

# Messapian Stelae: Settlements, Boundaries and Native Identity in Southeast Italy

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## Abstract

*This article focuses on a group of anthropomorphic stelae that were found in five sites in Salento between the 1960s and 2005. Survey projects and archaeological excavations conducted over the past decades in southeast Italy have radically improved our knowledge of ancient Messapia, and thus offer the opportunity to reconsider the function and meaning of these monuments within the development of native settlements during the Iron Age and Archaic period. I examine the decoration of the stelae as well as their archaeological and cultural contexts, and use them as evidence to reassess their dating and discuss the dynamics of interaction between native communities and Greek settlers in southeast Italy. I also challenge a traditional interpretation of these stelae as funerary *semata* and I propose that they served to mark spatial boundaries and articulate urban landscape, ultimately commemorating elite identity in the context of a geographic and political rearrangement of native settlements in Salento between the late 8<sup>th</sup> and the early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.\**

## INTRODUCTION

In the Iron Age and Archaic period, the history of southeast Italy was characterised by complex dynamics of regional and interregional contacts between native populations and Greek settlers, who came to experience various modes of interaction, including commercial relationships, cultural transmission, political conflict and cohabitation. The traditional narrative of Greek-native encounters in this region has recently been challenged by archaeologists who have shifted attention to the active role played by native communities within a process of mutual acculturation.<sup>1</sup> In the last few decades, archaeological survey and excavation projects coordinated mainly by the Università del Salento, the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam and the Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per le Province di Brindisi, Lecce e Taranto have significantly improved our understanding of the Messapian world.<sup>2</sup>

A group of twelve life-size anthropomorphic stelae have been recovered between the 1960s and 2005 from a handful of native sites in the Salento peninsula. Statue-stelae are attested in this region from the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>3</sup> Within this corpus, the Messapian stelae have the potential of shedding light on the social and cultural transformations that marked the transition from the Iron Age to the Archaic period in native and mixed communities in southeast Italy. Scholars who have contributed to the appraisal of the stelae have had to deal with

a fragmentary body of evidence and with archaeological contexts of difficult interpretation, and yet they have been able to provide fresh and thought-provoking comments regarding their decoration, ritual function and dating.<sup>4</sup> They have dated the Messapian stelae between the late 8<sup>th</sup> and the early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and have tentatively interpreted them as funerary *semata* set up by native elites to commemorate their socio-economic status.<sup>5</sup> In a region where no archaeologically visible burial exists prior to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC,<sup>6</sup> the stelae have been seen as the missing link that archaeologists have been looking for in order to reconstruct the funerary practices of the early Messapian communities.<sup>7</sup>

This article reviews the materiality and contexts of the Messapian stelae and compares them with similar monuments across the Italic peninsula, with the aim of reconstructing their social meaning and ritual function. Following a preliminary analysis of the stelae and their archaeological and historical contexts, a study of their figural decoration leads to reassess their dating and discuss the impact that Greek and Italic artistic models had on Messapian material culture. The second part of the article focuses on the stelae as expression of elite identity and explores their relationship with settlement layouts, formulating a new hypothesis for their ritual and social function.<sup>8</sup>

*The stelae*

Twelve stelae have so far been discovered in five sites in Salento: five at Cavallino, one at Lecce, four at Mesagne, one at Muro Tenente and one at L'Amastuola (fig. 1). They are made in local limestone, have a stylised anthropomorphic shape and are decorated in low relief and/or incision. While most of them are only partially preserved, they all seem to have been life-size monuments, their dimensions ranging from 120-177 cm in height, 60-70 cm in width and 10-15 cm in thickness. Both front and back are smoothed out, but only the front and the sides are decorated with figural and/or geometric motifs. The first discoveries took place in the 1960s and 1970s at Cavallino, where fragments of four stelae have been found in the centre of the Iron Age and Archaic settlement and near the forti-

fication walls.<sup>9</sup> The best preserved of these stelae (Cavallino 1; fig. 2) is decorated in low relief with a *biga* and a charioteer, while the side has an incised zig-zag pattern. The right shoulder of another stela (Cavallino 2; fig. 3) and a small fragment of a third one (Cavallino 3; fig. 4) feature a zig-zag pattern along the side. Two other limestone slabs (Cavallino 4-5; figs 5-6) are decorated with incised motifs of difficult interpretation. The stelae from Mesagne have been discovered in 1999 during the excavations carried out by the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Puglia in the centre of the modern town.<sup>10</sup> The first stela (Mesagne 1; fig. 7) features a *biga* drawn by two horses and a spear below. The second (Mesagne 2; fig. 8) shows the same subject matter, without the spear. The third (Mesagne 3; fig. 9) shows only a spear. A fragment of the shoulder is preserved from the fourth stela (Mesagne 4), which displays the usual incised zig-zag pattern. The stela from Muro Tenente (Muro Tenente 1; figs

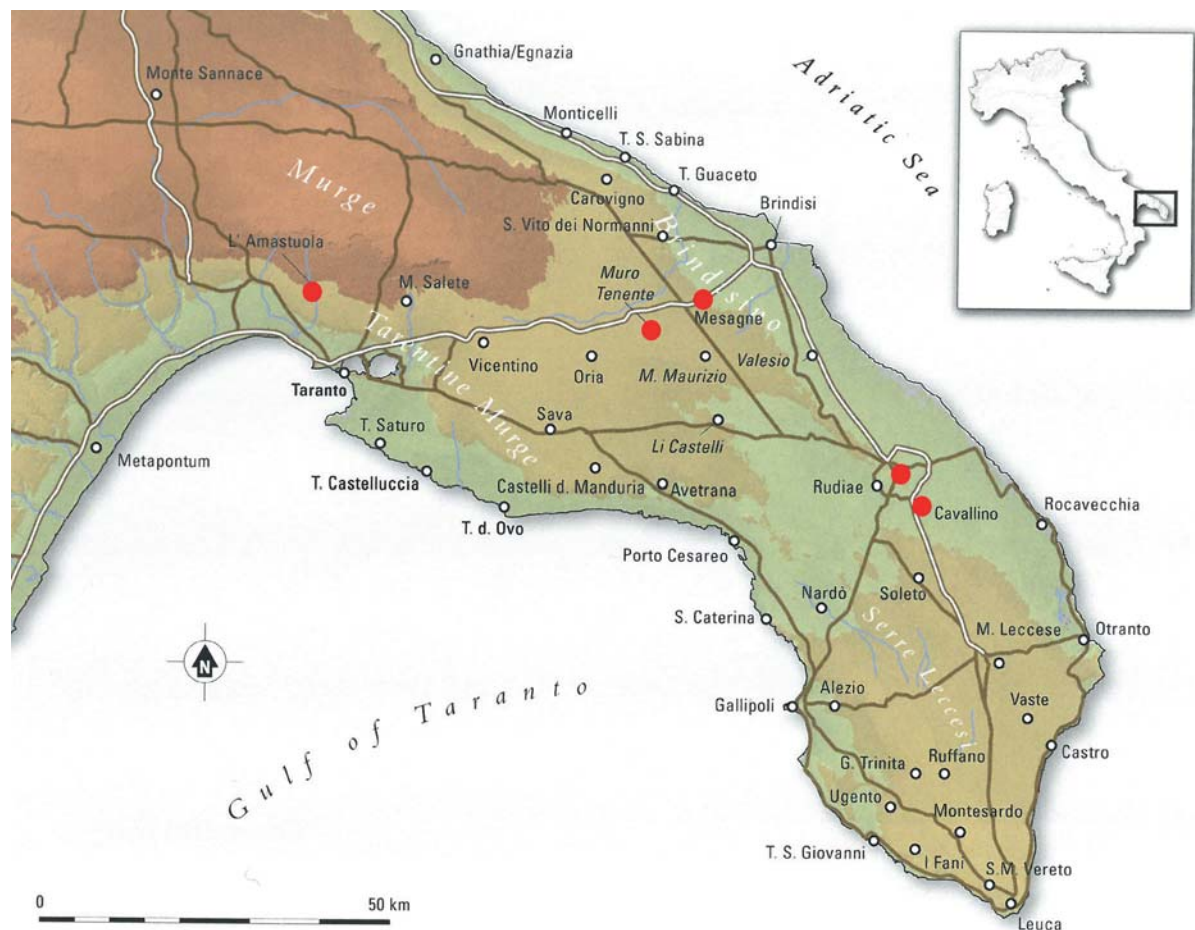


Fig. 1. Map of Salento, with sites mentioned in the text. The sites where Messapian stelae were found are marked in red (after Attema/Burgers/van Leusen 2010, 230, fig. 7.1).

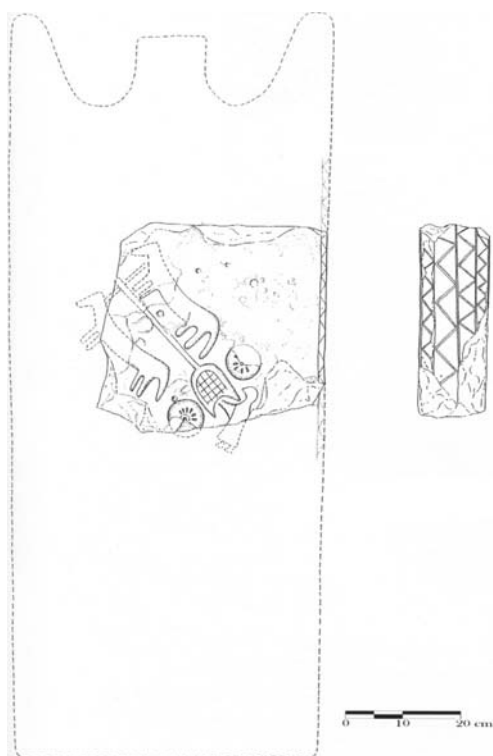


Fig. 2. Line drawing of a Messapian stela from Cavallino (Cavallino 1), front and side. Lecce, Museo Provinciale 'Sigismondo Castromediano' (from D'Andria 2005, 37).

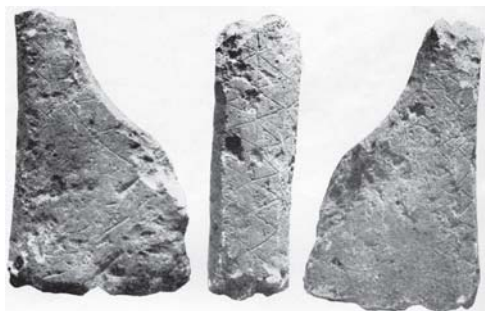


Fig. 3. Messapian stela from Cavallino (Cavallino 2), front, side and back. Lecce, Museo Provinciale 'Sigismondo Castromediano' (from Pancrazzi 1979, fig. 95).

10a-b), found in 1999 by the archaeologist Christian Napolitano, features two lines of warriors facing each other in the upper part of the pictorial field and a row of spears below.<sup>11</sup> A well-preserved stela was found in 2005 at L'Amastuola (L'Amastuola 1; figs 11a-b), in the context of a joint excavation project coordinated by the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam and the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Puglia.<sup>12</sup> The stela was found broken into two



Fig. 4. Messapian stela from Cavallino (Cavallino 3), side (from Pancrazzi 1979, fig. 100).

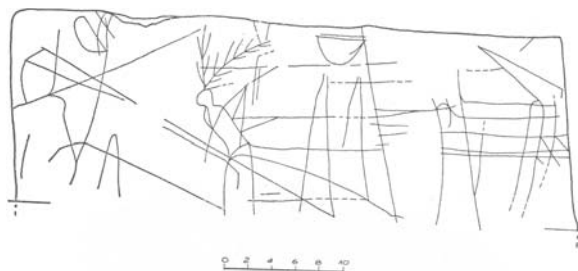


Fig. 5. Line drawing of a Messapian stela from Cavallino (Cavallino 4), front (from Pancrazzi 1979, fig. 98).



Fig. 6. Line drawing of a Messapian stela from Cavallino (Cavallino 5), front (from Pancrazzi 1979, fig. 96).



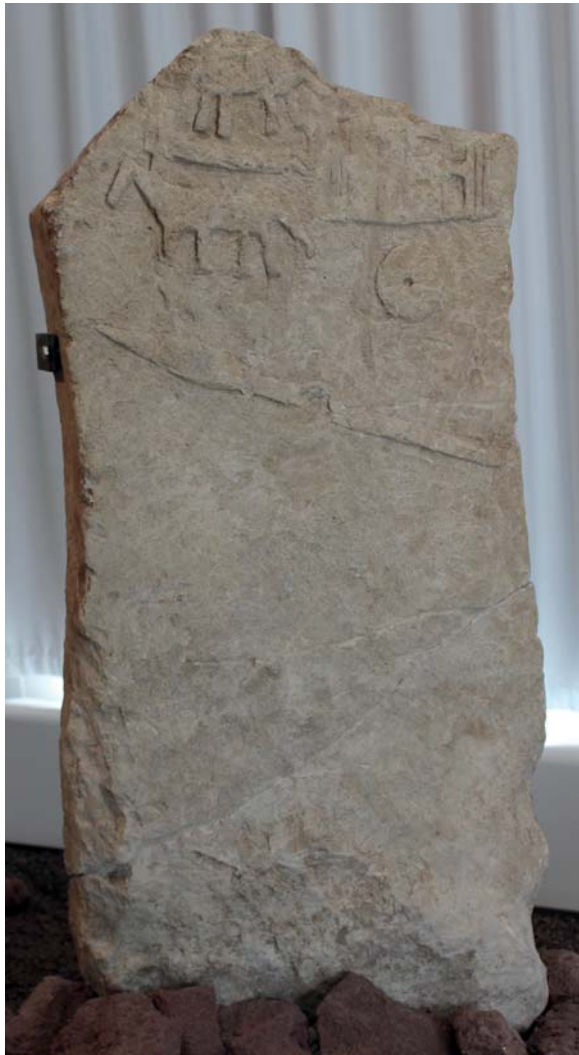


Fig. 7. Messapian stela from Mesagne (Mesagne 1), front. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Egnazia, inv. 70557 (courtesy of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo - Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per le Province di Brindisi, Lecce e Taranto; photo Tiziana D'Angelo).

pieces, but it is almost entirely preserved. It is decorated with incised zig-zag patterns on the front and sides, but does not show any figural motifs. The same year, the shoulder of another stela was found at Lecce (Lecce 1; fig. 12) during the excavations directed by Francesco D'Andria within a collaborative project between the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Puglia, the Università degli Studi di Lecce<sup>13</sup> and the Amministrazione Comunale di Lecce.<sup>14</sup>



Fig. 8. Messapian stela from Mesagne (Mesagne 2), front. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Egnazia, inv. 70558 (courtesy of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo - Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per le Province di Brindisi, Lecce e Taranto; photo Tiziana D'Angelo).

#### Historical and archaeological context

While their chronology will be discussed in more detail later in this article, the stelae have been situated approximately between the Late Iron Age and the Archaic period.<sup>15</sup> This was a time of important urban and social changes in the Salento peninsula. During the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, Salento's native communities engaged in settlement expansion and rural infill, claiming previously unoccupied or only marginally exploited areas.<sup>16</sup> This process shows a clear shift from coastal promontories to inland plains and hills.<sup>17</sup> Various hypotheses have been put forward to explain the increase in the density of sites and the intensification of human occupation documented for this period,

including population growth,<sup>18</sup> socio-economic stratification,<sup>19</sup> internal conflict and competition for control over land and natural resources.<sup>20</sup> The Messapian stelae were found precisely in some of these new inland settlements, namely Cavallino, Lecce, Mesagne, Muro Tenente and L'Amastuola. Other major centres in the region, including Oria, Brindisi and Otranto, did not yield similar artefacts. Cavallino, Lecce, Mesagne and Muro Tenente were



Fig. 9. Messapian stela from Mesagne (Mesagne 3), front. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Egnazia, inv. 70556 (courtesy of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo - Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per le Province di Brindisi, Lecce e Taranto; photo Tiziana D'Angelo).

indigenous settlements situated approximately 10-20 km from the eastern coast of the Salento peninsula, within a flat landscape. L'Amastuola, located on a hilltop 14 km northwest of Taranto, was occupied by native groups in the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, and from ca 675 BC it appears to have had a mixed Greek-indigenous population.<sup>21</sup>

The Iron Age phase of these sites is characterised by dispersed clusters of huts,<sup>22</sup> in some cases enclosed by circuit walls,<sup>23</sup> and has yielded large concentrations of local impasto and matt-painted wares, as well as imported and locally manufactured Corinthianising pottery.<sup>24</sup> The transition to the Archaic period in the region was marked by the consolidation of a 'settlement hierarchy'.<sup>25</sup> Changes in settlement organisation and in the use of landscape suggest a redefinition of spatial boundaries, territorial expansion and increasing interactions among different communities. From sparsely occupied villages, the settlements reached a remarkable size between the late 8<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>26</sup> Muro Tenente and Mesagne are each estimated to have expanded from about 15 ha in the Iron Age to 20-25 ha in the Archaic period, Cavallino reached 69 ha, while L'Amastuola was presumably only 3.3 ha. These settlements continued to flourish during the Archaic period, reaching a proto-urban level of organisation, and substantial social changes seem to have occurred at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, when some Messapian sites, like Cavallino and the sanctuary of Monte Papalucio at Oria, were destroyed or abandoned.<sup>27</sup>

One of the main difficulties when trying to reconstruct the meaning and function of the Messapian stelae lies in the fact that some of them were not found *in situ*. The four stelae from Mesagne have been excavated from a secure context and thus represent a good starting point for our analysis. They were found at the intersection between via Castello and vico dei Quercia, in the centre of the modern town of Mesagne (fig. 13). They were placed on top of a heap of stones which, considering the topography of the area, has been interpreted as belonging to a defensive wall and may have marked the boundaries of the Iron Age settlement.<sup>28</sup> This wall structure, which has been exposed for 27.50 m, is made of irregular blocks and is oriented northwest-southeast. The context has been dated to the late 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, a *terminus post quem* for the dating of the stelae.<sup>29</sup> The area has a higher elevation than the surrounding landscape and the importance of the wall is indicated by the fact that it was not cut by Archaic





Fig. 10a. Messapian stela from Muro Tenente (Muro Tenente 1), front. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Egnazia (courtesy of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo - Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per le Province di Brindisi, Lecce e Taranto; photo Tiziana D'Angelo).

roads. In addition, remains of 8<sup>th</sup>-century BC huts have been found in this area, strengthening the hypothesis that it coincided with the main nucleus of the Iron Age settlement.<sup>30</sup> As argued by the archaeologist Assunta Cocchiaro, these data allow us to situate the stelae between the late 8<sup>th</sup> and the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>31</sup>

Cavallino 1 and 5 have been found in *specchie* near the Cupa doline, approximately at the centre of the fortified settlement (fig. 14).<sup>32</sup> Although the

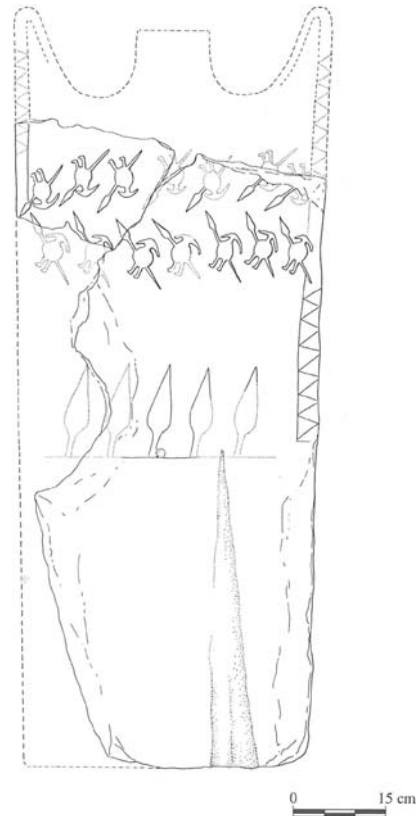


Fig. 10b. Line drawing of a Messapian stela from Muro Tenente (Muro Tenente 1), front (from D'Andria/Mastronuzzi 2008, 228, fig. 12).

stelae were not found in primary contexts, these *specchie* were dumps consisting of rubble and stones ploughed up by farmers and it is unlikely that the stelae, rather heavy stone monuments, were moved there from afar. Their find spot is significant in that it corresponds to a strategic place within the site. The Iron Age settlement was vast, but occupation was mostly concentrated in the central and northern areas, whereas the southern and eastern sectors were left empty and were most likely used as fields for agriculture and pasture.<sup>33</sup> The Cupa doline was located at the intersection between streets V and XI, and it separated a densely occupied area from the surrounding fields.<sup>34</sup> It also served as a *lacus*, providing water for the community and its agricultural activities,<sup>35</sup> which made it a crucial feature within the settlement landscape.<sup>36</sup> Cavallino 3 was found in Fondo Sentina, at the south-eastern edge of a densely inhabited sector.<sup>37</sup> Cavallino 2 was discovered in the vicinity of the northeast gate<sup>38</sup> and may have been originally set up near a circuit wall. In fact,

while the main fortifications at Cavallino were built in the Archaic period, it has been argued that the northern part of the settlement was enclosed by a wall already in the Iron Age.<sup>39</sup> Evidence of two internal circuit walls has been found in the north-western part of the settlement and it has been proposed that they did not serve a defensive purpose, but delimited the settlement and possibly marked areas controlled by certain elite groups.<sup>40</sup> Cavallino 4 was found within the Archaic fortification wall, but the exact find spot has not been recorded.<sup>41</sup>

These data show that the stelae from Cavallino were found along major roads that connected settlement and territory, or near circuit walls. With the exception of Cavallino 2, found near the northeast gate, where a cist grave was excavated in the 1950s,<sup>42</sup> a spatial relationship between stelae and

burial grounds appears unlikely: when considering funerary evidence from the Archaic period, most adult burials were concentrated in the south-eastern area of the settlement, while a few others were located close to the city walls, in the vicinity of the north, northeast and west gates.<sup>43</sup>

Approximately 4 km northwest of Cavallino, Lecce 1 was found in piazzetta Sigismondo Castromediano, in the centre of the modern city of Lecce.<sup>44</sup> Various clusters of huts with Japygian Geometric pottery have been found nearby, so that this area can be confidently identified as the Iron Age settlement of Lecce.<sup>45</sup>

Muro Tenente 1 was discovered in the eastern part of the site, in a field close to the Hellenistic fortification wall. It was found out of context and it has been suggested that it may have originally been set up in the central part of the site.<sup>46</sup> In the Iron Age, the most densely occupied part of the settlement was a central nucleus of about 3 ha where a few huts and large concentrations of matt-painted pottery have been uncovered.<sup>47</sup> This area was elevated compared to the rest of the settle-



Fig. 11a. Messapian stela from L'Amastuola (L'Amastuola 1), front (from Attema/Burgers/van Leusen 2010, 228, fig. 6.3).

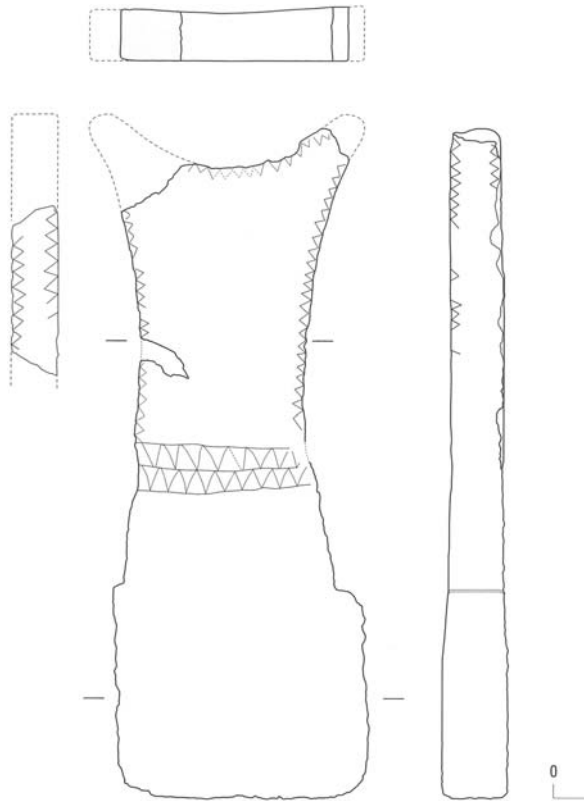


Fig. 11b. Line drawing of a Messapian stela from L'Amastuola (L'Amastuola 1), front and sides (after Attema/Burgers/van Leusen 2010, 228, fig. 6.3).

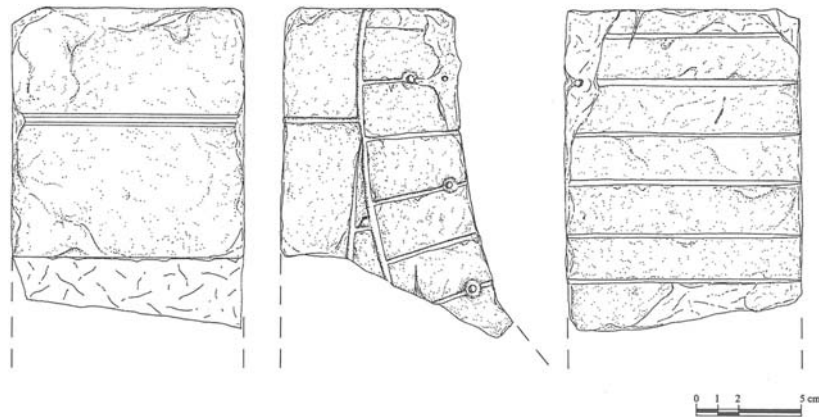


Fig. 12. Line drawing of a Messapian stela from Lecce (Lecce 1), front and sides (from D'Andria/Mastronuzzi 2008, 228, fig. 10).

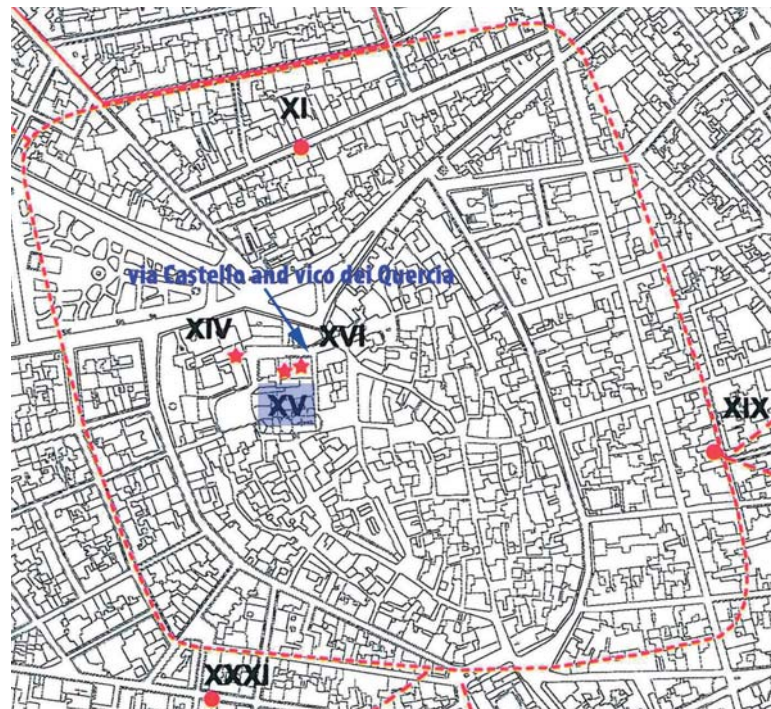


Fig. 13. Map of Mesagne. XV indicates the area where the Messapian stelae were found (after Cera 2015, 69, fig. 58).

ment and at some point it was enclosed by an internal wall that contributed to emphasise the physical separation and symbolic importance of this part of the site (fig. 15).<sup>48</sup>

Finally, L'Amastuola 1 was uncovered approximately 800 m south of the hilltop settlement. This area was used as a necropolis from ca 675 BC to the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century BC (fig. 16).<sup>49</sup> The stela was found lying face-down in the north-western

sector of the necropolis (area C) (fig. 17) and can therefore be dated broadly between the second quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> and the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>50</sup> Scholars have interpreted it as a grave-marker, possibly an indication that the native groups living at L'Amastuola buried their dead in this cemetery, following the Greek ritual.<sup>51</sup> The stela is the only indigenous artefact that has been found in this burial ground, which has so far yielded exclusively



burials and grave goods of Greek type. The necropolis was probably not used until the arrival of the Greeks in the second quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>52</sup> and the indigenous population is attested, through pottery and hut remains, only on the hill-top. Field surveys and excavations have allowed archaeologists to date the earliest phase of the settlement to the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, when the site appears to have been reclaimed after a long period of marginality.<sup>53</sup> Huts, impasto and matt-painted ware confirm that the settlement was founded by a native group.<sup>54</sup> In the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, rectangular houses were built next to curvilinear huts and gradually came to replace

them.<sup>55</sup> This, together with a shift in the pottery assemblages towards Greek and colonial wares, points to a sudden, though not violent, contact between natives and Greek colonists and to a phase of cohabitation between the two groups.<sup>56</sup> In the course of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, Greek presence at L'Amastuola became increasingly more prominent, gradually replacing indigenous culture. This suggests that L'Amastuola 1 was probably created in the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, before indigenous material culture began to disappear.<sup>57</sup> Excavations and magnetometer survey conducted on the south terrace of the hilltop have also revealed the presence of an inner and an

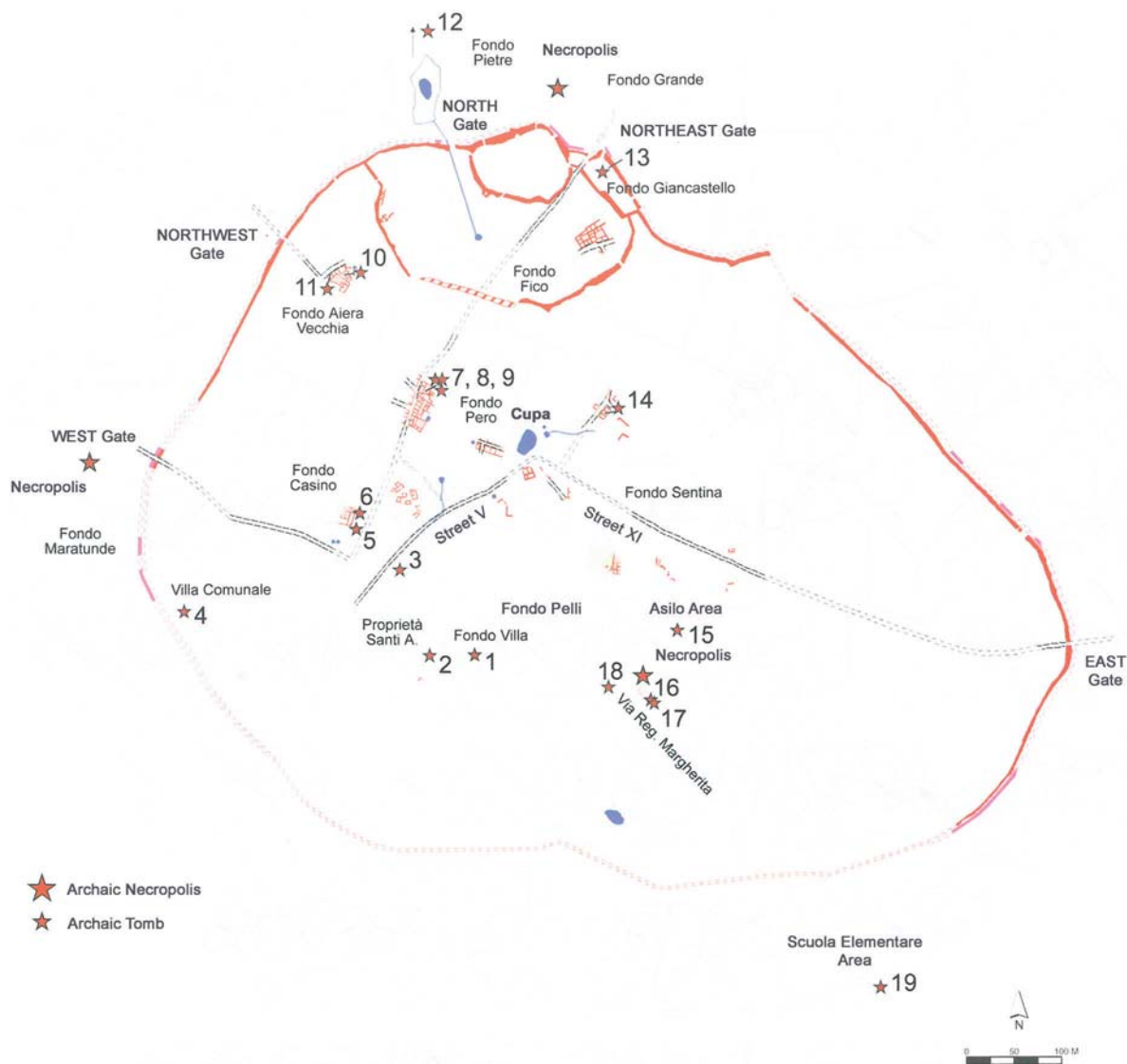


Fig. 14. Map of Cavallino, with Archaic necropoleis and tombs (after Semeraro 2005, 60).



Fig. 15. Map of Muro Tenente, with internal and external circuit walls (after Kok 2010, 32, fig. 1).



Fig. 16. L'Amastuola, location of the Messapian settlement and of the Archaic necropolis (from Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 99, fig. 34).

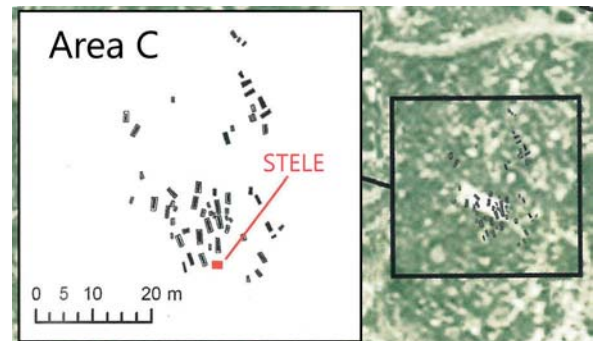


Fig. 17. Location of the find spot of L'Amastuola 1 (after Crielaard/Burgers 2012, 95, fig. 53).

outer *agger* built 'according to local insights'<sup>58</sup> around 670 BC, which would have formed a complex defensive system around the Messapian settlement.<sup>59</sup> The site was not controlled by Taras at the time and while its material culture reveals very limited contacts with settlements on the Adriatic coast and in the hinterland of Salento,

local and colonial pottery points to closer connections with the region of L'Incoronata and Siris, and with the Materano.<sup>60</sup> L'Amastuola shows evidence of a mixed Greek-indigenous population until the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, when changes in the necropolis, settlement and land use suggest that it was incorporated into the *chora* of Taras.<sup>61</sup>

The information available about the find spots and contexts of the stelae suggests that these monuments were set up in important places within a settlement - near circuit walls or cemetery areas, or along major roads connecting settlement and territory. The analysis has also provided some insights into the historical context of the stelae, suggesting that they were produced between the Late Iron Age and the Archaic period, although a more precise dating was possible only for Mesagne 1-4 and L'Amastuola 1. The study of their figural decoration will help to reconstruct the chronology of the other stelae, shedding light on the role played by Greek and Italic artistic models on Messapian material culture.

#### REASSESSING THE DATING OF THE STELAE: ARTISTIC MODELS AND CULTURAL CONTACTS

In the Iron Age and Archaic period, figural motifs were rare in Messapian art, so that the fact of being decorated with figural scenes may have singled out the stelae and their location as special. Although the stelae display an anthropomorphic shape, the rendering of anatomical details and clothing is extremely schematic, and the body is transformed into a mere geometric platform for social and cultural display.<sup>62</sup>

A handful of iconographic motifs are attested on the surviving stelae. The most common one, which appears on Mesagne 1-2 and Cavallino 1, is a *biga*: only parts of the vehicle and of the horses are preserved on Mesagne 1 and 2, whereas a charioteer dressed in a long garment is also visible on Cavallino 1. A battle scene with two rows of warriors wearing a helmet and carrying a round shield and a spear appears on Muro Tenente 1. One or more spears, carved in the lower part of the stela, feature on Mesagne 1 and 3, and on Muro Tenente 1. Cavallino 4 apparently shows a deer hunt, although the stone surface is severely damaged and the scene can be hardly reconstructed. The same applies to Cavallino 5, which is believed to represent monsters or other fantastic creatures.<sup>63</sup> L'Amastuola 1 does not feature any figural decoration, but only a zig-zag pattern along the border on the front and sides, and a double row with the same pattern running hori-

zontally in the middle. This motif has been convincingly interpreted as a schematic representation of a woman's dress with a belt around the waist.<sup>64</sup>

The figural motifs carved on the stelae were not part of the Messapian artistic repertory, whereas they were rather popular in Late Geometric, Proto-corinthian and Corinthian pottery.<sup>65</sup> The stelae from Cavallino have been dated to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC on the basis of iconographic and stylistic similarities between Cavallino 1 and Late Geometric pottery.<sup>66</sup> This suggestion is plausible, especially considering that a similar date has been proposed on stratigraphic grounds for the stelae from Mesagne, two of which (Mesagne 1 and 2) feature the same subject matter as Cavallino 1. The hypothesis that the Messapian stelae display artistic influences from Late Geometric pottery is, however, more problematic. D'Andria draws a comparison between the horses depicted on Cavallino 1 and a Japygian Late Geometric sherd from Torre Guaceto, near Brindisi (fig. 18).<sup>67</sup> No other *comparanda*, however, have been found in the region. D'Andria also compares the chariot on Cavallino 1 with Greek war chariots depicted on Geometric pottery from the Dipylon cemetery.<sup>68</sup> The relief on Cavallino 1 is stylised, but it is clear that the chariot has a U-shaped floor plan with a thong flooring, a central draught pole and spoked wheels. This vehicle shares similarities with High-front and Rail chariots from mainland Greece,<sup>69</sup> but some parallels are documented in Italy as well. Archaeological evidence for the use of horse-drawn chariots in Italy dates as early as the 11<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries BC,<sup>70</sup> whereas depictions of chariots began to appear only in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC and became increasingly more popular across the Italic peninsula during the Archaic period.<sup>71</sup> The earliest attestations of the type of chariot depicted on Cavallino 1 in Italy come from a late 8<sup>th</sup>-century BC warrior tomb at Castel di Decima, in Latium (fig. 19), the Tomba del Carro in the Osteria cemetery at Vulci and the Tumulo dei Carri in the San Cerbone cemetery at Populonia, both dating to ca 675-650 BC.<sup>72</sup> The vehicle depicted on Cavallino 1 carries only one unarmed rider and it is unclear whether we are dealing with a military or a ceremonial scene.<sup>73</sup>

The vehicle featuring on Mesagne 1 displays some remarkable differences from the chariot on Cavallino 1. In particular, the *biga* on Mesagne 1 is harnessed under a neck yoke and the wheels are of the disk type. The neck yoke was commonly used for chariots and carts in ancient Italy and the eastern Mediterranean,<sup>74</sup> while in mainland Greece High-front chariots tended to have a dorsal yoke.<sup>75</sup> In addition, disk wheels never appear in represen-



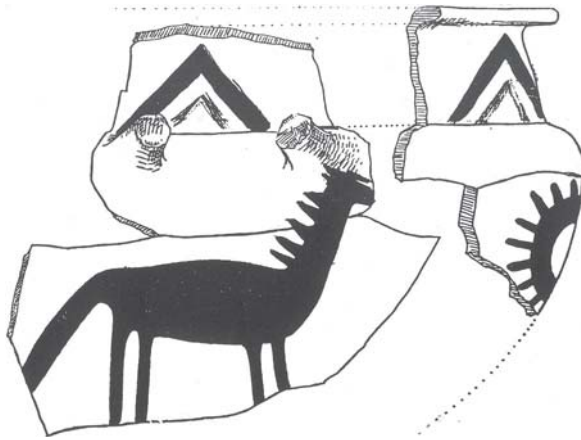


Fig. 18. Fragments of a Late Geometric-Japygian vase from Torre Guaceto, late 8<sup>th</sup>-early 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. Brindisi, Museo Archeologico Provinciale 'Francesco Ribezzo' (from D'Andria 1983, pl. XXV, fig. 1).

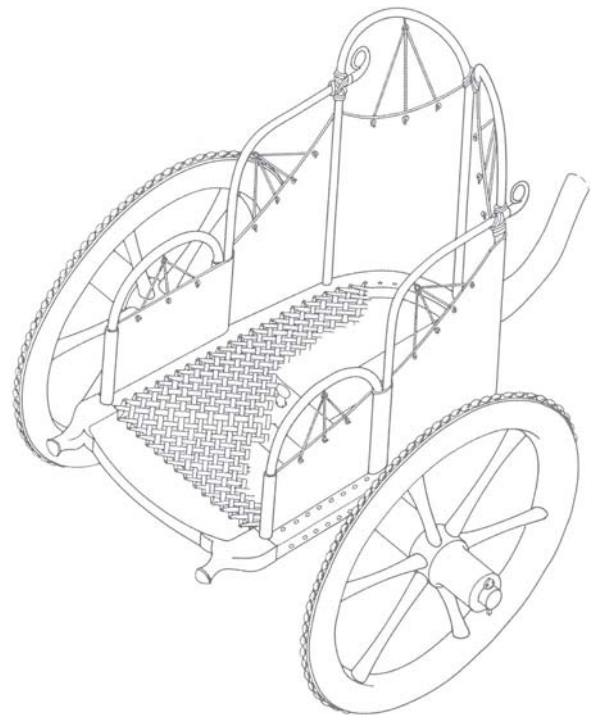


Fig. 19. Reconstruction drawing of a chariot from Castel di Decima, via Pontina cemetery, tomb 15, 720-710 BC (from Emiliozzi 1997, 96, fig. 1).

tations of chariots from either Greece or Italy and they were instead commonly used for carts, especially farm ones, in Italy (fig. 20).<sup>76</sup> It is also not possible to reconstruct how many figures, if any, were riding on this vehicle, as the upper right part of the stela is not preserved. The decoration of Mesagne 2 is even less clear: the *biga* and the central draught pole of the vehicle are visible, but the rest of the scene is hard to reconstruct. Since these scenes do not seem to derive from specific artistic models, either Greek or Italic, it is possi-

ble that the stylised animals and vehicles carved on the stelae from Mesagne and Cavallino were original creations by local craftsmen. This hypoth-

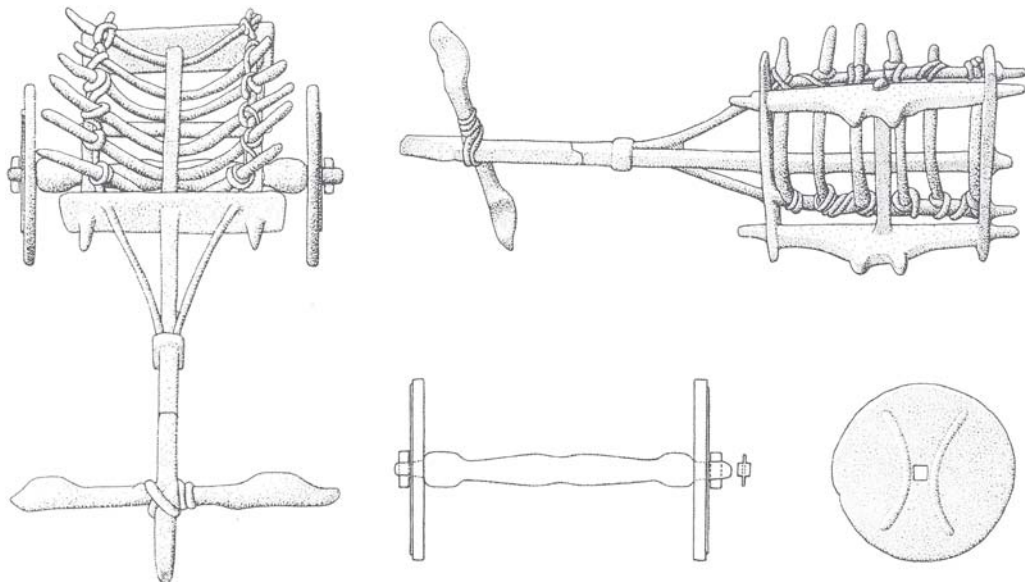


Fig. 20. Bronze model of a cart from Bolsena, 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. Viterbo, Museo Nazionale Etrusco Rocca Alborno (from Crouwel 2012, pl. 88).



Fig. 21. Hydria from Oria, 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. Lecce, Laboratorio di Archeologia dell'Università del Salento, Inv. Sc. OR 501, 502 (from D'Andria 1990, 265).

esis would still be compatible with a dating of these stelae to the late 8<sup>th</sup> or the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, as suggested by the stratigraphy at Mesagne.

Regarding the scene depicted on Muro Tenente 1, D'Andria argues that the subject matter, featuring two rows of warriors facing each other, derives from Greek-inspired Messapian pottery dated to the Late Archaic and Classical periods.<sup>77</sup> He mentions in particular a 6<sup>th</sup>-century BC *hydria* from Oria (fig. 21) and a 5<sup>th</sup>-century BC *trozzella* from Oria, now in the collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (fig. 22), both of which depict combat scenes between two warriors wearing a helmet and bearing a shield and a spear.<sup>78</sup> The warriors on the *hydria* are similar to the ones on Muro Tenente 1, but they are more distant from each other and they are also inserted into a mythological scene probably representing Odysseus and Circe. The warriors depicted on the Copenhagen *trozzella* differ from the figures on Muro Tenente 1 in both iconography and style. The hypothesis of a direct connection between Muro Tenente 1 and a vessel whose style is closely linked to the Messapian Brown Figured Style would also create a wide chronological gap between the stelae from Mesagne and Cavallino and the one from Muro Tenente.<sup>79</sup>

While I agree with the dating proposed by Cocchiario for the stelae from Mesagne, which, as we have seen, could apply also to the ones from Cavallino, I suggest a different date for Muro Tenente 1. In light of the intense trade of Corinthian pottery which reached inland communities of Salento mainly via Otranto and Brindisi,<sup>80</sup> one

should consider the possibility that iconographic motifs circulating through Greek ceramics were



Fig. 22. Trozzella from Oria, 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek IN. 3417. Side B (courtesy of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. Photo Ole Haupt).

imitated by local craftsmen in other media before being adopted in vase painting. Representations of warriors were popular in Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery. In addition to many scenes of combat between individuals or small groups, close ranks of hoplites began to appear in Greek vase painting around the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century BC,<sup>81</sup> as shown by the Chigi *olpe*,<sup>82</sup> Berlin *aryballos*<sup>83</sup> and Macmillan *aryballos*.<sup>84</sup> These have been traditionally interpreted as the earliest illustrations of the classical phalanx in Greek art.<sup>85</sup> Hans van Wees, however, has recently argued that representations of massed troops in 7<sup>th</sup>-century Corinthian and Athenian vase painting are ultimately not distant from Homeric battlefield imagery and they should not be taken as evidence for the emergence of the classical phalanx.<sup>86</sup> The fact that in these scenes hoplites hold two spears, likely a javelin and a thrusting-spear, suggests that they were still fighting in an open formation.<sup>87</sup> It is only in the last third of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC that they are shown as wielding a single spear, although they continue to enjoy freedom of movement on the battlefield.<sup>88</sup> Van Wees suggests that '[t]his iconographical change presumably reflects a decline in the role of missiles in hoplite combat, and thus a further move towards the classical phalanx, in the last third of the seventh century.'<sup>89</sup> The decoration of Muro Tenente 1 features two armies ready to fight and shares some remarkable similarities with late 7<sup>th</sup>-century Greek battle imagery: first, the presence of a single rank instead of multiple lines of soldiers; secondly, the lack of any overlap between the figures, which suggests a certain openness of the formations rather than a clash of dense phalanxes; and thirdly, the fact that the warriors are carrying a single spear.

Imported Corinthian wares, including trade amphorae, sympotic vessels and *aryballoi*, were found in the Iron Age native settlement of Muro Tenente and in the nearby port of Brindisi.<sup>90</sup> Especially relevant is a pointed Protocorinthian *aryballos* from the necropolis of Tor Pisana at Brindisi, which is dated at the latest around 650 BC (fig. 23).<sup>91</sup> The figural decoration of this vessel includes two warriors who resemble in pose and equipment the figures represented on Muro Tenente 1, but wield two spears. Following van Wees's argument, this may suggest that the stela is later than the *aryballos*. This hypothesis is corroborated by a most recent discovery at Muro Tenente: a terracotta fragment decorated with figural scenes in low relief has been found at the site and it has been identified as part of a ritual object, possibly a *perirrhanterion*.<sup>92</sup> The decoration comprises multiple scenes, one of

which features a rider next to a warrior wearing a helmet and bearing a spear and a shield. The fragment has been compared with the rim of a late 7<sup>th</sup>-century BC terracotta *pithos* from Valesio (fig. 24), decorated in low relief with warriors similar to those represented on Muro Tenente 1.<sup>93</sup> According to an initial assessment, the terracotta fragment from Muro Tenente may be a Corinthian import and can be dated to the late 7<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>94</sup> Although the terracotta medium of these artefacts would have required a different decorative technique from the stone stela, their figural reliefs could have provided a suitable iconographic model for the scene carved on Muro Tenente 1. Thus, the comparison with 7<sup>th</sup>-century Greek pottery and Corinthian terracotta reliefs suggests that the stela from Muro Tenente was made in the last decades of the 7<sup>th</sup>-beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC and that local craftsmen adopted



Fig. 23. *Aryballos* from the necropolis of Tor Pisana, Brindisi, ca 650 BC. Brindisi, Museo Archeologico Provinciale 'Francesco Ribezzo', inv. 1667 (from Lo Porto 1964, pl. XVII).





Fig. 24. Rim of Corinthian pithos from Valesio, late 7<sup>th</sup> century BC (from Boersma/Yntema 1989, 139, fig. 8).

and adapted an iconography that was circulating in Salento through Greek imports.<sup>95</sup>

In sum, the iconographic analysis of the stelae situates their production between the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. This chronology is also compatible with the context of L'Amastuola 1, for which a date in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC is most likely. While specific Greek or Italic artistic models cannot be identified for the earlier stelae (Mesagne 1-2 and Cavallino 1), which were probably decorated with subject matters devised by native craftsmen, the later example from Muro Tenente shows the adoption and re-elaboration of an iconographic motif that was circulating in Salento in the last decades of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC mainly through Corinthian imports. This may be a reflection of the increasing commercial and cultural contacts between native communities and Greeks in Salento during the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, and it may also point to a development in the expression of elite identity. The reassessment of the chronology of the stelae and the identification of both indigenous and Greek iconographic motifs in their decoration provide us with further elements to explore the meaning and function that these monuments had in the context of 8<sup>th</sup>- and 7<sup>th</sup>-century Messapia.

#### THE FUNCTION OF THE MESSAPIAN STELAE: GRAVE MARKERS?

Scholars have looked at the Messapian stelae as commemorations of the cultural identity and socio-economic status of native elites, and they have interpreted them as grave markers.<sup>96</sup> Formal burials are not archaeologically visible in Salento

until the late 7<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century BC, when they began to appear in small number, and the Messapian stelae have been thought to shed some light on these archaeologically untraceable rituals.<sup>97</sup> The analysis of their contexts, however, has shown that only two stelae, L'Amastuola 1 and Cavallino 2, were found in or near cemetery areas. As already mentioned, L'Amastuola 1 was discovered in a necropolis, even though it is not possible to associate the stela with a specific burial. In the case of Cavallino 2, the funerary connection is weak, as the stela was found out of context near the northeast city gate, where only one burial has been excavated.

The interpretation of the Messapian stelae as grave markers is based mainly on later historiographic accounts, similarities with Archaic statue-stelae from Daunia and on iconographic considerations. As discussed by Mario Lombardo, Polybius mentions that the Tarentines used to bury their dead within the settlement, and according to Athenaeus (citing Clearchus of Soli, 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century BC) at Tarentum stelae were still erected in front of houses and sacrifices were made to Zeus Kataibates in order to commemorate the deceased members of the 5<sup>th</sup>-century Japygian expedition.<sup>98</sup> The hypothesis of a connection between the Messapian stelae and the traditions recorded by Athenaeus and Polybius is certainly appealing, but cannot be demonstrated archaeologically.

Another argument that has been put forward to support an interpretation of the Messapian stelae as grave markers is their apparent similarity with the Daunian ones. Over 2,000 statue-stelae have been found in the Tavoliere plain and they have been dated between the 7<sup>th</sup> and the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century BC (figs 25a-b).<sup>99</sup> The majority of them come from Siponto and Salapia, but more sporadic finds have been uncovered in all major Daunian centres, including Arpi, Herdonia, Teanum Apulum and Aecae. These limestone sculptures have an anthropomorphic shape, with raised shoulders, neck and head. Their painted and carved decoration (on all four sides) defines further anatomical details - arms, hands and hair - as well as clothing, ornaments and weapons.<sup>100</sup> In addition to this 'primary decoration', the stelae feature figural scenes illustrating daily activities, cult and funerary rituals, and mythological tales, which constitute the so-called 'secondary decoration'. Their iconographic repertoire is extremely rich and the selection of images appears to have been gender specific.<sup>101</sup> The Daunian stelae have been traditionally interpreted as funerary *semata* commemorating the social and ethnic identity of the local elites.<sup>102</sup>

A comparison with these monuments has led scholars to assign a funerary function to the Messapian stelae as well. Two main caveats, however, should be mentioned. First, with very few exceptions, there is little evidence to confirm the use of the Daunian stelae as grave markers, as most of them were reused and thus found out of context.<sup>103</sup> In this regard, their high concentration in coastal settlements has led Leone to put forward an alternative interpretation of these stelae as cultic artefacts.<sup>104</sup> Secondly, while typological, technical and iconographic similarities exist between Daunian and Messapian stelae, important differences in their materiality and context should not be overlooked. The Messapian stelae are decorated only on the front and they place significantly less emphasis on the definition of anatomical details. Clothing is very schematically represented, ornaments are completely absent and the 'secondary decoration', when present, is more limited and standardised, comprising only one or two figural motifs. These features suggest that social status and individual identity are less prominently displayed in the Messapian stelae than they seem to be in the Daunian ones. In addition, the Messapian stelae have been found in substantially smaller concentrations and only in a handful of sites. If they served as elite grave markers, one would expect them to be more numerous and attested in other neighbouring settlements that shared similar social structure and material culture during the Iron Age and Archaic period.

As for the decoration of the Messapian stelae, it has been suggested that by representing chariots and warriors the deceased would display their ability to breed horses and their knowledge and familiarity with Greek aristocratic practices.<sup>105</sup> Images carry meaning, but such meanings vary according to the particular social, cultural and political circumstances in which they occur. In Archaic Messapian burials, social hierarchy was expressed through the deposition of imported pottery and other precious objects,<sup>106</sup> but weapons were noticeably absent from 6<sup>th</sup>- and 5<sup>th</sup>-century BC graves.<sup>107</sup> Mesagne 1-3 and Cavallino 1 show two iconographic motifs, chariot/cart and spear, which were often used in Iron Age and Archaic Italy in order to commemorate the social prestige of local elites and their status as warriors, in both funerary and non-funerary contexts.<sup>108</sup> The allusion to warfare is clear also in the decoration of Muro Tenente 1. Yet, the scene does not focus on a heroised individual, but commemorates an entire elite body. A row of spears is carved in the lower part of the field and the impression is not that they are held



Fig. 25a. Line drawing of a Daunian stela with weaponry, front. Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Manfredonia, inv. 0972-0974 (from D'Ercole 2000, 332, fig. 3).

by the statue-stelae, as was the case for the Daunian monuments, but that they are sticking out of the ground. A potential allusion to collective identity has been suggested also for L'Amastuola 1, which could be seen as an expression of 'elite solidarity with peer groups in the indigenous world'.<sup>109</sup> The stelae and their decoration can therefore be read





Fig. 25b. Daunian stela with weaponry, front and back. Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Manfredonia, inv. 0972-0974 (from Nava 1984, 132, fig. 1).



as an attempt to portray and legitimise the status and identity of native elites in some Messapian communities, but they do not include any explicit reference to the funerary sphere.

If they did not serve as grave markers, what was the ideology expressed by the Messapian stelae? These monuments display very little interest in the definition of anatomical details and ornaments, a feature which they share with some prehistoric statue-stelae from Castelluccio dei Sauri, in Apulia.<sup>110</sup> These monuments have been found in an area identified as a ritual space<sup>111</sup> and they differ from other prehistoric statue-stelae in Italy in that they lack physiognomic traits. This element stresses their abstract nature and has led scholars to interpret them as symbols of divine transcendence.<sup>112</sup> If a similar reading applies to the Messapian stelae, then it could be suggested that they served to represent abstract rather than individual 'social bodies'.<sup>113</sup> Their presence in a limited number of sites and their attempt to combine native and Greek artistic traditions rule out the option that they served as markers of ethnic identity, which seems to have developed much later in southeast Italy.<sup>114</sup> Already in the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC, the emergence of distinctive regional styles in Salento matt-painted pottery has been explained as an expression of collective identities which resulted from a phase of social tension in the region.<sup>115</sup> The late 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC witnessed the creation and rapid expansion of a number of Messapian settlements and the consolidation of their structure, but social tension and territorial competition deriving from increasing contacts among different native and Greek groups continued.<sup>116</sup> In addition, as observed by Edward Herring, 'contact with culturally aware Greeks would have given an impetus for a further growth in native cultural identity and, in particular, a growth in its material expression.'<sup>117</sup>

In light of these considerations, I will explore the possibility that the stelae embodied the concerns of some native communities to articulate the urban landscape and manifested the attempt from local elites to mark their identity and legitimise their authority within a settlement. A comparative approach to the analysis of the topographic and archaeological contexts of the stelae will help evaluate this hypothesis in more detail.

#### RITUAL LANDSCAPE, SETTLEMENT BOUNDARIES AND COLLECTIVE IDENTITY

The Messapian stelae were found in small- and medium-size settlements that were reclaimed or created *ex-novo* in inland Salento during the 8<sup>th</sup>

century BC, and the new dating that I proposed for some of them suggests that they were created and set up between the late 8<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, in a phase of rapid and intensive growth. Considering that these sites were surrounded by pre-existing and other newly-established settlements, one of the main concerns for local elites may have been to define spatial boundaries and mark strategic locations to consolidate their control over the land. A number of newly-founded settlements in Iron Age Salento, like Castello di Alceste and Castelluccio, were enclosed by circuit walls as early as the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC,<sup>118</sup> and smaller precincts were also found around residential structures.<sup>119</sup> As discussed earlier in this article, circuit walls dated between the late 8<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC have been uncovered also at Cavallino, Mesagne, L'Amastuola and possibly Muro Tenente, and the stelae were sometimes found in the proximity of these structures.

It is therefore worth exploring the possibility that less monumental markers may have been set up in these sites with a similar function. The analysis of their archaeological contexts has shown that the stelae were usually set up in significant places within or around a settlement: along major roads which connected the settlement with its territory (Cavallino 1 and 5), on the border of a densely inhabited part of the settlement (Cavallino 3), in the vicinity of a circuit wall (Mesagne 1-4, Cavallino 2 and 4) and in cemetery areas (L'Amastuola 1 and Cavallino 2). The use of stelae and *cippi* to mark land and settlement boundaries and to sacralise roads, city-gates and the access to burial grounds was a common practice in ancient Italy: prehistoric statue-stelae from Sardinia and Corsica were associated with megalithic ritual places, e.g. stone circles; in Lunigiana, they were set up in groups or alignments in the countryside, possibly along transit routes; in southern Italy, they occurred in clusters or alignments at ritual sites.<sup>120</sup> Focusing on the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC, it is worth discussing the use of *cippi* in a number of sites in southeast Italy during the Archaic and Classical periods, and compare this evidence with contemporaneous stelae and *cippi* from Veneto.

*Cippi* made of local limestone and of variable size were found at Cavallino, Leuca, I Fani, Porto Cesareo, Ugento, Nardò, Muro Leccese and Vaste.<sup>121</sup> At Cavallino, six *cippi* were found in Fondo Maratunde, close to the west gate, and another one by the south-western sector of the Archaic fortification wall.<sup>122</sup> They can be dated to the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup>-beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. Three of them bear inscriptions with onomastic formulae

which refer to a deity or to the individual who set them up. The relationship with settlement boundaries is clear, as the *cippi* were located close to the fortification wall. Some of them have been interpreted as grave markers, whereas others are more easily identifiable as religious offerings.<sup>123</sup> Beside their specific function, Giovanni Mastronuzzi pointed out that a comparison with archaeological evidence from Vaste, Muro Leccese and Nardò suggests that the sacred areas where *cippi* were dedicated coincided with critical spots within the Archaic road system, and that these stone monuments marked access to the settlement, functioning as a protective ring and delimitating areas used for agricultural activities.<sup>124</sup>

At Leuca (*località* Grotta Porcinara), towards the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC an *eschara* used for chthonian cults was built on a terrace and enclosed by stone blocks of irregular shape. A *cippus* probably dedicated around 600-550 BC was later reused to build an additional circular enclosure for the *eschara*.<sup>125</sup> At Vaste, the excavations carried out in Fondo Melliche have yielded a large quantity of local pottery and Greek imports, which suggests that the area was used for ritual purposes already in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>126</sup> It was only in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, however, that this sacred space was enclosed by a wall as by stone blocks and *cippi*.<sup>127</sup> These have been interpreted as votive dedications and some of them are inscribed with the name of the individual who set them up. Their ritual function is confirmed by the presence of local and Greek pottery, especially bottomless drinking vessels which imply libation practices and chthonian cults.<sup>128</sup> Looking at the pattern of distribution of *cippi* at Vaste, they clearly outline a ring around the settlement, which might indicate a relationship between these ritual dedications and practices of sacralisation of city boundaries.<sup>129</sup>

The evidence that has been discussed so far dates mostly to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC and is thus later than the stelae. The find spots of the *cippi*, however, share some correspondences with those of the Messapian stelae: both were located in the periphery of a settlement, along major roads and in topographically prominent areas. At Cavallino, where both stelae and *cippi* were found, their locations sometimes coincided: Cavallino 3 was found in Fondo Sentina, an area which was used as a sacred space in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, as suggested by some inscribed limestone *cippi*, an inscribed loomweight, a terracotta figurine and a capital fragment.<sup>130</sup>

Despite their different historical and cultural contexts, stelae and *cippi* from pre-Roman Veneto represent an excellent case study to better under-

stand the ritual function of the Messapian stelae. At Padua and Este, a number of stelae, *cippi* and *ciottoloni*, some of which bear inscriptions and/or figural decoration, were set up between the 6<sup>th</sup> and the early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC in order to mark city boundaries, connect the settlement with its territory, and articulate the relationship between different centres within the Venetic state.<sup>131</sup> They also point to the emergence of strong communal identity and define an important stage within the process of urbanisation of Veneto.<sup>132</sup> As with Iron Age and Archaic Salento, from the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century BC Veneto experienced a sudden territorial expansion and reorganisation, which was accompanied by the establishment of new settlements and by the re-occupation of previously abandoned sites.<sup>133</sup>

At Padua, a number of *cippi* and *ciottoloni* have been found on the western, northern and southern edges of the urban area and they have been identified as boundary stones or more generic landscape markers.<sup>134</sup> A potential use as boundary stones has recently been proposed also for a group of stelae located on the edge of some burial grounds.<sup>135</sup> These stelae are rectangular in shape and they often display an incised or low relief decoration featuring a *biga* or an armed rider (fig. 26).<sup>136</sup> The

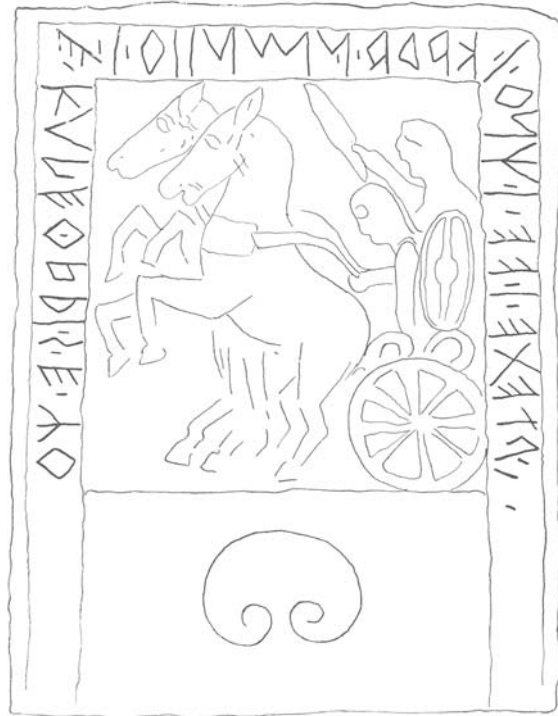


Fig. 26. Line drawing of a Venetic stela from Padua (Pa2), 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. Verona, Museo Lapidario Maffei, inv. 28741 (from Pellegrini/Prosdocimi 1967, 330).

figural panel is usually framed by an inscribed commemoration in the first person.<sup>137</sup>

At Este, the boundaries between suburban cultivated fields and the surrounding territory were defined by monumentalised markers, i.e. sanctuaries which formed a ring around the city and protected its main points of access.<sup>138</sup> Stone markers were also used to define landscape boundaries, and they often come from funerary contexts: 19<sup>th</sup>-century and more recent excavations have brought to light clusters of stelae and *cippi* placed along major roads and facing the Adige river. In most cases, however, these stones cannot be associated with specific burials and rather seem to mark the entrance to cemetery areas:<sup>139</sup> obelisk-shaped stone *cippi* inscribed with personal names have been found in various necropoleis,<sup>140</sup> a row of six trachyte *cippi* created a line of demarcation between the necropolis of Casa del Ricovero and the city,<sup>141</sup> and two uninscribed stelae have been recently found around the perimeter of the south-eastern necropolis.<sup>142</sup>

Although they are part of a different cultural and historical framework, the Venetic stelae and *cippi* share remarkable similarities with the Messapian ones: their use followed the occupation of new or pre-existing sites, they were located in liminal areas or in other significant spots within a settlement, and they were associated with sacred or funerary spaces. In particular, the *cippi* and *ciottoloni* from Padua, used as boundary stones to separate the settlement from its surrounding territory, can help us better understand the function of Cavallino 1 and 5, and Mesagne 1-4, which were uncovered at the fringes of the settlements or at the border between a densely populated area and the surrounding fields. The stelae from Padua, whose decoration often features subject matters similar to those of Cavallino 1 and Mesagne 1-2, and the stelae and *cippi* from Este show that, when placed in a funerary context, these monuments were not necessarily associated with a specific burial, but rather served as boundary stones, marking access to a burial ground. This introduces the possibility of interpreting L'Amastuola 1 and Cavallino 2, both found in cemetery areas, as monuments that marked access to a burial ground, or to a particular plot within it, rather than grave markers commemorating a specific individual.

This comparative analysis suggests that the Messapian stelae could be understood as landscape markers set up by native elite groups in liminal or transitional areas of special significance within or around a settlement. While in some cases they may have been associated with a funerary

context, their function was not to commemorate a single individual, but to legitimise the status of some elite groups within a community and to reinforce their control over the territory.<sup>143</sup> As has been discussed, with the foundation of new settlements in Salento during the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC communities had to define their own place within the broader political dynamics of the region. This may have also triggered social conflict and competition among elite groups within individual communities. The fact that only a few stelae have been found so far and that they can all be dated between the 8<sup>th</sup> and the early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC may indicate that these monuments were used by certain kinship groups to mark space and claim power at a local and regional level during a period of urban, social and political transformation.<sup>144</sup>

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the Messapian stelae offer important insights into the organisation and development of native settlements in inland Salento during the Late Iron Age and the Early Archaic period. The analysis of the archaeological contexts of the stelae and of their decoration has led to a reassessment of their dating and of their ritual meaning and function. While only the stelae from Mesagne and L'Amastuola were found in secure contexts, comparisons with archaeological and artistic evidence from Italy and Greece suggested that the surviving stelae were created between the late 8<sup>th</sup> and the early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. In particular, iconographic similarities between the decoration of Cavallino 1 and Mesagne 1-2 showed that the stelae from these two sites were approximately contemporaneous and probably belonged to an early phase of the production, between the late 8<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. While these monuments do not seem to display direct influences from pre-existing Greek or Italic artistic models, thus emphasising the indigenous character of this production, later stelae testify to the increasing contacts between Greek and native communities in Salento during the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. L'Amastuola 1 was found in a necropolis that has so far yielded exclusively burials and grave goods of Greek type and the decoration of Muro Tenente 1 features remarkable similarities with late 7<sup>th</sup>-century BC battlefield imagery from Corinthian vase painting and terracotta reliefs.

This article has also challenged the traditional interpretation of the Messapian stelae as grave markers and has argued that they were most likely used to express collective identity and elite power.



The figural decoration of Cavallino 1 and Mesagne 1-3 insists on themes traditionally associated in ancient Italy with social prestige, without any specific reference to the funerary sphere, while Muro Tenente 1 and L'Amastuola 1 allude more explicitly to group identity. The relationship between stelae and settlement layouts, and the comparison with stelae and *cippi* from pre-Roman Italy suggests that the stelae may have served to mark liminal areas or other important locations within or around a settlement. The production of the Messapian stelae coincided with a phase of relocation of some native communities within the Salento peninsula and with important social and political developments in the region. In this context, the stelae may have contributed to articulate the urban landscape while also commemorating the status, identity and power of native elite groups in ancient Messapia.

## NOTES

- \* I presented some of the early findings from my study on the Messapian stelae in November 2014 at a seminar on *Archaic Greece* organised by Prof. Robin Osborne and Dr. Yannis Galanakis at the University of Cambridge. I am indebted to my colleagues for their comments and suggestions which helped me in the early stage of my research. I also had the opportunity to share some of my thoughts on this material at the first annual meeting of *Dialoghi sull'Archeologia della Magna Grecia e del Mediterraneo*, organised by the Fondazione Paestum and held in Paestum on 7-9 September 2016. I would like to thank the conference organisers, especially Prof. Emanuele Greco, and the participants for a fruitful discussion. I am also grateful to the anonymous reviewer of *BABESCH*. Special thanks go to Rita Caforio and Ferdinando Parlato for facilitating my research on the site of Muro Tenente. Last, but not least, my most heartfelt thanks go to Prof. Jan-Paul Crielaard, who has read thoroughly various versions of this manuscript and kindly shared his expertise on the archaeology of southeast Italy. His insightful comments and constructive criticism were crucial to my shaping of the final product.
- <sup>1</sup> Herring 2000; Burgers/Crielaard 2007; 2008; Attema/Burgers/van Leusen 2010, 122-133; Crielaard/Burgers 2011; 2012; Burgers 2012b; Burgers/Crielaard 2016.
  - <sup>2</sup> See in particular Yntema 1993; Burgers 1998; Burgers/Yntema 1999; D'Andria 2005; Burgers/Crielaard 2007; Burgers/Napolitano 2010; Attema/Burgers/van Leusen 2010, 59-79; Crielaard/Burgers 2012; Burgers 2012a; 2015.
  - <sup>3</sup> See Robb 2009 for an overview and bibliography.
  - <sup>4</sup> Pancrazzi 1979, 233-235; D'Andria 1983, 45-46; 1991, 409-413; Cocchiario 1999; D'Andria 2005, 36-37; Cocchiario 2006; D'Andria/Mastronuzzi 2008, 226-229; Burgers 2011, 115-118; Crielaard/Burgers 2012, 95-96; Burgers/Crielaard 2016, 231-233. The only publication which discusses these objects as a group is an article by D'Andria and Mastronuzzi (2008) on stelae and *cippi* from Messapia. This is an important and insightful contribution, although only a paragraph is devoted to the stelae.

- <sup>5</sup> D'Andria 1991, 409-413; Lombardo 1994; D'Andria/Mastronuzzi 2008. Cf. Pancrazzi 1979, 233. This interpretation has been followed by Burgers and Crielaard (Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 100; Crielaard/Burgers 2011, 84; 2012, 95-96; Burgers 2011; 2012b, 70-71; Burgers/Crielaard 2016, 231-233); Cocchiario 2015, 68-69.
- <sup>6</sup> Burgers 2012a, 19.
- <sup>7</sup> Attema/Burgers/van Leusen 2010, 126. D'Andria and Mastronuzzi (2008, 229) state that 'pur in assenza di dati contestuali che permattano di stabilire con certezza la destinazione funeraria delle stele, questa appare estremamente probabile'.
- <sup>8</sup> For a preliminary discussion of some of these issues, see D'Angelo 2017.
- <sup>9</sup> Pancrazzi 1979, 233-235, figs 94-100; D'Andria 1979, pl. 23; D'Andria 1983, 45-46, pl. XXVI; D'Andria 1991, 409, 413; D'Andria 2005, 36-37; Melissano 2005, 71; D'Andria/Mastronuzzi 2008, 227, fig. 9.
- <sup>10</sup> Cocchiario 1999, 70, pl. XXXI; 2002, 81-82, figs 63-64; 2006, 25-27; Giardino 2007, 379-380, A0225-A0227; D'Andria/Mastronuzzi 2008, 227, fig. 8; 229; Cera 2015, 37-38; Cocchiario 2015, 68-69.
- <sup>11</sup> D'Andria/Mastronuzzi 2008, 227-228, figs 11-12. See also D'Andria 2005, 36; Melissano 2005, 71.
- <sup>12</sup> As of 2016, Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per le Province di Brindisi. Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 100-101, fig. 38; 2008, 344-346, fig. 11; Attema/Burgers/van Leusen 2010, 126-127, fig. 6.3; Burgers 2011; 2012b, 70-71, fig. 6.5; Crielaard/Burgers 2011, 84, fig. 5.8; 2012, 95-96, fig. 52; Burgers 2014, 350-351, fig. 6; Burgers/Crielaard 2016, 231-233, fig. 6.
- <sup>13</sup> As of 2007, Università del Salento.
- <sup>14</sup> D'Andria/Mastronuzzi 2008, 227-228, n. 25.
- <sup>15</sup> *Supra*, note 5.
- <sup>16</sup> Burgers (1998, 186) describes this process as a 'reclamation of the interior of the Salento.' See also Burgers 1998, 186-191; Attema/Burgers/van Leusen 2010, 126-128; Burgers/Crielaard 2008, 348-350; Burgers 2015.
- <sup>17</sup> Burgers 1998, 187-189.
- <sup>18</sup> D'Andria (1991, 405) suggests that, like in mainland Greece in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, a demographic growth in Iron Age Salento led to an increase in site number. See also Burgers 1998, 190, n. 114.
- <sup>19</sup> Burgers 1998, 190-191.
- <sup>20</sup> Yntema (1993, 161) argues that the emergence of new elite groups generated internal conflicts within individual communities and resulted in part of the population leaving their homes and settling elsewhere.
- <sup>21</sup> Burgers/Crielaard 2007; 2008; 2016; Crielaard/Burgers 2011; 2012; Burgers 2014.
- <sup>22</sup> Iron Age residential structures have been excavated at Cavallino, Muro Tenente, L'Amastuola, and possibly Mesagne. Cavallino: D'Andria 1996, 408-410, fig. 3; 2005, 36; Polito 2005. Muro Tenente: Burgers/Crielaard/Yntema 2010, 20-22. L'Amastuola: Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 81-82, fig. 4, 105; Crielaard/Burgers 2012, 71, 98. Mesagne: Giardino 2007, 377-378, A022; Cera 2015, 36, 65.
- <sup>23</sup> Mesagne: Cocchiario 1999, 70; 2001, 92-93; 2006; Giardino 2007, 379, A0224; Cera 2015, 37-38, 65. Muro Tenente: Burgers/Yntema 1999, 123; Burgers/Crielaard/Yntema 2010, 16-17; Kok 2010. Cavallino: D'Andria 1991, 422-423; 2005, 36. L'Amastuola: Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 81-82, fig. 4; 86-88, figs 8-9, 11; 105.
- <sup>24</sup> Yntema 1990. See also Burgers 1998, 60-62, fig. 20; D'Andria 1991, 405; 1995a; 2005, 36; Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 102-105.
- <sup>25</sup> On settlement hierarchy in Salento, Burgers 1998, 200-207; Attema/Burgers/van Leusen 2010, 136-138.

- <sup>26</sup> Burgers 2012a, 14; Attema/Burgers/van Leusen 2010, 136-137; Burgers/Crielaard 2008, 347.
- <sup>27</sup> Auriemma 2004, 307; D'Andria 2005, 42-43.
- <sup>28</sup> Cocchiario 1999, 70; Andreassi 2001, 1021-1022; Cocchiario 2001, 92-93; 2006; Giardino 2007, 379, A0224; Cera 2015, 37-38, fig. 24. An alternative, though less convincing, hypothesis suggests that these stones were part of a large funerary tumulus. See Cocchiario 1999, 70; Cera 2015, 37, n. 45.
- <sup>29</sup> Cocchiario 2002, 82; 2015, 69; Cera 2015, 38.
- <sup>30</sup> Cocchiario 2006, 24; Cera 2015, 65, 145.
- <sup>31</sup> Cocchiario 2002, 82; 2006, 25-27; 2015, 69. Cf. D'Andria/Mastronuzzi 2008, 227, n. 20.
- <sup>32</sup> Ferri 1969, 152-153; Pancrazzi 1979, 234, figs 96-97; D'Andria 1979, pl. 23; 1983, 45, pl. XXVI, fig. 3; 2005, 36-37.
- <sup>33</sup> D'Andria 2005, 39-40.
- <sup>34</sup> Street V is 7 m wide and displays the features of a *tratturo*; recent excavations have shown that it served as the main connection between the settlement and its territory already in the Archaic period. D'Andria 2005, 40.
- <sup>35</sup> D'Andria 2005, 40-42.
- <sup>36</sup> In addition, grottoes, caves, springs and other water sources had a fundamental function for the performance of ritual activities. Pagliara 1991, 503-526; D'Andria 1997, 269-279; Giannotta 2013, 253.
- <sup>37</sup> Pancrazzi 1979, 235, fig. 100.
- <sup>38</sup> Pancrazzi 1979, 233-234, figs 94-95.
- <sup>39</sup> Three monumental circuit walls have been uncovered at Cavallino. D'Andria 1991, 422-423; 2005, 36. See also Attema/Burgers/van Leusen 2010, 136.
- <sup>40</sup> D'Andria 1991, 423.
- <sup>41</sup> Pancrazzi 1979, 234-235, figs 98-99.
- <sup>42</sup> Semeraro 2005, 62 (no 13), 68. See also Semeraro 1997, 52.
- <sup>43</sup> Semeraro 2005, 64-65, 68.
- <sup>44</sup> D'Andria/Mastronuzzi 2008, 227-228, n. 25.
- <sup>45</sup> 8<sup>th</sup>- and 7<sup>th</sup>-century BC huts have been found in via Idomeneo, piazzetta Panzera, piazza Duomo and viale Lo Re. See D'Andria 1995b, 324; Giardino 2000, 22.
- <sup>46</sup> Francesco D'Andria discussed this find in a presentation he delivered in 2000 at a conference in Lecce. See also D'Andria/Mastronuzzi 2008, 227-229.
- <sup>47</sup> On the Iron Age settlement of Muro Tenente, Burgers 1998, 60-62; Burgers 1999, 45-46; Burgers/Yntema 1999, 123; Burgers/Crielaard/Yntema 2010, 18-19, 24-25.
- <sup>48</sup> The wall seems to have been 1.5-2 m thick and, based on pottery evidence, its earliest phase has been tentatively dated between the end of the Iron Age and the Archaic period. Burgers/Yntema 1999, 118, 120, figs 8-9; Burgers/Crielaard/Yntema 2010, 16-7, fig. 2; Kok 2010, 31-33, 36-40, figs 1, 7-8.
- <sup>49</sup> Maruggi 1996; Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 99-100; 2008, 340-346. Crielaard/Burgers 2011, 83; 2012, 92-96.
- <sup>50</sup> The stela was found near a group of graves, but it was impossible to associate it with a specific burial. Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 100; 2008, 345; Crielaard/Burgers 2012, 95, fig. 53.
- <sup>51</sup> Burgers 2011; 2012b, 70.
- <sup>52</sup> The earliest burials date to the second quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. Crielaard/Burgers 2012, 96.
- <sup>53</sup> With the exception of some pottery on the hill slope, no evidence of Bronze Age occupation has been found at L'Amastuola. A Bronze Age site has been identified approximately 1 km east of L'Amastuola, in the vicinity of Gravina dell'Amastuola. See Burgers/Crielaard 2011, 37-39.
- <sup>54</sup> On the early phase of the settlement, see Maruggi 1996; Burgers/Crielaard 2007; 2008, 337-346; Crielaard/Burgers 2011, 80-82; 2012.
- <sup>55</sup> In Trench 5, an oval hut seems to have been replaced by a rectangular house (building ζ) with a similar orientation in the later 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. Another quasi-rectangular structure (building θ) was later added to the south of building ζ. See Crielaard/Burgers 2012, 71-72, figs 4-5. Crielaard and Burgers (2012, 98) interpret the remains of the hut and building ζ as 'two consecutive phases of continuous inhabitation at this particular spot.'
- <sup>56</sup> Crielaard/Burgers 2012, 100-102; Burgers/Crielaard 2016, 230.
- <sup>57</sup> I am grateful to Prof. Jan-Paul Crielaard for this observation.
- <sup>58</sup> Crielaard/Burgers 2012, 100.
- <sup>59</sup> Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 85-88, 105, figs. 6, 8-9, 11; 2008, 339-340; Crielaard/Burgers 2011, 78-80, 82; 2012, 100.
- <sup>60</sup> Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 102-105; Crielaard/Burgers 2011, 77; 2012, 96-97, 101.
- <sup>61</sup> Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 107; Crielaard/Burgers 2011, 76.
- <sup>62</sup> On the geometric schematism of anthropomorphic stelae, Robb 2009, 173-174.
- <sup>63</sup> On these interpretations, Ferri 1969; Pancrazzi 1979, 234-235; Melissano 2005, 71. I agree with D'Andria and Mastronuzzi (2008, 227), who express some scepticism over these reconstructions.
- <sup>64</sup> Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 100; 2016, 232-233; Crielaard/Burgers 2011, 84; 2012, 95-96.
- <sup>65</sup> On the circulation of Corinthian pottery in Salento, D'Andria 1995a, 478-508. See also Semeraro 2005, 93-95.
- <sup>66</sup> D'Andria 1983, 45-46. D'Andria (2005, 36), however, alludes to the possibility of reconsidering this dating in the light of the discovery of the stelae at Mesagne and Muro Tenente.
- <sup>67</sup> D'Andria 1983, 46, pl. XXV, fig. 1.
- <sup>68</sup> D'Andria 1983, 45-46. Cf. also D'Andria 1991, 409-413.
- <sup>69</sup> Crouwel 2012, 16-17. See also Crouwel 1992, 29-53.
- <sup>70</sup> Two miniature bronze chariot models have been found in recent years in tombs at S. Palomba on the via Ardeatina, not far from Rome. See Crouwel 2012, 52-53. On chariot types attested in prehistoric Italy, Woytowitsch 1978.
- <sup>71</sup> Crouwel 2012, 53. On representations of chariots on Daunian stelae, see D'Ercole 2000, 338-347, figs 6a-b.
- <sup>72</sup> Crouwel 2012, 10-11, pls 1-3. See also Emiliozzi 1997, 96-97 (chariot from Castel di Decima), 139-153 (chariot from the Osteria cemetery at Vulci), 163-185 (chariot from the San Cerbone cemetery at Populonia).
- <sup>73</sup> Representations of chariots with unarmed riders in a military setting were frequent in Archaic Italy. See Crouwel 2012, 58-59, pls 50-52. Chariots appear in both military scenes and ceremonial processions in the decoration of Daunian stelae: see D'Ercole 2000, 342-343.
- <sup>74</sup> On the use of the neck yoke in chariots and carts from Italy, see Crouwel 2012, 39, 84-85. On the use of the neck yoke in chariots and carts from Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean, see Crouwel 1992, 72, pls 15.2, 16.1, 16.2b.
- <sup>75</sup> Crouwel 1992, 41-42, pls 6.1-4, 7.1-3.
- <sup>76</sup> On disk *vs* spoked wheels in vehicles from Italy, Crouwel 2012, 28-35, 80-84. There is little unequivocal evidence for the use of disk wheels in Iron Age Greece (Crouwel 1992, 87, pl. 18:1). On disk *vs* spoked wheels in vehicles from Greece, Crouwel 1992, 34-38, 71, 87.
- <sup>77</sup> D'Andria/Mastronuzzi 2008, 228-229, n. 27.
- <sup>78</sup> Santoro 1982, pls XXXIV-XXXV; D'Andria 1990, 264-265; Grove Saxkjær/Kindberg Jacobsen 2015, 364-368, 372, figs 1-2, 5.
- <sup>79</sup> On the relationship between the Copenhagen *trozzella* and the Messapian Brown Figured Style, see Grove Saxkjær/Kindberg Jacobsen 2015, 370-372.

- <sup>80</sup> D'Andria 1995a. See also Polito 2005, 46-47; Semeraro 2005, 93.
- <sup>81</sup> On hoplite equipment and phalanx tactics, see Schwartz 2009.
- <sup>82</sup> Rome, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia 22697. For a comprehensive and up-to-date study of the vase and its cultural context, see D'Acunto 2013.
- <sup>83</sup> Berlin, Pergamonmuseum 3773.
- <sup>84</sup> London, British Museum 1889.0418.1. The Macmillan *aryballos* can be dated approximately to 670-660 BC, the Berlin *aryballos* to 660-650 BC and the Chigi *olpe* to 650-640 BC. See D'Acunto 2013, 29-34.
- <sup>85</sup> See for example Cartledge 1977, 19; Schwartz 2009, 124-126, figs 16-18. For an overview of the scholarly debate on this topic, see Van Wees 2000, 135-138; Crouwel 2012, 55.
- <sup>86</sup> Van Wees 2000, 134-146; 2004, 166-172. See also D'Acunto 2013, 32-33, 82-84.
- <sup>87</sup> Van Wees 2000, 136-142, 147-148; 2004, 169-172. E.g. battle scenes on Early and Middle Corinthian pottery in Amyx 1988, pls 44.1, 3, 4; 47.6; 60.1, 2; 63.1; 73.1.
- <sup>88</sup> Van Wees 2000, 148-149, 155; 2004, 172-174.
- <sup>89</sup> Van Wees 2000, 149.
- <sup>90</sup> Burgers 1998, 79; Burgers/Crielaard/Yntema 2010, 24-25. See in particular MT.98.18.11.1, a fragment of Middle Protocorinthian piriform *aryballos* found in trench 18, in the middle of the Iron Age settlement of Muro Tenente: Burgers/Yntema 1999, 126, fig. 12.10; Burgers/Crielaard/Yntema 2010, 25, fig. 6.5. On Corinthian imports in the Brindisi area, see Lo Porto 1964; Yntema 2000, 25.
- <sup>91</sup> Brindisi, Museo Archeologico Provinciale 'Francesco Ribezzo' 1669. Lo Porto 1964, 120-125, fig. 3, pl. XVII.
- <sup>92</sup> The discovery was announced in *Quotidiano di Puglia* (p. 29) on 16 October 2016, but, to my knowledge, the object has not yet been published.
- <sup>93</sup> Boersma/Yntema 1989, 138-139, fig. 8.
- <sup>94</sup> Cf. D'Angelo 2017, 676, where I suggested for Muro Tenente 1 a date in the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. This date should probably be slightly lowered. Terracotta *perirhantheria* from Corinth were produced starting from the third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. See Weinberg 1954; Denti 2005, 179. Later exemplars were mostly made of stone. Cf. also contemporaneous terracotta *perirhantheria* decorated in low relief with similar subject matters from Metaponto: Denti 2005.
- <sup>95</sup> Cf. D'Angelo 2017, 676.
- <sup>96</sup> Lombardo 1994; D'Andria 2005, 36; Melissano 2005, 71; Burgers/Crielaard 2007, 100; D'Andria/Mastronuzzi 2008; Burgers 2012b, 70-71; Crielaard/Burgers 2012, 96; Cocchiaro 2015, 69; Burgers/Crielaard 2016, 233. Cf. Attema/Burgers/van Leusen 2010, 126, with a more cautious approach to the funerary interpretation of the stelae.
- <sup>97</sup> Attema/Burgers/van Leusen 2010, 126.
- <sup>98</sup> Polyb. 8.24. Clearch., fr. 48 Wehrli, *apud* Athen. *Deipn.* 12.522 D-F. For a full discussion of these accounts in connection with the archaeological evidence, see Lombardo 1994, 35-41.
- <sup>99</sup> The bibliography on the Daunian stelae is vast. See in particular Nava 1980; 1993, 44-47; D'Ercole 2000; Nava 2001; 2008, 312-317; 2011; Norman 2011.
- <sup>100</sup> Nava 1980, 11-26.
- <sup>101</sup> On the decoration of the Daunian stelae as alluding to the male and female spheres, see D'Ercole 2000; Norman 2011.
- <sup>102</sup> This interpretation was first put forward by Ferri (1962) and then followed by other scholars: see Nava 1993, 2001, 2008, 2011. *Contra*, Leone 1996.
- <sup>103</sup> Nava (1980, 10) points out that very few stelae can be associated with a burial, while in most other cases it is not possible to reach any definite conclusions about their original context and function. See also Norman 2011, 34.
- <sup>104</sup> Leone 1996.
- <sup>105</sup> D'Andria 1983, 46. Cf. Melissano 2005, 71.
- <sup>106</sup> Burgers 1998, 196-197; Semeraro 2005, 61-64; Cera 2015, 65-68.
- <sup>107</sup> Colivicchi 2009, 70-71, n. 12. See also Burgers 1998, 218-220; Mannino 2004, with bibliography.
- <sup>108</sup> Crouwel 2012, 52-69 (chariots), 85-88 (carts). On the symbolic meaning of chariots and carts in ancient Italy, see also Emiliozzi 1997, 15-23, 25-32.
- <sup>109</sup> Burgers/Crielaard 2016, 233. See also Crielaard/Burgers 2011, 84.
- <sup>110</sup> On prehistoric statue-stelae from southern Italy, see Acanfora 1960, 95-123; Nava 1993; Tunzi Sisto 1995; Nava 2001, 2008, 2011.
- <sup>111</sup> Nava 1993, 41-42; 2008, 311; 2011, 20.
- <sup>112</sup> Nava 1993, 41-42; 2011, 20.
- <sup>113</sup> On anthropomorphic stelae as 'social bodies', Robb 2009, 174-178.
- <sup>114</sup> According to Herring (2000), a well-defined perception of the native communities as ethnic entities existed at least by the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. See also Burgers (2015, 200), who emphasises that in Iron Age Salento 'il mondo indigeno non sia da vedere sotto il profilo di un'unità etnica naturale e unita, contrastata da quella degli invasori greci, ma che era ugualmente diviso, segmentario, instabile'.
- <sup>115</sup> Herring 1998; 2000, 55-59; Grove Saxkjær/Kindberg Jacobsen 2015, 379-380.
- <sup>116</sup> Herring 2000, 62-65; Burgers 2015, 200.
- <sup>117</sup> Herring 2000, 62.
- <sup>118</sup> On the wall at San Vito dei Normanni, Castello di Alceste, see Semeraro 2015, 210, fig. 6. On the fortification wall at Castelluccio, see Semeraro 2015, 212, fig. 9.
- <sup>119</sup> Semeraro 2015, 212.
- <sup>120</sup> Robb 2009, 167-172, with bibliography.
- <sup>121</sup> Usually, these cippi are 30-60 cm in height; only a few examples are over 1 m. See in particular D'Andria 2002; Mastronuzzi 2005a, 81; 2005c; D'Andria/Mastronuzzi 2008, 224-226, 229-238; Lombardo 2013.
- <sup>122</sup> Lombardo 2005, 84-87; Mastronuzzi 2005a, 81; 2005c, 46-47; D'Andria/Mastronuzzi 2008, 229-230, figs 14-15.
- <sup>123</sup> Lombardo 2005, 85-86. Mastronuzzi 2005a, 81. Lombardo (2013, 233) points out the lack of clear archaeological evidence of a relationship between *cippi* and burials at Cavallino.
- <sup>124</sup> Mastronuzzi 2005a, 81.
- <sup>125</sup> Mastronuzzi 2002, 62-65; Mastronuzzi 2005c, 68-71; D'Andria/Mastronuzzi 2008, 230-231.
- <sup>126</sup> Semeraro 1990, 57-65, 153-156.
- <sup>127</sup> On the context of these cippi, Mastronuzzi 2005c, 126-127, fig. 41. See also Mastronuzzi 2005a, 81; D'Andria/Mastronuzzi 2008, 233-234, fig. 18.
- <sup>128</sup> Mannino 2009, 439-441.
- <sup>129</sup> Mastronuzzi 2005c, 122-132, fig. 38; D'Andria/Mastronuzzi 2008, 233-234, fig. 18.
- <sup>130</sup> Mastronuzzi 2005a, 80-82; 2005b, 57-59; 2005c, 47-49, figs 10A-B.
- <sup>131</sup> Gamba/Gambacurta/Ruta Serafini 2008; Lomas 2011; 2012.
- <sup>132</sup> Lomas 2012, 187-190.
- <sup>133</sup> Lomas 2012, 191.
- <sup>134</sup> Gamba/Gambacurta/Ruta Serafini 2008, 52-57; Lomas 2012, 200. On *cippi*, Pellegriani/Prosdoci 1967, Pa11



- and Pa13. On *ciottoloni*, Pellegrini/Prosdocimi 1967, Pa7-Pa10 bis; Prosdocimi 1988, 246-247, 289-295.
- <sup>135</sup> Boaro 2001, 167-168; Gamba/Gambacurta/Ruta Serafini 2008, 59, n. 42; Lomas 2011, 10; 2012, 199-200. Cfr. Marinetti 2005. As pointed out by Lomas (2011, 10), few, if any, of these stelae have been found in association with an actual burial.
- <sup>136</sup> Pellegrini/Prosdocimi 1967, pa1-pa6; Prosdocimi 1988, 284-288; Lomas 2012, 199, fig. 14.6 B. On the iconography of the 6<sup>th</sup>- and 5<sup>th</sup>-century stelae, see Lomas 2011, 10-13, figs 1.3-10.
- <sup>137</sup> Lomas 2011, 17-18.
- <sup>138</sup> Gamba/Gambacurta/Ruta Serafini 2008, 57-58, 63-64, fig. 13; Lomas 2012, 192-195.
- <sup>139</sup> Prosdocimi 1988, 247-249; Balista/Ruta Serafini 1992; Gamba/Gambacurta/Ruta Serafini 2008, 59; Lomas 2011, 10; 2012, 195-199.
- <sup>140</sup> Lomas 2012, 195, 199, fig. 14.6 A.
- <sup>141</sup> Balista/Ruta Serafini 1992, 116, fig. 111; Gamba/Gambacurta/Ruta Serafini 2008, 59-60, fig. 8.
- <sup>142</sup> These stelae have been discovered, respectively, by Daniele Buso in 1994 and Claudio Balista in 2001. Gamba/Gambacurta/Ruta Serafini 2008, 59, n. 40.
- <sup>143</sup> Cf. D'Angelo 2017, 677.
- <sup>144</sup> On the relationship between landscape boundaries and social transformations in southeast Italy, Burgers 2012b, 75.

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