ceiling, supporting it in case of sudden collapse. The space between the pillars and the ceiling was in all likelihood filled with wooden wedges, now disappeared. Two-part underground chambers with non-specular and twin compartments are visible, the result of the underground expansion of the rooms, in a continuous search for additional space for burials. The total usable surface of hypogea of this type normally exceeds 25 square metres, reaching in some cases even 30 square metres. Once again rectangular niches are often visible, which sometimes housed part of the grave goods. There is in fact a further type that has asymmetrical hypogea chambers, but these hypogea probably pertain to the first type that underwent extensions over time. This is the final phase of the hypogea necropolis of ancient Sulky. The chambers have extensions, when allowed by the proximity of the hypogea, and rectangular pits suitable for holding bodies. Even the accompanying grave goods undergo radical changes, with a reduction in the number of containers, which from functional become symbolic. The certainty of this consideration is confirmed by the prevalent presence of earthenware vessels, i.e. turned on a lathe, but not put in the oven.⁹³

The size of the burial chambers, as well as the number of bodies contained therein, which sometimes reaches 25 or 30 individuals, with in a fairly wide span of time, allow us to assume the presence of family tombs. Something that, moreover, had been hypothesised even with regard to archaic incineration tombs, which are often found grouped in distant agglomerations, clearly separated from each other. The need to have hypogea tombs would seem to prove the presence of family groups aware of their role in the society of Sulky. Of considerable interest in this regard is the work by Eilat Mazar on the burials of family

⁹⁰ Bartoloni (1987), 57-73.

⁹¹ Lancia (2021), 247-59.

⁹² Bernardini (2010), 1262-63, figg. 1-2; Lancia (2021), 249, fig. 2.

⁹³ Guirguis, Unali (2012), 2011-29; Muscuso, Pompianu (2012), 2031-59.

units.⁹⁴ As accurately recorded by Michele Guirguis,⁹⁵ these family groups follow the ritual of symbolic and virtual incineration and adopt a type of burial in vogue in Carthage since the beginning of the 7th century BC.⁹⁶

It is possible that in ancient times one or more brotherhoods of grave diggers, born for this purpose, were in charge of the maintenance and funerary activities of the necropolis. Moreover, it has been calculated that, to obtain underground chambers of such size, even though they were dug in a material of little solidity such as tuff, the work of a specialized worker was in all likelihood necessary for the duration of approximately two months.⁹⁷

The sector of the Punic necropolis facing the current 6th a Belvedere has been known since 1942, when Salvatore Puglisi gave news of investigations concerning three hypogea which, in his opinion, did not present traces of tampering.⁹⁸ Paolo Bernardini later referred to these activities in his work on the jewels of the necropolis.⁹⁹ In the following years and also on this occasion I myself dealt with one of the three tombs explored by Salvatore Puglisi, which in reality did not appear to be intact, but had been extensively remodelled.¹⁰⁰ The necropolis of 6th a Belvedere is mentioned further with the subsequent exploration of tomb N. 1 treated here. Paolo Bernardini refers to the discovery of the hypogea in conjunction with the progression of the works.¹⁰¹

The apparent difference of opinion expressed by Paolo Bernardini in the various reports produced over time certainly does not represent second thoughts, but repeated reflections, aimed at a correct interpretation of the data. There is no information on the orientation of the chamber tomb nor is it evident in the plan of the hypogea, so it is possible to assume that the access to the dromos was on the northern side, according to the published plan.¹⁰² The bodies of four deceased were laid there, three with their heads towards the southern wall and their feet towards the access hatch, two of them in the corners and one in the centre of the wall, while the remaining body was along the right side of the entrance wall, with its head towards the north-eastern corner. It is not possible to know if the bodies inside the hypogea belonged to blood relatives or, if they did, what was the degree of kinship between them, since, according to the reports listed in the bibliography, no analysis was carried out on the meagre bone remains preserved. Moreover, it must be remembered that the cavity occupied by the burial in a later period was used by a house above it as the cesspool of a latrine and that the contamination of human bone remains combined with the dispersion of sewage would have probably affected the results of the analysis itself.

The fragile objects contained in the underground chamber are 48 divided into nine types, including six transport amphorae,¹⁰³ three domestic amphorae with a carinated shoulder,¹⁰⁴

⁹⁴ Mazar (2004), 15-16, 21-23.

⁹⁵ Guirguis (2010a), 34-40.

⁹⁶ Lancel (1982), 263-364.

⁹⁷ Bartoloni (2000a), 73.

⁹⁸ Puglisi (1942), 106-15.

⁹⁹ Bernardini (1991), 196, 191-205.

¹⁰⁰ Bartoloni (1993), 93-95.

¹⁰¹ Bernardini (2006a), 112; Bernardini (2007), 151-57; Bernardini (2008), 657-58; Bernardini (2009), 28, 61-62; Bernardini (2010), 1257, 1265-66; (†Bernardini 2019), 1303, 1319; (†Bernardini 2021), 389-401.

¹⁰² Bernardini (2007a), 158, fig. 1.

¹⁰³ NN. 1-3, 8, 58, 66.

¹⁰⁴ NN. 5, 43, 55.

eight domestic amphorae,¹⁰⁵ 11 expanded-rim jugs,¹⁰⁶ ten bifoil-mouthed jugs with biconical body,¹⁰⁷ a jug with circular mouth and biconical body,¹⁰⁸ four omphalos plates,¹⁰⁹ four basins¹¹⁰ and a carinated cup.¹¹¹ As for the objects belonging to the personal belongings of the single deceased, whose images are the work of Ugo Virdis, a photographer from Carbonia, there are three gold pendants,¹¹² a silver ring with an ellipsoidal mount,¹¹³ a silver ring with a steatite scarab,¹¹⁴ a silver earring laminated in gold,¹¹⁵ four iron rings of different sizes,¹¹⁶ an iron nail,¹¹⁷ 11 bone hemispheres,¹¹⁸ a glass bracelet,¹¹⁹ eight gold necklace beads,¹²⁰ a small gold ring¹²¹ associated with four glass paste necklace beads,¹²² a necklace made of 18 carnelian, glass paste and bone beads,¹²³ an *alabastron*,¹²⁴ an amulet depicting a hand¹²⁵ and a bone *pyxis* in four fragments.¹²⁶

The fact that the hypogea tomb was opened and 6th sited several times to place the bodies of new deceased is confirmed by the obvious repositioning of the objects belonging to the various grave goods that took place over time, during the repeated depositions because of the need to find space for new burials and their accompanying goods. As can be inferred from the published image,¹²⁷ the large commercial amphora was placed above the body located along the right side of the northern wall. The deposition place of jug N. 1bis inside a commercial amphora is quite atypical although not entirely unusual.¹²⁸ As a matter of fact, it is not a vessel meant to hold the ashes of the deceased, as it is used as transport container, whereas the jug is a vessel for pouring wine¹²⁹ and not a dipper.¹³⁰ Amphora N. 1, at least in the case of the tomb in question, was laid down because it was used to preserve food, as confirmed by the discovery inside this amphora, as well as in the other similar containers, of animal bone remains. The insertion of a vessel inside another one, in particular of dippers inside

¹⁰⁵ NN. 4, 6, 10-13, 90-91.

¹⁰⁶ NN. 14, 21, 23, 29-30, 32, 37, 56, 60, 63, 89.

¹⁰⁷ NN. 1bis, 24, 26, 28, 31, 33, 41 59, 61-62

¹⁰⁸ N. 22.

¹⁰⁹ NN. 16, 38, 46, 67.

¹¹⁰ NN. 7, 9, 44-45.

¹¹¹ N. 27.

¹¹² NN. 77, 82, 86.

¹¹³ NN. 25, 84.

¹¹⁴ NN. 75, 79.

¹¹⁵ N. 70.

¹¹⁶ NN. 71-72, 74, 78.

¹¹⁷ NN. 81.

¹¹⁸ N. 76.

¹¹⁹ N. 39.

¹²⁰ NN. 69, 85

¹²¹ N. 73.

¹²² N. 73.

¹²³ N. 83.

¹²⁴ N. 68.

¹²⁵ N. 88.

¹²⁶ N. 92

¹²⁷ Bernardini (2008a), 657, fig. 9, 1.

¹²⁸ Núñez (2004), pp. 63-66, 71, 78, 83-84, 86, 90, 95-97, 100, 102-103, 113-117; Aubet (2012), 45, 47, fig. 4.

¹²⁹ Niveau de Villedary y Mariñas (2004), 402-403, fig. 14; Bernardini (2005b), 9-10, tav. VI, 2

¹³⁰ Muscuso (2008), 23-24, fig. d, I-IV, IX-X; Bartoloni (2017), 267, 270, figg. 22-24.

amphorae, the latter unspecified whether commercial or domestic, is reported without the support of further critical comments in the grave goods of tomb 11AR.¹³¹

An element of strong interest is that the six transport amphorae found in the underground chamber, at least judging by their shape, belong to non-homogeneous but successive moments and, consequently, it is reasonable to suppose that they could have been placed there at different times. It must be remembered that while in the published plan four skeletons are shown,¹³² in the contributions concerning the tomb the human remains of at least six individuals are indicated,¹³³ but we actually do not know if this was the number of the bodies laid down to rest, given that the floor of the tomb itself was immersed in water and sewage for a long time, with the consequent deterioration of part of the bone remains. A clue can be provided by the number of ritual vessels, especially expanded-rim jugs and bifoil-mouthed jugs, which form 11 pairs since in both cases the two canonical ritual vessels are present.¹³⁴ In this regard, the plan of the tomb is of little help, since not all commercial amphorae can be distinguished and the one that would appear to be the oldest, indicated with progressive number N. 66,¹³⁵ which is the most damaged among the specimens of its type, seems to have been found, piled up together with most of the other similar vessels, in the corner to the left of the access door.¹³⁶ The result is that the custom of dedicating food offerings contained within commercial amphorae would seem to be limited in time to the period between the second quarter and the end of the 6th century BC, as also confirmed by the hypogea tombs of the necropolis of Monte Sirai, where four transport amphorae of the same type were found,¹³⁷ similar to the later type present in our tomb, two of which currently on display at the Archaeological Museum “Ferruccio Barreca” in Sant’Antioco, next to the two statues of sitting lions.

At the beginning of the discussion about the grave goods found in the tomb, it is necessary to point out that the numbers given by the Archaeological Superintendence will be used, which concern all grave goods, but not the bones of the deceased. It seems evident, also from what emerges from the chronology of part of the finds, that the numbers were given based on the sequence of their collection and, in some cases, on their state of preservation. In fact, in the latter case we refer to objects N. 89-91 (Pls. LXXXVII -LXXXIX), all of which were vessels collected in fragments and then restored. Therefore, even though no precise rationale seems to emerge in the sequence of the collection of the objects, in the following discussion the numbering attributed in origin will be preserved. It was deduced from the images deposited in the archives of the Sant’Antioco peripheral branch of the Superintendence of Cagliari. Finally, we would like to remind you that in the aforesaid list there are no numbers 15, 40 and 80, which were not given and therefore do not refer to any find.

As for the clay finds, they are 48 vessels, divided into 39 closed and 9 open shapes. They are probably local products, but while ritual vessels do not show signs of repeated use, the few domestic vessels, consisting mostly in basins (Pls. VII, IX, XLIV-XLV) show traces of use, confirmed by the 6th dent wear of the ring base. All the other vessels, including expanded-

¹³¹ Melchiorri (2013), 1171.

¹³² Bernardini (2008), 657, tav. 9, 1.

¹³³ Bernardini (2007), 152.

¹³⁴ Bartoloni (1996a), 26, 52-53, 62, 65, 92-93, 102-104; Bartoloni (2000a), 68, 70, 75-76, 89-90, 107-108, 110-12, 133.

¹³⁵ Inv. MC 193293; MSA 10426.

¹³⁶ Bernardini (2008), 657, fig. 9, 1.

¹³⁷ Barreca (1964), 11-56, tav. XXIX.

rim jugs and bifoil-mouthed jugs, do not provide clear indications of their use, with the exception of some oil lamps which show clear traces of combustion in their spouts (Pls. XVII, XLIX L-LI, LIII).

As far as the accompanying grave goods are concerned, by way of anticipation it should be noted that there are no imported ceramics. This is not surprising, since it should be related to the relative antiquity of the original depositions. In fact this type of pottery comes almost exclusively from the Attic environment and concerns finds datable from the second half of the 6th century BC, concentrated mainly from the second half of the 5th century BC to the last years of the 4th century BC.¹³⁸

Not all the objects found in the hypogeum in 6th a Belvedere are unpublished, 16 finds have been published on one or more occasions,¹³⁹ edited by Paolo Bernardini himself. In particular, commercial type amphorae N. 1¹⁴⁰ and N. 2¹⁴¹ are documented, as well as the domestic amphora with carinated shoulder N. 5,¹⁴² the basin N. 7,¹⁴³ the expanded-rim jug N. 14,¹⁴⁴ the biconical-type jug N. 24,¹⁴⁵ the carinated cup with handles N. 27,¹⁴⁶ the additional expanded-rim jug N. 29,¹⁴⁷ the second domestic amphora with carinated shoulder N. 43,¹⁴⁸ an additional basin N. 45,¹⁴⁹ the only omphalos plate N. 46,¹⁵⁰ the two-spout oil lamps with handles N. 51¹⁵¹ and N. 54,¹⁵² the third and final domestic amphora with carinated shoulder N. 55,¹⁵³ a third commercial amphora N. 58¹⁵⁴ and a second biconical type jug N. 61.¹⁵⁵

The critical description of the finds will take place by following the criteria I used in all research on the subject, starting with the clay vessels before analysing the other objects, in our case especially jewellery and amulets. As for the clay vessels, as is my custom, priority will be given to open shapes.

Three plates were part of the grave goods, all of the archaic type (Pls. XVI, XLVI, LXVI). The three vessels have a wide rim, an omphalos of equivalent diameter, an indistinct foot and a bottom with a flat suspended umbo, which establishes their rough chronology. In fact, this technical peculiarity is usually associated with open shapes up to the mid-6th century BC. The shape of the first vessel (Pl. XVI) is rich in archaisms compared to the other two specimens. In fact, its appearance is less agile, with a less slender and projecting rim, and can be associated with similar finds from the end of the 7th century BC or the first years of the following century, such as the plates found in chronologically similar burials in the

¹³⁸ Tronchetti (1992), 364-69; Tronchetti (2003), 179; Tronchetti (2021), 35-36.

¹³⁹ NN. 10362-01, 10364-02, 10367-05, 10369-07, 10376-14, 10385-24, 10388-27, 10390-29, 10403-43, 10405-45, 10406-46, 10411-51, 10418-53, 10414-54, 10415-55, 10421-61.

¹⁴⁰ Bernardini (2007a), 158, 3.

¹⁴¹ Bernardini (2008a), 657, fig. 9, 2; Bernardini (2009), 28, 61, fig. 27, 1 (r).

¹⁴² Bernardini (2009), 28, 61, fig. 27, 2 (c, r); †Bernardini (2021), 392, fig. 2 (l).

¹⁴³ Bernardini (2007a), 158, 6; Bernardini (2008a), 657, fig. 9, 5.

¹⁴⁴ Bernardini (2009), 28, 61, fig. 27, 3 (l, c).

¹⁴⁵ Bernardini (2009), 28, 61, fig. 27, 3 (c, r).

¹⁴⁶ Bernardini (2009), 28, 61, fig. 27, 4 (c).

¹⁴⁷ Bernardini (2009), 28, 61, fig. 27, 3 (r).

¹⁴⁸ †Bernardini (2021), 392, fig. 2 (c).

¹⁴⁹ Bernardini (2008a), 657, fig. 9, 4.

¹⁵⁰ Bernardini (2009), 28, 61, fig. 27, 3 (r).

¹⁵¹ Bernardini (2007a), 158, 5.

¹⁵² Bernardini (2009), 28, 61, fig. 27, 4 (r).

¹⁵³ Bernardini (2007a), 158, 4; Bernardini (2009), 28, 61, fig. 27, 2 (l, c); †Bernardini (2021), 392, fig. 2 (r).

¹⁵⁴ Bernardini (2008a), 657, fig. 9, 3; Bernardini (2009), 28, 61, fig. 27, 1 (l).

¹⁵⁵ Bernardini (2009), 28, 61, fig. 27, 3 (s).

necropolises of Tharros,¹⁵⁶ Bithia,¹⁵⁷ Monte Sirai¹⁵⁸ and Sulky itself.¹⁵⁹ While the first plate mentioned (Pl. XVI) belongs to a type widely distributed in Sardinia, the other two, both for their shape and, as far as plate N. 67 is concerned, for its decoration, clearly belong to the type locally in vogue in the second half of the 7th century BC.¹⁶⁰

The only cup¹⁶¹ belongs to a type that seems peculiar to the Punic setting of Sulky.¹⁶² It is certainly a local production,¹⁶³ which, agreeing with what was stated by Michele Guirguis, can be considered: "...of Ionic inspiration...",¹⁶⁴ in any case Greek, given the absence of similar products declared to be autochthonous in the eastern area. Obviously some specimens from the area of Sulky can be mentioned.¹⁶⁵ This type probably derives from a carinated cup present in the area of south-western Sardinia,¹⁶⁶ to which handles were added. The oldest example seems to be the one found in an incineration tomb of the necropolis of Monte Sirai,¹⁶⁷ which confirms the chronology of the first half of the 6th century BC attributed to our cup. Some rare and very similar examples outside Sardinia are found in Carthage and in the sanctuary of Tas-Silg on the island of Malta.¹⁶⁸ This not only confirms the chronology proposed for our hypogeal chamber tomb, but also reveals that this period was characterised by the tradition of the funeral banquet and the probable use of wine for the libation in memory of the deceased.¹⁶⁹ There are further examples, but clearly later according to an internal evolutionary process.¹⁷⁰

The purely domestic objects include four large basins (Pls. VIII, X, XLIII-XLIV), whose function was probably that of preparing food. Their presence among the finds of the Sulky necropolis has also been reported recently.¹⁷¹ There is no lack of finds in the area of the settlement,¹⁷² thus directly linked to their primary functional use,¹⁷³ which, as far as the rim is concerned, refer to one of our specimens (Pl. XLIV). Two types can be recognized, distinguishable based on their rim: one with a rim provided with a barely noticeable projecting shape¹⁷⁴ (Pls. VIII, XLIV) and the other one strongly carinated (Pls. X, XLIII). The latter recalls models of the Syro-Palestinian area, where it was probably used as a container to prepare food.¹⁷⁵ In fact, the contexts of the finds are both in the residential area, datable

¹⁵⁶ Del Vais (2013), 25-27, 55, SA 134.

¹⁵⁷ Bartoloni (1996), nn. 147, 155, 74, fig. 19, tavv. X-XI.

¹⁵⁸ Bartoloni (2000), n. 92, fig. 32; Botto, Salvadei (2005), 112, 114, fig. 24; Guirguis (2010), 105-106, fig. 168.

¹⁵⁹ Muscuso (2008), 11-12, fig. a, II.

¹⁶⁰ Bartoloni (1983c), 211, 219, fig. 9, f; Pla Orquin (2021), 58, fig. 8, F.

¹⁶¹ Bernardini (2009), 28, 61, fig. 27, 4 (c).

¹⁶² Bartoloni (1982), 294, fig. 2, e.

¹⁶³ Muscuso (2008), 15-16, figg. B, VI.

¹⁶⁴ Guirguis (2010b), 193, 209, fig. 22.

¹⁶⁵ Marras (1982), 295-96; Marras (1992), 179-80; Balzano (1999), 84-92, figg. 248-54.

¹⁶⁶ Bartoloni (2000a), 101, 143-145, n. 6, fig. 25; Botto, Salvadei (2005), 95, 98, fig. 14, g.

¹⁶⁷ Bartoloni (2000a), 86, 102, n. 141, fig. 35; Muscuso (2008), 16.

¹⁶⁸ Ciasca (2000), 1288, 1292, fig. 1.

¹⁶⁹ Bernardini (2008a), 639-641; Bartoloni (2012a), 8-19.

¹⁷⁰ Botto, Salvadei (2005), 95, 100, fig. 14, i, l.

¹⁷¹ Guirguis (2021), 226-27, fig. 4, b-c.

¹⁷² Campanella (2008), 139-40, 437.

¹⁷³ Guirguis (2021), 226-27, fig. 4, e.

¹⁷⁴ Vegas (1987), 409, fig. 13, 137.

¹⁷⁵ Amiran (1969), 202-203, tav. 64, 23-25; Lehmann (1996), 369, tav. 9, nn. 59/2-59/3.

in Tell Keisan to the first years of the 6th century BC,¹⁷⁶ and in the funerary one,¹⁷⁷ in the latter case with a chronology in: "... the second half of the eighth century BC or early in the seventh century."¹⁷⁸ There is no lack of more ancient evidence, as for example in 'Atlit (MB)¹⁷⁹ and Hazor (LB),¹⁸⁰ where, in addition, there is also a specimen referable to Iron I, therefore contemporary to similar finds from Megiddo.¹⁸¹ As far as the western area is concerned, there is an already mentioned very similar basin in terms of shape and chronology from the settlement of Carthage,¹⁸² some similar but not identical vessels in a context about a century earlier from the necropolis of Byrsa¹⁸³ and a small basin from Gorhan Cave in ancient Calpis.¹⁸⁴ As for similar basins found in Sardinia, we can mention those that came to light in Sulky itself,¹⁸⁵ Monte Sirai¹⁸⁶ and presumably in Othoca,¹⁸⁷ in the Tharros area. As for other sites outside the island, it is worth mentioning Motya;¹⁸⁸ for further mentions of it, as well as chronology, please refer to the recent work by Michele Guirguis.¹⁸⁹ The presence of these basins, clearly used, with in the burial of Via Belvedere suggests an at least symbolic desire to nourish the dead, confirmed by fragments of animal bones, belonging to parts of food deposited and found preserved inside transport amphorae. The basins were probably used for the preparation of semolina,¹⁹⁰ the base and main food component of the diet in the Phoenician and Punic world. As mentioned above and as proven by the state of preservation of the ring disk of the base, visibly worn, the basins had been used several times before their deposition inside the burial. In conclusion, the basins, which are among the oldest finds in the tomb, can be dated presumably between 580/570 BC and in any case in the first half of the 6th century BC. This chronology is indirectly confirmed by the only finding of a type that can be remotely compared to ours, considering that the chronology attributed to the finds of the CRON 500 deposit is to be placed after 500 BC.¹⁹¹

As far as oil lamps are concerned, given their two-spout structure, they are objects of western origin, in consideration of the prevalence in the eastern area of the type with only one oil wick.¹⁹² There are basically two types: the traditional one, without a foot and with a convex bottom,¹⁹³ and the other one with a peduncle applied to the bottom, which was the handle.¹⁹⁴ Whereas the first type had a vast and decidedly cosmopolitan diffusion and

¹⁷⁶ Briend, Humbert (1980), 147, 151, tav. 33,

¹⁷⁷ Alexandre, Stern (2001), 191.

¹⁷⁸ Alexandre, Stern (2001), 184-86, fig. 3, 12-13.

¹⁷⁹ Mazar, Ilan (2014), pp 113-15, fig. 5.

¹⁸⁰ Amiran (1969), 128, tav. 39, 14.

¹⁸¹ Amiran (1969), 193-94, tav. 60, 1-3, 61, 1-5.

¹⁸² Vegas (1987), 409, fig. 13, 137; Vegas (1998), 159-60, fig. 5, 61.

¹⁸³ Lancel (1982), 326, 329, 336, 342, figg. 518, A 186.1, 548, A 142.3.

¹⁸⁴ Culican, (1972), 121, 138, fig. 7 E.

¹⁸⁵ Muscuso (2008), 18-20, fig. c, III; Bernardini (2018), 104, fig. 7, d.

¹⁸⁶ Balzano (1999), 129, fig. 35, 320.

¹⁸⁷ Del Vais (2009), 226, 228, fig. 4, B-I.

¹⁸⁸ Vecchio (2002), 224-25, tavv. 17-18.

¹⁸⁹ Guirguis (2021), 225-26, 228, fig. 4, B-D.

¹⁹⁰ Buonopane (2015), 69-79.

¹⁹¹ Campanella (2008), 239-40.

¹⁹² Lehmann (1996), 445-48, tavv. 81-82.

¹⁹³ Michetti (2020), 113-15, fig. 9.

¹⁹⁴ Deneauve (1969), 24, 227, tavv. IV, 2, XVII, 2; Rodero Riaza (1980), 22-23, 90-91, fig. 33, 3-5; Acquarone, Bartoloni (1986), 196, 209, fig. 8; Ciafaloni (1987), 92-93, fig. 12, 48; Fernandez (1992), 189, 209, 310; figg. 107, 116, 172; Gaudina (1995), 61-68, fig. 1-3; Gaudina (1996), 53-55, fig. 1, a-d; Ben Jerbania (2008), 18, 36-37, 44-45, tavv. V, F1231a, VI, F1232b; Muscuso (2008), 15-17, fig. b, VIII; Bartoloni (2015), 110-11,

is represented by four oil lamps (Pls. XIX, XXXV, XLI, LXIII), the other one, peculiar and unmistakable thanks to its base support, is represented by 17 specimens and appears linked to a well-defined period that, on the basis of the chronology of the tomb itself and of the bibliographical evidence, can be dated to the 6th century BC (Pls. XVII -XVIII, XX, XXXIV, XLVI-LIII, LVI, LXIV, LXXXV).¹⁹⁵ In the following period the handle tends to disappear, at least as far as the evidence offered by the finds in the main towns of the island is concerned, as shown for example by the necropolis of Tuvixeddu, where oil lamps with handles are totally absent.¹⁹⁶ In the eastern area, on the other hand, the type with peduncle is rarely present, as also suggested by Gunnar Lehmann and Elisabetta Gaudina.¹⁹⁷ In fact, only the base peduncle defines the chronology of this type, since nothing else characterises the object and the manual interventions to create the spouts do not allow to establish a chronological sequence. In particular, if sometimes it has been thought that it was possible to establish that oil lamps of western manufacture were later based on the distance between their spouts, this procedure does not offer certain guarantees, precisely because of the manual intervention.¹⁹⁸ As mentioned, only a few oil lamps present traces of combustion, to be precise only nine out of 21 specimens (Pls. XVII, XXXV, XXXVIII, XLVII, XLIX, LI-LII, LIV, LVII), among which only one oil lamp (Pl. XXXV) has no peduncle. This suggests that, given the total absence of ring bases, needed for support,¹⁹⁹ the ritual that motivated their presence in the hypogea had become purely symbolic. It is undoubted that the shape is now widely known and its cultural itinerary is also clear, moving from the East to the West. However, as stated repeatedly, it is also clear that, without a precise context, the shape is not datable if not referring it to a very long period. The finds from Tharros, mainly from sectors affected by landfills resulting from investigations carried out in the urban area,²⁰⁰ allow us to understand how the shape with handle had a domestic use aside from the ritual one.

The fact that our tomb “photographs” a particular moment of the evolutionary process concerning the customs of the funerary rite in use in Sulky is a constant in the archaeological research carried out in the hypogea necropolis of Sulky. Moreover, the fact that the accompanying grave goods, sometimes wrongly presented as crystallized as a result of a superficial or at least hasty analysis,²⁰¹ is suggested by the presence or absence of some vessels. Among other things, the presence of numerous oil lamps, the most numerous type of object in our grave goods, is striking and breaks supposed false habits. In fact, as a rule, oil lamps are scarcely or not represented²⁰² in the contexts of the later period, and they do not appear in the poorly documented previous grave goods.²⁰³ In fact, Tomb 1 of Via Belvedere is rightly considered by Michele Guirguis one of the most ancient hypogea tombs²⁰⁴ and the declining use of oil lamps in this context can already be perceived with regard to tomb 9 PGM, slightly later, where grave goods include oil lamps, but in a much smaller number.²⁰⁵ In addition, for

fig. 145; Bartoloni (2019), 52-53, fig. 4, 15.

¹⁹⁵ Provoost (1976), 9.

¹⁹⁶ Bartoloni (2016a), 15, 39-41, figg. 69-118.

¹⁹⁷ Lehmann (1996), 447, tav. 81, 428/1-2; Gaudina (1995), 67.

¹⁹⁸ Maass-Lindemann (1982), 102; Bartoloni (1992), 421.

¹⁹⁹ Muscuso (2008), 33, fig. f, VII-XI.

²⁰⁰ Gaudina (1995), 61-70; Gaudina (1996), 53-59.

²⁰¹ Melchiorri (2007), 66, 80-82; Melchiorri (2013), 1162-72.

²⁰² Melchiorri (2007), 61-102.

²⁰³ Bartoloni (2009b), 71-80.

²⁰⁴ Guirguis (2021), 226.

²⁰⁵ Guirguis (2021), 225, 227, fig. 2, A-B.

example, there are no oil lamps in tomb 2 AR, dated between 510 and 490 BC.²⁰⁶ In any case, the scarce evidence of burials of Phoenician age in the area of the city of Sulky does not seem to suggest the presence of oil lamps.²⁰⁷ A testimony of considerable interest is provided by what Ferruccio Barreca said at the time in relation to the underground necropolis of Monte Sirai: «Moreover, oil lamps, so abundant in Punic tombs, are totally absent here, both in the archaic phase and in the late phase.»²⁰⁸ Therefore, it seems evident that the use of oil lamps in Phoenician and Punic grave goods in the Sulky area is neither constant nor obvious and, above all, does not represent a valid chronological indicator.

Starting our examination of closed shapes, we should note the presence of the so-called expanded-rim jugs and sometimes, with an at least simplistic definition, mushroom-lipped jugs. I do not think it is appropriate to summarise the history of this ceramic shape, since I believe it is sufficient to recall how it appeared in cemetery areas of Phoenician centres of the East from the end of the Late Bronze Age,²⁰⁹ to become customary as of the 9th century BC (Late Iron A).²¹⁰ In Sardinia the type is present in Sulky itself since its oldest type, reported in the area of the settlement in stratigraphic layers related to the late 9th century BC.²¹¹ The shape forms an inseparable pair with the bifoil-mouthed jug since, as noted for many years now, it is part of grave goods that at least between the 8th and 4th centuries BC are part of the funeral ritual.²¹² Its main function, as suggested by the shape of its mouth, was probably to spread the liquid contained in it, most likely ointment, on the body of the deceased.²¹³ In some circumstances some authors, perhaps not considering or not perceiving the fluidity of ceramic shapes and their use, have contested this reconstruction, mentioning jugs of this type found in non-sacred contexts,²¹⁴ or lacking the shaping of the neck necessary to carry out this function.²¹⁵ However, it is clear that the two variants could coexist and that this funerary function was in vogue in a very precise period, between the end of the 8th century BC and the end of the 4th century BC, according to an aspect of the ritual, which, as we know, was not constant and tended to vary over time. As suggested by the analysis ordered by Maria Eugenia Aubet Semmler, the ointment was mostly made of honey and oil.²¹⁶ Obviously this is regardless of other possible uses, which, however, do not seem primary, at least in this specific period. The determination of the chronology of this vessel depends on the evolutionary process of the individual dual shapes, which includes peculiar aspects and variations over time of the rim, neck, shoulder, belly and foot. Among the variants that determine chronology we must undoubtedly include the decoration.²¹⁷ In any case, it is necessary to underline that, while the shape undergoes an evolution from its origin common to all regions of the central Mediterranean, from the end of the 7th century BC a further variant gains ground in Sardinia,

²⁰⁶ Bartoloni (1987), 61.

²⁰⁷ Bartoloni (2017), 266-81.

²⁰⁸ Barreca (1964), 55.

²⁰⁹ Peserico (1996), 51-70; Núñez (2017), 1-18.

²¹⁰ Mazar (2004), 43, 56-62, figg. 7-9; Núñez 2013a, pp. 472-8, fig. 1; Núñez (2014), pp. 296, 298, fig. 3.54; Núñez (2015), 239, fig. 3, a, 4.

²¹¹ Guirguis, Unali (2016), 84, 94, fig. 6, A.

²¹² Bartoloni (1981a), 22-23; Bartoloni (1996), 52; Bartoloni (2000), 68-69; Guirguis (2010a), 91, figg. 101-102; Pla Orquin (2021), 56-61.

²¹³ Peserico (1996), 156-57.

²¹⁴ Perra (2016), 233, 247, fig. 3, 3.

²¹⁵ Botto (2014), 399-400.

²¹⁶ Aubet (2013), 78.

²¹⁷ Esu (2000), 154, fig. 2; Guirguis (2010a), 18; Guirguis (2010b), 191.

only in the centres of the area under the influence of Sulky. This area includes finds coming from the centres of Sulky,²¹⁸ Monte Sirai²¹⁹ and Paniloriga,²²⁰ while the settlements of Tharros and Othoca to the north and those of Bithia and Nora to the east are excluded. A sequence of this shape, of the following one and, in general, of some other aspects of Phoenician and Punic vase ceramics in Sardinia was also proposed by Paolo Bernardini on two occasions,²²¹ but with no further comment. The evolutionary process of jugs with an expanded rim found in Sardinia unravels from the prototypes,²²² whose peculiar features with respect to oriental specimens²²³ are the sub-cylindrical neck with central prominence, the sub-spherical belly and the ring foot. The following shapes, very close in time, each of which can be estimated in less than twenty years, are all characterized by their neck, which became slightly truncated-conical, and by their belly, which acquired a sub-trapezoidal shape. The ring base is always present.²²⁴ Two further jugs with expanded rim, probably from the Sulky area, are slightly later, with truncated-conical necks, bellies with a rectangular section and ring-shaped bases.²²⁵ As will become obvious, these variants can only be inspired by the numerous contacts and exchanges that took place over time between different regions of the Mediterranean and, in particular, with regard to the Phoenician centres of Sardinia, the central Mediterranean area.²²⁶ This should not be surprising, since it took slightly over one day at sea to reach Motya from Carthage and Sulky could be reached from the North African coast in about two days.²²⁷ Given that, in archaic times, especially as regards the pottery production of individual sites, there are no commercial transactions of containers of sacred or domestic use,²²⁸ apart from commercial amphorae, this does not exclude that craftsmen could travel.²²⁹ Actually, even if the shapes and their production methods are characteristic of each production site, at least until the entire 7th century BC, the single shapes cannot be attributed with certainty to a specific workshop, without analysing clays and pigments. One example among all is jug B110(Al-O)A with expanded rim found in Pithekoussai and correctly classified as a “jug imported from the east.”²³⁰ In fact, the jug has a nearly identical comparison in a similar vessel from the necropolis of al-Bass,²³¹ as reported by Francisco Núñez himself.²³² However, the same vessel also has further comparisons, apparently just as adherent, among the finds from the necropolis of Motya, in this case with a chronology between the last quarter of the 8th century BC and the first quarter of the 7th century BC.²³³ There are also comparisons with the

²¹⁸ Bartoloni (2011), 71, fig. 1.

²¹⁹ Bartoloni (2000a), 107, fig. 32, 87.

²²⁰ Botto (2012), fig. 7, a.

²²¹ Bernardini (2008b), 537-596; Bernardini (2009), 19-69.

²²² Bartoloni (2020a), 65, 70-72, figs. 5-6.

²²³ Núñez (2015), 238-39, fig. 3- a, 4, 3- b, 5.

²²⁴ Bartoloni (2017), 267, 276, 278-79, figs. 58, 68, 77.

²²⁵ Bartoloni (2017), 267, 279, figs. 75, 78.

²²⁶ Peserico (1998), 27-42; Peserico (1999), 125-35.

²²⁷ Bartoloni (1988d), 72-77; Bartoloni (1991), 9-15.

²²⁸ Bartoloni (1981b), 34; Bartoloni (1983b), 36; Delgado Hervás (2011), 9-48; Sáez Romero (2011), 49-106 Niveau de Villedary y Mariñas (2011), 107-164.

²²⁹ Secci (2018), 356.

²³⁰ Nizzo (2007), 124.

²³¹ Núñez Calvo (2013b), 53, 56, fig. 17, d.

²³² Núñez Calvo (2013b), 55-56, fig. 18, b.

²³³ Vecchio (2015), 90, 151, tav. 18.1, 172-74; Tusa 2016, tavv. III, 3/e, IV, 4/a, VII, 6/b, XXVI, 28/a, XL, 46/a, LX, 70/a, LXX, 82/g, LXXIII, 8/b, LXXXII, 94/a, LXXXIII, 95/a, XCIV, 106/c, XCVII, 109/b, CXII, 126/c, CXXXIX, 163/c.

necropolis of Byrsa, in Carthage, datable to the first quarter of the 7th century BC.²³⁴ As can be imagined, the chronology of the finds depends on the variations they underwent over time. In the case of jugs with an expanded rim, as mentioned above, the shapes of the neck and belly are decisive for their dating. For the ten specimens of the Belvedere Tomb 1, their relative chronology was elaborated on the basis of the previous parameters, which have been known for a long time.²³⁵ Therefore the oldest jug, datable to the first quarter of the 6th century BC, is in all probability N. 14 (Pl. XV), decorated with several groups of three lines of black paint, as can be inferred from the surviving group of lines outlined on the upper part of the shaped neck. Similar examples can be found in the necropolis of Sulky itself,²³⁶ and in those of Monte Sirai²³⁷ and Paniloriga.²³⁸ Next is jug N. 21 (Pl. XXI), which differs from the previous one in the shape of its belly, which is slightly less tapered, and whose parallels are in the same sites.²³⁹ Its decoration has two groups of four black lines applied to the belly, separated by a pair of two black lines. Next is jug N. 37 (Pl. XXXVII), which is decidedly similar but with a belly that is slightly more tapered downward. Once again, the decoration is obtained with four groups of lines of black paint distributed on the belly at irregular intervals. A close comparison can be made with a similar jug from tomb 9 PGM in Sulky.²⁴⁰ Jug N. 56 (Pl. LV) follows, lacking part of the handle. Both the lip and body are adorned with groups of three lines traced in black paint. The shape of this vessel is undoubtedly similar to the previous one, therefore the same comparisons can be made. With jug N. 30 (Pl. XXX) we are now in the second half of the 6th century BC. There is nothing to add regarding the decoration, which is similar to the previous ones. A corresponding comparison can be made with jug N. 35 from the necropolis of Monte Sirai.²⁴¹ With jugs N. 32, 29 and 60 we are now at the end of the 6th century and close to the 5th century BC. The decorations do not differ from the previous ones. Comparisons come from other hypogea of Sulky itself: among all, those of tomb 2 AR, which are also arranged chronologically and illustrated from the oldest to the most recent,²⁴² and of tomb 12 AR.²⁴³ Further comparisons can also be found in Sulky: in particular in tomb 10 AR,²⁴⁴ from which 13 vessels come, of a type very similar to the aforementioned jugs N. 32, 29 and 60, all grouped chronologically with in the second half of the 5th century BC, with the oldest and latest specimens identifiable respectively in N. 27²⁴⁵ and numbers 32 and 37.²⁴⁶ The work related to tomb 11 AR is of no use for possible valid comparisons.²⁴⁷ As far as the later specimens of this type are concerned, however, a comparison for our specimen N. 29 is with another jug from tomb 9 PGM,²⁴⁸ while vessel N. 23 is

²³⁴ Lancel (1982), 295, 297, 299-300, 343, 348, figg. 430-31, 438, 569-70.

²³⁵ Bartoloni (1983b), 44-45, fig. 1, a-f.

²³⁶ Bartoloni (1983b), 44, figg. 1, a.

²³⁷ Bartoloni (1983), 44, fig. 1, b; Bartoloni (2000a), figg. 30, 73, 32, 87, 36, 144, tavv. XIV, d, XVII, e, XXVIII, c; Guirguis (2010a), 76-77, figg. 46-47.

²³⁸ Tore (2000), 337-38, 340, fig. 4, b.

²³⁹ Bartoloni (2000a), 107-108, fig. 26, 16, 32, 85, 35, 139, 39, 185, tav. XVII, e, XXVIII, e; Guirguis (2010a), 75, 100-101, figg. 38-39, 143-44, 147-48; Pla Orquin (2021), corredo 259, 58-59, fig. 9.

²⁴⁰ Guirguis (2021), 225, 227, fig. 3, a.

²⁴¹ Barreca (1964), 48, tav. XXXII, 35.

²⁴² Bartoloni (1987), 62, fig. 4, a-c; tav. IX, a-c.

²⁴³ Tronchetti (2002), 155, tav. XII, 2-3.

²⁴⁴ Melchiorri (2007), 61-102.

²⁴⁵ Melchiorri (2007), 92-93, tav. XVIII, 27.

²⁴⁶ Melchiorri (2007), 94-95, tav. XVIII, 32, XIX, 37.

²⁴⁷ Melchiorri (2013), 1162-72, figg. 5, 7.

²⁴⁸ Guirguis (2021), 225, 227, fig. 3, b.

comparable to the similar vessel N. 10 from tomb 3A,²⁴⁹ which, we recall, like the previous one, is a Sulky burial. Vessel N. 10 (Pl. LXII), although apparently devoid of decoration, is undoubtedly similar to the same type of jug found in tomb N. 324 of the necropolis of Monte Sirai.²⁵⁰ The last jug with an expanded rim from the Belvedere 1 tomb has a shape which is now clearly unkempt and very distant from the prototypes. It is a tired version of the shape which can be compared to vessel N. 53 of tomb 11 of the necropolis of Monte Sirai.²⁵¹

A separate description must be reserved to the biconical jug N. 22 (Pl. XXII), since it is clearly an unfinished vessel and was perhaps intended to represent and replace the jug with an expanded rim, always associated with the biconical jug, otherwise called bifoil-mouthed jug. In fact, our specimen was not completed with the partial closure of the foils of its wide circular lip, which normally gave origin to the two characteristic foils of the mouth. We do not know the reasons, maybe the craftsman intended to create a vessel that had the functions of a jug with an expanded rim. In the Sulky area similar comparisons are not known, but the type of jug from which our shape originates is known, and the sequence of the particular shape can be reconstructed, with a prominence in the middle of the belly, from the simplest exemplar, represented by a simple sharp corner,²⁵² to the most complex one, also indicated by a band in relief,²⁵³ as in our case.

The so-called bifoil or biconical jugs follow, thus defined in the first case by virtue of the mouth that is composed of a pourer and a further foil onto which the handle is grafted, and in the second case in relation to the body of the jug, which in the later specimens is made of two opposing cones. The shape derives from ritual jugs present in Phoenician burials since the Iron Age IA,²⁵⁴ which constantly accompanied jugs with an expanded rim, to which it is always associated in the funeral ritual. The shape was transferred to colonies in the Mediterranean West at an early time, with no substantial differences in shape, but in most cases losing the distinctive feature of the decoration, which in the original specimens showed a series of three or four lines engraved between the shoulder and the belly.²⁵⁵ In western specimens, these engraved lines are reminisced by groups of mostly black paint traced on the same part of the body.²⁵⁶ Finally, it is necessary to point out that the use of painted lines instead of engravings is a phenomenon that implies an archaic taste, since it involves vessels, especially from Sardinia and Sicily, datable between the middle of the 7th century and the

²⁴⁹ Muscuso (2017), 331, fig. 2, 10.

²⁵⁰ Pla Orquin (2021), 56-57, figg. 5, A; 6, A.

²⁵¹ Amadasi, Brancoli (1965), 99, 114, tav. XXXVIII.

²⁵² Guirguis (2021), 225, 227, fig. 2, f.

²⁵³ Bartoloni (1987), 62, 64, 69, fig. 4, d, tav. IX, d.

²⁵⁴ Vibert Chapman (1972), 87-88, 132-33, figg. 10, 171, 26, 139, 143-44, 259; Núñez (2004), 135-37, 141, 145, 150, 152-53, 156, 160-62, 165, 175, 181, 183, 189, figg. 50, 3-52, 3, 56, 3, 60, 2, 65, 3, 67, 3-68, 2, 72, 3, 75, 3-4-77, 3, 80, 2, 90, 2, 96, 3, 98, 2, 104, 3.

²⁵⁵ Lancel (1982), 267, 295-96, 302-303, 312, 315, 319, 321, 337, 344, 353, 355, figg. 340, 428-29, 444-45, 489-90, 496-97, 496-97, 554-55, 589-90; Bernardini (2000), 33-34; Bartoloni (2014), 18-20, 50, fig. 7, tav. VII; Bartoloni (2016b), 245-47, tav. II; Tusa 2016, tavv. I, b-II, b, VII, c-VIII, b, XV, c-XVI, b, XIX, a, XXI, b, XXIII, b, XXV, a-XXVI, b, XXVIII, a, XL, b-XLII, b, XLVI, b, L, b, LII, b, LV, o, LVIII, b-LIX, b, LXI, b, LXVIII, d, LXXIX, b, LXXXIII, b, LXXXV, a-LXXXVI, a, XCII, b, XCIV, b, XCVII, a, XCIC, b, CI, a-CII, b, CIV, b-CV, a, CXII, b, CXV, b, CXVII, b, CXXIII, a, CXXVI, a, CXXX, d, CXLII, 4; Marzoli, Garcia Teyssandier (2018), 205-207, figg. 179, c-180, c, 181, b.

²⁵⁶ Bartoloni (1996), figg. 18, 132, 29, 306, 34, 387; Bartoloni (2000a), fig. 25, 11, 29, 61, 30, 74, 36, 150, 37, 156, 38, 170, 39, 187, 189; Tusa (2016), tavv. XLVII, a, LXXVIII, b, LXXXIV, a, CXIV, c, CXXIC, a, CXXXVIII, b; Spagnoli (2019), 26, 49-50, 95-96, figg. 3.10, tav. 2, 7.

first decades of the following century, while the oldest jugs generally do not present traces of paint decorations other than that of the entire surface, mostly red slip.

As for the so-called bifoil-mouthed jugs from Monte Sirai, a chronological seriation has recently been proposed by Rosana Pla Orquin, who includes in the same typology²⁵⁷ both bifoil-mouthed and beaked spout jugs.²⁵⁸ It must be pointed out that the shapes of these two types of vessels in the central Mediterranean area begin to separate and differentiate themselves as early as the second half of the 8th century BC, then recombine towards the end of the following century. Obviously, the chronological seriation proposed by Rosana Pla Orquin concerns the jugs found in the settlement of Monte Sirai, belonging to the area of south-western Sardinia, which, as mentioned above, is an area in its own right as to the evolutionary aspects of pottery starting from the end of the 7th century BC.

With regard to this type of jug found in our hypogea tomb, we can record the presence of ten specimens (Pls. XXIV, XXVI-XXVIII, XXXI, XXXIII, XL, LVIII, LX). The specimen that can be considered the oldest among the examples of this type in the grave goods (Pl. LX), has its mouth and upper part of the neck covered with red paint, according to a custom that involves similar jugs since the second half of the 7th century BC.²⁵⁹ The handle, always double-rod until the beginning of the V century BC, also refers to archaic and archaizing examples²⁶⁰ and is connected from the posterior foil of the mouth to the junction in relief between the lowered shoulder and the piriform belly. The foot is indistinct and the bottom has a wave section. The decoration is completed by a group of four lines of black paint, which replace the original engravings, outlined immediately under the junction in relief. The chronology is characteristic of the type and can be placed at the end of the first quarter of the 6th century BC. The jug (Pl. XL) follows chronologically; it does not present substantial typological variations, except for the lack of decoration in black paint that simulated the engraved lines under the junction line. The jug (Pl. LVIII), on the other hand, can be dated to the second quarter of the 6th century BC, characterised by its mouth and upper part of the neck with traces of red paint and by its shoulder and lower part of the belly on which two groups of four and two lines of black paint are traced, respectively. This specimen completes the series of jugs with indistinct foot, a chronological peculiarity that brings us back to a period not later than the second quarter of the 7th century BC. In the period around the mid-6th century BC a jug appears, which presents an innovation involving the foot, no longer indistinct, but with a hint of a distinct support, which from that moment on will be peculiar to this form. Jug N. 2 (Pl. II), in addition to being important from a typological point of view, is of particular interest because it is the jug found inside an amphora (Pl. I). As mentioned, even if the amphora in question had contained wine, we could have expected the presence of a dipper, a vessel used to pour wine from the container into the cup, not of a bifoil-mouthed jug, a vessel used to contain and pour the same beverage.²⁶¹ During the second half of the 6th century BC, the two jugs N. 23 and 41 follow (Pls. XXIII, XLI), the older one characterised²⁶² by the red paint that covers the entire upper part, from the mouth to the junction line between

²⁵⁷ Pla Orquin (2021), 56-57, fig. 7.

²⁵⁸ Whitaker (1921), 297, fig. 73; Bisi, (1977), 27-28, tav. V, 1; Maass-Lindemann (1982), 192, tav. 28; Spanò (2000), 316, 319, fig. 38; Bartoloni (2010a), 63, 81, figg. 52-53; Caltabiano (2014), 210, 212, fig. 2, 1.; Tusa (2016), 81, tav. 10/c, 13/c, 26/a, 60/a, 93/b, 101/a, 156/a.

²⁵⁹ Bartoloni (1996a), 102, fig. 13, 79.

²⁶⁰ Bartoloni (2017), 268, 272-73, figg. 1-2, 4, 35-47, 59-60, 76, 79.

²⁶¹ Botti (2014), 398-99.

²⁶² Guirguis (2010a), 142-43, figg. 261, 267.

the shoulder and the belly, while the later one is characterised by the red paint decoration of the mouth and part of the neck and handle. Three groups of lines of black paint are traced on the belly: the group occupying the central part of the belly consists of three lines, while the peripheral groups have four lines each. In conclusion, the proposed chronology of the second half of the 6th century BC fits well with that of the similar jug and remaining materials placed in the niche of tomb 12 PGM, dated instead: "...nei primi decenni del V sec. a.C. ..." while the imported Greek materials are considered: "...leggermente precedenti..."²⁶³ In the same burial such chronology is confirmed by the concomitant presence of a carinated cup, of an oil lamp with handle of a type well documented by Michele Guirguis,²⁶⁴ of a small dipper again with a high handle and by the decoration with a band of red paint framed by groups of lines of black paint of the domestic amphora with a figurative scene illustrated on the shoulder.²⁶⁵ In the Belvedere Tomb 1, two specimens can be dated to the end of the 6th century (Pls. XXXI, XXXIII): both are still characterised by twin handles and by the decoration with groups of lines of black paint on the belly. An unusual decorative scheme, which, however, tends to disappear rapidly after the end of the 6th century BC, is constituted by wavy lines which appear on the shoulder of the vessels listed. As far as the decorative scheme of the wavy lines is concerned, it makes its appearance in the area of south-western Sardinia towards the end of the 7th century BC, as illustrated by grave goods from the city of Sulky²⁶⁶ and from the settlement of Monte Sirai.²⁶⁷ Further evidence comes from the necropolis of Sulky,²⁶⁸ of Monte Sirai²⁶⁹ and, rarely, of Paniloriga,²⁷⁰ and of Cagliari,²⁷¹ as well as from private collections in the Sulcis area.²⁷² The decorative scheme also recurs in the repertoire of Motya, but from the first half of the 7th century BC,²⁷³ and the same can be seen in the decorative repertoire of pottery from Carthage.²⁷⁴ The last two vessels (Pls. XXXIV, XXXVII) are placed chronologically in the first decades of the 5th century BC and, as can be seen, their shape preserves very few features reminiscent of jugs of the oldest depositions. Considering the published illustrations of the vessels of this burial, one can fully perceive the evolution of the typology. The first vessel has definitively lost its black paint decoration, which could have hardly totally vanished, and the other jug, clearly later, retains instead two groups of lines of black paint traced on the belly, the upper one counting four and the lower one counting three lines.

The amphorae of the domestic type, which are present in a considerable number, include those characterised by a carinated shoulder, which stand out (Pls. VII, XLII, LIV) and somehow confirm the relative antiquity of the tomb in Via Belvedere. The type probably

²⁶³ Lancia (2021), 252, fig. 3.

²⁶⁴ Guirguis (2010b), 187-88, fig. 16.

²⁶⁵ Lancia (2021), 255, fig. 5.

²⁶⁶ Bartoloni (2009b), 71-72, fig. 1, tav. 1.

²⁶⁷ Esu (2000), 154, fig. 2.

²⁶⁸ Bernardini (2004), 273; Melchiorri (2007), 87, tav. XVI, 7, XVII, 21-22; Guirguis (2010a), 18; Guirguis (2021), 224, 230, fig. 4, A.

²⁶⁹ Bartoloni (2000a), 111, 114-15, fig. 29, 63; Bartoloni (2000c), 21-22, fig. 2, a, tav. III, a; Botto, Salvadei (2005), 130-31, fig. 41, c; Guirguis (2010a), 79-80, 94, 123, figg. 60-61, figg. 202-203.

²⁷⁰ Tore (2000), 342, fig. 6; Guirguis (2010a), 57-58, fig. 17.

²⁷¹ Bartoloni (2016a), p. 26, figg. 501-502.

²⁷² Bartoloni (2017), figg. 47, 50, 71.

²⁷³ Spagnoli (2019), 20, 25, 29-31, 51, 53, fig. 3.3, 3.8, 3.15, 3.17-3.18, 4.2-4.3, tavv. 4, 2-3, 5, 1, 3, 10, 2,

²⁷⁴ Harden (1937), 64-65, fig. 3, j; Cintas (1970), tavv. XIX, 98-99, XXI, 112-XXII, 117, XXVI, 22, 25-XXVII, 31-32, 35, 40, XXIX, 61-XXX, 66, 71, 74, XXXI, 79-81, 86, 89-91, XXXIII, 96-99, XXXIV, 104, 107, XXXVI, 125.

originates from transport amphorae, equipped with an indented area on the shoulder,²⁷⁵ which in turn derive from commercial types in use in the Near East.²⁷⁶ Two of the same amphorae, as reported by Paolo Bernardini,²⁷⁷ were found among the goods of the archaic necropolis of Monte Sirai,²⁷⁸ where they were dated one²⁷⁹ to the second half of the 6th century BC, and the other one²⁸⁰ to the first quarter of the 6th century BC. In 2008, an incineration tomb was found in the western area of Sulky itself,²⁸¹ whose grave goods included a carinated amphora, perhaps used as a container for ashes.²⁸² In addition, other specimens both from the inhumation necropolis²⁸³ and a private collection in Sant'Antioco²⁸⁴ are preserved, including three more vessels of this type. In light of what has been proposed for the chronology of the 6th a Belvedere tomb under examination, it is deemed appropriate to re6th se the chronology of the above-mentioned vessels and thus of both the Monte Sirai and Sulky burials illustrated previously. Therefore, amphora N. 59 of the necropolis of Monte Sirai should be anticipated by 25 years, so it can be dated between 580 and 575 BC, while the chronology of amphora N. 99 from the same necropolis could date back to the last years of the 7th century BC. Thus, in parallel, the carinated-shoulder amphora from the western necropolis of Sulky could also have the same chronology. Therefore, considering both the shape and the decorative syntax of the three carinated-shoulder amphorae from our tomb, for amphora N. 55 (Pl. LIV) a chronology referable to the first years of the 6th century BC can be suggested, while for the two similar vessels N. 5 and 43 (Pls. VI, XLII) a dating with in the following decade, i.e., between 580 and 570 BC, seems appropriate. As for the type, it should be remembered that the amphora is present in Sulky since the 8th century BC. In fact, the most ancient attestation is a decorated fragment found in the area of the so-called Cronicario, datable to the last decades of the 8th century BC.²⁸⁵ As mentioned above, there is an abundance of further evidence in the necropolis of Monte Sirai²⁸⁶ and Tharros.²⁸⁷ In Carthage there are instead numerous attestations, coming both from a residential environment and a sacred or funerary one. As for the first case, we can mention a container, entirely reconstructable, from the area of the Decumanus.²⁸⁸ As for necropolises, for example, excavations in Junon²⁸⁹ brought to light a richly decorated specimen, of nearly identical dimensions (27.5 cm) to those of the container previously mentioned as coming from the Decumanus (28.5 cm), while, from the one in Byrsa, on the other hand, at least four specimens are attested, datable to the early 7th century BC,²⁹⁰ accompanied by a container of similar but not identical shape.²⁹¹ Also in

²⁷⁵ Ramon (1995), 274-78, fig. 108.

²⁷⁶ Bisi (1970), 31, 33, 52-53; Ciasca 1985, 323-27; Ramon (1995), 274-76; Bettles (2001), 187-78, fig. 4.1-4.2; Pedrazzi (2007), Tipo 5-1, 71-86.

²⁷⁷ †Bernardini (2021), 391.

²⁷⁸ Bartoloni (2000a), figg. 28, 59, fig. 22, 99.

²⁷⁹ Bartoloni (2000a), 135, tomb 20.

²⁸⁰ Bartoloni (2000a), 135, tomb 35.

²⁸¹ Bartoloni (2017), 273, fig. 7.

²⁸² Bartoloni (2009b), 71-80.

²⁸³ Bartoloni (1983b), 46, fig. 4, c.

²⁸⁴ Bartoloni (2017), 280, figg. 49-50; Muscuso (2014), 76, 90, SAB 274.

²⁸⁵ Bartoloni (1990b), 53-54, 79, fig. 12; Bernardini (1991a), 668-69, fig. 4, a.

²⁸⁶ Guirguis (2010a), 80-81, figg. 60-61.

²⁸⁷ Molina Fajardo (1984), 86, 100, fig. 14, j.

²⁸⁸ Vegas (1999), 154-55.

²⁸⁹ Fantar (1972), 22-23.

²⁹⁰ Lancel (1982), 277, 284, 289, 291, 294, 304, 306, 311, 316; figg. 383-84, 418-19, 456-57, 480-81.

²⁹¹ Lancel (1982), 287, 289, figg. 401-402.

Carthage, but in the *tophet*, among the urns published by Donald Harden²⁹² included in the first chronological phase, therefore all earlier than ours, a carinated-shoulder amphora was found, accompanied by a stamnoid olla, while, in the second phase, an amphora that seems to be close to the type found in Sulky came to light. As for the investigations carried out in the *tophet* by Pierre Cintas, the situation seems to change radically, because the documented finds include the entire chronological sequence of the type, from the 8th to the 6th century BC.²⁹³ Some exemplars need to be mentioned also as regards the Phoenician context of Motya,²⁹⁴ both from the necropolis and from the *tophet*. Finally, the specimen of probable Carthaginian origin found on Rachgoun island²⁹⁵ is to be noted, which is known in the Phoenician area along the coast of southern Iberia.²⁹⁶ In conclusion, the type of domestic amphora with carinated shoulder, after its appearance in the central-western Mediterranean, seems to have consolidated in several variants, including the one with a swollen shoulder,²⁹⁷ which would deserve specific study.

The analysis of the shapes continues with domestic amphorae with convex shoulders. This type is very common and almost ubiquitous in burials in the Sulky area between the end of the 7th and 4th centuries BC.²⁹⁸ As suggested by Sara Muscuso herself, the origin of the shape is probably to be found in amphorae of Greek origin, such as the amphorae of the so-called “SOS” type,²⁹⁹ in turn perhaps mediated in the Iberian environment through the so-called “Cruz del Negro” type.³⁰⁰ This is an amphora which, as indicated by its own conventional definition, seems to derive from the type first documented in a significant number in the Tartessian necropolis of Cruz del Negro,³⁰¹ in western Baetica. The problem of the origin of amphorae of this type is still under scrutiny, since, while, as mentioned above, on the one hand it can be considered a return origin, from the West to the East, as in the now clear case of the caliciform vase,³⁰² on the other hand one cannot exclude a derivation from oriental models, which are rare,³⁰³ or from Greek models and, in particular, from the Attic amphorae of the so-called “SOS” type.³⁰⁴ In any case, recent investigations in the area of the ancient settlement of Sant’Antioco have brought to light a further fragment belonging to an amphora of the above-mentioned Cruz del Negro type, which, in relation to its surface and paste, would appear to be of Iberian origin.³⁰⁵ This event in itself is not extraordinary, given the presence of vessels of the same origin and chronology, including another amphora and a *cuenco*, found in the same setting and with a similar dating.³⁰⁶ The amphora in its Sulky aspect does not

²⁹² Harden (1937), 71-72, fig. 4, h.

²⁹³ Cintas (1970), tavv. XIX, 97-100, XXXIII, 93, 96-102, XXXIV, 103-108.

²⁹⁴ Tusa (2016), 83, fig. 103/a, 163/a.

²⁹⁵ Vuillemot (1955), 7-62, tav. IV, 2.

²⁹⁶ Schubart, Niemeyer (1976), 122, 124, fig. 12, nn. 547, 557.

²⁹⁷ Bartoloni (2000c), 21-22, 26, fig. 2, a, Tav. III, c.

²⁹⁸ Muscuso (2008), 26-28, fig. e, VI-VIII; Guirguis (2010a), 76-77, figg. 43-44.

²⁹⁹ Johnston, Jones (1978), 103-41; Lucchese (2009), 77-84; Pratt (2015), 213-45.

³⁰⁰ Aranegui Gasco (1980), 99-115; Maier Allende (1992), 95-119; Kbiri Alaoui, López Pardo (1998), 5-25; Martín Ruiz (1995), 121-122, figg. 106-107; Muscuso (2008), 27-28.

³⁰¹ Aubet (1978), 267-287; Aranegui Gascó (1980), 99-115; Jiménez Barrientos (1990), 215-222; Maier Allende (1992), 95-141; Kbiri Alaoui, López Pardo (1998), 9-15, figg. 2-4; Torres Ortiz (1999), 80-85; Rodríguez Muñoz (2006), 93-108; Torres Ortiz (2008), 632-635.

³⁰² Bartoloni (2003), 169-171; Bartoloni 2015, 82-85.

³⁰³ Shai, Maeir 2012, 335, 356-357, fig. 14.16, JG2.

³⁰⁴ Bartoloni (2012b), 83-84.

³⁰⁵ Bartoloni (2018), 21, 34, fig. 57.

³⁰⁶ Bartoloni (1990a), 47, 74, fig. 7, 125; Bartoloni (2008), 1602-1603.

seem to have obtained much fortune outside Sardinia,³⁰⁷ but there are several examples on the island and, in particular, in Sulky,³⁰⁸ in the necropolis of the settlement of Monte Sirai³⁰⁹ and in Tharros,³¹⁰ even with specimens that are almost identical both in size and decoration.³¹¹ The shape is well known and is well represented in the Phoenician and Punic world in every phase of its evolutionary process between the last part of the 7th and the first years of the 4th century BC.³¹² As mentioned, this type could derive from amphorae of mainly domestic use of the so-called SOS class,³¹³ produced in the Athens area in the 8th century BC and well known to the Phoenician world of the East³¹⁴ and West, for example in Carthage, in the Iberian area and in Sardinia, in the centres of Sulky, Nora and Olbia,³¹⁵ although Catherine E. Pratt in her recent work does not seem to have taken this into account.³¹⁶ However, as is obvious, the origin of the type remains uncertain and considering that the cordon of the neck on which the handles rest is considered a characterising element indicating similarity, it is necessary to specify that this feature represents a cosmopolitan technical detail. As far as this specific period is concerned, the Sulky amphora of a domestic type, maybe mediated even by the Carthaginian repertory of the 8th century BC,³¹⁷ fully confirms the chronology between the last years of the 7th and the first years of the 4th century BC suggested above.³¹⁸ This, of course, is part of an evolutionary process that is clearly evident over time. The specimens present in the hypogeum are eight, all apparently similar to each other, but with formal differences that involve above all the rim and neck. In fact, at least two variants can be recognized, differentiated on the basis of the diameter of the neck, which appears more or less small. Amphorae N. 4, 6, 10 and 90 have a narrower mouth and neck (Pls. V, VII, XI, LXXXVIII), while amphorae N. 11-13 and 91 have a larger mouth and neck diameter (Pls. XII-XIV, LXXXIX). Unfortunately, we are unable to determine whether these particularities represent a chronological discriminant, nor can the different decorations contribute to this particular investigation, since the same decorative syntax appears on amphorae belonging to different types. This similarity occurs, for example, on the body of the amphorae in Figs. 11 and 12, both decorated with archaic patterns. In fact, another indicative feature is that the decorative syntax of the amphorae of this older type is very close to that of amphorae with a carinated shoulder. The decorative scheme, characterized by a red varnish band framed by two pairs of black lines, widely known also with variants,³¹⁹ originated in the Syro-Palestinian area, with its epicentre in southern Lebanon.³²⁰ In any case, the domestic

³⁰⁷ Docter (2018), 59-75.

³⁰⁸ Bartoloni (2012c), 78-79, fig. 2.

³⁰⁹ Botto, Salvadei (2005), 130-131, fig. 41, e; Guirguis (2010a), 76-77, 93, 125-126, figg. 43-44, 108-109, 209; Guirguis (2011), 7, 10, figg. 14, 23.

³¹⁰ Acquaro (1980), 87, tav. XXXIII.

³¹¹ Bartoloni (2000a), 114-115.

³¹² Bartoloni (1983b), 46, fig. 4, a-b.

³¹³ Sparkes, Talcott (1970), 187-193, fig. 12; Johnston, Jones (1978), 103-141; Pratt (2015), 213-245.

³¹⁴ Chambon (1980), 173, tav. 44, 2, 128; Badre (1997), 86, 89, fig. 46, 2.

³¹⁵ Vegas (1989), 216; Bartoloni (1990a), 41-42, tav. v, 1; De Rosa (2009), 75-76; Rendeli (2009), 7, 10, 16-17, 19; García Alfonso (2015), 141, 143-144, 146, 148, 151-152, fig. 8.

³¹⁶ Pratt (2015), 238.

³¹⁷ Harden (1937), 64-70, fig. 3; Cintas (1970), 353-356, tavv. XXXIII-XXXIV; Benichou-Safar (2004), 112-113, figg. 3-4.

³¹⁸ Bartoloni (2000b), 103-113; Pisano (1996), 125-144.

³¹⁹ Bartoloni (1983c), 210, 219, fig. 9, d.

³²⁰ Vibert Chapman (1972), 62-63, 82-83, 109-10fig. 1, 169, fig. 8, 43, fig. 20, 214; Lehmann (1996), n. 246/2, tav. 41, n. 291/2, tav. 47.

amphora towards the end of the 7th century presents a peculiar type of decoration which seems to definitively disappear in the first half of the 6th century BC in Sardinia³²¹ and in the central Mediterranean.³²² In Sardinia this pattern is particularly widespread also associated with other shapes³²³ and on the island it is mainly referred to the period mentioned.³²⁴ The second type of decoration includes a scheme of the type called black-on-red, in which several groups of three or four lines outlined in black paint under the rim and on the shoulder and belly are applied on a red paint base spread over the entire surface of the vessel. There are a few late examples among the amphorae belonging to the Cruz del Negro typology that are decorated in a substantially similar manner.³²⁵ However, in this specific case, if it is not a simple coincidence, this decorative scheme could represent a reminiscence of the decorative syntax of SOS amphorae that is not too distant, even in terms of chronology.³²⁶ In any case, this assumption could be invalidated by the observation that the decoration that might appear close to SOS amphorae involves amphorae with convex shoulders of the later type, while the decoration of the older type is quite different.³²⁷ In fact, in vessels of this type the decoration appears predominantly with wavy lines, lines and bands outlined with bichromatic paint on an achromatic background or treated with red paint. Such a scheme has already been encountered several times on the island and, in particular, in Sulky,³²⁸ in the necropolis of the settlement of Monte Sirai,³²⁹ and in Tharros,³³⁰ even with examples that are almost identical both in terms of size and decoration.³³¹ Finally, one must not forget the similar type of decoration on the so-called *bouteilles syriennes*, found in Tell Keisan in a chronological setting between the end of the 8th and the first years of the 7th century BC, decorated with groups of several lines of black paint, but with no handles, thus objectively referred to a different shape.³³² In the end, the decorative scheme composed of groups of three or four lines of black paint (Pls. XIV, LXXXIX) seems to be later than others. This situation could confirm that the other different and already described decorative schemes are chronologically earlier and that the Belvedere hypogeal tomb 1 is to be considered the oldest among similar ones in the necropolis of Sulky. In fact, the domestic amphorae decorated with several groups of black paint lines staggered along the body seem to be mainly related to the period after the end of the 6th century BC, while those with red paint bands surrounded by two groups of two or three black paint lines belong to an earlier time. In our hypogeum this type of amphorae, also decorated in a simpler way, but in red paint, are in greater number, while those with the type of decoration indicated as the later one are represented by only two specimens.

³²¹ Bartoloni (2015), 130, fig. 157; Bartoloni (2016a), 57, fig. 285; Bartoloni (2017), 266-67, 269, 275, 278, figg. 7, 49-50, 71; Bartoloni (2019), 46-46, fig. 1, 2.

³²² Cintas (1970), tav. XIX, 95, 98, tav. XXVII, 34, XXX, 69, XXXI, 81, 86, 88; Spagnoli (2019), 47-48, 54, figg. 3.40, 4.4a.

³²³ Bartoloni (2017), 268, 275, figg. 7, 49-50.

³²⁴ Orsingher (2013), 180; Bartoloni (2019), 47.

³²⁵ Martin Ruiz (2004), 99-101, fig. 235.

³²⁶ Johnston, Jones (1978), 104, tav. 17, a.

³²⁷ Bartoloni (2019), 43, 47, fig. 1, 2.

³²⁸ Bartoloni (2012c), 78-79, fig. 2.

³²⁹ Botto, Salvadei (2005), 130-131, fig. 41, e; Guirguis (2010a), 76-77, 93, 125-126, figg. 43-44, 108-109, 209; Guirguis (2011), 7, 10, figg. 14, 23.

³³⁰ Acquaro (1980), 87, tav. XXXIII.

³³¹ Bartoloni (2000a), 114-115; Esu 2000, 151-61.

³³² Chambon (1980), 159-60, 162-64, 167, tav. 36.

This is because among hypogeal tombs edited to date amphorae of the domestic type appear with similar decorative patterns with the exception of six amphorae, two from tomb 3A, two from tomb 6 PGM, one from tomb 9 PGM and one from tomb 12 AR,³³³ but only those with several groups of lines of black paint are present,³³⁴ thus clearly later.

Beginning the description of the six transport amphorae, these appear to be of a type quite common in the Sulky area. Our first amphora (Pl. I), is very similar to a transport vessel found in a tomb of the Phoenician necropolis of Monte Sirai, connected to the first half of the 6th century BC.³³⁵ The presence of six transport amphorae certainly does not mean that the deceased buried in the chamber were that many, but that in the funeral ritual of the time the physical presence of these vessels was foreseen, as they were a symbol considered necessary, while, in the later period, the ritual did not recognize the need for this presence. A hint of a possible similar ritual is in a rural monosome burial datable to the first half of the 6th century BC, consisting of a pit, in which, in addition to a domestic-type amphora, which in all likelihood had the function of a cinerary container, there was a transport amphora³³⁶ very similar to our second specimen (Pl. III). Both the third and fourth transport vessels (Pls. IV, IX), which are still widely documented especially in the area of southwestern Sardinia, can be dated before the second half of the 6th century BC.³³⁷ The fifth and sixth vessels (Pls. LVII, LXV) have a chronology similar to the second amphora, although probably just slightly older, perhaps at the end of the first quarter of the 6th century BC. As already stated, the amphorae contained animal bone remains in a purely symbolic amount, in order to guarantee sustenance in the afterlife to the deceased owner of the vessel.³³⁸

On the contrary, we must highlight the absence in our grave goods and in those of a slightly later chronology³³⁹ of a container, the dipper,³⁴⁰ which instead is omnipresent in grave goods dating back to the period from the second quarter of the 5th century to the whole 4th century BC,³⁴¹ before disappearing again from goods in hypogea of the following centuries.³⁴² As is known, the dipper was a container used to take wine mixed with water inside the crater and pour it into cups.³⁴³ This shows that in the analysis of ancient contexts, no matter which culture or civilization they belong to, nothing can be taken for granted.³⁴⁴ In conclusion, from the analysis of the reconstructable grave goods of the Punic necropolis of Sulky, the concept of "standardization"³⁴⁵ of the goods themselves proves fundamentally wrong, since in the course of time variables are constant, innumerable and not easy to codify, even if this may sometimes seem the case to observers who we could certainly define in need of a more in-depth analysis.

³³³ Tronchetti (2002), 163, tav. VI, 3; Bernardini (2008a), 651, 655, fig. 5, 3; Muscuso (2017), 332-33, fig. 4, 16, 37; Bernardini (2018), 103, fig. 6, b.

³³⁴ Taramelli (1908), 155-56, fig. 9; Puglisi (1942), 112-14, fig. 5; Amadasi, Brancoli (1965), 115, tav. XLI, 60; Bartoloni (1983b), 46, fig. 4, a-b; Bartoloni (1987), 62, 68, fig. 3, a-c, tav. VIII, a-c; Bernardini (1999), 135-45, tav. IV; Bernardini (2005a), 78, 80, fig. 19.

³³⁵ Bartoloni (1999), 195-99, figg. 1-3, tav. I, a.

³³⁶ Bartoloni (2012c), 75-81.

³³⁷ Bartoloni (1988b), 45-46, fig. 8, D2-D3.

³³⁸ †Bernardini (2021), 391-92.

³³⁹ Bartoloni (1987), 57-73.

³⁴⁰ Bartoloni (1983b), 43-44, fig. 1, h-j; Muscuso (2008), 23-24, fig. d, I-IV.

³⁴¹ Melchiorri (2013), 1170, fig. 7.

³⁴² Guirguis, Unali (2012), 2011-29; Muscuso, Pompianu (2012), 2031-59.

³⁴³ Bartoloni (2012d), 94-98.

³⁴⁴ Melchiorri (2013), 1171.

³⁴⁵ Melchiorri (2007), 66, 80-83.

The same opinion has been recently expressed in a short article on the funeral equipment of a hypogeal tomb of our necropolis,³⁴⁶ in which: "... si lamenta per il V secolo l'assenza di una seriazione tipologica precisa."³⁴⁷ In order to fill this gap, it is advisable to delve into the study and reciprocal internal comparisons of the Sulky materials and carefully consult the previous bibliography.

Other non-fictile objects are also part of the grave goods and of the further evidence found in the tomb. In the description of these finds the order of the inventory numbering will be followed. The first of these is a silver rod with a circular section and tapered ends (Pl. XXV) (Inv. MC 193253-MSA 10386), classified as an earring in the inventory, but as a finger ring in the preliminary publication.³⁴⁸ It should be added that among the finds of the burial there is a mount similar to a cartouche, characteristic of archaic Punic jewellery,³⁴⁹ defined as a "decorative plaque" in the inventory (Inv. MC 193311- MSA 10444) and which, as also suggested by Antonio Sechi,³⁵⁰ could have belonged to the same ring.

Among the non-fictile finds the blue semi-transparent glass paste necklace N. 39 certainly stands out (Pl. XXXIX), which has an almost identical parallel also from Sardinia.³⁵¹ The manufactured article from Sulky is defined as: "...braccialetto..." in a degree thesis of the University of Pisa,³⁵² but considering its dimensions, with a diameter of 8.1 centimetres, it could also be an anklet. The place of production is not certain, while the type is widely distributed, above all made of precious metals.³⁵³ It is certainly interesting to mention Antonio Sechi's idea, albeit lacking concrete evidence, of the possible presence in the past of two animal protomes made of precious metal used as lugs, which went missing in ancient times.³⁵⁴ Finally, two similar gold bracelets with button terminals come from a royal tomb in Sidon.³⁵⁵

N. 68 (Inv. MC 193295-MSA 10428) refers to a small alabaster vase of elongated shape (Pl. LXVII), probably originally in its usual fusiform appearance,³⁵⁶ equipped with two prismatic lug handles located immediately under the neck, of a type quite common in the Archaic period.³⁵⁷ The edge has a cylindrical appearance,³⁵⁸ on an elongated body.³⁵⁹ Our specimen appears visibly worn and strongly degraded, as has happened with most similar finds in alabaster, since the purpose of these particular containers was the gradual release of their perfumed contents.³⁶⁰ As is well known, alabaster, by its nature a soft chalky or calcite stone, tends to dissolve over time until it disappears. In the area of the cities of Phoenicia, in particular in Sidon, in necropolises between the 6TH and V centuries BC,

³⁴⁶ Lancia (2021), pp. 247-59.

³⁴⁷ Lancia (2021), 250.

³⁴⁸ Sechi (2006), 55.

³⁴⁹ Culican (1985), 134-35, tav. 12, d; Pisano (1987), 83, k. 19/16; Quillard (1987), tav. XVI, 268; Bartoloni (2000c), 22, 27, tav. IV, a.

³⁵⁰ Sechi (2006), 54-55.

³⁵¹ Uberti (1993), 105-106, tav. XVII, 119.

³⁵² Sechi (2006).

³⁵³ Pisano (1987), 86-87, tav. 41, f. 20/20.

³⁵⁴ Sechi (2006), 53, 212, 260.

³⁵⁵ Hamdy Bey, Reinach (1892), 104-105, fig. 45.

³⁵⁶ Aubet (1971), 111-15, tav. I.

³⁵⁷ Karageorghis (1960), 550-52.

³⁵⁸ López-Grande (2016), 70-71, figg. 3a-3b.

³⁵⁹ Laflī, Buora (2020), 439-43, tavv. 1, 3-4.

³⁶⁰ López-Grande (2016), 67-88.

alabastra represented a widely used find.³⁶¹ Between the end of the VIII and throughout the 7th century BC, alabaster containers became a status-symbol of eminent personages who, especially in Carthage³⁶² and Phoenician Iberia,³⁶³ put them in their grave goods. We remember in particular the anthropoid sarcophagi of Cadiz³⁶⁴ and Soluntum³⁶⁵ with the characters depicted on the lid holding an *alabastron* similar to ours. In Sardinia a piece of evidence is provided by a specimen found in the necropolis of Tharros and preserved at the British Museum.³⁶⁶

It is worth mentioning a single gold necklace bead (Inv. MC 193296, MSA 10429),³⁶⁷ in the type with cordoned edges and knurled surface (Pl. LXVIII), known in the Phoenician environment of Sardinia,³⁶⁸ also made of silver.³⁶⁹ The surface is entirely treated with a knurled decoration traced diagonally with respect to the through holes. The bead is made of thin gold leaf, maybe originally stretched over a wooden core, at any rate of an organic and deciduous nature. Seven similar necklace gold leaf beads (Pl. LXXXIII) belong to the same type, decorated with a denser pattern compared to the previous bead.³⁷⁰ Next there is a silver earring³⁷¹, perhaps originally gold laminate, with an elongated elliptical hook, of the type found also recently in Sardinia made of precious metal, whose pendant could be added or removed at will.³⁷² The type, shaped as an elongated leech, is widely distributed in the western Phoenician world and well-known also in Sulky.³⁷³ It is worth mentioning some rod fragments with a circular iron section, including two semicircles (Inv. MC 193298/9, MSA 10430/1), a complete circle with extensions and 14 rod fragments,³⁷⁴ evidently parts of cotter pins intended for the assembly of the wooden coffin inside the tomb.³⁷⁵ A broken iron nail with a round head (Inv. MC 193308, MSA 10441), also found in some Tharros tombs³⁷⁶ and whose use does not seem e6th dent, ends the objects made of this type of metal. Inventory numbers MC 193300 and MSA 10433 mark what remains of a possible necklace or bracelet, originally made of four glass paste eye-like beads and a gold ring (Pl. LXXVIII), while the currently missing beads, presumably made of organic material (wood, leather, etc.) have obviously disappeared.³⁷⁷ It is necessary to mention two silver rings, one of which is broken (Inv. MC 193300, MSA 10434) (Pl. LXXIII) and one with a leech-like body, lacking about

³⁶¹ Torrey (1920), pp. 24-25.

³⁶² Delattre (1896), 32, fig. 7; Delattre (1905), 129; Delattre (1907), 451-52, fig. 19; Lancel (1982), 322, 325, fig. 507.

³⁶³ Gamar-Wallert (1978), 21-24, 217, figg. 1, G30, G42, 121, B8; López Castro (2006), 74-88.

³⁶⁴ Chiera (1981), 211-16; Almagro-Gorbea, López Rosendo, Mederos Martín, Torres Ortiz (2010), 374, 378-79, fig. 23.

³⁶⁵ Tusa (1974), 48-49, tavv. 31-32; Moscati (1987), 80-81, tav. 31.

³⁶⁶ Barnett, Mendleson (1987), 172, tav. 96, 12/6.

³⁶⁷ Sechi (2006), p. 58.

³⁶⁸ Barnett, Mendleson (1987), 224, fig. 40, 28/18a; Bartoloni (1990c), n. 101.

³⁶⁹ Bartoloni (1990c), n. 102.

³⁷⁰ Sechi (2006), 58.

³⁷¹ Sechi (2006), 54.

³⁷² Bartoloni (2000c), 22, tav. II, b.

³⁷³ Bernardini (1991b), 193-94, 202, tav. II, 1-2.

³⁷⁴ Sechi (2006), 63-64.

³⁷⁵ Delattre (1897), 25, fig. 46; Barnett, Mendleson (1987), tavv. 74, 78, 87, 95, 101, 112, 117, 119, 121, 123, 125, 130, 132, 134, 136, 138; Bartoloni (1987), 60.

³⁷⁶ Barnett, Mendleson (1987), 191, 213, 219, 233, 18/35-18/36, 24/51, 26/40-26/41, 31/30-31/31, tavv. 109, 121, 125, 134, 26/40-26/41.

³⁷⁷ Sechi (2006), 59.

half of its rod (Inv. MC 193301, MSA 10435) (Pl. LXXIV). There are also 11 hemispherical bone buttons (Inv. MC 193303, MSA 10436), ten of which are smooth with a hole on the base and one with a hole between the round top and the base. These are probably buttons that could have been covered with fabric. Some examples come from the necropolis of Tharros, where it is possible to recognize both groups of beads of different sizes³⁷⁸ and groups of similar beads, as well as the same composition with all round beads hollow at the back and only one bead with a through hole.³⁷⁹ A completely oxidized silver ring (Pl. LXXVII) must be also mentioned, as all the objects made of this type of metal found in the underground chamber. Given its size, the ring (Inv. MC 193305, MSA 10438) could have been used as a necklace bead or as part of a more complex and larger piece of jewellery.³⁸⁰

A steatite scaraboid³⁸¹ of an almost imperceptible elliptical shape which perhaps was meant to be mounted, probably belonged to the ring with leech-shaped rod mentioned above³⁸² with a tilting mount, characteristic of the type.³⁸³ On the mount, surrounded by a double frame and resting on the exergue, the *neb* symbol, probably a lion crouching to the right³⁸⁴ rather than a sphinx³⁸⁵ because the tail is curved and turned forward, as is usual when lions are represented. Along the perimeter there is a circular furrow, while the round top seems to lack the engraved indications of the *protorax*, *torax* and *elytra*. As is known, the image of the lion, like the sphinx, represented the pharaoh and expressed his devastating power. The figure of the crouching lion³⁸⁶ is often accompanied by that of the solar disk positioned behind the animal's back,³⁸⁷ which, however, does not seem to appear in our case, although there was enough space. The image of the crouching lion is not unknown in Sulky, since it also appears on a scarab found in an *enchytrismòs* burial of the hypogea necropolis.³⁸⁸

The jewellery includes a rectangular gold plaque with a cur6th linear top and spiral hook (Inv. MC 193304, MSA 10437) (Pl. LXXVI).³⁸⁹ The perimeter of the plaque is decorated with a row of spheres, while the figurative field is surrounded by a continuous line in relief and an additional row of spheres inside it. Inside the field and in the centre there is a lozenge made of nine small spheres,³⁹⁰ on the long sides there are two triangles consisting of six spheres each,³⁹¹ while on the short sides there are two other triangles, again made of six small spheres.³⁹² The same granulation technique is used for two other pendants of circular shape representing a solar disk superimposed on a crescent moon. Both the disc and the crescent are surrounded by spheres. The hook of one pendant is tubular with two rings at the ends (Inv. MC 193313, MSA 10446) (Pl. LXXXIV), while at the ends of the other hook there are two

³⁷⁸ Barnett, Mendleson (1987), 11/36-11/43, 19/52-19/67, 22/26-22/40, 23/30-23/44, 24/30-24/49, 25/31-25/37, 171, 195, 206, 209-10, 212-13, 226, tav. 95, 111, 117, 119, 121, 123.

³⁷⁹ Barnett, Mendleson (1987), 13/38-13/50, 27/33-27/42, 177-78, 222, tav. 99, 126.

³⁸⁰ Sechi (2006), 59.

³⁸¹ Sechi (2006), 61.

³⁸² Feghali Gorton (1996), 4.

³⁸³ Caneva, Delli Pizzi (2014), 496-97, figg. 1-2.

³⁸⁴ Matthiae Scandone (1975), 20, tav. I, 5.

³⁸⁵ Sechi (2006), 61.

³⁸⁶ Matthiae Scandone (1971), 13-14, fig. 2, tav. II.

³⁸⁷ Delattre (1897a), 7, fig. 13, XIII; Masson (2010), 28, British Museum.

³⁸⁸ Bartoloni (2020), 10, 14-16, tav. V.

³⁸⁹ Sechi (2006), 56.

³⁹⁰ Pisano (1987), 87-88, tav. 42, c. 8/24.

³⁹¹ Quillard (1987), 281.

³⁹² Bartoloni (2010b), 66.

small roses with six petals (Inv. MC 193309, MSA 10442) (Pl. LXXX).³⁹³ The two pendants appear to have been subject to crushing. A similar specimen comes from the necropolis of Tharros,³⁹⁴ while the Tharros specimen housed at the British Museum is double-sided and not specular, since it is decorated on both faces, but with different decorations.³⁹⁵

The semi-precious jewellery includes a necklace composed of 19 glass paste, steatite and carnelian beads.³⁹⁶ The latter bead is cut in the shape of a barrel, while a blue glass paste bead is cylindrical. The four steatite beads, visibly worn, are subcylindrical, while the 13 spherical glass paste elements are of a traditional type, polychrome and decorated with eyespots.³⁹⁷ It is worth mentioning an ivory amulet shaped as an outstretched right hand, with the back in bas-relief, the flat palm and no anatomical indications. In addition, the state of preservation is precarious because the amulet is missing the fingertips and the lower part of the palm.³⁹⁸ It is an amulet of notable interest also in relation to its chronology, which, in the later exemplars, therefore probably like ours, is to be placed not later than the early 6th century BC. The type draws inspiration from Egyptian models, defined "open hand".³⁹⁹ The type, generally not very frequent, is present in Sardinia, especially in the Tharros area.⁴⁰⁰ A specimen was found in the necropolis of Utica,⁴⁰¹ located on the North African coast in front of Sardinia, not by chance as for the ivory pyxes.

The series of *athyrimata* from the Belvedere Tomb 1 is in fact ended by a funerary pyxis with five fragments, which allow us to reconstruct the type to which it belongs (Pl. XC). It is undoubtedly a type well known in Sardinia between the second half of the 7th century BC and the first half of the following century, found in the necropolis of Bithia.⁴⁰² The shape consists of two almost twin halves which, being sections of elephant tusks, are slightly elliptical bases / tops, with a convex rim onto which two parts are grafted, with steps up to the cylinder of the body, which in turn is grafted onto the other half of the pyxis. The most direct comparisons can be made with objects included in the grave goods of three tombs of the necropolis of Bithia⁴⁰³ and, as mentioned, with a pyxis found in a monosome burial of Utica.⁴⁰⁴ The fact that the trade of both elephant and hippopotamus ivory⁴⁰⁵ with the Near East⁴⁰⁶ and between the two shores of the western Mediterranean⁴⁰⁷ was more than flourishing, is confirmed by the finds; there is also documentation referred to Sardinia.⁴⁰⁸

The analysis of Tomb 1 PGM of Via Belvedere, located at the eastern edge of the area of the great hypogeal necropolis of Sulky and currently in the heart of Sant'Antioco (Fig. 1), is

³⁹³ Sechi (2006), 57.

³⁹⁴ Fariselli, Fiorentino, Morigi, Bettuzzi, Rimondi, Doppiu (2021), 51-52, 69-70, figg. 16, b, 36-38.

³⁹⁵ Pisano (1987), 89, tav. 42, g, 6/29.

³⁹⁶ Sechi (2006), 60.

³⁹⁷ Bartoloni (1990), n. 273.

³⁹⁸ Sechi (2006), 61.

³⁹⁹ Petrie (1914), 9, 11, tav. I, 11, a-g.

⁴⁰⁰ Barnett, Mendleson (1987), 209, tav. 119, 23/23; Acquaro (1997), 16, 44, tav. III, 64-66.

⁴⁰¹ Cintas (1954), 113, 116, fig. 42.

⁴⁰² Bartoloni (1996a), 71, fig. 33, 359, tav. XXVI, 4-5.

⁴⁰³ Acquaro, Bartoloni (1986), 196-97, 199-201, 220, 223, figg. 19, 22, tavv. III, a-d.

⁴⁰⁴ Cintas (1954), fig. 51; Colozier (1954), 159.

⁴⁰⁵ Banergee, Schuhmacher, Cardoso, López Castro, Ferjaoui, Mederos Martín, Martínez Hanmüller, Ben Jerbania (2017), 80-105.

⁴⁰⁶ Ben-Shlomo, Dothan (2006), 1-38.

⁴⁰⁷ Mederos Martín (2004), 263-81; Martín Ruiz (2010), 127-38; Marzoli, Banergee, Marcos Sánchez Sánchez-Moreno, Galindo San José (2016), 88-137.

⁴⁰⁸ Lo Schiavo, D'Oriano (2018), 119-48.

thus concluded. This analysis was able to prove that the hypogea, in accordance with its topographical position, is one of the most ancient of its type, coinciding with the area of the oldest incineration necropolis. With regard to the funerary objects which accompanied the deceased in the chamber (Fig. 2), it is undoubtedly worth highlighting the significant presence of oil lamps of the type with a lower support, while, conversely, the total absence of drinking vessels is to be noted. These peculiarities undoubtedly concern the modalities of the funeral rite, which also in this case is chronologically variable, in close relation to the sequence of the depositions. As far as the chronology of the tomb is concerned, according to what is suggested by the evolutionary process of the single ceramic shapes, while the initial date can be placed in the central part of the first quarter of the 6th century BC, i.e. around 580, its abandonment is to be placed immediately after the beginning of the following century.

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Riassunto /Abstract

Riassunto: Cronologia e riti dalla necropoli di Sulky: la tomba 1 della “Via Belvedere”. La tomba ipogea della necropoli di Sulky è situata al margine sud-occidentale della necropoli composta da tombe a camera. I corpi dei defunti sono accompagnati da un ricco corredo composto da piatti, coppe, lucerne, brocche rituali e anfore, sia di uso domestico che commerciale. Alcuni gioielli completano il corredo. La presenza dei Greci in Sardegna, anche se solo temporanea, è stata Greci in Sardegna, anche se solo temporanea, è stata a lungo discussa. I reperti disponibili sembrano suggerire che popolazioni focesi possano essersi insediate in Sardegna dai primi decenni al fine del VI secolo a.C. Un esempio efficace di conflitto tra i Fenici, i Sardi e i Greci che vivevano nell’isola può essere suggerito dagli eventi che interessarono sia l’insediamento di Cuccureddus, nei pressi di Capo Carbonara, che il sito di Santa Maria di Villaputzu, l’antica Sarcapos, presso la foce del Flumendosa.

Abstract: Chronology and rituals from the Sulky necropolis: Tomb 1 of the ‘Via Belvedere’ The underground tomb of the Sulky necropolis is located at the south-western edge of the necropolis composed of chamber tombs. The bodies of the deceased are accompanied by a rich trousseau consisting of plates, cups, oil lamps, ritual jugs and amphorae, both domestic and commercial. Some jewellery completed the trousseau. The presence of Greeks in Sardinia, even if only temporary, has long been debated. The available finds seem to suggest that Phocian populations may have settled in Sardinia from the first decades to the end of the 6th century BC. An effective example of a conflict between the Phoenicians, Sardinians and Greeks living on the island can be suggested by the events that affected both the settlement of Cuccureddus, near Capo Carbonara, and the site of Santa Maria di Villaputzu, ancient Sarcapos, near the mouth of the Flumendosa river.

Parole chiave: Sardegna; Olbia; Greci; Sulci; necropoli.

Keywords: Sardinia; Olbia; Greeks; Sulky; Necropolis.

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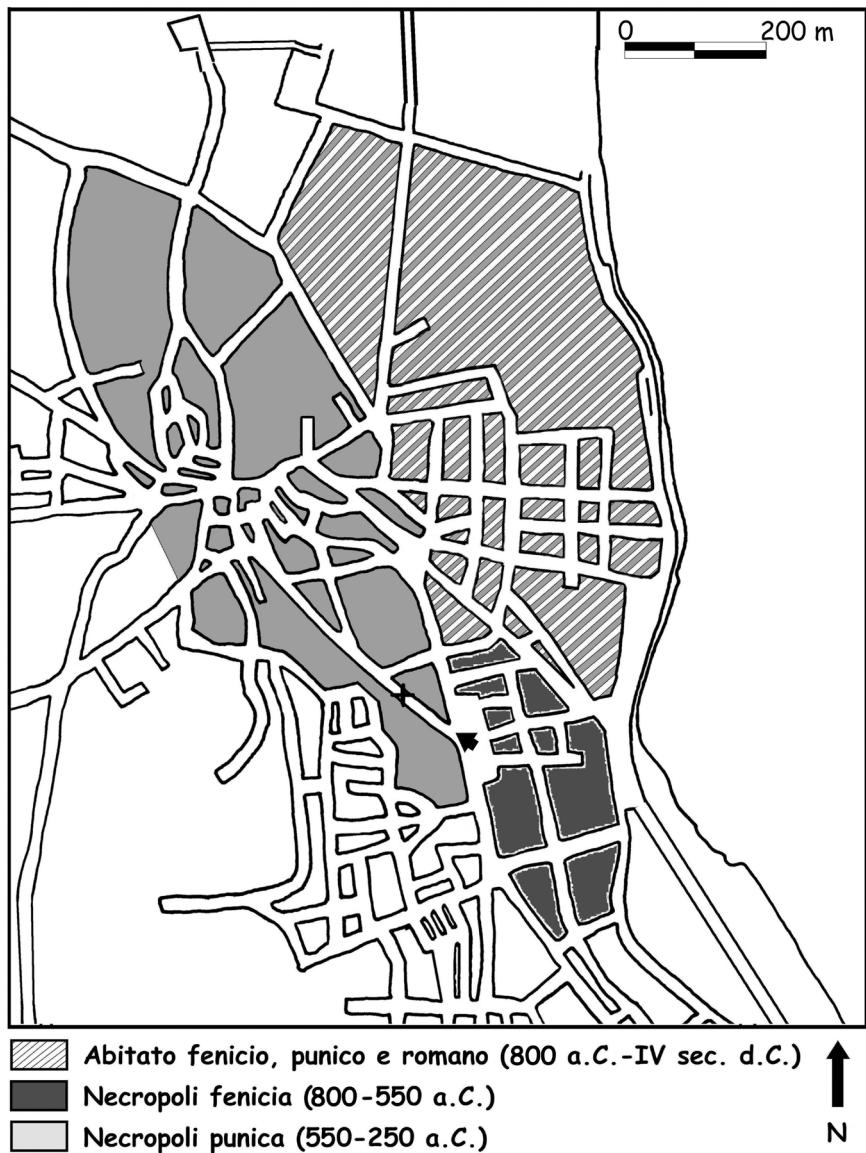


Fig. 1.

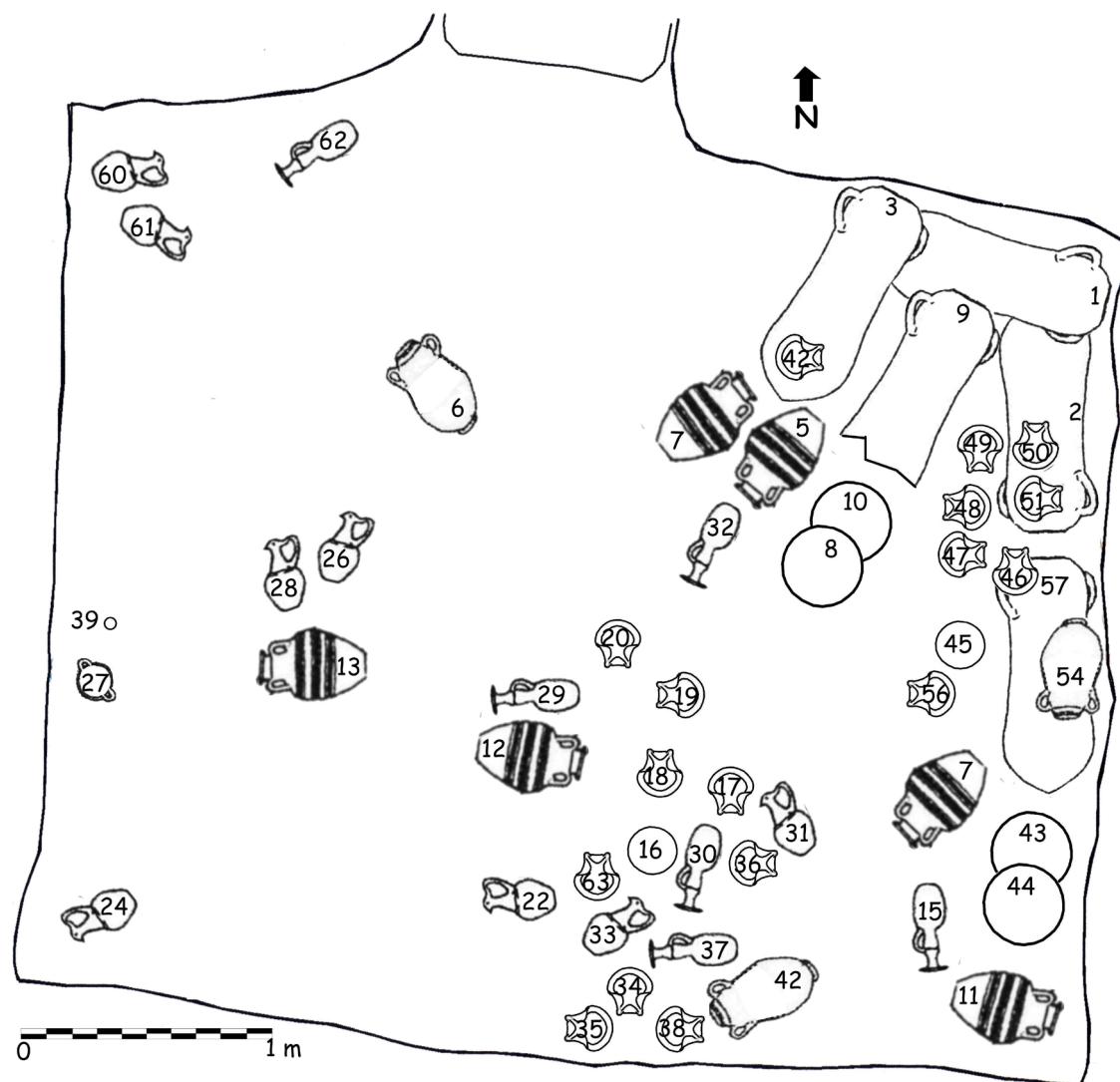


Fig. 2.





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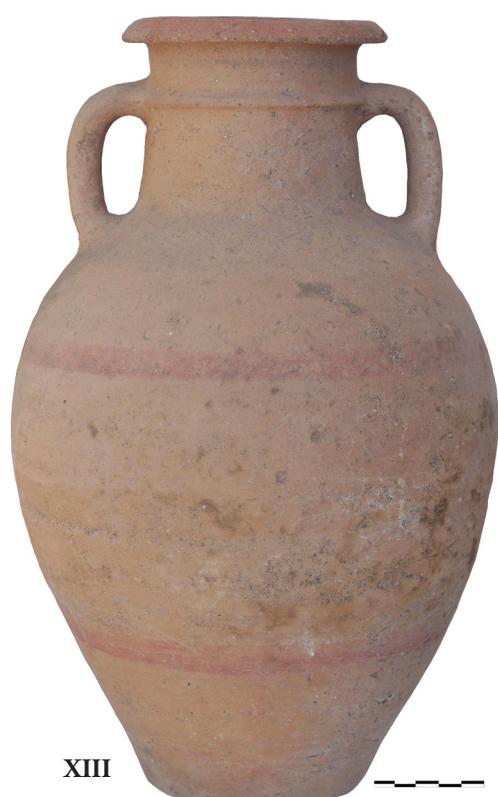
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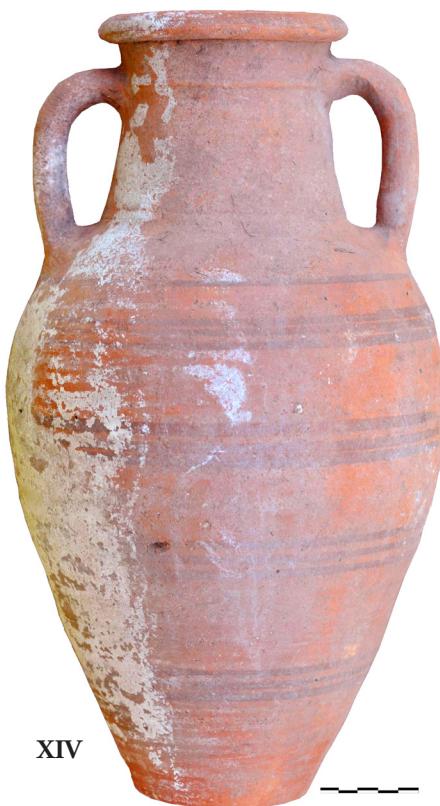
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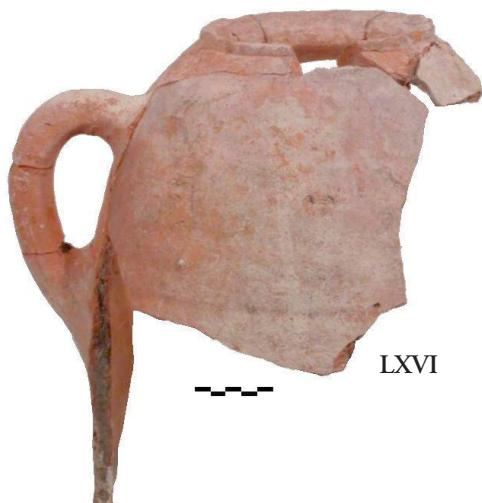


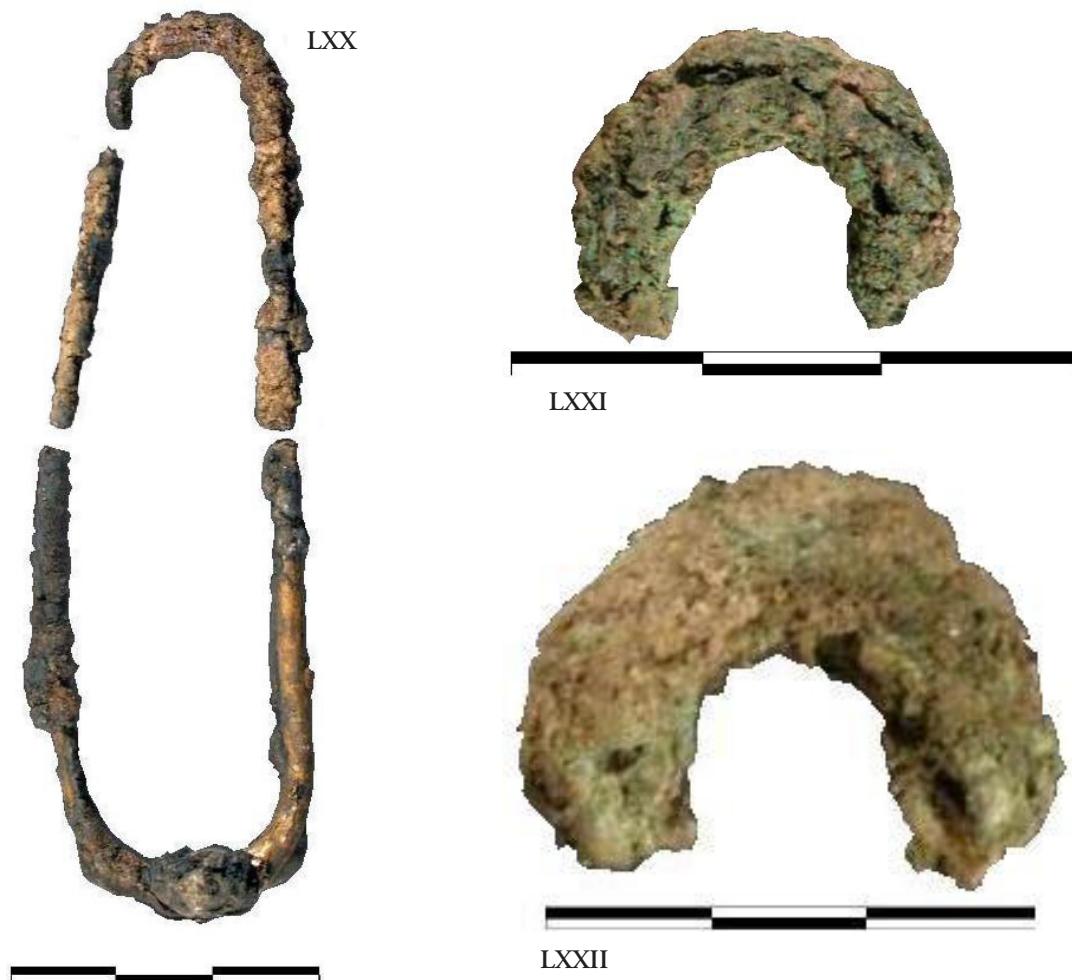




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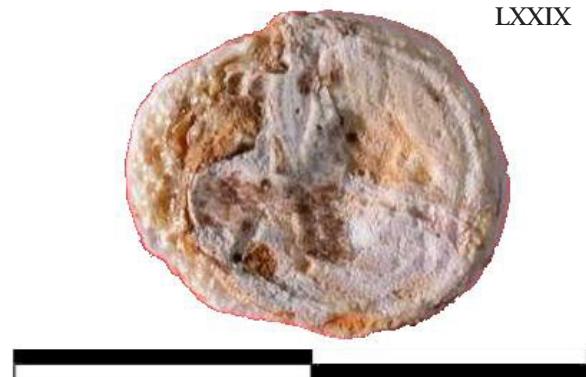




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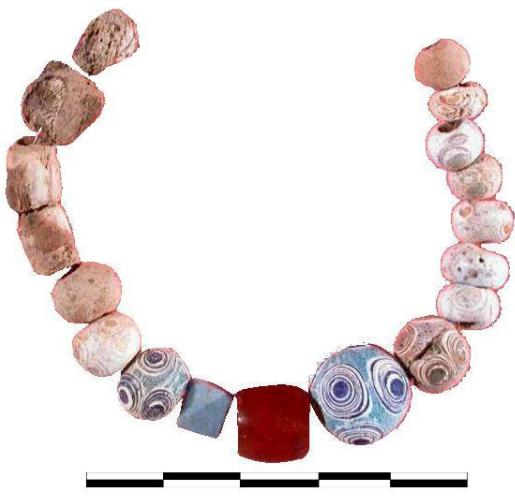
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