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Estratto

The Hellenistic Period on Upper Cittadella at Morgantina*

Carla Antonaccio, Shelley Stone

The site of Morgantina is located on two adjacent ridges with commanding views to the north, east, and south¹. During the Iron Age and Archaic periods, the city occupied the eastern ridge, the Cittadella, dominated by a feature known as Farmhouse Hill on the west, and two saddles or small plateaus, called Upper and Lower Cittadella, falling away to the east (fig. 1)². Upper Cittadella was the location of the settlement proper, while Lower Cittadella, after a period of Iron Age inhabitation, became a *temenos* until near the end of the sixth c. B.C. Although the settlement was fortified towards the end of its life (fig. 1), the hill's steep slopes naturally protected it and also served as its necropoleis. In 459 B.C. the Sikeli leader Douketios captured the Archaic city (Diod. Sic. 11.78.6-7); its destruction is documented by excavation³.

Following the demise of the Archaic town, a new settlement appeared in the mid-fifth c. B.C., on the larger Serra Orlando ridge directly to the west of the

Cittadella. There is evidence for the occupation of Serra Orlando during the late Archaic period, mainly in the Contrada San Francesco at the east end of the ridge, which was the location of a *temenos* dedicated to an unknown deity, and a sanctuary with a chthonic cult on the slopes (San Francesco Bisconti), probably connected with a chamber tomb cemetery above it (see fig. 1)⁴. Serra Orlando had more space than the Cittadella, and also more water; the very ambitious orthogonal plan may have been intended to accommodate more inhabitants than just the survivors of the earlier settlement – in other words, to have been laid out with an eye to the future⁵.

After the middle of the fifth century B.C., Cittadella seems to have remained largely unoccupied until the last third of the fourth century, when archaeological evidence indicates that the upper plateau was resettled by two to three hundred inhabitants. Lower Cittadella shows no signs of activity after the middle of the 5th century B.C.⁶. As will be shown,

* The authors would like to thank our colleagues Malcolm Bell, Ingrid Edlund-Berry, Sandra Lucore and Alex Walthall for reading this paper and making useful comments. Any errors that remains are, of course, our responsibility. The plans were prepared by Joann Boscarino, the profile drawing by Shelley Stone.

1 For aerial views of the site and of Cittadella: LEIGHTON 1993, pls. 1-4. For plans of the full extent of ancient Morgantina, showing both Cittadella and Serra Orlando: STONE 2014 pl. 143, WALSH 2011-12, fig. 3.

2 On the excavations on the Cittadella: SJÖQVIST 1958a, pp. 156-158; STILLWELL 1959, pp. 171-173; SJÖQVIST 1960, pp. 133-135; STILLWELL 1961, pp. 280-281; SJÖQVIST 1962, pp. 140-142; STILLWELL 1959, p. 171; SJÖQVIST 1964, pp. 145-146; ALLEN 1970, pp. 369-381. See also BELL 1981, pp. 246-247 IIIA-G, 256 C.S.; ANTONACCIO 1997, STONE 2014, p. 7, pp. 12-13, pp. 38-39 context li, 44 context IO, 70-71 deposit IVA. On the Iron Age remains: LEIGHTON 1993. For the Archaic tombs: LYONS 1996.

3 WALSH 2011-2012, pp. 120-121, pp. 125-126.

4 On this period and the new settlement on Serra Orlando: WALSH 2011-2012, pp. 124-129; WALSH 2006, pp. 182-183. On the sanctuaries on the eastern end of Serra Orlando: SJÖQVIST 1962, p. 142 (*naiskos*); RAFFIOTTA 2007 (San Francesco Bisconti). The chthonic sanctuary has been assigned to Demeter and Persephone by Raffiotta; see also MARCONI 2008, pp. 1-18. Both sanctuaries show cultic activity into the third century BCE, ending in 211.

5 BELL 2006, pp. 505-506, argues that the gridded layout of the town on Serra Orlando was created through the agency of Kamarina, which controlled the town after ca. 449 until 405 BCE. Kamarina's hegemony over Morgantina was recognized at the Congress of Gela in 424 BCE: Thuc. 4, 65.142.

6 See below. SJÖQVIST 1958a, pp. 156-157 dated the reoccupation of Cittadella to the period after the capture of Morgantina by Dionysius I in 396 B.C., a conjecture that seems too early. He later revised his date of the reoccupation of Cittadella to c. 300 B.C.: SJÖQVIST 1973, 51, which seems late, given the ceramic evidence presented below.

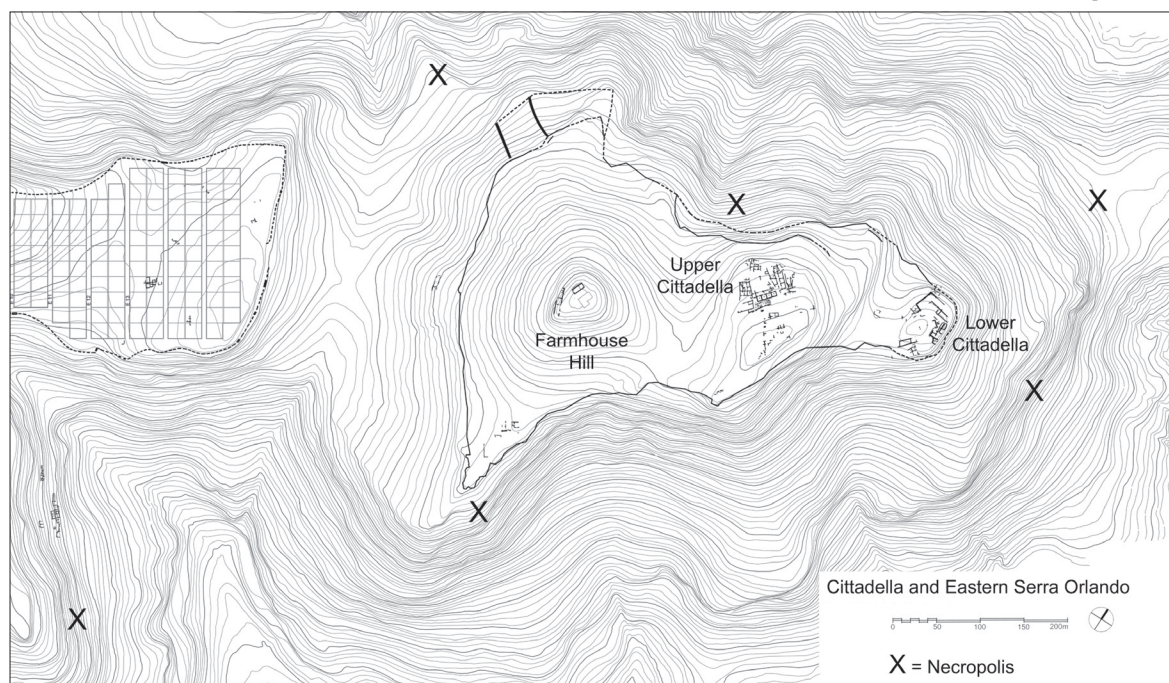


Fig. 1 - Plan of Cittadella with the eastern end of the Serra Orlando Ridge at the left (showing the Archaic/Hellenistic sanctuaries in the Contrada San Francesco on the plateau at the north and at San Francesco Bisconti on the slopes). Dark line around Cittadella is the Archaic city wall.

the small town on Upper Cittadella survived until just before the Roman capture of Morgantina in 211 B.C., when it disappeared completely.

Post-Archaic Cittadella: architecture (Figg. 1-2)

The evidence for reoccupation of Cittadella after the abandonment of the Archaic town following Douketios' incursion is restricted to the Farmhouse Hill and Upper Cittadella: material of the later 4th and the 3rd centuries was recovered throughout these two areas; on Farmhouse Hill, the Archaic *naiskos* was destroyed in the early fourth century, two generations after the demise of the Archaic settlement, although some ceramic evidence from the late fourth and the third century B.C. may attest to renewed cult⁷. The hilltop was occupied by a farmhouse by the later 2nd century B.C.⁸.

Excavations took place on Cittadella from 1957-1963, sampling areas around Upper and Lower Cittadella. While exposing only a limited area, they provided an overview of the later settlement on the upper plateau. The architecture, with the exception of a sanctuary, appears to be entirely domestic; there is no evidence for public or commercial buildings. We assume that Hellenistic Cittadella was a sort of suburb or neighborhood of the city on Serra Orlando, and economically and politically dependent on it⁹.

In the case of the Upper Cittadella, the architecture of the later settlement is located directly over the Archaic remains, and there is little fill or overburden on the site. Ancient rebuilding and redeposition of material in the shallow hilltop fill, as well as later erosion, have rendered stratigraphy difficult to interpret chronologically. The post-Archaic phase is

Sporadic finds of 5th c. ceramics from a looted necropolis on the western slope of Cittadella may indicate resettlement outside the Archaic circuit of fortification earlier than the 4th c (Malcolm Bell, personal communication).

⁷ See below notes 8 and 23.

⁸ Post-Archaic finds on Farmhouse Hill include a Sicilian red-figured lid (67-152a-c. III Farmhouse Hill trench 1 stratum 3A) of the

late fourth century, and a stamped medallion cup that is most likely late 3rd century, but could be early 2nd century B.C. For the latter see STONE 2014, no. 592A. Both of these could, of course, be votives. On the later history of the hilltop, below p. 131 and STONE 2014, pp. 70-71 Context IVA.

⁹ The Cittadella settlement inhabitants may have had their own fields and pastures in the valleys below.

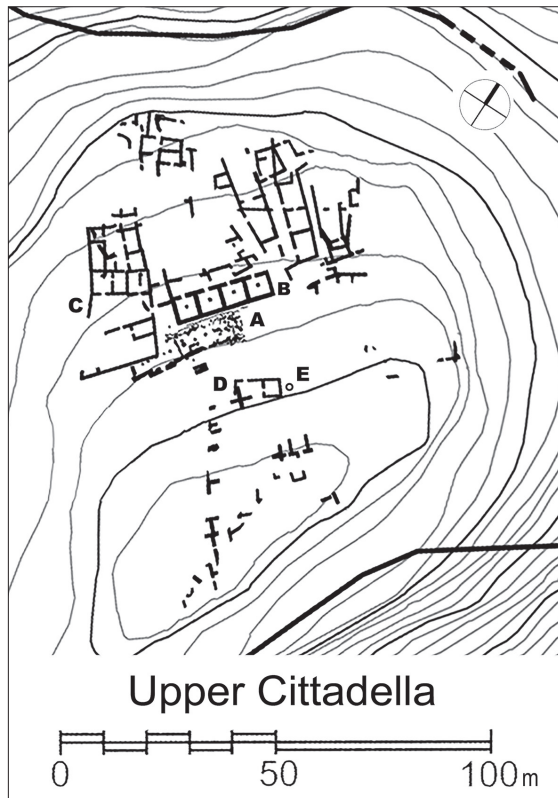


Fig. 2 - Plan of Upper Cittadella. A. Iron Age Long House, B. Archaic Four Room Building, C. Cittadella Sanctuary, D. Archaic "Naikos" (walls associated with figural antefixes) E. Well.

attested, however, by significant amounts of ceramics of the later 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. that were associated with architectural remains which differ in orientation, construction technique and plan from those of the Archaic settlement.

The majority of the excavation trenches were located at the northern end of the plateau that rises from north to south, but three trenches in the southern area were long and exploratory, intended to investigate the extent of the settlement¹⁰. Trench 5, which revealed two cisterns, was begun at the edge of the rock scarp that divides Upper Cittadella from Lower Cittadella, and then proceeded west along the southern end of the plateau. Trench 5 reached bedrock very quickly and was backfilled immediately at the end of the 1957 season. Two other trenches, Trenches 15 and 16, ran south from the Archaic Four Room Building (fig. 2B) at the northern

end of the plateau, and were of the same character as trench 5. Trench 15 produced scrappy remains of walls and little pottery. A very deep well (figure 2E), however, was found in it, sunk 20 m. into bedrock. It was only partially excavated because of the danger of collapse and produced 4th and 3rd c. ceramics in its upper levels, Archaic ceramics in the lower levels. This trench also incorporated the eastern edge of Trench 4, which contained an Archaic building (figure 2D) disturbed by later walls that seem to have the same orientation as the Long House in the adjacent Trench 16. Except for the Archaic remains in Trench 4, and the well, all of the reasonably well-preserved walls in trenches 5 and 15 appear to be parts of third century houses.

Although Trench 16 was planned as a running, exploratory trench like Trenches 5 and 15, it crossed many more walls of differing periods and buildings, and also revealed an Iron Age longhouse founded on bedrock at its northern limit (fig. 2A). This structure, which proved to be enormous, was not fully excavated for decades.¹¹ Trench 16 provides the best stratigraphy on the Upper Cittadella, with Iron Age remains on bedrock, Archaic house walls founded over them, and the Cittadella Sanctuary (of Hellenistic date) cut into both at the northeastern edge of the trench (fig. 2C). Because Trench 16 crossed so many buildings as it traversed half the plateau from north to south, its walls could not be resolved into buildings (save the long house when the trench was extended to reveal it), but the architectural remains and the few associated finds revealed by this trench all appear to belong to houses dated by the associated ceramics to the Hellenistic period.

Most of the material discussed below was recovered in the trenches of the northern part of the Upper Cittadella, bounded by steep rocky scarps which allowed fill to accumulate. The stratigraphy is accordingly more complex. However, while the fill is deeper here, erosion has also undoubtedly carried off some of the ancient remains, which generally were unremarkable. The only extensive Hellenistic building on the upper plateau is the sanctuary in Trench 3 that is described in detail below (fig. 2C). To the east of the sanctuary, Trenches 9 and 13 uncovered

¹⁰ For these trenches with outlines around them, see ANTONACCIO 1997, p. 175 fig. 3.

¹¹ See LEIGHTON 2012 on the long house and fragmentary remains of other periods.

an impressive building (fig. 2B), likely communal in function, of four-square rooms and dated to the Archaic period; after its abandonment in the mid fifth century, it was never rebuilt.¹² North and east of Trench 4, Trench 8 revealed another large Archaic building, which was likely a house. Its fill is mainly Archaic, but has small amounts of Hellenistic pottery in its upper levels (strata 1 and 2), and there is also some evidence for later overbuilding of the Archaic walls. A test trench called “Saggio B” was ultimately extended to connect Trench 8 to Trench 14 to the north. Both the test trench and Trench 14 produced material of the 4th and 3rd centuries, all in the upper two strata, again overlaying an Archaic layer. The south and west sides of this area produced relatively little evidence from earlier periods: this may be due to the fact that the two large early buildings located in this area had an open plaza between them during the Archaic period.¹³ At the north end of the open plaza some scrappy remains of a Hellenistic house survive.

The later walls in Trenches 8, 14 and 4, which in many instances clearly cut into Archaic structures, differ from Archaic construction in several regards. For the most part, they are constructed of smaller rubble than their Archaic predecessors, and the rubble at times includes roof tile from the earlier settlement; in addition, the rooms are smaller than those of the buildings of the Archaic period. At some point an internal doorway in the long Archaic building in Trench 8 was filled in; although it is impossible to be sure when this was done, it appears most likely to be Hellenistic. Interestingly, all the cisterns, though not full of material, seem to date to the post-Archaic period. The only water source known to have been in use during the Archaic period on the Cittadella is the well in Trench 15. This continued to be the only known source of ground

water in the Hellenistic period. In the following section, we examine the history of the Hellenistic settlement in more detail.

The Cittadella Settlement and Morgantina's History in the Fourth and Third centuries B.C.

The ceramic evidence for a limited occupation on Cittadella after the third quarter of the fifth century is not extensive, but reasonably convincing. Walsh notes a few imported Attic black gloss vases were found on Cittadella that can be dated between c. 460 and 390 B.C.¹⁴ A fragmentary stemless *kylix* (inv. 90-29, fig. 3A) with stamped and incised decoration on its floor was found in the second stratum of fill in Trench 3. A fragment of an Attic cup (inv. 90-21, fig. 3B) with incised decoration on its floor was found in the fourth stratum of fill in trench 10, at the edge of the settlement and to the north of Farmhouse Hill. Both date to the last third of the fifth century B.C., and indicate that a few people frequented the hilltop, where an Archaic *naiskos* had escaped the destruction of 459 and remained in use¹⁵. No red-figured pottery of the second half of the fifth century B.C. has been found on the Cittadella, and few fifth century coins have been identified¹⁶. One Archaic tomb on the slopes of Cittadella was used into the late 5th century B.C.¹⁷.

Ceramics dated to the first half of the fourth century are not common, but their existence perhaps demonstrates that Upper Cittadella was occupied in a limited way. A pyxis lid (inv. 90-71), perhaps Attic, was found in the second stratum of fill in Trench 5c, which included other ceramics of the fourth and third centuries B.C. The lid can be paralleled at Olynthus, which may suggest a date in the first half of the fourth century¹⁸. A shallow cup

12 Four Room Building: ANTONACCIO 1997, p. 201; WALSH 2011-12, p. 124.

13 The earlier levels of Trenches 5, 15, and even 16 did not produce much catalogued pottery of the Archaic and earlier Classical periods, and much less than the northern side of the plateau. The so-called Four Room Building in the center of the plateau had been thought to open to the north and form the southern boundary of the Archaic agora, but this is almost certainly unfounded. Instead, the building should be re-constructed with a superstructure accessible from the southern side, uphill; a test trench executed by Princeton in this area produced no walls and no finds but a single loom weight, indicating that the space on this side of the building was left unbuilt. See ANTONACCIO 1997.

14 WALSH 2011-12, p. 125. See SPARKES, TALCOTT 1970, pp. 21-30 on this style of decoration. Compare to 90-21 and 90-29 SPARKES, TALCOTT 1970, p. 266 no. 441 pl. 49 (dated late 5th), 269 nos. 489-490 pl. 50 (dated c. 430), 270 nos. 496-500 and 503 pls. 50-51 (dated c. 430-400).

15 Early fourth century ceramics found on the floor of the *naiskos* date its destruction. See below n. 23.

16 Among the few 5th B.C. coins found on Cittadella is 57-3010 (Tr 10 zone 4 str 3, below Upper Cittadella), a bronze issue of Segesta dated 461-415 B.C. (BUTTREY *et alii* 1990, no. 282). On Upper Cittadella, pp. 57-1990 AR Syracuse 479-465 was found in trench 6A stratum 2 (BUTTREY *et alii* 1990, no. 292).

17 LYONS 1996, p. 13.

18 ROBINSON 1950, pp. 391-392, nos. 948, 949, pl. 238. But see STONE 2014, p. 23, where it is suggested that this lid dates after 350 B.C.



Fig. 3 A-B - Inv. 90-29 (above) and 90-21, stamped Attic fragments found on Upper Cittadella, late 5th B.C.

or bowl (inv. 95-18) found in the third stratum of fill in Trench 8B has a hemispherical body which grows thicker as it rises to a broad, flat-topped lip with an in-turned edge. Two other uncatalogued examples of the same shape were found in the second stratum of fill in Trench 14, a further two examples (one perhaps Attic) in the second stratum of fill in Trench 4. This cup type appears to disappear by the late fourth century; only one example has been found on Serra Orlando¹⁹. On the other hand, all of these vases may have been brought to Cittadella as heirlooms after 340 B.C., a scenario that is perhaps not very likely, but possible²⁰.

It is worth noting that occupation on Serra Orlando during the first half of the fourth century seems relatively sparse as well²¹. The event which likely caused a decline in population in the area occurred in 396 B.C., when Dionysius I of Syracuse captured Morgantina (Diod. Sic. 14.78.7). This took place during a campaign intended to punish Sikeli supporters of

the Carthaginian siege of Syracuse which had failed in that year. Unfortunately, Diodorus provides no information about Dionysius' punitive activities in this instance, but the tyrant's normal *modus operandi* when dealing with a defeated people was to sell the surviving inhabitants into slavery and destroy their city's architecture²². The destruction of the Farmhouse Hill *naiskos* may be attributable to Dionysius²³. While evidence for habitation is limited in the first half of the fourth century, there clearly were some people at Morgantina during that time, since a small coin issue of the city has been dated to the second quarter of the fourth century on the basis of its similarity to a late tetradrachm issued by Dionysius²⁴. The coin issue may be associated with the success of Dion's campaign against Dionysius II in the 350s, since he is recorded to have been supported by the Sikels, possibly including those among Morgantina's inhabitants²⁵.

The revival of Morgantina in the second half of the fourth century

Both literary testimony and archaeological evidence indicate that central Sicily revived after Timoleon's

19 See BERNABÒ, CAVALIER 1965, p. 52 t. 149 pl. 75.1c and ill. d.8, and, for the date, 221. The assemblage of the tomb suggests that it belongs securely in the first half of the fourth century. For Attic versions of the shape (dated c. 500-375 B.C.E.): SPARKES, TALCOTT 1970, pp. 133-134, "small bowl: broad rim," pp. 296-297 nos. 848-853, dated c. 500-375 B.C. A single example of the shape (66-120) has been found on Serra Orlando, in a deep stratum of fill in a street on the hill west of the Agora. See STONE 2014, p. 94 no. 32.

20 In any case, the lack of secure fills of pottery dated to the 4th century on Sicily makes ceramic chronology very conjectural. The only fills assigned to the first half of the fourth century on (or near) Sicily are a few graves on Lipari, and their date is conjectured.

21 See WALSH 2006, 181 identifies 40 pieces of Attic Black Gloss pottery dated between ca. 440-390, but only 15 pieces dated between 390 and 325, some of which may have been brought to the town by new settlers around 340-330 B.C. On the other hand, the importation of Attic pottery to Sicily becomes much rarer at the end of the 5th century B.C.

22 On Dionysius: FINLEY 1979, pp. 74-87. The North Building in the Agora may have been destroyed at this time. It was built around 400 B.C. after the expulsion of the *Kamarinói* who had supported Athens against Syracuse: WALSH 2011-12, p. 130. WALSH 2006, p. 129, pp. 134-136 notes that its fill can only be traced into the early 4th century (ca. 390 BCE). If destroyed by Syracuse in 396, the North Building was only in existence for about five years. It is under a stoa built in the mid-3rd century B.C.

23 KENFIELD 1990, p. 270, notes that the *naiskos* appears to have been constructed in the earliest years of the fifth century and suggests (pp. 271-273) that it was dedicated to Herakles from its architectural terracottas. On p. 267, he suggests that it was stripped of its contents before the roof collapsed in the early fourth century B.C. (dated by fragments of pottery found within the building). ALLEN 1970, p. 378 notes the presence of arrowheads within the fill of the *naiskos* that he states are of a type used by the troops of Dionysius I at Motya, which would suggest it was sacked in 396. The temple was never reoccupied or rebuilt, which indicates some social discontinuity. Instead, a farmhouse seems to have occupied the peak from the III century B.C. into the VIII century A.D., although it is possible that the 4th and 3rd century pottery were aspects of some renewal of cult.

24 BUTTREY *et alii* 1990, pp. 7-8 Group II. It is very rare (only two examples known) and its date is based wholly on comparisons to Syracusan coinage. One wonders if its issue could be dated in the second half of the fourth, after the "revival" of Morgantina. Bell notes that few fourth century terracottas can be dated before c. 340 B.C.: MS I, 24. No red figured pottery datable to the first half of the 4th century has been found at Morgantina.

25 The Sikels joined Dion's forces in 357/6 (Diod. 16.9.5). Dion took Syracuse the next year (Diod. 16.20.6) and was assassinated in 354/3 (Diod. 16.31.7). On Dion's generosity to his supporters (a potential source of the silver used for the issue): Plut. *Dion* 52.1.

expedition in the 340s that defeated Carthage and opened east central Sicily again to Greek control. More than thirty years ago Erik Sjöqvist noted that evidence for increased prosperity at Morgantina in the third quarter of the fourth century B.C.E. suggests that the city benefitted from Timoleon's mission²⁶. It would now seem possible that the city was settled by some of the immigrants Timoleon is recorded to have brought to Sicily after 340 B.C.E. (Plut. *Tim.* 35)²⁷. The literary *testimonia* indicate that these settlers were mainly former mercenaries. It is therefore notable that a South Italian belt buckle was found in the Hellenistic sanctuary on Cittadella (fig. 10), which may testify to the presence of one of these new settlers. Given Morgantina's position near two roads, one leading from the Katane plain into the interior, and another which ran south from Agyrion past Enna towards Timoleon's newly refounded Gela, an infusion of former mercenaries as settlers in the third quarter of the fourth century would make eminent strategic sense for the protection of eastern Sicily²⁸. This hypothesis seems confirmed by Agathokles' recruitment of an army at Morgantina in 317 B.C. (Diod. 19.6.2-3), which implies that the city's inhabitants were known for their martial abilities and that the settlement had connections to Syracuse. A small cemetery (Necropolis III) on the southern slope of Serra Orlan-

do starts around 330 B.C., bolstering the theory of the Timoleonic expansion²⁹.

There is other evidence from the region of Morgantina which indicates increased prosperity during the second half of the fourth century B.C. A cemetery outside the ancient city at Montagna di Marzo (ancient Herbessos) thirty kilometers west of Morgantina revived after a hiatus of around three quarters of a century in the same years that Morgantina's Necropolis III commenced, and a tomb excavated on the Gornalunga River east of the Cittadella dates to the last quarter of the fourth century B.C.³⁰.

The settlement on Upper Cittadella in the later fourth and the third centuries B.C.

Ceramic evidence suggests that the settlement on Upper Cittadella grew considerably larger during the second half of the fourth century B.C. Black gloss forms characteristic of the second half of the fourth century (and early third century) such as molded lip *kantharoi*, *lekanides*, and tall *skyphoi* with a convex flare on their upper body were common in the fills (fig. 3)³¹. A fair amount of Sicilian red figure and overpainted wares dated to the late fourth and early third centuries has been found on Upper Cittadella (figs. 4-5)³².

It is also clear that the settlement continued through the third century until 211 B.C. The latest coins

26 Sjöqvist 1958b. Many of his arguments must be revised, but the core of his observations about the revival of Morgantina (pp. 111-116) seem valid: see Talbert 1974, pp. 152-153, pp. 202-203 appendix J; MS I, pp. 25-26 for necessary qualifications. On the desolation of central Sicily when Timoleon arrived on the island: Plut. *Tim.* 1.3, 12.4-6, 35.1-2; Diod. Sic. 65.9, 83.1; Nepos 3.1-3. He encouraged immigration to repopulate the island Plut. *Tim.* 22-23 (apparently referring only to Syracuse and its environs) and 35 (Gela and Acragas repopulated). On the revival of Sicily after the success of Timoleon's campaigns: Finley 1979, pp. 99-101. For a more skeptical view of the Timoleonic Revival: De Angelis 2016, pp. 129-131, pp. 218-219, although the evidence he cites as contradicting the "Timoleonic Revival" is scanty.

27 The population of Morgantina in the late fourth century appears to represent people from different cultural backgrounds. Necropolis III on the slopes of Serra Orlando has 47 excavated tombs, of which six are cremations and forty-one inhumations. The cremations, which appear likely to be from one family, extend from the last third of the fourth century to the early third century B.C.

28 For the road from the Plain of Katane: Allen 1970, pp. 360-361, Judson 1963, pp. 289-290. For the north-south road: Stillwell, Sjöqvist 1957, p. 151, Erism 1958, p. 90. This must be the road leading from the area of Agyrion northeast of Enna to Morgantina mentioned by Diod. 14.95.2. Presumably this was also the road used by Dionysius' army in his punitive campaigns of 396, since the order of Diodorus' account suggests that he moved north from Morgantina to Enna, and then to Kephalaion. For the refounding of Gela: Plut. *Tim.* 35.

29 The necropolis is the subject of an unpublished manuscript by its excavator, the late Carl-Eric Ostenberg. For a summary of the tombs dating see Stone 2014, p. 81 n. 284. All but three of the (datable) tombs belong to the late fourth and first half of the third century B.C.

30 For the cemetery at Montagna di Marzo: Gentili 1969, pp. 98-101. A few of the tombs date to the fifth century B.C.E., the bulk from the second half of the fourth century B.C.E. until the end of the third century, with a few later graves. There were no graves of the first half of the fourth century B.C.E. For tombs on the Gornalunga River: Holloway 1963, pp. 289-291, esp. no. 2 (dated c. 320 B.C.E.). See also Thompson 1999, pp. 391-432, on the late Classical and early Hellenistic period in Morgantina's territory.

31 See Stone 2014, pp. 106-107 (molded lip *kantharos*), pp. 88-89 (*lekanides*), pp. 102-103 (tall conical *skyphos*). Some of the red-figured lids listed below n. 26 covered *lekanides*. See also Thompson 1999, pp. 392-431 for these shapes found in Morgantina's countryside.

32 The Sicilian red-figure found on Upper Cittadella comprises the following: inv. 90-85 is a lid found in Tr 4A str 2, inv. 95-151 is a skyphoid *pyxis* found Tr 4B str 3 east of a threshold, 60-1117 was found in Tr 5B str 2, 57-2190 is a lid found in Tr 5C str 2, 90-201 and 202 are lids found in Tr 8 str 1. On Sicilian red figure in this period see Denoyelle, Iozzo 2009, pp. 174-180. They note that the chronology of Sicilian red-figure extends beyond 300 B.C., ending with the polychrome red figure of Lipari in the second quarter of the third century, but most of the red-figure produced in eastern Sicily appears to have been made, as Trendall 1989, pp. 233-242 and 271 held, before ca. 300 B.C.



Fig. 4 - Inv. 60-1313, overpainted skyphos of the early 3rd B.C., from a house on Upper Cittadella.



Fig. 5 - Sicilian red figure ca. 330-300 B.C. found on Upper Cittadella. Upper left-right: inv. 60-1117, 90-201; lower left-right inv. 90-202, 57-2190.

found on Upper Cittadella are issues of Hieron II of Syracuse and a Roman issue dated 215-212 B.C. (with one exception, discussed below)³³. The latest black gloss lamp types (fig. 6) can be dated to the late fourth and the third century B.C.³⁴. In general, there is an absence in the village of the finest third century gloss wares (and a total absence of molded pottery), which suggests that the inhabitants of the small settlement may have been less prosperous than those of the city on Serra Orlando³⁵.

The Cittadella Sanctuary (fig. 7)

By far the most impressive structure of the later period on Cittadella is the sanctuary in Trench 3 (fig. 7)³⁶. From its terracotta votives, the complex

appears to honor Kore (Persephone) as the primary deity (figs. 12-13). This *temenos* produced more material than any other trench on the Upper Plateau, and the architecture is clearly more substantial in its construction methods and more complex in plan than the scrappy houses. About 60% of the complex was excavated in 1957 but excavation ended without revealing the full extent of the installation. In campaigns of 1989, 1999, 2003 and 2004, excavation of the adjacent Iron Age long-house resumed, revealing the southeast corner of



Fig. 6 - Black gloss lamp inv. 61-432. Upper Cittadella, trench 15 ext NW str 4.

33 The latest coins in the other areas of the plateau are issues of Hieron II: 60-1448 AE Hieron/ Cavalryman (Tr 14B zn 1 str 2); 61-519 Hieron/ Cavalryman (Tr 15 rm 1 on bedrock); 16 61-565 Poseidon/trident (trench 16 Str 2A); 61-651 Poseidon/trident (trench 16 ex W str 2). See BUTTREY *et alii* 1990, pp. 105 no. 363, 106 nos. 367-369 for these coins.

34 The only lamps from significant contexts are 61-432 and 61-453, both from Trench 15 ext NW stratum 4; pp. 61-33. Tr 15, str 2 and 59-2071. Saggio B zone B str 2. All four are wheelmade, and similar to CAVALIER 1981, p. 292, p. 295, which she places in the second half of the fourth or the first half of the third century. See also BAILEY 1975, p. 312 Q669-670 pls. 124-125; Musumeci in GRASSO *et alii* 1989, pp. 143-144, pp. 148-149 no. 636. The hilltop village on Cittadella did not reveal any "flat-shouldered" lamps, a type found on Serra Orlando in contexts closed in or soon after 211 B.C.

35 The sanctuary had an overpainted amphora and several polychrome vases, but the only complete decorated vase found in the houses was the overpainted skyphos fig. 4 (STONE 2014, p. 319 no. 56 pl. 76).

36 Earlier bibliography: STONE 2014, 44 context IO; BELL 1981, 256, context C.S.; HINZ 1998, 131. On the cult of Demeter and Kore, and the primacy of Persephone on Sicily see BELL 1981, pp. 98-103.

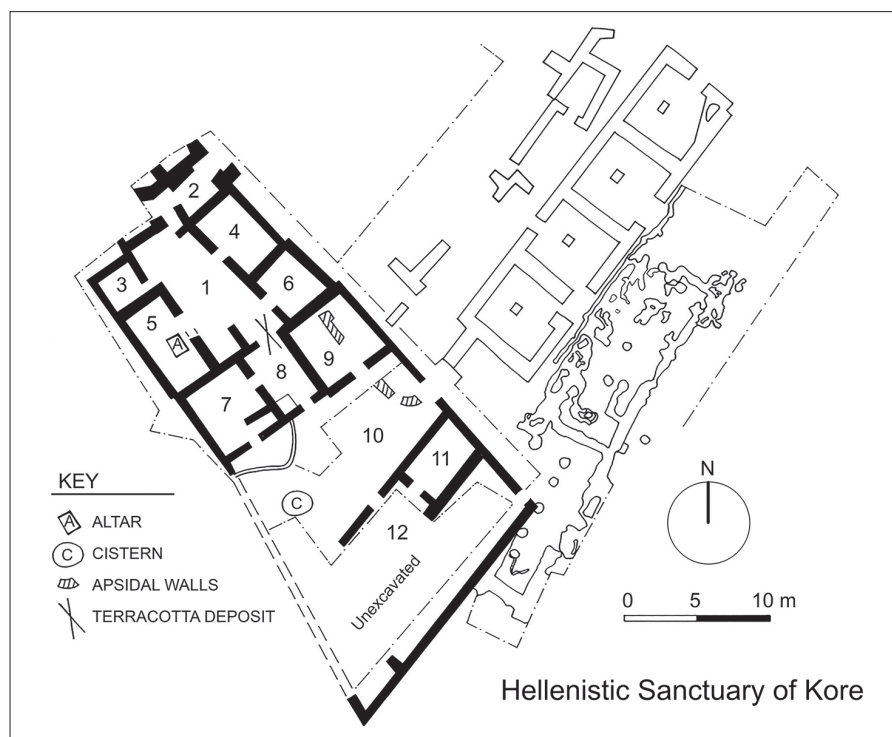


Fig. 7 - Hellenistic sanctuary of Kore on the Cittadella with room numbers. C = cistern.

the Hellenistic sanctuary (also demonstrating that the sanctuary's southern wall was founded on the bedrock floor of the Iron Age building)³⁷. In 2012 the authors of this paper, supported by funding from Duke and Princeton Universities, conducted a short field season intended to accomplish several objectives. The first was to definitively determine the full dimensions of the sanctuary; second, to better understand the earlier history of this particular urban *temenos*; and third, to better understand its phasing by recovering new data³⁸.

The investigation revealed the complete extent of the southern wall of the sanctuary and its return at the southeast corner, including evidence for a secondary door at this corner (fig. 7). Unfortunately, the fills within those walls proved to have been extensively compromised by clandestine digging. The clandestine work was undetected by Leighton's

excavations; therefore these forays postdate 2005. Nevertheless, the 2012 excavations allow us to present a fuller picture of this context on the Cittadella. The Cittadella Sanctuary (fig. 7) belongs to a Sicilian type found at a number of sites, and prominently at Morgantina, which has three other examples in the city on Serra Orlando³⁹. The identity as a sanctuary is confirmed by the finds in the complex, notably the terracottas (figs. 12-14). In plan it is similar to a house, with a central courtyard or courtyards around which various rooms are arranged. Its foundations are relatively larger and more carefully constructed than the houses on Upper Cittadella, with a double-faced wall on the street (or east) side (fig. 8), and with internal rubble walls (or socles)⁴⁰. The sanctuary has at least 12 discrete spaces, as

37 LEIGHTON 2012, p. 28.

38 The excavation could not have been completed without the following individuals: Alex Walthall (field director); Randall Souza (trench master), and a team of graduate students from Duke University, the University of North Carolina and the University of Virginia. In addition, Dott. Italo Giordano from Lentini and Professor Monika Truemper (Free University of Berlin) also worked on the excavation. Giancarlo Filantropi from Siracusa served as the architect.

39 For the North Sanctuary at Morgantina, see STONE 2014, pp. 41-43 deposits IL and IM, HINZ 1998, pp. 127-129. For the South Sanctuary, STONE 2014, pp. 43-44 Context IN; BELL 1981, pp. 254-256, context S.S. with plan fig. e; HINZ 1998, pp. 130-131. The Central Sanctuary in the Agora was the site of a number of cults after 211 B.C. but is analogous in plan to the *Koreia*: HINZ 1998, pp. 132-134. For the Kore sanctuary at Montagna di Marzo (Herbessos) west of Morgantina: HINZ 1998, pp. 134-135. On the cthonic sanctuary of similar format at Agrigento: HINZ 1998, pp. 79-91.

40 The upper walls would have been pisé (or mud brick): see SOUZA *et alii* 2019, pp. 5-6.



Fig. 8 - Street wall of the sanctuary, looking north, showing the construction technique. Foreground shows the jamb and threshold of the doorway into room 10.

numbered on the plan (fig. 7). It was built in two phases: an earlier, somewhat irregular southern part comprising rooms 7-12, including a court with a cistern (10, fig. 7), and a later northern extension, rooms 1-6, that is more regular in its construction and offset slightly from the earlier rooms. This addition appears to date to the third quarter of the third century B.C., as will be shown.

The sanctuary is founded over several structures that appear likely to have been cultic in use, suggesting that there was some continuity of cult between the earlier town and the later village⁴¹. The first season of work in 1957 revealed nearly half of the foundation of an apsidal building beneath Rooms 9 and 10 of the sanctuary (fig. 7). Remarkably this wall terminated in an anta, and ran for a full 9 m. Part of the apsidal end extended beyond the door into the street outside room 10. Continued investigation in 1958 showed that the rest of this building had been completely obliterated by the construction of a Hellenistic Street. Because of its apsidal plan and its stratigraphic position below the Sanctuary, the



Fig. 9 - Gorgon antefix (inv. 57-1920), ca. 520 B.C. Found in room 9 of the Hellenistic Sanctuary.

building was assigned an early date in the 7th century B.C., based on a seventh century *comparandum* at a nearby site, Monte San Mauro near Caltagirone⁴². There is little direct evidence from the excavations to support such an early date, however, other than

41 The two sanctuaries at the eastern end of Serra Orlando also preserve evidence of continuity of cult from Archaic to the Hellenistic: see references above n. 4.

42 LEIGHTON 1999, pp. 251-253.

some Siculo Geometric pottery found in the trench, and the structure can only be said to date to the Archaic period. Such buildings do not seem to be built by Greek settlers, but occur in indigenous settlements of the interior in the early colonial period. This, together with the historical and archaeological evidence about late Archaic Morgantina, would suggest that the apsidal building was constructed before the second half of the 6th century B.C.

The same area of Trench 3 also produced several fragmentary *kalypteres hegemonēs*, and several fragmentary and one complete gorgoneion antefix (fig. 9)⁴³. These suggest that a decorated building of 6th c. date was located in the area, but its precise function and location remain unknown, or whether these architectural terracottas can be associated (somehow) with the apsidal structure just described. Earlier structures were also found beneath the north extension of the sanctuary referred to above, but not enough evidence exists to define or date them, and this part of the sanctuary today remains backfilled since 1958, and unavailable for re-examination. However, in the pottery retained from this section of Trench 3, Jennifer Neils has noted several Lakonian *kraters*, a Siana cup fragment, a band cup fragment, and an Attic black gloss *lekythos*. But most remarkable of this earlier material are red figure fragments from a large calyx *krater* by the Dokimasia Painter⁴⁴. All this evidence suggests that the area had, if not certainly a sacred function before the foundation of the Hellenistic sanctuary, at least an elite one within the organization of the Archaic and early Classical town. The sanctuary is adjacent to the Four Room Building at the center of the plateau (figs. 2 and 7), the most monumental building on this part of the site⁴⁵. The Four-Room Building produced another, earlier Attic red figure masterpiece, the volute *krater* by Euthymides⁴⁶. Though that building's function remains a matter of discussion, our current hypothesis is it was a public building that served as the locus for elite dining and drinking⁴⁷.

43 Sjöqvist 1958, p. 156.

44 Neils 2012. We note that there were fragments of the Dokimasia Painter *krater* found at the other end of the settlement in Trench 6, casting doubt on the context, but the majority of the *krater* was found in Trench 3.

45 Antonaccio 1997, p. 201; Walsh 2011-12, p. 124. See also PR III, pp. 172-173, PR V, 80.

46 Neils 1995.

47 Antonaccio 1997.

The first phase of the Hellenistic sanctuary

Returning to the Hellenistic sanctuary, its first phase consisted of a group of rooms (rooms 7-12, fig. 7), forming a trapezoidal shape around a central court (room 10, fig. 7). The main cult rooms (rooms 7-9, fig. 7) were on the north side, with the most important the central room 8, called by the excavators the "Long Table Room" because it had a large rectangular rubble platform (possibly used to display votives). To the south of this three-room grouping, the central court (room 10) included the main entrance to the sanctuary on its east wall, and a large cistern, which was partially excavated in 1957. The cistern's floor was reached at 6.3 meters, but the fill was quite sterile, a fragmentary black gloss amphora the only catalogued find (fig. 17). The only other sherds in the cistern's fill were plain ware jug fragments that indicated a use fill of the third century B.C. To the south are some ill-defined rooms (rooms 11-12, fig. 7) that were likely used for storage and other service functions. "Room 12" is likely to have comprised at least three small rooms and has a small exterior door in its southeast corner. As noted, the south wall of the sanctuary is founded over the northern floor of the old Iron Age longhouse, which may indicate deliberate continuity with the past, or simply use of a convenient pre-existing foundation.

It is difficult to date the construction of this phase of the sanctuary. The earliest possible votive is a south Italian ("Samnite") bronze belt hook of fourth century date (fig. 10)⁴⁸. This, however, was found in the later addition to the complex (room 5, fig. 7). The hook, in the form of a warrior, was originally part of a bronze belt of a type also dedicated at the nearby sanctuary of *Palike*, but the rest of the belt was not recovered. Perhaps the belt was dedicated by an Italic mercenary who settled in Morgantina, which would suggest that the sanctuary was active by the last quarter of the 4th century B.C., and thus contemporary with the ceramic evidence for early Hellenistic occupation on Cittadella. On the other hand, its location in a room built after 250 indicates that its display or meaning must have shifted over time, or perhaps that it was dedicated as an heirloom.

48 Inv. 57-1800. See Tagliamonte 1993. These belts are characteristic of S. Italy, and the term "Samnite" should not be taken literally.



Fig. 10 - South Italic belt hook, inv. 57-1800, mid 4th century B.C.



Fig. 11 - Terracotta round altar (above) and louterion fragments from Hellenistic Sanctuary room 4.

Some of the terracottas found in the sanctuary may also date to the fourth century⁴⁹. Since there appears to be cultic continuity from the Archaic through the Hellenistic periods on this site, it is reasonable to assume that the new inhabitants built the sanctuary on the site of an earlier shrine to the main local goddess (Kore) when they built their new village. The first phase of the Hellenistic sanctuary thus began in the late third or early fourth quarter of the fourth century. Given the destruction of the Farmhouse Hill *naiskos* in the early 4th century, this shrine may have functioned as the chief cult place of the settlement in the 4th to 3rd century. If so, it may have housed cults to other divinities, as well as Kore⁵⁰.

The second phase of the Hellenistic Sanctuary

During the third century B.C. the sanctuary was extended north some 17 meters (fig. 7). The addition is marked from the earlier rooms by an offset to the west on both sides of the building of approximately 20 centimeters. The addition included

a central room (room 1, fig. 7) which was likely a court, flanked by smaller rooms on the south, east and west sides. In the very northeast corner of this extension were recovered fragments of a round terracotta altar and an elaborately decorated terracotta *louterion* (fig. 11). At the northeast corner of room 1, a doorway leads to a vestibule (room 2, fig. 7) with an entrance onto the main street to the east. This was probably the primary entrance to the addition. Some small unexcavated rooms to the west of room 2 do not open onto room 1, but likely belonged to the sanctuary. The addition was connected to the cult-rooms of the older part of the sanctuary by a doorway cut through the old exterior wall of room 8 to allow passage to the court room 1 (fig. 7). The existence of a spur wall extending north from room 8 possibly indicates that the south end of room 1 was roofed.

This expansion of the sanctuary coincides roughly with the remarkable Hieronian building program in the Agora of the city on Serra Orlando⁵¹. The date of the addition (and the identity of the primary deity worshipped in the complex) is provided by a cache of thirty-three terracottas (figs. 12-14) found beneath the floor of room 1 at its southern end, just north of and extending into the old sanctuary

49 BELL 1981, p. 138 no. 96, 140 no. 104 dates two busts found in the sanctuary to the late fourth century.

50 See STONE 2014, p. 245, p. 254, p. 256, p. 258 (Dionysos, Eros, Herakles) for speculation as to additional cults in the North Sanctuary at Morgantina, another cult place where Kore seems the primary deity (one assumes that Demeter was also honored in her daughter's sanctuaries).

51 On the Hieronian building program in the Agora see, most recently, BELL 2012, BELL 2019. He now dates its initiation ca. 260 B.C. On the buildings in the Contrada Agnese after ca. 260 B.C. see LUCORE 2021.



Fig. 12 - Votive deposit (under floor of room 1), bust of Persephone inv. S7-1098.

room 8⁵². These terracottas were covered with roof tiles and buried beneath the last floor of the sanctuary, which was 16 centimeters higher than the floor level of the fourth and earlier third century sanctuary. The tiles protecting the buried terracottas extended under one of the walls of the addition, and thus must predate or be part of the expansion of the sanctuary⁵³. The cache consisted of four busts of Persephone (fig. 12), and twenty-seven statuettes of Persephone (or a worshipper) holding a piglet and a torch, a common votive type (fig. 13)⁵⁴. The dates of these busts and statuettes range from

52 For the busts: inv. S7-3100 (BELL 1981, 96b); inv. S7-2326 (BELL 1981, no. 104 pl. 26); inv. S7-3101 (BELL 1981, no. 162); inv. S7-3110 (BELL 1981, no. 164).

53 There is an interesting parallel in the Central Sanctuary in the Agora at Morgantina. There, the northern courtyard (which was initially a commercial establishment) was paved after 211 B.C. Beneath the pavement, a deposit including a black gloss lamp with a central tube, a miniature *skyphos*, and miniature imitation *chytrai* (made of non-cooking fabric) were found beneath the pavement. The burial of (older) votives beneath the pavement again seems likely to be the remnant of a ceremony to extend the *temenos*. In rooms 2 and 5 of the West Stoa a votive deposit, presumably commemorating a dedicatory ceremony, was buried beneath the floor ca. 225-215 B.C.: STONE 2014, pp. 29-30 Deposit 1A.

54 The 24 Persephone holding a Torch and Pig statuettes: inv. S7-1957 (BELL 1981, no. 66 pl. 17), inv. S7-1976 (BELL 1981, no. 78 pl. 19), inv. S7-2133 (BELL 1981, no. 79 pl. 19), inv. S7-2134, inv. S7-2214 (BELL 1981, no. 70 pl. 18), inv. S7-2429 (BELL 1981, no. 77 pl. 20); inv. S7-2431 (BELL 1981 no. 76, pl. 19), inv. S7-3137, inv. S7-3138, inv. S7-3139, inv. S7-3140, inv. S7-3141, inv. S7-3142, inv. S7-3144, inv. S7-3145, inv. S7-3146, inv. S7-3147, inv. S7-3148; inv. S7-3150 (BELL 1981, 74 pl. 20), inv. S7-3151 (BELL 1981, no. 72 pl. 18), inv. S7-3152. Another three statuettes of this type are listed in the excavation notebook's account of the cache, but are not in Bell's catalog: inv. S7-2398, inv. S7-3149, inv. S7-3143.

the second half of the 4th into the third quarter of the third century. There are also two statuettes of draped females (fig. 14), which are stylistically the latest figurines in the cache, dating to the third quarter of the third century B.C.⁵⁵. All of the terracottas depict female figures and can reasonably be assumed to represent Persephone (or female worshippers). The cache seems likely, given its position and the protecting layer of tiles, to have been buried to at the time of the sanctuary's expansion in order to extend the sacred space. Since the sanctuary was stripped of nearly all votives when it was abandoned, it is impossible to know what was displayed in the room above the cache, but it is tempting to hypothesize that the latest votive terracottas were exhibited there along the walls.

The end of the sanctuary

The Cittadella sanctuary was abandoned in the late third century, presumably at the same date when its village ceased to exist. The numismatic evidence indicates that the abandonment of both the sanctuary and village occurred by the end of the third century, likely just before the capture of Morgantina by the Roman army in 211 B.C. (Livy 26.21.17). The best coin evidence for the sanctuary came from the "Long Table Room" (room 8, fig. 7). There, the stratum over the last floor level (stratum 2) had three legible coins, of which two (inv. S7-1774 and S7-1776) were bronze Poseidon/Trident issues of Hieron II, issued between the 260s and 215 B.C.⁵⁶. The third coin was an issue of Rhegion dated between 270 and 203 B.C.⁵⁷. The room directly to the east of the Long Table Room (room 9) had another Poseidon/Trident in its second stratum (S7-1950). In the later addition to the sanctuary a bronze Hieron/Cavalryman coin (again issued between the 260s and 215) was found in room 1's second stratum of fill⁵⁸. The latest third century coin found in the sanctuary was a Roman issue of 215-212, found in the first stratum of fill in the courtyard room 10⁵⁹.

55 Inv. S7-1936 (BELL 1981, no. 364); inv. S7-3153 (BELL 1981, no. 388).

56 BUTTREY *et alii* 1990, 106 nos. 367-369.

57 Inv. S7-1793. BUTTREY *et alii* 1990, 74 no. 50d.

58 Inv. S7-1879. BUTTREY *et alii* 1990, 105 no. 366.

59 Inv. S7-2156, BUTTREY *et alii* 1990, no. 500.



Fig. 13 - Votive deposit, statuettes of Persephone with torch and piglet (from left inv. 57-3150, 57-1976, 57-1957, 57-2431).



Fig. 14 - Votive deposit under floor, room 1, draped females inv. 57-1936, 57-3153.

A date for the abandonment during the last quarter of the third century B.C. seems uncontested, since the numismatic evidence is supported by the ceramics found in the sanctuary, none of which can be shown to date after the last quarter of the third

century B.C. That the sanctuary was abandoned before the Roman attack seems assured. The North and South Sanctuaries of Kore on Serra Orlando were destroyed in the Roman sack, but there is no sign of any destruction in the Cittadella sanctuary; rather, it would appear that the votives were removed when the settlement was abandoned⁶⁰. As will be shown, the resulting desolation of the building is paralleled in the houses on Upper Cittadella.

The Sanctuary Pottery

The pottery found in the fill of the Cittadella Sanctuary is similar to that found in the sanctuaries of Persephone on Serra Orlando, except for its paucity. Only thirteen vase fragments were catalogued from the sanctuary (which has 12+ rooms), but four of these fragments likely belong to the same vase⁶¹. Only one lamp was catalogued from the fill,

⁶⁰ Both the North and the South Sanctuaries on Serra Orlando include human skeletons in their fill: STONE 2014, 41-43 deposit IL, 43-44 context IN.

⁶¹ STONE 2014, 44 context 10 lists 7 vases, of which 5 were polychrome. Four plain vases were catalogued from the sanctuary, a shal-

and it was a simple “kitchen” lamp⁶². This is most unlike the North and South sanctuaries of Kore on Serra Orlando, which show signs of looting datable to 211. The peculiar lack of ceramics in the Cittadella sanctuary is easily illustrated by comparing its assemblage to that from the other sanctuaries of Kore at Morgantina, all of which were destroyed in 211 B.C. The South Sanctuary, which is similar to size to the Cittadella Sanctuary, produced 71 catalogued vases and fragments, plus eight ceramic lamps (and two human skeletons). Five rooms of the North Sanctuary, including the main cult rooms, were sealed by destruction in 211; these held 83 catalogued vases and five ceramic lamps⁶³. The most impressive vases found in the Cittadella Sanctuary were once painted with polychrome tempera paint after firing. These large vases, formerly called “Centuripe” ware, appear at Morgantina in at least five fabrics, and we now call this pottery East Sicilian Polychrome Ware, since it seems clear that it was made at multiple sites during the second half of the third century B.C.⁶⁴. At Morgantina, polychrome ware has been found most frequently in sanctuaries, but also in cemeteries (as at Centuripe), and in private houses⁶⁵. It would seem that these large vases were used to commemorate marriage, since their painted scenes, when they survive, appear to refer to marriage, mortal or divine⁶⁶. In addition, some of the common shapes in this ceramic class, notably the *lebes gamikos*, are associated with marriage. Since East Sicilian Polychrome ware has been found in three sanctuaries of Kore at Morgantina, we can deduce that the cult of the goddess was associated with marriage in ancient Sicily⁶⁷.

Unfortunately, the polychromy on most of the vases found in the Cittadella Sanctuary has not survived. The large shapes, however, are unmistakable, as is the white slip used to prepare the vases for painting. The vases are mostly quite fragmentary, perhaps suggesting that they were broken when the sanctuary was being abandoned. They include a large, molded foot (fig. 15) that once supported a *lekanis* that measured around 20 cm in height and 40 cm in diameter at its lip⁶⁸. This type of vase was likely used for the marriage breakfast, and then dedicated or retained as a commemoration of the ceremony. A domed lid is small, only 9 cm in diameter, and unusually it is complete. It could have covered several shapes⁶⁹. Both of these vases were found in room 8, one of the main rooms used for display of votives in the sanctuary. Fragments of two other polychrome vases, another large *lekanis* and a large lid (which however do not belong together) were also found in that room⁷⁰.

The most impressive polychrome fragments from the sanctuary are four basket handles with plastic acanthus decoration from a large *lebes gamikos*⁷¹. These were found in the court, room 1. *Lebetes* of this type had acanthus attached to the base of the handle on both of its sides, and, since no other polychrome fragments were found in that room and the four handle fragments all have the same fabric and size, they clearly belong together. On the best-preserved fragment of the handles (fig. 16) part of its tempera decoration survives in pale blue and red on the acanthus leaf at its base. The handles found in the Cittadella Sanctuary are the same size as those on a *lebes* found in the North Sanctuary that is over three feet tall, and which has plastic acanthus decoration on each handle⁷². Possibly the handles of the Cittadella Sanctuary vase broke during moving and were left in room 1 while the vase was taken away. These large vases were often non-functional, since examples have holes pierced in the base of their floors, making them useless to contain liquids⁷³. Given their ephemeral decoration and their gaudy

low dish (57-2399), a pitcher (57-1778), a bottle (57-1779) and an unguentarium (57-1801).

62 Inv. 57-3154. The few other lamp fragments that survive in the sherd boxes are also of this type. On “kitchen lamps”: RICCI 1973, pp. 211-213 tipo C; FITCH, GOLDMAN 1994, p. 37. The name is somewhat of a misnomer since they are found in many locations. At Morgantina this simple type of lamp is found in contexts from the early third into the second half of the first century B.C.

63 A human skeleton was found in the cistern in the courtyard outside the cult rooms.

64 STONE 2014, pp. 132-138.

65 STONE 2014, pp. 133-134.

66 STONE 2014, p. 141. R. Patanè, however, director of the museum at Centuripe for many years, feels this class presents funerary iconography: PATANÈ 2016, pp. 255-257. This seems problematic given the appearance of these vases in ritual and domestic settings.

67 STONE 2014, p. 133, p. 138.

68 STONE 2014, p. 334 no. 150 pl. 24. It has been overcleaned down to its clay surface.

69 STONE 2014, p. 338 no. 172 pl. 27.

70 STONE 2014, p. 334 no. 149B pl. 23, 338 no. 171B pl. 27.

71 STONE 2014, p. 335 no. 158b-e pl. 90.

72 STONE 2014, p. 138, 335 no. 154 pls. 25, 89

73 STONE 2014, plates 25-26, 92.



Fig. 15 - Polychrome ware lekanis base inv. 80-440, Hellenistic Sanctuary, room 8.



Fig. 17 - Black gloss amphora inv. 57-3122, found in cistern, Hellenistic Sanctuary.

but flimsy handles, they functioned, more as a kind of commemorative painted sculpture or a three-dimensional *pinax* in these sanctuaries.

A few other vases were found in the Cittadella sanctuary. The only significant black gloss vase is a ribbed and overpainted amphora, found in the fill of the large cistern in the courtyard (fig. 17)⁷⁴. Two other examples of this shape were found in sanctuaries of Kore on Serra Orlando. It appears on Sicily in contexts that date mainly to the first half of the third century, although the amphorae at Morgantina all were found in contexts destroyed or abandoned in 211 B.C. Since the Cittadella amphora is fragmentary, it likely again was dropped during



Fig. 16 - Polychrome lebes handle inv. 57-3157, found in room 1, Hellenistic Sanctuary.



Fig. 18 - Plain pitcher, inv. 57-1778, found in room 8, Hellenistic Sanctuary.

the abandonment of the complex and its fragments thrown into the cistern.

The sanctuary on Cittadella revealed little true cooking ware, but fragments of large and smaller pithoi were recovered, and these are vessels associated with food storage. Plain ware was only a little more common than cooking wares⁷⁵. A pitcher (fig. 18), 21 cm in height, was found on the floor of room 8 and is a nicely potted example of kitchen ware⁷⁶. Finally, two bottles were also found in the room 8 (fig. 19); one has gloss, the other is plain⁷⁷.

⁷⁵ Although one must remember that the excavators in 1957 retained mainly fine wares in the sherd boxes, and much of the cooking and plain pottery was discarded. Nevertheless, it seems likely from the surviving paucity that both cooking and plain wares were not very common in the sanctuary.

⁷⁶ The pitcher 57-1778 has a disk base and an out, then up-turned rim. It appears a local product. For similar pitchers at Caracausi near Lentini and Kamarina, in fills closed by the first half of the third century: GRASSO *et alii* 1989, pp. 77, 93 nos. 317-323 fig. 7; MASCI 2020, p. 52, 62-63 nos. 154-166 fig. 22.

⁷⁷ STONE 2014, pp. 118-120 (ovoid bottles), pp. 327-328 (57-1780 is catalogue no. 111). Inv. 57-1779 is an unglossed version of the shape, with a preserved height of 14.8 cm. A similar bottle was found in a third century grave on Lipari: BERNABÒ, CAVALIER 2001, p. 343 tomb 952 pl. 1756.2. Both of the examples found in the Sanctuary were likely made in Morgantina, from their fabric.

⁷⁴ STONE 2014, p. 110, 323 no. 77, plate 79.

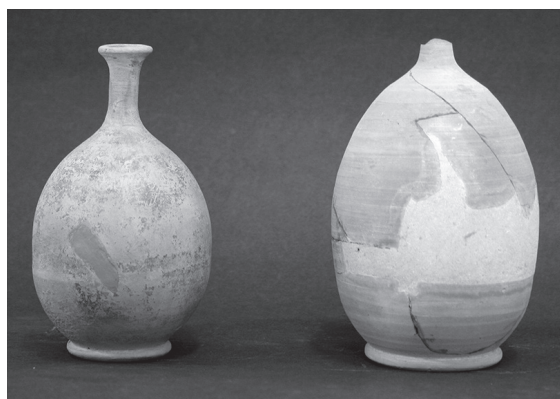


Fig. 19 - Bottles inv. 57-1780 and 57-1779, found in room 8, Hellenistic Sanctuary.

These are relatively large perfume vases of around 15-20 cm in height (thus capacious for the shape)⁷⁸. Bottles were common votives in the sanctuaries of Kore at Morgantina, probably because the goddess was a model for brides⁷⁹.

Figurines and Busts

Forty-two catalogued and/or published terracotta busts and figurines were found in the sanctuary, thirty-three in the deposit at the doorway between rooms 1 and 8 (figs. 12-14)⁸⁰. As noted above, the deposit dates to the third quarter of the third century BCE and dates the extension of the sanctuary to the north. The other figurines were found in the sanctuary fill, and, like the ceramics described above, may have been broken when the sanctuary was packed up and abandoned. All depict females; the latest has been dated to the last quarter of the 3rd century B.C.⁸¹.

78 Of the thirty-two bottles with gloss decoration in STONE 2014, p. 118, p. 121, pp. 327-329 nos. 110-122, fifteen are over 10 cm. in height. Of the nine catalogued plain bottles in the third century fills at Morgantina, only three are over 10 cm. in height.

79 Of the thirty-two glossed bottles in STONE 2014, twenty were found in sanctuary fills. Eighteen of those were in sanctuaries of Kore (the other two come from a sanctuary of Aphrodite). Six of the plain bottles mentioned in n. 85 were found in sanctuaries of Kore.

80 Other terracottas found in the sanctuary include 57-2001 and 57-2420 (BELL 1981, no. 79); 57-2299 (BELL 1981, no. 381B); 57-1893 (BELL 1981, no. 162 pl. 46); 57-2239 and an uncatalogued example of the same type (BELL 1981, no. 375); 57-1862 (BELL 1981, no. 377); uncatalogued (BELL 1981, no. 383); uncatalogued (BELL 1981, no. 392); uncatalogued (BELL 1981, no. 514); 57-1577 (BELL 1981, no. 627).

81 The latest figurine is BELL 1981, p. 179 no. 392 dated to last quarter of the 3rd.

Loom weights

Finally, over thirty discoid loom weights were found in the fill of the sanctuary⁸². Loom weights are common votives in sanctuaries of all periods, and weaving may also have been an aspect of cult⁸³.

The later life of the area of the sanctuary

The sanctuary was never reoccupied after its abandonment, but two later coins were found in its fill. The northwestern rooms are partially overlaid by a later wall, apparently from a barn or enclosure, undoubtedly to be associated with the house on Farmhouse Hill that survived into the 18th century. A coin issued in Messina by the Aragonese viceroy John (1458-1479 CE), was found beside this wall in room 5⁸⁴.

More importantly, a bronze coin of Catania depicting Apollo on the obverse and a standing figure of Isis on the reverse (inv. 57-2298) was found in the second stratum within the sanctuary's courtyard (10, fig. 2). The Apollo/Isis coins do not appear in any fill at Morgantina dated to the Roman capture of the town in 211 B.C., which suggests (since Morgantina has revealed over 1000 Apollo/Isis coins) that they were not issued before the Roman sack⁸⁵.

82 On these see MASCI 2020, pp. 126-127, 129 nos. 447-450 fig. 49; GRASSO *et alii* 1989, 146 nos. 662-668 pl. 18.

83 None of these loom weights are catalogued but are retained in the uncatalogued pottery from the excavations. Six areas within the sanctuary have material retained from the 1957 excavations. This includes items that would have received catalogue numbers in more recent excavations; the material in these fills was also selected from the larger assortment found in the excavation, with the remainder discarded without record of its extent or nature. The boxes labelled trench 3 and 3B (the central part of the sanctuary, including the "Long Table Room"), strata 1-2, preserved fragments of at least eight discoid loom weights, and also a number of plain two-handled shallow bowls of type dedicated in many sanctuaries at Morgantina. The boxes labeled "Long Table Room" preserves four complete discoid loom weights. The finds from the Gorgon room (room 9, fig. 7), stratum 1 include nine whole discoid loom weights (and one complete two-handled shallow bowl). The portion of that box labeled stratum 2 has another complete discoid loom weight, and the box for trench 3A stratum 2 (rooms 3, 5, 7) also has a number of loom weight fragments.

84 BUTTREY *et alii* 1990, 131 no. 765.

85 The most recent chronology is CASABONA 1999. She dates all the coins with Egyptian deities to between 215 and 187 B.C., and is followed by CALTABIANO 2004, pp. 55-57, pp. 71-72. The evidence from Morgantina, however, indicates a later chronology for the Apollo/Isis issues, with minting starting after the Second Punic War. Inv. 1070 Apollo-Isis coins have been found at Morgantina (a greater number than the locally minted Hispanorum coinage, which totals 720, and which is now thought to have initially issued around 200 B.C., with a second issue around 175). The third issue of Apollo/Isis coinage appears to have become the most common small change at Morgantina.

This type was issued in three slightly different versions, of which this coin is an example of issue 2⁸⁶. Since this coin, the only ancient coin of the second century B.C. in the fills on Upper Cittadella, was found in an open courtyard, it likely indicates only that the area was visited during the second century. This seems confirmed by the fact that the cistern in the courtyard was filled above its scant ceramic contents with rubble and blocks from the walls. This fill must have taken place when the sanctuary walls were collapsing in the second century; unfilled cisterns are perils for grazing animals (and wandering children)⁸⁷.

The later house on Farmhouse Hill

Ceramic evidence from Farmhouse Hill indicates that a house was located there after the middle of the 2nd century B.C., since a Campana C cup, a mold made hemispherical cup fragment of Ionic type, and a thin-walled fragment were found in a cistern on the summit⁸⁸. It seems incontestable that this farmhouse used Upper Cittadella, the two-hectare plateau occupied by the ruins of the Hellenistic

village, as garden and/or pasture, thus providing a source for the coin of *Katane* found in the sanctuary's courtyard, as well as the cistern's closure.

The Hellenistic Houses on Upper Cittadella

It remains to discuss the domestic architecture of the late settlement on the upper plateau. As noted above, the other Hellenistic walls on the Cittadella are less substantially constructed than those of the sanctuary, consisting of foundations built of small rubble faced on the exteriors with larger slabs. The rubble often contains tile from the Archaic settlement. The walls on these foundations were presumably mudbrick or pisè⁸⁹. Although unsystematically excavated, the Hellenistic walls on Cittadella appear to belong to small houses similar to the House of Eupolemos or the House of the Silver Hoard on Serra Orlando, both houses that were likely built in the last third of the fourth century B.C.⁹⁰. While no house on Cittadella was completely excavated, none appear to have had a peristyle, but they had small courtyards, usually with a cistern which must have provided water for both drinking and other use, given the lack of springs on the hilltop.

The houses contained few finds, suggesting that they were cleaned out when they were abandoned⁹¹. By contrast, a group of four similar unpretentious houses in the Contrada Drago on Serra Orlando that were abandoned in 211 produced more extensive fills over the floors, and in their two cisterns, including a coin hoard and some jewelry (as well as human skull)⁹². There was no sign of occupation of the Cittadella houses after the late 3rd century: two of the three excavated cisterns were empty save for small use fills. Since none of the houses include evidence of destruction, it appears that the inhabitants moved, and took with them their belongings. The pottery and coins found on the upper plateau demonstrate the late fourth and third century char-

tina after ca. 150 B.C. (848 examples found at the site through 2015, of which 150 were found in the Macellum, now thought to have been constructed in the second quarter of the second century B.C.). See BUTTREY *et alii* 1990, 82-83 nos. 140-142, for the number of Apollo/Isis coins found to 1981.

86 BUTTREY *et alii* 1990, p. 83 no. 141.

87 KLINGBORD 2017, p. 54.

88 See STONE 2014, pp. 70-71, context IVA. The cistern fill also included a black gloss plate with an out-turned rim and a depression in the center of its floor, a standard shape in the 3rd century (pp. 80-87, see STONE 2014, pp. 85-87 on the shape), a medallion cup fragment (STONE 2014, p. 267, 389 no. 592A), likely datable to the second half of the third, and a plain pitcher of standard third century type (inv. 80-83, the same size and shape as the pitcher fig. 19). These vases may, of course, testify to a farmhouse of the early 2nd century B.C., before the change to a more Italic ceramic assemblage that took place on Sicily sometime around 175-150 B.C. It is unclear if this assemblage belonged to a house or indicates continuation of cult on the summit. Occupation of the summit may have lapsed after the late third century until the second half of the 2nd century B.C., when occupation is attested by the early Campana C black gloss cup (STONE 2014, p. 159 no. 209E and a fragment of a hemispherical mold made relief cup of Ionic manufacture (STONE 2014, p. 279 no. 646). See also STONE 2014, pp. 165-166 no. 246C, a black gloss cup. A fragment of thin-walled pottery (inv. 80-81) decorated with barbotine dots suggests habitation into the first century B.C. (STONE 2014, p. 301). Scraps of Italian *terra sigillata* in the sherd boxes indicate that Farmhouse Hill was occupied during the early Imperial period. A farmhouse was located there in the early seventh century A.D., judging from the imitation African red slipped and other Late Roman wares and glass found in the cistern, apparently part of a secondary fill. The hill was again occupied from the 11th into the early 20th centuries.

89 For pisè wall construction in a house at Morgantina see now SOUZA *et alii* 2019, pp. 5-6, p. 19.

90 On the House of Eupolemos STONE 2014, p. 459. On the House of the Silver Hoard: STONE 2014, 37 Deposit IG.

91 STONE 2014, 64 context II.

92 On these houses, which were backfilled in 1970: STONE 2014, pp. 39-40 Contexts IJ and IJ.1, Deposit IJ.2. See also ALLEN 1974, pp. 362-364 (with plan. ill. 4).



Fig. 20 - Above: one-handled cup, inv. 57-2400, from cistern, trench 5. Below: plain pitcher, inv. 60-1158, from cistern, trench 14.

acter of the village; the only second century coin is that found in the court of the sanctuary (see above). As noted, three cisterns containing Hellenistic material were excavated in the houses. Two were empty except for small use fills, mainly pitcher fragments. The cistern in a house in trench 5 at the southern end of the site contained only plain wares, with one catalogued find, a small one-handled cup (fig. 20)⁹³. Since a cup is not normally lowered into a cistern, this vase was likely discarded at the time of abandonment. It is a common plain shape of fourth and third centuries, frequently dedicated in sanctuaries or tombs, but also useful in the home⁹⁴. Cistern B in trench 14 (at its northern end) had no catalogued ceramics in its use fill, just a few sherds

93 STONE 2014, pp. 64-65 deposit li.1.

94 Of the 24 catalogued examples of this shape from Morgantina, 12 were found in votive contexts, 7 in domestic. Four examples of this vase-type were found in tombs. It also was common in the (domestic) fills at Caracausi near Lentini, apparently closed around the end of the first quarter of the third century, and in a cistern fill of ca. 250 B.C. at Kamarina that also appears to mainly derive from domestic sources: GRASSO *et alii* 1989, p. 81, pp. 97-98 nos. 366-377 fig. 9; MASCI 2020, p. 53, p. 68 nos. 193-198, fig. 27.

from plain jugs. But it did contain a coin of Syracuse dated to 287-278 B.C. (inv. 60-1345)⁹⁵. Only cistern A in trench 14 has a fill that suggests that a fair amount of material was dumped there after the house was abandoned⁹⁶. The cistern was 5.26 meters deep and contained only 1.25 meters of fill that included pottery at its bottom. The fill included plain pitchers (fig. 20 below), usual in a use fill, but also three catalogued fine ware vases. One is an echinus bowl, a long-lived shape that provides little chronology, but the other two are squat *skyphoi*, a shape that appears in Sicily around 260 BCE, and which disappears no later than a century later⁹⁷. It is probable that these vases were broken and discarded when the house was abandoned in the late third century B.C. Above the vases, the cistern was filled with roof tiles and building blocks, and its mouth covered with a large block, similarly to the cistern in the sanctuary. Again, the building materials in the fill were likely added to close the cistern by the inhabitants of the farmhouse on the summit of Farm House Hill when they began to use the plateau for agricultural purposes.

The Date of the Abandonment of the Village on Upper Cittadella

It thus appears that the houses in the small village were abandoned by their inhabitants towards the end of the third century B.C. At that time also, the votives were removed from the sanctuary, and stored elsewhere, perhaps in another sanctuary of Kore on Serra Orlando. It is reasonable to hypothesize that the inhabitants of Upper Cittadella moved within the substantial walls of Serra Orlando, before Morgantina was captured and sacked by a Roman army (Livy 26.21.17)⁹⁸. The lack of human skeletal remains and broken domestic pottery in the final levels within the walls and in the

95 See BUTTREY *et alii* 1990, pp. 102-103, nos. 340-343.

96 STONE 2014, p. 65 deposit li.2.

97 STONE 2014, pp. 92-93, p. 315 no. 30B on the bowl, pp. 104-105, p. 320 nos. 60B-C for the *skyphoi*. On the pitcher (fig. 18): above n. 82. This cistern also included 60-1102, another plain one-handled cup (see above n. 96).

98 On the sack see STONE 2014, pp. 10-13. Morgantina slaughtered its Roman garrison in 214 B.C. (Livy 24.38.4) and served as a base for a Carthaginian army in 213 B.C. (Livy 24.36.10, 24.39.10). Either of these actions would have been sufficient to guarantee heavy punishment.

cistern fills suggests that the orderly abandonment traced above took place well before the army of Cornelius Cethegus approached Morgantina in 211. While the exact moment of the move of the inhabitants of the Hellenistic village on Upper Cittadella to the relative safety of Serra Orlando's walls can only be placed sometime after Morgantina's revolt from Rome in 214 and the Roman recapture of the city 211 B.C., the abandonment probably took place sometime after the defeat of the Carthaginian army that had occupied Morgantina in 213 (Livy 24.36.10, 24.39.10), when the Morgantinians realized that their Punic allies could no longer protect them⁹⁹. If not in 213, the small town on Cittadella may have been abandoned after the fall of Syracuse in 212 (Livy 25.31), since it must have been clear to the inhabitants that the Roman army intended punitive action against the city, and that a favorable peace treaty with Rome was likely not feasible.¹⁰⁰ Following the sack of the city, it seems clear that the inhabitants of Morgantina were sold into slavery, thus explaining why the people who dwelt on Upper Cittadella never returned to their homes.¹⁰¹

Conclusions: The Cittadella Settlement and Morgantina's History in the Fourth and Third centuries B.C.E.

We conclude that the Hellenistic village on the Cittadella was a suburb of the larger city on the adjacent Serra Orlando ridge. The sparse population of the upper plateau of Cittadella increased around 340-330 B.C., achieving a total of 200-300. The people who lived there built small courtyard houses that suggest a fairly restricted material wealth. The sanctuary of Kore, possibly on the site of a long-time shrine honoring that goddess, is the main expression of community identity in this period. The sanctuary was expanded considerably in the third quarter of the third century BCE, the period

of greatest prosperity in Morgantina's history, suggesting that the people of the village had benefitted from the Hieronian prosperity. The sanctuary and the village it served were then abandoned by its inhabitants and never reoccupied in the late third century B.C. The history of Morgantina suggests that this abandonment likely took place in the years just before the Roman capture of the city in 211 B.C. After that, the Cittadella apparently was used only as pasture and garden by the inhabitants of a farmhouse located on the summit of Farmhouse Hill. The small settlement on Upper Cittadella thus provides a picture of village life during the late fourth and third centuries B.C. in eastern Sicily during the period of the Syracusan kingdoms of Agathokles and Hieron.

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99 See also Livy 25.23.131.11, 25.40.1-3.

100 Livy 26.21.14 suggests that cities (including Morgantina) which revolted against Rome in 211 B.C. were treated similarly to or worse than those cities which surrendered after the fall of Syracuse. According to Livy 25.40.4 those cities were punished *ut uicti a uictore leges acceperunt*, as was promised to ensure that cities surrender in 212. On that treatment, which was brutal and lucrative, see HARRIS 1979, pp. 58-60, pp. 63-64, pp. 74-77, pp. 102-103.

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RIASSUNTO - Questo articolo presenta le prove sull'occupazione della cosiddetta Cittadella a Morgantina (EN) tra il IV-I sec. a.C. Si tratta di materiale inedito dai primi scavi, e dei risultati di scavi e rilievi recenti. L'abitato arcaico in questa zona fu distrutto e in gran parte abbandonato alla metà del V secolo a.C., ad eccezione di un santuario sulla cima chiamata Collina della Fattoria. Quel santuario durò fino agli inizi del IV secolo. Un piccolo villaggio esisteva sul pianoro chiamato Cittadella Superiore dalla seconda metà del IV secolo fino al 211 a.C., quando fu abbandonato. Sebbene fosse un insediamento modesto, includeva un santuario di Kore a forma di casa, cioè un tipo locale di complesso religioso. Il santuario ellenistico sembra essere stato situato sopra un *temenos* arcaico e comprendeva un interessante deposito di terrecotte.

SUMMARY - The ancient city of Morgantina in east central Sicily has been the subject of intense investigation since 1955, and both fieldwork and publication are ongoing. Little work has been done, however, on later phases on the site of the Archaic settlement after its destruction in 459 B.C. This article presents the evidence for the 4th to 1st c. B.C. occupation on the so-called Cittadella, including unpublished material from early excavations, and the results of recent excavation and survey. The Archaic town on the hill was destroyed and largely abandoned in the mid fifth century B.C., except for a sanctuary on the peak called Farmhouse Hill that lasted until the early fourth century. A small village existed on the saddle of the ridge called Upper Cittadella from the second half of the fourth century until 211 B.C., when it was abandoned. While a modest settlement, it included a sanctuary of Kore with a "house" format that is a regional type of religious complex. The Hellenistic sanctuary appears to be sited atop an Archaic *temenos*, and included an interesting deposit of terracottas. After the village was deserted, a house atop nearby Farmhouse Hill constituted the only habitation on Upper Cittadella. This paper contributes to our understanding of the Hellenistic period at Morgantina in particular, and the shape of cultic topography and practice at Morgantina as a whole during its later history, presents the evidence for the fourth and third century settlement, and contributes to our understanding of the Hellenistic period at Morgantina.

Parole chiave: Morgantina, Sicilia ellenistica, Luoghi di culti, Figurine di terracotta.

Keywords: Morgantina, Hellenistic Sicily, Worship places, Terracotta figures.