

ROMAN SETTLEMENT OF NORTHERN

BRUTTIUM: 200 B.C. - A.D. 300

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200 B.C. - A.D. 300

By

IVA MATKOVIC, B.A., M.A.

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AUTHOR: Iva Matkovic, B. A. (University of Zagreb), M.A. (McMaster University)

SUPERVISOR: Professor Katherine M. D. Dunbabin

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ABSTRACT

Long-held views regarding the presumed depopulation and economic stagnation of northern Bruttium (modern Calabria) during the Roman period of occupation must now be abandoned. Instead, the examination of evidence has demonstrated that the Republican and Imperial period settlement was significant. It took the form of cities, smaller nucleated settlements and dispersed rural sites, and its existence depended on the exploitation of land as well as on local and regional trade. The first two chapters deal with the preliminaries where an historical outline and a selection of relevant contemporary literary sources are presented. Chapters three and four offer an in-depth commentary and functional interpretation of the archaeological remains from the urban and rural contexts. This is the first such detailed account that this material has received in one place. Chapters five and six seek to put all this material into a wider historical context, as well as to address some issues raised by the bibliography, and, where possible, to carry this discussion further.

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Key to Maps:

Grave(s) x
Pottery scatters, architecture •

Sources of maps:

1:100,000 IGM (=Istituto geografico militare) F. 212; F. 221; F. 221; F. 222; F. 228; F. 229; F. 230; F. 231; F. 236; F. 237; F. 238; F. 241; F. 242; F. 243.
1:50,000 IGM (=Istituto geografico militare) F. 221; F. 222; F. 229; F. 230.

Abbreviations
(other than those used in *AJA* and *AnnPhil*)

<i>Atti Taranto</i> # (year)	<i>Atti dei Convegni di studi sulla Magna Grecia</i>
<i>Calabria Citeriore</i> (1989)	Paladino, A., Troiano, G. (1989) <i>Calabria Citeriore. Archeologia in Provincia di Cosenza</i> , Trebisacce.
<i>Sibari</i> I (1969)	<i>NSc Suppl.</i> I (1969)
<i>Sibari</i> II (1970)	<i>NSc Suppl.</i> III (1970)
<i>Sibari</i> III (1972)	<i>NSc Suppl.</i> (1972)
<i>Sibari</i> IV (1974)	<i>NSc Suppl.</i> (1974)
<i>Sibari</i> V (1988-89)	<i>NSc Suppl.</i> III (1988-89)

INTRODUCTION

"Magna Graecia quae nunc quidem deleta est" is a statement borrowed by Kahrstedt from Cicero for the opening of his meticulous account of the Italian south, including Bruttium (modern Calabria), during the Roman period of settlement.¹ Ciaceri used it earlier as a motto for the third volume of his *Storia della Magna Grecia*.²

In Ciaceri's time, *Magna Graecia* was a land of romantic ruins, mainly Greek, sticking up in the striking landscapes of the beautiful south Italian regions. Although he was alert and impartial, Ciaceri's task consisted primarily of charting the more imposing Greek finds. By Kahrstedt's time, many Greek ruins had been dutifully studied and somewhat stripped of their romantic glow; conversely, his task was an interpretation of Roman "concrete lumps" of *Magna Graecia*. He dealt with this subject in over a hundred packed pages, written at the time when excavations and any type of evidence pertaining to anything other than the remains of the Greek and Oscan populations were still rare and poorly documented. Since Kahrstedt, fortuitous Roman finds, less fortuitous modern construction, systematic excavations, occasional field-surveys, and, increasingly, regional studies dealing with the Roman period have begun to come out of the South.

¹ Cicero, *Lael.* 4,13; Kahrstedt (1960) 1. For the regional identity of *Magna Graecia* (including coastal areas of modern southern Campania, southern Puglia, Basilicata and Calabria) during the Roman period see most recently Lomas (1993) 8-13. For the name (Bruttium/Calabria) and geographical

The present study concerns one sub-region of *Magna Graecia* -- Roman northern Bruttium (Calabria). It attempts to pay tribute to the people who lived, worked and built in this region during the period of Roman political control, by documenting the relevant material evidence (archaeological and epigraphic) and offering some interpretations about this occupation.

The Roman period in Bruttium - commonly defined in literature as the time between the end of the third century B.C. and the mid sixth century A.C. - attracted little scholarly attention until about the time of Kahrstedt's study published in 1960. Three factors may be pointed out as the principal reasons for this state of affairs.

The relevant archaeological authorities, the Soprintendenza and its local offices, often found it hard to concentrate their work on anything else except the more visible Greek remains. This was especially true in the early days of their operations in the early 1900s, when the seat of the archaeological agency (initially in Siracusa) and the shortage of personnel made the exploration and protection of finds in Calabria a challenge; under the circumstances, the more obvious and highly regarded Greek culture was given priority.³

The consequences of the initial contact (in the fourth and third centuries B.C.) and subsequent Roman political conquest of Bruttium have, however, been debated for some time. The crux of these accounts and analyses was Hannibal's invasion of Italy

boundary see *infra*, 5-6.

² Ciaceri (1932).

³ For a detailed account of the work of the *Soprintendenza archeologica* from its inception until the present (along with the related institutions) see Lattanzi (1994) 823-854; also, Paoletti (1994) 471-72.

(=second Punic war, 218-203 B.C.), much of it spent in Bruttium (until 203 B.C.), and the aftermath of all this.⁴ The conclusions of these studies often painted a picture of severe destruction, subsequent depopulation and abandonment of the South (including Bruttium) to extensive pastoralism in the Republican period; the Imperial period was at best a blur.⁵ This extreme view has been primarily moulded by many Roman writers who had written on the southern question as it concerned the period after the second Punic war. They frequently referred to the South as being deserted, or at best as stagnating. Following them along the same path, many modern historians' own nostalgia for better - and sometimes grander - times that supposedly characterised the Greek period found support among most of the ancient sources and resulted in their biased accounts.⁶

A factor that significantly affected these analyses was the endemic problem with all south Italian "Roman" archaeology, namely, the virtual non-existence of such archaeology until recent work from the last thirty years. The earlier explorations, such as those of Galli, Orsi and Zanotti-Bianco, the pioneer archaeologists in Calabria, were designed with a view to discovering the Greek past. The Roman finds, while dutifully and reasonably well described by all, remained on the margins of systematic intellectual inquiry.⁷

⁴ As is well known, the magisterial works of Toynbee (1965) and Brunt (1971) dealt with this period in great detail.

⁵ E.g. Ghinatti (1973), lamenting the inadequacy of evidence that (at the time) consisted mainly of the literary sources and contemporary historical accounts of general nature based on these sources.

⁶ Cf. for a similar phenomenon regarding Roman Greece, Alcock (1993) 24-32. One recent analysis of the sources' treatment of the South is in Lomas (1993).

⁷ For example, E. Galli's work in the Plain of Sibari, looking for ancient Sybaris, resulted in the discovery of two Roman villas in 1930 (Galli [1930a]); similarly, Zanotti-Bianco in 1932 searched for the

From the 1960s onwards, the inquiry intensified and research questions were formulated more precisely. This led to a somewhat altered view regarding the state of affairs in post-Hannibalic Bruttium. Kahrstedt (1960), having collected a sundry body of evidence pertaining to the post-Hannibalic period, had shown that the traditional view of desertion and severe impoverishment of the region is unjustified.⁸ Guzzo had through the '70s and early '80s worked as a regional Inspector in Calabria and during that time published a series of accounts about specific sites. In 1981 and 1986 he published two short, but detailed summaries of evidence from urban and rural contexts dating from the post-Punic war period to the sixth/seventh century A.C.⁹ Hand in hand went the systematic excavations on the site of ancient Sybaris that turned out to be also the locale of Classical and Hellenistic Thurii and Roman Copia (Foti [1966]); *Sibari* I,II,III,IV,V), thus immensely enriching our knowledge about this important regional centre.

Finally, the '90s saw the publication of a substantial number of studies from cultural and socio-economic points of view dealing with the different regions of the South; while these were not entirely about the Roman period, they at least featured it prominently.¹⁰ Calabria also saw its share of such publications, such as the diachronic

same city and managed to identify, correctly, the remains from Parco del Cavallo near the mouth of the Crati as Roman (Zanotti-Bianco [1960]); P. Orsi's work at Croton, the temples of Hera Lacinia and Apollo Alaios, in the first half of the 1900s resulted in important finds datable to the Roman period occupation on these sites: Orsi (1911) (1912) (1933).

⁸ This was preceded by the author's work on the Republican property relations (*ager publicus*) and local government in Bruttium and Lucania: Kahrstedt (1959).

⁹ Guzzo (1981a), (1986b).

¹⁰ For *Magna Graecia* in the Republican and early Imperial period see Lomas (1993) 115-123; also Morley (1996) 143-158. Some regional studies: Volpe (1990), on Puglia; *Da Leukania a Lucania* (1993), on Basilicata; Arthur (1991), on northern Campania.

collections of essays in G. Maddoli ed. (1982) and G. Maddoli and A. Stazio eds. (1990) dealing with the north Tyrrhenian coast and hinterland. Finally, the proliferation of survey projects in all of Italy helped to sharpen some of the research questions and foster the inception of such projects in Calabria. In 1994, after many years in preparation, there appeared a major project in the series entitled *Storia della Calabria* dealing with the Roman phase of occupation up to the seventh century A.C.¹¹ It consisted of a series of studies ranging from the surveys of urban and rural sites to the accounts of figurative arts, communications, social structure and municipal organisation.

Bruttium

The present study deals with the northern part of the modern Italian region of Calabria. Before proceeding to outline in greater detail what this entails, several remarks are due about the name of the region and its geographical boundaries (fig. 3), as reported by the ancient sources.

The name Bruttium is a convenient neologism which does not appear in the ancient sources, but which has been fashioned after the names of other Augustan regions. Instead, the Greek ethnic *Brettioi* and Latin *Bruttii*, or else *ager Bruttius*, are the designations used in the Classical sources.¹² As to its territorial extent, the ancient writers are not unequivocal, even though there is a good deal of concordance between Strabo and

¹¹ Settis, ed. (1994).

¹² In addition, the following forms are found occasionally: late form *Broutioi/Bruttioi* probably from the Latin *Bruttii*; very rare in Greek sources, *Brettia* (Strabo, 6.1.5, 6.1.9) or *Brettiane* (*chora*); rare,

Pliny, our two main sources.

In Pliny's description of the eleven Augustan regions, *ager Bruttius* and *ager Lucanus* form the third region and are essentially treated together, i.e. the communities are listed in more or less accurate order starting from the north-western border of the region (*oppidum Paestum*), and proceeding around the toe of Italy, to the north-eastern border at Metapontum.¹³ *Bruttium litus* starts at the river Laos (=Lao) where a homonymous town used to lie (3.72). Strabo (6.1.1) considers Laos situated on the homonymous river as the last of the Lucanian cities, but in 6.1.4 the line that separates Lucania from the land of the *Bruttii* to the south extends between Kerilli - commonly located at modern Cirella ca. 25km. south of the Lao on the Tyrrhenian coast - and Thurii on the opposite Ionian coast.

These minor discrepancies may result from the use of different sources, or may reflect a real difference due to separate historical situations (that Strabo failed to identify) but they are so small that the implications for the present study are negligible.¹⁴ In the present study (as in real life) it seems proper to consider the river valleys - of the Lao and the Crati - on both sides of the respective rivers as unique topographical units and treat them as such. The surrounding higher ground likely gravitated toward the valleys in

in late antique codices, *Brittia*: Paoletti (1994) 469-71 with bibliography.

¹³ Pliny, *N.H.* 3.71-74, 95-98. In 3.72, Pliny put Blanda in Bruttium, but if the modern identification is correct in placing Blanda at Palecastro di Tortora, i.e. north of the Lao (La Torre [1991] 135-136 for the location and nn. 2 and 13 for bibliography), Pliny made a mistake. Blanda is included in the present study because it now belongs to Calabria.

¹⁴ Strabo's work is known to have preserved in it different textual strata that may well reflect distinct historical circumstances: Paoletti (1994) 468. According to Lassère (1966) 129, n. 5, Artemidorus, recording a situation ca. 100 B.C., was Strabo's source for the passages in question; the situation in 100 B.C. could naturally have prevailed thereafter. Pliny's account, on the other hand, while likely still subject to similar source-collection practices, was based on the Augustan *descriptio Italiae* whose practical function for *census* collection made it essentially irrelevant where the cantonal borders

Roman times, as it does now.¹⁵ It is fair to say then that Roman Bruttium roughly corresponds to modern Calabria.¹⁶

For reasons of space, the present work will deal only with northern Calabria. This is defined as the area that stretches between its modern provincial border with Basilicata, down to the imagined line that skirts the Plain of S. Eufemia on the north side, following the course of the river Amato eastward until it reaches the Corace river to its mouth in the Gulf of Catanzaro (fig. 2).

The present work aims to accomplish several tasks. At the documentary level, it is designed as a thorough collection of the archaeological and epigraphic source material from northern Calabria, gathered from the published sources (CATALOGUES I-III) and dating from ca. 200 B.C. to A.D. 550/600. In this sense, it seeks to continue the work already commenced in a couple of older publications (Guzzo [1981a], [1986b]). It then provides in-depth commentary and limited functional interpretation of much of the gathered archaeological material (Chapters 3,4). This has never been done before in one place and in such detail for this material; without this discussion, those often tentative interpretations about the overall settlement organisation later on in the thesis could stand very little scrutiny indeed. Three reasons are central to the inconclusive nature of many discussions here: the nature of the excavations, the extent of description and the dating of

within any given *regio* were placed: Sallmann (1971) 98-101; Thomsen (1947) 31-35.

¹⁵ "Topographical unit" is not necessarily taken as being synonymous with an administrative (municipal) unit.

¹⁶ In Classical times, Calabria was the name of the Salentine peninsula and it was not before the eighth century A.C. that the name migrated to the south, to the *ager Bruttius*, which then became known as Calabria: Paoletti (1994) 467.

sites in the original publications are all often unsatisfactory. Having taken these limitations into account, interpretations have been offered and areas for future clarification and research have been pointed out.

The thesis then seeks to put all this material into a wider historical context, as well as to address some issues raised by the previous scholars, and, where possible, to further this discussion (Chapters 5,6). The emphasis here is on addressing a range of questions pertaining to the changing settlement patterns following the establishment of the Roman administration in the region, as they may reflect the distribution and utilisation of economic resources and changing social dynamics. There exists a large body of cross-cultural evidence to show that, as societies are brought within the orbit of an imperial power, major changes in the distribution and utilisation of economic resources may be expected. In the case of Rome, the key element is the relationship of people to the land (for both agricultural and non-agricultural purposes), the subsistence provider and status symbol alike. Since social status is an obvious indicator of political power, it may be possible to correlate local and perhaps regional and central political power elites with their socio-economic status in the community.¹⁷ It needs to be stressed, however, that not all wealth in the Roman world was derived from land; other sources, such as trade, will be discussed as well.

Chronological parameters and some points of terminology

The impact of Rome began to be particularly apparent from the end of the second

¹⁷ Garnsey (1979) 3-4; Barker (1991) 1-9; Alcock (1993) 55-56.

Punic war when it began establishing political and civic control in the region. This marks the starting point for the study, but a historical background leading up to that time is also provided (Chapter 1). The in-depth interpretation and analysis of the archaeological and epigraphic evidence is provided for the Republican and Imperial periods (down to A.D. 300). Due to the limitations of space, the later Empire from the fourth century A.C. to the middle of the sixth century A.C. (the Byzantine invasion) had to be omitted from the present study. However, for the sake of completeness, and as a possible resource for any future study, archaeological material dated to that period has been included in the Catalogues.

As far as the descriptive terms for the different historical periods go (Hellenistic, Roman, etc), it will be clear from what follows that many original publications often dealt with their own definitions very casually. This has been addressed as well as possible when the issues arose. In the present study, 'Hellenistic' is only used for the material pre-dating the second Punic war. The evidence dated after 200 B.C. to the last third of the first century B.C. is characterised as 'Roman Republican', while 'Roman Imperial' material is all the rest, with 'early' denoting the first two centuries A.C., 'mid' the third, and 'late' the fourth to the sixth/seventh century A.C.

Lastly, a few words about the definition used here of 'villa', as distinct from 'farm'. A 'villa' is a rural structure with separate functional areas devoted to agricultural activities and to resident labour; residential areas are differentiated by size and quality; a certain degree of comfort is seen in the form of bath structures and interior decoration, indicating

internal social hierarchy between proprietor/manager and labourers, and there is (ideally) some evidence for slave labour. 'Farm' is a rural structure with evidence of domestic occupation and areas of agricultural activity; there may be a certain degree of comfort, but no evidence for an internal social hierarchy.

The Geographical Setting¹⁸

Calabria constitutes the southernmost part of the Italian peninsula (figs. 1 and 2). It is washed on the west by the Tyrrhenian and on the east by the Ionian Seas; its northern barrier is a range of mountains that continues from Basilicata, the administrative unit to the north. Its landscapes are numerous and varied; high mountains rise above gentle hills; rivers and torrents cut deep ravines through them; and alluvial plains offer easy access into the mountainous hinterland. Due to relief, the climate is equally diverse: winters are long and harsh and summers are brisk on the Sila plateau, while both the Tyrrhenian and the Ionian coasts enjoy mild temperatures almost all year long.

Geologically, Calabria may be divided into four main units: there are old Paleozoic crystalline rocks, younger Mesozoic limestone massifs, still younger Tertiary clays and sands and still more recent alluvial plains.¹⁹ These lithological differences are reflected in the Calabrian relief which can be divided into three zones: the Calabrian mountains, the hill country and the alluvial plains.

¹⁸ The principal works consulted are: Walker (1967); Kirsten (1975); Milone (1956); *Il Paesaggio* (1963) 172-182.

¹⁹ Walker (1967) 211-215; *Il Paesaggio* (1963) 172-182.

The Calabrian Mountains

The bulk massif of the Calabrian mountains is built of granites, gneisses and mica-schists. This formation dominates the landscape to the south of the line stretching between the Scalone Pass and the mouth of the Crati. To the north of it lie the limestones which form the northern barrier of Calabria, also known as Monte Pollino.²⁰

The former, separated by the broad and low isthmus of Catanzaro, may be divided into a northern and a southern block. Because of tectonic movements the northern block is cut into two distinct sections by the long and large valley of Crati.²¹ To the west of it lies a long and narrow string of mountains - the Catena Costiera - composed largely of mica-schists, and to the east is the Sila, built primarily of granites and gneisses in the east and mica-schists in the west and south-west. In addition to these crystalline rocks, limestone sediments appear exposed on top of the parent rock. These often weather into coarse sand which is transported by torrents and eventually accumulates at the bottoms of the mountains creating small alluvial plains.²²

This phenomenon is especially common in the Catena Costiera and, although it may often appear eroded and rough, this mountain chain is suitable for crop-raising.²³ Berries, figs, maize, wheat and vegetables are now found on the low foot-hills and alluvial plains, and olives on the middle terraces, up to ca. 700m.a.s.l. Forests of mixed oak and chestnut take over on the higher altitudes, only to give way to lush, green meadows on the

²⁰ Milone (1956) 19-25; *Il Paesaggio* (1963) 172-73; Walker (1967) 211.

²¹ *ibid.*, 211; *Il Paesaggio* (1963) 172-177.

²² Walker (1967) 74-75, 211; *Il Paesaggio* (1963) 172.

summits (average height between 1100-1500m.). Settlements developed on the low marine outcrops along the narrow coast-line. On the east side of the Catena Costiera oak and chestnut extend down to the 600m.-altitude-line which is the upper limit of the Tertiary hills (*infra*).²⁴ Villages and towns dot these hills and mix with the terraced olive-crops and *coltura promiscua*, a two-tier cropping characteristic for this area.

Across the tectonic trench of the Crati lies the Sila.²⁵ This well-watered plateau, having an average altitude of 1200-1400m. and an area of some 2500 sq.km., is heavily undulated, thus creating an appearance of a series of summits, rising to 1500-1900m. above numerous valleys some 300-500m. below. Most of the plateau is forested with black pine, oak, chestnut and beech. Forests alternate with sometimes vast clearances which during the summer months serve as pastures for the transhumant flocks. Indeed, pastoralism and forestry were until recently the two principal industries in the lives of a small population scattered about the plateau in a handful of villages.²⁶ Only recently, agricultural settlements have been established.²⁷

The Hill Country

The lithologically distinct and geologically younger Tertiary sediments constitute the primary material of the hill country which surrounds almost the entire crystalline bulk

²³ *Il Paesaggio* (1963) 175.

²⁴ *Il Paesaggio* (1963) 174-75; Walker (1967) 211.

²⁵ *Il Paesaggio* (1963) 173-74; Walker (1967) 212-23; Milone (1956) 19-25.

²⁶ Toynbee (1965) 237-239; Bevilacqua (1988).

²⁷ Well watered fields support rye, potato and clover. The Sila and the Catena Costiera have their geological and morphological counterparts to the south of the Isthmus of Catanzaro: Walker (1967) 214; *Il Paesaggio* (1963) 175-77.

and overlies it in many places.²⁸ These sediments are represented by various combinations of conglomerates, clays, sands, marls and limestones, all unstable, but some valuable for their pedological properties. They display a variety of forms - from roundish, gentle rolling hills to rough isolated outcrops.

The Pliocene hill country lines both sides of the Crati valley and serves as a buffer between it and the crystalline mountains higher up.²⁹ This landscape is characterised by a series of narrow, steeply descending terraces intersected by gullies, which in autumn and winter fill up with abundant water generated by heavy rains on the higher altitudes of the Calabrian mountains. Otherwise naturally covered with *macchia*, when well managed the terraces support tree-crops - fruit-trees, olives and figs - and *coltura promiscua* - cereals and occasionally vines.³⁰

The Miocene and Pliocene sediments between Rossano and Strongoli create a particularly rugged landscape, intersected by torrents, so that much of the country remains uncultivated; only small patches of land in protected basins or on artificial terraces support tree-crops or cereals.³¹ The area to the south of this, the Marchesato, is not much friendlier, especially to a small farmer who is the principal user of the land nowadays: there, Pliocene clays and marls were once used for sheep grazing and wheat growing on a large scale which was manageable, but because of their unstable nature they are less well

²⁸ *Il Paesaggio* (1963) 177-180; Walker (1967) 213; Milone (1956) 46-62.

²⁹ Walker (1967) 213; *Il Paesaggio* (1963) 178-79.

³⁰ Villages which face each other across the valley are situated on the terraces at altitudes between 300-600m.: *Il Paesaggio* (1963) 180; Walker (1967) 213.

³¹ Walker (1967) 213; *Il Paesaggio* (1963) 179.

suited for a piecemeal approach which is currently in effect.³²

Alluvial Plains

Alluvial sediments are brought by the rivers and torrents from the upper reaches of the Calabrian mountains and the lower lying hills and then spread out in the form of alluvial fans once they reach the coast.³³ Where river valleys open out into spacious plains, such as the Plains of Sibari and Sant'Eufemia, the alluvium is irrigated and utilised for agricultural purposes. These plains are cultivated with a mixture of arboriculture and horticulture; extensive cereal production is added to this pattern in the plain of Sibari. Some low lying plains are subject to flooding, and especially notorious is the lower valley of Crati whose alluvium covers ancient Sybaris and its successors.

A series of recent coastal settlements, the counterparts of the towns or villages up on the slopes of the hills, as well as a number of isolated farm-houses have developed along this alluvial belt.³⁴

³² Milone (1956) 49-50; *Istituto nazionale di economia agraria* (1958) 25, 46. The Tertiary landscape south of the isthmus of Catanzaro is not dissimilar: Walker (1967) 214; *Il Paesaggio* (1963) 178-180.

³³ *Il Paesaggio* (1963) 180-182; Milone (1956) 50.

³⁴ *Il Paesaggio* (1963) 182.

CHAPTER 1

Pre-Roman Settlement

The present historical survey is intended as an outline to orient the reader and to provide some framework for the discussions that follow.¹ It concerns the period from the setting up of the first Greek colonies in Bruttium in the late eighth century B.C. to the initial contacts with the military and political power of Rome prior to the second Punic war late in the third century B.C. This period was instrumental for creating a variety of conditions whose impact was still apparent in the region during the centuries under the Roman administration.

The early settlement

The first Greek colonies in Bruttium were set up between the middle and the end of the eighth century (fig. 3).² The colonies constituted a rather heterogeneous group, both in origin and development. The Achaean cities were responsible for the founding of

¹ The overview concerns the whole of Bruttium, but the focus is on its northern part.

² Greek cities will also be referred to as 'Italiote' cities. This should be contrasted with 'Italian', which is often used interchangeably with 'Italic', especially in modern Italian scholarship, to denote non-Greek communities. 'Italian' will be the preferred term here; this is used interchangeably with 'native' and 'Oscan'. For early chronologies see Dunbabin (1948) 435-442; Guzzo (1987b) 141-190, 217-226. Standard sources consulted for historical references are Ciaceri (1926-1940); Bérard (1941); Dunbabin (1948); Boardman (1980); Greco (1981); Salmon (1982). For the pre-colonial period see Greco (1981); Guzzo (1982) 18-60 with bibliography; Nenci (1987) 325-333; Peroni (1987) 81-97, 118-134 (for the trade contacts with the native population as early as the 1400s B.C. and, with a break, in the ninth century).

Sybaris, Caulonia and Croton at the end of the eighth century;³ some thirty years earlier, Rhegium was founded by the Chalcidians. At the beginning of the seventh century Locri was settled by the inhabitants of Lokris in western Greece.⁴ It appears that the settlement locations were chosen primarily for their harbours (Croton, Rhegium) or for suitable farm land that surrounds them (Sybaris, Croton, Locri, Caulonia).

Both Croton and Sybaris established sub-colonies in the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C.⁵ The destruction of Sybaris by the Crotoniates in 511/510 B.C. (Diod. 11.90.3) appears to have triggered this colonising wave. It is commonly held that Laos and Skydros (Scidros) on the Tyrrhenian coast, which seem to have existed before 511/510 as native sites, provided refuge for those Sybaritans who fled the Crotoniate assault.⁶ The location of Temesa is a much debated subject, as is its original foundation date, but its links with Sybaris are historically documented;⁷ on numismatic evidence, Temesa seems to have been linked with Croton in the sixth century.⁸ Terina, also on the

³ Although in most instances these were not the original Greek names, for practical purposes, Greek cities will be referred to throughout by their Latinised names used by the majority of sources for Italian history.

⁴ Guzzo (1987b) 143-165, 217-219. Ancient Sybaris was located at the mouth of the Crati and Coscile; Croton corresponds to modern Crotone; Locri was ca. four km. south of its modern namesake and just to the north of the torrent Portigliola; Caulonia, just to the north of Monasterace Marina; Rhegium was at modern Reggio di Calabria.

⁵ Outside Bruttium, Sybaris established Poseidonia at the mouth of the Sele in the gulf of Salerno around 700-675 (historical evidence) or 600 B.C. (archaeological evidence): Guzzo (1987b) 171; Greco (1981) 17; Lomas (1993) 24. Near the mouth of the Bradano in modern Basilicata it founded Metapontum around 700 or 650 B.C.: Guzzo (1987b) 171; Greco (1981) 137; Lomas (1993) 24.

⁶ Guzzo (1987b) 173. Sites of both are insecure, but north Tyrrhenian locations are preferred. These expansions often intruded on the territory held by the Italians living outside the Greek city-states.

⁷ Guzzo (1987b) 172-73. Temesa was a subject of extensive mythologising in ancient sources, some connecting it with the Homeric heroes, the iron trade and copper mines: *Od.* 1.181-184; Biraschi (1982) 29-39. A possible location may be on the low plateau (Piano della Tirena) near the mouth of the Savuto on the Tyrrhenian coast where Greek Archaic material datable to the sixth century was found: Spadea (1990) 173; Valenza Mele (1991) 105.

⁸ Guzzo (1987b) 179.

Tyrrhenian coast, probably at the northern edge of the Isthmus of Catanzaro, may have been politically linked with both Sybaris and Croton.⁹

The second colonising wave from Greece occurred in the mid fifth century B.C. The new colony, Thurii, was founded in 444/3 B.C on the site of destroyed Sybaris,¹⁰ and was ostensibly a pan-Hellenic community but with a large number of Athenian colonists.¹¹

These events mark the end of the Greek colonising activities in Calabria and the adjacent areas. The heterogeneity of the foundations probably gave rise to a diverse set of interests and concerns whose one common manifestation was the continuous territorial and cultural development, albeit without a common plan.¹² Indeed, this lack of coherence and common purpose has been thought to have constituted a major factor in shaping the political developments in southern Italy, and later affecting the relations with Rome.¹³

The *Bruttii*

Next to the Greeks lived the Oscan-speaking peoples, i.e. the Lucanians and the

⁹ Guzzo (1987b) 176; Bérard (1941) 175. Terina is sometimes identified with S. Eufemia Vetere, but the earliest material from the immediate area south of the town was dated to the second half of the fourth century B.C.: Orsi (1921b) 470-73. For the influence of Croton south of the Isthmus of Catanzaro (at Scolacium and perhaps Caulonia in the fifth century) and that of Locri (Hipponion and Medma of possibly sixth, but more likely fifth century; Hipponion is modern Vibo Valentia; Medma is modern Rosarno): Dunbabin (1947) 164; Guzzo (1987b) 176-178. Metauros (modern Gioia Tauro), south of Medma, apparently originally a native centre, came under the Locrian orbit at approximately the same time: Dunbabin (1948) 168-69; Guzzo (1982) 258. Tradition attributes the foundation of Pyxus (Buxentum) in the Gulf of Policastro in modern Basilicata to Rhegium's Mikythos in ca. 471 B.C.: Guzzo (1982) 229; Lomas (1993) 24.

¹⁰ The legend of the fall of Sybaris, ascribed to the flooding by the waters of the Crati which was diverted by the invading Crotoniates, is a well known story: Steph.Byz., s.v. *Sybaris*.

¹¹ Diod. 12.11.3; Guzzo (1987a) 479, 483-84; *idem* (1982) 109-110. This was counterbalanced by the Tarentine foundation of Heraclea near the site of destroyed Siris (at Policoro in Basilicata) in 433 B.C.: Diod. 13.3.4; Strabo 6.1.14; Lomas (1993) 31.

¹² Lomas (1993) 30-37.

¹³ *ibid.*, 25.

Bruttians.¹⁴ The separation into different political units from the common Oscan stock, from which both groups are said to have originated, is usually thought to have occurred in the course of the fifth and fourth centuries.¹⁵ The split of the Bruttians from the Lucanians, given by the sources the precise date of 356/355 B.C., is placed in the context of the hostilities involving Dionysius I of Syracuse and the Lucanians, but it probably stands as a symbol at the end of the period of self-definition of the *Bruttii*.¹⁶

Their land stretched from the line between Cerillae (south of the mouth of Lao) and Thurii in the north, to the Strait of Messina in the south.¹⁷ Apart from the tradition that they considered Consentia (Cosenza) as their metropolis, we have no knowledge of their institutional organisation.¹⁸ Guzzo has recently suggested that, in the context of the

¹⁴ A number of recent studies have allowed for an increasingly fruitful discussion of these peoples and their contribution in the processes of regional development. See for Calabria: Guzzo (1983a) 243-246; *idem* (1989); *idem* (1994) 197-218; Lombardo (1994) 57-137; and for the rest of the South: e.g. Pippidi, ed. (1976); Whitehouse, Wilkins (1989) 102-126; Herring (1991) 117-133; Morel (1991) 125-144; Lomas (1993).

¹⁵ Migrations and expansions of the Oscan-speaking Sabellians started in the fifth century B.C. and are largely precipitated by the unfolding of the events in central Italy which involved the Samnites and Rome. The ancient writers do not differentiate between these Oscan speakers, referring to them all as *Opikoi*, but it would appear that they quickly fragmented into separate political identities while sharing common language and cultural attributes: Strabo 6.1.4; Diod. 20.15; Salmon (1965) 39-43.

¹⁶ Iust. 23.1.11-13; Diod. 16.5.2-15.2 for the full context of the military action and secession; Guzzo (1989) 41-46 for references pointing to the emerging identity prior to the "official" date; also, Guzzo (1983a) 194-95. Poseidonia fell in 410, Terina in 395 and Laos in 390 B.C. (Diod. 12.23.2; 14.101) to the Oscan-speaking people, although this is not in all cases confirmed by archaeological evidence, nor is it always clear who these invaders were. Thurii may have been attacked by the Lucanians in 389 B.C. (Diod. 14.101). Independent hostile actions on the part of the Bruttians are attested against Terina, Hipponion and Thurii in 346 B.C., and Cosenza: Diod. 16.15.2; Guzzo (1983a) 195.

¹⁷ Strabo 6.1.4; the source is probably Timaeus or Artemidorus (Lassère [1966] 129, n. 3). A somewhat different area in Strabo 6.1.1 where the mouth of the Lao is the border on the Tyrrhenian side. This area roughly corresponds to modern Calabria. The traditional homeland of the Lucanians corresponds to modern Basilicata, south-eastern Campania and the upper valley of Ofanto in modern Puglia: Pontrandolfo (1994) 141-93. In Strabo 6.1.3, Petelia (=Strongoli), well inside the traditional Bruttian territory, is the metropolis of the Lucanians, but he is likely recording an earlier situation, i.e. pre-dating the "secession" of the Bruttians in 356 B.C.: Guzzo (1994) 202.

¹⁸ Strabo 6.1.5; Guzzo (1983a) 194.

second Punic war, Livy's references to the individual *civitates* and *populi*, rather than to the Bruttii as a group, might be indicative of the prevailing cantonal political organisation amongst them.¹⁹ Oscan inscriptions from the sanctuary of Apollo Alaïos at Cirò Marina, dated in the first half of the third century B.C., seem to point to the eponymous significance of the temple priests, thus perhaps indicating their importance in the wider political sphere. How exactly this was defined, however, remains unknown.²⁰ We shall see below that archaeological evidence generally concurs with the impression generated by the written sources, but also offers additional insight and detail.

First contacts with Rome

It was with primarily military objectives that Rome first encountered various Greek and Oscan communities in Calabria.

In the 280s several Greek cities appealed to Rome for assistance against the Oscan population and one another. In 285 B.C. Thurii asked for help in the war against the Lucanians and Bruttians, which resulted in the establishment of a Roman garrison within the Greek city, but soon after, in 282 B.C. the garrison was expelled. Consequently Thurii returned to the Italiote League.²¹ Locri, Rhegium and Croton also sought help

¹⁹ Livy 29.38.1, 30.19.10; Guzzo (1989) 71-72. In 22.61.12, when listing the peoples who defected to Hannibal in 216 B.C., Livy refers to the Bruttians as *Bruttii omnes*, again focusing on the partitive rather than the collective. But see Strabo 6.1.2 for a "common political organisation" as existing in the past, but vanished at his time, and Guzzo (1994) 198-215 for the discussion of this passage. Emissions of gold, silver and bronze coins with the legend BRETTON in Greek are suggestive of the common political system, but the date of these is uncertain. Often dated in the late third century B.C., they are linked, because of the Punic alphabet in the legend, to Hannibal's influence and perhaps should not be used for identifying their common political identity prior to that time (Guzzo [1989] 114-116, for the importance of the common identity in the periods of warfare; Guzzo [1994] 215; Lombardo [1994] 130).

²⁰ Guzzo (1994) 211-212; Poccetti (1994) 233.

²¹ Thurii: Dion. Hal. 20.4.2; App. *Samn.* 7.1-2; Livy *Per.* 11; Plin. *N.H.* 34.15.32 (in particular

from Rome in the 280s.²² Following the battle of Heraclea in 280 B.C., Croton and Locri ejected the Roman garrisons that were established in the 280s, and sided with Pyrrhus (who arrived in Italy in 280 B.C), as did, it seems, the Oscans.²³

It appears, however, that these events did not constitute only passing military forays on the part of Rome, but also had some territorial and political implications for the region. From the accounts of the negotiations following the battle of Heraclea, it seems that a peace settlement was being negotiated stipulating a grant of autonomy to the Italiotes, and the giving up of all territory taken by Rome from the Samnites, Lucanians and Bruttians. However, the Senate was dissuaded by Appius Claudius Caecus.²⁴ This means that it is possible that Rome acquired (a part of) the Sila forest already at this early date.²⁵ If indeed it did, it is unknown whether it managed to hold onto it.

The 270s appear once again politically controlled by Rome, gradually encroaching on the territory held by Pyrrhus and his allies. Several battles with Bruttians are recorded, as well as the taking of Croton and Caulonia in the early 270s.²⁶ The hostilities may have had certain demographic consequences as well. Livy (23.30;24.3)

about the erection of statues by the Thurians at Rome). Italiote League: a league of Greek cities modelled on the Achaean League with a central treasury, a central meeting place and regular meeting of member states; the treasury and meeting place was at the temple of Hera Lacinia in the Crotoniate territory in the early years of the League: Lomas (1993) 32.

²² Pol. 1.7.1; Lomas (1993) 52; Greco (1981) 88-94; Calderone (1976) 71-80; Walbank (1957) 49-53. Reasons for these "invitations" are obscure, but seem to have occurred in the context of the growing rivalry between Rome and Tarentum and the subsequent arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy. In all cases the relationship was military.

²³ App. *Samn.* 9.1-3, 12.1; Livy 28.28.1-7, 31.31.6-8; Lomas (1993) 54.

²⁴ Plut. *Pyrr.* 16; Lomas (1993) 54.

²⁵ The ceding of (one half) of the Sila by the Bruttians to Rome was recorded by Dion. Hal. (20.15); the date of this is not stated and another possible context is after the second Punic war; see also Chapter 2, n. 28 and Chapter 5, n. 34.

²⁶ Lomas (1993) 55. Several Roman triumphs, for 282, 278-276, 273-272 B.C., were celebrated

records that Croton's population was halved as a result of the Pyrrhic war, so that it counted less than 2000 on the eve of the Punic war. In the first Punic war the Greek cities contributed ships to the Roman navy.²⁷ Little information is available between these events and those of the second Punic war discussed in the context of the historical sources in Chapter 2.

The settlements

Archaeological information about the Archaic colonies is scarce. Partially known layouts display an assortment of configurations guided by location, the size of the available area, and undoubtedly a variety of demographic and economic factors; the planning principle appears to have been generally orthogonal.²⁸ The Classical and Hellenistic periods continued as times of prosperity for the Greek colonies. In addition, our information concerning rural sites and native settlements increases for this period, which allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the settlement organisation (fig. 3).

After the fall of Sybaris, Thurii was founded on the site of its predecessor in 444/3 B.C., but no structure dating to the fifth century has been uncovered yet.²⁹ The city's layout appears conceived at the end of the fifth century, but the actual construction

over the Bruttians and an assortment of other peoples: Cordano (1971) no. 222b.

²⁷ Lomas (1993) 82.

²⁸ Sybaris and Croton: Guzzo (1987b) 149-151, 173-181, 190-96; *idem* (1982) 302-304). For Sybaris' sixth century expansion toward the seashore: Guzzo (1982) 302. For Locri and Rhegium: *idem* (1987b) 191-193. At Sybaris, a series of limestone reliefs and ashlar blocks carefully cut to shape probably belonged to an Archaic temple; their reutilisation in an important building (Chapter 3, so-called 'semicircular building', p. 51) constructed in the Roman period is one of many examples characteristic of the building practices in this part of Italy (Guzzo [1987b] 193; *idem* [1973] 292-294).

²⁹ Guzzo (1992) 19; ceramic finds are also rare.

occurred in the early part of the fourth century B.C.³⁰ The layout has been attributed by ancient sources to the work of the fifth century architect Hippodamus of Miletus.³¹ Excavated are several main and secondary streets of standardised widths with intersections at right angles, built on top of sterile clay, paved with large flagstones and lined with drainage ditches.³² The streets were spaced at regular intervals, thus creating the framework for the buildings.³³ The street plan continued in use through the Roman period of occupation.

Only segments of houses have been found, but it is possible that the plans resembled the fourth to third century B.C. examples from Locri, with open-air or partially covered courts, at times surrounded by rooms on all sides, or on only three or two; the court could be entered directly from the street or via a narrow passage underneath whose paving were placed drain pipes.³⁴ No public buildings have been found, save for a possible customs area at 'Casa Bianca' (so-called '*area basolata*') dated to the early fourth century, which may have been associated with the city's port installations.³⁵

At Croton a northward development that started in the sixth century continued during the Classical and Hellenistic periods when a truly orthogonal district developed.

³⁰ Guzzo (1992) 21.

³¹ Diod. 12.10-11: records seven *plateiai*, four set in one direction and three orthogonal to these; Vallet (1976) 1021-32; Castagnoli (1971) 301-307; *idem* (1973) 220-22.

³² Guzzo (1987a) 483-484; *idem* (1982) 304-306. Some quarters occupied in the Archaic period seem to have been gradually abandoned from the Classical period onwards.

³³ Guzzo (1982) 305-306.

³⁴ Guzzo (1992) 24; *idem* (1987a) 497. Squared blocks were used for reinforcements at the corners and tile and stone fragments to fill the gaps between larger boulders; there was little change in the structural characteristics when compared with Archaic Sybaris; shaped river-stone and tile socles with elevations of sun-dried brick were the materials used. For Locri see Gullini (1994) 399.

³⁵ Guzzo (1982) 306; Guzzo (1987a) 483-484, 495-496.

Traces of houses and kilns datable to the fourth and third centuries have also been found in the area of the original Archaic city below the Medieval town. This suggests the continuation of settlement in the area of the original colony down to the end of the third century B.C.³⁶ A fortification wall was built between the fifth and fourth centuries.³⁷ According to one estimate, the city comprised an area of 281 ha; while this represents the entire walled area, which may not have necessarily been the same as the populated area, recent urban survey and trial excavations inside the wall circuit strongly suggest that this area had indeed been densely built-up.³⁸

The interrelationship between the Greek and native communities has already been mentioned. The establishment of the Greek colonies precipitated a disappearance of many native settlements, but new settlements emerged in other locations, bearing a Hellenised character, and several incorporated Greek sanctuaries.³⁹ This type of interrelationship between the Greek and native populations seems to have persisted during the Archaic and Classical periods.

Another aspect of the interrelatedness was the establishment of extra-urban sanctuaries. These complexes are believed to have served as places of contact and

³⁶ Guzzo (1982) 286-287. For recent excavations: Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 29, 1989 (1990) 587; *eadem* in *Atti Taranto* 28, 1988 (1989) 554; *eadem* in *Atti Taranto* 25, 1985 (1986) 428-429; *eadem* in *Atti Taranto* 21, 1981 (1982) 225-226. Undated structures appear outside the city walls at the north end (detected by a magnetometer resistivity survey conducted in 1976 and 1981 in the area north of the Esaro in the so-called 'area Montedison', and north of it beyond the Classical city walls): Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 21, 1981 (1982) 229; Linington (1982) 253-256. House-construction did not change significantly from the Archaic period: Guzzo (1982) 287. For Locri, Rhegium, Caulonia, Hipponion and Medma: Guzzo (1987a) 479, 484-490, 490-507.

³⁷ Guzzo (1982) 286-87.

³⁸ Ampolo (1980) 175; Guzzo (1982) 286.

³⁹ For the hinterland of Sybaris and Croton in the VII-VI C B.C.: Guzzo (1987b) 152-62; Lombardo (1994) 97.

influence between the Greek and Italian populations at the "borders" separating the two communities. Two such sanctuaries gained prominence over time. The sanctuary dedicated to Hera Lacinia at Capo Colonna south of Croton began its life in the late sixth/early fifth century B.C., assumed an international importance early on as a seat of the Italiote League, and continued to play a role during the Roman period.⁴⁰ Similarly, the Apollo Alaios sanctuary at Punta Alice near Cirò Marina perhaps continued to play some role after the second Punic war, but appears particularly important for uniting the Greek and Bruttian interests prior to that time.⁴¹ Oscan inscriptions of the third century, an Italiote Greek *acrolith*, and the mention of the sanctuary in the list of the *theorodokoi* at Delphi early in the second century B.C., point to its continuing international importance.⁴²

A clear break in the occupation of the non-Greek territory occurred after the middle of the fifth century B.C. and relates to the expansion of the Lucanians. It is evidenced by the abandonment or destruction of a number of rural sites and a partial disruption of life in some Greek cities.⁴³ In the traditional territory of the *Bruttii*, new settlements appeared in the course of the fourth and third centuries B.C. Many were in fortified positions overlooking the coast, or at the point of contact between the plain and the mountainous hinterland, usually overlooking river valleys. Several had a circuit of fortification walls whose building technique resembles contemporary examples found in

⁴⁰ Lombardo (1994) 100-101; Guzzo (1987a) 196; *idem* (1982) 284-86.

⁴¹ Lombardo (1994) 98. The peripteral heptastyle temple dedicated to Apollo Alaios was constructed in the second half of the seventh century B.C.: Mertens (1982) 97-142; *idem* (1984) 207-228. Most remains visible on the site date to the beginning of the third century B.C. and are attributed to a Bruttian initiative: Guzzo (1982) 294.

⁴² Guzzo (1994) 211-212.

⁴³ Guzzo (1983) 199; Lombardo (1994) 108-119.

the Greek cities.⁴⁴

The character of these settlements is not always clear, however. While the circuit walls often encompass large areas, the evidence for houses or other structures is rarely present. When houses have been uncovered, as at Castiglione di Paludi and Tiriolo, they resemble in plan and construction the contemporary examples from the Greek cities.⁴⁵

Another site at Marcellina, on the left bank of the Lao on the low and extensive plateau overlooking the coastal plain on the Tyrrhenian seaboard, shows characteristics closely reminiscent of Greek cities.⁴⁶ A circuit of walls constructed after the middle of the fourth century B.C. encompassed a settled area characterised by the orthogonal street system, paved streets and public and private buildings reminiscent of the contemporary examples from Thurii and Tiriolo.⁴⁷ Combined, these settlements show important evidence of

⁴⁴ Guzzo (1986a) 206. A string of intercommunicating fortified settlements was situated in easily defended positions in the coastal hills along the Ionian coast between Thurii and Croton. They are from N to S: Torre del Mordillo (Guzzo [1982] 310-12; Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 28, 1988 [1989] 582), Serra Castello (Guzzo [1983a] 238; *Calabria Citeriore* [1989] 66), Castiglione di Paludi, Muraglie di Pietrapaola, Pruiia di Cariati (Guzzo, Luppino [1980] 858-59; Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 24, 1984 [1985] 429; Pagano [1986] 91-99), Murge di Strongoli (Guzzo [1994] 202) and Petelia-Pianette (Guzzo, Luppino [1980] 859-60). On the Tyrrhenian coast, the plateau at Piano della Tirena, between the Savuto and Grande rivers, is one of the presumed locations of the Archaic Temesa, but it is the fourth and third centuries B.C. fortified settlement that has produced the most tangible remains: Orsi (1916) 335-62; Guzzo (1986a) 204; Spadea (1990) 165-176; for the Roman phase: CAT. II, IGM F. 236, no. 12, map K.

⁴⁵ Castiglione di Paludi: within the walled circuit were a theatral structure partly cut into the hill-side and a number of rectangular houses that appear to flank a street; on the outside, several IV-III century B.C. tombs were found (Pagano [1986] 91-99). Tiriolo (at the northern margins of the Isthmus of Catanzaro): dated between the fourth and third century B.C., the houses were built of pebble-and-tile socles without bonding element; the plan was squarish with rooms organised around an open-air court (Spadea [1977] 123-159).

⁴⁶ It has been identified as the Lucanian Laos of Strabo 6.1.1. Sparse seventh century B.C. pottery (Corinthian and local *impasto*) is probably to be connected with an earlier native presence on the site, rather than to the Sybaritan sub-colony (also, on the absence of the fifth century material); the Sybaritan settlement was possibly in the area, but remains unknown (Guzzo [1982] 238; *idem* [1994] 204).

⁴⁷ Laos: Greco (1995a) 48-52. A rich double burial in a chamber tomb, gold earrings from another and a gold ring in a simpler tomb, all from the same area, are further testimony for differentiated

proto-urban development probably resulting in part from their co-existence with the Greek communities whose urban character is well known.⁴⁸

It is probable that in times of war some of these sites served as refuge or garrison enclaves for isolated farms or agglomerations belonging to the rural population settled in the surrounding countryside.⁴⁹ Evidently, people also lived in the open country as is demonstrated by the fourth and third century burial grounds and remains of houses or groups of houses. In most cases the ethnicity of the people that these sites belonged to remains unknown, but the proximity of some to clearly identifiable native burials suggests that at least a portion belonged to the Bruttians.⁵⁰

The combined archaeological evidence suggests a settlement pattern characterised by a mixture of nucleated settlements (Greek and Bruttian), sometimes in fortified locations (Bruttian), and dispersed farmsteads (Greek and Bruttian).⁵¹

Production, trade and society

Some central economic considerations for the selection of sites for the Greek colonial foundations have already been mentioned. Agriculture obviously played a significant role in their economic development,⁵² with cereal production accounting for the large share of the staples.⁵³ Wine was an important industry at Thurii, and Calabrian wine

social strata: Luppino (1995) 58-59.

⁴⁸ Cf. for Roccagloriosa in western Basilicata, Gualtieri (1987) 30-46, and a similar pattern in Puglia, Whitehouse, Wilkins (1989) 102-26, esp. 116-18.

⁴⁹ Guzzo (1994) 207.

⁴⁹ Guzzo (1994) 199; Guzzo, Luppino (1980) 823-58.

⁵¹ Guzzo (1983a) 203; *idem* (1994) 207.

⁵² For the '*fattorie*' (farmsteads) in the territory of Croton and Metaponto see Carter (1981) 167-78; in the latter case the excavations at one site have uncovered clear evidence for agricultural production.

⁵³ Lomas (1993) 116, the ear of wheat is a common coin type at Metapontum, Sybaris and

amphorae dated between the fourth and second centuries B.C. have now been identified.⁵⁴

Pottery and other clay products were also produced locally in the Greek cities to a significant extent, but in contrast to the Archaic period, the Classical and Hellenistic output was not designed for international trade as much as for regional and local use.⁵⁵

Fishing and salted fish products must have constituted at least marginal sources of wealth.⁵⁶ The degree of development of agriculture and trades (e.g. ceramics) is hard to assess, however, since it is at the moment impossible to estimate accurately the extent of the territories controlled by either the Greek cities or Bruttian communities.⁵⁷ A number of isolated sites in the countryside have produced agricultural implements (presses) and have yielded evidence for storage facilities (*pithoi*). However, it is often unclear to which ethnic group these sites should be attributed; this makes it hard to assess their importance in the economy of either group.⁵⁸ In some cases kilns were found near the buildings.⁵⁹

If, in general, it is right to attribute the fortified settlements to the Bruttians, and the coastal urban agglomerations to the Greeks, then the coastline and the principal river valleys near the sea-shore belonged to the Greek settlers, while the hinterland appears to

Croton. *Pithoi* are commonly found in the cities and the rural sites from the Archaic period onwards.

⁵⁴ Thurii: Guzzo (1987a) 519: amphorae handles stamped with the image of a miniature amphora are probably local. For the general Calabrian area (Locri, Medma, Hipponion): Sangineto (1994) 564; Arthur (1989) 133.

⁵⁵ Guzzo (1987a) 515.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, 519.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, 516.

⁵⁸ In some cases the association of buildings with tombs showing native characteristics (pottery, weapons) aids in identification; e.g. Acquappesa: Guzzo (1978a) 465-79; Cariati: Guzzo, Luppino (1980) 832-58.

⁵⁹ E.g. Montegiordano, near the border between Calabria and Basilicata, 2/2 IV C B.C.: Guzzo (1982) 324; Acquappesa on the Tyrrhenian coast, IV/III C.B.C.: Guzzo (1978a) 465-79. Cf. with houses (with agricultural indicators) and kilns in the territory of Metapontum: Guzzo (1983a) 203.

have been in the hands of the Bruttians.⁶⁰ The fortified settlements were well positioned (often overlooking the river valleys) to guard the entry points into the hinterland, i.e. the large forested mountain plateau, the Sila.⁶¹ Strabo's remarks about Bruttians as shepherds may be understood in this context; the mountainous land of central Calabria is certainly well suited for sheep-rearing.⁶² Loom-weights are frequent finds on the fourth and third century sites and suggest that some sheep were used for their wool, probably by both the Greek and Bruttian population; some of this may have entered the exchange system. Imported Greek and Punic amphorae have been found at a number of Bruttian sites (e.g. Tiriolo⁶³ and Marcellina⁶⁴), and on the isolated farmsteads (Greek or Bruttian). How exactly these imports entered the trade-chain and how important they were in the development of the local economy remains unknown,⁶⁵ but it was this local economy, it seems, i.e. the exchange between the Greek and Oscan communities, that was the predominant channel of supply.⁶⁶

Social differentiation among the *Bruttii* is best revealed by the burial goods, among which metals (weapons, ceremonial vessels) play an important role in the elite burials; these also point to a high degree of acculturation experienced by some classes in

⁶⁰ Strabo 6.1.5. The Tyrrhenian littoral, from Laos to Taurianum (in the southern part of the province), (with the exception of Hipponion), also appears to have been controlled by the Bruttians: Guzzo (1987a) 516.

⁶¹ Guzzo (1986a) 203.

⁶² Strabo 6.1.4; Diod. 16.15.1; Frayn (1984) 20-21; here, Introduction, 13. Timber and pitch were other praised resources (Strab. 6.1.9).

⁶³ For fragments of Rhodian and Thasian amphorae, *pithoi* and a group of black glaze pottery stamped on the inside and probably produced on the site see Spadea (1977) 147.

⁶⁴ Pottery production and, possibly, a mint were also documented; Punic amphorae from Sicily came probably by way of Rhegium: Guzzo (1987a) 518.

⁶⁵ Guzzo (1987a) 517.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, 519.

the Bruttian community *vis à vis* the Greeks.⁶⁷

To sum up. Both the Greek and Bruttian communities played significant roles in the region. Political unity, however, if it existed at all, was loose and secondary to either the cantonal (for the *Bruttii*), or the *polis*-type system (for the Greeks). The Greek cities display continued territorial, economic and cultural development from the first colonial foundations through the third century B.C. It is possible, however, that they emerged politically and economically weakened at the end of that period as a result of the numerous episodes of mutual and external hostilities with Rome and the Bruttians. From the fourth century B.C. onwards, the Bruttians experienced a high degree of acculturation and social differentiation, probably in part due to close association with the Greek communities. The main channel of cultural exchange known to us at the moment appears to have been mutual trade. Both communities also engaged in international trade. Given the state of research, it is impossible to say how significant the dispersed form of settlement was, but sporadic and often incompletely excavated examples are perhaps indicative of its greater importance than has traditionally been assumed. Early contacts that Rome had with both communities can be characterised as primarily military. It is not clear if any lasting territorial gains were made by Rome during that period; the ceding of (one half) of the Sila forest may have occurred at that time. It is possible that these contacts also had social and economic consequences.

The times following the second Punic war were different in many ways. The

⁶⁷ Guzzo (1994) 208-211; *idem* (1987a) 509-13. For linguistic cross-overs between the Bruttians and the Greeks (in particular regarding the names and their systems of recording) see Poccetti

most obvious change was a shift that occurred in the settlement distribution. This was marked by the abandonment of a large number of the previously occupied extra-urban sites and the virtually complete abandonment or disruption of occupation of the fortified settlements by the end of the third century B.C. However, one or two fortified sites, and most Greek cities continued to be settled; and new settlements were founded. This significant shift was caused by deep structural changes triggered by the arrival of the Roman political control in the region; to this we turn in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 2

Written Sources

The present chapter provides a limited overview of the written sources for Roman Bruttium; a collection of the complete *corpus* is not claimed. Rather, the aim is to highlight selected issues that are then further discussed later in the thesis. A background sketch of some more important military and political developments from ca. 220 B.C. to the middle of the first century B.C. is also provided.

The present work is not the place for detailed source criticism, but several specific points should be remarked upon. The dating of Strabo's and/or his sources' material is problematic, and the reader is directed for general questions to a recent study that has treated this issue comprehensively.¹ For the present purposes, the problem of dating and factual accuracy is raised where it concerns specific issues, and is then further discussed in conjunction with other relevant evidence later in the thesis.

A more complex problem of reliability, however, lies in many of the writers' inherent biases. These biases have over time crystallised into a number of literary *topoi* common in many of the moralising authors of the late Republic and early Empire, and

¹ Musti (1988). It is probably right to differentiate between the accuracy regarding the specific accounts of, e.g. places or events, in Strabo's arm-chair geography and that in Cicero's first-hand knowledge of the scene: cf. Whitehouse, Wilkins (1987) 95-98.

several of them are of particular concern here.² Comments regarding depopulation, lost greatness and decline, untrustworthiness and lack of loyalty to Rome, and political instability occur frequently in the sources. Consequently, reliance on them for a precise reconstruction of the physical and economic situation of the region is controversial. While they should not be dismissed out of hand, they should be put in perspective as regards their place within their own cultural milieu. Fortunately, because of more intense recent archaeological investigations, the writers' assertions can be assessed in the light of the new findings.

Physical geography, general conditions and settlements

Strabo, Pliny and Mela talked briefly about Bruttium within their descriptions of Italian geography. All three seem to be working within the tradition of world-geography and are possibly sharing the same source(s), as their closely resembling narratives suggest.³ The accounts are almost completely devoid of physical details, but instead, refer in general terms to the shape of the land, and to distances between principal points, and list settlements in predominantly coastal locations.⁴ Only Strabo is more eloquent when he talks about the Apennines which dominate this part of Italy, describing them as stretching

² A concise discussion as it relates to the Italian South is found in Lomas (1993) 13-17; see also *eadem* (1997) 21-41. Cf. for the Greek cities and population in Roman Greece, Alcock (1993) 24-32.

³ Nicolet (1988) 69-95. For the passages cited in the subsequent note see: for Strabo's sources, Lassère (1966) and Walbank (1957) regarding relevant passages and Roddaz (1984) 18-30 for Strabo's Augustan source; for Pliny's sources for land-shape and distances see Sallmann (1971) 208 n. 35, 228 n. 87.

⁴ Strabo 5.1.3, 6.1.3-4, 6.1.11-12; Pliny, *N.H.* 3.5, 3.43, 3.97; Mela, *Chor.* 2.4.58, 2.4.67-69. Discrepancies in reported distances between various points in the landscape and their general inaccuracy are notorious: Nicolet (1988) 74-77, 247 and n. 13; for specific points see the commentaries cited in the previous note. According to Givigliano (1994) 300, it is possible that the mixing of land- and sea-

through the middle of the Bruttian and Lucanian territory and ending at Leucopetra in the district of Rhegium. He mentions a forest called the Sila in the interior above Rhegium and Locri which is seven hundred stadia long (ca. 130km.), well watered and wooded, and produces the best pitch of all.⁵ Pliny adds the names of twelve rivers and other *flumina innumera*, and, contrary to a rather different current hydrological situation, among them five *amnes navigabiles* (in the Gulf of Squillace), all presently difficult to identify precisely on the ground (*N.H.* 3.73;95-97).

The emphasis on coastal features indicates their importance as topographical markers for sailors, travellers and traders.⁶ Land communication is another source of interest that may help to explain a high number of instances where distances between the topographical markers or localities are provided.⁷ Another reason for the inclusion of features and, above all, settlements, is likely to have been their importance in the administrative and economic structures of the region.

General living conditions in Roman Bruttium are difficult to assess on the basis of the available written sources. Strabo is the most extensive source, but his remarks are difficult to interpret. In the key passage (6.1.2), it looks as though he is describing a contemporary situation: "ὅτι" the author says, all parts of southern Italy, except Tarentum,

distances resulted in the inaccuracies.

⁵ Strabo 5.1.3. Based on style, Poseidonius may be the source: Lassère (1966) 9. Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 3.74.

⁶ In this regard, the present descriptions seem to stem from the *periplus*-tradition: Nicolet (1988) 71, 89, 92-95. A detailed analysis of the written sources and Itineraries with the special emphasis on land and sea communications is in Givigliano (1994) 243-362, esp. 279-328. For the Archaic period: Guzzo (1981c)

Rhegium and Neapolis, have become completely barbarised and some have been taken by the *Leukanoi* and the *Brettioi*, but even these are now Roman. Moreover, he continues, these peoples have deteriorated so much that their settlements are in ruin and they have lost their previous identity.⁸ The "now" with which the passage starts, although nominally contemporary, more likely refers to the era of Strabo's source(s), even though some of the information is likely up-to-date.⁹ If it is correct that Poseidonius was the primary source for this passage, the situation described is perhaps about half a century old, but still dating to the post-Hannibalic period.¹⁰

At any rate, Strabo has less than flattering words for the state of affairs in Bruttium. Other sources concur in this unglowing assessment. Cicero compares the remoteness of Bruttium with that of the Salentine Peninsula in Apulia (*Rosc.Am.* 132.21). Later, an echo of the same sentiment is found in Seneca (*Tranq.* 2.13), who contrasted the wilds of Bruttium with the luxurious living in Campania. As we shall see, the impression of nearly total desolation of this area in the late Republic and early Empire is certainly an exaggeration, but some factual basis for these characterisations is probable. It is the tone perhaps more than all the points of content that may be ascribed to literary

⁷ Givigliano (1994) 284, 295-300.

⁸ Guzzo (1994) 197-218, has recently provided a detailed analysis of this passage. Paralleling textual and archaeological evidence, he has demonstrated its value also as a record of the cultural and political circumstances of the *Bruttii* before the onset of significant Roman influence in the region (i.e. before the second Punic war); he also noted the stratification of textual traditions which occur: *loc. cit.*, 198.

⁹ Much of the combined evidence from this and other passages, where the sources for the information have been reasonably well documented, would suggest that "now" is the "now" of the source(s) rather than Strabo's own time.

¹⁰ Lassère (1966) 127, n. 2.

topoi.

Details about individual settlements are scarce.¹¹ If a site is mentioned for its importance, this refers to its history.¹² Petelia is the sole community that is given a human face in the context of the second Punic war.¹³ On the other hand, several principal towns in existence before the second Punic war were also known to have continued their life afterwards; in these cases, however, references to the reduction in size and importance when compared to the previous period are common;¹⁴ details about the towns' physical aspect are nonexistent. More settlements appear in the Itineraries, and some of these are mentioned there for the first time; but whether the *stationes* are the same as the towns remains uncertain.¹⁵

Historical references

Polybius, Livy, and Appian recorded the events of the second Punic war in detail.¹⁶ From 216 until 203 B.C. when Hannibal left Italy, the war in the South impinged on Bruttium in a significant way.¹⁷ In 216/15 and 214/13 several Greek and Oscan

¹¹ For references see notes 4 and 15 in the present chapter.

¹² E.g. the Heraion at Lacinium: Strabo 6.1.11; Livy 23.33.4; the Bruttian metropolis at Consentia: Strabo 6.1.5.

¹³ Livy 23.20; 23.30; Polyb. *Hist.* 7.1.3; Appian, *Hannib.* 123.

¹⁴ For Croton: Strabo 6.1.11; Livy 23.30.6-8; 24.2.10-11. For Tempesa (Temesa): Strabo 6.1.5.

¹⁵ La Torre (1990b) 181. The sources are: *Tab.Peut.*; *It.Ant.* 105.1-106.4; 110.4-111.5; 113.6-115.6; *Guid.* 30-32, 43, 73-74; *Geogr.Rav.* 4.31-32, 34; 5.2; see also here Appendix I.

¹⁶ On Polybius' authenticity and personal acquaintance with Bruttium (Locri) see Walbank (1957) I, 3-4.

¹⁷ Prior to Cannae (216 B.C.), hostages may have been taken from Thurii, perhaps around 218 B.C., although the exact date is not recorded: Livy 25.7.11-8.1 (on Tarentine and Thurian hostages still held in Rome in 212 B.C.): Lomas (1993) 62. Also, action around Vibo in 218 B.C (Livy 21.51.4).

communities changed hands between Hannibal and Rome.¹⁸ But not all communities seceded willingly. For example, Bruttian Petelia was forced to join Hannibal after a prolonged siege in 216.¹⁹ Consentia also appears to have put up some resistance before surrendering to Hannibal.²⁰ In the end, most of the Bruttians appear to have changed sides by that time, since they are subsequently found besieging a number of Greek cities allied with Rome.²¹

A shift in attention to Apulia and Campania between 214-212 meant that direct hostilities ceased for a while, but the impact of the war in the region must have continued, especially since Bruttium was used as a base for incursions into Apulia and Campania in 212/211.²² Still, the conflict was far from over when Thurii revolted and went over to Hannibal in 212, ostensibly on account of anger at the execution of the hostages held at Rome.²³

¹⁸ The majority of secessions occurred in the Oscan areas: Lomas (1993) 63.

¹⁹ Livy 23.20.4-10; 23.30.1-9); Polyb. 7.1.3. This contradicts Livy's remark in 22.61.12 that all *Bruttii* went over to Hannibal.

²⁰ Livy 23.30.5.

²¹ Livy 22.61.11-12 claims that all *Bruttii* had seceded by then, i.e. by 216 B.C., or at the latest by 215 B.C.: Toynbee (1965) 17, n. 1. Rhegium, Croton and Locri, all garrisoned by Rome, were attacked by the joint forces of Hannibal and the Bruttians. They failed at Rhegium, which never left the Roman side, but the sieges of Croton and Locri were successful and with inside help the pro-Carthaginian side won (Livy 24.1.1-3; 24.2-3; for Rhegium: Livy 23.30.9).

²² Polyb. 9.7.10; 9.25.2. Also, Hannibal's position began to shake at this time, or at least his Bruttian allies began to waver: Consentia appears to have been retaken in 213 (Livy 25.1.2-4: *Consentini et Tauriam...redierunt...*).

²³ Livy 25.15.7-17; cf. Livy 25.7.11-8.1. It appears that only a modest-size Roman garrison fought the Carthaginians until they could not hold out any longer, and were either slain or fled when the city went over to Hannibal (*M. Atinius Thuriis cum modico praesidio praeerat...* (Livy 25.15.9)). A very different account is given by Appian, *Hann.* 34-35, where the captives freed by Hannibal on their return home convinced their own people to surrender to Hannibal's general Hanno.

Between 208 and 203 other Italian communities returned to Rome.²⁴ During this time Hannibal was effectively confined to Bruttium, using Croton and Thurii as his bases, as he watched his remaining Italian allies lose or capitulate to the Romans.²⁵ In 203 Hannibal sailed off to Carthage from Cape Lacinium.²⁶

The consequences of the prolonged period of unrest and war have been debated at length in the scholarly literature and will be discussed later in the present work (Chapter 5). From our sources we learn of the setting up of two citizen (Tempsa and Croton) and two Latin colonies (Thurii/Copia and Vibo Valentia) in 194 and 192 B.C. in the confiscated Bruttian and Italiote territory (fig. 4).²⁷ The annexation of half of the Sila forest may be dated to this time as well.²⁸ The *Liber Coloniarum* (1.209.16-18;21-22 [ed. Blume]) probably recorded further subdivisions during the Augustan period in the territory of Clampetia and Consentia.

The sources recorded little between Hannibal's departure and the early first century B.C. In the context of the military operations, they talk about Spartacus, who on his way south (Plut., *Crassus* 9.7), was in the area of Thurii and then around Tempsa in 72

²⁴ Lomas (1993) 66.

²⁵ Among these, the sources mention Clampetia, Consentia, Pandosia and, Livy adds laconically, *ignobiles aliae ciuitates*: Livy 29.38.1 (204 B.C.), for Clampetia; Livy 30.19.10-12 (204 B.C.), Clampetia again and several others in 203; for Consentia (Livy 29.38.1 [204 B.C.] and 30.19.10 [203 B.C.]). For Hannibal's refuge: Polyb. 15.1.11 (Cape Lacinium prior to departure in 203).

²⁶ Polyb. 15.1.11; Livy 30.20.5-7.

²⁷ Livy 34.45.4-5;34.53.1-2;35.9.7-8;35.40.5 and here Chapter 5, 137-143.

²⁸ Dion. Hal. 20.15., but the date of the annexation is not stated. Another possible context for the confiscation is after the Pyrrhic war; for a discussion see Meiggs (1982) 464-66 and here Chapter 5, n. 34.

B.C.²⁹ The Civil War also affected Bruttium to some degree. At the time of the conspiracy of Catiline, Sallust mentions disturbances in *agro Piceno, Bruttio, Apulia*.³⁰ And for the war between Caesar's and Pompey's followers, Caesar and Dio Cassius seem to be relating the same episode concerning Milo and Caelius who both apparently found their demise in the area of Thurii.³¹ Octavian's cavalry patrolled Bruttium in 41 B.C after it had been devastated by Sextus Pompey.³² A more localised reference is found in Suetonius, who writes of Octavian's father passing through Thurii and dispersing some slaves who had been terrorizing the district since the time of Spartacus and Catiline.³³

²⁹ For Thurii, Appian, *B.C.* 1.117; for Tempesa, Cicero, *In Verr.* 2.5.39-41. His final hide-out in Bruttium in 71 B.C. was somewhere in the area of Rhegium: Plutarch, *Crassus* 10; the same area of retreat is probably found in Sallust as *silva Sila* (Sallust *Hist.* 4.29 [Kritz]).

³⁰ Sallust, *Cat.* 42.1.2.

³¹ Dio Cass. 42.25; Caesar *B.C.* 3.21-22. In Caesar's text, *Compsam in agro Hirpino* is sometimes read *Cosam in agro Thurino* (*B.C.* 3.21.4), which makes more sense in view of his line of the story which has Milo going to Thurii to get new forces, but Dio's scenario would suggest Compsa in the Hirpine territory in Apulia as Milo's destination, cf. Dio 42.25.3. The latter does, however, speak of Bruttium and Milo's involvement there, so that the reading of Caesar- *Cosam in agro Thurino*- conjectured on the basis of both passages is probably justified.

³² Appian, *B.C.* 5.19 (Octavian); 5.56; 5.58 (Sextus Pompey). Octavian is always called Caesar in Appian: Gabba (1970) 4, s.v. 5.1.

³³ Suet., *Aug.* 3. The date of allotment of his province is 60 B.C.

CHAPTER 3

Urban settlements: the archaeological evidence

Before considering the role of the towns in the context of Roman northern Bruttium, a discussion is provided of the buildings with which each was equipped. The remains from five principal settlements are included: Thurii/Copia (Scavi Sibari), Blanda Iulia (Palecastro [Palestro] di Tortora), Consentia (Cosenza), Croton, and Petelia (Strongoli) (fig. 5).¹

Inevitably, the present account is incomplete. Some general problems with Roman archaeology in Calabria have already been raised in the Introduction. In addition, several difficulties specific to the sites under consideration must be highlighted. To date, no settlement has been fully excavated. In fact, except for Thurii/Copia, only a smattering of data is available from other towns. In addition, too often the excavations were unscientific or limited in scope, thus allowing for only tenuous inferences to be drawn from the collected data. Also, final publications of individual buildings or excavated quarters are missing,² and the preliminary reports have been handicapped by the timing of

¹ The citizen colony at Tempa (194 B.C.) and the colony at Clamptia have not been securely identified on the ground, and the municipal status of the *stationes* (as well as their exact locations in many cases) are not clear: these have been excluded from the present survey, but are discussed in the relevant places in Chapter 5 (pp. 142, 151) and Appendix I.

² The most significant publication was that of Thurii/Copia in the supplements of the *Notizie degli Scavi* in the early 1970s: *Sibari* I-V.

their appearance. They were published before several important ceramic-study reassessments became available, whose utilisation, in future reassessments, may help to clarify the dating of the architecture.³ With this in mind, the present discussion is intended only as a background study; it should also indicate some areas for future work whose results, when they become available, may well necessitate revision of the generalisations made below.

THURII/COPIA

The remains of Thurii/Copia are the most extensive uncovered thus far in Calabria. The Roman city developed on the same site where its Greek predecessors (Archaic Sybaris and Classical-Hellenistic Thurii) lay, i.e. at the eastern end of the vast plain of the Crati and near its present mouth.

Thanks to the large-scale excavations from 1969-1975 there is much to be seen on the ground, and most of the visible remains date to the Roman period. These campaigns were preceded by limited, but important work by U. Zanolli-Bianco in the area of Parco del Cavallo on the so-called semi-circular building in the early 1930s. Zanolli-Bianco was the first scholar who seriously considered the finds at Parco as being part of the ancient city, rather than a Roman villa as was previously thought.⁴ Limited excavations and magnetometer prospecting by the Lerici Foundation and the University Museum of Pennsylvania in the early 1960s confirmed the existence of the superimposed

³ For our purposes especially important were J.-P. Morel's *Céramique campanienne: les formes* (1981) and J. Hayes' *Supplement to Late Roman Pottery* (1980).

⁴ For Parco del Cavallo see *infra* n. 6. For the 1932 excavations cut short by Mussolini's

Greek and Roman cities on the site.⁵

This pioneering work was followed by systematic excavations from 1969-1975 which have concentrated on five distinct areas, four of which have revealed extensive remains of the Roman city (fig. 6).⁶ The five excavation areas comprise 5ha. (discontinuous) of ca. 500ha. estimated for the entire archaeological area.⁷ All five areas contain remains pertaining to the pre-Roman period of occupation. At the present state of research, it appears that the Roman city contracted in size when compared to the Archaic and Classical Greek settlements.⁸ However, two interesting points should be stressed at the beginning: the general layout of the city remained unchanged since Classical Greek Thurii, and all Roman quarters show uninterrupted occupation from the Classical Greek period until the final abandonment of the site early in the sixth century A.C.⁹

political meddling: Zanotti-Bianco (1960) 7-20; Zancani Montuoro (1961) 7-63.

⁵ *Klearchos* 12 (1961) 137; de Franciscis (1961) 63-84; *Klearchos* 15-16 (1962) 113; Foti (1966) 89-103; Lerici, Rainey, eds. (1967). Useful bibliographies on the history of explorations are found in Guzzo (1992) nn. 1-5 and Paoletti (1993) 379-384, nn. 1-8. The Lerici Foundation work has demonstrated that several layers of sand and clay underlie the archaeological strata which are in turn overlain by clayey silts and sands; also, Guerricchio, Melidoro (1975) 114-123. There is now on average three to four metres of deposit above the archaeological levels and almost all are today under the sea level, some, up to three metres below: *Sibari* II (1970) 367-68.

⁶ The excavation reports appeared in: *Sibari* I (1969), *Sibari* II (1970), *Sibari* III (1972), *Sibari* IV (1974) and *Sibari* V (1988-89). The four sectors are known under the names of Parco del Cavallo (PdC), Prolungamento Strada (PS), Casa Bianca (CB) and Incrocio (I). The fifth sector, Stombi (Parco Dei Tori), did not produce stratified remains later than the fourth century B.C., although sporadic occupation was documented for the Hellenistic and Roman periods: *Sibari* IV (1974) 437.

⁷ Guzzo (1992) 4.

⁸ It should be noted, however, that since the excavated area is some 1% of the total estimated archaeological area of the city (Guzzo [1981] 15), it is premature to pass judgment on the exact extension of any of the settlements on the site.

⁹ Guzzo (1992) 25.

The Roman city is represented by a rich variety of structures, both public and private, but in spite of some of the most extensive excavations in the Italian South, our understanding of its texture is still fairly fragmentary. The location of the forum area with its companion structures and functions remains unknown, as do for example those vital signs of Roman urbanism, the entertainment complexes.¹⁰ It should not be assumed of course that a Roman city of any pretension had to possess all of the elements of an *urbs*, but in the case of Thurii/Copia the question of the total which it did have is far from being resolved.

The fortification system

Remains of the city-wall and two gates have been excavated at 'Casa Bianca' and 'Incrocio' (fig. 6).¹¹ The wall encompassed a somewhat irregular area in the NNE and west sectors of the city; its east (seaside) and south sections, if they existed, are unknown.¹² The preserved lengths show a uniform building style which is suggestive of a one-time construction.¹³

¹⁰ One theatre is known (*infra*, 60), but this may not have been the city's principal one.

¹¹ It is not clear whether the wall was articulated with towers nor have traces been found of an *agger*, which may put a truly defensive function of the system in question. The absence of all or some of these features, however, does not automatically rule out the defensive function: e.g. Ortona in phase I, dated to the first half of the third century B.C., does not seem to have had towers (Mertens [1995] 142); late Republican Aosta had no *agger*, but reinforcement was provided by buttressing (Hassall [1983] 1). Regarding the present example, Guzzo in *Sibari* III (1972) 192, speaks of either defence or city-limit as its function, although the two could have been complementary. Cf. Kohler in Rainey, Lericci, eds. (1967) 272, who thought it had served as a retaining wall; also, Rainey (1969); this suggestion has not been developed by any other commentator.

¹² Geomagnetic prospecting confirmed the existence of over 2000 metres of the wall: Rainey, Lericci, eds. (1967) 59-64, 270-77, pls. 10-11 and maps A-C; Rainey (1969) 262 and frontispiece.

¹³ *Sibari* III (1972) 192.

Approximately 80.00 metres of the wall have been excavated at 'Casa Bianca' (fig. 9).¹⁴ The wall was set onto an ashlar tufa foundation and one socle course of granitic stone above that; its cement core was faced on the inside (city-side) with roughly worked fieldstones resembling *opus incertum*, with stones placed in such a way as to create approximately horizontal rows, and on the outside with miscellaneous reused architectural elements, large blocks of stone, tile and fieldstones.¹⁵

At its south-east end the wall terminated at a gate flanked by two square towers that projected out from the field side of the gate. The north tower, which is also the better preserved of the two,¹⁶ had a mortared rubble core faced with rectangular limestone blocks, many again reused, and set on top of an ashlar limestone foundation. The passageway went through the middle of the gate and was centred on the axis of one of the main E-W streets; it was repaved several times with mortared surfaces.

Another portion of the wall built in the same manner as at 'CB' was excavated at 'Incrocio'. It is found ca. 500.00m. NNW of 'CB' and 380.00m. N of the crossroads of the N-S and E-W *plateiai* at 'PdC'.¹⁷ It is probable that the wall in this section follows the line

¹⁴ CAT. I: Cassano, Scavi Sibari, Casa Bianca, no. 17, fig. 9.

¹⁵ The outer face suffered from robbing at some later time, perhaps in the late Roman period: Paoletti (1993) 430.

¹⁶ CAT. I: Cassano, Scavi Sibari, Cassa Bianca, no. 18.

¹⁷ CAT. I: Cassano, Scavi Sibari, Incrocio, no. 27. The remains of the gate are badly damaged and have not been studied: Guzzo (1981b) 22 and fig. 8.1. The third excavated section of the wall (13.00m. long) is located not far from the portion at 'CB': Rainey, Lericci, eds. (1967) 270-76, map C, zone A, pit A.

of one of the E-W *plateiai*.¹⁸ The wall and an associated gate lie perpendicular to and are superimposed onto the N-S *plateia* that crosses 'PdC' and 'I'. The excavations have not established what lay beyond the wall on the north side.¹⁹

As demonstrated by the excavations at 'Incrocio' and the magnetometer survey, for a length of its NNE course, the wall probably ran along the course of one E-W *plateia*, thus effectively cancelling the street's original function and cutting off the city-quarters that lay beyond it to the north.²⁰ This straight section of the wall met the one that departed from 'Casa Bianca' in the NW direction.²¹ At the western end of the city, the magnetometer survey found that the wall turned southward for some 800.00m., crossing under the present bed of the Crati.²² On the strength of this evidence it appears that the wall, at least in the northern sector, encompassed a smaller area than was the extension of Classical Thurii.

¹⁸ This is true if the module of ten blocks, each of them one *actus* large (= total ca. 380.00m.), is accepted as the city-design between the main E-W *plateiai* of Classical Thurii: Castagnoli (1973) 220-22 and n. 4; also *infra*, 53.

¹⁹ A cemetery may have extended N of the wall where a Greek funerary inscription of Imperial date was found: Guzzo (1992) 31; CAT. III (Greek Inscriptions) IGM F. 222, no. 1. The street continued beyond the gate, but was reduced in width: CAT. I: Cassano, Scavi Sibari, Incrocio, no. 28. A brief note in *Atti Taranto* 35, 1995 (1996) 687-88 (Lattanzi) states that the *opus incertum* portion of the wall at 'Incrocio' should be dated to the first century A.C., while the ashlar portion belongs to the second century B.C.; no basis is given for this dating.

²⁰ Rainey (1969) map (frontispiece).

²¹ *ibid.*, 262. Magnetometer prospecting and aerial photography show at least two bends in this part of the wall's course (*ibid.*, frontispiece; Castagnoli (1973) 221; *AttiMGrecia* (1972-73) pls. 2-3), but how exactly these relate to the street-grid is not clear. Guzzo (1992) 26-27, estimated that the meeting point between the courses with different directions occurred at one of the main N-S streets, i.e. the excavated N-S *plateia* at 'Prolungamento Strada'; however, this does not seem to match the survey data and aerial photography.

²² Rainey (1969) 262 and frontispiece.

The dating of the fortification system remains imprecise. In spite of the fairly extensive excavations, no datable material has been recovered from a closed context to aid directly in the dating of the wall; to this we return below. A sondage of the passageway of the gate at 'Casa Bianca' has provided a *terminus post quem* of the late second or early first century B.C. for the laying down of its first paving,²³ whence it likely follows that the gate and its towers were also constructed at that time.²⁴

An inscription records the rebuilding of the gates, probably at the end of the first century B.C. or the beginning of the first century A.C. This rebuilding may also have involved the present structure, but the archaeological evidence for the type of the work done is missing.²⁵ It perhaps involved some sort of cosmetic intervention that left no clear trace on the ground. Paoletti has suggested a late first century B.C. date for this work in

²³ The first paving ('*battuto 2*') which neatly adheres to the north edge of the passageway was bedded on top of sterile sand: Guzzo in *Atti Taranto* 13, 1973 (Naples 1974) 400-401; *Sibari* V (1988-89) 149, 151, 169 and fig. 143 for all pavings. Guzzo (1981b) 20, presumably on the basis of the same sondage, places the construction of the gate just after the middle of the first century B.C., but no explanation for this particular date is given.

²⁴ Paoletti (1993) 427 and pl. 14, guardedly proposed the second century B.C. (or earlier) as a possible construction date for the gate based on historical grounds (Livy 25.15.7-17 indirectly mentions the walls in the Hannibalic context), and not-so-secure archaeological evidence; based on the reading of the unclear joint between the north tower and the fortification wall (*Sibari* IV [1974] 437 and fig. 408) (the latter is dated to the second century B.C. on which see below) he asked: "l'innesto è dovuto a necessità di cantiere oppure mostra un effettiva anteriorità della torre?" However, based on the same evidence, Guzzo (1992) 27, has suggested a concurrent date of construction or a possibility that the gate was a later restoration.

²⁵ Inscription findspot: between the west wall of the north tower and the east wall of 'tomb 5' situated just inside the corner between the wall and the tower (*Sibari* III [1972] 177, 213 no. 90 and fig. 220). Inscription: CAT. III: IGM F. 222, no. 10. For the date (most recent suggestion): Buonocore (1985) 339 and nn. 220-221; other dates (stylistic grounds): mid I C A.C. (*Sibari* III [1972] 213); I C B.C. (Guzzo [1972-73] 44, pl. LVII, a).

the context of the renewed civic pride and rebuilding common during this period.²⁶ The location of the gate at 'Casa Bianca', perpendicular to the axis of one of the major town arteries, as well as its ashlar elevation, suggest a monumental aspect which may have been enhanced at that time.²⁷ The ashlar aspect of the gate and its towers is in keeping with many other contemporary examples which have benefitted from the availability of good pre-cut stone from older, perhaps defunct, structure(s), which then became employed in the new construction at hand.²⁸

The dating of the wall is more difficult. On stylistic grounds, a second century B.C. date is now accepted.²⁹ In support of this come general historical considerations concerning the building of fortifications after a colony was established.³⁰ Likewise, it is easy to imagine that the time following the major upheavals of the late third century B.C.

²⁶ Paoletti (1994) 536; *idem* (1992) 429. For Augustan monumental city-gates in Italy: Rebecchi (1987) 129-154; Rebuffat (1986) 350-51.

²⁷ Guzzo in *Sibari* III (1970) 189, suggested that, rather than having a truly defensive character, the gate is to be seen as a monumental entry to the city. Indeed, it less resembles strong and defended structures functioning in conjunction with the associated wall than it does a monumental entry point into a city; for Republican defensive gate designs see Brands (1988) 9-33.

²⁸ For example, Porta Sirena at Paestum, in the reconstructed phase (3rd. period) dated by one account to the early first century B.C., employs reused ashlar blocks in the curtain wall (Brands [1988] 160 and figs. 147-149; Pedley [1990] 77-78); for many other similar reconstructions of fortification walls in central and south-central Italy see e.g. Brands (1988) 35-41; Blake (1947) 230-231.

²⁹ This was first advanced by Torelli and was based on stylistic similarities with the second century examples elsewhere, although the only instance cited was that of Nuceria Alfaterna (Torelli *apud* Guzzo [1981b] 22; cf. Fresa, Fresa (1974) 55-86, for Nuceria Alfaterna, but there the facing is *opus quasi-reticulatum*. *Contra* and now abandoned, Guzzo (1973) 297, for the second to third century A.C. date.

³⁰ So, Torelli (previous note), who put the construction date soon after the deduction of the Latin colony in 193 B.C. (Livy 34.53.1-2); also, Guzzo (1986b) 531-32; Rebuffat (1986) 348; Paoletti (1993) 424 and n. 62. For a similar practice, following the Samnite wars, in Latium, Campania and Samnium where city-walls were built in the fourth and third centuries B.C.: Jouffroy (1986) 23-25.

was still deemed potentially insecure enough to warrant construction of the fortification system. This scenario seems plausible here, but in absence of the stratigraphic data that may establish the date securely, the building technique is best used as a general guideline rather than the deciding element.³¹ For one thing, the construction of the city-wall is extremely disparate, at least at 'CB', with reused architectural elements on the outside and masonry construction resembling an *incertum* technique on the inside, all bedded onto an ashlar substructure, itself employing reused blocks. The elongated shape of the stones employed in the *incertum* facing probably depended on the quality of the material available to the builders as well as on the local building styles. At 'Parco del Cavallo', behind the theatre, a wall socle with similar facing - elongated mortared river stones - dated between the end of the fourth and the second century B.C. probably belonged to a Hellenistic or a Republican house.³² The ashlar technique on the other hand, apart from being good foundation for a wall, was "at home" in this part of Italy.

To sum up. The second century B.C. is a plausible construction date for the fortification wall, with additions - the gate at 'Casa Bianca'- in the course of the first century B.C., and its likely rebuilding later in the same century. At least at 'CB', the life of the system as a functioning fortification was short. Already by the mid first century A.C. a

³¹ Dating by building style is being increasingly challenged as a reliable strategy: e.g. Coarelli (1977) 1-23; Adam (1995) 105-106, 130-31; Jouffroy (1986) 8-9.

³² Sibari I (1969), 'saggio' 5, 116, 119 and fig. 92 ("muro d"). Cf. for a different period, an Archaic wall, M9 (part of the fortification system north) at Caulonia (Monasterace Marina) that has elongated field stones bedded onto river stones: Treziny (1989) 23 and figs. 7, 15. The continuation of local building traditions at Thurii/Copia is perhaps reflected in the facing of the first century A.C. square mausolea at 'CB' (*infra*, 90) that resembles the *incertum* facing of the fortification wall just metres away: Sibari III (1972) figs. 173, 181.

cemetery was developing just west of the gate, thus effectively ending the use of the area as an open space.³³ The passage through the gate seems to have been maintained through the first century A.C. and likely also after that, as is suggested by repeated repaving of the passageway.³⁴ Another group of tombs situated to the east of the city-gate, already in development from the middle of the first century B.C., might have warranted the maintenance of this monumentalised entrance to the city and perhaps prompted the restoration of the gate. The cancelling of the wall at 'Casa Bianca' came in the third century A.C. when another cemetery was implanted just outside the wall with some graves cutting into its outer face.³⁵

The Infrastructure

Several streets and their relationship with the fortification system have been mentioned. Perhaps the most striking feature of the Roman phase of Thurii, at least in the excavated quarters, is that its layout remained essentially the same when compared to its Classical Greek predecessor. This is best demonstrated by the street system that continued to be respected; indeed, it continued to articulate urban development until the abandonment of the site in the sixth century A.C.

The wide *plateiai* (N-S, E-W) and the narrower *stenopoi* (E-W, N-S) dating back

³³ CAT.I: Cassano, Scavi Sibari, Casa Bianca, no. 24; Guzzo (1992) 30.

³⁴ The last dated surface belonged at the earliest to the second half of the first century A.C., but there was another, of uncertain date, superimposed onto this. However, it was not earlier than the demolition of the south wing of the gate, later in the first or second century A.C.: *Sibari* III (1972) 182-184, 186; *Sibari* V (1988-89) 149-59, 169 and fig. 143. See also *Sibari* IV (1974) 427-29.

³⁵ For the tombs see CAT. I: Cassano, Scavi Sibari, Casa Bianca, nos. 25-26.

to the orthogonal Classical street-grid, preserved much of their original width and aspect throughout the city's long history.³⁶ The areas defined by their intersections continued to accommodate the building plots, albeit over time there were departures from the original plot-sizes.³⁷

At least in the excavated portion of the city, the subsequent modifications to the original layout were minor. They included encroachments onto the street surface and their occasional cancellations; the latter predominantly involved the *stenopoi*.

Much of the original flagstone paving seems to have survived until the final abandonment of the site.³⁸ Locally, the paving was repaired as required (or robbed out), but not many of these changes can be dated.³⁹ Generally, sidewalks lined the streets and conduits drained them. Both apparently date to the Classical period, but, naturally, they were repaired or modified as required.⁴⁰

³⁶ CAT. I: Cassano, Scavi Sibari, Prolungamento Strada, nos. 8-11; Cassano, Scavi Sibari, Prolungamento Strada, nos. 14-16; Cassano, Scavi Sibari, Casa Bianca, nos. 22-23; Cassano, Scavi Sibari, Incrocio, no. 28. Two N-S and one E-W *plateiai* have been partially excavated. The width of the *stenopoi* varied slightly; the average at 'PdC' was 3.76m. (*Sibari* V [1988-89] 304); cf. for 'PS', *Sibari* V (1988-89) 336.

³⁷ Each block defined between the E-W *stenopoi* averages 36.93m. N-S which roughly corresponds to one *actus*. Ten of these amount to a length of ca. 380.00m. which is the distance between the *plateia* at 'PdC' and the fortification wall at 'Incrocio' reconstructed by Castagnoli as the module for the city's N-S extension between the *plateiai*; too little evidence is available to estimate the module of the length of the original blocks in the E-W direction: Castagnoli (1973) 220-22 and n.4; Guzzo (1973) 292; *Sibari* V (1988-89) 304. The distance between the two known N-S *plateiai* (at 'PdC' and 'PS') is 295.00m. measured from the centre of their intersections with the N-S streets; this conveniently translates to 1000 Attic feet which is the module for the city's E-W extension (Guzzo [1973] 291-92).

³⁸ Guzzo (1992) 21-22.

³⁹ For the first century A.C. interventions at 'PdC' see *Sibari* II (1970) 437-38) and for a second century A.C. repair at 'PS' see *Sibari* IV (1974) 305-306, 352-55, nos. 135-150.

⁴⁰ The house-drains, often corresponding to entrances, issued into the main drains: *Sibari* V

Some streets, namely the main *plateiai*, were partially lined with colonnaded or pillared porticoes accessible from the sidewalks. Their dating, however, is insecure. It appears that several porticoes were constructed during the late Republican and early Imperial period at 'PdC' at the crossroads of the two main streets in connection with the large public complex that included a theatre, a temple/meeting hall (so-called 'rectangular building') and a set of baths (for all, *infra* 60, 69, 72).⁴¹ Very little is known about their appearance, except that the intercolumniations appear more or less regular. For the most part only the foundations and column bases which employ much reused material are preserved.⁴² A series of shops was built after the first century A.C. on the outside of the north wall of the baths at 'PdC' (*infra*, 72) with openings off the main E-W *plateia*.⁴³

Information on water supply is scarce. At 'PS' at the crossroads of the two main streets, a water distribution tower and associated lead pipes were found. The tower was built of *opus vittatum mixtum* employing alternating courses of stone and brick.⁴⁴ No date for its construction was suggested by the excavators.⁴⁵ Water-fountains and wells were

(1988-89) 345.

⁴¹ *Sibari* III (1972) 265-270.

⁴² CAT. I: Cassano, Scavi Sibari, 'PdC', STREETS, no. 8. A portico in front of the so-called semi-circular structure (*infra*, 51) is more difficult to ascertain it is possible that these remains belong to the original Classical construction and not to the Roman phase: *Sibari* II (1970) 491, 493; *Sibari* V (1988-89) 141-43 and figs. 126-27, 131-33; Guzzo (1974c) 397.

⁴³ *Atti Taranto* 31, 1991 (1992) 419-420; the opposite north side of the street saw much rebuilding in the fifth and early sixth century A.C.

⁴⁴ *Sibari* IV (1974) 306-307 and figs. 299, 303.

⁴⁵ This building technique stayed in use for a long time and at different places: Adam (1995) 152-156 and figs. 330, 334-337, e.g. at Pompeii in the Herculaneum Gate (80 B.C.-Augustan) and up to

common.⁴⁶

Public Buildings

A distinct quarter comprising several adjacent public buildings has been excavated at 'Parco del Cavallo' (fig. 7); another is known from 'Casa Bianca'.

The Semi-Circular Building and Theatre

This is the most completely described complex from the site, but it still poses questions regarding its different functions and precise dates of construction and rebuilding.⁴⁷ Its location just to the east of the crossroads of two main streets suggests its importance (fig. 7). Essentially, the same site accommodated successively two functionally distinct but architecturally related structures. They are commonly identified as the 'semi-circular' and theatre building respectively.

The Semi-Circular Building (figs. 10a and 10b)

This is the earlier, and less well preserved and understood of the two buildings.⁴⁸ It was inserted into the existing street plan during the late Republican or Early Imperial period after a partial demolition of several domestic units that previously occupied the site. The structure is characterised by a semi-circular wall, left open on the south side. An internal concentric colonnade is partially preserved standing in the fill of the theatre *cavea*

the restorations there after A.D. 62 and Ostia in numerous second and third century A.C. tombs.

⁴⁶ *Sibari* II (1970) 493; *Sibari* III (1972) 266, 270; *Sibari* IV (1974) 307. For the remains of an aqueduct found across the Crati and opposite 'PdC' see CAT. II, IGM F. 222, no. 18, map E.

⁴⁷ Arslan (1970) 557-599 provides the only detailed description but not without problems (*infra, passim*).

⁴⁸ CAT. I: Cassano, Scavi Sibari, Parco del Cavallo, no. 1.

that was later built on the site. Another colonnade may have extended along the south front of the structure.⁴⁹

The semi-circular wall was constructed of four courses of ashlar limestone blocks recessed above a single row of ashlar. Above this ashlar section stood, now poorly preserved, an *opus reticulatum* elevation which unfortunately remains inadequately described.⁵⁰ Arslan has identified two short sections of the wall preserved in the west part of the building where the outer surface was faced in the fashion of *opus quasi-reticulatum*, while the inner face was laid as *opus reticulatum*.⁵¹

In the inner colonnade the monolithic limestone columns had simple *scotia* and *torus* bases; the capitals were probably Ionic.⁵² Two columns on either side of the central

⁴⁹ Arslan (1970) 562; more sceptically Guzzo (1973) 289. The S colonnade remains uncertain since the remains in this part of the building are badly disturbed due to the subsequent construction.

⁵⁰ Guzzo (1973) 289 and *idem* (1992) 27 does not mention this elevation. However, part of the external wall described by Guzzo, but not dated, in *Sibari* III (1972) 279 and fig. 291 shows traces of reticulate work characterised as "...un tratto in opera quasi reticolata."; also, Courtois (1989) 242-243. Most recently, Paoletti (1993) 396, 409 and figs. 10-11 implicitly accepted the reading of Arslan (1970) 560-561 and figs. 1-3, who had provided the most detailed description and asserted the attribution of certain sections of the reticulate work to the semi-circular building. This is not without potentially significant difficulties however, as Arslan also appears to attribute some non-existent parts to the same phase (*s.v.* p. 561): see the next note below.

⁵¹ Arslan (1970) 560-561 and fig. 1 (for phases) also identifies bits of brick-laced masonry on the inside (..."*opus reticulatum* che forma delle specchiature tra tratti in *opus latericium*") as belonging to the same phase, but I have not managed to find these sections anywhere in the building; no other commentator mentions them. *Sibari* I (1969) fig. 5 remains the best illustration to date but displays no such sections as described by Arslan. For the brick-work possibly in primary position on the outside, of uncertain date, but of different aspect from that described by Arslan see *Sibari* III (1972) fig. 291. Chronologically, however, the combination of brick and reticulate elements was possible: see below (n. 69) on the earlier structure(s) with the similar masonry style destroyed by the construction of the semi-circular building.

⁵² Finished and unfinished Ionic capitals have been found in the fill of the theatre *cavea* constructed later on the site: Zancani Montuoro (1961) 34; Giuliani (1969) 14-15. Arslan (1970) 561-562 on the colonnade, but silent on the question of the capitals. Guzzo (1973) 289 and *idem* (1992) 27:

axis had a brick-built pilaster abutted onto each. Their function in the ensemble is far from certain, and recently even their association with the original construction has been questioned.⁵³ An equestrian statue, perhaps commemorating a magistrate of the *municipium*, may have stood between the columns on the central axis of the building.⁵⁴

It is possible that painted plaster (some scratched with graffiti) covered the building's surfaces, but this is far from certain since almost all the fragments were found in the fill which makes their attribution difficult; painted plaster was also found on the north wall of one of the pilasters which is the only example of it found *in situ*.⁵⁵

The semi-circular wall and its concentric colonnade were surrounded on three sides by a slim and presumably low rectangular perimeter wall faced with reticulate

"capitelli con foglie" are presumably Ionic capitals such as the one illustrated in Zancani Montuoro (1961) pl. VII b. Guzzo (1973) 289 dates them not later than the mid I C B.C., while Zancani Montuoro (1961) 34 suggested a late I C A.C. date. A large Corinthian capital, near the 4th preserved column from the west that appears on several illustrations, but not in any commentary, is of mysterious origin: see *Sibari* I (1969) fig. 5; *Atti Taranto* 32 1992 (1993) pl. XI, top.

⁵³ As a part of original construction: Giuliani (1969) 14. Arslan (1970) 562-563 was less explicit about the dating, but was inclined to see them as the focal point in the centre of the semicircle; similarly, Guzzo (1973) 289. Paoletti (1993) 409 and nn. 38-39, however, suggests that they were added at some later date as part of the restoration work, but before the building's transformation into a theatre. The fact that they were built entirely of brick on top of an ashlar socle complicates their chronology.

⁵⁴ This reconstruction is by no means certain; the findspot was near the central columns in the fill of the theatre *cavea*; found were two horse's hooves and a tail: Zanotti-Bianco (1960) 14; Zancani Montuoro (1961) 43-45; Guzzo (1973) 289; *idem* (1992) 31-32 (for the magistrate).

⁵⁵ It is possible that some, if not all of these fragments, came from some other unrelated structure: the fill where they were found also contained Archaic material, a likely sign that it was brought to the site from elsewhere (Zanotti-Bianco [1960] 8, 13-14, 17-18; Zancani Montuoro [1961] 8-33). See also *Sibari* II (1970) 72-73, for plaster from 1960-62 excavations found mixed in the fill, but possibly originally from the houses razed by the semi-circular structure. Paoletti (1993) 411, implies the restoration of the semi-circular building as the occasion for the plastering, but also on the disturbed nature of the remains, *ibid.*, (1993) 394; also, fully aware of this problem, already Zanotti-Bianco (1960) 8, 15. Of the graffiti, no single inscription could be reconstructed, but the letters most likely belonged to names; there are several examples with numbers; on epigraphic grounds, they have been dated to the first century

elements.⁵⁶ Apparently some, if not all the lengths of the wall, were re-employed from the pre-existing buildings, i.e. from the domestic units that stood on the site before the semi-circular building was built.⁵⁷ It is not clear where the entrance(s) to the complex were situated.⁵⁸

Numerous tile fragments, some stamped, have been found in the fill inside and outside the semicircular building, suggesting a tile-covered roof.⁵⁹ Several different stamps have been identified, but their use in the same building is difficult to ascertain because of the already mentioned problem with the dating of the mixed fill where they have been found.⁶⁰ The most numerous tile-fragments had rectangular stamps represented

A.C.: Zancani Montuoro (1961) 40-42, and pls. IX-X.

⁵⁶ Polychrome reticulate elements of different sizes were used in the NE section; see Paoletti (1993) 403-404 and n. 35 for the Augustan date of the polychrome facing of the perimeter wall in view of the red brick reticulate elements employed in it. No section of the perimeter wall is preserved to its max. height; Arslan (1970) 563-565, assumed that it was low, based on its slender construction, but the actual width is not stated.

⁵⁷ So, Guzzo in *Sibari* IV (1974) 162, 166 and 199, for the NW and NE sections of the perimeter wall. But see Arslan (1970) 563-566 and fig. 1 who considered the construction of the perimeter wall in phase with the semi-circular element; also Paoletti (1993) 403-404, on the basis of the brick reticulate elements in the wall-facing.

⁵⁸ *Sibari* IV (1974) 163, 165, figs. 151, 153; Arslan (1970) 564, 566-567 and fig. 5. Access via the south side, off the E-W street, while most logical, remains impossible to verify because of subsequent extensive construction for the theatre stage building.

⁵⁹ Zanotti-Bianco (1960) 18; Zancani Montuoro (1961) 34-40, for the original commentary; Paoletti (1993) 412-417.

⁶⁰ *Sibari* II (1970) 72. There was a limited number of fragments and complete examples pertaining to a disparate group of predominantly rectangular tile stamps not as yet identified and precisely dated. For these see *Sibari* II (1970) 72; *Sibari* II (1970) 62, nos. 202-206: no. 202, rectangular, JELI (Aureli?); no. 203, rect., L. VER FLACC L (VER in ligature); no. 204, rect., JAERI in ligature (also known from the countryside [nearby Favella]); no. 205, C; no. 206, P; and Zancani Montuoro (1961) 34-36: AV or AN in ligature, circular; [E]GNATI, rect., with two last letters in ligature; and *Sibari* II (1970) 61, nos. 200-201.

by two inscriptions, that on the majority of recovered pieces appeared together. There were several different renditions in ligature of the name transcribed as L. VINULEIUS BROCCCHUS; the other stamp had CLEANDRIDA written in full.⁶¹ These examples have been linked with the semi-circular building and its likely builder. While the associated socio-economic implications will be discussed in Chapter 5 (pp. 158-159), the question regarding the building's architectural history that arises from this evidence is addressed here.

Two somewhat different hypotheses, both difficult to prove, have been put forth regarding the use of the tiles in the building; this has implications for the dating of the structure itself.⁶² Torelli linked the tiles with the original roof and argued for a private munificence of one L. Vinuleius Brocchus, a municipal officer known from two early Imperial inscriptions recovered from the area of the building,⁶³ or of his father who was possibly the proprietor of the brick-yard and was in charge of the construction; without elaborating, Torelli preferred the second scenario.⁶⁴

⁶¹ *Sibari* II (1970) 60-61, nos. 197-199.

⁶² The first commentator Zancani Montuoro (1961) 36 and, following her, Guzzo (1972-73) 37, have on palaeographic and historical grounds suggested the late first century B.C. or the beginning of the first century A.C. as the likely date of their manufacture.

⁶³ CAT. III: IGM F. 222, nos. 5-6; date of inscriptions: between the Augustan era and mid I C A.C. Based on the findspots, the inscribed slabs appear to have been re-employed as building material in the theatre, and were likely originally used in the context of the semi-circular building: *Sibari* II (1970) 60 no. 193; *Sibari* III (1972) 274 and fig. 279. The identical name, on the roof-tiles and the inscriptions, suggests that the same individual is to be recognised on both: Paoletti (1993) 417.

⁶⁴ Torelli (1980) 146 and n. 31: the son of the proprietor of the brick-yard is linked to the senatorial family of the Venuleii, one of whose members was a *Illvir capitalis* in 82 B.C. This, however, has no independent validation; see Simelon (1993) 167, n. 647. See also Guzzo (1973) 310; Wiseman (1971) 272 n. 475.

Paoletti, however, has recently suggested that the tiles should be associated with the restoration work on the semi-circular building.⁶⁵ He was inclined to date this work to the first half of the first century A.C., based on the date of the inscriptions mentioned above that may commemorate this event; he argued that the individual in charge of these activities whose name appears on both the tiles and the inscriptions may be the son Vinuleius Brocchus and not the homonymous father.⁶⁶ Paoletti, however, does not rule out the possibility that it was the same man or some other member of his family who was also responsible for an earlier work on the semi-circular building, perhaps as early as the early Augustan period to which the original construction of the building is commonly dated.

Obviously, no definitive conclusion has been reached. At the moment, the arguments regarding the individual in charge of the interventions on the building and what these exactly entailed run a risk of circularity, mainly because of the ambiguity of the findspots of the pertinent evidence. Until some better evidence has surfaced, it can be suggested that the tiles be linked in general with the semi-circular building, given their prosopographical connection with the inscriptions whose use in the same building is plausible. The details, however, elude us for the moment.

Several difficulties with the interpretation and dating of the evidence have already been raised. Hence, in part, comes the difficulty of dating the original construction, as

⁶⁵ Paoletti (1994) 537; *idem* (1993) 417.

⁶⁶ Also, Simelon (1993) 166.

well as the possible subsequent restoration. Several indicators have been used as the *terminus post quem* for the construction date in the late Republican or early Imperial period.⁶⁷ In spite of extensive excavations, and perhaps exactly because of overly "earnest" large scale interventions in the central part of the building when it was first excavated, more precise chronological indicators than the *terminus post quem* are not available at the moment.⁶⁸ The reticulate masonry employed in the upper part of the semi-circular wall does not preclude a late Republican or an early Imperial date of construction.⁶⁹

It is commonly held that the building had not been completed before its construction was abandoned, perhaps because of fire, after which what remained was

⁶⁷ A *t.p.q.* is provided by the fragments of *opus signinum* floors (end II C-beg. I C B.C.) in the eastern portion of the building still in use during its life, but originally constructed for the Republican houses predating it: *Sibari* IV (1974) 162, 166; *Sibari* II (1970) 27. Two sondages in the area of the theatre *pulpitum* (*Sibari* I [1969], 'saggio 1' and 'saggio 3', 25-96) have produced material dated to the late Caesarian or early Augustan period associated with the abandonment of the Republican house (level 'B'); material from 'saggio 3': S69-5309 (Arretine ware) with later intrusions (S69-5455). The next level above this was associated with the levelling of the ground for the construction of the *pulpitum* and was dated to the early Imperial period: Arslan (1970) 567-568. However, Arslan (1970) 559 expressed caution regarding the dates based on these sondages from very disturbed contexts; see also *Sibari* III (1972) 285.

⁶⁸ For excavation standards see Zanotti-Bianco (1960) 8; *Sibari* II (1970) 24-30; Paoletti (1993) 394.

⁶⁹ Torelli (1980) 146, in the context of such examples outside Rome, Latium and Campania. Paoletti (1993) 403 n. 35 (with bibliography), on the basis of examples from Latium, suggests an Augustan date for the polychrome reticulate work in the perimeter wall. A stratigraphic sequence, perhaps significant, but incompletely understood, between the semi-circular wall and the underlying structures was found in the area of the small trapezoidal space to the west of the western theatre *aditus*: *Sibari* III (1972) 279-283 and figs. 290, 293. There, two walls built of brick and reticulate (probably belonging to a house) were built over by the foundation of the semi-circular wall, indicating their anteriority with respect to the latter. There was also a beaten earth surface (at 2.06m.), dated between the end of the first century B.C. and the beginning of the following, whose association (if any) with either of the two structures is unclear; above it was another beaten earth floor, but of unknown date. A clarification of this stratigraphy may aid in the dating of the structures in question.

transformed into a theatre.⁷⁰ The date of collapse, in fire or otherwise, is uncertain. Two chronological frameworks have been suggested. Zancani Montuoro placed the destruction by fire at the end of the first century A.C., on the basis of numismatic evidence, i.e. several Domitianic coins, that came from the mixed fill underneath the theatre *cavea*.⁷¹ The other date, generally accepted now, pushes the abandonment/collapse of the building approximately half a century earlier and links it with the construction of the theatre on the same site.

One last vexing issue that needs to be addressed is the building's function. The excavators and commentators assign to it a generic public function or simply refer to it as a 'semi-circular building/portico'.⁷² Arslan has discussed various examples of architecturally related structures from the Roman world, but concluded that the building at 'Parco del Cavallo' does not fit in any of the discussed categories.⁷³ Guzzo may be right in drawing attention to the late Republican semicircular complexes which included a

⁷⁰ Unfinished decorative architectural elements found in the fill below the theatre-*cavea*, the absence of clear indication for a floor and traces of burning have been taken as evidence for this hypothesis: Zancani Montuoro (1961) 34, 42-43, 55-56; Giuliani (1969) 14 and fig. 8; Arslan (1970) 567; *Sibari I* (1969), 'saggio 5', 97, 102. While it is clear that much architectural detailing remained unfinished, to ascribe all those pieces to the semi-circular structure, given the fact that they come from the mixed fill, may not be appropriate. Paoletti (1993) 403, 408-412, has suggested recently that rather than being unfinished, the building underwent repair before it fell out of use (this claim was based on pilasters that abutted onto the two central columns and the traces of two layers of plaster on some fragments).

⁷¹ Zancani Montuoro (1961) 49, 56.

⁷² Guzzo (1973) 289 ("probabilmente...pubblica"); *idem* (1992) ("funzionalità...non appare ancora chiarita"); Paoletti (1993) 402, 403 ("portico colonnato", "emiciclo"; *idem* (1994) 536 ("portico semicircolare"); Arslan (1970) ("edificio pubblico").

⁷³ He discussed sanctuaries and *nymphaea* in Africa with semicircular porticus surrounding the focal point in the centre of the curve (usually a temple), Imperial fora (Trajan's forum in particular) and panoramic villas with *exedrae*: Arslan (1970) 568-574.

structure on the central axis of the semicircle, itself porticoed; the late second century B.C. complex of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste is an obvious example.⁷⁴ It is impossible to say, however, whether this central Italian application of the Hellenistic concept that involved structures set on central axes of the complex and surrounded by portico(es) was influential in this part of Bruttium.

"Semicircles" in the broadest sense of the term are of course known from southern Italy and Sicily during the Classical Greek period. The *bouleuterion* at Agrigento,⁷⁵ and the "meeting place", later transformed into a theatre at Metapontum,⁷⁶ are just two structures that come to mind, but they do not share with the present building anything else except the semicircularity of the overall design.⁷⁷

In the end, it appears that the question of architectural influence and functional interpretation must remain unresolved for now, but a broad public function may be ascribed to the building; further excavations may yield evidence clarifying the furnishings of the complex which may help to establish its function more precisely.

⁷⁴ Guzzo in *Sibari* II (1970) 27, drawing attention to Rakob (1969) 300.

⁷⁵ Wilson (1990) 49 and fig. 38. It is interesting that this building was also enclosed within a rectangular perimeter wall, which actually masked its aspect.

⁷⁶ Mertens (1974) 170-198.

⁷⁷ Another architectural parallel for our building is found in the so-called hemicycle (semicircular porticoed court with rows of shops at the back and sides) on the West side of the Lechaion road in Corinth, already noted by Arslan, but rejected as a model for our building on the grounds of disparate chronologies (Arslan [1970] 569 and n. 6: dated to the late Roman or Byzantine period). In a recent study of commercial buildings in Roman Corinth, C.K. Williams has on epigraphic grounds suggested that the hemicycle may have been constructed already in the Augustan period, or after the earthquake of A.D. 77 (Williams II [1993] 40-41). If this is true, which is difficult to prove archaeologically because of much later rebuilding, the dating proposed by Williams would bring the two structures closer in time.

The theatre (figs. 10a, and 10b)

The semi-circular building was later refashioned into a theatre.⁷⁸ Of varying degrees of preservation are the stage building, the *orchestra*, the entranceways and the *cavea*.

Arslan's account is the most complete to-date, but it is abundantly obvious that a new architectural study accompanied by sondages in undisturbed contexts is long overdue.⁷⁹ Arslan identified two main building phases based in part on the different construction styles, but the dating of each is far from certain.⁸⁰ The author warned, moreover, against attributing absolute chronological values to this type of evidence, given the acute scarcity of thoroughly studied and dated *comparanda* from other Calabrian contexts.⁸¹ Ceramic evidence from stratified contexts supported the general chronology proposed by Arslan.

The stage building, with its three semi-circular niches and the *pulpitum*, the back

⁷⁸ CAT. I: Cassano, Scavi Sibari, Parco del Cavallo, no. 1.

⁷⁹ Arslan himself stressed this: Arslan (1970) 559. More recently, Paoletti (1993) 402, but also on the difficulty of finding undisturbed contexts, p. 394.

⁸⁰ Arslan suggested a possibility of functionally differentiating between the two phases, postulating that the first phase may be identified with the *odeum*, the second with the theatre: Arslan (1970) 580-581; he was the sole champion of this hypothesis, and not a completely committed one either ("...odeo-teatro..." for the first phase, p. 588), concluding that the proof for the *odeum* phase might be found in the discovery of a more monumental contemporary theatrical structure elsewhere on the site (pp. 580-81). Paoletti (1993) 400, summarised his views, but refrained from commenting; Guzzo (1973) 289 and *idem* (1992) 28 recognises only one phase (structurally and functionally), i.e. the theatre; Courtois (1989) 243: two phases, but without calling any an *odeum*.

⁸¹ Arslan (1970) 558. This problem was already seen above in the case of the wall and the gate at 'Casa Bianca'.

wall of the *cavea* with several buttresses (one supporting a double access ramp), the wooden *cavea* and the *aditus* were postulated for the first phase of the building. Several structural changes followed in the second phase, of which the construction of the permanent seating was the most significant, along with the abundant restoration of the back wall of the *cavea*, more buttressing and the reconstruction of the front wall of the *pulpitum*.⁸² Arslan suggested that there was no communication between the niches and the *post-scaenium* which perhaps argues against their having a true theatrical function during the first phase.⁸³

The foundations of the stage building were of solid and rough *opus caementicium* and the cement core masonry was faced with *opus incertum*; brick was used for the levelling courses and quoining.⁸⁴ Some sections of the ashlar part of the perimeter wall of the semi-circular building remained standing and were reused in the construction of the back wall of the *cavea*.⁸⁵ Most of the elevation visible today, however, was a new construction in *opus mixtum* of the kind employed in the stage building; brick was used for the one preserved levelling course. The seating may have been made of wood during this phase and, rather strangely, the columns from the semi-circular colonnade had been left

⁸² Arslan (1970) 574-589. Paoletti (1993) 400-412, with minor departures follows Arslan's account.

⁸³ Arslan (1970) 574-75, 580; also, Courtois (1989) 243. There may be a scant relic of a threshold in the back wall of the west niche, albeit this may have been a later modification: Paoletti (1993) 412.

⁸⁴ Arslan (1970) 575.

⁸⁵ Zanotti-Bianco (1960) 15-17 and pls. IIb-IIIa, where it is clear that part of the restoration of the back wall went as far down as the original ashlar courses, which in the new construction became

standing, as many indeed still are.⁸⁶

The two vaulted *aditus*, each entered from the side *versura* on the south, gave access to the *orchestra* and possibly the service space beneath the *cavea* via openings in their north walls.⁸⁷

Subsequently, possibly because of structural damage and/or fire, the building underwent significant restoration.⁸⁸ The wooden seating was presumably replaced by a stone *cavea* at this time whose five lowest rows of seats are preserved. They were set on flimsy foundations, i.e. on part of the much mentioned mixed fill that was loosely packed. No concentric supporting walls typical of the *aggestus*-seating arrangement were present here, such as are documented in two other Calabrian theatres of different dates, at Gioiosa

reversed so that the rusticated surface faced in.

⁸⁶ Arslan (1970) 578.

⁸⁷ The building technique resembled that of the *cavea* wall and the stage building. Giuliani (1969) 15-16, and fig. 14, for the space beneath the wooden seating as service space for repair of the wooden *cavea*. Arslan (1970) 576, 578, sees this area as providing general access to the *media cavea* via internal *vomitoria*. It seems that, at the moment, without a new and careful architectural study, this debate cannot be resolved, but several issues are worth raising. Arslan (p. 578) pointed out that the floor level during the first phase was slightly higher than the (presumed) floor level of the semi-circular building since it partially covered the bases of the still standing columns; the capitals from the previous structure are also said to have remained unfinished. If this is so, it all seems somewhat messy if the space was to be regularly used by the spectators; but even more unnerving is the fact that many pieces of architectural material possibly from the semi-circular building were found near the floor level. This is cumbersome, to say the least, if the space were to be used for regular communication, but may be explicable if the material was brought there (or indeed left where it collapsed) as part of the fill used in the construction of the permanent *cavea*, during this or the subsequent phase. On the other hand, the debris may not have been too awkward if the space was indeed used only occasionally, such as for repair of the wooden seating. See Paoletti (1993) 413 for similar queries. As for clear evidence of the carefully built entrances leading north from the *aditus* to the area of the *cavea* (Arslan, p. 578), it may be possible that these were not in use for a long time, but soon became blocked and new access was provided to the upper reaches of the seats from the back of each *aditus*.

⁸⁸ Arslan (1970) 582-583 and figs. 1 and 12: the fire seen in the context of the destruction of the wooden *cavea* contrasted with views held by those who see it as instrumental in bringing down the

Ionica (I C B.C.) and Scolacium (Julio-Claudian).⁸⁹ This lack of structural reinforcement led Arslan to speculate on the existence of a mixed *cavea*, i.e. an arrangement where lower rows of seats were built in stone followed with wooden construction at the higher level.⁹⁰ This seems a feasible reconstruction.

The blocking of the north passages that presumably led from the *aditus* to the space underneath the *cavea* was attributed to this phase when new access up the *cavea* was constructed at the back of each *aditus*.⁹¹

A large door in the back wall of the stage also appears to have been opened during this phase. It led to the main east-west street via a flight of steps cut through the terrace wall in *opus quasi-reticulatum* that ran along the south side of the building.⁹² While this apparently monumentalised the axial entrance to the theatre, the construction of the door-posts of reused material and its flanking by two symmetrically positioned bases, probably for statues, also of reused material, do not seem particularly distinguished. Other bases were found on either side of these, and some were cut into the wall-mass of the

semi-circular structure.

⁸⁹ Frova (1982) 409.

⁹⁰ Giuliani (1969) 14; Arslan (1970) 584-85.

⁹¹ For the blocking of the passages: Giuliani (1969) 15-16 and fig. 14, where a reused column base from the semi-circular building is visible. For the new access and other possible approaches to the *summa cavea*: Arslan (1970) 586 and fig. 1; *Sibari* II (1970) 369.

⁹² Arslan (1970) 587; *Sibari* II (1970) 491 and fig. 541. On ceramic evidence, the terrace wall appears to have been constructed in the middle of the first century A.C. probably to contain the raising of the building levels due to the construction of the theatre: *Sibari* V (1988-89) 141; *Sibari* II (1970) 396-97, 493; Guzzo (1974c) 397. *Contra*, Arslan (1970) 565, who was inclined to see it in phase with the semi-circular building.

terrace wall. The main entrance, possibly colonnaded, may have been situated at the south side of the west *versura*, off the main east-west street.⁹³

Apart from the scant evidence for the marble paving of the niches and probably the *orchestra*, as well as the marble veneering of the *proscenium* and the seats, very little in the way of other types of decoration is securely attributable to the building.⁹⁴

Fragments of marble statues and decorative architectonic elements with vegetal motifs have been found throughout the building in its destruction levels, but except for three large statue fragments these have not been dated.⁹⁵ The majority of these fragments come from the area of the *pulpitum*, the stage building and from the superficial levels above the E-W *plateia*, which suggests their use in the decoration of the stage building, likely up to its final abandonment.⁹⁶

The dating of the theatre rests on several grounds. As already noted, the construction of the new edifice is linked with the abandonment of the semi-circular

⁹³ Arslan (1970) 587. *Sibari* II (1970) 369 (for the colonnaded east *versura*), 491. As already noted, it is possible that the north sidewalk of the east-west street was colonnaded already in the Greek Classical period and it is not impossible that the dispersed fragments belonged to it: *Sibari* V (1988-89) 141-142.

⁹⁴ Some marble may have been Algerian (Cap de Garde): Frova (1982) 415.

⁹⁵ A life-size male torso of white marble, possibly Greek, reminiscent of the Polykleitan Heracles type, was probably completed in the lower portion in a different material; its head is missing; it may have represented a standing honorific statue of a notable citizen or else some member of the Dionysiac *thiasos*: *Sibari* II (1970) 547, no. 787, fig. 556-58, fig. 541; Guzzo (1973) 312; Faedo (1994) 640. Also, a fragment of a seated female statue, also headless, and like the previous example, able to be provided with a portrait head; both pieces were dated generally to the Imperial period. A statue of a landing Aura in the Classicising style from the Augustan period also appears to have belonged to the theatre (reproduced in *AttiMGrecia* n.s. 13-14 [1972-73] pl. 47-48).

⁹⁶ Arslan (1970) 587; *Sibari* II (1970) 495, nos. 694, 695; Faedo (1994) 640.

structure.

There is an archaeological stratum that points to a uniform level of intervention on the site datable at or just after the middle of the first century A.C.⁹⁷ Whether all of this work is to be connected with the theatre or some still with the semi-circular building is a difficult question. If Paoletti's hypothesis regarding the restoration of the semi-circular structure is correct, and it is appropriate to put it at the latest in the middle of the first century A.C., then some of the above material could belong to that intervention.⁹⁸ At any rate, it seems that major work on the site occurred around the middle of the first century A.C. It may have involved the stage building, the *cavea* wall and the entrance ways, all of which are characterised by walls in *opus mixtum*; the building technique is compatible with this date.⁹⁹

A surprising element in this dating scenario is the shape of the *scaenae frons*. If this early date for the stage building is correct, this would make the present example of the type with triple semi-circular niches the earliest in Italy, if not the earliest overall. Triple

⁹⁷ 'Saggio 4' and its west extension (foundation trench for the stage building): Arslan (1970) 579-580; *Sibari* II (1970) 373 (Republican to mid I C A.C.); fragments datable to the first century A.C.: *Sibari* II (1970) nos. 7889 (stamped TS *in planta pedis*, second decade I C A.C.), 10251 (lamp, mid I C A.C.), 10252 (lamp, mid I C A.C.). Space '9NE': *Sibari* IV (1974) 166. The space between the terrace wall and the back stage wall: Guzzo (1974c) 397; *Sibari* V (1988-89) 141. 'Saggio 1' and 'saggio 3' generally confirm this date: Arslan (1970) 567. The stratigraphic sequences on the site are not always reliable, however, and a detailed study of the material is lacking: *Sibari* IV (1974) 166; Arslan (1970) 580; Courtois (1989) 243.

⁹⁸ Paoletti (1993) 417.

⁹⁹ Adam (1995) 153; Torelli (1980) 158: e.g. *opus mixtum* at Pompeii since ca. 80 B.C. in the *odeum* and elsewhere in Latium, but not common elsewhere in Italy before the Flavian period. Giuliani (1969) 18, has used the building technique (*opus mixtum*) to suggest the second century A.C. date for the beginning of the theatre construction (second half II C); this was followed by Frova (1982) 416-417 and Jouffroy (1986) 132.

semi-circular niches in stage buildings do not seem to occur elsewhere before the late first century A.C., while most examples belong to the second century, with a large representation in north Africa.¹⁰⁰ Given the scarcity of ceramic evidence that can securely support the early dating of the stage building in the present case, it seems prudent to postpone final judgment on its period of construction until some other corroborating data become available. It is possible that the construction of the whole ensemble took some time to complete, allowing for the construction of the stage building to occur at the turn of the first/second century A.C. or later.

A separate building stratum may be datable to the second century A.C., when the sloppily reconstructed parts of the *cavea* wall in irregular *opus incertum*, the comparably styled *pulpitum* wall and the seating may have been constructed.¹⁰¹ On the presence of the ubiquitous "*strato di crollo*" overlying its ruins, it seems that the building fell out of use in the course of the first half of the sixth century.¹⁰²

Several points can be pulled together in the way of conclusion. The same space

¹⁰⁰ Courtois (1989) 296-98: agrees with the possibility for this date at Thurii/Copia (mid I C A.C.); elsewhere, securely under Trajan but also still rare under Hadrian (Corinth, Lyon). Similarly, Arslan (1970) 582. Sear (1990) 380: first such shape in late I C A.C. theatres in Naples(?) and Regina, Spain (Flavian), and common in II C. Small (1983) 64, dates triple semi-circular niches from mid II to late III C A.C. The other example with triple semi-circular niches in Calabria comes from Scolacium and is a Hadrianic restoration: Arslan (1969-70) 43-45.

¹⁰¹ Mixed into the fill below the *cavea* was ceramic material from the end of the first century A.C. and the beginning of the following one, along with one ARS A piece (Hayes 7) from the second century A.C.: Arslan (1970) 588; *Sibari* I (1969) no. 275 (end I/beg. II C A.C.). II C A.C. piece: ARS A (Hayes 7); *Sibari* I (1969) no. 14038. Also, two sondages in the area of the *pulpitum* seem to confirm this date: *Sibari* I (1969) 19-96, 'saggio 1' and 'saggio 3'; Arslan (1970) 588-89. Minor miscellaneous undated interventions may have involved some buttresses: Arslan (1970) 583.

¹⁰² *Sibari* II (1970) 24-27; Guzzo (1992) 33; *idem* (1973) 313.

originally created for the so-called semi-circular structure accommodated the new building. The space was a long rectangle, ca. 68.00x37.00m., which dictated the relationship between the two principal parts of the theatre, i.e. the stage building and the seating area. While the geometric centre of the semi-circular building fell further to the south, the decision to accommodate the standard size stage building in the available space between the street and the *cavea*, pushed the centre of the *cavea* to the north i.e. to the middle of the *pulpitum* in front of the central niche of the *scaenae frons*.¹⁰³ Since the back wall of the semi-circular building continued to serve as the back wall of the *cavea*, a discrepancy resulted between the dissimilar diameters of the back wall and the seating itself. This was clearly a result of the desire or need to combine the existing and new elements into the same building. It also made for some strange proportions, i.e. the elongated (E-W) shape of the building, and, consequently, led to a rather spread out view of the action on the stage, where the spectators in the upper left and right wings must have suffered a fairly oblique line of sight.

The incongruity of joining the two elements with different circumferences must presumably have been overcome in some way. Arslan suggested that the concentric circles of the seating may have reached the back wall of the *cavea* only at the north ~~end~~, while in the wings of the *summa cavea* some other solution was found which did not leave traces.¹⁰⁴ This would have been made easier if the *summa cavea* had indeed been wooden

¹⁰³ Arslan (1970) 584.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, 584.

and a few short rows of seats in the wings could then taper into the overall seating arrangement, or else these areas were used for access rather than seating.¹⁰⁵

While the relationship between the stage and the *cavea* is somewhat unusual, their individual proportions are fairly standard, comparing well with those of the medium-sized theatre buildings of the early Imperial period in Italy.¹⁰⁶ In the South, a comparison may be invoked, for example, with the theatres at Tindari and Segesta in Sicily, Pompeii, as well as Scolacium and perhaps Rhegium in Calabria (assuming that this last was still in use during the Roman period).¹⁰⁷ While this limited comparison is not intended to be representative of general trends, it offers an insight into some tendencies in the appearance of the medium sized theatres in southern Italy and Sicily in the early Imperial period. The above list also demonstrates that individual circumstances shaped the actual execution of the component parts in each case.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ For this last suggestion see Arslan (1970) 585.

¹⁰⁶ A comparable example of the shallow *cavea* is found at Aosta in the Augustan theatre/odeum, Crema (1959) 191 and fig. 198.

¹⁰⁷ Tindari: *cavea*: 62.00m. diam.; stage building: ca. 30.00m. l.; II C B.C. with I C A.C. rebuilding; Segesta: stage building: ca. 29.00m. l.; Hellenistic with Augustan alterations (Wilson [1990] 58-60). Pompeii: *cavea*: 62.00m. diam.; Augustan restoration; Rhegium: *orchestra*: 20.00m. diam.: Hellenistic (Mitens [1988] 146, 169). Scolacium: *cavea*: 60.00m. diam.; stage building: ca. 36.00m. l.; Julio-Claudian and Hadrianic (stage restoration) (Arslan in Spadea ed. [1989] 92-101).

¹⁰⁸ For example, at Segesta, while the typical "Roman" connection between the *cavea* and the stage was achieved by way of L-shaped rooms on either side of the stage building linking it with the seating area, this last was built on top of a fill, reminiscent of the "Greek" style seating arrangement, and only for the upper *cavea* was concrete employed for support (Wilson [1990] 58 and fig. 47). A similar provision is encountered at Scolacium, likely because of topographical exigencies, where the lower part of the *cavea* was supported by the natural slope and, where necessary, corrected by artificial fill contained between concentric and radial walls; the *summa cavea* was entirely built on top of vaulted substructures: Arslan in Spadea, ed. (1989) 92-97.

The present example fits into this eclectic collage. To the characteristic and orderly linking of the stage building and the *cavea* by way of the vaulted *aditus*, is juxtaposed a very enigmatic structure of the *cavea* itself, possibly a combined concrete and wooden construction, but certainly in its lower portion built in concrete on top of the loosely set heterogeneous fill without internal concentric and/or radial supporting walls. The building combined the elements from the collective repertory of theatre-construction from the early Empire, which were then fitted into the available building site, itself previously the place of a significant edifice whose structural components were incorporated into the new building. In this respect the theatre at Thurii/Copia was not atypical in the Roman building tradition.

The so-called Rectangular Building ('*Edificio Rettangolare*')

To the west of the theatre, and separated from it by a narrow alley-way, is a rectangular structure (ca. 9.30x17.00m.) with an inscribed semi-circular apse (radius 2.50m.) at the north end and a narrow corridor along the south side (fig 7).¹⁰⁹ The building partially overlay the N-S *plateia*. It is commonly dated to the middle of the first century A.C.¹¹⁰ The building was surrounded on three sides by a low terrace wall which contained the fill into which the foundations were laid.¹¹¹

The entrance was on the south side through a wide door in front of which was

¹⁰⁹ CAT. I: Cassano, Scavi Sibari, Parco del Cavallo, no. 2.

¹¹⁰ The most recent pottery found in the fill inside the main space was not later than the mid first century A.C.: *Sibari* V (1988-89) 73.

¹¹¹ *Sibari* IV (1974) 183.

the above mentioned corridor. The latter probably had a door at its narrow east end through which it was in communication with the alley-way that separated the building from the theatre.¹¹²

The main room appears to have contained two parallel rows of three columns each, placed ca. 1.50m. away from the side walls; the walls may have been decorated with marble revetments.¹¹³ The apse was paved with pebble-stones without a recognizable pattern, while the concrete paving of the main room underwent several repairs.¹¹⁴

As with the semi-circular building and the theatre, numerous pieces of building material were reused in the construction of the walls.¹¹⁵ The terrace wall, however, displays homogeneous facing of *opus quasi-reticulatum* of the kind used for the terrace wall along the south side of the theatre and part of the west wall of the west *aditus*. The south face of the terrace wall is a virtual continuation of the terrace wall that ran along the south side of the theatre, but the two are not considered to be a single construction because of their slight difference in width; they are believed, however, to be close in time.¹¹⁶

¹¹² For other access to the terrace: *Sibari* II (1970) 396; *Sibari* III (1972) 270 and fig. 276.

¹¹³ *Sibari* IV (1974) 181: the remains (veined pinkish and white marbles) were found in the fill and may have come from elsewhere, e.g. from the neighbouring building(s) and were simply used for levelling up the surface.

¹¹⁴ *Sibari* IV (1974) 181-82.

¹¹⁵ The fill: *Sibari* IV (1974) 182; column base: *Sibari* (1988-89) 28. It should be noted, however, that the height of the walls does not exceed the floor level by much, making it difficult to imagine their aspect in elevation.

¹¹⁶ The building technique: *Sibari* II (1970) 396, 492-93; *Sibari* IV (1974) 183; cf. Arslan (1970) 566 who characterises it as *opus reticulatum*.

The precise function of the building remains obscure, but circumstantial evidence and its design may point to its general use. Its location next to the semi-circular/theatre building - with only a slight rotation to the west - as well as a similar construction of its terrace wall, are suggestive of the contemporary urbanisation of the quarter, if not of the same project. The public nature of the semi-circular/theatre building is obvious, and the large bath complex and the open piazza to the south-west and south (*infra*, 72) point to the public nature of this city quarter. From all this it is reasonable to ascribe a similar function to the 'rectangular building'.

It has been suggested that the structure was used for meetings, possibly representing a seat of a *collegium*.¹¹⁷ Recently, a sacral function has been proposed, but no compelling reason was given for either suggestion.¹¹⁸ On architectural grounds both interpretations are possible, and seats of *collegia* and their meeting rooms often incorporated sacral functions in the Roman world.¹¹⁹ Another apsidal building from Bruttium, from the second to third century A.C. at Scolacium, may have been dedicated to the Imperial cult or was a seat of the Augustales; in this case, however, the sculptural and epigraphic evidence aids in the identification.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ *Sibari* IV (1974) 183.

¹¹⁸ Guzzo (1992) 29; Paoletti (1993) 390: "...forse un sacello...". For the structurally similar buildings associated with the fora see Russell (1968) and for the *curiae* (with apses) at different locations and dates, Balty (1991) 60, 69, 123, 140, 196, 205.

¹¹⁹ Bollmann (1998) 394-96.

¹²⁰ Donzelli (1989) 123-126.

The Baths (figs. 7 and 11)

A bath complex occupied an area of ca. 1770.00m². to the south and south west of the theatre and the 'rectangular building'; the excavated remains represent only part of the complex.¹²¹ They appear to have been constructed during the aforementioned period of restructuring of the city quarter, i.e. around the middle of the first century A.C. As a result, the main north-south street south of the crossroads with the east-west street became blocked. In spite of the large excavated area, only limited information is available about the design and decoration of the complex.

There was a large open courtyard paved with *opus spicatum* (A), in whose north-east corner, at some later date, a rectangular basin was implanted, but this last appears to have fallen out of use already in the second century A.C.¹²² In phase with the courtyard paving was probably one of the well-built heated and vaulted rooms (B) whose east wall was reinforced with three buttresses at some later date.¹²³ There was another vaulted and heated room (C) and a portico with simple stuccoed column shafts and composite capitals beyond this to the SSE. At the time of the abandonment of the complex, all stone decoration from one of the rooms was removed; in another, among its debris, were found traces of ceiling stucco medallions, one with the figure of Pegasus and others floral.¹²⁴

¹²¹ CAT. I: Cassano, Scavi Sibari, Parco del Cavallo, no. 3.

¹²² *Sibari* IV (1974) 171-176.

¹²³ *Sibari* IV (1974) 172; Guzzo (1981b) 23.

¹²⁴ Guzzo (1981b) 23. Also, *Sibari* II (1970) 404-405; Rainey, Lerici, eds. (1967) 279: in the debris were found glass fragments from flat dining-plates; along with other ceramic material, these suggest a date of ca. late I C or early II C A.C.

The second heated and vaulted space had walls in *opus reticulatum mixtum*.¹²⁵

Otherwise, the construction technique of the rest of the complex was characterised by a mixture of heterogeneous rubble and tile; reused material, such as various architectonic pieces, was employed for later additions.

A cluster of four rooms east of the courtyard in *spicatum*, and separated from it by a narrow passage paved with beaten earth, appears to have been linked with the bath complex, but its role in it is not clear (1-4SW).¹²⁶ Partially preserved floor levels in these spaces have been associated with the raising of the overall floor level in other parts of the quarter by ca. 0.25 metres, which on ceramic evidence was dated to the middle of the first century A.C.¹²⁷ Floor levels with Arretine ware and BG were found below this level and above it was stratified material characterised by thin walled ware and ARS. While this limited sondage may not be sufficient to make secure generalisations about the whole site, uninterrupted occupation from the Hellenistic to the Middle Imperial period is likely in this quarter.¹²⁸

The Piazza (fig. 7)

Across the street from the theatre was a spacious piazza (ca. 60.00m. E-W)

¹²⁵ Guzzo (1992) 29; Rainey, Lerici, eds. (1967) 279.

¹²⁶ Guzzo (1981b) pl. 2b (N-E corner). One room appears to have served for storing of building material: *Sibari* II (1970) 401-402.

¹²⁷ *Sibari* II (1970) 403: also detected N of these rooms, up to the S margin of the E-W street; *Sibari* IV (1974) 176-179.

¹²⁸ *Sibari* II (1970) 402-403. It remains unclear whether the mortared tile, brick and dressed pebble-stone walls characteristic of the rooms are to be attributed to all phases of occupation or only to the two more recent ones: *Sibari* II (1970) 400, 403.

bordered on the south side by a portico built in brick.¹²⁹ Two circular fountains, that appear to be contemporary with the portico, occupied the north-west and the north-east corners of the piazza. The dating of neither element is conclusive, but a second century A.C. date has been suggested on the basis of the building technique employed in the portico.¹³⁰

The original design of the piazza appears to be connected with the inception of the street system in the Greek Classical period, possibly early in the fourth century B.C.¹³¹ Its pavement was repaired several times, which involved substantial raising of the floor levels. The uppermost recorded pavement, strong and cemented, and preserved mostly in the central part of the piazza, is related to the portico and the two fountains based on the identical level at which the structures appear.¹³² Several miscellaneous walls of unspecified function and date overlay the uppermost pavement; a balustrade and what may have been market stalls appear to have been constructed at some unspecified date as well.¹³³ Ceramic and other material in the superficial layers collected in the area of the piazza is of the usual "*crollo*" kind, and provides the general date of abandonment in the

¹²⁹ CAT. I: Cassano, Scavi Sibari, Parco del Cavallo, no. 4.

¹³⁰ Guzzo (1973) 290. Originally, the piazza was probably longer by some 10.00m. at the east end where a cluster of spaces, possibly belonging to a house, was built some time in the first century A.C.: *Sibari* II (1970) 436-37.

¹³¹ Guzzo (1973) 290; *idem* (1992) 21.

¹³² *Sibari* IV (1974) 192-194 and fig. 189, although the actual paving was assigned a tentative date of III C B.C. on p. 194 which would make for an extremely long period of use. For earlier pavements see *Sibari* III (1972) 306.

¹³³ *Sibari* II (1970) 431-432.

early sixth century A.C.

The Market/Granary (figs. 6 and 12)

Approximately 600.00m. to the east of 'Parco del Cavallo', at 'Casa Bianca', situated along the north side of the east-west *plateia*, is a partially excavated building in *opus quasi-reticulatum*.¹³⁴ It has been variously identified as a *macellum* or a *horreum*.¹³⁵

Only a brief description of the building is available at the moment. The shape appears rectangular, but because of incomplete excavation the overall dimensions are not known; it may be possible to estimate its E-W 'length' and N-S 'width' as being in excess of 60.00m. and 50.00m. respectively.¹³⁶ Based on the plan of the excavated south-east corner and one short section to the north of it, it seems that a series of rectangular spaces of similar dimensions surrounded the central space, presumably open to the air; what, if anything, was set inside this space is not known. No information regarding the contents of the rooms is available either. From the excavation plan it appears that the rooms are approximately 3.00m. wide and 5.00m. long. The building appears to have been entered through the porch on its south side.¹³⁷

Very little in the way of decoration is known. One Ionic corner capital with

¹³⁴ CAT. I: Cassano, Scavi Sibari, Casa Bianca, no. 20.

¹³⁵ *Macellum*: Guzzo (1981b) 22; *idem* (1992) 27. *Horreum*: Torelli (1979) 146; Paoletti (1993) 408 n. 37.

¹³⁶ Guzzo (1981b) pl. 2.

¹³⁷ Guzzo (1981b) 22, figs. 9.1 and 9.3. and pl. 2.

acanthus leaves is associated with the porch, as are several column bases still *in situ*.¹³⁸ A marble *labrum* most likely to be associated with the building and found inside the portico, with a dedicatory inscription commemorating two *quattuorviri*, suggests its public character.¹³⁹

The building's construction date is currently put between the end of the first century B.C. and the beginning of the first century A.C.¹⁴⁰ It seems that the building had a very brief life and probably went out of use by the middle of the first century A.C., when the cemetery was established further to the south and east of it.¹⁴¹

Given the incomplete state of excavation and virtual absence of information on the furnishings or small finds, it is difficult to advance the discussion regarding the building's function beyond the indicated tentative suggestions. The size, likely shape,¹⁴² and location not far from the seashore and the presumed port, could speak equally for a

¹³⁸ *ibid.*, 22 and figs. 9.1, 9.3.

¹³⁹ For the inscription (second half I C B.C.): CAT. III: IGM F. 222, no. 7.

¹⁴⁰ Guzzo (1992) 27; M. Paoletti (1993) 405-408 *contra* Guzzo (1976a) 622-23 (I C B.C.). The currently accepted date is based on the technique of *opus quasi-reticulatum* employed in most of the walls and is corroborated by the *labrum* inscription from the portico.

¹⁴¹ Guzzo (1981b) 22-23; Paoletti (1993) 429; for the cemetery, *infra*, 90.

¹⁴² The elongated shape of the rooms (ca. 5.00x3.00m.) is reminiscent of the narrow spaces in *horrea* (Rickman [1971] 77-79; De Ruyt [1983] 333), although it is never true that there existed a standardised size and shape of rooms in *macella* (De Ruyt [1983] 302). Water provision and evacuation are obviously important considerations in *macella* (De Ruyt [1983] 312-315), but are not absent from *horrea* either, although it is the evacuation of water that is essential there (Rickman [1971] 85, 64-69 [horrea of Hortensius]). In this context, the role of the substantial drain immediately to the east of the present structure needs to be clarified: Guzzo (1981b) pl. 2; *idem* ((1976a) 623-24, drain in use until II C A.C.

market-place and a *horreum*.¹⁴³

Just east of the market/granary was a large flagstone-paved area, and immediately east of it one of the city-gates (*supra*, 43) (fig. 9). This obviously was the edge of the town. The paved area had been there since the fourth century B.C., but its function during that time is uncertain; in the course of the first century A.C. it became partially overlaid with quadrangular burial enclosures which apparently changed its purpose.¹⁴⁴ Before that time it may have served as an open-air customs area for goods entering and exiting the city.¹⁴⁵ This interpretation is particularly attractive if indeed the port facilities (not yet discovered) lay in the vicinity. It appears that the market/granary coincided for a while with the paved area before they both fell out of use. If so, the complex may have represented the city's commercial quarter. Apart from the paved area, this quarter is characterised by other open spaces whose surfaces, as well as that of the *plateia*, underwent repairs until the final abandonment of the city in the first half of the sixth

¹⁴³ On location, for *macella* see De Ruyt (1983) 284-85, 329, 330-32; for *horrea*, Rickman (1971) 76-77, 121 (Ostia and Rome) and De Ruyt (1983) 326-29.

¹⁴⁴ CAT. I: Cassano, Scavi Sibari, Casa Bianca, no. 19. On the paved area (so-called *area basolata*) in the pre-Roman phase: Zancani Montuoro (1972-1973) 79, argues for its use as a dry-dock facility; Guzzo (1973) 295-296 and *idem* (1981) 20 against this interpretation on the basis of sondages below it and further to the east which revealed petrological material attesting to dry land rather than water sediments. Dune deposits along the outskirts of the plain and ancient marine terraces visible along the coast to the north and south of the plain testify to a variable sea-shore and may be dated on the basis of fossil remains found in a thick layer of the alluvial deposits of the river Bradano north of the Plain between the third and the second centuries B.C.: Cotecchia *et al.* (1969); also, *idem* (1993) 32. See also Sibari IV (1974) 429-430. *Infra*, p. 90 for the cemetery; its dating: Guzzo (1992) 30 (mid I C A.C.) *contra idem* (1973) 296 (end I C B.C./beg I C A.C.).

¹⁴⁵ Guzzo (1981b) 20.

century A.C.¹⁴⁶

Domestic quarters

The most extensive remains from the city belong to the domestic housing units. The excavated area, divided between 'Parco del Cavallo' and 'Prolungamento Strada', is approximately 85.00x165.00m. large.

A significant number of individual units is apparent, but their building sequence, associations between the individual spaces and the exact function of these within the units remain largely unknown. This is partly due to the site conditions, characterised by a deep overlying alluvium that is difficult to remove and which is consequently stalling the recovery process. Also, the difficulty of dating and interpretation derives from the approach adopted in the excavations, whereby large tracts were dug simultaneously, often not reaching the floor levels of the individual units.¹⁴⁷ The problem also lies in the incomplete analysis of the bulk of ceramic and other archaeological material recovered from the houses.¹⁴⁸ Hence, it is obvious that a rigorous examination of the chronological and typological development is not possible. The emphasis here is on pointing out some general trends that emerge from the overview of the excavated remains.

What is presently seen on the ground belongs almost exclusively to the houses occupied during the Imperial period. As was generally the case with the public buildings, the houses too were fitted into the existing Classical and Hellenistic street system. From a

¹⁴⁶ *Sibari* III (1972) 164.

¹⁴⁷ For the excavation method: *Sibari* II (1970) 477; *Sibari* III (1972) 290; Faedo (1993) 432.

number of limited sondages it is clear that the excavated quarters were continually occupied from Classical Greek to Roman Imperial times.¹⁴⁹

Only sparse remains datable to the early colonial period have been revealed by the sondages under the later structures. While no single unit has been excavated, the orientation of the excavated walls clearly demonstrates the houses' insertion into the Classical street system.

Several spaces, some of them interconnected, were found below the semi-circular/theatre building and underneath the large *domus* immediately to the north of it.¹⁵⁰ They may belong to the earliest phase of the Republican settlement of the second century B.C., but because of numerous later interventions the stratigraphy is disturbed so that highly heterogeneous material appears side by side, making the dating difficult.¹⁵¹

The spaces are characterised by neatly aligned walls; some walls were decorated with painted plaster and fragments of painted stucco cornices were found as well.¹⁵² It

¹⁴⁸ Thus far, only a study of the mosaics is available in Faedo (1993) 431-455.

¹⁴⁹ Guzzo (1973) 291.

¹⁵⁰ Guzzo (1992) 30; *Sibari* I (1969) 19-138 ('saggio 1', 'saggio 3', 'saggio 5'); *Sibari* IV (1974) 162. For the *domus* see *infra*, 82.

¹⁵¹ E.g. *Sibari* I (1969) 'saggio 1', levels 'b' and 'c' 25-27, 40; level 'c' may belong to the first phase of the Republican settlement. However, Bedini in *Sibari* II (1970) 130 ('saggio 4', level 'c', behind the central theatre niche), dates this level on the basis of the majority of datable material to the third century B.C. Local soil subsistence due to the varying permeability of the underlying layers of sand and clay contributes to disturbed stratigraphy: Cotecchia (1993) 44 and pl. Ia.

¹⁵² *Sibari* I (1969) 39-40, 62: for elevations were used squared limestone blocks or river stones with yellowish tile in the interstices. A small kiln may have been located in one of the spaces which was then cancelled in the following phase when the space was fitted with walls decorated with painted plaster: *Sibari* I (1969) 26 ('saggio 1'): a vat, a burnt layer and numerous *unguentaria* (wasters?) were in one corner of the room; many fragments of amphorae were also found.

appears that some of the spaces were destroyed, although the nature of this is not clear; traces of fire may point to one reason for this partial abandonment.¹⁵³

Another type of wall was encountered in '*saggio 5*' behind the theatre. Two walls (N-S alignment), immediately under the large *domus* that rose in this quarter in the late Republican/early Imperial period (*infra*, 82), were made of mortared irregular river stones on top of which was a brick and lime construction. The associated material was dated between the end of the fourth and second centuries B.C. with a possible use in the subsequent century.¹⁵⁴

Possibly from the same period are two *signinum* floors (geometric and floral design), found just below the floor level of the later semi-circular building, and associated walls, of which one was in *opus reticulatum*.¹⁵⁵ Two walls (E-W) faced with *opus reticulatum* set between brick quoins were found in the area of the small trapezoidal space west of the west theatre *aditus* under the foundations of the semi-circular structure.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ *Sibari* I (1969) 40, 115.

¹⁵⁴ *Sibari* I (1969) 115-116, 119: the stratigraphy is very disturbed in this context which significantly complicates the dating of the walls; fragments of large amphorae, *dolia*, loom weights and a late Hellenistic portable oven suggest a service function for the area; fine and kitchen ware was also found. Several of the spaces underwent minor changes from the end of the second through the first century B.C. (some changes involved partial internal subdivision of spaces with thin wooden partitions): *Sibari* I (1969) 25-39, 58-62, 102-107, figs. 21-22, 31-32, 44 ('*saggio 1* and 3').

¹⁵⁵ For the location: '*saggio 2*', *Sibari* I (1969) fig. 2 (location of one mosaic); *Sibari* IV (1974) 161-63 (for the other mosaic, room '9NE'). For finds: Foti (1966) 98 and fig. 6; *Sibari* II (1970) 27: late second-early first century B.C. for the mosaic in '*saggio 2*'; mosaic in room '9NE' may be contemporary (*Sibari* IV [1974] 162). If the wall in the reticulate truly belonged to these floors (assuming they are properly dated) then they would provide a very early date for this type of wall, i.e., for instance, on par with Rome (cf. Coarelli [1977]).

¹⁵⁶ *Sibari* III (1972) 281-83.

Other miscellaneous remains of walls dated to the late Republican period appear in several other locations at 'Parco del Cavallo' and 'Prolungamento Strada'; in these contexts continuity also existed from the Hellenistic period.¹⁵⁷

As already mentioned, most of the houses currently visible on the ground were occupied during the Imperial period up to the final abandonment of the city in the first half of the sixth century A.C.¹⁵⁸ When exactly these units were first constructed is at present unknown; nor have all the various modifications been dated.¹⁵⁹ It is possible that some were built already in the late Republican period or earlier, but no firm date nor the extent of this construction can be established at the moment.¹⁶⁰

A dense domestic quarter is documented, but presently it is impossible to determine how many units are represented by the excavated remains (fig. 7).¹⁶¹ Consequently, house sizes are impossible to establish with certainty, but based on what is

¹⁵⁷ CAT. I: IGM F. 222, Cassano, Scavi Sibari, 'PdC' no. 6 (domestic quarter north) space '18N', fig. 7; no. 7 (domestic quarter south) spaces '58S', '8S', '10S' and '76S', fig. 7; Cassano, Scavi Sibari, 'PS', no. 12 (domestic quarter, N side of E-W *plateia*) spaces '36N' and 'EN', fig. 8.

¹⁵⁸ Guzzo (1973) 290-91, 294; abandonment: Guzzo (1981b) 25; *Sibari II* (1970) 367, 436, 476. It is possible that parts of the city were abandoned earlier (early fifth century A.C. for the houses south of the E-W *plateia* at 'PdC'): *Sibari II* (1970) 481).

¹⁵⁹ Faedo (1993) 432. East of the shop (8N) on the east side of the alley-way at 'PdC' (up to the present limit of excavation) wall construction is characterised by more abundant brick mixed with rubble and bonded with poor mortar; the walls are also poorly aligned (*Sibari III* [1972] 300). It is difficult to say whether this carries any chronological significance.

¹⁶⁰ See n. 157 above.

¹⁶¹ It may be possible to identify over seventeen houses, but this estimate will probably change. It is based on the preliminary excavation reports in *NSc* where the units were not always identified; these reports, and Faedo (1993) 432-35, were used for the division into the units proposed in Catalogue I in the present work.

available at the moment, it may be postulated that medium sized units existed side-by-side with some large houses. There is no clear evidence for upper storeys.¹⁶² Preserved decorative features are few, which is probably rightly explained as being a result of gradual abandonment and robbing.¹⁶³

A large decorated house was excavated at 'Parco del Cavallo' (fig. 13).¹⁶⁴ Situated behind the theatre, it occupied one whole block (N-S) defined by two E-W *stenopoi*. Almost completely excavated, it covers an area in excess of 2200.00m². (65.00(E-W)x35.00(N-S)m.). It appears to have been occupied for a long time, showing numerous signs of redecoration, spatial adjustments, and, possibly, additions.¹⁶⁵

The original entrance, situated on the E-W axis, opened off the main N-S *plateia* that appears porticoed in this section.¹⁶⁶ From the entranceway, and possibly another intermediary space, one passed into a space, identified as the atrium, which remains incompletely excavated, but shows signs of redesigning.¹⁶⁷ Three quadrangular rooms set

¹⁶² For the collapsed roof in space '15NE' see *Sibari* IV (1974) 168, fig. 159; also 'PS', 42-44N: *Sibari* V (1988-89) 352. A lead pipe found at 'PdC' in the debris on the south side of the E-W street may point to a multi-storey building: *Sibari* II (1970) 400-401.

¹⁶³ Guzzo (1981b) 24; Guzzo (1992) 34; Faedo (1993) 438-439.

¹⁶⁴ CAT. I: Cassano, Scavi Sibari, Parco del Cavallo, DOMESTIC QUARTER, no. 5, *domus* I, fig. 13 (and fig. 7 for location).

¹⁶⁵ Faedo (1993) 435-38, but changes difficult to date; Guzzo (1981b) 24; *Sibari* V (1988-89) 290-95.

¹⁶⁶ Guzzo (1981b) pl. Ia; *Sibari* V (1988-89) 295-304.

¹⁶⁷ No clear reasons were given for this identification. This part of the house shows many signs of rebuilding and its history is poorly understood; reused material was frequently employed: *Sibari* V (1988-89) 290-95.

in a row flanked its north side and there may have been a corresponding set of rooms on the opposite south side. From the atrium one entered a large area interpreted as a peristyle.¹⁶⁸ Large and decorated representational rooms (two *triclinia*, '2NE' and 'A') and associated spaces ('13NW' [*cubiculum*] and 'B') were grouped around the peristyle on its north and south sides.

It seems that the original layout comprised the abovementioned rooms (and a few poorly defined spaces to the north and south). Many outside walls were faced with *opus reticulatum*, and some miscellaneous bits of internal walls in the south part of the house were in *opus quasi-reticulatum*.¹⁶⁹ A row of rooms in the south-west corner (4a-bNW, 9a-cNW, 11NW) and some spaces carved out from the *stenopos* that flanked the house on this side may have been added at some later date.¹⁷⁰ Some of these were probably work-rooms. In one (9bNW), a lava-stone quern was found; the room east of this (11NW) may have housed a fulling installation.¹⁷¹

The dating of the original construction and the modifications remains imprecise. The reticulate facing of the external walls has been connected with the similar facing in the

¹⁶⁸ As this portion of the house is incompletely excavated, it is impossible to say if there were intervening spaces between the atrium and the peristyle: Faedo (1993) 436; *Sibari* IV (1974) 167-69.

¹⁶⁹ Faedo (1993) 438 and fig. 3; *Sibari* III (1972) 285 and fig. 298, where the illustrated wall is a mixture of heterogeneous material with only spare bits in the reticulate. This looks more like a rebuilding than an original construction; cf. Pompeii after the earthquake of A.D. 62, Adam (1995) figs. 361, 362, 368

¹⁷⁰ Faedo (1993) 438, based on different building technique (mixture of rubble, broken tile and miscellaneous reused ashlar blocks and decorative pieces), but not dated.

¹⁷¹ Guzzo in *Sibari* III (1972) 277-79, but without elaborating. Cf. with '38N' (cemented rubble platform [1.30x1.20m.]): Guzzo in *Sibari* III (1972) 300.

adjacent 'semi-circular building'. This has provided a tentative construction date of the late first century B.C. or the early part of the first century A.C., which is possible, but has not yet been confirmed by stratigraphy.¹⁷²

The house's various decorative features (mosaics and painted plaster) appear to have been added later.¹⁷³ The *cubiculum* black-and-white geometric mosaic ('13NW') is currently dated between the second and early third century A.C.¹⁷⁴ The floor was complemented by the late fourth style polychrome painted plaster decoration that could be as late as post-second century A.C.¹⁷⁵ Decorated plaster from the room's collapsed ceiling showed another polychrome vegetal design dated to the latter part of the first century A.C.¹⁷⁶

The *triclinium* (2NE) had a black-and-white geometric mosaic border that was roughly centered, but not perfectly aligned with the lateral walls.¹⁷⁷ The mosaic border surrounded a rectangular field made probably of marble plaques whose imprints remain in the cement bedding. Around the mosaic, the floor was made of cement on three sides, and white tesserae on the fourth (north side), in front of the entrance to the room, which

¹⁷² Faedo [1993] 437, n. 16, and *intervento*, p. 532.

¹⁷³ For the most recent dating of the floors and wall-decorations which is followed here see Faedo (1993) 439-55.

¹⁷⁴ Faedo (1993) 440-41 with parallels. It was originally dated to the beginning of the first century A.C. (D'Andria in *Sibari* I [1969] 115) or the end of first century B.C.-beginning of I C A.C. (Guzzo in *Sibari* III [1972] 447; Guzzo (1981b) 24).

¹⁷⁵ *Sibari* I (1969) 115 and pl. Ia; Faedo (1993) 439-42.

¹⁷⁶ Faedo (1993) 442; *Sibari* I (1969) 115 and pl. Ib.

¹⁷⁷ *Sibari* III (1972) 285-87 and figs. 299-303; Faedo (1993) 442-45; Faedo (1994) 638.

created a classic *triclinium* arrangement. The mosaic border is currently dated to the advanced first century A.C.¹⁷⁸ Scant traces of painted plaster were found still attached to the east wall.¹⁷⁹

Probably another *triclinium*,¹⁸⁰ the central wide room ('A') in the group of rooms on the north side of the peristyle was decorated with a polychrome geometric *opus sectile* pavement set in the middle of the floor and surrounded on three sides by a cement floor; the floor is dated to the first century A.C.¹⁸¹ In the first or the second century A.C., the walls were decorated with painted plaster whose four successive layers are preserved on the north wall.¹⁸² The room to the east ('B') was smaller and had a geometric black-and-white mosaic floor dated on stylistic and internal grounds to the second half of the second century A.C.¹⁸³

This was obviously a large and articulated house most likely belonging to an elite

¹⁷⁸ This date is supported by the pottery from the sondage underneath the *emblema* and the painted plaster found in the debris of the room: Faedo (1993) 442-45 and n. 51. The mosaic was initially dated to the first century B.C.: Sibari III (1972) 447 with parallels.

¹⁷⁹ Four layers were detected; the third, an imitation of marble revetments in yellow veined with red, resembles the fourth Pompeian style reminiscent of a wall from the third phase in Casa della Volte Dipinte at Ostia dated to the Severan period: Faedo (1993) 445 and n. 53 for parallels.

¹⁸⁰ *Triclinium* (Guzzo [1981b] 24), *contra tablinum* (Faedo [1993] 445).

¹⁸¹ Faedo (1993) 446; Guzzo (1981b) 24, has suggested an unspecified later date than the floors to the south of the peristyle which he dates early.

¹⁸² Faedo (1993) 446-47 and nn. 62-65; for design see CAT. I, IGM F. 222, Cassano, Scavi Sibari, 'PdC', DOMESTIC QUARTER NW and NE, no. 5, *domus* I. Similar designs are dated from the first century A.C. at Pompeii to the second century A.C. at Hadrian's villa.

¹⁸³ Faedo (1993) 447-49 for parallels, and similarities of technique and size of tesserae with the *cubiculum* ('13NW') mosaic.

family. Caution warns against attributing too much importance to it overall, however, since, at this point, this is the only example of a nearly completely excavated Roman house from the site. The axial atrium/peristyle design, while potentially significant for the development of domestic architecture at Thurii/Copia, is so far found only in this example. Also, much about the atrium and the peristyle remains obscure. The house was well decorated and its decorations were maintained, but some of this was not neatly executed in detail; at this point it is difficult to say if this should be attributed to the sloppiness of the workers, or whether this was a more general feature of construction in the city at the time.

The remainder of the houses at 'Parco del Cavallo' are less well known (fig. 7).¹⁸⁴ It may be possible to recognise two smaller houses than the one just described in the remains of the rooms clustered around two spaces with water-basins (25bN, 15N) situated on the north side of the E-W *plateia* just east of the theatre. The corner unit was entered from the street via a narrow corridor (25aN) which led to the room with the basin, while in the case of its neighbour the room with the basin (15N) was accessible directly from the street. The corner unit had two spaces (23N, 26N) on either side of the entrance corridor also directly accessible from the street through large openings that were protected from the traffic with large boulders. These were probably shops.¹⁸⁵

In addition to the water-basins that were probably used for private water-

¹⁸⁴ CAT. I: Cassano, Scavi Sibari, Parco del Cavallo, DOMESTIC QUARTER, no. 5, *domus* II, no. 6, no. 7.

¹⁸⁵ Faedo (1993) 433. '14N', attached to the other house, may have been another shop.

collection in conjunction with the public water-supply evidenced by public fountains, two houses also had wells.¹⁸⁶ It remains unknown if this part of the city also had the pressure-water-supply, as was the case at 'PS'.¹⁸⁷

Several rooms from the quarter were decorated with painted plaster. The best preserved example comes from room 20a-bN and is dated between the second and third centuries A.C.¹⁸⁸

Several more one-room units identified above as shops may be seen in corner spaces 6S and 9S on the south side of the E-W *plateia* where it meets one N-S *stenopos*;¹⁸⁹ and in 11N and 8N separated by a narrow alley.¹⁹⁰ It is impossible at this point to assess property arrangements and possible association between any of these shops and the houses.

In a few houses it may be possible to recognise an echo of the Classical and Hellenistic Greek house-designs known from other sites in Calabria. These include the houses with rooms organised around a central space, with or without a water-basin (such as those with central spaces 25bN and 15N mentioned above), and those with or without

¹⁸⁶ Wells: in 17N, 32N (*Sibari* III [1972] 297, 300).

¹⁸⁷ 'PS': *Sibari* IV (1974) 306-307, and figs. 299, 303 and here *supra*, 55.

¹⁸⁸ *Sibari* III (1972) 296, 446-47 and figs. 311-314; Faedo (1994) 639. The excavators did not identify this room; perhaps it was a *cubiculum*, cf. Pompeii I.7.11: Adam (1995) fig. 697. A small alcove, perhaps for the head of a bed also had painted plaster decoration with the brownish-red border. Other rooms with plaster, some painted: 19N, 22N, 24N, 28N, 29N.

¹⁸⁹ *Sibari* II (1970) 438; Faedo (1993) 434.

¹⁹⁰ *Sibari* III (1972) 297, 300.

the *pastas*-style space near the back (such as perhaps 19N and 8NE).¹⁹¹

The interpretation and dating of the buildings on the south side of the E-W *plateia* is more precarious since the excavations generally stopped before the floor levels were reached.¹⁹² Many of the spaces open off large courts, presumably open to the sky, 15S, 37-38S and 47S, whose function remains unclear.¹⁹³ Three apsidal rooms were also found (31S, 57S, 80S), but their interpretation is uncertain, as is their relationship with the surrounding spaces and the date of construction.¹⁹⁴

The excavation quarter at 'Prolungamento Strada' effectively constitutes the continuation of the one just described (fig. 8).¹⁹⁵ By one account the houses are considered to belong to the later Imperial period, but this is far from certain.¹⁹⁶ Evidence

¹⁹¹ Possible Greek models are found, for example, in Locri, Caulonia, Medma and Marcellina (Laos): Gullini (1994) 399; Greco (1995b) 51-52; Russo-Tagliente (1992) 115-200, 210-215.

¹⁹² *Sibari* II (1970) 477: general domestic function was assigned to the remains.

¹⁹³ *Sibari* II (1970) 477-81; many internal changes were noted. Spaces 19S-20S at the south-west corner of the large court 15S (ca. 18.00x17.00m.) contained many architectural pieces and ARS pottery; they may have served for storage: *Sibari* II (1970) 478; *Sibari* IV (1974) 190.

¹⁹⁴ *Sibari* II (1970) 478; *Sibari* III (1972) 304, 80S had cement floor; *Sibari* II (1970) 481, 56S was likely a later addition. Room 76S had *tubuli*-like pieces in the lateral walls, but not reaching the floor and no traces of *suspensurae* were found below the floor level (the actual floor was not found), which excludes their use in a bathing establishment; they may have served as insulation against dampness: *Sibari* III (1972) 304; *Sibari* IV (1974) 190-91; Guzzo (1973) 291. Or else, they may have served as drains to draw off water from the roofs (personal information, Prof. Alastair Small). As a possible line of research, on architectural grounds, the apsidal rooms may have served as dining rooms such as the late Roman *stibadia*, although no internal arrangements such as remains of couches or platforms have been found: Duval (1984) 457-464; Ellis (1997) 41-51.

¹⁹⁵ CAT. I: Cassano, Scavi Sibari, Prolungamento Strada, DOMESTIC QUARTER, nos. 12, 13, fig. 8. The houses on the south side of the E-W *plateia* have undergone much rebuilding and some walls are irregular, but the original constructions are orderly: *Sibari* V (1988-89) 342-50.

¹⁹⁶ Guzzo (1976a) 621. But cf. the walls of the apsed room 'IN' which resemble those of the theatre at 'PdC' suggesting a similar construction date: Faedo (1993) 449. The room (4N) east of the

of additions and rebuilding is abundant, but the dating of this is again mostly insecure.¹⁹⁷

Cemeteries

Three tomb groups have been excavated at Casa Bianca. The most substantial were the early Imperial squarish chamber tombs, five found in total, that were implanted onto the flagstone-paved area inside the gate at 'CB' (fig. 9).¹⁹⁸ The development started in the mid first century A.C. with the likely reuse of the tombs later on. The depositions included inhumations and incinerations, but their chronology has not been established; the grave goods were simple, including fine pottery, lamps, glass *unguentaria* and occasional coins. The thirty or so third century A.C. inhumations just to the north of the fortification wall at 'CB' were even poorer (fig. 9).¹⁹⁹ They included simple burials *alla cappuccina* or horizontal *tegulae* covers and shafts without architecture; grave goods are almost completely absent save for a few coins. The third group (with no grave goods found) was east of the city-gate and contained *alla cappuccina* inhumations as well as horizontal

apsed space had a partially excavated black-and-white geometric mosaic pavement with some red and green tesserae; the mosaic was dated between the second and third centuries A.C.: *Sibari IV* (1974) 308 and fig. 306; Guzzo (1973) 294; Faedo (1993) 449-453 for parallels. See for a similar example at the villa at Roggiano Gravina, Larderia: CAT. II, IGM F. 229, no. 5, map F; Chiarlo (1974) fig. 5. A partially excavated corner unit (A-E) was in use in the fourth century A.C., as is suggested by the *spatheia* amphorae found in space 'B': the *spatheia* amphorae were for the most part produced in Spain and North Africa, but also probably elsewhere (Peacock, Williams [1986] 202); it remains uncertain, but possible, that the examples here were made locally.

¹⁹⁷ In one corner house (rooms: 13N, 14N, 17-20N, 24-26N, 28N, 29N) a *terminus post quem* for the enlargement is provided by the coin hoard datable between the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century A.C. found to the south of the dividing wall between spaces 15aN and 15bN: *Sibari IV* (1974) 304, 343-47, nos. 92-114 (23 bronze coins). The floor of the room is missing, however, which makes it impossible to determine whether the hoard was buried after the construction of the room, but before its partial abandonment (as seems more likely), or after the latter.

¹⁹⁸ CAT. I: IGM F. 222, Cassano, Scavi Sibari, Casa Bianca, CEMETERIES, no. 24.

tegulae covers set on uprights built of brick (fig. 9).²⁰⁰ Obviously, the cemeteries are fairly poor and, apart from the chamber tombs that may have been robbed, the cemeteries of the better off are yet to be found.

BLANDA IULIA

Blanda was most likely located south of Tortora on the hill Palecastro (Palestro) overlooking the Tyrrhenian coast.²⁰¹ Limited excavations within the Hellenistic city-walls that encircled the hill of Palecastro have revealed the remains of the Roman city that replaced its Hellenistic predecessor on the site. Partially excavated are the forum area and three rectangular buildings along its west side, of which two are certainly temples (fig. 14).²⁰²

The forum area (ca. 27.00x27.00m.) was surrounded by rows of shops on the north and east sides, and on the south side by a narrow vaulted cryptoporticus; a portico ran along the east row of shops. On the west side were the aforementioned rectangular buildings separated by narrow passageways. Buildings 'A' and 'B' were temples set up on the podia and accessible by steps from the east, i.e. the forum side. Each consisted of a

¹⁹⁹ CAT. I: IGM F. 222, Cassano, Scavi Sibari, Casa Bianca, CEMETERIES, no. 25.

²⁰⁰ CAT. I: IGM F. 222, Cassano, Scavi Sibari, Casa Bianca, CEMETERIES, no. 26.

²⁰¹ This identification is corroborated by recent excavations, the Itineraries, and, indirectly (i.e. without mentioning the name of the city), by an inscribed statue base that mentions the city official: *Tab. Peut.* (a statio 16m.p. N of Lavinium); *Guid.* 31-32; *Geogr. Rav.* 4.32;5.2; the inscription (CAT. III: IGM F. 220, no. 1) was found in front of the cryptoporticus, near temple 'A', in the forum area: La Torre, ed. (1995) 69, 'D' on the figure. See also, La Torre (1991) 135-136 for the location and nn. 2 and 13 for bibliography, and *idem* (1999) 155-162, no. 43.

²⁰² CAT. I: Tortora, Palecastro, no. 1, IGM F. 220, map B.

cella and possibly a colonnaded pronaos with columns made of brick. 'C' was rebuilt several times and its north side is missing, thus making the reconstruction difficult. It is possible that during its first phase it too had a frontal aspect, which might warrant a reconstruction of the *Capitolium* on this side of the forum.²⁰³

The complex was dated on ceramic grounds to the end of the first century B.C., but already in the course of the second century A.C. or early in the third, it appears to have been brought down by an earthquake and not rebuilt.²⁰⁴ It is interesting to note that the construction technique was *opus quasi-reticulatum* and *incertum* employing local limestone, the same construction technique that was already encountered in several buildings at Thurii/Copia, and, as we shall see, at what may have been the city-wall in Consentia. The presumed temples are reminiscent of the Italic temple design with a frontal aspect and podium, which is otherwise rare in this part of Italy.²⁰⁵

The survey of the area enclosed by the Hellenistic city-walls, almost 5ha. large, has revealed in the central area of the plateau amorphous remains of cemented rubble and squared limestone blocks.²⁰⁶ It is possible that the limited restoration of the walls should

²⁰³ La Torre, ed. (1995) 69. However, since no evidence was found in support of the religious use in 'C', it could have served some other public function, such as a *comitium* or a *curia*: La Torre (1999) 122.

²⁰⁴ La Torre (1991) 141.

²⁰⁵ La Torre (1995) 69; *idem* (1991) 143. In contemporary Sicily they appear to have been more frequent: Wilson (1990) 105-106. The so-called 'rectangular building' at Thurii/Copia, although possibly a temple, did not have the frontal aspect with steps leading up the narrow axis of the building.

²⁰⁶ La Torre, ed. (1995) 40-41, 69; *idem* (1991) 144.

be dated to the Roman period.²⁰⁷

CONSENTIA

Remains from the Roman period are extremely sparse. In addition to the lack of systematic excavations, the preservation and recovery of sporadic remains are hindered here by the superimposition of the medieval and modern Cosenza on top of earlier settlements. Kahrstedt reported reused ancient building material in the construction of the medieval and modern houses, but there is very little still standing that can be attributed to the Roman period and even less that can be closely dated.²⁰⁸

Two short stretches of walls built in good *opus reticulatum*, approximately one metre thick and of the median preserved height of two and a half metres, found near the Duomo and the convent of San Francesco d'Assisi, may have belonged to the city walls.²⁰⁹ Their position on a relatively narrow and high ridge in the northwestern section of the old city of Cosenza may be suggestive of their defensive nature. In the absence of associated datable material, however, the dating of the remains is approximate. Orsi has noted a similarity between them and the reticulate walls employed in the circuit wall of the sanctuary of Hera at Cape Lacinium which Blake dates to the middle of the first century

²⁰⁷ *ibid.*, 139.

²⁰⁸ Kahrstedt (1960) 96.

²⁰⁹ CAT. I: Cosenza, no. 3, IGM F. 236, map J. Guzzo (1986b) 536, undecided on the date and function; also, Paoletti (1994) 482.

B.C., but an early Augustan date cannot be excluded.²¹⁰

It is possible that the Roman town occupied the same hill surrounded by the rivers Crati and Busento that later accommodated Medieval Cosenza. The archaeological material mentioned by Kahrstedt that found its way into the buildings there supports this hypothesis. *In situ* are a couple of walls that belonged to an unidentified building in use between the third and the second century B.C., that in the second half of the first century B.C. became reused in the baths (*caldarium*). These were in use until the first quarter of the second century A.C., but ceramic material found on the site reaches the VI-VII century A.C. mark. Remains of another structure in use from the third century B.C. and the first A.C. are located ca. 150.00m. to the north.²¹¹

Graves from the area of the railway station and the civic hospital (*contrada* Moio) were dated to the late Republican period.²¹² Another grave site comes from *località* Cannuzze and was dated to the third century A.C.²¹³

²¹⁰ Orsi (1911) 84; Blake (1947) 231.

²¹¹ CAT I: Cosenza, nos. 1-2, IGM F. 236, map J.

²¹² Kahrstedt (1960) 97; *NSc* (1877) 177; *NSc* (1879) 77; *NSc* (1935) 189. A Roman era bridge is possibly identifiable in the remains of a pylon at the Busento N or the city: Taliano-Grasso (1995) 13, 23, no. 57.

²¹³ Guzzo (1979) 26, 31, n. 4; Paoletti (1994) 485. From it comes a terracotta pseudo-pelike *oinophoros* decorated in relief with the figure of a drunken Dionysus on one side and Silenus with a tympanon on the other surrounded by a curving vine; the piece comes from a workshop in Asia Minor and does not have parallels elsewhere in Calabria. To this short list of remains can be added a couple of inscription (CAT. III, IGM F. 236, nos. 2-3) and two pieces of relief sculpture of mid Imperial date. One is an archaïcising funerary stele, possibly of the third century A.C. (Arias [1987] 423-25, fig. 360, with a Greek inscription on the upper border: *Ἰδρυμένης τοῦ Βασιλείου Χαίρε*), but Guzzo (1986b) 537 (II C A.C. and reused), Faedo (1994) 641, and Paoletti (1994) 485 are uncertain about the date; the other, a sarcophagus depicting the Calydonian boar hunt, later reused for a Norman burial of the late eleventh century A.C., now in the Duomo: Koch (1975) 136, no. 157 and pls. 39,53; Faedo (1982) 706 and n. 101;

CROTON

The remains datable to the Roman period are extremely sparse. There are several reasons for this. Croton has never been the subject of systematic archaeological excavations of the type seen at Thurii. In part, the reason for this may lie in continued settlement on the site down to modern times; in addition, a difficult relationship between the local archaeological authorities and the wider community, as well as various types of damage due to modern development and neglect have contributed to the present state of research and information.²¹⁴ The work conducted during the 1980s has begun to fill the picture somewhat, but has not yet changed the impression that has been held all along: archaeologically, Roman Croton appears insignificant.²¹⁵ When contrasted with the extension and the remains of the Greek city, whose study is obviously plagued by the same logistical problems, it appears that a significant contraction of the urban area followed after the events of the second Punic war. Further explorations may be able to clarify this impression.

From the presently available archaeological evidence it appears that the city was in decline already during the third century B.C., when some previously inhabited quarters

excavations beneath the pavement of the Duomo in Nestori (1980) 51-61, figs. 1-2. The sarcophagus is dated to the third century A.C. and represents local work after a Roman model: Koch (1975) 136 n. 157, pl. 39d; Guzzo (1981a) 123.

²¹⁴ Orsi (1911) 77-78; Guzzo, Iaculli (1977) 38-40.

²¹⁵ Paoletti (1994) 523; Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 23, 1983 (1984) 104-110.

became abandoned.²¹⁶ This trend appears to have continued after the establishment of the citizen colony in 194 B.C.

The data suggest that the Roman period of occupation was limited to the area of the medieval Castello and to the small stretch below it (fig. 15).²¹⁷ From this area (Via Vittorio Veneto, ex-Banca d'Italia) come modest remains of rubble and tile inhumation burials dated to the Imperial period down to as late as the fifth century A.C.²¹⁸ The burials were located in a habitation area dated to the third century B.C., and as such signify a shift in the use of the city-space that must have occurred sometime after the establishment of the Roman colony.

Nearby, in Via Tedeschi near the Post Office, was another burial ground.²¹⁹ The tombs are without grave-goods and their construction is reminiscent of those just described: their date of use may be the same. Again, they occupy the area of an abandoned Hellenistic domestic quarter.²²⁰ From the same general quarter come two other burial groups (Via XXV Aprile and Banca Popolare Cooperativa) which display similar modesty of construction and appear to have been in use during the second and

²¹⁶ Guzzo (1981a) 122; *idem* (1986b) 533; Paoletti (1994) 523.

²¹⁷ Guzzo (1981a) 122; Paoletti (1994) 524.

²¹⁸ CAT. I: Crotone, no.4, IGM F. 238, map M; Lucente (1932) 364-377, espec. 368-374 and figs. 3-7; Guzzo, Iaculli (1977) 35 and fig. 5.; Guzzo (1981a) 122. For a third/fourth century A.C. inscription, but not from a closed context: Buonocore (1985) 335; CAT. III, IGM F. 238, no. 23.

²¹⁹ CAT. I: Crotone, no.5, IGM F. 238, map M.

²²⁰ Paoletti (1994) 524.

third centuries A.C.²²¹

No public buildings or domestic structures of Roman date are known from the city. Sporadic stratified contexts in the area of Via XXV Aprile suggest some other type of occupation than the funerary use encountered above. It seems that after a break early in the third century B.C. - following the abandonment of the presumably sacral building on the site - interrupted and as yet undefined occupation can be dated from the second century B.C. to the middle of the sixth or seventh century A.C. Remains of a street were also found and are datable to the fifth century A.C.; this overlay some buildings, perhaps datable to the Hellenistic period.²²²

PETELIA

Ancient Petelia is identified with modern Strongoli. In the absence of systematic excavations, the interpretation of the archaeological remains found for the most part in uncontrolled contexts is incomplete. The excavations late in the 19th century have revealed Roman period remains in the areas of Pianette and Brausa on the low plateau (ca. 260.00m.a.s.l.) to the north-east of the modern settlement.²²³ There were found the remains of a bath building, an aqueduct, mosaic pavements, remains of a street and various

²²¹ CAT I: Crotone, nos. 6-7; Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 28, 1988 (1989) 554-55; Paoletti (1994) 525.

²²² Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 28, 1988 (1989) 554-55; Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 29, 1989 (1990) 587; another stretch at Cooperativa Uranio: Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 28, 1988 (1989) 555.

²²³ Volante *apud* Fiorelli, "Strongoli," *NSc* (1880) 68-73, 163-64, 501-502; Volante *apud* Fiorelli, "Strongoli," *NSc* (1881) 67-68, 97, 197, 331-332; Kahrstedt (1960) 82; Luppino (1982a) 665; Paoletti (1994) 532; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 30, no. 60.

structures decorated with columns - some of Egyptian granite - all of unspecified date and nowadays mostly lost. The forum area is hypothesised for the western edge of the Pianette, on slightly higher ground than the rest of the archaeological areas.

Another archaeological area was identified at the Pretura on Corso B. Miraglia (322.00m.a.s.l.): found were remains of baths, terracotta antefixes and an inscription commemorating a temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus dated at the end of the Republican or early Augustan period.²²⁴

A modest early Imperial necropolis lies along a paved Roman road at *località* Fondo Castello on the north-west slopes below the modern town.²²⁵ The types of tombs vary; there are vaulted chamber tombs, those covered with tile *alla cappuccina*, and simple shafts. All except one were incinerations with simple grave goods. Very schematic anthropomorphic inscribed stelae were found in most of the vaulted chamber tombs and in some *alla cappuccina* and *a fossa*. These are reminiscent of Italic traditions found in Campania in the late Republican and early Imperial periods, but are otherwise unknown in Calabria.²²⁶ Of a different class and reminiscent of more monumental Roman tomb architecture is a small squarish chamber tomb from the vicinity with an architectonic façade, *opus reticulatum* side walls and a rectangular niche opposite the entrance.²²⁷

The port may have been located at Marina di Strongoli, where finds include

²²⁴ Luppino (1982a) 665. For the inscription see CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no. 13.

²²⁵ CAT I: Strongoli, no. 2, IGM F. 238, map M.

²²⁶ Capano (1980) 64-65 (for parallels), 68; *idem* (1972) 124.

²²⁷ Foti (1974) 384-85 and pl. LXX,2.

graves, pottery (II C B.C.-IV C A.C.), and, now under the sea some four to seven metres deep, column drums, building blocks, brick masonry remains, amphorae, *dolia* and possibly remains of a breakwater.²²⁸

²²⁸ Cerando (1997) 4-6.

CHAPTER 4

Rural settlements: the archaeological evidence

The following is a review of an assortment of sites scattered throughout northern Calabria outside the five principal urban settlements presented in the previous chapter. The sites are collected in Catalogue II. 397 sites are included. An example was included if it was deemed by the original commentator to have come from a rural context, i.e. it was situated outside the perimeter or the immediate vicinity of the currently identified urban centres; the other criterion for inclusion is that it was published.¹ Limitations - chronological and typological - of many examples are self-evident from a simple glance at the Catalogue. The data from the random sample survey conducted in the early 1980s in the area south of Croton are used in the discussions;² those sites are not listed in the Catalogue, however, because only the most limited topographical information is available about them.

The present overview will outline some broad trends in rural settlement and activity before attempting an interpretation of land use and economic development of

¹ What is meant by this is that a record about each example appears in relatively accessible and creditable publications. In the end it was deemed that not many sites had to be excluded from the Catalogue, but by no means is it claimed that the present account contains complete documentation pertaining to the Roman period rural settlements from northern Calabria. On the extent of "publication" and the attendant difficulties of interpretation see below.

² See note 4 in this chapter.

northern Bruttium in the following chapters.

At the outset a few caveats are necessary. Especially limiting is the lack of examples from systematic survey projects. Only one area, the Croton survey, has been recently under investigation in the manner of a random sample survey, but the results have not been published yet. While these data, such as they are at the moment, will be presented here and used in further discussions, the singularity of this project does not allow for controlled comparisons with other areas.

Overall, incomplete documentation, imprecise dating and lack of detail plague the bulk of the data. This can be linked to a variety of factors: the method and standards of investigation and reporting were often cursory; many sites were discovered a long time ago when those standards were substantially different from those deemed appropriate now; a vast number of sites resulted from casual discovery and rescue efforts, bringing the very identification of such "sites" into question. How should a few accidentally encountered walls in the midst of a growing coastal settlement be interpreted? Do they represent an isolated site or did they form part of a village? Are scattered flat tiles from a "tomb" (but without bones) remains of just one burial, or was it a cemetery?

Such basic difficulties of interpretation challenge our ability to comprehend and discuss the implications of the discoveries in a coherent manner, and all too often, because of destruction or loss, the record cannot be verified. Unfortunately, modern building activity in many parts of Calabria is relentless, and where things are not disappearing in the basements of houses, deep ploughing gradually scatters and destroys much of the evidence that was visible in the past. Under such circumstances, even a simple mention of a site or

a find without a context, now irreplaceably lost, could be used for spot-checking an area and designing future projects.

In essence, the bulk of available information comes from extensive and non-systematic reconnaissance or casual finds that resulted in haphazard discovery. Very few sites have been excavated (25), and the survey of the surroundings of only one is under way.³ Because of this unevenness in the method of investigation, it is hazardous to ascribe the apparent discrepancy in the recovered site densities and the nature of sites (e.g. the scarcity of villas as opposed to building scatters or ceramic finds) to the actual situation on the ground during any given historical period.

This general lack of cohesiveness in the collection and documentation criteria also hinders comparisons between the sub-areas. For example, it is difficult to assess comprehensively the apparent difference in settlement densities in the hinterlands of Croton and Thurii in the late Republican and early Imperial periods, even if the problems of site-interpretation within each area could be resolved.

Obviously, at the present state of research, any hope of arriving at far-reaching conclusions regarding the settlement pattern for any given period must be foregone. It is hoped, however, that with these limitations in mind and a careful approach, some general

³ The disparate quality of the evidence makes the search for common criteria that could help to establish statistically viable and conclusive correlations impossible, and therefore a comprehensive statistical break-down for all sites unfeasible. As to the excavated sites, no example has received a complete publication report; the excavation standards and data examination varied considerably from one example to the next, which makes comparisons between them treacherous and the potential for missed data significant; the criteria and precision of dating varied considerably as well. It should be noted that no study of coarse wares - which by their very nature and ubiquity may provide indications for longer relative periods of occupation on a site - has yet been published from Calabria. A magnetometer survey is under way at Malvito, *località* Pauciori (CAT II, IGM F. 229, no. 6, map F).

trends may be discerned.

The Croton Survey

The survey began in 1983 as an international collaborative project between the Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Calabria and the University of Texas at Austin, and continued through 1985. At present, only preliminary accounts are available in the annual reports of the *Convegni* held at Taranto and short summaries in two other publications.⁴

The survey area lies in the municipal territories of Cutro and Isola Capo Rizzuto south of Croton (so-called Marchesato) (maps M,P). The survey was designed as a diachronic random sample survey.⁵

Topographically, the investigated quadrants include low coastal terraces (at 35.00m.a.s.l.) and the inland plateau (between 150-200 m.a.s.l.), in places extensively dissected by steep river gullies, making it very irregular and creating narrow ridges. Overall, the landscape was shaped by Pliocene clays and marls which are frequently covered by sands and gravel of Pleistocene formation.⁶ The points of contact between the clay and sand are suitable for water conservation and many sites were situated near these

⁴ Carter, D'Annibale (1985a) 153-156; D'Annibale (1984) 15-16; Carter, D'Annibale (1985b) 546-551; Carter (1986) 448-453. The amount of detail in the reports is slim: for example, virtually no evaluation of site sizes is available, functional interpretations are not given, and very little is known about their characteristics (e.g. sites with/or without architectural elements, presence or absence of plaster etc.); overall, archaeological material found per site was abundant.

⁵ On the west the boundary is the river Tacina; on the north, an imaginary line 5km. south of Croton, and the sea on the east and the south. The ideal territory of 270sq.km. was to be covered by intensive field-walking; so far, just over 7% of the entire territory has been investigated. This has comprised 1km. quadrants randomly selected from the total, but representative of different topographical formations.

⁶ See also Introduction, 13; Carter (1985) 546-47.

water sources.

Presently, a rough numerical breakdown according to the main chronological periods of occupation is available (from the Neolithic to the Medieval periods); so far, the totals have not been calculated. The present account concerns a comparison between the Greek- and the post-Greek periods of occupation.

The Greek period (ca. 500-300 B.C. as defined by the survey) is represented by the highest number of sites overall. By the end of the 1984 campaign, most discovered sites were situated on inland terraces; of the total of 238 sites overall, 131 contained Greek-period material. Numerical fluctuation between the late Archaic, Classical and early Hellenistic periods has been noted. There is an overall increase in numbers to the maximum in the late Classical period (400-350 B.C.), i.e. 56% of the total number of Greek sites; this is followed by a sharp fall to 13% of the total for the period between 350-300 B.C.⁷

After a hiatus of ca. 150 years, 23% of the total of 69 sites with "Roman" material are said to have been occupied during the Republican period; 27% during the first century A.C.; and 80% of the total during the following centuries, but the lower chronological limit remains unspecified.⁸ 65% of all Greek-period sites were occupied in

⁷ Carter, D'Annibale (1985b) 549. This calculation does not include the 1985 season which added another 64 sites comprising the period from the Neolithic to the late Roman period: Carter (1986) 448.

⁸ Carter, D'Annibale (1985b) 550. The account is not without difficulties. A hiatus of 150 years between the "Greek" and the "Roman" period of occupation is curious: "Dopo uno iato di circa un secolo e mezzo la vita nel territorio riprende [with]...69 siti con materiale romano..." The interpretation of the data is complicated by the fact that the duration of the "Roman" period is not defined: possibly, it is to be surmised that "ceramica campana" characterises the Republican period (however that should be

the Roman or Medieval period. Of the first century A.C. sites, only four were new creations, and only two of these continue in the subsequent period. Of the total of 69 sites, 52 were characterised as "farmsteads". Overall, a degree of settlement continuity and a gradual increase in absolute numbers has been observed.

The late Roman period is even less clear: the authors talk about a total of 70 *abitazioni*.⁹ These seem to be gathered together in groups of at least four, which probably reflects a tendency for nucleation, a feature that stands in contrast to the previous periods characterised by dispersed farm-sites. It appears that the early Medieval period saw a drastic fall in the number of sites.

A somewhat different settlement distribution was noted in the vicinity of the Hera sanctuary at Capo Colonna. The area comprises two successive coastal terraces (max. height 140m.a.s.l.) and covers ca. 6km². The majority of the sites from all documented periods (total of 64) were situated near the water sources, typically near the edges of terraces and along the coast.

The Greek-period sites were few: only seven have been found that belonged for the most part to the fourth century, but afterwards were abandoned and not reoccupied. While at least six of the seven appear to have been isolated farms, there was a much larger settlement ca. 900m. west of the sanctuary that occupied an area of ca. 350x250 m. In contrast to the other Greek sites, this continued in use through the late Roman period. Its

defined); the sites with the Arretine ware belong to the Augustan era and the first century A.C.; and the African Red Slip sites belong to the subsequent undefined period.

⁹ *ibid.*, 550-51.

character is not clear during the Roman phase, but in the preceding period the retrieved archaeological material was sufficiently assorted (pieces of marble, metal objects) to suggest varied areas of activity.¹⁰

The late Republican period saw an increase in settlement numbers. Fourteen sites, more or less regularly spaced, have been documented; with few exceptions, the occupation on them continued through the late Roman period. The number of sites in the early Imperial period falls to ten. However, these were larger than in the preceding period, overall more widely spaced and situated in commanding positions.¹¹ The sanctuary of Hera may have continued to function down to the middle Imperial period (end III C A.C.), but major new interventions were executed in the late first century B.C. when the precinct wall in combined ashlar and reticulate masonry was constructed.¹²

The late Roman period was represented by 15 sites, many of which perhaps show a tendency for nucleation, as was the case in the rest of the surveyed area.¹³

Outside the survey-area, a heterogeneous scattering of the previously known sites

¹⁰ Carter (1986) 451-52.

¹¹ *ibid.*, 452-53. In addition, three early Imperial sites situated in coastal locations in the area of the promontory of Capo Colonna are also known (CAT. II, IGM F. 238, map M, nos. 12-13, 15). To this can be added the remains of the first century A.C. farm or villa (with mosaic floors) and the contemporary kiln situated at Capo Colonna, within the precinct of the sanctuary of Hera (CAT II, IGM F. 238, map M, no. 14; photo in Settis ed. (1994) unnumbered plate: Crotone, loc. Capo Colonna, villa romana): visible is part of the complex that consisted of seven or eight spaces grouped around a central space that appears to have a basin in the middle with a drain issuing from near one corner. Kiln: CAT II, IGM F. 238, map M, no. 14. A large (I C A.C.) villa was located at the tip of the promontory at Capo Cimiti south of Capo Colonna (CAT. II, IGM F. 243, map P, no. 3).

¹² CAT. II, IGM F. 238, map M, no. 14; also Chapter 6, 223.

¹³ Carter (1986) 453.

- and collected by all manner of chance and rescue - lies in the vicinity and north of Croton, but the immediate surroundings of the city remain virtually unexplored.¹⁴ North of Croton, the examples come from predominantly low lying locations along the coast and close to modern development, which perhaps suggests that such distribution should be ascribed to the circumstances of discovery rather than to the actual ancient situation. In any case, the present number of sites almost certainly under-represents the true number in antiquity. There is a cluster of sites on either side of the Neto that range from possibly isolated farmsteads (some with decorative features) to, presumably, associated tombs, but too little is known about each to draw secure conclusions. They span the period from late Republican to late Roman times, but the dating is not precise; the peak appears to have occurred in the Imperial period.¹⁵

Several sites located on low hill-slopes near the river valleys are known from inland locations.¹⁶ Some were probably isolated farmsteads during the late Republican and early Imperial periods; two sites contained late Roman inhumation burials,¹⁷ while a continuation from the Republican to the Imperial period was noted on only two sites.¹⁸

Based on an extremely small sample from the same general area, a meaningful

¹⁴ From earlier desultory fieldwork we hear of "stanziamenti e fattorie romane" in the valley of Esaro (CAT. II, IGM F. 238, map M, nos. 10-11).

¹⁵ CAT. II, IGM F. 238, map M, nos. 2bis, 2bis I, 2bis II, 3-6, 8.

¹⁶ CAT. II, IGM F. 238, map M, nos. 1-2, 7-9, 17-18.

¹⁷ CAT. II, IGM F. 238, map M, nos. 1, 7.

¹⁸ CAT. II, IGM F. 238, map M, nos. 2, 8.

numerical shift does not seem to have occurred between the Hellenistic (IV-III C B.C., some four sites) and the Republican/Imperial period sites (two or three dated sites). A shift in location is almost complete, however: the Bruttian site at Petelia-Pianette grew into a Roman *municipium* (Petelia), but other Hellenistic period sites (predominantly tombs and the fortified site at Murge) became abandoned by the end of the third century B.C.¹⁹

The Plain of Sibari and its Hinterland

This is an extensive area comprising the large alluvial Plain of Sibari, i.e. the lower river valleys of Crati and Coscile and their tributaries, and the hilly hinterland easily accessible via these water courses. The bottom of the plain is covered with deep overlying layers of alluvium; the rolling Pliocene hills gradually rise from the margins of the plain before reaching the higher limestone and granite slopes of the Pollino and the Sila.²⁰

The plain and the immediate hinterland were the subject of a reconnaissance project of the *Forma Italiae* type in the 1960s. The approximate size of the surveyed area was 500.00 square km. The results were catalogued and brief conclusions drawn up by a group of authors in 1969.²¹

Apart from the problems inherent in an extensive survey project, there are additional flaws in the presentation of the report that caution prudence in using the data for analytical purposes. The most serious problem is the commentators' failure to define

¹⁹ Sabbione (1977) 930-33; Guzzo, Luppino (1980) 852-57.

²⁰ See Introduction, 11-12.

²¹ Quilici *et al.* (1969) 91-155.

clearly the chronological framework employed in the classification of the data. Apart from those that do not concern us here, (e.g. Archaic, prehistoric etc.), the catalogued sites were labelled as "ellenistico-romani", "imperiali" and "romani". In the discussions, however, the "Roman" sites have been divided between the "late Hellenistic" and the "Roman Imperial" epochs without defining the duration of either; furthermore, no site actually catalogued by the authors was labelled as "late Hellenistic". There is also a "Hellenistic" category, but it is not clear when that ended. It has been assumed here that on historical grounds and the process of elimination it is perhaps right to equate "late Hellenistic" with the Roman Republican period, i.e. post-Hannibalic times in Calabria, and that those sites labelled "Imperial" should be dated to the Augustan period and the subsequent centuries (although it is unclear when this ended). "Hellenistic" sites are earlier, but of uncertain date. In the end, "Hellenistic-Roman", "Imperial" and "Roman" sites have been included here in Catalogue II, as well as those which produced cemented masonry and crushed brick pavements, assuming a strong possibility that these were Roman.²²

The other difficulty of interpretation is with site sizes which were mostly pottery

²² *ibid.*, 98 (for the Roman material) and 147-148, for the "insediamenti ellenistico-romani" where these have been described as "ancient" but impossible to define more clearly. Here, the "Hellenistic-Roman" category has been taken to mean an occupation on the site that may have involved both or either period, i.e. possibly the sites already in existence in the Republican period (and/or earlier, but not before the late fourth century B.C. on traditional grounds for dating "Hellenistic" material) and/or in the Imperial period. While I am fully aware that this could be wrong, sites that produced only Black Glaze have been excluded from the Catalogue, as were those claimed to be Medieval, although it is not entirely clear what this latter category covered. The small number of the black glaze sites in the total sample made this decision easier; it was felt necessary to make it, however, since the reports do not assign dates to the Black Glaze sites. It is thus impossible to know which of these should be considered earlier and which later than the upper chronological limit of the present study.

scatters. It is important to have a good sense of the size of scatters as well as the criteria for labelling a site as such, but only extremely rough guidelines were provided by the labels "small", "large" and "vast" in the original publication. While this was noted, it was not accorded much weight in the following discussions. With these limitations in mind, an attempt will be made to chart some general settlement trends in the Plain of Sibari and its hinterland.

Overall, a large majority of dated sites belonged to the Roman period, either "late Hellenistic" or Imperial.²³ It should be stressed, however, that a huge number of sites remained undated, thus almost certainly skewing the overall proportions of representation in each chronological category: of the total of 771, 445 sites remained undated. 35 sites where Black Glaze was specifically noted came mostly from the hilly country between the Crati and the Coscile, possibly hinting at the fourth and third century Bruttian settlement of the area. A possible continuity of occupation from the Hellenistic to the Roman Republican/Imperial period was documented on 28 sites, which included the fortified settlement at Serra Castello, but the number could be larger (or smaller) in view of the difficulties with dating and classification mentioned above.²⁴ 112 sites were designated as "Roman"; 25, as "Roman Imperial"; 47, as "Hellenistic-Roman"; this last category may include more sites that span the pre- and post-Hannibalic periods.

The flat plain north of the Coscile/Crati produced virtually no archaeological

²³ Quilici *et al.* (1969) 148.

²⁴ Serra Castello. CAT. II, IGM F. 229, map E, nos. 18-26. 76 sites were dated to the pre-Hannibalic period (incl. Prehistoric, Archaic and Classical Greek and Hellenistic periods).

record.²⁵ On the northern and western margins of the plain the sites were situated on the low foothills. Quite a few were also nestled in the rolling hills and the plateau around Castrovillari (ca. 200-400m.a.s.l.), further to the north-west.²⁶ Characteristic is a relative poverty of finds: most common were coarse and kitchen wares, as well as brick and tile scatters, the latter also possibly indicating tombs. Rarely, the sites had "elite" features.²⁷ Some of these appear clustered with other sites of varying sizes and character, perhaps suggesting a form of nucleation.²⁸ Architectural remains were rare and included mortared rubble walls, ceramic water pipes, cement and *opus spicatum* floors and fragments of column drums; mosaic pavements were very rare and simple.²⁹

Tombs were frequent, but for the most part remain imprecisely dated. Most were built of simple slabs of stone or brick, or cut into the ground, and covered with stone slabs or tile, often *alla cappuccina*.³⁰ An Imperial age rural sanctuary was associated with the cave at Fonte delle Ninfe in the hilly terrain on the northern margins of the Plain.³¹

A good number of sites have produced indicators of agricultural activity such as

²⁵ Quilici *et al.* (1969) 97-98. This is probably a result of flooding that over time obscured the traces of ancient settlements.

²⁶ CAT.II, IGM F. 221, nos. 7-22, map C.

²⁷ For elite features such as ornamental fountains and black-and-white mosaic: CAT. II, IGM F. 221, map E, no. 34 and nos. 52-55.

²⁸ Quilici *et al.* (1969) 148. E.g.: CAT. II, IGM F. 221, map E, nos. 34-36 and nos. 52-55.

²⁹ CAT II, IGM F. 221, map E, nos. 56, 26, 23, 30, 63, 45.

³⁰ E.g.: CAT II, IGM F. 221, map E, nos. 33, 38, 53.

³¹ CAT. II, IGM. F. 221, map D, no. 37.

dolia fragments; several had millstones.³²

One large site was excavated some 12km. south of Castrovillari at Camerelle on the gently rising ground on the northern margins of the Plain (fig. 19).³³ The excavated area was ca. 5000.00m², which represented only a portion of the whole complex.³⁴ The complex's west side was underpinned by a substantial and buttressed terrace wall in *opus incertum*.³⁵ The terrace supported a rectangular structure (82.00x50.00m.) organised around two courtyards which gave the unit a degree of axial symmetry. Beyond these, on either side of this central unit, was a large space. A cryptoporticus, perhaps serving as an entrance corridor, appears to have run along the east and south sides of the complex.³⁶ The complex underwent very few changes in overall plan during its existence, dated by ceramic and numismatic finds between the second half of the first century B.C. and the second half of the third century A.C.³⁷

The industrial quarter was located in the northern part of the complex where oil and wine pressing rooms were identified.³⁸ To the south were domestic quarters which centred on two spaces, 'Z' and 'F', which probably served as courtyards. The larger one

³² E.g. CAT.II, IGM F. 221, nos. 5,7,8, etc. map C.

³³ CAT. II, IGM F 221, map C, no. 20, fig. 19.

³⁴ Tinè Bertocchi (1963) 137.

³⁵ *ibid.*, 137-139.

³⁶ *ibid.*, 146. Remains of clay and lead pipes found outside the north wall of the building may belong to the water intake system (p.147).

³⁷ *ibid.*, 150.

³⁸ *ibid.*, 143.

('Z') was probably a peristyle,³⁹ while the smaller courtyard ('F') to the west of the peristyle had a basin placed near its centre, identified by the excavator as an *impluvium*; this was probably another open court.⁴⁰ A degree of axial symmetry, and the loose grouping of the spaces around the two courtyards, are reminiscent of many contemporary farmhouses in Italy,⁴¹ as well as of the large *domus* behind the theatre at Thurii/Copia (Chapter 3, 82-86).

In the hilly zone between the Coscile and the Crati there was a somewhat different settlement pattern. It appears that isolated farmsteads were the preferred form of settlement in this area; many took advantage of the ground-water sources in the nearby hills for their water supply.⁴² Fragments of *dolia* and utilitarian pavements such as *opus spicatum* and cement floors were frequent finds and, in the absence of more lavish types of decoration which are encountered on a very limited number of sites, they suggest modest and agrarian functions for these establishments.⁴³ Two larger and better appointed sites were located on the low ridge some 400.00m. and 100.00m. south of the Coscile respectively. Nothing except a few ashlar blocks remain of the two at present time, but at

³⁹ *ibid.*, 145-146: porticoed with plastered brick columns probably set into a parapet wall and paved with a terrazzo floor. The court provided not only light and air for the surrounding spaces, but was also used for collecting rain-water which gathered into a rectangular basin situated next to the portico wall.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, 143-145.

⁴¹ Rossiter (1978) 22.

⁴² Pala in Quilici *et al.* (1969) 124-125. Water-pipes: Quilici *et al.* (1969) nos. 477-482; CAT. II, IGM F. 221, map E, nos. 77-78, 79-80; IGM F. 229, map E, nos. 14-16.

⁴³ E.g. CAT II, IGM F. 229, map E, nos. 12, 13; IGM F. 229, map F, no. 16 bis I.

excavation-time in the late 1920s, there was much to be seen on the ground. The larger of the two, the villa at Grotta del Malconsiglio (fig. 17), occupied an area of some 3000.00m² and included three rambling but interconnected units, all with the same NNW-SSE orientation.⁴⁴ The complex appears to have been constructed in the second century B.C. and continued in use through the first century A.C., but some limited occupation may have persisted on the site until the early Middle Ages.⁴⁵

Excavated were two separate agricultural areas for wine and olive-oil production, rooms where loom weights were common, thus suggestive of another type of domestic function,⁴⁶ as well as the living quarters characterised by simple decoration including wall revetments and black and white mosaic (room '44' and '32') and *opus signinum* ('24' and '25') floors. The rambling and extensive remains, as well as differing levels of embellishment and use of the individual rooms, are reminiscent of many contemporary villas in Italy, although in the present example the division into the *urbana* and the *rustica* parts is not clear.⁴⁷

The second site excavated by Galli in 1929 was located on the low spur at

⁴⁴ CAT. II, IGM F. 221, map. E, no. 73, fig. 17.

⁴⁵ The relative chronology of three construction phases has been established on the basis of different building techniques; several discontinuous walls belong to the first phase; the same wall orientation continued in the second phase to which belonged most of the excavated spaces; their rebuilding occurred in the final phase: Galli (1930a) 54, 67-72 and plan facing p. 46

⁴⁶ Galli (1930a) 94, but loom weights interpreted as having "...carattere simbolico-amuletico...".

⁴⁷ Rossiter (1978) 29-37. Since predominantly utilitarian and productive functions were characteristic of the remains on the ground level, the excavator suggested that the living quarters of the owner or manager may have been located on the second floor (Galli [1930a] 73), but clear evidence for this is missing.

contrada Prainetta-Matavaia (fig. 18).⁴⁸ The complex was dated to the second century B.C., with the occupation continuing in the following century, and, on the basis of sparse remains, it is possible that the site continued its life on a reduced scale during the Imperial period. Several spaces were excavated and more were indicated by the continuation of the walls. The utilitarian type of pavement in one room ('1-2', *opus spicatum* and mortar and crushed brick)⁴⁹ separates it in style from the rooms to the NNW, where a squarish room ('7') was paved with a black-and-white mosaic pavement which had near its middle an ornamental shell-shaped drain cover.⁵⁰ The floors in the neighbouring two rooms ('8-9') have been replaced several times. This was perhaps necessitated by frequent flooding, as new floors were raised substantially above the levels of previous pavements thus perhaps temporarily alleviating the problem.⁵¹ Next to the mosaic room ('7'), a room at a lower level ('10') appears to have contained a water basin and may have belonged to a bath suite.⁵²

Many sites were encountered south of the Crati where the hilly country

⁴⁸ CAT. II, IGM F. 221, map E, no. 74, fig. 18.

⁴⁹ Galli (1930a) 100-101.

⁵⁰ Cf. Balmelle *et al.* (1985) pl. 39, c; Galli (1930a) 102-105 and figs. 86-88. Twelve moulded and engaged stucco pilasters lined the walls at regular intervals, one in each corner and two per each wall, and painted plaster reminiscent of the first Pompeian style covered the walls.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, 105-107. Mortar and crushed brick floor in room '9' was at some point replaced with an *opus signinum* pavement. A large quantity of pitch found beneath the most recent floor in room '9' may have been used to keep the foundations dry (*ibid.*, 106, raises the issue, but also suggests that the pitch was used for caulking boats and was found abandoned in this spot).

⁵² The outer walls of both rooms appear to have been reinforced with thinner walls perhaps to help eliminate excessive dampness (*ibid.*, 107).

interspersed with torrents falls abruptly toward the alluvial plain. This was in the past frequently flooded, but presently is under intensive cultivation and regularly irrigated. Both the hilly terrain and the plain appear to have been densely settled in the Roman period. Pottery and tile scatters, large and small, are the most common finds.⁵³ Only a very limited number of sites displayed mortared rubble walls or simple crushed brick pavements.⁵⁴

In the low plain of the Crati a similar pattern was encountered. Large pottery scatters lie on a low spur parallel with the river that extends in a north-easterly direction following the river course toward Thurii/Copia, and along the margins of the plain below Corigliano. Some sites contained mortared rubble walls and associated pavements.⁵⁵ Brick walls faced with plaster turned up as well.⁵⁶

Extensive remains of an aqueduct were found on the right bank of the Crati approximately across from Parco del Cavallo as well as some discontinuous portions along its south-westerly course.⁵⁷ It was dated to the second century A.C. and was clearly one

⁵³ The dating is imprecise; e.g. CAT. II, IGM F. 229, map E, nos. 18-26; 27-29; 42-49.

⁵⁴ CAT II, IGM F. 229, map E, nos. 17, 31-33, 50-51. Reportedly, remains of an aqueduct were found in the area to the south-east of the last cluster, but the date of this is unknown and the remains have since vanished (CAT II, IGM F. 229, map E, no. 51 bis). In the hills overlooking the Crati ceramic water pipes have been found in association with several sites (e.g. IGM F. 229, map E, nos. 27-29). One large site contained tombs *alla cappuccina* (IGM F. 229, map E, no. 35).

⁵⁵ E.g. CAT. II, IGM F. 221, map E, nos. 97-98, 102; IGM F. 222, map E, nos. 28-30.

⁵⁶ CAT. II, IGM F. 221, map E, nos. 99-101.

⁵⁷ CAT. II, IGM F. 222, map E, no. 18. The source was probably on the low terrace at Fonte del Fico ca. 5.5km. south-west of the remains at Ministalla (CAT. II, IGM F. 221, map E, no. 98).

of the water supplies of Thurii/Copia.⁵⁸

Based on the survey data and the limited information from the area of Castrovillari, a meaningful shift in site numbers between the fourth and third centuries and the post-Punic war period cannot be determined. Of the two fortified sites, Torre Mordillo and Serra Castello, the former was abandoned at the end of the third century B.C., while the latter continued to be occupied; however, the nature of this occupation is unclear. There appears to have been some continuity of occupation between the Hellenistic and the Roman periods, but the nature, scope and exact dates are impossible to determine from the presently available evidence.

The Ionian Coast and the Hinterland

Apart from the relative concentrations of sites in the Plain of Sibari and the Marchesato, there are several other pockets along the Ionian coast and the immediate hinterland where sites have been recorded. The discovery of these examples is predominantly a result of chance linked to modern development, which makes their record very patchy and interpretations hazardous.

Several sites have been recorded from the northeastern limit of the study area around the modern town of Rocca Imperiale, occupying the low coastal terraces (ca. 60.00-80.00m.a.s.l.) and medium height slopes of the inland hills (ca. 500.00m.a.s.l.).⁵⁹ All (8) except one have been dated in the late Republican or middle Imperial periods, with

⁵⁸ De Franciscis (1961) 81.

⁵⁹ They are part of the findings collected for the *Forma Italiae* for Siris-Heraclea: Quilici (1967).

most showing continuity between the two periods.⁶⁰ In two cases the proximity of sites with assorted functions may be suggestive of medium sized agglomerations or villa estates.⁶¹ In both cases, Classical and/or Hellenistic occupation was also noted. The remainder of the sites appear to be isolated, with varied pottery finds and building material, sufficiently assorted to suggest living and working quarters (e.g. *dolia* fragments, loom weights, hydraulic cement, water pipes).⁶²

Further down the coast near the modern town of Amendolara are the remains of a nucleated settlement - probably a *statio* on the coastal road - spread over several coastal terraces, among modern farm-houses (and in some of their basements) and in the open country on the gently sloping ground (fig. 20).⁶³ The architectural remains, covering an approximate area of eight hectares, comprised an aqueduct system, unarticulated walls, and mortared floor and mosaic pavements. The pottery collected from the surface and from the small sondage in 1974 is exclusively Roman, dated to the third and fourth centuries A.C.;⁶⁴ according to the excavator, the building technique supports this date.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ CAT. II, IGM F. 212, MAP A, nos. 1-9; no. 9: late Imperial.

⁶¹ CAT. II, IGM F. 212, map A, nos. 1-3, 6-7.

⁶² CAT. II, IGM F. 212, map A, nos. 4-5, 8-9.

⁶³ CAT. II, IGM. F. 222, nos. 3-6, map D, fig. 20.

⁶⁴ Guzzo (1975b) 360; Crogiez (1990) 414. The aqueduct was approximately 3km. long with the waterfall of 130m. from the source to the settlement area, and consisted of the usual captation and stabilising tanks, a collector cistern, and underground ceramic pipes and cemented rubble conduits.

⁶⁵ Laviola (1972) 7; most walls and structures were built of good quality mortared rubble with sporadic insertions of *tegulae*. Guzzo (1975b) 360 refers to the "...complesso edilizio...in tecnica laterizia", but with no further qualification.

Near the *statio* and further to the south is an assortment of poorly dated sites with sparse pottery finds, fragments of decorative floors, and slight architectural remains.⁶⁶

One, however, at Trebisacce, probably a storage facility for wine and pitch associated with a small anchorage, has produced valuable information about late Republican and early Imperial trade in this part of the province (fig. 21).⁶⁷

The pattern already observed continues along the coast and on the low slopes of the coastal hills beyond the Coscile/Crati estuary down to approximately Punta Alice: the combination of pottery, building materials (decorative elements and water pipes) and floor fragments is typical, and for the most part dated to the late Republic and early Empire.

Most of the sites (24) were founded in the late Republic (II or I C B.C.); the majority then continued in use during the Imperial period, when some new ones (7) were established.

On twelve sites some form of use is documented also in the late Imperial period, although it is not always certain that this occupation is continuous from the earlier periods.⁶⁸ Ten

have produced only late Roman material; these are for the most part cemeteries.⁶⁹ In

several cases tombs were found in association with pottery scatters and building material.

Many coastal sites contained *dolia*, amphorae and loom-weights and several had kilns.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ CAT. II, IGM. F. 222, MAP D, nos. 1-2, 7-8, 10.

⁶⁷ CAT. II, IGM F. 222, map D, no. 9, fig. 21; see Chapters 5 (pp. 212,219) and 6 (p.253).

⁶⁸ CAT. II, IGM F. 230, MAP H, nos. 32-33, 35bis, 38, 41; IGM F. 231, MAP I, nos. 1-3, 6, 8bis, 9-10.

⁶⁹ CAT. II.: IGM F. 230, maps H and I, nos. 31, 32bis, 37, 46-47, 52; IGM f. 231, map I, nos. 4, 8, 11, 13.

⁷⁰ Kilns: CAT. II, IGM F. 230, map H, 32, 35bis, 38, 44; IGM F. 231, MAP I, nos. 1, 6, 9.

Heating installations were found on two sites.⁷¹

A meaningful comparison with the fourth and third century B.C. settlement pattern in this limited area cannot be attempted, since the "Roman" sites are for the most part a result of non-systematic reconnaissance which did not record the pre-Roman sites; it is presumed that these could have been picked up if they had been looked for.⁷² Sporadic "Bruttian" sites, some of them important fortified settlements, others tombs, and a temple complex (Apollo Alaios at Punta Alice) are known from the area.⁷³ It may be significant that on ten sites from the sample presented above, the Hellenistic period occupation was also documented, but precise dates are missing; one of these was the Bruttian fortified site at Castiglione di Paludi.⁷⁴ It appears that some form of occupation also continued on the site of the Apollo Alaios sanctuary, but the nature of this is uncertain; the problems of interpretation and dating are made even more acute by the almost total destruction of the remains (fig. 22).⁷⁵

⁷¹ CAT. II, IGM F. 230, map H, no. 33; IGM F. 231, map I, no. 5.

⁷² The sites are collected in Taliano-Grasso (1994).

⁷³ Guzzo (1982) 292-300; Guzzo, Luppino (1980) 858-68.

⁷⁴ CAT. II, IGM F. 230, map H, nos. 32, 35, 35 bis, 45 (map I), 47 (map I); IGM F. 231, map I, nos. 2-3, 6, 12, 14.

⁷⁵ CAT. II, IGM F. 231, map I, no. 12, fig. 22. The account by Orsi from 1933 remains the most complete to date and it is difficult to imagine that a revision will ever be possible. A continuation of the original role of the sanctuary is possible in the second century B.C., on the basis of its mention in the list of the *theorodokoi* at Delphi early in the second century: Guzzo (1994) 211-12. On the other hand, it has been suggested by Orsi and others (bibl. in CAT. II *loc.cit.*) that some buildings (two squarish structures separated by a narrow passage, the *ex-katagogeia*) that originally belonged to the sanctuary may have continued in use until the end of the first century B.C. in the context of a possible farm that rose on the site (attested to by fragments of *opus signinum*, *o. spicatum*, mosaic pavements and stamped bricks - but most found outside context); fragments of *dolia*, amphorae and kitchen ware were common, but

Beyond Capo Rizzuto, along the shores and in the hinterland of the Gulf of Squillace, there is a scattering of some ten sites situated in topographically diverse locations. Several are located on the southernmost reaches of the Sila Piccola on the medium height slopes (between ca. 300.00-400.00m.a.s.l.), while others occupy low lying coastal locations and immediate hillslopes behind it. Most appear to be of an indeterminate Imperial date and consist of pottery scatters, brick and tile.⁷⁶ On four sites, a IV-III C B.C. occupation was also noted, but a fourth and third century B.C. settlement at Tiriolo ceased to be occupied.⁷⁷

The Tyrrhenian Coast

Three topographical areas are briefly discussed from the Tyrrhenian coast and its immediate hinterland.⁷⁸ One area was the subject of a small scale extensive survey: the project covered the lower foot-hills between the Savuto and the Grande rivers to the west and north of Nocera Tirinese. The second area lies at the far north end of the Tyrrhenian Calabria and comprises the medium-size plain created by the alluvium of the river Lao. This area has never been systematically studied and what is available is the scattering of sites resulting from chance reconnaissance and rescue excavations. The third area is less easily defined: the finds are generally a result of haphazard reconnaissance and are strung

remain mostly undated and some could also belong to the sanctuary-phase of the complex.

⁷⁶ CAT. IV, IGM F. 242, map O, nos. 1-9.

⁷⁷ CAT. II, IGM F. 242, map O, nos. 2-3, 5,8.

⁷⁸ For the coast between Tortora in the North and the Savuto river in the South see now also La Torre (1999).

along the narrow coastal strip that lies between the steep slopes of the coastal mountain range and the sea; some are situated in the narrow valleys created by numerous torrents that fall abruptly into the sea. Several of those sites have notable architectural remains which are relatively well dated by the associated pottery.

The survey in the vicinity of Nocera Tirinese covered an area of approximately 10km.² and included the hilly terrain on either side of the Savuto and the Grande rivers just before these reach the coastal plain.⁷⁹ Geomorphologically, this area is typical of many similar medium and small coastal alluvial plains bordered by the lower reaches of the coastal mountain range, the Catena Costiera. The surveyed area comprises several low terraces of quaternary marine formation with predominantly crystalline base that is good for water retention; numerous natural water sources are found in the higher ground above the terraces.⁸⁰

Of the total of 18 sites, eight were occupied during the Roman period. All were pottery scatters and several included brick, tile and amphorae (some imported), probably attesting to isolated farms, such as those found throughout Italy in the Roman period.⁸¹ The scatters spread over low mountain terraces (130-300m.a.s.l.), currently under olive, vine and orchard cultivation; one is near a spring. No site continued in use after the middle Imperial period: in fact, there was only one that produced ARS D and African

⁷⁹ Annunziata, Paoli (1990) 177-199.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*, 178.

⁸¹ CAT. II, IGM F. 236, map K, nos. 13-20; on one, a ceramic tool for pottery production was found (IGM F. 236, map K, no. 20). The smallest site covers an area of 20x20m.; the largest is 70x70m.

common ware.⁸² All others were occupied during the late Republican or Early Imperial periods: two seem to have been in use continually from the late Republican (second half of the first century B.C.) through the early Imperial period (second century A.C.).⁸³ It is interesting to note that on all sites except one, a record of the late fourth to early third, or the third century B.C. occupation was found as well, and one had two fragments of Archaic *louteria*, but the occupation was not always continuous.⁸⁴ In fact, most sites show a disruption of use at different times during the third century B.C. On eight sites occupation did not continue after the end of the third century B.C.⁸⁵

Just to the south-east of this area lies a triangular plateau - Piano della Tirena - one of the several much debated possible locations of Greek Temesa. Certainly a fortified site, most likely Bruttian of the fourth and third centuries B.C., it had a much reduced Roman phase from the second century B.C. to the fourth century A.C.⁸⁶ Whether this was the Roman period successor of Greek Temesa - in Strabo 6.1.5 "now" abandoned and to Pliny (*N.H.* 3.72) known as *oppidum Tempesa* - remains an open question.

North of Piano della Tirena (approximately between it and S. Lucido to the north), a scattering of sites, mostly strung along the coast and over the low and terraced

⁸² CAT. II, IGM F. 236, map K, no. 19.

⁸³ CAT. II, IGM F. 236, map K, nos. 14, 19.

⁸⁴ CAT. II, IGM F. 236, map K, nos. 14-20.

⁸⁵ Annunziata, Paoli (1990) 186-191.

⁸⁶ CAT. II, IGM F. 236, map K, no. 12; sporadic remains of crushed brick, *signinum* and mosaic floors, rubble masonry, ceramic and lead pipes, a millstone and pitch-containers probably attest to a small settlement on the site.

hill-slopes, has yielded assorted finds. Several had substantial architectural remains (that also included bath-installations), which in combination with pottery, building scatter (wall revetments, mosaic tesserae, column drums, capitals, *suspensurae*), agricultural installations (vats and presses) and storage vessels (*dolia* and amphorae) spread over relatively large areas.⁸⁷ It is probable that these finds represent the remains of residential villas with combined agricultural functions. Of the total of 13 Roman sites, six were founded in the first century B.C.; most continued to be occupied during the early Imperial period; two had a third century B.C. occupation as well.⁸⁸ From the area, twelve or so additional fourth and third century sites are known, but these did not survive beyond the end of the third century B.C.⁸⁹

The medium-size plain of the river Lao and the low foothills of the coastal mountain range that skirt the plain have yielded a record of the Roman-period occupation from the early to the late Imperial periods. An important Bruttian settlement located on the hill of Marcellina, not far from the mouth of the Lao on its left bank, flourished during

⁸⁷ Principessa: ca. 200x150m. (CAT. II, IGM F. 236, map K, no. 8). Conocchia: CAT II, IGM F. 236, map K, no. 9. Fiumefreddo Bruzio, Cutura: estimated occupation area: 1500-2000 square metres (CAT. II, IGM F. 236, map J, no. 5). Palazzi: CAT. II, IGM F. 236, map J, no. 4). S. Cono Spartifoglio: CAT. II, IGM F. 236, map J, no. 3. Deuda: a scatter of ca. 7000 sq. metres (CAT. II, IGM F. 236, map J, no. 1). Paola, Cutura: CAT. II, IG, F. 229, map G, no. 2bis. South of Piano della Tirena, near Falerna: 'Pian delle Vigne', approx. 600.00sq.m. (CAT. II, IGM F. 241, map N, no. 1).

⁸⁸ Sites founded in I C B.C.: IGM F. 236, map J, nos. 1-5, 8; third century B.C. occupation: IGM F. 236, map J, nos. 10-11.

⁸⁹ Guzzo (1978a) 478-79; *idem* (1980) 304; Luppino (1982b) 67, 77; Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 28, 1988 (1989) 584; Matteini Chiari (1990) 159-62. The area south of Cetraro is particularly rich in IV-III C B.C. finds (tombs, pottery): Guzzo (1975b) 373. For the same period from Maratea to the Savuto river see most recently La Torre (1999) 87-107.

the fourth and third centuries B.C.⁹⁰ A scattering of contemporary sites is also documented; but only after a hiatus of almost two centuries, at least on the presently available evidence, did settlement in the area resume, presumably in the form of isolated farmsteads.⁹¹ The break in occupation after the second Punic war does not appear complete, however, and sporadic continuity was noted.⁹² One large site was partially excavated at Fischia south of Scalea. The remains probably represent an early Imperial agricultural estate that also incorporated living quarters, and included two press installations with settling vats, fragments of rubble walls, marble revetments (some moulded), column drums, fragments of sculpture, among which was an archaïcising Pentelic marble female herm, and scattered building blocks, brick and tile.⁹³

Substantial remains of a necropolis were uncovered near modern Cirella at the foot of the hill that is believed to have been the site of Cerillae from the Itineraries.⁹⁴ Simple inhumation burials (39), dated between the second and the beginning of the third centuries A.C., were *a fossa* except two which were *alla cappuccina*.⁹⁵ From the grave

⁹⁰ Chapter 1, 25.

⁹¹ Only a limited number of sites south and north of the Lao have yielded architectural remains of any significance: walls, architectural elements, terracotta pipes and mortar and crushed brick floors: CAT. II, IGM F. 220, map B, nos. 7-10.

⁹² Continuous stratigraphy from the fourth century B.C. to the fifth/sixth century A.C. was found near the abandoned settlement at Marcellina: CAT. II, IGM F. 220, map B, no. 7bis.

⁹³ CAT. II, IGM F. 220, map B, no. 6.

⁹⁴ CAT. II, IGM F. 220, map B, no. 11. *Tab. Peut.*; *Geogr. Rav.* 4.32;5.2; *Guid.* 32.

⁹⁵ De Franciscis (1960a) 425: on numismatic grounds, the necropolis was dated as early as the Antonine period with the latest burial in the early third century A.C. Pots and lamps datable generally to the second century may bring the date up (*loc. cit.* 422-425).

goods and tomb types it is likely that the cemetery belonged to a single community of no great social pretension.

Quite different in class was the neighbouring circular mausoleum dated on architectural grounds by several accounts to the Severan period. This was a large (ext. diam. 13.45m.) brick-faced domed circular structure with the inside wall articulated with three rectangular niches (fig. 24).⁹⁶ The mausoleum is reminiscent of similar structures from Latium and Campania, but the shape of the core in this example departs slightly from the more common form with an angular body and a domed cover.⁹⁷ In the present case, a simplification of the basic type is likely due to the local work, as is also perhaps the somewhat sloppy design (off-centre placing of the entrance).

The Interior including the Sila

The large interior of northern Calabria has produced remarkably few archaeological remains dated to the Roman period. Only several sites have come to light from vastly disparate areas, putting in question the significance of their distribution for the understanding of the settlement pattern of the interior. They can, however, serve as pointers for future soundings and a reminder that even the "deep woods" were inhabited in Roman times, but the extent and the nature of this occupation still remain enigmas. Deep in the upper reaches of the narrow gorge of the Lao river one finds a *signinum* floor presumably with associated cemented walls, all possibly of late Republican date continuing

⁹⁶ CAT II, IGM F. 220, map B, no. 11, fig. 24. Severan date: Lagona (1982) 164. La Torre (1990a): I-III C A.C.; *idem* (1995) 81-82. Guzzo (1983b) 62: Julio-Claudian.

⁹⁷ Crema (1959) 248-54; Lagona (1982) 164; La Torre (1990a) 83; *idem* (1999) 212-214, no 187.

perhaps into the late Roman period.⁹⁸

In the middle valley of the Crati and its tributary water-system a couple of sites near Roggiano Gravina and Malvito have been recently excavated; others are less well known, but may have been well appointed as fragments of mosaics and decorative architectonic elements (columns) suggest.⁹⁹ The complex at Roggiano Gravina occupied an even larger area than those at Grotta and Camerelle in the Plain of Sibari.¹⁰⁰ This was a rich site with the southern exposure on the sloping ground overlooking the valley of Esaro, a western tributary of the Coscile. Two separate units with at least two different periods of occupation and located approximately 200m. apart are known. Unit I had walls of mortared rubble (predominantly river stones) in the first phase and walls built of rubble and brick quoins in the second phase.¹⁰¹

Approximately 200m. north-west and uphill was a set of baths (unit II), likely associated with the second phase of unit I. A large area has been excavated, but presently only brief reports are available.¹⁰² From an unpublished site-plan it is possible to discern a

⁹⁸ CAT. II, IGM F. 221, MAP B, no. 1. From the vicinity come presumably middle to late Roman inhumation burials, but the date is uncertain and could be also Hellenistic (CAT. II, IGM F. 221, MAP B, no. 2 and no. 1).

⁹⁹ E.g. CAT. II, IGM F. 229, map F, nos. 4, 7.

¹⁰⁰ CAT II, IGM F. 229, map F, no. 5; a complete publication is outstanding and excavation reports appear in *Atti Taranto*; Faedo (1992) 449. Grotta del Malconsiglio: CAT. II, IGM F. 221, no 73. Camerelle: CAT. II, IGM F. 221, no. 20.

¹⁰¹ Chiarlo (1974) 67-71.

¹⁰² *ibid* , 71-75. I am grateful for the help accorded to me in the summer of 1990 by the staff of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Calabria, Museo di Sibari, and in particular, D.essa S. Luppino for allowing me to see the unpublished photographs and the site-plan of the bath complex.

compact unit comprising rectangular and squarish spaces with apsidal elements and *piscinae*, a hypocaust room and system, many fallen vaulted elements, a long corridor that connects these spaces - possibly covered with a barrel vault - an area paved in *opus spicatum* and a large water cistern. Extensive black-and-white and polychrome mosaic pavements were laid between the end of the first and the beginning of the second century A.C. (black-and-white) and the end of the second and beginning of the third (polychrome).¹⁰³ The complex was articulated on two levels but the exact connection between the two remains unclear: it appears that the bathing establishment was located on the upper level and was underpinned by a terrace wall articulated with niches. Behind this was a series of rooms. The upper level was accessible by way of a ramp and a brick stairway.¹⁰⁴

Further up the valley of Esaro, at Malvito (loc. Pauciuri), are extensive remains of what may have been a *statio* on the main trunk road, the Via Regio Capuam, or a cross E-W road (*infra*, 132 and Appendix I, fig. 23a,b).¹⁰⁵ Uncovered are a large Imperial bath complex partially superimposed over Republican *horrea*, a portion of a road, and miscellaneous walls that probably belonged to another adjacent building or buildings.¹⁰⁶ In

¹⁰³ It is not possible to reproduce the site plan in this place. The description of the spaces is primarily based on the annual reports in *Atti Taranto*. For the mosaics see Faedo (1993) 449-53. Other types of paving included the usual mortar and crushed brick floors, *opus signinum* and *opus spicatum* floors. Painted plaster was found on some walls. Several marble thresholds were found *in situ*, some with bronze, other with lead pivots still in place (personal information for thresholds and pivots).

¹⁰⁴ *Atti Taranto* 19, 1979 (1980) 385; *Atti Taranto* 21, 1981 (1982) 222 and pl. 30,2.

¹⁰⁵ CAT. II, IGM. F. 229, map F, no. 6, fig. 23a,b.

¹⁰⁶ The sketch plan of the complex in Flambard *et al.* (1985) 561, fig. 12 is inaccurate (=here fig. 23b): areas '1,2,3,4,9,12' are problematic (personal information, S. Luppino, Arch. Superintendency,

addition, geophysical work involving electrical resistivity survey and covering an area of 19,560.00m.² was conducted in 1992.¹⁰⁷

The Republican granary, built of mortared rubble in the beginning of the second century B.C., appears to have continued in use until the construction of the bath complex on its site at the end of the first century A.C.; it consisted of two buildings facing one another.¹⁰⁸

Of the bath complex, the resistivity survey revealed a courtyard ca. 27.00x17.00m. large, which served as a focus around which were built a series of spaces; these opened off a portico which surrounded the courtyard (fig. 23a).¹⁰⁹

In the excavated portion of the complex on the east side of the courtyard, two, or possibly three, building phases have been identified, but the final interpretation is not available. There is some indication of later building in the north section of the complex; this construction is characterised by unmortared rubble and reused building material that is tentatively dated to the fifth century A.C., on the basis of the Late Roman common ware in the relevant strata.¹¹⁰

Immediately to the west of the bath complex, the resistivity survey picked up the

Museo di Sibari).

¹⁰⁷ Crogiez, Kermorvant (1993) 458-462.

¹⁰⁸ Crogiez *et al.* (1991) 352; Flambard *et al.* (1985) 559: abundant remains of *dolia* were found, some still *in situ*, embedded in the ground inside the buildings and in the space between them.

¹⁰⁹ Crogiez, Kermorvant (1993) 460 and figs. 17-18.

¹¹⁰ Crogiez *et al.* (1990) 488; Crogiez (1990) 420. In the Middle Ages, a necropolis was implanted on the site; so far, 75 tombs have been found.

outlines of one or more smaller structures whose precise shape, relationship with the bath complex, and function remain undetermined. They could be generally contemporary with the bath building, as is suggested by their identical orientation and the depth at which their foundations appear. On the opposite east side, as well as to the south of the bath complex, more structures were detected by the survey. Also, a strong NS anomaly, proved to have been a road, was observed east of the bath complex. Its one short segment has been excavated revealing four metres of the solidly built road.¹¹¹ Unfortunately, no datable material has been associated with the road. On the west side of the road and partially overlaying it was a tile covered shallow basin containing predominantly Republican material.¹¹²

The function of the bath-complex is not entirely clear. It is necessary to date securely the road and establish its link with the surrounding structures before the *statio*-theory can be confirmed, but at the moment this is a plausible hypothesis proposed by the excavators. It is well known, however, that such concepts as *mansiones*, *mutationes* or *stationes*, known from the literature and epigraphy, are not easily recognisable in the archaeological records available to us; nor is it easy to distinguish between, say, a *mansio* and a *villa rustica*: the architectural typology is often the same and the variations among the existing components are many.¹¹³ A large bath complex with outlying buildings and a

¹¹¹ Crogiez, Kermorvant (1993) 458, 461.

¹¹² *ibid.*, 461.

¹¹³ Mezzolani (1992) 105-113. For baths as part of the large villa-complex in a comparable topographical context see e.g. Vagni in the region of Buccino: Dyson (1983) 78-80 and fig. 156. The complex at Malvito was not appointed with any features characteristic of agricultural functions, however,

road are, however, strong indicators for a road changing-station *cum taberna*.

Typologically, the present example is reminiscent of the large complex at Albisola on the Ligurian coast (*Tab. Peut.* Alba Docilia) that has been characterised as a *villa-mansio*; there, just as here, a large central court (ca. 15.00x20.00m. at Albisola) served as the organising principle around which the baths, a residential area and storage facilities were grouped.¹¹⁴ Further excavations may be able to establish more closely the chronology and the relationship between the postulated and excavated structures, which may affirm, first their coexistence, and second clarify their character.

All along the Crati, as it gradually ascends deep into the Sila, a string of sites is perhaps indicative of a much denser settlement than is the impression painted by the sparse documentation available at the moment. Unfortunately, most of these sites are imprecisely dated; they consist of isolated tombs, wall and simple floor remains and pottery scatters, some with *dolia* fragments.¹¹⁵ One early Imperial site was a cemetery consisting of eighteen inhumation burials, some probably of the better-off.¹¹⁶ Republican coin hoards were found as well.¹¹⁷ The area was also sporadically settled in the Hellenistic period, but almost none of these sites displays a post-third century B.C. occupation. Apart from the

such as presses and similar installations, nor have these been found anywhere in the vicinity.

¹¹⁴ Mezzolani (1992) 107-108.

¹¹⁵ CAT. II, IGM F. 229, map F, G, nos. 8-10, 58bis, 58bisI, 61, 61bis, 61bisI, 61bisII; IGM F. 236, map J, no. 6bisI.

¹¹⁶ CAT. II, IGM F. 229, map G, no. 60; the number of graves may have been larger, but the site has been destroyed by a modern road.

¹¹⁷ CAT. II, IGM F. 229, map G, no. 3.

fortified settlements at Cosenza and Torano,¹¹⁸ a number of scattered sites (tombs, pottery, *pithoi*) datable to the fourth and third centuries perhaps attest to a dispersed settlement pattern in the countryside during the Hellenistic period.¹¹⁹

A handful of sites lie scattered in the eastern portion of the Sila. Their locations range from the high secluded terrain in the mountains to the upper reaches of the relatively spacious river valleys of Tacina and Neto, far from the sea, but within easy reach of it by way of the river valleys. Again, one finds a Republican coin hoard,¹²⁰ tombs, some of them late Roman and perhaps associated with the terracing for the settlement,¹²¹ and remains of walls and pottery, mostly dated generally in the Roman Imperial period.¹²² Comparable in kind and number is the settlement of the fourth and third century B.C., but the sites did not survive into the following period.¹²³

The roads

The tip of Italy was served by the continuous coastal road, and by the interior road, the Via Regia Capuana, that branched off at Capua from the Appia and led to

¹¹⁸ Guzzo (1982) 313-14: the settlement at Torano did not survive the end of the third century B.C.

¹¹⁹ Paladino, Troiano (1989) 37-38 (Bisignano), 56 (Castrolibero), 78 (Grimaldi), 81 (Mendicino), 98 (Rose, coin hoard (225-200 B.C.)), 114-116 (Torano Castello, necropolis at Cozzo la Torre).

¹²⁰ CAT. II, IGM F. 231, map I, no. 39.

¹²¹ CAT. II, IGM F. 230, map I, no. 39 bis; IGM F. 237, map L, no. 2.

¹²² CAT. II, IGM F. 230, map I, no. 40; IGM F. 237, map L, nos. 1, 3-4.

¹²³ Sabbione (1977) 920-36.

Rhegium by way of the Vallo di Diano and the Crati valley before reaching the Tyrrhenian coast at the northern edge of the Plain of S. Eufemia.¹²⁴ Links between the interior and the coasts appear to have been provided by the cross-roads; one linked the Tyrrhenian with the Ionian seaboard via the Occido/Esaro and the Coscile valleys, while the other branched off from the interior road in the upper Savuto valley and led eastward into the Sila, eventually reaching the sea by way of the Neto river.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ For a discussion and references see Appendix I. For the archaeological remains see CAT. II, IGM F. 221, nos. 6, 12, 19 map C; IGM F. 221, no. 25, map E; IGM F. 222, no 11, map E; IGM F. 229, no. 6, map F; IGM F. 236, nos. 21,22, map K; CAT. I, IGM F. 238, nos. 2,3, map. M.

¹²⁵ Taliano-Grasso (1995) and Appendix I.

CHAPTER 5

Bruttium in the Republican Period

By the time Rome embarked on the comprehensive political and administrative integration of the deep Italian South in the second century B.C., its final such act in the peninsula, its influence had already been felt in the region for some hundred or so years. The process of change that intensified in the course of the fourth and third centuries B.C., thanks to the increased interaction between the Greek and Bruttian populations, was given a new direction with the onset of the growing Roman interest. Finally, after the second Punic war, the process of incorporation under the Roman aegis entered its closing stage.

The second Punic war and its impact on the period immediately following it have been discussed in numerous studies. A disruption of life in the areas directly affected by the hostilities has been repeatedly affirmed by modern historiography and the archaeological record. A more extreme view has often been held, however, which depicts severe gloom brought about by virtually complete destruction from which some regions apparently never recovered. In the end, Calabria emerged as one of the principal contenders for the first place in this bleak scenario.¹

¹ E.g. Brunt (1971) 277, 280; Toynbee (1965) 10-35, 240, who relied mostly on the literary evidence.

The aftermath of the second Punic War: a reappraisal

There can be little doubt that the events of the second Punic War affected people's lives in the local communities, and likely precipitated the subsequent transformation of the settlement organisation. A difficult question to answer, however, concerns the degree of this disruption and the impact it had on the following developments.

It is possible that, due to the intermittent hostilities during the third century B.C., some communities (e.g. Croton) endured a certain demographic loss prior to the second Punic war and that overall their economic health may have suffered.² This last point is difficult to gauge, however, since the dating of much of the material remains from this period in Calabria is imprecise.

Nevertheless, the second Punic war saw the active involvement of both Greek and Oscan communities, and both Rome and Hannibal used these communities' mutual hostility to further their own causes. More frequently we witness various local players jockeying for their own positions, rather than direct conflicts between the Roman army and Hannibal.³

It appears that the Greeks and the Bruttians continued to carry on their affairs during the latest war in much the same way as they had since the inception of their local

² Chapter 1, 22-23; Guzzo (1987a) 515-520; Toynbee (1965) 240.

³ Apart from limited Roman forces garrisoned at some Greek cities, actions on the part of the Roman consular armies are rare (e.g. in 204 and 203 B.C.: Livy 29.38.1;30.19.10); Lomas (1993) 66, 74-75. Hannibal's army, of course, consisted of many local men, and the Bruttians are sometimes claimed to have been the most numerous of all Italians there: Brunt (1971) 279, n. 9.

rivalry in the 350s B.C.⁴ The ability to manipulate events to their private ends - such as the coups at Locri and Croton - is a sign of strength among some portions of society in the Greek cities. While the Italiotes of the southwest did not win any major battles for Rome, a severely weakened and degenerate people, such as they are portrayed in some Roman sources,⁵ would not have been able to play even the kind of role that they did play. All this suggests a fair degree of autonomy and demographic strength on the part of some communities in the period preceding the hostilities; this may have played a role in how Rome approached its colonising programme in the post-war period. Strategic locations of a number of Bruttian and Greek settlements were recognised during the war, and probably also played a role in the survival and development of some of these places in the subsequent period.

Both Toynbee and Brunt concluded that the Bruttians as a force to be reckoned with did not recover after the war.⁶ Guzzo has examined the sparse archaeological and inscriptional evidence from the Bruttian sites datable to the end of the third and the beginning of the following century that suggests a disappearance of the cultural identity of the *Bruttii*.⁷ But, if the Bruttians as a people did not survive (and we shall see that there is some evidence that suggests that they did not vanish altogether), does this mean that the

⁴ Pugliese-Carratelli (1972) 37-54; Lomas (1993) 60-61.

⁵ E.g. Livy 24.2.8, where the presumed conflict between the social classes (such as in coups) is seen in terms of a *morbus*; for the military role, Lomas (1993) 82-83; Brunt (1971) 50.

⁶ Toynbee (1965) 33; Brunt (1971) 277, 280, 359-65. Also, but more cautiously, Guzzo (1987a) 521.

⁷ Guzzo (1989) 123-130; *idem* (1983a) 232-235.

land occupied by them and by the Greek communities now became abandoned and generally unused? Brunt added a cautionary remark in the conclusion to his analysis where he said that "it is not appropriate here to suggest the true explanation. Perhaps we do not know enough to find it." (1971, 277). He was aware that archaeology might one day be able to fill in some of the blanks.⁸ Indeed, archaeological evidence is increasingly helpful in clarifying the historical conditions of the post-war period in Bruttium. A simple glance at Chapters 3 and 4 in the present work should on the basis of the numbers of sites alone invoke a reexamination of this problem.

The colonising period, II-I C B.C. (figs. 4 and 5)

The immediate post-war period had significant implications for the process of Romanisation in this part of the Italian peninsula. Land confiscations and the creation of Roman and Latin colonies at a number of previously settled communities, and some established *ex novo*, had immediate impact on an individual settlement's status and its development.

In northern Calabria citizen colonies were established at Croton and Tempsa in 194 B.C.; in the same year a Latin colony was voted to be sent to Thurii, which was done in the following year.⁹ This was Rome's first colonising activity in the region. As such, it

⁸ Brunt (1971) 353.

⁹ Croton (on the site of the Greek city) and Tempsa (on Bruttian land): Livy 34.45.3-5. Thurii (on the site of the homonymous Greek city): Livy 34.53.1-2 (*in Thurinum agrum*); in 35.9.7-8 *Castrum Frentinum*, otherwise unknown, is mentioned as the colony's location. See most recently Paoletti (1993) 384-86, with bib. for the discussion rejecting the existence of the Castrum; also, Guzzo in *Sibari II* (1970) 20; no archaeological evidence has come to light to support the identification of the Castrum. In the southern part of the province, at Vibo (Hipponion), a Latin colony was established in 192 B.C. and became known as Vibo Valentia (Livy 35.40.5).

signified a change in its external policy toward this part of peninsular Italy, where the previous mode of control was through alliances with otherwise independent communities, both Greek and Bruttian.¹⁰ It must be assumed that the setting up of the colonies changed the socio-economic relationship between the new settlers and the existing population, as well as causing political and cultural changes.

It should not be assumed that the pre-war population was simply wiped out by the war. Guzzo argued that, in spite of the war, all Bruttians could not have disappeared, even though their collective identity would have probably vanished.¹¹ Lomas has demonstrated that a number of Italiote cities preserved their Greek character and some institutions well into the Imperial period, which suggests a certain degree of demographic continuity.¹² A very scant onomastic record from a handful of sites in northern Calabria (to which I shall return below) lends support to these assertions; and a scant but possibly significant minority of rural sites shows continuity of occupation from the previous period (Chapter 4, *passim*). The issue, then, is not whether life did or did not vanish, but how it was modified. It is also undeniably true that the impact of more than ten years of warfare, looting, disruptions in agricultural production etc. could not have been slight.¹³

¹⁰ These *foedera* guaranteed freedom and autonomy to the signatories while binding them to some kind of military cooperation: Lomas (1993) 79-80, but cautioning against easy generalisations based on the weakness of evidence. The garrisoning of Rhegium, Croton, Locri and Thurii at different times during the second Punic war probably formed part of these alliance agreements.

¹¹ Guzzo (1983a) 232-235; *idem* (1989) 123-130.

¹² Lomas (1993) 99-187, but none of these were the north Calabrian cities, though Rhegium in the south was one of them.

¹³ See also Sangineto (1994) 559-560.

Thurii (or Copia¹⁴) acquired 3300 colonists (3000 infantry and 300 cavalry). On numbers alone, Thurii resembles other contemporary Latin colonies,¹⁵ but the impact the new colonists had on the old order of things is difficult to measure. The first problem concerns the degree of interference with the preexisting property-holding patterns. Considering that the new assignments probably involved land confiscations from the old owners, the impact may have been significant. Just how significant, however, is hard to say. For example, we do not know who the dispossessed were, how much of the land was given away from those who perished in the war; if it was the properties of the "traitors" who went over to Hannibal that were lost to them, or whether all were treated "equally" as they watched their land being distributed to the new settlers. A decline in population numbers, which possibly translated to a reduction in pressure for land redistributions, occurred during the war. According to Appian, 3500 Thurians moved to Croton in 204 B.C., and the city was later sacked by the Carthaginians; what this meant in terms of the total numbers affected is impossible to say since we do not know the pre-war population

¹⁴ The name 'Copia', probably augural (cf. Valentia, Potentia), is found only in Strabo (6.1.13) and Steph. Byz. *s.v. Thurioi*; Thurii remained more common (see P.G. Guzzo in *Sibari* II (1970) 19 and n. 9 for bibl.; Kahrstedt (1959) 186-87). Other instances of 'Copia': on bronze coins (mid II C B.C.) with *cornucopia* and COPIA on obverse and a veiled female head with a *modius*? on reverse (Crawford [1969] no. 129; Head [1911] 88; Caruso [1984]). Inscriptions (2): 1: (fragmentary, from 'PdC' behind the theatre): CAT. III, IGM F. 222, no.1 (before mid I C B.C.): the inscription was put up in honour of a *Illivir* whose *nomen* is lost, by either the *[Co]pienses* from the second line or the person from the third line *-Iorus* (Guzzo [1976b] 133; Paoletti [1994] 535); 2: (from Altomonte?, now lost): CAT. III, IGM F. 221, no.1 (unpublished, undated and uncertain reading): *C(opia) Thur(ii)* read by Mommsen; see also Paoletti (1993) 388, n. 15.

¹⁵ Toynbee (1965) pl.V (e.g. Vibo [4000], Bononia [3000]). Livy 35.9.7-8, for the number of colonists.

level.¹⁶

It is possible that Thurii did preserve a certain number of the old stock. The fact that it was a Latin colony that was planted there may mean that the newly established community allowed for the existing local elite's gradual advancement into the Roman citizenry.¹⁷ By acting in this way, Rome may have displayed an interest in increasing its ranks of potential sympathizers who were also established holders of landed property and who in due course would become the beneficiaries of the full citizenship in this remote outpost of its expanding domain. In this way, the local elite's autonomous sensibilities would not have been openly hurt, since they had not been deprived of their *de facto* status as holders of landed property; at the same time, the arrangement allowed for gradual Romanisation. Unfortunately, we do not know the origins of the new settlers, which might have been a factor in the mix as well; it has to be assumed that a number of these were veterans.¹⁸

It is thus likely that the total population exceeded the 3300 colonists and their families, but by how much is not clear. This brings us to the next question concerning the size and use of the dependent city-territory. The ample plain of the lower Coscile/Crati river system and the hinterland behind it would have allowed for substantial plots of land

¹⁶ Appian, *Hann.* 9.57. On depopulation after the war, e.g. Strabo 6.1.13; Paoletti (1993) 387-88. According to one estimate, Archaic Sybaris had 100,000 people, but also on the difficulties of assessment: Guzzo (1982) 387-388.

¹⁷ Guzzo in *Sibari* II (1970) 20; Toynbee (1965) 142-143; Brunt (1971) 298, 538-544; Guzzo (1989) 123. It is possible to attribute the persistence of the denomination 'Thurii' over the new name 'Copia' to the survival of the old Italiote stratum of population: Guzzo (1976b) 133.

¹⁸ Perhaps, later, some were Marian veterans: CAT III: IGM F. 221, no. 1.

to be allotted to the settlers. We know from Livy, however, that the assigned lot-sizes were five and ten hectares large for each colonist in the groups of infantry and cavalry respectively.¹⁹ The total assigned area amounted to 18,000ha. or an ideal square of ca. 13.4km. on the side. Allowing for the existence of some unallotted land around the city (because of pedological unsuitability, flooding, etc.), this constitutes just over half of the area surveyed by the Quilici team in the Plain and the hinterland of Thurii, thus leaving a large swath apparently unassigned.²⁰ Toynbee suggested that the reason for reserving one third of the land for later assignments, as was stipulated by the decree, was that the unassigned land in conjunction with the higher reaches of the surrounding mountains was intended for something else than farming. He suggested that it might have been used for extensive animal husbandry on the unassigned *ager publicus*, probably to be developed by the elites.²¹ This point is further discussed below, but on simple computation it follows that even if the total land intended for distribution had been indeed distributed it would still have amounted to an ideal area of only ca. 16.4km. on the side, i.e. considerably less than the lower river plain and the surrounding hill-slopes.²²

It is possible that some land was spared from colonial distributions because it was

¹⁹ Livy 35.9.7-8. These were the actual sizes of the assigned plots, i.e. 20 and 40 iugera per family in each group; the intended plot-sizes were larger, i.e. 30 and 60 iugera respectively, and were apparently reserved for future assignments.

²⁰ This area may be considered the city's immediate dependent territory: the total surveyed area was ca. 20km. E-Wx25km. N-S: Quilici *et al.* (1969).

²¹ Toynbee (1965) 235-237.

²² The total area would have amounted to 27,000ha., or 7.5ha.(30 iugera)x3000 infantry, plus 15ha.(60iugera)x300 cavalry.

still held by its previous owners. Part of the answer may also lie in the degree of populousness of the further surroundings of the city, an issue that may be linked to the degree of survival of the Bruttians whose traditional settlement area was the interior of Calabria. It is difficult to assess their numbers or identify their settlements, but if it could be demonstrated that they still constituted a force to be paid some attention, or at least that they were useful trading partners, the restricted land scheme at Thurii/Copia may be easier to understand.²³ In the present state of research this remains an open question.

The actual number of colonists sent to Croton and Tempsa is unknown, but if the 300 typical of the citizen colonies is true here as well, it appears rather small.²⁴ Croton was reputedly weakened on the eve of the war, so the siege and the taking of the city (and brutally at that) could not have helped.²⁵ As we have seen, the city did receive some Thurian refugees in 204 B.C., but also earlier lost some of its own to Locri. In the end, the totals before the colonists were sent elude us. It is probably right to assume that not all of ca. 2000 (taking Livy's and Appian's figures into account) perished, but there probably was a reduction in population size overall. The sending of the rather small Roman colony may be understood in this light: its main function at this early stage may have been the protection of the coast, rather than the development of the countryside.

²³ Guzzo (1989) 106-109, for some cautious estimates of the Bruttian numbers before the second Punic war (ca. 24,000 infantry and 2,400 cavalry).

²⁴ 300 is the presumed typical number, that may also follow from Livy 34.44.1-5: Toynbee (1965) 145 and Table V, p. 654; Brunt (1971) 281; Sommella (1988) 227-239.

²⁵ Livy 23.30; 24.2-3. Livy's figure of less than 2000 residents is impossible to prove: Guzzo (1989) 108.

As we have seen, archaeologically, Roman Croton practically does not exist, which significantly complicates the reconstruction of its fortunes during this period. It is usually assumed that after the war the urban area became reduced to the site of the later medieval town sited on the promontory overlooking the sea, some 600x700m. in perimeter or 42ha.²⁶ This constitutes a drastic shrinking in size when compared to the Classical and Hellenistic Croton,²⁷ which probably reflects the overall smaller population size when compared with the pre-war levels. However, the available presumed area of the Roman city is not unreasonably small in comparison with other cities in the Roman world.²⁸ It is not unrealistic to suggest that it did support, and, as we shall see, further develop, especially in the early Imperial period, at least a modest self-supporting community whose members appear to have included some of the old local elite.

As far as Tempesa goes, our information is extremely scarce. As is well known, its Greek predecessor's location is uncertain, as is also the site of the Roman colony; of course, the two may not be identical.²⁹ Probably located along the central stretch of

²⁶ Guzzo (1981a) 122; also, Chapter 3, 94-96.

²⁷ Severino (1988) fig. 4; Spadea (1984) 119-166; Chapter 1, 22-23.

²⁸ Town-sizes vary notoriously and are poor indices of their prosperity: e.g. Frederiksen (1976) 342, n. 8 suggested that ca. 50ha of the available area at Cales may have been enough for the 2500 colonists; on the other hand, Republican and Imperial Ortona was settled within ca. 20ha of the walled city and was clearly a prosperous town (Mertens, ed. [1995] 135, 137); Palermo, a major Sicilian city, was within walls only 48ha. large (Wilson [1990] 171). See also Garnsey (1998) 123; Lomas (1997) 31-32.

²⁹ Piano della Tirena near the mouth of the Savuto on the Tyrrhenian coast is currently the preferred site for the Greek (Temesa) and the Bruttian settlement (Spadea [1990] 173; Valenza Mele [1991] 105), but the Roman material found on the plateau is exiguous and difficult to interpret. On the Roman phase see CAT. II, IGM F. 236, no 12, map K: a brief discussion with bibliography is in Paoletti (1994) 480-81; see also La Torre (1999) 116-117 and 141 for the possibility that Tempesa was never nucleated in the Roman period, but remained an *ager*; cf. below for *ager Teuranus* and Clamptia.

Tyrrhenian Calabria,³⁰ the citizen colony was carved out of Bruttian territory.³¹ What were the consequences for the local demographics at the time is hard to say, but we know that the community (or the slaves in the area) attracted the attention of Spartacus in 72 B.C., and, as we shall see, the place continued to be mentioned in the Imperial period.³²

Rome established no other colony in northern Bruttium in this early period. A glance at the map suggests a huge difference in size between the colonised and the "other" territory. What was this "other" territory?

The conspicuous "emptiness" of the mountainous middle of the peninsula (largely the Sila) is particularly striking. As has been said before, it is commonly believed that on the outer margins of this middle, i.e. the upper foothills and the plateau all around the coast, lived the *Bruttii*. Toynbee was inclined to consider them all but wiped out after the war, but he also believed that some nucleated native communities, such as Consentia, Petelia, Pandosia and Tauriana (in the south) survived as allied states for some time afterwards.³³ We have already seen that virtually all known fortified settlements of the *Bruttii* became abandoned after the war and that the evidence for continuity of occupation

³⁰ Guzzo (1981a) 121; Kahrstedt (1960) 28. For the area between Campora S. Giovanni and Nocera Terinese as a possible candidate see La Torre (1990b) 170; *idem* (1999) 243-246, no. 290; Crogiez (1990) 424.

³¹ Livy 34.45.4-5: *Tempsanus ager de Bruttiis captus erat*.

³² Spartacus: Cicero, *In Verr.* 2.5.39-41. Greek Temesa was renowned for its copper mines which, according to Strabo (6.1.5), are "now" abandoned. Bruttium may have played a role in Capua's metals supply (iron-ore) in the pre-Hannibalic period, but its part in subsequent times is less clear: Toynbee (1965) 13 and n. 4, for mining and smelting of the iron-ore in the 19th century.

³³ Toynbee (1965) 33, 120; the location of Pandosia is unknown, but may be possibly found in the middle valley of the Crati.

on open sites, assuming some were Bruttian, is slim (Chapter 4, *passim*). This will be discussed further below, but it is also important to remember that a complete break in settlement between the pre- and post-war periods did not occur. We have seen this in the case of at least two Roman foundations established on the sites of the Greek cities (Thurii/Copia and Croton), and will witness it again on the sites of at least two native communities, Petelia and Consentia. Nevertheless, a drastic reduction in the numbers of native sites is apparent. The war obviously did take its toll, leaving a vacuum to be filled, when Rome apparently stepped in and proceeded to organise vast swaths of land that lay outside the few incorporated centres.

Kahrstedt discussed this issue in the context of *ager publicus* that is believed to have been created from the confiscated land,³⁴ and concluded that large tracts of land that lay outside the territories of the incorporated centres or the *civitates foederatae* were administered as *praefecturae*.³⁵ The identification of the communities in either of these last two administrative categories and their territorial extent, however, remain problematic.

³⁴ On *ager publicus*: Toynbee (1965) 117-121, 192-210; Brunt (1971) 278-284. The passing of half of the Sila forest to the Romans from the Bruttians may be dated to this time (Dion. Hal. 20.15), but neither the exact location of the forest (i.e. the present-day Sila, or its southern mountainous equivalent, the Aspromonte) nor the precise occasion (post-Pyrrhic or post-Hannibalic period) have been ascertained. Strabo, 5.1.3 and Pliny, *N.H.* 3.74 (the only ancient sources on the subject) put the Sila in the southern part of the province. Meiggs (1982) 464-66 is inclined to favour the modern-day Sila as the location and the post-Hannibalic incorporation as the occasion; similarly, Toynbee (1965) 120 and n.7 for the timing, but not the location. Brunt (1971) 281, claimed that one half of the Sila was taken after Pyrrhus left Italy and what was left was annexed as part of the post-Hannibalic political settlement; this also seems to be the opinion of Guzzo (1989) 123, but there is nothing in the reading of the sources to support this interpretation.

³⁵ Kahrstedt (1959).

Petelia (modern Strongoli), a fortified Bruttian town, appears to have been given allied status after the war. For its valiant resistance to Hannibal's attacks (216-215 B.C.), with huge losses and finally succumbing to him in the long siege unaided by Rome,³⁶ it seems to have been rewarded with a relative political independence when most other communities were treated to land confiscations and constitutional changes. Although there is no direct evidence that it had the status of *civitas foederata*, a form of autonomy in the post-war period is suggested by a series of stamped bricks found in the town and the area and dated to the second century B.C. Several stamps bear the names of a couple of eponymous magistrates on one face and a short form - *de* - on the side, while others have only *de(mosia)*.³⁷ The production of these bricks on behalf of the city, probably administered by the city officials whose names appear in Greek, is generally taken to suggest a degree of civic autonomy in this Hellenised Oscan community before the municipalisation after the Civil war.³⁸ Although there is no direct evidence to suggest the degree of populousness or political clout with which the city emerged after the war, it is possible that its status and subsequent prosperity ensued from its economic strength, itself

³⁶ Livy 23.20.4-10; 23.30.1-5; Polyb. *Hist.* 7.1.3.

³⁷ Paoletti (1994) 530-31; Costabile, *intervento in Atti Taranto* 15, 1975 (Naples 1976) 463-67 and pl XI, 1; Costabile (1994) 463. For the stamps: Gasperini (1986) 149-153; the inscription reads: Epi Leukiou Or(.) / kai Nouiou Ele(.). Gasperini, *loc. cit.* holds that the pair of officials are the *duoviri* from the nearby Croton; *contra*, Paoletti, *loc. cit.* 530, who notes that no such bricks were found at Croton. See also *infra*, 171-172.

³⁸ Guzzo (1990) 89; Kahrstedt (1959) 184; generally, Morel (1983) 29; the production appears limited to Sicily, Magna Graecia and its immediate hinterland. *De(mosia)* bricks in Velia, Rhegium, Messina and Taormina: Kahrstedt (1960) 16-17, 51; Costabile, *intervento in Atti Taranto* 15, 1975 (Naples 1976) 465. II and I C B.C. is the preferred period for these examples (F. Costabile, *loc.cit.*, down to the Civil war; Kahrstedt, *loc.cit.*, for the Velian examples down to Augustus and possibly later as a Greek survival).

possibly a function of its citizens' demographic base.³⁹ The importance of the town is also suggested by a mention of one of its inhabitants on the list of the *theorodokoi* at Delphi early in the second century B.C.⁴⁰

Toynbee suggested that the economic prosperity of the community may have stemmed from the grant its citizens received to use the land confiscated from others.⁴¹ Although there is no explicit evidence for this, it is feasible that a loyal ally in the war may have been rewarded with such privilege. If so, some land may have come from Croton to the south and, on ceramic evidence (the building bricks mentioned above), a stretch of the coastline and hinterland to the north and west appears to have gravitated toward Petelia in the later Republican period. There, the confiscations may have included the land previously held by the fellow Bruttians, as is suggested by the string of fortified sites and isolated tombs between Punta Alice in the south and Castiglione di Paludi in the north that now became abandoned (Chapter 1, 24 and notes).

Toynbee suggested that Consentia became an allied state after the war as well, but no evidence has surfaced in support of this claim.⁴²

The status of *Ager Teuranus* is difficult to ascertain. The name appears on the famous bronze tablet, now in Vienna, and found at Tiriolo in the hinterland of the Gulf of

³⁹ According to Appian (*Hannib.* 7.29), 800 survivors of the siege of 216 B.C. were repatriated after the war.

⁴⁰ Plassart (1921) 1-85 and *infra*; the date of the list is 198 or 194 B.C.; Paoletti (1994) 529.

⁴¹ Toynbee (1965) 546-55.

⁴² Toynbee (1965) 120, and the same for Pandosia.

Squillace, recording a *S.C. de Bacchanalibus* from 186 B.C.⁴³ The last line of the inscription preserves in larger letters than the rest of the text the name of the destination for the decree, i.e. "*in agro Teurano*". From this customised approach it is obvious that this was one from the series of identical tablets dispatched to the local communities on the occasion of the order of the Senate in Rome. That *ager Teuranus* is to be found in the area of modern Tiriolo need not be doubted, but what the legal status of the community was, in spite of an extensive debate, remains uncertain.⁴⁴ Three differing views exist, all based on the ambiguous appellation *ager*.⁴⁵ Some see in the opening line of the text - *De Bacchanalibus quei foederatei esent* - an indication of the community's allied status;⁴⁶ Kahrstedt spoke of the part of *ager publicus* administered as a *praefectura*;⁴⁷ others view the territory as attached to a Roman colony, either to Croton,⁴⁸ or Vibo.⁴⁹ The fact that the inscription is in Latin has led some to believe that the addressees were Latin speakers

⁴³ CAT. III: IGM F. 242, no. 1.

⁴⁴ For the summary and bibliography see Costabile (1984b) 92-96 and Pailler (1988) 285-298.

⁴⁵ Already expressed by Toynbee (1965) 120, n.6. The offices of the persons the instructions were addressed to are not stated; they were likely local magistrates.

⁴⁶ Summarised by Costabile (1984b) 93. But see also (*loc. cit.* 93 and n. 67) for those who consider the *foederatei* to be the initiates of the cult. Toynbee (1965) 120, n. 6, is undecided between allied status or a Roman *conciabulum*, but he does not exclude *ager Romanus* either (*loc. cit.* 397, n. 2).

⁴⁷ Kahrstedt (1959) 176.

⁴⁸ Mommsen in CIL X, p.13.

⁴⁹ Costabile (1984b) 94-96 as a *forum* or a *conciabulum* on the basis of commercial ties between Tiriolo and Vibo in the late third century B.C. based on scant archaeological evidence; for *conciabulum* see Pailler (1988) 297, but not entirely committed.

and thus more likely members of a Roman than an allied community.⁵⁰ However, Costabile is probably right in pointing out that it was the job of the local officials to interpret the message, which could also be done in Oscan.⁵¹ The identification of the community's status is complicated by the fact that no archaeological evidence has surfaced that might help to identify the precise location of its centre.⁵² But this very point, with all the pitfalls of an *argumentum ex silentio*, may indicate a dispersed community, possibly of either *dediticii* or allied *occupatores*,⁵³ who made use of the confiscated *ager publicus* and were possibly administered by a *praefectus*. It is possible that the once free *Bruttii* continued to occupy the same ancestral lands, but now only with squatting rights. The final judgment on all this is, of course, still impossible to pass.

Here ends the short list of communities whose administrative status in the early period of the Roman incorporation and location on the ground have been ascertained with greater or lesser certainty.⁵⁴ It is possible that the handful of early colonies (all coastal) were created essentially with a strategic function in mind. In the case of the small citizen

⁵⁰ Toynbee (1965) 120, n. 6, who thought that Bruttians could not know Latin in 186 B.C.

⁵¹ Costabile (1984b) 94-95; also, the tablet we have may have been the official one, and the Oscan inscription could be lost (*loc. cit.*, 95 and n. 76).

⁵² Sparse remains of an *opus spicatum* floor and a small necropolis found at S. Ianni SE of Tiriolo are too scant to interpret and are at any rate too late (end I C B.C.-end I C A.C.): CAT. II, IGM F. 242, no. 1, map O.

⁵³ See Toynbee (1965) 129-130, 241-47, on these and their rights.

⁵⁴ The locations and post-war status of the Bruttian communities which defected to Hannibal (save Consentia and Clamptia) in Livy 30.19.10 are unknown; Pliny's *Aprustani* (*N.H.* 3.98) may have lived in the hinterland between Petelia and Croton - possibly around S. Severina - but this, as well as the status of the community after the war, remains uncertain; see Gasperini (1986) 164; Guzzo (1981a) 122; Kahrstedt (1959) 200-201.

colonies at Croton and Tempsa the protection of the coast may have been the priority. Similarly, the larger presence of colonists at Thurii also carried a significant political component in the face of the remaining danger in the area and the need for creating a stronger Roman presence to counter it. Its other important function may have been to contribute in repopulating the area that also had the scope of incorporating the old surviving population.⁵⁵ Outside the colonial territories lay the land that probably belonged to a handful of surviving allied Bruttian communities, and apparently large tracts of confiscated *ager publicus* outside that, administered, as Kahrstedt suggested, as *praefecturae*. This last type of territorial organisation has been linked with the sort of economy presumed typical of Bruttium in the immediate post-war period, namely, extensive animal husbandry and forestry. This is further discussed below, but whether we accept or not the existence of *praefecturae*, whose appearance in an area may reflect a dispersed and sparse settlement, is partially dependent on whether it may be accepted that the population levels after the war were so low that the need to organise people in more fixed units was not pressing. The precise population numbers, however, are impossible to ascertain at this time.

A change in the municipal status of Thurii/Copia and Petelia may have occurred after 89 B.C. In the case of Thurii this is suggested by several inscriptions from the first century B.C. and the first century A.C. that mention *quattuorviri*. However, it is far from

⁵⁵ See also Toynbee (1965) 237; Nash (1987) 95; Guzzo (1981a) 120; Lomas (1993) 88. For unrest in the period following the departure of Hannibal, e.g. on the revolts of slaves and herdsmen in Apulia in 188 and 185/4 B.C.: Livy 31.29.9-10; 38.42.5-6; 39.39.8-10.

certain that quattuorviral constitutions are exclusive to *municipia* and duoviral to colonies.⁵⁶ Caesar in *B.C.* 3.22.3 calls Thurii a *municipium*. Likewise, Petelia probably became a *municipium* after the Civil war, and may have been given some sort of special status in recognition of its role during the second Punic war; this last point is far from being certain, however.⁵⁷

Another *municipium* may have been incorporated at Blanda (Tortora, Palecastro) in the second half of the first century B.C., on the evidence of an inscription found at Altomonte that mentions a *duovir i(ure) d(icundo)* at *Blanda Iulia*.⁵⁸ Kahrstedt thought Blanda to be an old settlement, probably mentioned by Livy (24.20.5-6) in the context of the second Punic war; following a period after that war and when it was a *praefectura*, it eventually became incorporated after the Civil War.⁵⁹ Paoletti put this in the context of

⁵⁶ Paoletti (1994) 535. On the magistracies: Sherwin-White (1973) 150-73; Keppie (1983) 4. Lomas (1993) 143-160 has demonstrated a great variety of constitutional arrangements among the cities of *Magna Graecia* in the post-second Punic war period; but see Costabile (1984b) 119, n. 23, who noted that all *col. Latinae* and *civ. foederatae* in Bruttium acquired a quattuorvirate at some point (except Reggio), possibly after the Civil war, while the Roman colonies preserved the duovirate. For the inscriptions: CAT. III: IGM F. 222, no. 1 (before mid I C B.C.); IGM F. 222, no. 2; IGM F. 222, no. 5 (1/2 I C A.C.); IGM F. 222, no. 7 (I C B.C. or I C A.C.).

⁵⁷ The debate concerning the special status is summarised in Costabile (1984b) 118-128; the claim is based on several inscriptions from the second century A.C. (a possible problem since much removed from the presumed granting of the municipal status) that commemorate one of its magistrates and dignitaries, M' Megonius Leo (CAT. III: IGM F. 238, nos. 4-6, 11-12). On three of these inscriptions (CAT. III, IGM F. 238, nos. 4-6), *leg(e) Cor(nelia)*, as restored by Mommsen (CIL X.114), accompanies Megonius Leo's *cursus honorum*. Costabile (1984b) 125, believes that this is a reference to some special distinctions of Megonius Leo (in recognition and memory of the services provided by the trusted community in the second Punic war) rather than to some distinct and special powers of the town; similarly, Paoletti (1994) 531.

⁵⁸ CAT. III: IGM F. 221, no. 1 (undated). The alternative explanation is that Blanda was the post-triumvirate colony (summarised by Paoletti [1994] 475); also, La Torre, ed. (1995) 67 and *idem* (1999) 111, for a triumviral colony based on the epithet *Iulia*.

⁵⁹ Kahrstedt (1959) 178, 198.

Caesar's administrative reforms on the basis of the reference to the duovirate in the inscription, since this arrangement customarily replaced the quattuorvirate in newly established *municipia* after 49 B.C.⁶⁰ He also held that Blanda was created *ex novo*, which is supported archaeologically since the sparse evidence from the site does not predate the end of the first century B.C. (Chapter 3, 90).

Apart from the obvious changes in the citizenship status in all communities after 89 B.C., the need for additional municipalisation possibly arose from increasing local population levels, and perhaps the growing civic sense of the population. The founding of Blanda may be seen in this light, as can some additional colonising efforts that occurred later on. These have left few obvious traces, however, and their precise founding dates elude us. It is also possible that they had a more pronounced agrarian character.⁶¹ Viritane Augustan assignments, *limitibus gracchanis*, rather than those of the actual Gracchan initiative are perhaps documented for Consentia.⁶² *Ager Clampetinus* was also divided *limitibus gracchanis*, but it too remains uncertain whether this was the work of the Gracchan commissioners or the division was Augustan in origin.⁶³ The identical size of

⁶⁰ Paoletti (1994) 475; Laffi (1983) 74.

⁶¹ Guzzo (1981a) 120.

⁶² *Lib. Col.* 1.209.16-18. So, Paoletti (1994) 482 where the expression *limitibus gracchanis* is taken to refer to the size and character of assignments typical of the Gracchan land divisions rather than to the actual Gracchan initiative; see also Brunt (1971) 337 and n. 1, 360, based on, as the author puts it, "unreliable" *Lib. Col.* (p. 360); Kahrstedt (1960) 96. *Contra* Guzzo (1981a) 117, 121 who believes the initial division to be Gracchan, but with Augustan provisions later; similarly, Lagona (1982) 169. The text in *Lib. Col.*, *loc. cit.* has *ab imp. Augusto* only for Consentia. A discovery of the remains of centuriation might help to resolve this problem.

⁶³ *Lib. Col.* 1.209.21-22. For the Augustan date: Paoletti (1994) 482 and n. 42. *Contra* Guzzo (1981a) 117; Kahrstedt (1959) 195; with reservations, Brunt (1971) 360. Livy knows Clampetia in the

the centuria here and at Consentia may suggest a contemporary initiative.⁶⁴ In both cases perhaps it was the original confiscated *ager publicus* that now became surveyed and given to the settlers, but whether these were all newcomers or some were old users of the land we cannot be sure.

Some have connected the land assignments recorded in the *Liber Coloniarum* (and their presumed Gracchan origin) with the construction of the Via Regia Capuam around 131 B.C.⁶⁵ Having branched off at Capua from the Appia, it passed through the Vallo di Diano in Lucania and then through the interior of Calabria before it reached the Tyrrhenian coast at the northern edge of the Plain of S. Eufemia. In combination, the two projects could have worked together. In the Vallo di Diano the connection between the road and the Gracchan scheme seems confirmed by the Gracchan *cippi* found alongside the road or in its vicinity.⁶⁶ In our region, the attempt at agricultural improvement in the interior of Calabria after the Gracchan economic initiative and the construction of the road, may have attempted the same thing.⁶⁷ Thus, the final pacification of the

context of the second Punic war when it was twice taken by the Romans in 204 and 203 B.C. (29.38;30.19). Gracchan settlement certainly occurred at Scolacium (Roccelletta di Borgia) in 123 B.C. (Vell. Pat. 1.15.4), but is less certain for Vibo (*Lib. Col.* 1.209.19-20; Guzzo [1981a] 117).

⁶⁴ The problem of land assignments at Clamptia is further complicated by the fact that the town's location has not been identified. See Kahrstedt (1960) 27 for the possible location near Amantea or S. Lucido on the Tyrrhenian coast based on the Itineraries; see also Paoletti (1994) 477-79. For S. Lucido: La Torre (1990b) 171, *idem* (1999) 126 and Crogiez (1990) 418-419, on the Itineraries and archaeological finds. Pliny in the first century knows the place as *locus Clamptiae* (*N.H.* 3.72).

⁶⁵ Guzzo (1981a) 117; La Torre (1990b) 153. For a hypothetical course through Bruttium see fig. 5. and for a discussion, Appendix I.

⁶⁶ Giardina (1981) 91; La Torre (1990b) 153 and n. 17.

⁶⁷ CIL I².638: the presumed constructor boasted of delivering land into the hands of the

mountainous interior may have been combined with a strongly pronounced economic component in order to bolster this very pacification. Unfortunately, as we shall see below, archaeology does not help much in clarifying this subject, thus leaving this hypothesis yet to be substantiated.⁶⁸

Urbanisation and demographics

Our understanding of the late Republican urban development from the handful of administrative centres remains very spotty. This precludes a meaningful comparison with the appearance of these towns during their pre-municipal phase, although as we have seen, their Classical Greek and Hellenistic phases (except at Croton) are also poorly known. It is therefore impossible to measure fully the degree of urban change engendered by the Roman incorporation.

Thurii/Copia

The Roman city developed on the site of Classical and Hellenistic Thurii. As we have seen, it is possible that the city possessed a relatively sizable and ethnically diverse population at the onset of its new historical chapter, even though an overall reduction in population size resulting from the latest period of hostilities is possible. This may have translated into an overall reduction in the size of the settled area, where the fortification wall built during the second century B.C. cut through some previously inhabited areas in the northern part of the city, thus leaving some unprotected and subsequently

peasants from the use of the herdsmen: *primus feci ut de agro poplico aratoribus cederent pastores*.

⁶⁸ So, also, Guzzo (1981a) 117.

abandoned.⁶⁹ As we have seen, however, the exact city-area that the wall may have encompassed, and the existence or not of any suburban areas, remain unknown, thus making the assessment of the size of the Republican settlement inconclusive. According to aerial photographs, it is clear that more city-quarters lie to the south of the Crati, but in the absence of excavations, their construction date remains unknown, leaving the issue of the size of the settled area open.⁷⁰

The available archaeological record, however, does not suggest large scale destruction datable to the end of the third century B.C. It is possible that in terms of the urban matrix, the transition from the pre-municipal phase to the Latin colony was relatively seamless. As we have seen, the exiguous remains of what may be Republican houses (and practically nothing from the Hellenistic period) do not allow secure hypotheses to be drawn regarding the rate of survival and reuse of the domestic units. However, it is likely that some of these are indeed survivals from the pre-colonial period; houses occupied in the Imperial period may well have been constructed earlier.⁷¹ The degree of continuity of ownership or tenancy cannot be measured at the moment, but it is likely that at least some of the old population continued to live in their homes after the

⁶⁹ On the abandonment of the quarter north of the wall at 'Incrocio': *Sibari* V (1988-89) 244-248. Our knowledge regarding the extent of Hellenistic Thurii is extremely scarce, which obscures the dating of the beginning of the shrinkage of the city-area.

⁷⁰ Guerricchio (1993) 866 and fig. 1 for the shifting courses of the Coscile and Crati. Pliny (*N.H.* 3.97) talks about *oppidum Thurii inter duos amnes [...]*. At some unspecified point in time the Crati and Coscile were ca. 6000m. apart: Guerricchio, Melidoro (1975) 110-11. The instability of this environment is further revealed by the cartography: in 1608 the Crati and Coscile had separate mouths. More recent cartographic data, from late 1800 until 1968 show the course of the Crati united with the Coscile, but there was a marked southward shift of its mouth until it reached its present location.

new colonists had been settled. A strong indication for urban continuity is provided by those structures which kept the same alignment as the earlier remains, as well as the streets laid out in the Classical period whose function as the city's communication arteries continued thereafter.

The second-century B.C. dwellings appear well constructed and display a degree of comfort (painted plaster, stucco decoration, mosaic floors), but undergo changes - dimensional and functional - in the course of the first century. It seems that their inhabitants were engaged in agricultural activity and trade, as is witnessed by the amphorae and *dolia* found therein. In this regard, i.e. the manifold use of space, the present examples resemble mid-size domestic units from other contemporary Italian contexts.⁷²

Very little is known about the public buildings. The city-wall appears to be a single-period construction executed most likely soon after the colony had been established, perhaps in part as a political symbol, but also with practical aims in mind given the continuing insecurities in the region.⁷³ Some rebuilding, probably involving the gates and towers, occurred later in the first century B.C. and may have reflected the new political

⁷¹ See Chapter 3, 81; *Sibari* II (1970) 20.

⁷² De Albentiis (1990) 128-142; Packer (1975) 133-142.

⁷³ Chapter 3, 42-48; Guzzo (1981b) 22; Paoletti (1993) 387; Rebuffat (1986) 348, the linkage between the building of walls and establishing of colonies is well known. See also Jouffroy (1986) 23, 319: while there were considerably fewer Republican fortification systems constructed in southern Italy (reg. II and III) than, for example, in Latium and Campania, important regional centres appear to have possessed them, e.g. Vibo Valentia and Grumentum (Jouffroy, *loc. cit.* 370).

circumstances of the late Republic.⁷⁴ Paoletti favoured a political motivation for this intervention over a military one, and also placed the mid first century B.C. restoration of the walls and gates at Vibo in the same context. The specific commemoration of rebuilding projects in both cases may reflect the civic initiative and pride common in the period between the Social war and the second Triumvirate.⁷⁵

If the sponsor of the restoration of the gates is unknown, a marble inscription records a *basilica* put up by the censors on behalf of the senate probably late in the second or early in the first century B.C.; no remains have been attributed to this structure.⁷⁶ Another inscription, carved on a limestone architrave, part of which was reused in the facing of the wall or the tower at 'Casa Bianca', mentions an *aedes*, otherwise unknown, but of greater antiquity than the inscription.⁷⁷ It was probably restored on behalf of the senate by the city officials in the first half of the first century B.C.⁷⁸ If this interpretation is

⁷⁴ Paoletti (1994) 536 and Chapter 3, 45. The rebuilding is mentioned in an inscription from 'Casa Bianca': *Sibari* III (1972) 213, no. 90; CAT. III: IGM F. 222, no. 10.

⁷⁵ Generally on urban development in south-central Italy in the I C B.C.: Gabba (1972) 73-112, esp. 104 for Vibo. Paoletti (1994) 492, and nn. 86-87 on Vibo with refs; also, Segenni (1994) 656, for the Caesarian date. The first century B.C. had seen some hostilities in northern Bruttium which may have induced some of the reconstruction work: the 70s B.C. Spartacus' slave revolt and Sextus Pompey's manoeuvres around Thurii in 40 B.C. (Chapter 2, 37-38). Also at Vibo, the 40s and 30s were volatile (Paoletti, *loc. cit.* 492, 536).

⁷⁶ Guzzo (1976b) 135-137. The inscription is built into the church tower of S. Maria in Valle Josaphat at S. Mauro di Corigliano Calabro some 7km. as the crow flies from Thurii/Copia. CAT. II: IGM F. 230, map E, nos. 2-4 and CAT. III: IGM F. 230, no. 1.

⁷⁷ *Sibari* III (1972) 183, fig. 193, no. 242; CAT. III: IGM F. 222, no. 9.M.

⁷⁸ Paoletti (1993) 392 for the restoration; Guzzo (1972-73) 44-45 and pl. LVI, c. Three extremely fragmentary inscriptions built into the church paving in S. Demetrio Corone in the hinterland of the Plain of Sibari may also come from the ancient site (CAT. III: IGM F. 229, nos. 1a,b, 2). One (no. 1a), records an intervention on a building (perhaps decorating with marble plaques, *incru]standam*), while another (no. 1b), a dedication of some kind for the public good. The dedicator in no. 1a is

correct, this could be another example of architectural continuity in the city.

It appears that late Republican Thurii had its public buildings (the *basilica* and the *aedes*) executed or repaired by the city magistrates on behalf of the council; it is unclear if the rebuilding of the gates was a similar undertaking. In this regard, as we shall see, Thurii resembles other centres in northern Bruttium, as well as many towns from other Italian regions in the late Republic where members of the local elites executed their civic obligations that were initiated by the city council.⁷⁹ This probably reflects the vitality both of the civic body as a whole and also of its private members.⁸⁰

Our information is scant, but in this regard we see members of the *Annii* engaged in civic duties: one, L. Annius, was in charge of the restoration of the *aedes*, while another, Q. Annius Pomponianus (or Pompeianus)⁸¹, a *quattuorvir* of the *municipium*, was one of the two members of the quattuorvirate recorded on an inscription who were responsible for the setting up of a marble *labrum* in the city's market or granary in the second half of the first century B.C.⁸² One of the censors in charge of building the *basilica*, Q. Minucius L. f., was perhaps related (possibly a grandson) to Q. Minucius C.

unknown, but has been tentatively identified as *C[a]esa[r]*: Guzzo (1976b) 137; Paoletti (1993) 391 and n. 19.

⁷⁹ Costabile (1976) 103-107; *idem* (1994) 457-62; Lomas (1997) 29.

⁸⁰ Gabba (1972); cf. for central Italy, Torelli (1983) 241-250.

⁸¹ CAT. III: IGM F. 222, no. 7. For the *cognomen* see Guzzo (1976b) 134.

⁸² For the building see Chapter 3, 76; most recently, for the *labrum* and the inscription thereon, Paoletti (1993) 405 and n. 36.

f., a magistrate? in charge of *ager Teuranus* from CIL X, 104.⁸³ This may be one of very few documented instances of cross-regional connections in Bruttium; we shall see a few more from the Imperial period.

Another family, the *Vinuleii* possibly of local origin,⁸⁴ rose to prominence in the late Republic and/or early Empire. While it remains unknown what the source of wealth and prestige was for the *Annii*, the *Vinuleii* probably owed their status to local commercial interests and links with Rome. One of its members, L. Vinuleius Brocchus, was a *quattuorvir* in the early first century A.C.⁸⁵ It was he or his father whose production of tiles for the so-called semi-circular building in the city is well known from a number of fragments bearing the names of L. Vinuleius Brocchus and possibly his slave Cleandrida.⁸⁶ The family's link with Rome is impressive if it is correct to identify the father of our Vinuleius as the Roman senator and a *legatus* in Africa in the Caesarian period; the wife of P.Licinius Crassus, *cos.* 97 B.C., was one Venuleia.⁸⁷ There was a Venuleius in Rome

⁸³ CAT. III, IGM F. 242, no. 1.

⁸⁴ Camodeca (1982) 110, 149.

⁸⁵ CAT. III: IGM F. 222, nos. 5 and 6. On the latter inscription, an unknown individual C(aius) CO[...] is also mentioned who may have been the same as the one from the fragmentary brick stamp C. CO[...] from 'PdC' from the "crollo" stratum above the E-W *plateia* (*Sibari* II [1970] 496, no. 700; Paoletti [1993] 415, n. 49); cf. *contra* Costabile (1984b) 86, n. 36 for the reading Co[pienses].

⁸⁶ See Chapter 3, 55. For the father as the proprietor and the son, the *quattuorvir*, from the inscription see Torelli (1980) 146 and n. 31. It remains unknown whether it is the father or the son, or another family member, who is mentioned on another inscription (CAT.: IGM F. 222, no. 6) found not far from that mentioned in the previous note. Both inscriptions and the tile fragments are easily linked together, thanks to their close provenance and dating; see on this most recently, Paoletti (1993) 412–417.

⁸⁷ The senator and *legatus* (Venuleius) is in Cic. *Fam.* 12.30; Camodeca (1982) 149 for both.

who was a *Illvir capitalis* in 82 B.C.⁸⁸

This is one of several *gentes* from Bruttium who probably had links with Rome,⁸⁹ but the fact that the *Vinuleii* may also be a local family makes it perhaps especially significant. They may be one of those local families who survived the fourth/third century break and rose to prominence within the Roman political system. It is reasonable to assume that their economic status aided them in this feat, but whether it was based on inherited wealth that they were allowed to keep under the new ownership system, or was essentially of new acquisition, we cannot be certain. The growing civic prosperity in the early Imperial period, as we shall see, may be a reflection of the continuing social stratification, one manifestation of which was public munificence by the elite; another boost was probably provided by connections with the capital.⁹⁰

A further sign that the area was of interest, this time probably to the Roman elites, is the property held there by several individuals in some way connected with Rome in the early part of the first century B.C. The evidence comes from Cicero (*Tul.* 6.13-9.21, ca. 70 B.C.), whose namesake, M. Tullius, together with a certain P. Fabius who bought land from the senator C. Claudius, Q. Catius Aemilianus and Cn. Acerronius, were all involved in one way or another in a land dispute in the area; it is possible that there was

⁸⁸ Torelli (1980) 146, who seems to link this one with the Vinuleius from the inscriptions, but if the dating of the inscriptions is correct, the *Illvir capitalis* seems too old to be our Vinuleius: see also Wiseman (1971) 272, n. 475.

⁸⁹ For the senatorial families: Shatzman (1975); Camodeca (1982) 110-111, 119.

⁹⁰ The relationship of towns to the networks of friendship and patronage of the Roman elite is a well known feature of Roman antiquity: e.g. Shatzman (1975) *passim*; Morley (1997) 49; for the present region: Camodeca (1982) 101-163; Sangineto (1994) 567-69; Giardina (1981) 87-89.

some spin-off in the city's fortune from such connections as these.⁹¹

The overall appearance of the city is hard to assess. Very scant remains of painted plaster and *opus signinum* floors fit into the late Republican floor-decoration fashion, but are too exiguous to make estimates regarding their popularity at Thurii.⁹² On the other hand, a few Republican house-walls that were built in the Hellenistic tradition (cemented river stones with or without tile in the interstices) look back to the old times; such traditionalism, however, is not surprising in domestic architecture.⁹³ The fortification system itself displays a mixture of traditional (ashlar facing and foundations) and modern (cemented core and *incertum* facing) building techniques, but its outer face is curiously faced with the most heterogeneous recovered pieces. It is impossible to know if this ensemble reflects haste in the face of imminent danger, shabbiness due to a difficult economic situation, or simple practical thinking when surrounded by usable building material from defunct structures.

It is probable that most of the wealth that supported the city, evidenced for example in its public buildings, came from the country, but other trades probably

⁹¹ Acerronius was probably a local (Sangineto [1994] 582) and may have been an ancestor of Cn. Acerronius Proculus, cos. 37 B.C., proconsul in Achaia, with lands in neighbouring Lucania (Camodeca [1982] 110).

⁹² Chapter 3, 80. The chronology of *opus signinum* floors is problematical: while in central Italy their use declined by the end of the first century B.C., in northern Italy, Campania, and also in Africa and in Sicily they continued to be laid in the first century A.C.: Wilson (1990) 116 and n. 6.

⁹³ Chapter 3, n. 152. For similar traditional building practices in urban contexts in Sicily see Wilson (1990) 324. In contemporary rural contexts in northern Calabria, similar building styles were encountered in the amphorae deposit/shipping buildings at Trebisacce (CAT. II, IGM F. 222, no. 9, map D), in the granary at Malvito (CAT. II, IGM F. 229, no. 6, map F), and some walls in the villa at Grotta del Malconsiglio (CAT. II, IGM F. 221, no. 73, map E); see also Luppino, Sangineto (1992) 182.

contributed as well. Possible local production of several forms of black glaze with grey paste (=grey ware) appeared in the second and first centuries B.C.⁹⁴ Dressel 1 amphorae of Calabrian origin have now been confirmed,⁹⁵ but whether they were produced at Thurii, Vibo or on the rural kiln-sites (*infra*, 197-199) where they have been found - or at all those places and possibly others - remains uncertain. If the amphorae (and the wine, on which see *infra*, 196-199) were made locally, Thurii and the area could have benefitted economically; if some export of the wine went through the harbour, the local taxes collected there would have added to the city's income.⁹⁶ Another source of income may have included rent from the tenancy on the public land that may have pertained to the unapportioned parts of the colonial assignments. Simple spin-off from trade (on which see more below) in local produce (wine, oil, wool, etc.) and imports (fine ceramics) would have added to the city's fortunes as well; rents from market stalls and taxes are obvious additions.

Other nucleated centres

The urban matrix of Republican Petelia is virtually unknown. There was a *stoa*, likely in the second century B.C., whose restoration by two gymnasiarchs on behalf of the

⁹⁴ Guzzo (1992) 31; *idem* (1973) 311: the forms are derived from Campana A; lamps are also known.

⁹⁵ Of particular note is the abundance of mica and inclusions of granitic origin in the fabric: Sangineto (1989) 841-843; *idem* (1994) 565 and n. 7; Arthur (1989) 133.

⁹⁶ The harbour has not actually been found, but Cicero. *Ad Att.* 9.2, mentions it; the fourth century B.C. "customs area" or the so-called '*area basolata*' at 'Casa Bianca', possibly located close to the harbour area (Chapter 1, 22), continued as an open space into the first century A.C. (Chapter 3, 77), possibly retaining its original function. '*Saggio est*' at 'CB', east of the gate (*Sibari* IV [1974] 430), has revealed a layer of sand below the first century A.C. tombs, suggesting a beach.

city is recorded on an inscription.⁹⁷ In addition, the building bricks mentioned above, found in the area of the town and in three other locations outside Petelia, testify to a second century B.C. building activity by some unidentified civic body.⁹⁸ What was built remains unknown, but the distribution area (north to Punta Alice, south to S. Severina and west to Umbriatico) suggests civic control of at least the production of the building material if not the actual construction of buildings. In the late Republican or Augustan period, the city again (this time the senate), was initiating the construction of a shrine to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and two *quattuorviri* were responsible.⁹⁹

The above evidence testifies to consistent civic activity in the Republican period, a result, undoubtedly, of the town's economic strength, but also perhaps of its political status as an independent ally of Rome, as well as a degree of demographic stability. Something has already been said about this above. The issue of demographic stability may be pursued a bit further. It may be significant that the officials in charge of the rebuilding of the *stoa*, the pair mentioned on the building bricks, and possibly one of the *quattuorviri*, were all Oscans. The various ways of recording one's name (the *tria nomina* of the gymnasiarchs and the *praenomen* and abbreviated *gentilicium* of the "brickers")¹⁰⁰, and

⁹⁷ CAT. III (Greek Inscriptions): IGM F. 238, no. 1; Costabile (1984) 5-15, but the date of the inscription was based on historical grounds.

⁹⁸ See above p. 145 and n. 37. For the bricks at Petelia: Gasperini (1986) 149-153 and pl. II; at Punta Alice, sanctuary of Apollo Alaios: Orsi (1933); Terminelli (1972) 101-104; at Umbriatico: Giuranna (1970) 245-46; at S. Severina: Paoletti (1994) 530.

⁹⁹ CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no. 13.

¹⁰⁰ For the gymnasiarchs (Minatos Kritios Minatos Menidas, Markos Kritios; CAT. III [Greek inscriptions] IGM F. 238, no. 1) see Costabile (1984) 13-14; Paoletti (1994) 529; Poccetti (1988)

indeed the use of different languages, testify to the various stages of acculturation to Greek ways or of Romanisation. This is to be expected, but the Oscan onomastica attest to the individuals' identical ethnic origin. While it is obvious that this small sample cannot furnish conclusive proofs, it is possible to suggest that the undisturbed political status of the community before and after the war provided its citizens with enough social continuity, fostering economic growth, which was reflected in the general well-being of the town.¹⁰¹

To these *Bruttii* can be added one Ophel[lios] (the representative at Delphi from the early second century *theorodokoi* list mentioned above)¹⁰² and another contemporary Petelian of Bruttian parentage, one Agathon Numpsiou Petelinos, a merchant and benefactor at Delos.¹⁰³ It is also possible that the prosperity and the continuing Oscan character of Petelia contributed to the persistent renown (at least for a short while) of the venerable Bruttian sanctuary of Apollo Alaios at Punta Alice to the north, also mentioned on the *theorodokoi* list.¹⁰⁴

140 and n. 54. For the "brickers" (Leukios Or(-), Nouios Ele(-)) see Poccetti (1988) 135-137 and *idem* (1994) 235 *contra* Costabile (1994) 463, note to par. 3 who holds that the presumed abbreviated *gentilicia* were actually their demotics. The *quattuorvir* S. Caedicius may have been an Oscan: see Camodeca (1982) 34, 85 for the Republican Caedicii from Latium to Campania.

¹⁰¹ The sporadic, but unfortunately undated archaeological finds from the area of modern Strongoli are abundant (see CAT. I: Strongoli, IGM F. 238, no. 1); it is possible that some of this material belonged to the Republican settlement.

¹⁰² Guzzo (1994) 212.

¹⁰³ Hatzfeld (1912) 12, 197-98, no. 1-3; *IG* XL.4, 1244-1246.

¹⁰⁴ On the sanctuary in the fourth and third centuries B.C. see Chapter 1, 24. The nature of the III/II - I C. B.C. occupation is unclear, but it could have been a farm at one point (CAT. II: IGM F. 231, no. 12, map I, fig. 22). See also Guzzo (1994) 212.

We have seen already that at Thurii the late Republican period was marked by a certain degree of civic activity, one of the agents of which appears to be the local *Vinuleii* family. At Petelia, this local element and its impact on the polity appears to be stronger. It must be remembered, of course, that in both places extremely small samples prevent the drawing of conclusions about the rate of survival and strength of the local population in this part of Italy after the second Punic war. What the evidence does point to, however, - and we shall see more examples of this below - is that some families did survive and indeed play significant parts in their towns' public life. Unfortunately, at the moment we do not have a sense of the proportion of the local and "new" (immigrant, veteran) families active in this part of the peninsula.

As we have seen, Republican Croton is archaeologically almost completely unknown (Chapter 3, 94-96). From the numerous excavated contexts on either side of the Esaro and below the medieval Castello, only one site has produced second century B.C. material, but no information is available about the building, if any, this material came from; the site supported intermittent occupation/use down to the sixth or seventh century A.C.¹⁰⁵ Most of the excavated areas overall ceased to be occupied at the end of the third century B.C., and some were already abandoned a century earlier. The events of the second Punic war apparently dealt a blow to an already shrinking city which now apparently contracted to the area of the medieval Castello, although no direct evidence

¹⁰⁵ CAT. I: Crotone. no. 6, IGM F. 238, map M.

exists in support of this claim.¹⁰⁶ The 300 families sent to Croton in 194 B.C. and some of the old stock who survived Hannibal obviously did not leave much trace in the city, at least not in the areas known to us at the moment. Pliny in the first century A.C. (*N.H.* 3.97) calls it an *oppidum*. Cicero mentions a port; nothing remains, but the north beach below the Castello seems best suited for it.¹⁰⁷

The city's colonial status is substantiated by the first century B.C. (second half) mosaic inscription from the baths at the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia at Capo Colonna.¹⁰⁸ On it, the *Ilviri quinquennales*, [-] Lucilius Macer and T. Annaeus Trhaso (sic), undoubtedly from neighbouring Croton, record the construction of the baths on behalf of the city council. In this regard Croton is on a par with Thurii and Petelia, whose city councils also played active civic roles in the late Republican period.¹⁰⁹

As we have already seen, outside the city proper the impact of the community is obvious at the nearby sanctuary of Hera Lacinia. In Strabo's times the sanctuary was

¹⁰⁶ Guzzo (1981a) 122: below the Castello, a number of Imperial period cemeteries are suggestive of a settlement up above; a handful of the Imperial period inscriptions (unknown to me) are said to have come from the Castello; Livy 24.3.8, describes the location.

¹⁰⁷ Cic. *Ad Att.* 9.19.3; *Itin.Mar.* 489.8; 490. Sabbione in *Atti Taranto* 16, 1976 (1977) 898, on the port's location. The port played a military role as late as the Gothic wars in the mid sixth century A.C.: Procop. *Bell.Goth.* 7.28.2-3; 7.28.17-18; 7.30.12 and 14; 8.26.1-2.

¹⁰⁸ Inscription: CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no. 24. The location: CAT. II: IGM F. 238, no. 14, map M, figs. 16a,b.

¹⁰⁹ It is possible that the reused *cippus* (I C B.C.) now in S. Severina belonged to Croton (CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no. 25). On it, the *Ilviri* (a possible indication for the colonial status of the community), L. Marius and L. Lurius are honoured for the construction of "a wall, arch and a piazza": Segenni (1994) 655. But see *contra*, Gasperini (1986) 164, who believed that the inscription refers to *Aprustum (possibly at S. Severina), otherwise unknown archaeologically and never mentioned in this way in the sources (see Pliny, *N.H.* 3.98 for the ethnic *Aprustani*); also, but less committed, Guzzo (1981a) 122.

considered impoverished in comparison with its previous stature,¹¹⁰ but in the second and first centuries B.C., the attention it had drawn and the building interventions suggest its importance at that time. It appears that its previous fame had not yet been significantly diminished. Hannibal saw fit to record his successes on a bilingual inscription (Greek and Punic) which he set within the temple's perimeter.¹¹¹ Early in the second century (173 B.C.), Q. Fulvius Flaccus removed some marble tiles from the temple's roof and took them to Rome for his project for the temple of Fortuna Equestris, but the Senate promptly decided to remedy the damage, even though, as Livy claims, it was hard to find skilled people to put the replacement tiles in place.¹¹² Regardless of the final outcome of this, the pirates and then Sextus Pompey in the first century B.C. found enough to pillage.¹¹³ Perhaps these were reasons enough that no votive offerings were found from this period. Throughout it, the city, or perhaps the sanctuary itself,¹¹⁴ put up some money to restore its various components: so the temple appears to have had some walls patched up with squared and reticulate masonry (now vanished), and 'building A' (the so-called *katagogeion*) had some work done in the central colonnade. The setting up of the baths (with *opus incertum* walls and *signinum* pavements) in the NW corner of 'building B'

¹¹⁰ Strabo 6.1.11.

¹¹¹ Polyb. *Hist.* 3.33.18;56.4; Livy 28.46.16.

¹¹² Livy 42.3. For the whole episode and differing views on Flaccus' and the Senate's motivations regarding the matter see most recently Paoletti (1994) 525-26 and nn. 202-205.

¹¹³ Pirates: Plut. *Pomp.* 24.5. Sextus Pompey: Appian, *B.C.* 5.133. (36 B.C.)

¹¹⁴ Sanctuaries, of course, could own their own land or use the money in their treasuries for their own maintenance, cf. Carlsen (1994) 9-15.

(*hestiatorion*) has already been mentioned and the geometric mosaic pavement (with the inscription mentioned above) fits in the Italian Hellenistic mosaic tradition.¹¹⁵ Minor interventions appear to have continued through the Imperial period, but save for the building of the precinct wall probably early in the Augustan period (Chapter 6, 223), no major new construction occurred on the site. This perhaps hints at the gradual diminishing of the sanctuary's and the city's fortunes. With the changing dynamic between the city and the hinterland, i.e. the disappearance of the need to mediate the complex relationship between the Greek and the native populations that the sanctuary facilitated during its early history, the available resources were now probably channelled elsewhere.¹¹⁶

On the available evidence (Chapter 3, 92-93), it is hard to talk about Republican Consentia in terms of a city. Sparse architectural remains from the area of medieval Cosenza, suggest that some continuity of occupation existed between the third century B.C. and the first century A.C.; a set of baths, whose *caldarium* has been excavated, was built in the second half of the first century B.C., utilising some of the Hellenistic walls. They were in use until early in the second century A.C. Below the hill, at the site of present railway station and the Civic Hospital, sporadic Republican graves were recorded in the 19th and early 20th century.

The emerging picture is hardly reminiscent of a city. In fact, it has been suggested that Republican Consentia consisted of several villages (one of which may have

¹¹⁵ CAT II: IGM F. 238, no. 14, map. M. fig. 16b. Mosaic: Blake (1930) 40, 95.

¹¹⁶ Cf. the shift of elite activity in Samnium away from Oscan sanctuaries to the Roman municipia: Patterson (1991) 152-157.

been the Bruttian settlement), rather than that it should be imagined as a nucleated urban space.¹¹⁷ If so, this kind of dispersed settlement configuration may be reflected in the appellation *ager* in the *Liber Coloniarum*.¹¹⁸ It must be assumed that the ongoing hostilities at Consentia during the second Punic war (Chapter 2, 35-36) left the settlement scarred. It is significant, however, that this was another of those previously occupied centres which continued to play some role in the post-war period. Furthermore, some, if sparse, evidence of continuity in the occupation of buildings perhaps suggests a degree of continuity in their ownership or tenancy. Of course, the old inhabitants/users could have been simply chased out (or killed) and the new settlers moved in, but the fact that no new colonial or other foundation is known from the immediate post-war period gives perhaps a tacit indication that in Consentia too we have an enclave of surviving Bruttians. More than anywhere, this is possible in the heart of the Sila.

The countryside

The generally limited nature of archaeological evidence from rural contexts has been demonstrated in Chapter 4. Hence the following discussion cannot achieve the rigour and effectiveness of analysis that would be desirable, and indeed required, for a critical interpretation of the settlement distribution and land use. Rather, some general

¹¹⁷ Kahrstedt (1960) 97. Viriata assignments (as here) could be installed around the existing nucleated settlements (e.g. *vici*) or they might grow into independent settlements - the *forum* and the *conciabulum*; the defining features and sizes of these communities are largely unknown, but there was probably a range similar to that among the colonies and the municipia (Gargola [1995] 109-110). On his analysis of *ager Cremonensis*, Garnsey has tentatively suggested that, generally, settlers receiving allotments *viratim* were expected to establish a rural base: Garnsey (1998) 125.

¹¹⁸ A similar case may have been (already mentioned) *ager Teuranus*. Cf. La Torre (1990b) 171, for Clamptia, which is also called *ager* in *Lib.Col.* 1.21-22.

trends are outlined, also indicating areas for further research.

Most disappointingly, the quantity and character of the available data (from both pre-war and post-war periods) make close comparisons between the pre-Roman and the Roman period settlement organisation impossible.¹¹⁹ This, in turn, makes it difficult to adequately measure the degree of change engendered by the Roman incorporation of the region.

The traditional view of the south Italian countryside after 200 B.C. is characterised in terms of demographic decline, development of large estates run by slave labour, collapse of small farms and migration to cities, replacement of subsistence farming by large scale grazing and cash crops, and monopolisation of resources by the elite.¹²⁰ As is also well known, this model is increasingly being questioned. While much of the traditional view has been shaped by analyses of ancient literary sources, the challenge comes from archaeology.¹²¹

The settlements: numbers and distribution

It has been suggested that if a region exhibits low continuity in rural settlement coupled with the appearance of new sites, then the possibility of widespread disruption of

¹¹⁹ Chapters 1 and 4; see also, Sangineto (1994) 562.

¹²⁰ Toynbee (1965).

¹²¹ This controversy has been conceptualised as a tension between macroeconomic studies (i.e. the idea of decline based mainly on the written sources) and microeconomic studies (i.e. an exploration of local developments based on archaeological evidence, and primarily on survey results): Lepore (1983) 347-54.

use and ownership of land may be one of the factors responsible.¹²² In the present region, it is possible that widespread destruction during the prolonged period of warfare, combined with the inception of direct Roman control in the form of colonisation and land expropriation that followed, resulted in the changed settlement pattern. Guzzo has, on the basis of the data available to him in 1981, observed that, excluding the nucleated settlements, no continuity of occupation occurred on a site before and after the second Punic war.¹²³ However, on a limited number of sites there are now indications for occupation before and after 200 B.C., which suggests that the break may not have been absolute. However, this does not necessarily have to mean that uninterrupted occupation was always present; this is further discussed below.

We have also seen that a limited number of nucleated settlements of both Greek and Bruttian origin continued to maintain an urban aspect in the post-Hannibalic period, while others became abandoned. In a study about constitutional forms from pre-Roman and Roman Bruttium that relied mainly on epigraphy and literary evidence, Costabile has demonstrated that the Roman governing *apparatus* in the early colonising period favoured the local Italiote elites over the Bruttians.¹²⁴ Part of the answer for the abandonment and decline of many Bruttian and rural sites (again assuming that some were Bruttian) may lie in this policy.

¹²² Alcock (1993) 56-58; Guzzo (1987a) 521, for the present region.

¹²³ Guzzo (1981a) 116, but see p. 115 for the *caveat* regarding the inadequate chronologies of the black glaze wares from the third and second centuries B.C. that are potentially misdated; also, Arthur (1991) 63.

¹²⁴ Costabile (1984b) 107-108.

Precisely dated second century B.C. sites are few. Excluding the coin hoards, only 28 sites have been securely dated to the second century (of the total of 397 collected in CAT. II). The number rises to 89 if the sites with "late Republican" and "Hellenistic-Roman" (58) designations are added; some 30 sites from the Croton survey may perhaps be added to this total.¹²⁵ Fifteen more appear in the first century B.C. A high number (23) of the securely dated second century sites (28) continued to be occupied in the first century B.C., making the incidence of disappearance of the (securely dated) second century sites negligible. At the end of the Republican period, therefore, some 134 sites can be counted in northern Calabria.

About half of the total come from the plain and the surrounding hills in the wider basin of the Coscile/Crati river system.¹²⁶ On the strength of the numbers alone, it appears that the establishment of the Latin colony at Thurii/Copia prompted a degree of rural development in its hinterland. The density of rural occupation south of Croton also appears high, although it may not be wise to make too much of the comparison between the two areas, since the data from the territory south of Croton came from an intensive survey and it may well be that the sites from the Plain of Sibari are underrepresented. What is interesting is the extreme scarcity of sites from the Tyrrhenian coast, its hinterland and the interior (the Sila): ten sites are recorded in the second century with the number rising to 14 by the first century B.C.

¹²⁵ For the difficulties of interpretation see Chapter 4, 102-105.

¹²⁶ I.e. roughly from Trebisacce in the NE and the river Trionto in the SE.

Close comparison with the Hellenistic settlement pattern is impossible at the moment. However, the little evidence that there is, indicates a possible area for future research, and could be suggestive of a greater degree of settlement continuity from the pre- to the post-second Punic war period than was thought before. As we have seen, the extensive survey of the Plain of Sibari presents real difficulties with the dating criteria (Chapter 4, 107-109). Within that sample, however, some continuity between the Hellenistic and the Roman Republican period appears attested on 28 sites, but we cannot be sure whether the occupation on the site was entirely uninterrupted. The nature of this occupation is also unknown, making guesses about the significance of the shift between the periods hazardous.

The Ionian coast and the hinterland south of the Crati estuary show a similar tendency: on ten Roman period sites, there was some occupation during the Hellenistic period. It is uncertain whether complete continuity is also documented on all those ten sites (Chapter 4, 118).

Similar sporadic continuity was also encountered in the area of Nocera Tirinese on the Tyrrhenian coast and up and down the same coast, but the overall number of Republican period sites there was extremely small (Chapter 4, 120-128).

The Croton survey shows virtually equal number of sites occupied during the 350-300 B.C. period - some 17 - and the late Republican period (after 150 B.C.) - some 15 sites. A hiatus of some 150 years between these periods was noted, however; a similar pattern was encountered in the vicinity of the sanctuary at Capo Colonna (the Republican

numbers were somewhat higher there). It is interesting to note that a decline of settlement numbers appears to start in the hinterland of Croton already in the third century B.C., and then after a break of some 150 years the overall number of settlements climbs to equal or larger in the late Republican period (Chapter 4, 103). It may be possible to correlate this trend in the countryside with the relative fortunes of the neighbouring city of Croton, whose shrinking appears to have commenced in the late fourth or third century B.C. Conversely, the establishment of the Roman colony may have provided a spur in the development of the countryside later in the second century B.C.

In the Sila and the interior, rural site continuity does not seem to have occurred; the sample here, as is known, is extremely small (Chapter 4, 128-132).

Obviously, on the present evidence, no precise conclusions can be drawn about the continuity of occupation on the sites of the late Iron age and the Roman Republican period in northern Bruttium. However, it seems that neither can it be postulated any more that a complete break-down in the pre-Roman rural settlement occurred after the dust settled on many a troubled spot when Hannibal left the region. Whether this tentative continuity also signifies a continuity of ownership or tenure of this land is hard to tell. We have seen above from the slim, but possibly significant body of mainly epigraphic evidence from the nucleated settlements, that there is a degree of survival of the Bruttian ethnic element in the civic life of these centres. It is reasonable to assume that these people's economic base was primarily rooted in the surrounding countryside, so that some of the site-continuity may be attributed to their ownership or tenancy of this land. Arguably, at

least on the present evidence, there was an overall rise in the number of rural sites and a larger number of newly established sites in the post-Hannibalic period overall than had existed at the end of the third century B.C. This may suggest an overall rise in population numbers, probably to be attributed to the changed socio-economic and political situation brought about by the Roman incorporation.

The settlements: size and appearance

As we have seen in Chapter 4 very little can be said about site-sizes; slightly more information is available regarding their features.¹²⁷

As we have seen, a rather small number of sites was dated to the Republican period in the hinterland of Thurii/Copia.¹²⁸ Most typically, they consisted of masonry remains (mortared rubble, occasionally with inclusions of brick and tile, and installations for water-provision - e.g. pipes and vats), simple floor surfaces (crushed mortared brick and *spicatum* pavements and sporadic mosaic floors) and abundant tile and pottery scatters. It must not be forgotten, however, that a huge majority of undated and generically labelled "Roman" sites were also pottery scatters, leaving a possibility that there existed a larger number of Republican sites than is presently known. There is great uncertainty, therefore, regarding the degree of populousness of the countryside in the post-Hannibalic period and, as we have seen above, the pre-war rural settlement is also poorly understood. All this, of course, has huge implications for the interpretation of the

¹²⁷ On the hazards of correlating site-sizes with landholding patterns and the general difficulty of assessing sizes of sites from surface evidence: Alcock (1993) 58-59; Barker (1991) 4-6.

¹²⁸ Chapter 4, 109.

settlement organisation and the socioeconomic status of the inhabitants of the area during the late Republican period.

Most finds suggest modest, likely permanent habitations; some sites also appear surrounded by larger or smaller scatters of tile and pottery. The first problem is the interpretation of the configuration of these finds. Whether these were isolated dwellings with outlying buildings or clusters of dwellings that formed hamlets or villages, or perhaps should be seen as constituent parts of large estates, is difficult to say.¹²⁹ The evidence from tomb-groups, although mostly undated, may point to villages, but decorative features (e.g. columns, worked blocks, fountains) at a number of sites, although not numerous, suggest modest isolated farmsteads. On the other hand, the evidence from five excavated sites consisting of substantial buildings with differentiated functional and/or residential areas points to well built and equipped structures perhaps best interpreted as agricultural estate centres or villas, possibly indicating that some other sites could also be so interpreted.¹³⁰ On three of the excavated sites evidence was found for agricultural

¹²⁹ On this problem see Alcock (1989) 17; *eadem* (1993) 58-60; also, *addendum* of Scheidel in Garnsey (1998) 131 for up-to-date selected bibliography on the subject. Very small sites could just as easily represent sheds or seasonal shelters as they could modest permanent dwellings and agricultural establishments. Generally, without excavation it is impossible to securely identify the nature of many sites that surveys reveal, and the quality of the data from the present sample makes the interpretation even more difficult. Quilici *et al.* (1969) 98, suggest that many groups of sites in the Plain should be seen as "grossi aggregati agricoli" that have developed in the Imperial period from small independent estates; no clear rationale was developed, however, in support of this hypothesis. For this area see also Guzzo (1981a) 119.

¹³⁰ For example: CAT. II: IGM F. 221, no 34, map E; IGM F. 221, nos. 52-55, map E. The excavated sites are: CAT. II: IGM F. 221, no. 20, map C (Camerelle, ca. 0.5ha); IGM F. 221, no. 73, map E (Grotta del Malconsiglio, ca. 0.3ha); IGM F. 221, no. 74, map E (Prainetta); IGM F. 229, no. 5, map. F (Roggiano Gravina, Larderia); IGM F. 229, no. 6, map F (Malvito, Pauciori).

production and/or storage, and quite a few more had remains of *dolia* and mill-stones.¹³¹

From all this, it is possible that isolated habitations and production units - more modest farms and even luxurious villas - but also possibly hamlets, co-existed in the late Republican period in the hinterland of Thurii. But was this the preferred mode of rural settlement during that time? It must be borne in mind that, as the evidence stands at the moment, on numbers alone - some 60 sites from the rough calculation above - the Plain and its hinterland appear woefully underpopulated. If we assume for the moment that the numbers are roughly correct, this could mean that the majority of the *coloni* and the surviving pre-Roman population resided within the city-area (and perhaps in a few villages) and that they commuted daily from their homes to the neighbouring fields. One would wish to find more evidence for agricultural processing and storage, for example, than is currently available from the sporadic Republican contexts at Thurii to substantiate this claim, but until some good evidence comes up from the countryside - such as the data from a carefully designed intensive field survey - the commuting scenario is one possible working hypothesis.¹³² A degree of instability in the post-Hannibalic South is certain, which could have warranted a more "traditional" model of settlement. Conversely, the physical evidence suggests that some obviously opted for the isolated lifestyle in the countryside. Finally, if there did exist a preferred mode of settlement during this period, we do not know it from the data presented above. A discussion of the evidence for

¹³¹ E.g. CAT II: IGM F. 221, nos. 1,5,13,34,77-78, map E; IGM F. 229, nos. 50-51, map E.

¹³² This worked, for example, in Ager Falernus, where the first tendency after setting up of the colonies in the late fourth and third centuries B.C. was towards nucleated settlement: Arthur (1991) 63.

landholding and land-use below should help to expand what we know about this subject.

Simply appointed isolated structures appear to have prevailed along the coastal strip and the immediate hinterland south of the Plain of Sibari and down to beyond Capo Rizzuto in the territory of Croton.¹³³ Only a few sites have demonstrated some evidence of luxury while a limited number may represent small aggregates of structures, perhaps suggesting nucleation. What is interesting is that there appears to be more evidence concerning agricultural storage (*dolia*) in this area than in the Plain of Sibari, as well as wool-processing (loom-weights) and pottery production (kilns), but this could also be related to the differences in the data collection. The precise chronological connection between the portable finds and the exiguous and "generic" standing remains (e.g. mortared rubble walls, *opus spicatum* floors) is almost always difficult to establish for this area as well.

In spite of this limited evidence it may still be possible to postulate a fair degree of economic viability for this area in the post-Hannibalic period. There also seems to have existed some difference in how the surroundings of Petelia and Croton responded to the new socio-political situation. We have seen that Petelia appears to have retained sound economic and demographic standing in the Republican period (that may have stemmed in part from land grants to the north and south), and that the importance of the sanctuary of Apollo Alaios may have continued at least into the early years following the Roman incorporation. This vitality may also have found reflection in the surrounding countryside

¹³³ Chapter 4, 118-120.

where a relatively high number of Roman sites - 10 out of 24 - also had a Hellenistic phase, suggesting perhaps a degree of demographic continuity on them as well. Of course, this does not mean that the impetus for this development only flowed from the city to the country, but a stable political and market-centre would be certainly beneficial in any situation. We have already encountered some unspecified building activity in the countryside that was probably sponsored by the town, and will see some further evidence for private economic initiative in the area, all suggesting an intricate interplay between the area-centre and the surrounding countryside.

The curious 150-year-hiatus in the settlement of the Marchesato (south of Croton) and the virtual non-existence of site continuity between the pre-Roman and Republican periods is paralleled in the appearance of the city of Croton during the same period, again suggesting a correlation between the fortunes of the urban centre and the surrounding countryside. Also, this settlement discontinuity may be a reflection of demographic discontinuity, thus pointing to this area's greater degree of disruption of life during and immediately after the war, than was the case in the surroundings of Thurii/Copia and Petelia.

The northern Calabrian Tyrrhenian coast appears to have been extremely sparsely settled in the last two centuries B.C. On the present evidence, it seems that, apart from some scant second century B.C. occupation on two Bruttian settlements at Marcellina and Piano della Tirena and sporadic evidence from one or two other locations, the sites there

do not really begin to appear before the second half of the first century B.C.¹³⁴ This is odd, in view of the planting of the Roman colony at Tempa early in the second century B.C. One possible explanation for this is that the colony was just not successful at first, and (as we shall see) it was only later that rural settlement took root on the Tyrrhenian coast.¹³⁵ Guzzo suggested that the Tyrrhenian littoral was generally occupied by the Bruttians in the fourth and third centuries B.C.,¹³⁶ so that their collective demise at the end of this period may have translated into a general depopulation of the area that then took some time to recover. Further explanation for the extremely sporadic settlement distribution may be found in the type of economic exploitation (forestry and pastoralism) that the area may have supported, to which we turn below. A striking scarcity of the rural sites in the Sila and the Tyrrhenian coastal mountains may perhaps be explained in a similar way.

Landholding patterns

The difficulty of assessing landholding patterns and social standing of the occupants or owners of the establishments whose traces we find on the ground, and then inferring from this their economic potential, and most of all their actual performance, has

¹³⁴ Chapter 4, 122-123.

¹³⁵ Cf. for example Buxentum (Policastro Bussentino) in the Gulf of Policastro founded in 194 B.C. and re-founded in 186 B.C. (Livy 39.23.3-4; Brunt (1971) 279-81). Still, Tempa is mentioned by Cicero (*In Verr.* 2.5.39-41) in the context of Spartacus' slave revolt and Pliny (*N.H.* 3.72; 14.69) knows it for good wine; it was still inhabited at the time of Pausanias (6.6.10-11) who heard about it from someone who sailed *kata emporian*; see more on this below.

¹³⁶ Guzzo (1987a) 516; *idem* (1978a). Overall, the number of the fourth and third century sites was relatively high on the northern Tyrrhenian coast when compared with the subsequent period (Chapter 4, 129, 131).

been stressed many times before.¹³⁷ There is little doubt, however, that the decision where to live is directly linked with the mode of land exploitation which lay at the heart of ancient economic systems.¹³⁸

So far the present discussion has demonstrated that the long held hypothesis concerning serious depopulation of the deep South after the second Punic war should be abandoned. We have seen that the rural landscape of northern Calabria during the last two centuries of the Republic was characterised by scattered and modestly constructed rural dwellings, some richer sites (with mosaics, columns, etc) that point to a more luxurious lifestyle, and sites (larger and denser pottery and tile scatters) that possibly represent hamlets or villages.

It has recently been argued that dispersed settlement pattern was the chosen agricultural and residential strategy of farmers wishing to cultivate their properties intensively. This manifested itself in a variety of ways of which the most tangible sign was the existence of rural habitations (or at least seasonal shelters); consolidation of holdings in one place, a combination of animal husbandry and arable cultivation, and overall larger labour input (possibly employing slaves) were all found to be the strategies employed in this scenario. This, so-called "alternative" model, contrasts with the "traditional" model where a more extensive mode of cultivation is employed. According to it, mostly, but not exclusively, farmers live away from their holdings (in a nucleated settlement for example)

¹³⁷ E.g. Lloyd (1991b) 236-37; Alcock (1993) 60-61; Lloyd, Barker (1981) 375-416.

¹³⁸ Halstead (1987) 77-87.

and "commute to work"; all this reduces the need for rural dwellings. The two systems are found to be not mutually exclusive, however, but to operate in conjunction.¹³⁹

In post-Hannibalic Italy, however, the two models were often seen as mutually exclusive; furthermore, the extreme manifestation of the alternative model was imagined in terms of the development of large estates run by slave labour for the rich absentee landlords.¹⁴⁰ On the other side of the spectrum were the smallholders who, due to high cost, small returns, and fierce competition, were forced away from their land by the sheer impossibility of their isolated lifestyle. They then moved to the cities or villages, thus effectively leaving the land free to be possessed by the rich; their own survival, if they did survive at all, was now only possible as tenants on the land they previously owned.

A good number of studies on the Italian post-Hannibalic countryside has now demonstrated the untenability of such a generalising and starkly contrasted interpretation. Instead, a variety of settlement forms and socio-economic strategies is now known to have existed during this period.¹⁴¹

Was there a predominant settlement strategy in place in the late Republican period in northern Calabria that can also be conclusively linked with the specific mode of land exploitation? We have seen that well-appointed structures (mosaics, axiality, peristyle, *opus incertum*) with clear agricultural functions (storage and wine/oil

¹³⁹ *ibid.* 77-87.

¹⁴⁰ Toynbee (1965).

¹⁴¹ For the South see a brief survey in Lomas (1993) 115-123; also e.g., Morley (1996) 129-135; Barker, Lloyd, eds. (1991).

production) appear in the hinterland of Thurii in the second century B.C., with a couple more sites established in the first century.¹⁴² The sizes of the excavated residential and productive areas of two of these examples - Grotta del Malconsiglio and Camerelle - of 0.3 and 0.5 ha. respectively, suggest large estates.¹⁴³ They all likely testify to the comparatively well-to-do individuals with agricultural interests in the area who may have resided in the countryside full- or part-time.¹⁴⁴ It is therefore possible that already in the second century there were large properties in the countryside with villas as centres of estates; how frequent these were we cannot be sure.

Some (or even all) of these large estates may have employed slave labour and supervision.¹⁴⁵ As already mentioned, Cicero's *Tul.* 6.13-9.21, casts some valuable light on this issue, as well as on the questions of land-use and ownership in the hinterland of Thurii early in the first century B.C.¹⁴⁶ We hear of one very large property of 200 iugera (50ha) held in patrimony (7.16); there is illegal appropriation of land; uncultivated land with *exustis villis omnibus* with intention of developing them (6.13-14); absentee landlords (M. Tullius, Cicero's namesake); *homines novi*, such as P. Fabius, a *novus arator*

¹⁴² CAT II: IGM F. 221, no. 73, map E (Grotta del Malconsiglio, II-I C B.C.); IGM F. 221, no. 74, map E (Prainetta, II-I C B.C.); IGM F. 229, no. 6, map F (Malvito, Pauciori, II-I C B.C. (phase I)); IGM F. 221, no. 20, map C (Camerelle, 2/2 I C B.C.-2/2 C III A.C.); IGM F. 229, no. 5, map F (Roggiano Gravina, end I C B.C.-end III C A.C.).

¹⁴³ On the correlation of site-sizes and estate-sizes see e.g. Alcock (1993) 58-71.

¹⁴⁴ It is well known, however, that not all the rich lived on their land continually: Morley (1996) 130.

¹⁴⁵ Spartacus' presence (Appian, *B.C.* 1.117; Suet. *Aug.* 3) in the area may be linked to the slave population there: Guzzo (1981a) 117.

¹⁴⁶ For a recent commentary see Sangineto (1994) 580-83.

et idem pecuarius, who having acquired wealth in Asia, invest money in the *praedia* around Thurii (6.15); there are other villas and smaller structures (8.20); slaves, a *vilicus* and a *procurator*.¹⁴⁷ Several points are worth further comment.

The size of the property of M. Tullius is interesting: at 200 iugera it far surpasses anything that any of the colonists sent to Thurii in 193 B.C. were assigned. Whether his father leased this as *ager publicus*, or had acquired it from the original proprietors or colonists, is not clear,¹⁴⁸ but it is obvious from this that there were at least some large properties in the early first century B.C. in the *ager Thurinus*. This may point to the impoverishment of some of the original settlers, which, in turn, could have further enhanced social and economic divisions in the local community. M. Tullius appears to have been an absentee landlord (7.17; 9.20) whose impact on the local scene may have been indirect, but some other individuals mentioned in the oration seem to have been members of the local aristocracy.¹⁴⁹ All their estates appear to have been large establishments, some run or worked by slaves, whose owners either resided there or visited them, leaving us to imagine luxurious enough dwellings to accommodate the tastes of the late Republican aristocracy.¹⁵⁰ In this regard they resemble the few excavated

¹⁴⁷ On *vilici* and *procuratores* (Colum. 1.1; 1.8; 11.1; Cicero, *Caec.* 20.57); a *vilicus* was usually a slave-administrator of an estate; a *procurator* was a *libertus* resident at an estate and acting in place of the absent *dominus*.

¹⁴⁸ Sangineto (1994) 582; Guzzo (1981a) 118.

¹⁴⁹ Sangineto (1994) 582-83.

¹⁵⁰ On the correlation between the equestrian and senatorial presence and large properties see Simelon (1993) 31.

examples mentioned above.

At least as we can tell from the fairly sparse archaeological record, the aspect and differentiated functional areas of these estates stand in contrast to the majority of the contemporary rural sites. These appear much more modest and may represent the properties of the less rich members of the community. However, while the excavated remains of the few larger and better appointed structures may with a fair degree of certainty be interpreted as the residential and productive seats of the richer and probably larger estates, the landholding pattern for the great majority of sites is much more difficult to interpret. It is probably right to assume that some land was owned by the city of Thurii and was leased to tenants, as, of course, the leasing of private property generally may have been one form of land exploitation. This was also reflected in the settlement form, i.e. in the appearance of isolated dwellings/shelters; some of the dispossessed original population may have continued their livelihood in this way.¹⁵¹ Also, it cannot be excluded that some of the more moderate sites (rubble walls, tile and pottery scatters) do indeed represent the properties of the more modest landholders who resided there on a full- or part-time basis.

A high rate of continuity of occupation from the second to the first century, in at least the well dated group, has already been noted. Sometimes such continuity is linked with the rate of survival of the sites: the more substantial structures of the better off survive longer than the ephemeral dwellings of the very poor, thus contributing to a more

¹⁵¹ According to Columella, *Rust.* 1.7.4, the most satisfactory tenants were experienced farmers, in particular free-holders, domiciled in the neighbourhood; cf. Garnsey (1998) 141. Varro, *R.R.* 1.17.2, talks about slaves and free men working together; the free were small farmers, hired labourers and debt-labourers; Cato, *De Agr.* 1.1.3, also on free and hired labour.

visible presence in the countryside and potentially to a more distinct archaeological record.¹⁵² In the present case, such an interpretation suggests that already the second century examples were more than the simplest dwellings. Indeed, on a string of sites along the Ionian coast south of the Plain of Sibari, masonry remains are frequent finds. The occupation of most of these sites was dated between the second century B.C. and the early to mid Imperial period. However, the dates are mostly based on the surface ceramic finds, and the character of the masonry remains makes their independent dating impossible. It is plausible that these sites supported reasonably well appointed houses from the start, but the remains do not suggest that they were luxurious dwellings.

Most sites from the Croton survey were characterised as "farmsteads", but no details were provided. However, some sites along the coast in more commanding locations may qualify as villas, but their agricultural function, if they had any, has not been recorded.¹⁵³

A discussion of land use may be able to expand our understanding of the landholding patterns and changes in the settlement organisation. To this we turn below.

The exploitation of land: produce and industry

If the urban communities show a degree of contraction in size in the late Republican period, the countryside is far from deserted. The question is how productive it was.

¹⁵² Guzzo (1981a) 119-120; Alcock (1993) 64.

¹⁵³ CAT. II: IGM F. 238, nos. 12,13,15,16, map M; IGM F. 243, no. 3, map P.

One of the principal tenets of the traditional theory of regional depopulation and decline is the belief that much of the *ager publicus* that was created from the confiscated land was soon turned to extensive pastures and/or large cash-crop estates. This *ipso facto* excluded the existence of small proprietors.¹⁵⁴

Southern Italy, including Bruttium, is considered to be well adapted to livestock-rearing.¹⁵⁵ The rearing of transhumant flocks within certain areas of the region, such as the Sila and Aspromonte, is well documented in modern times.¹⁵⁶ It is probable that the traditional Bruttian economy was pastoral, as seems to have been the case in many other Oscan regions of the South.¹⁵⁷ Hence, tradition as well as modern practices do not preclude us from viewing pasturage as a viable economic practice. The question is how widespread was it in Bruttium in the Republican period. Closely tied to this is the issue of the size and character of the area that may be available for pasturage, which varies according to what is grazed on the land.

It is believed that for nomadic animal husbandry to be profitable, and indeed feasible, it requires freedom of movement of flocks between highland summer pastures and lowland winter pastures; this particularly concerns sheep (and goats) and cattle (and

¹⁵⁴ Toynbee (1965), esp. 155-89, 286-312; Brunt (1971) 278-81.

¹⁵⁵ Frayn (1984) 20-21.

¹⁵⁶ Bevilacqua (1988) 857-69; Toynbee (1965) 237-39, and relevant notes.

¹⁵⁷ Guzzo (1989). The expulsion of the herdsmen recorded on the *elogium* from Polla (CIL I².638; ILS I.23) to make room for the farmers, if viewed in this context, may mean a break with tradition: Gabba (1988) 134-41; Thompson (1988) 213-15; Gabba, Pasquinucci (1977) 79-91.

horses).¹⁵⁸ Pigs, while they also could be moved some distance, are less demanding of space; according to Columella their best feeding grounds are forests.¹⁵⁹ It is a fair assumption that, generally, following the second Punic war, necessary political conditions had been established for such movements to take place in Bruttium. But which land was so used? If this happened on *ager publicus*, we do not know for certain how much there was of this sort of territory available. Nominally, all hostile Greek states and the *Bruttii* would have been subjected to confiscations, but, as has been suggested, it is hard to imagine that these lands also suddenly became "empty" of people and therefore free for an unimpeded development on a large scale. Part of this public land, as we have seen, was apportioned to the newly established colonial settlements, thus setting the priority for agricultural development. A presumably large portion of *ager publicus* constituted the Sila forest, and if ancient Sila corresponds to the modern geographical area (*supra* n. 34), then this was an extensive territory with ample pastures and woodlands.¹⁶⁰ But even if not all of it became available for extensive pasturage, parts of it, if used in conjunction with the available lowlands, would provide suitable raising grounds for the migrant flocks.¹⁶¹

In the end, are we not making too much of the need for large empty tracts of land to be given over in order to practice transhumant pastoralism properly? Even if we accept this need outright, there indeed seem to have existed enough "empty" spaces in northern

¹⁵⁸ Morley (1996) 157; Toynbee (1965) 286.

¹⁵⁹ Col. 7.9.6; Pliny, *N.H.* 16.25 on acorns as fodder.

¹⁶⁰ For the modern Sila see Introduction, 13.

¹⁶¹ Toynbee (1965) 238-39.

Bruttium for the roaming flocks to move around freely. A note regarding the modern population of Calabria should illustrate this point. In 1971 the total population counted close to 2,000,000 people,¹⁶² and assuming that roughly one half lived in the northern part (which is an obvious approximation), it is fair to say that this surpasses the ancient population by much. Even if all of the *Bruttii* (and the Greeks) survived (which they surely did not) or vanished (which is another unlikely extreme scenario) this would hardly have made any difference: with one million people in northern Calabria when I visited it in the early 1990s, the Sila looked as comfortably bucolic and "empty" as possible!

Rather than asking how much territory there would have been available for pasturage, the question is perhaps how deep into the woods the people needed or were prepared to go. Linked with this is the question what type of animals were raised and how this was organised. It may be wrong to assume that, when Varro states that *nobiles pecuariae in Brutiis habentur*, sheep are to be envisioned automatically, although I do not expect a Roman aristocrat to call pigs *nobiles*.¹⁶³ If *pecus* can mean any farm animal, then pigs as well as sheep, and other transport animals can be imagined.¹⁶⁴ The importance of pigs in Roman diet is well documented in the literary and archaeological

¹⁶² Guzzo (1981a) n. 1.

¹⁶³ Varro, *R.R.* 2.1.2; the person whose interests are referred to is C. Lucilius Hirrus, *trib. pleb.* in 53 B.C.; Shatzman (1975) 382-83. Vergil's references to cattle are bucolic in nature (*Aeneid* 12. 715-719; *Georgics* 3.219).

¹⁶⁴ See Small (1986) 184-85 (review of Frayn (1984)). for a concise discussion of the meaning of *pecus* in ancient sources.

sources, and it is reasonable to suppose that they could be driven on pasture-land.¹⁶⁵

Furthermore, the grazing together of various animals is still a common sight in traditional farming communities in Italy, and it is reasonable to suppose that this was the case in Roman Italy as well.¹⁶⁶ Geographically, nothing precludes the cattle, sheep and pigs from feeding on the upland pastures of northern Calabria, or roaming the oak-rich lower slopes of the Catena Costiera today, and barring a significant difference in climate between the Roman period and the present, which does not seem to have been the case, it can be assumed that more or less the same regime persisted (Introduction, 11-13).

How important, however, was pastoralism in Bruttium in the Republican period?

This is difficult to establish without material evidence; faunal evidence is completely missing from the record. Beside Varro's comment, Caesar talks generally of *pastores* around Thurii,¹⁶⁷ and roughly around the same time, P. Fabius from Cicero's oration discussed above (*Tul.* 6.13-9.21), engaged in livestock breeding and agriculture. The animals in question could have included cattle, sheep, goats and pigs.¹⁶⁸

Both ancient sources and recent archaeological work concur that mixed farming was a preferred economic strategy on the medium-sized estates in Italy.¹⁶⁹ This could

¹⁶⁵ Morley (1996) 152-54; Varro, *R.R.* 2.4.3; 2.4.22; Cato, *De Agr.* 10.11.

¹⁶⁶ Small (1986) 185. The faunal remains from the two middens (375-460s A.D.; ca. 460-525 A.D.) belonging to the late antique villa at San Giovanni di Ruoti included pigs, sheep, goats, cows and horses, to mention only a portion of the species identified: Gualtieri *et al.*, eds. (1983) 76.

¹⁶⁷ Caesar, *B.C.* 3.21-22.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Small (1986) 184-185.

¹⁶⁹ Morley (1996) 155.

include animal-raising in conjunction with arable cultivation.¹⁷⁰ On the other hand, long-distance transhumance on a large scale, that presupposes large flocks grazing on much land and moving between winter and summer pastures, while undoubtedly practised in Roman Italy, is being increasingly questioned as a useful model generally.¹⁷¹ Instead, if there was a need to move the animals at all, this could also be done over short distances.¹⁷² In the present case, the margins of the plains of northern Calabria and the plateau in the Sila could have been used in this way.¹⁷³ Hence, it may be right to interpret some of the rural sites as representing medium-sized mixed economy estates. Rather than having to push always deep into the forests, the necessary grazing and moving spaces could be found closer by, just as the wool-manufacturing and trade centres were available in the established urban centres along the coast.¹⁷⁴

However, given so little independent proof, one should not accept this hypothesis without caution. A satisfactory degree of social and political peace needed to be achieved in order for this model of economic development to function. Nominally, Roman incorporation would have set the stage for this to happen, but in actuality, the early

¹⁷⁰ Pigs: Varro, *R.R.* 2.4.3; Cato, *Agr.* 10.11. Sheep: Cato, *Agr.* 10.149;150.

¹⁷¹ Morley (1996) 157; Lomas (1993) 123.

¹⁷² Thompson (1988) 214; Barker (1989) 1-3.

¹⁷³ Still today flocks of sheep can be seen grazing in olive groves in Calabria: Sangineto (1994) 564. A model of small-scale pastoralism integrated with arable cultivation is supported by the results of two surveys from highland regions, covering the upper Biferno valley in Samnium and the area north of Reate in the Sabine hills: Lloyd (1991); Coccia, Mattingly, eds. (1992).

¹⁷⁴ For example. at Heraclea and Taranto: Giardina (1981) 92. Remains of what has been interpreted as a *fullonica* have been uncovered at Thurii datable to the Republican or Imperial period: CAT. I: Cassano, Scavi Sibari, IGM F. 222, no. 5, *domus* I, '11NW'; *Sibari* II (1970) 279.

colonial period shows signs of unease. Rather than imagining this period as one of economic and social harmony, persisting unrest, as evidenced in Spartacus' sojourn in Calabria and Milo's recruiting of *pastores* around Thurii, may be seen as signs of continuing tensions between the agriculturalists and the pastoralists. It is possible that this tension also carried an ethnic mark.¹⁷⁵ In this context, Strabo's "shepherds" (6.1.4) may be the surviving *Bruttii*, now left without a recognised political identity, but still retaining their traditional calling. In the end, the scope of this enterprise in Calabria, as carried out by the surviving Bruttians, the new colonists, the Roman aristocrats, or all of these in one combination or another remains difficult to gauge.

Timber-extraction and related industries are relatively better documented. The Thurian timbers were well known to the Eleusinian commissioners in 408/7 B.C., and the extraction of wood from, probably, the southern part of the region continued in the fourth century B.C.¹⁷⁶ Both Pliny and Strabo praised the forests and water-supply of the Sila; they add pitch to this, to which I shall return below.¹⁷⁷ In spite of the uncertainty surrounding the problem of locating the Sila forest, it is not unreasonable to assume that the modern Sila was also a large forest in antiquity and that some references concern it. It is now home of a variety of oaks, ash, maple, chestnuts, pine, fir and beech.¹⁷⁸ Given the

¹⁷⁵ Spartacus: Polyb. 15.1.11; Livy 30.20.5-7. Milo: Caesar, *B.C.* 3.21-22. See also Guzzo (1989) 124-125; Giardina (1981) 97 and 99-100 for the similarly disruptive nature of timber-extraction.

¹⁷⁶ IG. 1 (3).387.100-1; Meiggs (1982) 463.

¹⁷⁷ Strabo 5.1.3; Pliny, *N.H.* 3.74.

¹⁷⁸ Meiggs (1982) 462-63.

importance of hardwoods in antiquity, in particular for ship-building, as well as general construction, and that of other woods for charcoal burning, it is not hard to imagine the interest in developing this area for timber-extraction.¹⁷⁹ The extraction route out of the northern part of the province could have been via the Savuto, Crati and Neto rivers; at or near the mouths of each river, perhaps recognising the potential, Rome had established colonial settlements that also doubled as ports (Tempsa, Thurii/Copia, Croton).¹⁸⁰

Bruttian pitch was a well known commodity with a relatively long tradition.¹⁸¹ Strabo and Dionysius of Halicarnassus considered it to be of very high quality. Pliny agreed; in his view Bruttian pitch was hard and oily, especially good for the coating of wine-vessels to render them impermeable, but also for medicinal purposes if liquified and mixed with wine.¹⁸² In addition to the very common use of coating wine-vessels, the waterproofing of ships is another routine use for the hard variety of pitch.¹⁸³ Some of the

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Dion.Hal. 20.15 for fir, alder, mountain pine (peuke), beech, coastal pine (pitys), oak and ash in the Sila.

¹⁸⁰ Meiggs (1982) 465; Giardina (1981) 102-104; Dion.Hal. 20.15. It is also possible that this traffic was further facilitated by a transverse road route from the Savuto to the Neto valleys: Taliano-Grasso (1995) 16, and two bridges (that may be Roman) over the Savuto (in addition to the one at Scigliano of Trajanic-Hadrianic date: CAT. II, IGM F. 236, no. 21, map K), SW of Marzi, loc. Facolarra and loc. Fratte (*loc. cit.* 25, no. 95 and 27, no. 121).

¹⁸¹ It appears for example in the inventory on a bronze tablet (tab.15) of the income of a Locrian temple probably in the III century B.C: Costabile in Costabile ed. (1992) 169, 171.

¹⁸² Strabo 6.1.9; Pliny, *N.H.* 14.127;14.135;16.40;24.37;24.39; Dion.Hal. 20.15.2.

¹⁸³ Meiggs (1982) 467-68; Costabile in Costabile ed. (1992) 171. Some local use in the Plain of Sibari is found at the second century B.C. site at Prainetta Matavaia (CAT II, IGM F. 221, no. 74, map E): a thick layer of pitch found below the *signinum* floor in room '9' was probably amassed there to stop the ground water from invading the architecture, or alternatively, it was accidentally discarded but intended for caulking boats (Galli [1930] 105-106).

pitch extraction must have been located in the hinterland of Locri, most likely in the Aspromonte.¹⁸⁴

It appears that the organisation of the production and trade of the Bruttian pitch in the second century B.C. was in the hands of the public contractors who had bought a lease from the state for tapping the pines in the Sila. The already-mentioned passage of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (20.15) mentions large revenues that came to the Roman treasury from such leases. Cicero (*Brutus* 85) described the killing of some well known men in the Sila forest in 138 B.C. by the slaves of the public contractors in the business of extracting pitch. Both references testify to an early development of this trade whose ultimate revenue appears to have been in the hands of the state, but whose extraction was administered by the societies or private individuals.¹⁸⁵

The collection and shipping places for the pitch (as for the timber) were probably located along the coast near the few rivers, such as the Savuto, Neto and Tacina. Quite likely, the Via Regia Capuam, a possible E-W road through the Sila, and the various minor roads (whose traces completely elude us, but must be presumed to have existed), contributed to the local traffic. It is possible that in this early period of Roman control, the *ager publicus*, essentially the resource zone in the mountainous regions of the Sila and the Catena Costiera, was utilised in conjunction with the colonial settlements on the coast. These could have easily served as organisation points where collection and shipping took

¹⁸⁴ Costabile in Costabile, ed.(1992) 171.

¹⁸⁵ Giardina (1981) 99. Pliny knew of a *redemptor Silae saltus* (N.H. 14.127).

place. In spite of the fact that the bulk of the revenue during the Republic appears to have been intended for the state, there may also have been some economic spin-off from this for the local towns in the form of port taxes and the like.

At present, it is difficult to reconstruct with certainty the dynamics that governed the operation of the three trades discussed above. It is possible that the creation of *ager publicus* was conducive to the establishment of large estates which were suitable for husbandry and timber extraction, but it is also quite likely that medium-sized operations existed as well. It is possible that these were located closer to the coast/plain or the nucleated settlements, i.e. near the existing social and economic networks of support necessary for the mixed and more extensive type of land use; the existence of numerous sites in such locations may support this hypothesis. More intensive large scale husbandry and forestry could be imagined in the more remote parts of the interior. At present, explicit evidence for this is missing, but the virtual "emptiness" of the landscape in the interior of Calabria and on the Tyrrhenian coast may support this interpretation. Since the work in the woods was probably seasonal, the people required for it could have lived in the nucleated settlements in the winter, and in seasonal shelters during, say, the cutting and tapping seasons, of which not much trace would have remained. Both scenarios, however, needed the points of organisation, collection and shipping for which the coastal settlements would have been eminently suitable. While social and economic tensions doubtless existed, as they would in any complex system, it is probably right to imagine the Republican period husbandry and forestry more in terms of interdependence between the

various players (individuals, societies, polities), than as mainly exploitative ventures on the part of a few exclusively for their own or Rome's interests.

As is well known, the post-Hannibalic transformation of the landscape was believed to have given rise to large agricultural estates run by absentee landlords. We have seen that the archaeological evidence and the scant written sources do not warrant a sweeping conclusion of this kind. Instead, it is possible to postulate that mixed economy on medium-sized estates was a frequent strategy of land exploitation.¹⁸⁶ It is in this context that olive and wine economies are to be placed.

Bruttian wine was renowned at Rome in the late Republican period. Strabo's source knew of the wines from the area of Thurii and Lagaria; the latter is not securely identified on the ground but was possibly situated in the hilly country to the north of the Plain of Sibari. Pliny repeats these references in the context of the most famous Italian wines, and adds grapes in his praise; in addition to the Thurian wines, he adds those from the areas of Consentia and Tempa. Bruttian wine had had by then already a long reputation: the prototypes of the Graeco-Italic amphorae from the fourth century B.C. came from several locations along the Bruttian coastline, among which were Thurii, Croton and Cariati.¹⁸⁷

A limited number of sites supply evidence for wine and/or olive oil production. As it is not always clear what the excavated features were used for, some sites have

¹⁸⁶ See also Sangineto (1994) 583-86.

¹⁸⁷ Strabo 6.1.13-14; Pliny, *N.H.* 14.39; 14.69; Van der Mersch (1986) 567-80; Guzzo, Luppino (1980) 837, n. 45; Tchernia (1986) 48.

probably remained unidentified. Also, it is well known that wooden casks for storing and transporting wine were used in Italy, and since presses were not cheap, an investment of such kind would have probably been made only if the production was on a large commercial scale.¹⁸⁸ All this obscures the full understanding of the wine and oil production as evidenced by the archaeological record.

Wine was probably produced in the villa at Grotta del Malconsiglio in the Plain of Sibari.¹⁸⁹ No press-installation for grapes was found, but in room '41', in the middle of the concrete floor, probably used for treading, was a sunken rectangular concrete-lined reservoir with terracotta inlet and outlet pipes. This must have been the collection reservoir, into which must would have flowed from the treading floor. It is interesting that this installation does not appear to have possessed a press, which suggests production on a smaller scale than the kind which required a more efficient pressing equipment.¹⁹⁰

If it is right to date this part of the villa in the late Republican period, then the wine production in this case differs from the usual kind described by the contemporary agronomists. With no press, it is closer to the description of the process by Palladius (V C A.C.) that involved only treading. Archaeologically, this process is known from a variety of sites from times long before Palladius; this evidence is contemporary or somewhat later than the example at Grotta.¹⁹¹ It is possible that the remains at Grotta represent a medium

¹⁸⁸ Rossiter (1981) 347-48, and n. 9.

¹⁸⁹ CAT. II, IGM F. 221, no. 73, map E, fig. 17.

¹⁹⁰ Rossiter (1981) 349; Galli (1930a) 65-66, figs. 50-51.

¹⁹¹ Palladius 1.18; Rossiter (1981) 347-49.

or even a small-scale production of wine. Naturally, the possibility that another installation existed somewhere else on the estate cannot be excluded. On the other hand, it is possible that some choice must was extracted here, for which treading would have been the optimal process; Pliny's inclusion of the Thurian wines on the list of choice Italian varieties may hint in that direction.

It is possible that another wine-processing installation is to be recognised in the press-bed and adjacent partially imbedded *dolium* at the first century B.C. farmhouse at Camerelle on the south-exposed slopes overlooking the Plain of Sibari.¹⁹² As we shall see below (200-201), both sites also had oil-processing equipment.

If evidence for wine-production is extremely scarce, the remains of transport containers, the amphorae, are much more abundant. There is a growing body of evidence testifying to the local production of the late Republican and early Imperial amphorae, that places Bruttium in the orbit of the Mediterranean wine trade.¹⁹³ Petrological analyses of clay of several amphorae types from a number of sites, and covering a wide chronological spectrum from the Graeco-Italic to the late Roman Keay LII types, have ascertained their Calabrian provenance.¹⁹⁴ At Cropani Marina, loc. Basilicata, one of the two kilns

¹⁹² CAT. II, IGM F. 221, no. 20, map C, fig. 19; Tine Bertocchi (1963) 142-143; Rossiter (1978) 22, suggests there were two presses.

¹⁹³ Luppino, Sangineto (1992) 187; Sangineto (1989) 842-43.

¹⁹⁴ For Vibo and the southern part of the province: Sangineto (1989) 833-43; Arthur (1989) 133-142. Another fabric was related to the local lithological deposits found at Thurii/Copia and the northern Ionian coast: Sangineto (1994) 564; Luppino, Sangineto (1992) 187. Unspecified kiln wasters in association with Dressel 1 and 2-4 amphorae were found near Cariati, loc. Zagaria, on the Ionian coast (CAT. II, IGM F. 230, no. 44, map H).

associated with the villa dated from the mid Republican to the early Imperial period was used for the production of Dressel I amphorae.¹⁹⁵

A large deposit of locally produced amphorae - including Dressel 1, Dressel 2-4, Dressel 21-22, pseudo-Kos, and fragments of containers for pitch - was found in what appear to have been two shipment/storage buildings near the coast north of the Plain of Sibari just outside Trebisacce.¹⁹⁶ The site is well placed for the export of the locally produced wine and pitch; the clay used in the potting of the containers was also available locally.¹⁹⁷ A fair number of sites located along the same coastline to the south of the Plain also have produced a good quantity of Dressel 1 and 2-4 amphorae; some of these sites were kilns, and it is likely that it was there that the amphorae were made.¹⁹⁸ So far, two rectangular stamps - M SCA CALAM and N LUS MEDICI CALAMANT - are associated with three late Republican Dressel 1 amphorae found on three different sites on the Ionian coast between the Neto and Strongoli.¹⁹⁹ These stamps bear resemblance to the

¹⁹⁵ CAT. II, IGM F. 242, no. 9, map O.

¹⁹⁶ CAT II, IGM F. 222, no. 9 (loc. Chiusa), map D: mid II C B.C. - I C A.C.; Luppino, Sangineto (1992) 183-191.

¹⁹⁷ Luppino, Sangineto (1992) 182, 187 and n. 7.

¹⁹⁸ CAT. II: IGM F. 230, nos. 32,35bis,38,39,40,41,42,44, map H; IGM F. 231, nos. 6,7,12, map I. No petrological analysis of the amphorae from these sites exist, but one fabric from the deposit at Trebisacce corresponds lithologically to the central-southern coast of Calabria; another was close to the northern Ionian clays: Luppino, Sangineto (1992) 187, and n. 7; clay-rich deposits are frequent along the Ionian coast of Calabria (Introduction, 14). North of the Plain of Sibari, at Montegiordano Marina, loc. Menzinara Bagni, a Republican and early Imperial villa had a kiln for Dressel 1 and 2-4 amphorae: Luppino (1993) 171.

¹⁹⁹ CAT. II, IGM F. 231, nos. 7 (Crucoli, Torretta stazione F.S. and Via Marina), 12 (Ciro Marina, Punta Alice), map I.

double tile stamps, not independently dated, found on several specimens from the same sites and another site from the area: KALAM LUSIPTEL, same reversed, KAL LUSI/PET[...]LN, CALAM LUSIPTEL.²⁰⁰ The names found on these pieces are not otherwise known from the area.²⁰¹ It remains unresolved if the amphorae stamps refer to the owner(s) of the *fundi* where the wine was made, the *negotiatores*, or the independent potters; the production of tiles could have been a side-activity. It is possible that some of the coastal sites served as small docking facilities or collection areas for the wine produced in the hilly hinterland.²⁰² As no site in this region has yet produced evidence for pressing, it remains unclear where exactly the production took place.

Locally produced olive oil is not praised by the writers, but pressing-installations discovered on several sites suggest its local production. The lower slopes of the Calabrian hills along the Crati valley and the mountains are suitable for olive growing (Introduction, 13), and the by-product of olive-pressing, the *amurca*, is a known fertilizing agent that could be useful on any working farm.²⁰³

Both sites already known for their wine-production, at Grotta del Malconsiglio and Camerelle in the Sibari plain, possessed olive-oil processing equipments as well. At Grotta del Malconsiglio, a large press-room (1': 7.00x6.60m.) was paved with *opus*

²⁰⁰ The third site is at Cariati, Serre Boscosse (Frasso): CAT. II, IGM F. 231, no. 2, map I.

²⁰¹ It is possible that a reference to the Petelini or a *cognomen Petelinus* is hidden in LUSIPTEL and LUSI/PET[...]LN; one *Petelinos*, *Agathon Numpsiou Petelinos*, is known from Delos: Hatzfeld (1912). Orsi (1933) 47-48, has associated these stamps with "una figulina di Petelia".

²⁰² Cf. for northern Campania: Arthur (1991) 74-75.

²⁰³ Varro, *R.R.* 1.64; Rossiter (1981) 353.

spicatum and had a circular press-bed in the NW corner made of brick laid in concentric circles.²⁰⁴ Adjacent to it on the south side was another large space, possibly a storage area ('7'), in whose NW corner were two *cellae oleariae* ('4', '5') with *opus spicatum* floors and plastered walls; inside, fragments of *dolia* were found.²⁰⁵ In another part of the villa, a rectangular basin, plastered and paved with *opus spicatum*, had a settling hole against its north edge and four steps led into it. The excavator suggested its use as a wine tank, but it may be better to identify it as another oil-separation tank, as these are usually fitted with steps to aid in the process of skimming off the oil after it separates from water after pressing.²⁰⁶

At Camerelle, the oil pressing room was identified in space 'L' (near the wine-pressing room) where a mortar and crushed brick floor was found.²⁰⁷ From the press, the liquid was channelled by a shallow trough into two basins set into the floor of the large space immediately north of it. Probably a version of Columella's (12.52.10) *structile gamellar*, the basins were linked by way of a ceramic pipe through the median wall at

²⁰⁴ CAT. II, IGM F. 221, map E, no. 73, fig. 17; Galli (1930a) 48, for remains of olive pulp in room 'I'.

²⁰⁵ Cf., for example, the villa at Pareti in the Buccino area of northeastern Valle di Diano where a *dolium* had been placed inside one of the tanks: Dyson (1983) 127. The reason for this is uncertain, but it is possible that the *dolia* were put in because the vats began to leak (Rossiter [1978] 54, n. 19) *contra* (*idem* [1981] 356) for the *dolia* to collect the run-off from the press-bed. Two tanks facilitated the sedimentation process: Rossiter (1981) 358; Rossiter *loc.cit.*, suggests that no datable double tank is earlier than the second half of the first century B.C.

²⁰⁶ Rossiter (1981) 359. The *torcularium* in the present case may have been placed in room '37': the floor was here built on a slightly higher level which would facilitate the flow of the liquid.

²⁰⁷ CAT. II, IGM F. 221, map C, no. 20, fig. 19; Tine Bertocchi (1963) 140-141: the large size of 'L' (8.30x8.50 m.) is appropriate for a press room.

approximately the same level as the intake trough.²⁰⁸

At Scalea (Fischia) on the Tyrrhenian coast north of the river Lao, are the remains of an agricultural estate that incorporated living quarters (which show a degree of social distinction) and two press installations with settling vats.²⁰⁹ The occupation on the site is commonly dated to the early Imperial period, although the excavator suggested an earlier date for the second press installation (late Republican), based on its mosaic floor.²¹⁰

On another site on the Tyrrhenian coast, at S. Lucido, loc. S. Cono Spartifoglio, wine and/or oil may have been made. Again, the finds suggest a combined residential and productive function, but it is not clear if all belonged to the same phase.²¹¹

Obviously, no conclusion about the prevailing mode of wine and/or oil production in the plain of Sibari or elsewhere can be drawn on the basis of so few examples where the pressing equipment was found. It is interesting to note, however, that

²⁰⁸ Cf. for connected vats at Pareti near Buccino: Dyson (1983) 127. An example at S. Marco di Avola (SR) in Sicily has been identified, however, as a wine-collecting installation: Wilson (1990) 192; like the present example, it also lacked the steps common in oil vats that facilitate the ladling of oil after separation (Rossiter [1981] 359). The double interconnected vat-system was an improvement on the simple settling vat (*loc. cit.* 358).

²⁰⁹ CAT. II, IGM F. 220, no. 6, map B; Rossiter (1978) 50. The liquid extracted by the presses was channelled into rectangular settling vats; one of these, possibly for oil, was fitted with steps leading down into it and in the middle was a decantation hollow. The maximum capacity of one vat was 500 litres: Rossiter (1981) n. 34.

²¹⁰ Late Republican to early Imperial: Pesce (1936) 71 and fig. 3 (also for mosaic, Guzzo [1983b] fig. 6. Early first to beginning of third century A.C.: Guzzo (1975a) 77. The mosaic pavement in the second press-room may be a remainder from the conversion of the domestic spaces to agricultural use: Rossiter (1978) 50; the other press-room had an *opus signinum* floor.

²¹¹ CAT. II, IGM F. 236, no. 3, map J; the site is dated between the II/I C B.C. and II C A.C. Another Republican site (I C B.C.) on the Tyrrhenian coast (Paola, Cutura) had a wine/olive press, circular hypocaust elements and painted plaster (CAT II, IGM F. 229, no. 2bis, map G). A few olive-mills found in the hilly terrain between the Crati and Coscile by the Quilici survey add more weight to the olive-oil production there, but remain undated: Quilici *et al.* (1969) nos. 405, 407, 473.

all the sites with evidence for this activity were large and solidly built structures with a tendency toward embellishment. In combination with the productive function (that employed pressing equipment), this points to isolated and permanently used farms and/or villas that are characteristic of proprietors of at least moderate means. The mixed economy that appears to have been practised on these farms is reminiscent of the various intensification strategies typical of such properties. On the other hand, it is possible that many small farms also engaged in the more limited production of olive oil and/or wine that could be pooled together and sold on open markets by entrepreneurs: numerous remains of amphorae on smaller sites may point to this form of economy.²¹² And in part, seasonal hired hands may have come from their resident base in the nucleated settlements, while, on the other hand, some proprietors may have always preferred to reside there.

It is not clear how important cereal production was. Varro's comment that the Sybaritan yields are significant may suggest that the grain cultivated there had a degree of extra-regional importance.²¹³ The second to first century B.C. granary in the Esaro valley at Malvito, loc. Pauciori, may have belonged to a farm; the large numbers of *dolia* (fragments and *in situ*) suggest a large-scale production.²¹⁴ On the other hand, a few hand-mills and *dolia* fragments found on many sites from all parts of northern Calabria

²¹² E.g. on the Tyrrhenian coast, where a few Dressel 1 and (later) more abundant 2-4 amphorae have been found on a limited number of sites near the mouth of the Savuto (CAT. II, IGM F. 238, nos. 14-19, map K).

²¹³ Varro 1.44.2.

²¹⁴ CAT. II, IGM F. 229, no. 6, map F. The agronomists make it clear that cereals had an important place in villa agriculture, and grain production was compatible with the use of slave labour: Spurr (1986) 133-46.

point to a limited production for personal use, but some of this could have been pooled together, in the same way as wine and oil, and sold to the middle-men.²¹⁵ Of the garden and fruit varieties, Pliny lists Bruttian pears, an apple tree in the territory of Consentia that bore fruit three times a year, and what seems to be a particularly resilient kind of cabbage, the Bruttian variety that is immune to frost with its big leaves, thin stem and piquant flavour.²¹⁶

Pliny praised Thurian *garum*²¹⁷ and gypsum.²¹⁸ Clay-rich soils are known from different locations in Calabria. In the northern part of the province, such soils are concentrated in the Marchesato, are found on the Ionian coastal terraces, and a deposit still mined at present is known near Trebisacce (*contrada* Vitraro) some 18km. north of Thurii/Copia. In the vicinity of this last, in 1964 remains of a circular kiln of uncertain date and a pile of fragments of terracotta slabs and flat tiles were noted, but these have since vanished.²¹⁹ It is quite likely that some deposits were already in use in the Roman

²¹⁵ E.g. CAT. II: IGM F. 212, nos. 1,4 map A; IGM F. 221, nos. 5,7,9,13 map C; IGM F. 221, nos. 45,77-78 map E; IGM F. 229, nos. 5,13, 50-51 map E; IGM F. 230, nos 33,37,41 map H; IGM F. 231, no. 7, map I. *Dolia*, of course, can also be used for wine fermenting and storage and some of the above evidence may point to the processing or storage of imported goods.

²¹⁶ Pears: Pliny, *N.H.* 15.55. Apple: Pliny, *N.H.* 16.115; taken from Varro (cf. *R.R.* 1.7.6). Cabbage: Pliny, *N.H.* 19.140. Dressel 21-22 amphorae may have contained fruit: Sangineto (1989) 843.

²¹⁷ Pliny, *N.H.* 31.94; perhaps several small amphora-rims from the deposit at Trebisacce belonged to *garum*-containers; no Italian *garum*-container is known so far (Luppino, Sangineto [1992] 183, and pl. XXXVIII, 5,6,15,27,30,44). A memory of oil and fish-pickle originating from Sybaris - *Sybariticus* - (if not the product still produced there), is in *Hist.Aug.* 17.30.6 (Ant. Heliogabalus).

²¹⁸ Pliny, *N.H.* 36.182; it is dehydrated gypsum which Pliny must be talking about here; the source is Theophrastus, *De.Lap.* 69: André (1960) 36, 232, 1.

²¹⁹ Luppino, Sangineto (1992) 182, 187 and n. 7.

period, as is suggested by the kilns found along the Ionian coast and by the locally produced amphorae mentioned above.

From all that has been said so far on land use and landholding patterns in northern Calabria in the late Republic, it appears that, at least at the moment, no prevailing trend can be said to have governed these patterns. Instead, rather than looking for one, it seems better to postulate the existence of a variety of settlement and economic strategies that were practised concurrently: medium-sized properties co-existed with large estates, mixed economy was practised alongside intensive timber-cutting and pasturage, and isolated dwellings in the countryside were fairly common forms of settlement, just as was living in the nucleated centres.²²⁰ The proportion of people who entertained these distinct modes of economic and residential strategies remains unknown, however, and future research should concentrate on clarifying these issues.

Trade

Northern Bruttium obviously engaged in some aspects of the Mediterranean trade in the late Republican period. The difficult question to answer at this point, however, is how important this was for its economy. It is certain that at least a portion of the wine-production was destined for the markets outside its territory; the same was most likely true of timber and pitch and possibly of grain. It is hard to know, on the other hand, how far its animals were driven, and indeed, which of Varro's *nobiles pecuariae* were actually

²²⁰ Similar patterns can be found in many parts of Roman Italy. Cf. e.g. Barker, Lloyd, eds. (1991); Garnsey (1998) 107-133.

sent out of the region and in what form.²²¹

The size of the amphorae deposit at Trebisacce and the many coastal sites with amphorae remains are a strong indication for the surplus production of wine in the area.²²²

As possible collection sites for the produce from the *fundi* in the area,²²³ these sites may have also served as small shipment points. If this is true, it is possible that some shipping went directly through these locations thus by-passing the cities;²²⁴ some probably also involved the towns' harbours. Whether the cargoes included only wine or also other goods is hard to know, and probably depended on their size. Mixed shipments are of course possible, and could have involved, for example, grey ware from the northern Ionian coast.²²⁵

²²¹ Varro, *R.R.* 2.1.2. Sheep may have been exported as meat or wool, but some must have been reserved for local markets (Frayn [1984] 110-124, 144-158). Pork sausages from Lucania were well known in the pre-Roman and Roman (especially later) period (Giardina [1981] 96; Cicero, *Fam.* 9.16.8), but what role Bruttium played in the pork-trade in the Republican period remains unknown. Sirago (1991) 217-218, has suggested, based on much later *Cod.Theod.* 14.4.4 (on allowing to replace pigs and mutton with wine in state donations from Bruttium), that the animals were more important than wine before then (A.D. 367).

²²² For the size of the deposit see Luppino, Sangineto (1992) 187: at Trebisacce, 5829 fragments of amphorae were recovered (618 kg.) covering the period between the II C B.C. and I C A.C. compared to the 7008 fragments at the villa at Settefinestre (just over 1378 kg.). Several containers were for pitch and possibly *garum* (*loc. cit.* 183).

²²³ *ibid.* 185.

²²⁴ Cf. Morley (1997) 48 for the goods shipped to Rome that came from the estates of the wealthy, who sold their produce to middlemen or carried it to the market themselves, in either case by-passing the town. The distance involved would naturally be a factor in this arrangement: one should probably not imagine a whole lot of small craft taking off from the generally unprotected coasts of northern Calabria on their journey to Rome. More likely in our case, the produce was collected and transported by land (likely via coastal roads) to the selected shipping places (a larger anchorage or a city-harbour) whence it departed from the territory; cf. for north Campania, Arthur (1991) 73-76.

²²⁵ Generally on mixed cargoes in Bruttium: Luppino, Sangineto (1992) 330, n. 22. Grey-ware: Guzzo (1973) 311.

A related question is how far the goods travelled, on which the information is extremely scarce. Apart from some Dressel 1 and 2-4 fragments in storage at the Superintendency in Naples that correspond macroscopically to the examples from Vibo, and the fragment of an amphora for pitch from Pompeii, I do not know of any other pottery of possible Calabrian origin outside its territory.²²⁶ Naturally, the goods must have been sold at the local markets as well.²²⁷

The regional centres and rural communities apparently benefitted from this trade, as is evidenced by the presence of imported pottery (Black glaze - Campanian A and C - Eastern sigillata A, ITS, lamps, Rhodian amphorae),²²⁸ and, indirectly, by external artistic influences.

We know practically nothing about how this trade was organised, so what follows are some questions invoking possible hypotheses. Much would depend on the size of the exports, i.e. what and how much was transported and how often the ships sailed, provided the goods went by sea. Are we to imagine exclusive Bruttian (or even northern Bruttian) cargoes, or did the local wine, pitch, meat, etc. travel in combination with the

²²⁶ Sangineto (1994) 588-89, n. 7; *idem* (1989) 842, n. 15; De Caro (1985).

²²⁷ The regional centres were the obvious places where this would have happened; cf. the possible *macellum* at Thurii/Copia. For rural contexts see, for example, an attempt of Spartacus to establish a market near Thurii (Appian, *B.C.* 1.14.117; Guzzo [1989] 124); *nundinae* had an important role in exchange between the pastoral highlands and the mainly arable coast (Morley [1997] 53).

²²⁸ The list is not exhaustive; a detailed study of the pottery and related products is badly needed. For Thurii/Copia see: Gasperetti (1989) 849; *Sibari* V (1988-89) 287; *Sibari* IV (1974) 539, 542 (Rhodian amphorae); *Sibari* III (1972) 258, 260 (Rhodian amph.), 434; *Sibari* II (1970) 69. On the Tyrrhenian coast (Rhodian amphorae): CAT. II, IGM F. 238, no. 19, map K.

produce from other regions, for example Sicily?²²⁹ Was the Ionian seaboard a separate trading sphere with mainly eastern Mediterranean destinations, or was the trade integrated with the western coast?²³⁰ And how important were the land routes for the local movement of goods? Such questions must be asked if we are better to understand the dynamics of trade and economic development of the region. At the moment no more can be said.

²²⁹ We do not know the origin of the ship-wrecks off Isola Cirella and the opposite shore on the Tyrrhenian seaboard that contain late Hellenistic through late Roman material, but the small size may suggest small cargoes, possibly with local destinations, cf. La Torre, ed. (1995) 85. Vibo Valentia was an important port on that same coast to which goods for exportation may have been transported by land from the wider region (cf. Gasperetti [1989] 860). Sicily was of course one of the main exporting provinces to Rome in the late Republic (Wilson [1990] 175) and some cargoes may have put in, possibly at Vibo and Reggio, for take-in and exchange on the way back. Grain from Sardinia, Sicily and North Africa went to Rome (e.g. Morley [1996] 148); some of these shipments may have also carried Calabrian grain.

²³⁰ Both Greek and Italian prototypes of amphorae are found on both seaboard of northern Calabria in the late Republic, which suggests that trade routes were not yet limited. Generally, wine from the Tyrrhenian coast went to Gaul and wine from Apulia and the Adriatic went to the eastern Mediterranean (cf. Morley [1996] 71); it may be possible that the Ionian coast of Bruttium exported its wine in part via Apulian ports, e.g. Brundisium.

CHAPTER 6

Bruttium in the Imperial period: late I century B.C.-A.D. 300

The Cities

THURII/COPIA

Thurii/Copia experienced a significant building boom between the late Caesarian period and the second century A.C. when most of its public buildings were constructed. On the presently available evidence, the construction was concentrated in one area of the city ('Parco del Cavallo', fig. 7). All new buildings, with the exception of one (the market/granary), were constructed at or near the crossroads of the two main streets and next to or across from a piazza that had been in place there since the Greek Classical period.

The new development commenced with the demolition of houses and the construction of a semicircular portico soon after the middle of the first century B.C (Chapter 3, 51), connected in some way to the notable Thurian family, the *Vinuleii*. This linking of the public building with a private sponsor is another interesting example of the ongoing rapport between the city and its elites already encountered in the late Republican period. However, it is possible that in this case the citizen's involvement included an investment of his own money, which differs from some earlier cases where the city acted

as investor.¹ At the end of the first century B.C. the growing commercial needs probably necessitated the construction of a market or a granary in one of its peripheral areas ('Casa Bianca', fig. 9), probably close to the harbour. This building may have been constructed with public money.² Both structures are characterised by walls built in *opus reticulatum* and *quasi-reticulatum*, which suggests a degree of prestige.³

By the middle of the first century A.C. the semicircular portico fell out of use; parts of it were utilised in the theatre, whose construction seems to have taken some time to complete, for minor interventions and some major work (e.g. the *cavea*) were still going on a century later. Good quality Classicising sculpture adorned the stage building; otherwise, the construction employed *opus incertum* with brick levelling and quoining (Chapter 3, 60). Just to the west of the theatre, a temple/meeting hall was constructed by the middle of the first century A.C. or just after (Chapter 3, 69). The theatre and this last structure appear to have been planned together, if not executed at exactly the same time, as is suggested by the common terrace/perimeter wall (in *opus quasi-reticulatum*) that flanked them on the street-sides.⁴ Across the street and to the south-west, a bath complex was built at approximately the same time, but the *opus reticulatum-mixtum* utilised in

¹ Paoletti (1993) 417; Costabile (1994) 448. Starting with the Augusta period, much of public construction in Italy was paid for by private wealth: Lomas (1997) 29.

² Chapter 3, 76; the building fell out of use in the middle of the first century A.C. when a cemetery began to develop just inside the city-gate. For the interpretation of the inscription on the marble *labrum* found in the building's portico that mentions the *quattuorviri* (CAT. III IGM. F. 222, no. 7): Paoletti (1993) 405 and n. 36.

³ Torelli (1980).

⁴ Guzzo in *Sibari II* (1970) 397; Paoletti (1994) 536.

some walls may indicate a protracted period of construction or later additions (Chapter 3, 72). In the piazza, a portico in brick and two symmetrical fountains were added in the second century A.C. (Chapter 3, 74).

The inherited street system continued to be maintained. It seems that fairly strict control kept the streets free of encroachments by the buildings: only the theatre and the presumed temple were allowed to partially block the traffic by reducing the original width of the streets.⁵

In the same quarter ('PdC'), a large *domus* with what would appear to be an atrium/peristyle design, otherwise fairly uncommon in this part of Italy, was constructed right behind the theatre. It had some external and internal walls faced with *opus reticulatum*.⁶ Its first phase may belong to the late first century B.C. or the beginning of the following century and thus falls in the same general period of restructuring that involved the public buildings mentioned above. The residential part of the house that was later decorated with mosaic floors and painted plaster belonged for the most part to this phase, while several spaces to the south of this, probably serving as work-rooms, were added later. How all this worked together within the unit of the *domus* remains unknown.

As we have seen, the construction, rebuilding and enlargements of the remainder of the houses are poorly dated, but it is possible that most were in place by the early

⁵ Naturally, over time, minor encroachments occurred, such as pavement-width reductions, etc.: Chapter 3, 48. At 'Prolungamento Strada' the encroachments by private buildings involved the street and the sidewalks, but these may belong to the later Roman period: Guzzo in *Sibari V* (1988-89) 341.

⁶ Chapter 3, 82-86; and for other segments of reticulate walls that appear to have belonged to houses see Chapter 3, 54 and n. 69.

Imperial period (Chapter 3, 81).⁷ It is hoped that future excavations will concentrate on attempting to establish how many houses were "inherited" from the Greek and Republican periods and how many were newly constructed and/or enlarged (or indeed reduced in size) and when. If this could be done, a vital question regarding demographic continuity between the late Republic and early Empire could be partially answered and social and economic trends (property divisions, etc.) in the city might be more fully assessed.

From a few mosaic floors and painted walls it appears that, at least for some, the conditions were still good in the second and third centuries when the decoration was put in.⁸ In view of the small sample, the not-so-orderly execution of this work is hard to evaluate, however. The data from the three burial groups and some dispersed graves excavated so far point to a mixture of very modest inhumations (third century A.C.) and somewhat better-off incinerations placed within small square mausolea (mid first century A.C. with later depositions) (Chapter 3, 89); this could, however, reflect changed burial customs.

It seems that overall the early Imperial period constituted relatively prosperous times in the city. Most construction on public buildings happened over some hundred years, starting in the second half of the first century B.C., when *opus reticulatum* found application at Thurii.⁹ As we have seen, both public buildings and private houses employed this new and imported technique. However, it was in combination with the

⁷ It cannot be excluded that some units continued in use from earlier times, perhaps from as early as the fourth or third centuries B.C.: *Sibari* II (1970) 440; Guzzo (1972-73) 37-38.

⁸ Faedo (1993) 439-455.

more traditional (e.g. ashlar coursing in the semi-circular structure) or less sophisticated (e.g. mortared rubble and reused material in the temple/meeting hall) building styles that the new technique was used. In a sense, this manner of building, characterised by the blend of old and new styles, carried on from the Republican period. The city also, however, appears to have continued to respond to the new fashions, when in the second century A.C. a portico in brick with brick bonding courses was constructed along the south side of the piazza at Parco del Cavallo. Given the limited excavation overall, it remains unclear, however, how common these "modern" building methods were; mortared rubble mixed with broken bits of tile and brick was a generally very popular construction method throughout the city's Roman period of occupation.¹⁰

House designs also look back to the old times. Apart from the large *domus* north of the theatre with the atrium/peristyle design, the few examples whose layout is partially known exhibit a different design. With rooms organised around the central space, with or without the water-basin and with or without the *pastas*-style space near the back, they resemble in shape and size the Classical and Hellenistic Greek period houses from a number of sites in Calabria: Locri, Caulonia, Medma and Marcellina (Laos) come to mind.¹¹ In the absence of an exhaustive study of the domestic architecture of

⁹ Torelli (1980).

¹⁰ Overall, the reuse of building material over and over again is common and comparable to other towns with a long history, e.g. for Herdonia, Mertens, ed. (1995) *passim*; Metapontum: d'Andria (1996) 542-544. Random use of brick (broken tiles and other bits) was very frequent and familiar from the Greek period here and at other sites in Calabria: Guzzo (1992) 24; *idem* (1987a) 497. Construction was solid overall, but some later (but undated) additions are more sloppy. On all see Chapter 3, *passim*.

¹¹ Gullini (1994) 399; Guzzo (1987a) 497-501; Greco (1995b) 51-52; Russo Tagliente (1992) 115-200, 210-215. For the Roman houses at Thurii/Copia see Chapter 3, 87.

Thurii/Copia, a thorough assessment of this issue cannot be attempted. Noticeable however, is a strong degree of similarity between the houses at Thurii and their Roman period counterparts at Heraclea from the so-called Hellenistic-Roman quarter, as well as at Paestum from the SW quarter.¹² Furthermore, a number of houses at these two south Italian cities resemble the Greek house-layouts at those same locations (and in some cases the pre-existing examples continued to be utilised in the Roman period). Firmer construction dates at Thurii must be established before an assessment can be made regarding the means and timing whereby the various patterns of influence found their way into the new Roman reality. Nevertheless, as a hypothesis to be tested with further excavations and analysis, it may be suggested that the influence of Greek domestic architecture in the design of the Roman houses continued beyond the period of political and cultural independence of the south Italian towns. A similar tendency seems to be noticeable in the design of a number of Roman farmsteads of the late Republic and early Empire in the South in whose development Greek domestic architecture also appears to have been influential.¹³

In a related issue, several porticus that lined the streets at 'PdC' (Chapter 3, 50) are poorly dated, but if they belonged to the Roman phase of the city they look back to the

¹² Heraclea: Giardino in *Da Leukania a Lucania* (1993) 138-140 (IV C B.C. - I C A.C.) and *eadem* (1996) 150-159; Paestum: Pedley (1990) 123-125.

¹³ Rossiter (1978) 5-14 for different layouts; for Daunia see Volpe (1990) 110-114. In northern Calabria, a first century A.C. farm or villa with rooms organised around the central space with a basin was found at Capo Colonna (CAT. II, IGM F. 238, no. 14, map M; illustration in Settis, ed. (1994) unnumbered colour plate 'Crotone, Capo Colonna, villa romana').

Hellenistic architectural forms found in southern Italy and Sicily.¹⁴

But the city was hardly a bastion of unrepentant traditionalism. Its sculpture and decorative architectural pieces (theatre and baths), mosaics and painted plaster, all show links with the contemporary fashions of the Roman world.¹⁵ Furthermore, the connections between the city and the countryside may have become intensified when compared with the earlier period. It seems that the same mosaic workshop that operated in the city in the early third century A.C. also laid the mosaics in the villa at Roggiano Gravina.¹⁶

We know little about the local elite families. The *Annii* encountered in the Republican period appear to have retained their economic power; and one or two new families may be added to the list on the evidence of the first century A.C. funerary *titulus* of several individuals of whom some may have been their *liberti*.¹⁷ The *Annii* are known from Canosa in the early third century A.C.,¹⁸ and the *nomina* of the other individuals are known from Pompeii and elsewhere in southern Italy.¹⁹ While the general south Italian

¹⁴ Cf. e.g. examples at IV-III C B.C. Marcellina (Laos) in northern Calabria (Greco [1995b] 51-52), and Sicily for the porticoed piazza at Syracuse, Altar of Hieron and streets at several towns that are built in the manner of Hellenistic architecture (Wilson [1990] 46-51, 322).

¹⁵ Faedo (1993) 447-455; *eadem* (1994) 638-641; peninsular Italian sculptural and mosaic trends were influential in the first two centuries A.C. and African mosaic tradition in the third.

¹⁶ Faedo (1993) 451-454; CAT. II, IGM F. 229, no. 5, map F.

¹⁷ CAT. III: IGM F. 222, no. 12; Guzzo (1970) 551-53, but only *liberti* of the Domitii are explicitly mentioned.

¹⁸ CIL IX. 330. 338-340.

¹⁹ The Cossutii are rare and known from Pompeii (as is also one Caninius), Hispania, and one each from Gallia and Germania (as is again one Caninius); the Domitii are known from southern Italy; the Iulii are more common as is to be expected.

connection among the families is evident, the migratory processes remain unknown.²⁰ The middle Imperial fragmentary funerary *titulus* (II-III century) in Greek with the name of the deceased incompletely preserved is an *unicum* at Thurii, and as such is only a reminder at the moment that there could be more such inscriptions.²¹ Its meaning in the context of the vexing question of the survival of the Greek population and/or the appearance of immigrants is moot.

A handful of imperial dedications from the site of the ancient city and the surrounding area hint at imperial initiatives in the area. In this regard, there is a change from the late Republican period and the early years of the Empire, when the civic projects were initiated and probably paid for by the city and its elites. From Camerata south of modern Castrovillari comes a dedication to the emperor L. Verus which may have been attached to a statue base commemorating some good deed of the dedicatee.²² From the city comes a dedication to Hadrian; it also preserves a record of the activity of the *Augustales* whom we shall also encounter at Croton and Petelia.²³ The occasion for the dedication may have been the completion of some building project or administrative

²⁰ Several tile fragments may indicate other connections and families: a fragment from 'PdC' stamped VAGE (or VAGI)[---] (*Sibari* II [1970] 420, no. 232) may recall senator? Vagellius known from Locri and Vibo in the I/II C A.C.: Camodeca (1982) 150. Two more examples of stamped tile from the site ('PS') have LVERATI/FLAC, transcribable as *Lucius Veratius Flaccus*; the stamp is attested in southern Italy, from Terracina, to Palermo to Porto Torres (*Sibari* V [1988-89] 520).

²¹ CAT. III (Greek inscriptions), IGM F. 222, no. 1.

²² CAT. III: IGM F. 221, no 2; De Franciscis (1961) 84.

²³ CAT. III: IGM F. 222, no. 3.

initiative on the part of the Emperor.²⁴ Another stone from the city records on each side a dedication to an emperor.²⁵ The inscriptions are defective: side 'a' probably mentions the third century emperor M. Claudius Tacitus (emperor from Nov./Dec. 275 to June 276) while side 'b' could refer to an emperor with the name Aurelianus or Aurelius.²⁶ The occasion for the dedications, the giving of thanks for imperial administrative or building activity, remains unclear.

Local and extra-regional trade must have played a role in the city's fortunes, of which one index of prosperity and connections is exhibited in its overall appearance. The usual "service" functions performed by the towns - the selling, buying, fixing of things, etc - probably were at least partially performed by the numerous shops that lined the streets.²⁷ Their social and economic relationship with the houses to which they are attached is not explicit, but the lack of communication between them may be regarded as a possible signifier of rental property.²⁸ More extensive commercial operations were likely conducted in the city's market-place, and, probably, in the piazza at 'PdC'. It must be remembered that the market-place, if indeed properly identified as such, fell out of use by the middle of the first century A.C.; it is unclear if this also signified the city's diminishing economic importance.

²⁴ Paoletti (1993) 420-21.

²⁵ CAT. III: IGM F. 222, no. 4.

²⁶ Paoletti (1993) 421-24 favours Aurelius Probus on side b.

²⁷ Chapter 3, 87-88; Faedo (1992) 433-35.

²⁸ Cf. for Pompeii, Parkins in Parkins, ed. (1997) 106.

OTHER NUCLEATED CENTRES

Down the coast, Petelia continued its modest existence in the Imperial period. Because most of the finds remain undated, it is impossible to know what exactly was built during this period, so one has to rely on predominantly indirect indicators to reach some sense of the town's appearance and economic condition. A small early Imperial period necropolis (I-II C A.C.) with vaulted niche-tombs, *alla cappuccina* and *a fossa* burials at loc. Fondo Castello just below the modern town of Strongoli includes incinerations (only one case was an inhumation) with modest grave goods.²⁹ Interesting are the vaulted chamber tombs and schematic anthropomorphic inscribed stelae that accompanied most graves (placed in niches or beside the tombs), which resemble in style the contemporary examples from Oscan and Iapygian areas such as Campania and Apulia, but also Bruttium at Tauriana.³⁰ In Calabria, mortared vaulted tombs are known from the third century B.C. at Rhegium.³¹ It appears that the native Oscan tradition carried on in this Imperial period necropolis. At Petelia, this does not seem at all odd, given the town's Oscan origin and continuing Oscan demographics in the Republican period. It is also interesting that the necropolis appears to have belonged to the lower classes who are frequently the bearers of old traditions.³² The Greek names of some of the deceased, e.g. Aphro(disia) and Philicia

²⁹ CAT. I, IGM F. 238, map M, no. 2, Strongoli, Fondo Castello.

³⁰ Capano (1980) 64-69; *idem* (1981) 60. Interesting was an example of a terracotta "chimney" that emerged out of the roof of the *alla cappuccina* tomb (Capano [1981] 40, tomb 22) for the presumed funeral *profusiones* that finds a parallel in the Fucino area of central Italy (Paoletti [1994] 532).

³¹ Capano (1980) 68.

³² Cf. Lomas (1993) 185-187.

(tomb 5), may be further testaments of the Graeco-Oscan past and the still relevant present.³³ The necropolis lined on the inside the Roman road that climbed up the hill towards Petelia. At the bottom of the road, a more luxurious square mausoleum with side walls in *opus reticulatum* and architectural facade testifies to a more pretentious burial of the richer and perhaps more fashionable classes (Chapter 3, 98).

Of the town's personalities, one learns much about one M' Megonius Leo, whose public life and private munificence for public consumption are known from five inscriptions datable to the middle of the second century A.C.³⁴ His complete *cursus honorum* is outlined in CIL X.113, where he is honoured by the decurions, *Augustales*, and the people as *aedilis*, *quattuorvir* by the Cornelian law, *quaestor*, patron of the town and *quattuorvir quinquennalis*.³⁵

Megonius Leo's munificence is outlined in detail in two long accounts of his will which afford some insight into his economic standing.³⁶ He gave to the *Augustales* two dining rooms to be equipped with all the necessary accoutrements such as candelabra and lamps.³⁷ Also, the *Augustales* acquired part of an estate and a vineyard whose proceeds

³³ Capano (1980) 68. Inscription: CAT. III, IGM F. 238, no. 1 (tomb 5).

³⁴ CAT III: IGM F. 238, nos. 4-6, 11-12. ILS 6468 vv. 21-22 (no. 5) fixes the date of Megonius' fortunes to the period of Antoninus Pius.

³⁵ CAT III: IGM F. 238, no. 4; Luppino (1982a) 665, n. 40, thought that this was a base for a bronze equestrian statue. CIL X, 114 (CAT. III, IGM F. 238, no. 6) was another statue base (Faedo [1994] 637) for the bronze standing image datable to the late Antonine period. The third statue, also standing, probably stood on top of ILS 6468 (CAT. III, IGM F. 238, no 5).

³⁶ CAT. III: IGM F. 238, nos. 5-6. The first part of the text, the dedication proper, may have been executed while the dedicatee was still alive, while the will-part of the text could have been inscribed after his death when his will was executed: Bossu (1982) 158.

³⁷ CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no. 6, vv. 15-16. The money for the equipment of the dining-rooms

seem to have been left at their disposal;³⁸ Leo's heirs had to supply the necessary vine-props. Liquid assets of 10,000 sesterces were given to the town which had to remit the proceeds at the six per cent rate to the *augustales* each year.³⁹ A similar cash capital, this time of 100,000 sesterces, was bequeathed for the benefit of all citizens.⁴⁰ Two inscriptions, to Leo's mother and possibly his wife, also cite each a sum of 100,000 sesterces left to the town, but do not specify how the money was to be spent.⁴¹

Provided that each mention of the capital refers to a unique donation, the total amounts to the substantial sum of 310,000 sesterces; two dining-rooms, a vineyard and part of another property added to that point to a comfortable situation.⁴²

Some half a century earlier another city official, one Quintus Fidubius Alcimus, dedicated a statue to Trajan on the occasion of having obtained the *honor Aug(ustalitatis)* and probably also that of the *bisellium*; he also gave *sportulae* to the decurions, the *Augustales* and the people, but these were more modest than Megonius Leo's.⁴³

came from the six per cent interest on the amount of 10,000 sesterces given to the town, cf. no. 6, vv. 11.

³⁸ No. 6, vv. 26-27.

³⁹ No. 6, vv. 2-3.

⁴⁰ No. 5, vv. 5-13: at a rate of six per cent it produced 6,000 sesterces a year from which amount 300 denarii were to be given to the decurions, 150 to the *augustales*, and another 50 for a *cena parentalia*. This equals 2,000 sesterces, leaving 4,000 which were to be spent on a cash distribution to the ordinary people of both sexes.

⁴¹ Nos. 11-12. Bossu (1982) 161, thinks that this type of donation without a specification of its purpose is not very common.

⁴² Duncan-Jones (1982) 174, no. 664.

⁴³ CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no. 3. The *gentilicium* is very rare (Segenni [1994] 667, n. 54, on his affranchised status).

Both of these cases of *euergetism* are private acts which point to the shift from the *honores* executed by the officials on behalf of the civic bodies common in the Republican period to the private munificence which became a trend in the Imperial period. We shall see several more such examples from other civic centres in Bruttium, which puts our region in league with the rest of contemporary Italy.⁴⁴

While Megonius Leo was clearly a very well-off man, and Fidubius Alcimus appears from the scale of his donations to have been less so, the overall economic status of their community is virtually impossible to measure from the evidence from these inscriptions.⁴⁵ The *Megonii* may still provide a possible index of a certain measure of civic well-being: they appear to have been a local family and as such continue the legacy of the local elites' economic and social strength encountered in the Republican period.

As demonstrated at Thurii, the Imperial period is also richer in evidence for the regional connections between the *gentes*. Branches of the *gens Lucilia* are known from Croton, Vibo and Petelia. We have already encountered the late Republican *Ilvir* from Croton, one [-] Lucilius A.f. Macer.⁴⁶ The wife of Megonius Leo was Lucilia C.f. Isaurica, and the *gentilicium* is also known from Vibo in the early Empire; possible

⁴⁴ For the overview of the development of the municipal duties and the shift from *honores* to *munera* see Costabile (1976) 103-107; *idem* (1994) 457-62.

⁴⁵ Based on the computations from Megonius Leo's inscriptions, Duncan-Jones (1982) 269-70, 284-86, puts the total free population of Petelia at ca. 2400.; based on the presumed size of a *triclinium* (9 diners), conjectured is a body of 20 *augustales*, 30 decurions, and 2,360 free people. But see Dunbabin (1991) 125-28, for the change in the size of *triclinia* in the early Empire - that become larger - when the late Republican "rule of 9" probably does not apply.

⁴⁶ CAT. III, IGM F. 238, no. 24.

connections with the Roman branches of the family have already been noted.⁴⁷ The *Caedicii* were another family whose branches appear regionally over an extended period of time, thus suggesting a degree of social and economic stability. Toward the late first century B.C., the *Caedicii* were involved in viticulture and wine-trade in northern Campania.⁴⁸ At Petelia, one of the *IIIviri* in charge of the construction of the late Republican or early Augustan temple to Jupiter was one Sextus Caedicius Sexti f., and Megonius Leo's mother was a Caedicia.⁴⁹ In addition, links between Petelia and Locri and Petelia and Tauriana are known in the early Imperial period.⁵⁰

The usual spin-off from private wealth probably benefitted the town's well-being, but the simple funerary stele of one *Euctus publicus Petelinorum vilicus* from the first century A.C. also hints at the existence of the municipal lands.⁵¹

At Croton the archaeological "silence" continues. Four burial grounds located

⁴⁷ For Lucilia Isaurica: CAT. III, IGM F. 238, no. 11. For the *gentilicium* at Vibo: Buonocore (1984) 59, n. 4.

⁴⁸ Arthur (1991) 73.

⁴⁹ CAT. III, IGM F. 238, nos. 12-13.

⁵⁰ At Petelia, Sex(tus) Arellius Ursus is mentioned on the late first or early second century A.C. funerary anthropomorphic stele dedicated to his *serva* by Dionysius (CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no. 1, tomb 6). There is an Arellius from Tauriana (*AEpigr* [1965] 160), and from another inscription from Petelia we hear that the wife of Arellius Ursus was one Octavia Crotonis (CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no. 14); the Octavii are frequently found at Locri, but Arellius' wife may have come to Petelia via Croton. For the Arelli and Octavii see Segenni (1994) 666, n. 49. Two other individuals are connected with Petelia: A. Antonius Pelagianus from Atina, a *curator rei publicae* and a patron of Petelia, was honoured at Atina by the *decuriones, augustales et plebs Petelinorum* (CIL X, 338); at Rome in the late third or early fourth century A.C., the wife of Clodius Celsinus (probably a proconsul in Asia) was one Fabia Fuscinilla, a *c(larissima) f(emina)...Petelina domo orta* (CIL VI, 4,2,31711); Camodeca (1982) 151, 161, no. 105; Segenni (1994) 662-63.

⁵¹ CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no. 1, tomb 24. Costabile (1984) 177, for the Flavian date, but without elaborating why.

below the medieval Castello dated from the early to the late Imperial period and characterised by simple and poor graves attest to the continuity of life in the city, but leave much to be imagined about its appearance.

Epigraphy helps somewhat in our understanding of civic life. The *gens Futia* was responsible for donations to people in the course of the second century A.C.⁵² C. Futius Onirus, a *Ilvir* of the city, provided a capital of 10,000 sesterces, the proceeds of which, at a six per cent interest, were to be spent on a *profusio* at the grave of his daughter and on a meal for the *decuriones*.⁵³ Another member of the family, Futia Longina, dedicated a statue in honour of her son Lucius Lollius, an *eques*, a patron of the colony and a bearer of all the regular magistracies; *sportulae* are also dutifully offered to the people and the decurions and *Augustales*.⁵⁴ Septimia Prepis, married into the *Iulii* family, gave a *sportula* of eight sesterces each to the decurions and their children, six to the *augustales* and their children, four to common men and finally two to each woman.⁵⁵ The above mentioned donations represent a shift from the civic duties initiated by the city council to those of private individuals, but in no case did the *sportulae* approach the amounts given by Megonius Leo of Petelia. From their behaviour and expectations, the *Futii*, *Iulii*, and *Lolliani* were obviously members of the local elite and their economic standing was

⁵² CAT. III: IGM F. 238, nos. 17-18, 20. For the date: Guzzo (1986b) 533; Segenni (1994) 663.

⁵³ CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no. 17. Duncan-Jones (1982) 179, no. 691, 235, n. 992: if Croton had 100 decurions, this would allow for the rate of distribution of four sesterces each.

⁵⁴ CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no. 20.

⁵⁵ CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no. 19; Segenni (1994) 663.; Duncan-Jones (1982) 198, no. 1039; Kahrstedt (1960) 78.

probably comfortable, but not outstanding. The *cognomen* Onirus looks back to a Greek heritage, but it could also indicate a freedman.⁵⁶ Where these people and others of their status lived remains unclear, but it is certain that those poor graves mentioned above did not belong to them.⁵⁷

Connections between the *Lucilii* of Croton, Vibo and Petelia have already been mentioned. Another link between the area of Croton and Tyrrhenian Calabria was through the *Laronii* who are known from Vibo. Q. Laronius, the legate of Agrippa in Sicily in 36 B.C. and *cos.suff.* in 33 B.C., had interests in Vibo and the littoral from Nocera Terinese to Rosarno, as is documented by a series of tile stamps that bear his name.⁵⁸ Much further afield, one of his tiles was found at the baths at the Hera Lacinia compound at Capo Colonna and is associated with the restoration of the building's roof.⁵⁹

Croton's harbour probably continued in use in the Imperial period, thus bringing in some income for the city, but the intensity with which it operated is hard to assess.⁶⁰ As we shall see below, another indirect source of money may have been the administration of the Imperial estates from the area.

⁵⁶ Kahrstedt (1960) 79. See Segenni (1994) 667, n. 54 for the Greek *cognomina* that do not necessarily signify a freedman's status, but can be held by the freeborn.

⁵⁷ A third to fourth century A.C. funerary inscription found in the area of one of the grave groups mentions one Q. Maec(ius) Valeti(nus) Salonitanus, obviously a Dalmatian immigrant (CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no. 23).

⁵⁸ PIR², V, 1, no. L 112 (Q. Laronius); Paoletti (1994) 490 and nn. 80-82.

⁵⁹ Orsi (1911) 115; M. Paoletti (1994) 490 and 553, n. 209 for the possible link between the tiles and public works such as the temple grounds at Capo Colonna.

⁶⁰ Guzzo (1986b) 533; *Itin.Mar.* 489.8;490; Paoletti (1994) 527, who thinks that the port was used mainly as a shelter and that the city remained outside the main trade routes.

The Hera sanctuary at Capo Colonna continued in use, but appears to have been restricted in size. The last significant building intervention occurred probably early in the Augustan period and involved the construction of the fortification wall characterised by a true mixture of building styles: on the low socle of ashlar was bedded a band of wall faced with *opus incertum* and strengthened at intervals with ashlar, above which was reticulate facing.⁶¹ Repairs on the cella of the temple, again in reticulate and possibly also of Augustan date, and some apparently minor and unspecified work on other structures and the road that passed through the sanctuary continued through the third century A.C.⁶² However, a farm or villa and kiln with walls in *opus reticulatum* dated to the early Imperial period were constructed nearby, hinting at the reduced size (and importance) of the sanctuary.⁶³

On the opposite coast, at Blanda Iulia (Palecastro di Tortora), the forum with shops and what may have been the adjacent Capitolium (with three temples set to face the forum) were constructed early in the Augustan period (Chapter 3, 90-91). *Opus (quasi-) reticulatum*, already encountered in a number of roughly contemporary public buildings in northern Calabria, was used in the facing of the temples along with the *incertum* technique. It was in this fashionable style that the recently incorporated *municipium* had

⁶¹ CAT. II: IGM F. 238, no. 14, map M, fig. 16a; Paoletti (1994) 526.

⁶² Some interventions have been dated even later (VI C A.C.): CAT. II, IGM F. 238, no. 14, map M, ROAD and BUILDING 'K'. Of the votives, the most outstanding is a small marble altar dedicated in honour of Marciana, Trajan's sister, by *libertus* Oecius who was a *procurator Augusti* (CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no 16; dated between A.D. 98-105).

⁶³ CAT. II: IGM F. 238, no. 14, map M. Remains of two more kilns were also found: one kiln produced Dressel 2-4 amphorae: Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 34, 1994 (1995) 744.

its set of public buildings constructed.⁶⁴

A glimpse of the usual behaviour of the Imperial era's municipal elite is offered by an early Imperial inscribed statue base set up in the city's forum area.⁶⁵ The inscription records the municipal munificence of Marcus Arrius Clymenus who served as a *duovir quinquennalis* and a *quaestor pecuniae publicae* and as such was honoured by the people of the community with the honorary statue. As the *quaestor* he provided free grain for the city and also gave an *epulum* and distribution of different values to the various classes of citizens.⁶⁶ The *tribus Pomptina* of the dedicatee links the community with Tyrrhenian Lucania rather than with Bruttium.⁶⁷ In this traditionally Greek region, M. Arrius' cognomen, derived from *κλῦσις*, may be an indication of old cultural affinities.⁶⁸

Comparisons regarding the economic standing of the donors encountered above are difficult to make. All were obviously members of the upper classes, although perhaps not all free-born, such as Q. Fidubius Alcius. Megonius Leo perhaps had more money than the rest. The total bequeathed by Futius Onirus of Croton was 10,000 sesterces; other totals are unknown. The individual amounts (and perks) given to the various

⁶⁴ For the Augustan period as one of the periods of systematisation of forum areas in Italy see Lomas (1997) 31. La Torre (1999) 113-114, has suggested that, in view of the extremely sparse Roman remains on the plateau (no building and ceramic debris), the settlement of the area was dispersed rather than nucleated.

⁶⁵ CAT. III: IGM F. 220, no. 1 (end I C A.C.-2/2 II C A.C.).

⁶⁶ Cf. at Locri another *q(uaestor) p(ecuniae) p(ublicae)* (II C A.C.): Costabile (1976) 18-19.

⁶⁷ Guzzo (1976b) 140; for the *tribus Pomptina* at Buxentum (on a *titulus* from Sapri): CIL X.461.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, 141, but the same *cognomen* existed also in Rome. Things Greek, such as *cognomina* among the freeborn citizens, may be simply indications of fashion trends, but see a note on the Greek-derived *cognomina* among the *ingenui* in Segenni (1994) 667, n. 54.

members of the community seem to be well within the ordinary in contemporary Italy.⁶⁹

In this regard, the behaviour of the local elites in Calabria is comparable to the conduct of their counterparts in Italy and the provinces in the early Imperial period.

Mysterious Tempsa further down the coast was to Pliny an *oppidum* also known for its wine (*N.H.* 3.72;14.69), while Pausanias says that it was still inhabited in his time and that he received this information from someone who sailed *kata emporian* (6.6.10-11). The port then, especially if sited at the mouth of the Savuto, may have continued its timber exporting function that it presumably had in the Republican period. Wine trade (*infra*, 240) may have contributed to the community's fortunes as well.

Consentia may have acquired its fortification walls early in the Augustan period, if two stretches of approximately one-metre-thick walls in *opus reticulatum* are properly identified and dated in this way (Chapter 3, 92). Otherwise, the town's remains are as sparse as those dated to the Republican period. An imported pseudo-pelike *oinophoros* from Asia Minor, an archaising funerary stele and a local imitation of a Calydonian boar-hunt sarcophagus, all possibly from the third century A.C. (Chapter 3, n. 213), comprise the eclectic assemblage of finds, with little power to delineate the trajectory of development of the community at the time. Perhaps a non-Bruttian by origin was Umidia Flos mentioned on a third century A.C. funerary inscription, whose *gens* is found in south-central Italy and the area around Naples, but not in Bruttium.⁷⁰ Her son, Plaetorius

⁶⁹ Duncan-Jones (1982) 142-143.

⁷⁰ CAT. III: IGM F. 236, no. 2. Flos is an unusual *cognomen* for a woman, but not impossible (Russi [1986] 282, and for an alternative explanation: Flori, gen. of Florus, the husband of the deceased); Kajanto (1965) 336). Russi (1986) 281 with bibl. for *gens Umidia*.

Primus, the dedicator of the inscription, appears to be of more local parentage on his father's side: *gens Plaetoria* is found in Lucania, at Potentia and Paestum; it remains unclear whether the people mentioned were *liberti* or *ingenui*.⁷¹

The countryside

THE SETTLEMENTS: THE NUMBERS

The imprecise dating that plagued the Republican period sites continues to characterise the data that remain to be discussed, making interpretations difficult. An overall increase in the number of newly founded sites is registered and a relatively high continuity from the previous period.

As for absolute numbers, of 41 securely dated sites that belong to the first century B.C. (excluding those from the Croton survey), 26 continue to be occupied in the following century. This total rises to 56 if from the group of 58 "late Republican" (= "Hellenistic-Roman") sites, 30 of those that continue in the Imperial period are added. In the first century A.C. (including the early Augustan period), 38 new sites are known. Fifteen sites, both from the newly founded ones and those already in existence, did not survive into the second century in which eight more were founded.⁷² 29 of all previously occupied sites are still in existence in the third century when eight more were founded.⁷³ 40 sites whose dating is not precise, but can be assigned to the Imperial period, can be added to the total. To this, some 35 sites from the Croton survey may perhaps be added

⁷¹ *ibid.*, 283 with refs.

⁷² 10 of the first century sites did not survive the end of the century, while only 5 of the first century B.C. sites perished; the calculation includes only securely dated sites (the same in the note below).

for the early Roman period (considered to include the first century A.C.).⁷⁴

Based on the numbers (excluding the results of the Croton survey and the imprecisely dated examples) the following picture emerges: compared with 41 sites in the first century B.C., some 64 are recorded in the first century A.C. The number falls to 49 in the second and 37 in the third century A.C. Clearly, due to the extremely small sample covering a rather large geographical area, the emerging trend must be taken with caution. When compared with the late Republican settlement, the perceived increase in rural occupation of 64% in the early Imperial period that remains more or less stable through the second century A.C. may be significant, but obviously needs to be verified by future research. The results from the Croton survey (Chapter 4, 102-105) that show a slight increase in the number of the first century A.C. sites, if compared to the Republican period, parallel the above calculation. However, they are preliminary and must await further interpretation and analysis. Guzzo in 1981 found that the number of sites (including all of Calabria) was more or less stable from the late Republican period (I C B.C.) through the third century A.C.; a significant decrease in absolute numbers was perceived for the fourth and fifth centuries (just over one quarter of the total in the earlier period).⁷⁵

THE SETTLEMENTS: DISTRIBUTION AND APPEARANCE

⁷³ Only three sites founded in the second century survive in the following.

⁷⁴ For these data and the commentary see Chapter 4, 102-108.

⁷⁵ Guzzo (1981a) 120. Cf. the findings of Sangineto (1994) 584-85, who reported (for the whole of Calabria) an overall gradual decrease in the number of "villas" over the period between the first C B.C. and the third C A.C. Obviously, statistics with small samples swing many ways!

The perceived increase in the number of sites is documented in all geographical areas except in the mountainous interior (the Sila and the Catena Costiera). The most significant increase was along the narrow strip along the Tyrrhenian coast and the immediate foothills, with two concentration areas in and around the plain of the Lao in the north and between Paola and the mouth of the Savuto in the south (Chapter 4, 120-128).

What prompted this increase is difficult to say, but some speculation is possible. The area actually started to fill up later in the first century B.C. If it is right to postulate that the increase in site numbers was the result of the general increase in population numbers, it may be possible to correlate this increase with the establishment of the administrative centres at Blanda Iulia (at Tortora) and Clamptia around or after the middle of the first century B.C. In a way, these foundations may have been a reflection of and further impetus for the population growth around them. While Blanda was a nucleated centre, the foundation at Clamptia, as we have seen, may have been executed *viritim* making the generally dispersed settlement a strong possibility in its case. Some sort of agglomeration that could be claimed by the settlers as their administrative and social centre can be imagined to have existed in the area of S. Lucido or Amantea. Similarly, the mysterious Tempsa, if indeed at or near the mouth of the Savuto, may have spawned the modest development of dispersed settlement in its vicinity.⁷⁶

In appearance, a good number of these newly founded sites are large and often characterised by well-built masonry walls (*opus incertum*, *reticulatum* and *mixtum*) and decorative pavements (*opus signinum*, *spicatum*); column drums and other decorative

⁷⁶ See for similar conclusions La Torre (1999) 121-130.

features were also common, as were agricultural installations (vats and presses) and storage vessels (*dolia* and amphorae).⁷⁷ Without excavation it is impossible to say if all the features found at a particular site belonged to the entire period of its occupation. However, it is probably right to suggest that for at least some time these sites served as residential and productive centres of the landed properties from the area. In almost all cases (including the sites with extensive remains and "simple" pottery scatters), once established in the Augustan period the occupation continued at least into the second, and in several cases to the third century A.C., thus displaying a high level of survival and probably reflecting a healthy degree of economic well-being. Only a handful of them, however, were still alive in the late Roman period.

The economic underpinning of these settlements will be further discussed below, but one factor probably working in favour of its development was the coastal road that served as a link between the various localities. Perhaps, some of the above-mentioned sites served as the *stationes* on its course, but precise links between the sites and the presumed road-stations have not been established.⁷⁸ Apart from the running of a *mansio*, the road-stations may have doubled as administrative centres in this part of the province where the cities were few and far between.⁷⁹

In the hinterland of Thurii/Copia and the margins of the Plain a slight

⁷⁷ E.g. CAT. II: IGM F. 236, nos. 1,4,5,8, map J.

⁷⁸ Road-stations reported by the Itineraries do not necessarily coincide with homonymous towns, but may be located at the crossroads between the principal road and the link with the settlement further inland: La Torre (1990b) 181.

⁷⁹ Cf. with Sicily where this was a possible, but not certain scenario: Wilson (1990) 232. See for the present region La Torre (1999) 116.

intensification of rural settlement characterises the early Empire (Chapter 4, 110), but it is again frequently unclear exactly what these sites represent. In cases of larger sites, isolated farms or hamlets are equally possible; and small rural cemeteries may point to the nuclei of agricultural families.⁸⁰ One large partially excavated site including an aqueduct, baths, walls and pavements at Amendolara dated between the third and fourth centuries A.C. and spreading over an area of eight hectares most likely represents the *statio* and possibly a settlement Ad Vicesimum on the coastal road mentioned in *It.Ant.* 114.⁸¹ Similarly, it is possible that extensive remains at Malvito, loc. Pauciuri in the valley of the Esaro, covering almost two hectares, that consist of the Imperial period baths, other unidentified buildings and part of a road, represent a *statio*, and again possibly a settlement, along the cross-road that led from Thurii to Cirella.⁸²

On the other hand, the already established villas continue to prosper and some become bigger and better appointed. For example that at Roggiano Gravina, loc. Larderìa, between the end of the second and the beginning of the third century A.C. had a set of polychrome mosaic pavements added to the black-and-white ones (I-II C A.C.) in

⁸⁰ For example, near Luzzi at S. Vito in the middle valley of the Crati, a small early Imperial (2/2 I-mid II C A.C.) inhumation cemetery with simple *alla cappuccina* graves containing, among other grave goods, some gold jewellery and a set of surgical instruments suggests a modestly well-off community (CAT. II, IGM F. 229, no. 60, map G).

⁸¹ CAT. II, IGM F. 222, nos. 3-6, map D; Crogiez (1990) 413. The identification is based on *It.Ant.* 144 where Ad Vicesimum is 20m.p. from Turios (Thurii); see also Appendix I.

⁸² Taliano-Grasso (1995) 10 and n. 29; CAT. II, IGM F. 229, no. 6, map F: end I-IV/V C A.C.; Chapter 4, 128-130; Appendix I; Guzzo (1986b) 538. See Mezzolani (1992) for different shapes that road-stations may take.

its bath suite.⁸³ The polychrome pavements are reminiscent of one contemporary example from Thurii/Copia, where Faedo suggested that the local workshop operated whose inspiration and probably blueprints came from North Africa.⁸⁴

The high level of site-continuity from the Republican period, coupled with the slight increase in the number of sites overall in the first three centuries of the Empire, typifies the rural settlement of the coastal strip to the south of the Plain of Sibari. Its character remains in keeping with the previous period, which may be a testament to stable property relations and land use.⁸⁵ The area south of Croton also shows a slight increase in site numbers in the early Imperial period, but the stretch in the immediate hinterland of the Hera sanctuary presents a drop from fourteen (Republican) to ten sites during this time; these were larger than previously and more widely spaced in commanding positions along the terrace ridge (Chapter 4, 104-105). The first century A.C. example sited on the promontory of Capo Cimiti in a panoramic location employed the fashionable *opus reticulatum* and had a mosaic floor and a bath suite, thus displaying a degree of luxury characteristic of the villas of the rich.⁸⁶ Whether it also contained production quarters remains unknown.

LANDHOLDING PATTERNS

⁸³ CAT. II. IGM F. 229, no. 5, map F.

⁸⁴ *Supra*, Chapter 3, n. 196; Faedo (1993) 453.

⁸⁵ Chapter 4, 118.

⁸⁶ CAT. II. IGM F. 243, no. 3, map P.

It is possible that the high degree of site continuity in all geographical areas (except the mountainous interior for which there is little data overall) from the Republican period through at least the first two centuries A.C. reflects a relatively high degree of continuity in land tenure in those areas. This may be further supported by those examples (very few at the moment) where the growth of the establishment, founded earlier, continued through this period (e.g. Roggiano Gravina). The scarcity of the excavated sites and an overall small number of the precisely dated examples, however, make this interpretation tentative. Equally, it is difficult to decode the reasons for the overall fall in absolute numbers of occupied sites during the third century A.C., but it would appear that those sites that survived were the larger and better appointed ones. This is not always the case, however, as some large sites are lost, such as those at Grotta del Malconsiglio and Prainetta in the Plain of Sibari.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, it is likely that settlements with a stronger economic base endure longer, but even a large and rich estate is not always successful (or interesting for its owner) forever. Some insights into what this economic base might have been and how it was organised are offered below.

As we have seen, on the Tyrrhenian coast, a good number of newly founded sites have characteristics that elevate them above the level of simple rural farmsteads, and a few had agricultural processing equipment (*infra*), making them likely centres of the agricultural *fundi*. Whether we are dealing here with the seats of the properties of generally absentee landlords run by the *vilici*, or tenant-farms, or medium-sized properties owned by resident farmers is impossible to say for the majority of these cases. At an early

⁸⁷ CAT. II: IGM F. 221, nos. 73-74, map E.

Imperial site at S. Lucido, loc. Palazzi, a white marble funerary *titulus* dedicated to a nineteen-year-old *serva*, in combination with walls in *opus reticulatum* and imported pottery, suggest a better-off estate worked and perhaps even run by slaves, but the exact proportion of slave and free-labour overall is impossible to know at the moment.⁸⁸ It is quite possible that large landowners (with properties run by slaves) and more modest resident farmers co-existed in the early Imperial period on the west coast.⁸⁹

There is little doubt, however, that imported pottery on many sites, combined with some that also show better building quality, attest to a degree of economic underpinning of a kind that may well be different from the sort that characterised the late Republican period. It was likely intensive agriculture centred on landed estates that figured prominently. This intensive land-based economy likely gave rise to the more dense rural residence evidenced in the overall rise in the numbers of rural sites occupied during this period. On the other hand, small proprietors and/or seasonal labourers may have resided in the towns and smaller nucleated settlements, possibly in the above mentioned road-stations.

On the opposite coast, in the Sibari Plain and the coastal strip, large cash-crop and medium-sized farms worked by either free landowners, tenants or slaves probably continued to coexist during the Imperial period, and local town markets likely played a

⁸⁸ The inscription: CAT. III: IGM F. 236, no. 1. (I-II C A.C.); her *dominus* was one Aulus Quintius; the dedicator is the person mentioned in the last line, [---]es, construed as Herm]es or com]es (Guzzo [1976b] 130); Kajanto (1965) 306, for Hermes. The marble and the pentameter in lines six and seven - *florentes annos / [mors s]ubita eripuit* - elevate this example above the average; Paoletti (1994) 479 and n. 45 for the contemporary parallels for the line at Rome and Verona. The site: CAT. II: IGM F. 236, no. 4, map J. For the slave-run properties see also Sangineto (1994) 579.

⁸⁹ See also La Torre (1999) 121.

role in their livelihood. It is possible that additional nucleation occurred in the minor settlements/*stationes* along the coast which would have housed part of the labour force.

In addition, epigraphic evidence from the area around Croton points to imperial property in the late first and second centuries A.C. So, from Scandale, *contrada* Latina, a hilly area north-west of Croton, comes an epitaph to Glucia, an *Imp(eratoris) Caesaris s(e)r(va)*, put up by her son Flavius Theogenes.⁹⁰ The occasion for the dedication is unknown, as is the social standing of the dedicator.⁹¹ From Croton comes a funerary inscription from the late first or early second century A.C. of an imperial slave and then a *colonus* and his wife, a certain Amethustus and Olimpias.⁹² The third example is a dedication on a white marble altar set in the precinct of the temple of Hera Lacinia at Capo Colonna by Oecius, *lib(ertus) proc(urator) Aug(usti)*, for the good health of Marciana, Trajan's sister.⁹³

It is difficult to know whose properties, if any, were replaced by these Imperial lands. Rather than seeing this as a sign of expropriation of the previous landlords, it is

⁹⁰ The inscription is unpublished and the complete text is not transcribed; for the commentary see Costabile (1984) 176. Obviously enfranchised by a Flavian emperor, Flavius Theogenes has a Greek *cognomen*, as is his mother's *praenomen*.

⁹¹ Costabile (1984b) 176, suggests that he was a *colonus*.

⁹² CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no 22. Guzzo (1986b) 533, considers it later than the second century A.C.

⁹³ CAT. III: IGM. F. 238, no 16. The date can be fixed between A.D. 98-105 on the absence of the title *Augusta* accorded to Ulpia Marciana in A.D. 105; there is no indication for Marciana's connection with Bruttium, leaving the reason for the initiative unclear; perhaps it constituted a simple gesture by the manager of the Emperor's estates (Spadea Noviero [1990] 311; Costabile [1976] 123). L. Lollius Marcianus, an *eques equo publico ornatus* in the second century A.C., may have taken her name (CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no. 20).

possible that Imperial property replaced the old unassigned *ager publicus*.⁹⁴ This is impossible to prove at the moment for our region, but the relatively low level of rural settlement in the Marchesato in the Republican period may be suggestive of extensive land use involving for example grain cultivation (for which this region is pedologically suitable).⁹⁵ If this interpretation is correct, some of the land may have been taken over by the Emperor later on; how it was then used remains uncertain.

The mountainous interior that continues to be mostly "empty" of rural settlement during this period also remains a puzzle in terms of the organisation of land-use. The main interior road continued to be used, as the bridge across the Savuto, the possible road-station at Malvito and a handful of other sites along its course attest⁹⁶, and probably helped to facilitate whatever traffic was generated by the probably continuing extensive economy of timber-cutting and related industries that were practised there before.⁹⁷

Produce and industry

It is probably right to assume that the traditional Bruttian resources continued to be tapped during the Imperial period as well. So, pastoralism, timber and pitch extraction probably continued to occupy a fair place in the local economy. For this last undertaking the evidence comes in the form of the stamped amphorae for its storage and transportation whose shape is unfortunately unknown. Three fragments uncovered in Bruttium bear

⁹⁴ Sirago (1991) 68; CIL IX. 334: *praepositus tractus Apuliae Calabriae Lucaniae Bruttior(um)*.

⁹⁵ Introduction, 13.

⁹⁶ For Malvito see above; the bridge: CAT. II, IGM F. 236, no. 21, map K.

⁹⁷ Guzzo (1981a) 119; and Chapter 5, 187-194.

rectangular stamps which identify the contents as Bruttian pitch: *pix Brut(tia)*. Two come from the area of Pian delle Vigne on the Tyrrhenian coast just south of the Savuto and the third from the already mentioned large deposit of amphorae from Trebisacce. The fourth fragment is from Pompeii from the House of Iulius Polibius.⁹⁸ The examples from Pian delle Vigne were on palaeographic grounds dated between the first century B.C. and the second century A.C. and the other two seem to belong to the first century A.C.

We have seen that pitch extraction in the Republican period involved private contractors holding public contracts. Further evidence must be awaited before a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of extraction and the scope of trade in Bruttian pitch in the Imperial period is possible. At this point it is fair to say that its reputation went beyond the erudite references in the Roman writers of the late Republic and early Empire to reach the local consumers and beyond (Pompeii) with a simple, but recognisable reference: *pix Bruttia*. It is probable that the simplicity of this reference reflects an organised pattern of supply and distribution that may have remained partially in the hands of the state,⁹⁹ but the example from Trebisacce, in addition to the geographical designation, appears to convey also the name(s) of the extractor(s) or proprietors in charge of the production and/or distribution.¹⁰⁰

Imperial property in the area of Croton has already been mentioned. Imperial

⁹⁸ Pian delle Vigne: CAT. II, IGM F. 241, no. 1, map N; Spadea (1990) 171 and n. 17; Trebisacce: CAT. II, IGM F. 222, no. 9, map D; Luppino, Sangineto (1992) 173, 183-185; Pompeii: De Caro (1985), possibly of form Dressel 2-4.

⁹⁹ De Caro (1985) 30-31.

¹⁰⁰ Luppino, Sangineto (1992) 173, which remains a tentative interpretation.

kiln(s) operated probably by Imperial slaves are also attested from the Crati valley, where four different, but related, types of stamps were found on the tile and *imbrices* used in the first to second century A.C. burial ground near Luzzi.¹⁰¹

Wine and olive oil continued to be produced in the coastal areas and the hinterland of northern Calabria. To the already mentioned archaeological record (presses, amphorae) on a number of sites that continue to be occupied in the early empire several more with production and/or storage capacities can be added in the first two centuries A.C.¹⁰² Some of this production, such as for example that seen from Megonius Leo's donations, must have continued on a large scale,¹⁰³ and Dressel 2-4 amphorae found on many sites, if some were produced locally, suggest the continuation of commercial surplus wine production in the early empire.¹⁰⁴ The stamp EPIDI/CALAMVS or CALAM (A and M ligatured in the last example) on Dressel 2-4 handles from Thurii and Montedoro near Taranto resemble the stamps on Dressel 1 from the Ionian area between the Neto and Strongoli (Chapter 5, 198-200) and as such perhaps point to the continuity of this production on the Ionian coast.¹⁰⁵ A number of sites with the Dressels have also produced imported pottery, e.g. ARS and African and (earlier) Rhodian amphorae, which probably

¹⁰¹ CAT. II, IGM F. 229, no. 60, map G; Guzzo (1974a) 478-79: M(arcus) A.P. is unknown; S.F.P. stands perhaps for the *s(ervus) f(iglinae) p(ublicae)*; AUG.F. seems obvious as *Aug(usti) f(iglina)*.

¹⁰² E.g. CAT. II: IGM F. 241, no. 1, map N; IGM F. 236, nos. 1,2,13,15,16-18,19,20, maps J and K; IGM F. 231, no. 16, map I.

¹⁰³ CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no. 6, vv. 26-27.

¹⁰⁴ Production of Dressel 2-4 has been associated with a kiln at Capo Colonna: E. Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 34, 1994 (1995) 744.

¹⁰⁵ The stamps: Callender (1965) 88, no. 228; *Sibari* II (1970) 530; Arthur (1989) 133.

reflects their place in the networks of the contemporary Mediterranean trade.¹⁰⁶

On the available evidence, there seems to have been no obvious decline in local wine production in the early Imperial period when compared with the previous era. Understandably, given the sparse record overall, we must await further evidence before the place of northern Calabrian wine production in the Roman Imperial economy can be fully evaluated. The mode of this production is also far from being clear, but the *loci* of production and/or shipment show the characteristics of medium-sized estates whose appearances seem to have been generally maintained during the time when they had been in use, obviously retaining a degree of sophistication. Some were likely the seats of resident landowners who probably employed some slave labour (as is suggested by several inscriptions of slaves and freedmen), but tenant-farms cannot be excluded either. Furthermore, some landowners may have resided in the regional centres and managed their affairs through the *vilici*.¹⁰⁷

All in all, the early Imperial period was hardly a period of decline in this part of Italy, although it is possible that in the disappearance of some third century sites there is a fossilised trace of trouble and even stagnation. What caused this is at present unknown.

Trade

As we have seen, wine continued to be produced for local consumption and

¹⁰⁶ E.g. CAT. II, IGM F. 236, nos. 13,19, map K; IGM F. 230, nos. 34,37,38,41 map H.

¹⁰⁷ Brick and tile stamps from the countryside are suggestive of the different interests of local landowners. A rectangular tile stamp /W MECONI from Cariati, loc. Zagaria, can be linked with the *Megonii* from Petelia (CAT. II, IGM F. 230, no. 44, map H; Taliano-Grasso [1994] 27, no. 10), while two examples of brick stamps from the area of S. Maria del Cedro with ARRI and M.ARRi respectively (CAT.II, IGM F. 220, nos. 8,10, map B) may belong to the interests of the *Arrii* from Blanda Iulia (*supra*, 225).

exportation at least into the early empire.¹⁰⁸ Even though a gradual decrease of Italian wine exports is a well known phenomenon of the first two centuries A.C., it is hard to evaluate the situation in Bruttium. The high instance of rural settlement overall down to the third century A.C., with some sites becoming larger and better appointed, suggests continuing prosperity in the countryside. However, it is impossible to know how much this is owed to the continuing importance of the region in the Mediterranean trade-patterns and how much to local needs, and indeed what exactly these possible exports were.¹⁰⁹ As is now well known, the importance of wine-trade in Bruttium resumes (if indeed it ever lapsed) in the late Roman period,¹¹⁰ which in part may have been aided by the inclusion of wine in the state distributions to the poor in the late third century A.C.;¹¹¹ we can only wonder what, if any, impact was made on the Italian olive oil production (and likely Bruttian) when this was included in the state *annona* at the turn of the second century.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ It is difficult to know how the intensity of this trade compared to the Republican period overall, but the deposit at Trebisacce shows a decline in the number of Dressel 2-4 amphorae (max. 65, min. 43) when compared to the Dressel 1 (max. 144, min. 71) found on the site; it is possible that this reflects a decline in production through the first century A.C.: Luppino, Sangineto (1992) 187. On the Ionian coast, the MECONI stamp on amphorae recalling the *Megonii* may have been only of local significance: cf. Arthur (1991) 74, for northern Campania where some stamps are unknown outside the region so probably local.

¹⁰⁹ Some Dressel 2-4 amphorae from Naples have the same fabric as some from Vibo and Thurii whose Calabrian origin is now ascertained; whether these are from Vibo or Thurii, or some other production centre, remains unknown: Sangineto (1989) 842, n. 15.

¹¹⁰ Cod. Th. 14.4.4: Cassiod. *Variae* 12.12.1; Arthur (1989).

¹¹¹ Morley (1996) 55, 151, by Aurelian in the 270s.

¹¹² The Apulian oil production appears to have ceased completely after Augustus, but earlier involved exports to the East (Palestine and Egypt) and the West: Morley (1996) 149.

The usual assortment of imported pottery continued to appear on local markets, strongly suggesting the immersion of Bruttium into the Mediterranean markets.¹¹³ The ceramics were of predominantly African origin, with the first century A.C. examples least numerous, but increasing as time went on. At Copia, the imports of ARS A peaked in the second century; the subsequent categories never reached these numbers. At the moment, it is not possible adequately to explain what prompted such distribution; the city was certainly a reasonably prosperous place in the early empire, possibly prompting the exchange of goods.¹¹⁴ The imported pottery readily diffused into the countryside.¹¹⁵

As a research hypothesis, it may be suggested that trade with Africa and Sicily intensified in northern Bruttium over the first three centuries A.C. (as evidenced in the ceramics and mosaic production) while links with the East (and West, i.e. Gaul) became less pronounced. It is premature to view this as a symptom of an increasing fragmentation of the regional markets that characterised the later Empire, but future research should address this and related issues.

¹¹³ Southern Gaulish sigillata is rare (*Sibari* II [1970] 70) and may have reached northern Bruttium only sporadically (also at Vibo): Gasperetti (1989) 850 and n. 12. Eastern imports are also more rare when compared with the Republican period.

¹¹⁴ Gasperetti (1989) 852-53, but also cautioning that such distribution could simply reflect a chance of uncovering the refuse-areas. LITS was frequent and perhaps made locally (Luppino, Sangineto [1992] 330, n. 22), as were the local imitations of ARS (*Sibari* III [1972] 435) whose kiln-wasters of II-III century A.C. types were found on the site.

¹¹⁵ CAT. II, *passim*. Box upon box of kitchen and coarse wares in the Magazzini at the Sibari Museum from the excavations at Roggiano Gravina and Malvito are veritable mines of potential information about the local and imported ceramics and their distribution patterns; Calabria is full of such collections of pottery waiting to be studied.

CONCLUSION

While in the end no firm conclusions can be drawn regarding the exact dynamics that shaped the Republican and Imperial period settlement in northern Bruttium, an analysis of the collected evidence clearly shows that the widespread impression of gloom and irrevocable decline, as claimed by the ancient sources and much modern historiography, must now be abandoned.

The process of change that intensified in the course of the fourth and third centuries B.C., thanks to the increased interaction between the Greek and Bruttian populations, was given a new direction with the onset of the growing Roman interest in the region, and finally, after the second Punic war, the process of incorporation under Rome entered its closing stage.

A number of structural changes were thus triggered. A shift that occurred in the settlement distribution was marked by the abandonment of the majority of the previously occupied extra-urban sites and the desertion or disruption of occupation of the fortified settlements by the end of the third century B.C. However, a small number of rural sites and most Greek cities continued to be occupied. While overall, demographic decline is likely to have occurred at the end of the third century B.C., this sporadic continuity of occupation also suggests a certain degree of demographic continuity between the pre- and post-war periods. It also appears that there existed a certain variation in how different regions responded to the disruption brought about by the second Punic war: the continuity

of occupation on the sites, and an overall increase in the numbers of newly founded sites immediately after the war, seem to have been greater in the hinterland of the Latin colony of Thurii/Copia than in the hinterland of the Roman colonies of Croton and Tempsa. A rather slow recovery of rural settlement characterised also the length of the north Tyrrhenian coast. While continuity of occupation is apparent, we do not know precisely from the present evidence how significant it was, and how marked the regional differences may have been. New carefully designed survey projects are needed to clarify these issues; such projects may also be able to address the issue of the underlying causes of the currently perceived regional differences.

Many new extra-urban dispersed settlements were founded in the Republican period. At the moment, it is impossible to say how significant the dispersed form of settlement was during the pre-Roman phase, but sporadic and often incompletely excavated examples are perhaps indicative of its greater importance than has traditionally been assumed. Such a state of affairs precludes an adequate assessment of the meaning of the perceived significant increase in the overall number of dispersed settlements in the Republican period.

On the presently available evidence, the Republican period appears to have been characterised by a variety of settlement and economic strategies that were practised concurrently. Medium-sized properties co-existed with large estates (some perhaps taking advantage of *ager publicus*), a mixed economy existed alongside extensive timber-cutting and pasturage, and isolated dwellings in the countryside were fairly common forms of settlement, just as was living in the nucleated centres. The proportion of people who

practised these distinct economic and residential strategies remains unknown, and future research should concentrate on clarifying these and related issues. It is certain, however, that the long-held hypothesis concerning serious depopulation of the deep South after the second Punic war should now be abandoned.

The regional centres, such as the Latin colony at Thurii/Copia, display a host of functions comparable to many other contemporary Italian towns, from administrative, witnessed by the public buildings and the city-officials' involvement in the running of the community, to productive and commercial, as may be gleaned from the ceramic record. Much more work is needed on the urban archaeology, however, before a clearer picture can emerge regarding the various centres' fortunes during this period.

There is also a growing body of evidence that testifies to the local production of late Republican and early Imperial amphorae (Dressel 1 and 2-4), which places Bruttium in the orbit of the Mediterranean wine trade. Locally made grey ware is also attested, but local ceramic chronologies are generally poorly known. All this is in need of much new research before a thorough analysis and comprehensive interpretation can be offered regarding the complexities of the Republican era local and regional trade patterns. Bruttian pitch and timber, and possibly grain, were all likely recognised exports.

In addition to the site-continuity that is suggestive of demographic continuity, a small, but possibly significant number of local families holding a variety of public roles and displaying relative economic strength all through at least the mid Imperial period, may be a further index of the survival of the pre-Roman stratum of population.

All through the Imperial period (early and middle), Bruttium shows no significant

signs of stagnation, still less of decline. Rather, the established regional centres, smaller nucleated agglomerations as well as farms and villas continued their existence in large numbers, and new ones became founded; only in the late Roman period do we see a marked numerical reduction of rural sites, but the established urban centres do not show signs of significant disruption in occupation until the sixth century A.C. The early Imperial period is characterised by private euergetism which makes our region comparable to the rest of contemporary Italy. The families' connections with Rome and other southern Italian regions continue from the Republican period, but these are fairly rare. Given the small sample overall, however, it is premature to view this as a sure sign of regional isolation.

Reflections of extra-regional connections can also be seen in the fashionable building techniques of the times (*opus incertum*, *reticulatum*, and *testaceum*) employed in some public buildings, private houses and tombs alike. However, these techniques were used often in combination with the more traditional (e.g. ashlar coursing) or less sophisticated (e.g. mortared rubble and reused material) building styles, reflecting a mix of traditionalism and modernism. Given the limited number of excavated examples overall, it remains unclear how common these "modern" building methods were; the dates when they first appeared must also be clarified. Architectural traditionalism can be seen in house-designs (Thurii) where the influence of the Greek period house-types continued beyond the period of political and cultural independence of the south Italian towns. A similar tendency seems to be noticeable in the design of a number of farmsteads of the late Republic and early Empire, in whose development Greek domestic architecture also

appears to have been influential. Albeit sparsely documented, the sculpture and decorative architectonic pieces, mosaics, and painted plaster all show links with the contemporary fashions of the Roman world. The peninsular Italian sculptural and mosaic trends in the first two centuries A.C. and African mosaic tradition in the third were the responsible influences.

In the countryside, there is little doubt that imported pottery, solid building quality and decorative elements (mosaics, columns, etc.) on a good number of sites attest to the continuing economic vitality of the settlements. At the moment there are no clear indices regarding any change in the mode of economic management when compared with the Republican period. The only change, if any, may have been a further intensification of agricultural production (e.g. wine and pitch) centred on medium-sized and even large estates. This intensive land-based economy likely gave rise to the more dense rural residence evidenced in the overall rise in the numbers of rural sites occupied during this period. Most likely, large landowners, private and imperial, with properties run by slaves, and more modest resident farmers co-existed in the early and middle Imperial period in northern Bruttium. On the other hand, small proprietors and/or seasonal labourers may have resided in the towns and smaller nucleated settlements (e.g. road-stations).

Overall, the collected evidence shows that the Republican and Imperial periods in northern Bruttium are characterised by a reasonably high degree of economic development. At the moment, however, it is impossible to indicate clearly the exact processes that shaped this development. It is hoped that future research may be able to clarify this and related issues.

APPENDIX I

The Roads

The main trunk road through Calabria was the Via Regio Capuam as is known from the Polla inscription (CIL I².638; CIL X.6950; ILS I.23; ILLRP I.454). It branched off at Capua from the Appia and led to Rhegium by way of the Vallo di Diano and the interior of Calabria before it reached the Tyrrhenian coast at the northern edge of the Plain of S. Eufemia. Neither the builder nor the exact date of construction are securely known, but the time around 131 B.C. is accepted.¹ In northern Calabria the road stations from N-S are the following.² Muranum (CIL I².638; *It.Ant.* 105.1-106.4; 110.4-111.5 has Summurano) is on toponomastic grounds located at modern Morano.³ Interamnium (so in *Geogr.Rav.* 4.34; Itemamnium in *Guid.* 43; Nreramio on *Tab. Peut.*), the next *statio* to the S, is sometimes put at Fedula, on the left bank of the Esaro near its confluence with the Coscile, where Kahrstedt reported remains of a "villa".⁴ On the other hand, Cantarelli, on the distance from Muranum, puts Interamnium south of the confluence between the Garga and the Coscile at Piano della Cammarata.⁵ The next *statio* was Caprasia (*Tab.Peut.*; *Geogr.Rav.* 4.34; *Guid.* 43; *It.Ant.* 105.1-106.4; 110.4-111.5) that Taliano-Grasso put W of Tarsia at loc. Cona.⁶ At Consentia was the next station recorded as Consentia on *Tab.Peut.* (Cosentia on CIL I².638, *It.Ant.* 105.1-106.4; 110.4-111.5 and *Guid.* 43; Consencia on *Geogr.Rav.* 4.34). *It.Ant.* 105.1-106.4; 110.4-111.5 records Ad Fluvium Sabatum and Ad Sabutum Fluvium, respectively. Taliano-Grasso puts it downstream from the preserved Roman bridge on the Savuto river at loc. Lupia (S. Angelo).⁷ The passage

¹ For a hypothetical course through Bruttium see fig. 5. The bibliography is huge; a convenient overview of the ancient sources and modern commentaries up to 1978 is in Cantarelli (1980) 934-953; see also Crogiez (1990) 391-403. For a convenient summary of the possible date(s), the builder(s) and the course see La Torre (1990) 151-152. One fairly common hypothesis talks of the construction as started under L. Popilius Laenas, cos. 132 B.C., and completed the following year by praetor T. Annius Rufus (views are summarised in Cantarelli [1980]). This seeks to reconcile the views of Wiseman (1964) and (1969) who saw Annius Rufus as the sole builder, and Degraasi (1962) who favoured Popilius Laenas.

² Most recently, two detailed discussions are in La Torre (1990b) and Taliano-Grasso (1995).

³ Roman remains are at La Foce ca. 2 km. NE below Morano: CAT. II, IGM F. 221, no. 3, map C.

⁴ Kahrstedt (1960) 93; see also Crogiez (1990) 421; La Torre (1990b) 157-58.

⁵ Cantarelli (1988) 106. A dedication to L. Verus probably comes from the area: CAT. III, IGM F. 221, no. 2; Taliano-Grasso (1995) n. 24.

⁶ Taliano-Grasso (1995) 10; CAT. II, IGM F. 229, no. 9bis, map F.

⁷ CAT. II, IGM F. 236, no. 21, map K; Taliano-Grasso (1995) 16, puts the *statio* near Martirano, at loc. Fosso del Lupo; *contra* Crogiez (1990) 424 and La Torre (1992) 179 who consider the

of the road from this point on is less clear: it may have descended down the Savuto river,⁸ or rather, crossed the mountain ridge at Martirano and then descended into the plain of S. Eufemia and met the coastal Tyrrhenian road at Aque Ange.⁹

There are indications that at least two cross-roads linked the coasts and the interior in the northern part of Calabria. One stretched from the Tyrrhenian coast via the Occido/Esaro valleys, then probably at Caprasia crossed the interior road, and continued eastward toward the valley of Coscile and Thurii/Copia.¹⁰ The other transverse route led from the Savuto to the Neto valley. Evidence for this is probably found in two bridges over the upper reaches of Savuto that may be Roman.¹¹

The coastal roads most likely followed the courses of the pre-Roman communications.¹² The road-stations reported by the Itineraries do not necessarily coincide with homonymous towns, but may be located at the crossroads between the principal road and the link with the settlement further inland.¹³

The road-stations along the Tyrrhenian coastal road in northern Calabria from N-S as per the Itineraries are the following (for locations see fig. 5).¹⁴ On *Tab. Peut.* Blanda is north of Lavinium (*Guid.* 31-32 and *Geogr. Rav.* 4.32;5.2 have *Blandas* before *Laminium*). Lavinium (*Tab. Peut.* has Lavinium; *Guid.* 31-32;73-74 has Laminium; *Geogr. Rav.* 4.32, Laminium; 5.2, Lavimunium) appears to have been near the mouth of the Lao, but the exact location remains unknown.¹⁵ Cerelis (in *Tab. Peut.*; Cerellis in *Geogr. Rav.* 4.32;5.2 and *Guid.* 32) is commonly located at modern Cirella on toponomastic grounds. A mid Imperial (II-beg. III C A.C.) necropolis found nearby may point to a settlement/*statio*.¹⁶ Clampetia is mentioned in the *Geogr. Rav.* 5.2 and *Guid.* 32

bridge, i.e. the crossing itself, to be Ad Fluvium Sabatum.

⁸ Maddoli (1972) 168.

⁹ La Torre (1990) 179-181; Taliano-Grasso (1995) 16-18. For Aque Ange see below.

¹⁰ Taliano-Grasso (1995) 10 and n. 29 for Malvito, loc. Pauciuri (CAT. II, IGM F. 229, no. 6, map F, fig. 23a,b) that could be a *statio* on that road; also, Guzzo (1986b) 538. *Contra* Crogiez (1990) 420-21 who saw at Malvito, loc. Pauciuri, Caprasia, a *statio* on the Via Regio Capuam; if correct, this would see the course of the road shifted from the valley-plain of the Crati to the western foot-hills.

¹¹ Taliano-Grasso (1995) 16 and 25, no. 95 and 27, no 121.

¹² Guzzo (1981a) 123.

¹³ La Torre (1990b) 181.

¹⁴ See also most recently La Torre (1999) 130-139.

¹⁵ Crogiez (1990) 417-418; La Torre (1999) 115.

¹⁶ CAT. II, IGM F. 220, no. 11, map B; Kahrstedt (1959) 198-99, thought the place to have become a *municipium* by A.D. 183 when *Ceri(illis)* appears next to the name of a Praetorian soldier in

(Clampeia in *Tab.Peut.*), and on archaeological grounds may be located in the area of S. Lucido or Amantea.¹⁷ Tempsa is in *Guid.* 32 and *Geogr. Rav.* 4.32;5.2 (Temsä in *Tab.Peut.* and *Guid.* 74), and may refer to an inland location connecting the coastal settlement the trunk road.¹⁸ Aque Ange (*Tab.Peut.*) were probably at S. Eufemia Vetere.¹⁹

On the Ionian seaboard, the first station in Calabria was Ad Vicesimum located at Amendolara.²⁰ From Thurii to Croton three *stationes* are mentioned on the coastal road in *It.Ant.* 114. Roscianum (located at Rossano on toponomastic grounds), Paternum (located at Cariati, S. Maria, where there are Roman remains²¹) and Meto (at the mouth of the Neto).²² *Tab.Peut.* mentions a *statio* at Petelia (so do *Geogr.Rav.* 4.31-32 as Pelia and *Guid.* as Pellia), but this may have been situated along the coast rather than at the town itself.²³ Croton is marked as a *statio* in *Guid.* 31-32 (Crotona), *Geogr.Rav.* 4.31-32 (Crotona) and *Tab.Peut.* (Crontona). Cape Lacinium is most certainly Lacenium in *Tab.Peut.* and Facenium in *Guid.* 30-31 and 72 and Facenio in *Geogr.Rav.* 4.31-32.

Rome (*AEpigr* [1933] 24-27, no. 95). La Torre, ed. (1995) 76-77, has suggested that Pliny's *Portus Parthenius Phocensium* mentioned after Blanda (*N.H.* 3.72) be located at Cirella in view of the suitable anchorages in the area.

¹⁷ Crogiez (1990) 418-419; La Torre (1999) 136.

¹⁸ La Torre (1990b) 175-181.

¹⁹ Taliano-Grasso (1995) 18; CAT. II, IGM F. 241, no. 2, map N.

²⁰ *It.Ant.* 144 has Ad Vicesimum 20m.p. N of Thurii which is easily identified with Amendolara. For the finds see CAT. II, IGM F. 222, nos. 3-6, map. D, fig. 20.

²¹ CAT. II, IGM F. 231, no. 1, map I.

²² For all see Crogiez (1990) 413 and Taliano-Grasso (1994) 19-25.

²³ Crogiez (1990) 413.

CATALOGUES

The following CATALOGUES provide descriptions of the **archaeological remains from urban settlements** (Catalogue I), **archaeological remains from rural sites** (Catalogue II) and **Latin and Greek inscriptions** (Catalogue III) from northern Calabria dated from ca. 200 B.C. to A.D. 550/600.

The material in the catalogues is organised geographically from north to south according to the sequence of the relevant 1:100,000 sheets of the IGM (Istituto geografico militare) maps. The following sheets have been used: IGM F. 212; IGM F. 220; IGM F. 221; IGM F. 222; IGM F. 228; IGM F. 229; IGM F. 230; IGM F. 231; IGM F. 236; IGM F. 237; IGM F. 238; IGM F. 241; IGM F. 242; IGM F. 243.

All rural sites (Catalogue II) are indicated on topographical maps A-P (for key see fig. 2). The reference number on each map is the same as the number of the Catalogue entry to each IGM sheet.

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location
principal bibliography
date
measurements
description
previous occupation, if known

LEGEND (CAT. III):

location
principal bibliography
date
short description and measurements (if known)
text

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(Greek Inscriptions)

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CATALOGUE I

Archaeological Remains: Urban Settlements

IGM F. 220

1. **Tortora** (Blanda Iulia), Palecastro (Palestro), IGM F. 220, map B, fig. 14.

On the low hill (115m.a.s.l.) of Palecastro overlooking the right bank of the torrent Tortora some 800.00m. upstream from its confluence with the Noce.

La Torre (1991) 139-144; La Torre (1995) 14, 40-41, esp. 66-69 with figs; La Torre (1999) 155-162, no. 43.

Roman Republican/Imperial: late I C B.C. - 2/2 II C A.C. or early III A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence and building technique. Destroyed in earthquake. (La Torre [1991] 141).

Forum, shops, cryptoporticus, *Capitolium*? (temples 'A', 'B' and 'C').

Building technique: *opus quasi-reticulatum* and *incertum* (local limestone); brick and wooden columns, reused limestone blocks.

Squarish piazza (probably a forum), ca. 27.00x27.00m., surrounded on S side by vaulted cryptoporticus; on N and E sides by row of shops (in front of E row a portico with wooden columns).

On W side three aligned structures (orientation E-W); two (temples 'A' and 'B') face the forum, the third, 'C', incompletely preserved and reworked several times (possibly also faced the forum in first phase, but function incompletely understood). 'A' (4.10x5.10m. externally; *opus quasi-reticulatum* and *incertum*) had steps up to podium; cella and pronaos (brick columns); frontal aspect; beaten earth paving; 'B' (11.80x7.55m.); frontal aspect with steps; reddish plaster on external walls (*opus incertum*).

Previous occupation: Archaic material; Hellenistic (IV-III C B.C.) fortification encompassing ca. 5ha (ca. 1km. long wall with circular towers); part of wall probably restored in Roman period: eastern portion in conglomerate blocks with abundant use of mortar.

IGM F. 222

Cassano, Scavi Sibari (Thurii/Copia), Parco del Cavallo ('PdC'), IGM F. 222, map E, fig. 7.

On level ground in the Plain of the Crati, ca. 300m. N of the present course of the river, just off to the right of S.S.106 bis Jonica leaving the town of Sibari; part of archaeological

complex Scavi di Sibari.

Several building complexes cover an area of ca. 165.00(N-S)x180.00m.(E-W).

PUBLIC BUILDINGS

1. Semi-circular Structure/Theatre

Zanotti-Bianco (1960) 7-20; Zancani Montuoro (1961) 8-63; Foti (1966) 89-103; *Sibari* I (1969) 14-18; *Sibari* II (1970) 367-373; 490-493; 556-589; *Sibari* III (1972) 272-276; 279-285; 290; *Sibari* IV (1974) 161-166; *Sibari* V (1988-89) 141-147; Guzzo (1973) 289-290; Fuchs (1987) 56; Courtois (1989) 242-243; Paoletti (1993) 392-404, 408-412.

Phase I: semicircular structure: Roman Republican to Imperial: late I C B.C. - mid I C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic, architectural and epigraphic evidence (brick stamps).

Phase II: theatre: Roman Imperial (Early to Late): mid I C A.C. - V/VI C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic and architectural evidence.

Semicircular structure, fig. 10a,b :

Overall measurements: diam. of semicircular wall: 62.35m.; distance between inner curtain of semicircular wall and geometric centre of column bases in concentric colonnade: 5.53m.; area enclosed within rectangular perimeter wall: ca. 63.00m.(E-W)x33.50m.(N-S).

Consisted of semicircular wall, open on S side; concentric inner colonnade, on top of solid conglomerate foundation wall, had monolithic local limestone columns with simple *scotia* and *torus* bases and Ionic capitals; twelve variously preserved columns are still *in situ*, but sixteen and sometimes eighteen have been conjectured (*Sibari* I [1969] 14; *Sibari* II [1970] 562); possibly external colonnade along S side of building. Two columns from inner colonnade, on either side of central axis, had brick-made pilasters abutted to each; one buttress - 'K' - may have belonged in this phase. (*Sibari* II [1970] 557, fig. 1; *Sibari* IV [1974] 161 and figs. 152-153). Possibly also an upper colonnade: fragments of column shafts with smaller diameter found in mixed fill: Zancani Montuoro (1961) 34; Giuliani (1969) 14-15.

Semicircular wall constructed of four courses of carefully squared limestone blocks, smooth inside and rusticated outside face: *Sibari* III (1972) 281 and fig. 293 (some red tufa: Paoletti (1993) fig. 16) (many reused) on top of solidly built mortared rubble foundation wall (*Sibari* IV [1974] 281 and fig. 293); blocks set without mortar and held in place with iron clamps; many blocks recut to length of ca. 0.295m., i.e. ca. one Roman foot (*Sibari* II [1970] 560); blocks appear reinforced with metal clamps or braces (Giuliani [1969] 14-16 and figs. 11, 13); could also be roof-reinforcements.

Above ashlar construction, *opus quasi-reticulatum* on outer side, *opus reticulatum* on inner side; per 1.00m. of wall 9-11 reticulate elements. Traces of coarse whitish and red

plaster found in fill; some fragments with double painted surface; also, graffiti, but could belong to later building (*AttiMGrecia* n.s. 4 [1961] 40-41; *AttiMGrecia* [1960] 13-14, 18).

Surrounded on three sides by thin and low perimeter wall (N, E and W) (no measurements) (*Sibari* II [1970] 563-565; *Sibari* IV [1974] 162); uneven in construction and character: NW section built of smaller reticulate blocks than the rest; width varies and line of extension diverges slightly from straight; NE section (most extensively preserved) built of trichrome reticulate elements (reddish brick, blackish limestone, and whitish sandstone); SE section poorly preserved, appears separated from NE section by wide (ca. 4.00m.) passage; SW section appears rebuilt many times; original design is lost. (*Sibari* III [1972] 279-283); overall, per 1.00m. of wall, 9-11 reticulate blocks (*Sibari* IV [1974] 162; Arslan [1970] 563-565).

Entrance(s) unclear; a blocked-up opening in eastern perimeter wall in northern part; correspondingly, may have been an opening in semi-circular wall: small buttress ('K' on plan in Arslan (1970) fig. 1) south of *lacuna* (ca. 2.50m. wide) in eastern section of wall has been tentatively interpreted as reinforcement near opening in wall-mass (*Sibari* IV [1974] 163, 165, figs. 151, 153; Arslan [1970] 564, fig. 5, but uncommitted about entrances, pp. 566-567).

Theatre, figs. 10a,b:

Overall measurements: circum. of *cavea*: 62.35m. E-W; distance of first row of seats from front wall of *pulpitum*: 8.75m.; median width of walls: 0.70-0.74m.

Other measurements: length of stage building: 37.35m.; width: 14.00m.; diam. of *orchestra*: 22.95m.

Cavea in part supported by semicircular perimeter wall and in part by building debris and miscellaneous material possibly brought from elsewhere; paved *orchestra*; two symmetrical *aditus* in communication with space below the *cavea*; stage building with three semicircular niches.

Cavea: first five rows of seats are preserved: built of coarse cemented rubble set directly on top of fill without foundation; probably faced with marble revetments; no traces of steps leading up the *cavea*. In front, *balteus* with marble uprights; remainder of seating: possibly in wood, supported in part by fill. Geometric centre of *cavea* in the middle of back wall of central niche. Semicircular curtain wall reinforced by several buttresses, unequally spaced; central buttress supported double ramp (Arslan [1970] fig. 1 'A'-T', 'L'); buttress 'A' and corresponding section of back wall that cancelled vaulted discharge outlet belong to second phase. (Arslan [1970] 582-83 and fig. 12).

Orchestra: paved with marble plaques (possibly in second phase); there may have been two superimposed pavings. (Arslan [1970] 575, 586).

Aditus: (vaulted) gave access to *orchestra*, and via symmetrical passages, to the space underneath the *cavea* (possibly in first phase). (Arslan [1970] 576, 578).

Stage building: solidly built on strong foundation walls in *opus caementicium* (ca. 0.70-0.74m. thick); articulated with three semicircular niches of slightly unequal proportions and unequal distance between each; just W of central niche, buttress (preserved is foundation: 1.44x1.35m.) supported back wall; niches paved with polychrome marble *opus sectile* - red, *giallo antico*, white, beige (Giuliani [1969] 16); columns along the chords: rested directly on floor level rather than on parapet wall (Arslan *et. al.* [1969-70] 49; Arslan [1970] 574-75, believed the paving and columns belonged to second phase).

Post scaenium had lateral entrances, enlarged in later period; back entrance later addition, flanked by statues (bases found *in situ*). Steps down from terrace to street level also later addition; central niche and drain also later modification. (Arslan [1970] 587; *Sibari* II [1970] 113, no. 8507 [fragment of ARS A rim]; *Sibari* I [1969] 50).

Pulpitum probably of wood, rested on series of reused Doric column shafts and *opus incertum* faced ledges; no trench for curtain (Arslan [1970] 586; Courtois [1989] 243); could have had *siparia* (suspended from roof above the stage) which would have left no traces: cf. Frézouls (1982) 382; Bieber (1961) 179-180; Neppi Modona (1961) 188-190 and 194-199; Courtois (1989) 288-290; steps down to *versurae* on either side.

Pro scaenium (in *opus incertum* could belong to second phase (Arslan [1970] 577); articulated with two shallow rectangular niches (0.69m. wide) faced with marble revetments; later shortened to 0.50m. each and faced with new marble revetments.

Low retaining wall in *opus quasi-reticulatum* along S side of theatre, ca. 0.90-1.00m. high, built directly on top of street-paving (*Sibari* II [1970] 566; *Sibari* V [1988-89] 141).

Building technique: *opus caementicium* for foundations; *opus incertum* facing: reused blocks of sandstone, limestone, marble and brick; binding mortar abundant; often partially covers blocks and is smoothed over them. Binding brick courses and vertical brick quoins; putlog holes visible on inside back wall of *cavea*. Same building technique utilised for repairs, but more irregular. Brick relieving arch in western section of *cavea* wall. Walls probably plastered. Buttresses faced with brick and/or *opus incertum*. (Arslan [1970] 575-577, 583).

2. 'Rectangular Structure' ('*Edificio Rettangolare*') (west of theatre), fig. 7.

Sibari II (1970) 394-97; *Sibari* III (1972) 270-71; *Sibari* IV (1974) 179-183; *Sibari* V (1988-89) 13-28.

Roman Imperial: mid I C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic and architectural evidence: relationship with theatre and streets; building technique (*Sibari* II [1970] 397; *Sibari* V [1988-89] 73).

Overall measurements: principal room (internally) N-S: 12.10m. (E end), 11.85m. (W end); E-W: 9.15m. (N-S without apse: 9.40m.); corridor at S end: 3.75m.(N-S)x10.00m. (E-W); internal diam. of apse: 2.50m.; perimeter wall: S side E-W length 12.00m., W side N-S length 22.85m., N side E-W length 10.90m.; width of space enclosed by perimeter wall: S side 1.40m., W side 0.80m., N side 2.10m.

Separated from theatre by narrow tapering alley (N-S) (2.45m. wide at S end, 2.90m. at N; 22.00m. long); at N end cross-wall blocked the passage at later date; step at S end accommodated difference in level between E-W street and alley. (*Sibari* II [1970] 394-95).

Main room with door in S wall, 4.40m. wide (brownish limestone threshold; subsequently blocked) preceded by narrow corridor along S end with entrance at E end; traces of uneven whitish pavement found inside main room. Semicircular inscribed apse at N end of main room; paved with pebble-stones.

Three equidistant column bases (N-S), ca. 1.50m. E of W wall in main room (bases preserved *in situ*); distance between two extreme bases: 6.00m.; bases reused from earlier structure (Archaic: *anathyrosis*) (*Sibari* V [1988-89] 28). Likely, corresponding row on opposite side, but no conclusive evidence found.

Floor in main room rebuilt several times; on top, later walls: 'T' form; many pieces of veined pink and white marble revetments in fill inside building. (*Sibari* IV [1974] 181-183).

Perimeter wall (*opus quasi-reticulatum*) surrounded structure on S, W and N sides creating a narrow terrace above street level accessible at NE end from narrow alley (6NW on original plan) (threshold *in situ* and two steps down to alley), and on W side near SW corner via two double steps (probably added later). (*Sibari* II [1970] 396; *Sibari* III [1972] 270).

3. **Bath complex, ('settore sud-ovest')**, fig. 11; SW of theatre, south of E-W *plateia*. Rainey, Lerici, eds. (1967) 279, figs. 68, 122, pls. 12b, 16f, 17f, map G (Scavo D-1962); *Sibari* II (1970) 400-405; *Sibari* IV (1974) 171-179; Guzzo (1981b) 23, pl. 2b.

Rooms '1-4SW' (see fig. 7): Roman Imperial: phase I: late I C B.C./early I C A.C.; phase II: 2/2 I C A.C. - late Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence (*Sibari* II [1970] 403, phase I may not be associated with architecture).

Paved court and associated structures: Roman Imperial: mid I C A.C.; basin in NE corner of paved court: post I C A.C. (*Sibari* IV [1974] 176).

Overall dimensions: total estimated area (from Guzzo [1981b] pl. 2b): ca. 1771.00sq. m.

Large complex, partially excavated, consisted of several interconnected units: two heated vaulted rooms, open court and portico (composite capitals); several other spaces whose function is not clear at present. Corridor (3.00m. wide, paved with whitish beaten earth; continuation of N-S *plateia* (*infra* no.8)) separates main portion of baths from cluster of rooms to the E ('1-4SW' on original plan, *Sibari* IV [1974] fig. 150).

Paved court: *opus spicatum* paving; sections robbed in antiquity; internally subdivided by later walls superimposed on court pavement; in E part, court pavement directly superimposed on underlying remains of, by then defunct, N-S street pavement.

Basin: paved with large flagstones (cement imprints preserved) constructed in NE corner of court on top of *opus spicatum* (6.50x5.40m.); underneath paving two parallel drains with westward inclination made of cemented flat tiles and placed along N and S walls of basin (N drain 0.50m. wide; S, 0.40m.).

Two other drains with similar type of construction found in E section of court; all emptied into large W drain of N-S street: this at some later date fell out of use. (*Sibari* IV [1974] 171-177).

To SW three rooms; E wall in *opus reticulatum mixtum* (later wall [undated], of roughly squared field stones with faces flush, but not carefully coursed and set in crumbly mortar sitting on top of wall in *o. ret.mixt.*); strengthened at intervals with brick piers which extend through the wall; piers bedded on pairs of ashlar tufa blocks and all in foundation trench (concrete); put log holes visible in places; terracotta floor-tile of type used for bridging piers in the hypocaust system; E wall reinforced with three equidistant buttresses, apparently added later (*Sibari* IV [1974] 172); entrance N of S buttress.

Previous occupation: Classical Greek and Hellenistic (street).

Spaces 1-4SW: E of continuation of N-S street; function: likely storage for building material; apse S of the unit (Guzzo [1981b] pl. 2b).

Previous occupation: Hellenistic (unspecified) (pottery in stratified context). (*Sibari* II [1970] 401).

4. Piazza with fountains, ('Settore Sud', 'Saggio Ia', 'Saggio Fehlmann 3'), fig. 7; across from the theatre, across E-W *plateia*.

Sibari II (1970) 431-434; *Sibari* III (1972) 305-309; *Sibari* IV (1974) 191-194; *Sibari* V (1988-89) 73-87.

Hellenistic - Roman: III C B.C.- late Roman; (Archaic structures below); basis for dating: ceramic evidence. (*Sibari* III [1972] 305-309; *Sibari* IV [1974] 191-194; *Sibari* V [1988-

89] 73-87).

Overall dimensions: ca. 56.00(E-W)x23.00(N-S)m.

The piazza: open area bordered on S side by vaulted portico in brick (*Sibari* II [1970] 432); repaved several times with mortar of varying quality, partially preserved (first pavement: mid Hellenistic; two subsequent: through late Roman). On W side, two N-S walls 0.60m. marked its W edge; walls poorly preserved, ca. 8.00-5.00m. long; to the S, and almost aligned, square structure, well built of rectangular limestone blocks, perhaps a statue base (*Sibari* II [1970] 431).

Fountains: Two circular fountains near NE and NW corners of piazza: symmetrical to central axis of portico in brick.

West fountain (diam. 4.70m.); coated with hydraulic plaster; slightly convex bottom, (diam. 3.50m.); surrounded by row of limestone blocks, some *in situ*; imprint in floor, probably of hand-wash basin; step (limestone), also coated with hydraulic plaster up from E-W *plateia*. Lead-pipe conveyed water into fountain. On W side, U-shaped discharge drain (N-S direction) coated with hydraulic plaster (preserved length: 1.70m.). (*Sibari* II [1970] 432-433).

East fountain (max. preserved diam. ca. 5.00m.) similar in design; surrounding border missing. Basin (diam. 3.80m.) with flat bottom at S end and inclined toward N; in centre circular (diam. 1.30m.) element, likely hand-wash basin. On N side of fountain a rectangular basin, surrounded by row of limestone blocks and corner-stones, and lined with mortar; on lower level than bottom of basin inside fountain. Two basins connected by channel lined with mortar. No remains of water-supply and discharge have been found.

DOMESTIC QUARTER

5. North-West and North-East complex (behind the theatre), fig 7.

Sibari I (1969) 97-138; *Sibari* III (1972) 277-279, 285-290; *Sibari* IV (1974) 167-171; Guzzo (1981b) 24 and pl. 1a; *Sibari* V (1988-89) 290-295; Faedo (1993) 435-449.

Roman Imperial (and possibly late Republican): I C A.C.- mid VI C A.C.; basis for dating: stylistic (mosaic, painted plaster, architectural remains) and ceramic evidence. (Faedo [1993] 438 for mosaics).

At least two houses occupied the *insula* between the first *stenopos* - immediately behind the semicircular building/theatre - and the second *stenopos*, both N of the main E-W *plateia*; partially excavated.

Domus I (figs. 7 and 13): main entrance from sidewalk of N-S *plateia*. Organised around

large central space (peristyle in Guzzo [1981b] 24). Two large representational rooms opened off central space on N and S sides. W of this series of smaller rooms, organised around smaller central space (*atrium* in Guzzo [1981b] 24); in SW section, work-rooms. (Faedo [1993] 436; *Sibari* V [1988-89] 295).

Underwent rebuilding and redecorating, especially in W and SW sections; much reused material (stone, tile, ashlar blocks) employed in these sections (*Sibari* V [1988-89] 295); somewhat more orderly wall construction noted in spaces around peristyle; many outside walls faced with *opus reticulatum*.

Overall dimensions: (approx.): 65.00(E-W)x35.00(N-S)m. (Guzzo [1981b] 24, *contra, ibid.* pl. 1a whose scale is incorrect).

Other dimensions: peristyle: ca. 15.00(E-W)x10.00(N-S)m.

SW section, (rooms 4NW, 9NW, 11NW, 12NW in *Sibari* IV [1974] fig. 150): immediately N of defunct E-W *stenopos* series of rooms with likely industrial function (*Sibari* III [1972] 276-279; *Sibari* IV [1974] 171).

'4aNW' (6.30x5.80m.) opened though off-centre door, 2.20m. wide, off pavement of N-S *plateia*.

'9NW'(7.30x6.40m.), subdivided into three parts ('a,b,c'); '9b' has curving E wall built of bricks. Conical mill-stone of volcanic origin tipped onto side in SE corner; no floor and entrances found (*Sibari* III [1972] 277).

'11NW', wedge-shaped, 8.30m. long, with W wall 3.20m., and E wall, 2.80 m long; opened N through two openings, into '12bNW' (1.00m. wide) and '12aNW' (1.60m. wide, secondary construction).

Two basins in SW corner, carefully plastered. Larger basin (1.00x0.90 m.), smaller, adjacent, (0.60x0.30m.) at 0.30m. below edge of larger basin. Lead pipe along W wall of room supplied water to basins. Overflow channel ran across top of division wall between basins (*Sibari* III [1972] fig. 287). Basins emptied by way of lead pipes.

In centre of room mortared river-stone rectangular foundation (1.60x1.30 m.) with extension at lower level toward E. Similar structure in NW corner of room, and between it and N wall, two reused fragments of fluted columns set in upright position (*Sibari* III [1972] fig. 286). Space tentatively interpreted as dye-working shop. (*Sibari* III [1972] 279).

Peristyle incompletely known; several column bases remain preserved from south, and one from north porch; cistern and well in NW corner; fragment of sima in the shape of a lion's head datable to I C A.C. (Guzzo [1981b] 24).

Rooms N of peristyle:

'A' (*triclinium* [Guzzo {1981b} 24] or *tablinum* [Faedo {1993} 445]) had polychrome

geometric *opus sectile* pavement in middle of floor surrounded on three sides by cement floor; materials in *opus sectile*: white, grey and polychrome marbles and red limestone combined in intricate pattern (Faedo [1993] 446-47); restored in N-E corner without regard for original design. Painted plaster on walls; four layers; fourth layer repeats with slight changes design of third, coloration is identical: green, white, red and yellow pigments; design: rectangular panels inscribed with diagonal yellow lozenges inside which were green circles (Faedo [1993] 446-47).

'B' to the east of 'A'; geometric black-and-white mosaic made up of alternating hexagons and octagons with inscribed polychrome vegetal motifs (Faedo [1993] 447-49).

Rooms S of peristyle ('1-3a,bNE', '12-13NW', '11NE' in *Sibari* IV [1974] fig. 150; "saggio 5" in *Sibari* I [1969] fig. 83):

Two richly decorated rooms with mosaics and frescoes ('13NE' and '2NE').

'13NW' (4.10x5.95m.), *cubiculum*, consisted of narrow ante-room (4.10x2.00m.) and main space paved with mosaic and decorated with painted plaster (three layers) and painted ceiling plaster. '13NW' communicated with '12NW' through opening in NW corner (0.90m. wide): appear to form a unit. Entrance to '12NW' from peristyle 1.50m. wide. MOSAIC: geometric, black-and-white, made up of black orthogonal swastika designs enclosing lozenges between peltas; each lozenge had an inscribed quatrefoil with red dots at tips.

PAINTED PLASTER (walls): three layers; uppermost, undecorated; second layer best seen on S wall, consisted of polychrome (brownish, green and yellow) design on white background consisting of vegetal motifs set within geometric framework; this layer in essence repeated design from bottom layer, best documented on W wall.

PAINTED PLASTER (ceiling): polychrome vegetal design (brownish, green on white). (*Sibari* I [1969] 115 and pl. Ia; Faedo [1993] 439-42).

'11NE': door, in central position, in N wall 1.35m. wide; another, into '2NE', 1.30m. wide, later blocked with brick; traces of painted plaster on walls. (*Sibari* IV [1974] 169).

'2NE' (*triclinium*, 8.50x11.50m.). N wall pierced by three doors, central 3.40m. wide, and two narrower side doors (E, 1.25m.; W, secondary 0.80m.). White marble threshold, for double door, in central door; threshold (white marble) of E side door partially preserved. W and S walls are in *opus quasi-reticulatum* and are covered with four layers of plaster (three, painted); room paved with mosaic band which surrounded on three sides a rectangular field of rectangular paving stones (probably marble) whose imprints survive in foundation plaster (*Sibari* III [1972] fig. 301a). Total size of pavement: 7.60x4.70m.; tesserae, between 0.09-0.15m.; inner field paved with paving stones: 6.00x3.00m. In N portion of inner field (paving stones) remains of *emblema* (1.40x1.40m.) (later robbed out) made of marble chips.

MOSAIC border: black-and-white geometric mosaic consisting of double black border on

the outside and white guilloche with black border on the inside encircled a white field on which appeared black squares, four per group; these created white horizontal and vertical lozenges in the negative; in one corner where the design was disrupted, an oddly shaped black half star was inserted.

PAINTED PLASTER: third layer imitation of marble revetments in yellow veined with red (Faedo [1993] 445).

Opening in S wall of room accommodated opening of circular-shaped kiln installed in space '4NE' to the S. (*Sibari* III [1972] 285-287).

Domus II E of Domus I; partially excavated. Comprised rooms '5NE', '6a-bNE', '8NE', '14-17NE' (in *Sibari* IV [1974] fig. 150) and several unnumbered spaces N of them.

Uncovered part appears to be S section of the house consisting of several rooms (one with centrally located water-basin), located S of porticoed court (excavated only S portion).

Overall dimensions: (approx.): 26.00(E-W)x15.00(N-S)m.

'8NE' (E-W: 17.40m.): most likely S portico of court; six pilaster bases (mortared, with grey sandstone base-stones), 2.20m. apart, set in row (E-W). (*Sibari* IV [1974] 169).

'14NE' (7.60x7.00m.): probable focus for several rooms which surrounded it; basin, slightly off-centre, 3.40x3.80m.; floor paved with greyish hydraulic plaster into which were set whitish marble plaques (rhomboid and rectangular) creating simple asymmetric decorative pattern. Water-channel of ceramic pipes conducted water into basin (preserved length: 1.40m.); continuation of this, with identical alignment, preserved in area of court; 'U' shaped conduit made of cemented broken tiles (probably open to the sky) served as outlet; slope toward S.

'15NE' (3.60 (N-S)x2.40 (E-W)m.) side room; filled with broken roof tiles and brick. (*Sibari* III [1972] 290).

6. Domestic Quarter North, ('Area '70 Nord' in *Sibari* III [1972], N of the main E-W street; fig. 7.

Sibari III (1972) 290-303; *Sibari* IV (1974) fig. 150; Faedo (1993) 433.

Roman Imperial: I C A.C. - mid VI C A.C. (but also some earlier walls); basis for dating: ceramic and numismatic evidence: "*crollo*" stratum except in few places stratified.

Several domestic units; partially excavated area E of semicircular/theatre building and N of E-W *plateia*. Description is from W to E. (Division into house units is primarily mine, based on *Sibari* III [1972] 290-303 and Faedo [1993] fig. 1).

Unit '21-29N': partially excavated.

Entrance through long corridor '25aN' (2.00m. wide) off sidewalk of E-W street; at N end

of corridor rectangular basin (3.40x2.80m.) with plastered walls and floor; on N side, an opening (0.30m. wide) for intake of water; drained on opposite S side; below floor-plaster, *opus spicatum* base; walls of mortared fragments of brick and river stones.

'28N' and '29N' had walls decorated with painted plaster with design of crossing lines; also plastered, '22N' and '24N', much of which was found collapsed inside rooms.

'21N', '23N' and '26N' opened directly off street: probably shops. (*Sibari* III [1972] 290-293).

Unit '14-16N', '19-20bN' ('17-18N' may belong):

Organised probably around '15N'; basin in middle; only two sides partially preserved: interior walls plastered in red.

'20a-bN', accessible from '15N', divided by wooden partition, into two parts of similar dimensions (ca. 4.30x3.20m.); E wall of '20aN' and '20bN' up to door-way in '20bN' has peculiar ridge that runs along the top, 0.05m. high and 0.20m. wide.

PLASTER: all four walls of '20bN' decorated with two layers of painted plaster; late IV Pompeian style; more recent layer, best preserved on west wall, had the decoration divided into two zones: bottom zone featured yellow and green floral motifs shaped as bunches of leaves; above that were frames made up of brownish-red lines and tendrils on white surface; in NW corner where it is preserved, bottom layer of plaster had red vertical bands on white surface (Faedo [1993] 433).

'14N' flanked '15N' on E side, and possibly in communication with it, but certainly opened directly off street sidewalk: probably shop.

'18N': close stratigraphic sequence between mixed Roman Imperial material and associated architecture, and late Hellenistic and Republican material associated with (N-S) feature (threshold and wall) located just below floor level of later structure (*Sibari* III [1972] 293).

Unit '38-43N':

Appears organised around central space '40N', although its connection with '38N' to the S was not ascertained. Door of '38N' off street, blocked at later date; in NW section of '38N' rectangular mortared surface (1.30x1.20m.).

'40N' contained basin (1.40m. on the side, internally); built of reused material (Doric capital among it); water supply from N by way of channel of analogous construction as drain in '39N'. (*Sibari* III [1972] 300, 302).

7. Domestic Quarter South, ('Settore Sud-Est', 'Area '70' and 'Area '70S') in *Sibari* II (1970) and *Sibari* III (1972), E of the piazza, S of the main E-W street; fig. 7.

Sibari II (1970) 435-440, 476-481; *Sibari* III (1972) 303-305; *Sibari* IV (1974) 189-191, 194-196; Faedo (1993) 434-435.

Roman Republican and Imperial: I C B.C. - IV C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic and numismatic evidence.

Several units, but mutual relationship between spaces and function incompletely understood: in most cases excavation has not reached floor levels; follow descriptions of several spaces:

'6S' and '9S' open off E-W *plateia*: probably shops; in communication with each other.

STRATIGRAPHY in '8S' and '10S': late Hellenistic material appears associated with (N-S) wall built of large brownish limestone blocks which continues higher up in mortared coarse rubble, possibly of post-Domitianic date; late Hellenistic wall appears to have continued in use during early Imperial period (Arretine and TWW (*Sibari* II [1970] 438-40, 457-63, nos. 467-489 [Imperial], 465, nos. 502-505 [late Hell. *unguentarium*, end III-II C B.C.]; below late Hellenistic level was level characterised by Hellenistic BG (p. 439). Similar situation in '10S' (*Sibari* II [1970] 439).

'15S': large central space probably open to sky.

'31S' apsidal in form.

'76S': (internally, N-S 4.40m., E-W 4.60m.); STRATIGRAPHY: *tubuli* or drainage-pipes (U profile, median width: 0.20m.) in all walls (irregular number) but no *suspensurae*; an opening, subsequently blocked, in W wall to '77S'; connection with spaces N of it remains unclear; pipes do not communicate, and are not connected to common system: they stop ca. 0.30m. above floor level.

Underneath pavement-level are remains of N-S wall, 4.20m. long, and built of unmortared boulders; associated material is Hellenistic (unspecified). (*Sibari* IV [1974] 189-191).

?Unit '51-58S': irregular layout dominated by curve of apse of '57S' which appears to be later modification; communication between '57S' and '58S' by way of two openings: W, 1.60m. wide, E, 1.00m. wide, subsequently blocked. STRATIGRAPHY: '58S' paved (beaten earth) at same level as '57S'; paving interrupted by wall N-S and E-W; walls razed at level of pavement which partially covered N-S wall; traces of mosaic pavement at same level S of W door (black, white and red tesserae); very poorly preserved (*Sibari* IV [1974] fig. 191); water channel parallel with N-S wall ('U'-shaped, 0.20m. high, N-slope) under mosaic floor made with mortared pebbles; continued under floor of '57S'. Walls made of large mortared stone; associated pottery as late as late Roman.

At lower level in S portion of '58S' (S of beaten earth paving), and slightly off axis, rectangular space (8.50x1.20m.) enclosed with walls of mortared rubble with most recent

associated material dated to I C B.C.; still lower, dry wall made of brownish limestone blocks with associated mid Hellenistic material (first half of the third century B.C.). (*Sibari* IV [1974] 194-196).

Mortar used for binding is whitish, different from the kind used elsewhere in this area; frequently, brick construction is used as wall reinforcement; walls of '57S' and '58S' made of cemented blocks of rubble (large pieces) (*Sibari* II [1970] 481; *Sibari* IV [1974] 195).

'80S': apsed space with mortar pavement; possibly, entrance from S. (*Sibari* III [1972] 304-305).

STREETS

8. Plateia N-S, fig. 7.

Sibari II (1970) 396; *Sibari* III (1972) 265-271; Guzzo (1973) 291; *Sibari* IV (1974) 183-189; *Sibari* V (1988-89) 295-302.

Classical Greek - Late Roman: end V C/1/2 IV C B.C. - early VI C A.C.

Flanked RECTANGULAR STRUCTURE (*supra* no. 2), the latter partially superimposed and THEATRE (*supra* no. 1) on W side; prior to construction of BATHS (*supra* no. 3) S of E-W *plateia* (*infra* no. 10) crossed this latter and continued southward. Measurements: median width: 13.00m.; median width of drains: 1.00m.; width of sidewalks: ca. 7.00m.

Gentle S slope; slight deviation in orientation to W; paved with flagstones; deep drains along sides, carefully paved and covered at intersection with E-W *plateia* (*infra* no. 10): reused architectural material (e.g. column drums, fr. of architrave) used as cover; W limit of W drain lined with cemented reused architectural material of varying kind. Street surface gently convex with central row of flagstones set on the side; surface executed in two different ways: with flagstones set on the side departing E and W of central row hence creating fields within which were set flagstones horizontally; randomly placed stones horizontally without frames. (*Sibari* IV [1974] 184). Paving robbed in places; accumulations of building debris; chronology insecure. (e.g. *Sibari* III [1972] 266).

Flanked by sidewalks; these at least partially articulated by porticoes; e.g.: portico along W side of street, across from 'rectangular structure', ca. 2.00m. from W margin of drain (foundations of mortared pebbles and rubble, ca. 30.00m. long); behind it, beginning of structure built predominantly of reused material (initial state of excavation); similar portico N and S of E-W minor street (*stenopos*, *infra* no. 9), along E side of N-S *plateia*: pavement bordered variably by row of flagstones set on side and mortared pebble stones, behind which was a row of column bases set on top of foundation of cemented pebble stones: three were found *in situ*, 3.20m. apart (two were reused capitals, one a square

block); others appear on same axis, but have different intercolumniation (from 3.00 to 4.40m. apart); approx. length of portico: 35.00m.; a well N of intersection with minor E-W street. (*Sibari* III [1972] 266, 269-270). Later walls (reused material, flimsy construction) immediately N of minor E-W street: relationship with domus I to the E not clear. Beyond this anomaly, in front of entrance to domus I (*supra* no. 5), portico (and some later walls) continues on virtually same axis as one just described (slight deviation): five bases (sandstone); varying sizes and intercolumniations: the smallest, 0.50x0.65m. - the largest, 0.60x0.90m.; distances between 2.00-2.80m. Further N similar alignment of bases (limestone) for 15.80m.; partially excavated. (*Sibari* V [1988-89] 300).

9. Secondary streets

Stenopos I:

34.60m. N of crossroad with *plateia* E-W, E of *plateia* N-S; drains W; paving - preserved for 14.60m. from E limit of N-S *plateia* - feeds into paving of the latter. (*Sibari* III [1972] 269). Street originally continued eastward, but later built over with series of spaces ('3NW', '8NW', '10NW'); in SE corner of '3NW', lime work-area (1.60x1.30m.). '8NW' (ca. 11.50x5.10m.): on axis with '3NW'; contained cistern (externally: 3.40x2.30m.) lined with hydraulic plaster; cistern: opening in NE corner (0.60m. wide); drain (noted in '3NW') issued from cistern. '3NW', '8NW' and '10NW' have common N and S walls; N wall built of cemented reused building material and rubble; S wall in *opus quasi-reticulatum*; chronology of spaces not clear (*Sibari* III [1972] 272-277).

Stenopos II:

Across from *stenopos* I; partially excavated; 4.40m. wide; built on higher level than N-S *plateia*, but contemporary with it; 'V' profile. Traces of (later) structures intrude upon it (*Sibari* IV [1974] 186-187).

Stenopos III:

Ca. 36.80m. N of N edge of *stenopos* I; 3.20m. wide; excavated length 4.20m. from edge (internal) of E drain of N-S street; paved with flagstones, irregular in N half; slope from E to W; central drain into E drain of N-S street; lateral drain (N side) in semicircular tile, perhaps later; street in phase with N-S *plateia*; wheel protection slabs at corners. (*Sibari* V [1988-89] 302).

Stenopos IV:

partially excavated; ca. 39.00m. N of N edge of *stenopos* III; ca. 3.40m. wide (distance between wheel protectors); central drain (slopes W) set in flagstone paving which is limited to N side while S side paved with brownish cement pavement (perhaps later). (*Sibari* V [1988-89] 302-303).

10. **Plateia E-W**, fig. 7.

Sibari II (1970) 490-493; *Sibari* III (1972) 266, 302-303; Guzzo (1973) 291; *Sibari* IV (1974) 175-177.

Classical Greek - Late Roman: end V C B.C./1/2 IV C B.C. - VI C A.C.

Along S side of THEATRE (*supra* no. 1), extended E through 'PdC', 'PS' and 'CB'.
Median width: 6.50m.

Paved with flagstones; paving shows traces of multiple repairs with strong mortar mixed with brick fragments; same material used for other interventions, e.g. blocking of outlet of N-S drain along N-S secondary street (*infra* no. 11); surface varies from convex to concave: associated are drains which shift from sides to centre depending on slope of the surface. Drains on either side of street from E excavated end to the point of intersection with secondary N-S street (*stenopos*, *infra* no. 11) open to the sky; here, surface is convex. From the intersection to the point flush with west fountain at the PIAZZA (*supra* no.4), drain is in centre of street while still remaining uncovered; along this stretch surface profile changes to 'V'. (*Sibari* II [1970] 491).

Along both sides raised pavement constructed of rectangular bricks laid in units and separated by limestone blocks. Average width of N pavement: 3.40m. S pavement varies between 3.20-4.00m. in width. SW excavated end of street appears to be bordered by portico that belonged to the BATHS (*supra* no.3).

Two rectangular fountains built on top of street pavement in domestic quarter, 29.00m. apart. Both have hydraulic-mortar pavements and were built of limestone blocks. Better preserved one (on N side) had outlet (ceramic pipe) in NE corner and traces of plaster on side walls; water supply may have been provided by ceramic pipe visible in section of sidewalk W of fountain. (*Sibari* II [1970] 493).

11. **Secondary street (stenopos)**: N-S, off E-W *plateia*, W of domestic quarter S (*supra* no. 7).

Overall measurements: max. uncovered length: 20.00m. (from margin of S sidewalk of E-W street); width: 2.60-2.90m.; width of sidewalks: 2.00m. (N end) - 2.20m. (S end). Paved with flagstones; robbed in places; convex surface; lateral open-air drain-channels; raised sidewalks (sandstone blocks) flanked the sides: E sidewalk continued in use in Roman times; W eliminated by Roman buildings; several interventions blocking drains (undated): drain connecting with main drain of E-W street blocked in late I C A.C. (dated by a coin of Domitian). (*Sibari* II [1970] 437-438).

Cassano, Scavi Sibari (Thurii/Copia), Prolungamento Strada (PS), IGM F. 222; map E,

fig. 8.

On axis with Parco del Cavallo (65.00m. E of 'PdC'). Excavated area: ca. 150.00 (E-W)x40.00 (N-S)m.

Sibari IV (1974) 303-322; *Sibari* V (1988-89) 331-366; Faedo (1993) 435, fig. 2.

Roman: I C. A.C.- VI C. A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic and numismatic evidence.

City-quarter consisting of several domestic and industrial units; two main streets cross at right angles.

DOMESTIC QUARTER

12. North side of E-W plateia (from W to E):

Several incompletely excavated units.

Unit '1-6N': Partially excavated; underwent restructuring: exact sequence and chronology unclear at present; probably extended N and W.

'1N'(partially excavated) ends in apse (later addition) (diam. ca. 2.00m.).

'4N' (partially excavated) E-W length 5.95m., decorated with black-and-white mosaic: geometric circular pattern; mosaic not aligned with S wall of room (dated between II-III C A.C.); few loose green and red tesserae found in the area. (*Sibari* IV [1974] 307-308).

Unit '7-11N': '9N', narrow corridor, opens onto pavement of E-W street; appears cut out of larger space, '11N'; '7N', '8N' and '10N', in communication with '11N' (7.00x6.80m.) before circular kiln (opening to N) (an accumulation of compacted clay mixed with pebble stones) built in them at later date.

Unit '12-20N', '24-26N', '28-29N':

Accessible from E (off N-S street); partially encroached on E-W street: total length on this side: 18.50m. (without '15N') Medium size house with two large spaces on south side and room with water-basin. Both S and E external walls not perfectly rectilinear: constructed with reused material (ashlar blocks, fragments of columns); traces of redesigning.

'15N'(15a,b) may have been shop with porch (15b); does not communicate with the rest of house; coin hoard (23 bronze coins) dated between end of IV C and beginning of V C A.C. inside: its precise association with room unknown since floor level not found.

'24N' (6.80x6.10m.): a basin set roughly in its centre; basin: (N side, 2.75m., E, 2.80m., S, 2.85m., W, 2.95m.) paved with hydraulic plaster; water-outlet through E wall near NE corner. '24N' originally had opening in E wall, 2.15m. wide, off pavement of N-S street. '28N' and '29N', E of '24N' added at later date; their E wall is irregular. '20bN' and '26N'

occupy part of street (E-W) reducing it to a narrow passageway (2.10-2.50m. wide); four squarish pilasters along E-W axis inside rooms may have originally belonged to the porticoed N sidewalk of street; S walls of '20bN' and '26N' built of reused material. (*Sibari* IV [1974] 304, 311-312).

Unit 'A-EN':

Partially excavated; several phases not clarified; outer continuous walls, (N-S on W side 12.15m. long; E-W on S side, 15.10m. long); remaining walls very irregular and damaged, with much reused material; solid mortar pavements.

'A': ca. 6.50m. E-W; two drainage channels cut into mortar pavement.

'B-C': largest space, perhaps originally undifferentiated; 'B' had mortar pavement with rows of circular indents visible, set E-W, and on average 1.20m. apart, that functioned as amphora-emplacements (ca. 80% of pottery found in the room belonged to *spatheia* amphorae); diameters of individual indents vary; several superimposed walls inside 'B' may be of later date; bench along S wall. 'C' had flagstones set on top of mortar pavement; channel cut into pavement (drain), 1.20m. long departs N.

'E': (10.20x4.80m.) W of above areas, appears to have been originally divided into two spaces of similar size; E wall, very irregular; S portion of 'E' preserved two layers of paving: the lower on same level as that in 'B' with associated late Republican ceramic material; ceramic well ring (diam. ca. 0.65m.) set on square surface (0.70m.) found inside room. (*Sibari* IV [1974] 312, 316, 318, 321).

Space '36N' (E of unit 'A-EN', not on plan): close stratigraphy from III-I C B.C. (and Imperial; also earlier: mid VII-VI C B.C., mid V-IV C B.C.). (*Sibari* V [1988-89] 357-66)

13. South side of E-W plateia: S of E-W street (fig. 292 in *Sibari* IV [1974] for 1972 excavations), had been investigated in 1973 and 1974; these findings have not been planned; descriptions of excavated buildings appear in *Sibari* V (1988-89) 343-350, but the summary is omitted here because of the difficulties that arise from the inability to precisely locate the findings without the plan.

STREETS

Primary streets:

14. Street E-W, (plateia):

Classical Greek - Late Roman (as at 'PdC' nos. 8-10 *supra*).

Overall measurements: max. excavated length 150.00m.; width: 6.40-6.10 m.

Paved with flagstones; repaired in places with mortar and crushed fragments of pottery;

profile convex from W to E for 62.00m., then changes to 'V' to end of excavated area. Along convex section, drained by two lateral channels; along 'V' section, central channel, sunk into street-paving served as collector for drains that empty into it at irregular intervals. Along sides ran raised sidewalks whose borders were built mostly with reused material; porticoed walk-way along N and S sides E of intersection with N-S street: support-intervals vary.

Several structures (parts of houses) intruded on the street (*supra*, '15bN', '25bN', '26N'). Other intrusions include limited patches of mortared rubble, tile and reused architectural pieces that cover drain outlets from buildings. (*Sibari* IV [1974] 303-304; *Sibari* V [1988-89] 338-342).

15. Street N-S (*plateia*):

Classical Greek - Late Roman (as no. 14 *supra*)

Overall measurements: N of crossroads with E-W street: ca. 43.60m. (from edge of N pavement); S of crossroads: ca. 15.50m. (calculated as above).

N portion: 5.30-6.60m. wide; concave profile with central drain; flagstone paving; slopes S; street edges marked by large boulders set on side; on W side traces of portico. Sidewalks along both sides: E sidewalk intact (ca. 2.50m. wide; N of *stenopos* E, 1.60m. wide); W sidewalk: parts of houses intrude ('25-26N', '28-29N'); otherwise 3.60-3.90m. wide; sidewalks not paved save sporadic mortar bits.

S section: only 3.20m. of the width of S section of street was uncovered; exaggerated concave profile with deep central drain; flagstone paving; E sidewalk: 2.30m. (N end)-2.50m. (S end) wide. Large mortared surface (abundant inclusions of pottery and tile) at N end where it meets E-W street; extended also over E sidewalk: probable connection with similar feature on S side of E-W street in connection with narrowing down of street surface. Coin hoard between mortared surface and underlying flagstone surface of street (coins: A.D. 117-160). (*Sibari* IV [1974] 304-306; *Sibari* V [1988-89] 331-333).

The crossroads, (E-W and N-S *plateiai*):

Square pilaster (1.50m. on the side, max. preserved height, 2.00m.) in *opus vittatum mixtum* and coated with hydraulic plaster in SE corner; not aligned with axis of either street; upright paving stone next to pilaster probably a curb-stone. Support for aqueduct.

Related to it, water conduit made of ovoid lead pipe (0.07-0.045m.) found *in situ* built along E wall of the building E of sidewalk of N section of N-S street; two discontinued sections: preserved lengths: 11.40m. and 7.00m.; at SE corner of pilaster, 1.30m. long ovoid conduit; this may have connected with round sandstone structure (exact purpose unknown, diam. 1.20m.), and rectangular basin (2.35x1.70m.) built of limestone uprights and coated with hydraulic plaster; basin aligned with E-W axis of E-W street. (*Sibari* IV

[1974] 306-307; *Sibari* V [1988-89] 333).

16. Secondary streets:

Stenopos W:

4.40m. wide; two brick and pebble pilasters mark the point where it meets main N-S street: wheel protectors; below flagstone paving, a drain, itself covered with flagstones: date of construction unknown. (*Sibari* V [1988-89] 333).

Stenopos E:

Across from *stenopos* E.; width 4.40m.; paved with flagstones; sidewalks: surfaces raised ca. 0.15-0.20m. above street pavement; 0.60m. wide (S), 0.90m. (N); built of identical material, in same manner as street pavement.

Cassano, Scavi Sibari (Thurii/Copia), Casa Bianca (CB), IGM F. 222, map E, fig 9.

On axis with Parco del Cavallo and Polungamento Strada, E of both and ca. 450.00m. E of the road SS. 106 bis Jonica; excavated area: ca. 70.00x55.00m.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS

Fortifications

Section of city-wall (cf. *infra* 'Incrocio' no. 27) and gate.

17. So-called 'Long Wall' ('Lungo Muro'):

Rainey, Lerici, eds. (1967) 59-64, 270-277, pl. 10,11,12; *Sibari* II (1970) 549; *Sibari* III (1972) 165, 189-192; *Sibari* IV (1974) 451; Guzzo (1973) 297; Guzzo (1981b) 22; Guzzo (1992) 27; Paoletti (1993) 424-430.

Roman Republican: II C B.C.; basis for dating: building technique and historical considerations.

Overall dimensions: excavated length: over 80.00m.; max. preserved height: 3.75m.; width: ashlar foundation course, ca. 2.25m., *opus caementicium* core, ca. 1.50m.

Other dimensions: field stones in *opus incertum*: 0.05-0.15m. long; ashlar blocks in foundation courses: 0.42-0.48m. high; 0.47-1.08m. long.

Building materials: ashlar tufa blocks for foundation courses; granitic stone for top socle course above foundation courses; roughly dressed fieldstones for *opus incertum* facing of superstructure (inner face); reused limestone and sandstone blocks and architectural members (outer face of superstructure).

Part of city-wall; SE end partially superimposed onto so-called '*area basolata*' (*infra* no. 19); SE end in ruin, but originally imbedded into gate (*infra* no. 18).

Opus caementicium core (pebble stones and rubble mixed with lime) set on top of three

(inner side) to four (outer side) courses of tufa blocks of uneven size (foundation courses; majority probably reused) set as stretchers; no clamps; outer ashlar foundation offset by ca. 0.60m.; inner foundation course offset by ca. 0.15m.; cement core facing: outer side faced with worked blocks of stone, limestone and sandstone (reused blocks, e.g. fluted sandstone column-fragments with remains of stucco, other architectural decorative members (some trapezoidal) with *anathyrosis* and quarry marks); mostly robbed out; inner facing: *opus incertum* approaching horizontal coursing (rectangular blocks predominantly), but also in places very irregular; mortar thickly applied; put-log holes visible in places on S face at ca. 1.00m. below preserved top of wall.

18. The gate ('Struttura Est'):

Sibari III (1972) 171, 179-189; *Sibari* IV (1974) 430; *Sibari* V (1988-89) 149-159; Guzzo (1973) 296-297; Guzzo (1981b) 20; Guzzo (1992) 27.

Roman Republican-Imperial: end II C B.C./beg. I C B.C. - 2/2 I C A.C. and probably later; basis for dating: ceramic and numismatic evidence as *t.p.q.* for abandonment: *Sibari* III (1972) 247, n. 240: lamp, mid I-II C A.C.; *Sibari* V (1988-89) 156, 160, no.7: frg. of TS, end I C A.C., *dupondium* of Nero, A.D. 56); ceramic evidence as *t.p.q.* for first paving of gate.

Overall dimensions: N tower: 8.00x7.75m.; middle element: ca. 24.50(N-S)x4.35m.; width of gate: 2.70m. (N-S).

Superimposed on NE corner of so-called '*Area Basolata*' (=piazza, *infra* no. 19); at its E edge. N wall of N tower aligned with N edge of piazza. Two towers (N tower better preserved) flanked rectangular recessed element containing passageway (gate proper); gate on axis with E-W street (*infra* no. 22). (*Sibari* III [1972] 179-189); south portion of gate is badly damaged (*Sibari* III [1972] 182-84); part of its west side was robbed out perhaps in 2/2 of I C A.C.: *ibid.*, 183, 247 no. 240 (lamp, but this type in use also in II C A.C.).

Passageway: three distinct pavement surfaces of varying quality; uppermost in form of ramp (= '*battuto rampa*'): slope up and down through gate (max. length E-W ca. 10.00m. up to E face of gate; N-S median width 2.50m.; thickness 0.25-0.04m. from centre to either end); built of compacted lime mortar with scant insertions of dissimilar blocks of stone (reused architectural elements) and pebble stones. (*Sibari* III [1972] 171, 187-189; *Sibari* V [1988-89] 149). Below ramp, two gently inclined, mortared lime surfaces (1.: 0.03m.; 2.: 0.04m. thick). All pavements slightly concave due to traffic; repairs frequent, especially near N edge of passageway. Ramp constructed after demolition of S portion of gate; other two underlying surfaces in phase with use of gate: older p. (= '*battuto 2*') *t.p.q.* end II/beg I C B.C.; more recent p. (= '*battuto 1*') *t.p.q.* mid I C A.C. (*Sibari* V [1988-89] 155-156, 169).

N tower: two to three courses of ashlar limestone blocks as foundation; mortared rubble and river stones as inner fill in elevation (many likely from piazza paving); reinforcement straps in wall-mass: blocks of limestone (E-W); faced with rectangular limestone blocks (two *in situ*). (*Sibari* III [1972] 182-83).

19. **Piazza ('Area Basolata'):**

Sibari III (1972) 165-72 (for Hellenistic levels); *Sibari* V (1988-89) 151-155, 157-158.

Five phases: Classical Greek: IV C B.C.; basis for dating: ceramic, C 14 for tamarisk stump *in situ* below paving +/-380 B.C. as *t.p.q.*; Hellenistic.

Roman: (reduced size) end I C B.C./beg. I C A.C. (tombs on S side).

Open piazza (actual size reduced from original Greek Classical N-S 24.25 m., E-W 31.00m.); original appearance remained essentially unchanged: paved with flagstones and divided into 21 square sectors separated by channels cut into paving; contained between frame of rectangular brownish sandstone blocks. Beginning with end I C B.C., area became reduced due to construction of tombs (*infra* no. 24); street E-W (*infra* no. 22) that passed through, remained in use at least through II C A.C.

20. **Market/Granary** (fig. 12):

Guzzo (1976a) 622-23; Guzzo (1981b) 22-23; Guzzo (1992) 27.

Roman: end I C B.C.-mid I C A.C.; basis for dating: stratigraphic evidence.

Partially excavated: SE section. W of piazza (*supra*, no. 19); flanked E-W street (*infra* no. 22) on N side. Most likely rectangular; entrance probably through porticoed S side (E corner excavated, one Ionic corner capital found and several column bases *in situ*). Bases rest on solidly built ashlar foundation wall; inside portico marble *labrum* was found with dedicatory inscription on lip (CAT III: IGM F. 222, no. 7). (Guzzo [1981b] 22). Interior arrangement: series of rectangular spaces of unequal sizes (probably shops) surrounding central court (Guzzo [1992] 27); miscellaneous walls of unknown association visible on plan. (Guzzo [1981b] pl. 2).

21. **'Saggio Pennsylvania':**

Rainey, Lerici, eds. (1967) 122; *Sibari* IV (1974) 426-427.

Roman; post mid I C. B.C.- I C. A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic and stratigraphic evidence.

Masonry structure.

Overall dimensions: 8.00x7.50m. (NE-SW).

SW portion is missing; also entire S side; built of coarse masonry; interior covered with solid mortared pavement, missing in S portion. Attached to NW corner, a sort of

platform, 1.80x1.40m.; its paved surface supported by mortared pebble-stone walls. Structure post dates some tombs that lie around it; may also have had funerary function. (*Sibari* IV [1974] 426-427). For the tombs see *infra* no. 26.

STREETS

Sibari III (1972) 164-165, 178; *Sibari* IV (1974) 419-420.

Hellenistic-Roman to Late Roman: mid Hellenistic - VI C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence and historical considerations.

22. **Street 1:** continuation of E-W *plateia* identified at 'PdC' and 'PS'; paved with lime and pebble (mixed) rather than paving stones as at 'PdC' and 'PS'; two layers of such paving in places demonstrate repairs; delineated on S side by wall built of pebble stones mixed with mortar. Ends at paved area/piazza ('*area basolata*', *supra* no. 19), but traffic probably continued eastward through it toward the sea; no traces of material attributable to street pavement found E of gate.

23. **Street 2:** poorly defined; entered area from NW and ended at PIAZZA; paved with lime and pebble surface (two layers in places). (*Sibari* III [1972] 178.

CEMETERIES

At 'Casa Bianca'.

Sibari III (1972) 192-196; *Sibari* IV (1974) 421-427, 437-451.

Roman Imperial.

Three groups of graves.

24. **Group I:** I C A.C. and later reuse; chamber tombs superimposed on part of piazza; three overlay it, the fourth W of them, off the paving of piazza, the fifth in NE corner of piazza. Built of mortared pebbles. Contemporary is a long wall built in same technique; total preserved length: 22.00m.

Tomb 1S (N-S 5.25xE-W 5.10m.): traces of burning suggest wooden roof or wooden grave goods; vases as grave goods near tile.

Tomb 2S, 1.00m. W of T 1S; 6.50m. long on N side, 6.10m. on E, 6.36m. on S and 6.00m. on W; walls built in technique close to *opus reticulatum*; had wooden bier based on disposition of associated objects; traces of cremated bodies; one inhumation; bodies mixed with grave goods and concentration of grave goods in NW corner; amphora without neck (E-W orientation) cut lengthwise to accommodate body of infant; inscription (CAT. III, IGM. F. 222, no. 11) (*Sibari* III [1972] 228, no. 157, fig. 238).

Tomb 3S separated from T. 2S by corridor 2.25m. wide; 4.00m. on N side, 3.95m. on E, 3.90m. on S, 3.85m. on W; on deposition found.

Tomb 4S next to T 3S; fragment of E wall preserved, 0.85m. long; one inhumation protected by flat fragmented tiles.

Tomb 5S: N side 5.60m. long, E side preserved length of 3.20m. and W preserved length of 2.25m.; whitish plaster preserved on three outside walls; interior: burnt stuff and dirt mixed with few pieces of pottery.

25. **Group II:** III C A.C.; on N (outside) side of 'Lungo Muro' (*supra* no. 17): simple inhumations, adult and child; total found: 30. Three types of graves: simple shaft without architecture, stone or wood and any kind of cover; *alla cappuccina*, with two or one roofs; under single or multiple rows of *tegulae* set horizontally. Orientation is E-W, except three with W-E orientation. T 3N had 'bed' of *tegulae* placed underneath body (this was more common in third group of tombs *infra* no. 26). Only one had grave goods (T 17N): five coins, three illegible, one of Augustus, others of Gordian, dated to 17 B.C. and A.D. 241-243 respectively (*Sibari* III [1972] 252, nos. 246,247).

Two wells among graves; built of terracotta rings; material from one dates to the Hellenistic period.

26. **Group III:** post mid I C. A.C.; E of gate; no uniform orientation; single inhumations in masonry- or *tegulae*-type constructions. *Tegulae* may be placed horizontally on uprights built of brick or *alla cappuccina*-style on the ground; seem to have been placed around large structure that predates them. No grave goods are reported.

Cassano, Scavi Sibari, Incrocio (I), IGM F. 222, map E, fig. 6.

Ca. 140.00m. W of S.S. 106 Jonica; S limit of excavated area ca. 380.00 m. N of the crossroads of the E-W and N-S *plateiai* at 'PdC'; excavated area: 50.00m.(N-S)x40.00m.(E-W).

Castagnoli (1973) 220-222; *Sibari* V (1988-89) 240-248; Guzzo (1992) 25-26.

FORTIFICATIONS

27. So-called 'Long Wall' ('Lungo muro'):

Roman Republican: II C B.C.

Overall dimensions of excavated section *in situ*: ca. 7.10m. (E-W); median width: 1.10m. Several collapsed pieces of varying sizes belong to wall.

Building technique as described above for section at CASA BIANCA, no. 17: cement core

with facing: N face had blocks of stone inserted in the core; S face smooth (*opus incertum*); square put-log hole (0.12x0.14m.). Superimposed (E-W) on N-S street: exact nature of this unknown due to large amount of collapsed material on street surface (*infra* no. 28); gate-way through wall is possible. (*Sibari* V [1988-89] 242, 246). Partially excavated rectangular structure (N-S max. preserved extension 11.00m.; subdivided internally) abutted on S side of wall: cemented pebble stones in fairly regular rows with pieces set obliquely, mixed with sporadic pieces of tile fragments in foundations; width of walls: 0.50-0.65m. (*Sibari* V [1988-89] 246-247).

STREETS

28. N-S street (plateia N-S):

Late Classical Greek (end V C B.C./ beg. IV C B.C.) - Late Roman (repairs).

Overall dimensions: ca. 12.70m. (N-S) S of 'lungo muro' that cuts it in E-W direction; ca. 10.80m. (N-S) N of 'lungo muro'; width of street pavement: 13.50m. S of wall; ca. 5.85-6.00m. N of wall, occupying only prolongation of W half of street.

Same street as main N-S artery at 'PdC', with slight deviation of orientation to W; in this section slopes gently N. S of 'lungo muro': paved with river stones as at 'PdC'; surface convex with lateral drains; sidewalks: W sidewalk partially excavated: 2.00m. wide; bordered by low cement wall along street side; likely portico (cemented foundation, stone foundation, fr. of greyish stone column, ca. 0.60m. diam.) in front of buildings along side. N of 'lungo muro': identical surface as in S section, superimposed with cemented pebble stones in area of ca. 11.00m. (N-S); lateral margins marked by large rectangular blocks set on side and rising slightly above street level. (*Sibari* V [1988-89] 242-246).

IGM F. 236

1. **Cosenza** (Consentia), Seminario arcivescovile, IGM F. 236, map J.
Ca. 150m. NE of the finds at Palazzo Sersale (see below).
Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 28, 1988 (1989) 583.

Hellenistic and Roman: III C B.C. - I C A.C.

Three phases of occupation of large building; construction technique analogous to that used at Palazzo Sersale (*infra* no. 2).

2. **Cosenza** (Consentia), Palazzo Sersale on Corso Telesio, IGM F. 236, map J.
In the basement of the Palazzo.
Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 24, 1984 (1985) 529; Lattanzi in *Klearchos* 27 (1985) 128; *MG* 20, 3-4 (1985) 13; 1990 excavations, V. Zumbini (personal information); Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 37, 1997 (1999) 925-926.

Hellenistic and Roman: III C B.C.-1/4 II C. A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic and architectural evidence.

Two walls meet almost at right angles, built of mortared pebbles and tile; width ca. 0.60m.; baths (*caldarium*): 46.00x6.00m.; 2/2 I B.C.-1/4 II A.C.; built on top of and using Hellenistic walls; two phases (first, Augustan); ceramic material to VI-VII C A.C.

3. **Cosenza** (Consentia), Convent of S. Francesco, IGM F. 236, map J.
SW of the Duomo and attached to the Convent of S. Francesco.
Guzzo (1986b) 536.

Roman: mid I C B.C.; basis for dating: building technique and comparanda.

Possibly city walls in *opus reticulatum*; width ca. 1.00m.; hard limestone with strong cement. Stretch SW of the Duomo ca. 2.00m. high. Stretch attached to NW wall of the Convent of San Francesco ca. three metres long. Near this, to south-west, section of another wall buried beneath modern concrete pavement and just barely emerging in one place; may have connected with better preserved part attached to the Convent.

IGM F. 238

1. **Strongoli** (Petelia), *contrada* Pianette (i Pianetti), *contrada* Bastione, *contrada* Orto Capozza, Corso B. Miraglia, IGM F. 238, map M.

Several scattered areas.

Contrada Pianette: on a plateau (ca. 240-334m.a.s.l.) ENE of Strongoli, ca. 1km. from town-centre. The concentration of finds is in extreme west sector of the area (now also known as Vigna del Principe, 334m. a.s.l., once the property of the Giunti family). For remaining locations and references see below.

Volante *apud* Fiorelli, *NSc* (1880) 69-73, 163, 501-502; *NSc* (1881) 67, 97, 197, 331; *NSc* (1886) 171; Guzzo, Luppino (1980) 860; Guzzo (1981a) 122; Luppino (1982a) 665-666; Guzzo (1986b) 533.

Hellenistic, Roman Republican and Imperial: IV C B.C.-IV C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic, inscriptional, iconographic and architectural evidence.

Two mosaic pavements (date uncertain), now lost; coins; (*NSc* [1880] 68). Fragments of ITS (Guzzo [1981a] 122. Fragments of bronze equestrian statue, inscriptions: attesting to the site of forum ("*forum superius*" Luppino [1982a] 665).

Corso B. Miraglia: "*forum inferius*" (Luppino [1982a] 665) is presumed immediately to SE (332m.a.s.l.) in area of the Pretura, along Corso B. Miraglia: remains of baths, terracotta antefixes and inscription with dedication to IOM (CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no. 13).

Contrada Bastione, Roman: fragments of statue (Luppino [1982a] 665, n.40).

Contrada Orto Capozza, Roman: remains of bath building; fragment of female statue (torso) (Luppino [1982a] 665, n. 40). Both located in medieval town, S of Vigna del Principe.

2. **Strongoli** (Petelia), Fondo Castello, IGM F. 238, map M.

On slopes of a hill, NW of town-centre.

Foti in *Atti Taranto* 13, 1973 (Naples 1974) 384-385; Foti in *Atti Taranto* 20, 1980 (Taranto 1981) 304-305; Capano (1980) 15-69; *idem* (1981) 29-62.

Roman Early Imperial: I-II C A.C.

Necropolis and road. Tombs along inner side of slope following it; road flanking them.

Tombs: varied types: one medium size mausoleum; modest vaulted niche-tombs, with central niches and with or without paved entrance areas; *alla cappuccina*; *a fossa*.

(the numbering does not indicate successive placing of tombs)

Tomb 1: mortared rubble with brick facing; paved entrance area (tile) flanked by low lateral walls (also, tile); entrance area drained to street via lateral drains; tomb trapezoidal in plan; vaulted with central niche; mortared brick on inside; plastered and painted: brownish socle separated by darker brown band from yellow-orange background in vaulted area; at back, reddish-brown socle and above *hederae* of same colour surround red painted stele in outline on top of which are two pigeons (blue) touching with beaks. Inscribed limestone stele attached to wall in front of painted stele (CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no. 1, tomb 1).

Tomb 2: NE-SW; mortared rubble with brick facing; vaulted with central niche (width 1.20m., length 1.10m., height 1.20m.); niche faced with brick and tile of differing widths; plastered and painted red. Inscribed limestone stele (CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no. 1, tomb 2).

Tomb 3: NE-SW; ca. 0.70m. W of T. 2; (length 1.58m., width 1.00m.); mortared rubble faced with brick and stone; in front of tomb, base for funeral rite of rubble; niche faced with brick of differing widths; no trace of plaster. Stele not found in position (CAT. III: IGM F. 238 no. 1, tomb 3).

Tomb 4: E-W; mortared blocks of stone surround tile- structure *alla cappuccina*; (length 2.50m., width 0.80m.); grave goods plundered; traces of burning on outside and inside.

Tomb 5: NW-SE; similar to T. 1 and next to it; (length 2.15m., width 1.20m., height

1.56m.); paving in entrance space of tile and one reused architectonic piece; in front, base for funeral rite of mortared plastered brick; plastered with red painted plaster; niche also plastered; contained marble stele; glass plates, cups, bottles of different colours, pottery, lamps, *unguentarium*; stele (CAT III: IGM F. 238, no. 1, tomb 5).

Tomb 6: *a fossa*: 1.10x0.50x1.20 (depth); destroyed NW corner of T. 5; grave goods: urn with ashes (covered), glass bottle, shell; traces of burning; urn protected with mortared rubble; inscribed stele (see CAT III: IGM F. 238, no. 1, tomb 6); in front of stele rectangular brick for funeral rite.

Tomb 7: *a fossa* with cinerary urn; glass oil container; stele missing.

Tomb 8: NW-SE; mortared rubble; (1.80x1.00m.); robbed.

Tomb 9: NW-SE; mortared rubble; rectangular; damaged.

Tomb 10: E-W; mortared rubble and brick; vaulted; (2.40m. long, 0.70m. wide); at front in upper part rectangular cavity for inscription; carved block of stone for base for funeral rites; orientation and building technique as of T. 4 make them likely contemporary.

Tomb 11: NW-SE; mortared brick, tile and rubble; vaulted but lower than others; (1.40m. long, 0.80m. wide); stele (no inscription, schematic anthropomorphic shape) in central niche in front of which base made of rectangular brick.

Tomb 12: ca. 0.40m. below T 11; brick structure; grave goods: ceramic *olla* with lamp inside; incompletely excavated.

Tomb 13: mortared rubble; vaulted; no niche.

Tomb 14: NW-SE; mortared rubble and brick.

Tomb 15: N-S; mortared brick and rubble surround tile-structure *alla cappuccina*; opening blocked with rectangular tile; partially excavated; grave goods: oil container, lamp.

Tomb 16: N-S; mortared rubble, tile and brick; (1.00m. wide); opening blocked with rectangular tile (reused); no grave goods.

Tomb 17: *a fossa* with cinerary urn (covered); grave goods: ceramic *olla*.

Tomb 18: next to T. 5.; vaulted with central niche; faced with brick on outside; plastered with red plaster on inside; base in front of niche for funeral rites; entrance space lined with low lateral walls, but no paving; inscribed limestone rectangular stele at bottom of niche

(see CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no. 1, tomb 18).

Tomb 19: rough *cippus* with tile in front; the latter covered shaft (0.90 m. deep) in which was cinerary urn; grave goods (inside the shaft): LITS, *olla*, TWW, glass cups, coins.

Tomb 20: similar to T 19, but no grave goods; traces of burning.

Tomb 21: vaulted with vertical cutting in place of central niche; mortared rubble and brick; painted plaster (red) on inside; stele in cutting; base (for funerary rites) in front of tomb made of mortared rubble and brick, plastered with red plaster; green veined marble inscribed anthropomorphic stele (CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no. 1, tomb 21).

Tomb 22: E-W; ca. 6.25m. W of T. 21; (1.34m. wide, 1.30m. high); similar in shape and material as T. 21; central niche (0.45m. high, 0.60 m. wide) contained marble stele (damaged in antiquity); plastered on inside; ceramic pipe out through roof; cinerary urn of thin glass with ashes and glass *balsamarium*. Stele: CAT. III: IGM F. no 1, tomb 23.

Tomb 23: inhumation burial; NW-SE; body in supine position, head at N; in wooden coffin; tomb of mortared rubble and brick; no grave goods: probably lost.

Tomb 24: N-S; mortared rubble and brick; tile *alla cappuccina* for cover; red painted plaster on inside; marble stele at S end placed on top of tomb (see CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no. 1, tomb 24); in front of stele, base for funeral rites of rectangular brick; traces of burning; grave goods: lamp, TWW, common ware, glass balsamaria, bronze coins.

Tomb 25: SW-NE; blocks of stone of different dimensions mortared together; robbed.

Tomb 26: SW-NE; *alla cappuccina* covered with pebble stones; (length 1.75 m., width 0.45m.); closed on either end with tile; stele on top of structure; grave goods: glass balsamaria, lamp, ceramic *olla*.

Tomb 27: NW-SE; *alla cappuccina*; grave goods: common ware cinerary urn, bronze fibula.

Tomb 28: NW-SE; *alla cappuccina*; cinerary urn; nails.

Tomb 29: NE-SW; mortared rubble and brick; square niche at front; at end, marble stele (CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no. 1, tomb 29); ceramic pipe out through NE corner of cover.

Tomb 30: two stone slabs cover cinerary urn.

Mausoleum: square small chamber (int.: 1.05x0.95m.) with rectangular niche at opposite end from entrance; *opus reticulatum* side and end walls with limestone ashlar blocks as

corner reinforcements; facade (2.50m. wide) of three large limestone blocks with architectural expression: angle pilasters (not fluted) and fluted semi-columns flanking door; roof: gable, with monolithic pediments at either end: back pediment found collapsed. (Foti [1974] pl. 70,2).

Road paved with river stones (Foti 1980).

3. **Strongoli** (Petelia), *località* Vrausi (Brausi)-Cersi del Russo, IGM F. 238, map M. In the foothills immediately SW of town of Strongoli. Kahrstedt (1960) 82; Guzzo, Luppino (1980) 860, n. 54; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 30, no. 60.

Roman.

Section of road, paved with river stones.

4. **Crotone** (Croton), via Vittorio Veneto - ex-Banca d'Italia, IGM F. 238, map M. Below the Castello, on level ground in modern centre of Croton. Galli, Lucente (1932) 368-374; Guzzo, Iaculli (1977) 36-37 and fig. 3; Paoletti (1994) 524.

Roman Imperial to Late: III C A.C.; basis for dating: inscription (without precise context). For Inscription: CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no. 23.

Late Roman inhumation burials: no grave-goods (except one bronze coin - not legible); skeletons variously preserved; 11-12 tombs: one group of tombs, N-S; another, E-W orientation; simple construction: rubble (with reused material) on outside with tile-lined sides and covers; above tile-covers, rubble casing. Some had stone slabs instead of tile for covers and linings; out of context: one lamp dated to the fifth C. A.C.; a few pieces of Imperial sigillata.

Previous occupation: Hellenistic structures (unspecified).

5. **Crotone** (Croton), via Tedeschi (Post office), IGM F. 238, map M. Below the Castello, on level ground in modern centre of Croton. Foti in *Atti Taranto* 14, 1974 (Napoli 1975) 313-14; Sabbione in *Atti Taranto* 15, 1975 (Napoli 1976) 590-91; Sabbione in *Atti Taranto* 16, 1976 (Napoli 1977) 901 and pl. 149.

Roman Late; basis for dating: stylistic and topographical considerations (see previous entry).

Several burials; no grave-goods; similar topographical location and construction as at ex-Banca d'Italia (no. 4).

6. **Crotone** (Croton), via XXV Aprile, IGM F. 238, map M.

Below the Castello, in modern centre of Croton.

Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 28, 1988 (Taranto 1989) 554-55.

Roman: II C B.C.; mid I C A.C. (unspecified occupation), II-III C A.C. (necropolis) V C A.C. (street), mid VI or VII C A.C. (unspecified occupation); basis for dating: sporadic ceramic material for early period; building technique for street (cf. *castrum* at Metapontum).

The first century occupation (undefined) is represented by sparse ceramic finds; necropolis (no further detail) during mid-Empire; street (later): (foundation) mixed rubble, pottery, tile, sand and lime rest on bed of earth and minced sherds.

Previous occupation: VII-beg. III C B.C.: habitations (VI-V C B.C.); possibly cult structure (IV C B.C.)

7. **Crotone** (Croton), Banca Popolare Cooperativa, IGM F. 238, map M.

Below the Castello, in modern centre of Croton at Piazza Pitagora.

Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 29, 1989 (Taranto 1990) 587; *eadem* in *Atti Taranto* 33, 1993 (Taranto 1994) 736.

Roman: mid-Imperial to late Imperial (VI-VII C A.C.) (with interruptions).

Burials reminiscent of those at via XXV Aprile (no. 6); one mausoleum; *balsamaria*; TWW; lamps; bronze coins.

Previous occupation: VIII-VII C B.C. stratigraphy; intermittent occupation through late Roman period.

CATALOGUE II

Archaeological Remains: Rural Locations

(N.B.: It has been necessary to exclude four sites from the Catalogue after the completion of the maps, so that they now appear as "void" at their original place.)

IGM F. 212**1. Rocca Imperiale, Cesine, IGM F. 212, map A.**

On flat terrace parallel with coastline, (60.00-80.00m.a.s.l.), overlooking the torrent Canna.

Quilici (1967) 113-117, no. 43, figs. 249-254; Guzzo (1981a) 132, no. 139; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 96.

Roman: late Republican or I-1/2 II C A.C.; basis for dating: imported stone (historical considerations).

Cistern, aqueduct, pottery and building scatter.

Cistern (14.00x4.70x3.75m.):

Building material: small pieces of hard red and green stone (does not appear locally) mixed with strong mortar; hydraulic plaster on inside; thickness of walls: 0.50m.

Cut into hill-side; currently reused as animal stable and field-house; vaulted internally; residue collector at N end (1.60x1.65 m.), sunk 1.50m. below floor of cistern; circular opening in barrel vault (1.00m. diam.); water intake through opening at base of vault on short N side; ventilation opening on opposite side. Once part of large site (= "villaggio", Quilici), *infra* nos. 2-3.

Aqueduct: source of water (Piano Ciannalone), ca. 1.5km. NNW from cistern; terracotta pipes (diam. 0.235-0.325m.; length: 0.45m.) placed underground; at intervals, small tile-built control wells.

Pottery and building scatter: surrounding cistern in an area of ca. 300.00x200.00m.; large river stones combined with mud (possibly Greek village, *infra*); fragment of millstone (volcanic origin) (1.20m. diam.); ca. 50.00m. SE of cistern, circular mortared structure (1.80m. diam.) with pierced spout in middle: ornamental basin; door-posts (2); capital (now imbedded in house) and lead tablet, now vanished; tufa blocks.

Previous occupation: possibly Greek Classical village (Quilici, 117).

2-3. Rocca Imperiale, Cesine, IGM F. 212, map A.

Two cemeteries, uphill (ca. 500.00m. NNE) from cistern (*supra* no. 1).

Quilici (1967) 115-117, no. 43; Guzzo (1981a) 132, no. 139.

Roman: late Republican or I-1/2 II C A.C.; basis for dating: imported stone (historical considerations).

Cemetery 1: alla cappuccina; mostly destroyed; tile trapezoidal and made of fine whitish clay; many had letter marks.

Cemetery 2: rich and varied; incineration and inhumation burials. Inhumation burials (24 were counted) in yellowish tufa sarcophagi, probably of Apulian origin; one contained two burials: bodies set on sides with heads at opposite ends.

4. **Rocca Imperiale**, Miceli, IGM F. 212, map A.

On a plateau under W slopes of Murgie di S. Caterina.
Quilici (1967) 26, no. 18; Guzzo (1981a) 132, no. 140.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Dolia set in a row.

5. **Rocca Imperiale**, La Maddalena, IGM F. 212, map A.

On the plateau La Maddalena, on low brow overlooking coastal plain, ca. 500m. uphill from S.S. 106.

Quilici (1967) 24, no. 13; Guzzo (1981a) 132, no. 142; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 96.

Hellenistic and Roman Imperial (to I C A.C.); basis for dating: numismatic and ceramic evidence.

Large pottery scatter including BG, LITS, kitchen ware and loom weights (globular); tile; Republican and Imperial coins. (= "centro agricolo", Quilici).

6. **Rocca Imperiale**, Timpone Ronzino, IGM F. 212, map A.

Below Monte Trevia, and below the cemetery of Rocca Imperiale.
Quilici (1967) 25, no. 15; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 96.

Hellenistic and Roman Republican; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Large pottery scatter including Hellenistic terracottas. (= "villaggio agricolo", Quilici).

7. **Rocca Imperiale**, Timpone Ronzino, IGM F. 212, map A.

Below Monte Trevia, SSE of the cemetery of Rocca Imperiale.

Quilici (1967) 25, no. 15; Guzzo (1981a) 132, no. 141

Roman Early Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Tombs; N of the scatter (*supra* no.6); two tombs: inhumations; E-W orientation; *alla cappuccina*, 1.80m. long; skeletons intact; two small LITS amphorae, copper bracelet and ring near one head.

8. **Nocara**, Masseria Franciorio (Franciori), IGM F. 212, map A.

Among hills, on gentle slopes of Serra Maiori below Masseria Franciorio, along Canale del Roccolo, at Paese di Basso.

Quilici (1967) 40, no. 29; Guzzo (1981a) 131, no. 122; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 85.

Hellenistic-Roman; basis for dating: tile, coins, ceramic material.

Dense area of Hellenistic-Roman tile (local fabric), hydraulic plaster, ceramic water pipes, cemented crushed pottery base for floor (late Republican; [basis for date not specified]), worked pieces of stone (door-sill); ceramic material: kitchen ware, BG, LITS, and ARS; coins (from this area or Nova Siri): from Republican to Trajanic.

9. **Montegiordano**, Monte Sottano, IGM F. 212, map A.

In the hills, on NW slopes of Monte Sottano (527.00m.a.s.l.).

Quilici (1967) 23, no. 9; Guzzo (1981a) 130, no. 106.

Roman: Late Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic material (one fragment of late Imperial amphora).

Dense pottery scatter; among other unspecified material, fragments of amphorae and fragment of ceramic portable oven.

IGM F. 220

1. **Tortora**, Pergolo, IGM F. 220, map B.

On low slope, at the 244,500thkm. of old S.S. 18, at 20m.a.s.l.

La Torre (1991) 137, no. 7; La Torre (1999) 163, no. 49.

Roman Imperial (Augustan?); basis for dating: building technique and historical considerations.

Circular funerary monument; external wall (*opus caementicium*) faced with *opus*

incertum surrounds square burial chamber (8.00x5.50m.); external diam.: 14.50m., 1.50m. thick wall

1bis. **Tortora**, loc. Pontecorvo, IGM F. 220, map B.

On left bank of Fiumarella di Tortora, amongst hills.

La Torre (1999) 169, no. 56.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Small pottery and tile scatter.

1bis I. **Praia a Mare**, Grotta della Madonna, IGM F. 220, map B.

On slopes overlooking Praia a Mare.

Guzzo (1981a) 131, no. 133; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 93.

Roman Imperial: IV-V C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

"Strati con sigillata chiara." (Guzzo)

Previous occupation: Late Paleolithic-Middle Bronze Age.

1bis II. **Praia a Mare**, *contrada* Viscigliosa, IGM F. 220, map B.

On slopes N of Praia a Mare, facing the plain of Falconara.

La Torre (1999) 172, no. 64.

Late Hellenistic - Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Wall in rough rubble (without mortar); two levels of brick-and-mortar floors; column fragment; *terrazzo* floor (blocks: 0.5x0.5m).

2. **Praia a Mare**, Fiuzzi, IGM F. 220, map B.

Guzzo (1981a) 131, no. 134; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 95; La Torre (1999) 176, no. 74.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

ARS.

2bis I. **Praia a Mare**, Isola di Dino, IGM F. 220, map B.

On promontory, SE tip of island, in front of Torre di Fiuzzi.

La Torre (1999) 177, no. 77.

Roman late Republican; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Many fragments of Dr. 1, BG (Campana B), *dolia*.

Previous occupation: several fragments of Graeco-Italic amphorae (late Hellenistic); one neck of Corinthian amphora.

2bis II. **Praia a Mare**, M. Cancero, IGM F. 220, map B.

On N slopes of M. Cancero, ca. 550m.a.s.l..

La Torre (1999) 173, no. 68.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Fragments of Roman pottery (unspecified).

Previous occupation: Bronze age; Hellenistic: tile, amphorae, *pithoi*, common ware.

2bis III. **Praia a Mare**, Serra Vingoli, IGM F. 220, map B.

On summit and E slope of hill (563m.a.s.l.); destroyed by garbage dump.

La Torre (1999) 174, no. 70.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Fragments of pottery (unspecified).

Previous occupation: Bronze and early Iron age.

3. **Papasidero**, Casa della Corte, IGM F. 220, map B.

Guzzo (1981a) 131, no. 127; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 92.

Roman.

"Villa con tubature in piombo." (Guzzo)

3bis. **S. Nicola Arcella**, *contrada* Tufo, IGM F. 220, map B.

On promontory, SW, 20m.a.s.l.

La Torre (1999) 177, no. 80.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Dense pottery scatter: tile, common ware, one fragment of ARS D; cistern.

4. **S. Nicola Arcella**, Torre del Porto, IGM F. 220, map B.

On the promontory of Capo Scalea, 20m.a.s.l..

Guzzo (1981a) 133, no. 161; Greco (1982) 62; La Torre (1999) 178-179, nos. 82, 83.

Roman Imperial: Augustan to late Roman; basis for dating: ceramic and architectural evidence.

Walls in *opus caementicium* with *incertum* or *quasi-reticulatum* facing with bonding tiles (rectangular and absidal elements), mortared brick floor, round cistern; pottery scatter: amphorae, ITS, common and kitchen ware.

Previous occupation: end VII - end VI C B.C.

4bis I. **Scalea**, loc. Dino, IGM F. 220, map B.

On promontory Scalea, S side.

La Torre (1999) 180, no. 89.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Scarce pottery scatter.

Previous occupation: Hellenistic pottery.

4bis II. **Scalea**, Castagneto, IGM F. 220, map B.

In the valley between Castagneto and Bocche di Giarla, ca. 350 m.a.s.l.

La Torre (1999) 181, no. 94.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Dense pottery scatter: ITS, tile.

Previous occupation: Hellenistic: BG.

4bis III. **Scalea**, Profondiero, IGM F. 220, map B.

On marine terrace.

La Torre (1999) 182, no. 97.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Large kiln probably for Roman tile; tile and wasters scatter.

4bis IV. **Scalea**, Profondiero, IGM F. 220, map B.

On marine terrace, W side, ca. 300m. down stram from 4bis III.

La Torre (1999) 182, no. 99.

Roman Imperial: Augustan-II/III C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Large pottery scatter: ITS, ARS, amphorae, common and kitchen ware; tile and *dolia* fragments.

Subsequent occupation: Medieval: green-glazed ware.

4bis V. **Scalea**, S. Nicola, IGM F. 220, map B.

Inland, amongst hills.

La Torre (1999) 183, no. 103.

Roman; basis for dating: architectural evidence.

Walls in *opus incertum* and mosaic pavement are reported, but now missing; *opus signinum* floor and columns *in situ*.

4bis VI. **Scalea**, S. Giorgio, IGM F. 220, map B.

In the valley.

La Torre (1999) 183, no. 104.

Roman early Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Pottery scatter: common ware and ITS.

5. **Scalea**, Petrosa, IGM F. 220, map B.

E foothills of hill Petrosa, ca. 100m.a.s.l.

Guzzo (1981a) 133 no. 169; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 108; La Torre (1999) 184, no. 107.

Roman Early Imperial: I C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Area of Roman period activity: fragments of ITS.

Previous occupation: VI C B.C.

6. **Scalea**, Fischia (Fischija), IGM F. 220, map B.

Various structures in fields of five properties; distance between Fondo Marigliano - Filardi and Fondo De Angelis, ca. 100.00m. (Pesce); size of sites not reported; S of Scalea, now completely covered up by tourist village.

Galli (1932) 362; Pesce (1936) 67-73; Guzzo (1975a) 68-77; Guzzo (1981a) 133, no. 168; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 109; La Torre (1999) 185-189, no. 113.

Roman: Republican and Imperial (G. Pesce); I - beg. III C A.C. (Guzzo [1975a]).

Fondo Di Puglia - Maiolino: space (4.00x3.00m.) with thick *opus caementicium* floor; *torcularium* set in floor in S part; linked with decantation vat by way of shallow channel. Vat (1.00x0.50x1.00 m.) in NE corner with decantation hollow in middle; three steps lead into vat; vat 0.30m. raised above floor level. Tufa block with traces of mortar and moulding found nearby: (1.37x0.37x0.15 m.). Channel (0.40m. wide and 0.30m. deep; excavated length 24.00m.) paved with brick and lined with mortared brick and rubble, between properties Di Puglia and neighbouring Serpa; no trace of hydraulic plaster; two fragments of marble human leg found inside channel (Pesce).

Fondo Serpa: two squarish spaces (ca. 6.00m. long); walls built of mortared rubble (0.45m. width of walls; 0.50m. preserved height) (Pesce).

Fondo Marigliano - Filardi: mosaic pavement built of large tesserae (later served as floor of *torcularium*). Press-emplacement surrounded by shallow channel which issued via another into rectangular vat set into floor in NE corner of room; space approx. twice the size of that at Di Puglia. Building tufa block (1.50x0.54x0.26m.) used as support for press (Pesce). Suggested date for mosaic: late Republican - early Imperial (Pesce, 71).

Fondo De Angelis: tombs, remains of walls; fragments of marble revetments, pieces of column drums, fragments of pottery, Pentelic archaïcising marble female herm; all built into walls of nearby structure of later date. Total height of herm: 0.34m.; date: early Imperial (Pesce, 71). Other finds: fragment of marble leg of horse (0.30m.), fragments of thin column drums, fragments of moulded revetments and moulded cornices, fragment of late Roman funerary inscription, large white mosaic tesserae, pottery fragments, glass, nails, fragments of bronze mirror(s), building blocks and *tegulae* built into later wall (Pesce).

stamped tile: 0.55x0.48x0.03m.; rect. stamp: CALLI.QV.SF (Galli, 362; Pesce, 73).

Two out of probably five crucibles for melting gold: (1) 5.7cm. high; 2.4cm. lower diam.; 6x5.1cm. at mouth; (2) 6.1cm. high; 2.2 cm. lower diam.; 6x5.2cm. at mouth; exact find-spot unknown; on historical evidence from the area, dated between I and beginning of III C A.C. (Guzzo [1975a] 72-77).

7. Scalea, Foresta (-e), IGM F.220, map B.

SW part of terrace of Foresta

Pesce (1936) 73f; Guzzo (1981a) 133, no. 167; Greco (1982) 62; *Calabria*

Citeriore (1989) 109; La Torre (1999) 190, 192 nos. 119 122, 123.

Roman Imperial: Augustan to late Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Villa (Greco); *opus incertum* wall between properties Russo and Acquaviva:

8.00m. long, 0.60m. wide and 1.10m. high above foundation level (Pesce).

Fragments of columns (Guzzo).

Fondo Acquaviva: terracotta pipe; preserved length 3.30m.; diam. 0.15m.; 0.30m. below present ground level (Pesce).

Pottery scatter: ca. 5ha.: amphorae, ITS, ARS, ETS, TWW, common ware.

Previous occupation: BG.

7bis. **S. Maria del Cedro**, loc. Varchera, IGM F. 220, map B.

NW of S. Bartolo hill (Marcellina, site of Laos), on plain ground.

Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 32, 1992 (1993) 799; La Torre (1999) 200-201, no. 130.

Hellenistic - Roman: IV C B.C. - VI/VII C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Five architectural phases (function unclear); ceramic material from IV C B.C. - VII C A.C.; *opus incertum* walls (early Imperial period) with vats with *signinum* facing; later walls in small blocks (VI-VII C A.C.) with ARS D. (La Torre).

8. **S. Maria del Cedro**, Scalo di Grisolia-S. Maria, IGM F. 220, map B.

Guzzo (1981a) 133, no. 162; Greco (1982) 62; Guzzo (1983b) 64, n. 65; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 79; La Torre (1995) 75; La Torre (1999) 206, nos. 161-162.

Roman Imperial: end I C B.C. - I C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence (ITS, form Goudineau 38).

Structures with mortar and crushed brick floors; vat with *opus signinum* floor; pottery: ITS, ARS, lamps, common and kitchen ware, storage jars; brick with stamp: ARRI (La Torre).

8bis. **S. Maria del Cedro**, Torricella, IGM F. 220, map B.

Near Norman fort at Torricella, 75m.a.s.l.

La Torre (1999) 206-207, no. 164.

Roman: end I C B.C.-early I C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Walls, floors; pottery: ITS, TWW, common ware.

Previous occupation: Hellenistic: BG.

9. **S. Maria del Cedro**, Foresta-proprietà Sollazo (*contrada l'Auzo*), IGM F. 220, map B.
At foothills of Foresta, 15-25m.a.s.l.
Greco (1982) 62; La Torre (1999) 203, nos. 142, 143.

Roman Republican (II C B.C.)-late Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Pottery scatter: BG, ITS, ARS A and C, Imperial period amphorae, one fragment of Dr.1, kitchen and common ware; tile, building blocks; large fragment of *opus spicatum* floor. Local memory talks of walls, mosaic floors and kiln.

10. **S. Maria del Cedro**, Carcere l'Impresa, IGM F. 220, map B.
On coastal terrace.
Greco (1982) 62; La Torre (1995) 75; La Torre (1999) 205, no. 160.

Roman Imperial: Augustan to late Roman (Greco); basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Villa (Greco); fragment of brick with stamp: M. ARRI (La Torre); ITS.

11. **Diamante**, Cirella-Tredolice, IGM F. 220, map B, fig 24.
Near Cirella, ca. 100.00m. from left bank of Vallone Tredolice; tombs (39) and mausoleum, ca. 200.00m. apart as the crow flies.
De Franciscis (1960a) 421-426; Guzzo (1981a) 129, no. 70; Lagona (1982) 164, fig. 2, pl. 38; Guzzo (1983b) 62, figs. 7-10; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 71; La Torre (1990) 74-83; La Torre (1995) 81-84; La Torre (1999) 212-214, nos. 186, 187.

Roman Imperial: tombs: II C A.C. - beg. III C. A.C.; basis for dating: numismatic (coin of Hadrian [1], not *in situ*, dated to A.D. 119) and Marcus Aurelius [1]) and ceramic evidence (TWW and lamps) (De Franciscis, 423; La Torre [1990] 74-76).
mausoleum: Julio-Claudian (Guzzo [1983b]); end I - beg. III C A.C. (La Torre [1990]); Severan (Lagona); basis for dating: design, building technique and historical considerations.

Simple tombs and circular mausoleum; mausoleum well preserved in elevation.

Tombs (39): two were *alla cappuccina*; remainder, *a fossa*, built of brick plastered on inside; tiles covered floors and used as covers in two layers. Orientation: NE-SW and SE-NW. Size uniform: 1.55-2.00m. long, 0.40-0.55m. wide and 0.45-0.50m. deep. Several did not contain or had not preserved bodies and/or finds (19 had grave goods). Grave goods modest: pots (TWW) (glass bowl in one), placed near heads, lamps at feet and coins near hands, some silver; bone needles.

Mausoleum: principal measurements (La Torre [1990]): ext. diam. of low plinth: 13.45m.; ext. diam. of drum: 13.15m.; int. diam.: 9.85m.; width of drum: 1.50m.; max. preserved height of drum: 5.50m.

Building materials: brick faced concrete for drum on outside and inside; concrete faced with ashlar limestone for plinth; two building phases and subsequent reuse: partial redesign and brick of differing size and baking quality (mostly pinkish with good mortar bonding; average length, 0.30m.; upper external parts of yellowish and brownish brick with greyish mortar; length, 0.26-0.27m., attributable to partial rebuilding).

Large domed circular mausoleum articulated with three rectangular niches on inside (first phase) (curved ends replicate curvature of external mausoleum wall); one niche opposite entrance and two roughly in centre of other two lobes of circle; entrance from W. On entrance-side, rectangular element (7.00x1.00m.) jutting out of wall-mass; door-way, 2.35m. wide on outside, slightly off axis. In first phase, corresponding element on opposite site, but shorter and deeper (5.00x2.00m.); in second phase, this side turned into rectangular space, 3.77x1.15m. internally, slightly off E-W axis. Niches: 2.95x0.90m., 2.95x1.80m. 2.95x0.90m., deepest opposite entrance; 5.25m. high. Relieving arches (brick-work) in wall mass above niches and entrance; window above entrance in subsequent phase. Put-log holes at regular intervals (three rows) on inside and outside; more put-log holes higher up for rebuilding.

12. **Diamante**, Isola Cirella, IGM F. 220, map B.

On the island.

Calabria Citeriore (1989) 71; La Torre (1999) 215, no. 193.

Roman Republican: II-I C B.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Dr.1 amphora; four rectangular blocks with inscriptions (text unreported); brick and pottery.

Previous occupation: Archaic pottery, BG.

13. **Diamante**, Punta Cirella, IGM F. 220, map B, fig. 25.

At the promontory (Punta Cirella), 10m.a.s.l.; three groups: aqueduct at N point, villa at S point, walls further S along the edge of the beach.

La Torre (1990) 71-74; La Torre (1995) 77-78; La Torre (1999) 209-211, nos. 181, 182.

Roman Imperial: Augustan; basis for dating: building technique and design.

Extensive remains of substructures (*basis villae*) in rubble masonry faced with

opus incertum (local limestone) and pinkish brick and tile fragments; walls (buttressed) parallel with coast; court with rock-cut drains; N of possibly central area, rectangular room overlooking the sea; fragments of mosaic floor(s) (polychrome); pottery, tile and building scatter.

Remains of aqueduct to the N in same building technique: width of *specus* 0.60m.; height unknown; floor of large pinkish tiles, in places repaired with another layer; possible source: area of Petrosa and *torrente* Salice to the S.

IGM F. 221

1. Laino Borgo, località S. Gada (Stazione di Laino Borgo), IGM F. 221, map B.

At the now defunct railway station Laino Borgo (Ferrovie Calabro-Lucane). Galli (1930b) 164-183, fig. 6; Kahrstedt (1959) 192-93; Kahrstedt (1960) 26; Guzzo (1981a) 130, no. 88; Guzzo (1983b) 61; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 79.

Roman: Republican (I C B.C.) (for structures); basis for dating: type of pavement (Galli, Guzzo) and Imperial (sculpture and coins); occupation until IV C A.C.

Opus signinum floor (Galli, 164-165, fig. 6); Roman coins (to IV C A.C.), building(s) in, it seems, *opus incertum* (Galli, 163f, fig. 5: "...muri...a prismi di tufo collegati con la calce...; (the corresponding drawing resembles more a piece of pseudo-isodomic masonry); a well; terracotta pipes (Galli, p.164-167, 183, fig. 7). Flavian and Trajanic sculpture (Kahrstedt).

Previous occupation: Hellenistic necropolis (only several graves); ca. 30m. long wall of pseudo-isodomic masonry; kiln with wasters, terracotta figurines and moulds for the latter; III C B.C. coins (Galli, 166, 182-183: majority of terracottas: IV C B.C.).

2. Laino Borgo, Stazione di Laino Borgo (S. Gada), IGM F. 221, map B.

Immediately north of (now defunct) railway station Laino Borgo (Ferrovie Calabro-Lucane). Galli (1930b) 162.

Roman: II or III C A.C., for tombs *alla cappuccina*; basis for dating: typological grounds.

One dozen inhumation graves, ca. 1.00-1.50m. below ground; dissimilar orientation; two types of tombs: type I: built of square and rectangular tufa blocks; type II: built of brick, *alla cappuccina*; no burial goods. Description and chronology based on reports, not personal observation (author's remark). Tufa-built tombs seem earlier, i.e. Greek or native (Galli, 162).

3. **Morano Calabro**, La Foce, IGM F. 221, map C.

Ca. 2km. NE of Morano Calabro, at source of the Coscile, in the hills.
Cantarelli (1978) 21-22.

Roman; basis for dating: type of pavement.

Fragments of mortar and crushed brick pavement near water-tank at the source which may be ancient; water-tank partly cut out of bedrock; mill-stones built into walls of modern farm-house; quarry (possibly ancient) nearby. Below Morano (SE), at Santagada, remains of bridge that may be originally Roman (Cantarelli, 32).

3bis. **Morano Calabro**, loc. Ospedaletto, IGM F. 221, map C.

In the valley N of Morano.
Taliano-Grasso (1995) 26, no. 103.

Roman; basis for dating: road construction.

Part of paved Roman road.

4. **Firmo (Firma)**, Masseria Baratta (Varata), IGM F. 221, map C.

Amongst low hills.
Cantarelli (1978) 29-30.

Hellenistic-Roman to Byzantine; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Large necropolis; large pottery scatter; marble and stone fragments; wall of ashlar blocks.

5. **Firmo (Firma)**, S. Margherita, IGM F. 221, map C.

On a hilltop SW of Masseria Ciparsia, N of road leading to Firmo.
Klearchos 5 (1963) 154; Rainey, Lerici, eds. (1967) 303; Guzzo (1981a) 129, no. 73; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 71.

Roman.

Villa with mosaics and lead pipes (Guzzo); several fragments of stone columns (Lerici); fragment of mill-stone.

5 bis. **Altomonte**, località Vomereto, IGM F. 221, map C.

Calabria Citeriore (1989) 26.

Roman Republican: II-I C B.C.

Remains of possible villa: tile, pottery; mortar and crushed brick pavement.

5 bis I. **Altomonte**, Pantalio, IGM F. 221, map C.

On left bank of river Grondo, ca. 1km. from its confluence with Esaro.

Taliano-Grasso (1995) 20, no. 2.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic and epigraphic evidence.

Mosaic pavement, well, *dolia* and amphorae, loom-weights, mill-stone, tile; Imperial era necropolis whence may come CIL X, 125 (CAT. III, IGM F. 221, no. 1).

6. **S. Basile**, Ponte sulla Chianca, IGM F. 221, map C.

Among steep hills, at the torrent Malesperanza (Bettendiero), ca. 100.00m. before it meets the Coscile.

Cantarelli (1978) 23-24, figs. 5-6; Galliazzo (1994) 110, no. 210.

Roman; basis for dating: stylistic considerations.

Narrow bridge (ca. 23.00m. long; 0.94m. wide causeway; parapet wall 0.27m. high); single span. Nearby, ca. 150.00m. upstream the Coscile, remains of structure (mortared rubble) of possibly funerary function (Cantarelli, fig. 6).

7. **Castrovillari**, S. Maria del Castello, IGM F. 221, map C.

In old town of Castrovillari, below rocky hill of S. Maria del Castello.

Di Vasto (1978) 21; Guzzo (1981a) 127, no. 34.

Roman Late: ca. A.D. 250-350; basis for dating: ceramic and numismatic evidence.

Reportedly, tomb (now destroyed) built of *tegulae* with coins of Constantius II and Philip the Arab found below rocky hill. Nearby, late Roman pottery and fragments of *dolia*.

Previous occupation: Archaic material (VII C B.C.); Hellenistic material (IV-III C B.C.).

8. **Castrovillari**, S. Cataldo, IGM F. 221, map C.

NW of Castrovillari, in the hollow between the Coscile and E tributary.

Di Vasto (1978) 19; Guzzo (1981a) 128, no. 44.

Roman.

Now destroyed.

Villa (Di Vasto); pumice millstone.

9. **Castrovillari**, Giarra, IGM F. 221, map C.

SE of the above in similar setting.

Di Vasto (1978) 20; Guzzo (1981a) 128, no. 45.

Roman.

Now destroyed by construction work.

Large site is reported; fragments of *dolia*; bronze statuette of a Lar said to come from the site (now in Museo Civico in Castrovillari - unpublished).

10. **Castrovillari**, S. Domenica, IGM F. 221, map C.

In area of the Giardini, on S slopes of Petrosa.

Kahrstedt (1960) 95; Guzzo (1981a) 128, 47.

Roman Late Republican - late III C A.C.; basis for dating: numismatic evidence.

Coins from Caesar to Probus; villa (Guzzo).

11. **Castrovillari**, Monachelle, IGM F. 221, map C.

N. of Castrovillari, on relatively flat ground on left bank of torrent Fauciglia.

Di Vasto (1978) 20; Guzzo (1981a) 128, no. 46.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Villa (Di Vasto); thin-walled ware (TWW).

12. **Castrovillari**, Fauciglia, IGM F. 221, map C.

E of Castrovillari, in area of the Giardini.

Kahrstedt (1960) 95; Di Vasto (1978) 22; Guzzo (1981a) 128, no. 48.

Roman; basis for dating: building technique and historical considerations.

Part of road, also recorded in area of Eianina (*infra* no. 25); rubble and *dolia*.

13. **Castrovillari**, Valle Marino, IGM F. 221, map C.

SW of Castrovillari in low hills, above the Coscile.

Di Vasto (1978) 17; Guzzo (1981a) 127, no. 35.

Roman Republican: III-II C B.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Probably a villa (Guzzo); fragments of *tegulae*, *dolia*; pieces of lead pipes; fine and coarse pottery.

14. **Castrovillari**, Palombari (-o), IGM F. 221, map C.

Area of Giardini on low S slopes of Petrosa, N of Castrovillari.

Procopio in *FA* 13 (1958) no. 2275; Guzzo (1981a) 128, no. 39; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 59.

Roman Republican: I C B.C.; basis for dating: type of pavement.

Probably a villa; remains of *opus spicatum* and tessellate floors.

15. **Castrovillari**, Trapanato (Traponata), IGM F. 221, map C.

On low NW slopes of Monte S. Elia, E of Castrovillari.

FA 18-19 (1963-64) no. 7454; Guzzo (1981a) 127, no. 36; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 59.

Roman.

Pottery scatter; tile; building material.

Previous occupation: Greek material.

16. **Castrovillari**, Piano delle Rose, IGM F. 221, map C.

On low NW slopes of Monte S. Elia.

Di Vasto (1978) 18; Guzzo (1981a) 128, no. 37.

Roman.

Villa (Guzzo).

17. **Castrovillari**, Archidero, IGM F. 221, map C.

On NW slopes of Monte S. Elia.

Di Vasto (1978) 20; Guzzo (1981a) 128, no. 38; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 59; Taliano-Grasso (1995) 21, no. 23.

Roman; basis for dating: type of pavement.

Now destroyed.

Stamped *dolium* (L. MEIV(S) M.F.); fragment of *opus spicatum* floor; brick-made structure.

18. **Castrovillari**, Celimarro, IGM F. 221, map C.

At the Coscile, below S slopes of Riccetta, on low hill of Celimarro.

Miglio (1954) 3, 8; Di Vasto (1978) 23-24; Guzzo (1981a) 128, no.43.

Roman; basis for dating: association with other finds from area (Guzzo, Di Vasto); Roman Late: VI-VII C A.C.: necropolis (Di Vasto, p. 24).

Structure or settlement. Miglio reports scattered traces of pottery and building material around villa Gallo (modern) and on hill Celimarro, all 1000.00m. from villa of Camerelle (*infra* no. 20), road-remains and bridge (*infra* no. 25). Late Roman necropolis at foot of Riccetta.

Previous occupation: Iron Age, Hellenistic.

19. **Castrovillari**, Celimarro, IGM F. 221, map C.

Below S slopes of Riccetta, on low hill of Celimarro.

Cappelli (1960) 59-72; Di Vasto (1978) 22; Guzzo (1981a) 127, no. 50; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 60.

Roman; basis for dating: architectural and historical evidence.

Now seems destroyed although Cappelli talks about "strutture" in *contrada* Mattina visible at time of writing.

Bridge, ca. 100m. up-stream from modern bridge across the Coscile. N of it stretch of Roman road in *contrada* Camerelle (*infra* no. 20), ca. 300.00m. W of the villa at Camerelle (*infra* no. 20).

Road: ca. 5.00m. wide, ca. 2.50m. visible length; paving well preserved paving and ruts clearly visible.

20. **Castrovillari**, *contrada* Camerelle, IGM F. 221, fig. 19, map C.

12km. S of Castrovillari, ca. 1.5km. E of national road (SS. 19), on a plateau which falls gently E-ward and more steeply to SW.

Tine Bertocchi (1963) 135-152; Di Vasto (1978) 21; Guzzo (1981a) 128, no. 40; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 58.

Roman: 2/2 C I B.C.- 2/2 C III A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic and numismatic evidence.

Excavated area: ca. 5000 sq.m.; foundation walls preserved throughout; W terrace

wall up to max. height of 4.00m. at SW corner; presumed total site-area larger than preserved.

Principal measurements: ca. 82.00x50.00m.

Other measurements: courtyards: 'F': ca. 11.00x10.00m.; 'Z' ca. 19.00x22.00m. (both estimates from plan); width of walls: (median) external W wall 0.50m.; height of walls: W terrace wall: (median) 1.00m.; at SW corner close to 4.00m.

Building materials: *opus incertum*: W terrace wall; core of foundations and internal dividing walls: cemented reused brick, tile, rubble; pavements: mortar and crushed brick and beaten earth pavements.

Rectangular structure with W exposure toward valley of Coscile. N-S orientation along long axis with deviations in N and E part where alignment of some internal walls and superimposed pavements suggest minor rebuilding at later date.

External W terrace wall articulated with pilasters ca. 2.00m. apart; these create relieving niches that spring out of wall-mass at ca. 1.00m. above ground level; pilasters 0.50m. wide and 0.50m. thick at bottom; height of wall follows slope of land; other three external walls appear built in similar fashion, however, poorly preserved and originally lower; niches in E wall spring from ground level.


Rooms organised around two central spaces ('F' and 'Z'); beyond these, on N and S sides, large unarticulated spaces occupied whole width of building; S area badly damaged by later construction (modern farmhouse). Entrance probably on E side by way of corridor, possibly covered, 4.00m. wide.

Domestic quarter: large quasi-quadrangular space 'F' (ca. 11.00x10.00m.): square basin set into floor; basin bordered with limestone plaques set on the side; sporadic later walls of lesser width: N and S-W walls; spaces 'I' and 'G' along N side are later addition; threshold *in situ* in E wall of 'I'; 'G' paved with mortar; S of central space 'F', small room (unmarked on plan) paved with *opus spicatum*; below this, earlier pavement of mortar and crushed brick.

Large space 'Z' slightly off axis E of 'F' (ca. 19.00x22.00m.): open colonnaded court (E side conjecture): remains of plastered brick columns (2) in parapet wall (diam. 0.50m.); paved with tile (0.40m. on the side); size of open area: 8.00x11.00m.; corridor: 4.00m. wide on short sides, 5.00m., on long sides. Rectangular basin (0.40m. deep) on W side of open court area; plastered with hydraulic plaster; lead intake pipe at 0.05m. from rim, ceramic outflow pipe (diam. 0.13m.) in bottom SW corner; one step inside basin (S wall). E of court, series of rooms of varying sizes (unmarked on plan).

Industrial quarter: series of work-rooms designed for oil or wine production along courts on N side. From W to E: 'L' (8.30x8.50 m.) paved with mortar and

crushed brick; along N wall press-emplacement (oval, 1.50x2.00x0.07m.), built of mortar and crushed brick; channel issued toward two decantation vats in space 'M' (N of 'L'); vats: 1.50x1.15m., (one 1.20m., the other 1.25m. deep) plastered and paved with mortar and crushed brick; two vats linked with pipe at 1.00m. from bottom of dividing wall. At E end of row of N spaces, contiguous spaces 'W,V,X' perhaps constituted another press-installation; paved as 'L'; 'W' (2.40x2.80m.) paved with very fine pavement that reached side walls; *pithos* set in floor; 'V' (3.60x2.40m.) also had fine mortar and crushed brick pavement reach side walls. 'X', to S, may have contained a press; no channels for collecting liquids were found. 'N,O,S,T', likely storage spaces.

Large quantity of tile found in court 'Z' and other parts of structure (*imbrices* and *tegulae* with raised rims (0.03m. thick); a few tiles with stamp:  (0.11x0.03m. of stamp area); many fragments of *dolia*, especially in spaces 'L' and 'M'; pottery: Campana C, TS, ITS, ARS, LRW, common ware; coin of Constantius I Chlorus (305-306); lamp (III C A.C.); numerous fragments of glass, some III-IV C A.C.

21. **Castrovillari**, Ciparsi, IGM F. 221, map C.

S of Camerelle, on left bank of the Coscile, in low hills.

NSc (1884) 53 (Fiorelli); Guzzo (1981a) 128, no. 41; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 59.

Roman Late; basis for dating: type of pavement (unspecified) and numismatic evidence.

Villa with mosaics; tile, *dolium*, mill-stone; tombs; a coin of Ravenna: obv. FELIX RAVENNA, and city personification; rev. RAVE (Miglio, Guzzo).

22. **Castrovillari**, Mattina, IGM F. 221, map C.

Practically in the plain, S of water canal Amendola.

Di Vasto (1978) 21; Guzzo (1981a) 128, no. 42.

Roman; basis for dating: type of pavement.

Villa with floors in *opus spicatum*.

23. **Frascineto**, S. Lucia, IGM F. 221, map E.

Ca. 600m. SW of Eianina, between S. Lucia and Clavaro.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 115, no. 221.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence, wall-type and floor pavement.

Possibly large villa: ("...doveva sorgere una ricca ed ampia villa rustica"); dense pottery scatter, remains of mortared rubble masonry, elements for *opus spicatum* floor (on average, 0.86x0.56x0.24 m.).

23 bis. **Frascineto loc.** Chiesa di S. Pietro, IGM F. 221, map C.

Near church (S. Pietro).

FA (1963-64) no. 7454; Guzzo (1981a) 129, no. 76; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 78.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating not specified.

Remains of villa ("...materiale pertinente ad una villa ...romana imperiale." (*Calabr.Cit.* 78).

24. **Frascineto**, Le Vigne, IGM F. 221, map E.

On low slopes of Cozzo S. Elia SE of Eianina, 400m. NW of Masseria Arcuri. Quilici *et al.* (1969) 116, no. 249.

Roman; basis for dating: architectural evidence.

Remains of large villa with brick-built walls and *opus spicatum* floors.

Previous and/or contemporary occupation: numerous remains in area: pottery scatter (BG) ca. 700m. WNW of Masseria Arcuri; undated pottery scatter ca. 200m. NW of Masseria Arcuri; remains of mortared rubble and tile walls scattered about; graves *a fossa* with coarse ware.

25. **Frascineto**, IGM F. 221, map E.

Just N and S of main road to Castrovillari (S.S. N.105), at the 100.600-101.600km, and ca. 350m. SW of Eianina.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 113, nos. 190-191, 214, pls. XXVII, b; XXVIII, a-b; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 78.

Roman; basis for dating: building technique, historical considerations.

Traces of Roman road; stretches of retaining terrace-wall (one section ca. 25.00m. long): two parallel curtain walls built of boulders (pyramidally shaped stretchers 0.60-0.80m.; 0.40-0.60m.) and rubble in interstices; width of terrace-wall: 1.10m. Road surface of beaten earth and gravel; estimated width of road: 5.80m.; pottery sherds.

26. **Cività**, Timpone della Guardia, IGM F. 221, map E.

At the pass, 300m. SW of intersection between road from Cività and main road to Castrovillari (S.S. N. 105).

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 112, no. 180.

Roman; basis for dating: architectural remains.

Mortared walls; "cospicui resti di un insediamento agricolo di epoca romana".

27. **Cassano**, Castagna, IGM F. 221, map E.

On steep W slopes above gully N of Cassano.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 117, no. 261.

Roman Early Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence and type of mosaic pavement.

Fragment of mosaic pavement datable to I-II C A.C.; tombs built of stone slabs with Roman pottery ("vasi di epoca romana").

28. **Cassano**, IGM F. 221, map E.

Piazza S. Agostino, in town.

Guzzo (1975b) 364-365; Guzzo (1981a) 127, no. 33.

Roman; basis for dating: building technique.

Remains in *opus caementicium*; inscription -]BENEM[/F]ECIT - and coin of Vespasian come from the area.

28 bis. **Cassano**, S. Marco di Cassano, IGM F. 221, map E.

Caves at S. Marco, W of Cassano.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 117, no. 266.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Scarce Roman material (unspecified); also, Medieval.

Previous occupation: Neolithic and Early Bronze Age.

29. **Cassano**, Fontana di Maroglio, IGM F. 221, map E.

On gentle slope SW of Cassano near modern fountain.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 119, no. 283.

Hellenistic and Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Pottery scatter; ca. 200m. WNW fragments of *tegulae*.

Pottery scatter; ca. 200m. WNW fragments of *tegulae*.

30. **Cassano**, Fiego, Cannelle IGM F. 221, map E.

On gentle slopes south of Fontana di Maroglio.

Saletta (1967) 95; Quilici *et al.* (1969) 120, no. 318; Guzzo (1981a) 127, no. 32.

Roman Early Imperial: I-II C A.C.; basis for dating: numismatic evidence.

Tombs (one with coin of Marcus Aurelius); sparse material in the area: coin of Augustus; pottery (undated); cemented rubble masonry and ceramic water pipes.

31-32 void.

33. **Cerchiara**, Masseria Adducci, IGM F. 221, map E.

On low S slopes of Timpone della Motta, up-hill from farm-house.

D'Ippolito (1936) 83; Quilici *et al.* (1969) 101-102, no. 21.

Hellenistic-Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Large area of pottery scatter in an area otherwise known for remains of numerous tombs, probably Hellenistic (built of local stone, tile).

34. **Cerchiara**, Palazzo della Piana, IGM F. 221, map E.

On low W slopes of Timpone della Motta, ca. 1000.00m. W of site '33', on left bank of torrent Caldana.

D'Ippolito (1936) 80-81; Quilici *et al.* (1969) 102, no. 22, pl. XXVII, a; Guzzo (1981a) 128, no. 55; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 62.

Hellenistic (IV-III C B.C.) (tomb) and Roman Republican; basis for dating: pottery and mosaic.

Remains now missing.

Inside XIX C A.C. farm house courtyard found fragments of tile, *dolia*, sporadic Hellenistic material and fountain basin decorated with black and white mosaic.

Also, tomb (N-S) built of brick, plastered on inside with white and red plaster, over 2.00m long; suggested date: Hellenistic.

Mosaic 2.87x3.37x0.10m. large found not far from tomb inside water basin; tesserae of uneven size. In centre of basin, small column with jet-fountain; probably surrounded by low wall: revetments in vicinity. Around farm house, large area of pottery scatter.

35. **Cerchiara**, Torrente Caldana, IGM F. 221, map E.

Ca. 650m. SSE of Palazzo della Piana, on left bank of torrent.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 102, no. 23.

Roman; basis for dating: type of pavement.

Fragments of *dolia*; pottery scatter; *opus spicatum* pavement: size of bricks: 0.89x0.55x0.32m.

36. **Cerchiara**, Sciarapottolo, IGM F. 221, map E.

In river bed of torrent Sciarapottolo, ca. 750-800m. SW from Palazzo della Piana.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 102, nos. 24-25.

Roman; basis for dating: type of pavement.

Alluvial material, volatile.

In river bed, fragments of mortar and crushed brick floors and fragment of *opus spicatum* floor, water pipes, fluted column drum and undated pottery.

37. **Cerchiara**, Fonte delle Ninfe, IGM F. 221, map D.

Inside cave of Fonte delle Ninfe.

De Santis (1960) 29; Torelli (1977) 45-61; Quilici *et al.* (1969) 103, no. 30; Guzzo (1981a) 128, no. 54; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 62.

Unpublished material; on display at Museo Civico in Cosenza.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Votive deposit consisting of lamps and terracotta anatomical objects; ITS. Along modern road to cave and S of it, at the 12th km. of national road (S.S. N.92) large area of Roman pottery. Along same road undated tombs built of stone slabs and tile.

38. **Francavilla**, S. Fele, IGM F. 221, map E.

In the hills, in the area of *torrente* S. Fele.

Guzzo (1981a) 129, no. 74.

Roman.

Fragments of *dolia* and graves *alla cappuccina*.

39-44. **Francavilla**, I Rossi-Saladino-Vigne, IGM F. 221, map E.

On gently rising ground, below road S.S. N.105, at its 112th and 113th km.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 104, nos. 45-50.

Hellenistic-Roman and Roman; basis for dating: ceramic material.

Previous occupation: BG pottery; Iron age grave goods.

45. **Francavilla**, Gramignazzo-Fossiata, IGM F. 221, map E.

In the plain, ca. 300m. NW of Masseria della Madonna.

FA (1957) no. 2064; Quilici *et al.* (1969) 104f, no. 55; Guzzo (1981a) 129, no. 75.

Roman; basis for dating: building technique

Large villa; remains at 0.20-0.30m. below ground; walls built of mortared rubble; fragments of *dolia*, tile and bricks; tombs made of tile.

Previous occupation: unspecified Greek material.

46-47. **Cassano**, Morzoroso-Salinaro, IGM F. 221, map E.

In the plain, S of torrent Raganello, ca. 700m. WSW of Casale Alvani (no. 61 on original publication) and immediately W of Casale del Salinaro (no. 62).

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 105, nos. 61-62.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Large and dense areas of pottery scatter reported ca. 700m. WSW of Casale Alvani (on a hill overlooking right bank of the Raganello) and immediately W of Casale Salinaro. Scatter near Salinaro contained some BG, one round loom weight.

48-50. **Doria**, Piscina, IGM F. 221, map E.

N and NE of Casale Dragoni, on low ground.

Rainey, Lerici, eds. (1967) nos. 62, 56, 47; Quilici *et al.* (1969) 107, nos. 100-102.

Hellenistic-Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Three separate areas of sparse pottery scatters (ca. 800m. NW of Cas. Dragoni, ca. 400m. NNE of the Casale and ca. 600m. N of the Casale).

51. **Doria**, Masseria Basto, IGM F. 221, map E.

Ca. 550m. NW of Masseria Basto, on low ground.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 107, no. 105.

Roman Early Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Pottery scatter; one fragment of ITS. (*addendum*: ca. 500m. WSW from Mass.

Basto at Timpone Rosso pottery scatter, IV C B.C. to I-II C A.C.: *Sibari II* (1970) 15, n. 4).

52-55. **Cassano**, Cafasi, IGM F. 221, map E.

On low slopes SSE of Casale Capo Lanza, on either side of road to Lauropoli. *FA* 10 (1955) no. 4327; Rainey, Lerici, eds. (1967) nos. 3, 6; Quilici *et al.* (1969) 107, nos. 110, 117-119; Guzzo (1981a) 127, nos. 30-31; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 43-44.

Hellenistic-Roman: IV-I C B.C. (*Calabr. Cit.* 44; basis for dating: ceramic and architectural material.

Area rich in pottery and architectural remains extending over two terraces: remains of *opus caementicium* pavements, water pipes and ceramic water-settling tank; walls; mosaic pavement in bath; aqueduct; amphorae. Locals reported white marble fountain found in the area; preserved in nearby domanial house (Casale Capo Lanza).

Large necropolis extends along ditch-banks S of Casale; suggested date: IV-II C B.C., on basis of grave goods. (Quilici *et al.* (1969) 107, no. 117; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 43).

Possible previous occupation: fragments of BG.

56. **Cassano**, Coste di Placco, IGM F. 221, map E.

Immediately N of Lauropoli.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 108, no. 120.

Roman; basis for dating: architectural remains.

Remains of walls ("muri di fabbrica romani"), water pipe and fine ware (of unspecified date).

57-58. **Cassano**, Ponte di Mennola, IGM F. 221, map E.

On slopes E & SE of Lauropoli; two separate pottery scatters: one ca. 900m. N of Ponte di Mennola, another, ca. 1500m. E of Lauropoli.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 108, nos. 124-125.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Pottery scatter; predominantly Roman, with some BG.

59. **Cassano** Pantano, IGM F. 221, map E.

In valley of Raganello as it opens up SE of Timpone della Motta and ca. 510.00m. ESE of the 112th km. of road (S.S. N. 105).
 Quilici *et al.* (1969) 109, no. 136.

Hellenistic-Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Pottery scatter.

60. **Francavilla**, Macchiabate, IGM F. 221, map E.

On low slopes, ca. 200m. W of the 12.300th km. of road (S.S. N. 105); E and below Timpone della Motta.
 Quilici *et al.* (1969) 110, no. 142.

Hellenistic-Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Pottery scatter.

61-62. **Francavilla**, Macchiabate, IGM F. 221, map E.

On low slopes, at the 109.700th km. of the S.S. N. 105, between it and torrent Raganello.
 Quilici *et al.* (1969) 111, nos. 147-148.

Roman Early Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Two distinct areas of tombs made of large river stones and tile; some had rings as grave goods; much scattered tile.

63. **Cassano**, Casale Marasca, IGM F. 221, map E.

On W slope above river Eiano, below Casale.
 Quilici *et al.* (1969) 121, no. 328.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic and architectural evidence.

Under and around walls of domanial house traces of walls, pottery and bricks for *opus spicatum* floors (1.7cm. thick).

64. **Doria**, Piano della Corte, IGM F. 221, map E.

In the plain of the Coscile, not far from its left bank, ca. 400m. W of Masseria dela Corte.
 Quilici *et al.* (1969) 122, no. 357.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Rich area of pottery scatter: *tegulae* and *sigillata*.

64 bis. **Doria**, Chidichimo, IGM F. 221, map E.

In the plain of the Coscile, ca. 260.00m. SE of Masseria Chidichimo.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 123, no. 383.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Pottery scatter; lead piece.

65. **Doria**, Torre della Chiesa, IGM F. 221, map E.

In the plain of the Coscile, ca. 650m. ENE of Torre della Chiesa.

Rainey, Lerici, eds. (1967) no. 125, p. 303; Quilici, *et al.* (1969) 123, no. 392.

Hellenistic-Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Settlement or large farmhouse on low hill N of Doria: dense scatter of tile and pottery (Lerici, 303; Quilici).

Previous occupation: IV-III C B.C. material.

65 bis. **Doria**, Torre della Chiesa, IGM F. 221, map E.

In the plain of the Coscile, ca. 850.00m. S of Torre della Chiesa.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 123, no. 388.

Roman Early Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Fragments of ITS; large area of undated pottery; fragments of plaster. Also, Medieval pottery, slag.

66. **Doria**, Mandria Toscano, IGM F. 221, map E.

In the plain of the Coscile, W of Doria, ca. 250m. NE of Mandria Toscano.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 124, no. 404.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Rich area of pottery scatter, including BG and few fragments of dark Roman glaze.

Possible previous occupation: BG.

67. **Doria**, Moscarelle, IGM F. 221, map E.

In the plain of the Coscile, ca. 2000m. NW from its confluence with the Crati.

Rainey, Lerici, eds. (1967) no. 812; Quilici *et al.* (1969) 99, no. 4.

Hellenistic-Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Pottery scatter.

Previous occupation: V-IV C B.C. material.

68. **Doria**, Piano di Cammarata (Camerata), IGM F. 221, map E.

In the plain of the Coscile, S of river and S of Masseria Gallo.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 126, no. 418; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 59.

Roman; basis for dating: type of floor-pavement.

Area with *tegulae*, terracotta pipes and remains of *opus spicatum* floor(s); large *dolium*. Inscription to L. Verus probably comes from the area (CAT. III: IGM F. 221, no. 2) (Taliano-Grasso [1995] n. 24).

69. **S. Lorenzo del Vallo**, Masseria Guido - Piano La Musica, IGM F. 221, map E.

In the plain of the Esaro, on left bank, ca. 2km. S of its confluence with the Coscile.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 126, no. 423.

Roman; basis for dating: numismatic evidence.

Dense area of *tegulae* and pottery; numerous tombs covered with *tegulae*; fragments of *dolia*; Roman coins. Also BG.

70. **Terranova da Sibari**, Lacone, IGM F. 221, map E.

In the plain of the Coscile, ca. 1km. S of its present course.

Rainey, Lerici, eds. (1967) n. 1135; Quilici *et al.* (1969) 127, no. 456.

Hellenistic-Roman and Roman Imperial (II-III C A.C.); basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Pottery scatter and multitudinous fragments of *tegulae* (dating insecure [Lerici]).

Previous occupation: Hellenistic (IV C. B.C.) and Archaic.

71. **Terranova da Sibari**, Casa Pesce, IGM F. 221, map E.

In the plain of the Coscile, immediately SE of Lacone, just E of Casa Pesce.

Rainey, Lerici, eds. (1967) 85, figs. 49-51; Quilici *et al.* (1969) 127, no. 457.

Roman Early Imperial; basis for dating: type of pavement and ceramic evidence.

Roman pavement made of large ceramic tiles *in situ* ca. 0.20m. below ground; partially bordered on S side by slim wall; iron lamp (Rainey, Lerici, 85). Quilici reports a large area of unidentifiable pottery and tile, BG and Arretine ware, fragments of *dolia*, ceramic water pipes and large tufa blocks.

72. **Corigliano**, Masseria Diodati, IGM F. 221, map E.

In the plain of the Coscile, ca. 500.00m. S from its present course.

Rainey, Lerici, eds. (1967) no. 1186; Quilici *et al.* (1969) 128, no. 466.

Hellenistic-Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Pottery scatter.

Previous occupation: Archaic, Classical material.

72 bis. **Corigliano**, Masseria Tarsia, IGM F. 221, map E.

On low slopes of Pollinara, 200.00 W of Masseria Tarsia.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 128, no. 472.

Roman Late Republican-Early Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Dense area of pottery and tile including TS and BG; loom-weight; small millstone

Possible previous occupation: BG.

73. **Corigliano**, Grotta del Malconsiglio, fig.17, IGM F. 221, map E.

Set against gently rising slopes of Pollinara, in the plain of Coscile.

Galli (1930a) 7-128; Quilici *et al.* (1969) 128-129, nos.477-481, pl. 32 b,d; Guzzo (1981a) 129, no. 62; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 67.

Roman: II C B.C.-I C A.C.; possibly some occupation until early Middle Ages; basis for dating: ceramic, numismatic and archaeological evidence (bronzes).

Completely destroyed since excavations; area of excavated remains: 3000.00sq. m.; few worked stones and pottery scatter remain. At time of excavation walls were predominantly preserved at foundation levels so that entrances to individual rooms remained mostly unknown; same for main entrance.

Three building phases identified by Roman numerals (II-IV) and established on architectural grounds (types of masonry) and stratigraphy of walls; not confirmed by ceramic evidence: 'I' only denotes construction type and is not a building phase. (Galli, plan facing p. 46)

Building materials: 'I': reused large isodomic conglomerate blocks (ca.

1.60x0.60m.), smaller irregular blocks, boulders and broken flat tiles with raised edges mixed with mortar; 'II': blocks of stone (on average 0.40-0.50m. long) and tile as in 'I' mixed with mortar; 'III': flat tiles as in 'I' and 'II'.
Width of walls: 'I': 0.40-0.50m.

Large villa; identifiable are three distinct but interconnected parts, all with same orientation (NNW-SSE); cistern (8.50x3.60x3.00m.) barrel vaulted in mortared rubble.

Part I: spaces '1-22' (on original plan); in final phase, series of rooms organised around large rectangular court ('10'); excavated SE sector.

'1': *torcularium* (7.00x6.60m.) with *opus spicatum* floor and raised circular dais (1.60m. diam.) for press in NW corner (brick set on side); '4' and '5': *cellae oleariae* (ca. 1.30m. square) abutting SW corner of '1', on axis with dais in '1'; have plastered walls and *opus spicatum* floors; built into ground deeper than remainder of surrounding spaces; remains of *dolia* inside; '6': possible kitchen (traces of fire); '7': *horreum*; '8': possibly a *balneum*: lead pipe *in situ*, 0.41m. (preserved length) and 0.095m. diam.; laid along N wall of '6' in protective trench built of *tegulae* and extended under wall into '6'. Spaces '12' (possibly another kitchen: found large flue-tile), '16-17' show traces of rebuilding; three phases may be deduced from different building techniques; not precisely dated. '16': figurine of dancing Lar found on top of W wall, dated to I C A.C. on stylistic grounds. '23': corridor separated PART I and PART II of villa.

Lead and terracotta drainage and water-supply systems; ceramic pipes: three different systems were identified, all probably in existence from earliest period of occupation. Two long channels, 'b' and 'c' on plan, brought water to villa, as suggested by slope and position of pipe's narrow ends pointing toward complex. System 'b' composed of semi-circular upper *tegulae* (0.61x0.225m.) and rectangular lower ones (0.53x0.17x0.11m.); incline N, toward river. Conduit 'c': excavated length: 63.00m.; built of cylindrical ceramic elements (0.57m. long); some elements with manufacturer's stamp: PC.

Part II: spaces '24-34' (on plan); separated from part I by corridor '23'; '24-25' have coarse pebble floors: possibly stable or storage; '32' (1.50m. square) had black-and-white mosaic pavement with central rosette composed of eight rhombi inscribed in circle, all inside double square border.

Part III: eight or nine spaces; discontinued walls. '35' had rectangular plastered basin (3.75x1.80x1.20m.) abutted to N wall and paved with *opus spicatum* with settling hole set against N wall; four steps against E wall lead into basin; drainage conduit 'h' issued from it; consisted of ceramic elements of type used in system 'b'

and covered with flat tiles; continued in winding line in NW direction, cutting one corner of mortar pavement of '41', and then through space '40'. '39' contained storage pit consisting of circular hollow (0.78m. deep, 1.55m. in diam.) and upper part of *dolium*; '41' had mortar and crushed brick floor; in it, quadrangular basin 'k' (1.35x1.35x0.30m.) from which issued conduit 'm' built in same fashion as conduit 'h'. Cylindric ceramic tube of type used in drainage conduit 'c' built into side wall of basin; probably used for drainage; '44' had numerous pieces of wall-revetments and black and white mosaic tesserae scattered about.

Later occupation: (undated): Reused cylindrical drainage pipe (location 'f' on plan) built into wall in upright position contained remains of an infant's skeleton. Coins of Ferdinand IV of Naples (1797).

74. **Corigliano**, Prainetta (Plainetta), fig. 18, IGM F. 221, map E.

Ca. 100m. west of Casa Matavia (Matavaia); in the plain, ca. 100 m. from river as the crow flies; two sets of ruins on both sides of cart-road.

Galli (1930a) 99-124; Quilici *et al.* (1969) 129, no. 487; Guzzo (1981a) 129, no. 63.

Roman Republican - Imperial: II-I C B.C. and early Imperial (coin of Claudius); basis for dating: ceramic and numismatic evidence.

Partially excavated; now destroyed.

Two groups of remains separated by cart-road, originally connected; nine to ten spaces.

Building material: reused conglomerate blocks; mortared rubble and tile.

'1-2' (ca. 7.00x6.50m.): two walls built of reused conglomerate stones of large proportions; rest of mortared rubble and tile; divided into two unequal parts by NE-SW cross-wall; threshold on short SW side of '1'; *opus spicatum* pavement in '1' and mortar and crushed brick pavement in '2'; other spaces beyond, on at least three sides.

'7' (5.00x5.00m. internally): entrance in SW wall; mosaic pavement: panel of white tesserae with black geometric border; design of swastika-meander of spaced recessed reverse-turned swastikas with square in each space; off-centre, ornamental drain-cover shaped as snail-shell; twelve moulded engaged pilasters made of stucco along interior walls of '7'; ten had well and two only partially preserved plinths; possibly open to the sky; SW entrance walled up and new entrance opened in SE wall to space '8'; new door on slightly higher level; new level corresponds with level of mosaic. Traces of plaster (yellow with red socle) on one wall; on another, yellow panels and black bands.

'8' had mortar and crushed brick floor and cylindrical drainage pipe imbedded in wall at NW end.

'9' had two superimposed pavements; older: mortar and crushed brick; later: *opus signinum* (diagonally intersecting fillets of black tesserae set into mortar base); recent pavement at higher level, ca. 0.40m. higher than the earlier.

'10' contained water basin with plastered wall.

'5-6' each at level lower than previous. '6' had mortar and crushed brick pavement.

75. **Corigliano**, Masseria Carelli, IGM F. 221, map E.

On low slopes overlooking the Crati, on left bank.

Galli (1930a) 42-43; Quilici *et al.* (1969) 130, no. 508.

Roman Republican.

Ashlar blocks of masonry; tombs covered with tile.

76. **Corigliano**, Casale Feraudi, IGM F. 221, map E.

On low slopes of the Pollinara, on left bank of the Crati.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 131, no. 524.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: numismatic evidence.

Terracotta water pipes and coin of Antoninus Pius; limestone block (2.70x1.30x0.25m.).

77-78. **Corigliano**, Masseria Santopaolo, IGM F. 221, map E.

In Serra Pollinara, ca. 700m. as the crow flies due S from Fonte di Bruto.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 131, nos. 528-529.

Hellenistic-Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Dense area of tile and pottery scatters, identified as villa. According to proprietor, polychrome mosaic with images of lions and bulls was found; also BG lamps and large fragment of *dolium*. 200m. SW of above, ceramic water pipes; inner diameters diminishing gradually as one approaches site, presumably to improve pressure.

79-80. **Corigliano**, Fonte di Bruto, IGM F. 221, map E.

In Serra Pollinara, ca. 250m. NE of Fonte di Bruto and 600m. E of Casale Feraudi.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 131, nos. 530-531.

Hellenistic-Roman; basis for dating: topographical evidence: water pipes.

Two related sites; ancient source for which evidence now destroyed: water pipes

covered up by modern building. Aqueduct consisted of ceramic water pipes (N direction); remains preserved in discontinued sections whose northward direction may indicate villa at Grotta del Malconsiglio as final destination (no. 73 *supra*) (Quilici, nos. 482-480-479).

81-84. **Corigliano**, Casale Feraudi, IGM F. 221, map E.

In Serra Gabella on plateau, across from torrent, W of Fonte di Bruto.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 131, nos. 532-535, pl. XXXIV b, c.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: building technique.

Four sites that may be parts of one; on one, rectangular structure, probably tomb, 3.70x3.20m., built of coursed mortared rubble, *tegulae* and brick. Two long sides preserved up to spring of barrel vault; width of walls: 0.60m. Inside, three *loculi* (1.90x0.55m. each), cut into floor.

Area around structure: remains of ruinous structures built in same technique; pottery and tile scatters.

85-87. **Terranova da Sibari**, Marcodisanto, IGM F. 221, map E.

Serra Calcarella, on gentle slope N of Spezzano Albanese.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 131f, nos. 537-539.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Three distinct sites; ceramic water pipes, tombs covered with coarsely squared blocks; pottery scatters and fragments of *dolia*.

88. **S. Lorenzo del Vallo**, Masseria, IGM F. 221, map E.

NW of S. Lorenzo del Vallo.

Procopio (1952) 177-184; Quilici *et al.* (1969) 132, no. 554; Crawford (1969) 87, no. 195, pl. XI; Guzzo (1981a) 132, no. 156.

Roman Republican: III-I C B.C. (ca. 240s-89 B.C.)

Coin hoard of 311 coins; tile covered tombs.

Previous occupation: VII-VI C B.C. material (ceramic urn).

89. **Spezzano Albanese**, Lupara, IGM F. 221, map E.

Guzzo (1981a) 134, *addendum*.

Roman Imperial: I C A.C.

Small necropolis.

90. void.

91-95. **Corigliano**, S. Nico-Caccia di Favella, IGM F. 221, map E.

In the plain, area of Casale Elmo.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 138, nos. 637, 640-641, 644, 646.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Five distinct sites: 50m. SW, 100m. and 150m. NW and NE, ca. 500m. N of Casale are large areas of pottery scatter, tile and brick.

96. **Corigliano**, Torre di Zita, IGM F. 221, map E.

In the plain, ca. 700m. SE of Casale Zita.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 138, no. 639.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Large area of pottery scatter.

97-98. **Corigliano**, Fonte del Fico-Caccia di Favella, IGM F. 221, map E.

On low terrace of Fonte del Fico-Favella.

Rainey, Lerici, eds. (1967) 303f; Quilici *et al.* (1969) 139, nos. 648, 650-651;

Guzzo (1981a) 129, no. 65.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic and architectural evidence.

Large area of pottery scatter; near spring, remains of walls, mortar and crushed brick floor; Roman kiln just above terrace (Fonte del Fico) above spring; at spring, source of Roman aqueduct for Thurii/Copia. At Fonte del Fico, extensive ruins seen in the past, but nothing remains today; Roman pottery and tile fragments found on terrace above spring.

99-101. **Corigliano**, Caccia di Favella-Favella della Corte, IGM F. 221, map E.

In the plain of the Crati, ca. 400 n. NE of Fonte del Fico.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 139, nos. 653, 656, 658;

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic and architectural evidence.

Three distinct sites; two large areas of pottery scatter; brick-built walls faced with plaster, fragments of tile (one with rectangular stamp: M.F.); TS and fragments of *dolia*.

Previous occupation: Hellenistic pottery, tombs *alla cappuccina*.

102. **Corigliano**, Masseria Rizzo, IGM F. 221, map E.

Not far N of Masseria Rizzo along W side of road S.S. 106.

Rainey, Lerici, eds. (1967) 97, 299, figs. 131-133, pl. 25 c.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Building materials: *opus incertum*.

At 0.45m. below ground two walls built of *opus incertum*: corner of structure; brick and tile in considerable quantity; ITS plate or bowl with stamp: ALFI; much coarse ware; few nails.

IGM F. 222

1. **Amendolara**, *contrada* Camodeca - Piano del Plastino, IGM F. 222, map D.

On second terrace (from the sea), 48.00m.a.s.l.; property of E. Solano (1962).

Laviola (1962) 17; Guzzo (1975b) 359-360; Guzzo (1981a) 126, no. 6;

Settembrini (1996) 119, no. 16.

Roman Imperial: beg. I C A.C.; basis for dating: stylistic ground.

Opus signinum floor; pottery scatter, ca. 1ha. large: TWW, common ware, amphorae, storage jars, tile and brick.

2. **Amendolara**, *contrada* Falconara, IGM F. 222, map D.

SE of *contrada* Camodeca.

Laviola (1962) 18; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 35; Settembrini (1996) 116, no. 11.

Greek Classical-Roman.

Coin hoard: 17 silver, 6 bronze: chronologically disparate: e.g. stater of Caulonia (incuse), stater of Croton (420-390 B.C.), denarius of Scipio Africanus.

3. **Amendolara**, Piano di S. Giuseppe, IGM F. 222, map D.

Fourth terrace (from sea) near chapel S. Giuseppe left of road Amendolara

Stazione - Oriolo (SS 481).

Laviola (1962) 17-18; *idem* (1971) 47-52; *idem* (1974) 15-16; Settembrini (1993) 195-200.

Roman Imperial: III C A.C.; basis for dating: building technique, association with nos. 4-6 *infra*.

Aqueduct: ca. 3km. long from source to end (preserved) at Piano della Lista (*infra* no. 6); water-fall 130.00m.; conducted water from three sources (168-165-145m.a.s.l.); at Acquanova (165m.a.s.l.), captation basin (1.00x1.60m.; vaulted; 0.30m. wide walls; building technique as collector tank at Piano dell'Annunziata, *infra* no. 4); first stabilising tank at Andreassi (154m.a.s.l.) poorly preserved; second stabilising tank at S. Giuseppe (136m.a.s.l.); collector-tank at Piano del Russo (Piano dell'Annunziata) (*infra* no. 4); conduit: two terracotta elements set to form pentagonal section: ca. 0.20m. across; 0.50m. long, 0.025m. thick; good fitting joints; encrustations on inside, ca. 0.01m. thick. Capacity: 70.00l./sec. Length from source to second tank: 250m.; from it to oblong collector tank (*infra* no. 4) (125m.a.s.l.): 900m.

4. **Amendolara**, Piano del Russo (Piano dell' Annunziata), IGM F. 222, map D.

Third terrace not far from road Amendolara Stazione - Oriolo (SS 481), on the right, near the chapel dell'Annunziata.

Laviola, (1962) 17; *idem* (1971) 47-52; *idem* (1974) 15-16; Guzzo (1975b) 360; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 34; Settembrini (1993) 195-200; Settembrini (1996) 132, no. 27.

Roman Imperial: III C A.C.; basis for dating: building technique, association with nos. 5-6 *infra*.

Building materials (water tank): *opus mixtum*: rubble and fragments of *tegulae*. Oblong collector water tank (104m.a.s.l.): diam. ca. 30.00m.; width of double perimeter wall 1.50m. (inside perimeter wall 0.45 m, outside perimeter wall 0.60m. separated by narrow fissure); median preserved height 2.00m. (estimated original height 3.00m.; estimated capacity 2119.50 cubic metres); plaster (mortar and crushed brick) on inside partially preserved; thickness of plaster ca. 0.04m. Water pipe (under pressure) extended from collector-tank to stabilising-tank situated next to chapel (75 m.a.s.l.; ca. 10.00x22.00x2.00m.); quadrangular in section, fitting well together: units 0.30m. wide, 0.04m. thick, of *opus caementicium*. Length of conduit 150m. Size of tank: 10.00x22.00x2.00m.

5. **Amendolara**, Piano del Barco-delle Cappelluzze, IGM F. 222, map D.

Second terrace, on either side of SS 481, ca. 40.00m. apart.

Laviola (1962) 17; *idem* (1971) 47-52; *idem* (1974) 16; Settembrini (1993) 198-200; Settembrini (1996) 131-132, nos. 23-26.

Roman Imperial: III C A.C.; basis for dating: building technique, association with no. 6 *infra*.

Stabilising tanks (building technique as collector tank) and portions of aqueduct.

Aqueduct: conduit from stabilising tank at l'Annunziata forks into two (capacity: 40.00l./sec.) each issuing into tank at Barco (7.00x4.50m.) and Cappelluzze (fragment: 6.00x3.00m., vaulted element coated with squarish bricks on inside next to it) (both at 56.00m.a.s.l.). Length ca. 500m.; terracotta tubes: cylindrical; diam. 0.10m., 0.50m. long, 0.02m. thick. From tanks (at Barco and Cappelluzze), conduit continued for 500m. through Piano della Lista (60-30m.a.s.l.) (*infra* no. 6).

6. **Amendolara**, Piano della Lista-Madonna della Salute-S. Antonio-Valle dei Greci, fig. 20, IGM F. 222, map D.

Second terrace in areas of Masseria Lista, chapels Madonna della Salute and S. Antonio; ca. 8 ha (Settembrini, 198).

Laviola (1962) 17; *idem* (1972) 7; *idem* (1974) 16; Guzzo (1976a) 624-625; Guzzo (1981a) 126, nos. 5,7; Tucci (1987) 22-23; *idem* (1988) 26-27; Crogiez (1990) 413-415; Settembrini (1993) 198-200; Settembrini (1996) 121, nos. 19-20, 124, no. 22.

Roman Imperial: III-IV C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic and architectural evidence (Guzzo [1976a] 625).

Sparse remains at foundation level; investigated area (remains): ca. 10200.00sq. m. Building materials: walls: mortared rubble (pebble stones) and tile fragments. One complex ('A' on original plan), a series of individual walls (structures 'B-Q', 'S') and one well preserved structure ('R'). While structures appear in one coherent area, their association is unclear; at least two sets with different orientation.

Complex 'A': remains attached to and extend from chapel Madonna della Salute. Space 1: 3.16x5.20m.; thickness of walls: 0.50m.; wall extends from N-W corner in N-E direction for 13.50m.; wall from N-E corner extends for 14.80m. Space 2 adjacent to 1; defined only by its longer N-E and shorter S-E side: 13.50x5.30m.; thickness of walls: 0.55m.; N-E side interrupted by rectangular recess, 2.50x1.25m. Remains of *opus signinum* floor (*in situ*) to SE: black tesserae set into mortar and crushed brick. To SE two short walls (0.45m. thick) attached to orthogonal NW wall; short wall (0.50m. thick) parallel with NW wall; distance between them: 1.00m.; aligned with SW corner of space 2. Remains probably belong to baths (Settembrini, 198).

Structures 'B-G': walls of various thicknesses and orientations occupy area immediately SE of complex 'A'; thicknesses range from 1.00m. ('E'), to 0.90m. ('G'), to 0.75m. ('O'), to 0.60m. ('C', 'I-L'), to 0.45m. ('D', 'M', 'N'); rest are 0.50m. thick; NW of these some more bits of *opus signinum* floors associated with 'M': fragment I, 0.70x0.60m.; fragment II, 0.20x0.30m.

Cemetery: approximately 60.00m. NW of structure 'O'; destroyed by ploughing and no secure chronological data; possibly post-dating above described structures.

'P-Q': adjacent to chapel of S. Antonio; very fragmentary; thickness of walls vary: 0.55-0.75m.

Structure 'R' (partially reused for modern water-tank): vaulted; two walls 11.70m. long, 0.45m. and 0.60m. thick; hydraulic plaster on inside, imprints of brick-work on inside; also parallel and adjacent walls to above described ones: these are of varying lengths and thicknesses: thickness of one 0.50m. Remains of another vaulted structure ca. 3.00m. N of previous (orthogonal to it); dimensions: 1.90m. high, 3.30m. long; thickness of walls: 0.60m.

Very fragmentary wall remains ca. 30.00m. SE of structures described above; well built and used for hydraulic purposes (Guzzo [1976a] 625); fragments of two water pipes (diam. 0.16m.) found in two separate walls.

Aqueduct: at S. Antonio, 2.00m. below ground (30.00m.a.s.l.), a conduit at right angle to one described so far; in terracotta; cylindrical; discontinued sections found as far as sea-shore. (Laviola [1962] 17).

7. **Amendolara**, *contrada* Casa Vecchia, IGM F. 222, map D.

Inland, along path that takes off from bridge across torrent Potresimo on coastal road Amendolara Stazione-Trebisacce.

Laviola (1962) 17; Settembrini (1996) 135, no. 36.

Roman.

Roman *tegulae* built into house; at 80m.a.s.l. cemented boulders, tile and amphorae.

8. **Albidona**, Serra Palazzo, IGM F. 222, map D.

Guzzo (1981a) 126, no. 2; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 25.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Area of sparse fragments of ITS.

9. **Trebisacce**, *località* Chiusa, *proprietà* Russo, IGM F. 222, map D, fig. 21.

Along road (N.106), on N side, ca. 50.00m. after sharp bent at S exit from Trebisacce, ca. 200m. from sea.

Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 26, 1986 (Taranto 1987) 706; Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 27,

1987 (Taranto 1988) 649; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 120; Luppino, Sangineto (1992) 174-183; Settembrini (1996) 151, no. 17.

Roman Republican and early Imperial: mid II C. B.C. - I C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence: amphorae (Dressel 1 with variations, Dressel 2-4, Dressel 21-22, pseudo-Kos), fragments of containers for pitch (one with inscription: PIX.BRVTVC.C.R.S.S), Grey ware, early sigillata, TWW, red-polished ware, common and kitchen ware). Preserved at foundation level.

Two buildings for storage separated by street. Partially excavated: NW and SW corners of each building, street between them and one flanking them on W side. Walls built of unmortared pebbles with occasional conglomerate block inserted into wall-mass (wall 1) and amphorae fragments in interstices; abundant pottery (amphorae, storage vessels) and tile scatter (*imbrices* and *tegulae*); antefix. Building 1: W wall (wall 1: 8.00m. excavated length, 0.80m. wide) robust foundations and socle suggest underground space; S wall (wall 2: 9.30m. excavated length, 0.60m. wide) elevation in sun dried brick and wooden roof; internal subdivision(s) on wooden planks; entrance not found. Building 2: N wall (wall 3: 8.80m. excavated length, 0.45m. wide).

Streets (E-W) and (N-S) of beaten earth; predated buildings; width of E-W street: 3.70m.; width of N-S street: 6.50m. Along E edge of N-S street 33 amphorae in up-side-down position (secured with bits of pottery, stone and tile) placed in a row (for drainage) (originally in three rows). Wall 1 built against this.

10. **Trebisacce**, Carlodraga - I Giardini, IGM F. 222, map D.

In plain S of Trebisacce, 10-20m.a.s.l.

Guzzo (1981a) 134, *addendum*; Settembrini (1996) 152, no. 18.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Area of ARS.

Previous occupation: Greek pottery.

11. **Villapiana**, Torre Saracena-Torre Fregia-Masseria Bagotto-Raganello-Caselle, IGM F. 222, map E.

Coastal plain and low foot-hills.

Adamesteanu (1967) 266-269, pl. 8-9.

Roman; basis for dating and identification: historical considerations, aerial photographs, vegetation pattern.

Traces of coastal road seen on aerial photographs; only exiguous remains spotted on the ground. Road came down coast-line in almost straight line from Torre Saracena to Torre Fregia increasingly distancing itself from modern main coastal road (S.S. N.106). Continued inland to Masseria Bagotto; then, further inland to torrent Raganello where it is lost. From there, it seems to have continued in general direction of Caselle; course less clear along this stretch. Stretch N of Raganello can be tested on the ground: a number of relatively deep cuttings between banks; the rest, seen only in vegetation pattern; S of Raganello even more obscure.

11 bis I. **Villapiana**, Torre della Guardia, IGM F. 222, map E.

In the plain, near seashore, at Torre della Guardia (Cerchiara).

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 101, no. 13.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Pottery scatter.

11 bis II. **Villapiana**, Torrente Caldana, IGM F. 222, map E.

In the plain, near seashore, at railway bridge.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 101, no. 14.

Hellenistic-Roman: III-I C B.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Pottery scatter.

12-14. **Corigliano**, Marinetti, IGM F. 222, map E.

In alluvial plain of the Crati.

Rainey, Lerici, eds. (1967) nos. 1331-1333; Quilici *et al.* (1969) 140, nos. 661, 663-664.

Hellenistic-Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Three areas of pottery scatter.

Previous occupation: Archaic (VII C - VI C B.C.) and Hellenistic (Lerici, nos. 1331-1333).

15. **Corigliano**, Thurio, IGM F. 222, map E.

In alluvial plain of the Crati, just W of village Thurio.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 140, no. 665.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Fragments of Roman and Medieval pottery.

16-17. **Corigliano**, Torre del Ferro, IGM F. 222, map E.

In alluvial plain S of the Crati and E of railway station of Thurio.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 140, nos. 667-668.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic and architectural evidence.

XVI C A.C. century tower, Torre del Ferro, probably built on top of remains of structure of Roman date. Nearby, Roman pottery and pieces of limestone cubes probably used for *opus reticulatum* wall. Approximately 100.00m. E of tower vast area of brick, tile, Roman pottery, and remains of Roman structure covered with shrubbery.

18. **Corigliano**, Ministalla, IGM F. 222, map E.

Ca. 1000m. NE of Casale Ministalla on right bank of the Crati.

De Franciscis (1961) 80-81; Quilici *et al.* (1969) 140, no. 669.

Roman Imperial: II C A.C.; basis for dating: building technique, historical considerations (De Franciscis, 80-81).

Well preserved.

Measurements: 10.00m. of continuous length and interrupted bits along the course; 1.06m. width of supporting arches; height of arches: 1.29m.; spacing between arches: 1.15m.

Two aqueducts, one on top of other; lower had two water conduits built of ceramic tubes imbedded in *opus caementicium* mass faced with brick. It supported on series of arches built of irregular *opus reticulatum* (De Franciscis 81) the upper conduit, rectangular in section, and built of mortar and crushed brick; its bottom 5.23m. a.s.l.; decantation basin: circular plastered basin rested on substructure of stone and faced with brick. (De Franciscis 80-81).

19-27. **Corigliano**, Timparelle (Ministalla), IGM F. 222, map E.

In alluvial plain of the Crati, S of river.

Rainey, Lerici, eds. (1967) nos. 1157-1162, 1167-1172, 1249-50, 1256; Quilici *et al.* (1969) 141, nos. 670, 672-677, 681, 683.

Hellenistic-Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Sporadic traces of pottery.

Previous occupation: sporadic Archaic and Hellenistic material.

28-30. **Corigliano**, Favella-Casale Marinetti, IGM F. 222, map E.

In the plain, on S bank of the Favella *collettore* and ca. 525m. E of road E of Masseria Rizzo and ca. 500m. W of Masseria Marinetti (Rainey, Lerici, 297). Rainey, Lerici, eds. (1967) nos. 1400, 1402, pp. 94, 297-299, figs. 125-130, pls. 24b, 25 a,b; Quilici *et al.* (1969) 141, nos. 695-696, 698.

Hellenistic-Roman and Roman Imperial: I-late II/III C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence (red slip plate).

Building materials: *opus incertum*: stone and broken brick set in mortar.

Part of structure: excavated area included three rooms with walls of *opus incertum* and floors of mortar and crushed brick and one floor of *opus spicatum*; last had raised, circular, platform or column base imbedded in floor (fig. 126, bottom right: "platform" = probably bed of press). Unstamped roof-tiles in coarse, pinkish terracotta, scattered fragments of pottery: coarse and heavily burnt, two fragments of late Roman fine ware (red slip) and two amphorae; small bronze saucepan, nails, lump of fused lead. (Rainey, Lerici [1965] 297). Late Republican material at nos. 28-29 (Quilici, nos. 695-696).

31-32. **Corigliano**, Marinetti, IGM F. 222, map E.

500m. E of Casale della Favella (today Masseria Rizzo). Quilici *et al.* (1969) 142, no. 700-701.

Roman; basis for dating: architectural evidence.

Unidentified Roman structures and remains of aqueduct reported years ago.

IGM F. 228

1. **Belvedere Marittimo**, Vetticilli (-ello), IGM F. 228, map F.

On plain of Vetticello.

Guzzo (1980) 304; Guzzo (1981a) 126, no. 11; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 37; La Torre (1999) 217, no. 203.

Roman Imperial: I-II C A.C.

Tombs.

2. **Belvedere Marittimo**, S. Litterata, IGM F. 228, map F.

In coastal location, on low sand terrace.

La Torre (1999) 216, nos. 196-197.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic and architectural evidence.

Pottery and tile scatter; vaulted tombs of cemented rubble and tile facing: one: 1.90x0.70x1.00m.; grave goods unknown.

3. **Belvedere Marittimo**, *contrada* Petrosa, IGM F. 228, map F.
On hill overlooking torrent Vallecupo, ca. 220m.a.s.l.
La Torre (1999) 217, no. 199.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Scarce pottery scatter: TWW, red-slip ware, common ware.

Subsequent occupation: Medieval pottery.

4. **Belvedere Marittimo**, *contrada* Cotura, IGM F. 228, map F.
Between Capo Tirone and torrent di Mare.
La Torre (1999) 218, no. 208.

Roman Imperial?; basis for dating: architectural considerations.

Tombs made of brick and tile and circular structure, possibly, mausoleum; some brick with stamp QVST.

IGM F. 229

1. **Acquappesa**, Palment(i)ello-Scoglio della Regina, IGM F. 229, map G.
On the promontory.
Guzzo (1978a) 479; Guzzo (1981a) 126, no. 1; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 25; La Torre (1999) 223, no. 228.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

ITS and amphorae.

2. **Fuscaldo**, S. Leonardo, IGM F. 229, map G.
Crawford (1969) no. 49; Guzzo (1981a) 129, no. 77.

Roman Republican; basis for dating: numismatic evidence.

Coin hoard dated between 91-79 B.C.

2 bis. **Paola**, Cutura, IGM F. 229, map G.

53-59m.a.s.l., N of torrent Palumba.

Calabria Citeriore (1989) 89; La Torre (1999) 223, no. 230.

Roman Republican-Imperial: I C B.C. to Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic and architectural evidence.

Olive/wine press; circular hypocaust elements; painted plaster; *opus incertum*, *latericium* and *mixtum* walls; *opus incertum* walls of *basis villae* (preserved 3.00m high, over 10.00m. long); red plaster; much pottery: BG, TWW, ITS, ARS, common and kitchen ware; circular hypocaust elements; square press-bed.

3. **S. Vincenzo La Costa**, Piano di Capone, IGM F. 229, map G.

Crawford (1969) 58, no. 67; Guzzo (1981a) 133, no. 165; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 107.

Roman Republican; basis for dating: numismatic evidence.

Coin hoard dated between 300-212 B.C.

4. **Mottafollone**, Cerreto, IGM F. 229, map F.

Guzzo (1981a) 130, no. 108; Masseria (1982) 64; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 85.

Roman (Guzzo).

Villa with mosaic(s) and fragments of columns (Guzzo). In territory of municipality of Mottafollone various objects and structures were found and described by D. Cerbelli in 1857; statuette of Lar, and by association, other objects and structures found in area tentatively attributed to same period (Masseria).

5. **Roggiano Gravina**, Larderia, IGM F. 229, map F.

Spread over S foothills on left bank of the Occido not far upstream from its confluence with the Esaro.

Chiarlo (1974) 67-75; *Atti Taranto* 15, 1975 (1976) 625-626; *Atti Taranto* 16, 1976 (1977) 888; *Atti Taranto* 17, 1977 (1978) 474-475; *Atti Taranto* 19, 1979 (1980) 385-386; *Atti Taranto* 20, 1980 (1981) 309; *Atti Taranto* 21, 1981 (1982) 222; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 97; *Atti Taranto* 30, 1990 (1991) 585; Faedo (1993) 449-453; *Atti Taranto* 32, 1992 (1993) 449-453, 798-799.

Roman Late Republican - Imperial: end I C B.C./beg. I C A.C. - end III C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic (BG, ITS, ARS) and stylistic evidence (black-and-white mosaics: end I-beg. II C A.C.; polychrome mosaics: end II-beg. III C A.C.). (Chiarlo, 74; *Atti Taranto* 1979 [1980] 386; *Atti Taranto* 1992 [1993]).

Varying degrees of preservation: elevations, foundations.

Some dimensions: Complex I: one room 8.00x10.00m.; width of walls: (median) 0.60m. (phase I); 0.45m. (phase II); no floors found. (Chiarlo, 68-71).

Complex II: diameter of apse: 3.00m.; diameter of semicircular niche: 1.50m.; rectangular room: 5.00x4.00m. with apse in W wall and door (1.30m.) in E wall; square underground space: 3.00m. (Chiarlo, 73-75).

Building materials: Phase I: mortared rubble with prevalence of river stones; Phase II: *opus mixtum*: as phase I with brick quoins. (Chiarlo, 68, 70, 73, figs. 3-4).

Two complexes approximately 200.00m. apart, but likely originally connected.

Complex I: Phase I: disconnected wall and rectangular room with door in S wall and possibly another in E wall; water channel starts E of door in S wall: 12.70m. long (S direction), 0.27m. wide, of mortar and crushed brick. Phase II: partially superimposed onto walls of phase I; no complete space identified, but larger area than phase I; channel in masonry with false brick vault.

Pottery (fine, common, lamps); *pithoi* (fragments and whole, covers); roof-tiles; fragment of grain-mill; glass; iron nails; coin (illegible): associated with later walls. (Chiarlo, 68-71).

Complex II: several phases; ca. 200m. NW uphill from Complex I:

BATHS: series of rectangular and square rooms of varying sizes (most with basins paved and plastered with hydraulic mortar; some with hypocaust) at higher level; at lower level, below the baths: terrace wall articulated with niches; behind, series of rooms decorated with mosaics and painted plaster; ramp flanked by semicircular fountain (*Atti Taranto* 1979 [1980] 385); brick stairway up to baths in NW sector (*Atti Taranto* 1981 [1982] 222, pl. 30,2).

Baths: rooms communicated via corridor (covered with barrel vault) and by means of brick stairway with complex I; some have apsidal elements; one, horse-shoe shaped with steps inside; *tubuli* in walls attached with T-clamps; central hot-air channel conducted air to each room; types of conduits: ceramic pipes and channels in *opus caementicium* covered with *bipedales*; large hypocaust room in E sector; water-collector in SE sector; painted plaster in some rooms and corridor; underground square space (3.00m.) covered with groin vault; mosaic pavements, black-and-white (earlier) and polychrome geometric (later); mortar and crushed brick pavements; *opus spicatum* floors; marble revetments. (Chiarlo, 73-74; *Atti Taranto* 1975 [1976] 626; *Atti Taranto* 1976 [1977] 888; *Atti Taranto* 1977 [1978] 475; *Atti Taranto* 1981 [1982] 222; *Atti Taranto* 1992 [1993]).

Pottery (ITS); white marble moulded rectangular base.

Postdating baths: KILN: post III C A.C. (*Atti Taranto* 1976 [1977] 888).

5 bis. **Roggiano Gravina**, Prunetta, IGM F. 229, map F.

On low hill overlooking the Esaro.

NSc (1879) 77; *NSc* (1926) 332; Guzzo (1981a) 132, no. 143.

Roman; basis for dating: inscriptional evidence.

Latin inscription; various finds: pottery, glass, tile.

5 bis I. **Roggiano Gravina**, Garofalo, IGM F. 229, map F.

W of Roggiano, on a plateau.

Taliano-Grasso (1995) 27, no. 116.

Roman Imperial: II-III C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Small necropolis; two small amphorae.

6. **Malvito**, *località* Pauciori (-uri, Panciuri), fig. 23a,b, IGM F. 229, map F.

In valley of the Esaro, on left bank.

Atti Taranto 20, 1980 (1981) 309; *Atti Taranto* 23, 1983 (1984) 581-582; *Atti Taranto* 25, 1985 (1986) 431; Flambard et al. (1985) 558-562; Crogiez-Petrequin (unpublished manuscript); *Atti Taranto* 29, 1989 (1990) 584; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 81; *Atti Taranto* 30, 1990 (1991) 585; Crogiez, Luppino (1990) 486-490; Crogiez (1990) 420-21; Crogiez, Luppino (1991) 349-353; *Atti Taranto* 32, 1992 (1993) 798; Crogiez, Kermorvant (1993) 458-462; Crogiez (1996) 478.

Buildings: Phase I: Roman Republican: early II - I C B.C. (Campanian A [Ischia], Camp. B-oide, Camp. C, local ware imitations of Sicilian BG of early II C B.C., Hannibalic and post-Hannibalic coins).

Phase II-IV, (possibly) V: Roman Imperial: end I C A.C. - IV/V C A.C. (ITS, ARS A, ARS D, LR common ware, IV C A.C. coins).

Road: possibly Republican but could also be later: grey ware and coins (Crogiez, Kermorvant [1993] 461).

Basis for dating: ceramic, numismatic and stratigraphic evidence.

Excavated area: extensive architectural remains mostly at or just above foundation level: floors largely missing; 19560.00 sq.m. surveyed with electrical resistivity method. (Crogiez, Kermorvant [1993] 458).

Principal measurements (phase II-IV): court: ca. 27.00x17.00m.

Building materials: phase I (*horrea*): mortared rubble (boulders); phase II-IV (baths): solidly built mortared rubble (boulders) (phase I porch wall); brick-courses; phase V: no mortar, predominantly reused material and boulders.

Large complex partially excavated (E side): large rectangular court bordered by portico along whose E side are several interconnected spaces (thermal function) built over earlier and smaller (Republican) structure--granary. Electrical resistivity

prospection revealed architectural remains W, N and S of court and apparently another court surrounded by rooms W of this. E of complex same survey detected remains of road (ca. 40.00m.) flanked by structures (E-W orientation). Another rectangular structure (ca. 14.00x10.00m.) SW of these; and another long and large anomaly SE of road: possibly another road or ditch. (Crogiez, Kermorvant [1993] 458-460, fig. 17); 10.00m. wide building with apse on N side (diam. 5.00m.) (Crogiez 1996).

Phase I: granary part of farmhouse: two buildings facing one another (N-S); remains of *dolia* inside, and between them, many *in situ* (Atti Taranto 23, 1983 [1984], pl. 86,1; Flambard [1985] 559). N sector of excavated area (later baths): two structures (one rectangular, one smaller and square (0.40m.) with floors and walls of *bipedales*; plastered; probably associated with granary; how, unclear: lime and clay on floors. Painted plaster found in Republican levels in area of later porch of baths (dated by pottery and coins): red lines unequally spaced on yellow background. (Atti Taranto 30, 1990 [1991] 585).

Phase II-IV: **baths**: parts overlay granary; exact chronological sequence of phases remain undetermined; large, irregular complex (Flambard [1985]) 561, fig. 12 use with caution (personal information, Luppino); (1993) 459, fig. 17); E sector excavated: comprised rectangular hypocaust room ('11' on plan) - *caldarium*, large *latrina* (3), three *praefurnia* ('12-13', '15'), and several other less securely identifiable spaces some of which apsed; these flanked on W side by a portico and court. Suggested core of baths: *praefurnium* I, *laconicum*, *caldarium*, cistern; expansion to include two *tepidaria*, *latrina* and *praefurnia* II and III; reduction to exclude latrine and several other spaces. (Flambard [1985] 560).

'11': *caldarium*: 78 pilasters of hypocaust support pavement of square *tegulae*; traces of black-and-white mosaic; square and round *tubuli* preserved in walls. (Atti Taranto 23, 1983 [1984] 581-582).

'3': *latrina* (ca. 4.50x3.00m.) with benches along three sides and door, later blocked, off corridor on W side; paved with flat tiles.

'12': *praefurnium* I: the oldest, behind *latrina*; rectangular; tiles damaged by fire; thick layer of ash due to long use. '13', *praefurnium* II replaced '12'; both replaced by *praefurnium* III ('15').

'9': *tepidarium*: cruciform arrangement of basins (4).

'1': possible *laconicum*; built over square cistern opposite which was a fountain.

Portico and court: to the W ('17' on plan), portico beyond which opened court;

date of construction uncertain; excavated are two walls on east side of court of different dates: more recent wall coated with patterned green plaster on court-face; pattern: dark green semi-circular elements on light green background; still later phase: cross-wall shortened portico. Porch column(s) and pilasters of brick; fragments of four pilasters at 2.90m. interval and one column further N *in situ*; angle pilaster; fragments of reused columns in wall of redesigned porch. At N end of portico, court drained by channel built of tile, for the floor, and brick for the sides capped with blocks of stone.

Debris between older and more recent portico walls: roof-tile, and pottery: under the level of collapsed tile: BG (mainly type C), much ITS (two stamped 'RI' and 'M--SC' *in planta pedis*) and ARS A, a bronze bell, and inscribed rim of ceramic basin: SUI FECIT EM-TORIS; above tile-level: large quantity of glass cups (diam. 0.4cm.) all of same form, late Roman common ware (relief), few bronze needles and two bone-pins. (Crogiez [unpublished manuscript for 1989 report]; *Atti Taranto* 29, 1989 [1990] 584; Crogiez, Luppino [1990] 488).

Phase V: Several cross-walls in porch area (especially N sector) and N of porch belong to later phase: no mortar, no foundations, much reused material; function of spaces unknown; chronology unclear; coin of Magnentius. (Crogiez, Luppino [1990] 488).

Road: E of baths; 4.00m. wide; construction: four layers of boulders increasing in size with depth; fifth layer, surface made of gravel and mortar (no ceramic material); flanked by structure(s) E-W orientation: two meagre columns marking entrance. Rectangular basin paved with *bipedales* partially superimposed on W edge of road.

Later occupation: cemetery: Late Medieval.

7. **Malvito**, *proprietà* Mirabella, IGM F. 229, map F. Masseria (1982) 65.

Roman: probably Imperial.

Large area of pottery scatter, *tegulae*, fragments of *opus spicatum* floor, fragment of wall, all suggesting a "grossa villa romana di probabile epoca imperiale". Site cut by provincial road Malvito - S. Sosti - Roggiano Gravina at the 9-10th km. from Malvito.

8. **S. Marco Argentano**, Casello, IGM F. 229, map F.

Large area of finds disturbed by ploughing; on gentle slope.

Guzzo (1981a) 132, no. 158; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 112-113; Taliano-Grasso (1995) 27, no. 125.

Roman Republican and Early Imperial.

"Villa rustica." (Guzzo); remains of tombs (*fossa* and *alla cappuccina*) (undated); coins (*proprietà* Ida) (3: IV-II C B.C.; 2: Byzantine); coins (*proprietà* ESAC) (Neronian); 15 *dolia* (1.00m. diam.); pottery scatter; column drums.

- 8 bis. **S. Marco Argentano**, Bivio Cimino, IGM F. 229, map F.
Guzzo (1981a) 133, no. 159; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 103.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Dolium.

9. **S. Marco Argentano**, Corso, IGM F. 229, map F.
Guzzo (1981a) 133, no. 160; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 102.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Tomb with ITS.

- 9 bis. **S. Marco Argentano**, loc. Cona, IGM F. 229, map F.
W of Tarsia on hillside.
Taliano-Grasso (1995) 27, no. 130.

Roman Late Imperial.

Remains of structures; *opus spicatum* pavement; part of road (N-S).

10. **Montalto Uffugo**, Pantuoni-Tesoro, IGM F. 229, map G.
Reportedly from area of Pantuoni-Tesoro.
CIL X 121-122; Guzzo (1976b) 130-132; Guzzo (1981a) 130, no. 102; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 82.

Roman Imperial: 2/2 II C A.C.; basis for dating: inscriptional evidence.

Cinerary urn (white marble) reportedly found in the area: for text see: CAT. III, IGM F. 229, no. 3.

11. **Terranova da Sibari**, Mannaro, IGM F. 229, map E.
In hills of S. Agostino, above left bank of the Crati.
Quilici, *Carta* (1969) 133, no. 569.

Roman; basis for dating: numismatic evidence.

Tile scatter, lamps and Roman coins.

11 bis. **Terranova da Sibari**, Juliano, loc. Gelsi, IGM F. 229, map E.

On gentle S slopes, left bank of the Crati.

NSc (1909) 182f; Quilici *et al.* (1969) 131, no. 536; Guzzo (1981a) 133, no. 178; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 114.

Roman Imperial: III-IV C A.C.; basis for dating: numismatic evidence (Maxentius Hercules).

Six tombs: iron implements, coin of Max. Hercules; scattered tile and pottery.

12. **Terranova da Sibari**, Salice, IGM F. 229, map E.

On a plateau, on E side of road connecting Terranova da Sibari and road (S.S. N.19) Castrovillari-Cosenza, ca. 700m. before sharp bend eastward.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 133, no. 571.

Roman; basis for dating: building technique.

Foundation walls; pottery and tile.

13. **Tarsia**, Masseria Ameruso, IGM F. 229, map E.

On low S slopes of La Bufalara, not far from main road Castrovillari-Cosenza (S.S. N.19).

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 133, no. 578.

Roman; basis for dating: reportedly, *opus spicatum* floor.

Opus spicatum floor reportedly found by farmers; also, area of tile and *dolia* fragments; tombs covered with tile.

14-16. **Tarsia**, Masseria Camigliano, IGM F. 229, map E.

On W bank of torrent Straccio; on low slope.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 133f, nos. 582-584; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 113.

Hellenistic and Roman; basis for dating: wall painting and ceramic evidence.

Three distinct large areas rich in archaeological material: BG, Roman brick and tile, terracotta drain pipes and partially destroyed wall with remains of painted plaster (red, green, yellow); coarse ware; tufa blocks.

16 bis I. **Tarsia**, Mazzolino, IGM F. 229, map F.

E of torrent Follone, on low ground.

Calabria Citeriore (1989) 112.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Pottery: amphorae; tile; *dolia*; walls and floors of *opus spicatum*; fragments of columns; lead pipes.

Previous occupation: IV-III C B.C. pottery; Neolithic material in the area.

16 bis II. **Tarsia**, Lauro-Macchione del Bruco, IGM F. 229, map F.

Calabria Citeriore (1989) 112.

Hellenistic-Roman: IV-II C B.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Abundant material: settlement and necropolis (not specific).

16 bis III. **S. Demetrio Corone**, S. Agata, IGM F. 229, map F.

Guzzo (1981a) 132, no. 153; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 102.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

"Villa con sigillata italica." (Guzzo)

17. **S. Demetrio Corone**, Serra Castello, IGM F. 229, map E.

On S plateau of Serra Castello overlooking *torrente* Galaltrella.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 136, nos. 586-587, pl. XXXVI, a.

Roman; basis for dating: architectural remains.

Foundations under remains of Medieval structure. Medieval ruin stands on top of "strutture di epoca romana". Immediately S, ca. 100m. long and 50m. wide, area of brick, tile, pottery and cemented rubble.

Previous occupation: Bronze and Iron age material.

18-26. **S. Demetrio Corone**, Serra Castello, IGM F. 229, map E.

On N plateau and slopes of Serra Castello, S and N of Casale Rizzo, overlooking the Crati and *torrente* Galaltrella.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 136, nos. 593-601; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 66.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Several distinct areas of pottery scatter and tile - of varying sizes and densities - extend over large area on plateau S and N of Casale Rizzo.

Previous occupation: Bruttian settlement (IV C B.C.): settlement walls, round tower. (*Calabria Citeriore*, 66).

- 27-29. **S. Demetrio Corone**, Dianoro, IGM F. 229, map E.
Località Dianoro NE, N and NW of Masseria Santopaolo on low slopes of Serra Cagliano.
 Quilici *et al.* (1969) 137, nos. 603, 605-606.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Three distinct sites of pottery scatter, tile and brick; aqueduct still visible in few places appears to have served neighbouring sites; water conduit, 0.20m. wide, of brick, shows signs of repair.

Previous occupation: few pieces of Archaic pottery.

30. **S. Demetrio Corone**, Casale Fontegrotte, IGM F. 229, map E.
 100m. S of Casale Fontegrotte (78m.a.s.l.).
 Quilici *et al.* (1969) 137, no. 607.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Large area of brick, tile and pottery scatter; walls visible in few places.

- 31-33. **S. Demetrio Corone**, Ogliastretto, IGM F. 229, map E.
 Ca. 200-500m. NE of Casale Fontegrotte overlooking *torrente* Galaltrella, on E side of the latter.
 Quilici *et al.* (1969) 137, nos. 608-610.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Three large areas of pottery scatter, tile and brick; mortared rubble lumps turn up in ploughing.

- 34-35. **S. Demetrio Corone**, Fruschetta, IGM F. 229, map E.
 On low N slopes of Serra del Corvo, ca. 750m. SE of Casale Montalto and ca. 500m. NE of Fonte del Pero.
 Quilici *et al.* (1969) 137, nos. 613-614.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Fragments of pottery and large area with tombs (*alla cappuccina*).

- 36-40. **S. Demetrio Corone**, Macchia Puzzo, IGM F. 229, map E.

On low slopes, around Fonte del Pero and Casale Marini.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 137, nos. 615-619.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Five distinct sites of pottery scatter, spread out and not very dense.

41. **S. Demetrio Corone**, Costa Mangini, IGM F. 229, map E.

On a plateau of Serra Cardillo, overlooking *torrente* Muzzolito, ca. 900m. S of Villa Baffa.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 138, no. 620.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Tile and pottery scatter.

- 42-49. **S. Demetrio Corone**, La Gabelluccia, IGM F. 229, map E.

On low plateau (150m.a.s.l.), around Villa Baffa and Casale Gabelluccia.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 138, nos. 621-628.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Eight distinct areas of pottery scatter; tile.

- 50-51. **Corigliano**, Le Muraglie (Piscopello), IGM F. 229, map E.

On top of terrace Le Muraglie to the right of old bed of the Crati.

Cavallari, *NSc* (1879) 252, pl. 5; Rainey, Lerici, eds. (1967) 99, 299, 304, figs. 80, 134, pl. 26, a-d; Quilici *et al.* (1969) 138, nos. 629-630, pl. XXXVI, c.

Roman Republican; basis for dating: ceramic and numismatic evidence: coin found at base of a wall: date: 229-197 B.C. (Rainey, Lerici, 299)

Sondage: ca. eight metres of wall built of eight courses of rough stone and pebbles set in mortar; rested on wider foundation of bigger stones. Top course of wall: 0.20m. below ground. 1.50m. from N end of trench it is met by cross-wall whose excavated length, as deduced from illustration, is ca. 1.50m.; traces of burning on wall, pottery and tile. Intact mortar and crushed brick pavement located at brow

of hill overlooking valley. Pottery scatter, fragments of *dolia*, brick and tile extend over area of ca. 150m. in diam.: coarse ware with finger-impressed decoration (rim); one tile with lozenge-pattern decoration typical of Roman bath. Wall foundation level produced three sherds, probably Hellenistic. Drilling and magnetometer survey in the valley between Le Muraglie and the Crati disclosed occasional Roman pavements (Rainey, Lerici, 299, 304).

Previous occupation: Hellenistic.

- 51 bis. **Corigliano**, Piscopello, IGM F. 229, map E.
SE of Le Muraglie.
Quilici *et al.* (1969) 138, no. 631.

Roman; association with Le Muraglie.

Remains of aqueduct used to be visible; nothing remains today.

- 52-53. **Corigliano**, Malopenso, IGM F. 229, map E.
Virtually on flat ground, in area of Casale Benincasa, ca. 150m. and 500 m. E of the Casale.
Quilici *et al.* (1969) 138, nos. 632-633.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Two areas of sparse pottery scatter.

- 54-55. **Corigliano**, Casale Tocci, IGM F. 229, map E.
On low ground, N and E of Casale Tocci.
Quilici *et al.* (1969) 138, nos. 634-635.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Two large areas of pottery scatter, tile and brick.

56. **Corigliano**, Occhio di Lupo, IGM F. 229, map E.
On low slopes, E of *torrente* Mizofato, ca. 500m. W of Casale Drammis.
Quilici *et al.* (1969) 142, no. 708.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Dense area of brick, tile and pottery.

57. **Corigliano**, Occhio di Lupo, IGM F. 229, map E.
On low slopes, E of *torrente* Mizofato, ca. 400m. NW of Casale Campagna.
Quilici *et al.* (1969) 142, no. 711.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Large area of pottery scatter.

58. **Corigliano**, Casale Ceramelia, IGM F. 229, map E.
In the hills, ca. 600m. SW of the Casale.
Quilici *et al.* (1969) 144, no. 734.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Large area of brick, tile and pottery.

- 58 bis. **Mongrassano**, loc. Garrata, IGM F. 229, map F.
On right bank of torrent Cucchiato, at 242th km. of S.S. 19.
Taliano-Grasso (1995) 25, no. 96.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Pottery scatter, fragments of large *dolia*, tile.

- 58 bis I. **Mongrassano**, loc. Granata, IGM F. 229, map F.
On right bank of torrent Granata just before it reaches torrent Cucchiato.
Taliano-Grasso (1995) 25, no. 97.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

ITS, *dolia*, tile and brick.

59. **Bisignano**, IGM F. 229, map F.
In the area, at the 12th km. 'Strada provinciale destra Crati'.
Guzzo (1981a) 127, no. 14; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 38.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Area of Roman period activity: *tegulae* and *impasto* pottery.

60. **Luzzi**, S. Vito, IGM F. 229, map G.
On right bank of the Crati, on low plateau that slopes gently from E to W.

Atti Taranto 13, 1973 (1974) 385-386; Guzzo (1974a) 449-484; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 79-80.

Roman-Imperial: 2/2 I C. A.C. - mid II C. A.C.; basis for dating: numismatic evidence (Vespasian to Hadrian and one of the Antonines).
Now covered over by modern road.

Necropolis: 18 tombs; inhumations with approximate E-W orientation; *alla cappuccina* with flat or semicircular *tegulae* in some cases topped by layer of boulders. Bodies interred at 1.00-1.50m. below ground level; generally, poorly preserved. Grave goods deposited either in or outside graves. Four types of rectangular stamps on tile and occasionally on *imbrices* suggest Imperial production: a) M.A.P. AVG. F//S.F.P. b) M.A.P.//S.F.P. c) S.F.P. d) M.A.P. (Guzzo, 478).

Grave goods: coins, three pieces of gold jewellery, two mirrors, lamps, pottery, glass; one tomb had a set of bronze and iron surgical instruments; coins poorly preserved; iron objects found in and around graves: nails (wooden coffins).

61. **Luzzi**, Muricelle, IGM F. 229, map G.
Plateau (200.00m.a.s.l.) and slope on right bank of the Crati.
Calabria Citeriore (1989) 80-81.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Walls in *opus caementicium* and brick; floors of mortar and crushed brick and *opus spicatum*; stamped tile, ITS and ARS, Dressel 2-4, *dolia*.

- 61 bis. **Luzzi**, Chitirano, IGM F. 229, map G.
W of Luzzi, between torrent Ilice and Gidora.
Taliano-Grasso (1995) 24, no. 82.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: numismatic evidence.

Pottery scatter and one coin of Vespasian.

- 61 bis I. **Luzzi**, Gidora, IGM F. 229, map G.
On right bank of torrent Gidora, S of fountain Chitirano.
Taliano-Grasso (1995) 24, no. 83.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

ITS, tile and brick.

61 bis II. **Luzzi**, Periti, IGM F. 229, map G.

On left bank of torrent Pescara.

Taliano-Grasso (1995) 24, no. 86.

Roman Republican and Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Remains of farm with kiln (II C B.C.-II C. A.C.); ceramic pipes, fragment of column, fragments of large *dolia*; terracotta antefix.

IGM F. 230

1. **Corigliano**, S. Mauro, IGM F. 230, map E.

On hill-slopes SE of abbey S. Mauro.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 142, no. 714.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Fragments of pottery.

Previous occupation: Archaic material.

2-4. **Corigliano**, Casale Giosafat, IGM F. 230, map E.

On low slopes in area of Casale Giosafat.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 143, nos. 718-721.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Three large areas of brick, tile and pottery; marble inscription (CIL X. 123) built into S tower of S. Maria in Valle Josaphat (Giosafat) (see CAT. III, IGM F. 230, no. 1).

5-6. **Corigliano**, Giosafat, IGM F. 230, map E.

On low slopes above Casale Giosafat, ca. 400m. and 800m. S of Casale.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 143, nos. 723-724.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Two areas of pottery, tile and brick, one large, the other small.

7-11. **Corigliano**, Casale Occhio Lupo, IGM F. 230, map E.

On low slopes, in the area of Casale.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 143, nos. 725-729.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Five areas of pottery scatter, tile and brick; one large (ca. 80.00m. S of Casale) and others sparse; all within area of ca. 400m. around the Casale.

12. **Corigliano**, Casale Colucci, IGM F. 230, map E.
On low slopes, 80m. N of Casale.
Quilici *et al.* (1969) 144, no. 731.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Pottery scatter.

13. void.

- 14-15. **Corigliano**, Casale Citrea, IGM F. 230, map E.
On low slopes, in the area of Casale Citrea.
Quilici *et al.* (1969) 144, nos. 740, 742.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Two areas of pottery scatter.

- 16-17. **Corigliano**, Muzzari, IGM F. 230, map E.
On low slopes, S of Casale Facani.
Quilici *et al.* (1969) 144, nos. 746-747.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Two small areas of pottery scatter.

18. **Corigliano**, S. Vito, IGM F. 230, map E.
In low hills, ca. 150m. NE of Casale Tocci.
Quilici *et al.* (1969) 144, no. 748.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Pottery scatter; also, Medieval pottery.

19. **Corigliano**, Muzzari, IGM F. 230, map E.
On low slopes, ca. 200m. N of Casale Monaco.

Quilici *et al.* (1969) 145, no. 753.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Sparse area of pottery scatter.

- 20-21. **Corigliano**, Casale Peppajo, IGM F. 230, map E.
In the plain, near S.S. N. 106, ca. 60m. and 50m. from Casale.
Quilici *et al.* (1969) 145, nos. 755-756.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Two areas of pottery scatter and tile, N and E of Casale.

22. **Corigliano**, Casale Renzi, IGM F. 230, map E.
On low slopes, 150m. SE of Casale Renzi.
Quilici *et al.* (1969) 145, no. 757.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Fragments of pottery.

- 23-28. **Corigliano**, Pantano del Curcio, IGM F. 230, map E.
On low slopes, in the area of Casale Vallemarina.
Quilici *et al.* (1969) 145, nos. 764-769.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Six areas (200-600m. from Casale) of pottery scatter, tile and brick N, NE and NW of Casale; also, Medieval pottery.

- 29-30. **Corigliano**, Casale Falcone, IGM F. 230, map E.
On low slopes in the area of Casale Falcone.
Quilici *et al.* (1969) 145, nos. 770-771.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Two areas of pottery scatters, ca. 200m. NW and 100m. S of Casale.

31. **Rossano**, Tornice, IGM F. 230, map H.
Coastal plain.
Guzzo (1974a) 446-448; Guzzo (1981a) 132, no. 149; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989)

101; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 30, no. 58.

Roman Late: IV C A.C.; basis for dating: epigraphic evidence.

White marble *titulus*; also structures and tombs (now mostly destroyed).

Inscription: CAT. III, IGM F. 230, no. 3.

31 bis. **Rossano**, Santa Maria del Patirion, IGM F. 230, map H.

In the area of the monastery.

Tallano-Grasso (1994) 30, no. 55.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: stylistic evidence.

Columns, capitals; CIL X, 8088.

32. **Rossano**, Solfara, IGM F. 230, map H.

On left bank of torrent Nubrica, ca. 200m. from sea.

Guzzo (1981a) 132, no. 150; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 101; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 30, no. 57.

Roman Republican to Late Imperial: II C B.C.-IV C A.C.; basis for dating: numismatic and ceramic evidence.

Rooms with *opus spicatum* floors; vat plastered with hydraulic cement; kiln and kiln wasters; loom weights; glass, pottery scatter (Campana C: II-I C B.C.; ITS and LITS with two stamps in *planta pedis*: I-beg. II C A.C.; ETS, ARS; amphorae (Dressel 1 and 2-4); coin of Maximianus Herculius.

Previous occupation: III C B.C. BG.

32 bis. **Rossano**, Monachella, IGM F. 230, map H.

On low slopes.

Taliano-Grasso (1994) 30, no. 53.

Roman Late; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Pottery scatter.

33. **Rossano**, Casello Toscano (ex Mascaro), IGM F. 230, map H.

FA 9 (1954) no. 5002; Guzzo (1981a) 132, no. 148; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 101; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 30, nos. 50-51.

Roman Republican to Late Imperial: I C B.C.-IV C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic

evidence.

Tomb *alla cappuccina*; pottery with stamp: TIGRANES (Guzzo); Arretine ware as grave goods (now lost); remains of buildings: baths late (M. Massoni, personal information); remains of mole belonging to port of Roscianum, *opus caementicium* walls, *opus spicatum* floors, cemented brick floors, fluted columns, ceramic water pipes, fragments of amphorae, *dolia* fragments with lead repairs, ITS and ARS (Taliano-Grasso; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989).

34. **Rossano**, *contrada* Foresta-Santa Venere-Fego, IGM F. 230, map H.
On hilly ground overlooking the Trionto; three neighbouring areas.
Atti Taranto 16, 1976 (1977) 889; Guzzo (1981a) 132, no. 147; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 101; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 30, nos. 52, 56.

Roman Republican (II C B.C.)-Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Foresta: villa with semi-columns and Doric capitals; loom-weights; pottery scatter: BG (late) and ITS, ARS; fragments of *dolia*; brick. Santa Venere-Fego: walls; sparse fragments of BG and ITS; at Fego, burials inside amphorae (III-I C B.C.).

Subsequent occupation: early Medieval pottery.

35. **Paludi**, Castiglione, IGM F. 230, map H.
On a hill (NE-SW orientation, ca. 1km. long, ca. 400m. wide), flanked by river Coseria on E side and torrent Scarmaci on W.
Iacopi in *FA* 5 (1950) 142, no. 1624; Procopio in *FA* 13 (1958) 10, no. 132; Kahrstedt (1960) 92; Guzzo (1981a) 131, no. 126; Pagano (1986) 99; Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 31, 1991 (1992) 422; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 30, no. 48.

Roman Republican - Early Imperial and Late Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic and numismatic evidence.

Two tombs (late II C B.C.); building IV (no other details) with II C B.C. occupation; Roman Republican and late Roman coins; coins of Copia; fragment of Latin inscription; lamp (Imperial) and fragments of ARS.

Previous occupation: IV-III C B.C. fortified settlement. Subsequent occupation: gold coin of Philepicus Bardanes (711-713) and silver coins of Basilus I and Constantius VIII (869-870)

- 35 bis. **Cropalati**, Strange, IGM F. 230, map H.
On gentle slope, overlooking the Trionto.
Taliano-Grasso (1994) 28, no. 27.

Hellenistic (end IV C B.C.)-Roman Late (IV C A.C.); basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Large building scatter (tile, brick); obsidian flakes; *dolia*; ceramic water pipes; kilns with kiln wasters; BG, ITS and ARS.

36. **Crosia**, Mirto (Sorrenti or Cappelle), IGM F. 230, map H.
S of railway station Mirto-Crosia, on west slopes overlooking the Trionto.
Procopio in *FA* 9 (1954) no. 4953; Kahrstedt (1960) 92; Guzzo (1981a) 129, no. 66; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 71; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 28, no. 28.

Roman Late Republican-Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Rubble walls; *opus spicatum* floors; sandstone fluted columns; stamped brick; ceramic water pipes; two mills (round with square shaft, diam. 0.50m.); loom-weights; tile covered tombs without grave goods.

37. **Crosia**, Decanato, IGM F. 230, map H.
Coastal plain, east of S. Giovanni Battista, 450m. from beach.
Taliano-Grasso (1994) 28, no. 29.

Roman Late Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence (ARS).

Dense pottery scatter and walls (over 2ha.); tile, brick, cemented brick floors, *dolia*, kitchen ware and ARS.

38. **Crosia**, Santa Tecla, IGM F. 230, map H.
S. of Torre Santa Tecla on terraced hill.
Taliano-Grasso (1994) 28, no. 30.

Roman Late Republican-Late Imperial (end IV C A.C.); basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Surface finds: ca. 3ha. Mortared rubble walls; *opus spicatum* and *opus signinum* (with white marble tesserae) floors; kiln wasters; rare are ITS and ARS (kitchen ware); ARS (numerous); amphorae Dressel 2-4; lead piece; bronze coin of Constantius II; small necropolis uphill (coin of Constantius II).

39. **Calopezzati**, Prato, IGM F. 230, map H.
Along the road (S.S. 106).
Taliano-Grasso (1994) 26, no. 3.

Roman Republican: end II-I C B.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Much tile and amphorae Dressel 1.

40. **Calopezzati**, Carreria, IGM F. 230, map H.

Ca. 300.00m. NE of Calopezzati.

Taliano-Grasso (1994) 26, no. 1.

Roman Republican: II-I C B.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Tile, brick, kitchen ware, fragments of amphorae and *dolia*.

41. **Calopezzati**, Gadice, IGM F. 230, map H.

Between torrents Calamitti and Cupo, ca. 110.00m. from beach; damaged by railway construction.

Atti Taranto 16, 1976 (1977) 890; Guzzo (1981a) 127, no. 25; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 39; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 26, no. 2.

Roman Republican-Late Imperial: II C B.C. - IV C A.C.

Pavement of mortar and crushed brick; *opus spicatum* floor; walls of brick and rubble mixed with brick; lead pipes; brick, ceramic water pipes, fragments of *dolia*, kitchen ware, BG, amphorae Dressel 1 and 2-4, African kitchen ware; loom weight.

42. **Pietrapaola**, Armaro-Gabbella, IGM F. 230, map H.

Two areas: on low slopes, ca. 300.00m. from coast and ca. 80.00m. N of S. Giuseppe Operaio.

Procopio in *FA* (1958) no. 2370; Guzzo (1981a) 131, no. 130; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 29, nos. 45-46; Luppino, Sangineto (1992) 182.

Roman Republican: II-I C B.C.; basis for dating: numismatic and ceramic evidence.

At Armaro (Manche di Procello): brick and tile; kitchen ware; ca. 50 amphorae (Dressel 1) set up-side down for drainage; at Gabbella (=Canonicato in Procopio): rubble walls mixed with tile; amphorae Dressel 1; reported are bronze Roman figurines; several tombs (II-I C B.C.); Republican coins; palmette-shaped terracotta antefix.

43. **Scala Coeli**, San Levo, IGM F. 230. map H.

On left bank of torrent San Leo, near railway tower.

Tallano-Grasso (1994) 30, no. 59.

Roman Republican: II-I C B.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Fragments of ITS, tile, brick for *opus spicatum* floors and *dolia*.

44. **Cariati**, Zagaria, IGM F. 230, map H.

On low slopes.

Taliano-Grasso (1994) 27, no. 10.

Roman Republican-Imperial: II C B.C.-beg. II C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Walls, pavements of brick fragments and mortar; BG (Campana C), ITS (one with stamp *in planta pedis*), *dolia* and amphorae (Dressel 1 and 2-4); kiln wasters; loom weights; iron bits (nails), lead and bronze pieces; four fragments of tile with rectangular stamp: /W MECONI (13.50x3.00cm.).

45. **Cariati**, Palumbo, IGM F. 230, map I.

On isolated plateau with steep sides (except N).

Taliano-Grasso (1994) 26, no. 5.

Roman Republican to Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Scattered material.

Previous occupation: Bronze age to Hellenistic (with interruptions).

46. **Cariati**, railway station (F.S.), IGM F. 230, map I.

At railway station.

Taliano-Grasso (1994) 27, no. 9.

Roman Late; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Brick wall and much late Roman material.

47. **Cariati**, Copanello del Salto, IGM F. 230, map I.

On NW slope of plateau.

Taliano-Grasso (1994) 26, no. 4.

Roman Late Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Rubble walls ca. 50.00m. NE of water source; ARS, and one fragment of Hayes

3H (Asia Minor).

Previous occupation: Bruttian necropolis.

48. **Campana**, *contrada* da Torracca, IGM F. 230, map I.
Crawford (1969) no. 49; Guzzo (1981a) 127, no. 26; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 40.

Roman Republican; basis for dating: numismatic evidence.

Coin hoard dated between 300-212 B.C.; 78 coins.

49. **Campana**, *contrada* da Pignataro, IGM F. 230, map I.
Calabria Citeriore (1989) 39.

Roman.

Tomb.

50. **Bocchigliero**, Calvario, IGM F. 230, map I.
On a plateau, at Macchia del Calvario.
Di Cicco (1900) 607; Kahrstedt (1960) 87; Guzzo (1981a) 127, no. 16.

Roman.

Possibly Roman activity/occupation: "indizio di casali o di ville rustiche"; large *dolium*. Copper vessel found inside pot (Di Cicco).

51. **Pietrapaola**, Orgia, IGM F. 230, map I.
On the plateau.
Taliano-Grasso (1994) 30, no. 49.

Roman Republican-Imperial: I C B.C.-I C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic and numismatic evidence.

Pair of gold earrings; iron agricultural tools; bronze ring; silver coin of Vespasian; bronze coin of Copia; Roman tile.

52. **Umbriatico**, Carrocceddu, IGM F. 230, map I.
Along the road to Umbriatico, opposite *contrada* Malocutrazzo, in the hills.
Spadea (1991) 561.

Roman Late - Early Medieval: VI-VII C A.C.; basis for dating: stylistic

considerations.

Tombs; bronze *fibulae*, ring.

IGM F. 231

1. **Cariati**, S. Maria, IGM F. 231, map I.

In tourist village S. Maria, ca. 2km. E of Cariati Marina, ca. 150 m. inland from beach.

Di Cicco (1900) 605-606; Kahrstedt (1960) 86; Guzzo (1981a) 127, no. 27; *Klearchos* 25 (1983) 129-130; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 41; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 26, no. 7.

Roman Republican and Imperial: III C B.C. (architecture and pottery); Roman II-VII C A.C. (architecture and pottery); basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

III C B.C.: farmhouse; **Late Roman**: (partly reused previous walls): *opus incertum* walls and cemented brick floor; three spaces of considerable size (13.70m. long wall): walls in *opus caementicium* (mortared pebbles and bricks, V-VI C); kiln with round combustion chamber; Latin inscription (CIL X, 120; CAT. III, IGM F. 231, no. 1); lava mill-stone; iron objects; Roman coins (also, Greek, Byzantine and Medieval). Pottery on site: ARS A2, ARS A/D; TWW; African kitchen ware; Late Roman C (Asia Minor).

At Ragone (Rago) (NW of S. Maria along the coast): *opus caementicium* wall attached to grave (*alla cappuccina*: early Med. pot may come from it), dated to III-IV C A.C.; bronze coin of Constantine I.

Subsequent occupation: Byzantine and Medieval: VI-VII C A.C. pottery, kiln wasters.

2. **Cariati**, Serre Boscosse (Frasso), IGM F. 231, map I.

Along railway line.

Taliano-Grasso (1994) 26, no. 8.

Roman Republican: 1/4 II C B.C. and Late Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence and numismatic (for Late Roman).

Pottery; one tile with double stamp: KALAM, LUSIPTEL. One coin of Constantine.

Previous occupation: Iron age; end IV-III C B.C.

3. **Crucoli**, Manele-Riganni, IGM F. 231, map I.

On a plateau in the basin of river Nica, on right bank, near source Manele; view toward sea.

Spadea (1991) 554; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 28, 29, nos. 33, 38.

Roman Imperial (villa) and Early Medieval: VI-VII C A.C. (burials).

Villa with *caldarium*; fluted column fragments; black and white mosaic; fragments of *dolia*, brick, tile, loom-weights; much kitchen ware; Attic BG; BG (Italic) and ITS. At bottom of hill, VI-VII C A.C. grave of rubble and tile-cover abutted to Hellenistic chamber tomb. (Taliano-Grasso, Spadea)

In vicinity, six inhumation burials, two of which are multiple burials. Some grave goods: bronze and silver earrings; no pottery; two tombs without grave goods. General typology (for this and other sites (*infra* nos. 4,8,8bis,9-11,13): bodies in supine position, in long and narrow grave pits lined with local stone slabs and reinforced with rubble; occasionally, bed of pebble stones placed at bottom; rare is *opus coementicium* floor; covers mostly missing, but when they occur they are slabs cut from local stone or reused tile; mostly uniform orientation and placed close to one another, in fairly regular rows. (Spadea)

Previous occupation: Hellenistic chamber tomb.

4. **Crucoli**, Silipetto, IGM F. 231, map I.

Inland, on steep slope.

Spadea (1991) 559-560; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 29, no. 39.

Roman Late-Early Medieval: VI-VII C A.C.

Necropolis consisting of 56 tombs; another 25 nearby. General typology as for Manele-Riganni (no 3.); graves in several parallel rows, on occasion utilising sides of two neighbouring graves as party-walls. Some multiple burials with three or two bodies; 19 without grave goods; 7 child-burials; reused material in eight cases.

Some grave goods: silver and bronze earrings, bronze *fibulae*, bronze and iron rings; bronze buckles; glass; iron knife; lead; glass beads.

5. **Crucoli**, Cassia, IGM F. 231, map I.

On NE slopes, near intersection between national road (S.S. 106) and local road to Crucoli.

Sabbione (1977) 935; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 28, nos. 32, 36.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Probable traces of farmhouse: amphorae deposits and heating installations; *opus incertum* walls and remains of mosaic. At Piana Grande (E of Cassia and N of

Torretta): Roman tile and *dolia* fragments; one coin of Sulpicius Galba.

6. **Crucoli**, Piano di Mappa (Mazza), IGM F. 231, map I.

Ca. 1200.00m. from mouth of the Nica, near crossroads between S.S. 106 and road to Umbriatico.

Sabbione 1976 (1977) 935; Fotti in *Klearchos* 21 (1979) 183; *idem* in *Klearchos* 23 (1981) 142; Guzzo (1981a) 134, *addendum*; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 29, no. 37.

Roman Republican and Late Imperial: III C B.C. and III-V C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Roman period occupation: villa or farmhouse: remains of walls; kiln (square).

Previous occupation: Hellenistic farmhouse(?): V-III C B.C.

7. **Crucoli**, Torretta, IGM F. 231, map I.

Along the coast in Torretta; five sites.

Sabbione (1977) 935; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 29, nos. 35, 40-44.

Roman Republican: II-I C B.C.

Torretta-Lungomare (NW of railway station, ca. 50.00m. from beach): tombs *alla cappuccina* with stamped tiles (LUSIPTEL KALAM); one tomb with bronze coin (late Republican: O/Janus, R/prow with legend ROMA). Torretta-Stazione F.S.: walls built of *spolia*; kitchen ware and glass; amphorae (Dressel 1 with rectangular stamps on handles: M SCA - CALAM) (II-I C B.C.). Torretta-Rione Labonia (SE of station): pottery scatter; walls. Torretta-Via Marina (SE of station): amphorae deposit (II-I C B.C.); one, Dressel 1 with rect. stamp on handle: M SCA - CALAM, and on outside of lip (illegible). Torretta-Via Nazionale (at foothills): remains of structures (II-I C B.C.); large *dolium*; ceramic pipes; figurine (barbed face); ITS and amphorae.

At Mecocampo (on right bank of torrent Giardinello, S of Torretta): cinerary *olla*, two glass jars, bronze mirror (Republican).

7 bis. **Crucoli**, Manipuglia-Destra di Madonna, IGM F. 231, map I.

Near the monastery, on N slopes of plateau.

Taliano-Grasso (1994) 29, no. 34.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic and numismatic evidence.

Pottery and building scatter (tile and brick); walls; bronze Imperial coins; lamp.

8. **Cirò**, Castelluzzo di Sotto, IGM F. 231, map I.

Inland, overlooking a torrent, NW of Cirò.
Spadea (1991) 558; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 27, no. 19.

Roman Late: VI-VII C A.C.; basis for dating: stylistic evidence.

Eight tombs (typology as for Manele-Riganni, no. 3); ARS D, gold necklace, glassware, bronze earring, bronze buckles.

- 8 bis. **Cirò**, Carrocello (Carroceddu), IGM F. 231, map I.
On a plateau, W of Cirò.
Spadea (1991) 561; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 27, no. 18.

Roman Imperial and Late: VI-VII C A.C. (for Late); basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Unspecified occupation for Imperial period (ITS); tombs for Late phase; bronze *fibula*, ring decorated with angel.

9. **Cirò Marina**, Cannaro, IGM F. 231, map I.
On a hill, near property Caparra.
Spadea (1991) 557-58; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 27, nos. 21, 24.

Roman Republican and Early Imperial: I C B.C.-I C A.C. and Late Roman: VI-VII C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence and grave goods.

Early phase: pottery scatter (ITS, two with stamp OPT *in planta pedis*), *unguentarium*; loom-weights, kiln tools and discarded tile, two Republican bronze coins (Janus and prow of ship). Late phase: four tombs; heads to W; one covered with reused tile; one grave contained four burials; another, two children. Some grave goods: two silver box-*fibulae*: decorated with two heraldic pheasants on either side of *kantharos*; silver earrings; jugs with one or two handles; painted jugs. (Spadea).

At Tirone-Cantine Ippolito (NE of the station at Cirò Marina): late Roman tomb destroyed by clandestine digging.

10. **Cirò Marina**, Taverna, IGM F. 231, map I.
Near railway station of Cirò Marina.
Spadea (1991) 557; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 28, no. 23.

Roman Republican, Imperial and Late (VI-VII C A.C.); basis for dating: numismatic and stylistic evidence.

Walls; coins (two silver *denarii*, eight Rep. bronze coins and two Imperial); two tombs with simple tile covers; jugs; date: VI-VII C A.C. (Spadea).

11. **Cirò Marina**, Ceramidio, IGM F. 231, map I.

On low slopes overlooking river Lipuda.

Spadea (1991) 555-556; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 28, no. 22.

Roman Late-Early Medieval: VI-VII C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic and typological evidence.

Necropolis consisting of seventeen graves, all except two with grave goods; typology as for Manele-Riganni (no. 3). Some grave goods: painted jugs with one or two handles; glass flask; silver earrings with geometric decoration; glass beads; bronze earrings; bronze buckles; *fibula*.

12. **Cirò Marina**, Punta Alice, IGM F. 231, fig. 22, map I.

Ca. 30.00m. SW of temple of Apollo Alaios on coastal alluvium (architecture and other material) and several other scatters (ca. 1.1km. SW of Madonna del Mare).

Orsi (1933) 42-45 and *passim*, fig. 16; Kahrstedt (1960) 85-86; Guzzo (1981a) 128, no. 59; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 27, no. 20.

Roman Republican: III/II - I C B.C. and possibly later; basis for dating: ceramic and numismatic (one coin) evidence.

Much architecture destroyed by nearby industrial complex.

May be a farmhouse; reused buildings from sanctuary phase (Apollo Alaios).

Building material: mortared rubble.

Two buildings separated by narrow corridor; appear to have rooms organized around courts; may be porticoed (two column bases preserved in lower left corner).

Original function of structures associated with sanctuary of Apollo Alaios

(*katagogeia*). Abundant traces of fire on masonry and objects from buildings.

Variety of pavements: mortar and crushed brick, *opus signinum*, *opus spicatum* and mosaic pavements; first three types more frequent; preserved mosaic bits made of "minuti tasselli monocromi bianchi". (Orsi).

Brick column drums (0.34m. diam.); on average 0.11m. long; several octagonal building bricks, 0.30-0.32m. across; rectangular bricks (average size):

0.45x0.29x0.09m; double stamps on bricks: P and KAV; KAL and LUSI/PET[...]LN; CALAM and LUSIPTEL; EPI LEYKIOY OR[...]KAI NOYIOY ELE[...]; white limestone Doric capitals (may be originally from temple); size of one: 0.56m. across top of *echinus*, 0.22m. from top to shaft.

Small finds: fragments of *dolia*, amphoras, kitchen ware; two fragments of ITS; bone. Rectangular stamp on amphora handle: N /LUS/ MEDICI/CALAMANT;

one Republican AS III/II C. B.C. and Greek coins from before 300 B.C.

Previous occupation: temple of Apollo Alaios: VI-IV C B.C. Rebuilding in first quarter of III C B.C.: new temple replaced old structure.

13. **Umbriatico**, Caracones, IGM F. 231, map I.

Along road from Cirò to Umbriatico, near river Lipuda.

Spadea (1991) 558-59; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 331, no. 73.

Roman Late: VI-VII C A.C.; basis for dating: stylistic evidence.

19 tombs; typology as for Manele Riganni (no. 3); some multiple burials, but most single. Some grave goods (two tombs without any): box-*fibulae*: one gold with heraldic pheasants drinking from a *kantharos*; silver earrings; buckles; jugs with one and two handles, some painted; glassware; bronze ring.

14. **Cirò Marina**, Trapano, IGM F. 231, map I.

W of temple of Apollo Alaios.

Taliano-Grasso (1994) 28, no. 25.

Roman Republican: II-I C B.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Coin hoard (169 Rep. *denarii*); SW of Madonna di Mare, not far from railway: structures and tombs (II-I C B.C.).

Previous occupation: at Oliveto, monumental tomb (III-II C B.C.).

15. **Cirò**, Anastasia, IGM F. 231, map I.

S. of Cirò, on S and E slopes of Monte Anastasia.

Taliano-Grasso (1994) 27, no. 17.

Roman Imperial.

Remains of villa or village; Greek inscription (Imp. period; not transcribed).

16. **Melissa**, Torrazzo, IGM F. 231, map I.

On slopes overlooking the sea, ca. 200.00m. away from coast.

Taliano-Grasso (1994) 30, no. 47.

Roman early Imperial: basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Common ware, fragments of *dolia*, amphorae (Dressel 2-4), tile with (illegible) stamp, bricks for *opus spicatum* pavement.

IGM F. 236

1. **S. Lucido**, *località* Deuda, IGM F. 236, map J.

Ca. 2 km north of S. Lucido, near sea-shore.

Sangineto (1982) 68; La Torre (1999) 224, no. 232.

Roman Imperial: end I C B.C. to II C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Scatter large ca. 7000 square metres: *opus spicatum*, marble veneer plaques, common ware, ARS kitchen ware, amphorae Dressel 2/4.

2. **S. Lucido**, IGM F. 236, map J.

At foot of promontory, ca. 100m. inland.

Sangineto (1982) 68.

Roman Republican to Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Pottery; BG body sherds of type campana a, ITS (Goud. 430), ARS (Hayes 9), amphora neck (Dressel 2/4). Possibly small anchorage or villa.

3. **S. Lucido**, *località* S. Cono Spartifoglio, IGM F. 236, map J.

Along road that links Marina and SS. 18, on low hill with view over sea; E, a torrent; main complex at 54m.a.s.l.

Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 29 1989 (1990) 585; Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 30 1990 (1991) 588, pl. XL 1; La Torre (1999) 224-226, no. 233.

Roman Republican and Imperial: II/I C B.C. - II C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence: BG, amphorae, ARS, lamps; ceramic material to VI-VII C A.C. (La Torre).

Large villa; residential/production area: terrace walls in *opus caementicium*, part of residential complex in *opus caementicium* faced with *opus incertum* and brick (vats plastered on the inside: wine or oil production), drains built of large *tegulae*, mortar and crushed brick pavements; bath complex: several rectangular rooms and one apsidal (inside: semicircular basin with three steps; plastered); traces of earthquake damage and repairs (buttresses), may have caused abandonment.

Previous occupation: V C B.C. pottery and Hellenistic.

4. **S. Lucido**, *località* Palazzi, IGM F. 236, map J.

Ca. 2 km south of S. Lucido, near sea-shore, ca. 65m.a.s.l.

Guzzo (1976b) 129-130; Guzzo (1981a) 132, no. 157; Sangineto (1982) 68; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 102; La Torre (1999) 228, no. 240.

Roman Imperial: end I C B.C. to III C A.C.; basis for dating: architectural and ceramic evidence.

Sparse remains of *opus reticulatum* walls. Associated pottery: ITS, ARS A: possibly a villa (Sanginetto).

Funerary inscription (see CAT. III, IGM F. 236): I - II C. A.C. (Guzzo [1976b] 130).

5. **Fiumefreddo Bruzio**, *contrada* Cutura (Cordieri)-Piano di Corte, IGM F. 236, map J. On sloping ground, 180-200m.a.s.l.; currently cultivated area. Matteini Chiari (1982) 71-71; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 72; La Torre (1999) 229, nos. 241,242.

Roman Imperial: end I C B.C./ beg. I C A.C. - mid Imperial period (ca. 250 A.D.); basis for dating: ceramic evidence: absence of BG; presence of ITS, ARS A and D.

Estimated occupation area: 1500-2000 square metres. Building materials: *opus mixtum*.

Walls (obscured by vegetation) in *opus mixtum*: use of brick of dissimilar thickness for levelling courses (three or four rows) alternating with *opus incertum*. Well built with strong and abundant plaster.

Wall one (N-S), ca. 4.00m.; brick-framed opening inserted into N end; at S end met by another wall, slightly curved (ca. 11.00m.); continued (S-W) to end of natural plateau which falls abruptly into gully. More remains of walls S of curvilinear wall: possibly water basin. Width of some walls ca. 0.75m.: terrace walls; bricks on average 6.5cm. thick.

Fragments of grey granite columns nearby; also built into walls of nearby house; fragments of *opus signinum* floor, bricks for *opus spicatum* floor and marble veneer plaques found scattered about.

Possibly late Roman tomb (2.20x0.45m.) in front of one wall, ca. 0.50m. below ground; no grave goods, only scarce bone remains; covered with *tegulae*.

6. **Fiumefreddo Bruzio**, *contrada* Saviano, IGM F. 236, map J. South of Cutura, in *contrada* Saviano, along the road from Fiumefreddo Br. to F. Marina. Matteini Chiari (1982) 73; La Torre (1999) 230, no. 244.

Roman.

Decorated column shafts and capitals; now missing. Reported for 4/10/1957 in Archival records of the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Reggio Calabria: few capitals and two column shafts, all marble except one granite column shaft; one

capital reportedly reused as trough; miscellaneous walls.

6 bis I. **Mendicino**, S. Michele, IGM F. 236, map J.

In town, at Ospedale Regionale.

Calabria Citeriore (1989) 81-82.

Hellenistic-Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Walls; pottery.

6 bis II. **Belmonte Calabro**, *località* Cuoco, IGM F. 236, map K.

Calabria Citeriore (1989) 36; La Torre (1999) 230, no. 245.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Infant burial inside amphora; pottery datable to III C A.C.

7. **Amantea**, Campora S. Giovanni, IGM F. 236, map K.

On low alluvial terrace.

Guzzo (1981a) 126, no. 4; Luppino (1982b) 77.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Roman period activity: fragments of ITS (Guzzo).

Previous occupation: Neolithic period activity; fragments of local pottery (Archaic) and rim of Massaliote amphora (Luppino).

8. **Amantea**, *località* Principessa, IGM F. 236, map K.

On gently sloping terrace with view over the sea, at 27m.a.s.l.

Luppino (1982b) 78; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 27; Matteini Chiari (1990) 159-162, pl. 14,1; La Torre (1999) 241, no 275.

Roman Republican and Imperial: 2/2 I C B.C.-IV C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence (Luppino, Matteini Chiari).

Dense area of pottery scatter, ca. 200m. N-S and ca. 150m. E-W, bricks and broken tile, wall of mortared brick and pebbles, Tuscan travertine capital (recut for reuse), painted plaster, marble wall revetments, mosaic tesserae, water pipes: villa (Matteini Chiari, 160). Among ceramic fragments, one ceramic tool for pottery production (Luppino, 78).

Scattered tombs (late Republican) located 150/200m. uphill on low hill-slopes (Matteini Chiari, 160).

Previous occupation: prehistoric: flint-blade (Matteini Chiari, 159).

9. **Amantea**, *località* Conocchia (S. Pietro in Amantea), IGM F. 236, map K.

On right bank of the torrent Oliva, nestled among hills (230/196 m.a.s.l.).

Luppino (1982b) 78; *Calabria Citeriore* (1989) 103; Matteini Chiari (1990) 162, pl. 14, 2-3; La Torre (1999) 230-231, no. 246.

Roman Late: IV C A.C.-V C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence; Early Imperial for stamps on *dolia*.

ITS; remains in *opus caementicium*, remains of *suspensurae* and *dolia*, two with rectangular stamps with lettering (otherwise unknown) (Matteini Chiari, 162, suggests tentatively Early Imperial date).

10. **Amantea**, *località* Imbelli, IGM F. 236, map K.

Luppino (1982b) 78; La Torre (1999) 238, no. 261.

Roman.

Pottery and tile scatter.

Previous occupation: remains of structure(s) made of river stones and broken pieces of tile; pottery scatter and tombs made of *imbrices* with grave goods: end IV and III C B.C. (Luppino, 77). Prior to that, Archaic period occupation.

11. **Amantea**, *località* Cozzo Piano Grande, IGM F. 236, map K.

On a terrace, 365m.a.s.l., commanding a view over valley of Savuto to the south and the Oliva to the north.

Luppino (1982b) 78; Matteini Chiari (1990) 162.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: numismatic evidence (Matteini Chiari).

"Area di frequentazione di età romana"; pottery scatter, coins (beg. III C A.C.).

Previous occupation: structure(s) similar to those at Imbelli, pottery and coins datable to end of IV C and III C B.C. Bronze Age occupation prior to that and Byzantine later.

12. **Nocera Terinese (Tirinese)**, Piano della Tirena, IGM F. 236, map K.

On isolated triangular plateau (ca. 1 km long and 0.5km. wide: ca. 15 ha.)

overlooking valley of the Savuto on S side, ca. 1km. from sea and immediately E of confluence of the Savuto and torrent Grande; gentle access possible from E,

inland side; 150-200 m.a.s.l. Roman occupation concentrated in area around Torrazzo.

Orsi (1916) 335-362; Spadea (1982) 82-83; Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 22, 1984 (1985) 528; Spadea (1990) 165-176; Valenza Mele (1991) 15-26, 105-108; La Torre (1999) 243-246, no. 290.

Roman Republican and Imperial: II C B.C.-IV C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence (Spadea [1982] 83; *idem* [1990] 167).

Pottery scatter, large fragment of mosaic (fine, small, light coloured tesserae) on E side of plateau, mortar and crushed brick floor with border of tesserae, fragment of *opus signinum* floor (S of Torrazzo); lava-stone millstone, fragments of stamped brick (illegible), misfired fragment of *tegula* (Spadea [1982] 83; Orsi, 348-352). SE portion of plateau (N of Torrazzo), remains of several buildings in mortared rubble masonry with inclusions of broken tile and brick (ca. 0.50-0.60m. wide), fragments of Doric column (0.55m. diam.), capital, water tank adjacent to one wall (1.85x1.70m.), lead water-pipe (0.04m. diam.) *in situ*, 0.70m. below ground (Orsi, 344f). Wall, 3.90m. wide: possibly later path/road. Traces of rebuilding of fortifications in SE section dated to end of III C B.C. (Spadea [1990] 171).

On S edge of plateau, several graves *alla cappuccina* covered with *tegulae* and several rectangular tombs built of *tegulae* and bricks; some contained multiple burials; modest grave goods; Roman Late and post-dating settlement, but uncertain (Orsi, 352-354).

Aqueduct built of cemented rubble extended westward from plateau; 2.15-2.45m. wide; spans gully (suggested reconstructed height: 6.00-8.00m., now destroyed).

At plateau, divided into two parts, one along E and the other along W side; W section still recognisable for a few hundred metres. Ceramic water tubes: 0.23-0.17m. diam.; also, lead pipes (Orsi, 342-344: Hellenistic or Roman; Spadea [1982] 83: dated to Roman Imperial period). Pipes reported by Annunziata, Paoli (1990) 181, with following dimensions and description: continuous tracts at different locations exist inland (NE) from Piano at ca. 1.00m. below ground; circular in section; on average 0.70m. long; 0.18/0.20m. diam. max., 0.13/0.15m. diam. min.

Previous occupation: prehistoric: mid-late Bronze Age: sporadic finds; Greek Archaic: much pottery (kiln wasters), fragment of architectural terracotta (1/2 VI C B.C.) (Spadea [1990] 173; Valenza Mele [1991] 105); Hellenistic: covers larger area than Roman occupation, IV-2/2 III C B.C., on basis of ceramic evidence: BG (Campana A) kitchen ware, local *impasto* ware and local fine ware. Also, fragment of terracotta statuette of female head (0.15m. high), fragments of Doric column, and capital; fragments of stamped bricks with Greek letters (Spadea [1982] 82f). Habitations limited to central area of plateau: one squarish, well built building (stone slabs and tile with squarish stones at corners for socles - mud-brick

walls and tile roof) and a street (4.50m. wide, beaten-earth pavement), dated to 2/2 IV C B.C. (Spadea [1990] 167); well-cistern (mid III C B.C.). Kiln and kiln wasters (roof-tile, terracottas) (Spadea [1990] 171). Ashlar masonry blocks built into Byzantine fortification wall, sporadically and, it seems still *in situ*, in a short tract in NW and SE section (Orsi, 340f; Spadea [1990] 171).

Byzantine occupation characterised by substantial fortification wall (Spadea [1982] 82; Orsi, 342 calls this erroneously "ellenistica progredita o repubblicana romana").

13. **Nocera Terinese (Tirinese)**, Madonna della Carmine - Cono, IGM F. 236, map K. On elevation (180m.a.s.l.), on S side of torrent Grande; site size: 20.00x20.00m. Annunziata, S. Paoli (1990) 182; La Torre (1999) 247, no. 292.

Roman; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Possible Roman period activity: rim of Tripolitanian amphora and rim of *dolium*; much tile; common ware.

14. **Nocera Terinese (Tirinese)**, Baccaro, IGM F. 236, map K. Due S of Madonna del Carmine, over several terraces under olive-trees (220-200m.a.s.l.); site size: 30.00x40.00m. Annunziata, S. Paoli (1990) 182-183.

Roman Late Republican - Early Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Possible Roman period activity: much tile; fragment of Rhodian amphora.

Previous occupation: two fragments of archaic *loutheria*; common ware (end IV/beg III C B.C.); tile; BG (one neck).

15. **Nocera Terinese (Tirinese)**, Grotticelle, IGM F. 236, map K. On S slopes of Piano della Tirena (130m.a.s.l.), under olive-tree cultivation; site size (concentration): 50.00x30.00m; "shadow" site on lower terrace. Annunziata, Paoli (1990) 183-184;

Roman Early Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Pottery scatter: one fragment of Aegean amphora (I-II C A.C.), one fragment of Dressel 2/4; some ITS; some TWW (thin-walled ware); tile.

Previous occupation: much BG (end IV-III C B.C.); Graeco-Italian amphorae; much common ware; *imbrices*; water pipe comparable to those at Piano della Tirena; iron slag.

- 16-18. **Nocera Terinese (Tirinese)**, Niccoli - Serra Mancini, IGM F. 236, map K.
Three distinct sites extending over several terraces, over area of 1.5km. (220-190m.a.s.l.) under olive-tree cultivation; site size: 1. 50.00x50.00m.; 2. 50.00x70.00m.; 3. 50.00x40.00m.
Annunziata, Paoli (1990) 186; La Torre (1999) 247, no. 297.

Roman Early Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Possible Roman period activity: two fragments of Dressel 2/4.

Previous occupation on all three sites: end IV-beg. III C B.C.: BG and common ware; much tile and some brick (stamped illegibly).

19. **Nocera Terinese (Tirinese)**, Fabbiano, IGM F. 236, map K.
Spread over terraces (under olive-tree, vine and fruit-tree cultivation) (300-200m.a.s.l.), with good view over the Savuto and toward sea. Site size (concentration): 70.00x70.00m.; 'shadow' site on lower terraces and around Casa dei Mancini.
Annunziata, Paoli (1990) 187-188; La Torre (1999) 248, no. 301.

Roman Late Republican to Mid Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Abundant pottery scatter: one fragment of Dressel 1B (2/2 I C B.C.); two fragments of Tunisian amphorae, two fr. of Rhodian amphorae, many fragments of rims and handles of Dressel 2/4; ITS (I C B.C./I C A.C.); ARS A; TWW; ARS D; African common ware; tile. Possibly a farm.

Previous occupation: IV-III C B.C.: sparse pottery material: common ware, BG; two fragments of Punic amphorae and two fragments of Graeco-Italian amphorae.

20. **S. Mango d'Aquino**, Piano della Madonna - Triari, IGM F. 236, map K.
On sloping terraces toward the Savuto (230-210m.a.s.l.), rich in springs; both sites disturbed by road-work for the SRC Autostrada.
Annunziata, Paoli (1990) 193-194; La Torre (1999) 248, no. 307.

Roman Early Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

At Triari (ca. 230m.a.s.l.), tile, common ware, fragments of amphora (one Dressel 2/4), ceramic tool for pottery production, all suggest Roman period activity.

Previous occupation: at Triari and Piano della Madonna, some BG, two loom weights, common ware, suggest pre-Roman period activity.

Later occupation: one fragment of early Medieval proto-maiolica.

21. **Scigliano**, *località* Lupia (S. Angelo), IGM F. 236, map K.

On the Savuto, at river-bend, near farm-house.

Galli (1906) 307-313; Gazzola (1963) 158, no. 226; Guzzo (1981a) 133, no. 171; Givigliano (1986) pl. 6; Galliazzo (1994) 110-112, no. 211.

Roman: Trajanic-Hadrianic; basis for dating: building technique and historical considerations.

Well preserved and still in use.

Bridge in *opus caementicium*; arch reinforced with ashlar limestone blocks of local provenance. Dimensions of arch: 9.00m. high, 3.58 m. across; length of bridge: 20.50m.

22. **Malito**, Campistile (Piani), IGM F. 236, map K.

In plain W of Malito.

Galli (1906) 307-308; Guzzo (1981a) 130, no. 94.

Roman; basis for dating: building technique and historical considerations.

Traces of road consisting of foundations and, in places, of paving. Fragments of pottery, tile, and coins (unspecified Imperial).

IGM F. 237

1. **Belvedere Spinello**, Petrarizzo, IGM F. 237, map L.

Near Belvedere Spinello, among fairly steep hills.
Sabbione (1977) 936.

Roman Late.

Substantial remains: fragments of walls, ca. 2.00m. high.

2. **Roccabernarda**, Serrarossa, IGM F. 237, map L.

In valley of river Tacina.

Klearchos 16 (1974) 122; Sabbione (1977) 937; Guzzo (1981a) 132, no. 138.

Roman Late; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Late Roman necropolis: plain small amphorae, jugs, pair of silver earrings, gold and silver ring with incised symbol of cross (Sabbione). On overlooking slopes

remains of substantial terrace walls for villa/farmhouse (Sabbione).

3. **Petilia Policastro**, Cerasara, IGM F. 237, map L.

On terraces overlooking the Tacina.

Sabbione (1977) 936.

Roman.

"Un insediamento romano."

4. **Petilia Policastro**, Terre della Chiesa, IGM F. 237, map L.

Sabbione (1977) 936.

Roman Early Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Remains of walls and Early Imperial pottery.

IGM F. 238

1. **Casabona**, Gabelluccia di Cucumazzo, IGM F. 238, map M.

On hill (ca. 70.00m.a.s.l.) overlooking valley of Vitrovo (-avo), below Cucomazzo (Cocumazzo).

Quagliati (1905) 364-365; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 27, no. 13.

Roman Late: VI-VII C A.C. (Taliano-Grasso); basis for dating: grave goods.

Small cemetery of inhumation burials, set in a row; some containing secondary burials. Rock-cut graves lined with blocks of local sandstone; some covered with flat sandstone slabs. Modest grave goods: pottery, *fibulae*, necklaces, bronze, iron and gold rings, gemstones.

2. **Casabona**, *località* Cucumazzo, IGM F. 238, map M.

In valley of Vitrovo (-ovo), partly covered by alluvium; on left bank.

Sabbione (1977) 936; Guzzo (1981a) 127, no. 28; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 27, no. 12.

Roman Late Republican to Early Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Farmhouse with storage space with *dolia*.

2 bis. **Strongoli**, Mortilla, IGM F. 238, map M.

On a plateau overlooking torrent Foresta.

Arslan (1983) 280; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 31, no. 64.

Roman; basis for dating: building technique.

Villa with *opus incertum* walls.

2 bis I, **Strongoli**, Tronca-Vergadoro-Purgatorio, IGM F. 238, map M.

In the plain, N of railway station (Strongoli).

Arslan (1983) 303, n. 17; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 31, nos. 69, 71.

Roman Late.

Two complexes. One: large sandstone building blocks; fragments of columns; square stone basin; brick walls; large granite columns; fragments of *dolia*, tile and circular brick. Two: residential complex (no details).

2 bis II. **Strongoli**, Stazione F.S.-Frasso IGM F. 238, map M.

Near crossroads with road to Strongoli.

Taliano-Grasso (1994) 31, no. 68.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: stylistic evidence.

Mausoleum; fragments of marble statues.

3-4. **Strongoli**, Fasana, IGM F. 238, map M.

North of river Neto, on low slopes of Fasana.

Sabbione (1977) 935; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 30, no. 61.

Roman.

Two distinct sites: "...tracce di due insediamenti distinti ma ravvicinati."

5-6. **Strongoli**, Santi Quaranta-Pietra del Tesauo, IGM F. 238, map M.

At confluence between the Neto and the Vittravo, on hill Santi Quaranta.

Sabbione (1977) 936; Arslan (1983) 280, 300 and n.19; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 31, nos. 65-66.

Roman Imperial (1/2 II C A.C.) (for mausoleum) to late Roman (for farmhouse: I-IV C A.C.).

Two sites, probably related: mausoleum (in plain: chamber tomb with Doric facade) and large farmhouse on opposite hill (Santi Quaranta). Late antique tombs.

7. **Scandale**, Gullo di Scandale, IGM F. 238, map M.

In low hills.

Sabbione (1977) 938.

Roman Late: V-VI C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic and iconographic evidence.

Several tombs with *fibulae* and small amphorae.

8. **Crotone**, Fico, IGM F. 238, map M.

In the plain, ca. 3km. S of the Neto and less than 1km. inland from sea.

Sabbione (1977) 936; Taliano-Grasso (1994) 28, no. 31.

Roman Late Republican to Late Imperial: I C B.C.-V C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Farmhouse with amphorae deposit; extensive scatter of ITS and ARS D.

9. **Crotone**, the valley of Canalicchio, IGM F. 238, map M.

On slopes along the Canalicchio, ca. 4km. from sea.

Sabbione (1977) 936.

Roman Early Imperial.

Traces of occupation (unspecified).

10. **Crotone**, along the valley of Esaro, IGM F. 238, map M.

Along the Esaro, ca. 2km. S of city walls; in the plain of Esaro; *contrada* Farina.

Sabbione (1977) 936.

Roman.

"Uno stanziamento romano."

Previous occupation: Hellenistic period activity, ca. 2km. S of Greek city walls.

11. **Crotone**, *contrada* Farina, IGM F. 238, map M.

In the plain of Esaro.

Sabbione (1977) 936.

Roman.

"Fattorie" in *contrada* Farina.

12. **Crotone**, Semaforo, IGM F. 238, map M.

On low ground (149.00m.a.s.l.) overlooking sea N of Capo Colonne.
Guzzo (1981a) 129, no. 67.

Roman; basis for dating: architectural, ceramic and numismatic evidence.

Villa; ITS, coins.

13. **Crotone**, T. Mariedda, IGM F. 238, map M.

Near the coast, S of Capo Colonne.
Guzzo (1981a) 129, no. 67.

Roman; basis for dating: architectural, ceramic and numismatic evidence.

Villa; ITS, coins.

14. **Crotone**, Capo Colonna, IGM F. 238, fig. 16a,b, map M.

On flat promontory.

Several archaeological areas: sanctuary: buildings 'A' and 'B', precinct wall; villa (at NE edge of promontory, near S. Maria) and kiln; bath (in NW section of 'building B', as later modification).

Kiln and villa:

Cuomo Di Caprio (1972) 107-122; Cuomo Di Caprio (1979) 86, fig. 5.8; Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 21, 1981 (1982) 224; Lattanzi in *Klearchos* 23 (1981) 156-157; Greco (1981) 109; Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 37, 1997 (1999) 919-920.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: building technique: *opus reticulatum*.

Mostly destroyed (kiln).

Dimensions of *praefurnium*: 1.40m. long, 1.15m. wide; combustion chamber: 3.45m. long, 1.25m. wide; raised oven floor (now missing): 3.45m. long, 3.10m. wide.

Roman villa with extensive remains; two phases; atrium with *impluvium*, mosaic: I C A.C. (Lattanzi [1982] 224); walls of bichrome reticulate elements: brick and limestone; floors removed in I-II C A.C. and kiln put in; bronze tablet (I-II C A.C.) with inscription: T.FLAVI.Q.F.

Kiln: rectangular; two arches of combustion chamber survive; double parallel flue kiln with one *praefurnium* divided into two parallel flues beneath oven floor (now missing). Central wall in middle of combustion chamber supported on both sides the arches of two main under-floor flues; arches built with well-fired voussoirs; bonding material of good quality clay mixture; space between arches diminished in width with distance from *praefurnium*.

Area of the Sanctuary (Hera):

THE PRECINCT WALL:

Orsi (1911) 84-88, figs. 61-62, pl. 3; Blake (1947) 231; Mertens (1984) 191-193; Seiler (1984) 233.

Roman Republican: mid I C B.C. or Augustan; basis for dating: building technique. Well preserved.

Dimensions: S section: 60.00m.; W section: ca. 103.00m.; width: 1.50m.; gate: 2.30m. max. length of one ashlar; opening: 3.25m. wide.

Surrounded sanctuary on S and W sides (preserved sections); gate (vestibule-type) and flanking tower on W side; wall takes only partially into account older structures; partially superimposed on earlier structures (unspecified).

Gate: whitish limestone ashlar blocks of varying sizes on outside; rubble core.

Building technique of wall: foundation: *opus caementicium*; elevation: two to three courses of squared-stone masonry (mortared and mostly reused pieces) supported band of *opus incertum* strengthened at fairly regular intervals with headers and two broken rows of stretchers; above this, concrete core faced with *opus reticulatum*.

Reticulate blocks: limestone, ca. 0.10m. square (Blake, Mertens).

TEMPLE:

von Riedesel, *Reise durch Sizilien und Grossgriechenland* (1771) 190-191 *apud* Mertens (1984) 198-200.

Roman Republican; basis for dating: building technique.

Restoration of temple in squared-stone masonry and reticulate; marble fragment of sima: lion's head. (Mertens, pl. XXV, c).

BUILDING 'A' ('katagogeion') :

Seiler (1984) 234-236; Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 29, 1989 (1990) 587.

Hellenistic: IV C B.C. with later modifications: III/II C B.C. - I C B.C. (colonnade of central space) and possibly Early Imperial; basis for dating: architectural evidence, historical considerations.

N of gate. N and central portion of structure remain unexcavated. Rooms of varying sizes (average: 5.15m.sq.) set around central space; building surrounded on two sides (S and E) by portico (38.00m. long on S side); colonnade: Doric (diam.: 0.55m.) Central court appears porticoed (21.00m. E-W); Doric columns of different diameters were found. (Seiler 234-236). Roof restored in Roman period: two tile stamps. (Lattanzi, 587).

BUILDING 'B' (*'hestiatorion'*):

Orsi (1911) 89-90, pls. 5-6; Seiler (1984) 236-242; Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 28, 1988 (1989) 552-53; Paoletti (1994) 526, n. 209.

Archaic (metal and terracottas, mid VI C B.C.)-Hellenistic (architecture: IV-III C B.C.), with later modifications in 2/2 I C B.C.: baths with inscriptional mosaic. Inscription: CAT. III: IGM F. 238, no. 24; basis for dating: architectural, ceramic and epigraphic evidence.

S of gate, opposite building 'A'; entrance on N side; peristyle-plan, 26.30x29.00m.; square rooms for banquets (4.75m.) surround peristyle (restoration hypothetical: 4x5 columns). (Seiler).

BATH in NW corner as later addition; several rooms (with mortar and crushed brick pavements and *opus incertum* walls); walls plastered (red plaster preserved in places); marble revetments (red and green); one large room contained colour geometric mosaic and red stucco decoration; bench along one wall and circular and rectangular benches near other three walls; basin with steps down next to large room with mosaic.

Mosaic: marble tesserae, colour paste and natural stone cut to size; central panel surrounded by band of white (inscription along N long side), itself surrounded by meander motif (tridimensional illusion); meander: white, red, greenish, bluish and black tesserae; border of meander: black; central panel: dolphins (black) in four corners around lozenge chess-board pattern (black and greenish), surrounded by black border; border of waves in black around this and black linear border separate this from white panel with inscription (letters: black). Small finds: nails, *fibula*, pots, coins (to mid III C A.C.); stamped tile: Q.LAR (rect. stamp). (Orsi).

BUILDING 'K':

Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 31, 1991 (Taranto 1992) 424.

Roman Imperial (and late Hellenistic): II-IV C A.C. and later; basis for dating: ceramic evidence; no other details.

ROAD:

Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 29, 1989 (1990) 586-87.

E-W orientation, through sanctuary and between buildings 'A' and 'B' and through Roman fortification wall; 8.00m. wide. Original date unknown. Late Roman (VI C A.C.) beaten earth paving is documented.

SONDAGES (four): area of sanctuary (inside *temenos*):

Foti in *Atti Taranto* 12, 1972 (1973) 346-47.

Roman Imperial: mid-end III C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic and numismatic evidence (ARS D, coin of Gallienus).

Tile; wall built of small limestone blocks; ARS B, ARS D.

15. **Crotone**, C. Alfieri, IGM F. 238, map M.

On the promontory.

Guzzo (1981a) 129, no. 67.

Roman; basis for dating: architectural, ceramic and numismatic evidence.

Villa; ITS and coins.

16. **Isola Di Capo Rizzuto**, S. Anna, IGM 238, map M.

On the plateau immediately north of Crotone airport, near S. Anna.

Sabbione (1977) 937.

Roman.

Villa.

17. **Casabona**, Militino, IGM F. 238, map M.

SE of Casabona.

Taliano-Grasso (1994) 27, no. 14.

Roman.

Walls.

18. **Casabona**, Cialafoniti, IGM F. 238, map M.

Overlooking the Vitravo.

Taliano-Grasso (1994) 27, no. 11.

Roman.

Walls.

IGM F. 241

1. **Falerna**, Pian delle Vigne, IGM F. 241, map N.

On a plateau overlooking the sea with panoramic view S over Gulf of S. Eufemia.

Foti in *Atti Taranto* 20, 1980 (1981) 310-311; Lattanzi in *Klearchos* 23 (1981) 148-149; Guzzo (1981a) 129, no. 71; Spadea (1982) 84-85.

Roman Imperial: I phase: 2/2 I C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence (ITS, ARS A). II phase: III C A.C.; basis for dating: stratigraphic evidence. (Foti, 310; Lattanzi, 148-149).

Excavated area: ca. 600.00sq.m.

Phase I: two rooms (floors: *opus spicatum* and waterproof mortar); in rooms, vats connected with channels with three oil/wine press installations: three emplacements for *torcularia*; large poros block with two square fitting-holes for arm of press. Fragments of storage vessels near *torcularia*; long wall built of poros blocks W of this complex; cistern, nearby, covered with blocks of poros stone.

Phase II: III C A.C.: fire destroyed one part of complex. This phase characterised by substantial impoverishment and rebuilding on smaller scale: floors of poor plaster. (Foti, 311; Lattanzi, 148-149).

Two fragments of stamped storage vessels found in the area: 1) PIX BRUT(tia); 2) BRUT(tia). (Spadea [1982] 85, pl. 19, 4-5; Spadea [1990] 171).

On lower ground, along the coast in *contrada* Maiolino, scatter of *pithoi* and other storage vessels (Spadea [1982] 85).

Earlier occupation: substantial quantity of BG (Campana) and reused blocks of poros stone. (Foti).

2. **Sambiase**, S. Eufemia Vetere (Vecchia)-Elemosina, IGM F. 241, map N.

Below and NE of the homonymous village and the ruined Norman abbey of S. Eufemia Vetere (Vecchia), on low sloping ground.

Orsi (1921b) 470-473; Kahrstedt (1960) 32; Guzzo (1981a) 132, no. 151; Spadea (1982) 87.

Roman Imperial.

Villa: no other data (Spadea); baptismal font in chapel in village, is reused sarcophagus (1.29x0.36m.) with *putto* in middle supporting two basins with Medusa heads and four small figures of Victories standing on globe in corners, dated to III C A.C. (Orsi, 470). Kahrstedt (p. 32) and Orsi (p. 471) report tombs, remains of buildings and road NE of village and W of river Bagni (*contrada* Elemosina).

Previous occupation: area occupied by large 2/2 IV C B.C. settlement. Pottery produced locally, imported BG, coarse ware and grave sites reported from several areas in modern settlement (Spadea). III C B.C. hoard, including gold jewellery and gold coins of Agathocles found in 1865 below the hill in area of Terravecchia

(now, partially in the British Museum) (Orsi, 471). Copper testamentary plaque of IV C B.C., also found in the area (Orsi, 471).

3. **Sambiase**, *contrada* Zuppello (Zuppola), IGM F. 241, map N.

Ca. 3.5km. NE of S. Eufemia Vetere, on S slopes.

Orsi (1921b) 472; Kahrstedt (1960) 32.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: type of pavement, ceramic and numismatic evidence.

Remains of masonry, pavements made of brick and mortar and crushed brick, column; on S slopes, Roman Imperial tombs with lamps and coins.

4. **Sambiase**, *contrada* Paracocchio, IGM F. 241, map N.

Adjacent to S. Sidero, above village of S. Eufemia Vetere (1-2km. N), on gentle slopes.

Orsi (1921b) 473; Kahrstedt (1960) 32.

Roman; basis for dating: architectural evidence.

"...ruine molto deteriorate di età romana e dell'alto medioevo." (Orsi, 473).

5. **Sambiase**, IGM F. 241, map N.

Below pavement in Piazzale della chiesa del Carmine in Sambiasse.

Cefaly (1892) 60; Kahrstedt (1960) 32.

Roman; basis for dating: type of pavement.

Fragment of black-and-white mosaic (4.40x2.40m.): geometric pattern in black on white background interrupted by door (interruption in mosaic pattern); pilaster (later addition).

6. **S. Eufemia Lamezia**, Palazzo, IGM F. 241, map N.

In plain N of the Amato, near airport at Lamezia, near source Candiano.

Orsi (1921b) 473; Guzzo (1981a) 130, no. 89; Spadea (1982) 87; Taliano-Grasso (1995) 24, no. 74.

Roman Imperial.

Farmstead or villa (Spadea); Orsi (473) reports pottery (no specifics); remains of baths; mosaic tesserae.

Previous occupation: in the area, in *contrada* Moscarello, 2/4 V C B.C. tomb *alla*

cappuccina with imported grave goods (BF *lekythos*, BG globular *stamnos*) (Spadea, 86).

7. **Pianopoli**, Malavicina, IGM F. 241, map N.

Ca. 6km. ESE from Pianopoli.

FA 9 (1954) no. 7666; NSc (1957) 189; Kahrstedt (1960) 32; Guzzo (1981a) 131, 129.

Roman Late: IV-V C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Late Roman and Byzantine graves; one contained a jug and ARS cup decorated with design of cross.

IGM F. 242

1. **Tiriolo**, S. Ianni-Vala, IGM F. 242, map O.

On a plateau below Timpone Vala; inland, SE of Tiriolo.

Ferri (1927) 340-346; Foti in *Klearchos* 15 (1973) 125; Spadea (1977) 158; Guzzo (1981a) 133, no. 180.

Roman late Republican-early Imperial: end I C B.C-end I C A.C.; basis for dating: ceramic material and stylistic considerations.

Pavements: *opus spicatum*; crushed brick. Small necropolis nearby (*a fossa*).

2. **Crichi**, Colle Petrosa, IGM F. 242, map O.

On the slopes, below Crichi.

Spadea (1992) 187.

Roman Imperial.

Roman Imperial material pertaining to "una piccola villa rustica". No specific data.

Previous occupation: BG (Hellenistic), *impasto* ware.

3. **Crichi**, Coglisanò-Cona Muzza, IGM F. 242, map O.

On opposite hill (NE) from Colle Petrosa.

Spadea (1992) 188.

Roman Imperial.

Material of Roman Imperial date (no specifics).

Previous occupation: IV-III C B.C. material (no specifics).

4. **Crichi**, Simeri, IGM F. 242, map O.
On site of Convento dei Cappuccini (Simeri).
Spadea (1992) 190.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Roman bricks in convent walls and walls of the Castello.

5. **Crichi**, Tesoroarato, IGM F. 242, map O.
On the hill (163m.a.s.l.).
Spadea (1992) 190.

Roman Imperial; basis for dating: ceramic evidence.

Roman Imperial material with bricks and fragments of ceramic pipes.

Previous occupation: material datable to IV-III C B.C.

6. **Catanzaro**, Sansinatora, IGM F. 242, map O.
In the valley.
Kahrstedt (1960) 72; Guzzo (1981a) 128, no. 51.

Roman Early Imperial; basis for dating: numismatic evidence (Kahrstedt).

Lead pipes, coins; brick walls; two inscriptions may come from the area: CIL X 105; 4261.

7. **Catanzaro**, Gagliano, IGM F. 242, map O.
Guzzo (1981a) 128, no. 52.

Roman.

Villa.

8. **Sellia Marina**, Uria, IGM F. 242, map O.
On low slopes (50-100m.a.s.l.).
De Franciscis (1960b) 426-427; Guzzo (1981a) 133, no. 172.
Roman Imperial; basis for dating: numismatic evidence (De Franciscis, but with reservations).

Pottery scatter and fragments of amphorae, brick and tile, fragments of *dolia*, cut

stone; bronze coin of Trajan; terracotta antefix and ceramic Doric piece of cornice: Hellenistic to late antique (De Franciscis, 427).

9. **Cropani Marina**, loc. Basilicata, IGM F. 242, map O.

On outskirts of Cropani Marina.

Sabbione (1977) 937; Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 35, 1995 (1996) 685; Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 36, 1996 (1997) 510-511.

Roman: mid Republican - early Imperial.

Farmhouse; several rooms with walls of rubble and tile, *opus spicatum* floor; two kilns: I) 1.5x2.00m. with Dressel I amphorae; II) 6.00x3.00, walls of *bipedales*; *lacus* and *ara*.

Previous occupation: possibly Hellenistic farmhouse.

10. **Botricello**, IGM F. 242, map P.

Near mouth of river Tacina, in and around early Christian church.

Arslan (1971) 107-125; Arslan (1974-75) 597-608.

Roman Late: Phase I: V-VI C. A.C.; Phase II: VIII C. A.C.; basis for dating: grave goods.

Cemetery: large; types of graves vary: *a fossa* with stone slabs of irregular shape as covers; *a fossa* with masonry walls, plastered and covered with well cut slabs; *alla cappuccina*; in amphoras. Burials are single or multiple, surrounding and inside basilica.

Basilica: phase I (walls of large boulders and tile fragments bonded with strong white mortar):

E-W orientation; central nave (15.40x5.50m.) and two aisles (2.10, 2.30m. wide); semicircular apse (4.10m. diam.); S aisle widens from E to W; paving in nave and aisles of large tiles; pilasters or columns separating nave from aisles; *pulpitum* (brick foundations, 4.10x1.40m) in centre of nave.

Baptistry S of basilica; rectangular; entrance through S aisle; E end articulated with two apses of different sizes and dates of construction (larger may be earlier).

Baptismal font: mortared stone (ca. 3.00m. diam.) surrounded a rectangular basin (0.50x0.60m.); basin rivetted with marble plaques; same for floor; traces of earlier basin below; drain to SW.

phase II (pebble-walls): S aisle terminated in apse; smaller apse of baptistry.

1. **Isola di Capo Rizzuto**, *località* Soverito-Corazzo, IGM F. 243, map P.

On slopes of hill Soverito.

Sabbione in *Atti Taranto* 16, 1976 (1977) 937; Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 29, 1989 (1990) 586.

Roman Late; basis for dating: ceramic evidence (unspecified).

Pottery scatter (Lattanzi, Sabbione); possibly same period of activity: several rock-cut tombs *a fossa* (Sabbione).

Previous occupation: early and late Bronze age (Lattanzi).

2. **Isola di Capo Rizzuto**, S. Antonio, IGM F. 243, map P.

Crawford (1969) 88, no 202; Guzzo (1981a) 130, no. 87.

Roman Republican: 124-92 B.C.

Republican coins.

3. **Isola di Capo Rizzuto**, Capo Cimiti, IGM F. 243, map P.

On flat promontory, ca. 70.00X30.00 m, ca. 20.00 m.a.s.l.

Sabbione in *Atti Taranto* 16 1976 (1977) 938; Lattanzi in *Atti Taranto* 21, 1981 (1982) 227-228; Lattanzi in *Klearchos* 23 (1981) 158-159.

Roman Imperial: I C A.C.; basis for dating: architectural and iconographic (mosaic) evidence.

Well preserved.

Building materials: *opus reticulatum* (for parts of structure).

Villa occupied entire surface of promontory. Two areas were excavated.

Area one: overlooking the sea; characterised by substantial *opus reticulatum* walls; remains of large mosaic floor, poorly preserved: black-and-white and probably figurative; pilasters built of sandstone intruded onto mosaic: may have supported roof for garden pavilion. At later date, mosaic replaced by *opus signinum* floor: imprints of presumably marble plaques survive. Concurrently, parapet wall built between pilasters.

Area two: inland and W of area one: bath complex; excavated were two spaces; one tentatively identified as *heliocaminus*.

Previous occupation: Prehistoric.

CATALOGUE III

Epigraphic Sources

Latin Inscriptions

IGM F. 220

1. **Tortora** (Blanda Iulia), *località* Palestro (Paleocastro), IGM F. 220; now in Museo di Sibari at Sibari Stazione (Cassano Jonio).

Guzzo (1975b) 376-377; Guzzo (1976b) 139-141, and figs. 5a, 5b; La Torre, ed. (1995) 70.

Roman Imperial: end I C A.C. - 2/2 II C A.C.; basis for dating: epigraphic grounds.

Statue base (1.50x0.84x0.60m.), inscribed on front (well cut) and left side (less well cut and in different style); a *patera* on the right side in relief; an *urceus* on the left above inscription; local stone; statue emplacement hole on upper horizontal plain.

a) M(arco) Arrio M(arci) f(ilio) Pom(ptina) / Clymeno, II vir(o) q(uin)q(uennali), / q(uaestori) p(ecuniae) (publicae), populus ex aer[e] / conlato ob munifice / ntiam eius posuit qu / od eis annonam gra / tuitam de suo prae / buerit ob cuius dedica / tionem epulum divis / it decurionibus HS VIII N. / Aug(ustalibus) HS VI N. / populo / viritim HS IIII N. / mulieribus HS II N. / L(oco) d(ato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

b) Curantes (sic) / P(ublio) Stlammio / Simile et T(ito) Va / lerio Fabricio.

2. **Tortora** (Blanda Iulia), built into the wall of S. Pietro Apostolo in Tortora; IGM F. 220.

CIL X.456; Orsi (1921c) 467-68; Guzzo (1976b) 141-143.

Roman Late Imperial: 1/2 IV C A.C.; basis for dating: style of sarcophagus.

Inscribed strigilated sarcophagus; white marble; sarcophagus: 1.67x0.80x0.06m.; inscription: 0.34x0.29m.

Cominiae / Damianeti, / quae vixit / an(nis) XXI, d(ie) I, / et Cominiae / Olympiadi, coniugi biv(a)e / Bivius Amplia / tus fecit / incompara / vili.

IGM F. 221

1. **Altomonte**, Pontalio, in the house of Giovanni Palumbo in Altomonte (now lost), IGM F. 221.

CIL X.125; C(opia) Thur(iis) restored by Mommsen, p. 18. from
III.I.D.C.THVR, but XVI C A.C. manuscript (*codex Filonardianus*) has
III.I.D.C.TH.VR.; Paoletti (1993) 388, n. 15.

Marble *titulus*?: "marmor quadratum" (CIL X.125)

C(aio) Mario P(ubli) f(ilio) Aem(iliano) Rufo / IIII(viro) i(ure) d(icundo) C(opia)
Thur(iis) ann(os) XXI / P(ublius) Marius P(ubli) f(ilius) Rufus / fecit filio et sibi //
et M(arco) Dossennio M(arci) f(ilio) Ulsiano / fratri II vir(o) i(ure) d(icundo)
Blandae Iulia[e] / et Cinciae C(ai) f(iliae) Rufae / matri eorum.

- 1bis. **Altomonte**, in the Archaeological Museum in Reggio Calabria, IGM F. 221.
Lattanzi ed., (1987) (Costabile) 155.

Roman Imperial: I C A.C.

L(ucio) Marcio L(ucii) L(iberto) / Hilarioni / Zosima colliberta / fecit et sibi.

2. **Castrovillari**, *località* Camerata, IGM F. 221.
De Franciscis (1961) 83-84.

Roman Imperial: A.D. 161-169.

Greyish marble; 0.31x0.58x0.04m.

Imp(eratori) C[aesari divi] / Anton[ini Pii fili] / divi Ha[driani nepoti] / divi Tr[aiani]
Partici] / prone[poti divi Nervae] / ab [nepoti] / L(ucio) Aure[lio Vero] /
Au[gusto] / [

IGM F. 222

1. **Cassano**, Scavi Sibari, Parco del Cavallo, IGM F. 222.
Guzzo (1976b) 132-33; Museo Scavi di Sibari, inv. no. 4595.

Roman Republican: *t.p.q.non* mid I C B.C.; basis for dating: epigraphic grounds.

Marble *titulus*, originally square: missing large part of left side and upper right
corner; 0.25x0.28x0.03m.

[--]uti L(uci) f(ili) III vir(i) / [Co]pienses / [--]orus.

2. **Cassano**, Scavi Sibari, Parco del Cavallo, IGM F. 222.

Sibari II (1970) 380, n.33, fig. 410.

White marble plaque; dim: 0.51x0.42x0.05m.

[A]b urbe c[ondita] / [pat]er patr[iae] /]us III vir [/]et aed p[

3. **Cassano**, Scavi Sibari, Parco del Cavallo, IGM F. 222.

Sibari II (1970) 417, n.205, fig. 458; Paoletti (1993) 419-20.

Roman Imperial: *t.p.q.* A.D. 128; basis for dating: imperial nomenclature.

White marble plaque; 0.64x0.42x0.04m.

Augu[stales] / Hadr[iano] / Aug(usto) p(atri) [p(atriae)] / d(ecreto) d[(ecurionum)]

4. **Cassano**, Scavi Sibari, Parco del Cavallo, IGM F. 222.

Sibari II (1970) 444, n. 10176, figs. 449, 486; Paoletti (1993) 421.

Roman Imperial: III C A.C.; basis for dating: historical grounds.

White marble; dim: 0.16x0.22x0.02m.

side a) [Imp] Caesarj / [M. Clau]dio Ta[cito] / [---]

side b) [Imp] Caes[ari?--- / A]ure[---]

5. **Cassano**, Scavi Sibari, Parco del Cavallo, IGM F. 222.

Sibari II (1970) 60, n. 193, fig. 45; Paoletti (1993) 413.

Roman Imperial: 1/2 I C A.C.; basis for dating: palaeographic grounds

White marble plaque; 0.37x0.25x0.05m.

L(ucius) Vinule[ius] / Brocch[us] / IIIIvir[---]

6. **Cassano**, Scavi Sibari, Parco del Cavallo, IGM F. 222.

Sibari III (1972) 274 and fig. 279; Buonocore (1985) 339 and n. 226; Paoletti (1993) 415.

Roman Republican/early Imperial: end I C B.C. - mid I C A.C.; basis for dating:

palaeographic grounds.

Limestone fragment, probably part of several blocks; found behind semicircular/theatre building in room '8NW'.

L(ucius) Vin[uleius ?Broccus] / C(aius) Co[---]

7. **Cassano**, Scavi Sibari, Casa Bianca, IGM F. 222.

Guzzo (1976b) 133-135; Buonocore (1985) 340; Paoletti (1993) 408, n. 36; Museo Sibari, inv. no. CB75-6042.

Roman Republican: I C B.C. (Guzzo) or 2/2 I C B.C. (Paoletti); basis for dating: palaeographic grounds *contra* Roman Imperial: I C A.C. (Buonocore)

Marble *labrum* complete with stand; diam: 1.04m.; total height: 0.80m.; width of mouth: 0.05m.

IV P(ublius) Paquius P(ubli) f(ilius) Priamus, Q(uintus) Annius Q(uinti) f(ilius)
Pom[---]n(---) IIII vir(i)

8. **Cassano**, Scavi Sibari, Casa Bianca, IGM F. 222.

Guzzo (1981b) 23, fig. 9.2.; Paoletti (1993) 417-18.

Roman Republican: *t.p.q.* 89 B.C. (Guzzo); basis for dating: historical grounds (4 individuals); or late Republican (Paoletti).

Inscribed circular limestone base; base: 0.58x0.38x0.29m.; inscription: 0.96x0.105m.

Reading I: --]mus, [--] Raius, M(arcus) Fabricius, M(arcus) Nonian[us] (Guzzo)
Reading II: [---]us, T. Graius M. Fabricius M. Nonius [---] (Paoletti)

9. **Cassano**, Scavi Sibari, Casa Bianca, IGM F. 222.

CIL I².2.IV.3163c; *Sibari* III (1972) 247, n. 242, fig. 193; Guzzo (1972-73) 44-45; Paoletti (1993) 392.

Roman Republican: 1/2 I C B.C.; basis for dating: palaeographic and onomastic grounds. Guzzo: between Civil war and 1st Triumvirate; Paoletti: post-municipium phase.

Limestone epistyle; 1.60x0.86m.

Jaedem de senat[us /] L(ucius) Anni(us) V(ibi) f(ilius) M. Pet[ronius]

10. **Cassano**, Scavi Sibari, Casa Bianca, IGM F. 222.

Sibari III (1972) 213, n. 90, fig. 220; Paoletti (1994) 536.

Roman Republican: probably mid I C B.C.; basis for dating: palaeographic grounds and historical considerations.

White marble; 0.47x0.37m.

III / Iax / Is portas / Irefecit / Ivit textitque

11. **Cassano**, Scavi Sibari, Casa Bianca, IGM F. 222.

Sibari III (1972) 228, n. 157, fig. 238.

Roman Imperial: 2/2 II C-beg. III C A.C.; basis for dating: palaeographic grounds.

White marble plaque; 0.15x0.19x0.018m.

D(is) M(anibus) / Flaviae Tu / rinae q(uae) v(ixit) a(nnos) / III m(enses) II Trasi / as pater f(ecit)

12. **Cassano**, area of Sibari, IGM F. 222.

Guzzo (1970) 551-553 and fig. 595.

Roman Imperial: 1/2 I C A.C.

White marble *titulus*; dim: 0.34x0.33x0.09m.

M(arcus) Caninius Al[exan] / der fecit sibi e[t] / Domitiae P(ubli) l(ibertae) Hyle et / T(ito) Annio Loto et Cossutiae // Amaranthidi et suis / Domitiae P(ubli) l(ibertae) Faustae et / Domitio P(ubli) l(iberto) Felici et / C(aio) Iulio Platoni fida viro vixi / fidissima matri amantissim(a) fratri // h(oc) m(onumentum) s(ive) s(epulchrum) e(xternum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)

IGM F. 229

1. **S. Demetrio Corone**, S. Adriano, at the beginning of the central nave, IGM F. 229.

Orsi (1929) 169-170; Guzzo (1976b) 137f.

Roman Imperial: mid I C A.C.?

Yellow marble plaque; 0.77x0.25m.

a) [--]ē[--]s̄ c[-]esā[--] / [--]standam ornanda[mque].

b) sua p]ecunia / -]erunt

2. **S. Demetrio Corone**, next to the previous one.

Guzzo (1976b) 138.

[--]Sexti / [--]nicipi

3. **Montalto Uffugo**, reportedly found in *località* Pantuoni-Tesoro, IGM F. 229, now imbedded into right wall of the parish church of S. Giuseppe in S. Benedetto Ullano.

CIL X.121; D'Ippolito (1939) 366-368, and fig.2; Kahrstedt (1960) 98; Guzzo (1975b) 371-72; Guzzo (1976b) 130-132.

Roman Imperial: 2/2 II C A.C.; basis for dating: palaeographic and onomastic grounds.

White marble urn decorated with festoons of flowers and fruit supported by two protomes of Jupiter Ammon; urn: hight: 0.33m.; inscription: 0.21x0.097m.

D(is) M(anibus) / L(ucio) Aurelio / Stephano proc(uratori) / a veredis Aug(usti).

IGM F. 230

1. **Corigliano Calabro**, S. Mauro, built into the bell-tower of S. Maria di Valle Josaphat; findspot insecure; IGM F. 230.

CIL X.123; ILS 5530; ILLRP.677; PW.X.1 (1915), col.954,n.4; Guzzo (1976b) 135-137.

Roman Republican: end II C B.C./beg. I C B.C.; basis for dating: historical grounds.

Whitish marble plaque; 0.82x0.34m.

P(ublius) Magius P(ubli) f(ilius) Iunc(---), / Q(uintus) Minucius L(uci) f(ilius) / ce(n)s(ores) / basilicam fac(iundam) cur(averunt) de sen(atus) sent(entia).

2. **Corigliano Calabro**, S. Mauro, IGM F. 230.

CIL X.124.

]viciae / L(ucius) Titius [

3. **Rossano**, *località* Tornice, IGM F. 230.

Guzzo (1974b) 446-448.

Roman Late: IV C A.C.; basis for dating: palaeographic grounds.

White marble titulus; 0.25x0.19x0.02m.

side a) Rufo bonae memo / riae qui vixit / annis sex die / bus quindecim // m parentes domi / no filio dulcissimo.

side b) Rufo bone / memorie qui / vixit annis sex / diebus XV paren // tes d[o]mino filio.

IGM F. 231

1. **Cariati**, IGM F. 231.

CIL X.120.

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Valentiniae filiae / Eutropus et Mirallys / parentes // vixit annis II.

IGM F. 236

1. **San Lucido**, reportedly found in *località* Pallazi, IGM F. 236; now in Museo Civico in Cosenza, inv. no. 693.

Kahrstedt (1960) 27, n. 5; Guzzo (1976b) 129-130 and fig. 1.

Roman Imperial: I-II C A.C.; basis for dating: palaeographic and stylistic grounds.

White marble plaque, originally triangular or pentagonal; preserved is lower margin, upper right margin and small portion of upper left margin; dim. of preserved piece: 0.375x0.41x0.029m.

Dis / Manibus / [---]nae A(uli) Quinti / [s]ervae vix(it) an(nis) / XIX. / [Sine o]mine ullo florentes annos / [mors s]ubita eripuit. / [---]es contubernali / [opti]mae.

2. **Cosenza**, built into the road retaining wall (via Badessa), IGM F. 236.

Russi (1986) 279-283.

Roman Imperial: III C A.C.; basis for dating: epigraphic.

Funerary stele; greyish sandstone; upper part missing (preserved dimensions: 0.80x0.42m.); original place of discovery: near S. Maria di Portapiana; inscribed area (0.24x0.26m.); letters well cut.

Um(i)diae / Flori Plae / to[r]ius Prim / us matri // [b(ene)] m(erenti).

3. **Cosenza**, IGM F. 236.

Russi (1986) 284-286, reporting notes of G. D'Ippolito (archive of the Soprintendenza archeologica (RC) for Cosenza. 21 Nov. 1930).

Roman (likely).

Fragment of tufa: preserved triangular shape (0.38x0.24x0.37m.), 0.08m. thick; well cut letters; found in the courtyard of the Caserma dei Carabinieri di Cosenza (ex Convento dei Calmelitani), but now lost.

Nard[us] or Nard[inus] or Nard[ius] / [infe]licissim[us/a] or [Fe]licissim[us/a] / [c]ognato.

IGM F. 238

1. **Strongoli** (Petelia), Fondo Castello, IGM F. 238.

Capano (1980) 15-69; *idem* (1981) 29-62; Buonocore (1985) 354, n. 181; Costabile (1984) 177 (for reading 'Euctus' in tomb 24).

Roman Imperial: I-II C A.C.

Anthropomorphic stele; greyish marble and limestone.

Tomb 1

M(anius) Mego / nius Eryx / vixit / ann(is) XIX / s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis).

Tomb 2

Have / C(ai) Aufidi Felix / vix(it) ann(is) L.

Tomb 3

Have / C(ai) Aufidi / Successe / vix(it) a(nnis) XXX / s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis).

Tomb 5

Have / Phili / cia L(uci) f(ilia) / Aphro(disia) / vix(it) an(nis) / III M(ensibus) XI / d(iebus) X / s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis).

Tomb 6

Have / Silvia Sex(ti) / Arelli Ursi / ser(va) vix(it) ann(is) / XXX fecit Dion / ysius
coserva (sic) / bene merenti.

Tomb 18

Diis Man / ibus Modiae / Benedictae / v(ixit) a(nnis) XL.

Tomb 21

Flavia / Pher / vixit / annis / LXX.

Tomb 22

Have / C Mari / Ursule / vix(it) ann(is) L.

Tomb 24

Euctus publicus / Petelinorum / vilicus vixit / an(nis) XXIII.

Tomb 29

Have Me / goni nata / lis v(ixit) a(nnis) I m(ensibus) X s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis).

2. **Strongoli** (Petelia), locality unknown, three inscriptions IGM F. 238.

Turano (1972); Lattanzi ed., (1987) 155 (Costabile).

Marble anthropomorphic cippus; dim: 0.37m., diam: 0.38m. inscribed surface:
0.09x0.25m; in the Archaeological Museum in Reggio Calabria.

Roman Imperial: I-II C A.C.; basis for dating: palaeographic grounds.

a) Q(uintus) Blat / tius Eu / plus / vix(it) an(nos) / XXXX / s(it) t(ibi) t(erra)
l(evis).

Grey marble plaque; 0.31x0.30x0.02m.

Roman Imperial: II C A.C.; basis for dating: palaeographic grounds.

b) Have, / M(ani) Meconi / Aphrodisi. / Vix(it) an(nos) LXV / s(it) t(ibi) t(erra)
l(evis).

Alabaster plaque; 0.22x0.16x0.01m.

Roman Imperial: II - III C A.C.; basis for dating: palaeographic grounds.

c) D(iis) M(anibus) S(acrum). / M(arcus) Baebius / Pudens / vix(it) an(nos)
XXXX. / Fec(it) co(n)iu(n)x / benemerenti. / S(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis).

3. **Strongoli (Petelia)**, imbedded in the wall of the town-clock, IGM F. 238.
CIL X.112; ILS 6467.

Roman Imperial: A.D. 102/113.

Titulus.

Imp(eratori) Nervae Traiano / Cae(sari) Aug(usto) Germ(anico) Dacic(o) /
Q(uintus) Fidubius Alcius ob honor(em) Aug(ustalitatis), / quem primus omnium
post K(alendas) Aug(ustas) a senatu conspirante populo acci / pere meruit,
bisellium ex d(ecreto) D(ecurionum). / Hic ob eundem honorem Dec(urionibus)
(sestertios) (quaternos) / Aug(ustalibus) (sestertios) (binos) populo uirit(im)
(sestertios) (singulos) didit (sic). / Isdem l(oco) d(ato) d(ecreto) D(ecurionum) / et
hoc amplius im[aginem] / Imp(eratori) Caesari Traiano Au[gusto posuit].

4. **Strongoli (Petelia)**, Piazza Arcivescovado, imbedded into the wall of the building of
Monte dei Pegni, IGM F. 238.
CIL X.113; Petracchia Lucernoni (1988) 132.

Roman Imperial: mid II C A.C.

Titulus.

M(anio) Megonio M(ani) f(ilio) / M(ani) n(epoti) M(ani) pron(epoti) Cor(nelia) /
Leoni / aed(ili) IIIIvir(o) leg(e) Cor(nelia) q(uaestori) p(ecuniae) p(ublicae) /
patrono municipii / IIIIvir(o) q(uin)q(uennali). / Decuriones, Augustales, popu /
lusque ex aere conlato / ob merita eius.

5. **Strongoli (Petelia)**, in the cathedral, IGM F. 238.
ILS 6468.

Roman Imperial: mid II C A.C.

Statue base.

M(anio) Megonio M(ani) f(ilio) / M(ani) n(epoti) M(ani) p(ronepoti) Cor(nelia) /
Leoni / aed(ili), IIIIvir(o) leg(e) Cor(nelia), / q(uaestori) p(ecuniae) p(ublicae),
patrono mu / nicipii, IIIIvir(o) q(uin)q(uennali) / Decuriones, August / tales
populusque / ex aere conlat(o) / ob merita eius.
Kaput ex testamento. Rei [p(ublicae)] municipium meorum, si mihi statua
pedestris, / in foro superiore, solea lapidea, basi marmorea, ad exemplum basis /
quam mihi Augustales posuerunt prope eam quam mihi municipes // posuerunt,

posita fuerit, HS C m(iliu)m n(ummum), quae eis me vivo pollicitus sum, dari volo. / Ea autem condicione HS C m(iliu)m n(ummum) q(uae) s(upra) s(crupta) s(unt) dari volo ut ex usuris semissibus / eius pecuniae omnibus annis die natalis mei, qui est X kal(endas) April(is), / distributio fiat decurionibus epulantibus X CCC, deducto ex his / sumptu strationis reliqui inter eos qui praesentes ea hora erunt // dividantur. Item Augustalibus eadem condicione X CL dari volo / et municipibus Petelinis utriusque sexus ex more loci X I om / nibus annis dari volo, item in cena parentalia X L et hoc / amplius sumptum hostiae, prout locatio publica fuerit, dari volo. / A vobis, optimi municipes, peto at rogo per salutem sacratissimi principis // Antonini Augusti Pii liberorumque eius, hanc voluntatem meam et dis / positionem ratam perpetuamque habeatis, totumque hoc caput tes / tamenti mei basi statuae pedestris, quam supra a vos (sic) peti, ut mihi po / natis, inscribendum curetis, quo notius posteris quoque nostris / esse possit, vel eis quoque, qui municipi erga patriam suam erint, ad // moniat.

6. **Strongoli** (Petelia), now in the cathedral, IGM F. 238.
CIL X.114; ILS 6469.

Roman Imperial: mid II C A.C.

Cippus inscribed on three sides.

M(anio) Megonio M(ani) f(ilio), / Cor(nelia), Leoni /aed(ili), IIIvir(o) leg(e) Cor(nelia), / quaest(ori) pec(uniae) p(ublicae), / patrono municipi, // Augustales patrono / ob merita eius. / L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) D(ecurionum).//
Kaput ex testamento. / Hoc amplius rei p(ublicae) Petelinorum dari uolo / (sestertium) X (milia) n(ummum), item uinea, Caedicianam cum / parte{m} fundi Pompeiani ita uti optima maxi / maq(ue) sunt finibus suis qua mea fuerunt. Volo au // tem ex usuris semissibus (sestertium) X (miliu)m n(ummum) comparari <in usum> Augus / talium loci n(ostri) ad instrumentum tricliniorum du / um, quod eis me uiro tradidi, candelabra et lucerna[s] / bilychnes arbitrio Augustalium, quo facilius strati[o] / nibus publicis obire possint. Quod ipsum ad utilitate[m] // rei p(ublicae) n(ostrae) pertinere existimaui, facilius subituris onus Augu[s] / talitatis, dum hoc commodum ante oculos habent. / Ceterum autem temporum usura<s> semisse<s> (sestertium) X (miliu)m n(ummum) ad instr[u] / mentum Augustalium arbitrio ipsorum esse uolo, qu[o] facilius munus meum perpetuum conseruare possint, // neque in alios usus usuras quas ita a re p(ublica) acceperint tra / ferri uolo quam si necesse fuerit in pastinationem. / Vineam quoq(ue) cum parte fundi Pompeiani sic ut su / pra dixi hoc amplius Augustalibus loci n(ostri) dar[i] / uolo. Quam uineam uobis, Augustales, idcirco dari // uolo quae est Aminea, ut si cogitationi meae, qua pro / spexisse me utilitatibus uestris credo, consenseritis, / uinum usibus uestris, dumtaxat cum publice epulas ex /ercebitis, habere possitis. Hoc autem nomine releuati in / pendis facilius prosilituri hi qui ad munus

Augustalit[a] // tis compellentur. Locatio uineae partis Pompeiani vin[e] / am colere poterint. Haec ita ut caui fieri praestiqu[e] / uolo. Hoc amplius ab heredibus meis uolo praestari[i] / rei p(ublicae) Petelinorum et a re p(ublica) Petelinorum corpori Au / gustalium ex praedis ceteris meis palum ridica[m] // omnibus annis sufficiens pedaturae uineae / quam Augustalibus legauit.//
[A u]obis autem, Augustales, peto hanc uoluntatem / meam ratam habeatis et ut perpetua forma obser / vetis curae uestrae mandetis. Quo facilius autem / nota sit corpori uestro haec erga uos uolunta {tem}<s>, / totum loco kaput quod ad uestrum honorem perti //net.

7. **Strongoli** (Petelia), now in Cirò?, IGM F. 238.
CIL X.116.

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Ha ve / Au fi dia / Heu re // sis vix(it) an(nis) VIII / fecit pater / s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis).

8. **Strongoli** (Petelia), now in Cirò in the house Pugliese, IGM F. 238.
CIL X.117.

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / C(aius) Marius / Leo / vix(it) ann(is) // XXXIII / s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis).

9. **Strongoli** (Petelia), now in Cirò in the house Pugliese, IGM F. 238.
CIL X.118.

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Secundo Primus / et Laudamia / fil(io) piissimo // v(ixit) a(nnis) XVII m(ensis) VII / d(ies) XXVI / s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis).

10. **Strongoli** (Petelia), now in Cirò in the house Pugliese, IGM F. 238.
CIL X.119.

D(is) M(anibus) / Luceso / frater b(ene)f(iciarius) / nfaer fniif / dia XXXVI.

11. **Strongoli** (Petelia), IGM F. 238.
Eph.Ep. 8.260; ILS 6470.

Roman Imperial: mid II C A.C.

Luciliae C(ai) f(iliae) Isau / ricae / municipes Petelini / ex aere conlato, / in cuius memoriam / Megonius Leo / rei p(ublicae) HS C m(iliu)m n(ummum) / legavit.

12. **Strongoli** (Petelia), IGM F. 238.
Eph.Ep. 8.261; ILS 6471.

Roman Imperial: mid II C A.C.

Caediciae L(ucii) f(iliae) / Iridi / municipes ex / aere conlato / ob merita Mego / ni
Leonis fili eius, / in cuius memori / am Leo rei p(ublicae) HS C m(iliu)m
n(ummum) / legavit.

13. **Strongoli** (Petelia), found on the site of Casa del Mietitore, now in Museo Nazionale in Reggio di Calabria, IGM F. 238.

CIL I²2. fasc. 4. 3164 and pl. 65,2; Mancini (1939) 147-148; Lattanzi, ed. (1987) 155, no. 12 (Costabile); Paoletti (1994) 532-33.

Roman late Republican or Augustan (Paoletti and CIL); alternate date: end I C A.C. - beg. II C A.C. (Mancini); basis for this date: epigraphic (absence of *cognomina*).

Marble plaque; 0.60x0.68x0.12m.

Sex(tus) Caedicius Sex(ti) f(ilius) A(ulus) Herius L(uci) f(ilius) IIIIvir(i)
quinq(uen)ales I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) d(e) s(enatus) s(ententia) f(aciundum)
c(uraverunt) i(demque) p(robaverunt).

14. **Strongoli** (Petelia), IGM F. 238.
Gasparini (1986) 153-154, pl. III.

Early? Imperial.

Reused grey marble column base; bottom side (33.5x33.6cm) used for inscription; well-cut letters in orderly lines (6).

Octaviae / Crotonidi / Sex(ti) Aureli Ursi / coniugi / merentissimae // locus datus
d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

15. **Strongoli** (Petelia), imbedded into the wall of Palazzo Municipale at Strongoli, IGM F. 238.

Turano (1963) 81-82, fig. 2.

Roman Imperial: II-III C A.C.; basis for dating: epigraphic.

Titulus (0.19x0.165x0.04m.).

M(arcus) Naevius / Felicio vix(it) / annis L / Salustia / Chione d(e) s(uo).

16. **Crotone**, found in 1843 among the ruins of the old church at Capo Colonna, IGM F. 238.

CIL X.106; ILS 4039; Spadea Noviero (1990) 307-312.

Roman Imperial: end I C A.C. - beg. II C A.C.; basis for dating: epigraphic, historical and stylistic (decoration of altar) grounds.

Altar with *bucrania* at corners and a festoon between them on the sides; white marble; 0.65x0.38^{inf.}, 0.35^{sup.}x0.40^{inf.}, 0.36^{sup.}m.

Herae Laci / niae sacrum / pro salute Mar / cianae sororis / Aug(usti) Oecius / lib(ertus) proc(urator).

17. **Crotone**, Franciscan monastery *extra muros*, IGM F. 238.

CIL X.107; ILS 6466; Larizza (1934) 130.

Roman Imperial: II C A.C.

Inscribed column base (Larizza).

Futiae C(ai) f(iliae) / Lollianæ / filiae piissimæ C(aius) Futi / us Onirus iterum Ilvir item // dedit decurionibus HS X n(ummum) / ut ex usuris eorum quod / quod (sic) annis VII idus Apriles / natale filiae meae epulan / tes confrequentetis // HS CCCC n(ummis) et in profusioni / bus HS CC n(ummis) neque in alios usus convertatis. / L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

18. **Crotone**, in S. Angeli IGM F. 238.

CIL X.108; Larizza (1934) 131.

Roman Imperial: II C A.C.

Marble pilaster (Larizza).

Futiae / C(ai) Fil(iae) / Lollianæ / filiae piissimæ // C(aius) Futius Onirus. / L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

19. **Crotone**, in front of church S. Giuseppe, IGM F. 238.

CIL X.109; Segenni (1994) 663.

Roman Imperial: pre-200 A.C.

Large cippus.

Iuliae C(ai) f(iliae) Prepidi / C(aio) Iulio C(ai) f(ilio) Glago / Septim(ia) [Prep]usa
filiae piis / simae et nepoti ob dedica // tione huius statuae dedit de / curionibus
liberi[squ]e eorum / singulis HS VIII n(ummi) [augusta]lib / (us) liberisque eorum
[sin]gul / (is) HS VI n(ummi) populo viritim HS IIII // n(ummi) [fe]minis HS II
n(ummi) / C(aius) Iulius Anthus[-----]usalib / i[---]nslirendm[---]s[-----]. // L(ocus)
d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum). / Gn [----].

20. **Crotone**, on the way to the chapel of S. Dionysius (Castello), IGM F. 238.
CIL X.110; Larizza (1934) 131.

Roman Imperial: II C A.C.

L(ucio) Lollio L(uci) f(ilio) L(uci) n(epot) L(uci) pr[o] / n(epoti) Cor(nelia)
Lollio Mar / ciano equo publ(ico) / ornato patrono // col(oniae) omnibus
hon(oribus) / functo Futia C(ai) f(ilia) / Longina mater fi / lio piisimo ob cu / ius
statuae dedica // tionem decurioni / bus augustalibus / [e]pulantibus po / [p]ulo
viritim di / [ui]sionem dedit // L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

21. **Crotone**, IGM F. 238.
CIL X.111; Larizza (1934) 132.

Roman.

Lapide sepolcrale (Larizza).

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Iuliae Grammae / uxori incomparabili / Sex(tus) Iulius
Primus.

22. **Crotone**, IGM F. 238.
P. Orsi (1912) 60; F. Costabile (1984) 175 (reading: natus); M. Buonocore (1985)
353, n. 149 (reading of name).

Roman Imperial: late I C A.C. - beginning II C A.C.; basis for dating: epigraphic
grounds.

Titulus; 0.195x0.140m.

Amethustus / Caesa(ris) n(atus) or n(ostri) ser(vus) / item colonus / vixit ann(os)
LII m(enses) II // Olimpias cum filio / coniugi b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit) / h(ic) s(itus)
e(st).

23. **Crotone**, IGM F. 238. Found in the debris in the area of the Hellenistic and Late Roman cemetery on the site of the central Post building in Crotone.
Lucente (1932) 373-74 and fig. 7; Buonocore (1985) 335.

Roman Imperial: III-IV C A.C.; basis for dating: palaeographic grounds.

White marble funerary *titulus* broken into two pieces; reconstructed dimensions: 0.57x0.25x0.03m.

Q(uinto) Maec[io] / Valenti[no] / Salonitano / felix amico bene mere[nti].

24. **Crotone**, Capo Colonna, IGM F. 238.
Orsi (1911) 89-91; ILLRP, 575 (A. Degrassi ed, 1961).

Roman Republican: 2/2 I C B.C.; basis for dating: palaeographic grounds and archaizing lexical forms.

Mosaic inscription, black on white; ca. 2.50x0.20m. (from the plan).

[–] Lucilius A(uli) f(ilius) Macer, T(itus) Annaeus Sex(ti) f(ilius) Trhaso (sic) II viri / q[ui]nque[n]nales exs (sic) s(enatus) c(onsulto) balneum aedeificandum curav[e]ru[nt].

25. **S. Severina**, in Capella del Crocifisso in the Cathedral of S. Severina, IGM F. 238.
Gasperini (1986) 161-165.

Roman Republican: I C B.C.; basis for dating: palaeographic grounds.

Cippus (sandstone); 0.88x0.35x0.29m.; letters well cut and even.

L(ucius) Marius L(uci) f(ilius) L(ucius) Lurius L(uci) f(ilius) d(uo)vir(i) / murum fornicem area (sic) / fecerunt.

IGM F. 242

1. **Tiriolo** (*ager Teuranus*), IGM F. 242.
CIL I.196; X.104; Calabi Limentani (1968) 347, 349 (for bibl.); Costabile (1984) 92-96; Pailler (1988) 285-298.

Roman Republican: 186 B.C.; basis for dating: historical grounds.

Bronze tablet.

Q. Marcius L. f. S(p.) Postumus L. f. cos. senatum consoluerunt n. Octob. apud aedem / Duelonai. Sc(ri)endo arf(uerunt) M. Claud(ius) M. F., L. Valeri(us) P f. Q. Minuci(us) C. F. // De Bacanalibus quei foederatei / esent ita exdeicendum censuere. // Neiquis eorum Bacanal habuisse velet. Sei ques / esent, quei sibi deicerent necesus ese Bacanal habere, eeis utei ad pr(aetorem) urbanum / Romam venirent deque eeis rebus, ubei eorum verba audita esent, utei senatus / noster decerneret, dum ne minus senatoribus C adesent, quom ea res consoleretur. / Bacas vir nequis adiese velet ceivis Romanus neve nominus Latini neve socium / quisquam, nisei pr(aetorem) urbanum adiesent isque de senatuos sententiad, dum ne / minus senatoribus C adesent quom ea res cosoleretur, iousiset. Censuere. // Sacerdos nequis vir eset. Magister neque vir neque mulier quisquam eset. / Neve pecuniam quisquam eorum comoinem habuisse velet neve magistratum, / neve pro magistratud neque virum neque mulierem quiquam fecise velet. / Neve post hac inter sed coniourase neve comvovise neve conspondise / neve conpromesise velet neve quisquam fidem inter sed dedise velet. / Sacra in oquoltod ne quisquam fecise velet, neve in poplicod neve in / preivatod neve exstrad urbem sacra quisquam fecise velet, nisei / pr(aetorem) urbanum adiset isque de senatuos sententiad, dum ne minus / senatoribus C adesent, quom ea res consoleretur, iousiset. Censuere. / Homines plous V oinvorsei virei atque mulieres sacra ne quisquam / fecise velet, neve inter ibei virei plous duobus mulieribus plous tribus / arfuisse velent, nisei de pr(aetoris) urbani senatuosque sententiad, utei suprad / scriptum est. // Haice utei in coventionid exdeicatis ne minus trinum / noundinum; senatuosque sententiam utei scientes esetis - eorum / sententia ita fuit; sei ques esent, quei arvorsum ead fecisent, quam suprad / scriptum est, eeis rem capitalem faciendam censuere - atque utei / hoc in tabolam ahenam inceideretis, ita senatus aikuom censuit; / uteique eam figier ioubeatis ubei facilumed gnoscier potisit; atque / utei ea Bacanalia, sei qua sunt, exstrad quam sei quid ibei sacri est, / ita utei suprad scriptum est, in diebus X, quibus vobeis tabelai datai erunt, / faciatis utei dismota sient in agro Teurano.

Greek Inscriptions

IGM F. 222

1. **Cassano**, Scavi Sibari, Incrocio, IGM F. 222.
Sibari V (1988-89) 266, no. 82.

Roman Imperial: II - III C A.C.; basis for dating: epigraphic grounds.

Marble *titulus* fragment with right and top sides intact; five lines of inscription; edge thinned out; dim: 0.16x0.14x0.034m.

]βιος (hedera)
]μος καρ
](hedera) κορυή
](hedera)
]

IGM F. 238

1. Strongoli (Petelia), IGM F. 238.

IG XIV.637; Costabile (1984a) 5-15.

Roman Republican: II C B.C.; basis for dating: historical grounds.

[επί υ]μ[ν]ασιάρχ[ων]
 [Μινάτο]υ κρ[ι]τ[ι]ό[υ] Μινά[του]
 [Μενί]δα. Μάρκου κρ[ι]τ[ι]ό[υ]
 [Μινάτ]ου ή στοάι α[νεσκευ sic
 ασοθη] έκ τῶν κοιν[ῶν]
 χρημάτων



Fig. 1: Italy, showing location of Bruttium

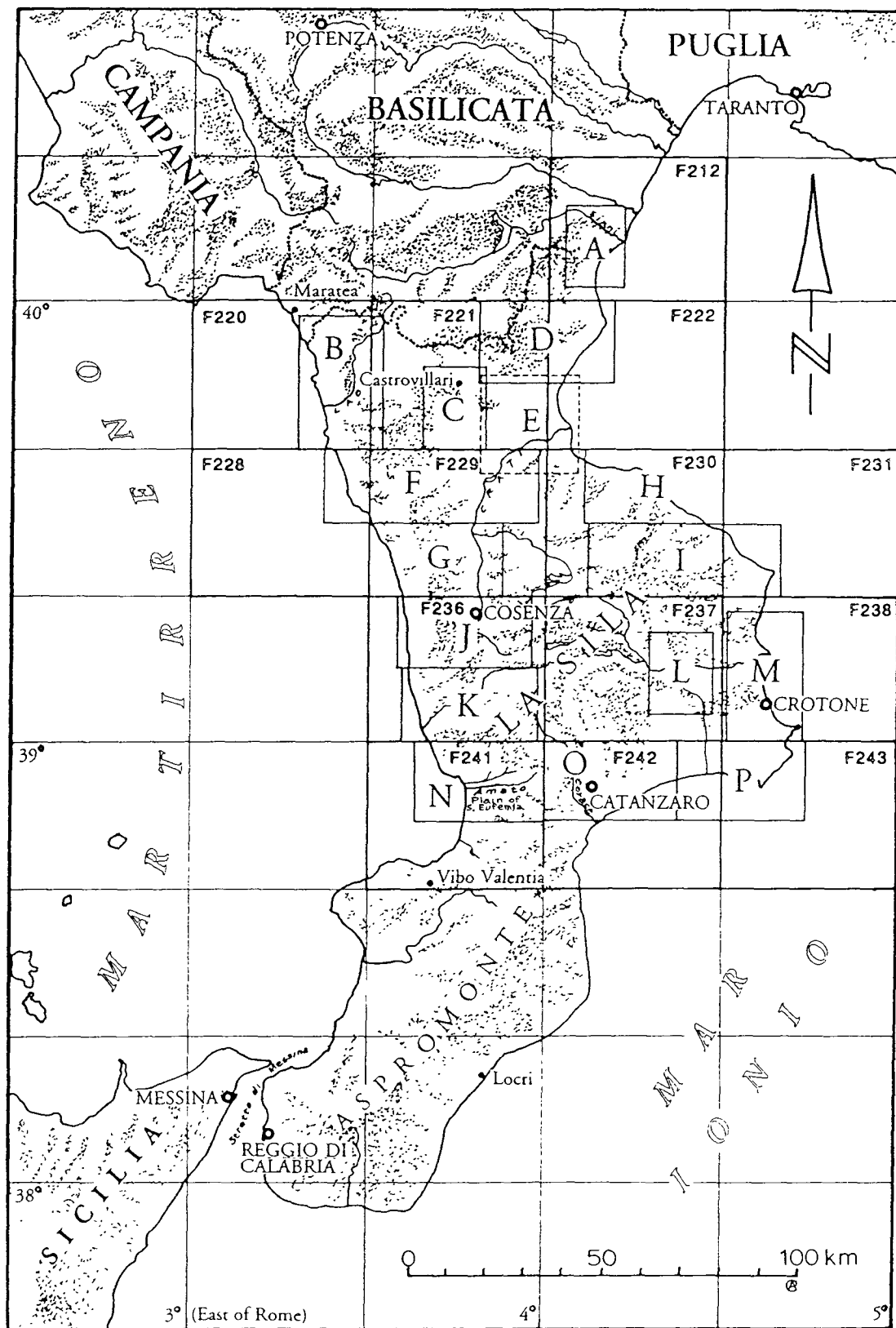


Fig. 2: Key to Topographical Maps

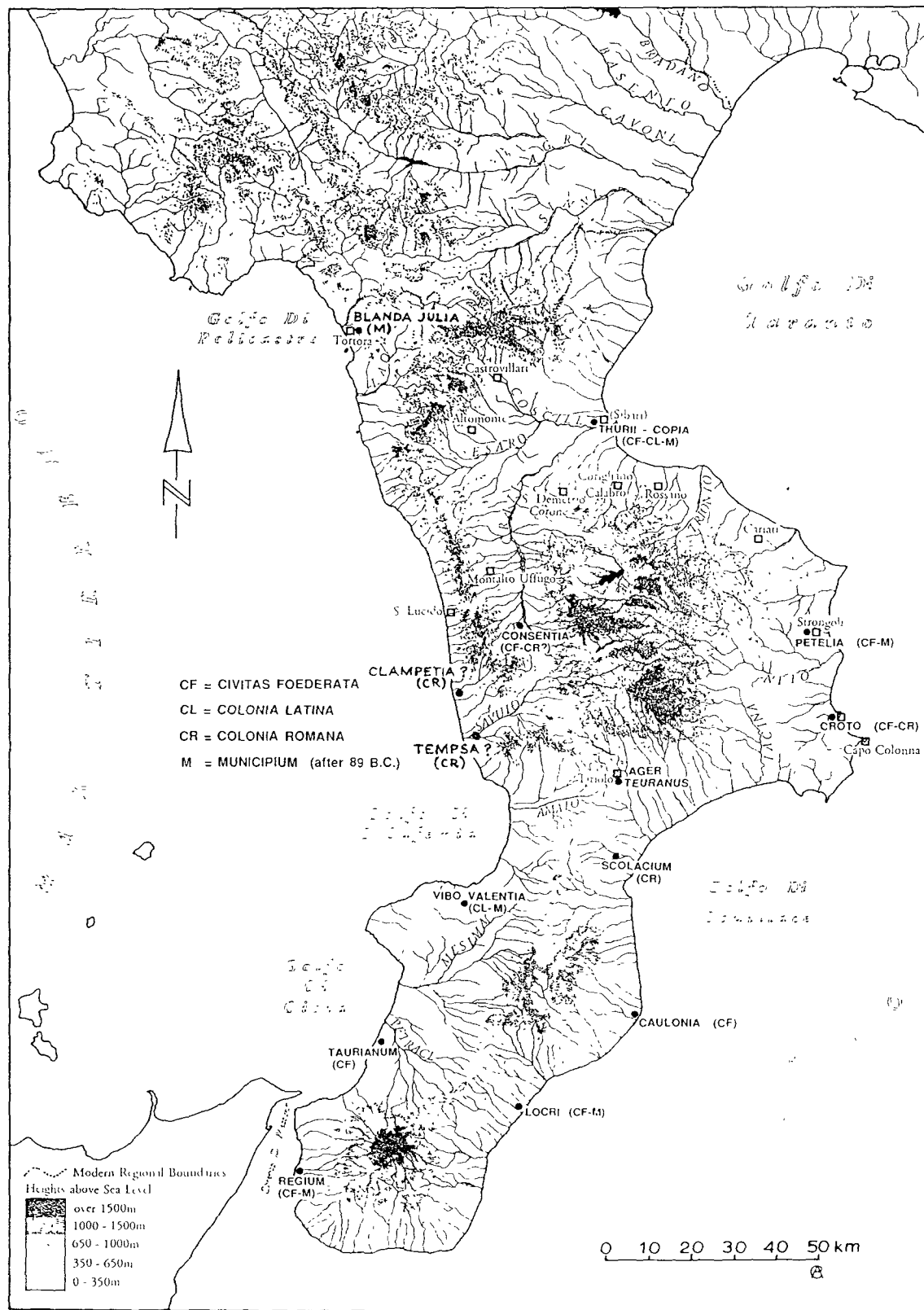


Fig. 4: Romanisation of Bruttium
 based on F. Costabile (1984)

□ Approximate Findspots of Inscriptions discussed in the text

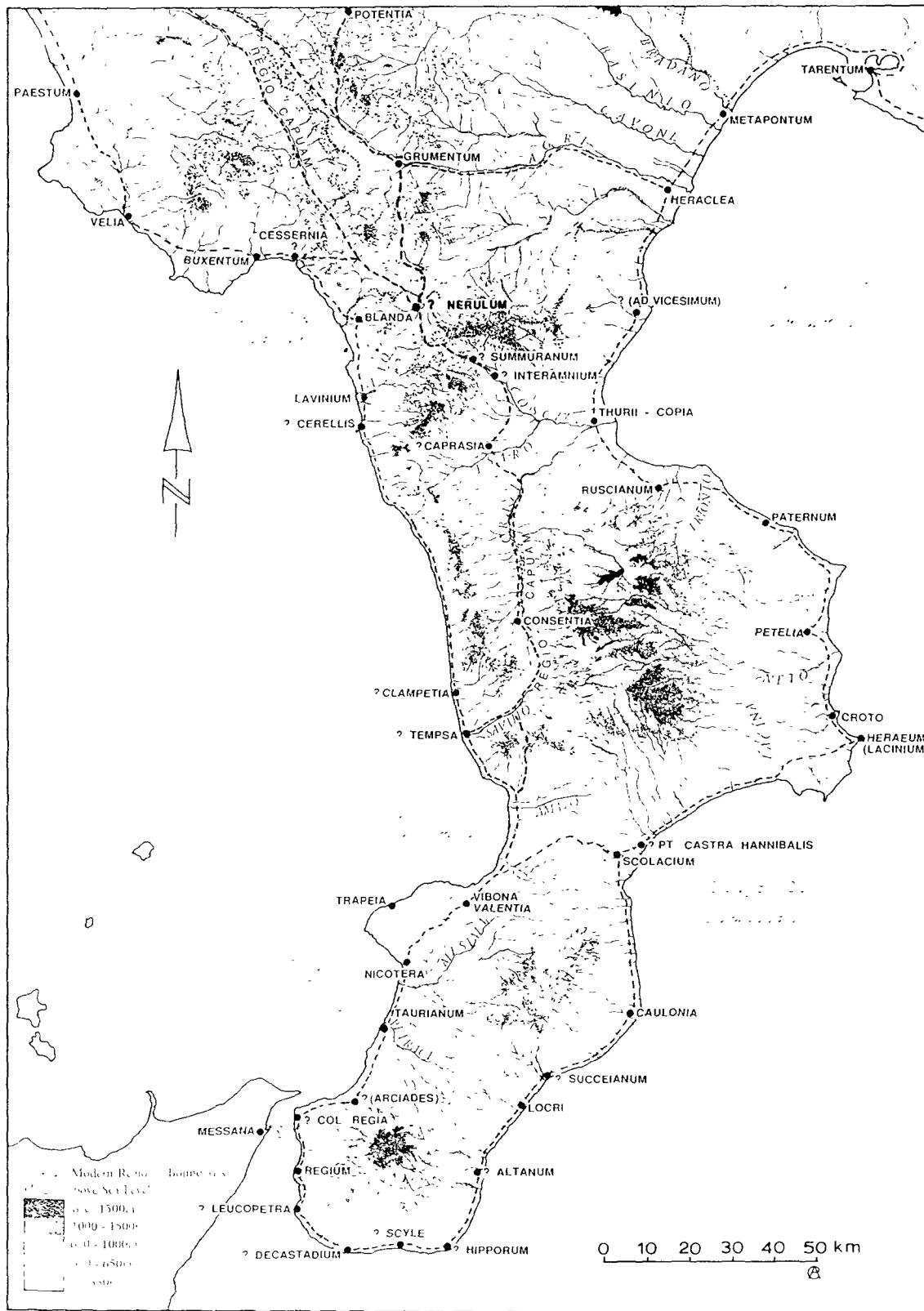


Fig. 5: Bruttium in the Roman Imperial Period (showing Hypothetical Road System)

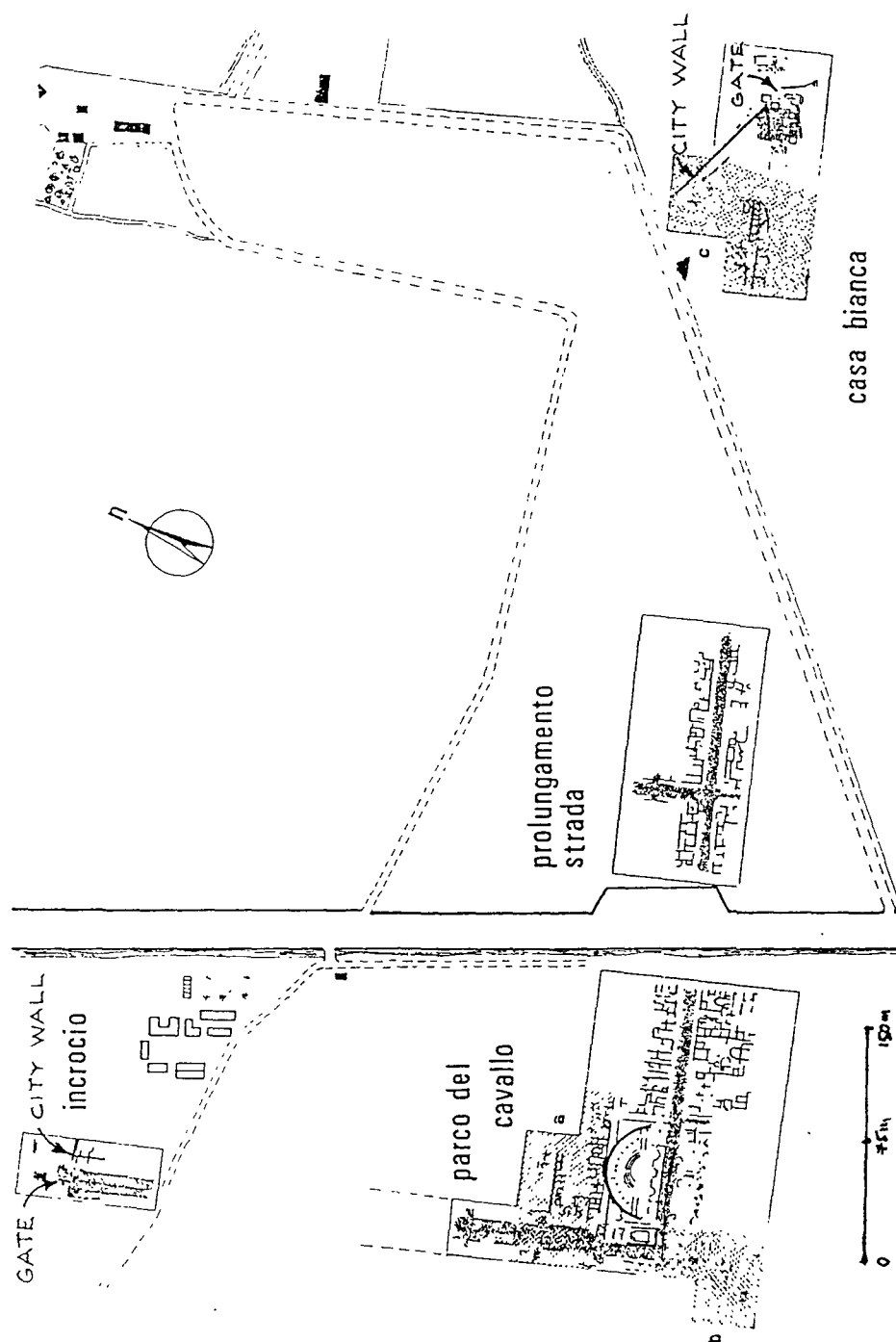


Fig. 6: Thurii/Copia: Scavi di Sibari (CAT. I, Cassano, IGM F. 222, nos. 1-28, map E)

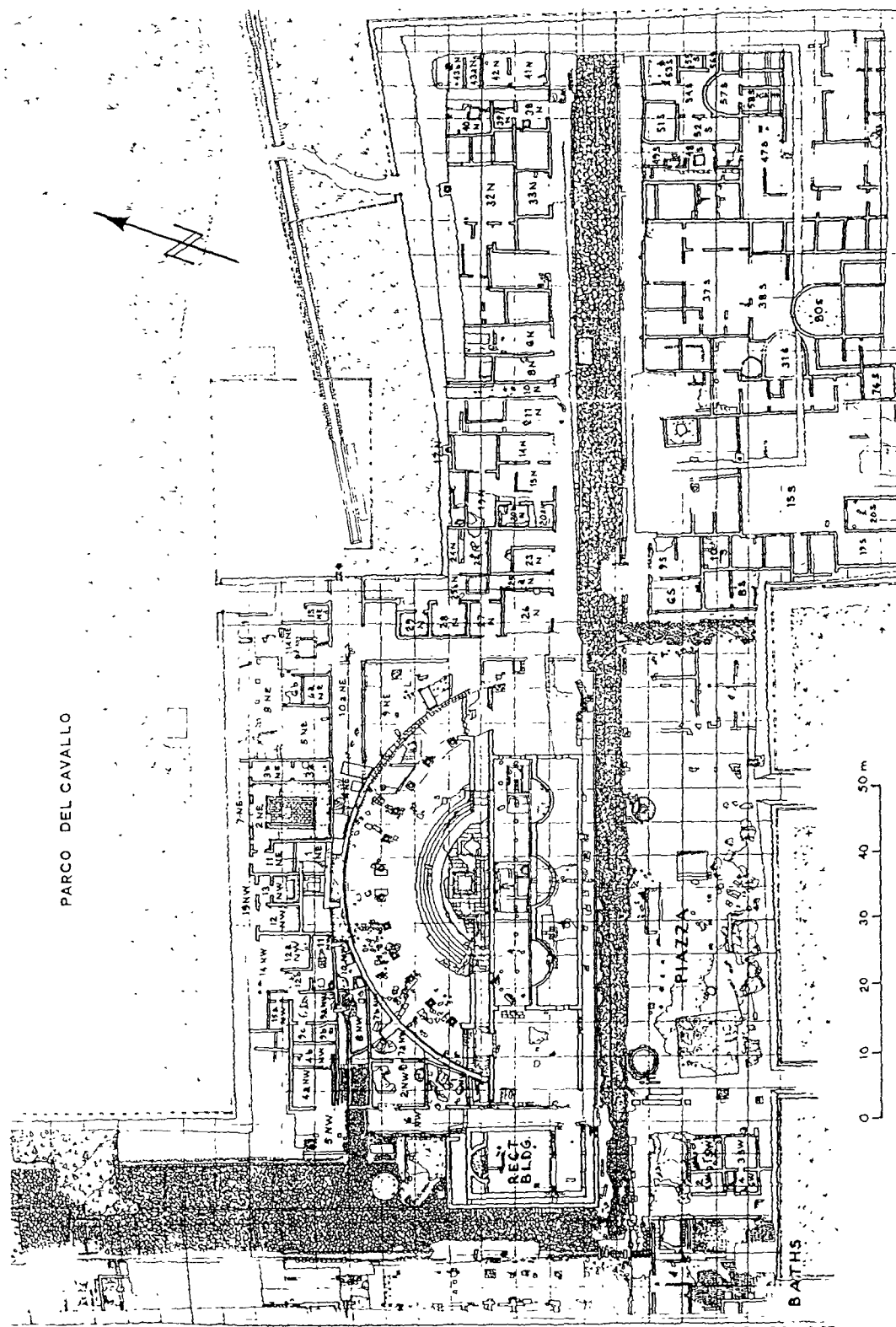


Fig. 7: Thurii/Copia: Parco del Cavallo

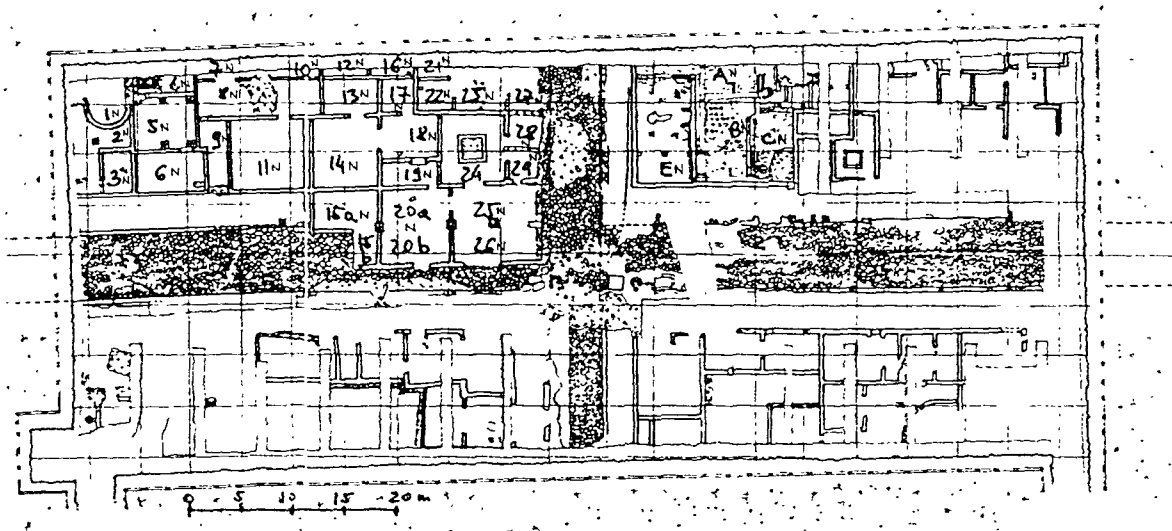


Fig. 8: Thurii/Copia: Prolungamento Strada

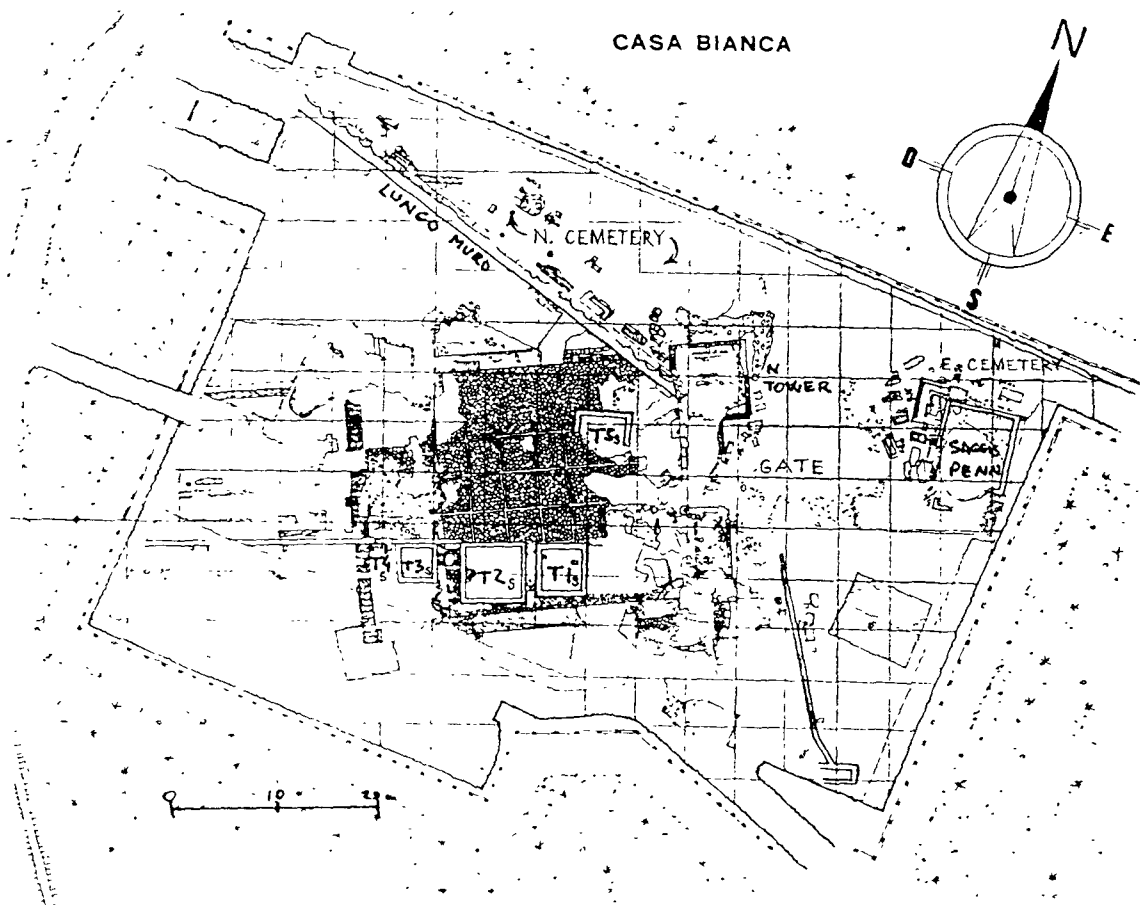


Fig. 9: Thurii/Copia Casa Bianca

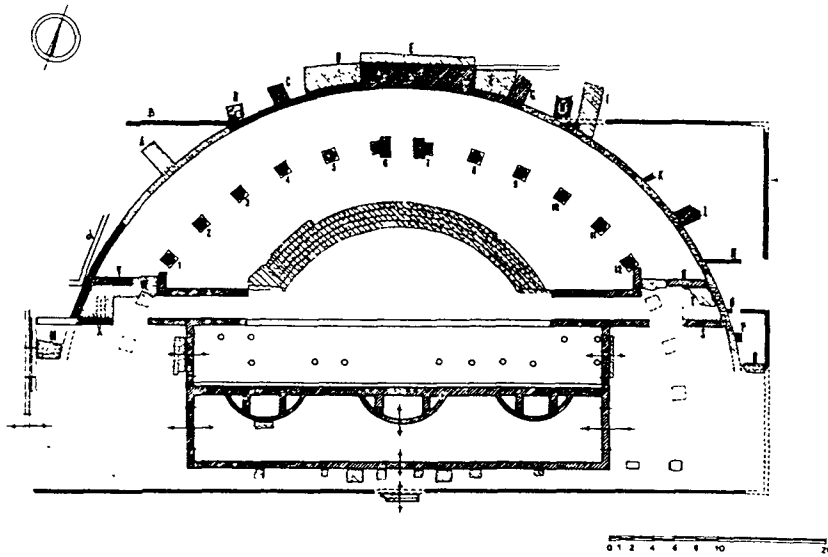


Fig. 10a: Parco del Cavallo: Semi-circular Building, later refashioned into Theatre, plan (CAT. I, Cassano, 'PdC', IGM F. 222, no. 1).

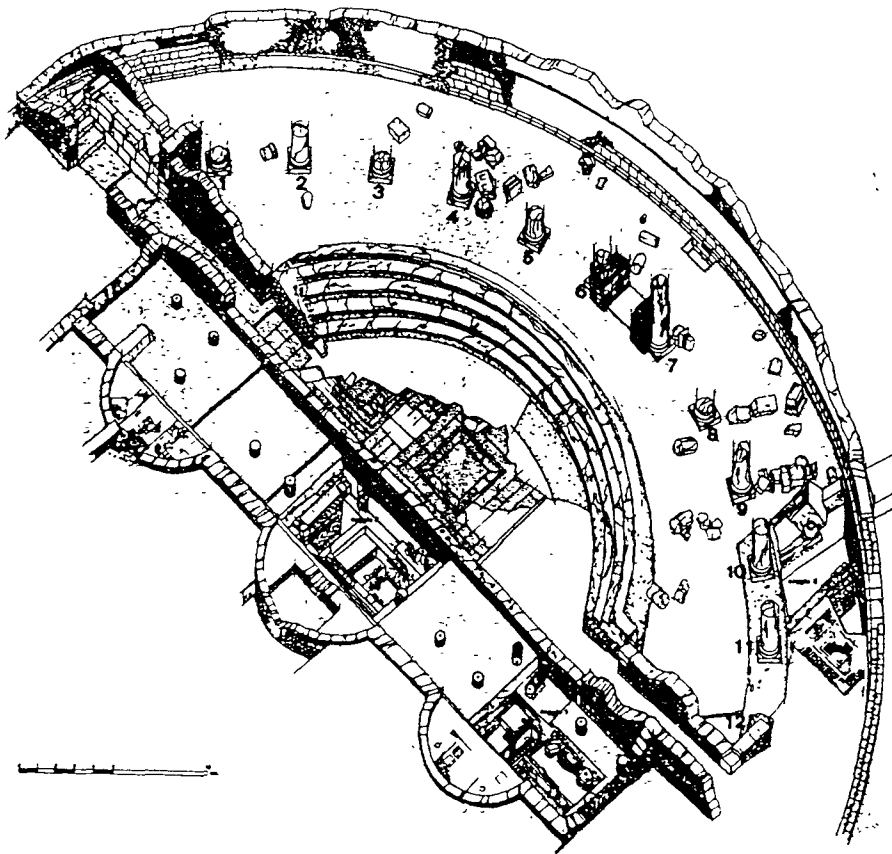


Fig. 10b: Parco del Cavallo: Semi-circular Building refashioned into Theatre, axonometric drawing (CAT. I, Cassano, 'PdC', IGM F. 222, no. 1)

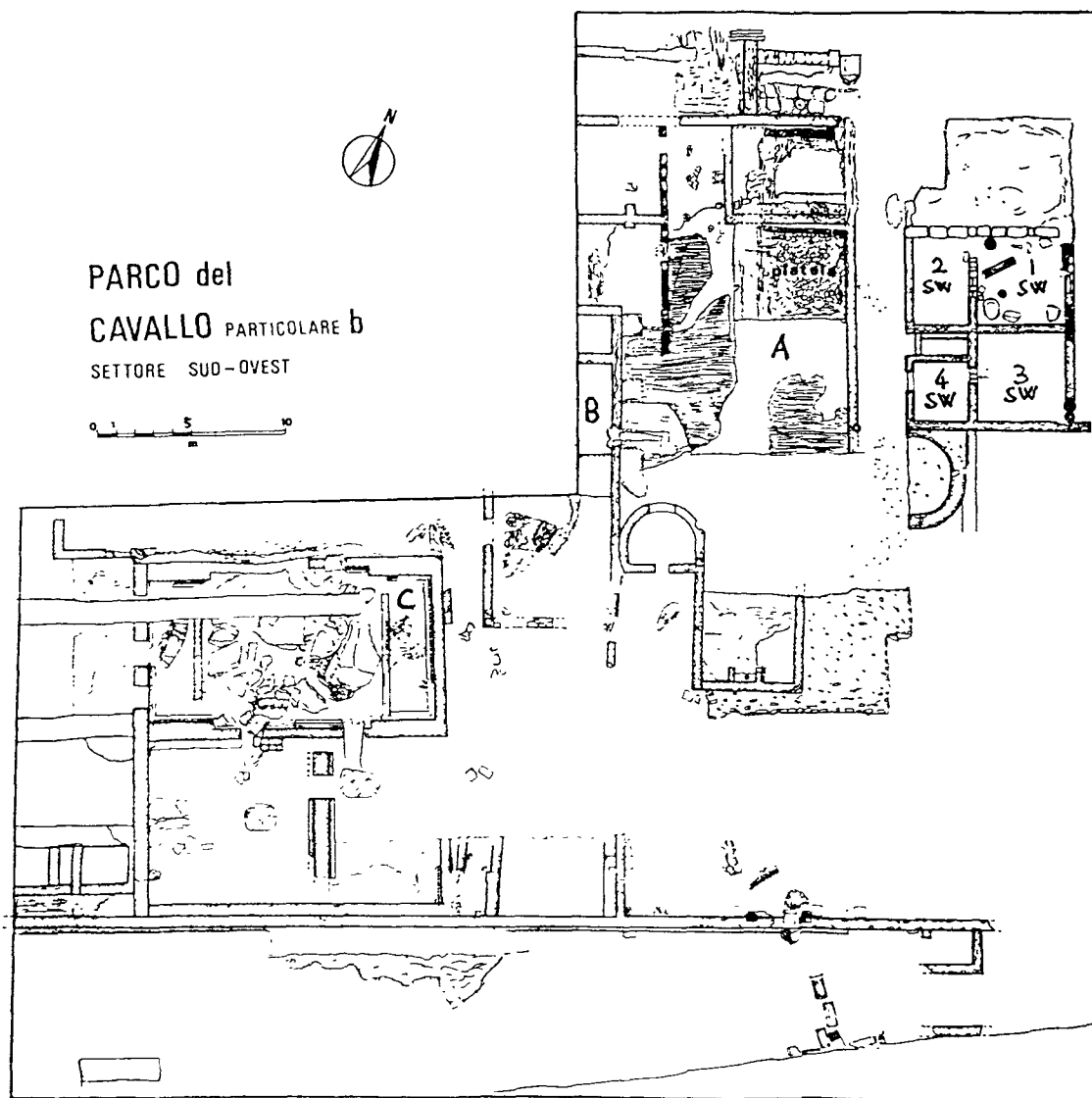


Fig. 11: Parco del Cavallo: the Baths (CAT.I, Cassano,'PdC', IGM F. 222, no. 3)

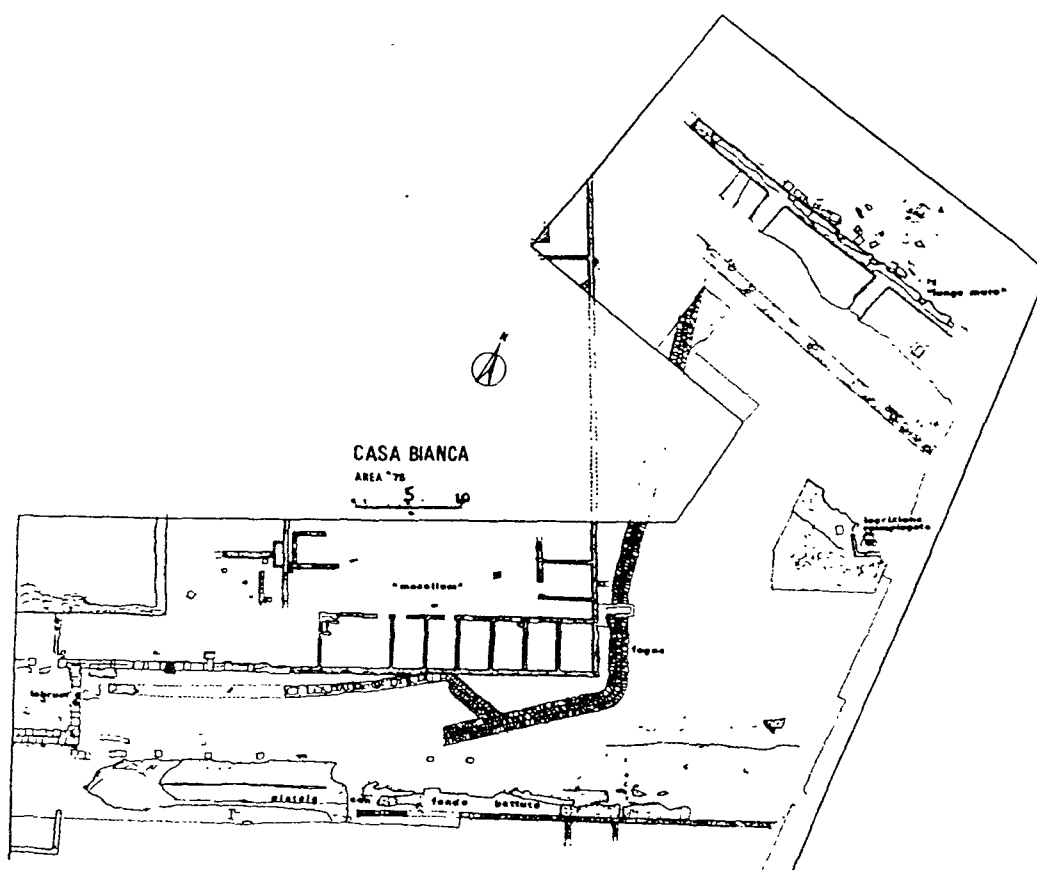


Fig. 12: Casa Bianca: *Macellum/Horreum* (CAT. I, Cassano, 'CB', IGM F. 222, no. 20)

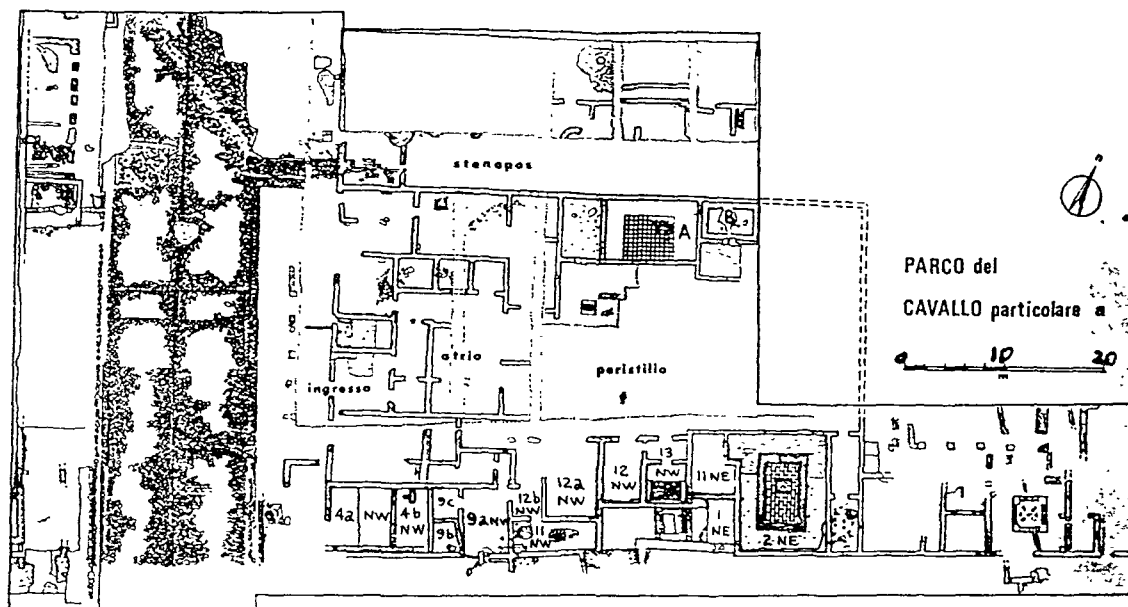


Fig. 13: Parco del Cavallo: the *Domus* (CAT. I, Cassano, 'PdC', IGM F. 222, no. 5)

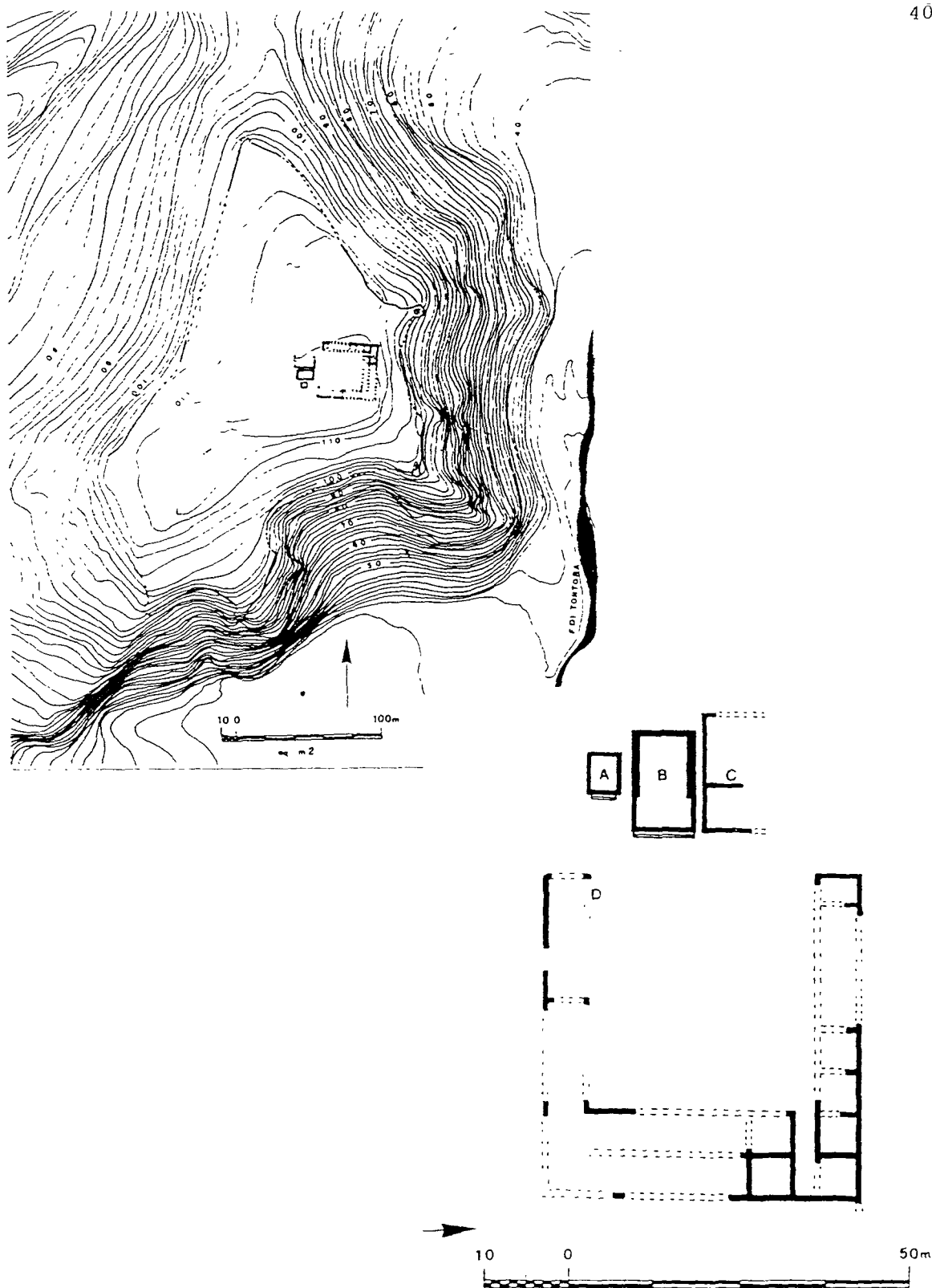


Fig. 14: Blanda Iulia: the Forum (CAT. I, Tortora, IGM F. 220, no. 1, map B)



Fig. 15: Croton (CAT. I, Crotone, IGM F. 238, nos. 4-7, map M)

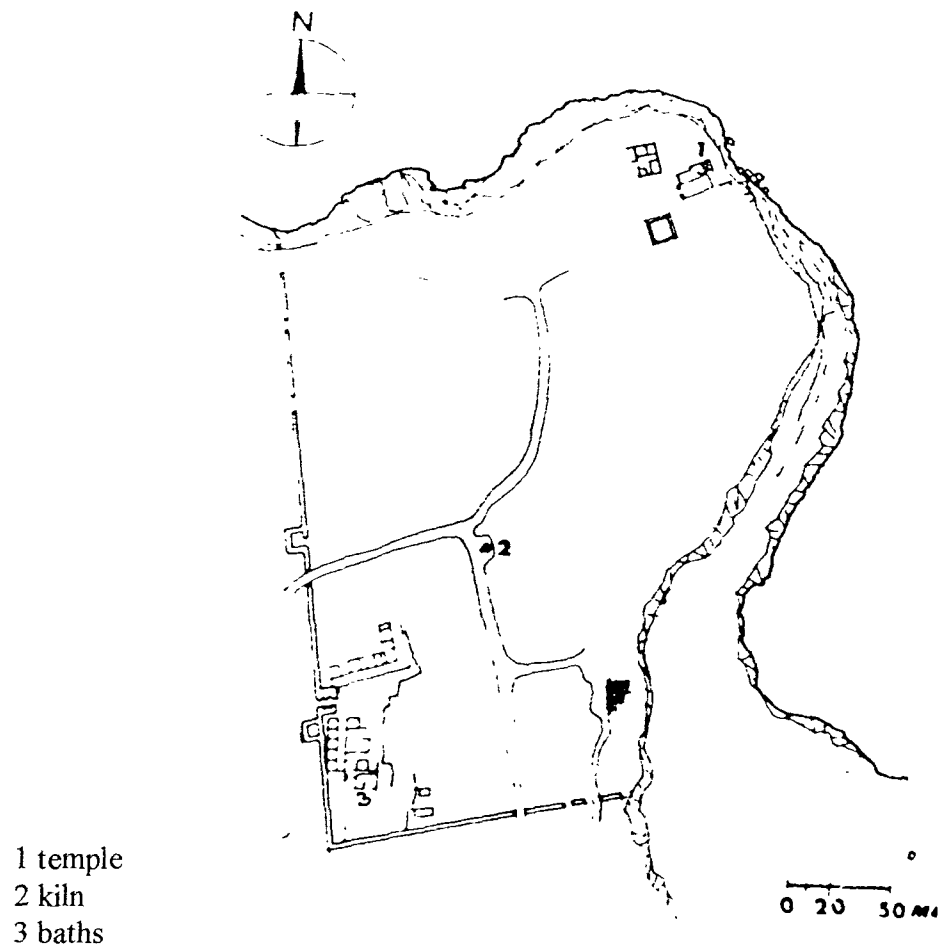
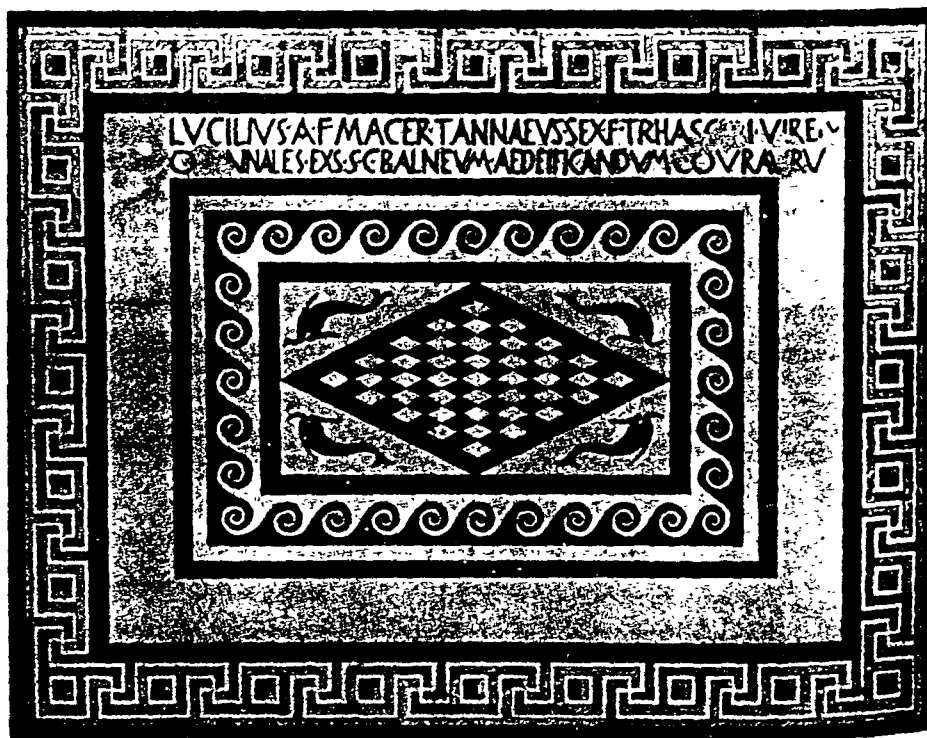
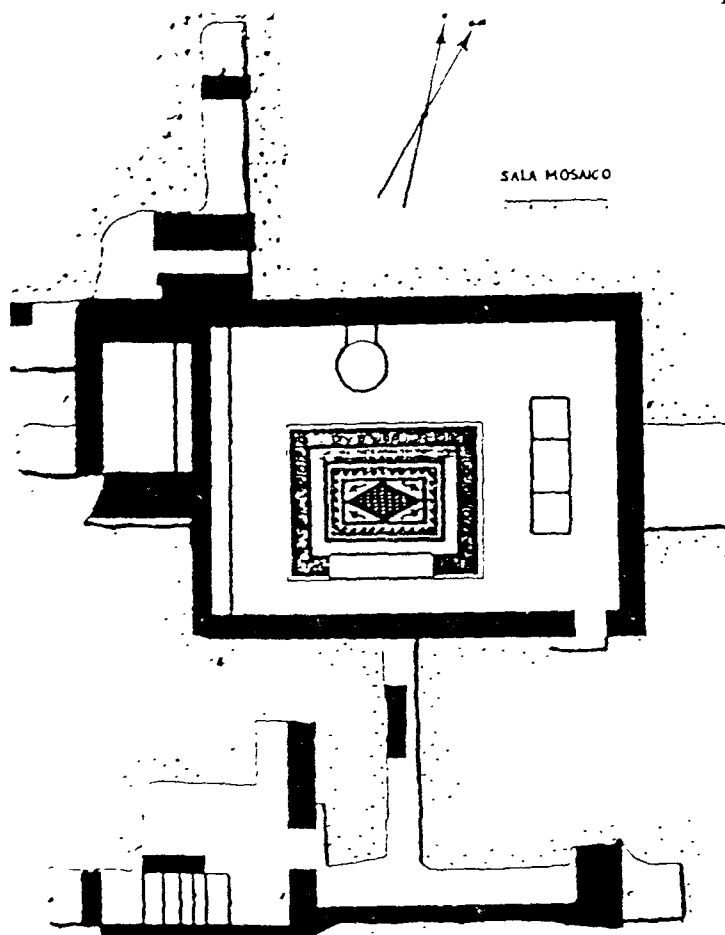


Fig. 16a: Sanctuary of Hera Lacinia at Capo Colonna (CAT. II, IGM F. 238, no. 14, map M)

Fig. 16b: Sanctuary
of Hera Lacinia:
the Baths (CAT. II, IGM 238,
no. 14, map M)



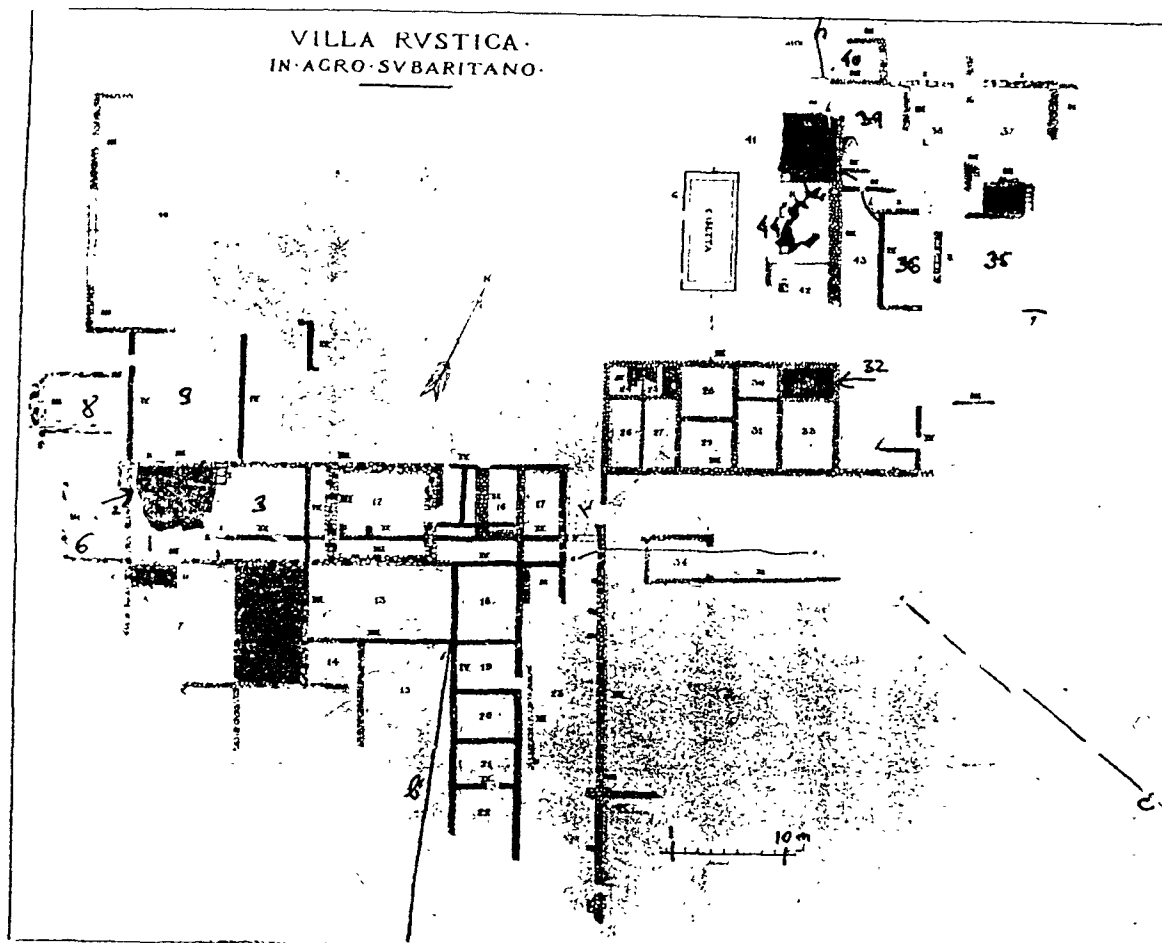


Fig. 17: Grotta del Malconsiglio, villa (CAT. II, IGM F. 221, no. 73, map E)

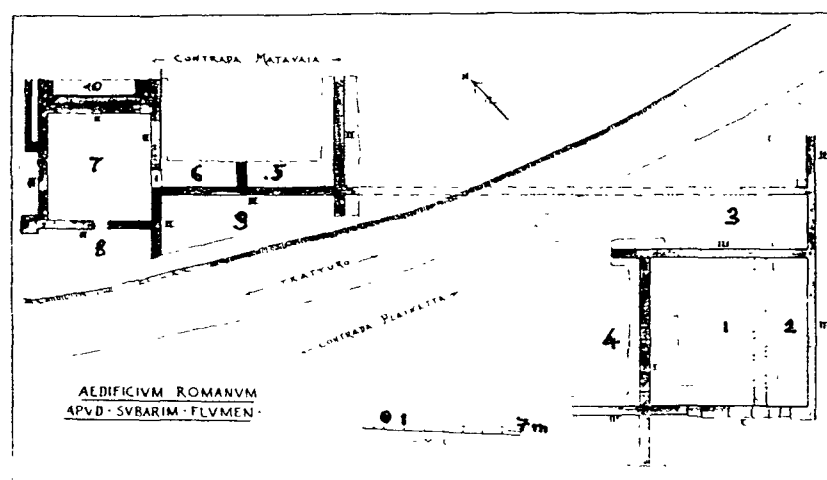


Fig. 18: Plainetta (Prainetta) Matavaia, villa (CAT. II, IGM F. 221, no. 74, map E)



Fig. 19: Camerelle, farmhouse (CAT. II, IGM F. 221, no. 20, map C)

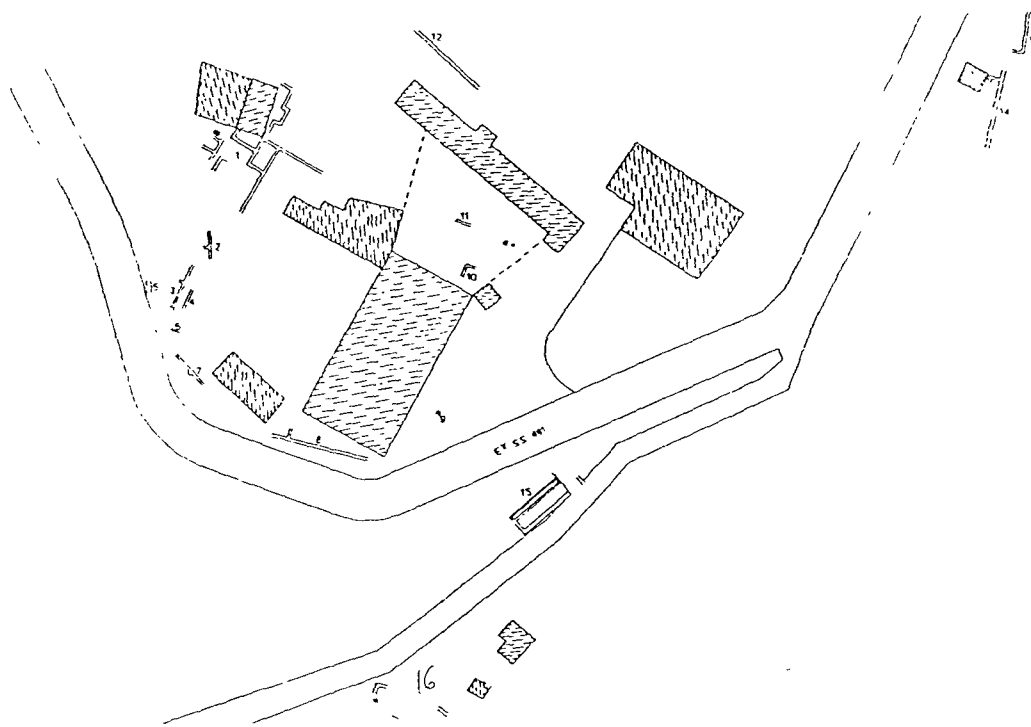


Fig. 20: Amendolara, settlement at loc. Lista (CAT. II, IGM F. 222, no. 6, map D)

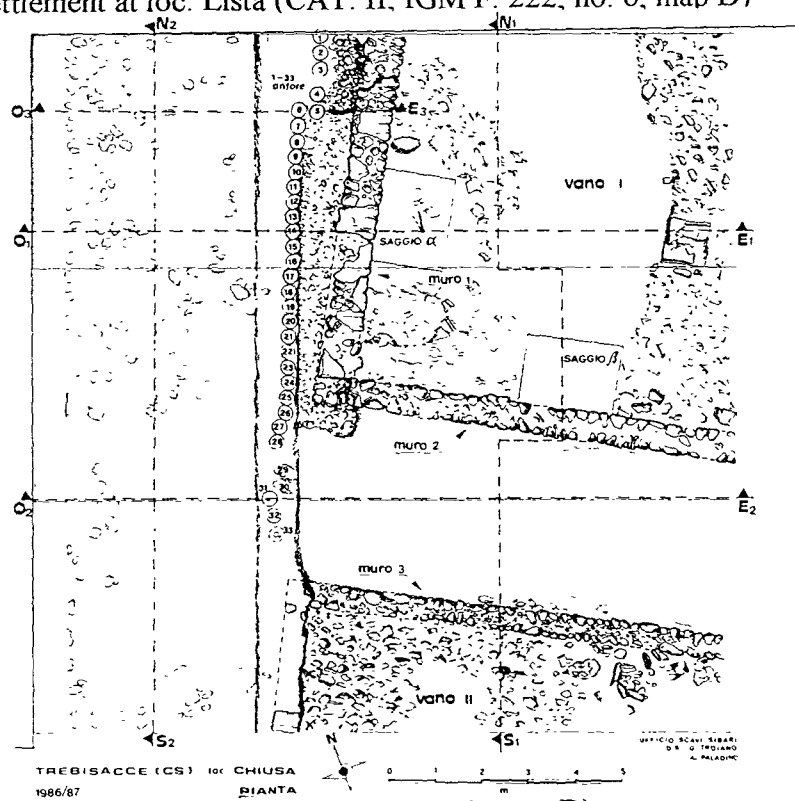


Fig. 21: Trebisacce, loc. Chiusa (CAT. II, IGM F. 222, no. 9, map D)

Fig. 22: Cirò:
Punta Alice (CAT. II,
IGM F. 231,
no. 12, map I)

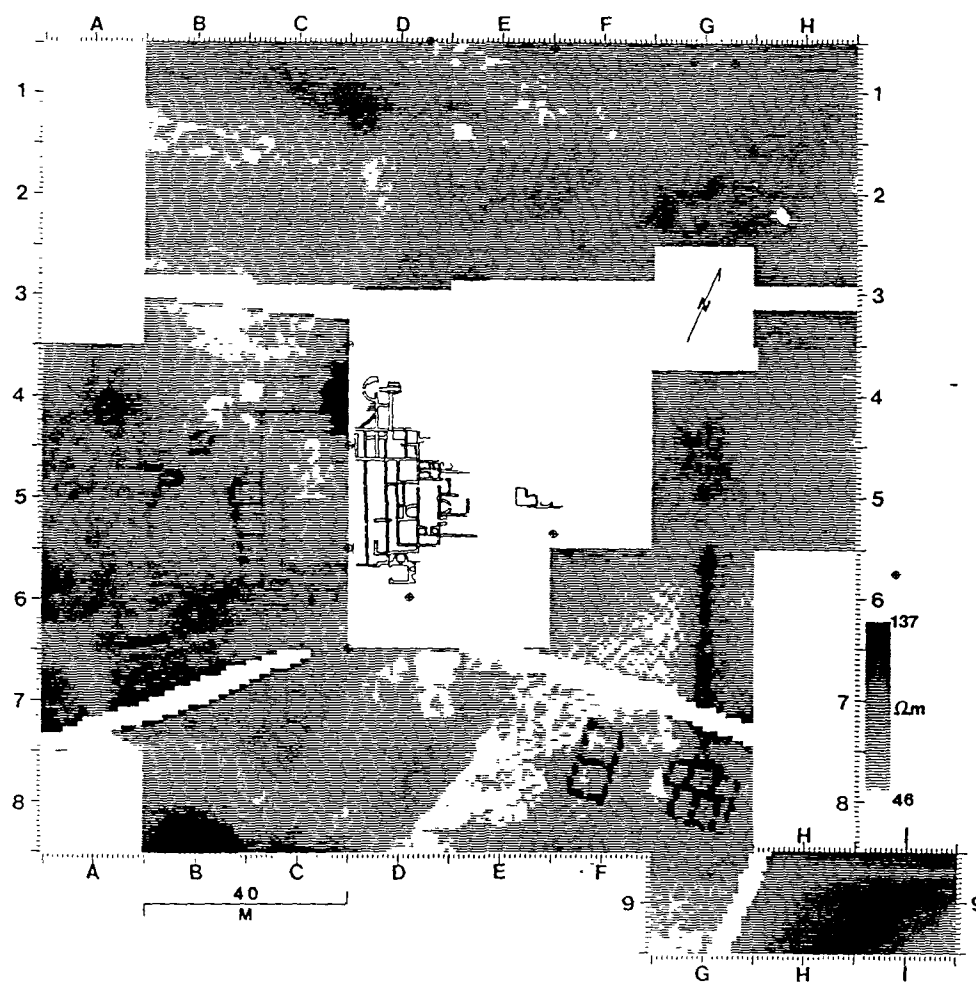
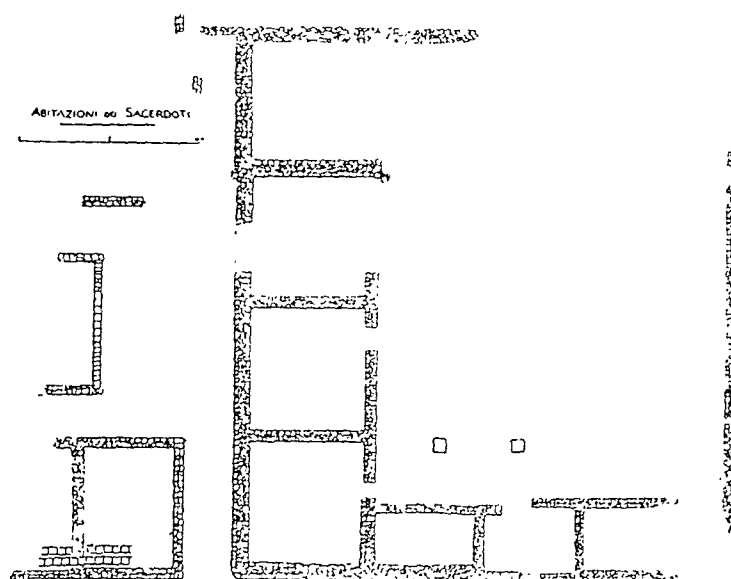


Fig. 23a: Malvito, Pauciuri, site resistivity survey (CAT. II, IGM F. 229, no. 6, map F)

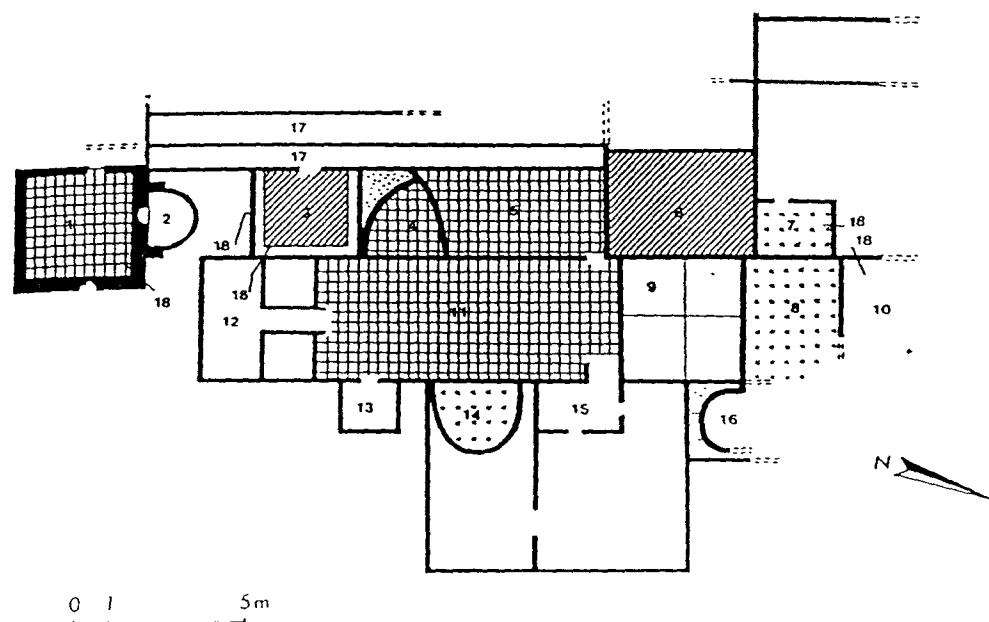


Fig. 23b: Malvito, Pauciuri, the Baths (CAT. II, IGM F 229, no. 6, map F)

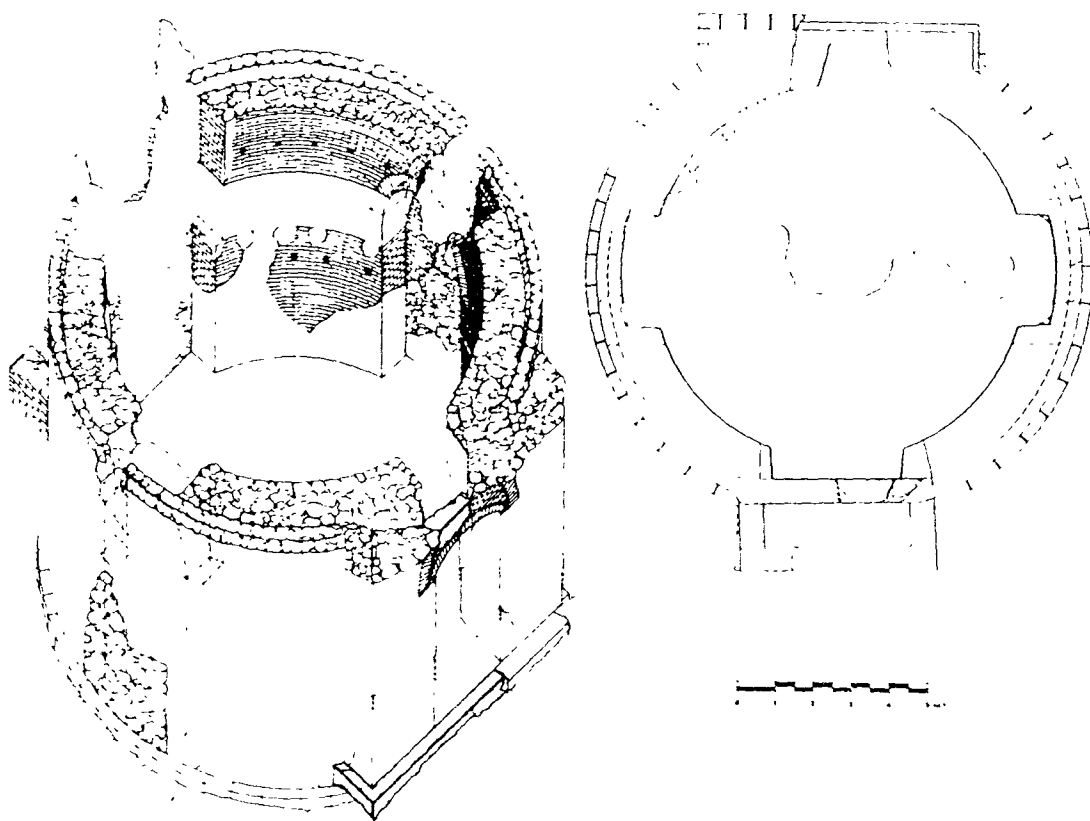
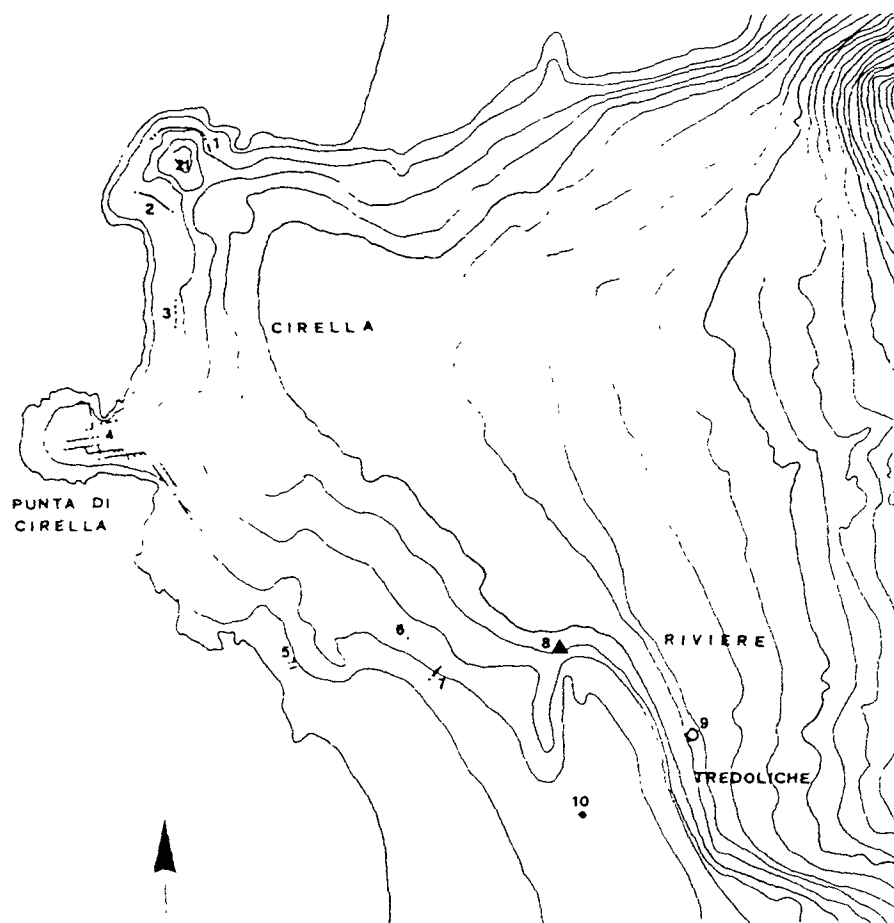


Fig. 24: Cirella, mausoleum at loc. Tredoliche (CAT. II, IGM F. 220, no. 11, map B)



- 4 villa at Punta di Cirella
- 8 cemetery
- 9 mausoleum at loc. Tredoliche

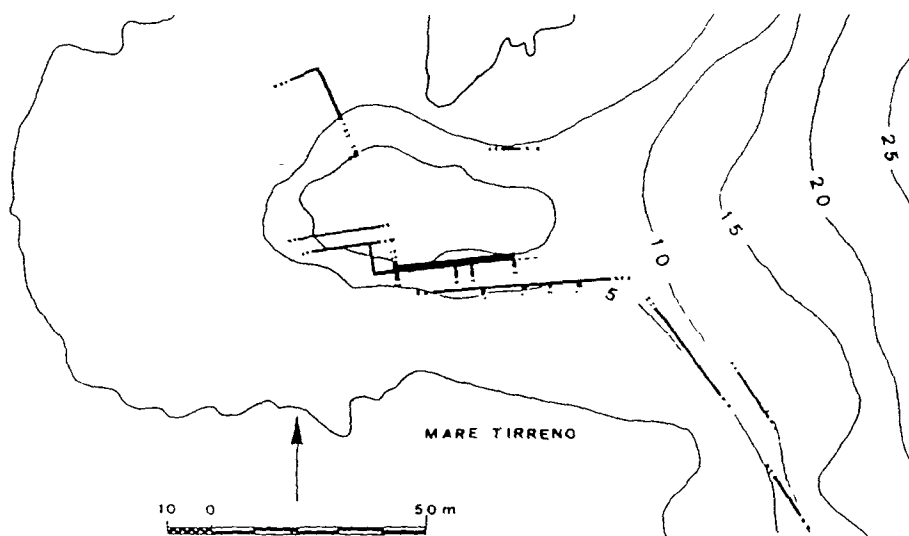
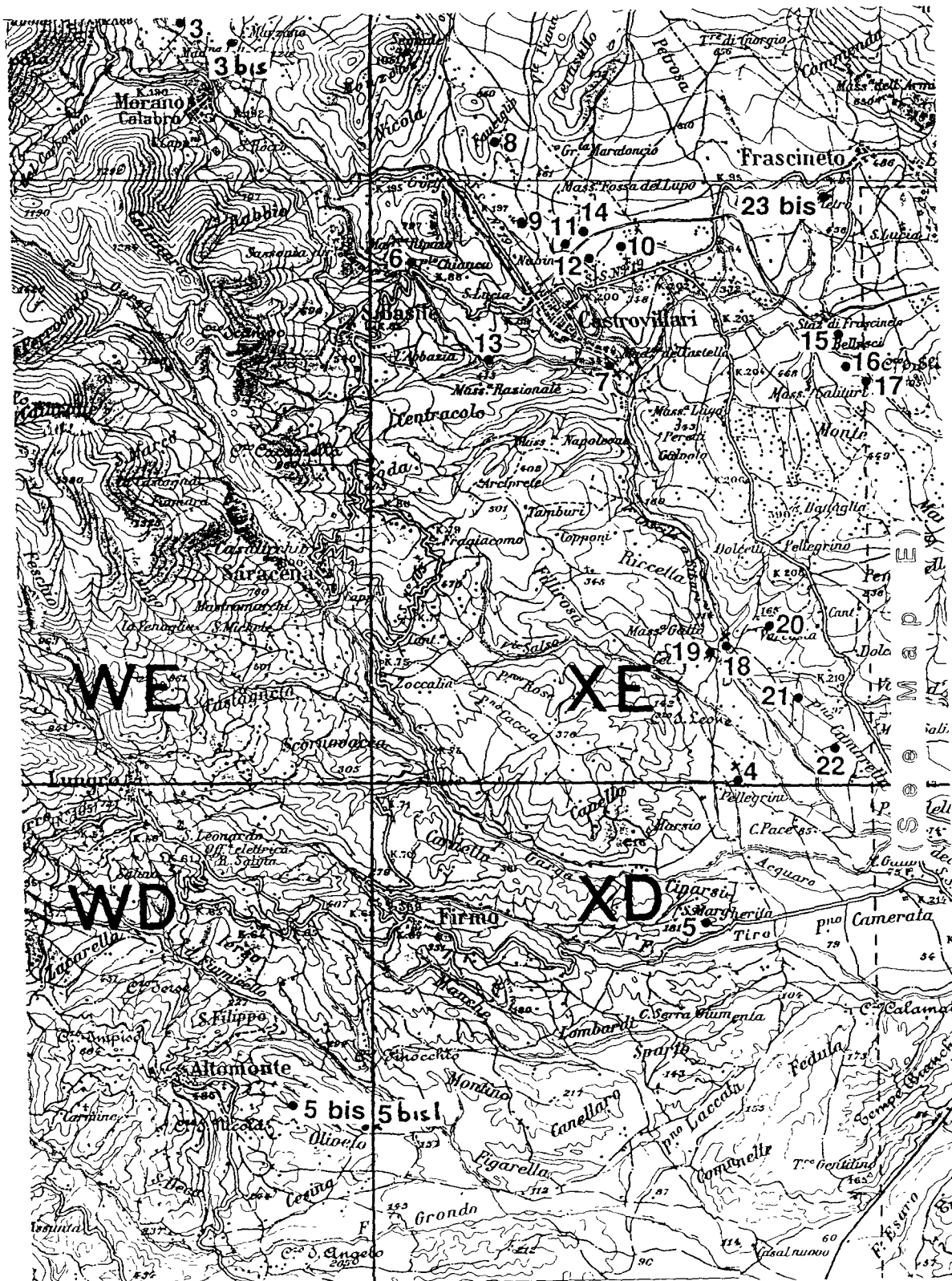


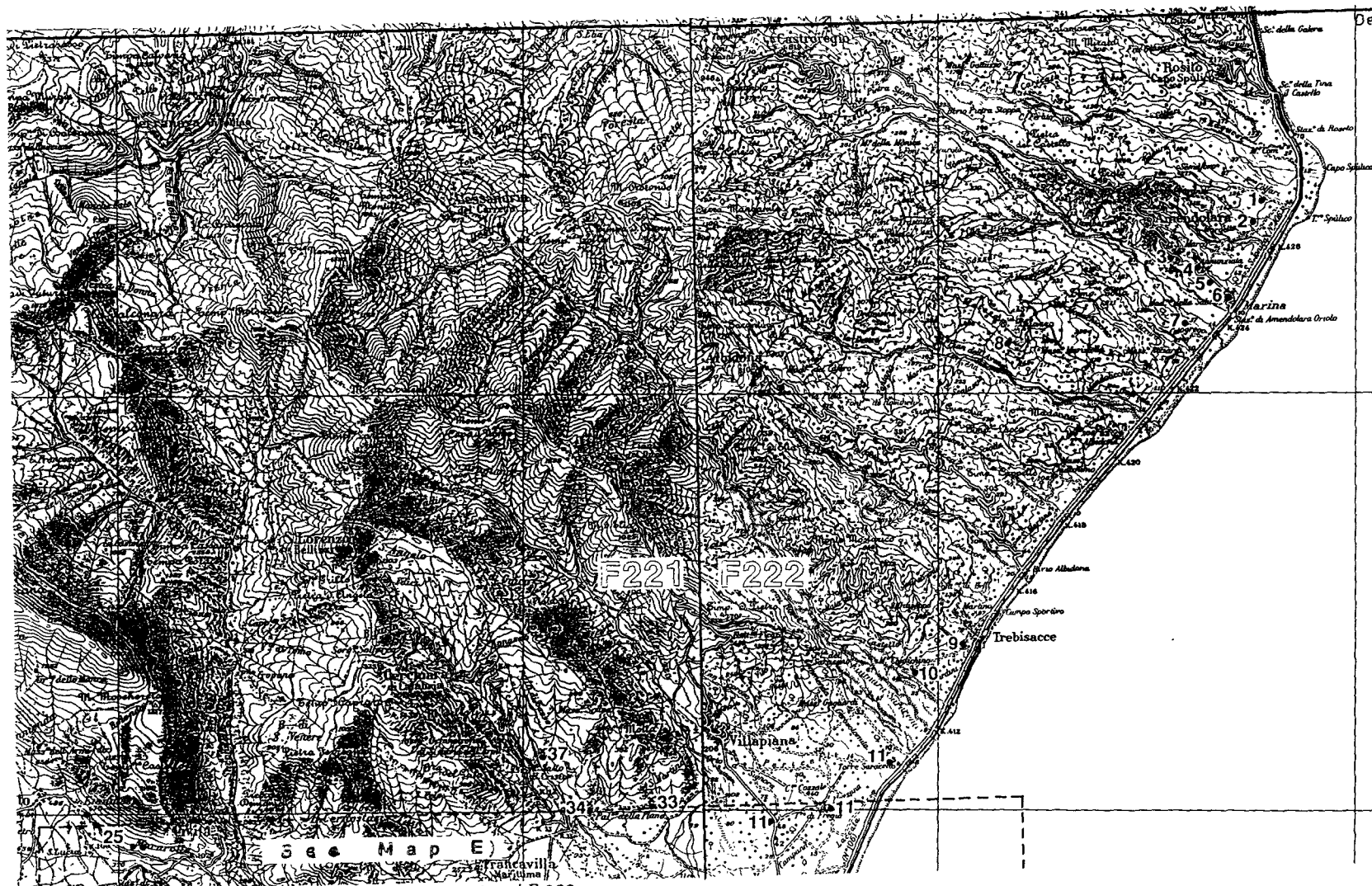
Fig. 25: Cirella, villa at Punta di Cirella (CAT. II, IGM F. 220, no. 13, map B)

Map. A: Rocca Imperiale (1:100,000) Part of I.G.M. F.212

Map. B: Scalea (1:100,000) Parts of I.G.M. F.220 and F.221



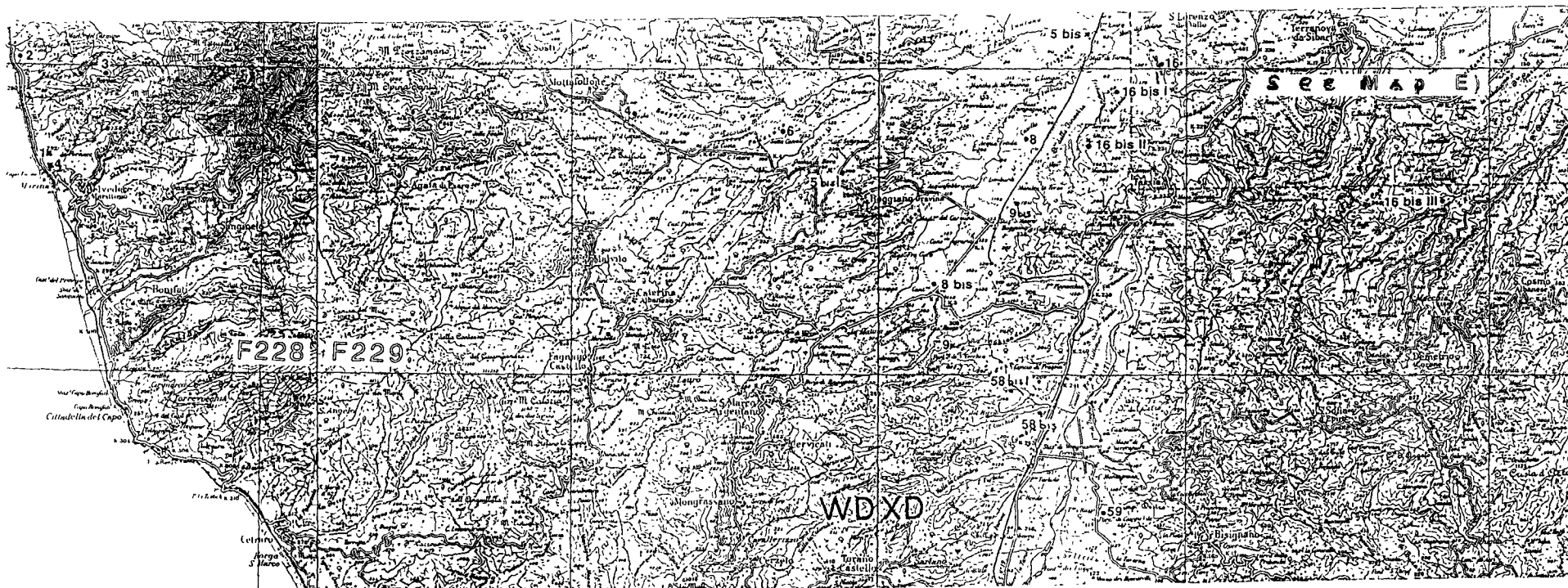
Map. C: Castrovillari (1:100,000) Part of I.G.M. F.221



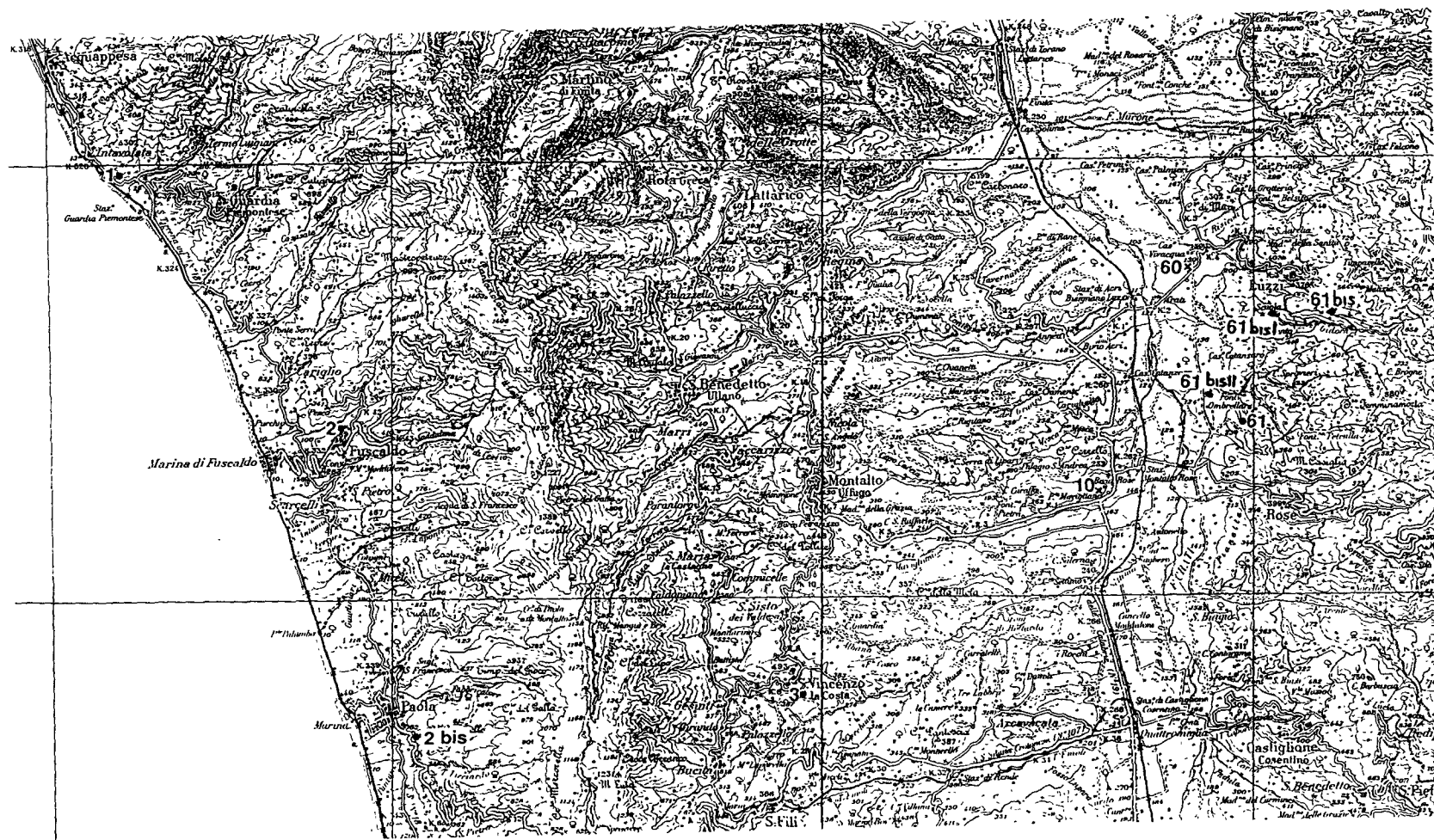
Map. D: Trebisacce (1:100,000) Parts of I.G.M. F.221 and F.222



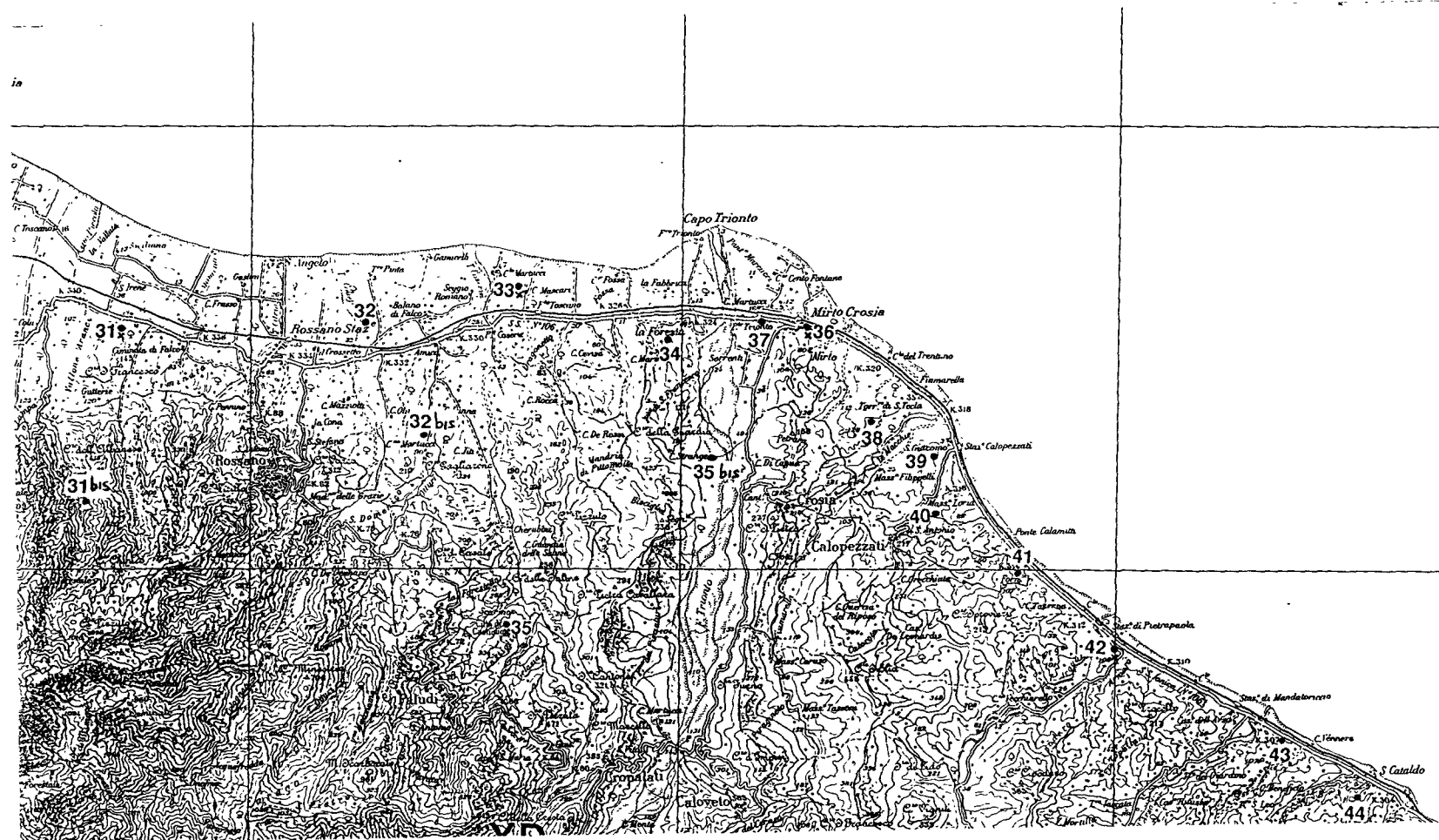
Map. E. Shiraz (1:50,000) Parts of I G M F 221, F 222, F 229 and F 230



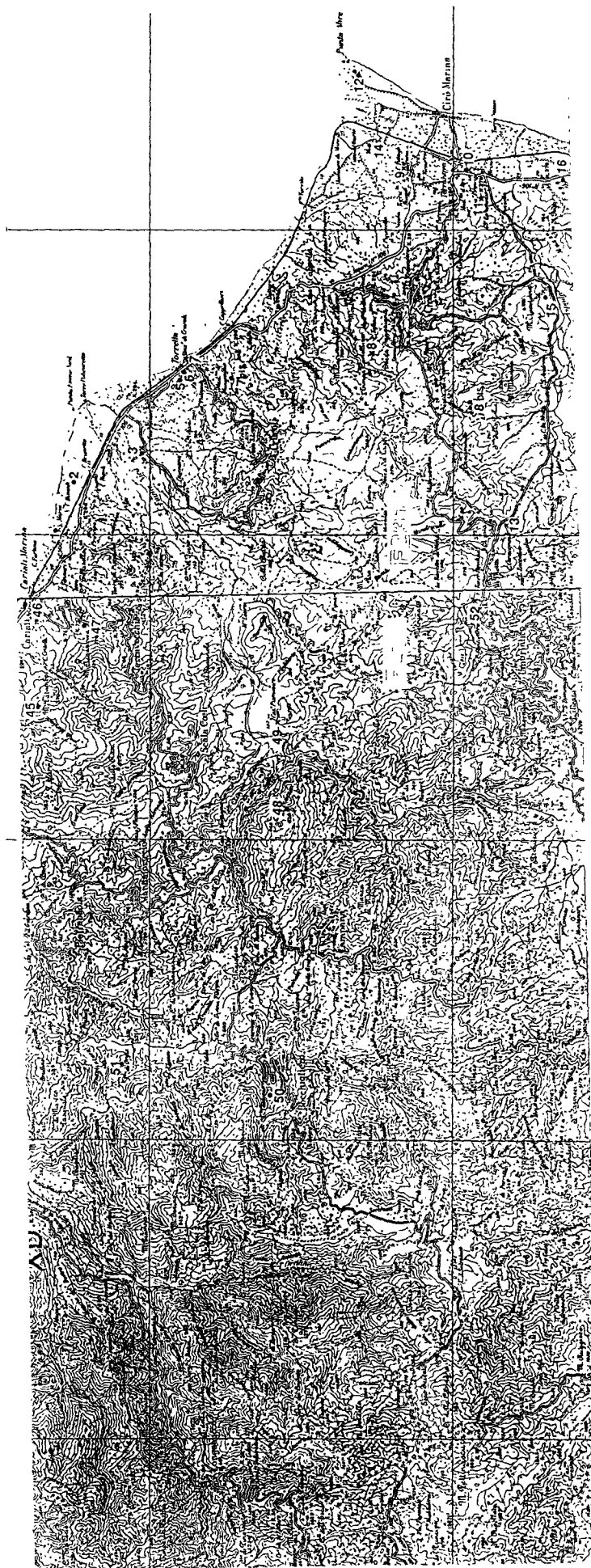
Map. F. Roggiano Gravina (1:100,000) Parts of I.G.M. F.228 and F.229



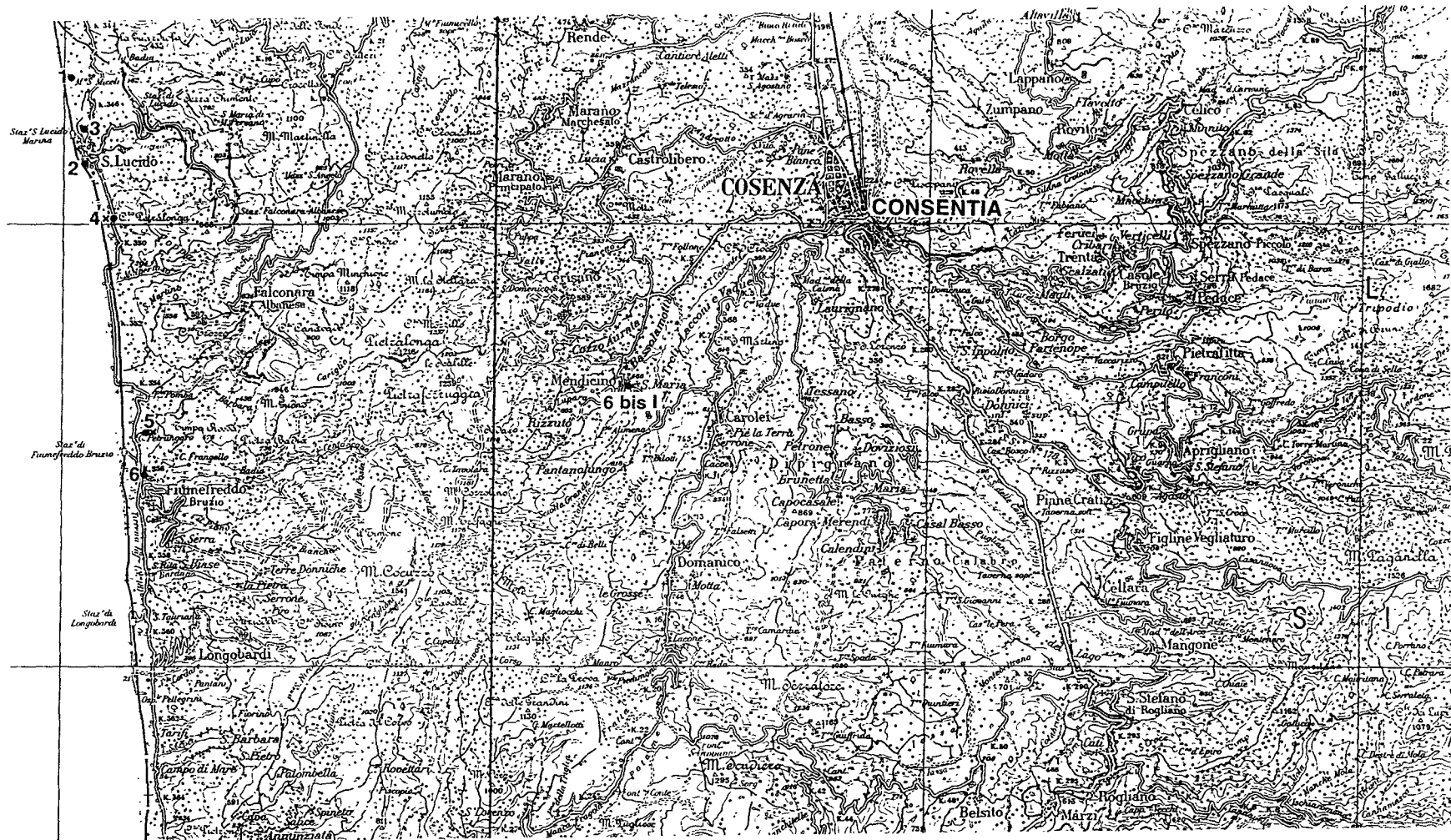
Map. G: Luzzi (1:100,000) Part of I.G.M. F.229



Map. H: Rossano (1:100,000) Part of I.G.M. F.230



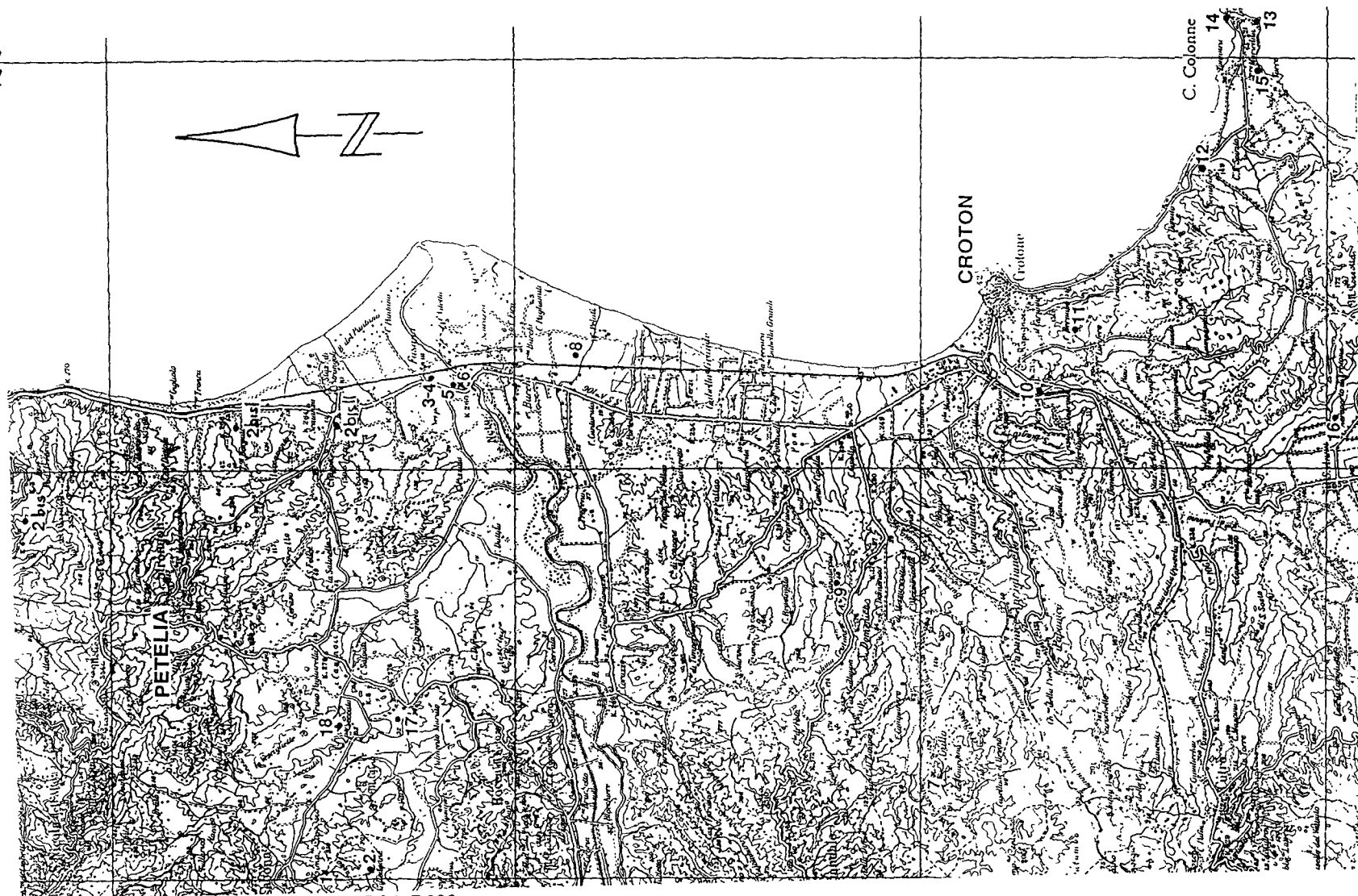
Map. I. Cirò (1:100,000) Parts of I.G.M. F.230 and F.231



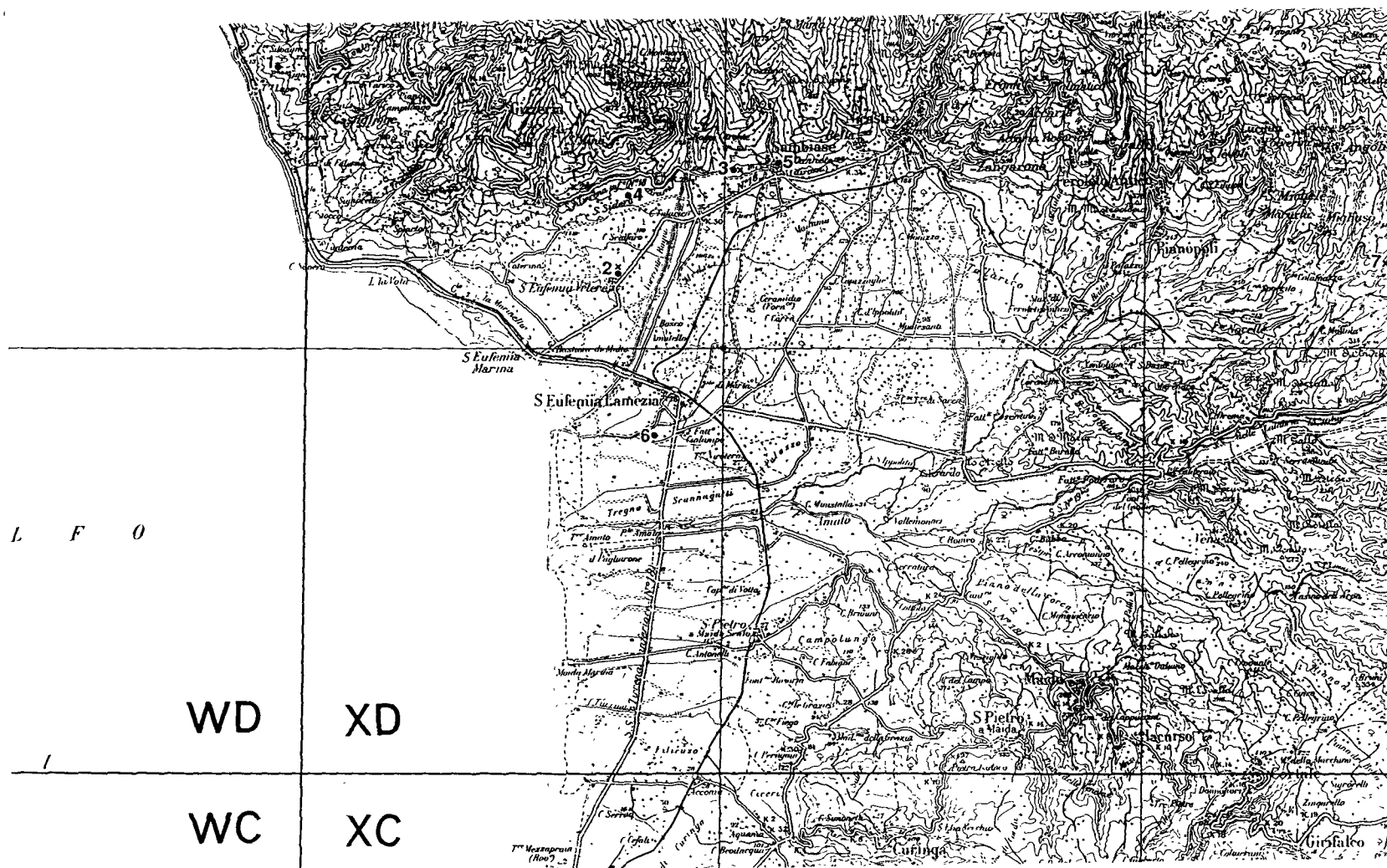
Map. J: Cosenza (1:100,000) Part of I.G.M. F.236



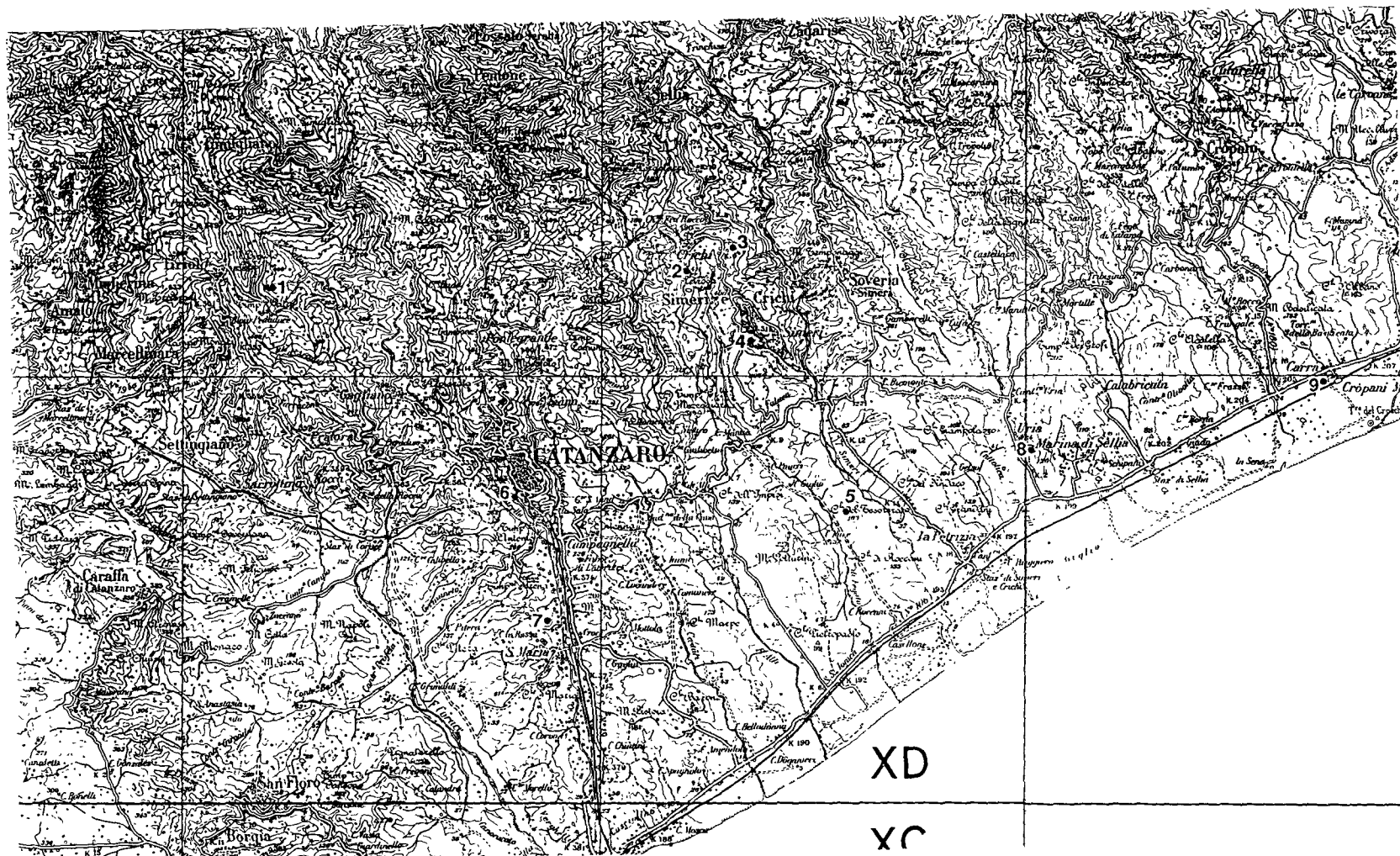
Map. L: Roccabernarda (1:100,000) Part of I.G.M. F.237



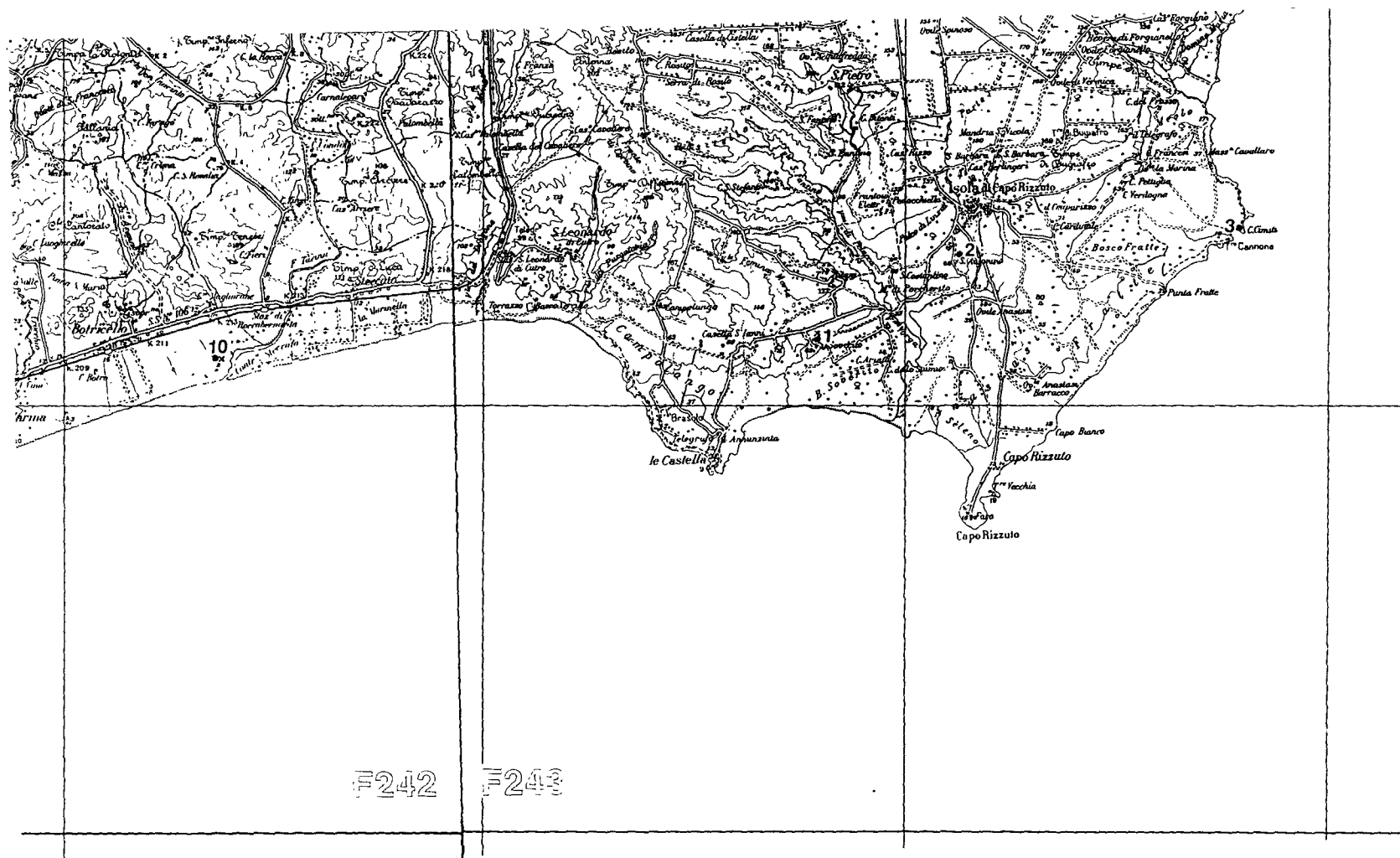
Map. M: Croton (1:100,000) Part of I.G.M. F.238



Map. N: S. Eufemia Lamezia (1:100,000) Part of I.G.M. F.241



Map. O: Catanzaro (1:100,000) Part of I.G.M. F.242



Map. P: Isola di Capo Rizzuto (1:100,000) Parts of I.G.M. F.242 and F.243

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