

University of Alberta

Lucanian Sanctuaries
History and Evolution from the Fourth Century B.C. to the Augustan Age

by

Ilaria Battiloro

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Classical Archaeology

Department of History and Classics

©Ilaria Battiloro

Fall 2010

Edmonton, Alberta

Permission is hereby granted to the University of Alberta Libraries to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only. Where the thesis is converted to, or otherwise made available in digital form, the University of Alberta will advise potential users of the thesis of these terms.

The author reserves all other publication and other rights in association with the copyright in the thesis and, except as herein before provided, neither the thesis nor any substantial portion thereof may be printed or otherwise reproduced in any material form whatsoever without the author's prior written permission.

Examining Committee

Helena Fracchia, History and Classics

Jeremy Rossiter, History and Classics

Lisa A. Hughes, Greek and Roman Studies, University of Calgary

Ehud Ben Zvi, History and Classics, Religious Studies Program

John Harris, History and Classics

Edward Bispham, Brasenose College, Oxford

ABSTRACT

This work seeks to provide new insight into understanding how the Lucanian sanctuaries were conceived, built, and used during a chronological period which ranges from the fourth century B.C. to the first century A.D. Within this time, the end of the third century B.C. and the bloody events of the Hannibalic war represented a crucial turning point for the Lucanian communities, concomitant with more infiltration of the southern peninsula by Rome. The last two centuries B.C. are therefore generally neglected in literature as a period of decline.

The basic line of thought of this research is that changes in function and form of sanctuaries reflect political, socio-economic and cultural transformations and development of those communities who built and frequented them. The function of the sanctuaries went well beyond the merely religious, for they also functioned as gathering, political and economic centers.

The evidence used in this thesis was mainly archaeological, and therefore the analysis of the *realia* represents the starting point and grounds for historical reconstructions. Archaeological data are diachronically analyzed at different levels: topographic location and relationship of sanctuaries with inhabited settlements, architectural structure and spatial organization of the complexes, and systems of votive offerings.

During the fourth and the third centuries B.C. the picture of the Lucanian sanctuaries appears at a first glance quite homogeneous, as the cultural expressions of the Lucanian communities derived from the same models. However, archaeological evidence does not support the theory regarding the existence of a collective sanctuary which belonged to the Lucanians as a whole ethnos, as has been hypothesised for the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary.

After the end of the third century B.C. archaeological evidence from the sites under scrutiny attests that the sanctuaries continued to be used, despite the abandonment of the surrounding inhabited settlements. Nevertheless, such continuity did not mean full frequentation of the sanctuaries, as the majority of them noticeably contracted. Thus the second century B.C. is greatly under-represented at the archaeological level, although in some cases a revival is attested during the first century B.C. In this scenario, the only sanctuary which experienced a phase of revitalization during both of the last two centuries B.C. was the Rossano di Vaglio complex, as it became the point of reference for a new, specifically Roman, territorial entity, the *praefectura* of Potentia. This analysis, therefore, is a further contribution to current studies concerning the transformations which occurred in Italy in conjunction with the rise of Roman power, the conquest of Italy, and the consequent diffusion of hegemonic culture.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my advisor Professor Helena Fracchia, for her academic supervision, guidance and constructive criticism at all stages of my work. The substantial achievements of this research are the result of the invaluable discussions I had with Helena during these years, and I know that the stimulating conversations with her will continue. I am very grateful for Helena's generous sharing of her priceless resource, time and help.

I want to express my full gratitude to my co-advisors, Professor Lisa A. Hughes (University of Calgary) and Professor Jeremy Rossiter (University of Alberta), for their intellectual support, insightful comments, and challenging questions, which had immense impact on the whole content of my research.

It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge the important contributions of the other members of my thesis committee, Professor Ehud Ben Zvi (University of Alberta), Professor Edward Bispham (Brasenose College, University of Oxford), and Professor John Harris (University of Alberta).

I also want to extend my sincere appreciation to Professor Frances Swyripa, who was Graduate Chair at the University of Alberta during most of the years of my doctoral program, for her constant support, careful advice and words of encouragement.

I am greatly indebted to many friends and colleagues, who always had confidence in me: Chiara Albanesi, Vincenzo Capozzoli, Patrick Conway, Sean Gouglas, Tanya Henderson, Michael Polushin, Nicola Taddonio, and Luca Vacca.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank my teacher in the past, Professor Massimo Osanna (Scuola di Specializzazione in Archeologia di Matera), for his unconditional support and encouragement to pursue my interests.

In addition, I extend my heartfelt thanks to my family, who sustained me during all the years of my doctoral program. I owe them more than I can ever say.

I am grateful to acknowledge the financial support of the University of Alberta, which granted me with the Dissertation Fellowship during the academic year 2009-2010.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
---------------------	---

PART I

The Lucanian *Facies*: between the Fourth Century B.C. and the End of the Third century B.C.

CHAPTER I: Lucania and Lucanians. Geography, History, Society, Settlement System	22
---	----

I. 1 ~ Physical geography: geomorphology and topography	23
I. 2 ~ Pre-Roman Lucania in written sources: a territory with unclear limits	25
I. 3 ~ The emergence of the Lucanian ethnos	27
I. 4 ~ Social structure: oligarchies and “intermediate” groups	33
I. 5 ~ Political structure: <i>touta</i> -, “military democracy” and <i>basileis</i>	36
I. 6 ~ Settlement system of Lucania: a landscape of fortified centers, farms and extra-mural sanctuaries	45

CHAPTER II: Lucanian Sanctuaries from the Fourth Century B.C. to the End of the Third Century B.C. Topography, Architecture, Spatial Organization	54
--	----

II. 1 ~ The sanctuary: a distinctive sign of Lucanian ethnos	55
II. 2 ~ Sanctuaries and settlement system of the region: geographic location and relationship with the inhabited areas	61
II. 3 ~ Political administration of the sanctuaries: who held the religious power?	66
II. 4 ~ The architecture of Lucanian sanctuaries: a look at the archaeological data	68

II. 4. 1 ~ Architectural features and spatial distribution	69
II. 4. 2 ~ Observations regarding sacred architecture in Lucania	89
CHAPTER III:	93
Lucanian Sanctuaries from the Fourth Century B.C. to the End of the Third century B.C. System of Votive Offerings	
III. 1 ~ System of votive offerings and ritual dynamics: archaeological phenomenology and historical interpretation	93
III. 2 ~ Votive offerings	100
III. 2. 1 ~ A “poor” gift to the gods: terracotta figurines	100
III. 2. 2 ~ World of men and world of women: weapons, utensils, and ornamental objects	110
III. 2. 3 ~ Ceramics and common meals	115
III. 2. 4 ~ Miniature ceramics and <i>aparchai</i>	117
III. 3 ~ Sacrifices, libations and fumigations	118
III. 3. 1 ~ Animal sacrifice and ritual banquets	118
III. 3. 2 ~ <i>Aparchai</i> and libations	122
III. 3. 3 ~ Fumigations	123
III. 4 ~ Observations on the system of votive offerings in Lucanian sanctuaries	124
CHAPTER IV	127
Religion and Cults in Ancient Lucania	
IV. 1 ~ Female cults: water, fertility and fecundity	128
IV. 2 ~ Male cults	131
IV. 3 ~ The cult of Mephitis in the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary: the epigraphic evidence	132
IV. 3. 1 ~ Mephitis: etymological issues	135
IV. 3. 2 ~ The inscriptions from the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary: Mephitis’ epithets	137
IV. 3. 3 ~ Mephitis and other deities	140
IV. 3. 4 ~ Observations on the cult of Mephitis in Lucania: a cross reading of written sources and archaeological evidence	144
IV. 4 ~ Concluding remarks	147
Conclusion to Part I	151

PART II
Under the Shadow of Rome:
between the End of the Third century B.C.
and the First century A.D.

CHAPTER V	161
The Roman Penetration in Lucania.	
Impact on Settlement System and Sanctuaries	
V. 1 ~ Historical framework: from <i>Leukania</i> to <i>Regio III</i>	165
V. 2 ~ Settlement and socio-economic change	171
V. 2. 1 ~ New political-institutional set-up of the region	172
V. 2. 2 ~ The disappearance of the Lucanian hill-top centers and the “ruralization” of the territory	177
V. 2. 3 ~ Socio-economic change	187
V. 3 ~ The fate of the Lucanian sanctuaries after the end of the third century B.C.	188
V. 3. 1 ~ Cases of continuity of Lucanian sanctuaries in late Republican age: the archaeological data	191
V. 3. 1. 1 ~ Torre di Satriano	191
V. 3. 1. 2 ~ Civita di Tricarico	196
V. 3. 1. 3 ~ Chiaromonte	199
V. 3. 2 ~ The transformations of the Lucanian sanctuaries in the late Republican age	201
V. 3. 3 ~ The role of the Lucanian sanctuaries in the post-Hannibalic age	211
CHAPTER VI	215
The Rossano di Vaglio Sanctuary	
During the Last Two Centuries B.C.	
VI. 1 ~ The Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary in post-Hannibalic age: the archaeological data	216
VI. 1. 1 ~ Restoration and monumentalization of the buildings	217
VI. 1. 2 ~ The materials	223
VI. 2 ~ The Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary in the wider context of the “Italic Hellenism”	230

VI. 3 ~ The Lucanian elites as promoters of the monumentalization of the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary	235
VI. 4 ~ Rossano di Vaglio in the late Republican age: an example of anti-Roman “ideological resistance”? A re-interpretation	237

Conclusion to Part II	245
------------------------------	-----

PART III

Catalogue of the Lucanian Sanctuaries	251
--	-----

<i>Bibliography</i>	295
----------------------------	-----

LIST OF FIGURES

- I-1. Ancient Lucania (after *Torre di Satriano I*, 42, fig. 1) [23]
- I-2. Ancient Lucania during the fourth century B.C.: hill-top settlements (after Isayev 2007, 5, fig. 2) [47]
- I-3a. The Moltone di Tolve farm: first building phase (after *Da Leukania a Lucania*, 40, fig. 64) [50]
- I-3b. The Moltone di Tolve farm: second building phase (after *Da Leukania a Lucania*, 40, fig. 66) [50]
- II-1. Roccagloriosa: the so-called “Complex A” (after *Roccagloriosa I*, 103, fig. 104) [58]
- II-2. Torre di Satriano: topographic location of hill-top settlement and sanctuary (after *Torre di Satriano I*, 60, fig. 12) [63]
- II-3. Rivello: topographic location of hill-top settlement and sanctuary (modified after Guandalini 2001, 219, fig. 21) [63]
- II-4. Torre di Satriano Sanctuary: building phases (modified after *Torre di Satriano I*) [71]
- II-5. San Chirico Nuovo Sanctuary (modified after Tagliente 2005, 117, fig. 2) [72]
- II-6. Armento Sanctuary: first building phase (modified after Russo Tagliente 2000, 40, fig. 33) [74]
- II-7. Armento Sanctuary: second building phase (after Russo Tagliente 2000, 40, fig. 33) [75]
- II-8. Chiaromonte Sanctuary (modified after Barra Bagnasco 2000-2002, 219, fig. 2) [77]
- II-9. Rivello Sanctuary (modified after *Velia 1990*, 70, fig. 1) [78]
- II-10. Civita di Tricarico; “temple P” and earlier structures (right and bottom-right corner) (after De Cazanove 2006, 380. Fig. 58) [79]

- II-11. Ferrandina Sanctuary (after Masseria 2000, 66) [82]
- II-12. Rossano di Vaglio Sanctuary: hypothetical first building phase (modified after Colangelo *et al.* 2008) [83]
- III-1. Enthroned goddess from Torre di Satriano (after *Torre di Satriano I*, 418, fig. 101) [102]
- III-2. Seated figurines from Timmari (after Lo Porto 1991, Pl. XLVI) [103]
- III-3. Standing figurines from Rivello (after *Evidenza Archeologica Lagonegrese*, 90, Pl. XX) [104]
- III-4. Veiled figurine from Torre di Satriano (after *Torre di Satriano I*, 418, fig. 102) [105]
- III-5. Tanagra figurines from Timmari (after Lo Porto 1991, Pl. LXIII) [106]
- III-6. Busts from Timmari (after Lo Porto 1991, Pl. XXX, XXXI, XXXIV, 43) [107]
- III-7. *Oscilla* from Timmari (after Lo Porto 1991, Pl. XXVII) [108]
- III-8. Clay animals and fruits from Timmari (after Lo Porto 1991, Pl. LXXIV) [109]
- III-9. Weapons from Rossano di Vaglio (after Adamesteanu and Dilthey 1992, 105, Pl. IV) [111]
- III-10. Loom weights from Torre di Satriano (after *Torre di Satriano I*, 349, Pl. LXXIII) [113]
- III-11. Ornamental objects from Rivello (after *Evidenza Archeologica Lagonegrese*, 97, Pl. XXVII) [114]
- III-12. *Unguentaria* from Torre di Satriano (after *Torre di Satriano I*, 341, Pl. LIX) [116]
- III-13. Miniature vases from Rivello (after *Evidenza Archeologica Lagonegrese*, 94, Pl. XXIV) [117]
- III-14. *Thymiateria* from Timmari (after Lo Porto 1991, Pl. LXXVII) [124]
- V-1. Civita di Tricarico: the hill-top settlement (after De Cazanove 2001a, 173, fig. 2) [179]

- V-2. Civita di Tricarico: plan of the so-called *acropolis* (after De Cazanove 2001a, 187, fig. 12) [180]
- V-3a. Cersosimo residential complex: first building phase (after Cossalter and De Faveri 2009, 147, fig. 3) [182]
- V-3b. Cersosimo residential complex: second building phase (after Cossalter and De Faveri 2009, 155, fig. 6) [182]
- V-4. Moltone di Tolve farm: third building phase (after *Da Leukania a Lucania*, 41, fig. 68) [184]
- V-5. Torre di Satriano Sanctuary: first century B.C. building phase (after *Torre di Satriano I*, 116, fig. 97) [193]
- V-6. Torre di Satriano Sanctuary: oil lamps and bronze statuette of *Lar* (after *Torre di Satriano I*, 380; 356, Pl. LXII; 199) [195]
- V-7. Civita di Tricarico: “Temple P” (after De Cazanove 2004b, 255, fig. 3) [196]
- V-8. Civita di Tricarico: the Etrusco-Italic temple on the *acropolis* (after De Cazanove 2001a, 190, fig. 14) [199]
- VI-1. Rossano di Vaglio Sanctuary: first phase of restoration (modified after Colangelo *et al.* 2008) [218]
- VI-2. Rossano di Vaglio Sanctuary: second phase of restoration (modified after Colangelo *et al.* 2008) [221]
- VI-3. Rossano di Vaglio Sanctuary: fragments of bronze statues (after *Da Leukania a Lucania*, 79, fig. 126; 80, figg. 127-128) [225]
- VI-4. Rossano di Vaglio Sanctuary: marble statues (after Adamesteanu and Dilthey 1992, 103, Pl. IIb; 102, Pl. IIa) [226]
- VI-5. Rossano di Vaglio Sanctuary: jewelry (after *Da Leukania a Lucania*, 84, fig. 135; 83, fig. 132; Adamesteanu and Dilthey 1992, 159, Pl. LIV) [228]

INTRODUCTION

This work explores the material evidence from the sanctuaries of ancient Lucania during a chronological range which goes from the Lucanian *facies* to Roman conquest of the region.

Here, within a study of indigenous religion and cult places, a preliminary clarification of the terminology used in this research, namely what is meant by “sanctuary” in the pages that follow, is needed. The cult places which will be explored are the sanctuaries which were built (in most cases physically separated from the residential settlements) during the fourth century B.C. all over the region, when the Lucanian ethnos emerged in the territory which acquired its name. Therefore, all the references to sanctuaries and cult or sacred places/areas, made in the following pages in order to avoid repetition, concern (when not differently specified) the religious complexes which appeared outside the Lucanian inhabited settlements, but connected with them through communication routes.

The identification of sanctuary areas in Lucania has been not always easy and immediate. In the context of the pre-Roman indigenous communities of southern Italy, the “signs of the sacred” were quite ephemeral when compared with the temples in the Greek world. In this respect, using the term “sanctuary” to define the sites under scrutiny has particular relevance.

In archaeological research the tendency to consider architectural terracotta decoration as a sufficient indicator of the existence of a sanctuary has been overturned, as the case-study of Serra di Vaglio in Lucania has

demonstrated. In this site, the archaeological investigation has revealed the existence of a gentilician residence, which also had public functions but it still cannot be considered as a cult place, despite the rich decoration of the building.¹

In the same way, there is another tendency by many scholars to consider the votive terracottas as the “fossil-guide” *par excellence* for the identification of cult places.² As O. De Cazanove has pointed out,³ this statement cannot be axiomatic, since clay figurines can be also found in profane contexts. For example, they appear in burial contexts, as it is widely attested in all of the Magno-Graecian area, both in indigenous (*e.g.* the Lucanian necropolis of San Brancato⁴) and in Greek areas from Tarentum to Heraclea.⁵ Furthermore, clay figurines are often found in domestic contexts. When the number of such statuettes in residential buildings is very conspicuous, the presence of such objects can be linked to domestic cults, which are found throughout ancient Lucania (for instance, the small cult place discovered in the courtyard of the second century B.C. farm at Banzi, or the votive deposit found in a Hellenistic farm at Chiaromonte).⁶ A different case is represented by the so-called “Complex A” at Roccagloriosa,⁷ which will be discussed in a subsequent chapter. At this site, the cult is clearly a domestic type, but it had also public values and therefore a public function within the settlement of Roccagloriosa. The only

¹ Greco G. 1991. Another example is the case of the Monte Giordano farm, where the presence of lion-head water spouts in a domestic context has been interpreted by G. Guzzo “come un desiderio di adornamento, non una destinazione culturale” [a desire of adornment, not a cultic destination] (Guzzo 1982a, 324).

² These terracottas, which derive from Greek (or Greek style) moulds, are found in the votive deposits which have been defined as “southern type” by A.M. Comella (Comella 1981, 717-803). They generally appear both in Greek and in indigenous contexts of southern Italy.

³ De Cazanove 1997a, 151-169.

⁴ Masseria 2000, 216.

⁵ Cf. the study of votive terracottas in Tarantine funerary contexts: Gräpler 1997, and Pianu’s publication of southern necropolis of Heraclea: Pianu 1990, 241 f

⁶ For Banzi, cf. Tagliente M., in *Basilicata*, 72, pl. III; for Monte Giordano cf. Guzzo 1982a, 322-325; for Chiaromonte, *Museo Policoro*, 106.

⁷ *Roccagloriosa I*, 63-77; 101-150.

plausible *comparandum* can be found in the site of Pomarico Vecchio, where a gentilician cult also played a public role.⁸

Thus, it is no wonder that the number of Lucanian “sanctuaries” has remarkably diminished thanks to recent archaeological investigations, as C. Masseria points out.⁹

In this research, the Lucanian sanctuaries are treated at different levels. First, their topographic location is considered, in order to contextualize them in the contemporary settlement system. Second, architectural aspects and spatial organization of the sacred contexts are discussed. Then, a survey analysis of the most common votive offerings which were dedicated in these sanctuaries constitutes the basis for a tentative reconstruction of the rituals which were performed in the sites at hand. By “ritual” I mean the body of activities and ceremonies which were prescribed by religion, and therefore were well established within a community.¹⁰ Finally, the combination of archaeological sources and the rare epigraphic documents which have been discovered in the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary (one of the most important sanctuaries of the region) allows some considerations on types of cult which were performed in the Lucanian sanctuaries and nature of local pantheon.

This thesis is divided into two parts on the basis of a chronological parameter: the first part focuses on the period from the fourth century B.C. to the end of the third century B.C., and the second part considers the last two centuries B.C., until the Augustan age.

⁸ Barra Bagnasco 1997, 16-30.

⁹ Masseria 2000, 217.

¹⁰ In this research, I am inclined to adopt the definition of ritual which has been proposed by E. Kyriakidis (2007, 294), as referring to a “set of activities with a special (not-normal) intention-in-action, and which are specific of a group of people.” Since ritual practice can be also not religious, it has to be underlined that this research deals only with religious ritual practices, as part of the performed cult.

The first part of the research aims to provide a comprehensive survey of the archaeological evidence related to the Lucanian sanctuaries, which are one of the most distinctive characteristics of the Lucanians' political and territorial organization. Here, the following research questions are addressed: what role did these sanctuaries play in the definition of the settlement pattern of the region? What were the cultural models for architectural structures and votive objects discovered in these complexes, and what can they tell us about the Lucanians' culture and society? Did sanctuaries and religion play a role in the definition and characterization of ethnic and cultural identity of the Lucanian communities?

This first section, therefore, provides the necessary background for the second part of the research, which is centered on the cultural transformations which the Lucanian communities undertook with the appearance of the Romans in the southern peninsula, and the subsequent complexities involving the spread of Roman culture, such as voluntary assimilation and integration into, and resistance to the hegemonic culture. In order to contend with the processes integral to Lucanian cultural continuity and change in larger hegemonic context of Roman conquest of the southern peninsula, the following questions are considered: is it possible to recognize either continuity or change in Lucanian sanctuaries during the late Republican era? What were the immediate and the long-term consequences of the appearance of Latin colonies in the area, the principle vehicle of Roman cultural and economic expansion? In cases of early assimilation to Roman cultural models, who were the authors of such assimilation, and why? On the other hand, is it possible to recognize a form of "reaction" to the spread of Roman power in the revival of local cultural and religious traditions, designed to "claim" the natives' ethnic and cultural identity? Are the patterns that emerge from the analysis of the

archaeological record homogeneous? If not, what were the factors which determined internal differences within the process of continuity and change? How does evidence from the archaeological record intersect with assertions made in extant literary records by “Roman” authors?

Nature of the topic: why sanctuaries?

The investigation of cult places and religious practices is a unique approach to understanding larger issues of cultural continuity and change. The role that religion has always played within the ancient cultures gives us the measure of the importance of this sphere for our understanding of past societies. *Lato sensu*, the way in which people conceived the cult place and identified themselves in religious beliefs and worships can be imagined as very similar to what happens in the modern world, where often a peoples’ identity is “embodied” in the affiliation to a precise religious faith, and – at the local level – a community finds collective self-expression in a specific church (the neighborhood church, for example). As major thinkers such as Vico, Marx and Engels, Gramsci and Durkheim argue, religion and religious belief can be considered an extension of the character of society, with its social function and implications for daily life. The features of each respective religious manifestation of a particular ethnicity or community must be considered according to changes within space, time and culture. Hence, religion is the reflection of the society itself and often may be found at the crossroads of ideological positions.

The study of religious phenomena is of preeminent importance for our understanding and historical reconstruction of past societies and cultures, in particular when considering a wide chronological range, which includes crucial turning points and transformation concerning cultural identity. Religion, moreover, represents often the most conservative

expression of a culture, since religion and religious belief embrace traditions, customs and memories which survive for generations. Whereas the assimilation of traits and uses related to daily life (such as architectural models, pottery, or economic characteristics of society) is usually identified as “immediate,” religious traditions, on the contrary, tend to be much longer lasting and durable. This is not only due to the aforementioned conservatism which is inborn in religion, but also to a subtle (when perceivable) mechanism of “self-preservation” or “self-determination” of a people’s own cultural and ethnic identity.

Chronological range

The time frame which is considered in this research ranges from the fourth century B.C. to the first century A.D., and thus embraces the Lucanian phase, the centuries of the Roman colonial strategy in the southern peninsula and finally the period of military and political conquest of the region.

The fourth and the first centuries B.C. represent two significant eras for the history of Lucanians. During the fourth century the crystallization of social and political structures of the Lucanian ethnos was accomplished, and the first century B.C. saw the accomplishment of the Roman military and political conquest of southern Italy, which started as early as the fourth century B.C. Two historical events can be considered as real milestones for the fate of the Lucanian communities: the arrival of Oscan speaking groups from Samnium at the end of the fifth century B.C. and the Hannibalic war (219-202 B.C.). The arrival of Samnite people and their settlement in the region which later acquired the name of “Lucania” gave birth to the Lucanian ethnos, whose political, administrative and settlement organization can be considered finally defined by the mid-fourth century

B.C. With the Hannibalic war, the pressing presence of Rome in the southern territories became stronger and stronger, and the pre-existing settlement system of Lucania completely changed. It was the Social War (91-88 B.C.) and the final citizenship awarded to all the Italic allies by the *lex Iulia* dated to 90 B.C., which marked the political integration of Italics into the Roman community, and therefore the disappearance of pre-Roman communities as independent groups.

The arrangement of the thesis, which is divided into two parts – the first part dealing with the Lucanian age and the second part centred on the events which occurred after the end of the third century B.C. – therefore reflects the *caesura* marked by the Second Punic war for the fate of the Lucanian communities.

State of research on Lucanian archaeology between pre-Roman and Roman age

The archaeology of ancient Lucania is considered by leading scholars as central to the study of indigenous cultures of southern Italy, and extensive archaeological activity has been carried on within the regional territory for quite some time. Although many archaeological discoveries date back to the end of 1800s and the first half of 1900s, systematic archaeological investigations were undertaken only since the 1970s on behalf of the Soprintendenza Archeologica della Basilicata, under the direction of Dinu Adamesteanu. Subsequent research in the area owes a huge debt to this visionary archaeologist, as well as the input into a number of archaeological projects which have revealed the complexity of the

mosaic of cultures, previously “hidden” under the shadow of the better known Greek and Roman worlds.¹¹

Despite this intense archaeological research, publications on single sites or comprehensive studies on Lucanian settlement system and material culture are quite recent. For what concerns the documentation available for the inhabited settlements, the research of H. Fracchia and M. Gualtieri on the fortified centre of Roccagloriosa still represents a model for the comprehension and the interpretation of other less investigated cases, because it has been well explored according to modern stratigraphic techniques and has been comprehensively published.¹² Only recently, the inhabited settlement of Civita di Tricarico has been published by O. De Cazanove, who has directed the archaeological excavations on the site in the last decade.¹³ The recent volume by E. Isayev on ancient Lucania¹⁴ addresses the issue of Lucanians’ ethnic identity. For what specifically concerns the current research on settlement organization, a volume of essays edited by M. Osanna deals with the crucial topic of the very nature of the settlement system in Lucania (can it be defined as “urban”?).¹⁵

Turning now to the topic of this dissertation, namely the Lucanian sanctuaries, it is appropriate to mention that most of the sacred contexts of Lucania still await a final and comprehensive publication. Among the most recent works devoted to the sacred places of the region, C. Masseria’s *I santuari indigeni della Basilicata* provides an overview of the archaeological record available for each sanctuary (updated to 2000), with a tentative reconstruction of the sacred geography of the region and a discussion about the role played by sanctuaries within the Lucanian settlement organization.

¹¹ Cf. *Le Genti non Greche della Magna Grecia. Atti Taranto XI* (Napoli 1972); *Scritti Adamesteanu*.

¹² *Roccagloriosa I; Roccagloriosa II*, with bibliography; Fracchia *et al.* 1998-99; Fracchia 2005.

¹³ *Civita di Tricarico I*.

¹⁴ Isayev 2007.

¹⁵ *Verso la città*.

With respect to single sites, only the sanctuaries of Timmari, Armento, and Torre di Satriano¹⁶ have been comprehensively published. Nevertheless, whereas the publications on Armento and Torre di Satriano provide us with an exhaustive treatment of all the data concerning structures and artifacts, the publication by F.G. Lo Porto on the sacred area of Timmari¹⁷ is partial, and provides a selected choice of catalogued materials.

Finally, the other sites have been preliminarily published, and only part of the excavations and a representative selection of the artifacts are presented in publications. An example is the case of the sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio: for this site, beyond the numerous articles and contributions which deal with partial aspects of the sanctuary, we still have only a preliminary publication by the excavators D. Adamesteanu and H. Dilthey, which dates back to 1992.¹⁸

As for the late Republican era and the lively debate in classical studies on the transformations that occurred in southern Italy between the end of third century B.C. and the first century B.C., ancient Lucania has played a very important role. Many studies focusing on this region, indeed, have proven that it is a crucial area for monitoring and understanding the process of cultural transformation which took place during these decisive centuries. Just to cite some of the most significant contributions dealing with this issue, it is worth mentioning the volume *Basilicata. L'espansionismo romano nel sud-est d'Italia* (1987), and *Da Leukania a Lucania* (1993), two edited works in which the process of transformation of the local culture under the Roman pressure is approached from an archaeological perspective. Among recent contributions which can be framed in the historiographical debate concerning the consequences of the

¹⁶ Lo Porto 1991; Russo Tagliente 2000; *Torre di Satriano I*.

¹⁷ Lo Porto 1991.

¹⁸ Adamesteanu and Dilthey 1992.

Hannibalic war on the socio-economical texture of southern Italian communities, largely stemming from A. Toynbee's famous work *Hannibal's legacy* (1965), the anthology edited by E. Lo Cascio e A. Storchi Marino in 2001, *Modalità insediative e strutture agrarie nell'Italia meridionale in età romana*, is noteworthy.¹⁹ Finally, in more recent years, M. Gualtieri's study *La Lucania romana* (2003) has outlined the numerous advances of archaeological research to the scholarly debate.

Despite the increasing interest in the late Republican age in Lucania, not many publications have paid sufficient attention to these centuries. Broadly speaking, this period has been usually stigmatized as a time of decadence and decline which followed the Hannibalic war and the rising (and inexorable) Roman penetration into the southern territories. To be sure, it was a period of transition and gradual transformation, a process which is barely detectable in material record. Hence, the process of cultural transformation has been studied by scholars only when it has been literally uncovered, namely when it has become "visible" at archaeological level. This practice may be, therefore, one of the reasons for the general neglect of this period of the history of southern peninsula. For example, in the detailed overview of the archaeological and epigraphic record of the region provided by E. Isayev in her aforementioned book (p. 7), the transformations (and the dynamics of such transformations) following the Hannibalic war caused by an increased presence of Rome in the region receive scant attention. Furthermore, given the scholar's interest in the economic and political change which occurred in the first century B.C., the preceding centuries of the Roman Republic are usually not considered.²⁰

¹⁹ Cfr. also the volume edited by S. Keay and N. Terrenato in 2001 (Keay and Terrenato 2001), which was published contemporaneously to the book edited by E. Lo Cascio.

²⁰ Cf. Small A., "The identity of Lucanians," rev. E. Isayev, *Inside ancient Lucania: Dialogues in history and archaeology*, London 2007, *JRA*, 20, 2007, 399-402.

As for the sanctuaries of the region and their development in the centuries of late Republic, it is possible to state, without exaggeration, that the later phases are the most unknown aspects of these contexts and in general they have not received the study they deserve. The few studies devoted to the topic of the Lucanian sanctuaries tend to ignore or pay little attention to the later phases of the sites (where such phases are archaeologically attested).²¹ For example, in the above-mentioned research by C. Masseria (p. 8), the “latest” phases of the sites are briefly considered in the final part of the work, but they are not extensively treated.²² In addition, publications focusing on single contexts usually devote a few lines to the persistence of the sanctuaries in Republican time. For example, Lo Porto’s publication of the Timmari sanctuary is devoid of any analysis of later archaeological contexts, and thus does not consider the complexities of the dynamics which involved this area from the end of the third century B.C. onwards. Furthermore, the catalogue of the artefacts, which is the product of a selection by the author, includes only the Lucanian phase (mid-fourth century / mid-third centuries B.C.) of the sanctuary. The artefacts from later dates are not examined, although they are actually preserved in the deposits of the Archaeological Museum of Matera “Domenico Ridola.”²³

In conclusion, there is a dearth of actual studies on the sacred places of ancient Lucania. Even where studies for each site have been completed,

²¹ Torelli 1993, XV f.

²² Masseria 2000, 222-238.

²³ A change in this trend is recognizable in a recent contribution on the indigenous sanctuary of Torre di Satriano, which continued until the beginning of the first century A.D. (*Torre di Satriano I*). Some sections of this book are dedicated to the later phases of the sanctuary, in which not only is the structural change emphasized from the end of the third century B.C., but particular attention is paid to the analysis of votive offerings in order to identify key factors for the understanding and interpretation of cult practices subsequent to the Roman contact. Rather rare are the “systematic” publications concerning the religious phenomena in single sites of Lucania following the Lucanian phase. From this perspective, particularly meaningful are also the contributions on the cultic reality of Roccagloriosa (Fracchia 2005) and Civita di Tricarico (De Cazanove 2004b, with bibliography).

the available literature on these contexts tends to emphasize the pre-Roman phase, as well as the nature of the relationship between indigenous populations and Italiote centers. Conversely, studies have focused only on the final phase of the process of transformation subsequent to the Roman conquest of the area, namely when the process of assimilation to Roman cultural models has already triumphed.

Framework of analysis

The approach used in this study is primarily archaeological. First, data from excavations, museums and publications are collected, selected and analyzed for each site: topographic position and the role of sanctuaries within the settlement system of the region, architectural structures, and system of votive offerings are considered. At the core of this systematic approach is the analysis of the “context.” By context I mean the spatial, historical and cultural framework in which objects were produced and employed. It is within the context in which an object was employed that it acquired its peculiar function and meaning: in a sacred place, for example, an artifact possessed a symbolic meaning (which it does not have *outside* that context) and thus was a “sacred” object.

In some cases, the objects analyzed below lack their own original context due to the fragmented nature of archaeological record. In these cases, the artifact is still considered as the product of the society which produced it for a certain place and purpose. In this respect, it should be considered as belonging to a precise context. The reconstruction of the original context of such objects is based on the analysis of the characteristics (stylistic as well as iconographical and technological) of the artifacts themselves, since the way in which an object is produced and shaped reflects the cultural system which produced it.

The contextual analysis of material is then followed by an historical-interpretative analysis. Can the archaeological record reveal the ritual practices and actions, and what, for example, was the original meaning of certain practices? The goal, in this instance, is to reconstruct how ancient communities conceived and perceived those practices and how that reveals insights into the religiosity of the ethnos we are dealing with, and the role it played within its societal environment. Since this study covers several centuries, this analysis is carried through all the specific periods, in order to discern the change which occurred over time in the conception of cult practices (and therefore of the transformation of the society to which the cult and religion belonged) as it is reflected in material evidence (organization of the sacred places, typology of systems of votive offering, and so on).

This dissertation addresses a number of theoretical and methodological issues.

First, since this study focuses largely on cult places and cultic practices, in this respect it fits into a very recent approach which tends to emphasize the cognitive and ideological aspects of historical developments. Research into religious phenomena within cultures which lack written sources is a relatively recent scholarly and multidisciplinary trend, which embraces archaeology, socio-cultural anthropology, and religious studies. The “archaeology of religion” is found in the wake of post-processual archaeology, and focuses upon symbolism and the meaning-content of material culture.²⁴ This theoretical approach is epitomized in Colin Renfrew’s research and by what he calls “cognitive archaeology,” as a means of reconstructing a past community’s thought through the analysis of

²⁴ Cf., in general, Biehl, Bertemes, Meller 2001.

its material culture.²⁵ The model of cognitive archaeology has been successively applied to the study of religious phenomena, and artifacts have been analyzed to reconstruct religious belief and ideological systems of those communities which produced and used them. Of course, the process of inferring meaning and function of material culture as it related to the religious sphere is a delicate task. Material traces of cultic activity require the development of precise criteria to correctly identify and to document them archaeologically in their proper context. When dealing with religious phenomena, in fact, one has to be aware that “religion does not materialize directly in the archaeological record.”²⁶ In other words, what we have to identify are the “actions” of religious practices through the extant traces of them, which are represented by the artifacts used to perform such actions.

Furthermore, issues related to the concept of “identity” are also examined, as sanctuaries are explored in order to define people’s sense of belonging to the same ethnic and cultural entity.²⁷

Another key theoretical issue of this thesis, which is obviously connected to the concept of identity, is “gender.” Given that sanctuaries and cult practices are the reflection of how the society which built and frequented them was organized, they can provide further insight into gender roles within the Lucanian society.²⁸

²⁵ Renfrew and Zubrow 1994.

²⁶ Biehl, Bertemes, Meller 2001, 15.

²⁷ A substantial body of literature has been generated on concepts of ethnicity and the related topic of cultural identity. Notion of “identity” and the archaeological approach to this subject are discussed, among the most recent publications on this topic, in Jones 1997; Shennan 1989; Díaz-Andreu *et al.* 2005, in part. 2-12; Insoll 2007; Hall 2002 (with a focus on Greek identity); Derks and Roymans 2009 (with a special focus on the concept of ethnicity and ethnic identity).

²⁸ “Archaeology of gender” is a fast-growing field. Introductions on the principal themes concerning this type of approach to archaeological record can be found in Bacus *et. al.* 1993; Conkey and Gero 1991; Whitehouse 2007. In contrast with the studies on the Greek world, in which questions concerning women and gender are fully established as mainstream research topics, gender as an analytical category has not received the same attention in the field of indigenous societies and material culture of Magna Graecia, with the exception of a few studies mainly dealing with Prehistoric age. On the development of this research topic in Italian archaeology, see Whitehouse 1998; Bietti Sestieri 2008, 133-137.

With regards to the second part of the dissertation, which focuses on the cultural transformations which involved the Lucanian communities during the progressive Roman conquest of Italy, the results of this analysis constitute a further contribution to the current research on the impact of the Roman presence in southern peninsula (a process generally known in literature as “Romanization”), before the final political assimilation of the indigenous communities which succeeded the Social War.²⁹ The discourse on the “Romanization” is intertwined with another historical phenomenon, which has been labeled in the literature as “Hellenization,”³⁰ which refers to

²⁹ Notion and lexical use of the term “Romanization” have raised a long debate, which still divides historians and archaeologists, and an endless amount of literature has been generated on this issue. For almost a century, studies on “Romanization” have been dominated by a Romano-centric perspective, which can be attributed to different factors. First, the written sources regarding Roman conquest and imposition are basically Roman, so that they provide only the conquerors’ standpoint. Another influential factor has been the historical context in which the earliest theories on Romanization as process of cultural change were formulated, around the turn of the twentieth century, when nationalist ideologies dominated scholarships. Therefore, the Romanization of Roman provincial world was depicted as a process of “uncritical” acceptance and assimilation of Roman culture by passive communities, whose own cultural traits were completely neglected and in some ways “denied” by scholars. In the words of T. Derks, “Romanization was still nothing else but the transfer, following the military conquest as if for granted, of cultural elements of a dominant donor culture to the subordinate and passive receptive culture of the local communities” (Derks 1998, 5).

Whereas the history of the negative evaluations of the concept of “Romanization” and the polemic attacks against the use of the term itself date back to the very beginning of the twentieth century, nevertheless, more emphasis has been put on this topic only since the 1970s, when the post-colonial and anti-imperialist historiography made its appearance. In the last few decades, therefore, a number of interpretative models have been formulated to explain the Romanization process (a synthetic overview of the most important approaches to the topic in Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 9-14). Nevertheless, no standard definition of the process of material and cultural change consequent to the Roman conquest has been adopted in current literature. Therefore, despite the long-lasting debate on the appropriateness of the “Romanization” category, “Romanization” is still very popular in historical and archaeological literature. Just to mention a significant example, a new entry “Romanisierung” has appeared in the *Neue Pauly*, and discussions on the concept fill up entire volumes and conferences of experts of ancient world (cf. the recent observations in G. Traina in Janniard and Traina 2006, 72 f.).

Bibliography on the debate on the “Romanization” issue is endless. See, for example, Hingley 1995; Hingley 1996; Wallace-Hadrill 2008. More specifically, regarding religious aspect of the “Romanization” process, see Bispham and Smith 2000.

³⁰ As recently Wallace-Hadrill has pointed out (Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 18-19), the two phenomena – Romanization and Hellenization - have been conceptualized as two different processes, even when they have been paralleled (as, for example, in Keay and Terrenato 2001, 3), but one may wonder whether they can be really distinguished or whether the two terms represent two ways of defining the same process. On the concept of Hellenization, see in general Gallini 1973; Gruen 1992; Curti, Dench, Patterson 1996, Hall 2002.

that process of spreading of Hellenistic models through the mediation of Rome itself, in the aftermath of the Roman conquest of Eastern Mediterranean. In this respect, the most commonly accepted theories on this process are critically discussed and reassessed in the light of the archaeological data from the examined sanctuaries, and a new approach, which privileges indigenous perspective, is applied to this issue.

Finally, another fundamental methodological concern of this work is the relationship between the archaeological record and the extant written sources.³¹ In this research, while the archaeological data receive the greatest amount of attention, written sources are also considered to verify the archaeological evidence. As noted above, the only written sources available for the centuries under study are Greek and Roman, and these sources were often written much later than the events they describe. Furthermore, they mostly refer to the Lucanians in relation to the Romans, when they came into contact with the populations of southern peninsula. Therefore, the history of Lucanians happens to be an extremely biased history, as it was written and interpreted from a Roman perspective. What is more, this perspective was the view of conquerors, who, seemingly, like all conquering societies, usually gave short shrift to subject ethnicities and cultures. In this respect, the role of archaeology is to fill what we can define as a “pre-Roman informative gap,” since the native ethnicities of southern peninsula make their appearance in the written sources only when they come to be part of the Romans’ dominion of interest. As will be demonstrated, the development of an “historical narrative” by means of archaeological evidence (in this case the sanctuaries of the region) reveals a multifarious and heterogeneous picture of the cultural traits of the

³¹ Many contributions have been produced, which discuss the assumed epistemological priority given by historians to written sources. See, in general, Arnold 1986; Lloyd 1986; Andr n 1998. A survey of the most interesting themes concerning this issue is found in Moreland 2001.

indigenous communities of southern Italy, which is in stark contrast to the uniform and homogenizing scenario maintained by written sources.³²

Outline of the study

Before providing the outline of the thesis, a premise on the arrangement of this work is needed. The scarcity of comprehensive publications makes it hard to treat equally all the Lucanian sanctuaries which have been discovered in the region. Therefore, I mainly focus on the best investigated and published sites, while all information available for each sanctuary is given in a catalogue, which concludes the dissertation. Furthermore, the general neglect of the post-Hannibalic phases of indigenous settlements, which only recently have attracted scholars' attention, is the main reason for the discrepancy between the first and the second part of this work, hence the second part of the thesis being less detailed than the first (which is devoted to the Lucanian age).

This study consists of six chapters and a catalogue of the sanctuaries. As said above, the body of the thesis is divided into two parts. The first section consists of four chapters, and gives a detailed analysis of the archaeological record as it pertains to the sanctuaries during the "Lucanian" period, that is, between the fourth century B.C. and the Hannibalic war. At the end of the third century B.C. most of the sanctuaries contracted and after the second Punic war only a few traces of cultic activity have been identified in the region, with the sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio as a major exception to this renewal pattern.

The first part of the thesis starts with a chapter introducing the historical geography of the region. A section of this chapter is dedicated to the socio-political organization of the Lucanian communities, and another

³² Cf. the observations by Pontrandolfo 1996, 172.

section concerns the settlement system which characterized the “new-born” region, in which the network of extra-mural sanctuaries played a role of primary importance. This chapter provides the necessary historical context in which the sanctuaries, which are analyzed in the following pages, have to be framed.

The material evidence available for the sacred contexts known to date regarding topography and architectural aspects of the sanctuaries is delineated in Chapter II. The geographical location of the sanctuaries is discussed in order to illustrate their role within the settlement system of the region and the relationship to inhabited settlements and road system. Furthermore, a discussion about the administration of the sanctuaries is given, in order to clarify who held the religious power in the Lucanian world. The examination of the spatial organization and architectural features of the Lucanian sanctuaries allows some observations on the original models which these complexes derive from, and the cultural implications that these models had for the communities who built and frequented the sanctuaries.

Chapter III is closely connected to Chapter II, since the survey of the archaeological evidence available for the Lucanian sacred places is continued. In this chapter, I draw attention to the system of votive offerings and cultic dynamics as they are reflected in material traces as a means of understanding the issues of cultural continuity and change during the time, which are considered in the succeeding chapters.

Chapter IV further explores the results of the analysis made in Chapters II and III, including final thoughts regarding the nature of Lucanian religion and belief system as it can be inferred from the archaeological record. In considering this topic, the epigraphic documents

from the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary are discussed, since they represent one of the most important written sources on Italic/Lucanian religion.

Through the analysis of these data, the first part of this dissertation allows us to hypothesize about how local communities conceived and therefore shaped the cult places, and what were the cultural models that inspired them, thus addressing the crucial question regarding the role played by sacred areas and religion in the formation of the Lucanians' cultural and ethnic identity.

The second part of the dissertation, composed of two chapters, proposes an approach to the larger implications concerning the process of penetration of Rome into Lucania, through the analysis of development and transformations of the Lucanian cult areas during the last two centuries of our era.

Chapter V consists of three sections. The first section includes an historical background of the events which involved the region from the Hannibalic war to the first century A.D. The second section is chiefly concerned with the settlement and socio-economic transformations which were determined by the new political situation in Lucania, the most visible sign of which was the disappearance of the hill-top settlements and the foundation of "new" Roman centers. Furthermore, socio-economic changes are considered, which reflect the transformation of the territorial organization of Lucania itself under the Roman dominion. The last section of the chapter is devoted to sanctuaries, which drastically contracted after the events of the Hannibalic war. Three case-studies are explored, in order to highlight that the impact of the Roman dominion on the region was different from area to area, depending on the socio-economic and settlement context in which they were located.

The last chapter of the dissertation, Chapter VI, is entirely dedicated to the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary, a complex which is set apart from the other cult places of the region, since not only did it continue to be frequented until the early Imperial age, but it was also monumentalized through a massive building program which started at the end of the third century B.C. The sanctuary was finally abandoned in the early first century A.D., and the cult of the principal goddess was transferred to the nearby center of Potentia. On the basis of the collected data, crucial questions concerning the meaning of the revitalization of this sanctuary are addressed, and the most common interpretations on this phenomenon are reassessed.

Thus, what is possible to determine from the analysis carried out in the second part of this work is that the results of the Roman presence in the Lucanian territory were very heterogeneous. Specific factors, and, *in primis*, the presence of new Roman centers (*coloniae* and *municipia*), affected the development of the single areas of the region. This heterogeneity is clearly mirrored in the picture of the Lucanian cult places during the last centuries B.C.

A catalogue of the sanctuaries known to date concludes the dissertation. Information regarding topography, archaeological excavations, as well as all the archaeological data about geographical location, architectural structures, layout of the complexes, and the typologies of the artifacts are provided. These data are organized in chronological order, and a division in phases is proposed for the treatment of architectural structures and finds.

PART I

**THE LUCANIAN *FACIES*:
BETWEEN THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.
AND THE END OF THE THIRD CENTURY B.C.**

CHAPTER I
LUCANIA AND LUCANIANS.
GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY,
SOCIETY, SETTLEMENT SYSTEM

*Οἱ δὲ Λευκανοὶ τὸ μὲν
γένος εἰσὶ Σαυνῖται.
(Strabo V, 3, 1, C 228)*

This section of the dissertation provides the geographical, historical and social context of the Lucanian sanctuaries which are discussed in the next chapters. First, the geographic morphology of the region is described, which, of course, affected the development of the settlement system in Lucania during the centuries under study. In particular, it is underlined that the several rivers which cross the territory constituted the natural connection between the internal part of the region and the coasts, where the Italiote cities were located. Such connections facilitated the material and cultural contacts between indigenous and Greek communities, which played a fundamental role in the definition of the “Lucanian” culture. Second, I summarize the historical events which gave birth to the Lucanian ethnos between the end of the fifth century B.C. and the following century, stressing that devoting specific places to religious functions was a typical characteristic of the Lucanian communities. Special attention is paid to the organization and articulation of the Lucanian society as it developed during the fourth century B.C., as necessary information about those communities who built, administered, frequented and finally abandoned the Lucanian cult places. Finally, the settlement system of the territory is discussed, in

which the sanctuaries played a fundamental role, not only as “religious” space, but also as political, economic and social centers from the communities that were located in the region. It goes without saying that the settlement system of the region reflects the structure of the society which created it, and therefore the settlement system changed when its historical and social context underwent transformation and development. As is described in the second part of this work, the transformation of the social structure from the third century B.C. onwards (which was caused by a new historical and political scenario) determined the complete renovation of the settlement pattern of the region, which was progressively assimilated into a “Roman” landscape.

I. 1 ~ Physical geography: geomorphology and topography

The diverse physical characteristics of the geographical area of “Lucania” affected the cultural and socio-political development of the communities which inhabited the region for centuries (**Fig. I-1**).³³

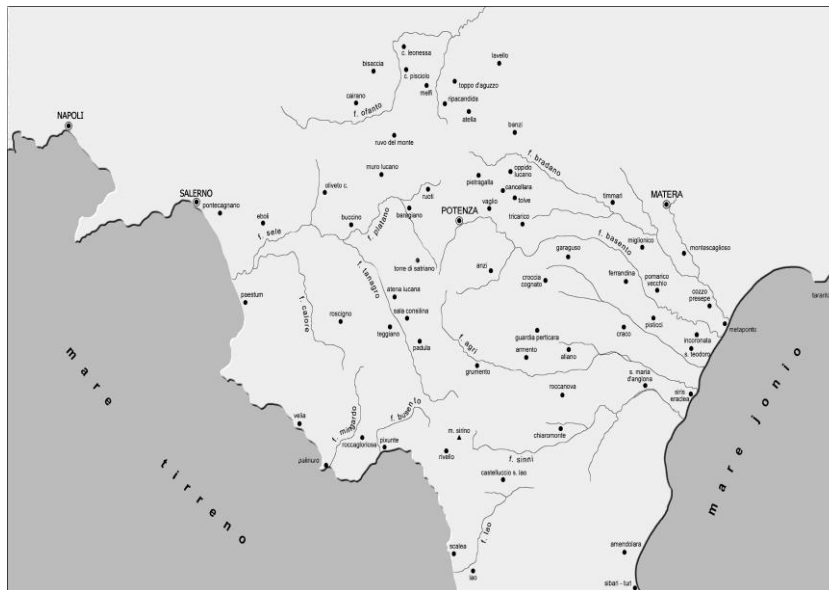


Figure I-1. Ancient Lucania

³³ Cf. Isayev 2007, 1: “The landscape is crucial for understanding the socio-political organization and history of the groups who inhabited the region of Lucania in the last four centuries BC.”

High mountains dominate the middle-northern part of the region, while steeply sloping hills define the southern part of the territory. The center is almost completely mountainous, and it is characterized further by a number of river valleys. The hydrographic basins can be considered as a vital component of life in the ancient region. The waterways were the most important communication route for the ancient populations, and connected the Greek coast with the hinterland. Consequently, the river system was strongly associated with settlement patterns from at least the eighth century B.C., when the main indigenous settlements used to live on the high ground areas, which geographically controlled natural routes.³⁴ On the west side of the region, the streams (Marmo, Platano, Melandro) flow into the Tanagro river. On the south-west side, the Noce river flows directly into the Tyrrhenian sea. On the Ionian side, five major rivers of the region (Bradano, Basento [*Casuentus*], Cavone, Agri [*Akiris*] and Sinni [*Siris*]), which flow into the Ionian sea, represent a natural link between the Ionian coast and the mountainous heart of Lucania. It is likely that in ancient time these rivers were navigable. Strabo, for example, states that the Agri and Sinni rivers were navigable at least in the final part of their stream.³⁵

The region is bordered by the Ionian sea on the east side, where the Greek colonies of Metapontion and Herakleia are located, and by the Tyrrhenian sea on the western side, where there are the Greek cities of Elea and Poseidonia. The Tyrrhenian coast of ancient Lucania (which reaches from the mouth of the Silaros river as far as the mouth of the Laos river, comprising the entire modern Cilento peninsula) appeared much longer, quite high and rocky, and with a number of narrow inlets which were appropriate for use as temporary ports. Instead, the Ionian shore was flat and sandy; the coast had a linear profile, without any natural inlet. Its

³⁴ Tagliente 1999, 87-102.

³⁵ Strabo VI, 1, 14, C 264.

ancient appearance was not so different from the modern profile, as Strabo attests when he describes this coast as *alimenos*.³⁶

I. 2 ~ Pre-Roman Lucania in written sources: a territory with unclear limits

The limits of ancient Lucania do not correspond to the boundaries of the current regions of Italy (modern Basilicata and Campania).³⁷ Moreover, written sources are equivocal when describing the exact extension of Lucania. Given the difficulties in identifying the confines of the ancient region which is considered in this work, this section represents an attempt to define its boundaries, the identification of which is based both on written sources and on archaeological evidence.

The boundaries of ancient Lucania were clearly defined by the first century B.C., when the Augustan division of the Italian peninsula into *regiones* transformed the territories of Lucania and Bruttium into the *regio* III.³⁸ Before this territorial and administrative organization, which defined

³⁶ Strabo VI, 3, 1.

³⁷ The boundaries of ancient Lucania partially correspond to modern southern Campania and Basilicata. The name “Basilicata” seems to have been introduced during the tenth century and derives from the name of a Byzantine administrator (*basilikos*) of the region. The term appears for the first time in the “Catalogo dei Baroni Normanni” (1154-1168) and was used until the end of the eighteenth century, when, after the Neapolitan revolution of 1799, these territories were categorized in the Partenopaeian Republic as “Dipartimento del Bradano”. This artificial administrative unit (whose boundaries stretched to the Adriatic coast, including Trani, Bisceglie and Molfetta) lasted for a short time: after the Borbonic restoration, the previous provincial districts were re-integrated, and in 1806 Potenza acquired again the position of “provincial capital.” During the 1820 revolution, the region was divided into *Lucania Occidentale* (with Potenza as capital) and *Lucania Orientale* (with Matera as capital). Under the Regno d’Italia, the regional boundaries of Basilicata remained unaltered. Between 1873 and 1909 the Consiglio Provinciale of Potenza fought to eliminate the designation “Basilicata” in favor of the classical name “Lucania”. On December 27, 1932, the name Basilicata was officially replaced with “Lucania”, but only for fifteen years, and on December 27 1947, article 131 of the Republican Constitution re-instated the original denomination “Basilicata.”

³⁸ Cf. Pliny, *NH*, III, 46; III, 71. The administrative function of the Augustan division of Italian peninsula into *regiones* explains the association of Lucania and Bruttium within the same *regio*, because the cultural and socio-economic traditions of the two areas were similar (Gualtieri 2003, 13). For the Augustan *regiones*, with particular reference to the boundaries between Lucania and Bruttium, see Thomsen 1947, 79-85. Cf. also Lepore 1975, 47-49; Russi 1985, 1883.

the limits of the region, the precise boundaries tended to be ambiguous and likely did not have the ethnic cohesion that is commonly attributed to them. According to Strabo,³⁹ who provides us with the most detailed description of ancient Lucania, the *Silaros* river, on the north-western side of the region, and the Bradano river, on the eastern side, constituted the extremities of Lucania.⁴⁰ The Augustan reorganization of the Peninsula into *regiones* kept the *Silaros* river as a border, separating *regio* I (southern Campania) and *regio* II (Apulia et Hirpinia) from *regio* III (Lucania et Bruttium).⁴¹

The southern border of Lucania – which separated it from Bruttium – is considered by Pliny the Elder to be the Laos river. Finally, the northeastern area of Lucania is somewhat problematic from an archaeological perspective: the area of Melfi (including the sites of Banzi and Lavello), located between the Ofanto (*Aufidus*) valley and the northern section of the Bradano river (*Bradanium*), tended to have cultural features that were congruent with those found within Daunia⁴² rather than with Lucania, thus demonstrating the extreme fluidity of the concept of

³⁹ Strabo VI, 4, C 255: “In the first place, Leucania lies between the Tyrrhenian and Sicilian coastlines [which today corresponds to the Ionian coast], the former coastline from the River Silaris as far as Laüs, and the latter, from Metapontum as far as Thurii; in the second place, on the mainland, from the country of the Samnitae as far as the isthmus which extends from Thurii to Cerillae [Κηρίλλοι, today named Cirella, on the Tyrrhenian coast, south of Scalea, was a harbor controlled by Laüs, south of Scalea, the isthmus is three hundred stadia in width [which correspond to 55,5 kilometers]” (English transl. by H.C. Hamilton, Esq., W. Falconer, M.A., London 1903). A general collection of written sources concerning all the indigenous populations of Magna Graecia is in Cordano 1971; La Greca 2002 (focusing in particular on the Tyrrhenian area).

⁴⁰ Cf. Russi 1985, 1884; Gualtieri 2003, 14.

⁴¹ Cf. Pliny, *N.H.*, III 71: *A Silaro regio tertia et ager Lucanus Bruttiusque incipit* [the *regio tertia* and the Lucanian and Bruttian *ager* start from the Silaros river].

⁴² This area is usually attributed to Apulia, and this attribution is mostly based on material culture and burial customs. Whereas the Lucanians designated precise areas for necropolis, the Melfese culture is characterized by a scattered location of burials, which were not separated from the “world of the living:” this custom is unknown in Lucania but typical of Daunian populations. Cf. Lepore 1975, 49; Lepore and Russi 1972-73, 1884-1885.

“border.”⁴³ Therefore, because of the permeability of ethnic-geographical confines,⁴⁴ and taking into account the root causes of temporal and political-historical flux brought by each successive population,⁴⁵ the area of Melfi will be excluded from this current work.

I. 3 ~ The emergence of the Lucanian ethnos

The ancient name of the region derives from the population known in literary and epigraphic texts as “Lucanians,” who appeared in the historical scenario of Magna Graecia only between the end of the fifth century B.C. and the beginning of the fourth century B.C. Before the emergence of this ethnic group, the region was inhabited by a mosaic of populations, who differed from each other both in ethnic origin and culture.

Ancient sources detail important ethnographic developments which took place in southern Italy. Late-classical authors still make reference to the region as the land of the *Oinotroí*, but, from the fourth century B.C. onwards, certain texts start to refer to the indigenous inhabitants of this land as *Leukanoi*, who were later distinguished into *Leukanoí* and *Brettioí*. Although this process has been conveniently summarized as the expulsion of the Oinotrian group from the southern territories of Italy or as “Lucanization” of the territory, the appearance of the Lucanian ethnos in the land which acquired the name of “Lucania” is much more complex.⁴⁶

⁴³ In particular, E. Lepore defines this area as “terra di frontiera, di transizione, di acculturazione” [boundary, transition and acculturation land], excluding it from any Lucanian domain: Lepore 1975, 49. Cf. also Lepore and Russi 1972-73, 1884-1885, Gualtieri 2003, 14-16.

⁴⁴ For example, the written sources reveal the notion of a “Great Lucania,” which extended to the isthmus of Messene: Ps. Scyl. 12 (see *infra*).

⁴⁵ Prontera 1997, 159-160.

⁴⁶ Bottini 1986, 153-154, D’Agostino 1989, 193-232. Ancient sources concerning the populations of the region before the emergence of Lucanians are discussed in a number of works: Pontrandolfo 1982, 7-19; Nafissi 1985, 189-207; Torelli 1996a, 123-131; Horsnaes 2002, 119-130. For a special focus on archaeological evidence and its comparison with historical sources, see Bugno and Masseria 2001.

We know that the southern peninsula underwent a gradual but crucial change from the end of the sixth century B.C., a period which corresponds to a historical hiatus probably due to the collapse of Sybaris.⁴⁷ Archaeologists and historians argue that this era was marked by crisis and a subsequent restructuring of previous settlements, as indicated by a scarcity of archaeological evidence from the fifth century B.C.,⁴⁸ in contrast to the richer Archaic (sixth century B.C.) and fourth century B.C. scenarios. One of the major material features of this change included the disappearance of the Archaic necropoleis, a phenomenon which reflects the decline of sixth century settlements (for instance, the necropolis of Alianello and Guardia Perticara, whose respective settlements came to an end towards the mid-fifth century B.C.).⁴⁹ In other words, this decline had its major manifestations in demographic contraction and economic deterioration.

⁴⁷ For Sybaris' territory and its "empire," cf. Osanna 1992, with bibliography; Greco 1992, 459-483.

⁴⁸ Until a few decades ago, the fifth century B.C. was regarded as a period of decline, in consideration of diminishing material evidence. Despite the changes which the territory under scrutiny experienced during this time, this so called "lacuna di V secolo" [fifth century gap] (Bottini 1999, 210) has been recently reappraised, and a distinction between sites in which the frequentation ends and sites in which this sort of *caesura* is just apparent seems a more adequate approach by which to reconstruct the historical dynamics of fifth century southern Italy (for a panoramic view of the main issues concerning the fifth century B.C. southern Italy, see in general Massa-Pairault 1990; more specifically on Lucanian entity, Pontrandolfo and D'Agostino 1990; Bottini 1990). As A. Pontrandolfo (Pontrandolfo 1996, 174) has pointed out, in order to nuance this conventional view of fifth century southern Italy, we should consider, for example, some grave goods from burials within the Lucanian area, as the vases attributed to the so-called "Owl-Pillar Group," a Campanian ceramics atelier which dates back to the mid-fifth century B.C. (one *hydria*, at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, is from Anzi; an amphora preserved in the British Museum [British Museum M. F147 (LCS n. 3)] is generally attributed to Basilicata). The attribution of these vases is found in: Hadzisteliou Price T., "A Nolan Amphora in Chicago and a reappraisal of the Owl-Pillar Group," *AEphem*, 1974, 168-194. The presence of vases from the Tyrrhenian coast in the Lucanian area allows us hypothesize that flourishing communities already inhabited the Lucanian territories during the last part of the fifth century B.C. Furthermore, imported Attic vases found in a number of Lucanian burials as grave goods, which date back to the last decades of the fifth century B.C., represent further telling evidence of the vitality of some local communities already during the fifth century B.C., or at least in the second half of this century.

⁴⁹ Bianco 1999, 359-390; Bottini 1999, 432-436.

The arrival of Oscan-Samnite populations streaming in from the Samnium mountains to the Southern peninsula⁵⁰ is dated to the end of the fifth century B.C., which gave birth, in the region which acquired their name, to the Lucanian ethnos.⁵¹ The Lucanians are recorded as an autonomous political entity from the mid-fifth century B.C. onwards. This ethnic group, along with other Italic⁵² peoples, was not only perceived by the inhabitants of the region as distinguishable from the Greek and Roman world, but also as an ethnically separate entity within the Italic world itself.⁵³ It had unique characteristics which were different from the ones common to other indigenous populations of Italian peninsula.⁵⁴

While the Lucanian *ethnos* appeared at the end of the fifth century B.C., the *terminus post quem* for the birth of ancient *Lucania*, corresponding to the region described by Strabo, can be fixed to 356 B.C. At that time, the Brettians⁵⁵ (originally part of the Lucanian/Samnite

⁵⁰ Lepore and Russi 1972-73; Lepore 1975; Bottini 1986, 205 f.; Musti 2005, 272-273.

⁵¹ Pontrandolfo 1982; Pontrandolfo 1994, 139-193; Pontrandolfo 1996, 171-183; Bottini 2001, 109-116; Lombardo 2001, 329-345. A detailed analysis on the modalities under which the Italic populations moved to the South of Italy is in Bottini 1987; Torelli 1993; Tagliamonte 1994, in part. 31-90, 111-123, 164-179; Lombardo 1996; Torelli 1996a; Tagliamonte 2000, 202-205.

⁵² In this research, by "Italics" I mean, according to a definition by Sartori (Sartori 1993, 363), all the populations who were neither Greek nor Latin, nor Etruscan, nor Gallic, who inhabited the central and southern part of Italy (among whom there are the Oscans, namely people speaking the Oscan language, such as Lucanians, Brettians, Samnites, Campanians and Mamertini). See Pallottino 1994.

⁵³ Strabo VI, 1, 4, C 255.

⁵⁴ The problems concerning the identity of Lucanians have been recently outlined by E. Isayev, who stresses that the oscillation in defining both ethnically and geographically the Lucanian ethnos is evident also from the written sources which refer to Italy during these centuries (Isayev 2007, 13 f.). Beyond the historical problems concerning the transmission of historical information (since the written sources reporting these events are rarely contemporary with the events they record), this oscillation can be surely attributed to the "shifting boundaries and the fluidity of group definitions over time" (Isayev 2007, 14). The ancient authors give a chronological account of the emergence of this Oscan-speaking ethnos in southern Italy, albeit what they detail has already happened — thus imparting a veneer of anachronism to these accounts which must be considered. Another factor, of no less importance when considering this issue, arises when one bears in mind the means by which these historical accounts were traded and propagated: Greek or Roman literary circles. Given the Greek-Roman conduits of transmission, the historical accounts are unable to inform us of the indigenous perspective.

⁵⁵ Diodorus Siculus XVI,15, 1-2; Festus p. 28, 19 L (*Brutiani*); Strabo VI, 1, 4, C 255; Justin XXIII, 1, 11-16. About ancient sources which deal with the Brettians, cf. Mele 1988, 189-196.

ethnicity) became an independent group with its own political organization.⁵⁶ Literary tradition confirms that Lucanians and Brettians were part of the same Lucania, and, in addition to Strabo's Lucania, ancient authors also refer to another *Λευκονία*, dating back to the pre-Brettian era. For instance, Ps.-Scylax⁵⁷ suggests that, from the end of the fifth century B.C. to the beginning of the fourth century B.C., the Lucanians settled a region which extended from Samnium as far as Rhegion, covering part of modern Campania, Basilicata and Calabria (Calabria is the geographical area which became the *Βρεττία*, a designation derived from when the Brettians developed their own independent status and political organization). The entire area encompassing Brettia and Lucania has been defined by E. Lepore as "Grande Lucania"⁵⁸ [Great Lucania], where the "capital" city of Petelia is said to be located.⁵⁹

From the literary accounts which refer to the pre-Brettian Lucania, some significant events occurred during the mid-fifth century B.C. which shaped the history of "Grande Lucania."⁶⁰ For example, we happen to know that in the city of Kroton, after a fire broke out in the *synedrion*, some Pythagoreans took refuge with the Lucanians.⁶¹ Other historical sources provide further episodes important for the history of the *ethnos*, including a war between the Lucanians and the army led by the Spartan Kleandridas to defend the Greek colony of Thurii; the constitution of a league by Thurii itself, with Kroton, Kaulonia, Rhegion and Hipponion to fight against the Lucanians; a successful military campaign led by the Lucanians and their

Ethnic identity of Brettians as it is reflected both in written sources and material culture is discussed in Poccetti 1988; Guzzo 1989; Guzzo 1995; De Sensi Sestito 1995.

⁵⁶ Cappelletti 2005, 8 f.

⁵⁷ Pseudo Scylax 12.

⁵⁸ Lepore 1963; Lepore 1975, 46-49.

⁵⁹ On Petelia as "capital" of ancient Lucania, see *infra*.

⁶⁰ Later sources which mention the ethnic *Λευκονοί* are dated to the fourth century B.C., but they still refer to fifth century events. Isocrates, *De Pace* 49-50, Aristoxenos, Fr. 17 Wehrli (as referred to in Porphyry, *Vita Pythagorae*, 22 (*Λευκονοί*), Pseudo Scylax, *Periplous*, 12 (*Λευκονία*)).

⁶¹ Historical events and written sources discussed in Mele 1981a; Mele 1981b, 35 f.

ally Dionysus I against the Thurians in which the Greeks were defeated.⁶² Finally, the Lucanian conquest of Poseidonia⁶³ is dated to the period between the end of the fifth century B.C. and the beginning of the following century, when the Lucanians moved towards the Tyrrhenian coast.⁶⁴

Despite the conquest of Poseidonia, the relations between Lucanians and Greeks within the region should not be considered as hostile. Archaeological evidence shows that mutual relationships and cultural exchange occurred between the Italiote *poleis* and the Italic communities, giving birth to a Greek-Italic *koiné*.⁶⁵ Several written sources corroborate this view,⁶⁶ referring to the Lucanians' involvement in the Pythagorean

⁶² Diodorus Siculus XIV, 91, 100, 101, 102.

⁶³ Strabo VI, 1, 3. About the Lucanian conquest of Poseidonia, see Lepore and Russi 1972-73, 1882; Asheri 1999, 364-365 n. 7. Important archaeological studies have demonstrated that Strabo's account of the Lucanians' conquest of Poseidonia is supported by burial evidence. Several of these works prove that funerary customs underwent a significant change, as the arrangement of the tombs and the typology of grave goods attest. Grave goods in the Greek *polis* were usually unpretentious and sober until the last quarter of the fifth century B.C., after which they became more lavish and rich, a sign which can be explained as introduction of new (imported) burial practices, which were completely extraneous to the Greek habits and mentality. These burial customs emphasized the social status of the dead, and the funerary ceremony was a means to highlight the deceased by enhancing their richness, power and prestige. In other words, ostentation became a means of celebration and memory. Since this practice is typical of the Oscan-language groups, who moved from the Appennine territories towards the south of Italy during this period, it is plausible that protagonists of this detectable change can be identified with the Lucanians themselves, briefly mentioned by Strabo. Cf. Pontrandolfo and Rouveret 1992.

⁶⁴ The Lucanians fought against Poseidonia and its allies (generally identified as Pyxous, Scidrus and Laos). About the territorial extension of Poseidonia and its allies, cf. Greco 1979.

⁶⁵ It is worth noting that even ancient contemporaries themselves perceived the entity of Italic and Greek populations as a single cultural community. This is stated by the ancient tradition which considers the Italic populations as migratory groups arriving from different regions of Greece or Asia (it is recorded, for instance, that the Sabines moved to the Italian peninsula from Laconia, the Etruscans from Lydia and the group which later became the Romans from Troy). Cf. the observations in De Cazanove 1993, 24-25.

⁶⁶ For example, when Strabo states that Elea resisted both the Poseidonians and the Lucanians (VI, 1, 1, 252-253), he associates the two groups, almost implying that a relationship existed between them, as they "were on the same side or, at the very least, had enemies in common" (Isayev 2007, 112). Of course, this statement seems to contradict what we know about the Lucanian conquest of Poseidonia (Strabo V, 4, 13, 251; VI, 1, 3, 254). Nevertheless, archaeological investigations have not revealed any trace of destruction which would testify to a violent conquest of the city. Furthermore, it appears that the urban layout of the "Lucanian Poseidonia" does not terribly differ from the Greek city's one. This means that, after the Lucanians settled the city, they kept the main traits of the urban layout of the colony, using also the pre-existing civic and religious monuments. This continuity with the earlier Greek city indicates that the Lucanian component, in some ways,

movement of Magna Graecia.⁶⁷ Such cultural *koiné* is reflected in the material evidence, as is clear from the analysis of the archaeological data from the cult places of Lucania.⁶⁸ As it will be demonstrated in the next chapters, the adoption of “external” (Greek) models, especially in the religious sphere, has complex implications, and involves the wider assimilation of cultural traits.

The process of emergence of the Lucanian ethnos described above has been usually named in modern historiography as “ethno-genesis of Lucanians.”⁶⁹ Although the process cannot be reduced to a mere substitution of one people for another, the historical origins of the Lucanians as an ethnic group or as a recognizable ethnic category can be traced to a form of “colonialism,”⁷⁰ characterized by the migration of people from the internal areas of Samnium to the southern peninsula and the foundation of a number of *apoikíai* in Campania and Lucania, and then,

“succumbed” to the Greek one. (cf. *Poseidonia – Paestum II, III, IV, passim*; further details on the Heraion del Sele in Greco G. and De la Genière 1996, 223-226).

⁶⁷ Cf. Iamblichus, *De vita Pythagorica*, XXXIV, 241; Porphyry, *Vita Pythagorae*, 22; Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* VIII,14; Stobaeus, *Anthologium* I, 49, 27 (Wachsmuth). Dio Laertius (*Lives of Philosophers*, VIII, 80) refers to a personage named Okkelos, who belonged to the Lucanian ethnos, and lived in the mid-fifth century B.C. Okkelos played an active role in the Pythagorean circle by writing a work (the title of which is still debated: cf. Isayev 2007, 11-12, with bibliography). About Pythagoreanism in Magna Graecia, cf. most notably the works by A. Mele: Mele 1981a, 61-96; Mele 1981b, 35 f.

⁶⁸ The bibliography on the cultural relationships between Greeks and indigenous populations in Magna Graecia is endless. See, in general, *Greci e Italici in Magna Grecia*; Torelli 1977; Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989; Lomas 1995; Denti 2001; De Juliis 2004. On Lucania, cf. *Atti Lucania Antica*; Bottini 1987; *Greci, Enotri e Lucani*.

⁶⁹ For a recent synthesis of the debate concerning the Lucanians’ “ethno-genesis,” see Lombardo 2001, 329-335. Works specifically devoted to the phenomenon of “ethno-genesis” following the Samnites’ expansion are given by Pontandolfo 1982 (for Lucanians), Cerchiai 1995 (for Campanians), Guzzo 1989 (for Brettians).

⁷⁰ In this respect, see a recent contribution by H. Rix (Rix 2000, 196-231), which discusses the process of “Samnitization” of Campania, Lucania and Bruttium. Rix uses a “colonial” terminology (for example, talking about the Oscan language of the Samnitized regions, he defines it as “osco sannita ‘coloniale’” [Oscan-Samnite “colonial” (language)] [216, 220], and defines the Samnium as the “madrepatria dei ‘coloni’” [colonists’ homeland] [221]).

indirectly, into Brettia,⁷¹ according to a pattern which can be paralleled to that of Greek colonization.⁷²

I. 4 ~ Social structure: oligarchies and “intermediate” groups

Archaeological evidence provides us with an image of Lucanian society as a hierarchical and socially stratified entity, which had its political base in gentilician families that created an oligarchy of leading citizens.⁷³

The hierarchical attributes of Lucanian society are first found in the social differences seen in the placement of the various types of domestic architecture. In addition to the residences, which belonged to the gentilician families of Lucanian communities, archaeological research has identified several other modest dwellings. These “common” abodes differ from the elite ones in their building material, size, and their simpler plans. Of course, when dealing with this issue, a word of caution is necessary, since just a small number of settlements have been archaeologically investigated; therefore, it could be “dangerous to suggest which proportion of the population would have belonged to the upper class as no sites are fully excavated.”⁷⁴

The social differentiation of Lucanian communities is further exemplified by funerary customs. In particular, the necropolis of Sant’Arcangelo, a locality within the territory of San Brancato, where three hundred tombs have been discovered, illustrates the gradual emergence of the Lucanian leading groups.⁷⁵ This area was occupied as early as the end

⁷¹ Tagliamonte 2005, 135.

⁷² E. Lepore, cited in Tagliamonte 2005, 135.

⁷³ Written sources which deal with the presence of Alexander the Molossian in southern Italy (around the last quarter of the fourth century B.C.) refer to some groups of Lucanians who sided with him and some groups who did not, a differentiation which can reflect a division of oligarchic Lucanian families; in addition, sources mention some hostages given to Alexander by three hundred aristocratic families (Livy VIII, 24; Justin XII, 2).

⁷⁴ Isayev 2001, 112.

⁷⁵ Bianco 1994, 111-136; further discussion in Pontrandolfo 1996, 178.

of the fifth century B.C., when three groups of burials were set up. Whereas during the earliest phase these three nuclei consisted of a small number of tombs, afterwards more and more tombs progressively encircled the previous ones. Since the earliest examples of tombs date back to the end of the fifth century B.C., it is possible to trace the changes and the social stratification of Lucanian communities by analyzing the transformations in the burial customs, when Lucanian society crystallized into its own unique structure at the turn of the fourth century B.C. The fifth century tombs were quite modest, and the grave goods were typologically homogenous, as they were generally characterized by the presence of *lebetes* and *lekythoi*, with a sporadic presence of fibulae and, in the case of male burials, bronze belts or spears. Hence, it is possible to infer that, at the end of the fifth century B.C., Lucanian society was not as socially stratified as it gradually became during the following century. Towards the mid-fourth century B.C., the nucleus of tombs located in the middle of the necropolis area did not increase in number, while the number of tombs of the other two nuclei increased. In addition, in this transitional phase there was a tendency of the new Lucanian social order to differentiate female and male tombs through the deposition of particular objects as grave goods, which distinguished the dead both socially and economically. “Prestige objects” as grave goods became a significant indicator of societal status, and an expression of cultural identity. In male tombs, a spear and a bronze belt were in some cases associated (in the earliest examples, there was either the spear or the belt), or sometimes the belt was associated with a knife. In addition to the weapons, these burials were also characterized by *skyphoi* and cups, bronze vases, lead spits and candelabra, and unpainted *ollae*. In the female tombs, the indicators of social and economic status were generally jewelry, but also

lead objects of the same kind present in the male tombs, and imported vases.⁷⁶

Leading groups are particularly well attested in the funerary record thanks to a number of “princely” tombs uncovered in Lucanian areas. These notable examples of burials embody the prestige of the families who were at the summit of Lucanian society. The well known tombs of Laos,⁷⁷ Armento,⁷⁸ and Poseidonia⁷⁹ are characterized by the presence of extremely rare, precious objects (vases, jewelry, weapons), which reflect the economic and social level of the deceased.

By combining these data with the evidence on the existence of political magistracies which is given by epigraphic record (discussed in the following section), it is likely to assume that these leading groups represented the elites who held political power.

Along with the oligarchies, during the fourth century B.C. “intermediate”⁸⁰ groups of land-owners emerged, and settled throughout the rural landscape of the region. The appearance of these groups coincided with the introduction of a new type of land-tenure, based on single-family groups. The archaeological record reveals the role that these groups played within the Lucanian society, through a number of residential complexes and farmhouses excavated in Lucanian territory (explored in greater detail in the following pages). Mario Torelli argues that there is a sort of parallelism between the appearance of the Brettians through the secession from the Lucanians and the emergence of these intermediate groups, since they

⁷⁶ For a discussion on these groups of tombs and what they tell us about Lucanian society, see Pontrandolfo 1996, 178.

⁷⁷ Cf. Guzzo and Luppino 1980, 821-914.

⁷⁸ A lavish tomb was found at Armento in 1814. The only item that is still preserved from this tomb is a golden crown. Nevertheless, the excavation report mentions also a statuette, a candelabrum and some silver vases, which were destroyed during the investigation (cf. *Ori Taranto*, 443-444). On the Hellenistic models of the crown, see De la Genière 1989, 691-698.

⁷⁹ Pontrandolfo and Rouveret 1992.

⁸⁰ This term translates Torelli’s definition of Lucanian groups as “gruppi intermedi:” Torelli 1993, XIV.

derived from the liberation of rural plebs from oligarchies' domain. It is only when these groups gained a higher rank within the society that they acquired "visibility" from an archaeological perspective.⁸¹

In summation, this section aims to highlight the complex stratification of the Lucanian society. As is illustrated in the next section, this social articulation is matched by a structured political organization. The analysis of the socio-political context in which the sanctuaries can be framed is crucial in order to understand who built them and held the religious power in the Lucanian world.

I. 5 ~ Political structure: *touta*-, "military democracy" and *basileis*

According to literary accounts, the Lucanians had political institutions, which are described as a sort of "league" with the city of Petelia as its *μετρόπολις* ("con-federal centre"),⁸² as Strabo specifically states.⁸³

From the mid-fifth century B.C. (the period in which the foundation of the Lucanian league is usually dated), Greek and Latin literary texts refer to Lucanian political organization by the ethnic designation οἱ Λευκανοί/*Lucani*.⁸⁴ To indicate the Lucanian collectivity, Greek sources

⁸¹ Torelli 1993, XV: "[...] gli antichi servi, come si è detto poc'anzi non «visibili» agli occhi dell'archeologo per tutta la prima metà del IV sec. a.C., si sarebbero così trasformati in «ceto intermedio», divenendo il nerbo di un nuovo regime" [the ancient servants, who are not "visible" in the eyes of the archaeologists during the first half of the fourth century B.C. and the earliest decades of the third century B.C., became the "intermediate class" and became the backbone of a new regime].

⁸² Lepore 1975, 48; Pontrandolfo 1996, 171. The reasons why this city had such an important role are not clear, as reflected in Strabo's account. P.G. Guzzo argues that a sanctuary which belonged to the entire Lucanian ethnos was located in Petelia, having also an important political role within Lucania (Guzzo 1982a, 251).

⁸³ Strabo VI, 1, 3, C 254. In the same passage, Strabo provides additional information on the city, which he defines as κτίσμα δ'ἔστι Φιλοκτήτου, Philoctetes' foundation (cf. also Solinus 2, 10). According to Cato (70 P2, III,3 Chassignet) and Virgil (*Aen.* III, 401 f.), Philoctetes built the city wall, long after its foundation. A different account is reported by Silius Italicus (XII, 433), who tells us that the hero brought to the city Herakles' *pharetra*. Cf. Giannelli 1963², 161 f.

⁸⁴ For the attribution of a political meaning to this ethnic denomination, see Abeken 1943, 50.

generally employ the term τὸ ἔθνος.⁸⁵ Cappelletti argues that this word alluded to a population that had an independent political organization, setting them aside from neighboring communities.⁸⁶ In contrast, Latin authors used a number of terms: *gens Lucana*,⁸⁷ *genus*,⁸⁸ *natio*,⁸⁹ *populus* or *populus lucanus*,⁹⁰ and *nomen lucanum*.⁹¹ Taken together, these terms still seem to refer to the Lucanians as a collective entity.⁹² Many scholars attribute various meanings to these designations, and there are two main schools of thought concerning their significance.⁹³ Some scholars see the various terminology as a reference to Lucanians' ethnic uniformity, with corresponding connotations such as "race," "nation," "population." Other interpretations tend to emphasize the political and juridical significances of the terms used to distinguish the Lucanian communities, and propose meanings such as "league," "federation," "con-federation."⁹⁴ For the purposes of this study, the opinion of Cappelletti is generally accepted. She considers the modern interpretations of these designations too rigid, and not congruent with the evidence found in ancient written sources, which do not attribute a precise meaning to the terms used to identify the Lucanians.⁹⁵ For example, Cappelletti notes that the Latin terminology used to indicate the Lucanian political entity is heterogeneous, and semantically

⁸⁵ For example, Dionysius of Halicarnassus XIX, 6, 2-6 (in reference to 281-280 B.C. events): in this passage, ἔθνος has a different meaning in comparison to other literary works, where it tends to have an ethno-geographic connotation (for example, Polybius, *Hist.*, X, fr. 1; Tzetzesez, *schol ad Lycophr.*, V, 1083; Procopius, *Bell.*, V, 15, 20-23).

⁸⁶ Cappelletti 2005, 174-175.

⁸⁷ Servius, *ad Aen.*, VI, 359; Silius Italicus, *Pun.*, XII, 475; Valerius Maximus I, 8, 6; Livy VIII, 25, 3; XXVIII, 11, 15; XXXI, 8, 11; Florus I, 11, 23.

⁸⁸ Livy VIII, 24, 6.

⁸⁹ Varro, *de ling. Lat.*, V, 32.

⁹⁰ Livy VIII, 17, 9; X, 11, 12; XII, 61, 11-13; XXIV, 9, 8; XXXI, 7, 13; XXXI, 8, 10-13; XXXI, 31, 12; Florus I, 13, 6.

⁹¹ Livy XXV, 16, 14.

⁹² Cappelletti 2005, 175.

⁹³ This schematic division is in Catalano 1965.

⁹⁴ A summary of the main interpretations can be found in Catalano 1965, 227-238; further observations in Cappelletti 2005, 176 f.

⁹⁵ Cappelletti 2005, 176, f.

interchangeable within the ancient sources. Following her argument, in some cases collective expressions referring to Lucanian *ethnos* had an exclusive geographical or ethnic value (*gens Lucana* and *populus Lucanus*), especially in military accounts of battles, defections, and alliances.⁹⁶ In other cases the same expressions can be used with a political meaning. Livy, for example, makes a reference to the Lucanian “league” as a federal entity, and thus he stresses the political connotation of the terminology. He tells us that in 212 B.C. the *nomen Lucanum* was constituted by *populi*, who were represented by their magistrates (*praetores*) in federal assemblies (*concilium*).⁹⁷

The Lucanian league is also referred to as an entity regulated by legislation, (νόμοι Λευκανῶν and *leges Lucanorum*),⁹⁸ with a city capital (Petelia),⁹⁹ assemblies (*civium coetus*, *concilium*¹⁰⁰), magistratures (βασιλεύς, *duces*, οἱ νενόμενοι ἀρχάς, *magistratus*, *praetores*, *senatus*, πρέσβεις or *legati*¹⁰¹), common armies,¹⁰² and “federal”¹⁰³ coinage. These

⁹⁶ Cfr., for example, Valerius Maximus I, 8, 6; Livy VIII, 17, 9; XXIV, 9, 8 (about war events); Livy VIII, 19, 3; VIII, 25, 3; X, 11, 2; XXVIII, 11, 15 (about alliances); Livy XXII, 61, 11-13; XXXI, 8, 10-13; XXXI, 31, 12 (about defections). Servius and Livy refer to moral qualities of the Lucanian *gens* and *genus* (Servius, *ad Aen.*, VI, 359; Livy VIII, 24, 6), without attributing to the term any political meaning. Varro mentions *natio* and *gens Lucana* (Varro, *de ling. Lat.*, V, 32).

⁹⁷ Livy XXV, 16, 10-11; XXV, 16, 13-15.

⁹⁸ *Inded. Vatic.* von Arnim [= *FGrHist* 839 Fr. 1, 2]; Livy XXV, 16, 7; Justin. XXIII, 1, 7; Heraclides Lembus, *Excerpt Polit.*, P.28 Dilts [= *FHG* II, p. 218]; Aelianus, *V. h.*, IV, 1, 1.

⁹⁹ Strabo VI, 1, 3, C 254.

¹⁰⁰ Livy VIII, 27, 6; XXV, 16, 14.

¹⁰¹ Strabo VI, 1, 3 (C 254); Livy VIII, 24, 10 (*dux Lucanorum*); Valerius Maximus II, 8, 6; Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXIV, 15. About *duces Lucanorum* cf. Livy X, 18, 8; Pliny, *N. H.*, III, 71; Festus 85 L; Strabo VI, 1, 3, C 254; Livy VIII, 27, 8-9; XXV, 16; VIII, 27, 9; Arrianus, *Anab.*, VII, 15, 4-5. Reference to *legati Lucani* in Livy VIII, 19, 1; XXVII, 9-10.

¹⁰² Mention of *legiones Lucanae* is found in Livy VIII, 24, 4. Furthermore, see: Livy X, 33, 1; XXII, 42, 5; XXIV, 15, 2-7; Diodorus Siculus XIV, 101, 4; Iustinus XII, 2, 13; XVIII, 1, 11; Dionysius of Halicarnassus XX, 1, 1-3; 2, 6; 3, 1; 4, 2; Valerius Maximus I, 8, 6; Frontinus III, 6, 4.

¹⁰³ By the term “federal” I mean the particular organization of Lucanian communities in territorial units (or districts). The term is commonly used in archaeological literature concerning Italic realities with this particular kind of territorial and political organization. Therefore, the term “federal” or “con-federal” refers to the entire Lucanian *ethnos* as a whole.

federal coinages¹⁰⁴ show the ethnic designation in the genitive case in the Oscan language and Greek alphabet ΛΟΥΚΑΝΟΜ (which is attested also in the abbreviated form ΛΟΥΚΑ¹⁰⁵ and in the Greek version ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΩΝ).¹⁰⁶ Hence, the Lucanians ideologically seem to have articulated their unique identity in their currency.¹⁰⁷

While there is a solid understanding regarding how the Greeks and the Romans perceived the Lucanian ethnic and political structure, there is a dearth of evidence on the local terminology which referred to the Lucanians' socio-political organization. Epigraphic sources attest to the Oscan term *touta-* or *tota-*, which is also known in the central Appennines and Umbria.¹⁰⁸ In these sources the term seems to indicate the Samnite (and then Lucanian) community as a social group and organization.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, it is hard to decode the meaning of the term, which has no parallel in ethnic definitions such as *ethnos* and *nomen*, and varies widely in

¹⁰⁴ Lucanian federal coinages are represented by a few examples of coins, which are almost exclusively in bronze. Their original context is unknown, whereas their dating (third century B.C.) has been established on the basis of kinds of metal, weight, types of coins and *legenda*. Stazio 1972, 91.

¹⁰⁵ Another *legenda* which refers to Lucanians on “federal” coins is ΛΚ. For example, a third century B.C. silver issue which has on the O/ side a feminine head with Attic winged helmet and on the R/ side an ear of corn which is surmounted by a truncheon and the *legenda* ΛΚ; another issue shows on the O/ side Athena's head with an helmet, and Pegasus with the *legenda* ΛΚ on the R/ side. Stazio 1973, 93-94; Taliercio Mensitieri 1999, 472-474.

¹⁰⁶ For an analytic examination of Lucanian federal coinages, see Stazio 1973; Taliercio Mensitieri 1999.

¹⁰⁷ On the propagandistic significance of Lucanian issue carrying the ethnic denomination, see Burelli Bergese 1987; Taliercio Mensitieri 1995, 137

¹⁰⁸ Dench 1995, 137-137 (for Appenninic area); Bradley 2000, 181-182 (for Umbria).

¹⁰⁹ A recent alternative interpretation is given by H. Rix (Rix 2000), who argues that in the Samnitized areas of Campania, Lucania and Bruttium the term *touta-* was not designed to indicate the socio-political unit, i.e. the state. Accepting an interpretation which was proposed by Th. Mommsen, Rix states in contrast that the Oscan term *vereiā-* had the meaning of the Latin term *res publica* (Rix 2000, 208 f.). Following Rix's reconstruction, in the Oscan-speaking areas the term *touta-* was “substituted” with *vereiā-* when the Samnites, expanding after 450 B.C. to the south and southeast of Italy, came into first hand contact with the city-states and decided to adopt the pattern of the city-state itself, namely the structure of the Greek-Etruscan πόλις (Rix 2000, 217). *Vereiā-*, deriving from the proto-Indo-European *werg'-iyā- (fenced area), could adequately indicate the small fortified settlements which populated the Samnite landscape. Subsequently, the term assumed also the meaning of “state community,” following the model of the πόλις, which meant both settlement and state.

usage within scholarship.¹¹⁰ While A. La Regina considers the term as a comprehensive definition of the ethnos itself (the Samnites),¹¹¹ C. Letta points out that the term may be used as a reference to individual communities, and not necessarily to an ethnic group.¹¹²

Two epigraphic sources from Lucania mention the *touta*: a dedication in Achaean alphabet and Oscan language inscribed on an *olla* from Castelluccio, dated to the sixth century B.C.,¹¹³ and the *lex* inscribed on a bronze tablet found in Roccagloriosa, dated to 300 B.C. *ca.*¹¹⁴ The first document does not provide us with any clear information about the nature of the *touta*. Instead, the *lex* from Roccagloriosa is much more informative. It represents one of the most important documents for our understanding of the highly structured level of Lucanian political and institutional organization, on the eve of Roman conquest. Despite the fact it was found during modern restoration of the ancient circuit wall of Roccagloriosa, it can be easily contextualized and attributed to the Central Plateau habitation area, where there was probably a public building.

The *touta*- is mentioned on side B - line 4 of the tablet, and the text reads as follows:

Side B. 4: [π]ουστ τουτεικαις αυτ [...]

¹¹⁰ Isayev 2007, 21.

¹¹¹ La Regina 1981, 129-137.

¹¹² Letta 1994, 387-406.

¹¹³ Rix, Ps 1 (Ve 186). On this inscription and the difficult interpretation of its meaning, see Arena 1972, 322-330.

¹¹⁴ Gualtieri and Poccetti 2001, 187-275. There is a general agreement in dating the inscription (on the basis of paleographic considerations) to the first half of the third century B.C. (although D. Musti dates it to 350 B.C. *ca.*: Musti 2005, 323-324). A discussion on different hypotheses concerning the chronology of the document is found in Gualtieri 2004, 48-49.

Τουτεικωις (<**toutiko-*) is the adjectival derivation from *toutā-*, and has been interpreted as *publicus*.¹¹⁵ Nonetheless, the text does not shed light on the very nature of the *touta-*, and how the term was used and conceived by the Lucanians. Evidence is lacking regarding whether or not the term indicated the whole Lucanian ethnos as a “state” or a single community, as suggested in other epigraphic records from the Lucanian area, found in the sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio. Four inscriptions from Rossano (dated between the end of the third century B.C. and the first century B.C.) mention the deity Mephitis as *Utiana* (RV-11, RV-22, RV-32, RV-45). M. Lejeune asserts that this is a divine epithet which must be connected to a hypothetical *touto utianom*, a Lucanian community living into the Potentino area (where the sanctuary itself is located), which was probably in charge of controlling the sanctuary of Rossano.¹¹⁶ Although this reading remains merely speculative, this argument makes sense if the settlement physiognomy of ancient Lucania is considered, which seems to reflect a “division” in single political and administrative units (this point is discussed later in detail).

The exceptional importance of the *lex* is also established by the mention of magistracies, or *meddes*, thus documenting the articulation of political institutions in Lucania. As Festus explains, *meddix*¹¹⁷ was a “generic” magistrate (*meddix apud Oscos magistratus est* [Paul. ex Festus 110 L]), whose specific institutional functions were defined by qualifying adjectives. Among the different qualifications, the Oscan-language epigraphic records attest a *meddix tūvtīks* (which is transcribed *tuticus* and

¹¹⁵ Gualtieri and Poccetti 2001, 239-240, 262.

¹¹⁶ Lejeune 1990, 36-37. This interpretation has been recently discussed by E. Isayev, who suggests that “these distinct *touta* could then have acted either jointly with others from Lucania, perhaps to form what Livy later describes as the *nomen Lucanum* [Livy, 25.16.14], or with communities from other regions” (Isayev 2007, 22). Alternative interpretations of *Utiana* as theonym or toponym are discussed in Chapter IV.

¹¹⁷ *Meddis* is transcribed “meddix” in Latin (only exception in Ennius [Ann. 289 Skutsch]: *medix*).

translated as *summus* in Latin sources).¹¹⁸ An understanding of the institutional responsibilities of such magistrates depends on the interpretation given to the term *touta-*. In Samnite contexts, for example, A. La Regina argues that the *meddix tuticus* was the unique annual magistrate who held the highest political powers and represented the entire Samnite ethnos in public religious activity. Furthermore, the magistrate held *imperium* and could be “acclaimed” (*embratur*), hence gaining the right to exercise a triumph.¹¹⁹ Of course, this interpretation is connected to La Regina’s reading of *touta-* as “state” (the state of the Samnites). Nevertheless, there is no written or archaeological evidence to support this argument. The association of a *meddix tūtíks* with the Samnite sanctuary of Pietrabbondante (Ve 151) suggests the opposite: the *tuticus* magistracy was probably the *summus* political office of a territorial entity (the *touta*), within which the sanctuary of Pietrabbondante was located, since, according to the inscription, the *tuticus meddix* was supposed to take care of the *touta*. The rich epigraphic documentation from Samnite areas, moreover, associates single *gentes* (with their political magistracies) with specific territorial (and therefore political) units, reflecting the settlement system of Samnium.¹²⁰

The same organization can be postulated in Lucania, where, unfortunately, there are not as many epigraphic records referring to political institutions as in Samnium.¹²¹ A famous inscription in the Greek alphabet and the Oscan language from Muro Lucano, dated to the first quarter of the third century B.C., mentions the *meddix* “Mais Arries.”¹²² Another text has been discovered in the surrounding area of the fortified settlement of Serra di Vaglio, and mentions the name of the magistrate taking an archonship

¹¹⁸ Livy XXIII, 35, 13; XXIV, 19, 2.

¹¹⁹ La Regina 1989, 305 f.

¹²⁰ La Regina 1989, 361 f.

¹²¹ La Regina 1989, 361.

¹²² Rix, Lu 4. On the reading and historical interpretation of this text, see Lejeune 1985, 50-55; Capano and Del Tutto Palma 1990, 105-110.

(“Nummelos”).¹²³ These sources and the abovementioned *lex* from Roccagloriosa, as well as the settlement organization of the region which is discussed in the following pages, lead us to assume that the Lucanians were organized in single communities or political entities with their own political institutions and magistracies, thus confirming the notion of complex and articulated political structure of the Lucanian people.

In addition to these documents, the aforementioned passage by Strabo concerning the Lucanian conquest of Poseidonia provides further details about the political organization of the Lucanians, as it states that the Lucanians used to elect a supreme leader (*basileus*)¹²⁴ during times of war.¹²⁵ In the light of this information, scholars speculate that Lucanian communities were characterized by a sort of “military democracy” (using a definition by E. Lepore).¹²⁶ Following Strabo’s account, it can be hypothesized that the Lucanian leading groups used to elect a *basileus* during times of war, entirely consistent with ancient monarchic patterns.¹²⁷ M.R. Torelli draws upon Strabo’s insight to interpret a highly debated inscription from Rossano di Vaglio (RV-28), which is dated to the second

¹²³ Lejeune 1985, 54-55.

¹²⁴ Cf. Lepore 1975, 53: “questo *basileus* lucano [...] non va affrettatamente concepito tanto come un re, ma piuttosto come un «magister populi», se volete un esempio romano che vi sarà più familiare, cioè è già il *magistratus*, sia pur straordinario, in rapporto alla comunità popolare” [this Lucanian *basileus* [...] has not to be conceived as a king, but rather as a «magister populi», if you want a well known Roman example, and this means that he is already the extraordinary *magistratus*, in relation to the popular community].

¹²⁵ Strabo VI, 1, 3, C 254: τὸν μὲν οὖν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐδημοκρατοῦντο, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις ἤρεῖτο βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ τῶν νεμομένων ἀρχάς [At one time the institutions of the Leucani were democratic, but during the wars a king was elected by those who were possessed of chief authority] (English transl. by H.C. Hamilton, Esq., W. Falconer, M.A, London 1903).

¹²⁶ Lepore 1975, 53: “un’aristocrazia guerriera di “eguali” che si regge con l’assemblea degli armati” [a warrior aristocracy of equal people, which is based on the assembly of armed men].

¹²⁷ Torelli 1993; Bottini 1999, 431. Other scholars, suggesting different interpretations about the real role of this *basileus*, interpret him as a king-priest of the sanctuary of the Lucanian ethnos (Pugliese Carratelli 1972, 102), who was provided with military power when it was necessary. Salmon, for example, considers the *basileus* as an *ex-meddix*, who received full powers during war time (Salmon 1985, 97). More recently, Firpo has interpreted the *basileus* as a federal office of the whole Samnite people, which was probably shared among a number of men (Firpo 1994, 462, 464).

half of the second century B.C.¹²⁸ It is a dedication of “bronze statues of kings” by local magistrates:

σεγνο. αιζνιω. ρεγο

While M. Lejeune identifies the mentioned *reges* as a regal couple formed by *Domina Iovia* and *Iuppiter Rex*,¹²⁹ M.R. Torelli proposes that the *reges* and the *basileis* from Strabo are one and the same. Therefore, the dedication at Rossano would have been done by the “kings” elected by the Lucanians in war times. In this respect, the above mentioned Mephitis’ epithet “Utiana” (which is attested in the Rossano di Vaglio Sanctuary) can be therefore interpreted as connected with an ancient gentilician cult, derived from a *genos basilikon*.

The model of a “military democracy” involving the *basileis* is ideologically reflected in the armor discovered in princely tombs, including the aforementioned examples of Laos, Armento, and Poseidonia, and in the tomb paintings at Poseidonia (dating back to the earliest generations of Lucanians in the city), which represent the scene of the “warrior’s return.”¹³⁰ After death, the male adult personage, who had played a leading role within his social group, was depicted as a “warrior,” and this status was symbolically conveyed via his armor and his depiction as a warrior on the grave slabs.¹³¹

This discussion about the political organization of the Lucanian communities illustrates that, whereas ancient authors refer to the Lucanians as a single collectivity from an ethnic and political perspective, epigraphic and archaeological evidence suggests that there were many political entities

¹²⁸ Torelli M.R. 1990, 83-93. This reading is further discussed in Chapter IV.

¹²⁹ Cited and discussed in Torelli M.R. 1990, 85.

¹³⁰ Cf. Pontrandolfo and Rouveret 1992.

¹³¹ Pontrandolfo 1996, 172.

which controlled single territorial units. This notion is particularly important in order to understand how the network of sacred places of the region was administered and organized. One of the main questions regarding the Lucanian sanctuaries is whether a “common” cult place existed for the entire Lucanian ethnos. The existence of a “federal sanctuary” (as it is defined in current literature) implies the existence of a political identity which joined together all the Lucanian communities, but this identity is not attested to at the epigraphic level. The settlement pattern of the region (which is discussed in the following section of the chapter) reflects an organization of the Lucanian people which does not presuppose the existence of a “league” or a “federation,” thus confirming the meaning of *touta-* as a single community with its own political institutions and magisterial offices.

I. 6 ~ Settlement system of Lucania: a landscape of fortified centers, farms and extra-mural sanctuaries

In this section, the Lucanian settlement pattern is delineated, a fundamental part of which was a number of cult places usually located outside the inhabited areas.

The Archaic settlement organization that gave way to the Lucanian system was characterized by nuclei of dwellings concentrated in the internal areas of the region.¹³² During the fourth century B.C., when Lucanian

¹³² The Lucanian impact on the settlement pattern of the region differed from center to center. In some instances, a fundamental role was also played by pre-existing inhabitants, *e.g.* the diverse impact of Lucanians’ presence in Greek cities, such as Poseidonia and Laos. Laos, under Lucanian domination from the end of the fifth century B.C., was re-founded by the Lucanians themselves. They introduced a new urban plan, characterized by an orthogonal axis, public spaces, monumental buildings, residential blocks and productive areas. As E. Greco has demonstrated, the new urban plan of the city (with a regular grid and equal blocks of houses) is congruent with Greek cultural models of citizens’ equality (*Laos II*). In contrast, the Lucanian presence in Poseidonia had a different outcome. The Greek city was not modified by the Lucanian conquerors: the urban plan was unaltered, the urban sanctuary kept its functions and the circular building where political meetings took place (probably the *bouleuterion*) remained in use. Under the

society reached a defined structure, this mountainous territory acquired a particular physiognomy, according to a settlement pattern which seems to reflect the political organization of the Lucanians in different and autonomous communities. Despite the unique features of each settlement area (partially due to geomorphological character of a territory or to political and economic differentiations among the various sites),¹³³ it is still possible to assert that this renovated landscape was quite homogeneous. The necropoleis were physically separated from the “world of the living,” nucleated settlements appeared on the hilltops and were often fortified, while the surrounding countryside was densely occupied either by isolated habitations or by small clusters of dwellings. Another *tessera* of this renovated landscape was constituted by a network of cult places which, set apart from the habitation spaces, were strategically situated at the crossroads of the most important communication routes.

The most macroscopic evidence of this new territorial organization is represented by fortified settlements, which overlooked river valleys and communication routes (“tratturi”) (**Fig. I-2**).¹³⁴ These centers present common characteristics. First, they were placed on high plateaus as a means of defense, and, strategically, at the convergence of the communication

Lucanian dominion, a small altar and a statue of *Iuppiter* was located in proximity to the lower part of the stairs of the *bouleuterion*, as an Oscan inscription on the statue basis testifies. This evidence reflects the continuity of employment of this building, which also suggests that the city kept its own political and administrative organization after the Lucanians’ conquest. Cf. *Poseidonia-Paestum I; Poseidonia-Paestum II*, 81 f.

¹³³ A recent synthesis on settlement organization of ancient Lucania is found in Isayev 2007, 58-60 f. In addition, Isayev also analyzes the written sources which mention the Lucanian centers, as a means of understanding the settlement pattern of the region, mostly focusing on the terminology used in these texts to mean the Lucanian centers (*oppidum* and *urbs* in Latin sources, and *polis* in the Greek ones). As Isayev points out, such documents do not shed light on the nature, role and organization of Lucanian settlements, as “they are not a comment on the way in which the Italian communities chose to organize their landscape” (Isayev 2007, 60).

¹³⁴ Recently, archaeological research has focused on “Lucanian” fortifications, giving birth to a number of studies on this topic. Cf., for example, De Gennaro 2005.

routes of the region. Second, the building technique of the fortifications¹³⁵ consisted of a double wall filled with rubble. In some sites, monumental gates have been found, such as at Monte Coppolo, Roccagloriosa, Torre di Satriano, Serra di Vaglio, Torretta di Pietragalla and Civita di Tricarico.¹³⁶ The number of circuit walls varies from site to site: whereas most settlements were provided with just one wall, several centers had two fortification circuits, which are usually not found less than ten kilometers apart; in some cases more than two fortification lines have been found, such as at Civita di Tricarico.¹³⁷



Figure I-2. Ancient Lucania during the fourth century B.C.: hill-top settlements

¹³⁵ The resemblance of these structures, mostly at the level of building techniques, is echoed in an old theory proposed by Dinu Adamesteanu (Adamesteanu 1974b, 190-207), who hypothesized that some circuit walls, such as the ones found at Serra San Bernardo, Torretta di Pietragalla, Civita di Tricarico, Satriano (which are pretty close to each other), Anzi and Crocchia Crognato (which are further than the previous ones), had a single common plan. Therefore, Adamesteanu attributed the building of these structures to Nymmelos, an eponymous magistrate whose name is registered on a stone block found very close to the walls of San Bernardo. (Adamesteanu 1970-71, 125).

¹³⁶ Discussion about building techniques and chronology of these fortifications is in Horsnaes 2002, 40 f.

¹³⁷ Cf. De Cazanove 1996c, 200 f.

The arrangement of the spaces within the fortification walls is often unknown. Nevertheless, some sites have been more completely investigated, and they can give us some information about the internal layout of the hilltop centers. In many cases an orthogonal layout was used, as, for example, at Pomarico Vecchio,¹³⁸ where the residential area is organized in regular *insulae*.

The size of the fortified settlements varies from 1,1 ha to 10,2 ha.¹³⁹ Along with other data concerning the internal organization of these settlements, this oscillation can be read as mirroring a sort of settlement “hierarchy.”¹⁴⁰ Therefore, size differences (which are sometimes macroscopic) cannot be underestimated. They should have had a parallel political and administrative significance in the general framework of the Lucanian region.¹⁴¹ This reading is corroborated by the existence of settlements which are set apart from other settlements not only for their exceptional size but also for their extraordinary longevity, such as the center of Civita di Tricarico.¹⁴²

Turning now to the *mesogaia*, the territory surrounding the hilltop centers was populated by small villages and single family farms, thus reflecting a change in the notion of land-tenure which was unknown during the Archaic age, with the introduction of specialist cultivations, such as olive tree and viticulture, according to a model which has been

¹³⁸ Barra Bagnasco 1997, 6.

¹³⁹ The work by De Gennaro on Lucanian circuit walls has permitted the identification of three groups of settlements, which are grouped on the basis of their size: 1,1 ha (Guardiola, Monte Nuovo, Ripa della Scala, Toppo Castelluccio, Tempa Cortaglia); 5,3 ha (Albano di Lucania, Anzi, Buccino, Satriano Vecchio, Tempa San Nicola, Torretta di Pietragalla); 10,2 ha (Monte Boscone, Monte Crocchia, Serra di Fagato). Settlements which present an average size 29,2 ha constitute an exception, such as Civita di Tricarico, Tempa del Cedro, Baragiano, Raia San Basile, Serra San Bernardo. De Gennaro 2005, 107 f., and table 3 p. 161.

¹⁴⁰ De Gennaro 2005, 107; Isayev 2007, 67.

¹⁴¹ According to Morgan, settlements' dimension cannot be considered a discriminator in order to identify their function (Morgan 2000, 193-197; Morgan 2001, 82). *Contra*, Isayev 2007.

¹⁴² *Civita di Tricarico I*.

reconstructed by E. Greco for the Paestan territory.¹⁴³ This new form of land-employment and territory organization has to be connected to those “intermediate” groups that emerged when Lucanian society achieved its own specific structure and physiognomy during the first half of the fourth century B.C., as archaeological investigations of the countryside residential complexes of Moltone di Tolve, Montegiordano, Cersosimo Madarossa, and Banzi Mancamosone demonstrate. As will be discussed in Chapter V, this settlement organization, along with its mode of land-use, started to decline during the third century B.C., when new forms of land-use were introduced in the region in the aftermath of Roman conquest.

In order to illustrate this notion, the well known case of the Moltone di Tolve farm will be considered. The first two phases of this complex mirror the emergence of the abovementioned “intermediate” groups, but also the crystallization of Lucanian society, which was characterized by a lavish restoration of houses (**Fig. I-3a-b**). The farm is located on the slopes of Mount Moltone, at the crossroads of different routes towards Rossano di Vaglio and Oppido Lucano.¹⁴⁴ There are three identifiable phases of occupation. The first phase can be dated between the middle and the end of the fourth century B.C., in accord with the shaping of the settlement system of the region. During this time, the complex consisted of a square building of 390 m², formed by three northern residential rooms which gave way to a southern court. On the southern side, a long domestic room was located, where there was a hearth. During the third century B.C., the complex was completely restored. This restoration reflected the socio-economic development of the family group who inhabited it: the building was expanded, and reached the size of 660 m²; a central paved courtyard was

¹⁴³ Greco 1979, 20-25.

¹⁴⁴ For a general description of the building phases of the complex and its historical reading, see Tocco 1982, 95-100; Russo A., in *Da Leukania a Lucania*, 39-42.

built, while the room on the eastern side was increased towards south. The entrance, consisting of a corridor bordered by rooms, was monumentalized and decorated by antefixes shaped as heads of Pan and Maenads. Moreover, there was also an internal decoration with red stucco in the northern rooms, which kept their residential function.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, during this phase the complex acquired a more lavish appearance, as the building of a bath-sector further demonstrates.

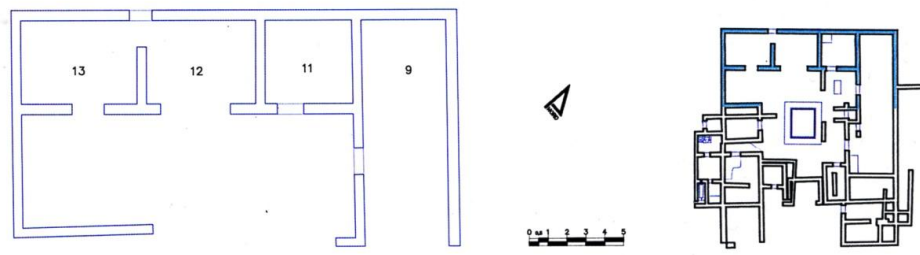


Figure I-3a. The Moltone di Tolve farm: first building phase

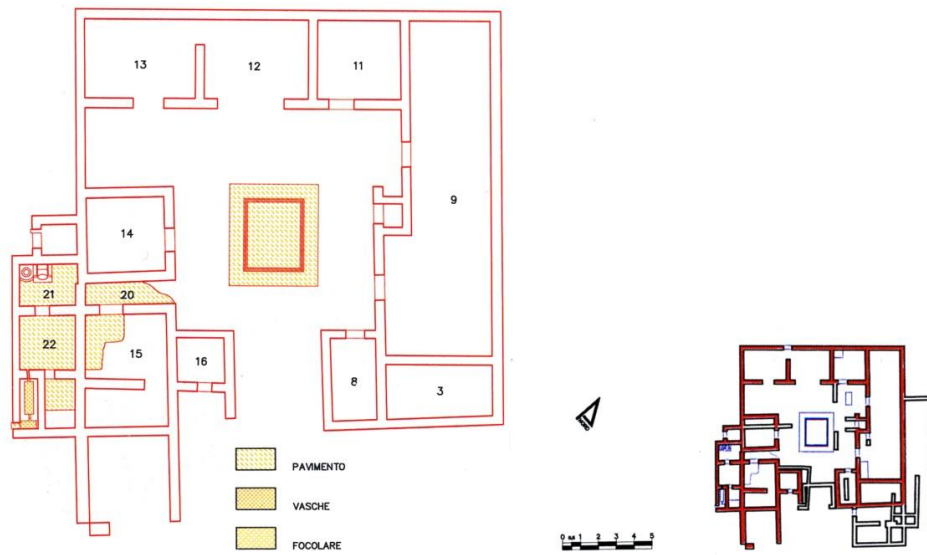


Figure I-3b. The Moltone di Tolve farm: second building phase

¹⁴⁵ During this phase, the Moltone complex was inspired by Greek models, in particular the Delian building pattern.

In the last phase, which will be discussed in depth in chapter V, the physiognomy of the complex changed radically, and its function was transformed from a habitation into a building devoted to craft production, thus reflecting those changes which Lucanian society underwent in the aftermath of the Roman conquest. Whereas the first building phase is an example of a single-family farm with residential spaces flanked by productive rooms, during the following phase the complex became richer and more elaborate, exemplifying an increase in private property and productive activity based on agriculture and sheep-farming. This second phase corresponds to the flourishing of the “intermediate” groups, the most numerous group of people who frequented and dedicated offerings in the sanctuaries of the region.

Finally, another relevant component of the settlement system described here was constituted by the abovementioned network of cult places which were generally separated from the residential settlements, and were located at strategic crossroads of the main communication routes of the region. Within the territory, sanctuaries played a role of aggregation for the Lucanian communities inhabiting the hill-top centers and the surrounding land.

In conclusion, although the cult places as part of the settlement organization of the region are discussed in detail in the next chapter, it is nonetheless necessary to consider the nature of the settlement pattern of Lucania. The exact definition of this system is still debated, but ever more intensive archaeological excavations in the region are contributing to clarify the character of the Lucanian settlement organization. What has been delineated above is the indispensable premise to the discussion concerning the role played by sanctuaries within the territory in which they were

located, with special reference to their relationship with the inhabited centers.

Generally speaking, the settlement system of ancient Lucania can be situated within the wider settlement pattern of Samnite groups. Central to this system was the organization of the settlement area into single territorial units, which seems to reflect internal dynamics of infra-ethnic diversity. This pattern has been generally labeled as “non-urban,” or, in more complex cases, “tending to urban patterns.” This designation derives from the use of categories taken directly from the Greek and Roman world, namely the model of the *polis/urbs*.¹⁴⁶

The assessment of Italic settlement pattern as “non-urban,” moreover, derives also from the description that Greek and Roman sources give us, including a notable passage by Livy. Livy dutifully recounts the question the consul P. Decius Mus asked his fellow citizens, before leading his army into Pentrian territory in 296 B.C.: *Quid per agros – inquit – vagamur vicatim circumferentes bellum? Quin urbes et moenia adgredimur? Nullus iam exercitus Samnio praesidet...*¹⁴⁷ The *vicatim* of Livy has its parallel in the famous expression by Strabo “*komedon zontes*.”¹⁴⁸

Recent archaeological research carried out in the Italic regions of the southern peninsula clarifies the comments provided by written sources on the settlement organization of Samnitized areas. The role of archaeological research is, in this respect, even more important, especially when one considers that the only accounts available for our understanding of the Italic settlement system are either Greek or Roman. The picture which is still

¹⁴⁶ Cf. the observations in Gualtieri 2004, 35.

¹⁴⁷ Livy X, 17, 2: “Why do we range about the countryside, bringing war to this, that, and the other village? why do we not assail cities and walled towns? there is no longer any army defending Samnium.”

¹⁴⁸ Strabo V, 4, 11.

emerging from the results of excavations and surface investigations is much more complex than the pattern suggested by ancient authors. Hence, to label the Samnite/Lucanian settlement pattern as “non-urban” seems somewhat limited, a rigid classification which is derived from a negative comparison with the politically centralized patterns found in the Greek and Roman models. The approach to this problem has changed. H. Fracchia and M. Gualtieri defined the settlement pattern of Roccagloriosa as “proto-urban,” therefore considering it very close to an urban model. O. De Cazanove recently has pointed out the necessity of a more “neutral” approach to this issue, which is not affected by parameters which are applied to the Greek and Roman world. De Cazanove states that the definition of a settlement as “urban” does not necessarily imply the existence of an orthogonal layout, as well as of the same communitarian spaces which are present in the Greek city (the *agorá*).¹⁴⁹ In this respect, it is worth noting that in some Lucanian site *intra-muros* community-spaces exist. At Roccagloriosa, for example, H. Fracchia and M. Gualtieri have identified buildings which had public function.¹⁵⁰ Furthermore, the persistence of domestic buildings serving also public functions, such as the aforementioned “Complex A” at Roccagloriosa, has to be considered when assessing the degree of spatial organization of the settlements at hand.

It is in this “urban” settlement organization, where a functional division of spaces is contemplated, that the network of extra-mural sanctuaries must be framed, because the sanctuaries appeared contemporaneously to the foundation of the hill-top settlements of the region. These complexes and their function in the organization of the Lucanian communities are the subject of the next two chapters.

¹⁴⁹ De Cazanove 2009, 174.

¹⁵⁰ Fracchia and Gualtieri 2009, 119-142.

CHAPTER II
LUCANIAN SANCTUARIES
FROM THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.
TO THE END OF THE THIRD CENTURY B.C.
TOPOGRAPHY, ARCHITECTURE, SPATIAL ORGANIZATION

This chapter discusses two main issues concerning sanctuaries: first, the role that the cult places played within the settlement system of Lucania, partially discussed in Chapter I, with a particular focus on the relationship between sanctuaries and hill-top inhabited settlements; second, the architectural features of the sacred complexes and their space organization are considered. The first issue represents a crucial element in the comprehension of how the sanctuaries were administered and who held the religious power within the Lucanian communities. For the second point, special attention has been paid to the models which inspired the architecture of the Lucanian sanctuaries. Such analysis allows us to make some observations about the ethnic identity of the Lucanian people, and constitutes a further contribution to the discussion concerning the organization of the Lucanian sanctuaries: if a Lucanian ethnic identity existed, was there a sanctuary which was common to all the Lucanian communities? Or, conversely, does the presence of a common cult place presuppose the existence of common political structures? The results of the following analysis are analyzed critically and discussed in the conclusion to the first part of the dissertation.

II. 1. ~ The sanctuary: a distinctive sign of Lucanian *ethnos*

The creation of a network of sacred places is a distinctive feature of the settlement system with which the region was provided when the Lucanian *ethnos* appeared and settled in the territory. As the comparison with the Archaic age demonstrates, devoting specific spaces to religious functions was a peculiar characteristic of the Lucanian settlement organization. The sacred landscape of the Lucanian era is very different from that of the Archaic age which precedes it. During the Archaic age, what was “sacred” was represented mainly by votive materials (terracottas, cult vessels, etc.) that have occasionally been found in the oldest levels of some Lucanian sanctuaries,¹⁵¹ as in the case of the Rivello sanctuary, loc. Colla¹⁵², and Chiaromonte, loc. San Pasquale.¹⁵³ The only exceptions to this rule are constituted by the sacred areas of Timmari,¹⁵⁴ and Garaguso, where a previous Archaic phase has been identified thanks to the discovery of pre-Lucanian material, despite the absence of actual monumental Archaic structures. Nevertheless, archaeological research has not turned up traces of settlements dated before the end of the fifth century B.C. in the areas around most Lucanian sanctuaries. In the discussion that follows, Timmari will be not considered, since during the pre-Lucanian era it culturally belonged to Peucetia, and therefore we will focus only on Garaguso.

Garaguso is the only known Archaic sanctuary in Lucania.¹⁵⁵ Its structure is divided into two distinct areas identified by votive deposits known as “Autieri” and “Autera.” This sanctuary’s importance in the Archaic age derives mainly from its strategic location, between the upper

¹⁵¹ For a survey of the cult places of southern Italy, see Mastronuzzi 2005.

¹⁵² *Evidenza Archeologica Lagonegrese*, 40.

¹⁵³ Bottini and Setari 1996, 57.

¹⁵⁴ Lattanzi E., in *Atti Taranto* 1975, 564-565.

¹⁵⁵ Masseria 2001, 83-107.

valleys of the Basento and the Salandrella Cavone rivers. It is the meeting point of two cultures, the Oenotrian culture of the southern and south-western areas, and the “north-Lucanian” culture of the Ruvo del Monte, Ripacandida and Cancellara areas. This position is doubtless an indication of the complex role of the structure, a proper “inter-ethnic religious centre” as well as a setting for commercial relations and trade.¹⁵⁶

As already stated, with the exception of the Garaguso complex, there are no areas in Archaic Lucania that are laid out and specifically organized as sanctuaries. Cultic activities belonged to the domestic domain, with the *sacred* being the monopoly of emerging groups in the community. This makes the physically distinct appearance of sanctuaries in the Lucanian age even more significant and innovative, an authentic outcome of the “Lucanization” of the region.

The fortified settlement of Roccagloriosa can be considered as a representative case-study. It is a particularly useful illustration, thanks to the wide ranging studies that have been carried out enabling us to “monitor” the “transition” in time and space from forms of organization of the sacred still linked to Archaic schemes, to forms of organization of public and private spaces which separate the two spheres. Inside one of the residential complexes of the so-called “Pianoro Centrale” a votive shrine was found (F 11) (**Fig. II-1**), attesting to the practice of cultic activities inside residential buildings. This house, known as “Complex A,” is a gentilician dwelling dated from the first quarter of the fourth century B.C., made up of a series of rooms arranged around a flagstone-paved courtyard (room A4), surrounded by porticoes on three sides. The small sacred area was enclosed inside this courtyard, in the form of an *oikos*, which originally had a pitched

¹⁵⁶ Masseria 2000, 220.

roof with a central beam.¹⁵⁷ The excavators interpreted this *oikos* as the centre for a gentilician cult, which epitomized the dominant role of the oligarchic group that lived in the residence.¹⁵⁸ Although this cult was “circumscribed” within the domestic walls, it does not seem to have been limited solely to the family group that lived in “Complex A.” As the size of the paved courtyard and the wealth of material found inside the *aedicula* attest, it probably involved the community that occupied the settlement.¹⁵⁹

Dating from about half a century before the *floruit* of Lucanian sanctuaries, the *aedicula* F 11 has provided a “legacy” of types of cultural activities typical of the Archaic age, when the sacred was still enclosed

¹⁵⁷ *Roccagloriosa I*, 104.

¹⁵⁸ Two more residential complexes identified in the “Pianoro Centrale” and pertinent to the emerging groups of fourth century B.C. society document the existence of domestic cultic activities. However “Complex A” is the most monumental and the cult takes on a public dimension which makes it very different from the other domestic types of cult seen in the area of the “Pianoro Centrale” itself. These are two other residential complexes (“Complexes B and C”), which developed at the same time as “Complex A,” but in a less monumental form. Resembling the former in construction technique, these complexes also have a spatial distribution and orientation as well as modular development similar to it (*Roccagloriosa I*, 77-81). In particular, “Complex B” stands out due to the presence of a porticoed courtyard, with simple beaten earth flooring, in whose north-west corner a circular space has been prepared, with the surface covered with stones and tiles, interpreted by excavators variously as *bothros* or *eschara* (Fracchia and Gualtieri 1993, 114). With regard to “Complex C,” however, only two rectangular rooms (rooms B6 and B7) have been attributed to it with certainty, while the relevance of two others, located to their south (B8 e B9), is still controversial (*Roccagloriosa I*, 81; Fracchia and Gualtieri 1993, 114).

¹⁵⁹ Fracchia and Gualtieri 1989, 228 (“[...] at Roccagloriosa we can clearly document the existence of several kinds of fourth-century B.C. cultic activity within major elite habitations, the most monumental of which (Complex A) may have had a “pseudo-public” character. By “pseudo-public” we intend that the shrine which is architecturally and spatially grandiose, with a number and variety of offerings as well as a probable cult statue and sacrifices, may have served as a point of worship for an extended group of people (e.g. the adult males of a number of families) and not have been restricted to use by the aristocratic owners of the house itself”); *Roccagloriosa I*, 108. Cfr. also Fracchia 1990, 215: “The courtyard/portico area in complex A at Roccagloriosa, here presented in detail, is indeed to be considered against the background of the 6th - 5th century evidence for multifunctional buildings listed above, although dated within the limits of the 4th century B.C. and consequently, it is to be emphasized, without the specific “pseudo-public” connotations [...]. The exceptionally well preserved structure from Roccagloriosa including the shrine with altar, terracotta figurines and the miniature coarse wares, discussed below, provided detailed archaeological documentation for the practice of the *sacra gentilicia*, and as such stands out as tangible evidence for the key role of the gentilician cults among the Lucanian *familiae illustres* (Livy VIII, 24, 4) and within the organization of the community at large.” See also Fracchia and Gualtieri 1993, 109-110.

within domestic walls.¹⁶⁰ Because of the partially public dimension that religion takes on inside Complex A, the aristocratic Roccagloriosa residence can be considered similar to more ancient examples of palatial buildings, whose presence in the Archaic age have been documented not only in the Lucanian area but also in Etruscan-Latial areas.

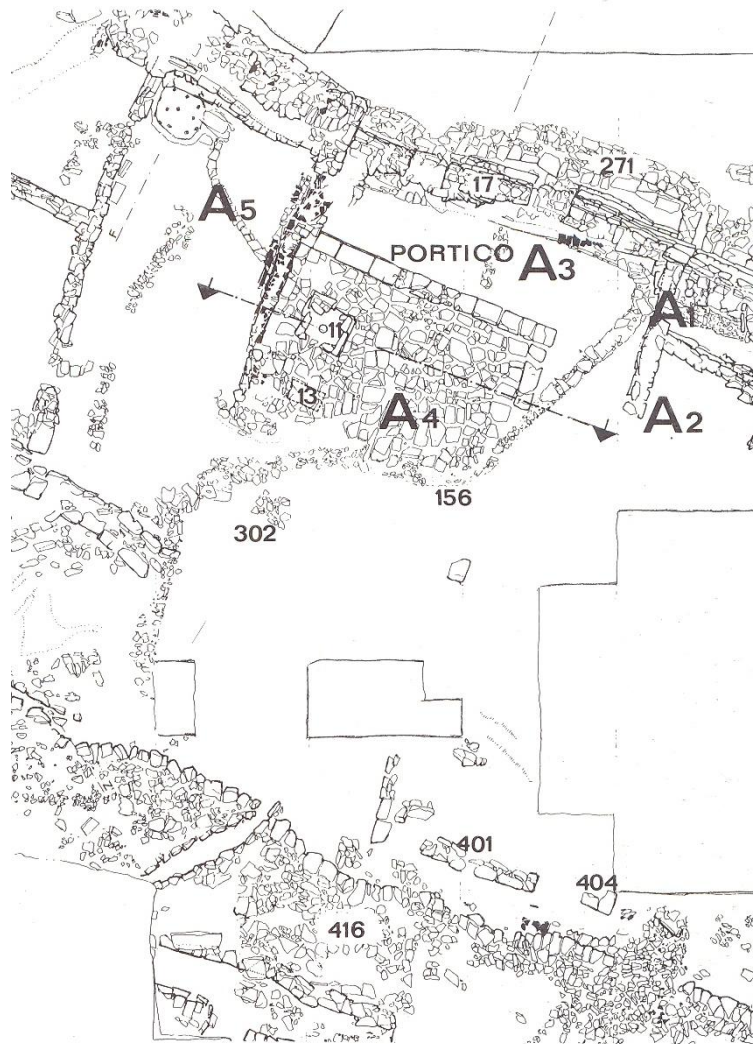


Figure II-1. Roccagloriosa: the so-called “Complex A”

¹⁶⁰ *Roccagloriosa I*, 101.

The closest comparison can in fact be made with the Serra di Vaglio (località Braida) complex.¹⁶¹ The Serra di Vaglio complex is a rectangular structure located close to a spring and at the juncture of a series of roads connecting the indigenous settlements around it. Only the foundation platform, opening on to a large paved area with limestone flagstones, has survived.¹⁶² The famous slabs with bas-relief carvings depicting fighting hoplites were part of the roof of the building. Initially, the typically Greek character of these carvings, doubtless produced in the colonies, led critics to identify the structure as a religious building.¹⁶³ Considering the topographical location of the complex, the deity would thus be the protector for all exchanges that took place both close by and far away.¹⁶⁴ In any case, the spread of this type of decoration, including in Etruscan and Latial areas in the mid-sixth century B.C., with regard to buildings which were clearly of a “palatial” type, such as the *regiae* of Murlo, Acquarossa and Archaic Rome, has helped us to have a more grounded and more logical understanding of the function of the complex, where an *anaktoron*, a seat of the local *princeps*, has been identified.¹⁶⁵ The partially public dimension of the complex can be explained by its chronological date, from a period when public sacred areas were not yet separate from private ones,¹⁶⁶ in the same way as Complex A at Roccagloriosa.

Returning to the example of Roccagloriosa, the studies carried out here have enabled us to go beyond this phase which culturally still

¹⁶¹ Compare with observations in Fracchia and Gualtieri 1989, 230 f.

¹⁶² Russo Tagliente 1992, 79-80.

¹⁶³ Lo Porto and Ranaldi 1990, 287-317.

¹⁶⁴ Pontrandolfo 1982, 76-77; Lo Porto and Ranaldi 1990, 287-317; Greco 1993, 108-109.

¹⁶⁵ Russo Tagliente 1992, 80; Bottini 1996, 543. From the ample bibliography provided about Murlo: Stopponi 1985, 64-154; Torelli 1997, 167-175. Regarding Acquarossa: Stopponi 1985, 41-63; Torelli 1997, 87-121. Regarding Rome: Coarelli 1983, 56-79. On the functions of these *anaktora*, with references also to Magna Graecia. see Zaccaria Ruggiu 2002, 162-266.

¹⁶⁶ Bottini and Setari 1996, 205-208; Greco 1996, 267-271; Bottini and Setari 2003, 9. In particular, on the basis of these discoveries, the authors believe that the slabs were related to a series of buildings located higher up, in the shelter of the Lucanian era walls: Bottini and Setari 1996, 207.

“straddles” the period between the Archaic and truly Lucanian ages, by documenting the later development of this settlement, using organizational forms typical of the situation in the fourth century B.C. Surface mapping has revealed that the inhabited areas started to expand outside the fortified walls towards the end of the fourth century B.C.¹⁶⁷ At the same time as this expansion, the inhabited complexes within the structure underwent a series of modifications, such as the closure of *aedicula* F 11, which was defunctionalized at the end of the fourth century B.C. The distribution of the living space outside the city walls took on characteristics which were different from those within the city. Not only did more “modest” houses appear next to the aristocratic residences with a central courtyard, but in this phase we also see the appearance of areas intended specifically for public use.¹⁶⁸ The evidence comes from nuclei identified immediately outside the walled surroundings of Roccagloriosa, respectively on the plateau to the north west of the fortified wall (the so-called “Area DB”), the location of several ceramic and terracotta workshops, and on the south-west plateau (the so-called “C. Balbi” plateau). The Balbi plateau complex, positioned along a road to the south,¹⁶⁹ contains a monumental building constructed with large square limestone blocks, facing a wide open space.¹⁷⁰ According to a preliminary study, this complex can be considered a public meeting place or a marketplace. Its use for religious purposes has not however been ruled out, and it would not be surprising if this were the case, as the development of the inhabited part of Roccagloriosa during the later fourth century B.C. would in this way fit into the picture of the larger

¹⁶⁷ This expansion of the residential area outside the city walls testifies to Roccagloriosa’s important role as a critical reference point for a huge area. (*Roccagloriosa II*, 76-77, in part. note 35).

¹⁶⁸ *Roccagloriosa II*, 71.

¹⁶⁹ *Roccagloriosa II*, 289. With regard to the so-called “Area DB,” see: Gualtieri and Fracchia 1990, 159-163; *Roccagloriosa II*, 12-26. On the so-called pianoro C. Balbi: *Roccagloriosa I*, 153-154; 157-158; 166-168; *Roccagloriosa II*, 47-60.

¹⁷⁰ See also *Roccagloriosa II*, 69-70.

phenomenon of constructing fortified residential Lucanian centers in conjunction with religious centers outside their walls, positioned along communication routes. Thus, the way the Roccagloriosa settlement developed is an example of what happened in the rest of the territory, providing a model of diachronic development which is even more valuable as not all the areas of the region are well known or studied.

II. 2. ~ Sanctuaries and settlement system of the region: geographic location and relationship with the inhabited areas

This section discusses the sanctuaries within the wider context of the settlement organization of the region. The main research question concerns what type of relation existed between inhabited areas and cult places. By “relationship” I mean topographic but also political and administrative connections between sanctuaries and inhabited centers, which are discussed in depth in the following section.

It is not easy to go beyond general considerations about this issue, because, despite the intense archaeological research recently carried on in the region, the inhabited centers still represent the lesser known aspect of the Lucanian settlement system, and are often known only through related necropoleis. Given the basic lack of evidence to support any hypothesis, the following observations have to be considered as suggestions, and will certainly change on the basis of future archaeological investigations and studies on Lucanian settlement organization.

According to the archaeological evidence and the topographic location of the sanctuaries, a strong link existed between inhabited settlements and sacred areas.¹⁷¹ Sacred areas usually lay downhill, at the

¹⁷¹ Osanna and Serio 2009, 100 f. A similar interpretation is given by C. Masseria in her book on the Lucanian sanctuaries and their role in the settlement organization of the region. Masseria's

feet of the fortified settlements, in proximity to a water spring and of important communication routes, which allowed good accessibility to these sacred areas from the surrounding territory. For example, the Torre di Satriano sanctuary was located south of the hill of the fortified settlement (**Fig. II-2**), and the Colla di Rivello sanctuary was connected to the Serra La Città settlement through a “tratturo” which is still used in modern times¹⁷² (**Fig. II-3**). It is therefore plausible to infer that the organization of the territory was based on the contemporary “definition” of a central settlement provided with a circuit wall and a cult area, which was separated from the inhabited space, but was also in close connection with it.¹⁷³ In other words, each sanctuary referred to a specific fortified hill-top settlement.

reconstruction is based on the identification of a series of districts (or “cantoni”) which were dominated by “hegemonic” centers, namely the political and administrative points of reference of each territorial unit (Masseria 2000, 229 f.). Such centers should have played a fundamental role in the management and administration of the sanctuaries. The possible hierarchy of the hill-top settlements of the region has been discussed in Chapter I. 7, where it has been said that the identification of “hegemonic” settlements is essentially based on two elements: size of the settlements themselves and number of inhabitation nuclei in the territory surrounding the fortified centers. Nevertheless, although I believe that there were settlements which were bigger than others and therefore controlled wider territories, I consider Masseria’s model (which aims to identify one hegemonic center for each well defined district) too rigid in order to describe what seems to be a more “fluid” entity. Furthermore, even the identification of the “hegemonic” center does not seem certain. Beyond the different size of these centers (which can be sometimes due to the geomorphology of the territory), there is not enough evidence to state that one settlement “prevailed” over the others; for example, we are not able to identify in these settlements any public areas which were clearly destined for the administration of the surrounding territory, or which had a role in the running and administration of the extra-mural sanctuaries.

¹⁷² For Satriano, see Osanna and Serio 2009, 98-100, with references; for Rivello, see Bottini P. 1988, 116.

¹⁷³ Osanna and Serio 2009, 100 f.



Figure II-2. Torre di Satriano:
topographic location of hill-top settlement and sanctuary

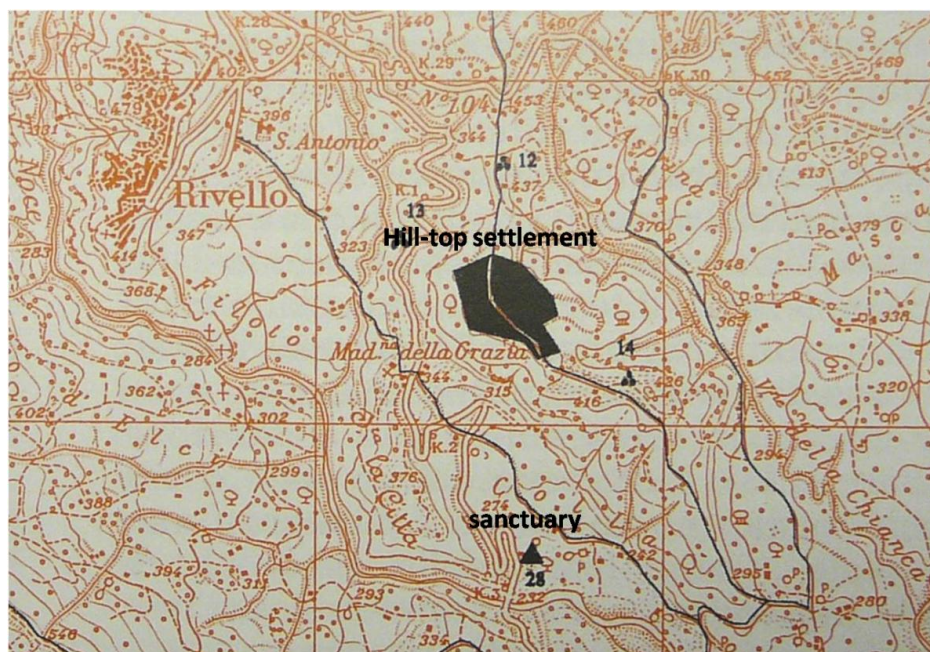


Figure II-3. Rivello:
topographic location of hill-top settlement and sanctuary

Although the basic pattern of the settlement organization of the region can be identified by the link settlement/cult place, some exceptions to this model have to be considered. First, is the recently published site of Civita di Tricarico, the only example of an *intra muros* cult place which is known in Lucania. This complex is located on the plateau which is occupied by the inhabited settlement.¹⁷⁴ The discovery of this cult place within an inhabited area encourages us to question whether the aforementioned model is really typical of the settlement organization of the region, or whether it has to be attributed to the current state of the archaeological research.

Second, it is worth citing some sanctuaries which may have had an extra-territorial dimension. The most notable example of such sanctuary types is Rossano di Vaglio. This complex, despite the fact that it is considered to have been founded in connection with the fortified settlement of Serra di Vaglio,¹⁷⁵ has a series of characteristics which has allowed scholars to hypothesize that this complex had a wider territorial function. A discussion about the role played by this sanctuary within the territory is provided in the course of this research. What is important to emphasize in the current discussion on the relationships between inhabited settlements and sanctuaries is that this sanctuary is set apart from the others by some unusual features: its geographical location at the connection of the main communication routes of Lucania, which linked the Ionian and the Tyrrhenian coasts, as well as neighboring Puglia; its unusual size; and finally the richness of its structures and the huge amount of votive objects which have been found within the sacred area. Finally, this is the only sanctuary in which votive inscriptions have been found. Nevertheless, the interpretation of this sanctuary as “federal,” as defined in literature, cannot

¹⁷⁴ De Cazanove 2004b, 249-291; *Civita di Tricarico I*.

¹⁷⁵ Nava and Cracolici 2005, 103 f., with references.

be accepted, since it is based on the architectural forms that the sanctuary acquired under the Roman dominion. The site will be discussed later in detail.¹⁷⁶

An extra-territorial dimension can be most probably hypothesized for the Armento-Serra Lustrante sanctuary, located in a very “central” part of the region, closely connected to the Melandro valley on the north side, as well as to the southern and western coasts of the region. Furthermore, a road which started from Guardia Perticara passed through Serra Lustrante and went up to the north, towards the settlements of Tempa Cortaglia and Croccia Cognato, thus putting the sanctuary in connection with the central part of the region.¹⁷⁷ This sanctuary, too, is characterized by a richness of structures, as well as particularly valuable votive objects (see Catalogue of the Lucanian Sanctuaries).

Beyond the probable exceptions cited, the settlement system of ancient Lucania seems to be based on the connection between single inhabited settlements and physically separated sanctuaries. This organization can be defined as a complex of polycentric territorial districts, with each inhabited settlement working in close geographic, political and administrative connection to a sacred area located outside the enclosed inhabited space. This view is also corroborated by what may be inferred from the votive objects discovered in the Lucanian sanctuaries: the archaeometric analysis on the votives from the Torre di Satriano sanctuary have demonstrated that they are locally made products,¹⁷⁸ and this is also evident from the general lack of imported artifacts within the sanctuary. Therefore, it is possible to suggest that in general the frequentation of the sanctuaries was basically at a local level, with the worshippers coming both

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Chapter VI and the conclusions to the second part of the dissertation.

¹⁷⁷ Buck 1975, 108-109.

¹⁷⁸ Giammatteo 2008, 151-156.

from the hill-top settlements and from the surrounding countryside, which was under the administration of the fortified settlement itself. In the light of these considerations, the close connection between settlement and related cult area appears even stronger and more direct.

II. 3. ~ Political administration of the sanctuaries: who held the religious power?

In this section, I question how the sanctuaries of ancient Lucania were administered and who was in charge of managing them. Although there are no written sources stating who held the religious power in Lucanian society, nonetheless, in the light of information derived from archaeological and epigraphic evidence, as well as from information available about the social organization of the Lucanian communities, it is possible to propose some hypotheses.

First, it is worth stressing the close connection between inhabited settlement and sanctuary, which were probably conceived (and then created) contemporaneously to the structuration of the settlement pattern on the territory. Therefore, the administration of the sacred areas must be imagined within the magisterial offices of the centralizing entity, defined as a *touta* in the Italic world. Epigraphic documents from Samnium corroborate this view. The already mentioned inscription Ve 151, where the *meddix tuticus* is associated with the Pietrabbondante sanctuary, suggests that this magistracy was in charge of controlling a *touta*, part of which was the sanctuary of Pietrabbondante.¹⁷⁹

At a social level, it is plausible that the gentilician groups were in charge of overseeing the sanctuaries. The comparison with the Samnite world is again useful in clarifying this point. There are a number of

¹⁷⁹ For this inscription, see Chapter I. 5.

epigraphic documents which mention gentilician groups holding various magistracies, which were in charge of controlling territorial areas and therefore also of the sanctuaries located there.¹⁸⁰ For example, an inscription attests that the family of the *Papii* was connected with the sacred area of Vastrogirardi, where they probably possessed lands.¹⁸¹

In this respect, it is interesting to mention once more the Mephitis' epithet *Utiana*, which is epigraphically documented in the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary and which has been briefly discussed in Chapter I. 5. As already stated, Lejeune's interpretation connects this epithet to a *touta utianom*, namely to a collectivity which controlled and administered the sanctuary.¹⁸² Therefore, the connection of this sanctuary with the magisterial offices of the *touta* seems to be confirmed. Nevertheless, in the light of what is known from the Samnite world, another reading by M.R. Torelli, which connects the administration of the sanctuary with the Lucanian aristocratic families, seems more appropriate. As is discussed in detail in Chapter IV. 3. 2, *Utiana* can be interpreted as a reference to a gentilician family whose name derives from *Utius*, thus substantiating the oligarchies' control on the sacred places of Lucania.¹⁸³

Understanding who held the religious power in the Lucanian society is crucial in order to define the transformations which occurred when Rome took power and increased its presence in the region. Socio-political changes are clearly mirrored in the changes evident in the religious institutions.

¹⁸⁰ La Regina 1989, 361.

¹⁸¹ *CIL* I² 1757. Cf. Chapter I. 5.

¹⁸² Lejeune 1990, 36-37.

¹⁸³ Torelli M.R. 1990, 84.

II. 4 ~ The architecture of Lucanian sanctuaries: a look at the archaeological data¹⁸⁴

The following section is a brief treatment of the fundamental characteristics of the architecture of the sanctuary complexes, based on the archaeological evidence and the types of materials found. Since it is not possible to discuss the Lucanian sanctuary complexes exhaustively in few pages, this discussion will be limited to providing the most significant data concerning architectural structures, materials, and spatial organization. Furthermore, it is currently impossible to obtain a complete picture of the cult complexes of the region, as the available data are not homogeneous. Although intense research in the area has been promoted by the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata over the last few decades, many areas are still in need of archaeological investigations.¹⁸⁵ The availability of published material is even more limited, with comprehensive publications existing in only a few cases.¹⁸⁶ Only brief reports exist for most sanctuaries, with short descriptions of the structures and sketchy presentations of the archaeological materials, and without any quantitative and distributional analysis of the finds. The sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio is a case in point. No comprehensive publication is available as yet in which the building phases of the structures are discussed. So, it is clear that the on-going archaeological research in the Lucanian territory will provide new data. This will doubtless modify the current framework as well as some of the ideas presented in the following pages.

¹⁸⁴ A detailed treatment of the archaeological data concerning the Lucanian cult places is in the Catalogue of the Lucanian Sanctuaries.

¹⁸⁵ For example the Ruoti site, where the only hint regarding the existence of a sacred complex comes from votive materials, but no structures related to a sanctuary have been discovered. Cf. Fabbrocotti 1979, 347-413.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. the recent publication on the Torre di Satriano sanctuary, *Torre di Satriano I*.

II. 4. 1. ~ Architectural features and spatial distribution

At first sight, the architectural and planimetric layouts in Lucanian sanctuaries may seem quite diverse, from simple *naiskoi* to more complex constructions, as in the case of the sanctuaries at Armento and Rossano di Vaglio. However, this typological variation and diversity is only apparent. Upon careful observation, the layout of Lucanian sacred complexes can be termed, without exaggeration, as “homogeneous.” This homogeneity seems to be the result of a common conception of spaces dedicated to cult worship, and thus very probably, essentially similar forms of religiosity, ones the communities that lived in the region had in common. I will now set aside cult places identified solely by the presence of votive materials (Lucignano, Montescaglioso, Accettura, Grumento and Ruoti), for which I might reasonably hypothesise that religious buildings and structures originally existed, to concentrate instead on complexes whose structures and construction phases are known.

The common factor for all sacred places in Lucania is their proximity to a natural spring. Water is probably the first and most important element that stands out in the choice of a place to locate a sanctuary.¹⁸⁷ All the sanctuary complexes are characterised by the presence of systems to collect, channel and store water. A network of pipes has been found in Rossano, Ruoti, Chiaromonte, Torre di Satriano and Ferrandina; basins and fountains have been found in Armento, Torre di Satriano and Ruoti.¹⁸⁸ These structures are the tangible side of the symbolic and ritual importance that water occupies in the ritual practices of the Lucanian world. They contribute to definition in greater detail not only the basic features of

¹⁸⁷ The symbolic and religious significance of water in connection with forms of Lucanian religious thought will be discussed in the next chapters.

¹⁸⁸ In Ruoti the “fountain” which was discovered to the east of the excavated votive deposit covered with “cocciopesto” or lime mortar containing crushed bricks, can without any problem be considered a fountain-basin. Fabbrocotti 1979, 385-387.

Lucanian religious thought (the link with water), but also the practices which implied its continuous use, such as those involving ablutions and purification rituals, often in connection with sacrificial rites. As will be illustrated later on, the link with water is also often emphasized by paths or routes that connected the buildings to the water spring.

Another characteristic common to Lucanian cult complexes is the absence of actual temples in the Greek sense.¹⁸⁹ Nonetheless, this does not seem to be an index of the lack of monumental architecture, as shown by scenographic studies of the floor plans of many complexes, some of which cover several terraces (for example Armento, Chiaromonte, and Torre di Satriano).

The complexes are made up of covered rooms and unroofed spaces. I will begin by looking at covered buildings. A distinctive element of Lucanian religious architecture is the *sacellum*¹⁹⁰ (or *oikos*, using Greek terminology), which is generally of a variable size and with a single entrance. This room is believed to be the cult and architectural “heart” of the sanctuary, or, in the words of C. Masseria, “a sort of basic religious unit,” the “house of god expressed in a basic form.”¹⁹¹ The primary role of this room is mirrored in its central position within the complex, as well as

¹⁸⁹ The only temple buildings discovered were at Civita di Tricarico, and are in any case dated to the end of the third and probably the beginning of the second century B.C., when the process of assimilation of Roman-influenced cultural models was already in progress. They cannot therefore be counted among the religious buildings that sprang up at the same time as the “Lucanization” of the region and the formation of an ethnic and cultural identity which can be termed as “Lucanian.”

¹⁹⁰ The Latin term *sacellum* technically designated the consecrated space that included the altar (also according to Ovid, *Fast.* 1, 275). The term derives from **sacro-lo-* and indicates a small sacred place (*-lo-* is understood as a diminutive), while the Varronian etymology that gives the meaning of the word as “sacred *cella*” should be considered incorrect (Donatus, *ad Ter. Ad.*, 576 [4, 2, 37]). This etymology was related by Gellius (VII, 12, 5) but also contested by him, because he did not believe it was a compound word and proposed an alternate interpretation: *locus parvus deo sacratus cum ara*. This interpretation is confirmed in Festus’s definition: *sacella dicuntur loca dis sacrata sine tecto* (Paul., *Fest.* 423, 6 L) (however, archaeological evidence does not support this view of *sacella* with no roof. Cf. *infra*). Comella A., in *ThesCRA*, IV, s.v. *sacellum* (*Etruria e mondo italico*), 311-313.

¹⁹¹ Masseria 2000, 240.

the importance given to it in the succession of building phases of the sanctuaries.

This is seen, for example, in the case of Torre di Satriano and San Chirico Nuovo. In Satriano, the *sacellum* structure was conserved during all the building phases of the complex, despite some other rooms being defunctionalized and destroyed (**Fig. II-4**).¹⁹²

At San Chirico, when the original first phase *sacellum* was wiped out, a new room was built absolutely identical to the first, testifying here, even more than in Satriano, to the fact that this room was an indispensable part of the complex (**Fig. II-5**).¹⁹³

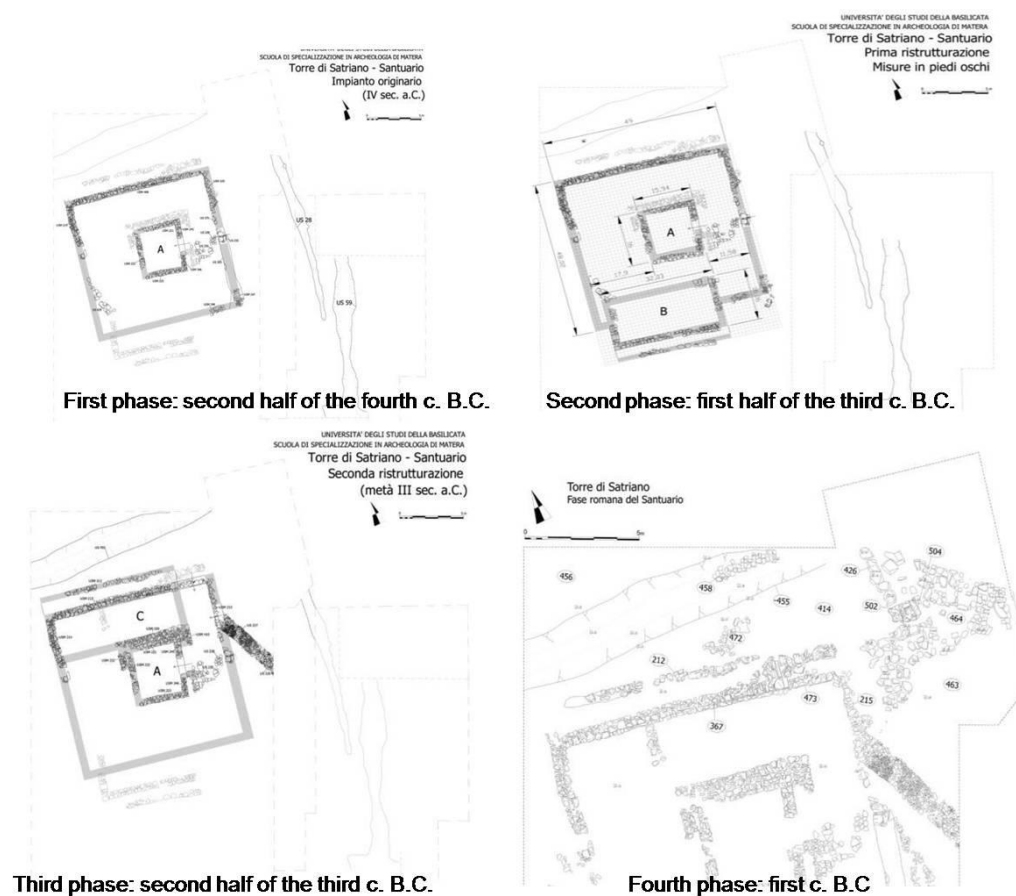


Figure II-4. Torre di Satriano Sanctuary: building phases

¹⁹² Torre di Satriano I, 100-111.

¹⁹³ Tagliente 2005, 115-118.

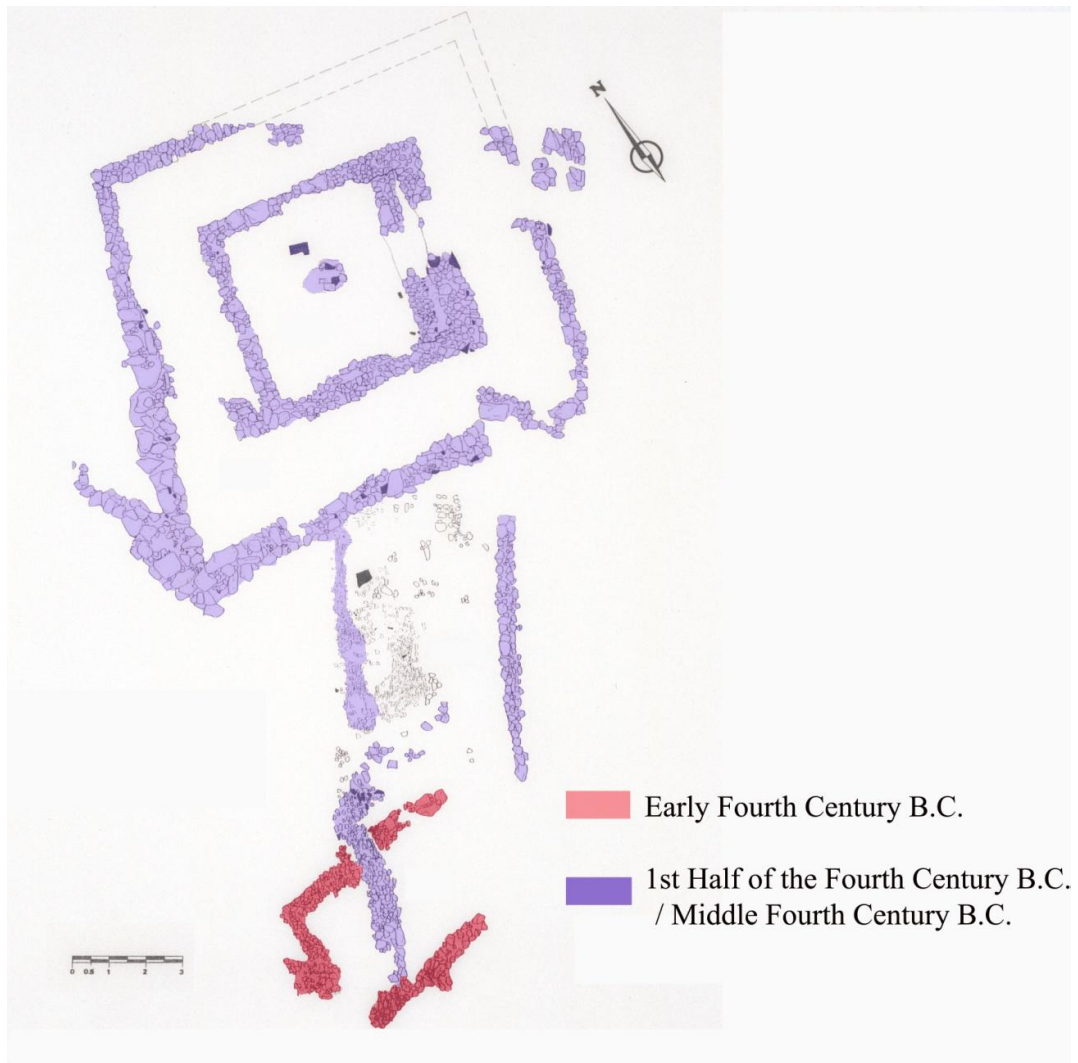


Figure II-5. San Chirico Nuovo Sanctuary

The fundamental role of this room in the context of the Lucanian sanctuary is even easier to recognize in complexes where it has been possible to reconstruct the original building phase, in which the quadrangular *sacellum* was the only essential religious building. This can be seen clearly in the case of the Armento sanctuary, località Serra Lustrante (**Figg. II-6, II-7**). Although its floor plan has a complex layout, during its oldest phase dating from the mid-fourth century B.C., the sanctuary was a cult place of rather modest dimensions with a small *sacellum* (2,50 x 3,00 m.), around which two rooms were positioned (rooms 3 and 9) for the consumption of sacrificial meals. A pool, a basin and a cistern (later monumentalized) were used for rituals. An *opus spicatum* strip on the ground resembles a sort of ceremonial route that continued up to the altar, which has not survived.¹⁹⁴ Furthermore, in the later construction phases of the sanctuary, the same type of changes that have been documented in San Chirico also took place in Armento. The second building phase of this complex, dated between the end of the fourth century B.C. and the beginning of the next century, stands out as a real “refounding of the sanctuary.”¹⁹⁵ Despite the fact that the complex took on a monumental aspect and size, and that the ground plan changed completely, the position of the *sacellum* remained central in the arrangement of sacred spaces. The old *sacellum* was in fact broken down and removed, but another building (denominated “room 1”) was built a short distance from the previous one.

¹⁹⁴ Russo Tagliente 2000, 42 f.

¹⁹⁵ Russo Tagliente 2000, 49.



Figure II-6. Armento Sanctuary: first building phase

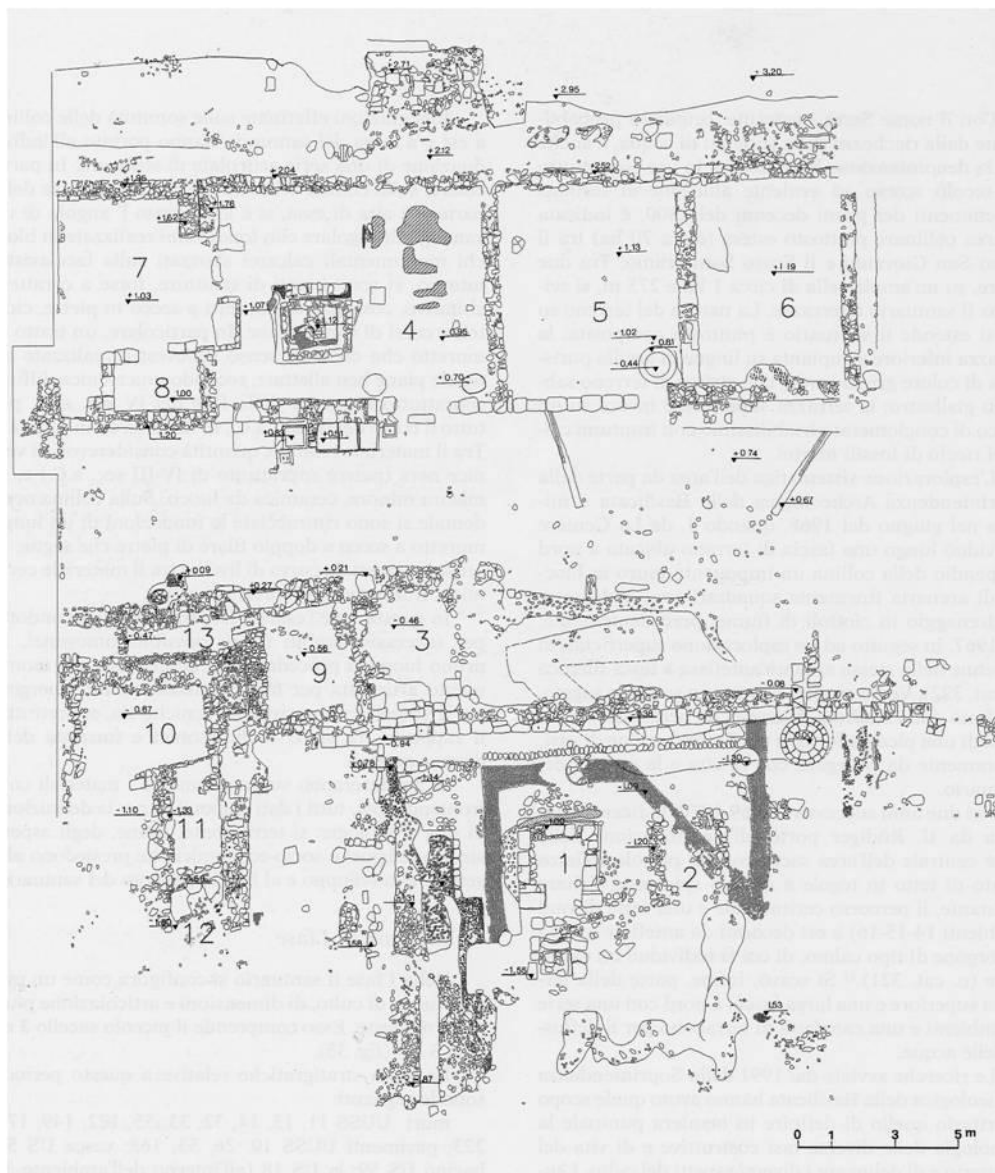


Figure II-7. Armento Sanctuary: second building phase

As far as the other complexes are concerned, archaeological research has helped us in some cases to shed light on traces of structures which could be in all likelihood attributed to *sacella*. At Chiaromonte, for example, to the east of the walkway which linked the valley with a mountain located higher up, a 2,80 m. high structure (68 on the map) built in mortar has been discovered (**Fig. II-8**). A double curtain wall with an *emplecton* fill was built, and when combined with another structure immediately to its north and perpendicular to it (76 on the map) can be considered the remains of a quadrangular *sacellum*.¹⁹⁶ Furthermore, the position (although it is slightly to the side) of the end of the colonnaded path would corroborate this hypothesis.

In the case of the Rivello sanctuary (località Colla), a building that might be considered a *sacellum* was discovered on the western side of the area under excavation (6x7 m.) (**Fig. II-9**). A layer of stones, as well as flat and curved tiles that had fallen in was identified.¹⁹⁷ The discovery of a votive deposit inside the building goes against the identification of this structure as *sacellum*, as the *sacellum* ought to be a room whose purpose is solely to house the cult statue.

¹⁹⁶ Barra Bagnasco 2000-2002, 221.

¹⁹⁷ *Evidenza Archeologica Lagonegrese*, 39-40.

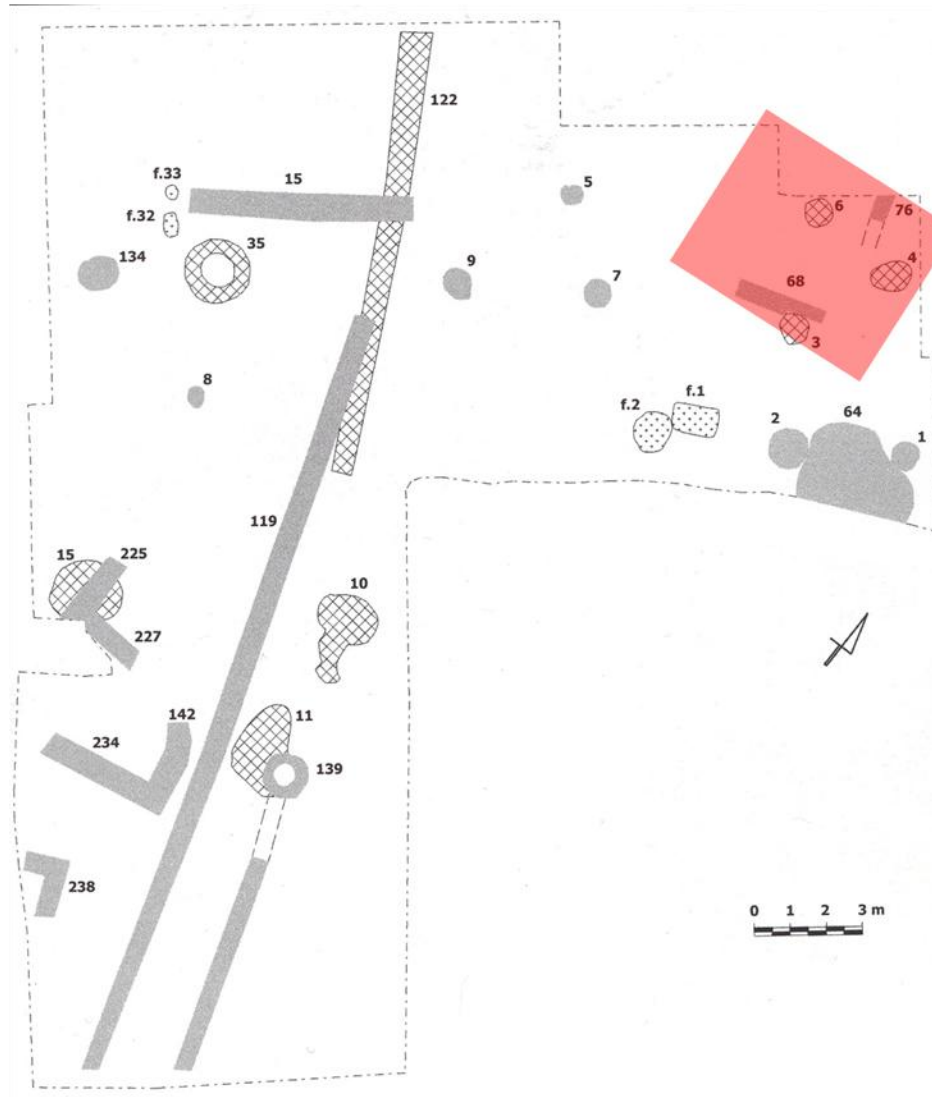


Figure II-8. Chiaromonte Sanctuary

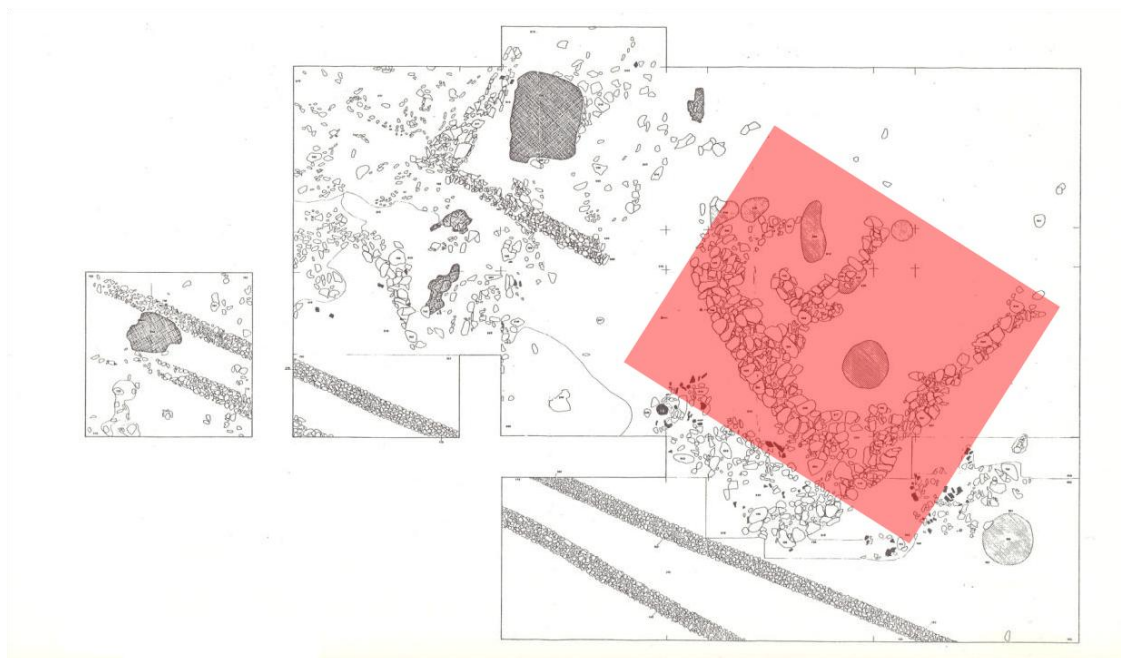


Figure II-9. Rivello Sanctuary

In the two cases of San Chirico Nuovo and Torre di Satriano, the *sacellum* is demarcated by a square boundary, fulfilling the Italic requirement for cult places by “separating” the *sacellum* from the surrounding area (Figg. II-4, II-5).¹⁹⁸ This aspect is another sign of the important role played by the *sacellum* within the sanctuary itself, as it is willingly separated by the other buildings of the sanctuary.

A layout similar to those described for Torre di Satriano and San Chirico Nuovo can be pieced together at Civita di Tricarico, where, below the temple located at the centre of the plateau (temple P), built on 200 B.C. *ca.* or a little bit later, traces of a structures dating from the mid-fourth century B.C. have been found (Fig. II-10), which therefore belong to the

¹⁹⁸ Comella A., in *ThesCRA*, IV, s.v. *sacellum* (*Etruria e mondo italico*), 312.

oldest version of the sanctuary, later absorbed into the construction of temple P.¹⁹⁹



Figure II-10. Civita di Tricarico:
“Temple P” and earlier structures (right and bottom-right corner)

Whenever these buildings are well preserved, it is also possible to reconstruct the roofing systems as well as internal and external decorations. Once again Armento can be considered a good example. The *sacellum* that was built during the second phase of reconstruction of the sanctuary would have had the form of a *naiskos* with a double pitch roof and pan tiles, cover tiles and *kalypter hegemon* (ridgepole tile). Also, there would have been a façade in unbaked clay rising from a stone plinth, with walls painted cobalt blue on the inside and porphyry red on the outside.²⁰⁰ The case of Armento,

¹⁹⁹ De Cazanove 2004b, 253 f.; De Cazanove 2006, 380-383.

²⁰⁰ Russo Tagliente 2000, 43-44.

therefore, testifies to the particular care in decorating and making up this part of the sanctuary.

The function of the *sacellum* seems to have been that of housing the cult statue.²⁰¹ Although no specimens that can be unequivocally interpreted as cult statues have been found here, the *sacellum* at Armento should be remembered, where, in the midst of the tiles fallen into the room, fragments of a bronze statue of Heracles were found. A. Russo Tagliente interprets this as the cult statue of the sanctuary.²⁰²

As far as the *sacellum* is concerned, the altar occupies a central role in the performance of rituals in Lucanian sanctuaries, as it represents the essential structure necessary for sacrifices.²⁰³ With very few exceptions, the archaeological documentation regarding the presence of altars in Lucanian sanctuaries is rather sparse. This phenomenon, however, may be due to the perishable nature of the structures, often made up of simple piles of stones, stone chips or pebbles.²⁰⁴ Only in a few cases, therefore, have remains of altar-like structures been identified with certainty.

At Armento, during the monumentalization phase of the complex, when the so-called room 1 was built, the altar was also erected and positioned to correspond perfectly with the opening of the *sacellum*. In this case the altar was simply a wide rectangular platform made of sandstone and limestone blocks, which were then stuccoed and plastered (**Fig. II-7**).²⁰⁵ Furthermore, although no trace of any altar was found relating to the previous building phase of the complex, it can easily be hypothesised that the *sacellum*-altar combination existed even then, making up the true religious complex *per se*.

²⁰¹ Masseria 2000, 241; Osanna M., in *Torre di Satriano I*, 431.

²⁰² Russo Tagliente 2000, 55.

²⁰³ Marcattili F., in *ThesCRA*, IV, s.v. *altare (mondo italico)*, 171-173.

²⁰⁴ Yavis 1949, 214-215.

²⁰⁵ Russo Tagliente 2000, 44.

No altar was found in Torre di Satriano; however, M. Osanna presents a convincing hypothesis: the altar would have been built to the east of the *oikos*, between the *oikos* itself and the small canal that was located in the open-air area to the east of the sacred buildings. The altar would then have been located exactly opposite to the *sacellum* opening and, importantly, not far from the canal and close by the stream into which the waters from the spring located further upstream flowed. This matches the layouts seen also in other sanctuaries like Armento and Rossano di Vaglio.²⁰⁶

Finally, at Chiaromonte, small altars are located along the ceremonial route, thus mirroring the typically Greek tendency of not respecting the principles of placing altar and *sacellum* on the same straight line, which are instead normal in the Etruscan and Roman worlds (**Fig. II-8**).²⁰⁷

A similar division of spaces can be seen at the Ferrandina sanctuary, seemingly made up of a series of covered rooms, porches and altars, positioned close to a basin with a channelling system for the water. In particular, blocks with traces of *anathyrosis* have been interpreted as the remains of an altar housed within a porticoed area (**Fig. II-11**).²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ Osanna M., in *Torre di Satriano I*, 434-435.

²⁰⁷ Barra Bagnasco 2000-2002, 218, fig. 1.

²⁰⁸ *Atti Taranto* 1991, 388-389; *Atti Taranto* 1993, 697; Masseria 2000, 68.

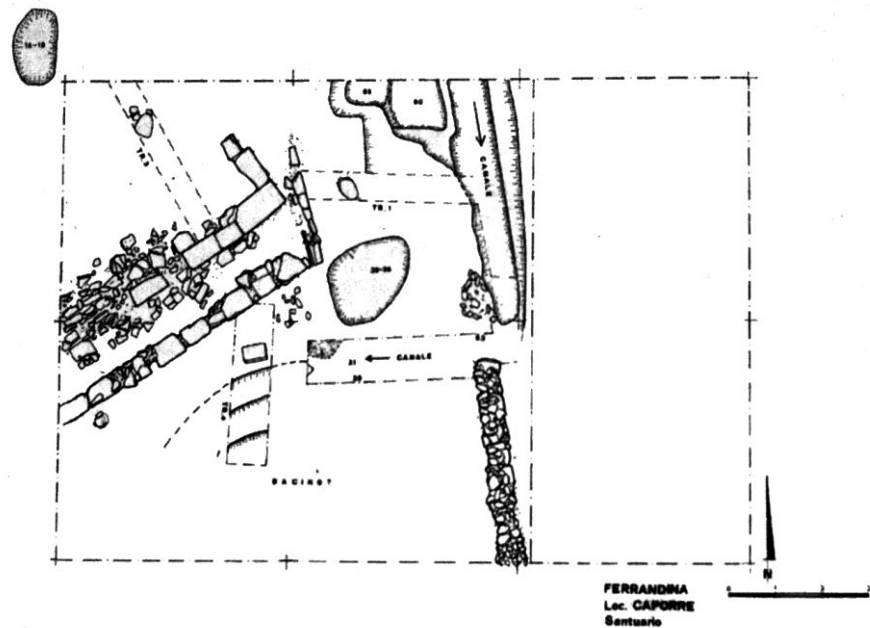


Figure II-11. Ferrandina Sanctuary

In this discussion on the role of *sacellum* and altar in the Lucanian sacred places, the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary, where a series of problems concerning the various construction phases of the complex are still open, deserves separate treatment. Right from the first construction phase of the complex, the focus seems to have been on a double altar with a size not otherwise seen in the Lucanian world,²⁰⁹ housed in a large open-air space (the so-called “sagrato”). The altar, the sandstone flooring which was hidden by later limestone flooring, and part of the walls bordering the complex belong to the most ancient part of the sanctuary and date from the mid-fourth century B.C. (**Fig. II-12**).

²⁰⁹ 27.5x4.50 m.

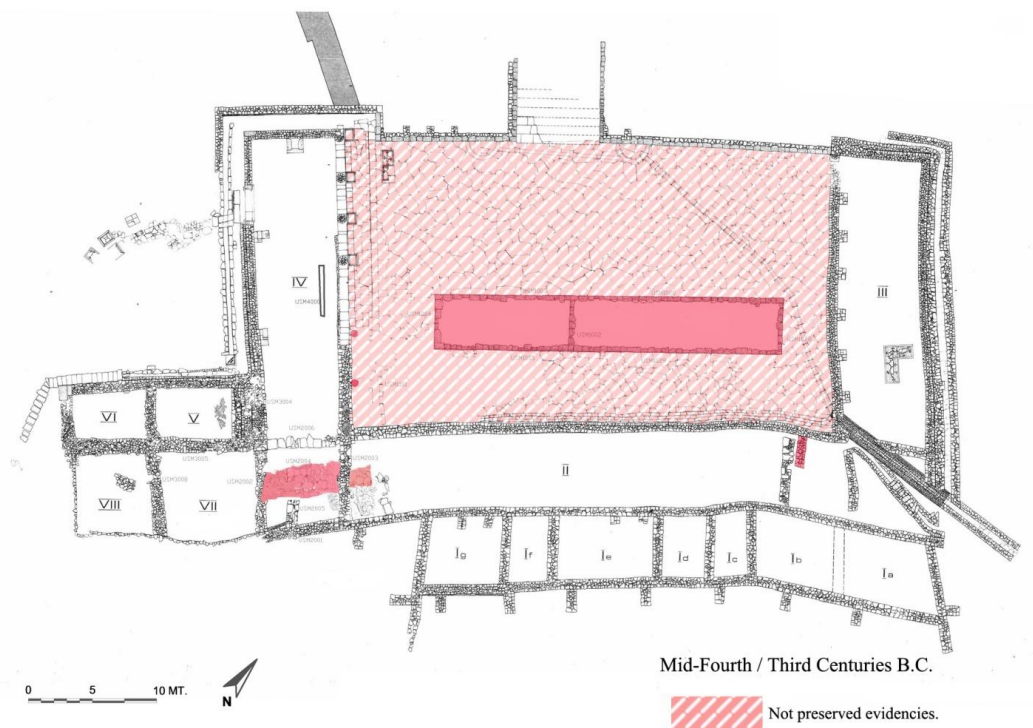


Figure II-12. Rossano di Vaglio Sanctuary:
hypothetical first building phase

There must have been different rooms around the “sagrato,” either to fulfil various services or used as deposits for votive offerings, but the original shape is difficult to reconstruct with the currently available documentation. In C. Masseria’s reconstruction, the heart of the sanctuary is made up – as the abovementioned sanctuaries – of a quadrangular *sacellum*, whose position this scholar locates at the end of the eastern part of room IV (interpreted as a portico).²¹⁰ This square room with a 4 m. long side is separated from the western part of room IV by a wall. The only traces are the remains of foundations, aligned with the wall that borders the long eastern side of the “sagrato.” The available data are too fragile to prove that this portion of room IV was originally conceived as a separate

²¹⁰ Masseria 2000, 51 and 245 f.

room on its own. It should be noted, as explicitly stated in the excavation report, that the work in this part of the sanctuary caused more than a few problems. This was due to the marked differences in depths, with the archaeological layer as much as two metres deep. The excavation report referred to this as a “cavity” filled with rubble, giving us an idea of the depth of the room when it was found. This means that when the excavation work started, room IV was filled with a huge accumulation of stones, roof tiles and blocks, thrown inside as though it were a rubbish dump. This material came from the surrounding areas and from crumbling parts of the complex itself, an idea borne out by the presence of building materials varying both in type and age. The material included terracotta, fragments of marble slabs with parts of Latin inscriptions, architectural elements (stones, column bases, plaster chips, a fragment of a *telamon*, roof tiles), fragments of marble statues from the second century B.C., ceramic fragments, coins and bronze fragments. As is explained in the second part of this work, the presence of materials dating from the first century A.D. indicates that this cavity was made and filled at an unspecified time after the sanctuary fell out of use. In other words, we do not have any reliable information to date the structures of room IV, nor the quadrangular room presumed to be a *sacellum*.

According to the reconstruction proposed by Masseria, despite the rebuilding that gave the complex its new “Hellenistic” axis with a U-shaped floor plan, the *sacellum* was still conserved as the heart of the sanctuary. Nonetheless, it is not clear why this room was placed in a rather decentralised position in the complex, while in other sanctuaries it occupies a central position that is retained even during rebuilding phases. Furthermore, if the altar is dated to the earliest construction phase of the complex, then the altar - *sacellum* association that characterises precisely

the most ancient phases of the other complexes examined would be missing in Rossano.

Another factor militating against C. Masseria's theory is that room III, situated on the northern side of the "sagrato," is generally considered the room which housed the cult statue (the likely *sacellum*). The chronology of this room, like the others, is rather uncertain, and it is not clear if it belongs to the original construction phase of the sanctuary. Two possible hypotheses can be considered. If this room had been a part of the complex right from the fourth century B.C., there would be no reason for the presumed *sacellum* positioned in the south-east corner of the "sagrato" to exist. If, instead, one considers room III a later addition, one must presume that the primitive *sacellum* was defunctionalized, which would be odd, considering what has been documented in the other complexes.

Coming back to the spatial organization inside the sanctuaries, a series of rooms were built around the *sacellum* for various purposes. From the material discovered, these rooms seem to have been used for preparing food and for the ritual banquet, or for storing the votive offerings dedicated to the sanctuary. It is believed, for example, that room 9 in the Armento sanctuary was used for cooking meals, due to the discovery of ash layers containing animal bones, including the remains of a rooster, and that room 4 of the same sanctuary was used as a banquet hall (**Fig. II-7**).²¹¹ A banquet hall has also been identified at Torre di Satriano (room C), located in the northern part of the complex (**Fig. II-4**). This hypothesis is based on the discovery inside this room of two spear points²¹² and a fireplace in a small niche (D) located to the west of room C. It was therefore an area reserved for food preparation, where all the implements for the sacred meal were kept, as documented also by the discovery of a large amount of pottery for

²¹¹ Russo Tagliente 2000, 49.

²¹² Greco 1988, 14.

serving and storage.²¹³ In the case of the Rivello sanctuary, the division of the building into two rooms was probably made in order to create a hall for collective meals, as the discovery of layers containing organic residues and traces of charcoal in one of the two rooms demonstrates.²¹⁴

And, of course, there had to be proper storerooms for food and fresh produce inside the complex, necessary for the various cultic activities and rituals,²¹⁵ such as, for example, the room 7 in the Armento sanctuary, where most of the *pithoi* are found (**Fig. II-7**). This room opened onto the upper terrace, towards room 4, which has been identified as the banquet hall. Four basins with plastered walls were set into the eastern wall of this room. There was also a counter inside the room made from a rectangular platform of unbaked clay, with a layer of tiles above it. Three *phialai* containing bird bones were arranged on this counter. Also, there was a large fireplace/*eschara* at the centre of the room.²¹⁶

In some cases there would have been a *temenos* wall delimiting the sacred space. At Timmari, for example, a *temenos* wall has been hypothesised, delimiting the two sacred areas A and B, about 200 metres apart, as attested by the discovery in zone B, of a wall segment which continues for about 80 metres.²¹⁷

As previously mentioned, the spaces in Lucanian sanctuaries are divided into open and closed areas. The open-air spaces do not simply serve as an outer frame for religious buildings, nor can they be considered mere passageways or waiting areas for devotees. They are often essential for carrying out a series of cultic practices that give them “vitality” and are

²¹³ Osanna M., in *Torre di Satriano I*, 433.

²¹⁴ *Evidenza Archeologica Lagonegrese*, 39-40.

²¹⁵ Russo Tagliente 2000, 94.

²¹⁶ Russo Tagliente 2000, 54.

²¹⁷ Lo Porto 1991, 68. Here, too, no further details are available about this structure. For example, we do not know how it was oriented. Was there a *temenos* wall enclosing both areas? Or was it only around zone B (which in this case would then be considered independent of zone A)?

fundamental in the framework of cultic activities that took place in the sanctuaries. In harmony with this fundamental conception of “unity” between open and closed spaces is the presence of paved “ceremonial paths,” at times open-air and at other times porticoed. These may have had the function of “entrances” to the actual complex, or more frequently they connected important areas of the sacred place. For example, at San Chirico Nuovo, during the second building phase of the sanctuary, a 12 m. long portico, probably partly covered by a roof supported by wooden pillars, connected the spring to the centre of the complex (**Fig. II-5**).²¹⁸ At Armento, a processional walkway paved with bricks connected the altar to a cistern, whose function was to convey rain water coming from the upper terrace through a series of small channels, and to collect water from underground springs (**Fig. II-7**).²¹⁹ At Chiaromonte the sanctuary area is built on a series of sloping terraces, on the side of a pathway which was originally porticoed. A series of buildings, wells, small altars and *pithoi* are distributed along the pathway; thus, this is the area around which religious activities took place. But above all, the covered portico connected the lower part with the heart of the sanctuary, namely the spring that was located upstream (**Fig. II-8**).²²⁰ The same design can be seen in the Rivello sanctuary, where the buildings are bordered on the northern side by a portico that offered access to the sanctuary and also marked the boundary of the sacred area (**Fig. II-9**).²²¹

In some cases, however, hypaethral areas separated by built-up areas have been identified. The purpose of these areas was not only to provide a space for worshippers before entering the sanctuary, but also to carry out cult practices. An example is the area, which probably had a cobbled

²¹⁸ Tagliente 2005, 118-119.

²¹⁹ Russo Tagliente 2000, 44-45.

²²⁰ Barra Bagnasco 2000-2002, 220.

²²¹ Greco G. 1990, 69-75.

pavement, located to the east of the Torre di Satriano sanctuary buildings, evidently important for carrying out ritual practices requiring the use of water, as the presence of two channels demonstrates (**Fig. II-4**).²²²

In concluding this brief review of the fundamental characteristics of the architecture of Lucanian sanctuary complexes, it may be useful to make a few observations on their development and transformation. Some of them can be delineated diachronically, between the mid-fourth and the third century B.C. In the better known and studied cases it is evident that the Lucanian sanctuary complexes underwent an evolution in the “monumental” sense starting from the end of the fourth century B.C. onwards. From forms that might be described as “essential,” where the sanctuary was made up of a *sacellum* associated with an altar, connected at times to a spring and at times to a basin where spring water was collected, many complexes underwent phases of complete restructuring from the end of the fourth century B.C. onwards, involving not only the construction of more buildings, but also the placing of the structures on terraces, in accordance with Hellenistic scenographic layouts. The example which probably explains this best is that of the Armento sanctuary. Its earliest phase is characterized by the presence of a *sacellum*, which must have been conceived in close relationship with an altar that has not survived, and a cistern that was connected to it through a ceremonial pathway, a testimony to the “self-sufficiency” of the *sacellum*-altar-spring as the minimum unit needed to perform worship.²²³

²²² *Torre di Satriano I*, 104.

²²³ The case of San Chirico Nuovo is an equally good example. Here the complex consisted of a small rectangular *sacellum* (4x5,5 m.), during the first phase (beginning of the fourth century B.C.). It was later abandoned. During the second phase (first half of the fourth century B.C.) a larger *sacellum* was built (6x6 m.), surrounded by a wide enclosure (12 x 12 m.).

II. 4. 2. ~ Observations regarding sacred architecture in Lucania

This brief treatment of Lucanian sacred architecture has shown how, from an architectural point of view, the sanctuary complexes have a series of common and recurring characteristics, resulting in a largely uniform picture that reflects a single way of conceiving and perceiving spaces which were devoted to cult.²²⁴ This homogeneity also seems to derive from the common models that inspire these sanctuaries, which we should look for in an Italic, and in particular a Samnite, context. Although not much remains of the oldest Samnite cult places dating from before the monumentalization phase that transformed them between the third and first century B.C., archaeological evidence has allowed the reconstruction of the original floor plan of these sacred complexes: a simple square enclosure, with one or more altars inside; in other cases small constructions (*sacella*, *oikoi*) were built inside the enclosure, along with practical aids for carrying out rituals such as basins, wells and channels for water.²²⁵

Among the best known and most important examples of Samnite cult places is a cult space in the Hirpinia area, close to the ancient site of Aeclanum, made up of an enclosure containing an altar. The Mephitis sanctuary in the Ansanto valley, built as an open-air space with monumental structures and an altar, must have been similar. And the small cult place found in Alfedena, in the Pentrian area, made up of a modest sized *sacellum* with stone walls shows, even greater similarity to Lucanian sanctuaries. As these examples show, the altar is the centre of the Samnite cult places, and is often connected to the *sacellum*, typical of the *sacellum*-altar duo of Lucanian sanctuaries. In Festus's own words, the *sacella* are

²²⁴ The basic uniformity of the sanctuary complexes has already been emphasised by La Rocca 1999, 7-18; *contra* Sica M.M., in *Torre di Satriano I*, 114-119.

²²⁵ Tagliamonte 2005, 181 f., with bibliography.

places consecrated to gods.²²⁶ Gellius too says practically the same thing when he declares that the *sacellum* is the small place, consecrated to a god with an altar.²²⁷

As far as the Samnite world goes, in addition to the archaeological evidence, there is Livy's testimony from a well-known paragraph²²⁸ describing the recruitment of the Samnite *legio linteata* which took place in

²²⁶ Festus 422L.

²²⁷ Gellius VII, 12, 5. On this issue, see Tagliamonte 2005, 181 f.

²²⁸ Livy X. 38. 5-12: *Ibi mediis fere castris locus est consaeptus cratibus pluteisque et linteis contectus, patens ducentos maxime pedes in omnes pariter partes. Ibi ex libro uetere linteo lecto sacrificatum sacerdote Ouio Paccio quodam, homine magno natu, qui se id sacrum petere adfirmabat ex uetusta Samnitium religione, qua quondam usi maiores eorum fuissent cum adimendae Etruscis Capuae clandestinum cepissent consilium. Sacrificio perfecto per uiatorem imperator acciri iubebat nobilissimum quemque genere factisque; singuli introducebantur. Erat cum alius apparatus sacri qui perfundere religione animum posset, tum in loco circa omni contecto arae in medio uictimaeque circa caesae et circumstantes centuriones strictis gladiis. Admouebatur altaribus magis ut uictima quam ut sacri particeps adigebaturque iure iurando quae uisa auditaque in eo loco essent non enuntiatum. Iurare cogebant diro quodam carmine, in exsecrationem capitis familiaeque et stirpis composito, nisi isset in proelium quo imperatores duxissent et si aut ipse ex acie fugisset aut si quem fugientem uidisset non extemplo occidisset. Id primo quidam abnuentes iuratos se obruncati circa altaria sunt; iacentes deinde inter stragem uictimarum documento ceteris fuere ne abnuerent. Primoribus Samnitium ea detestatione obstrictis, decem nominatis ab imperatore, eis dictum, ut uir uirum legerent donec sedecim milium numerum confecissent. Ea legio linteata ab integumento consaepti, <in> quo sacrata nobilitas erat, appellata est; his arma insignia data et cristatae galeae, ut inter ceteros eminent. [There a piece of ground, in the middle of the camp, was enclosed with hurdles and boards, and covered over-head with linen cloth, the sides being all of an equal length, about two hundred feet. In this place sacrifices were performed, according to directions read out of an old linen book, the priest being a very old man, called Ouius Paccius, who affirmed, that he took these ceremonials from the ancient ritual of the Samnites, being the same which their ancestors used, when they had formed the secret design of wresting Capua from the Etrurians. When the sacrifices were finished, the general ordered a beadle to summon every one of those who were most highly distinguished by their birth or conduct: these were introduced singly. Besides the other exhibitions of the solemnity, calculated to impress the mind with religious awe, there were, in the middle of the covered enclosure, altars erected, about which lay the victims slain, and the centurions stood around with their swords drawn. The soldier was led up to the altars, rather like a victim, than a performer in the ceremony, and was bound by an oath not to divulge what he should see and hear in that place. [10] He was then compelled to swear, in a dreadful kind of form, containing execrations on his own person, on his family and race, if he did not go to battle, whithersoever the commanders should lead; and, if either he himself fled from the field, or, in case he should see any other flying, did not immediately kill him. [11] At first some, refusing to take the oath, were put to death round the altars, and lying among the carcasses of the victims, served afterwards as a warning to others not to refuse it. [12] When those of the first rank in the Samnite nation had been bound under these solemnities, the general nominated ten, whom he desired to choose each a man, and so to proceed until they should have filled up the number of sixteen thousand. This body, from the covering of the enclosure wherein the nobility had been thus devoted, was called the linen legion] (English translation by D. Spillan and C. Edmonds, London, Henry G. Bohn, John Child and son, printers, 1849; emphasis added).*

Aquilonia in 293 B.C. The historian informs us that this recruitment took place according to an ancient ritual following the initiation of the soldiers and a *sacratio*. The passage is of great interest because it documents an ancient Samnite practice and paints a picture of the sacred place where the ritual takes place, thus permitting us to integrate the scanty physical evidence with written documentation. According to Livy's description, the recruitment area was a huge sacred space (each side was 200 Oscan feet long). Its details were defined by ritual and its boundaries delimited by a wooden fence covered with linen cloths. The altars were placed in the centre of this defined space. The space described in this manner by the Roman historian is a *templum*, in other word a *locus ita effatus et ita saeptus, ut ex una parte pateat angulosque adfixos habeat ad terram*, according to Festus's well known definition (146 L).²²⁹ A. La Regina hypothesizes that the sacred area described by Livy is simply the Pietrabbondante sanctuary in its oldest version, in other words, the so-called "Ionian temple."²³⁰ In fact, this temple, located in an area between the rear structures of temple B and the theatre, was flanked by a colonnaded portico and fenced in by a square enclosure (with size very similar to the sacred place described by Livy). As Tagliamonte points out, the very same spatial distribution can be seen in another Samnite sanctuary, that of San Giovanni in Galdo, where the *sacellum* was flanked by two side porticoes contained within a large enclosure.²³¹

In the light of these considerations, the concept of space at the root of Lucanian sacred architecture, just with Samnite complexes, is that of the

²²⁹ Cf. Torelli M., in *ThesCRA*, IV, s.v. *templum*, 340-347.

²³⁰ For this first building phase of the sanctuary, as well as the following ones, see La Regina 1976, 219 f. On the identification of the original floor plan of the sacred complex that Livy describes, see La Regina 1989, 420 f.

²³¹ Tagliamonte 2005, 185.

templum augurale, in other words, the sacred place of Etruscan heritage,²³² which conceives the sacred space as an image of the sky on earth and as a place circumscribed for the purpose of the augur's *spectio* (Festus 423L).²³³ In the light of this archaeological and literary evidence, even the Rossano di Vaglio complex seems less unusual when compared with the other Lucanian cult places. In its hypothetical original phase, it can be seen as a simple open-air space, with altars in the centre, following a floor plan that is not very different from that described by Livy.

²³² Regarding the influence exercised by the Etruscan culture on the Italic world, previously to the ethnic definition of the Campanian and Lucanian groups, see Cerchiai 1995, 187 f.; Tagliamonte 1996, 128 f.

²³³ Masseria 2000, 241.

CHAPTER III

LUCANIAN SANCTUARIES

FROM THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

TO THE END OF THE THIRD CENTURY B.C.

SYSTEM OF VOTIVE OFFERINGS²³⁴

This chapter explores the system of votive offerings which were dedicated in the Lucanian sanctuaries, and the ritual practices which, in the indigenous world, are testified solely by material evidence. As for the architecture of the sacred buildings discussed in the previous chapter, so this section of the dissertation also questions whether and why the picture which emerges from this analysis is uniform. As will be explained, the examination of votive offerings and ritual practices reveals a quite consistent situation, so that it is worth questioning what this homogeneity can tell us about cultural and religious identity of those communities which produced and dedicated the sacred objects, and performed the ritual practices. The data presented in the following pages are further discussed in the conclusions to the first part of this work.

III. 1 ~ System of votive offerings and ritual dynamics: archaeological phenomenology and historical interpretation

The study of phenomena related to the ritual sphere in an indigenous environment requires an approach different from that adopted to the Greek and Roman worlds. For the indigenous world, no written sources describe procedures, gestures, words and prayers, which made up the ritual act and gave the act a meaning that inevitably, at least in part, is not known. In the

²³⁴ A version of this chapter is forthcoming in Smith A.C. and Bergeron M.E., *The gods of Small Things* (*Pallas. Revue d'études antiques*, 88, 2011) (co-author: Chiara Albanesi).

absence of such documents, archaeological phenomenology becomes the principal source of information to help us to reconstruct rituals and liturgical practices. However, an archaeological approach to unique phenomena such as rituals cannot exist without its own problems. First and foremost, it is not always possible to identify traces of ritual acts on the ground, because of their innate transient nature. The objective difficulties caused by the complex and delicate nature of the problems at hand are complicated by the fact that modern stratigraphical analysis and techniques have rarely been applied to the archaeological explorations of the areas under consideration. Furthermore, these studies usually paid little attention to identifying the “action,” concentrating instead on merely recovering the object itself²³⁵ (which at that point becomes decontextualised, and so deprived of the elements which had bestowed on it a specific religious and symbolic significance).²³⁶

Furthermore, beyond the issue of scientific accuracy of archaeological studies, we should bear in mind that in any case certain actions will remain “invisible” to the archaeologist’s eye. Only some of the “signs” related to a ritual can be identified through archaeological research, while many “meanings” are destined to remain unknown (for example, the way that ancient peoples perceived certain ritual acts and how they differed from others, or how they perceived the way that a devotee “approached” the divine, are all topics for which no valid documentation exists).²³⁷

Added to the difficulties linked to techniques of archaeological investigation in the field, are the problems of decodifying the material

²³⁵ Consider, for example, the lack of attention paid to the bloody and non-bloody sacrifices. Only recently has there actually been greater sensitivity regarding the importance of retrieving organic remains in religious contexts, as well as the need to go ahead and study these remains using laboratory analysis. With regard to methodological observations, see Van Andringa and Lepetz 2003, 85-96.

²³⁶ For methodological observations, see Osanna 2004, 44-51.

²³⁷ For observations, see Bonghi Jovino 2005, in part. 43-44.

traces left on the ground by a ritual action. Without literary sources, it is easy to fall into the trap of partial or simplistic understanding or even reading too much into it (something to keep in mind when analysing indigenous contexts, where it is very tempting to put things into categories that are applicable to the Greek and Roman worlds!).

The Lucanian world's own forms of ritual must have been reasonably complex. If you look not only at the Greek world, but also the rare and extremely valuable written sources belonging to the Italic world, you will see that they include a large variety of actions: dances, games, prayers, purifications and consecrations, libations, sacrifices and offerings. Although some of these actions cannot be reconstructed merely on the basis of archaeological documentation, some of the worshippers' displays have indeed left their mark on the ground. The act of devotion *par excellence*, both on an individual and community basis, is the offering, the gift to the gods. Virtually, everything inside the sacred context had the value of a "gift" to the gods, and the sanctuary itself and the cult statue were also considered as gifts to the gods.²³⁸ However, in this work, attention is concentrated on those "actions" for which the act of dedication is explicit, in other words votive offerings and sacrifices, which can both be considered as forms of "gifts."²³⁹ These two types of gift are in a sense antithetical. The

²³⁸ See Vikela E., in *ThesCRA*, IV, s.v. *dedications*, 282. Also see the observations on the "multi-level process of giving to the gods" in Bergman 1987, 31-45 (in part. 37-40).

²³⁹ The act of "giving to the Gods" as a way to make contact with divine beings can be considered a universal practice. There are many schools of thought and an endless bibliography on the reasons for which this "gift" practice (which was not – obviously – necessarily reciprocated) became a universally accepted religious institution, which is commonly practiced even today. As Burkert has summarised, the various theories that attempted to explain the phenomenon can be divided into three main groups: psychological, sociological and economic (Burkert 1987, 43-50). The first, utilizing a Freudian model which sees in the repression of desires a prerequisite of civilization, explains gifts to the gods as an "act of renunciation by which the civilized, and possibly neurotic, personality is made to evolve" (Burkert 1987, 43). According to the sociological model proposed by Durkheim, instead, the gift, though conceived as a form of "renunciation," has as its final purpose that of immortalising the "society" that the gift comes from, conceived as a super-individual power (Durkheim 1912, 490 f.; 497). Finally, according to the economic model, the "giving" is understood as an "investment", where the giver receives "symbolic capital" in return

offering was something that could not be destroyed by fire or death, which would remain forever as a tangible sign of the worshipper's devotion, while the sacrifice was conceived as a gift destined for immediate destruction.²⁴⁰

In the context being analyzed, the offering could have been of various types, from food, to the common offering of objects in terracotta, to the gift of prestigious goods, arms or personal ornamentation objects. The sacrifice generally consisted of the bloody sacrifice of an animal. Both of these rituals are an expression of religious piety, with the purpose of creating a link between the devotee and the deity. There could be many occasions for gifts: commemorating a particular event, an effort to win the favour of a god or to thank the god for a favour received. However, with no available inscriptions or written dedications, it is only possible to have a rough idea of what occasioned the act of dedication to the deity.²⁴¹

for his gift to the divine, in as far as it establishes power and dependency relationships with the rest of the community that he belongs to (Bourdieu 1972, 227-243). Burkert's approach with a bio-anthropological perspective is different, and considers the "utilitarian" purpose of the gift to the gods. By giving up something, the human being is protecting himself from the dangers of competition. Whereas in the animal world, abandoning prey to a stronger competitor means safeguarding one's life, "in human societies, abandoning or giving up something in a demonstrative manner ensures an empty space around the owner of the goods, avoiding conflicts of greed. This is the sense behind offering the first fruits of the harvest (...) and thus giving up becomes a sacrifice. The social function of the act is evident: avoiding conflicts within a species, the human one, whose murderous potential has reached dangerous levels with the invention of arms. Social order is maintained by giving up (...) anxiety is transformed: don't be too anxious to take, don't be too anxious to lose, be anxious to give and you will take all that is due to you" (Burkert 1991, 87).

²⁴⁰ Van Straten 1981, 66.

²⁴¹ The presence of written dedications on objects offered in sanctuaries is very rare in the indigenous contexts of southern Italy, but this practice is widely known in the Greek world. Besides the inscriptions themselves, the Greek world possesses literary documents of inestimable value, including among others, Book VI of the *Palatine Anthology* which contains a collection of dedicational inscriptions in verse, probably copied from objects they were inscribed on, mixing them with other dedications that were newly composed (see Parker R., in *ThesCRA*, IV, s.v. *dedications*, 278-280). These documents serve to give us a measure of how incomplete the interpretations that we can give to a particular action (a sacrifice, the gift of an object, etc.) are, as the occasion can be only roughly reconstructed. The terracotta, for example, could be dedicated for different reasons, requests and expectations by different offerants. Although it is impossible to draw up a classification which would fit the different occasions and circumstances when the dedication was made, it is possible to reconstruct the meaning that was usually attributed to some groups of objects. For example, the dedication of arms was usually done on the occasion of military victories (often, in fact, the spoils of war were dedicated); objects that were reminiscent of

The interpretative analysis of archaeological documentation regarding ancient ritual practices can be developed on different levels. For example, the study can be directed to the reconstruction of the features and abilities of the gods who were the recipients of these offerings. This has been a favoured approach in archaeological research so far, especially with regard to votive terracottas. Based prevalently on iconographic data, this analysis should, however, be carried out with care, because most of the votive terracottas in sanctuaries share a very generic iconography, deliberately left “open” and “neutral” by the coroplasts who made them, to allow them to be adapted easily to different types of cults.²⁴² Furthermore, a complete analysis of the offerings made in a sacred place often leads us to a variety of representations of the divine, which cannot always be considered truly part of the cult. For example, B. Alroth has introduced the concept of “visiting gods,” which (despite chronological and geographic differences from the analyzed context) raises interesting questions about the correct interpretation of the cultural context of the source of the votive offerings.²⁴³

Another level of information which can be obtained by studying the system of votive and liturgical offerings practiced in the sanctuaries involves a social and economic analysis of the communities that

childhood, such as toys for example, may have been dedicated in relation to rites of passage (van Straten 1981, 88-91; Rouse 1902, 240-245); the offerings of early produce, both animal and vegetable, were usually meant to propitiate divine favour for the fertility of the earth and the fecundity of herds; anatomical offerings were related to the sphere of *sanatio*, tangible symbols of a plea for a cure or a gift of thanks for a successful cure. The list of the occasions in which offerings were made to the gods is obviously much longer than the examples provided. However, they allow us to understand the extent of the information that an analysis of material remains can provide us on the occasion of such a gift.

²⁴² The methodological discussion, recently opened by E. Lippolis on the use of votive terracottas as a preferential source for the reconstruction of divine physiognomy and cultic forms, is of fundamental importance. This scholar warns us about the use of a historic-artistic approach which is still “rampant” in the specialised literature regarding the topic, and emphasises how a principally iconographic analysis of votive terracottas divorced from their original context and material associations can result in facile overinterpretations, above all owing to the fact that this very iconography can take on different meanings depending on the context. Lippolis 2001, 225-255.

²⁴³ Alroth 1987.

participated in religious activities. All the strata of society were involved in practices related to the cult/religion. Thus, it is a privileged terrain for understanding the hierarchy inherent in ancient societies. In this sense, the sanctuary is a showcase where the different levels of society can speak for themselves through the gifts offered to the gods.²⁴⁴

Considering the diversity of the information that can be obtained through the analysis of ritual offerings and actions and the problems that such a study can run into, a correct approach to this type of research attempts to reconstruct the original context of the items used in the liturgical act, where the association of different types of materials, the position of the objects and quantitative data contribute to the most precise reconstruction possible of the action that has taken place. In this regard, it is useful to remember that only in rare instances is the votive offering found in its original position. In keeping with a practice seen in the Greek world and in Magna Graecia, after a certain number of offerings accumulated inside the sanctuary, it was necessary to make space for other gifts. However, the votive objects were not thrown away, nor would this have been possible because of their sacred value that could never be lost. As a result, they were “preserved,” always *in sacro loco*, in special “storerooms” built for them, and were often ritually broken to prevent their use for profane purposes.²⁴⁵ This practice means that most votive offerings found in sanctuaries come from these deposits but at the beginning – when they were not stored in specific areas of the sanctuary – the offerings would have been exhibited as concrete proof of the devotion of followers as something

²⁴⁴ A further school of research involving the study of votive materials unearthed in sanctuaries involves the technical study of the items and the identification of the workshops where they were produced. As this approach lies beyond the type of work that this thesis is concerned with, this aspect of research will be not taken into consideration.

²⁴⁵ For instance, the deposits at Ruoti, Grumento, and Timmari, to cite only a few cases.

beautiful to make the god happy or even as a way to show off the wealth of the sanctuary itself.²⁴⁶

After this necessary methodological introduction, I will now consider the more relevant features of the system of rituals of the Lucanian world. It is necessary, however, to remain aware that only part of the information is available to us. Also the use of solely archaeological documentation has limits due to its very nature. In this summary, simplifications and generalizations are inevitable. Similarly, it is often necessary to consider better known situations because more exhaustive publications about them exist.²⁴⁷

In order to facilitate reading, the explanation that follows has been divided into two main sections, one dealing with the gift offering (interpreted as a gift which is meant to last), and the other with offerings meant to be destroyed at the very moment of the ritual act (sacrifice, libation).

²⁴⁶ The (also) ornamental value of offerings made in the sanctuaries is proven, for the Greek world, by the sources, which define *agalma* as something beautiful, whose purpose is to adorn the cult place as well as to please the deity. Van Straten 1981, 75.

²⁴⁷ The examination of the votive objects resulted in the analysis of known material, thus it is impossible to make quantitative estimates of the items, as most of the contexts were not studied systematically. If in some sanctuaries, such as Chiaromonte, publications exist only in preliminary form, in other cases, such as Timmari for example, only a selection of the material has been inserted in the catalogue (in the specific case of Timmari, a visit was made to the storerooms of the “D. Ridola” Archaeological Museum of Matera, where the items are stored. This investigation revealed the presence of material that had not been included in F.G. Lo Porto’s overall publication [Lo Porto 1991], where not even quantitative data have been inserted). In the case of other sanctuaries which to date have not had a systematic publication and above all in the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary, the preliminary reports of the excavators provide, as far as the deposits are concerned, the presentation of part of the material. On the basis of a personal investigation carried out in the storeroom of the “D. Adamesteanu” Archaeological Museum in Potenza, it is possible to state that the selection carried out for the publication was highly representative, from the typological point of view, of the whole *corpus* of votive materials from the sanctuary. I can conclude therefore that for most of the contexts (despite the lack of exhaustive publications), it is possible to have a fairly realistic picture of the typology of material found, but the quantitative data is lacking. Finally I should emphasise that often the available publications do not contextualise the materials, a condition that is basic to understanding the meaning and function of the items within the sacred complex. This hinders in most cases an exhaustive reading of the cultic dynamics that took place in the sanctuaries.

III. 2 ~ Votive Offerings

In this section, I consider the most common votive objects which were dedicated in the Lucanian sanctuaries. Some of them, such as, for example, pottery, were first “used” for ritual practices and then dedicated to the gods.

Some social considerations are also made, which are discussed in detail in the conclusion to the first part of this work.

III. 2. 1 ~ A “poor” gift to the gods: terracotta figurines

All over the Magno-Graecian world, terracotta figurines are the most common votive offering seen in Lucanian sanctuaries. The fact that there are so many of them in the sanctuaries is due to several factors: the material used is not perishable, and cannot be re-used; these objects cost very little, because they were made using moulds on an industrial scale; consequently, terracotta *ex-votos* were popular among the less wealthy members of society, which in our case means the rural population of the region, doubtless the biggest chunk of worshippers who came to the sanctuary. As the votive terracotta is generally a gift from one single devotee, this reflects the “ritual event” for the devotee himself, telling us much about the occasion for the gift, the way the worshipper saw and made contact with the deity.²⁴⁸

Moving on now to consider the types of terracotta figurines found in the sanctuaries considered here, the picture appears quite uniform from the technological, stylistic and iconographical point of view. In other words, beyond the differences in the contexts – which can be found in some iconographies which are present in much larger numbers than others, in the different percentages of categories of terracottas discovered and finally in the specific association of types of materials – it does not seem exaggerated

²⁴⁸ See Miller Ammermann 1989-90, 353-362.

to say that the overall panorama of votive terracottas in Lucanian sanctuaries is basically similar in all the sacred places identified so far in the region. This homogeneity is due in part to the use of Greek models borrowed by the coroplastic workshops in the Italiote *poleis* on the Tyrrhenian and Ionian coasts.

The repetition of the same types, and thus the same iconographic models, makes it even harder to read any interpretation into these *corpora* of terracotta figurines, or to use them as a source of reliable information regarding the nature of the god and the cult of each sanctuary. Furthermore, the iconographies are very generic, and they are seen in all Lucanian sacred sites (and in Magno-Graecian ones in general), precisely because their neutrality allowed them to be adapted to any type of cult, depending on the local cult definition. As a result, very often the iconographies present in a smaller number are more useful for analysing and reconstructing the cult. Of course, it is not from single cases that one can expect to understand the significance that these clay votives had in the sanctuary; rather, it is always in the overall framework of the types that are found and the association of types, thus avoiding the error of falling into easy over-interpretation. Furthermore, when the context of the discovery is known, the association of the terracotta with other types of material should be considered.

Let us now consider the most representative coroplastic objects in Lucanian sacred contexts. First and foremost, the most common characteristic of the terracotta figurine *corpora* is the prevalence of female statuettes, both sitting and standing. This type is seen during a chronological period covering the fourth and third centuries B.C., and was widespread in the whole of Magna Graecia. The iconography is mainly generic, but in a few cases the presence of characterising attributes allows us to “place” the item in a specific cultural setting. With regard to the

seated statues, in some models there is a specific reference to the presence of a throne, such as in the “enthroned goddess” types²⁴⁹ of Poseidoniata manufacture, seen frequently in sanctuaries such as Ruoti,²⁵⁰ Colla di Rivello²⁵¹ and Torre di Satriano.²⁵² In these cases, the presence of a throne and other features such as the *polos*, the head-covering generally recognised as the almost exclusive privilege of divinity, lead us to believe that these are images of gods. The attributes that characterise the figure, the *phiale* and basket of fruit or apples, hint generically at the libation (the *phiale*) and the fertility of the earth (the fruit) (**Fig. III-1**).



Figure III-1. Enthroned goddess from Torre di Satriano

Equally generic are the draped sitting female figures, with a so called “step” structure (as the statue has no base, and was meant to sit on a support, probably made of wood). This is a “Tarantine” type derivative²⁵³ which was widespread in the Lucanian area between the fourth and the first

²⁴⁹ Cf. Miller Ammermann 2002, 104.

²⁵⁰ Fabbriotti 1979, 370, fig. 26 n. 198.

²⁵¹ Bottini P. 1998, 122, fig. 10.

²⁵² *Torre di Satriano I*, 147-153.

²⁵³ Higgins 1967, 126 f.; Lo Porto 1991, 108.

half of the third century B.C., as attested by the numerous discoveries in sacred sites such as those of Timmari,²⁵⁴ Chiaromonte–San Pasquale²⁵⁵, Grumento,²⁵⁶ Colla di Rivello,²⁵⁷ San Chirico Nuovo,²⁵⁸ and Accettura.²⁵⁹ In the case of sitting figures, the lack of a throne and *polos* could indicate that they are images of those making the offerings.²⁶⁰ At times the statues are completely draped and have no special characteristics; more often they hold offerings: a fruit, a flower, a “cista” (box), animals (swans, doves, hares, etc.), a *tympanon*, or simply a *phiale* (**Fig. III-2**).



Figure III-2. Seated figurines from Timmari

²⁵⁴ Lo Porto 1991, pl. LII n. 110.

²⁵⁵ Barra Bagnasco 1996, 219 f.; 265, fig. 3.40.24; 266, fig. 3.40.25; 267, fig. 3.40.14.

²⁵⁶ Bottini P. 1997, 130, fig. 14.

²⁵⁷ *Evidenza Archeologica Lagonegrese*, pl. XXII n. 1.

²⁵⁸ *Sacro (II) e l'Acqua*, 33.

²⁵⁹ D'Anisi 2005, 170, figg. 3-4.

²⁶⁰ The debate about the identity of the terracotta figurines in the Greek world is well known. In general, I am prone to agree with D. Gräpler, (Gräpler 1997), who underlines that these imagines could be the representation of the worshipper who ritually identified himself/herself with the deity. Therefore, questioning whether the terracottas represented deities or worshippers becomes pointless.

The standing figures with attributes are generally interpreted as statuettes giving offerings. It is to these images, therefore, that devotees prefer to entrust their requests and prayers destined for the gods (**Fig. III-3**). Often the iconography of these small statues “speaks” very little because of the generic appearance that is a characteristic of most of the terracottas produced in Lucanian sanctuaries. However, in some cases the presence of an attribute or a peculiar iconographical characteristic makes it possible to define the sphere of influence to which the votive statue refers. This is true, for instance, in the case of sitting female figures with a veiled head (**Fig. III-4**), which allude to the protection exercised by the divinity on the delicate passage from the virginal condition of the *korai* to that of the *nymphai*.²⁶¹ In Greek religious imagery, the veiled head alludes to the matrimonial state, as seen on numerous painted vases.²⁶²



Figure III-3. Standing figurines from Rivello

²⁶¹ Cfr. Gräpler 1994, 298.

²⁶² Bieber M., s.v. *Kredemnon*, in *RE* 11 (1922), 1690-1693.



Figure III-4. Veiled figurine from Torre di Satriano

The system of offerings in Lucanian sanctuaries remained basically unchanged for the entire period that the sanctuaries were in use. However, in line with what is found in other votive complexes in southern Italy, during the course of the third century B.C. the presence of terracottas typical of the classical era, especially sitting female statuettes of the type just described, became rarer and rarer until they disappeared, and the most frequent type of votive offering became the “Tanagra figurine” (**Fig. III-5**).²⁶³ This change, which means a change in the terracotta figurines intended for offerings following the Hellenistic *koiné* pattern that applies to southern Italy and Sicily from the mid-fourth century B. C., does not however seem to be related to a substantive change in the system of offerings or the nature of the cult practised, so much so that the *Tanagra figurines*, due to the versatile and generic nature of their characteristic iconography,²⁶⁴ adapted well to the Lucanian cultural context, where a

²⁶³ Comella 1981, 767; Lippolis 2003, 272-275.

²⁶⁴ The significance of these clay objects, which were found in very diverse contexts (sanctuaries, tombs, private residences), is still unclear. Furthermore, the nature of their iconography is very

female cult predominated, often tending to take on overtones of the sphere of Aphrodite.²⁶⁵



Figure III-5. Tanagra figurines from Timmari

With regard to other categories of terracotta figures, busts are never numerically significant and rarely present peculiar or qualifying iconographies. The cases of Grumento and Timmari (**Fig. III-6**),²⁶⁶ where they are found in fairly large numbers, are exceptions. The nature of the object itself cannot be held to be very representative, as it cannot be attributed exclusively to cults of Demeter.²⁶⁷ It has been demonstrated that

generic, and this is due to a phenomenon of secularization common to all aspects of artistic expression in the Hellenic society. This meant in the specific case of terracotta items that the votive statuettes lost their original religious connotation and were no longer characterized by qualifying attributes. With regard to the known iconographies, the repertory is rather limited and derives from typical aspects of daily life or schemes of large sculptures: the most common subject is the draped woman, but images of cherubs, *nikai*, dancers, etc. are also known. See Kleiner 1984; Lippolis 2003, 175 f.

²⁶⁵ Cf. the presence of Tanagra style statuettes dedicated as offerings to Aphrodite in the Timmari (Lo Porto 1991, 129) and Satyrion (Lo Porto 1976, 733, pll. CII-CIII) sanctuaries.

²⁶⁶ For Grumento, see Bottini P. 2005, 187 f.; for Timmari see Lo Porto 1991, 88-91, nn. 30-70.

²⁶⁷ On the consequent attribution of these clay objects to the Demetriad cults, see Uhlenbrock 1988, 117-138, 141-142, 150-156.

the partial representation of the human figure, which makes it particularly suited to symbolise the *anodos* (“ascent”), can be referred to chthonic divinities in general (including Aphrodite herself or divinities that look like her), and not exclusively to the Eleusinian divinities.²⁶⁸



Figure III-6. Busts from Timmari

Male statuettes are quite rare. In any case they do not always indicate the presence of a male divinity accompanying the female, with the latter remaining dominant in the religious panorama that we have been able to verify from the archaeological documentation for Lucanian sanctuaries. In most cases, they are representations of Eros, as a child or youth, and in general belong to the sphere of Aphrodite. This association is confirmed, in

²⁶⁸ See finally Siracusano 1986-87, 53-59, with bibliography.

the context being analyzed, by a series of clay *oscilla* from the Taranto area²⁶⁹ found especially in Timmari and Rossano di Vaglio (**Fig. III-7**),²⁷⁰ representing female protomes flanked by erotes, some standing and some lying on a rock, at times with a *oinochoe* or a *thymiaterion*.



Figure III-7. *Oscilla* from Timmari

Terracotta fruits and animals are other categories of clay figurines that are present in nearly all Lucanian sanctuaries (**Fig. III-8**).

²⁶⁹ See Lippolis E., “Le testimonianze del culto in Taranto greca,” *Taras* II 1982, 114, pl. XXXII n. 1.

²⁷⁰ Adamesteanu and Dilthey 1992, pl. XXXVI; Lo Porto 1991, pl. XXVII n. 20.



Figure III-8. Clay animals and fruits from Timmari

The fruits, among which the pomegranate stands out, are symbols of reproduction and abundance,²⁷¹ and refer to the fertility of the earth. Furthermore, pomegranates are the very same fruit that is seen so often in the hands of the figures of worshippers, or collected in a basket, in the lap of the deity who is benevolently displaying the offering just received. Clay fruits are the non-perishable material version of the offerings of the “real” produce of the earth, the first fruits of the harvest offered by devotees as a sign of thanks for a good harvest. Offerings of clay statues of animals (sheep, cows, pigs) were also seen as a substitution of the much more costly

²⁷¹ This fruit has many symbolic meanings thanks to its many seeds, enclosed in a juicy pulp: “The number of seeds, a symbol of fertility and abundance, is not detached from the idea that they with their blood-like red juice must be planted, thus buried as nourishment for the underground world, before they can produce life” (Nava, Osanna, De Faveri 2008, s.v. *melograno*, 143). People in ancient times were probably already aware of the self propagating power of pomegranates (Dierbach 1970, 108), which were only recognized recently in modern times by botanists who define it *fructus praegnantes seu foetiferi*. The pomegranate is also considered an allusion to blood, because of its characteristic colour, and thus it becomes a reminder of fundamental moments of passage in the *mundus muliebris*. See Rudhardt 1992, 218.

offering of “real” animals, a thank-offering for divine protection of pastures and the fecundity of the herds (or as thanks for a particularly prolific year).²⁷² In some cases, the clay offering reproduces animals dear to the deity, such as doves, birds typically belong to the sphere of Aphrodite, and are present in significant numbers at Rossano di Vaglio and Torre di Satriano.

III. 2. 2 ~ World of men and world of women: weapons, utensils, and ornamental objects

Numerically less important but just as widely distributed over all Lucanian sacred places, are objects whose symbolic function is secondary to the original function. These may be considered, according to J.P. Morel’s happy definition, as votives *par transformation*:²⁷³ the object, initially produced for other purposes, turned into a sacred object at the moment when it was offered. Because of their original “practical” character, these items provide us with an excellent source of information on the spheres of competence of the female and male components of Lucanian society.

An offering of arms (spear points, knives, swords, etc.) alludes to military skill and war, values which were basic for the male component of Lucanian society (**Fig. III-9**). As has been said in Chapter I. 5, the leading group of the Lucanian society was constituted by men whose main activity was war. This characteristic is encapsulated in the already mentioned definition by E. Lepore as “military democracy,” which well reflects the role that war activity played for the Lucanian communities. At times the allusion to war in the votive dedications is merely symbolic, and the arms offered are miniatures. Along with bronze sword belts, these objects make up the panoply typical of Lucanian tombs of the fifth, fourth and third

²⁷² On the custom of dedicating clay animals in the sanctuaries of Southern Italy, cf. Comella 1981, Pesetti 1994, 31 f. The meaning of this dedication is discussed in Van Straten 1995, 54-55.

²⁷³ Morel 1992, 221 f.

centuries B.C., belonging to high-ranking individuals from communities in the region, in other words the dominant groups that were identified by the highest role that could be given to a man, that of a warrior. The practice of dedicating arms is well known all over the Greek and Magno-Graecian worlds,²⁷⁴ at times with the aim of thanking the deity for a military victory,²⁷⁵ and at times as a gift from an individual, who chose it as an object to represent his role in the society, according to the same mechanisms of self representation which it is possible to find in funeral rites.

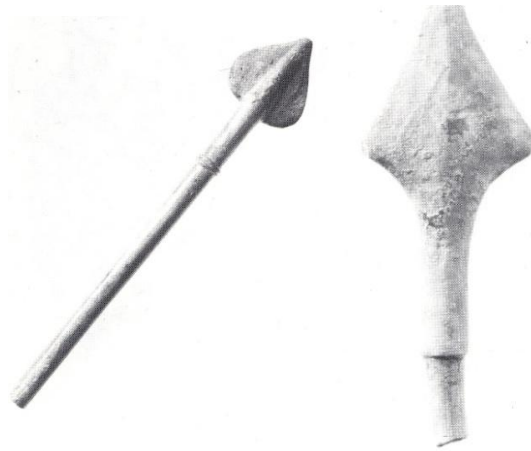


Figure III-9. Weapons from Rossano di Vaglio

If war was seen as the prerogative of emerging groups in Lucanian society, then offerings of work tools (agricultural or artisan's tools) in the sanctuaries represent the populace that lived in the country tilling the fields and grazing animals. These gifts reflect the work and activities with which

²⁷⁴ An example from the Lucanian world is the votive storehouse at Heraion di Policoro (close to the sanctuary of Demetra) (Pianu G., "Policoro, Santuario di Demetra – Campagna di scavo 1985," *Atti Taranto* 1985, 472-474), or even the discovery of arms in the *bothroi* of Santa Maria d'Anglona (Rüdiger U. and Schläger H., "S. Maria d'Anglona – Scavi 1965-66," *NSc*, 1967, 340-353).

²⁷⁵ Rouse 1902, 95-118.

these worshippers identified themselves. But they can also be read as a sort of “retirement offering,” of instruments offered by the person at the end of his “working life.”²⁷⁶ In the case of agricultural tools, one can also perceive another link to the earth’s fertility, the motive behind a significant proportion of the ritual practices carried out in Lucanian sanctuaries.

The values of the masculine world are linked to concepts of self control and military life. The parallel multifaceted women’s world or *mundus muliebris* is also represented in Lucanian sanctuaries by typically feminine domestic activities, the care of the body and feminine beauty. These offerings contribute to clarifying the role of the woman within the *oikos*, already reflected, among other things, in some of the illustrations of the terracotta figurines just examined. To spinning, the most typical feminine domestic activity, we can attribute the offering of the loom weight, *instrumentum domesticum par excellence*. Though these were common offerings in Magno-Graecian both Italiote and indigenous sanctuaries, the meaning of these items in the sacred context is fairly controversial, so much so that some scholars doubt that they are actually offerings and instead lean towards a more practical interpretation.²⁷⁷ Probably, in some cases, like the agricultural tools just mentioned, it is possible that some of the loom weights unearthed were first used in domestic environments and then offered inside the sanctuaries. Other weights, including some miniatures, have been conceived right from the beginning as votive offerings. The gift of these implements may conceal the devotee’s desire to speak of herself by leaving an object which symbolised her activities and abilities in the domestic sphere, distinct from male activities which took place, contrary to those of women, outside the home

²⁷⁶ Rouse 1902, 70-71.

²⁷⁷ Loom weights found in sacred places have been interpreted, for example, as having been used to seal objects offered to the deity: Mingazzini 1974, 206-211.

walls.²⁷⁸ Publications about Lucanian sanctuaries report findings of a limited number of loom weights (**Fig. III-10**).²⁷⁹

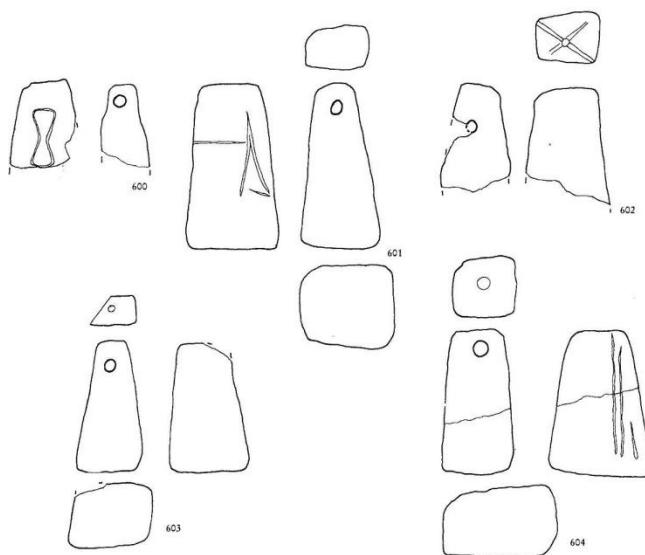


Figure III-10. Loom weights from Torre di Satriano

The only exception is the Armento sanctuary. This place is generally interpreted as a sanctuary dedicated to Heracles, and the significant presence of loom weights is explained as a gift that is more than justified to the god of transhumance (through the intrinsic link that these objects have with wool spinning).²⁸⁰ However, even where they are considered gifts to

²⁷⁸ The symbolic value of loom weights in the Greek world is well known, where they were generally given in contexts dedicated to deities who protect feminine activities, such as Hera (Greco G. 1995, 87-106) and Athena (Ferrandini Troisi 1986, 91-114; Demargne P., in *LIMC* II, 1984, s.v. Athena). The latter specifically taught girls to spin and weave, and in this sense supervised the moment of passage from the status of girl to that of a bride, whose role within the family *ménage* was principally that of spinning (Bruit Zaidman 1992, 374-423).

²⁷⁹ Fabbrocotti 1979, 406, n. 146 (Ruoti, Fontana Bona); *Sacro(II) e l'Acqua*, 27-33 (San Chirico Nuovo); Lo Porto 1991, 169, n. 252 (Timmari); Bottini P. 1997, 243, n. 45 (Grumento, San Marco); Barra Bagnasco and Russo Tagliente 1996, 186-190 (Chiaromonte); Lo Monaco 2005, 390 f. Loom weights were also found at Rossano di Vaglio (found by author in the storerooms of the "Dinu Adamesteanu" Archaeological Museum of Potenza).

²⁸⁰ Di Giuseppe 2000, 141.

the gods, the most immediate ideological link they suggest is with the female world.²⁸¹

Feminine objects, often made of precious metals,²⁸² relate to another part of the women's world, which pertain to beauty and body care. This is what the box, another object that is found sometimes in the statuettes offered up by devotees, seems to refer to: it was the container for jewellery, mirrors and *unguentaria*.²⁸³ In Lucanian sanctuaries, especially in the phase that is analyzed here, there are only a few ornaments which do not stand out in either value or workmanship. The sanctuaries where the largest number of ornamental objects were found are Timmari (bronze and silver fibulae), Colla di Rivello (bracelets, earrings, necklaces and rings),²⁸⁴ as well as Rossano, a number of bronze fibulae from the Lucanian phase were found (**Fig. III-11**).²⁸⁵



Figure III-11. Ornamental objects from Rivello

²⁸¹ Kron 1992, 630-631.

²⁸² In considering the presence of metal objects in sanctuary contexts, it should be remembered that they could be melted and the material reused. This could be one of the reasons that these items are much rarer than those made of clay.

²⁸³ See, for example, a bust from Timmari (Lo Porto 1991, pl. XXXI).

²⁸⁴ In general, see Barra Bagnasco 2000, 35-39.

²⁸⁵ Adamesteanu and Dilthey 1992, pll. XLIX-XL.

III. 2. 3 ~ Ceramics and common meals

The ceramics found in Lucanian sanctuaries can be subdivided into a certain number of classes which range from common ware and coarse ware, to the widespread black glaze pottery, to painted pottery.

Kitchen ceramics and common ware were used to prepare and preserve food within the sanctuary area, so they were not necessarily votive offerings. Therefore, this pottery documents the practice of having common meals within the sacred area. The same can be said about the fine ware (unpainted and black glaze pottery), as well as painted vases, which were both used for rituals and offered to gods. Summarising briefly, we can say that black glaze pottery is found most often in open shapes (bowls, *phialai*, *skyphoi*), and less commonly as closed shapes (such as the *oinochoai*).²⁸⁶ The open dishes are used for libations, and this is borne out by the discovery of some examples (for example in Armento) of *skyphoi* and *phialai* with perforated bases.²⁸⁷ Therefore these shapes refer to the ritual consumption of wine in the sanctuaries, the custom of offering fruit and pouring liquids.

At times these vases have inscriptions dedicated to the deity, confirming their role as offerings. Two vases with graffito inscriptions found in Area A of the Timmari complex - a black glazed plate with the inscription ΓΑΙ,²⁸⁸ which can be interpreted either as an abbreviation of παι(δός) or παιδί, or otherwise as the vocative παῖ, epithet of Kore, “daughter” of Demeter,²⁸⁹ and a fragment of an Apulian vase with an erotic scene bearing the inscription ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ²⁹⁰ - are noteworthy in this regard.

²⁸⁶ In this regard, see the section on “libations.”

²⁸⁷ Russo Tagliente 2000, 80.

²⁸⁸ Lo Porto 1991, 158, pl. LXXVI, 216.

²⁸⁹ As Lo Porto suggests (Lo Porto 1991, 158 note 115), in a Magno-Graecian context the most immediate comparison recognizable is in an inscription on a silver sheet on a tomb in Poseidonia:

Without a doubt, *lekythoi* and *unguentaria* come from the feminine world of body care and beauty (**Fig. III-12**). In this case too, the objects are found in contexts different from those in which they are normally used, thus acquiring a symbolic value at the moment when they were offered.²⁹¹ Probably the actual offerings were the unguents and perfume oils that were contained in these items, but the “practical” function of these substances in carrying out the actual ritual cannot be excluded (see the section on “fumigations”).

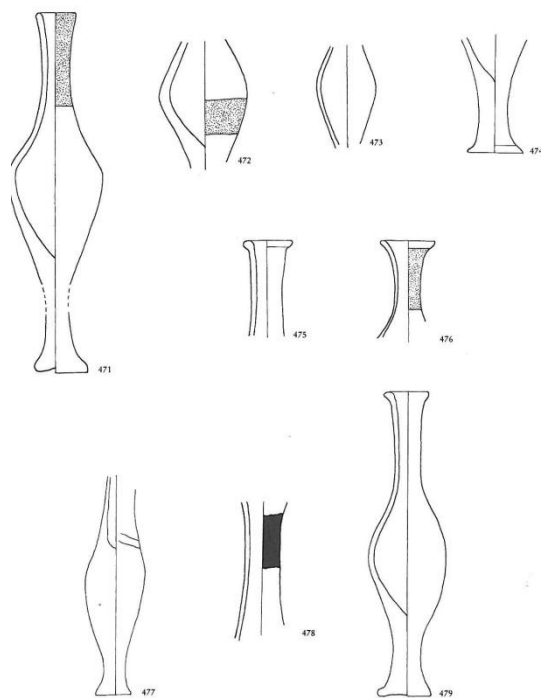


Figure III-12. *Unguentaria* from Torre di Satriano

Τῶς θεῶ τ(ᾶ)ς παιδός ἡμι (IG XIV, 655), which could be translated “I am of the goddess the girl (or the daughter).”

²⁹⁰ Lo Porto 1991, 159, pl. LXXVI, 217.

²⁹¹ See the discussion in *Torre di Satriano I*, 334-341.

III. 2. 4 ~ Miniature ceramics and *aparchai*

A characteristic peculiar to votive offerings in Lucanian sanctuaries is the presence of miniature ceramics, a “constant” feature in all Magno-Graecian sacred complexes (**Fig. III-13**).



Figure III-13. Miniature vases from Rivello

Miniature vases are objects that have been specially conceived and produced for religious purposes. As they have no practical use, their value within the sacred complex where there have been found is only symbolic.²⁹² They are, in fact, “models” whose job is to symbolically bring the image of the object in its true dimensions to the devotee’s mind. This is not the place to discuss the significance of miniaturization (of vessels or other objects) and the different interpretations of the meaning of this type of object, in different contexts including sanctuaries. It will suffice to note that in

²⁹² Although they refer to contexts which are geographically or chronologically distant from ours, the observations on the symbolic value of miniaturization in Torelli 1996c are relevant to our discussion, in particular 342 f.

sanctuary contexts the miniature vases are generally linked to small offerings of food (*aparchai*) and sometimes the miniaturization is read as a means of differentiating gifts to the gods from daily use objects.²⁹³

III. 3 ~ Sacrifices, libations and fumigations

In this section, offerings which were destined to be destroyed at the moment of the dedication are illustrated and discussed. These are in general animal sacrifices, and offerings of fruit and other agriculture products. Usually, these ritual practices were performed together with incense fumigations.

III. 3. 1 ~ Animal sacrifice and ritual banquets

In all religions, the sacrifice is considered the sacred action *par préférence*.²⁹⁴ As B. Constant says, “l’idée du sacrifice est inséparable de toute religion,”²⁹⁵ as it reflects, more than any other gift does, the desire of the devotee not to approach the deity empty-handed, but quite deliberately “sacrificing” something that belongs to him and that he thinks the gods appreciate. In many ancient western civilisations, sacrifice means in practice killing a domestic animal, followed by division of the meat, part of it for human beings and a part for the gods. This “division” of the flesh aims to create a link between man and god that is in fact the idea behind the ritual act and the offering. The choice of the victim depended upon the type of cult of the sanctuary. In general, they were domesticated animals, and therefore “valuable” property for the person or community making the sacrifice. In most cases, therefore, the sacrificial animals were cattle, sheep

²⁹³ In general, see Ekroth 2003; Grasso 2004, 52-72, 78; Poli 2006, 239-246.

²⁹⁴ There is an endless bibliography on the topic. The work of Walter Burkert and Burkhard Gladigow remains fundamentally important for the phenomenology and interpretation of the sacrificial practice in the Greek world: Burkert 1976, 168-187; 1981, 91-133; 1983; 1984, 19-43; Gladigow 1984, 19-43. Cf., also, Durand 1986; Detienne and Vernant 1979; Grottanelli and Parise 1988; Bremmer 1996; Grottanelli 1999.

²⁹⁵ Costant B., *De la religion*, I, 250, quoted in Bergman 1987, 31.

and goats, and occasionally pigs.²⁹⁶ In other cases the animals sacrificed either had something to do with the deity itself or they took on a special symbolic significance in relation to the specific occasion of the sacrifice.

Where no written explanatory material exists on the topic, as for ancient Lucania, we are forced to depend solely on archaeological documentation to reconstruct ritual practices. Identifying animal sacrifices at an archaeological level does, however, raise a series of methodological problems. Whereas a votive offering leaves a lasting and tangible sign of the gift to the gods, the “gift” of an animal sacrifice is harder to recognize. This is why it did not receive the necessary attention and consideration especially in older archaeological excavations, initially in the discovery and documentation phase, and later during the laboratory analysis of the bone remains. In many cases, however, archaeological research can do little more than establish that a sacrifice has taken place. The actual procedure is often doomed to remain unknown.

The most frequent victims of sacrifice in Lucanian sanctuaries were goats and sheep. This fact should not surprise if one considers that, along with agriculture, grazing, especially of sheep and goats, formed the basis of Lucanian economy; however reports of the remains of sacrificial pigs are not lacking, for example at Chiaromonte.

As we said in the section dedicated to architecture (Chapter II. 4. 1), the altar is the place where animal sacrifices were normally carried out. Later the victim of the sacrifice, the one whose throat was slit, was divided up and eaten. In the Armento sanctuary, A. Russo has reconstructed the various phases of this procedure through a careful reading of the archaeological documentation.²⁹⁷ The first phase of the ritual was to purify

²⁹⁶ Burkert 1984, 83 f.

²⁹⁷ The ritual was divided into two distinct phases, a duplication which can also be recognized in the division of the spaces where they took place (the two terraces where the sacred buildings were

the offering at the basin and cistern placed at the entrance to the sanctuary, along the “ceremonial pathway” located on the lower terrace of the complex (**Fig. II-7**). The victim was sacrificed at the altar in front of the *sacellum*. The animal was then butchered and cooked in the area in front of room 4, with basins placed along the eastern facade of the room to collect the blood of the animal.²⁹⁸ The meat was eaten in the same room, as we can see from other substances identified including different various ritual deposits,²⁹⁹ the abundance of pig, sheep and bovine bones and the many fragments of wine amphorae found here.³⁰⁰ The banquet was thus an integral part of the rituals carried out in Lucanian sanctuaries. In fact, one should imagine that most of these sacrificial places were equipped with “spaces” for communal eating (a banquet hall has been identified at Armento as well as at Torre di Satriano (cf. Chapter II, 4. 1), while the presence of fireplaces, for example at Chiaromonte, is a clear indication of the fact that meat was cooked.³⁰¹

As illustrated in the section of this chapter dedicated to pottery, further proof of this practice comes from the ceramic tableware found in all sanctuaries in Lucania. Most of the black glaze and red figured pottery is made up of vases for drinking, for pouring, for serving and for eating, while the common ware and coarse ware were mainly used for cooking and preserving foods. Therefore these are table services, which include all accessories necessary for a meal accompanied with wine, as attested by the

located). Furthermore, A. Russo considers this division functionally necessary for carrying out the double rite, heavenly rites on the lower terrace, chthonic and heroic on the upper one (Russo Tagliente 2000, 115-116).

²⁹⁸ Additionally, next to the basins, a ritual deposition of objects was found, characterised by the presence of a cup containing miniature spears, fragments of *pithoi* and a terracotta chess piece depicting a galloping Pegasus: Russo Tagliente 2000, 56.

²⁹⁹ Near the entrance an overturned black glaze terracotta *patera* covering a pig bone, a terracotta *arula*, a miniature spear point and an “impasto” vase and animal bone vase were found, while another black glaze terracotta *patera* was found at the north western corner of the room: Russo Tagliente 2000, 56.

³⁰⁰ Russo Tagliente 2000, 56.

³⁰¹ Barra Bagnasco 2000-2002, 213-224.

frequent presence of kraters and the constant discovery of *skyphoi*. After they had been used, these objects, considered sacred accessories, were dedicated and stored in the votive deposits of the sanctuaries. Torre di Satriano is a case in point, where, within the two channels located in the eastern part of the complex, entire services were discovered containing *skyphoi*, plates and cups. In addition to these three forms, other types of vessels were also found, for communal use, such as dishes to contain (*pelike*, olla) or to pour (*oinochoe*, pitcher). Only one krater for wine was found.³⁰²

This practice too is modelled on the Greek one, where the brief period of fellowship that follows the bloody sacrifice also has deep significance in unifying the community.³⁰³ The shared meal is a time of coming together, which can take on symbolic and political meaning, depending upon the context. It also had a political and social function in the case of Lucanian sanctuaries, bringing together the peoples who inhabited the territory (see *infra*).

It has been possible to identify traces of animal sacrifices which are part of the patron god or goddess' cult in a few better documented cases. In an overall reading of the whole sacred complex, this can help to define the nature of the cult practiced there better than when the otherwise widespread case of cattle or sheep/goat sacrifice took place. For example, at Torre di Satriano, archaeological research has scientifically documented sacrifice-related actions, something to which that very little attention has been paid. Here, a symbolic sacrifice is documented, which sheds light on the type of cult that is practiced, namely the sacrifice of a dog,³⁰⁴ whose remains have been found covered with a thick layer of burnt material, located above the

³⁰² Osanna M., in *Rituali per una dea*, 109-112.

³⁰³ The bibliography on ritual banquets and the practice of communal meals in the Greek world is unending. As an example, see Murray 1990.

³⁰⁴ Mainoldi 1981, 24-41; Mainoldi 1984, 51-58.

filling of the stream to the east of the structures. As M. Osanna clearly explains in his interpretation of this discovery, it is an “unusual” sacrifice, because it was carried out not at the altar but “nello spazio ‘indefinito’ della nuda terra,” [in the ‘indefinite’ space of naked soil] finalizing the defunctionalisation and obliteration of the canal at the same time as the transformations taking place in the complex over a period of time.³⁰⁵

III. 3. 2 ~ *Aparchai* and libations

Another type of sacrifice was also fated to lose its traces. This one was not bloody, and required either an offering of the choicest foods or a libation. The offering of the first fruits or literally “the best part destined for the gods” would have mostly been fruits and vegetables. This is borne out in the widespread iconography of seated goddesses with baskets of fruit in their arms, “showing off” the offerings they received, or the many statues bearing fruits as gifts to the gods.³⁰⁶ Miniature vases to hold these products are probably also offerings from this category.

The libation, which consisted of a prayer and a request to the deity accompanied by the ritual act of pouring liquids, or sprinkling a few drops on the altar or the ground and drinking the rest, was conceptualised either as stand-alone ritual act or was associated with more complex ritual acts.³⁰⁷ It was probably a habitual ritual gesture, almost an everyday one, the natural and symbolic act that accompanied prayers. The importance of libation in sanctuaries is borne out for us both by the iconographic documentation regarding the Lucanian world³⁰⁸ and the countless allusions to this practice in the painted terracottas: for instance the *phiale* that the “enthroned goddess” holds between her hands, in an act that testifies to the

³⁰⁵ *Torre di Satriano I*, 436.

³⁰⁶ Bouma 1996, 52-54.

³⁰⁷ On the Greek world, see: Rudhardt 1992, 213-248.

³⁰⁸ See *Rituali per una dea*, with bibliography.

benevolence of the goddess in accepting the very offering,³⁰⁹ or the numerous statuettes of devotees with a *phiale* or the numerous bronze or terracotta *phialai* from various contexts.³¹⁰ Among the many examples, there is one I might mention, due to the peculiar situation in which it was discovered, the case of Torre di Satriano, where a bronze *phiale* was supposed to be located on a small pillar³¹¹ located in the eastern part of the rectangular building complex, in a position practically in direct view of the area where the altar is believed to have been. The altar and the small pillar with the bronze *phiale* were connected by a paved path: the two types of sacrifice, the bloody one symbolised by the altar and the non-bloody one symbolised by the *phiale* were in some way connected: two different types of ritual practices in the sanctuary, as reconstructed in M. Osanna's hypothesis.³¹²

III. 3. 3 ~ Fumigations

The ritual practice of burning incense is seen widely in the Lucanian area and is borne out materially by the discovery of *thymiateria* or perfume burners.³¹³ Although these items are present in all of the sacred contexts analyzed, they are both numerically and typologically most significant in the Timmari and Rossano di Vaglio sanctuaries (**Fig. III-14**). Just as in the case of ceramics, here too the items were intended for use in ritual practice, for containing the actual votive offering (grains of incense and other essences for burning), almost like a “miniature altar” intended for the sacrificial act of fumigation.³¹⁴ Fumigation, often associated with other

³⁰⁹ Simon 1953, 7.

³¹⁰ The preferential use of this ceramic form for libations is widespread in the Greek world (Batino 2002) as well as in the Lucanian one, as borne out in the so-called “return of the warrior” scenes that adorn the slabs of Lucanian tombs (Pontrandolfo and Rouveret 1992, 42-44; 451-452).

³¹¹ Greco 1988; Greco 1991.

³¹² *Torre di Satriano I*, 438.

³¹³ See in general (with particular reference to the Greek world) Zaccagnino 1998, with bibliography.

³¹⁴ Burkert 1984, 92.

rituals such as libation, therefore had the function of offering the gods perfume essences which they appreciated, as borne out by a comparison with the Greek world,³¹⁵ but they also had a purificatory function, in the same manner as all rituals that involved the use of fire.³¹⁶

The existence of miniature *thymiateria* and *thymiateria* which bear no traces of ever having been burnt lead us to question however whether the items themselves could be considered votive offerings, independently from any practical use.³¹⁷



Figure III-14. *Thymiateria* from Timmari

III. 4 ~ Observations on the system of votive offerings in Lucanian sanctuaries

In concluding this review of ritual practices which can be reconstructed on the basis of archaeological documentation on Lucanian sanctuaries available today, it may be useful to repeat some concepts useful for the development of the research that is suggested in the following chapters.

³¹⁵ Faure 1987.

³¹⁶ *Iliad*, XVI, 228; *Odyssey*, XXII, 481, 491.

³¹⁷ See M. Di Lieto's observations in *Torre di Satriano I*, 360.

First of all, it is important to emphasise the homogeneity which characterises the ritual practices carried out in Lucanian sanctuaries. This fits in with the basic structural uniformity seen in the conceptualization and structure of the sanctuary space, as illustrated in Chapter II. Although each sanctuary does have its own peculiar characteristics, the common features of Lucanian sacred complexes can be summarised in a few points: 1. the votive terracotta is the “typical” gift to the deity, with a high prevalence of iconographical representation of generic deities and offerants; 2. animal sacrifices are commonly practiced, with a prevalence of sheep and goat sacrifices; 3. the presence of certain types of ceramics indicates the practice of ritual banquets after the blood sacrifice, as a practice of great “social” value; 4. gifts considered “precious” such as those made from valuable metals are rare; 5. very few coins have been found (and they have been found in situations where it is often difficult to understand the primal meaning of the coin itself: was it a lost coin? Was it dedicated as an offering?). In the light of this information, it would be plausible to hypothesize the existence of pre-existing established “formulae” in the context of the entire sanctuary system of the region, in other words, norms that regulated ritual and cultic practices common to all the sacred complexes.

Doubtless, the Hellenic character adopted in all forms of ritual practice also contributed to this picture of homogeneity. As it has been emphasized during this dissertation, ancient Lucania can be defined as a varied and multiethnic landscape, where commercial relationships and exchanges were the vehicles of cultural influences that are seen and reflected in the culture. The sacred sphere is no exception to this phenomenon, and the aspects of the practical culture that are most strongly based on Greek models should be looked for not so much in sanctuary

architecture as in the forms adopted in religious practice, meaning that practices, schemes and imagery change in direct relation to the Greek world. The technology used to manufacture certain products was also Greek, and this became one of the main vehicles for cultural messages that gradually shaped the indigenous world of this region. An example that illustrates this phenomenon well is that of votive terracottas. They derived, as has been said, from models borrowed from Greek colonies on the Tyrrhenian and Ionian coasts. In this particular case, one might imagine a phase of simple “purchase” of moulds and dies by workshops in the Italiote *poleis*, followed by a phase of autonomous production *in loco*, continuing to use the models acquired in the colonies. The use of “Greek” cultic semantics became the vehicle by which the symbols and characteristics that constituted the external form of Italic religiosity were acquired. Thus, the “language” used to materially translate the forms of indigenous religious thought was Greek.

In other words, the “Hellenization” of the cultic manifestations of the Lucanian world contributes to creating a picture of general homogeneity of the cult practices and ceremonies. When compared with the picture which has been reconstructed in the previous chapter dedicated to topography and architecture of Lucanian sanctuaries, this datum appears particularly significant and further corroborates the hypothesis of uniformity and similarity for all the Lucanian sacred places. As will be explained in the following chapter, this formal standardization reflected also in “content,” because, above and beyond the characteristics peculiar to each sacred complex, the image of Lucanian religiosity as it has been inferred through archaeological and epigraphic evidence, appears quite consistent throughout the region.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGION AND CULTS IN ANCIENT LUCANIA

This chapter focuses on the main aspects of Lucanian religiosity, on the basis of the analysis of the archaeological remains given in the previous chapters. For this purpose, another very precious source of information is considered, namely the epigraphic documents from the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary. In order to provide a comprehensive picture of the Rossano di Vaglio pantheon, in this chapter I will refer to all the inscriptions which have been found in the sanctuary, which date from the fourth century B.C. to the first century B.C.

Many times in the previous chapters it has been reiterated that the picture of the Lucanian sanctuaries as it emerges from the archaeological evidence given by the sanctuaries appears quite homogeneous. There are some fundamental features which are common to all the Lucanian sacred places of the region: they are all founded almost contemporaneously, concomitant with the apogee of the Lucanian society; they are usually located on plateaus at the foot of the hill-top settlements, outside the inhabited areas, in proximity to water sources, and at the convergence of strategic communication routes; they follow the same architectural models, which belong to the Italic world; broadly speaking, the sites have yielded the same typologies of votive objects, thus forming a sort of “Lucanian *koiné*.”

The research question of this chapter is whether all the above-mentioned common characteristics of the Lucanian cult places may reflect

the sharing of the same cultic forms, as well as of the same pantheon, for the Lucanian communities, or, as E. Isayev puts, whether those communities shared “a common cult.”

These data will be also examined in the second part of the dissertation, in which I scrutinize which of the Lucanian cults “survived” under the Roman control and why the Romans “respected” and then assimilated the cult of Mephitis, the Oscan deity which was worshipped at the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary.

IV. 1 ~ Female cults: water, fertility and fecundity

Even at a first glance, it seems evident that the Lucanian sacred places are characterized by a significant prevalence of female cults. The goddesses worshipped are related to the agrarian cycles, and encompass a wide range of traits, which can be identified variously in the religious spheres of the Greek Aphrodite, Artemis, Demeter, and Persephone. This eminently “agrarian” nature of the Lucanian cults cannot be surprising, if it is remembered that the Lucanians were basically rural societies, whose survival was based on agriculture and sheep-farming. In this respect, the dedicated votives must be considered as propitiatory gifts to ensure continuity of life at different levels, from the request of a good crop, to the call for animal fecundity, to the desire for many children.

The chthonic nature of these cults is embodied in one of the most important feature of the Lucanian sacred places, namely their connection with water. This connection is embodied in the location itself of the sanctuaries, in proximity to one or more water springs, which were sometimes enclosed within the cult areas themselves (as, for example, at the Chiaromonte sanctuary). This important element is also marked by the presence of channels and water basins (as at Rossano di Vaglio); in some

cases there were both natural and artificial streams which were linked to the spring itself (as at Torre di Satriano), or wells and cisterns to collect rain water (as at Chiaromonte or Armento).³¹⁸

The symbolic meaning of the water as a fundamental element for every form of life is well known in all the ancient cultures. Water, in fact, is intuitively connected to regeneration, life, fertility of the soil, and, consequentially, animal and human fecundity. Therefore, places with water were considered naturally “sacred” in the eyes of ancient people, so that the presence of springs was crucial for the choice of the sanctuaries’ location.³¹⁹

The connection with the principles of fertility and fecundity is reflected in most of the many votives which have been examined in the previous chapter: the dedication of clay fruits and animals, but also the so-called *aparchai*, which reflect the need to ensure the fertility of the land, the health of the crop, the fecundity of the herds. The related concern about the fecundity of women and offspring is variously expressed, and is often transmitted through peculiar iconographies, such as the pregnant woman or the *kourotrophos* (“child-rearer”).³²⁰

This connotation is not only related to principles of life, but also with the subterranean world and with the sphere of death. This inference, indeed, is also implied in another symbolic meaning of spring water: since it comes up from the earth, spring water is associated with the subterranean world, and thus represents a connection between the world of the living and the world of the dead, and connotes the cults as infernal.³²¹ This reference

³¹⁸ See Catalogue of the Lucanian Sanctuaries.

³¹⁹ The role played by water in the choice of the indigenous sacred places of the region is reflected in some modern toponyms, such as, for example, “Fontana Bona” at Ruoti, which testifies the original existence of “good” water: Barra Bagnasco 2008, 181.

³²⁰ Cf. the *kourotrophos* from the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary: Adamesteanu and Dilthey 1992, 51, fig. 49.

³²¹ Ginouvès 1962, *passim*, and 424.

to the subterranean world can be also found in the coroplastic categories of *protomai* and busts, which are not common in the Lucanian sanctuaries with the exception of the Rossano di Vaglio, Timmari and Grumentum (San Marco) sanctuaries.³²² Whatever is the ultimate meaning which can be attributed to the partial representation of the human figure³²³ (can be it considered as referable only to the Eleusinian deities? Is it more generically connected to chthonic cults, among which the cult of the “chthonic” Aphrodite³²⁴?), they refer in general to the infernal aspect of earth. The Lucanian divinities happen, therefore, to encompass the entire range of the biological life, from childbirth to death.

Another connotation evident in the analysis of the material evidence from the sanctuaries reveals is that the deities worshipped oversee the passage of role and status. This sense of transition is evident, for example, in the iconographies of female clay figurines, which have been considered in Chapter III. 2. 1: the veiled figure is an allusion to the passage from the condition of adolescent girl to the status of bride, and then the role and status of mother. In this way, the woman is allowed to play her own role in the society and to express her own status. In the same way, the dedication of a single weapon or miniature weapon can be consider the symbol of the passage from the status of adolescent boy to the role and status of warrior, which is the highest role men can play in their society (Chapter III. 2. 2).

³²² Bottini P. 2005, 179-192.

³²³ The symbolic meaning of busts and *protomai* is still debated. The partial representation of the human figure, which is particularly appropriate to embody the concept of *anodos* (on this notion, see Bérard 1974), and the discovery of most of the busts and *protomai* in Sicilian sanctuaries dedicated to Demeter and Kore, has induced the association of this type of object with chthonic cults (Uhlenbrock 1988, 117-138, 141-142, 150-156). Nevertheless, archaeological evidence has demonstrated that busts and *protomai* can also be connected to other deities (Siracusano 1986-87, 53-59, with bibliography). As Miller Ammermann states, single cases have to be examined separately in order to avoid generalizations (Miller Ammermann 2002, 290-291).

³²⁴ The relationship of Aphrodite with the *anodos* is proved by pottery painting: Simon 1959, figg. 6-8, 24, 28-31; Bérard 1974, 91-164.

IV. 2 ~ Male cults

A sort of cultic polarity has been recognized in Lucanian religious systems, which reflects a society which was organized by genders, social hierarchy, and the division of roles.³²⁵ As seen in the previous chapter, a telling sign of such an ideology is the specialization of the votive offerings in the Lucanian sanctuaries: together with objects which are related to the *mundus muliebris* and the role which women played in the social and productive mechanisms of the Lucanian society, the dedications of weapons or working tools is an expression of the male component of that society. Such polarity has been also seen in some architectural features of some sanctuaries, which indicate that there was a sort of division of spaces which were destined for specifically male activities, such as the case of the Armento sanctuary, where a room for the symposium has been identified.³²⁶ Furthermore, at the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary, the altar which is divided into two parts has been seen as a proof of a double cult.³²⁷

In some cases, images of male deities are attested. At San Chirico Nuovo, however, the male figure appears with the female one in the clay *hierogamia* (“holy wedding”);³²⁸ in no other cases are male deities found, with the exception of the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary, where some representation of Oriental gods such as Attis make their appearance in the

³²⁵ This interpretative model has been conceptualized by M. Torelli for the Archaic sanctuary of Garaguso, which consists of two votive deposits so-called “Autera” and “Altieri” (Masseria 2001, 83-107). This structure of cultic system is found also in the Lucanian age, when the sanctuaries become the space in which the communities represent themselves and their society. Cf. Cerchiai 1999, 211-213.

³²⁶ Russo Tagliente 2000, 53-54.

³²⁷ Russo Tagliente 2000, 326.

³²⁸ Tagliente 2005, 121, fig. 9.

third century B.C.,³²⁹ and male deities are attested to by epigraphic evidence.

From an exclusively religious perspective, this male component seems obvious for chthonic cults which are centered on notions of fertility and fecundity, since it is implied in these concepts themselves. This means that it was not necessary to have “male deities,” and this male component could also be implied in the exclusively feminine cults and their implications in the sphere of agricultural cycles and human fecundity. Moreover, one has to bear in mind that gender is a category which was not so “strict” for Italic religions, so that female entities could also be considered male when necessary.³³⁰ This point will be considered in detail in the following section of the chapter dedicated to Rossano di Vaglio.

IV. 3 ~ The cult of Mephitis in the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary: the epigraphic evidence

The discovery of an exceptional group of epigraphic documents in the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary, which have, for the major part, religious content, makes this sacred place an unparalleled case-study for our knowledge of Italic religion and its pantheon. Rossano di Vaglio is a instance of an indigenous sacred place in which it is possible to compare what the epigraphic sources tell us about religion and the information which can be derived from archaeological evidence. Given the basic homogeneity of cult forms and manifestations which characterizes most of the Lucanian sacred places, and the lack of written sources concerning the religious phenomenology in the Oscan-Lucanian world, the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary thus constitutes an invaluable interpretative model in order to

³²⁹ Adamesteanu and Dilthey 1992, 52, fig. 50b.

³³⁰ On Italic religiosity, see Prosdocimi 1981, 477-545.

better understand the other sacred contexts of the region. Furthermore, the inscriptions cover the entire chronological range of occupation of the sanctuary, from the mid-fourth century B.C. to the first century B.C., so that they are also a fundamental source of information for understanding transformation and evolution of cult and religious forms in Lucania during the centuries.

Whereas the sanctuary was certainly centered on the worship of the Oscan goddess Mephitis, the pantheon of Rossano as it appears from the existing inscriptions is much more complex and stratified than the simplified and generic picture which can be derived from the analysis of the material evidence. This complexity is reflected in the multiplicity of the characters and powers of the goddess, as well as in the association and relationship of Mephitis with other divine figures.

The inscriptions can be divided into two categories or groups.³³¹ The first group, which comprehends *ca.* three quarters of the documents, makes use of the southern Oscan language and alphabet which is derived from the Greek. They are dated between the mid-fourth and the end of the second century B.C. The second group includes the remaining quarter of the documents, which make use of Latin alphabet and language. They are dated between the Social war (90-88 B.C.) and the Augustan principate (31 B.C. – A.D. 14). Michel Lejeune, who studied and published the *corpus*, has recognized also a “transitional” phase between the two groups, which includes inscriptions in Oscan language and Latin alphabet, which is attested in particular in some tile inscriptions (RV-14, -15, -16, -48). A special case is represented by the inscription RV-36 (third century B.C.), which makes uses of Greek language and alphabet. In addition to the

³³¹ Lejeune 1990, 25.

inscriptions which have been found by D. Adamesteanu, some documents which have been discovered in the more recent excavations are considered.

The exact dating of these inscriptions is not easy to pinpoint. Unfortunately, few inscriptions have been discovered *in situ*, and many of them were reused during the various building phases of the sanctuary. Therefore, the place in which the inscriptions have been found is rarely important for their interpretation, and their association with a monument is almost impossible. Furthermore, the inscriptions do not mention any monument or particular building, and this makes it even harder to understand their original location and function. Their dating is therefore based on epigraphic level.³³²

With regard to the content, it is possible to distinguish two main groups of inscriptions:³³³ 1. official consecrations of parts/elements of the sanctuary; 2. dedications. Just one inscription, the inscription RV-52, can be set apart from all the others, since it can be considered as a sort of informative and regulatory document: the text says that, from a specific place of the sanctuary, the devotee enters the sacred perimeter, which belongs to Mephitis' land and water. Hence, the inscription should have been located at the entrance of the sacred complex, marking the very beginning of the sacred space.

For the purpose of my argument, I will present an overview of the dedications found in the sanctuary, with a special focus on what can be inferred from them about the physiognomy of Mephitis and her association with other deities.³³⁴ Further epigraphic sources from other Lucanian sites

³³² Lejeune 1990, *passim*.

³³³ Lejeune 1990, 36 f.

³³⁴ A comprehensive study on the cult of Mephitis, which collects written sources and archaeological evidence on the topic, is in Calisti 2005. Specifically, a survey on the etymology of the theonym is in Luschi 2005, 109-127.

are also considered, as well as the evidence from other areas of the peninsula in which the cult of Mephitis is documented.

IV. 3. 1 ~ Mephitis: etymological issues

Before discussing the characteristics of Mephitis at Rossano di Vaglio, it is worth remembering the most widely-accepted theories concerning the etymological meaning of the name “Mephitis.” According to these theories, Mephitis is the goddess who lives in the middle, a meaning which matches the most common features of cults and cult practices as it is possible to reconstruct through the archaeological evidence.

At the beginning of the last century, there was a general agreement in considering Mephitis as a deity of odorous exhalations which come up from the sulphurous waters in volcanic areas.³³⁵ This interpretation was mainly based on what the Latin *auctores* tell us about Mephitis, as they were probably influenced by the most famous sanctuary of Mephitis at Valle d’Ansanto, which was characterized by the presence of sulphurous waters.³³⁶ Nevertheless, the connection of the goddess with the sulphurous exhalations has been demonstrated as having no basis, as the location of the sacred places dedicated to the deity confirms, such as the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary, which has no volcanic association. As Poccetti points out, the relation of Mephitis with the sulphurous water is attested only by the

³³⁵ Lavagnini 1923, 346.

³³⁶ Falasca 2003, 9-10. Vergilius (*Aen.*, VII, 563 f.) describes the Valle d’Ansanto sanctuary as follows: *locus Italiae medio sub montibus altis,/ nobili et fama multis memoratus in oris/...densis hunc frondibus atrum/ urget utrimque latus nemoris, medioque fragosus/ dat sonitum saxis et torto vertice torrens./ hic specus horrendum et saevi spiracula Ditis/ monstrantur, ruptoque in gens Acheronte vorago/ pestiferas aperit fauces.* In another passage from the *Aeneid*, the theonym Mephitis is used to indicate whatever type of smell: *...adit lucosque sub alta/ consulit Albunea, nemorum quae maxima sacro/ fonte sonat saevamque exhalat opaca mephitim...* [Deep in Italia lies a region mountain-girded, widely famed, and known in olden songs from land to land: ... deep, dark shades enclose it between forest-walls, where by through thunderous stony channel serpentines a roaring fall. Here in a monstrous cave are breathing-holes of hell, a vast abyss here Acheron opes wide its noisome jaws] (Vergilius, *Aen.*, VII, 82 f.) (English translation by Th. C. Williams, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1910).

commentators, such as Servius, but there is no mention of this connection in other literary traditions.³³⁷

It is only in Priscianus that we find an alternative etymology of the name from the Greek μεσῆτις, “mediatrix,”³³⁸ which connects the deity with the notion of “mediating.” Comparative studies of the Indo-European languages have demonstrated that the theonym could derive from the Indo-European root **medhyo*, which becomes *mefiú* in Oscan language, μέσος in Greek, and *medius* in Latin. Therefore, with the suffix *-it*, *Mefit-* means “the one who is in the *mefio*,” namely in the middle between underground and terrestrial surfaces, sky and land. In other words, according to this reading Mephitis seems to encompass all the earthly potentialities, in both the meanings, subterranean and Jovian (and therefore, as related to the sphere of Juppiter, heavenly).³³⁹

This etymology is widely accepted,³⁴⁰ but scholars give the concept of “mediating” different meanings. A. Bottini,³⁴¹ for example, connects such an etymology to the peculiar role of the Mephitis’ sanctuaries, since they are all located at the convergence of important communication routes, and thus function as political, social and economic centers within the settlement organization of the Lucanian territory. In this perspective, Mephitis, the “goddess who is in the middle,” is therefore the patron goddess for market and trade activities.³⁴² Other scholarship emphasizes the cosmic aspect of the goddess, as protector of the passage through

³³⁷ Poccetti 2005, 88.

³³⁸ Priscianus, *Inst.*, III, 328, 5 H.

³³⁹ Marinetti and Prosdocimi 1988, 41; Prosdocimi 1989, 519-520.

³⁴⁰ Although Poccetti recognizes the semantic correspondence between the theonym *Mefitis* and the Greek μεσῆτις (which is not surprising, since the notion of deities as “mediators” is widely diffused in the history of religions), successively he prefers the etymology which has been proposed by Lavagnini (Lavagnini 1923), which connects Mephitis to the Indo-European root **medhu*, Greek μέθυ, namely the beverage which is derived from honey. This reading would explain the very nature of Mephitis, as goddess of the sulphureous springs, the exhalations of which cause the same intoxicating effect as the alcoholic drinks. Poccetti 1982, 251-260.

³⁴¹ Bottini 1988, 71-74.

³⁴² Torelli M.R. 1990, 84; Masseria and D’Anisi 2001, 131.

subterranean, terrestrial and heavenly domains.³⁴³ In a more cautious and generic reading of the theonym, M. Lejeune³⁴⁴ states that the concept of “mediating” as it refers to Mephitis did not have any specific meaning. He therefore considers Mephitis as the “mediatrix” *par excellence*, manifestation of the divine intermediation. G. Falasca accepts this last interpretation, and sees the goddess as overseeing any type of passage, not only for what concerns the natural world but also the sphere of social life. This power is embodied in the connection of the deity with water, which is a common feature of all the sacred places dedicated to Mephitis. It is for this association with water that – according to Falasca – Mephitis is able to embody and symbolize the function of protecting movement, passage, and thus of mediating between “something before” and “something after.”³⁴⁵

IV. 3. 2 ~ The inscriptions from the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary: Mephitis’ epithets

As well as the semantics of the name “Mephitis,” which allow us to reconstruct a multifarious and multifunctional nature of the goddess, such a multiplicity of functions and aspects is confirmed by the dedicatory inscriptions from the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary. There are three epithets which refer to the goddess in these inscriptions: *Utiana*, *Caporoinna*, and *Aravina* (RV-21, -26).

The epithet *Utiana* seems particularly relevant, since it is recorded in four inscriptions, one of which (RV-11) dated to the third century B.C.,³⁴⁶ and other two inscriptions dated to the first century B.C. (RV-22, -32) (in RV-45 the divine epithet is not entirely preserved, so it will be not considered). The importance that this epithet must have had for the cult of Mephitis is further confirmed by its appearance in three inscriptions from

³⁴³ Coarelli 1998, 187.

³⁴⁴ Lejeune 1990, 213.

³⁴⁵ Falasca 2003, 18.

³⁴⁶ The dating of these inscriptions follows the publication of the *Corpus* by M. Lejeune.

Potentia.³⁴⁷ As briefly stated in Chapter II. 3, whereas Lejeune considers the epithet as a reference to the name of a Lucanian group who settled the territory of Rossano, Marina Torelli proposes an alternative reading, and points out that the written sources do not make any reference to tribal divisions for the Lucanians.³⁴⁸ Therefore, the scholar connects the epithet to the anthroponym *Utius*, a gentilician name³⁴⁹ which is also known at Aesernia in Samnium,³⁵⁰ and finally, as *Uttius*, at Misenum in Campania.³⁵¹ Furthermore, Torelli identifies the βασιλεῖς mentioned in a famous passage by Strabo (VI, 1, 3) with the *reges* which are mentioned in the controversial inscription RV-28.³⁵² Hence, the cult of Mephitis *Utiana* is interpreted as “il ricordo di un originario culto di tipo gentilizio, che trarrebbe la sua origine da un antichissimo *génos basilikón*”³⁵³ [the memory of an ancient gentilician cult, which must have been rooted in a very old *génos basilikón*]. This reading thus corroborates the theory which attributes to the gentilician families of Lucanian society the administration of the sacred places, according to mechanisms which are also known in the Samnite world.

In the inscription RV-06, Mephitis is named as *Kaporoinna*,³⁵⁴ which is connected either to Juno through the reference to *caper*³⁵⁵ and

³⁴⁷ *CIL* X, 131: MEFITI · VITIANAE / SACR; *CIL* X, 132: MEFITI · VTIA/NAE · DONVM; *CIL* X, 133: MEFITI · VITIAN / SACR.

³⁴⁸ Torelli M.R. 1990, 84.

³⁴⁹ On the problematic issue of identifying a *gens* during the mid-Republic, see Smith 2006.

³⁵⁰ *CIL*, IX, 2655 – *C. Utius* – and 2691 – *Abulliae Uitae*.

³⁵¹ *CIL* X, 3667

³⁵² The *reges*, whose bronze statues are mentioned in the inscription RV-28, are conversely interpreted by M. Lejeune as the royal couple Juppiter and Domina Iovia, which appears on the inscriptions RV-17-42 and -18 (Lejeune 1971b, 674-675), and as a reference to the Dioskouroi by Prodocimi (Prodocimi A.L., “Sui grecismi nell’osco,” in *Scritti in onore di G. Bonfante*, Brescia 1976, 831-832; nevertheless, the scholar finally accepts Lejeune’s position in Prodocimi 1989, 519-520). A discussion on this epithet is in Calisti 2005, 87, who does not share M.R. Torelli hypothesis (Calisti 2005, 87).

³⁵³ Torelli M.R. 1990, 87.

³⁵⁴ Adamesteanu and Lejeune 1971, 56.

³⁵⁵ Cf. also Festus (76, 1 L), who defines the goat as *amiculum Junonis*. This animal, in fact, symbolized fertility, since it was considered to endow sterile women with fertility and was

Nonae Caprotinae,³⁵⁶ or to fecundity rituals,³⁵⁷ as well as to the pastoral world.³⁵⁸ This connection with the agrarian and pastoral worlds is also confirmed by the association of Mephitis with male *paredroi*, such as *Memers*,³⁵⁹ the Italic Mars, who encompassed both the agrarian sphere and the military/warfare one.³⁶⁰

Finally, Mephitis is named as *Aravina* in two inscriptions.³⁶¹ All scholars agree in connecting this epithet with the Latin *arvom* and the Umbrian *arva*,³⁶² thus testifying to the original agrarian character of the goddess as “protector of cultivated soils.”³⁶³

The already mentioned inscription RV-52 refers to Mephitis’ control over the water world.³⁶⁴ This connection is also testified by the mention of minor deities which Prosdocimi interpreters as “rain” and “running water,”³⁶⁵ linking them to the figures of *Anafreis* and *Diumpais*, who are mentioned in the Agnone Table,³⁶⁶ and are interpreted as personifications of “dead waters” and “living waters.”³⁶⁷

controlled by the goddess who superintended the childbirths, namely Juno (worshipped as *Caprotina*, *Sospita* and *Lucina*). Cf. Calisti 2005, 94.

³⁵⁶ Varro (*de Lin. Lat.*, VI, 18) explains that such festival had this name *quod eo die in Latio Iunoni Caprotinae mulieres sacrificant et sub caprifico faciunt; e caprifico adhibent virgam* [because on this day, in Latium, women offer sacrifice to Juno Caprotina, which they do under a *caprificus* wild fig-tree; they use a branch from the fig-tree]. Cf. Marinetti and Prosdocimi 1988, 43.

³⁵⁷ Torelli M.R. 1990, 87-88; Masseria and D’Anisi 2001, 132-133.

³⁵⁸ Falasca 2003, 54.

³⁵⁹ RV-33 (mid-fourth century B.C.). Cf. Lejeune 1972, 403.

³⁶⁰ Torelli M.R. 1990, 86.

³⁶¹ RV-21 (second century B.C.), RV-26 (third century B.C.): Adamesteanu and Lejeune 1971, 72-75.

³⁶² The only exception is represented by Prosdocimi, who thinks that, if the epithet were really derived from *arva*, the adjective would have been **arvana*. Conversely, he argues that the epithet is a derivation from *arvia*: the goddess, therefore, was “the mistress of the *arvia*,” a term which corresponds to the Umbrian name for *exta* (Prosdocimi 1989, 520).

³⁶³ Marchese M.P., “Rossano di Vaglio,” *PCIA*, VI, 1978, 900; Torelli M.R. 1990, 86.

³⁶⁴ Lejeune 1980, 454-459; Torelli M.R. 1990, 86.

³⁶⁵ RV-12: *Jnetefs pehetefs*. Cf. Adamesteanu and Lejeune 1971, 61.

³⁶⁶ Prosdocimi 1989, 520.

³⁶⁷ Poccetti argues that the running water, being able to transform itself, symbolizes the different phases of womens’ life. In particular, he identifies the *diumpa* mentioned in the Agnone Table with the *νύμφη*, the Greek term for the young bride, namely the intermediate phase in which the woman is not yet a mother, but is not a daughter anymore. Poccetti 1996, 219-241.

IV. 3. 3 ~ Mephitis and other deities

Whereas the principal deity of the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary is undoubtedly Mephitis, a number of other gods are mentioned in the inscriptions which are in various ways associated with the goddess.

In the inscription RV-18, which also confirms the major role played by the goddess in the Rossano sanctuary, there is an invocation to *Domina Iovia*.³⁶⁸ This inscription was found in proximity to the great altar which is located in the court of the sanctuary; thus, there is good reason to believe that it was a dedication to the principal deity of the sanctuary, Mephitis.³⁶⁹ The implied association with Juppiter (since the goddess is defined as “Iovia”) suggests the already mentioned identification of Mephitis with Juno,³⁷⁰ the goddess who is, as well as her Italic counterpart Mephitis, the deity of the female world, fertility and childbirth.³⁷¹ Such an association is also confirmed by the fact that the two goddesses share the same epithet *Caporoinna/Caprotina*, as explained above. Furthermore, the similarity of the inscription RV-18 with an epigraph from Rapino, where an entity named *Regina Pia Cerie(s)* is mentioned beside Juppiter,³⁷² seems to reflect also a similarity of Mephitis with Ceres, goddess of cereals. Chthonian and Jovian traits of the goddess seem to be complementary and to trace back to her pan-Italic origin, which is attested by the geographical extent of the inscriptions naming her.³⁷³

³⁶⁸ Adamesteanu and Lejeune 1971, 66.

³⁶⁹ This is the opinion of F. Calisti (Calisti 2005, 100 f.), who confutes Campanile’s hypothesis. Campanile, indeed, wonders why in the Rossano sanctuary Mephitis would have been referred to by a periphrasis (“*Domina Iovia*”) instead by her usual theonym (Mephitis). Conversely, he interprets the adjective “Iovia” (διωφύιας) as the epithet by which the Juppiter’s *paredros* (“assistant”) was designated (Campanile E., “Note sulle divinità degli Italic meridionali e centrali,” *SCO*, 1991, 284-285).

³⁷⁰ Chapter IV. 3. 2.

³⁷¹ The association between the two goddesses is also reflected on a topographic level, since Mephitis and Juno are associated on the Esquiline hill. Cf. Chapter VI.

³⁷² Prosdocimi 1989, 519-520.

³⁷³ Heurgon 1972, 55-76; Marinetti and Prosdocimi 1988, 41.

Other inscriptions provide us with fundamental information concerning deities who belong to Mephitis' entourage.³⁷⁴ This association is made by using adjectival forms.³⁷⁵ It is not easy to figure out what type of relation these formulations reflect. It is plausible to hypothesize a hierarchic and subordinate relation between minor gods and the most important deity of the sanctuary. In any case, it is evident that it is a very complex system of divine denominations, which reflect an extremely articulated cultic structure and pantheon, where each god is defined in relation to other deities.³⁷⁶

Two dedications mention Juppiter. One is an inscription (RV-19), where Juppiter is invoked with another deity, while Mephitis is not mentioned (ζωφηι.πιζηι). There seems to be a general agreement that πιζηι has to be connected with the Greek *pidax* ("water spring"). Therefore, the inscription would say: "To Juppiter and the water springs" or "To Juppiter [as] water spring." M. Lejeune states that, as cult of Mephitis was connected to water and – in the case of Rossano – to water springs, it is plausible to believe that by "springs" the inscription meant the personification of the goddess herself.³⁷⁷

The association of Mephitis with Juppiter is also confirmed by the fragmented inscription RV-17+42, the interpretation of which is still debated. Lejeune interprets the expression δωφιας διομανα[ς] as a

³⁷⁴ Mephitis' connection with other deities is not only evident from the inscriptions, but is confirmed – as seen in the previous chapter – by the archaeological evidence. Cf. Chapter III. 4.

³⁷⁵ Lejeune describes these forms as follows: a god is defined as μεφίτανο "s'il est simplement hébergé dans le sanctuaire, lequel constitue une structure d'accueil ouverte" (Lejeune 1990, 57-58); a god is defined as μεφίτιο "s'il ressortit au cycle (soit «cérérien» soit «infernal») de la déesse et lui est ainsi subordonné" (Lejeune 1990, 58).

³⁷⁶ Cf. the general observations on Italic religion in De Cazanove 1993, 9-39.

³⁷⁷ Lejeune 1986, 207-208. There is also another inscription which makes reference to water, RV-12, where νετεφς πεηετεφς has been interpreted by A. Prosdocimi as a reference to rain, as well as the *Diumpais* of the Agnone Table (Prosdocimi 1989, 520). Finally, the importance of water as it is reflected also in the epigraphic evidence is testified to by the already mentioned inscription RV-52, where there is a reference to lands and waters which belong to Mephitis (Adamesteanu and Dilthey 1992, 26).

qualification of Mephitis.³⁷⁸ Prosdocimi,³⁷⁹ who accepts such an interpretation, considers the Rossano divine couple Iuppiter/Mephitis as corresponding to the couple which is attested in the famous inscription from Rapino, which names Iuppiter and Regina Cereria.³⁸⁰

Mephitis is also associated with *Mamers* (the Oscan form for Mars). In particular, it is worth mentioning that in the inscription RV-33 Mamers appears independently, thus testifying his importance within the Rossano pantheon. He is the typical Italic Mars, since he is connected with warfare, but also with the agrarian sphere, thus confirming the importance that these spheres had for Lucanian society, which is reflected in the worshipped pantheon.

The link between Mephitis and Venus is attested in the inscription RV-05, which dates back to the second century B.C. and reads as follows:

381

ϜΕΝΞΗΙ. ΜΕϜ[ΙΤ.]

The association of the two divine entities is confirmed by the fact that the two goddesses share the epithet *Fisica*,³⁸² which is also applied to

³⁷⁸ Lejeune 1972, 404.

³⁷⁹ Prosdocimi (1989, 520).

³⁸⁰ Most historians of religion have a peculiar notion of Italic religion, which they consider as based on a binary theological system, with two main nuclei which encompass the entire religion. These nuclei are represented by the two figures of Juppiter and Ceres. Therefore, the remaining deities of the Italic pantheon find their place within these two deities' sphere of influence. Regarding Mephitis, Prosdocimi says that, in the same divine figure, the two aspects coexist, since the goddess appears to be Jovian and Caererian at the same time, as the inscriptions RV-17-18 and RV-28 testify. The same traits can be found in the *Regina Pia Ceria Giouia* of the Rapino inscription (Ve 128). Thus, the two spheres do not appear to be opposite each other, but complementary (Prosdocimi 1989, 520). Cf. the general observations in Calisti 2005, 111-112, n. 31.

³⁸¹ Adamesteanu and Lejeune 1971, 55.

³⁸² The meaning of this epithet is still debated. According to Preller, the adjective *fisica* corresponds to the Greek φυσική (Preller L. and Jordan H., *Römische Mythologie*, I, Berlin 1881, 448). Jordan (Jordan H., in *Römische Mythologie*, I, Berlin 1881, 448) and Wissowa (Wissowa G., *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, München 1912, second edition, 246) consider the possibility that

Mephitis in a Latin inscription from Grumentum, as well as to Venus at Pompeii.³⁸³ At Pompeii, an Oscan inscription, painted on a wall of the House of the Great Fountain (via Mercurius), mentioned a festival which was celebrated by the *gens Mamia* for Mephitis. This family had connection with the cult of Venus during the age of Sulla, as well as to the cults of Venus and Ceres at Sulmona.³⁸⁴ Thus scholars think that the Pompeian *Venus Fisica* is a Roman interpretation of the ancient Oscan deity. In particular, Venus Fisica seems to have acquired the complex nature of Mephitis, as reflected in the representations of the goddess on the Pompeian mural painting.³⁸⁵

Despite the problems inherent the reconstructions of such inscription,³⁸⁶ it is important to stress the association between the two goddesses. If one considers the most ancient traits of the cult of Venus at Rome,³⁸⁷ when it was introduced into the *Urbs* in the aftermath of the Samnite wars (at the beginning of the third century B.C.), it is evident that Venus and Mephitis share a number of characteristics. According to written sources, it was Fabius Gurges who dedicated the first temple to Venus

the term is an Oscan derivation, and this hypothesis is accepted by Sogliano, who connects the epithet to the Oscan *fisia-*, which is attested in inscriptions from Capua. According to this reading, the goddess would be as “giver of faith” (Sogliano A., “Sulla Venus fisica Pompeiana,” *AAN*, XII, 1932, 373). Other interpretations connect the meaning of this epithet with the agrarian and fertility spheres, through the Oscan **futrei*, which is Ceres’ epithet in the Agnone Table: Lepone 2004. Other readings of *Fisica* can be found in Torelli M.R.1990, 87; Falasca 2003, 34-35.

³⁸³ *Grumentum*: *CIL* X, 203; Pompeii: *CIL* IV, 1520, 6865; X, 928

³⁸⁴ Coarelli 1998, 185-186.

³⁸⁵ This is an unusual iconography of Venus, which represents the goddess with a blue star-spangled mantle and a diadem, holding a scepter in the left hand and an olive tree branch in the right one, an overturned rudder under her feet, while at her sides there is a young boy with a mirror and two erotes holding a crown and a palm. The multiplicity of the attributes reflects many functions and values which are very similar to the traits of the Oscan Mephitis of Rossano di Vaglio: the royal aspect (diadem and scepter), the agrarian character (olive tree branch), the mediation between chthonic, subterranean and heavenly spheres (the star, the control of water (the rudder), as well as the protection of the feminine world (erotes). Della Corte M., “Dipinti pompeiani. Venus Pompeiana,” *Ausonia*, X, 1921, 68-87. Cf. also Falasca 2003, 51-53; Lepone 2004, 161-164.

³⁸⁶ A synthesis of the various interpretations on this inscription is in Calisti 2005, 108-110.

³⁸⁷ On Roman Venus, see in general Schilling 1982; Schilling 1990, 478-484.

Obsequens in the Circus Maximus on 295 B.C. (and it does not seem just co-incident that the cult of Mephitis was introduced to Rome almost in the same period). Then, Venus happened to encompass many traits of minor deities, such as *Murcia*, *Cloacina* and *Libitina*. The first trait common with Mephitis is Venus' connection with water, which is testified by the ritual washing practiced by the girls who were initiated into the cult. Furthermore, Venus' identification with *Cloacina* (whose identity is not well known) is also very telling: her cult place was located in proximity to the Cloaca Maxima, thus linking this deity with the fumes from the drain. *Libitina*, instead, has a funerary character, which fits well with the funerary aspect of Venus' cult as well as the subterranean trait of the Mephitis. Finally, *Murcia* is a deity who oversees and protects weddings, a characteristic which is common both to Venus' and to Mephitis' cults. In any case, it is the composite and multivalent character of the Roman Venus which favors her assimilation to the Oscan goddess, and, *viceversa*, the pluriform nature of Mephitis makes her close to Venus.

Finally, a recently discovered inscription (RV-58) carries a dedication to Heracles, which is dated to the second century B.C.³⁸⁸ The inscription is on a plinth, which plausibly hosted the statue that was the offering.³⁸⁹

IV. 3 .4 ~ Observation on the cult of Mephitis in Lucania: a cross reading of written sources and archaeological evidence

It would exceed the confines of this work to discuss the polyvalent nature of Mephitis, in relation to literary sources, epigraphic and archaeological evidence from other sites of Italy. Nevertheless, several points concerning the cult of Mephitis at Rossano are worth noting. As said earlier, the exceptional dossier of the epigraphic documents from the

³⁸⁸ Nava and Poccetti 2001, 95-122.

³⁸⁹ Nava and Poccetti 2001, 100.

Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary has contributed to shed light on the nature and the aspects of the Italic deity, who has been always considered a minor figure of the Italic pantheon.³⁹⁰

In conclusion, I agree with what Paolo Poccetti says about the cult of the goddess. Poccetti considers a passage from Servius' commentary on the *Aeneid* (VII, 84), where the complexity of Mephitis' cult is encompassed through the association with other deities: Leucothea's *paredros*, Venus, Diana and Juno.³⁹¹

Even at a first glance, it is evident that the epigraphic corpus from Rossano provides us with the same associations among the deities which are attested in the passage by Servius. First, the identification of Mephitis with Juno has to be considered. In the Rossano inscriptions, it is not only implied in the invocation of the goddess as "Iovia," but also in the fact that the two deities share the same epithet *Caporoinna/Caproitina*. The relationship with Venus has been already discussed as well. What can be highlighted here is that the peculiar connotations of Juno and Venus in their association/identification with Mephitis find further clarification in the already mentioned cult of Mephitis on the Esquiline hill, which is attested from the third century B.C. Here Juno is worshipped as Lucina, namely as the goddess who oversees childbirth and is connected to fecundity.³⁹² As for Venus, the Esquiline hill housed a peculiar cult of the deity known as "Libitina," who had subterranean traits and was connected to the cult of the dead.³⁹³ Therefore, on the Esquiline hill the *lucus* dedicated to Mephitis

³⁹⁰ Cf. the observations in Poccetti 2005, 73 f.

³⁹¹ Poccetti 2005, 94.

³⁹² Coarelli 1988, 247. Among the sources which testify to the cult of Juno as protector of childbirth, see Catullus, *Carm.*, XXXIV, 13; Ovidius, *Ars Am.*, III, 785; Ovidius, *Met.*, IX, 698. More specifically on the cult of Juno Lucina see Aubert 2004, 187-198. Another interpretation is given by P. Poccetti, who prefers to connect "Lucina" to *lucus* (Poccetti 2005, 85), and considers the possibility that the layout of the first phase of Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary was a *lucus*.

³⁹³ Poccetti 2005, 94-96. Sources which connect the goddess with death and the world of the dead are: Horatius, *Carm*, III, 30, 6-7; Livy XL, 19, 4; Livy XLI, 21, 6; Svetonius, *Nero*, XXXIX, 1

came to be topographically enclosed between the sanctuary of Juno as protector of childbirth and the sanctuary of Venus as goddess of the subterranean world, namely between two divine entities which encompassed the whole biological cycle from childbirth to death.³⁹⁴ The assimilation with Diana/Artemis finds its basis in the nature of Artemis herself as protector of animals and human beings, but also in her relation with water and vegetation.³⁹⁵

Finally, the definition of Mephitis as Leucothea's *paredros* is very telling. The fact that the goddess appears as a male entity reflects the oscillation and the fluidity between male and female spheres which characterizes the Italic and the Roman religion,³⁹⁶ namely an ambiguity in defining the sex of deities which is embodied in the well known formula *sive deus sive dea*, which we usually find on votive dedications.³⁹⁷

In summation, the picture which emerges from the epigraphic corpus from the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary matches what can be inferred from the archaeological evidence which has been presented in chapters II and III. In particular, the votive material reveals a female cult which has a specific agrarian characteristic. Mephitis, indeed, appears as the guardian of the spheres of fertility and fecundity at all the levels (as it is testified, for instance, from the statuette of *kourotrophos*, as well as from the numerous clay fruits and animals, not to mention the attributes which characterize the female clay figurines, which refer to notions such as abundance, fertility of soil, but also fecundity of women).

At the same time, this female cult involves the masculine world. The association with Heracles, in this respect, should not be surprising, since

³⁹⁴ Poccetti 2005, 95.

³⁹⁵ It is worth remembering the existence, among the votives of Rossano di Vaglio, of two marble statues representing Diana, both dating back to the beginning of the second century B.C. and the following century (cf. Catalogue of the Lucanian Sanctuaries).

³⁹⁶ Poccetti 2005, 92-94. Cf. also Luschi 2005, 121-122.

³⁹⁷ Guittard 2002.

Heracles is the Italic god of transhumance, and thus he fits the eminently agrarian aspects of the cult of Mephitis at Rossano. The association with Mars (Mamers), on the other side, is equally understandable. Mars is the god of the war, a fundamental aspect of Lucanian society (the sphere of war is widely attested in the votive objects found in the sanctuary, such as weapons, models of war chariots, but also clay figurines of warriors, just to mention some votives), but is also an agrarian god. These two aspects of the god did should not have seemed strange in the eyes of ancient people.

IV. 4 ~ Concluding remarks

The analysis of the archaeological evidence from the sanctuaries, which has been synthesized in the previous chapters, compared with the epigraphic documents from the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary, allows us to make some considerations on Lucanian religiosity, although they remain pure suggestions for future research and are certainly not exhaustive. As the premise to these considerations, it is necessary to remember that the interpretation of the cults and the reconstruction of the deities' physiognomy for the sanctuaries which have no written sources (namely all the Lucanian sacred places except Rossano di Vaglio) have to be considered speculative.³⁹⁸

First, it is worth reiterating that the material evidence from Lucanian cult places provides a picture of basic homogeneity for what concerns cult forms and nature of the deities worshipped. Of course, it is not methodologically correct to give a name to those deities, when there are not any written sources. Nevertheless, it is possible to state that all the sacred places are centered on feminine cults, which are connected to the following

³⁹⁸ I have already stressed the problems in identifying divine figures through the analysis of material evidence, especially by the interpretation of the iconographies of the clay figurines. Cf. the observations in Chapter III. 1.

concepts: biological cycles, concepts of fertility and fecundity, *kourotrophia*, but are also characterized by subterranean and infernal aspects. The key to explain such uniformity of worship in the Lucanian communities is the fact that such divine entities, hypostasized as goddesses, are the best figures to fit the needs of societies which are founded on agrarian and pastoral economies. These cults encompass also the male spheres, and *in primis* warfare, with its values of *arête*. This is established by the widespread custom of dedicating weapons or objects which refer to war, as well as the representation of male statuettes with warriors' attributes. The presence of Heracles in some sanctuaries, which is documented by the discovery of statuettes of the god, and the association to the feminine cults is also not surprising, since Heracles is the Italic god of transhumance *par excellence*, and thus fits the same necessities connected to the Lucanian economy which I have outlined for the female deities. In this respect, the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary can be taken as case-study in order to better understand the other Lucanian sacred places and cult systems. At Rossano di Vaglio, Mephitis appears to be the principal deity, but, through the intersections and the association to other Italic deities, her cult encompasses all the spheres which are typical of the Italic religious system.

Of course, this homogeneous *patina* does not negate that different sanctuaries had peculiar cultic forms. In this perspective, C. Masseria's speculation on the Lucanian sanctuaries is noteworthy, as she makes some basic distinctions among the Lucanian cults, on the basis of the cultural background of the area in which the sanctuaries are located.³⁹⁹ In particular, Masseria argues that those sanctuaries with marked Demetriad traits are located in areas of the region which are more "Hellenized," namely the

³⁹⁹ Masseria 2000, 248-256.

areas which were more subject to the Greek cultural pressure. They are, *in primis*, Timmari, Montescaglioso (which are located in proximity to Metapontum), and Colla di Rivello (which is subject to the influence of Paestum). It is in these sanctuaries, indeed, that clay figurines and pottery carry typical Eleusinian symbols, such as the cross torch and the piglet. Conversely - Masseria states - the other sacred places tend to a cult that presents more marked traits which belong to the sphere of Aphrodite, with a prevalence of erotic attributes such as doves and erotes. Of course, such a differentiation cannot be considered so strictly.⁴⁰⁰ It is sufficient to mention the example of the sanctuary of Timmari, where, beside clay votives with Demetriad attributes and vases with the painted cross torch, there are also votives that refer to the sphere of Aphrodite (such as *oscilla* with female protome and statuettes of erotes), but there is also a written testimony that Aphrodite was among the deities worshipped in the sanctuary.⁴⁰¹

Having reiterated the basic homogeneity of cult places and cultic forms in the Lucanian world, it is worth questioning whether this homogeneity can reflect the existence of a “common cult,” an hypothesis which was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Such a possibility does not seem plausible, since it presupposes the existence not only of a sense of ethnic identity, but probably also the existence of a common political identity which cannot be established for the Lucanian communities. As seen in Chapter I, 5, the only sources which mention common political institutions for the Lucanian communities are much later

⁴⁰⁰ The differentiation which C. Masseria proposes for the sanctuary of Rossano between the small clay ex votos and the so-called “richer” ones (the bronze objects and the marble statues) is not acceptable. She connects the former to the sphere of Aphrodite and the latter to more than one divine sphere (Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite) (Masseria 2000, 252-253). The most important votives from the sanctuary, in fact, belong to a different historical and social context, which is strongly influenced by the increasing presence of Rome in the southern peninsula. This point is re-examined from another perspective in the conclusions to the first part of the dissertation and in the next chapters.

⁴⁰¹ Lo Porto 1991, 77.

than the events that they describe. In particular, I am referring to the passage by Strabo,⁴⁰² where Petelia is called the *μετρόπολις* of the Lucanians, hence assuming a political organization of all the Lucanian communities. Written sources and modern historiographical interpretations on this topic have been already discussed. Therefore, it is sufficient to stress that there is no valid evidence to infer that a “federation” of the Lucanian communities existed. Conversely, it is plausible to argue that each territorial unit (or *touta*) of Lucania had probably its own autonomy at all levels. Consequentially, a “common” or “federal” (as it is defined in current literature) cult place cannot be hypothesized. In this respect, it is necessary to remember the considerations which have been proposed in Chapter III about the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary, which has been usually identified as the “federal” sanctuary of Lucania. Since, without denying that a hierarchy of the Lucanian sanctuaries must have existed, this sanctuary does not appear to have had power and value at a regional (or “Lucanian”) level, when compared with the other contemporary sanctuaries.

Conversely, I argue that the homogeneity of the cultic and religious forms as attested in the archaeological and epigraphic evidence can be explained as a reflection of the link between religion and economy of the region, which was essentially based on agriculture and sheep farming. Hence, the common basis of all the attested cults mirrors the main concern of the Lucanian communities who settled a basically agricultural landscape. Furthermore, as already stated, another factor which contributed to such a uniform way of conceiving cultic forms is the unique Italic background of the Lucanian people and the influence of the Greek culture.

⁴⁰² Strabo V, 1, 3, C 254.

CONCLUSION TO PART I

By way of conclusion to the first part of this work, it is necessary to synthesize the main points which have been discussed in the previous pages, and to propose some working hypotheses about the role that sanctuaries and religion played in the political, administrative and social life of the Lucanian communities. It can be argued that they may have been elements of self-representation, or media of preservation of ethnic and cultural identity.

First, it has been illustrated that the Lucanian sanctuaries constituted an extremely important part of the territorial structure of Lucania. Their geographical position along the nodal points of the territorial communication network makes it likely that they could have had a role of primary importance in defining the administrative organization of the territorial sectors of the region. This “centralised” position within the different districts of Lucania, defined by the presence of a certain number of hilltop settlements, allowed the sacred places to be reached easily from several places in the surrounding area. The crucial role played by sanctuaries in the structuring of regional territory is explained by their multi-functional nature, which is a feature not only of the Lucanian sanctuaries, but of the Italic cult places in general. They brought together many factors - socio-economic, political and cultural – not merely the religious ones. As true gathering spaces for the community, they were the places with collective, economic, and social importance and were places where cultural exchanges took place.

Given the multifarious role that the sanctuaries played in the context of the political and social organization of the region, it goes without saying

that they represented the very “showcase” in which the Lucanian society represented and identified itself and its values. These considerations, therefore, induce me to ask what the role of the sanctuaries was in the process of defining the ethnic and cultural identity of Lucanian communities. I have spoken repeatedly of the level of Hellenization of Lucanian communities, a factor that is reflected in all the manifestations of the material culture. In fact, it is generally defined as a Greek-indigenous *koiné* which has its roots in the material and cultural exchanges which the indigenous people always had with the Greeks who settled on the coast. In this perspective, it seems interesting to remember that archaeological documentation bears witness to the presence of a Lucanian component at both the Greek colonies of Metapontum⁴⁰³ and Heraclea.⁴⁰⁴ With regard to Elea, Strabo says that the city was able to withstand both the Greeks and the Lucanians, thus associating the two groups with each other and implying that relations between them were not hostile.⁴⁰⁵ In this regard, it may be useful to remember once more that the Lucanian conquest of Poseidonia did not bring about any important changes in the previous balance, as shown by the fundamental cultural continuity of Lucanian Poseidonia with the Greek colony.⁴⁰⁶ On the other hand, during the fourth century B.C., the development of the Italiote *poleis* and indigenous centres in ancient Lucania

⁴⁰³ This Lucanian presence at Metapontum in the decades preceding the war with Alexander the Molossian gave rise to the hypothesis of a possible Lucanian conquest of the colony (De Juliis 2001, 65-69). There is however no concrete proof of this (see Isayev 2007, 87, who, more cautiously, speaks of strong links such as trade links between the Italic communities and the coastal Greek communities: “What is clear from the distribution of material in the area is that there were close socio-economic links between the Italian and Greek communities, which are especially recognisable from the fourth century onwards.”).

⁴⁰⁴ A passage of Livy testifies that the city was liberated from the Lucanians by Alexander the Molossian (Livy VIII, 24, 4), but even in this case archaeological sources provide no proof of violent destruction, leaving us to favour a hypothesis of a Lucanian presence in Heraclea during the course of the fourth century B.C., as is testified by the expansion of the burial areas during this period and the simultaneous change in ritual funerary practices in the southern necropolis of the city (Giardino 1999, 335-336). Cf. Isayev 2007, 90 f.

⁴⁰⁵ Isayev 2007, 112-114.

⁴⁰⁶ On the Lucanian conquest of Poseidonia, see Chapter I. 3.

seems to have taken place, although with the necessary differences, in a basically similar way. Examples that fit this pattern include Heraclea, founded in the mid-fifth century B.C., where during the first half of the next century a fortification wall was built and the urban layout renewed, and Metapontum, where fortification walls were erected in the mid-fourth century B.C. These facts seem to establish, as recently observed by Isayev, that “the overall pattern of the *polis*’s rise and decline, as well as the concentrated periods of building, are not dissimilar to that of the fortified sites in the Italo-Lucanian hinterland.”⁴⁰⁷ What I want to emphasise here is not so much the level of interaction between the Greek and indigenous worlds, or the level of “integration” of the Lucanian element into the Greek coastal *poleis*, as much as the result of this phenomenon: a complex system of coexistence and exchange in both the material and cultural sense between ethnically and culturally different groups, where homogeneity and, in the broadest sense, unity emerges rather than a sense of separation and differentiation.

Furthermore, the Greek cultural influence on the Lucanian communities allows some thoughts on the ethnic identity of the Lucanian people as it can be inferred from the archaeological evidence from the sanctuaries. If Greek cultural models penetrated the thoroughly local culture so widely, as has been underlined especially in the pages discussing votives and ritual practices, it is worth questioning why these communities, that “modelled” their settlements on Greek urban layouts, borrowed their manufacturing and building techniques from the Greeks (so much so that Lucanian fortifications were attributed to the Greeks when they were first identified!), and were familiar with the Greek alphabet (as proven by letters inscribed on some blocks from the fortified walls of hilltop settlements, as

⁴⁰⁷ Isayev 2007, 87.

well as Greek inscriptions found in several sites), did not build their sanctuaries in the “Greek style,” or at least created them on the model of nearby Greek colonial sanctuaries. Neither the technology nor the availability of material to build complex structures should have been a problem. It seems, however, that while assimilating elements of Greek culture, the Lucanian population made selective choices, voluntarily deciding not to make the architecture of their cult places similar to that of the close by Greek cities.⁴⁰⁸ Is the reason behind this behaviour the need for Lucanian communities to affirm their ethnic identity with regard to the stronger (or simply more deep rooted) Greek element? In general, in the case of any community or ethnic group, the vehicles and the language by which they represent their own ethnic and cultural identity tend to become particularly important when this group has continuing relationships with groups that are “different” from them.⁴⁰⁹ In other words, it seems plausible that the sanctuaries, which were modelled according to “Italic” schemes rather than Greek ones, were seen by Lucanians as a way to reflect (and thus preserve) their own (Samnite) ethnic identity, or to affirm their cultural autonomy in religious matters. The reason for choosing sanctuaries as vehicles of this message, which, with all due caution we may define as symbolic, may be due to the intrinsic “conservatism” of the religious sphere. Furthermore, the basically uniform structure and form of Lucanian cult centres almost seems to announce a sort of “cultural program” common to all the Lucanian communities, thus promoting a sense of belonging, of ethnic and cultural identity, which has not been sufficiently highlighted in the most recent literature regarding the Lucanian world.

Despite the uniform picture of the Lucanian sanctuaries, characterized by the same cultural expressions (which may suggest a sense

⁴⁰⁸ See Horsnaes 2004, 116; Isayev 2007, 40.

⁴⁰⁹ In this regard, see the observations in Pretzler 2003, 150.

of ethnic identity), the widely accepted theory which hypothesizes a “federal” sanctuary is not supported at an archaeological level. However, a comparison between the sanctuaries (regarding the level of monumentality of the structure and the richness of materials and furnishings), and the geographical positions that some of the most significant sanctuaries occupy in the area, reveals a sort of “hierarchization” within the network of Lucanian religious places. Most of the small sanctuaries must have had a prevalently “local” dimension, which is that they were limited to the community which lived in the immediately surrounding territory and the corresponding inhabited settlement (for instance the small sanctuaries of Torre di Satriano or San Chirico Nuovo). Nevertheless, it seems reasonable in other cases to assume that some cult places may have had a wider function, which crossed the borders of the territorial unit it was located in. This is undoubtedly true for the Armento and Rossano di Vaglio complexes, which not only are especially rich and monumental, but are also located in particularly favourable positions within the regional communication network. As it has been said, in current literature the Rossano di Vaglio cult place is generally defined as the “federal” (“collective”)⁴¹⁰ sanctuary of the Lucanian *populus*.⁴¹¹ There are many

⁴¹⁰ As recently stressed by F. Senatore (Senatore 2004, 307-309), the definition “federal” is pretty ambiguous, since, in the political-constitutional field, this term is used to mean both “federal states” and “confederations of states.” Nevertheless, the definition “federal” is also used as referring to cult places of ancient Italy, mostly for populations who lived in “confederated” organizations. With regard to the use of the term referred to the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary, it is often used with its “extra-regional” meaning, as stressed by the scholars themselves who carried the research on the site (Adamesteanu and Dilthey 1992, 81).

⁴¹¹ See Bottini 1998, in particular 55-90: “[...] distinti dai centri abitati, questi luoghi di culto svolgevano sicuramente una importante funzione di raccordo sul piano sociale, economico e politico, tra le varie borgate e le singole fattorie sparse per tutto il territorio circostante [...] si viene così a creare [...] una gerarchia di luoghi di culto, da quelli domestici e di pertinenza vicano-paganica a quelli relativi a più comunità fino al santuario dell’intero *nomen*” [distinct from the inhabited centers, these religious places certainly carried out a role on a social, economic and political level as a unifying point for the various villages and farms spread in the territory all around [...] thus creating [...] a hierarchy of religious centres, from the local to those of the vicano-pagan type to those for several communities right up to the sanctuary for the entire *nomen*].

reasons for this notion, including the monumentality of the structures, the richness of the votive offerings found, its central position in the region, and finally, the long period for which it was in use well beyond the end of the third century B.C. (the period to which the end of many Lucanian sanctuaries is dated). Naturally, the existence of a religious centre common to the communities that inhabited the region would also mean the existence of a “common cult,” using an expression recently used by E. Isayev. Given the importance of these implications, it is worth dwelling on this interpretation of the Rossano complex, which is even today widely cited in publications on Lucanian sanctuaries. As will be discussed in detail in the second part of the dissertation, the complex underwent a series of significant monumental reconstructions from the end of the third century B.C. onwards, when the impending scenario for the rest of the cult places was very different. Along with the disappearance and decline of the fortified settlements between the beginning and end of the third century B.C., most religious places were abandoned or survived in a form that was “reduced” and at times hardly perceptible to the eyes of the archaeologist, with the singular exception of the Rossano sanctuary. Even the wealthy Armento sanctuary, despite being the subject of a monumental restructuring project during the third century B.C., started to decline from the middle of the century until it was abandoned at the end of the same century. The fate of the Armento sanctuary therefore makes the unusual situation of the Rossano sanctuary stand out even more clearly in the Lucanian contemporary panorama, especially as it was the only sanctuary that after the end of the third century had a flowering that had no parallel elsewhere. Although there are no doubts about the importance of the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary after the end of the third century, it is not clear whether the sanctuary had occupied the same role during the first half of the fourth

century B.C. and in the century that followed. The architectural structure tells us very little, as the ground plan of the fourth century layout is very difficult to reconstruct (Chapter II. 4. 1). Without doubt it must have been a fairly extensive sanctuary, probably divided among several terraces, but there is no hard evidence on which to base a reconstruction of the actual size of the complex during the fourth and third centuries B.C. Some additional information can, however, be obtained from an analysis of the votive offerings, although the original context of these items is just briefly indicated in the publications of the Adamesteanu excavations. In any case, the bulk of the terracotta votives can be dated to the fourth and third centuries B.C., while the much richer votives found (including marble statues and ornamental objects in precious metals, which are illustrated in the second part of the dissertation) date from a time period that stretches from the end of the third century B.C. to the first century A.D. The *anathemata* which distinguish Rossano from the panorama of other sacred Lucanian contexts, therefore, belong to what can be called the “Roman history” of the sanctuary and not the Lucanian one. This point is especially relevant as the uncommon richness of the votive offerings is one of the cornerstones of the theory used by scholars to support the idea that the sanctuary was one of the most important religious centres of the whole region.⁴¹²

In defining the territorial dimension of the Rossano sanctuary, another point to consider is its link with the surrounding settlements. According to D. Adamesteanu, the sanctuary was not connected to one specific settlement,⁴¹³ and other scholars have also adopted this position to

⁴¹² See Bottini 1987, 279-280.

⁴¹³ Adamesteanu 1987, 131: “il santuario, per quel che si conosce, non appare legato ad alcuno degli insediamenti indigeni della zona, bensì [...] sembra essere un santuario [...] che rappresentava i centri vicini, come quello di Serra di Vaglio, di Civita di Tricarico, di Torretta di Pietragalla, di Carpine di Cancellara” [the sanctuary, for what we know, does not seem linked with

support the theory that Rossano di Vaglio was the “collective” sanctuary of all Lucanian communities.⁴¹⁴ And yet this does not seem to provide valid elements to support a “federal” dimension for the sanctuary, as no definite documentation exists. In this regard, Rossano does not seem any different from the other sanctuaries in the region. In the process of defining the system of settlements in the territory, the sanctuaries were all located in a position such that they became a point of reference for all the surrounding territories and all the hilltop settlements dotted around them.

Obviously, the purpose of these considerations is not to deny that there was a differentiation within the Lucanian sanctuary network. Thanks to its particularly favourable geographical position in the region, Rossano, just like Armento, must certainly have had an extra-territorial function. This is also borne out by the size of the complex⁴¹⁵ and the relative wealth (especially in quantitative terms) of votive offerings (in particular imported marble statues) when compared with the much “poorer” Lucanian sanctuaries. In this respect, the presence of dedicatory inscriptions dated to the Lucanian phase is very meaningful, since no epigraphic document has been discovered in the other sacred places of the region. Nevertheless, an extra-territorial dimension for other, equally “rich” contexts cannot be excluded, such as, for example, Timmari (which is also, among others, at a point of fundamental convergence for relationships between the Lucanian territory, coastal *poleis* and Peucezia), or the Chiaromonte sanctuary, which has however only been partially studied. In conclusion, if a certain hierarchy among sacred places is undeniable on the basis of differences regarding their “wealth,” there does not seem to be sufficient proof to allow

any one of the native settlements in the zone, on the other hand [...] it seems to be a sanctuary [...] that represented the close by centres, such as Serra di Vaglio, Civita di Tricarico, Torretta di Pietragalla and Carpine di Cancellara].

⁴¹⁴ See Bottini 1988, 70. Marina Torelli, who has a different opinion, believes that the sanctuary originated at the same time as the settlement of Serra di Vaglio (Torelli M.R. 1990, 84).

⁴¹⁵ Nava and Cracolici 2005, 108.

us to identify the Rossano complex as the common sanctuary for the entire Lucanian people. This would have implications in the purely cultic sphere, as well as in the ethnic and political ones.

The data which have been collected and discussed in the previous four chapters enable us to proceed in the analysis of those transformations of the Lucanian world determined by the more and more increased presence of Rome in southern Italy, and the military and political conquest of the Lucanian territories, which become more “archaeologically visible” from the third century B.C. onwards. Given the role played by the sacred places and in general by religion in the ancient cultures, it goes without saying that such transformations are reflected in the changes which the sanctuaries undertook during this period. In this respect, the sacred places happen to be the privileged terrain for monitoring such multilevel change. In particular, only a full understanding of the role played by the sanctuaries for the Lucanian communities can help us to explain why it was the sanctuaries which “survived” far beyond the end of the third century B.C. in a landscape – post-Hannibalic Lucania – where the hill-top settlements disappeared and the rest of the territory was subject to profound settlement changes. And it is their crucial role which explains why – among other sanctuaries which continued to be frequented in the last two centuries of the previous millennium – just one religious complex, the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary, happened to experience a phase of monumentalization and enrichment which has no comparison in the rest of the region. The reason of this “choice,” mostly in relation with what has been said concerning the possible “collective” function of the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary, is discussed in the second part of the dissertation.

PART II

**UNDER THE SHADOW OF ROME:
BETWEEN THE END OF THE THIRD CENTURY B.C.
AND THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.**

CHAPTER V

THE ROMAN PENETRATION IN LUCANIA. IMPACT ON SETTLEMENT SYSTEM AND SANCTUARIES

*subigit omne Loucanam opsidisque
abdoucit
(CIL I, 7)*

My objective in the pages that follow is to explore the historical development which involved Lucanian territories and communities between the end of the third century B.C. and the Augustan age. As stated in the Introduction, the available data for Lucanian sanctuaries for the Augustan age are very scarce. Therefore, only a few details about the historical framework and the archaeological evidence referring to this period are provided. Conversely, a major focus is on the second century B.C. and first half of the first century B.C., and on the impact that the Roman conquest of the southern peninsula had on the socio-political organization and settlement pattern of the region, which affected also the network of sanctuaries as part of the settlement system. The chapter is organized in three main sections.

The first part provides a detailed account of the historical events which occurred in the southern Italy during the time under scrutiny. During these centuries, the region was directly involved in the Roman strategy of penetration into the southern peninsula, first by means of the *deductio* of Latin colonies, and then, after the second Punic war, by the politics of subjugation and expropriation of lands, which brought about the final disappearance of *Leukania* and the assimilation of the ancient region into the *Tota Italia* of Augustus.

This historical overview represents the necessary background to understand the settlement and socio-economic transformations which were determined by the new political situation in Lucania, which is the object of the second section of the chapter. The main sign of this renewed landscape was the disappearance of the hill-top settlements and the foundation of new “Roman” centers, as well as the contraction of most of the sanctuaries after the end of the third century B.C. The countryside, on the other hand, was transformed into a mainly rural land. Concomitantly, Lucanian society underwent a gradual change, whose most important symptom was the disappearance of the “intermediate” groups, the annihilation of the anti-Roman elites and the gradual moving of the philo-Roman leading groups toward the new-born centers of the region.

As part of the territorial, political and social organization of the Lucanian communities, the sanctuary-system of the region was affected by these transformations. Therefore, the third section of this chapter is devoted to exploring development and change of sanctuaries in the last two centuries B.C. In particular, three case-studies are considered, which can be regarded as exemplificative of different historical situations of the region.

The turning point of this process of political, economic, demographic, and cultural transformation which involved the Lucanian people, as well as all the populations which inhabited the southern peninsula, is certainly represented by the bloody events of the Hannibalic war and the consequences of the general defection by the Italic peoples from Rome after the battle of Cannae. It is undeniable, indeed, that the Lucanian communities underwent a phase of transformation which is clearly testified (as we shall see) by archaeological evidence.

As said in the introduction to this research, the last two centuries B.C. have been generally neglected in literature as a period of decadence for the

pre-Roman world. This view has influenced the scholarly approach to the historical and archaeological evidence about the last two centuries B.C. The general lack of interest for the later phases of Magno-Graecian world has its roots in the depiction of southern Italy as it is offered by ancient writers, which can be encapsulated in Cicero's famous statement⁴¹⁶ about the southern peninsula during his time: *Magnamque Graeciam, quae nunc quidem deleta est.*⁴¹⁷

This view was adopted in the most cited work by A. Toynbee, *Hannibal's Legacy*, whose reconstruction of the effects of the Hannibalic war on the fate of southern Italy seems now out dated. The revisionism of Toynbee's position is mostly based on the results of the recent archaeological investigations which have been carried out in the southern territories of Italy. Nevertheless, despite the fact that ancient historians and archaeologists have generally a more moderate view of this historical event and its impact on the southern regions (without denying, in any case, its basic significance for the fate of the Greek and indigenous populations which inhabited those territories),⁴¹⁸ in their publications they still make a premise concerning the debate which has been generated from the book by Toynbee and its analysis of the effects of the Hannibalic war on the fate of the southern Italy.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁶ Cicero, *Lael.*, 4, 13.

⁴¹⁷ G. Maddoli stresses that the denomination "Megale Hellàs"/Magna Graecia lost its real meaning after the Roman conquest of southern peninsula. So, speaking of "Roman Magna Graecia" has to be considered just a legitimized convention, which is still in use in modern historiography, but it is anachronistic (Maddoli 2005, 51).

⁴¹⁸ Lepore and Russi 1972-73, 1881-1949; Russi 1995; *Basilicata; Da Leukania a Lucania*; Lo Cascio and Storchi Marino 2001; Gualtieri 2003. On the other hand, some historians still share Toynbee's view: cf. Brizzi 2002, 77 (with previous bibliography), who – by re-assessing historical resources which he considers less "suspect" than Livy (for example Diodorus, Strabo, Appian, Polybius) – emphasizes that the devastating consequences of the Hannibalic war cannot be completely retrenched (cf. n. 9).

⁴¹⁹ Cf. the general observations by Goffredo (Goffredo 2008, 293-296), with special reference to the picture of post-Hannibalic Daunia.

Only recent studies have paid attention to this crucial period, reevaluating it as a moment of change rather than decline. In particular, archaeological investigations have provided new information about the late Republican centuries in the area under study, revealing a complex and articulated process of transformation. Beyond the homogeneous picture of the Italian regions under Roman power, it is possible to detect different types and levels of evolution for the diverse regions or, as in the case under consideration, for different areas of the regions.⁴²⁰

The most important result that emerges from the following analysis is that it is not possible to trace a unique pattern of evolution for all of Lucania, because the historical development of the areas and districts of the region was multiple and differentiated. This diversity can be attributed to various factors, such as proximity to the Latin colonies or to the new extensive road-system which was laid out during this period by Romans. This heterogeneous picture is epitomized by the diverse fate of the sanctuaries, some of which contracted and were finally abandoned, others continued to be used after a period of contraction, while just one (the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary) flourished during this time.

⁴²⁰ Different outcomes of the Roman penetration into the southern regions are attested all over Italy. In particular, the archaeological research which has been recently carried out in neighboring Daunia has revealed a similar heterogeneous picture. In order to illustrate this phenomenon, it is sufficient to mention the results of archaeological investigations which have been recently summarized and discussed by R. Goffredo (Goffredo 2008, 287-293). Whereas in the Ofanto district the archaeological evidence reveals continuity not only regarding the inhabited areas, but also for the system of land-organization and land-use, a different situation is detectable in the Venusia and Brudisium territories, where the impact of the Roman penetration accelerated a process of transformation which had started earlier. In the territory of Venusia, the *deductio* of the Latin colony strongly affected the economic and settlement organization of the area, and the major effect of that event was the abandonment of the Oscan-speaking areas (only for 6% of the identified sites is a continuity of occupation registered). In the Brundisium area the situation is similar to that of Venusia, since the archeological research has revealed, for the period running from the mid-third century B.C. to the beginning of the following century, an evident *caesura* which is reflected in the contraction of the population which inhabited the fortified centers and the surrounding countryside.

V. 1 ~ Historical framework: from *Leukania* to *Regio III*

As premise to the following historical account, it seems appropriate to point out that the historical sources available for the period from the end of the fourth century B.C. to the early Imperial age are exclusively Roman, while the Lucanians continue to remain silent as do all the indigenous populations involved in the process of Roman conquest and colonization. Furthermore, it seems appropriate to mention some events which happened during the fourth century B.C., because it is in that century that Rome started to influence the history of the Greek and indigenous populations of southern Italy.

The first time the Romans made their appearance within the Lucanian scenario is in 326 B.C., when Livy – writing about the Roman control of the roads to Apulia - dates a sort of “alliance” between Lucanians and Romans.⁴²¹ This agreement did not last for a long time, since, as Livy explains, the Lucanians betrayed their accord with the Romans.⁴²² This treaty paradoxically represented the starting point for a period of hostility between Romans and Lucanians. In another passage, Livy mentions that, in 317 B.C., *Apulia perdomita - nam Forento quoque, ualido oppido, Iunius potitus erat* – [the Romans] *in Lucanos perrectum; inde repentino aduentu Aemili consulis Nerulum* [namely as far as the very heart of ancient region, in the Thurian territory].⁴²³ As A. Russi points out, even if this event cannot be considered a Roman conquest of the region, it reflects the modalities in which the Romans started to enter into contact with the southern peninsula by the end of the fourth century B.C., with some sporadic penetration.⁴²⁴

⁴²¹ Livy VIII 25, 3; 27, 2 f.

⁴²² Cappelletti 2005, 82-83.

⁴²³ Livy IX 20, 9: after Apulia had been thoroughly subdued —for Forentum, a strong town, had also fallen into the hands of Junius —the campaign was extended to the Lucanians, from whom, on the sudden arrival of Aemilius the consul, Nerulum was taken by assault.

⁴²⁴ Russi 1999.

The years between the end of the fourth century B.C. and the beginning of the Punic wars are marked by an alternation of alliances and hostilities between the Lucanians and the Romans. In 304 B.C., when the second Samnite war was coming to an end with a Roman victory, ancient sources record a period of tranquility between Lucanians and Romans, probably in connection with Roman hostility directed at Tarentum.⁴²⁵ In another passage by Livy,⁴²⁶ a sort of alliance between Lucanians and Romans is dated to 298 B.C., which resulted from the fact that the Lucanians had asked for Roman protection against the Samnites.⁴²⁷ As Livy relates, the Samnites tried to found a *societas armorum* together with the Lucanians,⁴²⁸ but since the Lucanians refused this proposal of alliance, the Samnites subsequently invaded Lucania. For this reason, the Lucanians asked Rome for protection, regretting their previous hostility against Rome.⁴²⁹ According to Livy, despite this treaty, just two years later, *Uolumnius [...] Lucanorum seditioes a plebeiis et egentibus ducibus ortas*

⁴²⁵ Diodorus Siculus XX, 104,1.

⁴²⁶ Livy X 11, 11-13; 12, 1-3.

⁴²⁷ Another point of view in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*exc.* XVII-XVIII 1), who identifies the real reason of the third Samnite war in the Roman concern for the spread of Samnite power (Cappelletti 2005, 107).

⁴²⁸ Livy X, 11, 12.

⁴²⁹ Livy X, 11, 11-13: *principio huius anni oratores Lucanorum ad novos consules uenerunt questum, quia condicionibus perlicere se nequiuissent ad societatem armorum, Samnites infesto exercitu ingressos fines suos uastare belloque ad bellum cogere. Lucano populo satis superque erratum quondam: nunc ita obstinatos animos esse ut omnia ferre ac pati tolerabilius ducant quam ut unquam postea nomen Romanum uiolent. Orare patres ut et Lucanos in fidem accipiant et uim atque iniuriam ab se Samnitium arceant; se, quamquam bello cum Samnitibus suscepto necessaria iam facta aduersus Romanos fides sit, tamen obsides dare paratos esse* [in the beginning of this year Lucanian envoys came to the new consuls to complain that the Samnites, since they had been unable by offering inducements to entice them into an armed alliance, had invaded their territories with a hostile army and by warring on them were obliging them to go to war. The people of Lucania, they said, had on a former occasion strayed all too far from the path of duty, but were now so resolute as to deem it better to endure and suffer anything than ever again to offend the Romans. They besought the Fathers both to take the Lucanians under their protection and to defend them from the violence and oppression of the Samnites. Though their having gone to war with the Etruscans was necessarily a pledge of loyalty to the Romans, yet they were none the less ready to give hostages] (English translation by D. Spillan and C. Edmonds, London, Henry G. Bohn, John Child and son, printers, 1849).

*summa optimatum uoluntate per Q. Fabium, pro consule missum eo cum uetere exercitu, compresserat.*⁴³⁰

An epigraphic document, the *elogium* of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus,⁴³¹ testifies to the final subjugation of the entire region by the Romans.⁴³² Furthermore, it is in this historical context that the foundation of the Latin colony of Venusia in 291 B.C. has to be framed, an event which had a strong impact on the historical events of the Apulian and Lucanian territories.

The years succeeding the Samnite war were characterized by the expansionistic pressure of the Italic peoples, who started to move against the Greek colonies. These events represented further opportunity for Rome to increase its presence in the southern peninsula. Thus, in 285 B.C. when the Lucanians attacked Thurii, the Greek city asked for protection from Rome.⁴³³ At the end of these events, Lucanians, Samnites and Brettians were defeated by C. Fabricius Luscinus in 282 B.C. Subsequently, during the *bellum Tarentinum*, the Lucanians sided with Pyrrhus against Rome.⁴³⁴ It was in Lucania (at Heracleia) that the Aemilius Barbula's famous victory took place in 281 B.C.⁴³⁵ Furthermore, during this period (278-272 B.C.), the *Fasti Triumphales (de Lucaneis)* register other Roman victories over the

⁴³⁰ Livy X, 18, 8: Volumnius [...], dispatching Quintus Fabius as proconsul with a seasoned army into Lucania, had suppressed —with the hearty approval of the *optimates*— certain insurrections of the Lucanians which had broken out there at the instigation of necessitous plebeian agitators (English translation by D. Spillan and C. Edmonds, London, Henry G. Bohn, John Child and son, printers, 1849).

⁴³¹ *CIL* I, 7.

⁴³² This text is probably contemporaneous to the events mentioned. The text was written at the end of third century B.C. (200-191 B.C.) and it can be interpreted as a reproduction of the original speech in praise of Scipio Barbatus in 270 B.C., which was preserved in the archives of Barbatus' family. Cf. La Regina 1968. About the text, see: La Regina 1989, 389-390; Salmon 1995, 275-276; Tagliamonte 1996, 146-147.

⁴³³ Livy, *Per.* XI.

⁴³⁴ Dionysius of Halicarnassus XIX 6,2; 9,2; Plutarch, *Pyrr.*, XIII, 8; Iustinus XVIII 1,1; Florus I, 13, 1. On these sources, see Cappelletti 2005, 116 f.

⁴³⁵ Zonara VIII, 3; Plutarch, *Pyrrh.*, XVI, 5. According to Florus (I, 13, 7), this battle took place at Heraclea in Campania, along the Liri river (which the writer confuses with the Siri river).

Lucanians.⁴³⁶ As referred to by Florus, the balance of the *bellum Tarentinum* was very advantageous for Rome, which subjugated (in only four years) *maximam partem Italiae, fortissimas gentes, opulentissimas urbes uberrissimasque regions*.⁴³⁷ Among the prisoners who were taken to Rome were also some Brettians and Lucanians.⁴³⁸ The epilogue of this war was the foundation of the Latin colony of Paestum in 273 B.C.⁴³⁹

Little information exists about the years immediately succeeding the foundation of Paestum. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the Lucanians became *socii* and were therefore allies of the Romans until the second Punic war (219-202 B.C.). The Hannibalic war represented a turning point for the history of the indigenous population of southern Italy. At the beginning of the war in 218 B.C., Lucanians and Brettians, as *socii*, sided with the Romans.⁴⁴⁰ But after the battle of Cannae in 216 B.C.,⁴⁴¹ in which the Carthaginians defeated Rome, the Lucanians, as well as all the other Italic populations, fought on the side of Hannibal (according to Livy,⁴⁴² the Lucanians *defecere ...ad Poenos*). Hannibal willingly encouraged the defections of the *socii italici* from Rome, because he was aware he could not count on the Greek colonies.⁴⁴³

From the battle of Cannae to the final defeat of Hannibal in 206 B.C., the Lucanian territories were directly involved in the military actions

⁴³⁶ *CIL* I², 46.

⁴³⁷ Florus I, 13, 23-25: the major part of Italy, strongest populations, richest cities and most fertile regions.

⁴³⁸ Florus I, 13, 26-27.

⁴³⁹ Livy, *Per.*, XIV. Cf. also Velleius Paterculus I, 14, 7. About the foundation of this colony and the confiscation of the territory northward the city (which was later known as *ager Picentinus*), cf. Catalano 1979, 121-122; Russi 1995, 7-8; Mele 1996a, 19; Mele 1996b, 70.

⁴⁴⁰ Silius Italicus VIII, 568-572.

⁴⁴¹ On the battle of Cannae and written sources about it, cf. Seibert 1993, 191-198.

⁴⁴² Livy XXII, 61, 11.

⁴⁴³ Polybius III 77, 3; 84, 14; 85, 3; 118, 2; Livy XXII 7, 5; 58, 1-2; 61, 1-2. About Lucanians' defection, see in particular Livy XXII 61, 11; XXIII 11, 11; XXV 16, 5; Appian, *Hannib.*, XXXV, 150-151; Cato, Fr. 126 Peter, HRR2I, 94.

of the Punic war.⁴⁴⁴ In 209 B.C., Rome was able yet again to control the Brettian and Lucanian territories. Therefore, Brettians and Lucanians officially surrendered to the Romans, after almost a decade in which they had preferred to side with Hannibal.⁴⁴⁵ After Hannibal's defeat by the Romans, the *populares'* hope of freedom from Rome collapsed and the philo-Roman groups started to control again the political scenario. In 206 B.C., the last communities, which had continued to resist Rome, had to capitulate.⁴⁴⁶

At the end of the war, when Rome took possession of all the Lucanian territory,⁴⁴⁷ the political status of the Italic communities radically changed, and the *foedera aequa* which Rome stipulated with the Italics lost their validity. Of course, one of the main reasons of this shift was the Italics' defection from Rome during the Hannibalic war. When Hannibal left the peninsula in 203 B.C., the consul Cn. Servilius Cepio, together with the *magister equitum* M. Servilius Geminus, was sent by the Senate to the southern regions of Italy, in order to punish the populations who were originally allies with Rome, but successively passed to the enemy.⁴⁴⁸ As attested by Livy, despite the consul Q. Fulvius Flaccus' clemency, the Roman attitude towards the Lucanians was most severe,⁴⁴⁹ and again in 200

⁴⁴⁴ As stressed by E. Lepore, Lucania was always involved in the military actions of the Hannibalic war, since it was a crossroad among Bruttium, Campania, Samnium and Apulia (Lepore and Russi 1972-73, 1887). On 211 B.C., for example, Livy (XXVI, 5, 1-4) refers to that Lucania was entirely in Hannibal's hands, and Appian (*Hannib.*, XLIII, 185) records that Hannibal spent the 211-210 B.C. winter in Lucania. Furthermore, in 209-208 B.C. Hannibal spent another winter in Lucania, in Metapontum (Livy XXVII 16, 11-16 and 25, 12-13), probably in order to prevent the Romans (who had already conquered Tarentum in 209 B.C.) from seizing all the Italiote cities on the Ionian sea.

⁴⁴⁵ Magaldi 1947, 165-166; Catalano 1979, 139-140; Russi 1995, 16-17.

⁴⁴⁶ Livy XXVIII 11, 15: *...Inde in Lucanos profecti; ea sine certamine tota gens indicionem populi Romani rediit* [thence the consuls set out for Lucania. That entire nation returned without a struggle to its allegiance to the Roman people] (English translation by D. Spillan and C. Edmonds, London, Henry G. Bohn, John Child and son, printers, 1849).

⁴⁴⁷ Livy XXVIII 11, 15.

⁴⁴⁸ Livy XXX 24, 1-4.

⁴⁴⁹ Cf. Russi 1999, 505

B.C. the Lucanians appear to have been conspiring against Rome.⁴⁵⁰ The main effect of these decisions was the expropriation of huge parts of the Lucanian territory, which was transformed into *ager publicus populi Romani*.⁴⁵¹ Beyond this reference to the Punic war and its immediate consequences, written sources do not provide us with further important information about the Lucanians, and the ancient historians start to mention the region only in reference to the Social war.⁴⁵²

There is no need to outline the main events which brought about the Social War (91-87 B.C.). It is sufficient to remember that the Lucanians were among the main rebels against Rome, together with the Picentes, Marsi, Samnites, and some cities in Campania. After the Social War, and in particular after the *Lex Iulia de civitate*, by which all the populations who remained loyal towards Rome were granted Roman citizenship, and the *Lex Plautia Papiria*, which conceded Roman citizenship to all the Latin or allied cities who regarded with the *praetor* within sixty days, the assimilation of the Lucanian communities to Rome can be said to be completed. Just a few decades later, the region was transformed, together with Bruttium, into the *Regio III*, within Augustus' *Tota Italia*,⁴⁵³ losing forever its original cultural and political physiognomy.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵⁰ Livy XXVII 15, 2-3.

⁴⁵¹ The first mention of Roman expropriation of Lucanian lands is in Livy XXXI 12, 7 and XXXI 4, 1-3, where he records a distribution of lands to Scipio's veterans in the *ager Samnis Apulusque, quod eius populi Romani esset* [lands in Samnium and Apulia as were the public property of this the Roman people].

⁴⁵² Livy, *Per.*, LXXVII.

⁴⁵³ Pliny, *N.H.*, III, 46.

⁴⁵⁴ The unification of the two regions reflects the ancient union of the two areas before the separation of Bruttium from Lucania, which is described in the written sources as secession. As E. Lepore points out, it is very meaningful that the two territories were distinguished in the Augustan layout of the peninsula "conformemente alla evoluzione storica che è avvenuta nel frattempo"[following the historical evolution which took place in the meanwhile] (Lepore 1975, 49).

V. 2 ~ Settlement and socio-economic change

With the Roman penetration into Lucania, the original settlement pattern of the region was gradually replaced by new types of territorial organization. Thus, the region was transformed into a landscape populated by Latin colonies and *municipia*, with the surrounding rural territory used for agricultural estate and sheep-farming. The previous Lucanian centers disappeared, and most of the sanctuaries contracted. As M. Gualtieri has recently stressed, despite these transformations the region kept, not only during the late Republican age, but during the entire range of its ancient history, the appearance of a “rural” territory, with a restricted number of urban centers which were located in the periphery of the region itself. This is especially evident in the location of the two *coloniae* which were founded at the beginning of the third century B.C.,⁴⁵⁵ Paestum and Venusia, both situated at the borders of the region, and from the transformation of the territory into rural areas, as can be reconstructed from the archaeological evidence.

In the following section, the gradual transformation of the settlement pattern of ancient Lucania is considered, in reference to inhabited areas. Special focus is given to those areas which are more fully investigated, and can be thus considered as a model in order to monitor and interpret the same process in other areas of the region. The first part of this section discusses the impact of the appearance of new centers on the surrounding territory. Of course, this thesis is not the forum for a full discussion on the urban and architectural aspects of this issue, which are therefore neglected, while special attention is paid to those data which are useful for the subsequent analysis of the sanctuaries (Chapters V. 3 and VI). Whereas the area in which Venusia is located has been not considered in this research as

⁴⁵⁵ Gualtieri 2003, 15.

part of ancient Lucania (cf. Chapter I. 2), this section will touch upon this region, since it is useful to understand how the foundation of the Latin colonies affected the organization of the surrounding territory. Furthermore, the proximity to the site of Bantia, in which a cult place was created according to Roman models, makes this area a particularly telling case-study from a methodological perspective.

The second part of this section is devoted to another important sign of settlement transformation, namely the disappearance of the hill-top fortified settlements which were the most distinctive element of the Lucanian landscape.

Finally, the social and economic changes which were determined by the novel political status of the region will be discussed. Understanding the new social mechanisms of Lucanian communities is crucial in order to comprehend the transformations which occurred in the settlement pattern of the region, and in particular in the cult places which are analyzed in the last part of the chapter and in Chapter VI.

V. 2. 1 ~ New political-institutional set-up of the region

Latin colonization represents one of the most valuable Roman instruments of penetration and progressive conquest of the Italian regions, and is a major vehicle of Roman cultural, political and economic models in the Romanized territories.

Two *coloniae* were founded in the territory under scrutiny in the first half of the third century B.C., both of them located at the very peripheral boundaries of the respective regions. Paestum, in fact, is situated at the north-western limit of the region, and Venusia was founded at its north-eastern limit. These foundations can be framed in the wider context of the progressive Roman expansion into the southern peninsula in the aftermath of the Samnite wars. Therefore, as well as Luceria (314 B.C.), Beneventum

(268 B.C.), Aesernia (265 B.C.) and Brundisium (243 B.C.), Venusia and Paestum happen to be part of a “chain of outposts”⁴⁵⁶ which constituted an instrument of military and political expansion. Furthermore, in the confiscated lands of the region, not only did the Romans found their colonies (such as Paestum itself), but also it is in these areas that the assignments of land to veterans occurred. To these divisions, the creation of the *praefecturae*⁴⁵⁷ has to be attributed, which are mentioned by the *Liber Coloniarum* (I, 209 L) for Lucania: Atina, Consilinum, Grumentum,⁴⁵⁸ Potentia, Tegianum, and Volcei.⁴⁵⁹

The *deductio* of Paestum in 273 B.C. assured the Roman presence in Magna-Graecia, replacing one of the most ancient and important centers of the Greek and Lucanian past of the southern peninsula with new Roman entities. The impact that the foundation of Paestum had on the surrounding territory was very strong, for example, in the extensively explored Mingardo-Bussento district, where the two Lucanian centers of Roccagloriosa and Caselle in Pittari experienced a contraction as a result of the Roman confiscation of lands after the colonial foundation. Furthermore, the site of Roccagloriosa provides us with a model which illustrates the process of progressive depopulation of the Lucanian centers which was also caused by the movement of the Lucanian philo-Roman leading groups towards the Latin colonies (in this instance Paestum). This phenomenon,

⁴⁵⁶ Marchi, Sabbatini, Salvatore 1990, 11.

⁴⁵⁷ The cities of the region which are referred to as *praefecturae* in the *Liber Coloniarum* became Roman cities just after the Social war, so that the term *praefectura* plausibly refers to a type of administration of the territory which was confiscated to the cities themselves (Lepore and Russi 1972-73, 1892; Russi 1999, 513). These cities should have preserved the status of *civitates foederatae*, with a *praefectus* for each of them (Russi 1999, 514; Gualtieri 2003, 96; Coarelli 1992, 29-30).

⁴⁵⁸ An important volume which collects a number of pieces of research on Roman Grumentum has been recently published (Mastrocinque A. (ed.), *Grumentum Romana*, Convegno di studi, Grumento Nova (Potenza), Salone del Castello Sanseverino (28-29 giugno 2008), Moliterno 2009).

⁴⁵⁹ Torelli 1993, XVII.

which by analogy can be applied to other districts of the region, is mainly documented by a *caesura* in the funerary evidence from the area.⁴⁶⁰

On the other border of the region, Venusia was founded in 291 B.C. The geographical location of this colony is fundamental for our understanding of the Roman politics of penetration into the Italic regions. For example, Venusia was located at a strategic point of connection between different areas of the southern peninsula, at the junction of important communication routes which connected the Tyrrhenian coast with northern and eastern Lucania, the Ofantine territory, the Daunian area, and the route to Tarentum. Therefore, the earlier colonization and the transformation of the surrounding territory in the aftermath of the colonial foundation made use of such routes, which were successively set up and constructed as public roads during the Republican and the Imperial ages. As is also the case for Paestum, the impact of the foundation of Venusia on the surrounding territory is particularly important in the attempt to understand the mechanisms of the Roman conquest of Italy and the consequent reaction of the neighboring communities. In order to illustrate this impact, the nearby center of Bantia,⁴⁶¹ which housed, during the fourth century B.C., a cult place located in località Fontana dei Monaci, deserves particular attention in the context of this work.⁴⁶² The discovery of a *templum augurale* at Bantia testifies to the adoption of Roman cultural forms by the local communities somewhat earlier than their formal transformation into *municipia* in the aftermath of the Social war.⁴⁶³ This point is discussed in detail in Chapter V. 3. 2.

⁴⁶⁰ *Roccagloriosa II*; more recently, with a special focus on the connection of this phenomenon with the foundation of Paestum, Gualtieri 2003, 20-21.

⁴⁶¹ This site has not been considered in the previous section of this work since it belongs, as well as Venusia, to the Apulian culture: Bottini A., *BTCGI*, III, 1984, 392, s.v. Banzi.

⁴⁶² Masseria 1999, 460-490.

⁴⁶³ Gualtieri 2003, 91.

Turning now to the internal part of Lucania, the situation appears much differentiated. For the purpose of this research, it is sufficient to mention two areas where Roman centers were founded. First, the area of Grumentum is worth mentioning, which, during the first half of the third century B.C., underwent a significant transformation of the settlement organization. The surrounding territory, which was populated by rural villages and extra-urban sanctuaries from the mid-fourth century B.C., was re-organized as an urban lowland center. As stressed by L. Giardino,⁴⁶⁴ Grumentum reflects a phenomenon which is completely different from what happened in the other districts of Lucania, where the hill-top settlements declined and then disappeared. Conversely, the model of development for the Grumentum area is very similar to those parts of the region where Latin colonies were founded. In these parts of the region, indeed, the rural territory tended to be depopulated, while a strong increase in population is registered in the new-born Roman cities. The foundation of Grumentum reflects a single strategy of using the surrounding territory and its potential. This is clearly reflected in the strategic location in which the new built-up area is located, at the confluence of four communication routes.⁴⁶⁵ The reasons for the choice of such a location lie in the new organization of the territory at the beginning of the third century B.C., as consequence of the abandonment of the indigenous settlements, and in consequence of the foundation of Paestum and Venusia.⁴⁶⁶

Finally, the *Liber Coloniarum* mentions Potentia as one of the *praefecturae* of ancient Lucania, which was likely created in order to administer the confiscated *ager publicus* in this area. In reality, very little is

⁴⁶⁴ Giardino 1993, 92.

⁴⁶⁵ Buck 1971, 66 f.; Giardino 1983, 195 f.

⁴⁶⁶ Giardino 1993, 92.

known about this *praefectura Potentina*,⁴⁶⁷ and its dating is still debated.⁴⁶⁸ Most historians and archeologists are inclined to date its creation to the second century B.C.,⁴⁶⁹ and consider it to be the outcome of a transformation process which involved the entire district, the most visible sign of which was the disappearance of the hill-top settlement of Serra di Vaglio⁴⁷⁰ (cf. Chapter IV. 3. 3). The written sources which first provide us with more consistent information about Potentia are dated to the late Republican era, when the epigraphic documents mention the *municipium* of Potentia,⁴⁷¹ which probably came to enclose the territory of the pre-existing *praefectura*.⁴⁷² The exact boundaries and size of Potentia, as well as the layout of the city, are still unknown, since most of the material evidence which has been discovered in the area of the modern city consists of epigraphic documents, and ancient Potentia lies right under the modern center.⁴⁷³

As is evident from this short overview, in which just a few places have been mentioned, new centers gradually made their appearance in

⁴⁶⁷ Campbell 2000, 164.

⁴⁶⁸ The literary, epigraphic and archaeological sources dealing with Potentia are discussed in a recent monograph volume on this center: Di Noia 2008.

⁴⁶⁹ In this case, Potentia should have acquired the status of *civitas foederata* because it probably did not side with Hannibal during the Second Punic war (cf. Russi 1999, 510-511). Nevertheless, M. Torelli dates the creation of this *praefectura* to the period succeeding the war against Tarentum (Torelli 1993, XVII), while other scholarship dates the creation of Potentia to the Gracchan era (Fraschetti 1981, 201-212). A discussion about the chronology of the *praefectura Potentina* is found in Di Noia 2008, 29.

⁴⁷⁰ It is plausible to argue that Potentia acquired the political role which was played by Serra di Vaglio in the Lucanian era (cf. Terrenato N., in *Da Leukania a Lucania*, 92). This opinion was already expressed by M. Napoli, who defined Serra di Vaglio as “Potentia lucana:” according to this interpretation, Potentia was founded soon after the destruction of Serra di Vaglio by Romans’ hand (Napoli M., in *Atti Taranto* 1961, 207). Nevertheless, I am prone to agree with F. Senatore (Senatore 2004, 304, n. 6), who doubts that the two events were connected, since Potentia was surely founded much later than the destruction of Serra di Vaglio. Some scholars, on the contrary, argue that the role which was originally played by Serra di Vaglio in the Potentino area was later acquired by the nearby settlement of Civita di Tricarico (Barra Bagnasco 1999, 119, n. 3; Gualtieri 2003, 96).

⁴⁷¹ *CIL* X, 23.

⁴⁷² Bracco 1962, 443.

⁴⁷³ Di Noia 2008, 33-58.

Lucania. Only a few of them are archaeologically known, while most of them are attested only by written sources. These centers became the new political and administrative points of reference of the region, where the elites moved in order to exercise their power together with the new Roman ruling classes. Since the Lucanian centers of the region, namely the hill-top settlements which populated the previous landscape, disappeared, the surrounding countryside was gradually transformed into a merely “rural” territory.

V. 2. 2 ~ The disappearance of the Lucanian hill-top settlements and the “ruralization” of the territory

From the end of the third century B.C. onwards, the archaeological evidence reveals that the Lucanian settlement system experienced a remarkable contraction. This transformation is mostly evident *ex negativo*, as the fortified settlements of the region declined and were finally abandoned, while the surrounding territory underwent transformations which reflect a change in the use of the agricultural lands.

Whereas some of the Lucanian settlements were abandoned in connection with the Phyrric war, most of them were definitely abandoned concomitantly with the events of the second Punic war. Centers such as Serra di Vaglio⁴⁷⁴ and Garaguso⁴⁷⁵ both disappeared by the middle of the third century B.C., while others, such as Roscigno,⁴⁷⁶ Laos⁴⁷⁷ and Roccagloriosa,⁴⁷⁸ were abandoned at the end of that century. In this scenario, a major exception is constituted by Civita di Tricarico, which is the only case of continuity of inhabited settlement in post-Hannibalic age in this district (it survived at least until the first century B.C.). This site will be

⁴⁷⁴ Greco G. 1980, 378.

⁴⁷⁵ Morel 1974, 392.

⁴⁷⁶ Cipriani *et al.* 1996, 27-29.

⁴⁷⁷ Greco and Schnapp 1989, 52.

⁴⁷⁸ Gualtieri 1993, 61.

also considered in the section dedicated to the Lucanian sanctuaries in the aftermath of the Hannibalic war.

As the results of the archaeological explorations carried out on the site by O. De Cazanove show, the Civita di Tricarico settlement presents numerous phases of occupation, and – what is important for our discussion – not only did it survive the contraction which followed the Hannibalic age, but it also underwent a progressive adaptation to Roman urban and architectural models. This site, which is also one of the few systematically explored fortified settlements of the region, is located in the Potentino area, between the Bradano and Basento rivers. Born in the second half of the fourth century B.C., the settlement is endowed with two concentric circuit walls, the interior of which encloses the upper part of the plateau (4 ha *ca.*, while the entire settlement area is 47 ha *ca.*⁴⁷⁹). The *intra-muros* area was densely occupied, until the end of the fourth century B.C.⁴⁸⁰ with *pastas* houses, and with bigger and more lavish peristyle residences during the phase from the end of the fourth century B.C. to the mid-third century B.C. After this time, a third wall was built between the two pre-existing circuit walls, enclosing an area of 19 ha *ca.*,⁴⁸¹ while the remaining settlement was almost abandoned. The most evident change in the settlement pattern of the site is registered after the the end of the third century B.C., when occupation and activity of the site were finally concentrated in the upper part of the hill, the so-called “acropolis” (**Fig. V-1**). Here, new buildings

⁴⁷⁹ De Cazanove 2001a, 169-202; more recently, *Civita di Tricarico I*.

⁴⁸⁰ De Cazanove 2009, 170-174.

⁴⁸¹ The dating of this circuit wall is quite problematic. It has to be placed between the end of the first Punic war and the Hannibalic war. Of course, as O. De Cazanove points out (De Cazanove 2001a, 180-181), if the middle fortification of Civita di Tricarico has to be dated to 216 B.C. or the following years, when the allies defected to the Carthaginians after the battle of Cannae, this wall can be interpreted as an anti-Roman defense instrument. Otherwise, if it is earlier, it can be probably considered as a form of control by Rome. In any case, it is important to note that the building techniques of the latest circuit wall as well as its layout (with a courtyard gate and an *agger*) follow Roman models, thus testifying to the progressive influence of Roman cultural models on the Lucanian communities.

were erected during this period: a small temple on a podium of Etrusco-Italic tradition (which will be described in detail in the next section) and – at *ca.* 9 meters from the temple – a typical Roman *domus*, which is developed along the *fauces-atrium* axis, and includes an *impluvium* and *tablinum*.⁴⁸² The two buildings – *domus* and Etrusco-Italic temple – give the upper terrace of Piano della Civita the appearance of a typical Roman *arx*, and testify to the assimilation of Roman cultural models by Lucanian communities⁴⁸³ (**Fig. V-2**).



Figure V-1. Civita di Tricarico: the hill-top settlement

⁴⁸² De Cazanove 1996a, 474-477; De Cazanove 1996c, 200-210; De Cazanove 2001a, 169-202; De Cazanove 2002a; an overview of the excavations carried on the so-called “acropolis” is in *Civita di Tricarico I*, 14-16.

⁴⁸³ De Cazanove 2001a, 196-197. The impact of the Roman cultural sphere on Civita di Tricarico is corroborated by an inscription in Latin alphabet, which can be dated either to the last decades of the third century B.C. or to the second century B.C. (Nava M.L., in *Atti Taranto* 1998, 708-709, pl. XC). It is an inscription written on a clay column shaft (a support of a *louterion*) found in the filling of a square room, which was built in proximity to a ruined segment of the fortification wall of the so-called “acropolis.” This inscription mentions two persons, whose *praenomina* and *nomina* are recorded.

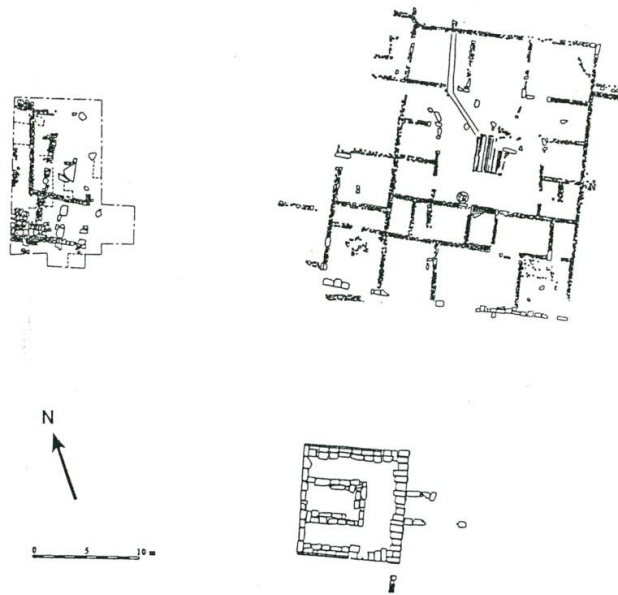


Figure V-2. Civita di Tricarico: plan of the so-called *acropolis*

Other fortified hill-top centers experienced another type of fate, and were affected by the process of transformation which involved the agricultural territory of the region (also discussed in this section). In this respect, the recently investigated site of Cersosimo,⁴⁸⁴ in the south-western Lucania, deserves particular attention. At this site, a domestic complex has been explored, one which was subjected to a number of rebuilding activities which epitomize the process of “ruralization” of the regional territory. An “aristocratic” peristyle habitation which is dated between the end of the fourth century B.C. and the end of the following century provides the evidence for the process of ruralization which has been mentioned (**Fig. V-3a**).⁴⁸⁵ Towards the end of the third century B.C. the peristyle house seems to have been either abandoned or destroyed, but on the collapse levels of

⁴⁸⁴ The settlement is located on the top of a hill (named “Castello”), and was bounded by an irregularly square circuit wall. Cf. Cossalter and De Faveri 2009, 143-146, with bibliography.

⁴⁸⁵ Cossalter and De Faveri 2006, 165-194; Cossalter and De Faveri 2009, 146-152. The monumentality of this complex fits the exigencies of self-representation of the emerging groups of the Lucanian society, according to schemes which are well known from other investigated fortified settlements, such as Roccagloriosa (cf. Chapter I. 7).

the ruined structure, a new domestic complex was built during the early decades of the second century B.C. (**Fig. V-3b**). The organization of the space, and consequently the function itself of the new complex, appear now radically different. The building was transformed into a sort of farm.⁴⁸⁶ The transformation of the intra-mural area of the hill-top settlement is even more evident if one considers that the circuit wall of the Lucanian settlement was no longer functioning when the new productive complex was built. This is indicated by the fact that the main entrance of the new complex was located on its eastern side, while the previous building was entered by the western side, which connected – practically and symbolically – the building itself with the south-western monumental gate of the circuit wall.⁴⁸⁷

The “decommissioning” of the fortification wall is therefore a further datum that corroborates the picture of transformation of the settlement pattern of Lucania which is the object of this section, since it gives an idea of the definitive disappearance of the Lucanian centers or their absorption into the more and more “rural” landscape.

⁴⁸⁶ The abandonment of the ruined complex is dated to the end of the third century B.C., while it is possible to date the construction of the new domestic building between the end of the third century and the beginning of the second century B.C. It has the appearance of a productive structure which is endowed with rooms for the preservation of food-stuffs, and a productive sector, with a kiln to produce domestic-use pottery. Generally speaking, this new structure does not have the elegance and monumentality which characterized the earlier complex, but now appears as a rustic villa. Furthermore, the separation of the residential structures from the productive ones was marked by the different elevation of the floors, which reflects a new concept of the inhabited space. Cf. Cossalter and De Faveri 2006, 169-175; 184-189; 192-193; Cossalter and De Faveri 2009, 153-157.

⁴⁸⁷ Cossalter and De Faveri 2006, 186; Cossalter and De Faveri 2009, 154.

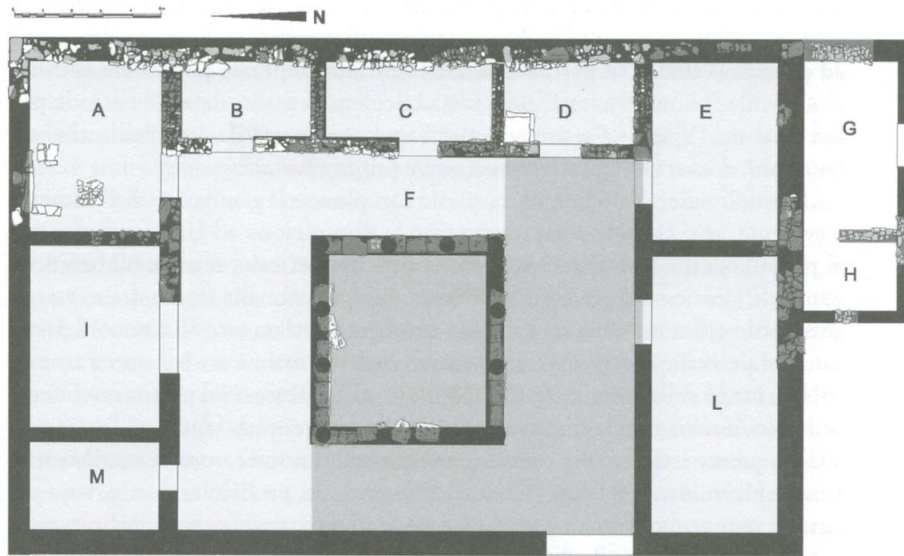


Figure V-3a. Cersosimo residential complex: first building phase

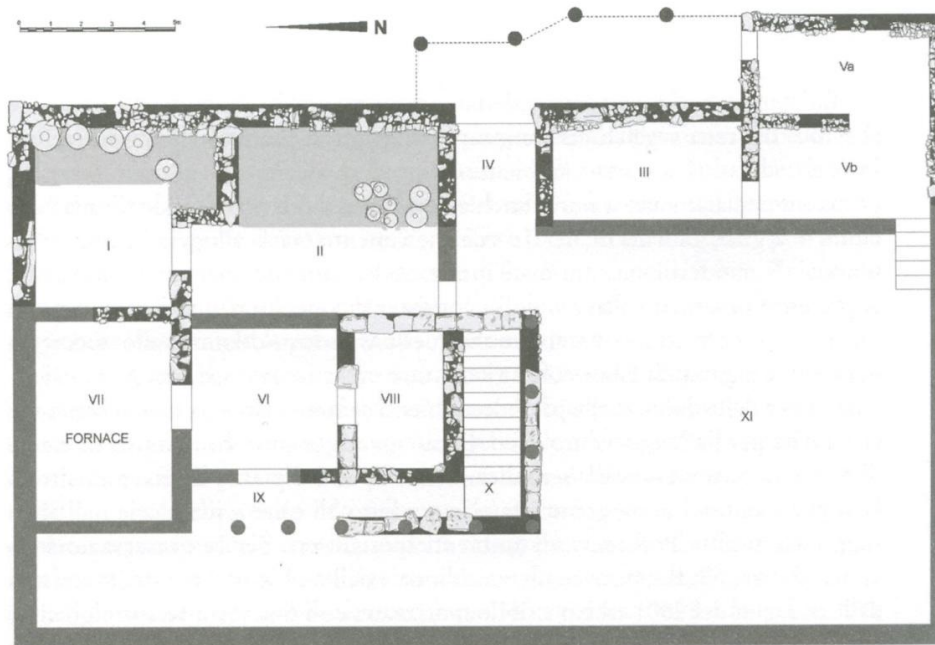


Figure V-3b. Cersosimo residential complex: second building phase

As already stated, the abandonment of the fortified centers marks also the transformation of the settlement pattern of the territory surrounding them, which, during the Lucanian era, was characterized by rural complexes linked to small estates, and isolated inhabited nuclei.⁴⁸⁸ As a necessary premise to this treatment, it must be stressed that few systematic archaeological surveys have been carried out in the Lucanian territory, so that we are not provided with a comprehensive picture of the transformations which took place in the last two centuries B.C. In any case, it goes without saying that the Hannibalic war, and the Roman policy of expropriation of the rural territory which followed the Lucanians' defeat, is the very turning point of this process of transformation.⁴⁸⁹

This process of change, which is generally defined as “ruralization,” is exemplified also in some well-documented cases of residential buildings which were transformed into production complexes after the end of the third century B.C. The well-known case of the farm of Moltone di Tolve, in the Potentino area, provides another excellent example for this process. During its first two phases the complex was a residential house of emerging Lucanian groups (mid-fourth and third centuries B.C.),⁴⁹⁰ but during the last building phase, dated between the end of the third and the second centuries B.C., the function shifted to a productive one, as the archaeological evidence clearly reveals (**Fig. V-4**).⁴⁹¹ In this respect, this is the same development which is attested to in the aforementioned case of Cersosimo.

⁴⁸⁸ Chapter I. 6.

⁴⁸⁹ Fabbri and Serio 2008, 166.

⁴⁹⁰ Chapter I. 6, I. 7.

⁴⁹¹ The central courtyard was transformed into a sort of working area, as a number of loom weights proves; the finding of tools to boil and transform milk suggests that there was also dairy activity; room 11 was devoted to the deposit of working tools; in room 9 there is evidence which attests to the production of wine. In such activity slave-workers were probably employed, who were hosted in a series of rooms which were built along the south-eastern side of the complex. Finally, a sheepfold was built on the eastern side of the complex, testifying to the importance of the sheep-farming as one of the major activities carried on in the surrounding lands. A summary review of the archaeological evidence from this complex in Russo A., in *Da Leukania a Lucania*, 42.

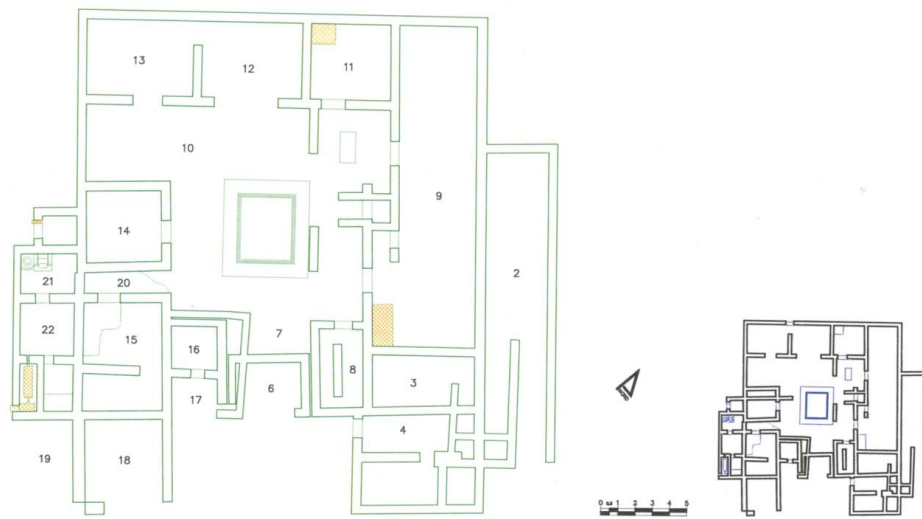


Figure V-4. Moltone di Tolve farm: third building phase

Turning now to some areas which have been more fully investigated, the comparison between two districts of Lucania reveals that the impact of the Roman presence in the region was different from area to area in terms of the development of the countryside. Whereas in the Mingardo-Bussento valley (namely in the Cilento area) the surface surveys have revealed a sort of continuity of occupation with the pre-Roman phase, the recent investigations carried out in the territory surrounding the fortified site of Torre di Satriano display, on the contrary, a significant *caesura*. The reason for this difference may be identified in the creation of an urban center in the Mingardo-Bussento district, namely the Latin colony of Buxentum founded in 194 B.C. This new-born urban site became, after the abandonment of the nearby fortified site of Roccagloriosa, the new center of the district, which also assured the continued vitality of the countryside. The near “desertification” of the countryside which surrounded the site of Torre di

Satriano, on the contrary, can be explained in reference to the expropriation of the lands which became part of the *ager publicus romanus*, probably administered by the *praefectura Latina* which predates the *municipium* of Potentia.

The field survey carried out in the Mingardo Valley has provided a fundamental model for understanding what kind of transformation occurred in the territory of other districts of the region. In this area, when the fortified center of Roccagloriosa was abandoned by the end of the third century B.C., the occupation of the surrounding countryside continued until the first half of the first century B.C.⁴⁹² Several sites, in fact, have been identified, and have been named “transitional sites,” since they “provide the link between a Lucanian reality and a Roman reality, between a Lucanian settlement pattern and a Roman settlement pattern.”⁴⁹³ The creation of new road-networks (which is confirmed by the appearance of new types of pottery) constituted one of the main factors which affected the fate of these surviving sites.⁴⁹⁴ Size and typology of the material found in these sites have led the scholars to interpret them as either hamlets or farms. It is plausible to imagine that they depended on Buxentum by the mid-second century B.C. for administrative and commercial services.⁴⁹⁵ This reconstruction can therefore explain the continuity of occupation in an area which was controlled by the fortified settlement at the end of the third century B.C. This phase of so-called “transitional sites” continued until the mid-first century B.C., when a transformation of the settlement pattern is

⁴⁹² The results of the superficial survey carried on in the Mingardo-Bussento area have been published in *Roccagloriosa I* and *Roccagloriosa II*, *passim*.

⁴⁹³ Fracchia 2001, 61.

⁴⁹⁴ Fracchia 2001, 61.

⁴⁹⁵ Fracchia 2005, 63.

documented by the field survey investigations, which attests to the increase of *villae* and small farms.⁴⁹⁶

Conversely, in the internal part of the region, the rural landscape seems to have experienced another type of change. The archaeological surveys carried on in the territory of Torre di Satriano reveal that, in connection with the abandonment of the hill-top settlement at the end of the third century B.C., the surrounding territory was almost deserted, thus testifying that the very turning point for the settlement pattern of this area must be situated between the end of the third century B.C. and the beginning of the second century B.C., contemporaneously with the foundation of Potentia.⁴⁹⁷ Whereas the second century B.C. was characterized by a strong contraction in the number of the identified sites, a revival at the end of the Republican age and the beginning of the early Imperial age is registered.⁴⁹⁸ As will be discussed in detail in the following pages, this process of destructureation of the rural landscape is also reflected in the contraction which involved the sanctuary of Torre di Satriano from the end of the third century B.C. to the second half of the first century B.C.

It is only after the Social War that the picture of the settlement pattern appears more consistent all over the entire regional area. From the first century B.C., in fact, the different districts from the Potentino area to the Bradano river, from the Ionian to the Tyrrhenian coasts, were uniformly characterized by rural nuclei, which were destined to become larger and larger. As is well-known, this renewed settlement pattern reflects assimilation to new economic structures, where a few land-owners possessed a huge part of the land and employed slave-driven manpower.

⁴⁹⁶ Fracchia 2005, 66 f.

⁴⁹⁷ Fabbri and Serio, 2008; Osanna and Serio 2009, 107-110.

⁴⁹⁸ The first results of this survey have been preliminarily published by Fabbri and Serio 2008.

V. 2. 3 ~ Socio-economic change

From a social perspective, the destructurement of the settlement pattern of the region is matched by a destructurement of the Lucanian society. The most important causes of this change were the Roman political strategy of favoring the local aristocracies in order to find support, and the economic transformations which occurred in the southern peninsula. Of course, these two factors are connected, so that the transformation of the economic structures affected the social organization of the Lucanian communities and *vice versa*.

As mentioned above, the punitive measures which followed the Hannibalic war mainly consisted of the confiscation of all public and private lands, which became part of the *ager publicus populi romani*. The acquisition of this enormous amount of land determined a crucial shift in methods of land-use, since from this time onwards the southern peninsula witnessed the spread of an extensive form of agriculture, which was mainly slavery-driven. As seen in the previous section, the archaeological evidence clearly testifies the “ruralization” of the territory, namely its transformation into a territory of large plantations oriented towards a market.⁴⁹⁹ Furthermore, the abundant supply of land facilitated a massive increase in pasture, mostly in the mountainous regions of the Appennines.⁵⁰⁰ From a social perspective, the disappearance of the small landholders and the installation of a different form of agriculture based on slavery facilitated the disappearance of the “intermediate” groups which constituted the bulk of the Lucanian society during the previous centuries.⁵⁰¹ Those groups, in fact, could be particularly dangerous for the Romans’ position, since, siding

⁴⁹⁹ An overview of the transformation of agriculture in second century B.C. Italy is found in Gabba 1989, 232 f.

⁵⁰⁰ Gabba 1989, 234.

⁵⁰¹ Chapter I. 4.

either for one or for another oligarchic group, they could change the balance of power between Rome and the local elites.⁵⁰²

In line with this strategy, the Romans aimed at the suppression of hostile ruling classes, whereas they tended to guarantee the position of the allied governing groups.⁵⁰³ Therefore, it is possible to imagine that the new owners of the later phases of the farm of Moltone di Tolve (described in the previous section) did not belong any longer to the “intermediate” groups, but rather to new aristocracies which profited from Roman support.⁵⁰⁴

The position and the role that these social groups played in the new system imposed by Rome is crucial to understanding who held the religious power in the new historical and political context and who guaranteed the continuity of some cult places of the region. Finally, this element allows us to comprehend who managed the revival and the building activity which is registered at the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary between the end of the third century B.C. and the first century B.C., which is discussed in detail in the following chapter.

V. 3 ~ The fate of the Lucanian sanctuaries after the end of the third century B.C.

The archaeological documentation regarding sanctuaries in ancient Lucania has been progressively enriched in recent decades, especially for the period after the end of the third century B.C. Results from the most recent investigations carried out in the sanctuary area have contributed

⁵⁰² Torelli 1993, XVIII.

⁵⁰³ The model for the strategy which the Romans adopted in Lucania to impose their dominion in the southern peninsula by suppressing the anti-Roman faction is well documented in the neighboring Daunian region (Torelli 1992, 47-64). Here, this socio-economic change, which brought to a sort of impoverishment of the social stratification, is well attested on an archaeological level. The *pascua publica* which are mentioned by Livy as part of that land which remained undivided was granted to the philo-Roman oligarchies, whose wealth is well documented by the rich, princely tombs which have been found in the region (Torelli 1992, 56).

⁵⁰⁴ Torelli 1993, XX.

greatly to a reinterpretation and reassessment of the picture of “desertification” or total abandonment, a view presented by modern historiography until a few decades ago to describe and explain the transformations that took place in the southern peninsula after the bloody events of the Hannibalic war.

On the basis of the available data, it seems that, within the transformation of settlement system in Lucania that started at the end of the third century B.C., the destiny of the sanctuaries and that of the hill-top settlements took different routes. Sanctuaries, indeed, continued to be frequented despite the disappearance of the fortified centers. In general, it seems evident that the less investigated sacred areas, which generally consist in votive deposits with no architectural structure, ceased to be used during the third century B.C. Some typical examples are the votive deposits from Accettura, Lucignano, Montescaglioso (località Cugno la Volta) and Grumento (località San Marco). Conversely, other sanctuaries, which are also significantly the best known as they have been more fully investigated, continued to be used, such as Ferrandina, Ruoti, Timmari, Chiaromonte, and Torre di Satriano. In some cases they were used in a limited manner (such as Chiaromonte), and in others there were periods of reduced use from which archaeological documentation was “missing” as a result (as in the case of Torre di Satriano). Rossano di Vaglio is a special case and will be dealt with separately in the following chapter. This complex is in fact a *unicum* in the landscape of late Republican age sacred places in Lucania, as it is the only sanctuary that not only continued to be used from the end of the third century B.C. onwards, but also underwent a monumental reconstruction similar to that seen, for example, in Samnium.

When dealing with the late Republican phases of sanctuary complexes in Lucania, it is important to emphasize that only in very few

(and very recent) cases has any attention been paid to the “later” historical phases of these sites in existing literature. In many publications, in fact, the information regarding phases after the end of the third century B.C. are usually dealt with in a few lines, such as in the case of Chiaromonte, where brief reference is made to the discovery of later material without discussing the context of its discovery,⁵⁰⁵ or in the much more significant case of Timmari, where the overall publication regarding this place seems to “ignore” the more recent phases of frequentation, thus excluding from the catalogue any materials that can be linked to them.⁵⁰⁶ When considering the landscape of late Republican Lucanian sanctuaries, therefore, it is necessary to keep in mind that our data are incomplete, and that the results of the analysis presented here will certainly have to be completed by taking into consideration future studies and the respective publications.

In the next few pages, three case studies of Lucanian sanctuaries that continued to be used long after the end of the third century B.C. are examined and discussed. These examples were chosen for two main reasons. The first one is the geographical position of the sanctuaries being studied: they are located in different areas of the region, and can therefore provide a fairly diversified model of political, economic and socio-cultural transformation phenomena, linked to the by now overwhelming presence of Rome in southern Italy. Thus, each sanctuary has been analyzed within its larger context, considering the settlement’s social and political aspects, with the aim of identifying factors that could have been responsible for differing development despite the fact that they all are located in the same regional area. These sacred places, when interpreted in the wider context of the area where they are found, explain how the dynamics of transformation,

⁵⁰⁵ Barra Bagnasco 2000-2002, *passim*.

⁵⁰⁶ Lo Porto 1991.

progressive assimilation and integration in the Roman world are not the same in the different areas of Lucania.

The second reason for choosing these sacred places is a practical one: for the selected sites a larger amount of information exists, chosen from within a rather limited selection of publications on Lucanian sanctuaries.

V. 3. 1 ~ Cases of continuity of Lucanian sanctuaries in the late Republican age: the archaeological data

Below is a brief review of the archaeological data regarding three of the Lucanian sanctuaries which were used beyond the end of the third century B.C. The treatment is divided – as in Chapters II and III regarding the “Lucanian” phase of these complexes – into architectural evidence and finds. The transformations seen in the sacred areas themselves, in relation to what happened in the territory where the sanctuaries were located, are discussed in the final part of the Chapter. As already stated, not all the sanctuaries have had adequate publications dedicated to them, which is why the brief accounts that follow do not all contain a uniform type of information.

V. 3. 1. 1 ~ Torre di Satriano

The Torre di Satriano sanctuary, built in the fourth century B.C., was not completely abandoned until the first century A.D. During this last period, the sanctuary seems to have been used only occasionally, probably no longer in connection with cultic activities, as seen from the paucity of Imperial era material found in the layers of abandonment dating from that period and later.⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁷ *Torre di Satriano I*, 101.

Architecture

The complex was rebuilt and renovated several times, until the end of the third century B.C. The almost complete absence of archaeological material from the second century, however, proves that there was an interruption in the activity of the sanctuary, a reduction that probably marked a significant decrease in its use for religious purposes if not a complete abandonment. But this decline was followed, in the subsequent century, by a phase of revitalization of the complex, with another renovation. In this phase the sanctuary was partially reorganized and this new arrangement is apparent mostly in the northern part of the complex, situated on the higher terrace (**Fig. V-5**). During the first century B.C., there were still the *oikos* and the building C (**Fig. II-4**), and the building activity was concentrated on the external space of the complex. A series of walls and floors were built, as well as works to raise the floor level of the northern part of the complex were undertaken. With regard to the area in front of the sanctuary, this was renovated, as documented by a fragment of a floor slab (US 464), and a structure in travertine blocks, which can be interpreted as a sort of open air enclosure whose function was to provide access to the area north of the complex. This renovation, which was concentrated on the northern part of the sanctuary, may also have included the area south of the *oikos*, where a stone structure of uncertain function was found, and which might be attributed to this phase of the complex.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁸ *Torre di Satriano I*, 111; 433-444.

UNIVERSITA' DEGLI STUDI DELLA BASILICATA
 SCUOLA DI SPECIALIZZAZIONE IN ARCHEOLOGIA DI MATERA

Torre di Satriano
Scavi 2000-2003

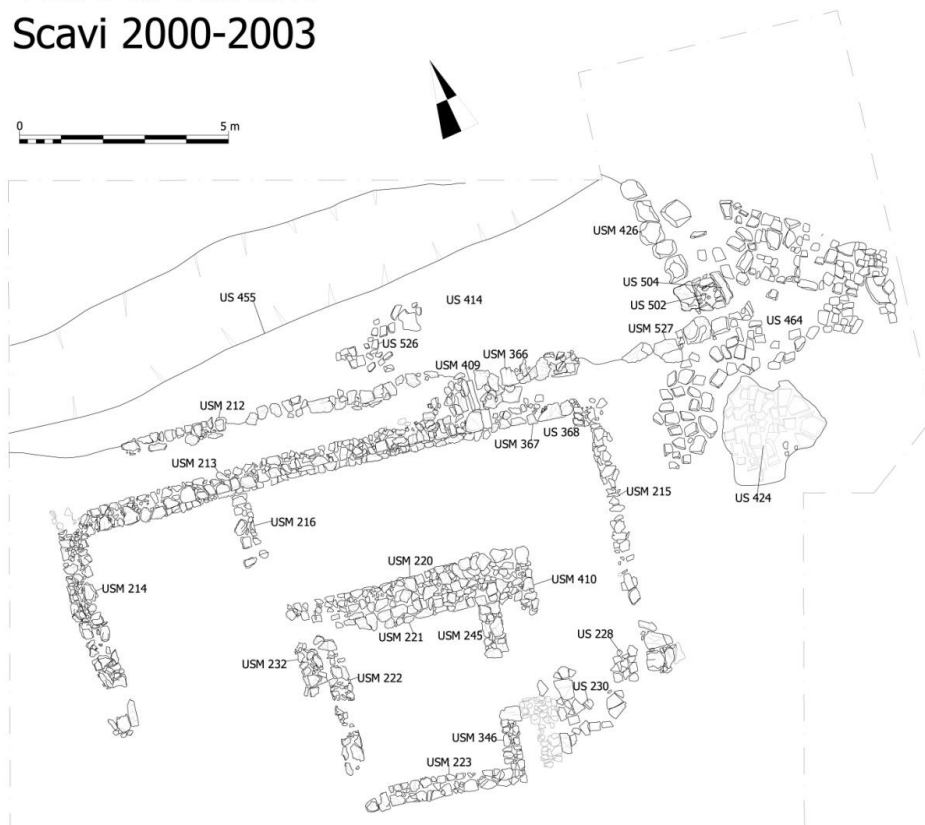


Figure V-5. Torre di Satriano Sanctuary:
 first century B.C. building phase

As it is possible to infer from this information, the complex size was drastically reduced in this last building phase. In addition, the idea of space and its division and organization appears to have undergone a change. The square building that distinguished the Lucanian phase plan was replaced by a smaller space, though it remained centred around an east-facing *sacellum*.

Materials

The most significant data deriving from the study of the material attributed to the last phase of the sanctuary is the appearance of new types of votive objects. The excavations, especially those carried out in the northern part of the sanctuary, turned up a large number of oil lamps, found in the layers dating from the last renovation of the area (**Fig. V-6**). This fact is especially significant if one considers the total absence of oil lamps in the preceding phases of this sacred area. The lamps are of Italic production and can be dated between the late Republican age and the beginning of the Augustan age,⁵⁰⁹ which seem to reflect a change in the cultic practices performed in the sanctuary, related to its use during the Roman age. Along with these oil lamps, a bronze statue of a *Lar* was found (**Fig. V-6**), dating between the second and third quarter of the first century A.D., which seems to show that typically Roman cults and practices were introduced into an indigenous sacred place.⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁹The following types are attested: biconic Esquiline type, Ephesian type, type with radial decoration, Dressel types 2, 3 and 4, type with thin walled cylindrical vase, “a volute” type, two plastic lamps one of which in the shape of a phallus and the other in the form of a foot with a sandal. De Vincenzo 2005, 348-353.

⁵¹⁰ De Vincenzo 2005, 452-457.

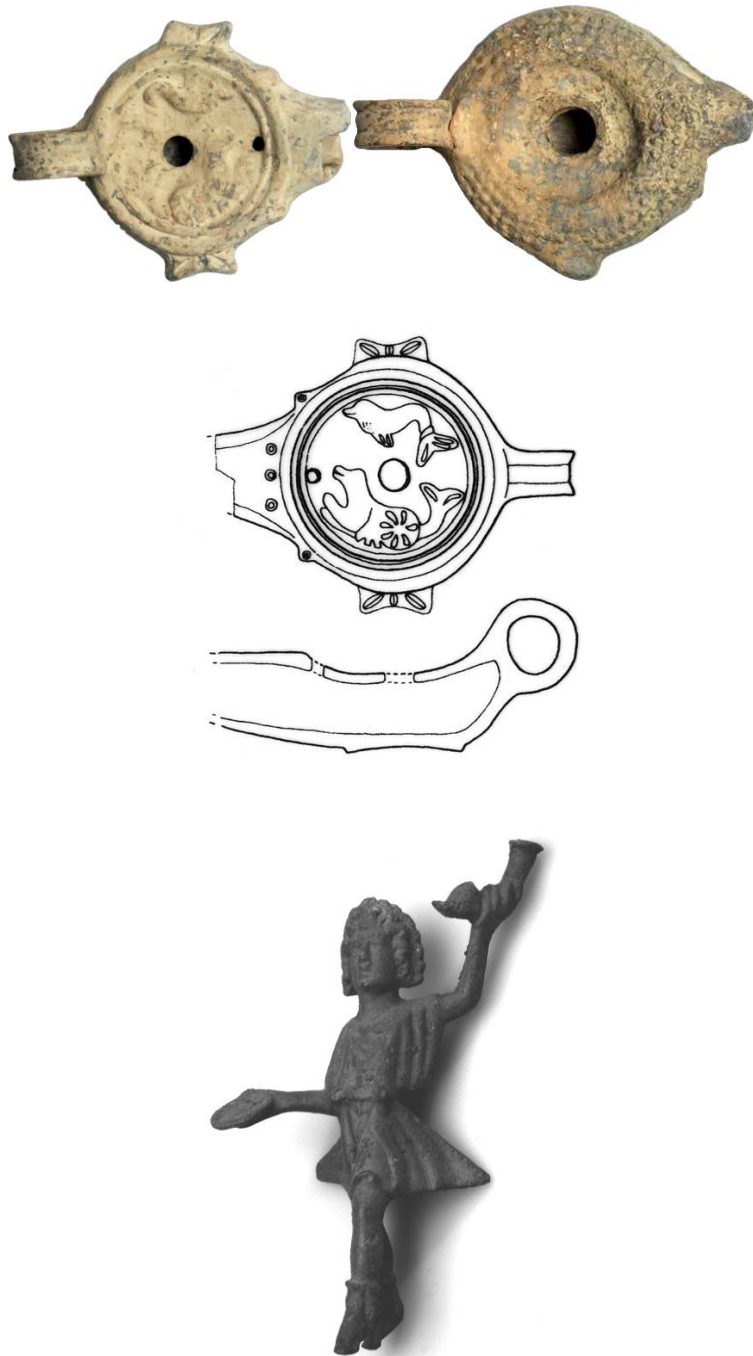


Figure V-6. Torre di Satriano Sanctuary:
oil lamps and bronze statuette of *Lar*

V. 3. 1. 2 ~ Civita di Tricarico

The case of Civita di Tricarico constitutes an exception to what happens in the other Lucanian settlements during the third century B.C. First, during the Lucanian age the sacred place was located within the fortified settlement itself (Chapter II. 2). Second, as seen above, the settlement did in fact survive until the first century B.C., and changed by adding structures – both religious and non-religious – whose style and construction were typically Roman.

The sacred area of the plateau: architecture

Between the end of the third century B.C. and the beginning of the next century, a temple, conventionally denominated “temple P,” was built on the Civita plateau that had housed an earlier cult place during the Lucanian era and whose structures were partially reused in the successive phase (Fig. V-7).⁵¹¹

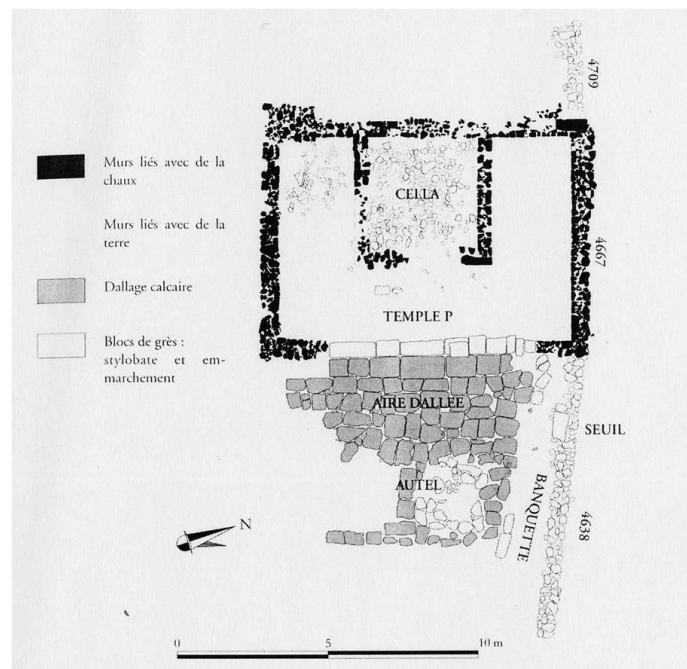


Figure V-7. Civita di Tricarico: “Temple P”

⁵¹¹ Chapter II. 4. 1 and Catalogue of the Lucanian Sanctuaries.

This is a rectangular building (10.73x7.85 m) divided into three areas, which had a paved space in front, where traces of an altar have been found.⁵¹² The remainder of the stylobate was made up of eight slabs, alternatively long and short; the short ones supported two columns and the long ones marked the spaces between columns. As the stylobate was not raised from the ground level, it is possible to conclude that the temple had no podium. The internal part of the building was divided into three areas, with a quadrangular *cella* (3.65 x 3.72 m.) flanked by two *alae*, and the western side corresponding with the outer wall of the building itself. The three perimeter walls of the *cella* were built using a technique that was unusual for Tricarico, as the stones were set with lime mortar. These walls separated the *cella* from the lateral *alae* of the building and the *pronaos*, which form a Π shaped ambulatory around them. This is, therefore, an Etrusco-Italic type of temple.

Excavators labelled this phase of the cult place as “monumentalization.” Some observations in this case are required. First of all, the temple P was built over previously existing religious buildings that were only partially reused. Furthermore, the small Etrusco-Italic temple is a completely new type of construction in the panorama of Lucanian religious buildings. Thus it is necessary to look for its cultural background in a historical context that is different from the one in which the sanctuaries of the region originated. Rather than a monumentalization phase, therefore, one should speak of the construction of a building *ex novo*, that is completely different from the one that previously occupied the area, not only in its construction techniques but also in the type of building.

⁵¹² De Cazanove 2006, 381.

The sacred area of the plateau: materials

Although most of the votive objects in the plateau's sacred area come from the first building phase of the sanctuary (mid fourth-third centuries B.C.), some of them could be attributed to the temple P phase. Other than some Roman coins found on the flagstones in front of the temple itself, a head of Athena with a Corinthian helmet in Paros marble, probably from a statue about 60 cm. high, was found about 4 meters to the north of the temple.⁵¹³ Furthermore dedications of arms from layers that date from the second Punic war have been found.⁵¹⁴

The small Etrusco-Italic temple on the so-called "acropolis"

After the end of the third century B.C., the "lower" city of Civita di Tricarico was only sporadically inhabited, and the most clear material evidence comes from a well in front of a building known as "*casa delle matrici*", which remained in use for at least all the second century B.C. After the second century B.C., instead, activity was concentrated on the plateau's higher terrace known as the "acropolis," that could be reached by a ramp.

In this area, in 1973 Dinu Adamesteanu discovered a small temple,⁵¹⁵ dated initially to the fourth century B.C. on the basis of a few ceramic fragments and a coin from Metapontum.⁵¹⁶ The building is quadrangular, sitting on a moulded podium with an access stairway that opens onto the facade (**Fig. V-8**). This same temple, re-examined by De Cazanove during his decade-long research on the site turned out to be instead an "Etrusco-Italic" type temple, in other words a typical Roman temple on a podium. What remains of this temple are the foundation of the

⁵¹³ De Cazanove 2004b, 256 f.

⁵¹⁴ De Cazanove 2004b, 263 f.

⁵¹⁵ The news of the discovery was published in *Atti Taranto* 1973, 448-449.

⁵¹⁶ This material comes from the fill found inside the podium, thus these objects provide only the *terminus post quem* for the building (De Cazanove 2001a, 189).

podium (9.6 m. on the sides and front moulding, and a length of 10.18 m.), the lower moulding, the foundations of the *cella* and the sides of the staircase, built from limestone blocks on the sides and steps that must originally have been made of wood.⁵¹⁷

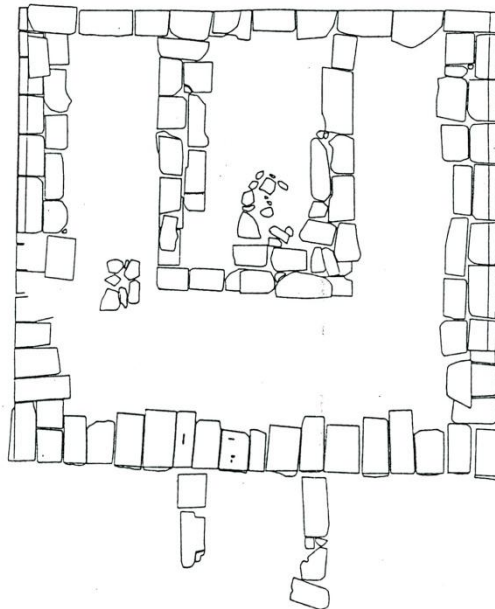


Figure V-8. Civita di Tricarico:
the Etrusco-Italic temple on the *acropolis*

V. 3. 1. 3 ~ Chiaromonte

The religious complex of Chiaromonte, località San Pasquale, is still in need of an exhaustive publication for structures and materials. The data available, regarding the use of the sanctuary after the end of the third century B.C., although significant, are rather scarce.

As seen in Chapter II. 4. 1, the period during which the sanctuary was used the most stretches from the mid-fourth to the mid-third centuries B.C. However, the complex does seem to have been used for other two centuries, as proven by material found here, including fragments of blown glass and *terra sigillata* ceramics. Fragments of African *terra sigillata* A, C

⁵¹⁷ De Cazanove 2001a, 189 f.

and D also testify to a limited use of the sanctuary between third and fourth centuries A.D.⁵¹⁸ As far as the structures go, there are no literary references about renovating and rebuilding the complex at any time after the Hannibalic war. I must also emphasise that the sanctuary was used very little, based on the quantity of finds, in this “late” phase as compared to the Lucanian one.

Regarding the later phases of Chiaromonte, M. Barra Bagnasco mentions “some anatomical votive offerings” (arms, fingers, legs, feet, breasts and one phallus), and associates them with the health-related aspect of the sanctuary.⁵¹⁹ As will be said in the next chapter, the most accredited theories consider the anatomical votives, terracottas which belong to the Etrusco-Latinal-Campanian *facies*, as a fossil-guide for the spread of Roman cultural models in the conquered regions of Italy.⁵²⁰ They can be therefore a sign of cultural change occurred under the pressure of Roman models.

Important information about the late Republican phase of this sanctuary comes also from two inscriptions on vases. The first inscription is in Latin and is carved on the lip of a basin or *louterion*, which is now kept in the Museo Nazionale della Siritide in Policoro. The possible interpretations, proposed by Mario Torelli, give us a text either in Latin or in the Lucanian language (not considered here). The Latin inscription would be:

(HO)RATII STA(IUS) AN(NIUS)

or:

⁵¹⁸ Barra Bagnasco 2000-2002, 217-218, note 14.

⁵¹⁹ Barra Bagnasco 2000-2002, 222

⁵²⁰ Comella 1981, 775. Nevertheless, recent studies have proposed a reassessment of this view on the basis of a re-examination of the geographical distribution of the anatomical votives in Italian regions and their dating, so that they are not considered as necessarily associated with Rome (Glinister 2007, 10-33).

(D D G)RATE STA(IUS) AN(NIUS)

If indeed it is a Latin text, it could be a formula for a dedication followed by the name and the beginning of the title. Or it might be a dedicator, belonging to the pro-Roman *elites*, who continued to patronize the sacred place.⁵²¹

V. 3. 2 ~ The transformations of the sacred Lucanian complexes in the late Republican age

The archaeological evidence, especially that derived from the most recent investigations carried out in the sacred places of the region, allows us to paint a picture of Lucanian settlements in the post Hannibalic era that is quite different from the image of depopulation and decline proposed in literature until a few decades ago. Following a simplistic and linear mechanism, modern historiography has generally followed this time of contraction with a “Romanized” world scenario, distinguished by cultures and societies that seem to have been homogenized – from the political, administrative and cultural points of view – according to the dictates of Rome.⁵²² This new situation was actually nothing more than the result of a process that was much more complex and difficult to reconstruct, partly due to the lack of written non-Roman sources.

As seen, it is the evidence deriving from late Republican age sanctuaries themselves that bears testimony to the continuity of indigenous communities in southern peninsula, stretching well beyond the end of the third century B.C. This continuity does not match well with the picture of desertion that has been hinted to previously (and that will be further discussed in the following pages).

⁵²¹ Bianco 1993, 105.

⁵²² On this topic, see in general Lo Cascio and Storch Marino 2001; Key and Terrenato 2001; *Atti Taranto* 2005.

Moreover, the case-studies that have been examined allow us to clarify that the process of political and cultural transformation that engaged the Lucanian populations had a different development course in the various areas of Lucania, and this differentiation depends on a multiplicity of factors. Let us start with the last case that has been previously analyzed, the Chiaromonte sanctuary. This complex, situated on a narrow strip bordered by the Sinni river and its tributary, the Serrapotamo river, is the only sanctuary known in this zone to date. Despite the lack of an exhaustive publication on this site, the scarce information available allows us to say that in the period after the end of the third century B.C., the sanctuary was used intermittently, as shown by the very small quantity of material found dating between the second and first centuries B.C. Also, the structures which have been unearthed do not seem to have undergone significant rebuilding. This means that the sanctuary survived in a distinctly reduced form, and this survival should be attributed to the sparse village nuclei that continued to populate the territory in the last two centuries of the preceding millennium, when the process of “ruralization” of the countryside was in progress. The sacred area of Chiaromonte, thus, may have been a reference point for indigenous people that continued to follow local cults. Furthermore, no important new-born urban centre was founded in proximity to the site. This phenomenon is much better documented at Torre di Satriano, where more systematic research has been carried on in the site.

At Torre di Satriano too, like Chiaromonte, there was a break after the end of the third century B.C., which could lead us to postulate that the sanctuary was almost totally abandoned. This change can be confirmed from what the surrounding territory tells us: the hill-top settlement disappeared by the end of the third century B.C., as can be inferred from a recent analysis of the items found here by R.R. Holloway in the area of the

Lucanian settlement;⁵²³ similarly, recent discoveries in the territory testify to a contraction reflected in an almost complete disappearance of sites.⁵²⁴ Furthermore, no “Roman” center seems to have inherited the controlling role over the territory of the pre-existing Lucanian settlement, and this factor can maybe explain the contraction of the surrounding countryside. This process, which can be also postulated for many other areas of the hinterland which were particularly affected by the consequences of the Hannibalic war, was also caused by other factors: the disappearance of the small land-owners, which had undoubtedly a negative impact on agricultural activity; the progressive acquisition of land by “bigger” land-owners; and finally the disappearance of the small rural inhabited nuclei which were vitally connected to the pre-existing economic system and so were destined to disappear with it.

Only in the first century B.C. did life in the sanctuary pick up again, though in a new form with respect to the Lucanian past, and significantly in contemporaneously with a re-population of the territory (almost all the settlements which have been identified by surface survey date back to a period which ranges from the first century B.C. to the Imperial age). As it has been illustrated, the complex was restructured and the sacred area reduced at the same time, taking up only the northern part of the complex (**Fig. V-5**). Furthermore, this small sanctuary was “reborn” to house a cult that by this time had changed, “reshaped” under the influence of the Roman culture. This fact is even more significant if it is compared with the Chiaromonte sanctuary, where no change that could be attributed to Roman influence was recorded in the cultic forms. This difference between the two cases can be explained by looking at the diverse situations of the settlements in the areas where the sanctuaries under consideration are

⁵²³ Osanna and Serio 2009, 103-104.

⁵²⁴ Osanna and Serio 2009, 109-110.

located. As illustrated in Chapter V. 2. 1 and V. 2. 2. Chiaromonte, in the Sinni Valley, is located in an area that is at the fringes of Latin colonization, while Torre di Satriano is in the northern sector of the region, where Potentia, a new urban centre built on the model of Roman cities, was founded in the second century B.C., thus influencing the settlement organization of the entire central and western part of the region. In other words, although the two sanctuaries seem to have both experienced a contraction after the end of the third century B.C., basically due to depopulation of areas after the second Punic war, their fates separated a century later, when the process of reorganizing settlements in the region according to Roman models was well underway, and the Potentino area underwent a series of transformations (of which the foundation of Potentia represents the most evident and tangible factor) and that did not involve the Sinni valley. Thus, if the last phase of frequentation of the Torre di Satriano sanctuary took place in what can be defined as a “Romanized” form, Chiaromonte seems to have been completely left out of external cultural contributions resulting from the massive Roman presence in the southern peninsula.

In summation, the archaeological evidence documents that the memory of the cult places endured during the time and thus could have determined a sporadic frequentation during the last two centuries B.C., due to those few people who continued to live in the territory. Probably, the link of the sanctuaries with springs has contributed to such continuity, as well as their connection with the communication routes of the region.

The case of Civita di Tricarico is different yet again, with issues that make it a case on its own merits in the ancient Lucanian panorama. Here, the continuity of the cult places has to be connected to the persistence of the inhabited settlement itself. As said above, the settlement, which survived

until the end of the first century B.C., acquired what can be defined as a “Romanized” appearance early on. At the end of the third century B.C., in the same place as the previous Lucanian-age cult place, an Etrusco-Italic temple (temple P) was built, and in the second century another temple was erected on a podium in the upper terrace of the hill (**Fig. V-7, V-8**). As O. de Cazanove has pointed out, these are the only examples of Republican era podium temples discovered in Lucania.⁵²⁵ In the second century B.C., in particular, in this new settlement landscape other elements appear, that “speak” a Roman language. First of all, a *domus* with an atrium was built close to the small temple on the acropolis (**Fig. V-2**). This is without a doubt an unusual element in the Lucanian architectural landscape. Though it may not be surprising to see traces of a *domus* with an atrium in the Latin colonies of Venusia and Paestum,⁵²⁶ or in federated cities such as Heraclea,⁵²⁷ it is a very different situation when dealing with an indigenous settlement such as Civita di Tricarico, which “ben lungi dal ripiegarsi su se stessa nel II sec., si rivela capace di riprodurre in tutti i suoi particolari il nuovo tipo di abitazione urbana che compare nei centri creati o promossi dal potere romano” [far from collapsing upon itself in the second century, demonstrates that it was capable of reproducing down to the last detail the new type of urban dwelling that began to appear in centres created or promoted by Roman power].⁵²⁸ This *domus* was only one of the elements in a completely new urban landscape, which acquired new architectural forms and different spatial organization, according to models that were new to the

⁵²⁵ The closest comparable building is the temple B in Herdonia. Although slightly larger, it does have the same proportions, with the facade slightly longer than the sides (Van Wouterghem F., “Un tempio di età repubblicana sul foro di Herdonia («tempio B»),” in Mertens J. (ed.), *Ordonia VI. Rapports et études*, Bruxelles-Rome 1979, 41-81; Mertens J., *Herdonia. Scoperta di una città*, Bari 1995, 163-168).

⁵²⁶ For Venusia, Marchi, Sabbatini, Salvatore 1990, 14, pl. XII, fig. 20-21; for Paestum, Lemaire A., in *Atti Taranto* 1988, 596-606; Torelli 1999b, 73-76.

⁵²⁷ Giardino 1975, 555 f.

⁵²⁸ De Cazanove 2001a, 187.

Lucanian customs.⁵²⁹ In this sense, the construction of a fortified wall between the outer settlement wall and the one around the acropolis is emblematic (**Fig. V-1**). This new type of organization is very different from that of the Lucanian era settlements, which featured dense occupation and rather modest houses. In this new building phase, the buildings are distinguished by “des architectures plus impressionantes,”⁵³⁰ and although the intermediate wall (built during this period) used building techniques that resembles fourth century Lucanian fortifications, it shows the effect of Roman models.⁵³¹ Later, in the second century B.C. the upper terrace of Piano della Civita took on the appearance of a citadel in accordance with the Roman and Italic type *arx*. The small Etrusco-Italic temple discovered by Dinu Adamesteanu was then erected on the *arx* in the second half of the second century B.C. (**Fig. V-8**). Thus the sacred sphere too was involved in this “formal” transformation that probably foreshadowed much deeper cultural changes.

It is not easy to explain these phenomena of early assimilation of Roman models. One factor that probably influenced Civita di Tricarico’s development in this direction could be its geographical position in proximity to Potentia.⁵³² Because of its geographical position, this area, located at a junction point between the Tyrrhenian and Ionian coasts, and with the north of the country, went through a different type of development in the post Hannibalic age as compared to others areas in the region, and was witness to the birth of one of the few new centers in the territory, Potentia. A model for understanding the developments seen in Civita di

⁵²⁹ The presence of other buildings that made up the block where the *domus* was located was found about 30 m. to the west of the *domus* itself. In this area, on the ruins of a pre-existing building destroyed at the end of the third century B.C., later levelled using a clay landfill, a new building was built in the second century B.C., whose courtyard has only been partially studied. See De Cazanove 2001a, 187-189, with bibliography.

⁵³⁰ De Cazanove 2004b, 290.

⁵³¹ De Cazanove 2004b, 290 note 115.

⁵³² Cf. Nava and Cracolici 2005, 103.

Tricarico in the late Republican age seems to be found in close-by Daunia, and especially in the relationship between the town of Bantia and the Latin colony of Venusia, which have been discussed in the previous section of this chapter. As is possible to observe in other southern Italian territories, at the same time that Latin colonization took place the close-by indigenous settlements were abandoned and most of the population transferred from pre-Roman centres. However one of the centres in the neighbourhood survived: Bantia.⁵³³ This phenomenon is generally attributed to the Romans' need to conserve a control point in the central Bradano valley, probably in agreement with the local pro-Roman aristocracy. The Bradano valley is in fact a natural communication route between the Ofanto valley and the cities on the Ionian coast. Bantia was thus "spontaneously" transformed into a Roman centre.

The first evidence of this assimilation to Roman models is primarily the *Tabula Bantina*, an exceptionally interesting document, discovered in 1790 and preserved in the Naples Archaeological Museum. It contains a collection of legal norms regarding the municipal statute of the town.⁵³⁴ As M. Torelli shows on the basis of a fragment of *tabula* found in 1967,⁵³⁵ it is a bilingual inscription, bearing a Roman *lex* on the *recto* dating from the end of the second century B.C., and on the *verso* an Oscan text from the

⁵³³ Situated at the boundary between the Lucanian and Apulo-Daunian areas, in a position that was strategically important for communication between the Ofanto valley and Ionian coastal cities, ancient Bantia, along with Venusia and Forentum, had cultural characteristics peculiar to Daunia. The concept this site being affiliated with the Apulian cultural area rather than the Lucanian one can also be found in literature (Horatius, *Carm.* III, 4, 15; e Livy XXVII, 25, 13). However, Pliny includes the Bantini among the eleven peoples of ancient Lucania (*Nat. Hist.*, III, 15): *Lucanorum Atinates, Bantini, Eburini, Grumentini, Valentini, Sontini, Sirini, Turgilani, Ursentini, Volcentani quibus Numestranii iunguntur*. Also, Quintus Horatius Flaccus himself (*Odes*, VIII, 4) supports the doubts regarding the politico-geographic position of some cities on Lucania's borders, naming Apulia as his motherland (*Altricis Apuliae*), as well as Vulture, *Acherontia, Ferento* and the *saltus Bantinos* as part of Apulia too. Cf. Chapter I. 2.

⁵³⁴ Del Tutto Palma 1983; Torelli 1983.

⁵³⁵ Adamesteanu D. and Torelli M., "Il nuovo frammento della Tabula Bantina," *Arch. Class.*, XXI, 1969, 1 f.; Torelli M., "Una nuova epigrafe di Bantia e la cronologia dello statuto municipale bantino," *Athenaeum*, N.S. LXI, 1983, 252 f.

beginning of the first century B.C. It is the Oscan text that documents, according to the interpretive reading provided by Torelli, the final phase of the process of transformation of the Bantia community under the influence of the close-by city of Venusia. Since, the names of the magistracies chosen by the *civitas* of Bantia which are recorded in the inscription (*censores, praetores, tribuni plebis, quaestores*) and those attested at Venusia and in other Latin colonies appear to be the same. This relationship, therefore, reflects the adaptation of Roman political structures through the mediation of the Latin colony.⁵³⁶ In this process, leading local groups certainly played a very important role, as they chose to adopt, in the free *civitas* of Bantia, the same judiciary as in Venusia and other Latin colonies before they became *municipia*, in an effort at emulating the political organization of the colony. Furthermore, the use of the Latin language in a bilingual text reflects the probable presence of Roman citizens in Bantia itself (as members of the new born socio-political class?), but is also a significant sign of assimilation of the Roman culture (since it demonstrates that a segment of the Lucanian population was – or was becoming – Latin speaking). The spread of the Latin language was an important instrument of assimilation of the indigenous communities to Roman culture, and it is therefore significant to find them in “public” contexts such as the religious ones. In this respect, the above-mentioned inscriptions in Latin language found in the Chiaromonte sanctuary (Chapter V. 3. 1. 3), and the Latin epigraphs discovered in the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary (Chapter IV. 3. 2) can be considered from the same perspective.

Passing on to a consideration of the archaeological evidence, it should be noted that the impact with Rome brought changes to the Bantia site that are visible in the transformation of the settlement at the town

⁵³⁶ Torelli 1983, 252-257.

planning level. In the second century B.C., this site underwent a phase of “urban” reorganization, with orthogonal roads resulting in quadrangular city blocks of different sizes.⁵³⁷ As M. Torelli observes, “this fact points unequivocally to the end of the old social relationships on which production was traditionally based and was fairly represented by the dispersed settlement of villages dominated by single families of *principes*, and to a much stronger trend toward urban organization than was present at the beginning of the previous century.”⁵³⁸

These transformations are also attested at the religious level, as can be seen from the appearance of a religious structure in Bantia which was modelled on a scheme that was totally Roman in origin.⁵³⁹ This is a *templum augurale* or *templum in terris*⁵⁴⁰ which has been studied by Mario Torelli, after the fortuitous discovery of six *cippi* bearing Republican age Latin inscriptions. The monument consists of an area that is approximately rectangular, marked by nine roughly hewn squared *cippi*, with a smooth inscribed top part. According to M. Torelli’s reconstruction, the *cippi* – arranged on three parallel rows of three *cippi* each – marked the corners and central points of the sides of the square, in this way identifying the *anguli*, the *crux* of the *cardo* and the *decumanus* of the *templum*.⁵⁴¹ As illustrated by Varro,⁵⁴² the limits of the *templum in terris* are trees and the smooth rounded upper part of the stone *cippi* bearing the inscriptions conjures up

⁵³⁷ Tagliente 1990, 71 f.

⁵³⁸ Torelli 1999a, 113.

⁵³⁹ A cult place with typically Samnite characteristics was found outside modern Bantia and has been studied by C. Masseria. This pre-Roman area, in località Fontana dei Monaci, is a rural type sanctuary, not very different from ancient Lucanian sanctuaries that sprang up close to water sources and were prevalently chthonic in character. (Masseria 1999).

⁵⁴⁰ Among the sources used to reconstruct the form and origin of this monument, Varro’s testimony is particularly relevant (*de lingua Lat.*, VII,6), since it tells us that the *templum augurale* (used to draw *auguria* and *auspicia*) was the earthly counterpart of the *templum caeleste*, or the heavenly vault. Sources useful to understand the functions of this particular monument include Torelli 1966, 296 f.

⁵⁴¹ Torelli 1966; and more recently, Carandini 2000, 206 f.

⁵⁴² *De lingua Lat.*, VII, 9.

their image.⁵⁴³ The *cippi* set along the east-west axis bear inscriptions with names of deities, while those located at the north and south of the monument refer to the omens of each point. As far as the meaning of the inscriptions and the position of each single *cippus* is concerned, the favourable deities were placed to the east, and the unfavourable ones were located to the west and north.⁵⁴⁴ The *cippus* located at the centre of the northern side of the monument bears the inscription *Cae(lus) N(octurnus)*, an unfavourable deity that is placed – due to its inauspicious character – to the north. The *cippus* with the inscription *Solei* is placed instead at the south, seeming to testify the conception of the *templum in terris* as an earthly projection of the heavenly vault. The *cippus* bearing the inscription *Iovi* (the name of the most important deity in the Etruscan and Italic pantheons) is located in the north eastern corner, and a *cippus* with the inscription *Flus* is found in the south eastern corner.

The redesigning of the town of Bantia using Roman models (the building of the *templum augurale* being the most important sign) has been interpreted as an example of the process that marked the phenomenon of indigenous peoples' assimilation of Roman culture before the formal act of transformation of these sites into *municipia*,⁵⁴⁵ which is generally defined in literature as “self-Romanization.” The *templum* in Bantia, therefore, appears as the most direct complement to the Oscan *Tabula Bantina* in defining the completion of the process of “spontaneous Romanization” on behalf of local communities in the years preceding the *Bellum sociale*.⁵⁴⁶

Although this is not the place to dwell on the exceptional importance of the discovery of the Banzi *templum*, it is important to emphasise – for purposes of this discussion – the significance of this type of monument for

⁵⁴³ Torelli 1966, 297.

⁵⁴⁴ Torelli 1966, 304 f.

⁵⁴⁵ Gualtieri 2003, 91 f.

⁵⁴⁶ Tagliente 1990, 72.

the understanding this phenomenon. In particular, the analysis of the theonyms marked on the *cippi* of the monument has turned out to be of fundamentally important in shedding light on the complexity of mechanisms behind this process. This was not a mere acceptance, and often entailed reactions that were different and could not always be interpreted in the same way. Returning to the Bantia *templum*, the name of an Osco-Samnite deity, known as *Flus*, was found along with those of the classic deities of the Greek-Roman pantheon (such as *Iuppiter*).⁵⁴⁷ As M. Gualtieri notes, the presence of a local deity inside a purely and typically Roman sacred monument, especially on the eve of the anti-Roman reaction that ended in the Social war, cannot be interpreted as anything but a blatant declaration of ethnic identity, or, in other words, as a form of resistance to the ever more encroaching Roman presence in the south peninsula.⁵⁴⁸ I will return to this point in the next chapter dedicated to the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary and the concluding observations regarding the second part of this thesis.

V. 3. 3 ~ The role of the Lucanian sanctuaries in the post-Hannibalic age

According to a recent reconstruction by E. Isayev, the Lucanian sanctuaries became “an even greater focus of attention at the end of the 3rd and in the 2nd century B.C.,” and this attention was shown mainly in building and monumentalization activity in the sanctuaries and in generally enriching the complexes. As examples of this process, Isayev mentions the

⁵⁴⁷ As Torelli points out (Torelli 1966, 308), the presence of a local deity in the *templum* in Bantia can be explained because the town was a *municipium* and not a colony (“giacché non è pensabile che, se Bantia fosse stata colonia, in un monumento così importante per la vita pubblica come l'*augurarium*, comparisse una divinità estranea al pantheon romano, il solo ammesso in quei centri di più pura cultura romana quali erano le colonie” [since it is unthinkable that a deity not belonging to the Roman pantheon could make its appearance in a monument as important to public life as the *augurarium*, if Bantia were a colony, as the only gods admitted in the “colonies,” centers of pure Roman culture were]).

⁵⁴⁸ Gualtieri 2003, 93 f.

monumentalization of the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary that started at the end of the third century B.C. (which is discussed in detail in the next chapter), and the Chiaromonte complex, where the construction of the portico and the paved “sacred way” are attributed to a phase of “reconstruction” and restoration of structures dated to the third century B.C., at a time when the process of deconstructing the Lucanian settlement system (that intensified after the Hannibalic war) was already under way.⁵⁴⁹ Isayev frames this “revitalization” of Lucanian sanctuaries into the much greater phenomenon that absorbed the whole central and Apennine area, where many cult areas went through a reconstruction and enlargement phase before the Social war.⁵⁵⁰ Framing her analysis on Lucania during the post-Hannibalic era in the theoretical model known as *Central Place Theory*,⁵⁵¹ E. Isayev concludes that the “main centralizing role” of fortified centres in the Lucanian age was inherited from extra-mural sanctuaries, which, differently from the inhabited settlements, survived the third century B.C. “crisis.”⁵⁵²

The archaeological documentation available today, however, does not seem to fit the picture drawn by Isayev. We have seen that, after the Hannibalic war, a contraction of the settlement system in Lucania occurred,

⁵⁴⁹ Isayev 2007, 136-137. On the third century B.C. re-building phase of the Chiaromonte sanctuary see, in particular, Barra Bagnasco and Russo Tagliente 1996, 186-190.

⁵⁵⁰ With regard to late Republican age Samnite area sanctuaries, a PhD thesis entitled *Sanctuary and Society in Central-Southern Italy (3rd to 1st centuries BC)* (2008) was recently submitted to the Universiteit van Amsterdam by T.D. Stek.

⁵⁵¹ The *Central Place Theory* is a geographical model which aims to explain size and distribution of urban centers. The validity of this model for the study on ancient sacred landscapes has been recently stressed by B.D. Rows in a research on Republican sanctuaries in Latium (Rows 2009, in part. 66-76). Rows embraces an economic approach to explain distribution and function of Latial cult places during the Republican age. The basic principle of this approach consists in an analogy between cult place and market, given the strong link which existed between ancient cult places and economic activities. The *Central Place Theory*, therefore, appears the most appropriate theoretical framework to explain distribution and role of Latial cult places, as this model considers “both urban centers and cult places as constituent parts of a network of central places and the services on offer there” (Rows 2009, 68).

⁵⁵² Isayev 2007, 139-140.

and this transformation also affected the sacred areas. Sanctuaries, indeed, during the second century B.C. show a few traces of frequentation, which can be explained because the memory of the sacred persisted and also thanks to those few people who continued to live in the surrounding – now ruralized – territory. But in no case known to date was a true and authentic revival recognized, connected to a monumentalization phase. The only exception is the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary, which, nonetheless, is a *unicum* in the panorama of events involving the Lucanian sacred places after the events of the second Punic war. In fact, as it is explained in the next chapter, the revival of this sanctuary can be framed in a historical and cultural context that is different from the one which is generally used to interpret and place other late Republican religious places. In this respect M. Osanna's recent opinion on the issue is worth mentioning, contesting Isayev's position, on the basis of the most recent archaeological studies. He sceptically wonders how sanctuaries that survived in a reduced and often barely perceptible form could have later become the new political and administrative hubs of the region after the disappearance of the fortified settlements.⁵⁵³ From this point of view, the cases of Chiaromonte and Torre di Satriano examined in the previous pages are the most emblematic. In both cases the archaeological evidence testifies to a massive contraction during the second century B.C., and no archaeological documentation exists testifying to building activities during this time, which were linked to projects for restoration, enlargement and monumentalization of these complexes.

Whereas the information regarding Chiaromonte available today is still incomplete (as there has not yet been a complete publication on this complex), the case of Torre di Satriano, on the other hand, is more helpful

⁵⁵³ Osanna and Serio 2009, 111-113.

to clarify how the second century B.C., though not the period of complete *caesura* with the pre-Hannibalic scenario, can neither be defined as a moment of continuity, nor – as Isayev would have it – as a moment when the sanctuaries underwent a revival comparable to those in the Apennine area. As said, in this sanctuary the second century B.C. seems to be completely “unrepresented” at an archaeological level, testifying to the existence of a period of marked reduction of activity. Finally, it is rather improbable that building activity in the sacred area resumed in the following century, and if so, it certainly did not have the characteristics of monumentality that one would expect if one accepted Isayev’s reconstruction proposal.

Given that it is not plausible that the sanctuaries played a centralizing role in the post-Hannibalic Lucania, conversely, it seems more likely to imagine that the new centers (*praefecturae, coloniae, municipia*) took the role which had been previously played by the hill-top settlements. Furthermore, it is worth reiterating that the local leading class moved to these new centers, and probably continued to perform their institutional and administrative activities in those cities.

The exceptions to this scenario are essentially the cases of Civita di Tricarico and Rossano di Vaglio. For what concerns Tricarico, the continuity of the cult place is strongly connected to the continuity of the settlement. The Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary, with its intense building activity starting immediately after Hannibal, is the only case which could be perhaps compared with the Samnite sanctuaries, which were completely rebuilt and ended up by acquiring a grandiose appearance very different from the way they looked like in the fourth and third centuries B.C. The historical and cultural context of this phenomenon in Lucania, and why it involved only the Rossano complex, will be discussed in chapter VI.

CHAPTER VI

THE ROSSANO DI VAGLIO SANCTUARY DURING THE LAST TWO CENTURIES B.C.⁵⁵⁴

As shown in the previous chapter, the end of the third century B.C. represents a turning point for the Lucanian world. This is mirrored principally in the crisis of the settlement system that had been prevalent in the previous centuries. The almost complete disappearance of the hill-top settlements was echoed in the indisputable decline of the sanctuaries in the region. Although it is no longer correct to speak of depopulation and desertification, the data available on Lucanian sanctuaries in the post-Hannibalic era do not paint a picture of “continuity” either, since the crisis and downsizing of these places, as well as the activities carried out there, is undeniable.

Only the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary stands out in this landscape of abandoned settlements and cult places that survived but were used much less intensely than during the Lucanian period. Not only was the complex used until the first century of our era, but, in the last two centuries B.C., it became a catalyzing hub of building activities and dynamism that make it unique in the context of Lucanian sanctuaries.

This chapter summarises the archaeological data related to the late-Republican phases of the sanctuary. A new analysis of these data is the starting point for a series of deductions regarding the identity of the authors of this revival. Did the Lucanian elites invest their resources in renewing

⁵⁵⁴ A version of this chapter is forthcoming in *The impact of Rome on cult places and religion in Italy. New approaches to change and continuity*, Proceedings of the Conference (Rome, Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome, May 21, 2010) (co-author: M. Osanna).

local cults as a form of ideological resistance to Roman domination? Or was it the Romans, ever more present in region, who contributed to the building activity in the sanctuary? What were the real reasons for monumentalising the Rossano sanctuary?

VI. 1 ~ The Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary in the post-Hannibalic age: archaeological data

From the end of the third century B.C., the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary underwent at least two phases of reconstruction, expansion and restoration. The “monumental” appearance of the complex has to be attributed probably to these phases. It is this monumentalization that inspired the donation of particularly rich and precious votive offerings, indicating that socio-economic standard of the devotees was well above the average level of the worshippers who used to dedicate mainly terracotta figurines in the Lucanian period. What is more, these objects also reflect the changing of cultural influences with respect to the fourth and third centuries B.C., thus demonstrating a profoundly changed cultural – and therefore also socio-political and economic – context. However, as it will be demonstrated, despite these “formal” changes, there does not seem to be a corresponding change at cultic and religious level.

There are no signs of new building activity after the first century B.C. Post first century B.C. materials are rather rare and can be attributed to a period of sporadic use of the sanctuary before it was finally abandoned. This meant transferring the cult to nearby Potentia, where it became one of the *municipalia sacra* to which the local magistrates continued making dedications until the second century A.D., as evidenced by the epigraphic documentation found in the city.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵⁵ *CIL* X, 130, 131, 132, 133.

VI. 1. 1 ~ Restoration and monumentalization of the buildings

As said in Chapter II. 4, very little is known of what Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary looked like when it was first built in the mid-fourth century BC. There is, however, much more information about the Republican age building phases.

The first large restructuring phase of the sanctuary dates from the end of the third century B.C. to the beginning of the second century B.C., while the second renovation took place in the first century B.C. It is not always possible to be certain to which of these periods specific restorations or constructions belong, due both to the lack of documentation regarding excavations carried out at the site by Dinu Adamesteanu, as well as the massive modern restorations of the buildings carried out after the archaeological investigations.

The first phase of restoration was that of actual “monumentalization” (**Fig. VI-1**). According to Dinu Adamesteanu this building work was necessary following the damage that the complex suffered either due to geomorphological phenomena or to the events of the second Punic war, which seems to have affected the Rossano di Vaglio site directly.⁵⁵⁶ The discovery of ash layers in all parts of the complex, especially in association with the sandstone structures (which belong to the Lucanian phase of the complex), leads scholars to prefer the second hypothesis,⁵⁵⁷ corroborated, among others, by a passage of Livy which testifies to Hannibal’s crossing *altis itineribus*, during the retreat of the Carthaginian army from Grumentum towards Venusia.⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵⁶ Adamesteanu and Dilthey 1992, 75.

⁵⁵⁷ Adamesteanu 1993, 65.

⁵⁵⁸ Livy XXVII, 41-42.

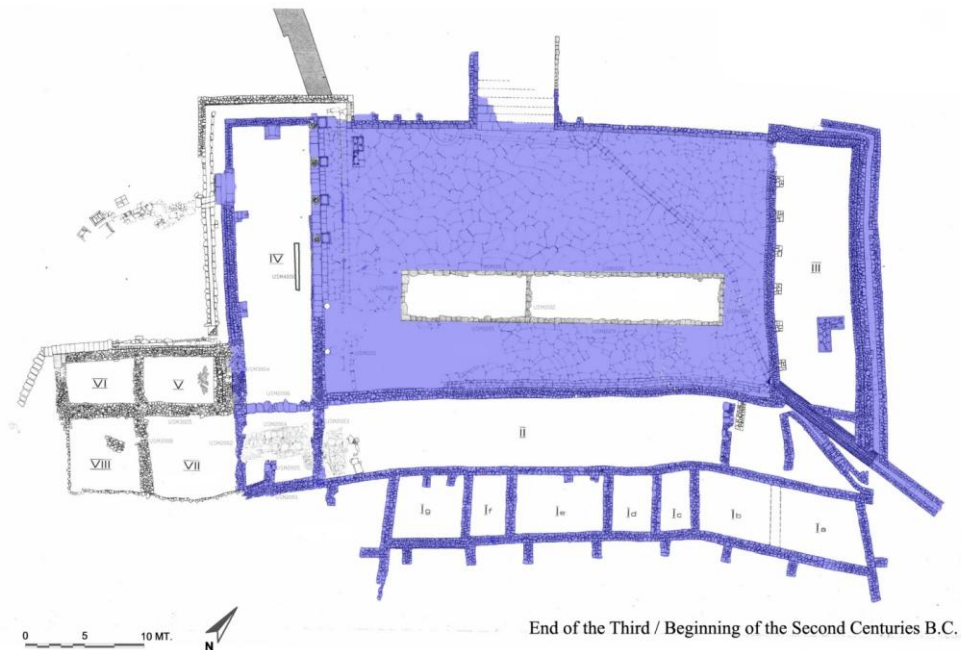


Figure VI-1. Rossano di Vaglio Sanctuary:
first phase of restoration

It seems that this phase was the one that gave the Rossano sanctuary the appearance that one can imagine when visiting the site today. The complex was made up of a wide open area with porticoes along the outer edges, according to scenographic architectural models already found in some third century B.C. Lucanian complexes, such as Ferrandina, Chiaromonte, and especially Armento sanctuaries.⁵⁵⁹ The first restoration of the complex must have taken place in the so-called *sagrato*, where the pavement was redone in limestone flagstones set on top of the pre-existing sandstone floor, identified by Adamesteanu in the south-west area of the courtyard. It is not, however, certain that these flagstones date from the first phase of monumentalization of the complex, and even the preliminary

⁵⁵⁹ Observations on the adoption of these scenographic architectural solutions in Masseria and D'Anisi 2001, 125-127.

report published by the excavators in 1992 is not clear on this point. On the one hand it is clearly stated that in the south west corner of the *sagrato* two inscriptions dating to the second century B.C. cover the flagstones, thus permitting us to narrow the period when the flooring was redone to between end of third century B.C. and second century B.C.; there is also talk of “redoing the flooring”⁵⁶⁰ with reference to the last phase of the restoration of the sanctuary. Results of more recent archaeological investigations tend to attribute the limestone flagstones to the last phase of monumentalization of the complex. The excavations carried out by M.L. Nava in the area to the west of the sanctuary have turned up flooring slabs that are similar, if not identical, to those of the *sagrato*, where a *denarius* of Quintus Antonius Balbus issued in 84 – 83 B.C. was found. The two floorings seem to be contemporary, and both areas would thus date from the first century B.C.⁵⁶¹ Obviously this information has to be further verified and cannot be taken as definitive. The limestone flooring was plausibly laid at the time of the first phase of monumentalization, and redone later during the last phase of the rebuilding, in the same way as practically all the other structures existing at that time.

The restoration of the so-called *temenos* wall can also be dated to the first phase of monumentalization of the complex. This was also confirmed by M.L. Nava’s excavation campaigns around the western segment of the wall, which has enabled us to date the renovation of this structure to the third century B.C.⁵⁶²

Finally, it is difficult to date the building of the rooms on three sides of the courtyard (rooms II, III, and IV) to this phase with certainty. Nevertheless, it is very likely that rooms were built around the *sagrato* in

⁵⁶⁰ Adamesteanu and Dilthey 1992, 78.

⁵⁶¹ Nava and Cracolici 2005, 110, fig. 14; 112.

⁵⁶² Nava and Cracolici 2005, 104-105; 110-112.

the sanctuary during this first phase of monumentalization. This seems to have also been confirmed by excavations carried out in 2007, focusing on the south-east corner of the complex this time. These investigations have allowed us to date the outer walls of rooms II and IV to between the end of the third century and beginning of the second century B.C. Along the wall dividing these two rooms, traces of a ritual action connected to this same phase of monumentalization have been discovered. This is a stone *teca* or container datable to the third century B.C. containing deposited votive material, which has allowed the dating of the rooms II and IV.⁵⁶³ There is instead some doubt about dating the construction of room III; however, because of its symmetry with room IV, it may be considered its contemporary.

The second phase of renovation of the complex dates to the second half of the first century B.C. (**Fig. VI-2**). A fragment of an architrave found in front of room IV, bearing a dedicatory inscription to Mephitis (RV-22) by a member of the *Acerronia gens*, leads us to believe that it was his euergetism that was behind the building activity of this last phase.⁵⁶⁴ The excavators identified the person mentioned as Cn. Acerronius Proculus, consul in 37 A.D., thus placing the last restoration of the complex in the early Imperial age.⁵⁶⁵ Conversely, Marina Torelli has suggested a new dating to first century B.C., as she identifies the Acerronius mentioned above as the “nonno del console del 37 d.C. [...] dalla considerazione del fatto che il legame con la terra di origine, qui testimoniato dall’opera di evergetismo nel santuario, è più forte ed operante nel momento in cui una *gens* è in fase di ascesa, mentre diviene progressivamente meno incisivo una volta che un membro di una *gens*, raggiunti onori consolari, si inserisce

⁵⁶³ Colangelo *et al.* 2009.

⁵⁶⁴ Adamesteanu and Dilthey 1992, 25, 78.

⁵⁶⁵ Adamesteanu and Lejeune 1971, 73.

a pieno titolo nella vita dell'Urbe.⁵⁶⁶ This dating is now accepted by the majority of scholars,⁵⁶⁷ and is confirmed by the results of the 2007 excavations, where the strata containing material from the Imperial period were seen to be almost inexistent⁵⁶⁸ and yielded material limited to a few coins which go back no further than the Tiberian period.⁵⁶⁹

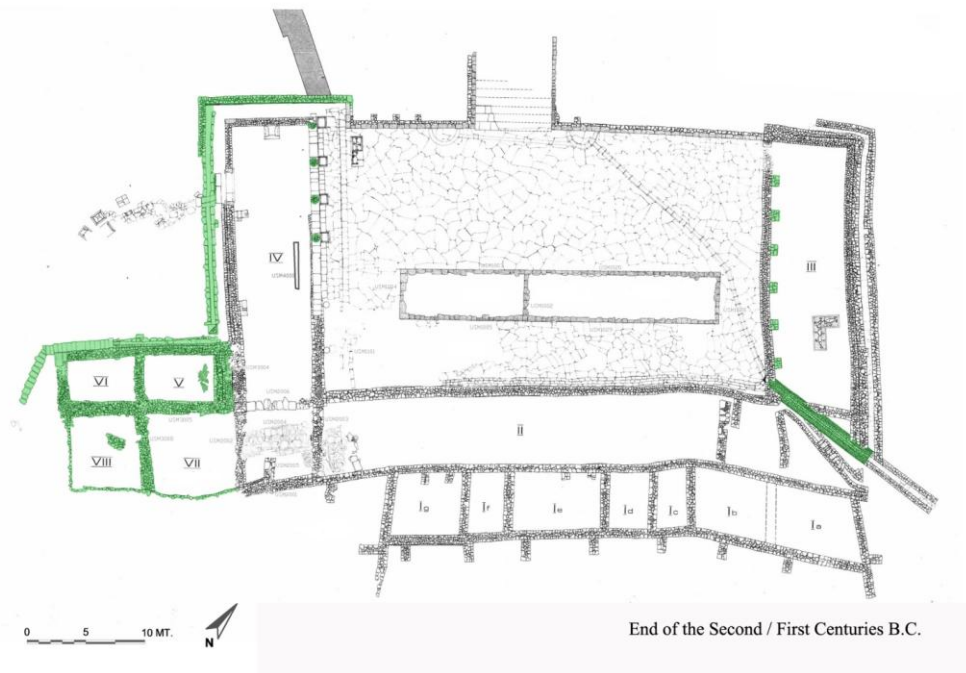


Figure VI-2. Rossano di Vaglio Sanctuary:
second phase of restoration

⁵⁶⁶ Torelli M.R. 1990, 85: [grandfather of the 37 A.D. consul [...] since the link with the land of origin, here testified to be the work of euergetism in the sanctuary, is stronger and works better when a *gens* is in an ascending phase, while it becomes progressively less urgent once a *gens* member, upon achieving consular honours, is fully integrated into the life of the *Urbe*].

⁵⁶⁷ Denti 1992, 12; Masseria and D'Anisi 2001, 129; Falasca 2002, 29-30. Furthermore, a change in date to the first century B.C. had already been suggested in Dilthey 1980, 541, as well as in Pontrandolfo 1982, 154.

⁵⁶⁸ Colangelo *et al.* 2009.

⁵⁶⁹ Stazio A., in *Da Leukania a Lucania*, 86-90. In addition to these coins, a few pieces of Imperial age oil lamps were found deposited along the foundation of the southern wall of room IV. Rather than a ritual act in connection with the last renovation of the room (Adamesteanu and Dilthey 1992, 40-41), they should be considered a form of *thysia* connected to the final phases of the cult and the abandonment of the sanctuary (Andrisani 2008, 132). In other words, these materials cannot be considered as useful elements for dating the last building phase of the Rossano sanctuary.

This was the largest renovation program undertaken in the sanctuary. Its main feature was the use of brick structures. In addition to redoing of part of the *sagrato* flooring and making a covered sewer in the north-east of the complex, it also involved renovating the rooms around the complex. The construction of rooms V-VIII located to the south of room IV probably also dates to this phase, along with room I which was parallel to room II but, unlike it, was further divided into small rooms of varying sizes.

The situation with room III is more complicated. During this last renovation of the complex, it underwent a series of changes mainly involving the covering structures. Both its layout and the position of the entrance, located on the west side of the room towards the yard, seem to have been unaltered. However in this phase, a brick semi-column was erected to the north of the door. The floor was raised about 20 cm., and six square platforms (approx. 60 cm. each side) were constructed along the wall adjacent to the *sagrato*, linked to six stone capitals found both inside and outside the room (but in its immediate vicinity). These were platforms for brick columns topped by capitals.⁵⁷⁰ Furthermore, there is a T-shaped platform found at the bottom of the room,⁵⁷¹ but it is hard to understand to what phase it belongs. Aligned with the altar of the *sagrato*, this platform consists of eight blocks of limestone assembled with iron grips. From the stratigraphic point of view, the monument's foundation rests on flooring from the Republican period, leading us to believe that the platform was also part of the final restoration of the room. As it is generally considered that this room housed the cult statue,⁵⁷² it is therefore probable that the platform existed before the Republican phase and that it was then reused in the last phase of the room reorganization.

⁵⁷⁰ Adamesteanu 1971a, 42.

⁵⁷¹ Adamesteanu 1971a, 42; Falasca 2003, 27.

⁵⁷² Adamesteanu 1993, 64.

Finally, room IV is our main testimony to the massive building intervention on the sanctuary. The columns were redone in this room too: six brick columns were erected directly on the first block of the flight of steps leading to the *sagrato*. A shaped base consisting of a single block sat in front of each column, serving possibly to hold a statue or other monuments. The re-laying of the floor in *opus signinum*, over a previous floor in *opus spicatum*, was possibly done during this phase.

As borne out by the data summarised here, after the last major restoration in the first century B.C., the appearance of the sanctuary would have been decidedly monumental, with a structure prevalently in white limestone and bricks. Those who entered from the wide open staircase on the western side of the *sagrato* could see, in the background of the area dominated by the altar, a dividing wall between the *sagrato* and room II, covered with thin sloping slabs of limestone. The northern and southern sides were delimited by lines of brick columns, perfect mirror images of each other. Thus the “scenographic” effect, amplified by the presence of marble statues and rich votive offerings that I will speak of shortly, must have been remarkable.

VI. 1. 2 ~ The materials

As pointed out several times in Chapter III, most of the votive objects related to the Lucanian period of the sanctuary were mass produced terracotta figurines, of types seen in all the other sanctuaries of the region, despite some differences in the choice of iconographic specifications (and consequently in the moulds). In this respect, during the Lucanian phase the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary does not seem to stand out from other Lucanian cult places.

However, from the end of the third century B.C. onwards, and corresponding with the start of monumental restoration interventions of this

period, there was a change in the type and quality of votive objects seen here. The terracotta votives of Greek origin became rarer and rarer and their presence in the sanctuary – as in other cult places in the region – ceased with the end of the third century B.C.

Statues

From the end of the third century B.C. onwards, bronze and marble statues began to be seen in the sanctuary. The appearance of statuary is particularly significant given that it is rare to find statues in Lucanian archaeological contexts.

Numerous fragments of bronze statues have been found, mainly in room III. These include fragments of female drapery and remains of hair, a branch of laurel and a blossom, all pieces attributable to the same sculptural group as that of a fragment of a female head recently found outside room III (**Fig. VI-3**). Inspired to second half of the fourth and early third centuries B.C. stylistic (post-Prassitelic or Lysippic) models, this head has been attributed to expert craftsmen almost certainly Magno-Graecian. It can be therefore annoverated – as well as the other bronze statuary pieces – in the contemporary Italiote bronze sculpture.⁵⁷³ Furthermore, it seems interesting to note that the size adopted for this statue (which was originally three feet high) proves the Roman influence on contemporary cultural and stylistic models: as Pliny the Elder tells us,⁵⁷⁴ the so-called *tripedanae* statues were very common in Rome itself during this period.⁵⁷⁵ As we shall see, also the marble statues present the same reduced size.

⁵⁷³ *Da Leukania a Lucania*, 79-82.

⁵⁷⁴ Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXIV, 24.

⁵⁷⁵ *Da Leukania a Lucania*, 81.



Figure VI-3. Rossano di Vaglio Sanctuary:
fragments of bronze statues

These are six statues found in various parts of the sanctuary.⁵⁷⁶ Their original placement is unknown, since most of them were found in an enormous ditch in the eastern side of room IV, together with broken stones and mixed votive material, thrown there when the sanctuary was abandoned. The statues are all of Greek marble, plausibly produced in *ateliers* in Asia Minor and the islands (especially Rhodes), which were active during the late Hellenistic period.

A torso of Hermaphrodite seems to be the oldest among these, dated between the end of third century B.C. and the first half of the second century B.C.⁵⁷⁷

There is also a group, which consists of a statue of Artemis wearing a *chiton*, one of Artemis in a *peplos*, a head of Aphrodite and a small Cupid, from room IV, and dates from the mid-second century B.C. (**Fig. VI-4**). The statue of Artemis wearing *chiton* and *himation* is a replica of the Louvre-Ephese Artemis, which depicts the goddess as hunting, according to a type which is dated to the mid-fourth century B.C. or to Hellenistic age.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁶ The marble statues were studied and documented by Mario Denti (Denti 1992; Denti 1993, 70-79).

⁵⁷⁷ Denti 1992, 37-42.

⁵⁷⁸ *LIMC*, II, 1, s.v. Artemis, n. 2, type b1, nn. 266-273.

This statuary type originated in the eastern Mediterranean basin, and the closest comparison with the Rossano statue is a sculpture from Ephese.⁵⁷⁹ The second statue of Artemis, wearing a *peplos*, is a late-Hellenistic variant of the Artemis-Colonna type, which originated in the second half of fourth century B.C. in Attic environment.⁵⁸⁰



Figure VI-4. Rossano di Vaglio Sanctuary:
marble statues

⁵⁷⁹ LIMC, II, 1, s.v. Artemis, n. 270.

⁵⁸⁰ LIMC, II, 1, s.v. Artemis, 638; nn. 163-168.

Finally, a small female statue that can be connected to Isis' cult is dated between the end of the second century and the beginning of the first century B.C.⁵⁸¹

As said, the marble statues present a reduced size, and are replicas of Hellenistic re-elaborations of late-Classical models. From a purely formal perspective, they are examples of middle level late-Hellenistic sculpture creation, which was produced by Greek artists for customers having a *koiné* culture.⁵⁸²

Jewellery

A number of ornaments in precious material and of superb workmanship were among the items found in the sacred area dating from the end of the third century B.C. onwards. They include women's jewellery sets, rings, earrings, pendants (often also decorated with precious stones), and belts made from silver and gold leaf.⁵⁸³ They are of great artistic value and the style is clearly Greek, but nothing is known about when, how, and exactly where they were found (**Fig. VI-5**).

Coins

More than a thousand coins were found in the sacred area of Rossano di Vaglio dating between the fourth century B.C. and the early Imperial period, though most are from the period between the third and the second centuries B.C. The coins are mainly from the indigenous centres of Campania (*Campulteria*, *Cales*, and *Nuceria*) and northern Apulia (*Arpi*, *Salaria*, *Venusta*, *Ausculum*, *Canusium*, etc.).⁵⁸⁴ As A. Stazio points out, the enormous variety of coins found inside the Rossano sanctuary comes from

⁵⁸¹ Denti 1992, 17-18.

⁵⁸² Denti M., in *Da Leukania a Lucania*, 70.

⁵⁸³ Adamesteanu and Dilthey 1992, 27-26; *Da Leukania a Lucania*, 82-86.

⁵⁸⁴ There has been no publication on the coins, but a partial presentation can be found in *Da Leukania a Lucania*, 86-90.

offerings to the gods and is not due to coins lost by chance (something, however, that happens in other religious complexes).⁵⁸⁵



Figure VI-5. Rossano di Vaglio Sanctuary:
jewelry

⁵⁸⁵ Stazio A., in *Da Leukania a Lucania*, 86.

Votive terracottas

As well as in the entire Magno-Graecian world, terracotta figurines disappeared by the end of the third century B.C. However other types of terracotta products appeared in the sanctuary in this period, although they are numerically insignificant when compared to the vast quantity of female figurines derived from Greek models, which are found during the Lucanian phase of the complex.

Firstly, anatomical votives appeared, basically representing arms, legs and breasts.⁵⁸⁶ This type of terracotta votive offering is quite rare in Lucania, and is generally interpreted as a fossil-guide for the spread of Roman cultural models in the conquered regions of Italy.⁵⁸⁷

To the same cultural period some male or “togati” statues of offerants have to be attributed, a type of iconography that was very widespread in south-central Italy between third and second centuries B.C., and documented in Rome and Latium in the first century B.C.⁵⁸⁸

Inscriptions

As briefly illustrated in Chapter IV, a certain number of Osco/Greek inscriptions dated between second and first centuries B.C. and a group of inscriptions in the Latin language and alphabet dated between the Social war and the Augustan age bear witness to the strong Roman presence in the Potentino area. These epigraphs name citizens’ judiciaries of Roman origin,⁵⁸⁹ to which the Roman formula indicating origin *senathii tanginod*

⁵⁸⁶ The anatomical votives from the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary have not been mentioned in current publications. However, these materials were examined by me at the storerooms of the “Dinu Adamesteanu” National Archaeological Museum of Potenza.

⁵⁸⁷ Comella 1981, 775.

⁵⁸⁸ With regard to the distribution of this iconographic type in the Samnite world, see Guidobaldi 2005, 392 f.

⁵⁸⁹ RV-17, -18, -01, -02; RV-28, -17, -18, -02. The formula *senathii tanginod* is found in RV-17, -18, -28.

(= *de senatus sententia*) is also added.⁵⁹⁰ The presence of these documents, attesting the existence of a constitution inspired by the Roman model (as well as in the case of Bantia, mentioned in the previous chapter), is therefore tangible proof of that process of assimilation to Roman models that was, by the second century B.C., well on its way.⁵⁹¹

VI. 2 ~ The Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary in the wider context of the “Italic Hellenism”

In order to better understand the historical meaning of the monumentalization phases of the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary, these phases have to be framed in the context of the so-called “Italic Hellenism,” a phrase which means the assimilation of Greek cultural forms in the Italic environment through the Roman filter and intercession. With regard to southern Italy, this phenomenon impacted, among other regions, the Samnite and Campania areas, and helped, additionally, in recovering and revitalising indigenous cults. This policy of reviving pre-Roman Italic cults resulted in the construction of monumental religious complexes, whose plan was inspired by Hellenic models taken from the Greek East.⁵⁹²

For the purpose of this discussion, it seems appropriate to take a look at the Samnite area, which is the closest to Lucania both in terms of historical events that affected it as well as the cultural substrata which the two regions have in common, especially as the Lucanian region was born “as a derivation” of Samnium itself. In Samnium, religious places and cult centres newly built during this period followed a style that was determined

⁵⁹⁰ On the Roman origin of “quaestor,” see Camporeale 1956, 50 f.; Russi 1973, 1895; Campanile 1990, 25-27. For “caensor,” see Campanile and Letta 1979, 65, n. 157. On the Roman origin of the Oscan term *senati* (gen. sing.), see Camporeale 1956, 63 f.; Laffi 1983, 383. For general information, see Cappelletti 2005, 208, n. 711

⁵⁹¹ Torelli M.R. 1990, 96.

⁵⁹² For an overall picture of the results of Italic Hellenism in the second century B.C. in Samnium, see Tagliamonte 2005, 189-202.

by ancient architectural, decorative and stylistic models, which were re-elaborated in a local fashion, thus resulting in a strongly eclectic character. A paradigmatic case of this cultural phenomenon is without doubt the famous Pietrabbondante sanctuary, with the theatre-temple complex B built between the end of second century and 80 B.C. It stands out from other Samnite complexes because of its size (the podium of temple B is 23.10 x 35.75m.) and decorative elements. Although the area around the temple is laid out according to pre-Roman designs, the architectural design of temple B (which is of a Tuscanic type), as well as the combination of religious building and theatre, are equally clearly derived from the Latin world, while the style and decorations are clearly of Hellenic inspiration. This mixing of diverse cultural traditions reflects the very mechanism which is at the basis of the transmission of Hellenic models: it is in fact the Latin and Campanian environments which were the main vehicle for the spread of Hellenic models.

The most innovative result of this process is the establishment of the “temple” as an architectural category, until then totally unknown in the Italic environment. The religious buildings now were erected in sacred areas set on levelled terraces, usually dug out along the slopes of a mountain. The terraces are often obstructed by massive walls, mostly polygonal structures (like the Pietrabbondante, Campochiaro, Schavi d’Abruzzo, Vastogirardi complexes, etc.). Often the temple was constructed on a high moulded podium, to isolate and raise the building with respect to the surrounding area, while the only access to it was emphasised with a staircase. Where there is no podium, an altar is often placed in front of the temple’s access staircase. The temples are constructed in local stone, with clay architectural decoration.

The temple is usually a prostyle tetrastyle building, often with two additional columns aligned along the axes of the *cella* walls. The two types of plans common in the Samnite area are single *cella* and three *cella* types (*i.e.* *cella* with lateral *alae*). The most common floor plan is that of single *cella* preceded by the *pronaos* (as in the sanctuaries of Campochiaro, Vastogirardi, temple A of Juvanum, the smaller temple of Schiavi d'Abruzzo), and its most ancient examples, dating between the end of the third century and beginning of the second century B.C., are the larger temple of Schiavi d'Abruzzo and temple A of Pietrabbondante. This plan is also seen, for example, in the Hirpinian temple of Macchia Porcara near Casalbore, which during the third century was a prostyle, hexastyle building with a second row of columns in the *pronaos*, and had a floor plan with a single quadrangular *cella* flanked by *alae*. This same plan is found in the temple of Macchia di Circello, also in the Hirpinia area, in the late second century B.C. And finally, once more Pietrabbondante can be identified as the place where these new stimuli and cultural influences converge, since temple B is the clearest example of a Tuscanic plan in Samnite area. It is a prostyle tetrastyle building, with *antae* and a second row of columns along the sides, and is thus an example of the three *cella* plan.

Obviously the phenomenon of assimilation of Hellenic and Roman models is not limited to architectural aspects, but impacts also the sanctuary furniture and the votive dedications (not always recognizable today), which began to be modelled according to the forms adapted from the Hellenic and Roman worlds.

The rich epigraphic documentation available shows that part of this revival of the Samnite sanctuary areas was due to the activity of the *touta* or of the individual local communities, through public expenditure or own magistrates (*meddices tutici*), or else on the initiative of the members of the

most illustrious *gentes* of Samnium.⁵⁹³ This fact has led scholars to interpret this phenomenon as anti-Roman activity, *i.e.* as a form of “ideological resistance” to the assimilation/imposition of Roman cultural models. According to G. Tagliamonte, mainly the sanctuaries that had carried out anti-Roman policies ceased functioning in the first century B.C.⁵⁹⁴ Almost none of the Samnite sanctuaries seem to have survived the *bellum sociale*, and cultic activity ceased in the first century B.C.

Comparing data regarding Samnium with the documentation from Lucania, it is possible to argue that the case of the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary can be included in the same historical and cultural context as that of the monumentalization of Samnite cult places. As seen, the sanctuary acquired a layout which was inspired to scenographic solutions of Hellenistic origin, having a double portico which bordered a courtyard.⁵⁹⁵

The appearance in the sanctuary of materials of Hellenistic inspiration, in particular statuary and jewelry, is a reflection of the same phenomenon of adoption of figurative products and models from the Greek world in Italian peninsula, which was mainly determined by the Roman conquest of the eastern Mediterranean basin. Rome, therefore, was the filter of such assimilation. These objects were plausibly ordered by the local elites, whose identity is destined to remain unknown given the lack of epigraphic sources. For sure, however, they were groups who were imbued with Greek culture, through the intermediation of the more and more pressing presence of Rome. In other words, the new language that the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary started to “speak” from the end of the third century B.C. was the *koiné* language which was common to all the Italic

⁵⁹³ Poccetti 1979.

⁵⁹⁴ Tagliamonte 2005, 195.

⁵⁹⁵ Adamesteanu and Dilthey 1992, 78.

communities conquered (and therefore influenced) by Rome, being the main receptor of the cultural stimuli from the Greek world.

In Lucania, however, the phenomenon is definitely on a smaller scale, when compared with Samnium. Although today it is known that Lucanian sanctuaries continued after the end of the third century B.C, it is nonetheless undeniable that from that period archaeological documentation indicates very limited cultic activity, only just perceptible on the archaeological level. As seen in chapter V. 3, the votive offerings, which are mainly those typical of the Lucanian phase (for the major part figured terracottas), became considerably rarer. Furthermore, in the Lucanian sanctuaries (except for Rossano) no monumentalization phase is attested, and where there is reorganisation and restoration (as in Torre di Satriano),⁵⁹⁶ these building activities aim to reduce the area originally destined for cult, almost as if to reflect the deletion of religious activity together with the redefining of the settlements in the area. As argued in the previous chapter, the continuity of some of these sanctuaries was due to the small rural villages which continued to populate the territory, whereas the hill-top settlements disappeared. The disappearance of these centres, and therefore of an upper class which lived there and was in charge of administering the sacred places, explains why these sanctuaries were sporadically frequented and were not subject to any building or restoration activity during the second century B.C.

As already stated, the exception to this trend is the Rossano di Vaglio complex, which is the only example of a Lucanian sanctuary involved in the restructuring phenomenon of indigenous sanctuaries, which has been illustrated above with regard to the Samnite world. Another difference with Samnium is that the monumentalization of Rossano does

⁵⁹⁶ Chapter V. 3. 1. 1.

not include the adoption of a temple, and the ground plan of the complex remained basically unchanged, except for the addition of new rooms and the adoption of forms which remind us of Hellenic models.

Thus it is necessary to ask why this phenomenon was limited only to Rossano, who made this choice, and if there were “ideological” reasons for the choice. To answer these questions it is indispensable to look at the “patronage” of the sanctuary: who were the promoters of the monumentalization of the complex and who managed it in the last two centuries B.C., when the surrounding settlements were gone and Lucanian society was by now redefining itself under the push of Roman models?

VI. 3 ~ The Lucanian elites as promoters of the monumentalization of the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary

The comparison with the Samnite world, where the phenomenon of revitalization of the cult places was more widespread than the one which occurred in Lucania, helps to explain who promoted the building activities in the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary and who administered the complex until it was abandoned. As in Samnium, it would have been the local elites who continued to administer the sanctuary, and “invested” their wealth in the restoration and enlargement works of the complex. Since the Serra di Vaglio settlement disappeared, these groups would have moved to the closest new-born centre, which was undoubtedly Potentia, according to a phenomenon which has been described in the previous chapter. Of course, because the anti-Roman factions were certainly opposed by Rome, it was those small groups which favoured Rome who were able to continue their activity in the sanctuary administration. And Rome itself favoured them.

Moreover, they must certainly not have been lacking in financial resources. Expropriation of lands, that were then transformed into *ager*

publicus populi romani, did in fact principally damage the middle classes of the society (namely the so-called “intermediate groups”),⁵⁹⁷ who from this historic moment onwards became archaeologically “invisible.”⁵⁹⁸ The confiscated lands were then rented out to Lucanian oligarchies that favoured Rome, on payment of a *vectigal* that was rarely collected and thus soon given up.⁵⁹⁹ That Lucanian elites did not lack financial resources is further substantiated by the archaeological evidence from close by regions such as Daunia. That Daunian pro-Roman aristocracy gained advantages from this sort of “alliance” with the dominant power has been proven archaeologically by the extraordinary wealth of the tombs from between the third and the second centuries B.C. (for example the “Tomba degli Ori” in Canosa, the “Tomba di Teanum Apulum,” and the “Tomba n. 6” in Ascoli Satriano, loc. Serpente).⁶⁰⁰

In summation, it is plausible to argue that the Romans provided the local elites with social mobility, who thus continued to have a leading role in the administration of the sanctuaries. The new “position” that the pro-Roman elites acquired during the late Republican centuries is well illustrated in some dedicatory inscriptions coming from the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary, dated between the end of the third and the second centuries B.C., mentioning indigenous judiciaries copied from the Roman *cursus honorum*.⁶⁰¹ These inscriptions are meaningfully contemporaneously with the reconstruction of the Rossano di Vaglio complex and the appearance of lavish and precious finds, such as statuary and jewelry. Hence, one should imagine that these local groups, now framed in the new

⁵⁹⁷ Livy XXXIX, 29 (in reference to the events of 185 B.C.).

⁵⁹⁸ Chapter V. 2. 3.

⁵⁹⁹ Torelli 1993, XVII, XIX; Gualtieri 2003, 41.

⁶⁰⁰ Torelli 1992, 56.

⁶⁰¹ Adamesteanu and Lejeune 1971, 52 f.

political set up given by Rome, and stimulated by financial advantages, continued to run the Rossano sanctuary and promoted its revival.

Given the role played by the Lucanian elites in the process of monumentalization of the sanctuary, some points of this issue have to be clarified. Why did the local elites promote such a revival? Was it a means of anti-Roman resistance? Finally, why was the Rossano di Vaglio complex restored, while the other sanctuaries declined?

VI. 4 ~ Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary in the late Republican age: an example of anti-Roman ideological resistance? A re-interpretation

Given the active position of the local elites in the process of restoration and revitalization of the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary, it is now necessary to question what the purpose was of this re-evaluation, which involved, as seen, important financial investments by the promoters themselves. Furthermore, it has to be explained why the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary was subject to this re-evaluation, and not other sanctuaries which were as big and frequented as Rossano.⁶⁰²

According to the most credible interpretation in the current literature, the revival of the Rossano complex and Mephitis' cult starting at the end of the third century B.C. should be explained as a sign of "ideological resistance"⁶⁰³ to Roman domination, carried out by the local elites through

⁶⁰² Cf. conclusion to part I of this dissertation.

⁶⁰³ Resistance to Roman dominion has been conceptualized as an alternative model to "self-Romanization." The interest in phenomena of resistance followed in the wake of post-colonial and anti-imperialist historiography, which arose during the 1970s from the decolonization of the old European colonial territories (see Blázquez 1989). In line with the criticism of the Romano-centric perspective dominant in twentieth century historiography, this model emphasizes the active role played by the "indigenous" element in the process of spreading Roman dominion and culture in terms of resistance to Rome. In this work, resistance to Roman dominion has been (sometimes anachronistically) compared to anti-colonialism in the modern world. Furthermore, special emphasis has been drawn to the dialectic between pro-Roman elites and indigenous groups reacting against the spread of Roman dominion (Cf. Bénabou 1976; Pippidi 1976, in some respects also Salmon 1967). This model can be encapsulated in the seminal work by M. Bénabou on "Romanization" of North-Africa, where a fundamental role is attributed to the activity of indigenous populations in terms of "resistance" to Rome (Bénabou 1976). Since Bénabou often discusses evidence concerning cults and religious practices (Cf. Bénabou 1976, 11: "Nous

the restoration of original local cults, which became symbols of cultural and ethnic identity.⁶⁰⁴ Thus, the restoration of the Rossano sanctuary would follow a phenomenon that was already known in the Samnite world, where euergetism that was concentrated on regional sanctuaries during the last two centuries B.C. is today generally interpreted by scholars as an activity of opposition to Rome by local ruling classes.⁶⁰⁵ In this section, therefore, it seems appropriate to discuss the interpretative reading of this phenomenon, proposing some ideas and working hypotheses. Rather than being exhaustive, the intention is to offer ideas for future studies.

Some points of the theory of “ideological resistance” seem puzzling.

First, as seen in the previous section, the philo-Roman elites took advantage of their new position in the Roman political system. Taking into consideration this dependence relationship of local elites on Rome, it is worth wondering whether they would really have been interested in doing anything *against* their own source of wealth and survival.

considérons comme relevant d'une forme de résistance à la romanisation tout ce qui, dans la ou les religions effectivement pratiquées sur le territoire des provinces de l'Afrique romaine, s'écarte par quelque trait de la religion officielle et se rattache, d'une façon directe ou indirecte, à des traits connus de la religion africaine traditionnelle”), he also considers some ideological aspects of the phenomenon of assimilation to Roman culture. In this respect, the basic notion of his theory has given rise to a current of thought which focuses on forms of “ideological resistance,” which has developed in the studies of Italian archaeology. In this view, the persistence of “local” cultural traditions during the Roman conquest is investigated and interpreted not only as a tool for resisting the spread of the imposition of Roman culture, but also as reflecting a desire by local people to re-discover and claim their own cultural identity. Peter van Dommelen, for example, espouses this approach in his work on Punic Sardinia, where he shifts the attention to Punic culture. This approach allows him to reinterpret the increasing development and persistence of Punic cultural traits in Sardinia as a form of “ideological” resistance to the spread of dominant culture, a means of claiming the Punic identity. In fact, native communities started to adopt more explicitly Punic cultural forms when the pressure of Roman hegemony became harsher, as after the Romans seized Sardinia in the aftermath of the First Punic War in 237 B.C. (Van Dommelen 1998; 2001). Recently, Van Dommelen (2007, 58 f.) has spoken of “silent resistance,” a concept borrowed by the so-called “Subaltern-Studies” group of historians and anthropologists working on south-eastern Asia. Different forms of “silent resistance” have been investigated within this light, such as foot-dragging, tax evasion, pilfering and poaching, etc.

⁶⁰⁴ Torelli 1993, XXI-XXVII.

⁶⁰⁵ Tagliamonte 2005, 188 f.

Moreover, it is necessary to ask how interested Rome was in completely eradicating the original cultural traits of the conquered communities, given its policy of integration and concessions towards the local officers. In this respect, in a recent study on the Roman conquest and dominion, G. Cecconi reminds us that Rome never behaved as a totalitarian state, and never tried to completely demolish past social and institutional systems.⁶⁰⁶ Romans never wanted to make into integral “Romans” the subjugated people of every geographical area or social group.⁶⁰⁷

Finally, another “problematic” aspect of this approach which stresses the role of “resistance” to Rome could be that an implied dichotomy between “indigenous” and “Roman” is taken for granted, which is – at least in the case of peninsular Italy – groundless. The Roman world, indeed, is itself a complex, multifarious reality. One must always be aware that Rome is the product of plural-stratified acculturations and that, before its imposition as main power on political scenario, Rome is a Latin, Etruscan and Greek city, and has been strongly influenced by the Italic *koiné*.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁶ Moreover, according to an ancient Roman political concept, opponents should not be destroyed, but closed within the boundaries of their state, thus yesterday’s enemies become tomorrow’s allies: *Romulus ...docuit etiam hostibus recipiendis augeri hanc civitatem oportere* [Romulus...taught that this city should be enriched also by admitting enemies] (Cicero, *Pro Balbo*, XXXI, 13). See also Livy VII, 24, 4.

⁶⁰⁷ Cecconi 2006, 85 f. This scholar – recalling the famous theory by Arendt who demonstrated that the totalitarian states of 20th century are a complete historical novelty (note 24) – thinks that Rome privileged a system of “soft power,” which was exercised through the transmission of both ethical values and an institutional and economic system taken as a whole. This cannot be considered a cultural revolution, partly because one cannot take for granted that Romans were aware of this process of cultural transmission. Here it is worth mentioning an idea expressed by P. Garnsey and R. Saller on the Roman Empire (Garnsey and Saller 1987, 189-203): the two scholars doubt that Romans had any conscious aim to transmit their lifestyle and culture; on the contrary, both during the Republican age and during the Empire, their main goal was military control and social order.

⁶⁰⁸ Cecconi 2006, 83-84: “Romano - così come oggi italiano, francese o a maggior ragione americano – nella nostra prospettiva non può far riferimento a una cultura per così dire «pura» ma a una realtà già, a sua volta, prodotto di strati di acculturazione precedenti da cui poi si è originata la Roma che si è imposta come superpotenza, non senza successive e mai cessanti modifiche della propria identità complessiva” [The term Roman – the way we now use Italian, French and even more to the point American – cannot from our point of view refer to something that might be called a «pure» culture, but to a situation that is, in its turn, the product of layers of previous

In the light of these considerations, it may be possible to propose an alternative reading of the revival of the Rossano sanctuary in the late-Republican age. As seen in other contexts, in some cases the Romans intentionally salvaged indigenous cults and adopted them, in order to integrate conquered populations.⁶⁰⁹ The case of Rossano di Vaglio could be therefore explained as part of the same mechanism, and behind its *floruit* one should see the *longa manus* of Rome itself on the eve of the appearance of Potentia in the surrounding area.

In this respect, it is necessary to question why the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary was chosen by Romans for this purpose. The answer to this question may lie in the importance that the cult of Mephitis had during the fourth and third centuries B.C. for the Lucanian communities, and the consequent value that the Romans themselves attributed to it in their strategy of integration of local people. The importance that Mephitis' cult had for the Romans themselves is corroborated by the fact that, after the Rossano di Vaglio complex was abandoned, the cult was transferred to the nearby Potentia. Before this, however, the cult was exported to Rome. Written sources tell us that Mephitis was venerated on the Esquiline hill,⁶¹⁰ where a *lucus* or "sacred wood,"⁶¹¹ and an *aedes* or temple was dedicated to

acculturation. The Rome that asserted itself as a superpower was born out of this process, after undergoing consecutive and unceasing modifications to its own identity taken as a whole].

⁶⁰⁹ For example, the sanctuary of Apollo Grannus in Aquisgrana, where the cult of the local deity Grannus was used by the Romans to integrate the indigenous populations.

⁶¹⁰ The choice of the Esquiline hill as the home of the Mephitic cult can probably be explained by its affinity with the close by cult of Juno Lucina. Both the deities have been identified in the literary sources (Servius, *Aen.*, VII, 84). Cf. Chapter IV. 3. 3.

⁶¹¹ Varro, *de Lin. Latina*, V, 49: *secundae regionis Esquili[n]jae. alii has scripserunt ab excubiis regis dictas, alii ab eo quod excultae a rege Tullio essent. Huic origini magis concinunt loca uicina, quod ibi lucus dicitur Facutalis et Larum Querquetulanum sacellum et lucus Mefitis et Iunonis Lucinae, quorum angusti fines. Non mirum: iam diu enim late avaritia una est [to the second region belongs the Esquiline. Some say that this was named from the king's *excubiae* 'watch-posts,' others that it was from the fact that it was planted with *aesculi* 'oaks' by King Tullius. With this second origin the near-by places agree better, because in that locality there is the so-called Beech Grove, and the chapel of the Oak-Grove Lares, and the Grove of Mefitis and of Juno Lucina – whose territories are narrow] (English translation by TR.G. Kent, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, London, William Heinemann LTD, 1938, The Loeb Classical Library).*

her.⁶¹² It is not known for certain when and how the cult of Mephitis was introduced to Rome. In agreement with Filippo Coarelli, M. Lejeune's hypothesis can be excluded, according to which the cult came to Rome "au temps des rois: Méfitis y pourrait être arrivée avec les dieux sabins dits de Titus Tatius."⁶¹³ Instead, it seems probable that this transferring was due to an *evocatio*⁶¹⁴ of the cult from the Sabellian area, that took place in the mid-Republican age (certainly after 293 B.C., given that Livy does not mention the event).⁶¹⁵ According to Coarelli,⁶¹⁶ the *evocatio* could be attributed to a Roman victory *de Samnitibus* during the last years of the third Samnite war, or more probably, to a victory *de Lucanis*. Starting with this hypothesis, Coarelli identifies the personality who was responsible for the introduction of the cult to Rome. As Festus says (476 L), the *lucus Mefitis* was situated at the extreme western border of the *Cispinus*, overlooking the *vicus Patricius*. In this area, besides the remains of a colonnade that could have been a temple,⁶¹⁷ two twin bilingual inscriptions on marble have been found, dating from the first half of the second century A.D., bearing dedications from the *Papirii* to Hercules Defensor and to Silvanus Custos,⁶¹⁸ who were venerated here as custodians of the *domus Papiriorum*. From the chronology of the inscriptions, it would seem that the dedicators could be identified as the *Papirii Aelianii*, but, according to Coarelli, it also seems possible that these members of the *gens Papiria* wanted to establish a connection with their much more famous ancestors, *Papirii Cursores*,

⁶¹² Festus, 476 L.

⁶¹³ Lejeune 1986, 14.

⁶¹⁴ In the sources the term "evocatio" is taken to mean the Roman religious practice that can be described as "calling out the tutelary deity of the enemy's city or army and inviting him or her to Rome, before the decisive attack set in and, after the victory, moving the statue of this deity to Rome" (Gustafsson 2000, 1).

⁶¹⁵ Coarelli 1998, 187-188.

⁶¹⁶ Coarelli 1998, 185-190.

⁶¹⁷ Lanciani R., *Forma Urbis Romae*, Mediolani 1893, tav. 23.

⁶¹⁸ Moretti L., *IGUR I*, 171=*CIL VI*, 309; 195=*VI*, 310.

Masones and Carbones.⁶¹⁹ The last mentioned would therefore be the most likely founder of the temple of Mephitis on the Esquiline hill. In fact, L. Papirius Cursor,⁶²⁰ during his second consulship in 272 B.C., triumphed *de Samnitibus, Tarentinis et Lucanis*,⁶²¹ a victory that certainly could have been “un’ottima occasione per l’*evocatio* di un culto lucano, che sarebbe in tal caso da identificare con quello di Rossano di Vaglio [an excellent occasion for the *evocatio* of a Lucanian cult, which would in that case be linked with Rossano di Vaglio].”⁶²² For the purposes of our discussion, it is also useful to note that F. Coarelli dates the foundation of Potentia (where the cult of Mephitis *Utiana* would appear a few centuries later) during the third century B.C., and thus at the very time when many Lucanian towns were being abandoned as a result of the Pyrrhic war and the conflict with Taranto. What it is important to point out now is that the transferral of Mephitis’ cult to Rome not only demonstrates that the Romans were deeply devoted to this deity (who shared numerous characteristics with long established Roman deities),⁶²³ but it also denotes the Romans’ “political” interest in this Italic cult, during a period of military expansion in the southern part of the peninsula. Furthermore, the “respect” for some characteristic features and qualities of this deity has to be highlighted, which seem to have been deliberately preserved when it was transferred to the other location. As it is well known, in fact, the reorganization of the layout of ancient sites was never haphazard, but was a response, among other things, to the need to give each deity the position that was most befitting to it. Thus on the Esquiline hill, Mephitis was topographically located close to Juno, with whom she shares many characteristics as we

⁶¹⁹ *RE* XVIII, s.v. Papirius.

⁶²⁰ *RE* XVIII, s.v. Papirius, col. 53.

⁶²¹ Degrassi A., *Inscriptiones Italiae*, XIII, 1, 272-273.

⁶²² Coarelli 1998, 189.

⁶²³ Calisti 2005, 222, note 9.

have already stated.⁶²⁴ Mephitis' *lucus*, similarly, is located right next to that of Juno Lucina; in the same way and quite reasonably it also needed to be close to Libitina, identified with Venus, another goddess who Mephitis would be identified with, and whose cult was also based on the Esquiline hill.⁶²⁵

Given the significance of the cult of Mephitis in the choice of the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary in its strategic revitalization by local elites and Romans together, another point has to be considered as plausible reason of this preference, namely the importance that the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary must have had during the Lucanian age.

One can assume that Rossano was not the only Lucanian sanctuary in which Mephitis was worshipped. As repeated many times in previous chapters as well as at the beginning of this section, although the so-called “federal” function of the sanctuary does not seem to be proven at historical and archaeological levels, it is still undeniable on the basis of size and archaeological record that Rossano must have had a role that was more extensive and important than that of other smaller sanctuaries in the region, that were instead linked to a single town. The site's favourable position in the heart of the Potentino area must have contributed to this, in the same way as it had determined the fortunes of the complex in Lucanian times. Finally, the appearance of the nearby center of Potentia in the surrounding territory has to be considered as one of the influencing factors for the fortunes of the sanctuary under scrutiny. In its post-Hannibalic phases, the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary was framed in a new territorial reality, which was not based anymore on single communities and “central places,” as a new administrative center started to control a wider territory. The revival of

⁶²⁴ On the relationship between Mephitis and Juno and the proximity to the two sacred places on the Esquiline hill, see Calisti 2005, 51-57, with bibliography.

⁶²⁵ Piso, fr. Peter 14 (=Dionysos of Halicarnassus, IV, 15, 5).

the sanctuary, indeed, can be only understood in association to the presence of Potentia, which plausibly substituted the abandoned indigenous settlements. In this context, Rossano di Vaglio became therefore the point of reference of the new territorial entity that was the *praefectura Potentina*). Following this argument, the last building phase of the nearby Torre di Satriano sanctuary can be framed in this novel historical and political context.⁶²⁶

⁶²⁶ Chapter V. 3. 1. 1.

CONCLUSION TO PART II

The second part of this research, which focuses on the transformations which took place in Lucania when Rome first penetrated into and then progressively conquered the region, can fit within the current discourse on the historical process generally known in literature as “Romanization” which has been developed in the last decades in historical-archaeological research.⁶²⁷ It would exceed the confines of this work to discuss the main themes dominating the study of “Romanization” and the major theoretical and methodological issues which are related to this subject. Nevertheless, it is worth stressing what contribution this research provides in shedding light on the complexity of this phenomenon and its own dynamics in the southern peninsula.

The results of the present analysis demonstrate that the process of gradual integration of Lucanian communities as it appears during the centuries of the middle and late Republic was not uniform and univocal all

⁶²⁷ The major part of the models which have been formulated over the time to define this multifaceted process deal with Imperial age phenomena and provincial world, as the vast amount of works dealing with the peculiar forms of cultural change which took place in the Roman periphery from the Augustan age onwards demonstrates. Conversely, there has been a lack of focus on the centuries of the Republic with particular reference to the Italian scenario, whereas a scholarly tendency to illustrate such cultural transformation when the military and political conquest of Italy was already accomplished prevailed. Just recently, archaeological research has started to put emphasis on these important phases of the changing process, often re-elaborating models which had been originally formulated for the Roman *provinciae* (for example, the “emulation model” or “self-Romanization”). Furthermore, regarding specifically the territories of Magna Graecia, a fundamental shift has occurred in contemporary scholarship from a special attention privileging the relationship of the Romans with the Greek to a new attention for the indigenous communities which lived along with the Greeks.

The vast amount of literature produced over the last fifty years on the Romanization of Italy goes from comprehensive works concerning all the peninsula to more specific research, dealing with regional realities. To have a panoramic view of the themes dominating the study of Romanization of Italy, see most notably: Torelli 1999a; Salmon 1982; Torelli M.R. 1990; Coarelli 1992; Keay and Terrenato 2001. Specifically on Southern Italian contexts cf.: Volpe 1990; Torelli 1992; *Comunità indigene*; Gualtieri 2003; *Atti Taranto* 2005.

over the region. Therefore, the definition of such a process risks generalization and partiality. This process can be defined as *culture-contact*, in which a whole of mutual cultural exchange between Romans and local elites engaged in “emulation” and willing assimilation of Roman models, and probably also resistance to the spread of Roman culture have to be considered.

The mutual cultural exchange between Romans and local leading groups was facilitated by the common participation of Roman and non-Roman culture in the broader phenomenon of the spread of the “Italic Hellenism.” The case-study of the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary encapsulates this first paradigm, which has been discussed in order to exemplify the process of transformation with which we are dealing. As I have argued in Chapter VI, the monumentalization of this sanctuary during the Late Republican age can be probably connected to the presence of Rome in the region, and the political, social and cultural transformation which derived from it. This restoration activity can be explained as part of a peculiar Roman strategy of facilitating and stimulating the local communities’ integration into the Roman political and administrative system, and was derived through the assimilation of some of their own traditional cultural traits. Not only did the local elites promote the revival of the complex itself and therefore the cult of Mephitis, but they probably profited from the Romans’ material help and support in order to carry out such building activity.

Why did they choose the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary? The first reason could be that, during the Lucanian age, this sanctuary had wider value and function, not being connected to just one settlement, as most of the cult places of the region. The importance of the sanctuary was primarily due to its favourable geographical position, in close connection to the main

communication routes of Lucania and Apulia. It is in this part of the region, indeed, and probably in not-coincidental proximity to the Rossano sanctuary, that Potentia was founded. Thus, the continuity of the Rossano sanctuary until the first century A.D. is certainly due to the proximity to Potentia, as M. Crawford has clearly stated, when saying that “those rural sanctuaries which survived tended to do so because their organization was incorporated into the administrative structure of a nearby city: such is the case of the sanctuary of Hercules Curinus and Sulmo or of that of Rossano di Vaglio and Potentia.”⁶²⁸

In the light of these considerations, the interpretation of the revival of the Rossano sanctuary and its cult as a form of “ideological resistance” to the hegemonic dominion, which is still common in current literature dealing with the Roman conquest of the Italian peninsula and the transformation which consequently took place, does not seem plausible (cf. Chapter VI. 4). The emphasis that recent scholarship puts on the concept of “resistance” can be considered the very product of the post-colonial approach to the “Romanization” discourse which emphasizes the role played by indigenous people in their relationship with Rome.⁶²⁹ In other words, the concept of “anti-acculturation” (as the different forms of resistance to “Romanization” have been also named) can be considered the artificial creation of the anti-imperialist impetus which has originated in the most recent post-colonial scholarship.

⁶²⁸ Crawford 1996, 427.

⁶²⁹ The interest in phenomena of resistance followed in the wake of post-colonial and anti-imperialist historiography, which arose during the 1970s from the decolonization of the old European colonial territories (Cf. Blázquez 1989). In line with the criticism of the Romano-centric perspective dominant in twentieth century historiography, this model emphasizes the active role played by the “indigenous” element in the process the spread of Roman dominion and culture in terms of resistance to Rome. In this scholarship, resistance to Roman dominion has been (sometimes anachronistically) compared to anti-colonialism in the modern world. Furthermore, special emphasis has been drawn on the dialectic between philo-Roman elites and the indigenous groups reacting against the spread of Roman dominion (Cf. Bénabou 1976; Pippidi 1976; in some respects also Salmon 1967).

Whereas the major players of this cultural integration into the “Roman” world were primarily the local elites, the marginal fringes of the population do not seem to have been actively involved in this process of cultural change. Hence, for non-elite groups such a process of transformation is perceivable (at least at an archaeological level) very late, when the process of *culture-contact* and consequent integration of local communities was accomplished, and the Lucanians became “Roman” at the political and administrative level. This is probably the case of the other sanctuaries which were scattered in the remaining territory of the region, where the only real change can be recognized at an archaeological level is a sort of contraction. This was caused by the dramatic transformations of the surrounding settlements. The continuity in frequenting and using these sanctuaries, when the remaining settlement pattern of the region was gradually transforming into new forms of occupation of the territory, can be attributed not only to the conservatism which is “physiologically” proper to the religious sphere, but also to what can be defined as a neglectful attitude by Romans when dealing with these farthest areas of peninsula, and with small settlement nuclei which certainly did not represent a danger for Rome. In these areas the absence of a strong new Roman center left them “behind” in the process of transformation which, instead, involved more directly those parts of peninsula where the Romans founded their cities. In this respect, the Torre di Satriano case-study demonstrates that things started to change and to be shaped according to Roman cultural forms only later, in the first century B.C., as it has been illustrated in Chapter V.

Turning now to another aspect of what has been defined as *culture-contact*, the notion of willing assimilation of Roman cultural models by local leading groups in order to profit from their association with the Romans has been defined in literature as “self-Romanization.” In Lucania,

this phenomenon can be identified in the forms that some settlements acquired in the last two centuries B.C. This is the case of Civita di Tricarico, which has been compared with the settlement of Bantia, at the crossroad among Lucania, Apulia and Daunia, where a *templum augurale* was erected in the second century B.C. This monument, which belongs to the very Roman cultural and religious tradition, has been interpreted as the material reflection of a “self-Romanization” process by the local philo-Roman elites, who decided to adopt Roman religious customs likely in order to be seen under a different perspective by the dominant Romans. Moreover, this example is particularly significant since it illustrates the nuanced nature of this assimilationist process, which does not appear, as I have often reiterated, as a linear and straightforward adoption of cultural models. The presence of the Oscan theonym *Flus* on the south-eastern *cippus* of the monument, indeed, seems to embody the concept of *culture-contact* as defined above: a multifaceted phenomenon of “exchange” between the two parts (Romans and Indigenous), which is not just a mono-directional transfer of culture from Rome to a world negatively defined as “non-Roman.”

Having reiterated these points, it is now important to restate that the continuation of archaeological research will surely add more information to the partial picture which has been reconstructed on the basis of the data available to date, which may probably modify such a picture. Hence, the considerations I am proposing represent working hypotheses having the purpose of stimulating the future debate on the topic. Furthermore, it is important to emphasize the extreme variability of those historical processes which imply “contact” among different cultures, which cannot be stereotyped through a model or paradigm.

PART III

CATALOGUE OF THE LUCANIAN SANCTUARIES

CATALOGUE OF THE LUCANIAN SANCTUARIES

Premise

The sanctuaries catalogued here are grouped on the basis of their topographic location within Lucanian territorial areas, which are essentially defined by the geomorphology of the territory. The key elements listed in this catalogue are: topographic location (in particular, proximity to inhabited settlements and communication routes); structural and architectural layout of the sacred buildings; votive materials found; chronological span.

The lack of uniform criteria in discussing the explored sanctuaries is often due to the different degree of site exploration and the level of relevant research and available publications.

I. The area of the Lucanian Appennine

Rossano di Vaglio

Topographical Data

PROVINCIA: Potenza

LOCALITY: Macchia di Rossano

IGM reference: F. 187, II SE

Technical Information

TYPE OF INVESTIGATION: Archaeological excavation

YEARS/ARCHAEOLOGY TEAM:

1969-1986, 1992: Sovrintendenza alle Antichità della Basilicata (Basilicata Antiquities Department); Directors: D. Adamesteanu, H. Dilthey.

1998- 1999: Soprintendenza Archeologica della Basilicata (Basilicata Archaeological Department); Director: E. Pica, with the assistance of A. Sartoris, A. De Paola.

2000-2001: Soprintendenza Archeologica della Basilicata (Basilicata Archaeological Department); Director: E. Pica, with the assistance of Vincenzo Cracolici, Rocco Pantolillo.

2007: Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata (Basilicata Archaeological Heritage Department); Directors: E. Curti, M. Osanna, M. Tagliente.

Ancient geographical environment

The sanctuary is located in the area of Macchia di Rossano (or Madonna di Rossano), within the municipal territory of Vaglio di Basilicata, on a plateau on the eastern slope of the Macchia di Rossano mountain. The area is endowed with a number of springs. This fits well with the ancient toponym (“Pantano” or

marsh) referred to in nineteenth-century literature on the sanctuary, corroborating the “aquatic” nature of the place. Among the many springs in the area, those worthy of note are “Acqua della Madonna,” located a few kilometres away from the “Pantano” area, another one close to the Danzi farm, and a third behind the southern boundary of the sacred complex close to the Masserie Milano. There are also numerous fountains and drinking troughs in the area, confirming that the presence of water has been an important and constant feature of this territory for centuries. The region is dominated by the Lucanian Apennines and the sanctuary is located at its very centre. The surrounding territory is occupied by a significant number of settlements. Serra di Vaglio, contemporary to the building of the sanctuary, is the dominant inhabited settlement in the district. The connection between settlement and sanctuary may be corroborated by epigraphic evidence, with name of the same craftsman given for the building of the fortifying wall of the settlement, as well as the *temenos* wall and the altar of the sanctuary. The complex is also located at the convergence point of a number of roads, linking it with Carpine di Cancellara, Oppido Lucano, Tolve and Civita di Tricarico.

Chronological Span

Mid-fourth century B.C. – first century A.D.

Architectural structures

The structures of the sacred complex cover a surface area of approximately 200x200 m. The sanctuary has undergone many transformations and renovations over the centuries, modifying its original spatial organization by the progressive addition of rooms and other architectural structures.

The complex stratification of the site and the long-term occupation of the sanctuary make it hard to reconstruct the plan of the original building, which dates to the fourth century B.C. A further obstacle to a correct reconstruction of the original appearance of the sanctuary is the lack of an exhaustive publication of the archaeological excavations that have been carried out on the site since the 1960s, including the structures and the artefacts discovered. Furthermore, modern renovations have caused the building materials to be remixed and have distorted the original appearance of the structures.

The sacred complex covers a rectangular area (37x21 m.), called “sagrato.” It is accessed on the north-western side through a six meter wide entrance, which is slightly decentralized toward west. Within this courtyard, there is a limestone altar and the pavement is composed of irregular white limestone blocks. The western side is bounded by a wall (defined as *temenos* in the publications). There are several rooms on the other three sides of the courtyard. There are two parallel rooms on the eastern side (rooms I and II); room III lies on the north-eastern side of the courtyard, which is accessed directly from the *sagrato* through a 90 cm. wide entrance, and room IV is located on the south-western side of the courtyard. Finally, on the south-western side of room IV, four small rooms (V-VIII) have been discovered.

In the light of the available data, the attribution of the rooms surrounding the courtyard to the earliest building phase of the sacred complex is rather dubious. This uncertainty is also evident in literature, where the rooms that surround the courtyard are generally attributed by scholars to the sanctuary’s

monumentalization phase that started at the end of the third century B.C., with no mention of a possible attribution of these rooms to the almost unknown earlier fourth century phase.

Regarding rooms I and II, at least in their later phases, they can be attributed to the later building phase of the sanctuary. With regard to room III, the only thing we know for certain is that it chronologically preceded the drain built at the same time as the limestone pavement of the courtyard in the first century B.C.

Mid-fourth century B.C. - third century B.C. phase - On the basis of published data, it seems that the original layout of the complex consisted of the following elements: 1. a rectangular courtyard with a sandstone floor, which has been partially unearthed under the later limestone flooring; 2. a sandstone altar; 3. a row of sandstone blocks under the foundations of the staircase of room IV; 4. a huge basin which has been found 150 meters northwest of the complex; 5. some layers found on the area west of the visible structures. A previous courtyard has been just identified in the area in front of room IV. A base of a tufa column was inserted under this pavement, while two more column pieces were used as part of the construction material for the staircase accessing the courtyard from room IV. That these remains can be attributed to the earliest phase of the complex is corroborated by their link to two inscriptions, which are among the most ancient ones found in the sanctuary: one of the two column bases was found close to inscription RV-33, carrying a dedication to Mamers and Mephitis, while the other piece of column is engraved with inscription RV-52, which makes another reference to Mephitis.

The long rectangular altar (27.5x4.50 m.), also built from sandstone, is located along the south-eastern side of the courtyard. The structure is divided into two parts of different length using a masonry divider. An iron sword (about 40 cm. long) was deposited under it as *thysia*. The fact that the altar pre-dates the limestone pavement of the courtyard and is thus contemporaneous with the sandstone floor is proved by the fact that the heading edges of limestone slabs have a rectilinear profile perfectly matching the outline of the base of the monument. Furthermore, a water channel dug into the later limestone pavement makes an elbow shape turn at the altar, demonstrating that the altar was already in existence when the pavement was re-built.

Some more structures can be attributed to this phase. A wall segment was found in room II, aligned with the short northern side of the altar. It is built of sandstone blocks and stone chips, and was destroyed by the walls of room II. Furthermore, in the southern part of room IV, under the filling layers in the area, a massive wall (2.50x8.30 m.) has been unearthed. Fourth century B.C. artefacts and coins have been found in its *emplecton*.

Finally, recent archaeological investigations carried out in the area outside the "sagrato," have revealed that a few more structures belonging to the complex were located west of the visible buildings. On this sloped terrace, the remains of a wall containing layers of pottery dating from the fourth and third centuries B.C. have been found, thus proving that this area too was occupied during the most ancient phases of the complex. This evidence leads the scholar to hypothesize that the sanctuary occupied a large expanse and was probably laid out on many

terraces. The terrace where buildings are visible today was probably the middle one.

End of the third century B.C. - beginning of the second century B.C. phase -

The first restoration of the sacred complex of Rossano di Vaglio dates to the end of the third century B.C. Layers of ash found all over the sacred area makes it plausible that the rebuilding of the sanctuary was necessary after the destruction of the Second Punic War (218-201 B.C.).

The first building activity was the construction of a limestone pavement of the so-called *sagrato*, and building of drains at the same time as the new floor. This new flooring features a complex network of water channels. Two semicircular basins are carved into the floor itself on both sides of the main access. They are connected each other by a channel, continuing from the northernmost semicircular basin towards the northeast, thus crossing the court. The water came from a close by spring, and passed through lion-head eaves, some pieces of which have been discovered in the area. Scholars theorize that there was a water collecting basin linked to the spring by means of water channels and clay pipes.⁶³⁰ Another channel runs parallel to room IV, and then makes a right angled turn when it arrives outside room II.

The rooms surrounding the “sagrato” may be attributed to this phase, but the archaeological evidence is not clear.

Room II on the eastern side of the courtyard was built during this period. It is an undivided room (6x4.6 m), with outer walls built from unshaped stones and small blocks of different sizes. A retaining wall in slabs of hard stone separates this room from the courtyard. The dating of this room to the end of the third century B.C. or later has been possible on the basis of the discovery of a *teca*, containing votive material, interpreted as votive action for the foundation of the wall which separates room II from room IV.

Room I is located to the east of room II, and is the same size, but its dating is not certain. The wall building techniques are the same for both rooms, but the mortar appears to be different. Whereas room II does not have any internal divisions, room I is divided into seven smaller rooms (Ia-Ig). Since a huge number of votive objects were found in room II, its function has been interpreted either as a sort of room where worshippers walked through, or as a votive deposit. Rooms Ia-Ig have been interpreted variously as shops for votive objects, service rooms or *thesauroi* of the different ethnic groups that patronised the sanctuary.

The original construction of room IV can also be dated back to this phase, but it was successively restored during the first century B.C. It is accessed from the courtyard through a staircase, which is only partially preserved (the few remains

⁶³⁰ Adamesteranu 1971a, 42; Adamesteanu and Dilthey 1992, 64. Remains of drains and clay pipes have been found in areas to the north and northwest of the complex. The present slope of the “sagrato” goes from south-east to north-west. The water drains, originally built so that water pours onto the slope, have now taken on exactly the opposite direction. This is due to the many landslides that afflict the area, causing severe deformation of the “sagrato” floor plane that completely cancelled out the function of the channels that cross it. The two rooms on the eastern side of the complex were also damaged by the landslide, as can be seen from the northern walls, now partly deformed and partly fallen.

include stone pieces and tile and sandstone fragments). In front of the staircase there are six tile columns with a statue base in front of each column. There is a 2.50 m. wide doorway on the back wall, located on the south-western side. It probably connected the sanctuary with a sacred pathway. The doorjambs are built with small blocks and tiles. The walls of this room are built using the same building technique of the other rooms, but they are thicker. The external wall is built with irregular stones assembled with a yellow mortar. Furthermore, two levels have been discovered in the pavement, an original floor in *opus spicatum*, successively destroyed and replaced by a new floor in *opus signinum*. The eastern part this room had a huge hole that was 2 m. deep, filled with ruined building material and mixed artefacts.

The archaeological evidence is not clear for room III, which is located on the other short side of the so-called *sagrato*. This room is rectangular in shape with just one access point to the courtyard in the north-western corner. Within this room, close to the wall separating the room from the courtyard, there are six square bases, (about 0.60 m each side), which are probably bases for tile columns (as corroborated by the discovery of six limestone capitals found inside and outside the room). The internal wall seems to have originally been about 1-1.50 m. high, as can be inferred from the building technique using small unshaped blocks and the inferior quantity of mortar used. Consequently, this room appears to be a portico, closed on the northern and western sides, but open to the courtyard. We can also see the remains of a “T” shape plinth (4.50x2.70 m.), lined up with the altar in the courtyard. This plinth was built with eight square limestone blocks (identical to those used in the *temenos* wall and probably therefore contemporary with it, also because it is built on the republican floor). The only chronological information concerning this room is that it pre-dates the remaking of the court with the limestone flooring, somewhere between the second and the first centuries B.C. According to the stratigraphic data reported by Adamesteanu in the preliminary excavation report of the complex, the eastern wall of room III was partially destroyed by the construction of the vaulted sewer,⁶³¹ which must be attributed to the flooring of the courtyard. According to Adamesteanu’s interpretation, this room was meant to house a cult statue, as proved by the discovery of pieces of bronze statues. The plinth can be considered a sort of platform, perhaps covered by an *aedicula* on which the cult statue was situated. Nevertheless this plinth pre-dates the room itself, and probably belongs to the most ancient phase of the sanctuary, re-used later in the Republican age building phase of the complex.

End of the second century B.C. - first century B.C. phase - Between the end of the second and the first centuries B.C., the sacred complex was subjected to a more radical renovation, including the redefinition and reorganization of some rooms. According to Adamesteanu, the reason for this renovation was the geological instability of the soil on which the sanctuary was built. The renovation

⁶³¹ Another drain is partially covered by this vaulted sewer, with bottom and sides covered with tiles and stones and assembled with mortar. The covering is built of stone slabs (a more ancient phase of the complex?).

works included: building of the upper pavement of room III; re-building of the colonnades in rooms III and IV.

Finally, new rooms were built along the south-western side of the complex (rooms V, VI, VII, and VIII). The size of only the last three rooms is known. In room V (the best studied one) a floor in *opus sectile* has been unearthed, with small diamond shaped white stone slabs bordered by blue slabs. Furthermore, the northern wall of this room contains a sort of niche or plinth, which could house a smaller than life-size statue.

A channel passes outside rooms IV, V and VI, going in a south-easterly direction. It is built with recycled materials, including fragments containing inscriptions.

Materials

A huge quantity of votive material has been recovered in the sanctuary area. Although the publication of comprehensive and final classification of these objects is still due, a selected number of objects, representative of the different categories and types of the artefacts discovered here, has been presented by D. Adamesteanu and H. Dilthey. However, no quantitative data is available, and there has been no stratigraphic contextualization of the finds.

Mid-fourth century B.C. - third century B.C. phase - The archaeological material dated to the chronological period from the mid-fourth century B.C. to the end of the following century consists principally of terracotta objects, pottery, *thymiateria*, metal votives, and inscriptions.

The coroplastic *corpus* from Rossano is distinguished by a noteworthy variety in types and iconography. Most of these objects were found in rooms II and IV, but in both cases they were mixed with objects from later periods. The most common iconographies depict seated or standing feminine figures, the prototypes of which originate in the workshops of the Greek colonies on the Ionian sea coast. In particular, the mantled seated figures of Tarantine origin are the most frequently found. This last group, with the so-called “a gradino” (step-like) structure, carry different attributes in their hands (*phiale* and *tympanon*, *phiale* and a bird, such as a goose, swan or dove, pomegranate, mirror, flower). Some figures are veiled; sometimes the veil is attached to a *polos*; in other cases the figurines have a top-knot hairstyle.

The standing female figurines are generally dressed in a *himation* and *chiton*, and carry very ordinary attributes (*phiale*, *oinochoe*, goose or dove, mirror, cornucopia). Among the standing statuettes, a figure of *kourotrophos* and some statuettes which represent the *ephedrismòs* are worth mentioning. Finally, there is a large group of tanagrines, and some statuettes which show an iconography very similar to great statuary.

A huge number of *protomai* and busts of various sizes and types have also been recovered. The most frequently seen busts are of female figures with *polos*, or with a *melonenfrisur* and a diadem, carrying a fruit in their hand. An extremely unusual group of busts of female figures with a high rounded knot on the top of the head, rising from stylized shoots, is also present.

There are just a few male figurines, including a figure carrying a *cista* and a vase in the left hand, and some naked figures, which could be considered representations of warriors. Some figurines show iconographies of oriental deities

(Attis), and there are a number of erotes in different positions. There are also a number of theatrical masks, which depict comedy characters. Finally, there are numerous figured reliefs, in particular Tarantine type *oscilla* which depict a female protome in association with erotes, clay animals (doves, ducklings, geese, swans, cattle, sheep, but also exotic and fantasy animals, such as a camel and a snake), and terracotta fruits (pomegranates, figs, grape, pears, apples and almonds).

The huge group of *thymiateria* is characterized by a significant variety of types. Specifically, there are some examples of complex *thymiateria*, which are decorated with *appliqués*, with images of birds, a panther, erotes, dancers, and worshippers.

Although similar in overall quantity to the coroplastic *corpus*, the variety of forms and types in the case of pottery is less. The black-glaze pottery can be dated between the fourth and the third century B.C., with prevalence of cups, small cups, *skyphoi*, *lekythoi*, plates, and *unguentaria*. The unpainted pottery includes both tableware and cooking ware: plates, bowls, and pitchers. Furthermore, miniature pottery is seen in a notable variety of forms ranging from cups to dishes to craters. There are also three bronze *phialai*.

The metal objects found include both women's ornamental objects (such as earrings, bracelets, rings, fibulas), and work tools, weapons or armour parts.

Second century B.C. - first century A.D. phase – The most recent types of pottery include “pasta grigia” fragments and *terra sigillata*. Some *unguentaria* of Forti V type have also been found.

Parts of bronze statues have been found in room III (drapery and hair from female terracotta statues, a laurel branch and a blossom), among which a broken bronze female head.

Six small marble statues belong to the later phases of the sanctuary too. The earliest marble statue is a bust of Hermaphroditos, dating back to between the end of the third century and the first half of the second century B.C. The other statues found in room IV include a statue of Artemis wearing a *chiton*, a statue of Artemis wearing a *peplos*, a small head of Aphrodite and a figure of Eros, all dating back to the second half of the second century B.C. Finally a small female statue was found, probably related to the Isiac world, dated between the end of the second and the first century B.C. Recently a female marble head from the Hellenistic age has also been recently found right outside room Ie.

A limestone *trapezophoros*, which was found in room IV, dates back to the second half of the first century B.C., and was part of the monumental furniture of the sanctuary.

Skilfully crafted precious ornamental objects have been recovered all together: silver belts, a silver necklace with pendent in gold foil, a gold earring.

A group of Early Imperial age lamps has been found in room IV. The fact that they were found inside the wide hole in this room, allows us to date the filling of this cavity to the first century A.D.

A few anatomical *ex-votos* are also present (breasts, fingers, legs).

Numismatic evidence

The archaeological excavations have unearthed more than a thousand coins. They can be placed within a chronological period spanning from the fourth century B.C. to the first century A.D. These coins come not only from other areas of Magna Graecia, but also from Sicily, Sardinia, Greece (Epirus, Acarnania, Macedon), and Africa (Carthage). The types are quite varied, from the *aureus* of Alexander the Great, to silver *denarii*, silver *dioboli* from Tarentum-Herakleia, Croton and Velia, to the numerous bronze Magno-Graecian coins, as well as indigenous issues (Brettian, Samnite, Campanian, Apulian), from Syracuse (in particular during the period from Agatocles' leadership to the reign of Hieron II), Carthage, the Acarnania league, Epirus and Rome.

The period that yielded the greatest number of coins spans from the third to the second century B.C.

Epigraphic documents

A number of inscriptions have been found in the sanctuary area and have been catalogued from numbers RV-01 to RV-57 by M. Lejeune. All of these inscriptions come from the Rossano site itself, with the exception of some inscriptions carved on tiles, which were produced in unknown ateliers (RV-09; RV-14; RV-15-; RV-16; RV-23; RV-24; RV-48). In addition, recent excavations have unearthed an inscription in the Oscan language and Greek alphabet, which was reused in the restoration of the so-called *temenos* wall.

The inscriptions can be divided into two groups. The first group makes up three quarters of the inscriptions. The inscriptions are written in the southern Oscan language using the Greek alphabet. They are dated between the end of the fourth and the end of the second century B.C. The second group is written in the Latin language and alphabet and is dated between the Social War and the Augustan age. A transitional phase between the two groups can be detected in some inscriptions which are written in both the Oscan language and the Latin alphabet (RV-14, -15, -16, -48). Only one inscription (RV -36) makes use of the Greek language and alphabet.

Since the inscriptions have been found in secondary positions, it is impossible to link them with a specific monument. Nor does any inscription mention the original monument which it was associated with.

These writings contain three main types of inscriptions: 1. votive dedications; 2. official consecrations of parts of the sacred complex or administrative actions; 3. a document concerning ritual practices (RV-52).

Interpretation

According to the material and the epigraphic evidence, the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary was centered on the worship of the Oscan goddess Mephitis, in association to other male and female deities, such as Mamers, Numulus, Juno, Juppiter, Venus.

Bibliography

Lombardi 1830, 24-25; Lombardi 1987, 59; Lacava 1891; Adamesteanu and Lejeune 1971, 39-83; Adamesteanu 1971a, 79-84; Dilthey 1980, 539-548; Guzzo 1983, 1-14; Adamesteanu 1990; Adamesteanu 1993; Adamesteanu and Dilthey

1992; Denti 1992; Denti 1993, *Atti Taranto* 2000, 704-706; Nava and Cracolici 2005, 103-113; Andrisani 2008; Colangelo *et al.* 2009.

Torre di Satriano

Topographical Data

PROVINCIA: Potenza

MUNICIPALITY: Satriano di Lucania

LOCALITY: Torre di Satriano

I.G.M. Reference: F. 199, IV SE

Technical Data

TYPE OF INVESTIGATION: archaeological excavation

YEARS/ARCHAEOLOGY TEAMS:

1987-1988: Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata (Basilicata Archaeological Heritage Department), Istituto Universitario "Orientale" di Napoli; Director: E. Greco.

2000-2003: Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata (Basilicata Archaeological Heritage Department), Università degli Studi della Basilicata; Director: M. Osanna.

Ancient geographical environment

The site of Torre di Satriano is located in a large mountainous area that includes the Potenza district, the Western Melfese district and Campania. The landscape is dominated by the Maddalena chain, which continues in both directions, from northeast to southwest with the Arioso and Maruggio mountains, where the Agri, Basento, Melandro and Noce rivers originate. The core of the settlement is made up of a fortified centre on a 1000 meter-high hill. It is connected with the hydro-geographic network of the territory and is bounded by the Melandro and Noce river valleys. The site is thus connected to the Tyrrhenian, Ionian and Adriatic coasts. One can reach Brienza through the Melandro valley, and the Paestan area when going towards Atena Lucana and the Vallo di Diano. Furthermore, the same road links the site to Volcei (modern Buccino), and to the Tyrrhenian coast following the course of the Tanagro-Sele river system. On the northern side of the hill, another route follows the course of the Noce river, and Tito and Picerno streams, leading to Baragiano. It then links the territory with the northern district bounded by the Ofanto river and the Adriatic coast. Finally, it is possible to reach the high valley of the Basento river and Potenza through a pass, which is located on the western side of the Tito.

The settlement of Torre di Satriano is equidistant from two important towns in the district: Baragiano on the northern side, and Atena Lucana on south-western side. A little further, on the north-eastern side, there is the settlement of Serra di Vaglio, while Buccino is located 30 kilometres away on the north-western side.

The sanctuary is situated on the southwest slope of the hill, close to an ancient path known as "Trazzera degli Stranieri," that links this area with the Basento and the Potentino areas on one side and the Melandro area on the other. It also

connects the site with the plateau of Herakleia passing through Brienza and the Grumento territory. The area in which the sanctuary was built was inhabited during the Archaic age, as the discovery of Archaic tombs has proved. The land has abundant water resources, with two springs, one about 400 meters to the north-west and the other 300 meters to the south-east, giving rise to two tributaries of the Tito stream.

A hill-top settlement and a number of single family farms lie in proximity to the sacred place.

Chronological Span

Mid-fourth century B.C. – first century A.D.

Architectural structures

The sacred complex at Torre di Satriano was built during the mid-fourth century B.C. The original plan was changed during the course of the centuries, from the earliest building phase of the complex to the first century A.D.

Fourth century B.C. phase – During its earliest period of use, the complex was divided into a built-up part and in a hypaethral sector, on the eastern side of the structures. There is a small stream (US 59) here, with a parallel channel (US 28) to the west. The open-air section of the complex is also paved.

The western part of the complex, where the sacred buildings stand, is built on wide terraces that had been built to level the sloping land. In the central terrace area, the complex is built around a square *oikos* with a side measuring 4.40 m. (A), oriented eastwards. The *oikos* is bounded by walls enclosing a square area, with each side measuring 13.2 m. When archaeologists excavated these buildings, they found the base for a wooden pole, which originally supported the tile roof, still *in situ* within the *oikos*. During the earliest phase, the square enclosure had no roof, and was probably used to perform rituals. It is connected to another terrace north of the *oikos*, by a sort of corridor ending with two steps to compensate the one-meter gradient between the two terraces. On one of the steps, a small sandstone pillar has been found. This originally supported a bronze *phiale* found close to the northern terrace entrance. On the other side, the passage between the western part of the complex and the eastern open-air area is marked by a stone and tile pathway on the eastern side of the *oikos*, almost “a segnare l’ingresso al sacello della divinità” [to mark the entrance into the divinity’s *sacellum*].⁶³² The walls of the buildings are constructed with an inner and outer facade of irregular boulders, and assembled with clay mortar.

Second half of the fourth century B.C. - beginning of the third century B.C. phase – The first phase of restoration of the complex was completed between the second half of the fourth century B.C. and the beginning of the following century. First, a roofed building (B) was constructed to the south of the *oikos*. In order to build it, another terrace was built to the south, lower than the *oikos* terrace. Despite this change, the square building (A) remained the architectural and cult centre of the complex, which therefore became an *oikos* bordered by an open enclosure on three sides, and a new roofed building on the south side (B). The purpose of this building is still not clear to us, since only a few pieces of

⁶³² Torre di Satriano I, 101-104.

archaeological material have been found (pottery, and a few fragments of votive terracottas). The space right in front of it was probably used as a portico to display the votive offerings that have been found in abundance in this part of the complex. Since remains of other structures have been unearthed on the south-eastern side of the complex, we can hypothesize that a path starting from the southern part of the hill led to the sanctuary. At some point it must have branched into two different directions, one towards the sacred buildings and the other towards the open area. Therefore, the portico of building B mentioned above was plausibly the first room that worshippers would see if approaching from the southeast.

Mid-third century B.C. phase - The southern sector of the complex fell into disuse when building B was abandoned, probably because of a landslide. During this period, a second phase of renovation of the sanctuary dated to the mid-third century B.C. took place, involving the northern part of the sacred complex. A new terrace was built at a higher level and a roofed building erected (C), probably in substitution of the southern building (B). Along the northern side of this building, a narrow portico was built, according to the corresponding design of building B. The southern area of the complex was filled and destroyed at the same time. A water channel was also dug (US 455 on the map) in this northern part of the complex. Despite these restorations, the overall complex was not significantly transformed, since the northern building was built simply to replace the damaged southern building and very likely took on all its functions. In other words, the organization of the spaces remained the same as the earliest phase, with the *oikos* as the fulcrum of the sanctuary. In the hypaethral sector of the complex, during this phase both the channel and the water stream were filled, probably due to a natural disaster.

This organization of the spaces remained unchanged until the first century B.C., when the sanctuary was radically transformed.

First century B.C. phase – During the first century B.C. a number of renovations and transformations took place in the sanctuary, completely reorganizing the spaces of the complex. Specifically, the restoration was aimed at the northern section of the complex. In the same place where building C and the US 455 channel were created during the previous phase, widespread building activity took place, with the objective of defining another sacred space for new cultic activities. The rectangular building C was divided into two parts, a square room (D) on the western side and a rectangular space on the eastern side. The connection between the built-up part of the complex and the eastern area was preserved, as testified by a door in the eastern wall of the square enclosure. Technically, the new buildings were distinguished by the use of smaller stones assembled with puddle mortar. In the area east of the buildings, a stone pavement was built, as well as a structure in travertine blocks (US 426). When viewed as a whole, together with the other structures whose remains have been unearthed, this could be interpreted as an attempt to create an access point for to the sacred complex on the northern side.

Materials

Mid-fourth century B.C. - third century B.C. phase - The archaeological excavations have unearthed votive deposits, and have also identified the remains of sacrificial rites performed here.

Figured terracottas make up the largest single group of materials found here. Although they were produced with moulds of Poseidonian origin, there is also evidence of technological exchanges with the Ionian area. Most of these pieces are seated female figures. A significant group of them represents “enthroned goddesses,” with a *phiale* and basket of fruit, matching the well-known Poseidonian iconographical imagery. The other seated figurines have the Tarantine “a gradino” (step-like) structure and generally no distinguishable attribute except for a few cases where they bear a goose or a dove. We can however imagine that their iconography is similar to those in the storerooms in Timmari, Rossano, Chiaromonte, etc.). Only a few pieces come from standing statuettes, but in most cases it is impossible to reconstruct the original statuette. The only complete piece is that of a flute player, who wears a light tunic. The types of Tanagrines found are also quite varied. There are several Hellenic statuettes of goddesses, among which there are two statuettes depicting semi-naked Aphrodites resting on a small pillar. Among the figured reliefs, there are some Tarantine disks with a protome of Aphrodite flanked by two erotes. Very few *protomai* and busts have been found, as well as clay animals (which are mostly doves).

The greatest quantity of this material was found as filling for the two water-channels in the hypaethral part of the sanctuary.

Pottery is equally abundant. Black-glaze pottery is the most frequently found group. Most of it is open form pottery such as cups, small cups and *skyphoi*. Figured pottery is very rare, with just a few fragments of craters, *lekanai* and an *epychisis* found. Among the miniature vases, there is a predominance of *krateriskoi*, cups and *phialai*, which have been found mixed with other materials, thus proving that they were used for ritual activities. Finally, there are a certain number of *unguentaria*.

Besides the terracotta objects, several *thymiateria* have been found in the material used to fill in the two water channels in the eastern part of the sacred complex. Finally, there are also a few loom weights.

Metal objects have been also found, including women’s ornaments (two finger rings, one in gold and another with a carved collet), and some fragments of weapons (blades, an arrow point and some knives).

As already mentioned, archaeological excavations have allowed us to identify what seem to be the remains of sacrifices and rituals. Animal sacrifices can be identified by the discovery of sheep and cattle bones, as well as bird bones, especially rooster bones. One unusual find was the remains of a dog sacrifice. The nearly complete skeleton was found in a layer of burnt material that was covered by pebbles and stones fragments, above the levels of filling of the channel US 54. Since such action covers the layers of abandonment of the water-course, it seems that the purpose of this sacrifice was to seal the closure of the channel, when the sanctuary underwent restoration and changes.

First century B.C. phase – The artefacts from the sanctuary’s latest phase were found in much smaller quantities. There are a few fragments of “pasta grigia” pottery (mostly plates and cups), which can be dated between the end of the second century and the first century B.C.; a few fragments of Italian *terra sigillata* (cups and plates), which have been found mostly in an area where the roof

collapsed in the northern sector of the sanctuary; three fragments of thin-wall ware, from the obliteration levels in the northern sector of the sanctuary; and finally a certain number of *unguentaria* of Forti V type, which are dated to the second and the first century B.C. And, to conclude this list, oil lamps have been found in the northern sector of the sacred area, dating from the late-Republican or early Empire age. A bronze statuette of a *Lar* with *phiale* and cornucopia has also been discovered in this area, dating from the first century B.C.

Numismatic evidence

The following coins have been found: one coin from Poseidonia and one from Kroton (sixth-fifth century B.C.); one coin from Poseidonia and one from Kroton (fifth-fourth century B.C.); twelve Magno-Graecian coins (three from Neapolis, one from Naples or Nola, one from Herakleia, two from Tarentum or Herakleia, three from Thurii, three from unknown parts of Magna Graecia), and four coins from Republican Rome (fourth-third century B.C.); eight Roman bronze coins (from 211 B.C. onwards); two Imperial age coins (first century A.D.).

Epigraphic evidence

One Latin graffito inscription on a fragment of common ware: EPOI (after the end of the third century B.C.).

One graffito inscription on the bottom of an oil lamp: [...]APPAS (end of the first century B.C.- first few decades of the first century A.D.).

Interpretation

According to the material evidence, the cult in the Torre di Satriano sanctuary was dedicated to a female deity. It was a chthonic cult, with features which can be referred to the sphere of the Greek Aphrodite.

Bibliography

Greco 1991, 75-83; Greco 1988; *Rituali per una dea*; Osanna 2004, 45-62; De Vincenzo, Osanna, Sica 2004, 37-57; *Torre di Satriano I*.

San Chirico Nuovo (località Pila)

Topographical Data

PROVINCIA: Potenza

MUNICIPALITY: San Chirico Nuovo

LOCALITY: Pila

I.G.M. Reference: /

Technical Information

EXPLORATION: archaeological excavation

YEARS/ARCHAEOLOGY TEAM:

1995: Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata (Basilicata Archaeological Heritage Department); Director: M. Tagliente.

Ancient geographical environment

The site is located in the middle of the Bradano valley, which connects directly with the Basento valley. The area is bordered by the Fiumarella stream and the Bradano and Basento rivers and features a number of perennial springs. The

sanctuary is situated in the Pila locality, in a valley with an Archaic settlement uphill. The existence of a settlement is indicated by the discovery of the remains of houses, which have been restored during two periods, at the end of the fifth century and during the fourth century B.C. (Serre and Cugno Notaro localities). Furthermore, in Valle di Chirico locality, third century B.C. houses and a necropolis from the second half of the fourth century B.C. provide evidence for intensive settlement of the area surrounding the sanctuary.

Chronological Span

Beginning of fourth century B.C. – end of the third century B.C.

Architectural structures

Early fourth century B.C. phase - The construction of this sanctuary is dated to the beginning of the fourth century B.C. In this phase, the sanctuary was composed of a rectangular *sacellum* (4 x 5.5 m.), which has been the central nucleus of the complex since its earliest occupation.

First half of the fourth century B.C. phase - During the fourth century B.C., the layout of the sanctuary became more complex, and the small original *sacellum* was replaced by another square building, measuring 6 m. on each side, to the north of the previous structure. This *sacellum* was then fenced into an enclosure (12x12 m.). A portico 12 m. long and 4 m. wide, probably with a partial roof supported by wooden poles, and bounded by a wall built with irregular stones, connected the complex with a water source, a spring located not far from the complex. M. Tagliente interprets this portico as a “sacred path” that starts at the spring, and goes right to the centre of the complex.

Mid-fourth century B.C. – end of the third century B.C. phase - The final rebuilding phase of the complex dates to the mid-fourth century B.C. The quadrangular *sacellum* was abandoned, but another identical building was constructed, with the same size and orientation as the previous one, in almost the same position. The sanctuary was abandoned by the end of the third century B.C.

Materials

Early fourth century B.C. phase - The first phase of occupation has given terracotta figurines and miniature pottery, both discovered within the *sacellum*, and in the external spaces of the complex.

First half of the fourth century B.C. – end of the third century B.C. phase - During the phase of monumentalization of the complex, the cultic practices were redefined. This is seen from the votive offerings, especially in the portico area, where some spaces were set apart to house specific categories of gifts: terracotta figurines, *phialai mesomphaloi*, clay eggs. The terracotta figurines include the common Poseidonian type of enthroned goddess and the Tarantine types of mantled female figures, as well as statuettes of Artemis Bendis and a clay group which has been interpreted as a representation of a *hierogamia*. The clay animals include mainly cattle and doves, and the fruits are mostly pomegranates. Finally, several Tarantine *oscilla* have also been found.

The pottery found includes mainly *phialai mesomphaloi*, black glaze cups, miniature *hydriai* and some pieces of red figured pottery.

The metal objects include two miniature spears, some full size weapons such as an iron spear, a belt, and a bronze shin-guard, as well as a few fibulas and a bronze mirror.

A large number of *louteria* and *thymiateria* were also found here. A plastic group found here illustrating the *hierogamia* has also been interpreted as the stem of a *louterion*. Other stems of *louteria* are decorated in the shape of female figures with bent horns, often double-faced.

Precious materials have also been found within the area of the *sacellum*. These include so-called iron “temple key,” two small gold horns, some silver coins, and the clay *hierogamia* group. Also, in his preliminary work referring to this sanctuary, M. Tagliente refers to the remains of a cult statue, whose iconography is still unclear. In any case, the important aspect of a discovery of this type is that these remains come from the *sacellum*, the very centre of the complex.

Remains of animal bones, found both in the portico and in a hearth inside the *sacellum*, close to cooking vessels, bear witness to the practice of performing bloody sacrifices which were followed by shared meals, according to Greek ritual models.

Archaeological interpretation leads us to believe that the sacred complex of San Chirico Nuovo was dedicated to a female chthonic deity, with some Demetriad characteristics (as inferred by the figurines with torches), but also some features in common with the sphere of Artemis, who is known as Bendis in the sanctuary. Finally, the iconography of the plastic group of the *hierogamia* probably demonstrates a masculine partnership of the main goddess, as a sort of *paredros*.

Numismatic evidence

Ten silver coins were found in the internal area of the *sacellum*, including a Metapontine *incusa*, which probably were part of a treasure.

Epigraphic evidence

None.

Interpretation

Archaeological record leads us to believe that the sacred complex of San Chirico Nuovo was dedicated to a female chthonic deity, with some characteristics which can be referred to the sphere of Demeter (as inferred by the figurines with torches), but also some features in common with the sphere of Artemis. Finally, the iconography of the plastic group of the *hierogamia* probably demonstrates a masculine partnership of the main goddess, as a sort of *paredros*.

Bibliography

Atti Taranto 1995, 630-631; *Atti Taranto* 1996, 472; *Atti Taranto* 1997, 885-887; *Sacro (Il) e l'Acqua*, 26-33; Masseria 2000, 44-49; Tagliente 2005, 116-123; Romaniello 2010.

Ruoti (località Fontana Bona)

Topographical Data

PROVINCIA: Potenza

MUNICIPALITY: Ruoti

LOCALITY: Fontana Bona

I.G.M. Reference: F. 187, III SE.

Technical Data

TYPE OF INVESTIGATION: archaeological excavation

YEARS/ARCHAEOLOGY TEAM:

1952: Private excavation by G. Salinardi

1972: Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Basilicata; director: E. Fabbriotti.

Ancient geographical environment

The site is located close to the northern tributaries of the Bradano river, in an area with an abundance of springs. One of the closest settlements is Baragiano. The remains of houses and cemeteries dating from the fourth and third centuries B.C. have been found in the areas of Serra Carbone and Mancose. A segment of a fortification wall has been identified in the Fontanelle area. Another close by settlement is Muro Lucano, where the archaeological evidence testifies the importance of this settlement during the fourth and third centuries B.C. (a settlement from the fourth and third centuries B.C. in Valle degli Orti sul Colle Torrano locality; a settlement and necropolis in the Raia locality; a kiln and the remains of fourth century B.C. houses in Ponte Giocoia locality).

This site has good connections with the Silaros Valley through the course of the Avigliano river, which flows into the Bianco river (a tributary of the Silaros river) and the Conza Pass on the north-western side; the Adriatic area, through the Ofanto valley; with the Ionian coast, through the Ruoti stream, which is a tributary of the Basento river. State Highway, SS 7 (via Appia), which comes from Muro Lucano passes through the modern village of Ruoti, and goes on to Potenza and the Basento river valley. Ruoti is connected to two roads on its north side. One of them leads to Atella, Rionero and Melfi, and the other one goes as far as Avigliano and links the village with the Basento valley. The votive deposit testifying the existence of a sanctuary was discovered in località Fontana Bona.

Chronological Span

End of the fourth century B.C. – first century A.D.

Architectural structures

No sacred building has been unearthed. Nevertheless, architectural material, such as a fragment of an architectural antefix and fragments of tiles found in the votive deposit, suggests that religious buildings probably existed here at one time. The role of water in this sacred place is seen from a fountain, with basins at different heights on “cocciopesto” floors. There is however no definite evidence about the chronology of this structure.

Materials

The votive material comes from two different archaeological contexts: a votive deposit and superficial levels which have yielded numerous votive objects, probably originally from another votive deposit destroyed by agricultural activity in the area. In addition, other votive objects were found in the modern village area during the archaeological excavations that took place at the site in the 1950s. The votive deposit was lodged in a hollow which was dug directly in the tufaceous layer, with one side covered with fragments of tiles and stones. The unearthed material can be dated within a chronological span from the mid-fourth century

B.C. to the first century B.C. The levels which make up the actual votive deposit (named layer II B) were sealed by stones and fragments of tiles, and were rich in *thymiateria* and *olpai*. These items were carefully “organized” inside the hollow, at times propped up using stones. In particular, there are many *thymiateria* (about eighty) and of various types, which can be dated to the fourth and the third centuries B.C. The upper deposit layers have yielded mainly black glaze pottery (*pyxides*, cups, *phialai*), a few oil lamps dated between the third and the first century B.C., *unguentaria* that are mainly of the Forti IV or V type, and terracotta objects. The terracotta figurines are mainly of the Poseidonian “enthroned goddess” type. Tanagrine statuettes dating back to the fourth and third centuries B.C. were also found in significant numbers. A few busts representing a female figure wearing a *polos* have been unearthed. And lastly there are a few images of deities: a small head of Athena wearing an Attic helmet, two statuettes depicting Aphrodite taking off her veil, a figure of Eros, and a statuette which probably represents Artemis. One statuette can be considered that of a *kourotrophos*, as the female figure carries a child on her shoulder. There are also some animal-related objects (a bovine head, a fawn head, two horns, and wild boar teeth).

Although the most recent objects are oil lamps and *unguentaria*, three fragments of *terra sigillata chiara A* dating to the first century A.D. have been found in the top layer of the votive deposit.

Epigraphic evidence

None.

Numismatic evidence

Coin dated back to the years 35-37 of the kingdom of Tiberius.

Interpretation

The archaeological evidence available allows us to deduce that the sacred area was dedicated to a female cult, where fumigations were part of the ritual, as testified by the high number of *thymiateria*. Nothing can be said about the deity, except her chthonic character.

Bibliography

Atti Taranto 1964; Fabbriotti 1979, 347-413; Masseria 2000, 152-154; Barra Bagnasco 2009, 177-203.

Civita di Tricarico

PROVINCIA: Potenza

MUNICIPALITY: Tricarico

LOCALITY: Civita

I.G.M. Reference: /

Technical Information

TYPE OF INVESTIGATION: Archaeological excavation.

YEARS/ARCHAEOLOGY TEAM:

1988-1994: Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata (Basilicata Archaeological Heritage Department); Centre Jean-Bérard in Naples.

1994-present: École française de Rome; director: O. De Cazanove.

Ancient geographical environment

The site is located on a plateau between the Basento and Bradano rivers, equidistant from the fortified settlement of Serra del Cedro to the east, Croccia Cognato to the southeast, Serra di Vaglio to the west, and Oppido Lucano to the northwest. The Piana della Civita fort occupies an area of 47 hectares and is the largest fortified hill-top centre in this district (and in Lucania).

The Lucanian settlement was founded in the mid-fourth century B.C., and was surrounded by three circuit walls. Further phases of occupation of this settlement have been identified:

Mid-fourth century B.C. phase – During this phase, the external fortification wall ran along the western side of the plateau, while the eastern side provided a natural defence due to the steep slope. Folk tradition mentions four doors (known as “portoni”) in this circuit wall, but so far only one access has been identified. Archaeological research has identified a densely inhabited area within this wall, with *pastas* houses.

Mid-fourth century B.C. - first half of the third century B.C. phase – A few large houses were built around pre-existing nuclei, and some new houses were built above previous structures.

Mid-third century B.C. –The area was abandoned.

Post mid-third century B.C. phase – Another circuit wall was built inside the previous one. The northern part of the wall was straight and the newer structure enclosed an area of about 19 ha. All that remains today are the foundations and in some places the first row of bricks. This internal wall is different from the outer ones as it is a real “fortification «de plain»” (flat ground fortification) (De Cazanove 1996c, 204). It does not follow the shape of the ground and can thus function as a defensive structure. Because this inner wall was built later than the external one and within it, the size of the settlement area was reduced. The ceramic objects and coins found here allow us to date this wall between the end of the first Punic war and the beginning of the Hannibalic war. The circuit wall was built to a Roman model and had an *agger* and courtyard access. At the same time as this wall was built, a structure was built aligned to the courtyard doorway destroying a pre-existing house (known as “house of the monolith”), with a paved *andron* with central mosaic. This building was later destroyed during the Hannibalic war.

Post-Hannibalic era – During this period, the population of the “lower city” declined markedly (the clearest proof of inhabitation comes from a well located in front of the “house of the moulds,” which was used all through the second century B.C.). During the second century B.C., only the upper part of the plateau (the so-called “acropolis”) was inhabited. A house with an atrium was built here, with *fauces* (passageway) flanked by workshops, *alae atrium* (open rooms on either side of the atrium) and an *impluvium* at its centre, axial *tablinum*. This *domus* had two building phases between the second and the first centuries B.C.

Some XIX century discoveries also provide proof of the existence of cult centres that lead us to theorize a suburban sanctuary at the base of the plateau. A *temenos* built in calcareous blocks probably enclosed a *naiskos*, in harmony with the Lucanian model of fourth century B.C. cult centres. The discovery of some

figured terracottas in the territory surrounding the inhabited area, in località San Felpo and Serra Lentine, seems to provide proof of the existence of still other rural sanctuaries.

Two cult centres have been discovered within the city walls. A sacred area was found in the centre of the plateau, dating to between the second half of the fourth century B.C. and the beginning of the second century B.C. (A). On the highest point of the plateau (the so-called “acropolis”) there is a *tuscanico more* temple dating to the second half of the second century B.C. (B).

Chronological Span

Second half of the fourth century B.C. – first century B.C.

Architectural structures

A) Sacred area on the plateau

The sacred area discovered on the plateau is the only *intra muros* cult place of the region that we know of today. Two building phases have been identified, the second being a monumentalization of the earlier complex.

Second half of the fourth century B.C. – first half of the third century B.C. phase – The structures related to this cult place consist of segment of wall built with stone blocks assembled with clay, which borders the northern side of the paved area of temple P, and a rectangular room (P’) located on the western side of the temple P itself. These masonry structures were then partly destroyed and partly reused in the construction of the later temple. Archaeological evidence allows to reconstructing the original plan of the sanctuary as consisting of a square *sacellum* demarcated by a square enclosure.

End of the third century B.C. – mid-second century B.C. phase – A rectangular building, called “temple P,” divided into three parts, was built (10.73x7.85 m.) during this phase, in the same place as the sacred complex mentioned above, partly using the previous structures. This phase is stratigraphically dated to the last decades of the third century B.C. or beginning of the following century. A paved area leads up to the building. The northern side of the building was built to the right of the earlier *peribolos* wall, and an open-air area encloses the remains of the altar. The face of the altar is partially porticoed on the south-eastern side. The rest of the stylobate has eight plates, which are alternatively shorter and longer. The shorter plates were used to support two columns, and the longer ones corresponded to the intercolumn space.

The internal part of the building was divided into three rooms, with a square *cella* (3.65 x 3.72 m.) whose western walls coincided with the external wall of the building. The three perimeter walls of the *cella* use an uncommon building technique, since the stones are assembled using mortar. These walls separate the *cella* from the side *alae* of the building and from the *pronaos*, therefore forming a sort of Π shape ambulatory. No floor within the *cella* has been found.

B) The Etrusco-Italic temple (second half of the second century B.C.)

On the highest terrace of the plateau (the so-called “acropolis”), there is a small temple built on a limestone moulded podium, with a frontal access stair. It has an axial *cella* and *alae*, whose proportions make it very similar to the model of temple defined by Vitruvius as *tuscanicae dispositiones*.

The parts of this temple remaining today are the foundation of the podium (9.6 m. on the sides, and 10.18 m. on front), the lower moulding, the foundation of the *cella* and the sides of the frontal stair. Furthermore, on the right side of the *podium* there is a square structure (1x1 m.), close to the *cella*. This structure can be interpreted as an altar or as a statue base.

Materials

A) Sacred area on the plateau

Most of the material found date back to the second half of the fourth century B.C., and therefore to the first phase of occupation of the cult place. Only a small number of objects can be ascribed to the “temple P” construction phase. The publication of this material is still in progress, so that dividing it by phases is not easy.

A few objects have been found within the *cella* of “temple P” at the foundation level, including a small silver figurine (4.1 cm. high and weighing one ounce). This statuette utilises typical third century B.C. iconography of a female worshipper, holding a *phiale* in her right hand, and stretching her left arm outwards. The stylistic dating of the statue is uncertain, as it could even date from the Archaic age. She wears a long tunic with a belt, and a hat with a deep incision on her head. The anatomical details are unclear, and the eyes and mouth are simply crude incisions.

Clay figurines and *thymiateria* have been recovered in the hypaethral area in front of the building itself, within the altar area, as well as near the long wall of northern *peribolos*, where weapons have also been found. Fragments of weapons and other votive terracottas were discovered in the area between the store and the temple. These were originally displayed along the wall of northern *peribolos*. It is worth noting that the lack of animal bones tells us that bloody sacrifices were not performed here.

Regarding terracotta objects, most of the figurines are female, with the exception of one or two figurines of Eros. These two are the only statuettes that were not found at the altar, but in the corner of the courtyard. Most of the female figurines are seated, in accordance with the Tarantine “gradino” or step model. There are almost ten statuettes of this type, generally wearing *polos* and a veil, holding a *phiale* in the right hand.

The *thymiateria* are of the more common type with a cylindrical stem, similar to those seen in Timmari and Rossano. They were discovered close to the altar and the northern wall.

Weapons were found along the sides of the wall bordering the northern side of the court, and were probably originally hung on the *peribolos* wall. There are four iron spear points, two *sauroteres* (one in iron and one in bronze), two bronze belts, two *gyala*, and three fragments of bronze cuirass. The gift of weapons is related to the cult of Athena. The archaeological levels that have yielded weapons date from the second Punic war.

A small Parian marble head (10.5 cm.) of Athena was found in the area of the access ramp leading to the storeroom, less than four meters away from the northern wall of the temple. This head is part of a 60 cm. high statue, which was

probably an acrolith belonging to “temple P.” According to another theory this was possibly a cult statue.

B) The Etrusco-Italic temple (second half of the second century B.C.)

No votive material was found in the temple. There were just a few potsherds and a coin from Metapontum.

Epigraphic evidence

Roof tiles of the Italic temple located on the acropolis bear the stamp *ve.kar* in the Lucanian alphabet.

A tile which has been found in proximity to the northern side of the stylobate bears the stamp ---]PPONTIE, which has been reconstructed as TREBIΣ A]PPONTIE[Σ, since a number of stamps with the same name have been discovered in the material from an Hellenistic building located at Calle di Tricarico, a site which is less than twelve kilometres far from Civita di Tricarico.

Numismatic evidence

One *diobolos* of Heraclea and a triadracma of Velia come from the “temple P.” Three Roman coins have been found in the paved court of the temple.

Interpretation

A) Sacred area on the plateau

The sacred area located on the plateau seems to be dedicated to a female deity. During the second building phase of the sanctuary, the discovery of the marble head of Athena makes plausible to hypothesize a cult of Athena, as the dedication of weapons proves, which is not rare in the Etrusco-Italic world.

B) The Etrusco-Italic temple

This monument is a sign of the Roman influence on the area where Civita di Tricarico is located. Together with the other Etrusco-Italic temple and the *domus* which have been found on the plateau, this temple can be interpreted as a case of assimilation of Roman cultural models by local people. Nothing can be said about the identity of people who built this temple and about the cult which was performed.

Bibliography

De Cazanove 1996a, b, c; 1997b; 1998; 2001a; 2004b; 2006.

II. South-Tyrrhenian area and the Noce Valley

Rivello (località Colla)

PROVINCIA: Potenza

MUNICIPALITY: Rivello

LOCALITY: Colla

I.G.M. Reference: F. 210, II SW

Technical Information

TYPE OF INVESTIGATION: archaeological excavation

YEARS/ARCHAEOLOGY TEAMS:

1980-1981: Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata (Basilicata Department of Archaeological Heritage), Università degli Studi di Salerno; Director: E. Lattanzi, G. Greco.

Ancient geographical environment

The sanctuary is located on a plateau at the feet of the Serra La Città settlement, in a valley that gradually descends westward toward the Noce valley. The settlement, which existed from the sixth century B.C. to the mid-third century B.C. is located on the hilltop and the necropolis areas are on the northern and southern sides of it. Other houses are on the southern side, and are probably part of a rural nucleus.

The settlement and the sacred area are connected by means of a “tratturo” or pathway. The area is rich in water thanks to the presence of the rivers, and perennial springs, such as the Fontana dei Lombardi, contributing to the marshy nature of the area.

The Noce valley features a number of communication routes that stretch from Maratea to Praia a Mare connecting this area with the coast. Some routes go downhill from the Sirino mountain. Smaller roads meet at the Valico di Pecorone and Castelluccio Seluci. These roads connect the Noce valley with the Calabrian coast at Scalea, Laos and Verbicaro. Finally, there is another road leading to Valico del Fortino (Lagonegro), where some pathways take off towards the Bussento valley and the Vallo di Diano.

Chronological Span

Mid-fourth century B.C. – end of third century B.C./beginning of the second century B.C.

Architectural structures

The buildings that belong to the sacred area have only been partially unearthed. Furthermore, the eastern and southern sides of the sacred complex have collapsed because of erosion. The complex is bordered on the northern side by two parallel small dry walls built with river pebbles, which are about 1.20 m. apart. These two walls are believed to be part of a portico, which provided both access and an outer limit for the sacred area. Two buildings have been found within this bordered area. On the western side there is a rectangular building (6x7 m.) with an east-west orientation (its original size is unknown, because two sides of the room have been lost). A collapsed layer of stones and roof tiles were found within this building. The foundations of the walls were built with stones and pebbles, while the upper part was built with unfired bricks, and heavy roof tiles (no trace of architectural decoration has been found). The roof collapse sealed a huge votive deposit, which was systematically organized into layers, containing organic traces and burnt remains. Within the building itself, a deep little well has been studied. It was covered with stones and tiles, and was meant for depositing votive offerings. About 2 metres from the northern wall of the building, in its north-western corner, there was a small structure (3x2 m.), which is missing its southern side because of landslides. The stratigraphy related to this structure is not clear. This type of structure could be interpreted as an *eschara* or it could also be a structure belonging to a previous phase of occupation of the sacred area, which was subsequently enclosed within the new building (we know that there was an earlier

phase of this complex thanks to the discovery of a broken clay mask of a female face wearing a smooth *stephane*, discovered in this corner of the building).

The other building is situated in the eastern sector of the area under investigation. This structure is more complex, since it has internal divisions which still have to be defined. Like the other building, this one was also covered with the same type of tile roof, made up of *kalypteres hegemones* decorated with double and triple ribbings. There were many holes and small wells in the covered area of both buildings. In two cases the structures cut through a small well. This proves that there were different building phases of the sacred spaces. Since the buildings date back to the end of the fourth century B.C., we may also theorize that during the earlier phases this was an open-air sanctuary, with wells and holes, but later the structure was “monumentalized” (meaning two or more structures were built within a sort of portico) about the same time as the hill-top settlement developed, and enclosed within a fortified wall.

Materials

Although the sacred structures date to the fourth century B.C., discoveries such as B2 type Ionic cups, and the previously mentioned mid-fifth century B.C. clay female mask, prove that the area was inhabited before that. Two oil lamps, one dated between the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth centuries B.C. and the other one in the first half of the fifth century B.C. were also found.

The remains discovered here come primarily from the internal part of the cult buildings, and from the votive deposit and the small wells. Terracotta figurines are the most numerous group of votive objects. The standing female figurines bear attributes such as the cross torch, the sacred piglet, and the *oinochoe* or the *kalathos*; one female figure holds a child in her arms, as a *kourotrophos*. The seated female figurines follow the Poseidonian iconographies with *polos*, but there are also the mantled Tarantine figurines with high chignon on the top of the head, while some of them have veiled heads.

Most of the pottery is made up of miniature vases and black-glaze pottery, with a huge quantity of small cups, plates and *hydriskai*, with many variations. The most frequently found type of common ware is the olla. A significant number of *thymiateria*, largely dated between the fourth and the third century B.C., were also found.

The clay items (terracotta figurines, ceramics, *thymiateria*) are generally of a low quality. The objects of personal ornamentation are however much more valuable. There is a wide variety of items and they are carefully made. They include silver, bronze and iron fibulas in a Samnite style, rings, earrings, bronze and silver bracelets, amber and glassy paste pendants. There are also toilet objects and amulet pendants, as well as some bronze foil leaves, which probably came from crowns that were suspended from the walls of the building or attached to *ex votos*. Finally, two lead loom weights have been found, but their original function is still unclear. Another votive object found is the so-called “keys of the temple,” a fertility symbol.

Epigraphic evidence

None.

Numismatic evidence

From layer II, thirty eight coins (twelve of which are silver) have been discovered. These are mainly Magno-Graecian issues (Thurii, Poseidonia, Kroton, Taras, Heraclea, Velia, Laos, Terina, Brettia, and one coin from The Republic of Rome). As far as their chronological range is concerned, most of those from the first half of the fourth century are of Taranatine-Heracleian provenance, while those from the second half of that century, the most numerous coins are from Velia. Two coins of *Brettii* are dated to the end of the third century B.C. and an *uncia* dates back to 217-215 B.C.

Interpretation

The votive material from the sacred area of Colla is tied to a female cult, which is connected with the sphere of fertility and the *mundus muliebris* in general. Some elements can be specifically connected to the Demetriad sphere: the small wells dug in the floor of the building, and those iconographies of female figure with characterizing attributes such as the cross torch, the *cista* and the piglet, which are typical of the Eleusinian cult.

Bibliography

Atti Taranto 1972, 192-212; *Atti Taranto* 1980, 115-122; *Evidenza Archeologica Lagonegrese*; Greco G. 1990, 69-75; *Greci e indigeni tra Noce e Lao*; Masseria 2000, 144-147; Masseria and D'Anisi 2001, 123, 126; Torelli 2001, 20; Galioto 2010.

III. Bradano river Valley**Timmari (loc. Lamia San Francesco)**

PROVINCIA: Matera

MUNICIPALITY: Timmari

LOCALITY: Lamia San Francesco

I.G.M. Reference: F. 201, IV NW

Technical Information

TYPE OF INVESTIGATION: archaeological excavation

YEARS/ARCHAEOLOGY TEAMS:

1922: Archaeological excavation; Director: D. Ridola

1975: Soprintendenza Archeologica della Basilicata (Basilicata Archaeological Heritage Department)

1997: Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata (Basilicata Archaeological Heritage Department)

Ancient geographical environment

Timmari is centrally located on an isolated plateau, twelve kilometres away from Matera. This plateau is made up of numerous terraces that stretch out towards the Bradano river. The vast sacred area of "Lamia San Francesco" is situated at the feet of Mount Timbro, two kilometres southwest of the hill of San Salvatore and Campasanto, outside the inhabited area and the necropoleis.

The area surrounding the sacred centre has yielded substantial evidence of settlement inhabitation. In the areas of Pianoro di Camposanto, San Salvatore, and the Montagnola hill, traces of urban fabric have been identified, thanks to the discovery of parallel rooms. In particular, in the San Salvatore area, archaeological research has discovered some rooms with beaten floors, with north-south oriented walls built with irregular stones and fragments of tiles. This wall can be interpreted as the outer boundary of a residential block. This complex of houses dates to the second half of the fourth century B.C. A rural villa dated between the end of the fourth century and first half of the third century B.C. has also been found in the area. Additional evidence of settlements comes from the necropoleis of “Giardino Strozillo,” the “Montagnola” hill, and the San Salvatore and Camposanto terraces. Later evidence of inhabitation comes from the remains of houses and their necropoleis, dating back to the second and first centuries B.C. Also, Timmari is situated on the left side of the Bradano river valley, a natural communication route between the Ionian coast and the hinterland. An ancient path goes from Timmari towards Irsi and the Calle mountains, crossing the Serra di Vaglio-Gravina di Puglia “tratturo” or pathway. The road system which connected the Greek colonies of the Ionian coast (Tarentum and Metapontum) with the internal Oinotrian and Peucetian sites (Montescaglioso, Gravina di Puglia, Altamura, Matera) also passes close to the Timmari area.

The hill where the sacred place lies is located on the most easily accessible road to the settlement. This corroborates the hypothesis that the sanctuary was founded after the settlement had been built. In addition, we must point out that the *floruit* of the sanctuary is dated to the fourth century B.C., a time when the settlement itself witnessed urban and economic development (as the wealthy grave goods of the excavated necropoleis also attest).

Chronological Span

End of the fourth century B.C. – first century B.C.

Architectural structures

The sacred area is divided in two main cult centres (known as “area A” and “area B”), about 200 meters apart. No monumental building has been found in the site, but we do know that the two cult areas originally contained *sacella* and porticos, which were bounded by a *temenos* wall, as we can infer from the discovery of big square blocks in both areas, as well as by the clay antefixes and architectural elements found in the area. Moreover, in area B there are traces of a wall (about 80 m. long) which can be interpreted as part of a *temenos* wall.

The discovery of terracotta pipes in the area A suggests that the sanctuary was connected to a spring which provided water for use during the rituals performed in this place. Furthermore, the existence of a kiln allows us to hypothesize that here, as in other ancient sacred places in the Greek and Magno-Graecian worlds, clay votive objects were produced in the sanctuary area itself.

Given the limited material evidence available, no basis exists for a reconstruction of sacred buildings in the sanctuary. Nevertheless the rich votive deposits which have been found in the area allow us to hypothesize that the sanctuary was bigger

and more complex than what we are able to imagine today from the structures that have been unearthed.⁶³³

About 200 m. from the place where the votive deposit was found, more archaeological excavations have discovered another nucleus of votive objects, probably from a smaller votive deposit. The materials found are mainly standing female statuettes and images of seated goddesses, which can be dated to the second half of the fourth century B.C. Since it was found on a downhill slope, it is plausible to infer that the deposit comes from a *sacellum* located at a higher elevation. Furthermore, the fact that this deposit was found some distance away from the site of Lamia San Francesco allows us to hypothesize that the sanctuary was of a considerable size.

Finally, it is worth mentioning the discovery of some structures in the fondo Sasaniello. In particular, in this area there is a small square building which seems to be independent from the other close by buildings, and it might be possibly be a sacred *naiskos*. This building was covered with tiles and curved roof tiles (“coppi”). The pottery found under the collapsed roof on the beaten floor of this building can be dated between the fourth and the second century B.C. Unfortunately, no information on the excavation of this area has been published, and thus it is impossible to make any observation about its relationship with the deposits in Lamia San Francesco.

It is not possible to identify the different phases of occupation and use of the sanctuary merely by looking at the remains of the structures; on its own, the excavated material can only give us a diachronic view of the occupation of the sacred area.

Materials

Pre-Lucanian phase - Archaic material recovered within the so-called area B (Oinotrian sub-geometric pottery and Ionic cups of B2 type) proves that this area was in use since the sixth century B.C.

End of the fourth century B.C. – end of the third century B.C. phase - Votive material from the Lucanian phase is mainly made up of clay objects, in particular terracotta products, dated from the fourth century B.C. to the next one. As clay analysis and the presence of the kiln in the area A show, the clay figurines were probably produced locally. The female figurines make up the largest group of terracotta objects. There are numerous statuettes of standing offerants holding various attributes (flower, *oinochoe*, little hare, kidskin, fruits basket, torch), as well as seated female statuettes made from Tarantine moulds. Some of them wear a low *polos*, often with a veil. The attributes are multifarious. In general terms, they relate to the chthonic aspect of the cult (fruit, cornucopia filled with fruit), or to the *mundus muliebris*, with typical objects such as the *tympanon*, the fan and the mirror. Another common attribute is the *phiale*, which often appears together with other attributes though it is also seen by itself, while other female figures simply wear a *himation* tied across their breasts. Other attributes can be referred

⁶³³ An alternative reconstruction of the original layout of the Timmari complex hypothesizes that it was an “open-air sanctuary,” identified thanks to the presence of votive deposits and altars (Horsnaes 2002b, 99 f.).

to the Aphrodisian sphere, such as the swan or other birds. Another common iconography depicts a goddess in association with erotes.

Furthermore, a number of Tarantine disks with images of female protomes with two erotes have been found, as well as numerous busts and *protomai*. Female figures wear the *polos* on some of the busts, thus they have been interpreted as representations of deities rather than of donors. The same observation can be made for some busts which have palm leaves on the back, which generally decorate the back part of the throne and can therefore be considered throne symbols. Other busts have attributes which help us to decode the cult, such as the double cross torch, a pig, a *cista*, a pomegranate and a cup of fruit.

A large group of Tanagrines is dated to the early Hellenistic period (325-200 B.C.). They are similar in type to the well-known Tarantine and Heracleian production of this period. While the iconography of most of the Tanagrines is rather neutral, some of these statuettes hold attributes such as the crown, which refers to the sphere of the marriage, and one statuette holds up a torch. Other Hellenistic figurines are connected to the Aphrodisian sphere, such the female figurines supported by a herm of Pan, a half-naked figure. Other clay products of Hellenistic age are the erotes, which are represented in different iconographical versions. The terracotta objects include clay animals (goose, calf) and clay fruits (quince apple, almond). Most of these come from area A.

The next most abundant category after terracotta items are the *thymiateria*. Many different types make up this category which is also the largest group of votive objects found in the sanctuary. The pottery too is varied, with the largest group composed of black glaze pottery, in particular *lekythoi*, *skyphoi*, *gutti* and *phialai*. Within area A, a group of ritual vases (kraters and *skyphoi*) decorated with the cross torch has been found, and were probably imported from Metapontum.

The votive material recovered in area B is both typologically and chronologically similar to that from area A. However, many *ex-votos* were found here, including bronze *paterae*, silver and bronze fibulas, belts, weapons and iron utensils. There are about thirty bronze φιάλαι μεσόμοφαλοι testifying to the wealth of the sanctuary during this period. Objects of personal ornamentation were also found (pendants, fibulas, bracelets and rings). There are also some typical Samnite belts, as well as weapons and iron utensils (spears points, spits and knives).

Beginning of the second century B.C.– first century B.C. phase – A group of Tanagra figurines are dated to the late Hellenism (200-50 B.C.).

Epigraphic evidence

Two vases recovered in the votive deposit of the area A carry graffiti inscriptions. On a black-glaze plate there is the inscription ΓΑΙ, interpretable either as an abbreviation of παι(δός) or παιδί, or as the vocative παιῖ, namely the epithet of Kore, Demetra's "daughter." A fragment of an Apulian vase with a representation of an erotic scene carries the inscription ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ.

Numismatic evidence

A large number of Roman coins were found here, originating from Tarentum, Thurii, Velia, Terina, and Neapolis.

Interpretation

The material evidence from the sacred area of Timmari allows us to conclude that the cult was a feminine chthonic one. The presence of decorative motifs which can be referred to the Eleusinian sphere testifies the predominant Demetriad aspect of the cult. But there is also a clay figurine that represents Artemis, which is perfectly in line with the chthonic nature of the cult (the goddess is also known as “Agrotera”). Additionally, there are many indicators which refer to the Aphrodisian cult, which was hosted in the so-called area B of the sacred place, as we can infer from the discovery of a huge number of feminine ornamental objects, as well as a fragmented Apulian vase with an erotic scene and the inscription ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ. Furthermore, the Tarantine *oscilla*, with the protome of the goddess sided by two erotes, or by Eros and Pathos, can be also placed in the Aphrodisian sphere.

Bibliography

Adamesteanu 1974b, 129-186; *Atti Taranto* 1974, 269-275; *Atti Taranto* 1975, 561-566; Siciliano 1978; Lattanzi 1980; Guzzo 1982b, 351-363; Lo Porto 1991; Masseria 2000, 210-214; Masseria and D’Anisi 2001, 123, 127; Nava 2001, 7; Russo 2001, 90.

Lucignano

PROVINCIA: Matera

MUNICIPALITY: Lucignano

I.G.M. Reference: F. 201, IV NW

Technical data

TYPE OF INVESTIGATION: unknown

YEARS/ARCHAEOLOGY TEAMS: unknown

Ancient geographical environment

The site is located on a long plateau on the south-eastern extreme of the Matera territory.

Chronological Span

Mid-fourth century B.C. – beginning of the third century B.C.

Architectural structures

No architectural evidence has been found at the site.

Materials

The only material evidence that could have come from a religious place is made up of a few votive objects that were taken to the “D. Ridola” Archaeological Museum of Matera. They were found in an area that had been inhabited in the fourth century B.C. and consist of a few intact pieces of terracotta figurines, *thymiateria*, loom weights, lamps, bronze *phiailai*, black-glaze *skyphoi*, cups and plates. Some seated female terracotta figurines without attributes were also found, as well as a few standing figurines, one of which bears a kidskin attribute, identical to the iconography of a statue in Metapontum.

As these votive objects are all intact, we can infer that they were selected at the time when they were found, thus we cannot learn much from them, except that they come from a female cult.

Epigraphic evidence

None.

Numismatic evidence

A *stater* of Tarantine issue has been found dated between 272 and 235 B.C.

Interpretation

Nothing can be said about the sacred place and the cult which was performed there, as the way in which the votive material has been found is unknown. The type of material is nonetheless similar to the votive objects and ritual instruments which are commonly found in the other Lucanian sanctuaries.

Bibliography

Lattanzi in "BTCGI" IX (1991), 492-499; Lo Porto 1973; Lo Porto 1991; Masseria 2000, 207-209.

Montescaglioso (loc. Cugno La Volta)

PROVINCIA: Matera

MUNICIPALITY: Montscaglioso

LOCALITY: Cugno La Volta

I.G.M. Reference: F. 201, IV SE

Technical data

TYPE OF INVESTIGATION: unknown

YEARS/ARCHAEOLOGY TEAMS: unknown

Ancient geographical environment

The site is located on a hill near the south side of the lower Bradano valley. A third century B.C. necropolis (località Pastano Marchesale), and remains of fourth and third centuries B.C. houses in località Pagliarone provide evidence of early occupation of this area, which remained occupied until the Roman period.

The most densely inhabited area of Montescaglioso is Difesa San Biagio. The sacred area, probably built as a response to the needs of those who lived here, is situated at the feet of the Difesa San Biagio hill, within the Metapontine area, in località Cugno La Volta. The settlement of Difesa San Biagio, after an early occupation which is dated back between the eighth and sixth centuries B.C. and a *caesura* between the fifth and the fourth century B.C., then underwent a transformation becoming a settlement with a fortified wall in the second half of the fourth century B.C., with additional structures built between the third and the second centuries B.C. Just outside the modern centre, an industrial area has been identified. A fourth century B.C. necropolis has been identified in località S. Antonio.

Another important fortified hill-top settlement which is close to this area is Cozzo Presepe, the last settlement before the Metaponto plateau. Its fortification wall, which is dated between the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third

century B.C., is equipped with towers and monumental gates. Outside the wall there is a fourth century B.C. necropolis.

Architectural structures

No remains of any sacred buildings have been found.

Materials

The existence of a cult place is suggested only by the presence of votive objects, for which published information is as yet unavailable. A votive deposit was found under the remains of some structures, which probably are sacred buildings, though no real data exists to prove it. The deposit mainly consists of votive terracottas, bronze *phialai mesomphaloi*, *hydriai*, miniature pottery, and *thymiateria*. The only diagnostic figurines hold an offering of piglets.

Epigraphic evidence

None.

Numismatic evidence

None.

Interpretation

Nothing can be said on the basis of the available data. There was probably a female cult, with features which can be referred to the sphere of Demeter, as the offering of piglets seems to prove.

Bibliography

Atti Taranto 1985, 460-461; Masseria 2000, 209-210.

IV. Basento river Valley

Ferrandina (loc. Caporre)

PROVINCIA: Matera

MUNICIPALITY: Ferrandina

LOCALITY: Caporre

I.G.M. Reference: F. 201, III NW

TYPE OF INVESTIGATION: archaeological excavation

YEARS/ARCHAEOLOGY TEAMS:

Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata (Basilicata Archaeological Heritage Department).

Ancient geographical environment

The Ferrandina site is located at the southern limit of the high ground on the left shore of the Basento river, on one of the highest hills between the Vella stream and the Basento river. On the opposite shore of the Basento river there are the settlements of Miglionico (9 kilometres to the north-east) and Pomarico Vecchio (10 kilometres ca. to east); towards the north-west there is Garaguso (20 kilometres ca.), and Pisticci is located to the south-east. The Basento river valley is an important communication route between the Ionian coast (35 kilometres away from the site) and the regional hinterland (a route which State Highway SS 176 follows to this day). A pathway situated north of the Basento river parallel to

the river once went through the towns of Pomarico and Miglionico, going all the way to Tricarico and Serra di Vaglio, in the Potentino area.

The sacred area, located within the ancient settlement of Ferrandina, in località Caporre, lies on a slope of hill terraces on the right shore of the Druso stream (a tributary course of the Basento river). Therefore, the sanctuary is connected to a vast settlement area, occupying the terraces that descend all the way from the area of Serre di S. Giovanni to the springs of the Vella stream. Evidence for a settlement is essentially made up of fourth and third centuries B.C. tombs and sporadic discoveries of archaeological material that has come to the surface in the surrounding area. The area is also rich in natural springs.

Chronological Span

Mid-fourth century B.C – mid-third century B.C. Only a small amount of unspecified data gives us reason to believe that the sanctuary was used (but in a very limited manner) during the Republican age.

Architectural structures

The complete layout of the sacred complex is not known. There is a water collecting basin, connected to a channelling system to bring water downhill. To the north of this basin, there are two parallel sandstone walls. The discovery of collapsed roof tiles, burnt wood and small pillars lead us to believe that the walls are the remains of a portico. Some blocks with traces of *anathyrosis* have been interpreted as altars. On the side of one altar some *bothroi* identified by different levels of burnt soil, have been discovered,

Materials and cult

Votive material has been found in the holes that are believed to be *bothroi*. The material is composed of terracotta figurines, *phialai mesomphaloi*, a *pilos* helmet, belts, iron working tools, spear points, miniature pottery, *thymiateria* and *louteria*. The terracotta objects include different types of female figurines, with a predominance of the Poseidonian type with seated women holding an offering (a fruit or a flower), or standing women wearing the *himation*. There are also female busts with high *polos* and necklaces, with iconographies known elsewhere in the Ionian coastal area. These materials can be dated between the mid-fourth century B.C. and the mid-third century B.C.

Epigraphic evidence

None.

Numismatic evidence

None.

Interpretation

Not too much can be said on the basis of the available data. The existence of holes makes plausible that the cult had Demetriad features.

Bibliography

Atti Taranto 1991, 388-389; Greco 1992, 264; *Magna Grecia* 1-4, 1992, 19; De Siena A. in Bottini 1993, 211-213; *Atti Taranto* 1993, 697; Barra Bagnasco and Russo Tagliente 1996, 183-193, note 6; Masseria 2000, 65-68; Masseria and D'Anisi 2001, 90-91.

Accettura

PROVINCIA: Potenza

MUNICIPALITY: Accettura

LOCALITY: Contrada Caruso

I.G.M. Reference: F. 200, IV NE

TYPE OF INVESTIGATION: casual discovery.

YEARS/ARCHAEOLOGY TEAM: 1932.

Ancient geographical environment

Accettura is located in mid-eastern Basilicata, in a position which dominates the hydrographic basin of the mid-Basento and the Cavone and Salandrella rivers. The area is particularly mountainous and rich in flowing water. La Croccia mountain is located in the area where the territories of Accettura and Calciano meet. The closest hill-top settlement to Accettura is Croccia Cognato, where a double fortification wall has been found (the external one is dated between the end of the eighth and the end of the sixth centuries B.C., while the internal one, which demarcated the boundaries of the acropolis, is dated to the fourth century B.C.).

Chronological Span

Fourth century B.C.

Architectural structures

No building has been found, but the discovery of fragmented tiles in the area may provide proof of the existence of an ancient sacred building, such as a *naiskos*. This scanty material evidence is however not the only reason for us to hypothesize the existence of sacred structures.⁶³⁴ The location of the site, in fact, is even more significant, since the sacred place is located close to a number of important hilltop settlements that it was probably connected to, such as Croccia Cognato and Tempa Cortaglia.

Materials

The existence of a sacred place can be confirmed thanks to the accidental discovery of two votive deposits in Contrada Caruso and Contrada Acqua Fra' Benedetto, at the southern feet of the Croccia mountain. The only votive deposit for which published material exists is the one in Contrada Caruso. It is not particularly rich: the types of material that were found include terracotta figurines, pottery, loom weights, and *thymiateria*. The terracotta figurines are usually seated and mantled, holding an offering (generally a fruit). There are also several Tanagrines. Among these figurines there is a single statuette of a winged female figure, which has been interpreted as a Nike offerant, on the base of comparison with similar images found on vascular painting from the Classical age, where the image of Nike often appears in relation to cultic celebrations, with various attributes, such as bandages, flowers, crowns, torches, *oinochoai*, *phialai*, *thymiateria*. Finally, there are some examples of Tarantine disks.

⁶³⁴ No reference to architectural material is found in D'Anisi 2005, 167-178. Nevertheless, the discovery of "fragments of tiles" which could be from a small *naiskos* is mentioned in Masseria 2000, 73-74.

The pottery is mainly of the black-glaze and common pottery type, most of which are containers for preparing, cooking and preserving food (basins, pots, ollas, pitchers), vases for ritual libations (*phialai*, cups, *skyphoi*), and finally vases to hold oils and perfumes (*lekythoi* and bottles).

Epigraphic evidence

None.

Numismatic evidence

None.

Interpretation

According to the interpretation of this votive material, the cult performed at Accettura was devoted to a female deity with characteristics which can be referred to the sphere of the Greek Aphrodite, which superintended the activities of the *mundus muliebris*.

Bibliography

Catanuto 1932, 77-80; Technau 1932, 510; De La Genière, *BTCGI*, V, 1987, 28-29; Masseria 2000, 84; D'Anisi 2005, 167-178.

V. Agri Valley

Armento

PROVINCIA: Potenza

MUNICIPALITY: Armento

LOCALITY: Serra Lustrante

I.G.M. Reference: F. 211, IV NE

TYPE OF INVESTIGATION: archaeological excavation; superficial survey.

YEARS/ARCHAEOLOGY TEAMS:

1968: Director: J. De La Genière

1969-1970: Director: U. Rüdiger

1991-1992: Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata (Basilicata Archaeological Heritage Department); director: A. Russo.

Ancient geographical environment

The Armento lands are located in a central district of the Agri Valley, right in the middle of a narrow network of communication routes that linked this part of internal Lucania with the Ionian and Tyrrhenian coasts, passing throughout the valleys of the Agri, Tanagro, and Silaros rivers. A network of diagonal routes linked this part of the region with northern Lucania. The modern town is located on the right-hand side of the Armento stream, a small tributary which flows into the left side of the Agri river. A network of *tratturi* (pathways), the most important of which linked northern Lucania with the Agri and Sinni valleys, connected Armento to the settlements of San Chirico Nuovo, Albano, Monte Crocchia, Guardia Perticara, Serra Lustrante di Armento, Sant'Arcangelo and Roccanova.

Human beings have lived in this area continually since the Iron Age, although archaeological evidence regarding the sixth and the fifth century B.C is rather

scarce (here and in the whole Lucania for this period). However, the archaeological proof of Lucanian era inhabitation is more abundant, and is concentrated in the eastern sector of the modern town, where the Serra Lustrante sanctuary is located. The Lucanian settlement seems to have been located here, in the area around the San Giovanni, Sant'Eramo, and Parriello streams, which are all tributaries of the Sauro river. The only archaeological evidence we have regarding to the inhabited settlement is a few domestic structures with stone foundations, clay upper walls, and roof tiles.

The Serra Lustrante locality is a hilly area on an area of about 70 ha., located between Fosso San Giovanni and Fosso Sant'Eramo. It is situated at the convergence point of a number of smaller tratturi (pathways), connecting it to the mountainous summer pastures of the hinterland and to the winter pastures of the coastal plateaus. The territory is rich in water with many perennial sources.

Chronological Span

Mid fourth century B.C. – second century B.C.

Architectural structures

Archaeological studies have identified four building phases of the sacred complex.

Second half of the fourth century B.C. phase - In this phase the sanctuary consisted in a small *sacellum* (room 2), which measures 2.50x3.00 m. Only the foundations of this building can be seen today, and they are built with pebbles and calcareous stones. A piece of *opus spicatum* flooring is also visible. Some rooms were built around the *sacellum*. There are two inter-connected rooms (rooms 3 and 9) along the southern side, which were probably used for the sacrificial meals. A basin, a *pithos*-basin and a cistern (which was successively monumentalized) testify the custom of practicing ritual lustrations (purification ceremonies).

End of the fourth century B.C. – third century B.C. phase - During the second building phase, the complex was renovated and the floor layout completely transformed, giving it a monumental appearance. A second terrace was built at a different elevation and joined by means of a stairway to the terrace where the first phase buildings are. The first phase *sacellum* was demolished, and replaced by another building (denominated room 1). This new building was constructed in an area very close to the previous *sacellum*. It is a sort of *naiskos* with foundations built of river pebbles, and the upper wall built with unfired clay bricks and plastered both externally and internally (with red stucco on the outside and blue stucco on the inside). The roof was double pitched, with plain tiles, curved tiles and *kalypter hegemon*. Aligned with the *sacellum* is an altar, built of a square limestone and sandstone platform (1, 80 x 1, 90 m.), plastered with red stucco. Two small square limestone bases (supporting pillars or statues) are close to the altar. A series of tiles laid crosswise has been interpreted as the floor of a processional path which went from the altar to the upper terrace via a monumental stairway. On the lower terrace, at the south terrace wall, the cistern has been monumentalized. It was used to collect rainwater flowing from the upper terrace through a channel network as well as underground spring water. This cistern too is connected to the altar and the *sacellum* by means of the path mentioned above.

During this phase, room 9 was still in use, although it was accessible only from the upper terrace.

In the upper terrace three rooms were built, side by side, at the same time (rooms 4, 5, 6), using new building techniques. The western, northern and southern walls of room 5, and the eastern wall of room 4 were built with a double dry wall structure of square limestone blocks, filled with pebbles, stones, and a few tile pieces, while the others are dry walls built with two rows of irregular blocks, on which there are stones, pieces of tiles, and pebbles. The roof was very similar to the roof of the *sacellum*, namely a double pitched roof with plain tiles and curved tiles, without any architectural terracotta. There is no evidence which would allow us to understand the original function of these rooms; however the discovery of a basin in room 4 permits us to hypothesize that *lustratio* practices were performed here.

Third century B.C. phase - During the third century B.C., the sacred complex was further expanded and renovated. New rooms (rooms 10 and 13) were built on the lower terrace and on the upper terrace (rooms 7 and 8). Furthermore, a ramp made from river pebbles partially obliterates the staircase connecting the two terraces, and widens at the altar. Rooms 10 and 13 of the lower terrace have been interpreted as service rooms, mostly on the basis of the small size of the walls, which are not built to support a heavy roof. At the same time, the size of room 9 was drastically reduced by a reinforcement wall. This room was subsequently destroyed, but we are not sure exactly when. The floor on the upper terrace was made of river pebbles, and extended to the entire open-air area. The walls of rooms 7 and 8 were built with rows of tiles, alternating with river pebbles and stone chips, and plastered both internally and externally. Room 7 is hypaethral, while the adjacent room 8 was covered with a tile roof. Rooms from the previous phase were restored: room 5 was given a *cocciopesto* floor and a *silos* was placed in the eastern corner of the room. Room 6 was given an identical floor. Along the eastern side of room 4 there are four plastered basins, a square base of an altar and a base of a statue or a pillar. There is also an unfired clay platform. In the middle of this room there is a great *eschara*, which is built on the earlier phase basin that thus works as a sort of foundation. The *eschara* has a rectangular shaped beaten earth base, surrounded on its sides by rows of plain tiles; in its centre there were three terracotta plates with traces of burning. West of the *eschara* the discovery of four stone blocks and traces of “*concolato*” seems to be due to the stoves which were once here. And lastly, a network of channels crosses the north-eastern part of the terrace, finally flowing into the cistern.

Second century B.C. phase – The sanctuary seems to have gradually fallen into disuse during the third century B.C., only to be progressively abandoned during the century that followed. It was later used as a quarry for building materials, although the cult statues were left *in loco*.⁶³⁵

⁶³⁵ Note that the 1995-1996 excavations identified a series of structures situated below the lower terrace. These studies have however still not been published: Russo Tagliente 2000, 63 nota 44.

Materials

End of the fifth century B.C. - first half of the fourth century B.C. phase –

Some discoveries provide evidence for early use of this sacred place. These ancient objects include: a small black-glaze cup (end of the fifth century B.C.) from the filling inside the cistern; an *oinochoe* (beginning of the fourth century B.C.), a band-cup and a small cup (first half of the fourth century B.C.) from the kiln; some potsherds from the superficial layers; two antefixes with *gorgoneion* (end of the fifth – beginning of the fourth century B.C.); four silver coins from Velia and Poseidonia from the north-eastern corner of room 15 (fifth century B.C.).

Fourth- third centuries B.C. phases – The materials recovered in the sacred place are of different categories. First, there are a number of miniature weapons (spears) and just a belt hook. Working tools are rarer, and include a scythe, a miniature iron sickle, a bronze hatchet and the so called “temple keys.” Objects of personal ornamentation are also quite rare and are mainly a few fibulas, a bracelet, a silver ring bezel, a bone hat-pin, a bronze pendant and a bone pendant.

The terracotta objects are not numerous: some busts with high *polos*, seated “a gradino” type statuettes (including one holding a hare) and a horse head. A number of chessmen have been found.

A few pieces from metal basins, some *kantharoi*, *situlae* and *cola* make up the remains of metal objects found here.

Miniature pottery is also quite rare, with a prevalence of open forms (small black-glaze cups and *skyphoi*, kraters, a one-handle cup, many *louteria* found with a small pitcher, an olla). The quantity of the red-figure pottery is equally insignificant (kraters and *lekanai*), and there are just two fragments of Gnathia pottery).

Black-glaze pottery was however found in large quantities, a high proportion of which was open forms: concave-convex cups, *paterae*, *skyphoi* and one-handled cups. The closed forms found include *oinochoai*, *gutti* and *bombylioi*.

There are a few lamps, for the most part black-glazed pieces, with the exception of two unpainted lamps (end of the fourth-third century B.C.). Two lamps date from the period around the last quarter of the third and the second quarter of the second century B.C.

The *unguentaria* are quite rare (Forti V type), and come from the period between the last quarter of the third and the second century B.C.

Only a few *thymiateria* were found, but the *louteria* are abundant.

Some *pithoi* were found, especially in rooms 7 and 4, and in the area around the hearth. Other *pithoi*, located on the lower terrace, fulfilled a ritual function.

Some amphorae have been unearthed in room 4, and can be dated between the end of the fifth to the beginning of the third century B.C. And finally, there is a huge quantity of common and cooking ware.

A bronze cudgel and a *leontè*, as well as numerous miniature *louteria*, a small pitcher, a foot of a bronze *kantharos* and fragments of *thymiateria* were discovered under the collapsed roof of the *sacellum* (room 1). Two terracotta statuettes, one female seated figurine wearing *polos* and veil, with a *phiale* and an

animal, and a figurine of offerant with a little hare were also discovered in this pile of collapsed material, as well as a bronze egg and a fragment of bronze water bag, feet of *thymiateria* and fragments of miniature *loutheria*.

Other votive materials were found close to the altar, including a fragment of bronze hair, an amber bead necklace, and a bronze stem with a pomegranate blossom. A bronze *strigilis* and an *aryballos* were found westward of the *naiskos*, while two bronze fingers come from the southern area of the altar. In the rooms that are located in the southern sector of the terrace, which have been interpreted as service rooms, common ware and cooking ware have been discovered, as well as loom weights.

Epigraphic evidence

None.

Numismatic evidence

Twenty four coins were found, ten of them silver and fourteen bronze, from issues of Poseidonia and Velia (fifth century B.C.), Hyria/Campana, Thurium, Metapontum, Cydonia (fourth century B.C.); Tarentum/Heraclea, Metapontum, Rome (end of the fourth-end of the third century B.C.). The four coins of Republican Rome were coined during the second Punic war.

Interpretation

The sanctuary has been interpreted as dedicated to Heracles' cult, as the discovery of the bronze statuettes testifies. Nevertheless, a female component of the cult has to be considered.

Bibliography

Atti Taranto 1970, 480-482; *Atti Taranto* 1971, 259; *Atti Taranto* 1991, 387-388; *Atti Taranto* 1992, 757-758; *Atti Taranto* 1996, 472-475; *Greci, Enotri e Lucani*, 190-195; *Sacro (Il) e l'Acqua*, 34-41, Russo Tagliente 2000.

Grumento (loc. San Marco)

PROVINCIA: Potenza

MUNICIPALITY: Grumento Nova

Località: San Marco

I.G.M. Reference: F. 210 I NE

TYPE OF INVESTIGATION: casual discovery; archaeological excavation.

YEARS/ARCHAEOLOGY TEAMS: 1982-1984; Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata (Basilicata Archaeological Heritage Department).

Ancient geographical environment

The modern village of Grumento is located on a hilly terrace on the right bank of the Agri river ("La Civita"), close to the Sciaura tributary. It is about 80 kilometres from the Ionian coast and the Greek city of Heraclea. The earliest period of settlement occupation can be dated to the first half of the third century B.C. Therefore this settlement cannot be related to the fourth century sacred place. The "La Civita" plateau is located in a strategic position at the meeting point of four roads that connect Ionian and Tyrrhenian areas, as well as the Melfese district.

The only material evidence that could be related to a pre-Roman cult place is provided by a massive votive deposit found a few hundred meters south of the walls of the inhabited settlement, in an area where a Roman aqueduct and an Imperial age urban necropolis were later built. A basilica dedicated to San Marco was built in this area during the Early Middle Ages, giving the votive deposit its name.

Chronological Span

End fourth century B.C. – beginning of the third century B.C.

Architectural structures

No sacred building has been found in the area. Nevertheless, the geographical position of the votive deposit close to the communication roads of the downhill area, and the presence of three perennial water springs in the vicinity, make it plausible to hypothesize the existence of a sanctuary that was used since the Archaic age.⁶³⁶ The connection with water is borne out by the closeness of the Sciaura stream as well the existence of a few springs in the area (named with very suggestive toponyms, such as “Fontana del Principe” and “Fontana Mattea”). The votive deposit was covered with building rubble (tiles, river pebbles, stone flakes), but we cannot be certain they were the remains of a sacred building structure, as agricultural activity has continued in the area for centuries, undoubtedly disturbing the strata of archaeological remains. Nevertheless, there are some elements which could hypothetically be attributed to a sacred building which existed in the past, such as some stone blocks which could have been re-used as a deposition bed of a later tomb, as well as the *pithoi* recovered from the front part of the basilica of San Marco. And most importantly, a smooth sandstone column piece has been discovered on the bottom level of this deposit.

Materials

The votive deposit was contained within a great pit. The materials were deposited on two levels in this pit, separated by a thin layer of ground. It is also worthy of note that, unlike other votive deposits that have yielded remixed and fragmentary remains, the San Marco deposit is distinguished by the presence of many complete objects. Furthermore, the items seem to have been separated into groups, with seated figurines in the eastern part of the deposit, standing figurines in the southern part, busts in the centre, and ceramics in the northern part.

Terracotta objects make up the most abundant group of materials. Of local manufacture and rather low quality, they were produced using excessively worn moulds. Seated figurines make up the most numerous group, most of which are “a gradino” types. The attribute seen constantly in this group of statuettes is a piece of fruit, with only an occasional bird. The standing figurines are of the most common types from early Hellenistic Magno-Graecian production. The most revealing iconographies include a statuette with piglet and torch, a female figure with a *kalathos* of flowers, and a statuette of *kourotrophos*. Another characteristic of the votive deposit of San Marco is the massive presence of busts. Several

⁶³⁶ Giardino 1993, 92. On the other hand, archaic age inhabitation was proven with the discovery of the famous bronze horsemen, preserved in the British Museum (cf. Langlotz and Hirmer 1968, 266-267; Adamesteanu 1968, 108-117).

variations can be seen within this group of terracotta objects. For example, the female figures have different types of hair styles, clothes and personal ornaments. Although these clay figurines are all rather ordinary, there is one statuette that stands out. It is partially preserved and about 45-50 cm. high, using and whose models are from the great statuary. Since the female figure wears a long *chiton* and a *leontè*, we can identify it as an image of Artemis Bendis. Since this is the only statuette of Bendis in the votive deposit and it is the only one of a larger size and better quality, P. Bottini postulates that this figurine can be considered the “simulacro” of sacred area. The terracotta objects also include some *oscilla*.

A mould for a *phiale*, derived from Tarantine prototypes, and one loom weight are worth mentioning. The pottery includes black-glaze ceramics, common ware, and just a few potsherds with graffito decoration. The open forms (small cups, *phialai* and some *skyphoi*), and *unguentaria* abound. The common ware found here includes saucepans, small ollas, pots, pitchers, and mortars. The miniature vases are very rare (there are just two), but there are numerous *thymiateria*.

With regard to metal objects, those related to personal ornamentation are completely absent, as well as the ones which refer specifically to the female world. A so-called “temple key” and a real key were found.

Epigraphic evidence

Inscription with a dedication to Mephitis (*CIL X*, 203).

Numismatic evidence

There are a few coins which come from Terina and Syracuse issues.

Interpretation

The cult of the San Marco cult place seems to be dedicated to a female deity. P. Bottini stresses the high significance of the Artemis Bendis iconography, which well fits the rural character of the cult. This reading is corroborated by the geographical location of the deposit in an agricultural landscape, the proximity to the votive deposit to water, as well as some attributes of the clay figurines, which can be linked to the sphere of the fertility of the nature. The chthonic character of the cult also fits well with the characteristics of Artemis Bendis.

Bibliography

Dilthey 1980, 554; Giardino L., in “BTCGI”, VIII, 1990, s.v. Grumento Nova; Bottini P. 1990, 96-97; Bottini P. 2005, 179-192.

VI. Sinni river Valley

Chiaromonte (loc. San Pasquale)

PROVINCIA: Potenza

MUNICIPALITY: Chiaromonte

LOCALITY: San Pasquale

I.G.M. Reference: F. 211, II NW

TYPE OF INVESTIGATION: archaeological excavation

YEARS/ARCHAEOLOGY TEAMS:

1989, 1992, 1993; Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata (Basilicata Department of Archaeological Heritage); director: S. Bianco.

Ancient geographical environment

Chiaromonte is located on one of the hilly ridges which divide the Sinni river from its tributary, the Serrapotamo. Thus, the site overlooks the entire Sinni valley, which is a natural communication route between the Ionian and the Tyrrhenian Sea. The sacred area in the San Pasquale locality is located along an ancient “tratturo” (pathway) that goes towards Senise and is at the connection point of different communication routes (a part of these ancient routes have been retraced by the SS 104 road and going towards Francavilla in Sinni).

The territory features a number of valleys, and not very high hills (with the single exception of Monte Coppolo, which is 900 m. high). A number of seasonal streams run down from the higher Chiaromonte ground, into the Serrapotamo river on the north, and the Sinni river itself to the south. The area is also rich in perennial water.

The district surrounding Chiaromonte is densely inhabited. In the Carbone locality, on the right side of the Vallone river (a tributary of the Serrapotamo river), a few Lucanian farms and their necropoleis have been identified. In the Sarmento Valley, where the Lappio watercourse and the Fiumicello join the Sarmento river, there is the fortified settlement of Cersososimo, with residential structures dating from the fourth to the mid-third century B.C. At the Chiaromonte site itself, remains of farms dated between the fourth and the second centuries B.C. have been found and the remains of houses dated to the third and the second centuries B.C. have been discovered close to the sacred area.

Remains of other Lucanian farms have been found in Episcopia. There are remains of fortifications and Lucanian farms in Latronico (località Colle dei Greci, on the left bank of the Sinni river). Fourth century B.C. domestic structures have also been found at Monte Coppolo, a fortified settlement on the right bank of the Sinni river. The Noepoli necropolis, situated on a hill overlooking the Sarmento valley, is also noteworthy. Other necropolis areas, dated between the second half of the fourth century and the beginning of the third century B.C., have been identified at San Giorgio Lucano (località Sodano), Piano delle Rose and Rosaneto.

There are also some sacred areas in the territory, including one in Rotondella (on the right bank of the low Sinni river), in località Piano Sollazzo, which is dated to the fourth century B.C., and distinguished by Greek-colonial material and connected to Heraclea. Finally, in Teana (west of Chiaromonte), a votive deposit was found that was probably related to a Hellenistic farm (so that it is plausible to suppose that it was related to a domestic cult).

The excavated sanctuary, located in the lower part of San Pasquale località, lies on a slope with a north-south orientation, in central position among different necropolis areas, along a tratturo pathway that goes in direction of Senise. Furthermore, uphill on the slope where the sanctuary is located, on the north-western side of the sacred area, there is a spring placed within a sort of basin, where there are also a channel and two wells.

Chronological Span

Mid-fourth century B.C. - first century A.D.

Sporadic traces of cultic frequentation until the third and the fourth centuries A.D.

Architectural structures

The complex has no monumental structure. In considering the original size of the sacred complex and its buildings, it is important to remember that it is located in an area which is occupied today by a dense modern settlement. For this reason, archaeological investigations have been restricted to an area of 400 square meters, which is certainly smaller than the size of the original sanctuary.

The sacred structures extend over a series of downward terraces, which were originally roofed and bounded by dry walls. Along the path that crosses the structures, there are wells, small altars and *pithoi*. At least two construction phases of the complex can be identified from the excavation data, despite the fact that the rebuilding of the complex did not modify the original cultic forms.

Mid-fourth century B.C. phase - The first construction phase of the complex is dated to the mid-fourth century B.C. There is very little evidence which can be referred to this building phase, when the complex structures' main purpose was to collect spring water in the basin. It also had some depressions to hold votive material and the remains of meals. A north-south oriented wall segment (US 122), six holes (US 10, 11, 15, 3, 4 and 6) and a well (US 35) can be attributed to this phase.

Second half of the fourth century B.C. phase – During this second building phase, two parallel walls were constructed, less than two meters apart. The preserved lengths are 6.60 and 22 m. The original length of this structure was about 200 m., as shown by the discovery of a piece of wall following in the same line, more than a hundred meters downhill from the two parallel walls (18). On the eastern side of the wall US 119 there is a well (US 139) 0.80 m. in diameter, its inner surface lined with river pebbles. The walled structure believed to have been a ceremonial pathway was probably roofed. It connected the valley with the heart of the sanctuary, and then with the spring that was located uphill. In addition, great wall around the basin was built during this period. This has also been interpreted as the remains of a basin paved with a series of beaten floors. Finally, we can deduce from the discovery of masonry remains that a series of rooms were built during this period flanking the sides of the sacred path. Unfortunately their bad state of preservation, do not allow us to make a planimetric reconstruction. In particular, on the western side of the path there were at least three rooms, but we are unable to determine their nature (open air or roofed buildings?). A 2.80 m. long conglomerate structure (US 68) was built with double face and with central *emplecton* on the east side, and we can deduce that this could have been an altar. Another possibility, linking this structure with another wall (US 76) that is to the north and perpendicular to the first, hypothesises that it is what remains of a quadrangular *sacellum*. There is the possibility of discovering other structures near the spring, in an area where the archaeological deposit is deeper, but studies have not yet been carried out.

This phase of occupation of the sanctuary lasted until the mid-third century B.C. The sacred complex did not undergo any significant transformation when it was rebuilt in monumental style (namely during the second building phase).

Post mid-third century B.C. phase – After the second half of the third century B.C., the sacred complex continued to be used in limited manner, up to the second century A.D., but no further change and restoration has been archaeologically documented.

Materials

A peculiar feature of the rituals which were performed in the Chiaromonte sanctuary is the presence of holes dug in the bedrock and used for votive deposits. Twelve holes *ca.* have been identified in the explored area. They were filled with the remains of meals which took place in the sacred area and votive objects, which could not be throw out the sanctuary because of their sacred value. Such holes were subsequently covered up by new constructions (for example, holes 3, 11 and 15). The fact that these holes were an important part of the rituals in the sacred complex is inferred by the fact that they were also seen in the subsequent phases, becoming more frequent in the eastern part of the sanctuary.

Other elements peculiar to this complex are the hearths, two of which have been found on the eastern and western sides of the sacred path. Remains of meals (animal bones and cooking ware) were found on the surfaces of these hearths, providing proof that food was normally prepared within the sanctuary.

Mid-fourth century B.C. phase - A huge quantity of votive material was found in this sanctuary, most of it terracotta objects and pottery (fine and cooking ware). This material comes from the internal part of the complex as well as a rich deposit, with five bronze *phialai* (US 64) standing on the bottom. The pottery is mainly of a black-glaze type. Most of the forms can be dated between the mid-fourth and the mid-third century B.C., but there are also a few forms which can be dated to the end of the third century B.C. Those pottery forms are mainly open and were used for ritual practices. There are many vases for libation, such as *phialai*, cups and *skyphoi*. Common ware (shapes for drinking and containing) and cooking ware (ollas, pots, casseroles and frying pans) corroborate the practice of preparing and consuming food in sacred places (the discovery of animal bones in proximity to the hearths also proves this.) Ollas and *pithoi* must have been used to preserve food.

The matt-painted ceramic ware is composed of ollas and pitchers. Worshippers could use the pitchers to wash themselves while crossing the sacred path, and the presence of the wells along the sides of the path seems to confirm this. Moreover, numerous *louteria*, some of which were miniaturized as symbolic gift to the divinity, have been found, and were probably used for the practice of the *lustratio*. Finally, there is a huge quantity of miniature pottery, including two kraters that are worth mentioning.

Second half of the fourth century B.C. phase –A votive deposit that was unearthed not too far from the spring can be attributed to the second phase of occupation of the sanctuary. It contains mainly terracotta objects of Italiote tradition and larger clay statues. The terracotta figurines are the most abundant group of material and are distinguished by an impressive variety of types. These

pieces fit into a rather brief time span, from the second half of the fourth century B.C. to the mid-third century B.C., coinciding with the *floruit* of the sanctuary. The most frequently seen iconographies are the mantled female figurines, generally with an attribute (flowers or buds, eggs, *phialai*, animals such as doves or little hares). There is a figurine of a *kourotrophos*. Finally, the Tanagrines are very numerous, and have forms that match the most common iconographies of Magna Graecia. Among these, one statuette representing a female figure wearing a *chiton* and a short *himation* is worth mentioning because it fits Artemis' own iconography. There are also many Tarantine type busts and disks. And lastly, two terracotta snakes and some anatomical *ex votos* (arms, hands and fingers, legs, feet, breasts and a phallus) are also worthy of note.

There are also numerous metal votives, in particular four bronze *phialai mesomphaloi*, a basin, and fibulas. Weapons were dedicated to the gods, but there some tools, such as an iron horse bit were also found. One hundred and twenty oil lamps were found. They had a purely votive function, as the complete lack of traces of combustion testifies. One hundred loom weights were also been found.

Later phases – Only a few elements can be ascribed to later phases of occupation of the sacred places, however they do not make up any part of the current publications about the sanctuary. There is a reference to the discovery of blown glass, Italian *terra sigillata* (both plane and relief), some fragments of African *terra sigillata* (A, C, D).

Epigraphic evidence

Two dedicatory inscriptions, one of which is on a *louterion* rim, have been found. The last one is a Lucanian dedication formula, in Latin alphabet.

Numismatic evidence

Three coins from Thurii, and two from Metapontum (fourth century B.C.) have been found. The discovery of three Roman coins is also mentioned.

Interpretation

As the available data show, the cult of the sanctuary of Chiaromonte was dedicated to a female chthonic deity, who was the patron of fertility and birth. The importance of water within the complex is seen in the buildings' connection to the spring, as well in the presence of wells along the sacred path, from whence water was obtained for purifying ablutions and propitiating abundance in all its forms. This chthonic aspect of the cult is not defined through a specific Demetriad language, since there is no specific cultic attribute which can be referred to the Eleusinian goddess, such as the piglet and the cross torch. Nevertheless, the wells, as well as the remains of sacrificial pigs deposited within the ritual holes (for example hole 11, containing the complete skeleton of a swine, left on a bed of tiles) are elements which are common to Demetriad cult places. There are also specific attributes, such as the dove or objects such as the Tarantine disks, that have a relationship to the Aphrodisian sphere. The sphere of the passage of status is testified by the discovery of round clay objects, which probably belonged to a game which was given as a gift to the divinity in the passage to the adult age. In this respect, the presence of terracotta figurines of Artemis is not surprising.

Bibliography

SE XLIX (1981), 478; *Atti Taranto* 1989, 560; *Atti Taranto* 1992, 765-767; *Atti Taranto* 1993, 697; Bianco 1993, 103-105; *Greci, Enotri e Lucani*, 186-190 e 271-275; Bottini A. in Bottini and Setari 1996, 57; Masseria 2000, 136-138; Masseria and D'Anisi 2001, 123, 126-129; Barra Bagnasco 2000-2002.

Bibliography

Abeken 1943

Abeken W., *Mittelitalien vor der Zeiten römischer Herrschaft*, Stuttgart-Tübingen 1943.

Adamesteanu 1968

Adamesteanu D., *I musei della Basilicata*, Roma 1968.

Adamesteanu 1970-71

Adamesteanu D., "Origine e sviluppo di centri abitati in Basilicata," *Atti Centro Studi e Documentazione sull'Italia Romana*, III, 1970-71, 115-156.

Adamesteanu 1971a

Adamesteanu D., "Il santuario lucano di Macchia di Rossano di Vaglio," *MemLinc*, s.VIII, 16, 1971, 41-83.

Adamesteanu 1971b

Adamesteanu D., *Popoli anellenici in Basilicata*, Napoli 1971.

Adamesteanu 1974a

Adamesteanu D., "Nummelos Archon o Basileus Lucano?," in *In memoriam Constantini Daicoviciu*, Cluj 1974, 9-21.

Adamesteanu 1974b

Adamesteanu D., *La Basilicata antica, storia e monumenti*, Cava de' Tirreni 1974.

Adamesteanu 1987

Adamesteanu D., "Poleis italiote e comunità indigene," in Pugliese Caratelli G. (ed.), *Magna Grecia. Lo sviluppo politico, sociale ed economico*, vol. II, Napoli 1987, 115-134.

Adamesteanu 1990

Adamesteanu D., "Rossano di Vaglio," in *Basilicata*, 70-82.

Adamesteanu 1993

Adamesteanu D., "Macchia di Rossano. Santuario della Mefitis," in *Da Leukania a Lucania*, 62-65.

Adamesteanu and Lejeune 1971

Adamesteanu D., Lejeune M., "Il santuario lucano di Macchia di Rossano di Vaglio," *MemLinc*, VIII, vol. XVI, 1971, 39-83.

Adamesteanu and Dilthey 1992

Adamesteanu D., Dilthey H., *Macchia di Rossano: il santuario della Mefitis. Rapporto preliminare*, Galatina 1992.

Alroth 1987

Alroth B., *Visiting Gods. Who and Why*, in Linders and Nordquist 1987, 9-19.

Anathema

Anathema: regime delle offerte e vita dei santuari nel Mediterraneo antico, Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Roma 15-18 giugno 1989), (*Scienze dell'Antichità*, 3-4, 1989-90), Roma 1991.

Andrén 1998

Andrén A., *Between Artifacts and Text: Historical Archaeology in Global Perspective*, New York 1998.

Andrisani 2008

Andrisani A., *Il santuario della dea Mefitis a Rossano di Vaglio. Una rilettura degli aspetti archeologici e culturali*, Matera 2008.

Antonini 1981

Antonini R., "Dedica osca a Mefite Aravina dalla Valle d'Ansanto (AV)," *AnnAStorAnt*, III, 1981, 55-60.

Archeologia dell'acqua in Basilicata

Nava M. L. (ed.), *Archeologia dell'acqua in Basilicata*, Potenza 1999.

Arena 1972

Arena R., "Sull'iscrizione arcaica di Nerulum," *PP*, 27, 1972, 322-330.

Arnold 1986

Arnold C., "Archaeology and history: the shades of confrontation and cooperation," in Bintliff and Gaffney 1986, 32-39.

Asheri 1999

Asheri D., "Processi di "decolonizzazione" in Magna Grecia: il caso di Poseidonia lucana," in "*La colonisation grecque en Méditerranée occidentale*", *Actes de la rencontre scientifique en hommage à George Vallet, Rome-Naples, 15-18 Novembre 1995*, Roma 1999, 361-370.

ATTA 2001

Quilici L. and Quilici Gigli S. (eds.), *Carta archeologica della valle del Sinni*, 5. Da Castronuovo di S. Andrea a Chiaromonte, Calvera, Teana e Fardella, 10, Roma 2001 (Atlante tematico di topografia antica. Supplementi, 10, 5).

Atti Lucania Antica

Atti del convegno di studi sulle genti della Lucania Antica e le loro relazioni con i Greci d'Italia, (Potenza-Matera, ottobre 1971), Roma 1974.

Atti Taranto

Atti del Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto-Napoli.

Aubert 2004

Aubert J.J., *La procréation (divinement) assisté dans l'antiquité greco-romaine*, in *Naissance et petit enfance dans l'antiquité*, Actes du Colloque de Fribourg, 28 novembre – 1^{er} décembre 2001, Fribourg 2004, 187-198.

Bacus et al. 1993

Bacus E. et al., *A Gendered Past: A Critical Bibliography of Gender in Archaeology*, Ann Arbor 1993.

Barra Bagnasco 1996

Barra Bagnasco M., "La coroplastica," in *Greci, Enotri e Lucani*, 183-190.

Barra Bagnasco 1997

Barra Bagnasco M. (ed.), *Pomarico Vecchio I. Abitato, mura, necropoli, materiali*, Galatina 1997.

Barra Bagnasco 1999

Barra Bagnasco M., "Contributo alla lettura dei sistemi insediativi della Basilicata: il caso di Pomarico Vecchio," in *Forma (La) della città e del territorio*, 119-130.

Barra Bagnasco 2000

Barra Bagnasco M., "Segni del mondo femminile nei santuari indigeni della Basilicata," in *Ornamenti e lusso*, 35-39.

Barra Bagnasco 2000-2002

Barra Bagnasco M., "Il santuario indigeno di Chiaromonte," in *ATTA 2001*, 215-235.

Barra Bagnasco 2008

Barra Bagnasco M., "L'area sacra di Fontana Bona di Ruoti: aspetti della religiosità lucana," in *Felicitas Temporum*, 177-203.

Barra Bagnasco and Russo Tagliente 1996

Barra Bagnasco M., Russo Tagliente A., "L'età lucana. I culti," in *Greci, Enotri e Lucani*, 183-193.

Basilicata

Salvatore M. (ed.), *Basilicata: l'espansionismo romano nel sud-est d'Italia. Il quadro archeologico*, Atti del Convegno (Venosa, 23-25 aprile 1987), Venosa 1990.

Batino 2002

Batino S., *Lo skyphos attico dall'iconografia alla funzione*, (*Quaderni di Ostraka*, IV), Napoli 2002.

Bénabou 1976

Bénabou M., *La résistance africaine à la romanisation*, Paris 1976.

Bérard 1974

Bérard C., *Anodoi: essai sur l'imagerie des passage chthoniens*, Rome 1974.

Bergman 1987

Bergman J., "Religio-Phenomenological Reflections on the Multi-Level Process of Giving to the Gods," in Linders and Nordquist 1987, 31-42.

Biehl, Bertemes, Meller 2001

Biehl P. F., Bertemes F., Meller H. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Cult and Religion*, Budapest 2001.

Bianchi 1990

Bianchi U., "Aspetti religiosi della Campania osco-sannita, specie dal IV secolo in poi," *SMSR*, 56, 2, 1990, 339-351.

Bianco 1993

Bianco S., "Chiaromonte, S. Pasquale – Santuario lucano," in *Da Leukania a Lucania*, 103-105.

Bianco 1994

Bianco S., "La necropoli di contrada S. Brancato di S. Arcangelo (PZ)," *StAnt*, 7, 1994, 111-136.

Bianco 1999

Bianco S., "Gli Enotri nelle vallate dell'Agri e del Sinni tra VII e V sec. a.C.," in *Storia della Basilicata*, 359-390.

Bianco 2003

Bianco S., "Il santuario di Chiaromonte," in *Sacre (Le) acque*, 73-80.

Bietti Sestieri 2008

Bietti Sestieri A.M. 2008, "Domi mansit, lanam fecit. Was that all? Women's Social Status and Roles in the Early Latial Communities (11th – 9th Centuries BC)," *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*, 21.1, 133-159.

Bintliff and Gaffnet 1986

Bintliff J, Gaffney C. (eds.), *Archaeology at the Interface: Studies in Archaeology's Relationships with History, Geography, Biology and Physical Science*, (BAR, International Series 300), Oxford 1986.

Bispham and Smith 2000

Bispham E., Smith C., *Religion in Archaic and Republican Rome and Italy. Evidence and experience*, (Intern. Congress, Edinburgh 1997), Oxford 2000.

Blázquez 1989

Blázquez J.M., *Nuevos estudios sobre la Romanización*, Madrid 1989.

Bonghi Jovino 2005

Bonghi Jovino M., “*Mini mulvanice – mini turuce*. Depositi votivi e sacralità. Dall’analisi del rituale alla lettura interpretativa delle forme di religiosità,” in Comella and Mele 2005, 31-46.

Bottini 1981a

Bottini A., “L’area melfese fino alla conquista romana,” in *Società romana e produzione schiavistica*, 151-154.

Bottini 1981b

Bottini A., “La romanizzazione del Melfese,” in *Lo scavo di S. Giovanni di Ruoti ed il periodo tardoantico in Basilicata*. Atti della tavola rotonda (Roma, 4 luglio 1981), Bari 1983, 131-132.

Bottini 1986

Bottini A., “I popoli indigeni fino al V sec.,” in Ampolo C., Bottini A., Guzzo P.G. (eds.), *Popoli e Civiltà dell’Italia antica*, vol. VIII, Roma 1986, 153-251.

Bottini 1987

Bottini A., “I Lucani,” in Pugliese Caratelli G. (ed.), *Magna Grecia. Lo sviluppo politico, sociale ed economico*, Milano 1987, 259-280.

Bottini 1988

Bottini A., “La religione delle genti indigene,” in Pugliese Carratelli G. (ed.), *Magna Grecia. Vita religiosa e cultura letteraria, filosofica e scientifica*, Vol. I, Napoli 1988, 55-90.

Bottini 1990

Bottini A., “I popoli apulo-lucani”, in Massa-Pairault 1990, 155-163.

Bottini 1993

Bottini A. (ed.), *Armi. Gli strumenti della guerra in Lucania*, Bari 1993.

Bottini 1996

Bottini A., "L'incontro dei coloni greci con le genti anelleniche della Lucania," in Pugliese Carratelli G. (ed.), *I Greci in Occidente*, Catalogo della Mostra (Venezia), Milano 1996, 541-548.

Bottini 1999

Bottini A., "Gli indigeni nel V secolo," in *Storia della Basilicata*, 432-436.

Bottini 2001

A. Bottini, "Gli Italici della *mesogaia* lucana ed il loro sistema insediativo," in Bugno and Masseria 2001, 109-116.

Bottini and Setari 1996

Bottini A, Setari E., "Una *metropolis* della Lucania arcaica," *Ostraka*, V, 2, 1996, 205-209.

Bottini and Setari 2003

Bottini A., Setari E. *La necropoli italica di Braida di Vaglio in Basilicata. Materiali dello scavo del 1994, MemLinc, Serie Misc. VII, Roma 2003.*

Bottini P. 1988

Bottini P. (ed.), *Archeologia arte e storia alle sorgenti del Lao*, Matera 1988.

Bottini P. 1990

Bottini P., "Nuove ricerche nelle necropoli di Grumentum. L'area cimiteriale di S. Marco," *BBasil*, 6, 1990, 89-97.

Bottini P. 1997

Bottini P. *et al.*, *Il Museo archeologico nazionale dell'alta Val d'Agri*, Lavello, 1997.

Bottini P. 1998

Bottini P. *et al.*, *Greci e indigeni tra Noce e Lao*, Lavello, 1998.

Bottini P. 2005

Bottini, P., "Rivello e Grumentum. Affinità e diversità tra due stipi della Basilicata meridionale," in *Spazio (Lo) del rito*, 179-192.

Bouma 1996

Bouma J., *Religio votiva. Deposit in a Diachronic and Synchronic Perspective*, I, Groningen 1996.

Bourdieu 1972

Bourdieu P., *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique*, Genève 1972.

Bracco 1962

Bracco V., "La valle del Tanagro durante l'età romana," *MemLinc*, s. VIII, 10, 1962.

Bradley 2000

Bradley G., *Ancient Umbria: State, Culture and Identity in Central Italy from the Iron Age to the Augustan Era*, Oxford 2000.

Brateis Datas

Battiloro I., Osanna M. (eds.), *Brateis Datas. Storie di devozione e pratiche rituali attraverso votivi e strumenti del culto dai santuari della Lucania antica*, Atti delle Giornate di Studio sui Santuari Lucani (Matera, 19 e 20 febbraio 2010), forthcoming.

Breglia Pulci Doria 1996

Breglia Pulci Doria L. (ed.), *L'incidenza dell'antico. Studi in memoria di Ettore Lepore*, Napoli 1996.

Bremmer 1996

Bremmer J.N., "Modi di comunicazione con il divino: la preghiera, la divinazione e il sacrificio nella civiltà greca," in Settis S. (ed.), *I Greci*, Torino 1996, 273-279.

Brizzi 2002

Brizzi G., "Lo scacchiere internazionale: Annibale e Filippo V," in Braccesi L. (ed.), *Roma, l'Adriatico e il mondo ellenistico*, Atti dell'Incontro internazionale di studi (Venezia, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 7 marzo 2001), (*Hesperia*, XVII, 2002), 63-78.

Bruit Zaidman 1992

Bruit Zaidman L., "Le figlie di Pandora. Donne e rituali nella città," in Bruit Zaidman and Schnitt Pantel 1992, 364-423.

Bruit Zaidman and Schnitt Pantel 1992

Bruit Zaidman L., Schnitt Pantel P., *La religione greca*, Bari 1992.

Buck 1971

Buck R.J., "The Via Herculia," *PBSR*, 39, 1971, 66-87.

Buck 1975

Buck R.J., "The Ancient Roads of Southeastern Lucania," *PBSR*, XLIII, 1975, 98-117.

Bugno and Masseria 2001

Bugno M., Masseria C. (eds.), *Il mondo enotrio tra VI e V secolo a.C.: atti dei seminari napoletani 1996-1998, (Quaderni di Ostraka, 1.1)*, Napoli 2001.

Burkert 1976

Burkert W., "Opfertypen und antike Gesellschaftsstruktur," in Stephenson G., *Die Religionswandel unserer Zeit im Spiegel der Religions-wissenschaft*, Darmstadt 1976, 168-187.

Burkert 1981

Burkert W., "Glaube und Verhalten: Zeichengehalt und Wirkungsmacht von Opferritualen," in Rudhardt and Reverdin 1981, 91-133.

Burkert 1983

Burkert W., *Homo necans. The anthropology of ancient Greek sacrificial ritual and myth*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1983.

Burkert 1984

Burkert W., *Storia delle Religioni. I Greci*, It. tr. Milano 1984.

Burkert 1987

Burkert W., "Offerings in Perspective: Surrender, Distribution, Exchange," in Linders and Nordquist 1987, 43-50.

Burelli Bergese 1987

Burelli Bergese L., "Sinecismo e coniazione in Arcadia", *AnnPisa*, 17.3, 1987, 603-610.

Calisti 2005

Calisti F., *Mefitis: dalle madri alla madre. Un tema religioso italico e la sua interpretazione romana e cristiana*, Roma 2005.

Campagna e paesaggio nell'Italia antica

Quilici L., Quilici Gigli S. (eds.), *Campagna e paesaggio nell'Italia antica*, (Atlante tematico di topografia antica, 8, 1999), Roma 2000.

Campanile 1990

Campanile E., "L'assimilazione culturale del mondo italico," in Clemente G., Coarelli F., Gabba E. (eds.), *Storia di Roma*, vol. II, tomo I, Torino 1990, 305-312.

Campanile and Letta 1979

Campanile E., Letta C. (eds.), *Studi sulle magistrature indigene e municipali in area italica*, Pisa 1979

Campbell 2000

Campbell B., *The writings of the Roman land surveyors: introduction, text, translation and commentary*, London 2000.

Camporeale 1956

Camporeale G., "La terminologia magistratuale nelle lingue osco-umbre," *AttiMemFirenze*, 1956, 33-108.

Capano and Del Tutto Palma 1990

Capano A., Del Tutto Palma L., "L'iscrizione di Muro Lucano," in *Italici in Magna Grecia*, 105-110.

Cappelletti 2005

Cappelletti L., *Lucani e Brettii. Ricerche sulla storia politica e istituzionale di due popoli dell'Italia antica (V-III sec. a.C.)*, Roma 2005.

Carandini 2000

Carandini A., "Il templum in terra di Bantia," in Carandini A., Cappelli R. (eds.), *Roma. Romolo, Remo e la fondazione della città*, Catalogo della Mostra, Roma 2000.

Catalano 1965

Catalano P., *Linee del sistema soprannazionale romano*, I, Torino 1965.

Catalano 1979

Catalano R., *La Lucania antica. Profilo storico (IV-II sec. a.C.)*, Salerno 1979.

Catanuto 1932

Catanuto N., "Accettura, Castronuovo, S. Andrea, Moliterno," *ArchStCalLuc*, II, 77-80.

Cecconi 2006

Cecconi G., "Romanizzazione, diversità culturale, politicamente corretto," *MEFRA*, 118-1, 2006, 81-94.

Cerasuolo 1995

Cerasuolo S. (ed.), *Mathesis e Philia. Studi in onore di Marcello Gigante*, Napoli 1995.

Cerchiai 1995

Cerchiai L., *I Campani*, Milano 1995.

Cerchiai 1999

Cerchiai L., "Acque, grotte e dei. I santuari indigeni dell'Italia meridionale," *Ocnus*, 7, 1999, 205-222.

Cipriani et al. 1996

Cipriani M., Greco E., Longo F., Pontrandolfo A., *I Lucani a Paestum*, Paestum 1996.

Civita di Tricarico I

De Cazanove O. (ed.), *Civita di Tricarico I. Le quartier de la maison du monolithe et l'enceinte intermédiaire*, (Ecole Française de Rome), Rome 2008.

Coarelli 1983

Coarelli F., *Il Foro Romano. I. Periodo arcaico*, Roma 1983.

Coarelli 1992

Coarelli F., "Colonizzazione e municipalizzazione: tempi e modi," *DialA*, s. 3, 1-2, 1992, 21-30.

Coarelli 1998

Coarelli F., "Il culto di Mefitis in Campania e a Roma," in *Culti (i) della Campania antica*, 185-190.

Colangelo *et al.* 2009

Colangelo L, Curti E., Fiorentino G., Mutino S., Novellis D., Prascina C., Witte N., "Nuovi scavi e moderne metodologie di documentazione nel santuario della dea Mefite a Rossano di Vaglio" (XVII AIAC, Valle Giulia Poster Session, British School at Rome, "Multidisciplinary approaches to Classical Archaeology," Rome september 2008), in www.fastionline.org.

Comella 1981

Comella A., "Complessi votivi in Italia in epoca medio e tardo repubblicana," *MEFRA*, 93, 1981, 717-803.

Comella and Mele 2005

Comella A., Mele S., *Depositi votivi e culti dell'Italia antica dall'età arcaica a quella tardo-repubblicana*, Bari 2005.

Comunità indigene

Mertens J. (ed.), *Comunità indigene e problemi della romanizzazione nell'Italia centro-meridionale, IV-III secolo a.C.*, Actes du Colloque International (Rome 1er - 3 février 1990), Bruxelles 1991 (Institut historique belge de Rome. Etudes de philologie, d'archéologie et d'histoire anciennes, 29).

Conkey and Gero 1991

Conkey M. and Gero J., "Tensions, Pluralities and Engendering Archaeology: An Introduction to Women and Prehistory," in Conkey M., Gero J. (eds.), *Engendering Archaeology*, Oxford, 3-30.

Cordano 1971

F. Cordano, *Fonti greche e latine per la storia dei Lucani e Brettii e di altre genti indigene della Magna Grecia*, Potenza 1971.

Cossalter and De Faveri 2006

Cossalter L., De Faveri C., "Ricerche sull'edilizia privata in Lucania sud-occidentale: il complesso domestico in località Castello di Cersosimo," *Ostraka*, XV,1, 2006, 165-194.

Cossalter and De Faveri 2009

Cossalter L., De Faveri C., "Cersosimo: dalla strutturazione dell'insediamento lucano alle trasformazioni del territorio in età post-annibalica," in *Verso la città*, 143-164.

Culti (i) della Campania antica

I culti della Campania antica. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi in ricordo di Nazarena Valenza Mele (Napoli, 15-17 maggio 1995), Roma 1998.

Crawford 1978

Crawford M.H., "Greek Intellectuals and Roman Aristocracy," in Garnsey and Whittaker 1978, 193-207.

Crawford 1996

Crawford M.H., "Italy and Rome from Sulla to Augustus, Cambridge Ancient History," *CAH*, 10, 1996, 414-433.

Curti-Dench-Patterson 1996

Curti E., Dench E., Patterson J., "The Archaeology of Central and Southern Roman Italy: recent trends and approaches," *JRS*, 86, 1996, 170-189.

D'Agostino 1989

D'Agostino B., "Le genti della Basilicata antica," in *Italia Omnium Terrarum Parens*, 193-246.

Da Leukania a Lucania

De Lachenal L. (ed.), *Da Leukania a Lucania. La Lucania centro orientale tra Pirro e i Giulio Claudii*, Venosa, Castello di Pirro del Balzo (8 novembre 1992-31 marzo 1993), Roma 1993.

D'Anisi 2005

D'Anisi M.C., "Nuovi dati sui culti lucani: un deposito votivo inedito da Accettura," in *Spazio (Lo) del rito*, 167-178.

De Cazanove 1993

De Cazanove O., "La penisola italiana prima della conquista romana," in Vauchez 1993, 9-39.

De Cazanove 1996a

De Cazanove O., "Civita di Tricarico (prov. De Matera)," *MEFRA*, 108.1, 1996, 474-477.

De Cazanove 1996b

De Cazanove O., "Un édifice de repas communautaires en Lucanie interne," *MEFRA*, 108.2, 1996, 901-941.

De Cazanove 1996c

De Cazanove O., "Le site lucanien de Civita di Tricarico. Entre hellénisation et romanisation," *RA*, 2, 1996, 200-210.

De Cazanove 1997a

De Cazanove O., "La plastique de terre cuite, un indicateur des lieux de culte (?). L'exemple de la Lucanie," *Cahiers Glotz* 8, 1997, 151-169.

De Cazanove 1997b

De Cazanove O., "Civita di Tricarico (prov. de Matera)," *MEFRA* 109.1, 1997, 472-479.

De Cazanove 1998

De Cazanove O., "Civita di Tricarico (prov. de Matera)," *MEFRA* 110.1, 1998, 513-519.

De Cazanove 2000

De Cazanove O., "Some thoughts on the "religious romanization" of Italy before the social war," in Bispham and Smith 2000, 71-76.

De Cazanove 2001a

De Cazanove O., "Civita di Tricarico nell'età della romanizzazione," in Lo Cascio and Storch Marino 2001, 169-202.

De Cazanove 2001b

Cazanove O. de, Bourdin S., Dubouloz J. *et al.*, "Civita di Tricarico (prov. de Matera)," *MEFRA*, 113-1, 2001, 510-519.

De Cazanove 2002a

De Cazanove O., "Au coeur de l'Appenin lucanien. Recherches récentes à Civita di Tricarico. Les premières phases de l'habitat jusqu'à la deuxième guerre punique," *CRAI*, 2002, 93-120.

De Cazanove 2002b

De Cazanove O., Bourdin S. Estienne S. *et al.*, "Civita di Tricarico (prov. de Matera)," *MEFRA*, 114-1, 2002, 500-511.

De Cazanove 2004a

De Cazanove O., "Civita di Tricarico (prov. de Matera)," *MEFRA*, 116-1, 2004, 653-660.

De Cazanove 2004b

De Cazanove O., "Un nouveau temple à Civita di Tricarico (Lucanie)," *MEFRA*, 116-1, 2004, 249-291.

De Cazanove 2005

De Cazanove O., "Le aree interne dal III al I sec. Il quadro archeologico," *Atti Taranto 2005*, 763-799.

De Cazanove 2006

De Cazanove O., "Civita di Tricarico (prov. de Matera)," *MEFRA*, 118-1, 2006, 380-383.

De Cazanove 2009

De Cazanove O., "Civita di Tricarico e gli abitati della Lucania interna: gli elementi di una forma urbana?," in *Verso la città*, 165-180.

De Cazanove and Sheid 2003

De Cazanove O., Sheid J. (eds.), *Sanctuaires et sources dans l'antiquité. Les sources documentaires et leur limites dans la description de lieux de culte. Actes de la table ronde, Naples, Centre Jean Bérard (30 novembre 2001)*, Naples 2003.

De Gennaro 2005

De Gennaro R., *I circuiti murari della Lucania antica (IV-III secolo a.C.)*, Paestum 2005.

De Juliis 2001

De Juliis E., *Città della Magna Grecia. Metaponto*, Bari 2001.

De Juliis 2004

De Juliis E. *Greci e Italici in magna Grecia. Un rapporto difficile*; Bari 2004.

De la Genière 1989

De la Genière J., "Èpire et Basilicate. À propos del la couronne d'Armento," *MEFRA*, 101-2, 1989, 691-698.

Del Tutto Palma 1983

Del Tutto Palma L., *La tavola bantina (sezione osca): proposte di rilettura*, Urbino 1983.

Dench 1995

Dench E., *From Barbarians to New Men: Greek, Roman and Modern Perceptions of People of Central Appennines*, Oxford 1995.

Denti 1992

Denti M., *La statuaria in marmo del santuario di Rossano di Vaglio*, Galatina 1992 (Deputazione di storia patria per la Lucania. Quaderni di archeologia e storia antica, 5).

Denti 1993

Denti M., "Macchia di Rossano – Sculture lapidee," in *Da Leukania a Lucania*, 70-79.

Denti 2001

Denti M., *Archeologia dell'Italia antica: greci, etruschi, italici e romani dalla Sicilia alla Valle d'Aosta*, Milano 2001.

De Paola and Sartoris 2001

De Paola A., Sartoris A., "Rapporto preliminare delle campagne di scavo a Serra e Rossano di Vaglio. Anni 1997 – 1999," *BBasil*, 17, 2001, 15-28.

Derks 1998

Derks T., *Gods, temples and ritual practices: the transformation of religious ideas and values in Roman Gaul*, Amsterdam 1998.

Derks and Roymans 2009

Derks T., Roymans N., *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity. The Role of Power and Tradition*, Amsterdam 2009.

Detienne and Vernant 1979

Detienne M., Vernant J.-P., *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec*, Paris 1979.

De Sensi Sestito 1995

De Sensi Sestito G. (ed.), *I Brettii*, I. *Cultura, lingua e documentazione storico-archeologica*, Atti del 1° corso seminariale (Rossano, 20 - 26 febbraio 1992), Soveria Mannelli 1995.

De Vincenzo 2005

De Vincenzo S., "Lucerne," in *Torre di Satriano I*, 348-353.

De Vincenzo, Osanna, Sica 2004

De Vincenzo S., Osanna M., Sica M.M., "La lunga vita di un piccolo santuario lucano: Torre di Satriano in età romana," *Ostraka*, 13.1, 2004, 37-57.

Díaz-Andreu *et al.* 2005

Díaz-Andreu M.S., Lucy S., Babiç S., Edwards D.N., *The Archaeology of Identity: Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion*, London 2005.

Dierbach 1970

Dierbach J.H., *Flora Mythologica oder Pflanzenkunde*, Wiesbaden 1970.

Di Giuseppe 2000

Di Giuseppe H., "I pesi da telaio," in Russo Tagliente 2000, 141-149.

Dilthey 1980

Dilthey H., "Sorgenti acque luoghi sacri in Basilicata. Rapporto preliminare," in *Scritti Adamesteanu*, 539-557.

Di Noia 2008

Di Noia A., *Potentia. La città romana tra età repubblicana e tardo antica*, Melfi 2008.

Durand 1986

Durand J.-L., *Sacrifice et labour en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1986.

Durkheim 1912

Durkheim E., *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, Paris 1912.

Ekroth 2003

Ekroth G., "Small Pots, Poor People? The use and the function of miniature pottery as votive offering in archaic sanctuaries in the Argolid and the Corinthia," in *Griechische Keramik im kulturellen Kontext* (Akten des Internationalen Vasensymposiums in Kiel vom 24- 28.9.2001), Munich 2003, 35-38.

Evidenza Archeologica Lagonegrese

Greco G. (ed.), *L'evidenza archeologica nel Lagonegrese*, Mostra documentaria. Catalogo, Rivello (Cripta di San Nicola, 13 giugno 1981), Matera 1982.

Fabbri and Serio 2008

Fabbri M., Serio B., "L'epilogo della vicenda insediativa: l'abbandono del centro lucano e le trasformazioni del territorio in età romana," in Osanna and Battiloro 2008, 157-168.

Fabbricotti 1979

Fabbricotti E., "Ruoti (Potenza). Scavi in località Fontana Bona, 1972," *NSc*, 33, 1979, 347-413.

Falasca 2003

Falasca G., "Mefitis, divinità delle acque (ovvero della maledizione)," *Eutopia*, II, 2, 2003, 7-56.

Faure 1987

Faure P., *Parfums et Aromates de l'Antiquité*, Paris 1987.

Felicitas Temporum

Russo A., Di Giuseppe H. (eds.), *Felicitas Temporum. Dalla terra alle genti: la Basilicata settentrionale tra archeologia e storia*, Potenza-Lavello 2008.

Ferrandini Troisi 1986

Ferrandini Troisi F., "Pesi da telaio," *Decima Miscellanea greca e romana*, Roma 1986, 91-114.

Firpo 1994

Firpo L., "Considerazioni sull'organizzazione degli Italicci durante la guerra sociale," in *Foresti et. al.* 1994, 457-478.

Foresti et al. 1994

Foresti L.A., Barzanò A., Bearzot C., Prandi L., Zecchini G. (eds.), *Federazioni e federalismo nell'Europa antica, (Bergamo 21-25 settembre 1992). Alle radici della casa comune europea, I*, Atti del Congresso, Milano 1994

Forma (La) della città e del territorio

Quilici Gigli S. (ed.), *La forma della città e del territorio*, Roma 1999.

Fracchia 1990

Fracchia H., "A Votive Deposit from Roccagloriosa," in *Italicci in Magna Grecia*, 215-232.

Fracchia 2001

Fracchia H., "The Romanization of the *ager Buxentinus* (Salerno)," in Lo Cascio, Storchi Marino 2001, 55-73.

Fracchia 2005

Fracchia H., "Cultic organization and cult assimilation at Lucanian Roccagloriosa: 5th c.-2nd c. B.C.," in Comella and Mele 2005, 597-606.

Fracchia and Gualtieri 1989

Fracchia H., Gualtieri M., "The social context of cult practices in pre-Roman Lucania," *AJA*, 93, 1989, 217-232.

Fracchia and Gualtieri 1990

Fracchia H., Gualtieri M., "Osservazioni sulla natura del culto," in *Roccagloriosa I*, 100-134.

Fracchia and Gualtieri 1993

Fracchia H., "The Votive Deposit," in Gualtieri 1993, 108-124.

Fracchia *et al.* 1998-99

Fracchia H., Gualtieri M., Jansen, A., "Roman Lucania and the upper Bradano valley," *MemAmAc*, 43-44, 1998-99, 295-343.

Fracchia and Gualtieri 2009

Fracchia H., Gualtieri M., "Roccagloriosa: organizzazione insediativa e sviluppi istituzionali (IV-III sec. a.C.)," in *Verso la città*, 119-142.

Fraschetti 1981

Fraschetti A., "Le vicende storiche," in D'Agostino B. (ed.), *Storia del Vallo di Diano*, vol. 1, Salerno, 206-216.

Gabba 1989

Gabba E., "Rome and Italy in the second century B.C.," *CAH*, 8, 1989, 225-233.

Galioto 2010

Galioto G., "Rivello: l'area di culto in località Colla. Offerte votive e aspetti culturali," in *Brateis Datas*, forthcoming.

Gallini 1973

Gallini C., "Cosa intendere per ellenizzazione. Problemi di metodo," *DArch*, 7, 1973, 175-191.

Garnsey and Whittaker 1978

Garnsey P., Whittaker C.R. (eds.), *Imperialism in the Ancient World*, Cambridge 1978.

Garnsey and Saller 1987

Garnsey P., Saller R. P., *The Roman Empire: economy, society, and culture*, London 1987.

Giammatteo 2005

Giammatteo T., "Dalla sorgente al santuario. Il ruolo dell'acqua nelle dinamiche del sacro," in *Torre di Satriano I*, 443-447.

Giammatteo 2008

Giammatteo T., "Ritornando al santuario lucano: le analisi archeometriche," in *Osanna and Battiloro 2008*, 151-156.

Giannelli 1963²

Giannelli G., *Culti e miti della Magna Grecia*, Firenze 1963².

Giardino 1975

Giardino L., "Il periodo post-annibalico a Heraclea," *Atti Taranto 1975*, 549-560.

Giardino 1983

Giardino L., "La viabilità nel territorio di Grumentum in età repubblicana ed imperiale," in *Studi in onore di Dinu Adamesteanu*, Galatina 1983, 195-217

Giardino 1993

Giardino L., "Grumentum e la Lucania meridionale. La città di Grumentum," in *Da Leukania a Lucania*, 91-93.

Giardino 1999

Giardino L., "Herakleia. Città e territorio," in *Storia della Basilicata*, 295-337.

Ginouvès 1962

Ginouvès R., *Balaneutikè. Recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque*, Paris 1962.

Gladigow 1984

Gladigow B., "Die Teilung des Opfers. Zur Interpretation von Opfern in vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Epochen," *FrüMitAltSt*, 18, 1984, 19-43.

Glinister 1997

Glinister F., "What is a sanctuary?," *Cahiers Glotz* 8, 1997, 61-80.

Glinister 2007

Glinister F., "Reconsidering 'religious Romanization'," in Schultz C.E. and Harvey P.B. (eds.), *Religion in republican Italy*, Cambridge 2007, 10-33.

Goffredo 2008

Goffredo R., "Persistenze e innovazioni nelle modalità insediative della valle dell'Ofanto tra fine IV e I sec. a.C.," in Volpe G., Strazzulla M.J., Leone D., *Storia e archeologia della Daunia. In ricordo di Marina Mazzei*, Atti delle Giornate di studio (Foggia 19-21 maggio 2005), Bari 2008, 287-301.

Gräpler 1994

Gräpler D., "Corredi funerari con terrecotte figurate," in *Museo Taranto III.1*, 282-299.

Gräpler 1997

Gräpler D., *Tonfiguren im Grab. Fundkontexte hellenistischer Terrakotten aus der Nekropole von Tarent*, München 1997.

Grasso 2004

Grasso L., *Ceramica miniaturistica da Pompei*, (*Quaderni di Ostraka*, 9), Napoli 2004.

Greci, Enotri e Lucani

I Greci in Occidente. Greci, Enotri e Lucani nella Basilicata Meridionale, Catalogo della Mostra, Napoli 1996.

Greci e Italici in Magna Grecia

Greci e Italici in Magna Grecia. Atti del primo Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia (Taranto, 4-8 novembre 1961), Napoli 1962.

Greco 1979

Greco E., "Ricerche sulla chora poseidoniate. Il "paesaggio agricolo" dalla fondazione della città alla fine del secolo IV a.C.," *DialA*, 1-2, 1979, 7-26.

Greco 1988

Greco E. (ed.), *Satriano 1987 - 1988. Un biennio di ricerche archeologiche*, Mostra documentaria, Potenza 1988.

Greco 1991

Greco E., "In Lucania. Ruoli dei sessi e istituzioni politico-religiose. A proposito del santuario di Torre di Satriano," *DialA*, 9, 1991, 75-83.

Greco 1992

Greco E., "L'impero di Sibari. Bilancio archeologico e topografico," *Atti Taranto* 1992, 459-483.

Greco 1993

Greco E., *Archeologia della Magna Grecia*, Bari 1993.

Greco 1996

Greco E., "Edifici quadrati," in Breglia, Pulci, Doria 1996, 263-282.

Greco and Schnapp 1989

Greco E., Schnapp A., "Laos: topografia e storia," in *Laos I*, 43-55.

Greco G. 1980

Greco G., "Le fasi cronologiche dell'abitato di Serra di Vaglio," in *Scritti Adamesteanu*, 367-404.

Greco G. 1988

Greco G., "Bilan critique des fouilles de Serra di Vaglio, Lucanie," *RA*, 1988, 263-290.

Greco G. 1990

Greco G., "L'area sacra di Colla," in *Velia* 1990, 69-75.

Greco G. 1991

Greco G., *Serra di Vaglio. La "casa dei pithoi"*, Modena 1991.

Greco G. 1995

Greco G., “*Kosmos tou theou*,” in Cerasuolo 1995, 87-106.

Greco G. and De la Genière 1996

Greco G., De la Genière J., “L’Heraion alla foce del Sele: continuità e trasformazioni dall’età greca all’età lucana,” in *Poseidonia e i Lucani*, 223-226.

Grottanelli 1999

Grottanelli C., *Il sacrificio*, Roma-Bari 1999.

Grottanelli and Parise 1988

Grottanelli C., Parise N.F., *Sacrificio e società nel mondo antico*, Roma-Bari 1988.

Gruen 1992

Gruen E., *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome*, London 1992.

Grumentum Romana

Mastrocinque A. (ed.), *Grumentum Romana*, Convegno di studi, Grumento Nova (Potenza), Salone del Castello Sanseverino (28-29 giugno 2008), Moliterno 2009.

Gualandi *et al.* 1981

Gualandi M.L., Palazzi C., Paoletti M., “La Lucania orientale,” in *Società romana e produzione schiavistica*, 155-179.

Gualtieri 1993

Gualtieri M. (ed.), *Fourth Century B.C. Magna Graecia: a Case Study*, (*Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature*, PB 114), Goteborg 1983.

Gualtieri 2003

Gualtieri M., *La Lucania Romana. Cultura e società nella documentazione archeologica*, (*Quaderni di Ostraka*, 8), Napoli 2003.

Gualtieri 2004

Gualtieri M., “Between Samnites and Lucanians: new Archaeological and Epigraphic Evidence for Settlement Organization,” in Jones 2004, 35-50.

Gualtieri 2009

Gualtieri 2009, “La romanizzazione del territorio: *Grumentum* e l’alta Val d’Agri nel contesto della Lucania romana,” in *Grumentum Romana*, 217-233.

Gualtieri and Poccetti 2001

Gualtieri M., Poccetti P., “Frammento di tabula bronzea con iscrizione osca dal pianoro centrale,” in *Roccagloriosa II*, 187-275.

Guandalini 2001

Guandalini F., "Il territorio di Rivello e il problema di Sirino," in Quilici L. and Quilici Gigli S. (eds.), *Carta archeologica della valle del Sinni*, 6. Il massiccio del Pollino e le colline di Francavilla in Sinni, San Costantino Albanese, San Severino Lucano, Agromonte Magnano e Mileo, 10, Roma 2001 (Atlante tematico di topografia antica. Supplementi, 10, 6), 189-225.

Guidobaldi 2005

Guidobaldi M.P., "Materiali di tipo "etrusco-campano" in un santuario marucino: l'esempio della Grotta del Colle di Rapino," in Comella and Mele 2005, 391-398.

Guittard 2002

Guittard C., "*Sive deus sive dea*. Les Romains pouvaient ignorer la nature de leurs divinités," *REL*, 80, 2002, 25-54.

Gustafsson 2000

Gustafsson G., *Evocatio deorum: historical and mythical interpretations of ritualized conquests in the expansion of ancient Rome*, Uppsala 2000.

Guzzo 1982a

Guzzo P.G., *Le città scomparse della Magna Grecia*, Roma 1982.

Guzzo 1982b

Guzzo, P.G. "Le valli del Basento e del Bradano," in Guzzo1982a, 351-363.

Guzzo 1983

Guzzo P.G., "Ipotesi sui re a Rossano di Vaglio," *Xenia*, 5, 1983, 7-14.

Guzzo 1989

Guzzo P.G., *I Brettii: storia e archeologia della Calabria preromana*, Milano 1989

Guzzo 1995

Guzzo P.G., "Spunti critici per l'archeologia dei Brettii," in De Sensi Sestito 1995, 259-273.

Guzzo and Luppino 1980

Guzzo P.G., Luppino S., "Per l'archeologia dei Brezi: due tombe tra Thurii e Crotona," *MEFRA*, 92-2, 1980, 821-914.

Jainnard and Traina 2006

Jainnard S., Traina G., "Sur le concept de «Romanisation». Paradigmes historiographiques et perspectives de recherches. Introduction," *MEFRA*, 118-1, 2006, 71-79.

Jones 1997

Jones S., *The Archaeology of Ethnicity. Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*, London 1997.

Jones 2004

Jones H. (ed.), *Samnium: settlement and cultural change, Proceedings of the Third E. Togo Salmon Conference on Roman Studies*, Providence 2004.

Hall 2002

Hall J. M., *Hellenicity: between ethnicity and culture*, Chicago 2002.

Hellenismus in Mittelitalien

Zanker P. (ed.), *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*, Atti della Conferenza, Göttingen 1976.

Heurgon 1972

Heurgon J., "I culti non greci della Magna Grecia," *Atti Taranto* 1972, 55-76.

Higgins 1967

Higgins R.H., *Greek Terracottas*, London 1967.

Hingley 1995

Hingley R., "Recreating coherence without reinventing Romanization," *Digressus. The Internet Journal of the Classical World* (www.digressus.org), Suppl. 1, 2003, 111-119.

Hingley 1996

Hingley R., "The legacy of Rome: the rise, decline and fall of the theory of Romanization," in Webster and Cooper 1996, 35-48.

Horsnaes 2002

Horsnaes H.W., *The Cultural Development in North Western Lucania c. 600-273 BC*, Rome 2002.

Horsnaes 2004

Horsnaes H.W., "Urbanization in northwestern Lucania," in Attema P.A.J. (ed.) *Centralization, early urbanization, and colonization in first millennium B.C. Italy and Greece, 1. Italy*, Leuven 2004, 97-120.

Insoll 2007

Insoll T. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Identities: A Reader*, Abingdon 2007.

Isayev 2001

Isayev E., "The role of the indigenous centres in Lucania and their collapse in the III c. B.C.," in Lo Cascio and Storch Marino 2001, 107-128.

Isayev 2007

E. Isayev, *Inside Ancient Lucania. Dialogues in History and Archaeology*, London 2007.

Italia Omnium Terrarum Parens

Ampolo C., Briquel D., De Simone C.E., et al., *Italia omnium terrarum parens. La civiltà degli Enotri, Choni, Ausoni, Sanniti, Lucani, Brettii, Sicani, Siculi, Elimi*, Milano 1989.

Italica Ars

Caiazza D. (ed.), *Italica ars. Studi in onore di Giovanni Colonna*, Roma 2005.

Italici in Magna Grecia

Tagliente M. (ed.), *Italici in Magna Grecia: Lingua, insediamenti e strutture*, Atti del Convegno di Acquasparta (30 - 31 maggio 1986), Venosa 1990.

Keay and Terrenato 2001

Keay S., Terrenato N. (eds.), *Italy and the West. Comparative Issues in Romanization*, Oxford 2001.

Kleiner 1984

Kleiner G., *Tanagrafiguren. Untersuchungen zur hellenistischen Kunst und Geschichte*, rev. ed. Berlin 1984.

Kron 1992

Kron U., "Frauenfeste in Demeterheiligtümern: das Thesmophorion von Bitalemi; eine archäologische Fallstudie," *AA*, 1992, 611-650.

Kyriakidis 2007

Kyriakidis E., "Archaeologies of Ritual," in Kyriakidis E. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Ritual*, Los Angeles 2007, 289-308.

Lacava 1891

Lacava M., *Topografia e storia di Metaponto*, Napoli 1891.

Laffi 1983

Laffi U., "I senati locali nell'Italia repubblicana," in AAVV, *Les "bourgeoisies" municipales italiennes aux IIe et Ier siècles av. J.-C.*, Paris-Naples 1983, 59-74.

La Greca 2002

La Greca F., *Fonti letterarie greche e latine per la storia della Lucania tirrenica*, Roma 2002 (*Studia archaeologica*, 115).

Langlotz and Hirmer 1968

Langlotz E., Hirmer M., *L' arte della Magna Grecia : arte greca in Italia meridionale e Sicilia*, Roma 1968.

Laos I

Greco E., Luppino S., Schnapp A. (eds.), *Laos I. Scavi a Marcellina 1973-1985*, Taranto 1989.

Laos II

Greco E., Guzzo P.G., *Laos II. La tomba a camera di Marcellina*. Taranto 1992.

La Regina 1968

La Regina A., "L'elogio di Scipione Barbato," *DialArch*, 2, 1968, 174-190.

La Regina 1989

La Regina A., "I Sanniti," in Pugliese Carratelli G., *Italia*, Milano 1989, 301-432.

La Rocca 1999

La Rocca L., "A proposito dei santuari rurali in Lucania," in *Campagna e paesaggio nell'Italia antica*, 7-18.

La Regina 1976

La Regina A., "Il Sannio," in *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*, 219-254.

La Regina 1981

La Regina A., "Appunti su entità etniche e strutture istituzionali nel Sannio antico," *AION, Arch. St. Ant.*, 3, 1981, 129-137.

La Regina 1989

La Regina A., "I Sanniti," in *Italia Omnium Terrarum Parens*, 299-432.

Lattanzi 1980

Lattanzi E., "L'insediamento indigeno sul pianoro di San Salvatore," in *Scritti Adamesteanu*, 239-272.

Lavagnini 1923

Lavagnini B., "Per l'etimologia di Mefitis," *RFil*, 51, 1923, 344-350.

Lejeune 1971a

Lejeune M., "Epigraphie d'un sanctuaire lucanien," *CRAI*, 1971, 52-69.

Lejeune 1971b

Lejeune M., "Inscriptions de Rossano di Vaglio, 1971," *RendLinc*, 26, 1971, 663-684.

Lejeune 1972

Lejeune M., "Inscriptions de Rossano di Vaglio, 1972," *RendLinc*, 27, 1972, 399-414.

Lejeune 1980

Lejeune M., "Inscriptions de Rossano di Vaglio, 1974 – 1979," *RendLinc*, 8.35, 1980, 445-466.

Lejeune 1985

Lejeune M., "Inscription Osque a Muro Lucano," *RÉL*, 63, 1985, 50-55.

Lejeune 1986

Lejeune M., "Méfītis, déesse osque," *CRAI*, 1986, 202-213.

Lejeune 1990

Lejeune M., *Méfītis d'après les dédicaces lucaniennes de Rossano di Vaglio*, Louvain 1990 (Bibliothèque des cahiers de l'Institut de linguistique de Louvain, 51).

Lepone 2004

Lepone A., "Venus Fisica Pompeiana," *Siris*, V, 2004, 159-169.

Lepore 1963

Lepore E., "L'«Italia» nella formazione della comunità romana-italica," *Klearchos*, 20, 1963, 89-113.

Lepore and Russi 1972-73

Lepore E., Russi A., "Lucania," in De Ruggiero E. (ed.), *Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane*, vol. IV, fasc. 59, Roma 1972-73, 1881-1948.

Lepore 1975

Lepore E., "La tradizione antica sui Lucani e le origini della entità regionale," in Borraro P. (ed.), *Antiche civiltà lucane*, Atti del Convegno di studi di archeologia, storia dell'arte e del folklore (Oppido Lucano 5 - 8 aprile 1970), Galatina 1975, 43-58.

Letta 1994

Letta C., "Dall'*oppidum* al *nomen*: I diversi livelli dell'aggregazione politica nel mondo osco-umbro," in Foresti *et al.* 1994, 387-406.

Linders and Nordquist 1987

Linders T., Nordquist G. (eds.), *Gifts to the Gods*. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985, Uppsala 1987.

Lippolis 1982

Lippolis E., "Le testimonianze del culto in Taranto greca," *Taras*, II, 1982, 81-135.

Lippolis 2001

Lippolis E., "Culto e iconografie della coroplastica votiva. Problemi interpretativi a Taranto e nel mondo greco," *MEFRA*, 113-1, 2001, 225-255.

Lippolis 2003

Lippolis E., "L'usage votif des Tanagréennes en Italie méridionale," in *Tanagra. Mythe et archéologie* (Musée du Louvre, Paris 15 septembre 2003 – 5 janvier 2004), Paris 2003, 272-275.

Lloyd 1986

Lloyd J., "Why should historians take archaeology seriously?," in Bintliff and Gaffney 1986, 40-51.

Lo Cascio and Storch Marino 2001

Lo Cascio E., Storch Marino A., *Modalità insediative e strutture agrarie nell'Italia meridionale in età romana*, Bari 2001.

Lomas 1995

Lomas K., "The Greeks in the West and the Hellenization of Italy," in Powell A. (ed.), *The Greek World*, London 1995, 347-367.

Lombardi 1830

Lombardi A., "Saggio sugli antichi della Basilicata," *BullInst*, 18, 1830.

Lombardi 1987

Lombardi A., *La corona di Critonio: viaggio tra antiche città in Lucania*, Venosa 1987.

Lombardo 1992

Lombardo M., "Da Sibari a Thurii," in *Atti Taranto* 1992, 255-328.

Lombardo 1996

Lombardo M., "Greci, Enotri e Lucani nella Basilicata meridionale tra l'VIII e il III secolo a.C.: aspetti e momenti dei processi storici," in *Greci, Enotri e Lucani*, 15-26.

Lombardo 2001

M. Lombardo, "Enotri e Lucani: continuità e discontinuità," in Bugno and Masseria 2001, 329-345.

Lo Monaco 2005

Lo Monaco A., "Pesi da telaio e fuseruole," in *Torre di Satriano I*, 388-395.

Lo Porto 1973

Lo Porto F.G., "Civiltà indigena e penetrazione greca nella Lucania orientale," *MemLinc*, XLVIII, S. Misc. 1, 1973.

Lo Porto 1976

Lo Porto F.G., "Recenti scoperte archeologiche in Puglia," *Atti Taranto* 1976, 725-745.

Lo Porto 1991

Lo Porto F.G., *Timmari. L'abitato, le necropoli, la stipe votiva*, Roma 1991 (*Archaeologica*, 98).

Lo Porto and Ranaldi 1990

Lo Porto F.G., Ranaldi F., "Le «lastre dei cavalieri» di Serra di Vaglio," *MemLinc*, Serie Misc. III-6, 1990, 287-317.

Luschi 2005

Luschi L., "Per l'etimologia di *Mefitis*," in *Italica Ars*, 109-127.

Mactoux and Geny 1992

Mactoux M.M., Geny E.(eds.), *Mélanges P. Lévêque*, 6, Besançon 1992.

Maddoli 2005

Maddoli G., "Il racconto di Strabone," *Atti Taranto* 2005, 51-76.

Magaldi 1947

Magaldi E., *Lucania romana*, I, Roma 1947.

Mainoldi 1981

C. Mainoldi, "Cani mitici e rituali tra il regno dei morti e il mondo dei viventi," *QuadUrbin*, n.s. 8, 1981, 24-41

Mainoldi 1984

Mainoldi C., *L'image du loup e du chien dans la Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1984.

Marchi, Sabbatini, Salvatore 1990

Marchi M.L., Sabbatini G., Salvatore M., "Venosa: nuove acquisizioni archeologiche," in *Basilicata*, 11-49.

Marinetti and Prosdocimi 1988

Marinetti A., Prosdocimi A.L., "Lingue e scritture antiche dei popoli indigeni (Lucani, Brettii, Enotri)," in *Magna Grecia. Vita religiosa e cultura letteraria, filosofica e scientifica*, Milano 1988, 29-54.

Massa-Pairault 1990

Massa-Pairault F.H. (ed.), *Crise et transformation des sociétés archaïques de l'Italie antique au Ve siècle av. J.-C.*, Atti del Colloquio (Roma 1987), Roma 1990.

Masseria 1999

C. Masseria, "'Et Venerem et proelia destinat" (Hor. carm. III, 13, 5). Riti di passaggio in un santuario di Banzi," *Ostraka*, 8, 1999, 469-490.

Masseria 2000

C. Masseria, *I santuari indigeni della Basilicata*, Napoli 2000.

Masseria 2001

Masseria C., "Garaguso. Santuari e culti di un centro enotrio," in Bugno and Masseria 2001, 83-107.

Masseria and D'Anisi 2001

Masseria C., D'Anisi M.C., "Santuari e culti dei Lucani", in *Rituali per una dea*, 123-134.

Mastronuzzi 2005

Mastronuzzi G., *Repertorio dei contesti culturali indigeni in Italia meridionale*, Bari 2005.

Mele 1981a

Mele A., "Il Pitagorismo e le popolazioni panelleniche," *AION (ArchStAnt)*, 2, 1981, 61-96.

Mele 1981b

Mele A., "La *Megale Hellas* pitagorica: aspetti politici, economici e sociali", *Atti Taranto* 1981, 33-80.

Mele 1988

MeleA., "I Brettii secondo Diodoro, Trogo e Strabone," in Poccetti 1988, 187-194.

Mele 1996a

Mele A., "Storia di Poseidonia tra VI e V sec. a.C.," in *Poseidonia e i Lucani*, 17-20.

Mele 1996b

Mele A., Le fonti storiche, in *Poseidonia e i Lucani*, 67-70.

Miller Ammermann 1989-90

Miller Ammermann R., "Terrecotte votive: evidenza di culto e contatto culturale in Magna Grecia," in *Anathema*, 354-362.

Miller Ammermann 2002

Miller Ammermann R., *The Sanctuary of Santa Venera at Paestum. II. The Votive Terracottas*, Ann Arbor 2002.

Mingazzini 1974

Mingazzini P., "Sull'uso e sullo scopo dei cosiddetti pesi da telaio," *RendLinc*, XXIX 5-6, 1974, 201-220.

Morel 1974

Morel J.-P., "Garaguso (Lucanie): Traditions indigènes et influences grecques," *CRAI*, 1974, 370-395.

Morel 1992

Morel J.P., "Ex-voto par transformation, ex voto par destination," in Mactoux and Geny 1992, 221-232.

Moreland 2001

Moreland J., *Archaeology and Text*, London 2001.

Morgan 2000

Morgan C., "Politics without the Polis: Cities and the Achaean Ethnos, 800-500 BC," in Brock R., Hodkinson S. (eds.), *Alternatives to Athens: Varieties of Political Organization and Community in Ancient Greece*, Oxford 2000, 189-211.

Morgan 2001

Morgan C., "Ethne, ethnicity, and early Greek states, ca. 1200-480 BC: An archaeological perspective", in Malkin I. (ed.), *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, Cambridge 2001, 75-112.

Murray 1990

Murray O. (ed.), *Symptica. A Symposium on the Symposion*, Oxford 1990.

Museo Policoro

AA.VV., *Il Museo Nazionale della Siritide di Policoro. Archeologia della Basilicata Meridionale*, Roma-Bari 1985.

Museo Taranto III.1

Dell'Aglio A., Lippolis E. (eds.), *Catalogo del museo Nazionale Archeologico di Taranto, III. 1. Taranto. La necropoli: aspetti e problemi della documentazione archeologica tra VII e I sec. a.C.*, Taranto 1994.

Musti 1994

Musti D., *Strabone e la Magna Grecia. Città e Popoli dell'Italia Antica*, Torino 1994.

Musti 2005

Musti D., *Magna Grecia. Il quadro storico*, Bari 2005.

Nafissi 1985

Nafissi M., "Le genti indigene. Enotri, Coni, Siculi e Morgeti, Ausoni, Iapigi, Sanniti," in Pugliese Carratelli G. (ed.), *Magna Grecia. Il Mediterraneo, le metropoleis e la fondazione delle colonie*, Milano 1985, 189-208.

Nava 2001

Nava M.L., "Le forme di religiosità nel mondo indigeno della Basilicata," in *Rituali per una dea*, 7-8.

Nava and Poccetti 2001

Nava M.L., Poccetti P., "Il santuario lucano di Rossano di Vaglio. Una nuova dedica osca ad Ercole," *MEFRA*, 113-1, 2001, 95-122.

Nava and Cracolici 2005

Nava M.L., Cracolici V., "Il santuario lucano di Rossano di Vaglio," in *Spazio (Lo) del rito*, 103-113.

Nava, Osanna, De Faveri 2008

Nava M.L., Osanna M., De Faveri C. (eds.), *Antica Flora Lucana*, Venosa 2008.

Ori Taranto

De Juliis E.M. (ed.), *Gli Ori di Taranto in Età Ellenistica*, Vicenza 1989.

Ornamenti e lusso

Piranomonte M. (ed.), *Ornamenti e lusso: la donna nella Basilicata antica*, Catalogo della Mostra (Roma, Museo Barracco, 4 aprile - 25 giugno 2000), Roma 2000.

Osanna 1992

Osanna M., *Chorai coloniali da Taranto a Locri. Documentazione archeologica e ricostruzione storica*, Roma 1992.

Osanna 2004

Osanna M., "Rituali sacrificali e offerte votive nel santuario lucano di Torre di Satriano," *ArchRel*, 6, 2004, 45-62.

Osanna 2008

Osanna M., "Torre di Satriano. Morfologia e struttura di un insediamento della Lucania nord-occidentale dall'età del Ferro alla conquista romana," in *Felicitas Temporum*, 149-174.

Osanna and Sica 2004

Osanna M., Sica M.M., "Articolazione dello spazio e pratiche rituali nel santuario lucano di Torre di Satriano," in *Spazio (Lo) del rito*, 125-139.

Osanna and Battiloro 2008

Osanna M. and Battiloro I. (eds.). *Dall'abitato arcaico alla diocesi medievale. Studi e ricerche dell'Università degli Studi della Basilicata a Torre di Satriano*, (Siris, suppl. II, *Progetti di archeologia in Basilicata. Banzi e Tito*), Bari 2008.

Osanna and Serio 2009

Osanna M., Serio B., "Organizzazione dello spazio insediativo e paesaggi agrari in Lucania: il caso di Torre di Satriano," in *Verso la città*, 89-118.

Pallottino 1994

Pallottino M., *Storia della prima Italia*, Milano 1994.

Pesetti 1994

Pesetti S., *Capua preromana. Terrecotte votive. VI. Animali, frutti, giocattoli, pesi da telaio*, Firenze 1994.

Pianu 1990

Pianu G., *La necropoli meridionale di Eraclea, 1. Le tombe di III e IV sec. a.C.*, Roma 1990.

Pippidi 1976

Pippidi D.M. (ed.), *Assimilation et résistance à la culture gréco-romaine dans le monde ancien. Travaux du VI^e Congrès international d'études classiques*, Bucarest-Paris, 1976.

Pocchetti 1979

Pocchetti P., *Nuovi documenti italici a complemento del manuale di Emil Vetter*, Pisa 1979.

Pocchetti 1982

Pocchetti P., "Mefitis," *AnnOrNapLing*, IV, 1982, 237-260.

Pocchetti 1988

Pocchetti P. (ed.), *Per un'identità culturale dei Brettii*, Napoli 1988.

Pocchetti 1996

Pocchetti P., "Culti delle acque e stadi della vita muliebre: dottrine misteriche e fondo religioso italico nella tavola osca di Agnone," in *La Tavola di Agnone nel contesto italico*, Atti del Convegno di Studi (Agnone 13-14 aprile 1994), Firenze 1996, 219-241.

Pocchetti 2005

Pocchetti O., "Mefitis rivisitata (vent'anni dopo...)," in *Italica Ars*, 73-107.

Poli 2006

Poli N., "A proposito del vasellame miniaturistico nei contesti culturali dell'Italia meridionale," *Quaderni Friulani di Archeologia*, XVI, 2006, 239-246.

Pontrandolfo 1982

Pontrandolfo A., *I Lucani. Etnografia e archeologia di una regione antica*, Milano 1982.

Pontrandolfo 1994

A. Pontrandolfo, "Etnogenesi e emergenza politica di una comunità italica: i Lucani," in Settis 1987-1994, II, 139-193.

Pontrandolfo 1996

Pontrandolfo A., "Per un'archeologia dei Lucani," in *Greci, Enotri e Lucani*, 171-183.

Pontrandolfo and D'Agostino 1990

Pontrandolfo A., D'Agostino B., "Etruschi e Italici nella Campania e nella Lucania Tirrenica," in Massa-Pairault 1990, 101-116.

Pontrandolfo and Rouveret 1992

Pontrandolfo A., Rouveret A., *Le tombe dipinte di Paestum*, Modena 1992.

Poseidonia e i Lucani

Cipriani M., Longo F. (eds.), *I Greci in Occidente. Poseidonia e i Lucani* Catalogo della Mostra (Paestum), Napoli 1996.

Poseidonia-Paestum I

Greco E., Theodorescu D., *Poseidonia-Paestum I: La Curia*, Roma 1980.

Poseidonia-Paestum II

Greco E., Theodorescu D., *Poseidonia-Paestum II: L'agora*, Roma 1983.

Poseidonia-Paestum III

Greco E., Theodorescu D., *Poseidonia-Paestum III: Forum Nord*, Roma 1987.

Poseidonia-Paestum IV

Greco E., Theodorescu D., *Poseidonia-Paestum IV: Forum ovest-sud-est*, Roma 1999.

Pretzler 2003

Pretzler M., "City devices and city identities. The development of symbols to represent community identity," in Wilkins and Herring 2003, 149-174.

Prontera 1997

Prontera F., "Identità etnica, confini e frontiere nel mondo greco," *Atti Taranto* 1997, 147-166.

Prodocimi 1976

Prodocimi A.L., "Sui grecismi dell'osco," in *Scritti in onore di G. Bonfante*, Brescia 1976, 831-832.

Prodocimi 1989

Prodocimi A.L., "Le religioni degli Italici," in *Italia Omnium Terrarum Parens*, 477-545.

Pugliese Carratelli 1972

Pugliese Carratelli G., "Sanniti, Lucani, Brettii e Italioti dal IV sec. aC.," in *Atti Taranto* 1972, 37-54; 99-102.

Renfrew and Zubrow 1994

Renfrew C., Zubrow E.B., *The ancient mind. Elements of cognitive archaeology*, Cambridge 1994.

Rituali per una dea

Nava M.L., Osanna M. (eds.), *Rituali per una dea lucana. Il santuario di Torre di Satriano*, Afragola 2001.

Rix 2000

Rix H., "'Tribù', 'stato', 'città' e 'insediamento' nelle lingue italiche," *Archivio glottologico italiano*, 86, 2000, 196-231.

Roccagloriosa I

Fracchia H., Gualtieri M. (eds.), *Roccagloriosa I. L'abitato: scavo e ricognizione topografica (1976-1986)*, Napoli 1990.

Roccagloriosa II

Fracchia H., Gualtieri M. (eds.), *Roccagloriosa II. L'oppidum lucano e il territorio*, Napoli 2001.

Romaniello 2010

Romaniello M., "San Chirico Nuovo: l'area di culto in località Pila. Offerte votive e aspetti culturali," in *Brateis Datas*, forthcoming.

Rouse 1902

Rouse W.H.D., *Greek Votive Offerings*, Cambridge 1902.

Rows 2009

Rows B.D., "No place for cult. The Sacred Landscape of Latium in the Late Republic," *BABesch*, 84, 2009, 53-84.

Rudhardt 1992

Rudhardt J., *Notions fondamentales de la pensée religieuse et actes constitutifs du culte dans la Grèce classique*, Paris 1992.

Rudhardt and Reverdin 1981

Rudhardt J., Reverdin O. (eds.), *Le sacrifice dans l'antiquité, Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique* (Vandoeuvres-Genève, 25-30 août 1980), 27, Genève 1981.

Russi 1973

Russi A., "Lucania," in De Ruggiero E., *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane*, IV 3, Roma 1973, 1891-1948.

Russi 1985

Russi A., s.v. *Lucania*, in *Dizionario Epigrafico*, IV, 1985, 1881-1948.

Russi 1995

Russi A., *La Lucania Romana. Profilo storico-istituzionale*, San Severo 1995.

Russi 1999

Russi A., "La romanizzazione: il quadro storico. Età repubblicana ed età imperiale," in *Storia della Basilicata*, 487-558.

Russo 1999

Russo A., "Il ruolo dell'acqua nei luoghi sacri della Basilicata antica," in *Archeologia dell'acqua in Basilicata*, 103-127.

Russo 2001

Russo A., "Catalogo," in Nava M.L. and Nota Santi M. (eds.), *Genti in arme. Aristocrazie guerriere della Basilicata antica*, Catalogo della Mostra (Roma, Museo Barracco, 5 luglio - 21 ottobre 2001), Roma 2001, 76-91.

Russo 2003

Russo A., "Il santuario di Armento", in *Sacre (Le) acque*, 63-71.

Russo Tagliente 1992

Russo Tagliente A., *Edilizia domestica in Apulia e Lucania. Ellenizzazione e società nella tipologia abitativa indigena tra VIII e III secolo a.C.*, Lavello 1992.

Russo Tagliente 2000

Russo Tagliente A. et al., *Armento. Archeologia di un centro indigeno*, (BA, 35-36 (1995)[2000]), Roma 2000.

Sacre (Le) acque

Le sacre acque. Sorgenti e luoghi del rito nella Basilicata antica, Catalogo della Mostra (Potenza, Museo Provinciale, 7 ottobre 2003 - 31 marzo 2004), Lavello 2003.

Sacro (Il) e l'Acqua

Il sacro e l'acqua. Culti indigeni in Basilicata, Catalogo della Mostra (Roma, Museo Barracco, 23 aprile – 18 ottobre 1998), Roma 1998.

Salmon 1967

Salmon E.T., *Samnium and the Samnites*, Cambridge 1967.

Salmon 1982

Salmon E.T., *The Making of Roman Italy*, London 1982.

Salmon 1985

Salmon E.T., *Il Sannio e i Sanniti*, It. tr., Torino 1985.

Sartori 1993

Sartori F., “Costituzioni italiote, italiche, etrusche,” in Sartori F. (ed.), *Dall'Italia all'Italia*, I, Padova 1993, 349-380.

Schilling 1982

Schilling R., *La Religion Romaine de Vénus depuis les origines jusqu'au temps d'Auguste*, Rome 1982.

Schilling 1990

Schilling R., s.v. Venere, in *Enciclopedia Vergiliana*, V, Roma 1990, 478-484.

Scritti Adamesteanu

Scritti in onore di Dinu Adamesteanu: Attività archeologica in Basilicata 1964-1977, Matera 1980.

Seibert 1993

Seibert J., *Hannibal*, Darmstadt 1993.

Senatore 2004

Senatore F., “Note sulle origini di Potentia: le premesse indigene e l'istituzione del *municipium*,” *StClOr*, L, 2004, 303-328.

Settis 1987-1994

Settis S. (ed.), *Storia della Calabria antica*, 1-2, Roma-Reggio Calabria 1987-1994.

Shennan 1989

Shennan S. (ed.), *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identities*, London 1989.

Siciliano 1978

Siciliano A., "Tesoretto monetale dalla stipe votiva di Timmari," *AnnIstItNum*, 25, 1978, 45-73.

Simon 1953

Simon E., *Opfernde Götter*, Brelin 1953.

Simon 1959

Simon E., *Die Geburt der Aphrodite*, Berlin 1959.

Siracusano 1986-87

Siracusano A., "Riflessioni sull'origine e il significato dei busti fittili di divinità femminile in Sicilia," *QuadMess*, II, 1986-87, 51-71.

Small 1999

Small A.M., "L'occupazione del territorio in età romana," in *Storia della Basilicata*, 559-600.

Smith 2006

Smith C.J., *The Roman Clan. The Gens from Ancient Ideology to Modern Anthropology*, New York 2006.

Società romana e produzione schiavistica

Giardina A., Schiavone A., *Società romana e produzione schiavistica*, 1. *L'Italia. Insediamenti e forme economiche*, Bari 1981.

Spazio (Lo) del rito

Osanna M. (ed.), *Lo spazio del rito. Santuari e culti in Italia meridionale tra Indigeni e Greci*, Atti del Convegno di Matera (Matera, giugno 2002), Bari 2005.

Stazio 1973

Stazio A., "Monetazione dei Lucani," in *Atti del Convegno di Studio su le genti della Lucania antica e le loro relazioni con i Greci dell'Italia* (Potenza-Matera 18-20 novembre 1971), Potenza 1973, 92-105.

Stopponi 1985

Stopponi S. (ed.), *Case e palazzi d'Etruria*, Milano 1985.

Storia della Basilicata

Adamesteanu D. (ed.), *Storia della Basilicata. Vol. 1. L'antichità*, Bari 1999.

Studi sull'Italia dei Sanniti

La Regina A. (ed.), *Studi sull'Italia dei Sanniti*, Roma 2000.

Tagliamonte 1994

Tagliamonte G., *I figli di Marte. Mobilità, mercenari e mercenariato. Italici in Magna Grecia e Sicilia*, Roma 1994.

Tagliamonte 1996

Tagliamonte G., *I Sanniti. Caudini, Irpini, Pentri, Carricini, Frentani*, Milano 1996.

Tagliamonte 2000

Tagliamonte G., "I mercenari italici," in *Studi sull'Italia dei Sanniti*, Milano 2000, 202-207.

Tagliamonte 2005

Tagliamonte G., *I Sanniti. Caudini, Irpini, Pentri, Carricini, Frentani*, Milano 2005².

Tagliente 1990

Tagliente M., "Banzi," in *Basilicata*, 71-74.

Tagliente 1999

Tagliente M., "Itinerari fluviali e popolamento antico nel mondo indigeno della Basilicata," in *Archeologia dell'acqua in Basilicata*, 87-102.

Tagliente 2003

Tagliente M., "Il santuario di San Chirico Nuovo," in *Sacre (Le) acque*, 49-62.

Tagliente 2005

Tagliente M., "Il santuario lucano di San Chirico Nuovo (PZ)," in *Spazio (Lo) del rito*, 115-123.

Taliercio Mensitieri 1995

Taliercio Mensitieri M., "Aspetti e problemi del koinòn dei Brettii," in *De Sensi Sestito* 1995, 127-151.

Taliercio Mensitieri 1999

Taliercio Mensitieri M., "Le emissioni monetarie dei Lucani," in *Storia della Basilicata*, 471-485.

Technau 1932

Technau W., "Archaologische funde in Italien, Tripolitanien und der Kyrenaika von oktober 1931 bis oktober 1932," *AA*, 3-4, 1932, 450- 539.

Thomsen 1947

Thomsen R., *The Italic regions from Augustus to the Lombard invasion*, Copenhagen 1947.

Tocco 1982

Tocco G., "La villa di Moltone (Tolve)," in *Basilicata*, 95-100.

Torelli 1966

M. Torelli, "Un *templum* augurale d'età repubblicana a Bantia", *RendLinc*, 21, 1966, 293-315.

Torelli 1977

Torelli M., "Greci e indigeni in Magna Grecia: ideologia religiosa e rapporti di classe," *Studi Storici*, XVIII, 4, 1977, 45-61.

Torelli 1983

Torelli M., "Una nuova epigrafe da Bantia e la cronologia dello statuto municipale bantino," *Athenaeum*, 61, 1983, 252-257.

Torelli 1988a

Torelli M., "Paestum romana," *Atti Taranto* 1988, 33-115.

Torelli 1988b

Torelli M., "Le popolazioni dell'Italia antica: società e forme di potere," in *Storia di Roma. I. Roma in Italia*, Torino 1988, 53-74.

Torelli 1992

M. Torelli, "Aspetti materiali e ideologici della romanizzazione della Daunia," *DialA*, I-II, 1992, 47- 64.

Torelli 1993

Torelli M., "Introduzione," in *Da Leukania a Lucania*, XIII-XXVII.

Torelli 1995

Torelli M., *Studies in the Romanization of Italy*, Edmonton 1995.

Torelli 1996a

Torelli M., "Per un'archeologia dell'*Oinostría*," in *Greci, Enotri e Lucani*, 123-131.

Torelli 1996b

Torelli M., "La romanización de Lucania," in Blásquez J.M. and Alvar J. (eds.), *La romanización en Occidente*, Madrid 1996, 69-99.

Torelli 1996c

Torelli M., "Rango e ritualità nell'iconografia italica più antica," *Ostraka*, 5, n. 2, 1996, 333-368.

Torelli 1997

Torelli M., *Il rango, il rito e l'immagine. Alle origini della rappresentazione storica romana*, Milano 1997.

Torelli 1999a

M. Torelli, *Tota Italia. Essays in the cultural formation of Roman Italy*, Oxford 1999.

Torelli 1999b

Torelli M., *Paestum Romana*, Roma 1999.

Torelli M.R. 1990

Torelli M.R., "I culti di Rossano di Vaglio," in *Basilicata*, 83-93.

Torre di Satriano I

Osanna M., Sica M.M. (eds.), *Torre di Satriano I. Il santuario lucano*, Venosa 2005.

Toynbee 1965

Toynbee A.J., *Hannibal's Legacy*, London 1965.

Uhlenbrock 1988

Uhlenbrock J.P., *The Terracotta Protomai from Gela: a Discussion of Local Style in Archaic Sicily*, Roma 1988.

Van Andringa and Lepetz 2003

Van Andringa W., Lepetz S., "Le ossa animali nei santuari: per un'archeologia del sacrificio," in De Cazanove and Sheid 2003, 85-96.

Van Dommelen 1998

Van Dommelen P., *On colonial grounds. A comparative study of colonialism and rural settlement in 1st millennium B.C. west central Sardinia*, Leiden 1998.

Van Dommelen 2001

Van Dommelen P., "Cultural imaginings. Punic traditions and local identity in Roman Republican Sardinia," in Key and Terrenato 2001, 68-84.

Van Dommelen 2007

Van Dommelen P., "Beyond resistance. Roman power and local traditions in Punic Sardinia," *JRA*, Suppl. 63, 2007, 55-69.

Van Straten 1981

Van Straten F.T., "Gifts for the Gods," in Versnel 1981, 65-151.

Van Straten 1995

Van Straten F.T., Hiera Kala. *Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece*, Leiden 1995.

Vaucher 1993

Vaucher A. (ed.), *Storia dell'Italia religiosa. I. L'antichità e il medioevo*, Roma-Bari 1993.

Velia 1990

A sud di Velia I. Ricognizioni e ricerche 1982-1988, Taranto 1990.

Versnel 1981

Versnel H. S. (ed.), *Faith, hope and worship: aspects of religious mentality in the ancient world*, Leiden 1981.

Verso la città

Osanna M. (ed.), *Verso la città. Forme insediative in Lucania e nel mondo italico fra IV e III sec. a.C.*, Venosa 2009.

Veyne 1973

Veyne P., *Come si scrive la storia*, Roma-Bari 1973.

Viscione and Bianco 1996

Viscione M., Bianco S., "Armi e strumenti," in *Greci, Enotri e Lucani*, 231-234.

Volpe 1990

Volpe G., *La Daunia nell'età della romanizzazione. Paesaggio agrario, produzione, scambi*, Bari 1990.

Wallace Hadrill 2008

Wallace-Hadrill A., *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, Cambridge 2008.

Webster and Cooper 1996

Webster J., Cooper N. J. (eds.), *Roman imperialism: post-colonial perspectives*, Leicester 1996.

Whitehouse 1998

Whitehouse R.D. (ed.), *Gender and Italian archaeology. Challenging the stereotypes*, London 1998.

Whitehouse 2008

Whitehouse R.D., "Gender, Archaeology and Archaeology of Women. Do we need Both?" in Hamilton S., Whitehouse R.D., Wright K.I. (eds.), *Archaeology and Women. Ancient and Modern Issues*, Walnut Creek 2008, 27-40.

Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989

Whitehouse R.D, Wilkins J.B., "Greeks and natives in south-east Italy: approaches to the archaeological evidence," in Champion T.C. (ed.), *Centre and Periphery. Comparative Studies in Archaeology*, London 1989.

Wilkins and Herring 2003

Wilkins J.B., Herring E. (eds.), *Inhabiting Symbols. Symbol and image in the ancient Mediterranean* (Specialist Studies on Mediterranean 5), London 2003.

Yavis 1949

Yavis C.G., *Greek Altars*, Saint Louis 1949.

Zaccagnino 1998

Zaccagnino C., *Il thymiaterion nel mondo greco*, Roma 1998.

Zaccaria Ruggiu 2002

Zaccaria Ruggiu A., *More regio vivere. Il banchetto aristocratico e la casa romana di età arcaica*, (*Quaderni di Eutopia*, 4), Roma 2002.