

JOURNAL FOR TRANSCULTURAL PRESENCES &
DIACHRONIC IDENTITIES FROM ANTIQUITY TO DATE

thersites

10/2019

Filippo Carlà-Uhink & Maja Gori (Eds.)

Modern Identities and Classical Antiquity



www.thersites-journal.de

Imprint

Universität Potsdam 2020

Historisches Institut, Professur Geschichte des Altertums
Am Neuen Palais 10, 14469 Potsdam (Germany)
<https://www.thersites-journal.de/>

Editors

PD Dr. Annemarie Ambühl (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz)
Prof. Dr. Filippo Carlà-Uhink (Universität Potsdam)
Dr. Christian Rollinger (Universität Trier)
Prof. Dr. Christine Walde (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz)

ISSN 2364-7612

Contact

Principal Contact

Prof. Dr. Filippo Carlà-Uhink
Email: thersitesjournal@uni-potsdam.de

Support Contact

Dr. phil. Christian Rollinger
Email: thersitesjournal@uni-potsdam.de

Layout and Typesetting

text plus form, Dresden

Cover pictures:

- 1 – The Archaeological Museum of the Republic of North Macedonia in Skopje at the time of its construction. Photo by Maja Gori, 2008.
- 2 – Roman gladiator. Part of a statuary group in Rruga Taulantia, Durrës, Albania. Photo by Filippo Carlà-Uhink, September 2019.

Published online at:

<https://doi.org/10.34679/thersites.vol10>

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons License:
Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0).
This does not apply to quoted content from other authors.
To view a copy of this license visit
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

MAJA GORI & ALESSANDRO PINTUCCI

(Institute of Heritage Science, National Research Council of Italy [ISPC-CNR] |
University Sapienza of Rome)

Alatri in the Sky with Diamonds

Resisting Romanization in present-day Italy*

Abstract This article focuses on the Cyclopean masonry walls of the city of Alatri, in the *Latium Vetus*, and on their role in the present identity-building process. Traditional chronology for these structures—now also supported by data from stratigraphic excavations—places them in the 4th century BC, in the context of the Samnite Wars, in which this city of Hernician origin fought as an ally of Rome. Alternative theories, with deep roots in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and widespread among the inhabitants of Alatri, date these imposing walls many centuries earlier, and ascribe their construction to a group of Hittites who were fleeing from their capital Hattusa in Asia Minor and settled in central Italy. Dealing with pseudo-archaeologists and amateur scholars and their relationship to scientific archaeology, the case study addressed in this paper deals with the widespread problem of the relationship between mainstream archaeology and pseudo-archaeology, and their role in the identity-building process based on archaeological discourses.

The complex problem of the relationship between the adoption of a multivocal approach and the dissemination of scientific results among society will also be analysed, also through a comparison with the case of Sardinia.

Keywords Alatri, identity, polygonal masonry, fanta-archaeology, multivocality

Riassunto L'articolo è incentrato sulle mura in opera poligonale della città di Alatri, nel *Latium Vetus* e sul loro ruolo nella costruzione delle identità presenti. La cronolo-

* Both authors contributed equally to the paper. They co-authored parts 1 and 6; A. Pintucci wrote parts 2 and 4, while M. Gori is responsible for parts 3 and 5.

gia tradizionale per queste strutture, oggi suffragata anche da dati provenienti da scavi stratigrafici, le pone al IV sec. a. C., realizzate nel contesto delle lotte tra i Romani e i Sanniti, contesto nel quale, la città di origine ernica fu al fianco di Roma. Alcune teorie alternative, con profonde radici nel diciannovesimo e ventesimo secolo e popolari fra la comunità di Alatri, vorrebbero queste mura imponenti, realizzate molti secoli prima, addirittura da un gruppo di Ittiti in fuga dalla capitale Hattusa, in Asia Minore. Tra aspiranti archeologi e studiosi dilettanti, il caso studio discusso in questo articolo affronta il più generale problema del rapporto tra l'archeologia ufficiale e la pseudo-archeologia, e il loro ruolo nella costruzione delle identità basate sul discorso archeologico. Sarà, inoltre, analizzato, anche attraverso il confronto col caso della Sardegna, il complesso problema del rapporto tra esigenze di apertura alla multivocalità e quelle di informare correttamente la società dei risultati scientifici.

1. TELL ME HOW YOU DATE THIS WALL AND I'LL TELL YOU WHO YOU ARE!

Recently, the chronological framework and interpretation of several monuments built in *opus polygonale* (polygonal masonry)—concentrated in central Italy—have been challenged by new research.¹ Traditional chronology placed these structures in the Archaic period, or earlier, in Protohistoric times. This chronological framework has been correctly replaced by a date in the mid-Republican era, thus better fitting the historical and social contexts in which they had been conceived and built. This scientific debate, focusing on the chronological and cultural interpretation of polygonal walls, has however now sparked a heated dispute not only among the archaeologists but, most importantly, between the archaeologists and the inhabitants of the towns where these monuments are located. Local communities are not willing to accept that their monuments, which hold a strong meaning for local identity, are not as ancient as was previously thought. In their perspective, a lower chronology somehow delegitimizes and impoverishes the value of their monuments and towns. The kernel of the dispute is however political, as these monuments are locally epitomised as symbols of an ancient cultural and political independence from Rome.

Among the towns where outstanding monuments in polygonal masonry still stand, we can list Terracina-Anxur, Praeneste, Norba, Cori, Ferentinum and Alatri. The last is a tiny town south of Rome and close to Frosinone in the Italian region of Lazio: it is famous for the archaeological complex that forms its historical centre known as the *megalithic acropolis*, or *Civita*. Alatri can be taken as a classic example of the importance of archaeological discourse in the building of local identity (Fig. 1).

Following the dissemination of new research on Alatri's polygonal masonry, some amateur archaeologists from the town engaged in an argument with the scientific community, accusing the mainstream archaeologists² of lacking any

1 See Attenni Baldassarre (2012); (2015); Attenni (2019); Nicosia Bettini (2009). For contexts outside *Latium Vetus* and directly linked with the Roman conquest of Italy, see Rose (2018). It is worth mentioning the activities of the *Centro studi sull'opera polygonale* and the seminars that are regularly held on the topic (seven, so far) at Alatri.

2 As 'mainstream archaeologists' here we mean professional archaeologists, whether they are working in research or in the public sector, i.e. somebody who holds a degree in archaeology. Mainstream science is scientific inquiry in an established field of study that does not depart significantly from orthodox theories. Mainstream archaeology is thus distinguish-



Figure 1 The southern walls of the acropolis and the Porta Maggiore

scientific argument and even of desiring to hide the truth about the real origins of the archaeological remains on which their town was built. This controversy also moved much beyond the small town of Alatri: thanks to social media, it reached a larger audience of so-called ‘pseudo-archaeologists’,³ a group of amateurs whose theories about the past are based on fictional interpretations of past remains—within Italy these are mostly concentrated on Sardinia and its alleged mysteries. It took but a short time until archaeological connections between Sardinia and Alatri were ‘established’, and some pseudo-archaeologists became

ed from pseudo-archaeology by its standard practices of applying good scientific methods. The definition is also used by Italian pseudo-archaeologists when they refer to an academic interpretation of archaeology.

³ In Italy ‘pseudo-archaeologists’—also known as fanta-archaeologists, especially in Sardinia—is a term that defines non-archaeologists who self-proclaim themselves as experts in archaeology, though without holding any degree in the subject. There is an ongoing debate on which term is the more appropriate for describing non-academic interpretations of archaeology e.g. fantastic archaeology (Williams 1991), alternative archaeology (Holtorf 2005), pseudo-archaeology (Fagan 2006), etc.

self-proclaimed rebels against the system and the archaeological establishment, engaging in a fight to spread among local people the *truth* about their past.

Through the example of Alatri and its alleged connection to Sardinia, this paper aims at putting into a social and political framework the tensions between mainstream archaeologists and local communities supported by pseudo-archaeologists. It will also address the role of archaeological discourse in identity building by discussing the role of mainstream archaeologists in the society and the challenges of adopting a multivocal approach to archaeology and of spreading scientific ways in the community. In this paper cultural, social, and psychological aspects connected to the denial of the Roman parentage of the Alatri monuments will be addressed. It will also be explained why, besides communicating the scientific results to society at large, it is also crucial for archaeologists to engage not only with local communities, but also with non-professional archaeologists, even when the debate takes place in the ‘pseudo-archaeology arena’.

2. THE MEGALITHIC DILEMMA

Old *Aletrium* was one of the Hernician towns that formed a defensive league against the Volsci and the Samnites in the 6th century BC. The league was initially an ally of Rome that was then—according to tradition—under the rule of king Tarquinius Superbus. In 493 BC, according to tradition, Alatri joined the *Foedus Cassianum*⁴—a treaty that formed an alliance between the Roman Republic and the Latin League—thus reinforcing its earlier alliance with Rome. Later in 306 BC, following the break of the Hernician tribes from Rome, *Ferentinum*, *Aletrium* and *Verulae*—the towns that had remained loyal to the Republic—were rewarded by being allowed to remain free municipia. Imposing monuments of this past now lie at the heart of modern Alatri, which has well-preserved fortified city-walls constructed of polygonal blocks of local limestone. Alatri’s walls belong to the so-called megalithic architecture of Central Italy, which consists of buildings, terraces and defensive structures present in the territory roughly corresponding to the *Latium Vetus* and the central Apennine region and made of huge limestone blocks with a dry-walling technique. On the top of the hill at the centre of the modern town known as *Civita* stands the acropolis, which is also

4 Dion.Hal. VI, 95, 1–3; Liv. II, 33, 3–4, 9; Cic. pro Balbo 23, 53; Fest. 166 L, 276 L.

fortified with polygonal walls and whose perimeter measures 2 km. Two rectangular gates to the citadel, the Porta Maggiore and the Porta Minore or ‘dei Falli’ were constructed, both passing through the wall. The smaller gate is decorated with three phalli in relief, from which it takes its name. Later a ramp was added on the northern side of the acropolis.

The first studies on Alatri date back to the late 18th and 19th centuries, when Louis Charles François Petit-Radel, a French archaeologist, discovered megalithic architecture scattered in the Roman countryside, and theorised a Pelasgian or even Pre-Pelasgian construction for these structures, including Alatri’s walls, thus dating them to about 1600–1500 BC.⁵ The construction of these structures was long attributed to the mysterious Pelasgians. In the ancient sources the Pelasgians were described as having inhabited Greece and also Italy before the coming of the Greeks, Illyrians and Italic populations, as later known in the historical periods. Throughout the 19th century there was a general consensus that the Pelasgians were the aboriginal inhabitants of Greece. This term does not point to any specific material culture—as the Pelasgians simply were never archaeologically and historically identified—so to use McNerney’s words “it serves as little more than a portmanteau label, a catch-all term for everything prehistoric yet not identifiably Mycenaean”⁶ in Greece and adjacent areas.

In the 1950s, Giuseppe Lugli in his monumental work on Roman building techniques, divided the *opus poligonale* into four subtypes. The third one, to which the walls of Alatri belong, and the fourth were attributed to the Romans: they were associated with the phenomenon of colonization in central Italy.⁷ His chronological framework was based on an evolution in building techniques. According to his analysis, the technique used in Alatri was considered one typical of Romanization and an expression of Roman rule. Lugli’s scheme has already been reconsidered in the 1980s⁸—especially as concerns its chronology—but also for his direct correlation between the building techniques and Roman rule.⁹ However at the time the impact that his studies had on the dating of *opus poligonale* and consequently the dismissal of a Pelasgian origin for these structures

5 On this topic, see Nizzo (2009) 10–21.

6 McNerney (2014) 25.

7 Lugli (1957) 65–151. For the dating of the masonry, see Lugli (1957) 98–102.

8 First Coarelli (1982), 388–389.

9 Not all the cities provided with polygonal masonry of III or IV type were Roman colonies.

was huge. Alatri thus lost its illustrious past embodied in its Cyclopean walls built by a mysterious people called the Pelasgians to become just another Italian town subjugated by a foreign power and the walls the very symbol of this oppression. The inhabitants of Alatri—celebrated as descendants of the astute builders of the acropolis—were thus deprived of any historical support in the narration about their origins, which were relegated in the realm of legend and fantasy. Lugli's interpretation was however solely based on the analysis of the building techniques: since he failed to produce any further scientific proof to sustain his claims, his theories were easily dismissed by local scholars and archaeology amateurs.

The theory of the Pelasgian origins of Alatri's walls was revived during the 20th century by Don Giuseppe Capone, a local priest with a sound training in classical culture, who wrote several books focusing on Alatri and its territory. He was convinced that Alatri's walls were built by a group of Hittites who had fled into west Europe after the end of their empire. His theory was based on the supposed similarity of Alatri's walls with those of Hattusa and other Hittite cities. Capone's conclusions were also based on the Mari tablets, a group of texts dated to 1800–1750 BC found in Mari, an ancient Semitic city in modern-day Syria and written in Akkadian: these give information about the kingdom and the names of people who lived during that time. In the Mari tablets, a city called A-la-at-re-eki/A-la-at-ru-ùki, given as 'Alatrû'¹⁰ is mentioned together with other eastern cities famous for their walls. Capone tried to demonstrate that in the far past, a group of people coming from Hattusa, the Hittite capital city, had settled on the hill now occupied by modern Alatri, thus founding the city along with its powerful walls. In his most famous work *'La progenie Hetea'* (1982), he affirms explicitly his desire to make Alatri famous, an equal to Mycenae or Tiryns. Alatri would thus be distinguished and would stand out from the hundreds of Roman cities scattered in central Italy. To be special, unique, Alatri needed to be the only Hittite city in the western Mediterranean.

This remained the situation until the excavations carried out in 2001,¹¹ which finally provided the scientific data that assigned unquestionably the construction of Alatri's megalithic structures to the 4th–3rd centuries BC. Following these stratigraphical investigations, the argument exploded again.

10 Durand (1998, II) 47–49.

11 Gatti (2006).

The confirmation of the new 4th century BC chronology for Alatri's walls—i.e. during the Samnite and Latin Wars and not in the Middle Bronze Age—was received by local savants and archaeology amateurs with scepticism and actual mistrust. They completely rejected this new dating and went on promoting the chronology and interpretation given by Capone. Further, the functional interpretation of these acropolis structures as defensive devices was rejected in favour of their being seen as structures belonging to a temple. Alatri's new chronological and cultural understanding thus sparked a passionate debate amongst the local population, who firmly believe that the construction of the Alatri complex pre-dates Romanization.

Based on Capone's studies, a small group of local amateurs supported by the local community mounted a defence for the 19th century theories, proposing a Pelasgian and Middle Eastern origin for the people who built Alatri's acropolis and its city walls, identifying them with the Hittites. The reason behind the appeal of these outdated narratives lies in the traditional hostility shown both to the Romans, who are perceived even today as invaders, and to a later concept of Romanization that was forged in the context of the Italian Imperial 19th-century enterprise in Africa and the Mediterranean.¹² The citizens of Alatri perceive

12 To understand the socio-political context of the 'Alatri affair', it is necessary to take into account how Italian archaeology developed in the decades around the unification of the country in the 19th century. The reception of antiquity in Italian identity building is, however, a wide and complex topic. Since a thorough discussion on this is beyond the scopes of the present paper, refer to e.g. Barbanera (1998); Arthurs (2012); De Francesco (2017). The main issue concerns the relationship between the Romans and the Italic peoples, and the labelling of the Roman conquest of Italy simply as Romanization, that is, the transformation of the Italic peoples into Romans and Latins. The concept of Romanization has been at the centre of criticism and discussion by both historians and archaeologists for the past thirty years, starting with Martin Millett's *The Romanization of Britain* (1990). This topic is too wide to be exhaustively addressed in a footnote, here we would however like to draw attention to its supposed 'end', that coincides with the publication on *Archaeological Dialogues* 21-1 in 2014 of a series of papers that, starting from the initial provocative piece by Versluys, have traced the most important developments of this debate, declaring it substantially resolved and inviting the research community to go further. This topic, as Versluys (2014, 4–5) clearly admits, had a different impact depending on the research traditions in which it was debated: while in the Anglo-Saxon tradition it was very strong and marked the abandonment of a series of 19th and 20th century paradigms, in France, Germany or Italy, it had a minor echo. The paradigm, in essence, has remained almost unchanged. Excluding Terrenato (2001; 2008), a scholar with a background in Italian research tradition but working in an almost exclusively English-

mainstream archaeology and the new advances in research as the ‘voice of the victors’ able to diminish local histories, traditions and beliefs.

3. ALATRI IN THE SKIES WITH DIAMONDS

Here we will focus on one of Capone’s followers, Ornello Tofani, probably the most active and engaged archaeology amateur of Alatri. Tofani claimed that the correct interpretation of the structure was not as an acropolis, but of a stellar temple built following the alignments of constellations.¹³ This interpretation was mainly based on the presence of scattered fragments of an incised stone found in the proximity of the acropolis plateau. This artefact was interpreted by Tofani as an astronomical compass pointing towards the stars in Orion’s belt, with which allegedly the acropolis was aligned. The supposed alignment had occurred in 5300 BC, and thus this date was taken as the founding moment for the temple. In reality the artefact, which furthermore was not recovered in its original context, is just an ordinary *tabula lusoria*—a well-known game board from the Roman period—absolutely identical to the thousands found all over the Empire. Tofani connected Alatri to a number of sites that are traditionally used in archaeo-astronomist narratives: the Egyptian pyramids, Hattusa, Giza, Karnak, the alleged Bosnian Pyramids of Visoko, and even Xi’an, a site in China (Fig. 2). And as with many amateurs, he found it absolutely of no problem to align these

speaking research environment, in Italy the key work of the project ‘*E pluribus unum?*’ (see footnote 27) represented an actual turning point. Finally, several Italian researchers have been debating the question of the relationship between the Romans and the Italics in the age of the Roman conquest of Italy. See e.g.: Millett (1990); Woolf (1998); (2014); Terrenato (2001a); (2001b); (2008); Van Dommelen/Terrenato (2007); Stek (2013); (2014); Aberson/Biella/Di Fazio/Wullschleger (2014); Aberson/Biella/Di Fazio/Sánchez/Wullschleger (2016); Carlà-Uhink (2017).

13 Tofani disseminates his theories mainly through social media, especially Facebook and Youtube. His theories are advertised on online blogs focusing on archaeology and mysteries, such as ‘Il punto sul mistero’: <http://www.ilpuntosulmistero.it/cinque-ricercatori-internazionali-per-lacropoli-di-alatri-fr/>. Tofani has published also a book with an on-demand publishing house. The book is difficult to purchase online. Here is a review published by the online magazine ‘Archeomedia’ <https://www.archeomedia.net/ornello-tofani-alatri-lacropoli-ed-i-suoi-misteri/> [24/03/2020].

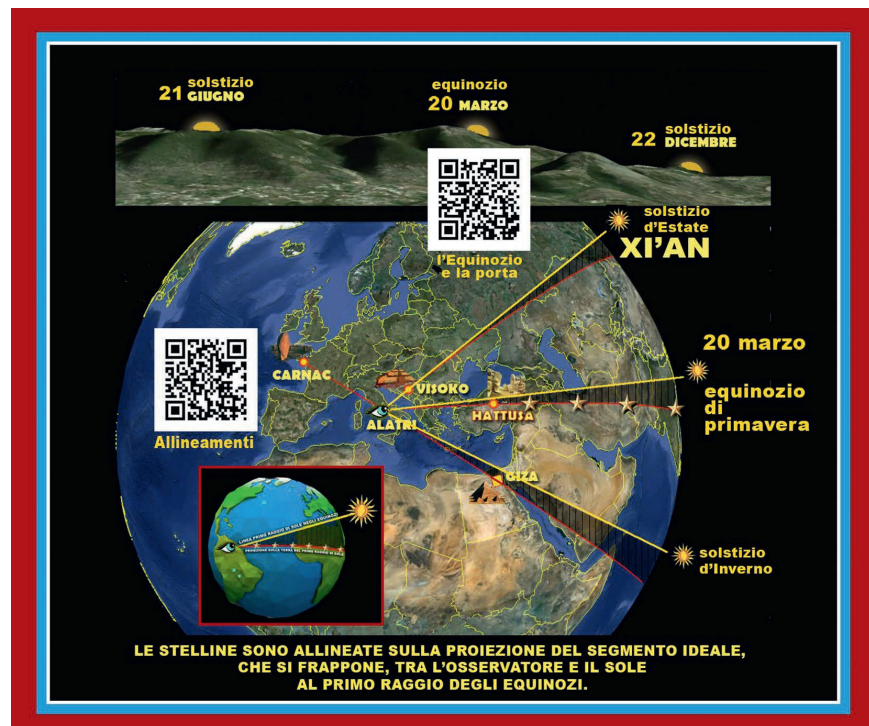


Figure 2 O. Tofani connects Alatri to a number of sites that are traditionally used in archaeo-astronomist narratives

sites by using Google Earth.¹⁴ Tofani is also genuinely convinced that Alatri's Acropolis is a magic place, able to make women pregnant and people happy. On the Porta Minore there is the phallic relief mentioned above, dating to the 3rd century BC,¹⁵ which he has interpreted as connected to the sun that penetrates the covered staircase connected to the gate, and is thus able to make women fertile. Lately, his attention has been drawn to Göbekli Tepe, another 'mysterious'

¹⁴ It is beyond the scope of the present paper to analyse the role of the Italian press—even the accredited ones—in spreading news concerning the alleged connection of astronomy and archaeology, but we would like to point out that China, pyramids and stars are regrettably a quite common topic dealt with in the scientific column of national newspapers, as in this case https://www.repubblica.it/scienze/2018/11/30/news/le_piramidi_dell_antica_cina_orientate_verso_la_futura_stella_polare-213063626/?ref=RHPPRT-BS-IO-C4-P1-S1.4-T1&fbclid=IwAR19tR-WJGnboR7HeSCx9IZ1nflsoBxObIkThmqwuRaNQQhbITN72f8OEw [24/03/2020].

¹⁵ Phallic reliefs are very common on polygonal walls in Latium, see Lugli (1957) 96–97.



Figure 3 The two temples that will change history: Göbekli Tepe and Alatri. Note Alatri's dating to Middle Neolithic

site that is extremely popular among fanta-archaeologistst worldwide (Fig. 3).¹⁶ In Tofani's view, the entire acropolis plateau possesses the same superpowers as the famous Neolithic sanctuary. With some 'special instruments', Tofani has measured emissions over a wide range of low-noise frequencies that in his opinion would heal the soul.

Most noticeably, Tofani spread his theories through social media, by engaging in debates with professional archaeologists and scholars, reaching a wide audience of both experts and non-experts. It is worth spending a few words here to analyse the language that Tofani uses to communicate his theories through social networks. In his narratives, he depicts himself as an independent re-

¹⁶ For further information on Göbekli Tepe's importance among fanta-archaeologists, see the excellent blog run by the DAINST, such as this post by O. Dietrich <https://www.dainst.blog/the-tepe-telegrams/2016/05/18/who-built-gobekli-tepe/#comment-2546> [24/03/2020].

searcher, a self-proclaimed protector of the archaeological site of Alatri, which is neglected by the Italian state and, more importantly, by the archaeologists.¹⁷ Tofani, indeed, considers archaeologists as his enemies—in particular the ones employed by the state (Fig. 4). In a greeting card for Easter 2016 that he shared via Facebook, for example, he listed all the world's problems: together with war, politics, weapon dealers and the Vatican (Fig. 5), we find noticeably also the *Soprintendenze*—the Italian State archaeological service—which are accused of neglecting the site of Alatri, and not doing enough for its protection, fruition and conservation. It is important to point out that his theories, as well as his criticism of the state, have gained a wide audience in the local population of Alatri, with several inhabitants of the town vehemently defending their alleged Hittite origins against what they call the 'Rome-centric mainstream archaeology'.

Through social media Tofani also got in contact with other Italian pseudo-archaeologists, some of them well-known crooks. One in particular convinced him that an ordinary block whose surface was slightly more irregular than others forming the southern walls at Alatri was actually a worn relief depicting the Mother Goddess. Needless to say, a connection to the Mother Goddess at Çatal Höyük was established, with an ordinary wall stone being transformed into a Mother Goddess statue.¹⁸

Tofani's research on Alatri costs him time, and, more importantly, money. To sustain himself he has established a cultural association, through which he seeks to gain access to the financial resources allocated by the Italian State for cultural activities. It is interesting to analyse the images chosen for the campaign. The cultural association is called '*Le mura*'¹⁹ (the walls), and donations are sought for the temple (the acropolis) and not directly to finance the association. The 2016 funding campaign focussed on the central role that Alatri has for the identity of its citizens. The image chosen for the financing campaign is a

17 See for example Tofani's own Youtube channel through which he disseminates his work, such as <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1gv2GKW13sc>, and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oiixbzzRHpQ> [24/03/2020].

18 News concerning these 'discoveries' were advertised through local newspapers, such as *Il Gazzettino Ciociaro*, as in this article by A. Tagliaferri <https://ilgazzettinociociaro.it/2016/03/14/alatri-altra-scoperta-dello-studio-garuti-forse-e-la-dea-madre/> [24/03/2020].

19 As happens often in Italy, such types of cultural associations are officially registered with the sole purpose of obtaining a legal status to collect funding to support *other* activities. They are active only locally and for this reason there is no website or other information available, as here the association targets only the inhabitants of Alatri.



Figure 4 “Save the Temple. A hailstorm like that of Florence would have destroyed it. I will not allow it. To hell with Soprintendenza”



Figure 5 Image for an Easter card listing the evils of the world including the Vatican and the *Soprintendenze*



Figure 6 Leaflet advertising the possibility to give part of one's own pre-tax donations to the cultural association "Le Mura"

mother with a child designed to remind Alatri's population of the importance of their origins (Fig. 6). Thanks to his efforts and everyday engagement, Tofani has started to enjoy great success in Alatri and beyond. Some popular Italian magazines focusing on gossip even interviewed him on his research.²⁰ His popularity started growing and reached its acme when he was invited as a guest on a TV programme aired on national public television, called Voyager.²¹ This show

²⁰ <https://www.ilpuntoamezzogiorno.it/2016/04/i-misteri-di-alatri-e-le-ricerche-di-tofani-sul-settimanale-cronaca-vera/> [24/03/2020].

²¹ The show Voyager was transmitted on 24 January 2011, with the title 'Viaggio: un computer dal passato' featuring the Antikythera mechanism as main topic, but also featuring Alatri, extraterrestrial life, Isaac Newton, and the Freemasonry. See also another popular program—'I misteri di Syusy Blady'—interviewing Tofani on his research <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q9xSS9hH8Vwb> [24/03/2020].

specializes in dealing with fake mysteries of all kinds, from the chubacabras—a mythical blood-sucking animal infesting Central America—to the more well-known relations claimed between aliens and pyramids.

In 2011 the team presenting the TV show came to Alatri, being guided by Tofani. During the show, the director of the local archaeological Museum, Luca Attenni, was also invited for an interview. He definitely ruled out the possibility that Tofani's theories had any kind of scientific reliability, causing a bitter response from Tofani himself and also from part of Alatri's population, which passionately lined up with him and his pro-Hittite theories. Attenni and his colleague archaeologists were disdainfully addressed as philo-Romans. In spite of the fact that parts of the population of Alatri accept the scholarly theories proposed by the archaeologists, Tofani has attracted a consistent following, thanks to his ability in engaging with the local population.²² He creates interest in the site, organizes guided tours of the acropolis, and above all, thanks to special agreements with local primary and secondary schools, he expounds to the children on the mysteries of ancient Alatri and its stellar temple.

One of the most interesting aspects of Tofani's activity is the inclusive approach that he adopts in involving the local community. Noticeable are his efforts in involving Italians with foreign backgrounds in the valorisation of local cultural heritage. He is indeed fully aware that the integration of different communities into the Italian social and cultural life occurs by spreading knowledge of the territory and its cultural heritage. This is the reason why he organised, among others, a course focusing on archaeo-astronomy especially dedicated to Alatri's Chinese community. One Chinese artisan, Yang Pueng, appreciated Tofani's efforts to such an extent that he crafted a gold ring reproducing the *templum-tabula lusoria* on it (Fig. 7).

²² This information was collected by one of the authors (AP) together with Luca Attenni, the director of the Alatri Civic Museum, on different occasions during their common work at Alatri (see below paragraph 4).



Figure 7 The ring realized by a Italian-Chinese artist inspired by the “Templum” of the acropolis

4. WHEN ARCHAEOLOGY MEETS THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

In August 2016, Alessandro Pintucci, one of this paper’s authors, was asked to participate in a survey project targeting a series of completely unknown structures, located in the area called Pelonga—Monte Capraro. Pelonga is an agricultural area, located on the southern side of a very steep hill just south of Alatri, with very few houses and supporting cultivation especially of olive trees. Earlier, some archaeologists had already noticed the importance of the site, especially Italo Biddittu, who in the 1960s reported the news of the accidental discovery of a Bronze Age tomb during some excavation works in that area.²³ A few months earlier, during an excursion in the area, two citizens of Alatri, Giulio Rossi, a general practitioner and former town councillor for culture, and Angelo Boezi, a Latin teacher with a background in oriental archaeology, had noticed, perhaps for the first time clearly, that the numerous accumulations of stones that have always characterized the landscape of Pelonga had an unusual regularity. These structures had to be something more than stone piles! So, they chose to imme-

²³ Biddittu (1985).

diately warn the Soprintendenza, in the hope that it would promptly deal with these too long neglected ruins in the Alatri outskirts. However, they did not receive from the Soprintendenza the feedback they were hoping for. The answer was quite vague, and in the end their concerns were dismissed, causing subsequent distrust in the state and its mainstream archaeologists.

The enthusiasm that was engendered among the inhabitants of Alatri following the re-discovery of these structures convinced Luca Attenni, the director of the Alatri Civic Museum, to appoint one archaeologist to geo-reference and document those structures. For several months Alessandro Pintucci explored the Pelonga area, accompanied by Giulio Rossi and often also by Angelo Boezi, positioning and drawing the heaps of stones and so revealing a landscape of olive trees and dry-stone walls that had been made in the same way for centuries. At the end of 2018, the results of these researches were published in a book authored by Boezi and Rossi.²⁴ The book avoids presenting any conclusive interpretations for the site. On the contrary, there is a wish to pursue research further into the site through the excavation of these structures, which is clearly a request for the involvement of mainstream archaeology in the interpretation of the site. In the book all the data and documentary material available from the area so far are reported. The book was presented to the municipal library of Alatri in the presence of the Director of the Civic Museum and the officer of the archaeological Soprintendenza. The venue was crowded with people who saluted the book on Pelonga as exemplifying a blow on behalf of a territory that in their opinion had been abandoned by the established institutions. Finally, the Soprintendenza have decided to pay attention to the two authors' report and have started official research in the archaeological site. This work is currently ongoing: it will almost certainly include excavations at one or more structures, aimed at providing a reliable chronological framework and interpretation.

Every archaeologist knows how difficult it is to engage local communities in our work. In this case many enthusiastic people gathered in the municipal library not because they wanted to learn about new discoveries in their territory, but because the story of something that everyone knew already about—the presence of an archaeological site in Pelonga—had suddenly assumed importance and stature, solely because of the stubbornness of the local inhabitants who had convinced the competent authority to give credit to their stories. One important question emerges from this story. What would have been the outcome, if a

24 Boezi/Rossi (2018).

forward-looking museum director had *not* understood the importance of the intuition of two local archaeology enthusiasts? Pseudo-archaeology finds fertile ground precisely in the restrictive attitudes at times adopted by mainstream archaeology, and in the inability of institutions to listen to the different voices that go to produce culture, and so diminish the stories that the territory and the local community have to tell.

On the one hand, Tofani is vehemently opposed to archaeologists, who are accused of deliberately hiding the truth concerning the real origins of Alatri. On the other, however, he tries to engage in a debate with archaeologists in an attempt to acquire legitimacy for his theories. It is clear that the interpretation of Alatri's wall as a temple predating the Romans has a political value and serves to boost the archaeological pride of its inhabitants. The lack of confidence in official archaeology, which is accused of denying the cultural identity of Alatri, is also partially caused by the approach that Italian archaeology has adopted in the research on the expansion of the Roman domination. The cultural contribution made by local populations that inhabited the territories subjected to Roman control has generally received poor attention, inasmuch they were labelled as generically pre-Roman. This approach has changed over the past 30 years,²⁵ and recently the theme of the originality, diversity and identity of the Italic population in the face of Roman domination has acquired widespread visibility within local archaeologists working in central Italy thanks to a series of three conferences, which took place between 2013 and 2016 in Geneva, Rome and Oxford called *E pluribus unum*.²⁶ During these meetings, the cultural continuity of local populations, also extending into colonial contexts until at least the mid-1st century BC, has been thoroughly addressed. However, this new interpretation of Roman-Italic interactions in Antiquity has not reached the public at large, as the narrative on the spread of Roman rule over the Peninsula based on ancient sources still remains the traditional one.

25 See fn. 13.

26 Aberson/Biella/Di Fazio/Wullschleger (2014) and Aberson/Biella/Di Fazio/Sánchez/Wullschleger (2016). The project "*E pluribus unum*"? *Italy from the pre-Roman fragmentation to the Augustan unity* aims to give a picture of the peoples of ancient pre-Roman central Italy and of the contribution made by them to the formation of the "unaccomplished identity" of the Italian peninsula during the late-Republic and Empire. The project's outcome are three books that stem from the conferences, each dedicated to a specific chronological period and to its problems. For a thorough overview on the topic see Carlà-Uhink (2017).

5. FROM THE PELASGIANS TO THE SHARDANA, ARCHAEOLOGY IS POLITICS.

As we have seen, a valuable ally for pseudo-archaeologists are social networks, vehicles for a huge mass of information and ideas that have no precedent in history. Thanks to these tools, the community of pseudo-archaeologists interacts, meets, discusses and, of course, argues. The debate among pseudo-archaeologists is lively and hot, every bit as much as in academia. In this context, Tofani's theories pricked the interest of another pseudo-archaeologist, of Campanian origin but working for a long time in Sardinia, known for having invented a Bronze Age Nuragic writing that would resemble the Celtic Ogham—the latter of which, however, dates much later to the 5th–8th centuries AD. Fabio Garuti, after having worked for years in Sardinia, where he claimed to be the first to have identified and the only one able to read and translate the Nuragic writing, moved for some time to Alatri to study the city walls and asserted he had identified Sardinian writing in Alatri as well.²⁷

The connection of Sardinia with Alatri is not by chance, nor is it linked exclusively to the personal relationship of the two pseudo-archaeologists. A common trait in these pseudo-archaeological theories is the struggle they conduct against mainstream archaeology, that is perceived as a manifestation of the power of the establishment. For a long time, the Sardinian pseudo-archaeologist community has been waging a battle to achieve the recognition of the oriental origin of the Sardinian people, deriving from the mysterious Shardana as cited in Egyptian and some Hittite sources. The Shardana, an element of the so-called Sea Peoples—considered as one of the contributing factors to the end of the Bronze Age in the eastern Mediterranean—are the subject of a long-lasting scientific debate centred on the interpretation of a large inscription at Karnak and other archaeological sources.²⁸ The Shardana, in particular, have been investigated for a

²⁷ Even if Garuti had joined the Sardinian fight for independence, yet as a non-Sardinian he was not particularly loved by the group of Sardinian pseudo-archaeologists and was in the end seen as an external element who came to steal disciples for other local pseudo-archaeologists. Questions concerning the Sardinian alphabet and its antiquity are regularly discussed by local press, as recently appeared in an article illustrating the alleged antiquity of the Sardinian alphabet in respect to the Latin one. <https://www.unionesarda.it/articolo/cultura/2020/01/08/l-iscrizione-sul-vaso-di-dueno-in-sardo-e-non-in-latino-8-972946.html?fbclid=IwARoLt7S3-IrT3Hkq7Ckm96SGhKVGgJsNs8pQWkAUws9-ysAKx13gVt3jinQ> [24/03/2020].

²⁸ For an overview on Sea People, see Cline (2014).

long time to see if it is possible that these people might be identified with the inhabitants of Sardinia. Research on the Sea Peoples in Italy, however, faces some serious hurdles. Given the available archaeological sources, however, the archaeologists have dismissed the theories on the Sea People that were based only on ancient sources and thus deemed too speculative (i.e. Bronze Age material culture can in no way be ascribed to any “people”), up to the point of denying their existence.²⁹ On the other hand, other scholars even seem to tolerate pseudo-archaeological theories.³⁰

The claim of an autochthonous origin for the Shardana and thus of the present Sardinian people is all in all not so very different from the other archaeological discourses employed in present identity building. It is functional to a narrative that on the one hand makes the ethnogenesis of Sardinian people autonomous from other Italian and Mediterranean peoples, so bestowing on them some quality of uniqueness. At the same time, this oriental origin strengthens the authority of the Sardinian people by magnifying their antiquity and linking their development to events of great importance, such as the development of the Middle Eastern empires of the Bronze Age.

The Shardana, therefore, as a mercenary people who fought for Ramses in Qadesh, represent for Sardinian pseudo-archaeology the undoubted progenitors of present Sardinian culture, famed ancestors superseding what is perceived as an altogether too ordinary origin as narrated by official archaeology. The oriental origin is not the only pseudo-archaeological theory popular in the Sardinian collective imagination. Recently the theory of the journalist Sergio Frau—of Sardinian origin—has claimed the island as the Platonic Atlantis hit by a tsunami in the past. Frau claims to have found evidence for this event and his theories were widely spread by national newspapers like *La Repubblica*.³¹ His theory has been so widespread, even among the general public, that an exhibition based on his theories was financed by the Sardinia Region and set up for view at Cagliari airport.³²

29 Nibbi (1972); (1997).

30 On this last point, see Tusa (2018) and his condescending attitudes towards ‘mysterious’ archaeological narratives.

31 <https://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2003/07/27/un-isola-chiamata-atlantide-se-fosse-la.html> [24/03/2020].

32 <http://www.sogaer.it/it/sala-stampa/apre-la-mostra-‘sardegna-archeologica’> [24/03/2020].

Economic support given to these sorts of research is, in fact, one of the most controversial topics to be faced if we want to understand the stormy relationship between Sardinian pseudo-archaeology and mainstream archaeologists. In a period of dramatic cuts for the funding of culture, the choice of Sardinian institutions to finance this kind of research has a marked political slant. Indeed, it aims at creating a consensus in that part of Sardinian society with an autonomist background, which is thus strongly against the island being part of the Italian State. The symbol of Sardinian pseudo-archaeology is Mont'e Prama, a site discovered more than 40 years ago, where an extraordinary statuary group dating back to the Bronze Age stands out as one of the oldest examples of statuary in the whole Mediterranean. For years these statues of Mont'e Prama—defined as giants because of their size—remained in the museum warehouses. Due to the lack of funding, the restoration of the statues and excavation of the area were resumed only in the 2000s, when the statues returned to the spotlight in a new museum exhibition in the town of Cabras, near Oristano, where the site is located.

This circumstance was used by Sardinian pseudo-archaeologists to denounce what they considered the deliberate choice of official archaeology to keep the story of the giants hidden for as long as possible, to deny the greatness of the Sardinian civilization that had produced them. The giants of Mont'e Prama assumed thus the role of heroic wardens of Sardism, just as Celtic (Vercingetorix) and German (Hermann/Arminius) leaders in northern Europe have done,³³ to the point of becoming the element around which a demonstration against the official institutions of Sardinian archaeology was organised. Mainstream archaeology was accused of delaying the excavations on purpose, of allowing non-Sardinian archaeologists to excavate and study them. Mainstream archaeology, in fact, was equated to Italian archaeology, the invaders who want to deny the greatness of the Sardinian civilization that surpasses even that of Rome. Even the Phoenicians and their presence in Sardinia were considered inventions of the central powers.

In Sardinia, as in Alatri, the element of political and cultural resistance to central powers draws its empowerment from mythical origins and is vindicated by the rediscovery of the original truth, recovered in the teeth of mainstream archaeology.

33 Arnold (2006).

6. MULTIVOCALITY OR NO MULTIVOCALITY, THIS IS THE QUESTION!

Hodder's concept of multivocality³⁴ is based on the concept that multiple interpretations of the archaeological past should be allowed. He argues indeed that archaeologists have the moral and ethical responsibility to facilitate the participation of many groups and individuals when interpreting a site. In this way, sites will be relevant to people from a variety of academic and non-academic backgrounds and multiple and/or contradictory interpretations will be available.

In this light may be viewed the case of Tofani's engagement with public schools in Alatri. When we agree to support, as archaeologists, a multivocal approach, shall we allow the spread of unscientific interpretations in schools as well? Should, for example, the teaching of creationist theories be conducted with biologists' approval? If archaeologists have the moral and ethical responsibility to facilitate the participation of many groups and individuals in interpreting a site, where can we draw the line between the freedom of interpretation and the spread of unscientific theories within the community? These remain open questions.

As C. Holtorf observed, archaeology is of universal interest because archaeology not only digs into the ground but also delves into a number of significant popular themes. These are perceived as relevant because they can tell us a lot about ourselves, about who we are, about our 'collective memory'. Through memory we do indeed re-present the past and that of our culture, region or species. Archaeological sites are places in which memory crystallizes in the present, transporting the past into people's everyday life.³⁵ For this reason, archaeology is increasingly involved in how different communities remember and appropriate the past, which can be substantially different from the perspective of academic archaeologists and heritage experts.

The cases of Alatri and Sardinian pseudo-archaeology should serve as examples for archaeologists as indicative of the problems that can arise with local communities concerning excavations and research management, and the way in which the results can be communicated to the public. The role that archaeologists play in society should not be underestimated, as well as the emotional connection between the local society and the past that is materialized in the

34 Hodder (1999).

35 Holtorf (2007a).

archaeological record. As the International Convention of Faro³⁶ on Cultural heritage also states, local communities must be an active part of the system of protection and enhancement of the territory and its history. The archaeologists have the task of understanding how to become an effective part of this evolution in the relationship between a society with its collective past. By involving the (post)post-processualist interpretative framework—and related problems—in Italian archaeology, we also want to challenge the ‘classic’ processualist approach, which is mostly adopted in the classical archaeology of the Peninsula. Anglo-American Processualism is perceived as being connected to a colonialist approach to archaeology, in which the processual interpretative method is seen as the only sensible process whereby to pursue ‘the truth’, and it is also intended to signal the superiority of the followers of the method over others. However, and if on the one hand colonialist approaches to the discipline should be definitely abandoned, then it is equally impossible to ignore the contradictory and conflicting aspects of the multivocal interpretation proposed by post-processualism.

Holtorf has analysed the pseudo-archaeology phenomenon in depth, highlighting how it is directly linked to modern anarchists and anti-authority feelings.³⁷ Pseudo-archaeologists often stress the distinction between *us* (the local scholars) and *them* (the official archaeologists). In Italy this opposition is used to gain consensus by highlighting how the *Soprintendenze*—i.e. the central powers—are ignorant of local territories and unable to control and protect them. The archaeologists’ lack of faith in Alatri’s mysteries is presented as a conspiracy theory, in which the archaeologists’ actual interest is to *hide the truth*, to subordinate locals to the history of Rome and the Italian State. Holtorf stresses the fact that if archaeologists want to be successful in their ‘crusade’ against pseudo-archaeologists, they should learn to communicate with the same passion and effectiveness, and through this process to grow to understand that we are not the unique voice of archaeology and the past. We agree with Holtorf’s point of view and believe that issues regarding multivocality should be introduced to the Italian archaeological debate. This multivocal approach to archaeological heritage is a delicate matter, though. If multiple and/or contradictory archaeological interpretations are equally legitimized, and everybody is entitled to express

36 <https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/rms/0900001680083746> [24/03/2020].

37 Holtorf (2005).

his/her ideas without recourse to honest and unbiased criticism, it is inevitable that school children or other members of society without the resources to understand and assess specialist scientific language or arguments are in danger of being swayed by poorly constructed but emotionally compelling arguments. Archaeologists have to keep firmly in mind that they have a great responsibility as to how the results of their profession are communicated to the public.

REFERENCES

- Aberson, Biella, Di Fazio and Wullschleger (2014). – Michel Aberson, Maria Cristina Biella, Massimiliano Di Fazio & Manuela Wullschleger (eds.), *Between History and Archaeology: Dialogues on Peoples of Pre-Roman Italy, E Pluribus Unum? Italy From the Pre-Roman Fragmentation to the Augustan Unity*, vol. 1, *Etudes genevoises d’Antiquité* (Bern: Peter Lang 2014).
- Aberson, Biella, Di Fazio, Sanchez and Wullschleger (2016). – Michel Aberson, Maria Cristina Biella, Massimiliano Di Fazio, Pierre Sanchez & Manuela Wullschleger (eds.), *L’Italia centrale e la creazione di una “koiné” culturale? I percorsi della “romanizzazione”*, *E pluribus unum? Italy from the pre-Roman fragmentation to the Augustan Unity*, vol. 2, *Etudes genevoises d’Antiquité* (Bern: Peter Lang 2016).
- Arnold (2006). – Bettina Arnold, ‘Pseudoarchaeology and Nationalism. Essentializing Difference’, in Garrett G. Fagan (ed.), *Archaeological Fantasies: How Pseudoarchaeology Misrepresents the Past and Misleads the Public* (Ann Harbour: Routledge 2006) 154–179.
- Arthurs (2012). – Joshua W. Arthurs, *Excavating Modernity: The Roman Past in Fascist Italy* (Ithaca & New York: Cornell University Press 2012).
- Attenni (2019). – Luca Attenni (ed.), *Le mura poligonali. Atti del sesto seminario* (Napoli: Valtrend 2019).
- Attenni and Baldassarre (2012). – Luca Attenni & Daniele Baldassarre (eds.), *Quarto seminario internazionale di studi sulle mura poligonali. Atti del Convegno, Alatri 7–10 ottobre 2009* (Roma: Aracne 2012).
- Attenni and Baldassarre (2015). – Luca Attenni & Daniele Baldassarre (eds.), *Studi sulle mura poligonali. Alatri—Atti del Quinto Seminario. 30–31 ottobre 2010* (Napoli: Valtrend 2015).
- Barbanera (1998). – Marcello Barbanera, *L’archeologia degli Italiani* (Roma: Editori Riuniti 1998).

- Biddittu and Galluzzi (1985). – Italo Biddittu & A. Galluzzi, 'Esempi di plastica figurativa protostorica ed etrusca ad Alatri e a Frosinone', in *Latium: Rivista di studi storici*, 2 (Anagni: Centro di Anagni dell'Istituto di storia e di arte del Lazio meridionale 1985) 13–22.
- Boezi and Rossi (2018). – Angelo Boezi & Giulio Rossi, *Pelonga* (Alatri: Tofani editore 2018).
- Boezi (2015). – Gianni Boezi, 'Nel segno d'un raggio di sole' Don Giuseppe Capone: la cifra distinguente della città di Alatri', in Luca Attenni (ed.) *Studi sulle mura poligonali. Alatri. Atti del Quinto Seminario. 30–31 ottobre 2010* (Napoli: Valtrend 2015) 97–106.
- Carlà-Uhink (2017). – Filippo Carlà-Uhink, *The "Birth" of Italy. The Institutionalization of Italy as a Region, 3rd-1st Century BCE* (Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter 2017).
- Cline (2014). – Eric Cline, *1177 B.C.: The Year Civilization Collapsed* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2014).
- Coarelli (1982). – Filippo Coarelli, *Lazio* (Bari: Laterza 1982).
- De Francesco (2017). – Antonino De Francesco, 'La nazione impossibile. Antiquaria e preromanità nella politica culturale delle due Sicilie'. *Mediterranea—ricerche storiche* 41 (2017) 479–498.
- Durand (1998). – Jean-Marie Durand, 'Documents épistolaires du palais du Mari'. *Le Cerf, LAPO* 17 (1997) 590–591.
- Fritze (2009). – Ronald H. Fritze, *Invented Knowledge: False History, Fake Science and Pseudo-religions* (London: Reaktion Books 2009).
- Gatti (2006). – Sandra Gatti, 'Per una rilettura dell'acropoli di Alatri', in Giuseppina Ghini (ed.), *Lazio e Sabina 3, Atti del convegno Terzo incontro di studi sul Lazio e la Sabina, Roma 18–20 novembre 2004* (Roma: De Luca 2006) 289–296.
- Hingley (2014). – Richard Hingley, 'Struggling with a Roman Inheritance. A Response to Versluys'. *Archaeological Dialogues*, 21(1) (2014) 20–24. doi:10.1017/S138020381400004X
- Hodder (1999). – Ian Hodder, *The Archaeological Process: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell 1999).
- Hodos (2014). – Tamar Hodos, 'Stage Settings for a Connected Scene. Globalization and Material-Culture Studies in the Early First-Millennium B.C.E. Mediterranean'. *Archaeological Dialogues*, 21(1) (2014) 24–30. doi:10.1017/S1380203814000051
- Holtorf (2005). – Cornelius Holtorf, 'Beyond Crusades: How (Not) to Engage with Alternative Archaeologies'. *World Archaeology* 37(4) (2005) 544–551.

- Holtorf (2007a). – Cornelius Holtorf, *Archaeology is a Brand! The Meaning of Archaeology in Contemporary Popular Culture* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2007).
- Holtorf (2007b). – Cornelius Holtorf, ‘Can You Hear Me at the Back? Archaeology, Communication and Society’. *European Journal of Archaeology* 10.2-3 (2007) 149–165.
- Lugli (1957). – Giuseppe Lugli, *La tecnica edilizia romana con particolare riguardo a Roma e Lazio* (Roma: Bardi 1957).
- McInerney (2014). – McInerney Jeremy, ‘Pelasgians and Leleges: Using the Past to Understand the Present’, in James Ker & Christoph Pieper (ed.), *Valuing the Past in the Greco-Roman World. Proceedings from the Penn-Leiden Colloquia on Ancient Values VII* (Leiden & Boston: Brill 2014) 25–55.
- Millett (1990). – Martin Millett, *The Romanization of Britain: An Essay in Archaeological Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1990).
- Nibbi (1972). – Alessandra Nibbi, *The Sea-Peoples: A Re-examination of the Egyptian Sources* (Church Army Press and Supplies 1972).
- Nibbi (1997). – Alessandra Nibbi, ‘Some Geographical Notes on Ancient Egypt’. *Discussions of Egyptology* (1997).
- Nicosia and Bettini (2009). – Alessandro Nicosia & Maria Cristina Bettini (eds.), *Le mura megalitiche: il Lazio meridionale tra storia e mito* (Roma: Gangemi 2009).
- Nizzo (2009). – Valentino Nizzo, ‘La “questione pelasgica” in Italia: 1871–1903’. *Forma Urbis XIV*, 9, (Settembre 2009) 10–21.
- Rose (2018). – Dario Rose, *Studi sull’opera poligonale tra Alta Valle del Salto e Fucino: l’acquedotto e la cloaca maxima di Alba Fucens* (Roma: Quasar 2018).
- Stek (2014). – Tesse Stek, ‘Roman Imperialism, Globalization and Romanization in Early Roman Italy. Research Questions in Archaeology and Ancient History’. *Archaeological Dialogues*, 21(1) (2014) 30–40. doi:10.1017/S1380203814000063.
- Stek (2013). – Tesse Stek, *Material Culture, Italic Identities and the Romanization of Italy* (Hoboken: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 2013).
- Terrenato (2001a). – Nicola Terrenato, ‘Ancestor Cults. The Perception of Rome in Modern Italian Culture’, in Richard Hingley (ed.), *Images of Rome. Perceptions of Ancient Rome in Europe and the United States in the Modern Age* (Ann Arbor: Routledge 2001) 71–89.
- Terrenato (2001b). – Nicola Terrenato, ‘A Tale of Three Cities: The Romanization of Northern Coastal Etruria’, in Simon Keay & Nicola Terrenato (eds.), *Italy and the West. Comparative Issues in Romanization* (Oxford: Oxbow Books 2001) 54–67.

- Terrenato (2008). – Nicola Terrenato, ‘The Cultural Implications of the Roman Conquest’, in E. Bispham (ed.) *Roman Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2008) 234–64.
- Tusa (2018). – Sebastiano Tusa, *I Popoli del Grande Verde. Il Mediterraneo al tempo dei faraoni* (Ragusa: Edizioni di storie e studi sociali 2018).
- Van Dommelen (2014). – Peter Van Dommelen, ‘Fetishizing the Romans’. *Archaeological Dialogues*, 21(1) (2014) 41–45. doi:10.1017/S1380203814000075.
- Van Dommelen and Terrenato (2007). – Peter A. R. Van Dommelen & Nicola Terrenato (eds.), ‘Articulating Local Cultures: Power and Identity Under the Expanding Roman Republic’. *Journal of Roman Archaeology. Supplementary Series* 63 (2007).
- Versluys (2014a). – Miguel John Versluys, ‘Understanding Objects in Motion. An Archaeological Dialogue on Romanization’. *Archaeological Dialogues*, 21(1) (2014) 1–20. doi:10.1017/S1380203814000038.
- Versluys (2014b). – Miguel John Versluys, ‘Getting Out of the Comfort Zone. Reply to Responses’. *Archaeological Dialogues*, 21(1) (2014) 50–64. doi:10.1017/S1380203814000099.
- Williams (1991). – Stephen Williams, *Fantastic Archaeology: The Wild Side of North American Prehistory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1991).
- Wolf (1998). – Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman. The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1998).
- Wolf (2014) – Greg Woolf, ‘Romanization 2.0 and its alternatives’. *Archaeological Dialogues*, 21(1) (2014) 45–50. doi:10.1017/S1380203814000087.

SOURCES OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Public Domain

Figure 2 Author: Ornello Tofani (23/03/2019), retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/tofani.ornello/posts/10214033805700484> (24/03/2020)

Figure 3 Author: Ornello Tofani (16/09/2019) <https://www.facebook.com/tofani.ornello/posts/10215188108717338> [24/03/2020]

Figure 4 Author: Ornello Tofani (08/02/2015) retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10204758349099866&set=a.1088233807350&type=3> [24/03/2020]

Figure 5 Ornello Tofani 27/03/2016, retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10206114439201271&set=a.1088233807350&type=3&theater> [24/03/2020]

Figure 6 Ornello Tofani 05/07/2016, retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10206412328088307&set=a.1088233807350&type=3&theater> (24/03/2020)

Figure 7 Ornello Tofani 08/04/2016, retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10206998700427249&set=a.1088233807350&type=3&theater> (24/03/2020)

Maja Gori
Institute of Heritage Science
National Research Council of Italy
Email: maja.gori@cnr.it

Alessandro Pintucci
University Sapienza of Rome

Suggested citation:

Maja Gori & Alessandro Pintucci: Alatri in the Sky with Diamonds. Resisting Romanization in present-day Italy. In: *thersites 10* (2019): Modern Identities and Classical Antiquity, pp. 66–93. <https://doi.org/10.34679/thersites.vol10.152>