Religious changes in the *ager Campanus* until the first century AD

The aim of my doctoral thesis is to analyze the religious changes in the ager Campanus from the foundation of the city to the end first century AD. The ancient Campania was a multiethnic and multicultural region, inhabited by Greeks, Etruscans, and Oscan tribes and, finally, conquered by Romans. The ager Campanus is the region of Capua and the rural areas around the city with mountains Tifata. The methodological base of my thesis is the theory of acculturation and the theory of globalization and glocalization.

In the first chapter, I analyzed archaeological and epigraphic sources of religious life in Capua and its surroundings. The oldest archaeological artifacts are votive offerings in the shape of the human body. The oldest religious text from this region is the so-called Tabula Capuana, the Etruscan festival calendar connected with the cult of the deceased. From the Oscan history of the city comes a few epigraphic sources which we can divide into two groups: the curse tablets, on which deity Keres was mentioned (Roman Ceres) and the so-called iovila. The iovila was the funeral inscription that was discovered in Fondo Tirone and Fondo Patturelli, near the sanctuary of an unnamed goddess. On one of the inscriptions appeared Jupiter Flavius - an Italian deity. Another important source of religion in the city in the Oscan period is the collection of coins from the 3rd century BC. On the coins there was inscribed the legend in the Oscan alphabet. In the obverse, there was gods and goddess from both local and Greek mythology. There was also a scene with a hide nursing the Telephus, an Etruscan hero, who was the ancestor of the founder of Tarquinia.

From the 2nd century BC, the first examples of Latin epigraphy began to appear in the ager Campanus. There are 55 religious inscriptions from the period between the 2nd century BC and the 1st century AD. The largest part of the inscriptions was devoted to Jupiter (Jupiter without epithet - 9%, Jupiter Liber - 2%, Jupiter - Optimus Maximus - 4%, Jupiter Tifatinus - 5%, Jupiter Compages - 2%; total 22%), Diana (16%) and Hercules (11%). Several inscriptions refer to Ceres (7%) and Castor and Pollux (5%). The other deities appear only in single inscriptions. In addition, we have seven inscriptions (13%), the damage of which prevents them from being assigned to any deity. Jupiter, Ceres, and Diana - show constant popularity despite the political and social changes that Capua had undergone over several centuries. After getting under the political influence of Rome, the deity began to receive the honor in the Roman way and this was commemorated according to the Roman epigraphic custom in Latin as the new language of the elite. Capua easily accepted universal Roman religious customs, at least in their external form. Deities related to Roman religion – Lares, and Manes began to appear in the inscriptions. At the same time, this worship in Roman fashion, traces back to local tradition typical only for this region’s epithets related to worship (Jupiter Vesuvius, Jupiter Compages, Jupiter Tifatinus, Diana Tifatina, Junon Gaur). With the twilight of the Etruscan domination in Capua, the popularity of the Etruscans, the gods mentioned in Tabula Capuana, for the benefit of Italian and perhaps Greek deities, was evidenced by the performances of Athena and Apollo on coins. But when Capua was conquered by Romans after 211 BC, the strong romanization of cults in the city began. Its external trace is a change in the epigraphic custom to Roman and the language of inscription to Latin.

The second chapter was dedicated to the cult places of ager Campanus. There were four main sanctuaries in this area: a federal sanctuary of Hamae, a cult place in Fondo Patturelli connected with the necropolis, and two temples on the slope of the Tifata mountains devoted to Diana and Jupiter and Capitolium. The sanctuary in Hamae is a typical example of an Italian place of worship used not only to conduct worship but also as a place of assembly and resistance to an external enemy. Capitolium contrasts with it - the temple of the Capitoline Triad, symbolizing the state religion of Rome. His presence in Capua already in Hannibal's times shows that Capuanians were strongly influenced by Roman customs and took over Roman cults as their own. However, they joined the classic Capitoline Triad also the goddess Diana, the most important deity of the region. It is an element of glocalization in the global trend of taking over the conquered Roman deities in the form of cults. The earliest Capuan sanctuary was founded in Fondo Patturelli, in the Etruscan period. Two centuries later the Oscan inhabitants built the temple of Diana Tifatina, the main goddess of the region. And in the Roman period, in the second century, BC founded temples of Jupiter Tifatinus It gives us an insight into the transformation of the religious practices of the city's residents over a few centuries in history. The activity of these places of worship is a reflection of political changes: Etruscus hegemony in the Campania, its fall, and the takeover of the city by the Campanians, then capturing by the Samnites and finally slowly getting under Roman influence. The Sanctuary in Fondo Patturelli is an example of the religious acculturation of the inhabitants of Capua. It was founded by the Etruscans at the time when Capua, from a small settlement began to transform into a city . After the disappearance of Etruscan influence in the region, the sanctuary was taken over by the native population and adapted to their needs. Near the sanctuary and the necropolis, a collection of inscriptions in the Oscan language was discovered related to the cult of the deceased. Among the people mentioned in the inscriptions, there are several Etruscan names, which shows that some Etruscan families have adapted to the new culture dominating the city. They took over the Oscan language and local deities. In the sanctuary there were also discovered figurines of matres, dating from the 5th to the first century BC. They show that subsequent generations of women who, despite frequent changes of the political situation of the city, used this place of worship until the first century BC, when the sanctuary was closed. The last of the matres is provided with Latin inscriptions, which means that at the end of the worship it was used by the already romanized population. So why did it stop working? Perhaps the reason for the disappearance of worship with Fondo Patturelli was the growing popularity of the temple of Diana Tifatina, which soon overshadowed even the cult of Jupiter. The action of the temple of Diana Tifatina dates back to the 4th century BC when Capua was already Oscan. The figurine of the goddess found in the sanctuary indicates that at the beginning of its activities there was typically Socan, then Greek artistic influence, which appeared more and more clearly, and Diana is depicted like Greek Artemis, as a hunter with a bow, arrows, and a dog. He also appears as Diana Trivia, corresponding to her competence of the Italian Mefitis, who also submitted a vote in Diana's temple. Diana's world, so important for the religious life of the city, was also looked after by the Roman authorities since the time of Sulla, who expanded its territory. Traces of important personalities are found in the temple, among others Roman consul from 135, Fulvius Flaccus. The cult of Diana and her temple on Mount Tifat dominated the religious life of Capua so far that it pushed into the shadows even temple of Jupiter Tifatinus.

The third chapter was dedicated to analyzing the prosopography of cult officials. From the Etruscan time, there were no names of priests or priestesses. From the Oscan time, we have a few names of meddices on the iovila. The meddix was an Oscan magistrate who was responsible for ensuring the proper way of the religious rituals. The five names of Capuan meddices were preserved. One of them had an Etruscan gentilicium which means that the Etruscan gentes assimilated with new Capuan elites and even held high offices. Other names of cult officers come from the Roman period. We know 176 names of the magistri campani – the peculiar officers from the time when Capua lost its political autonomy. They were responsible for local temples and preparing ludi. Another sign of glocalization was local collegium Augustales. Most members of the collegium had the title Augustalis Capuae. Despite it we also know two names of priestesses of Ceres and a few names of private worshippers.

As for the ethnic structure, the families of Oscan origin dominate. Only the nine gentes are of Etruscan origin. 36 people mentioned on all inscriptions are liberti of Greek origin, as evidenced by cognomina of the type: Agathokles, Cleo, Dionysius, Eunicus, etc. 32 Capuan families also appear on the Delos inscriptions, which may indicate a thriving trade between these two regions. There is also a frequent appearance of Capuan families throughout Campania. Among them, there are people involved in the textile industry (vestarius, purpurarius, lintio) and other types of production and trade (coriarius, scutarius, gladiarius, faber, eborarius). Other magistrates performed professions such as pistor, balneator, lanio, and praeco. Among the people involved in trade and crafts dominated ingenui. Liberti performed such professions as bakers or bathhouse workers. Several Capuan gentes (Caesilli, Anni, Helvi, Calavia. Vibii, Nasenni) appear in the Oscan period on iovila, and in Roman times on Latin inscriptions, which shows the continuity of the urban elite. Some of them preferred a specific type of cult. Blossi only appear on inscriptions dedicated to Jupiter with different epithets. Hordoni and their freedmen appear on the inscriptions of Ceres, and Fulvia on the inscriptions of Castor and Pollux, and Mercury. Mammi are listed as the magistri of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Jupiter Liber. Paccii and Rammi worshipped Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Jupiter Compages. The Tintinia family was involved in the cult of Jupiter Liber. In other cases, such as in Hostia, Octavia, Vibia, and Pomponia, it can be seen that they took part in various cults, with no apparent preference.

The *ager Campanus* area underwent various changes in the sphere of religious life throughout its history. The Roman conquest was only one of these changes. The Etruscan, Greek, and Oscan inhabitants of the region influenced each other through acculturation processes, adapting, to their own needs, the forms and places of worship left by their predecessors. The Romans opened Capua to new global patterns of culture and religion, but the inhabitants of the city adapted these patterns to their local needs in the process of glocalization, creating a new type of Roman culture, associated with the unique domination of the goddess Diana and rooted in the local environment. Capua adopted Roman customs from the 4th century BCE. but a fundamental change in the administrative structure, language, and epigraphic custom came only after Capua lost its independence. It seems that the process of introducing Capua into the orbit of the Roman world was brought to an end by force, preceded by the loss of the city’s autonomy.