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ENLIGHTENING *DIANA UMBRONENSIS*. THE LATE ANTIQUE LAMP ASSEMBLAGE FROM THE SANCTUARY AT SCOGLIETTO (ALBERESE – IT)

Original scientific paper / *Originalni znanstveni rad*

This article describes the lamp assemblage recovered during the excavations at the Roman Sanctuary and Temple Area of Diana Umbronensis at Scoglietto (Alberese, Italy). The investigations carried out at the settlement revealed a series of Late Antique lamps, which were part of the latest votive deposits at the temple. However, as it appears clear from the assemblage here described, the worship of Diana continued also after the systematic destruction of the religious area in the late 4th c. AD. The presence of late 4th to mid 5th c. AD lamps on top of the ruins of the temple witnesses how local population (and possibly foreign travellers) did not abandon pagan ceremonies during the first decades of Christianity. However, the area was definitely abandoned during the mid 5th c. AD only to be reused a century later, when a sunken-hut was built with timber infrastructures above the podium of the Severan temple.

Key words: African lamps; Locally produced lamps; Paganism; Christianity; Votive deposits; Cult of Diana; Late Antiquity

INTRODUCTION

From 2009 to 2011, extensive archaeological excavations brought to light a Roman sanctuary complex, in the territory of Alberese in Southern Tuscany (Italy)¹, a protected area of the Maremma Regional Park. The complex is located on a small promontory at Scoglietto, 4kms away from the modern Tyrrhenian coastline (Fig. 1) and was completely unknown in the archaeological literature before 2005. It was at that time that two park rangers discovered a marble inscription within the woods surrounding the ancient site. This inscription bore a dedication to *Diana Umbronensis* (Diana of the river Ombrone) connecting the sanctuary directly to the hunting goddess and the surrounding landscape², a landscape that was very different in Roman times than today. Then, the coastline was located at the feet of the mountain chain of Uccellina with the promontory of Scoglietto facing the sea³. The mouth of the river was some 800m north of the sanctuary while a series of Roman settlements were dispersed across the surrounding plain (Sebastiani 2015a). Due to its strategic position, set on the border with the southern *ager Cosanus* and controlling the maritime trade routes, the site flourished from the 2nd c. BC until the late 2nd c. AD when the sanctuary was abandoned.

It was at this time that the main temple, located on the southern side of the hill, was refurbished using building materials taken from the abandoned sanctuary. From the 3rd c. to the mid 4th c. AD the temple remained in use for ceremonies and rituals. Around the mid 4th c., however, the temple appears to have become partially ruined: a necropolis was established in the area, with a single burial found surviving *in situ*. A few decades later, systematic dismantling of the temple was undertaken. The walls were destroyed, leaving substantial pieces of masonry to be discovered all around the perimeter of

1 For a detailed analysis of the religious settlement dedicated to *Diana Umbronensis* see Sebastiani et al. 2015.

2 On the inscription, its style and chronology see Cygielman 2015b.

3 A precise description of the geo-archaeological data for this region can be found in Arnoldus-Huyzenveld, Citter 2015.

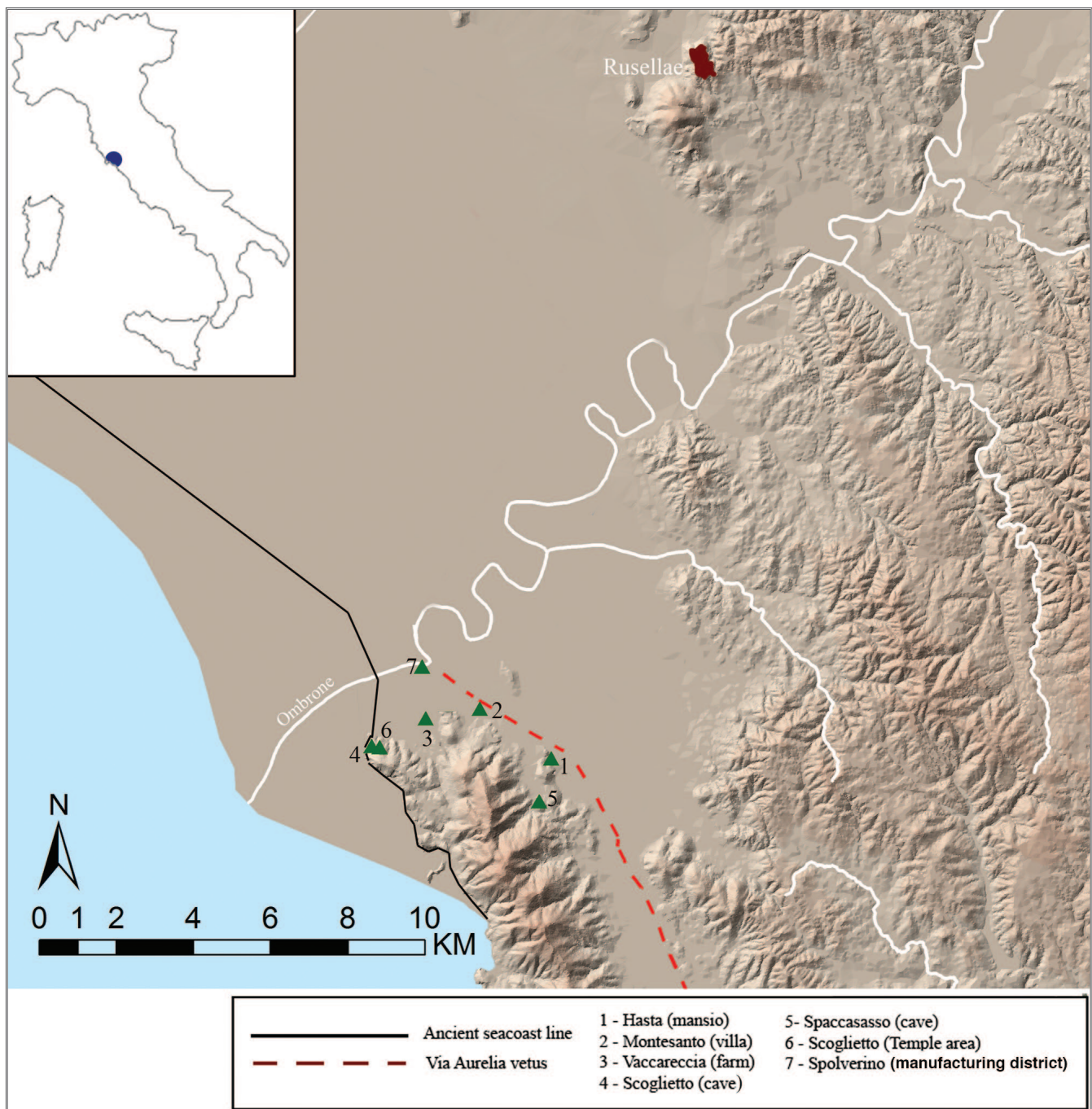


Fig.1: Map of the Roman settlements in the area of Alberese.

the building. During these events the necropolis was also disturbed. Some secondary deposits of human skeletal remains were found in the fill of the Roman cistern (Aniceti 2015) that guaranteed the supply of water to the site. The sealing of this cistern, dated to the end of the 4th c. AD (Ricchi 2015), can be seen as a voluntary act signifying the end of use of the complex. In addition, the inner *cella* of the temple was desecrated. The statue was moved outside the building and smashed, resulting in a context of marble chips with a fragment of the head of the statue set on top. A similar fate befell the votive offerings collected inside the temple. Coins and lamps were scattered all around the demolished temple and the site was never again rebuilt.

These acts can be seen as a direct consequence of the issuing of the Edict of Thessalonica (AD 380) effectively ordering the conversion of the Pagan temples into Christian churches or their removal. But, the analysis of the late antique lamp assemblage suggests, as is discussed further below, that the abandoned area was still visited by worshippers at the end of the 4th and into the first half of the 5th c. AD. Furthermore, a last phase of use has been established during the first half of the 6th c. AD, when a sunken-floor, circular hut was constructed in the terminal part of the ruined temple. Pottery finds

(Sebastiani 2015b) and a *nummus* or *denario* minted under Justinian the First (AD 552-565) (De Benetti 2015: 105-264) fix the chronology of the final abandonment of the hill during the mid 6th c. AD. From that moment on the promontory was never again inhabited and slowly the Mediterranean vegetation covered the rubble layers and all memory of the complex.

THE LAMP ASSEMBLAGE⁴

The analysis of the lamp assemblage recovered from the sanctuary of *Diana Umbronensis* is of particular importance because it demonstrates specific correlations with ritual and cultural aspects of the settlement, due to the proportionately high numbers of lamps present.

The oil lamps discussed here come from two specific periods. The oldest is represented by material recovered mainly from contexts 305 and 278; these two layers relate to the systematic spoliations and transformations that occurred in the northern part of the sanctuary between the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd c. AD (Sebastiani, Chirico 2015: 53). Context 305 was only composed of lamps and bears witness to the interference with the votive deposits of the so-called *Sacellum* (Fig. 2), while context 278 produced other types of material (mainly pottery) whose chronology is consistent with that of the lamps (Ricchi 2015: 84). Lamps from 305 undoubtedly belonged to the temple furnishings, being part of the *ex-voto* presented to the goddess. Given the manner of their deposition, the ceramic materials were in a highly fragmented state, although a few examples were recovered intact. Nevertheless, it has been possible to join together a large number of fragments and to establish a remarkably high EVE (Estimated Vessel Equivalent).

In this period (Brando 2015: 114-128 and references cited within)⁵, Bailey O-P rounded nozzle lamps form 53% of the assemblage, while Bailey Q heart-shaped nozzle lamps, that are considered to be a fossil index for the Severan era, make up 5%. Minor types, in terms of their percentage presence, include Bailey A and B volute lamps, Bailey C semi-volute lamps, Bailey D “a riflettore” lamps, late Pavolini III/Bailey M/Dressel 22 *Vogelkopflampen*, Bailey H slightly-relieved oval nozzle lamps and a large number of fragments that are not attributable to a specific type but are still identifiably 2nd and 3rd c. AD products (chart 1).

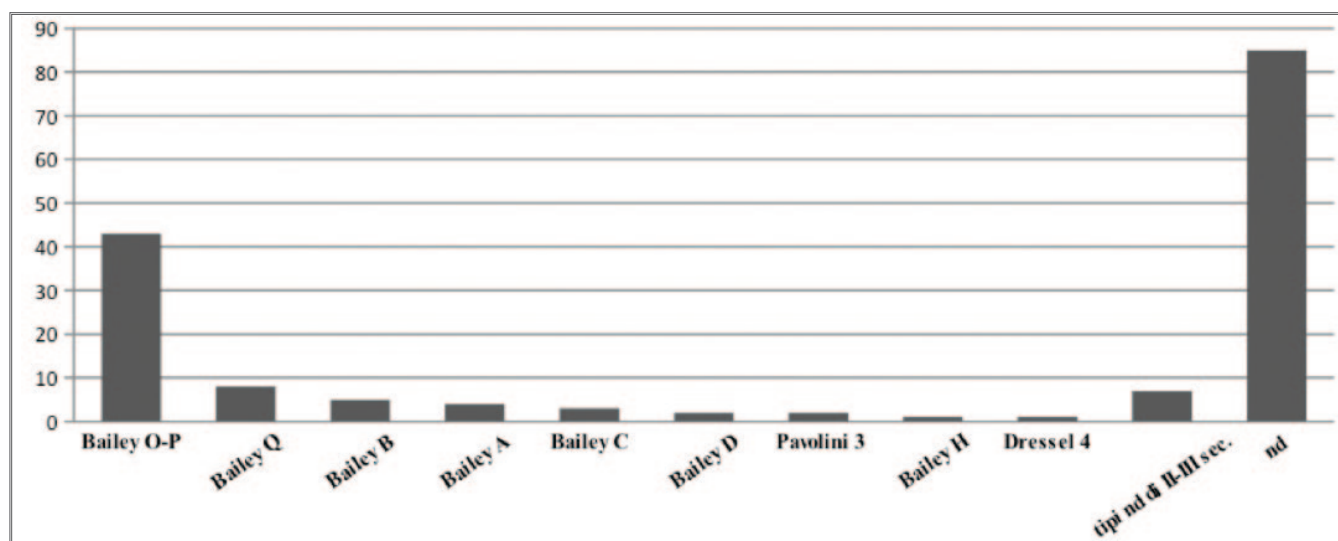


Chart 1: Frequency of the lamps between the end of the 2nd and the 3rd c. AD.

In terms of the production centres that can be identified primarily through an analysis of the stamps, as well as from morphological and technological features, almost all the lamps can be associated with central Italian workshops, if not specifically those of Rome and Ostia (Brando 2015: 117-118)⁶ (chart 2 and table 1). Here, however, we would like to focus our attention on the second period of the assemblage.

The late antique lamps were recovered from contexts 3, 10 and 126, which have been interpreted as the latest rubble layers and abandonment contexts of the Severan temple (Sebastiani 2015b: 60). The chronology of these contexts has be-

4 The illustrations are a reproduction of those published in the volume “*Diana Umbronensis a Scoglietto. Santuario, Territorio e Cultura Materiale*” (Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 3, Oxford).

5 It is also worth noting the important and contemporary deposit of lamps from Ostia, Phase IV of the *Insula di Diana*, published recently. This case presents similarities, as well as few differences, with our case study (Ceci 2013).

6 For the recent, but persuasive, hypothesis for locating the workshop of *C. Junus Bitus* at Ostia see Ceci 2013: 166-167. In addition, only two imported lamp fragments of the 2nd-3rd c. AD are attested - a fragment of a Corinthian lamp discus (*Vine-and-Ray* Broneer XXVII.2) and the base of a possible Attic imitation (Brando 2015: 135-138 and tavv. 42 e 81).

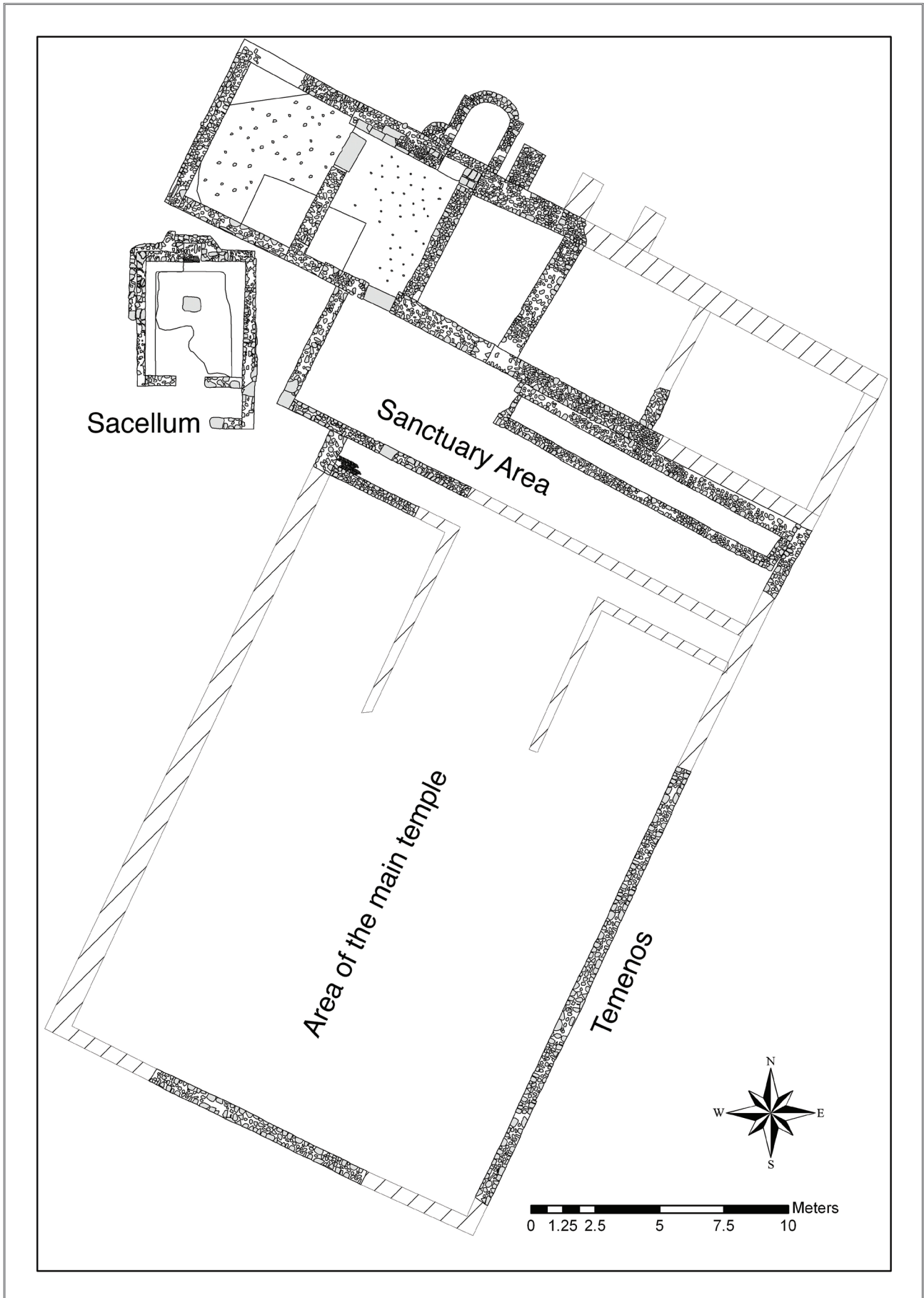


Fig.2: Plan of the temple area of Diana Umbronsis at Scoglietto.

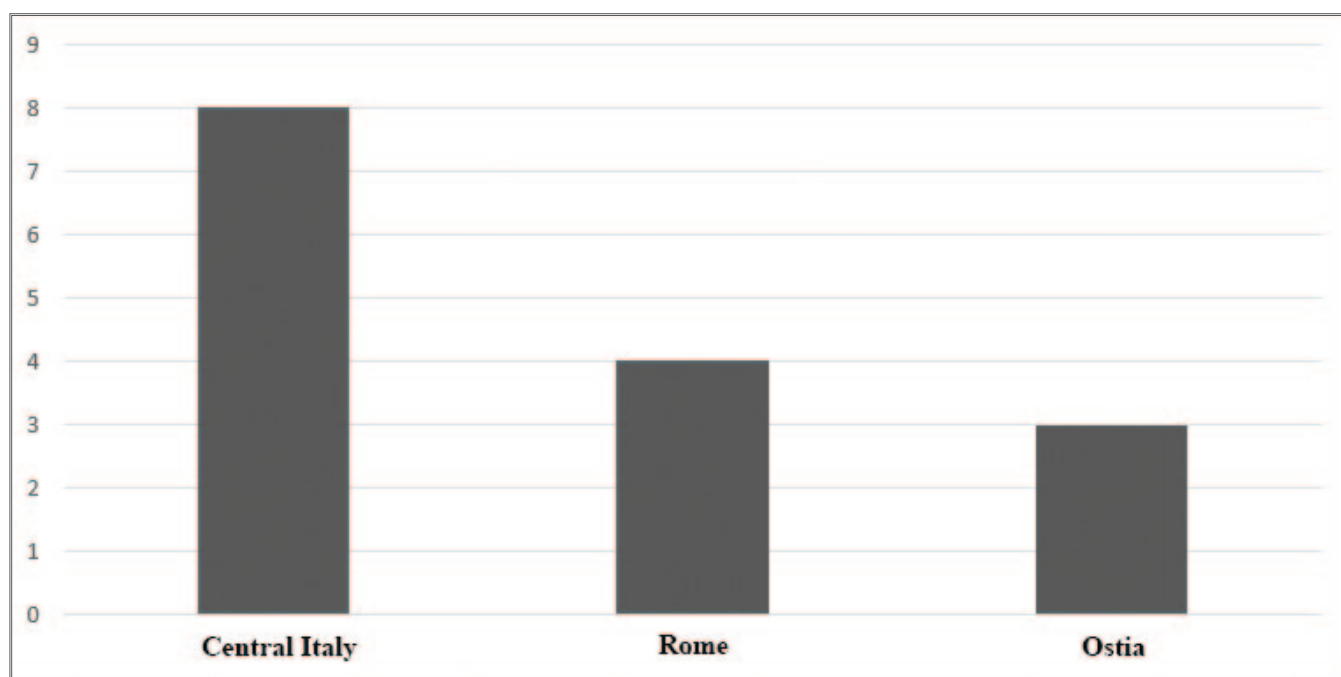


Chart 2: Provenance of the lamps between the end of the 2nd and the 3rd c. AD.

en fixed between the second half of the 4th c. AD and the first half of the 5th (Ricchi 2015: 74-79; Brando 2015: 128-129).⁷ 602 fragments were recorded, representing 47% of the total pottery recovered, among which 220 EVE have been recognised in varying states of preservation. Due to the condition of the material, it was not possible to identify more than 55% of the fragments. Approximately 37% of these (equivalent to 90 fragments) can only be generally attributed to African products. Among the identifiable materials, c. 80% belong to north African workshops (185 fragments and, at least, 100 EVE), while c. 17% are late imitations of *Firmalampen*, mostly Buchi X-B / Bailey N(iii) (17 EVE, chart 3). The latter seem to be the only lamps in use at Scoglietto in this period, rather than the Tunisian products⁸. Indeed, even though these are considered to

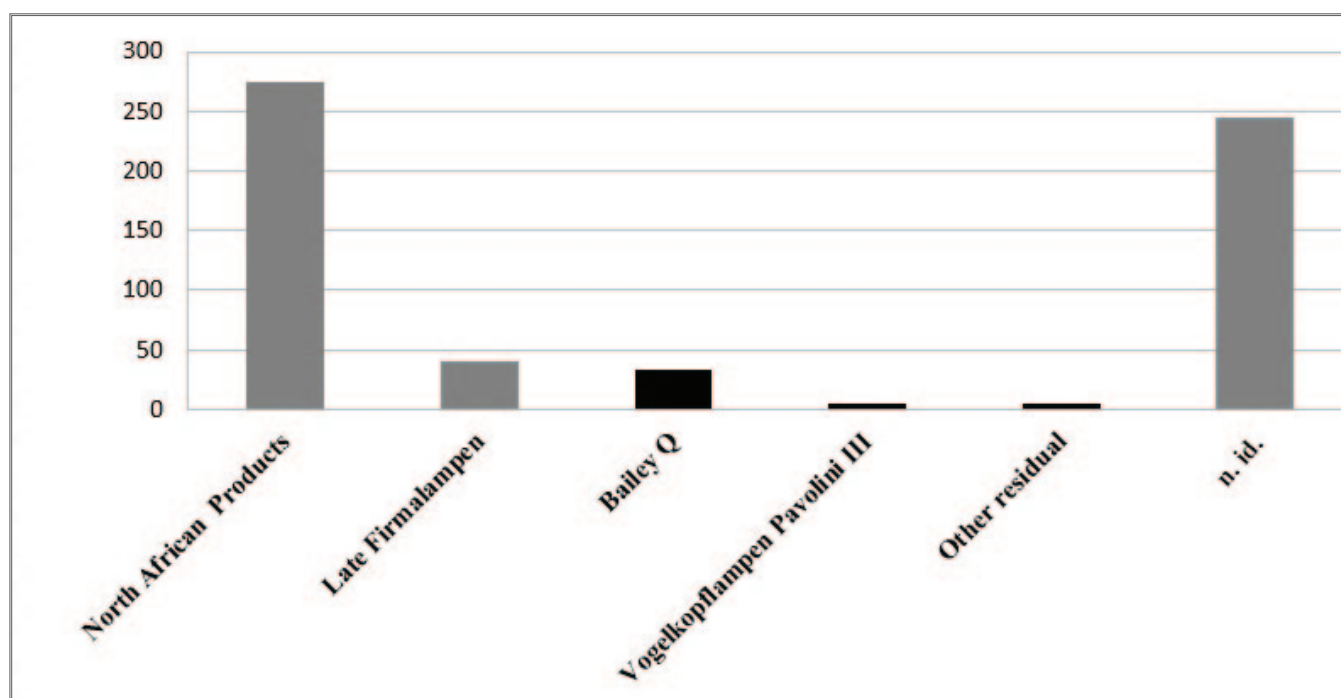


Chart 3: Frequency of the lamps in the Late Antique contexts.

⁷ For the coins of Valentinianus and Valens of the last quarter of the 4th c. AD, recovered from the rubble layers see De Benetti 2015.

⁸ The remaining percentage is made up of residual materials, mainly of the 3rd c. AD (lamps with heart-shaped nozzle and decorated shoulder with globes Bailey Q(x) / late Loescke VIII), a few fragments of Bailey Q lamps with heart-shaped nozzle, late Pavolini III *Vogelkopflampen* and 2 fragments (2 EVE) of imported lamps (see footnote 12) while residual material prior to the 2nd c. AD is virtually non-existent.

be a common type at the end of the 4th c. and through the 5th c. AD, imitations of Atlante VIII lamps have not been recognised in this assemblage. Yet it is sufficient to consider the archetypal cases of Rome (Barbera 2001)⁹ or Naples (Garcea 1994; Barbera 2004), as well as other examples of their presence in sealed contexts in different geographical settings to demonstrate their widespread existence, such as: the Catacombs of Commodilla (end of the 4th c. AD) (Marconi Cosentino, Ricciardi 1993), the Ipogeo dei Cappuccini at Siracusa (4th-5th c. AD) (Lo Faro 2012) or, again in Sicily, Carini (4th-5th c. AD) (Vitale 2012). Imitations of Atlante VIII lamps are also attested in the late antique shrine of the *Liber Pater* at Cosa.

A consideration of the state of preservation of the recovered material shows a clear distinction between the north African lamps (Atlante VIII), usually represented by perfectly preserved or almost complete objects and the other types of lamps, which are generally highly fragmented and constitute the majority of the unrecognised fragments. The similarity with context 305 seems clear and, thus, could indicate that these assemblages were connected to votive activities and that rituals and ceremonies continued into a much later phase. The contemporaneity of these two groups of lamps suggests that regionally and locally produced lamps were used in the everyday life of the settlement, while the imported ones were strictly associated with ritual activities.

It appears that the best parallel for this assemblage comes from the shrine of the *Liber Pater* in the Roman Forum at Cosa. Probably founded in the Severan period (as Fentress has convincingly demonstrated), then rebuilt within the 4th c. and finally destroyed and abandoned after AD 455 (Collins-Clinton 1977; Fentress 2004: 66; Regoli 2002: 222; Vaccaro 2005: 490), this small religious building produced an assemblage of lamps whose typology (mostly, and significantly, Atlante VIII lamps), state of preservation and general dynamics of deposition reveal more than a passing resemblance to Scoglietto. However, at this time at the sanctuary of Scoglietto ceremonies and rituals were being conducted in the absence of a proper temple. Indeed, the most interesting feature of Scoglietto is the *long durée* of the cult, which lasted for more than 5 centuries probably consisting of periodic, seasonal ceremonies¹⁰ both in this late phase as well as during its *floruit*. These rituals attracted local people (as well as outsiders), as suggested also for the *Liber Pater* at Cosa (Fentress 2004: 70-71), in a rural expression of “pagan resistance”¹¹.

IMPORTED PRODUCTS: AFRICAN RED SLIP WARE LAMPS

Among the EVE of lamps attributed to the workshops in *Byzacena* and in *Zeugitana*, the Atlante VIII shape, and its own variants, is the most abundantly represented at 91%. The Atlante IX has a 2% representation with 2 fragments belonging to 2 shapes, while Atlante X is documented through a 6% presence but with a high level of fragmentation (6 EVE for 6 fragments). Only one fragment belongs to Atlante XI.

The abundance of Atlante VIII lamps is useful in dating the formation of our context to within the first half of the 5th c., given that they characterize African products of the second half/late 4th; while the so-called “classical African productions” of Atlante X lamps, which unquestionably belong to the 5th c, are only a minor component (Bonifay 2010:44).¹² Materials with a later chronology provide an end date for this context. However, sporadic occupation of the site is attested during the 5th c. (Sebastiani 2015b: 60-61) (chart 4).

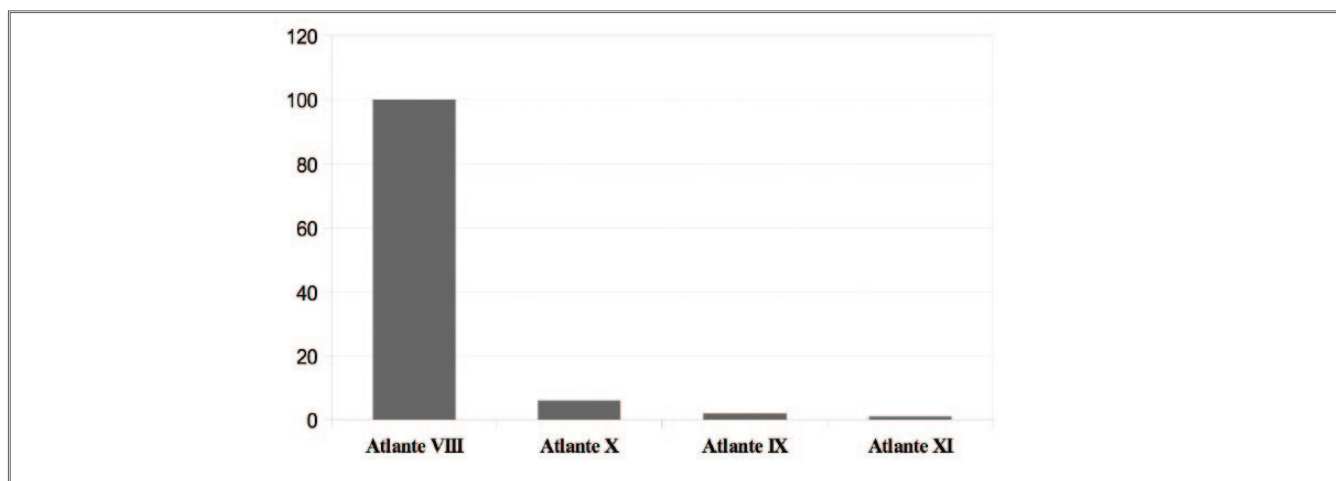


Chart 3: Frequency of the lamps in the Late Antique contexts.

9 At the *Tempio della Magna Mater* on the Palatine, dated to the middle decades of the 5th c. AD, imitation products form almost 80% of the assemblage, Carignani et al. 1986: 31-32; Panella 1999: 191. For a detailed discussion of the urban contexts see Pavolini 1998: 125 and Casalini 2013.

10 For the cult at Scoglietto: Chirico 2015; Vanni 2015: 33-36; Cygielman 2015a: 328; Cygielman 2015b

11 For a general overview of the “pagan resistance” in Late Antiquity see Fraschetti 2000 with references; Ensoli 2000 with references; Cameron 1999.

12 The cited author considers the end of the 4th c. as the introductory period for the Atlante VIII.

ATLANTE VIII / BARBERA PETRIAGGI 4

ATLANTE VIII C1A / BONIFAY 46 / BARBERA PETRIAGGI 4.1.2.1 (Atlante I: 194-196 and t. XCVI, 8; Barbera, Petriaggi 1993: 90 ss; Bonifay 2004: 363-364)

These lamps are represented by two examples, while another 17 fragments can only be generally attributed to type C. The first is a complete vessel with a very worn surface (Fig. 3) and traces of burning on the nozzle. The characteristic palm wreaths on the shoulder are just visible, along with a running quadruped between the two *infundibula* that decorate the *discus*. The base corresponds to Series I.1 of the typology developed by Barbera and Petriaggi (Barberi, Petriaggi 1993: 146) from the African lamps of the Museo Nazionale Romano. It was produced in *Byzacena* or in *Zeugitana* and can be dated between the 4th and the half of the 5th c. AD¹³.



Fig.3: Atlante VIII C1a / Bonifay 46 / Barbera Petriaggi 1993 series 4.1.2.1 lamp.

The second vessel consists of a fragment of a *discus*, shoulder and handle of the Barbera Petriaggi 4.1.2.1.11 variant (Fig. 4). It is possible to recognise one of the two palm wreaths used to decorate the shoulder and the trace remains of a simple Barbera Petriaggi 1993, 206 *chrismon* (Barbera, Petriaggi 1993: 96, n. 73; Barbera Petriaggi 1993: 374 and 406, tav. 17 for the *chrismon*). This vessel was also produced either in *Byzacena* or *Zeugitana*, with a chronology spanning the end of the 4th and the second quarter of the 5th c. AD.



Fig.4: Atlante VIII C1a / Bonifay 46 / Barbera Petriaggi 1993 series 4.1.2.1 lamp.

ATLANTE VIII A1A / BONIFAY 45/ BARBERA PETRIAGGI 4.1.1.1.2 (Atlante I 194-195, tav. XCVI, 1-2; Barbera Petriaggi 1993: 26, 53, n. 34; Bonifay 2004: 362)

This type is represented by two examples, while another eight fragments can be generally associated with type A. The first vessel, reconstructed from two fragments, has more than half of its entire shape preserved (fig. 5). It has a very worn surface (the so-called “weak mould”) that has resulted in the poor definition of the stylised palm wreaths decoration on the shoulder. The decoration of the *discus* is largely unrecognisable, but does show an elongated figure (quadruped?)

13 For the production in *Byzacena* and *Zeugitana* of Atlante VIII C1a / Bonifay 46 lamps see, Bonifay 2004: 358 ss.



Fig.5: Atlante VIII A1a / Bonifay 45/ Barbera Petriaggi 1993 series 4.1.1.1.2 lamp.

between the two *infundibula*. By contrast, the base can be identified as belonging to the Barbera Petriaggi II.3.1 (Barbera, Petriaggi 1993: 148). On the remains of the nozzle traces of use can be detected. It was produced in workshops of *Byzacena* or of *Zeugitana*, from the second half of the 4th to the first half of the 5th c. AD.



Fig.6: Atlante VIII A1a / Bonifay 45/ Barbera Petriaggi 1993 series 4.1.1.1.2 lamp.

The second vessel (variant Barbera Petriaggi 4.1.1.1.2.1) is also almost complete, although reconstructed from 6 fragments (Fig. 6); it shows clear traces of burning on the nozzle and on a large portion of the container. The shoulder is decorated with typical, stylised palm wreaths while on the *discus* a quadruped is shown between the two *infundibula*. A direct parallel could not be found. Similarities can be traced in African productions with Motif 51 (ram) of the *Atlante delle Forme Ceramiche I*, usually seen in relief decorations of the ARS C (Atlante I: 168, tav. LXXXII, 28), specifically the Salomon a/e types in ARS C3 and Hayes 56 type in ARS C4, both dated to the second half of the 4th and the first half of the 5th c. AD. From a stylistic point of view, the most suitable parallel comes from the very similar decoration, interpreted as a ram or a goat, on a 5th-6th c. Attic lamp, possibly inspired by African prototypes (Perlzweig 1961: 176, pl. 38, 2420)¹⁴ (Fig. 7). The macroscopic features of the lamp suggest that it is a product of *Zeugitana* (the workshop at El Mahrine) in the second half of the 4th/first half of the 5th c. AD, although this specific decorative motif is not attested on products coming from this area (Mackensen 1993).



Fig.7: Attic lamp from the Agora of Athens, inspired by African prototypes (after Perlzweig 1961).

14 For the influences of late antique African pottery on the contemporary Greek see Bonifay 2010.

ATLANTE VIII A1b / BONIFAY 45 / BARBERA PETRIAGGI 4.1.1.1.2.2. (Atlante I: 194, t. XCVI, 3; Barbera, Petriaggi 1993 reproduced on the table of types but not in the text; Bonifay 2004: 359)

This lamp, characterised by decoration within the slightly raised *discus*, is represented by a single fragment of the *discus* with a double *infundibulum*, on which it is possible to recognise palm wreaths on the shoulder and a simple *chrismon* Barbera Petriaggi 1993, 207 (Barbera, Petriaggi 1993: 374) (Fig. 8) within the raised circle in the *discus*. It is not possible to determine the workshop of origin, but it should be considered among the latest examples, dating between AD 440 and AD 460/470 (Barbera, Petriaggi 1993: 374, footnote 1).



Fig.8: Atlante VIII A1b / Bonifay 45 / Barbera Petriaggi 1993 series 4.1.1.1.2.2. lamp.

ATLANTE VIII A1c / BONIFAY 44 / BARBERA PETRIAGGI 4.1.1.1.2.3. (Atlante I: 194-195, t. XCVI, 4 and t. CLVII, 2; Barbera, Petriaggi 1993: 47-56; Bonifay 2004: 362)

This lamp has the typical, central decoration around the *infundibulum* and is represented by a single, almost intact, vessel with widespread traces of burning around the nozzle and the shoulder, both on the upper part and the base (Fig. 9). Palm wreaths are visible on the shoulder while on the *discus* the central decoration consists of an 8-petalled bipartite rose (Barbera Petriaggi 1993, motif 103). The base has an inner, closed groove Barbera Petriaggi II.3.2. It was most likely produced in *Byzacena* (the workshop of Hencir es-Srira) in the second half of the 4th – first half of the 5th c. AD; the chronology confirmed by the presence of an identical lamp in the deposit of the *Schola Praeconum* (*Schola Praeconum* I: 81, 82, fig. 15) on the Palatine, which was sealed around AD 430-440, and by an example from Burial 78 of the Sardinian necropolis at Pill' e Matta dated to the second half of the 4th c. (Salvi 2005: 80, 85, n. 4).



Fig. 9: Atlante VIII A1c / Bonifay 44 / Barbera Petriaggi 1993 series 4.1.1.1.2.3 lamp.

ATLANTE VIII C1D / BONIFAY 48 / BARBERA PETRIAGGI 4.1.2.1.2 (Atlante I: 195, t. XCVI, 4 and t. CLVII, Barbera, Petriaggi 1993: 104-108; Bonifay 2004: 366)

This lamp, with a distinctive squared *discus*, is represented by a single individual, incomplete and reconstructed from two fragments (Fig. 10) as well as by another five smaller fragments. The best-preserved vessel, coming from the topsoil (period VIII, US 1) (Sebastiani 2015c), has no central part of the *discus*, which should have been undecorated as is typical of this type of lamp. Small stamped circles define the *discus*, while similar, but larger circles decorate the junction between both the channel and the *discus*, and the edge of the handle. It was a typical product of the workshops in *Zeugitana* (El-Mahrine) as indicated by technological features (such as the progressive atrophied of the decorated shoulder)(Bonifay 2004: 365-366). What remains of the base makes it possible to assign it to Barbera Petriaggi's Series III. Following the chronology suggested by Pavolini and Bonifay, it would seem to be one of the latest objects in the assemblage. According to

their chronology it dates to around the middle to the second half of the 5th c. AD. However, a similar vessel is documented in Burial 22 of the Sardinian necropolis at Pill' e Matta which is dated to the end of the 4th - beginning of the 5th c. AD.



Fig. 10: Atlante VIII C1d / Bonifay 48 / Barbera Petriaggi series 4.1.2.1.2. lamp.

ATLANTE VIII C1C / BONIFAY 48 / BARBERA PETRIAGGI 4.1.2.1.1.3 (Atlante I: 195, t. XCVI, 10; Barbera, Petriaggi 1993 where the type is included in the general summary but not in the text; Bonifay 2004: 365-366).

This lamp is characterised by a *Coquille St. Jacques* in relief on the *discus* with the single surviving fragment showing part of the shell decoration and stylised palm wreaths in the shape of a band of oblique stripes decorating the atrophied shoulder (fig. 11). A more pronounced shell decoration is also common on the Atlante VIII D, typical of northern Tunisian products. The decoration on the shoulder of our example seems to indicate a transitional product of *Zeugitana*, but still belonging to the artisanal tradition of Central Tunisia in the first half of the 5th c.



Fig. 11: Atlante VIII C1c / Bonifay 48 / Barbera Petriaggi series 4.1.2.1.1.3 lamp.

ATLANTE VIII B / BONIFAY 43 / BARBERA PETRIAGGI 4.1.1.1.4

(Atlante I: 194, t. CLVII, 5; Barbera, Petriaggi 1993: 83-85; Bonifay 2004: 358)

This type is represented by six fragments belonging to six vessels. One vessel consists of a piece of shoulder and a *discus* where the typical palm wreaths and traces of one of the two *infundibula* are just visible (Fig. 12). Another four fragments belong to shoulders with the decoration better defined. The last vessel, very poorly preserved, is represented by a

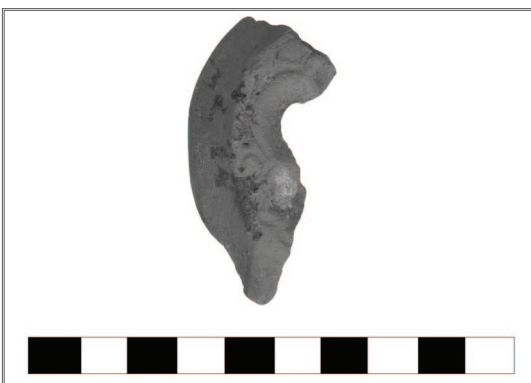


Fig. 12: Atlante VIII B / Bonifay 43 / Barbera Petriaggi 4.1.1.1.4 lamp.

piece of the handle and *discus* where the palm wreath decoration is almost gone while is clear the full, unpierced handle, as usual in the majority of the vessels of this type (Fig. 13): this peculiarity dates our lamp to the latest variants of the type in the first half of the 5th c. AD, whereas the general development of the type reaches its climax between the second half and the end of the 4th c. AD (Bonifay 2004: 358). It was produced in the workshops of Henchir es-Srira in *Byzacena* (Peacock et al. 1990: fig. 12m; Bonifay 2004: 358)



Fig. 13: Atlante VIII B / Bonifay 43 / Barbera Petriaggi 4.1.1.4 lamp.

ATLANTE VIII D1 / BONIFAY 50 VARIANTE D1 / BARBERA PETRIAGGI 4.2.1 (Atlante I: 195, t. CLVIII, 6; Barbera, Petriaggi 1993: 117-128; Bonifay 2004: 368-370)

This lamp is characterised by the absence of a decorated shoulder, and by the “intrusive” decoration of the *discus*. It consists of a half fragment of the *discus* on which the central *infundibulum* is visible, as well as a trace of the nozzle (Fig.14). A further six fragments can only be generally associated with this type. The very pronounced decoration is a *Coquille St Jaques* of the Barbera Petriaggi type motif 329 (Barbera, Petriaggi 1993: 368, 415, tav 27). This kind of lamp is a typical product of *Zeugitana*: it was produced mainly by the workshop of El-Mahrine (Mackensen 1993: 163, abb. 41), but our variant, with the decoration occupying the entire upper part of the lamp, is typical of the workshops of Oudhna (Mackensen 1993: 123-124, 134, abb 36, 136, abb. 36; Bonifay 2004: 368). This is the latest material in the assemblage, belonging to the middle of the 5th c. to the beginning of the 6th c. AD.



Fig. 14: Atlante VIII D1 / Bonifay 50 Variante D1 / Barbera Petriaggi 4.2.1 lamp.

ATLANTE IX

ATLANTE IX B / BONIFAY 52/ BARBERA PETRIAGGI 5.1.1.2 (Atlante I: 198, t. XCIX, 1-5, t. CLVII, 5; Barbera, Petriaggi 1993: 135-145; Bonifay 2004: 370)

This type of lamp is characterized by an open channel nozzle, connected to a more or less emphasized double-bulged shoulder. Two fragments (2 EVE) belong to Atlante IX B. This vessel is directly linked with later productions of Atlante VIII lamps, repeating some technological and morphological features but was produced in much less quantity. In this case, the Atlante IX B is closely related to Atlante VIII C2c. The first fragment of a nozzle and shoulder (Fig. 15) is characterized by the absence of decoration, while the second (Fig. 16) has stamped ovals on the *discus* and oblique notches on the shoulder. It was produced in *Zeugitana*, mainly in the workshop of Oudhna (while this type is rarely seen at El Mahrine), at the end of the 4th – beginning of the 5th c. AD (Mackensen 1993: 122, 137-138, tav. 4; Bonifay 2004: 370).



Fig. 15: Atlante IX B / Bonifay 52/ Barbera Petriaggi 5.1.1.2 lamp.



Fig. 16: Atlante IX B / Bonifay 52/ Barbera Petriaggi 5.1.1.2 lamp.

ATLANTE XA

ATLANTE X A1A / BONIFAY 54 AND 64 / BARBERA PETRIAGGI 6 (Atlante I: 198-203, t. XCIX, 6-7; Barbera, Petriaggi 1993: 159 ss; Bonifay 2004: 373-381)

This is the “classical African” lamp, the most widespread and numerous of all the lamps produced in ARS and represents a chronological marker for the 5th c. In our assemblage, six fragments recovered from late antique contexts and the topsoil can be assigned to this type. One is a fragment of a base, with a typical ring-shape, where the trace of the ribbing to the handle is still visible (Fig.17). However, it was not possible to associate it with a specific variant.

All the other fragments are pieces of shoulders belonging to similar vessels of the X A1a variant (Fig.18). They have the typical flat and mould-decorated shoulder with relief motifs, two of them with the characteristic full handle that protrudes obliquely from the container (Fig. 18. III e V). All of the shoulder fragments have the usual variety of motifs in relief obtained, from the middle of the 5th c. AD, by impressing the same stamps of ARS D1 and D2 inside the mould¹⁵. The poor state of preservation of the fragments makes it impossible to distinguish between the individual production centres of Central and northern Tunisia, following Hayes’ criteria then improved by him and other scholars (Hayes 1972: 311-314; Hayes 1980: 66; Bailey 1988:182; Mackensen 1993: 162-165). The fragment in Fig 18.IV seems to be a Bonifay 64 / Hayes II B variant, typical of the workshops of *Zeugitana*, due to the coarser fabric, an opaque slip and the much larger and less well-executed decorative motifs. The other fragments (even if doubt may be cast on fig. 18.V) seem to have been produced in *Byzacena* (Bonifay 54 / Hayes II A).



Fig. 17: Ring-shape base of the Atlante X A1a / Bonifay 54 and 64 / Barbera Petriaggi 6 lamp.

15 The fragment in fig. 18.I (from context 126) combines Ennabli R3 volutes with Ennabli A4 squares; the fragment in fig. 18.II (from context 3) instead, combines heart-shaped Ennabli M7 *similis* / Barbera Petriaggi 125 (heart-shaped jewelled ivy leaf, with an inscribed ‘V’) with Ennabli V 1-3 *similis* dolphins. The fragment in fig. 18.III (from context 1) combines Ennabli C 1-2 lozenges and an Ennabli F1 circle while the one in fig. 18.IV (also from context 1) combines Ennabli B1 square convex sides and an Ennabli G3 / Barbera Petriaggi 3 radiant circle. The fragment in fig. 18.V, (from context 12), is the worst preserved but it seems to have an Ennabli E 1-3 circle. Salomonson 1969: 82-85; Ennabli 1976: H.T, 256-257; Atlante I: 200; Barberi, Petriaggi 1993: 356-372, 299-402, tavv. 11-14).



Fig. 18: Decorated fragments of Atlante X A1a / Bonifay 54 and 64 / Barbera Petriaggi 6 lamps.

ATLANTE XI

ATLANTE XI A2 / BARBERA PETRIAGGI 7.1.1. / BUSSIÈRE 36 (Atlante I: 203-204, t. CVI; Barbera, Petriaggi 1993: 297-298; Bussièrè 2000)

This type is represented by a single fragment of a *discus* (variant A2), characterized by a central decoration around the *infundibulum*. A portion of the decoration with relief lozenges and surrounding palm wreaths, which follows the shape of the rounded container, is still visible (fig. 19). This lamp is most likely linked to the production centres of the Atlante X, dating to the end of the 4th-mid 5th c. AD, but it is not possible to associate it with a specific production workshop/area.

ANTHROPOMORPHIC LAMP (FIG.20)

This is an almost complete suspension lamp, reconstructed from several fragments. The *discus* is moulded in the shape of a face with very distinctive features and wide-open eyes. The eyelashes and eyebrows were achieved with firm oblique notches. Similar notches define the oval of the face/*discus*, possibly to suggest the presence of some form of headgear or a hood, occupying the portion of the atrophied shoulder. On the nose, a suspension hole is present (Fig.21) and the lamp has a large, funnelled *infundibulum* on the forehead, allowing for the refilling of the lamp as it was suspended. Small, stamped circles appear on the forehead and the inferior lip. The handle is full and vertically set up as in the Atlante VIII but differs from this by the absence of grooves. The nozzle appears as a circular hole on the chin.



Fig. 19: Atlante XI a2 / Barbera Petriaggi 7.1.1. / Bussièrè 36 lamp.

The lower part of the lamp helps to define its provenance and chronology. It was produced by using a typical Atlante VIII mould (Barbera Petriaggi I.2.3 base type) (Barbera, Petriaggi 1993: 147)¹⁶, attested on two lamps displayed at the Museo Nazionale Romano: an Atlante VIII A1C type possibly produced in *Byzacena* (Barbera, Petriaggi 1993: 48), and an Atlante VIII C1 of uncertain provenance (Barbera, Petriaggi 1993: 100-101).

At this moment, this lamp is unique. However, it may be part of a long tradition of representations of generic so called negroid faces with very early origins (Desanges 1976; Barbera 1993). The best parallels for this lamp are from *Numidia* in Africa: one is a lamp with suspension ring displayed at the Museum of Hippona and tentatively dated to the 4th-5th c. AD (Bussièrè 2000: 405, pl. 149, 7211). The other is a waster from Timgad, although possibly not a suspension type (Bussièrè

16 "fondo (concavo o quasi piano) delimitato da una solcatura circolare chiusa, collegato all'ansa da solcature" (Barbera, Petriaggi 1993: 147).



Fig. 20: Anthropomorphic lamp.



Fig. 21: Anthropomorphic lamp, detail of the suspension hole.



Fig. 22: Late locally produced Buchi X-b / Bailey N(iii) Firmalampe with VIBIAN(I) stamp.

2000: 411, pl. 157, 7445).¹⁷ Another interesting comparison can be made with a suspension lamp in the Museo Nazionale Romano: it appears to be a regional product of Lazio that “*può iscriversi anche alla tarda età imperiale*” (Barbera 1993: 220, fig.21-22). The morphology of the lamp is reminiscent of the Atlante VIII and, most likely, is one of the imitation products of the 4th-5th c. AD. The suggestion in this case is that our lamp could be the imitated prototype, produced on commission as the apparent lack of further *comparanda* suggests. It is not easy to determine the area of origin of our lamp: nonetheless, characteristics of the slip and fabric, a certain sharpness and roughness in the formal presentation and the tendency of wasting in the shoulder suggests that it may have been produced in *Zeugitana* (El-Mahrine?) (Mackensen 1993: 95-165 for an

¹⁷ For a further earlier example, described but not illustrated see Bussièrè 2000: 405, 7206 (2nd c.), Bussièrè 2000: 132-133 for the description.

overview and discussion of the suspension lamps from El Mahrine, also Mackensen 1993: 103 and 104 abb. 26.1; Mackensen 1993: 131 abb. 32, 9a-b, for a remarkable iconographic scene on the *discus* of an Atlante VIIIa2b lamp from the same site). Even the style of the decorative circles, also used for the ARS D productions (Atlante I, Stampo 8 / Mackensen 6.1-2) (Atlante I: 125, t. LVI(a), 8-10; Mackensen 1993: tav. 4), seems to be peculiar to this part of Africa.

LOCALLY PRODUCED LAMPS: LATE IMITATIONS OF *FIRMALAMPEN* BUCHI X-B / BAILEY N(III)

The other large group of lamps from the late antique deposits (c. 17%) is made up of local, late imitations of *Firmalampen*, exclusively of the Buchi X-b / Bailey N(iii) (Buchi 1975: XXIII-XXVIII; Bailey 1980: 272ss, pl. 52-54) type. These products belong to the morphological tradition of northern Italian *Firmalampen*, but they have lost almost all of their characteristic features. They are chronologically later, degraded imitations, produced by local workshops who were copying by means of “*surmoulage*” and modifying the mould¹⁸. In this way, the imitations lost any sense of, and connection with, the original model. It seems clear now that the chronology of these products can be extended beyond the 3rd c. to the 5th c. AD¹⁹.

Among the recovered lamps, one is of particular interest as it bears the stamp VIBIAN(I?) on its base. The stamp is difficult to read, as often happens with these late variants, since the features and detail of the stamp give only a suggestion of the original (Fig. 22). The eponymous character of the workshop can, most likely, be identified as *C. Vibius Pansa*, consul in BC 43. Its activity developed principally at the end of the 1st c. AD, climaxing in the 2nd but continuing through the 3rd c. until at least, beyond the 4th c. AD (Buchi 1965: 171-172)²⁰. It is not realistic to think that the family that began the workshop was the same for almost 5 centuries and that among the VIBIANI-stamped lamps we should be able to distinguish those produced by the workshop itself from those bearing the stamp by *surmoulage*. In some cases, they have been reproduced so often that it is not even possible to fully recognise the name (“*scritto spesso in modo confuso e irregolare*”) (Buchi 1975: 161). Future petrographical analysis may be able to determine the exact provenance of these vessels, but at this stage a macroscopic study of the morphology and fabric seems to suggest a late chronology at least. The morphology appears less accurate, while the fabric of the clay is coarser and exhibits a greyish colour due to inaccurate firing.

For comparison, the published context that is most interesting, particularly given its geographical proximity, is the *Domus dei Mosaici* in *Rusellae* (Chirico et al. 2015; Sebastiani, Celuzza 2015). Here a large number of late *Firmalampen* have been found that share morphological and technological features with those from Scoglietto; moreover, 35% of the *Rusellae* assemblage bears the stamp VIBIANI, with variations²¹. Consequently, the density of lamps from *Rusellae* assumes a particular importance, especially as they all derive from the late phases of use of the building or to its abandonment and rubble layers. With associated materials confirming a chronology for both the lamps and the context within the span of the 4th c. AD (Michelucci 1985: 33ss), it is possible to begin to hypothesise that this is the result of local production, with limited, regionally defined markets. This late, local production phenomenon can be seen clearly in the case of the workshop at Monte Torto di Osimo in the Marche region. Between the mid 4th c. and the 5th c., the workshop specialised in the production of Buchi X-B and X-c *Firmalampen*, and among the northern Italian stamps reproduced through *surmoulage*, a series of local stamps were recovered (Pignocchi 2001). Further support for the late production hypothesis can be found in a series of VIBIAN-stamped lamps recovered from the catacombs at Chiusi (Cipollone 2000: 45, 69-70) as well as a couple



Fig. 23: Late locally produced Buchi X-b / Bailey N(iii) Firmalampe.

18 For this practice see Brando 2015: 123 with references.

19 For a general overview, as well as the pioneering study of Loeschcke (Loeschcke 1919: 67-110) and Menzel's clarifications (1969: 60-71) Buchi 1975; Bailey 1980: 272-291; Harris 1980: Gualandini Genito 1986: 257-299).

20 On the circulation of the name: Larese, Sgreva 1996:465-466; Criniti, Scopelliti 2012: 110 ss.

21 Michelucci 1985: 32, n.183; Michelucci 1985: 35, n.200 (VIBIANI), 201-202; Michelucci 1985: 45, n.333-334; Michelucci 1985: 52, n.380; Michelucci 1985: 54-55; n.415 (VIBIANI), 416, 417 (VIBIAN), 418-420; Michelucci 1985: 56-57, nn. 463-464 (VIBIAN), 465, 466 (VIBIAN), 467, 468 (VIBIA), 460-470, 471 (VIBIAN); Michelucci 1985: 59, n.520 (VIBIA); Michelucci 1985: 60, n.536, 37 (VIBIANI); Michelucci 1985: 64, n.567; Michelucci 1985: 67, n.595 (VIBIANI), 599 (VIBIANI); Michelucci 1985: 69, n.612; Michelucci 1985: 71, nn.638-39; Michelucci 1985: 77, 701-4; Michelucci 1985: 79; n.733 (VIBIAN); Michelucci 1985: 82, 787-88. For a discussion of the presence of the stamp in different stratigraphical contexts, see Brando 2015: 135 with references.

of vessels without stamps from the *Grübenhaus* deposits of the late 5th-6th c. AD beneath the Cathedral of Siena (Castiglia 2014: 15-17). Imitations of *Firmalampen*, thought to have been produced in the central Italian area, are also attested in the late phase of use of the Roman colony of Cosa. The chronology in this last case has been established as being no later than the first fifteen years of the 5th c. AD (Rickman Fitch, Wynick Goldman 1994: 197-200).

Another incomplete lamp of the same type comes from our assemblage (Fig. 23), together with a further 24 fragments of *discus* and nozzles, for a total of 19 EVE. Almost all of them lack the handle, while only one has a residual ribbon handle and another a suspension ring between the nozzle and the double *infundibulum* (Fig. 24). Nine fragments of bases are recorded, corresponding to 9 EVE, two of them bearing graffiti decoration of an asterisk, common on these late variants. A large number of the fragments show clear traces of burning (Fig. 25).



Fig. 24: Late locally produced Buchi X-b / Bailey N(iii) Firmalampe with suspension hole.



Fig. 25: Samples of late Firmalampen from the Late Antique contexts.

CONCLUSIONS

The analytical study of the lamp assemblage recovered during the excavations of the temple area of Scoglietto prompts a few final thoughts on the late antique phase of the religious centre. The lamps discussed above can be divided into two main groups, corresponding to two different markets. The local products, that constitute the minor part of the assemblage, appear to be the class of materials used mostly in the everyday life of the temple, given the clear traces of burning on the nozzles and their highly fragmentary state of preservation. By contrast, imports from northern Africa were used for the rituals that occurred during the seasonal ceremonies that took place at the site. Their state of preservation (mostly complete or restorable) suggests that they were offered as *ex-voto* and stored within the *cella* of the temple. Less used, and so less fragile, they better survived the desecration of the settlement at the end of the 4th century. Furthermore, some of the latest products can be dated to the beginning of the 5th c. AD, when the main temple had already been systematically dismantled. This strongly suggests a continuity of the pagan cults in this coastal area of Tuscany, which has a direct parallel with the events at the shrine of the *Liber Pater* in Cosa.

The Christianization of the *ager Rusellanus* had occurred by, at least, the end of the 5th c., when a bishop and a cathedral are recorded in the city of *Rusellae*. Archaeological investigations have failed to demonstrate the existence of any earlier Christian building (or cemetery) within the city walls before AD 499, when the first bishop, *Vitalianus*, is mentioned attending a holy synod in Rome²². It may be, therefore, that the recovery of this assemblage of early 5th c. lamps represents an archaeological trace of the deliberate flouting of the public laws on religion. Despite the banning of pagan worship and the installation of Christianity as the official religion of the Empire, along with the destruction of the temple, people continued to worship at Scoglietto as it remained a significant place in local people's memory and traditions.

From an economic point of view, with the majority of vessels bought from African workshops, the lamp assemblage suggests that the south Tyrrhenian coast of Tuscany was still an active participant in the wider Mediterranean trade routes. In support of this hypothesis, it is worth noting that the nearby Roman manufacturing district of Spolverino (c. 1.4km north of Scoglietto) is awash with African products, at least from the late 2nd c. until the end of the 5th c. AD (Sebastiani 2014). During its late antique phases, Scoglietto was still being supplied by a nearby cabotage port, which was probably located very close to the manufacturing district. In all likelihood, Spolverino acted as a commercial hub both for the production and trade of goods, which either passed along maritime coastal routes or along terrestrial routes such as the *via Aurelia vetus*.

Within the mid 5th c., the site of Scoglietto is abandoned. The latest vessels (whether lamps, glass, or pottery) are dated to the very beginning of the century. Further occupations in the mid 6th c. reveal a complete transformation in the function of the site, with a sunken-floor hut built on top of the ruins, together with some satellite timber structures. When this occurred, no remains of the religious building were visible to the new occupiers. These structures lasted only a few decades, if not years, before they were destroyed by fire. It would seem that it was this that prevented the site from suffering spoliations of rich materials (such as marble) and preserved the original votive and common vessels, enabling us to discover a part of its late antique story.

The lamps described here represent the first published assemblage of this kind of material for the late antique *ager Rusellanus*. Future research in nearby sanctuaries and religious settlements will no doubt bring to light further evidence connected to the Roman and Late Antique economy, religion, society and everyday life of this part of Tuscany.

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22 Excavations carried out on the Hadrianic bathhouse complex on the slopes of the northern hill of *Rusellae* confirm that the construction of the cathedral occurred during the late 5th c. AD (Celuzza, Fentress 1994).

US	Stamp	Lucernarius	Lamp	Origin
278	MVNTREPT	<i>(L.) Mun(atius) T(h)rept(us)</i>	Bailey C(iv)	Rome
305	MVNT[TREPT]	<i>(L.) Mun(atius) T(h)rept(us)</i>	n. id.	Rome
305	LMV]NPHIL	<i>L. Mun(atius) Phile()</i>	n. id. (Bailey O-P?)	Rome
305	[L] MADIE[C]	<i>L. Mu(n) Adiec / L. Munatius Adiectus</i>	n. id.	Central Italy
305	E[R]OTIS	<i>Eros</i>	Bailey C(iv)	Central Italy
305	ERO[TIS]	<i>Eros</i>	Bailey P(i)	Central Italy
305	ERO[TIS]	<i>Eros</i>	n. id.	Central Italy
305	GABI[NIA]	<i>Gabinia / Gabinianus</i>	n. id.	Central Italy
305	[GA]BIN[IA]	<i>Gabinia / Gabinianus</i>	n. id.	Central Italy
305	[A]NNISI[R]	<i>Anni(us) Serapiodor(us)</i>	Bailey Q	Ostia
391=303	ANNISER	<i>Anni(us) Serapiodor(us)</i>	Bailey Q(vi)	Ostia
305	LFA[BR]	<i>Workshop of Fabricii</i>		Rome
305	[BASSA]	<i>Bassa(nus) / Bassus</i>		Central Italy
291	CIVMBIT	<i>C. Junius Bitus</i>	Bailey Q(viii)	Ostia
278	[Pon] STEf [] ?	<i>(M) Pon() Stefanus?</i>	Bailey Q(viii)	Central Italy

Table 1: Lamp officinares between the end of the 2nd and the 3rd c. AD.

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SAŽETAK

RASVJETLJUJUĆI DIANU UMBRONENSIS. KASNOANTIČKE SVJETILJKE IZ SVETIŠTA U SCGLIETTU (ALBERESE – IT)

Ključne riječi: afričke svjetiljke, lokalno proizvedene svjetiljke, poganstvo, kršćanstvo, zavjetni darovi, Dijanin kult, kasna antika

Opsežnim arheološkim istraživanjima od 2009. do 2011. na području Alberesea u južnoj Toskani (Italija), unutar zaštićenoga područja Regionalnoga Parka Maremma, otkriven je kompleks rimskoga svetišta. Kompleks se nalazi na malom rtu na Scogliettu, 4 km udaljenom od današnje Tirenske obale i bio je potpuno nepoznat u arheološkoj literaturi prije 2005. g. Otkićem natpisa koji sadrži posvetu *Diani Umbronensis* (Diana sa rijeke Ombrone) svetište je bilo moguće povezati s božicom lova i okolnim krajolikom, koji je u rimsko doba bio vrlo različit od današnjeg.

Zbog svog strateškog položaja, južno graničeći s ager *Cosanusom* te imajući kontrolu nad pomorskim trgovačkim putevima, lokalitet bilježi procvat kroz razdoblje od 2. st. pr. Kr. pa sve do kraja 2. st. po. Kr., kada svetište biva napušteno. Ipak, od 3. do sredine 4. st. po. Kr. hram je, uz građevinske preinake, ostao u upotrebi za svečanosti i obrede. Sredinom 4. st, međutim, hram biva dijelom uništen te se na njegovom području osniva nekropola, od koje se sačuvao jedan ukop, dok nekoliko desetljeća kasnije počinje sustavno urušavanje hrama.

Analiza zbirke svjetiljki iz svetišta *Diane Umbronensis* od osobite je važnosti jer pokazuje određene korelacije s ritualnim i kulturnim aspektima naselja, s obzirom na razmjerno visok broj prisutnih svjetiljki.

Najstariji primjerci potječu s kraja 2. i početka 3. st. po. Kr. Dio svjetiljki iz tako datiranih slojeva nesumnjivo su pripadale namještaju hrama, pošto su bile dio *ex-vota* posvećenih božici. Kasnoantičke svjetiljke pripadaju razdoblju napuštanja hrama odnosno datiraju od druge polovice 4. st. po. Kr. i prve polovice 5. st. Unutar ovoga razdoblja, oko 80% pripada sjevernoafričkim radionicama, dok oko 17% otpada na kasne imitacije firma svjetiljki.

Najbolju analogiju za situaciju u Scogliettu pruža svetište *Liber Patera* na Forumu u Cosi, gdje uglavnom prevladavaju svjetiljke tipa Atlante VIII.

Svjetiljke o kojima se ovdje raspravlja mogu se podijeliti u dvije glavne skupine, koje odgovaraju dvama različitim tržištima. Lokalni proizvodi, koji čine manji dio te zbirke, čini se da predstavljaju klasu materijala koji se koristio uglavnom u svakodnevnom životu hrama, s obzirom na jasne tragove korištenja na nosevima i njihovu fragmentiranost. S druge strane, uvezeni materijal iz sjeverne Afrike koristi se za obrede. Stanje očuvanosti tih svjetiljki ukazuje na to da su se nudile kao *ex-voto* i da su bile pohranjene unutar *cellae* hrama. Pojava ovih svjetiljki nastavlja i u 5. st. kada hram biva napušten, svjedočeći o kontinuitetu poganskih običaja.

S gospodarskog aspekta, činjenica da većina predmeta dolazi iz afričkih radionica, sugerira da je južna Tirenska obala Toskane još uvijek bila aktivni sudionik u širim mediteranskim trgovačkim putevima. Ipak, Scoglietto biva napušten u 5. st., dok u 6. st. datira sporadično naseljavanje vrlo kratkoga trajanja kojeg karakterizira drvena gradnja. Ovdje opisane svjetiljke predstavljaju prvu objavljenu zbirku ove vrste materijala za kasnoantički ager *Rusellanus*. Buduća istraživanja u obližnjim svetištima i vjerskim mjestima bez sumnje će donijeti daljnja saznanja o rimskoj i kasnoantičkoj ekonomiji, religiji, društvom i svakodnevnom životu ovog dijela Toskane.

