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**The Transformation of the Sacred
Landscape within the Former Kingdom of
Hieron II, Southeastern Sicily.
From the Roman Republic to the Roman
Empire (212 BC - AD 96)**

By

James Nicholas Counce Currie

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Classics and Ancient History

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Declaration

I state that this thesis is my own work and confirm that it, nor any part contained within, has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

Abstract

This thesis examines the transformation of the sacred landscape within the territory of the former Kingdom of Hieron II in southeastern Sicily, from its conquest by Rome during the Second Punic War to the end of the Flavian dynasty in AD 96, and takes the themes of change and continuity as its central focus. It conducts a site by site analysis of the active cult sites of this period found in the ancient cities and sites of Syracuse, Contrada Borgellusa (Avola), Helorus, Morgantina, and Tauromenium. Both synchronic and diachronic, this analysis not only aims to clarify important questions such as cult attribution and architectural layout, but also importantly addresses questions concerning how and when these cult sites evolved over time. These sites are also examined within their local urban or rural archaeological contexts to better understand the extent to which development within individual cult sites is associated with the local development of the urban or rural landscape.

Key aspects of change are examined through a synthesis of the previous chapters and the incorporation of additional archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic evidence. This includes a topographical analysis of the cult sites within the countryside, as well as the urban public districts of the agora and theater. This sheds light on the ways in which the development of cult sites was impacted by their location. Select cultic developments are then explored. These include an apparent “decline” of Sicily’s most famous cult, Demeter and Kore, as well as the introduction of Isis and Serapis. The use of *thesauri* (offertory boxes) as a novel cult practice is also identified as well as its connection to Romano-Italic influence within the new province. This thesis provides significant new insight into the evolution of the Sicilian sacred landscape under Rome. It shows that the evolution of the sacred landscape was characterized by periods of both significant continuity and change that should be understood as an important part of the cultural integration of the territory and province into the expanding Roman Empire of the Republican and early Imperial periods.

List of Abbreviations.

Abbreviations of modern journals generally follow those used by the Oxford Classical Dictionary (4th edn. 2012) and L'Année Philologique.

<i>AC</i>	Acta Classica
<i>ActaHyp</i>	Acta Hyperborea: Danish Studies in Classical Archaeology
<i>AE</i>	L'Année Épigraphique
<i>AK</i>	Antike Kunst
<i>AIV</i>	Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Classe di scienze morali e lettere
<i>AJA</i>	American Journal of Archaeology
<i>AJPhil.</i>	American Journal of Philology
<i>AS</i>	Anatolian Studies: journal of the British Inst. of Archaeology at Ankara
<i>Ant. Class.</i>	L'Antiquité Classique
<i>Amer. Acad. Rome</i>	Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome
<i>ANRW</i>	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
<i>Arch. Anz.</i>	Archäologischer Anzeiger in Jahrbuch des [kaiserlichen] deutschen archäologischen Instituts (JDAI)
<i>ArchCl</i>	Archeologia classica
<i>ArcStorMes</i>	Archivio Storico Messinese
<i>ArchStorSir</i>	Archivio storico siracusano
<i>Arch. Rep.</i>	Archaeological Reports published by the Hellenic Society
<i>ASMG</i>	Atti e memorie della Società Magna Grecia
<i>ASSO</i>	Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale
<i>ARG</i>	Archiv für Religionsgeschichte
<i>ASAA</i>	Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente
<i>ASNP</i>	Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia
<i>BABesch</i>	Bulletin Antieke Beschaving
<i>BdA</i>	Bolletino d'arte

<i>BMCR</i>	Bryn Mawr Classical Review
<i>BSA</i>	Annual of the British School at Athens
<i>BTCGI</i>	G. Nenci and G. Vallet (eds), <i>Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle isole tirreniche</i>
<i>CCG</i>	Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz
<i>CIL</i>	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
<i>CronA</i>	Cronache di archeologia
<i>CronASA</i>	Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell'arte
<i>EAA</i>	Enciclopedia dell'arte antica
<i>FA</i>	Fasti archeologici
<i>GRBS</i>	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies.
<i>Gnomon</i>	Gnomon, Kritische Zeitschrift für d. gesamte klassische Altertumswiss
<i>Hermes</i>	Hermes, Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie
<i>Hesp.</i>	Hesperia: Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens
<i>Hist.</i>	Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte
<i>HN³ Sicily</i>	S. Frey-Kupper, J. Morcom, and K. Rutter (eds.), <i>Historia Numorum³, Sicily and Adjacent Islands (forthcoming)</i> .
<i>IG</i>	Inscriptiones Graecae
<i>ILLRP</i>	Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae vols. 1-2
<i>ISegesta</i>	Inscriptiones Segestanae
<i>ISic</i>	Inscriptiones Siciliae
<i>JDAI</i>	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
<i>JRA</i>	Journal of Roman Archaeology
<i>Kokalos</i>	Κώκαλος: Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo
<i>LGPN</i>	Fraser, P. M., and Matthews, E. eds. <i>The Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> , Clarendon Press, Oxford (1987-)
<i>LIMC</i>	Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae
<i>Mediterranea</i>	Mediterranea: Quaderni annuali dell'Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico
<i>MEFRA</i>	Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité

<i>MDAI</i>	Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts (A): Athenische Abteilung (B): Bagdadische Abteilung (I): Istanbulische Abteilung (K): Kairoische Abteilung (R): Römische Abteilung
<i>MonAnt</i>	Monumenti Antichi
<i>Mneme</i>	Mneme. Quaderni dei Corsi di Beni Culturali e Archeologia
<i>NAC</i>	Quaderni ticinesi di Numismatica e Antichità Classiche.
<i>NC</i>	Numismatic Chronicle
<i>NSc</i>	Notizie degli scavi di antichità
<i>NScASNP</i>	Notizie degli scavi antichità comunicate dalla scuola normale superior di Pisa
<i>NumAntCl</i>	Numismatica e antichità classiche
<i>ORom</i>	Opuscula Romana: acta Inst. Rom. Regni Sueciae
<i>PastPres</i>	Past & Present
<i>PBSR</i>	Papers of the British School at Rome
<i>PP</i>	La parola del passato
<i>QuadMess</i>	Quaderni dell'Istituto di Archeologia della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia della Università di Messina.
<i>RA</i>	Revue archéologique
<i>RAAN</i>	Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli
<i>RDAC</i>	Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus
<i>RHR</i>	Revue de l'histoire des religions
<i>Rend. Pont.</i>	Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia
<i>RdA</i>	Rivista di archeologia
<i>RICIS</i>	Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques
<i>Rh. Mus.</i>	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie (1827-), NS (1842-)
<i>Riv. d. Arch. Crist.</i>	Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana
<i>RN</i>	Revue Numismatique
<i>RRC</i>	M. H. Crawford, Roman Republican Coinage (1974)
<i>RPC I</i>	A. Burnett, <i>et al.</i> Roman Provincial Coinage Vol. 1, From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC-AD 69), (1992)
<i>SicA</i>	Sicilia Archeologica

<i>SicGymn</i>	Siculorum Gymnasium: rassegna semestrale della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Catania
<i>SEG</i>	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
<i>SNG München</i>	Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland: Staatliche Münzsammlung München
<i>SNR</i>	Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau = Revue suisse de numismatique = Rivista svizzera di numismatica
<i>ZPE</i>	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Aim

This thesis is an archaeological examination of public religion in Roman Sicily which seeks to better understand it as a part of Sicily's evolution from the Republican period to the early Empire. Conducted through a regional study of the territory of the Former Kingdom of Hieron II in southeastern Sicily from its incorporation into the province during the Second Punic War (c. 212 BC) to the end of the Flavian Dynasty in the late first century AD (AD 96), it explores change and continuity within the sacred landscape and its relationship to wider topographical (urban and rural), political, and social changes within the territory and province.

This is done through an archaeological study of all the territory's cult sites for which there is sufficient evidence of sacred activity to merit fruitful coverage. It includes sites ranging from large monumental sanctuaries to small, modest shrines. Importantly, it not only examines those founded after the Roman conquest, but also the frequently overlooked continued use of cult sites of the Archaic, Classical, and early-Hellenistic periods. After the introduction (Chapter 1), the following five chapters take the thesis' regional approach further through the local examination of the sacred landscape at Syracuse (Chapter 2), Contrada Borgellusa (Avola) at the mouth of the Assinarus River (Chapter 3), Helorus (Chapter 4), Morgantina (Chapter 5), and Tauromenium (Chapter 6). These chapters conduct a site by site examination of the cult sites to identify and explore change and continuity within each cult site. More substantial conclusions are then drawn through their incorporation within their local urban or rural archaeological contexts. The study of the individual cult sites is mainly chronological, focused on establishing and assessing evidence of change through architectural features such as temples, stoas, and altars, as well as installations such as statue bases and *thesauri* (offertory boxes). When available, other material evidence such as votive gifts and inscriptions are also included. Controversial chronologies are re-investigated and, where merited, challenged; new proposals are made where possible. Other questions, such as a site's sacred identification, architectural layout, and cult attribution are also addressed where debated or uncertain. This examination of individual sacred sites also seeks to establish an archaeological *status quaestionis* upon which future research on Sicilian religion and urbanism can be based.

Particularly notable aspects of change are then examined through a thematic synthesis of results from the previous chapters and the incorporation of additional archaeological, epigraphic, numismatic evidence (Chapter 7). This includes a topographical examination of

cult sites to understand better the relationship between their development and their urban and rural topographical contexts (Chapter 7.1), the apparent “decline” of Demeter and Kore (Chapter 7.2.1), the arrival of Isis and Serapis (Chapter 7.2.2), and the use of *thesauri* (offertory boxes) as a novel cult practice (Chapter 7.3).

1.2 Scope

1.2.1 Geographical

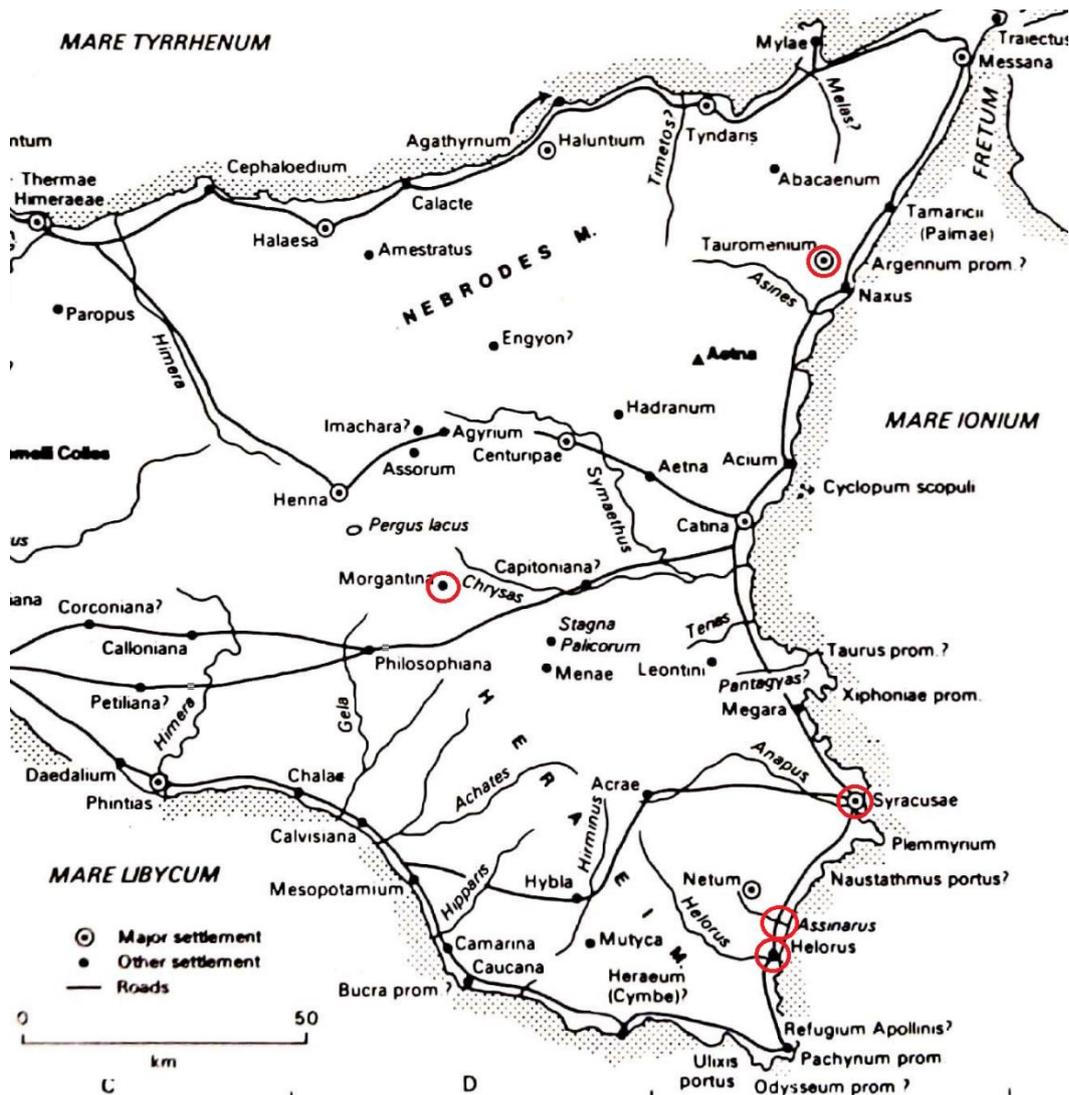


Fig. 1 - Eastern Sicily. Sites of the thesis in red (Wilson 1990, 10 fig. 8, edited by author).

The Kingdom of Hieron II, primarily localized in southeastern Sicily, is ideal for a regional case study due to its shared cultural, historical, and political background. Along with much of Eastern Sicily, it fell under the influence of the Corinthian colony, city-state, and capital of the kingdom, Syracuse and possessed a particularly strong Greek character with little evidence of the Punic influence seen in western Sicily. The long reign of Hieron II (276-215 BC) was defined by an extended period of peace and prosperity within the kingdom, best exemplified

by the monumentalization of public spaces including the construction of temples, theaters, monumental granaries, and other projects.¹ Following the death of Hieron II in 215 BC and his grandson and successor Hieronymus in 214 BC, the kingdom entered the Second Punic War in support of Carthage in 213 BC. Quickly defeated, the territory was conquered from 212 to 210 BC and incorporated within the province of Sicily, almost 40 years after its creation following the First Punic War.²

The borders of the kingdom fluctuated significantly during the reign of Hieron II and were at their greatest extent in 269 BC following his victory against the Mamertines at the River Longanus, extended across most of eastern Sicily with the notable exception of the area surrounding Messana (Pol. 1.9.7-8). For the purposes of the thesis, the borders considered will be those established in the early years of the First Punic War by the 263 BC peace treaty with Rome. These borders have been subject to debate but encompassed a significantly reduced area from its pre-war peak.³ Diodorus records that the cities of Acrae, Leontini, Megara Hyblaea, Helorus, Netum, and Tauromenium were included (Diod. Sic. 23.4.1),⁴ but this was not an exhaustive list. Recent work coming out of the American Excavations at Morgantina has compellingly shown that Morgantina and Camarina both shared a common administrative system with Acrae and were, therefore, most likely also a part of the kingdom after 263 BC.⁵ Suggestions that the kingdom gained territory after 263, possibly through the addition of Agyrium, Centuripae, and Herbessos as part of another treaty in 248 BC, are unlikely.⁶ For the scope of the thesis, the Kingdom of Hieron II is considered to have extended from the southern and eastern coasts to Camarina and Morgantina in the west to the mountain range at the southern end of the Symathos (modern Simeto) and Chrysas (modern Dittaino) valleys in the north, with Tauromenium and its hinterland to the north of Catina isolated from the rest of the kingdom.

¹ Examples of the Hieronian building program are discussed in greater detail throughout the thesis (Chapters 2-6). For recent discussions and synthesis, see Lehmler 2005; Veit 2009; Campagna 2013; Portale 2017 and Wilson 2013a, 88-97 especially and 80 fn. 2 with earlier bibliography on the kingdom's cultural and historical context. See also Wolf 2017; Wolf 2019 on the sacred landscape.

² For detailed accounts of this conflict, see De Sanctis 1968, 263-70, 278-86, 296-9, 305-16; Eckstein 1987, 135-84.

³ Karlsson 1993, 43-4; Bell 1999, 258-9; Zambon 2008, 213-6; Walthall 2011.

⁴ It has been suggested that the inclusion of Tauromenium by Diodorus is the result of a textual corruption (Manganaro 1963, 21-5), but this is not widely accepted (Zambon 2008, 213-4). For a full and recent discussion of the issue, see Campagna 2004, 153-6 especially 154 fn. 9.

⁵ Karlsson 1993, 44-5; Bell 1999, 258-9 and especially Walthall 2011 on grain measure stamps as evidence of a common administration.

⁶ Karlsson 1993, 44-5 and Zambon 2008, 215, fn. 55 with earlier bibliography *contra* Lenschau 1913, 1507; Carcopino 1914, 49; Graf von Stauffenberg 1933, 37.

1.2.2 Chronological

The period from 212-210 BC until the end of the first century AD is a particularly promising period for research. Beginning with the consolidation of Roman power over its first province through the incorporation of the territory of the former Kingdom of Hieron II during the Second Punic War, the subsequent three centuries saw Rome's rise from regional power in the western Mediterranean to undisputed rule over *mare nostrum*. Despite the importance of this period, the history and development of the former Kingdom of Hieron II over these three centuries remain especially murky. As Wilson stated, "What happened... after the Hieronian period had come to an end, is a chapter in the history of Hellenistic Sicily still to be written".⁷ In contrast to the expanding knowledge of northern and especially western Sicily over the past decades,⁸ southeastern Sicily remains neglected, with the vast majority of Hellenistic scholarship focused on the Hieronian period.⁹ While it might be tempting to draw heavily upon the expanding evidence from the rest of the island, the variable and complex nature of the province's evolution from Republic to Empire has been repeatedly emphasized with clear distinctions between the southeast and the better-studied northern and especially western Sicily.¹⁰

The fall of Syracuse (and subsequent incorporation of the kingdom) and the Augustan period have conventionally been seen as key moments of cultural, economic, and political change for the territory, province, and Roman world.¹¹ Recent studies have begun to emphasize the

⁷ Wilson 2013a, 97 echoed by Trümper 2019, 10.

⁸ The impact of Roman rule on the province has conventionally been assessed in either largely positive or negative terms. Appraisals by the "optimists" have tended to view the Republican period as one of relative growth and economic prosperity. On the other hand, the "pessimists" see it as one of rupture which led to the province's economic, cultural, and political stagnation. While optimistic appraisals have become more prevalent as archaeological excavations increasingly display the island's continued prosperity and its "Hellenistic" character after 212 BC (Prag 2009), this evidence has been largely drawn from the northern and western Sicily where Roman rule appears to have served as a catalyst for the growth of Hellenistic culture and urbanism (Prag 2014). For more on the history of this debate, see Campagna 2003; Pfunter 2013, 10-16. On particularly important sites outside of the southeast, see Bechtold 1999 on Lilybaeum, Daehn 1991 and the annual reports in *Antike Kunst und Sicilia Archeologia* on Ietas, Camerata Scovazzo 2008 on Segestum, Greco, Spatafora, and Vassallo 1997 on the area of Panormus, and Burgio 2008; Scibona and Tigano 2009 on Halaesa.

⁹ See above fn. 1 for a brief selection of this scholarship. Recent work coming out of the American Excavations at Morgantina and the University of Messina on Tauromenium displaying an increasing interest in the Republican and early Imperial periods will be discussed in Chapters 5-6.

¹⁰ Wilson 1988a; Campagna 2011b; Belvedere and Bergemann 2018; Pfunter 2019 with Campagna 2006; Portale 2006; Wilson 2013a; Prag 2014 focused on the late Hellenistic period. The distinctions between these two regions has recently been emphasized by Wilson 2013a, 99; Prag 2014, 179-80.

¹¹ The impact of the two Sicilian Slave Wars (135-132 and 104-100 BC) and Verres' corrupt governorship (73-71 BC) remains largely undetectable within the archaeological record (Wilson 2000). However, the *lex Rupilia c.* 132 BC in the aftermath of the First Sicilian Slave War appears to have resulted in significant administrative changes for the province (a topic of significant and ongoing debate, see Prag 2014, 70-1 with earlier bibliography) and this period saw increasing local autonomy visible through architecture and coinage (Isler 2003; Isler 2011; Frey-Kupper 2006, 42-4; Frey-Kupper 2013, 716-9).

cultural and administrative continuity within the territory between the third and second centuries BC within the territory.¹² However, the vicissitudes of the Second Punic War ultimately resulted in a significant rupture within the urban fabric of the island and many cities, such as Megara Hyblaea, were sacked and left abandoned (Liv. 24.35). This makes the period of the territory's incorporation into the Roman province an ideal starting point for the thesis while also placing an increased emphasis on the Republican period, and especially the Civil Wars and Augustan period as one of significant cultural, economic, and political change that resonated throughout the Imperial period. The gradual process of "romanization", which had undoubtedly begun to some extent as early as the second century BC through the increasing presence Romano-Italic persons,¹³ rapidly accelerated following Augustus' punishment of cities loyal to Sextus Pompey after the battle of Naulochus in 36 BC,¹⁴ and his colonization of Syracuse, Tyndaris, Thermae Himeraeae, and Catina in 21 BC, Tauromenium in either 36/5 or 21 BC, and Panormus in either 21 or 14 BC.¹⁵ The nature of many of these political and administrative changes during this period and their impact remain the subject of significant debate.¹⁶ However, the consolidation of Imperial power and the arrival of large numbers of colonists undoubtedly had a profound cultural effect. The use of Latin, which had hitherto remained uncommon, especially in Eastern Sicily, rapidly increased, especially on public inscriptions and within the newly founded colonies; however, Greek was never entirely replaced and remained prevalent in Eastern Sicily.¹⁷ A general urban decline, which had

¹² Wilson 2013a, 97-8; Fuduli 2015a, 341. Recognition of this continuity between the third and second centuries is not entirely new. For example, see Manganaro 1972, 447-9 who notes the continuation of Hellenistic culture and instead emphasizes the importance of the Slave Wars and *lex Rupilia*. The continued use of the Hieronian tithe system through the *lex Hieronica* has also been frequently noted, see Carcopino 1914; Pritchard 1970; Duessen 1994; Pinzone 1999b, 1-37; Bell 2007a; Bell 2007b. On continuity within the local coinage, see Frey-Kupper 2013, 197-9, 265-7.

¹³ On Italian and Roman immigration, see Frank 1935; Frascchetti 1988; Wilson 1990, 28-30; Pinzone 1999a; Anastasi 1999; Manganaro 2009.

¹⁴ On Augustus' punishment of Sicily which included the depopulation of cities, land confiscations, and payment of a 1600 talent indemnity, see Stone 1983; Stone 2002.

¹⁵ Wilson 1990, 35-40, 313-29. On the Augustan colonies in Sicily, see Wilson 1990, 33-40; Vera 1996; Salmeri 2004, 274-82; Portale 2005, 26-8. For a discussion of the debate surrounding the colonization of Tauromenium in either 36/5 or 21 BC, see Chapter 6 fn. 10. Although the impetus this period of change is often put on Augustus' punishment and colonization of the island, the importance of the period from 44-36 BC should not be overlooked. This period saw the grant of Latin rights to Sicily by Caesar in 44 and their expansion to citizenship later that same year by Antony (possibly later revoked by Augustus), before the province's seizure by Sextus Pompeius in 43, serving as his base of operations and a haven for proscribed Romans until his defeat at Naulochus in 36 (Wilson 1990, 33-5). It remains unclear whether the island prospered in this period (Stone 1983; Stone 2002 with discussion), and the evidence for this period remains especially limited leaving it difficult to draw any clear distinctions between developments within this short, but undoubtedly influential period, and those during the longer Augustan period.

¹⁶ Manganaro 1988, 22-41; Wilson 1990, 33-4; Vera 1996; Belvedere 1997; Pinzone 1999b, 173-206; Soraci 2011, 97-203. See also Pfuntner 2013, 21-2 for synthesis.

¹⁷ Prag 2002; Korhonen 2011.

already begun in central and southern Sicily during the first century BC, continued with the gradual depopulation of the northern coast and the island's urban focus instead shifted to the eastern and western coasts as province's position within the Roman world evolved during the Empire's expansion.¹⁸

1.3 Previous Scholarship

Despite the significant amount of research that has been undertaken on the development of the sacred landscape in Roman Greece and Italy,¹⁹ the archaeology of religion and its evolution has received little attention in Sicily.²⁰ The most significant recent contribution is Kunz's 2006 monograph: *Sicilia: Religionsgeschichte des römischen Sizilien*. This monumental contribution to the field of Sicilian religion provides an invaluable synthesis of the myriad of archaeological, epigraphic, numismatic, and literary evidence, while emphasizing the especially complex nature of Sicilian religion with its intricate web of influences: Indigenous, Greek, and Punic as well as increasing Roman/Italic and "Eastern" after the creation of the province and as the Empire expanded.²¹ Among the more notable arguments was her characterization of the province's religious character, which she defined as "conservative", "traditional", and focused on the pre-Roman Sicilian cults.²² This thesis stands apart from the work of Kunz. Her monograph was substantially broader in scope: focused on the entire Roman province (both Eastern and Western Sicily as well as Melita [modern Malta] and Cossura [modern Pantelleria]) from the initial annexation of Western Sicily after the First Punic War to the province's conquest by the Vandals in 440 AD. This broad approach necessitated the discussion of an expansive range of subjects such as Punic religion, Mithraism, Judaism, and Christianity. Her focus on a wide range of evidence, especially epigraphic and literary, also precluded the in-depth coverage of archaeological evidence which is the centerpiece of this thesis. Indeed, Kunz

¹⁸ Wilson 1988a; Pfuntner 2019.

¹⁹ Italy: Stek 2009; Murgia 2013; Stek and Burgers 2015. Macedonia: Falezza 2012. Greece: Alcock 1993, 172-214; Alcock 1994, 247-61; Alcock 2002. Greece and the Greek East: Galli 2013; Melfi and Bobou 2016; Muñoz Grijalvo, Cortés Copete and Gomez 2017.

²⁰ A noteworthy example is the article by Campagna 2016 on the Peristyle Temple in Tauromenium discussed in Chapter 6.1.

²¹ Kunz 2006. Other notable works Sicilian religion include: Hinz 1998 and Parisi 2017, who are both more focused on the better documented and evidenced Archaic, Classical, and Early Hellenistic periods, as well as Wolf 2016; Wolf 2017 who, while focused on southeastern Sicily, is primarily concerned with architectural developments of the Hieronian period.

²² Kunz 2006, 266-8.

herself noted the need for more focused examinations on the topic, such as regional and archaeological studies.²³

The most substantial archaeological work remains Wilson's 1990 monograph *Sicily under the Roman Empire* which provides the most significant and expansive exploration of the Imperial province's archaeological evidence.²⁴ Like this thesis, its coverage of religious evidence includes a discussion of debated issues such as chronology, cult identification, and architectural layout; he also notes several general characteristics of the Romano-Sicilian sacred landscape including the prevalence of the Italic style podium in temple construction and a general paucity of cult sites and temples of Roman date.²⁵ With his work primarily focused on the Imperial period, this thesis significantly expands upon it and begins to fill the gap between that period and the better-studied Hieronian period. Furthermore, excavations and research of the past thirty years, as well as the thesis' methodology, also permit fruitful new coverage of cult sites which were already covered in his monograph. Importantly, questions surrounding the continued use of Greek cult sites during the Empire were left largely unaddressed.²⁶ These questions have come back into focus since Stek's recent study on the religious of Roman Italy which emphasized an appreciation "of the long-term use of cult places, rather than exclusive consideration of the first monumental phase, and in particular, the notion that the use and social significance of a cult place can and will have changed over time".²⁷

1.4 Methodology

The thesis' systematic archaeological approach that progresses from a localized (site by site) to a regional study of the territory's sacred landscape is designed to open valuable avenues for new and fruitful analysis while also allowing methodological obstacles to be addressed and overcome. Within individual cult sites, it permits a more technical and contextual analysis of the archaeological evidence. The primacy of local factors on the development of local religious culture has been increasingly emphasized in wider studies on religion, where individuals and local groups generally exerted significantly more influence than larger entities such as "the

²³ Kunz 2006, 14-5. Like Kunz, recent work on Sicilian urbanism under Rome by Pfuntner 2013; Pfuntner 2019 takes a more broad approach covering the entire province from its foundation in the First Punic War to the Vandal conquest in AD 440 that precludes an in-depth and exhaustive archaeological study.

²⁴ Wilson 1990, 104-13 and 277-301. See also recent more recent but brief coverage by Portale 2005, 71-7.

²⁵ Wilson 1990, 104. On the Italic style podium temple in Sicily, see more recently Fuduli 2015a, 324-6 who emphasizes the transition from more hybridized temples, with Sicilian architectural features atop an Italic style podium, to true Etrusco-Italic temples by the Augustan period.

²⁶ Bell 1994, 378.

²⁷ Stek 2015, 24.

State”, in this case, Rome.²⁸ Similarly, it has been noted that although cult sites often followed the same development pattern as seen within their local urban and rural contexts, deviations from this are especially significant.²⁹ At times the study of cult sites also permits a better understanding of urban development which is especially notable at sites such as Helorus (Chapter 4), where cult sites are the primary evidence upon which assessment of the city’s later urban life is based. This also allows for the unique methodological obstacles of each site to be better addressed, such as the age of excavation, current state of the site and publication, as well as the availability of material evidence. However, this level of coverage is not warranted in all cases. Cult sites such as those at Acrae and Camarina, where the level of evidence is minimal, or at the Sanctuary of Anna and the Paides at nearby Buscemi, to which little of significance can be added beyond research already conducted, are instead incorporated within the local syntheses of Chapters 2-6 and/or in the thematic Chapter 7.

The methodological obstacles of each cult site will be discussed in detail throughout the subsequent chapters, but several general obstacles merit special attention at the outset.³⁰ These include the general paucity of publication with a particularly limited interest on the Republican and especially Imperial periods with an often extremely cursory (or even non-existent) discussion of material finds and architectural features. When discussed, general and vague chronologies are often given, such as “late”, “Roman”, or “Hellenistic”. Due to a general scholarly focus on phases of monumentality, and to a lesser extent those phases leading up to it, this is especially problematic in smaller cult sites without monumental architecture or those primarily monumentalized before the Roman conquest. The use of vague and general chronological, especially “Hellenistic” and “Roman” at times, also results in significant ambiguity as they are rarely defined, and their definitions can vary significantly. For example, the term “Hellenistic” per definition extends from 323 to 31 BC, but the end of this period in Sicily, especially within older scholarship, is at times placed at the fall of Syracuse in 212 BC.³¹ When possible, the thesis will attempt to address such ambiguities, but the detail of publications do not always permit clarification. When such terms are used within the thesis

²⁸ Glinister 2015, 154. On the continued importance of local euergetism in Roman Sicily, see Kunz 2006, 283-5.

²⁹ Stek 2015, 11.

³⁰ For a detailed discussion of these issues as they pertain to mainland Italy, see Stek 2015, 19-24.

³¹ See for example: Pelagatti 1976-7, 548, who details the recovery of “ceramiche acrome e piatti attribuiti a età tardo-repubblicana...” while at the same time stating that there was, “...nessuna traccia di materiali riferibili all’età ellenistica...”.

without quotation marks to reference specific authors, they will follow the approximate chronologies outlined below (fig. 2).

Period	From	To
Hellenistic ³²	Late fourth century (c. 323 BC)	Late first century (c. 31 BC) ³³
Early Hellenistic	Late fourth century (c. 323 BC)	Late third century (c. 212 BC)
Roman	Late third century (c. 212 BC)	Mid fifth century (c. 440 AD)
Republican/ Late Hellenistic	Late third century (c. 212 BC)	Late first century (c. 31 BC)
Imperial	Late first century (c. 31 BC)	Mid fifth century (c. 440 AD)
Augustan	Late first century (c. 31 BC)	Early first century (c. 18 AD)
Early Imperial	Late first century (c. 31 BC)	Late first century (c. 96 AD)

Fig. 2 - Definition of chronological terminology as used in the thesis.

Another issue emblematic of the territory of the former Kingdom of Hieron II is a general tendency by scholarship to attribute significant architectural developments and construction projects to the Hieronian period.³⁴ Behind this is a tacit assumption that the fall of Syracuse in 212 BC represented a significant cultural and architectural break, and little of significance happened afterward. This is most widespread in cases where no secure chronology beyond a general “Hellenistic” date is known. However, it can also be found in cases where more precise dates have been given on archaeological grounds. In these cases, it is often based upon architectural styles such as Hieronian *kyma*, which is implicitly assumed to have largely disappeared after 212 BC despite the increasing evidence in favor of architectural continuity between the third and second centuries BC.³⁵ Perhaps even more problematic is the widespread

³² Despite the absence of any cultural and political shift which would justify the beginning of the Hellenistic period, the conventional date 323 BC is followed here. For recent discussions of the issue of defining the Hellenistic period in Sicily, see Wilson 2013a, 79; Trümper 2019a, 8.

³³ The problem of using the battle of Actium as delineating point between Hellenistic and Augustan/Imperial Sicily presents itself in the case of Tauromenium, where its colonization, perhaps as early as 36/5 BC, should very much be understood as an Augustan and not Hellenistic phenomenon. For discussion on this colonization, see Chapter 6 Introduction.

³⁴ To a lesser extent, this same issue also applies to Imperial chronologies and a tendency to attribute significant projects throughout the province to the Augustan period.

³⁵ On Hieronian *kyma*, see von Sydow 1984, 255-72 and especially Campagna 2017 on architectural style in the third century BC more generally with earlier bibliography. However, in light of increasing evidence of architectural continuity between the third and second centuries BC (Fuduli 2015a, 341), there is no reason to assume that Hieronian architectural styles did not continue into the second century BC. Certainly, some styles such as Sicilian Corinthian and Ionic capitals, which appear to have developed during his reign spread into mainland Italy, North Africa, and Crete during the second and first centuries BC (Wilson 2013a, 93). This issue is currently being explored as part of Anna-Lena Krüger’s ongoing doctoral research at the University of Tübingen.

attribution of projects to this period without argument or justification, especially in excavation reports, and one must wonder to what extent the general paucity of archaeological evidence for the territory during the late Hellenistic period is the result of this bias.³⁶

These issues, and the entire picture of the Republican period in southeastern Sicily, are complicated by issues plaguing the local material culture such as a paucity of published archaeological contexts and systematic studies. While the situation in Western Sicily has become increasingly clear in large part thanks to ongoing work on Ietas and the *necropoleis* at Lilybaeum,³⁷ the situation in southeastern Sicily remains problematic. The few systematic studies have been focused on Morgantina, a site that poses its own issues; these including a general absence of material for the crucial period from 211 to the middle of the second century as well as a general decline in material as the settlement declined during the first century BC.³⁸ Stone's 2014 monograph on the fine wares of Morgantina was unable to significantly clarify questions such as the transition from the local productions of the third and early second centuries BC to the widespread use of Campana C by the first century BC.³⁹ Similarly, the 1981 monograph on the site's coins finds were only able to date much of the local coinage more precisely than sometime after 212 to 210 BC.⁴⁰ More recent studies have placed the bulk of Sicilian coinage issued under Roman rule to the period of the Second Punic War or shortly after based on arguments artificially constructed from iconography and weights,⁴¹ with the few studies focused upon the limited archaeological evidence instead showing the continuous production of many mints throughout the Republican period.⁴²

³⁶ A similar issue also presents itself in the rest of Sicily where difficulty dating material to the period between the two Punic Wars has resulted in a paucity of material and activity in that period (Bechtold 2007, 85; Frey-Kupper 2013, 180-3).

³⁷ On the pottery, see Cafilisch 1991, 179-235; Bechtold 1999, 257-65; Bechtold 2008a, 353-87; Bechtold 2008b, 353-87. and on coins, see Frey-Kupper 1999, 408-9, 411-14; Frey-Kupper 2013, 184-327.

³⁸ For a full discussion of the local archaeological issues at Morgantina with additional bibliography, see Chapter 5 Introduction. The continuity between the local material culture of southeastern Sicily between the third and second centuries has been noted and emphasized by Wilson 2013a, 97-8. Analysis of the local terracotta production on stylistic grounds has been hampered conservative typologies which make distinguished third century BC and later productions difficult (Hinz 1998, 243; Wilson 2013a, 97-8).

³⁹ On the Republican fine ware pottery at Morgantina, see Stone 2014, 139-205 with coverage of the coarse wares in his doctoral thesis (Stone 1981) currently being adapted into a monograph. Coverage of the wider ceramic picture in the late Hellenistic and Imperial Sicily can be found in Wilson 1988c, 256-63. For a discussion on medallion ware pottery focused on the issues of the mid-third to late second century BC, see Chapter 7.3.2.

⁴⁰ Buttrey *et al.* 1989, 76 nos. 68-9, 83 nos. 146-50, 88 nos. 209-14, 107-10 nos. 376-99.

⁴¹ Caccamo-Caltabiano 2000; Puglisi 2009, 378-80 who suggest a gap in the production of local coinage from the early second century BC until the time of Sextus Pompey.

⁴² Frey-Kupper 2013, 184-297 and especially Frey-Kupper 2003, 507-22 on western Sicily. See also Chapter 7.3.1 for a discussion of this regarding the minting of local issues depicting Isis and Serapis. The forthcoming publication of the Sicilian volume of *Historia Numorum* will hopefully do much to clarify these numismatic debates.

Some ambiguities are clarified during the Augustan and early Imperial period as the island and Empire's material culture becomes increasingly homogenized. The production of local fine wares ceases with the increasing import of better-studied types such as *parete sottile* and *terra sigillata*; the local civic minting of coinage likewise declines with the last few issues depicting members of the Imperial family minted in Panormus during the reign of Tiberius.⁴³ Other materials, such as coarse ware pottery, undoubtedly saw continued local production, but are even more poorly understood than those of the Hellenistic period.⁴⁴ Perhaps the most problematic feature of the Imperial period is the extreme paucity of religious evidence, such as votive materials, statuary, and reliefs in comparison with the Republican period.⁴⁵ This exacerbates a key challenge that recent studies on late-Antique pagan religion and temple conversions have increasingly emphasized. Without clear evidence of sacred activity at a cult site such as votive materials, epigraphy, or new sacred constructions, continued religious activity cannot be assumed based upon the presence of later material because cult buildings and religious sites were often later reused in non-sacred capacities.⁴⁶

⁴³ Frey-Kupper 2013, 399-401 nos. 492-531; *RPC I* 642-5.

⁴⁴ Knowledge of early Italian *terra sigillata* and *parete sottile* in southeastern Sicily has been significantly expanded by Stone's work at Morgantina (Stone 2014, 208-28, 292-304). A general overview of the material culture of Imperial Sicily can be found in Wilson 1988c, 239-301.

⁴⁵ For a general breakdown of the issues surrounding the material evidence of religion in Imperial Sicily, see Wilson 1990, 277.

⁴⁶ Bayliss 2004, 58-69. For more on temple conversions, see Chapter 2.8.1 and especially fn. 380.

Chapter Two: Syracusae

Introduction

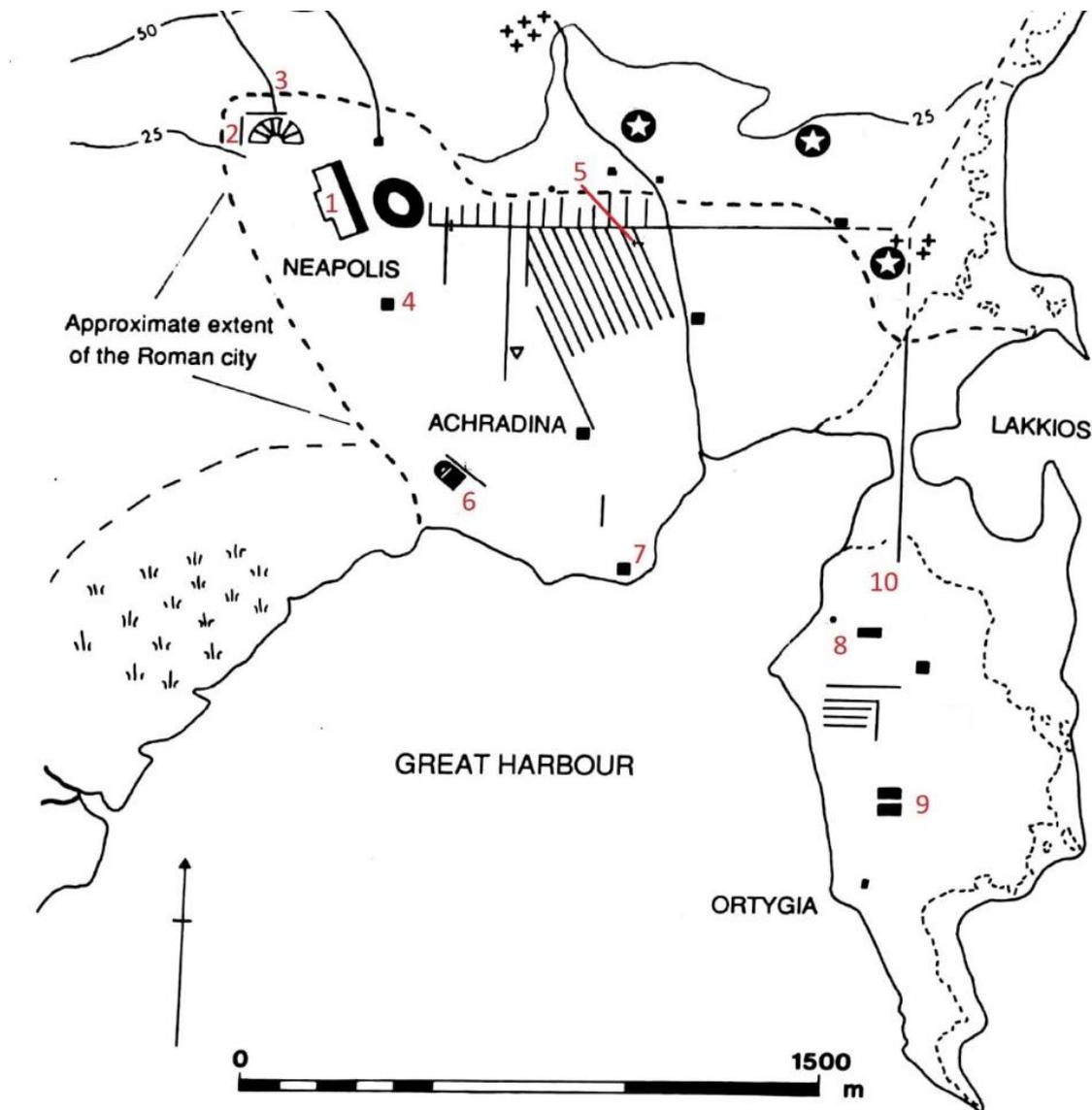


Fig. 1 - Syracusae. Major sanctuaries discussed in the text (Wilson 1990, 160 fig. 134.1, edited by author).

1. The Altar of Hieron; 2. The “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites”; 3. The sanctuary on the Temenite Hill; 4. The sanctuary at Piazza Adda; 5. The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Piazza della Vittoria; 6. The “Ginnasio romano”; 7. The sanctuary at Via Bengasi; 8. Apollonion; 9. The “Artemision” and “Athenaion” (sanctuary at Piazza del Duomo); 10. Approximate location of the sanctuary of Venus.

Syracusae,¹ the capital of Hieron’s Kingdom and the Roman province, was among the most influential cities in Sicily and the Greek world from its foundation in the late eighth century

¹ *BTCGI* XIX 145-204 = Zirone 2011, 149-209.

(734/3 BC) throughout the entirety of the Greek and Roman periods. As such, it is crucial to an understanding of the evolution of the sacred landscape within the former Kingdom of Hieron II under Rome. By the third century BC, Syracusae had developed into four districts: Ortygia, Achradina, Neapolis, and Tyche. Ortygia, the fortified island off the southeastern coast, was the site of the Greek colony's foundation and the heart of the Archaic and Classical city. It was a fortress in Hellenistic and Roman times. The site of Hieron's monumental granaries and palace and later the seat of the Roman governor (Liv. 24.21; Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.52).² On the mainland across from Ortygia lay Achradina, a large public district that was the site of the primary agora with a famous temple of Zeus and harbor facilities (Cic. *Verr.* 4.119, 128).³ Neapolis was another public district northwest of Achradina. It was equipped with another agora as well as the Altar of Hieron, an amphitheater, and the famous Greek Theater.⁴ To the north lay Tyche, a large residential district which received its name from a prominent sanctuary to the goddess there (Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.119).⁵

As the capital of the kingdom of Hieron II, Syracusae was unsurprisingly at the heart of his monumental building program,⁶ which reshaped the city and included notable construction projects such as his palace and granaries on Ortygia, the temple of Zeus in the agora at Achradina, and his eponymous altar in Neapolis (Chapter 2.1).⁷ By the city's capture in 212 BC, the city's primary public areas were firmly situated within Neapolis and Achradina, and although the second century BC rarely receives significant discussion, it is generally believed that this monumentalization ceased with the fall of the city.⁸ The history of Roman (and especially Republican) Syracusae has received little attention with no significant recent examination of the archaeological evidence; older studies have often been overly reliant upon literary sources.⁹ These literary sources suggest that the city suffered greatly under Verres (Cic.

² *BTCGI* XIX, 151-64 = Zirone 2011, 155-69. On the location of Hieron's palace on the island, see Wilson 2013a, 98 fn. 54 with discussion and previous bibliography. For more on the island, see below (Chapter 2.8).

³ *BTCGI* XIX, 164-70 = Zirone 2011, 169-74. For more on this district, see Chapters 2.6-7.

⁴ *BTCGI* XIX, 170-7 = Zirone 2011, 174-81. For more on this district, see Chapters 2.1-5.

⁵ *BTCGI* XIX, 177-81 = Zirone 2011, 182-5.

⁶ For recent bibliography and synthesis, see Chapter 1.2.1 fn. 1.

⁷ On the Greek Theater with full bibliography, see Isler 2017, 744-50 and also below (Chapter 2.2).

⁸ Pfuntner 2019, 172, 175. The date of the city's capture is debated and both 212 and 211 BC are frequently used. This ambiguity is based upon Livy's account of the siege of Syracusae which he states, having begun in 213 BC, lasted into a third year, thus 211 BC. (Liv. 25.31.5; 31.31.8). However, he also states that it was concluded in the fall of 212 BC (Liv. 25.23.1). For discussion of issue, see Serrati 2001, 187-8.

⁹ The most significant dedicated examination of the archaeology of Roman Syracusae remains Wilson 1988a, 111-23. See also the recent coverage by Pfuntner 2019, 167-89 with the significant incorporation of literary sources. Other recent studies (Lehmler 2005, 120-53; Guzzardi 2011; Basile 2012) are more focused on the Greek and especially Hieronian phases. For older works, see Cavallari and Holm 1883; Freeman 1891, 345-53; Loicq-Berger 1967, 256-66; Drögemüller 1969, 97-114 with additional coverage by Voza *et al.* 1980; Voza 1999b, 89-107; Sole 2006; Evans 2009, 135-44.

Verr. 2.4.122-132) and especially under Sextus Pompey, resulting in a significant contraction of the city by the end of the first century BC (*Strab.* 6.2.4).¹⁰ Such a contraction is largely unsupported by archaeological evidence. Verres' crimes have left no evidence in the archaeological record, and the city shows little evidence of Strabo's contraction with Ortygia, Achradina, and Neapolis remaining occupied throughout the first centuries BC and AD.¹¹ The establishment of a Roman colony in 21 BC appears to have sparked another major period of construction throughout the city which continued into the first century AD.¹² Although no single project has yet been directly connected to the colonization, works often associated with it include the construction of the amphitheater and monumental arch in Neapolis, renovations to the theater and harbor, the repaving of the decumanus, and the construction of a bridge from Achradina to Ortygia.¹³

As will be seen throughout this chapter, significant archaeological excavations were conducted throughout the city, especially Neapolis, from the late nineteenth century until the 1970s. As the modern city has grown and expanded in the past fifty years, smaller periodic excavations have continued to the present day, usually in the form of emergency excavations associated with construction works which were later overbuilt. The earlier excavations until those of the 1950s were often published in relative detail, but the excavation techniques of the time and a general lack of interest in the post-Classical and especially post-Hieronian periods present key obstacles. Publication of the more recent excavations has been limited and is largely limited to very brief preliminary reports. However, more detailed publication of these excavations has begun to emerge in the past fifteen years.

The modern topography also complicates study of much of the ancient city. Achradina and Ortygia are now almost entirely overbuilt, with only parts of Neapolis remaining largely free

¹⁰ Pfuntner 2019, 174-5.

¹¹ Wilson 1988a, 113; Wilson 1990, 39-40. A mid-first-century AD urban decline and contraction has been proposed and attributed to an earthquake, but neither the decline nor earthquake is widely accepted (see Wilson 1988a, 116; Wilson 1988c, 240 fn. 154. *contra* Agnello 1954, 54-60; Lagona 1972-3, 96-7). On the earthquakes of Roman Sicily more generally, see Agnello 1996. A more recent and cautious assessment of this urban contraction has been proposed citing the existence of a Republican/early Imperial suburban villa found in northern Achradina (Pfuntner 2019, 175). However, this villa is more properly located in Tyche, modern Scala Greca, and had already been a rural farmstead since at least the second half of the fourth century BC (Guzzardi 1993-4, 1309-10).

¹² Wilson 1988a, 113; Pfuntner 2019, 175-6.

¹³ On the date of the Amphitheater, see Wilson 1980, 2217-30 (Augustan), Golvin 1988, 115-6; Buscemi 2012, 201-2 (Julio-Claudian), and Gentili 1973a, 75 (doubtful late second to early third century AD). On the theater renovations, see Isler 2017, 748-50. For other construction projects of the Augustan and early Imperial periods, see Wilson 1990, 39-40. The construction of a bridge from Achradina to Ortygia proposed by Manganaro (Manganaro 1994, 79-82) is uncertain and only evidenced by his creative reading of a very fragmentary inscription (*ISic* 0636; *SEG* 38.967).

from modern construction. This district is unsurprisingly the best-studied and understood. Similarly, the coastline has changed significantly since antiquity, with sea levels rising an estimated 1.2 to 5 m.¹⁴ This has left some portions of the ancient city underwater and high-water tables hinder the excavation of lower strata and access to low lying sites throughout the city.

2.1 The Altar of Hieron (fig. 1.1)

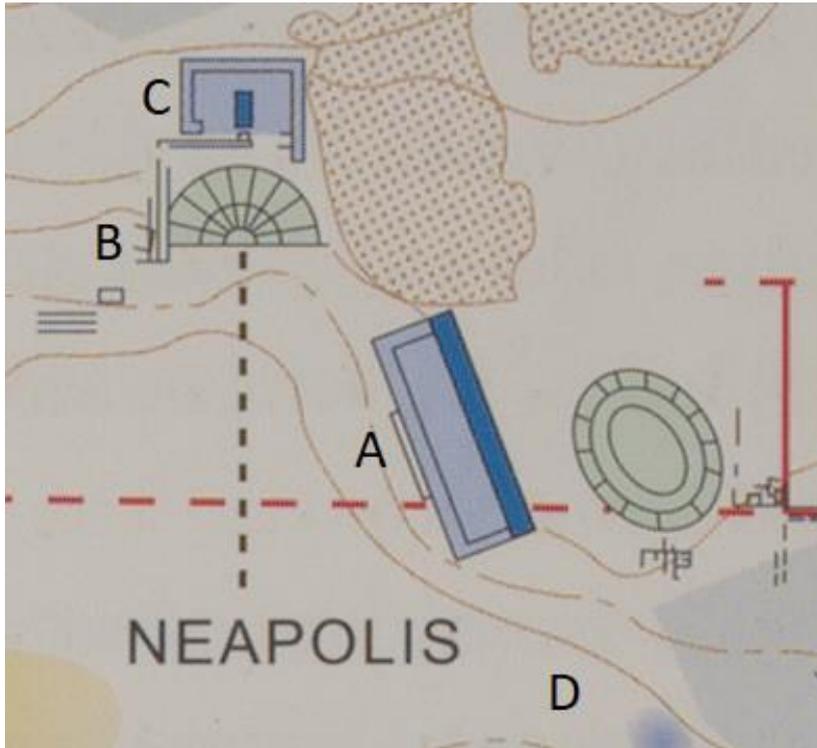


Fig. 2 - Syracusae, Neapolis. Sanctuaries discussed in the text (Mertens 2006, 311 fig. 467, edited by author).

A. The Altar of Hieron (Chapter 2.1); B. The “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites” (Chapter 2.2); C. The sanctuary of the Temenite Hill (Chapter 2.3); D. The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Piazza Adda (Chapter 2.4).

The largest known sanctuary in Syracusae and site of the largest altar in the ancient world, the Altar of Hieron, was the religious centerpiece of the monumentalization of Neapolis by Hieron II. One stadion in length according to Diodorus (Diod. Sic. 26.83.2), the altar measures *c.* 199.45 m by 22.40 m and is thought to have been *c.* 15 m high.¹⁵ A large 175 x 45 m courtyard

¹⁴ Mirisola and Polacco 1996, 15-6 give a rise in sea level of *c.* 5 m since the late eighth century BC while Gerding 2013, 535 provides a more recent and conservative estimate of *c.* 1.2-1.5 m since the late sixth to fifth century BC based on the level of docking structures in Achradina. For more on the docking structures of Syracusae, see below (Chapter 2.7).

¹⁵ Wolf 2016, 33. Slightly different measurements (199.07 m x 20.85 m) are provided by Koldewey and Puchstein 1899, 71. For a full description of the site including precise measurements of all surviving features and architectural remains, see Wolf 2016, 33-47.

west of the altar was surrounded by stoas on the north, west, and south sides with the sanctuary's monumental entrance built into the center of the western stoa.¹⁶ The *temenos* was delineated by a *peribolos* on the east and south sides with a terrace on the northern side. In the center of the courtyard is a large rectangular swimming pool (27 x 13 m) with the remains of a 90 x 170 cm rectangular pedestal in the middle. The pool is 2.5 m at its deepest west side and gradually rises to the eastern side where it is c. 1 m deep, with stairs in the shallower eastern end at the northeastern and southeastern corners.



Fig. 3 - Syracuse, The Altar of Hieron. Altar, seen from the southwest (photo by author).

Excavation of the sanctuary first began in 1780, led by Capodieci, with subsequent excavations by Landolina in 1813, Cavallari in 1839, and Orsi in 1904.¹⁷ These early excavations were largely focused on the altar itself and the southern area of the western courtyard. The last major excavations were conducted in the 1950s by Gentili on the stoas and northern *temenos* by Stucchi and Adamesteanu on the central pool and rest of the courtyard.¹⁸

¹⁶ Parisi Presicce 2004, 216, 221 has suggested that there was a temple built into the center of the western stoa as, according to him, altars were usually accompanied by temples, however this is questionable as sanctuaries are commonly found without temples. Furthermore, its identification as a *propylaeum* is secure (Wolf 2016, 38). For more on the absence of the sanctuary's temple and comparable sanctuaries, see below (Chapter 2.1.1.1).

¹⁷ Puchstein 1893, 20; Koldewey and Puchstein 1899, 70-4; Orsi 1904, 276. For more on the excavation history, see Parisi Presicce 2004, 213-4.

¹⁸ Gentili 1951a, 215 no. 2606; Gentili 1954, 361-4; Stucchi 1952b, 174-5 no. 2092.

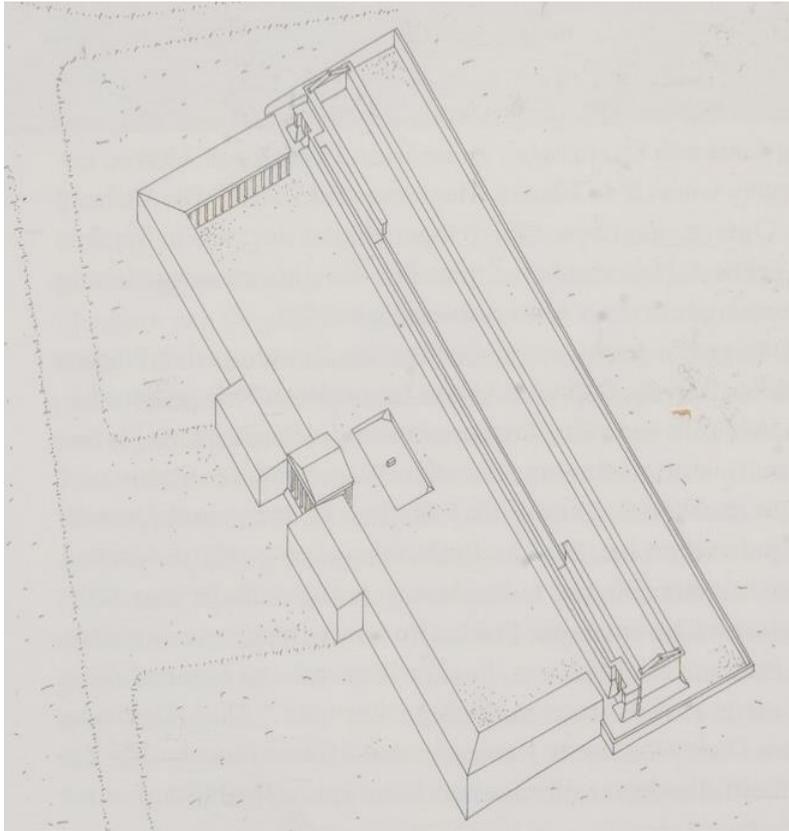


Fig. 4 - Syracuse, The Altar of Hieron. Reconstruction with stoa and pool (Wolf 2016, 56 fig. 23).

Unlike much of Syracusae, the sanctuary remains free of modern construction, but its study presents significant obstacles beyond the limitations imposed by the early age of its first unpublished excavations. Both the altar and sanctuary were thoroughly quarried by the Spanish in the early 16th century for the construction of fortifications on Ortygia,¹⁹ and the altar now largely survives through its rock-cut foundation. Few architectural fragments have been found, all of which appear to have come from the altar itself. After this quarrying, the area was then later used as a farm; plowing mixed much of the strata and materials.²⁰ The excavations of Gentili were published in a detailed preliminary report in *Notizie degli Scavi*,²¹ but the excavations of Stucchi and Adamesteanu were only received a brief single page preliminary report.²² The excavation notes and nearly all the materials recovered from the site are now lost.²³

¹⁹ Bernabò Brea 1958, 56.

²⁰ Gentili 1954, 333-42, 342 fig. 7.

²¹ Gentili 1954, 361-84.

²² Stucchi 1952b, 175. Partial publication of data from Adamesteanu's excavation can be found in Gentili 1954, 353-60.

²³ For more on the state of the materials, see below (Chapter 2.1.2).



Fig. 5 - Syracuse, The Altar of Hieron. Cavern beneath the altar, seen from the east (photo by author).

2.1.1 Chronology: the Hieronian Sanctuary and Augustan Works

The construction of the altar and monumentalization of the sanctuary are universally accepted to have occurred during the reign of Hieron II, sometime around 235 BC.²⁴ Whether this marked the foundation of an *ex novo* sanctuary, or marked an expansion and monumentalization of an earlier sanctuary has remained unclear. It has been claimed that votive materials recovered from a cavern underneath the altar's northeastern side (fig. 5) may provide evidence of an earlier phase;²⁵ however, the excavators remain mute on the possibility of any earlier phases before the altar's construction. Orsi, who excavated this cavern, only stated that the cave might have been used for ritual activity, but did not date this activity, nor did he mention any evidence of sacred activity recovered from within.²⁶ Although the cavern is relatively large today, Orsi believed it had been a small grotto in antiquity, which was only significantly expanded and quarried after the sanctuary's disuse.²⁷ As a result, the relationship

²⁴ von Sydow 1984, 287; Wolf 2016, 47-8. For a more specific date of 233 BC, see Bell 1999, 275. The date is based primarily upon architectural style.

²⁵ Lehlmer 2005, 137-8. Furthermore, Parisi-Presicce 2004, 217 suggests that there must have been an earlier phase as major Hieronian sanctuaries were generally connected to earlier cult sites. Indeed, the Altar of Hieron does appear to be linked to a nearby Archaic and Classical sanctuary, for more, see below (Chapter 2.2). Kunz 2006, 215 makes a similar suggestion based on the age of votive deposits found in the courtyard. However, none of the available votive materials indicate activity before the mid-late third century BC. On the votive materials, see below (Chapter 2.1.2).

²⁶ Orsi 1904, 276; *BTCGI* XIX, 171 = Zirone 2011, 175. The cavern was only partially excavated due to safety concerns which prohibited my own entry and examination.

²⁷ Orsi 1904, 276.

of the cavern to the Hieronian sanctuary remains unclear, but does not provide evidence of an earlier phase of the sanctuary. Instead, the available evidence points to the construction of the sanctuary under Hieron II, around the time of the altar's construction c. 235 BC.

2.1.1.1 The Stoa

The chronology of the courtyard's features and the interpretation of a series of pits found in the courtyard have also been the subject of some uncertainty. The excavators Gentili and Stucchi believed that the sanctuary underwent a sizable reworking in the late first century BC with the construction of the pool and monumental stoa around the western courtyard as well as the planting of a grove in the courtyard.²⁸ Scholarship on the Roman phase has been primarily concerned with the significance of these renovations and their connection to the reorganization and colonization of the city under Augustus.²⁹ However, this Augustan connection has been challenged by Lippolis, who instead suggested a Hellenistic or Hieronian date for the stoa.³⁰ Since then, scholarship has either supported Lippolis' critiques (generally read as a Hieronian date),³¹ or accepted Gentili's interpretation without addressing them.³²

The excavators' Augustan date for the stoa is based upon the finds from a 6.75 m deep pit near the eastern end of the northern stoa that was dug (and later refilled) to access an aqueduct conduit; the pit's fill contained a mix of pottery from the third to the late first century BC, including significant amounts of Campana C with a single fragment of Augustan *parete sottile* as the latest fragment.³³ The usefulness of these finds was questioned by Lippolis in favor of his earlier date as they were not from a context underlying the stoa.³⁴ He instead suggested that

²⁸ Gentili 1954, 345-50. This is placed in the more general Augustan period by Stucchi 1952b, 175.

²⁹ Coarelli and Torelli 1984, 256; Wilson 1990, 51; Lehmler 2005, 141-2; Pfuntner 2013, 240. The grove is at times also identified as a garden.

³⁰ Lippolis 1986, 38-9.

³¹ Bell 1993, 335; Bell 1994, 377; Parisi Presicce 2004, 218-9; Campagna 2013, 50; Veit 2013, 34-5 all support a Hieronian date. Bell 1999, 274-5 has admitted a late first century BC date was possible while continuing to favor a Hieronian date, stating the need for further excavation. Portale 2017, 141 fn. 20 cites Wolf 2017 for a confirmed Hieronian date for the stoa. Although Wolf does follow this date (Wolf 2017, 198-9), no new argument was given. A Hieronian date for the central pool is also provided by Wolf 2017, 198-199 which he believes had a ritual function, but no argument is put forth in support either the interpretation or date. The chronology and interpretation of the grove has also been challenged, see below (Chapter 2.1.1.2)

³² Wilson 1990, 51; Lehmler 2005, 141-2; Kunz 2006, 214-5; Vonderstein 2006, 137; Pfuntner 2019, 106, all support an Augustan date. More recently, Wilson 2012, 264 n. 129 took note of these critiques and saw no reason to overturn the Augustan date pending further excavations.

³³ See Wilson 1990, 51, 363 n. 44-5 for the interpretation of the conduit and pit. Gentili 1954, 345-50, 353 gives a late first-century BC date for the fragment of *parete sottile*, citing Lamboglia 1950, 56 nos. 49, 50, and 51. Although the fragment can now be more generally dated to the wider Augustan period (Moevs 1973 form XLI), the fact that there was only a single fragment of *parete sottile* and no *terra sigillata*, which only became widely disseminated c. 10 BC (Stone 2014, 213-5), supports Gentili's late first century BC date.

³⁴ Lippolis 1986, 38-9. Curiously, *BTCGI* XIX, 171 = Zirone 2011, 176 states that the stoa has been dated to the Hellenistic period based upon its stratigraphic context, but there is no evidence to support this. Trümper 2018a,

the Altar of Hieron likely had this stoa in its first phase, citing comparable monumental Hellenistic sanctuaries, such as the Asklepieion at Kos, which generally had stoas as part of their monumental phases.³⁵

Lippolis is correct to raise questions regarding Gentili's evidence as a date for the stoa based solely upon the contents of a nearby aqueduct service well makes little sense. However, Lippolis' proposal is equally problematic. It is dangerous to assume that a feature must be Hellenistic or Hieronian because a sanctuary would not have been sufficiently monumental without it. The uniqueness of the Altar of Hieron makes drawing adequate parallels difficult. Unlike the Altar of Hieron, the Asklepieion at Kos was equipped with a temple and lacked a comparable altar. The Pergamon Altar, at the center of a large courtyard without an accompanying temple makes a better comparison, showing that the Altar of Hieron need not have had a stoa contemporary with the altar. While the Pergamon Altar itself had a colonnade, the surrounding courtyard was only delineated by a simple *peribolos* without stoa.

Closer examination of Gentili's preliminary report also provides supporting evidence in favor of the late first century BC. His justification for the late first century BC date appears to have omitted crucial details. Indeed, the fact that the excavations of Stucchi and Adamesteanu on the courtyard were never published in any detail leaves much of the courtyard and its relationship to the stoa unclear. The pit's contents may have been used to stratigraphically date the stoa, and indeed, Gentili does record some stratigraphy in his own area of excavation.³⁶ Importantly, he states that that the pit and the foundation of the stoa were both covered by a later pavement of the courtyard.³⁷ While this pavement was not dated, it may have established a stratigraphic means of dating the stoa through the contents of the pit. This also suggests that the *c.* late first BC renovations may have included a new pavement for the courtyard.

The layout of the stoa and its relationship to the altar also supports the later addition of the stoa. The stoa does not fully extend around the northern and southern sides of the altar as more

47 ft. 24 also references this Hellenistic stratigraphic context (clarifying that there is nothing to prevent this from being late Hellenistic).

³⁵ Lippolis 1986, 38-9. Architectural elements found in the courtyard and dated *c.* 240 BC have also been connected to the stoa (Parisi Presicce 2004, 218-9). However, Wolf's detailed study clearly attributes all datable architectural fragments to the altar (Wolf 2016, 37-49).

³⁶ Gentili 1954, 365.

³⁷ Gentili 1954, 345-53. Especially 350: the materials... "...termine che viene a fissure una cronologia relativa per la costruzione del grande portico, il quale con la sua pavimentazione suggelò la bocca stessa del pozzo". Also, Gentili 1954, 351-3 implies that the foundation of the stoa lay atop an earlier stratum. Guido 1958, 65 reports that several roads ran through the western courtyard during the Hieronian period and the stoa was later built atop these. This would establish a stratigraphically based post-Hieronian date. However, no other mention of these roads can be found in the preliminary reports and it is unclear where Guido came by this information.

commonly occurred with stoas and their associated altars (and temples). This can be seen at the Sanctuary on the Temenite Hill (Chapter 2.3), the Ginnasio Romano (Chapter 2.6), and the Asklepieion at Kos cited by Lippolis. Instead, only the western courtyard is enclosed at the Altar of Hieron.³⁸ This suggests that the stoa was a modification of the older *peribolos* which did not leave sufficient space for the stoa to extend around the northern and southern sides of the altar. A similar later stoa addition can be seen in Helorus at the Temple of Demeter (Chapter 4.1), where the late fourth-century BC *peribolos* was monumentalized with a stoa in the early second century BC. The stoa was built along the northern *peribolos* and unable to fully extend along the eastern and western *periboloi* as the early temple (and other cult buildings) left insufficient space.

The current state of evidence does not allow for a secure confirmation of the excavators' late first-century BC date for the stoa. However, the evidence for a Hellenistic or Hieronian date is even more limited. The archaeological evidence along with comparisons to the layout and features of other sanctuaries show that the Altar of Hieron need not have had a stoa in its first phase, and the stoa was more likely an adaptation of the Hieronian *peribolos*. Thus, the excavators' late first-century BC date for the stoa should be followed pending further excavations or study.

2.1.1.2 The Courtyard

A series of large pits were found in the central courtyard which Gentili described as “fosse larghe m. 1,60 circa... scavate nel piano roccioso del piazzale”.³⁹ Gentili's report left their identification uncertain, but Stucchi later identified them as holes for the trees of a large grove that filled the courtyard.⁴⁰ This interpretation has since been challenged by Parisi Presicce who argued that these pits were instead created by the removal of sacrificial blocks which had been used to tether bulls for the altar's monumental Hieronian sacrifices.⁴¹ In support of his argument, Parisi Presicce identified five rows of rectangular pits in the courtyard from a photograph of Stucchi's excavations in the courtyard (fig. 6) and argued that these strata had been formed by the removal of the tether blocks in antiquity.

³⁸ This was similarly noted by Trümper 2018, 47 fn. 23 who described the arrangement as “rather awkward”.

³⁹ Gentili 1954, 354, 357.

⁴⁰ Stucchi 1952b, 175 no. 2092.

⁴¹ Parisi Presicce 2004. This has since been supported by Wolf 2016, 49 and Trümper 2018, 47-8 (cautiously).

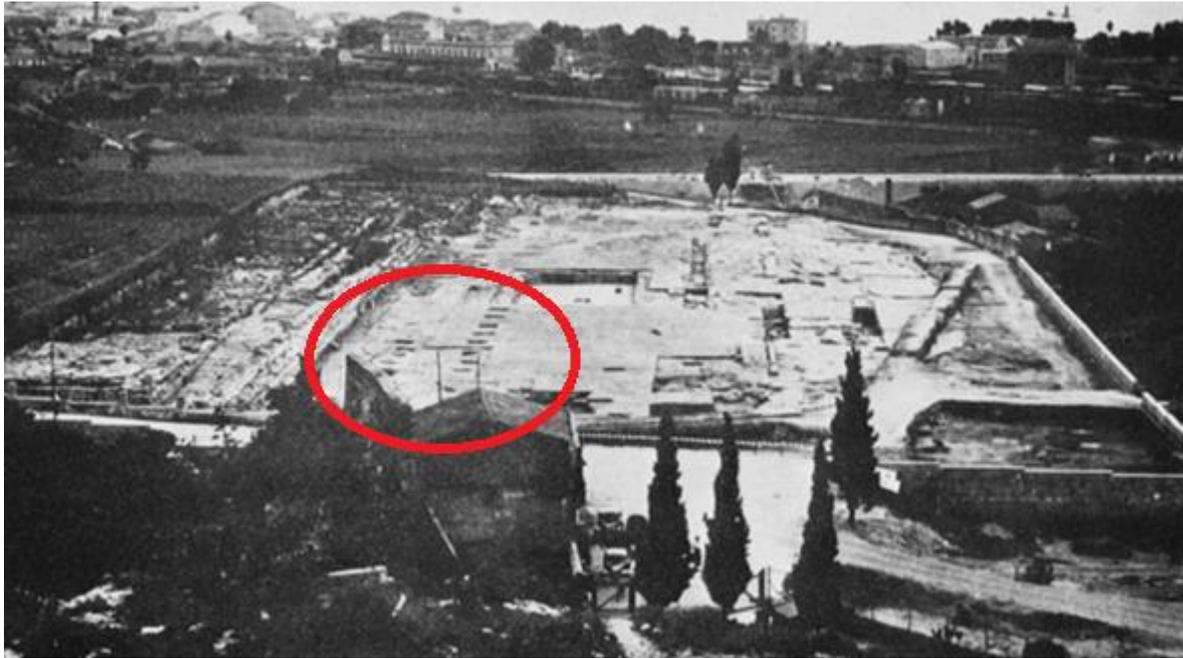


Fig. 6 - Syracuse, the Altar of Hieron. Photograph of the excavations of 1950-1952 with rectangular pits circled in red (Stucchi 1952b, 173 fig. 58; Buren 1953, pl. 64 fig. 15, edited by 2003, 191.author).

Although intriguing, there is reason to question this proposal by Parisi Presicce. The pits may not have been rectangular as he assumes, it is unclear what the pits in the one published photograph represent as Stucchi does not identify them. They may have been trenches dug at regular intervals to uncover the pits. Furthermore, Gentili's description of the pits, while vague, is not indicative of rectangular or square pits. Rather, "fosse, larghe m. 1,60" are more suggestive of irregularly shaped cavities dug for the planting of trees than for sacrificial blocks. The only other contemporary representation that may represent these pits comes from an archaeological review of Sicily from 1949-1953, which shows five ordered rows of smaller irregular features (fig. 7).

These pits (c. 1.6 m) are also far larger than typical sacrificial blocks. Blocks at the sanctuary in Claros displayed a significant variance in size, from 70 to 120 by 30 to 70 cm and blocks at the Sanctuary of Artemis in Magnesia are of comparably small size (figs. 8-9).⁴² Furthermore, if the blocks were as large as the size of the pits would suggest, it is unlikely they would have been removed. Assuming the blocks were made of local limestone and had a conservative depth of half a meter as at Claros, then measuring 1.6 x 1.6 x .5 m, they would have weighed c. 3,000 kilograms each.⁴³ Their removal would have been a monumental and unnecessary task.

⁴² de la Genière and Jolivet

⁴³ Limestone weighs approximately 2160 to 2560 kg per cubic meter and each block would have had a volume of c. 1.28 cubic meters at the measurements given.

Sacrificial blocks were usually flush with the surrounding ground level,⁴⁴ which made the tethers more secure and permitted an easier use of the area for non-sacrificial purposes as only the metal rings would need to be removed. These more common flush sacrificial blocks can be seen at the Sanctuary of Artemis at Magnesia where the tethers were incorporated into blocks of the marble pavement west of the altar,⁴⁵ and in a relief from the sanctuary of Demeter in Pergamon which depicts a bull tethered to the ground.⁴⁶

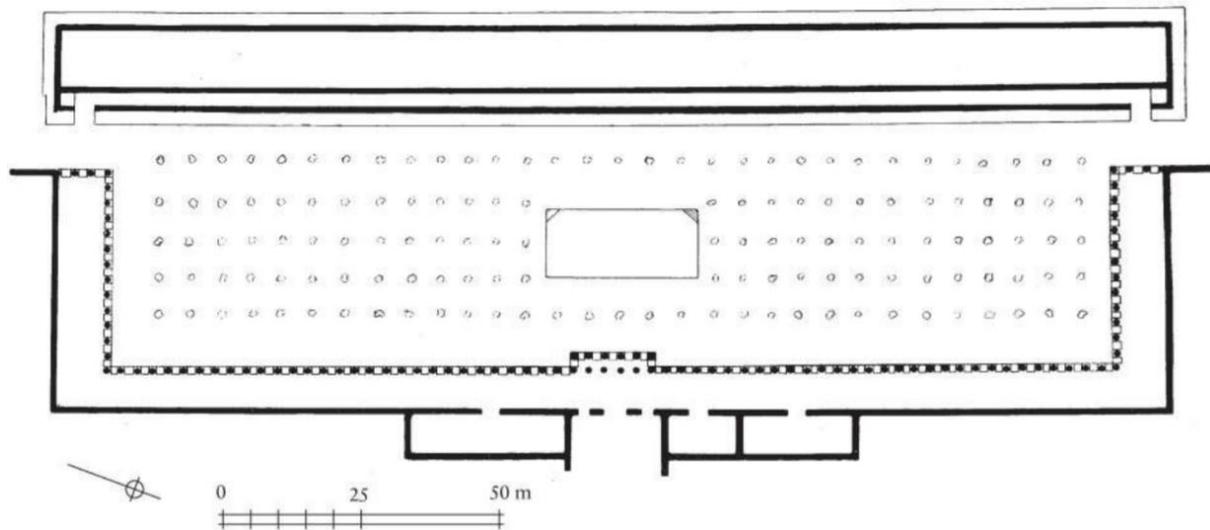


Fig. 7 - Syracuse, the Altar of Hieron. Courtyard with cavities and central pool (Neutsch 1954, 594 fig. 71).

Parisi Presicce cited the blocks at Claros in support of his argument as they were not flush with the surrounding courtyard, protruding *c.* 20 cm above the ground.⁴⁷ However, the excavators at Claros noted that this was particularly unusual and suggested that it was the result of their incorporation into an older sanctuary.⁴⁸ Indeed, some of the blocks there were placed atop the remains of older structures.⁴⁹ As there is no evidence of any earlier structures underlying the central courtyard, it is unlikely that the blocks would have protruded above the surrounding Hieronian floor level and instead would have likely lain flush which would have made later removal unnecessary.

⁴⁴ de la Genière and Jolivet 2003, 192.

⁴⁵ Çetin 2009, 36-7. Many of these blocks and flooring tiles, made of marble, were later robbed out Sanctuary of Artemis at Magnesia. However, it is unlikely that any blocks at the Altar of Hieron were made of marble due to the absence of marble elsewhere in the Hellenistic sanctuary, and the absence of structural marble in Sicily before the early second century AD (Wilson 1990, 241).

⁴⁶ Radt 1999, 185 fig. 130. Similar sacrificial blocks can also be found at sanctuaries at Dion in Macedonia (Naiden 2013, 94) and Amphipolis (Schaus 2016).

⁴⁷ Parisi Presicce 2004, 221.

⁴⁸ de la Genière and Jolivet 2003, 192.

⁴⁹ de la Genière and Jolivet 2003, 192.



Fig. 8 - Claros Turkey, Sanctuary of Apollo. Tethering blocks in front of an altar (de la Genière and Jolivet 2003 pl. 6 fig. 1).

Even if the blocks had extended above the surrounding floor when they were first installed, the gradual rise of the courtyard's ground level would have eventually covered the blocks. This process even occurred at Claros, where the blocks were covered and out of use by the late second century BC.⁵⁰ Gentili notes a significant rise in the floor level north of the Altar of Hieron in the Republican period.⁵¹ The later pavement of the courtyard, possibly in the late first century BC (Chapter 2.1.1.1), would have certainly made the removal unnecessary and the later dating of the pits clear as it would have covered them if they had been dug earlier. Pending further evidence, Stucchi's interpretation of the courtyard with five rows of trees planted in the late first century BC is the more likely interpretation and will be followed.



Fig. 9 - Magnesia Greece, Sanctuary of Artemis. Marble sacrificial blocks incorporated in the marble flooring (Hammerschmied 2018, 103 fig. 5).

⁵⁰ de la Genière and Jolivet 2003, 192-3.

⁵¹ Gentili 1954, 365.

Following the re-examination of the sanctuary's debated interpretations and chronologies, the foundation and monumentalization of the sanctuary can be placed in the Hieronian period, *c.* 235 BC, which saw the construction of the monumental altar and western courtyard surrounded by a *peribolos* on its northern, western, and eastern sides. A second monumental phase occurred later, in the late-first century BC, when the western courtyard was lined with stoas on these three sides surrounding a newly paved courtyard filled with five rows of trees and a large swimming pool in the center.

2.1.2 Cult and Continuity



Fig. 10 - Syracuse, The Altar of Hieron. Votive niches cut in the eastern side of the altar, seen from the west (photo by author).

Although the Altar of Hieron was frequented until at least the fourth century AD,⁵² it has generally been accepted that the late first-century BC renovations were part of a conversion of the sanctuary into a public park, palestra, or gymnasium in which the altar lost its sacred role, and instead functioned as a decorative backdrop for the western courtyard.⁵³ This conversion is reminiscent of the theater-gardens that became increasingly popular throughout the Roman world beginning in the second half of the first century BC.⁵⁴ While this conversion does indeed most likely mark a significant change in the sanctuary's use, it cannot be assumed that the sanctuary had remained in use throughout the Republican period until this conversion. Instead, the late first century BC likely only provides the *terminus ante quem* for the end of the sanctuary's cult function.

⁵² Stucchi 1952b, 175.

⁵³ Gentili 1954, 353; Wilson 1988a, 114-5; Wilson 1990, 51-2; Lehmler 2005, 142; Prag 2007, 89 fn. 114; Pfuntner 2013, 240; Pfuntner 2019, 176. A more cautious perspective is taken by Trümper 2018, 47, but an earlier end of cult practices will be discussed in further detail below.

⁵⁴ Gleason 1994; Carroll 2003, 57.



Fig. 11 - Syracuse, The Altar of Hieron. Votive niches cut into the north terrace wall, seen from the southeast (photo by author).

Between the two monumental phases of the Hieronian and Augustan periods, the Republican period has received significantly less attention in no small part due to the absence of any significant monumental features or changes. However, the more modest and less monumental aspects of the sanctuary's cult permit a better understanding of the site's evolution from monumental Hieronian sanctuary to Augustan park. In contrast to the large monumental sacrifices which occurred in the western courtyard or atop the altar during the reign of Hieron II, the less monumental cult practices were focused around the numerous votive niches, most likely used for setting up *pinakes*, around the edges of the sanctuary. These niches, quadrilateral in shape (varying widely in size from *c.* 20 x 20 cm to over *c.* 1.5 x 1 m) were found cut along the full length of the altar's east side, into the north terrace wall and southern *peribolos* (figs. 10-11). Importantly, Gentili recorded the discovery a large number of buried votive deposits, “*thysiai*”, cut into the Hieronian *opus signinum* floor along the northern niches (fig. 12); they contained vases, (sometimes stacked atop each other), lamps, and bronze coins (figs. 13-14) as well as cups, bowls, pitchers, plates, ointment jars, and bronze rings.⁵⁵ Similar votive deposits were also recovered immediately to the south by Adamesteanu.⁵⁶

The altar is believed to have been dedicated to Zeus, either Eleutherian or Olympian,⁵⁷ and Vonderstein connected the buried cult deposits (“*thysiai*”) found at the niches, a typically chthonic practice, to what was most likely a chthonic aspect of this cult.⁵⁸ While these can only

⁵⁵ Gentili 1954, 362-3; Crispino 2013, 179 I.1.3.

⁵⁶ Gentili 1954, 354-5, 362. The precise location of these deposits remains unclear.

⁵⁷ On the cult attribution and debate over Olympian or Eleutherian Zeus, see Karlsson 1996, 86-7; Campagna 2004, 167; Parisi Presicce 2004, 220; Vonderstein 2006, 138-9. A connection with Asclepius has been proposed (Andreae 1990, 45-9), but doubts raised by Wilson 1990, 293-4, 339-42 are convincing.

⁵⁸ Vonderstein 2006, 139-40.

directly attest to sacred activity associated with the chthonic and less monumental aspects of the cult, they remain the only archaeological evidence for ritual activity at the sanctuary and a Republican phase.

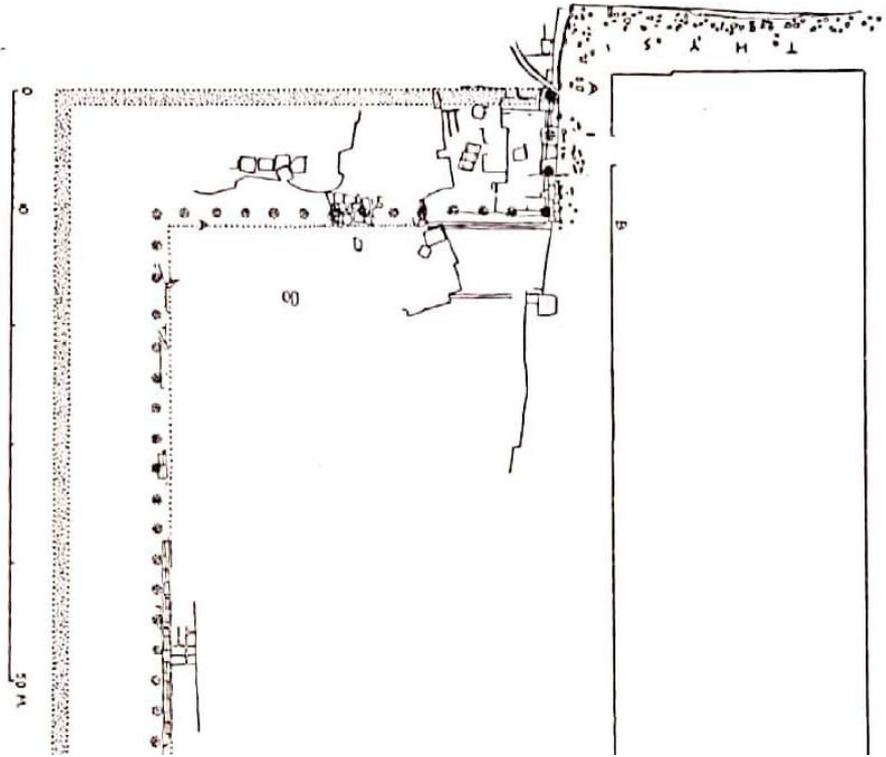


Fig. 12 - Syracuse, The Altar of Hieron. *Thysiai* along northern *temenos* and votive niches (Gentili 1954, 335 fig. 3, edited by author).

Gentili stated that the northern niches were closed sometime in “età romana” by the rising floor level that eventually covered the lowest niches.⁵⁹ While little else can be said of the votive niches themselves, the *thysiai* materials attest to continued cult practices at the sanctuary under Rome. It is believed that most of the *thysiai* were deposited in the Hieronian period with few coming after as the practice declined after 212 BC, ultimately ceasing within a few decades.⁶⁰ However, the author’s examination of these materials instead suggests a stronger continuity beyond 212 BC, which may have continued longer than previously thought without evidence of a clear decline after 212 BC.

The total number of *thysiai* is unclear. Gentili cataloged the contents, ending at *thysiai* number 114. However, his catalog only provides the contents of 112 individual deposits, and entries for *thysiai* 39 and 83 are skipped.⁶¹ The contents of additional *thysiai* uncovered by

⁵⁹ Gentili 1954, 376.

⁶⁰ Gentili 1954, 362; Mattingly 2000, 38; Vonderstein 2006, 139-40.

⁶¹ Gentili 1954, 365-383, with the skipped “*thysiai*” on 373, 380.

Adamesteanu to the south of Gentili's were also published by Gentili, but their contents were not sorted, and the total number of deposits and their findspots were not detailed.⁶²



Fig. 13 - Syracuse, The Altar of Hieron. Votive deposits (“*thysiai*”) *in situ* (Gentili 1954, 375 fig. 32); Fig. 14 - Syracuse, The Altar of Hieron. Votive deposits (“*thysiai*”) along northern terrace (Gentili 1954, 361 fig. 24).

Little can be said of the pottery from the deposits. The materials from *thysiai* 8, 15, 17, and 24 are currently on display at the Museo Archeologico Paolo Orsi in Syracuse (figs. 15-16)⁶³ and have been dated to the third century BC.⁶⁴ The pottery (and other materials except for the coins) from the remaining *thysiai* is no longer available for study.⁶⁵ A third century BC Hieronian date does seem likely for these four deposits. They contain a mix of local San

⁶² Gentili 1954, 362-4.

⁶³ These are also the only photographed *thysiai* contents in Gentili's report, see Gentili 1954, 366 fig. 28, 367 fig. 29, 369 fig. 30, 370 fig. 31.

⁶⁴ Crispino 2013, 179 I.1.3. On *thysia* 8, third century BC; dates for the other *thysiai* are provided by the museum.

⁶⁵ The pottery is now lost, likely inside one of the collapsed storage warehouses in the Area Archeologica della Neapolis along with the rest of the material from the excavation (personal correspondence with the Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi and communication with anonymous personnel from the Area Archeologica della Neapolis).

Giuliano pottery, generally dated from the third to first century BC and form 6 ointment jars, which are from the fourth to mid-second century BC.⁶⁶ The most chronologically relevant pieces include the Hellenistic black gloss pieces, especially the type A Attic *skyphoi* found in *thysiai* 8, 17, and 24 which do not appear to have continued to be produced beyond the third to early second centuries BC.⁶⁷ *Thysia* 15 contains a Hieronian Poseidon/Trident in a good state of preservation, suggesting it was deposited after only a short period of circulation, likely in line with a deposition during the reign of Hieron II or soon after.



Fig. 15 - Syracuse, The Altar of Hieron. Contents of *thysiai* 8 (nos. 5-9 on right) and 15 (nos. 1-4 on left) with cups, pots, jugs and Hieronian Poseidon/trident bronze coin (Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, photo by author).

The materials from the other *thysiai* are more problematic, and assessment of their chronology must rely on their descriptions in Gentili's catalog.⁶⁸ These descriptions were based upon a general shape typology of 15 forms, which he created for the excavation's finds, and not on class, provenance, or clay. The only dating he gave for the now lost pottery types comes from these forms typologies, which he entitled "ieroniano e postieroniano".⁶⁹ These forms are only of limited chronological use as many of the shapes of Campana C and Republican Red

⁶⁶ On the date of the ointment jars, see Forti 1963, 149-52. For a previous examination of the available materials including the identification of San Giuliano coarse ware, see Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 86-92; Ciurcina 2014, 37. Recent work on the chronology of the local San Giuliano coarse ware pottery by Reina and Rizza 2014, 65-8 has put forth a later chronology from the second century BC to first century AD. However, this seems unlikely and would put all four of these deposits, and most of the other deposits (see below) in the second century BC or later.

⁶⁷ Stone 2014, 104.

⁶⁸ Gentili 1954, 363-83.

⁶⁹ Gentili 1954, 356 fig. 19. Not all the pottery in the catalog are identified through these typologies.

Gloss, the fine ware which came to be used in the Republican period, are similar to the earlier Campana A, Campana B, and their local imitations.⁷⁰



Fig. 16 - Syracuse, The Altar of Hieron. Contents of *thysiai* 17 (nos. 1-4 on right side) and 24 (nos. 5-11 on left side) with cups, pots, jugs, and a lamp (Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, photo by author).

Nevertheless, some chronological insight is possible. One hundred and ten of the one hundred and twelve sorted *thysiai* contained pottery; of the two deposits without pottery, one (*thysia* 19) contained a single bronze coin (fig. 17) and another a single bronze ring (*thysia* 91).⁷¹ The other one-hundred and ten *thysiai* consisted of a mixture of fine and coarse wares similar to the four from the museum. Twenty-six of the *thysiai* contain at least one piece of local red, brown, or black glossed fine ware. Nineteen of these (including three of the four deposits on display at the museum) contained a local variant of the Attic type A *skyphos*. The type A *skyphos* form is unlikely to date beyond the late third century BC or very early second century BC when its production appears to have ceased.⁷² The other fine wares cannot be dated based upon Gentili's forms. These include deposits with plates, two with two-handed *skyphoi*, and two cups not identified by form.⁷³ Importantly, deposits no. 48 and 69 contained brown and red gloss cups ("forma 10") described by Gentili as "vernice rosso-bruna" and "vernice rossa". Although these glosses are found in limited quantities in the third century BC, they become increasingly

⁷⁰ Stone 2014, 146, 170.

⁷¹ Gentili 1954, 369 no. 19, 381 no. 91.

⁷² Stone 2014, 102-5.

⁷³ Plates: nos. 57, 84. Two-handed cups, 48 and 69. Unknown cup type: 23 and 92. 114 assigned a type of Lamboglia 180 form 31 Campana A.

prevalent in the Republican period, and their forms are commonly found in Republican red gloss from the middle of the second century BC onward.⁷⁴ The remaining seventy-four *thysiai* only contained assorted coarse ware cups, bowls, ointment jars, pitchers, and lamps. The cups, bowls, and pitchers are likely the same production of the third to first-century BC “San Giuliano” coarse ware held by the museum. Seven of the seventy-four deposits can be dated more precisely due to the inclusion of ointment jars forms generally dated from the fourth to mid-second century BC.⁷⁵

Although some of the pottery types remained in production as late as the first century BC, all the pottery types, aside from two possible cups in *thysiai* 48 and 69, were already in production during the third century BC. However, the general chronologies of the coarse ware, the inability to personally examine most of the pottery, and chronological questions which remain regarding the local production of pottery, combined with the continued production of some of these pottery types and the potential for their later circulation and deposition, leave open the possibility that some of the pottery may have been deposited beyond the first few decades after 212 BC.

The coins from the *thysiai* were stored separately from the other materials and are held at the coin cabinet at the Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi. The author conducted a preliminary examination of the coins focused on the post-212 BC specimens but also confirmed the identification of the pre- and post-212 BC specimens.⁷⁶ This examination showed that although the majority of the coins recovered from the *thysiai*, forty-eight (83%) are pre-212 BC Syracusan or Mamertine coins; a significant amount of these, ten (17%), were minted after 212 BC (fig. 17). This spread is supported by the examination of Gentili’s sorted and numbered *thysiai*: forty-seven (42%) of one hundred and twelve contained coins, and eight (17%) of these contained at least one post-212 BC specimen (fig. 17). The coins show a significant albeit diminished number of post-212 BC coins compared to pre-212 BC coins. However, at least some of the pre-212 BC coins were likely deposited after 212 BC. Examination of these coins revealed that many are in poor condition in contrast to the later coins (see below), which may have been the result of wear caused by their circulation. However, further study of the coins focused on the pre-212 BC specimens is needed to confirm this initial assessment.

⁷⁴ Stone 2014, 169-70.

⁷⁵ Nos. 9, 11, 29, 30, 43, 58, 101.

⁷⁶ Special thanks to Dott.ssa Musumeci, Dott.ssa Manenti, and Dott.ssa Crispino for their assistance in viewing the available *thysiai* materials. I would also like to thank Dr. Barbato for her assistance in analyzing and identifying the coins.

<i>Thysia</i> no.	Coin	Date	Inv. no.
Unsorted	Syracuse, Head of Apollo r. /Apex 14 mm 2.75g (Gàbrici 1927b 168 no. 530)	First half of the second century BC (Frey-Kupper 2013, 411-412 no. 671)	99491 (fig. 18.1)
19	Rome, Roman Republic, Sextans [RO]M[A] 19 mm, 5.54g (RRC 69/6a)	211-208 BC (RRC 69/6a)	99485 (fig. 18.2)
43	Messana, Mamertini tetras, Head of Apollo r. /Nike 22mm, 6.06g (Särström 1940, 130-131 series XIX.A), coin heavily worn	First half of the second century BC? (Frey-Kupper 2013, 383 no. 263)	99474 (fig. 18.3)
49	Syracuse, Head of Poseidon r. /Trident 15 mm, 2.40 g (Gàbrici 1927b, 186 nos. 517-519)	First half of the second century BC? (<i>HN³ Sicily</i>)	99478 (fig. 18.4)
49	Syracuse, Head of Artemis r./ Quiver 12 mm, 1.80 g (Gàbrici 1927b, 187 no. 543)	First half of the second century BC? (<i>HN³ Sicily</i>)	99479 (fig. 18.5)
58	Messana. Mamertini tetras, Head of Apollo r. /Nike 22 mm 8.16 g (Särström 1940 130-131, series XIX.A)	First half of the second century BC? (Frey-Kupper 2013, 383 no. 263)	99487 (fig. 18.6)
65	Syracuse, Head of Apollo I. /Tripod 13 mm 1.65 g (Gàbrici 1927b, 186 nos. 520-526)	First half of the second century BC? (<i>HN³ Sicily</i>)	99466 ⁷⁷
88	Syracuse, Head of Apollo I. /Tripod 13 mm 1.25 g (Gàbrici 1927b, 186 nos. 520-526)	First half of the second century BC? (<i>HN³ Sicily</i>)	95483 (fig. 18.7)
94	Messana, Mamertini tetras Head of Apollo r. /Nike 22 mm, 5.98 g (Särström 1940, 130-131 series XIX.A)	First half of the second century BC? (Frey-Kupper 2013, 383 no. 263)	99463 (fig. 18.8)
96	Rome, Roman Republic as 32 mm, 25.53 g, fair level of wear	211-146 BC	99482 (fig. 18.9)

Fig. 17 - Select bronze coins (post-212 BC) from the *thysiai* north of the Altar of Hieron.

Like the pre-212 BC coins, Syracusan and Mamertine issues continued to make up the majority of the post-212 BC deposits (fig. 17). The chronology of most of the post-212 BC coins cannot be dated with more precision than to a quarter or half-century. They are generally

⁷⁷ For a photograph of this specimen, see Gentili 1954, 363 fig. 26 no. 30.

only given post-212 BC or second-century BC dates by modern scholars, but ongoing research associated with the *Historia Numorum* volume on Sicily suggests that most date to the first half of the second century if not as early as the first third of the second century BC (fig. 17).⁷⁸ Thus, 17% of the *thysiai* with coins can be securely dated to the period between 211 BC to 150 BC. The significant number of these coins suggests that *thysiai* deposition may have continued longer than previously thought, possibly into mid-second century BC. The relatively good state of preservation of all but one of the coins suggests that most did not extensively circulate before deposition (fig. 18).



Fig. 18 - Select bronze coins (post-212 BC) from the *thysiai* north of the Altar of Hieron.

A single specimen found in *thysia* 43 could indicate a continuity beyond the mid-second century BC and possibly as late as the first century BC. The coin is the lone post-212 BC specimen in a poor state of preservation and was identified by Gentili as a Syracusan bronze “D/. Testa barbata a destra appena distinguibile. R/. Figura femminile stante a sinistra, reggente

⁷⁸ Information from Dr. Frey-Kupper.

nella destra avanzata una corona, poco visibile”; it was given a post-212 BC date.⁷⁹ If this identification is correct, then the specimen would be a Zeus r. / Isis l. which has since been dated to the mid-first century BC.⁸⁰

Mattingly, who was unable to personally examine the specimen, commented on it, noting the difficulty in clearly distinguishing this coin from the Syracusan head of Zeus r. / Tyche l. issue and suggested this as a possible alternative identification.⁸¹ This issue is dated to the late-second century BC.⁸² However, personal inspection of the coin makes both proposals unlikely. The beard is not discernible on the obverse head, and a value mark “III” was clearly discernable on the reverse (fig. 18.3). The absence of a beard, and especially the value mark on the reverse, clearly identifies this as a Mamertine, Apollo / Nike tetras, two of which are among the other post-212 coins. Because of the likely continued deposition of pre-212 BC coins after 212 BC, a further study including a full assessment of their wear is needed to better understand the later ritual continuity. However, the significant number of post 212 BC coins (and likely continued deposition of pre-212 BC coins) is not suggestive of an immediate post-212 BC decline. Instead, they show a strong continuity of ritual deposition beyond 212 BC.

The absence of coins or pottery which were clearly only produced after the first half of the second century suggests that despite this strong continuity after 212 BC, the practice had likely ceased or significantly declined by the mid-second century BC. However, it must be kept in mind that this only presents a partial picture as less than half of the *thysiai* contained coins, and the chronology of the pottery is uncertain. Furthermore, any evidence from the *thysiai* at the eastern and southern niches excavated in the 18th and 19th centuries is now entirely lost along with any other votive deposits that might have been found elsewhere in the sanctuary.

The analysis of the votive materials associated with the votive niches north of the Altar of Hieron suggests that the cult practices here ceased sometime in the first half of the second century BC. After ritual activity ceased, no effort was likely taken to keep the votive niches and *pinakes* along the northern terrace clear for continued religious practices, which eventually resulted in the covering of the lowest of these by the rising floor level. There is no evidence of a decline in practice leading up to its cessation suggesting that, unless the practice continued

⁷⁹ Gentili 1954, 373.

⁸⁰ Gàbrici 1927b, 188 nos. 608-10. For the date of this coin see Frey-Kupper 2003, 521, 531. On an earlier and (now) unsubstantiated date for the issue, see Chapter 7.3.1.

⁸¹ Mattingly 2000, 38.

⁸² Frey-Kupper 2003, 531.

beyond the early-mid second century, at least some cult practices had come to an abrupt end in the first half of the second century BC.

2.1.3 Conclusions

The Altar of Hieron served an especially important religious and political role within the city and the Kingdom of Hieron II.⁸³ With the fall of the kingdom, Vonderstein saw the sanctuary's decline in the decades after 212 BC as evidence of an absence of a clear political role for the sanctuary's Zeus cult within the Roman province.⁸⁴ It cannot be known if the monumental practices and hecatombs for which the altar was famous during the reign of Hieron II ceased immediately after the city's capture. However, the strong continuity of more modest forms of cult practice suggests that it remained an important religious site at least into the first half of the second century BC. Instead, as far as the evidence allows, the key moment of change lies sometime later in the second century when the more modest cult practices ceased. The late first century BC conversion of the sanctuary into a park, therefore, may represent the practical conversion of a monumental and defunct cult site, the size of which had become inappropriate for the city and cult's religious needs during the second century. Indeed, as will be shown below, the apparent disuse of the sanctuary in the second century appears to have been the beginning of a more complicated and gradual transformation of Neapolis' urban and sacred landscape, which culminated in the Augustan and early Imperial periods.

2.2 The “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites”⁸⁵ (fig. 1.2)

Immediately west of the theater and *c.* 200 m northwest of the altar of Hieron lay the remains of the “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites”. Excavated from 1952 to 1954 by Stucchi, this rarely studied and often overlooked sanctuary was published in a single brief preliminary report after the first season in 1952,⁸⁶ with additional information in 1954 as part of a review of Sicilian excavations from 1949 to 1953.⁸⁷ Stucchi had begun work on a monograph, but this was never completed, and now the excavation notes and almost all the material finds are now lost.⁸⁸

⁸³ Karlsson 1996, 87; Bell 1999, 269-76; Vonderstein 2006, 138-9.

⁸⁴ Vonderstein 2006, 139. For more on the cult of Zeus, see Chapter 2.9.3.3.

⁸⁵ Also sometimes called the santuario quadrato.

⁸⁶ Stucchi 1952a 136-7 no. 1605. Doubts about the attribution to Apollo Temenite are discussed below (Chapter 2.2.2).

⁸⁷ Neutsch 1954, 604-5.

⁸⁸ Neutsch 1954, 605; Polacco 1990, 135 fn. 54. Personal correspondence with the Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi and communication with anonymous personnel from the Area Archeologica della Neapolis. An Archaic statue (fig. 32) was rediscovered during the search for the sanctuary's materials during my research

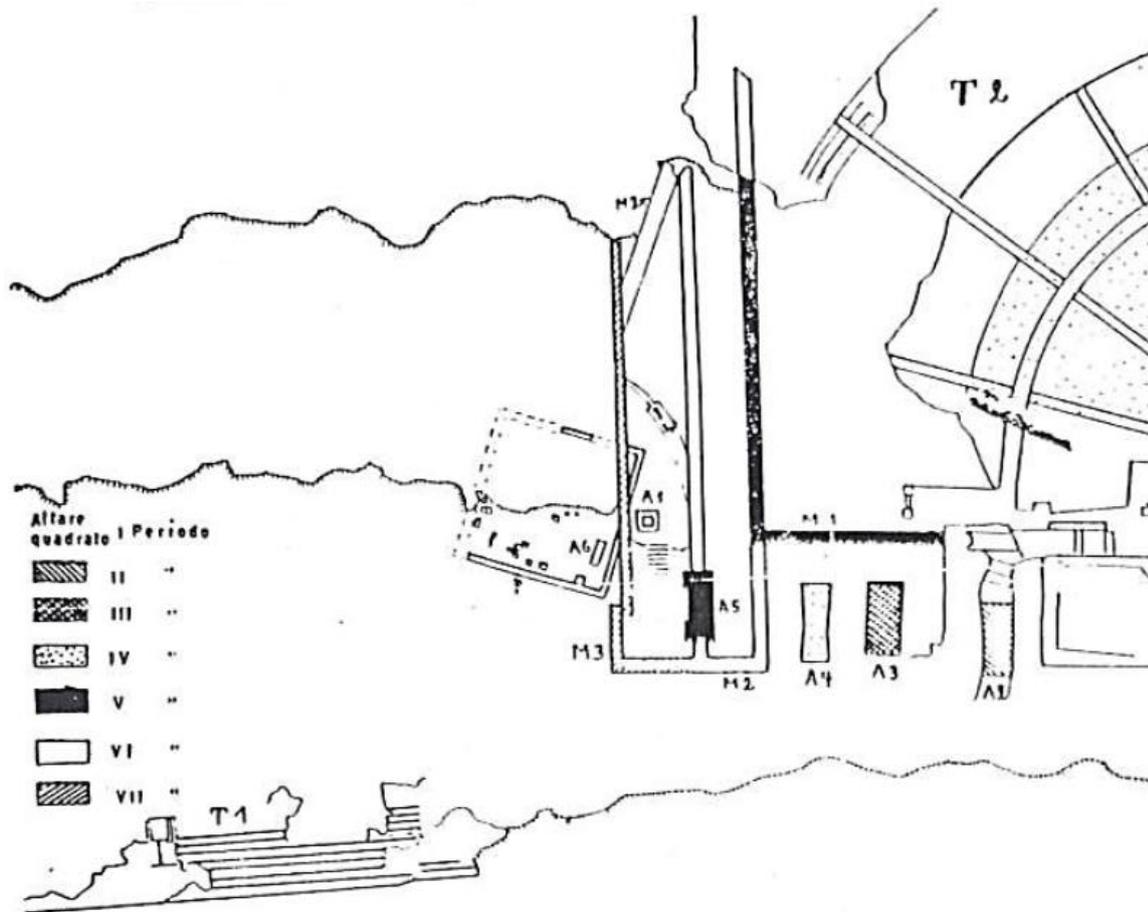


Fig. 19 - Syracuse, "Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites". Site plan with Archaic to Hellenistic phases (Neutsch 1954, 595 fig. 72).

Among the oldest sanctuaries in the city,⁸⁹ the sanctuary was founded in the late seventh century BC (fig. 19, I) with the construction of the square Altar 1.⁹⁰ The evolution of the sanctuary from the sixth to fourth centuries was left unclear by the preliminary reports which connect the sanctuary's evolution with the construction of an Archaic theater (fig. 19 T1) and a possible Classical phase of the Greek theater (fig. 19 T2) and its subsequent renovations and expansion. The identification of an Archaic theater and early phases for the Greek Theater have been questioned with the Archaic theater instead identified as a large stairway and the Greek Theater's *ex novo* construction often placed in the Hieronian period.⁹¹

on the sanctuary. This statue is the only material from the excavations which could be located. The other materials are believed to be inside a now collapsed storage building inside the Area Archeologica della Neapolis.

⁸⁹ See the "Apollonion" in Ortygia (Chapter 2.8.1) and the extramural Temple of Zeus Olympios: Koldevey and Puchstein 1899, 66-8; Lissi 1958, 197-223; Riemann 1964, 229-37; Coarelli and Torelli, 1984, 280-1.

⁹⁰ Neutsch 1954, 604. Sacred activity in this early period is evidenced by the deposition of Proto-Corinthian vases.

⁹¹ On the debate, see Isler 2017, 748-9. The existence of these theaters is supported by Voza 2007, 77-80; Voza 2008. On the issues which hinder the secure dating of Sicilian theaters, see Marconi 2012, 177-8. Although the debate on the pre-Hieronian theater is outside the scope of the thesis, it is worth noting that this sanctuary has been largely overlooked in debates on the pre-Hieronian theaters, and the repeated relocation of the sanctuary (discussed below) supports the existence of these earlier theaters.



Fig. 20 - Syracuse, “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites”. Lower terrace of phase 6 with reconstructed Analemma M3 in the background, seen from the west (photo by author).

The excavators record that when the Archaic theater was built in the sixth century (fig. 19, T1), the sanctuary was relocated to the east and Altar 1 was replaced by Altar 2.⁹² Phases three to five occurred over the following two centuries and involved the gradual movement of the sanctuary to the west to accommodate the Classical construction and a subsequent expansion of the Greek Theater (fig. 19, T2, M1-2); this saw the repositioning of the sanctuary with the construction of a new altar to replace the then-defunct and overbuilt altar each time (fig. 19, A3-6).⁹³



Fig. 21 - Syracuse, “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites”. Altar 6 seen from the northwest with analemma (M3) in the background (photo by author).

⁹² Neutsch 1954, 604.

⁹³ Neutsch 1954, 604-5; Sole 2006, 28.

The sanctuary took its visible form when it was again repositioned in the fourth century BC with Altar 6 (fig. 19, VI, A6; fig. 21)⁹⁴ replacing the earlier Altar 5 when, according to the excavators, Analemma 2 (fig. 19, M2) was built.⁹⁵ The remaining *peribolos* walls belong to this phase, enclosing the 21.75 x 20 m sanctuary built against the hillside and divided into two levels by a c. 2 m high terrace wall with votive niches (fig. 22) cut into the hillside.⁹⁶ The lower courtyard also contained the sanctuary's 78 x 208 cm altar and several statue bases. While the size of the earlier phases is unknown, phase 6 may have been smaller than its predecessors. The construction of Analemma 2 (fig. 19, M2) close to the hillside significantly reduced the available space for the sanctuary and Altar 6 was the smallest altar since Altar 1.



Fig. 22 - Syracuse, “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites”. Votive niches cut into the terrace, seen from the south (photo by author).

While the impact of the theater on the sanctuary's earlier phases is uncertain, the sanctuary was certainly impacted by the Hieronian construction (or perhaps expansion) of the theater. Analemma 3 (fig. 19, M3) was built over the eastern corner of the *peribolos*, and the sanctuary went out of use in the mid to late third century.⁹⁷ Interestingly, at least according to the excavators, the sanctuary was not repositioned at this time. Instead, they noted a resumption of sacred activity at a later, but unspecified time.⁹⁸ Almost nothing is known of this later phase, which will be discussed in greater detail below. However, it has been suggested that after this

⁹⁴ Polacco 1990, 146 suggested that Altar 6 was a statue base instead of an altar. However, it does not have mortise holes to attach a statue on top. It can be difficult to differentiate between altars and statue bases and, as the earlier phases of the sanctuary had altars, it seems more likely that it was in fact, an altar. For a similar altar, see Altar 8 at the Central Sanctuary at Morgantina (Chapter 5.1.2).

⁹⁵ Neutsch 1954, 605.

⁹⁶ For measurements of the sanctuary's other features, see Polacco 1990, 144-9.

⁹⁷ Neutsch 1954, 605.

⁹⁸ Stucchi 1952a 136-7 no. 1605; Neutsch 1954, 605.

resumption, the sanctuary remained in use until late antiquity, as evidenced by a third century AD shrine just to the north.⁹⁹ The sanctuary may have been repositioned once again at this time.¹⁰⁰

2.2.1 De-consecration and Transfer



Fig. 23 - Syracuse, the Altar of Hieron. Votive niches cut into the northern terrace at the Altar of Hieron, seen from the south (photo by author).

Since its excavation, the disuse and later reuse of the sanctuary has received no further attention, but it appears that great care was taken to deconsecrate the sanctuary. Stucchi stated that the sanctuary was covered by “uno strato... assolutamente sterile, di brecciamme” after it went out of use.¹⁰¹ No additional information was given on this stratum, but, as it consisted entirely of gravel without any other material, it is unlikely to have formed gradually over a defunct sanctuary. Sacred materials, including statues, votives, but also architectural remains, were often buried to be deconsecrated.¹⁰² This sterile layer of rock may have been intentionally deposited at one time and therefore may have been associated with the sanctuary’s deconsecration. Such a labor-intensive process suggests that the sanctuary’s inactivity was not brief and that its cult continued to be revered until that point, which could suggest it had been transferred again as had already occurred five times.

⁹⁹ Polacco 1990, 153.

¹⁰⁰ This very idea is implied by Greco 1999, 18 who states that this late sanctuary was a cult site of Demeter and Kore (one of the cult’s proposed for the “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites”) although there does not appear to be any evidence at the third-century AD sanctuary to support this attribution. However, she does not discuss the “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites” itself. For more on the cult attribution and an argument against Demeter and Kore, see below (Chapter 2.2.2).

¹⁰¹ Stucchi 1952a, 137 no. 1605.

¹⁰² Glinister 2014, 69-70; Moser 2019, 20.



Fig. 24 - Syracuse, The Altar of Hieron. Stone votive stele at northern votive niches (photo by author); Fig. 25 - Syracuse, “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites”. Stone votive stele at the terrace (photo by author).

Evidence of a possible additional transfer and a potential new location comes from the Altar of Hieron (Chapter 2.1). The Altar of Hieron was built *ex novo* in the same period as the disuse and burial of the “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites”, and both were the site of similar chthonic cult practices. Similar votive niches are found at both sanctuaries. At the Altar of Hieron, they were cut into the eastern side of the altar, the southern *peribolos*, and into the north terrace wall (figs. 10-11, 23). At the “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites”, they are similarly found cut into the terrace wall north of the sanctuary’s single altar, Altar 6 (fig. 22). Stone votive *stelae* were also found at both sanctuaries: near the northeast side of the Altar of Hieron (fig. 24) and immediately south of the terrace wall at the “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites” (fig. 25).



Fig. 26 - Syracuse, “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites”. Remains of *thysiai* cut into the rocky floor (photo by author).

Most importantly, the burial of similar *thysiai* played an important role in ritual practices at both sanctuaries. Stucchi reported the recovery of “vasi di ceramica locale e monete, offerti in voto riuniti a gruppetti” at the “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites”.¹⁰³ The deposition of similar deposits at the Altar of Hieron has already been discussed in detail (Chapter 2.1.2).¹⁰⁴ Although Stucchi does not detail how these small groups of pottery and coins were found, they appear to have been deposited in the same way as those at the Altar of Hieron. Numerous small cavities are found cut into the ground throughout the southern courtyard at the “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites” (fig. 26). Polacco believed these were not natural features but were instead cut for the deposition of offerings.¹⁰⁵ This appears likely as the remains of similar cavities are also found at the Altar of Hieron (fig. 27) in the area of the buried votive deposits where the ancient floor level is visible (figs. 13-14, 28). Similar rock-cut cavities with their contents *in situ* found at the small sanctuary near Gate II in Agrigentum (fig. 28)¹⁰⁶ confirm that the cavities at both sanctuaries were most likely created for *thysiai*.



Fig. 27 - Syracuse, The Altar of Hieron. *Thysiai* cut into flooring (photo by author).

¹⁰³ Stucchi 1952a, 136 no. 1605.

¹⁰⁴ Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 90 fn 63 states that both sanctuaries had similar votive deposits of the local “San Giuliano” pottery. However, I was unable to access either sanctuary’s materials in 2019.

¹⁰⁵ Polacco 1990, 146.

¹⁰⁶ Fiorentini 2007, 76; Fiorentini 2009, 91 no. 101; Parisi 2017, 149.

It should be noted that these votive practices were not unique to these two sanctuaries and can be found elsewhere in Syracusee and Neapolis. Similar votive niches and *stelae* were found at the sanctuary on the Temenite Hill (Chapter 2.3), but there do not appear to have been similar *thysiai*.¹⁰⁷ The tetrastyle temple at Piazza Adda (Chapter 2.4) may have had similar votive deposits,¹⁰⁸ but there is no evidence of similar votive niches or *stelae*. Additionally, the foundation of neither sanctuary dates to the de-consecration of the “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites” in the mid-late third century BC.



Fig. 28 - Agrigentum, Chthonic sanctuary at Gate II. Rock-cut *thysiai* with votive cups *in situ* (Fiorentini 2007, 78 fig. 13).

Beyond evidence of similar cult practices, both sanctuaries share similar architectural features and a close connection with the theater. The “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites” was defined by its focus on a single altar without temple or stoa (fig. 19, 1-6) stretching back to the late seventh century, and despite the monumental nature of the Altar of Hieron, it maintained this focus. The repeated relocation of the “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites” was likely necessitated by what appears to have been a concerted effort to keep the sanctuary and its cult as close as possible to the theater. The close connection between the Altar of Hieron and the Greek theater has been repeatedly recognized due to their proximity, and an inscription of the Altar of Hieron’s cult, Zeus Olympios, inscribed on the theater’s diazoma (*SEG* 34.975; *ISic* 0824).¹⁰⁹ Although at a greater distance, the Altar of Hieron was likely built in the closest area with sufficient space for such a monumental project.

¹⁰⁷ The excavators of the sanctuary on the Temenite Hill interpreted rows of pits cut into the ground as sacred. However, almost no material was found inside and, as will be shown below, (Chapter 2.3), they appear to have been used for plantings of either a garden or grove.

¹⁰⁸ Ciurcina 2014, 37.

¹⁰⁹ Karlsson 1996, 85-7; Vonderstein 2006, 138-9.

2.2.2 Cult Attribution

One important obstacle for a possible connection between both sanctuaries is their cult attributions. The Altar of Hieron is widely accepted to have been dedicated to Zeus, most likely Olympian, with chthonic aspects (Chapter 2.1.2). Zeus has never been suggested for the “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites” with only proposals made, either Apollo Temenites or Demeter and Kore. However, neither of these is compelling or provides strong evidence against a cult link between the two sanctuaries.



Fig. 29 - Syracuse, “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites”. Base fragments found at western *peribolos* (photo by author).

The conventional attribution of the sanctuary, Apollo Temenites, was given by the excavator Stucchi, “...puo anche essere per vari indizi, quello famoso di Apollo Temenite”.¹¹⁰ Although these “various indications” were not detailed, may have been at least partly based upon the famous passage by Cicero describing the *signum* of Apollo Temenites found near the theater (Cicero. *Verr.* 2.4.199). This passage has also been used to suggest a dedication of Apollo to another nearby sanctuary (Chapter 2.3.2). However, Reichert-Südbeck has more recently raised doubts about the existence of any sanctuary to the Apollo Temenite, noting that Cicero’s description of a *signum* of Apollo (and not sanctuary) suggests that the *signum* was either decorative or found inside the sanctuary of another cult.¹¹¹

Doubts on this attribution were also raised by Polacco, who instead suggested Demeter and Kore based upon inscriptions and votive materials.¹¹² The first is an inscription on a 1.32 m

¹¹⁰ Stucchi 1952a, 136 no. 1605. Also see Neutsch, 1954, 604-5; Drögemüller 1969, 48; Coarelli and Torelli, 1984, 254.

¹¹¹ Reichert-Südbeck 2000, 206-10.

¹¹² Polacco 1990, 146-9. An attribution to Artemis has also been suggested on equally tenuous grounds, see Reichert-Südbeck 2000, 246-7.

wide base found just south of the sanctuary's terrace wall (figs. 29-30). The word ΣΩΣΙΑ, now barely discernible, is written just beneath a break at the top of one of the base fragments and dated to the Hellenistic period, likely late fourth century BC.¹¹³ He read it as the possible epithet “savior” for Demeter or Kore,¹¹⁴ although he admits that there are no known parallels of this epithet for either goddess. A more likely reading is that ΣΩΣΙΑ is not an epithet, but rather a personal name, possibly the dedicator. As the inscription was damaged after the alpha, ΣΩΣΙΑ could be Σωσίας in the nominative, a common Sicilian man's name of Classical and Hellenistic periods.¹¹⁵



Fig. 30 - Syracuse, “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites”. ΣΩΣΙΑ on the left base fragment (Polacco 1990, fig. 232, edited by author).

The second inscription is found on two lines on the front side of Altar 6 (fig. 31). The fragmentary inscription, now almost entirely illegible, reads Πῦρ | Ἄρκο (SEG 34.977; *ISic* 3011)¹¹⁶. Polacco suggested that Ἄρκο be read as a Doric form of ἔρκος (fence/enclosure) and a dubious link to Demeter based on a passage in Herodotus “Το ἔρκος Θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος” (Herod. 6.134); whereupon he posits that Πῦρ could be the epithet πύρφορος, referring to “fire bearing” Demeter.¹¹⁷ A more likely, but significantly less exciting reading is Πῦρ referencing a sacrificial fire which would fit with the inscription's context on an altar. However, even if

¹¹³ Polacco 1990 146, figs. 224, 232. On-site inspection of the inscription revealed it has been almost entirely eroded away by the elements since Polacco's photograph.

¹¹⁴ Polacco 1990, 147.

¹¹⁵ See *LGPN* III.A, 412 for 14 known entries in Sicily (not including the inscription at the sanctuary). The damage on the base also leaves open the possibility of the names Σωσιάδας or Σοσιάναξ. However, both are far less common with only one attestation of each in Sicily.

¹¹⁶ For more on the inscription including measurements, see Manganaro 1977, 158-9. On-site inspection of the inscription revealed it has been almost entirely eroded away by the elements since Polacco's photograph.

¹¹⁷ Polacco 1990, 149. See *Eur. Suppl.* 260 (incorrectly cited: *Eur. Suppl.* 290 by Polacco). Manganaro 1977, 158-9. suggests that Ἄρκο could refer to *arkos*, a personification of security; however, he does not believe the sanctuary is dedicated to this deity.

Polacco's readings were correct, the epithet *πύρφορος* is attested with several other deities including Zeus (Soph. *Phil.* 1198).¹¹⁸



Fig. 31 - Syracuse, "Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites". *Πῶρ* inscribed on Altar 6, *Ἄρκο* not visible (Polacco 1990, fig. 246, edited by author).

Polacco's interpretation of the offerings at the 'Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites' is a more compelling argument which he connects to Demeter and Kore.¹¹⁹ However, there is nothing to explicitly indicate Demeter and Kore, and, in this context, the votive materials may just as plausibly be connected to the same chthonic Zeus cult at the Altar of Hieron. As Vonderstein observed regarding the *thysiai* at the Altar of Hieron, while such deposits are commonly associated with female deities, they are more accurately chthonic offering types and at the Altar of Hieron are suggestive of a chthonic aspect of the Zeus cult.¹²⁰

Although the state of evidence makes a definitive connection between the Altar of Hieron and the "Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites" on archaeological grounds impossible, the limited evidence makes a compelling argument that the Altar of Hieron could be seen as another relocation and subsequent monumentalization of the Zeus cult at the so-called "Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites". This relocation provides evidence of the increased importance that was placed upon one of the city's most historic cults by Hieron II during his monumentalization of the city and, more importantly, establishes a potentially uninterrupted continuity for the Zeus cult from the early years of the city to at least the first half of the second century BC.

¹¹⁸ Also seen with the Syrian Goddess (Luc. *Syr. D.* 42) Persephone (*IG* 4.666.9).

¹¹⁹ Polacco 1990, 146-8.

¹²⁰ Vonderstein 2006, 139-40.

2.2.3 Cult Transfer, Reuse, and Continuity under Rome



Fig 32 - Syracuse, “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites”. Archaic stone statue (35 cm tall) in *chiton* with marble feet on 31 x 31 cm base (Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, Siracusa).

The connection between both sanctuaries also sheds light on the possible later life of the cult of Zeus beyond the first half of the second century BC. As stated above, the sanctuary appears to have been de-consecrated when it went out of use in the mid-late third century BC (Chapter 2.2.1). Stucchi’s account of the sanctuary life afterward is brief and he only states, “...in seguito ripreso l’uso delle offerte votive” before noting the discovery of “una statua arcaica in chitone lungo... di pietra locale con i piedi riportati in marmo” associated with this later phase (fig. 32).¹²¹ As these votive offerings were similarly inaccessible, no comparison can be made with those of the sanctuary’s earlier phases or the Altar of Hieron. However, the discovery of an Archaic statue, possibly a cult statue, strongly shows that this later reuse was connected to a cult with a long history back to the Archaic period, likely the same Zeus cult which may now be traced back through the Altar of Hieron to the late seventh century BC. Furthermore, if the Altar of Hieron and “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites” are linked, then the later resurrection of this sanctuary likely coincided with the apparent disuse of the Altar of Hieron in the first half of the second century BC.

2.2.4 Conclusion: Cult Continuity and the De-monumentalization of the Hieronian Cult of Zeus

The available evidence suggests that a Zeus cult, possibly Olympian with chthonic aspects, had been repeatedly transferred from its arrival in the late seventh century BC to the fourth

¹²¹ Stucchi 1952a, 137.

century BC. As a part of Hieron's monumentalization of the city and his politicization of the cult, the small and modest sanctuary appears to have been de-consecrated and its cult transferred and monumentalized in *c.* 235 BC at the Altar of Hieron. Despite its monumental scope, the Hieronian sanctuary stayed true to its architectural and cultic history with similar votive practices and architectural features with a single altar and no temple or stoas.

The deposition of small votive deposits, including vases and coins, remained a key part of this cult which continued at the Altar of Hieron into the first half of the second century BC. The sacred disuse of the Altar of Hieron could be seen as a simple break with the cult's political and religious past. However, the potential transfer of the cult back to its previously de-consecrated fourth century BC sanctuary along with the return of what may have been its Archaic cult statue and the resumption of earlier chthonic votive offerings, instead points to a more complex transition. This shows that the break was focused on the cult's Hieronian political aspects and not its pre-Hieronian religious past. While this could be cited as further support of Vonderstein's argument that the Hieronian Zeus cult had lacked a place under Rome,¹²² the strong continuity of cult practices in the first half of the second century BC (Chapter 2.1.2), combined with the contentious transfer and de-monumentalization of the cult at this time, instead suggests that the cult maintained its civic importance, with change only appearing to come abruptly sometime in the first half of the second century BC, and limited to the cult's more monumental and Hieronian aspects.

2.3 The Sanctuary on the Temenite Hill¹²³ (fig. 1.3)

Changes to the sacred landscape of Neapolis under Rome was not limited to the de-monumentalization of the Zeus cult at the Altar of Hieron. The reshaping of the theater district can also be seen at a large and monumental sanctuary *c.* 75 m northeast, atop the nearby Temenite Hill overlooking the city and "Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites". Built on the upper terrace above the theater, the sanctuary was excavated during the 1980s and the early 1990s but faces a number of key obstacles which hinder an understanding of not only its later Roman phases, but also its architectural layout, and evolution leading up to the Roman conquest. The hilltop and site of the sanctuary were subject to extensive quarrying before the modern era, which, along with the erosion of the hilltop, have hampered excavations with shallow strata

¹²² Vonderstein 2006, 139.

¹²³ This sanctuary is sometimes called the Sanctuary of Ceres and Libera and the Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites, not to be confused with the above sanctuary (Chapter 2.2).

and a severe paucity of material and architectural finds.¹²⁴ Large cavities left by the quarrying also prevent on-site examination of the site due to safety concerns.

Speculation about the existence of a monumental complex atop the Temenite Hill dates back at least to the beginning of the twentieth century when Orsi discovered architectural fragments at the “Ear of Dionysius” which had fallen from the hilltop and cliffs above.¹²⁵ In 1923, Rizzo first suggested that this monumental complex may have been a sanctuary,¹²⁶ an idea followed by Voza after the discovery of additional architectural fragments at the “Ear of Dionysius” in the early 1980s.¹²⁷

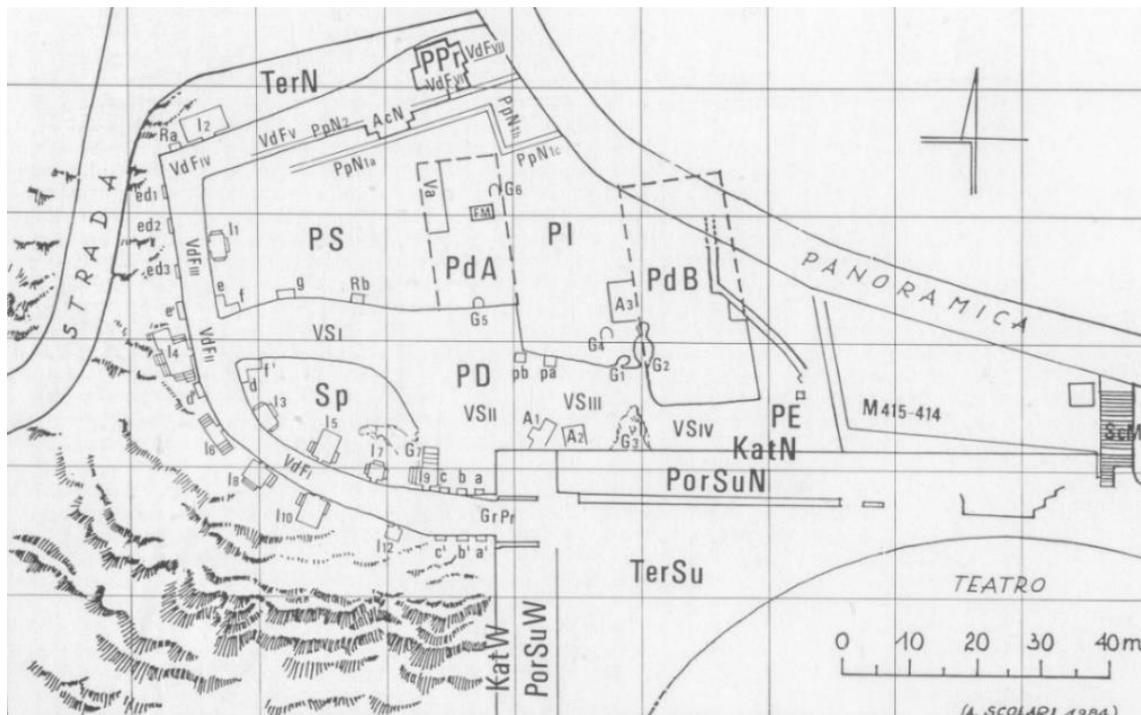


Fig. 33 - Syracuse, sanctuary on the Temenite Hill. Layout 1 (Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 135 pl. 1).

PdA. “Podium A”; PdB. “Podium B”; PS. “piazzale dei sacrifici”; VdF. Path from theater to “piazzale dei sacrifici” (western gardens).

The first excavations of the sanctuary were undertaken by Polacco from 1982 to 1988 on the western area of the upper terrace (figs. 33-34) and published in a series of brief preliminary reports, culminating in a 1989 monograph.¹²⁸ These excavations uncovered what was

¹²⁴ On issues regarding the excavation and materials, see Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 20.

¹²⁵ Orsi 1904, 276. For more on quarrying works in the area and throughout the city in antiquity, see Lanteri 2012.

¹²⁶ Rizzo 1923, 31-2.

¹²⁷ Voza 1984-5, 674-5.

¹²⁸ Excavations conducted by Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari henceforth referred to as Polacco in the text. Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1982-1983; Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1983-1984; Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1984-1985a; Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1984-1985b; Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989. Polacco-Scolari 1986-1987; Trojani 1986; Trojani 1986-1987.

interpreted as a large monumental sanctuary with two large temples (“Podium A” and “Podium B”; fig. 33: PdA and PdB), a large sacrificial courtyard (“piazzale dei sacrifici”) with ordered rows of votive pits (fig. 33: PS), as well as various other votive pits, altars, and statue bases.¹²⁹

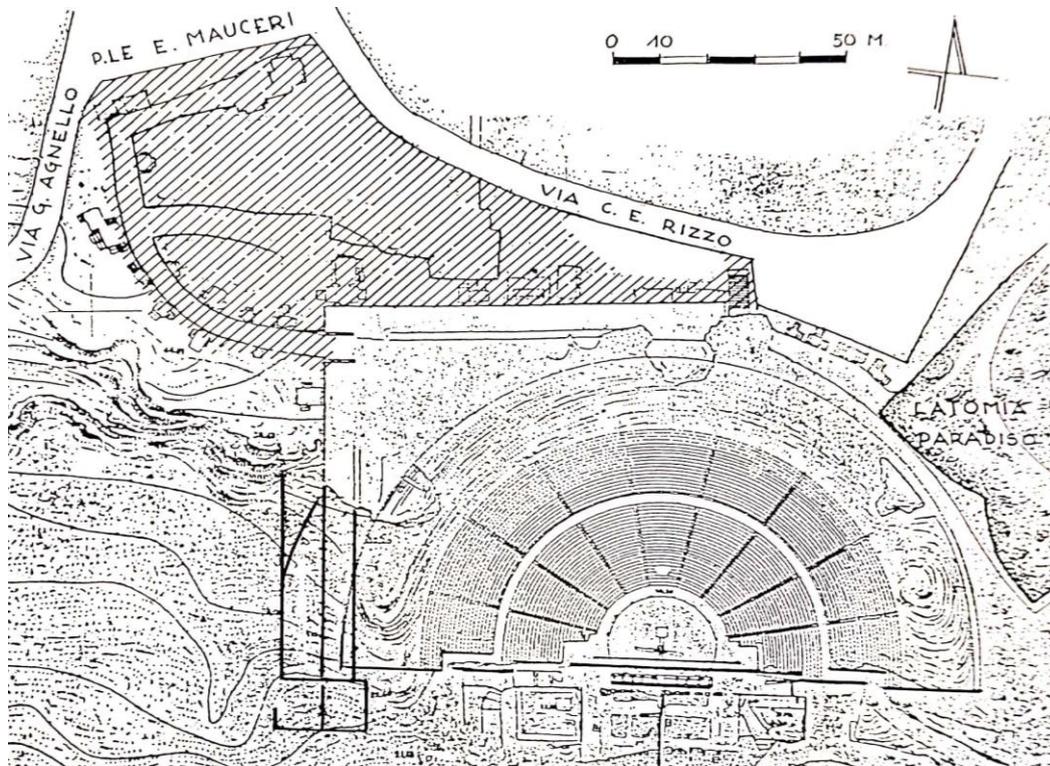


Fig. 34 - Syracuse, sanctuary on the Temenite Hill. Area of excavations from 1982-1988 (Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 136 pl. 2).

Another series of excavations followed in the early 1990s led by Voza. He published a single brief preliminary report with additional information revealed in a series of subsequent publications on the theater.¹³⁰ These excavations were undertaken immediately to the east of the 1982-1988 excavations, uncovering the rest of the upper terrace. Voza presented a substantially different interpretation of the sanctuary with a monumental U-shaped stoa, central temple, and two additional temples built into the southeast branch of the U-stoa (fig. 5).¹³¹ Voza challenged Polacco’s interpretation, stating that “Podium A” (fig. 33: PdA; fig. 5.2) was not, as had been claimed,¹³² a plundered temple foundation, but instead a large quarried pit.¹³³ He also stated that “Podium B” was not the foundation of a temple but instead the foundation

¹²⁹ For description and interpretation, see Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 57-77. The “piazzale dei sacrifici” was organized into 5 rows of 9 rectangular holes, which measured 80-90 cm x 70-80 cm each with a depth of 45-50 cm.

¹³⁰ Voza 1993-4, 1289-91; Voza 2001, 208-9; Voza 2007, 79-80; Voza 2008.

¹³¹ Voza 1993-4, 1289-91.

¹³² Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 57-60.

¹³³ Voza 1993-4, 1290-1.

of the southern end of the western stoa (fig. 34: PdB; fig. 35.2).¹³⁴ Finally, Voza argued that the “piazzale dei sacrifici” were not votive pits, but instead evidence of a garden, with the pits used for plantings similar to those which he had excavated in the eastern courtyard (fig. 35.5; fig. 36).¹³⁵

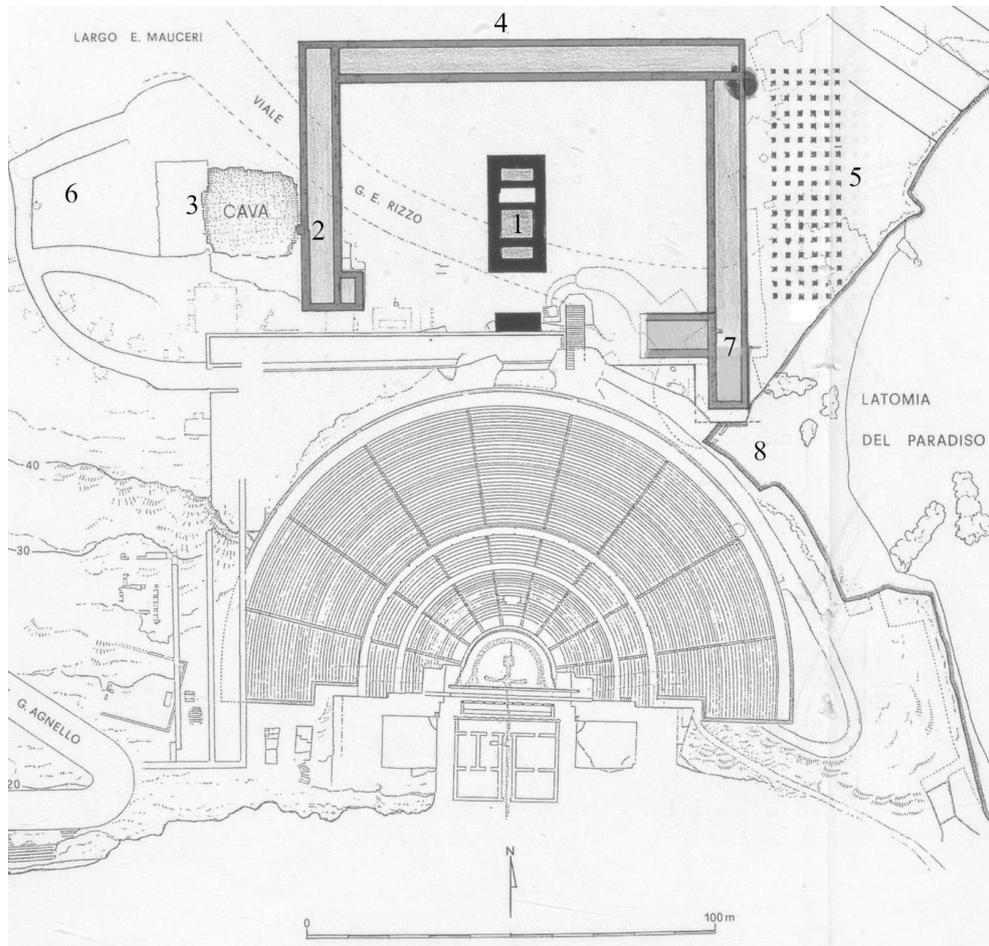


Fig. 35 - Syracuse, sanctuary on the Temenite Hill. Layout 2 (Voza 1993-4 fig. 182, edited by author).

1. Archaic temple, mausoleum, tombs, central garden; 2. Western stoa (location of “podium B” [fig. 34 PdB]); 3. Western garden (“Podium A”); 4. Stoa; 5. Eastern garden; 6. Western garden (“piazzale dei sacrifici” [fig. 33 PS]); 7. Southeast temples; 8. “Ear of Dionysius”.

This issue has only been directly addressed by Hinz.¹³⁶ She supported Voza’s interpretation of “Podium A” as a quarried pit, noting the widespread quarrying on the hilltop, the pit’s

¹³⁴ Voza 1993-4, 1290-1.

¹³⁵ Voza 1993-4, 1291. This idea had previously been proposed by Comella 1992, 714-5 who went unmentioned by Voza. The pits of the eastern garden numbered 6 rows of 17 with no measurements were given.

¹³⁶ Hinz 1998, 100-2. The earlier interpretation has been accepted without reference to Voza by Kunz 2006, 66 n. 439 “die Existenz der Tempel ist archäologisch bestätigt”, and De Miro 2008, 72. The layout of the sanctuary has been a frequent source of confusion. For example, see Sole 2006, 28, who states that two temples were surrounded by the U stoa.

irregular shape, and pick marks at its edges.¹³⁷ It is impossible to fully assess this without on-site inspection of the pit, as the published photographs are not of sufficient quality to see pick marks.¹³⁸ However, it seems more likely that Voza and Hinz are correct as no architectural remains were found for “Podium A”¹³⁹ and the extensive quarrying would make it difficult to distinguish between a robbed-out temple and a quarried pit. If “Podium A” was a quarried pit, then the ordered rows of pits which made up the “piazzale dei sacrifici” likely extended further east into the area of “Podium A” (fig. 37).

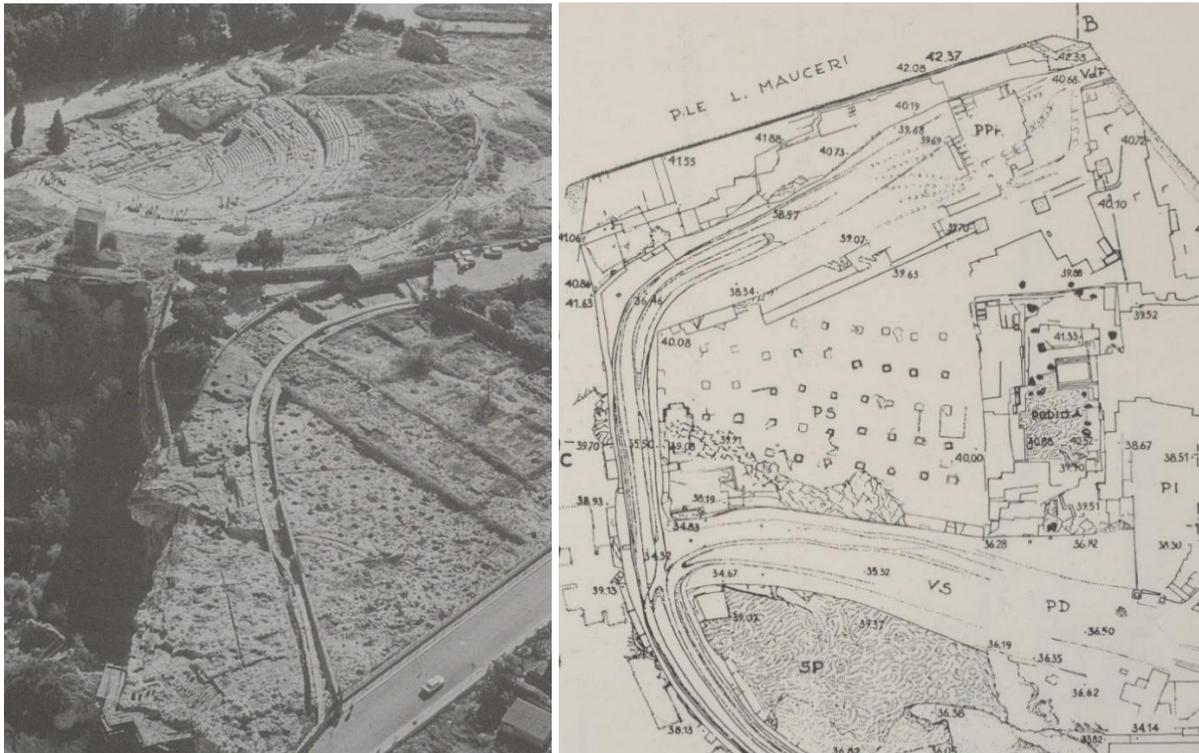


Fig. 36 - Syracuse, sanctuary on the Temenite Hill. Aerial view of the eastern garden, stoa, and theater, seen from the northeast (Voza 2007, 76 fig. 9); Fig. 37 - Syracuse, sanctuary on the Temenite Hill. Western garden (“piazzale dei sacrifici” and “Podium A”) (Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 137 tab. 3).

Hinz also supported Voza’s doubts about the interpretation of the “piazzale dei sacrifici”, claiming there were no material finds from the pits.¹⁴⁰ Although Polacco does record the sporadic recovery of small pottery sherds from the pits,¹⁴¹ nothing about them indicates that these materials were sacred rather than miscellaneous rubbish.

¹³⁷ Hinz 1998, 100.

¹³⁸ For photographs, see Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 158 fig. 4, 184 fig. 55; 199-211 figs. 86-109.

¹³⁹ On the architectural remains, see Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 29.

¹⁴⁰ Hinz 1998, 101.

¹⁴¹ Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 87.

Interpretations of the “piazzale dei sacrifici” as a garden¹⁴² are more likely correct. The Temple of Hephaistos in Athens had similar rectangular pits cut into the bedrock, which were only convincingly shown to have been for a garden after flowerpots were found in the pits of one row. The absence of pots in other pits at the Temple of Hephaistos was most likely due to the needs of the plants.¹⁴³ A garden interpretation for the “piazzale dei sacrifici” is further supported by irrigation canals connecting some of the pits (fig. 38). These had also been noted by Polacco, who argued they had ritual functions.¹⁴⁴ This is a common mistake within sacred contexts, and similar irrigation canals at the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion in Cyprus were also once thought to been used for ritual practices before they were correctly identified as irrigation canals for a garden.¹⁴⁵

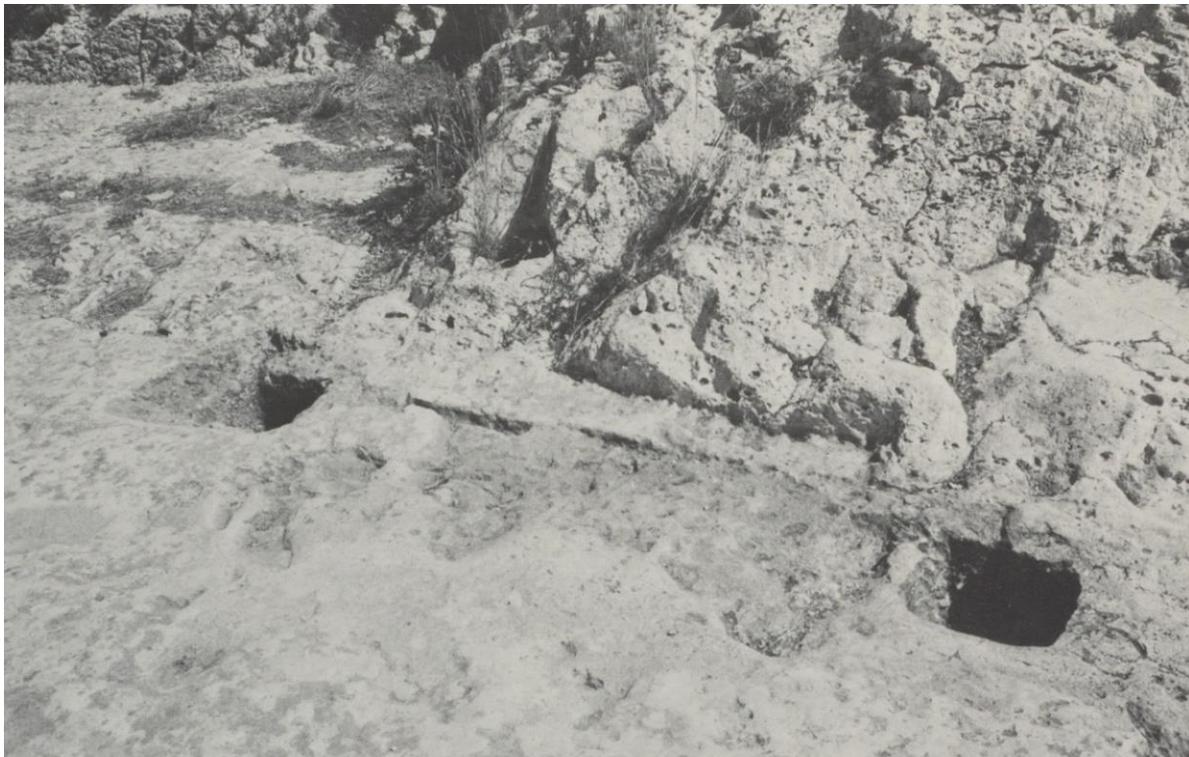


Fig. 38 - Syracuse, Sanctuary on the Temenite Hill. Pits in the western garden (fig. 33, pa, pb) connected by irrigation trench (Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 188 fig. 63).

Due to the doubts about the interpretations of the sanctuary’s major features, others, such as the various other cavities and cuts in the bedrock that Polacco interpreted as sacred pits¹⁴⁶ and altars, (fig. 33: A1-3) should be similarly doubted until a full reexamination of the complex is

¹⁴² Comella 1992, 714-5; Voza 1993-4, 1291.

¹⁴³ Thompson 1937, 396-409, 412-25.

¹⁴⁴ Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 117.

¹⁴⁵ Soren-Sanders 1984.

¹⁴⁶ F1-3, not included in the site plan, are located north of PdA (fig. 1), see Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 67.

possible. Therefore, Voza's general interpretation of the sanctuary with a central courtyard surrounded by U-stoa flanked by two gardens in the eastern and western courtyards should be followed.¹⁴⁷

2.3.1 Chronology

Another area of significant uncertainty is the sanctuary's chronology. According to Voza, religious activity appears to have begun at least as early as the Archaic period, when the central temple was built.¹⁴⁸ According to him, the temple was then completely leveled in the fifth century and a mausoleum with two tombs built in its place.¹⁴⁹ This mausoleum was later destroyed in the early fourth century BC,¹⁵⁰ and by the third century, a small garden filled the center of the courtyard (fig. 39).¹⁵¹ Recent studies have ignored Voza's chronology in favor of a third-century BC Hieronian date for the central temple without reference to the mausoleum or central garden.¹⁵²

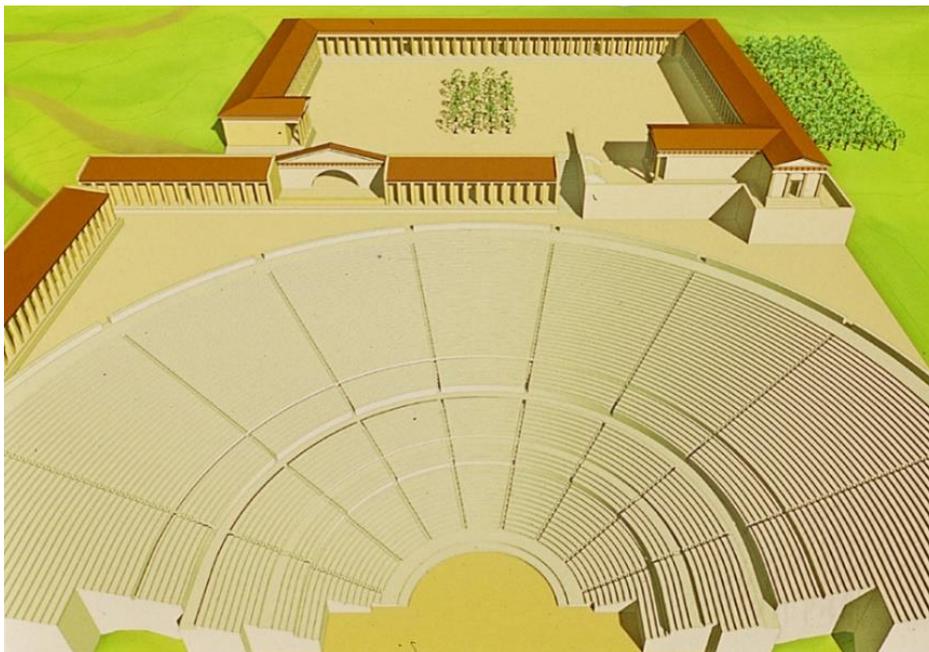


Fig. 39 - Syracuse, sanctuary on the Temenite Hill. The sanctuary in the second century BC with eastern and central gardens (Voza 2008 fig. 8).

¹⁴⁷ Although doubts can be raised about the southeastern temples, especially the southern of the two which is, to my knowledge, without parallel, they are tentatively accepted pending an on-site analysis of the remains.

¹⁴⁸ Voza 1993-4, 1289.

¹⁴⁹ Voza 2007, 78; Voza 2008.

¹⁵⁰ Voza 2007, 78, 80; Voza 2008.

¹⁵¹ Voza 2008.

¹⁵² Portale 2017, 148 fn. 43 cites Rocco 2015, 779-800 for a complete revision of the sanctuary. Although he does place the central temple in the third century BC, there is no argument in support of this nor does he mention the mausoleum or any earlier phases (Rocco 2015, 779). Similarly see Wilson 2013a, 87 fig. 4.7; Wilson 2013b, 158; Wolf 2016, 50 fig. 23, 83; Wolf 2017, 201 fig. 17.

Although Voza's proposed connection of the mausoleum to Gelon and Demarata destroyed by the Carthaginians in 397 BC (Diod. Sic. 11.38.5)¹⁵³ is dubious, two tombs were indeed found underneath the central structure (fig. 40). How Voza dated the tombs to the fifth century BC date is unclear as he only references their construction technique without further detail.¹⁵⁴ If the tombs date this early, then a third-century temple would not explain the tombs' presence unless they were incorporated into the temple, possibly similar to the "crypt" of the "Ginnasio Romano" (Chapter 2.6). However, the uncertainty surrounding the Hieronian (and later Roman) phase with either central temple (or mausoleum?) or garden cannot be resolved with available data. While the axial alignment between the building and theater does suggest that both had existed contemporaneously, this co-existence could date to a possible pre-Hieronian phase for the theater (Chapter 2.2).



Fig. 40 - Syracuse, sanctuary on the Temenite Hill. The temple with two tombs overlooking the theater, seen from the north (Portale 2017, 143 fig. 9).

¹⁵³ Voza 2008.

¹⁵⁴ Voza 2007, 78.

The chronology of the stoa and southeast temples is similarly unclear. Voza dated the stoa to the Hellenistic, probably Hieronian, period.¹⁵⁵ On the other hand, Polacco placed “Podium B” (southern end of the western stoa) in the Classical period.¹⁵⁶ No evidence is provided for either date and Polacco records that only the rock-cut foundation of “Podium B” survived (fig. 41).¹⁵⁷ Rock-cut features can be difficult to date even with quality stratigraphic data, and it is unlikely that stratigraphy of this quality existed due to excavation’s shallow strata, and relatively scarce material finds.



Fig. 41 - Syracuse, sanctuary on the Temenite Hill. The southern end of western stoa (“podium B”) (Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 195 fig. 78).

The southeastern temples (fig. 35.7) were not dated by Voza. It might be assumed they were built at the same time as the U-stoa: architectural fragments including Doric capitals, half columns, and entablature which appear to have fallen from the area of the southeastern temples and were found in front of the “Ear of Dionysius”, have been dated to the third century BC based upon the use of “Hieronian” kyma.¹⁵⁸ However, the incorporation of temples into stoas in Sicily appears to have largely been a Roman phenomenon beginning in the second century BC, most of which were usually later additions to older stoas.¹⁵⁹ There is no reason that the

¹⁵⁵ Voza 1993-4, 1290; Voza 2007, 80 figs. 19-20.

¹⁵⁶ Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 119.

¹⁵⁷ Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 61-2.

¹⁵⁸ Architectural fragments: Orsi 1904, 276; Voza 1984-5, 674-5, tables 135-7; Wolf 2016, 83-4 figs. 42-5. Third-century date: Voza 1984-5, 674-5; Lehmler 2005, 134; Wolf 2016, 83.

¹⁵⁹ Sicilian examples include the second-century AD temple at the forum of Centuripae (Libertini 1953, 363-4; Wilson 1990, 111-3), early first-century AD temple at the forum of Segesta (Ampolo and Parra 2012, 275-6), and

“Hieronian” kyma could not have been used into second century BC,¹⁶⁰ and one or both temples could have been later added to the stoa, imitating its architectural style.



Fig. 42 - Syracuse, sanctuary on the Temenite Hill. Geison from the eastern stoa or southeastern temples (Wolf 2016, 84 fig. 45).

Voza did not suggest a date for the eastern gardens, and Polacco only enigmatically stated that pits of the “piazzale dei sacrifici” (western gardens) were closed and out of use in the Hellenistic period based upon the materials found within.¹⁶¹ As planting and not sacrificial pits, it should be understood that they were most likely cut and planted (filled) at that time with the material providing a possible *terminus post quem* for both. The catalog of finds references a very small amount of black glazed pottery from the first half of the third century in some of the pits from the “piazzale dei sacrifici”.¹⁶² Thus, these materials suggest a Hieronian date for their planting, but the limited materials make a slightly later date also possible. The eastern gardens may have been planted together with the western gardens as a single project. The central gardens are more enigmatic as no evidence was mentioned by Voza, nor are any pits visible

c. 130 BC temple at the agora of Ietas (Wilson 2012, 256) as well as the a second-century BC temple at the Chthonic Sanctuary in Agrigento (Chapter 7 fn. 65). Only the temple at Ietas *c.* 130 BC was contemporary with accompanying stoa. For an example outside of Sicily, see the two “temple-like” chambers of early Imperial date in Athens hewn out of the rock behind the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (Dickenson 2017, 277 with bibliography).

¹⁶⁰ On the tendency of scholarship to date monumental constructions within the territory of his kingdom to the third century and Hieronian period as well as the use of “Hieronian kyma”, see Chapter 1.3.

¹⁶¹ Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 66-8, 87, 120, 123. An altar (fig. 1, A3) on the side of “Podium B” and a *propylaeum* (fig. 1, PPR) were also dated to the second or first century BC, but their identifications and chronology are far from certain.

¹⁶² Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 87.

from photographs of the site (fig. 40). If they existed, they must post-date the temple/mausoleum; this could put them as late as the Republican or Roman period if the temple/mausoleum dates to the third century BC and would mark a significant alteration to the sanctuary, on par with the Augustan works at the Altar of Hieron.

2.3.2 Continuity and Rupture

Despite the undoubted importance of the sanctuary in the early-Hellenistic period and its monumental form, the sanctuary and upper terrace do not appear to have remained in use beyond the first century BC. Voza remains silent on the post-Hieronian period and thus nothing can be said of the central courtyard and eastern gardens. However, Polacco states that his sanctuary (area of the western gardens and western stoa) continued to be used well into the Empire and that additional modifications were undertaken in the first to second centuries AD including plastering and marble cladding for both “Podium A” and “Podium B” as well as the western entryway (fig 33, VdF, VS).¹⁶³

Polacco’s published material does not support his appraisal of the site. No material from the Augustan period to the late Empire (when the area was reused as a necropolis¹⁶⁴) is included in the catalog or mentioned.¹⁶⁵ The latest finds before those of the late Empire are significant quantities of “San Giuliano” pottery, datable from the late third to the first century BC, and three *amphora* fragments of uncertain date, possibly as late as the Augustan period, but certainly no later.¹⁶⁶

The absence of material from the site’s later phases does not appear to have been an omission or lack of interest on Polacco’s part. Although the pottery from the late Empire and afterward was not listed in the catalog in the same detail as the earlier material, Polacco gave general descriptions of material finds in each of his strata, including material which was not included in the catalog. The second stratum contained only material “del periodo romano sempre di ispirazione greca” and the first stratum only contained material from the late Imperial period

¹⁶³ Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 26, 38-9, 41, 47-9, 60, 63, 121.

¹⁶⁴ Agnello 1990.

¹⁶⁵ Late materials: Polacco, Trojani and Scolari 1989, 97.

¹⁶⁶ Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 90-7. One fragment, dated to the Augustan period (Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 96 no. 320 tab. 18.75) cannot be positively confirmed to be from an *amphora*. Another, (96 no. 177) for which no figure is provided, was only given a possible Augustan date. Polacco’s date of the the third fragment (96 no. 230 tab. 18.68) is unclear because of a typo, either Augustan/Imperial or fourth century BC (95 fn. 77). This fragment may be from a mid to late third-century BC form b Graeco-Italic *amphora*. Thanks to Dr. Babette Bechtold for her assistance with the *amphorae*.

and after.¹⁶⁷ This suggests a gap in material and a lack of *terra sigillata* or any other materials, which would indicate activity from the Augustan to late-Imperial period.

Without any clear Augustan finds or any from the first or second centuries AD, it is unclear upon what evidence Imperial continuity at the sanctuary was based or how the later features or changes could have been dated. It seems unlikely that they could have been dated based on anything more than speculation. Plaster cannot be dated on its own, and, as previously mentioned, stone-cut features such as the niches are difficult to date even in ideal archaeological circumstances. Indeed, many of these stone-cut features may instead be further evidence of quarrying. Renovations with marble cladding would be indicative of renovations sometime after the mid-first century AD.¹⁶⁸ However, no marble fragments were found,¹⁶⁹ and instead Polacco argued that “*riseghe e canaletti*” found throughout the site were evidence of these later marble renovations.¹⁷⁰ In light of the significant quarrying of the area and absence of later finds, it is more likely that the “*riseghe and canaletti*” were some of the very same pick marks noted by Hinz on “Podium A”.

There is no evidence that the area of Polacco’s excavation saw any further activity after the first century BC. The absence of *terra sigillata* or any clear Augustan materials suggests disuse before the late first century BC. Thus, the western courtyard was likely out of use in the first century BC, and although this lack of material is largely representative of the western courtyard, Polacco’s excavation did extend into the central courtyard which makes it likely that the absence of material is reflective of the rest of the sanctuary.

2.3.3 Cult Attribution

“On the highest point of this [Neapolis] stands the great theater; besides which there are two splendid temples, one of Ceres and the other of Libera, and a large and beautiful statue of Apollo Temenites” (Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.119).¹⁷¹ The sanctuary has conventionally been attributed to

¹⁶⁷ Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 97. The numismatic evidence is not helpful. Only two ancient coins are recorded. A Republican *semuncia*, of uncertain attribution: *RRC* 42/11 (215-212 BC) and a late Roman coin which according to the reverse picture is FEL TEMP REPARATIO (AD 351-358), falling horsemen, which is in contradiction to the published legend and date.

¹⁶⁸ Marble cladding and veneers appear in Sicily around the mid-first century AD (Wilson 1990, 241).

¹⁶⁹ Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 26.

¹⁷⁰ Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 26.

¹⁷¹ Speculation about the existence of a sanctuary to Demeter and Kore in this location pre-dates excavation of the hill by Rizzo 1923, 31-2m who also suggested the existence of a separate sanctuary to Apollo Temenites. The sanctuary is now largely thought to be dedicated to Demeter and Kore: Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 101-17; Kunz 2006, 66 fn. 439; Sole 2006, 28; De Miro 2008, 72, 82. However, Apollo Temenites is included amongst the goddesses by Voza 1993-4, 1291; Voza 2007, 78; Voza 2008. The sanctuary was attributed to Apollo Temenites alone by Wolf 2016, 83.

Demeter and Kore based upon this passage of Cicero. Polacco supported this attribution, arguing in support of Demeter and Kore with strong heroic and chthonic aspects. Beyond the passage of Cicero, his argument rested on the use of the “piazzale dei sacrifici” in Thesmophoric rites and on his interpretation of two undated rock-cut reliefs (figs. 43-44).¹⁷²

As the “piazzale dei sacrifici” has more correctly been identified as a garden (Chapter 2.3.1), it no longer provides evidence of ritual practices. However, the two reliefs merit further discussion. These two reliefs (fig. 33: VdF IV, Ra; VS I, Rb) are found at the western entrance which connected the sanctuary’s western gardens to the lower terrace and theater. The pathway from the entrance to the theater was lined with votive niches and likely used for processions between the sanctuary and theater. Polacco argued the reliefs depict conventional heroic and chthonic scenes: Relief A (fig. 43), in better condition, depicting serpents, horsemen (heroes), and Demeter and Kore, while Relief B (fig. 44), in worse condition, depicting the myth of Triptolemus with his serpent-drawn chariot and Demeter.¹⁷³



Fig. 43 - Syracuse, sanctuary on the Temenite Hill. Relief A (fig. 33 Ra): Demeter? and Kore? flanked by serpents and horsemen (Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 250 fig. 187).

The poor condition of the reliefs makes such a detailed interpretation problematic. Only two draped figures, probably women, with two snakes on either side and horsemen may be visible

¹⁷² Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 101-17.

¹⁷³ Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 103-8. For hypothetical reconstructions of the reliefs see Polacco, Trojani, and Scolari 1989, 250 fig. 188, 251 fig. 190.

on Relief A. Relief B is even less clear, and Polacco's interpretation of a serpent drawn chariot is doubtful, with only a standing figure and horseman discernable.

Although the reliefs' depictions of Demeter and Kore are not as evident as Polacco argues, they do clearly show a chthonic cult with heroic aspects. The snakes which flanked the two figures in relief are clear chthonic symbols. They are frequently found depicted with horsemen, a typical representation of heroes.¹⁷⁴ A local comparison, with a similar horseman and snake, can be seen on a votive relief found in Syracuse. This Hellenistic relief depicts a heroic horseman and a snake underfoot (fig. 45).¹⁷⁵ This chthonic and heroic connection is further supported by the two tombs in the central courtyard.¹⁷⁶



Fig. 44 - Syracuse, sanctuary on the Temenite Hill. Relief B (fig. 33 Rb): Demeter? with horseman. (Polacco, Trojani, Scolari, 1989, 251 fig. 189).

While the visible imagery on the two reliefs does not make a secure identification possible, the pair of standing women in Relief A within such a clear chthonic context could represent Demeter and Kore, and hero-worship is a well-known aspect of their cult. The Kaberoi and

¹⁷⁴ Broneer 1942, 130-4; Larson 1995, 67-8.

¹⁷⁵ Inv. no. 839. Fourth to third century: Coarelli 1980, 168-9; third century: Bonacasa 1985, 309; Third to second century: Libertini 1929, 157.

¹⁷⁶ Wilson 2013b, 159. Similarly, the sanctuary's proximity to the Grotticelle Necropolis to the northeast could add further support to a chthonic connection. On the Grotticelle Necropolis, see Orsi 1897, 484-92; Orsi 1913, 257-75; Gentili 1967-8; *BTCGI* XIX, 195-7 = Zirone 2011, 199-202.

Triptolemus both have strong connections to the cult,¹⁷⁷ and archaeological evidence of hero-worship has also been found at the Sanctuary of Demeter at Corinth with the recovery of a significant number of terracotta horsemen.¹⁷⁸ Tombs of heroes were also found within their sanctuaries at Argos, where both Pyrrhus and Pelasgus were buried in separate sanctuaries, and in a sanctuary at Eteonos where Oedipus was supposedly buried (Paus. 1.13.8, 2.22.1; *FHrH* 382F2).



Fig. 45 - Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi. Hellenistic stone votive relief representing heroic galloping horseman with snake underfoot, height: 27.3 cm (photo by author).

Hinz has raised doubts about the attribution to Demeter and Kore and their identification on the reliefs. She argued that the reliefs and votive niches along the path from the theater to the sanctuary were more indicative of Cybele, citing comparisons with the reliefs and votive niches at the Santoni in Acrae, and the votive niches at a small rock-cut sanctuary near Gate II in Agrigento.¹⁷⁹ However, the presence of votive niches is not exclusive to any cult, as already seen above, and instead are more generally chthonic (Chapter 2.1-2). Furthermore, the

¹⁷⁷ Kabeiroi: Schachter 1981, 88-9. Triptolemus: Schwarz 1987, 249-51.

¹⁷⁸ Merker 2000, 60-4, 67-8.

¹⁷⁹ Hinz 1998, 101-2.

sanctuary in Agrigento, to which she refers, has never been attributed to Cybele. Instead, a tenuous proposal attributing it to Demeter and Kore has been favored.¹⁸⁰

Furthermore, no aspect of the reliefs is suggestive of Cybele. The reliefs at the Santoni in Acrae depict Cybele with her typical lions and timpani, but there is no evidence of these or any of her other attributes on Reliefs A or B. Even if Cybele were part of the sanctuary, this would not necessarily exclude Demeter and Kore.¹⁸¹ Syncretism with Cybele would not be unexpected: her statuettes have been found at other sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore in Sicily, including the Sanctuary of Malophoros in Selinunte and the Thesmophorion in Bitalemi.¹⁸²

The available evidence makes secure identification impossible. The sanctuary clearly had chthonic and heroic cult aspects both through the reliefs' iconography with horsemen and snakes and the two tombs in the central courtyard. An attribution to Demeter and Kore is plausible through its position overlooking the theater, the frequent connection of heroes to their cults, and the pair of women, possibly goddesses, in Relief A. Thus, the attribution to Demeter and Kore with strong heroic aspects remains the only plausible attribution available.

2.3.4 Conclusions

Although Voza's layout with U-stoa is probable, the evolution of the sanctuary remains uncertain and problematic. It was clearly a major part of the Hieronian monumental landscape and continued to be used after 212 BC. The southeastern temples, as well as the gardens of the western, eastern, and possibly central courtyards, could all plausibly belong as late as the second century BC. Interestingly, despite its importance and monumentality, meriting a possible reference by Cicero, the sanctuary does not appear to have remained in use beyond the first century BC.

The disuse of the sanctuary, combined with the disuse and transfer of the Altar of Hieron during the first half of the second century BC, shows that the monumental religious landscape of the Neapolis theater district evolved significantly during the last two centuries BC. This transition culminated with its conversion to a district more focused around monumental leisure than religion. However, possible continuity at the "Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites" (Chapter

¹⁸⁰ Ricci 1940-1, 135; De Orsola 1991, 71-2.

¹⁸¹ On the Santoni and reliefs, see also Chapter 7.1.4 fn. 50.

¹⁸² Selinunte: Gàbrici 1927a, 214-5, tab. 34, fig. 8; Bitalemi: Orlandini 1966, 25, tab. 19. Syncretism between Cybele and Demeter has also been proposed at the "Oratory of Phalaris" in Agrigentum, but has been doubted, see Chapter 7.1.1 fn. 14.

2.2) and a possible Augustan temple (7.6 x 6 m) southeast of the amphitheater¹⁸³ show that the district maintained certain religious aspects. This transition is most evident through the replacement of the area's two monumental sanctuaries with the adaptation of the Altar of Hieron into a palestra/park/gymnasium and the construction of the amphitheater nearby.¹⁸⁴ Interestingly, unlike the Altar of Hieron, the U-stoa complex above the theater does not appear to have been repurposed, a fact that may have been related to the sanctuary's location at the edge of the Roman extent of the city (fig. 1.3) and a possible urban contraction which may have occurred by the Augustan period.

2.4 The Sanctuary at Piazza Adda (fig. 1.4)



Fig. 46 - Syracuse, public area between Piazza Adda and Altar of Hieron. (Ciurcina 2014, 47 fig. 1, edited by author).

1. *Tholos* temple; 2. Tetrastyle Temple; 3. Northern Stoa; 4. Public buildings; 5. Triangular Forum (Piazza Adda).

¹⁸³ Wilson 1990, 373 n. 337.

¹⁸⁴ A similar thought was noted by Bell 1999, 272, who argued the conversion of the Altar of Hieron "...redefined the Hieronian monumental complex of Neapolis as a center of Roman-style leisure and spectacle rather than as a true civic center where the religious and political rituals of *polis* life were performed".

A large and enigmatic public area furnished with temples, stoas, and other public buildings extends southeast from the Altar of Hieron c. 350 m to the area of Piazza Adda and Largo 2 Giugno. Excavation of the area began during construction works between Corso Gelone, Via Tevere, and Piazza Adda from the 1950s to 1960s (fig. 46.5). Gentili identified this area as a small triangular forum of the first century AD with a stoa on its western side (fig. 47.),¹⁸⁵ which Campagna has recently identified as the possible site of the city's principal Hellenistic agora.¹⁸⁶ However, the function of this area before the first century AD remains uncertain. Although Gentili does note the presence of earlier buildings overbuilt by this forum,¹⁸⁷ they were never dated and their function, either private or public, remains entirely unknown; the entire area has since been overbuilt by a parking lot and is no longer visible.

The area between this forum and the Altar of Hieron (fig. 46.1-4) has been subject to scattered excavations, most recently those led by Voza in 1983 and 1993-1996. These uncovered various structures including another stoa (fig. 46.3), unidentified public buildings (fig. 46.4), and most notably two temples. Little can be said of the first temple, a 12 m *tholos* (figs. 46.1, 48), beyond its Hieronian date supplied by Voza, and the excavation has not yet been published.¹⁸⁸



Fig. 47 - Syracuse, sanctuary at Piazza Adda. Excavations of the triangular forum (Cavalier *et al.* 1966 113 fig. 56).

Some information on the excavations from 1993 to 1996 was recently published in a 2014 preliminary report by Ciurcina, who focused on the second temple excavated in 1994 and 1996 (figs. 46.2, 49). Located a short distance to the west of the triangular forum's western stoa and

¹⁸⁵ Cavalier *et al.* 1966, 112-3.

¹⁸⁶ Campagna 2004, 158.

¹⁸⁷ Cavalier *et al.* 1966, 112.

¹⁸⁸ Voza 1998, 256; Voza 1999b, 107.

c. 110 m to the southeast of the *tholos*,¹⁸⁹ this 14.2 x 6.8 m prostyle tetrastyle temple underwent a series of significant adaptations before going out of use and being repurposed for a non-sacred function.¹⁹⁰ The chronology of these changes was left uncertain in the preliminary report, but a closer examination of the temple, its finds, and urban context, not only allows for the establishment of a more clear chronology, showing it underwent a significant change in function from the Augustan to early Imperial periods, but was also likely part of a larger sanctuary or agora.



Fig. 48 - Syracuse, sanctuary at Piazza Adda. *Tholos* temple, from the northwest (photo by author).

Despite recent publication, the temple continues to pose a number of significant obstacles including the high water table in the area which complicated excavation of the lower strata that destroyed stratigraphy, and ultimately halted excavations before they could reach the temple's foundation and the original floor level.¹⁹¹ The preliminary report did not include intact stratigraphy of the higher strata, and only included a partial examination of material finds with select pieces detailed.¹⁹² The report is also primarily descriptive with few conclusions, and inspection of the temple by the author in 2018 revealed a site that has not fared well in the

¹⁸⁹ Due to the state of publication and the presence of modern construction in the area, the precise location of the triangular forum's western stoa is not clear. Parking for the western side of Piazza Adda and the "doggy park" are approximately 40 m to the east of the temple.

¹⁹⁰ Ciurcina 2014, 36-7.

¹⁹¹ Ciurcina 2014, 36-7.

¹⁹² Ciurcina 2014, 35 fn. 1.

decades since its excavation. The temple was covered in garbage and debris, and its protective shelter was in ruins leaving the temple open to the elements.

2.4.1 Cult Attribution

Votive material, as well as fragments belonging to at least two separate Hellenistic pseudo-acrolithic statues, were recovered during these excavations.¹⁹³ Ciurcina connected the materials to the cults of Dionysus and Demeter and Kore but left the relationship of the material to each other, and the temple's cult attribution, unclear.¹⁹⁴

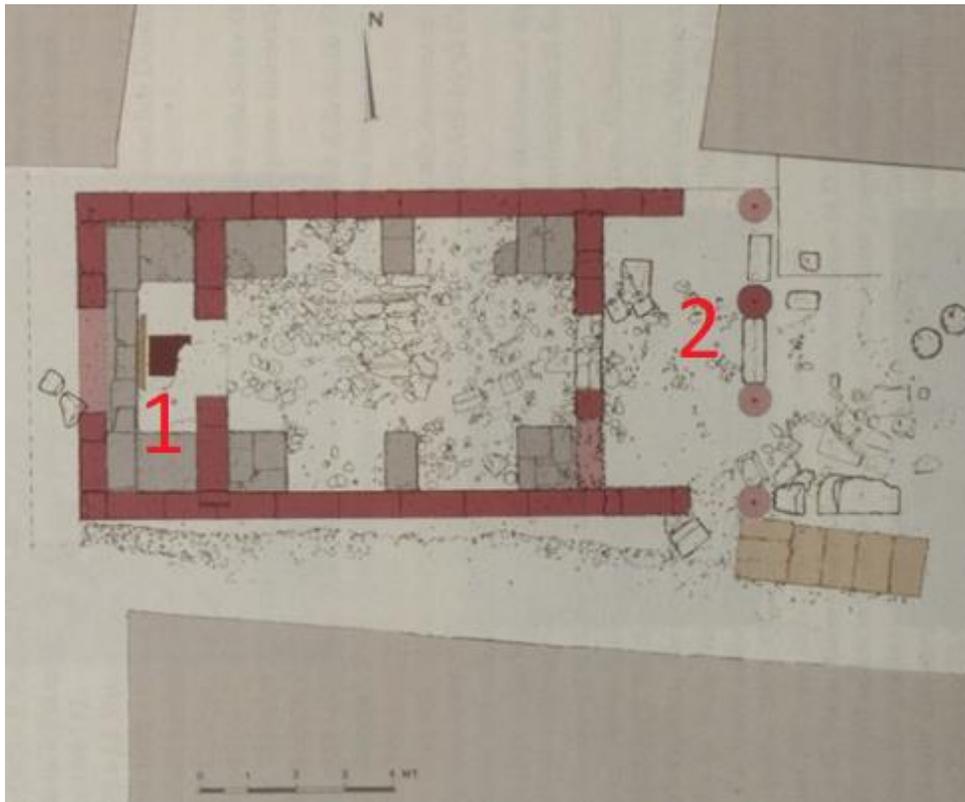


Fig. 49 - Syracuse, sanctuary at Piazza Adda. Tetrastyle temple with pseudo-acrolithic statue fragment find spots (Ciurcina 2014, 47 fig. 3, edited by author).

1. Statue base, the marble bust of Dionysus, and the marble right hand holding cluster of grapes;
2. Temple porch, marble right hand holding fruit (pomegranate?).

Two pseudo-acrolithic statue fragments were found together in the *adyton* (fig. 49) under strata which formed after the first century AD.¹⁹⁵ The first fragment is a young male bust with feminine features (fig. 51); the second fragment is a right hand holding a damaged cluster of grapes (fig. 52). As they were found together in the *adyton*, Ciurcina proposed they were from a single cult image which she identified as a young Dionysus through the bust's feminine

¹⁹³ Ciurcina 2014, 39.

¹⁹⁴ Ciurcina 2014, 39-41.

¹⁹⁵ Ciurcina 2014, 37.

features and grapes in hand.¹⁹⁶ However, votive materials are suggestive of a cult without a clear connection to Dionysus. *Kernoi* (figs. 53-54) and *kotyliskoi* of the third century BC were found both inside and outside of the temple; Ciurcina rightly connected their use to Demeter and Kore based upon similar votive material found at the Koreion at Helorus and the Sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros at Selinunte.¹⁹⁷ The connection between these votive typologies and Demeter and Kore is secure. Hinz showed that *kotyliskoi* and especially *kernoi* are indeed intimately connected to the cult of Demeter and Kore in Sicily, and the use of *kernoi* is closely associated with mother goddess cults throughout the Mediterranean,¹⁹⁸ a role primarily filled in Sicily by Demeter and Kore.



Fig. 50 - Syracuse, sanctuary at Piazza Adda. The tetrastyle temple, seen from the northeast (photo by author).

While Ciurcina does not go so far as to suggest the temple itself was dedicated to Dionysus, such a connection seems probable due to the pseudo-acrolith find spot in the *adyton*. However, the votive materials suggest that his cult in this context may have been part of a larger sanctuary also associated with Demeter and Kore. As both Dionysus and Demeter and Kore were connected to both theater¹⁹⁹ and fertility, their presence together would not be unexpected. They are often found together in Greece: terracotta masks of Dionysus and an inscribed tablet

¹⁹⁶ Ciurcina 2014, 39-41. Head: inv. no. 102737. 19 x 16 cm; Hand with wrist: inv. no. 102738. Length: 12.3 cm long. Diameter of wrist: 4.1 cm. Diameter of hand with surviving grapes: 6 cm.

¹⁹⁷ Ciurcina 2014, 41-3.

¹⁹⁸ Bignasca 2000, 163-70. Although Hinz 1998, 49 sees *kernoi* as exclusively linked to Demeter and Kore in Sicily, Bookidis and Pemberton 2015, 92 take a more cautious approach to their use in Greece.

¹⁹⁹ On the connection between theater and Demeter and Kore, see Chapter 7.1.2.

with his name were found at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth,²⁰⁰ and both cults were celebrated together at the Haloa festival in Athens (Lucian, *Dial. meret.* 7.4). A Sicilian connection can be seen at the votive deposit from Fontana Calda where a large votive deposit was found in 1958 containing materials associated with Persephone and Dionysus.²⁰¹



Fig. 51- Syracuse, sanctuary at Piazza Adda. Marble pseudo-acrolithic head of Dionysus (Ciurcina 2014, 49 fig. 5); Fig. 52 - Syracuse, sanctuary at Piazza Adda. Marble pseudo-acrolithic hand holding damaged cluster of grapes (Ciurcina 2014, 50 fig. 6).

The fact that the cult extended beyond Dionysus and the excavated temple, including a cult possibly associated with Demeter and Kore, is supported by the third Hellenistic pseudo-acrolithic statue fragment. The third fragment was found outside the temple on its porch and belonged to a separate pseudo-acrolithic statue. The fragment is a right hand holding a piece of fruit Ciurcina identified as an apple (fig. 55).²⁰² This likely belonged to a second cult image. Acrolithic and pseudo-acrolithic statues were generally used only as cult images.²⁰³ If this was a cult image, it is unlikely to have been housed in the excavated temple as only a single statue

²⁰⁰ Stroud 1968, 328-30; Merker 2000, 76, especially 76 fn. 370 and 332 for the connection between Dionysus and Demeter. A possible Sicilian parallel can be seen in terracotta statuettes found at the North Sanctuary in Morgantina which may have been Dionysus, see Sjöqvist 1958, 159; Bell 1981 88-9, 167 no. 295.

²⁰¹ Portale 2008, 55. For more on the deposit and its material which also contained evidence pertaining to Athena and nymphs, see Adamesteanu 1958, Portale 2008; Parisi 2017, 118-20.

²⁰² Ciurcina 2014, 39-40. Inv. no. 102739. Length: 9.5 cm, diameter 8.5 cm.

²⁰³ Häger-Weigel 1997, 253-8. argues that all acrolithic and pseudo-acrolithic statues were cult statues while Marconi 2007a, 4-5 takes a more cautious approach, citing an acrolithic statue of Apollo found at the Temple of Apollo at Croton which he believes was a compliment to an older image of Apollo.

base is found in the *adyton*, which likely held the image of Dionysus. It may have instead been housed in another temple or shrine nearby.



Fig. 53 - Syracuse, sanctuary at Piazza Adda. Votive deposit with *kernoi* found north of the tetrastyle temple (Ciurcina 2014, 50 fig. 12).

Ciurcina suggested the hand belonged to a goddess but was unable to provide a more specific possibility.²⁰⁴ Demeter, perhaps Malophoros, is a possibility. Ciurcina noted that similar *kernoi* and *kotyliskoi* were also found at her sanctuary in Selinunte.²⁰⁵ The meaning of Malophoros has been debated since antiquity and although often translated as “apple bearer”, the Doric word *μαλλον* more accurately encompasses pomegranates and quinces as well.²⁰⁶

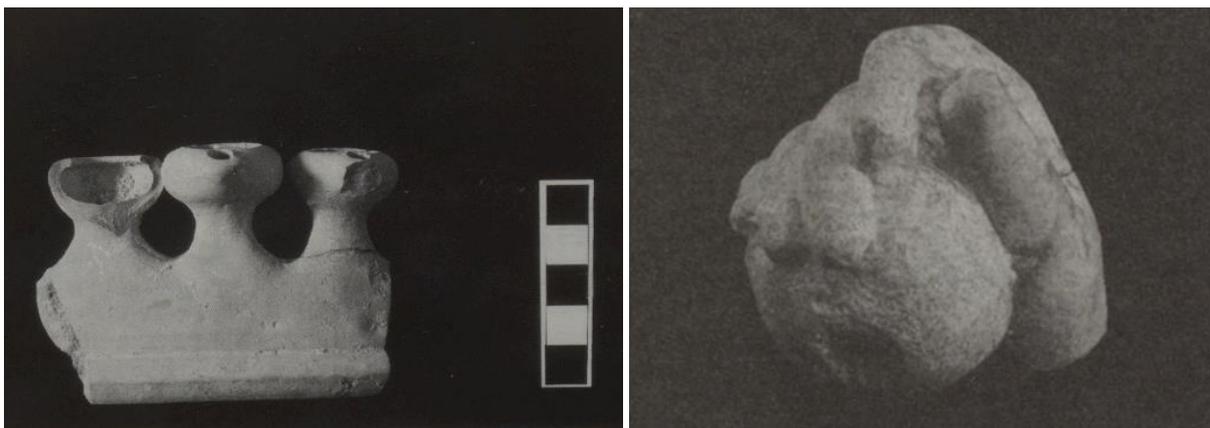


Fig. 54 - Syracuse, sanctuary at Piazza Adda. *Kernos* fragment from the *adyton* (Ciurcina 2014, 53 fig. 18); Fig. 55 - Syracuse, sanctuary at Piazza Adda. Marble pseudo-acrolithic hand holding a piece of fruit (Ciurcina 2014 50, Fig. 7).

²⁰⁴ Ciurcina 2014, 40 suggested a goddess without further comment.

²⁰⁵ Ciurcina 2014, 41-3.

²⁰⁶ On the definition of Malophoros with associated bibliography, see Robertson 2010, 203-5.



Fig. 56 - Trocadero Antiques and Art. Terracotta pomegranate with a hole at the top; Fig. 57 - Trocadero Antiques and Art. Bottom of terracotta pomegranate with grooves.²⁰⁷

However, the fragment may not be holding an apple, but instead possibly either a pomegranate or quince. It can be difficult to distinguish between apples, pomegranates, and quinces,²⁰⁸ and Ciurcina reported that the piece of fruit was heavily damaged and in pieces when excavated, and damaged further during its restoration.²⁰⁹ A notch can be found at the top of the fruit, where the persistent calyx²¹⁰ may have been the result of the damage (fig. 55).²¹¹ This part of the pomegranate is the most fragile part, and similar damage can be seen on a contemporary Hellenistic terracotta pomegranate from southern Italy (fig. 56). In this case, its identification is only possible because the bottom of the pomegranate remains visible (fig. 57). However, this part of the pomegranate from the sanctuary is concealed by the acrolith hand. If the fruit is to be identified as a pomegranate, then the cult image was likely either Kore or Pluto. Both are often depicted with a pomegranate in hand,²¹² and either would fit with the

²⁰⁷ Photos from private auction: <https://www.trocadero.com/stores/Ostracon/items/1348871/Terracotta-Votive-Pomegranate-Greek-South-Italy-300-250> accessed 7/11/2018. For another example, see Bernabò Brea, Cavalier, and Villard 1998 tab. 15 no. 4.

²⁰⁸ For example, a votive *stèle* from Carthage depicting Persephone with a basket of either apples or pomegranates (White 1967, 350-1, pl. 107 fig. 27).

²⁰⁹ Ciurcina 2014, 40. The damage caused during restoration is not detailed.

²¹⁰ The “crown” of skin at the bottom of a pomegranate.

²¹¹ It is also possible that this notch was used to fasten another piece to the fruit, possibly the delicate top of the pomegranate which may have been difficult to craft in marble. On similar sculptural attachments, see Ridgway 1966, 38-41; Ridgway 1990.

²¹² Pluto/Hades with pomegranate: *LIMC* IV.1 58, 60; Ferruzza 2016, 210. Kore with pomegranate: *LIMC* Supp. Persephone 1; *LIMC* IV.1 Hades 53. Also see Nigro and Spagnoli 2018 for an overview on the pomegranate and its cult contexts. A connection to Hera is also possible as the pomegranate can be associated with her and *kernoi* were found at her sanctuary in Crotona, (Bignasca 2000, 139, 167. However, this appears less likely. Although her cult in southern Italy had aspects of a mother goddess and mystery cult, this role was filled role by Demeter and Kore in Sicily, she would not fit with Dionysus, and, to my knowledge, no *kernoi* have been found that can be connected to her Sicilian cult. For more on these aspects of her cult, see Thalmann 1976, 182; Bignasca 2000, 139, 167.

votive materials. All recovered cult materials, *keranoi*, *kotyliskoi*, and the pseudo acrolithic statue fragments, point to a cult practiced within a larger sanctuary to Dionysus as well as Demeter and Kore. Dionysus appears to have been housed in the excavated temple with at least one more temple or shrine to Kore or Pluto nearby.

2.4.2 Chronology



Fig. 58 - Syracuse, sanctuary at Piazza Adda. Interior block additions at the northwest corner of the *cella* and north side of the *adyton*, seen from the southeast (photo by author).

The high water table in the area prevented excavation of pre-Hellenistic materials and strata. This left the early life of the temple and sanctuary unclear. Ciurcina suggested the temple was built as early as the Archaic period based upon the presence of an *adyton* (fig. 49),²¹³ but a Classical date is also possible as *adyta* can be found in temples into the Hellenistic period.²¹⁴ Activity at the temple from the Hellenistic to late Imperial periods is attested to by pottery from late fourth century BC to the fifth century AD and coins from second to seventh centuries AD, which were found both in the temple and the excavated area immediately surrounding it.²¹⁵

²¹³ Ciurcina 2014, 39.

²¹⁴ Despite claims that the use of *adyta* was limited to the Classical period (Miles 2013, 148), it has been repeatedly shown that they were built from the Archaic to Hellenistic periods (Thalman 1976, 24-98, 177-83; Hollinshead 1999, 191, 196-7).

²¹⁵ Ciurcina 2014, 37. Only local imitation Campana A and sigillata Africana pottery are specifically mentioned; the other periods are only discussed in terms of date and not form but appear to have included small votive vases and lamps, see below. She also mentions the recovery of medieval and modern pottery.

The temple received extensive modifications in antiquity, including the addition of a porch with four columns (of which only one survives) as well as the addition of six blocks along the northern and southern interior walls of the *cella* (fig. 58).²¹⁶ Similar blocks were also found along lining the northern, western, and eastern walls of the *adyton*. The building also appears to have been reoriented. A second entrance was opened in the western (rear) wall of the temple (fig. 59), and the eastern entrance (fig. 60), and central intercolumnium were closed.



Fig. 59 - Syracuse, sanctuary at Piazza Adda. *Adyton* and western (rear) entrance, seen from the east (photo by author).

The interpretation and chronology of the temple's transformation were left particularly unclear by the preliminary report. Ciurcina interpreted the construction of the porch and columns as the conversion of an temple in *antis* to its current tetrastyle prostyle, possibly during the Hieronian period.²¹⁷ She interpreted the six *cella* blocks as reinforcement of the temple during the opening of the rear wall as part of a later non-sacred phase of the temple.²¹⁸

Further examination of these features, their contexts, and changes within the sanctuary's material assemblage allows for a fuller interpretation of these features and the temple's evolution, suggesting a division of these modifications into possibly as many as three separate phases. In the first, the modifications are associated with wider renovations of the temple. The second phase, which may be further divided into two, saw the end of the cult life in the temple

²¹⁶ Ciurcina 2014, 36-7.

²¹⁷ Ciurcina 2014, 36-7.

²¹⁸ Ciurcina 2014, 37.

when it might have been sealed, followed by the conversion of the temple for its later non-sacred function.



Fig. 60 - Syracuse, sanctuary at Piazza Adda. Eastern (front) temple entrance (closed), seen from the east (photo by author).

Ciurcina detailed that strata containing *sigillata africana* A and coins from the second century AD were found atop all of these features,²¹⁹ providing a *terminus ante quem* for these major structural changes. She also noted that pottery from these strata was significantly different from the earlier phases, and consisted mostly of cookware indicating a non-sacred use of the temple.²²⁰ Due to the preliminary status of the publication with the inclusion of only select pottery, the materials of the two phases cannot be adequately compared. However, the apparent change from the votive pieces, such as the *kernoi* and *kotyliskoi* of the third century BC²²¹ to the second century AD cookware, are indeed suggestive of a significant shift in the material assemblage. However, as cookware can also be found in votive contexts,²²² it cannot be assumed that this is necessarily reflective of a non-sacred phase. Instead, this is confirmed through the find spots of the cult images discussed above. Both were found underneath the

²¹⁹ Ciurcina 2014, 37-8 only specifically references the recovery of the coins from these strata but they must have included the second-century AD *sigillata africana* pottery. Although she places the *sigillata africana* A pottery generally in the second century AD, it began to appear in the late first century AD (Polito 2000, 18-20).

²²⁰ Ciurcina 2014, 37-8. She specifically refers to pottery “di età ... proto-imperiale” which would be pre-Augustan.

²²¹ Ciurcina 2014, 41-2.

²²² Andreani, Del Moro, and De Nuccio 2005, 116. For example, see the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Knossos (Coldstream 1973, 49, 186) where, interestingly, cookware became increasingly common in the early Imperial period. However, these appear to be associated with cooking activity and were found at a series of ovens (Coldstream 1973, 10-1).

second century AD strata;²²³ and as they were found in the *adyton* and porch, it is unlikely that they had been deconsecrated.

The tetrastyle temple may even have been out of use for some time before the second century AD. Ciurcina drew a distinction between the pottery of the late fourth to mid-first centuries BC and that of the second century AD (and later), implying an absence of material between these two periods.²²⁴ If this is reflective of a gap in material, and therefore activity, it would also place any modifications associated with the sacred use of the temple, such as its conversion to a tetrastyle prostyle, securely in the Hellenistic period.

Viewing the later modifications of the temple with this gap in mind, a better understanding of the temple's transition between these two phases is possible. Even in abandoned buildings and temples, there was often the limited accumulation of material through sporadic dumping.²²⁵ However, like the closure of tombs, the sealing of temples and shrines, which often accompanied their disuse, presents a similar gap in material.²²⁶ In this case, the gap in material and closure of the temple's front entrance suggests it remained out of use from the mid-first century BC until it was reopened by the second century AD.

Although the six *cella* blocks may have been connected to the sacred phase of the temple as similar bases can be frequently found in temples for the support of pilasters,²²⁷ it is unlikely that the rear entrance belongs to this period. Secondary entrances in temples are not uncommon, but when they are built opposite the main entrance of the *cella* (as in this case), the entrance is decorated with a rear porch and colonnade.²²⁸ There is no evidence of columns at the western entrance, and an unidentified building immediately to the southeast of the temple (fig. 49) eliminates the possibility of a peristyle temple.²²⁹

²²³ Ciurcina 2014, 37.

²²⁴ Ciurcina 2014, 37-8. "L'esame preliminare del materiale ceramico... consente di accertare la presenza di una certa consistenza di frammenti, tra la fine del IV ed il III secolo a.C., di campana A, delle tipologie c.d. ieroniane ed ancora di età tardo-ellenistica e proto-imperiale. La terra sigillata Africana e pure un'abbondante documentazione di ceramica da curcina dimostrano una continuità di utilizzo dell'edificio con diversa finalità, dal II secolo d.C. sino al V secolo d.C..."

²²⁵ For examples of later dumping in out of use sanctuaries at Morgantina see Stone 2014, 14, 25, 44, 59.

²²⁶ This can also be seen at a shrine in Morgantina which was similarly sealed resulting in a closed context (Chapter 5.2)

²²⁷ Syria: The temple at Esriye (Gogräfe, 1996, 180). Rome: Temple of Venus Genetrix (Stamper 2005, 92-6), Temple of Castor and Pollux (Stamper 2005, 56-9), Temple of Apollo Sosianus (Stamper 2005, 119-20).

²²⁸ For example, see the Olympieion in Agrigento (Marconi 1929, 57-66), and the fifth-century BC Temple of Aphaia in Aegina (Ohly 1977).

²²⁹ Ciurcina 2014, 37. Although the closure of *intercolumnia* was experimented with during the Empire, this was limited to peristyle temples (Allegro 2007, 175 and fn. 37). Thus, the closure of the *intercolumnia* can also be connected to the later "secular" life of the temple.

Pending further publication which may confirm the gap in materials, or excavations which may reveal more about the temple and modifications, the tentative chronology proposed presents the temple's conversion to a prostyle tetrastyle, possibly including six interior pilasters, sometime in the Hellenistic period. The temple may have gone out of use and been sealed as early as the mid-first century BC before it was later reopened, re-orientated, and repurposed by the second century AD. Given the context of the Kore/Hades cult image fragment, it is likely that this disuse extended beyond the temple to the rest of the sanctuary.

2.4.3 Conclusions

The tetrastyle temple was likely part of a larger sanctuary to Dionysus, and possibly Demeter and Kore, dating back to the Archaic or Classical period. The continued importance of the sanctuary into the Hellenistic period is attested by the significant renovation of the temple with its conversion into a tetrastyle prostyle, and the installation of two new marble cult images. However, the sanctuary does not appear to have thrived for long under Roman rule. The temple and its sanctuary appear to have fallen out of use as early as the mid-first century BC, certainly by the second century AD, when the temple was converted for an unclear non-sacred purpose.

The relationship of the tetrastyle temple and its changes within the context of the larger public area remains unclear. Bordered by stoas on its eastern and northern borders with at least two to three temples as well as other public buildings (fig. 46), this large area possessed a strong public and religious character. As an extension of the monumental Neapolis district, it is possible that this was another large sanctuary or, more likely, an agora; such a monumental and large district would have likely had its own dedicated agora. The relationship between this area and the triangular forum to the southeast has hitherto remained unclear.²³⁰ This small forum was unlikely to have been the area's main agora but may have been a smaller forum attached to the larger and older agora. Similarly, the late second-century agora at Segesta was extended in the early first century AD by a similar small triangular square with *macellum* immediately southwest of the main agora, which divided traffic between the main agora and theater.²³¹

The nature of this area and the possible identification of the area as an agora is beyond the scope of the thesis and requires significant further excavation, publication, and study to properly explore this question. However, it is important to understand the disuse and conversion of the tetrastyle temple (and its sanctuary) within this public and possibly agora

²³⁰ Wilson 2012, 264 n. 128.

²³¹ Wilson 2012, 255; Olivito 2018.

context. The entire area saw significant changes that reshaped the area from the mid-first century BC to the first century AD.²³² This occurred not only through the disuse and conversion of the tetrastyle temple and likely its sanctuary, but also through the leveling of other buildings to the east for the construction of the triangular forum.

2.5 The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Piazza della Vittoria (fig. 1.5)

Excavations of a Roman period residential district in the 1970s, approximately 500 m northeast of the large public area at Piazza Adda, led to the discovery of a large Classical sanctuary.²³³ Preliminary results published by Voza in 1977 detailed the sanctuary, including its *c.* 10 x 18-meter prostyle tetrastyle temple (fig. 61), portions of the northern and eastern *peribolos*, three altars (fig. 63.1-2, 63.6), and three cult rooms (fig. 63.4).²³⁴ The sanctuary is securely attributed to Demeter and Kore based upon votive material including large numbers of terracotta statuettes of Kore found throughout the sanctuary, including a large votive deposit of the late fifth and early fourth century BC immediately the north of the temple (figs. 62.2; 63).²³⁵



Fig. 61 - Syracuse, Piazza della Vittoria. Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, seen from the west (photo by author).

²³² A possible Hellenistic shrine has been identified *c.* 180 m to the north of the tetrastyle temple which was overbuilt in the first century AD (Reichert-Südbeck 2000, 249). However, it is more likely a house with evidence of domestic cult (Gentili 1954 307-9) and any connection to the public area remains tenuous due to its distance.

²³³ Voza 1976-7, 555, 558-9; Hinz 1998, 102.

²³⁴ Voza 1976-7, 556-60.

²³⁵ Voza 1976-7, 557-8; Parisi 2017, 165-7. Also see Hinz 1998, 104 for an inscribed *amphora* neck which may reference Demeter. For an Archaic inscription also possibly referencing the cult as well as the statuettes, see below Chapter 2.5.1.

2.5.1 Continuity or Revival?

The area of the sanctuary also saw a Republican phase that appears to have been associated with the same cult of Demeter and Kore.²³⁶ However, continuity between the late Classical to late Hellenistic periods has been debated. The excavator, Voza, interpreted the late Hellenistic phase as a reactivation of a defunct Classical sanctuary while Hinz argued that this later phase was an extension of an active sanctuary in continuous use since the Classical period.²³⁷ The excavation's limited publication, with only a single preliminary report by Voza, complicates attempts to reconcile the debate. The report included a general chronology focused on the Classical period with no detailed interpretation of the site's layout and evolution with very little information on the later phases. Most importantly, it contained almost no discussion of the issues and features at the center of Hinz's interpretation. The later evidence, including the two late Hellenistic altars and their associated votive deposits, are now lost.²³⁸



Fig. 62 - Syracuse, Piazza della Vittoria. Late fifth and early fourth-century votive *stips* (Voza 1976-7, tab. 95).

According to Voza, the sanctuary was in use by the fifth century BC when the temple, an altar (fig. 63.1, fig. 63.3), and cult rooms for the storage of votives (fig. 63.4) were built. The sanctuary was used until the mid-fourth century when the sanctuary was abandoned, and cult activity ceased; the sanctuary and temple were then later destroyed and leveled.²³⁹ Rooms 54 and 55 containing votive statuettes of the fifth and early fourth centuries (but no later) were

²³⁶ Voza 1976-7, 559. The connection with the earlier sanctuary is evidenced by the construction of the altar atop the Classical votive deposit, and use of a well-altar, typical of chthonic cult practices. Further support is added by the contents of a well-altar, see below (fn. 243).

²³⁷ Voza 1976, 557-9. See however: Hinz 1998, 106-7 and also Coarelli and Torelli 1984, 247 with a similar, but unjustified, interpretation.

²³⁸ From personal correspondence with the Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi in Syracuse.

²³⁹ Voza 1976, 557-9. On a possible Archaic phase, see below.

found buried by debris and roof tiles.²⁴⁰ The entire area was converted into a residential quarter from the third to first centuries BC, a process that accelerated during the first century BC when houses were built within the *temenos*, and a new north-south road bisected the former *temenos* around the middle of the century (fig. 63.7).²⁴¹

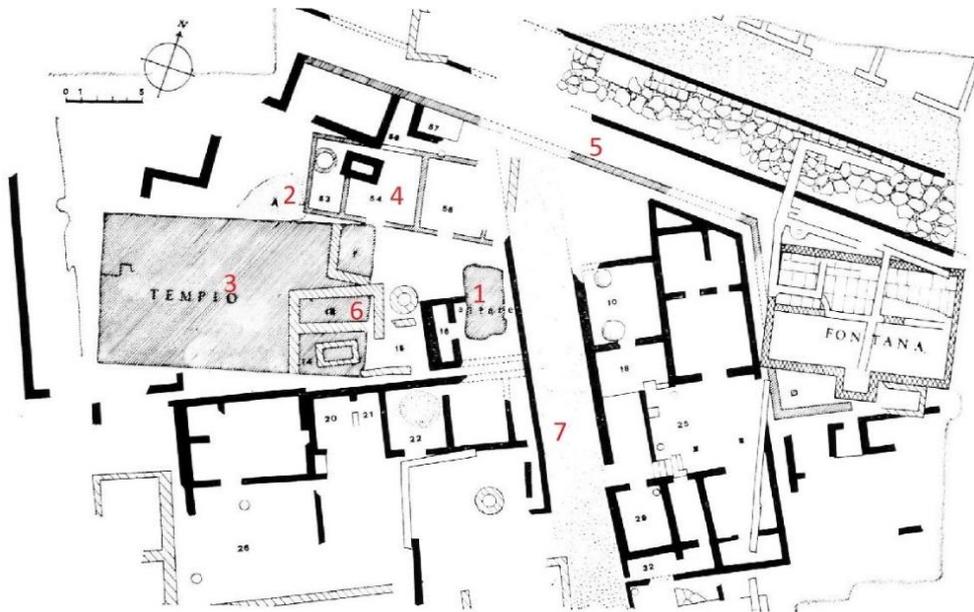


Fig. 63 - Syracuse, Piazza della Vittoria. Excavator's (Voza) site plan (Voza 1976-77 tab. 92, edited by author).

1. Fifth-century BC altar; 2. Votive *stips* and mid-second century BC altar; 3. Classical temple; 4. Fifth-century BC cult rooms; 5. *Peribolos*; 6. Late Hellenistic buildings and features; 7. Third to first century houses and mid-first century BC road.

According to Voza, the transformation of the area from the third to the first centuries BC also included the reactivation of the sanctuary around the mid-second century BC, when an altar and well-altar (fig. 63.2) were built. The altar, no longer extant, was built atop a large late fifth and early fourth-century votive deposit to the north of the temple (fig. 63.2; fig. 64 A-6, V). The nearby well-altar (fig. 64 A-3)²⁴² contained terracotta lamps, achromatic two-handled cups, and Campana C pottery along with animal bones, evidence of sacrifices.²⁴³ This later sanctuary did not remain in use for long and went out of use sometime in the first century BC.²⁴⁴

²⁴⁰ Voza 1976-7, 557.

²⁴¹ Voza 1976, 559; Voza *et al.* 1980, 684. The east-west road was also repaved in the second half of the first century (Basile 2012, 178).

²⁴² The preliminary report is not clear about the location of the well-altar. It is likely (fig. 4 A3), as stated by Hinz 1998, 106, but may be the structure in the room just to the southwest (fig. 4 A7). For more on these features, see below.

²⁴³ Voza 1976-7, 559; Voza *et al.* 1980a, 684. These contents of the altar are now lost, but the presence of terracotta lamps is reminiscent of the same deposits found throughout the Central Sanctuary in Morgantina beginning in around the mid-second century BC (Chapter 5.1.3).

²⁴⁴ Voza 1976-7, 559.

Hinz raised doubts regarding Voza's interpretations: she argued that the sanctuary had likely been continuously used from the mid-fourth to the mid-second century BC, and may have even remained in use beyond the first century BC.²⁴⁵ Her proposal divided Voza's fifth-century BC phase into two. She suggested that the temple was built after the middle of the fourth-century BC leveling of the cult rooms; instead she proposed that the temple was destroyed during a second leveling of the sanctuary in the third century BC that converted the sanctuary into a more modest residential form with two new altars (fig. 64 A4, A7).²⁴⁶ She also identified a third altar of the first century BC (fig. 64 A-5), which she cited as possible evidence of later continuity.²⁴⁷

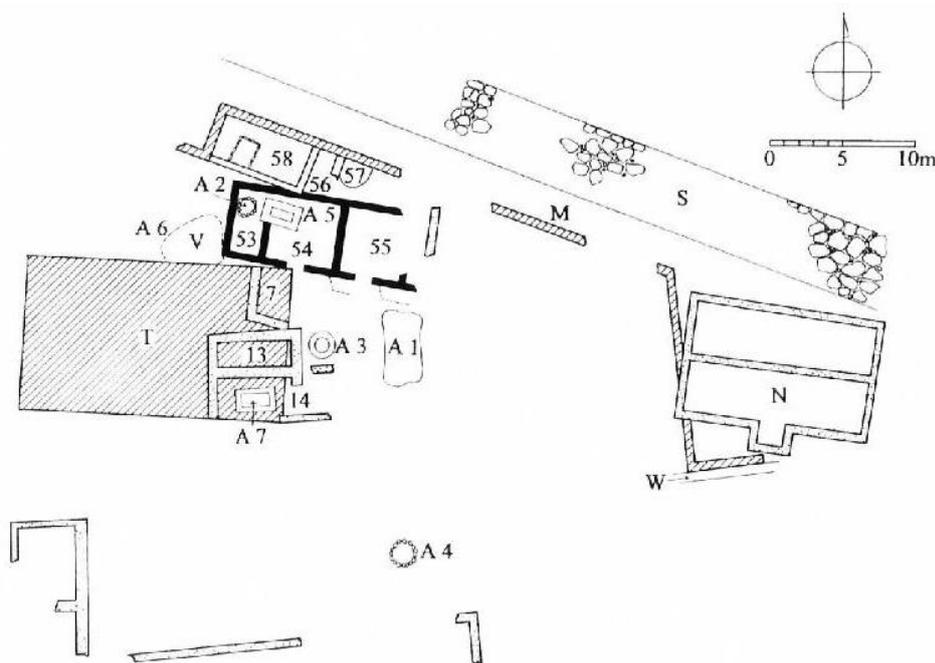


Fig. 64 - Syracuse, Piazza della Vittoria. Hinz's site plan (Hinz 1998, 103 fig. 15).

T: temple; A1-7: altars; 7, 13-14, 53-48: rooms; M: *peribolos*; W: waterpipe; N: fountain; S: street; V: votive deposit.

Hinz, in support of continued activity after the mid-fourth century BC, points out that it is unlikely that the sanctuary would have been leveled in the mid-fourth century and the area left abandoned until the construction of houses over a century later. Instead, she proposed that the sanctuary was leveled for the construction of another intermediate phase between the mid-fourth and third centuries.²⁴⁸ She argues that as the alignment and proximity of the temple to

²⁴⁵ Hinz 1998, 106-7. A similar view is found in Coarelli and Torelli 1984, 247 and followed by *BTCGI* XIX, 169 = Zirone 2011, 173.

²⁴⁶ Hinz 1998, 106.

²⁴⁷ Hinz 1998, 106. She does state that it is still likely that the sanctuary went out of use in the first century BC in line with Voza.

²⁴⁸ Hinz 1998, 105.

rooms 53-55 showed they were unlikely to have been contemporaneous, rooms 53-55 were likely part of the fifth-century BC sanctuary. This sanctuary was then leveled for the construction of the temple in the mid-fourth century BC.²⁴⁹ In support of a later date for the temple, she noted its temple's rubble fill foundation (fig. 61).²⁵⁰

Hinz's interpretation is unlikely. There is no evidence that the sanctuary was leveled in the mid-fourth BC century. Voza does not provide a precise date, only indicating that it occurred sometime after the abandonment of the sanctuary and before the residentialization of the area began in the third century BC.²⁵¹ The use of rubble fill is not a valid dating metric. Foundation construction techniques changed little from the Classical to Roman periods with rubble aggregate generally used to fill temple podiums and foundations.²⁵²

Hinz is correct to point out that the orientation and positioning of rooms 53-55 are suggestive of two phases. However, both could have been used at the same time, and the temple may have been purposefully positioned to accommodate the rooms. The temple left space to access room 53 (figs. 63.4, 64 no. 54). Instead, the temple was more likely built inside an existing sanctuary, incorporating existing cult buildings as also occurred at the Sanctuary of Demeter at Helorus (Chapter 4.2). The possibility of an early phase is supported by an Archaic inscription believed to reference Demeter: *Μεγάλας [Θεᾶς(?)]* (*SEG* 32.935; *ISic* 1472), which was found reused in a wall during later excavations of the Hellenistic houses.²⁵³ Thus, if the cult rooms and temple do indeed belong to separate phases, it is more likely that rooms 53-55 were a part of this earlier sanctuary and perhaps later used alongside the temple.

Voza's interpretation is further supported by the material finds. As Hinz admits, no votive materials from the second half of the fourth century were recovered.²⁵⁴ However, she does cite the recovery of a limited number of third-century BC terracotta statuettes of draped women

²⁴⁹ Hinz 1998, 106.

²⁵⁰ Hinz 1998, 106, 106 fn. 642. A similar position is taken by Portale 2017, 142-5 who states that the temple at Piazza della Vittoria is part of a series of temples once dated to the fourth century BC, but now firmly third century BC; she cites the similar 1:1.8 ratio (width to length) of the temple at Piazza della Vittoria with the temple at the sanctuary of Demeter in Helorus, and the tetrastyle temple at Piazza Adda. This argument is problematic as the latest date suggested for the temple at Piazza della Vittoria is the second half of the fourth century BC by Hinz 1998, 106. The temple at Piazza Adda has never been dated as late as either the fourth or third centuries BC; an Archaic date was suggested by the excavator. A Classical date is also possible, but any date after this is doubtful (Chapter 2.4). Furthermore, the partial preservation of the temple at Piazza della Vittoria, with only part of its rubble fill remaining, makes its precise dimensions and ratio unclear. The temple at Piazza Adda measures 6.8 x 14.2 m with a ratio of 1:2. Measurements of the temple at Helorus vary, either 10.5 x 20 m or 11.05 x 20.35 m giving it either a 1:1.9 or 1:1.8 ratio (Chapter 4.1).

²⁵¹ Voza 1976-7, 559.

²⁵² Wright 2009, 199-200.

²⁵³ Voza 1980-81, 683-4; Hinz 1998, 102; Arena 1998, 118 no. 63; De Miro 2008, 72.

²⁵⁴ Hinz 1998, 106.

and female busts from the area as evidence of third-century sacred activity at the sanctuary.²⁵⁵ The presence of terracotta statuettes need not indicate an active sanctuary. Terracotta statuettes had primarily been found in sacred and funerary contexts during the Archaic and Classical periods but began to increasingly appear in domestic contexts during the Hellenistic period, a practice that extended to divine representations such as Aphrodite, Eros, and Persephone.²⁵⁶

Without their archaeological context, it is difficult to differentiate between public or domestic usage of statuettes in the Hellenistic period, and this is especially difficult as Hinz did not reference the number of statues, their archaeological context, nor any inventory numbers or bibliography. Although no such materials appear in any of the area's excavation reports, the Museo Regionale Paolo Orsi in Syracuse does hold ten third-century BC terracotta statuettes, alongside other materials, labeled as having come from Piazza della Vittoria. These include five draped dancing women, three standing Persephone statuettes, and two female busts. As the museum holds no other later materials, these are likely the statuettes referenced by Hinz.

However, these ten statuettes appear to have been mislabeled and were not recovered during the excavations of the area. Instead, they were found outside the sanctuary, *c.* 150 m to the north of the northern *peribolos*, during excavations in the late 1960s “pochi metri ovest” of the Santuario della Madonna delle Lacrime. These excavations uncovered a large .9 x 6-meter votive pit, the “Pozzo di Artemide” which contained the aforementioned statuettes, as well as statuettes of Artemis, and an inscribed black gloss crater dedicated to Artemis Pheraias.²⁵⁷ Other finds from this pit are stored in another partition of the same cabinet labeled “Piazza della Vittoria - Pozzo di Artemide”, which may have caused confusion.

Hinz separately examined some of the materials from the “Pozzo di Artemide” where she referenced the frequent recovery of Artemis statuettes in sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore and suggested that this the materials may have come from the sanctuary at Piazza della Vittoria.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁵ Hinz 1998, 106.

²⁵⁶ Bell 2012b, 191-2. On the use of terracotta statuettes in domestic contexts more generally, see Burn and Higgins 2001, 21; Rumscheid 2006, 123-31.

²⁵⁷ The terracotta statuettes on display at the museum include inv. nos. 66955, 66963, 66978, 66998, 66961, 66962, busts: 66968, 66969. These clearly come from the excavation of the “Pozzo di Artemide” as many of the statuettes were helpfully published with inventory numbers and photographs: Voza and Pelagatti 1973, 104-6 nos. 349-59. Statuettes, inv. nos. 66960, 66961, 66963, can be found in Voza and Pelagatti 1971 tab. 13. Inv. nos. 66968, 66963 can be found in the preliminary report Voza 1968-9, tab. 71 figs. 1-2. Three statuettes: 66956 (draped woman), 66960 (standing Persephone), 66965 (draped woman) were not published in any preliminary reports, but likely also came from the same excavation as only select pieces were published. For more on this deposit, see Voza 1968-9, 363-4 tab. 71-2; Voza and Pelagatti 1971, 41-3 pl. 12-4; Voza and Pelagatti 1973, 84-5, 348-60 pl. 30-1; Cottonaro 2015; Parisi 2017, 167-8.

²⁵⁸ Hinz 1998, 108.

However, the deposit's distance makes it unlikely these materials were deposited at the sanctuary as votive materials were generally deposited inside the *temenos*. Furthermore, Artemis does not appear to have played a prominent role in the cult at Piazza della Vittoria. Her statuettes were not included among the numerous votive finds found throughout the sanctuary.²⁵⁹ These materials and the “Pozzo di Artemide” instead likely indicate the presence of another chthonic sanctuary in the area northwest of Piazza della Vittoria, one in which Artemis played a more prominent role.



Fig. 65 - Syracuse, Piazza della Vittoria. “Altar 4” (photo by author); Fig. 66 - Syracuse, Piazza della Vittoria. “Altar 7” (photo by author).

There is also reason to doubt Hinz's identification of additional altars (fig. 64 A4-5, A7).²⁶⁰ If these are altars, they were most likely used as well-altars for the ritual deposition of votives or libations.²⁶¹ As any contents were never detailed and are now lost, it is impossible to definitively identify or date them. However, there do not appear to be comparable Sicilian well-altar types, so their presence within the increasingly residential area can be better explained through non-sacred, domestic, and commercial functions.

Hinz saw the construction of “Altar 4” (fig. 65), “Altar 7” (fig. 66), and rooms 7, 13, and 14 as a part of the sanctuary's reworking into its more modest residential form in the third century BC.²⁶² Voza more clearly places all three in the “epoca tardo-ellenistica e romana”,²⁶³ which puts them in the same period as the mid-second to first century BC sanctuary (or later). Their

²⁵⁹ Examination the materials held at the Museo Regionale Paolo Orsi.

²⁶⁰ Hinz 1998, 106.

²⁶¹ Hinz 1998, 106 fn. 644 specifically identifies “Altar 5” as this typology.

²⁶² Hinz 1998, 106.

²⁶³ Voza 1976-7, 558. Describes buildings 7, 13, and 14 as “...fondazione di epoca tardo-ellenistica e romana”. Although Hinz's “Altar 4” and “Altar 7” are not referenced, they are included in the same phase of the site plan separate from the more general Hellenistic phase (fig. 63).

relationship to the Republican sanctuary remains unclear. The shape and dimensions of “Altar 4”, a circular stone-lined pit (208 x 192 x c. 42 cm), and “Altar 7”, a rectangular depression (223 x 130 x 5 cm), suggest they may have both been garbage pits or perhaps a grain storage pit and hearth.²⁶⁴



Fig. 67 - Syracuse, Piazza della Vittoria. “Altar 5”, seen from the west (photo by author); Fig. 68 - Syracuse, Piazza della Vittoria. Rotary quern with “Altar 5” in the background, seen from the south (photo by author).

On the other hand, “Altar 5” (figs. 67) which Hinz places in the first century BC was a part of Voza’s third to first century BC phase (fig. 63). The square structure (196 x 185 x c. 75 cm), is made of four reused blocks and built atop the rubble of room 54. Similar square well-altars are uncommon, with the only comparable altar being a small room (Altar 7) at the Central Sanctuary in Morgantina, which housed a *thesaurus* before later functioning as a well-altar for the accumulation of other votive materials (Chapter 5.1.2). “Altar 5” may have instead been a base for a rotary mill. Although such bases are usually circular, square examples are also known,²⁶⁵ and a Hellenistic rotary quern²⁶⁶ was found c. 3 m to the south of “Altar 5” (fig. 68). Given the state of evidence, plausible comparisons with domestic and commercial structures,

²⁶⁴ Changes in the grass over the “Altar 7” (different growth rate and coloration), could be the result of a different soil PH, possibly due to the presence of a limestone substructure. Thanks to Dr. Conor Trainor for this observation. For similar stone lined rubbish pits, see Ault 1999, 551 fig. 4. And a hearth, see Tsakirgis 2007, 227 fig. 24.2.

²⁶⁵ For a square rotary mill base at Ostia, see Moritz 1958 pl. 5a. The structure could also be a support or base for a beam press. For a late Hellenistic beam press from Mochlos, see Vogeikoff-Brogan 2014, fig. 18.

²⁶⁶ Rotary mills are not thought to have been used in Sicily before the third century BC (White 1963a, 206).

the features cannot be identified as altars with certainty and do not provide evidence of continuity either before or after the mid-second to first centuries BC phase.

The evolution of the sanctuary remains enigmatic, but the limited evidence supports the excavator's interpretations of the site. There is insufficient evidence to establish any religious activity between the mid-fourth and mid-second centuries BC or beyond the first century BC. Instead, the sanctuary, which may have been in use as early as the Archaic period, appears to have gone out of use around the mid-fourth century BC, with its temple and other cult buildings leveled in the third century BC. This notably presents a particularly interesting reactivation of a defunct Classical sanctuary in the mid-second century BC. This reactivation was limited, however, and appears to have been focused around two altars (Altar 3 and Altar 6), localized to the area of the Classical sanctuary's northern *temenos*.

2.5.2 Conclusions

This mid-second century BC reactivation of the defunct Classical sanctuary presents an interesting addition to the evolution of the sacred during the second and first centuries BC. It is one of two reactivated defunct sanctuaries in Syracuse. The transition of the sanctuary from a monumental to a more modest residential cult site has already been noted by Hinz.²⁶⁷ This is further emphasized through doubts regarding the identification of new altars. While the Classical sanctuary extended an unknown but significant distance to the south and west, the mid-second century BC sanctuary appears to have been localized in the immediate area of the earlier Classical votive deposit, between the Classical temple and northern *peribolos*. Like the "Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites" (Chapter 2.2), this reactivation represents a modest revival of a more monumental and pre-Hieronian cult, which may go back to the period of the city's foundation in the Archaic period.

Interestingly, the sanctuary did not remain in use long and appears to have gone out of use in the first century BC as the residential development of the area intensified.²⁶⁸ Sanctuary's disuse, despite the area's growth and development, draws an important distinction between the city's urban development and the abandonment of a cult site. This suggests that other factors such as the cult's popularity may have influenced its disuse, and this should instead be seen

²⁶⁷ Hinz 1998, 106, suggests that a possible second temple mentioned by Voza may date belong to this later phase. However, this is uncited and no reference to such a temple can be found in any other works. As Hinz also noted, no remains of a second temple were visible at the site.

²⁶⁸ Voza 1976-7, 559 cites the absence of votive materials later than Campana C in the well-altar support this. On the other hand, Coarelli and Torelli 1984, 247; *BTCGI* XIX, 169 = Zirone 2011, 173 erroneously state that it was used until the second century BC based upon the contents of the well-altar.

within the larger context of religious change during the first century BC that disproportionately impacted the cult of Demeter and Kore (Chapters 2.9.3.1; 7.2.1).

2.6 The “Ginnasio romano” (fig. 1.6.)

Located in Achradina, along the Via Eloriana near the city walls,²⁶⁹ c. 400 m west of the main agora, is the so-called “Ginnasio romano”. This sanctuary (figs. 69, 70), which has been called the most significant monumental site of Roman Sicily, consists of a temple, stoas, and theater.²⁷⁰ The temple’s foundation does not survive in its entirety, and many of the measurements are unclear. The temple’s unusual square c. 15 x 15 m podium, at 2 m high, was Italic in style while its stepped stylobate indicates that it maintained some typically Greek characteristics.²⁷¹ The partial remains of the temple show that the prostyle in antis and likely tetrastyle temple was accessible by two side stairways instead of a large single stairway.²⁷² Built into the center of the podium is an unusual 1.4 m deep rectangular room (3.9 x 4.9 m). A niche, measuring 1.6 m in diameter, which once held a base, is located on the western wall of this room. In front of this niche, in the center of the room, is a 1.4 m deep marble basin measuring 56 x 52 cm. This room is often referred to as a “crypt” and is believed to have had a sacred but unclear function within the temple.²⁷³

An altar, built on a marble pedestal, and a marble basin were found in front of the temple.²⁷⁴ Surrounding the temple on three sides were stoas measuring c. 60 x 70 m and, judging by the

²⁶⁹ The remains of two of the city gates were found to the northwest in 2009, see Guzzardi 2011, 363.

²⁷⁰ Ambrogi 2010, 300-1: “il più significativo complesso monumentale di età romana noto in Sicilia”. A sentiment echoed by Pensabene 1996-7, 41. For more on the earlier studies of the site and the history of its early scholarship including its original, and incorrect identification, as a gymnasium, see Ambrogi 2010, 302-7.

²⁷¹ Wilson 1990, 106-7 who identified it as a Graeco-Roman hybrid temple. Also see the similar temple at St. Venera al Pozzo (Branciforti 2006).

²⁷² The dimensions of many of the sanctuary’s features are uncertain. The height of the podium is given by Schubring 1865, 368 as 2.2 m while Cavallari and Holm 1883, 399 give 1.6 m and Coarelli and Torelli 1984, 241 and Wilson 1990, 372 n 311. give 1.8 m. Wilson explains his measurement differs as it is uncertain how far the podium extends underground. A similar discrepancy is found in the measurements of the length and width of the temple. Wilson 1990, 107, 372 n. 211. gives c. 15 x 15 m (or exactly 14.6 x 15 m) while Coarelli and Torelli 1984, 241 and Ambrogi 2010, 301 fn. 13. give 17.5 x 17.5 m. These discrepancies may be the result of different methods used to measure the features, i.e. whether they measure the visible size or projected size. Additionally, the stoas have been measured as either 60 x 70 m as seen in Wilson 1990, 106 and Pensabene 1996-7, 41. or 50 x 60 m as given by Coarelli and Torelli 1984, 241. Similar discrepancies can also be seen in the size of the *cavea*, given as 60 m by Pensabene 1996-7, 45 and Wilson 1990, 108, but 18.9 m by Coarelli and Torelli 1984, 242. The smaller measurement is either of the extant remains of the *cavea* or attests to a hypothesis that it did not extend the full width of the courtyard which, based upon his measurements for the stoas, would be c. 50 m. It is now certain that the *cavea* originally extended the full width of the courtyard, Guzzardi 2011, 363 fig. 4. The distance of the sanctuary to the forum is also not agreed upon. Wilson 1990, 110 and Pensabene 1996-7, 7, 41 give 400 m and Coarelli and Torelli 1984, 243 gives 200 m, which is undoubtedly complicated by the uncertainty of the size of the forum. For more on the forum, see Chapter 2.7.

²⁷³ For more see below.

²⁷⁴ Schubring 1865, 369. See below for more.

sparse remains which survive on two sides, rose *c.* 1.8 to 2.4 m above the central courtyard. Inside the courtyard, to the northwest of the temple, are the remains of a theater with *cavea*, *orchestra*, and stage; the back of the temple served as the theater's *scaenae frons*. This theater only partially survives, but originally extended the full 60 m width of the courtyard.

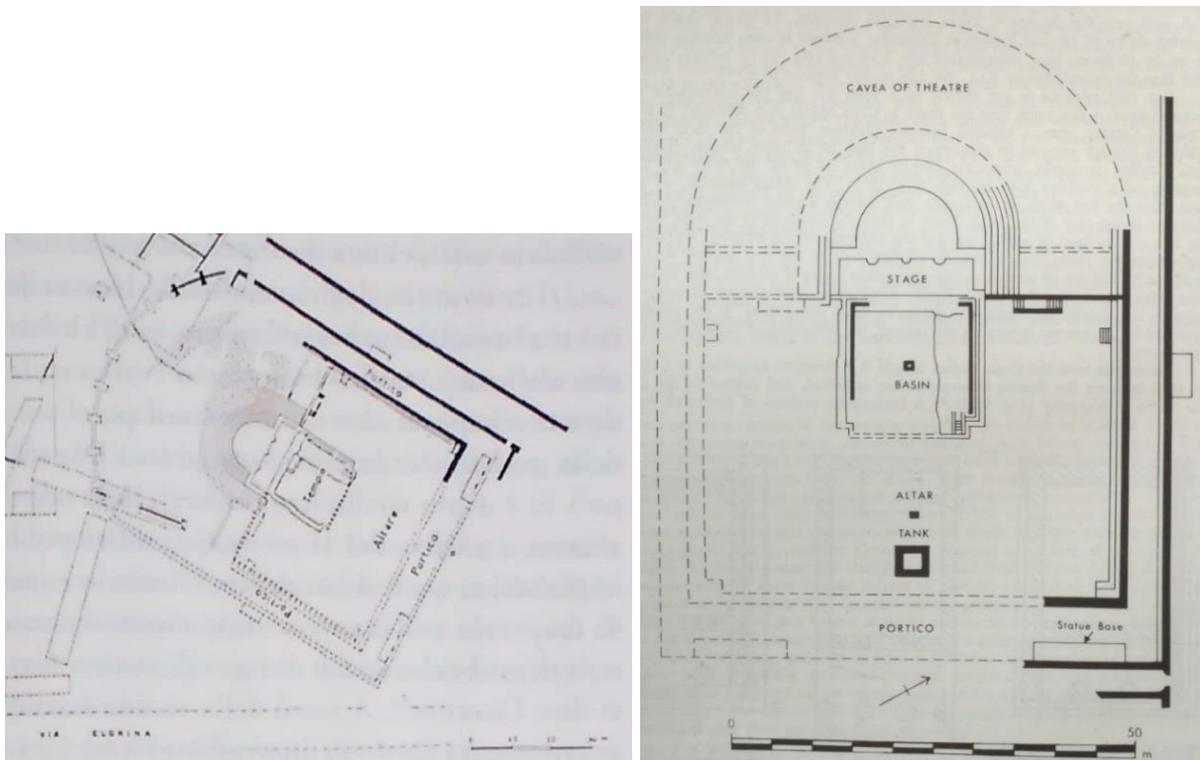


Fig. 69 - Syracuse, “Ginnasio romano”. Site plan (Guzzardi 2011, 363 fig. 4); Fig. 70 - Syracuse, “Ginnasio romano”. Wilson’s site plan (Wilson 1990, 106 fig. 96).

The sanctuary, along with its temple, stoa, and theater were excavated from 1864 to 1865 and published by Schubring in 1865.²⁷⁵ Additional excavations were undertaken on a limited scale in 1991, 1992, and 1995, which further explored the northern stoa. A preliminary report of these was published by Trojani in 2006,²⁷⁶ with a second report including select materials by Musumeci in 2012.²⁷⁷ Another excavation was undertaken in 2006 on a residential quarter northwest of the sanctuary, which uncovered part of the theater’s outer wall. Not yet published, this excavation confirms the size of the *cavea*.²⁷⁸ Although the excavations of the 1990s were limited in scope, the inclusion of stratigraphy, albeit preliminary, makes the chronology of excavated features at the “Ginnasio romano” unusually sound.

²⁷⁵ Schubring 1865, 362-72.

²⁷⁶ Trojani 2006.

²⁷⁷ Musumeci 2012.

²⁷⁸ Guzzardi 2011, 362-3 fig. 4.



Fig. 71 - Syracuse, “Ginnasio romano”. Theater *cavea* with stage flooded (photo by author).

Despite the quality of the recent excavations and publications, a study of the site continues to present obstacles. The age of Schubring’s excavations makes the chronology of any features not subject to the recent excavations uncertain. Nearly all the materials from these early excavations are lost. Assessment of the sanctuary’s evolution is made particularly challenging as the archaeological remains are not well preserved. When the sanctuary was first excavated by Schubring, it had already been subject to extensive stone robbing, and the state of the remains has only declined since. Several features that were uncovered in the 1860s are now entirely lost. These include a “tank” in front of the temple of Roman, possibly Imperial, date.²⁷⁹ Three of four statue bases located in the eastern corner of the stoas, which were identified by Schubring, are also no longer visible.²⁸⁰ Although the stoas were in a sufficient state to be examined by Schubring, they have fared particularly poorly, and only the foundations and part of the northern walls remain. At least some of this damage was the result of bombing during

²⁷⁹ According to Schubring 1865, 369 the tank (fig. 70) was used and transformed in modern times and that of the original one, only the basis was found and next to it a, by his (Schubring’s) time, destroyed brick-built kiln; well informed people of the time affirmed that this kiln dated back to the past centuries: “Der Brunnen ist modern benutzt und umgestaltet; vom alten ist nur noch die Basis da, deren Schwellenprofil Fig. 4 zeigt. Neben diesen beiden letzten Stücken wurde ein jetzt entfernter Ziegelofen gefunden, von dem aber Kundige versichern, dass er ein Werk aus einem der letzten Jahrhunderte sei”. Wilson 1990, 108 argued in favour of a Roman Imperial date due to its alignment with the temple (brick construction technique suggested for the tank and destruction of the structure by Schubring resulting from a misunderstanding).

²⁸⁰ Ambrogi 2010, 302-3. See Schubring 1865, 364 records four bases while Cavallari and Holm 1883, 398 tab. 11 record only three, Wilson 1990, 109 records only one. Schubring 1865, 364 records that the statue bases were of various sizes c. 90 x 70 cm.

the Second World War when the sanctuary was bombed in 1943 with two bombs directly hitting the northern stoa.²⁸¹



Fig. 72 - Syracuse, “Ginnasio romano”. Remains of the *cavea* with the stage in the foreground and temple as its *scaenae frons* (photo by author).

Analysis of the site is further complicated by the high water table of the area, which frequently leaves the site, especially the area of the stage, partially flooded and impedes attempts to re-examine the remains. As with the tetrastyle temple at Piazza Adda (Chapter 2.3), the water table also prevented excavation beyond the Hellenistic strata in the 1990s.²⁸²

2.6.1 Chronology (Renovations of the Stoa and Courtyard)

Due to its importance, the sanctuary has been the subject of frequent study, and the chronology of its various phases is debated.²⁸³ Little has been done since the publication of the recent excavations, and their results (focused on the north stoa and theater) have not yet been incorporated into existing debates. The integration of these results improves the understanding of the sanctuary’s evolution and allows for a significantly different chronology.

Cavallari and Holm first recognized in the nineteenth century that the sanctuary had at least two main phases as the stoas must have been constructed before the theater due to the way in

²⁸¹ Bernabò Brea and Libertini 1947, 197-8 and fig. 6; Trojani 2006, 177. Both mention the damage caused to the site and the surrounding stratigraphy.

²⁸² Trojani 2006, 184. The issue is specifically referenced when it halted further excavation of trench S beyond stratum 12. Wilson 1990, 107 reported that a new pump had enabled his examination of the site. However, as of today the pump no longer appears to be in use and the site is again subject to flooding and is closed.

²⁸³ See Cavallari and Holm 1883, 394-408; Pace 1938, 350-1; Bernabò Brea and Libertini 1947, 197-8; Coarelli and Torelli 1984, 241-3; Belvedere 1988 380-2; Wilson 1988a, 116-8; Wilson 1990, 106-11; Pensabene 1996-7, 41-53. Recent scholarship includes Ambrogi 2010. on the sanctuary’s statuary, and Isler 2017, 750-1.

which they abutted each other.²⁸⁴ Conventionally, the stoas have been dated to the Flavian period and the theater to the second half of the second century AD.²⁸⁵ The date of the temple has been subject to significant debate with the second half of the second century AD, contemporaneous with the theater, favored; however, a Hellenistic (or perhaps even earlier date) now seems more likely and will be discussed further below (Chapter 2.6.2).



Fig. 73 - Syracuse, “Ginnasio romano”. The temple podium and *cavea*, seen from the northeast (photo by author).

These two phases for the theater and stoa were confirmed by the excavations of the 1990s, which instead placed both the theater and stoas earlier than previously thought. Stratigraphic and pottery evidence allowed for the secure placement of the stoas to the late Hellenistic period, and the theater to the mid-late first century AD.²⁸⁶ Furthermore, finds, including fourth to second century BC pottery and third to first century BC terracotta statuettes, show that sacred activity in the sanctuary had already begun by the fourth-third century BC.²⁸⁷ The possibility of an even earlier phase was left unanswered as the high water table prevented the excavation of lower strata.²⁸⁸ Importantly, this shows that the sanctuary was not an *ex novo* sanctuary of the Roman period but instead, an earlier Greek sanctuary so extensively reworked after the Roman conquest that its earliest phases were largely unrecognizable until modern excavation.

²⁸⁴ On the two phases see Cavallari and Holm 1883, 402-3; Coarelli and Torelli 1984, 242-3; Wilson 1988a, 117; Wilson 1990, 109.

²⁸⁵ See Wilson 1990, 109; Pensabene 1996-7, 45.

²⁸⁶ Trojani 2006, 183, 185-6. “post-Tiberian first century AD”. A late Hellenistic date for the stoa was first given (without explanation or supporting evidence) by Coarelli and Torelli 1984, 243. For more on the theater see Isler 2017, 750-1.

²⁸⁷ Musumeci 2012, 635-7.

²⁸⁸ See above (Chapter 2.6) on the impact of high groundwater levels on the excavations.

These early phases also provide further clarity to the later renovations of the sanctuary. Wilson had recognized that the stoas had two phases with a later renovation as the stoa was equipped with a mix of fluted limestone Doric and unfluted marble columns.²⁸⁹ As he gave the stoas a first century AD likely Flavian date, the later renovation of the stoa with marble columns could not be more precisely dated beyond a general post-first century AD.²⁹⁰ With the stoas' late Hellenistic date, the Doric limestone columns instead likely belong to this earlier phase. As the use of architectural marble is rare in Sicily before the mid-first century AD,²⁹¹ the installation of marble columns is most likely a part of these later Imperial renovations, possibly as early as the second half of the first century AD.



Fig. 74 - Syracuse, “Ginnasio romano”. Remains of the northern stoa, seen from the southwest (photo by author).

These later renovations also appear to have been more extensive than previously thought. The mid-late first century AD theater was clad with a marble veneer,²⁹² and mortise holes on the stoas' surviving walls suggest a later marble veneer was added (figs. 75, 76).²⁹³ The four statue bases in the eastern corner of the stoa also appear to have had a marble veneer,²⁹⁴ but it cannot be known if they were older structures clad in marble like the stoas or new constructions like the theater.

The renovations of the stoas also included new architectural decorations. Pensabene identified numerous architectural fragments found throughout the site.²⁹⁵ Although all these

²⁸⁹ Wilson 1990, 109. Also recognized by Lazzarini 2007, 110 who gives a detailed analysis of the marble.

²⁹⁰ Wilson 1990, 109.

²⁹¹ Wilson 1990, 241.

²⁹² Tenon holes on the theater seating show that it was clad in marble (Wilson 1988a, 117).

²⁹³ Schubring 1865, 364; Wilson 1990, 109.

²⁹⁴ Schubring 1865, 364.

²⁹⁵ Pensabene 1996-7.

marble features cannot be securely connected to the stoas, their presence suggests that the stoas were also given marble architectural detailing in addition to the marble veneer and statue bases. Seven fragmentary marble inscriptions also belong to this period and further attest to a flourishing sanctuary in the Imperial period.²⁹⁶



Fig. 75 - Syracuse, “Ginnasio romano”. North stoa walls with mortise holes for marble veneer (photo by author).

Other marble features of Imperial date include a marble pedestal in front of the temple (fig. 77) and a basin in the “crypt” (fig. 81). Interestingly, Schubring records that the remains of a stone altar (no longer extant) were found atop the marble pedestal (fig. 77).²⁹⁷ It is strange that a stone altar would have been built atop a marble pedestal. It is possible that the altar had a marble veneer. On the other hand, there could be aesthetic and religious value in the maintenance of an altar’s architectural connection to the past. In some cases, altar bases received significant renovations or were completely replaced while the altar atop was untouched.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁶ Only one is reasonably well preserved and is dated from the first to second century AD (*CIL* X 7128; *ISic* 0408). Schubring 1865, 372 originally identified eight inscriptions. The eighth (*CIL* X 7135; *CIL* VI 5688) had the partial text *GYM* which, according to Fagan 1999, in the Western Roman world likely signified a benefaction and not a gymnasium. However, this inscription was later shown by Wilson 1988b to have been a fragment of a larger inscription originally from Rome which ended up with the other materials from the excavation by mistake.

²⁹⁷ Schubring 1865, 369.

²⁹⁸ See for example the round altar at the Temple of the Round Altar in Ostia. The altar pedestal was modified in the Augustan period but the late Republican altar itself remained unchanged. (Pensabene 2007, 56). See also three altars at the sanctuary at Fosso del Incastro where the altars dismantled with the top sections moved and replaced nearby in the late second to third century AD (Arena 2016, 91-2).

Perhaps the most notable of the new marble additions are eight marble statues found during the excavations of 1864-5. These statues, seven male and one female, represent prominent Romans from the Flavian period to the late second century AD.²⁹⁹ One (figs. 78, 79) was found in the eastern corner of the stoas near the marble veneer statue bases.³⁰⁰ The other statues were found in the courtyard, but their unfinished backs show that they were meant to be placed against the stoas' walls.³⁰¹ These statues help establish a plausible date for at least part of the sanctuary's significant renovations.



Fig. 76 - Syracuse, "Ginnasio romano". Northeast stoa wall with mortise holes for marble veneer (photo by author).

Notably, six (five male and one female) of the eight statues are dated to the Flavian period; the other two are late Hadrianic and late second century AD.³⁰² This significant number of Flavian statues suggest that the Flavian period was particularly important for the expansion of the sanctuary. These statues had previously been used as the primary evidence for the conventional Flavian date for the stoas.³⁰³ Instead, considering the new late Hellenistic date of the stoas, they indicate a period of significant euergetism and renovation. Given the theater's mid-late first century AD date, it is likely that it was a part of this Flavian renovation. Some of

²⁹⁹ Bonacasa 1964, nos. 92, 108, 194-5, 197-9, 208. and especially Ambrogi 2010 on no. 108.

³⁰⁰ Schubring 1865, 371.

³⁰¹ Schubring 1865, 371.

³⁰² See Bonacasa 1964. Flavian: nos. 92, 194-5, 197-9; late Hadrianic: no. 108; late second century AD: no. 208. Wilson 1988a, 117 originally lists nine statues including one of Augustan date (Bonacasa 1964 no. 182, from an excavation at Corso Gelone) and another of unknown provenance (Bonacasa 1964 no. 196): see however Wilson 1990, 109 (eight statues, none of Augustan date).

³⁰³ Wilson 1988a, 117; Pensabene 1996-7, 45.

the other marble features,³⁰⁴ especially the marble veneers, may have been set up in the Flavian period as well.



Fig. 77 - Syracuse, “Ginnasio romano”. Remains of marble pedestal, seen from the southeast (photo by author).

2.6.2 Chronology (The Temple)

The chronology of the temple and “crypt” had been the subject of debate leading up to the recent publication of excavations with two proposals given by Wilson and Pensabene. Incorporation of the new archaeological data alongside analysis of comparable theater-temple complexes permits a significantly improved understanding of the sanctuary’s development. Wilson’s chronology placed the temple and “crypt” in the second half of the second century AD; on the other hand, Pensabene argued for an earlier Flavian date for the temple while accepting Wilson’s later date for the “crypt”, seeing it as a later addition.³⁰⁵ Instead, as will be argued, the “crypt” and especially the temple, like the stoas, most likely belong much earlier than previously thought. These earlier installations were also subject to significant and

³⁰⁴ A potential issue regarding a Flavian renovation of the stoas is raised by Pensabene 1996-7, fig. 33 who identifies an architectural fragment, “dal portico?”, dated to the second half of the second century AD on its “plain convex frieze” style. However, as the fragment is found near the temple, it was more likely a part of the temple (Wilson 1990, 109). The fragment will be discussed below where doubts are raised about such a late date for the style (Chapter 2.6.2).

³⁰⁵ Pensabene 1996-7, 45 *contra* Wilson 1988a, 117; Wilson 1990, 109. Interestingly, an earlier mid-first century AD date was followed by Coarelli and Torelli 1984, 242 without justification.

extensive renovations that obscured their early origins, and those of the temple are best understood in connection to the theater's construction.



Fig. 78 - Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale "Paolo Orsi". "La dama Flavia", Standing Flavian woman in marble (photo by author); Fig. 79 - Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale "Paolo Orsi". Head of "La dama Flavia" (photo by author).

Wilson's second half of the second century AD temple date rested on two principal arguments. First, he argued that the use of terracotta vaulting tubes in the ceiling of the "crypt" was unlikely to pre-date the beginnings of the use in Africa around the mid-second century AD; by extension, this was then applied to the temple with the belief that both the "crypt" and temple were contemporaneous constructions.³⁰⁶ He then identified the use of "plain convex frieze" entablature on an architectural fragment found near the temple, arguing that the style's

³⁰⁶ Wilson 1990, 109. It was suggested by Belvedere 1988, 380-2 that these tubes were later used as a secondary vault over the main *cella*, replacing an earlier concrete vault. However, Wilson 1990, 372 n 319 rightly points out that recovery of large pieces of a concrete vault, which would have likely been cleared away, makes this unlikely.

arrival in Sicily was likewise unlikely to have occurred before the second half of the second century AD.



Fig. 80 - Syracuse, “Ginnasio Romano”. Temple podium with “plain convex frieze” marble entablature facing *cavea* (photo by author).

In support of his earlier Flavian date, Pensabene pointed out that it should not be assumed that the “crypt” was built at the same period as the temple.³⁰⁷ As Bell notes, there is no reason that the “crypt” and temple must have been built at the same time, and it is possible that the “crypt” even pre-dates the temple, having later been incorporated into it.³⁰⁸ In either case, the use of vaulting tubes in Sicily and the western Mediterranean has improved significantly since Wilson’s argument. Their early origins are now clearly established, and several examples are known from the late Hellenistic period (second and first centuries BC),³⁰⁹ with the earliest examples belonging to the Hieronian period, used in the mid-third century BC North Baths at Morgantina.³¹⁰ As the tubes are now lost, and no detailed description exists, they can only provide a date for the “crypt” sometime after the mid-third century BC.

The temple’s use of “plain convex frieze” entablature can be plausibly placed as early as the Flavian period. As this style was rarely used in the West, and this is the only Sicilian example, it is difficult to date its usage here. Wilson’s date came from Rome, where the earliest example

³⁰⁷ Pensabene 1996-7, 45-6.

³⁰⁸ Bell 1994, 376 fn. 15.

³⁰⁹ Lucore 2009, 53-8.

³¹⁰ Allen 1974, 376-9; Lucore 2009, 53-8; Lucore 2013; Wilson 2013a, 95.

is c. 140 AD, and Asia Minor, where it does not appear until the second century AD.³¹¹ However, as the style's use originated in Syria during the first century AD,³¹² a late first century AD date is not impossible. Indeed, a particularly early usage (in line with its rarity in the West) might be explained by one of the sanctuary's possible cult attribution. "Eastern" deities have been frequently proposed for the sanctuary with Atargatis, the Syrian goddess, among the more compelling.³¹³ The use of an especially "Eastern" and "Syrian" architectural style within such a site would, therefore, not be unexpected and explain the style's unique (and potentially early) use in Sicily.



Fig. 81 - Syracuse, "Ginnasio Romano". The "crypt" with marble edged basin in center, seen from the east (photo by author).

This early date for the temple's entablature would support Pensabene's Flavian date for the temple. Instead, he had argued the entablature was part of a later renovation of the temple for its use as the *scaenae frons* of the temple, which, at the time, was thought to date to the second half of the second century AD.³¹⁴ However, the connection between a possible renovation of an older temple for use as a *scaenae frons* with "plain convex frieze" remains compelling, with this renovation instead occurring in the mid-late first century AD (Flavian period). This will be explored further detail below.

³¹¹ Wilson 1990, 109. This date is also followed by Pensabene 1996-7, 46; Pensabene 2016, 315.

³¹² Wilson 1990, 109.

³¹³ On the various proposals for the cult including Atargatis, see below (Chapter 2.6.3).

³¹⁴ Pensabene 1996-7, 46.

Aside from the above arguments, Pensabene's other critiques of Wilson's chronology no longer support a Flavian date for the temple's *ex novo* construction, as they were primarily based upon his interpretation of the construction of the stoas and the temple as a unified contemporaneous complex. His identification of other architectural fragments throughout the sanctuary could only generally be placed to a general period from the first century BC to the first century AD.³¹⁵ Given the late Hellenistic date for the stoa, the mid-late first century AD date of theater, as well as other potentially Flavian renovations, the architectural fragments could belong to constructions or renovations in any phase.



Fig. 82 - Syracuse, "Ginnasio Romano". Partial remains of the temple and podium in the background with the *cavea* and flooded *orchestra* in the foreground (photo by author).

Further support of a Flavian date for the temple comes from an argument Wilson had used for his second half of the second century AD date where he instead saw the construction of the temple and theater as a unified contemporaneous project, "since the theater is so intimately connected with the temple in its visible form".³¹⁶ On the other hand, Trojani, in the 2006 preliminary report, suggested that the temple's position was the result of its incorporation within the later theater.³¹⁷ Comparable theater-temple complexes show that the temple most likely predated the theater and only later received a significant and substantial renovation when it was incorporated into the theater and used as the *scaenae frons*.

³¹⁵ Pensabene 1996-7, 45-6.

³¹⁶ Wilson 1990, 109. Wilson was open to the possibility of an earlier temple, suggesting that an earlier temple may have been destroyed for the construction of a new temple with the theater.

³¹⁷ Trojani 2006, 186.

The use of temples as a *scaenae frons* was particularly uncommon,³¹⁸ and the author is only aware of three other examples in the ancient world: the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, the Kabeirion at Thebes, and the *odeum* at Tauromenium.³¹⁹ In each case, an earlier temple was incorporated within a later theater. The Archaic Temple of Artemis Orthia was incorporated in the third century AD theater (fig. 83),³²⁰ and the sixth-fifth century BC Kabeirion was incorporated into the second century BC theater (fig. 84).³²¹ Likewise, the other Sicilian example, the second half of the third century BC “Peristyle Temple”, was incorporated into the Imperial period *odeum* (Chapter 6.1). The use of a temple as *scaenae frons* does not appear to have been the preferred arrangement for the construction of unified theater-temple complexes and instead arose during the pragmatic adaptation of an already established religious space. Thus, without comparable examples, the theater and temple at the “Ginnasio romano” should be viewed similarly.

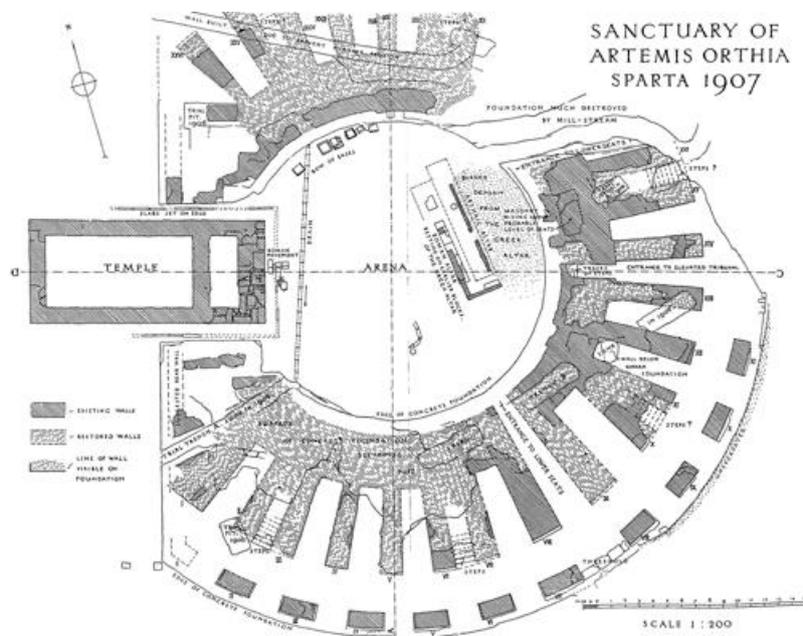


Fig. 83 - Sparta, Greece, Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (Dawkins 1929 pl. 3).

Comparable theater-temple complexes also suggest that evidence for the temple's later construction is more likely the result of the temple's substantial renovation for this new as *scaenae frons* when the theater was built. The colonnades of these other temples were always used as the *scaenae frons* with the Temple of Artemis Orthia and the Kabeirion, both facing

³¹⁸ Hanson 1959, 96-7; Wilson, 1990, 109-10.

³¹⁹ The southern side of the Temple of Despoina in Lykosura may have also been used similarly with nine rows of steps built (seating?) in the hillside to the south (Orlandini 1969-70, 353-5; Isler 2017, 462). However, as this was not strictly a theater and will not be discussed further.

³²⁰ On the temple of Artemis Orthia and the theater, see Dawkins 1929; Hanson 1959, 96-7; Isler 2017, 727-8.

³²¹ Heyder 1978: 13-21, 17-9; Isler 2017, 372-3.

into the *orchestra*. As its namesake suggests, any side of the Peristyle Temple was suitable for this purpose, and the *odeum* made use of its southwestern (side) colonnade. As the temple at the “Ginnasio romano” appears to have been prostyle, the use of what would have been a relatively unadorned side without columns suggests that modifications would have needed to be made in order for its use as a *scaenae frons*. Indeed, Wilson noted the lack of remains and extensive damage to the temple’s rear wall and suggested it may have been made of marble.³²² Likewise, marble columns were found by Schubring together with the temple’s “plain convex frieze” entablature.³²³ In this case, it seems likely that the temple’s renovations when the theater was constructed may have also included the addition of marble veneer and columns to the rear wall.³²⁴

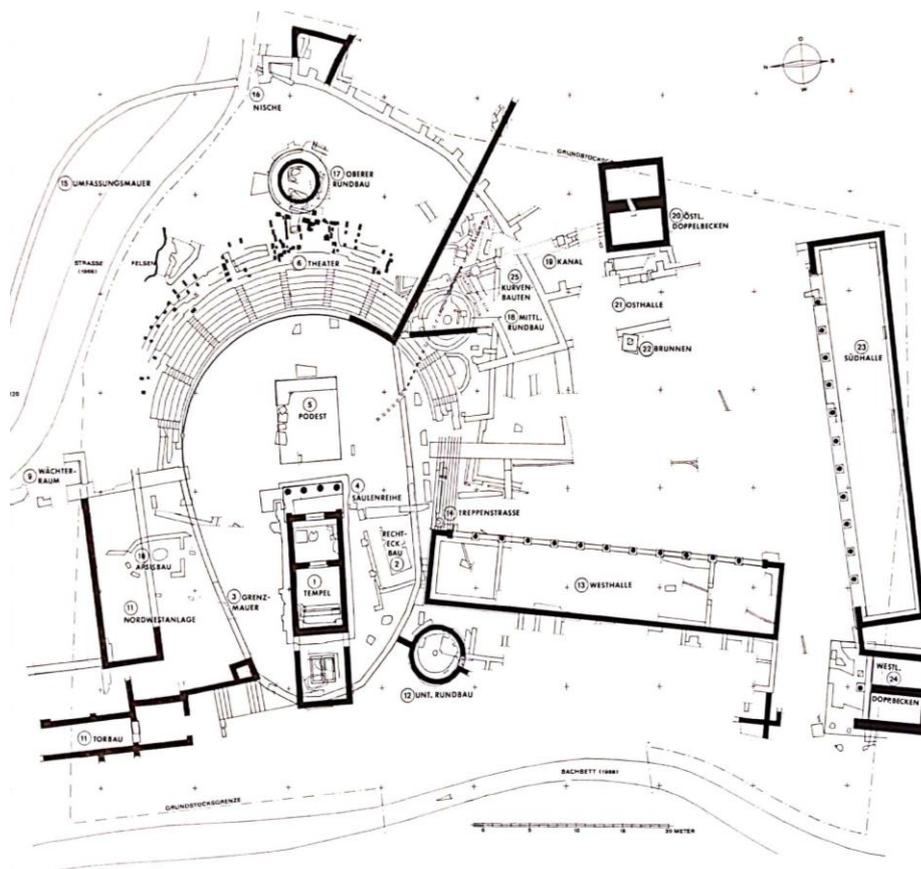


Fig. 84 - Thebes, Greece, Kabeirion. Sanctuary in the second century BC (Heyder 1978 tab. 20).

That the temple pre-dates the theater and was subject to a later extensive renovation when the theater was built in the mid-late first century AD is now relatively secure. However, this

³²² Wilson 1990, 108.

³²³ Schubring 1865, 368.

³²⁴ It is also possible that the temple may have been misidentified as prostyle and instead be amphiprostyle with a decorated rear porch (My thanks to Dr. Roger Wilson for this observation). In this case, the marble renovations and “plain convex frieze” may belong to a later renovation, possibly in the second half of the second century AD.

date can be further refined to a probable late Hellenistic date alongside the stoa. The temple's high 2 m Italic style podium is a style that only appears following the Roman conquest (Chapter 1.3), while an Augustan or early first century AD date is made less likely due to the use of ashlar masonry. This technique was not used in Sicily after the late Hellenistic period.³²⁵

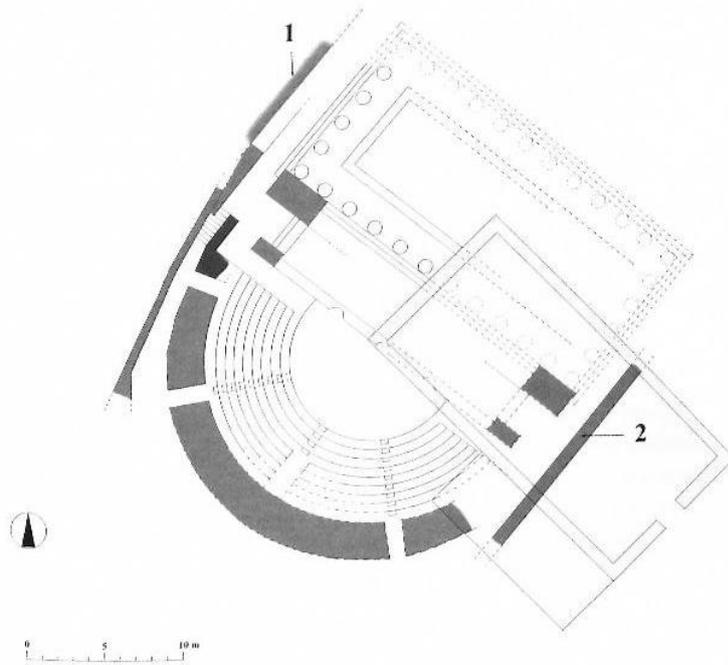


Fig. 85 - Tauromenium, “Peristyle Temple”. *Odeum* reusing temple *scaenae frons* (Campagna 2016, 258 fig. 14.3).

The substantial mid-late first century AD renovation of the temple makes assessment of the already enigmatic “crypt” even more challenging. In addition to its marble basin, it also appears to have had a marble veneer.³²⁶ If the “crypt” dates to the construction of the temple as Wilson suggested, then these marble features are likely later renovations. On the other hand, if Pensabene’s is correct and the “crypt” was later added, these marble features could place its introduction in mid-late second century AD (or even later). As the cult’s theatrical aspects were already visible by the third century BC,³²⁷ and the renovations of the mid-late first century AD (and later) appear to have been largely cosmetic with the monumentalization of these theatrical aspects and the addition marble veneers throughout the sanctuary. It seems more likely that the construction of the “crypt”, which would have likely had significant cult implications, occurred alongside that of the temple in the late Hellenistic period.

³²⁵ Fuduli 2015a, 339.

³²⁶ Schubring 1865, 368.

³²⁷ Musumeci 2012, 636. A permanent theater was not required for the performance of theatrical rites as seen at the Temple of the Magna Mater in Rome where a temporary theater was erected each year for the annual *ludi scaenici* (Pensabene 2017, 50). On the temple and recent excavations, see Pensabene 2017, 45-186.

2.6.3 Cult Attribution

The sanctuary's cult has remained an issue of uncertainty; although the recent excavations have emphasized the cult's theatrical aspects that stretched back into the Hellenistic period, they provide little additional evidence to support a proposal. Most hypotheses are instead based upon the features and architectural layout of the sanctuary. Proposals include Asclepius, but those more focused on "Eastern" cults, such as Isis and Serapis, Cybele, and especially Atargatis, have received more favor.³²⁸ Particularly noted in these proposals are connections between the aspects of *spectacula* associated with the theater, and mystery associated with the "crypt".³²⁹ Isis and Serapis seem increasingly less likely. As Wilson had already noted, the presence of a theater inside an *Iseum* is without parallel.³³⁰ This point is only further supported by the evidence pointing to activity in the sanctuary at least as early as the fourth to third century BC (Chapter 7.3).

The mixture of theater and mystery could indicate the cult of Demeter and Persephone. The Sicilian cult's close connection with theater has already been discussed above (Chapter 2.3.3), and the mystery aspects of the Eleusinian cult are especially well known. This connection is strengthened by the two tombs, similar to the "crypt" built into the central temple at the Sanctuary on the Temenite Hill (Chapter 2.3), both presenting clear heroic and chthonic aspects. Schubring recorded the recovery of many terracotta lamps during the excavations of 1864-5. Although such lamps are often found in sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore,³³¹ they are also found in the sanctuaries of other deities.³³² The iconography on these lamps, described by Schubring as "obscene" might have allowed for further insight, but were not detailed or

³²⁸ Asclepius: Coarelli and Torelli 1984, 381; Isis and Serapis: Coarelli and Torelli 1984, 242-3; Aubert 1985, 163, 166-9. Cybele: Wilson 1988a, 118; Wilson 1990, 110-1, 298-9. Atargatis: Wilson 1988a, 118; Wilson 1990, 110-1, 298. Musumeci 2012, 636-7 also supports the Atargatis attribution but suggests that the sanctuary was originally dedicated with a female nature deity who came to be associated with Atargatis. Cavallari and Holm 1883, 407 suggest the temple was the tomb of Timoleon and thus a hero cult; Guzzardi 2011, 364 recently followed an older hypothesis which identified the "Ginnasio romano" as the *curia* of Syracusae with the sanctuary and *cavea* functioning as a curia-temple complex. This idea was originally proposed by Cavallari and Holm 1883, 396. However, it was speculation, not based upon any archaeological evidence, and has not been accepted by other modern scholars. Furthermore, the recently discovered theatrical votives (Musumeci 2012) from the fourth and third centuries BC suggest that the cult had theatrical aspects which predated the Roman conquest and the construction of the *cavea*. This makes its identification as the curia doubtful.

³²⁹ Wilson 1990, 110-1; Coarelli and Torelli 1984, 242.

³³⁰ Wilson 1990, 299.

³³¹ For example, see The Central Sanctuary (Chapter 5.1) once referred to as the "Lamp Factory" due to the thousands of terracotta lamps found within.

³³² Hermanns 2004, 113; Erickson 2010, 237.

illustrated.³³³ However, that none of the terracotta statuettes typical of the Classical and Hellenistic cult of Demeter and Kore were found instead makes such an attribution unlikely.

2.6.4 Conclusions

Although the sanctuary's early origins fourth to third century BC (or earlier) remain nebulous, they clearly exclude the sanctuary from the already limited number of *ex novo* Roman cult sites. New archaeological data permits a significantly improved understanding and chronology of the sanctuary, especially from the late Hellenistic period onward, and establishes this especially important sanctuary, as one of the best understood within the former Kingdom of Hieron II.

Sanctuary: Fourth-third century BC (or earlier?) with major renovations in the late Hellenistic and Flavian periods.
Temple: Late Hellenistic
Flavian renovations: Marble veneer, unfluted marble columns, and marble entablature
“Crypt”: Uncertain. Late Hellenistic? with Imperial (Flavian?) renovation
Altar: Uncertain, Hellenistic? with later Imperial (Flavian?) renovation
Stoa: Late Hellenistic (fluted Doric columns)
Flavian renovations: six marble statues and statue bases with marble veneer.
Imperial renovations (Flavian?): marble veneer for interior stoa walls, unfluted marble columns, marble inscriptions
Later Imperial renovations: late Hadrianic and late second century AD marble statues
Theater: mid-late first century AD (Flavian?)

Fig. 86 - Syracuse, “Ginnasio Romano”. Sanctuary's chronology with significant renovations.

The sanctuary was monumentalized in the late Hellenistic period with the construction of its temple (possibly with the “crypt” inside) and surrounding stoas. A subsequent monumentalization of the sanctuary's theatrical aspects occurred in mid-late second century AD, possibly Flavian period, with the construction of the theater and renovation of the temple to function as the theater's new *scaenae frons*. This included the addition of marble columns, marble veneer, and “plain convex frieze” entablature to the temple's rear wall. These likely

³³³ Schubring 1865, 371. “obscöne”.

extended beyond the theater itself, including the addition of marble columns and a veneer to the stoa. They may have also included either the construction or more likely renovation of the “crypt” with marble veneer and a marble basin. Marble statues of the Flavian period, likely representing benefactors who paid for some of these renovations, were placed in the stoas. While these renovations appear to have been so extensive that they largely disguised the sanctuary’s Hellenistic past, the temple’s stone altar placed atop a marble pedestal suggests that not all of the cult’s historical aesthetics were erased, and the mid-late century AD theater represents a monumentalization of the cults theatrical aspects.

2.7 The Agora and the Sanctuary at Via Bengasi (fig. 1.7)

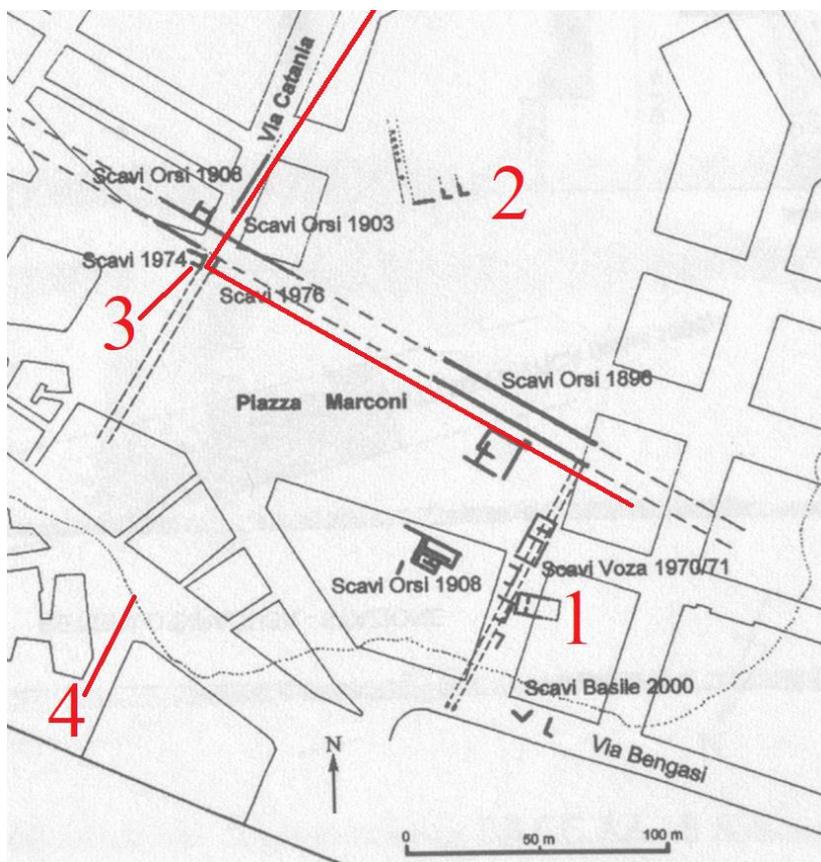


Fig. 87 - Syracuse, “Foro Siracusano”. Site plan of the agora with conventional southern and western edges of the agora marked (Basile 2009, 741 fig. 4, edited by author).

1. Sanctuary at Via Bengasi; 2. Stoa remains, Foro Siracusano (Agora); 3. Hieronian temple?; 4. Approximate location of the ancient coastline.

The primary agora of Syracusae has conventionally been placed at the modern Foro Siracusano in Achradina.³³⁴ The area has been subject to sporadic excavations from the late 19th century to the 1970s with only cursory and occasional publication. As a result, the agora

³³⁴ On this attribution with previous bibliography, see Campagna 2004, 158 fn. 17.

remains poorly understood with its layout, features, and evolution largely a mystery.³³⁵ The conventional southwestern extent of the agora has been delineated north-south and east-west roads that converged in this corner (fig. 87).³³⁶ More recently, it has been suggested that the agora may have extended an additional 75 m further south to the coastline (fig. 87.4).³³⁷ On the other hand, how far the agora extended to the north and east has remained a mystery.



Fig. 88 - Syracuse, "Foro Siracusano". Remains of the stoa, seen from the southeast (photo by author).

The agora is thought to have been first laid out in the late seventh century soon after the city's foundation with significant renovation and construction phases occurring sixth and third centuries BC.³³⁸ The third century, Hieronian reworking is thought to have included the construction of a temple the alongside the agora's western side (fig. 87.3), and Voza has connected the partially excavated remains of what may have been a temple foundation to the famous Hieronian temple of Olympian Zeus in the agora mentioned by Cicero (*Cic. Verr.* 2.4.119).³³⁹ Both the identification of the foundation as a temple and any connection to Zeus (Olympian or otherwise) have been rightfully doubted.³⁴⁰

³³⁵ Orsi 1909, 338-40; Bernabò Brea and Libertini 1947, 196-7; Voza 1976-7, 552. Select materials from these excavations were recently published by Castorina 2012. The most thorough coverage of the Roman phase remains Wilson 1990, 51; Wilson 2012, 257. On the architectural elements of the Imperial period, see Pensabene 2016.

³³⁶ Bernabò Brea and Libertini 1947, 196-7; Voza 1976-7, 552.

³³⁷ Wilson 2012, 257.

³³⁸ Voza and Pelagatti 1971, 62-3; Voza 1976-7, 551-2.

³³⁹ Voza 1976-7, 551-552; Voza 1994, 218.

³⁴⁰ Temple was identified by Voza 1976-7, 552, but has been doubted by Campagna 2004, 158 fn. 18; Lehmler 2005, 146.

The Julio-Claudian life of the agora is attested by busts of Caligula, and an unknown Julio-Claudian woman found inside.³⁴¹ That the area saw works under the Empire can be seen through part of a stoa uncovered in the late 19th century (figs. 87.2; 88).³⁴² It survives through its stylobate with emplacements for twelve attic column bases of white marble, three columns of pinkish breccia from Haluntium, and a single marble Corinthian capital; the stoa (or a later Imperial renovation) were placed in the late Hadrianic or Antonine period based upon stoa's the marble features and acanthus leaves of the capital.³⁴³

The recent excavation and identification of a sanctuary between Via Bengasi and Via Malta (fig. 87.1) to the south of the conventional southern border of the agora allow for a significantly improved understanding of the agora's later development under Rome, including a possible Augustan reworking, and a break in religious continuity at one of the city's oldest sanctuaries.

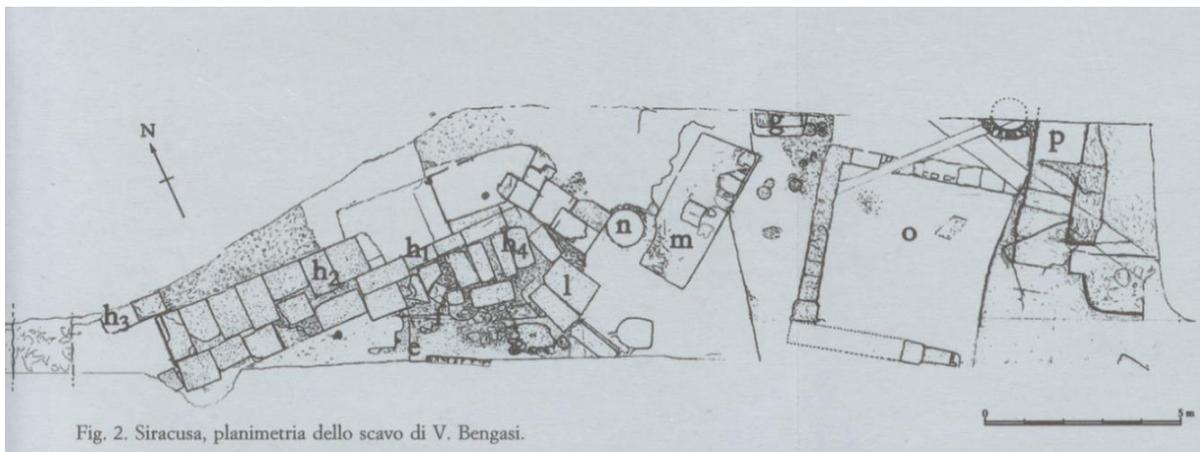


Fig. 89 - Syracuse, sanctuary at Via Bengasi. Trench from excavation season of 2000 (Basile 2009, 733 fig. 2).

The sanctuary, subject to sporadic excavations in 1908, 1970, 1971, and 2000 had been identified as a residential quarter³⁴⁴ until the most recent excavations in the sanctuary's southeastern corner uncovered votive deposits, a well-altar, and part of what may have been a temple and the sanctuary's *peribolos*.³⁴⁵ Although the sanctuary appears to have been of significant size, filling an area of at least 65 x 80 m, little is known beyond the narrow trench dug in 2000.³⁴⁶ The excavations of 1908 were only cursorily published, and those of 1970-

³⁴¹ Gentili 1963, 213-7; Bonacasa 1964, 45 no. 52, 56 no. 68.

³⁴² Cavallari and Holm 1883, 407-8.

³⁴³ Wilson 1990, 51; Wilson 2012, 257. The marble of the columns has also been identified as the famous *marmor chalcidicum* ("Fior di Pesco") from Euboea (Pensabene 2016, 317). Debris from earlier buildings suggests the stoa may have had an earlier Hieronian phase (Lauter-Bufe 1987, 5-9 nos. 2, 22, 31; Wilson 2012, 264 n. 124).

³⁴⁴ Anderson *et al.* 1989, 95-6.

³⁴⁵ Basile 2009, 736-8.

³⁴⁶ Basile 2009, 731-40.

1971 remain entirely unpublished,³⁴⁷ and the presence of modern constructions in the area prevents further inspection.

The excavators attributed the sanctuary to Poseidon on account of its seaside location and the contents of a well-altar containing sacrificial materials often associated with the god, such as ox bones, seashells, sea urchin quills, fish bones, and butchered tuna.³⁴⁸ Although sacrifices involving sea life are not as common as more typical sacrifices such as goats, sheep, and pigs, the sacrifice of sea life could be associated with a myriad of deities and are not indicative of any particular cult.³⁴⁹ Oxen were usually those with prominent male deities such as Poseidon, but also Zeus, Hermes, and Dionysus; however, they could also be sacrificed to other deities during particularly important rituals for purification or the swearing of oaths.³⁵⁰ Instead, the well-altar and its contents only firmly establish the chthonic nature of some of the sanctuary's cult practices.

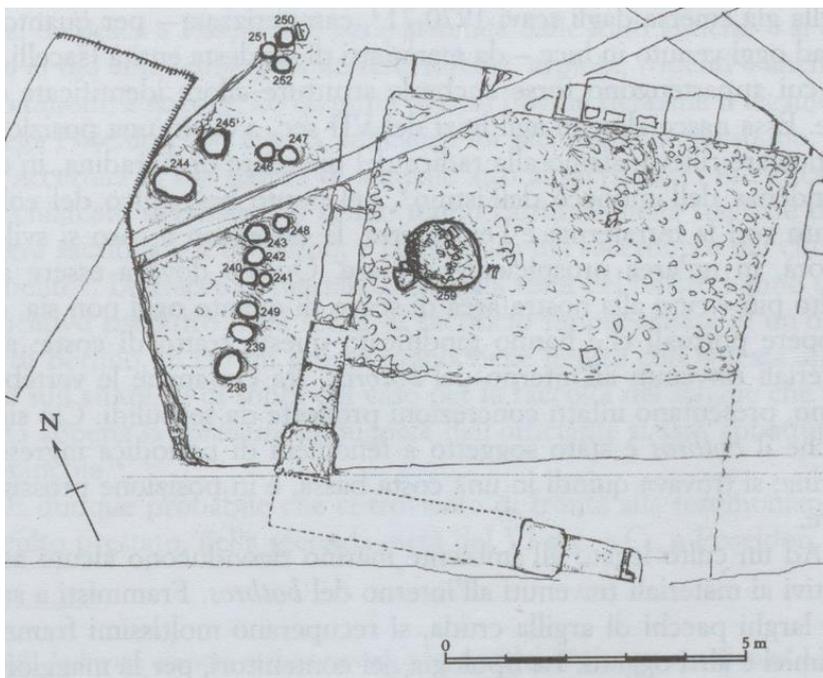


Fig. 90 - Syracuse, sanctuary at Via Bengasi. Votive pits (“*thysiai*”) along the western wall of room o (Basile 2009, 737, fig. 3).

The earliest activity at the sanctuary, which stretched from the seventh and sixth centuries BC, can be seen through sacrificial deposits throughout the sanctuary, including those in the well-altar.³⁵¹ A shrine or small temple (fig. 89 h1-4), of which only the northeastern corner was

³⁴⁷ Select finds from the earlier excavations can be seen in Orsi 1925, 319-20; Anderson *et al.* 1989, 95-6.

³⁴⁸ Basile 2009, 738-40

³⁴⁹ Theodoropoulou 2013, 204-12, especially 204 ftn. 34.

³⁵⁰ Ekroth 2014, 334.

³⁵¹ Basile 2009, 732-4.

uncovered, was built in either the Archaic or Classical period; the building was later subject to multiple later renovations and modifications, the significance of which remains uncertain.³⁵² The well-altar went out of use some time from the late sixth or early fifth centuries BC (fig. 89 e).³⁵³ Activity in the area to the northwest, excavated in 1970 and 1971, is attested by a Classical terracotta altar that was recovered.³⁵⁴ In the third century BC, another cult building was built with votive deposits, “*thysiai*” buried along the outside of its western wall (figs. 89 o, 90, 91 o).³⁵⁵



Fig. 91 - Syracuse, sanctuary at Via Bengasi. Foundation and floor of building o with votive pits (“*thysiai*”) along the western wall (Basile 2009, tab. 56c).

The latest evidence of sacred activity comes from the area of this building. The deposition of the *thysiai* continued into the late Hellenistic period.³⁵⁶ The building also received a new floor of crushed limestone in the late Hellenistic period; a small section of this flooring was uncovered and dated based upon materials found beneath.³⁵⁷ Activity did not continue, and the sanctuary went out of use in the first century BC, when all the buildings were dismantled, and the area leveled before being paved over with large limestone flagstones.³⁵⁸ This was dated

³⁵² Basile 2009, 735. It appears to have been substantially reworked and expanded multiple times and it is not clear if the building was substantially reworked or built *ex novo* in the Classical period.

³⁵³ Basile 2009, 734, 783-90.

³⁵⁴ Anderson *et al.* 1989, 95-6.

³⁵⁵ Basile 2009, 736.

³⁵⁶ Basile 2009, 736. The contents of these pits were not given.

³⁵⁷ Basile 2009, 736-7. These materials were not identified. An accumulation of ash and carbon was found inside the room.

³⁵⁸ Basile 2012, 202.

through the recovery of a limited amount of first-century BC pottery found in the dismantled buildings, in the fill materials of the leveled area, and in a thin stratum overlying the shrine/temple (fig. 89 h1-4).³⁵⁹ A more recent publication by the excavator has placed this event in the late first century BC, where she suggested the sanctuary may have been destroyed for the expansion of docking facilities connected with Augustus' colonization of the city in 21 BC.³⁶⁰ However, the evidence for this new date remains unclear.

The sanctuary's destruction was clearly part of a major restructuring of the area between the agora and the shoreline, but a connection to the expansion of docking facilities seems unlikely. Although the sanctuary was located near the shoreline, no docking facilities have been identified in the area. The only evidence for docks in Syracuse are found at Lakkios (fig. 1), also known as the Small Harbor, both on the mainland at via Diaz, and on Ortygia at via Vittorio Veneto.³⁶¹ Literary sources do make it clear that there were also docking facilities for the Great Harbor (fig. 1),³⁶² but the proximity of the sanctuary to the ancient shoreline leaves little space for any docking facilities in the area before the sanctuary's destruction.

Instead, the sanctuary's proximity to the agora provides a more likely explanation. The creation of open space through the sanctuary's leveling and pavement shows that it was leveled specifically for the creation of open space, the type which would have been found within an agora. Similar large limestone flagstones were also found to the north within the conventional area of the agora.³⁶³ As mentioned previously, it has been suggested that the agora may have extended to the ancient shoreline.³⁶⁴ If the agora was not already extended to the coast during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, the sanctuary's leveling suggests that it was by the first century BC. The reworking of the area should thus either be seen either as evidence of the agora's expansion, or the creation of additional open space within the agora.

The excavator's more recent late first century BC date in connection to the Augustan colonization becomes more compelling in this light. Although the agora's evidence during the early Imperial period is limited beyond the Julio-Claudian statuary, a significant renovation or expansion of the city's principal agora at that time would not be unexpected and similar works

³⁵⁹ Basile 2009, 737.

³⁶⁰ Guzzardi 2011, 362; Basile 2012, 202.

³⁶¹ On the docks of Syracuse, see Gerding 2013, 535-41; Castagnino Berlinghieri 2016 with full bibliography.

³⁶² Basile 2002, 149.

³⁶³ Wilson 2012, 257.

³⁶⁴ Wilson 2012, 257.

also appear to have occurred in the late first century in the agora on Ortygia (Chapter 2.8.1.1) and Tauromenium (Chapter 6.1-2).

2.7.1 Conclusions

This important sanctuary was in use for nearly seven centuries years at (or near) what may have been the city's principal agora and the civic and religious heart of the city. The sanctuary and agora's development largely appear to have mirrored each other from the Archaic to Hellenistic period. The sanctuary was maintained and gradually developed over the centuries as old practices fell out of use, new ones introduced, and additional cult buildings constructed. Continuity into the late Hellenistic period is seen through the continued use of votive practices and the maintenance of existing cult buildings. This appears to have abruptly ended during the first century BC. Once again, the area's development mirrors that of the agora. However, this time, the sanctuary was dismantled, and the area leveled and paved as part of the agora's development. This displays a clear break in religious continuity with the city's Greek past. Given the rapid cultural change which occurred in the late first century BC, the proposed connection with the Augustan colonization of 21 BC is compelling but requires further publication and excavations in the agora. This can also be understood as a continuation of the Hellenistic practice through which the creation and framing of panoramic views within public spaces were often prioritized.³⁶⁵ In this case, this was prioritized over the city's religious past.

2.8 Ortygia

The least understood district of the Roman city, Ortygia, has often been overlooked beyond cursory discussions of the literary sources, with the limited archaeological and epigraphic data rarely examined within their local contexts. Archaeologically, the Late Hellenistic period remains particularly nebulous, but the island not thought to have undergone the extent of urban development in the Augustan and early Imperial periods as occurred in Neapolis and Achradina.³⁶⁶ Contextualization of the limited and problematic archaeological evidence in combination with epigraphic and literary sources sheds valuable light on Rome's arrival on Ortygia - the home of the city's initial colonization and oldest sanctuaries, as well as the heart of the Sicilian provincial administration

³⁶⁵ Wilson 2012, 257. Examples also noted at Camarina, Thermae Himeraeae, and Centuripae (Wilson 2012, 248).

³⁶⁶ Voza 1999b, 89-92.

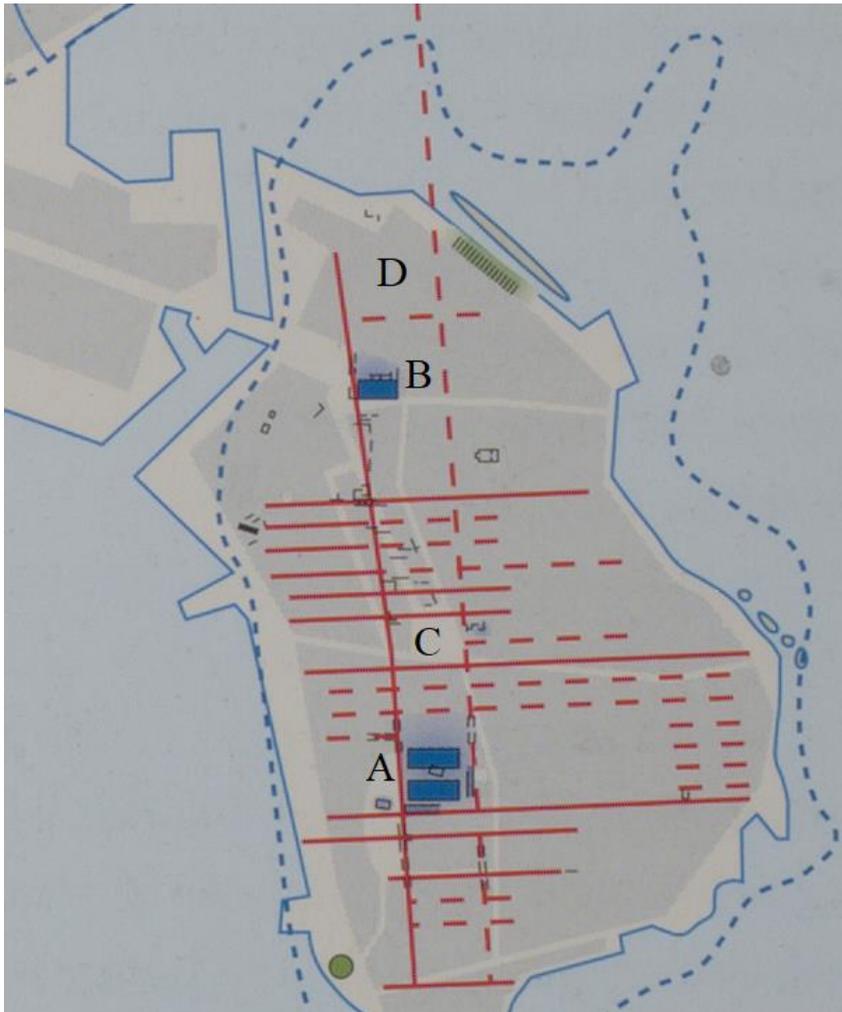


Fig. 92 - Syracuse, Ortygia. Sanctuaries of the Island (Mertens 2006, 311 fig. 467, edited by author).

A. Piazza del Duomo, “Athenaion” and “Artemision”; B. Largo XXV Luglio, Apollonion; C. Piazza Archimede, the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore; D. Approximate location of the Sanctuary of Venus.

2.8.1 The Apollonion and the Sanctuary at Piazza del Duomo

The city’s two most famous temples, the Apollonion and “Athenaion”, exemplify the problematic archaeological situation in Ortygia and the difficulty of assessing later religious activity. The Apollonion, a sixth-century peristyle hexastyle temple (21.50 x 54.90 m) at Largo XXV Luglio on the northern of Ortygia,³⁶⁷ was excavated during sporadic excavations from the mid-19th to mid-20th centuries. The last substantial excavations from 1938-1943 and 1948 were published in a sizable monograph by Cultrera in 1951.³⁶⁸ Despite the extent of these excavations, which left the temple and much of the sanctuary open, no materials or features of

³⁶⁷ For a recent discussion on temple’s chronology with previous bibliography, see Marconi 2007b, 49-50. On the secure attribution to Apollo based upon an inscription, see Guarducci 1982; Sacco 1992-3; Gentili 2006.

³⁶⁸ Cultrera 1951.

either the Hellenistic or Imperial periods were discussed. More recent excavations just to the south of the sanctuary and outside the *temenos*, do indicate the continued activity and urban development of northern Ortygia into the late Hellenistic and Imperial periods.³⁶⁹



Fig. 93 - Syracuse, Largo XXV Luglio. Apollonion, seen from the northwest (photo by author).

The “Athenaion”, part of a large sanctuary at Piazza del Duomo in the southern end of Ortygia, presents a similar picture of uncertainty. The sanctuary was equipped with two temples, the “Athenaion”, a fifth-century peristyle temple (22.20 x 55.45 m) now incorporated into the modern Duomo, and “Artemision” next to it, a late sixth to early fifth century peristyle temple (22.60 x 55.90 m).³⁷⁰ The sanctuary was excavated from 1910-1917 and periodically until the most recent works in the 1990s and from 2006-2010. Despite the publication of preliminary reports as well as two monographs in 1999 and 2013,³⁷¹ almost all scholarship has remained focused on the Archaic and Classical periods leaving the Roman period similarly nebulous. Sacred activity in the area, which appears to have begun as early as pre-historic times, continued through the foundation of the sanctuary and Greek colony in the late eighth century BC down to at least the third century BC.³⁷² This is recorded through an abridged catalog of material finds from excavations in the 1990s (including pottery, coins, and terracotta

³⁶⁹ Two large (unidentified) buildings were built along the road and date to the late Republican period (Cavalier *et al.* 1966, 111-2).

³⁷⁰ Guzzardi 2012, 168-74. Also known as the Temple of Artemis and Ionic Temple.

³⁷¹ Excavations published: Orsi 1910, 519-37; Orsi 1918; Gentili 1967, 61-84; Voza 1999a; Voza 2013. See especially: Guzzardi 2012, 133-44 for the most recent excavation history and previous scholarship on the sanctuary at Piazza del Duomo.

³⁷² Voza 1999a, 24-7, 42-7.

statuettes), including two votive *stipes*, both containing material from the mid-seventh to fourth centuries BC.³⁷³ The latest materials included in the catalog were a third century BC black gloss cup as well as a third to second century BC draped female terracotta statuette.³⁷⁴ The excavations of 1910-1917 recovered pottery continuing down from the Hellenistic to the high medieval period,³⁷⁵ but without proper context and study, they do little to provide clarity.



Fig. 94 - Syracuse, Piazza Duomo. Duomo of Syracuse (“Athenaion”), seen from the west (photo by author).

This has not prevented scholars from attempting to establish religious continuity at the “Apollonion” and sanctuary at Piazza del Duomo down into the Empire. This was first done by Orsi, who, upon the recovery of two marble statues in 1901 at Piazza Pancali, suggested they indicated a Roman phase at either the Apollonion or “Athenaion”. The two statues found *c.* 70 m to the southwest of the Apollonion were a 1.56 m late second to early third century AD Roman copy of Hades (fig. 97) and a 1.34 m late second century BC statue of Hygieia (fig.

³⁷³ Voza 1999a, 24-7, 42-7.

³⁷⁴ Voza 1999a, 27 nos. 30-1.

³⁷⁵ Orsi 1918, 560.

98).³⁷⁶ Both were found one atop the other at a shallow depth against a rudimentary post-antique wall; Orsi suggested that they had originally been decorative statues erected in one of the sanctuaries, and arrived at Piazza Pancali during the mass 16th-century movement of material during the construction of Spanish fortifications on the island.³⁷⁷ However, they can neither be securely connected to sanctuary nor Ortygia. These materials collected for the Spanish fortifications came from throughout the city and as far away as Neapolis and the Altar of Hieron.³⁷⁸ Not only does this make the use of these two statues unlikely, but it also makes the use of other statues, inscriptions, and architectural fragments found in Ortygia and without secure archaeological contexts, especially problematic. Even if they had come from Ortygia, as Orsi noted, their usage was likely decorative, and they can be dismissed as evidence.



Fig. 95 - Syracuse, Piazza Minerva. “Athenaion” incorporated into the Duomo of Syracuse with fluted Doric columns in the northern wall, seen from the northwest (photo by author).

³⁷⁶ Hades: Wilson 1990, 294 fig. 252, also identified as Pluto-Serapis: Gasparro 1973, 171 no. 12. An identification of Asclepius (Portale 2012, 154) is surely incorrect due to the attendant Cerberus. On Hygieia: Castellana 1973, 67. Wilson 1990, 294 is unwilling to exclude the possibility of an early imperial date but favors the late second century BC. An Imperial date has more recently been given (Cali 2009, 179 n. 25; Portale 2012, 154) for Hygieia without support.

³⁷⁷ Orsi 1901, 338, 343. A similar proposal was made by Sfameni Gasparro who, following her previous identification as Pluto-Serapis, connected it to Serapeum (Sfameni Gasparro 2006, 267).

³⁷⁸ Bernabò Brea 1958, 56; Lehmler 2005, 122.



Fig. 96 - Syracuse, Piazza Duomo. Excavations of 1996-1998, seen from the northwest (Voza 1999a, 15 fig. 6).

More compelling arguments for the continuity of both sanctuaries were given by Wilson. He argued that the conversion of the Apollonion and “Athenaion” into Byzantine churches should be seen as evidence of their continued maintenance, and thus religious use, well into the Empire.³⁷⁹ Indeed, church conversions are often used as evidence of a temple’s continued religious significance.³⁸⁰ On the other hand, the continued maintenance of temples cannot be assumed to be associated with continued religious use. Temple conversions can make an assessment of earlier phases particularly difficult as they often involved the destruction of features and materials,³⁸¹ and more recent studies on temple conversions have increasingly shown that temples were often either been abandoned for a significant period of time or repurposed (for non-sacred use) before being only later being converted into churches.³⁸² This point is strengthened throughout the thesis’ coverage of the non-sacred reuse of the Tetrastyle temple at Piazza Adda discussed above (Chapter 2.4) and the Peristyle Temple at Tauromenium (Chapter 6.1). This use is best evidenced by the “Oratory of Phalaris” (and later Norman church) that had been converted into a marketplace sometime in the Imperial period.³⁸³ As a

³⁷⁹ Wilson 1990, 162. A similar position is taken by Kunz 2006, 218.

³⁸⁰ Kunz 2006, 215-8. For more on church conversions of temples in Sicily, see Giglio 2003, 107-20; Fuduli 2012, and more widely Bayliss 2004, 6 with expansive bibliography.

³⁸¹ Kunz 2006, 216.

³⁸² Bayliss 2004, 58-64.

³⁸³ De Miro 1963, 62; De Miro 1990, 28. For further discussion, see also: Chapter 7.1.1.

result, existing arguments are not sufficient for the establishment of religious continuity at either sanctuary into the Imperial period.



Fig. 97 - Syracuse, Museo archeologico Paolo Orsi. Hades with attendant Cerberus (inv. no. 21686, photo by author); Fig. 98 - Syracuse, Museo archeologico Paolo Orsi. Marble Hygieia (inv. no. 21687, photo by author).

2.8.1.1 An Augustan Reworking of the Sanctuary at Piazza del Duomo

One almost entirely overlooked and particularly important piece of evidence is the destruction of the “Artemision”; the temple was completely dismantled and leveled to its foundation in the late first century BC.³⁸⁴ Why this occurred, and its implications for both the sanctuary and Ortygia as a whole are yet to be addressed. This does not appear to have been for the construction of newer buildings as the excavators reported that the area remained free of later construction until late Antiquity. It is possible that this was the destruction of a derelict or damaged temple. The “Artemision” does not appear to have ever been fully completed, and

³⁸⁴ Pelagatti and Voza 1973, 74; Guzzardi 2012, 176.

it has even been suggested that it was never used.³⁸⁵ However, the construction of temples was a slow process, and they were often used before completion,³⁸⁶ and Evans argued that it was particularly unlikely that an unfinished temple inside an otherwise active sanctuary would have been left unused.³⁸⁷ Cicero does mention that Verres' looting of the temples of Athena and Artemis (often linked to the sanctuary) resulted in significant damage (Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.122-125); however, this also cannot be assumed. Verres' impact on Sicily has been largely undetectable in the archaeological record (Chapter 1.2.2), and the attribution of Athena and Artemis is largely conventional and has not been sufficiently unsupported.³⁸⁸

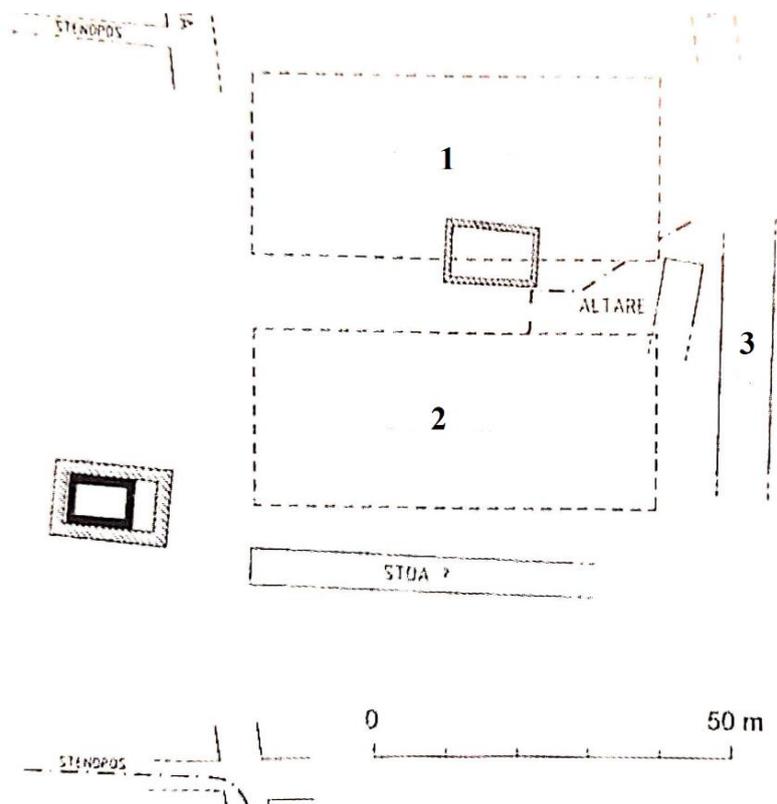


Fig. 99 - Syracuse, Sanctuary at Piazza Duomo (Mertens 2006, 75 fig. 92, edited by author).

1. "Artemision"; 2. "Athenaion"; 3. Altare/stoa?

A more compelling possibility comes from the sanctuary's topographical location. Although the exact location of Ortygia's agora, the first in the city, has remained an issue of uncertainty, it has been conventionally placed in the immediate area of the sanctuary at Piazza del

³⁸⁵ Holloway 2000, 72. It had been proposed that it was dismantled in the fifth century due to the supposed reuse of ionic columns at the "Athenaion" (Pugliese Caratelli 1985, 471). However, neither the early dismantling nor the reuse of ionic columns is now accepted in light of recent excavations (Guzzardi 2012, 176).

³⁸⁶ See for example, see Temple G at Selinunte in use until the destruction of the city in the mid-third century BC (Marconi 2007b, 81).

³⁸⁷ Evans 2009, 51.

³⁸⁸ Pfuntner 2019, 174.

Duomo.³⁸⁹ Almost nothing else can be said of the agora beyond its likely proximity to the sanctuary, perhaps located to the east. However, as was seen at the sanctuary at Piazza Adda (Chapter 2.4) and via Bengasi (Chapter 2.7) and will be explored throughout the thesis (Chapter 7.1.1), the partial or complete destruction of agora sanctuaries is repeatedly seen in connection with significant works in their agoras which were especially focused on the late first century BC. Comparing with the similar (much more extensive) destruction and leveling of the sanctuary at Via Bengasi, the “Artemision” could be viewed as an effort to create free space within the sanctuary or possibly its associated agora. A connection that is further strengthened by the monumental scope of a temple’s dismantling, which should be seen almost as monumental as its construction.³⁹⁰

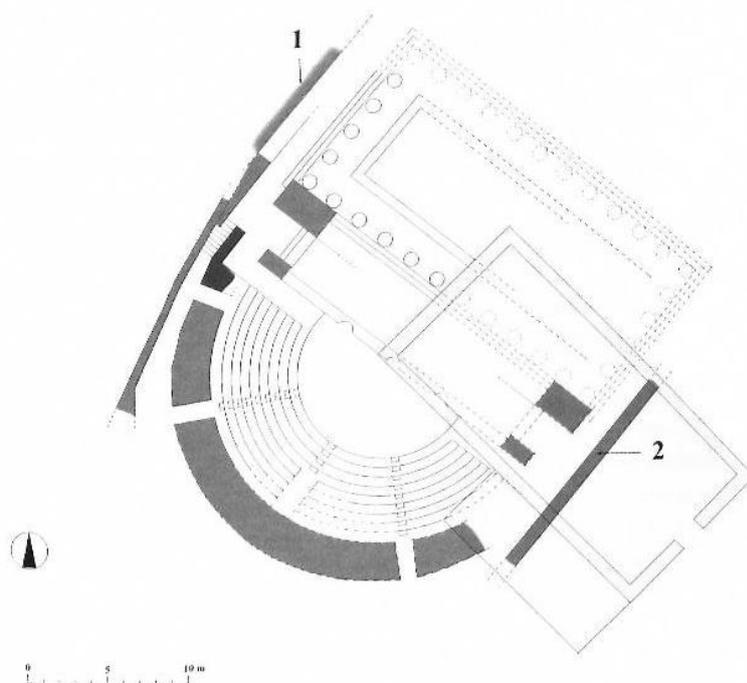


Fig. 100 - Tauromenium, “Peristyle Temple” with a wall separating the temple from Augustan agora (Campagna 2016, 258 fig. 14.3).

These comparable agora sanctuaries also suggest that, despite the continued presence of the “Athenaion”, the sanctuary may have seen a significant decline or gone out of use by that time. Orsi noted a sharp decline in the amount of later pottery finds, notably including the recovery of only scarce amounts *terra sigillata* from his excavations at the “Athenaion”.³⁹¹ Although the continued use of the area, especially as part of the agora, would likely present with the continued accumulation of materials. Excavations at the Peristyle Temple at Tauromenium

³⁸⁹ Pelagatti 1982, 137.

³⁹⁰ See Chapter 7.1.1 for more discussion on the leveling and destruction of temples in agoras.

³⁹¹ Orsi 1918, 560-1. Referred to “ceramiche aretine, pseudo-aretine, ed altre tarde” that were “assai scarso”.

presented a similar drop in material despite its location in the agora, which was explained by the construction of a wall (fig. 100.2) in the late first century BC directly in front of the then defunct temple, separating it from the agora (Chapter 6.1.1). Indeed, a similar dividing structure may have also been built in at the “Athenaion” (fig. 99.3). Orsi identified it as an altar of Archaic or Classical date, Mertens has instead suggested it was a stoa.³⁹² Although the ruins can no longer be inspected due to the presence of modern constructions, the dimensions, especially its length, raise questions about this identification. It appears to have extended even further to the north and south,³⁹³ possibly intersecting with an unknown feature (barrier?) immediately to the south, also identified as a stoa by Mertens. Whether a stoa or barrier, the structure’s position directly in front of the temple would have separated it from any altar; this separation is unlikely to have occurred while the temple was in use. It may instead date to the same period as the leveling of the “Artemision” and Orsi’s noted paucity of later pottery, including *terra sigillata*.

It is clear that the dismantling of the “Artemision” in the late first century BC has yet to receive sufficient attention. Despite significant questions that surround Roman Ortygia and the sanctuary’s continued use, this marked a significant development in the sanctuary. Comparable Augustan works at other agora sanctuaries could suggest that this event was part of a possible reworking of the area (and Archaic agora?), which involved the creation of additional open space and separated the “Athenaion” from the public space of the agora. This also establishes a plausible *terminus ante quem* for a decline or disuse of the sanctuary. However, as will be discussed below, this process may have begun soon after the city’s capture in 212 BC.

2.8.2 The Closure of Ortygia

The use of literary sources sheds light on the unique status of Ortygia and how this impacted the island’s sanctuaries. While the impetus for the significant changes at the sanctuary in Piazza Duomo may be placed in the first century BC, the sanctuary and entire religious landscape of the island also appears to have also been significantly influenced by a law instituted by Marcellus soon after the city’s capture. Cicero noted that after the city’s capture, Syracusans were not allowed to occupy the island.³⁹⁴

³⁹² Mertens 2006, 75. *contra* Orsi 1918, 446-51.

³⁹³ Two marble capitals of Imperial date were excavated during works at 10 Via Torres in 1944 *c.* 60 m directly south of the “Athenaion” (Bernabò Brea and Libertini 1947, 193), suggesting that the stoa could have extended even further marking the west size of a large public area.

³⁹⁴ Pfunter 2019, 172, 175, suggests that this policy continued until the Augustan period.

M. Marcellus, cuius virtute captae, misericordia conservatae sunt Syracusae, habitare in ea parte urbis quae in Insula est Syracusanum neminem voluit; hodie inquam, Syracusanum in ea parte habitare non licet; est enim locus quem vel pauci possent defendere. committere igitur eum non fidelissimis hominibus noluit, simul quod ab illa parte urbis navibus aditus ex alto est (Cic. Verr. 2.5.84)

Marcus Marcellus, by whose valour Syracuse was taken, by whose clemency it was preserved, forbade any Syracusan *habitare* in that part of the city which is called the Island. To this day, I say, it is contrary to law for any Syracusan *habitare* in that part of the city. For it is a place which even a very few men can defend. And therefore he would not entrust it to any but the most faithful men; and he had another reason too, because in that part of the city there is access to ships from the open sea.

The use of *habitare* in the passage is crucial for understanding how this would have impacted the island's sanctuaries. It could be read as only forbidding Syracusans from establishing residence on the island. But in this case, it more likely indicates a much greater restriction that prevented free access to the island. *Habitare* can also mean to frequent, to or be at habitually, or to stay.³⁹⁵ Cicero used *habitare* in this way to describe the bustle of Tyche as the most frequented district in the city “*ea pars... habitatur frequentissime*” (Cic. Verr. 2.4.119). This suggested meaning becomes more apparent in the following passage when Cicero stresses that this rule functioned to restrict the ability of Syracusans to access the island's docking facilities, which held the Roman navy (Cic. Verr. 2.5.85). As a result, the local Syracusans appear to have been largely denied access to Ortygia, although exceptions were made, most notably involving the controversial Cleomenes who had been placed in command of the navy by Verres. This restriction undoubtedly had a significant and wide-ranging impact on Ortygia and the city. Within the interests of the thesis, this would have served to make the traditional use of the city's oldest sanctuaries by the local population difficult, if not impossible, except perhaps in cases where a special dispensation could be procured.

Cicero's account of the looting of the temples of Artemis and Ortygia (the “Artemision” and “Athenaion”?) by Verres could argue against this, and this event has often been used as evidence of their continued “wealth, status, and relevance” into the first century BC.³⁹⁶ On the other hand, the sanctuary may have become especially popular with the island's resident foreigners. It should be noted that Cicero's account focused on the impact the looting of the temples would have had on Roman tourists as there was little left for the “tour guides”

³⁹⁵ LSJ.

³⁹⁶ Pfuntner 2019, 174.

["mystagogi"] of the city to show (Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.124, 2.4.132).³⁹⁷ His preoccupation with the impact on tourists suggests that the two temples may have primarily functioned as "museums" by that time. Although temples and sanctuaries had often functioned as a sort of "museum"; this function became especially focused in certain temples in Greece during the Imperial period.³⁹⁸ As a result, Cicero's account tells us little about how or if the local Syracusan population had continued to frequent the island or use these two temples after 212 BC.

2.8.2.1 Impact on the Sanctuary at Piazza Archimede

The impact of a possible restriction of Syracusans after 212 BC can be better seen at a less monumental sanctuary on the island that was less likely to have attracted foreign tourists. A sanctuary at Piazza Archimede dedicated to Demeter and Kore was uncovered c. 100 m north of the sanctuary at Piazza del Duomo and excavated in the 1970s, 1996-1998, and 2000-2001. Like the sanctuary at Piazza del Duomo, this sanctuary had also been in continuous use since the city's foundation, but its Hellenistic and Roman phases are much better detailed in preliminary reports and, therefore, significantly better understood.³⁹⁹ A significant Hieronian construction phase and the continued deposition of cult materials indicate the sanctuary's continued importance and sacred activity down to the third century BC.⁴⁰⁰ Despite the recent building phase, the sanctuary abruptly went out of use at the end of the third century BC, most clearly seen through the abandonment of the sanctuary's well-altar that had been in continuous use since the seventh century BC.⁴⁰¹ The area of the former sanctuary gradually took on a

³⁹⁷ Pfuntner 2019, 174.

³⁹⁸ For more on the use of temples as "museums", see Shaya 2005 especially 423 fn. 1 for additional bibliography. The Temple of Hera and Olympia has been described as having been like a museum in the second century AD (Arafat 1995). Conceptions of "religious pilgrimages" in antiquity has been increasingly challenged in favor of a more "secular" view as a form of ancient tourism (Scullion 2007).

³⁹⁹ Gentili 1973b; Bernabò Brea 1974, 79-80; Pelagatti 1980-1, 707-11; Pelagatti 1982, 119-47; Ciurcina 2000, 86-91; Basile 2009, 765-82. Attribution to Demeter and Kore is based upon votive materials and a terracotta metope depicting Demeter (Pelagatti and Voza 1973, 79-80; Gentili 1973b; Basile 2009, 782).

⁴⁰⁰ Basile 2009, 765-82.

⁴⁰¹ Ciurcina 2000, 87, 90 fig. 4; Basile 2009, 782. For a similar well-altar in use since the sanctuary's foundation to abandonment, see Altar 1 at the Central Sanctuary (Chapter 5.1.1). It should also be noted that in contrast to a single unusual Latin dedication (Chapter 2.8.3), no Greek dedicatory inscriptions can be placed within late Hellenistic Ortygia. One dedication was found in Ortygia (*SEG* 14.0014a; *ISic* 3002) that is either second century BC (Vidman 1969, 238 no. 516; Gasparro 1973, 167 no. 2) or Hellenistic? (Manganaro 1961, 176-7; not discussed in Manganaro 1965, 189 as referenced by Gasparro 1973, 167). However, the inscription was found during the dismantling of 16th-century Spanish fortifications at the entrance of Ortygia. As materials from throughout the city were used to build these fortifications (see above Chapter 2.8.1), this cannot be securely connected to the late Hellenistic religious life of the island.

residential character as houses were built inside the *temenos* during the second and first centuries BC.⁴⁰²

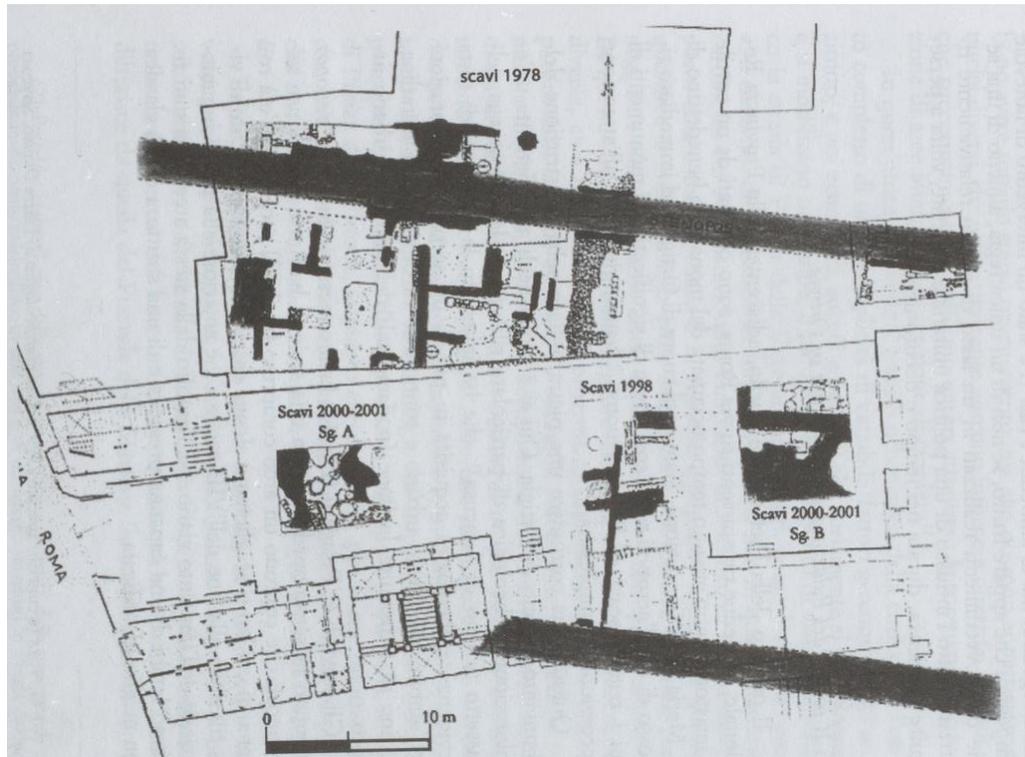


Fig. 101 - Syracuse, Piazza Archimede. Excavations at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore (Basile 2009, 766 fig. 11).

The abrupt abandonment of this historic sanctuary could be attributed to the restriction of Syracusans from the island. While some cities such as Morgantina saw a broad break in religious continuity associated with the Second Punic War (Chapter 5), this does not appear to be the case in Syracusae (Chapter 2.9.1). As has been seen throughout the chapter, a wider break affecting the city's religious sites focused most heavily on the first century BC.

2.8.3 The Sanctuary of Venus

While the previous sanctuaries suggest that the religious break in continuity associated with the city's capture in 212 BC through the exclusion of local Sicilians, this does not indicate a complete end of public religious activity on the island. Instead, the island's religious character may have come to accommodate the needs of the resident foreigners and Romans associated with the province's administration.

⁴⁰² Pelagatti 1982, 119, 119 fn. 10. The most recent excavations by Basile 2009, 776 uncovered an additional first-century BC building (unidentified) which was built in a different orientation from the earlier sanctuary.

A problematic inscription detailing a benefaction at a sanctuary of Venus was found in northern Ortygia as part of a now lost mosaic uncovered in 1576.⁴⁰³ The text survives only through Gualtherus' (George Walther) early 1624 century copy of Ios. Caietanus' lost transcription.⁴⁰⁴

GN OCTAVIO. A. F. MI. NICONOR. BOLONAR.
VELIC. VENER. TARIC. PAVIMENTVM. SEDI
LIA. FECIT. ÆDEMQVE. REFICIENDO COIR⁴⁰⁵

This text is generally accepted to be incorrect due to the presence of several otherwise unknown and rare words,⁴⁰⁶ and several attempts have been made to reconstruct the text. The above text is included in the *CIL*, along with Mommsen's suggested amendment:

*Cn. Octavi(us) A. f. Mai(cia?) Nicanor Bononia (?)
? public(anus) Vener(ei) Heruc(inae) pavimentum sedi
lia fecit aedemque reficiend(am) coir(avit) (CIL I² 2224; CIL X 7121).*

Gnaeus Octavius Nicanor, son of Aulus, from the tribe of Maicia and Bononia, made the pavement and benches for Venus Erycina and saw to the restoration of the temple.⁴⁰⁷

This version was followed, with only minor emendations,⁴⁰⁸ until a proposal by Gaggiotti in 2002, which reads:

*Cn(aeus) Octavio(s) A(uli) f(ilius) mini(ster) cohor(tis) bolonar(um)
velic(us) Vener(is) Taric(hinae) pavimentum sedi
lia fecit aedemque reficiend(am) coir(avit)⁴⁰⁹*

Cnaeus Octavius, son of Aulus, officer and administrator of the company of fishmongers made the pavement and benches and saw to the restoration of the temple of Venus Tarichina (of the Saltworks) (*ISic* 0402)

The inscription recounts the repair of a temple of Venus and the *ex novo* construction of a pavement (including the mosaic) and benches. The inscription, along with the recounted repairs and constructions, can only be dated based upon orthography. This dating especially problematic given the questions surrounding the inscription's content. Proposed dates range

⁴⁰³ Koldewey and Puchstein 1899, 56. Gualtherus 1624, 14 no. 105 reports the inscription was found "ubi arx Dionysii" at the foro D. Margarita. Later known as the Piazza di Montedoro. This piazza, no longer extant, lay in the vicinity of the Apollonion, see Enggron 2012, 65 no. 152.

⁴⁰⁴ "excerpsit Ios. Caietanus" (Gualtherus 1624, 14 no. 105).

⁴⁰⁵ Text as it appears in Gualtherus 1624, 14 no. 105. The text is reproduced in the *CIL* but is slightly different with additional interpuncts.

⁴⁰⁶ Tribulato 2012, 310. Degrassi 1957, 161 n. 279; Donati 1967, 88 no. 183. The presence of the ligature Æ in Gualtherus' text indicates that this was surely not a direct copy of what was found in the mosaic.

⁴⁰⁷ Italian translation from Lietz 2012a, 322: "Gneo Ottavio, figlio di Aulo, della tribù Mezia, Nicanore, di Bologna, pubblicano, ha costruito per Venere Ericina il pavimento e i sedili ed ha curato il restauro del tempio".

⁴⁰⁸ Degrassi 1957, 161 n. 279; Donati 1967, 88 no. 183.

⁴⁰⁹ Gaggiotti 2002, 1062.

from the second century BC to the first century AD, with Republican dates more favored.⁴¹⁰ The inscription has been interpreted in various ways based upon the various dates. Campagna and Giaggiotti read it as evidence of the benefaction of Italic *negotiatores* in the second century BC with Giaggiotti suggesting that Cnaeus Octavius was involved in the local fishing industry.⁴¹¹ Tribulato noted the bilingual character of the dedicator evidenced by Venus' transliterated Greek epithet *Tarichinae*⁴¹² and Wilson, with a later date, suggested a possible connection with works associated with Augustus' colonization in 21 BC.⁴¹³

The reading of *Taric* and *Bolonar* by Giaggiotti is one of the critical issues with the text. *Taric(hinae)* is a transliteration of an otherwise unknown adjective form, *Ταριχία* derived from *Ταριχία*, a place where the salting of fish and meat occurred.⁴¹⁴ *Bolona* is a rare Latin word, found primarily in medieval glosses and only once outside of medieval glosses, in the third century AD (Arn. *Adv. nat.* 2.38).⁴¹⁵ Giaggiotti argues that the rarity of each word and their inclusion together makes such a reading likely.⁴¹⁶ However, the inscription's urban and epigraphic contexts raise doubts about his reading while also illuminating the sacred character of Roman Ortygia.

This inscription is noteworthy given the rarity of Latin inscriptions before the Augustan period, with only twenty-two in total, primarily found in the Western Sicily and Syracuseae.⁴¹⁷ Of these, only five are dedicatory inscriptions and all of which are connected with especially important civic cults or those with a supra-regional appeal. Three of the dedications were found at Eryx, and to Venus Erycina, another at Halaesa to Apollo, and a very fragmentary inscription to an unknown deity from Syracuseae.⁴¹⁸

Apollo was Halaesa's most important cult, a fact clearly shown by the bronze tablets considering all the city's citizens as priests of the Apollo.⁴¹⁹ The cult of Venus Erycina held

⁴¹⁰ Pre-Augustan: *CIL* I² 2224; *CIL* X 7121. Republican to Augustan: Wilson 1990, 359 n. 70, 408 n. 45. Augustan: Koldewey and Puchstein 1899, 56; First century BC: Panciera 1997, 289 n. 472. Mid-second century BC: Giaggiotti 2002, 1057-8. First centuries BC to AD: Buscemi 2012, 57-8. Republican is the most likely. As Wilson (Wilson 1990, 359 n. 70, 408 n. 45) notes, the Archaic spelling of *coiravit* for *curavit* is most commonly found in inscriptions of the second to first century BC and a date after the Augustan period is unlikely.

⁴¹¹ Giaggiotti 2002, 1057-8; Campagna 2007, 121.

⁴¹² Tribulato 2012, 310-1.

⁴¹³ Wilson 1990, 40.

⁴¹⁴ Giaggiotti 2002, 1056-8.

⁴¹⁵ Tribulato 2012, 311.

⁴¹⁶ Giaggiotti 2002, 1056.

⁴¹⁷ Prag 2018a, 139-40.

⁴¹⁸ Halaesa: (*CIL* I² 2219); Eryx: (*CIL* 10 7253-5; *CIL* I² 2221-3; *ISic* 0533-5); Syracuseae: (*CIL* I² 3429; *CIL* 10 7121; *ISic* 0722).

⁴¹⁹ Prag 2018b, 94, 125-33. On the bronze tablets see Prag 2018b with previous bibliography. Also see Giallombardo 2003, 1077; Facella 2006, 203-14.

supranational appeal with evidence of her cult in Greece, North Africa, and Sardinia; it was also especially popular in central and southern Italy and an especially politically influential cult: two sanctuaries to her were constructed at Rome in 215 and 182/1 (Liv. 20.9.10; 23.30.1; 40.34.40).⁴²⁰

Isis and Serapis, or Asclepius have been suggested for the Syracusan dedication, but the text is too fragmentary for any certain identification.⁴²¹ However, its recovery from the city's principal agora at the Foro Siracusano, suggests that it was likely dedicated to an important civic cult. All the late Hellenistic dedications contrast with Giaggiotti's proposal for Venus *Tarichinae*, a local and substantially less politically important cult (which lacked civic or supra-regional appeal) that would have likely been more popular with locals and perhaps the occasional *negotiator* in the fishing and salting industries. Furthermore, a cult popular with locals is unlikely to have been placed in Ortygia, given the restrictions placed on local Syracusans' access to it, especially as Cicero specially referenced that this restriction was intended to restrict access to the island's docks.

A cult with a broader appeal, especially one to foreigners or Romans, would be far more likely. Indeed, Mommsen's reading of Venus Erycina,⁴²² as a cult of particularly political and foreign importance, would fit within this context and, as mentioned above, dedications to her account for three of the five known late Hellenistic Latin dedicatory inscriptions in Sicily. However, it is not clear how HERVC would have been read as TARIC. The spelling of her epithet does show a wide variation outside of Rome. In addition to Erycina at Eryx (*CIL* 10 7253-5; *CIL* I² 2221-3; *ISic* 0533-5), *Herucinae* is found at Puteoli (*CIL* X 8042), with the aspiration H coming from the Oscan form *Herukina*.⁴²³ *Aeruc(inae)* is among the suggested readings of a damaged inscription at Potentia in Lucania (*CIL* X 134).⁴²⁴ If Gualtherus' interpuncts are inaccurate, as Giaggiotti's reading supposes, then *VENER TARIC* could be emended to *VENERI ARIC*, and thus the common *Veneri Eruc(inae)* or *Aruc(incae)* are plausible readings.

⁴²⁰ Lietz 2012a, 436. On her Roman cult: Kienast 1965; Schilling 1982, 233-66; Lietz 2012a especially 77-83; Lietz 2012b. The Temple at Eryx was restored under Claudius at public expense (Tac. *Ann.* 4.43.4; Suet. *Claud.* 25.5) and may have housed the provincial treasury (Kienast 1965, 483-4).

⁴²¹ Manganaro 1989, 177-8.

⁴²² This reading was largely followed prior to Giaggiotti's proposal, see Koldewey and Puchstein 1899, 46; Kienast 1965, 484; Donati 1967, 88 no. 183; Wilson 1990, 40, 292 and most recently Kunz 2006, 75 without reference to Giaggiotti.

⁴²³ For an Oscan example at Herculaneum, see Conway 1897, 82 no. 87; Rix 2002, 116 cm 10.

⁴²⁴ The more conventional Erycinae reading for the inscription at Potentia was ultimately followed by Mommsen, but Aerucinae is supported by Lietz 2012a, 340-2.

Kunz cited the sanctuary of Venus Erycina in Syracusae as evidence of the city's status as the spiritual capital of the Roman province,⁴²⁵ and the placement of this possible sanctuary in the heart of Roman provincial administration on Ortygia is a tantalizing possibility. However, a secure reading of Venus' epithet is likely beyond recovery. Certainly, it fits within the context of the inscription's unusual use of Latin in the late Hellenistic period and would have been an ideal cult for a district frequented primarily resident foreigners and Romans. In either case, the inscription attests to the cult and sanctuary's prosperity under Rome, which saw Romano-Italic benefaction and was frequented by foreigners, especially Romans who inhabited the island and were associated with provincial administration.

2.8.4 Conclusions

The state of the Ortygia's evidence makes it difficult to draw secure conclusions about the island's religious development under Roman rule. As the site of some of Syracusae's oldest sanctuaries, it clearly was clearly the religious heart of the Greek city and, by extension, much of Eastern Sicily. However, the exclusion of local Syracusans from the island and the paucity of later evidence raises doubts about the extent to which it maintained this role. The Sanctuary at Piazza Archimede had gone out of use in the late third century BC, perhaps a direct result of this exclusion, with the later use of the area made clear through its residential development in the second and first centuries BC. The role of the temples of Athena and Artemis (the sanctuary at Piazza del Duomo?), as museums may have become increasingly important as fewer Syracusans would have been able to access to the sanctuary, and the sanctuary's livelihood, became more dependent on Romans and resident foreigners associated with the provincial administration.

The religious needs of the Romans and resident foreigners of the island were filled by other sanctuaries dedicated to gods of special importance to them. One of these foreigners, possibly a *negotiator*, C. Octavius paid for renovations at a sanctuary of Venus, possibly a cult that was particularly important throughout Sicily and Italy, such as Erycina. The unusual use of Latin before the Augustan period to record these renovations suggests that the inscription was targeted to the foreigners who could visit the sanctuary. Although it is unclear how the sanctuary at Piazza del Duomo may have been used in the late Hellenistic period (museum?), it saw a significant reworking in the late first century BC with the leveling of the "Artemision" as a part of what may have been the development of Sicily's oldest agora in connection with

⁴²⁵ Kunz 2006, 238-43.

Augustus' colonization of the city. At the same time, the paucity of later pottery and the construction of what may have been barriers, possibly a stoa or walls, around the "Athenaion" suggests that if it had not already gone out of use by that time, it was most likely not an active cult installation within the new agora.

2.9 Syracuse: Analysis and Conclusions

2.9.1 Chronological

Unsurprisingly, Syracuse has the largest sample size of active Roman period cult sites in the thesis, with a total of seven archaeologically attested examples. There is a significant amount of religious continuity between the third and second centuries BC in comparison with the other cities that were besieged and captured by the Romans in the Second Punic War, such as Morgantina (Chapter 5). Five of the city's seven post-212 BC sanctuaries appear to have been used continuously throughout this period without any major interruption. Only at Ortygia, where Roman policy may have restricted local Syracusan access to the island's sanctuaries, is there evidence of a significant break in the city's religious continuity (Chapter 2.8.2). Outside of Ortygia, other sanctuaries, such as the Sanctuary of Artemis at Scala Greca (in the hinterlands north of the city)⁴²⁶ and an Archaic sanctuary at Via Zappalà (c. 300 m northeast of the theater), are known to have gone out of use by the third century BC and provide possible evidence of a religious break.⁴²⁷ However, the position of these sanctuaries beyond the edge of the Roman city (fig. 103) suggests that any break was likely the result of the city's contraction after the Second Punic War and not the result of significant cultural or religious changes. In any case, this supports the growing evidence of cultural continuity between the two periods.

The monumentalization and development of existing sanctuaries in favor of the foundation of new sites was a noted feature of Hieron's religious building program.⁴²⁸ This appears to have continued, and no *ex novo* Republican sanctuaries can be identified. The origins of the "Ginnasio romano" can now firmly be placed at least as early as the fourth-third centuries BC (Chapter 2.6). Two sites that had not been continuously used through the late third to early second century BC were reactivations of earlier defunct sanctuaries. The "Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites" (Chapter 2.2), in use from the Archaic period until c. 230 BC, when its cult may

⁴²⁶ Orsi 1900, 208-9, 353-7; Reichert-Südbeck 2000, 72; Fischer-Hansen 2009, 210-2; Parisi 2017, 169-70.

⁴²⁷ Messina 2009. Not included is a sanctuary at the catacombs of S. Lucia had been active from the fourth/third to second century BC when it converted into a pottery workshop, but the identification as a sanctuary is now doubted. For more with full bibliography, see Tanasi and Gradante 2017, 582-4.

⁴²⁸ Parisi Presicce 2004, 217. This point is further strengthened if the proposed connection between the Altar of Hieron and the "Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites" (Chapters 2.1-2) is correct.

have been transferred to the Altar of Hieron, was later reactivated, most likely by the mid-second century BC, if the connection between both sanctuaries is solid (Chapter 2.1-2). Similarly, the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Piazza Adda (Chapter 2.5) was out of use by the mid-fourth century BC before seeing a limited reactivation focused on a small area of its northern *temenos*. The need for new sanctuaries in the second century BC appears to have thus been largely accommodated through the reactivation of older cult sites that already had an established connection to the city's religious past. However, it should be noted that in contrast to Hieron's monumentalization of the city's religious past, both of these represented a de-monumentalization with emphasis on the city's pre-Hieronian religious past through the downsizing of the Altar of Hieron and the limited residential reactivation of the monumental Classical sanctuary at Piazza della Vittoria.

Cicero's descriptions of the beautiful and magnificent temples of Syracusae has been read as a testament to a strong continuity of the city's public religious life,⁴²⁹ but the archaeological evidence presents the first century BC as one of significant religious change with the number of active sanctuaries decreasing significantly by the end of the century. By the late first century BC, only the "Ginnasio romano" clearly remained in use (Chapter 2.7) with possible continuity also at the "Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites" (Chapter 2.2)

It is difficult to assess the developments within these sanctuaries leading up to the break in continuity. However, it is clear that this period saw more than just the reactivation, transfer, and disuse of sanctuaries. These older sanctuaries saw continued maintenance and upkeep; older buildings at the sanctuary at Via Bengasi received new floorings (Chapter 2.7). The most notable changes, however, occurred within the one sanctuary with the clearest evidence of sacred continuity. The "Ginnasio Romano" (Chapter 2.6) underwent an extensive monumentalization receiving a new podium temple with surrounding stoa. The sanctuary of Venus in Ortygia (Chapter 2.8.1) also saw substantial works with the renovation of the temple as well as new a new pavement (with mosaic) with benches.

Despite the fact that none of these developments can be more precisely dated than the "late Hellenistic/Republican" period, it is tempting to interpret a simple and general phase of growth and development during the third to second century BC that was followed by a first-century BC decline, possibly part of the urban decline mentioned by Strabo. Indeed, a similar period of change and rupture in the religious landscape can also be seen Morgantina in the same

⁴²⁹ Pfuntner 2019, 173-4.

period; here this was undoubtedly influenced by the settlement's wider decline in the first century BC ultimately resulting in its complete abandonment by the mid-first century AD (Chapter 5.7).

Sanctuary and Cult Attribution	c.300-250 BC	c.250-200 BC	c.250-200 BC	c.200-150 BC	c.150-100 BC	c.100-50 BC	c.50-0 BC	c.0-50 AD	c.50-100 AD
Altar of Hieron (Chapter 2.1) Chthonic, Heroes, Zeus (Olympian?)		X	X	X					
“Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites” (Chapter 2.2) Chthonic, Heroes, Zeus (Olympian?)	X				X	?	?	?	?
Sanctuary on Temenite Hill (Chapter 2.3) Chthonic, Heroes, Demeter and Kore?	X	X	X	X	X	X	?		
Sanctuary at Piazza Adda (Chapter 2.4) Dionysus, Demeter and Kore	X	X	X	X	X	X			
Sanctuary at Piazza della Vittoria (Chapter 2.5) Demeter and Kore					X	X			
“Ginnasio romano” (Chapter 2.6) Eastern cult (Atargatis?)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Sanctuary at Via Benghazi (Chapter 2.7) Unknown	X	X	X	X	X	?	?		
Sanctuary at Piazza Duomo (Chapter 2.8.1) Athena? and Artemis?	X	X	?	?	?	?	?		

Fig. 102 - Timeline: Sanctuaries of Roman Syracusae.

Later “secular” activity at the sanctuaries, which sometimes involved the repurposing and reuse of cult structures, suggests that if such a decline did occur in the first century BC, it did not result in any long-term decline in the city. The Altar of Hieron was converted into a park in the late first century BC (Chapter 2.1), the Sanctuary at Piazza della Vittoria (Chapter 2.4) fell out of use through the area's continued residential development, and the tetrastyle temple

at Piazza Adda (Chapter 2.5) was reused for an as yet still undetermined purpose, possibly as part of the agora's development that had begun in the first century AD. The fourth sanctuary at Via Bengasi (Chapter 2.7), and the "Athenaion" (Chapter 2.8.1.1) were both destroyed and paved over in the first century BC as part of a possible late first century BC (Augustan) development of two of the city's agoras.

The only disused sanctuary which did not see any later (non-sacred) reuse appears to have been the monumental Sanctuary on the Temenite Hill (Chapter 2.3). It appears to have remained entirely abandoned until the area was later used as a necropolis. The sanctuary's proximity to the northern edge of the city (fig. 103), as well as its hilltop location, may have played a role in the area's continued abandonment and the rest of Neapolis to the south appears to have flourished, as seen through its continued development and monumentalization throughout the Augustan and early Imperial periods, most notably through the conversion of the Altar of Hieron into a park and construction of the Amphitheater. This puts the impetus for the significant change in the city's religious landscape in the first century BC, not solely on the city's urban development (or possible decline) within the city, but instead on other factors such as cultural and religious changes in the city. These changes, as throughout the rest of Sicily, appear to have been most strongly connected with the Civil Wars and Augustan period, and especially his colonization program in the late first century BC.

The archaeological evidence thus far discussed in the thesis makes an assessment of the first century AD difficult. However, there does not appear to be a continuation of this phase of decline and abandonment of the city's historic sanctuaries. Instead, the city appears to have seen the significant works in other sanctuaries (not attested to in the thesis) as part of a significant building phase throughout the early Imperial period.

Some sanctuaries which had evidently survived through the first century BC were repaired and renovated. An inscription found reused in the catacombs of San Giovanni recounts the restoration of sacred rites and the construction of an unknown feature, possibly a temple at a sanctuary of Serapis in the late first century BC or early first century AD (*AE* 1951.174; *ISic* 0728).⁴³⁰ Similarly, Suetonius recounts, "at Syracusae he [Caligula] repaired the city walls, which had fallen into ruin through lapse of time, and the temples of the gods" (*Suet. Calig.* 21).

⁴³⁰ Bernabò Brea and Libertini 1947, 173. Text is fragmentary and survives in two marble fragments, second fragment not shown. Manganaro 1989, 182-3 no. 62 provides an ambitious reading for the construction of a temple. For a questionable late second or third-century AD date, see Lo Faro 2010, 54-5 no. 16. For more on the inscription, see below (Chapter 3.9.3.2).

Later, in the Flavian period, the “Ginnasio Romano” underwent another extensive renovation (Chapter 2.6). The sanctuary’s theatrical elements were monumentalized through the construction of a theater with a marble veneer. This also included the incorporation and modification of the late Hellenistic podium temple to function as the new theater’s *scaenae frons* with new marble veneer, marble entablature (“plain convex frieze”), and marble columns. The surrounding stoa also likely saw the addition of a marble veneer, marble columns, and marble statues, possibly representing the benefactors responsible for the extensive works. An Augustan temple found to the southeast of the Amphitheater in Neapolis,⁴³¹ if it doesn’t represent similar works within a surviving sanctuary, could indicate that new sanctuaries were also founded in this period to replace those that had fallen out of use during the course of the first century BC.

2.9.2 Topographical

The best-understood sanctuaries in Syracusae are concentrated in Neapolis and Achradina, both in the monumental areas of these districts (at or near agorai/fora and the theater) and in residential areas. As a result, the evidence of the city’s development is largely reflective of the topographical developments in these districts. Although the evidence from Ortygia is far more limited, it should be understood as unique and apart from the rest of the city due to the law forbidding access to the island by the local populace (at least in the Republican period). The island had its own cult life with sanctuaries such as to Venus (possibly Erycina), which accommodated the religious needs of the foreigners, Romans, and the few Syracusans who were permitted on the island. The city’s capture in 212 BC appears to have represented a break in religious continuity on Ortygia similar to what was later seen throughout the city in the first century BC and especially Augustan period (Chapter 2.8.2.1). Cicero implies that some of the island’s historic sanctuaries (sanctuary at Piazza del Duomo?) may have continued to be used in some fashion into the Republican period. However, at these sites, 212 BC may still represent a period of significant religious change with the temples of Artemis and Athena perhaps functioning more as “museums” for foreign and Roman “tourists” than as cult sites of significant civic and religious importance to the local Syracusans (Chapter 2.8).

⁴³¹ Wilson 1990, 373 n. 337.

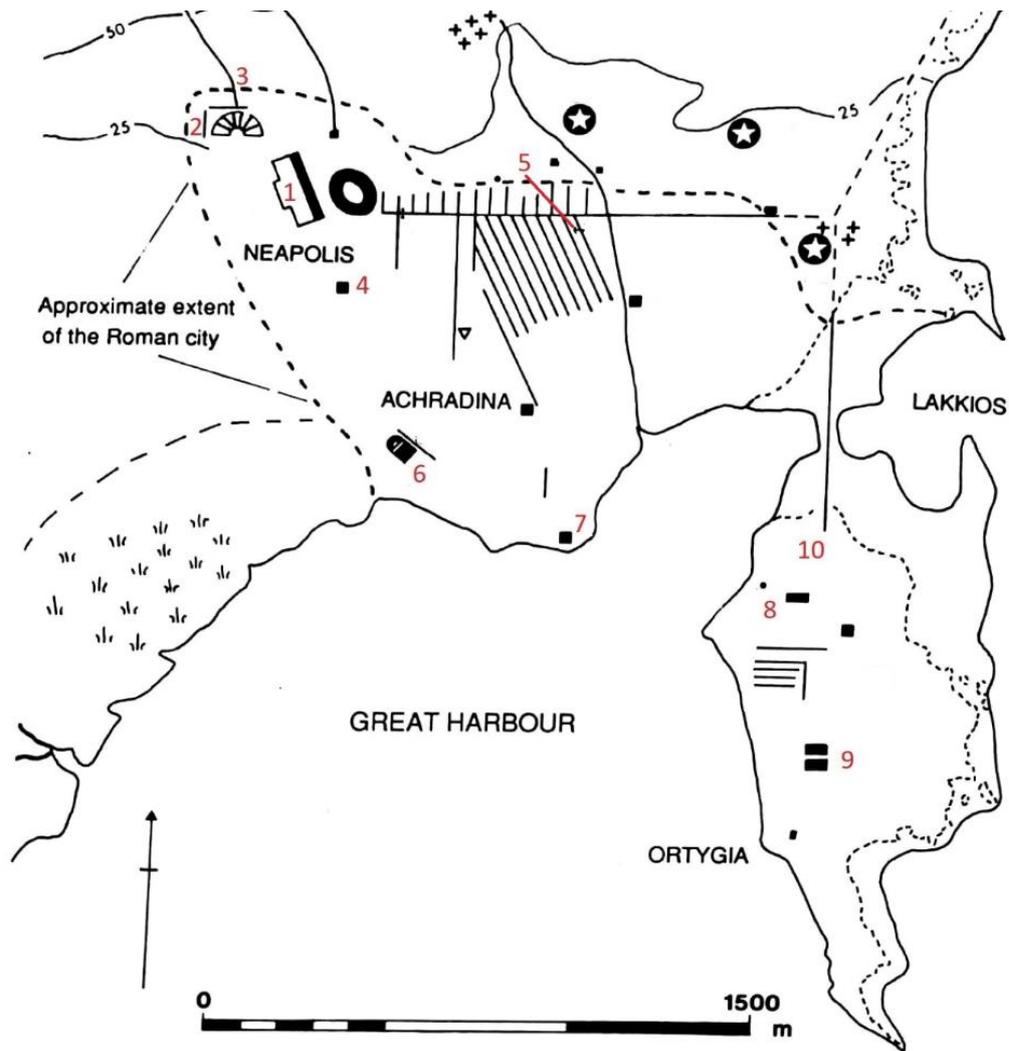


Fig. 103 - Syracuse. Major sanctuaries discussed in the text (Wilson 1990, 160 fig. 134.1, edited by author).

1. The Altar of Hieron; 2. The “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites”; 3. The sanctuary on the Temenite Hill; 4. The sanctuary at Piazza Adda; 5. The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Piazza della Vittoria; 6. The “Ginnasio romano”; 7. The sanctuary at Via Bengasi; 8. Apollonion; 9. The “Artemision” and “Athenaion” (sanctuary at Piazza del Duomo); 10. Approximate location of the sanctuary of Venus.

The first century BC and Augustan transformation of the city’s sacred landscape had a significant impact on the sanctuaries in the city’s agoras. Three plausible agoras saw works that appear to have significantly impacted older sanctuaries within them and led to their sacred disuse. The sanctuary at via Bengasi (Chapter 2.7) in what may have been the city’s principal agora (Foro Siracusano) and the “Artemision” at the Archaic agora (Chapter 2.8.1.1) were leveled in the late first century BC for the creation of open space. The abandonment of the tetrastyle temple at Piazza Adda, possibly as early as the first century BC can be similarly understood as part of the gradual development of a possible agora in the area with the

construction small triangular forum in the first century AD, and the temple's conversion for a non-sacred purpose in the second century AD (Chapter 2.4). It was almost certain that religious activities in these public spaces would have shifted to other, possibly new, cult sites, which are not evidenced at Syracuse. Similar shifts may be seen at the agoras of Tauromenium (Chapters 6.1-2) and Agrigentum (Chapter 7.1.1).

2.9.3 Cult

Cult provides another framework for understanding the city's religious development with cult attributions ranging from plausible to secure available at six of the seven sanctuaries. Zeus (Olympian?) with chthonic aspects was worshiped at the Altar of Hieron and perhaps the "Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites", if its cult was indeed transferred there (Chapter 2.1-2). The cult of Demeter and Kore is well-represented at the sanctuaries on the Temenite Hill, at Piazza Adda, and Piazza della Vittoria (Chapter 2.3-5). Their cult also had significant heroic aspects at the Temenite Hill and Dionysian aspects at Piazza Adda. Although the cult of the "Ginnasio Romano" cannot be determined with precision, an Eastern cult with theatrical and possibly chthonic aspects seems likely, possibly Atargatis (Chapter 2.6). Only the cult of the sanctuary via Bengasi (Chapter 2.7) remains uncertain with Poseidon speculative, although its chthonic aspect is clear through votive practices and its well-altar.

2.9.3.1 Demeter and Kore

As the best-represented cult, the religious rupture of the first century BC was most strongly felt by Demeter and Kore. Three of the four sanctuaries were dedicated to the cult with the attribution of the fourth, the sanctuary via Bengasi, unknown but chthonic (Chapter 2.7). Because the cult is attributed to such a large proportion of the city's sanctuaries, it can be difficult to disentangle changes focused on their cult and those that were also felt within the wider sacred landscape. However, in this case, it seems probable that the cult and the first century BC decline are closely connected. There are no known cult sites of Demeter and Kore after the Augustan period, and other forms of evidence from throughout the city are similarly limited beyond the first century BC.⁴³²

Possible evidence of the later cult comes from a fragmentary Imperial inscription of marble (80 x 41 cm has) which has been read as evidence of a *sevir Augustalis* and *flamen* of the

⁴³² For more on the cult of Demeter and Kore in Syracuse primarily through literary sources but also including archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic material, see Polacco 1986, 21-41; Reichert-Südbeck 2000, 228-58.

college of Ceres.⁴³³ [---]aug[---][---] *Cerialis sex[vir Augustalis]* (CIL X 7146; ISic 0426). It is not clear if this represents Ceres or if the *Cerialis* is a *cognomen*. Although Manganaro dismissed the later reading,⁴³⁴ *Cerialis* (alternatively *Cerealis*) was an especially common *cognomen*. Furthermore, the use of *Cerealis* in connection with the priesthood of Ceres is uncommon outside of Rome, where the term was connected with the *Aedilis Cerealis* and *Flamen Cerealis* associated with the *Ludi Ceriales* and the *Sacrum Cereale* respectively.⁴³⁵ The genitive *Cereris* and other variations are more commonly used outside of Rome.⁴³⁶ This absence of evidence should not be taken to suggest that the cult of Demeter and Kore was no longer practiced or entirely disappeared. Certain aspects of the cult were likely incorporated within other cults such as the Imperial cult and “Eastern” cults, which thrived into the Empire (Chapters 2.9.3.2; 7.2.2). However, this absence of evidence and break in continuity is especially notable not only because the cult had seen such notable growth in the second century BC with the resurrection of their sanctuary at Piazza della Vittoria (Chapter 2.5), but also, as will be shown throughout the thesis, the widespread nature of this change which can be seen throughout the territory of the thesis (Chapter 7.2.1-2).

2.9.3.2 “Eastern” Cults

“Eastern” foreign cults, while archaeologically underrepresented outside of the “Ginnasio romano”, appear to have flourished throughout the Republican and Imperial periods. Although it could trace its origins back to the city’s Greek past like the other sanctuaries, the “Ginnasio romano” underwent the two most significant renovations discussed in the thesis in both the late Hellenistic period, with its monumentalization through the temple and stoa, and mid-late first century AD (Flavian?), with the monumentalization of its theatrical aspects (Chapter 2.6). Continuity associated with these “foreign” cults is also seen in the epigraphic record. A sanctuary of Isis and Serapis was renovated in the late first century BC or early first century AD by one of the cult’s priests, Publius Papinius (AE 1951.174; ISic 0728).⁴³⁷ Further activity associated with the public aspect of “Eastern” cults is also seen in an inscription attesting to

⁴³³ Manganaro 1989, 181-2 no. 61; Kunz 2006, 67.

⁴³⁴ Manganaro 1989, 182.

⁴³⁵ Heidelberg epigraphic and EDR databases reveals the primary use of *Cerealis* as a *cognomen* with exceptions coming from Rome (CIL X 5028; AE 2015, 152). For more on these offices and their associated rites and games see Spaeth 1996, 34-7, 86-90. For an example of this word order with name then *sevir Augustalis*, see *Aram Victoriae Sex(tus) Pompeius Mercator VVir(sevir) Aug(ustalis)...* (CIL 10.7269; ISic 0545).

⁴³⁶ For a useful appendix of uses of *Cereris* and other variations in connection with civic priestesses, see Hemilrijk 2015, 346-66. Examples from Sicily can be found in Chapter 7.2.

⁴³⁷ See above Chapter 2.9.1.

the presiding officers of the cult of the Syrian Goddess from the first century BC to the first half of the first century AD.

2.9.3.3 Zeus

Another cult that appears to have undergone a significant change in the Republican period is Zeus. While the religious and political importance of the cult under Hieron II is well established,⁴³⁸ how the cult changed after the reign of Hieron II has received little attention. It has been thought that the Zeus cult (Olympian?) at the Altar of Hieron declined significantly after 212 BC, as its monumental aspects no longer served a purpose under the new Roman administration.⁴³⁹ The examination of the Altar of Hieron's votive materials instead emphasized a significant degree of religious continuity into the first half of the second century BC (Chapter 2.1.2). Instead, this change appears to have occurred when these cult practices ceased by the mid-second century BC, and the cult appears to have been de-monumentalized and transferred to the nearby "Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites" (Chapter 2.2.3). This process marked a distinct break in continuity, one which clearly separated cult from its monumental and Hieronian position of importance. However, the transfer back to the pre-Hieronian sanctuary that appears to have housed the cult since the Archaic period also suggests that the cult returned to its pre-Hieronian level of civic importance, one more in line with the city's new status under Rome.

Archaeologically, little can be said of the cult's development within the "Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites" after this transfer. The eponymous priesthood of Zeus Olympios, the *amphipolis*, instituted by Timoleon in the fourth century BC and used throughout the Hieronian and Republican periods, continued to be used at least into the early first century AD.⁴⁴⁰ However, Diodorus noted that this priesthood began to lose its importance after Caesar's grant of citizenship in 44 BC (Diod. Sic. 16.70). While it continued to maintain some level of relevancy after, last appearing alongside the eponymous consuls of AD 35 (*SEG* 42.0833; *ISic* 2997),⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁸ Campagna 2004, 159-61; Serrati 2008, 84-6; Lehmler 2005, 145-50, 155.

⁴³⁹ Vonderstein 2006, 139.

⁴⁴⁰ Sherk 1993, no. 270-1 no. 228; Kunz 2006, 180. Additional evidence of the cult of Zeus includes an inscribed Augustan limestone altar found in Achradina which was dedicated by a Markianos to Zeus and Tyche (*SEG* 44.787; *ISic* 0634).

⁴⁴¹ Sherk 1993, 297. The use of eponymous and consular dating systems alongside each other continued to be used well into the Empire (Curchin 2016, 58-72) with the latest examples from Panormus in AD 198/199 (*CIL* X 7274-5; *ISic* 0016-7).

this shows that the religious change of the first century BC was likely not limited solely to the cult of Demeter and Kore.

2.9.3.4 Venus and the Romano-Italic Presence

It has been observed that, outside of the capital *Syracusae*, the use of Latin was rare in Eastern Sicily throughout the Republican period.⁴⁴² Although colonization of *Syracusae* resulted in a further increase in the language's use, particularly in public spaces, the use of Greek remained strong in other contexts, most notably religious dedications where Greek was never overtaken by Latin.⁴⁴³ As discussed above, the inscription set up by Cnaeus Octavios, recounting his renovations at the sanctuary of Venus (*Erycina*?) in the Republican period, shows the unique status of the religious landscape of *Ortygia*. Here, the inscription appears to have been targeted at those who used the sanctuary and were allowed on *Ortygia*, namely the local Romano-Italic population, resident foreigners, and those associated with the provincial administration based on the island (Chapter 2.8.3).

This increased presence of Romano-Italic persona and their impact within religious institutions also visited by local Greeks (and those bearing such names) can also be seen within other religious contexts such as a now-lost Greek inscription of possibly Republican date which listed the presiding officers of the Syrian Goddess' cult (*IG* 14.9; *CIG* 3.5372; *ISic* 0829).⁴⁴⁴ The officers with Romano-Italic names were listed separately and above the officers with Greek names, which provides an interesting contrast with a similar Greek inscription of the second century BC from nearby a rural sanctuary in *Contrada Borgellusa* (*Avola*), which lists the *prostatai* of the cult of Demeter (Chapter 2.1). Here Latin and Greek names are intermixed with no priority given to either group. This suggests even within Greek epigraphic contexts and sanctuaries, which were also visited by locals, the Romano-Italic presence manifested itself differently, possibly even before the city's colonization in 21 BC.

Unsurprisingly, renovations and major public works were increasingly associated with the Roman-Italic population and more "Romanized" Greeks as time went on. This was closely associated with works at sanctuaries which saw the greatest continuity into the Imperial period, such as those dedicated to "Eastern" cults. The renovations at the sanctuary of Isis and Serapis

⁴⁴² Prag 2002, 28.

⁴⁴³ Korhonen 2002, 70-1; Korhonen 2011, 8-10; Salmeri 2004, 283.

⁴⁴⁴ Previously dated to the first century AD based upon the contents of the inscription (Tusa 1963, 189). Wilson's date argued that the absence of *cognomina* in one of the names on the inscription indicates a date before the middle of the first century AD with sometime as early as the first century BC possible (Wilson 1990, 300, 413 n 102).

were a private Romano-Italic by Publius Papinius paid for without public funds (Chapter 2.8.3.2), and although the identity of the benefactors for the Flavian renovation at the “Ginnasio Romano” is unknown, marble fragments of Latin inscriptions found in the sanctuary show suggest that the later Imperial renovations were likely also commemorated in Latin (Chapter 2.6.1).

2.9.4 Conclusion

The sacred landscape of Syracuse changed significantly from the second century BC to the first century AD, impacting both large monumental and smaller residential sanctuaries. This was most strongly felt within sanctuaries most closely associated with the “traditional” Greek religious deities and their sanctuaries, such as Demeter and Kore, as well as Zeus. Demeter and Kore went from a dominating feature of the religious cityscape to its almost complete disappearance as far as the evidence allows. Zeus, which had reached a peak in importance under Hieron its monumentalization at the Altar of Hieron, saw a return to its pre-Hieronian level of civic importance as it was returned to a more suitable location in standing with the city’s new position the capital of a province and not kingdom. In contrast to the more sanctuaries connected with the city’s more “traditional” cults, “Eastern” cults and those able to appeal to foreigners appear to have seen a contrasting level of prosperity; the “Ginnasio romano” thrived with significant monumentalization in the late Hellenistic and mid-late first century AD. A sanctuary of Isis and Serapis also saw a significant renovation at the same time that many of the city’s more “traditional” Greek sanctuaries with strong ties to the city’s Archaic and Classical past (such as those dedicated to Demeter and Kore) fell out of use or were converted for new non-sacred functions in the aftermath of the city’s colonization in 21 BC.

Other “traditional” religious cults such as Venus on Ortygia, possibly Sicilian Erycina, were able to attract benefactions from the city’s increasing Romano-Italic population associated with the provincial administration. Any cults able to appeal to this sizable new demographic, as well as an increasingly “Romanized” local populace, undoubtedly continued to prosper. The available evidence undoubtedly represents only a very limited picture of the city’s sacred landscape. Further dedicated studies on this often-overlooked period of the city’s history are needed to clarify this nebulous picture, not only on the existing archaeological, epigraphic, and literary evidence, but also through further excavations, especially in Ortygia.

Chapter Three: The Rural Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Contrada Borgellusa (Avola)

Introduction

Along the ancient road from Helorus to Syracusae, 5 km north of the mouth of the River Assinarus (modern Asinaro), near the ancient city of Abolla¹ (modern Avola) are the remains of a peristyle maritime villa (fig. 1). An Archaic sanctuary of Demeter and Kore is believed to have been in the area based upon sporadic finds associated with the cult, and it has been suggested by one of the excavators, Bacci, that the villa may have even been built atop the sanctuary.² Excavations at the villa first began in 1954 by Gentili during the construction of the modern road (Via Sandro Pertini), which now runs directly through the villa; subsequent excavations were undertaken in the early 1960s by Currò and then again in the 1980s by Bacci.³

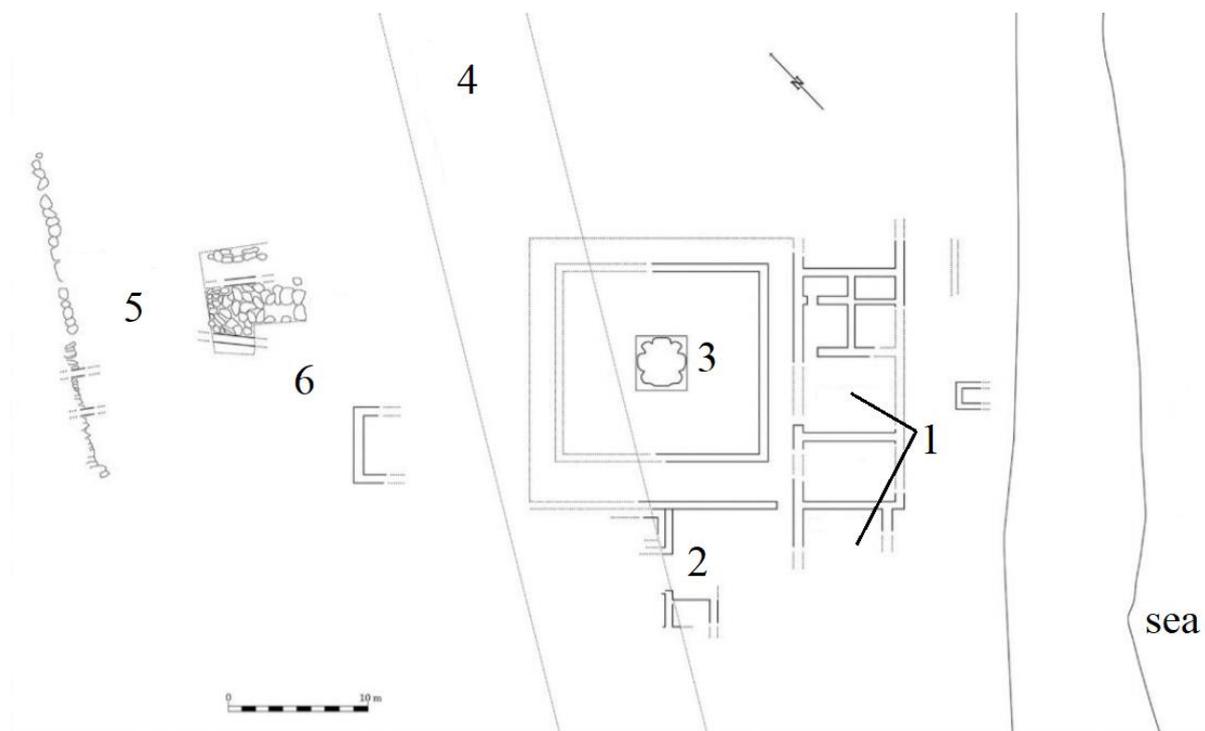


Fig. 1 - Contrada Borgellusa (Avola), Roman villa (Pignatello and Veca 2017 fig. 5, edited by author).

1. Villa floors in *opus signinum*; 2. Villa floors in marble slab; 3. Peristyle courtyard and basin; 4. Modern road; 5. Pavement; 6. Area of un-dated walls (fig. 2).

Information is primarily available through three brief preliminary reports for the excavations of 1954, the early 1960s, and 1980 while excavations of the later 1980s have not yet been

¹ *BTCGI* III, 345-51

² Bacci 1984-5, 713. On these materials, see below: Chapter 3.3.

³ Gentili *et al* 1954, 204 no. 2792; Currò 1966a, 94; Bacci 1984-5, 711-3.

published. Subsequent studies were conducted by Wilson on the villa, Hinz on the cult materials, and Manganaro on an inscription.⁴ A detailed synthesis of these works has not yet been performed, nor has the connection between the cult materials, sanctuary, and their relationship to the villa been fully explored.

Reexamination of the site and available materials supports Bacci's proposal for a sanctuary underlying the villa and establishes a general chronology for the sanctuary. This suggests that the sanctuary dates to the Archaic period and continued to be used at least into the second century BC and benefited significantly from the increasingly prominent Romano-Italic presence following the Second Punic War. Despite this boon, the presence of the villa over what may have been at least part of an earlier sanctuary combined with an absence of later votive materials suggests that this did not continue into the Imperial period.

3.1 Villa and Sanctuary

The villa's chronology remains unclear due to the limited archaeological data and its problematic archaeological context. Much of the villa was looted in antiquity, and agricultural activity in the area before the site's excavation destroyed much of the villa and its stratigraphy down to the floor level.⁵ The northern area of the villa also saw modern development with the construction of a house that reused materials from the site in a retaining wall.⁶

The villa was first given a general Roman date by Gentili after the first excavations of 1954.⁷ This was subsequently refined to an earlier date by Currò who, in 1966, placed it in the first century BC,⁸ and again slightly earlier in 1985 by Bacci from the last decades of the second century to the first half of the first century BC, who cited the use of *opus signinum* flooring (fig. 1.1).⁹ Wilson has since emphasized that there is nothing to exclude a date as late as the Augustan period or slightly later based upon the use of marble flooring slabs used in one of the rooms (fig. 1.2).¹⁰

As Wilson correctly pointed out, *opus signinum* continued to be used until around the mid-first century AD, while marble flooring is unlikely to pre-date the Augustan period.¹¹ On the

⁴ Wilson 1990, 197-8; Wilson 2018, 198; Hinz 1998, 118-9; Manganaro 1977, 446; Manganaro 2009, 114.

⁵ Wilson 1990, 198.

⁶ Currò 1966a, 94.

⁷ Gentili *et al* 1954, 204 no. 2792

⁸ Currò 1966a, 94.

⁹ Bacci 1984-5, 712.

¹⁰ Wilson 1990, 197-8.

¹¹ Wilson 1990, 116; Wilson 2018, 198.

other hand, both Currò and Bacci suggested that the marble floors were part of a later renovation of the villa; both noted multiple phases in the villa with restorations of the *opus signinum* flooring and a later subdivision of the eastern rooms (fig. 1.1).¹² The villa's construction and early chronology cannot be fully resolved on the available evidence. It does not appear that the excavations ever reached the building's foundations, and as Wilson pointed out, further excavation is needed.¹³ However, a general date from the late second century BC to mid-first century AD is probable with the earlier timeframe somewhat more likely.

3.2 The Pre-villa Remains



Fig. 2 - Contrada Borgellusa (Avola), Roman. Structures north of the road (fig. 1.6), seen from the north (photo by author).

During the initial excavation of the villa, Gentili noted the remains of a building that had predated the villa.¹⁴ Later, Wilson's examination of the site identified a wall segment in the villa's central courtyard that predated the villa and was on a completely different orientation, tentatively linking it to a possible sanctuary.¹⁵ My inspection of the site in 2017 was not able to locate the earlier wall in the courtyard¹⁶ but did note that the unpublished excavations of the late 1980s had uncovered the remains of additional structures to the north of the villa courtyard

¹² Currò 1966a, 94; Bacci 1984-5, 712.

¹³ Wilson 1990, 197-8.

¹⁴ Gentili *et al* 1954, 204 no. 2792. The villa... "...sembra continuare un edificio piu antico probabilmente di età ellenistica".

¹⁵ Wilson 1990, 198.

¹⁶ Special thanks to Dott.ssa Lanteri who cleaned the site prior to my visit and to the Giovanni Muscara who escorted me to the site.

(across the modern road), some of which did not appear to be orientated with the rest of the villa. It is unclear if these were associated with agricultural activities,¹⁷ and some could be associated with an earlier phase of the site, possibly associated with the remains of a wall in the central courtyard.

3.3 Cult Materials

Examination of the cult materials supports the tentative connection between the overbuilt structures and establishes a general chronology for the sanctuary with the construction of the villa between the late-second century BC and mid-first century AD providing a *terminus ante quem* for the sanctuary's use. Much of the cult materials from the site were sporadic finds without secure archaeological provenance or context, but all came from the immediate area of the villa. The three limestone statuettes were found by a group of students in 1954 to the south and immediately adjacent to the villa area.¹⁸ A recleaning of the area in 1980 uncovered a small late sixth to early fifth century BC miniature female terracotta head,¹⁹ and the Guardia di Finanza recovered early-Hellenistic votive materials looted from the area in the 1970s including a number of female terracotta statuettes.²⁰

The only evidence with a secure archaeological provenance and context is a single fragment of a marble statuette found during the excavation of 1980. This statuette was dated to the "Hellenistic" period by Bacci, suggesting a connection to the earlier sanctuary (fig. 3).²¹ On the other hand, Wilson suggested the possibility of an early imperial date.²² This late date could suggest possible continuity after the villa's construction. However, any connection to the sanctuary remains tenuous, and it may have instead been a feature of the villa. It was recovered in a rubbish deposit from the basin in the villa's courtyard (fig. 1.3); the deposit contained material of a wide chronology, including *terra sigillata* and African lamps from the fourth and fifth century AD.²³ It, therefore, cannot be determined if this had been a statue from the

¹⁷ Wilson 2018, 198. It has been suggested that an agricultural complex found nearby may have been connected to the villa (Currò 1966a, 94).

¹⁸ Gentili *et al* 1954, 204 no. 2792; Currò 1966a, 94. It has been incorrectly claimed by Manganaro 1979, 159; Manganaro 2009, 114 that a shrine was found at the villa with the three limestone statuettes inside, but this is incorrect.

¹⁹ Bacci 1984-5, 713.

²⁰ Bacci 1945-5, 713 fn. 5.

²¹ Bacci 1984-5, 713, tab. 151 fig. 3.

²² Wilson 1990, 198.

²³ Bacci 1984-5, 712 states that the lamps were from the fourth to fifth century BC, but this is clearly an error.

sanctuary, which could have later been reused in the villa,²⁴ or an early imperial statue either used to decorate the villa or as a domestic cult statue.

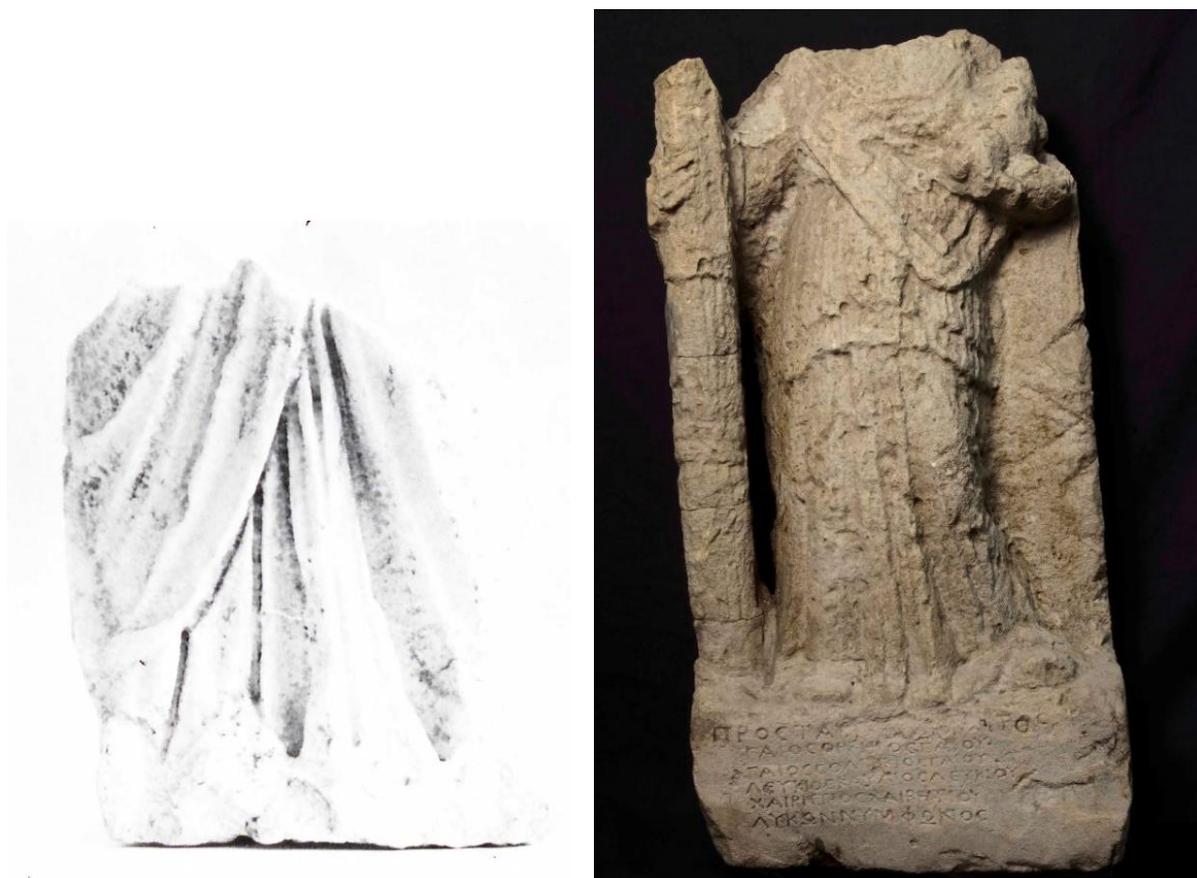


Fig. 3 - Lower half of draped female statuette (Bacci 1984-5 tab. 151, fig. 3); Fig. 4 - Statue of Persephone (Museo archeologico regionale Paolo Orsi, Syracuse).

All the other cult materials clearly belong before the villa's construction,²⁵ and could, therefore, be associated with the ruins underlying the villa. The earliest of the cult materials, the miniature female terracotta bust, dates back to that late sixth to the early fifth century; female terracotta statuettes of the early-Hellenistic period attest to the continued religious life down to the third century BC.²⁶ Probable activity beyond this point is suggested from two of the three limestone statues, one male (either a young Hercules or Triptolemus) and one of Persephone, which were dated from the late third to second centuries BC.²⁷

²⁴ For the similar reuse of a statuette from a sanctuary with a later domestic reuse, see Voza 1980, 683-4.

²⁵ See below.

²⁶ On the terracotta statuettes, see Gentili *et al* 1954, 204 no. 2792; Hinz 1998, 118 fn. 704. On the mask, see Bacci 1984-5, 713.

²⁷ Gentili *et al* 1954 204 no. 2792. The identification of Triptolemus was proposed by Manganaro 2009, 114.

The third limestone statue provides solid evidence of the sanctuary's continuity into the second century BC. This acephalic limestone statue of Persephone (figs. 4-5), found in 1954,²⁸ measures 62 x 31 cm and standing atop a base of 10 x 30 cm, holds a torch in its right hand with a piglet in its left. A list of the *prostatai* of Demeter are inscribed on the base: *Προστάτ[αι] Δάματρος | Γαίος Ορχήμιος Γαίου | Γαίος Σολπίχιος Λευχίου | Λεύκιος Καύλιος Λευκίου | Χαιρήτιος Χαιρητίου | Λύκων Νύμφνος* (SEG 34.981; ISic 3013).

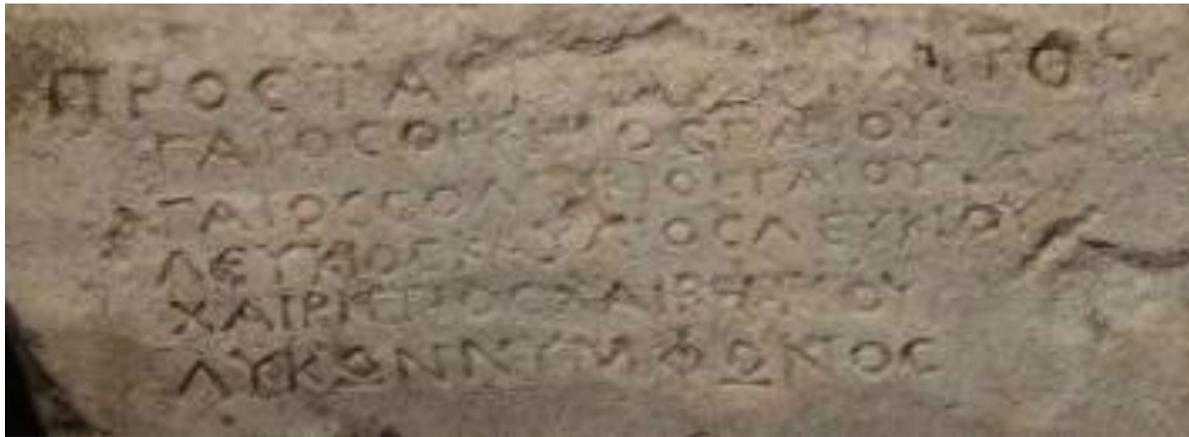


Fig. 5 - The inscribed base of Persephone Statue (Museo archeologico regionale Paolo Orsi, Syracuse).

Here, three Italic men, Gaius Orceius, son of Gaius, Gaius Sulpicius, and Lucius Caulius, serve alongside two Greeks, Kairetios and Lukon as the cult officers of a sanctuary to Demeter. This inscription and its statue have been variously dated from the late-third to the first century BC. This was among the limestone statues dated by the excavator from the late-third to the second centuries BC.²⁹ Manganaro has proposed two different dates. Initially, he favored a later first-century BC date; he believed that the arrival of Central Italians into the countryside was unlikely to have occurred before the first century.³⁰ More recently, he has proposed a second-century BC date based upon letter shapes (fig. 5).³¹

Onomastic analysis of the Greek names supports Manganaro's second-century BC proposal. While the names Νύμφνος and Χαιρήτιος are widely attested in both Greek and Roman Sicily,

²⁸ This statuette has been identified as Demeter (Gentili *et al* 1954, 204 no. 2792; Manganaro 1977, 159; Manganaro 2009, 114; Hinz 1998, 118). However, votive depictions of Demeter are rare in Sicily, especially those bearing the torch and the common torch with piglet type is exclusively associated with Persephone within Sicilian contexts (Zuntz 1971, 89-198; Bell 1981, 82, 102). This was noted by Hinz who suggested that the statue bore a staff and not torch in the right hand (Hinz 1998, 118). The torch, however, is more likely as similar examples of Persephone of this type commonly bear a long torch of similar length with the flame at head level. On this type, see Bell 1981, 33-4, 48 with examples bearing the long torch (Bell 1981, pls. 17-20, nos. 65b-82).

²⁹ Gentili *et al* 1954, 204 no. 2792.

³⁰ Manganaro 1979, 446.

³¹ Manganaro 2009, 114.

Λύχων is rare beyond the early-Hellenistic period. There are only four attestations of the name Λύχων in Sicily (excluding the above inscription), and none date after *c.* 199 BC.³² Of the eight attestations in Magna Graecia, only one can be placed as late as the second century BC.³³

3.4 Conclusions

Tracing its origins back to the late sixth to fifth centuries BC, the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Contrada Borgellusa was one of the cult's many rural sanctuaries of the cult in Archaic and Classical Sicily. However, these rural sanctuaries had almost entirely disappeared during the fourth and third centuries BC,³⁴ which makes the unusual continuity of the sanctuary into the second century BC particularly notable. The inclusion of Orceius, Sulpicius, and Cauius as *prostatai* suggests that the sanctuary's unusual continuity may have been associated with its ability to attract foreign interest and benefaction from an increasing Romano-Italic presence in the area.

Continuity beyond the second century BC is nebulous. Due to the sporadic nature of the cult finds, their later absence beyond the second century BC cannot be taken as evidence that the sanctuary did not continue. However, the possible remains of the sanctuary underneath the villa does suggest that at least part of the sanctuary may have been destroyed by the villa's construction some time from the late second century BC to mid-first century AD. Although it might seem unusual for a villa to be built atop the remains of a rural sanctuary, this was not a unique occurrence and the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Bitalemi, out of use by the early-Hellenistic period, was later reused as a farm in the early Imperial period.³⁵ Similarly, it seems likely that if the sanctuary at Contrada Borgellusa was destroyed and overbuilt by the villa, it also lay abandoned for some time.

Knowledge of the territory of Avola in the Republican and early Imperial periods is sparse. Surveys conducted to the north, also in Contrada Borgellusa, did not detect any evidence of an appreciable decline during the Republican and early Imperial periods,³⁶ and the sanctuary was also in a prime economic position along the main road from Syracusae to Helorus and near the

³² *LGPN* IIIA, 280-1 for Λύχων; 331-2 for Νύμφωνος; and 471 for Χαίρητιος. For Λύχων in Sicily: nos. 39-43, no. 43 is the latest.

³³ *LGPN* IIIA, 280-1 no. 27-38 no. 36 is the latest.

³⁴ Extramural and rural sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore out of use by the Republican period, see Camarina, Helorus, and Bitalemi (Hinz 1998, 56-64, 111-5, 119-20, 241). For further discussion of rural sanctuaries, see Chapter 7.1.4.

³⁵ Orlandini 1966.

³⁶ Pignatello and Veca 2017.

mouth of the Tellaro River.³⁷ Continued activity in the area and its promising and well-connected position suggests that any disuse or decline of the sanctuary is unlikely to have been the result of a wider economic decline in the area. Instead, it may be indicative of wider changes within the cult of Demeter and Kore in the first century BC (Chapter 7.3.1).

³⁷ Piazza 2012, 44.

Chapter Four: Helorus

Introduction

On the coast at the mouth of the river Tellaro 35 kilometers south of Syracusae, Helorus¹ was a small city with historical ties to Syracuse and had been largely dependent upon it since its foundation in the seventh century as a colony of Syracusae. Helorus was first excavated in 1899 and 1927 by Paolo Orsi and later excavated sporadically from the 1950s through the 1970s. During these excavations, the remains of three sanctuaries were identified along with the those of a theater, residential districts, possible agora, and a monumental Hellenistic funerary monument, the “Pizzuta”.² The oldest sanctuary, the Koreion, was out of use by the fourth century BC.³ Two others continued into the Roman period: the Sanctuary of Demeter and the “Asklepieion”.

Despite the extent of Helorus’ excavation, the history of Helorus remains poorly understood due to the age of the early excavations, as well as the limited and problematic publication of these and later excavations. The most detailed publication is a collection of preliminary reports published in 1966, which included posthumously published notes of Orsi’s 1899 and 1927 campaigns as well as subsequent excavations from 1958-1960. By the time of this publication, much of the material from Orsi’s excavations had been lost, and the remaining materials were without provenance.⁴ The most recent excavations were conducted from the mid-60s and early 70s by Piscione, Militello, Currò, and later Voza. It was during these excavations that both the “Asklepieion” and the Sanctuary of Demeter, which had already been briefly explored, were fully uncovered. The publication of these excavations was brief. Neither the material finds, nor proposed chronologies of either sanctuary were discussed in detail.⁵

After its foundation in the seventh century, the city experienced a “crisis” in the fifth century, which is visible through a gap in the material culture; this was followed by a later “revival” in the fourth and third centuries during which the fortifications were reconstructed and the theatre

¹ *BTCGI* VII, 157-66.

² On the Agora, see Voza 1980-1, 668 who identified it as a monumental public or religious area. Wilson 2012, 250-1 later identified the area as an agora. The remains of an altar (and possibly others?) in the agora attest to the area’s public religious activity and similar series of altars can also be found at other agora sanctuaries in Morgantina (Chapter 5.2) and Camarina (Di Stefano 2000, 277-9, 283 figs. 4-5; Lucchelli 2004, 33-5). However, no further evidence on this area of the city is known. On the poorly understood Hellenistic theater, see Orsi 1966, 232-6; Isler 2017, 326. Both the stage and part of the *cavea* were destroyed during the construction of the drainage canal in 1932.

³ Hinz 1998, 111-5.

⁴ Orsi 1966, 280 I; Currò 1966c, 288-97.

⁵ Currò 1966b, 97-8; Currò 1966c; Militello 1966; Piscione 1966; Voza 1968-9, 360-2; Voza 1972-3, 189; Voza 1980-1, 685-8; Pelagatti and Voza 1973, 117-9.

and agora built.⁶ The construction of both of the city's sanctuaries active under Rome, the sanctuary of Demeter, which appears to have replaced the then abandoned Koreion, and the "Asklepieion", have been associated with this period of "revival".⁷

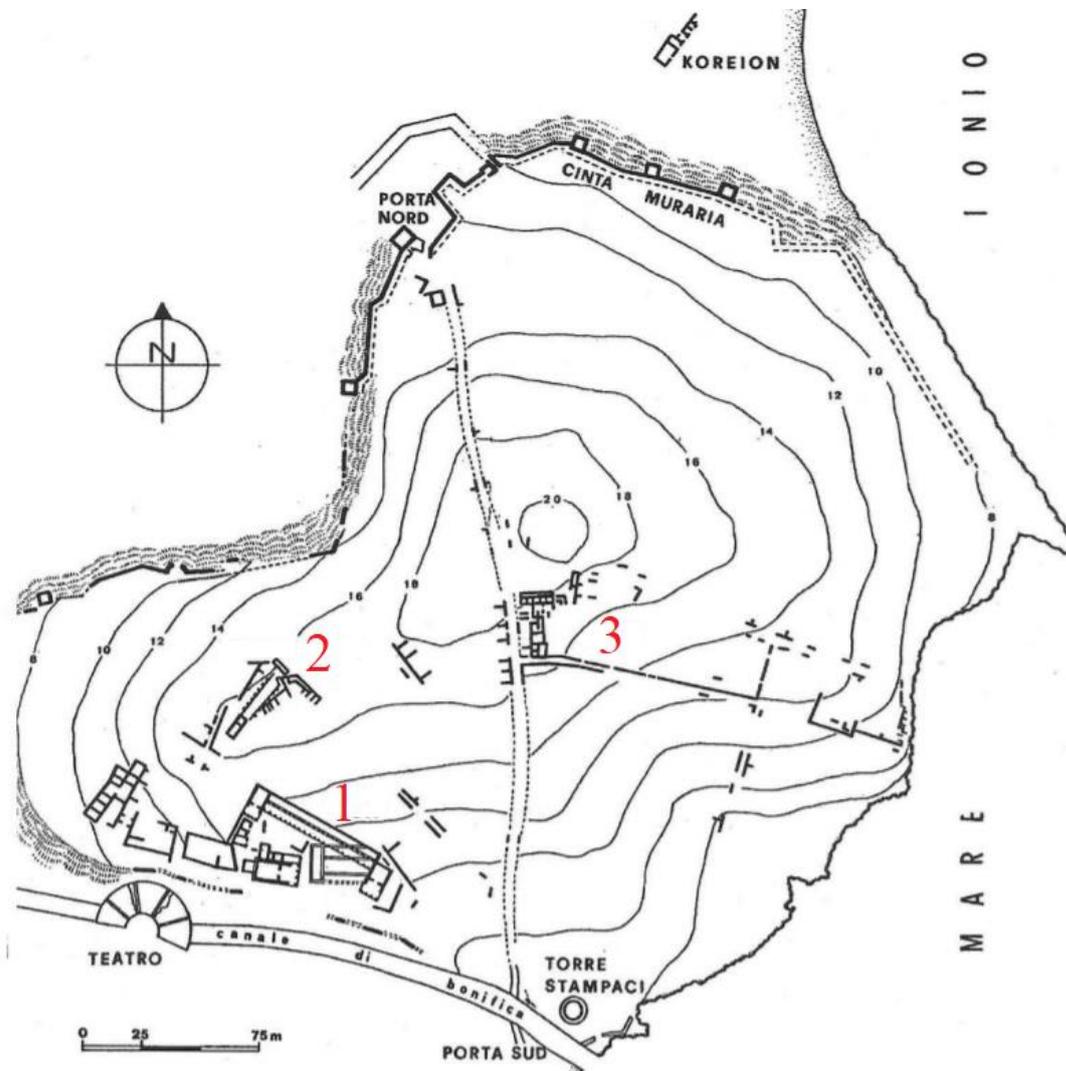


Fig. 1 - Helorus (Voza 1999b, 115, edited by author).

1. Sanctuary of Demeter; 2. "Asklepieion"; 3. Agora.

Helorus does not appear to have been adversely affected by the Second Punic War. It surrendered early in either 214 or 213 BC (Liv. 24.35.1) and does not appear to have been either looted or damaged. However, it was not awarded a privileged status after the war, and Cicero included it amongst the *civitates decumanae* (Cic. Verr. 2.2.103).⁸

⁶ Voza 1980-1, 668; Pfuntner 2013, 100. The material gap in the fifth century BC is commonly found throughout Sicily (Vassallo 2000) and the subsequent revival is strongly associated with Timoleon, Agathocles, and Hieron II.

⁷ Hinz 1998, 111-5.

⁸ On the status on Sicilian cities after 212 BC, see most recently: Prag 2014.

Based upon an absence of Imperial coin finds, Orsi had believed that Helorus was abandoned by the first century AD.⁹ However, excavations of the 1960s and later reassessment of Orsi's notes and surviving material revealed significant amounts of Imperial period material including *terra sigillata*, African red slip ware pottery, and first and second-century AD terracotta lamps.¹⁰ Nevertheless, a decline after the first century BC remains generally accepted, with special attention placed upon the first-century BC abandonment of the Sanctuary of Demeter.¹¹

4.1 The Sanctuary of Demeter (fig. 1.1)



Fig. 2 - Helorus, The Sanctuary of Demeter. The site as seen from the north (photo by author).

The Sanctuary of Demeter is northeast of the theatre on the southwestern slope of the city's main hill, overlooking both the sea and countryside. The large monumental sanctuary was a single courtyard with tetrastyle prostyle temple (20 x 10.5 m)¹² and two-story stoa (c. 68 m) on the northern side with two flanking *paraskenia*.¹³ The sanctuary, the largest and most important at Helorus, was first excavated from 1958 to 1959 by Militello who uncovered the northern

⁹ Orsi 1966, 280.

¹⁰ Orsi 1966, 280 I; Currò 1966c 288-97; Wilson 1990, 157.

¹¹ Wilson 1990, 157; Pfuntner 2013, 100, 368. However, Martin, *et al.* 1980, 553; EAA2 1995, 463 remain neutral on any decline at Helorus.

¹² Slightly different measurements are given by Wolf 2016, 57: 20.35 x 11.05 m.

¹³ For a detailed reconstruction with detailed measurements of the entire complex, see Wolf 2016, 57-70. On this common type of stoa, see Coulton 1976, 81-5. Interestingly, the eastern *paraskenion* does not appear to have been two-story like the rest of the stoa and western *paraskenion*. This structure is also slightly offset from the stoa which suggests that may have been a temple incorporated in the stoa as an *ad hoc paraskenion*.

corner of the stoa.¹⁴ Subsequent excavations undertaken by Voza uncovered the rest of the stoa, temple, and several small rooms as well as the remains of a Byzantine church built over the eastern corner of the sanctuary.¹⁵ Cult attribution of the temple to Demeter is secure: numerous votive terracotta statuettes typical of the cult such as Persephone with torch and piglet were found throughout the sanctuary as well as an inscribed fourth to third-century BC terracotta *arula* dedicated to Demeter.¹⁶

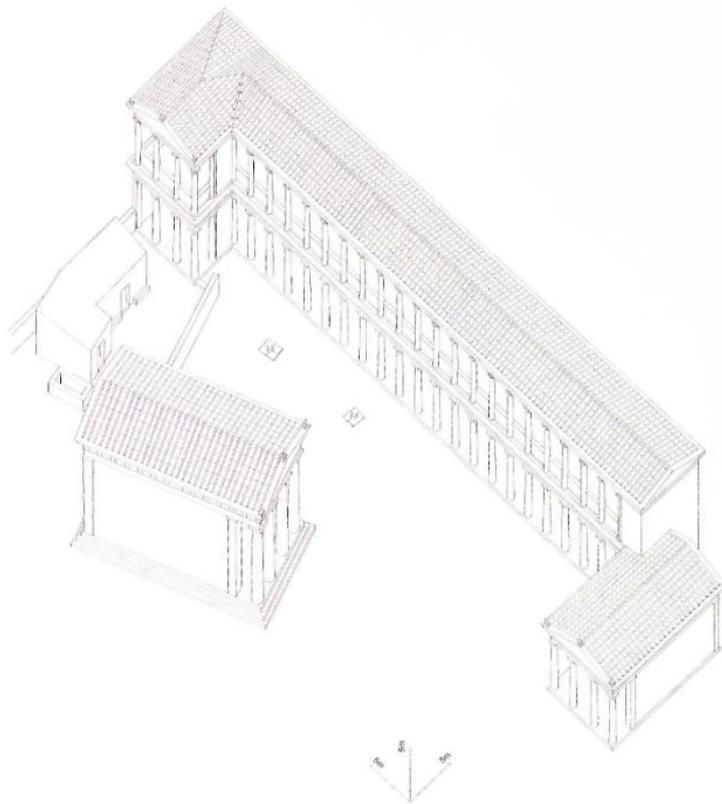


Fig. 3 - Helorus, Sanctuary of Demeter (Wolf 2016, 67, fig. 32).

4.1.1 Chronology

The earliest evidence of religious activity and the origins of the sanctuary date to the first half of the fourth century BC, when the extramural Koreion went out of use and the new sanctuary was built with its surrounding *peribolos* and several small rooms behind the temple and along the western *peribolos*.¹⁷ The tetrastyle temple was later added and has been variously

¹⁴ Militello 1966, 327-34 figs. 76-7.

¹⁵ Voza 1968/9, 360-2; Voza 1980/1, 685-7.

¹⁶ EAA 1970, 300; Voza 1971, 76-7; Voza 1972-3, 189; Pelagatti and Voza 1973, 123 no. 385, tab. 39; Hinz 1998, 117-8. A votive deposit of uncertain provenance discussed below may also be included among these materials, see (Chapter 4.2.2). The possible identification of a temple for the eastern *paraskenion* (ftn. 13) could also suggest that the sanctuary had two separate temples for both Demeter and Kore.

¹⁷ Voza 1981, 685-6. The southernmost of these small rooms was identified as a well-altar by Hinz 1998, 117.

dated to the second half of the fourth century BC (by the excavator Voza),¹⁸ or to the Hieronian mid-third century BC by von Sydow based upon his identification of “Hieronian” *kyma* on architectural fragments.¹⁹ The sanctuary appears to have been used until at least the early second century BC when, according to Voza, the most noteworthy feature of the sanctuary, its monumental stoa, was constructed as well as two cisterns between the stoa and temple.²⁰ This stoa has been noted for being unusually large and monumental in comparison to the otherwise modest public buildings so far discovered in Helorus.²¹

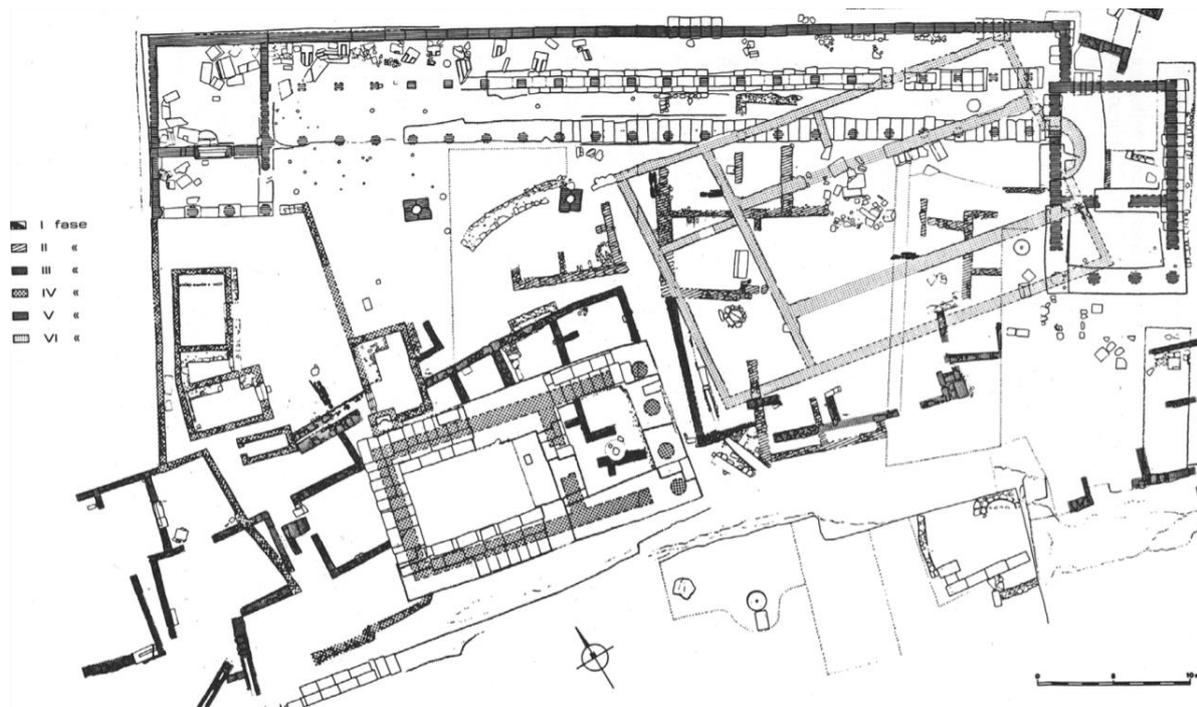


Fig. 4 - Helorus, Sanctuary of Demeter (Voza 1980-1 fig. 128).

I. Late-eighth to early-seventh centuries; II. Second half of the seventh to sixth centuries; III. Fifth century; IV. Late-fourth and third century; V. Early-second century; VI. Byzantine.

Voza’s early second-century BC date of the stoa has recently been challenged by Wolf, who argued in favour of a single monumentalization of the sanctuary with the construction of both the temple and stoa as a unified Hieronian project in the mid-third century BC.²² His argument was based upon his identification of “Hieronian” *kyma* on an architectural fragment of the stoa, which he dated to the mid-third century BC, comparing it to a fragment from the temple. He

¹⁸ Voza 1972-3, 189; Voza 1981, 685; Voza 1999b, 117 followed by Coarelli and Torelli 1984, 287; Wilson 1990, 136; Hinz 1998, 118 and Rocco 2015, 780 fn. 6 who references Voza 1976-7; Wilson 2013a, 93, neither of which discuss the temple’s chronology.

¹⁹ Sydow 1984, 260 fn. 100 and followed by Campagna 2006, 31; Wolf 2016, 70-1.

²⁰ EAA 1970, 300; Voza 1972-3, 189; Voza 1981, 687; Voza 1999, 117. The cisterns were identified by Wolf 2016, 61.

²¹ Hinz 1998, 117.

²² Wolf 2016, 70-1, tab. 96.

referenced Voza's first preliminary report, which gave a second half of the third century BC date for the stoa.²³ He also noted the splendid, scenographic composition of the stoa-temple complex similar to the Altar of Hieron (Chapter 2.1) and the sanctuary on the Temenite Hill²⁴ (Chapter 2.3) in Syracuse, and argued that the sanctuary at Helorus was more in standing with a project of the Hieronian Kingdom than the Roman province.

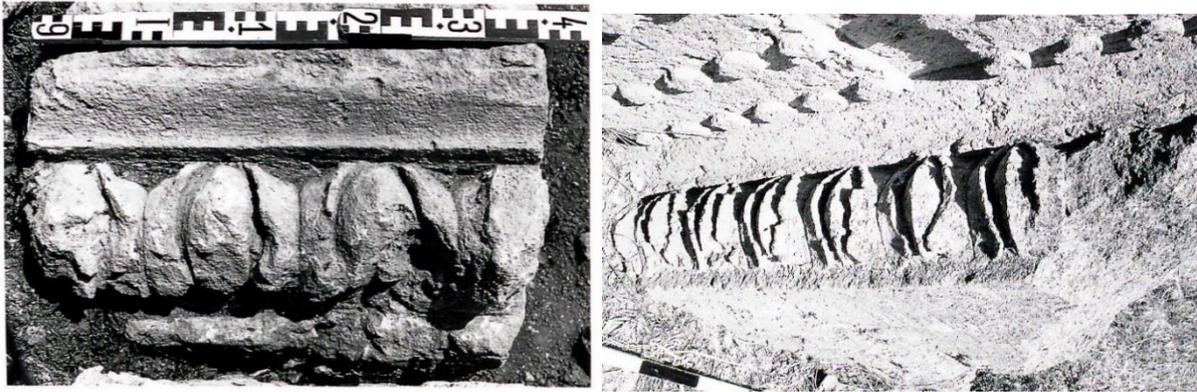


Fig. 5 - Helorus, Sanctuary of Demeter. “Hieronian” molding from the temple (von Sydow 1984 pl. 81.2); Fig. 6 - Helorus, The Sanctuary of Demeter. “Hieronian” molding from the stoa (Wolf 2016 pl. 22.4).

It is difficult to check Voza's chronology due to the lack of detail. Although he did initially assign a third-century BC date, he stated that the material finds had only been partially examined at that time, and all his subsequent publications have followed his later early second-century BC date.²⁵ It is tempting to continue to place monumental constructions *tout court* within the Hieronian period, but caution is needed.²⁶ The dangers of this assumption have already been covered in both of the sanctuaries referenced by Wolf with the stoa at the Altar of Hieron more likely dating to the late first century BC (Chapter 2.1.1.1), and caution being raised about certainty regarding a Hieronian date for the stoa on the Temenite Hill (Chapter 2.3.1). The recent excavations at the “Ginnasio romano” clearly show that significant monumental works on this scale could continue after 212 BC (Chapter 2.6). Even without an explanation of Voza's chronology, it is difficult to disregard the possible archaeological

²³ Voza 1968-9, 362.

²⁴ Wolf 2016, 70. The sanctuary on the Temenite Hill is here referred to by another common name, the “Apollon-Temenites-Heiligtums”, not to be confused with the “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites” discussed in Chapter 2.2.

²⁵ Voza 1972-3, 189; Voza 1981, 685; Voza 1999b, 117. *contra*. Voza 1968-9, 362. As was noted above (fn. 13), the eastern *paraskenion* (perhaps a temple?) is distinct from the rest of the two-story stoa as it was both offset and also only single story. This suggests that the stoa and eastern *paraskenion* may have belonged to two separate phases.

²⁶ On this issue and its possible impact on the continued paucity of Republican temples (and other large constructions) in contrast to the rest of Sicily, see Chapter 1.4.

evidence would have enabled such a wide gap of *c.* 150 years between the temple (second half of the fourth century BC), and the stoa (early second century BC), in favor of a single phase.

The potential pitfalls of “Hieronian” *kyma* have already been discussed with doubts raised about the tacit assumption of a sharp architectural break between the Hieronian and Republican periods.²⁷ This was also seen in Wolf’s argument that the use of Greek masonry marks on the stoa’s stone blocks similarly indicated a Hieronain date.²⁸ As noted, the use of Latin was exceptionally rare in Eastern Sicily outside of Syracusae until the Augustan period and remained common throughout the Imperial period (Chapter 1.2). It would certainly be expected that the use of Greek among local Sicilian masons would have remained an especially durable practice.²⁹ Although the available evidence cannot definitively prove that the stoa belongs in the early second century BC rather than the Hieronian period, the evidence in favor of an early date is not enough to overturn the excavator’s initial assessment. Instead, the continued use of “Hieronian” *kyma* can be taken as evidence of architectural continuity within the sanctuary into the early second century BC.



Figs. 7-8 - Helorus, the Sanctuary of Demeter. Greek masonry marks on stone blocks from stoa (Wolf 2016 pl. 22.4-5).

Activity after the construction of the temple and the stoa is uncertain. Voza’s site had no phases from the early second century BC until the construction of the Byzantine church. The sanctuary may have seen a later minor renovation; the initial excavations of the site identified fragments of *opus signinum*, which the excavator, Militello, placed in the first century BC.³⁰ However, it must remain uncertain due to the broad use of *opus signinum* from the third century

²⁷ On the issues of Hieronian molding and architecture more generally, see Introduction 1.4 and a discussion of the similar issue at the sanctuary on the Temenite Hill (Chapter 2.3.1).

²⁸ Wolf 2016, 71.

²⁹ For examples of Greek masonry marks into the Imperial period, see Robinson 1924, 442.

³⁰ Militello 1966, 332-3.

BC to mid-first century AD, and it is unclear how Militello established such a late and precise date, and they may have instead been a part of the stoa's original flooring. Voza noted that the stoa was destroyed by a fire, as evidenced by ash found throughout the monument,³¹ which has since been placed in the first century BC by Wilson.³² After this, there is no evidence of later reuse or repair, and the sanctuary may have been abandoned by that time.

4.1.2 Conclusions

The exceptional and grandiose nature of the sanctuary's two-story stoa with two *paraskenia* has led to frequent connections to foreign architectural influences with Voza citing comparisons with Pergamon, while Wolf and Bonacasa both saw broader "Asiatic" and "Eastern" influence.³³ Such stylistic connections with the Greek "East", and especially Pergamon, while often cited, are largely unsupported.³⁴ Instead, Hinz more correctly tied it to Syracusan influence due to the close historical and political ties and Helorus' relative geographical isolation.³⁵ The monumentalization of the sanctuary's northern *peribolos* through the stoa in the early second century BC thus presents evidence of architectural continuity with the monumental constructions of the Hieronian period. In light of the early surrender of Helorus during the Second Punic War, this suggests that the sanctuary also saw a period of religious continuity without significant change.

A break in continuity is instead seen later sometime between the construction of the stoa and cisterns in the early second century BC and the first century BC fire that destroyed the stoa. That such a large and monumental sanctuary does not appear to have been repaired or reused after this fire suggests that its heyday had long since passed, and the sanctuary may have been in decline when the fire occurred. Natural disasters often proved to be the "final blow" to declining sanctuaries as the cost of maintaining a sanctuary was far lower than rebuilding it.³⁶ The abandonment of the Sanctuary of Demeter has been connected to Helorus' decline in the Republican period.³⁷ However, as will be discussed below (Chapter 4.2), an examination of a nearby sanctuary, the "Asklepieion" contrasts conventional ideas of the city's early decline and

³¹ Voza 1980-1, 687; Martin *et al.* 1980, 553.

³² Wilson 1990, 157.

³³ Voza 1980-1, 687; Voza 1999, 120; Bonacasa 1999, 93; Campagna 2006, 31; Wolf 2016, 71.

³⁴ Seaman 2016, 420.

³⁵ Hinz 1998, 118.

³⁶ Bayliss 2004, 25. This can also be seen at Morgantina where the late first-century BC fire resulted in the disuse of some sites while others were repaired and reused, see The Theater Temenos Sanctuary (Chapter 5.5) and the Shrine on Plataea A (Chapter 5.6).

³⁷ Wilson 1990, 157.

suggests that while the sanctuary may have been in decline before its destruction, the city continued to be prosperous enough to see the significant development of another sanctuary.

4.2 The “Asklepieion” (fig. 1.2)

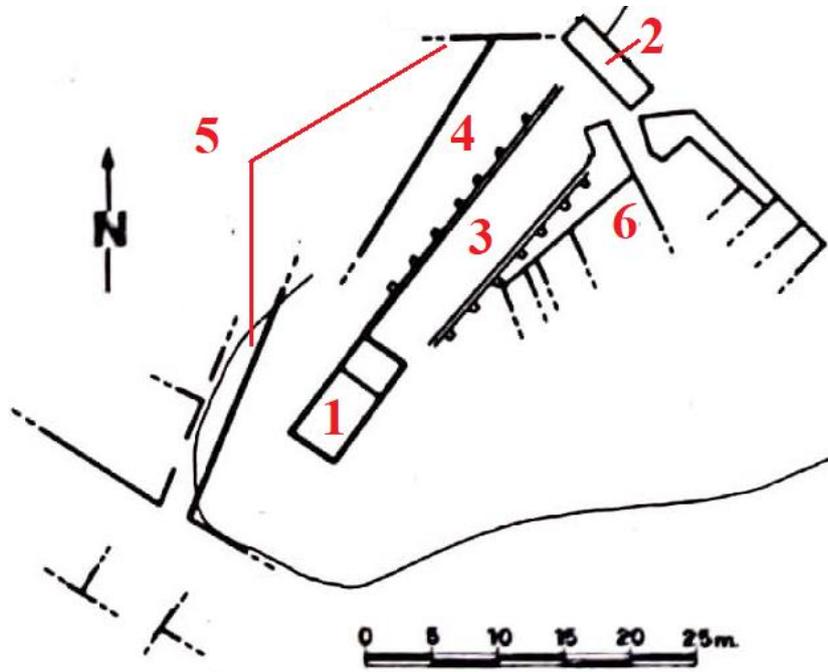


Fig. 9 - Helorus, “Asklepieion”. (Martin and Vallet 1980, 297 fig. 17, edited by author).

1. Temple A; 2. Temple B; 3. Connecting road; 4. Western Stoa; 5. *Peribolos*; 6. Archaic and Hellenistic housing.

Approximately 20 m north of the Sanctuary of Demeter, the “Asklepieion” is made up of two temples, Temple A (9.8 x 5.6 m; fig. 9.1, 10-11) and Temple B (8 x 3.3 m; fig. 9.2, 12-13) on the northern and southern borders of the sanctuary connected by a 24 x 4 m road (fig. 9.3). The road was lined by a stoa on its west side with a small 1.35 x 1.35 m altar centrally placed between both temples.³⁸ The sanctuary’s *temenos* was delineated by a *peribolos*, partially excavated on the western and northern sides (fig. 9.5), and the area was excavated by Orsi in 1927, Piscione in 1961, and Currò in 1963.³⁹ Assessing the sanctuary’s development is difficult due to the loss of materials and notes from Orsi’s 1927 excavation of Temple A and the southern precinct, damage caused by later plowing of the area of Temple B,⁴⁰ and the brief nature of the reports on the central courtyard and stoa in 1963.

³⁸ The altar was not visible during on-site investigation of the sanctuary in 2018. However, Currò 1966b, 97-8 records that the altar was located between the third and fourth pillars on the eastern side of the western stoa which was found with ashes and evidence of burning inside.

³⁹ Piscione 1966; Currò 1966b; Currò 1966c.

⁴⁰ Piscione 1966, 338.

4.2.1 Chronology



Fig. 10 - Helorus, “Asklepieion”. Temple A in 1927 (Militello 1966, 319-20 fig. 69); Fig. 11 - Helorus, the “Asklepieion”. Temple A in 2018, seen from the northeast (photo by author).

The origins and early life of the sanctuary are unclear. The earliest activity appears to have been focused in the area of Temple A and Temple B. The two temples have been dated to either the second half of the fourth⁴¹ or early third centuries BC,⁴² but both are uncertain. Since their excavation, the later phases of the sanctuary, including the development of the central courtyard with stoa and road, have been almost overlooked in modern scholarship. Calì recently placed the construction of the entire sanctuary with both temples alongside the stoa and road to a single phase in the early third century BC, before noting that the sanctuary had remained in use until the second to first centuries BC.⁴³

Neither the construction of the sanctuary as it stands in one phase nor continuity only until the second to first century BC is supported by the available evidence and preliminary reports. As Piscione noted, both temples appear to have predated the rest of the visible remains in the sanctuary.⁴⁴ Although Currò did not date the stoas and road, she did describe their earthen foundation, “il suolo battuto”, consisting of the second to first centuries BC characterized predominantly by Campana C pottery.⁴⁵ Although Campana C black-gloss begins to appear as

⁴¹ Militello 1966, 320; Coarelli and Torelli 1984, 287. The early date is assigned partially partly upon the presence of a votive *stips* found to the northeast (Militello 1966, 320). However, this *stips* does not appear to have been connected to the sanctuary (Chapter 4.2.2).

⁴² Calì 2009, 166.

⁴³ Calì 2009, 167.

⁴⁴ Piscione 1966, 338. Interestingly, Temple A appears to have been built from reused blocks of other buildings as noted by the presence of niches and other features (Currò 1966c, 288).

⁴⁵ Currò 1966b, 97. “Lo scarso materiale rinvenuto nello strato di cm. 30/40 sotto il suolo battuto della strada e dei portici era omogeneo, di period romano-repubblicano (II-I secolo a.C.) caratterizzato da ceramica del tipo ‘campana C’...”.

early as the first half of the second century, it only becomes widespread during the late second and especially first centuries BC.⁴⁶ A stratum characterized predominantly by Campana C is unlikely to have formed before the first century BC. Thus, the stoa and temple are unlikely to belong earlier than the first century BC while a date as late as the early first century AD cannot be excluded.



Fig. 12 - Helorus, “Asklepieion”. Temple B in 1927 (Currò 1966b fig. 31); Fig. 13 - Helorus, “Asklepieion”. Temple B in 2018, seen from the southeast (photo by author).

The preliminary reports do not detail any later activity on the site. However, the late date of these significant renovations makes it possible that some of the materials Orsi’s 1927 materials that are now without provenance⁴⁷ may have come from his excavations of Temple A. These Imperial period materials, including *terra sigillata*, African red slip ware pottery, and first and second century AD terracotta lamps,⁴⁸ would establish the continued use at the sanctuary at least into the second century AD and possibly even later.

4.2.2 Cult Attribution

Hitherto, only Asclepius has been suggested as a possible cult attribution for the sanctuary. This was made by Currò based upon the sanctuary’s layout, who argued that the stoa rooms were incubation chambers.⁴⁹ However, this should be doubted. Attributions for Asclepius based solely upon layout are doubtful as incubation chambers cannot be readily distinguished from other types of rooms without clear literary or epigraphic evidence.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Stone 2014, 147-51.

⁴⁷ On these materials, see the introduction above.

⁴⁸ Orsi 1966, 280 I; Currò 1966c, 288-97; Wilson 1990, 157.

⁴⁹ Currò 1966b, 98.

⁵⁰ Special thanks to Ghislaine Van Der Ploeg for her insight into the cult of Asclepius. For more on incubation rooms, see Renberg 2006.

One potential cult identification that has gone unnoticed is Demeter and Kore. Militello recorded the recovery of a votive *stips* of the second half of the fourth century BC 26 m to the northeast of Temple B; it contained one terracotta statuette of Artemis, fourteen statuettes identified as a draped female holding a piglet (fig. 15), one of a Black African, five female terracotta busts and twelve terracotta jugs.⁵¹ Despite the presence of a single Artemis statuette, the materials are clearly connected with a cult of Demeter and Kore. Artemis statuettes and female terracotta heads are frequently found alongside larger deposits associated with the cult,⁵² and the fourteen draped female statuettes with piglet, should clearly be identified as the common Persephone types bearing either the piglet or piglet and torch (fig. 16).

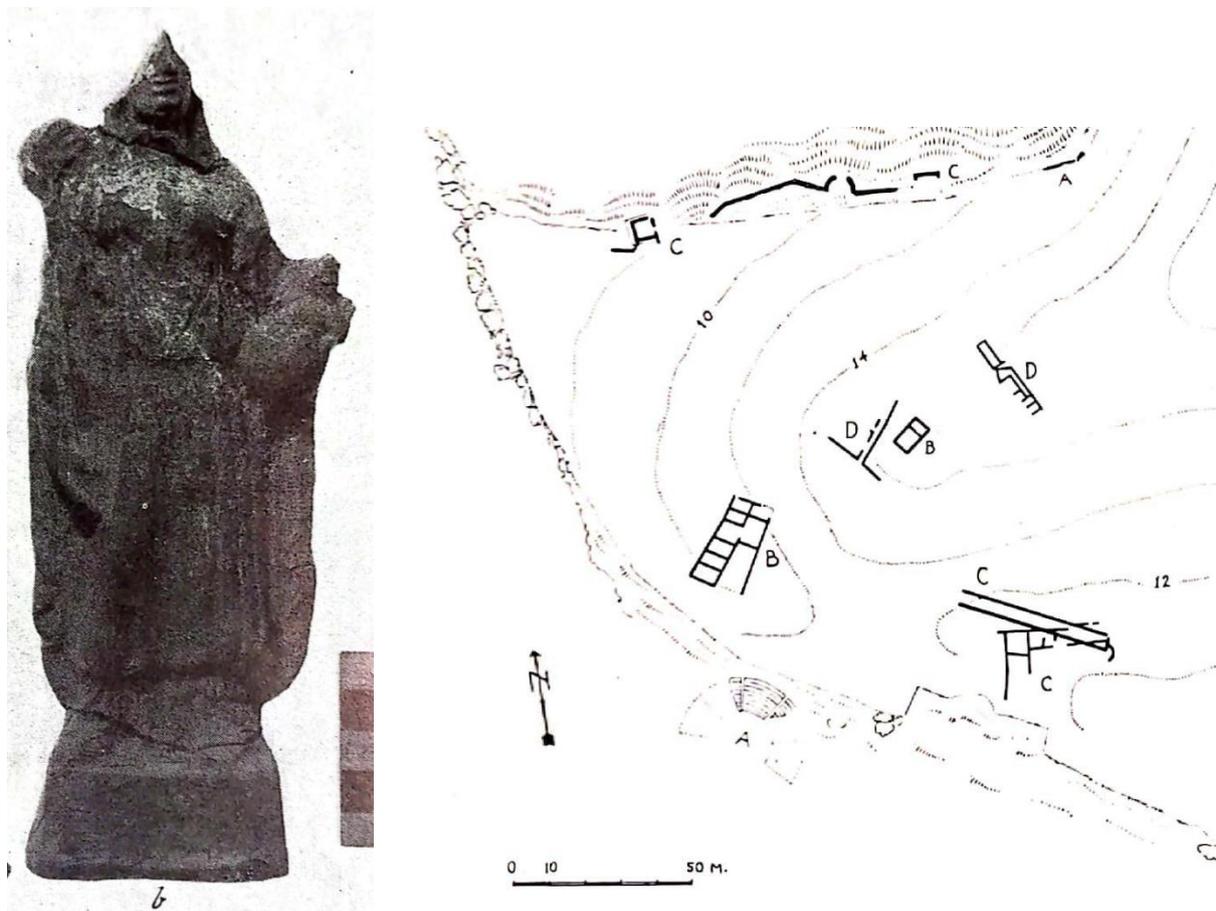


Fig. 14 - Helorus, Sanctuary of Demeter. Persephone terracotta statuette with piglet and torch found 25 m northeast of Temple A (Militello 1966, 321-2 fig. 70b); Fig. 15 - Helorus. Excavations of the south-western hillside (Orsi 1966, 217-218 fig. 2, edited by author).

A. - Orsi Excavations of 1899; B. - Orsi Excavations of 1927; C - Militello Excavations of 1958-59; D. - Piscione Excavations of 1961.

⁵¹ Militello 1966, 320-4.

⁵² Bell 1981, 91-2.

Despite the apparent evidence, the *stips*' context is unclear, and such an attribution appears unlikely. Militello's position implies that the *stips* was found near Temple B, also 26 m to the northeast. However, Militello's excavations of 1958-1959 were not in the area of the sanctuary but instead conducted upon sections of the city walls and at the Sanctuary of Demeter (Chapter 4.1). The area of Temple B was only excavated in 1961 by Piscione (fig. 15). Militello did include a brief discussion of Orsi's 1927 excavation of Temple A, in which he also discussed the *stips*.⁵³ There is no mention of a *stips* by either Piscione or by Currò in her report on the excavation of the courtyard. Importantly, both of these later excavations also uncovered the remains of an earlier Archaic to Hellenistic housing district outside the sanctuary and immediately to the east (fig. 9.6).⁵⁴ As part of this housing district also lay 26 m to the northeast of Temple B, the *stips* may have been a sporadic find from this area, associated with either domestic cults or an unrelated shrine.

However, given the contents and date of the *stips*, it appears more likely that they came from Militello's initial excavations of the Sanctuary of Demeter, which lay approximately 26 m to the southeast. Not only is the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore already securely attributed to the cult, but the early foundation of the "Asklepieion" is unclear with Militello's proposal for the early foundation of the "Asklepieion" based in large part upon this very *stips*.⁵⁵ It appears that Militello had misread the site plan, which was turned 90°. He states that Temple A was positioned on the southeastern hillside and that the area later identified as the Sanctuary of Demeter lay to the east of Temple B.⁵⁶ Instead, Temple A is found on the southwestern hillside, and the Sanctuary of Demeter is southeast of Temple B. If the map is rotated 90°, the *stips* 26 meters to the northeast would not be at Temple B inside the "Asklepieion", but instead inside the Sanctuary of Demeter, a context more fitting for the materials of the *stips*.

4.2.3 A *Thesaurus* and Romano-Italic Influence

It is interesting to note that the "Asklepieion" may have remained in use significantly longer than the more monumental Sanctuary of Demeter with a major renovation at the former coinciding with the destruction and abandonment of the latter. This continuity was likely to be at least partially associated with a greater level of interest that continued into the first century

⁵³ Militello 1966, 320; Orsi 1966, 217-8 fig. 2

⁵⁴ Currò 1966b 98: The walls of a structure (stoa?) of the east side of the road reused the back wall of an Archaic house. Piscione 1966, 338 noted a Hellenistic house immediately to the east of Temple B.

⁵⁵ Militello 1966, 320-1.

⁵⁶ Militello 1966, 320, 327.

BC and possibly even later. As seen in Syracuse (Chapter 2.9.3.4) and Contrada Borgellusa (Chapter 3), the ability to attract interest and benefaction from the increasing Romano-Italic presence in the Republican and especially Imperial periods is linked with a sanctuary's continued prosperity. At the "Asklepieion", evidence of this same interest from Romano-Italic benefactors may be visible through the use of a particularly Romano-Italic religious feature, a *thesaurus*⁵⁷ or offertory box.



Fig. 16 - Helorus, "Asklepieion". *Thesaurus* with Temple A in the background, seen from the southwest (photo by author).

A single stone block, a *thesaurus* (figs. 16-7, 23), is found just to the southeast of Temple A. The weathered block measures 65 x 65 cm and is 37 cm high with a cavity in the middle, 23 cm in diameter and *c.* 27 cm deep.⁵⁸ At the top of this cavity is an indented lip, widening to *c.* 25 cm. Surrounding this cavity, on top of the block, are six evenly spaced holes, each measuring approximately 3 x 3 cm. This block was excavated along with the nearby temple in 1927, and was only mentioned in a single sentence, described as, "una vasca rettangolare, evidentemente per la raccolta delle acque piovane".⁵⁹ No further information was given, nor its

⁵⁷ The *thesaurus* here is to be confused with the "thesauros" sometimes referring to Temple B. For more on the use of *thesauri* in Sicily and their connection to Romano-Italic influence, see Chapter 7.4.

⁵⁸ Accumulated material inside of the cavity prevented a precise measurement of its depth. However, it is unlikely that the cavity entirely passes through the block as the excavators described it as a tub for the collection of rainwater, see below fn. 59.

⁵⁹ Currò 1966c, 288.

identification explained. However, comparisons with *thesauri* suggest that, although the block may have been used as a water basin at one time, it likely had two phases. In the first phase, it functioned as a *thesaurus*. Later, it was repurposed for use as a settling basin for the separation of silt and other pollutants from a water source.



Fig. 17 - Helorus, “Asklepieion”. *Thesaurus* with six mortise holes around the central cavity (photo by author).

Thesauri are uncommon in Sicily, which make local comparisons difficult (Chapter 7.4). The *thesaurus* at the Central Sanctuary at Morgantina (figs. 18-19; Chapter 5.1.2) appears similar to the *thesaurus* at Helorus. The Morgantina *thesaurus* is narrower, measuring 60 x 40 cm and taller, made up of two blocks each 60 cm in height. The cavities of both are of similar size with the Morgantina *thesaurus* measuring 20 cm in diameter compared to the 23 cm at Helorus. However, the Morgantina *thesaurus* tapers as it nears the top, measuring 10 cm at its opening.

While the tapering of the cavity sets both of these examples apart, the opening of the cavities appears very similar. The cavity opening of both are slightly recessed below the surface of the block, and the tops of each block are surrounded by holes.⁶⁰ The seven holes on the Morgantina *thesaurus* are believed to be mortise holes used to attach a lid, and lead fragments were found

⁶⁰ The *thesaurus* at Morgantina may have had a seventh mortise hole. Kaminski 1991, 158 counts six but inspection of the *thesaurus* suggests there may have been a seventh (fig. 18) and his illustration has seven holes on the block’s top side (fig. 19).

in one of the holes.⁶¹ The mortise holes on the *thesaurus* in the “Asklepieion” were also likely used to fasten and secure a lid to the block.

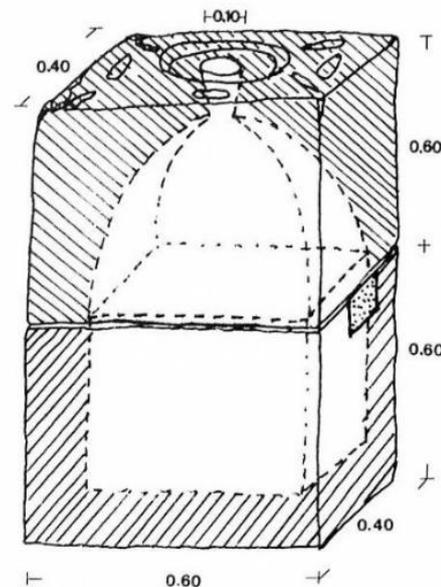


Fig. 18 - Morgantina Agora, Central Sanctuary. The top block of the *thesaurus* from Altar 7 (photo by author); Fig. 19 - Morgantina Agora, Central Sanctuary. Sketch of the complete *thesaurus* with the lower block (Kaminski 1991, 158 fig. 58).

A similar *thesaurus* can also be found at Temple A at Fosso dell’Incastro in Lazio, Italy (fig. 20). Here the remains of a Republican period, square *thesaurus* measuring 92 x 93 cm, 93 cm high, and made of a single block can be found. Like the *thesaurus* at Helorus, this *thesaurus* also had six mortise holes surrounding its circular cavity that measured 61 cm in diameter, tapering at the top to 46 cm at its narrowest point; the mortise holes contained remnants of bronze clamps to attach its lid.⁶²

The primary difference between these *thesauri* and the one at the “Asklepieion” is the tapered cavities in the comparisons, and the two grooves cut along the top of the *thesaurus* at the “Asklepieion”. As two *thesauri* from Greece, discussed below, will show, *thesauri* need not always have had tapered cavities and can also have similar grooves. These two *thesauri* also show that the block was originally a *thesaurus*, which was later converted into a settling basin for the removal of silt and pollutants from water.

⁶¹ Stillwell 1959, 168 believed that the holes were used to attach a locking mechanism for the lid whereas Kaminski 1991, 158. thought they were used to attach the lid itself.

⁶² Di Mario 2007, 71. The described mortise holes and bronze clamps are not visible in the only photograph of the *thesaurus* (fig. 20).

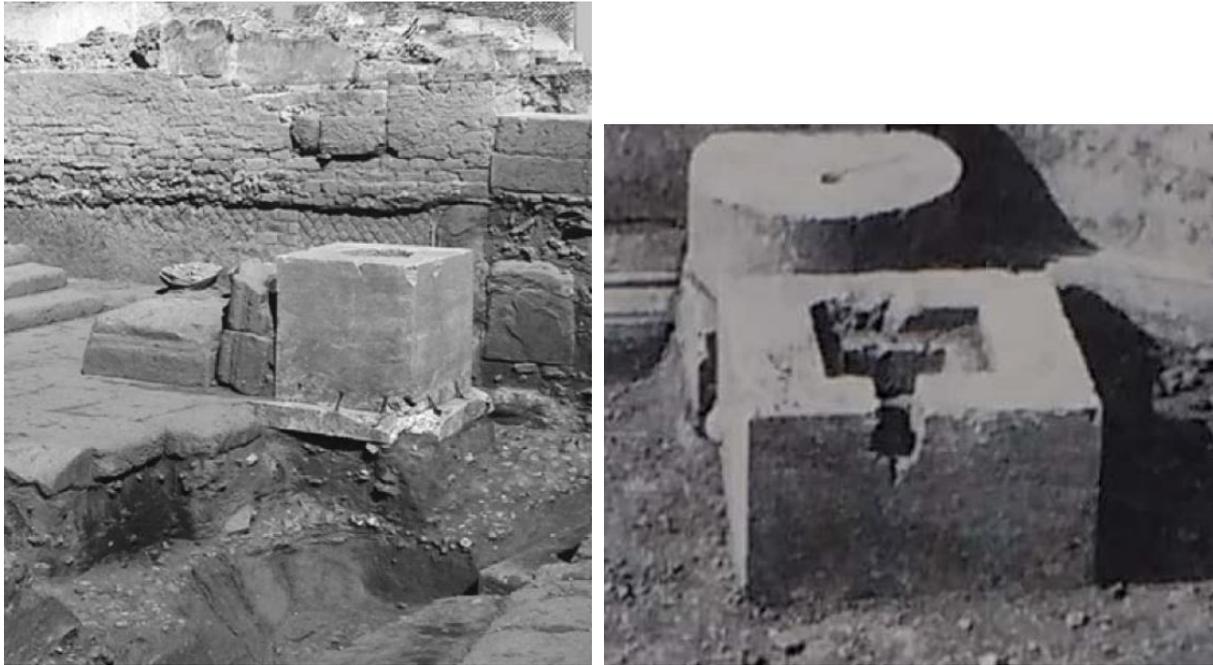


Fig. 20 - Ardea, Italy, Fosso dell'Incastro. *Thesaurus* (Di Mario 2007, 71 fig. 32 edited by author); Fig. 21 - Messene, Greece. Temple of Artemis. *Thesaurus* (Orlandos 1976, 24 fig. 21).

The first, a second-century BC square *thesaurus* from the Temple of Artemis in Messene, Greece, was made of a single stone block measuring 80 x 80 cm with a height of 50 cm (fig. 21). In the center is a 41.5 x 41.5 cm square recess. In the center of this recess is a square cavity measuring 26.5 x 26.5 cm and 15 cm deep. This cavity was not tapered, and while the lid does not survive, Kaminski suggested that the *thesaurus*' lid, fragments of which were found nearby, may have tapered to the top.⁶³ Interestingly, the *thesaurus* has a groove cut into the top and evidence of an attempt to cut a similar groove on the other side of the top; it is thought these cuts were later modifications with the continuation of the second groove never completed.⁶⁴

A comparison of these grooves can also be found in the Peribolos of Apollo at Corinth. This square stone *thesaurus*, measuring 95 x 95 cm and 60 cm high (fig. 22), dates from the fifth to fourth century BC, earlier than the other *thesauri* thus far discussed; in the center is hemispherical recess measuring 31 cm wide at the top and 20 cm deep which is surrounded by four walls 16 cm thick and 29 cm high and has no evidence of mortise holes.⁶⁵ Two grooves can be found in two of the *thesaurus*' walls similar to those of the *thesaurus* at Helorus; similarly to the *thesaurus* at Messene, the excavators believed that these grooves were cut at a

⁶³ Kaminski 1991, 155-6, 155 fig. 24, and also 172 fig. 33.

⁶⁴ Kaminski 1991, 155-6.

⁶⁵ Kaminski 1991, 148-9.

later date for the conversion of the block as a settling basin.⁶⁶ Settling basins functioned as a container into which dirty water would flow where sediments and pollutants would sink before the clean surface water flowed out the other side. The two grooves can thus be understood to have been intended to hold water pipes to transport the water into and out of the basin.



Fig. 22 - Corinth, Greece, Peribolos of Apollo. *Thesaurus* with two grooves cut into sides (Kaminski 1991, table 31 fig 3); Fig. 23 - Helorus, “Asklepieion”. *Thesaurus* with two grooves cut into the top of the block (photo by author).

Comparisons with *thesauri* from Morgantina, Messene, Fosso dell’Incastro, and Corinth suggest that the stone block found at Helorus should be understood as a *thesaurus* for the collection of votive coins which was later converted into a settling basin. It has a circular cavity like the Morgantina and Fosso dell’Incastro examples, which was not tapered like the Messene *thesaurus*. Furthermore, the presence of mortise holes atop the block suggests that a lid was attached to it as was likely found on the *thesauri* at Morgantina and Fosso dell’Incastro. By comparisons to *thesauri* from Corinth and Messene, the two cuts on the east and west sides of the block can be understood to be later additions for the *thesaurus*’ repurposing into a settling pit. Although no single *thesaurus* possesses all of the features of the Helorus block, the fact that each of its primary features can be found in other *thesauri* makes its identification clear.

Due to the lack of any material or stratigraphic evidence, the *thesaurus* cannot be securely dated. Furthermore, the original location of the *thesaurus* is not certain. While the conversion of the *thesaurus* at Corinth into a settling pool did not result in the movement of the *thesaurus*

⁶⁶ Stillwell and Askew 1941, 13-4; Kaminski 1991, 148-9. The conversion of *thesauri* into water conduits appears to have been a relatively common phenomenon, for examples at Fregellae and Beneventum, see Crawford 2003, 77-8.

itself, it cannot be certain in the Helorus case. The *thesaurus* may have also been moved again after it was found by Orsi. A sketch by Orsi shows the block much closer, immediately behind Temple A, c. 2 m from its current location (fig. 24). The preliminary report records the location as “all’estremo angolo sud-est”,⁶⁷ but it is unclear if this refers to the temple, sanctuary, or excavation area.

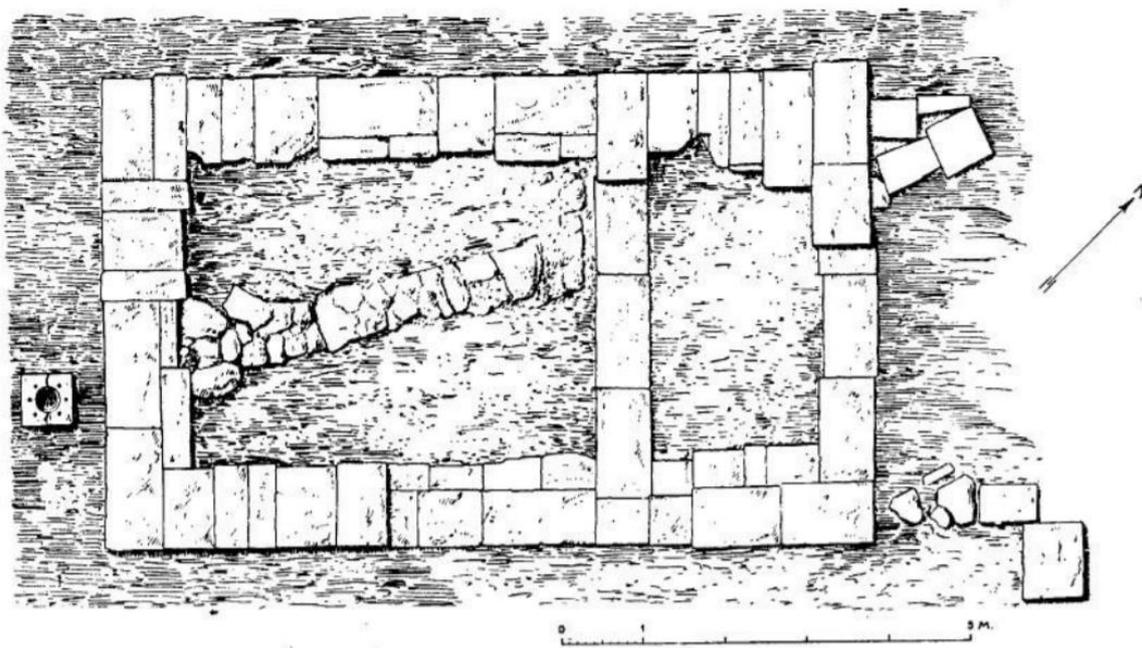


Fig. 24 - Helorus, “Asklepieion”. Temple A with *thesaurus* (Currò 1966c, 289-90 fig. 43).

It seems likely that the *thesaurus* belongs to the Roman period, perhaps as early as the Republican period. The use of *thesauri* in Italy is strongly connected with the expansion of Roman influence, and this appears to also be the case in Sicily (Chapter 7.4). This is also supported by the other comparable *thesauri* discussed above. As has already been shown, the *thesaurus* in the “Asklepieion” has structural and design similarities with other *thesauri* in Italy and Greece, which all date to the second century BC or Republican period. Only the *thesaurus* from Corinth dates earlier but, with its significantly larger central recess and hemispherical cavity, it is significantly different from the others. Thus, the *thesaurus* at Helorus can likely be associated with the increasing Romano-Italic presence in the area after the Second Punic War. This could also be connected with the sanctuary’s increased continuity. A similar use of the *thesaurus* that can be more directly connected to a Romano-Italic presence at the sanctuary can

⁶⁷ Currò 1966c, 288, 289 fig. 43.

be found at the Central Sanctuary in Morgantina, which may similarly explain why that sanctuary remained in use and thrived beyond 212 BC (Chapter 5.1.4-5).

It cannot be known when the *thesaurus* was converted into a settling tank. However, there is no reason to assume this occurred after the sanctuary went out of use. The *thesaurus* at the Peribolos of Apollo in Corinth was already been out of use when the rest of the sanctuary went out of use after the destruction of the city in 146 BC.⁶⁸ Instead, the disuse of the *thesaurus* at Helorus may have been due to a similar situation as occurred at Morgantina, where the *thesaurus* at the Central Sanctuary went out of use less than 100 years after it was built, suggesting that it may not have been an especially popular practice (Chapter 5.1.2; 5.1.4-5). If the *thesaurus* at the “Asklepieion” was built in the Republican period, then it could suggest another change in cult practices sometime in the following centuries before the sanctuary’s eventual disuse.

4.2.4 Conclusions

The “Asklepieion”, a relatively minor sanctuary of the early Hellenistic Helorus, continued to be used into the Republican period. Evidence of new votive practices in this period can be seen through the use of a *thesaurus*, a relatively uncommon practice in Sicily unknown before the Republican period. The sanctuary remained in use until at least the first century BC or early first century AD at the very least when it saw a major renovation with the construction of a stoa and new pavement of the area between Temple A and Temple B. Possibly remaining in use into the second century AD, the continued prosperity of the sanctuary could be the result of a greater level of interest by the new Romano-Italic elite and their increasing influence at the sanctuary evidenced by the use of the *thesaurus*. However, the use of the *thesaurus* may not have been a durable practice with it later reused as a settling tank within the sanctuary. This suggests that despite the Romano-Italic interest, foreign votive practices may have not resonated with the local populace who also frequented the site.

4.3 Helorus: Conclusions

As far as the state of excavation and publication allows, Roman Helorus does not appear to have received any *ex novo* sacred sites. The Roman phase is characterized by the continued use, development, and maintenance of existing sanctuaries. Later modifications sites are both characterized by the addition of stoas and as well as practical additions with cisterns at the

⁶⁸ Stillwell and Askew 1941, 13.

Sanctuary of Demeter and pavement at the “Asklepieion”. The construction of a *thesaurus* at the “Asklepieion”, provides evidence of Romano-Italic influence within the pre-Roman sanctuaries, although its later conversion to a settling tank suggests that such changes were not always durable.

While the excavators, since Orsi, have remained neutral on the subject, recent scholarship has almost universally viewed Roman Helos from the first century BC onward through a lens of decline, noting especially the fire and abandonment of the Sanctuary of Demeter.⁶⁹ Others see 212 BC as a clear break in the city’s urban development focused on the sanctuaries with Wolf placing the monumental stoa at the Sanctuary of Demeter in the Hieronian period,⁷⁰ and Cali placing the abandonment of the “Asklepieion” at some time soon after from the second to first centuries BC.⁷¹ However, as was shown, the city’s development, particularly that associated with its religious landscape, remained strong into the Republican period.

The abandonment of the Sanctuary of Demeter should not necessarily be seen as evidence of an urban decline. As the significant additions to the “Asklepieion” in the first century BC or early first century AD show, the city likely remained prosperous enough to repair and reactivate the damaged Sanctuary of Demeter. Instead, the absence of repair and reuse could have been partially influenced by religious factors with the cult no longer capable of attracting the same level of benefaction and civic interest as the nearby “Asklepieion”, which appears to have been able to appeal to the Romano-Italic community. Thus, we might see the first century BC as a possible period of cult and religious change in the city. Further excavations with the detailed publication of results are greatly needed to better understand this often-overlooked studied site. These would not only clarify the nature of a possible religious and cultural shift in the first century BC but also shed additional light on the extent of Helorus’ possible urban “decline” under Rome.

⁶⁹ Wilson 1990, 27, 157; Pfuntner 2013, 368.

⁷⁰ Wolf 2016, 85.

⁷¹ Cali 2009, 167

Chapter Five: Morgantina

Introduction

Morgantina lies on the western end of the plain of Catania along the Serra Orlando near the modern town of Aidone. First excavated during brief campaigns in 1884 and 1912, excavations began in earnest in the 1950s under Princeton University and continue to the present day with the American Excavations, the Soprintendenza, and the Università degli Studi di Enna Kore.

These excavations have uncovered much of the agora and surrounding residential districts that have been partly published in periodic preliminary reports and an ongoing series of monographs, *Morgantina Studies*. The monographs thus far published are largely focused on material finds, and as a result, the coins, fine wares, and terracotta statuettes are among the best published in Sicily.¹ Other material finds, such as the coarse ware pottery, have yet to be published. Publications dedicated to specific structures or areas of the city are lacking with only dedicated volumes published on the kilns and pottery industry, necropolis, and the nearby Archaic settlement.²

The cult sites must, therefore, be studied through preliminary reports, the periodic publications by Morgantina's archaeologists, and scattered information in the monographs on the material finds.³ Despite the near-continuous excavations of the city since the 1950s, preliminary reports were only published regularly from the late 50s to the early 70s, with a final report in 1988; recently, the publication of regular reports has resumed as a part of the American Excavations Contrada Agnese project focused on the early Hellenistic residential district west of the agora.

The archaeology of Roman Morgantina poses several key obstacles.⁴ These include a general paucity of stratigraphic material [fill].⁵ Some areas of the agora have only two Roman period strata; additionally, there are few tile falls, and even fewer can be described as sealed deposits.

¹ On the terracottas: Bell 1981, the coins: Buttrey *et al.* 1989, and the Hellenistic and Roman fine ware pottery: Stone 2014.

² On the Archaic necropoleis: Lyons 1996, the Archaic Citadella settlement: Leighton 1993, and kilns and pottery workshops: Cuomo di Caprio 1992. On the religious sites of the agora as part of Bell's ongoing study of the agora, see Bell 2015.

³ The preliminary reports: Stillwell and Sjöqvist 1957; Sjöqvist 1958; Sjöqvist 1960; Sjöqvist 1962; Sjöqvist 1964; Stillwell 1959; Stillwell 1961; Stillwell 1963; Stillwell 1967; Allen 1970; Allen 1974; Bell 1988; Walthall *et al.* 2013; Walthall 2015; Walthall *et al.* 2016.

⁴ Stone 1981, 46-7. On the archaeological issues outlined below.

⁵ At Morgantina the term "fill" is often used to denote "stratigraphic material".

Even when there is a closed stratum [deposit], they often contain little material.⁶ The lack of closed strata is especially problematic in the first half of the second century BC⁷ and the early-mid first century AD. The scarcity of material in these strata hampers the dating of diagnostic pottery of southeastern Sicily and key aspects of change during these key periods in the life of Morgantina.

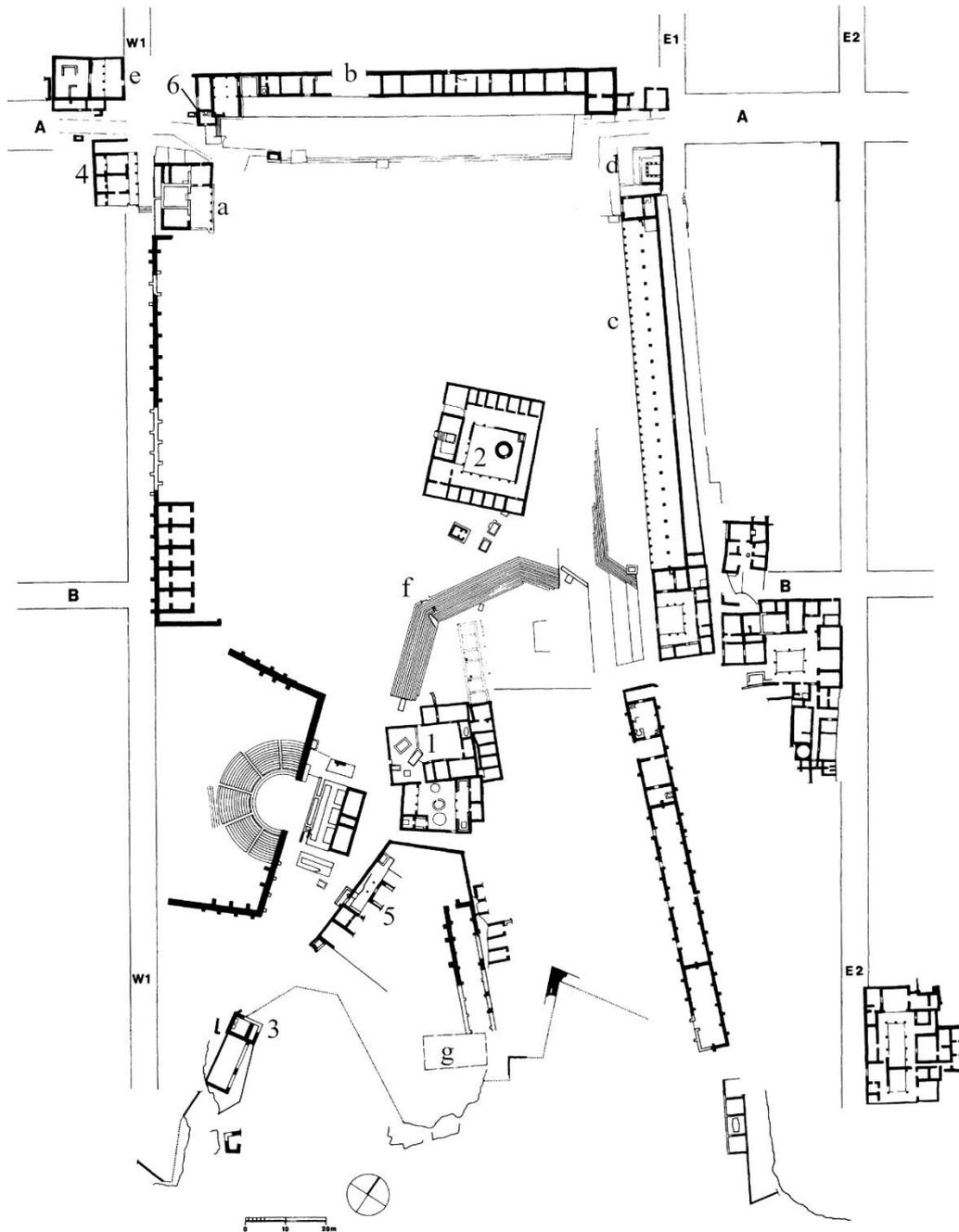


Fig. 1 - Morgantina, Agora. (Bell 1988, 315, fig. 1, edited by author).

1. Central Sanctuary; 2. Macellum Sanctuary and Central Shrine; 3. Watchtower Shrine; 4. Chthonic Shrine; 5. Theater Temenos Sanctuary; 6. Shrine at Plataea A.

⁶ At Morgantina the term “deposit” is often used for stratum and “sealed deposit” for “deposit”.

⁷ All dates on Morgantina are BC unless otherwise stated.

Despite these issues, the thorough excavations and detail of publication make it an incredibly important settlement. Almost all of the agora has been uncovered, and it is even possible that all of the agora's Roman period cult sites have been identified. Thus, it presents a nearly intact picture of the city's public cult life under Rome.

Hellenistic and Roman Morgantina has conventionally been divided into three key chronological periods with sharp breaks between each.⁸ The first, from the late fourth to the third century and the second, from the city's capture in 211 to the mid-late first century BC, when a destruction event ravaged the city. The city's last phase continued until the city's abandonment around the mid-first century AD.

Morgantina was founded in the mid-fifth century following the destruction and abandonment of the nearby Archaic settlement on the nearby Cittadella hill.⁹ The city reached its peak in both prosperity and population during the early-Hellenistic period; the agora took shape in the third century with the construction of the Northwest, North and East Stoas (fig. 1a, b, c), the Fountain House (fig. 1d), Bouleuterion (fig. 1e), and the Central Steps (fig. 1f), a large series of steps that connected the northern and central areas of the agora.¹⁰ This period has been the primary focus of scholarship and excavation publication, notably Bell on the agora.¹¹

Morgantina was besieged and sacked in 211 after it revolted against the Romans during the Second Punic War (Liv. 24.38.4; 26.21.17).¹² The agora appears to have been largely spared.¹³ Numerous destruction layers, coin hoards, and the abandonment of much of the city testify to the extent of the destruction outside of the agora.¹⁴ Morgantina was subsequently colonized by the Hispani mercenaries who had sided with the Romans at Syracuse (Liv. 26.21.12, 17),¹⁵ and it is believed that the Hispani constituted the city's upper class while the majority of the population remaining Greek.¹⁶ Morgantina never reached the same level of prosperity after 211, and the later settlement was significantly reduced in size, limited to the agora and its

⁸ For a detailed breakdown, see below and Stone 2014, 6-27.

⁹ Stone 2014, 7-8.

¹⁰ Bell 1988, 338; Stone 2014, 7-8.

¹¹ Bell 1984-5; Bell 1986-7; Bell 1993; Bell 1999; Bell 2012a.

¹² See Bell 2000, 246-52. for the period from the rebellion in 214 to the sack of the city in 211.

¹³ Stone 2014, 11.

¹⁴ Buttrey 1989 149-57; Tsakirgis 1995, 138-9; Wilson 2000, 138-9; Bell 2000, 246-52; Bell 2007a 121; Bell 2007b, 187-203; Stone 2014, 11-2.

¹⁵ It remains unclear how soon after 211 BC Morgantina was colonized, see below for more.

¹⁶ Stone 2014, 13.

surrounding hillsides; it is estimated that the population of Morgantina had been reduced from as high as 8,500 in the late third century to 2000-3,500 by the second century.¹⁷

The period immediately after 211 remains enigmatic due to the previously mentioned archaeological issues. It is possible, based upon the absence of early second-century deposits, that Morgantina was left abandoned for some time before its colonization, or the city may have experienced a second destruction event, possibly a natural disaster, and the earliest datable activity is *c.* 175.¹⁸ Morgantina rebounded by the second half of the second century and was relatively prosperous with a burgeoning pottery industry,¹⁹ and an active civic community, where coinage was issued declaring the presence of the Hispani from the mid-second to the early first century BC.²⁰ The agora was significantly reworked at this time with new constructions, including the *macellum*, Great Kiln, and the repair of damaged buildings such as the Northwest Stoa.²¹ At least part of the northern agora was also resurfaced.²²

A gradual decline appears to have set in during the course of the first century.²³ This rapidly accelerated around the mid to late first century with a destruction event seen through numerous abandonments and destruction layers; it is thought that this may have been the result of the conflict between Augustus and Sextus Pompey.²⁴ Morgantina continued in a further reduced

¹⁷ Stone 2014, 12-3.

¹⁸ See Stone 2014, 14-5, 47-8; Trümper 2018b.

¹⁹ Stone 2014, 15-6. A pessimistic view is expressed by Wilson 2000, 138-9 suggests that the settlement was in a state of severe urban decline as early as the second century; a more optimistic view is proposed by Tsakirgis 1995, 139; Pfuntner 2013, 107 who state that Morgantina was “considerable, if not quite the equal of the town’s Hellenistic prosperity”.

²⁰ On the Hispanorum coinage and their *c.* 150 date, see Erim 1958; Erim in Buttrey *et al.* 1989, 36 and for archaeological contexts and chronology especially 38-9, 92-3 nos. 249-57; see also 201-14 (reprint of Erim 1958). Despite the relative security of this chronology based upon their archaeological contexts and the association of dated Republican coins within the relevant strata (see also Frey-Kupper 2013, 325), an earlier date had been proposed (211-185 BC) based upon the iconography (Caccamo Caltabiano 1985). This date has hitherto not been widely accepted but archaeologists from Morgantina have begun to push for an earlier date although this argument has not yet been published (Trümper 2019b, 112). Due to the ubiquitous nature of these coins and issues regarding the chronology of early second century BC pottery, a new dating for the coins would drastically change our understanding of the site’s history after 211. Pending a full publication and argument of this date, the conventional mid-second to early first-century date will be followed.

²¹ De Ruyt 1983, 109-14; Bell 1988, 338.

²² Walthall *et al.* 2014, 6-7.

²³ Wilson 1990, 33-5 supports a more gradual decline. Crouch 2004, 67 argues a dwindling water supply was a key factor in the decline. For more on water supply’s decline, see Bruno 2015. This also saw a decline in the local pottery industry which culminated in its end by the late first century; a similar collapse at this time was also seen in Syracuse and Messana (Pfuntner 2019 262 n. 14).

²⁴ Stone 1983, 16-9 = Stone 2002, 139-44; Stone 2014, 17-23 argues in support of Augustan punishment of loyalist cities after the capture of the island from Sextus Pompey and more precisely dates the destruction event from 36-25.

state, largely focused around the northwest corner of the agora until it was largely abandoned around the mid-first century AD.²⁵

The cult sites have received little dedicated study. A cursory study of the Classical and Hellenistic periods was performed over 40 years ago, followed by a recent paper on the cults of the agora by Bell.²⁶ The sack in 211 has been regarded as a break in the religious continuity at Morgantina, which strongly affected the sanctuaries to Demeter and Kore as part of the targeted destruction aimed at the cult.²⁷ However, this break was not isolated to Demeter and Kore as previously thought and instead affected almost every sacred site at Morgantina, seen through the destruction of altars, reuse of sites for non-sacred purposes such as dumps, and a lack of later material finds.²⁸

As with the rest of Morgantina, the second century was one of significant construction and repair.²⁹ Older sanctuaries such as the Central Sanctuary (Chapter 5.1; fig 1.1) and Macellum Sanctuary (Chapter 5.2; fig. 1.2) were reused. Five of the six sacred sites used in Roman Morgantina were either built or repaired (and reused) in this century. Continuity is seen in the earliest period, before the mid-second century. The Central Sanctuary was repaired and reused, and the Macellum Sanctuary (fig. 1.2) may have also undergone similar works and reuse at the time. The Theater Temenos Sanctuary (Chapter 5.5; fig. 1.5) was built *ex novo*. Two other new sanctuaries can be more generally placed in the second century: the Watchtower Shrine (Chapter 5.3; fig. 1.3) and the Shrine to Plataea A (Chapter 5.6; fig. 1.6) were also built in this century as well. Only one sanctuary, the modest Chthonic Shrine (Chapter 5.4; fig. 1.4), was built after the second century.

Aside from the *Hispanorum* coinage, there is little direct evidence of the Hispani presence in Morgantina or in any of the cult sites. Morgantina is typically thought to have largely kept its

²⁵ Stone 2014, 17, 23-7.

²⁶ Allen 1977 noted the general absence of peristyle temples and an evolution from small shrines to courtyard sanctuaries during the early Hellenistic period. More recent treatments by Bell 2015 and also Trümper 2019b, 124-7.

²⁷ White 1964, 273-7.

²⁸ Bell 2015, 71-2, 74, 78-80. Cult sites which ceased to be used after the late third century include: the North, South, Contrada San Francesco, and Cittadella sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore as well as two shrines in the north stoa to Hestia and Artemis? and possible sanctuaries to Aphrodite and to Persephone at the Fountain House, see Allen 1974, 370-82; Bell 1988, 333; Bell 2000, 249; Stone 2014, 41-7; Bell 2015, 71-6. “The West Sanctuary” which also went out of use, has since been identified as a house thanks to recent excavations from 2013-2017 (Trümper 2018b). Trümper 2019b, 125-7 has suggested that the two shrines in the North Stoa (Hestia and Artemis?) may have been used beyond 211. This is based upon the later conversion of both shrines for use as a foundry and pottery workshop and an assumption that they were used continuously to that point. However, there is no archaeological evidence to support this and the shrines need not have been in continuous use until their conversion (see Chapter 2.4 for example).

²⁹ See below for detailed discussion of each sanctuary.

Greek character based upon the absence of Latin epigraphy.³⁰ The Slave Wars do not appear to have had a significant impact on Morgantina, and although the city was briefly besieged (Diod. Sic. 36.4.5, 8), there is little evidence of damage, and it was most likely never captured.³¹ However, the cultural and political upheaval of Sicily during the period can be seen in the cult sites. From the mid to late second century, the sacred landscape undergoes another period of transformation, which was focused on the cult of Demeter and Kore.³² The Central Sanctuary undergoes a period of significant change in cult practice with the introduction of new practices and disuse of others (Chapter 5.1). The Macellum Sanctuary was downsized and changed into what is known as the Central Shrine (fig. 1.2) and possibly rededicated to a new deity (Chapter 5.2). No later construction is seen at any sites of Demeter and Kore and, although the evidence makes assessment of the sanctuaries difficult, there is evidence of decline at the Central Sanctuary (Chapter 5.2).

Evidence of the first century until the mid-late first-century destruction event is limited to works on the Temenos Sanctuary. The Central Sanctuary was out of use by the mid-late first century BC, and at least four other sites were significantly damaged by the mid to late first-century destruction event, and there is evidence of fire at the Watchtower Shrine, the Shrine at Plataea A, the Central Shrine, and the Theater Temenos Sanctuary.

The re-inhabitation of the late first century to early first century AD only sees the reuse of those sites not dedicated to Demeter and Kore, with the repair of both the Shrine at Plataea A and the Theater Terrace Sanctuary. The cult of Demeter and Kore was not absent from Morgantina, and a new and modest site which reused part of the Doric Stoa (fig. 1.4), in the Northwest of the agora, comes into use although it shows no evidence of continuity with the previous cult sites. All these cult sites are out of use by the mid-first century AD.

5.1 The Central Sanctuary³³ (fig. 1.1)

The longest continually used sanctuary at Morgantina, the Central Sanctuary (figs. 2-3), is located just south of the Central Steps (fig. 1f). This sanctuary, securely dedicated to Demeter and Kore,³⁴ was excavated in the late 1950s to mid-1960s and is relatively well-published thanks to contemporary preliminary reports and articles by Edlund-Berry as part of her work

³⁰ Tsakirgis 1995, 139; Bell 2015, 78-80; on the Hispanorum coins see above n. 17.

³¹ Stone 2014, 15. On the debate about whether Morgantina was captured, see Stone 2014, 15 n. 49.

³² See below, especially Chapter 5.7.

³³ Sanctuary is variously referred to as the “Lamp Factory”, “Agora Sanctuary”, “Chthonic Sanctuary”, and “Gymnasium Sanctuary” in the various preliminary reports and secondary literature.

³⁴ The attribution is secure based upon votive finds especially curse tablets, see below.

on a monograph on the sanctuary.³⁵ However, there remains no systematic publication of material or stratigraphy, and much of the site's chronology remains undetailed, unsupported, and requires further examination and reassessment.

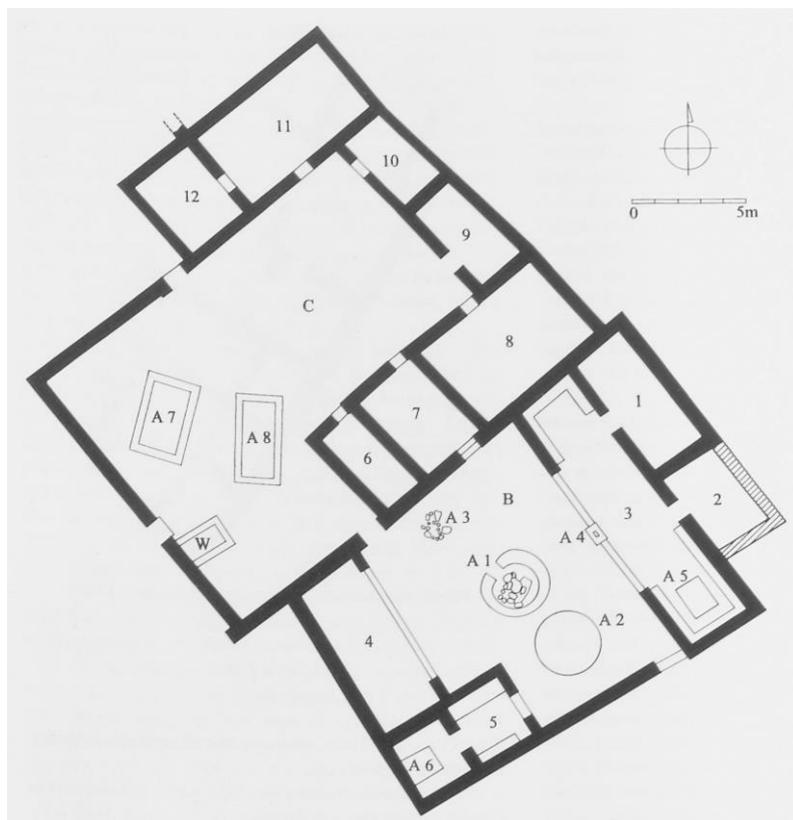


Fig. 2 - Morgantina, Central Sanctuary. (Hinz 1998, 132 fig. 28).
A. Altar; B. Southern courtyard; C. Northern courtyard; W. Basin.

The sanctuary dates back to the fifth century when activity was focused around well-altar 1.³⁶ It was expanded during the course of the fourth to third centuries with the enclosure of the southern courtyard (fig. 2 C) and the construction of altars 3 and 4.³⁷ The second century was a period of even greater expansion and change in comparison with preceding centuries. The sanctuary was doubled in size with the incorporation and repurposing of the South Market as the northern courtyard and construction of additional altars, a basin, a kiln (fig. 2.10), and new flooring throughout both courtyards (fig. 2).³⁸ After this, new construction ceases, activity at

³⁵ Preliminary reports: Stillwell and Sjöqvist 1957, 156; Stillwell 1959, 168-9; Stillwell 1963, 165; Sjöqvist 1964, 142-3; Edlund-Berry 1989-1990; Edlund-Berry 1996; Edlund-Berry 2001.

³⁶ Edlund-Berry 1989-90, 336.

³⁷ Sjöqvist 1964, 143.

³⁸ Altar 5 is not dated by Edlund-Berry, but a second century date was given in the preliminary reports (Sjöqvist 1964, 143); The northern courtyard also received at least a partial stone flooring, see Cuomo di Capro 1992, 20; Edlund-Berry 2001, 72. The southern courtyard received a new dirt flooring, see Sjöqvist 1964, 142-3. This expansion was curiously placed in the third century by Wolf 2016, 85-6 without explanation, but the archaeological evidence does not support this. A statue base located just outside the northern entrance of the sanctuary cannot be precisely dated but likely belongs to the second to first century (special thanks to Rebecca

the site declines, and by the mid to late first century, the kiln goes out of use, cult deposits cease altogether, and the sanctuary sees no further activity aside from limited dumping.³⁹

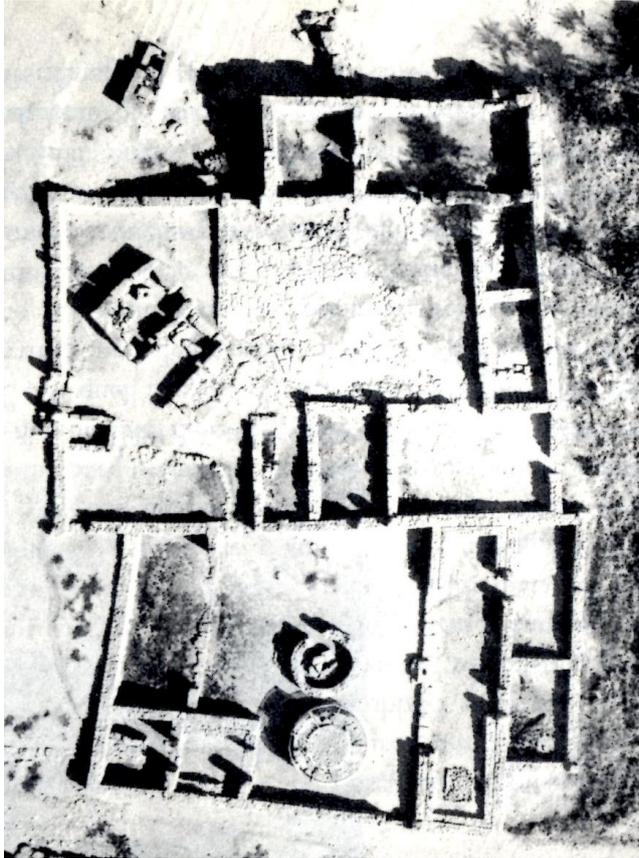


Fig. 3 - Morgantina, Central Sanctuary. Aerial view from 1970s (Bell 2015, 73 fig. 13).

Edlund-Berry attributed significant cult change and new cult practices to the second century with new altars, the introduction of new votive types, the hoarding of coins, and the use of curse tablets.⁴⁰ However, the second century may have been more complex with two phases, which saw the introduction of new practices and the later abandonment of some of these as well as the re-introduction and adaptation of more “traditional” practices.

The first half of the second century at the sanctuary has been unclear, and damage to the sanctuary during the sack of 211 has been a debated issue. Edlund-Berry argued that, unlike the other sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore at Morgantina, the sanctuary was spared and completely undamaged at this time.⁴¹ Stone, on the other hand, argued that the evidence is

Henzel for this date as part of her ongoing doctoral research on statue bases in Hellenistic Sicily), see also Sposito 2011, 108, figs. 4-5.

³⁹ On the kiln, see Stillwell 1962, 165; Cuomo di Caprio 1992, 69; On the votive deposits, see Stone 1983, 17 = Stone 2002, 142; Stone 2014, 18 n. 67; Hinz 1998, 133-4. There is limited evidence of later activity at the sanctuary, but is attributed to later looting and dumping, see Stone 1981, 35 n. 60; Stone 2014, 18 n. 67.

⁴⁰ Edlund-Berry, 1989-90, 337.

⁴¹ Edlund-Berry 1996, 15-9, Edlund-Berry 2001, 71-5.

unclear and that the sanctuary may have been damaged and possibly even briefly abandoned after 211.⁴²

While the damage may not have been as extensive as some of the other sanctuaries at Morgantina, it is unlikely that the Central Sanctuary was left entirely untouched. The ambiguity of the archaeological data could support this assessment and indicate that the sanctuary was cleaned of debris.⁴³ The Southern Demeter Sanctuary, located near the city walls c. 100 m southwest of the theater, is perhaps the clearest example of the destruction of sacred sites in the sack of 211. The destruction here is evident due to the numerous broken votive terracotta statuettes and statues found throughout the sanctuary.⁴⁴ This evidence is only easily discernible because there was no later attempt to clean or reuse the sanctuary. Within this context, the lack of debris at the Central Sanctuary does not necessarily indicate that the sanctuary had not been damaged. Instead, the damage, especially if it were not extensive, may not have been clear if the sanctuary was later cleaned and extensively renovated. Although no large dumps of material from the sanctuary have yet been found, the northern courtyard's cistern was filled when the courtyard was incorporated into the sanctuary.⁴⁵

A possible cleaning would be supported by the paucity of pre-second-century votive material found in the sanctuary. The unusual absence of the votive terracotta statuettes at the sanctuary, a well-known feature of the cult of Demeter and Kore before the second century, has been often noted.⁴⁶ The pre-sack votive materials were primarily found inside well-altar 1, including an intact female terracotta bust.⁴⁷ The absence of votive material outside of well-altar 1, seemingly supports a possible collection and dump of the damaged votives which were found in large numbers at the other abandoned sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore

Damage and subsequent clean-up of the sanctuary would also help explain two unanswered questions. The preliminary reports record the partial rubble remains of Altar 3 were buried under the second-century dirt floor level, having likely gone out of use in the late third or early

⁴² Stone 2014, 14 n. 44. A third viewpoint is taken by Rutledge 2007, 188 who states that the sanctuary was destroyed and then subsequently rebuilt in the second century. However, no archaeological evidence is provided for such a radical interpretation.

⁴³ Stone 2014, 14 n. 44.

⁴⁴ White 1964, 261-79.

⁴⁵ Edlund-Berry 1996, 18 n. 29. The material found inside the cistern is not given.

⁴⁶ On the absence of votive terracotta statuettes, see Edlund-Berry 1996, 15-9; Edlund-Berry 2001, 71-5. On the absence of these statuettes more widely in Sicily after the third century, see Chapter 7.2.1.

⁴⁷ On the lack of material see Edlund-Berry 1989-90, 335; Hinz 1998, 133. Hinz records that the fragmentary remains of another bust were found scattered throughout the southern courtyard.

second century.⁴⁸ As this coincides with the sack of 211, the altar may have gone out of use when it was destroyed and the remains buried during the sanctuary's repair. Secondly, the dating of early second-century constructions at the sanctuary suffers from a lack of stratigraphic material,⁴⁹ and an extensive clean-up could also help explain this lack of material.

Edlund-Berry attempted to explain these peculiarities, arguing that the sanctuary was left unharmed because it was dedicated to a different local version of Demeter and Kore which was associated with the lower classes; this interpretation was based upon the absence of third and fourth-century votive terracotta statuettes, the sanctuary's supposedly unusual intramural location, and the "simple" nature of later votive gifts.⁵⁰ As mentioned above, the lack of terracotta statuettes could be explained by the sanctuary's cleaning and repair. As has been throughout the thesis thus far, the intramural location of the sanctuary was hardly unusual at Morgantina or elsewhere in Sicily. The cult's other sanctuaries destroyed in 211 were also within the city walls,⁵¹ and many sanctuaries dedicated to the goddesses are within the city walls throughout Sicily.⁵² Although the later votive gifts at the site, such as the lamps, are more modest in comparison to earlier votive materials, these are also found in more "traditional" votive assemblages of the cult.⁵³ Therefore, there is little reason to believe that the cult varied significantly from the other sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore, and although the archaeological evidence leaves the question of damage and repair uncertain, it is more likely that the sanctuary was at least partially damaged, as appears to have occurred throughout the city, resulting in the destruction of Altar 3 and necessitating cleaning and restoration, which removed earlier votive materials.

5.1.1 Chronology (Change in the Second Century: Expansion and Adaptation)

Hitherto, the expansion, renovation, and possible repair of the Central Sanctuary after 211 has been understood to have occurred generally in the second century and largely attributed to Hispani colonization.⁵⁴ Reexamination of the evidence, as well as an understanding of how the

⁴⁸ Sjöqvist 1964, 142-3.

⁴⁹ On this ambiguity, see Sjöqvist 1964, 143 especially on Altar 2 dated to late third or early second century. See below (Chapter 5.1.2) on other possible early constructions not directly datable through material finds.

⁵⁰ Edlund-Berry 1996, 15-9; Edlund-Berry 2001, 71-5.

⁵¹ On the destruction of the sanctuaries within the walls, see White 1964, 273-7. As well as Chapter 5 Introduction and Chapter 5.7.

⁵² For an extensive list of sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore in Sicily in various topographical contexts, see Hinz 1998, 55-167 and also Chapter 7.2.1.

⁵³ On the use of similar votive lamps at other sanctuaries, see Hinz 1998, 133 fn. 777.

⁵⁴ Sjöqvist 1964, 143; Edlund Berry 1989-90; 2001; Although unwilling to specifically attribute changes to the Hispani, Hinz 1998, 133 attributes the addition of new, presumably Spanish deities, to the expansion period.

altars, structures, and votive materials functioned together, shows that not all were used together. Instead, the second century was more complicated than has been previously thought with the introduction of new features and later adaptation to accommodate subsequent religious changes. Although the Hispani may have had some influence, they were probably not the primary driver of change. The earliest constructions, as will be shown below, are more indicative of Romano-Italic influence immediately after 211. Some of these features quickly went out of use, being later supplanted by more typical Sicilian cult practices. These roughly divide the second century into two periods. The first half of the century, in which the repair, renovation, and expansion of the sanctuary occurred, which sees the strongest evidence of Romano-Italic influence and possibly benefaction. This was followed in the second half of the century in which new cult practices were introduced, other more “traditional” pre-Roman ones may have also been reintroduced, and some of the features of the first half of the century either went out of use or were adapted to accommodate new practices within the sanctuary. This suggests changes in the way these new influences were felt and interacted with the existing practices on the island.



Fig. 4 - Morgantina, Central Sanctuary. Votive type A lamps (Museo Archeologico Regionale di Aidone, photo by author).

Initial focus on the better evidence of the second half of the second century allows for the establishment of a *terminus ante quem*, which compensates for the paucity of earlier material. A new votive type was introduced in the second century. Around 3,000-5,000 small unused type A lamps (fig. 4) described as “round, with a flat bottom, round opening at the top, and a rounded spout with a smaller opening”, were found throughout the sanctuary and in such quantities that the sanctuary was originally called the “lamp factory”.⁵⁵ These lamps are crucial

⁵⁵ Edlund-Berry 1989-90, 336.

for re-dating of several features as they have since been dated more precisely to the second half of the second century based upon their contexts.⁵⁶ Their introduction marks a key moment of change within the sanctuary as their use, and rapid accumulation was felt throughout.



Fig. 5 - Morgantina, Central Sanctuary. Kiln in room 10 (Stillwell and Sjöqvist 1957, 58 fig. 20).

It appears that the lamps were produced on-site. A kiln (fig. 5), located in room 10, has been dated to the second-century date by Cuomo di Capro.⁵⁷ Although the lamps were not the focus of her study, she suggested the kiln may have fired the type A lamps.⁵⁸ Edlund-Berry, while admitting that the kiln most likely fired the lamps, suggested caution due to the absence of misfires or wasters.⁵⁹ Stone, whose doctoral thesis as well his upcoming monograph analyses the lamps and other coarse ware pottery, argued that the kiln was used to fire these lamps.⁶⁰ Indeed, the on-site production of votive lamps in a sanctuary was not new to Morgantina. A similar production appears to have occurred at the sanctuary at San Francesco Bisconti from the fourth to the late third centuries.⁶¹ The largest concentration of the lamps (c. 1,135) at the Central Sanctuary was found in room 10 with the kiln.⁶² Furthermore, Edlund-Berry's doubts

⁵⁶ Stone 1981, 512; Buttrey *et al.* 1989, 38.

⁵⁷ Cuomo di Capro 1992, 20-1.

⁵⁸ Cuomo di Capro 1992, 20-1.

⁵⁹ Edlund-Berry 1989-90, 337.

⁶⁰ Stone 1981, 512; Stone 2016, 8.

⁶¹ Raffiotta 2015, 49; Maniscalco 2019. On the sanctuary, see Greco 2015 and Raffiotta 2015, 44-5 fn. 7 with full bibliography.

⁶² Stillwell and Sjöqvist 1957, 156; Stillwell 1959, 168-9 report that the largest concentration of lamps was found in the room with the kiln; A personal correspondence with Edlund-Berry as seen in Bookidis and Pemberton 2015, 17 reports the specific number of lamps found.

seem unwarranted as there do not appear to have been any wasters of any pottery types on site. If the on-site production of lamps is accepted, then it seems most likely that the kiln more precisely dates to the mid-second century coinciding with the introduction of lamps.



Fig. 6 - Morgantina, Central Sanctuary. Altar 6, seen from the northeast (photo by the author).

Large numbers of the type A lamps were also found in the “fills” of altars 1, 6, 7, and 8. These lamps help to more precisely date their construction. Altar 6 (fig. 6), located in the inner room of the shrine at the southwest corner of the southern courtyard, has already been dated to the second century by Edlund-Berry based upon the presence of lamps in the altar’s “fill”.⁶³ Also found with the lamps were a lead tablet and a post-211 As.⁶⁴



Fig. 7 - Morgantina, Central Sanctuary. The foundation deposit of Altar 6 (Sjöqvist 1964 pl. 44 fig. 14).

⁶³ Edlund-Berry 1989-90, 337.

⁶⁴ Curse Tablet: Stillwell 1963, 165; Nabers 1979, 463 (also, see below Chapter 5.1.4). As: Buttrey *et al* 1989, 196 no. 69.
Buttrey *et al* 1989, 196 no. 69.

Neither Edlund-Berry nor the preliminary report detail the nature of the “fill” of Altar 6 (fig. 7). However, it appears to have been sealed by the altar as a foundation deposit. A photo of the fill was labeled as a foundation deposit,⁶⁵ and although the photo leaves the deposit’s relationship to the altar unclear, it was later mentioned that Altar 2 was broken open to find material.⁶⁶ As the lamps formed part of this deposit, the altar must date after the introduction of the lamps around the mid-late second century.

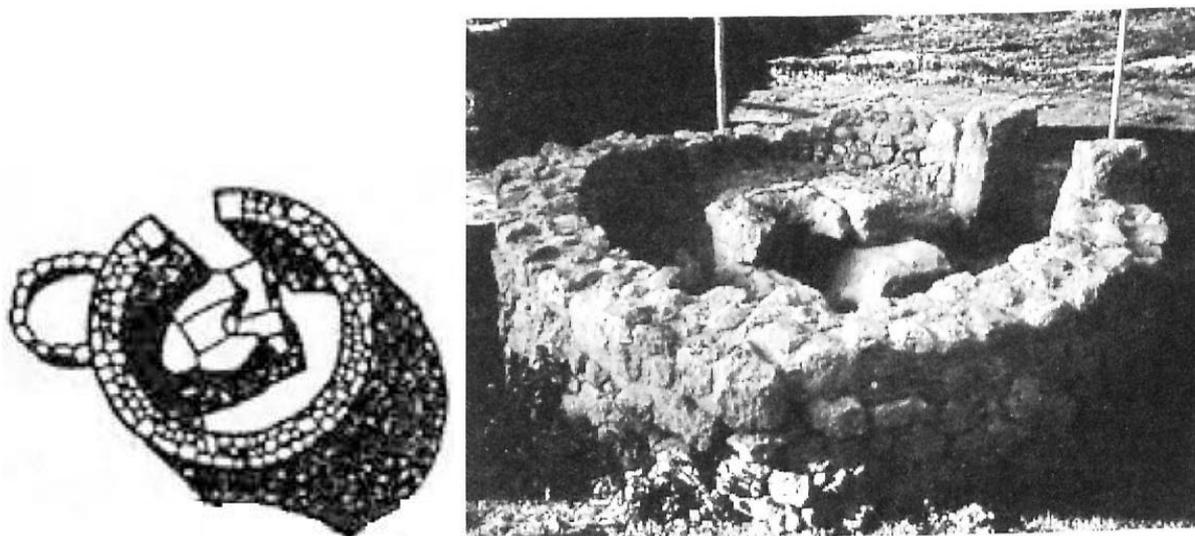


Fig. 8 - Morgantina, Central Sanctuary. Drawing of Altar 1 with a circle of stones near the entrance (Sposito 2008, 228 fig. 14); Fig. 9 - Morgantina, Central Sanctuary. Altar 1, seen from the east (Sposito 2008, 231 fig. 28).

Altar 1 (figs. 8-9), which also contained these type A lamps, is made up of two components. The first is a central well-altar with the stone-lined pit (c. 1 m deep) extended above the ground by a hollow stone shaft; the second is a stone *tholos* that encircling the well-altar with a semi-circular ring of stones built on its western side (fig. 8).⁶⁷ The *tholos* belonged to the Roman phase of the sanctuary but has received two different dates. The preliminary reports stated that it was built in the “very last period of the sanctuary” and filled with material as a pious act when the sanctuary was abandoned (thus c. mid-first century).⁶⁸ Edlund-Berry has since placed it in the second century without further comment.⁶⁹ Understanding how the *tholos* functioned and its relation to the central well-altar clarifies this contradiction and allows for a more precise date.

⁶⁵ Sjöqvist 1964 pl. 44 fig. 14.

⁶⁶ Sjöqvist 1964, 143.

⁶⁷ The well-altar is often referred to as a *bothros* in the secondary literature, but it is more accurately described as a type of well-altar; see below on the issues of assigning a typology to Altar 1.

⁶⁸ Sjöqvist 1964, 143.

⁶⁹ Edlund-Berry 1989-90, 337.

Votive materials were found inside of the central well-altar and in the larger area enclosed by the *tholos*; the well-altar and pit contained stratigraphically undisturbed cult material from the fifth and fourth centuries to the second century, the majority of which belonged to the fourth and third centuries.⁷⁰ The material was stratigraphically undisturbed, and it is clear that the altar was not supposed to be emptied, but accumulate votive material over time. Based on this, the altar's various features and how they changed over time can be better understood.



Fig. 10 - Morgantina, Central Sanctuary. Well-altar 4, seen from the west (photo by author).

This altar's unusual structure of a pit, extended above ground by a stone well-altar and encircled by a *tholos*, represents a unique form of well-altar.⁷¹ This appears to be the result of a series of pragmatic adaptations to the pit to accommodate votive materials as they accumulated. The one-meter deep pit can be classified as a typical "walled pit" altar, which was a hole in the ground, lined with stones, and a stone lid over it.⁷² Instead of a simple lid which would have functioned to close the pit, this lid functionally resembled an above-ground well-altar such as Altar 4 (fig. 10). In the case of Altar 1, the cavity passed completely through the blocks to the pit, functioning as an extension above ground.⁷³ This created more space for additional votive material to accumulate without necessitating the removal of older material. The surrounding *tholos* similarly appears to have functioned as an extension of this central feature.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Sjöqvist 1964, 143; Edlund-Berry 1989-90, 333, 335. This chronology is supported through both the pottery as well as the coins found in each strata of the well-altar: Edlund-Berry 2001, 73-4.

⁷¹ The altar is identified as a mason well-altar by Hinz 1998, 133 fn. 778 but as noted by Yavis 1949, 200-2, this typology does not extend below ground. I am aware of no other similar well-altars.

⁷² For the "walled pit" typology, see Yavis 1949, 34.

⁷³ Yavis 1949, 70. The masonry of a well-altar typically extends to the ground and the masonry is entirely above ground; Altar 4 was found to contain only a few pieces of pottery and black earth suggesting it was used for libations Sjöqvist 1964, 143.

⁷⁴ Edlund-Berry 2001, 74. The well-altar may have been further extended one more time. The semi-circular ring of stones built onto the side of the *tholos* could have been used for the placement of additional votives. The ring



Fig. 11 - Morgantina, Central Sanctuary. Type A lamps in the fill of the *tholos* of Altar 1 (Stillwell 1963, pl 33 fig. 6).

The votive materials inside the well-altar and *tholos* support this. In addition to the material forming an undisturbed stratification, the central well-altar was completely full.⁷⁵ Almost all the material found inside pre-dates the lamps, and a Hispanorum coin was the most recent piece of evidence.⁷⁶ That only a few of the type A lamps were found inside suggests that the central well-altar had likely already been mostly filled by the mid-late second century, soon after the introduction of the lamps. Contrasting the material inside the well-altar, the materials in the *tholos*, included a large number of the type A lamps (fig. 11).⁷⁷ In addition to these lamps, curse tablets were found, both within the well-altar and in the Area Between the well-altar and the *tholos*. The curse tablets date between the late second and early first centuries,⁷⁸ further supporting the mid-late second-century filling of the central feature and construction of the *tholos*.

5.1.2 Chronology (Altar 7, Altar 8, and the *Thesaurus*)

Two altars (7 and 8) and a stone *thesaurus*, an offertory box (figs. 12-13), are found in the north courtyard. Like Altar 1, they appear to have been affected by the introduction of the type

is unmentioned in any of the reports of secondary literature, but the preliminary report does record that some votive material was found outside of the *tholos* (Stillwell 1963, 165). On the other hand, the ring of stones may have been a small hearth.

⁷⁵ Edlund-Berry 2001, 73-4.

⁷⁶ Buttrey *et al* 1989, 186 no. 53; Edlund-Berry 2001, 73-4.

⁷⁷ Stillwell 1963, 165; Edlund-Berry 2001, 73. The fill also included miniature vases (referred to as offertory bowls in the preliminary reports) which have not been dated although Edlund-Berry implies that they coincided with the lamps. Fragments of the type A lamps may have also formed part of the foundation of the *tholos* wall, but the preliminary report leaves the relationship between the floor, *tholos*, and the lamps unclear. See Sjöqvist 1964, 143. If this is the case, then the lamps may have formed part of a foundation deposition for the *tholos* or the *tholos* may have been constructed after lamps had already begun to accumulate around the well-altar due to the lack of available space.

⁷⁸ On the dating of the curse tablets see below (Chapter 5.1.4).

A lamps and their subsequent rapid accumulation. Altar 7 (figs. 14-15), measuring 3.75 x 3 m, has already been securely dated to the second century.⁷⁹ It appears to have functioned similarly to the *tholos* of Altar 1 and contained significant numbers of the type A lamps as well as coins and other pottery.⁸⁰

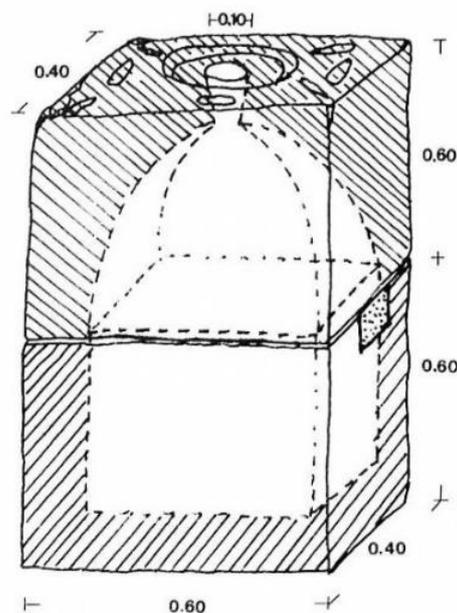


Fig. 12 - Morgantina, Central Sanctuary. The *thesaurus* inside Altar 7, seen from the north (photo by the author); Fig. 13 - Morgantina, Central Sanctuary. Drawing of the complete *thesaurus* (Kaminski 1991, 158 fig. 58).

Altar 7 does not appear to have always functioned as a well-altar. The limestone *thesaurus* containing 154 coins from the early third century to the mid to late second century were inside Altar 7⁸¹ and covered by its fill.⁸² The relationship between the *thesaurus*, altar, and fill have been subject to significant misunderstanding and, despite being the only Sicilian *thesaurus* found *in situ* or with its contents intact, has not been sufficiently studied. How and why the *thesaurus* came to be inside the altar, covered by votive material with its contents intact, has not yet been satisfactorily answered. Edlund-Berry and Buttrey are the only two scholars to discuss the relationship between the material, altar, and *thesaurus*.

Buttrey described the votive material covering the *thesaurus* as a “disguising dirt fill,” which was placed to hide the *thesaurus* during the unrest of the Slave Wars; later, Altar 7 was built

⁷⁹ Stillwell and Sjöqvist 1957, 156; Stillwell 1959, 168-9; Edlund-Berry 1989-90, 337.

⁸⁰ Stillwell 1959, 168; It appears to have functioned as a “ground altar”, see Yavis 1949, 130-1 for this typology.

⁸¹ Buttrey *et al.* 1989, 172-4; Initial excavation reports incorrectly numbered the coins at 152, see Stillwell 1959, 168. On the updated dates of the coins see below.

⁸² Stillwell 1959, 168-9; Buttrey *et al.* 1989, 174.

“on top”.⁸³ Thus, according to Buttrey, the *thesaurus* was built, filled with coins, buried, and then Altar 7 was built atop it. However, this is not convincing as the material covering the *thesaurus* is more representative of votive deposits than a “disguising dirt fill”. The contents consisted of type A lamps, coins, and other pottery, similar to the fill of Altar 8.⁸⁴ Additionally, it is doubtful that this would have been sufficient to hide the *thesaurus*. Assuming the *thesaurus* was half-buried when installed, which is not certain, 60 cm of the *thesaurus* (top half) would have been exposed to allow for the opening and removal of its contents.⁸⁵ Thus, it is doubtful that material would have been sufficient to conceal to the 60 cm meters of exposed *thesaurus* while remaining inconspicuous enough to avoid detection and prevent it from being uncovered and looted. Furthermore, the *thesaurus* appears to have been used after the First Slave War, the only one of the wars in which Morgantina was in danger of capture.⁸⁶

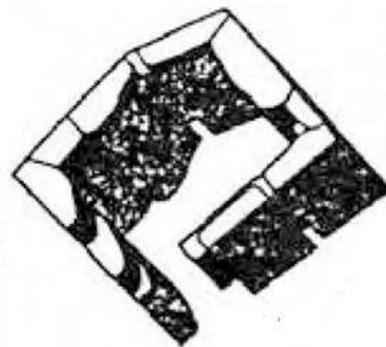


Fig. 14 - Morgantina, Central Sanctuary. the enclosure (Altar 7) with a block at the entrance, seen from the south (photo by the author); Fig. 15 - Morgantina, Central Sanctuary. The enclosure (Altar 7) without stone blocking entrance (Sposito 2008, 228 fig. 14 edited by author).

Edlund-Berry suggested that Altar 7 predated the *thesaurus*, which was later placed inside.⁸⁷ Thus, according to Edlund-Berry, the altar was built, accumulated material, then the *thesaurus*

⁸³ Buttrey *et al.* 1989, 174. On the evidence for the date of the *thesaurus*' disuse, see below.

⁸⁴ See below; Stillwell 1959, 168. Kaminski 1991, 158 argues for the existence of a wooden lid as there was a small area of dark earth above the *thesaurus* and evidence of lead above the *thesaurus*' mortise holes. However, of Stillwell 1959, 168 only mentions the entire altar was filled with dark earth and that lead fragments were found over one of the mortise holes.

⁸⁵ On the exposed height of the *thesaurus*, see Kaminski 1991, 104.

⁸⁶ On the updated *terminus post quem* of the *thesaurus* contents, see below. Also see above on the introduction on the debate surrounding the capture of Morgantina notably Diod. Sic. 34/5.2.48 who recounts that most of the damage done by the slaves was in the countryside, not the cities.

⁸⁷ Edlund-Berry 1989-90, 332.

was placed inside before eventually buried by additional material. This does not explain how the *thesaurus* and the altar would have functioned together, nor does it explain why the material only appears to have covered the *thesaurus*. Placement of a *thesaurus* inside this type of altar would have been impractical. *Thesauri* were meant to be periodically emptied,⁸⁸ and the accumulation of votive material inside the altar would have made accessing the *thesaurus* increasingly difficult as the contents of the altar would have also needed to be removed before opening and emptying the *thesaurus*. This *thesaurus* does not appear to be an exception and the coins within support this assumption. The excavators noted that they “formed no chronological pattern” with third and second-century coins intermixed.⁸⁹ This suggests that it had been regularly emptied; it would be expected in that older coins would be found at the bottom with newer coins above.

The confusion of both theories arises from a misunderstanding of the original purpose of Altar 7. Sposito, who does not discuss the *thesaurus*, votive material, or chronology, refers to Altar 7 as an enclosure and not an altar,⁹⁰ while Edlund-Berry describes it as an “altar (enclosure)”.⁹¹ Interpreting Altar 7 as an enclosure does not immediately explain the accumulation of votive materials, but if these materials are set aside, then it can be understood as a *thesaurus* enclosure meant to protect the *thesaurus*, accessed by a single entrance at the southwest corner. A stone block at the doorway suggests that the entrance was later closed (fig. 14).

The relationship between the altar, *thesaurus*, and votive materials is best explained if the structure was originally the enclosure for the *thesaurus* before later functioning as an altar similar to the *tholos* of well-altar 1. Large numbers of lamps (along with other votive materials) then began to accumulate after the mid-second century, which eventually resulted in the *thesaurus*' burial. Thus, the *thesaurus* and enclosure were built, then votive materials, including lamps, began to be placed inside, which eventually led to the burial of the *thesaurus*. The block at the entrance may have been placed as part of this conversion from enclosure to altar.

⁸⁸ Crawford 2003, 69.

⁸⁹ On the absence of a chronological pattern, see Stillwell 1959, 168. Buttrey *et al.* 1989, 174 interpreted this as evidence that the contents of the *thesaurus* were deposited together as a hoard. However, this is more likely the result of the regular emptying and continued circulation of older coinage.

⁹⁰ Sposito 2008, 228 fig. 14.

⁹¹ Edlund-Berry 1989-1990, 337.

The installation of the *thesaurus* has only been dated to either the third to second centuries by Kaminsky and more recently to the third century by Frey-Kupper based upon the high number of Hieronian coins contained within⁹² but can be more precisely placed in the first half of the second century. The northern courtyard did not see any sacred activity until its incorporation into the sanctuary during the second century⁹³ and thus cannot date before the second century. Furthermore, as the use of *thesauri* in Sicily and Italy is closely connected with the expansion of Roman influence (Chapter 7.3), it is unlikely that it arrived before 211. Thus, the *thesaurus* and likely the enclosure can be securely placed in the first half of the second century.

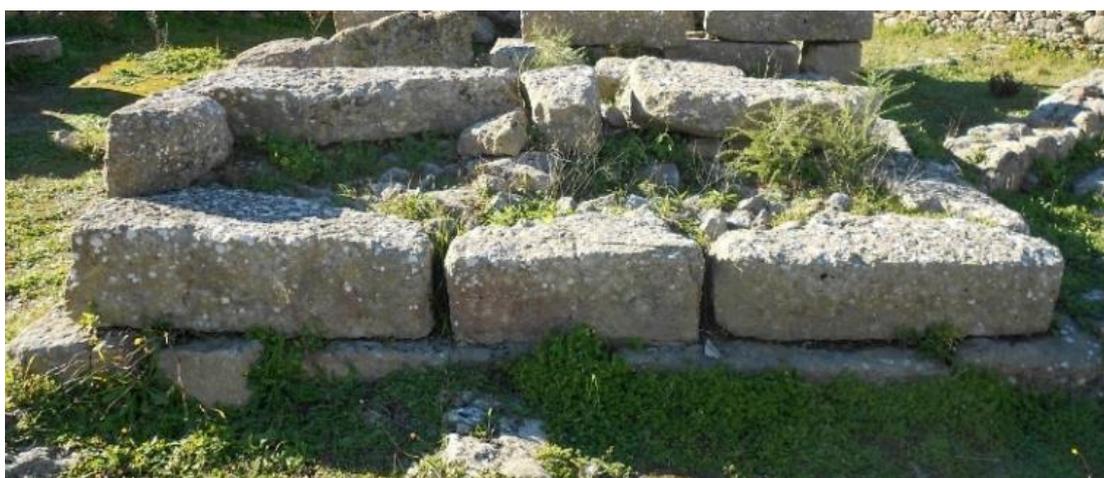


Fig. 16 - Morgantina, Central Sanctuary. Altar 8, seen from the southeast (photo by author).

If this is the case, then the *thesaurus* went out of use, and the enclosure was converted into an altar not long after. Based upon the coins found within the *thesaurus*, a *terminus post quem* for the *thesaurus*' final deposition, either 146 or *c.* 140-130, has been proposed with a likely date the last third of the second century for the disuse of the *thesaurus*.⁹⁴ The material which covered the *thesaurus*, such as the type A lamps, supports this date. Furthermore, because the votive materials (including the mid-second-century type A lamps) which accumulated may have needed time to cover the *thesaurus* fully, it is most likely that the enclosure began to be used as an altar before the abandonment of the *thesaurus*. A similar situation can be seen at a *thesaurus* found at Campo della Fiera near Orvieto in central Italy, which continued to receive coin offerings (stuffed under the lid's edge) even after it was partially buried and could no

⁹² Kaminski 1991, 158; Frey-Kupper 2013, 556.

⁹³ Bell 2015, 79. The *thesaurus* is unmentioned.

⁹⁴ Buttrey *et al.* 1989, 174 no. 43. A Roman *as* dated to 146 provides Buttrey's original date (*c.* 140-130), see *RRC* 258 no. 219/2; Frey-Kupper 2013, 556-7 no. 20.1. A new date provided by Frey-Kupper 2013, 370-1 nos. 68-101 based upon her re-dated an Iaetan bronze to *c.* 150/140-130, a specimen of which was found inside the *thesaurus*, provides a slightly later *post quem*.

longer be emptied.⁹⁵ Thus, the enclosure (Altar 7) was most likely built in the first half of the second century along with the *thesaurus* during the initial expansion of the sanctuary. Later around the mid-second century, when the type A lamps were introduced, the enclosure was adapted into Altar 7 and with the *thesaurus* and altar functioning similarly to well-altar and *tholos* of Altar 1.

Just to the east of Altar 7, Altar 8 (fig. 16), which measures 3.75 x 2 m, has also already been dated to the second century, contemporary with the conventional date of Altar 7 as both altars contained similar votive materials.⁹⁶ However, the two altars functioned differently, and the materials accumulated in different ways. Understanding this provides a more precise date for Altar 7 and shows how cult practices changed in the northern courtyard during the mid-late second century.



Fig. 17 - Syracuse, “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites”. Altar 6, seen from the west (photo by author).

The preliminary reports do not comment on how the material inside Altar 8 accumulated. Hinz has stated that both Altars 7 and 8 both functioned similarly for the gradual accumulation of votive material.⁹⁷ On the other hand, Bell drew comparisons between stated Altars 7 and 8 and Altars 1 and 2 in the southern courtyard.⁹⁸ This suggests that Altar 8 was a *bomos* and not a well-altar like the accompanying Altar 7. As was shown with Altar 6, *bomoi*⁹⁹ foundation

⁹⁵ Ranucci 2011.

⁹⁶ Stillwell and Sjöqvist 1957, 156; Stillwell 1959, 168-9; Edlund-Berry 1989-90, 337.

⁹⁷ Hinz 1998, 133.

⁹⁸ Bell 2015, 79.

⁹⁹ On *bomoi*, see Mikalson 2010, 29-32; also called “ceremonial altars” in Yavis 1949, 95. Sacrifices were placed upon these elevated altars. Chthonic altars which were open to the ground and in which offerings or libations were placed.

deposits could consist of similar material to that found within well-altars. The material of Altar 8 may have been a foundation deposit, as found in Altar 6.

This is supported by the rectangular shape of the Altar 8, which is more typical of *bomoi*. Altar 7 is not entirely preserved, and at least part of the eastern section is missing. The cavity where the votive materials were found had been filled with rubble aggregate after it was excavated (fig. 16), and a similar aggregate was used after the removal of the foundation deposit of Altar 6 (fig. 6). A better-preserved *bomos*, similar to Altar 7, is found at the “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites” in Syracusae (Chapter 2.2; figs. 17-18). This altar, the top of which is intact unlike Altar 8, was left hollow after the removal of its foundation deposit.



Fig. 18 - Syracuse, “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites”. Opening on the top of Altar 6 revealing hollow cavity (photo by author); Fig. 19 - Morgantina, Central Sanctuary. The closed doorway to room 2 (photo by author).

As Altar 8 functioned as a *bomos* like Altars 2, 3, and 6 and the votive material found inside were most likely a foundation deposit, the deposit establishes a *terminus post quem* and place it sometime in the second half of the second century, after the introduction of the type A lamps. This construction may have coincided with the disuse of the *thesaurus* and conversion of its enclosure to Altar 7. Bell noted, both courtyards functioned similarly.¹⁰⁰ The changes may have been part of a conversion of the northern courtyard to function as the southern courtyard. Bell raised the question about why the two altar pairs of the southern and northern courtyards were different shapes.¹⁰¹ The new chronology explains this by showing that each set evolved at

¹⁰⁰ See above.

¹⁰¹ Bell 2015, 79.

different times and in different ways. The *tholos* of Altar 1 took the shape of its associated circular *bomos* Altar 2 (which appear to predate the *tholos*).¹⁰² On the other hand, Altar 7 was a practical adaptation of the *thesaurus*' enclosure, and the northern courtyard was not originally intended to function similarly to the southern courtyard. Altar 8 post-dated both the *thesaurus* and its enclosure and was built to accommodate the new function of the *thesaurus* enclosure as a well-altar, and the rectangular shape of Altar 8 corresponds to the shape of the older enclosure/Altar 7.

The disuse of the Romano-Italic *thesaurus* in favor of the well-altar and *bomos* pair (Altars 7 and 8) is noteworthy. This had a long tradition in the southern courtyard with altars 1 and 3 (later Altar 2 after the destruction of Altar 3). The supplanting of newly introduced Romano-Italic cult practices can thus be seen through the introduction of type A lamps and the adaptation of the *thesaurus* to function as a well-altar.

Although the expansion of the Central Sanctuary was primarily focused around the inclusion of the northern courtyard and the addition of new altars, this was not the only area in which the sanctuary expanded. The southern courtyard also received an additional room (fig. 2.2). This room, built on the walls and tile fall of a house destroyed during the sack in 211, has also been dated to the second century.¹⁰³ More interesting than the inclusion of the room is the wall (fig. 19), built in the room's doorway, which sealed off the room. While no material found within the room has been published and the wall is unmentioned in any scholarship, the addition of a new room and its later closure may reflect a similar process of introduction and change in the southern courtyard.

5.1.3 Chronology: (Altars 2, Altar 3, and Repairs in the early Second Century)

Altar 2 (fig. 20), located in the southern sanctuary just south of Altar 1, has been difficult to date due to an absence of datable stratigraphic material.¹⁰⁴ Because of this, attempts to date the altar have focused primarily on the altar's unusual molding. Preliminary reports assigned an admittedly speculative late third-century or early second-century date.¹⁰⁵ More recently, Edlund-Berry identified the altar's molding (mostly intact at the base) as "Etruscan round",

¹⁰² On the date of Altar 2, see Chapter 5.1.3.

¹⁰³ Sjöqvist 1964, 143.

¹⁰⁴ Sjöqvist 1964, 143. The rubble core was excavated but no sherds or artifacts were found. One coin was found, datable from the late fourth to mid-third century, see Buttrey *et al.* 1989, 186 no. 51. Similarly, excavation of the altar's foundation only produced several out of context prehistoric fragments.

¹⁰⁵ Sjöqvist 1964, 143.

significantly different from the local moldings usually found in Sicily, which she used to support a second-century date.¹⁰⁶

Another *bomos* (Altar 3) was located nearby, just north of Altar 1 and on the opposite side from Altar 2. Altars 2 and 3 were the only two *bomoi* altars in the southern courtyard. Sjöqvist stated that they were not used at the same time, suggesting that Altar 2 may have been built to replace Altar 3.¹⁰⁷ As mentioned above (Chapter 5.1), Altar 3 appears to have been destroyed during the sack of 211. This would have left the sanctuary without a *bomos* until either the construction of Altar 8 in the mid-late second century or Altar 2. The replacement of the destroyed Altar 3 would have likely been part of the sanctuary's repair and after 211 and thus most likely belongs to the early second century.

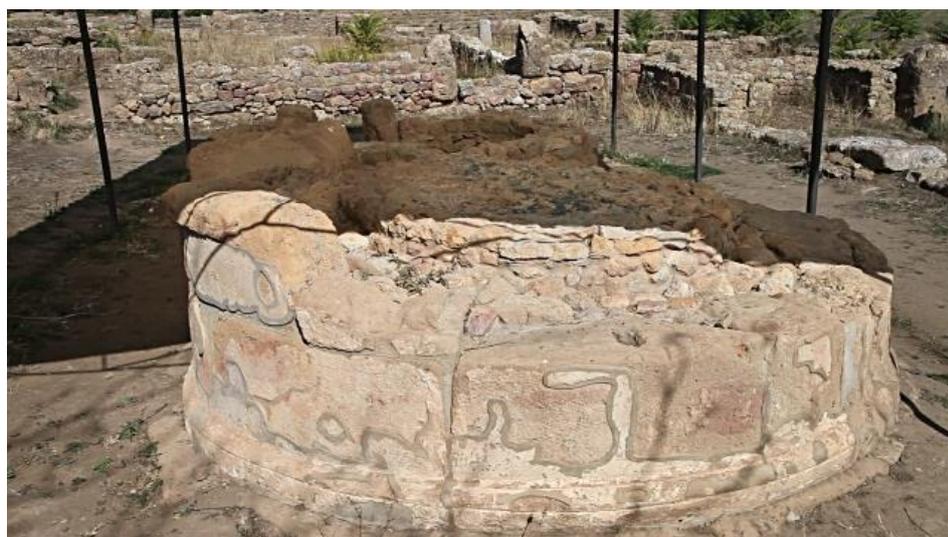


Fig. 20 - Morgantina, Central Sanctuary. Altar 2 (photo by author); Fig. 21 - Morgantina, the Central Sanctuary. Drawing of the rubble remains of Altar 3 (Sjöqvist 1964, 142 ill. 2, edited by author).

5.1.4 Chronology (Curse Tablets and Romano-Italic Influence After the Middle of the Second Century)

Ten lead curse tablets were found in the sanctuary and, except for a single unmarked tablet, contained Greek writing.¹⁰⁸ These were only found in the southern half of the sanctuary. Seven were found at Altar 1: three in the uppermost section of the well-altar,¹⁰⁹ two in the *tholos*,¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Edlund-Berry 1996, 18. On the differences between Italic and Greek moldings, see Shoe 2000, xv-xviii, see 94-109 on altars with "Etruscan round".

¹⁰⁷ Sjöqvist 1964, 142-3. This has more recently been supported by Hinz 1998, 132.

¹⁰⁸ *SEG* 29.927-35; Nabers 1979, 433-4 nos. 1-10. Nabers includes a blank tablet no. 10 not found in the *SEG*.

¹⁰⁹ *SEG* 29.930-3.

¹¹⁰ Nabers 1979, 464. On the other hand, Tsakirgis 1995, 131 states that all ten tablets were found inside Altar 1, but this is incorrect.

and two were found deeper in the central well-altar.¹¹¹ One was found at Altar 2,¹¹² and two others were found in the *adyton* with Altar 6, one in the fill and another built into Altar 6 itself.¹¹³

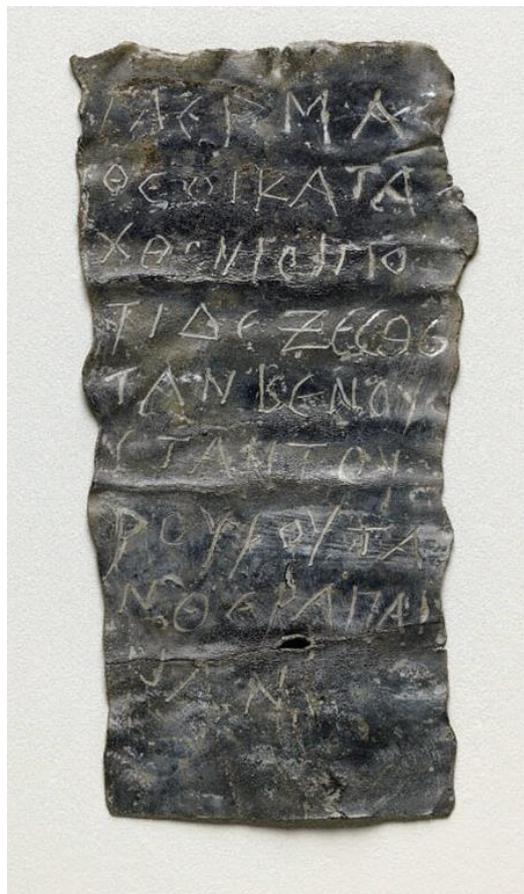


Fig. 22 - Morgantina, the Central Sanctuary. Curse tablet: *SEG* 32, 932 (Museo Archeologico Regionale di Aidone).

Their chronology and significance have been a matter of significant scholarly confusion. Edlund-Berry and Hinz both argued that these tablets represented a new practice of the second century connected to the Hispani colonization and Roman conquest.¹¹⁴ According to both authors, all ten tablets dated to the late second or early first century.¹¹⁵ Other secondary literature has variously assigned either a second or first-century date to all the tablets, which obfuscates the link between the arrival of the Hispani and the introduction of the tablets. The *SEG* and Curbera, who published a catalog of Sicilian curse tablets, both give a first-century

¹¹¹ *SEG* 29, 934-5; Nabers 1979, 463; Edlund-Berry 2001, 74. Contrary to Nabers and Edlund-Berry, Stillwell 1963, 165 reports that only six tablets were found at Altar 1 which is likely an error.

¹¹² *SEG* 29.929; Nabers 1979, 463.

¹¹³ Nabers 1979, 463. *SEG* 29.927 in the room's fill and *SEG* 29, 928 built into the altar.

¹¹⁴ Edlund-Berry 1989-90, 337; Edlund-Berry 1996, 19; Hinz 1998, 133. Repeated most recently by Trümper 2019b, 112.

¹¹⁵ Edlund-Berry 1989-90, 337; Edlund-Berry. 1996, 19; Hinz 1998, 133-4.

date,¹¹⁶ while Jordan gives the second century in one work¹¹⁷ and the second to the first century in another.¹¹⁸ However, none of these contradicting dates is fully supported by the evidence.

Preliminary publications of the tablets by Nabers clarify the chronology and show that the practice began far earlier. Nabers placed “most” of the tablets to a “late phase of the city”, perhaps as late as the first century based upon their archaeological contexts and letterforms.¹¹⁹ This is clarified by an earlier publication where he states that all of the legible tablets (*SEG* 29.927, 929-933) can be dated to either the late second or early first century.¹²⁰ While one (*SEG* 29.927) “clearly” belongs to the first century based on the contents of its fill.¹²¹ The blank tablet no. 10 can also be dated to the late second or early first based on the find spot.¹²² Therefore, six tablets (*SEG* 29.929-933 and blank no. 10) are dated by Nabers to the late second or early first century.

The illegible tablet (*SEG* 29, 928) was not dated by Nabers; however, he does give enough information on its context for a date. As he states, it was built into Altar 6¹²³ and appears to belong to the altar’s foundation deposit and thus likely dates to the construction of the altar in the mid-late second century. The dates of two other tablets (*SEG* 29.934-5) have had their dating more seriously misrepresented. The secondary literature includes them with other tablets without further comment.¹²⁴ Neither was precisely dated by Nabers, but he did place them “somewhat” earlier than the other tablets based upon their findspot deeper in Altar 1 and letterforms with a four-bar sigma and angular epsilon on the tablet with visible lettering (*SEG* 29.934).¹²⁵

The use of the four-bar sigma and angular epsilon¹²⁶ strongly suggests that the tablet dates before the second century, most likely between the fourth and third centuries, when the majority of the votive material of Altar 1 accumulated. Contrary to previous scholarship, which saw the tablets as a new practice tied to the arrival of the Hispani and Romans, this suggests the

¹¹⁶ Curbera 1999, 183 nos. 63-4. See also López Jimeno 1991, 189 and most recently given by Sommerschild 2019, 495.

¹¹⁷ Jordan and Curbera 1998, 31.

¹¹⁸ Jordan 1980, 236.

¹¹⁹ Nabers 1979, 434; this dating was followed by Edlund-Berry 1989-90, 334.

¹²⁰ Nabers 1966, 67.

¹²¹ Nabers 1979, 463. On the contents of the fill, see Stillwell 1963, 165.

¹²² Nabers 1979, 463.

¹²³ Nabers 1979, 464. It is possible that the tablet was inserted into the altar at a later time.

¹²⁴ See Edlund-Berry 1989-90, 334, 337; Edlund-Berry 1996, 19; Curbera 1999, 184 nos. 9-10.

¹²⁵ Nabers 1979, 463-4.

¹²⁶ On dating of these letter forms, see Guarducci 2005, 82.

opposite. Instead, the tablets indicate a level of continuity in sacred practice from the fourth and third centuries to the mid-second and first half of the first century.

Despite the continued use of the tablets, they may have seen some change in use. While the text on the two earlier tablets is too damaged to compare the text between the two periods, the text of tablets from elsewhere in Sicily suggests that wider changes occurred in their content. Sicilian curse tablets before the second century rarely used explicitly religious wording or referred to specific deities.¹²⁷ The legible tablets of the late second to early first century at Morgantina all reference deities including Gaea and Hermes; Persephone, Pluto?, and the gods of the underworld¹²⁸ in contrast to these earlier practices.

This new version of the practice may be associated with a Romano-Italic community in Morgantina. Of the six legible tablets, five specifically reference Italic personal names: Rufus, Venusta, Ancia, and Sextus (*SEG* 29.927, 931-3). Only two Greek names were mentioned: Brysa and Erotike, and both were freedwomen and identified as *liberta* (λιβέρτα) transliterated into Greek (*SEG* 29.297, 929). The use of the Latin calque *liberta* suggests that these freedwomen had been freed by a Latin speaking, Romano-Italic master and were likely part of his *clientelae*.

As the tablets were directed at the Romano-Italic persons and their *clientelae*, it could be argued that they were more representative of the practices of people with antagonistic views towards the new arrivals in Morgantina. However, while Sicilian curse tablets of this period generally become increasingly violent,¹²⁹ the tablets at Morgantina are notable for their “mild” tone and the use of *δέχομαι*. The tablets ask for the underworld to “receive” the target of the tablets; the word *δέχομαι* is primarily used in prayers for the dead and is not found in any other known tablets which have led to the suggestion that the Morgantina tablets may not even be curse tablets.¹³⁰

The tablets with their explicit invocation of deities associated with the sanctuary and the “mild” use of *δέχομαι* should, therefore, be understood as changes in an existing practice at the

¹²⁷ Curbera 1999, 168. Only one of the forty pre-Roman tablets in Curbera’s catalogue specifically refers to a deity.

¹²⁸ Gaea, Hermes, Persephone, and Pluto? (*SEG* 29.927). On the identification of Pluto, see Curbera 1997, 400-2. Gaea, Hermes, and Persephone (*SEG* 29.929); Gaea, Hermes, and gods of the underworld (*SEG* 29.931-3).

¹²⁹ Curbera 1999, 168.

¹³⁰ Nabers 1966 regards the tablets as “pious prayers” but are still regarded as curses by the *SEG* (*SEG* 29.932). Jordan 1980, 236-8 believes they should still likely be seen as curse tablets due to an absence of comparable tablets, but also suggested they could be initiation tablets. Guarducci, 1978, 240-57; López Jimeno 1991, 189-92 both argue that all are standard curse tablets.

sanctuary by Romano-Italic people, their *clientelae*, and those included within their social circles. This use of tablets may have been a part of the return of more traditional cult practices within the sanctuary during the second half of the second century BC. Only one of these Roman period tablets (*SEG* 29.928) may date as early as the mid-second century. The other seven tablets all date to the late second or early first. In either case, the content of the tablets shows that despite the religious conservatism which appears to have begun to take hold in the mid-late second century, the local Romano-Italic community remained active participants at the sanctuary and took part in more traditional and typical forms of practice.

5.1.5 Conclusions

Through the revised chronology and interpretations of the altars, *thesaurus*, kiln, lamps, and tablets, the second-century life of the sanctuary can be divided into two key phases. In the first half of the century, damage from the sack of 211 was repaired, and the sanctuary was expanded through the incorporation of the northern courtyard and room 2. Cult activity in the new northern courtyard was primarily focused on the small enclosure with *thesaurus*. The southern courtyard saw the replacement of the damaged Altar 3 with Altar 2.

Altars and Cult Practices	c. 175-150	c. 150-125	c. 125-100	c. 100-75	c. 75-50	c. 50-25
Altar 1	X	X	X	X	X	
<i>Tholos</i> of Altar 1		?	X	X	X	
Altar 2	X	X	X	X	X	
<i>Thesaurus</i> and Enclosure	X	X				
Altars 6, 7, and 8		X	X	X	X	
Type A Lamps		X	X	X	X	
“Curse Tablets”	?	X	X	X	X	

Fig. 23 - Morgantina, the Central Sanctuary. Approximate timeline of cult installations and practices.

While no Hispani influence is clearly discernable, Romano-Italic influence is more apparent, especially through the *thesaurus* and “Etruscan round” molding of Altar 2 that both belong to the first phase. The *thesaurus* is the earliest Sicilian example of this practice, which began after

the Roman conquest (Chapter 7.4), while the “Etruscan round” style, common in central Italy, is otherwise unknown in Sicily.

Interestingly, this does not appear to be the beginning of a gradual increase in Romano-Italic influence on religious practices at the sanctuary. The second period from the middle of the second century onward witnesses the introduction of the votive type A lamps, fired by the new kiln as a new and central cult element, which had a significant impact throughout the sanctuary. The use of votive lamps is a practice that originated in Sicily, with a long connection to Demeter and Kore.¹³¹ Furthermore, the on-site production and use of the lamps are reminiscent of the nearby Sanctuary of San Francesco Bisconti which had gone out of use in the third century. The Central Sanctuary underwent a series of practical adaptations to accommodate the rapid accumulation of lamps: the surrounding *tholos* of Altar 1 (reminiscent of what may have been a similar *tholos* at the Macellum Sanctuary [Chapter 5.2]), and the modification of the *thesaurus* enclosure to function as a well-altar (Altar 7) accommodated the new lamps.

This introduction of the lamps, new at the sanctuary but with a long history in connection with the Sicilian cult of Demeter and Kore, resulted in the disuse of the *thesaurus*. This disuse, relatively soon after it was installed, and its subversion by the more traditional practice suggests that the new Romano-Italic practice did not resonate with the worshippers may have preferred more traditional votive practices. Although the *thesaurus* failed to take hold, “Etruscan round” on Altar 2, the main *bomos* of the southern courtyard, remained and shows the resilience of architectural changes within the sanctuary in comparison to new cult practices. Furthermore, the significant presence of Latin names and *libertae* on the lead tablets, plus changes in the tablet content, indicate that demographic changes had begun to take hold among worshippers and may have influenced more modest and private cult aspects.

5.2 Macellum Sanctuary and the Central Shrine (fig. 1.2)

Significant changes during the second century are also visible in the second century BC at a nearby sanctuary immediately to the north of the Central Sanctuary. The remains of four altars, a small *naiskos*, and at least two segments of a sanctuary’s *peribolos* are found partially overbuilt by the *macellum*. These have seen little scholarly attention and are not well understood,¹³² with most focus on the *macellum* itself by Claire de Ruyt or the southern three

¹³¹ Hermanns 2004, 143-5.

¹³² The forthcoming Morgantina Studies volume on the *macellum* by Sharp and Spurza should shed additional light on the sanctuary found underneath.

altars and *naiskos* in the southwest corner by Malcolm Bell.¹³³ Conventionally, the remains (figs. 24-5, 27) are thought to have belonged to two separate sanctuaries: Area A, a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore (and later the Central Shrine), and Area B, a sanctuary to Zeus Agoraios.¹³⁴ The relationship between the remains of the two areas has not been satisfactorily explained and instead suggests a significantly different interpretation. The chronology and position of the *periboloi* construction, as well as the cult materials within each area (A and B), suggest that they belonged to a single larger sanctuary dedicated to Demeter and Kore.

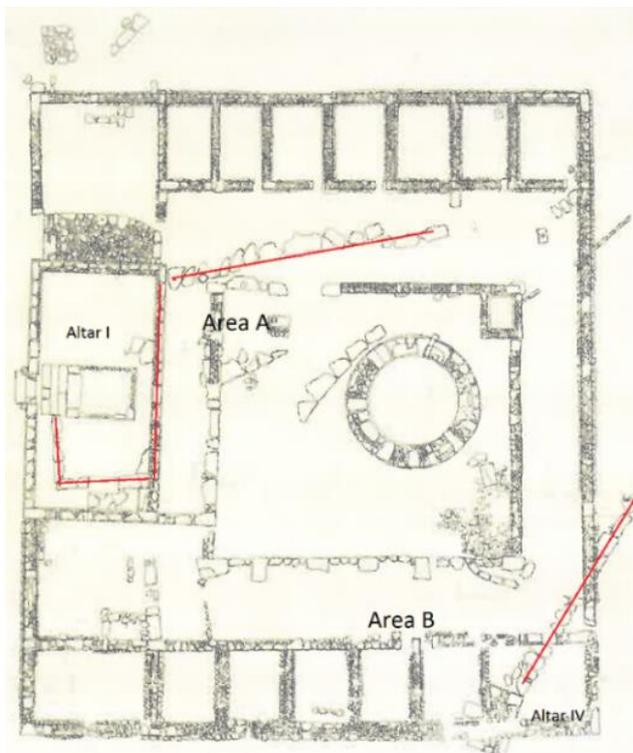
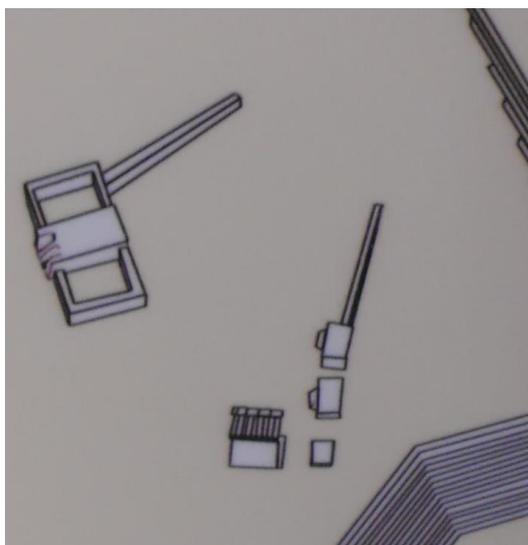


Fig. 24 - Morgantina, Macellum Sanctuary. Altars and *peribolos* without *macellum* and *tholos* (Museo Archeologico Regionale di Aidone, photo by author); Fig. 25 - Morgantina, Macellum Sanctuary. Remains of sanctuary and overlying *macellum*, *peribolos* in red (Sharp 2015, 173 fig. 2, edited by author).

The earliest sacred evidence dates back to the second half of the fourth century with the construction of Altar I.¹³⁵ The sanctuary was significantly expanded in the third century. The construction of the *periboloi* in Areas A and B are dated to *c.* 270, when the sanctuary was reworked during the construction of the Central Steps; the small *naiskos* and its associated altar,

¹³³ De Ruyt 1983, 109-14; Bell 1999, 260-4.

¹³⁴ Allen 1977, 138-9. on Area A: Bell 1999, 260-4; Bell 2015, 69-71; Bell 2019, 42-3. Area B: Stillwell 1957, 154; Bell 2015, 75-6.

¹³⁵ Bell 2015, 76.

Altar II, were also built at this time.¹³⁶ The contemporary date of the *periboloi* c. 270, as well as their orientation, framing a central area with altars and *naiskos*,¹³⁷ suggests that their construction was part of the reworking of two intimately connected cult sites, perhaps a single sanctuary. Indeed, the *tholos*, which has been generally associated with the later *macellum*, may provide further evidence. Wilson noted that the *tholos*, unusually not centered within the *macellum*, may have been part of an earlier structure at the site.¹³⁸ Sharp, meanwhile noting the *tholos*' position behind Altar I, suggested that the two structures may have been connected.¹³⁹ If the *tholos* predated the *macellum* and was connected to Altar I, then it lends further support to an interpretation of a single sanctuary.



Fig. 26 - Morgantina, Central Steps. Inscribed sherd (Bell 2015, 69 fig. 2); Fig. 27 - Morgantina, Macellum Sanctuary. Central Steps and Area B of the Macellum Sanctuary (Bell 1999, 262 fig. 2, edited by author).

1. Fourth Central Altar, The findspot of the pottery sherd; 2. Area B of Macellum Sanctuary

The interpretation of a single sanctuary is supported by a plausible identification of a unified cult in both areas. Conventionally, the attribution to Area B has remained uncertain, but Bell has proposed that the cult of Zeus Agoraios was practiced at the *naiskos* and Altars II-IV of Area B based upon an interpretation of the Central Steps as an *ekklesiasterion*, an inscribed pottery sherd (fig. 26), and his identification of a bearded terracotta bust (fig. 28).¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Bell 1981, 239; Bell 1999, 260-4; Bell 2015, 69-71, 76. The *periboloi* associated with Altar I and Area B are specifically dated to c. 265 whereas the *naiskos*, Altar II, and the *peribolos* of Area B are c. 280-270. The evidence for their dating is not given. Altars III and IV were constructed in the following decades, before 211.

¹³⁷ For a similar sanctuary with a series of altars along the *temenos* at Ostia (Regio I, XV), see Moser 2019, 25 fig. 2A).

¹³⁸ Wilson 2012, 250.

¹³⁹ Sharp 2015, 175-6.

¹⁴⁰ Stillwell and Sjöqvist 1957, 152; Bell 1999, 259-64; Bell 2015, 69-70.

The identification of the Central Steps as an *ekklesiasterion* is generally doubted in scholarship, not only due to the irregular form of the steps but also because most Hellenistic *ekklesiasteria* were indoors.¹⁴¹ The inscribed sherd, most likely from a votive offering, is dated to the fourth century and is read by Bell as *dios a[goraiou]*.¹⁴² However, the sherd's connection to the sanctuary is uncertain for several reasons. Firstly, it was not found within or near the *peribolos* or altars of the sanctuary itself, but instead, near the altar (fig. 27.1) destroyed during the construction of the Central Steps, and therefore predates any of the structures of Area B (fig. 27.2).¹⁴³ Thus, the connection relies on Bell's theory that the altar's cult had been moved to Area B when the central stairs were constructed.



Fig. 28 - Morgantina, Macellum Sanctuary. Bust of Pluto (Museo Archeologico Regionale di Aidone, photo by author).

Furthermore, the reading of the *alpha* in the inscription is not certain. Only *dios* is clearly legible, and Bell admitted that the following letter may have been a *lambda*.¹⁴⁴ A *mu* or *nu* are also possible, which suggests that even if the sherd were associated with the sanctuary, it could reference any number of the forms that Zeus took, such as the chthonic Meilichios.

Finally, a damaged bearded head (fig. 28) *c.* 15 cm in height, of uncertain date, found near Altar IV (under the floor of room 1 of the *macellum*) was identified by Bell as Zeus.¹⁴⁵ This identification is uncertain. Bell had originally identified it as Pluto in his study of Morgantina's terracotta statuettes, and Asclepius has also been proposed by Fourmont.¹⁴⁶ The bust, like the inscribed pottery fragment to Zeus, fails to provide sufficient evidence for a clear attribution.

¹⁴¹ Becker 2003, 70-3; Wilson 2012, 250; Hellmann, 2013, 141-2.

¹⁴² Bell 1999, 260; Bell 2019, 42.

¹⁴³ Bell 1999, 260-4; Bell 2015, 69-70.

¹⁴⁴ Bell 1999, 260-4; Bell 2015, 69-70.

¹⁴⁵ Bell 1981, 207 no 690; Bell 2015, 69-71.

¹⁴⁶ Pluto: (Bell 1981, 88-91, 167-8, 206-8). Asclepius: Fourmont 1991, 17-21; Cali 2009, 167-8.

While Zeus Agoraios remains a possibility, the identification of the bust as Pluto and the sherd, which could also plausibly refer to Zeus Meilichios, make a chthonic connection another possibility. This chthonic connection is supported by the most securely identified evidence found in Area A.



Fig. 29 - Morgantina, Macellum Sanctuary. Miniature Bust from the small shrine in Area A (Bell 2015, 75 fig. 17); Fig. 30 - Morgantina, Macellum Sanctuary. Altar I and *peribolos* (c. 6 x 12 m) in the small shrine in Area A (Bell 2015, 76 fig. 18).

Chthonic aspects of Area A are better established. A fourth-century miniature bust of Persephone (fig. 29) was found near the Altar I,¹⁴⁷ and Bell noted that Altar I and its unusual enclosure (fig. 30) were reminiscent of a similar altar dedicated to the chthonic goddess Hecate on the acropolis of Selinunte.¹⁴⁸ Zeus Meilichios played an important role at the Sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros in Selinunte.¹⁴⁹ Based upon the evidence of Areas A and B, the sanctuary appears likely to have been dedicated to a chthonic sanctuary of Demeter and Kore with either Zeus or Meilichios playing a key role.

5.2.1 Chronology (Reduction and Adaptation in the Late Second Century)

With the remains now identified as a single sanctuary, likely dedicated to Demeter and Kore, it is now possible to examine change and its implication under Rome. Both areas A and B are believed to have continued to be used after 211,¹⁵⁰ but there is insufficient evidence upon which

¹⁴⁷ Bell 1981, 121, 144 no. 121; Bell 2015, 75-6, fig 18.

¹⁴⁸ Bell 2015, 75; on the structure at Selinunte, see Voigts 2011, 59-67.

¹⁴⁹ For the sanctuary of Malophoros, see most recently Grotta 2010 especially 221-32 where she stresses that area of Zeus Meilichios showed a degree of independence and separation apart from the rest of the sanctuary. For another Zeus with chthonic aspects, see The Altar of Hieron 2.1.2.

¹⁵⁰ Bell 2015, 75-6; Sharp 2015, 173.

to analyze activity until the late second century BC when the overlying *macellum* was built c. 130.¹⁵¹ Unsurprisingly, its construction had a significant impact on the sanctuary, but this impact has remained unclear. At least one altar, Altar IV (fig. 31), went out of use when the *macellum* was constructed; the southeast wall was built over this altar.



Fig. 31 - Morgantina, Macellum Sanctuary. Altar IV underneath the walls of the *macellum* (Bell 2015, 79 fig. 24).

Recent publications on the sanctuary have stated that Altars II-III and the shrine (Area B) remained in use after the construction of the *macellum* with Bell suggesting that Altar IV had been dedicated to an aspect of Zeus, either Olympian, Eleutherian, or Soter, which was no longer appropriate or acceptable under Rome.¹⁵² However, continuity in this area is unsupported by the archaeological evidence, and this area appears to have been abandoned. Continued activity is difficult to ascertain as the preliminary reports state, “no finds were made around or in the altars” but did report that the *naiskos* was walled up (“a line of heavy bricks was placed on edge blocking the inner doorway”) and de-sanctified in the second century, this date based upon the presence of two coins, including a *Hispanorum* coin found inside.¹⁵³ The

¹⁵¹ Nabers 1967, 116-53; Allen 1970, 365-7; De Ruyt 1983, 113-4. This date has been based on coins found within the walls and foundation of the building. On the foundation deposits, see Buttrey *et al.* 1989, 171 no. 42. Sharp 2015, 177 suggests that the building may date to c. 175 based on the makeup of the coins found throughout the building and that the foundation deposits which conventionally date the *macellum* are instead hoards. Skepticism is needed: not only has the argument not been published in sufficient detail but it may be reliant upon the controversial high date of the *Hispanorum* coinage which has received increasing favor by Morgantina archaeologists (on this, see above). This argument has not been published in sufficient detail to be appraised. Furthermore, Trümper 2019b, 127, who accepts this early date, noted that this date would make this *macellum* the earliest known in the Roman world. It seems unlikely that the remote and modestly sized Morgantina would be such an architectural innovator.

¹⁵² Bell 2015, 79. Continuity beyond c. 130 is similarly followed by Trümper 2019b, 125 who remains neutral on the connection to Zeus. On the Hieronian cult of Zeus and possible changes under Rome, see Chapter 2.1.2-3, 2.9.3.3.

¹⁵³ Sjöqvist 1958, 162.

Hispanorum coin places this in the second half of the second century, and thus the *naiskos* was likely walled up and de-sanctified when Altar IV and much of the sanctuary were destroyed during the construction of the *macellum* c. 130. Altars II-III also likely went out of use at this time.

Other features, unlike the *naiskos* and Altars II-IV in Area B, were incorporated into the *macellum*. If the *tholos* had been part of the earlier sanctuary, it was converted for use as a slaughter room, and Altar I in Area A was incorporated into the *macellum* and became a small shrine.¹⁵⁴ The west-facing doorway, which led out of the *macellum*, was aligned with the altar's steps. Altar I and its *peribolos* also received a new flooring of *opus signinum*, which has been dated to the second century but was most likely a part of the incorporation of the altar into the *macellum*.¹⁵⁵ The shrine remained in use until the mid-first century when, along with the *macellum*, it was destroyed by fire; neither Altar I nor the *macellum* were rebuilt or reused afterward.¹⁵⁶

The reduction of the sanctuary and the incorporation of Altar I into the *macellum* as a small shrine undoubtedly had a significant impact on the cult's nature and practices. Earlier theories on this impact revolved around a possible re-dedication of the altar to a god associated with the marketplace, possibly Hermes.¹⁵⁷ Unfortunately, the archaeological evidence does little to clarify this. The preliminary reports stated that no votive materials were found,¹⁵⁸ and the fourth-century terracotta bust of Persephone and its associated cult materials were all found underneath a new flooring in the shrine, possibly added during the construction of the *macellum*.¹⁵⁹

Hermes is an interesting possibility as he was frequently associated with Demeter and Kore,¹⁶⁰ and a shrine to him naturally fit into the new marketplace context as a god of the market instead of his role with Demeter and Kore. The effort made to incorporate the altar within the *macellum* certainly suggests some degree of religious continuity with the earlier sanctuary. Indeed, the connection between the shrine and *macellum* may be overstated. The shrine does not open into the marketplace, but instead out into the open area to the west. Thus, the preservation of the altar and its incorporation into the *macellum* may represent a de-

¹⁵⁴ Sharp 2015, 175-6.

¹⁵⁵ Sharp 2015, 173

¹⁵⁶ De Ruyt 1983, 114; Sharp 2015, 175. Sharp gives a date of c. 35.

¹⁵⁷ De Ruyt 1983, 113. Hermes is suggested by Allen 1977, 138-9.

¹⁵⁸ Stillwell and Sjöqvist 1957, 154.

¹⁵⁹ Sharp 2015, 173.

¹⁶⁰ See for example his inclusion on the curse tablets at the Central Sanctuary (Chapter 5.1.4).

monumentalization of a previously important cult site, which maintained a single aspect of that cult that may have remained important or popular. That this change coincided with a general period of cult changes at the nearby Central Sanctuary discussed above, also dedicated to Demeter and Kore, may not just be a coincidence. This will be discussed in greater detail below (Chapter 5.7).

5.3 The Watchtower Shrine (fig. 1.3)

A small shrine (c. 6 x 6 m) is found incorporated into the city walls on a hillside a short distance to the southwest of the agora. This unusual shrine, with two statue bases and a small east-facing porch, overlooks the countryside outside of the city. Partially excavated in the 1980s, it was published very briefly in a single preliminary report and, aside from recent references by Bell and Trümper, has been largely overlooked.¹⁶¹ Erosion of the hillside that complicated the shrine's excavation and analysis also prevented an on-site inspection of the shrine's ruins, which are now largely overgrown and unrecognizable.

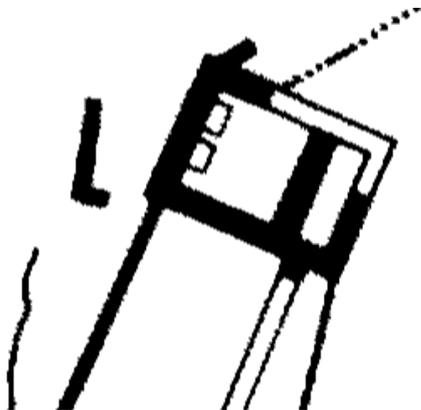


Fig. 32 - Morgantina, watchtower shrine. (Bell 1998, 315, fig. 1, edited by author).

The chronology and evolution of the building have been left unclear. The preliminary report identified it as a watchtower of the fourth century, which was “much later... possibly in the first century” converted into a shrine; at this time, the walls were plastered, *opus signinum* flooring was put down, and the two statue bases set up.¹⁶² Bell has since implied that it had functioned as a shrine since the building's construction in the fourth century.¹⁶³ The shrine was not in use for long after this conversion/renovation and was destroyed in the first century with a destruction layer found containing pottery of the first century.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Bell 1988, 318; Bell 2015, 77-8; Trümper 2019b, 125.

¹⁶² Bell 1988, 318.

¹⁶³ Bell 2015, 77.

¹⁶⁴ Bell 1988, 318.

It seems more likely that the shrine was, as the preliminary report stated, originally a watchtower for the city walls and later converted into a shrine. No evidence of early sacred activity has been published, and the city's fortifications are also dated to the same period, belonging in the second half of the fourth century.¹⁶⁵ The unusual location of the shrine, built into the walls, is also without parallel. The fact that it faced outside of the walls would have also seemingly compromised the fortifications. Instead, this use is more consistent with the *ad hoc* conversion of a watchtower than a purpose-built shrine.



Fig. 33 - Morgantina, watchtower shrine. Statue bases (Bell 2015, 77 fig. 21).

The watchtower's conversion to a shrine is unlikely to have occurred before the second century BC. The city's fortifications were maintained and in use until the second century and were similarly compromised elsewhere by constructions such as the "Great Kiln" in the southern agora during the second half of the century.¹⁶⁶ Likewise, at least one of the cult images may also belong to that period. Three fragments of a slightly smaller than life-sized terracotta acrolith were found near the statue bases which Bell tentatively placed in the second century: a fragment of the left hand measuring 10.6 cm, a fragment of the outside of the left foot with a shoe strap measuring 8.5 cm, and a fragment of braided hair.¹⁶⁷ That this was an acrolith, which were usually used as cult images,¹⁶⁸ and found near the statue bases, shows that it belonged to one of the sanctuary's cult images.

¹⁶⁵ Although some sections of the city walls may have been built or rebuilt during the third century, they are conventionally dated to the mid-late fourth century (Bell 1988 125-8). See also Karlsson 1989, 88; Karlsson 1992, 86; Karlsson 2015, 123-5. On evidence of an even earlier fifth-century wall, see Karlsson 2015, 123.

¹⁶⁶ Bell 1988, 318; Cuomo di Capro 1992, 68-9; Stone 2014, 52.

¹⁶⁷ Bell 2015, 77, 78a-c.

¹⁶⁸ On the use of acroliths primarily as cult statues, see Chapter 2.4.1.

These fragments also supply a potential cult attribution for the shrine. The acrolith has been identified as female based on the style of braided hair,¹⁶⁹ together with the two bases this is suggestive of a cult focused around dual deities, at least one of which was female.¹⁷⁰ Bell acknowledged possibilities such as Artemis and Apollo or Demeter and Kore, before settling upon Asclepius and Hygieia as the most likely, comparing the shrine's position at the edge of the city to the extramural fourth-century Asklepieion outside of Agrigentum.¹⁷¹



Fig. 34 - Morgantina, watchtower shrine. Acrolith fragments (Bell 2015, 78, fig. 22).

Although far from certain, Demeter and Kore are more likely. The majority of Morgantina's sanctuaries had always been dedicated to the goddesses, and, as the city's contraction after 211 resulted in the abandonment of many of them, there may have been a need to replace some of the abandoned outlying sanctuaries. This can also be seen in the sizable expansion of the Central Sanctuary in the first half of the second century BC (Chapter 5.1). Furthermore, unlike the Asklepieion of Agrigentum, which is located *c.* 700 m from the city walls, sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore are known to be found at the city walls. The Thesmophorion at Entella and the Koreion at Helorus were both found just outside the city walls, and a sanctuary to the cult at Agrigentum was located just inside the walls near Gate V and framed against the walls and gate by two stoas.¹⁷²

5.4 The Chthonic Shrine (fig. 1.4)

A mid-late first century BC break in religious continuity has thus far been seen in association with the cult of Demeter and Kore at the Central Sanctuary, Macellum Sanctuary, and possibly

¹⁶⁹ Bell 2015, 77.

¹⁷⁰ Bell 2015, 77-8.

¹⁷¹ Bell 2015, 77-8. On the Asklepieion, see De Miro 2003.

¹⁷² On the sanctuary at Koreion at Helorus, see Chapter 4, On the Thesmophorion and Agrigentum sanctuaries, see Chapter 7.2.1.

the Watchtower Shrine. This does not appear to mark an end to religious activities associated with the goddesses. Continued veneration of the cult can be seen beyond this period in a small, modest single room shrine built in the central room of the Hellenistic Doric Stoa.

Excavated in 1955 and 1956 during the first season of the modern excavation of Morgantina, little can be said on the three-room stoa, that was, at the time, identified as a series of workshops.¹⁷³ Stone identified the stoa's central room as a site of cult activity beginning in the late first century;¹⁷⁴ a deposit of votive terracotta statuettes was found within including four statuettes of Kore and one of a gorgon which were all dated to the late first century based upon style and archaeological context.¹⁷⁵ No altars or statue bases were found within, but tubs were found outside in the portico.¹⁷⁶ It is not clear if they were contemporaneous with the shrine, but may have been associated with ritual bathing. This practice also appears to have played a role at the Central Sanctuary.¹⁷⁷ The shrine appears to have been in use into the first century AD, and substantial amounts of early Italian *terra sigillata* were found within.¹⁷⁸

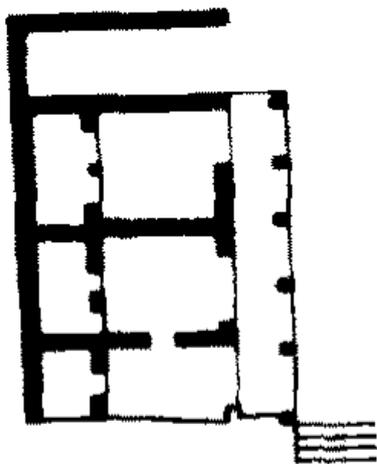


Fig. 35 - Morgantina, Doric Stoa. (Bell 1988, 315 fig. 1, edited by author).

Importantly, this shrine shows that despite a break in continuity seen within the cult during the first century BC, public veneration of the cult continued into Morgantina's last phase. This later activity was focused at the only new cult site of the first centuries BC or AD and located in the northwestern agora, the site of the clearest continued habitation in the city until its

¹⁷³ Stillwell and Sjöqvist, 1957, 153.

¹⁷⁴ Stone 2014, 69.

¹⁷⁵ Stone 2014, 69. Context G2 also included early Italian *terra sigillata* and Hispanorum coins (see Bell 1981, 76, 240).

¹⁷⁶ The number of tubs that were found is unclear. Stone 2014, 69 states there were multiple tubs whereas the Stillwell and Sjöqvist 1957, 153 states that only one tub was found.

¹⁷⁷ On the possible ritual bathing at the Central Sanctuary, see Sposito 2008, 227

¹⁷⁸ On the stratum, see Stone 2014, 69.

abandonment in the mid-first century AD. The shrine differs in the earlier sanctuaries of the Republican period in some respects. Although the use of tubs, possibly for ritual bathing, may indicate continuity in practice, the revival of the use of votive terracotta of statuettes of Kore, a practice not seen in Morgantina since the third century BC, represents a stark contrast other sanctuaries of the Republican period. The revival of this practice in Sicily has already been noted but is primarily limited to private contexts.¹⁷⁹ This lack of apparent continuity with more modest and traditional practice, combined with the foundation of a new shrine instead of the reuse of one of the older Demeter and Kore cult sites, is suggestive of the changing nature of the cult in Morgantina during the mid-late first century.

5.5 The Theater Temenos Sanctuary¹⁸⁰ (fig. 1.5)

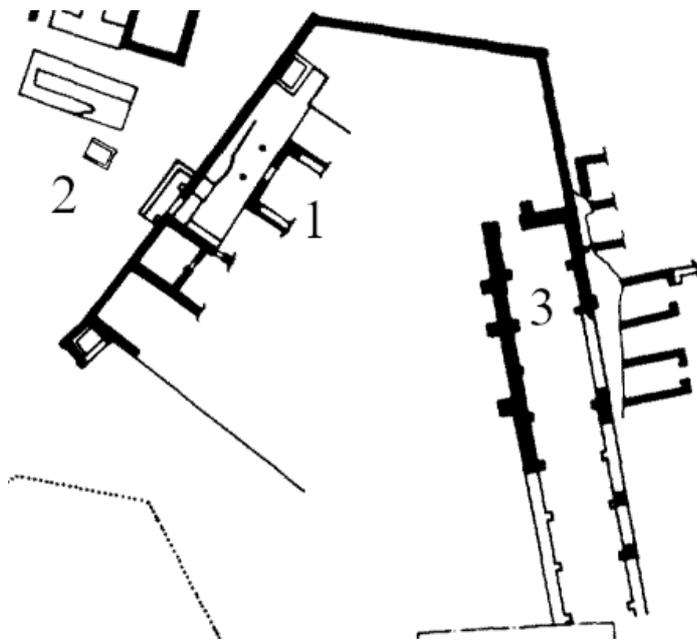


Fig. 36 - Morgantina, Theater Temenos Sanctuary (Bell 1988, 315 fig. 1, edited by author).

1. *Naiskos*; 2. Statue Base; 3. West Granary and Eastern *peribolos*.

The *ex novo* construction of the Theater Temenos Sanctuary represents the most substantial development in Roman Morgantina's sacred landscape. The *peribolos*, a small pro-style *naiskos*, and at least one cult room were partially uncovered during excavations in the 1980s.¹⁸¹ This excavation was cursorily published in a single preliminary report without material finds and has since been largely overlooked by scholarship on Morgantina and, unlike much of the agora, has been left largely overgrown.

¹⁷⁹ Bell 1981, 76.

¹⁸⁰ Also, called the "Southwest Temenos" or "Theater Temenos".

¹⁸¹ Bell 1988, 338.

The sanctuary is the earliest known construction in Morgantina following the sack of the city and Hispani settlement, and its foundation has been dated *c.* 175 based upon two foundation deposits at the eastern and western *periboloi* that contained ash, bones, pottery fragments, and a Mamertine coin.¹⁸² As the largest Roman period sanctuary, it was of undoubted importance under Rome and unsurprisingly has been seen as evidence of the immediate impact of the Hispani upon the city's religious landscape.¹⁸³ It held a commanding position within the agora, overlooking the city gate a short distance to the southeast. This commanding position had previously been exploited by the West Granary (likely leveled for the construction of the sanctuary), which emphasized the Hieronian control of grain in the third century BC.¹⁸⁴



Fig. 37 - Morgantina, Theater Temenos Sanctuary. Black gloss sherd with inscribed lip (Walthall 2015, 87 fig. 8).

Hitherto, no proposals for the sanctuary's cult attribution have been given. A popular deity in Spain, such as Hercules,¹⁸⁵ is a logical possibility for the sanctuary so closely associated with the arrival of the Hispani. An inscribed Hellenistic black gloss *kanathros* sherd reading: *[Ἡρακ]λέος ἱα[ρός]*, sacred to Hercules, was found at the eastern *peribolos*, but this style of Hellenistic black gloss is unlikely to date after the first quarter of the third century.¹⁸⁶ As it was

¹⁸² Stone 2014, 47-50. The preliminary report had previously dated the walls *c.* 150 BC (Bell 1988, 316 n. 17). This is the earliest datable fill or deposit at Morgantina and the only one datable before the mid-second century. Diagnostic materials included an Attic mold made relief cup dated to *c.* 225-175, a Rhodian *amphora* handle *c.* 200-180, and a Mamertine coin Apollo/Nike *c.* 210 (Buttrey *et al.* 1989, 91 no. 238).

¹⁸³ Trümper 2019b, 125-6. This sanctuary is strangely omitted by Bell 2015, 80. "l'unico nuovo edificio religioso conosciuto costruito dai mercenari e un sacello accanto all'altare di plateia A" (see Chapter 5.6 below for more on the shrine at Plataea A).

¹⁸⁴ Walthall 2015, 86.

¹⁸⁵ The connection between Spain, especially Gades, and Hercules is well established in the literary tradition. See Strab. 3.1.4, 5.3-6; Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.1; Philostr. *VA* 5.4-5.

¹⁸⁶ Walthall 2015, 87. Also see Stone 2014, 106-7, on the dating of this type of black gloss pottery.

found in a stratum above the West Granary's early second-century destruction,¹⁸⁷ it may, therefore, have been inscribed on an older sherd and arrived at the sanctuary in connection to a possible Hercules cult.

The sanctuary continued to evolve after its foundation *c.* 175 and received additional renovations which may have continued into the first century. These included the construction of the small pro-style *naiskos* in the city's "late" period, likely the late second or early first century.¹⁸⁸ A water system was also set up, possibly as late as the first century.¹⁸⁹ The prominent location of the sanctuary and possible connection to the Hispani establish the sanctuary's importance at the time of its foundation. The later renovation and construction projects that may have continued into the first century attest to its continued importance even as Morgantina's decline begins to set in during the course of first century.

This continued importance can also be seen through possible continuity beyond the mid to late first-century destruction event. The sanctuary's destruction and abandonment have been placed in the third quarter of the first century after a fire damaged the sanctuary; this was evidenced by a dump of material including ash, statuary fragments, and architectural near the northern *peribolos* as well as a thin stratum of ash near the sanctuary's northern *peribolos*.¹⁹⁰ This certainly indicates that, after the fire, the sanctuary suffered a sharp decline when at least part of it went out of use, but a complete abandonment is not as clear. No ash appears to have been found in the area of the *naiskos*, and the dump of ash with architectural and statuary fragments is suggestive of a cleanup in the area.¹⁹¹ This could suggest that an attempt was made for a limited repair and reuse of the sanctuary.

Indeed, although the theater appears to have been abandoned in the first century,¹⁹² a large rectangular structure (fig. 37), often described as an altar,¹⁹³ was built directly in front and aligned with the sanctuary's entrance. This structure has been identified as an isolated

¹⁸⁷ Personal correspondence with Dr. Alex Walthall.

¹⁸⁸ Bell 1988, 338.

¹⁸⁹ Uncertain date is based upon use of *proskenion* drums to support the water conduit supplying water to the basins. Late second century date (Stillwell 1963, 166), first century (Crouch 1984, 357), or second to first century (Bell 1988, 338).

¹⁹⁰ Stone 1981, 7-8; Stone 1983, 18 = Stone 2002, 144; Stone 2014, 18. Ash stratum dated based upon on a coin of Gnaeus Plancius (*RRC* no. 432) directly on floor. Later dump dated based upon the inclusion of an *as* of Sextus Pompey (*RRC* 479). On the contents of the dump, see Stone 2014, 18 fn. 68.

¹⁹¹ Stone 1981, 7-8; Stone 2014, 18.

¹⁹² Stillwell 1964-5, 587; Isler 2017, 508. Dobbins' upcoming Morgantina Studies volume on the theater may yield a more precise date, or potentially re-date the disuse of the theater.

¹⁹³ Stone 1983, 18 fn. 59 = Stone 2002, 158 n. 58; Bell 2012a, 113; Bell 2015, 72-3; Trümper 2019b, 125.

dedication and dated to the “last period” of Morgantina from *c.* 25 BC until the mid-first century AD based upon a fragment of *terra sigillata* found in the structure’s foundation.¹⁹⁴

As the theater was already out of use by that time, the structure’s position and alignment is suggestive of a connection to the sanctuary. It would be strange to have an altar placed outside of the sanctuary’s *temenos*, and it may have been a statue base. The difficulty in distinguishing between bases and altars, especially when damaged, is a well-known issue.¹⁹⁵ Fragments of a “draped figure of heroic scale” were found in the area which the excavator suggested may have belonged to the base.¹⁹⁶ Two other similar statue bases found similarly positioned outside the entrances of the Central Sanctuary (fig. 1.1)¹⁹⁷ and Shrine at Plataea A (fig. 40),¹⁹⁸ suggest that such statue bases were commonly placed at the entrances of cult sites in Morgantina.



Fig. 38 - Morgantina, Theater Temenos Sanctuary. Statue base in front of sanctuary’s western entrance (Bell 2015, 73 fig. 12).

The late chronology of the base has recently been doubted by Stone, who argued that the fragment of *terra sigillata* might have been an intrusion as, according to him, the area of the southern agora was otherwise abandoned in this period.¹⁹⁹ Bell has since placed the base in the third to second century without explanation (presumably resting on Stone’s suggestion), and identifying it as an altar of Dionysus associated with the theater.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁴ Stillwell 1963, 166; Stone 1983 18 n. 59.

¹⁹⁵ On this issue, see Coulton 2005, 145 and Altman 1905, 4; Hermann 1961, 30, 60-73; Schraudolph 1993, 23-7.

¹⁹⁶ Stillwell 1963, 166.

¹⁹⁷ On this base, see Chapter 5.1 fn. 38.

¹⁹⁸ Identified as an altar, doubts on this are raised below (Chapter 5.6).

¹⁹⁹ Stone 2002, 158 n. 58.

²⁰⁰ Bell 2012a, 113; Bell 2015, 72-3 followed by Trümper 2019b, 125.

Assessment of activity in the southern agora has proven to be especially difficult.²⁰¹ A modern farmhouse (fig. 1g) just to the southeast of the base and excavated area of the sanctuary has hampered excavation of the southern agora and southeastern area of the sanctuary. The area to the southwest of the sanctuary and statue base has also not been the site of any excavations as debris and dirt were dumped there during the first years of the American Excavations. This left a large mound next to the statue base and prevented further excavation of the area. Other parts of the southern agora also saw significant erosion due to their proximity to the hillside south of the sanctuary. Consequently, the area of the southern agora, statue base, and the Theater Temenos Sanctuary remains largely unexcavated and is the least understood area of the agora. Any conclusions about this area, then, must, therefore, rely on evidence from the theater, the partial excavation of the Theater Terrace Sanctuary, and the statue base.

Given the issues regarding the southern agora, and the evidence of a limited cleanup of the sanctuary, the sherd cannot be assumed to be an intrusion. The statue base should instead be understood as a monument associated with the Theater Terrace Sanctuary that may have been built - or perhaps repaired - as part of a limited clean-up and restoration of one of the city's most important post-212 BC sanctuaries after the mid-late first-century destruction event. This later reuse would also provide an interesting contrast with the evidence of religious disruption seen at the cult sites discussed thus far, suggesting that the sanctuary's cult remained popular as the city entered its twilight.

5.6 Shrine on Plataea A, North Stoa (fig. 1.6)

The other *ex novo* cult site of Roman Morgantina is found on the northern side of the agora, at the southwest end of the North Stoa (fig. 39.1). The small single room shrine with a central podium against the center of the back wall (fig. 39.2) is briefly discussed in two articles by Bell with materials partially published amongst those of the North Stoa in the *Morgantina Studies*.²⁰² The shrine was a later addition to the early Hellenistic North Stoa built onto the western tip in the second century and incorporating a nearby third-century statue base (fig. 39.3).²⁰³

Unlike the other cult sites of this period, with the possible exception of the Theater Temenos Sanctuary, the shrine remained in use through the mid to late first-century destruction event

²⁰¹ On the issues associated with the southern agora, see Bell 1988, 316 n. 13.

²⁰² Bell 2012a, 113; Bell 2015, 76-7; Trümper 2019b, 125 discuss the room as a shrine; Buttrey *et al.* 1989, 181-2; Stone 2014, 68 do not mention the shrine of the north stoa but do discuss the material of the North Stoa.

²⁰³ Bell 2015, 76; Trümper 2019b, 125. The statue base is identified as an altar in the publication, see below.

until c. 50 AD. The shrine was damaged along with the entire western portion of the North Stoa by a fire; ash and other evidence of fire damage were found with coins from the second to mid-first centuries were found throughout the western end of the stoa and shrine.²⁰⁴ Both the shrine and the room to the north were re-occupied by the end of the first century and frequented until the mid-first century AD. The third and second strata of these rooms contained early Imperial coins as well as early Italian *terra sigillata*;²⁰⁵ Tiberian issues of the 20s and 30s were found inside the shrine, as well as an *as* of Claudius outside in front.²⁰⁶

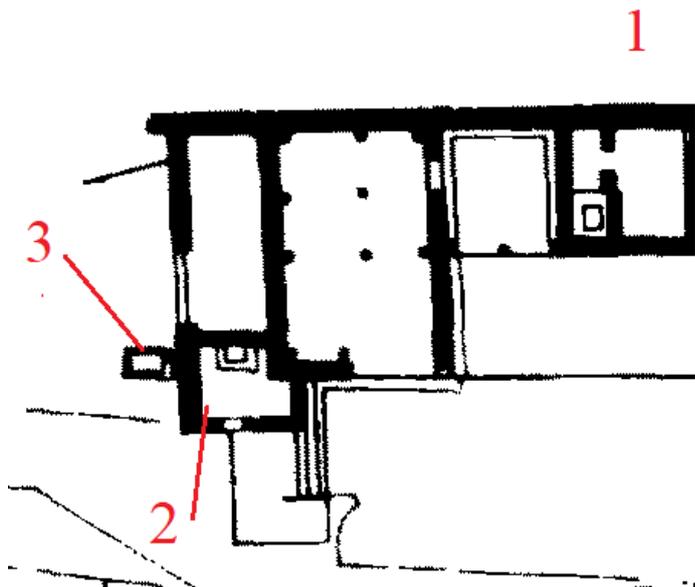


Fig. 39 - Morgantina, West end of North Stoa. Shrine at Plataea A. Stoa (Bell 1988, 315 fig. 1 edited).

1. North Stoa; 2. Shrine; 3. Statue base

Bell has proposed that the shrine was dedicated to a goddess, possibly Demeter.²⁰⁷ His admittedly speculative argument was based upon a fragment of a cult statue (fig. 41), at what he identified as an altar (figs. 39.3, 40) immediately outside of the shrine. This fragment (c. 11 cm) part of a left hand with three fingers and the border of a *himation*, belonged to a life-sized female statue that he identified as Demeter.²⁰⁸ He cited a comparison with Camarina where the streets were named after gods and goddesses, and suggested that Morgantina's main street, suggested that Plataea A, may have been named after Morgantina's most important goddess.

²⁰⁴ Stone 2014, 68; Buttrey *et al.* 1989, 181-2 no. 48.

²⁰⁵ Stone 2014, 69. On the pottery see 399-400 nos. 671-2; on the coins, see Buttrey *et al.* 1989, 129 nos. 742-4.

²⁰⁶ Stone 2014, 69; Bell 2015, 80 supports this with a first-century AD date; for the coins, see Buttrey *et al.* 1989, 129 nos. 739-41, 130 nos. 748-50.

²⁰⁷ Bell 2015, 76-7.

²⁰⁸ Bell 2015, 76-7 n. 27, fig. 20.



Fig. 40 - Morgantina, Shrine at Plataea A. Statue base (photo by the author); Fig. 41 - Morgantina, Shrine at Plataea A. Terracotta hand fragment (Bell 2015, 77 fig. 20).

This attribution is ungrounded. Two shrines that went out of use after 211 were found in the North Stoa along the same street, Plataea A, and are securely attributed to the goddesses Artemis and Hestia.²⁰⁹ It is possible that this new shrine replaced one of these. Furthermore, the relationship between the structure and shrine's cult is nebulous as it was a statue base and not an altar. Similar structures, which Bell also calls altars, extend to the west along Plataea A at the intersections at *stenopoi* 4, 5, and 10.²¹⁰ Comparable structures have been found at intersections at Naxos, where they appear to have been used for navigation of the city.²¹¹ Instead, given statue fragment and the structure location were both outside of the shrine at an intersection, it can be more accurately identified as a statue base that held a female statue to aid navigation. The incorporation of the base during the shrine's construction in the second century BC was likely an *ad hoc* continuation of the placement of statue bases outside of cult sites, as seen at the Central Sanctuary and Theater Temenos Sanctuary.

5.7 Morgantina: Conclusions

Like much of Morgantina, religious building activities were focused in the second century with only sparse later and more modest constructions and modifications occurring in the first centuries BC and AD before the settlement's abandonment *c.* 50 AD. Two of the city's early Hellenistic sanctuaries, the Central Sanctuary and Macellum Sanctuary (Chapter 5.1-2), continued to be used through the sack of the city in 211 with evidence of repair at the Central

²⁰⁹ See above fn. 28.

²¹⁰ These were also discussed as altars, see Bell 2012a, 113.

²¹¹ See Voza *et al.* 1980, 628-30, 629 fig. 145.

Sanctuary. The number of cult sites in the Roman city peaked in the second century BC. Two modest sites came into being, one at Plataea A, built onto the western end of the North Stoa (Chapter 5.6), and another out of a converted watchtower, southwest of the agora (Chapter 5.3). This period also saw the construction of the large Theater Temenos Sanctuary in the southern agora, comparable in size with the city's largest sanctuaries (Chapter 5.5).

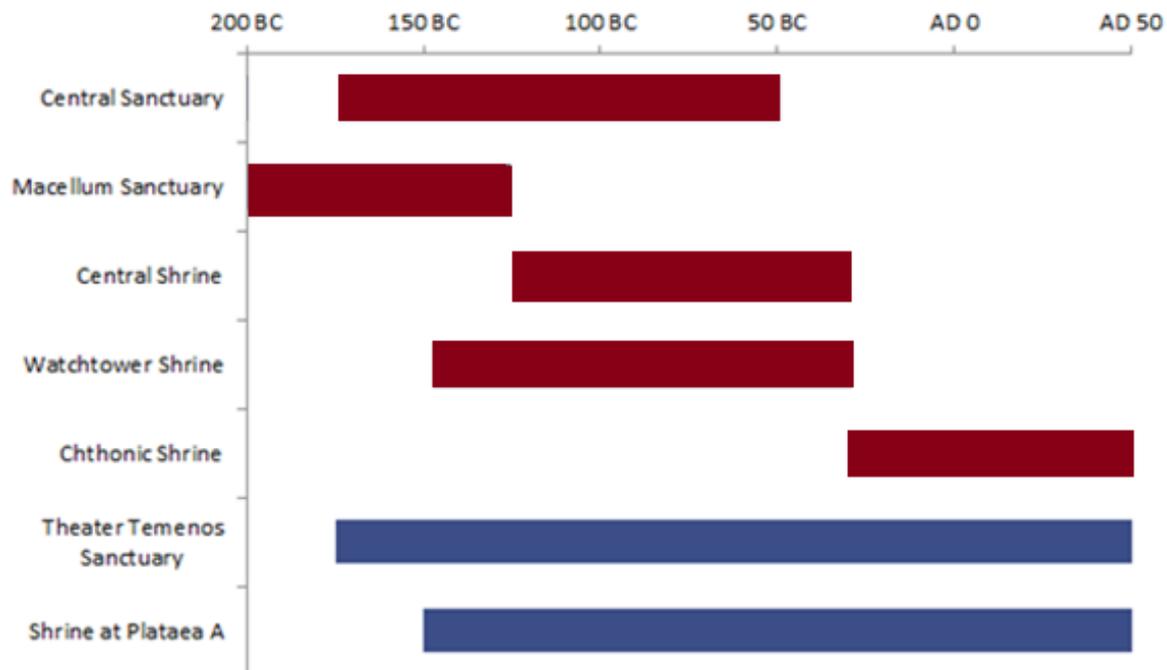


Fig. 42 - Approximate timeline of cult activity in Morgantina sacred sites.

Red: Demeter and Kore; Blue: other

This peak declined in the first century with evidence appearing as early as the late second century during the construction of the *macellum*, when the Macellum Sanctuary was downsized with its *naiskos* walled up and out of use, with later sacred activity limited to the one-room Central Shrine. The Central Sanctuary appears to have begun its decline in the first half of the first century. This decline was rapidly accelerated by the mid to late first-century destruction event. The Central Sanctuary was abandoned, and the other sanctuaries were all damaged. As seen with the sack of 211 BC, there is also evidence of religious continuity into the city's last phase. The Shrine at Plataea A was repaired and remained in use until the city's complete abandonment around mid-first century AD. The Theater Temenos Sanctuary may have seen a limited repair and reactivation of the large sanctuary in standing with the city's greatly reduced population in its last phase. The construction (or repair) of a new statue and base suggests the sanctuary maintained a significant level of importance. While the other damaged sanctuaries

saw no later evidence of reuse, one new modest cult site came into being, the Chthonic Shrine, through the conversion of a room in the Doric Stoa.

The mid-late first century BC appears to have most strongly impacted Demeter and Kore. All of their sanctuaries, including two that had remained in use through 211 were all out of use by the end of the century. Demeter and Kore continued to be worshipped at the Chthonic Shrine, but the use of a new shrine, instead of the repair or reuse of the other sites is suggestive of a religious change and break within the cult. This distinction is strengthened by the repair and reuse of the two sanctuaries not associated with the cult. Furthermore, the downsizing of the Central Shrine c. 130 and the apparent decline of the Central Sanctuary in the first half of the first century, in contrast to the continued works at the Theater Temenos Sanctuary, suggest that the mid to late first-century destruction event may have been the culmination of a process focused on Demeter and Kore that had already begun to appear a century before.

The trend towards the periodization of Morgantina's history, demarcated by the destruction events in 211 and the mid-late first century, has been criticized as it neglects aspects of continuity between these two periods.²¹² Indeed, although the evidence makes it impossible to fully isolate religious change and continuity from these two key events in the city's history, the chapter has emphasized a degree of religious continuity between these periods, and also de-emphasized the religious impact of the mid-late first century BC destruction event. This also raises the question as to whether the Watchtower shrine was still in use by the time of the destruction event as their destruction events only provide the *terminus ante quem* for their sacred disuse. The Watchtower Shrine, as a former watchtower, would have likely assumed some sort of defensive function during the turbulence of the Civil Wars, and its damage as part of a siege is likely.

It has recently been argued that there was little evidence of Roman or Hispani influence in Morgantina's religious sites, with Trümper noting the absence of podium temples.²¹³ However, it should be noted that large temples had never been a part of the city's sacred landscape with a focus on courtyard sanctuaries and small *naiskoi*.²¹⁴ There is some evidence of Hispani and Romano-Italic influence, particularly in the period soon after Morgantina's colonization. The possible introduction of a Hercules cult at the Theater Temenos Sanctuary c. 175 BC could be

²¹² Pfuntner 2013, 107.

²¹³ Trümper 2019b, 127.

²¹⁴ Allen 1977.

evidence of either Hispani or Romano-Italic influence as the cult was especially popular in both Spain and Italy.²¹⁵

Romano-Italic influence is more clearly visible at the Central Sanctuary, especially during its initial repair and reactivation, through the installation of a *thesaurus* and the construction of an altar with an unusual central Italian molding style (Chapter 5.1). The abandonment of the *thesaurus* and the reintroduction of more traditional practices such as votive lamps raise questions about the resiliency of this influence on cult practices. However, it remains visible through more modest and private practices, such as the continued use of “curse tablets” where a practice than can be traced back to the sanctuary’s early history, took on a significantly different form, and predominantly referenced persons associated with a Romano-Italic community. This was not isolated to the Central Sanctuary. *Macella* are generally associated with increasing Roman influence in the provinces, and the *macellum* (fig. 1.2) has been noted as the clearest evidence of Roman influence on the city’s architecture.²¹⁶ The downsizing of the Macellum Sanctuary to make way for the construction of the *macellum* can also be seen as part of the Romano-Italic impact on the city’s religious landscape.

On the other hand, the resiliency of local practices can be seen in the city’s last cult site, the Chthonic Shrine. Here the “traditional” use of terracotta votive statuettes of Kore, not found at any of the other post-211 cult sites of Demeter and Kore, makes a return. This was part of their wider revival in private contexts throughout Morgantina during the first century.²¹⁷ The cause of this revival remains unclear but further attests to the complex nature of the cult’s development in the Roman period.

²¹⁵ For more on the cult of Hercules in Spain, see Chapter 5.5 and in Central Italy, see Chapter 7.4.

²¹⁶ Nabers 1973, 173-6; Tsakirgis 1995, 138; Trümper 2019b, 127.

²¹⁷ Bell 1981, 76-7.

Chapter Six: Tauromenium

Introduction



Fig. 1 - Tauromenium. Sacred sites discussed in the text, north is at top (di Giacomo 2018, 50, edited by author).

1. Peristyle Temple (028; Chapter 6.1); 2. Roman Temple? (058; Chapter 6.2); 3. Temple *in summa cavea* (094; Chapter 6.3); 4. Temple of Isis and Serapis (011; Chapter 6.4).

Beneath the modern city of Taormina, on the slopes of Mount Tauros overlooking the Ionian Sea, the city of Tauromenium has been a site of significant scholarly and antiquarian interest since the late Renaissance.¹ Archaeological investigations have been substantial, beginning in the eighteenth century with the first excavations of the “Naumachia” and theater. These continue into the present day throughout the city with the most recent by the University of Messina at the Villa San Pancrazio on the mountain’s northern slopes.² Thanks to the discovery of the financial tablets (*IG XIV 423-30; ISic 1248-1255*), the institutional history of the second

¹ *BTCGI XX*, 42-112.

² Campagna *et al.* 2017; Campagna 2018a.

and first centuries BC has been extensively studied and is relatively well understood.³ Despite the extent of the excavations and the knowledge of the city's institutional history, the archaeological evidence presents key difficulties. Due to the extensive eighteenth- and nineteenth-century excavations, chronologies are often imprecise, speculative, and based mainly upon convention. These issues continue with the modern excavations where an absence of systematic publication and detailed preliminary reports continues to hinder study. The presence of modern Taormina has also resulted in scattered excavations of limited size, conducted during construction projects, which now overlie ancient structures.

The epigraphic record and monumental Imperial construction projects show that Tauromenium flourished well into the Empire⁴ and, as a result, Tauromenium provides an important perspective on the evolving sacred landscape within a thriving city. Habitation at Tauromenium began as early as the eighth century BC, but the origins of the *polis* are conventionally placed in the mid-fourth century BC (Diod. Sic. 16.7.1).⁵ Under Hieron, the city underwent an extensive reconfiguration and monumentalization of its public spaces including the construction of the agora, with both upper and lower levels, at least one temple, the theater, and the “gymnasium”; this urban development has been seen as the adoption and re-elaboration of the same processes undertaken in Syracusae by Hieron II.⁶

After siding with the Romans in the Second Punic War, Tauromenium was rewarded with the preferential status of *civitas foederata* (Cic. Verr. 2.3.13). It was a rebel stronghold during The First Servile War and only captured in 132 BC after a lengthy siege (Diod. Sic. 34.2.20-1). Assessment of the Republican period is difficult. Few *ex novo* constructions are securely datable to the Republican period, but they may include the northwestern stoa, which later became the so-called “Naumachia” (fig. 2.8), and the “Bouleuterion”, a monumental public building (fig. 2.3); both date to either the third or second centuries BC.⁷ Older buildings were

³ Wilson 1988a, 101-11; Battistoni 2011; Battistoni 2014a; Battistoni 2014b; Prag 2014, 174. On the financial tablets, see Arangio-Ruiz 1925, no. 13; Manganaro 1964a, 43-6, 53-5; Manganaro 1988, 183; Fantasia 1999.

⁴ Pfuntner 2019, 137.

⁵ For more on the Archaic and Classical city and the “foundation” of the *polis* in the fourth century BC, see Arena 2008; Arena 2017; Prestianni Giallombardo 2009; Lentini 2012.

⁶ On Hieronian Tauromenium, see Campagna 2009; Campagna 2018b; Campagna 2019. The size and layout of the agora remains a matter of uncertainty, see Campagna 2004, 163; Campagna 2009, 207; especially Campagna 2011a for a cautious approach and Campagna 2016, 267-8 with a slightly different interpretation.

⁷ On the stoa and lower agora, see Campagna and La Torre 2009, 115-46; Campagna 2009, 108-10. Wilson 2012, 248 believes that the lower agora, rather than the area of Piazza Vittorio Emanuele (upper agora), was the city's primary Hellenistic agora. On the layout of the upper and lower agoras, see Campagna and La Torre 2009, 132-7; Campagna 2011a. On the “Bouleuterion”, see Bacci 1980, 337-40; Bacci 1980-1, 739-42; Campagna 2009, 206; Muscolino 2009-10, 438-9. On doubts about the identification as a *bouleuterion*: Campagna and

maintained, and the “gymnasium” was renovated in the late second century.⁸ The epigraphic record is more explicit in regard to the Republican period. It is reflective of a prosperous and politically autonomous community with continuity in its civic institutions and local elite that only saw a gradual increase in Roman influence.⁹

In the aftermath of the Civil Wars and the conflict between Sextus Pompey and Octavian, this period of continuity and gradual change ceased. Tauromenium was among the cities punished by Octavian. The citizens were expelled, and it was likely among the cities compelled to pay the indemnity of 1600 talents (App. *BC* 5.129; Diod. Sic. 16.7.1); afterward, the city received a Roman colony in either 36/5 or 21 BC.¹⁰ Unlike the period of the Second Punic War and the Slave Wars, the effects of this period are evident in both the archaeological and epigraphic records. The full extent of these changes remains unknown as well as to what degree they were the direct result of the Augustan punishment or associated with the city’s colonization.¹¹ However, this period clearly saw a break in the institutional and cultural history of the city.¹²

These changes were significant and focused on the public area of the agora. The agora underwent a significant reworking with political and social implications. The “Bouleuterion” on the northern side was renovated again. This time the stoa, which surrounded a central courtyard, received a new pavement; importantly, this destroyed the earlier second and first-century BC statue bases dedicated by the *demos* of Tauromenium which marks a clear break in the continuity of Tauromenium’s civic life (*SEG* 32.936; *ISic* 3125, *SEG* 32.937; *ISic* 3124).¹³ It has been suggested that this reworking may have been the transformation of the “Bouleuterion” into the curia of the new Roman colony.¹⁴ The Roman calendar was also

La Torre 2009, 134; Wilson 2012, 248. However, its identification as a public building is not in doubt (Campagna 2011a, 75).

⁸ Blanck 1997, 254; Pelagatti 1997. Identification of the “gymnasium” has been convincingly refuted (Trümper 2018, 44). It contained a library and, although gymnasia often contained libraries, the peristyle courtyard is too small for a gymnasium and may have been part of a private residence (Ferruti 2004, 198-203; Campagna 2006, 31).

⁹ Lentini 2005, 313-31, especially 327.

¹⁰ The date of the colony’s foundation and whether the expulsion of citizens included only the elite, or the entire population has been debated. Tauromenium was colonized either in 36/5 BC or perhaps later in 21 BC along with the other Augustan colonies in Sicily. On this debate which is largely based upon literary sources (Diod. Sic. 16.7.1; Plin. *NH* 3.8.88), see Manganaro 1963, 16-8 in support of a date 36/5 BC with the complete expulsion of the citizenry and Rubincam 1985, 522 in favor of a c. 30 BC date. Wilson 1990, 33-4, 357 n. 11 supports a date of 21 BC with only an expulsion of the elite. For a recent discussion of the issue with more recent bibliography, see Campagna 2016, 270, 270 ftns. 28-30.

¹¹ Campagna 2018a, 292.

¹² Pfuntner 2019, 143.

¹³ Bacci 1980-1, 739, 741-2; Campagna 2016, 268.

¹⁴ Pfuntner 2013, 211.

introduced: the only known example of a publicly inscribed Roman calendar outside of Italy was found, postdating the colonization.¹⁵ Additional changes to the agora included new pavement, decoration with granite columns and large marble basin, a bath complex, and what may have been a monumental arch at the eastern entrance.¹⁶

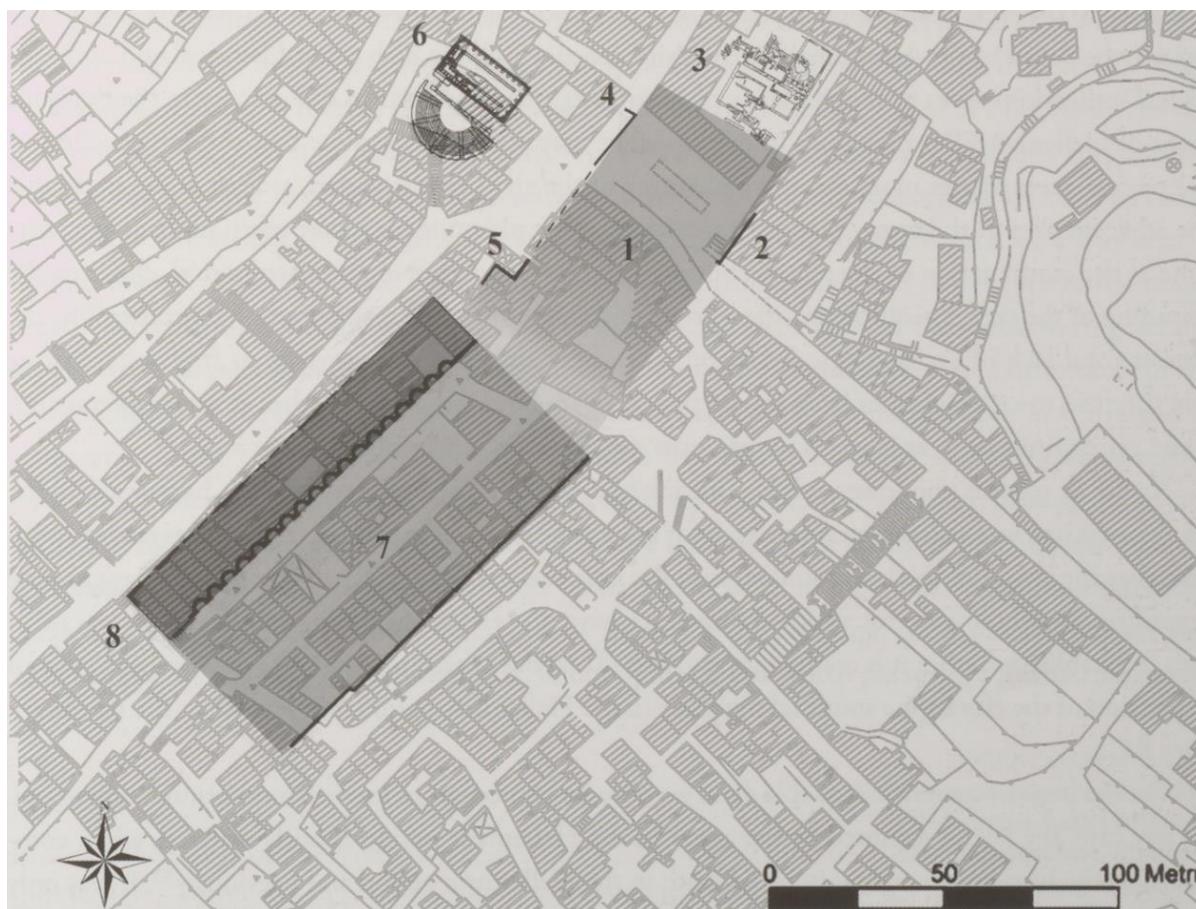


Fig. 2 - Tauromenium, Agora. (Campagna 2011a, 83 fig. 10, edited by author).

1. Agora (upper); 2. Public building (Roman Temple?), wall “h” delineating the southeast border of the agora; 3. “Bouleuterion” (Hellenistic public building); 4. Unidentified structure (sanctuary *peribolos*?); 5. Unidentified structure (sanctuary *peribolos*?); 6. Peristyle Temple and *odeum*; 7. Agora (lower); 8. “Naumachia” (Hellenistic stoa).

This period of change did not result in any evidence of lingering urban decline. The bath complex was expanded in the late first or early second century AD, which destroyed the “Bouleuterion”.¹⁷ Other significant projects which are not precisely dated but attest to the vibrant civic life of Imperial Tauromenium include monumentalization of the lower agora’s

¹⁵ Degrassi 1963, 547. For more, see Manganaro 1963, 13-9; Manganaro 1964a, 38-41; Bacci 1980-1, 724-5; Ruck 1996.

¹⁶ Pelagatti 1964, 25-37; Lentini 2005, 322-3. On the columns and basin: Bacci 1980-1, 738; On the baths: Pelagatti 1964; Bacci 1984-5, 722-5; Wilson 1990, 88-90; Muscolino 2013. On the arch: Campagna and La Torre 2009, 135.

¹⁷ Pelagatti 1964, 25-37; Lentini 2005, 322-3.

stoa (“Naumachia”), construction of one of only two known *odeia* in Sicily (the other is in Catina), and renovations of the theater.¹⁸

The sanctuaries of Tauromenium underwent similar periods of construction and change as the rest of Tauromenium. These include a Hieronian period monumentalization with the construction of the Peristyle Temple (figs. 1.1, 2.6). Like the northwestern stoa in the lower agora and the “Bouleuterion” in the upper agora which may date to either the third or second centuries BC, there are two cult sites of ambiguous Hellenistic date: the temple *in summa cavea* (Chapter 6.3) and the Temple of Isis and Serapis (Chapter 6.4). This has left the continuation of the Hieronian monumentalization into the second century BC unclear, an issue which will be examined further.

The Augustan period was one of rupture with a significant reworking of the agora. This rupture and reworking extended to the city’s sacred landscape as well. The Peristyle Temple in the upper agora goes out of use (Chapter 6.1), and a second monumental building, possibly a temple (figs. 1.2, 2.2; Chapter 6.2), may have been built on the other side of the agora to replace it. To what extent these changes to the sacred landscape extended beyond the agora is unclear. A temple at the theater may have also been out of use by this time (fig. 1.3; Chapter 6.3). Despite these changes, the Augustan period did not see a complete break in continuity for the city’s public cults. The sanctuary of Isis and Serapis continued to be used well into the Imperial period (fig. 1.4; Chapter 6.4).

6.1 The Peristyle Temple (figs. 1.1; 2.1)

The most extensively studied temple lies in the northwestern side of the upper agora and is the largest temple yet uncovered, measuring 11 x 22 m.¹⁹ In its current state, the temple forms the *scaenae frons* of the Imperial *odeum* and is partially built over by the Church of Santa Caterina on its southeast corner (fig. 3). The temple’s cult is unknown; numerous proposals have been given, including Apollo, Zeus Olympios, and Dionysus, none of which are especially compelling.²⁰ Campagna identified a “low well”, faced in plaster, that was probably associated

¹⁸ For more on the Hellenistic stoa and the later Imperial “Naumachia”, the exact identification of which remains unclear but appears to have been a reservoir of some type, see Campagna and La Torre 2009; Campagna 2009, 208-10; Todesco and Sulfaro 2012; Barbera 2014. On the *odeum* and theater, see below (Chapter 6.1, 6.3). On the *odeum* at Catina, see Tortorici 2016, 148-9 with full bibliography.

¹⁹ Correa Morales 2000, 209-10.

²⁰ Apollo: Rizzo 1927, 377; Bell 1994, 376 n. 16. Zeus Olympios: von Sydow 1984, 352-3; Dionysus: Kunz 2006, 173.

with religious activity.²¹ This feature was not visible upon personal inspection of the site but could be a well-altar, indicative of chthonic cult practices.

The temple complex was delineated by a terrace wall immediately to its northwest. The extent of the *temenos* is unclear. It has been suggested that the fragments of a wall (fig. 4.1), no longer extant, which were located approximately 30 m east of the temple, may have formed a partition between the area of the temple and the agora.²² Another unidentified wall, c. 30 m to the south of these fragments, may have marked the southeastern extent of the *temenos* (fig. 4.3). If this was the *peribolos*, then the temple complex was substantial in size and occupied a significant portion of the upper agora. In either case, the temple was clearly of significant importance, having been built in the unusual peristyle manner, rare in post-Classical Sicily, and located in the heart of the city and overlooking the agora.

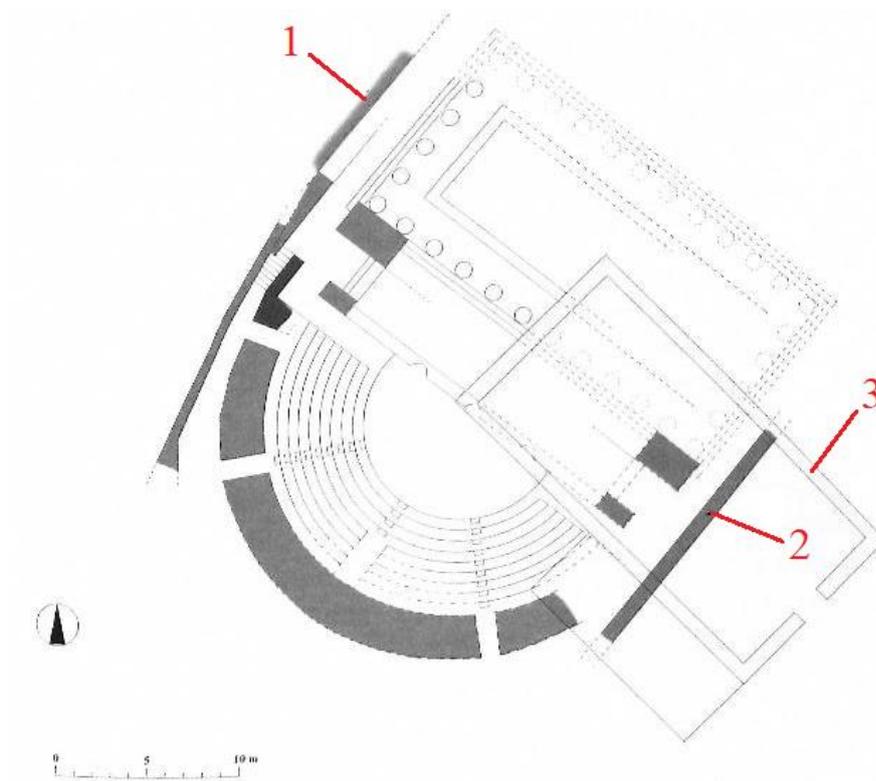


Fig. 3 - Tauromenium, Upper agora. Peristyle Temple and *odeum* (Campagna 2016, 258 fig. 14.3, edited by author).

1. The terrace wall; 2. The wall discovered in 1976; 3. The church of Santa Caterina.

The temple and *odeum* outside of the church were excavated in 1893 with an additional excavation in 1976 inside the church which uncovered the southeastern corner of the temple

²¹ Campagna 2016, 259.

²² Campagna 2011a, 77. Little else can be said of the wall (Santangelo 1950, 62; Rizzo and Bacci 1997-8, 358).

and, interestingly, a wall immediately in front of the temple (fig. 3.2).²³ Neither excavation was published in detail. A recent trial trench excavated by the University of Messina in the narrow area between the terrace wall behind the temple (fig. 3.1) and the temple's northwestern crepidoma has resulted in an improved understanding of the sanctuary. A preliminary report has not yet been published, but Campagna reports some preliminary findings in a recent article on the temple, which will be discussed further below (Chapter 6.1.1).²⁴

6.1.1 Chronology

The date of the construction of the temple and northwest terracing wall has conventionally been uncertain, ranging from the fifth to the mid-third centuries.²⁵ The recent trial trench uncovered stratigraphic evidence which securely places both slightly later, to the second half of the third century BC.²⁶ It is unknown if this was an addition to an older sanctuary or an *ex novo* sanctuary foundation. High percentages of ceramic material that date from the “middle and late Hellenistic age” evidence continued activity in these periods.²⁷ There is no evidence of additional constructions or modifications of the temple until the construction of the *odeum* adapted the southwest temple *peristasis* into a *scaenae frons*. This conversion has typically been used as the *terminus ante quem* for the temple's disuse, and a wide range of dates from the Augustan to Severan periods have been proposed based upon construction technique and brick form; the later dates are more favored.²⁸ Campagna's recently proposed second-century AD date for the *odeum* based upon similarities with the theater's brickwork is plausible.²⁹ Portale has suggested that the construction of the *odeum* did not mark the end of the sanctuary's cult life; instead, she suggested that the *odeum* converted the sanctuary into a type of theater-temple complex, comparing it to the theater-temple complex at the “Ginnasio romano” in Syracusae (Chapter 2.6).³⁰

²³ Excavation reports: 1893 (Rizzo 1927, 373-4) and 1976 (Pelagatti 1976-7, 545-8). On archaeological issues affecting the site, see Campagna 2016, 255-6.

²⁴ See Campagna 2016.

²⁵ Santangelo 1950, 60-1; Coarelli and Torelli 1984, 364; von Sydow 1984, 280-5, 340-3, 347-8, no. 10, figs 32-4, tab. 80.2-3, 93.4; Wolf 2016, 25-6.

²⁶ Campagna 2016, 259, 259 fn. 9.

²⁷ Campagna 2016, 266.

²⁸ On the *odeum*, see Wilson 1990, 78-9; Buscemi 2006, 165-73; Wolf 2016, 13-26. The various proposals for the construction date of the *odeum*: Lugli 1956, 93-5 (Augustan); Lugli 1957, 630 (Neronian or Flavian); Coarelli and Torelli 1984, 363 (early second century AD); Belvedere 1988, 366-8 (Antonine); Wilson 1979, 15; Wilson 1988a, 105; Wilson 1990, 78-80 (Hadrianic); Buscemi 2006, 166-8; Buscemi 2012, 260-3 (Severan).

²⁹ Campagna 2016, 262. On the dating of the theater, see below (Chapter 6.3.1).

³⁰ Portale 2005, 75.

Campagna has instead proposed that the temple's disuse dates earlier than the construction of the *odeum* based upon his interpretation of the drainage system of the *odeum* and the wall uncovered in the 1976 excavations as well as pottery from the recent excavations.³¹ Campagna suggested that the temple no longer had a roof by the time the *odeum* was constructed and thus had most likely been in a declined state; the drainage system of the *odeum* would not have functioned if the temple still had a roof.³²

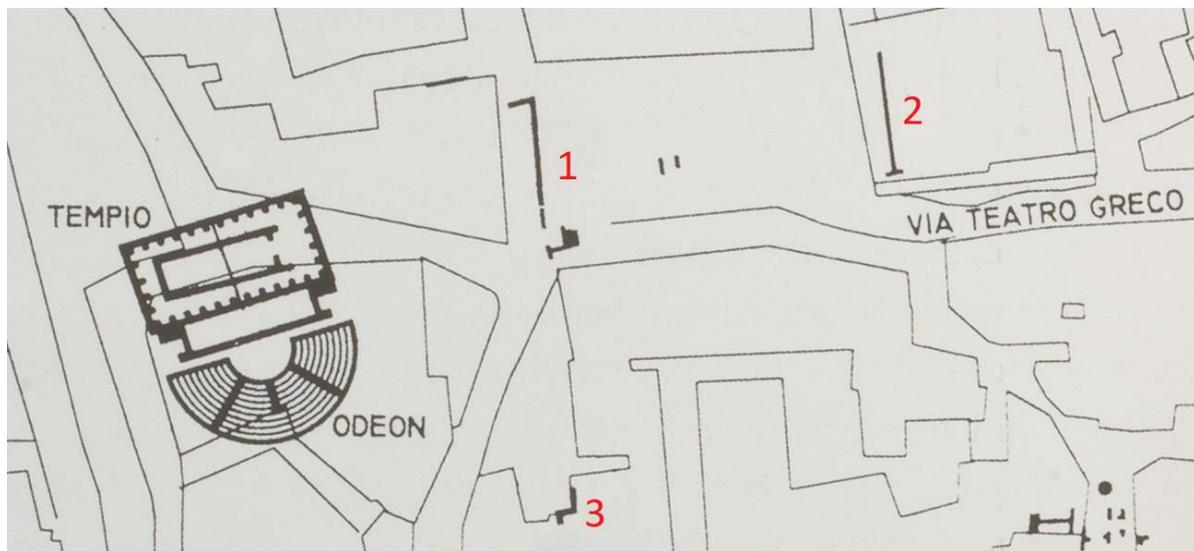


Fig. 4 - Tauromenium, Upper agora. The sanctuary of the Peristyle Temple (Campagna 2011a, 74 fig. 3, edited by author).

1. Wall (*peribolos*?); 2. Wall “h”, the eastern terrace and boundary of the upper agora (temple?); 3. Unidentified structure (*peribolos*?).

The high percentages of ceramic finds from the “middle” and “late Hellenistic” periods, in contrast to a very low percentage from the early Empire, indicates either a decline or disuse of the temple in the Augustan period.³³ The decline in the material finds is supported by the 1976 excavation. The preliminary report records the recovery of late Republican plates and plain pottery [*ceramica acroma*], mid-Imperial type A *terra sigillata chiara*, and other pottery from the fourth to fifth centuries AD, with only very little material recovered from other periods.³⁴ This would further support the findings of Campagna’s recent excavations, i.e., a period of

³¹ Campagna 2016, 264-7.

³² Campagna 2016, 265-6.

³³ Campagna 2016, 266.

³⁴ Pelagatti 1976-7, 548. “I materiali ceramici hanno tuttavia offerto elementi utili per le fasi di frequentazione dell’area che così possono riassumersi: ceramiche acrome e piatti attribuiti a età tardo-repubblicana (fine I sec. A.C.); frammenti di terra sigillata chiara di tipo A riferibili ad età medio imperiale e che dovrebbero essere relativi alla vita del teatrino; numerose ceramiche (anfore a pareti fortemente consolate) databili al IV-V sec.d.C... Pressoché nessuna traccia di materiali riferibili all’età ellenistica e alla vita del tempio”.

reduced activity or abandonment from the Augustan period until the reuse of the temple by the *odeum*.

Finally, he suggested that the wall in front of the temple (fig. 3.2) would have restricted access to the temple. He dated the wall to the Augustan period based upon the similar construction technique of wall “h” on the southeastern side of the upper agora (fig. 4.1), which dates to the late first century BC.³⁵ In addition to significantly restricting access to the temple, this would have also significantly impacted the sanctuary, separated the temple from the rest of the *temenos* that lay to the southeast as well as its altar, which would likely be in front of the temple. Therefore, the construction of the wall and disuse of the temple not only indicates that it was likely out of use in the Augustan period, but also that the rest of the sanctuary underwent a significant restructuring in the late first century BC, likely resulting in its disuse.

6.1.2 Conclusions

The construction of the wall in front of the temple likely marked an end to sacred activity at the sanctuary in the Augustan period. How this change impacted the rest of the *temenos* to the southeast is unknown. It may have been leveled and paved over, similar to what occurred when the stoa at the “Bouleuterion” was repaved, and the second and first-century BC statue bases were leveled. Indeed, there is evidence of similar works in two agoras in Syracuse, which resulted in the complete leveling of one sanctuary (Chapter 2.6) and the leveling of a temple at another (Chapter 2.8.1.1).

Campagna connected the disuse of the temple to the post-civil war rupture and interpreted the abandonment and walling up of the temple to “town planning censorship”.³⁶ While his argument for the temple’s abandonment and the connection to Tauromenium’s colonization is compelling, it is unclear if this was the result of planned censorship of the city’s civic and religious past. It is also uncertain how effective this form of censorship would have been. Even with the construction of a wall in front of the temple restricting access and preventing its use, the temple would have most likely continued to dominate the agora visually.

Why the temple was walled up and went out of use, therefore, remains a compelling question. The temple may not have been needed if the deity was no longer worshipped after the expulsion of Tauromenium’s citizens and the arrival of the new Roman colonists (Chapter 6

³⁵ Campagna 2016, 267-8. Campagna notes the use of uniformly square ashlar blocks for the wall distinct from the brickwork of the *odeum*. For more on wall “h”, see below (Chapter 6.2).

³⁶ Campagna 2016, 268-71.

introduction). A potential answer to this is suggested by the construction of what may have been a temple in the agora in the Augustan period. This structure, possibly a temple, may have been connected to the Peristyle Temple and suggests that the Peristyle Temple was not censored nor did the deity cease to be worshipped. Instead, in the process of restructuring the agora, the new Roman colonists may have wished to maintain an architectural connection with one of Greek Tauromenium's important cults while at the same time making it one of their own.

6.2 A Possible Roman Temple (figs. 1.2; 2.1)

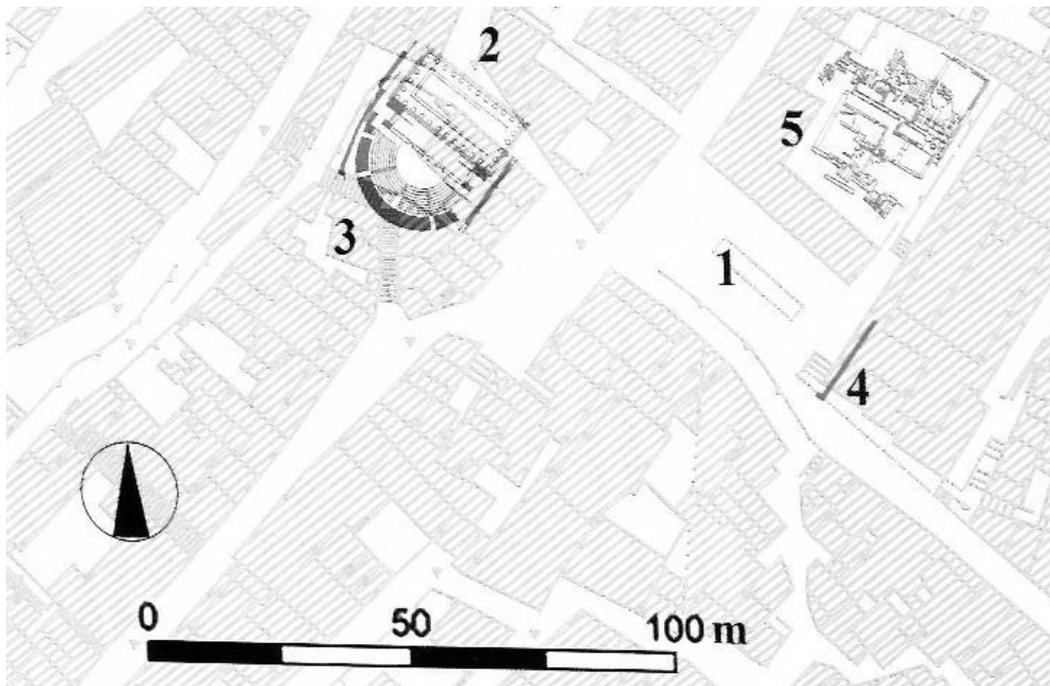


Fig. 5 - Tauromenium, Agora. (Campagna 2016, 256 fig. 14.2).

1. The upper agora (Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II); 2. The Peristyle Temple; 3. *Odeum*; 4. Wall “h”, the eastern terrace and boundary of the upper agora (temple?); 5. Hellenistic public building (later Augustan bath complex).

Across from the Peristyle Temple on the opposite side of the agora was wall “h”, which contained, behind it, a mass of rubble aggregate measuring 11 x 13 m (figs. 5.4; 6; 7).³⁷ The wall and aggregate were excavated in the late 1970s and are dated to the late first century BC based upon “*presigillata*”, *eastern sigillata A*, and early *terra sigillata* found in the foundation of wall “h” and the rubble foundation [“*massicciata*”].³⁸ As has already been mentioned, wall “h” was built in the same technique as the wall in front of the Peristyle Temple (Chapter 6.1.1);

³⁷ Bacci 1980, 337; Bacci 1980-1, 738.

³⁸ Bacci 1980-1, 738. “Nel cavo di Fondazione del muro H e negli interstizi della massicciata si sono potuti isolare frammenti di *presigillata* o *sigillata orientale* e di *ceramica arentina* della fine del I sec. a.C.”.

both appear to have been constructed at the same time as part of the reworking of the agora and delineated the agora on its northwest and southeast sides.³⁹

The preliminary reports do not discuss the purpose of the rubble behind wall “h”.⁴⁰ However, it is now thought to be the foundation of a monumental public building,⁴¹ and Wilson has tentatively suggested that the monumental building may have been a temple.⁴² As the preliminary report is brief and the area is no longer visible due to the presence of modern construction, confirmation of this possibility cannot be made but remains plausible.

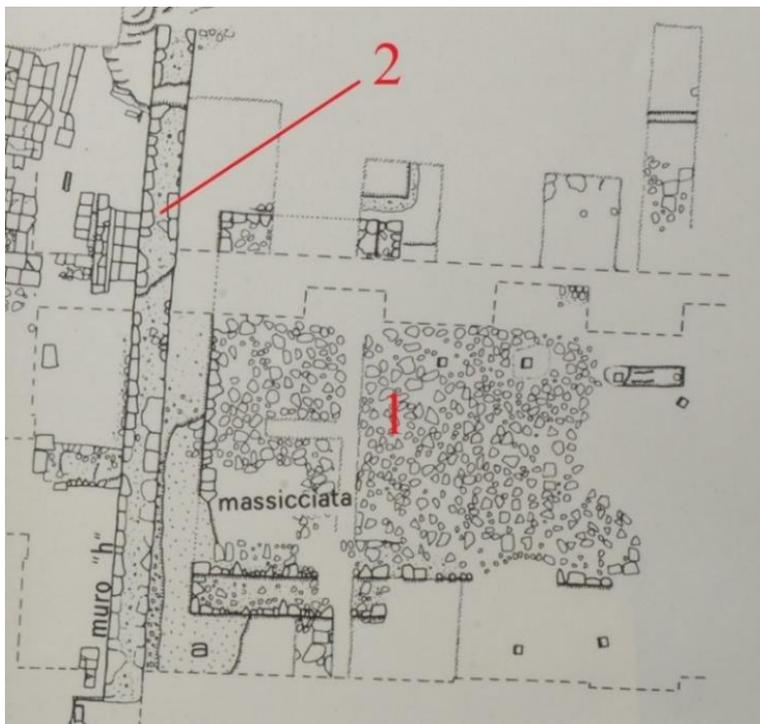


Fig. 6 - Taormenium, Upper agora. Aggregate foundation and wall “h” (Bacci 1980-1 tab. 169, edited by author).

1. The foundation of a monumental building (temple?); 2. Wall “h”.

Temples were an essential part of the establishment of a colony and were often built even during the foundation of colonies within preexisting cities.⁴³ The disuse of the Peristyle Temple would have also left the agora without what was probably its most important temple and, therefore, may have necessitated the construction of a new temple to replace it. The possible

³⁹ Campagna 2016, 267-8.

⁴⁰ Bacci 1980-1.

⁴¹ Wilson 2012, 248; Campagna 2016, 268.

⁴² Wilson 2012, 248. The foundation and possible temple have received almost no subsequent scholarly discussion.

⁴³ Ando 2007 431-6. These include the Theater Temenos Sanctuary at Morgantina (Chapter 5.5) and the sanctuary at Pisidian Antioch in Asia Minor (Rubin 2011, 33-60).

new temple and its relationship to the Peristyle Temple suggest that the construction of the wall in front of the Peristyle Temple was a much more complex interaction between the city's historic sacred landscape and the new colonists.

As the aggregate foundation is aligned with the older Peristyle temple, the two temples would have faced each other from across the Augustan and Imperial agora. This positioning seems unlikely to have been coincidental as the construction of the wall in front of the Peristyle Temple was a part of the same Augustan reworking of the agora, which included the construction of the terrace wall and temple.



Fig. 7 - Tauromenium, Agora. Wall "h", seen from the north (Bacci 1980-1 tab. 170 fig. 1).

This connection is supported by the dimensions of the two temples, which would have made them appear similar in size and height from the perspective of the agora. The Roman Temple measured 11 x 13 m, and the Peristyle Temple, on the opposite end of the agora, measured 11 x 22 m. The width of 11 m made both temples appear to be the same size. Although the Roman Temple was not as long, at 13 m, this may have been the result of space limitations, and this area behind the temple has not been excavated. Wilson noted that the structure did not appear to have a frontal staircase.⁴⁴ The absence of this staircase is a logical solution to space constraints. A similar use of this layout due to space issues is at the Temple of Apollo Sosianus in Rome, which had its frontal staircase demolished and two side staircases added when the theater of Marcellus was built directly in front of the temple.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Wilson 2012, 261 n. 33.

⁴⁵ Stamper 2005, 120 fig. 89; Coarelli 2014, 270.

Although neither the slope of the ancient agora nor the height of the temple is known, the new temple may have also been built to a similar height as the Peristyle Temple. The modern Largo Santa Caterina (site of the ancient agora) gently slopes down from the Peristyle Temple on the high side and the Roman Temple on the lower side. However, as wall “h” terraced the lower end of the agora, it was elevated over the lower southeastern side of the agora. The temple’s podium would have further raised the temple. Although, the new temple may have been higher than the Peristyle Temple, the fact that care was taken not to exceed the width of the Peristyle Temple nor was there any attempt to dismantle the Peristyle Temple which suggests that the new temple may not have been meant to dominate the older Peristyle temple. Instead, it created symmetry: from the perspective of one standing in the middle of the agora, the two temples may have appeared of near-equal size and height, aligned and facing each other from opposite ends of the agora. A connection between the two temples, in this case, would have been clear.

A common cult could explain the connection between the two temples. Campagna suggested that the cult of the Peristyle Temple may have been transferred elsewhere when the temple was walled up and abandoned.⁴⁶ The construction date of the new temple, the disuse of the Peristyle Temple, and the symmetry between the two temples make the new temple a plausible candidate for the cult’s new location. This connection between the new and old temples may have lost its importance in time. As mentioned previously, the Peristyle Temple appears to have fallen into disrepair after it went out of use and was in a partially collapsed state when it was reused as the *scenae frons* of the new *odeum*, perhaps in the second century AD (Chapter 6.1).

This symmetry between the two temples and their connection, possibly even including a cult transfer, could also suggest a more nuanced interpretation of the wall in front of the Peristyle Temple. Rather than a form of “censorship,” as Campagna suggested (Chapter 6.1.2), the wall may have instead been intended as a practical means to restrict access and redirect traffic. Indeed, the effectiveness of any concealment would have been questionable given the height of the Peristyle Temple. Furthermore, Diodorus records similar use of walls and barriers by the Romans to restrict access to cult sites elsewhere in Sicily (Diod. Sic. 34/5.10). Therefore, the wall may have functioned to restrict access to the now-defunct temple, redirecting worshipers to the new temple. The new temple on the southeastern side of the agora allowed the colonists to establish a new cult site in the agora, while the continued visibility of the Peristyle Temple

⁴⁶ Campagna 2016, 271.

combined with the alignment and similar size and height of both temples may have served to connect the new temple with the historical religious landscape and possibly one of its cults.

6.3 The Temple *in summa cavea* (fig. 1.3)

The agora was not the only site of religious change within Tauromenium. Evidence of similar change can be found *c.* 400 m to the southeast at the Greco Roman theater, where a temple foundation is found partially overbuilt by a double portico which surrounded the theater's *summa cavea*.⁴⁷ Despite the fame of this theater, this temple has rarely been discussed in depth. It was excavated in 1880, and a preliminary report published the same year, which contained no material finds and only a cursory physical description.⁴⁸ Examination of the extant remains and their relationship to the theater establishes a general chronology for the temple's life, a possible cult attribution, and sheds light on the extent of religious change in the Augustan and early Imperial periods.

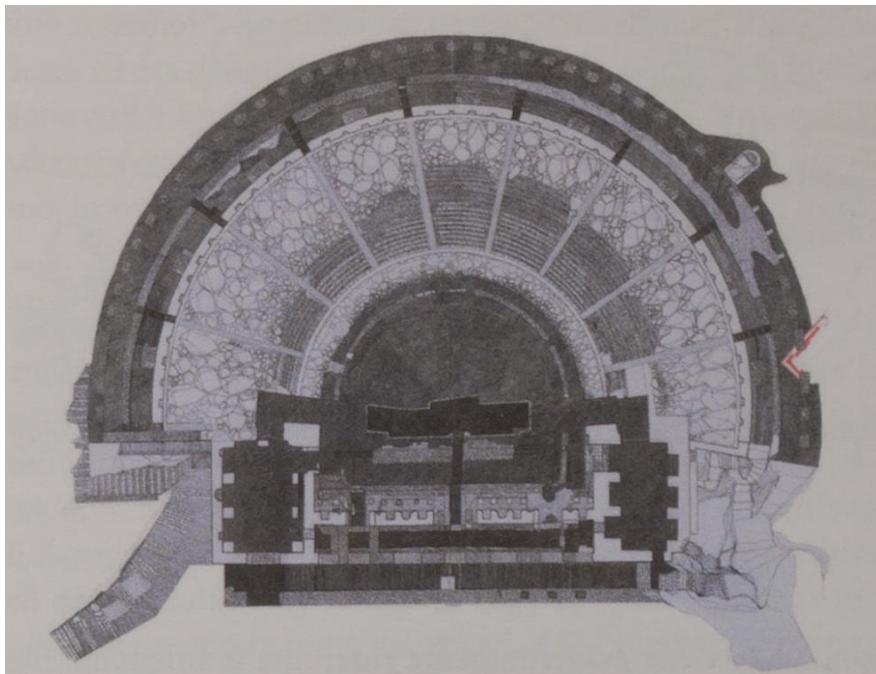


Fig. 8 - Tauromenium, the Greco-Roman Theater. Temple foundation (in red) overbuilt by the theater's eastern double portico (Fuduli 2015b, 307 fig. 6).

6.3.1 Chronology

Conventionally dated to the Hellenistic period,⁴⁹ Fuduli recently noted the paucity of chronological indicators and observed that any date before the construction of the double

⁴⁷ Wilson 1990, 74; Sear 1996, 45.

⁴⁸ Fiorelli 1880, 3536.

⁴⁹ Wilson 1990, 74; Sear 1996, 45; Fuduli 2015a, 339-40.

portico in the late first or early second century AD was plausible.⁵⁰ This double portico also provides the *terminus ante quem* for end of the temple's sacred life and its destruction, which Portale recently placed in the early second century AD.⁵¹

The excavator, Fiorelli, did note one chronological indicator in 1880 where he noted the recovery of fragments of the temple's *opus signinum* flooring.⁵² As this type of flooring was used in Sicily from the third century BC to mid-first century AD,⁵³ it is unlikely that the temple dates any later than the mid-first century AD. If the *opus signinum* was part of a later renovation, then a pre-Hellenistic date also remains a possibility. This possibility is supported by the fact that the temple is not aligned with the third to second-century BC theater.⁵⁴



Fig. 9 - Tauromenium, Temple *in summa cavea*. Eastern double portico atop temple crepidoma, seen from the west (Vanaria *et al.* 2010, 41).

The theater's chronology is a much-debated issue due to the destruction of earlier phases during its multiple renovations and its early excavation with the limited subsequent archaeological investigation.⁵⁵ A reassessment of its chronology is beyond the scope of this

⁵⁰ Fudili 2015a, 339. On the date of the double portico, see Coarelli and Torelli 1984, 361; Belvedere 1988, 364-6; Wilson 1990, 71 fig. 62, 76; Sear 1996, 77-8. Debate around the date of the double portico largely centers around the use of a Trajanic inscription (*CIL* X 6996; *ISic* 0284) or Hadrianic architectural decorations.

⁵¹ Portale 2005, 75.

⁵² Fiorelli 1880, 35. The *opus signinum* is also noted by Isler 2017, 761.

⁵³ Wilson 1990, 116.

⁵⁴ For the date of the theater, see footnote below.

⁵⁵ For the theater's *status quaestionis* including the substantial earlier bibliography, see Isler 2017, 759-62.

research; however, an examination of the double portico's chronology is key to the temple's chronology.

The theater may have had as many as two earlier phases before the late first-century to early second-century AD date of the double portico. The theater is conventionally believed to have been built in the third century BC; however, a second-century date has more recently been proposed.⁵⁶ In contrast to the significant debate surrounding the chronology of many of the theater's features, the possibility of an early double portico has received some discussion. Sear's argument against a double portico for the theater's first phase rests upon the temple's presence.⁵⁷ This is problematic as the double portico is also used to date the temple. Thus, it is even possible that the temple was built and destroyed before the theater's construction, although the temple's use of *opus signinum* makes this less likely.

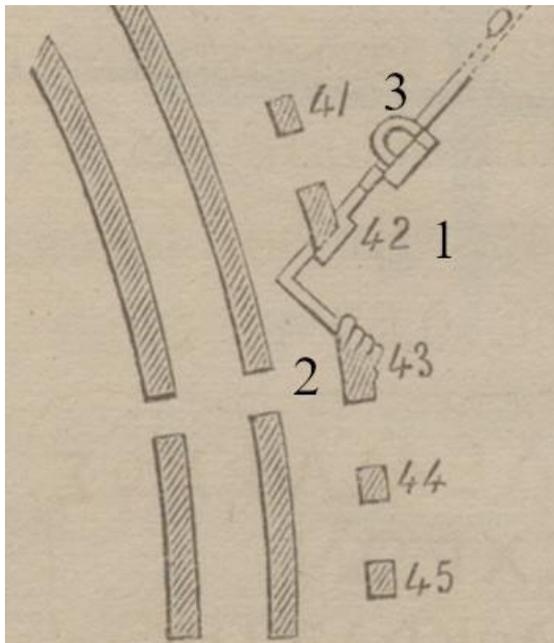


Fig. 10 - Tauromenium, Temple *in summa cavea*. Temple overbuilt by the eastern double portico (Fiorelli 1880, 35 fig. 1, edited by author).

1. The temple foundation; 2. Double portico; 3. Semi-circular structure.

The best evidence for an early portico comes from a possible third phase between the construction of the theater and the extant late first to early second-century AD double portico. Wilson proposed such a phase for the theater.⁵⁸ He placed this in the Augustan period, although

⁵⁶ Wilson 1990, 71; Sear 1996, 44-5. Buscemi 2012, 209; Isler 2017, 762; Campagna and Venuti 2019. Early date proposed by Dimartino 2009 based upon a proposed later date of a conventionally Hieronian inscription (*JG XIV 437; ISic 1262*).

⁵⁷ Sear 1996, 45.

⁵⁸ Wilson 1990, 70-8. The existence of Wilson's intermediate phase has been questioned by Sear 1996; Isler 2017, 762, but has recently been supported by Venuti 2015, 53; Venuti 2019; Campagna and Venuti 2018, 138.

he could not rule out a late Julio-Claudian date. However, Wilson was primarily focused on the theater's extant remains and did not discuss the possibility of an Augustan double portico. This Augustan phase did include a proposal for a staircase to the top of the *summa cavea*.⁵⁹ These staircases did not just connect the *cavea* to *summa cavea*, but extended to the top of the *summa cavea*, suggesting that the staircase may have been intended to provide access not only to the *summa cavea*, but also to the area above the theater that may have included the double portico.

The possibility of an Augustan double portico has since been supported by Venuti's recent work on the theater's brickwork. She pointed out that there were at least two phases in the brickwork of the double portico and placed the brickwork of the interior wall and eight entrances (which opened into the double portico) to this earlier Augustan phase.⁶⁰ As she has since dated this brick style to the first century BC,⁶¹ an Augustan date is even more likely, with a slight preference for a late first-century BC date. Thus, the new *terminus ante quem* for the temple's construction and destruction belongs in the late first-century BC Augustan period.⁶²

It is tempting to attribute the temple's destruction to the Augustan colonization and see that as the end of the cult and abandonment of the sanctuary or at the very least a period of significant cult change. However, it should be noted that it says little about the rest of the sanctuary. That the temple was not incorporated into the double portico⁶³ could suggest that the sanctuary cult had been in decline or out of use when it was destroyed. On the other hand, the "Sanctuary of Apollo Temenite" showed through its repeated relocations that a sanctuary could be moved to accommodate expansions of a theater (Chapter 2.2). Without further excavation of the area surrounding the temple, answers to these questions are beyond recovery.

⁵⁹ Wilson 1990, 75.

⁶⁰ Venuti 2015, 39-40, 45-8. The brick style has since been dated to the first century BC (Venuti 2019, 260), and thus, in this context, is presumably early Augustan.

⁶¹ Venuti 2019, 260.

⁶² This early date appears to be also favored by Campagna 2018a, 292, "in un momento non precisabile agli inizi dell'età imperial, il teatro ellenistico conosce una ristrutturazione monumentale, che comporta, tra l'altro, l'obliterazione del tempio ellenistico alle spalle della *summa cavea*" with reference to forthcoming publications. Published versions of both articles do not discuss this in detail, but it may be based upon similar grounds (Campagna and Venuti 2018; Venuti 2019).

⁶³ For temples incorporated into theater porticos, see The Temple of Venus at the Theater of Pompey (Hanson 1959, 43-55, figs. 16-9; Sear 1996, 134-5) and the Temple of Ceres at the theater at Leptis Magna (Caputo 1987, especially 61-70).

6.3.2 Cult Attribution

A possible cult attribution could suggest that the disuse and ultimate destruction of the temple *in summa cavea* may have been associated with a wider cult change and not strictly the Augustan colonization. To date, only Spigo has proposed a cult, suggesting Dionysus due to his close connection with theater.⁶⁴ While his sanctuaries were frequently found at or near theaters in Greece, a Sicilian context is more suggestive of Demeter and Kore. In contrast to Greece, there is limited evidence for the presence of sanctuaries of Dionysus at theaters. Instead, sanctuaries at theaters are more often associated with Demeter and Kore.⁶⁵

An unidentified structure built onto the side of the temple's foundation may support a chthonic identification for the temple's cult. The semi-circular structure, measuring 102 x 80 cm, was identified as a tub ["vaschetta"] in the 1880 preliminary report.⁶⁶ Fiorelli stated that it dated to Antiquity and suggested that the unusual semi-circular shape was caused when it was cut during the construction of a Byzantine tomb built atop the temple's foundation. No further information was given, and the feature has not been discussed since.



Fig. 11 - Tauromenium, Temple *in summa cavea*. Semi-circular structure (well-altar?) built onto the northern crepidoma, seen from the northeast (photo by author).

The temple and feature's poor state of preservation makes analysis difficult. Fiorelli's brief description was only supplemented with a single sketch (fig. 9). Now, nearly one-hundred and fifty years after its excavation, much of the remains in the sketched plan are no longer extant, including any evidence of the Byzantine tomb, or any temple remains immediately around the

⁶⁴ Spigo 2005, 361.

⁶⁵ Polacco 1982, 440-1; Mitens 1988, 21. For more discussion on this, see also: Chapter 7.1.2

⁶⁶ Fiorelli 1880, 35.

structure. The structure today is lined with mortar. This could be waterproofing supporting the structure's identification as a tub. However, the structure appears to have extended to the ground and would seemingly have been unable to hold water. The mortar may also have been used to repair and maintain the damaged structure. Similar mortar has also been used to repair and maintain fragile or damaged altars, such as Altar 6 at the Central Sanctuary (Chapter 5.1.1).



Fig. 12 - Morgantina, Central Sanctuary. Altar 1 with a semi-circular extension (photo by author); Fig. 13 - Morgantina, Sanctuary at Contrada San Francesco Bisconti. Semi-circular well-altar (Greco 2015, 38 fig. 5).

Fiorelli's identification of the tub came before the temple was identified.⁶⁷ The feature's sacred context could suggest an alternate identification and would explain its shape and construction against the temple. It may have been a well-altar. Although they were usually circular, some examples of semi-circular well-altars are known and found when constructed against other structures. Two examples (figs. 12-13) are found in Morgantina. Altar 1 at the Central Sanctuary has a simple semi-circular arrangement of stones built onto its surrounding wall; this may have functioned as an extension of the central well-altar (Chapter 5.1.1). The semi-circular form is also seen at a well-altar at the sanctuary at contrada San Francesco Bisconti and built against a terrace in the sanctuary.⁶⁸

6.3.3 Conclusion

The destruction of the temple by the theater's expansion in the late first-century BC Augustan period, shows that the religious impact of the city's colonization likely extended beyond the agora to other public areas. The extent to which this caused the temple disuse, and whether the

⁶⁷ It was first given a sacred identification by Rizzo 1927, 338-9, who had interpreted the temple as an altar.

⁶⁸ It is uncertain whether the terrace or altar was built first. On this sanctuary and altar, see Greco 2015, 38-9. Another example can be found at the Sanctuary of the Chthonic Deities in Agrigentum (Marconi 1933, 23; Pancucci 1979, 1673; Vanaria 1992, 11; Zoppi 2001, 39-40; Distefano 2017, 161).

sanctuary itself was similarly impacted remains unclear. A plausible attribution to Demeter and Kore could suggest that a combination of factors was at play that led to the temple's eventual abandonment and destruction by the double portico.

6.4 The Temple of Isis and Serapis (Chiesa di San Pancrazio) (fig. 1.4)



Fig. 14 - Tauromenium, Residential area north of the agora. (di Giacomo 2018, 65 edited by author).

1 - Temple of Isis and Serapis (Chiesa di San Pancrazio); 2 - Villa Eden “Byzantine Baths”; 3 - Imperial Domus

The Temple of Isis and Serapis lay two hundred meters north of the agora in a Hellenistic and Imperial residential area, which was most likely inside the city walls.⁶⁹ The temple was converted into a church by the sixth century AD, and only the partial remains of the *cella* now survive, incorporated into the seventeenth-century Chiesa di San Pancrazio.⁷⁰ The temple was probably distyle *in antis* and measured 14 x 9 m.⁷¹

Excavations in the vicinity of the church were undertaken in the 1860s. No other architectural features were uncovered, but two inscriptions and a statue were found. Further excavation was

⁶⁹ Campagna 2018a, 289. On the Hellenistic housing at the Villa Eden (“Byzantine Baths”), see Campagna 2018a, 290. On the early Imperial construction of a domus at the gate of Porta Pasquale, see Spigo 2004, 401. On the construction of one, possibly two *domi* nearby at the Villa San Pancrazio, see Campagna 2018a, 292.

⁷⁰ On the incorporation of the temple into the church, see Fuduli 2010; Fuduli 2015b; Muscolino *et al.* 2014.

⁷¹ On the size of the temple, see Bacci and Rizzo 1993-4b, 949-50; for more on the architectural remains, see Fuduli 2015b, 945-46; Wolf 2016, 27-31; Wolf 2017, 189-94.

conducted in 1990 during works on the sacristy.⁷² These uncovered the part of the northern *cella* wall and the temple's crepidoma down to the foundation. The temple has been conventionally dated to the Hellenistic period with dates ranging from the third to second century BC.⁷³ Wilson supported the temple's conventional Hellenistic date but pointed out the plausibility of a later Augustan or Julio-Claudian date due to a lack of any secure chronological indicators.⁷⁴ The temple's date has typically relied upon the problematic dating of an inscription found nearby in the 1860s, and although the excavations of 1990 uncovered part of the temple's foundation, they did not provide additional evidence to date the temple.



Fig. 15 - Taormenium, Temple of Isis and Serapis. *Cella* wall incorporated the Chiesa di San Pancrazio, seen from the southwest (photo by author).

Reassessment of the inscription and the cult of Isis and Serapis' introduction into Sicily instead shows that the temple was probably built during the Republican period, but certainly no earlier than the second century BC. The previously mentioned inscription is the earliest

⁷² Bacci 1993-1994, 949-50.

⁷³ Hellenistic: Koldewey and Puchstein 1899, 185-6; Santangelo 1950, 61-2; Sfameni Gasparro 1973, 223 no. 191; Wilson 1990, 105. Hieronian: Wolf 2016, 32; Wolf 2017, 189-92. Late-third century: Fuduli 2015b 947. Late third to early second century BC: Lentini 2005, 327; Sfameni Gasparro 2006, 265 ("ipotizzare una cronologia alta"). Second century: *BTCGI* XX, 61. A Classical date was tentatively proposed by Fuduli 2015a, 322. due to the possible inclusion of an *adyton* (the use of which is otherwise unknown in Hellenistic Sicily). However, this appears unlikely. The identification of an *adyton* is admittedly uncertain and *adyta* are found in Hellenistic temples elsewhere and not a secure chronological metric (Chapter 2.4.2). Furthermore, the temple's attribution to Isis and Serapis which, at the earliest, arrived in Sicily in the Hieronian period and more likely in the second half of the second century BC (Chapters 6.4.1; 7.3).

⁷⁴ Wilson 1990, 372 no. 302.

evidence of sacred activity at the site.⁷⁵ Made of limestone and measuring 68 x 40 cm, it was originally displayed on an altar base and recounts the dedication of the altar to Hestia at the Temple of Serapis by the *neokoros* Karneades from Barce in Cyrenaica.⁷⁶



Fig. 16 - Taormenium, Temple of Isis and Serapis. Northern crepidoma and *cella* wall uncovered during the excavation of 1990 (Bacci 1993-4 tab. 89 fig. 1).

6.4.1 Chronology and Foundation of the Sanctuary of Isis and Serapis

Like the temple, a Hellenistic, or third to second-century date is generally followed for the inscription.⁷⁷ Manganaro proposed a Hieronian date based upon his argument in favor of an introduction of the cult of Isis and Serapis during the period of close political contacts between Hieron and the Ptolemies.⁷⁸ However, there is little evidence to place the introduction of the public cult under Hieron, and a more recent proposal for the late third or early second century BC has also been doubted. Instead, a later mid second-century BC date for the cult's introduction now appears more likely (Chapter 7.3).

⁷⁵ On the inscription's discovery, see Camarda 1862.

⁷⁶ Manganaro 1961, 178.

⁷⁷ *RICIS* no. 518/0301; Manganaro 1961, 177, 179; Vidman 1969, 237 no. 513; Malaise 1972a, 323 no. 2; Sfameni Gasparro 1973, 223 no. 192; Sfameni Gasparro 2006, 265; Wilson 1990, 299; Kunz 2006, 84 fn. 658. A more precise late third to early second century BC is given by: Sfameni Gasparro 1973, 104; Sfameni Gasparro 2000, 38-39; Muscolino 2013, 233. Lentini 2005, 327; *BTCGI* XX, 42-112 give a second-century date.

⁷⁸ Manganaro 1961, 179-80.

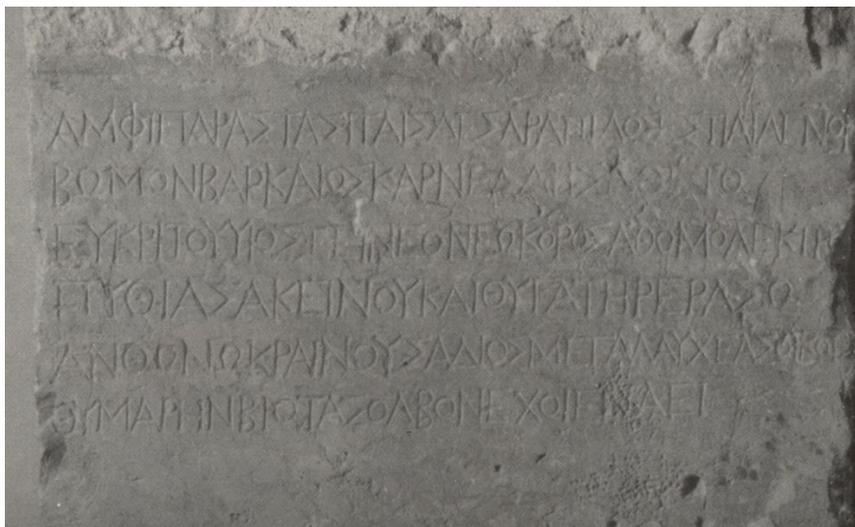


Fig. 17. - Tauromenium, Temple of Isis and Serapis. A dedication by Karneades of Barca (Manganaro 1961 tab. 2, fig. 2).

*ἀμφὶ παραστάσι ταῖσδε Σαράπιδος Ἔστιαί ἀγνὸν / βωμὸν Βαρκαῖος Καρνεάδης
ἔθετο / Εὐκρίτου υἱός, ξεῖνε, ὁ νεωκόρος ἅ θ' ὁμόλεκτρος / Πυθιάς ἁ κείνου καὶ
θυγάτηρ Ἐρασώ / ἀνθ' ὧν, ᾧ κραίνουσα Διὸς μεγαλαυχέας οἴκους / θυμαρὴν
βιοτᾶς ὄλβον ἔχοιεν αἰί (IG XIV 433; ISic 1258).*

Beside these walls of Serapis, the warden of the temple Karneades of Barce, son of Eucrite, o foreigner, and his spouse Pythias and his daughter Eras placed to Hestia a pure altar, as a reward for this, o you that governs the marvelous dwellings of Zeus, grant to them a lovely auspiciousness of life.⁷⁹

The chronology of the temple and inscription are an integral part of debates regarding the cult's introduction in Sicily, and any argument based solely upon this debate risks circular reasoning. Instead, internal elements will first be examined. Despite the frequent citation of a Hellenistic or third to second-century date by modern scholars, there is no clear evidence for a date as early as the third century BC, and no argument has ever been given in support of it. The conventional date first appeared in 1961. Manganaro cites the nineteenth-century antiquarians Rischl and Kaibel and states that it is based upon epigraphic characteristics and internal elements [“carateri epigrafici e... elementi interni”].⁸⁰

Paleography is not a reliable chronological indicator, and the inscription's date could be challenged on these grounds alone.⁸¹ However, neither author dates the inscription, nor do they suggest a third-century BC possibility. Instead, both provide general pre-Augustan dates without argument, referencing Cavedoni.⁸² Cavedoni supplies the only argument for the

⁷⁹ Translation from the Antiquarium at Taormina.

⁸⁰ Manganaro 1961, 177, 177 fn. 12, 179.

⁸¹ On the issue, see McLean 2002, 40-1.

⁸² Ritschl 1866, 140-2; Kaibel 1878, 824a.

inscription, and it is upon this that the conventional date appears to rest. He gives a date from the second to first century BC based upon the beautiful and regular [“più bella e regolare”] form of the letters, as well as a comparison to similar content of another inscription from Tauromenium, also dated from the second to first centuries BC, mentioning Serapis (*IG XIV 430; ISic 1255*).⁸³ Thus, no third-century BC date has ever been given, and Manganaro’s third century BC possibility rests upon a dubious and otherwise unsupported Hieronian introduction of the public cult in the third century BC.

The content of the inscription also supports a later date for the inscription, sanctuary, and temple in line with the mid-late second century BC introduction of the cult of Isis and Serapis into Sicily. “Syncretism” between Isis and various local deities was especially prevalent during the introduction of the cult into new territories, and the goddess Hestia mentioned in the inscription is a common source of this “syncretism”.⁸⁴ Thus, the “syncretism” suggests a date soon after the cult’s introduction.

When foreign cults were first introduced, foreigners often made up a significant portion of cult officials,⁸⁵ and the spread of Isis and Serapis was strongly connected with traders and sailors.⁸⁶ Karneades is represented in the inscription as a foreigner from Barce in Cyrenaica. Cyrenaica played a particularly important role in the diffusion of the cult of Isis and Serapis through the Mediterranean.⁸⁷ This inscription is the only known attestation of the name Karneades in Sicily, and this name is, as would be expected, commonly found in Cyrenaica.⁸⁸ The names of his father and wife are interestingly not found either in Sicily or Cyrenaica but, instead, are frequently found in the Aegean islands.⁸⁹ This suggests that Karneades had widely traveled throughout the Mediterranean before his arrival in Sicily, possibly as a sailor or merchant.

Importantly the cultural ties between Cyrenaica and Sicily support the later date for the inscription. Despite evidence for significant political and economic ties between Sicily and Egypt during the Hieronian period, similar evidence for ties between Cyrenaica and Sicily at

⁸³ Cavedoni 1863, 109-10.

⁸⁴ Manganaro 1961, 180. Supported by Sfameni Gasparro 1973, 75; Sfameni Gasparro 2000, 39; Fuduli 2015b, 947.

⁸⁵ Sfameni Gasparro 1973, 74; Ensoli 2005.

⁸⁶ Bommas 2012, 428-9.

⁸⁷ Sfameni Gasparro 1995, 265.

⁸⁸ This inscription is absent from *LGPN IIIA*, 237. For occurrences of Karneades in Cyrenaica, see Manganaro 1961, 179; *LGPN I*, 252.

⁸⁹ Eucrite (father) at Cyrenaica: *LGPN I* 179; Pythias (wife) in Crete and the Aegean: *LGPN I* 392. These names occur frequently from the third to second century BC.

that time are extremely limited. Indeed, this limited evidence only begins to appear after the mid-second century BC as Roman influence expanded eastward.⁹⁰ Furthermore, the limited evidence is suggestive primarily of indirect ties through Carthage and Italy (where contacts with Cyrenaica were far stronger).⁹¹

Hitherto, no evidence has been given in support of a third-century BC date for the inscription, temple, or sanctuary. The inscription's content and the expansion of Cyrenaican trade contacts beginning in the mid-second century BC instead suggest that Cavedoni's date for the inscription could be narrowed down to a pre-Augustan, second half of the second century to first century BC date. It seems likely that the sanctuary's foundation and the temple date to this same period, during the cult's introduction into Sicily. However, a more detailed paleographical analysis of the inscription is needed as well as further excavation and publication of the temple and its *temenos*.

6.4.2 Continuity

Activity and continuity after the foundation of the sanctuary and construction of the altar and temple, most likely sometime from the second half of the second century or first century BC, cannot be assessed until the Empire. While it has been suggested that the temple was restored or renovated in the first century BC,⁹² there is no evidence to support this, and such a restoration would be unusual so soon after the sanctuary's foundation.

It is unclear how the sanctuary fared during the turbulent period of the civil wars, which saw a break in continuity at other sanctuaries. The sanctuary continued to be used well into the Imperial period, possibly as late as the sixth century AD, when it was first converted into a church.⁹³ The continued Imperial cult life is attested to by a Latin inscription and statue (figs. 18-19), both found in 1867. The small marble inscription (the first to the second centuries AD), measures 11 x 23 cm, was put up by a Caius Ennius Secundus and reads: *SERAPI ISI SACRVM / C(aius) ENNIVS SECVNDVS / VOTVM A(nimo) P(io)* (CIL X 2.6989; ISic 0048).⁹⁴ The

⁹⁰ Frey-Kupper 2016a.

⁹¹ Frey-Kupper 2016a. Notes that Cyrenaican coinage only appears beginning in the second century BC as the island came fully under Roman control none of which comes from contexts datable before the mid-second century BC. However, she notes a general paucity of Cyrenaican evidence and suggests that contacts may have gone first through Rome and Carthage where the coinage is far more prevalent. On the circulation of Cyrenaica coinage in Rome, see Barbato 2016.

⁹² Spigo 2005, 361; Kunz 2006, 203-4.

⁹³ Fuduli 2012, 124-7; Sfameni Gasparro 2015b, 948-9.

⁹⁴ Manganaro 1961, 177; Bivona 1970, no. 49; Sfameni Gasparro 1973, 224 no. 193; Sfameni Gasparro 2000, 39; Muscolino 2014.

marble statue, 1.37 m tall, depicts a young priestess of the cult holding a *situla* in her left hand, dates to the second century AD, possibly late Antonine period.⁹⁵



Fig. 18 - Tauromenium, Temple of Isis and Serapis. A Latin dedication by Caius Ennius Secundus (Bivona 1970 tab. 32 no. 49); fig. 18 - Tauromenium, Temple of Isis and Serapis. Marble statue of a young priestess (Lentini 2005 328, fig. 18).

6.4.3 Conclusion

Despite significant chronological uncertainties, the sanctuary of Isis and Serapis provides Tauromenium's clearest evidence of religious continuity from the Republican to Imperial periods and through the expulsion of the city's citizens and subsequent colonization. Likely founded in the second half of the second century BC, the sanctuary, with at least one temple and an altar, was used well into the Empire. This continuity may have been at least partly connected to its location in a residential neighborhood, outside of the political heart of the city. However, it may have also been connected to the cult's foreign and non-Sicilian elements. These elements would have been important in bridging the religious interests of pre- and post-

⁹⁵ Bonacasa 1964, 100, 128; Sfameni Gasparro 1973, 225-6 no. 195; Murer 2017, 200-1. "statua di marmo con lunga veste annodata sul petto e mantello frangiato. La mano destra è rotta; la sinistra regge un vasetto, dal cui coperchio, un po' sollevato, si mostra un serpente".

colonial populations. The inscription by Karneades shows the introduction of the cult by eastern Greeks with the “syncretized” Hestia targeting the local cults. However, after colonization, the continued interest is seen through a Roman, and possible descendant of the colonists, Caius Ennius Secundus. The cult’s ability to appeal to both groups may explain its continuity.

6.5 Tauromenium: Conclusions

Little can be said of other sanctuaries in Tauromenium. The financial inscriptions of the second to first century BC refer to sanctuaries of Zeus and Dionysus (*IG XIV 428*; *ISic 1253*). The Peristyle Temple has been connected to both cults without significant evidence (Chapter 6.1). A temple to Zeus may have existed at what is now the site of the Chiesa dei Santi Pietro e Paolo (formerly S. Pietro Fuori le Mura).⁹⁶ A bearded marble bust was found in the vicinity and dated to the Imperial period.⁹⁷ This could suggest the temple’s deity and a possible late phase. However, the bust’s archaeological context is unknown, and it is now lost, only evidenced in a single poor-quality photograph.⁹⁸

Although in the past, there has been a lack of clearly datable large-scale construction in the second and first half of the first centuries BC, with the majority of works being renovations and minor additions (Chapter 6 Introduction), significant works associated with the sacred landscape appear to have continued beyond the Hieronian period and only the Peristyle Temple can be securely placed in the Hieronian period (Chapter 6.4). The Temple of Isis and Serapis almost certainly belongs alongside the cult’s widespread introduction into Sicily around the mid-second century BC (Chapters 6.4.1; 7.3). The temple *in summa cavea* cannot be precisely dated, but there is no reason to assume it must be as early as the third century BC (Chapter 6.3.1). The continuity of temple construction from the third to second century BC supports the epigraphic and archaeological evidence, which indicates that the Republican period was one of political and social continuity with only gradual changes. It is likely that the preferential treatment and status of *civitas foederata* the city received for siding with the Romans against the Kingdom of Syracuse was at least partly responsible for this continuity with little distinction between Hieronian and Roman periods.

⁹⁶ Wilson 1990, 372.

⁹⁷ Santangelo 1950, 130.

⁹⁸ The bust was held in the Metropole Hotel in Taormina and was stolen while the hotel was closed from 1971-2010. Special thanks to the staff of the reopened Metropole Hotel for their assistance in my search for the bust.

A clear break in continuity is only clearly visible in the Augustan period, closely connected to the city's capture, punishment, and colonization during the Civil Wars. This can be seen in the reshaping of the agora to suit the needs of the new colonists. Access to the Peristyle Temple was restricted, likely resulting in the disuse of the entire sanctuary. A monumental construction, likely a temple, was built on the opposing side of the agora from the then-defunct Peristyle Temple. The new temple was in symmetry with its alignment, similar width, and likely similar height. This is suggestive of a degree of continuity and interaction between the cult sites of the pre- and post-colonization periods. This may have been tied to the desire for the Roman colonists to attach themselves to monuments of significant local religious and political importance, while at the same time placing their stamp on the religious landscape. These changes can also be felt at the theater, where the destruction of the temple *in summa cavea* suggests that such religious changes extended beyond the city's political heart to other public districts (Chapter 6.3). However, the state of evidence prevents a direct or secure connection to the Augustan colonization. On the other hand, a possible attribution to Demeter and Kore could suggest that this change was at least partially influenced by wider religious changes associated with the cult at that time (Chapter 7.3).

Continuity with the city's Hellenistic sacred landscape through the Augustan period can be best seen at the Temple of Isis and Serapis. While the scarce archaeological evidence makes it impossible to thoroughly assess change within the sanctuary, the recovery of statuary and sporadic finds clearly indicates that the sanctuary had, unlike the others, remained in use without a clear break in continuity until the late Empire (Chapter 6.4.1). That this continuity was connected with a new foreign cult with widespread appeal to both local Greeks and foreigners is unlikely to be a coincidence as Tauromenium's demographics changed as it transitioned from Republican *civitas foederati* to colony.

Chapter Seven: Key Aspects of Change

Thus far, the thesis (Chapters 2-6) has conducted site by site analysis focused on the assessment of chronologies, cult attributions, and the examination of change and continuity within their local (urban and rural) archaeological contexts. The following chapter expands upon especially noteworthy aspects first observed in previous chapters, examining them on a thematic basis and incorporating additional archaeological, epigraphic, and literary evidence. The first sub-chapter looks at topographical change and the extent to which the location of cult sites within the urban and rural landscape permits a better understanding of religious and cultural change (Chapter 7.1). Following this, key changes with the cults of Demeter and Kore and Isis and Serapis are explored, covering both an apparent “decline” of Demeter and Kore (Chapter 7.2) and the introduction of Isis and Serapis (Chapter 7.3). The use of *thesauri*, offertory boxes, is then covered, identifying them as a new, particularly Romano-Italic practice that arrived after the Roman conquest (Chapter 7.4).

7.1 Topographical Analysis

7.1.1 Agora

The evolution of Sicilian agoras under Roman rule has received an increasing amount of attention in recent years,¹ and a general process of what has been termed “forumization”² has been noted with the expansion and embellishment of existing agoras; this saw the construction of new cult buildings and increasing separation between those spaces associated with civic and cult functions and those with commercial functions.³ This evolution also included the adoption of certain building types such as the Italic podium temple as well as the introduction of the Imperial cult.⁴

These studies have been focused on the more thoroughly excavated and published agoras in Northern and Western Sicily. Aside from the agora at Morgantina, those in southeastern Sicily have rarely received adequate attention and remain poorly understood. More cautious

¹ See Wilson 2012 for a recent examination of Sicilian agoras of the Roman period with earlier bibliography and Wilson 1990, 46-57 with some earlier comments as well as Wolf 2014, 49-59 primarily focused on the Hellenistic, and especially Hieronian, period. On *bouleuteria*, see Iannello 1994; Isler 2003.

² Clear differences between agoras and fora have generally proven to be elusive (Dickenson 2017a, 33-4). The term agora will be used in favor of forum except in cases where the term forum is generally used in scholarship and both will be treated as largely similar public spaces for the purposes of this chapter.

³ Pfuntner 2019, 192.

⁴ Belvedere 2012, 212. For more on the use of the Italic style podium temple in Sicily, see Wilson 1990, 105-6; Fuduli 2015a, 324-6.

examinations of Sicilian agoras have noted the difficulty of drawing generalizations from them as the evidence is so varied.⁵ Key differences are apparent, however, between the public spaces of southeastern Sicily and those of Northern and Western Sicily. Those of southeastern Sicily were largely monumentalized along with their associated temples and sanctuaries during Hieron's reign in the third century BC while the agoras of Northern and Western Sicily instead saw a phase of monumentalization during the second century BC, especially the second half of the century, which saw the construction of temples and sanctuaries.⁶

Probable agoras with cult sites have been identified and discussed in the thesis at Syracuse, Tauromenium, and Morgantina.⁷ The second century and the first half of the first century BC appear to be characterized by religious continuity, with significant changes largely coming in the immediate aftermath of the Second Punic War.⁸ However, the evidence for this period is scarce beyond Morgantina. Following Morgantina's post-211 BC contraction to the area immediately around the agora and Hispani colonization, its agora saw the repair, expansion, and maintenance of older cult sites along with the construction of two new cult sites: this process began to fill in the agora and reduce available open spaces. The Central Sanctuary was significantly expanded, doubling the size of the sanctuary (Chapter 5.1; fig. 2.1). The Theater Temenos Sanctuary was built *ex novo* c. 175 BC over the ruins of the west granary and filling what appears to have been largely open space between the Theater, Central Sanctuary, and West granary (Chapter 5.5; fig. 2.5). The northern area of the agora may have remained largely open,⁹ and a small shrine, the Shrine on Plataea A, was built onto the west end of the North Stoa in the second century BC (Chapter 5.6; fig. 2.6).

Some notable changes can be observed after this initial period. Much of the Macellum Sanctuary, in use since the second half of the fourth century BC, was leveled and went out of

⁵ Wilson 2012, 260.

⁶ Campagna 2011b; Prag 2014, 179-80. There is little evidence of earlier cult sites within the agoras outside of southeastern Sicily. A possible shrine was destroyed and overbuilt at the agora in Segesta during its monumentalization in the second half of the second century BC (Ampolo and Parra 2004, 412; Ampolo and Parra 2012, 277). Other earlier cult sites can be found at Ietas and Agrigentum. However, these agoras were largely monumentalized before the Roman conquest. On Ietas and the early fifth-century Oikos Temple which was leveled and rebuilt during when the agora was paved in the early third century BC, see Isler 2012, 232-3 with earlier bibliography and most recently Mohr and Reusser 2016, 65-6; Mohr, Perifanakis, and Reusser 2017, 950. Also see a possible shrine overbuilt by the *bouleuterion*-stoa-temple c. 130 BC (Isler 1984, 12; Isler 1985, 48; Isler 2012, 233). Two sanctuaries from the "upper agora" of Agrigentum will be discussed in greater detail below.

⁷ The identification of agoras within is not always secure, especially at Syracuse where the state of evidence and publication makes secure identification especially difficult. Identification of these agoras, when in doubt, are discussed within the thesis (Chapter 2.4, 2.7-2.8.2) and will also be discussed in further detail below.

⁸ On the sanctuaries of Syracuse and Tauromenium, see below.

⁹ A trial trench southwest of the *macellum* uncovered evidence that the area was resurfaced in the second half of the second century BC (Walthall, Souza, Benton and Huemoeller 2013, 6-7).

use for the construction of the new *macellum* atop it, c. 130 BC (Chapter 5.2). Interestingly, Altar I was left intact and reused in a small shrine incorporated into the western side of the *macellum* which opened to the west, outside the *macellum*, and into what appears to have been another large open area of the agora. The area of the sanctuary which was not overbuilt by or incorporated within the *macellum* remained intact but out of use. This notably included two altars and a *naiskos* just to the south, which was walled up when the *macellum* was constructed.

Cult Site	Cult	From	To
Central Sanctuary (Chapter 5.1)	Demeter and Kore	Fifth century BC	Mid-first century BC
Macellum Sanctuary and Central Shrine (Chapter 5.2)	Pluto, Demeter and Kore	Second half of the fourth century BC	Mid-first century BC (significant reworking and downsizing c. 130 BC)
Chthonic Shrine, Morgantina Agora (Chapter 5.4)	Chthonic, Demeter and Kore?	Late first century BC	Mid-first century AD
Theater Temenos Sanctuary (Chapter 5.5)	Unknown, Hercules?	c. 175 BC	Mid to late first century BC, possibly later?
Shrine at Plataea A, (Chapter 5.6)	Unknown, Goddess?	Second century BC	Mid-first century AD

Fig. 1 - Cult sites at Morgantina's Agora.

Following this period of what may have been relative continuity and gradual change within the agoras of southeastern Sicily, a clear and sharp period of change and disruption occurs in all of the agoras beginning in the late first century BC. Understanding these changes within their local and regional archaeological contexts is problematic as a result of the general issues discussed above, namely a paucity of evidence and a lack of scholarly attention. These cult sites, especially at Syracuse, provide almost all the information on the early Imperial phases of their respective agoras. However, this period of change and rupture does not appear to have been similar to what is seen during the Republican period, but rather it fundamentally altered the sacred landscape of the agora.

The Archaic sanctuary at via Bengasi on the southern end of Syracuse's primary Hellenistic agora went out of use sometime in the first century BC and was leveled and paved over during the late first century BC (Chapter 2.7; fig. 3.1, 7). Hitherto, any changes within the agora during

the Augustan period were unknown. However, the destruction and pavement of this sanctuary, which lay between the agora and coast, may indicate a significant restructuring of the agora during the Augustan period, one which prioritized the creation of additional open space and the framing of a sea view above the preservation of one of the city's oldest sanctuaries (Chapter 2.7.1).

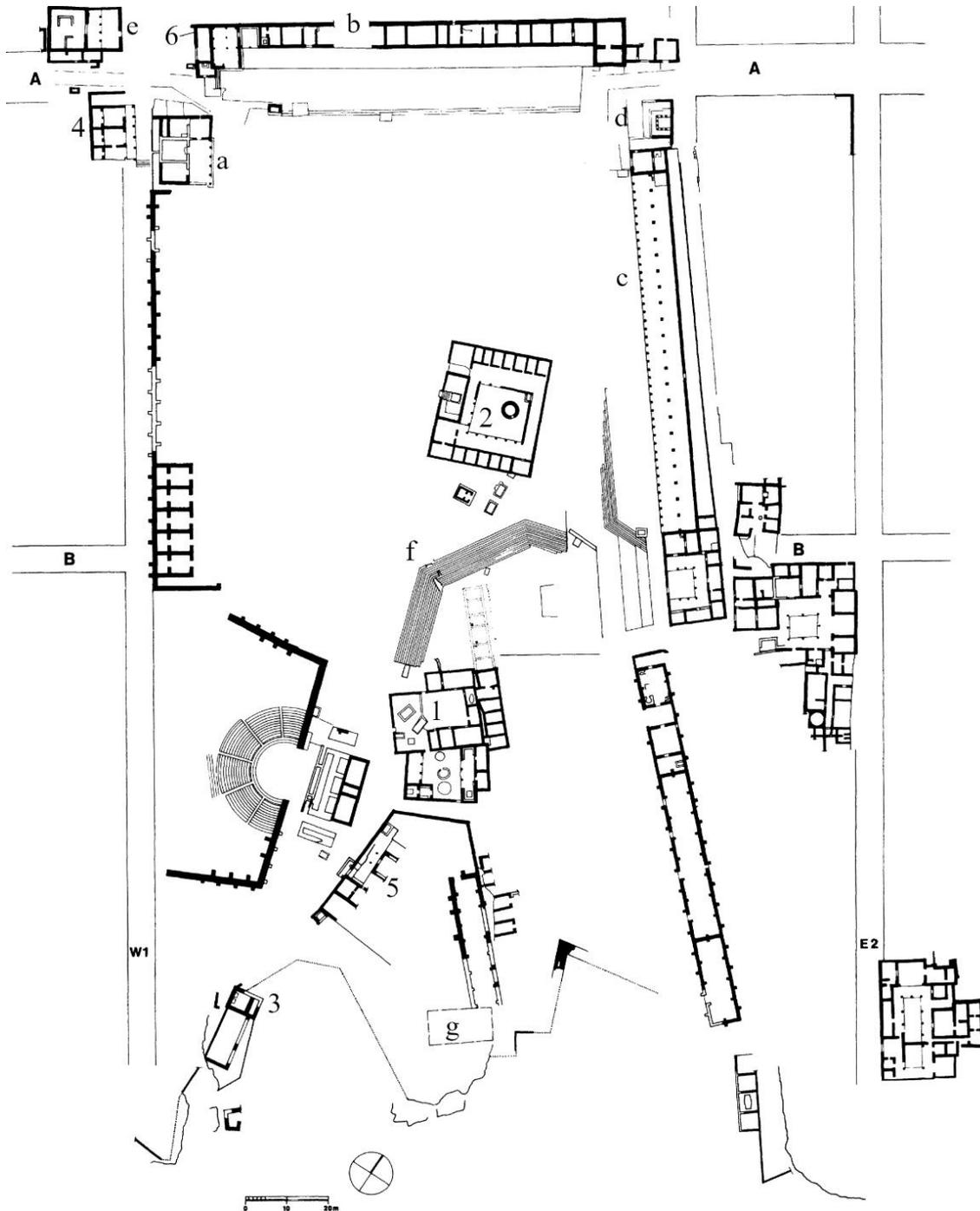


Fig. 2 - Morgantina. Agora (Bell 1988, 315, fig. 1 edited by author).

1. "Central Sanctuary" 2. "Macellum Sanctuary" and "Central Shrine" 3. "Watchtower Shrine"
4. "Chthonic Shrine" 5. "Theater Temenos Sanctuary" 6. "Shrine at Plataea A".

A similar reworking that significantly impacted earlier cult sites of the agora can be found on Ortygia at Piazza Duomo in the area of what is believed to have been the city's Archaic agora. The sanctuary here, which had also been in use since the earliest days of the city in the late seventh century BC, also underwent a dramatic transformation in the late first century BC (Chapter 2.8.1; fig. 7). Unlike the Sanctuary at via Bengasi, this sanctuary was significantly larger and more monumental with two large Peristyle temples, the "Artemision" and "Athenaion", and its destruction was only partial. The older late sixth- to early fifth-century BC Artemision was completely leveled to the foundation and not overbuilt, while the newer fifth-century BC "Athenaion" was left intact.

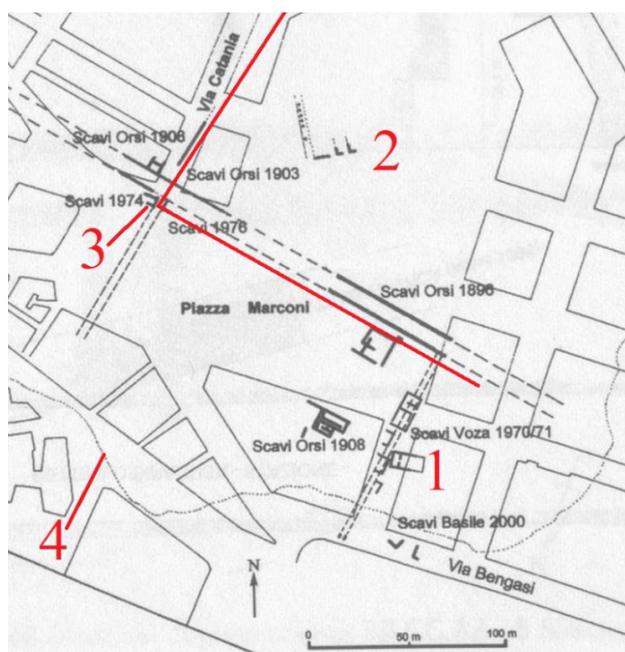


Fig. 3 - Syracuse, "Foro Siracusano". Site plan of the agora with conventional southern and western edges of the agora marked (Basile 2009, 741 fig. 4, edited by author).

1. Sanctuary at Via Bengasi; 2. Stoa remains, Foro Siracusano (Agora); 3. Hieronian temple?; 4. Approximate location of the ancient coastline.

The extent to which any activity at the Sanctuary at Piazza Duomo from the Roman conquest to the late first century BC was indicative of an active cult site remains unclear. While the site may have continued to hold some sacred significance, the restriction of all or most of the local Syracusan population from Ortygia must have had a significant impact, and its functions as a "museum", an often overlooked function shared by many ancient temples,¹⁰ for the storage and display of historical relics may have taken on increasing importance (Chapter 2.8). Whatever function the sanctuary held during the Republican period, it appears to have gone out of use by

¹⁰ On the function of temples as a museum, see Chapter 2.8.2.

the time of the destruction of the “Artemision” in the late first century BC, despite the preservation of the “Athenaion” (Chapter 2.8.1.1).

The leveling of the Sanctuary at via Bengasi and the Artemision can be interpreted as efforts to “open up” their respective agoras. The preservation of the “Athenaion” shows that this process was more complex than the complete destruction of older sites, and both aesthetic and historical aspects appear to have been taken into consideration. Although the “Artemision” was older than the “Athenaion” and equally monumental with a similar peristyle, the “Artemision” does was never fully completed (Chapter 2.8.1.1). The preservation of the less historical but complete “Athenaion”, together with the complete destruction of the sanctuary at via Bengasi to open up a sea view, points to the value put on the aesthetics over purely historical or possibly even religious considerations for the preservation of defunct cult buildings.

The later function of select defunct but preserved temples as “monuments”,¹¹ which continued to play an important role within the monumental landscape of the Roman agora, becomes clearer through the Peristyle Temple found along the northwestern border of the upper agora at Tauromenium. This temple, which dates to the second half of the third century BC, went out of use in the late first century BC; here, the temple was also left intact, and a wall was constructed directly in front of the temple on its southeastern side as part of a larger reworking of the agora at that time (Chapter 6.1.1; fig. 4.2). This wall prevented access to the temple and separated it from the rest of its *temenos* and the agora (Chapter 6.1.1). Although the fate of any structures within the *temenos* is unknown, it is plausible that they were similarly leveled to open up the agora (Chapter 6.1.1).

The Peristyle Temple appears to have functioned as an important landmark within the Imperial agora. The temple was situated on the higher end of the sloping upper agora and, even with the wall built directly in front, it would have continued to dominate the upper agora visually. Indeed, at the same time in the late first-century BC, a terrace was constructed on the opposite southeastern end of the agora with a public building, possibly a temple built atop it in axial alignment with the then defunct Peristyle Temple. These two buildings faced each other from across the agora and would have appeared of similar size and height from the middle of

¹¹ The ways in which these religious “monuments” might have been viewed after they ceased to function as active religious sites is unclear. Discussion of memory in relation to Graeco-Roman religion has typically been approached from a Pagan vs non-Pagan dynamic where memory is associated with Classicism or a connection to the non-Pagan religious past. Comparable anthropological studies would suggest that they still likely treated as “sacred” even if they were no longer actively used as such (Bayliss 2004, 59 fn. 19 for bibliography). For more on the archaeology of memory and “monuments” including theoretical approaches, see Van Dyke 2019, with earlier bibliography.

the agora suggesting a spatial and possibly religious link between the two (Chapter 6.2; fig. 4.4). Later, an *odeum* was built next onto the Peristyle Temple, reusing the southwestern colonnade as the *scaenae frons* (fig. 2.3).

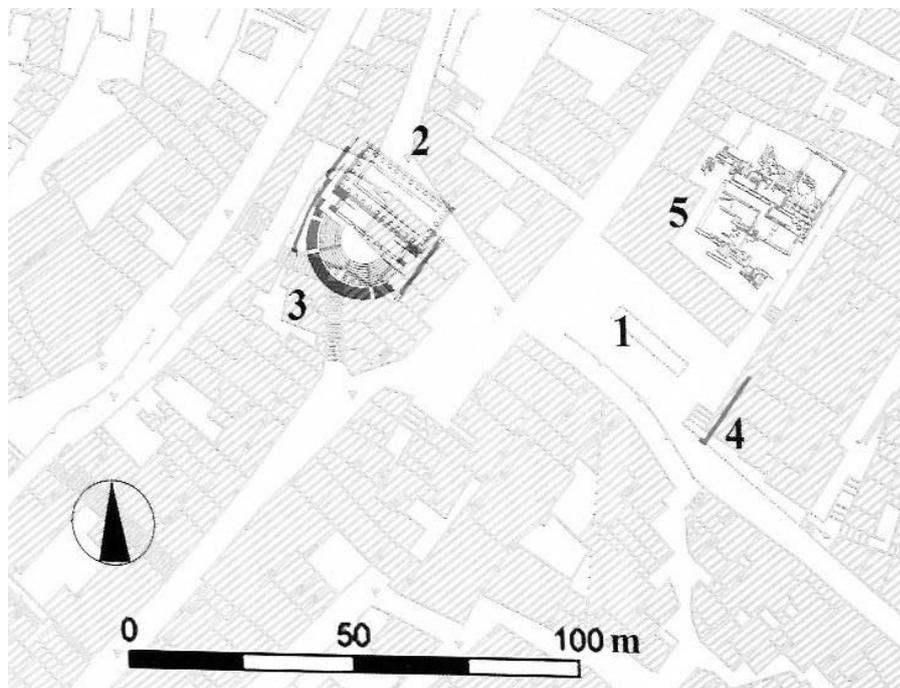


Fig. 4 - Tauromenium, Agora. (Campagna 2016, 256 fig. 14.2).

1. The upper agora (Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II); 2. The Peristyle Temple; 3. *Odeum*; 4. Wall “h”, the eastern terrace and boundary of the upper agora (temple?); 5. Hellenistic public building (later Augustan bath complex).

The break in religious continuity extended to another Hellenistic agora in Syracusae near Piazza Adda (Chapter 2.4.3). Here, the Tetrastyle Temple, likely dedicated to Dionysus and part of a larger sanctuary to Demeter and Kore, appears to have gone out of use in the late first century BC when it may have been closed (Chapter 2.4.2). Interestingly, the Tetrastyle Temple was later reopened and repurposed for an undetermined non-sacred function in the late first century or second century AD, which coincides with works on a small forum to the southeast (Chapter 2.4). However, unlike the other preserved temples, this did not take advantage of the temple’s appearance. The building was reoriented from east to west, a new opening was added on to the prostyle temple’s likely undecorated western wall, and the *intercolumnia* on the eastern side were closed. This process disguised the sacred nature of the temple and concealed its original religious function.

Morgantina provides a more complex picture that highlights potential influences on these religious breaks, as well as possible sources of continuity not evidenced in the other agoras. Three or possibly four of the five active sanctuaries in the agora of Roman Morgantina went

out of use in the mid to late first century BC (Chapter 5.7; fig. 1). However, Morgantina appears to have entered a state of terminal decline by the first century BC, during which time the agora may have begun to lose some of its civic and political functions. This decline culminated in the mid to late first-century BC destruction event and its final abandonment around the mid-first century AD (Chapter 5 Introduction). The evidence from Morgantina suggests that the mid to late first century BC break was strongly associated with the older, pre-Roman cult sites, which at Morgantina were primarily dedicated to Demeter and Kore, while continuity was seen at those built after the Roman conquest. This distinction is made even more clear by the adaptation of the central room of the Doric stoa into a new shrine in the late first century BC. The foundation of a new shrine instead of the repair and reuse of one of the older sanctuaries or shrines may have been connected to changes within the cult of Demeter and Kore during that period (Chapter 5.4).

Evidence from other agoras within southeastern Sicily is too limited to merit further discussion.¹² However, outside of the thesis' territory, the agora at Agrigentum, like those at Syracuse, Tauromenium, and Morgantina, was monumentalized before the Roman conquest. In Agrigentum, this phase of monumentalization occurred from the fourth to third centuries BC¹³ and presents a similar break in religious continuity at its pre-Roman sanctuaries. Two sanctuaries have been identified immediately outside the agora's central open area. The oldest, a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, dates back to the earliest phase of the city in the sixth century BC and is located just outside the western stoa and north of the late fourth- to third-century BC *ekklesiasterion* (fig. 5.2).¹⁴ The sanctuary was significantly expanded in the late second century BC, nearly doubling in size (in a way reminiscent of the expansion of the Central Sanctuary at Morgantina); notably, this expansion destroyed one of the sanctuary's old shrines and overbuilt

¹² Cult life in the Camarina agora is seen through a sanctuary with six altars and five shrines dating back to the fifth century BC (Di Stefano 2000, 279) with possible continuity into the second-first century BC (Lucchelli 2004, 35) based upon coins found in the area. However, no context for these coins and more information is needed before they confirm any continuity. Although the settlement is now accepted to have continued after the sack of the city in 259 BC, evidence of civic activity after that period remains scarce (Mattioli 1995, 229-70) with later activity at the agora primarily commercial (Mattioli 1995, 260-70).

¹³ De Miro 1996 tab. 12; Brienza and Caliò 2018, 48. Proposals have been made for two agoras in Agrigentum: the lower agora (De Miro 1990, 17-8; De Miro 2012, 101-5), the identification of which is doubtful (Wilson 2012, 246-7), and the upper agora which, has become more securely identified following recent excavations in the area including the discovery of the Hellenistic theater (Brienza and Caliò 2018).

¹⁴ Various dates given, third century BC (De Miro 1967, 167-8) or late fourth (De Miro 1996, 17-8). Attribution to Demeter and Kore is secure based upon the recovery of votive materials typical of the cult such as terracotta lamps and statuettes of Persephone; a possible syncretism with Cybele has been suggested (De Miro 1963, 57; De Miro 2000, 95-6) and rests upon his reading of the inscription (*CIL* I², 2649; *ISic* 0616). This reading has been rightfully doubted (Prag 2013) and doubts about the inscription's connection to the sanctuary have also been raised (Campagna 2007, 119-20).

the *eklesiasterion*, which was paved over by a new courtyard with stoas on the north, west, and south sides, and an Italic style podium temple (“Oratory of Phalaris”) in the center.¹⁵ The disuse of the *eklesiasterion* in the second century BC has often been seen as evidence of the redefinition of the city’s political space in which the focus shifted towards the late fourth to the early third-century BC *bouleuterion* to the north.¹⁶

This can also perhaps be seen as the beginning of a redefinition of the city’s religious space in relation to its civic and political functions. The Archaic sanctuary and *eklesiasterion* had been intimately connected,¹⁷ and, although the sanctuary was expanded, the destruction of the *eklesiasterion* and shift of the agora’s political functions to the *bouleuterion* also represents a break between their close civic and religious connection which dated at least as far back as the fourth to third centuries BC. Indeed, this expansion represents the strengthening of the agora’s sacred aspects at the expense of some of the city’s earlier political institutions.

It is unclear when the sanctuary went out of use, possibly as early as the first century BC or the first century AD; it does not appear to have been subject to any further significant works until the temple and southern courtyard were converted and used as a marketplace from the first to third centuries AD.¹⁸ Shops were placed inside the north stoa, and holes were cut into the ground between the stoa and temple, presumably for the erection of temporary stalls.¹⁹ The end of the sacred phase of the recently monumentalized and expanded sanctuary marked a key break in the agora’s religious continuity. It is unknown how this conversion and later reuse impacted the temple; the fact that it was later converted into an early medieval church²⁰ suggests that it continued to be maintained. Comparison with the previously discussed temples

¹⁵ On the sanctuary, see De Miro 1963, 57-63; De Miro 1990, 27-8; De Miro 2010, 33-4. It has recently been suggested that the building under the Church of San Nicola (eastern stoa?) could be a temple (Brienza and Calìo 2018, 54). For a discussion on the chronology of the “Oratory of Phalaris”, see Wilson 1990, 356 n. 102. Recently a date in the second century BC, possibly as early as the beginning of the century has been proposed in connection to the establishment of a colony in 197 BC (Livadiotti and Fino 2017, 100-2)

¹⁶ Brienza and Calìo 2018, 49, who put an emphasis on a potential “romanization” of the political landscape.

¹⁷ De Miro 2012, 105.

¹⁸ The evolution of the sanctuary, especially the period between the expansion of the southern courtyard and the later conversion to a marketplace, is left unclear in publications on the sanctuary. The general chronology of the preliminary report (De Miro 1963, 62) which covers every century from the sixth BC to third AD, omits the first century AD between phases four (“I sec. a.C.”) and five (“II-III sec. d.C.”). This omission may have been an error and later publication of this chronology (De Miro 1990, 28) labeled phase four “età romana imperiale”. The second and first centuries of the sanctuary see not only the expansion of the sanctuary (with southern courtyard and “Oratory of Phalaris”) but also the destruction of part of the older sanctuary to the north and construction of new buildings atop it (the identification of these buildings is left unclear) and it is possible that all or part of the sanctuary fell out of use. After this, during the Imperial phase (“II-III sec. d.C.” and “età romana imperiale”), the southern courtyard is reworked into a marketplace, by which time the sanctuary had seemingly been entirely abandoned.

¹⁹ De Miro 1963, 62; De Miro 1990, 28. The western and southern stoas not visible in site plan (fig. 5.2).

²⁰ On the early medieval church conversion, see De Miro 1963, 62; De Miro 1990, 28.

at Syracusae and Tauromenium suggests that it may have remained an important monument within this new marketplace.

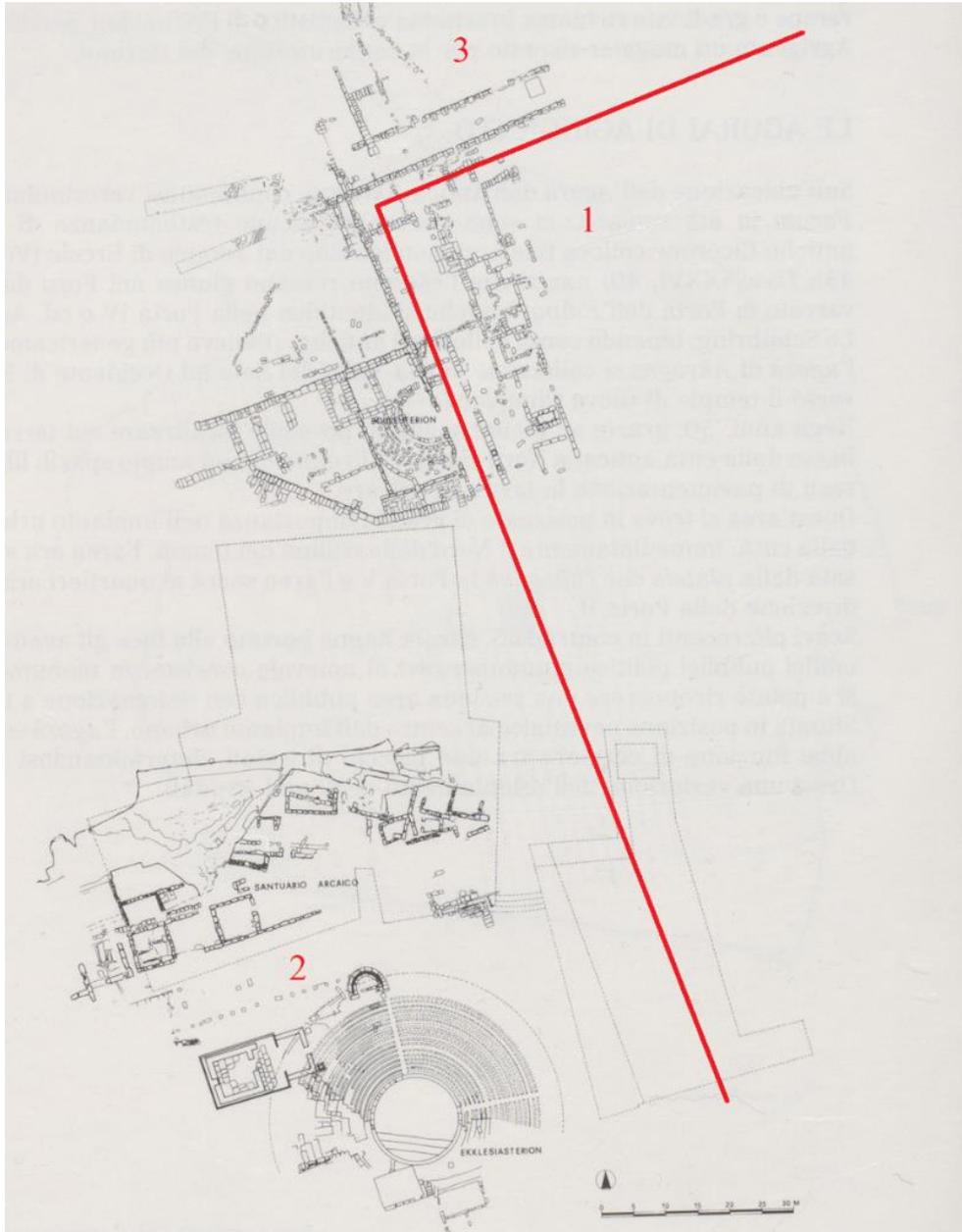


Fig. 5 - Agrigento, “Upper Agora”. Northern and western stoas with possible extension marked in red (De Miro 1990, 16, edited by author).

1. Agora; 2. Archaic sanctuary, “Oratory of Phalaris”; 3. Hellenistic-Roman Sanctuary (fig. 6).

The fate of the Archaic sanctuary can be contrasted with the Hellenistic-Roman Sanctuary just outside the agora’s northern stoa, built *ex novo* in the second half of the second century BC (figs. 5.3, 6).²¹ Constructed in the same period that the Archaic sanctuary was expanded in the late second century BC with the southern courtyard and the “Oratory of Phalaris”, both

²¹ Gerogiannis 2017; Livadiotti and Fino 2017, 100-2.

sanctuaries were architecturally very similar with a central Italic podium temple surrounded by stoas on three sides. However, unlike the Archaic sanctuary, this new sanctuary received a significant renovation in the first half of the first century AD, and its porch was converted to a “rostrum style” with side staircases that allowed the porch to be used for public speeches; this was maintained and remained in use until the fourth century AD.²² The transition from Archaic sanctuary to the new sanctuary marks the culmination in the shift to a new religious (and perhaps political) focal point for the Imperial agora.

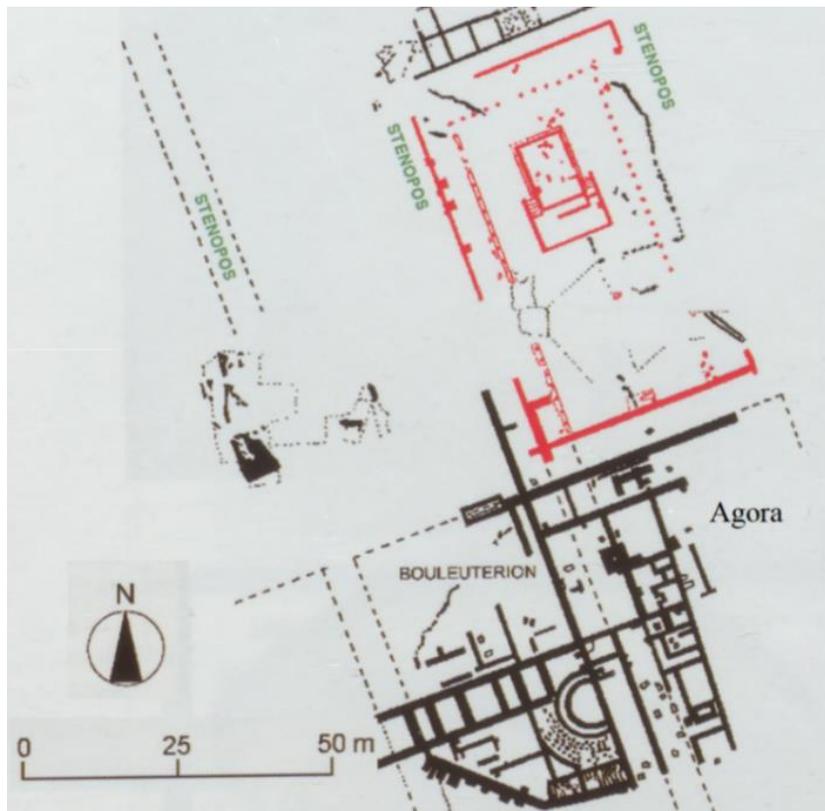


Fig. 6 - Agrigentum, “Upper Agora”. Northwest corner and Hellenistic-Roman Sanctuary (De Miro 2012 no. 27, edited by author).

Examination of the cult sites within the former Kingdom of Hieron II and Agrigentum presents a key distinction between the evolution of cult life within Hellenistic and early Imperial agoras. After the monumentalization of the agoras during the Hieronian period, the Republican period largely saw existing cult sites maintained, which, especially in the second century BC, sometimes even included significant expansions and renovations as well as the limited construction of some *ex novo* cult sites (Central Sanctuary at Morgantina and *ex novo* Agrigentum sanctuary). Little evidence of breaks in religious continuity is visible during this

²² Gerogiannis 2017; Livadiotti and Fino 2017, 102. The sanctuary with the temple and *rostrum* staircase has been labeled as a forum (De Miro 2009, figs. 35, 39; De Miro 2012, figs. 4, 13, 27; Livadiotti and Fino 2017, 103), but this is rightly doubted by Wilson 2012, 247, who emphasized its utility for public speaking. See also Prag 2013.

period and although cult buildings were at times destroyed, such as the Macellum Sanctuary and earlier shrine at “Oratory of Phalaris”, this does not appear to have marked an end to cult activity, but was instead largely pragmatic for new constructions, both sacred and “secular”.

Cult Site	Foundation	Sacred Disuse	Reuse
Tetrastyle temple at Piazza Adda (Chapter 2.5) Hellenistic agora?, Syracusae	Pre-Hellenistic	Second half of the first century BC to second century AD	Repurposed, re-orientated, and reopened for unclear but non-sacred use
Sanctuary at Via Bengasi (Chapter 2.7) “Foro Siracusano”, Syracusae	Late seventh century BC	First century BC (late first century BC?)	Leveled. Area reused as open agora framing sea view
Sanctuary at Piazza Duomo (Chapter 2.8.1) Ortygia agora, Syracusae	Late seventh century BC	Late first century BC	“Museum” during Republican period. “Artemision” leveled for agora open space in late first century BC. “Athenaion” used as “historical” monument in Imperial period.
Macellum Sanctuary and Central Shrine (Chapter 5.2) Morgantina Agora	Second half of the fourth century BC	Mid-second century BC (significant change in late second century BC)	Partial reuse of Altar I inside <i>macellum</i> .
Peristyle Temple (Chapter 6.1) Upper agora, Tauromenium	Late third century BC	Late first century BC	“Historical” monument?, later as <i>scaenae frons</i> of an <i>odeum</i>
Archaic Sanctuary, “Oratory of Phalaris” “Upper agora”, Agrigentum	Sixth century BC	First century BC to first century AD?	Marketplace, temple as “historical” monument

Fig. 7 - Repurposed Sanctuaries of the Agora.

Entering the mid to late first century BC, significant and seemingly widespread changes take place within the religious landscape of the agoras. However, despite a seeming paucity of

evidence to the contrary, the agora may have maintained its strong religious character as cult life shifted towards those newer temples and sanctuaries built under Roman rule (the public building and possible temple at Tauromenium and the Hellenistic-Roman Sanctuary at Agrigentum). This process appears to have seen the rapid loss of the religious functions at the pre-Roman cult sites which had remained the religious focal points of these Republican agoras (figs. 1, 7). The shift included the leveling of less monumental or aesthetically notable temples and sanctuaries often for the creation of open space within the agora (Sanctuary at Via Bengasi, “Artemision”, and possibly the *temenos* of Peristyle Temple). The leveling and destruction of temples should be seen as a monumental project in and of itself. As Libanius wrote in a letter to the Emperor Theodosius in the late fourth century AD, “the demolition [of a temple] is as laborious as its construction” (Lib. *Or.* 30.38). This can be contrasted with the disuse (but not leveling and destruction) of cult sites seen in other public areas of the city.

The more monumental and aesthetically notable temples, no longer the site of active cults, were left standing within the more open agoras, possibly functioning as a type of “historical and religious monument” (“Athenaion” and Tetrastyle Temple at Syracusae, Peristyle Temple at Tauromenium, and “Oratory of Phalaris” at Agrigentum). Some temples were later used in a more pragmatic fashion, which either took advantage of the temple’s features (Peristyle Temple and the *odeum*) or were significantly reworked, concealing their original function (Tetrastyle Temple).

Religious changes within these agoras can be sharply contrasted with the agoras of Greece and Asia Minor, where the “strengthening of the religious aspect of the agora” has been frequently noted. This was done through the continued use of older temples, even extending to the complete relocation of older temples from elsewhere in the city and countryside which occurred from the Augustan period to mid-second century AD (the “itinerant temples” of Athens²³) to be reused in the agora; this resulted in the gradual filling of the formerly open space of the agora with temples, monumental altars, and other monuments.²⁴

²³ Alcock 1993, 191-6; Alcock 2002, 54-61 remain the best treatments of this phenomenon: she notably suggests that the relocation of temples may have been driven by the Imperial cult, although the extent to which the cult was incorporated within these temples (as commonly occurred elsewhere, see (Price 1984, 146-72) or possibly replaced the cult, remains unclear.

²⁴ Walker 1997 especially 68; Evangelidis 2008; Evangelidis 2014; Dickenson 2017a, 202-332 especially 16-26 with a detailed discussion on the history of scholarship on the topic. Recent similar observations have been made on Macedonia, where new constructions were primarily associated with the Imperial cult, see Falezza 2012, 53-62.

This process, and especially the “filling in” of these agoras, has been conventionally interpreted through the lens of a general “decline” of the agora as it lost its civic and political importance and came increasingly to function as a “museum” for the viewing of monuments of the city’s past as the heart of the city shifted towards new Roman fora.²⁵ This idea, which has been widely accepted, has recently begun to be challenged as part of a wider shift in scholarly conceptions of Roman Greece, which, much like Sicily, have increasingly stressed the civic and economic vitality of the Roman period. Dickenson has questioned the interpretation of decline in the civic and political functions of the agora while also noting that many of the structural changes can be observed earlier, in the last two centuries BC.²⁶

The impact of the religious break and shift in southeastern Sicily must remain unclear, pending further excavation and study of these agoras. However, it should be seen as distinct from Greece and Asia Minor as neither the “strengthening of the religious aspect of the agora” nor a “filling in” is evident. Although the selective preservation of temples is somewhat reminiscent of this process, the non-sacred reuse of some and destruction of others could be suggestive of a “middle road” between the process in Greece and Asia Minor. In this, the agora maintained its civic and political functionality while also functioning as a “museum”: practical considerations such as the need for open space and marketplaces were balanced with the preservation of select monumental constructions that had lost many of their religious functions.

7.1.2 The Theater

Another well-represented topographical area within the thesis is the theater district with cult sites found at theaters in Morgantina, Syracuseae, Tauromenium, and Helorus (fig. 8). The available evidence presents two key periods at these sites. The first occurred during the early second century BC and encompassed a myriad of changes from which generalizations are difficult to draw. The cult activities associated with Zeus at the Altar of Hieron, southeast of the Greek Theater in Syracuseae, appear to have ceased; the cult may have been transferred at this time back to its significantly smaller and less monumental pre-Hieronian location at the nearby “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites”, representing a de-monumentalization of the Zeus cult (Chapter 2.1-.2). Other sanctuaries saw significant expansions and renovations in the early second century: the Central Sanctuary at Morgantina doubled in size (Chapter 5.1), and the Sanctuary of Demeter at Helorus received its monumental stoa (Chapter 4.1). The largest of

²⁵ Hoepfner 2006, 23-4. On Athens, see Shear 1981, 362; Walker 1997, 72; Alcock 2001, 337; Alcock 2002, 52-3. On Thasos, see Marc 1996, 113. On Sparta, see Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, 137.

²⁶ Dickenson 2011; Dickenson 2017a, 396-40; Dickenson 2017b, 438-42.

the few *ex novo* Roman cult sites covered in the thesis, the Theater Temenos Sanctuary, was built *c.* 175 BC in Morgantina (Chapter 5.5).

It is difficult to contextualize these on a regional or provincial scale because of the general lack of comparable archaeological data in this early period. Cult, which will be discussed in greater detail later (Chapter 7.2-3), appears to have played a significant role in these changes. It is generally believed that the political role which the cult of Zeus held during the reign of Hieron II changed immediately following the Roman conquest;²⁷ the de-monumentalization of the Altar of Hieron's cult of Zeus and the reactivation of the substantially less-monumental pre-Hieronian sanctuary is certainly suggestive of that process. However, rather than involve the censorship of certain aspects of the cult,²⁸ this marked a return to the cult's pre-Hieronian *status quo* (Chapter 2.2.4; 2.9.3.3). In contrast, the sanctuaries associated with Demeter and Kore saw significant renovation and expansion. This can be interpreted as a reinforcement of the historically strong connection between the cult and theater in Sicily²⁹ as part of a revitalization of the cult during the second century BC following a possible decline in the third century BC (Chapter 7.2.1). These changes can be understood as the return to the theater's pre-Hieronian religious relationship with the cults of Zeus and Demeter and Kore.

Political change seemingly had significant influence extending beyond the cult of Zeus. The *ex novo* construction of the Theater Temenos Sanctuary has been generally associated with the introduction of a new, still unknown, cult of the Hispani following the colonization of Morgantina after the Second Punic War (Chapter 5.5; 7.2.1.1). However, any religious connection between this new sanctuary and the theater is unclear, unlike the Altar of Hieron, "Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites" (Chapter 2.1-2), and the Central Sanctuary whose relationship to their respective theaters has been repeatedly stressed.³⁰ The continuation of the Theater Temenos Sanctuary may have been more closely associated with changes to the agora, with its construction near the theater a pragmatic decision to build in one of the few open spaces and in a prominent position in the agora.

After the first half of the second century BC, little significant change in association with the theater is evident. The Central Sanctuary saw minor alterations during the second half of the

²⁷ See Chapters 2.2.4 and 2.9.3.3 with bibliography.

²⁸ This idea was suggested by Bell 2015, 79 regarding to changes of the Macellum Sanctuary associated with the construction of the *macellum*. On this sanctuary including a substantially different interpretation, see Chapter 5.2.

²⁹ On the well-known connection between Demeter and Kore and theater in Sicily, see Polacco 1982, 440-1; Mitens 1988, 21; Kowalzig 2008.

³⁰ Sposito 2004; Sposito 2008.

second century BC, primarily associated with a return of earlier cult practices (Chapter 5.1). The limited evidence for this early period suggests a strengthening of historical, but not necessarily Hieronian, religious, and possibly also civic and political connections between the theater and its associated sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore, and Zeus as the focal points.

In contrast to this first period, significant changes occurred during the first century BC and especially the Augustan period, which represents a fundamental reshaping of the religious spaces around the theater. The Sanctuary of Demeter at Helorus went out of use at some time in the first century BC (Chapter 4.1),³¹ while at Tauromenium and Syracuse, at least two of the three sanctuaries were out of use by the Augustan period (Chapter 2.2-3; 6.3). A similar break can also be seen at Morgantina, but this may have been strongly influenced by the city's decline, and the theater had also gone out of use by mid to late first century BC (Chapter 5.1; 5.5).³²

The extent to which this can be seen elsewhere in Sicily is unclear. No evidence of later activity has yet been published from the recently identified third-century BC *thesmophorion*³³ c. 45 m to the south of the third-century BC theater at Acrae.³⁴ The fourth-century sanctuary³⁵ at Heraclea Minoa c. 45 m northwest of the fourth to third-century BC theater,³⁶ went out of use in the second century BC,³⁷ but like Morgantina, this likely coincided with the disuse of the theater,³⁸ and Heraclea Minoa was largely abandoned by the end of the first century BC.³⁹

³¹ Archaeological evidence for the theater's continued use is beyond recovery due to the loss of materials, notes, and especially poor state of conservation, but there is no reason that the theater should be assumed to have gone out of use by that time. On the increasing evidence of Imperial continuity, see Chapter 4.3.

³² Stillwell 1964-5, 587. The neglect, decline, and even abandonment of Hellenistic theaters in Sicily under Rome has been noted as the urban hierarchy increasingly focused on coastal and colonial settlements of the northern and eastern coasts (Aktüre 2015).

³³ Excavated from 2005 to 2006, the evidence for its attribution to Demeter and Kore is unclear but appears to be based upon votive finds typical of the cult, the presence of well-altars, and the sanctuary's layout (Leggio 2013, 7-27). A recent article by Leggio appears to suggest that the sanctuary's sacred life had come to an end by the late third century (Leggio 2020, 409-10). However, the evidence for this is similarly unclear.

³⁴ Date of the theater is uncertain, but conventionally placed in the third century BC (Bernabò Brea 1956, 39-40; Isler 2017b, 37-9).

³⁵ See De Miro 2014, 73-7

³⁶ On the date of the theater, see De Miro 2014, 65-72 and Isler 2017, 37-9 for full bibliography.

³⁷ De Miro 2014, 77. Based upon an absence of later materials.

³⁸ De Miro 1958, 256-60; De Miro 2014, 72, 83-4. Houses were built on the stage and against the western analemma during the second century BC. Another possible comparison comes from the theater and a closely connected sanctuary at Soluntum. The sanctuary was in use until at least the mid-first century BC if the date of the famous Zeus statue found there is accurate (Wilson 2013a, 177-8 with bibliography including other proposed identifications). The theater was out of use by the mid-first century AD when it was partially overbuilt by at least one house (Adriani, Arias, and Manni *et al.* 1971, 109). Furthermore, the sanctuary is so interconnected with the theater that it has been interpreted as a theater-temple complex (Albanesi 2006, 177-92; De Vincenzo 2013, 270-9) although doubts have been raised about this (Wilson 2013a, 177-8). While the strong Punic character of the sanctuary (Wilson 2013a, 177-8; Wilson 2013b, 114) further separates it from the sanctuaries thus far discussed.

³⁹ De Miro 2014, 217 with older bibliography, see Wilson 1990, 34 and 357 n. 15.

Cult Site, Location	Spatial Orientation to Theater	Cult Attribution	From	To
Altar of Hieron, Syracusee (Chapter 2.1)	Behind <i>scaenae frons</i> , 210° c. 130 m, SE	Zeus, with chthonic aspects	c. 235 BC	Early-mid second century BC (No later than late-first century BC)
“Sanctuary of Apollo Tementes”, Syracusee (Chapter 2.2)	Beside <i>scaenae frons</i> , 0° c. 50 m, W	Zeus?, with chthonic aspects	Late seventh century BC; Early-mid second century BC? (reactivation)	c. 235 BC (cult transfer?)
Sanctuary on Tementite Hill, Syracusee (Chapter 2.3)	<i>In summa cavea</i> , 90° c. 20 m, N	Chthonic, Demeter and Kore?	Archaic?	Pre-Augustan? (first century BC)
Sanctuary of Demeter, Helorus (Chapter 4.1)	<i>In summa cavea</i> 135° c. 30 m, NE	Demeter and Kore	Fourth century BC	First century BC
Central Sanctuary, Morgantina (Chapter 5.1)	Behind <i>scaenae frons</i> 240° c. 10 m, NE	Demeter and Kore	Fifth century BC	Mid-first century BC
Theater Temenos Sanctuary, Morgantina (Chapter 5.5)	Behind <i>scaenae frons</i> 290° c. 10 m, SE	Unknown, Hercules?	c. 175 BC	Mid to late first century BC, possibly later? (no later than mid-first century AD?)
Temple <i>in summa cavea</i> , Tauromenium (Chapter 6.3)	<i>In summa cavea</i> 165° immediately NE (overbuilt by Imperial double portico)	Chthonic? Demeter and Kore?	Third-second century BC?	Augustan period (late first century BC?)

Fig. 8 - Sanctuaries at/near theaters.

It is possible that these cult sites were replaced by largely archaeologically unattested sites, as seems to have occurred in the agoras (Chapter 7.1.1). The first- to second-century AD theater in Catina appears to have had a temple built into its *cavea*.⁴⁰ As the theater may have had an earlier Classical or Hellenistic phase,⁴¹ this could suggest it had replaced a similar sanctuary. However, such *cavea* temples were the exception rather than the rule, and are especially rare in the Greek world; furthermore, despite their close architectural connection to the theater, these temples do not appear to have been dedicated to deities closely connected to the theater.⁴² This can be contrasted with the sanctuaries above, with the possible exception of the Theater Temenos Sanctuary, which all appear to have had a close cult relationship with the theater.

Instead, it looks as if this marked a change in the religious function of the theater. Beginning in the Augustan period, the Neapolis district of Syracuse, of which the theater was only a part, appears to have lost many of its civic, religious, and political functions and came to be more closely associated with leisure and entertainment; this is seen through the construction of the amphitheater and the conversion of the Altar of Hieron into a park/garden, functioning as the theater's porticus *post scaenam* (Chapter 2.3.3). The larger Neapolis district does appear to have received a new temple at this time,⁴³ but it was without any clear spatial connection to the theater, c. 450 m to the southeast of the theater (Chapter 2.3.3). Scenic competitions associated with cults of the theater such as Dionysus and Demeter may have also continued.⁴⁴ However, such a change would not be unexpected given the broader evolution of the theater seen in Greece and Asia Minor in the Imperial period where spectacles such as gladiatorial combat became increasingly more important.⁴⁵ Certain religious functions of the theater may have also shifted towards sanctuaries that had their own dedicated theaters such as the “Ginnasio romano”, which received a permanent stone theater in the mid-late century AD (Chapter 2.6).

7.1.3 Other Urban Areas

Five other urban sanctuaries were identified within Syracuse, Helorus, Morgantina, and Tauromenium, which do not appear to have been associated with an agora or theater (fig. 9).

⁴⁰ Wilson 1990, 67-8; Buscemi 2012, 127; Isler 2017b, 383. On the temple itself, Isler 2017b, 382.

⁴¹ Tortorici 2008, 110-6; Tortorici 2016, 151-4.

⁴² Isler 2017a, 372-4. In contrast, Kunz 2006, 173 suggests a to Dionysus for the *cavea*-temple at Catina.

⁴³ Wilson 1990, 373 n. 337

⁴⁴ Kunz 2006, 174-5.

⁴⁵ Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2007, 273-5 with earlier bibliography on the later uses and adaptation of Greek theaters under Rome.

Although their urban context is not always clear, they also do not appear to have been associated with any other key public areas.

In comparison to the few *ex novo* cult sites found in the main urban main public areas of the agora and theater, the Republican period sees more construction of *ex novo* sites with three of five built in the second century BC. Perhaps the most notable is the earliest known sanctuary to Isis and Serapis in Sicily, founded in Tauromenium, probably in the second half of the second century BC with a large 14 x 9 m temple (Chapters 6.4; 7.2.2.2). Other new sanctuaries were more modest sites to Demeter and Kore: a watchtower was converted into a shrine in the second century BC in Morgantina (Chapter 5.3), and a small sanctuary was activated in a residential area on the site of what had been a Classical sanctuary (Chapter 2.4). Like the public districts, older sanctuaries also remained in use. The “Asklepieion” in Helorus saw continued activity, but notable architectural changes beyond the possible introduction of a *thesaurus* are unknown (Chapter 4.2.3). Notably, the “Ginnasio Romano”, dedicated to an unknown, likely “Eastern” cult, was monumentalized with the construction of a temple and surrounding stoa (Chapter 2.6). Thus, this period saw its most significant construction projects associated with foreign cults (both *ex novo* and older sanctuaries), with minor foundations associated with Demeter and Kore.

Site	Cult	From	To
Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Piazza della Vittoria, Syracusae (Chapter 2.4)	Demeter and Kore	Archaic?, by fifth century BC; Mid-second century BC (reactivation)	Mid-fourth century BC (preliminary disuse) Mid-first century BC
“Ginnasio romano”, Syracusae (Chapter 2.6)	“Eastern” cult, Atargatis?	Fourth-third century BC	At least as late as the second century AD, probably later
“Asklepieion”, Helorus (Chapter 4.2)	Unknown	Uncertain, possibly early Hellenistic	At least as late as the mid-first century BC to first century AD
Watchtower Shrine, Morgantina (Chapter 5.3)	Demeter and Kore?	Second century BC	Mid-late first century BC
Temple of Isis and Serapis, Tauromenium (Chapter 6.4)	Isis and Serapis	Second half of the second century BC	At least as late as the second century AD, probably later

Fig. 9 - Other Urban Cult Sites

Even more noteworthy is the continuity in cult through the mid-late first century BC, in contrast to an apparent lack of continuity in the agora or theater districts. This includes the continued use of sanctuaries founded both before (“Asklepieion” and “Ginnasio romano”) and after (sanctuary of Isis and Serapis) the Roman conquest. Indeed, the “Ginnasio romano” underwent substantial further renovations during the early Imperial period with the construction of a theater in mid to late first century AD, and marble embellishments added in the Flavian period (Chapter 2.6.3). Similarly, the “Asklepieion” received new pavement and stoa in the second half of the first century BC or early Imperial period (Chapter 4.2.1).

Examination of these sanctuaries as a separate block provides an interesting contrast with the changes thus far seen in the agora and theater district. Like the public districts, earlier cult sites remained a key facet of religious activity. However, this period also saw the construction of an increased number of *ex novo* sanctuaries dedicated to both foreign (Isis and Serapis) and “traditional” (Demeter and Kore) deities.

Although a break in religious continuity is seen in the mid-late first century BC, this should be seen as distinct from the changes in the public and political districts. Older sanctuaries (and one new sanctuary) remained in use through the period while the new sanctuaries to Demeter and Kore went out of use. That two of the three sanctuaries that continued to be used through this period were dedicated to foreign, “eastern” cults is suggestive that this shift was associated with a transition from more “traditional” religious types to newer cults, particularly from Demeter and Kore to Isis and Serapis which will be discussed below (Chapter 7.2-3).

7.1.4 Rural

A general decline in the rural⁴⁶ sacred landscape has been observed in Italy and Greece as a part of increasing urbanism and a decrease in small farms during the Hellenistic and early Imperial periods.⁴⁷ Although few active Roman period sites are known in Sicily, and indeed such sanctuaries are likely generally underrepresented within the archaeological record,⁴⁸ the limited evidence appears to support a similar observation for southeastern Sicily, and possibly the rest of the province. The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Contrada Borgellusa (Avola)

⁴⁶ Due to the small sample size, this chapter does not draw a distinction between isolated rural cult sites of the countryside and those classed *extramoenia* but close to settlements.

⁴⁷ On Italy, see Lomas 1996, 172; Stek 2009, 32-3; Stek 2015, 3 where the decline is generally put to the period after the Social War. On Greece, see Alcock 1993, 33-92 especially 200-10; Alcock 1997; Alcock 2002, 48-9. On the evolution of the rural landscape in Sicily which closely mirrors changes seen in Italy and Greece, see Bintliff 2018 with earlier bibliography.

⁴⁸ Catling 1990; Alcock 1994, 254 Barrett 2015, 117.

does not appear to have been in use beyond the first century BC (Chapter 3), and the sanctuary of Anna and the Paidēs near Buscemi does not appear to have been in use after the first century AD.⁴⁹ Similarly, excavations of the early fourth- to third-century BC “Templi Ferali” and third-century “Santoni” at Acrae have not produced any evidence of activity beyond the early to mid-second century BC: “nulla autorizzerrebbe a pensare ad una continuazione anche a più tardi”.⁵⁰ The so-called “Sanctuary of the Divine Palikoi”, which was believed to be used until the third century AD, appears to have been misidentified as a sanctuary and activity at the famous sanctuary of the Palikoi, referred to in literary sources, is unknown beyond the episodes of Salvius during the Second Slave Revolt (Appendix). There are relatively few other known rural sanctuaries, but those in northern and western Sicily appear to have seen a similar decline.⁵¹

Exceptions to this decline are apparent. A sanctuary of Republican date at Santa Venera al Pozzo north of Catina received a new Italic style podium temple no earlier than the first century AD,⁵² and the remains of a second-century AD temple to Asclepius at Florida have been found,⁵³ although a rural position for such a healing cult would not be unexpected. Similar exceptions were also noted in Greece and Italy, usually at particularly important sites that were able to attract interest from foreign benefactors and the civic elite of nearby cities.⁵⁴ Although the epigraphic evidence does not allow for a similar statement about the rural cults of Sicily, it is likely that these exceptions in Sicily represent a similar situation.

Rural cults and cult places in Italy and Greece have often been seen through the lens of a rural conservatism with continuity in tradition, immune from wider historical trends; this idea has begun to be challenged.⁵⁵ In Sicily, we see that the impact of the Roman conquest of the province can be felt quite early. The second-century BC Greek list of *prostatai* of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Contrada Borgellusa (Avola), listing Gaius Orceius son of Gaius, Gaius

⁴⁹ On the sanctuary with previous bibliography, see Wilson 1990, 280-1. An uncritical assessment of sacred activity into late antiquity is followed by Kunz 2006 215-6.

⁵⁰ Bernabò Brea 1956, 73-113, especially 88 and 113. Reliefs at the “Templi Ferali” have recently been dated to the second century BC on stylistic grounds (Portale 2011, 56-63). In contrast to the archaeological evidence, this could suggest later continuity. For more on the “Templi Ferali”, see Scirpo 2015, 481 with additional bibliography, and on the “Santoni”, see Sfameni Gasparro, 126-49; Bellia 2007; Pedrucci 2009, 45-60.

⁵¹ The Punic sanctuary at Grotta Regina (Palermo) in use since as early as the sixth-fifth centuries BC appears to be out of use after first century AD (De Vincenzo 2013, 266-8) and possibly also the Thesmophorion at Entella, see (Chapter 7.2.1). On the rural cult sites of Western Sicily, see D’Aleo 2014.

⁵² Branciforti 2005; Branciforti 2006; Malfitana 2018. Another Italic podium style temple at Capo Mulini (near the ancient city of Acium) identified by Libertini, 1952, 341-7; Wilson 1990, 105 could be added to this list, but recent excavations (not yet published) by the University of Catania led by Edoardo Tortorici which suggest that the podium was part of a monumental bath complex and not a temple.

⁵³ Gentili 1951b, 163-6; Calì 2009, 170-1.

⁵⁴ Alcock 2002, 49; Stek 2009, 32.

⁵⁵ Stek 2015, 3.

Sulpicius, and Lucius Caulius, shows that Romano-Italic persons (or at least more “Romanized” Greeks with Latin names) had begun to find their way into the administration of rural sanctuaries alongside local Greeks (Chapter 3.3). This process appears to have extended to other sanctuaries dedicated to local Sicilian cults by the early first century AD. A dedication at the sanctuary of the local gods Anna and the Paides in Buscemi⁵⁶ was set up in AD 35 during the priesthood of Caecilia, on behalf of Lucius Cornelius Aquila, his mother Cornelia, and wife Mustia Volumilla (*SEG* 42 833; *ISic* 2997).⁵⁷

Rather than a conservatism immune from wider historical trends and changes, cultural and demographic shifts were felt within rural sanctuaries soon after the Roman conquest. While foreign benefaction may have been associated with the continued use of rural sanctuaries, this interest did not always ensure continuity, as seen at the sanctuaries at Contrada Borgellusa and Buscemi.

7.2 Change and Continuity within the cult of Demeter and Kore

7.2.1 Growth and Decline

The popularity, importance, and unique status of the cult of Demeter and Kore in Sicily, especially the south and southeast, during the Archaic, Classical, and early-Hellenistic periods is well known,⁵⁸ but significant questions linger regarding the cult’s role and evolution under Rome. Hinz observed that the fourth and third centuries BC were a period of significant change which saw the disuse of many of their oldest sanctuaries; this period culminated in the late-third century BC when many of the remaining smaller cult sites also went out of use and the deposition of terracotta votive statuettes ceased, a practice for which the Archaic, Classical, and early-Hellenistic cult is especially well known.⁵⁹ She noted that after this period, the cult appears to have fallen into obscurity in much of southern Italy and, despite the many sanctuaries found throughout Sicily, she was only able to identify five cult sites active in the Republican period. These were concentrated in the cult’s traditional heartland in the south and southeast

⁵⁶ On doubts about a proposed connection to Anna Perenna and the Oscan Anna, see Wilson 1990, 280 with recent discussion by Kunz 2006 215 fn. 330. On a possible connection to the Theai Hagnai and Demeter and Kore, see below Chapter 7.2.1.

⁵⁷ See also *SEG* 42 832; *ISic* 2999 of early first century AD, also during the eponymous priesthood of Caecilia.

⁵⁸ Wilson 1990, 288; Kunz 2006, 98-100. Notable works on Sicilian cult of Demeter and Kore include Ciaceri 1911, 1-15; Zuntz 1971, 89-198; Hinz 1998. As little to no archaeological distinction can be made between Sicilian Demeter and Kore and both are generally treated as a single cult (Hinz 1998, 17), they are thus treated so here. The extent to which the Sicilian cult should be seen as separate from the Eleusinian cult has been subject to some debate; see Schipporeit 2008 for a recent discussion with earlier bibliography.

⁵⁹ Hinz 1998, 46-8, 231, 243.

and have already been discussed for the Sanctuary of Demeter at Piazza della Vittoria in Syracusae (Chapter 2.5), Contrada Borgellusa (Chapter 3), the Sanctuary of Demeter at Helorus (Chapter 4.1), and the Central Sanctuary at Morgantina (Chapter 5.1), with another sanctuary, the Chthonic Sanctuary, found in Agrigentum.⁶⁰ However, she dismissed theories of the cult's Roman repression, noting the undeniable amount of literary, numismatic, and epigraphic evidence to the contrary⁶¹ and instead suggested that the paucity of later sites was more likely the result of changes within the cult, such as the end of the use of votive terracotta statuettes, which makes an assessment of continuity at older sites and cult attribution at new sites more difficult.⁶²

Indeed, in the twenty years since the publication of her book, new excavations and publications, as well as the thesis' reexamination of older sites, have significantly increased the number of probable Demeter and Kore cult sites within the former Kingdom of Hieron alone from four to ten.⁶³ The cult is the best represented within this area with at least one plausible site discussed in each chapter (Chapters 2-6) and was a ubiquitous feature of the sacred landscape, represented in each of the topographical areas (agora, theater, other urban, and rural) discussed in the previous sub-chapters (Chapter 7.1-4).

Hinz was also correct to doubt theories of the Roman suppression of Demeter and Kore. Their cult appears to have thrived during the second century BC. Their sanctuaries saw some of the most significant and drastic renovations explored in this thesis during the second century: the Central Sanctuary in Morgantina doubled in size with new cult installations throughout

⁶⁰ To be discussed below.

⁶¹ Hinz 1998, 231-32, 243 *contra* Bell 1981, 74 (*rector* Bell 1981 76-7 who references an allusion to the "extinction" of the cult (in Morgantina) at the end of the third century BC). The theory for a Roman repression of Demeter and Kore instead comes from White 1964, 269-78. For a survey of Roman evidence of the cult, see Wilson 1990, 288-9 (referenced by Hinz as "Wilson 1990, 67ff 263ff"), and more recently Kunz 2006, 61-8.

⁶² Hinz 1998, 232. also notes the general lack of archaeological evidence to identify the cults of other sanctuaries. Indeed, epigraphic evidence, which is generally lacking in Sicily, remains the only truly secure method for cult identification and the number of Demeter and Kore sanctuaries may be inflated by a general academic zeal to attribute sanctuaries to the famous cult. Votives representing deities unrelated to a sanctuary's cult ("visitors") are a noted phenomenon in Greece (Alroth 1989, 65-105). Although Demeter and Kore are not represented amongst the "visitors" of Greece, but without a study of this phenomenon in Sicily, the possibility cannot be excluded. For a discussion of the archaeological identification of sanctuaries to the cult, see Patera 2020

⁶³ Cult attribution is secure at: the sanctuaries at Piazza della Vittoria (Chapter 2.5) and Contrada Borgellusa, Avola (Chapter 3), as well as the Sanctuary of Demeter in Helorus (Chapter 4.1), the Central Sanctuary (Chapter 5.1), and Chthonic Shrine (Chapter 5.4) in Morgantina. Probable at: the Macellum Sanctuary in Morgantina (Chapter 5.2). Likely at: the sanctuaries on the Temenite Hill (Chapter 2.3) and Piazza Adda (Chapter 2.4) in Syracusae. Plausible at the: Watchtower Shrine in Morgantina (Chapter 5.3) and temple *in summa cavea* (Chapter 6.3) in Tauromenium. Additional notable sanctuaries in Sicily are found at Entella and Agrigentum will be discussed in further detail below (see also Chapters 7.1.1 and 7.1.4). The Sanctuary of Malophoros at Selinunte once thought to have been repaired after the mid-third century and in use into the Roman period (Gàbrici 1927a), is now thought to have been permanently abandoned along with the rest of the city during the First Punic War (White 1967).

(Chapter 5.1) and the Sanctuary of Demeter at Helorus saw the monumentalization of its northern *peribolos* with the construction of a monumental two-story stoa (Chapter 4.1). Other older sanctuaries, such as those at Piazza Adda and the Temenite Hill in Syracusae (Chapter 2.3-4), and Contrada Borgellusa (Chapter 3), as well as the sanctuaries at the Macellum Sanctuary at Morgantina (Chapter 5.2) and possibly the temple *in summa cavea* at Tauromenium (Chapter 6.3), where the archaeological evidence is far more limited, at least saw continuity into the Roman period and may have also undergone similar renovations and expansion. New sites also came into being such as the Watchtower Shrine at Morgantina (Chapter 5.3) and the sanctuary at Piazza della Vittoria (Chapter 2.5), a notably limited reactivation of the much larger Classical sanctuary. These modest-sized sites may have replaced some of the similarly modest sites that Hinz noted had fallen out of use during the turbulence of the late third century. All but one of the cult's Roman period sites had come into use by the end of the century.

This evidence is extensive enough that, rather than merely arguing against repression or decline, it indicates a revitalization of the cult not just within the former Kingdom of Hieron II, but throughout the cult's traditional heartland (south and southeastern Sicily). At the better published and studied sanctuaries at Agrigentum, all of the cult's known active sanctuaries received significant renovations in the second century. As discussed above (Chapter 7.1.1), the Archaic sanctuary in the agora was doubled in size in the late second century with the addition of a new courtyard through the addition of a temple, the "Oratory of Phalaris", surrounded by stoas on three sides. The two sanctuaries at the city gates (Gate V) received more modest, but not insignificant, renovations. At the Sanctuary of the Chthonic Deities, the altar at Temple L (fig. 10 AL) was repaired, while Temple I (fig. 10 I) may have been built or was more likely renovated with the addition of a new entablature.⁶⁴ The stoa of the nearby Chthonic Sanctuary

⁶⁴ The construction (Wilson 1990, 25), renovation (Bell 1994, 378), or reconstruction (De Miro 2000, 89) of the Temple of Demeter, also known as Temple I or the "Temple of the Dioscuri", has been placed in the late second century BC based upon the architectural style of entablature fragments which were also used to date the nearby altar (von Sydow 1984, 295, 353 fn. 28). Zoppi more reasonably assigns a less precise second-century date for the entablature (Zoppi 2001, 87-90). Dates as early as the third (Marconi 1933, 85), or fourth century (Griffo 1987, 130) have also been given or the entablature, although these are no longer accepted. However, the apparent disuse of the sanctuary in the third century, seen through the end of votive offerings, abandonment of well-altars, and a lack of later materials finds (Marconi 1929, 93-8; Marconi 1933, 85) does raise question about the later use of the site. Given the continued maintenance of defunct temples previously discussed (Chapter 7.1.1), a later renovation (or repair?) of the temple in the second century BC need not necessarily indicate continued religious activity.

was also modified with a new *tholos* temple built into the southern end of the east stoa (fig. 11).⁶⁵

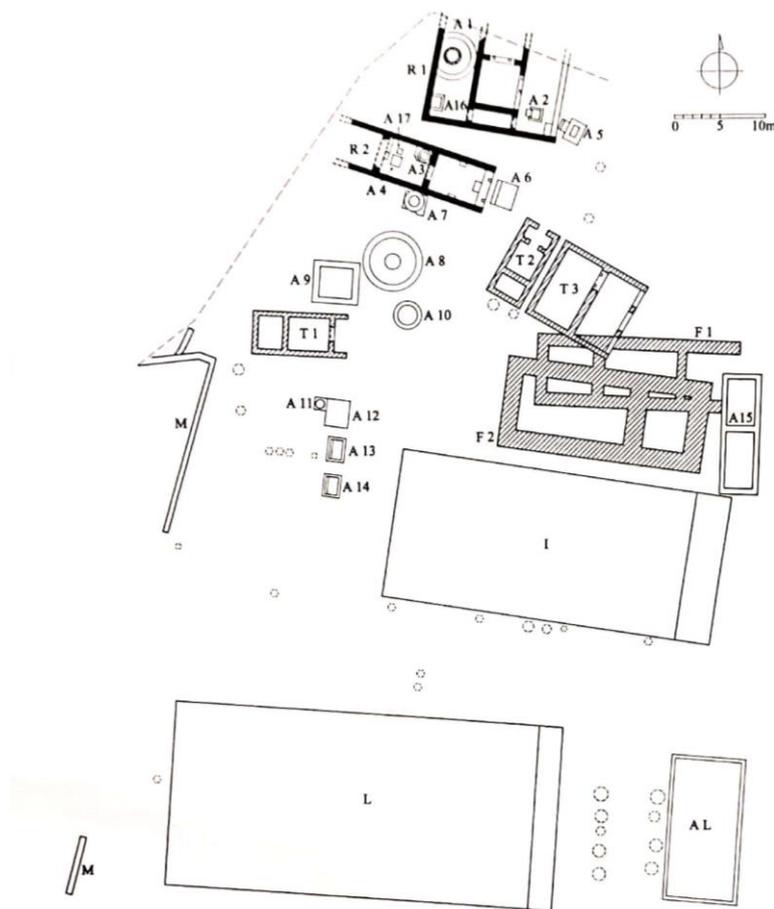


Fig. 10 - Agrigentum, Gate V. Sanctuary of the Chthonic Deities (Hinz 1998, 80 fig. 12).

Not only does the evidence point to a reversal of the possible fourth- to third-century BC decline and second-century BC revival of the cult, but this also appears to be, at least in part, directly attributable to an expansion of Roman influence within these sanctuaries. The cult was particularly popular in Rome,⁶⁶ with the cult of Sicilian Demeter especially revered, seen most clearly in 133 BC when, following the death of Tiberius Gracchus, a procession to placate Demeter was sent not to her temple in Rome, but to her most important sanctuary in Sicily, at Henna (Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.108; Val. Max. 1.1.1).

This Roman influence in Sicily is clearly seen in the two most significant renovations of the second century. The expansion of the Central Sanctuary in Morgantina during the early second

⁶⁵ Previously dated to the fourth century BC (De Miro and Fiorentini 1972-3, 235; De Miro 1977, 100; De Miro 1994, 41) the *tholos* has since been dated to the second century following further excavation, and was most likely a temple with small *adyton* (room 44) although its use to house a honorary statue of an esteemed individual or benefactor cannot be ruled out (De Miro 2000, 56-8, 89).

⁶⁶ Schilling 1964-5, 272-5; Chirassi Colombo 2006, 240-4; Kunz 2006, 262, 312-3.

century included the use of Central Italian architectural and religious features such as the use of “Etruscan round” molding on the sanctuary’s main altar and the installation of a stone *thesaurus* (offertory box), a feature strongly associated with the spread of Roman influence in Italy and Sicily (Chapters 5.1.2-3, 7.3.1). Similarly, the expansion of the Archaic sanctuary at Agrigentum’s agora included a new Italic podium style temple (“Oratory of Phalaris”). It has been suggested that this clear indicator of Romano-Italic architectural influence may have been a benefaction from a resident Italian, possibly a *negotiator*.⁶⁷

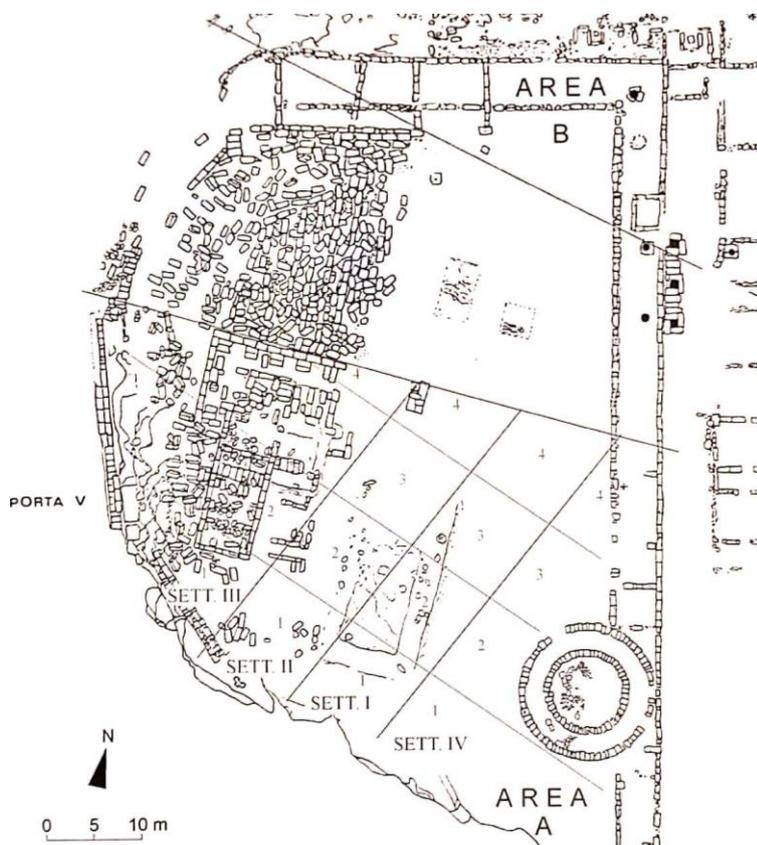


Fig. 11 - Agrigentum, Gate V. Chthonic Sanctuary (De Miro 2000 fig. 4).

The limited epigraphic material also supports this, suggesting that the burgeoning Romano-Italic community of the second century showed significant interest in the cult, and their increasing numbers and participation in the cult was likely at least partially responsible for the cult’s revival and the introduction of new architectural styles and practices. The inclusion of Orceius, Sulpicius, and Caulius amongst the *prostatai* of the rural cult at Contrada Borgellusa

⁶⁷ Prag 2010, 307; Wilson 2013a, 111; Fuduli 2015a, 326. Based upon an honorific Latin inscription: [- - -] *ius M. f. Ter. Pius* | [- - -] *matrem suam* (CIL I².2649; ISic 0616) found near the temple and dated to Republican period based upon letter forms (ISic 0616). Portale, on the other hand, has emphasized the hybrid nature of the temple with Italic podium, but otherwise very typically Hellenistic architectural decorations (Portale 2005, 39) and doubts have been raised about the inscription’s connection to the temple (Chapter 7.1.1 fn. 14). The use of Latin this early is general noteworthy (see also Chapters 1.2.2; 2.8.3), but it has been noted that the use of Latin appears to have begun earlier in Agrigentum than the rest of Sicily (Prag 2018c).

is a clear indicator of not only the presence of Romano-Italic persons within the cult's religious administration but also that their involvement extended to those rural sites within the countryside, an area typically thought to be resistant to cultural and demographic changes (Chapters 3.3-4, 7.1.4). Similarly, the Central Sanctuary at Morgantina appears to have been frequented by large numbers of this Romano-Italic community, as seen through the lead tablets which refer to Rufus, Venusta, Ancia, and Sextus with the only two Greek names found, Brysa and Erotike, both identified as *libertae* (Chapter 5.1.4).



Fig. 12 - Agrigentum, "Upper Agora". "Oratory of Phalaris" (De Miro 2010, 106 tab. 2 fig. 1).

Not all these new practices appear to have thrived. At the Central Sanctuary, for instance, pre-Roman cult practices such as terracotta lamps were reintroduced during the second half of the second century. Their rapid accumulation throughout the sanctuary, eventually burying the recently installed *thesaurus*, appears to have directly led to its disuse (Chapter 7.1.2-4). Despite the increasing "Romanization" which rapidly accelerated in the Augustan period (Chapter 1.2.2), the revival of the cult's fortunes appears to have ceased by the first century (or perhaps as early as the late second century) with a drastic reduction in the number of active cult sites.

This even extended to those sites recently founded in the second century (in contrast to the general trend of continuity at these sanctuaries: Chapter 7.1-2), and those outside public districts, which otherwise appear to have also seen increased religious continuity (Chapter 7.1.3). This suggests that the decline was strongly linked to the cult and not merely reflective

of the wider archaeological situation. This extended across the entirety of the cult's heartland and beyond the territory of the thesis. At Agrigentum, the recently renovated and expanded agora sanctuary went out of use as soon as the Augustan or early Imperial period (Chapter 7.1.1), and the two sanctuaries (figs. 10-11) at the city gate (Gate V) both appear to have been out of use by the Augustan period.⁶⁸ None of the cult sites active in the second century appear to have survived beyond the early Imperial period. Within the area included in the thesis, none appear to have survived beyond the late-first century BC. This trend was only marginally offset by the foundation of a single modest shrine at Morgantina, which reused the central room of the Northwest Stoa in the late-first century BC; however, it did not outlive Morgantina and was out of use by the mid-first century AD (Chapter 5.4).

The disuse and abandonment of these cult sites presents an even more severe paucity of archaeological evidence than Hinz had encountered for the end of the third century BC. Although other evidence from the cult's heartland in the Imperial period is limited, it is clear that the cult did not become extinct. A festival of Ceres Domina on August 16th was celebrated in Catina in the first to second century AD (*AE* 1919.57; *ISic* 3659).⁶⁹ Continuity may have been found at the cult's most important and noteworthy sites with a supra-regional appeal for which there is little archaeological data. The cults at Henna and Catina remained noteworthy enough to be the target of Lactantius' fourth-century AD invective against paganism (*Lactant. Div. Inst.* 2.4.28).⁷⁰ However, even these may have experienced a decline. Although the sanctuary at Henna has not yet been located, likely found in the area of the Castello di Lombardia,⁷¹ it is thought to have declined by the end of the first century BC when Strabo described Henna as having only a few remaining inhabitants (*Strab.* 6.2.6).⁷² Wilson remarked that, with the reduced importance of Sicilian grain following the annexation of Egypt, the

⁶⁸ The Chthonic Sanctuary had likely gone out of use by Augustan period, certainly by the leveling of the entire sanctuary sometime in the second or third century AD (De Miro 2000, 90). As mentioned above, activity at the Sanctuary of the Chthonic Deities after the third century BC is enigmatic, but there is certainly no evidence to suggest continuity beyond the first century BC.

⁶⁹ Santangelo 1919-20, 174-80; Manganaro 1962, 490-501.

⁷⁰ Wilson 1990, 189.

⁷¹ On the sanctuary and cult, see Wilson 1988, 196; Wilson 1990, 288-9; Manganaro 2003; Schipporeit 2008, 41-2.

⁷² Wilson 1990, 288; Kunz 2006, 67. Due to Strabo's focus on themes of decline (Clarke 1999) some skepticism regarding the decline at Henna is warranted. A funerary inscription for a priestess of Ceres at Henna (*ISic* 2984) attests to the presence of the cult into the Imperial period. The date on this inscription is unclear, dating to either the Julio-Claudian (Manganaro 1965, 189) or second century AD (Wilson 1988, 196 fn. 422). The religious iconography on the municipal issues Henna c. 44/36 BC with Ceres l. /Pluto and Persephone (*RPC I*, 661); Artemis (?) l. /Triptolemus (*RPC I* 662) indicate Henna's prosperity and the civic importance of the cult until at least the mid-late first century BC. The presence of one of these coins in the Megara Hyblaea hoard is indicative of their wide circulation (Cammarata 1987, 27-33; Manganaro 2008, 33-44).

sanctuary lost its preeminent position.⁷³ The archaeological picture is equally nebulous at Catina, despite the discovery of what may have been the primary Classical and Hellenistic sanctuary at Catina at the former Benedictine Monastery at Piazza Dante.⁷⁴ While evidence of a Roman period sanctuary here remains uncertain, if the *c.* second-century AD seated female statuette (Persephone?)⁷⁵ and two Greek inscriptions to Demeter and Persephone found in the area are associated with the sanctuary,⁷⁶ then they at least provide solid evidence of the important sanctuary's continuity into the first and second centuries AD.

The archaeological evidence from outside the cult's heartland is far more limited, and while it does show some evidence of decline, it presents a more complex picture of the cult after the first century BC with evidence of repair and revitalization from exceptional benefactions. This supports the possibility of continuity at sanctuaries with the widest supra-regional appeal. The recently excavated rural Thesmophorion at Entella may have declined in the first century BC before going out of use at some time in the following two centuries.⁷⁷ However, this was not the case at the Temple of Proserpina found outside the ancient city of Melita⁷⁸ on the Mtarfa hill, which appears to have suffered an even more severe decline but was instead repaired. An

⁷³ Wilson 1990, 189.

⁷⁴ Branciforti 2003, 112; Privitera 2009, 44. On recent excavations at the sanctuary, see Tortorici 2016, 126-37 no. 107. Another possible sanctuary was likely in the large and enigmatic public area to the east and northeast of the theater (Tortorici 2016, 107-12 nos. 87-8) which was also likely the site of cult activities connected to Isis and Serapis (Holm 1925, 101), and Aphrodite or Hera (Tortorici 2016, 157 no. 122). However, the area may have been gradually residentialized during the Republican and early Imperial periods. On residential buildings of the late Republican period and early Imperial period in the area, see Tortorici 2016, 96-7 no. 77, 112 no. 89, 115 no. 98.

⁷⁵ The statuette was originally identified as Cybele (Holm 1925, 27-8), which has since been doubted (Sfameni Gasparro 1973, 277 no. 332) and supported by the absence of attendant lions, and an identification of Persephone is likely (Wilson 1990, 409 n. 67). For a similar example, see doubts raised about the Cybele identification on the reliefs at the "Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites", which may depict Demeter and Kore (Chapter 2.3.3).

⁷⁶ Wilson 1990, 189 gives first century AD date (*SEG* 38.942; *ISic* 1275) for the first inscription which has since been dated more generally from the third century BC to first century AD (Hinz 1998, 160 fn. 929; Korhonen 2004, 70 fn. 1, 274 fn. 210). While the second, dedicated to Persephone Basilis (*IG* XIV 450; *ISic* 1274), has only been dated to the mid-Imperial period based upon letter form of the diamond shaped omicron (Wilson 1990, 409 n. 67).

⁷⁷ Although the excavators argue for continuity at the extramural Sanctuary of Demeter at Entella to the second-third century AD (Spatafora 2016, 11-22), the stratigraphy, damaged by the hillside's erosion, poses key problems for the analysis of the site (Spatafora 2016, 6-7; Frey-Kupper 2016b, 285-6). There is a general reduction in the amount of datable material from the second quarter of the second to first century BC followed by another reduction from the first century BC to AD (Spatafora 2016, 17). Evidence of continued religious activity beyond the first century BC is primarily reliant upon two Latin *defixiones* dated to the first century AD (the text remains unpublished and only one tablet has been cleaned) based upon script and the use of Latin (Ampolo 2016). These Latin curse tablets are unique in Sicily with only one other curse tablet (*SEG* 49 1302) containing some Latin text (a list of names found on side B: Iunius, Septumius, C. Acinus, M. An(nius), L. Umbonius, M. Nautius, M. Rustius, L. Nautius, Umbonia), with the curse itself written in Greek; it was found in a tomb in Lilybaeum and dates to the late third to early second century BC (Bechtold and Brugnone 1997, 111-3). For more on the Lilybaeum tablet, see Cosani 2006, 473; Tribulato 2012, 305-6.

⁷⁸ Melita (modern Mdina, Malta) was part of the Roman province of Sicily.

Augustan inscription from the hilltop recounts repairs of the temple so extensive that they “amounted to a total rebuilding” with the restoration of the walls, columns, and pediment.⁷⁹

Chrestion Aug(usti) lib(ertus) proc(urator) insularum Melit(ae) et Gaul(i) / columnas cum fasti[g]iis / et parietibus templi deae / Proserpinae vetu[st]ate in] / ruinam in[mi]n[im]enti[s] / restituit, simul et pilam / inauravit. (CIL X 7494)

Chrestion the freedman of Augustus, procurator of the islands of Melita and Gaulos restored the columns together with the gables and the walls of the temple of Proserpina which was in grave danger of collapsing through old age; at the same time, he also gilded the pillar.

That these extensive renovations were undertaken by an Augustan procurator - perhaps as an Imperial benefaction - is evidence of the exceptional nature of the works and importance of the sanctuary. A similar situation is found in Panormus, where an inscription recounts the not insignificant dedication (perhaps an altar or statue)⁸⁰ to Ceres by the quaestor of Sicily (and praetor *designatus*) L. Cornelius Marcellus sometime in the Neronian period (*CIL X 7266; ISic 0009*), further attesting to the significance and importance of sanctuaries that saw later continuity and works.

Due to the significant representation of sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore within the thesis, it is difficult to make distinctions between changes affecting the wider sacred landscape and those which exclusively or more heavily impacted the cult of Demeter and Kore. However, it is clear that the second to the first century BC (and to a lesser extent, the first century AD) was a period of significant and complex change in need of further study. These changes appear to have most heavily impacted the cult’s heartland in the south and southeast. This saw the disappearance of the cult’s numerous sanctuaries which had defined the region’s religious landscape since the Archaic period. By the early Imperial period, the role of Demeter and Kore within this area appears to have not been substantially different from the rest of Sicily with evidence of the cult primarily localized to especially important centers at Catina and Henna in the heartland as well as Panormus and Melita.

⁷⁹ Wilson 1990, 289. On the date of the inscription, see Bonanno 2005, 204 which has been recently challenged by Sagona 2015, 285, but is certainly no later than the first century AD. The remains of the temple are now lost but 19th-century antiquarians record the presence of marble architectural remains on the hill (Boisgelin 1805, 3-4, pl. 1 fig. 3; Caruana 1881, 11, 15-6; Caruana 1882, 88-9 no. 92), a possible indicator of its importance and grandeur. On the current location of some extant remains from the hilltop now reused in Mdina (ancient Melita) as well as the history of the inscription (now lost except for a few fragments), see Mercieca 2014; Mercieca 2015.

⁸⁰ Although the inscription does not say what was dedicated, dedications *ex multis* were generally more modest expenditures such as statues and altars (Tran 2008, 334-5; Ramanius 2012, 118), and certainly not works as extensive as the Temple of Proserpina. For examples of the more modest dedications such as statues and altars *ex multis*, see *CIL VIII 972-3, 12445; AE 2003, 1902*.

7.2.2 Aspects of Continuity

Demeter and Kore, or elements of their cult, may have remained an important part of the religious make-up in the south and southeastern Sicily beyond these large sites. At Morgantina, Bell noted a late first-century BC revival in the use of the votive terracotta statuettes (which had disappeared in the third century) within domestic contexts,⁸¹ and these statuettes were also found inside the late first-century BC Chthonic Shrine in Morgantina (Chapter 5.4). While this could represent a revival in this older cult practice, that the shrine was founded inside a disused stoa instead of part of an older sanctuary such as the nearby Central Sanctuary, as was seen in the mid-second century at the sanctuary Piazza della Vittoria (Chapter 2.5) and c. 130 BC at the Central Shrine (Chapter 5.2), suggests that it may be seen as a significant moment of change within the cult, and not necessarily one of continuity. The extent to which a similar shift could be seen elsewhere requires further research. Sicilian terracotta statuettes of the Roman period remain especially understudied outside Morgantina, and small single room shrines, especially those of the Roman period, are not sufficiently published and undoubtedly underrepresented within the archaeological record.

More public aspects of Demeter and Kore may have continued through other related cults. Demeter and Kore have been connected to the Theai Hagnai,⁸² a cult found at both Acrae and Tauromenium, which was worshipped at Tauromenium at least into the early Imperial period (*IG XIV 431*; *ISic 1256*).⁸³ An unusual African form of the cult, otherwise unattested outside Africa, is evidenced in Lilybaeum by an inscription from AD 169/172 dedicating various public works to Marcus Aurelius including the paving of thirteen miles of road dedicated to the Cereres (Ceres and Proserpina) at which a sanctuary to them was almost certainly found (*AE 1964, 181*; *ISic 0816*).⁸⁴

⁸¹ Bell 1981, 76-7. This revival included the use of Persephone busts and Persephone with torch and piglet. However, very few Imperial period curse tablets have been found with none dating after the second century AD in contrast to Greece which sees a sharp uptick in the production of curse tablets under the Empire (Curbera 1999, 159).

⁸² The Theai Hagnai are typically connected to Demeter and Kore (White 1963, 136; Wilson 1990, 289; Kunz 2006, 67), but they have also been connected to nymphs (Larson 2001, 221; Gawlinski 2012, 196). A connection to Anna and the Paidēs and the Theai Hagnai has also been proposed (Pugliese Caratelli 1951, 73) and thus also Demeter and Kore could also be associated with Anna and the Paidēs. However, the connection between Anna and the Paidēs and the Theai Hagnai remains largely unsubstantiated (Wilson 1990, 280) and there is little evidence of Anna and the Paidēs beyond the early first century AD (Chapter 7.1.4).

⁸³ Evidence of the Hellenistic cult at Acrae (*IG XIV 204*; *ISic 1024*). The inscription at Tauromenium is dated based upon letter forms (Wilson 1990, 289).

⁸⁴ Barbieri 1961, 30-2.

Although evidence for the Imperial cult is limited in Sicily, especially in the southeast, at least a limited amount of civic continuity for Demeter and Kore likely occurred through their association with the Imperial cult. Ceres was closely associated with the Imperial cult throughout the Empire through her connections to fertility, abundance, and fortune.⁸⁵ This connection began as early as the Augustan and Tiberian periods through Julia Augusta and Demeter/Ceres⁸⁶ and can be seen in Sicily at Gozo, where a draped female marble statue (Livia-Ceres?) was dedicated to her by one of her priestesses in the early first century AD.⁸⁷ Panormus had frequently produced coinage representing Demeter and Kore throughout the Republican period⁸⁸ and minted two additional bronze issues in AD 15-16 and 16-21 depicting Ceres as Julia Augusta.⁸⁹ This represents the incorporation of the Imperial cult within the existing numismatic iconographical tradition and is suggestive of a link between the two cults. Other connections between Ceres and the Imperial cult are found continuing well into the Imperial period, at a series of shrines in the upper agora at Halaesa,⁹⁰ and possibly at Catina, where the festival of Ceres Domina mentioned above may have been connected to the empress.⁹¹

Another likely point of continuity may have occurred in connection with Isis. The tendency of Isis towards syncretism is regarded as one of her fundamental characteristics,⁹² and her frequent syncretism with Demeter and Kore is especially well known (Hdt. 2.171.2-3; Plut. *De Is. Et Os.* 361E, 378 D-E; Diod. Sic. 5.69.1).⁹³ In Sicily, this can be seen through Apuleius'

⁸⁵ Portale 2009, 80-7.

⁸⁶ Spaeth 1994, 88-93; 1996, 47.

⁸⁷ Bruno 2004, 56-7; Bonanno 2005, 205-6. The accompanying marble inscription of Tiberian date, possibly as early as AD 14-15 (Wilson 1990, 296) recounts the dedication of the acephalic statue by the priestess of Livia, Lutatia, to Livia in the guise of Ceres (*CIL* X 7501; *ISic* 3469).

⁸⁸ Two issues from 180/70 - 150/40 and 150/40 - 130/120 both show Demeter on the obverse (Frey-Kupper 2013, 392 nos. 379-83) and another issue another 90 - 50/40 BC depicts Persephone on the reverse (Gàbrici 1927b, 161 nos. 282-304; Frey-Kupper 2013, 394-5 nos. 418-32).

⁸⁹ Frey-Kupper 2013, 399-401 nos. 492-528; *RPC* I 642-5.

⁹⁰ A series of shrines built into the back side of the upper agora's west stoa. The stoa is dated to the late second century BC (Scibona 2009, 43) with religious activity coming in the form of a series of dedications "to all the gods" from the second and first centuries BC (Prag 2017, 33-8 nos. 6-9; Prestianni Giallombardo 2012, 176-81). The series of shrines is thought to have fallen under the administration of the Sevirii Augustales in Imperial times (Facella 2006, 340-2), and shrine III received a substantial marble makeover for its dedication to the Imperial cult c. AD 50-120 (Wilson 1990, 47-8) although a date as early as the Augustan period is possible (Burgio 2013, 41 fn. 2). Evidence of Ceres comes from a marble statue of Ceres (1.7 m) with inscribed base: *Cereri sacr(um) Iulius Acilius Her/-mes pro honor(e) seviratus ?d(eae)d(onum)d(edit)?* (*AE* 1973 273; *ISic* 0804). Found in front of shrines II and III, the statue dates to the second to third centuries AD (Prag 2017, 74 no. 37), possibly the late Antonine period on stylistic grounds (Portale 2009, 80-7). It is thought to have been originally placed in shrines VI or VII (Portale 2009, 80 fn. 30), shrine IV (Prestianni Giallombardo 2012, 182) or perhaps outside of shrine III (Tigano 2008, 81), and has been connected to the Imperial cult (Portale 2009, 80-7).

⁹¹ Kunz 2006, 164-5.

⁹² Nagel 2017, 219 with earlier bibliography.

⁹³ Tobin 1991.

Metamorphoses, written in the second half of the second century AD,⁹⁴ where Isis states that she was worshipped as Ortygian Proserpina by the trilingual Sicilians (Apul. *Met.* 11.5). This establishes a clear link between Isis and the Imperial period cult of Demeter and Kore in Syracuse. Although archaeological evidence for a direct connection between both cults in Sicily is generally lacking,⁹⁵ there is reason to suspect that her arrival in Sicily may have been in some way connected to the decline of Demeter and Kore.

The cult of Isis (and Serapis) appears to have arrived in Sicily around the middle of the second century BC (Chapter 7.3), in the midst of the revival of Demeter and Kore in that century, but the subsequent fortunes of both cults stand in contrast. Unlike Demeter and Kore which appears to have declined during the first century BC, Isis appears to have thrived well into the Imperial period until the rise of Christianity.⁹⁶ This dichotomy may have played out in Agrigentum's agora where the religious (and political) focus of the agora appears to have shifted from the "Oratory of Phalaris" dedicated to Demeter and Kore to the Hellenistic-Roman sanctuary, which has been connected to Isis,⁹⁷ during the late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods, which ultimately culminated in the sacred disuse of the "Oratory of Phalaris" and its conversion to a marketplace while the Hellenistic-Roman Sanctuary received extensive renovations (Chapter 7.1.1).⁹⁸ However, this should not necessarily be interpreted as evidence that the arrival of Isis led to the decline of Demeter and Kore; instead, Isis and Serapis may have benefited from the decline of Demeter and Kore.⁹⁹

The available evidence clearly shows that the Republican and early Imperial periods were an especially complex time of change for the cult most synonymous with Sicilian religion. The

⁹⁴ Griffiths 1974, 7-14.

⁹⁵ Archaeological evidence for the cult of Isis and Serapis in eastern Sicily is limited and the observation has been made that her syncretism in western Sicily appears to have been more closely connected to Aphrodite/Astarte (De Miro 2010, 59; Fazio 2017). Although the inscription from Tauromenium (Chapter 6.4.1) shows Isis' syncretism with Hestia, the discovery of a late Hellenistic terracotta bust from a tomb in Centuripae is also suggestive of her syncretism with chthonic and funerary aspects of Demeter and Kore (Libertini 1926, 120).

⁹⁶ Isis and Serapis are known to have thrived throughout the Roman world after its introduction and into the Empire (Nagel 2017, 207), and the evidence from Sicily does not present a dissimilar picture. For a survey of the evidence of Isis and Serapis, see Wilson 1990, 298-300; Kunz 2006, 83-4 and Chapter 7.3.1-2.

⁹⁷ This attribution has been debated, for a discussion see below (Chapter 7.3.2).

⁹⁸ This can also be seen in Syracuse where a sanctuary of Serapis (and Isis) undergoes repairs and a restoration of rites in the late first century BC or AD (*AE* 1951.174; *ISic* 0728) in the same period that the city's known sanctuaries to Demeter and Kore went out of use (Chapter 2.9.3.1-2).

⁹⁹ The way in which Isis and Serapis integrated within the existing pantheon and how this would have affected Demeter and Kore is a particularly interesting question. The "religious market" theory (North 1992) would suggest that after their introduction, Isis (and Serapis) out-competed Demeter and Kore contributing to their later decline in the first century BC. However, Woolf has recently suggested pointed out that Isis and Serapis instead appear to have largely filled existing niches within the local religious ecology (Woolf 2014, 88). In contrast, this would suggest that Isis (and Serapis) merely benefited from the decline of Demeter and Kore and their arrival was not a contributing factor.

public cult of Demeter and Kore virtually disappears from the archaeological record. The epigraphic, literary, and numismatic evidence clearly shows that some form of the cult continued into Late Antiquity. However, the extent to which these later forms of the cult, such as those connected to Isis and the Imperial cult, were connected to the earlier forms of the cult must remain unclear pending further study. It is clear that, by the early Imperial period, the famous Sicilian Cult of Demeter and Kore, which had dominated the island from the Archaic to the early-Hellenistic period, had lost its preeminent position in the public religious hierarchy within both its traditional heartland in the south and southeast, as well as the rest of Sicily.

7.3 The Arrival of Isis and Serapis

The spread of Isis and Serapis outside Egypt and throughout the Mediterranean was a distinctly Hellenistic phenomenon brought about through increasing trade and cultural contacts following the conquests of Alexander the Great; this spread has conventionally been divided into two waves: the first occurred from the late fourth to third centuries when the cult spread through harbor cities to the Aegean and the hinterlands of mainland Greece and Asia Minor.¹⁰⁰ The second saw the cult's expansion into the Western Mediterranean, notably Italy,¹⁰¹ and has often been closely linked to the cult's arrival in Delos and Delos' rise as a trading hub with the Western Mediterranean, especially Italy and Rome during the second century BC.¹⁰²

Located between the Eastern and Western Mediterranean, Sicily's role in this diffusion and the date of the public cult's introduction has remained unclear. The question has largely been focused on Eastern Sicily, the source of some of the earliest and most compelling evidence,¹⁰³ and as a result, the thesis is able to provide a valuable contribution to the discussion. Older theories on the cult's introduction to Sicily have placed it as early as the late fourth or third centuries, attributing it to the close political ties between Ptolemaic Egypt and the Syracusan

¹⁰⁰ Bommas 2005, 32-63.

¹⁰¹ Bommas 2005, 64-78. The introduction to Italy and Rome has been the subject of significant debate, for more on the issue see Gasparini 2007; Fontana 2010, 64-9 with previous bibliography. The earliest evidence of the public cult comes from Pompeii and Puteoli where two late second-century BC *Isea* have been located (Malaise 1972a, 265-91; Wild 1984, 1809-10).

¹⁰² Malaise 1972b, 259; Hayne 1992, 144-6; Siekierka 2008, 228-9; Fontana 2010, 65.

¹⁰³ On the differences between the "Egyptian" evidence and the evidence directly tied to Isis and Serapis, see Sfameni Gasparro 2006, 259-61.

monarchs Agathocles and Hieron II,¹⁰⁴ or to the late second century BC, receiving the cult through the Delian trade networks, alongside Rome and Italy.¹⁰⁵

In her fundamental study, *I culti orientali in Sicilia*, Sfameni Gasparro conducted a painstaking examination of the island's archaeological, numismatic, and epigraphic evidence, which convincingly showed that there was little evidence to support older theories of an Agathoclean or Hieronian introduction; she instead proposed that the cult was most likely introduced in the late third century BC during the years immediately following the deaths of Hieron II and Hieronymus.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, she argued that Sicily, especially Syracuse, had functioned alongside Delos as a key conduit for the cult's expansion into the Western Mediterranean.¹⁰⁷ This contrasts with the conventional account of the cult's spread and Malaise, in her fundamental works on the cult's diffusion in Italy and the Western Mediterranean, remained neutral on the date of the cult's arrival in Sicily, but argued that its role in the cult's diffusion was most likely limited or even non-existent.¹⁰⁸

7.3.1 Numismatic Evidence

This issue received little attention in the decades following Sfameni Gasparro's initial publication, and Sfameni Gasparro's proposal has received a degree of acceptance.¹⁰⁹ A restatement of her numismatic arguments in 1995, however, ignited the most extensive discussion. She argued that the minting of bronze coinage by Syracuse, Catina, and Menaeum depicting the cult in the late third to early second century BC represented its official introduction and recognition.¹¹⁰ In support of this, she proposed high dates for the Syracuse Isis/Headdress of Isis (early second century BC), Syracuse Zeus/Isis¹¹¹ (late third to early second century BC), Catina Serapis and Isis jugate/two corn ears (late third century BC), and

¹⁰⁴ On these earlier theories, see; Sfameni Gasparro 1973, 1-6 with full bibliography. On the cultural and political contacts between Ptolemaic Egypt and Sicily in the early Hellenistic period, see Portale 2015 especially 140 ft. 3 with earlier bibliography. On economic contacts, see Wolf and Lorber 2011; Frey-Kupper 2013 172-4.

¹⁰⁵ Ciaceri 1911, 265; Libertini 1926, 121; Carpinteri 1930, 31-2.

¹⁰⁶ Sfameni Gasparro 1973, 100-13; Sfameni Gasparro 1995; Sfameni Gasparro 2000, 59-60; Sfameni Gasparro 2006, 259-314. Sfameni Gasparro does however remain open to the possibility of an earlier Hieronian introduction.

¹⁰⁷ Sfameni Gasparro 1973, 113; Sfameni Gasparro 1998, 665; Sfameni Gasparro 2000, 5-36.

¹⁰⁸ Malaise 1972a, 261-3; Malaise 1972b, 316-24; Malaise 1978, 659-63; Malaise 1984, 1640-1. Sfameni Gasparro's proposals are not referenced or discussed.

¹⁰⁹ Kunz 2006, 83 remains largely neutral on the cult's introduction (placing it in the third-second century) without citation of Sfameni Gasparro, but like Sfameni Gasparro, she doubts an Agathoclean introduction. Sfameni Gasparro's thesis was recently supported by Stone 2014, 246 ft. 85 through his analysis of the Eastern Sicilian medallion ware iconography (discussed below, Chapter 7.3.2), which he attributes this to the mid-third century BC.

¹¹⁰ Sfameni Gasparro 1995.

¹¹¹ Gàbrici 1927b, 188 nos. 608-10.

Catina Serapis, Isis, and Harpokrates (late third century BC) bronze issues while also following Caccamo Caltabiano's high date for the Menaëum Serapis/Nike in Biga (210-185 BC) bronze issue.¹¹²

Mattingly critiqued these high chronologies and urged caution. Although he agreed that the appearance of the cult on civic issues did imply a degree of official recognition for the cult in each city, he challenged the high chronologies of both Sfameni Gasparro and Caccamo Caltabiano and pointed out that the numismatic evidence could only place the cult's official introduction around the middle of the second century BC; he instead argued in favor of lower chronologies for the minting of the Syracuse Isis/Headdress of Isis (mid-late second century BC), Catina Serapis and Isis jugate/two corn ears (mid-second century BC), Catina Serapis, Isis, and Harpokrates (first century BC), and Menaëum Serapis/Nike in Biga (late second century BC) issues.¹¹³

Following a rebuttal of Mattingly's critiques by Sfameni Gasparro in 2006,¹¹⁴ the numismatic questions have been left open and unresolved. Mattingly's chronological critiques were largely compelling, and later dates for the Syracusan Isis/Headdress of Isis issue (mid-second to mid-first century BC)¹¹⁵ and Syracusan Zeus/Isis issue (mid-first century BC)¹¹⁶ have since received some recognition. A full reassessment of this complex numismatic debate is beyond the scope of this chapter, and the upcoming *Historia Numorum* volume on Sicily will undoubtedly do much to settle the chronological questions regarding the issues. However, as the preliminary analysis of votive materials from the Altar of Hieron (chapter 2.1.2) involved a specimen and archaeological context central to the above debate, it will be examined in further detail before proceeding to the archaeological evidence.

Sfameni Gasparro's high chronology for the Syracusan Zeus/Isis issue was based upon the recovery of a single specimen from the *thysiai* deposited immediately to the north of the Altar of Hieron;¹¹⁷ the excavator, Gentili, had stated that they were deposited for only a few decades

¹¹² Caccamo Caltabiano 1985.

¹¹³ Mattingly 2000, 36-41. Sfameni Gasparro 1995, 103-5 also identified Isis on the obverse Zeus/Tyche Syracusan bronze series (Gàbrici 1927b, 189 no. 616) which was doubted by Mattingly. This issue had been given a general post 212 BC date (Buttrey *et al.* 108 no. 381). However, it has since been dated to the late second century (Frey-Kupper 2013, 412 nos. 673-5).

¹¹⁴ Sfameni Gasparro 2006, 275-86, 296.

¹¹⁵ Mattingly 2000, 38 noted that Sfameni Gasparro misrepresented the archaeological context of a Syracusan Isis/Headress of Isis specimen found by Orsi 1897, 487 upon which her early date was based. On the currently accepted date, see Frey-Kupper 2013, 413 no. 676.

¹¹⁶ Frey-Kupper 2003, 521, 531.

¹¹⁷ Sfameni Gasparro 1995, 96-8; Gasparro 2000, 42-4; Sfameni Gasparro 2006, 280-1.

after 211 BC before their deposition petered out by the early second century BC.¹¹⁸ In an argument that Sfameni Gasparro later criticized as Mattingly's weakest critique of her high chronologies, "non è necessario spendere molto parole per mostrare il carattere aprioristico e incongruo di tale asserzione",¹¹⁹ Mattingly suggested that the specimen (published by Gentili without a photograph) may have been misidentified as Gentili recorded that it was especially worn, and Zeus/Isis issues of poor quality are difficult to distinguish from other similar issues such as the Syracusan Zeus/Tyche.¹²⁰ This context and coin evidence would provide strong evidence against the middle of the first-century BC date.

However, the study of a selection of coins from amongst the Altar of Hieron's votive materials showed that Mattingly's doubts regarding the Zeus/Isis issue's high chronology were well placed. The specimen from *thysia* 43 (Chapter 2 fig. 18.3) had, in fact, been misidentified by Gentili. No beard was discernable on the obverse, and the value mark "III" on the reverse clearly identified the specimen as a Mamertine Apollo/Nike issue (Chapter 2.1.2). As a result, not only is there is no evidence for the Zeus/Isis issue's high chronology, having been based exclusively on an erroneous identification of a single specimen, but the more recently proposed and cautious middle of the first-century BC date for the Zeus/Isis issue is much more secure.

7.3.2 Archaeological Evidence

Unlike the numismatic evidence, Sfameni Gasparro's analysis of other archaeological material has not received any further attention. The crux of her archaeological argument rests upon the foundation of the Sanctuary of Isis and Serapis in Tauromenium, which she placed no later than the late third to early second century BC.¹²¹ However, as discussed in Chapter 6, such a precise and early date is entirely unsupported and even the conventional third to second-century date is unlikely. Instead, the Karneades inscription (*IG XIV 43; ISic 1258*), which may have been set up in the earliest phase of the sanctuary, is unlikely to date before the mid-second century BC when trade between Cyrenaica and the West expanded; it may belong as late as the first century BC (Chapter 6.4.1).

¹¹⁸ Gentili 1954, 333-53.

¹¹⁹ Sfameni Gasparro 2006, 281.

¹²⁰ Mattingly 2000, 38.

¹²¹ Sfameni Gasparro 1973, 104, 111, 113; Sfameni Gasparro 1995, 82 fn. 8; Sfameni Gasparro 2000, 38-9; Sfameni Gasparro 2006, 265, 290. This high chronology is followed most recently by Gasparini 2007, 66. "Santuari pubblici sono con sicurezza attestati a Tauromenium (già a fine iii-inizi ii secolo a.C.)." with reference to *RICIS* 621 508/0101 (which instead follows the conventional third to second century BC date).



Fig. 13 - Lilybaeum, Capo Boeo. Sanctuary of Isis and Serapis (Canzonieri 2017, 83 fig. 35).

Recent excavations have since raised the number of Sicilian *Isea* in Sicily to possibly as many as three;¹²² these sanctuaries also present a similar picture that all point to the cult's arrival no earlier than the mid-second century BC. The earliest phase of the second-century AD sanctuary of Isis and Serapis at Lilybaeum dates back to the late second century BC (fig. 13),¹²³ with activity seen through large votive deposits consisting of ash, remains of foodstuffs, and large numbers of plain, unadorned type "C" votive lamps with one deposit (US 131) containing 468 lamps.¹²⁴ Similarly, the Hellenistic-Roman Sanctuary on the northern end of Agrigentum's agora was founded in the second half of the second century BC,¹²⁵ and although De Miro's proposed attribution to Isis and Serapis is speculative.¹²⁶ It remains a compelling possibility.

¹²² The "Ginnasio Romano" has been connected to Isis and Serapis (and various "Eastern" cults more generally) but now appears to have been in use at least as early as the fourth-third century BC, and possibly even earlier (Chapter 2.6). The evidence for this attribution was already limited and is unlikely such an early chronology makes such an attribution even more unlikely (Chapter 2.6.3). However, Isis and Serapis also appear to have been incorporated into older sanctuaries so a connection cannot be entirely ruled out. Isis also appears within the Punic sanctuary at Grotta Regina (Palermo) which was dedicated to Tanit/Astarte beginning in the first century BC, (De Vincenzo 2013, 266-8; Nagel 2019, 896-7).

¹²³ Sanctuary made up of a large central room (7.8 x 12.2 m) with partially uncovered monumental structure (perhaps a temple) immediately to the south (Canzonieri 2017, 78-9). Attribution is secure based upon a second-century AD dedication to Isis Murionumos (Brugnone 2017) as well as the remains of statuary and iconography on other material finds (Giglio Cerniglia 2017b, 66-9; Canzonieri 2017, 79-81, Fazio 2017).

¹²⁴ Giglio Cerniglia 2017a, 33; Giglio Cerniglia 2017b, 64; Canzonieri 2017, 82.

¹²⁵ Gerogiannis 2017; Livadiotti and Fino 2017, 100-2. Sanctuary is discussed in greater detail above (Chapter 7.1.1).

¹²⁶ De Miro 2010, 57-61. Doubts were raised by Prag 2013, who rightly urges caution regarding the uncertain provenance and ambiguity of much of the evidence. However, Prag's assertion that an *Iseum* could not have been in the agora is not convincing given the recently discovered second-first century BC Greek dedication to Serapis (and possibly Isis) recovered from the lower agora of Halaesa (*ISic* 3686; Prag 2017, 31-2).

The archaeological remains all point to a later introduction of the cult congruous with the numismatic evidence.

The final key piece of evidence for Sfameni Gasparro's proposals was the local production of Eastern Sicilian medallion ware pottery, specifically the two Isis and Serapis types (types 1 and 2). Eastern Sicilian medallion ware was a locally produced fine ware pottery of the Hellenistic period with mold made decorations featuring gods and goddesses, combat (likely mythological), floral decorations, masks, and ox skulls; production is thought to have begun in Syracuse and later spread to Morgantina, northern Sicily, and possibly southern Italy.¹²⁷ The entire series is currently thought to have been produced from the mid-third to mid-second century BC, with earlier proposals for the production ranging from as early as the late-fourth to as late as the first century BC.¹²⁸ The production of the Isis and Serapis types has been tied to the cult's introduction, first by Sfameni Gasparro, who dated them to the late third to early second century BC,¹²⁹ and more recently by Stone, who argued their production began around the mid-third century BC.¹³⁰

Like the numismatic evidence, a full discussion of the pottery and its chronology is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, as the Isis and Serapis types are integral for the chronology of the entire series, the pottery will be briefly addressed. Stone, in his most recent examination of the Morgantina fine wares, noted the difficulty in establishing the series' production run including a paucity of dated "fills" with only three outside Morgantina: two came from tombs in Lilybaeum with a relative dating sometime in the second half of the third century, and the third from Syracuse believed to have been dated to either the late third or early second century BC.¹³¹ Stone noted that although the majority of the Morgantina pottery was not found in "fills" datable to the third century, the data from Morgantina still largely supported the previous evidence from Syracuse and Lilybaeum with eight (of 157) fragments found in "fills" which pre-date the destruction event of 211 BC.¹³² Two fragments of the Isis and Serapis types, both later variants, have been found within the above "fills": one from a garbage dump in Syracuse

¹²⁷ Stone 2014, 231-68.

¹²⁸ Stone 2014, 238-44 with full discussion of earlier bibliography.

¹²⁹ Sfameni Gasparro 1973, 24-6; Sfameni Gasparro 1995, 86-8; Sfameni Gasparro 2000, 40-1; Sfameni Gasparro 2006, 270-2.

¹³⁰ Stone 2014, 252. "the vases with these medallions must appear in Syracuse around the middle of the third century BCE, thus providing (one assumes) the date for the introduction of the Egyptian gods to Sicily."

¹³¹ Stone 2014, 240, 250.

¹³² Stone 2014, 241-2.

(fig 14, type 2B), and a second found in a c. 130 BC floor packing in Morgantina (type 2C).¹³³ Stone, noting the Syracusan fragment's later variant type, argued that the "fill" (and Isis and Serapis fragment) more likely belonged slightly later to the early second century¹³⁴ and that the earliest variants of the Isis and Serapis types (and entire medallion ware series) must have begun production around the mid-third century.¹³⁵



Fig. 14 - Syracuse, Amphitheater. Eastern Sicilian medallion ware cup (inv. no. 35094) type 2B: Bearded god (Serapis) with rays emanating from his head in front of a goddess (Isis) with headdress (Sfameni Gasparro 1973 tab. 11 fig. 14).

As a result, the Syracusan context remains integral not only for questions regarding the introduction of the cult but also for the entire medallion ware series. However, this context is especially problematic, as it was never dated as precisely as believed. The Syracusan fragment was recovered during excavations at the amphitheater's southern entrance conducted by Orsi in 1914 (published in 1915) which uncovered large dumps of Hellenistic period refuse material, probably from workshops and a marketplace, "grandi banchi di età ellenistica... si direbbe che tutto ciò costituisca i rifiuti di emporio, ed anche di officine ellenistiche"; among the dumps' contents were thousands of pottery sherds ("pochi campioni e tutti italioti"), hundreds of

¹³³ Stone 2014, 242, 251. A third Isis and Serapis piece (possibly type 2) was found in a third to second grave in Syracuse dated generally third to second century BC (Sfameni Gasparro 1973 178 no. 39; Stone 2014, 240 fn. 53).

¹³⁴ The argument of Sfameni Gasparro 1973, 24-6 in favor of her late third to early second century BC date for the Syracusan fragment is reliant upon her argument (*contra* Carpinteri 1930, 31-2) that the Syracusan fragment was not a late variant, but contemporaneous with other earlier fragments from the same deposit Carpinteri had dated to the late third to early second century BC. As Stone's detailed analysis of the medallion ware series clearly identified the Isis and Serapis fragment as a late type variant, the argument of Sfameni Gasparro can be dismissed.

¹³⁵ Stone 2014, 252-3.

amphora handles (“in prevalenza rodii”), a few terracotta statuettes, and some medallion ware fragments, “una bella serie di frammenti di coppe coralline o brune con emblemata in rilievo”.¹³⁶ Carpinteri, as part of his study of the medallion ware series (the most recent significant examination before Stone), examined the Rhodian *amphora* handles and few terracotta statuettes; he used these to establish a general chronology for the medallion ware fragments, dating the examined material from third century BC and later “insomma tutto un materiale che ci riporta ad un’epoca che va dal III sec. av. c. in giù”.¹³⁷ Although the production of the medallion ware series may still have begun around the mid-third century as Stone argued, the questions surrounding this Isis and Serapis type’s early context raise questions about this and leave open the possibility of a somewhat later production. The archaeological data is insufficient to securely place the production of Isis and Serapis types in the mid-third century BC, and the types may have been introduced to the production of Eastern Medallion ware later. It does remain clear that the production of the medallion ware series began before the late third century (211 BC) and given the likely end of the entire series’ production around the mid-second century BC, the Isis and Serapis types still provide the cult’s earliest evidence in Sicily.

Without supporting numismatic, epigraphic, or archaeological evidence, the presence of Isis and Serapis iconography within the local material culture should not be taken as evidence of a public cult. Studies religious change in Late Antiquity have recently begun to challenge arguments that base the spread of religious practices on the presence of religious iconography within the local material culture.¹³⁸ Sfameni Gasparro noted that the presence of Egyptian religious iconography was not new within Sicily in the Hellenistic period and goods bearing “Egyptian” iconography such as amulets and scarabs, sometimes with a religious theme, had been imported into Sicily since the Archaic period.¹³⁹ Additionally, an ambiguity of the deities’ depictions has been noted with Stone identifying them as syncretized Isis-Selene and Serapis-

¹³⁶ Orsi 1915, 190. The discovery of a sixth century BC architectural fragment and fifth century AD Christian lamp, likely intrusions, raise further doubts about the chronological reliability of these deposits.

¹³⁷ Carpinteri 1930, 30-1. The terracotta statuettes include “...figurate nei tipi di Tanagra e Minna” (Orsi 1915, 190). Although the production of “Sicilian Tanagra” at Centuripae continued into the second and first centuries BC (Higgins 1967, 124; Langlotz and Himer 1965 nos. 144, 148, 150, 160), the Syracusan production is conventionally thought to have ceased in 212 BC (Bell 1981, 74-9), but this has more recently been drawn into question and requires further study (Wilson 2013a, 97-8).

¹³⁸ Although the introduction of Christian iconography into local material cultures has conventionally been used to trace its spread in Late Antiquity (Ribak 2004; Talloen and Pablome 2005; Talloen 2011), this has received criticism and questions have also been raised about the extent to which Pagan iconography was indicative of local religious practices (Harl 1990, 16; Buckton 1994, 39; Talloen and Pablome 2005, 63).

¹³⁹ Sfameni Gasparro 1973, 1.

Helios,¹⁴⁰ and it is thus unclear to what extent the local population would have seen the deities on the pottery as a syncretism of Isis and Serapis or Selene and Helios.

The Isis and Serapis types do indicate an increasing familiarity with the cult and its iconography during the period of close contacts between Egypt and the Kingdom of Syracuse when the cult first began to spread beyond Egypt. However, the cult's introduction should not be understood as an instantaneous event, but instead, a gradual one which would have first appeared in more modest forms and be seen through evidence such as pottery. Then later, the public cult's arrival and widespread civic acceptance through the construction of sanctuaries and minting of coinage bearing their iconography. In Rome, this was a slow process beginning with the worship of Isis and Serapis as domestic cults practiced by resident Egyptians before this gradually expanded into the wider population through traders and only then, once the cult had become sufficiently popular within the wider population, was a sanctuary built and the cult officially recognized.¹⁴¹ Thus, within Sicily, the production of these pottery types with syncretized iconography may have been a step in this gradual process, but not one indicative of a public cult or any civic recognition.

7.3.3 Conclusion

Questions regarding the introduction of Isis and Serapis into Sicily first raised by Mattingly on numismatic grounds have been further justified by the thesis' examination of the Zeus/Isis Syracusan issue and other archaeological evidence. If Mattingly's numismatic critiques are justified, a question which will hopefully be clarified by *Historia Numorum*, then there is no secure evidence for the public cult's early introduction, and both the numismatic and archaeological evidence instead points to the mid-second century for the public cult's introduction. If the cult was introduced as early as suggested by Sfamini Gasparro and Stone, then it would have most likely been isolated to Syracusae itself. It was here where the cultural impact of the Ptolemies was largely localized until the Roman conquest.¹⁴² The Isis and Serapis

¹⁴⁰ Stone 2014, 246. Earlier studies raised suggested that the deities could be identified as Helios and Selene (Pagenstecher 1909, 65 no. 84, 173-4) or Helios/Selene, Zeus/Aphrodite, or Isis and Serapis (Carpinteri 1930, 10). Carpinteri suggested that the Isis and Serapis types may have originated from the use of imported molds (Carpinteri 1930, 32).

¹⁴¹ Coarelli 1984, 472 divided this into three phases: 1. (early second century BC) "relativa a culti sporadici, privati, legati alla presenza di egiziani a Roma." 2. (late second century BC) "... si manifesta in forme assai piu saldre, legata a gruppi di commercianti, forse connessi al mercato di Delo." 3. (mid-first century BC) "l'ufficializzazione del culto". The chronology of these phases and the cult's introduction to Rome remains a hotly debated issue, see above ftn. 101. The location of Rome's first sanctuary to Isis and Serapis has also been subject to debate, see Versluys 2004.

¹⁴² Portale 2015.

medallion ware types are certainly suggestive that more private forms of the cult may have arrived in Syracusae before the Roman conquest and begun a process of familiarization with the cult, which eventually culminated in its widespread acceptance and official introduction around the mid-second century BC, as seen through the foundation of sanctuaries and minting of coinage.

A mid-second-century BC introduction also raises questions about the role of Sicily and Syracusae in the cult's diffusion throughout the Western Mediterranean. While Sfamini Gasparro's evidence was largely focused on eastern Sicily which would suggest that Syracusae at least functioned as a diffusion point for the cult into Sicily, the archaeological evidence from Lilybaeum, and possibly Agrigentum instead point to the cult's arrival in both western and eastern Sicily around the same time in the second half of the second century BC. As Kunz noted, coastal trade hubs were ideal sites for the introduction of foreign cults through trade¹⁴³ and the arrival of the cult at the coastal cities of Syracusae, Catina, Tauromenium, Lilybaeum, and possibly Agrigentum at that time point to arrival through trade contacts and not from Syracusae. Indeed, the cult's arrival in Lilybaeum has been connected with North Africa,¹⁴⁴ and it was the Cyrenaican trader Karneades who may have brought the cult to Tauromenium during the period of increasing trade ties between Cyrenaica and Sicily (Chapter 6.4.1), and not a Syracusan or resident Egyptian.

7.4. *Thesauri* and Romano-Italic Influence

One particularly noteworthy change observed in the thesis was the introduction of *thesauri*, offertory boxes¹⁴⁵ during the Republican period. Two *thesauri*, the only two in Sicily found within their sacred archaeological contexts, have already been discussed in detail at the Central Sanctuary in Morgantina (Chapter 5.1.2) and the "Asklepieion" in Helorus (Chapter 4.2.3). The *thesaurus* at Morgantina is the earliest known in Sicily which appears to date to the early second century BC, while the newly identified *thesaurus* at Helorus is uncertain, but may also be Republican in date.

Two other Sicilian *thesauri* are known. An inscribed base at Liparae was found during the excavation of a Norman monastery in 1980.¹⁴⁶ The inscription recounts the dedication of the base and accompanying *thesaurus* by two magistrates, possibly freedmen: [- - Κλω]δῖος ·

¹⁴³ Kunz 2006, 64.

¹⁴⁴ Giglio Cerniglia 2017b, 69; Brugnone 2017, 106.

¹⁴⁵ For more on *thesauri* as offertory boxes, see Kaminski 1991, 63-98; Crawford 2003, 69-74.

¹⁴⁶ Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 2001, 174. The altar/base had most likely been reused in the monastery's wall.

Ὀρέστας | [- - Σ]ήιος · Βάρηξ | [ἀγο]ρανομήσαντες | [τὸ βῆ]μα θησαυροῦ (*ISic* 3026; *SEG* 42.855).¹⁴⁷ The *thesaurus* and inscription were probably set up in the Republican period,¹⁴⁸ and the *thesaurus* appears to have been placed atop the base (figs. 16-17).¹⁴⁹ The other *thesaurus* is recorded in a now lost Republican inscription from S. Stefano Quisquina that recorded the dedication of a *thesaurus* to Hercules: *Hercolei | tesorus* (*CIL* X 7197; *ILLRP* 156; *ISic* 0478).¹⁵⁰

Location	Evidence	Date
Central Sanctuary (Chapter 5.1.2), Morgantina	Stone <i>thesaurus in situ</i>	Early-second century BC (out of use c. 150/140-130 BC based upon contents)
“Asklepieion” (Chapter 4.2.3), Helorus	Stone <i>thesaurus</i>	Republican period?
Norman Monastery (reused in a staircase, now at the nearby Basilica concattedrale di San Bartolomeo), Liparae	Stone base (inscribed) with hemispheric cavity (32 x 20 cm) for metal? <i>thesaurus</i> (64 x 60 x 34/30 cm)	Republican period. Mid-first century BC?
S. Stefano Quisquina, province of Agrigento (S. Stefano di Bivona)	Stone? dedicatory inscription to Hercules (now lost)	Republican period

Fig. 15 - Sicilian *thesauri*.

The introduction of *thesauri* to Sicily following the Roman conquest of the island appears to be strongly connected with the increase and expansion of Roman influence following the incorporation of the former Kingdom of Hieron II during the Second Punic War. Although the use of *thesauri* date back to the late fifth century BC in Greece,¹⁵¹ they have been noted as a

¹⁴⁷ Manganaro 1992, 389-90; Bernabò Brea, Cavalier, Campagna 2003, 103 no. 4.

¹⁴⁸ A mid-first-century BC date is provided by Manganaro 1992, 390 based upon the use of square shaped letters. However, I see no reason to exclude a date as early as the second century BC. For a similar chronological criticism, see the inscription from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Contrada Borgellusa near Avola (Chapter 3.3).

¹⁴⁹ Generally identified as an altar (Manganaro 1992, 189; Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 2001, 174), the inscription (τὸ βῆμα θησαυροῦ), and hemispherical cavity with two cuts (for clamps) on the recess' side indicate that the *thesaurus* was placed atop it. The base may have even functioned as the lower part of the *thesaurus* upon which a stone block would have been laid and clasped. Similar *thesauri* with hemispherical cavities can be found in Kaminski 1991, 147-69.

¹⁵⁰ Manganaro 1992, 390. The use of the more archaic and rustic *tesorus* instead of *thesaurus* is suggestive of an early, most likely Republican date. The favoring of o over au was an older usage derived from Umbrian (Lindsay 1894, 40-1; Leumann 1963, 79-80). It should be noted that the two editions of Gualtherus' texts differ with *tesorus* appearing in one printing (*CIL* and subsequent scholarship universally follows *tesorus*).

¹⁵¹ Kaminski 1991, 64.

particular Italian phenomenon and were ubiquitous on the Italian peninsula.¹⁵² Stek observed that their introduction and spread throughout the Italian peninsula during the second and first centuries BC was closely associated with the expansion of Roman influence at that time.¹⁵³



Fig. 16 - Liparae, Norman monastery. Inscription on front of *thesaurus* altar/base. (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 2001, 233 tab. 42 no. 1); Fig. 17 - Liparae, Norman monastery. Altar/base with hemispherical cavity for *thesaurus* (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 2001, 233 tab. 42 no. 2).

Despite the Greek origins of *thesauri*, their introduction and use in Sicily does not appear to have been connected to Sicily's own Greek cultural past. Instead, they should probably be seen as part of the wider Italian phenomenon identified by Stek. While the amount of evidence remains limited, none of the *thesauri* thus far discovered can be dated before the second century BC, and all likely belonging in the Republican period, the same period that saw their spread throughout Italy.

Three of the Sicilian *thesauri* also show direct evidence of Romano-Italic influence. The *thesaurus* at the Central Sanctuary in Morgantina was installed during the expansion and

¹⁵² Crawford 2003, 76-80, 84, who lists thirty-two *thesauri* and noted that the list could be extended extensively with at least three other examples having since been brought to his attention by the time of publication. For additional examples which were not included in Crawford's list, see Ranucci 2011; Barbato 2015.

¹⁵³ Stek 2009, 182-4. The Greek origins of *thesauri* were stressed by Torelli 2005, 355, who connected their spread to a Hellenization of Italian religious practices. However, Stek connected their spread to Roman and Romano-Italic culture (see below) and the Romans recognized the Greek impact and influence on their own religious practices and cults (Spawforth 2012, 142) and I would argue the Greek origins of *thesauri* do not lessen the extent to which they should also be understood as a "Romano-Italic" phenomenon. Indeed, a similar connection has been the spread of anatomical votives, which, although possibly also Greek in their origin, have also been connected to the expanding Roman influence in Central Italy (see below).

reworking of the sanctuary in the early second century BC, immediately after the city's colonization following the Second Punic War (Chapter 5.1.2-3). This renovation phase showed significant evidence of Romano-Italic influence not only through the earliest *thesaurus* in Sicily but also the unusual use of Etruscan molding on a new altar which appears to have coincided with the installation of the *thesaurus* (Chapter 5.1.4).

Stek noted that the Roman influence on the spread of *thesauri* in Italy was visible through their frequent dedication by those bearing Roman names, often in Latin, and at sanctuaries dedicated to gods popular in Rome such as Venus, Fortuna, and Hercules.¹⁵⁴ This same pattern can be seen in Sicilian *thesauri*. The *thesaurus* at S. Stefano di Bivona was dedicated to Hercules and in Latin (the use of which was particularly unusual in the Republican period).¹⁵⁵ The *thesaurus* dedication at Liparae was inscribed in the more common Greek of the time, but was set up by two magistrates from the Claudian/Clodian¹⁵⁶ and Seian *gentes*.¹⁵⁷

Despite their Greek origins and the expansion of Romano-Italic influence, the use of *thesauri* in Sicily may have been limited and not resonated with the local Sicilian population. The discovery of a fourth *thesaurus* at Helorus (Chapter 4.2.3) brings their total to four, a not unsubstantial number. This is still limited in comparison to Italy, where there are well over thirty-two known *thesauri* and Greece with at least twenty-four examples.¹⁵⁸ The *thesauri* in Sicily appear to date to a relatively short period of time, with none appearing to date after the Republican period. Furthermore, the *thesaurus* at Morgantina was not in use for long, buried and out of use, perhaps as soon as fifty years after it was first installed (Chapter 5.1.2). Similarly, the *thesaurus* at the “Asklepion” in Helorus may have also not been in use for long,

¹⁵⁴ Stek 2009, 182-3. On the cult of Hercules in central Italy and its popularity there, see Bradley 2005.

¹⁵⁵ On the rarity of Latin in the Republican period, see Chapter 1.2 and specifically in the within the sacred sphere, see Chapter 2.8.3.

¹⁵⁶ The use of Κλώδιος (Clodius) over Κλαύδιος (Claudius) could suggest a slightly later date as Clodius became increasingly popular during the first centuries BC and AD (Tatum 1999, 248). However, the transliteration of Latin into Greek (ω as either au or o) is not reliable and may reflect pronunciation (Sturtevant 1940, 44-7). It is therefore unclear if the name would be read as Claudius or Clodius. For a discussion about the uses of Claudius and Clodius in reference to the famous statesman Publius Clodius Pulcher, see Tatum 1999, 247-8.

¹⁵⁷ Manganaro 1992, 390; Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 2001, 174; Bernabò Brea, Cavalier, Campagna 2003, 103 no. 4. If we accept Manganaro's mid-first century BC date for the inscription (see above), then the dedication of the *thesaurus* also coincides with a significant period of cultural and political change at Liparae. The city's population was later expelled c. 38 BC (Cass. Dio 48.48.6) and then repopulated (Stone 2002, 139). The city issued bronze coinage c. 44-36 BC (*RPC* I 168 no 626; Gàbrici 1927b, 79-82) bearing the names of two *duoviri* (in Greek) and the necropolis, which had been in continuous use since the city's foundation, went out of use (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1965, 255-268). For more on difficulties reading the legend of the *duoviri* coinage, see *RPC* I 167-8.

¹⁵⁸ On the Italian *thesauri* count, see above fn. 152. Kaminski 1991, 147 identified 24 examples in Greece.

and it was later repurposed for use as a water conduit possibly inside the sanctuary (Chapter 4.2.3).

There are also relatively few Imperial *thesauri* in Italy with most newly built *thesauri* found in the provinces; however, the discovery of numerous coin *stipes* in sanctuaries, which presumably had been collected in *thesauri*, suggests that their use continued in Italy as well.¹⁵⁹ It is possible that *thesauri* in both Italy and Sicily began to be increasingly constructed out of less durable materials such as wood or iron. However, the absence of known coin *stipes* in Sicily, even in the Republican period,¹⁶⁰ instead suggests that the practice was isolated. However, it cannot be entirely ruled out that the general paucity of *thesauri* and the absence of later *thesauri* and coin *stipes* are the results of chance, and further excavation and increased attention on Roman phases could significantly alter this picture. A general lack of interest in *thesauri* in Sicily would also help explain the paucity of pre-Roman examples despite the Greek origins of *thesauri*.

This failure of *thesauri* to spread in Sicily may be associated with a form of religious conservatism. A similar reluctance is also seen in the similar failure of anatomical votives to spread into Sicily (and southern Italy); this spread was similarly associated with the spread of Roman influence in Italy.¹⁶¹ Evidence of other aspects of “Roman” religion such as such cults like the Capitoline triad are also absent,¹⁶² suggesting that these aspects also do not appear to have resonated with the Sicilian population. Other new cults, such as the Imperial cult and Isis and Serapis may have been connected with the continuation of earlier pre-Roman Sicilian religious traditions (Chapter 7.2.2).¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ Kaminski 1991, 106. Kaminski identified a single *thesaurus* found in Italy at Tivoli in 127 or 129 AD. Crawford 2003, 73 also noted their relative paucity but identified a significant number of additional *thesauri* including, one at Sora containing coin from the reign of Caligula (Catalli and Scheid 1994) and at Petelia Strongoli, with coins as late as the second century AD (Fiorelli 1881, 67-8).

¹⁶⁰ On the votive deposition of metallic objects in Sicily, see Parisi 2017, 521-33 who does include coins. Aside from the contents of the *thesaurus* at Morgantina, which the excavators typed as a hoard (Chapter 5.1.2), I am unaware of any other coin deposits which could be *stipes* from *thesauri*.

¹⁶¹ Torelli *et al.* 1973 138-9, 341-3; Comella 1981, 775. The use of anatomical votives also appears to be largely absent from southern Italy. The mechanisms for the diffusion of anatomical votives and the extent to which they are a Roman, Central Italian, or even Hellenic phenomenon are wrapped up in wider debates on “Romanization” but it seems clear that, like *thesauri*, their expansion was associated with the expansion of Roman power during the third and second centuries BC. For more on this debate with full bibliography, see Glinister 2006.

¹⁶² Kunz 2006, 266-8. Temple A in Agrigentum had its *cella* modified and divided into three parts at some point during the Roman period. However, an Augustan statue of Asclepius found in the *cella* excludes a dedication to the Capitoline triad. For more on the temple and efforts to date the division of its *cella*, see Buscemi 2016 with earlier bibliography.

¹⁶³ Kunz 2006, 263-4 has connected the Imperial cult and magistrate worship to a tradition of Hellenistic ruler worship. For more on the practice in Hieronian and Roman times, see Kunz 2006, 248-64; Serrati 2008.

Chapter Eight: Conclusions

Sicilian religion under the Roman rule has often been seen through a lens of presumed continuity. In her conclusion to *Sicilia: Religionsgeschichte des römischen Sizilien*, Kunz argued that the Roman conquest of Sicily had no effect on the island's religious traditions and that Sicilian religion under Rome was defined by an inherent "traditionalism" and "conservatism" which could be seen through the continued worship of pre-Roman cults and the primacy of Greek culture.¹ However, this idea was challenged by Korhonen in his review of Kunz's book, who noted that the evidence supplied instead appears to argue for the opposite situation, one in which the Roman presence had a significant impact on Sicilian religion.² The thesis' focus on these themes of change and continuity within individual sanctuaries and within their wider urban and rural contexts helps to clarify these contrasting viewpoints.

Within the territory of the former Kingdom of Hieron II, the Republican and early Imperial periods are defined both by periods of continuity and also significant changes. The Republican period, especially the second century BC, was a century largely defined by this "traditionalism" and "conservatism" with religious activity focused on the existing sanctuaries of the Archaic and Classical periods with few *ex novo* sanctuaries. Many sanctuaries continued to be maintained throughout this period and in some cases saw significant renovations such as at the Sanctuary of Demeter and the "Asklepieion" at Helorus (Chapter 4.1-2), the "Ginnasio romano" in Syracusae (Chapter 2.6), and the Central Sanctuary at Morgantina (Chapter 5.1).

This is not to say that the sacred landscape remained entirely static outside of these sanctuaries. There were also significant changes, but these were largely the result of unique local factors or the introduction of new foreign cults with limited impact on the wider religious landscape. The two most significant changes not unexpectedly came in the aftermath of the Second Punic War. At Ortygia, the exclusion of local Syracusans by Marcellus following the city's capture, and the subsequent use of the island as the province's administrative center, appears to have caused a significant disruption within the pre-Roman sanctuaries; in some cases, this appears to have led to their disuse, while other sanctuaries may have instead adapted to an increased focus on resident foreigners (Chapter 2.8). At Morgantina, the sack of the city in 211 BC, its significant reduction in size, and subsequent Hispani colonization had a

¹ Kunz 2006, 266, "Charakteristisch für die Provinz ist ein starker religiöser Traditionalismus und Konservatismus... die Einbindung Siziliens in ein kohärentes religiöses System des römischen Imperium hatte keine Auswirkung auf die religiösen Traditionen der Insel."

² Korhonen 2010, 362.

significant impact on the urban and sacred landscape with the foundation of three new cult sites: the Watchtower Shrine, the Theater Temenos Sanctuary, and the Shrine at Plataea A (Chapter 5.3, 5.5-6). However, at least two of the older sanctuaries that lay within the still inhabited part of the city, the Central Sanctuary and Macellum Sanctuary, also remained in use (Chapter 5.1-2). The most widespread change to the wider sacred landscape was likely the introduction of the public cult of Isis and Serapis around the middle of the second century BC (Chapter 7.3). This introduction saw the foundation of new sanctuaries, such as their sanctuary in Tauromenium (Chapter 6.4) and likely also Syracuseae (Chapter 2.9.3.2), as well as Lilybaeum and perhaps Agrigentum (Chapter 7.3.2).

Aside from these examples, other changes came through an emphasis on cult continuity, and a connection to the religious past. The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Piazza della Vittoria in Syracuseae, out of use since the mid-fourth century BC, saw a limited cult reactivation in its northern *temenos* in the mid-second century BC (Chapter 2.5). Although the Altar of Hieron most likely went out of use during the first half of the second century BC, its politically important cult of Zeus appears to have been transferred back to its nearby pre-Hieronian sanctuary (Chapter 2.1-2). Similarly, when the Macellum Sanctuary, one of Morgantina's two sanctuaries which had remained in use after 211, was destroyed to make way for the construction of a *macellum* c. 130 BC, an older altar was incorporated within the new *macellum* as a small shrine (Chapter 5.2).

The evidence of cult installations and votive practices is limited but portrays a mixed picture of both change and continuity. The use of the Italic podium for the temple at the "Ginnasio romano" in Syracuseae (Chapter 2.6) and "Etruscan round" molding on a new altar at the Central Sanctuary in Morgantina (Chapter 5.1) display a willingness to incorporate new architectural styles within pre-Roman sanctuaries. However, the failure of Romano-Italic *thesauri* to take hold within existing sanctuaries such as the Central Sanctuary and possibly "Asklepieion" suggests is suggestive of a degree of religious conservatism (Chapter 7.4). Limited change may be perceptible within existing cult practices such as the content of lead tablets at the Central Sanctuary (Chapter 5.1.4).

This phase of continuity appears to have come to an abrupt end during the first century BC, most intensely seen during the later-half. This sees the widespread sacred disuse of the pre-Roman cult sites, which had largely defined the territory's sacred landscape throughout the Hellenistic period. This process appears to have been most strongly focused on urban public

districts, such as the agora and theater, but also extended to smaller sanctuaries in residential districts as well as the countryside to a lesser degree (Chapter 7.1). By the end of the first century AD, all but one of the pre-Roman cult sites covered in the thesis, the “Ginnasio romano” at Syracusae (Chapter 2.6), was out of use, with insufficient evidence to properly assess any later continuity at the “Asklepieion” at Helorus (Chapter 4.2) and the “Sanctuary of Apollo Temenites” in Syracusae (Chapters 2.2). Public religious activities during this period appear to have shifted to the few known new sanctuaries of the Roman period. At Morgantina, the period from the mid-late first century BC to its complete abandonment in the mid-first century AD saw the foundation of a new shrine and continuity within the newer Republican cult sites (Chapter 5). Evidence elsewhere is more limited, but the Augustan temple near the amphitheater in Syracusae and the possible late first century BC temple in the agora of Tauromenium are suggestive of the construction of new temples and cult sites to replace those that went out of use (Chapters 6.2; 7.1.1.1).

This shift away from these older cult sites is suggestive of a period of significant religious change within more “traditional” Greek cults and the increased popularity of more recently introduced cults. This process is most clearly displayed through the dichotomy between Sicily’s most important and famous cult, Demeter and Kore, in comparison with “Eastern” cults such as Isis and Serapis. It has long been recognized that “Eastern” cults thrived in Hellenistic and especially Imperial Sicily along with the rest of the Mediterranean.³ Within the territory of the thesis, this is most clearly seen in through the “Ginnasio romano”, the only pre-Roman sanctuary which certainly remained in use beyond the first century AD. The sanctuary was likely dedicated to an “Eastern” cult, perhaps Atargatis, and saw the most expansive renovations in the thesis. It was first monumentalized during the Republican period through the construction of a new temple and stoas before receiving a second significant renovation during mid-late first century AD with the addition of a theater and modifications to the temple (Chapter 2.6). Similarly, a sanctuary of Isis and Serapis in Syracusae was restored in the Augustan period (Chapter 2.9.3.2), and the limited evidence from the Sanctuary of Isis and Serapis in Tauromenium, clearly indicates that it remained an especially important sanctuary, thriving into the second century AD (Chapter 6.4).

After a period of growth and prosperity during the second century BC, the cult of Demeter and Kore experienced what may have been a decline as soon as the first half of first century

³ Manganaro 1988, 68.

BC; this culminated with the sacred disuse of all of their sanctuaries within the territory during the mid-late first century BC, a decline which appears to have extended beyond and throughout their traditional heartland in the south and southeast of Sicily (Chapter 7.2.1). The cult did not entirely disappear, and certain aspects of it continued within new sites, and other aspects of the cult were likely incorporated within newer cults such as Isis and Serapis and the Imperial cult (Chapter 7.2.2). The Imperial cult, which likely also incorporated elements of other “traditional” Greek cults beyond Demeter and Kore, is not evidenced within the thesis with notable sanctuaries found throughout the rest of the province, most notably in Centuripae, Halaesa, Cossura.⁴

The impetus behind this transformation remains unclear. Local events in the individual cities undoubtedly played an important role in these changes, most importantly, the Augustan colonizations of Syracusae and Tauromenium. Kunz had argued traditional Sicilian cults were only supplemented with select Roman elements through these colonizations.⁵ However, the large public works programs of the period undertaken in Syracusae and Tauromenium did not see the continued development of the pre-Roman sanctuaries; the impact on these sanctuaries varied but ranged from their complete or partial destruction to their partial abandonment (Chapter 7.1.1-3). In some instances, this saw their reuse and conversion for non-sacred functions, such as the Altar of Hieron, which was converted into a palestra/park (Chapter 2.1). In other instances, especially in the agoras, the destruction of sanctuaries created additional open space, but more monumental and aesthetically notable temples were often left intact (Chapter 7.1.1). Interestingly, at Tauromenium, what may have been a temple was built in alignment with the then defunct Peristyle Temple, suggesting a spatial awareness and recognition of the city’s religious past within the post-colonial public spaces of the agora (Chapter 6.2). While this may also indicate a degree of cult continuity between the two temples, it is clear that the colonization of Syracusae and Tauromenium did not see the supplementation of Roman elements within earlier Sicilian cults sites, but instead most likely saw the foundation of new sanctuaries which may have been supplemented with earlier pre-Roman religious elements. However, the limited evidence from outside the colonies at Contrada Borgellusa

⁴ On the Sicilian evidence of the Imperial cult, see Wilson 1990, 295-8; Kunz 2006, 255-64. On the Imperial cult site at Centuripae, see Chapter 2 fn. 158, at Halaesa see above Chapter 7.2.2, fn. 90, and at Cossura, see Schäfer, Schmidt, and Osanna 2015, especially Schäfer 2015a on the marble busts of Julius Caesar, Antonia Minor, and Titus. The sanctuary at Cossura appears to have also seen the worship of Isis and Serapis (Schäfer 2015b, 806, 825-6).

⁵ Kunz 2006, 266.

(Avola), Helorus, and Morgantina suggests that the arrival of Roman colonists was unlikely to be the sole impetus behind the Augustan and early Imperial religious shift.

As stated in the introduction, this thesis was intended to establish an archaeological *status quaestionis* upon which future research on Sicilian religion and urbanism could be based (Chapter 1.1). While it does much to illuminate this little-understood period of Sicily's religious history, it also raises significantly more questions than it can answer. The limitations imposed by the current state of evidence are made clear throughout the thesis with each cult site presenting their own obstacles. Additional excavations and further publication of results and material are desperately needed. Not only would this allow for a fuller examination of cult and ritual change, but it would also clarify the extent to which the mid-late first c. BC break was abrupt or proceeded by a period of gradual change or decline. This would provide much-needed evidence to assess the post-break sacred landscape for which there is little direct evidence. Additional evidence is especially needed at cities such as Acrae and Netum, which are crucial for a more well-rounded picture of the thesis' territory beyond a declining Morgantina, and the Augustan colonies of Syracusae and Tauromenium. While both sites have been subject to significant excavations, their Roman phases remain almost entirely unknown.

Further research is also needed on the sacred landscape of northern and western Sicily to understand the territory's religious incorporation into the larger province, and of the province into the Empire. Frey-Kupper has argued in favor of an increasing integration of Sicily into the Roman Empire in the Julio-Claudian period when inland hilltop settlements were abandoned and, after Tiberius, local coinage stopped; she also argued that a more regular monetary provision from Rome might have happened only under the Flavians, a question that requires its own additional research.⁶ The religious evidence of the thesis instead appears to emphasize a religious integration during the late first century BC and Julio-Claudian period. Within the area of the thesis, only the Flavian renovation and monumentalization of the "Ginnasio romano" is suggestive of any wider changes in this period (Chapter 2.6). However, the state of evidence leaves it unclear if this was part of a more complex development of the sacred landscape that may have continued beyond the Julio-Claudian period.

⁶ Frey-Kupper 2013, 306-7 and 352, 355 (= 720, 722-3 in the English overview of results). On the abandonment of inland hilltop settlements, see Wilson 1985, 321; Wilson 1990, 143-56.

Appendix: The “Sanctuary of the Palikoi”

Introduction

The ancient city of Palikè has been identified on the Rochicella hill near Mineo (fig. 4). Founded by Ducetius in the fifth century as the capital of his Sicel alliance, it declined in importance following his defeat in 440 BC, but appears to have remained occupied until the third century BC.¹ First excavated in the 1960s, regular excavations resumed in 1995 which continue to the present day. Excavations in 1966 led by Pelagatti first identified a temple on the southern slopes of the hill in front of a large cavern outside of the city; she suggested that this was the famous sanctuary of the Palikoi.² These are the famous twin deities for which Palikè received its name and whose sanctuary played particularly important roles in the Ducetius’ Sicel Alliance and the Second Slave War.³



Fig. 1 - Palikè, “Sanctuary of the Palikoi” (Maniscalco 2015, 172 tab. 1).

The modern excavations continued on the sanctuary and were published in preliminary reports in 1998, 2003, and 2015 and received a dedicated monograph in 2008.⁴ They uncovered

¹ Maniscalco 2015, 170.

² Pelagatti 1966.

³ Kunz 2006, 359-62.

⁴ Maniscalco and McConnell 1997-8; Maniscalco and McConnell 2002; Maniscalco and McConnell 2015; Cirelli 2008; Di Patti and Lupo 2008; Maniscalco 2008; Maniscalco 2015; Midolo 2008.

a series of terraces and stoas FA and B, complexes P and D, and the “Hestiaterion” (a public dining hall); the temple originally identified by Pelagatti was clarified to be part of one of the terraces.⁵ With the partial publication of stratigraphy as well as a substantial amount of material from the Neolithic to Byzantine periods, the sanctuary is one of the best-published sites in southeastern Sicily.



Fig. 2 - Palikè, “Sanctuary of the Palikoi” (Maniscalco 2008, 125 fig. 118, edited by author).

1. “Hestiaterion”; 2. Complex P; 3. Stoa B

Grey-Purple - “Classical” (sixth-fourth century BC); Purple - “Hellenistic” (fourth century BC to c. 25 BC); Red - “Roman” (c. 25 BC - sixth century AD).

However, the site has been largely overlooked in recent scholarship and, despite its thorough publication, presents key obstacles. The preliminary reports and monograph cover an enormous chronological timeframe, which has resulted in insufficient coverage of much of the site and its development over time. Although some material is published, this publication is not complete, and the coin finds remain entirely unpublished. Evidence for dating the various features is often unclear or not given, and many features remain undated. The layout and evolution of the site, especially in the late Hellenistic and Imperial periods, is unclear, and

⁵ It has been suggested that this functioned as a type of *prytaneum* (Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 173-5; Maniscalco 2015, 171). However, this has been doubted as it lacks the features of one, most importantly a hearth (personal correspondence with Josefine Buchhorn who is currently completing her PhD thesis on the *Pryteneion* under Rome). The attribution as a dining hall seems plausible however (Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 155-66).

literary sources on the famous sanctuary are often used to supplement areas where the archaeological data is limited or not discussed.



Fig. 3 - Palikè, Laghetti di Naftia and “the Craters” (Campo 2008).

A critical analysis of the archaeological evidence is needed, and there is even reason to doubt the entire complex’s identification as a sanctuary. However, for the purposes of the appendix, the critique will be focused on two issues. First, the sanctuary’s attribution to the Palikoi will be drawn into question in order to separate the archaeological data from their interpretation through literary sources. Then the late Hellenistic archaeological evidence of sacred activity will be examined to justify the site’s exclusion from the thesis.

Attribution of the Palikoi

The sanctuary was first attributed to the Palikoi by Pelagatti after its initial excavation in 1966.⁶ This attribution has since been accepted without significant critique by the current excavators,⁷ and despite the recent and extensive excavations, no additional evidence to support this attribution has been put forth. Pelagatti’s initial identification relied upon her identification of an Archaic temple and its proximity of the Laghetti di Naftia, the twin natural sulfuric geysers sacred to the Palikoi (fig. 3). While no other evidence has been directly provided for

⁶ Pelagatti 1966, 106-7.

⁷ Mansicalco and McConnell 2003; Mansicalco 2008; Mansicalco 2015.

the cult attribution, a fourth-century BC votive belt published in 1962 has often been tenuously connected to the Palikoi.⁸

As mentioned above, the recent excavations clarified that the Pelagatti's "temple" has since been more identified as part of the complex's terrace system.⁹ Furthermore, there is no connection between the votive belt and the Palikoi or the sanctuary at all. The belt was neither discovered near the geysers nor the sanctuary. Instead, it was found *c.* 400 m north of the sanctuary and *c.* 1 km north of the Laghetti di Naftia on the opposite slope of the Rochicella Hill,¹⁰ and the inscription on the belt was dedicated to all the gods with no mention of the Palikoi. *Φαίκων ἀπὸ Κεντ[ο]ριπίνων | ἀνέθηκε πᾶσι [θ]εοῖς*, "Phaikon dedicated [this belt] taken from [the soldiers] of Centuripae to all the gods" (*SEG* 44-776).



Fig. 4 - Palikè, valle del Margi, seen from north (Maniscalco 2008, 15 fig. 3).

1. "Sanctuary of the Palikoi"; 2. Laghetti di Naftia (now overbuilt by a gas harvesting plant).

The primary evidence appears to have been the sanctuary's proximity to the Laghetti di Naftia. However, these geysers are not in the immediate vicinity of the sanctuary, but instead located *c.* 500 m to the south (fig. 4). McConnell suggested that the sanctuary was located above the plain and some distance from them due to a fear of potentially dangerous gases,

⁸ Pelagatti 1966, 106-7. The belt is also discussed in Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 147 as evidence of the Pan-Hellenic nature of the sanctuary capable of receiving the dedication of war spoils. Similarly, also Coarelli and Torelli 1984, 203 state that the belt was dedicated to the Palikoi.

⁹ Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 152; There is however a rather dubious speculation of the existence of an Archaic temple underneath Complex P, but this is ultimately ruled out see: Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 150-1.

¹⁰ Gentili 1962.

citing Hyppis of Rhegium, who spoke of the dangers of laying down near the geysers (*Hist. Mir.* 121).¹¹ However, Diodorus' account of the sanctuary suggests that, despite the dangerous gases, the sanctuary was not on the slopes of the hill, but instead at the Laghetti di Naftia.

“We should not omit to mention both the antiquity and the incredible nature of the *hieron* (temple), and, in a word, the peculiar phenomenon of The Craters (Laghetti di Naftia), as they are called. The myth relates that this *temenos* surpasses all others in antiquity and the reverence paid for it.... For first of all there are craters which are not at all large in size, but they throw up extraordinary streams of water from a depth beyond telling... Since so divine a majesty pervades the *temenos*, the most sacred oaths are taken there and men who swear falsely are immediately overtaken by the punishment of heaven; thus certain men have lost their sight when they depart from the *temenos*... This *temenos* has also been recognized for some time as a place of sanctuary... and the *temenos*, which lies on a *πεδίω θεοπρεπεῖ* (plain fit for a god), has been appropriately embellished with *stoai* and every other kind of lounging-place” (Diod. Sic. 11.89.1-8).

After introducing the geysers and the temple, he refers to them together as sharing a *temenos* and most importantly, he clarifies that this *temenos*, with stoas and other buildings, was located in the *πεδίω* (plain). Following the literary sources, Diodorus makes it clear that the temple, stoas, cult buildings, and geysers were all in the same *temenos* found at the geysers in the plain and not the southern slope of the Rochicella Hill c. 500 m to the north (fig. 4).

Religious Activity Beyond the Fifth Century BC

The questionable attribution to the Palikoi reveals problems with the archaeological evidence, which has largely been interpreted through the site's supposed connection with the Palikoi. Vague and sometimes unjustified phases become most precise when they align with historical events in the literary sources. These include its foundation in the seventh to sixth centuries BC (*Hist. Mir.* 121), its monumentalization under Ducetius and destruction with his fall in 440 BC (Diod. Sic. 11.90.2), and continuity beyond the abandonment of the nearby city of Palikè with a resurgence connected to Salvius' use during the Second Slave War (Diod. Sic. 36.3.3, 7.1,

¹¹ Maniscalco and McConnell 2003, 146.

11.7); after this last historical event, the site went out of use before later being converted into a farm between the first and third centuries AD.¹²

The most clearly identifiable religious feature of the site before the late fifth century BC destruction event comes from the Stoa B, where an altar and well-altar were found in room B6 (figs. 6-7). The stoa was destroyed at this time, leaving a tile fall and rubble throughout,¹³ but appears to have been reused relatively soon thereafter.¹⁴ There is little evidence of this later activity being religious in nature. Rooms B8, B9, and B10 (saggio XXIV) were evidently repaired and reused for the production of mud bricks; this production later ceased, and the rooms were buried in the sand used to create the bricks.¹⁵ An unusual square structure was created at an uncertain date in the northwest corner of room B7,¹⁶ but its function was not detailed. There does not appear to have been any significant evidence of later activity in rooms B1-5.

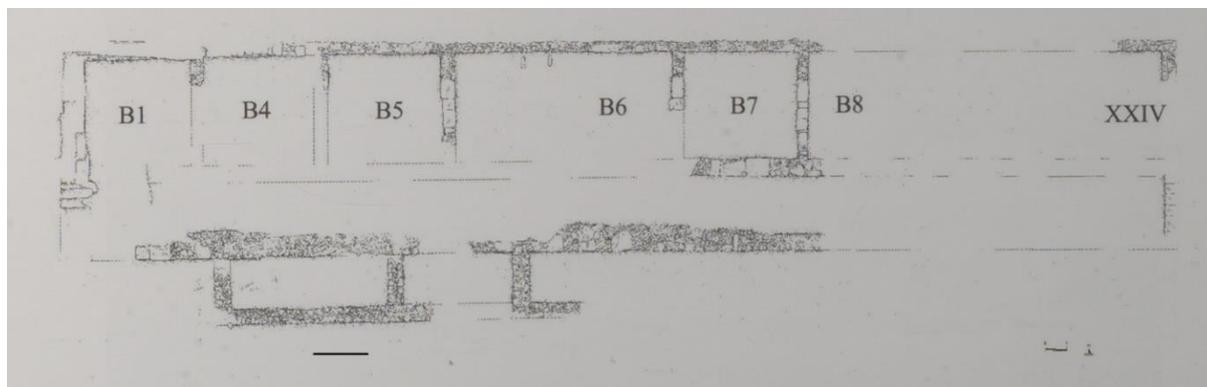


Fig. 5 - Palikè, “Sanctuary of the Palikoi”. Stoa B (McConnell 2008, 357 pl. 10.a).

A large pit (US 823) was found in the corridor in front of room B6. Excavation of the pit continued to a depth of 1.5 meters before it was halted due to safety concerns; Maniscalco stated that the pit may have had a wooden cover and contained material to as late as the second half of the fourth century BC.¹⁷ The function of this pit was left unclear in the monograph and variously identified as either a cistern or *bothros* in the monograph.¹⁸ Identification of this feature cannot be properly assessed as no photographs were included, nor were its contents detailed. Only a single undated token from the pit was included in the catalog.¹⁹ A drawing of

¹² Maniscalco 2008, 104-36.

¹³ Maniscalco 2008, 54-60.

¹⁴ Maniscalco 2008, 133-4.

¹⁵ Maniscalco and McConnell 2015, 517-8.

¹⁶ McConnell 2008, 348.

¹⁷ Maniscalco 2008, 60.

¹⁸ Cistern: Maniscalco 2008, 60, *bothros*: Maniscalco 2008, 61, 118.

¹⁹ Midolo 2008, 238 no. 581.

the pit suggests that it was not lined with any material, nor was its opening delineated with any form of boundary or delineation.

The only significant evidence of later religious activity evidence within the stoa after its initial destruction comes from room B6, the same room in which an altar and well-altar were located. The use of room 6 between the destruction of the stoa and the third century, like much of the sanctuary, was left unclear. The excavators appear to have first believed that the altars were a limited reconstruction of pre-destruction features,²⁰ but a more recent report by McConnell suggested that the older well-altar had been reused (perhaps reopened?), based upon its clay and mud-brick lining.²¹ This later activity was presumably dated based upon the production of nearby mud bricks in rooms B8, B9, and B10. The relationship between these features and the room's tile fall and rubble was left unclear, and the tile fall in B6 may belong to a second destruction event or collapse in room B6.²² It is possible that it was partially cleared away to reopen the older well-altar, but this is not mentioned and later activity in the room, discussed below, seems to suggest that the tile fall and rubble remained in place.

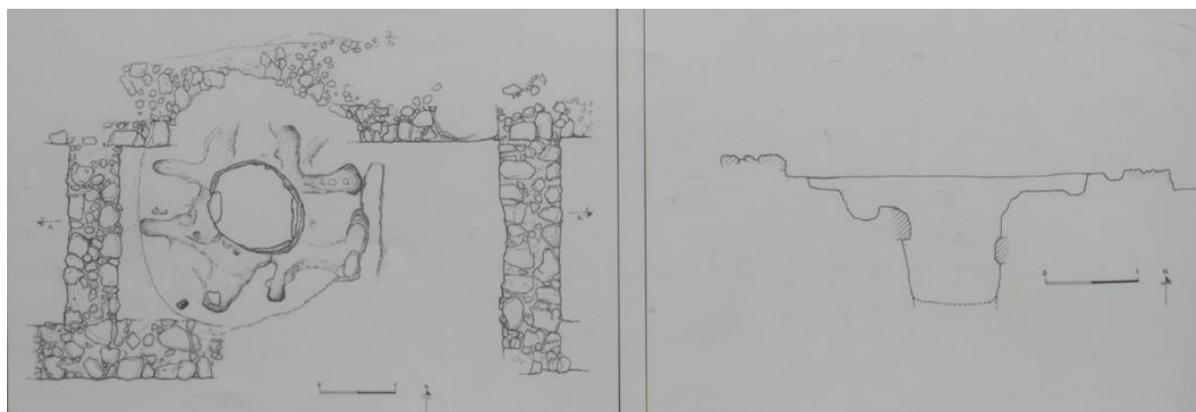


Fig 6 - Palikè, “Sanctuary of the Palikoi”. “Bothros” (Maniscalco 2008, 58 fig. 57).

This nebulous period comes back into focus from the third to first century BC, and especially in the period of the Slave Wars, when the sanctuary of the Palikoi was a central religious element in the uprising. Maniscalco details the recovery of ten *thysiai* in the third- to first-century strata of room B6.²³ She also mentions three large ash deposits against the rear wall of

²⁰ Maniscalco 2008, 135; McConnell 2008, 348.

²¹ Maniscalco and McConnell 2015, 518.

²² The tile fall of Stoa B is a source of continuous ambiguity in the publication but McConnell briefly describes the depth of the tiles in neighboring room B7 in McConnell 2008, 348 fn 19; The ambiguity of this may be related to the date of the tile fall in room B6. The excavators appear to suggest that it occurred at a different time from the tile falls in the other rooms of the stoa (Maniscalco and McConnell 2015, 517).

²³ Maniscalco 2008, 122-3.

room B6, largely datable to the late second century BC, which she connects to Salvius' time at the sanctuary during the Second Slave War.²⁴ The three large deposits were deposited atop the tile fall of stoa B, and the *thysiai* were either in or above the tile fall.²⁵



Fig. 7 - Palikè, “Sanctuary of the Palikoi”. Ash deposits in room B6 (Maniscalco 2008, 121 fig. 112).

Due to the lack of clear continuity and between the fifth-century altars and this period, as well as the doubts about the site's connection to the Palikoi, it should not be assumed, as the excavators had, that the materials were sacred. Glinister defines votive deposit as “a sealed deposit of utensils and organic remains, buried after one or several sacrifices” or “a deposit of ritual objects, such as bronze statuettes and miniature pottery” or “the burial of votive objects that have accumulated in a sanctuary over a period of time”.²⁶ None of the deposits appear to fall into this category. Maniscalco details that the three large deposits contained materials from the late second to early first centuries BC, including pottery such as plates and *amphorae*, as well as animal remains, shells, and large amounts of ash (fig 10).²⁷ These materials do not appear to have been sealed, much of the pottery appears to have been fragmentary, and none

²⁴ Maniscalco 2008, 122-3.

²⁵ Maniscalco 2008, 54-6, 58; Maniscalco 2015, 518.

²⁶ Glinister 2000, 54.

²⁷ Maniscalco 2008, 122-3. On the animal remains, see Di Patti and Lupo 2008, 397. On the pottery, see Midolo 2008, 217-43.

of the materials appear to have any clear sacred or religious significance. Instead, especially given their context in a damaged building atop a tile fall, they might be better understood as refuse dumps. This possibility becomes clearer through the *thysiai* discussed below.



Fig. 8 - Palikè, “Sanctuary of the Palikoi”. “*Thysiai*” US 491, US 493, US 494 (Maniscalco 2008, 121 fig. 113).

Amongst the *thysiai* were a circle of stones (diameter 60-70 cm) with some pottery fragments inside (US 493), a poorly conserved semicircle (diameter 35 cm) of small stones (US 491), four small stones deposited in an arch (35 cm) found near a lamp (US 494b), and a group of disconnected stones near two *amphora* fragments (Dressel 1/A), a patch of ash with an ointment jar, and a patch of ashes (US 495b).²⁸ The largest and most compelling of the *thysiai* is described as a pile of tiles with an unburned ox skull on top of a pile of broken tile fragments (US 489); underneath the broken tiles was a second-century lamp, a knife blade, second to first-century black gloss cup, two nails, and several animal bones.²⁹ Given the uncertainty of the stoa’s sacred identification and continuity beyond the late fifth century, a non-sacred interpretation is a possible interpretation for the *thysiai*. Maniscalco noted that the tile fall appeared to have been looted in antiquity.³⁰ The contents and their deposition are more

²⁸ Maniscalco 2008, 122. The fragmentary state of the lamp and its possible identification as a mortar fragment is clarified by Midolo 2008, 229 no. 472; 239 fig. 148 no. 472

²⁹ Maniscalco 2008, 122 did not always distinguish between pottery fragments and intact pieces within the descriptions of the *thysiai*. The black gloss cup (gr 363b) from could not be located in the catalogue to determine whether this was a fragment or intact.

³⁰ Maniscalco 2008, 58.

indicative of later dumping and looting after the tile fall, and certainly the nails and broken tiles covering US 489 were clearly from the fall and not sacred.

Although the excavators are clear in their interpretation of the supposed *thysiai* and ashen deposits as sacred in nature,³¹ such an interpretation of the evidence is far less clear. The absence of any sacred continuity between the altars of Stoa B that appear to have gone out of use during the stoa's destruction in the fifth century BC, and the questionable sacred nature of the third to first-century deposits atop the ruins of Stoa B, raise significant questions about any later sacred activity. Similarly, the doubtful attribution to the Palikoi eliminates the reliable use of literary sources to supplement the archaeological data. Pending further publication of data, the site should not be considered an active Hellenistic or Imperial sanctuary and is therefore excluded from further the thesis.

³¹ Maniscalco 2008, 122-3; Midolo 2008, 217-9; Di Patti and Lupo 2008, 396-7.

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Abbreviations of ancient authors generally follow those used by the Oxford Classical Dictionary (4th edition 2012) and L'Année Philologique. All ancient texts and translations referenced in this thesis, unless otherwise noted, are from the Loeb Classical Library.

Apul. <i>Met.</i>	Apuleius, <i>Metamorphoses</i>
Arn. <i>Adv. nat.</i>	Arnobius, <i>Adversus nationes</i>
Cass. Dio	Cassius Dio
Cic. <i>Verr.</i>	Cicero, <i>In Verrem</i>
Diod. Sic.	Diodorus Siculus
Eur. <i>Suppl.</i>	Euripides, <i>Supplices</i>
<i>FGrH</i>	Jacoby, F. (1923-), <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i>
Hdt.	Herodotus
Hist. Mir.	Anigonus (of Carystus), <i>Historiae Mirabiles</i>
Lactant. <i>Div. Inst</i>	Lactantius, <i>Divinae institutiones</i>
Lib. <i>Or.</i>	Libanius, <i>Orationes</i>
Liv.	Livy, <i>Ab Urbe Condita</i>
Luc. <i>Syr.</i>	Lucanus, <i>De Syria Dea</i>
Lucian, <i>Dial. meret.</i>	Lucian, <i>Dialogi Meretricii</i>
Paus.	Pausanias
Philostr. <i>VA</i>	Philostratus, <i>Vita Apollonii</i>
Plin. <i>NH.</i>	Pliny the Elder, <i>Naturalis Historia</i>
Plut. <i>De Is. Et Os.</i>	Plutarch, <i>De Iside et Osiride</i>
Stat. <i>Silv.</i>	Statius, <i>Silvae</i>
Strab.	Strabo, <i>Geographica</i>
Suet.	Suetonius
<i>Calig.</i>	<i>Gaius Caligula</i>
<i>Claud.</i>	<i>Divus Claudius</i>
Tac. <i>Ann.</i>	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i>

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