

## DIOMENEIA, OINA, AND A LEGEND OF ARCADIAN ORIGINS AMONG THE LUCANI\*

**Abstract:** This paper re-examines some Oscan inscriptions found in the sanctuary at Rossano di Vaglio, in Lucania. Contrary to what has been claimed, the texts do not document any form of institutional or religious royalty among the Lucani, nor do they demonstrate the existence of a divine couple – Zeus and Mefitis. According to the new interpretation, they refer to Diomeneia, the daughter of Arcas, honoured in Arcadia, and to the nymph Oenoe, whose name recalls the tradition of the Arcadian origins of the Oenotri. The Lucani thus recognize their Oenotrian ancestors, and their origin in Arcadia.

**Keywords:** Rossano di Vaglio, Diomeneia, Oino, Lucani, Oenotri

The excavations initiated half a century ago at the sanctuary of the public cult of Mefitis at Macchia di Rossano di Vaglio have returned a large number of Oscan-language documents regarding the history of the Lucani between the fourth century and the beginning of the Social War. These materials have been the subject of linguistic analysis and historical reconstructions that have allowed us to learn about many aspects of Lucanian civilization.<sup>1</sup> In my opinion, how-

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\*) This paper, translated by Jane Botsford Johnson, was written in Italian for an occasion of study (2018) promoted by Marco Maiuro (Sapienza, Rome): I am very grateful to both of them for their many useful suggestions. I am also thankful to Rosalba Antonini for a wide discussion on matters of this work, and to the Referees of the Rheinisches Museum for their comments.

1) D. Adamesteanu / M. Lejeune, *Il santuario lucano di Macchia di Rossano di Vaglio*, *MemLincei* 16,2 (1971) 39–83, pls. 1–20; Marina R. Torelli, *I culti di Rossano di Vaglio*, in: M. Salvatore (ed.), *Basilicata. L'espansionismo romano nel sud-est d'Italia*, *Atti Conv.* 1987, Venosa 1990, 83–93; D. Adamesteanu / H. Dilthey, *Macchia di Rossano. Il santuario della Mefitis: Rapporto preliminare*, Galatina 1992; M. Denti, *La statuarìa in marmo del santuario di Rossano di Vaglio*, Galatina 1992; G. Greco, *Il santuario della Mefitis a Rossano di Vaglio, tra Lucani e Romani*, in: A. Mele (ed.), *Il culto della dea Mefite e la Valle d'Ansanto*, Avellino 2008, 59–79; O. de Cazanove, *Une proposition d'identification du toponyme Lucos sur la Tabula Peutingeriana. Le sanctuaire de Méfitis à Rossano di Vaglio?*, *MEFRA* 120,1 (2008)

ever, the interpretation of some texts that I will re-examine herein is still problematic.

Some scholars recognized an indication of an ancient political or divine Lucanian royalty in an inscription engraved on a limestone slab.<sup>2</sup> These interpretations have given the document particular importance in the studies of the Italic world. However, a critical re-examination cannot confirm its value in this sense. With insignificant variants, the text was thus understood: “Herennius Pomponius, son of Her., in the quinquennial (?) [πρωμφοκ] censorship of Luc. Pocid(ius), son of Va., by decree of the senate, had bronze statues [σπερονω αιζνω] of the kings [πεγο(μ)] (Jupiter and Mefitis) made and fixed in place (?); the same person passed the work as completed; it cost 350 *nummi*”; it appears thus in Crawford’s ‘Imagines Italicae’. There is almost unanimous consensus in recognizing the figures of kings in πεγο(μ), genitive plural (Lat.

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81–91; I. Battiloro / M. Osanna (eds.), *Brateis datas*, Venosa 2011; I. Battiloro, *The Archaeology of Lucanian Cult Places*, London / New York 2018, 136–145, 188–209; S. Bourdin / O. de Cazanove / C. Salviani, *Le armi nei luoghi di culto di Civita di Tricarico e Rossano di Vaglio*, in: R. Graells i Fabregat / F. Longo (eds.), *Armi votive in Magna Grecia*, RGZM-Tagungen, Band 36 (2018) 141–158; O. de Cazanove, *Rossano di Vaglio un demi-siècle après: archéologie et épigraphie*, in: O. de Cazanove / A. Duplouy (eds.), *La Lucanie entre deux mers: archéologie et patrimoine* (Colloque Paris 2015), I, Naples 2019, 103–115; P. Poccetti, *L’épigraphie de Rossano di Vaglio: bilan d’un demi-siècle de découvertes*, *ibid.*, 117–133.

2) M. Lejeune, *Inscriptions de Rossano di Vaglio* 1971, *RendLincei* 26,7–12 (1972) 667–679: RV 28, pls. 2–3; M. P. Marchese, *Lucani*, *StEtr* 42 (1974) 412–17, pl. 80a; A. L. Prosdocimi, *Sui grecismi nell’osco*, in: *Scritti in onore di Giuliano Bonfante*, II, Brescia 1976, 831 f.; P. Poccetti, *Nuovi documenti italici*, Pisa 1979, 128, no. 175; G. Pugliese Carratelli, *Nuovi orizzonti nella storia della Lucania*, in: *Attività archeologica in Basilicata 1964–1977* (Scritti in onore di Dinu Adamesteanu), Matera 1980, 581 f.; P. G. Guzzo, *Ipotesi sui re a Rossano di Vaglio*, *Xenia* 5 (1983) 7–14; M. Lejeune, *Méfitis d’après les dédicaces lucaniennes de Rossano di Vaglio*, *Louvain-la-Neuve* 1990, 17: RV 28, pls. 20–21; L. Del Tutto Palma, *Le iscrizioni della Lucania preromana*, Padova 1990, 108–15, with drawing; H. Rix, *Sabellische Texte, Die Texte des Oskischen, Umbrischen und Südpikenischen* [further on: ST], Heidelberg 2002, 126: Lu 5; M. Torelli, *Il santuario di Rossano di Vaglio tra archeologia e epigrafia*, in: I. Battiloro / M. Osanna, *Brateis datas*, Venosa 2011, 321–337; M. H. Crawford / W. M. Broadhead / J. P. T. Clackson / F. Santangelo / S. Thompson / M. Watmough, *Imagines Italicae. A Corpus of Italic Inscriptions* [further on: *ImIt*], London 2011, III 1364 f.: *Potentia* 1; K. McDonald, *Oscan in Southern Italy and Sicily*, Cambridge 2015, 115–121; J. W. Wonder, *The Lucanians*, in: G. D. Farney / G. Bradley (eds.), *The Peoples of Ancient Italy*, Boston / Berlin 2018, 376, 379.

*regum*),<sup>3</sup> and therefore their statues in the sequence  $\sigma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\nu\omega\ \alpha\iota\zeta\upsilon\iota\omega$ , accusative plural (Lat. *signa aerea*). For  $\pi\omega\mu\iota\omicron\kappa$  there are also other interpretations – *suffectus*, *pontifex* – which however cannot refer to Pomponius because of the syntactic structure.

The result is an abnormal text, due to the implausible definition of the censorship (quinquennial), oddly used as an eponymous magistracy, and to the anonymity of the kings portrayed: neither the divine couple of Iuppiter and Mefitis nor the Dioscuri, as proposed by Lejeune,<sup>4</sup> are attested in the broad epigraphic panorama of Rossano. Elsewhere it has been suggested that the *reges* were βασιλεῖς, the common supreme commanders whom the Lucani appointed in case of war in the fifth century (Strab. 6.1.3 = C 254). The Lucani acquired political autonomy and constitutional rules at a time when the star of royalty had already set among Romans, Latins, and Sabellians of different extractions. It is quite clear that the βασιλεύς of Strabo, in spite of the Greek definition, corresponds to the Roman *dictator*.

In fact, the inscription is simply the dedication of an honorary statue of Herennius Pomponius Her. f., an otherwise unknown person. The size and the shape of the inscribed stone show that it belonged to the front of the base of a statue;<sup>5</sup> on the base there was only room for a life-sized standing figure. (In the second century there were full-sized or even taller honorary statues.<sup>6</sup>) The amount of money spent for the statue of Herennius Pomponius, 350 *nummi* (in this case *denarii*), was sufficient to cast a life-sized bronze statue.<sup>7</sup>

3) N. Zair, *Oscan in the Greek Alphabet*, Cambridge 2016, 233; but see C. Meierbröker, in: J. Untermann, *Wörterbuch des Oskisch-Umbrischen*, Heidelberg 2000, 632f. s. v.  $\pi\epsilon\gamma\omicron$ : “Bedeutung unbekannt”.

4) Lejeune 1972 (note 2) 674f.; see now Poccetti 2019 (note 1) 124, 128f.

5) Quadrangular block slightly tapered at the top, 76 cm high x 70 wide (bottom), 67 wide (top) x 23 deep; the front, top, and sides are smooth, the back pecked; holes for two clamps at the back of the top towards either side (Crawford, *ImIt*); the full height of the base must have been ca. 110 cm.

6) The bronze statue of the Roman commander in the Museo Nazionale Romano (200–150 BC), perhaps T. Quinctius Flaminus (consul 198 BC) or L. Aemilius Paullus (consul 182 and 168 BC), is 204 cm high; see P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, München 1987, 15.

7) With 350 *denarii* it was possible to buy almost 164 kg of crude bronze, see Guzzo (note 2) 9; metal obtained from spoils (*spolia hostium*) could have been used for the casting; Plin. N.H. 34.43.

The following interpretation adheres much more closely to the epigraphic schemes and to the typology of honorary monuments (Fig. 1):<sup>8</sup>

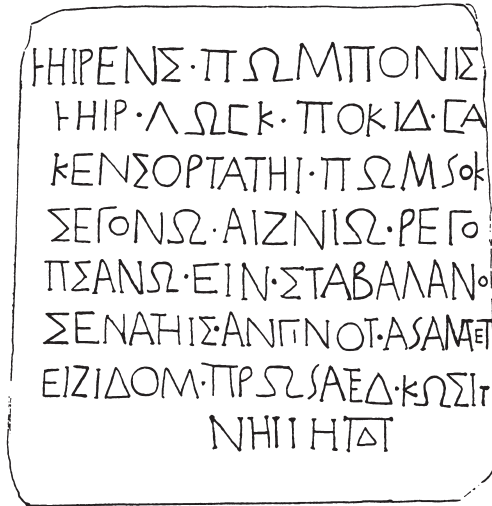


Fig. 1. RV 28 (Del Tutto Palma 1990)

ηιρενς Πωμπονις  
 ηηιρ. Λωφκ(ις) Ποκιδ(ις) φα.  
 κενσορτατηι πωμοφοκ(ος)  
 σεγωνω(μ) αιζνω(μ) ρεγο-  
 πσανω(μ) ειν(ειμ) σταβαλανο(μ)  
 σενατης (τ)ανγινοτ ασαμετετ  
 ειζιδομ πρωφατεδ κωσ(τ)ιτ  
 v. ΗΗΗΠΔ

*Herennius Pomponius*  
*Her. f.; Lucius Pocidius Va. f.*  
*in censura designatus*  
*signum aereum fingendum*  
*et conlocandum*  
*senatus sententia curavit*  
*idem probavit; constat*  
 n. CCCL

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The document is devoid of institutional or theological connections to royalty. Indeed, *ρεγο* is part of a compound verb, a gerundive in accusative neuter singular, *ρεγοπσανω(μ)*; it is constructed, like *liquefaciundum*, with the root of the Oscan verb from which the denominal *regaturei* (see Lat. *irrigo*) ‘waterer / water supplier’ de-

8) The explication of abbreviated words is here in accordance with my interpretation, as given in the Latin translation.

9) Untermann (note 3) 631 s. v. *regaturei*.

rives,<sup>9</sup> and with the verb form *úpsannúm* ‘*faciundum*.’ Compound words are rare but they do exist in Oscan – *líganakdikeí* (θεσμοφόρος) is an example.<sup>10</sup> The meaning of *ρεγοπσανω(μ)* concerns the action of melting metals (*ex aere fingere*), and can be translated *fin-gendum*. The text refers to the production of a single bronze statue, *σεγονω(μ) αιζνιω(μ)* ‘*signum aereum*.’ According to the common interpretation neither *σεγονω* nor *αιζνιω* (acc. pl. n.) is abbreviated, though both *ρεγο(μ)* and *(ω)πσανω* are: all of this is admissible, just as in the text given above, *σεγονω(μ) αιζνιω(μ) ρεγοπσανω(μ)* (acc. sg. n.) – judgement must rely not on grammar, but on context. The inscription is in any case lacking in orthography.<sup>11</sup>

In the first position in the text, in larger letters and in the nominative case, is the name of the person the statue portrays. The nominative form of Oscan names can be found among the deceased portrayed in funerary stelae from the same period at Tegianum<sup>12</sup> and Teanum Sidicinum;<sup>13</sup> there are also Latin inscriptions on the bases of second-century statues with the name of the dedicatee in the nominative case.<sup>14</sup> Lejeune correctly understood that *πωμοφοκ(ος)* is abbreviated, attributing to it the meaning of *suffectus*, but in agreement with Pomponius;<sup>15</sup> the term is instead related to Pocidius, and, by context, could have the meaning of *suffectus* or, much more probably, of *designatus*:<sup>16</sup> see the Oscan *praefucus* (Lat. *praefectus*). Anyhow there is one case of a *ensor suffectus* in Rome, in the year 392 (Liv. 5.31.6).<sup>17</sup> The omission of the endings of the first and gentilial names of Pocidius is due to the desire to keep the layout of the writing model on the stone, altered for the greater dimensions of the name engraved in the first line.

It can therefore be translated: “(This is) Herennius Pomponius, son of Her.; Luc(ius) Pocid(ius), son of Va(...), in the designated censor office, arranged the casting and erection of the bronze

10) W. Breidbach, in: Untermann (note 3) 431 s. v. *líganakdikeí*.

11) See at line 3 *κενσορπατη* instead of *κενσορπατη*: Marchese (note 2) 414 f.

12) ImIt III 1358–1359: Tegianum 1.

13) ImIt I 553–556: Teanum Sidicinum 21.

14) CIL I<sup>2</sup> 621, CIL I<sup>2</sup> 623, ILLRP 336.

15) Lejeune 1972 (note 2) 673.

16) Meaning and etymology unknown for Untermann (note 3) 601 s. v. *πωμοφοκ*.

17) M. Cornelius Maluginensis: F. Münzer, Cornelius (248), RE IV, 1 (1900)

statue by decision of the senate and approved the work; cost: 350 *denarii*.” In Rome during the Republican era, in case of urgency or an impediment to the magistrates in office, the designated magistrates could receive from the senate the mandate to perform particular tasks, such as the hiring of a military commander (Liv. 42.10.8) or the issuing of money.<sup>18</sup>

Who this Her. Pomponius Her. f. was we do not know, but he was certainly alive when he received the honour of being represented in a bronze statue. He might have been the leader of a contingent of Lucani during the Second Punic War, fighting on behalf of Rome (Liv. 22.61.11; not all Lucani defected – for example, the Samnite Numerius Decitius fought against Hannibal in Gereonium [Liv. 22.24.11–12]). Alternatively he could have commanded a formation of *auxilia* against the Seleucids or in the Macedonian wars, when the *socii Italici* provided military contingents to support Rome. The fact is that the Lucanian senate wanted to show gratitude for the benefits he had brought to his country, perhaps in the form of war booty destined for the sanctuary of Mefitis. The inscription should be dated 200–150 BC.<sup>19</sup>

Honorary statues dedicated to living Romans in sanctuaries of Greece and Italy, mostly military commanders, are attested in the second century.<sup>20</sup> For example the bronze head of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, found in the centre of Samnium at San Giovanni Lipioni, not far from Terventum, should be dated at the beginning of the second century, probably right after the Hannibalic war.<sup>21</sup>

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18) F. Pina Polo, The Political Role of the *Consules Designati* at Rome, *Historia* 62 (2013) 423–31; M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge 1974, 529–30, nos 525–26.

19) The date proposed by Lejeune 1971 (note 1), the years 125–100 (also in *ImIt*), is too recent; the forms of sigma and omega (Σ and Ω, not C and ω) suggest an earlier date within the second century.

20) M. Papini, *Antichi volti della Repubblica: la ritrattistica in Italia centrale tra IV e II secolo a. C.*, Roma 2004, 359–407.

21) There is an accurate treatment of this bronze by Papini (note 20) 99–111, figs. 31–34; he believes that it might be the portrait of a Roman general dedicated at a local sanctuary, and dates it around the year 305 BC, after the battle of Bovianum. It is however highly improbable that a statue of a Roman could be placed in Samnium in the late fourth or the first half of the third century; see also M. J. Strazzulla, *La testa in bronzo da San Giovanni Lipioni*, in: A. Campanelli / A. Faustoferri (eds.), *I luoghi degli dei. Sacro e natura nell’Abruzzo italico*, Chieti 1997, 8–13.

It should be the portrait of a Samnite military commander, even if the bronze was cast somewhere else (perhaps in Campania or in Rome); it is probably an honorary statue awarded by the Republic in recognition of the help received from the Samnites.

The perception of a form of royalty, in particular of divine royalty, among the Lucani regarding the presumed *reges* of Rossano was consolidated through the interpretation of another monument found in the shrine of Macchia di Rossano di Vaglio – a group of two statues, of which twin bases with inscriptions remain. The bases had been placed on a single platform at the western corner of a large square. The texts engraved on the front of the bases are identical in the first part, recording the intervention of a magistrate; in the second part they contain different dedications. The inscriptions concerning the magistrate, a quaestor acting on a mandate from the senate, are in the alphabet that has both sigma and epsilon in lunate shape, and therefore they may be dated between the end of the second century and the Social War; the names of the dedicated entities, with the four-stroke sigma, were engraved towards the end of the third century. The magistrate's intervention concerns a new arrangement of the two statues within the sanctuary.

The fronts of both bases had two limestone slabs on which the inscriptions were written. One of them is fully preserved; for the other, the slab on the right is missing (Fig. 2).

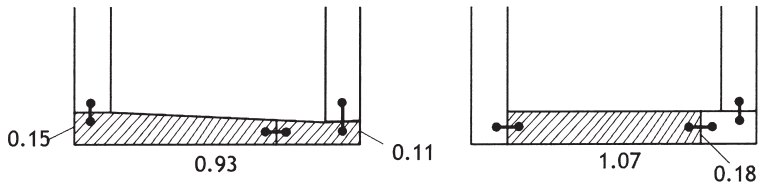


Fig. 2. Reconstruction of the double base, RV 17+42 and RV 18 (Crawford, ImIt)

The first statue was dedicated to Jupiter, with the name in the genitive case (Fig. 3):<sup>22</sup>

22) Lejeune 1971 (note 1) 66–69: RV 17, pl. 12; M. Lejeune, *Inscriptions de Rossano di Vaglio 1973–1974*, *RendLincei* 30 (1975) 320–322: RV 17+42, pl. 2, 1–2; R. Antonini, *Lucania, StEtr* 49 (1981) 344, no. 9; Lejeune 1990 (note 2) 16: RV 17+42, pls. 10–11; Poccetti 1979 (note 2) 124, no. 167; Del Tutto Palma 1990 (note 2) 86–88: Ro. 14; ST 126: Lu 6; ImIt III 1375: Potentia 9.

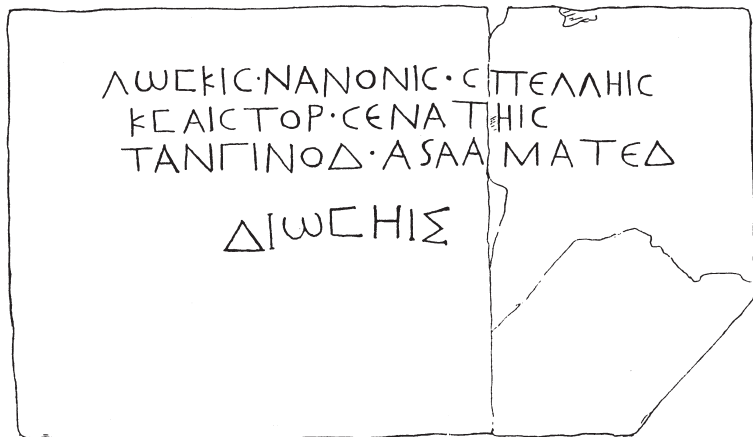


Fig. 3. RV 17+42 (Del Tutto Palma 1990)

Λωφικ Νανονικ Σπελληικ  
κφαιστορ σενατηικ  
τανγινოდ ασααματεδ

Διωφηις

*Lucius Nanonius Spelli f.*  
*quaestor senatus*  
*sententia locavit*

*Iovis*

The other statue represented a female figure, also with the name in genitive, Διωφιας Διομανα[...]<sup>23</sup> (Fig. 4). The integration διομανα[ς] was believed to represent an Oscan form corresponding to *domina*. It is quite implausible to suppose a mistake due to alliteration, διο- for δο-,<sup>24</sup> in a deity's name in a monumental

23) Lejeune 1971 (note 1) 66–69: RV 18, pl. 13; Lejeune 1975 (note 22) 320–22; Antonini (note 22) 344, no. 10; Lejeune 1990 (note 2) 16: RV 18, pl. 12; Poccetti (note 2) 124–25, no. 168; Del Tutto Palma 1990 (note 2) 89–92: Ro 15; ST 126: Lu 7; ImIt III 1378: Potentia 10.

24) Lejeune 1971 (note 1) 69: “on aurait alors un nom de la «Maitresse» \**dom-na* > \**Δομανα* (avec anaptyxe), comme on a ailleurs (également pour la grande déesse céleriéenne) une invocation comme «Reine» ... Mais une telle explication demeure incertaine”; A. L. Prosdocimi, Sui grecismi nell’osco, in: Scritti in onore di Giuliano Bonfante, II, Brescia 1976, 833; Id., Contatti e conflitti di lingue nell’Italia antica: l’elemento greco, in: Popoli e civiltà dell’Italia antica, VI, Roma 1978, 1062; Lejeune 1990 (note 2) 32; so also Zair (note 3) 204f.: *domanas* ‘of the mistress’; much more reasonable, Poccetti 1979 (note 2) 125, no. 168: theonym; Untermann (note 3) 181 f. s. v. διομανα[ς]: Benennung einer Göttin?



dedication. The goddess has been identified with Mefitis, and therefore queen as the wife of Jupiter – a rather improbable association that has been commonly accepted.<sup>25</sup> The entire reconstruction is groundless, and the attempts to find a linguistic solution have been to no avail. Poccetti does not judge it admissible; for Torelli the name can be assimilated to that of Diana.<sup>26</sup>

The word Διομᾶνα[...] is defaced, and integration is restrictive. The text takes on a completely different meaning if the following integration is adopted:<sup>27</sup>

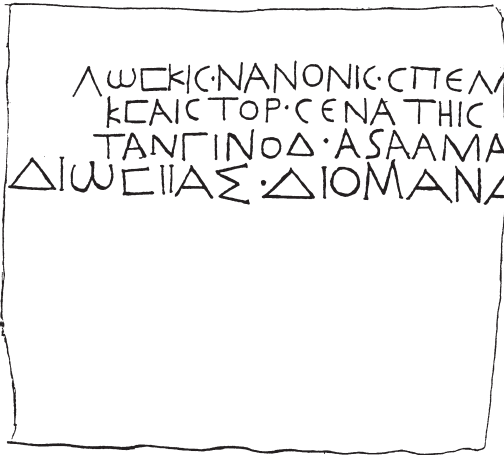


Fig. 4. RV 18 (Del Tutto Palma 1990)

Λωφκις Νανονις Σπελλ[ηις]	<i>Lucius Nanonius Spelli f.</i>
κφαιστορ σενατηις	<i>quaestor senatus</i>
τανγινოდ ασφαμα[τεδ]	<i>sententia locavit</i>
Διωφιας Διομᾶνα[ιας]	<i>Ioviae Diomeneiae</i>

25) M. C. D'Anisi, Mefite, in: M. L. Nava / M. Osanna, *Rituali per una dea lucana*, Potenza 2001, 133.

26) M. Torelli, *Il santuario di Rossano di Vaglio tra archeologia e epigrafia*, in: I. Battiloro / M. Osanna (eds), *Brateis datas*, Venosa 2011, 333.

27) I briefly mentioned my interpretation of this and the following inscription in Campanelli / Faustoferri (note 21) 63.

Thus we have the Greek name Διομένεια, accepted into Oscan (Διομωναίο, -ας) from the language of the Achaeon colonies (Διομάνεια) in the Lucanian region, especially of Poseidonia; in fact, Etruscan-Campanian influences on vocalism are also recognizable, as on Greek loans: Etr. *Metaia* < Μήδεια,<sup>28</sup> *Pentasila* < Πενθεσίλεια.<sup>29</sup> The name was not received in the Italic sphere directly from Arcadia, whose dialectal form should bear -μιν- in place of -μεν-.<sup>30</sup> Diomeneia is also attested as a personal name.<sup>31</sup> In the syntagm Διοφύιας Διομωνα[ι]ας], the adjective is placed before the substantive in order to disambiguate Diomeneia from a *sacerdos* / *ministra Iovia*.<sup>32</sup>

Diomeneia is the daughter of Arcas and niece of Zeus, and is therefore Diovia or Iovia. She was honoured in Arcadia with a bronze statue in the agora of Mantinea, along with the ἡρώων of Podares (Paus. 8.9.9). The heroic figures of the ethnos and polis found their privileged place in the agora, and this means that Diomeneia appeared in one of the myths of the city.<sup>33</sup> The first founder of Mantinea was Mantineus, son of Lycaon (Paus. 8.8.4) – therefore one of the brothers of Oenotrus, the progenitor of the Oenotri.

The celebration of Diomeneia in Rossano reveals the intent to recall a tradition that recognized a connection between Mantinea and the Oenotri, whose Arcadian origin was already known to Pherecydes of Athens in the first half of the fifth century (Dion.

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28) M. A. Rizzo / M. Martelli, Un incunabolo del mito greco in Etruria, *AttiMemMagnaGrecia* 3,1 (1992) 243–245; M. A. Rizzo, Principi etruschi. Le tombe orientalizzanti di San Paolo a Cerveteri, *Boll.d'Arte*, Volume speciale 2015, 181–88.

29) C. De Simone, Die griechischen Entlehnungen im Etruskischen, II, Wiesbaden 1970, 39, 66–69.

30) L. Dubois, Recherches sur le dialecte arcadien, I, Louvain-la-Neuve 1986, 17–19 gives in this context <i> instead of <e> as a “tendance”; I owe to an anonymous Referee of the *RheinMus*, to whom I am grateful, the following suggestion: “Im Kyprischen gibt es einen a-rako-mi-ne-[se / Arkho-minē[s/ O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, Paris 1983, 327 B13 (6/5 Jh laut LGPN)], der z. T. im Sinne vom/von der Autor(in) sprechen koennte.”

31) CIG 9.2.75 (Thessalia, Lamia).

32) Antonini (note 22) 344 no. 10, saw a need to disambiguate *Iovia* from another definition, such as *Cereria*; see also *iovios pucliois* (ST 75: Pg 5).

33) E. Kuhnert, Statue und Ort in ihrem Verhältniss bei den Griechen, Leipzig 1884, 297; (M. Moggi) / M. Osanna, *Pausania. Libro VIII. L'Arcadia*, Milano 2003, ad 8.9.9.

Hal. 1.12–13).<sup>34</sup> The association of Diomeneia with Jupiter, highlighted by the adjective that qualifies the name and position of her statue, on the other hand attributes to her a decisive role in the mythological connection with the religion officiated in the sanctuary. This interpretation is supported by another mythical element that appears in Rossano. It is the name engraved on a dedication to three divine entities (Fig. 5).<sup>35</sup>



Fig. 5. RV 35 (Del Tutto Palma 1990)

Νυμψδοι Μεφίτανοι Νυμ- ψδοι Μάμερτιοι Οιναι νυ- [μφαί]	<i>Numiso Mefitano, Numi-          so Mamertio, Oenae ny-          [mphae].</i>
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The text has been integrated Οιναι Νυ[μψδ]ιαί (Crawford), or Νυ[μψδ]α]ναι (Rix).<sup>36</sup> Thus conceived, Oina is an entity unknown in Italic mythology and completely inconsistent with Oscan onomastics. Its etymology is considered uncertain, perhaps connected with *oimo*- ‘one’.<sup>37</sup> Instead, with the integration Οιναι νυ[μφαί],<sup>38</sup>

34) D. Asheri, *Fericide ateniese e le origini arcadiche degli Enotri*, in: L. Breghia Pulci Doria (ed.), *L’incidenza dell’antico. Studi in memoria di Ettore Lepore*, II, Napoli 1996, 151–163.

35) M. Lejeune, *Inscriptions de Rossano di Vaglio 1972*, *RendLincei* 27.7–12 (1973) 408–11: RV 35, pl. 3; Marchese (note 2) 409–10, pl. 80 b; L. Del Tutto Palma, *Anzi, Rossano di Vaglio*, *StEtr* 55 (1987–88) 366–67, pl. 55 b; Lejeune 1990 (note 2) 18: RV 35, pl. 25; Del Tutto Palma 1990 (note 2) 121–25; Ead., *Due voces nihili: Lucani \*Udo e \*Numulo*, *StEtr* 57 (1991) 179–86, pls. 27–28; Ead., *Gli dei di Rossano tra Mefite e Mamerte*, in: A. Mele (ed.), *Il culto della dea Mefite e la Valle d’Ansanto*, Avellino 2008, 126–29; E. Triantafyllis, *Nota sulla voce Oinai*, *ibid.*, 130–132; *ST* 128: Lu 28; *ImIt* II 1395; *Zair* (note 3) 272.

36) On νυμψδ- see now Poccetti 2019 (note 1) 130 f.

37) W. Breidbach, in: Untermann (note 3) 789 f.; *Zair* (note 3) 272.

38) The third line of the text is fully lost, see *ImIt* 3, 1394 with photograph; marks described by Del Tutto Palma 1990 (note 2) 123 are due to the rupture of the stone.

we can identify the nymph Oena, who in Greece assumes different roles in regional contexts and variable names attributable, in Oscan, to the form *Oivo*, -αζ (dat. *Oivoi*): Oina. Thus, even if we admit an *Oina Numisii* (*uxor*), *Oivoi* *Nυ*[*μψδεις*], she would in any case be the nymph Oena, introduced into a mythical genealogy. Oina is here associated with two divine entities named \**numpsdo-* (whose Latin form is Numisius), one specified as Mefitanus and the other as Martius. Numisius Martius, known also through three Republican inscriptions of Rome and Capena,<sup>39</sup> remains a quite undecipherable figure.

In Arcadia, Oenoe (*Oivón*), nurse of Zeus, was not a minor nymph; according to a genealogy referenced or created in the second half of the third century by Ariaitchos of Tegea, author of *Arkadikà*, she bore Pan by Aither,<sup>40</sup> but in the fourth century she had already been sculpted with Zeus as a child on the altar of the temple of Athena Alea in Tegea (Paus. 8.47.3). It is therefore in Arcadia, and also in Italiote areas, that Oenoe receives greater consideration. As in Rossano di Vaglio, on a Magna Graecian mirror from the first half of the third century, she is called Oina (*Oῖνα*); here she is represented playing the lyre in a Dionysian scene with Trieteris, a maenad celebrating the biennial feasts, and Phallodia, a maenad who sings phallic songs.<sup>41</sup> Oinò (*Oivῶ*) is also, according to a myth tied to Delos, one of the *οἰνότροφοι* nymphs, together with Spermò and Elais, to whom Dionysus assigned the task of reproducing the gifts of nature – wine, grain, and oil (Eust. Il. 3.140.1): in this role she is depicted on two Apulian vases by the Darius Painter (340–330 BC).<sup>42</sup>

39) CIL I<sup>2</sup> 32–33 (Rome); CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2435 and Suppl. (1986) p. 1067; see C. Ferrante, Una brocca di bronzo con dedica a Numisius Martius, in: Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz 19 (2008) 7–25.

40) FGrH 316 F4; see M. Jost, Sanctuaires et cultes d’Arcadie, Paris 1985, 262–63; D. Damaskos, Oinoe 1, Oinoe 2, LIMC VII, 1 (1994) 18–19; G. Merro, Gli scolii al ‘Reso’ euripideo, Messina 2008, 161–64.

41) Berlin, Staatl. Mus. 8538; A. Schwarzmaier, Griechische Klappspiegel, Berlin 1997, 161, 260, pl. 87.

42) A. D. Trendall, The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia, II: Late Apulia, Oxford 1982, 494, no. 18/59; A. D. Trendall / A. Cambitoglou, Second Supplement to Red-Figured Vases of Apulia, I, Bulletin Supplement, Univ. of London, Inst. of Classical Studies 60 (1991) 150, no. 65a.

On the Tegea altar, Oenoe was in a central position among the figures of the other eight nymphs of Mount Lycaeus, personifications of natural elements, including Neda (a river that sprang from the mountain), Theisoa (a place on the north side of the mountain), and Hagno (source of waters). Mount Lycaeus was the centrepiece of the Arcadian cult of Zeus.<sup>43</sup>

Through Diomeneia and Oenoe, the Lucani established a new origin myth, grafting it onto the local religion, consistent with the tradition concerning Οἰνώτρος, son of Λυκάων and leader of the Arcadian migration into Italy, as well as the founder of the Οἰνώτροί (Dion. Hal. 1.11.2; Paus. 8.3.5). In the Delian version, conveyed in Apulia by the Darius Painter, Oinò – no longer a nymph but the daughter of Anios and Apollo's nephew – is in any case linked by etymology to the Oenotri: her Dionysian character can be traced back to Orphic-Pythagorean beliefs.<sup>44</sup> In these Italic inventions two female figures are used, Diomeneia and Oenoe, allowing the manipulation of the tradition through new genealogies. The purpose of the construction was to claim the divine origin of the Lucanian ethnos and its derivation from the Oenotrian one, finding its roots in Arcadia, the land that gave birth to Zeus on Mount Lycaeus, and the place where Pan Lycaeus, the son of Oenoe, had a sanctuary (Paus. 8.38.5).

The Lucani could thus recognize themselves in the descendants of the Lykàones, who would have arrived in Italy in ancient times, seventeen generations before the Trojan War.<sup>45</sup> Oina there-

43) J. Larson, *Greek Nymphs: Myth, Cult, Lore*, Oxford 2001, 152–54.

44) M. Halm-Tisserant, *De Délos à l'Apulie: les filles d'Anios et le peintre de Darius*, *Ktéma* 25 (2000) 133–42.

45) S. Ferri, *Nuovi dati e nuove ipotesi sull'origine dei Lucani*, in: P. Borraro (ed.), *Antiche civiltà lucane*, *Atti Conv. Studi Oppido Lucano* (1970), Galatina 1975, 30; Id., *Esigenze archeologiche*, *SCO* 9 (1960) 167–71; B. d'Agostino, *Le genti della Basilicata antica*, in: G. Pugliese Carratelli (ed.), *Italia, omnium terrarum parens*, Milano 1989, 193; S. Cataldi, *Popoli e città del lupo e del cane in Italia meridionale e in Sicilia tra realtà e immagine*, in: M. Sordi (ed.), *Autocoscienza e rappresentazione dei popoli nell'antichità*, Milano 1992, 55–82; for the Oenotri see: M. Torelli, *Per un'archeologia dell'Oinotria*, in: M. Bugno / C. Masseria (eds), *Il mondo enotrio tra VI e V secolo a. C.*, *Quaderni Ostraka* 1.1 (2001) 7–28; A. Mele, *Il mondo enotrio tra VI e V secolo a. C.*, *ibid.*, 253–301; M. Lombardo, *Enotri e Lucani: continuità e discontinuità*, *ibid.*, 329–345; M. L. Lazzarini / P. Poccetti, *Il mondo enotrio tra VI e V secolo a. C.*, *Quaderni Ostraka* 1.2 (2001) 9–212; S. Bianco / A. Preite, *Identificazione degli Enotri*, *MEFRA* 126,2 (2014) 405–428.

fore also had the function of restoring vitality to the myth that the name of the Lucani originated from the word for wolf. The revival of a tradition that was marginal compared to those that saw a call to the light or sylvan sacredness (Fest. 119 L)<sup>46</sup> in the ethnic Oscan *Loucanom* (gen. pl.) reveals ideological intentions and political aims. Oina was, together with Numisus Martius and Numisus Mefitanus, the connecting element between the Oenotri and the Lucani. It is possible to intuit, but not rebuild in succession, a genealogy that began with a divinity (Mars or Mefitis, or both) and included the two Numisii with whom Oina had been associated; this could hardly have been a Numisia.

In all this the aim is evident to readjust the tradition of the direct descent of the Lucani from the Samnites, such that their obvious relationship of ethnic affinity could instead be traced back to common Peloponnesian origins. Thus, just as the Samnites boasted mythical Spartan ancestors, the Lucani-Oenotri found their ancestors in Arcadia. This position certainly established itself after the Lucani assumed a particular political identity – in a moment of rivalry, if not conflict – with the Samnite power. A connection of the Lucani with the wolf, recalling the mythology revolving around Mount Lycaeus, had already established itself in the Greek world in the fourth century, having been mentioned in Aristotle (fr. 611.48 Rose),<sup>47</sup> and in a perspective of political relations it perhaps found an elaboration in Metapontum.<sup>48</sup> The myth of the Arcadian origins of the Lucani should then be dated back to that era, and it is taken up again with vigour during the Hannibalic war, when coins with the Greek name *Lykianoí* (Λυκῖανοί) – a strange invention – were minted with the representation of a protome of a wolf.<sup>49</sup>

46) L. Cappelletti, Le monete ‘lupine’ dei Lucani, *Tyche* 20 (2005) 11–21; see *Loucanam* CIL I<sup>2</sup> 6–7, p. 859, *loucarid*, *louco* CIL I<sup>2</sup> 401, 366a–b, 2444.

47) Heracl. Lemb., Exc. Polit., FHG 2.218; see M. R. Dilts, *Heraclidis Lembi Excerpta Politiarum*, Durham 1971, 28; M. Polito, *Dagli scritti di Eraclide sulle costituzioni*, Salerno 2001, 142; D. Erdas, *Dori d’Italia e di Sicilia e popolazioni locali nelle politeiai aristoteliche di Magna Grecia e Sicilia*, *Aristonothos* 7 (2012) 92.

48) Cappelletti (note 46); R. Sassu, *Culti primari e secondari nel santuario urbano di Metaponto*, *Thiasos* 2 (2013) 3–18.

49) E. Bispham, *The Lucanians: Historical Perspective. Missing in Action?* *Oinotrians, Leukanoi, Lucani, Leucanians*, in: M. Aberson / M. C. Biella / M. Di Fazio / M. Wullschleger (eds), *Entre archéologie et histoire: Dialogues sur divers peuples de l’Italie préromaine*, Berne 2014, 311–330; Cappelletti (note 46).

Towards the end of the third century, and probably exactly in the year 215, after the Lucanian defection following the defeat of Cannae, statues were placed in the sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio of Diomeneia, daughter of Arcas, and of Oina, the nymph whose name recalls the tradition of the Arcadian origins of the Oenotri, in whom the forefathers of the Lucani are at this point recognized.<sup>50</sup> To the defeated Romans, heirs of Troy, the Lucani can boast their descent from the Ἀρκάδες ἐγγεσίμωροι praised by Homer, valiant highlanders unconcerned with seafaring matters. After the end of the Second Punic War, during the reconstruction of relations with Rome, the statues of Jupiter and Diomeneia must have been removed from their first location to a less visible position. Later, in the first decade of the first century BC, the Lucanian quaestor L. Nanonius, on a mandate from the local senate, gave them a new arrangement in the sanctuary square. The new interest in the myth of the Arcadian origins is due to the anti-Roman climate that was a prelude to the *bellum Marsicum*, to which the Lucani gave broad support.

This erudite reconstruction was not entirely fictitious. The invention of Arcadian origins made it possible to regain in an exciting legend the actual relationship of continuity between the worlds of the Oenotri and the Lucani, unknown in the Greek tradition, of which a memory was preserved among the Italic peoples. If the Lucanian state is formed in the fifth century, already with a republican order, this does not involve a substitution of the ethnic base, but an evolution of it, as we see for the northern Sabellian nations. The migratory movements, establishment of colonies, ritual expulsions through the *ver sacrum*, and the infiltrations and mobility of mercenary groups, so frequent in the Sabellian world, certainly contributed to determine new political balances and spread institutional models between the eighth and fifth centuries. In any case, a relevant component of this evolution must have been a migratory

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50) The chronology of the Oscan inscriptions of Rossano di Vaglio – see Zair (note 3) 10–30 – remains not fully reliable: although the texts must be dated between ca. 350–90, the period of the sanctuary's life before the Social War, too many of them are assigned (by Zair also) to the fourth and the third century, while a much greater number should belong to the second century and to the first decade of the first century. It is not credible that the more recent inscriptions have suffered major losses.

flow of people from the Samnite areas that could reasonably be ascribed to the northern Lucani settled in the Sangro Valley, around Atessa.<sup>51</sup> In 504 the Sabine Attus Clausus was permitted to migrate to Rome with 5,000 armed clients.

In conclusion, I believe we can free the field from some inconsistent reconstructions, such as that of the kings of Rossano: in this regard we have a man who must have played an important role in the political history of the Lucani in the second century, Herennius Pomponius, son of Herennius. Furthermore the veneration of Diomeneia and of Oina in a public cult site sheds light on an unsuspected *μυθοποίησις* of the Lucanian state since its establishment.

Roma

Adriano La Regina

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51) G. Colonna, Pallanum. Una città dei Frentani, *ArchCl* 7 (1955) 164–178; Id., Ancora su Pallanum. Il suo territorio e le antiche vie tra Sangro e Sinello, *Quaderni di Archeologia d’Abruzzo* 2 (2010) 175–202; see also Torelli (note 1) 85.