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**The Bruttii**

The Italic *ethnos* of Oscan stock, which the Romans called the Bruttii and the Greeks Βρέττιοι, was settled, from the middle of the fourth century BC, in the mountainous regions of present-day Calabria. The northern boundary of the territory was marked by the Thurii-Laos isthmus while to the south it stretched, across the high plain of the Sila, as far as the hinterland of Locri and Rhegium (Fig. 1). By that period the region had already been inhabited for some time: from the eighth century BC by the Greeks, who had founded their colonies there along the coasts; even earlier by the pre-Samnite indigenous peoples of the Oenotri and Coni; and from the fifth century BC also by the Lucani, who on the Ionian side had their “capital” Petelia (mod. Strongoli) a little to the north of Croton (Pesando 2005; Lazzarini and Poccetti 2001; Guzzo 1989).

As appears from the literary sources, the Bruttii were for almost two centuries among the principal protagonists of the history of ancient Italy. Politically and militarily organized, they formed alliances and fought wars with Italiotes, Siceliotes, Greeks, Italians and Romans. At the end of the third century BC they finally lost their independence at the hands of the Romans. The political existence of the *ethnos* ended simultaneously, and it disappears from Latin and Greek historical narratives and from the history of the peninsula. From this time on we find in the ancient authors only allusions to the history of the territory, Bruttium or Βρεττία.

While we are reasonably well-informed of the political history of this people, it is much more difficult to arrive at a description of their way of life and the particular characteristics of their identity. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence, which could permit a description of those aspects, is actually rather sparse. This may perhaps be due to the brief life-span of this people, during which they were continually involved in the activities of war, with the results of human loss and the endless devastation of districts and settlements. But it is more probable that the scarcity of information is due to the slowness with which archaeological investigations of this area have taken place, becoming more frequent only in the last decades. From their partial results, however, fundamental data have come to light. First of all, it becomes evident how the characteristics of the land notably conditioned the socio-economic existence of the Bruttii and their modes of settlement: a primarily mountainous land, difficult to cultivate, which for many centuries was given over almost exclusively to the activities of sheep-rearing and exploitation of forest resources; an environment, moreover, which prevented or delayed an evolution in terms of urban planning of specifically Bruttian forms of building and organization. On the other hand, the position of the Bruttii, near the *poleis* of Magna Graecia and in direct

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Fig. 1. Map with places mentioned in the text.

political and commercial contact with them, in some cases even living with them, produced a profound and widespread Hellenization of this people, manifest above all in their language and religion. This evidence contrasts with the image of the Bruttii drawn from the literary tradition, especially the Greek, which portrays them as a people of slavish shepherds, rough and aggressive brigands/fighters, prone to be traitors, completely foreign to Hellenic civilization as well as to Roman ethics (Lombardo 1989, 251–259; Dench 1995, 44–80).

## I Historical events, mid-fourth to the end of the third century BC

The Bruttii made their entry into history in 356 BC. Diodorus (16.15.1–2) says that in that year individuals assembled in Lucania, of various origins but largely fugitive slaves, experts in brigandage and the affairs of war. After having defeated the Lucani and a number of Italiot centres, they set up a shared government and called themselves *Brettioi*, a word which in the local language meant precisely “fugitive slaves.” In Justin (23.1.4–14) we find that the people formed itself when fifty youths from the Lucani united with the shepherds who lived in the region’s forests and began to sack the surrounding Italiot centres. The Italiotes sought help from Dionysius II of Syracuse who sent mercenaries. The *castellum* occupied by the mercenaries was then overcome thanks to a woman named *Bruttia*. The shepherds who were gathered there decided to unite into a common *civitas* and to call themselves *Bruttii* from the woman’s name. The Bruttii fought above all against the Lucani, their progenitors; the conflict was concluded with a *pax aequo iure* (a peace on equal terms) and then by recognition of their independence (i.e. of the Bruttii) on the part of the Lucani, who most probably had to give up from that time a part of their territory including Petelia (Cappelletti 2002, 27–38). For Strabo also (6.1.4) the Bruttii were in origin slave-shepherds of the Lucani and came into being as an *ethnos* when they freed themselves from their inferior condition, separating themselves from the Lucani, who called them *Brettioi*, which in their language meant “rebels.” The three narratives are substantially in agreement; in Justin, however, the decisive role in the process of the formation of the people is played by a *mulier* named *Bruttia*. It is important to emphasize that other women of Bruttian origin are at the centre of historical events of the third century BC, and this literary tradition seems to reflect the existence of a position of prominence invested in the woman of Bruttian society, confirmed, as we shall see, by the architecture and rich grave goods in female tombs (Cappelletti 2005).

According, therefore, to Justin, Diodorus and Strabo, the Bruttian people came into being in 356 BC, acquiring an identity and a name following an earlier condition which was ethnically heterogeneous and indeterminate. But this only corresponds in part with other known evidence. The ethnic name of the Bruttii had actually already

existed two centuries earlier. The Italic formula of possession *Bruties esum* “I am of Bruttius”, incised in the mid-sixth century BC on an *oinochoe* of *bucchero* from southern Campania (*Imagines*, Nuceria Alfaterna 3), indicates a personal name formed on the root *brut-* from the ethnic name of the Bruttii. In the fifth century BC, Antiochus (*FGrH* 555 F3c) uses the ethnonym to indicate a vast area of present-day Calabria, and Aristophanes (F638 Kassel–Austin) amused his Athenian public by describing the Bruttian language as horrible and obscure, with an implicit reference to the dark colour of pitch, the famous *pix Bruttia* produced in the Sila and much renowned in antiquity (Lombardo 1995; Zumbo 1995, 278–280). It is highly probable, therefore, that in the fifth to sixth centuries BC the ethnic name referred to a population of Oscan stock in an inferior social position to the Lucani and it became, for the Lucani themselves and for the ancient sources, synonymous with “rebels” and “fugitive slaves” only from 356 BC, when the Bruttii won their ethnic and political independence.

With the first victorious war against the Lucani the process of the Bruttian nation’s growth and expansion began, which was achieved above all to the detriment of various Italic cities: attacks against Thurii and Croton on the Ionian coast and the conquests of Terina, Temesa and Hipponium on the Tyrrhenian side. This was a process which found new vigour from the victory over Alexander the Molossian, who had come from Epirus to Italy in 333 BC to help the Tarentines against the Bruttii, Lucani and Messapii, and was killed at Pandosia in 331/330 BC (Cappelletti 2002, 27–75). Not even their unexpected defeat at the hands of Agathocles of Syracuse in 294 BC succeeded in stopping the growth of the Bruttii; in the course of half a century they had become *fortissimi*, *opulentissimi* and one of the most powerful and feared states of the peninsula (Justin 23.1.3).

The clash with Rome was by now inevitable and took place in 282 BC when a coalition of Bruttii and Lucani attacked Thurii, who in turn called on the Romans for help. The victory of the consul C. Fabricius Luscinus over the two peoples was crushing, but not conclusive, because together with the Samnites, Messapii and Tarentines they allied themselves with Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, in 281 BC, and a year later under his leadership marched against Rome. In the summer of 279 BC Bruttian foot soldiers and cavalry fought alongside Pyrrhus in the Battle of Asculum (near mod. Ascoli Satriano) in Puglia; it was their last victory against Rome, and a bitter one because of the heavy losses suffered by Pyrrhus and his allies. It was followed by repeated defeats up to 272 BC, the worst being that of 275 BC, after which Pyrrhus, by now thoroughly discomfited, abandoned Italy. His Italic and Italic allies had to suffer the repercussions of their anti-Roman conduct: according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 20.15) the Bruttii surrendered voluntarily to the Romans and were compelled to cede half of the Sila (Cappelletti 2002, 111–128).

The Bruttii remained faithful *socii* of the Romans for half a century and fought with them against Hannibal at the Battle of Cannae in 216 BC. But here the Romans were defeated and many peoples and cities of southern Italy passed to the Carthaginian general. The Bruttii were among the first to ally themselves with Hannibal and

the last to abandon him in 204 BC. A number of their centres, such as Petelia and Cosenza, remained faithful to Rome and so were besieged by Hannibal and their own compatriots. The military commitment of the Bruttii to Hannibal was notable: for him they laid siege to and conquered Locri and Croton, and placed at his disposal troops and land for the duration of the war. In 211 BC, after Capua fell into Roman hands, individual Bruttian centres and groups started to abandon the alliance with Hannibal, who also began to harbour suspicion of the Bruttii that remained with him, taking cruel measures against them: imposition of many taxes, destruction of fortified cities, and trials and executions of many men in order to confiscate their property. By 207 BC the Carthaginian sphere of action was restricted to Bruttian territory alone; Hannibal had established his headquarters at Croton and from the port of Croton he left Italy in 203 BC, after the Bruttii had finally surrendered to the Romans in 204 BC (Cappelletti 2002, 128–171).

## II Political/institutional and settlement structures

In 356 BC the Bruttii became an autonomous *ethnos* of the Lucani and at the same time formed a shared political organization, a league. Diodorus (16.15.1–2) and Strabo (6.1.2) define it respectively as κοινή πολιτεία and σύστημα κοινόν, and both refer in technical terms to the existence of a government and of a citizenship shared by the whole population. Justin (23.1.11–13) describes as a *civitas* the association created by the *pastores Bruttii* when they overcame the *castellum* occupied by the mercenaries from Syracuse, which became their *nova urbs* (Cappelletti 1997). It is probable that the *castellum/nova urbs* was Consentia, described by Strabo (6.1.5) as a μητρόπολις τῶν Βρεττίων, in other words the place of origin of the people and the political capital of the Bruttian League. There are a number of indications in favour of this identification: Consentia's position on high ground and its fortified walls dating to the fourth century BC; the probable derivation of the place-name from an Oscan word analogous to Latin *consensus*, with a reference to the “agreements” made by the Bruttii during the meetings at their federal seat; and finally the symbol of the crab, found on town and federal coins, which could be an allusion to the river *Carcinus*, Greek καρκίνος, “crab,” the present-day Corace in the district of Cosenza.

The federal coins of gold, silver and bronze with the Greek legend ΒΡΕΤΤΙΩΝ are the main, authentic evidence of the continuing existence of the Bruttian League in the third century BC (Rutter 2001, nos. 1940–2012; Addante 2008). It was a wartime coinage, minted in 216–204 BC during the alliance with Hannibal against Rome and intended to meet the requirements of the conflict. The issue shows a predilection for the Greek figurative repertory (divinities, symbols, etc.) and apart from the crab contains other marine subjects. If this appears inconsistent with the largely mountainous context of the Bruttii, it could, however, be a reflection of the importance assumed by the life of the river and sea in connection with socio-economic and

productive facts (pitch, timber, ships) of this people's existence (Taliercio Mensitieri 1995).

We do not know much about the components of the Bruttian League and in general of the communities of the Bruttii. This is largely due to the scarcity of archeological documentation and its problematic interpretation. But we also find in the ancient sources that the Bruttian centres are mostly described generically as *multae urbes* and *civitates*, *ignobiles populi*, *oppida*, *castella*, χωρία and κτήσεις on the coasts. It is possible that this vagueness and terminological variation reflects the actual structure of settlements prevalent among the Bruttii emerging from archeological investigation, with a small population living in nuclei of a non-urban type – hamlets and farmsteads, organized in cantons of variable extent (Lombardo 1989). A territorial situation of this kind is documented in other cases, as in that of Taurianum (mod. Tauriana di Palmi): in the sources there is the *oppidum/civitas*, supplied by its own *ager/territorium*. The Oscan ethnic name Ταυριανουμ stamped in the third century BC on various examples of bricks and tiles, spread also into the area of neighbouring Oppido Mamertina and Gioia Tauro (*Imagines*, Tauriani 1), indicates that the political community of the *Tauriani* comprised a cantonal existence, made up of many settlements. Another case is that of the *ager Teuranus* (mod. Tiriolo), where the first habitation mound grows in extent and importance at the beginning of the third century BC, taking in more hamlets and enriching itself with public spaces and buildings, and a double perimeter enclosure to protect the inhabitants of the internal *ager* (Racheli and Spadea 2011; Tarditi 2015). The case of the site discovered at Castiglione di Paludi is different (Fig. 2), possibly the πόλις Ἡθαῖ defended by the Bruttii against Agathocles in 298 BC (Diod. Sic. 21.3), which in the fourth to third centuries BC demonstrates structures of a true urban centre: defensive walls with entry-gates and circular turrets, a theatre, private and public buildings, and streets (Novellis and Paoletti 2011).

Another urban centre was Petelia (mod. Strongoli), first Lucanian and then Bruttian, as shown by the coinage with the legend ΠΙΕΘΑΙΝΩΝ, which in chronology and characteristics appears directly linked to the federal issues (Rutter 2001, nos. 2453–2467). In Livy (23.20.4–10) it is described as an *urbs*, with its own *ager*, encircled by a wall of which very little remains visible today; it had a *senatus*, which sent *legati* and made decisions on foreign politics. In the fourth to third centuries BC Petelia was strongly Hellenized: magistrates with Oscan names expressed their control, in Greek formulae and language, over the local production of public bricks; and in the Greek inscription IG XIV 637 we read that gymnasiarchs with Oscan names administered the gymnasium of the city (Ampolo 2008; Costabile 2007; Poccetti 2014).

Other Bruttian centres, or centres which became Bruttian, are mentioned by the ancient authors – e.g. Aufugo, Berga, Besidia, Ocricoli, Linfeo, Argentano, Clamptia, Caulonia, Pandosia, Tisia, Mystia, Hyporon, Terina, Hipponium, Temesa – but identification on the ground is only certain for some of them (Cappelletti 2002, 225–237). For the Italiot centres of Hipponium, Terina and Temesa in particular their occupation by the Bruttii is confirmed by several pieces of evidence. After 356

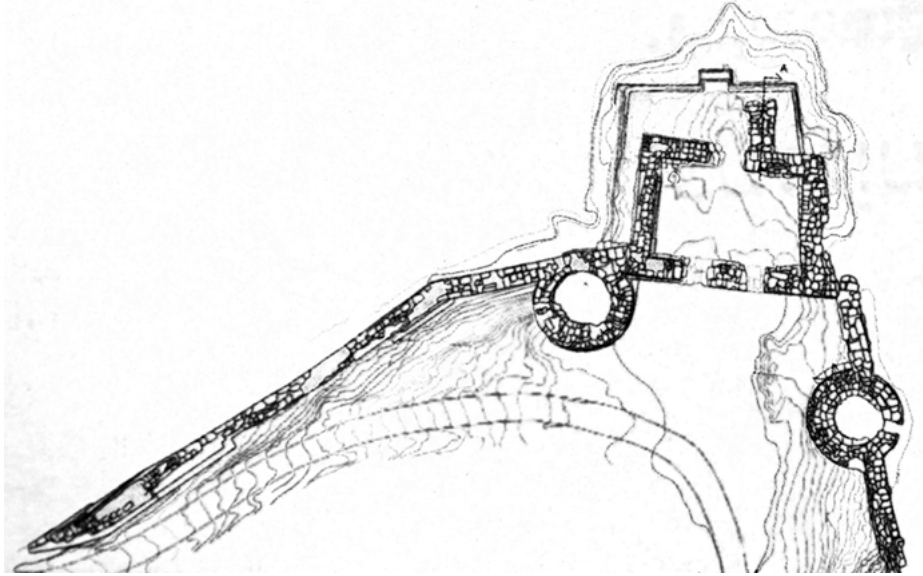


Fig. 2. Castiglione di Paludi. Northeastern Gate (from Brienza, Caliò and Lippolis 2011, 241).

BC Hipponium (mod. Vibo Valentia) minted bronze coins with Greek and Oscan-Greek ethnic names; on several examples the crab appears, the Bruttian federal symbol, as well as the Bruttian-Italic goddess Pandina; the first letters of the Oscan name *Niumsis* also appear, belonging therefore to an Italic magistrate (Rutter 2001, nos. 2243–2261; Taliercio Mensitieri 1993). The presence in Hipponium of a Bruttian elite, completely Hellenized and participating in civic government, is further attested by the richness of grave goods and numerous brick stamps with the Oscan names of the producers; important above all others is the Oscan stamp  $\text{fερεκο}$  on a fragment of tile from the end of the third century BC (*Imagines*, Vibo 3), which indicates production precisely of the *vereiia*, a typically Italic political-military institution administered by one or more *meddices* (Pocetti 2000). The crab and the goddess Pandina also appear on the bronze coins of Terina (mod. S. Eufemia Vetere), and the presence of a Bruttian elite in the city is further attested to there by funerary evidence, among which are the rich grave goods of a chamber tomb from the beginning of the third century BC, known as the “treasure of St. Eufemia” (Fig. 3) and now in the British Museum (Taliercio Mensitieri 1993; Mancuso and Spadea 2011). Temesa, not far from Terina, has been identified in the fortified site of Pian della Tirena, in the area of Nocera Terinese. In the third century BC the centre minted bronze coins with the legends  $\text{NOYKPINQN}$  and  $\text{NOYKPIN}$ , which was the new name given to the city by the Bruttian conquerors; apart from the symbol of the crab, a number of other examples have the Oscan name  $\text{STATIOY}$ , apparently belonging to a Bruttian magistrate (Rutter 2001, nos. 2437–2448).



Fig. 3. Treasure of S. Eufemia. Diadem (from Mancuso and Spadea 2011, 394).

### III Religious forms and cult places

In the religious context, as well, the deep and spontaneous Hellenization of this people emerges; it seems they never felt the need to build their own new sanctuaries, but preferred to use those already founded in the Archaic Period by the Greek colonies. This emerges from the archaeological evidence of the fourth to third centuries BC of the extra-urban sanctuaries of Apollo Alaeus near the ancient Crimisa (mod. Cirò Marina – Punta Alice), and of Hera at Capo Lacinio near Croton. In particular the Oscan text  $\text{ῤεζεις}$ , “of Venus,” incised in 325–300 BC on a calcareous block recently found near the Doric temple of Caulonia (mod. Monasterace Marina) (*Imagines*, Caulonia 2), has shown that the cult of Aphrodite, active here from the Archaic Period, also continued during the Bruttian occupation of the city (Ampolo 2007). But it is from the Apollonion of Cirò Marina that the most interesting data comes: this discloses not only the place of the cult most attended by the Bruttii, but also the one which they themselves administered, as is deduced from two Oscan texts in Greek letters from the third century BC mentioning eponymous priesthoods,  $\text{σακαρικιδιμια}$  (“during the priesthood of”) held by people with Italic names (*Imagines*, Crimisa 1 and 2; Poccetti 2001). In the course of the third century BC the sacred area was built into a monument, with Italic craftsmanship and taste, by neighbouring Petelia. In the second century BC the sanctuary was still important and frequented, actually appearing in the list of the  $\text{θεαροδόκοι}$  of Delphi from the beginning of the century (Manganaro 1964).

As regards the pantheon of the Bruttii, the more important pieces of evidence, especially bronze statuettes and iconographic coinage, concern the diffusion of the cult of Hercules (Fig. 4), an important cult in Bruttian and Italic society in general, structured according to soldierly rules and in pastoral contexts (Mastrocinque 1993). Numerous statuettes of Hercules from the fourth to second centuries have been discovered at Croton, Cirò Marina, Reggio Calabria, and in the area of Cosenza (Genovese 2012, 116–120). The connection between the demigod and the Bruttii is





Fig. 4. Bronze figurine of Hercules from Cariati (from Lombardo 1989, 275).

also found in the literary sources, where Hercules appears as father of Brettos, born from his union with the nymph Baletia, daughter of the river Baletos in Brettia; from Brettos the people of the Bruttii may have obtained their ethnic name (Steph. Byz. s.v. Βρέττος). Further river cults of divinities are attested among the Bruttii, e.g. Acheloos and Aisaros, and cults of divinities linked to woodland contexts, to pastoral and farming activities and to their products, e.g. Pan, Dionysus, Demeter, Kore-Persephone, Athena, a number of whom are represented in the architecture of the Apollonions of Crimisa, of Castiglione di Paludi and of Tiriolo. It was at Tiriolo, the ancient *ager Teuranus*, that in 1640 the famous *senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* of 186 BC was discovered, incised on a sheet of bronze; this was a document in which Rome determined to put a stop to the practice of Dionysiac meetings and rituals, which, particularly in these still little-controlled areas, could give rise to discontent and unrest (CIL X 104; Perri 2005; Stek 2010, 19–21; see di Fazio in the present

volume). Another divinity worshipped by the Bruttii in connection with their farming activity was the goddess Pandina, who figured on the coins of Hipponium and Terina with sceptre and wand; this was a very rare and non-Hellenic cult, perhaps inherited from the Oenotri (Arslan 1989). On the other hand a document from Hipponium of 300 BC gives us evidence of the adoption of the pantheon of Magna Graecia: it is an inscription in Oscan language and Greek letters on a small sheet of bronze, originally nailed to a support, which bears witness to the cult of Ζεύς Τροπαῖος who “throws into flight (the enemy)” and to whom a bull is about to be sacrificed, διουφει φερσορει ταυρομ (*Imagines*, Vibo 2; Untermann 2000, 844–845).

## IV Society and economy

The literary sources do not offer much information on the socio-economic structure of the Bruttii. The few observations are generic and refer to the different military contexts in which the League took part. References to leaders of the army (*dux Bruttius*) and of the garrisons (ἄρχων τῶν Βρεττίων) (Livy 24.15.7; Plut. *Fab.* 21.5), to ambassadors (Diod. Sic. 21.8), and to a cavalry distinct from foot soldiers (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 20.1.1–3), attest to the existence of positions of superiority and responsibility, assumed most probably on the basis of an individual’s military ability and of criteria of family and high social level. Moreover, the existence among the Bruttii of a dominant class, on the basis of wealth and nobility, is further indicated by the same literary tradition that speaks, for example, of riches and property confiscated from many Bruttian ἄνδρες in 206 BC (App. *Hann.* 54), of Bruttian *familiae illustres* taken as hostages by Alexander the Molossian (Livy 8.24.4), of the brothers Vibius and Paccius, spokesmen for the League to the Romans in 209 BC and defined as “the most noble of their people” (Livy 27.15.3).

The existence of a socio-economic structure among the Bruttii is also drawn from the few, but impressive, subterranean chamber tombs belonging to men and/or women of high rank, such as those of Cariati, Strongoli, Pietrapaola, Cirò Marina, Tiriolo, and Gizzeria (Genovese 2012, 99 ff.). In their architecture and grave goods they differ notably from the more numerous burials, of the “Capuchin” or pit type, such as those found in the area of Moio at Cosenza, belonging indubitably to people of a modest social class. The rich and luxurious grave goods of the fourth to third centuries BC reveal the distinctive traits of the Bruttian nobility: a warrior ideology, to which the prevalence of arms and parts of armour bear witness, as do horses’ bits or indeed a whole horse buried beside the deceased; moreover, a style of life by now Hellenized, attested to by the presence of small and large vases and utensils used in banquets. These and other objects of precious material, such as those found in the tombs of women of high rank – largely jewellery, cosmetic containers and instruments – are almost exclusively of Greek or Italic production. It is certainly possible that part of the rich grave goods, especially of men’s graves, could be the fruit of looting and sacking, but the larger part is explained through the existence



Fig. 5. Castiglione di Paludi. Stone relief of man's face (from Lombardo 1989, 278).

of a firm network of cultural and commercial relationships with the Greek world (Guzzo 1989). It is really in this context of contact and extra-peninsular exchange that the precious objects of Alexandrian production recovered in the centres of Tiriolo and Tresilico and the recovery, also at Tiriolo, of wine amphorae with stamps from Rhodes and Thasos should be appraised (Genovese 1999, 159 ff.).

There are on the other hand few objects of definitely Bruttian manufacture, whether found in the necropoleis or in the settlements: e.g. the numerous bronzes of Hercules, the fragments of large statues found in the tombs of Cariati and Terra-vecchia, the stone sculpture with a male face from Castiglione di Paludi (Fig. 5), belonging to a funerary or sacral context, and perhaps also the female sculpture, 20 cm high, found bricked-up in the walls of a house in Polella di San Lucido, possibly the ancient Clampetia (Sanginetto 2011). Finally, to be noticed are the vases and bricks produced in series at Tiriolo in the third to second centuries BC, marked with stamps, in Oscan and Greek, of the Oscan names of the factory owners. But in the majority of cases the objects' attribution to Bruttian artisans remains difficult, because the ceramic, metal and coroplastic manufacture found in their districts imitates – in technique, form, decoration and iconography – contemporary Italiot production, and the

relationship between the original from Magna Graecia and Bruttian work has still been too little investigated (Genovese 2012, 120 ff.)

This strong assimilation of the Bruttii to the surrounding Greco-Italiot society also emerges at the linguistic level. Ancient authors had already noticed this from the end of the third century BC, defining the Bruttii as *bilingues*, because they *et Osce et Graece loqui soliti sint* (Enn. 496V ap. Fest. 31, 25–27L). A situation of bilingualism and in general of biculturalism is confirmed by the sparse epigraphic documentation from the middle of the fourth to the third century BC discovered in Bruttian centres. The collection is very small: it contains mainly builders' stamps on tiles and bricks from Hipponium, Caulonia, Castiglione di Paludi, Tiriolo, and Temesa (*Imagines*, Vibo 3–9; Caulonia 3–5; Thurii-Copia 2; Teuranus ager 2–4; Nuceria 2), and short *defixiones* on lead tablets from Castiglione di Paludi, Cirò, Petelia, and Tiriolo (Murano 2013, nos. 11–14). Most of the texts are in the Oscan language and in Greek letters; they are almost exclusively Oscan personal names, patronymics and family names, for example, Κερ., Κοττειρις, Τρεβας Τρεβατιες, Μινις Βιριδης Λοικες – which are sometimes also Grecised, as Περκένος, Τρέβιος Περκένιος (Zumbo 1995, 265–270). In particular the *defixio* of Petelia has a Greek curse-formula in the last two lines of the text, after a long list of Oscan and Greek personal names. Other texts of public character, in Greek with Grecised Oscan personal names, have also been discovered at Petelia (see above). Another *defixio* in Greek, from the end of the fourth/beginning of the third century BC, was found at Tiriolo (*SEG* 44, 1994, 844), and finally the only Bruttian funerary inscription found to date – ΕΥΜΑΡΗΣ ΒΟΙ (*SEG* 27, 1977, 705) – incised on a Doric capital, possibly part of the architectural decoration of a monumental tomb found at Torano Castello, on which Εὐμάρης could be the Greek version of the Oscan forename *Mares* (Pocchetti 1988, 139). We find Greek letters used for the theonyms Φεζεις and διουφει Φερσορει and the institutional terms Φερεκο and σακαρικιδιμαι in a few texts of sacred and/or public character. Ethnic names on federal and urban coins are written in the Greek alphabet, but more often actually in Greek, and sometimes initials of the Oscan names of the magistrates responsible for the minting also occur. So a diffused use of Greek, in writing and/or speech, and the adherence to Greek habit, e.g. in the single-member naming formulae, is a peculiarity of Bruttian documents which is not found in those of the Campanians, Lucanians and Mamertines though they are also in Graeco-Oscan (Pocchetti 1988, 117–140; Triantafillis 2008; McDonald 2015).

## V Bruttium in the second and first centuries BC

Because of the long and dedicated participation of the Bruttii in the war against Rome at the side of Hannibal, there were grave and notable repercussions: the end of the political organization of the people, and the impoverishment and gradual disappearance of different centres of habitation through the great loss of human life and of material resources. At the end of the first century BC the Bruttian settlements

were devoid of importance, and their institutions, customs, and language had by now disappeared (Strabo 6.1.2).

These statements are confirmed by the (admittedly) sparse archeological evidence: the second century BC sees the disappearance of centres such as Caulonia, Pandosia and Tiriolo, and also the abandonment of hill-top nuclei like Castiglione di Paludi, Torano, and Torre Mordillo (Paoletti 1994). In the course of the second and first centuries BC this did not prevent Bruttian centres and habitations, not more closely identified, from taking part in episodes of revolt, and offering refuge and support to individuals set against Rome, such as the gladiator Spartacus in 73–71 BC or Catiline in 63–62 BC (Oros. 5.24.2; 6.6.7). But these are isolated episodes, due to a certain amount of on-going political instability. The fact remains that the Bruttian people did not take part in the last great revolt of the Italic world against Rome, the Social War of 90–88 BC (Russi and Pareti 1997, 429–469).

The heavy punitive measures which Rome inflicted upon the Bruttii and their territory after 204 BC contributed above all else to the disastrous state of politics and settlement in the region. The Bruttii were excluded from regular military service and charged with servile duties for the provincial Roman magistrates: there were now *Bruttiani* who, as a public duty, passed on letters, and carried out flogging and chaining (Gell. *NA* 10.3.17–19; Strabo 5.4.13). The remains of an awareness of ethnic identity are found in this period only outside the Bruttian territory: in Greek inscriptions from Rhodes and Delphi single individuals specify their origin, e. g. Στράτιος and Πλάτων Βρέττιος, Ἡδίστα τὸ γένος Βρεττία (Zumbo 1995, 271–273; Nocita 2012, 135–137). But above all the Bruttii were punished by the confiscation of a large part of their territory, transformed into *ager publicus populi Romani* (App. *Hann.* 61; *Pun.* 256–257). To control this area Rome founded Roman and Latin colonies: Croton and Tempa in 194 BC, Copia and Vibo Valentia in 192 BC, Clampetia, Consentia and Scolacium in 123 BC. It was also in the second century BC that the Romans extended the Via Annia or Popilia, which connected Rome, Capua and Rhegium (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 638; Givigliano 1994, 287–289). In this way an infrastructure was created in Bruttium for the movement of men, merchandise and ideas, across which there evolved in parallel a process of cultural and linguistic Romanization (Lomas 1993, 125–187). This process was nurtured above all by contacts and co-habitation with people of Latin language and culture who lived in the Roman colonies. The process reached its peak in the first century BC when, on the basis on the *leges de civitate* of the years 90–88 BC, the Bruttii, like the other peoples of the peninsula, became Roman citizens. Throughout the century the old and new settlements of the region, in other words the *coloniae* and Roman *municipia*, were reorganized in order to adjust, from an urban and architectural viewpoint, to the necessary institutional and administrative changes tied to Roman citizenship (Bispham 2007, 161–246, 463–468). From the same necessity Augustus reorganized the entire Bruttian territory, joining it to the lands of the Lucani and so forming a single region, the *Regio III Lucania et Bruttii*, stretching from the rivers Bradano and Sele as far as the Straits of Messina (Russi and Pareti 1997, 445–493; Forte 2010).

The network of infrastructure created in the second century BC also enabled the Romans to exploit the Bruttian lands, which for centuries had offered notable resources: agriculture and sheep-rearing; timber and pitch; fish; mines and deposits of clay (Cic. *Brut.* 85; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 20.15; Intrieri 1995, 207–238). But it was an exploitation which Rome, especially in the first phases, did not succeed in carrying out and coordinating, because of the large extent of the *ager* and through the dominance of the private interests of Roman and local aristocracy. The arbitrary appropriation of *ager* on the part of senators and men of affairs, both Roman and local, gave way to a yet wider land proprietorship, of landed estates administered from their rural *villae* and cultivated by the abundant work-force of slaves. To these estates and also to the activities developed in small yeoman holdings spread throughout the region were due the production and export of the products for which Bruttium remained famous in the imperial age: wine, oil, grain, honey, tiles, dried fruit, salt fish, pitch and finally earthenware and ceramics, above all amphorae for containing and transporting Bruttian merchandise outside Bruttium to Italy and the rest of the Mediterranean (Sanginetto 2013).

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