

Actors and Agents in Ritual Behavior: The Sanctuary at Grasceta dei Cavallari
as a Case-Study of the E-L-C Votive Tradition in Republican Italy

by

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Alla gente di Tolfa
e ai miei genitori
che potrebbero essere bravi tolfetani

Acknowledgements

The acknowledgements are conventionally the final addendum to the dissertation. These opening lines signal the closure of the *magnum opus* which has been defended, revised, formatted; it is primed for its formal inclusion in the high society of academic discourse, as if being presented at the dissertation debutante ball. The passage to this ultimate stage, from the incipient twinkle in the author's cerebral cortex, is littered with the corpses of euthanized chapters and passages, made blurry by sleepless nights and paludal from sweat and tears. All of the struggles make the conclusion of the labor that much more rewarding.

The acknowledgments allow for what William Wordsworth called “emotion recollected in tranquility.” I would not consider tranquility to be a defining characteristic of the dissertation process. Its completion, however, has allowed me to find some refuge in this unfamiliar state where I am able to reflect back on the past years and recollect not only the struggles but also the people and experiences that made this project the most valuable and memorable time of my life.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

*ter centum adiciunt (mens omnibus una sequendi)
qui Caerete domo, qui sunt Minionis in aruis,
et Pyrgi ueteres intempestaeque Grauiscae.*

Vergil *Aen.* X. 182-184

The catalogue of allies coming to the aid of Aeneas in his struggle against Turnus' Italian troops demonstrates, as it was held in the minds of the first-century BCE Romans, the enduring and august history of the Etruscan people. Those from Tarquinia and Caere and their communities located in the central Mignone valley received particular notice: "three hundred were brought (one mind followed by all), coming from their Caeretan home, in the Mignone fields, ancient Pyrgi, tempestuous Gravisca." While the *Aeneid's* Bronze Age setting might not be an appropriate chronological range for the complex societies that Vergil fashioned, nevertheless, his retrojection of these great centers into the far distant past is testimony to the continued feelings of respect and interest held toward a culture that had by that point diminished into relative obscurity.

I take as my point of departure this region between Tarquinia and Caere and their international ports, Gravisca and Pyrgi, respectively (figure 1.1). In particular, I focus on a built sanctuary situated on a saddle between two of the mountains that constitute the Monti della Tolfa, a mountain chain that traverses the low-lying Mignone valley (figures 1.2 and 1.3). The sanctuary at Grasceta dei Cavallari, named for the field in which it is located, witnessed some of the greatest periods of transition that befell southern Etruria in

the first millennium BCE. Architectonic elements place its foundation in the Etruscan period, in the sixth century BCE; the recovered votive offerings confirm its survival after Rome's entry in the third century BCE.

While the dissertation takes into account the function of the sanctuary in the Etruscan period, in particular as a political territorial marker, its concentration is the site's role during the later Roman era. During this time the sanctuary received votives consisting of anatomical terracottas and terracotta heads, constituent parts of a ritual tradition that spread throughout Italy with the expansion of Rome. The sanctuary and its votive materials are used here as case study to evaluate the ritual tradition and to challenge much of the prevailing scholarship about it. A multi-scalar approach is used to illuminate the various contexts—historical, religious, political, socio-cultural—in which the sanctuary functioned. Theories about style and agency are employed to “read” the votive offerings and provide an interpretation concerning the identities of the peoples participating in the cult. The latter goal is essential for forwarding the discourse about the ritual tradition: a prevalent trend in recent studies denies agency to the practitioners, principally the subaltern peoples whose lives were affected by Rome's occupation. As a result, their participation signals little more than the success of Roman hegemony to realize the wholesale acculturation and homogenization of Italy. The formal qualities of the votives at the sanctuary of Grasceta dei Cavallari, I argue, suggest otherwise. The votives' styles identify actors from two distinct cultural backgrounds, indigenous (Etruscan) and Roman. I focus mainly on the former and argue that the style was an integral element of the Etruscan aesthetic repertoire: a similar style is found at other sanctuaries, and it can be traced through centuries of Etruscan art. As such, it informed

the *habitus* of these peoples and its propagation into this new ritual tradition signals their agency in maintaining visually their identity in the foreign cult.

The scholarship, I argue, must disassociate itself from outmoded paradigms of Romanization that see cultural influence as a unilateral and centrifugal phenomenon, originating at Rome and cast out into the obscure environs. The dissertation contributes to its proper dismissal by introducing post-colonial perspectives into the mix. The point-of-view here is predicated on the belief no overarching imperial strategy to homogenize and Romanize the conquered peoples guided Rome's expansion. Likewise, the native response to conquest extended beyond outright acceptance or resistance. Instead, flexibility enabled both parties to respond and react as necessary to myriad possibilities and experiences that imperialism engendered. For the subalterns, this flexibility was granted by the autonomy they maintained to evaluate imported customs and to adapt and refashion those which seemed advantageous. In the case of the ritual tradition dealt with here, it was taken up not to replace traditional belief systems, but to enhance them and provide a novel way to manage one's own relationship with the divinities.

Chapter 2 of this dissertation places the sanctuary in a broad historical context, from the moment it was first erected at the end of the 7th century to the early 6th century BCE as most scholars now agree, to the time of the last regular deposition, which can be assigned to the early decades of the 1st century BCE.¹ This time span is defined first by the formation and rise of autonomous Etruscan city states that administered most of central and north central Italy. Territories were established and maintained through diplomacy, competition, and sometimes warfare. A federation of twelve Etruscan capitals formalized these relations and created a nation of Etruscan cities. These cities also

¹ Two coins identified as early imperial have been identified, one Julio-Claudian (Inv. 70593/11) and the

participated in pan-Mediterranean trade networks, exchanging goods and ideas with other cultures from both inside Italy and the eastern Mediterranean. Caere and Tarquinia were key players in these exchanges as their international ports received foreign goods and exported Etruscan goods to foreign markets. The two cities are instrumental also to this paper because the sanctuary is settled on the boundary that separated their territories. In the first quarter of the third century BCE, Rome appropriated most of this territory and brought it under the sphere of its control as *ager publicus populi Romani*. This was the culmination of deteriorating relations between Caere, Tarquinia, and Rome. Ultimately, the focus of attention Caere and Tarquinia once cast on each other necessarily veered to this growing power to the south.

Chapter 3 introduces the sanctuary site. It begins by providing an overview of its modern history, its discovery and excavations, pieced together from the archival records at the Villa Giulia at Rome. They demonstrate that the picture we have of the monuments and activities here is incomplete if we base our interpretation solely on the materials that survive today. Frequent looting blighted the site for two decades after its initial discovery and removed unknown numbers of artifacts from the circulation of scholarly discourse. Many other objects that were once recorded have since been lost.² This chapter considers the objects that were mentioned in the archival reports but which are currently missing. In order to arrive at a full understanding of when the site was monumentalized and how it functioned in contemporary political and cultural climates, it is necessary to use all the information at my disposal, including those objects that survive today only in the documentation.

² For the most part, the catalogue of the objects in appendix 1 includes only those that are still present at the Museo Civico di Tolfa, although some of the more important but now missing pieces are included.

Most of the artifactual evidence from Grasceta dei Cavallari spans a course of about 200 years, from the early third century to the early-first century BCE. This is a critical time in the region's history because it corresponds with Rome's formal conquest and gradually comprehensive control of the territory and its people. The indigenous peoples subject to Rome certainly were affected by the changing hegemonic landscape, but how do the traces of their activities indicate their response to the new power structure? They were participants, but were they willing actors who accepted or supported Rome, becoming acculturated and identifying themselves as Roman? Was their participation based on an ideology of resistance, passive or outright, to a perceived threat to their own traditions and identities? The votive offerings that came from the sanctuary will help to answer these questions by looking at one important aspect of the life of the indigenous peoples: their religious beliefs and ritual practices.

As for the three structures that constitute the sanctuary, I approach them individually. I attempt to flesh out the dates of their creation, their typology, and their function. Most of the interpretations here deal primarily with its early history as an important locus of cult activity in the pre-Roman period. I examine the sanctuary in the light of its significance as a node of political control and mediation between the boundaries of Tarquinia and Caere. Its role as a "frontier sanctuary" (Guzzo 1987; Zifferero 1998) on the liminal space between the two centers speaks to early strategies of creating marked "ritualized boundaries" (Riva and Stoddard 1996) to maintain newly established territories.

Chapter 4 introduces the votive tradition itself. It first defines the primary characteristics of the "etrusco-laziale-campano" (E-L-C) votive phenomenon, the divine

recipients of the offerings, and the participants in the ritual activity. Then it attempts to trace its origin and to provide an explanation for its unprecedented dissemination from the late-fourth to the opening decades of the first centuries BCE. The period corresponds temporally with Rome's expansion over Italy, and it is important to determine whether this correlation is associative or simply coincidental. I engage with both sides of the argument—one that sees Rome as the catalyst for the distribution of the ritual, and the other that gives credit to other, including indigenous, sources.

My conclusions accord with the former side; however, I argue that both are mired in a too narrow concept of Roman hegemony and expansion. While the positions support opposing conclusions, they run on a similar perspective of the overarching influence Roman colonies wielded in the territories. Roman colonies are, for example, “staging posts of the Roman expansion in Italy...also from an ideological and religious point of view” (de Cazanove 2000: 74). Thus, the E-L-C tradition circulated around Italy via the newly established colonies. An argument that looks to indigenous peoples as the source of the tradition and its spread relies on the same perspective. Colonies are “foci of Romanization” (Glinister 2006: 19). Thus, because we can detect the spread of the E-L-C tradition in areas where there are no colonies, Roman expansion did not precipitate the spread of the votive tradition.

Colonies certainly are the most visible expression of Roman expansion, and this fact alone makes them an obvious base from which to study the cultural influence of Rome on the surrounding populations. This, however, comes at the expense of other equally important but less obvious facets of expansion that facilitated cross-cultural interaction, such as regular communication through diplomacy and treaties, trade, and

military service in a culturally mixed “Roman” army. Colonies, furthermore, at least those established in the third and second centuries BCE, neither functioned as, nor were intended to function as, a means to promote a homogenized Roman culture in Italy. Although a puissant symbol of Roman power, I argue that the colonies did not encroach substantially on the autonomy of the local peoples; indeed, the freedom to observe traditional belief structures, including in the religious sphere, continued in spite of the growing Roman presence. In fact, we should only begin to speak of the homogenization of Italy after the Social War and the concomitant enfranchisement of the non-Roman communities. Significantly, it is at this time that the E-L-C tradition ends.

The final section of this chapter attempts to explain its termination. I take into account and critique the reasons given previously by scholars. Then I develop my own theory set within a broader socio-political framework in which the political structure of Rome itself was drastically changing. Religious practice was an integral part of this change. The last gasps of the Roman Republic began with the rise of the individual over the balanced system of senatorial government; the death throes commenced with Sulla’s civil wars, and continued up to the final civil war from which Caesar emerged as sole leader. Religion became a tool to validate these men’s ambitions and affected how ritual was carried out, not just for the natural-born Roman citizens, but also for those whose status as Roman had only recently become official.

In order to understand why Romans and non-Romans alike participated in the E-L-C tradition, it is necessary to get at in what sense it held meaning to its practitioners. Chapter 5 uses the anatomical votives from the sanctuary at Grasceta dei Cavallari as a point of departure. Each type of anatomical votive is dealt with at length, first by

introducing other interpretations regarding their meaning and then by offering my own. My conclusions do not stray far from the majority opinion—that they established a connection between the gods and mortals who were petitioning for divine intervention to ensure good health or relief from an ailment, or success in matters of childbirth and maternity, or general protection. I would like to take it a step further by arguing that this sort of communication was unique in that it provided a more personal relationship with the divine that each individual had the opportunity to control on his/her own. As I argue later, such control over one's own religious destiny, in contrast with a reliance on state-sponsored or aristocratic-controlled rites of earlier revealed religions, must have been a strong motivation for participation.

Chapter 6 approaches the votive heads from Grasceta dei Cavallari in the same way. Their meaning as offerings to the gods is addressed, but also their style of manufacture is an important focus. The heads exhibit two distinct styles, the common, mould-made Hellenic style, and a more schematic, wheel-made indigenous style. The latter, either from here or from other sanctuaries, receives little analysis in the scholarship because, as anomalies, they hold little promise in revealing anything meaningful about the ritual activities of the worshippers.

I take a diametrically opposite viewpoint and argue that the indigenous style can reveal a lot about the participants, what they attempted to communicate to the gods, and what it says about ritual activity in the Etrusco-Romano world. Contrary to the popular belief that they were one-off accidents, I show that they are found often enough in many Italic sanctuaries that some aesthetic language was transmitted inter-culturally and informed their production. By tracing analogous styles in Etruscan works from the past, I

attempt to get at the logic behind the style. As active agents in their own religious practice, those people who chose to use this style over the more common Hellenic one did so to express ideals and beliefs that were exclusive to their own culture. What these ideals and beliefs were specifically are hypothesized at the end of the chapter.

In order to not appear to write myself into an unintended dichotomy, I make clear here that the identification of one group as responsible for a certain style does not necessarily mean that this group exclusively used the style. The term “indigenous style” foreshadows the identity of those who I argue crafted these heads. The analysis in chapter 6 traces the style back to a long-lived indigenous repertoire that held distinct meaning to the actors making and using them. Logic follows that its continuation into this votive tradition should be attributed to those for whom the style was meaningful: the indigenous populations. This does not mean, however, that non-indigenous peoples used non-indigenous (i.e. “Hellenic”) styles and vice-versa. Local populations had at their disposal the Hellenic style votives and chose to use this as an alternative to the more schematic models. What must be stressed is that the indigenous style signals an indigenous participation in a new cult that was part and parcel of Rome’s growing hegemony.

Chapter 7 analyzes how this participation speaks to the indigenous response to Roman occupation. It does so by first introducing the evolution of the debates on Romanization, from the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century models informed by contemporary colonial ideologies to later post-colonial discourse that seeks to understand the subaltern point of view. Questions addressed include ideas of acculturation and resistance; that is, was indigenous participation indicative of an acceptance of Roman cultural and religious mores? Or was the insertion of a traditional style into the foreign

cult a means by which the local peoples could express their resistance to it? It is problematic, I believe, to stress one over the other. My conclusions take into account all the factors that have been established previously in the dissertation: 1) the votive tradition spread as a result of all of the complex factors involved in Roman expansion, including new colonies but also less visible avenues of transmission, such as cross-cultural communication via treaties, diplomacy, trade and military service; 2) local cultural and, to a degree, political autonomy continued in spite of Roman domination, meaning that participation in imported cult practice was not obligatory; 3) the votive tradition enabled a broad spectrum of people from disparate socio-economic backgrounds to manage their own religious lives and create closer relationships with the divinities to ensure their personal well-being; and 4) indigenous participation is shown by the style of some of the votive offerings.

The indigenous presence does not point to acculturation, nor does their unique style signal resistance to the foreign cult. It must be said that while the anatomical votive tradition is the most prominent form of cult practice in the archaeological record for this period, other local forms of religious observance continued. This tradition presented a whole new option, one which local populations adapted to fit their own needs. The indigenous style, instead of representing a rejection of the tradition, indicates that the traditional ideologies and cultural values continued to survive in heterogeneous populations; the foreign E-L-C tradition was taken up but refashioned to fit these needs. This speaks to the vast complexity of cultural continuity even when inserted into a seemingly overarching power structure like Rome's. Homogenization is not attendant with hegemony; cultural amnesia does not result from a shift in power. Instead, we must

see a flexibility running beneath the surface, one that influences how Rome treated the subjugated populations, and also influences how these peoples adapted to their subjugation.

A Discussion of the Terms

Style

An examination of the stylistic traits of the votives needs first to set out how it intends to use the term “style”. The definition I have adopted is indebted to the early works of Meyer Schapiro and in particular his 1953 essay on style (and reprinted in a volume of his collected works, “Theory and Philosophy of Art: Style, Artist, and Society” (1994)). In it, style is defined as “the constant form—and sometimes the constant elements, qualities, expression—in the art of an individual or group” (Schapiro 1994: 51). This definition works well in the context of this dissertation for two reasons. Firstly, it recognizes the constancy of style. The importance of innovation and novelty in the arts of a group is undeniable; however, it is the consistency of style that directs the course of the arts most strongly. Secondly, it extends style over multiple layers of meaning. Style encompasses most obviously the physical form of the object, but Schapiro acknowledges that it also governs the less tangible aspects that impart meaning to the object. It acts as a vehicle to promote the subject matter or idea; it is:

“the means of communication, a language not only as a system of devices for conveying a precise message by representing or symbolizing objects and actions but also as a qualitative whole which is capable of suggesting the diffuse connotations as well and intensifying the associated or intrinsic affects” (Schapiro 1994: 83).

Style is thus self-perpetuating: it persists because it communicates the ideas and messages of art to an audience familiar with the style, and it communicates these ideas and

messages successfully because it has persisted, allowing the audience to become familiar with it.

The votive objects from Grasceta dei Cavallari are split into two main categories by means of their styles. There are those adopting a Hellenic style. By this I mean that their mode of production was informed by a formal canon that can be attributed to a Classical, i.e. Greek, sculptural program. If we use the metaphor of the language of style, then we can say that the Hellenic style articulates the Greek language well enough so that we can be certain of its source. Then there are those adopting an indigenous style. This is more difficult to characterize and the problem is slightly compounded by the lack of consistency on how to talk about it, as it is just as often termed the “local style” or “popular style”.

I reject the term “local style” because of its priority of place. It implies that style was bounded geographically, settled within a certain locale. It compels the question “local to whom?” which is impossible to answer because it hinges on a perspective that is too limited to account for the broad use and distribution of the style. Implicit is the idea of stability and homogeneity within distinct and unique communities (Hodos 2010: 14). This is problematic because style was local to no one or nowhere in particular; but instead freely crossed physical (geomorphologic) and invented (territorial and cultural) boundaries to influence a broad swath of the Italic arts for many centuries.

The term “popular style” is rejected because of its connotations of value. It invites comparisons with the “higher” styles of art (in this case the Hellenic style), where the popular forms are invariably found lacking in technical skill and devoid of artistic merit next to their stylistic competitors. Also implicit is an impression of popularity: the style

survived and circulated simply because it was well liked among the local peoples coming into contact with it. The final form, then, results from either an ignorance of higher art or a failure to replicate it accurately and a cruder form becomes orthodox. Chapter 6 demonstrates that this prejudice still undermines attempts to interpret the significance and meaning of the E-L-C indigenous style votive heads.

Finally, in defense of the chosen term “indigenous style”, it can be said firstly that it balances itself most readily against the term Hellenic style. Neither broadcasts value judgments about the composition of the work or the makers and users of the work. If one desires to understand the indigenous style, one must also seek to understand the indigenes with whom the style is associated. This approach allows one to realize that style is not limited by technical skill or naiveté—indeed, as is argued in Chapter 6, the indigenous style heads may demand more technical skill than the Hellenic heads—which then opens the way for more productive questions to be asked. For instance, what did the style communicate to these people that caused them to choose to replicate it? What is the significance of the indigenous style when juxtaposed with the Hellenic style?

One shortcoming of the two terms is that they could give the impression that certain ethnic distinctions accompany each style. It must be stressed here, as it is also stressed later, that they do not pigeonhole one ethnic group as the makers and users of one style. This dissertation works from the position that style was not tied strictly to one cultural group; the constant cross-cultural communication and transmission of ideas and traditions around the Mediterranean meant that there was a free circulation of artistic conventions and an awareness of foreign styles. The indigenes of Italy were not limited then to an indigenous style and in all probability also made and used what we now call

the Hellenic style. However, the indigenous style was an integral part of the indigenous artistic repertoire; it survived and was passed down and used in different contexts for generations. As such, it communicated particular meaning to those people who had been in contact with it in their lived environment, and, thus, it made sense to them when they viewed it or used it. This is discussed more in the section on agency.

Objects of the same style, however, can express differences in form. These differences are explained using the term “typology”. If style is a language, typology is a distinctive dialect of that language. The canon is respected and followed, but interpreted in slightly different ways. Typology becomes important, then, in identifying different hands which are influenced by the same style but render it in ways that uniquely balance meaning with individual aesthetic conditions. This distinction proves to be significant when discussing the different typologies of the indigenous style heads in chapter 6.

Agency

The concept of agency is introduced more completely in chapter 6. Here I wish to explain how it is understood in this dissertation. Consciousness, intention, free-will, and reflexivity are some of the traits scholars list as prerequisites for agency (Fuchs 2001: 26; Robb 2004: 131-132). Agency then becomes the architect of action, where “action is the realization of a purpose or goal, assisted by empirical knowledge about the world” (Fuchs 2001: 26). In this sense of the term, agency rests in the province of human behavior, which is granted the exclusive status of working consciously and intentionally.

Agency, in this dissertation, is granted both to the actors creating and manipulating objects and to the objects being created and manipulated. While few disagree with the notion that humans impart agency, it is more problematic to attribute

agency to objects. Scholars (e.g., Russell 2007) are quick to point out that object agency is oxymoronic. How can an inanimate, mute object possess the intentionality required to act on one's environment? Proponents of "objects as agents" take this challenge head-on. Alfred Gell's seminal work, "Art and Agency: an Anthropological Theory" (1998) must be mentioned straightaway. Here, human action is "primary agency" and the action of materials, in the sense that they anger, inspire, teach, etc., the primary agents and thus influence human behavior, is dubbed "secondary agency". More is said about the two types of agency in chapter 6.

Fuchs' definition of agency quoted above also grants agency to objects, albeit implicitly. He first states that agency requires "consciousness, free-will, and reflexivity" (2001: 26), none of which inanimate objects possess. However, he then goes on to say that action deriving from agency requires an "empirical knowledge about the world" (ibid.) for it to be meaningful. One obtains empirical knowledge about the world by experiencing the world and in particular the objects that inhabit one's world. In this way objects exert influence over human agents: the material world "acts back on its makers and users" (Dobres and Robb 2005: 161). Interaction with the physical and material world shapes one's worldview and induces action that is coherent within the framework of this worldview. Furthermore, this influence occurs on a cognitive level apart from awareness and consciousness; that is, humans don't discursively recognize that they are being influenced by the material world even though it is happening all around them and at all times. This makes one wonder to what degree agency really requires consciousness, free-will, or intention.

Pierre Bourdieu attempts to tackle the problem of conscious and unconscious action through the notion of *habitus*. When we speak of the intention or volition of the primary agent we are referring to a process that does not necessarily occur on conscious level where decisions are made free from the intervention of material culture. Bourdieu's (1977) model explains the full range of an individual's dispositions (thoughts, beliefs, perceptions, actions, etc.) as something that accrues through experience in, and interaction with, the objective environment. Sets of rules influence action, but these are followed apart from conscious perception. Routine behavior, on the one hand, enables the creation of new forms but, on the other hand, constrains how these forms can be made meaningful. *Habitus* acknowledges the agency of individuals to respond and adapt to the objective environment, but this action takes place outside of conscious, discursive awareness.

Style and Agency in the E-L-C Tradition

The application of these theoretical perspectives has not found its way to the exploration and explanation of the E-L-C votive tradition. Currently, style is used as a tool to develop chronologies, or, when the style does not meet one's criterion of aesthetics (such as the indigenous style), it is disparaged. This dissertation seeks to interpret a style in light of the fact that it was created by agents working under a specific worldview (the *habitus*) that in turn gave coherence and meaning to the style. A means of interpreting style is by placing the object into its functional context, or "field of action" (Robb 2008: 341):

[a]ll material behaviour occurs within a field of action, a defined way of doing a particular thing which specifies the proximate goal, the necessary material elements, the roles and attitudes of participants, and the symbolic context; fields of action mediate between *habitus* and the creative improvisations

of individual agents.

The use context of the style helps to reveal the meaning behind it and the motivations of the actors using it. The questions to ask include, how was the style used in other contexts? Can we find patterns between style, function and meaning in these contexts? Can we apply these functions and meanings to the style at the sanctuaries? The patterns do seem to indicate that meaning accompanied style throughout its various incarnations and thus it is a valid exercise to attach meaning to the votive style based on stylistic predecessors.

The picture that develops reveals different groups participating in the same ritual tradition, but in edited formats that make sense to each particular group. Participation, furthermore, was not obliged by the growing presence of the Romans, to whom we can attribute the spread of the tradition. An indigenous style, it is argued in chapter 7, did not signal a incidence of localized resistance to Roman forms and traditions, as has been often distinguished in styles that stray from the standard Romanized paradigms. Rather than compulsory participation, we have a system of discovery, adoption and adaption: the ritual tradition was discovered by the native communities from outsiders already practicing it; the ritual, or those parts of the ritual that were most attractive to the communities, were adopted; they were then modified to fit in with each communities unique ritual traditions, methods of communication with the gods, and general relationship with the divine plane.



Figure 1.1 Caere, Tarquinia, and Grasceta dei Cavallari.



Figure 1.2: Caere, Tarquinia, and Grasceta dei Cavallari.



Figure 1.3: The Monti della Tolfa range with Grasceta dei Cavallari indicated (circle).

Chapter 2

The History of Caere and its Territory

Archaeological campaigns have been carried out in the Tolfa region since the nineteenth century; the first was conducted by E. Gerhard of the *Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* who published his discovery of Etruscan tumuli (Gerhard 1831; Naso 1993: 56).³ The picture since then has been fleshed out to reveal a long occupational history of the Monti della Tolfa. Today, current research shows that settlements were firmly established during the Bronze Age, first with the so-called Apennine and Sub-Apennine cultures (ca. 1500-1250 BCE) and, next, with the Protovillanovans (ca. 1250-1000 BCE). At the turn of the millennium and the start of the Iron Age, material remains indicate a strong Villanovan presence (ca. 900-720 BCE), the precursors of the Etruscan civilization which becomes materially visible in the middle to late eighth century BCE.⁴

Such a vast chronological range cannot be treated with any specificity in this chapter, and this history of the region begins with the rise of the Etruscan culture at the end of the eighth century BCE and traces it down to the demise of the E-L-C votive tradition, that is, around the mid-first century BCE. During this span of nearly seven centuries, dramatic shifts affected the socio-economic structure of society and the

³ For the history, documentation and catalogue of materials from the course of archaeological research in the nineteenth century, see Naso (1993).

⁴ The dates correspond to those given by Pascucci (2003: 126-127). For more on the proto-history of the region, see Bonghi Jovino (2005); Zhara Buda (1998); di Gennaro (1998); Pascucci (2003); Persiani (1992); Toti (1990); Toti, Caloi, et al. (1987); and Tozzi, Pennacchioni, et al. (1995).

political control of the city-centers and surrounding territories: from an aristocratic-centered sphere of control to the rise of the middle classes and tyrants to, ultimately, the insertion of Roman hegemony and the incorporation of Etruria Meridionale into the Roman state. It was also a time when communication and trade promoted continuous and intensifying contact between different Etruscan centers, between Etruscans and other non-Etruscan Italic peoples, and between Etruscans and the wider Mediterranean world. Caere and Tarquinia, as well as their territories, enjoyed a predominant position in this cultural and material exchange, making the area one of the most important and influential in central Italy. All of this can be traced, not only historically, but also archaeologically as the material record gives evidence for the rise of this complex environment.

The Orientalizing Period and the Aristocratic Boom

Toward the later eighth century BCE, developments in the political structures of the Etruscan centers are such that we can begin to speak of a gradual evolution to nascent states that matured fully by the mid-seventh century or soon thereafter.⁵ This development entailed the establishment of an autonomous central authority that expanded, organized, and controlled its territory on which the natural resources were exploited in order to sustain a growing population (Rendeli 1993: 323).

The natural resources of the Monti della Tolfa, and the competition for them between Tarquinia and Caere, were instrumental in the political development of these two cities (Brocato 2000: 364). First and foremost was the exploitation of the minerals, including iron, lead, zinc, and copper, extracted from the mountains.⁶ By the late eighth

⁵ Rendeli (1993: 323) sees the maturation occurring in the mid-seventh century at Caere; Brocato (2000: 364) argues for the late seventh century BCE.

⁶ For a condensed introduction of the mineral resources in the *Monti della Tolfa*, see Brunori and Mela (1990) and Zifferero (1990b).

century BCE, it seems that Caere had most of the control over these resources. Firmly defined territorial boundaries would protect their assets.

The establishment of formal territories then led to an increased investment in the agricultural production of the land. Paolo Brocato (2000: 466) writes that by the early Orientalizing period, new habitation sites were distributed uniformly around the territory of Caere, not as protective military installations, as some from the previous period were, but as small satellite sites involved in cultivation and pastoralism.

By the early seventh century BCE, Caere was a central player in the developed and regular forms of cross-cultural social and economic exchanges that characterized Etruria in this period. The control of the land and resources, both mineral and agricultural, fell to the aristocratic class who turned them into sources of great wealth by means of business ventures involving other Etruscan cities, other Italic communities, and international traders from around the Mediterranean. Foreign traders, most notably the Eastern Greeks and Phoenicians brought goods from around the Mediterranean, and soon these exotic and intrinsically valuable pieces became a marker of status for the local ruling elite. One needs only to examine the funerary deposits left in the Regolini-Galassi tomb (ca. 650 BCE) at the Sorbo necropolis to get a sense of the cultural variegation represented by the objects, including Urartian-style cauldrons with lion head protomes and imported ivory figurines.

But it was not just foreign objects that came to southern Etruria. Foreign craftsmen and merchants, likely enticed by the opportunities offered by the vast resources, emigrated permanently, bringing with them their own cultural and artistic stylings (Torelli 1984: 132-137). Tarquinian lore speaks of the arrival of Demaratus, a

Corinthian merchant exiled from his home after the rise of the tyrant Cypselus in 657 BCE (Livy I.34).⁷ It is also said that he brought with him three talented Corinthian coroplasts, Eucheir, Eugrammos, and Diopos who introduced their craft to Italy (Plin (E). *H.N.* 35.152). Demaratus' perceived influence in Tarquinian, and ultimately Roman, society is made clear through the story of his son, Lucumo, better known as Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, who would become the fifth king, and the first from an Etruscan family, of Rome (Livy I.34-41).

In Caere the influence of foreign artisans and craftsmen is noticed primarily in the contemporary vase painting. One example of special note is the Aristonothos Crater (670-660 BCE) which depicts, on one side, a naval sea battle and, on the other, the blinding of Polyphemos, demonstrating how Greek myth and culture was adapted into the local artistic repertoire. Other works, such as those from the so-called "Painter of the Bearded Sphinx" (mid-seventh century BCE) shows more specifically the importation of Corinthian painting styles from which developed the imitative Etrusco-Corinthian style (Amyx 1965; Zevi 1969).

But a more dramatic contribution of the foreign immigrants, one that further separated the aristocracy from the lower classes and solidified the status of the former over the latter, was the introduction of the Greek alphabet in the first quarter of the seventh century BCE. The style of the letters recalls closely that of the Greek colonies in southern Italy, especially at Cuma, brought west from Euboean settlers (Bonfante 1990: 15; Torelli 1984: 126). From this point on, literacy was not only a prerogative of the

⁷ For an archaeological inquiry into the truth behind the legend of Demaratus, see Ridgway and Ridgway (1994).

upper classes, but also it ensured their control over all administrative matters relating to the political and religious spheres (Torelli 1984: 71 and 126-127).

The relationship between the Etruscans and Greek colonies of Magna Grecia, however, can be described more in terms of competition than of reciprocal exchange. Etruscan settlements established in Campania competed with their Greek counterparts for control over the area early on. Bonghi-Jovino (1982) goes so far as to argue that the Etruscans and indigenous communities in Campania came together for the express purpose of protecting their interests against the encroachment of Greek colonization. Antagonism over the control of the crucial trade routes along the coast, as well as the fertile hinterland, would never be settled completely and would lead to some devastating setbacks suffered by the Etruscan civilization.

Relations with the centers of *Latium vetus* and Etruria, conversely, were based on an early-developed system of mutual exchange. The northern Etruscan cities of Populonia and Vetulonia seemed to enjoy especially close relations with Caere. These were maintained through intermarriage and gift exchange between the aristocratic classes. As a result, princely tombs commonly held valuable objects originating from one of the other centers. In the Tomb of the Leader at Vetulonia, for example, one ceremonial gift carries an inscription with letters typical of the Caeretan alphabet and a name (*raxu kakana*) that perhaps goes back to a Caeretan origin (Martelli 1984). Populonia and Vetulonia, furthermore, famous for their metals, may have taken advantage of their relations with Caere and its important location in the crux of the trade routes to sell their resources there instead of at home (Merlino and Mirenda 1990: 22). The presence of Caere and its

products are found also in numerous other cities of Etruria and *Latium vetus*, such as Chiusi, Praeneste, and Satricum (ibid.: 25-26).

Toward the end of the first quarter of the seventh century BCE, structures became more permanent with the introduction of tufa block foundations, on which were placed timber construction or rows of sun-baked brick. In the last decades of the century, the roofs began to be covered with terracotta tiles. Permanent structures then catalyzed a program of formalized urban planning, including street layouts, drainage and terracing, which began to turn settlements into formal cities. Once again, it was the aristocratic classes that controlled the planning and organization, and they were able to utilize the architectural innovations to advertise their wealth in new ways.

The most striking architectural innovation used by the elites was the tumulus. These chamber tombs with mounds of earth heaped on top of them became conspicuous markers of a family's rank, and altars associated with the tumuli guaranteed that the memory of the aristocratic ancestors and, in turn, the elite lineage would be remembered by the community.

Today, the distinctive characteristics of the tumuli help to locate where aristocrats settled in the landscape and also identify under which Etruscan jurisdiction a particular region fell. The typological similarities of the tumuli in necropoleis in the Monti della Tolfa with those from the Banditaccia necropolis at Caere demonstrates its hegemony over the region (Brocato 2000: 469-470; Rendeli 1993: 342). The tombs' interiors, furthermore, share such close similarities between those of the center and of the periphery that there are no features that distinguish one from the other. Grave goods also show little variation (Naso and Zifferero 1985: 249-257; Brocato 2000: 470).

The location of tumuli in the landscape has allowed Brocato (2000: 464) to formulate a hierarchy of settlements for the region. At the top are the primary centers, Tarquinia and Caere, controlling their territories. Within the territories are the intermediary sites, rather large settlements such as Pyrgi, Ceri, S. Giuliano and Monterano. Scattered amidst those are the smaller villages, such as Grottini and Riserva del Ferrone, and smaller still are the individual farms. The necropolis distributed around the territory, such as at Pian Cisterna, Piana di Stigliano, Pian Conserva, Riserva del Ferrone and Grottini most likely serviced the smaller villages; the grand tumuli found there indicate a social hierarchy informed the societal structure.⁸

Aristocratic families not only inhabited the rural zones of the territory, but in many ways monopolized it. Wealth, before the arrival of coinage, was tied to land ownership, livestock, agricultural yield, and control of the natural resources. These fell under the purview of the elites, while the non-elites were likely marginalized in peripheral locations or wound up working the estates of their superiors. Although subsistence crops must have been cultivated on the estates, the introduction of grape vines and olive trees gave the landholders the prospect of raising the return on their investments by intensifying the production of these cash crops. The volcanic landscape guaranteed high yields and the dynamic economies in the city centers and nearby ports at Pyrgi and Gravisca provided markets where the surplus could be sold off. The wealthy had yet another avenue to augment their wealth.

⁸ The bibliography of these necropoleis is substantial. For a general survey, see di Gennaro (1972) and Petrizzi (1990). For the necropolis at Ferrone, see Brocato (2000); Brocato and Galluccio (1995, 1996); Gazzetti, Galluccio, et. al.(1992); Rendeli (1990 and 1996). For Pian Conserva, see Bulgarelli, Maestri, et. al. (1977); and Naso (1980, 1988, 1990). For Pian Sultano, see Enei (1998). For Piana di Stigliano, see Zifferero (1980a, 1980b). For Pian Cisterna, see Zifferero (1995b).

The Orientalizing period, from the final decades of the eighth century to the end of the seventh century BCE, marks the time when leading Etruscan cities emerged as cosmopolitan centers actively engaged in an intricate web of cross-cultural exchange. This exchange was, on the surface, mainly economic; however, such close contact with other cultures from as far away as the Near East impacted the Etruscan civilization at all levels throughout its remaining history. Equally important was the aristocratic jurisdiction over exchange and wealth acquisition. Relations between the Etruscan elites and those of other cultures progressively strengthened and were secured by means of formalized behavior such as gift giving, by intermarriages, and even by relocation. The domestic market also was under their control: local natural resources and agricultural production were tools with which the social stratification between rich and poor became ever more rigid.

The Archaic Period and the Rise of the Middle Class

The grip that the aristocracy held on Caere and Tarquinia loosened in the sixth century BCE as emergent “middle classes” began to assert both their economic and political clout. Perhaps the most significant change that allowed this was the introduction of the earliest form of the *aes signatum*, the *ramo secco*, in the early sixth century BCE. These cast bronze bars—stamped coinage would not arrive in Etruria until the following century (Milne 1942; Vecchi 2007)—heralded the arrival of a mobile form of wealth that replaced the static ones previously the prerogative of the wealthy families. Supported by the central authority and recognized as a legitimate form of currency, it redefined wealth and brought its acquisition more into the hands of the merchant and artisans classes. The aristocratic families, whose wealth had been measured by land and livestock, and who

monopolized the horizontal exchanges with the elites of other cultures and communities, saw the equalizing power of stamped money begin to erode their authority.

Such a rise in the influence of the middle classes manifested also archaeologically, primarily in the development of funerary architecture. By the mid-sixth century BCE, *dado* tombs were a common fixture in the local necropoleis, first at Cerveteri and soon after in the hinterland. Unlike the freestanding monumental tumulus tomb, which was a principal symbol of aristocratic wealth in the previous period, the single room *dado* tombs was one of many stylistically identical tombs carved side-by-side into the tufa rock and parallel to the necropoleis streets.

The sixth century BCE also witnessed an increase in the construction of temples and sanctuaries both in urban centers and in rural zones. The first phase of the sanctuary at Tarquinia's port Gravisca has been dated to around 580 BCE (Fiorini 2005: 181-185; Fiorini and Torelli 2010: 30). The sanctuary at Pyrgi was also founded around this time and became monumentalized toward the end of the century. Both illustrate the increasing importance of foreign trade for the vitality of Italian commerce. Greek influence at Gravisca is evident both by the dedications of the sanctuaries—the earliest structure was dedicated to the Greek/Etruscan goddess Aphrodite/Turan and the next to Hera and Demeter (Gentili 1999: 81)—and by the votives deposited within them, many of which carry Ionic inscriptions, the most notable being an anchor dedicated by the east-Greek merchant Sostratus. At Pyrgi, foreign presence appears architecturally in the plan of Temple B, built in 510 BCE, which exhibits a Hellenized peristyle form. Nearby, three inscribed gold plaques, two in Etruscan and one in Punic, commemorate the construction

of the temple to the Phoenician goddess Astarte (Etruscan: Uni) by a certain Thefarie Velianas on the third year of his reign over Caere.⁹

Temples and sanctuaries also begin to be monumentalized both in the centers and in their territories. At Caere, remains of numerous temples exist from this period. The “Manganello” temple, constructed in the late sixth century BCE, is today the most familiar example (Mengarelli 1935). Other temples, all dating from the mid-sixth century BCE, surrounded Caere’s urban zone. They include those found in Sant’Antonio (Brunetti Nardi 1981: 62), Vigna Grande (Piro 2003), Vignali (*ibid.*), and Vigna Parrocchiale (Maggiani and Bellelli 2006).

The era also witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of monumental rural temples and sanctuaries. Besides the sanctuary at Grasceta dei Cavallari, for which the earliest evidence of monumentalization comes from the third quarter of the sixth century BCE (Zifferero 1995a: 341), which is the main object of this study, others include the sanctuaries at Sasso di Furbara, Ortaccio, Grotta Porcina, Montetosto, the mouth of the Marangone river, and Punta della Vipera.¹⁰

The burgeoning building activity is tied to a growing political and administrative control in the area (Rendeli 1993: 363). The control, however, is no longer that of a few aristocratic families, but rather that of tyrant kings who came to power through the

⁹ For more on the plaques and their translations, see Battaglini (2001); Heurgon (1966) and Pallottino, Collona, et.al. (1964).

¹⁰ Appendix 2 of this dissertation contains more information on each of these sacred areas. For Sasso di Furbara, see also Colonna (1973a: 45-72 and 1973b: 541) and Nardi (1985: 154-155). For Ortaccio, see also AA.VV. (1971: 30, n. 71); Gentili (1999: 79-80); Massi (1997); Nardi (1972: 79); Pallottino (1937: coll. 46-47) and Perego (2005: 108-110). For Grotta Porcina, see also Comella (2005c: 171); Colonna (1965); Edlund (1987b: 71-72); Mura (1971: 71); Quilici Gigli (1976: 237-410 and 1978: 46-47) and Steingräber (1982: 103-104, taf. 1). For Montetosto, see also Nardi (1972: 38); Colonna (1963, 1965, 1970 and 1985); Edlund (1987b: 70-71) and Torelli (1981: 1-7). For the Marangone river, see also Gentili (1990b: 290-296); Gianfrotta (1972: 134-138 and 140-141) and Zifferero (1995). For Punta della Vipera, see also Comella (2001); Gentili (1990a); Tomassucci (2005) and Torelli (1965 and 1967).

support of the middle classes and who, in turn, championed the interests of these same classes (Cornell 1995: 231; Heurgon 1966: 15; Rendeli 1993: 360). The bilateral support is logically sound, given the precarious position of tyrants whose authority was often founded on tenuous power structures that challenged the elite ideologies. As Merlino and Mirenda (1990: 39) write:

L'esperienza storica della tirannide ha mostrato la fragilità politica—in ragione della intrinseca illegittimità costituzionale—di un tale sistema di potere: e i tiranni, pertanto, fecero di tutto per accattivarsi il sostegno degli ampi strati sociali fino ad allora emarginati dalla logica di potere aristocratica: incoraggiando i piccoli contadini, sostenendo l'attività artigianale e di conseguenza quella mercantilistica, innalzando in fine edifici di proporzioni impressionanti, col duplice scopo di offrire possibilità di lavoro, nella speranza, forse, di mascherare, dietro alle tonnellate di pietra, l'effimero.

Masking the ephemeral nature of their rule behind the permanent building stones of monumental structures can help to explain Thefarie Velianas' building program at Pyrgi. The Punic tablet refers to him as *melek* in the third year of his reign over Caere. While the sense of the Punic term is difficult to pin down—and it does not help that neither Etruscan inscription provides a translation of the word—it should be construed to signify his informal rule during the transitional period of the political system, a “temporary representative of one of these mixed constitutions which were no longer a monarchy but not yet a Republic” (Heurgon 1966: 15), that is, a tyrant.

The ports at Pyrgi and Gravisca become crucial loci for economic development in the Archaic period. Foreign trade networks were just as important as the development of the domestic market and agricultural production, and foreign goods were ubiquitous in the centers. From the international ports, imports saturated the Italian centers and countryside. At Tarquinia, we see a rise in Attic imports from 580 BCE, with a peak

between 530 and 475 BCE, and the introduction of Attic Red-Figure in the latter part of the century (Leighton 2004: 94-96). At Caere, potters arrived from Ionia in the second half of the century and set up workshops producing Greek-style black figure vessels. Known today as the “Painters of the Caeretan hydriae” these artisans produced vessels that not only were distributed throughout Etruria, but also influenced contemporary local workshops.¹¹

Evidence also indicates close ties to cultures beyond the Greeks. The late sixth century BCE Punic inscription from Pyrgi demonstrates a close relationship between the tyrant of Caere, Thefarie Velianas, and the Phoenicians who frequented the port, but such a relationship long predated the plaque. In the first decades of the sixth century BCE, an alliance between Caere and Carthage had already been established. It would be taken to its limit in 540 BCE when Caere and Carthage together responded to a threat by the Phocian Greeks who had settled at Alalia, on Corsica. The Phocians had become a menace to the trade routes of the Tyrrhenian Sea controlled by the Etruscans and Carthaginians, and their acts of piracy achieved special notoriety. A joint fleet of the Caeretan and Carthaginian navies faced off against the Phocians in the battle of Alalia (540-535 BCE). While the Phocians managed to route the allied enemy, the victory was a Pyrrhic one: at least 40 of their 60 ships had been destroyed, the rest were damaged, and they were forced to withdrawal from Corsica which fell into the hands of the Etruscans.¹² Caere, according to legend, treated the prisoners with such severity, stoning the lot of them, that they were forced to expiate their crimes by building a sanctuary, commonly

¹¹ For a thorough treatment of the Caeretan painters, see Hemelrijk (1984) and Rizzo (1987).

¹² Herodotus (1.165-167) provides the fullest account of this battle.

thought to be the one at Montetosto (Colonna 1963: 146-147; Torelli 1981b: 1-3), in remembrance.

The Fifth Century and Decline

The general flourish of the Etruscan civilization and the developed social stratification that characterized the preceding century was challenged in the fifth century BCE. At the turn of the century, Caere had become one of the most important players in Italy in the chain of Mediterranean exchange and contact. Caere's intimate connection to the chain and its reliance on it to maintain its prominent political and economic influence proved to be its undoing once these links weakened. When the chain broke, their influence declined. These weak links, furthermore, would have been difficult to re-fortify because they appeared at many different levels of relations, from those within the city, to those with other Italian peoples, to broader international relations, many of which were beyond the control of the city-center.

Problems began to come to a head in the final decade of the sixth century BCE. Connections between the Eastern Greek (Ionian and Miletus) and Etruscan markets first were severed in 510 BCE when Croton, a city of Magna Grecia on the western shore of the Tarentum Gulf, utterly decimated Sybaris, its neighbor to the north. Sybaris, once renowned for its wealth¹³, was wiped off the landscape and out of the history books. With it was lost a crucial trade network between Italy and the east.

This loss may have been felt more deeply by the Etruscans in Campania and further south in Italy, but those living in Etruria would not be spared for long. Soon after the Etruscans lost control of a crucial point of access connecting Etruria with southern

¹³ For an account of the luxury and riches enjoyed by the citizens of Sybaris, see Athenaeus' *The Deipnosophists* (12.15-20).

Italy with the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus from Rome and the establishment of the Roman Republican form of government in his place. Caere itself was deeply enmeshed in these events, Livy (I.60) writes, as the city received the exiled king and his family. Recognizing the strategic and economic importance of Rome, the Etruscans attempted to take it back, most notably with the failed siege on the city by the king Lars Porsenna of Chiusi. Compounding the problems, Lars Porsenna, after agreeing to a treaty with Rome, then set his sights on the city of Ariccia. Ariccia, calling on help from Cumae and the Latin League, essentially wiped out the Etruscan army. Such a setback severely weakened Etruscan influence now in the Italian hinterland and reduced yet another important market for Etruscan and Caeretan goods.

Such problems meant opportunity for other peoples of Italy. Mountain tribes migrated west into the Latial and Campanian plains (Cornell 1989: 281-294). This movement and re-settlement would continue to challenge Etruscan control especially in Campania for a good part of the next century, culminating in the takeover of Etruscan rule of the region by the Umbro-Sabelline tribes by 424 BCE (Torelli 1986: 55).

Antagonists of the Etruscan sphere of economics and trade existed also not far outside of Italy. Syracuse, a long-term rival of both the Etruscans and their Carthaginian allies for the trade routes of the Tyrrhenian Sea, soon drew on their military to protect their interests. Attempts to control the Tyrrhenian routes and particularly the Strait of Messina between Sicily and the Italian mainland was settled, temporarily, on the strategic Aeolian island of Lipari, which the Etruscans seized between 485 and 480 BCE. With the help of their Syracusan allies, Lipari drove out the invaders between 480 and 475 BCE, which also succeeded in demolishing the relations between the Etruscans and Syracuse.

This breakdown culminated in the first of several defining setbacks suffered by the Etruscan military. In 474 BCE the Syracusan fleet led by Hiero I along with the fleet from their allies from Cumae decisively defeated the Etruscan fleet at the battle of Cumae in the Bay of Naples. This further undermined Etruscan hegemony in Campania and resulted in a mass incursion of Samnites into the area (Asheri 1992: 151-153).¹⁴

Compounding the problem was the joint defeat of Carthage and Rhegium (modern Reggio Calabria), both allied with the Etruscans, at the battle of Himera in 480 BCE. Carthage responded to the deposition of the tyrant of Himera and the takeover of the city by Agrigentum, allies of their Syracusan adversaries, by assembling a fleet with Rhegium to force the restoration of the tyrant. Syracuse and Agrigentum emerged victorious. Carthage's influence on Sicily disintegrated, and the terms of the ensuing treaty stipulated that Rhegium switch its allegiance to Syracuse, which was ensured by the marriage of the daughter of Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, to Syracuse's Gelon. Syracuse now controlled both sides of the strait, effectively closing it off completely to Etruscan merchants and their trade partners, including Athens (Diod. Sic. XI.20-26; Herod. VII. 165-167).

Caere's assertion of continued hegemony becomes monumentally and symbolically announced at Pyrgi with the erection of the second major temple complex (Temple A) in 460 BCE. However, both Caere and Tarquinia were affected by the restrictions imposed on their mercantile activities. By 460 BCE a reduction in foreign exchange and visitors affected Gravisca. At this time the port was primarily frequented by the local populations. At Caere, Greek goods which were imported in large numbers in the previous century declined sharply by the second quarter of the fifth century BCE

¹⁴ For ancient accounts of the battle of Cumae, see Diodorus Siculus (XI.51) and Pindar (*Pythian* I.71-75)

(Torelli 1986: 55). Trade was affected also in routes to the north. A study mentioned by Merlino and Mirenda (1990: 46) shows a 20% reduction of wine imports into the Celtic Ligurian area by the mid-fifth century BCE and between a 40% and 50% reduction in the second half of the century. This dramatic decrease may be due in large part to a battle for Elba in 453 BCE which resulted in the seizure of the island by Syracuse and a final blow to Etruscan hegemony of the sea (Bernardini and Camporeale 2004: 99).

Predictably, it is the merchant classes and artisans, whose revenue depended so strongly on trade and the foreign market, for whom the setback created an economic crisis. Their prosperity of the previous century ended, and with the collapse of the market so too went the middle classes. Once again the aristocracy, whose wealth was tied up in more immovable and less affected resources, such as land ownership and agriculture, began to reassert themselves in the political sphere.

Toward the end of the century, an opportunity to avenge the past defeats wrought by Syracuse possibly presented itself in the form of an Athenian plot. Athens most likely found an active ally in the Etruscans during the Sicilian expedition of 414-413 BCE (Torelli 1975: 58 and 1986: 57). Torelli (1975: 58 ff.), in his study of the *Elogia Tarquiniensia* inscriptions, raised the possibility that the Tarquinian magistrate Velthur Spurinna commanded an Etruscan fleet in support of the doomed attack on Syracuse, shedding light on the prominent position Tarquinia held in the Etruscan League at this time.¹⁵ Whether or not this is true, the offensive accomplished little as the entire Athenian forces were killed, put to flight, or enslaved.

¹⁵ Although Cornell (1978: 170) argues against this, stating that there is no evidence in the historical record (e.g., Thuc. VI-VII) that the Tarquinians ever took part in the Sicilian expedition. For a full account of the subject, see Caspari (1911).

The struggle between the Etruscans and Syracuse for maritime hegemony continued and Caere would suffer for this in 384 BCE when Dionysus of Syracuse launched his own expedition against Pyrgi. The events are recounted by Diodorus Siculus (XV.14.3-4) who writes that Dionysus excused the aggression as a means to combat Etruscan piracy. In reality, he continues, this was merely an operation to pillage a sanctuary richly furnished with dedications. He carried away no less than 1000 talents as well as other spoils and returned to Syracuse after having laid waste to the area and defeating the inhabitants attempting to stop him.

The Fourth Century and the Rise of Rome

The following century, the territories of Caere and Tarquinia underwent massive changes stemming from Rome's progressive expansion into the area. After centuries of intermittent skirmishes and battles with Rome, Veii, located twenty-five kilometers east of Caere, became the first Etruscan city to fall to Rome in 396 BCE.¹⁶ If Veii looked to Caere for military aid, it was in vain. Caere's refusal to participate heralded a budding and mutually beneficial relationship with Rome. Tarquinia's relationship with Rome, however, was much more problematical. They had been allied to Veii and had fought together against Rome at the battle of Silva Arsia in 509 BCE in an attempt to restore Tarquinius Superbus as the monarch of Rome. In this most recent war between Veii and Rome, Tarquinia remained nominally neutral, however: as Livy (5.16) notes, a contingent of forces was eventually sent out from the city to harass the Roman territory. As they returned to Tarquinia with their spoils, Roman forces ambushed them near Caere, killing

¹⁶ For an account of the war, see Livy (V.1-24).

many and confiscating their possessions. Later, Roman troops entered Tarquinian territory and took control of two towns, Cortuosa and Contenebra (Livy VI.4).

Meanwhile, Caere's rapport with Rome only grew stronger. It provided crucial help during early Rome's most defining crisis, the Gallic invasion and sack of the city in the years around 390-387 BCE (Livy V.34-50). Livy (V.40) and Valerius Maximus (I.1.10) write that Caere offered refuge to the priests and Vestal Virgins secreting all the sacred regalia they could carry out of the city. A Roman plebeian, L. Albinus, seeing them walking, ordered his family to descend from his cart and he drove the priests and Vestal Virgins the rest of the way.¹⁷ When the threat had passed, Rome's appreciation for Caere's service was such that the dictator assigned to handle the crisis, M. Furius Camillus, announced a formal treaty of friendship (*hospitium publicum*) (Livy V.40).¹⁸

Tarquinius managed to entangle Caere in its poor relations with Rome in the next great conflict. Rome's conquest of Veii provided an answer to its own growing land-hungry population: the territory became part of the *ager publicus populi Romani* and was given over to Roman settlers. Tarquinia, perhaps suspicious and a bit threatened that Rome would not stop just at Veii, began to encroach into their territory in 359 BCE. The following year, Tarquinia defeated a contingent of Roman troops and executed 307 prisoners in Tarquinia (Livy VII.15).

¹⁷ Diodorus Siculus (14.117.7) and Strabo (V.2.3) claim that Caere played a much more active role against the Gauls. After the sack of Rome, the Gauls headed south with everything they had looted and with the ransom in gold paid by the Romans. There, they served as mercenaries for Dionysus of Syracuse. On their return north they were ambushed by Caeretan forces and slaughtered to the man. Strabo adds that they recovered the ransom paid by Rome.

¹⁸ What entailed a *hospitium publicum* is not entirely clear. It is highly doubtful that this was the time when Caere was granted the *civitas sine suffragio* status. Roman citizenship was not inherently more valuable at this time and probably not desired to any great extent. Therefore, the responsibilities incurred by the granting of citizenship, without the right to the vote, seem to be more of a punitive action than one of friendship. Cornell (1995: 321) argues convincingly that it was a reciprocal arrangement, where Caeretan citizens enjoyed all of the public and private rights of Roman citizenship was exempt from any obligations, and vice versa.

Caere, meanwhile, out of sympathy for their fellow countrymen (Livy VII.19), sided with Tarquinia. This would not last long. In 353 BCE, Caere asked for, and received, a separate truce with Rome. Tarquinia, in the same year, suffered a great loss. Having been defeated in battle, those who were not killed outright were imprisoned and put to the sword later. The Tarquinian elites were taken to Rome and 358 were beheaded in the Roman forum in retaliation for the like treatment of the Roman prisoners five years before.

The status of Caere *vis-à-vis* Rome at this time is not entirely certain. Rome granted a 100-year truce with Caere and it is generally thought it was incorporated into the Roman political system as *civitas sine suffragio* (Gazzetti 1990: 101; Stanco 1990a: 109; Torelli 1981a: 220).¹⁹ What is more clear is that Caere's past service to Rome was remembered and the leniency with which Rome treated Caere did not compromise its commercial interests which had grown during the first half of the century (Merlino and Miranda 1990: 48).

Once again the middle class prospered and grew beside a declining aristocracy. The aristocratic decline could be attributed to the loss of much of Caere's hinterland to Tarquinian expansion (Torelli 1984: 218), including the small centers of Blera, S. Giuliano, and S. Giovenale. With property more scarce, the prosperity of the landed aristocrats deteriorated, while the landless lower classes focused even more on manufacturing and business. It is during this period that we begin to see mass-produced Caeretan pottery exported to other Etruscan centers, and to southern Italy and North Africa.

¹⁹ Other scholars (e.g., Harris 1971: 45) argue for an earlier date for the granting of *civitas sine suffragio*, specifically after the Gallic invasion of 390-387 BCE. Still other (e.g., Leighton 2004: 140; Cornell 1995: 321) argue that it occurred after 273 BCE and the confiscation of half of the Caeretan territory.

Relations between Tarquinia and Caere with Rome remained steady for much of the remaining decades of the century. The military campaigns initiated by Tarquinia against Rome had ended in 351 BCE with a 40-year truce granted to Tarquinia and its ally Falerii. The next we hear of military action against Rome was in 311 BCE, in which Tarquinia may have been a participant (Leighton 2004: 141). At any rate, Tarquinia and Rome agreed to a second 40-year truce in 308 BCE (Livy IX.41), possibly made so that Rome might wrest Tarquinia away from its Etruscan allies as Rome had once done with Caere (Leighton 2004: 141.).

The Etruscan nations, however, were less amenable to negotiations and continued harassing Rome and its territory until the culmination in 283 BCE at Lake Vadimone where Rome decisively defeated a joint Etruscan-Gallic force. This was followed by a final defeat and annexation of Tarquinia in 281 BCE (Torelli 1970), for which the Roman general Q. Marcus Phillipus was awarded a triumph, and a subsequent triumph of the general Coruncanius for his defeat of the Etruscans of Vulci and Volsinii in 280 BCE. For unspecified reasons²⁰, Caere's pact with Rome was nullified and in 273 BCE Rome confiscated the coastal half of the Caeretan territory, transforming it into *ager publicus populi Romani*. A few years later Pyrgi, revitalized after its plunder, was razed, its temples destroyed and the port dismantled (Colonna 1985c: 130).

The Third to First Centuries BCE and Rome's Arrival

Rome's permanent presence was felt, first and foremost, by the creation of the coastal Citizen colonies at Castrum Novum (ca. 264 BCE), Pyrgi (between 264 and 245 BCE) and Alsium (247 BCE). The motivation behind their inception likely was to protect

²⁰ Stanco (1990a: 109) raises the possibility that Rome sought specious motivations to declare war on Caere in order to gain more control of their port at Pyrgi.

Rome's emergent Roman hegemony over the Tyrrhenian trade routes, especially in light of the growing antagonism with Carthage that would lead to the First Punic War in 264 BCE. Rome's dominance may have also been the motivation behind the cessation of the political and economic partnership it had with Caere. Caere and its port were no longer necessary for Rome to participate in the Mediterranean trade market. Now, the Roman port at Ostia, which lie on a direct channel of communication with the city via the Tiber River, would serve the same purposes as Pyrgi. Pyrgi's role as the center for foreign imports was over.

The Caeretan hinterland saw no such monumental control over the land. No colonies were founded anywhere within the Tarquinian and Caeretan territories; however, the Forum Clodii, established at the eastern extent of the territory next to lake Bracciano may have held administrative authority over the Caeretan interior (Stanco 1990a: 111). Yet the landscape did change in response to Rome's presence. Surveys of the region conducted by G.A.R. from 1974 to 1985 and S.A.E.M. from 1982 to 1987, and the excavations of individual sites have resulted in numerous studies on the transformation of the landscape during the Roman era (e.g., Coccia, et al. 1985: 525-528; Gazzetti 1990 and 1992; Gazzetti and Stanco 1990; Gazzetti and Zifferero 1990: 450-460).²¹ They show that soon after the conquest Roman *villae rusticae* began to dot the fertile Mignone valley. Twenty-five *villae* dating to the mid-third century BCE have been identified, primarily located in the Mignone river valley and the zone around Bagni di Stigliano; small villages, or *pagi*, also appeared in moderately high numbers (Gazzetti and Stanco 1990: 104-107). The next half of the century sees the number double, from twenty-five to

²¹ For reports on individual villa sites, see Camilli (1990 and 1992); del Chiaro (1961 and 1962: 51-53); Felici, Gazzetti, et al. (1993); Felici, Rosati, et al. (1992); Fontana (1990a and 1990b); Romiti, Felici, et al. (1990); Rosati, Rinaldoni, et al. (1992); and Stanco (1990b and 1990c)

fifty-one. Attendant with this is a decline in the number of *pagi*, presumably because the *villae*, in their exploitation of agricultural lands, squeezed out the local inhabitants to more marginal areas (ibid.: 107). In the second century, the number reaches eighty-six sites, concentrated mainly in the center of the Mignone valley, but also with a notable increase in the mountain zones (ibid.: 107-108). This occupational density goes unmatched throughout the rest of the period of occupation in the region. An obvious explanation for this is the effects of the Gracchan land reforms in 133-123 BCE.

A measurement of the settlement patterns of the landscape and socio-economic conditions of the inhabitants can be gauged by the observations of Tiberius Gracchus, which survive today via a brief passage in Plutarch:

And the brother of Tiberius, Gaius, in his book, wrote that Tiberius, on his way to Numidia, passed through Etruria and seeing the countryside deserted and that the farmers and herdsmen were imported slaves and barbarians, first thought up the reforms which were the beginning of countless evils for him and his brother. (Plut. *T.G.* 8.7)

It would of course be too facile to take this description at face value. Brendan Nagle (1976) points to archaeological evidence that presents a different picture: inland routes, such as the via Cassia of Flaminia would have presented a thriving landscape.²² Likewise, the coastal via Aurelia would have taken him to the densely populated region around Cosa (Brown, Richardson, et al. 1951). Instead, this statement should be read as an anecdote “to highlight something that was already well known, namely, the accelerating decline of the *ingenuus* small farmer and his replacement by slave laborers” (Nagle 1976: 489).

Others place more credence onto the passage. Carandini (1985: 145) believes that

²² As indicated by the quarter-century survey project conducted by the British School at Rome. For a synopsis of the results, see Potter (1979).

T. Gracchus was talking specifically about the areas of Caere and Tarquinia where villas are known to have existed near the coast at this time (Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 273; Torelli 1986: 61). Still others (e.g. Mirenda and Merlino 1990: 53; Gazzetti 1990a: 101) take the account as an accurate reflection of the population and socio-economic topography of the region.

Whatever the case, the passage does help to flesh out the general trend that developed after the conquest by Rome. In terms of social stratification the middle and aristocratic classes saw another reversal of fortunes. Without the cooperation and commercial partnership of Rome as in the period prior to the final conquest of Caere, manufacturing collapsed. The loss of control of their port as well as the gradual conquest of other Etruscan centers wreaked havoc on both foreign and domestic trade. Production of pottery now served primarily a local market; exports dwindled to an insignificant quantity (Mirenda and Merlino 1990: 541-53). These factors hurt most of all the classes of people most involved in commerce and trade, namely, the middle classes that had flourished in the previous century.

The aristocracy, conversely, with the focus turned from a market economy back to agriculture and land-ownership, prospered. Vast real estate could be worked by teams of the landless poor, or, with the conquest of lands overseas, foreign slaves. At Caere for example, second and first century BCE inscriptions on burial stele demonstrate a marked increase in foreign, primarily Greek, slaves (Merlino and Mirenda 1990: 53).

The history of Caere and Tarquinia and their territories is characterized by regular fluctuations in the socio-economic conditions of the various classes. These, however, should not be seen as swings similar to that of a pendulum. Fluctuations responded to the

immediate political and economic conditions facing the city, but one group did not advance specifically at the expense of another. That is to say, the increase in the wealth and status of the middle classes most visible in the sixth and fourth centuries BCE, together with the decline of the aristocracy does not mean that the latter class became less influential than the former. When we talk about the “decline” of the aristocratic classes, it must be kept in mind that this was not necessarily bound to their status within the society. By the mid-fifth century BCE, status was inextricably tied to the holding of office (Torelli 1986: 57); just as in the Roman Republic, it was the aristocratic class that maintained control of the government offices, including the sacred offices of priesthood, despite their fluctuating economic fortunes over the centuries. Furthermore, it was the aristocratic classes that became involved in and nurtured cross-cultural communication and exchange with foreign and other Italian cities, most notably Rome. Caere’s proximity to Rome was such that this relationship likely engendered a sort of “aristocratic solidarity” (Merlino and Miranda 1990: 53) between them. The government structure of each city was similar to the other enough that intermixing occurred as early as the fifth century BCE when the patrician Claudian *gens* was accepted into Caeretan civic life (Pallottino 1969; Torelli 1984: 222). At Rome, Quintus Aulius Cerretanus, consul in 323 and 319 BCE and *magister equitum* in 315, likely, as the cognomen suggests, was Caeretan (Stanco 1990a: 109). In the second century BCE, seats in the Roman senate occupied by aristocrats from Caere and Tarquinia became more common (Torelli 1969).

Caere and Tarquinia, like the other cities that fell to Rome, thus retained a nominal control over their own political system and religious traditions; aristocrats who observed the treaties with Rome had their loyalty rewarded with the chance of

advancement in this political system as well. Rome, too, stood to gain from this arrangement. A city, once established as dependent to Rome, was a high yield investment with relatively low maintenance. Rome's energy expense was minimized by preserving the local ruling classes' authority over local administrative responsibilities. Meanwhile, tribute in the form of manpower bolstered the Roman military as a condition of the treaties. T.J. Cornell (1995: 366) explains well how this kept the Roman imperial plan thriving:

The availability of Italian manpower gave the Roman state vast military potential and the capacity to absorb heavy losses, as the events of the Pyrrhic War demonstrated. It meant that Rome could use war as an instrument of policy with a minimum risk to herself. But the system also had a more dynamic effect. Since the allies had a purely military function, they were of use to the Romans only in times of war. The Romans therefore had to engage in warfare if they were to avail themselves of the services of the allies and to keep the system in being.

Chapter 4 explores more in detail Rome's presence in Italy and the sum of its involvement in the affairs of allied cities. For now it is enough to say that Rome's policies employed for the other regions of Italy apply just as readily to Caere and Tarquinia. They continued to function in much the same way after the conquest: aristocrats remained aristocrats, only answerable to a new hegemonic structure. Their positions were secured and insured by the new hegemony so long as they remained allegiant to it. In return, the local rulers fed the Roman military machine with its citizens, enabling Rome's expansionist policy.

These ties also helped maintain loyalty to Rome during the Social War. In 90 BCE, the Etruscans toyed with the idea of joining the Italian rebels, but there is no evidence that they substantively engaged in the rebellion. The privileged position of the

local elites in their own communities gave them good reason to uphold the *status quo*, which would have been threatened by any challenge to the current order. Furthermore, the agricultural production depended in no small part on the work of the local lower-classes who were employed in a system of serfdom. The granting of citizenship would have given them more power to improve their standing, an undesirable prospect for the elites so dependent on them for their wealth (Gabba 1992 12-13).

While the epicenter of Italian economy and power gradually shifted to Rome, cities like Caere and Tarquinia clearly continued to sustain themselves under Rome, although not thriving as they had previously. Caere's urban center in the first century BCE still underwent significant development. In the territory, a decrease in the number of villa sites, does, however, speak to a general decline in the area. From this century, sixty-one villas are known, down from eighty-six from the previous century (Gazzetti and Stanco 1990: 108). Such a decline could owe to a change in the exploitation of the land, from agriculturalism to pastoralism, or the defeat of the Gracchan reforms which eradicated many of the smaller landholdings.

This century does mark, however, the beginning of a decline that culminated in the first century CE. Already in the time of Strabo, writing in the late first century BCE, Caere seems to be a shadow what it once was. Only vestiges of its former glory remained, and its inhabitants were gone; indeed, more people frequented the nearby Caeretan Springs than the city itself (Strabo V.2.3).

Conclusion

Tracing the history of Tarquinia and Caere, and the territory that lies between the two centers, including the Monti della Tolfa, through the last eight centuries BCE was not

intended merely to tell the story of who lived here and how, but to begin to establish the nature of the relationships, both political and economic, that each center fostered outside of their own political and economic systems. These include the close relationships different Etruscan centers shared with one another. Just as important, if not more important for the purpose of this dissertation, are those relationships which were established between the Etruscans and other non-Etruscan societies. This embraces the arrangements established with other Italic societies, most notably with Rome, and with foreign Mediterranean cultures. Each type of relationship is summarized here, and by doing so it is hoped that the vibrant participation of the Etruscan civilization as an integral member the international Mediterranean community is made clear. At no time were the Etruscans of Caere or Tarquinia detached or isolated from what was occurring outside of their own spheres, as if in a cultural and economic vacuum. They were, instead, cognizant of the macrocosm in which they participated and responded actively in concordance with the fluctuating climate of the times. This included nurturing relationships through treaties and lateral aristocratic arrangements, disregarding such contracts to promote one's own interests, and engaging in outright hostility and war when obvious threats to one's interests were imminent.

The different Etruscan centers were multiple autonomous political entities, similar to the Greek city-state, and not a federation of communities under a central political structure. Their relationships with one another reflected this and could well be described as being "cautiously optimistic", where each shared a mutual interest in maintaining one's own political, economic and territorial control and supported each other, to a point, in this shared interest. On the one hand, a spirit of cooperation and alliance was necessary

for their development; on the other hand, sovereignty was something to be preserved, even at the expense of others, and territories were bounded, marked (often with sanctuaries, as will be seen in Chapter 3) and protected.

An alliance among the Etruscan states is often demonstrated by the historical anecdotes concerning the Dodecapoli, or Etruscan League, a coalition of the 12 Etruscan capital cities, of which Caere and Tarquinia were presumably a part. Little is known of this alliance, including which cities were members or where they met²³, but clues surviving in the ancient sources provide enough evidence as to its historicity. It was organized around a single king elected by the 12 cities, each of which then assigned their own lictor (Livy 1.8) When Veii fell to Rome, Livy (5.22) writes that the wealthiest city in the League had been conquered; later, in 311 BCE, all of the members of the League, with the exception of Arezzo, attacked Sutrium, an ally of Rome (Livy 9.32). The offensive prompted Rome to send the consul Publius Decius Mus to wage war in Etruria in 308 BCE, a campaign so successful that every city in the League sued for peace (Livy 9.41).

In many of the battles mentioned above, Etruscan coalitions rather than single states were engaged. Concerning the battle of Alalia in 540 BCE, Caere is the only Etruscan center mentioned specifically by Herodotus as having taken part (1.167), but this is in the context of their cruel treatment of the prisoners of war. The description of the battle itself is explicit in saying that the Tyrrhenians were allied with Carthage against the Phoceans (1.166). Perhaps this included the Dodecapoli. The fifth century challenges to their shared interests also allied them to a common purpose. An Etruscan coalition

²³ Livy (4.23, 5.17, 6.2) states that the League met at the *Fanum Voltumnae*, the location of which is unknown today but is assumed to be near Orvieto (Bruschetti 2010: 102)

entangled themselves with Hiero I of Syracuse which culminated in their rout at the battle of Cumae in 474 BCE. Syracuse again took on a fleet of Etruscan ships in his successful siege of Elba in 453 BCE. The coalition was maintained, at least for a short time, during the struggle against Roman incursion into Etruria during the fourth century BCE. Caere for example, sided with Tarquinia between 356 and 353 BCE, in spite of the previously good rapport the city had with Rome. Of course, personal interest soon prevailed and Caere sued for peace, abandoning Tarquinia in hopes of reestablishing a relationship with the more powerful force.

With the long-lasting and regular diplomatic ties come also economic ones that fostered a vigorous exchange of ideas and objects among the cities. In the Orientalizing period, as was mentioned above, Caere had close economic bonds with the northern Etruscan cities of Populonia and Vetulonia to the point that the latter two likely had conducted much of their business affairs at Caere. Material culture from one center is found regularly in tombs at another. In general, artistic and cultural influences freely crossed Etruscan territorial boundaries to help create a shared stylistic repertoire that can be described as typically Etruscan. The interconnected artistic trends that define a singular Etruscan aesthetic are explored further through examples given in chapter 6.

As for the relationship between Rome and the Etruscans, it was far from stable, but it was always close: each was well aware of the other. We need only to recall the Etruscan dynasty that headed the monarchy at Rome during most of the sixth century BCE to understand how close. One should not, however, read the rule of the Etruscan kings to mean that Rome had become an essentially Etruscan city. Contact between Rome and Etruria far predated the Tarquin dynasty at Rome; there was always horizontal

mobility among the aristocrats from one culture to another, just like Tarquinius Priscus, as Cornell points out, who moved to Rome for opportunity (and not really an Etruscan at that) before becoming the first Etruscan king (Cornell 1995: 158). The same logic dictates that Etruria did not become Roman during its gradual occupation by Rome in the fourth century BCE. This is dealt with in depth in chapter 7, but here the argument is raised that the rule of one over the other did not bring about massive changes; each culture was far too in-tuned with the other not to be aware of, and influenced by, cultural, artistic, religious, economic, etc., currents that moved dynamically between them.

T.J. Cornell (1995: 164) is right to describe the relationships maintained between Etruscans of different centers and Etruscans and non-Etruscan Italians in the context of the concept of 'peer polity interaction'. Outlined in a ground breaking volume edited by Colin Renfrew and John Cherry (1986), 'peer-polity interaction' is defined by Renfrew (1986: 1) as

the full range of interchanges taking place (including imitation and emulation, competition, warfare, and the exchange of material goods and of information) between autonomous (i.e. self-governing and in that sense politically independent) socio-political units which are situated beside or close to each other within a single geographical region, or in some cases more widely.

Basic to the concept are two key issues which I have stressed above. Firstly, such interchange avoids privileging the notion of dominance/subservience (cultural, artistic, intellectual, political, religious, etc.) between the polities involved; secondly, it does not consider a socio-political unit in isolation (ibid.). Change does not happen from the inside alone; we must seek the causes and effects of change more broadly.

Renfrew's definition contends that peer polity interaction occurs primarily between two geographically close societies, but that this is not necessarily always the

case. Policies could be established to counteract geographical distance and create bonds equally dynamic. This was the case, I argue, for the Etruscans and their trade partners around the Mediterranean. Treaties between the Etruscans and Carthaginians go beyond merely uniting the economic interests of two cultures using the same sea routes for trade, but were in the words of C.R. Whittaker (1978: 87), “agreements arising out of friendships”. This type of partnership was recognized also in antiquity as Aristotle describes the Carthaginians and Etruscans involved in the agreements as “virtually citizens of a single state”, who “have agreements about imports and covenants abstaining from dishonesty and treaties of alliance for mutual defense” (Arist. *Pol.* 1280a36).

In the case of Caere and Tarquinia, we can understand their international ports to be not just centers of import and export, but local venues that supported miniaturized simulacra of foreign states. Pyrgi and Gravisca brought in foreign traders and their goods; the remains at their sanctuaries illustrate that their gods and traditions were also welcome and even, in the case at least of Thefarie Velianas who credits his three-year rule to Astarte, adopted by leading Etruscan figures.

The desire to lure foreign goods into Etruria also affects the seemingly open policy on immigration. At Pyrgi and Gravisca, foreign traders brought their customs and traditions with them, but only temporarily. Foreign settlers also arrived at the Etruscan cities, settling permanently with their customs and traditions. Of course the most famous example is from legend: Aeneas bringing with him into Italy his foreign gods and establishing a new lineage of rulers (*Aen.* I. 7-8). Another somewhat legendary figure is Demaratus, whose story was briefly related above. His arrival sparked a massive exposure to the Greek arts in Tarquinia and also established a dynasty of kings during the

Roman monarchy. Other examples come from the archaeological remains. Foreign workshops seem to have established themselves in Tarquinia and Caere. This could account for Orientalizing Corinthian style vessels from such artists as the “Painter of the Bearded Sphinx” and, in the Archaic period, the “Painters of the Caeretan hydriae”.

In summary, there was a vigorous circulation of people, their ideas and goods during most of the first millennium BCE which affected dramatically the Mediterranean societies. When we speak of ‘Etruscan’ or ‘Roman’, it is not some pure, unadulterated culture to which we are referring. They progressed in a wide multi-cultural milieu of which they were always a part, influencing, and being influenced by, both nearby societies and those of the wider Mediterranean world. They could not afford to do otherwise: a society’s health, economic and otherwise, depended greatly on the health of other communities and the relationships they shared. Instability in one could be detrimental to the whole and it was in the best interests of all to establish a rapport in order to minimize volatility and maximize cooperative development, as the numerous problems with Syracuse demonstrate. There was no ‘insular’ society that remained untouched by this, a fact that is especially relevant when I discuss Romanization in the context of the E-L-C votive tradition in chapter 7.

Chapter 3

The Sanctuary at Grasceta dei Cavallari

The sanctuary at Grasceta dei Cavallari and the votive objects from it serve as a case study to re-evaluate how archaeologists can get at identities of the participants in the E-L-C votive tradition. This chapter introduces both the material culture recovered from the site and the structures that constitute it. Using archival records, I describe its discovery and excavation as well as explore problems and inconsistencies between the records and the collection now housed at the Museo Civico di Tolfa. As for the structures, many theories have been forwarded about their typology and function. These are evaluated here and are valuable foundations for my own interpretations.

The archaeological evidence indicates that the sanctuary spanned the course of many centuries, far back into the pre-Roman period and surviving through the first several centuries of the Roman period. Any biography of the site, then, must account for its drastic change in function from one period to another. Part two of the chapter analyzes how the sanctuary functioned as an Etruscan political and religious locus between the territories of Caere and Tarquinia. Using the concepts of political and frontier sanctuaries as it has been applied to Greek and southern Italian contexts, I engage with archaeologists studying the distribution of sanctuaries around southern Etruria and theorize how this particular example first functioned as one marker of a “ritualized boundary” (Riva and Stoddard 1996).

Discovery and Excavations

On October 13, 1940, S. Bastianelli, the honorary inspector of monuments and antiquities in Tolfa, sent a letter to the Soprintendenza alle Antichità dell'Etruria Meridionale (SAEM) announcing the chance discovery of a possible cult site in the area known as Grasceta dei Cavallari.²⁴ Workmen collecting stones for a boundary wall between the territories of Tolfa and Allumiere had found in the previous month an antefix fragment (17 centimeters high) in the form of a female head.²⁵ Realizing this site was significant for more than its *ad hoc* supply of building materials, Bastianelli, along with Cordelli, vice director of the Museo Civico di Tolfa, arrived and found terracotta fragments and tiles on the surface of the ground. They concluded that they were looking at the remains of a small building of sacral character of the Etrusco-Romano era. In an article two years later Bastianelli (1942: 258) publically announced the discovery, omitting mention of the antefix head, but instead describing a female votive head and a fragment of a male terracotta statue.²⁶

World War II put immediate plans to excavate the site on hold, and the next we hear of Grasceta dei Cavallari is 13 years later in a letter to SAEM from Cordelli who describes the discovery differently.²⁷ In 1936, he writes, he had heard that workmen had taken down part of an unknown wall to procure stones for their own project. Going to investigate, he found two antefix heads, a “coronamento frontale di statua virile della

²⁴ Arch. V.G. prot. 40 IX Tolfa 1899 del 18.10.1940.

²⁵ It is unclear which head this refers to. The antefix head in the collection today (A₂IIIa (fr)) does not match the description given in the letter.

²⁶ It is not clear to which female votive head he is referring. If the fragment of the male statue still exists in the collection, it must be the fragment of the phallus (F₁I) which, as argued in the catalogue's description, is not an isolated votive phallus plaque but part of a larger piece.

²⁷ Arch. V.G. prot. 40 IX Tolfa 2745 del 18.08.1953. Permission to excavate had been given by Prof. S. Aurigemma of the office of the Superintendents. Perhaps the different dates given by Bastianelli and Cordelli refer to two different building projects: one in 1936 when Cordelli investigated the wall stones, and another in 1940 when the workman found the antefix head.

grandezza ½ del naturale”, and other terracotta fragments, all of which he placed in the museum at Civitavecchia.²⁸

Evidence of clandestine excavations highlighted the urgency of commencing a formal project at Grasceta dei Cavallari. Cordelli, in the above-mentioned letter, wrote that his during most recent visit he found trenches sunk precisely at the spot where the workmen found the first antefix, perhaps implicating them in the illegal digging. A formal investigation in November 1953 noted not only the trenches, but also the presence of tiles and *ex voto* fragments on the surface of the ground.²⁹ An inquiry led to two local goat herders who had noticed in passing some tiles and took them to make a canal. Among the tiles they had also found a terracotta foot, which was handed over to Mr. Basile Constantine. Upon questioning he fingered one goat herder, who still possessed a votive head, to be responsible for the digging. Orders were given to track him down and recover this head and any other materials that were in his possession. Due to the proximity of a road and the superficial position of the materials, the letter also called for intensive intervention to protect the site. In 1954 SAEM took action, first by involving the Carabinieri,³⁰ and then, at the end of the year, by setting aside 45000 lira for a thirty-day excavation campaign.³¹ Meanwhile the looting continued: the guard Luigi Gobbi

²⁸ Ibid. The two antefix heads he mentions are different from the one found by the workmen in Bastianelli's account. Thus, we have a total of three antefixes. Today there is only one antefix head in the collection, leading to the conclusion that two are missing. The “coronamento frontale di statua virile” is difficult to pin down. It seems that he means an architectonic statue that would have stood above a tympanum. If this is the case, no trace of this piece remains. Another possibility is that the “coronamento frontale” is a curious reference to a crown positioned frontally on the head. It is, admittedly, a stretch to derive this from what is written, but it would at least allude to a piece that we do have: the female head with the diadem (A₂IIC) that was originally identified as a male. The nature of the other terracotta fragments is not specified, but one can assume they were not roof tiles because they are not listed as such.

²⁹ Arch. V.G. prot. 40 IX Tolfa 3824 del 18.11.1953.

³⁰ Arch. V.G. prot. 40 IX Tolfa 3982 del 23.11.1954.

³¹ Arch. V.G. prot. 40 IX Tolfa 4007 del 25.11.1954.

lamented that almost everywhere (“quasi dappertutto”) on his rounds he found modern disturbance, notably at Grasceta dei Cavallari.³²

It is difficult to determine the success of the excavations that SAEM had financed, or indeed if they had happened at all. A letter from October 28, 1955 acknowledged the subsidy but then stated that the excavations could not be carried out due to bad weather.³³ In November and December 1955 new excavations were planned for the following year³⁴, and by June 4 1956 they were well underway.³⁵ These revealed a second structure (Building A) next to the so-called temple and an undisclosed number of votives and bronze pieces.³⁶ Excavations and restoration continued early in 1957, after the removal of about thirty tree stumps³⁷; later in the year 100 cypress trees, still present today, were planted in and around the site.³⁸

Excavations recommenced on April 9, 1958³⁹, and a project to consolidate the exposed walls took place between around June 9 to June 15⁴⁰, during which time a large coin of the Etrusco-Campano type was unearthed.⁴¹ Further campaigns in the early part of

³² Arch. V.G. prot. 40 IX Tolfa 4311 del 20.12.1954.

³³ Arch. V.G. prot. 4 Tolfa 3359 del 29.10.1955. Stanco (1998: 209-210, n. 6) writes that excavations did begin in this year, although the records from it are missing from the archives. Stefanini (1965: 17 and 1966: 37) writes that they took place in the autumn of 1955; Mura (1969: 68) also lists 1955 as the first year, however she takes Stefanini as her cue.

³⁴ Arch. V.G. prot. 8 Tolfa 3577 del 15.11.1955; Arch. V.G. prot. Tolfa 3734 del 28.11.1955.

³⁵ Arch. V.G. prot. 4 Tolfa 1683 del 24.05.1958.

³⁶ Arch. V.G. prot. 2 Tolfa 209 del 15.01.1957.

³⁷ Arch. V.G. prot. 8 Tolfa 4345 del 21.12.1956; Arch. V.G. prot. 8 Tolfa 21 del 03.01.1957; Arch. V.G. prot. 8 Tolfa 21 del 26.02.1957; Arch. V.G. prot. 8 Tolfa 528 del 4.02.1957; Arch. V.G. prot. 8 Tolfa 527 del 04.02.1957; Arch. V.G. prot. 8 Tolfa 527 del 12.02.1957; Arch. V.G. prot. 8 Tolfa 4345 del 21.12.1956; Arch. V.G. prot. 8 Tolfa 528 del 26.02.1957; Arch. V.G. prot. 8 Tolfa 996 del 09.03.1957; Arch. V.G. prot. 3 Tolfa 2387 del 22.60.1957.

³⁸ Arch. V.G. prot. 1 Tolfa 4234 del 20.11.1957.

³⁹ Arch. V.G. prot. 4 Tolfa 1328 del 16.04.1958; Arch. V.G. prot. 4 Tolfa 1498 del 03.05.1958.

⁴⁰ Arch. V.G. prot. 1 Tolfa 1950 del 11.06.1958; Arch. V.G. prot. 4 Tolfa 2054 del 20.06.1958.

⁴¹ Arch. V.G. prot. 1 Tolfa 1950 del 11.06.1958; Arch. V.G. prot. 4 Tolfa 2102 del 20.11.1957. A drawing of the coin (Arch. V.G. prot. 1 Tolfa 1950 del 11.06.1958) shows that they are talking about the large Quadrans with the open right hand on the obverse and the wheat ears on the reverse (Inv. 70593.1).

the 1960's brought to light the third structure (Building B).⁴² A final major project, the repair of the walls which had come loose after a period of frost, was carried out from August 28 to September 26 1967.⁴³ The final major undertaking took place in 1984 under the auspices of the Gruppo Archeologico Romano (G.A.R.) which carried out another restoration project and excavation.⁴⁴

The Materials

The archival records reveal one complication in discussing the materials recovered at Grasceta dei Cavallari: what is currently housed in the Museo Civico di Tolfa does not comprise the complete number and range of objects that were originally recovered (both legally and illegally). There are explicit instances where the accounts conflict with the collection. For example, three antefix heads seem to have been discovered, yet only one exists today; four roof tiles are listed in the museum records, yet many more were both recovered by SAEM or were carted off for modern re-use. Part of the confusion might be that the pre-war finds were taken to the museum at Civitavecchia since Tolfa then had no comparable storage facilities. Attempts to consolidate the objects in 1955 for Tolfa's new museum may have overlooked some pieces, with the result that they still remain in Civitavecchia's storerooms, or they were confused and are part of Tolfa's collection.⁴⁵

⁴² Arch. V.G. prot. 4 Tolfa 3251 del 04.11.1960; Arch. V.G. prot. 4 Tolfa 3429 del 14.10.1960; Arch. V.G. prot. 4 Tolfa 3429 del 15.10.1960; Arch. V.G. prot. 1 Tolfa B 2209 del 02.07.1963.

⁴³ Arch. V.G. prot. 6 Tolfa 536 del 30.01.1967; Arch. V.G. prot. 6 Tolfa 3638 del 23.06.1967; Arch. V.G. prot. 6 Tolfa 3757 del 01.07.1967; Arch. V.G. prot. 6 Tolfa 3758 del 04.07.1967; Arch. V.G. prot. 6 Tolfa 5000 del 29.09.1967.

⁴⁴ Records of this project are missing from the archives at the Villa Giulia. I am thankful to Dr. Paolo Brocato for his help in gathering information on this project

⁴⁵ Stanco (1998: 211, n. 15) thinks this last possibility is unlikely. He, however, believes that the object described as a male crowned head is still missing, while I have raised the possibility that this is the female diademed head exhibited at the museum. Also, the fragment of the male statue might be terracotta phallus piece.

Frequently, references to worked materials over the surface of the ground omit specification as to the class of material—pottery or votive fragments, tiles, etc. The lack of complete descriptions makes it unclear if, and even doubtful that, the present assemblage embodies the full range of objects that had been collected. Stefanini (1966: 40), for example, dates the smaller structure (Building A) to the seventh to sixth centuries BCE based on the fictile material found within it; however, he does not reveal what these are and nothing in the present collection, with the possible exception of the antefix head, dates to such an early period. Enrico Angelo Stanco (1998: 220, n. 72) notes that bucchero and other archaic ceramics are part of the fictile materials, although no examples are present in the collection. He footnotes two archaeologists, Gianfranco Gazzetti and Andrea Zifferero, who personally studied the pieces, which makes their existence more probable but nevertheless invisible today.

It is impossible to estimate, moreover, the losses incurred by the nearly two decades of clandestine activities up to the first excavations. The archives allow us to infer that a large number of architectonic terracottas were at the site, which helps to forward a general reconstruction of the buildings, but without the finds contexts we are hard-pressed to say to what buildings these pieces correspond. And it is not just tiles and bricks that were removed. Votives and other objects on the surface were simply picked up, while digging uncovered those that were buried. Some were recovered, but these are sure to be in the minority compared to the materials in private collections that remain unidentified and inaccessible.

Finally, other inconsistencies should be mentioned. The records of the museum list objects that have since been lost. Among these are two bronze hands (Inv. 70461 and

70462), a finger ring with an engraved gemstone (Inv. 70592), and four roof tiles (Inv. 70466-70469). Toiati (1985: 157) describes an olla among the ceramic finds (Inv. 12/CG/B3/3/1), which appears neither in the collection nor in the inventory list. Its unique inventory number could mean that it is currently held at another unknown museum. Stanco's (1998: 211) numbers also exceed what is exhibited at the museum: he writes that there are fifteen heads and masks, not including the antefix fragment, 4 votive black-gloss bowls, and other ceramic fragments.

The following is a list of the objects from the assemblage at Grasceta dei Cavallari that are present at the museum:

1. Architectonic elements: one fragment of an antefix in the form of a female head, four roof tiles
2. Votive offerings: eight heads⁴⁶, eleven feet, three hands, eight fingers, one breast, one uterus, one phallus, one base for a statuette.
3. Ceramics: two small black-gloss bowls, one oil lamp, one *thymiaterion* fragment.
4. Metal objects: one large iron ring.
5. Money: twenty-five coins.

These objects form the basis of my interpretations regarding the dates of sanctuary use as well as the reconstruction of cult activity. The pieces that were once present but are now lost (e.g., two bronze hands, one finger ring with an engraved gemstone, four roof tiles, various fragments of bucchero and archaic ceramics) are also brought in to flesh out the picture further.

The surviving artifacts at the Museo Civico di Tolfa provide a clear account of the activities at the sanctuary, primarily during the mid-Republic period (late fourth to late

⁴⁶ I include here two pieces that have been identified as 'masks'. Masks are commonly found within similar assemblages. They are mould-made plaques that depict the eyes and nose. One fragment from Grasceta dei Cavallari (A₁Id (fr)) includes only this region of the face, the other (A₁Ic (fr)) includes also the mouth and chin. Their similarity to masks is coincidental and should be attributed to an accident of preservation. Furthermore, they are wheel-made, a production process that is possible only for pieces in the round, such as entire heads.

second/early first centuries BCE). The assemblage corresponds with the E-L-C votive tradition, first described in full by Fenelli (1975) and Comella (1981), that appeared in many sanctuaries mainly in central and southern Italy. Its history and distribution is the focus of chapter 4. For now we can conclude that, for the last few centuries of its life, the sanctuary became an important center to establish a rapport with the gods to ensure good health, fecundity, and general protection.

The Structures

The 'Temple'

Three structures comprise the sanctuary space (figure 3.1) The first structure, discovered when its remains were used as quarry stones for the modern boundary wall, is also the largest and the possible focal point for the religious rites and votive dedications (figure 3.2) It is oriented due east. The outer wall is constructed from summarily worked medium sized stones and set in uneven courses without mortar, although the corner blocks were squared. The outer perimeter measures 10.5 x 18.2 meters. Excavations in 1984 established that the wall continued nearly one meter beneath the modern ground level. A doorway at the center of the east wall provided access to the interior. Two rows of four column bases extend along the interior of the long sides. Earlier accounts (e.g., Morra 1979: 253; Stefanini 1966: 39) identified twelve bases, but it was rightly determined that some were simply large rocks placed there at a later time and did not function as architectural support. A smaller rectangular structure (5.5 x 3.5 meters) is set back from the center of the interior, between the third pair of column bases (figure 3.3). It is divided into two rooms. The front room extends two meters deep and possibly was a vestibule for the larger room behind it. The back room is nearly square (2.5 meters per

side) and may have served as the residence of a cult statue, or perhaps the treasury for the cult apparatus. The discovery of votive materials within it also points to its role in receiving the worshippers' offerings. In front of this and positioned south of the central axis were four stone features (now missing) abutting each other in a north-south alignment (figure 3.4). The two northern tufa blocks were squared and are interpreted as being altars (Gazzetti 1985: 156; Stanco 1998: 216; Stefanini 1966: 37-38).

Two schools of thought currently dominate the reconstruction of this building. The archival records immediately classified the structure typologically as a temple, a view that still has adherents. Its most recent incarnation is developed by Stanco (1998) who writes that the perimeter wall corresponds to the foundation of a low podium. He recognized two phases of construction: the first, with a peribolos of eight columns, conforms to the peripteral aerostyle temple of an Etrusco-Italic type (ibid.: 213); the second, which saw a raising of the podium and an addition of two frontal columns, transformed it into a tetrastyle peripteral temple *sine postico* (ibid.: 215-216). Others (e.g., Colonna 2006: 148; Edlund 1987a: 54; Gentili 1999: 86; Torelli 1985: 120) instead read the perimeter wall as a temenos, or *maceria* (Comella 2005: 272-273), which enclosed the porticoed internal sacred space and central shrine.⁴⁷

My reconstruction accords with the latter camp. While the general layout of the structure—its perimeter, central cella, and columns—coincide with the individual parts of a temple, other crucial elements are missing, most notably a solid podium. Stanco writes that the perimeter wall corresponds to a podium's foundation; however, the position of the other features makes this somewhat difficult to follow. The elevation of the wall is

⁴⁷ Colonna's (2006: 148) reconstruction differs in one important way: the lateral bases are not the remains of colonnades, but are eight altars that flanked the central shrine.

higher than the column bases and the altars, and no podium rests beneath them. The opening on the east side of the perimeter wall creates a point of entry that would not be necessary if this were lower podium foundation. It looks instead as if the modern level of the ground surface is only slightly higher than the ancient elevation and that the perimeter wall is exactly that: the delineation of a sacred outdoor precinct (figure 3.5).

Approaching the structure from the road to the east, one would only get an impression of the interior layout from the restricted perspective through the entrance. The elevated shrine, axially aligned with the entrance, would become the focal point immediately. Upon entering, the worshipper would be confronted with two colonnades on either side. That we have no physical evidence for the columns can be resolved easily enough by positing that they were wooden (Gazzetti 1985: 156). The high frequency of terracotta roof tiles suggests that they were covered porticoes and provided a narrow refuge for the visitors as well as a protected place to deposit votive dedications. The roofing likely descended toward the center, and the antefix fragments would have fastened to the end tiles along the interior eaves. Thus, the structure exhibited a tripartite layout, with the central band open to the sky and dominated by the shrine, and the two lateral covered porticoes.

This typology finds many parallels with other Italic sanctuaries. An important precedent is Building β of Pian di Civita, Tarquinia (Bonghi Jovino 2000a, 2000b; Colonna 2006: 147, fig VIII.24; Invernizzi 2000; Treré 1997: 55-62, tavv. 15, 16.3). In the early seventh century BCE, an ‘*oikos* type’ (Colonna 2006: 147) sacred building (6.5 x 11 meters) was constructed.⁴⁸ It was divided, like the central shrine at Grasceta dei Cavallari, into two axial rooms and an altar was set within the rear room. In the mid-

⁴⁸ The renowned foundation deposit for Building β included a shield, axe and folded *lituus*.

seventh century BCE, a perimeter wall (15.7 x 25 meters), abutting the rear of the building, created an outdoor precinct accessible through an entrance axially aligned with the front of Building β (figure 3.6). At Pyrgi, a sacred area about thirty meters south of the major temple complex includes one structure, the so-called “sacello γ ” (Comella 2005d; Colonna 1994) from the mid-fifth century BCE, that is made up of an internal rectangular sacellum open at the north and surrounded on all four sides by an enclosure wall (figure 3.7). A narrow ambulatory permitted movement between the internal building and enclosure wall. A podium foundation is absent. Another example is the third- to second-century BCE sanctuary of Poggio Casetta, Bolsena (Comella 2005e: 140-141; Colonna 1985: 23, fig 1; Jolivet 2002: 371). Here we get a plan very much in line with Building β of Pian di Civita, Tarquinia. A small single room is set back in the rear-center of an outdoor precinct. The perimeter wall extends out of the rear wall of the building and surrounds it, leaving an entrance that is axially aligned with the entrance of the interior building (figure 3.8).

These examples do not include porticoes like the one at Grasceta dei Cavallari, but others do show that porticoed courtyards were used in sacred contexts. Building δ at Gravisca from the end of the fifth century BCE, is composed of a large paved courtyard surrounded by a perimeter wall. The courtyard was delimited at the northern half by a large colonnaded portico (Fiorini 2005: 93-116; Torelli 2005: 139) (figure 3.9).⁴⁹ Another pertinent later example is the sanctuary at S. Giovanni in Galdo, Colle Rimontato, frequented from the late fourth century BCE but was monumentalized only in the late second century BCE (Comella 2005a: 233; Stek 2009: 43-44 and 51-52, fig. 3.2). The

⁴⁹ In a later phase the portico was transformed into an independent room with a doorway opening into the courtyard.

remains show an outdoor precinct surrounded by an enclosure wall in which was erected a small sacellum at the rear. Lateral rows of column bases indicate that the precinct was porticoed on both sides (figure 3.10).

Building A

One-and-a-half meters to the north, sharing the same rear alignment and eastern orientation as the “temple”, are the remains of a small edifice (4.6 x 3.85 meters) now called ‘Building A’ (figure 3.11). It is constructed from summarily worked medium sized stones and set in uneven courses without mortar. A door is at the center of the eastern wall. Benches line the interior of the eastern wall-face and approximately two-thirds of the northern and southern wall-faces. Set back in the center, 2.2 meters from the entrance, are the remains of a square feature (0.64 x 0.50 meters) constructed of small unworked stones.

Building A is less well-understood, both in terms of chronology and function. Morra (1979: 253) writes that it dates between the seventh and the sixth centuries BCE, but he gives no indication of its function. Stefanini (1966: 39-40), from the pottery fragments found within the structure, also places the construction of the building in this time period. He writes that it was an archaic temple that preceded the larger building to the south. Gazzetti (1985: 156) interprets it as a small shrine, writing that it was a “sacello minore” with internal benches and a central base.

Stanco (1998: 216-218) provides a more complete treatment of the structure. He points out that the fragments that helped date the building could have been present in the landscape prior to its construction, making a later (although unspecified) date possible. That it was a temple is problematic because known temples from the seventh and sixth

centuries share very little in common typologically with this building. However, Stanco then dismisses other alternatives. He doubts that it functioned as a room for communal meals, but it is too high to serve this purpose; a defensive tower would be problematic because the widths of the walls are too thin to support such a tall structure. Instead, he writes, this building should be interpreted as the residence of the permanent administrators of the site: the central square feature is the roof support, and the platforms along the walls are benches for bedding.

Stanco's reading of this building depends largely on the reconstructions of the interior elements. Whether it is an archaic temple, minor shrine, residence, or dining space, the central block changes respectively to an altar, column base, or hearth; the projections around the wall change from benches to sleeping platforms. His argument, for example, against its function as a space for ritual communal dining rests solely with the central block. If it was used for this purpose, then the block is a hearth. Because the block is too elevated to function as a hearth, the room cannot be used for this purpose. It is unclear, however, why a room used for ritual dining could not have an altar in the center, or a column and column base to support the roof, or a base for a small platform to hold the food. His own conclusion, furthermore, that it was a residence becomes doubtful after an analysis of the remains. The benches that he claims are sleeping platforms extend merely 0.60 meters from the walls, not nearly enough space on which to lie down.

My own interpretation takes into account the orientation of the building, its plan, and the ceramic materials said to have been found inside. The eastern orientation links

this structure to the large structure to the south both physically and symbolically.⁵⁰ Like the outdoor precinct, it was a fundamental locus for the performance of cult activity (and not, again, for the mundane purpose of residence to an official). The activity can be guessed at from the internal elements and artifacts. Taken together they strongly suggest that some sort of ritual dining was involved. Such religious observances are known to have taken place in Greek sanctuaries (e.g., Bookidis: 1993) as well as during Etruscan funerary rites (e.g., Pieraccini 2000; Tuck 1994), and it is not hard-pressed to see a similar activity occurring here. The benches, in triclinium form, accommodated the seated diners and the central platform served as the base for the table supporting the banquet accoutrements, or perhaps the base for the cult statue of the honored divine guest. The plates and vessels, having been used in this sacred context, became sacrosanct themselves and were left behind as offerings.

One similar structure has been identified at San Giovenale, 6.75 kilometers northeast of Grasceta dei Cavallari (Colonna and Forberg 1999). A rectangular building with benches along three sides of the interior and a hearth at the center also housed a large quantity of bucchero fragments, 48 of which had inscriptions. It is thought that this sacellum was the venue for an aristocratic cult and the performance of funerary rites related to the nearby necropolis at Casale Vignale (ibid.: 78).

Building B

The third structure is situated at the northeast sector of the site approximately six meters north of the outdoor precinct. It is generally the same size as building A, measuring 4.40 x 4.23 meters, but exhibits a very distinct layout. It faces south and the

⁵⁰ A comparable site is at Vacri, where a larger temple (14.10 x 10.30 meters) and a smaller building (5.20 x 6.10 meters) are situated right next to each other and share the same eastern orientation (La Torre 1997: 54).

southern side, opposite the other two structures, is open, giving it an appearance of a ‘U’ formed by the other three walls (figure 3.12). The interior lacks any architectural features, however, there are remains of a concrete surface that lips up .20 meters onto the interior wall-faces. The wall construction is similar to the other two: medium sized stones stacked in courses without mortar.

Still less is known about how Building B functioned. Morra (1979: 253) mentions it only as “una terza costruzione, di carattere non bene accertato.” Gazzetti (1985: 156) describes its physical layout, remarking on its ‘U’ shape and its different orientation, but neither provides a date nor interprets a function for it. Stanco (1998: 218) offers a general chronology, stating that, like Building A, it should be placed within the Hellenistic period; while its form, if the missing wall was intentional and not the accidental happenstance of preservation, may indicate that the space functioned as a “botega” (shop).

The building brings to mind the mid-second century BCE sanctuary of Bacchus at Poggio Moscini, Bolsena (Jolivet and Marchand 2003: 44-45). In its second phase, the east wall, with the entrance, was removed, leaving a U-shaped structure. However, while this building was central to the religious activities of the site, I believe Building B at Grasceta dei Cavallari oversaw more secular exigencies. Both its spatial and orientational disjunction severs it functionally and symbolically from the religious activities of the site. Its open side facing the cult buildings leads to the assumption that it worked to support the day-to-day organization or administration and therefore could be interpreted as a storeroom housing the cult objects or perhaps a workshop for artisans, something which is found often at Italic sanctuaries (Bouma 1996a: 178). The concrete flooring supports

the late Hellenistic date (such a floor would not exist in earlier sixth- to seventh-century BCE works), or, at least, Hellenistic-period renovation.

The Sanctuary from a Diachronic Perspective

The material remains, although concentrated in a chronological arc spanning the last three centuries BCE, include objects from an earlier period of frequentation. The bucchero and archaic pottery sherds suggest activity in the seventh to sixth centuries BCE. The surviving antefix head, dated to the third quarter of the sixth century BCE (Zifferero 1995a: 341), and the other now-lost antefixes suggest a monumentalization of the site around the same time.

In the pre-Roman period, then, a monumental sanctuary was constructed on a natural boundary between two allied but competing urban centers—Tarquinia and Caere. It performed important religious functions, but we must also consider its role as a political center of mediation, a function that scholars have recognized for contemporary sanctuaries in Greece and Magna Grecia.

Francois de Polignac's "La naissance de la cité grecque" (1984) was instrumental in pointing to Greek religious practice in the rise of the Greek polis. Sanctuaries located outside of the city center established a means by which polis identity was established and political sovereignty asserted through the staking of political boundaries. Here and in a later revisal (de Polignac 1994) the Argive Heraion is the paradigmatic example. In the Classical period, when Argos' hegemony of the region was finalized, the monumental extra-urban sanctuary publicized this political reality. In the earlier Geometric and Archaic periods, when Argos' political position was more egalitarian with respect to the

neighboring centers (Tiryns, Mycenae, and Nauplion), the role of the sanctuary was different as well, instead serving as a meeting place for all of the centers.

For Magna Grecia, Pier Giovanni Guzzo (1987) created an interpretive framework for identifying so-called 'frontier sanctuaries' from the Archaic period. Greek colonization in southern Italy was primarily an economic endeavor (agriculture and other production). As such, the delimitation of the territory was variable and depended on a number of factors, including the number of colonists, the determination of specific strongholds, the other territories belonging to different political entities, and the relationship between colonists and indigenes. This necessitated a realization of a conceptual 'outside' and 'inside' and gave rise to an ordering of the frontier around three perceived polarities: central habitation site and cultivated land, cultivated and uncultivated land, one's own territory and that of another colony or population. Sanctuaries were established in light of these conceptual distinctions: urban cults were usually centered in the agora; suburban rural cults were placed within the agricultural belt; farther off 'frontier sanctuaries' were placed in zones of contact between diverse political entities in order to promote cooperation between the two in the exploitation of the land.

The developing picture of pre-Roman settlement patterns in southern Etruria has begun to allow scholars to apply these theoretical structures here. Surveys in the territories of Tarquinia and Caere have generated large catalogues of habitation sites, burial sites and sanctuaries (Enei 1992, 1993 and 2001; Maffei 1990; Naso and Zifferero 1999; Perego 2005); surveys conducted by G.A.R. have focused specifically on the Monti della Tolfa region, providing a settlement history of a vast chronological arc from the

prehistoric period up to the medieval (Coccia 1985; Gazzetti and Zifferero 1990). The growing body of knowledge has permitted interpretations of the role sanctuaries played in early state formation and territorial control (Riva and Stoddard 1996; Stoddard 1990 and 1998; Zifferero 1995a, 1998, 2002a and 2002b).

By 600 BCE, there was a strategically organized and state-sponsored control of the Etruscan landscape, and sanctuaries at this time helped in delimiting and negotiating this territorial control (Stoddard 1998: 198; Zifferero 2002a: 262). A model of how they functioned in this way was first put forth by Corinna Riva and Simon Stoddard (1996). Sanctuaries worked to define boundaries on three levels, based on their spatial relationship with the city center. In the city center, they asserted the political authority of that polity. Outside, sanctuaries were placed on the liminal space between the urban and suburban zones of its territory. Further off still, they defined the border regions either between two independent polities or between one polity and the wider Mediterranean world.

Zifferero (1995a, 1998, 2002a and 2002b), using Guzzo's terminology, contributed greatly to the study of Etrurian 'frontier sanctuaries', which served to "protect the outer boundaries of the ager" (ibid. 2002a: 262). His case study focuses on the distribution pattern of sanctuaries in the Caeretan territory. A frontier sanctuary protecting the boundaries of Caere and the rest of the Mediterranean was placed at the international port Pyrgi, where we find the large temple complex. My research has uncovered another distribution of inland sanctuaries that could be related to the temples at Pyrgi and strategically organized as a secondary line of 'defense'. Five sanctuaries, at Poggio Spiantacase, Monte Ianni, Monte Perazzeto, Sasso di Furbara, and Montetosto,

are evenly spaced from each other and form a ring around Pyrgi at a distance of 9.8 to 7.4 kilometers away⁵¹ (figure 3.13: 17-21). All of them, except the one at Monte Perazzeto, furthermore, were placed near roads running from the coast (Nastasi 1990). This pattern does not correspond to Riva's and Stoddard's model, whereby extra-urban sanctuaries were set around the urban center. Instead, we may be seeing another category of sanctuary, one that responded to the foreign presence on the coast and broadcast the local authority to outsiders travelling inland to Caere or other parts of the Caeretan hinterland.

The border marking the territories of Tarquinia and Caere saw a development of frontier sanctuaries from the sixth century BCE up to the Roman conquest (figure 3.13) (Gentili 1999; Zifferero 1995a, 1998, 2002a, 2002b). At the coast three monumental sanctuaries, at Punta della Vipera, at the mouth of the Marangone river, and at Castellina del Marangone (figure 3.13: 14-16) appear where the two territories met on the ancient *via Aurelia*. More sanctuaries extend inland just north of the Monti della Tolfa—at Poggio Granarolo, Ripa Maiale, Casale dell'Aretta, Bufalareccia (figure 3.13: 8-11)—and beyond the chain's eastern limit—at Selvasecca⁵² and Grotta Porcina (figure 3.13: 2 and 6). Grasceta dei Cavallari (figure 3.13: 1) was centrally situated on the top of the mountain chain. The territories were defined by the late Orientalizing period when the rural populations were organized under centralized power structures and were arranged around prevailing ecological factors like the Tolfa mountains (Zifferero 1995a). During the sixth century BCE, a mixed system of ecological frontiers and barrier frontiers arose in which sacred areas were set at critical junctures (Punta della Vipera, the mouth of the

⁵¹ Zifferero (2002a: 262 and fig. 11) places another sanctuary at Griciano between Montetosto and Sasso di Furbara, although he admits its existence is uncertain. I have not been able to verify that a sanctuary was here.

⁵² It is questionable if the archaeological remains point to a formal sacred center at Selvasecca.

Marangone river, Castellina del Marangone, Ripa Maiale, Grasceta dei Cavallari, Grotta Porcina). During the fourth century BCE, with Caere progressively entering the Roman orbit of control, these sacred barriers were developed further (Poggio Granarolo, Casale dell'Aretta, Bufalareccia, Selvasecca) (ibid.).

The sanctuary at Grasceta dei Cavallari played a fundamental role in defining and stabilizing what is the likely border zone splitting the Tarquinian and Caeretan spheres of control (Torelli 1970-1971; Zifferero 1995a: 337). Built on a saddle between two mountains, it took advantage of the ecological frontier that split the Mignone plain into northern (Tarquinian) and southern (Caeretan) sections. It also controlled a critical point of access between the two territories. Evidence of roads traversing the mountains indicates that a more direct route, instead of along the coast or around the eastern limit, was available to travelers going from one city to the other (figures 3.14 and 3.15). In this light, we should not see the monumentalization of the site as an expression of the power of one center over another; instead, the model promoted by de Polignac for Greek sanctuaries of the Geometric and Archaic periods is more applicable, reading sanctuaries as places of contact between more egalitarian communities. Likewise, Guzzo's model for sanctuaries in Magna Grecia is useful. The correspondence to the liminality of territorial control reveals this site to be a point of neutrality where mediation and communication among the elites could help to stabilize the frontier that otherwise would be subject to continuous pushing and pulling. Such contact would be performed ritualistically as they appealed to the divinities to protect the territories. Perhaps the remains that give evidence of early ritual dining provide a clue as to how this was performed.

After the Roman conquest we can speak of monumentalization at the site as an expression of hegemony. At this time the function of the site changed dramatically. No longer was its focus aimed in two directions toward Tarquinia and Caere; Rome's takeover rendered that power relation obsolete. Now the built environment here referenced only one dominant power. The actors, however, who frequented the site, stayed very much the same. This point is dealt with further when I talk about the different styles of the votive offerings and what they can say about who participated in cult activity here from the third to first centuries BCE (chapter 6). For now, we can assume that Romans who settled in the area or travelled through the pass to the still important cities of Tarquinia and Caere paid their respects at the sanctuary and left offerings. But it continued to be an important locus of sacred importance for the local inhabitants whose knowledge of their own cultural and religious history would have persisted in their minds. Their participation at the ancient cult site reflects the continuity of their own traditions. This was accomplished, however, by means of a new cult practice, namely the E-L-C votive tradition, which is discussed in the next chapter. As is also argued in subsequent chapters, the locals adapted this new tradition in ways that complemented their traditional belief systems.

The sanctuary at Grasceta dei Cavallari endured through a massive disruption in the political milieu of southern Etruria and for that it could not remain unchanged. The new votive tradition testifies to this. However, we should not assume that the change in the function of the site is tantamount to an entirely changed meaning. Rather, we should see the site imbued with added meaning. In the words of Carla Antonaccio (1996: 102-103), such places

“acquire multiple meanings in addition to their original one (which is transformed through myth and local history)... [T]he significance of durable monuments, whether originally cult places, habitation sites, or tombs, remains; though their meaning was mutable and manipulable, their power was still felt.”

In many ways this viewpoint accords well with the general theme of this dissertation—local culture, identity, and traditions persist in spite of overriding forces that might appear to homogenize or acculturate through a sort of cultural amnesia. The resilience of traditional culture bears its mark in even the most “Roman” forms of expression and this resilience in meaning applies also to the inanimate built environment.

The next chapter looks at the votive tradition that yielded the majority of the remains from Grasceta dei Cavallari. While the tradition is essentially of Roman origin, being transmitted via the multiple facets of Roman expansion—through physical elements such as colonies and roads, and less visible means, such as treaties, the military, and increased intercultural communication—its ubiquity does not strictly indicate the Romanization of the locals whose local identity persisted and can be read by the archaeological signatures left by their participation.

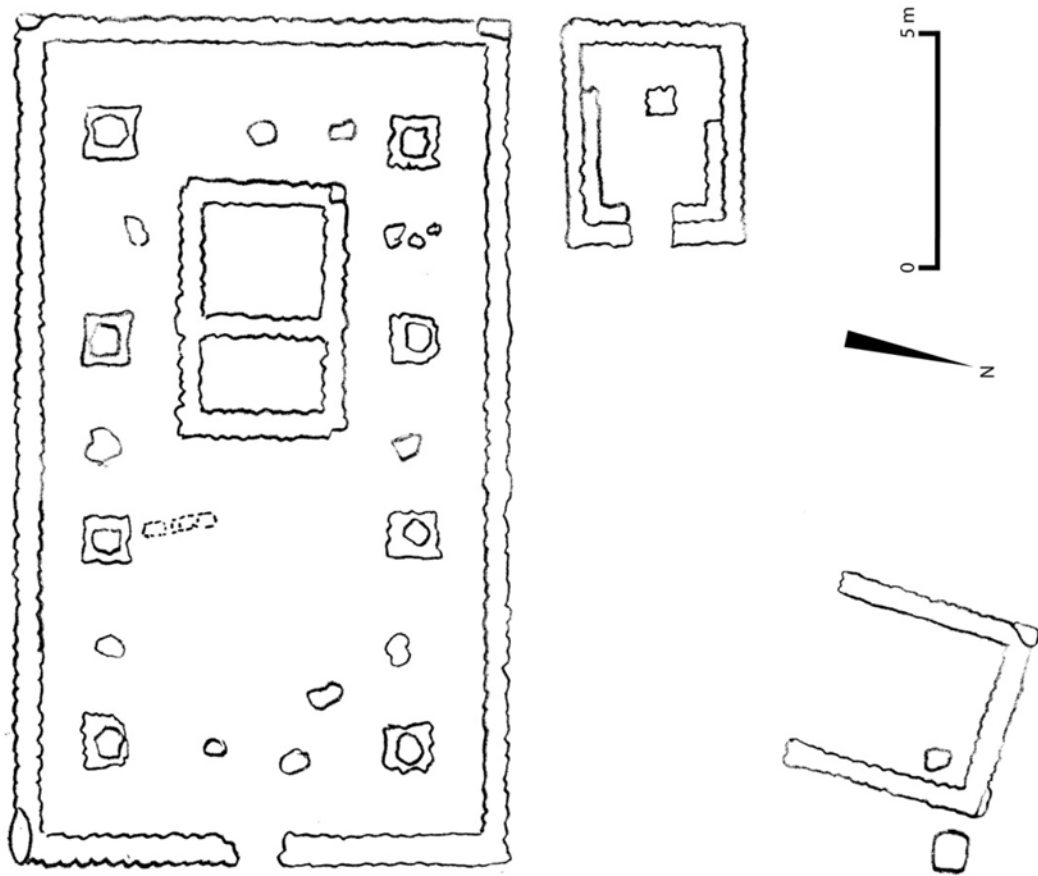


Figure 3.1: Plan of the sanctuary structures at Grasceta dei Cavallari.



Figure 3.2: Remains of the "temple" at Grasceta dei Cavallari (neg. 7163).



Figure 3.3: Structure occupying the interior space of the "temple" (neg. 7161).



Figure 3.4: The stone altars in front of the internal structure (neg. 6989).

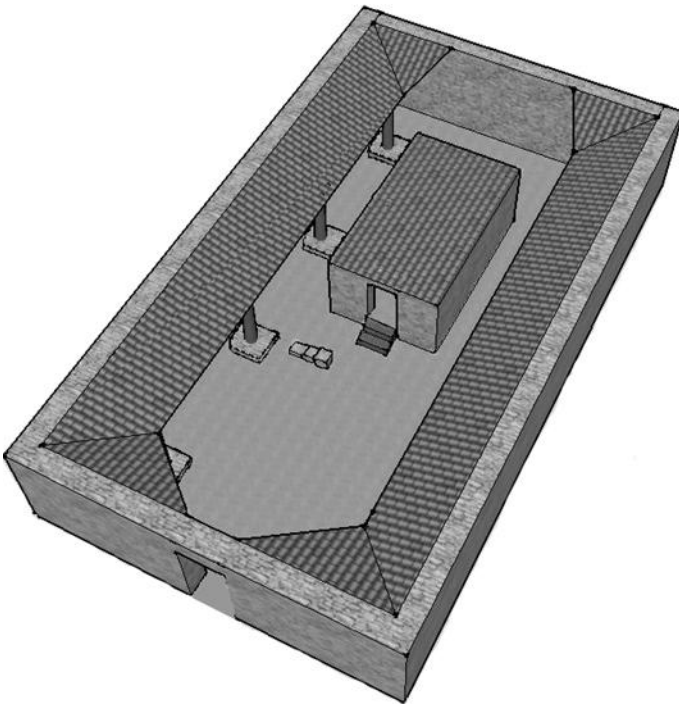


Figure 3.5: Hypothetical reconstruction of the outdoor precinct.

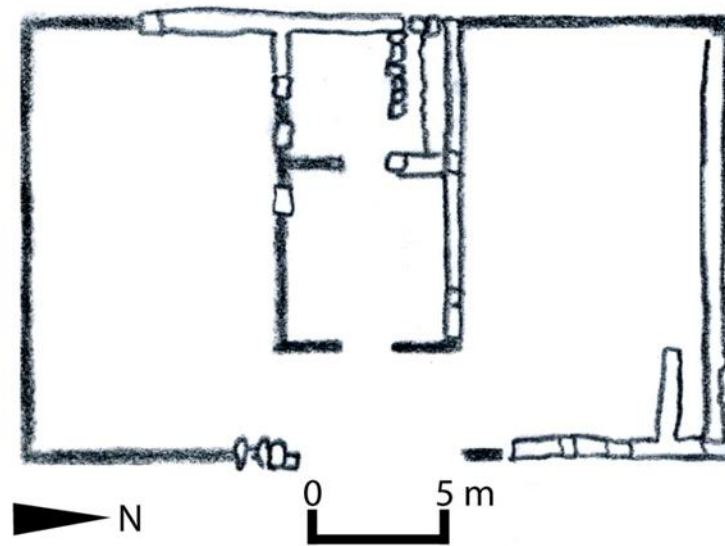


Figure 3.6: Building β, Pian di Civita, Tarquinia (shaded: hypothetical reconstruction) (after Invernizzi 2000: 268).

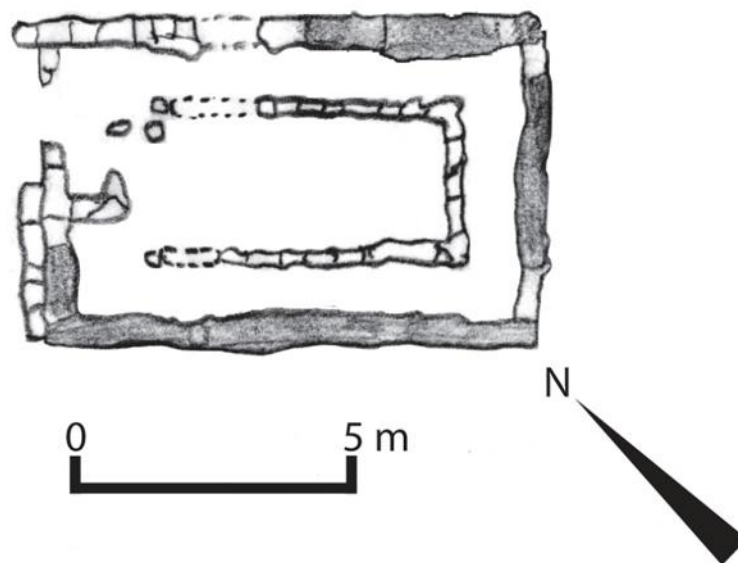


Figure 3.7: Sacellum γ, Pyrgi (after Comella 2005d:162).

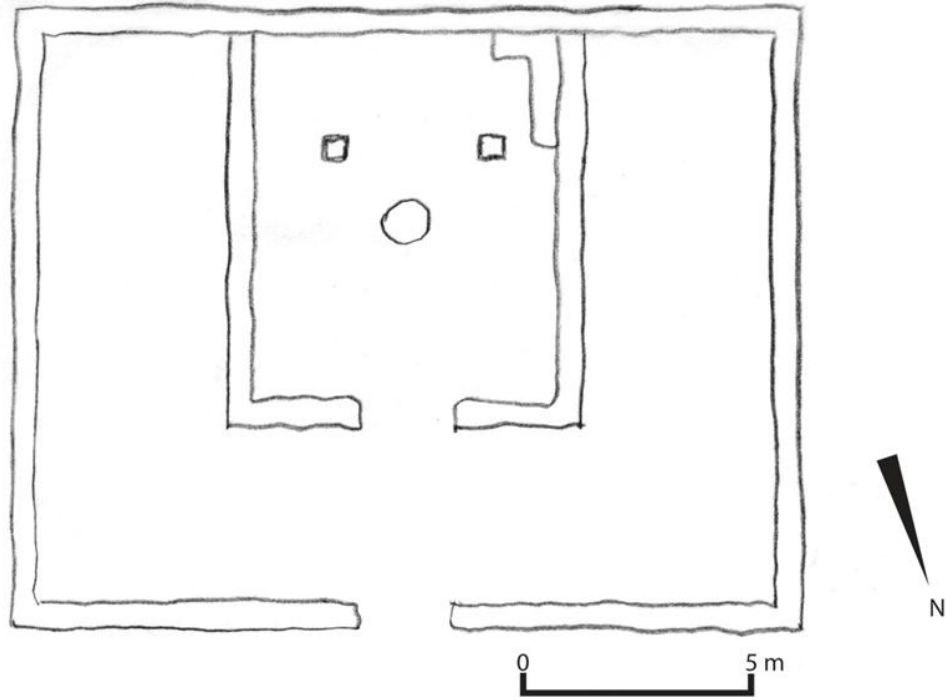


Figure 3.8: Sanctuary at Poggio Casetta, Bolsenna (after Comella 2005e: 141).

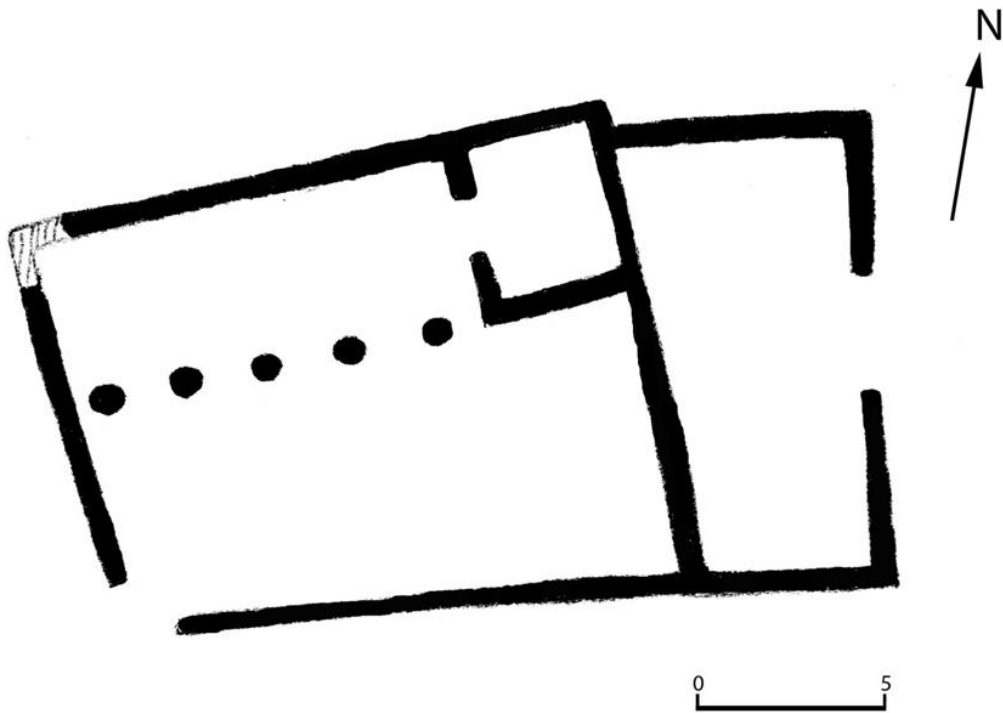


Figure 3.9: Building δ, Gravisca (after Fiorini 2005: tav. 23).

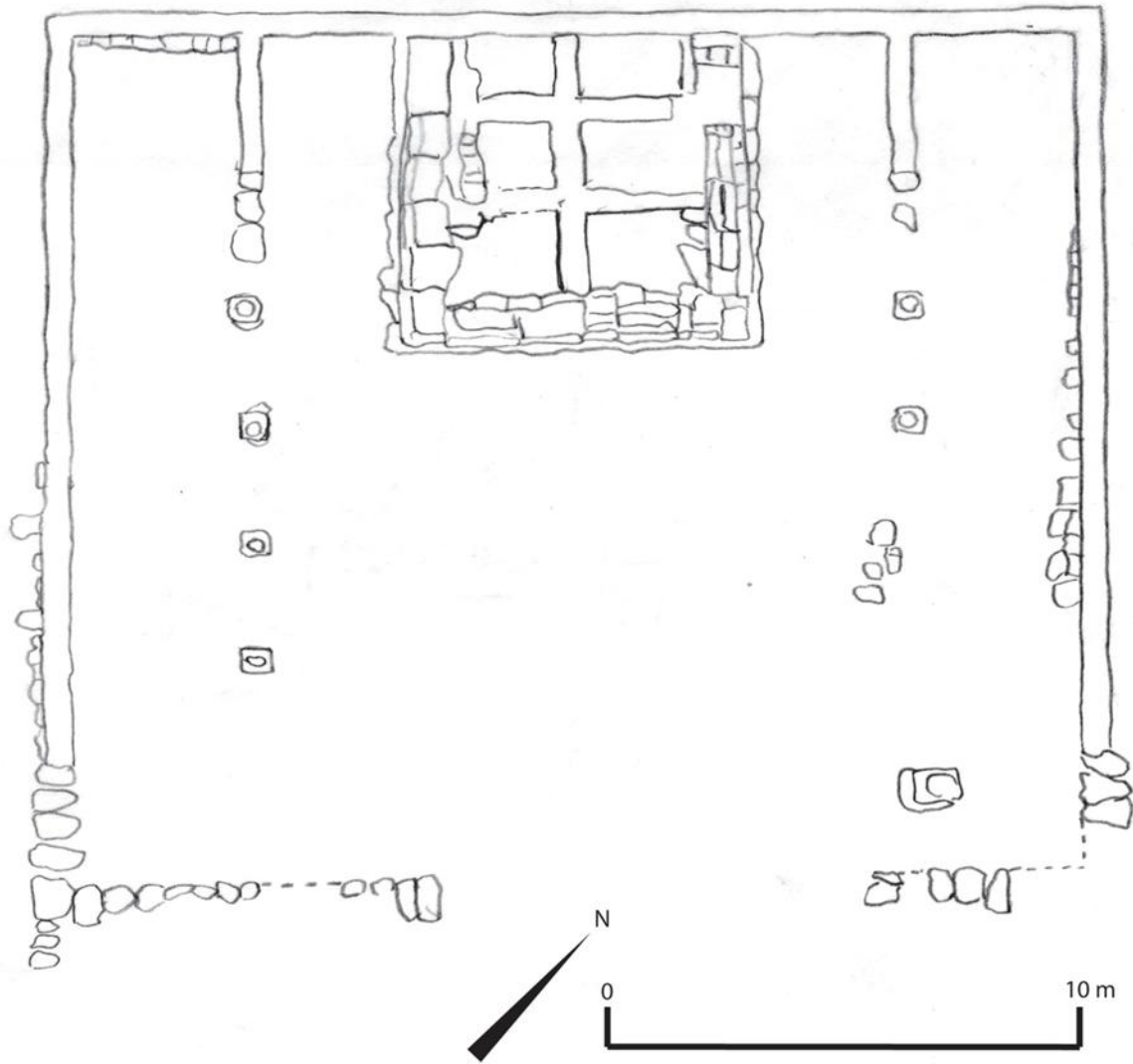


Figure 3.10: San Giovanni in Galdo, Colle Rimontato (after Comella 2005a: 132).



Figure 3.11: Building A, Grasceta dei Cavallari.



Figure 3.12: Building B, Grasceta dei Cavallari.

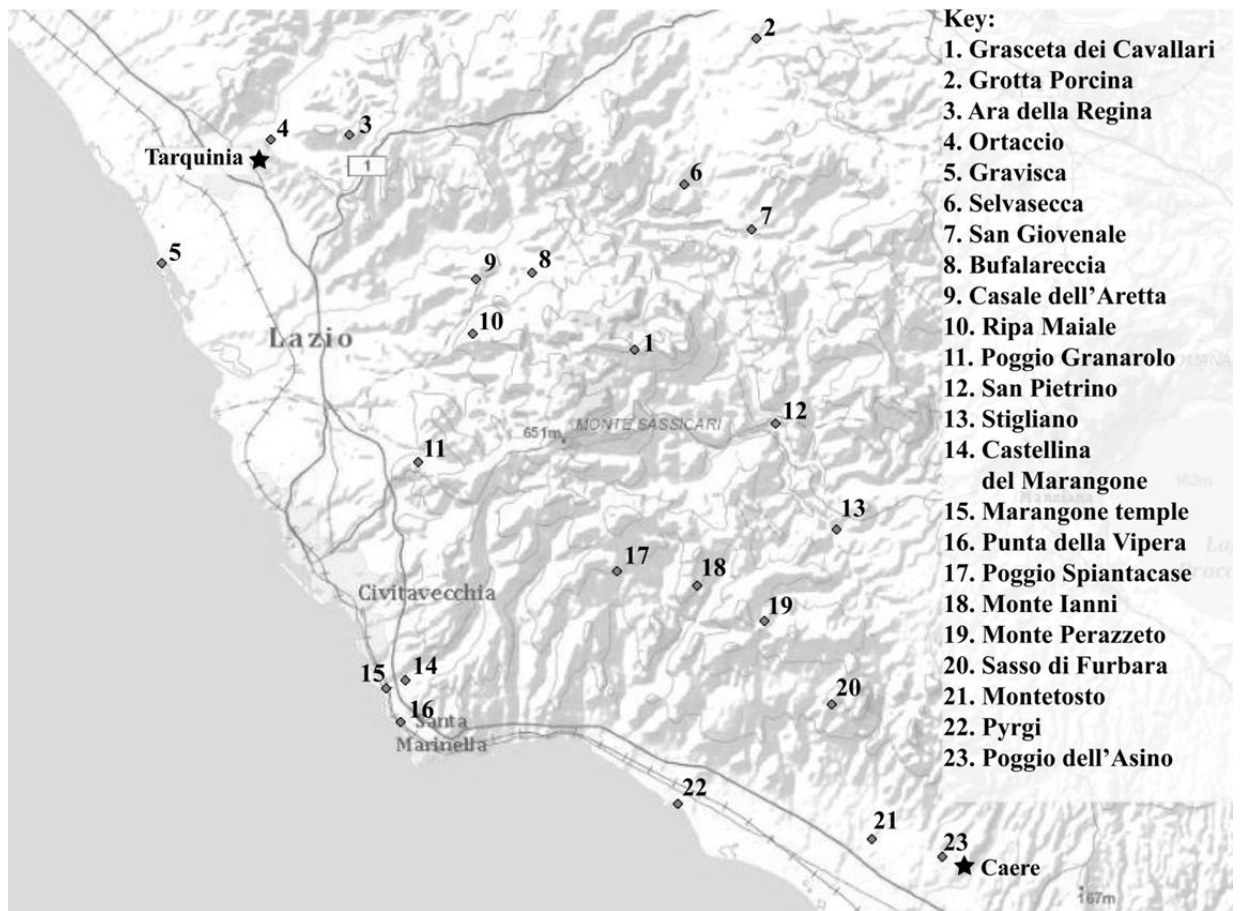


Figure 3.13: Distribution of sanctuaries in the territory between Tarquinia and Caere.



Figure 3.14: Evidence of an early road approaching Grasceta dei Cavallari.



Figure 3.15: Remnants of an early road in the Monti della Tolfa range.

Chapter 4

The E-L-C Votive Tradition

This chapter explores the nature of the ritual activity that is most fully expressed at the sanctuary of Grasceta dei Cavallari. Numerous terracotta anatomical votives and heads were brought to light during the early excavations at the site. Such remains inextricably link the function of this sanctuary with that of many other sacred sites throughout the peninsula. Here, I introduce the general significance of the ritual tradition. I discuss its role as a cult of healing and fertility. I then examine the problems behind attempts at identifying specific deities to whom the votives might have been dedicated. Next, I focus on the worshippers themselves as I present various other theories regarding the identity of those dedicating the *ex voto*.

I argue that the archaeological evidence implicates a broad swath of the inhabitants of Italy as participants in the tradition. Contrary to earlier studies, I believe that socio-economic status, cultural identity (Roman or non-Roman), or location of residence (rural or urban) played little part in determining who participated. That such heterogeneous groups took part is of great importance in the second half of the chapter, where I examine the phenomenon of the ritual's spread around Italy. The main question at hand is whether the spread can be tied to Rome's concomitant expansion, or whether other factors were involved. I deal at length with arguments that argue for the centrality of indigenous cultures for the cult's establishment and spread and separate the arguments into two predominant theories. The first holds that the tradition developed within

indigenous communities because the anatomical votives were present prior to Roman expansion. The second holds that distribution patterns of the votives deviate from those of the Roman colonies, making it more likely that the spread traveled through indigenous channels.

Both theories are re-evaluated, and I conclude that bits and pieces of earlier ritual practice might resemble aspects of the anatomical votive tradition, but that the resemblance is superficial and the two are not inherently the same. I then argue that while Roman colonies epitomized a potent method of distributing Roman ideas and culture, it was by no means the only way. Cross cultural communication took place in other less physical ways—with less discernable archaeological signatures—such as through trade, treaties, and military service. A focus on colonies as the only means of transmission effectively ignores the various mechanisms of communication.

This chapter concludes that the transmission of the votive tradition can be linked to the expansion of Rome in Republican Italy. Once established in a new region, the tradition was observed not only by Roman settlers, but also by local indigenous inhabitants. This naturally leads to the question of Roman influence over a newly conquered peoples *vis-à-vis* local cultural identity. Should the widespread observance of the anatomical votive tradition be seen as an indication of the gradual homogenization of Italy under Rome? Can we still observe indigenous identities participating in what is essentially an imported “Roman” cult? This chapter sets the stage for such questions, which are later explored in depth in chapters 6 and 7.

The Votives and Their Meaning

The middle to late fourth century BCE witnessed the arrival of a new cult practice in Italy. Called the “etrusco-laziale-campano” (E-L-C) phenomenon by Annamaria Comella (1981) after the regions where its diffusion is most concentrated⁵³, the term has been adopted by most scholars. The ritual is conspicuous by the associated votive materials: terracotta objects, nearly all of them mould-made to facilitate mass production, were dedicated at rural and urban sanctuaries, rustic shrines and altars, and places in nature.⁵⁴ The principle categories of *ex voto* include terracotta statues, such as swaddled infants and representations of offerers; heads and busts of males and females, either life-sized or smaller; statuettes, such as the female Tanagra figurines; small figurines, such as fruit, animals, weights, and miniature buildings; and anatomical votives.⁵⁵ While the first four categories occur with variable frequency, the anatomical objects are paradigmatic of all E-L-C assemblages. These take the form of external body parts—feet and legs, hands and arms, eyes, ears, male and female genitalia, breasts—and internal organs—uteri, hearts, intestines, and polyvisceral plaques.

The anatomical votives are associated with concerns related to the health of the offerer who would dedicate a proxy of an afflicted body part either to request divine assistance in healing a malady or to give thanks for a previously granted cure. Others are seen to belong within the sphere of reproduction. A votive breast, uterus, and male and female genitalia might indicate a request for fecundity or the successful rearing of an

⁵³ The votive tradition is not limited only to Etruria, Lazio, and Campania. Examples have also been uncovered in the north-central Adriatic region (Rizzello 1980) and south Italy (de Cazanove 2000: 76).

⁵⁴ See Edlund (1987b) for fuller descriptions of the different categories of sacred sites.

⁵⁵ Comella (1981): 717-803. There are two other votive group types Comella identifies. The “Italic” type is found through northern-central Italy and on the Adriatic slope. It is composed primarily of bronze images of deities or offerers or, more rarely, parts of the human body. The “Meridionale” type is spread over southern Italy and Sicily. These are characterized mainly by terracotta statuettes and figures of various types.

infant. These interpretations are critiqued more specifically in chapter 5 where I discuss the anatomical votives from Grasceta dei Cavallari.

The Divine Recipients

The tradition of dedicating anatomical votives seems to originate in the East. In Corinth, the Asklepieion provides the largest number of such votives outside of Italy.⁵⁶ The sanctuary, which also served as a clinic to treat patients, contained many terracotta body parts. Arms, legs, feet, hands, breasts and phalloi made up the majority of the offerings, but also present were heads, breasts, ears, eyes, and a tongue (Roebuck 1951: 114). Absent from the assemblage were representations of internal organs. Coins found in the deposits provide a date for the deposition between 431-300 BCE.

While the inspiration for the practice may have come from abroad, modifications changed it into a uniquely Italic cult. The Italic sanctuaries functioned as sites to communicate requests, or thanks, for healing to the gods, but there is no archaeological evidence that the sanctuaries themselves served as professional clinics that specialized in treating afflicted visitors (MacIntosh Turfa 2004: 360).⁵⁷ Nor was Asclepius the primary deity to whom the votives were dedicated. This is made obvious by the simple fact that the dedications predate the introduction of the cult of Asclepius to Rome in ca. 291

⁵⁶ While this temple provides the best example of the practice in Greece in terms of sheer numbers of votives, other temples to different gods also include anatomical models. For references to these sites, see Maule and Smith (1959: 90, n. 116)

⁵⁷ Tim Potter (1989: 25, 91) argues, however, that one of the vital roles of the sanctuary at Ponte di Nona was the treatment of maladies, primarily of the foot. MacIntosh Turfa (2004: 360) also notes that the only sanctuary that likely served also as a hospital was at the sanctuary of Asclepius on the Tiber Island at Rome. She does, however, point to the quantity and high-quality anatomical detail of uteri at cult sites at Caere, Veii, Tarquinia, and Rome as possible evidence that maternity clinics or hospitals were established at the centers, although she admits that there is no archaeological or epigraphic evidence for this (MacIntosh Turfa 1994: 230).

BCE.⁵⁸ Only two sanctuaries in Italy have been identified positively as belonging to the cult of Asclepius, one on the Tiber Island at Rome and the other at Fregellae (Coarelli 1986).⁵⁹ Another temple at Ostia, tentatively identified as belonging to Asclepius, did not receive anatomical votives.

In the context of Italian cult practice, it is not possible to pin down a single deity who responded to petitions either for healing or for fecundity. One reason is that there are very few epigraphic attestations linking a deity to the anatomical models. When the *ex voto* was dedicated the ritual action itself probably drew the deity's attention to the votive and votary. More formal indicators of the god were unnecessary as this was already established ceremonially and orally by the worshipper's utterance of the petition or vow. At most, six votives are known to carry inscriptions, one of which names the giver of the gift, but not the divine recipient.⁶⁰ At the sanctuary at Fontanile di Legnisina, two uteri models both bear the name Vei.⁶¹ The inscription on a terracotta heart from Lavinium shows that a female dedicated it to Menerva.⁶² Another votive also dedicated to Menerva is mentioned by MacIntosh Turfa (2006a: 106) although she does not clarify what body part it is or from where it originates. Finally the inscription on a votive conical

⁵⁸ The date derives from Livy (X.47.6) who writes that the god was brought in from Epidaurus to remedy a pestilence that had beset both rural and urban areas. For a concise history of the cult of Asclepius in Republican Italy, see Degraffi (1986: 145-152).

⁵⁹ Asclepius could be venerated at sanctuaries not formally dedicated to him, however. Near the sanctuary at *Grasceta dei Cavallari*, a statue of Asclepius was found at the temple of Apollo at Stigliano, for example (Chellini 2002: 96 and Gasperini 1976: 5, tav. I).

⁶⁰ See Comella (1982: 115, n. D₉ Fr. 1, tav. 77c). The inscription reads: *alce:vel:tipes* (Vel Tipes dedicated). The name Tipes is Etruscan for the Greek name Diphilus, showing that the dedicator was a Greek freedman (MacIntosh Turfa 2006b: 73).

⁶¹ See Massabò and Ricciardi (1988: 32 and 33, figs 11-13). Also here, and roughly contemporaneous with the uteri models, is a bronze figurine of a togate male with an inscription to Uni across his leg (Massabò and Ricciardi 1988: 32 and 34, fig. 16e). The inscription reads: *ecn:turce:pivepatrus:unialhuinθnaias* (MacIntosh Turfa 2006a: 101).

⁶² See Fenelli (1984: 336, fig. 11). The inscription reads: *sen<>nia. menvra. me<> isa* (MacIntosh Turfa 2006a: 110, n. 92).

bronze weight, which has been hypothesized to represent a heart (MacIntosh Turfa 2006b: 73, n. 58), includes the name of the deity Catha.⁶³

Many votive deposits, furthermore, are not located at formal monumental cult centers where a deity might be identified more readily. Instead, they are associated with places in nature that were seen as sacred, such as mountain tops, bodies of water and springs, caves, etc. This signals a continuity of belief from the earliest Etruscan religious traditions that mark the landscape as inherently sacred rather than a sacred spot created *ex novo* through the construction of temples and sanctuaries. In the Monti della Tolfa, this can explain the presence of votives (terracotta statuettes and phalloi) on the plateau of Pian dei Santi.⁶⁴ Also, Ripa Maiale, a votive deposit from the third-second centuries BCE, was located next to a spring that likely served as the water source for the nearby Etruscan habitation site at Cencelle (Gentili 1990b).⁶⁵

Many of these places in nature were eventually monumentalized. One famous example is at Lucus Feroniae. The sanctuary, destroyed by Hannibal in 211 BCE, still enjoyed a long life afterward when it was incorporated in to the Roman colony in the first century BCE. The cult has been thought to precede the third century sanctuary by as much as four hundred years, when a sacred grove was the center of the ritual activity (Edlund 1987b: 87). At Nemi, fourth-third century BCE structures containing votives terracottas, including anatomical models, signal the first monumental activity at the

⁶³ See also Bonfante and Bonfante (2002: 145-146, n. 23). The inscription reads *ecn:turce:laris:θefries:espial:atial:caθas*.

⁶⁴ Where this deposit, first mentioned by Bastianelli (1942: 257-258), is currently housed is not known. See also Fenelli (1975: 251, n. 86) and Comella (1981: 730-731, n. 49).

⁶⁵ The deposit mainly contained terracotta figurines of draped females, but does include some models corresponding to the E-L-V votive class, including a swaddled baby, two phalloi, two hands, a leg, and two hearts. For the Etruscan settlement at Cencelle, see Naso (1999). For a study of springs in Etruria Meridionale and their function as sacred sites, see Edlund (1987b: 60-61), Edlund-Berry (2006a) and Gasperini (1988).

sanctuary of Diana. Before this, worshippers probably gathered at the Nemus, the grove sacred to Diana, and dedicated votive bronzes dating to the sixth century BCE (Blagg 1985: 35). In the Monti della Tolfa, finds of bucchero vessels dating to the sixth century BCE attest to cult practice at the spring at Stigliano (Gasparini 1988: figs. 4 and 5). Two anatomical votives (a hand and phallus) show a continuation of the cult in the third-second centuries BCE and were found next to the remains of a later prostyle temple to Apollo erected during the Roman period (ibid. 1976). The sanctuary at Grasceta dei Cavallari has also been thought to have originated as an unmodified sacred place in nature. Edlund (1987b: 44-49) writes that an obvious setting that attained sacred import was a mountain top, where both visibility and proximity to the deities were highest. Located at the top of the saddle between Monte Sassicari and Monte Bertone, Grasceta dei Cavallari fits the paradigm for such a spot (Edlund 1987a: 54).

A formal monumental structure, however, does not necessarily help pin down the identity of specific deities receiving the E-L-C votives. Unlike Roman temples, which were dedicated to a specific deity by certain powerful individuals, generals or politicians, in fulfillment of a vow, Etruscan sanctuaries rose under different principles (Edlund-Berry 2009).⁶⁶ At rural sanctuaries priority continued to be given to the sacred locale that the gods were thought to inhabit. This creates an ambiguous relationship between a sanctuary and a specific deity. Multiple deities appear, an attestation to the inherent sanctity of the sanctuary space that attracted the presence and patronage of all the gods in much the same way it attracted diverse worshippers seeking to communicate with these deities. It may also point to a phenomenon of “visiting gods” (Alroth 1987), in which

⁶⁶ For political motivations behind the erection of temples in Rome during the Republican period, see Muccigrosso (2006).

worshippers dedicated representations of one deity to another “whether on account of some special relationship between the recipient and the “visitor” or sometimes only as an *agalma*, a beautiful thing to be appreciated by the recipient” (ibid.: 18).

At some sites ritual observance continued even after the destruction of the temple. The most famous example of this is at Veii, where anatomical votives were placed in the ruins of the Portonaccio temple, destroyed after Veii’s defeat by Rome in 396 BCE. Pyrgi suffered similar fate in 384 BCE when Dionysus of Syracuse plundered and destroyed the temple complex. It was refurbished and eventually abandoned in the later second century BCE. Votive offerings however, continue uninterrupted, found both in a well and next to the ruined structures (Edlund-Berry 1994; MacIntosh Turfa 2006a and 2006b).⁶⁷ While their destructions signal the end of the state-sponsored or aristocratic-centered ritual activity, the continued tendance of the sites reveals their sacrosanctity. There is a marked contrast between the impermanence of the physicality of a cult center and the inviolability of the sacred qualities of the place itself. This would have been recognized by locals living close to these sites, who continued to venerate and give offerings to the gods still inhabiting them.

Our ‘failure’ to identify with any certainty a divinity or divinities who bore the mantle as recipient of the E-L-C votives should not precipitate a pessimistic outlook on the state of the archaeological evidence. Instead, the general pattern points to the same conclusions: all the gods occupied multiple spheres of competence, and/or these spheres were permeable enough to allow movement among them. As omnipotent beings, the power to affect healing, fertility, or protection was within the capacity of them all. The

⁶⁷ Other abandoned sites that continued to receive dedications are at Gravisca, Canicella, and Scasato (MacIntosh Turfa 2006a: 109, n. 14)

dedication of votives was then subject to different variables: certain attributes may have made one god or goddess more appropriate, depending on the request associated with the offering; or, individuals may have identified for their own reasons one god as their personal patron with whom they preferred to communicate. A third option, that they were gifts to the gods collectively, is less plausible in light of the few anatomical models that are inscribed with only one name.

Who Dedicated the Votives?

In order to get at the meaning(s) behind this ritual activity, it is necessary to ask who engaged in it. The lines of argument currently are polarized into two camps: some scholars argue that the rural poor were responsible, and others that both rural and urban peoples were responsible. This is analyzed further in chapter 6 when I discuss the economic implications of the votives. Here I summarize the views of both camps and then state what I believe the evidence says about the participants.

The growth of the *ager publicus* and agriculture in the fourth century BCE greatly extended the class of small landholders and serfs working the land. Many scholars (e.g., Blagg 1985: 39; Pensabene 1979: 221; Pensabene, et al. 1980: 50-51; Söderlind 2002a: 381 and 2005: 362; Steingraber: 1980: 246) think that it was through these peoples that the votive tradition perpetuated. The cheap votives (Blagg 1985: 39; MacIntosh Turfa 1994: 224-225) and the focus on physical health and generating offspring, both crucial for the farmers' survival (Pensabene 1979: 221; Pensabene, et al. 1980: 50-51), made this practice very appealing to this group. That the majority of sanctuaries with anatomical votives are "in contrast to the Roman state Pantheon" (MacIntosh Turfa 1986: 207) also implies its importance to the poorer rural classes.

Others (e.g. Bouma 1996a: 2008; Glinister 2006: 27-28) argue that we cannot strictly assign the votives to the lower classes or to those relegated to rural areas. According to Bouma (1996a: 208), the votives express a desire for a personal relationship with the gods, and this desire would not be limited to a certain class of individuals. Glinister (2006: 27-28) doubts that the terracotta votives were that cheap, taking into account their manufacture, and notes examples of high quality models that suggests more affluent consumers (*c.f.* Potter and Wells 1985: 28-29). Furthermore, the distribution pattern indicates that the tradition was as vital in major centers as in rural zones (Glinister 2006: 27-28).

We can refute the argument that the practice was intended only for the rural poor on several counts. The distribution of the assemblages clearly shows that urban venues were just as viable. The votives are often found at sanctuaries directly associated with Rome's colonies (see Table 1).⁶⁸ Other major urban centers also yielded large numbers of votives; first and foremost is Rome itself. Pensabene (1979: 221) prefers to see their deposition here as coming from the rural peasants living near Rome or coming into Rome for political assemblies. It is difficult to attribute the scale of votives to rural visitors, however. As for attending political assemblies, this excludes a large segment of the rural poor—the non-citizens who had no voice in Roman government—and assumes that poor citizens would travel large distances *en masse* to participate when their own political

⁶⁸ It is interesting that few of the colonies founded after the Second Punic War (194-189 BCE) show evidence of the votives (see table 1). It does not necessarily mean that they are absent since they may still be unpublished or even as yet unknown. One possible reason is that 7 of the 11 were Citizen Colonies established for the defense of the coast and were soon abandoned after the foreign threats had passed. These were small outposts (Livy (XXXII.29) writes that 300 families were sent to 5 of them) and unpopular because of their distance from Rome and insalubrious settings. For these colonies, see Salmon (1970: 96-99).

voices were marginalized.⁶⁹ Nor does this explain the votives in other centers, such as Capua, Lavinium, Palestrina, or Tarquinia. Finally, because they do not appear at sites reserved for the state pantheon does not necessarily mean that the more affluent classes rebuffed this mode of worship. It is possible that temples serving in the capacity of state religion simply were not suitable venues for these dedications.

There is a last question. Were the participants Romans, non-Romans or both? I believe the cult activity at temples is a good starting point to answer this. The continuity of frequentation at some sanctuaries suggests non-Roman activity. I refer specifically to early Etruscan temples important to local populations that were later destroyed, but still received anatomical votives in their ruins (at Pyrgi, Gravisca, and Veii, for example). These places ceased to function formally as cult sites, but they remained sacred for those whose religious traditions were ingrained in their cultural memory. Equally the Romans took part, as is attested by the many Roman contexts in which the votives appear. Again we need only to look back to Rome. Gentili (2005) believes that there is a problem in the relative scarcity of the votives in the capital; however, a catalogue of Roman sanctuaries compiled by Bouma (1996b: 73-96) proves that they are not so rare: out of thirty-two sanctuaries he lists, twelve of them contained anatomical votives.⁷⁰ As Söderlind (2005: 363) points out, if they appear in over one-third of Rome's sanctuaries, this corresponds closely with the ratio of similar deposits in etrusco-latial-campanian sanctuaries.

Stylistic analysis can also act as an indicator of the social identities of users.

Representations of Romans and non-Romans have been identified through the presence

⁶⁹ Salmon (1970: 80) notes another difficulty: Romans sent to Citizen colonies were unable absent themselves from the colony for more than one month at a time. Participation in the local government replaced that of the assemblies in Rome.

⁷⁰ The count may be higher since we do not know how many sanctuaries are represented by the large amount of objects recovered from the Tiber river.

or absence of a veil on the votive heads (e.g., Blagg 1985: 41; Comella 1982 33-40; Comella and Stefani 1990: 38-39; MacIntosh Turfa 1994: 325, Pensabene 1979 218-219; Söderlind 2002a: 381 and 2005). Veiled heads follow the Roman rite of sacrificing *velato capite*, and unveiled the Greek and Etruscan rite of sacrificing *aperto capite*; thus, the heads correspond to one's own culturally constructed method of worship, and the different styles point to different cultural backgrounds.⁷¹ My own examination of style, set out in chapter 6, leads to a similar conclusion. The manufacture of the votives follows two distinct artistic trends: one that is more in tune with the traditional aesthetic language of the indigene and the other more 'hellenized'. Because the worshipper would dedicate an object that held meaning to him or her, these disparate styles suggest the attendance of disparate cultural groups.

This brief review demonstrates that the identity of the participants is broader than can be encompassed by singling out a certain demographic. Both rural and urban inhabitants, Romans and non-Romans, took part. Their socio-economic status is a red herring, in my opinion. The tradition, with its accessible mass-produced votive objects found a ready audience with more indigent populations; they may even be responsible for a greater portion of the known deposits. But it is circular reasoning to read the presence of poorer segments of society as confirmation of the absence of wealthier worshippers. The evidence supports that the conclusion that the latter did participate, while there is nothing that unequivocally proves their noninvolvement.

⁷¹ But see also Glinister (2005) who argues against the correspondence between veiled/non-veiled heads and cultural identity.

The Transmission into Italy: A Roman Plan?

Scholars tie the unsurpassed frequency of the E-L-C votive assemblages to the expansion of Rome beginning in the fourth century BCE (e.g., Blagg 1984; Bouma 1996a: 205-210; Comella 1981: 775; de Cazanove 1991a, 1991b and 2000; Edlund 1987a: 56; Torelli 1977a, 1977b and 1999; MacIntosh Turfa 1986: 206-207). Rome's victory in the Latin War of 340-338 BCE and the subsequent treaty dissolving the Latin League ensconced Rome as a leading regional power and set the stage for its burgeoning empire. The culmination of the Third Samnite War—the Roman victory over the Samnites and their Etruscan, Umbrian and Gallic allies at the Battle of Sentinum in 295 BCE—cemented Rome's control and rendered its program of colonization virtually uncontested. Mario Torelli (1977a: 138 and 1977b: 342) was one of the first to recognize that the diffusion of the colonies and the E-L-C tradition were linked. Most scholars now acknowledge the connection, and the distribution pattern is seen to follow the establishment of Latin colonies closely enough that de Cazanove (2000: 74) calls these settlements the “staging posts of the Roman expansion in Italy...also from an ideological and religious point of view.”

A quick survey of some individual sites illustrates this relationship. The sanctuary at Minturnae is argued to have changed dramatically in function after the Romans took control of the area in 314 BCE (Livi 2006). As an archaic sanctuary from the latter sixth century BCE, it functioned as a meeting place to discharge local political, economic and religious obligations. After the Roman occupation the E-L-C votives appear, imported from Cales, Teanum and Capua, as well as imitated by local coroplasts (ibid.: 112-113). Satricum became a Roman colony in 385 BCE, and the stratigraphic evidence suggests

that its sanctuary was one of the first in Latium to receive anatomical votive dedications brought in by the first Roman colonists (Bouma 1996: 207). Outside of central Italy, E-L-C deposits are seen to occur with lesser frequency and only at sites under the control of Latin colonies. In southern Italy, notable examples are Paestum (founded in 273 BCE), Venusia (291), and Lucera (314). In central-northern Italy they are found in the region of the *ager Gallicus*, where Roman established hegemony in the early third century BCE (de Cazanove 2000: 75-76); while in the Adriatic Daunia region, early third century BCE terracotta votives at Tiati have been linked to the Latin colony Lucera, founded in 314 BCE approximately 30 kilometers to the southwest (Sanpaolo 2001: 30-31).

Some scholars reject this model for two reasons. Firstly, even with the difficulty of dating anatomical votives, it is apparent, they argue, that the tradition predates the major phase of Roman colonization. Secondly, the archeological focus on Campania, Latium and Etruria presents a biased picture of the distribution pattern, and a broader perspective would show that the votives do appear at sites not under the influence of direct Roman presence. Thus, “both in temporal and in geographical terms, the practice of dedicating anatomical terracottas seems to be a wider phenomenon” (Stek 2008: 27).

While I support the conclusions scholars draw from this argument—that there was no Roman strategy to control the religious ideologies of the non-Romans—I also think that there is no mutual exclusivity in seeing the distribution as a by-product of Rome’s expansion. The issue is dealt with further when I discuss Romanization and the E-L-C phenomenon (chapter 7). For now, I argue that the first position works under an incomplete definition of the votive tradition; the second, an incomplete socio-political context.

Indigenes as founders of the E-L-C tradition: the question of chronology

The argument on chronology holds that, at least up to the sixth century BCE, anatomical votives were dedicated in Italic sanctuaries. The first were made of bronze.⁷² These include “human limbs, hands, eyes/masks, and male genitals” (Glinister 2006: 13).⁷³ MacIntosh Turfa (2004 359-360) mentions briefly that the only anatomical models that occur before the fourth century BCE are a small number of bronzes of the sixth to fifth centuries BCE from the Adriatic Etruscan region (Marzabotto, Adria) and northern Etruria. They seem to be so limited, however, and unevenly distributed, that they in no way suggest a pattern of meaning and usage that we can assign so readily onto the later terracotta models. The similarity should be seen more as coincidental instead of as direct precursors to a vast and consciously meaningful tradition that took place centuries after. Early examples, furthermore, have been found also at Rome: at the site of what would later become the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus a seventh- to sixth-century BCE deposit included Corinthian bronze phalloi (Lowe 1978: 143). This presents a problem for theories that rely on these early pieces to argue that indigenous peoples initiated the tradition without Rome’s intervention. If worshippers at Rome did not also use these votive types that were circulating around Italy, it must be explained why the very same votives are present at Rome.

What of the terracotta anatomical votives that predate the Roman colonies?

Scholars maintain that Rome’s connection to the votives’ distribution is untenable, given

⁷² Bronze is a common medium for Etruscan votives. Statuettes of bronze have appeared from as early as the Geometric Period (early seventh century BCE) and show a high frequency of use through the Archaic (e.g., Colonna 1970; Richardson 1983). Bronze votives are an infrequent addition in the E-L-C tradition, and are the primary votive types in the so-called “Italic” tradition in north central and Adriatic Italy, concomitant with the E-L-C tradition (Comella 1981: 758, 766-767).

⁷³ Glinister does not detail further the quantity of the examples, nor does she give precise locations where they are located (mentioning only northern Etruria and Adriatic Italy). She cites MacIntosh Turfa as reference, but an incorrect citation precludes any follow up.

that “Etruscan terracottas predate the major phase of Roman colonization.... Rome is therefore not to be identified as the overall point of origin of the Hellenistic anatomical terracottas” (Glinister 2006: 17-18; also Stek 2008: 27) To understand the problem of this interpretation, we must first recall the accepted definition of the E-L-C tradition. Comella (1981: 758) writes that the principle categories are statues, statuettes, heads, and anatomical votives. In all of the assemblages, she continues, anatomical *ex voto* are present while occasionally the heads or statuettes are missing. Important to this argument is the separation of heads and anatomical *ex voto* into two distinct categories.

Glinister writes that the “forerunners of the anatomical votives” (2006: 16) are thought to come from Lavinium and Veii and from there extended to Caere, Falerii, Carseoli, and Campania. Gentili (2005: 372) sees the deposits at Carsoli, Trebula Mutuesca, and Fratte at Salerno as the forerunners of the tradition, which thus absolves Rome of any responsibility for its origin and spread. The problem, however, is that none of the examples given are *sensu stricto* anatomical votives; they are all terracotta heads, which is only partially representative of the whole range of E-L-C votives. The definition of the characteristic E-L-C assemblage has been consolidated so that “anatomical votives” also include the heads, which then permits a logical progression in which they alone are representative of the tradition *in toto*.

Terracotta heads appeared in Etruscan sanctuaries prior to the accepted date of the onset of the E-L-C tradition, but it is doubtful that they held the same meaning. At Lavinium and Veii, some heads have been dated to the sixth century BCE.⁷⁴ The same

⁷⁴ For early heads at Lavinium, see La Regina (1975); Veii, see Comella (1990: 18-25) and Vagnetti (1971: 31ff.)

applies for Carsoli, Trebula Mutuesca, and Fratte.⁷⁵ At Caere, Archaic heads from the early fifth century BCE have been found at the Vignaccia region (Nagy 1988: 14, 49-50). In chapter 6, I shall discuss them a little more at length; here I merely wish to point out that they exhibit important differences from those appearing concomitantly with the true anatomical votives and thus were dedicated for far different reasons. Firstly, the great majority of the heads are female (Comella 2004: 336); secondly, they lack the portrait qualities of the later models and the attributes attached to them suggest that they were not meant as representations of the worshippers (Maule and Smith 1959: 3). Instead, they should be associated with a cult to an unspecified female divinity (or divinities)—as Maule and Smith (*ibid.*) write of those from Vignaccia, “by every token of style and attributes they represent a goddess and not her grateful (or hopeful) worshippers.”

In sum, heads did appear before the E-L-C tradition and before the prime of Roman expansion. Uniting them with later anatomical votives is wrong because they are not anatomical in the sense of the definition, nor do they hold the same symbolic valence as the later heads deposited in tandem with the anatomical votives. A tradition of dedicating heads occurred before the E-L-C tradition; heads later became one element of the E-L-C tradition. One does not equal the other; nor was there a continuity of tradition or meaning. The latter assemblages, within the broader context of cult practice and belief, reflect different patterns of interaction with the gods and different requests, therefore demonstrating a new religious trend, regardless of any physical similarities to earlier votives.

⁷⁵ For the early heads at Carsoli, see Marinucci (1971: 17-18); Trebula Mutuesca, see Santoro (1979 and 1987); Fratte, see Greco (1990).

Alexandra Lesk (2002) does use anatomical votives in her argument that Corinth, not Rome, was the primary source for the tradition which then spread to major port sites in Etruria.⁷⁶ The underpinning of this theory is the typological similarity of some votive breasts at Gravisca with those at the Corinthian Aesklepion. They are pierced with small holes, suitable for hanging on the sanctuary walls in the Greek tradition.⁷⁷ The fact that they were found *in situ* arranged around an altar or cult statue in the Etruscan tradition suggests that they “straddle the Greek and Italian traditions and illustrate the transition required to adapt the Corinthian type of anatomical votive to the type found in central Italy” (Lesk 2002: 199). Furthermore, she continues, chronological inconsistencies make it unlikely that Roman colonization influenced the cult activity to any degree: the votives come from fourth-century strata, long before Rome’s conquest of the area in 280 BCE brought about the dismantling of the site, and a colony was not established until 181 BCE (ibid.: 197).

The complex history of Gravisca, however, makes such assertions based on specific chronology untenable. Gravisca was an early international port with signs of Greek presence going as far back as the late seventh century BCE (Fiorini and Torelli 2010: 29). The sanctuary’s decline began in the fourth century BCE when cult practice was limited to a single building (building γ) and Greek votives were replaced by Etruscan ones. Its dismantling in the early third century BCE does correspond to Rome’s presence. On the surface, then, Lesk’s conclusions are well-founded, but they are sustainable only

⁷⁶ Her theory is supported by Glinister (2006: 16-17).

⁷⁷ The breasts appear in Comella’s catalogue of the votives from Gravisca (1978: 66-67, ns. DIV 1-3, tav. XXX. 152, 154, 156). The two small holes in DIV 2 do appear to have been added for hanging purposes: they are located at the top of the plaques and pierce solid clay. DIV 1 also has two small holes that are located at the center; DIV 3 has one central hole. The suggestion that these were instead venting holes is considered by Lesk who believes they may represent the second generation of votive production. The suspension holes from the votives at Corinth are located at the top center or corners of the plaques (Roebuck 1951: 116). For images of the Corinthian votive breasts, see Roebuck (1951: plate 34, 20-24)

if the dismantling of the sanctuary precipitated a memory-loss of its sacredness and total abandonment. Deposits at other sanctuaries, most notably at Pyrgi and Veii, demonstrate that the sacredness of place could survive the physical destruction of the temples. Votive gifts continued to be deposited among the ruins, and this is what occurred at Gravisca. Lesk (2002: 199) prefers to see the breasts coming from closed strata from the sanctuary's last phases (phase 3: 400-300 and phase 4: 300-250) as set out by Comella (1978: 3), but it is important to note that Comella also acknowledges that abandonment did not accompany the final formal phase and worshippers frequented the site long after. In building γ , where the votive breasts were dedicated, a stylistic analysis of uteri models has led her to conclude that they extended into the second century BCE (ibid.: 3, 93-95). The later chronology corresponds not only with the period of Gravisca's annexation to Rome in the early third century BCE, but also with the flourishing of the votive tradition around central and south-central Italy. The votive breasts in question might indicate continued contact with the Greek east, or even presence of Greek people at the sanctuary, but at a time when Greek traditions had long since ceased to be a dominant factor and too late for them to be precursors for the E-L-C tradition.

When Rome established a colony at Gravisca in 181 BCE, the dedication anatomical votives ceased. This in itself might make the case against Roman colonies being points of departure for the tradition: if colonies are inextricably linked to its dissemination, why do we see it end precisely when the colony is established? We must make the distinction, however, between an end to a tradition at a sanctuary and the end of the sanctuary itself. In this case, the E-L-C votives did not move out when the Romans moved in. The sanctuary ceased being a sanctuary, its long decline finalized with the

changes wrought by the occupation of a new population, its ruined walls perhaps even reclaimed by the swampy area on which it stood.

Indigenes as founders of the E-L-C tradition: the question of distribution

The second argument hinges on the objection that the E-L-C distribution studies tend to focus only on regions where there are colonies, that is, in Etruria, Latium, and Campania, and that a wider perspective reveals that the assemblages also occur in areas where Roman presence is not so overarching (*contra* de Cazanove 2000: 75-76). An example is in Abruzzo, east of Rome and over the Apennine range, where anatomical votives became a standard gift at the cult sites.⁷⁸ Here is evidence that the “obsession” for this ritual tradition found its way to eastern central Italy, but “a glance at the map will suffice to show that few of these sanctuaries lie anywhere near significant foci of ‘Romanization’, such as colonies or roads” (Glinister 2006: 18-19). The diverse ways in which Roman presence and influence can affect a foreign population, however, are too complex to be readable by means of maps alone.

Rome first crossed the Apennines and entered the Abruzzo region in 325 BCE during the Second Samnite War. There they encountered the local tribes, the Vestini, Marrucini, Paeligni, and Marsi. A series of Roman victories forced tribal leaders to ask for an armistice which lasted for two years (Livy VIII.29-30).⁷⁹ At the close of the war in 304 BCE they, along with the neighboring Frentani tribe, were compelled to send ambassadors to Rome seeking peace and an alliance (Livy IX.45). Rome’s treatment of them was lenient as they retained their autonomy as Roman *socii* rather than losing their native rights and privileges. This did not mean that they were left to their own devices,

⁷⁸ For a collection of studies on the cult sites and votives discovered in the region, see Campanelli and Faustoferri (1997).

⁷⁹ Livy (VIII.30) places the decisive battle at Imbrinium, the location of which is unknown today.

however. Directly after the Second Samnite War, Rome established four new Latin colonies, Alba Fucens (303), Sora (303), Carseoli (303), and Narnia (299), strategically placed in Apennine passes where they could monitor and restrict movement of those on the other side (Salmon 1970: 59-60). South of Abruzzo, the Latin colony of Luceria fulfilled the same role following its foundation in 314 BCE. Later, after the Pyrrhic War, the Latin colony Hadria (289-283) was established to the north to shore up the gap at the eastern end of the chain of colonies, and Aesernia (263) to control the Apennine traffic and act as a buffer between the Samnite confederations (Salmon 1970: 62). While no formal Roman settlement appears within the territory itself, the late fourth to third century BCE chain of colonies effectively encircled the local tribes, who, although nominally autonomous, must have felt its presence and were obliged to honor the stipulations of the treaty set forth in 304 BCE.

The history books indicate that the tribes did remain true to their ties of allegiance with the Romans, often providing crucial military support. A native commander of the Frentani cavalry achieved fame during the battle of Heraclea in the Pyrrhic War (280) when he rushed into the enemy line and attacked Pyrrhus, killing his horse before being cut down himself (Dion. Hal. 18.2-4; Flor. I.18; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 16). In 225 BCE, they mobilized 20,000 foot soldiers and 4,000 cavalry and sent them to Rome to counter the allied Gallic tribes plundering Etruria (Polyb. II.24). Hannibal's invasion of the peninsula during the Second Punic War ravaged their lands (Livy XXII.9), and after Rome's defeat at Cannae in 216 BCE, they held fast their loyalty in spite of the opportunity, on which some others capitalized, to switch allegiance to Carthage (Livy XXII.61). The Roman forces passing through to confront Hasdrubal's army at Metaurus in 207 BCE relied on

their support to provide food and supplies (Livy XXVII.43). They volunteered in 205 BCE to serve in Scipio Africanus' Sicilian fleet in preparation for the eventual invasion of Carthage (Livy XXVIII.45). The support continued into the second century BCE, when, during the Third Macedonian War, the Marrucini, Paeligni, and Vestini accompanied Rome into Greece and ultimately defeated Perseus at the battle of Pydna (168) (Livy XLIV.40).

Contact with Rome also influenced the urban planning and building programs initiated by the local elites in the third and second centuries BCE. In this region of Abruzzo, the beginning of the third century BCE marks transformation of sanctuaries from open-air sites to monumental Etrusco-Italic style temples, which then peak in the second century BCE (Strazzulla 1997: 30) Urban plans also begin to resemble the Roman model that emphasize a distinction between the forum and acropolis zones (e.g., Torelli 1977b: 342; Zanker 2000: 35).⁸⁰ For example, the remains of Republican period temples (first half of the second century BCE) have been found at Teate (modern Chieti), the capital of the Marrucini: two on la Civitella, the city's acropolis; another series of structures, the so called *I Tempietti*, occupied the forum area of the later Roman city, where most likely a similarly zoned area sat in the Republican city (Campanelli 1992: 496; Strazzulla 1997: 32). Pedimental sculpture from both sites, furthermore, shows strong stylistic analogies with contemporaneous temple decoration at Luni, Cosa, Ardea, and Rome (Campanelli 1992: 496).

⁸⁰ This, as I argue below, does not indicate that Rome, in a spate of hegemonic zeal, compelled this change in order to bring a "little Rome" to the area, but merely that there was contact with Roman town planning and familiarity enough to adopt and adapt it by the natives. Zanker (2000: 35) enthusiastically supports the "Capitoline model" that establishes a link between colonial urban planning to the city of Rome, writing that the combination of Capitolium (preferably situated on an *arx*, Vitruvius (*de Arch.* 1.7.1) advises) and forum spaces in colonies "embodied the Roman self-image more perfectly than was the case even in Rome itself." Bispham (2006: 93ff.) challenges this statement, arguing that this cannot be verified in earlier periods of colonization, such as during the height of third century BCE colonial activity.

These examples attest to the salient position that the local aristocracy retained after the formal alliance with Rome, as well as to the unremitting contact between the two administrations (Strazzulla 1997: 29). In many ways this accords with the Roman policy of expansion in the other parts of Italy, whereby the native elites preserve much of their prior authority and privilege in order to act as brokers between Rome and the local inhabitants (e.g., Terrenato 1998b and 2001a).⁸¹ It is impossible, of course, to determine how the elite *felt* about this relationship, and resentment is not out of the question; regardless, the literary and archaeological evidence demonstrate that Roman hegemony was effective enough to maintain an alliance for its own benefit which also affected urban planning, art, and architecture. This was accomplished with neither direct juridical interference from Rome nor adjacent “significant foci of ‘Romanization’ such as colonies or roads” (Glinister 2006: 19). It stands to follow that Roman cult practice could enter the indigenous religious repertoire where it was adopted and effectuated through the deposition of appropriate votive offerings.⁸²

A more general counterpoint can be made. The argument, again, states that direct and physical manifestations of Rome (i.e., colonies) must be present for the center to influence the periphery; specifically, the E-L-C votive tradition is not a Roman transmission because it exists where Roman colonies and roads do not. I have provided numerous ways in which contact and influence could occur between center and periphery without these physical manifestations of Rome as mediators. I now argue that an absence of the immediate and physical presence of Rome is common throughout Italy and need

⁸¹ The role of the local elite after Roman domination is discussed more at length when I discuss the issues and problems of ‘Romanization’ theory in chapter 7.

⁸² *Contra* Söderlind (2002: 377) who doubts that the local lower classes were receptive enough to absorb rapidly religious traditions coming from the conquerors from far away, concluding that “[w]ithout any colonists in the area, such direct exchanges could hardly have taken place.”

not be the condition only in places far removed from the center. Most pertinent is the very area under study in this dissertation: the region between Caere and Tarquinia, including the Monti della Tolfa. As the next section shows, the hinterland of this area was completely devoid of Roman colonies. Along the coast three minor Citizen colonies were established, Pyrgi and Castrum Novum in the mid-third century BCE, and Gravisca in the early second century BCE. The nearest inland colonies would be Sutrium and Nepesin, both far removed from the territories of Caere and Tarquinia. With such a wide expanse of southern Etruria left open and free of the corporeality of Roman domination, can it be said that here, too, developments arose without the influence of Rome?

It would be ridiculous to argue that they did. One problem is the muddling of basic notions of colonization and imperialism. A definition of the two terms is given most succinctly by E. Said (1993: 9), who writes that “[i]mperialism’ means the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory; ‘colonialism’, which is almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the implanting of settlement on distant territory.” Imperialism is the bedfellow of hegemony. Many of the tactics that it uses are invisible to modern archaeological survey because they occur on an ideological level rather than a physical one. This includes, as seen above, treaties, trade contact, military service, threats of retribution against opposition, etc. Colonies are the most obvious physical remainders of imperialism and thus their role in control over other communities has been overemphasized. In practice, however, their extent of control over the territories was limited, as is argued in the next section, and, I argue, even negligible in comparison with the other non-visible methods of control.

Finally, to say that contact between Romans and non-Romans could not take place without the intervention of colonists runs counter to earlier Italian history. In chapter 2 I attempted to show that cross-cultural communication was crucial to the economic and political health of societies not only in Italy but also in the wider Mediterranean world. By the time Rome began to assert its hegemony over the Italian landscape, the city had already established close economic and cultural ties with the region, most notably with the Etruscans in southern Etruria. Physical occupation of the territory was not a prerequisite for the transmission of information then, and it would not need to be a prerequisite during the Republic.

I mentioned above that the arguments arrive at a conclusion that I ultimately support: Roman colonization did not effectuate the unification and Romanization of Italy. However, I think the methods used to get this point across throw the baby out with the bathwater. Roman expansion in Italy in the mid-Republic reached an unprecedented scale, and this corresponds temporally with the unprecedented propagation of the anatomical votive tradition. To say that there is no relation between the two, and that either the tradition already existed in some Italic areas or was introduced from Greece to non-Roman populations, still has the obligation to explain its intensified growth over the course of three centuries. Roman expansion provides such an explanation. The colonies are the most visible manifestation of the growing hegemony, but other factors were in place that promoted greater intercultural communication and a spread of ideas. These include the relocation of Roman citizens throughout the Roman territory through *viritalis* distributions, the right of non-Roman allies to migrate into Roman territory (for a time, at least, as is discussed below), and the mobilization of a large military force comprised of

both Romans and non-Roman allies, among others.⁸³ The military connection would have been especially relevant during the third century BCE, when both foreign and domestic threats brought Rome and much of Italy together to fight for a common cause.

The following section surveys briefly these centuries and the process of colonization in an attempt to understand how the other Italic inhabitants responded to the Roman presence. It shows not only that colonization brought a limit to some of the freedoms of these peoples, but also that they retained much of their autonomy and their identity. Furthermore, it may have opened new opportunities for local peoples by expanding economic and social relations. Thus, the recent scholarship that counters the focus on colonies as instruments of acculturation does so with good reason; however, this also may be too focused on colonization in the opposite direction. We may deny that colonies were the progenitors of a new pan-Italic Roman identity, but there were many processes of expansion that must also be considered. I do think that the evidence points to a relationship between Roman expansion and the votive tradition. I do not think, however, that the votive tradition was part-and-parcel of an explicit tactic of Roman *expansionism*. These processes worked as the vehicle by which new religious ideas, in this case the E-L-C votive tradition, were disseminated; they were by-product of Roman presence, rather than a mark of Rome's indomitable presence, if, indeed, we can even characterize Rome's presence as such at this time.

⁸³ An incident recounted by Diodorus Siculus (37.15.3) demonstrates the bond of military friendship that could occur between Romans and non-Romans who served together. In the opening stages of the Social War, Roman troops faced the Marsi rebels. While scanning the faces across the field before battle, the troops recognized friends with whom they had previously served. Putting down their arms, they greeted each other as friends.

Roman Policy and the “Impossible Religious Unity of the Italian Peninsula”⁸⁴

Those who attempt to synchronize the distribution of E-L-C votives to the foundation of colonies often do so with the preconceived notion that Rome intentionally promoted a new form of worship because of a need to control the ideologies of the conquered peoples. This reasoning directs de Cazanove’s (2000:75) claim that colonies were “religious staging posts.” It assumes a calculated policy to subsume, little by little, traditional religious practice with Roman ones, to turn the Other into “Romans” also in the religious sphere. Torelli (1999: 41) writes that the spread of anatomical *ex voto* was “a striking sign of Roman superiority both in the ideological and material sphere.” Bouma (1996: 212-213) writes that Rome calculatingly imported the Roman religious landscape into new regions in order to “control the space in a cognitive and mental way” and to “religiously confirm their political subjection of the region.” Consequently, the anatomical *ex voto* become a physical manifestation of this agenda, and any evidence of enduring native traditions speaks to the failure of Rome to implant fully their own religious ideologies, regardless of their peerless economic and political authority.

Glinister (2006: 24) is right to argue that Rome had no coherent policy of Romanization concurrent with its political expansion. This is especially true in the period of the E-L-C *floruit*. To see the coeval colonial foundations as apparatus for both territorial expansion and cultural indoctrination conforms to the “top-down” perspectives coloring the ancient accounts of Roman expansion from which our information of the period derives.⁸⁵ While invaluable, the sources arise from a much later time when the

⁸⁴ Taken from de Cazanove (2007: 43).

⁸⁵ Henrick Mouritsen’s studies most directly deconstruct the ancient annalistic tradition to reveal an anachronistic nationalism influencing the accounts of earlier Republican Italy and, in turn, informing the modern histories. See especially Mouritsen (1998).

distinction between Roman and non-Roman had been expunged by the granting of citizenship to Italians after the Social War, and Roman hegemony over the peninsula was an inevitability (Bispham 2006: 78-85; Bradley 2006: 163-164).⁸⁶ However, their retrojection of an essentially moralizing testimony about the form and function of a true and proper colony resides today in many studies of mid-Republican power-relations in Italy.

While it is well beyond the scope of this study to discuss at length the various lines of thought that dominate the debate about colonization in Republican Italy, it is helpful to unpack the general trends that elucidate the political and cultural climate that circulated concomitantly with the spread of the E-L-C votive tradition. Edward Salmon's (1969) benchmark survey set a precedent in exposing the complex and often ambiguous ethnic identities that participated in the settlement of the Latin and Citizen colonies established in Republican-era Italy (see Table 1).⁸⁷ Many of his interpretations have since been challenged, but this contribution nevertheless set the stage for a critical examination of Rome's methods and motivations during this time, and from it we can begin to develop a number of important premises. Firstly, colonization in the mid-Republican period was

⁸⁶ Cicero's often-cited description of colonies as *propugnacula imperii* (fortifications of the empire) (*De Leg. Agr.* II.27) is indicative of this attitude by the mid-first century BCE.

⁸⁷ Latin colonies were those populated by non-Roman citizens and were necessary when establishing a site separated from Rome either by great distance or by intervening foreign territory, conditions that were too unattractive for Roman *coloni* (Salmon 1969: 16). They were autonomous, self-governing entities formally allied to Rome and relied upon to provide military support when needed. They paid no taxes to Rome, enjoyed the same marriage and commercial rights as Roman citizens, and (until 188 BCE) could become a naturalized Roman citizen by migrating to Roman territory (*ibid.*: 85). Citizen colonies were settled by Roman citizens who then acquired a second citizenship: that of the colony itself. Early on they were few in number, small in size (300 inhabitants, as told by Livy (VIII.21), although Bispham (2006: 123) argues that this was not the standard number) and were maritime settlement close to Rome (Salmon 1969: 16). Their autonomy was only nominal in the beginning as the main administrative thrust came from Rome. Only toward the end of the second century BCE did their size and consequence increase, ultimately becoming the leading centers, apart from Rome itself, in the Empire. The earliest colonies, established before 338BCE, are the so-called *Priscae Latinae Coloniae*, of which, according to Salmon (1969: 51) seven remained after the Latin League was dismantled and Rome gained exclusive governance of Latium (see Table 1).

not predicated on a normative ideology of ethnicity; secondly, Rome's policy of control in this period was not characterized by an overarching imposition of Roman *mores*, much less a coercive missionary agenda; thirdly, while the events of the third century BCE, and Rome's ultimate triumph, clinched Rome's preeminent position in Italy and lay the groundwork for a changing relationship *vis-à-vis* the non-Roman Italian inhabitants in the following century, it is inaccurate to explain this change in terms of a gradual unified ethnic identity in which all of Italy's inhabitants construed themselves as Roman.

Citizenship, Roman or non-Roman, marks a chief difference between Citizen and Latin colonies, but this connotes neither an exclusivity of the former, nor a segregation of non-citizens into the latter.⁸⁸ In reality, variegated ethnicities emblemized both categories in the beginning phases of colonization. Citizen colonies not only enrolled non-Romans, but also this may have been a necessary strategy to fill the ranks if Salmon is right in arguing that the Romans themselves were reluctant to populate these small outposts where exclusion from Roman life and politics was "tantamount to disfranchisement" (Salmon 1969: 80).⁸⁹ Likewise, at the cost of relinquishing their Roman citizenship, Romans too had the option to settle in Latin colonies. Finally, the exigencies of the indigenes inhabiting the region around a new settlement had to be taken

⁸⁸ Table 3 lists the categories in which each colony belongs according to the ancient sources and adopted by Salmon. Bispham (2006: 81-84 and 131 n. 45) rightly questions the legitimacy of the sources when the first reference to any colony appears on an early-second century BCE inscription on a statue base at Aquileia (founded in 181 BCE). The much later annalistic writings may have assigned these categories based on anachronistic perceptions of colonization.

⁸⁹ Although it can be argued that the Roman proletariat class, from which the numbers were culled to populate the Citizen colonies, were more or less disenfranchised also at Rome because of the arrangement of the *comitia centuriata*. These voting bodies were organized along property qualifications and the groups comprising the wealthy classes voted first. When a majority was reached voting ended. Because the majority often was reached before every groups voted, this meant that the lower classes rarely discharged their right of the vote. For a concise précis of Republican politics, see Astin (1989).

into account. Mass deportation was an alternative, and carried out in some cases,⁹⁰ but this seems to be an exceptional response. More common was their incorporation into the colonies, albeit with inferior status (Cornell 1989: 278-279).⁹¹

It was of course in Rome's best interest to establish itself as the predominant power over these peoples, but one should not confuse influence with absolutism. By extending the right of autonomous self-government to the Latin colonies, Rome was establishing new allies beholden to, but not politically or juridically controlled by, a central authority. This flies in the face of a common trend to view the colonies as direct extensions of Rome itself. Rome's supremacy in all aspects of colonial life is seen to manifest itself physically through "Roman" architecture, urban planning, or material culture, which are explained in terms of calculated objectives to manufacture "mini-Romes", or, as Aulus Gellius (*NA XVI.13*) writes, "quasi effigies parvae simulacraque" (more or less small likenesses and imitations), throughout Italy (e.g., Brown 1980, Scott 1988, Torelli 1999, and Zanker 2000).

Gellius' viewpoint, which reflects a second-century CE reality of his own time, does not apply to colonies in the early and mid-Republic. Edward Bispham has devoted many pages to dismantling the model of colonies as imitations of Rome (e.g., 2000 and 2006). By analyzing the structures, most notably temple construction, urban planning, material culture, and inscriptions, he concludes that the picture is more ambiguous than what is retrojected from the ancient authors like Gellius. The affinities to Rome, he

⁹⁰ At Cosa, for example, the settlement pattern around the site is markedly different from the pattern in the hinterland, suggesting that there was a displacement of the Etruscan natives (Bradley 2006: 172).

⁹¹ *Contra* Brunt (1971: 539-540) who sees the exclusion of natives in the function and daily life of the colonies as compatible with the Romans' "natural expectations" of violent encounters with rebellious tribes. Brunt himself argues that the mutual hatred between colonized and colonizer may have in the earlier periods exceeded even that of the Sullan colonists and the dispossessed Italians. For support of native incorporation, see Bradley (2006: 171-177), and Salmon (1969: 75-76).

writes, are not “part of a directed ‘Romanizing’, master plan” but “are the products of an *autoromanizzazione* (self-romanization), explained by the particular circumstances in which these colonies were founded, rather than a heavy-handed dirigiste approach on the part of the *triumviri*” (Bispham 2006: 92). Roman imperial strategy never included a strategy to turn the ‘Other’ into Romans, as Bispham rightly recognizes; however, we should also be leery of the term “autoromanizzazione” because it implies that Rome needed no such policy: the locals themselves recognized the superiority and they themselves worked to become more Roman without the need for Roman intervention.

The “particular circumstances in which these colonies were founded” (ibid.) include the sustained conflicts in Italy that ended only in the first decade of the second century BCE. Table 1 sets each colonial foundation against the various wars in Republican Italy, and it does conform to Salmon’s (1969: 15) assertion that military objectives were a major reason for their establishment (although it is difficult to agree that it was the only reason⁹²). Rome responded to both local and foreign hostilities by establishing garrisons that at once separated antagonistic tribes to counter the threat of furtive alliances, and obstructed the movements of enemy forces. The Samnite Wars, the Gallic and Pyrrhic invasions, Carthage, and Hannibal left Rome and its interests on the peninsula vulnerable, and the colonies offered a vigorous defense against the antagonists. Such reliance bespeaks a symbiosis between Rome and the outlying settlements rather than a unilateral emission of authority from one to the other. Rome relied on the colonies as “buffer states between Roman territory and hostile populations” (Salmon 1969: 87); the colonies also needed the armed support of Rome for protection.

⁹² This function is not disputed by later scholars, but it has been argued that other motivations such as economic and responses to plebeian discontent, which Salmon sees as consequential only after the second century BCE, should also be recognized (e.g., Bispham 2006: 85 and Bradley 2006: 169-171).

If P.A. Brunt's (1971: 84) estimate is correct, the Latins and other allies still outnumbered Romans by more than two-to-one toward the end of the third century BCE.⁹³ Accuracy aside, it illustrates the point that Rome was one of many, admittedly a more powerful one of the many, whose ultimate success in controlling Italy could not yet be forecast.⁹⁴ From the fourth to the second century BCE Rome was one distinct group that struggled, asserted its rights, made and changed alliances to meet immediate ends, and challenged the vast populations of other distinct groups. With our advantage of hindsight, we can talk of them as the dominant power because we know the end of the story, but this was not apparent back then. To talk of their relations with the other Italian inhabitants as one of political, ideological and ethnic domination is anachronistic, using our own preconceptions and those of the later annalists of how Rome should be. Specifically in the religious sphere we should not project a missionary spirit as a driving force in Roman colonization (de Cazanove 2000: 71). While this may be a phenomenon of modern colonization, a more appropriate model of ancient colonization must acknowledge a reciprocal adaptation and integration of local and Roman cults by both groups and a continuation of local religious traditions. (Bagnall 1997: 230 and Bispham 2006: 92ff.).⁹⁵

⁹³ Brunt estimates that in 225 BCE there were 640,000 Latins and allies and 300,000 Romans.

⁹⁴ A passage by Polybius (II.24) lists the substantial numbers of non-Roman allies against Hannibal. Had these peoples instead allied against Rome, as Hannibal had tried to persuade them to do, the history of Italy may have been quite different.

⁹⁵ That Rome's priorities encompassed military objectives and was not designed to refashion local groups into physical and ideological "little Romes" is demonstrated by the pattern of its punishment of recalcitrant allies. Rome responded energetically and violently against those who defected to the enemy or were reluctant to lend support in war. Capua, an autonomous municipium *sine suffragio* since 338 BCE, gave safe harbor to Hannibal after his victory at Cannae in 216 BCE. In 211 BCE, Rome laid siege to the town, forced its capitulation, executed the instigators and relocated the inhabitants, and abolished its municipal government (Livy XXVI.4-34). Two years later 12 Latin colonies (starred in Table 3) objected to providing more troops against Hannibal, claiming that both their resources and manpower were too heavily depleted (Livy XXVII.9). As punishment, the twelve were forced to provide double the number of troops it had

Hannibal's rout from Italy and the close of the Second Punic War marked an end of an era of major challenges to Rome's very existence. Rome not only emerged victorious, but also as the bona fide hegemonic power in Italy. This highly complicated period in Republican history cannot be treated comprehensively here⁹⁶, but it is worthwhile to discuss some of the trends that uncover the general milieu as they pertain to Rome's perspective of themselves and the Other, and vice versa. The new reality effected great changes in Rome's focus: there was the issue of administering and exploiting the vast amounts of land brought into the *ager publicus*, much of which was confiscated from allies who had defected during the last war; foreign conquest and empire building demanded attention in prosecuting wars and levying armies to man them.

marshalled in the past, deliver their census counts to Rome who would now administer the levy, and pay an annual tax (Livy XXXIX.15).

There is no record that religious recalcitrance engendered similar repercussions. The infamous pogrom against followers of the Bacchic cult in 186 BCE is one that scholars cite as a counterpoint to this argument. However, the causes of the backlash, as well as the effects, show that Rome's intention was not to purge foreign religion from Roman territory in favor of its own, but to counter a threat (real or imagined) to the order of Roman rule and the position of the patricians. Livy (XXXIX.1) writes that it was not just the questionable morality of the foreign cult that came to the attention of the Senate, but, more to the point, its attendant crimes, including perjury, forgery, violence and murder, that found their way into Rome itself. In a speech to the Roman people Livy puts into the mouth of the triumvir responsible for dealing with the scourge it is mentioned that the cult had persisted (and presumably was tolerated) long before this crisis, but now its deleterious effects threatened the safety of Rome, no less because male adherents could not be trusted as soldiers (Livy XXXIX.15). The reaction was swift. Turned over by informers, followers who were also found guilty of the abovementioned crimes were executed; simply to be initiated meant imprisonment. Cult objects to Bacchus were destroyed (Livy XXXIX.18). The subsequent *senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* established new and harsh measures against the cult, but its wording does not indicate that it meant to wipe it out completely. It stipulated that no place could be given for the rituals and no man could become a Bacchantian except in cases where individuals successfully petitioned to the Senate for an abrogation of the law. In the event that the rites were allowed to continue, no more than five participants could congregate together unless, again, it was specifically mandated by the Senate. The only statutes that were not subject to appeal involved those aspects that seemed most likely to challenge the Roman state and the aristocratic privilege of appointment: no man could hold a priesthood or office, or be in control of the cult's treasury; no pacts or conspiracies among the followers would be tolerated. The reaction, then, did not abolish the cult of Bacchus, just heavily regulated it, and evidence of its continuation can be found around Italy (Torelli 1999: 140-144 and Mouritsen 1998: 56). It can be argued, furthermore, that this regulation was not so inconsistent with the concomitant decrees protecting Roman *mores* against general indulgences in luxury among the elite that were seen to undermine military virtues and promote corruption (see, e.g., Astin 1989: 181-185).

⁹⁶ The classic *magnum opus* of the period remains Toynbee's two-volume *Hannibal's Legacy* (1965). See also Mouritsen (1998) whose thorough critique of the historiography of second century BCE Italy, both ancient and modern, structures many provocative re-readings of the allies' socio-political situation.

Changes also occurred in socio-political relations, both internal and in the territories: foreign conquest meant an unprecedented enrichment that primarily benefitted Rome's elite, and also enabled individuals to compete for and achieve levels of influence that were beyond the comfort level of the ruling class. Senate decrees regulating more rigidly the prerequisites and limits to political office attempted to check personal ambition and competition, but were contravened and merely resulted in more creative methods of completion (Astin 1989: 174-180). Meanwhile, as Rome enjoyed the privileges, and handled the problems, of its *imperium*, the Italian allies were becoming increasingly discontented and alienated. On the one hand, they were under the same obligation as citizens to provide support, above all military, to Rome; on the other hand, as non-citizens, they could only watch Rome reap the rewards of expansion while receiving little compensation for their involvement.

How this frustration manifested hinges on the nature of Roman control in Italy and the allies' construal of their own identity and status under this control. To understand these, I focus on one over-riding theme of the late Republic: the "Italian Question" of enfranchisement and the inherent value that citizenship held for each group. Was the connection between citizenship and privilege something that the Romans and non-Romans recognized? Was the identity of the non-Roman aligned with Roman to such an extent that a legal recognition of their Roman-ness through citizenship became their only solution to the disparities? By analyzing the major debates and decrees concerning citizenship, we can answer 'no' to each question.

An early change based on citizenship was the status of new colonies: Citizen colonies almost entirely replaced Latin colonies as the predominant type by 177 BCE

(see Table 1). Salmon (1969: 95ff.) writes that a number of reasons made it too difficult to enroll recruits for the latter type (mainly having to do with reduced manpower); ultimately, however, he reads the transformation as a manifestation of the innate worth of citizenship:

[b]y now, Roman citizenship had become valuable as a result of the overwhelming predominance with which Rome had emerged from the long struggle with Hannibal, and Romans, even land-hungry Romans, were not disposed to relinquish it in exchange for the citizenship of a Latin colony (ibid.: 100).

An obvious weakness of this position is that it fails to account for non-Romans who traditionally populated Latin colonies and presumably could have been enrolled in this period. Other motivations besides citizenship status are equally, if not more, viable and have more to do with political and military expediency than protecting the valuable Roman status. Memories of the autonomous communities' defections and refusals to provide military support during the last war would have been seen as an enduring challenge to Roman control in Italy, which could be remedied by tightening control through direct Roman administration in Citizen colonies. Furthermore, the change in policy also maintained Rome's control over the manpower needed to levy troops during a crisis (Mouritsen 2008: 480). Finally economic benefits come into play with the Italian and Roman elites' growing interest in exploiting the surrounding *ager publicus* (Gabba 1989: 216).

In 177 BCE, Rome rescinded the right of citizenship to allies who moved into Roman territory and even expelled from Rome those who were thought to have gained citizenship illegally. This was done at the request of the Latin colonies themselves who were increasingly concerned about their own dwindling populations, and not to protect

the exclusivity of Roman citizenship. Furthermore, those who had migrated to Roman territories did so not for the purpose of acquiring citizenship, but rather to escape the economic disparities between the elites and commoners in their own communities. Rome was an enticement for these lower classes to take advantage of greater economic opportunities; becoming Roman was not a necessary part of the equation (Gabba 1989: 217-219).

During the latter part of the century, the promise of enfranchisement is commonly thought to be a carrot dangling frustratingly out of reach of the allies now demanding to be let in. In 125 BCE the consul Marcus Fulvius Flaccus proposed extending citizenship in response to the reaction against the Gracchic land reforms. It met with support from the Italians, but quickly died in the Senate. Appian describes this event as proof of the intrinsic value of Roman citizenship: the allies' acceptance of the proposition revealed their desire for incorporation; the Senate's opposition attests to their awareness of citizenship's exclusivity and elitism.⁹⁷ Appian's interpretation today is rightly dismissed both as a teleological model of citizenship that was characteristic of his own time and as a literary trope designed to help explain the cause of the imminent Social War (Mouritsen 1998: 87-108 and 2008: 475-476). The allies' favorable response should instead be read in light of the full proposal being extended: accepting citizenship was optional, and those who chose not to become enfranchised still could receive the "right of appeal" (*ius provocationis*), which offered protection against the abuses of Roman magistrates.⁹⁸ In

⁹⁷ Appian (*B Civ.* I.21.86) writes that out of gratitude they no longer would fight about the land because "they desired Roman citizenship more than ownership of the land." The Senate, meanwhile, could not submit to granting equal status to a people once subject to them.

⁹⁸ Abuses committed by Roman magistrates against the allies included murder, looting, extortion and corporal punishment. See Toynbee's chapter "A calendar of the acts of Roman public officers, 211-123 B.C. that were misdemeanors in the Roman 'Establishment's' eyes" (1965b: 608-645).

this light, such an offer would be attractive to Italian and Latin allies who were culturally, politically, and economically independent from Rome. The practical benefits of managing their own interests free from interference outweighed those of Roman citizenship which did not in itself guarantee economic improvement or political influence (Gabba 1989: 241).

As the century progressed the difference between Roman and non-Roman became more reified, and citizenship would have alleviated some of the disparities between the two. The burden of paying *tributum* likely became more odious after 167 BCE when this obligation was lifted for the citizen classes; for the elites, there was the possibility of careers in the Roman political system; for the masses, citizenship meant migration and land distribution (Mouritsen 1989: 94). The logical progression then, as many argue, was that the allied demands for integration were increasingly acute in correspondence with the growing inequalities. Bispham's (2006: 118-119) claim that there is "proportional to the growth in Roman power and influence, the gradual worsening of relations with her Italian allies, and a corresponding increase both in the value of Roman citizenship and the importance of Roman identity" accords well with the viewpoint shared by other scholars (e.g., Brunt 1965; Gabba 1989: 208-209 and 1994: 105, Keaveney 1989). Gabba's (1989) model is emblematic of such a response: Rome's policy was not to form a unified Italy; in fact, it was in Rome's best interest to maintain the *status quo* with respect to the Italian elites and defend their social and political entities, "since they were the guarantors of stability within their states", and the link between the states and Rome (ibid.: 210-211). Instead, it was the Italian upper classes themselves that desired "the Romanization of Italy" (ibid.: 210) because "the concept of *maiestas populi romani* developed and

crystallized after the Hannibalic War as a consequence of Roman expansionism” (ibid.: 209). To share in the rewards of empire, the Italian elites “pursued a spontaneous policy of cultural and political assimilation and integration” (ibid.), and later demanded full incorporation and an equal exercise in power (ibid. 1992: 105); there was no other alternative other than citizenship. Thus, while Gabba can at once claim that the advantages of citizenship were not widely recognized as late as the failed enfranchisement proposal in 125 BCE, he can also argue that the sentiment “was already gaining ground” (ibid. 1989: 241 and 1992: 105). When it actualized, demands for economic and political inclusion were foremost, but also cultural parity was an overriding issue: the allies’ sacrifice for Rome’s empire made them, in their own eyes, *de facto* Romans, and they “could no longer be excluded and despised as foreigners” (ibid. 1989: 243).

Such a schema works only if Italy was in fact unified, culturally as well as politically, and that the non-Roman integration was such that any residual autonomy or independence was concealed by the Roman system, within which the allies were so deeply entrenched. The evidence points neither to such unity nor to an allied recognition of the Roman right to control a unified Italy. Attendant to Rome’s rise in the second century BCE is the continued autonomy of the non-Roman communities. It is doubtful whether Rome even had designs to take them over fully, and it seems more politic instead to avoid over-reaching the control beyond the colonists’ obligations laid out by the treaties of alliance. It was stated above that the alliances between Rome and the colonies in the previous century were more symbiotic than unilateral—Rome was the dominant party in the relationship, but its own success relied on the stability of the colonies. Now,

without a common enemy upholding this mutual reliance, a new common enemy could be identified. As Mouritsen (1998: 69) writes,

it is true that Rome united the Italians; but it was a unity that grew in opposition to Rome, not around her. For the imposition of the alliances not only brought an end to internal strife among the allies, it also gave them a common cause, an opponent.

Singly, no community was a match for Rome, but a unified front would be (and was in the Social War) a very real danger. Their numbers were substantial—they now contributed the majority of the fighting power in the wars overseas.⁹⁹ The challenge for Rome was to balance its requirements for support, set out in the treaties with each community, with diplomacy that appreciated the potential power of the allies and that avoided intervening in their affairs unless when absolutely necessary.

Rome's concern about overextending the burdens of the allies and exacerbating the simmering discontent may have been part of the reason for the land reforms of Tiberius Gracchus in 133 BCE. The restriction and redistribution of land holdings were done in large part to solve the problem of a dearth of Roman manpower for military service.¹⁰⁰ Fewer Roman soldiers meant that more were taken from non-Roman populations; providing land to the landless poor now made more Romans eligible to serve, thus discharging some of the burden from the allies. Rome's hegemony would be uncompromised and stability maintained (Mouritsen 2008: 474).

Rome's awareness of the allies' discontent and the efforts to avoid unrest by curtailing their obligations helps to construct a more realistic model of the degree of

⁹⁹ Brunt's (1971: 424ff. and 677-686) estimates show that the allies normally provided at least twice as many infantry and cavalry as did Rome itself.

¹⁰⁰ The reforms limited land ownership in the *ager publicus* to 500 iugera (ca. 325 acres) per individual. This seems to be a re-incarnation of an earlier law. Many scholars follow the conclusions of the ancient writers that identify the Licinian-Sextian Rogations of 367 BCE as the law the first set the limit of estates to 500 iugera. Recently this has been challenged (e.g., Gargola 2008: 511-515).

cultural unity and the perception of citizen status. As Mouritsen (2008) convincingly argues, if the Romans, Italians and Latins were all working as one within an integrated (Roman) system, this attention to strengthening Roman manpower alone would be superfluous. One cohesive body would have made up the military ranks, and the sources for recruitment would be an ancillary matter given that there were no cultural distinctions. Instead, we find the army controlled by the central Roman authority but heavily reliant on non-Romans. Enrolling more Romans perhaps mitigated the allied obligations and kept Rome from infringing more than was safe on their independence while still holding them subject. It follows that Rome's hegemony did not succeed in creating an integrated society, nor was this a goal. For Rome, the dependence of the allies was paramount, and the need to protract control over them "automatically defined the Italians as 'them' rather than 'us'" (Mouritsen 2008: 482). A similar perspective should be allowed for the allies, whose remaining degree of autonomy would not be relinquished for the mere promise of becoming Roman.

Only after the Social War can we speak with any confidence of a unified Italy, which must be limited to a unification based on citizenship rights granted to all of Italy as a means of ending the war. Whether or not this was the ultimate goal of the Italians¹⁰¹ is not as clear as many historians, ancient and modern, would have us believe. Naturally, those who argue that the Italians pursued citizenship in the second century BCE assign this question as the cause of the revolt. They see the final straw occurring in 91 BCE when the senate opposed the attempt of the tribune Marcus Drusus to pass another enfranchisement bill which the Senate opposed. The opposition was likely due to the

¹⁰¹ It should be stressed here that the term 'Italians' explicitly excludes the Latin peoples, who did not participate in the revolution. Of the 33 Latin colonies in Italy at the time, only one (Venusia) took part.

Senate's fear of his power over a new citizen body beholden to him rather than their general distaste at the idea of enfranchisement. Shortly after it was quashed, Drusus was assassinated. In Brunt's (1971: 439) words, "the rebels... must have long prepared their plans, to take effect if Drusus' enfranchisement bill were defeated." Their last hope of citizenship buried with Drusus, the Italians had no choice but to see their wishes through by means of war.

Tracing its cause/effect to the continued failure of the Roman senate to meet the allied demands for citizenship is consistent with ancient accounts in which the allies saw citizenship as a means of becoming partners, rather than subjects, in the empire (App *BCiv.* I.5.34). Even stronger, according to Appian, Drusus' promise gave them hope that they would become rulers instead of subjects (App *BCiv.* I.5.34). His assassination, however, exposed the futility of continued negotiations and the need to solve this through other more violent means. (ibid. I.5.38). There is also Velleius Paterculus (II.15) who writes that "their cause was very just: for they were seeking citizenship itself." Again, the political and cultural climate in which these authors wrote likely shaped their perspectives of citizenship, which, in turn, shaped anachronistically their interpretations.¹⁰² Both wrote when enfranchisement had long since been a reality in Italy and the empire overseas was expanding (Paterculus in the early-first century CE; Appian in the second century CE).

A more contemporaneous source, Diodorus Siculus, allows for more ambiguous motives. The first century BCE annalist states that citizenship was the goal: the Marsic leader Pompaedius led ten thousand men to Rome to surround the Senate to demand for it, or, if rejected, besiege the city (37.13.2). Later, when his troops face Marius' army, the

¹⁰² For analyses of these texts, see Dench (2005: 125-129), and Mouritsen (1998: 5-22).

soldiers, recognizing one another from past service, lay down their arms and the generals talked about the question of the “longed-for citizenship” (37.15.3). In other places, Siculus writes that the Italians would suffer nothing less than complete independence from Rome’s rule: the revolt is against Rome’s domination (37.1.6); sharing the booty with the soldiers spurred them in their fight for freedom (37.14); their valor in defending their independence surpassed previous examples when they were fighting instead for Rome’s empire (37.22).

Dench (2005: 128) argues that Siculus’ contradictory ‘double motivation’ is not necessarily incongruous. Citizenship has been inextricably tied to political integration, but separating the two concepts might allow us then to attach citizenship to the broader concepts of freedom; “freedom that might be achieved either by ‘partnership’ in, or the destruction of, Roman rule” (Dench 2005: 128). It is an idea supported by others. Mark Pobjoy’s (2000) study of the rebel’s temporary capital at Corfinium, renamed *Italia* for this occasion, gives credence to the argument that independence was a primary aim. Having established a senate and magistracies, the Italians were constructing in essence a new Italy on the peninsula. Above all, the coins they minted to fund the war reinforces this. The iconography of the coins chosen to symbolize their cause reveals their attempt to assemble an identity of their own (Pobjoy 2000: 198). One image, for example, depicts a bull, the symbol of the new ‘state’, with an erect penis goring a wolf.¹⁰³ Independence, he concedes, however, was likely not the only aim, and one cannot dismiss out of hand the appeal of citizenship to at least some of the people rebelling. Pobjoy specifically

¹⁰³ Dench (2005: 126 n. 104) interprets the scene as the Italian bull positioned to penetrate the bull, taking as her cue the threat of rape as a metaphor for conquest in the Greco-Roman world. The sexual aggression does not escape Pobjoy who writes that it possibly represents the “potent masculinity of the insurgent forces” (2000: 204). Images of these coins are in Pobjoy (2000: 204, figs. 6a and b).

targets Mouritsen's refusal to grant any substance to its appeal and its role in the Social War: to him fighting to destroy Rome's hegemony after having fought for incorporation is irreconcilable (Mouritsen 1998: 7 and 129-151). To Pobjoy, this is a non-issue. A struggle for independence does not preclude the chance that many people did in fact see citizenship as an advantage. Only after realizing the hopelessness of this cause did they reflect on other ways to liberate themselves from subordination. In this way, both desires for citizenship and freedom overlap (Pobjoy 2000: 193-195).

This section, I hope, has helped elucidate some general socio-political trends running through Italy concomitantly with the E-L-C votive tradition. Roman policy, for any part of the period, was founded on a policy of non-intervention. Various threats to Roman hegemony warranted direct and sometimes brutal responses, but for all other times it was politically expedient to respect the autonomy of the allies, to make certain they were meeting their obligations of alliance all the while standing apart from their internal affairs. The allies were contained but not integrated. To see them as so beholden to Rome that they might lose sight of their own identities presupposes a structure of a unified Italy in the mid- to late Republic that simply did not exist.

This has important ramifications for understanding the distribution and practice of the E-L-C tradition. The widespread occurrence may putatively relate to an attendant cultural homogenization of Italy, but the many different factors involved do suggest something more complex. The facts on the table show that whatever autonomy the non-Romans retained after their annexation must also apply to religious practice. It is evident, for example, in the continuity of local cults. Among the Etruscans, the *etrusca disciplina* continued through the Roman domination. The second century BCE *liber linteus*

demonstrates the survival of the Etruscan liturgical calendar (van der Meer 2007). The scroll on the early-second century BCE sarcophagus of Lars Puleas presents his career as a local aristocrat and boasts that he wrote a book on haruspicy, held various priestly duties, apparently to the Etruscan deities Catha and Pachu (Bacchus), and performed in several local rituals.¹⁰⁴ The Etruscan practice of haruspicy also continued. Several mirrors from the fourth and third centuries BCE have inscribed on the backs scenes of this type.¹⁰⁵ The Piacenza Liver from the late second century BCE is thought to be a tool for the extispicy rituals of haruspices (Jannot 2002: 18). The Romans themselves also found need for their services.¹⁰⁶

The question remains, what did this tradition offer on a spiritual level to become as widely observed as it did? An economic perspective sees the relatively cheap and mass-produced votive terracottas as something that a wide range of people could use readily (e.g., Blagg: 1985: 39). A fourth-century BCE economic recovery furthermore bolstered the influence of the lower classes who began to assert themselves also in the religious sphere and made dedications according to more personal needs (e.g., Torelli 1977a: 138). Both are certainly true: mass-production made the votives affordable and available on a wide scale, and their presence denotes a broad range of peoples frequenting sacred sites. Neither, however, explains the shift to this specific type of

¹⁰⁴ For the text and translation of the scroll, see Bonfante and Bonfante (2002: 149-150). Their date for the sarcophagus is higher than most, having placed it in the last half of the third century BCE.

¹⁰⁵ See, for example, Jannot (2005: 5, 6, and 32)

¹⁰⁶ Livy mentions many times the services of Etruscan haruspices. During the Second Punic War haruspices read the prodigies and aided in the success of the Roman army (215 BCE) (XXIII.36) and expiated troubling prodigies (214 BCE) (XXIV.10); they were summoned when two snakes ate the liver of Gracchus' sacrifice (212 BCE) (XXV.16); they interpreted the omen of the birth of an abnormally large sexless child (and ordered it to be thrown into the sea (207 BCE) (XXVII.37). Haruspices announce that the omens were favorable for starting the Second Macedonian War (200 BCE) (XXXI.5); when a laurel tree grew on a ship's prow, the haruspices called for a day of supplication for the Roman people (199 BCE) (XXXII.1).

dedication. A socio-political perspective argues that the anatomical votives appear in sanctuaries because they became a “point of stability within an otherwise politically uncertain setting.... Newly established sanctuaries...such as the temple and precinct at Tolfa may indicate an increased need for religious protection” (Edlund 1987a:56). Edlund rightly stresses religion’s efficacy as an instrument that helped to maintain a semblance of personal control in response to changes wrought by Roman expansion and the hazards of regular warfare. Missing, however, is an emphasis on the ideological transformations that led to the espousal of the new beliefs that accompanied the E-L-C dedications.

This section serves as a point of departure for answering this question by locating the tradition within its political context. From this stance we arrive at a number of important points: firstly, Roman expansion, in all of its facets, catalyzed the spread of the E-L-C tradition; secondly, the Italic peoples maintained some level of independence in spite of Roman domination; thirdly, cross-cultural interactions made the heterogeneous populations more attuned to one another’s traditions and ideologies without being steeped in any shared intrinsic belief in the inherent superiority of Roman identity. Other contexts must also be dealt with to arrive at a more holistic picture, however. This includes a spiritual one, which is analyzed in chapter 5, where I look at the meanings of the specific anatomical votives from Grasceta dei Cavallari, and chapter 6, where I discuss the heads. The socio-cultural context is raised in chapter 7, where I attempt to insert this tradition within the framework of Romanization and post-colonial theories.

Table 1: Colonies co-founded by Rome and the Latin League (up to 338 BCE)

Colony	Type	Date
Fidenae	Priscae Latinae Coloniae	
Cora†	Priscae Latinae Coloniae	501
Signia†	Priscae Latinae Coloniae	495
Velitrae†	Priscae Latinae Coloniae	494
Norba†	Priscae Latinae Coloniae	492
Antium	Priscae Latinae Coloniae	467
Labici	Priscae Latinae Coloniae	418
Vitellia	Priscae Latinae Coloniae	395
Circeii*	Priscae Latinae Coloniae	393
Satricum†	Priscae Latinae Coloniae	385
Setia*†	Priscae Latinae Coloniae	ca.383
Sutrium	Priscae Latinae Coloniae	382
Nepet	Priscae Latinae Coloniae	382
Tusculum	(Municipium)	381
Caere†	(Municipium)	?

Seven Latin colonies remaining after the dissolution of the Latin League

Ardea*†	Latin	338
Circeii	Latin (coastal)	338
Nepet*	Latin	338
Norba†	Latin	338
Setia†	Latin	338
Signia†	Latin	338
Sutrium*	Latin	338

New Colonies between 338 BCE and start of the Second Samnite War

Ostia	Citizen (coastal)	338
Antium	Citizen (coastal)	338
Cales*†	Latin	334
Tarracina†	Citizen (coastal)	329
Fregellae†	Latin	328

Colonies founded during the Second Samnite War (326-304 BCE)

Luceria†	Latin	316
Saticula	Latin	314
Suessa Aurunca*	Latin	314
Pontiae	Latin (coastal)	314
Interamna*	Latin	314

Colonies founded after the Second Samnite war

Sora*†	Latin	303/2
Carseoli*†	Latin	303/2
Alba Fucens*†	Latin	303
Narnia*	Latin	299

Colonies founded during the Third Samnite War (298-290 BCE)

Venusia	Latin	291
Minturnae†	Citizen (coastal)	295
Sinuessa	Citizen (coastal)	295

Colonies founded after the Third Samnite War

Hadria	Latin (coastal)	280's
Sena Gallica	Citizen (coastal)	280's

Colonies founded during and after the Pyrrhic War (284-270 BCE)

Cosa†	Latin (coastal)	273
Paestum†	Latin (coastal)	273
Beneventum†	Latin	268
Aesernia†	Latin	263
Ariminium	Latin (coastal)	268
Firmum	Latin	263

Colonies founded during the First Punic War (264-241 BCE)

Castrum Novum	Citizen (coastal)	264
Alsium	Citizen (coastal)	247
Fregenae	Citizen (coastal)	245
Pyrgi†	Citizen (coastal)	?
Brundisium	Latin (coastal)	244
Spoletium†	Latin	241

Colonies founded after Roman campaigns in Cisalpine Gaul (225)

Cremona	Latin	219
Placentia	Latin	219

Colonies founded after Second Punic War (218-202)

Thurii Copia	Latin	193
Vibo Valentia	Latin	192
Volturnum	Citizen (coastal)	194
Liternum	Citizen (coastal)	194
Puteoli	Citizen (coastal)	194

Salernum†	Citizen (coastal)	194
Buxentem	Citizen (coastal)	194
Tempsa	Citizen (coastal)	194
Croton†	Citizen (coastal)	194
Sipontum	Citizen	194
Bononia	Latin	189

The rise of large Citizen colonies in the Second century BCE

Potentia†	Citizen	184
Pisaurum	Citizen	184
Saturnia†	Citizen	183
Gravisca†	Citizen	181
Mutina	Citizen	183
Parma	Citizen	183
Aquileia†	Latin	183-169
Luna	Citizen	177

*: Colonies that reneged on their obligation to provide military aid to Rome in the Second Punic War.

†: Colonies with known E-L-C assemblages.

The End

E-L-C dedications began to decline in the late second century BCE and disappear from the archaeological record by the mid-first century BCE. Their demise has been attributed to a range of factors, including changes in medical science, demographics and politics. Scholars who prefer to stress the curative aspect of the tradition also tend to see medical reasons as the cause (e.g., Blagg 1983: 46 and 1985: 44; Bouma 1996a: 208; Girardon 1993: 31; Potter and Wells 1985: 40). Divine intervention for curing ailments would have become superfluous with an improvement of medical science and an increased access to it. Those who assign the votive tradition only to the rural peasant classes attribute the end to the mass displacement of these peoples (e.g., Blagg 1985: 44-45; Gatti and Onorati 1996: 17; Pensabene 1979: 221; Pensabene, et al. 1980: 51; Söderlind 2005: 362). Large aristocratic *latifundia*, springing from the growing economic

power of Rome's ruling elite, gradually replaced small landholdings. The dispossessed rural poor were forced to abandon the countryside and seek other opportunities at large urban centers, leaving the sanctuaries derelict.¹⁰⁷ Finally, changes in the political landscape, culminating in the mass enfranchisement of Italy after the Social War, refocused ritual activity (e.g., Arthur 1991: 46-47; Edlund 1987a: 56). In particular, the new citizenry would have re-aligned their ceremonies more toward Rome's state-sponsored religious system.

Science subsumes religion in the medical viewpoint: aspects of health that were beyond the control of the mortal had been entrusted to the gods; once mortals acquired control the gods' services were no longer needed. While medical knowledge certainly did improve, it is perhaps too reductive to assign the decline of a ritual tradition to scientific and medical advancements. Furthermore, it is dubious that the variegated populations derived equal, or any, benefit from these advancements. Access would have remained limited to those who could afford it, excluding the majority lower and rural classes. Greater access also wouldn't necessarily make anatomical votives redundant: it certainly does not in today's society where models of body parts continue to be dedicated in Christian rituals, despite our own medical advances (Dittrick 1944) (figure 4).

The abandonment of the countryside is also unconvincing because it falls back on an overly restrictive identification of the worshippers. As argued above, the distribution of the votives suggests that multiple classes, both urban and rural and even inhabitants of Rome, engaged with the tradition. Depopulation may cause a decline in cult activity in the countryside and perhaps the physical degradation of the cult buildings, but we must also account for the urban sites that had also received the votives. For what reason would

¹⁰⁷ Pensabene (1979: 221) writes that these people migrated to Rome.

the E-L-C tradition disappear from these sacred centers? Indeed, it is just as easily argued that these very sites should see an increase in the dedications because the rural poor, having migrated to the cities, brought their traditions with them.

A causation encompassing the political milieu of the period is more plausible because it can offer more than one reason and is not reliant exclusively on a single social group to explain the demise of the tradition. The incorporation of the Italic groups into the Roman political system occasioned an unparalleled unification of Italy and we should also see this affecting local cult activity. With politics also came Roman religion; indeed, the two were so intertwined that participation in one also meant participation in the other (Orlin 2007: 59). This in itself does not necessarily explain the end of the E-L-C dedications, however: it is too simple to state merely that the arrival of one tradition suddenly brought an end to another because it fails to appreciate that multiple traditions could (and did previously) co-exist. To get at the deeper reasons, it is necessary to look at how the political climate in Rome itself influenced the religious sphere.

Many scholars have seen the period of the late Republic as one of religious decline in Rome (c.f. Beard, et al. 1998: 117ff.), but it is better, I believe, to see it as a new stage in the function of religion. Eric Orlin (2007: 65) writes that “as the political struggles began to transform Rome, the religious system needed to adapt to the new circumstances.” This is certainly true, but in this case religion is a reactive agent responding to political change. Instead, we should see religion as an active agent that can be used to promote political change. As I noted above, Rome’s rise in the second century BCE also brought about intensified competition and individualism among the elites. As individual ambition increased it threatened to undermine the prevailing governmental

structure. Checks and balances were in place to prevent these appropriations of power, but they proved to be increasingly ineffective. The ability and successes of certain men were palpable, and for them religion serviced their ambitions. People were willing to accept that the accomplishments of the most eminent members of society were due to divine protection or inspiration, and the elites were only too happy assert that their dominance was sanctioned by the gods themselves (Fishwick 1987: 55). Once centered on the welfare of the state, religion gradually became an instrument for individuals to legitimize a self-promotion that was essentially in opposition to the ideals of the state. Appropriating religion as a contrivance for self-service made sense within the Roman imperial context, according to Orlin (2007: 67), who writes, “[i]f the hegemony of the Romans was to be ascribed to the favor of the gods bestowed on them, then one logical explanation for the dominance of individual men was the favor of the gods bestowed upon those men.” The gods, whose support had been determined to be the driving force behind Rome’s accrue ment of power, were now seen to be more focused on individuals and their authority.

Authority, however, required allegiance from a faithful following. Here religion was most serviceable. It was, in a sense, the gods, or society’s belief in the gods’ attachment to certain individuals, that provided this following. To tie oneself to a leader gave to the people security through this man by associating the divine with this man. In the words of Fishwick (1987: 55), “in the late Republic people from various strata of society were ready to honour their favorites and benefactors in ways that brought them into closer relationship with the gods.” What was once offered by religion, and in particular the E-L-C tradition, could now be got through the politician. Religion, as an

amalgamation of politics, was changing alongside the changing political climate of the time. Prefiguring the later imperial cults, powerful public figures and leaders were increasingly and inexorably perceived to be the source of relief for the multitudes of the lower class populations. Such reliance on personal authority gradually transformed individual leaders from simply potent political figures into *gottmenschen*, as seen most clearly with Julius Caesar and later with the Roman emperors. From them the avenue to the divine realm extended, and divine favor, once sought through religious rituals, became more the purview of these men.

These changes must be taken into account when explaining the end of the E-L-C tradition. As new citizens, the peoples of Italy drew from the center for their cues concerning ritual activity. In the center, these cues were altogether different from those of the previous centuries. Changes in the center affected the periphery because the periphery was now entirely bound to the center, and there was little place in this arrangement for outmoded forms of religious activity.



Figure 4.1: Modern anatomical votives and heads from Naples, Italy.

Chapter 5

The Anatomical Votives

The last chapter introduced the traits of the E-L-C votive tradition, its distribution, function, and chronology. This chapter focuses on the anatomical votives recovered from the sanctuary at Grasceta dei Cavallari to explore more specifically their use and meaning as cult objects. As will be apparent enough, a consensus is lacking among scholars concerning their significance; consequently, there are no categorical readings for any of the anatomical types. This chapter brings in the different opinions regarding the messages behind each type of anatomical votive found at Grasceta dei Cavallari and evaluates them to test whether one might prove to be more convincing than the others. In many cases it is not possible to limit a votive type to a single meaning, and perhaps this is the more precise conclusion as it acknowledges the polysemy inherent in them.

Feet

Feet make up the preponderance of the votive terracotta objects at Grasceta dei Cavallari, with 11 complete and fragmentary pieces (figures 5.1 and 5.2). Although this number is low, it follows the same pattern found at many sanctuary sites.¹⁰⁸ In the catalogue the feet are listed together, although for the most part, due to breakage, it is

¹⁰⁸ A study conducted by Martin Söderlind (2004) of ninety-three sanctuaries with E-L-C votives concludes that feet are represented most regularly; only heads and figurines are more common. Potter (1989: 23) writes that feet make up 38.3% of the terracotta votives and heads at the sanctuary at Ponte di Nona. Ferrea (1986: 139) writes that at Fregellae the lower limbs (feet and legs) make up the greatest number of votives, with 1654 complete and fragmentary pieces of isolated feet. Similar percentages are also found at Corvaro (Reggiani Massarini 1988: 46), Cuma (Catucci and Jannelli 2002: 59), Rome (Pensabene 1980: 269), and Velletri (Fortunati 1989: 96). For the distribution of feet in the various regions, see Comella (1981: 720-759), Fenelli (1975a: 332-345) and Rizzello (1980: 181-187).

uncertain whether they are isolated votives or parts of larger pieces such as a leg or statuette. We can say with relative certainty that B₂IVa (fr) is a fragment of a statuette, for example, and that B₁IVa is possibly part of a larger work; however, the other pieces provide no definitive indication. The same moulds, furthermore, were used for both isolated feet and for larger works. For example, foot B₂IIa, which terminates in a break above the ankle and is hollow, may be a fragment of a larger work, while an unbroken foot from Vulci made from the same mould is unmistakably isolated.

In the corpus of votive feet, the vast majority is executed by means of a mould and is rendered with such anatomical verisimilitude that most scholars agree that real human feet likely were used as prototypes (e.g., D'Ercole 1990: 200; Fenelli 1975: 227; Ferrea 1986: 139; Pensabene 1980: 269). At Grasceta dei Cavallari, three examples (B₂IIIa- B₂IIIc (fr)) correspond to this conventional style. Three others (B₂IIa- B₂IIb (fr) and B₂IVa (fr)) are mould-made as well, but are schematic interpretations of the foot's general form. The remaining five feet (B₁Ia- B₁Ic(fr) and B₁IVa- B₁IVb(fr)) are made by hand. Of these, three (B₁Ia- B₁Ic(fr)) are executed in a highly schematic and exaggerated style so that no typological counterparts can be found in other votive deposits.

The mould-made feet at Grasceta dei Cavallari all rest on platforms that conform to the outlines of the toes, while one hand-made example (B₁IVa) has a groove impressed around the bottom to imitate a platform. This coincides with what is found with the majority of examples from other deposits, but scholars disagree as to what they are meant to represent. Many read them as soles of footgear (e.g., Catucci and Jannelli 2002: 62; D'Ercole 1990: 200; Pensabene 2001: 111), while others see them as simple bases (e.g.,

Ferrea 1986: 140). Perhaps by analyzing patterns of the appearance of the platform we can develop a new interpretation of its original function.

At Grasceta dei Cavallari, the three anatomically accurate mould-made feet (B₂IIIa- B₂IIIc (fr)) exhibit distinct platforms underneath. Two schematic mould-made feet (B₂IIa and B₂IIb (fr)) have platforms only beneath the elongated toes. None of the hand-made feet, except B₁IVa with its light groove, shows any indication of platforms. A further examination of forty-four hand-made feet from eight other sanctuaries reveals that only three bear hints of platforms, two of them with light grooves similar to B₁IVa, and one, a fragment from which only the toes survive, with a platform similar to that found on B₂IIa and B₂IIb (fr).¹⁰⁹

The platforms appear almost exclusively with the mould-made anatomically accurate models. This may say more about the manufacture of the prototypes than whether or not they are the soles of footgear. When either a real human foot or a clay model of the foot was cast, a prefabricated platform would have served to elevate and isolate the prototype from the ground, and this was captured in the final product.¹¹⁰ The platforms beneath the toes of the schematic mould-made feet also served a practical role by supporting the elongated toes and protecting them from breaking.

¹⁰⁹ The examination of hand-made feet took examples from the following sites: Abruzzo: Faustoferri (1997: 107-108, ns. 39-53) and Iaculli (1997: 119-120, ns. 7-18), Corvaro: Reggiani Massarini (1988: 44-50, ns. m. 1 and n. 12, figs. 78 and 93) and Capasso (1996: 31, fig. E 0.2), Cuma: Catucci and Jannelli (2002: 81-82, ns. C₄1-C₄6, tav. XXIVc-XXVc), Liri: Rizzello (1980:18, ns. 114-115, figs. 126-127), Lucera: D'Ercole (1990, 208, ns. F₃1-2, tav. 77), Pompeii: D'Alessio (200):118, D₂I 1-2, D₂II, tav. 23), Rapino: Guidobaldi (2002: 44-45, ns. D_{2fr}11-12, tav. VI). For the two feet with grooves around the bottom, see Faustoferri (1997: 107, ns. 45-46). For the foot fragment with a platform beneath the toes, see D'Ercole (1990, 208, ns. F₃2, tav. 77).

¹¹⁰ Sometimes these platforms were not cut to conform to the contours of the foot, but were large and blocky and do not resemble the soles of shoes. See Vagnetti (1971: 95, n. T 5, tav. LIII); Fenelli (1975b: 300, n. D. 356, fig. 376); Comella (1986: 72, ns. E9III-IV, tav. 37); Pensabene (2001: 263, n. 246, tav. 53).

This is not to say that the platforms could not serve a secondary function as a representation of footwear. Sometimes laces were painted in red or black over the foot (D'Ercole 1990: 201; Ferrea 1986: 140; Pensabene 1980: 165). In these cases, the platform was painted black, this time to represent the sole. More rarely, the leather straps of the sandals were formed in clay over the foot.¹¹¹ Neither painted nor clay sandals occur in the feet from Grasceta dei Cavallari.

The high frequency of feet in E-L-C deposits most likely parallels the vital function of these forms as an *ex voto*. The implication of votive feet and lower limbs in the deposits, however, remains unknown. A prominent theory holds that their frequency is too high to have been used as requests for healing; instead, they were dedicated at the sanctuary to ensure a propitious outcome of a journey, or as thanksgiving for a safe journey (e.g., Allegrazza and Baggieri 1996: 35; Ferrea 1986: 140; Fortunati 1989: 96; Steida 1901: 75). Others argue that this motivation alone cannot account for the overabundance of this votive and that it must be explained by salutary reasons. Potter (1989: 25) interprets the preponderance of feet at Ponte di Nona as an indication that this sanctuary specialized in maladies of the foot. Even if no specific maladies are represented, the sanctuary itself becomes an important document of medical history: “La realtà clinica, come è intesa nella medicina moderna, è spesso rappresentata nelle percentuali di terrecotte di Ponte di Nona e sottolinea l'importanza di tali siti come documenti di storia medica” (Potter 1989: 26). Pensabene (1980: 297-298) attributes

¹¹¹ Sandals rendered in clay can be found at Cuma (Catucci and Jannelli 2002: 62, n. C4II, tav. XIX c), Falerii (Comella 1986: 73, ns. E10I-IV, tav. 38a-c), Lavinium (Fenelli 1975b: 302-303, ns. D 399-402, tav. 378; Fenelli 1975: 227, tav. XLIII 3-4), Liri (Rizzello 1980: 61, ns. c17-19, fig. 241-243), Lucera (D'Ercole 1990: 203-204, n. F₃VI₄), Rome (Tevere) (Pensabene (1990: 162-167, ns. 269-283, tav. 63-65), Tarquinia (Comella 1982: 130, ns. D13I-III, tav. 82a-c), and Trebula Mutuesca (Santoro 1987: 360, fig 16 a-b).

medical problems only to those feet whose deformities cannot be explained away by technical mistakes, inexperience or carelessness of the coroplast.¹¹²

More accurate, I believe, is to read the high numbers of lower limbs and feet as evidence of the multivalent meanings the votive class held. Especially in rural zones, where agricultural work was a prerequisite for survival, healthy feet provided the ability to move, work, and survive. Comella (1982: 105) writes: “il numero degli arti inferiori non appare eccessivamente alto se si tiene presente che la locomozione era, per gli umili devoti, la condizione fondamentale per il lavoro e quindi per la sopravvivenza.”¹¹³ It was not necessary for a specific malady to be represented for a votive foot to carry salutary meaning if the request was to maintain the good health of the limb rather than to seek a specific cure.

Hands

Three hands, one complete and two fragmentary, and eight fingers come from the votive deposit, making this the second most abundant class of *ex voto* from the sanctuary¹¹⁴ (figure 5.3). The state of preservation makes it difficult to determine whether they are isolated votives or fragments of larger works. Only C₂I, completely preserved and with a cone-shaped pin beneath the wrist, can be supposed to have been attached to a

¹¹² Pensabene's "Type 4" (1980: 297-303) of votive feet comprises those with characteristics that must be considered true deformities. These include a notable enlargement of the big toe, toes that are too long and retracted, and in some cases threadlike, and a notable projection of the malleolus, all of which indicate the desire of the coroplast who forms the mould to represent an anatomical malady.

¹¹³ See also Comella (1981: 762) where the same argument is held, namely that “gli offerenti di questi *ex-voto* provenivano dalle classe meno abbienti e che per essi la salute era la condizione fondamentale per il lavoro e quindi per la sopravvivenza.” Catucci and Jannelli (2002: 60), follow this up, writing: “il numero degli arti non risulta mai eccessivamente alto considerando come la locomozione fosse una condizione fondamentale per la sopravvivenza e per il lavoro.”

¹¹⁴ For the distribution of hands in the Etrusco-Latial-Campanian area, see Comella (1981: 720-759), Fenelli (1975a: 332-345) and Rizzello (1980: 181-187).

forearm.¹¹⁵ C₂II (fr) and C₂III (fr) are too fragmentary to make similar conclusions. Likewise, the breaks on many fingers preclude their identification as isolated votives or fragments from hands. Only C₁V appears to be an isolated finger, while fracture lines running down the sides of C₁VI, C₁VIII, and C₁IX indicate that other fingers attached to them to form complete hands.

It has been noted at other sites (e.g., Bartoncini 1940: 189; Comella 1978: 61; Comella 1982: 107; Fenelli 1975a: 225; Fenelli 1975b: 265) that the attention to anatomical detail and naturalism is low among this class of votives, especially in comparison to the high degree of realism given to the majority of the votive feet. Very often, the only details appear on the palm, either with incisions for the lines of the hand or bulges beneath the thumb and fingers that represent musculature. The back is commonly left smooth and featureless. Hands were generally executed in two ways. Firstly, two moulds, one of the palm and one of the back were used to shape the broad outline of the hand, and the fingers were then distinguished with horizontal grooves. All three examples from Grasceta dei Cavallari were accomplished by this means. Secondly, the fingers could be worked individually and attached to the hand. The consequence of this method is that today many hands are missing the fingers precisely at that join, and this could also account for some of the individual fingers at Grasceta dei Cavallari.

The high occurrence of this votive class in Etrusco-Latial sanctuaries reflects its strong symbolic significance. Scholars interpret them as a request for healing of a part of the body that is crucial for work and survival. At Ponte di Nona (Potter 1989: 29), the

¹¹⁵ Fenelli (1975a: 225) writes that “[m]ani pertinenti a complessi maggiori: avambraccio o bracciad avambraccio, sono chiaramente riconoscibili in quegli esemplari che presentano sotto il polso una protuberanza a forma di tronco di cono, che fungeva chiaramente da perno d’innesto coll’avambraccio.” See also Catucci and Jannelli (2002: 61); Fenelli (1975b: 265); Ferrea (1986: 135).

number of hands is high, at 604, but the votive feet outnumber hands by 4:1. Potter (1989: 29) interprets the disparity by arguing that the hand is less vulnerable to injury than the foot and, when injured, is not so strongly incapacitated. The isolated fingers, furthermore, represent requests for healing of a highly localized area of the body (Comella 1986: 68). As with the feet, many scholars extend the meaning of the hands to transcend physical maladies. Like the votive heads, hands take on a *pars pro toto* connotation where they represent the devotees praying or making an offering.¹¹⁶ The economic importance of the hand in manual labor that is important to populations of rural communities also makes this an appropriate choice of offering when seeking propitiation from the divinities.

Breast

One breast comes from the Grasceta dei Cavallari deposit (figure 5.4). This class of votive occurs widely over the Etrusco-Latinal-Campanian region.¹¹⁷ They are almost all isolated breasts, although there are rare examples where a pair appears as an offering.¹¹⁸ The isolated breasts are hemispherical and are primarily mould-made, although hand-made examples are not uncommon. A ball of clay applied in high relief at the top represents the nipple. Examples can be hollow or solid, and most rest on bases that take on one of two forms. The canonic base appears as a ring projecting out around the bottom

¹¹⁶ Often the hand will be holding an offering, such as a piece of fruit (Ferrea 1986: 136). About Lucera, D'Ercole (1990 183-184) writes that the open hand represents the act of prayer or devotion from as early as the sixth century BCE. See also Allegrazza and Baggieri (1996: 35) and Cattucci (2002: 60).

¹¹⁷ For the distribution of breasts in the Etrusco-Latinal-Campanian area, see Comella (1981: 720-759), Fenelli (1975a: 332-345), and Rizzello (1980: 181-187).

¹¹⁸ Pairs of breast have been found, for example, at Vulci (Ricciardi 1992: 194, fig. 52), Punta della Vipera (Comella 2001: 92-93, ns. G₅I₁-I₂, tav. XXIX e), and Pyrgi (Stopponi 1985: 153, n. D 13, fig. 8.1.13.)

perimeter of the breast.¹¹⁹ Another technique involves tapering at the bottom of the breast.¹²⁰ Some examples show no indication of a base.¹²¹

No breasts show indications of maladies. Fenelli (1975a: 216) writes that, consequently, it is not possible to understand if the offering is related to a request, or thanks, for healing, or if it belongs instead to the sphere of maternity and lactation. Presently, scholars conventionally write that the symbolic value possibly could fall under the sphere of either *sanatio* or maternity (e.g., Ferrea 1986: 137; Reggiani Massarini 1988: 40; Pautasso 1994: 82; Costantini 1995: 74). D'Ercole (1990: 186) stresses more forcefully its symbolic relationship with other *ex voto* tied to fecundity, writing that “la frequente incidenza di votivi legati alla sfera della fecondità è facilmente spiegabile in un tipo di società in cui riproduzione riveste una fondamentale importanza in rapporto alla produzione economica.” Just as healthy hands and feet are crucial for production and survival, so too are the organs related to fertility crucial for the continuation and survival of the community. This likely accounts for the high incidence of all of these votive classes.

The finds contexts of the votive breasts support the view that they functioned more in the sphere of maternity than in health. They can be linked spatially to other *ex*

¹¹⁹ Examples of bases with projecting rims are found at Cales (Ciaghi 1993: 204, E I-II, fig. 137), at Falerii (Comella 1986: 74, ns. E₁₂I-III, tav. 39 a-c), at Fregellae (Ferrea 1986: 136-137, ns. EI-XXII, tav. LXXIX 3-4), at Ghiaccio Forte (Del Chiaro 1976: 26, n. 36, pl. XI), at Gravisca (Comella 1978: 66-67, ns. DIV₃₋₄, tav. XXX.156), at Lucera (D'Ercole 1990: 220-221, ns. F₆I-1a-F₆I₃, tav. 82 a) at Palestrina (Pensabene 2001: 272, n. 269, tav. 56), at Rapino (Guidobaldi 2002: 47, ns. D₅I-II, tav. VII), at Rome (Pensabene 1980: tav. 117.5; Quilici Gigli 1981: 89, n. 28, fig. 10), at Tarquinia (Comella 1982: 132-133, ns. D₁₄IV-VIII, tav. 82), at Tessennano (Costantini 1995: 89, n. E₈III, tav. 37), and at Veii (Vagnetti 1971: 95, n. T_{VI}, tav. LIII).

¹²⁰ Bases indicated by a tapered bottom are found at Falerii (Comella 1986: 74-75, ns. E₁₂IV and E₁₂VI, tav. 39 d and f), at Lanuvium (Fenelli 1975b: 256, ns. 16-17, fig. 352), at Punta della Vipera (Comella 2001: 93, n. G₆II, tav. XXX b), at Tarquinia (Comella 1982: 132, n. D₁₄III, tav. 82), and at Tessennano (Costantini 1995: 88, ns. E₈I-II, tav. 37).

¹²¹ Examples with no indication of a base are found at Corvaro (Reggiani Massarini 1988: 40, n. h. 1, fig. 66), at Falerii (Comella 1986: 74, n. E₁₂V, tav. 39 e), at Lanuvium (Fenelli 1975b: 256, n. 15, fig. 352), at Lucera (D'Ercole 1990: 220-221, n. F₆III, tav. 82 c), at Tarquinia (Comella 1982: 131, n. D₁₄I, tav. 82), and at Tessennano (Costantini 1995: 89, ns. E₈V-VI, tav. 37).

voto related to fecundity and maternity. For example, the five breasts at Gravisca (Comella 1978: 89-92) were located in areas of the sanctuary given over to female worship. Four were dedicated inside of Building γ , which housed the majority of votive uteri, female genitalia, standing female statuettes and swaddled baby statuettes. The other was deposited within a well together with forty-one uteri.¹²² They also can be found in high numbers at sanctuaries where other *ex voto* related to maternity and fecundity occur in high frequency. At Ara della Regina (Comella 1982: 221-226), 34 breasts were deposited along with 233 uteri, 89 phalli, and 1 female genitalium.¹²³

Uterus

One example of a uterus was recovered at the sanctuary (figure 5.5). At other sites, the number of uteri can vary dramatically, from no recovered examples to being the preponderant class of *ex-voto*.¹²⁴ They are commonly represented as hollow, rounded bodies resting on flat, smooth bottoms, although there are stylistic variations.¹²⁵ The neck of the uterus is indicated either by a real opening or one depicted in the clay through concentric grooves or circles. A very characteristic feature is the presence either of horizontal undulating grooves or bands of clay running over the body of the uterus. Many also show three or more knobs running down the center or the sides of the surface, and a

¹²² There are 219 uteri, 2 female genitalia, 67 standing female statuettes, and 24 swaddled infant statuettes from Building γ .

¹²³ Anatomical *ex voto* not tied to the sphere of maternity which outnumber the votive breasts include feet (206), hearts (73), and upper limbs/hands (46).

¹²⁴ For the distribution of uteri in the Etrusco-Latial-Campanian area, see Comella (1981: 720-759), Fenelli (1975a: 332-345) and Rizzello (1980: 181-187).

¹²⁵ Uteri make up the majority of the *ex voto* at the sanctuary at Fontanile di Legnisina, Vulci, for example. Ricciardi (1992: 171-189) has grouped them, based on stylistic differences, into three categories. Category 1 consists of uteri of 20 different forms, but which are all made in the round, commonly on a potter's wheel, and which rest on separately made bases. Category 2, encompassing 27 different forms, are primarily mould-made, ovoid, and rest on a flat, smooth bottom. Horizontal grooves or bands of clay run across the surfaces. Category 3, of which there is only one form, is a flattened version of Category 2. Category 1, Ricciardi argues, is chronologically earlier than 2 and 3.

significant number have a single rounded or pointed appendage appearing either on the left or right side of the neck of the uterus.¹²⁶

Interpretations of these features vary. The multiple knobby protuberances, because they do not appear on all examples, are not intrinsic parts of the organ itself, and have been identified as cysts (Comella 1978: 61). The single rounded appendages have also been identified as pathologies such as cysts or tumors (Costantini 1995: 75, Del Chiaro 1976: 27), but also as an ovary and even as a request for a specific sex of the offspring (Fenelli 1975a: 222).¹²⁷ As for the horizontal, undulating grooves or bands of clay running across the uterine surfaces, many believe that they represent the musculature of the organ (e.g., Comella 1978: 61; Costantini 1995: 75; Fenelli 1975a: 119; Fortunati 1989: 104; Potter 1989: 48). D'Ercole (1990: 184-185), however, raises an argument against this, writing that the true surface of the uterus is smooth. The grooves or bands resemble more closely the *rugae vaginales*, the grooves of the vaginal muscle. If a uterus were to become completely prolapsed, he alleges, this membrane would cover the surface of the uterus. Although this condition allowed the uterus to be viewed out in the open rather than by dissection, the grooves of the *rugae vaginales* would be confused as being the natural morphology of the uterus, giving the votives their characteristic grooves.

These interpretations also affect the symbolic meaning of the organ: that is, whether it functioned in the sphere of *sanatio* or reproduction. Reading the knobs as cysts

¹²⁶ The knobs running down the uterus bodies can be seen in examples from Gravisca (Comella 1978: 67-82, ns. DV 1-12 and 17-26, tav. XXXI-XXXIV) and Ara della Regina (Comella 1982:139-150, ns. D₁₇IV_{A8}-D₁₇VIII_{B1}, tav. 85-86). For the single rounded appendage, see, for example, Fenelli (1975b 263, ns. D 73-79, fig. 357); Torelli and Pohl (1975: 245, ns. 6-10, fig. 122-123); Potter (1989: 47-48, tav. 37.7-8 and 39.4); Pensabene (1980: ns. 648-736, tav. 102-103); Costantini (1995: 97-100, ns. E11I, E11IV, E11VI, E11VII, E11IX, tav. 42-44).

¹²⁷ For a discussion of its relation to the sex of offspring, see Fenelli (1975a: 220-223); Ferrea (1986: 137). The protuberance on the right side would signal a request for male offspring, the left, female, and no protuberance expresses a desire for twins.

or the single appendage as a tumor denotes a request for healing. Conversely, seeing an ovary attached to the uterus creates a votive turned toward reproductive requests. D'Ercole's (1990: 184-185) analysis of the horizontal grooves places the votive somewhere in between: whereas the organ is represented as healthy (reproduction) but which derives from a traumatic condition (*sanatio*). The problem with his theory, however, is that there were other procedures to study the uterus in its natural state rather than have to rely on the trauma of prolapsus. Polyvisceral votive plaques, common in many sanctuary sites but absent at Grasceta dei Cavallari, show clearly a human torso opened with the internal organs conforming to their actual arrangement, demonstrating that medical science at the time did rely on dissection to observe and understand human organs.¹²⁸

More complete archaeological contexts support the notion that the representation of the uterus was primarily used in the sphere of reproduction: either as a request for pregnancy, or protection of the mother and offspring during pregnancy. At the sanctuary at Gravisca (Comella 1978: 91-92), the number of uteri (294) represents by far the greatest number of anatomical *ex voto* (hands (19) come in second) (see Table 2).¹²⁹ Furthermore, nearly half of these (145) were placed in the so-called 'Oikos M' within Building γ . Accompanying the uteri in 'Oikos M' were twenty-two of the twenty-four statuettes of swaddled infants, also the most prevalent class of statuette (Comella 1978: 91-92).¹³⁰ At Ara della Regina (Comella 1982: 221-223), the number of uteri (233) once

¹²⁸ For examples of polyvisceral organs, see Pensabene (1980: 235-237, ns. 581-588, tav. 96-98) and Quilici (1983: 96, n. 48, fig. 8). Tabanelli (1962) provides an in-depth discussion of this votive class. Allegrazza and Baggieri (1996: 34-35) also raise the possibility that people became familiar with internal organs via the slaughter and sacrifice of animals.

¹²⁹ Other anatomical *ex voto* include: ears (2), feet (8), breasts (5), external female genitalia (2).

¹³⁰ The remaining two statuettes were also found in Building γ , but in the courtyard, where 74 uteri were also found. The other class of statuette from Gravisca is of the draped female (13).

again predominates. Feet (206) come in second, but other anatomical *ex voto* that are symbolic of reproduction occur in high numbers as well. Male genitalia (89) are the third most represented votive class, and breasts (34) are common (see Table 2). Infant heads (52) are the most numerous after male heads (136) and female heads (103) at the site, and swaddled infants (22) are the most commonly dedicated statuette. Finally, uteri represent the most numerous *ex voto* at Fontanile di Legnisina, Vulci (Ricciardi 1992: 171-189), where statuettes of swaddled babies are also predominant.

Not only were there sanctuaries given over to reproductive health and maternity, but also specific classes of votives, above all uteri, were appropriate offerings. To say that the uterus functioned only in the sphere of *sanatio* ignores the most important and recognizable purpose of the organ: childbirth. It seems illogical that a uterus was offered because it was “injured” in the same way a foot or a finger was injured; more likely, they were dedicated in response to a condition more apparent than uterine cysts or tumors: the inability to conceive or, conversely, protection of the fetus during pregnancy. It seems reasonable, therefore, to interpret the single projections as ovaries (even if the female body has two and not one). As for the horizontal, undulating grooves running across the uterine bodies, they most clearly represent musculature, although perhaps not the morphological reality of the uterus, but instead an experiential reality, the muscular contractions felt during childbirth.

Phallus

One example of a phallus appears at Grasceta dei Cavallari (figure 5.6). This category of votive offering occurs in large numbers throughout the Etrusco-Latial-

Campanian region.¹³¹ Most were mould-made and attached to triangular or rounded plaques.¹³² Less frequently, phalli occur as parts of larger works, such as a torso and lower limbs.¹³³ Nearly all are uncircumcised with the foreskin drawn tightly over the glans, although some examples may indicate that circumcised organs were also dedicated (Baggieri, et. al. 1996: 23).

The morphology of the foreskin is central to interpretations of the organ's function as a votive offering. Many scholars read the foreskin drawn over the glans as a representation of a pathological condition known as phimosis (e.g., Baggieri, et.al. 1996: 22; Catucci and Jannelli 2002: 64; Comella 1982: 134; Fenelli 1975a: 217-218; Pensabene 1980: 261; Quilici Gigli 1981: 90), and that the wide distribution of this votive type indicates that it was a common ailment compounded by poor hygiene and sexually transmitted disease (e.g., Catucci and Jannelli 2002: 64; Comella 1982: 134; Fenelli 1975a: 217). Furthermore, as Fenelli (1975a: 218) argues, the sheer number of phimotic phalli is so great despite the fact that a healthy penis would be no less difficult to manufacture, that it leaves little doubt about the pathological state being represented. In this case, the value of the votive phallus as a request for healing supersedes any

¹³¹ For the distribution of phalli in the Etrusco-Latium-Campanian area, see Comella (1981: 720-759), Fenelli (1975a: 332-345) and Rizzello (1980: 181-187).

¹³² Examples of isolated phalli on triangular or rounded plaques can be found at Corvaro (Reggiani Massarini 1988: 42-44, ns. I. 1-7, fig. 71-77), at Falerii (Comella 1986: ns. E₁₃1-12, tav. 40-41), at Fregellae (Ferrea 1986: 138, ns. HI-VII, tav. LXXXII.4-6 and LXXXIII.1-4), at Ghiaccio Forte (Del Chiaro 1976: 26, ns. 34-35, pl. XI) at Lavinium (Fenelli 1975b: 258-259, ns. D 24-52, fig. 353-354), at Lucera (Bartocchini 1940: 190, fig. 4; D'Ercole 1990: 209-215, ns. F₄I-VIII and F₄1-3, tav. 78-79), at Palestrina (Zaccagni 1980: 188-191, tav. XLI.6; Pensabene 2001: 273-276, ns. 274-280, tav. 57-58), at Rome (Pensabene 1980: 261-265, ns. 758-774, tav. 105-106; Quilici Gigli 1981: 89-90, ns. 30-31, fig. 10), at Tarquinia (Comella 1982: 133-138, ns. D₁₅I-XXI, tav. 83-84; Stefani 1984: 45-46, ns. 96-101, tav. X), at Tessennano (Costantini 1995: 90-94, ns. E₉I-XIV, tav. 39-40), and at Veii (Torelli and Pohl 1973: 241-242, fig. 118).

¹³³ Examples of phalli on larger works can be found at Lavinium (Fenelli 1975b: 261, n. D 70, fig. 355), at Lucera (D'Ercole 1990: 209, ns. F₄I_{b16}-F₄I_{b20}, F₄II-I_{a17}), at Ponte di Nona (Potter 1989: 38-39, fig. 30-31 a), and at Tessennano (Costantini 1995: 82, n. E₅I₁, tav. 33 b).

reproductive connotation, as the offering “dimostra la notevole attenzione che i romani rivolgevano a questa patologia” (Capasso 1996: 32).

Others prefer to emphasize the organ’s overtone of male sexual potency and reject its role in the sphere of *sanatio* (e.g., D’Ercole 1990: 185; Ferrea 1986: 135; Reggiani Massarini 1988: 42). If phimosis is represented, then this is the only votive class in which pathologies are regularly depicted. Abnormalities and pathologies are highly atypical among other anatomical votives which with few exceptions appear healthy, and it is inexplicable why a malady would characterize a single votive class so exclusively. Instead, the phalli should be seen as healthy, uncircumcised dedications that serve in the sanctuary to express a request for fecundity.

The ancient’s attitude toward the phallus and in particular the foreskin supports this claim. Hodges (1999: 135) sums it up nicely when he writes: “In antiquity, the problem was not having too much foreskin, but having too little.” On the one hand, Celsus (*Med.* VII.25.2) recognizes that the condition “which the Greeks call phimosis” required medical intervention, and recommends a surgical procedure to remedy the affliction. On the other hand, he also indicates that a long foreskin covering the glans was considered more aesthetic than the bare alternative (*ibid.* VII.25.1). He describes an elective plastic surgery, “decoris causa” (for the sake of decorum), in which an incision is cut around the base of the penis, allowing the skin to be pulled forward and the foreskin stretched over and tied around the glans. Furthermore, circumcision was, according to Celsus, “after the custom of certain races” (*ibid.* VII.25.1), that is, incompatible with Roman tradition. Accordingly, decircumcision was available to men desiring a less conspicuous and fully covered organ (*ibid.* VII.25.1).

Archaeological contexts also indicate that the phallus was dedicated more for matters of fecundity and sexual potency than for *sanatio*. Phalli were “dediche tra le più comunemente attestate nei santuari centro-italici” (D’Ercole 1990: 209), but it is possible still to discuss patterns in their widespread distribution and then to forward hypotheses about their symbolic valence. A quantification of the anatomical *ex voto* from seventeen sanctuaries (table 2) reveals a strong correlation between the presence of votive phalli and of other votive classes that may also relate to fecundity (breasts, uteri, female external sex organs, placenta).¹³⁴ At four sanctuaries where phalli make up the most numerous votive class in the deposits (Tempio Maggiore at Falerii (26), Grotta della Colle at Rapino (16), Punta della Vipera (31), and Tessennano (90)), and at the Campetti sanctuary at Veii, where the number of phalli (17) are surpassed only by external female genitalia (20), the presence of other votives working in the sphere of fecundity is substantial, and as a group they comprise the majority of votive offerings (from 32% of the total number of anatomical votives at Tempio Maggiore at Falerii up to 64% at Tessennano). At other sanctuaries where phalli are not the majority but still appear in significant numbers, other votives related to fecundity are comparably high. Phalli (89), uteri (233), breasts (34), and one female genitalia make up nearly half of the anatomical *ex voto* at Ara della Regina. At the temple of Belvedere at Lucera, where hands (184) are the most common dedication, phalli (103), uteri (70) and breasts (24) constitute 38% of

¹³⁴ A total of 24 different anatomical votive classes were recorded at the sanctuaries. These include: masks, torsos, legs and hips, pelvis, adult feet, infant feet, legs, knees, hands, arms, fingers, tongues, ears, eyes, intestines, hearts, kidneys, breasts, uteri, phalli, female genitalia, placentae, polyvisceral plaques, and glutei. The sanctuaries included in the quantification are at Ara della Regina (Comella 1982), Corvaro (Reggiani Massarini 1988), Cuma (acropolis) (Catucci and Janelli 1982), Falerii (Tempio Maggiore) (Comella 1986), Fregellae (Ferrea, et. al. 1986), Gravisca (Comella 1978), Lavinium (Tredici Are) (Fenelli 1975b), Lucera (Belvedere) (D’Ercole 1990), Palestrina (Pensabene 2001), Ponte di Nona (Potter 1989), Punta della Vipera (Comella 1981b), Rapino (Grotta del Colle) (Guidobaldi 2002), Rome (Minerva Medica) (Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978), Tessennano (Costantini 1995), Veii (Campetti) (Torelli and Pohl 1973), Vulci (Porta Nord) (Pautasso 1994), and Vulci (Fontanile di Legnisina) (Ricciardi 1992).

the total.¹³⁵ Finally, the absence of phalli at Gravisca and Fontanile di Legnisina at Vulci, where uteri constitute the vast majority of votives, can be reconciled by suggesting that rituals here were reserved for the reproductive requests of women alone.

In light of the evidence, the theory that the dedication of phalli reflected the prevalence of a pathological condition is suspect. Given that this class is one of the most frequently dedicated at sanctuaries, it would follow that phimosis was one of the most common pathologies for which devotees requested healing. Certainly this could be a motivation for some of the votives, but to conclude this for the majority raises the question why one votive class would represent physical ailments so regularly while the others appear healthy. Fenelli (1978a: 217-218) forwards the position that only those which clearly show the malady are requests for healing while ones that appear healthy function as requests for sexual potency. What are the characteristics, however, that distinguish a phimotic phallus from a healthy one? And should phalli from other media, such as vase painting or sculpture, then be interpreted as phimotic? Perhaps the focus on a pathological condition is grounded more in what seems contextually appropriate than in what the votives actually reveal. In other words, a phallus with a long foreskin found in a context other than a locus for healing (i.e., a sanctuary) would be interpreted more likely as a celebrated proviso of virility than as unhealthy. An emphasis on virility, sexual potency and reproduction as an impetus for the votives' dedication would correspond more readily not only with the ancient's attitude toward the uncircumcised phallus, but

¹³⁵ The presence of phalli and other votives related to fecundity appears statistically irrelevant at Fregellae and Ponte di Nona (5% and 4%, respectively). This is due to the very high numbers of feet and lower limbs at the sites (2339 and 3339, respectively). Like the pattern at other sanctuaries, however, the presence of phalli and other votives related to fecundity are correspondingly high.

also with the other apparently healthy votive classes and with the connection between the phallus and other votives related to reproduction.

Table 2: Percentage of occurrence of *ex voto* associated with fecundity

Sanctuary	Anatomical <i>ex voto</i> total	Uteri	Breasts	Phalli	Female genitalia	Placenta	Percentage "fecundity" <i>ex voto</i>
Ara della Regina	759	233	34	89	1		47
Corvaro	71	4	1	7			17
Cuma Acropolis	120			4			3
Falerii (T. Maggiore)	111	1	7	26	2		32
Fregellae	3367	69	22	106			5
Gravisca	330	294	5		2		91
Lavinium (13 Are)	397	17	7	46	2		18
Lucera (Belvedere)	518	70	24	103			38
Palestrina	104	3	2	16	1		21
Ponte di Nona	4569	27	8	160			4
Punta della Vipera	128	21	3	31	1		44
Rapino (Grotta d. Colle)	40	3	2	16			53
Rome (Minerva Medica)	132	4		8		1	10
Tessennano	211	18	24	90	2		64
Veii (Campetti)	103	12	5	17	20		52
Vulci (Porta Nord)	6		1	1			33

Conclusions

The above exploration of the significance of the anatomical votive deposit shows that meaning varied depending on the type of votive dedicated. Further still, the same votive type could carry different symbolic weight depending on the individual reasons for

their dedications at the sanctuary. It is counterproductive, then, to argue for a single function for them all, say, that of healing, and then try to interpret the forms of the different objects around this sole function. We see this line of thought running in for example, the phalli, where the extended foreskin represents the pathology phimosis; or feet, where formal anomalies are taken as physical deformities that required healing; or uteri, where bead of clay of the surface must be tumors.

To decode the meaning of each votive type is outside the scope of this dissertation, not because it rejects this exercise as futile, but because the answers do not necessarily address the specific questions posed in this dissertation. It is certain that many were requests for healing, others for fertility or the successful rearing of children, still others for a successful outcome of a journey or other personal challenge. It is also likely that we have not touched on many other motivations for their dedication. It will be left at that.

There is the potential to approach the votives in much more meaningful ways, I believe. First and foremost is the topic of identity. Can we identify the identities (cultural or ethnic) of the people who dedicated the votives? If peoples of different cultures did participate, what does this then say about questions of acculturation or resistance to the importation of foreign religious and cultural influences? How did these influences fit within traditional cultural practices? These are a few of the questions that the following chapters raise.



Figure 5.1: A votive foot from Grasceta dei Cavalieri (B₂IIIa).



Figure 5.2: A votive foot from Grasceta dei Cavalieri (B₁Ib).



Figure 5.3: A votive hand from Grasceta dei Cavalleri (C₂I).



Figure 5.4: A votive breast from Grasceta dei Cavalleri (D₁I).



Figure 5.5: A votive uterus from Grasceta dei Cavallari (E₁I).



Figure 5.6: A votive phallus from Grasceta dei Cavallari (F₁I).

Chapter 6

The Votives, Style and Agency

The style of two votive heads (A₁Ia and A₁Ib) and two head fragments (A₁Ic (fr) and A₁Id (fr)) sets them apart from not only the other votive heads from Grasceta dei Cavallari, but also most of the votive heads from other Etrusco-Romano sanctuaries. In this chapter, I analyze in detail the physical characteristics of the indigenous style heads, as they are called here (figures 6.1 and 6.2). Next, I assess the scholarly interpretations of these heads based on their physical characteristics. These heads are generally thought to be anomalous products of the rural population and are accordingly are not valued, in terms of the information that one can derive from them, as highly as the more “Hellenized” examples (figure 6.3). The purpose of my discussion is to challenge these assumptions and provide a new reading of the indigenous style heads that argues for their unique promise both in revealing trends in Etruscan aesthetics and in reflecting indigenous systems of religious belief. Furthermore, I argue later that examples such as these can help scholars interpret the general reception of rural Etruscan populations to the Roman incursion of the fourth and third centuries BCE.

Heads

The indigenous style heads

The indigenous style examples share two attributes: they are highly schematic and exaggerated. On the one hand, the physiognomy of the face is rendered in such a way that leaves no doubt as to what is being represented. On the other hand, no feature is

represented naturalistically. They are exaggerated, abstract portrayals. Fine details are completely disregarded, and the facial features are applied to the form of the head in high and inorganic relief. The tops of the heads are rounded to imitate the cranium of the human skull.¹³⁶ It is significant to note, for reasons that are raised later, that the rounded crania were achieved by different techniques, and that the finished products differ from one to another: while A₁Ia has a symmetrical dome at the top of the head only, A₁Ib is more curvilinear and extends over the back of the head as well. A₁Ic (fr) preserves only a small area of the frontal cranium, but its form corresponds more closely to A₁Ib than to A₁Ia. Other heads from Grasceta dei Cavallari demonstrate that hair, when desired, could be indicated either through lines incised into the cranium (A₂IIc) or through protrusions of clay formed into locks over the forehead (A₁IIa). The crania on the indigenous style heads are smooth and lack such enhancements.

Heavily projecting brows run horizontally across the tops of the foreheads, separating the cranium from the face. The brow is more pronounced on A₁Ia. Both the top and bottom edges have been pinched outward creating a sharp ledge that ends at abrupt points. The brow is more sinuous on A₁Ib, sweeping downward to create a fluid transition between the cranium and the face. It is also longer. It continues over the ears and gradually melds into the rounded surface of the cranium. The head fragment A₁Ic (fr) has a brow that belongs to a typological mid-range between the other two. Its top and bottom edges are not pinched and jutting in the manner of A₁Ia, nor does it sweep gently down into the face, as in A₁Ib.

¹³⁶ For much of the following description I rely entirely on the two complete votive heads (A₁Ia-A₁Ib) simply because all of the details are present to allow for a close examination. I bring the head fragments (A₁Ic (fr) and A₁Id (fr)) into the discussion when their preserved features can contribute to the analysis.

The noses are modeled similarly. They join smoothly to the center of the brows from where they descend in high relief, creating a geometric “T-motif” that separates the cranium from the face and the left side of the face from the right. There are, however, noticeable differences. The juncture between the nose and the brow is accomplished in different ways. On A₁Ia and A₁Ic (fr), they join at a high relief, creating no large change in the depth of the relief from the top to the bottom of the noses. The nose on A₁Ib tapers downward toward the top so that the join with the brow is nearly flush with the surface of the face. It slopes upward toward the tip, producing a more organic likeness. Enough of the nose of A₁Id (fr) survives to observe that it is more similar to the latter nose than to the former two.

All of the other features, ears, eyes, mouths and chins, were applied in the same way. Only the right ear of A₁Ia is preserved intact; on A₁Ib both are fragmentary. They are missing on A₁Ic (fr) and A₁Id (fr). The one intact ear, a simple semicircle, projects perpendicularly from the side the head. The two ear fragments from A₁Ib also project straight out and begin to form semicircles before the breaks. All but one eye (the left eye from A₁Ic (fr)) survive. Small cords of clay drawn into circles define the edges, while pellets of clay at the center represent pupils. The mouths are similarly applied: larger and thicker cords of clay indicate the general shape of lips. The chins are represented by tongue-shaped projections that descend directly from the lower lip. They could have been more easily, and more realistically, indicated by simply impressing their shapes into the form of the vessels themselves; however, as I show later, the rendering of the chin in this manner was influenced by other works and helps to explain the meaning of these heads.

The lower zones of A₁Ia and A₁Ib taper inward to form necks, giving an overall tripartite structure to the heads. A₁Ia shows this most clearly: the symmetrically domed top finishes at the brow, an equally symmetrical cylinder forms the mid-zone, and sudden tapering defines the lower. The same structure can be seen in A₁Ib, although the three zones are integrated more fluidly. More attention to the smoother and more naturalistic transitions between the zones resulted in a head that is far less strictly symmetrical and more organic.

Regardless of how much more “lifelike” A₁Ib may be than A₁Ia, both heads, as well as the head fragments, have been deemed decidedly unsightly by scholars, resulting in subjective and rather unimpressed verdicts. Descriptors such as “awkward”, “crude”, “rude” or “rough” are commonplace.¹³⁷ Jannot (2005: 87) writes that “they are executed with such awkwardness that they betray a total absence of Hellenic aesthetic models,” and Gentili (1999: 87) writes, that they are “qualificandosi come prodotti di una officina vascolare locale che eseguiva a richiesta una piccola plastica votiva senza alcun vincolo culturale.” Made on request at local workshops, they lack, most significantly, any cultural constraint.

The aesthetic being criticized is in reference to the style; that is, the heads lack an aesthetic because they do not share in the stylistic tradition of the more “Hellenized” products. Rather than acknowledging their own unique stylistic features and setting them within the framework of a different visual language, the heads are seen as anomalies. Thus, their formal attributes are noted and described, but attempts to interpret the meaning of the style or its function seem futile to scholars because they have become

¹³⁷ For “crude”, see Edlund, I. (1987a: 54), Jannot (2005: 125). For “awkward”, see Jannot (2005: 87). For “rough”, see Gentili (1999: 87), where she writes that they exhibit “eccezionale rozzezza” (exceptional rudeness) and “enorme rozzezza” (great rudeness)

spontaneous or inadvertent creations, free from volition of the coroplast. They are, in effect, created in a cultural black hole, completely untouched by any shared aesthetic language or rules of composition that conditioned other works. Therefore they can be disregarded because nothing further can be gleaned from them other than they served the same purpose as other votive offerings.

The “crudeness” of the pieces also serves to rank the substance of the cult itself. Gentili (1999), for example, compares the “sanctuary in nature” at neighboring Ripa Maiale with the sanctuary at Grasceta dei Cavallari. The relative “simplicity” (“semplicità”) of the deposit at Grasceta dei Cavallari leads her to conclude there was a higher level of cult (“più alto livello del culto”) at Ripa Maiale, where the votives originate from moulds commonly dispersed in other sanctuaries and developed from cultivated (“colti”) Hellenic models.¹³⁸

A number of problems arise from this conclusion. Firstly, although Gentili uses the crude heads from Grasceta dei Cavallari as her point of comparison, there are no votive heads at Ripa Maiale with which to compare them. The mould-made pieces here are figurines of draped standing and sitting females which suggest a different type of ritual rather than more refined manifestation of the same one. Secondly, at Grasceta dei Cavallari mould-made Hellenic style heads did appear concurrently with the indigenous style. By spotlighting only one style, her evaluation of the cult is founded on not only incomplete but also skewed information. The assemblage, or the cult for which they are

¹³⁸ See Gentili (1999: 87): “...ma uno sguardo ai depositi votivi...pone in risalto il più alto livello del culto di Ripa Maiale: tutti i materiali fittili sono tratti da matrici comunemente diffuse nei santuari ed elaborate su modelli “colti” di ascendenza ellenica.” And yet Gentili (1990b:290) has a different opinion about the Ripa Maiale votives when she writes in another article that they are products of a rural population less inclined to appreciate the aesthetic value of the votive objects, concerned only with their efficacy as *ex voto* gifts. This is precisely what she says later about the *Grasceta dei Cavallari* votives.

dedicated, cannot be typed as crude or rough simply because a sampling of it does not agree with the conventional canon. Thirdly, if the cult at Ripa Maiale was in some way superior to that of Grasceta dei Cavallari one would expect monumental structures to occupy the former site and not the latter. The opposite is true, however. Concluding that a higher level of cult occurred at one sanctuary based on the quality of the votive offerings is too ambiguous to be meaningful. Were the people who frequented that particular sanctuary more devout? Did they establish a closer connection with the divinities? Did these votives just work better?

Denigrating the heads as coarse, rough or awkward examples of the votive head tradition must be cast away. The subjective evaluation of one style based on its similarities or differences with another results in unconstructive and rather dead-end conclusions. It also implies a gross incompetence of the coroplast, whose skill was too rudimentary to press clay into a mould and produce a prettier Hellenic style model. However, bearing in mind the manufacturing techniques of both the hand-made indigenous style heads and the mould-made Hellenic style heads, I argue that the former required a higher degree of craftsmanship than their mould-made counterparts.¹³⁹ For the latter, fabricated moulds allowed for a mass-produced product that did not exact much labor from the coroplast. The prototype, the creation of which required some proficiency in sculpting, allowed for numerous moulds to be made, from which impressions were cast quickly and easily. Subsequent generations of moulds could also be made easily by using a premade head as the prototype.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ A fuller treatment of the manufacturing steps of mould-made heads can be found in Karatzas (1988: 3-11), Söderlind (2002: 241 ff.), Steingraber (1981: 231-134), and Vagnetti (1971: 157-165).

¹⁴⁰ Occasionally, details were added or changed to create a slightly different effect between two heads from the same mould. Comella (1982: 41), for example, identifies two heads that came from the same mould ,

In contrast, the hand-made examples were thrown on a wheel, a feat that requires considerable skill and training. Concentric striations encircle the inner walls of A₁Ia and A₁Ib, traces left by the fingers forming the spinning clay. The end result is an anthropomorphic pot where the tripartite structure of the head corresponds closely to the structure of wheel-made vessels. Removing the facial features of A₁Ia and turning it upside-down, one quickly notices the general shape of a large pot : the cranial area corresponds to the base of a pot, the region of the face to the pot's body, and the neck to the neck of the pot (figure 6.4). The first step in the manufacture of the heads was to build them in the same manner as any wheel-made vessel.

Once the general shape was achieved, they were left to dry to a "leather-hard" state. Facial details were then attached in the same way handles were applied to a pot. The brows and noses defined clearly the front of the face from the sides and back. This would be especially apparent with A₁Ia, where the symmetrical cranial dome and cylindrical mid-region did not distinguish between front, side and back. In contrast, the rounding of not only the cranium but also the sides and back of the middle region of A₁Ib gave far more naturalistic portrait of a head's general form and demarcated more clearly where the facial features would be applied.

The production stages of the mould-made heads and the wheel-made indigenous style examples can be used to challenge a number of assertions. Gentili's (1999: 87) claim, for example, that the hand-made indigenous style heads were products of local workshop and made on demand can be supported one level and refuted on another. That they were the products of local workshops is indisputable. More specifically, they were

one of which is female (B₂XXV_a, Tav. 42a) and the other male (B₁XXVIII_b, Tav 22a), carried out by a change in the hairstyle.

the products of pottery workshops and crafted by the same artisans who supplied the everyday pots and vessels to the local population. That they were made on demand is more doubtful. For any head, hand-made or mould-made, the time between formation and completion was too long for a customer to enter the workshop, ask for a head, and leave with a newly made model soon after. Instead it might be better to think of their production in the same way as other vessels. Cups and bowls were not made on demand, rather they were made *en masse* and ready for immediate purchase. The heads could also be made independently of any request and ready for the worshipper stopping by before making his or her vow at the sanctuary.

If the heads were made by specialists in pottery workshops, then the assessment of them being “rough”, “awkward”, and “rude” becomes more problematic. The potters could have made examples that followed more closely the “Hellenic aesthetic” that they now so completely lack. That they did not was a choice based on a demand for a style that satisfied the religious needs of some worshippers in ways that the Hellenic heads could not. I explore these needs later.

The fact that these heads do not follow the Hellenic paradigm has resulted in the implication that they are *a priori* creations lacking in aesthetic judgment and discretion. Gentili’s (1999:87) statement that they are “senza alcun vincolo culturale” is explicit in this conviction but fails as an objective criticism because its foundation is built on prejudicial standards of proper form and composition (in this case that only Hellenic models possess aesthetic links to the culture that created them). A discussion of subjective aesthetics in these terms operates within the personal and exclusive mind-set of the judge and reveals only what he or she deems is significant and relevant about the object.

Aesthetic judgment, however, must separate itself from personal expectations and be, in the words of Kant, “disinterested.”¹⁴¹ Without an objective disinterest, what one finds agreeable in one style becomes expected or desired, and other styles are insufficient in as much as they contradict that which is expected or desired.

When judging the indigenous style heads against the Hellenic ones, agreeableness is established for the latter models because they satisfy the viewer’s expectation for codified and cognitive rules of aesthetics. A model that in no way meets the expected or hoped for criteria is judged on this deficiency without mention of its own merits. Simply stating that the indigenous style heads lack a “Hellenic aesthetic” and thus are rough, awkward, and rude is about as edifying as a critique of Picasso asserting only that “He’s no Caravaggio.” There is a double standard in acknowledging an aesthetic for Hellenic style heads while denying one for the indigenous style when they were created for exactly the same purpose: the deposition as an offering or request for divine intervention at a sanctuary. It also assumes that the craftsmen worked without any sense of artistic conventions whatsoever and that the final products were unintentional outcomes of their craft.

While culturally defined aesthetic preferences may vary widely, artistic conventions share common features among all cultures (Dutton 2002). They are universal in their influence on artistic creation. Kant writes that they spring from a *sensus communis* which can be understood as a reflective faculty that takes into account modes

¹⁴¹ Kant, *The Critique of Judgment*. Kant lists four “moments” necessary for aesthetic judgment. They must be disinterested (SS1-SS5); that is, independent from personal concepts of what is agreeable or good. They must hold universal appeal (SS6-SS9). They must contain a concept of purpose but without a definite purpose (SS10-SS17). They must accord to “common sense”, an *a priori* universal subjective principle that please or displeases through feeling and not through concept (SS18-SS22).

of representation of everyone else.¹⁴² Another term is “style”. A universal feature of art is that objects are “made in recognizable styles, according to rules of form and composition” (Dutton 2002: 211).

Objects may vary stylistically from each other and yet both exist as a result of accordance to their own rules and standards. Kant is skeptical of the possibility of *a priori* artworks. Taste in a certain style cannot be determined by concepts or precepts, and therefore “is among all faculties and talents the very one that stands most in need of examples of what has in the course of culture maintained itself longest in esteem.”¹⁴³ Observance of past examples thus maintains the development of the art form by avoiding a retreat into “crudity and a return to the rudeness of its earliest efforts.”¹⁴⁴ The logic is essentially flawed. Kant’s claim rests on the teleological notion of progression in art, an evolution toward an objective end which could be seen as a perfect representation of beauty. Conversely, there is a grave danger of de-evolution should the proper avenues of improvement not be taken. If preceding works of art are crude and rude in relation to later models, then these later models must also be viewed as crude and rude in relation to models that will eventually be made under their examples. This conclusion flies in the face of his other claims that aesthetics is a condition free from cognitive concepts that assume a definite or perfect end. His choice of words is interesting, however, because it correlates with the general tone employed to describe the indigenous style heads, suggesting that they are interpreted in much the same way: they are seen not to follow artistic conventions and thus have devolved into a crude state.

¹⁴² Kant, *The Critique of Reason*, SS40.

¹⁴³ Kant, *The Critique of Reason*, SS32.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

To what extent did tradition inspire the indigenous style heads? Is it possible to recognize broad cultural traditions, or more familial traditions (that of a single workshop), or are they the result of a single hand fashioning new and anomalous objects apart from shared artistic conventions? According to Dutton (2002), tradition informs new works to varying degrees. Some products are constrained by a collective tradition, notably those tied up with religious belief and practice; others are more amenable to creative and individual variation, with the result that style can derive broadly from cultural understandings, or more specifically from a family unit or individual invention.

A close comparison of the formal qualities of the heads can help determine whether they are the products of one individual, one workshop, or the result of a broader cultural tradition of representation. The descriptions above show four pieces generally similar to each other; however, a number of differences were noted. These variations, both in the form and in the features, are significant because they reveal, above all, different perceptions in the way the heads should be fabricated.

The shapes of the two fully preserved heads are the result of two different modes of thought process and planning. As was noted above, A₁Ia observes a strict and symmetrical tripartite structure: the domed cranium, the cylindrical middle zone, and the tapered cylindrical lower zone. The application of the facial features was accomplished without affecting the wall of the vessel. The features, if removed, could be reapplied on any side of the middle zone because the vessel wall itself does not conform to the shape of the head: there is no explicit back, sides or front governing where the features should be applied. Only after the features were applied was the front of the neck pressed in slightly to mimic the shape of the throat. A₁Ib, however, shows a greater awareness of the

natural shape of the head. Its tripartite structure is far less rigid and symmetrical. The cranium is not a simple dome, nor is the middle zone completely cylindrical. By pressing and shaping the vessel's wall, a more sinuous curvature circumscribes the form of the head even before applying the features. Unlike A₁Ia, the curvature encroaches into the middle zone, creating a rounding of the back of the head that continues into the lower zone of the neck. In the middle zone one can observe attenuated rounding at the sides and almost no rounding where the facial features are located. In this case, the regions of the head were planned out, creating an explicit differentiation between front, back and side.

The variations in the brows and noses also indicate that they were conceived of differently. While the high brow of A₁Ia creates a conspicuous and affected border between the cranium and face, on A₁Ib the brow merges more fluidly with both the upper and middle zones. The noses follow the same pattern. The nose of A₁Ia begins at the top in high relief and ends in slightly higher relief. The top of the nose of A₁Ib begins nearly flush with the surface of the head while the high relief at the end creates a more pronounced tip.

The head fragments exhibit formal qualities seen on both complete heads. For example, A₁Ic (fr) resembles more closely the style of A₁Ia. The junction of the brow and nose in high relief, with the nose descending in equally high relief, corresponds closely to A₁Ia. While only the lower half of the nose is preserved on A₁Id (fr), we can see that it slopes outward as it descends so that the tip projects out the farthest, exactly what is observed with the nose from A₁Ib.

It is possible also that the different types of clays can make a case for different hands. The pairs of heads and fragments that share similar morphology also share similar

clay types. *Argilla rossastra*, a darker ruddy clay with large inclusions producing a coarsely textured surface, was used for A₁Ia and A₁Ic (fr). *Argilla rosata*, a lighter pinkish orange clay with fine-grain inclusions creating a smoother surface was used to fabricate A₁Ib and A₁Id (fr).

Taken together, the evidence indicates that the heads are not products of a single individual effort. They very possibly might have been manufactured, however, at a single local workshop. Different artisans could share one stylistic tradition, and the typological variations among the heads could be read as individual interpretations of this style. What is crucial to understand, however, is whether the canons of this particular style also originated at this workshop or they developed from a more widespread tradition. In order to determine whether the style can be localized to a regional workshop or should be seen as communicating a broader cultural artistic tradition, similar examples must be sought at other Etrusco-Romano sanctuaries where the supply of votives would have come from different workshops.

The Indigenous Style in Italic Sanctuaries

Stylistically, many indigenous style heads in other regions are quite analogous to the heads from Grasceta dei Cavallari, supporting the idea that they developed from a collective cultural tradition. Like the Grasceta dei Cavallari heads, they are formed without a mould (most commonly wheel-made). They follow the same formal characteristics, displaying schematic and exaggerated facial features. Noses and brow ridges project from the face in high relief; eyes and mouths are commonly depicted with cords of clay drawn into circles although sometimes they are incised.

A votive head from the sanctuary of Casale Pescarolo in Valle di Camino, in southern Latium, bears a striking formal resemblance to A₁Ia, for example.¹⁴⁵ It exhibits a well-defined tripartite structure. The top is domed and free of any detail. The middle facial zone is cylindrical, and the lower zone tapers to represent the neck and then swells to form a base. The preserved facial features are also notable. The nose was sculpted onto the surface in high relief. The chin is also highly exaggerated, becoming not an element of the general shape of the face, but rather a separate feature attached to the face. While the Casale Pescarolo head does show some variations—there is no brow and the chin is not attached to the mouth—these should be read as individual interpretations by different craftsmen. Other heads with formal likenesses to this head also appear at Paganico, Pontecagnano, Trebula Mutuesca, and Velletri.¹⁴⁶ The broad similarities are not coincidental, but instead indicate that workshops in different regions were informed by similar indigenous artistic canons.

Other heads show that specific details of the features of the indigenous style heads were rendered in the same manner. A fragment of a head from Carsoli, for example, preserves the left eye executed by means of a continuous cord and bead of clay at the center.¹⁴⁷ At the Museo Provinciale Campano, one noteworthy example is a preserved half of a head.¹⁴⁸ The large cranium lacks hair. There is no brow; however, the transition from the forehead to the face is marked by the deep-set eyes, creating a similar effect of a border. The top of the nose projects far from the surface of the face and ends in

¹⁴⁵ See Bellini (2004: 100; figs 28 and 29).

¹⁴⁶ For Paganico: Fabbri (2005: 314). For Pontecagnano: Modesti, et. al. (2005: 586, fig. VI.e). For Trebula Mutuesca: Santoro (1987: 356-358, fig. 13). For Velletri: Angle and Ghini (1999: 117, fig 11).

¹⁴⁷ See Marinucci (1976: 147, Fr. 71, Tav. 80).

¹⁴⁸ See Bonghi Jovino (1965: 141, MT. O_{IX} 1, Tav. LXX, 4). The provenance for the piece is not given, although the catalogue entry remarks that the clay is a local type.

higher relief. Applications of cords of clay form the mouth and eyelids, and within the large eyelids beads of clay represent eyes. The chin appears as a separate feature from the mouth, but its substantial projection produces the same exaggerated effect.

A number of masks were deposited at the sanctuary of S. Erasmo di Corvaro in Borgorose. They are all squared plaques and, with the exception of one, were made using moulds. Anna Maria Reggiani (1979: 223) writes that the single example formed by hand lies outside of a precise typology, but that it falls within the type described as “arte italica o popolare”¹⁴⁹ (fig. 25). A heavy brow runs across the bottom of the forehead. The nose, descending directly from the brow is both schematic and in high relief. Beads of clay form the eyes and at the center of each are holes to represent pupils.

Others show greater variations of the same style. Heads from Carsoli and Cales have essentially the same features, though they are applied differently.¹⁵⁰ The eyes and mouths began as simple cords that were then were pressed into the surface and modified to create less schematic forms. The eyes are wider, the eyelids less pronounced, and the lips are more flush for a more organic appearance. At other times the mouths are corded but the eyes are detailed simply by incisions. Examples are found at Carsoli and Capua.¹⁵¹

Explanatory Models

An equivalent style is present in assemblages at other sanctuaries. It is not unique to Grasceta dei Cavallari and therefore very likely belongs to a conventional aesthetic tradition. The scholars dealing with similar heads from other sites, however,

¹⁴⁹ See Reggiani (1979: 223-224; Tav. XLVI.2).

¹⁵⁰ For Carsoli, see Marinucci (1976: 57. E XIa1, tav 21). For Cales, see Ciaghi (1993: 106-107, G I_a 1, fig. 71 and 109-110, G III_a 1, fig, 74)

¹⁵¹ Carsoli: Marinucci (1976: 115-116, R IIIa1-3 and R IIIa¹1-5, tav. 53-54). Capua: Bedello (1975: 87, L_{XII}, tav. XXX c-d).

also feel compelled to excuse them as unorthodox, and they use many of the same terms and reasoning discussed above. In this section I look at four models scholars have presented to explain the style's presence. The first model holds the coroplast responsible. Three other models, the "socio-economic model", the "religious model", and "resistance model", ascribe the style to deficiencies or peculiarities in the local clientele. After an examination of each I shall argue that none rest on logical foundations, and therefore we must look elsewhere for the answer.

Competence of artisans

Many scholars see the indigenous style from other sites as arising from unskilled coroplasts who plied their trade throughout the Etruria-Lazio-Campania region, not just at Grasceta dei Cavallari. They are culpable for the poor workmanship because they did not abide by artistic traditions, specifically Greek. Pensabene (1965: 74) writes that a group of indigenous style heads from Capua speaks to a simple local imitation without any attempt by the coroplast to penetrate into the artistic world of Ionic products. As a result, the heads are inferior and inaccurate, having lost the grace and elegance seen in the more inspired Hellenic models. Cinzia Morelli (1997: 89) acknowledges that they were made in workshops because they are wheel-made, but by a inferior artisanship able to express only the most rudimentary style.

The heads mentioned above as similar to those at Grasceta dei Cavallari suffer the same verdict. The Trebula Mutuesca head is primitive (Santoro 1987: 35); the Velletri head is of a rather shoddy workmanship ("di fattura piuttosto scadente") (Angle and Ghini 1999: 117); the half-head from Capua is very rough (Bonghi Jovino 1965: 141). In

Abruzzo the style results in a rough and clumsy work (Iaculli 1997: 117), while others at Capua are rough and hurried (Bonghi Jovino 1965: 137).

The logic stands on an oversimplified dichotomy. That is, indigenous artisans were responsible for indigenous style pieces and foreign (Roman, Greek) artisans were responsible for the Hellenic style pieces. I believe that the former conclusion is likely true; Etruscan coroplasts comprehended a market for one style that satisfied the aesthetic needs of an indigenous clientele. However, there is no evidence to claim that they could not be responsible also for the mould-made heads. In fact, indigenous artisans were celebrated for their skill as coroplasts, working in vibrant centers into which flowed many different aesthetic currents. Styles, then, do not reflect the skill (or ineptitude) of the maker, but conform to the different needs of a diverse clientele. If only one or two of the indigenous style heads appeared alongside the Hellenic style models perhaps they could be read as crude or unguided, but their regular occurrence shows that their form is directed by a standard in the same ways that mould-made heads are directed. The workshops that created them were answering to one recognized aesthetic requirement that operated concurrently with others.

According to Pliny (NH XXXV. 12), working in clay was once a highly developed craft in Italy, and especially in Etruria. Etruscan artisans responsible for temple decoration, for example, were celebrated for their talent, and the more renowned of them were recruited for other building programs, including the Capitoline temple in Rome (Pliny NH XXVIII. 16). These men were not responsible for the votive heads, however, which were produced by local hands in smaller workshops. However, a shared style does unite the two artisan classes. The foremost coroplasts decorating temples

employed a style very similar to one seen in more mundane objects, which supports the idea that its persistence results from its meaning rather than a general incompetence.

We cannot assume that a collective inability of local potters to create a more refined product is the root cause of this distinctive style. Knowledge of stylistic conventions and fashions were communicated among artisans. Other repertoires, notably Greek imports, entered local workshops and stylistic vocabularies, which could then be replicated, retranslated, or rejected by artisans and consumers. That the indigenous style votive heads appear together with Hellenic style mould-made heads demonstrates that both were circulating in the same area concurrently. A local workshop wanting to adopt the Hellenic style would have to do little more than acquire a mould in which to press the clay. If none was available, creating one *ex novo* required nothing more complicated than using a head as the prototype to form a second generation mould.

In other contexts, Etruscan potters could and did select Hellenic styles when manufacturing heads. Gentili's (1994) catalogue of late Etruscan sarcophagi is a case in point. Like many of their stone predecessors, the terracotta sarcophagi feature an individual either reclining on the lid, as if participating in a banquet, or lying down, possibly to represent the *prothesis* of the deceased. Manufactured almost exclusively around Tuscania, but also found further south in Caere and Rome, they fall within a narrow chronological span of 150 years, from 250 BCE to 100 BCE, in other words, at the same time votive heads were being produced for sanctuaries. The mould-made heads reveal that the artisans were cognizant of coeval Greek aesthetic currents and used them freely. Even the earliest sarcophagi display an awareness of this influence, whereas

i volti idealizzati seguono i canoni elaborati durante il primo Ellenismo per i ritratti giovanili, ma anziché guardare ai tipi eroici derivanti dal

ritratto di Alessandro, cui s'abbina tutt'altro genere di capigliatura, sembrano piuttosto riferirsi alle opere dei successori di Lisippo che, tra la fine del IV e gli inizi del III secolo a. C., addolcirono il canone del maestro con toni di derivazione attica, cioè prassitelica. (Gentili 1994: 126)

Greek models continued to influence the production of terracotta sarcophagi throughout the 150 year span (Gentili 1994: 171-183), but were the artisans who made the sarcophagi involved with the same workshops that fabricated the votive heads? The typological similarities between the two suggest that they were. Gentili (1994: 132) describes the traits of one youthful head (A 41). Its soft and small features and sleek locks of hair replicate the forms of a mid-Italic type from the mid-third century BCE. The mould-made votive heads from the same period also share these forms, the most notable example of which is the head of a youth from the sanctuary of Minerva Medica at Rome,¹⁵² which also happens to be typologically identical to the diademed female head from Grasceta dei Cavallari (A₂IIC). A mid-second century BCE sarcophagus (B 145) finds its typological counterparts among votive heads coming from Minerva Medica and Veii¹⁵³ (Gentili 1994: 135). By the end of the second century BCE the production of sarcophagus heads continues alongside contemporary votive productions, using shared forms rather than from types specific to the funerary sphere (Gentili 1994: 161). For example, a sarcophagus head (B 155) was formed with the same mould used for the execution of five votive heads from Tessennano (Gentili 1994: 136).¹⁵⁴

The developing picture of coroplastic workshops in Etruria reveals specialized and vibrant centers where different artistic currents circulated and competent artisans

¹⁵² See Gatti lo Guzzo (99-100, n. H VII, tav. 41). While Gatti lo Guzzo dates this head to the early-first century BCE, Gentili (1994: 132, n. 53) argues that this date is too late.

¹⁵³ For the Minerva Medica head, see Gatti lo Guzzo (1978: 89, n. G V I, tav. XXXV). For the Veii head, see Vagnetti (1971: 49-50, B III, tav. XIX).

¹⁵⁴ See Hoffer (1985: 99, 110, 115, 210, ab. 32) and Costantini (1995: 35, ns. A₁XVI_{Ab} 1-5, tav. 6c).

employed styles appropriate for the context in which the products would participate.

Most were not limited to a single type of production, but there was instead

l'esistenza nella città di botteghe coroplastiche capaci di coprire tutta la gamma delle consuete produzioni fittili, dalle terrecotte architettoniche, ai votivi, ai sarcofagi, riservando ad ogni settore uno specifico bagaglio di forme, prototipi e matrici¹⁵⁵ (Gentili 1994: 162).

This may not apply to all workshops. As was discussed earlier there is evidence that small workshops manufacturing only terracotta votive objects probably took root at some sanctuary sites. They would have been physically separated from the larger workshops located in urban centers that produced a broad spectrum of terracotta merchandise. They would not have been so insular, however, that they would not be impacted by the activity and discourse occurring at the larger workshops. Indeed, it is even possible that the workshops at the sanctuaries were branches of larger urban ones, or that artisans from urban centers travelled to and worked at the sanctuary shops (Bonghi Jovino 1990: 44-54, Söderlind 2002a: 311-315). In any case, to support a position claiming that one certain style exposes the inexperience or ignorance of the Etruscan coroplast ignores completely the reality of the tight interrelations among and between the workshops in the region, as well as between Italy and Greece. To regard the indigenous style votive heads as anomalous designs and not as a continuation of an equally viable tradition that ran alongside more Hellenic ones only reveals a lack of understanding about the complex currents of aesthetic traditions in Etruria.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ See also Höricht (2007: 101).

¹⁵⁶ Nagy (1988: 20) also writes that when comparing the two styles at Caere, “the differences cannot merely be explained in terms of artistic skill. The indigenous style is too deliberate at Caere and occurs with too many diverse types to be the result of a mere accident of the lack of artistic “talent”.”

Socio-economic model

Another rationale for the presence of the indigenous styles votive heads considers the socio-economic status of the consumers (e.g., Faustoferri 1997; Iaculli 1997; Lappena 1997; Morelli 1997). This approach advocates the position that the status and class of the population determine artisanal outputs. The indigenous style votive heads in this model are uncultivated not because of the coroplast's ineptness, but because they reflect the poverty, both economic and cultural (Lappena 1997: 117), of their users, the people tied to the surrounding agricultural landscape. They catered to the indigent classes because they were less costly and thus responded to the needs of consumers of more modest means (Faustoferri 1997: 100). The "cultural poverty" of the group, furthermore, precludes any appreciation of 'higher' forms of art. Morelli (1997: 89) sums up the viewpoint well: the style "si rivolge ad una clientela locale appartenente al mondo rurale, apparentemente indifferente alla qualità "artistica" dell'oggetto." If the rural population did not have any "particular requirements" (Iaculli 1997: 117) regarding artistic quality, then artistic quality was not necessary.

The theory that the indigenous style heads represent an affordable votive offering to the poor rural classes warrants the rejoinder that there is very inadequate or no basis of comparison to support this. This presumption implies by the same logic that the Hellenic mould-made heads were marketed toward a worldlier and more well-to-do customer base. Everything that we know about the latter heads, however, conflicts with this conclusion. The moulds guaranteed quick mass production that demanded little skill of the artisan. In contrast, the hand-made indigenous style heads required knowledge of throwing clay on the potter's wheel. This process was more time consuming and less expedient than if a mould were used. Materially the larger size of many of these heads obliged a greater

amount of resources. These factors could just as easily support a contradictory conclusion: the indigenous style heads were more expensive than the mould-made counterparts.

In fact, there is no consensus at all about what constitutes an inexpensive offering. What has been written about indigenous style pieces has also been written about terracotta votives in general. They “are those of the rural peasantry,” writes Tom Blagg (1985: 39), because “there is that simple economic factor, that terracotta is cheaper than bronze, both as a material and because of large-scale production from moulds.” The correlation between votive types and economic status runs through many other studies. Some, like Blagg, see the rural lower classes behind the terracotta offerings (e.g., Bedello 1975: 19, Comella 1996: 14). Even in urban centers such as Rome, the votives’ presence is linked to rural populations arriving to take part in assemblies (Pensabene 1979: 221). Others (e.g., Gatti and Onorati 1996: 17, MacIntosh Turfa 1994: 224-225) also attribute class distinctions to the dedications, but are less extreme, seeing the terracottas as gifts from also middle-classes rather than just the impoverished.¹⁵⁷

Blagg’s contrast between terracotta and bronze is surely correct: terracotta was of course cheaper than bronze. Conclusively identifying a single economic group as responsible for the terracotta votives is problematic on many levels, however. An attempt to read economic status in the dedications would require knowledge of the full range of votive classes. Simply put, we would need to know the full spectrum of acceptable votive gifts to develop an accurate reckoning of cheap versus expensive gifts. Neither the

¹⁵⁷ MacIntosh Turfa (2006: 110, n. 99) writes that “terracottas were not the gifts of the poor persons, either; their clay and labor may have come cheap, but they represent a lengthy process of curing, handling, firing, and consumption of expensive fuel. Except for members of a coroplast’s family, customers would have had to purchase them with currency or supplies.”

literature nor the archaeological record is of much help. While many sources discuss general Etruscan beliefs and practices¹⁵⁸ or the proper dimensions of a Tuscan-style temple¹⁵⁹, none actually delves into what occurred in the sanctuaries or what was dedicated. Terracotta and bronze are only two classes of what was once a much more variable body of votive gifts, and it is evident that we do not have a complete sampling.

Most of our information derives from the votives *par destination*: objects that were made to become sacred dedications, including the anatomical votives and heads, statuettes of men, women, children, and animals, and some ceramics such as miniature votive bowls. Less well understood, but still recognizable, are votives *par transformation*: mundane objects that only acquire sacred value at the time of dedication.¹⁶⁰ These can include loom weights, other ceramics such as oil lamps, plates and bowls, and coins. Missing are gifts that have vanished completely from the record, such as food items¹⁶¹ or libations, textiles, wood, and other perishable materials. A terracotta votive may be less costly than a bronze one, then, but how does it compare to a food offering, miniature votive bowl, loom weight, or found object like a shell or stone?

On the other side of the spectrum are the unambiguously precious votive gifts that were removed from the sacred context rather than buried with other less valuable gifts (de Cazanove 1991b: 205; Comella 1999: 11; Gatti and Onorati 1996: 16, Pensabene 1982: 87-88). That most of the recovered votives are those which had no extended value after dedication could say much about the true sacrosanctity of the dedicated gifts: votives of

¹⁵⁸ Cicero, for example, discusses the Etruscan art of reading portents, lightning and entrails (*De Div.* I.2, I.35, I.72, I.92, I.93, II.18, II.38) which were given to the Etruscan people by Tages (*De Div.* II. 23).

¹⁵⁹ See Vitruvius (*de Arch.* IV.7).

¹⁶⁰ For a more complete exploration of votives *par destination* and *par transformation* see Morel (1992).

¹⁶¹ Cicero (*de Div.* I.17) recounts a story in which food becomes a gift to the divinities. When Attus Navius, the Etruscan known for dividing the sky into four parts, was young, he was a poor swineherd. Having lost a pig one day, he vowed to the gods that if the pig were found he would make as an offering the largest bunch of grapes from his vineyard, which he fulfilled when the pig returned.

bronze, gold, or other precious materials that still maintained value in the material plane were returned to the material plane more often than the more mundane votives.

Even if the full range of votives was available, it is neither meaningful nor accurate to calibrate them and link each gradation to a certain economic status. The physical evidence contests the premise that one class or another was responsible for the distribution of the terracotta votives. One needs only to read Comella (1981a), Bouma (1996b), Fenelli (1975a), Rizzello (1980) and MacIntosh Turfa (2004) to understand that the E-L-C phenomenon occurred over such a vast area, and within both urban and rural sanctuaries, that no single group of people could be responsible. Furthermore, it assumes that social status shaped belief and participation in ritual activity. If the lower classes alone felt it necessary to dedicate anatomical votives in terracotta, for example, we are left with no explanation of how the rest of society felt obliged to address the gods. The entire method of interpretation rests on the fallacious foundation that religious principles depend on the status of the worshipper. As Bouma (1996a, 208) writes:

the anatomical votives were a means to communicate on a more personal basis. They express the desire of individuals to reduce the distance between god and man as the participant perceived this to be previously present in the offering. This desire for a more personal relationship was not exclusive for one specific class: people from different social classes will have felt the same need to address the gods in a similar way. This type of gift, therefore, is not determined by the social class to which the dedicant belongs..., but by the perceptions the participant holds about the offering. A causal relationship between perception and social position cannot be assumed *a priori*.

Bouma touches upon an interesting point here regarding an individual's perception about the offering. While social position may not affect the desires of the worshippers, the articulation of these desires may be carried out differently depending on one's individual ideas of how best to establish a relationship with the divinities. The materiality of the

votive gift does not indicate the social or economic status of the worshipper any more than the artistic styles of the votive can measure the devotee's piety or status.

Religious model

The religious model sees concerns for the efficacy of the votive gift superseding aesthetic considerations. This view is used to explain the indigenous style at Grasceta dei Cavallari. Gentili (1999: 87) claims that it reflects a class of rural mountain inhabitants who are “poco inclini ad apprezzare i valori estetici dell'*ex voto* ed unicamente preoccupate di esprimere tangibilmente la devozione alla divinità.” The same sentiment rationalizes the style at other sites as well. Santoro (1987: 358), for example, writes that the indigenous head from Trebula Mutuesca is tied to rural religiosity.

Gauging a people's piety based on the artistic merits of their offerings must be rejected. Certainly, to some extent, temples and sanctuaries did serve as a forum for conspicuous display and competition. Hillary Becker (2009) explores how Etruscan temples functioned as a social nexus for elites to interact and compete, and how dedications became a representation of status.¹⁶² Some ostentatious classes of sanctuary gifts (statues, objects of precious materials, etc.) probably did take on this role, but this bears little relevance to the case at hand. Here, we are dealing with a single votive class, votive heads, that differ only in appearance. To argue that the heads, which appear crude or uncivilized to Hellenistic-biased contemporary eyes, were dedicated with a more sincere expression of devotion implies that the Hellenic style heads were dedicated for

¹⁶² François de Polignac (1994) explores how Greek sanctuaries functioned as a similar venue of elite competition and authority through a conspicuous display of prestige dedications and by mediating objects through food sharing at ritual meals and sacrifice. Antonaccio (1994) argues convincingly that de Polignac's model is too structuralist in its heavy stress on polarities (city and country, elite and non-elite, etc.), and instead she advocates a focus on the individual histories of sanctuaries and the different peoples that visited them.

reasons other than piety. The inconsistency is a red herring, however, because there is no necessary or apparent correlation between the formal characteristics and piety.

Religiosity surely did vary in degree among the devout, but this was dependent on the psychological makeup and personal experiences of each individual and cannot be “read” through the style of the votives. Instead, it would be far more productive to explore what the different styles reveal in terms of different modes of belief and religious practice, rather than different degrees of belief, concerning one’s relationship to the divinities. This is attempted later in the dissertation.

Resistance model

A third perspective—termed here the resistance model—argues that the presence of the indigenous style amounts to no more than an active rejection of foreign styles at the sanctuary. For La Regina (1976: 243), the votives that adhere to a rural artisanal formal language, insensible to the smallest influence of Hellenistic influence, above all reflect a resistance to the outside influences arriving at the sanctuaries. Morelli (1997: 89) notes that the style is rather diffuse in Italic cult sites, mentioning even the heads from Grasceta dei Cavallari;¹⁶³ however, the preponderance of the form in southern Abruzzo speaks also to a concerted native resistance to outside influence: “Ma la poca fortuna che ebbero tali modelli [i.e., the “cultivated” mould-made heads] testimonia la forte resistenza dell’elemento indigeno a recepire... forme ed iconografie provenienti dall’esterno.” (Morelli 1997: 91) Even though the Hellenic style appears in some numbers alongside the local models, even the low numbers of local forms point to a (successful) effort by the indigenes to keep it from infiltrating their religious traditions.

¹⁶³ See Morelli (1997, n. 22) where he writes that the isolated wheel-made heads that exhibit similar formal qualities to those in his study are found at Carsoli, Monte Vairano, Monti dell Tolfa, and Capua.

It is in some respects tempting to accept this approach; indeed, resistance as a response by indigenes to foreign occupiers is a significant focus in chapter 7. In this particular circumstance, however, the model is too reductive. To say that the style's occurrence, not only at Morelli's place of study but also at the other sites he mentions where it appears, results from a single causation—native resistance to foreign traditions— neglects to appreciate the fuller context in which the style functioned. This interpretation reads a rejection of foreign occupation in the preferencing of traditional style and aesthetics over foreign ones. At the same time, however, the indigenous aesthetic tradition was being used for votives crafted for a foreign ritual tradition. As discussed in chapter 4, the entire E-L-C phenomenon was a non-indigenous tradition. That its practitioners would shun a particular style simply because it is foreign and unfamiliar and at the same time take up a whole new mode of worship arriving from the outside seems incompatible.

The presence of indigenous style votives does indicate a group of people different from those who dedicated the Hellenic style pieces, and I agree with the opinion that the local, native, non-Roman peoples are responsible for them. However, the motivation behind the dedication of this style must lie deeper than a general distaste for that other style when, as was shown above, the Etruscans felt entirely free to utilize whatever style was most appropriate for specific contexts of use. Instead, I argue later that the different style goes to the heart of a different set of beliefs regarding interactions between god and man.

The different means available to express piety, however, were predicated upon one's place in society and consequent interaction with objective experiences. In the next

section, I argue that style embodies the individual preference, although not totally conscious, of the worshipper to communicate and establish a relationship with the divinities.

Stylistic Predecessors for the Grasceta dei Cavallari Indigenous Style

I have argued against the opinion that the indigenous style was anomalous or functioned free from fundamental meaning to those dedicating it. At Grasceta dei Cavallari, the typological distinctions between the four examples indicate that more than one hand was responsible for their fabrication. Possibly they were made at the same workshop, but the style was not unique to this one place. Corresponding forms at other cult sites show that it derives from a formal aesthetic language, accessible to a broad audience and reformatted to serve in the current ritual context.

This section discusses likely candidates that informed the Grasceta dei Cavallari indigenous style. It focuses on three sources: buccero face plaques, Etruscan face beakers, and gorgon temple antefixes. This is not to say that these are the only three viable antecedents; they have been chosen because they are apt comparanda for a number of reasons. Firstly, they, like the votive heads, are made from terracotta. Similar choices were encountered during the production process of these classes of material culture. Formal similarities between them and the votive heads can more likely be contingent on similar manufacturing decisions that led to the particular final results. Secondly, the widespread occurrence of these examples made them readily available for coroplasts to see. Their stylistic features could then be adapted for the production of the votive heads. Thirdly, enough is known about these examples that we can begin to get at their symbolic

meaning. It is a valid and potentially valuable heuristic exercise to determine if this same meaning transferred, along with the style, over to the votive objects.

The examples listed below were informed by even earlier precursors and in many different media. Abstracted face masks on Villanovan hut urns is one instance. Similar formal qualities can be found in bronze pieces, most notably bronze votive figurines ranging from the geometric to the archaic periods (c.f. Maule 1993; Richardson 1983). Carved stone heads also exhibit similar stylized facial features, for example one from Pietrabbondante (Cianfarani, Franchi dell'Orto, et.al. 1978: 363). Other examples come from a small corpus of lithic sculpture from Apulia (Mazzei and Tunzi 2005: 58-62). Even wooden sculpture, in the rare instance of its survival, has been known to follow this canon (c.f. Bottini and et.al. 1976: 374-382). Thus, while only three examples are raised here, it is important to remember that the style was vastly more pervasive and crossed all geographic boundaries, materials, and temporal periods.

By understanding the significance of the style in the other media, we may be able to extend this to the votive heads to begin to infer their significance. My approach is agency-centered, in contrast to models that deny volition to the actors involved in the production and dedication of the heads. These actors must have discerned a conspicuous difference in indigenous and Hellenic forms, just as modern studies have, and the decision to use this form over the Hellenic model addresses a fundamental difference in the way the worshipper attempted to interact with the divinities.

Bucchero face plaques

Luigi Donati (1967, 1968, 1969) has explored the decoration of sixth-century BCE bucchero vessels. Artisans in workshops centered in Vulci, Chiusi, and Orvieto

applied decorative human face plaques to the vessels, most commonly to the shoulder of the handle or to the inner or outer walls of the mouth (figures 6.5 and 6.6). Although much smaller than the later votive heads (averaging four to five centimeters in diameter), the stylized faces prefigure those that will appear at the sanctuaries at Grasceta dei Cavallari and others. Donati groups the heads based on typological similarities and differences. Here, I consider their shared stylistic characteristics in comparison to the votive heads, specifically, the schematic rendering and application of stylized facial features. “Group C” from Orvieto (Donati 1969: 452-454) provides a suitable basis for comparison. These heads share one characteristic in common: the strong accentuation of the nose in high relief in contrast to the shallow relief of the other features, when they are rendered at all. The noses are applied by hand and pinched to high relief. When the eyebrows are shaped, they are done so with the nose in what Donati (1969: 453) calls a “T” motif. Faces from other groups share this same motif as well as other traits seen on the votive heads, including the low forehead, summarily rendered eyes, large stylized mouth, and highly prominent chin.

It would be foolish, of course, to assume that these plaques were *a priori* inventions developing independently at all three centers at exactly the same time. Instead, a reciprocal relationship existed where avenues conveying a dialogue of aesthetic and stylistic formulae inspired these products in concert. It is also important to recognize that certain formulae, once transmitted, could be accepted or rejected by the receiver. Comparing head plaques from the Chiusine and Orvietan workshops, Donati (1969: 450) interprets the disparities among some head forms to mean that “l’artigiano di Orvieto, cioè, sembra non trovarsi a suo agio nelle formule stilistiche dominanti a Chiusi ed il suo

gusto estetico.” That the aesthetic flavor articulated in a finished product from one center could be cast off as unsuitable at another center implies a conscious judgment on the part of the craftsman. These products were not mere reproductions of one another; instead, the variations in otherwise similar works attest to each center’s notions of what constitutes appropriate modes of artistic expression.

Finally, these avenues of artistic exchange did not connect exclusively the three centers identified here. A radiation outward from the centers must also be appreciated, so that what was happening at Vulci, Chiusi, and Orvieto also influenced the output at other sites. Donati (1969: 460), for example, identifies other bucchero vessels with face plaques at sites that encompass Etruria Meridionale and beyond, such as Vetulonia, Roselle, Tarquinia, Caere, and Veio. Although similar in style to the vessels at Vulci, Chiusi, and Orvieto, they are still typologically distinct enough to see that they were not imports from the centers. The stylistic formulae are received and adopted but also retranslated slightly to answer to different aesthetic constraints.

Just as the face plaques did not develop independently at the different centers, they also did not originate without stimuli from stylistically analogous predecessors. At a local level the inspiration for their inception probably came from Etruria Meridionale and more specifically from an attempt to simplify the caryatid stems that supported the Orientalizing cups made here (Donati 1967: 635, 1978: 323, 1969: 447).¹⁶⁴ On a broader scope, it is evident not only that craftsmen were aware of Greek sculptural traditions, but also that they could revert to these models both intentionally and consciously. In Donati’s (1969) study of the four groups of face plaque types from Orvieto, he attributes Greek

¹⁶⁴ For examples of caryatid stem supports, see, e.g., Camporeale (1991: 122-128, ns. 114-120, tav. XCII-XCVII).

prototypes as inspiring three of them. Group B, with its “U” shaped form, arched eyebrows, low forehead, and angular eyes replicates styles consistent with Greek seventh-century BCE sculpture. Examples from Group C appear to be deliberate attempts to caricature the Greek Daedalic style.¹⁶⁵ Examples from Group D exhibit features that have stylistic counterparts in Ionic art.

Etruscan face beakers

A survey by Lillian Braithwaite (2007) of Roman face pots from Italy and the provinces not only alludes to possible origins of the indigenous style votive heads, but also traces the tradition after the E-L-C votive phenomenon.¹⁶⁶ While the flourishing of Roman face pots postdates the votive heads, spanning from the end of the Republican period through the Empire, their formal traits deserve attention. They are stylized and abstract masks of the human face with the features applied onto the wall of the vessel by hand, never by a mould (figures 6.7 and 6.8). The wall of the vessel generally remains unaffected by the application of the facial features, although in some cases the wall may be pressed in somewhat to represent eye sockets, or pulled out slightly to conform to the shape of the chin. Incision is used occasionally for added detail, but never paint (Braithwaite 2007: xi).¹⁶⁷

Braithwaite arranges the pots based on the facial features into one of three groups, of which the “serene” mask group most narrowly encompasses the style of the E-L-C

¹⁶⁵ Donati (1969: 452) calls attention to two examples (ns. 23 and 24) that particularly follow the canon of Daedalic sculpture.

¹⁶⁶ Braithwaite (2007: xi-xii) distinguishes two types of face pots: face jars and face beakers. A face jar is larger, averaging twenty to twenty-five centimeters in height, made usually of coarse pottery and displays a face mask higher up on the shoulder of the vessel or on the neck. A face beaker is smaller, averaging nine to twelve centimeters in height, shaped like a drinking cup or beaker, made usually out of fine-ware, and the face of which covers most of the vessel’s body.

¹⁶⁷ See, however, figure 6.8, where black paint embellishes the facial features.

votive heads (Braithwaite 2007: 357-359).¹⁶⁸ These face pots, with their simple and expressionless faces, are among the most common in Italy and the provinces. The eyes, ears, mouth and nose are generally small, while the nose and arched brows are often joined together in a bird's wing motif. Further classification breaks down the face pots into narrower typologies for each region she surveys. Italy, for example, has thirty-six different types and IT Type 4 from central Italy shares especially strong typological assonance to the votive heads. An example from Viterbo has circular corded eyes with beads of clay representing pupils, a small "coffee bean mouth" and accentuated brows that arise directly from the bridge of the nose, creating a bird's wing motif.¹⁶⁹

The features are too analogous to those of the indigenous style votive heads to be considered coincidental. The similarities are not mentioned by Braithwaite who does not present the votive heads as possible stylistic predecessors of the Roman face pots. Her sources are to be found centuries before in Etruscan anthropomorphic vessels. While abstract face masks can be found early on in the Villanovan hut urns,¹⁷⁰ the Italian tradition of anthropomorphic vessels burgeoned with the Etruscans. Chiusine canopic urns from the mid-seventh to the mid-sixth century BCE are well known examples. Lids of cremation urns were fashioned into heads with abstract faces which become less abstract over the century of their production (figure 6.9).

More to the point are the little known Etruscan bucchero face beakers in production during the latter sixth century BCE (Braithwaite 2007: 21-22). These small vessels, restricted to southwest Etruria and Rome, differ from Donati's bucchero vessels

¹⁶⁸ The other two groups include the "grotesque beak nosed mask" (2007: 360-363), which have heavy brows and large eyes, lips and ears, and a twisted or hooked nose; and the "comic, grinning mask" (2007: 363-364), with a large smiling or sometimes grimacing mouth not unlike theater masks.

¹⁶⁹ See Braithwaite (2007: 45, IT Type 4, fig. C3.4).

¹⁷⁰ For examples, see Braithwaite (2007: 17, fig. B7.6)

discussed above because the facial features are applied by hand directly onto the wall of the vessel and not as plaques.¹⁷¹ The final effect is that of a highly stylized mask: the nose and brow come together to form a “T” or bird’s wing motif, the eyes and mouth are small and schematic, the chin is accentuated, and the ears, when present, are simple semi-circles. The parallels to the later Roman face pots, and the fact that the earliest Roman face pots and Etruscan face beakers were found in the same region, has led Braithwaite (2007: 315) to conclude that “though unbroken continuity into the Roman period cannot be demonstrated, it seems very likely that they are descended from the same tradition.” The indigenous style E-L-C votive heads descended from the same tradition; furthermore, their inclusion within the tradition now demonstrates unbroken continuity into the Roman period.

Villanovan hut urns with attached facial masks demonstrate that an anthropomorphic tradition existed in Italy for quite a long time, and existed independently of some resilient outside influence. The tradition in the Etruscan period, and in particular its conspicuous development, should not, however, be interpreted as merely a continuation of earlier Italic models. Rather, the chronologic and geographic framework in which the Etruscan tradition is set must have been structured by the importation of Greek and eastern Mediterranean exemplar. Donati (1969: 452) recognized this when he noted that Etruscan craftsmen not only had access to Greek styles, but included deliberate and aware interpretations (“*voluta e cosciente interpretazione*”) of them in their own repertoire. The Etruscan face beakers were most likely influenced by the Greek vessels coming into nearby ports such as at Gravisca, Pyrgi and Rome. John Beazley notes that early Attic face vases are similar enough to the

¹⁷¹ For examples see Braithwaite (2007: fig. B3.3-4) and Gjerstad (1960: fig. 141.7).

Etruscan face beakers to indicate a transmission of artistic conventions between Attic and Etruscan potters: “[The vases,] made for the Etruscan market, are imitated from—are civilized versions of—the barbarous face-pots long cherished by the Etruscans” (Beazley 1929: 41). His contrast between the civilized Attic and the barbaric Etruscan productions almost anticipates the perspective of scholars concerning the indigenous style votive heads. Beazley’s acknowledgement that the awareness of foreign styles catalyzes imitative forms is significant. Interestingly, he suggests that the influence ran from Italy to Greece where craftsmen, recognizing what was in demand in the Etruscan market, created products to meet this need (loath, however, to duplicate that unsophisticated style so *de rigueur* among the Etruscans). The opposite direction could just as easily be proposed, whereas Etruscan production adopts and retranslates the Attic imports, but whatever the reality the parallels nevertheless “provide a fascinating glimpse of the close inter-reactive relationship that existed across the Mediterranean between the potters of Attic Greece and of Etruria” (Braithwaite 2007: 21).

According to Braithwaite, an inexplicable interruption separates the Etruscan face beaker tradition and the Roman face pot tradition:

What happens to these face beakers is not clear, as they disappear from the archaeological record by the fifth century. However, as the earliest identified fragments of Roman face beakers, of apparently similar size and shape, are found in very much the same area, dating to the second century BC, it seems possible that some kind of face beaker tradition may have continued here unnoticed into the Roman period. (2007: 22)

I am not suggesting that the indigenous style votive heads are the missing link connecting the two traditions, but they are at this point the best archaeological evidence that the style persisted in the roughly 400 years between the earlier face beakers and the later face pots.

That they appeared as votive offerings at sanctuaries is a logical evolution, which is explained in the discussion regarding the meaning and function of the indigenous style.

Temple decoration

Temple decoration in Etruria and southern Italy also include styles similar to the votive heads. This study looks at one class of temple decoration, the Gorgon antefix, “a type borrowed from Greek art, which was to become a favourite motive in Etruscan temple decoration”¹⁷² (Andrén 1940: 57) (figure 6.10). Most likely arriving from Greece via the early colonies in Sicily in Magna Grecia, they also have a long history in Etruria. At Vignanello, one of the earliest Etruscan Gorgon antefixes dates to the late seventh century BCE to the sixth century BCE.¹⁷³ Two hand-made examples from the sanctuary at Portonaccio, Veii, dating to about 500 BCE, demonstrate the canonic form well.¹⁷⁴ The facial features are arranged to create a highly expressive, even grotesque, overall effect in stark contrast to the expressionless votive heads and the “serene mask” types of the face pots described above. However, when looked at individually, the features share many properties in common with the votive heads.¹⁷⁵ They are simply rendered but are in high relief which gives an exaggerated effect. The eyebrows, for instance, are a sharp ridge that arch over the eyes and curve down at the center to join at the bridge of the nose. The effect is not unlike the “T-motif” seen with the votive heads or the bird’s wing motif seen

¹⁷² Andrén (1940) lists many gorgon antefixes in his survey of architectural terracottas from Etrusco-Italic temples, including at Caere (34, n. 32, pl. 10; 35-36, ns. 36, and 39, pl. 10), Civita Castellana (134, n. 161, pl. 51), Norba (389, n. 417, pl. 117), Orvieto (178-179, n. 219, pl. 68; 189, n. 235, pl. 71; 192, n. 243, pl. 72), Rome (331-332, n. 374, pl. 105), Satricum (467, n. 502, pl. 144), Vignanello (150-151, n. 186, pl. 57), and Veii (5-6, ns. 1-2, pl. 1). For Southern Italian Gorgon antefixes, see Braithwaite (2007: 13, pl. A 8 and 38, pl. B 8).

¹⁷³ See Andrén (1940: 150-151, n. 186, pl. 57).

¹⁷⁴ See Andrén (1940: 5-6, ns. 1 and 2, pl.1).

¹⁷⁵ That the features of the antefixes were further enhanced by painting is not addressed here because, although they currently do not show evidence of paint, it is possible that the votive heads were also painted. To contrast the antefixes from the votive heads based on what might just be an accident of preservation would not be an appropriate critique.

on some Etruscan face beakers. The eyes are simple raised disks lacking other coroplastic details. The chin is stylized, squared and prominent. The mouth is schematized into an over-large gaping orifice that serves primarily to highlight the Gorgon's teeth, fangs, and, in some cases, tusks. The tongue protrudes from between the teeth at the center of the mouth and descends downward over the chin. This common feature could help explain the chins of the indigenous style heads from Grasceta dei Cavallari. The similarities are close enough to see a close retranslation of the Gorgon's tongue as a chin.

An example of an indigenous style Gorgon antefix from Capua demonstrates well how this could be translated into the indigenous style votive heads.¹⁷⁶ The hair has become stylized lines; the nose and brow join to form a bird's-wing motif; the eyes and mouth are rendered by means of cords of clay pulled into circles; the chin, cheeks and ears appear as schematic protrusions.

The Function of Style in Votive Heads

The introduction of the E-L-C votive phenomenon in the late fourth century BCE has been said to represent a concrete testimony of a deep ideological transformation that favors man's relationship with the divinities (Gentili 2005: 367-368). In order to note how profound this change was, it is necessary to explore briefly the nature of the earlier votive deposits. In the Etruscan sanctuaries during the Archaic period (525-375 BCE), vases and gifts of bronze, including many figurines, were common. Terracotta heads and figurines were also present, especially in the Faliscan and Veian territories (Comella 1981: 773), and at Caere (Nagy 1988). Rather than being representations of the devotees,

¹⁷⁶ See Bandinelli (1950: 127, n. 121, tav. 60).

however, these most certainly were images of the divinities worshipped at the sanctuaries.

Early heads at the sanctuaries at Campetti (Veii) and Vignaccia (Caere) exemplify the archaic offerings. The earliest at each location are almost exclusively female. At Campetti, male heads do not appear until the mid-fifth century BCE, suggesting that the cult prior to this was dedicated to a female divinity (Comella 1990: 18-19). At Vignaccia, only two heads out of 358 might be male (Nagy 1988: 25). The female heads, furthermore, display iconography and stylistic traits that identify them as divinities rather than worshippers.¹⁷⁷ Their origins have been traced to Sicilian and Southern Italian sanctuaries of the fifth century BCE, where fictile gifts, including heads and busts, representing divinities appeared before their counterparts in Latium or Etruria Meridionale (Pensabene 1979: 217). The female heads share typological similarities with masks and busts of a chthonic divinity in Sicily and Magna Grecia, generally identified as Demeter, Kore, or Persephone (Comella 1981: 772, Comella 1990: 211, Gentili 2005: 367, Nagy 1988: 26).

What stimulated the change from representing divinities to representing the devotee in the late fourth century BCE? Pensabene (1979) cites Rome's expanding political power over Italy and the concomitant development of a new ruling class. With the passage of laws like the *leges Liciniae Sextiae* in the fourth century BCE, the wealthier plebs enjoyed an increased level of participation in the senate and decision making powers in the republic. This new elite class began representing themselves and illustrious ancestors with statues and votives at the end of the fourth century BCE and

¹⁷⁷ Maule and Smith (1959: 3) write that "[t]hese heads and busts (with perhaps a single exception) have not the stamp of portraits or surrogates; by every token of style and attributes they represent a goddess and not her grateful (or hopeful) worshippers."

through the third. Meanwhile, Rome's hegemony over Italy brought about a greater homogeneity¹⁷⁸ which consequently allowed this new custom of representation to spread to allied sites and ultimately instigating imitation among the more modest votives (Pensabene 1979: 217 and 1982: 90). Significant to the following argument is that the change was not motivated from within Etruscan religious traditions; that is, the dedication of heads which now represent the mortal offerer cannot claim its origin from Etruscan ritual, but from outside sources.

Our identification of the early heads as divinities depends on a reliable correlation between the iconography and the subject depicted. We must trust that there was logic behind the portrayal and that the identity can be referenced through intentional visual clues. A reliance on iconography to get at the identity is effective because these clues are consistent enough to be surely deliberate. Bronze votives of Hercules are identifiable, for example, because of the club he wields and lion skin he wears. Change the skin into a feather boa and the club into a shillelagh and we would be hard pressed to identify Hercules no matter how much the craftsman intended to represent Hercules. Intention, however, seems not to enter into the conversation about style. Style functions as a tool to describe how an object was made, but seldom functions as a method to derive meaning as iconography does. A dichotomy arises in which "iconography starts to sound like "thought" and style like "action"" (Lesure 2005: 243). Missing from the equation is the consideration of agency.

¹⁷⁸ "È questo il periodo in cui l'Italia centrale raggiunge una certa omogeneità politica e sociale ad opera della crescente importanza di Roma, la quale di fatto dopo il 330 aveva esteso il suo dominio sull'Etruria meridionale, il Lazio, il territorio degli Aurunci e la Campania...; tale omogeneità e la funzione direttiva del senato romano sembra confermata anche dal diffondersi nella fascia medio-italica durante e dopo tale periodo dell'*aes grave*..." (Pensabene 1979: 217) The problem of "homogeneity" in the newly conquered regions of Italy necessarily merits further discussion. How homogenous the local cultures became is questioned later.

When discussing agency, individual volition is a principal starting point. John Robb (2004: 131-132) lists two criteria that archaeological and social theories include in the definition of agency. Firstly, it involves action of some sort. Secondly, intention, volition, or consciousness must oversee this action. Robb is correct to acknowledge also that this is not an adequate stopping point. Inherent in this definition is the principle that humans alone possess agency, when in fact objects can also ‘perform’ as agents, albeit more passively, as people experience them and interact with them. Alfred Gell (1998) most famously explores the agency of material culture, which he calls “secondary agency”, and how it affects human action, the “primary agency”. On the one hand, primary agency is directly responsible for the creation of an object in the sense that it is the active force; on the other hand, it is bound to forms that have come previously. For an object to function and convey meaning to those who interact with it, it must reference objects that already exist meaningfully. An indissoluble interdependence exists between the two agencies: without the mediation of material culture, ideas and beliefs could not be structured, through primary agency, into forms. As Robb (2004: 133) writes “humans attempt an agency of why; material things provide the agency of how.” At the heart of this is the concept of style.

An artisan who fabricates votive heads, for example, is bound by an objective reality that delineates which style constitutes meaning for the actors coming into contact with them. Certainly it is possible to create a product that breaks completely from tradition, but this product would also conflict with *habitus* from which was developed, through prior experience, notions of agreeableness or meaningfulness about the product and would likely be rejected. Even if we see the indigenous style heads as deviations

from the norm (i.e. the Hellenic mould-made heads), we must still understand that they too are set by series of rules in the same way that more conventional pieces are.

Deviation still requires a conformity to objective realities, in this case existing styles in the material culture, if the message is to be broadcast meaningfully.

Applying these theories to the argument here can help uncover the intended meaning behind the heads. Such a paradigmatic change in ideology and ritual practice, from dedicating representations of the divinity to dedicating representations of the self to the divinity, would occasion an exploration of appropriate methods to do this. The indigenous style heads embody the adoption of this new tradition by local populations, but in a way that communicates a religious conservatism and adherence to familiar past traditions. Foremost among these past traditions is style as a medium of communication.

Rather than seeing the indigenous style as reflecting aesthetic, artistic, or economic deficiencies of the local populations, I argue that it functions to communicate messages on two different levels. Firstly, to develop a more personal and communicative relationship with the divinities would require an elevated state or, as Richard Lesure (2005) writes in his study of the different typologies of Cuatlapanga figurines from Mexico, different “ways of being.” While the Hellenic mould-made heads portray the offerer as a standard mortal, the indigenous style heads show him transformed and elevated to an individualized plane that allows for a closer connection to the divinities. Once established, the style then serves to convey the worshipper’s request for divine protection.

The transition from life to death is the most dramatic change to one’s “way of being”, and yet in the context of death style does not play a role in referencing this new

identity. Heads representing the deceased on terracotta sarcophagi that are contemporaneous with the votive heads, for example, are executed realistically, although individual portraits of the deceased were not the ultimate goal: the same moulds were reused to create identical heads.¹⁷⁹ Other than the doubtful suitability of representing a recently deceased person in a highly schematic manner¹⁸⁰, there is a more germane reason why a realistic style was used. The sarcophagi do not focus on the changed state of the individual but instead recall the individual when he or she was alive. The early-second century BCE sarcophagus of Lars Pulenas demonstrates this well. Like the terracotta counterparts, the deceased reclines on the lid. He props himself on his left elbow and faces a scroll unrolled before him, on which are enumerated his accomplishments in life. This is Lars Pulenas prior to death; the sarcophagus contains his mortal remains, but on the lid he continues as he did in the living world.

The votive head, however, epitomizes the very act of a transformative “way of being”. As a *pars pro toto* representation of the offerer, it symbolically bridges the divide between mortal and divine, the material hermeneutical world of man and the enigmatic world of the divinities. It establishes a more personal relationship with the divinities and impels a closer degree of communication. When a worshipper dedicates a representation of him or herself at the sanctuary, attending this action is an understanding that this will catalyze a closer connection with the divinities on a psychic plane antithetical in every way to the mundane physical world. Exactly where this is believed to happen is neither

¹⁷⁹ Sometimes the Hellenic style votive heads and sarcophagus heads derived from the same moulds. See note 154 above.

¹⁸⁰ Brendel (1978: 109) sees the earlier change in Chiusine canopic urns from generic to more personalized representations as an answer to a changing worldview that began to see man as an integral aspect of the world reality. While a similar reflective view influenced literary output among the Greeks, it principally embedded itself in the visual arts, primarily statuary, of the Etruscans, so that the “relatively undifferentiated generic images of old had to be broken in order to satisfy the new intellectual requirements” (Brendel 1978: 109).

important nor possible to gauge, and it is enough to place the encounter in the interstices of the two worlds. The crucial factor is that such a relationship can only be established once the worshipper is separated from the objective experiential world.

The indigenous style physically references the transformation to a heightened state that makes communication with the divinities possible. The head is by proxy the worshipper who dedicated it, and the style symbolizes the elevation of the worshipper, enabling him or her to convey requests or prayers of thanksgiving. The same can be said for the feet from Grasceta dei Cavallari (B₁Ia-B₁Ic (fr)) which I have identified as also inspired by the indigenous style. The schematic rendering of the toes and general form say nothing about the skill of the artisan; rather, it materially reveals what necessarily must happen immaterially for the message behind the foot to reach the divinities. The votive foot, like the votive head, represents an altered “way of being” for the dedicant from which a more personal relationship with the divinities is established.

This may help to explain why a style so dissimilar from the conventional Hellenic style was employed, but it does not answer why this *particular* style. What inherent significance caused it to be dedicated with only slight variations in sanctuaries throughout the E-L-C area? The choice was not so much a conscious decision of the human agents so much as it was a process stimulated by the intervention of similar objects (the secondary agents) (Lesure 2005). Gell (1998: 165) writes, “artworks do not do their cognitive work in isolation; they function because they cooperate synergically with one another, and the basis of their synergic action is style.” When successful, style is self-perpetuating. The style employed in the manufacture of the votives heads was a viable option to generate meaning because it was already functioning and generating meaning in society. While a

conscious awareness of meaning may have informed the decision to use the style, this level of conscious action was not required. The actors also intuitively associated style with meaning and non-discursively understood which visual language conveyed the appropriate message.

To illustrate this, I reintroduce the objects that share a similar style with the votive heads and argue that they are also thematically similar. The Gorgon antefixes enjoy the longest history among the examples discussed above: they are present in early Archaic Greece, Sicily and Magna Grecia (Holloway 1988) and do not fade from the repertoire of Italian temple decoration until the end of the first century CE (Braithwaite 2007). Holloway (1988: 182-183) explores the impetus behind architectural decoration in general and argues that they functioned for apotropaic purposes, for epiphany, or for the mythic definition of the cult. Gorgon antefixes, in particular, were apotropaic fixtures “to ward off malevolence and injury” (Holloway 1988: 177). Others (e.g., Braithwaite 2007: 355; Howe 1954: 215; Knoop 1987: 153; Nielson 1994: 65) also recognize the apotropaic significance Gorgon antefixes had in protecting the structure.

The Gorgon antefix was a popular fixture on Etruscan temples and although it may have been borrowed from Greek models, the tradition of conceptualizing schematized faces as apotropaic symbols was not. As noted earlier, Villanovan hut urns from the eighth century BCE are known to feature similar faces on the eaves to safeguard the entrances or perhaps the supposed inhabitants. Other examples, such as the lithic heads from Monte Saraceno, may date as early as the beginning of the ninth century

BCE.¹⁸¹ Familiarity with such objects, writes Braithwaite (2007: 17), “could explain why the Etruscans...so readily espoused the use of human masks on pottery, on shields, and on a host of other objects as well as on houses, temples and tombs, far more than any of the other peoples in Italy outside the Greek colonies in the south.”

The facial plaques on bucchero vessels functioned as apotropaic symbols that protecting the contents in the vessels or the people using the vessels. Etruscan face beakers, furthermore, come exclusively from sacred contexts, either votive or ritual deposits linked to temple rebuilding at Veii or Rome (Braithwaite 2007: 19). As apotropaic dedications, they would have helped to ensure favorable auspices during the construction of the temples.

The later Roman face pots are found in numerous contexts, with votive deposits, temples and shrines second only to graves. They are also found in houses, shops and workshops, public buildings and military forts. Although no clear pattern emerges from all of these contexts, general interpretations are possible: firstly, they were connected with a religious tradition; secondly, they were also suitable offerings in domestic rituals; and, thirdly, they were protective rituals in one way or another (Braithwaite 2007: 395).

A pattern merging style with function emerges from this survey, and the indigenous style votive heads fit neatly within this pattern. In the above examples, the schematic faces take on a protective role, both for architecture and individuals. The votive heads function in precisely this way, bringing man and divinity closer in order that requests for protection could be heard and heeded. As was written above, a style diverging from the naturalistic examples conveys the elevated “way of being” of the

¹⁸¹ For examples of Villanovan hut urns with faces attached, see Spivey and Stoddard (1990: fig. 35) and Braithwaite (2007: 17, fig. B7: 6). For the lithic heads from Monte Saraceno, see Mazzei and Tunzi (2005: 58-62).

devotee. The specific style employed takes as its cue all of these examples where style expresses apotropaic force. The message of the votive heads, then, is communicated in different ways through the style. On a more esoteric level, the style symbolizes a break from the strict dichotomy of human and divine, bringing the two planes closer in order that the worshipper may request more directly divine protection. On a physical level, the request for divine protection is represented outwardly through the style; the meaning would be recognized as apotropaic because of one's objective experience with this style in other contexts.

The fact that the heads actually look nothing like the persons dedicating them makes no difference. The more naturalistic heads, mould-made and mass produced, did not resemble the dedicant in the sense of being portraits. Instead, efficacy came through a combination of votive and ritual. The individual's presence at the sanctuary performing the ritual and dedicating the votive gave identity to the head. The ritual transforms the head from a generic anonymous form to the *pars pro toto* representation of the worshipper who is then recognized by the divinities.



Figure 6.1: An indigenous style head from Grasceta dei Cavallari (A Ia).



Figure 6.2: An indigenous style head from Grasceta dei Cavallari (A₁Ib).



Figure 6.3: A Hellenic style mould-made head from Grasceta dei Cavallari (A₂IId).



Figure 6.4: An indigenous style head upside-down and without facial features.



Figure 6.5: Etruscan bucchero hydria with face plaques.



Figure 6.6: Etruscan bucchero foculum with face plaques.



Figure 6.7: Roman face pot from Pompeii.



Figure 6.8: Roman face pot with facial features painted.

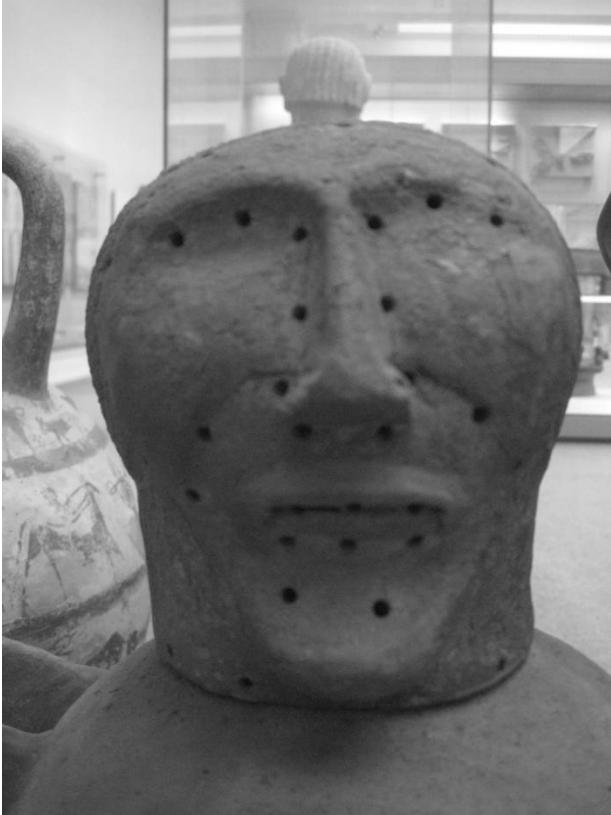


Figure 6.9: The anthropomorphic lid of a Chiusine canopic jar.



Figure 6.10: Temple antefix in the form of a gorgon head.

Chapter 7

Romanization and the E-L-C Tradition

The previous chapter critiqued the scholarship that fails to ascribe agency to both the indigenous style votives and the people making and using them. The subtext of such a stand is that the votives lack meaning because the indigenes made and used them without considering meaning. A careful examination of the style has shown that not only does logic govern the votives' manufacture, but also that their meaning is intricately entwined with a long-standing Etruscan aesthetic tradition. Meaning, then, must be sought from this tradition and not from the Hellenic style that dominates the votive assemblages. This chapter explores the broader ramifications of denying agency to these people. The E-L-C votive tradition is the most prevalent and, for this reason, the most significant ritual practice in Republican Italy; however, most investigations of it remain stagnant, relying on an outmoded paradigm of Romanization that foregrounds the unilateral transmission of cultural influence from Rome to the recesses of the peninsula. An object that deviates from the precedent established by Rome is then cast aside instead of evaluated in its own right. Here, I first introduce this version of Romanization theory and the colonial context on which it was grounded. Archaeologists have rightly underscored the flaws of such an approach, and these debates are brought up as well. Finally, I examine recent emendations to Romanization theory, notably those forwarded by post-colonial discourses, and attempt to apply these theories to the E-L-C votive tradition. By doing so, I hope show how the tradition may help to elucidate the complex ways indigenous

populations responded to and adapted to the new socio-political realities that accompanied Roman hegemony.

“White Hole” Romanization and Post-Colonial Discourse

Early Romanization theory operates within a framework of what I call “white hole Romanization.” The white hole in theoretical physics is the antipode to the more familiar black hole. The latter is formed when gravitational pull compels a stellar body to compress upon itself to near infinite density. The ensuing gravitational force of the body, the singularity, exerts enough attraction that all matter or light unfortunate enough to come close enough is pulled toward the singularity until it is crushed into non-existence. The white hole acts in reverse. A singularity of an unknown property exists, “spewing forth matter but swallowing nothing” (Wheeler 2007: 197). Eventually the finite amount of matter is exhausted and the white hole is snuffed out leaving behind nothing but empty, flat space (Wheeler 2007: 197).

The correlation is obvious. Rome as the white hole singularity spreads the light of civilization and material culture into the dark reaches of indigenous territories. The phenomenon is monolithic and uniform, as well as unilateral and assimilative. It is not so much that the outward deluge prevents foreign material culture from swimming against the current toward Rome so much as it is that a foreign aesthetic is not even perceived or acknowledged in the provincial darkness. We get, Greg Woolf (1998: 6) writes, “an appraisal of provincial cultures, measured against the standard of supposedly pure Roman culture. 'Roman' components of provincial culture are then privileged at the expense of indigenous ones, which are dismissed as residual.” The white hole, however, exists only in theory, not up in the cosmos. Romanization in this form also should remain in the

backlogs of theory and not adopted as a viable premise for the transmission of cultural ideas or aesthetics.

Francis Haverfield set the stage for this line of thought early in the twentieth century with his study of the Romanization of Britain. Here, two conditions allowed for a unilateral transfer of culture: “Rome found races that were not yet civilized, yet were racially capable of accepting her culture. ...It was possible, it was easy, to Romanize these western peoples” (Haverfield 1905: 2). Rome’s civilization collided with the vulgar Other, who were, to their credit, at least sophisticated enough to recognize the benefits of adopting wholesale that which Rome offered.

In talking about the Roman Empire and Romanization in Britain, one must guard against simply projecting contemporary political agendas onto ancient Roman hegemonic designs. Haverfield, for example, was writing during the height of British imperialism, and his view that Romanization was an evolutionary process bringing civilization to an uncivilized people has been seen as influenced by, or a justification of, British domination¹⁸² (Hingley 1995, 1996, 2001). David Mattingly (1996) extends this critique to include North Africa, where scholars have used the French and Italian colonialism in the twentieth century as a modern canvas on which to paint a picture of ancient Roman acculturation. These models tend to read Romanization as a progressive development in which passive native acceptance of a higher civilization subsequently enhanced the society.

¹⁸² Philip Freeman (1996) defends Haverfield against this accusation, however, writing that “it is striking just how Haverfield failed—or refused—to make comparisons of phenomena of the Roman Empire with, for instance, that of the British Empire” (28). For a précis of the development of Romanization theory in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Freeman (1997a).

In the new “post imperial age” (Millett 1990a: 35), theories tend to stress adaptation over acculturation, negotiation over emulation. Most importantly, scholars have attempted to reconstitute the “voice” of the indigene who they now view as a principal agent in the acceptance or rejection of Roman culture. This is handled in many ways. Martin Millett’s (1990b) study of the Romanization of Britain focuses on the native elite as the medium for change. Their aspirations of the elite classes to identify themselves as Roman and advertise their *Romanitas* “as a means of obtaining and retaining social dominance” (Millett 1990b: 212) generated a vogue for emulation among the upper classes. In this view, Roman culture then filtered to the lower classes who wanted to emulate their superiors.

Greg Woolf (1992, 1998) also points to the native elite as the force for change. In Gaul he sees Roman imperial policy as pro-active and deliberate, replacing non-loyal native elites and rewarding with wealth and power the loyal aristocracy who now served as mediators between the central state and the Gallic masses and promoted Rome’s civilizing mission onto their subjects (Woolf 1998). Other scholars (e.g., Hingley 1997; Mattingly 2004) reject this model as Haverfield’s in modern guise.¹⁸³ While it eschews the moralistic tone set by Haverfield— Romanization as a positive, civilizing force—it still describes a progressive and unilateral event. Hingley (1997: 84) writes, “all groups (or all important groups) are argued to have acted positively to become Roman: this was how new ideas and materials spread.” Missing is a “bottom up” narrative that empowers

¹⁸³ See Freeman (1993) for a fuller critique of Millett’s “The Romanization of Britain”.

the indigenous subaltern groups to respond to Roman influence in more variable ways than allowed for through opposing acceptance/resistance models.¹⁸⁴

Some scholars reject the term Romanization altogether (e.g., Barrett 1997a: 60; Forcey 1997: 20; Hingley 1996: 40-45 and 2005: 2; Mattingly 2002, Syme 1988: 64; van Dommelen 2001: 80, Woolf 1998 and 2001: 172-173). Others emphasize the nuances of the term and distinguish a “weak” form of Romanization (Keay and Terrenato 2001: ix), which simply describes the process of forming a new political entity, “disclaiming any assumptions concerning the acculturation of non-Roman ethnic groups” (Terrenato 1998b: 94) Still others couch the phenomenon in other terms that conceptualize a heterogeneous indigenous culture that responded variously to the influx of Roman culture.¹⁸⁵ Some of these terms are addressed and analyzed briefly here to determine how well they help to explain the presence of indigenous style votive heads alongside Hellenic style in the sanctuaries.

Hybridization, syncretism, creolization, bricolage

Progressive Romanization as an emulative model systematically cleaves indigenous society into two polarized groups: the acculturated Romanized elite and non-Romanized masses. New models attempt to abandon this false dichotomy and instead

¹⁸⁴ Roger Bagnall (1997), writing on Ptolomaic Egypt, also notes that a reliance on these polarities binds our potential to interpret ancient culture to a superficial perspective of the conquerors. He criticizes Edouard Will’s (1985) four-pronged typology of relations between foreign conquerors and indigenous populations (the indigenes will respond with active acceptance, passive acceptance, passive resistance, or active resistance). Such binary opposition between acceptance and resistance is set within a perceptual framework of the foreign dominating power and fails to appreciate the broader range of response.

¹⁸⁵ Romano-centric Romanization still has adherents, however. W. Hanson (1997), for example, sees the assimilation of both territory and inhabitants as the result of a deliberate imperial strategy maintained by Roman military presence and supported with the consent of friendly client kings. The administration was handled most commonly *in absentia*, with the indigenous populations forming a self-governing structure. Because the cooperation of the local elites was essential for the smooth operation of imperial control, the Romans “deliberately and directly promoted Romanization” (Hanson 1997: 76) because “‘civilized’ (in other words Romanized) people were easier to control than ‘barbarians’ (ibid.).

stress the complex variables within society (class, gender, ethnicity, etc.) that might shape responses to colonialism. In this context, indigenes at all levels of society are seen to reify their identity in the new political order, and the processes of negotiation emanate materially by maintaining links to native traditions, often “in opposition to the elite-sponsored trajectories of a dominant culture” (Webster 2001: 218). This is most visibly apparent with the objects that take on characteristics of both local and Roman styles, having been recast to create new meaning for the actors that engage with them. The blended material culture has been termed “hybridization” (van Dommelen 1997), “syncretism” (Webster 1997a, 1997b) and “creolization” (Webster 2001, 2003).

Drawing on the work of Homi Bhaba (1994), who sought to go past the “singularities of ‘class’ or ‘gender’” to recognize the “strategies of selfhood” where the “intersubjective and collective experiences of *nationness*, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated” (ibid: 2), some classical scholars have adopted his concept of “hybridity”. Hybridization occurs in the environment of colonial dominance and subservience where “social, economic or ethnic groups of people construct a distinct identity within the colonial context and situate themselves with respect to the dominant, i.e. colonial culture”¹⁸⁶ (van Dommelen 1997: 309). Van Dommelen explores how this plays out on Sardinia under first Carthaginian and then Roman domination.¹⁸⁷ He challenges earlier assumptions that Punic material culture figures predominantly during both Carthaginian and Roman control while indigenous styles are absent. Instead, he argues, the situation is more complex. Most terracotta figurines found at sanctuaries at

¹⁸⁶ Webster (1997b: 165) rejects the term ‘hybridization’ as a process, writing that it implies the simple assimilation of foreign culture and materials into indigenous belief systems.

¹⁸⁷ Sardinia was under Carthaginian control from the mid-sixth century BCE until the conclusion of the First Punic War and Rome’s takeover of the island in 237 BCE. It became an official *provincia* in 227 BCE.

Neapolis and Bithia, dating, respectively, from the fourth to third and fourth to first centuries BCE (Moscati 1992: 82), follow a popular, or indigenous, artisanal style.¹⁸⁸ They are hand-made (at Neapolis) or wheel-thrown (at Bithia) and deviate markedly from Punic Hellenistic traditions. At the same time, general affinities with Punic and Hellenistic types indicate shared functional relations with the Hellenic mould-made figurines that are also present at the sanctuaries (van Dommelen 1997: 316-318).

Studies that merely work on a dichotomy between the Punic Hellenized cultures and the rural “popular” culture fails to recognize the formation of the popular culture, as evident in their local invention of material culture. Punic materials appearing alongside the popular forms indicates “a complex situation of mutual influencing, imitation and creative subversion of the hegemonic Punic culture by the local inhabitants of the region, which can be encapsulated by the term *hybridization*” (van Dommelen 1997: 319). This interpretation becomes more complex when the ritual context is brought into the mix: the presence of anatomical votives suggests that a healing cult, probably brought in from the Italian mainland, functioned at the sites¹⁸⁹ (Moscati 1989: 48-52, Moscati 1992: 70-71 and 82-83, van Dommelen 1997: 318). These figurines, then, displaying indigenous characteristics of shape and execution, deriving from an overall Punic typology, appearing alongside Punic Hellenistic figurines, and functioning in an Italic ritual context, show well the many processes of hybridization accomplished by the indigenous actors “acting within their own social and economic framework” (van Dommelen 1997: 319).

¹⁸⁸ For more complete studies of these votives with catalogues, see Moscati (1989) and Moscati (1992). They are not only found at these two sites, according to Moscati (1992: 87-96) who lists other Sardinian sanctuaries with similar figurines.

¹⁸⁹ The votives are exclusively external anatomical parts (eyes, ears, male sex organs, upper and lower limbs, etc.) Missing are the internal organs commonly found in Italic sanctuaries (Moscati 1992: 70).

Webster (1997a) reworks the term syncretism to distance her definition from others who see the process as politically neutral, where Rome's accommodation of indigenous deities and the indigenous recognition and acceptance of the Classical ideal inexorably led to blended forms¹⁹⁰ (Webster 1998a: 328). She argues that this approach again views Romanization again as progressive and positive, and ignores the fact that indigenous peoples will respond, also materially, in complex ways, including through resistance and opposition to adaptation (Webster 1997a, 1997b). Thus, "resistance, adaptation and acceptance need not be regarded as discrete responses but may occur simultaneously" (Webster 1997b: 167), in the manner of "resistant adaptation" (Stern 1987: 9-11). An object that appears "Romanized", then, may exhibit a merging of styles, but the underlying meaning of it is entirely indigenous. Venus clay pipe figurines, for example, found throughout Gaul, the Rhineland and Britain in the second century CE resemble Classical figures such as the *Venus Pudica* (Vertet 1984; Webster 1997a: 332). However, there is no physical evidence that Venus was worshipped in these areas to the extent that would explain their prevalence; nor does the addition of decorative non-Classical symbols on many of the figurines point to a Romanized form of worship. She neither belongs to the Roman pantheon, nor does she indicate a simple survival of pre-Roman indigenous systems of belief. Rather than articulate her own interpretations as to the motive behind the new form, Webster then concedes to Hugues Vertet, whose conclusions she strongly agrees with. The figurine arises from the recent disenfranchisement experienced by the lower classes, where a new maternal deity could

¹⁹⁰ This viewpoint owes its persistence to Tacitus' description of *interpretatio Romana* (Tac. *Germ.* 43) which depicts Rome's interpretation of foreign deities in terms of those from their own pantheon.

assure protection, sustenance, satisfaction, and victory over the hostile forces that threaten their cohesion (Vertet 1984: 115).

Webster later refines her interpretation of syncretism with the concept of creolization (Webster 2001, 2003). Creolized material culture requires from the subject group both a knowledge of two cultural traditions (their own and, in this case, Roman) and a process of negotiation that lends objects different meanings based on their context. Knowledge and negotiation create rules governing the appropriateness of a representation through the employment of *resistant* adaption, not adoption, that limits syncretism and confers authority on the pre-Roman past to imbue with meaning that which seems acculturated (Webster 2001: 218 and 2003: 42). The ambiguous material culture then blends one way of life with another, rather than replaces one with another¹⁹¹ (Webster 2001: 218). A case study of a stone head from Caerwent illustrates this concept (Webster 2003: figure 1). It is rendered schematically; the nose is elongated, circular eyes and the mouth are simply etched. Lack of verism does not intimate lack of artisanal competence, but rather it assumes a “creole visual language” (Webster 2003: 37) where pre-Roman artistic traditions curb more Roman demands for naturalistic imagery. As a religious object, the head speaks to not just an aesthetic conservatism of the indigenous population, but also an establishment of a creolized society and their resistant adaptation to new modes of religious practice through the tendance of traditional beliefs systems.

A less object-oriented approach arose in response to the predisposition to view the Italian cultural landscape as a homogenous adaptation to post-conquest changes in which

¹⁹¹ For a brief critique of Webster’s creolization theory and its applicability, see Carr (2003) who also attempts to refine the definition by isolating “pidgin” material culture. Following linguistic models, she argues that pidgin artifacts are “proto-creolized” (122), that is appearing within the first generation of Roman conquest, not yet circumscribed by formal rules of aesthetic “grammar”, and possibly disappearing after only one appearance.

maintaining the continuity of traditional systems was not possible (Terrenato 1998a). Instead, this approach argues that cross-cultural contact promotes, in a way, a reaching across cultural divisions to bring in elements that effect change and to transmit elements that will create change in the Other. Cross-cultural interaction promotes changes in cultures; it does not incite the total assimilation of one culture at the expense of the other, even in contexts of imperialism and political incorporation. Terrenato writes, “[n]o ethnic culture can survive incorporation in a larger state unaltered, just as no central power can ever hope to iron out completely local peculiarities” (Terrenato 1998a: 23). He sees culture as a *bricolage* where Romanization is a process that actuates new cultural identity rather than suppresses it. It is “a process in which new cultural items are obtained by means of attributing new functions to previously existing ones” (Terrenato 1998a: 23). Culture and material culture becomes a collage, “a complex patchwork made of elements of various age and provenance: some of them are new, but many others are old objects” (ibid.). This acknowledges a much more complex and heterogeneous situation in Italy, where active negotiations with different peoples precluded Rome from occupying every part in the same way and the indigenes themselves responded neither with wholesale and passive acceptance, nor with complete resistance.

Terrenato’s case study interprets data from his survey of the region surrounding Volterra where he documented a change in elite houses in the coastal zone from pre- to post-Roman periods. The former are replaced by elite villas, while continuity defines the dwellings of lower social statuses in both the coastal zone and the interior (Terrenato 1998b). The impact of Romanization¹⁹² is moderate to imperceptible, depending on the location. Furthermore, the coastal post-conquest villas co-exist with farms and villages

¹⁹² Terrenato (1998b: 94) explicitly states that he has in mind “weak Romanization” when he uses this term.

that have persisted for centuries, leaving the general settlement system virtually unaffected by the addition of the new sites. This is due, he argues, to the reinforced status of the indigenous elite who, on the one hand enjoy new political enhancement as mediators between Rome and the local community, and, on the other hand, have, through this mediation, negotiated with the new power to ensure the survival of their previous roles as patrons and landlords in the pre-Roman community.¹⁹³

Roman Roth (2003: 39-40) recognizes the potential of *bricolage* as a valid heuristic tool, but he argues that its application suffers from the same shortcoming as many others, namely that only the highest echelons of society are affected while all others continue unchanged and unable to respond. His attempt to formulate a “bottom-up” model is analyzed here because of its close applicability to the situation at Grasceta dei Cavallari. Roth uses pottery to demonstrate that the stylistic variability of material culture may help trace the social representations of the sub-elite populations (Roth 2003: 41). A vessel’s style, resulting from a number of production and technological choices of a potter, is fashioned in the context of the potter’s *habitus* which reflects the social conditions he experiences. Production is a social action, and when the social routines of the potter change this is reflected in changing style (Roth 2003: 43-44). Because stylistic choices have a point of reference in social relations, style can indicate various social ideals, traditional conservatism, status, etc. It is a *collage*, created through *bricolage* and embodying a number of social references (Roth 2003: 44). The users, furthermore, also

¹⁹³ See also Slofstra (1983) where he recognizes the role of the “romanized native elite” who established an important brokerage between their communities and the state. He likens a local elite’s authority within his community to that of patron-client relationships, and which took form in economic, political and social spheres within the community (81). Under Roman hegemony, their authority both changed and remained the same: they not only retained their authority over their own community, but also were part of the formal system of administration *and* connected with informal ties to the Roman aristocracy (94). Saller (1982) also compares this type of relationship, as he sees it in North Africa under the Romans, between native ruling classes and the Roman governing body as one of a Roman style patron-client relationship.

act as *bricoleurs*, because they give style unique meaning when they use a vessel in a particular context. Analysis of both the production of ceramics and their use in different contexts, then, helps to reveal the response of non-elite peoples to Romanization through the utilization of material resources (*ibid.*).

Nativism and indigenous response

Another response to early paradigms of Romanization stresses the immutability of indigenous tradition against Roman political and cultural domination. This “nativist” position holds either that Roman domination was too weak to affect substantially the pure indigenous culture (Cunliffe 1995), or that it was weak enough that the indigenes were able to rebound and re-establish previous traditions (Reese 1980, 1988), or that any “adopted” elements of foreign culture were merely a tactical deception under which traditional culture continued intact (Bénabou 1976). Perhaps due to the extended debate over the Romanization of Britain, nativism finds its strongest adherents among the Romano-Celtic archaeologies of the 1970s and 1980s.¹⁹⁴ Barry Cunliffe’s (1995: 116-117) examination of the effect of Roman domination on British tribes sums up the outlook neatly:

“The brief interlude of Romanization totally failed to bring about any lasting change in the British Isles. The Roman urban system was already showing signs of failure within a century of its imposition and by the fourth century AD it could be argued that the native system of social and economic organization were beginning to reassert themselves beneath their veneer of Romanization.”

Cunliffe then examines the local society in post-Roman Britain and concludes that Roman occupation served only to retard native development. The result was that culture

¹⁹⁴ See for instance Smith (1978) who sees large Classical-style villas in Roman Britain as reflective of a purely native social structure rather than deriving from Roman examples. Reece (1980, 1988) also argues that the villas, instead of being a sign of the Roman elite, reveal an upturn in traditional Celtic society during the later empire.

in the fifth and sixth centuries CE was comparable to British society in the third through second centuries BCE, and not until the seventh and eighth centuries CE did it reach a level of advancement achieved in the early-first century CE.

The shortcomings of the nativist position are apparent in this passage. On the one hand, by working off of the indigenous point of view, it effectively stands as an antithetical approach to established Romanization theories. On the other hand, it relies on the same general principles and presumptions. While it shifts the focus 180 degrees, the same dichotomies (conquered:conqueror, native:foreign, center:periphery, etc.) remain. The indigenous protagonist in the struggle remains monolithic and homogenous, both geographically (they are all lumped together as one entity on the British Isles) and diachronically (later British society is equated categorically with native society 600-700 years in the past). Finally, overlooking native class and status disparities denies them any sort of discrepant identities and responses to the new political, cultural and economic realities.

Domination, hegemony, and resistance

The success of imperialism depends on the way in which the imperial ideology is promoted and, in turn, responded to by the conquered society. The political philosopher Antonio Gramsci's (1971) influential distinction between domination and hegemony is an important starting point in dissecting the nuances of a foreign power's success as a colonial presence and a society's acceptance of it. Domination involves the structured logistics, through physical and often military alternatives, necessary to introduce and assert power over another group. While this may be an effective means of establishing a foothold in foreign territory, other strategies must be implemented to secure control.

Hegemony is ideological control and relies on the consent of the conquered¹⁹⁵ in recognizing the legitimacy of a new authority. Negotiation and re-negotiation in changing circumstances become the tools with which the dominant group communicates a sense of shared values between the two. These distinctions apply to the Roman model of imperialism in the sense that the Romans could establish domination in a relatively universal way, an often violent program of conquest that depended on, and was normally guaranteed by, their superior military strength. Roman hegemony, however, which nested in the Other's recognition and general acceptance of Rome's dominance, had to take different forms to be realized.

Ideological hegemony should not be seen as a panacea against challenges to the power structure, however. It can be contested at all levels of society. Different people would have experienced subjection differently and responded accordingly. James Scott's (1985, 1990) studies illustrate the different ways subaltern groups become active agents in the contestation of the dominant ideology. Although denied the authority needed to change the overriding paradigm of control, the disenfranchised may still turn discontent into action through "hidden transcripts" (Scott 1990: 4-5). He writes, "[b]y the subtle use of codes one can insinuate into a ritual, a pattern of dress, a song, a story, meanings that are accessible to one intended audience and opaque to another audience the actors wish to exclude"¹⁹⁶ (Scott 1990: 158). Such communication, then, is symbolic, directed, and

¹⁹⁵ Although not everybody in the conquered society must consent. When the stratum that controls the rest of society concedes to Rome's authority the rest of that society is more or less powerless to influence the inevitable.

¹⁹⁶ These forms of resistance are explored in Marcel Bénabou's early and influential work "La résistance africaine à la romanisation" (1976). In it, he argues that the native North African peoples incorporated religion, language, nomenclature, and social structure in their resistance of Roman occupation and assertion of pure African-Punic heritage. For a summary of this work and the European colonialist discourse against which it reacts, see Mattingly (1996).

discursive. On the one hand, then, all members of society possess agency to express intentionally their opinions *vis-à-vis* acceptance of or objection to the social and political climate. On the other hand, the message remains ambiguous not just to those members of the society for whom it is not intended, but even more so to those standing outside of that society who attempt to interpret the symbolic codes. Forms of resistance, for example, when not shaped observably through flagrant revolt is performed “offstage” (Scott 1985: 25), and while the language of dissent is spoken clearly for the outsider it is difficult to translate without the proper tools.

Scott interprets codes of resistance by means of ethnographic studies and texts. Such luxuries, however, are not afforded to the interpretation of similar codes among populations subject to Roman domination. In the ancient texts the non-elite, and especially the non-elite ‘Other’, are voiceless non-entities, and Rome’s imperial designs are uniformly biased (de Souza 1996) by what David Potter (1999: 152-154) has called the “discourse of the dominant”: Roman presence civilizes the barbarian, and imperialism is justifiable regardless of the means by which it occurs, an outlook that has been influential in coloring also modern conceptions of Romanization (Lomas 1996; Webster 1996).

Cultural Interaction and the Artifact

The most valuable source for the archaeologist coping with problems of colonialism and responses to it is the artifactual evidence, where “Romanized” versus “indigenous” objects are used to gauge degrees of acceptance or defiance. It has already been shown that scholars have attempted to redefine Romanization and eschew the binary components of acceptance and resistance. The syncretism and creolization models avoid

looking at objects as products of either one or the other. They instead represent processes of inter-cultural negotiations, a type of “resistant adaptation” where the meaning can fluctuate anywhere between the two poles. Thus, a creole artifact “can negotiate with, resist, or adapt Roman forms to serve indigenous ends, and ultimately, they are part of the emergence of creole society” (Webster 2003: 42). Van Dommelen’s example of hybridized figurines in Sardinia comes even closer to mirroring the situation at Grasceta dei Cavallari: they follow a local tradition while also demonstrating Punic and Hellenistic formal affinities. And they function in the same religious context as the E-L-C votives, which are the focus of this dissertation, function on the Italian mainland.

On the surface this appears to be different from acculturative Romanization models, but its nuances work under some of the same assumptions. Both follow similar underlying paradigms, albeit with opposing overtones: while earlier models see the dichotomy of Roman versus Other as one of winner and winner (where the indigenes benefit from imported civilization), the new perspectives use the same dichotomy but instead view the actors as winners versus losers. Blended material culture implies that the outcome of the interaction between two cultures, when not simply acculturative, is fusion. Inherent in both is the idea that a dominant culture affects change in the other so that one’s identity becomes more in sync with the other.¹⁹⁷ Acculturation is a wholesale change; fusion merely aligns one closer to the other to a lesser degree. In both cases interaction ultimately results in the contamination of two otherwise “pure” cultures (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 12).

¹⁹⁷ This viewpoint is implied in Webster’s (1997b: 165) definition of syncretism in a Celtic religious environment as “the interaction of two systems of belief and practice *in the development of a “Romano-Celtic” religion*” (my emphasis).

Would the incorporation of foreign material culture into daily routines be considered cultural assimilation to those adopting it? A modern archaeologist's or historian's identification of a fused culture from the material remains assumes that the ancient people themselves recognized a change in their identity. In this scenario, new forms enter a "pure" culture where they are recognized as antithetical to the traditional lifestyles. The dominant ideology is articulated materially, and the conquered peoples then must choose their response to this challenge: to see it as a threat and reject it, to alter it and alleviate the threat, or to adopt it and relinquish part of their own identity. It has been argued (e.g., Riva 2006; Witcher 2000: 218-219), rightly in my estimation, that material culture by itself is not enough to galvanize a homogenous dominant identity. Romanized material culture was an obvious by-product of Roman occupation and contact with the dominant power, but it has much less potential than other symbolic exchanges to instill a sense of *Romanitas* among the Other.

This is not to say that interaction brought about by imperialism did not result in changes for either the dominant or subservient populations, or that indigenous cultures could not, or chose not to, signal dissent or acceptance materially. The problem is that a direct correlation between an object's style and the social group that used it hardly brings us any closer to uncovering the variable identities and responses to the changing hegemonic landscape in Republican Italy. Using "Romanized" objects does not *prima facie* signify a desire to become more Roman, just as more traditional forms do not always suggest repulsion of foreign cultural influence and, by extension, of Roman occupation. It would be overly essentialist to equate "Romanized" objects with "Romanized" subjects and native objects with contestation when in fact the responses

were more polyvalent (Hingley 1997: 86; Jiménez 2008: 24-25; Mattingly 2004: 7; Webster 1997b: 170; Webster 2003: 24; Whittaker 1997: 149; Woolf 1998: 20).

Emulation, for example, may be nothing more than either a cynical and insincere attempt at feigning collaboration, a proffering of “false deference” (Scott 1985: 25), or an attempt to “capture” and control power (Webster 2003: 34). Likewise, an observance of traditional forms does not necessarily designate a rejection of the dominant culture. The agency of the indigenous actor works under more than one of two polar and bounded alternatives; instead, it is more fruitful to see agency responding to a negotiation between acceptance and resistance (Given 2004: 12-14; Mattingly 1997: 13-15; Webster 1997b: 167).

It is more fruitful to concede that foreign and local forms and identities worked together and were made visible through a “bilingual” (and perhaps incomplete) understanding of material language where “elements can survive in plurality alongside each other, perhaps as ‘discrepant identities’ [quoted from Mattingly 2006: 491 ff.], or even simply as parallel and coexistent ones” (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 13). This observation effectively recognizes that material culture worked in an environment where interaction did not run strictly between two statically opposed entities, and also that conquered peoples simultaneously retained the option (to a greater or lesser extent) to preserve their own material culture. It would be far beyond the means, or interests, of Roman domination to ensure that only their style of goods circulated among the conquered peoples; furthermore, such a policy would be unproductive because it was not an effective manipulation of cultural identity. Compulsory adoption, then, would have been regarded impassively by the Romans, and not as a requisite element in some

“process” of Romanization. Thus, to see hybrid or creole objects as an indication of resistant adaptation because it maintains traditional links in opposition to the “elite-sponsored trajectories” (Webster 2001: 218 and 2003: 42) is baseless if the adoption of material culture was not part of the “elite-sponsored trajectory” in the first place. No group was obliged to use *terra sigillata* instead of locally made vessels, or Hellenic-inspired representations of deities rather than local ones. That they were used on occasion implies a choice, whether they were faithful imitations or fused with local stylistic elements. Getting at why individuals chose to use it—because they were more Romanized, or were engaged in passive resistance, or were using them as novel resources to recast their identity—depends entirely on how they were used, and by whom.

If we know that in a given context certain styles were compulsory, identifying forms of resistance may be more straightforward. Resistance can then manifest materially if we believe that the manipulation of the style signals a conflict with the intended meaning. School uniforms, to use a modern example, represent a policy of administrators to advance a single identity among the students and to consolidate different social and economic affiliations. Their adoption is imposed universally, but the different styles in which the uniform is worn reflects the various responses of the students to uniformity. Dressing oneself within the parameters of what is acceptable indicates acquiescence or an unwillingness to challenge the authorities, but many forms of covert resistance (raised skirt hems, lowered pants) are available to express individuality (Wobst 1999: 122). In this way, students may challenge the dominant powers and communicate their unique identity without openly flaunting the rules.

Similar desires to establish cross-cultural or intra-cultural uniformity was not the overriding goal of Romanization. Societies were not recast as indistinguishable from one another under some ideology of *Romanitas*; nor were members of a single society made indistinguishable from one another under a shared sense of *Romanitas*. Local communities were affected—sometimes profoundly—by the changes wrought by Roman incursion, but it is mistaken to see Romanization as an instrument to expunge all traces of local identity (Terrenato 1998: 23).

Forcing Romanization into the Material Record

It is clear from the above excursus that the concept of Romanization must be qualified to move away from the paradigm of a mechanical process that is forced to fit evenly over an enormously broad swath of foreign cultures. The metaphor of cultures as islands can illustrate the problematic connotations of Romanization. Prior to Roman conquest, each island is seen as strictly bound and separated from one another. Currents in the sea of cultural interaction reach each one, but merely lap upon their shores and fail to wash inland to affect the inhabitants. Roman conquest not only alters the sea so that the currents carry only what is “Roman”, but also raises the sea level until it inundates every island. Rome itself, situated on a loftier field, can now look over a vast blue expanse of its own cultural making. Meanwhile, bubbles of resistance percolate here and there over the uniform surface, but one can’t help but feel for those indigenes who are essentially drowning.

This image, which accords with traditional views of Romanization, fails to foreground the active and reflexive role inhabitants play in their response to incoming foreign culture, both before and after Roman domination. Contact with Rome and with

the rest of the Mediterranean world produced a multitude of polysemous cultures and practices prior to the Roman conquest. Roman conquest changed the nature of the interaction with a new reality of political and military dominance, however a “Middle Ground” remained that gave a place for accommodation and re-interpretation of unfamiliar cultural practices and values.

Richard White’s (1991) highly influential study on the interactions between Algonquian tribes of the Great Lakes and French settlers was first to define the Middle Ground. He writes:

“On the middle ground diverse peoples adjust their differences through what amounts to a process of creative, and often expedient, misunderstandings. People try to persuade others who are different from themselves by appealing to what they perceive to be the values and practices of those others. They often misinterpret and distort both the values and practices of those they deal with, but from these misunderstandings arise new meanings and through them new practices—the shared meanings and practices of the middle ground.”
(*ibid.*: xxvi)

Both parties participated to promote mutual understanding, and the end result blurred the distinction between indigenous and foreign. This did not mean that one was becoming more like the other. It was because the identities of both parties remained firm that arrangements could be sought out in the middle ground. “Those operating in the middle ground acted for interests derived from their own culture, but they had to convince people of another culture that some mutual action was fair and legitimate” (*ibid.*: 52). Preserving one’s own cultural identity was, in fact, the underlying motivation for accommodating the Other.

The Algonquians and French were partners in trade and allies, allowing their cultural differences to melt along the edges (*ibid.*: 50). This made it possible to recognize

and respond to perceived compatibilities and, more importantly, to prevent—or at least to forestall—physical force from becoming the means of communication. This is applicable to the situation with Rome. A society's experience and familiarity with Rome and myriad other factors dictated its response to conquest. This would explain the variable responses in, say, southeast, and southwest or north Britain. Prior trade contact between southeast Britain and Rome made them more amenable to Roman hegemony, while less contact between southwest and north Britain and Rome required a more concerted military effort when Rome attempted to insert itself permanently in these areas (Gosden 2004: 109-110).

Before the shared experience of Roman conquest, Mediterranean societies were entwined in complex global interactions. Ideas and objects were imported and exported, yet these interactions were less a usurpation of one culture over another, than a mechanism for forming and re-creating one's own identity. At issue here, in the words of Sloboskin (1983: 71) are "the processes of sociocultural change through interaction." I find as significant the absence of the word "domination", or one to that effect, in place of "interaction." What seems to be overlooked in many of the studies is that, in varying degrees, interaction between Rome and its future subjects preceded formal conquest. That this interaction was unequal between the broadly ranging populations and Rome points to the importance of seeing the indigenes, on the one hand, neither as homogenous groups whose cultural identities spring from their unique historical backgrounds, nor, on the other hand, as insular, static entities unmoved by the globalizing Mediterranean environment of the last millennium BCE.

Irad Malkin (2002) examines *xenia* relations among the Greek, Etruscan and local inhabitants in eighth-century BCE Campania and views their theater as a "Colonial

Middle Ground”, where conceptions of the Other are supplanted by mutually beneficial interactions that provided valuable social, political and cultural stimuli. Elements of the different cultures fused together only when the particular element was neutral, that is, “not an object of *a priori* decision” (Malkin 2002: 156). Conversely, other elements which were necessary for the maintenance of ways of life or administrative structures tended to remain unaffected by the foreign stimuli. Language, for example, mixed more readily than the *nomina* (the calendar, social division, magistracies, etc.), because an established sacred calendar or social division could not function properly if subject to mixing. Interaction entailed “internally” dynamic and adaptable responses, where “deliberate, express decisions, arbitrating and mediating the social and religious order, had to be made” (ibid.).

Corinna Riva (2010) sees a similar situation going back to at least the ninth century BCE in central Italy. She uses a material and contextual approach to explore the Middle Ground in seventh-century BCE Etruria by examining the mythological scene of the *Argonautica* on the bucchero San Paolo olpe from Caere. The Greek scene, incised by Etruscan craftsmen onto an Etruscan vessel created a “transcultural figurative narrative” (Riva 2010: 84) that promoted a reciprocal elite discourse in which the Etruscan elite actively chose and appropriated a Greek epic.¹⁹⁸ The foreign myth incised onto an Etruscan vessel by means of Etruscan *technē* speaks about the Etruscan relations with the Greeks and their perceived position among the societies of Archaic Italy. As a mediating narrative between Greeks and Etruscans, the theme of the *Argonautica*—the exploitation of resources and technical innovation—promoted dialogue between members

¹⁹⁸ Greek contact, however, was not the only foreign current running around the region at this period, as architectural innovations and inscriptions show Phoenician and Sardinian influences, among others, circulating around the region.

of the two cultures about these same topics in the commercial sphere. As a local elite-owned object, Riva concludes, the scene became re-elaborated and redefined to advertise its owner's control over such resources within the community and hence served to increase their status and prestige vis-à-vis their own community, other Etruscan communities and foreign inhabitants with whom they had contact (ibid.).

In the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, the ubiquity of Greek black- and red-figure ceramic vessels in Italy attests to continued interaction with Greece. A comparison of assemblages from the Athenian agora and Etruscan funerary contexts reveals both differences and similarities in pot preferences between the two cultures (Osborne 2001). For example, the preference in Etruria for specifically Etruscan vessel forms was such that it impacted the production at Athenian workshops; however, the images appearing on the pots are strikingly similar in Athens and Etruria, for black-figure as well as red-figure examples. While some mythological scenes on pots in Etruscan tombs are largely absent in Athens,¹⁹⁹ scenes of daily life and most mythological scenes appear in both Etruscan and Athenian contexts (Osborne 2001: 280ff.). Etruscan-made red-figure pottery embraces these themes as well, but they are not mere imitations. Instead of replicating Greek narratives, the local craftsmen created new scenes using the elements of Greek myth. In this light, then, Greek pottery held a stockpile of imagery that could be reworked and re-interpreted to meet local needs: "Greek myths offered a resource to Etruscans which native tradition could not supply, and Greek representations of their myths offered resources to enable the representation and elaboration of both those Greek myths and also the smaller fund of Etruscan traditional tales" (Osborne 2001: 290). Etruscans artisans

¹⁹⁹ Most of the scenes not found in Athens involve images of violence, such as events in the Trojan War; sex; and the ritual examination of livers ("hepatoscopy") (Osborne 2001: 283).

and consumers not only brought in foreign and new elements and made them their own, but also this participation in foreign relations could be advertised as a way to heighten status and influence.

These examinations of cultural interaction in Italy during the centuries before Roman imperialism all recognize an active and cognizant reception of foreign influence as a means of expressing and reifying cultural identity rather than the linear acculturation of one society by another. Imported material culture is a “resource” (Osborne 2001: 290), and Greek presence “stimuli” (Malkin 2002: 160) to the Etruscans and vice-versa.²⁰⁰ A whole new way of talking about cultural interaction, however, takes over with the fourth century BCE in Italy and the beginning of Rome’s colonial designs. Instead of foreign influence providing a discourse of cultural difference against which local identity can be evaluated and internalized (Hodos 2010: 12), foreign influence overwhelms cultural difference by means of Romanization.

However, long before Rome conquered the Mediterranean region, it participated in the global Mediterranean network. Caesar’s invasion of Britain in 55 BCE, for example, was not a precipitous incursion of Roman ideals and customs. Gradual changes in occupational patterns and social hierarchies in the British Late Iron Age have been attributed to trade contacts with Rome for at least a century before military contact (Gosden 2004: 107ff). Closer to home, it is impossible to see Rome as so insular that it was completely unaffected by the flow of cultural materials and ideas that were helping to define other groups surrounding it. Greek culture had circulated here since the sixth century BCE (Veyne 1979). After Rome’s conquest of Greece in 146 BCE this

²⁰⁰ The Etruscans also extended into Greece, attested by the dedication of Etruscan material culture at Greek sanctuaries (e.g., MacIntosh 1974; von Hase 1997).

intensified, triggering Horace's observation that "Greece has conquered the harsh victors and brought in the arts to rustic Latium."²⁰¹ This has led scholars to speculate on the "Hellenization" of Roman culture, but this is not the same as acculturation, nor was the influx of eastern styles due to eastern hegemony (Terrenato 2001b: 59).²⁰² Hingley (2005: 111) writes that "the assimilation of objects and ideas from outside often involves transformations that reassert self-identity at a local level." This is as true for the Roman adoption of Greek elements as it is for the Etruscan and other indigenous inhabitants communicating with Greece: the Greek epic form was used to create a Roman mythology and history; Greek sculpture was adopted for Roman mythological and political contexts. Furthermore, what we now take as archetypal symbols of Romanization were not originally Roman at all. Orthogonal layouts, the paradigm of Roman urban space, derived from earlier Greek and Etruscan models. Much of the "Romanized" architecture, baths, theaters, and temples, for example, also owe their inception to Greek and Etruscan sources.

It is difficult, then, to explain the incorporation of foreign cultures into the Roman Empire as a process of Romanization if it is unclear what is even "Roman" at all (Barrett 1997a; Freeman 1993: 444). There are no truly autonomous entities taking part in reconcrete cultural interactions. Therefore, no culture is ultimately "pure", that is, untouched by the broader globalizing contacts occurring around it. Experience of the Other translates into knowledge of the Other and even active assimilation of aspects of the Other's culture. This holds true for peripheral societies as well as for Rome. As such,

²⁰¹ Hor. *Epist.* II.1.156-157: "Graecia capta ferum uictorem cepit et artes/ intulit agresti Latio"

²⁰² Scholars have recognized two different Roman citizens during this period: the Hellenized Roman, who displayed their affinity for Greek art and culture, was at direct odds with the conservative faction that supported an "archaizing *Romanitas*" of discipline and steadfastness. (David 1996: 135-136).

if we are to talk about blended, creolized societies resulting from Roman incursion, we must be aware that such blending and mixing was part of the Mediterranean menu long before the Roman empire existed and would have continued to be, albeit in a different form, had Rome not expanded. Wholesale “Romanization” was not necessary to maintain a stable empire because it was simply not possible. Discrepant identities, discrepant knowledge of Rome and discrepant experiences of Rome precluded a single strategy to Romanize the population.

As discussed earlier, an example of cultural interaction during the Archaic period (Malkin 202:156) shows that different elements of a culture were more amenable to change while others were more impervious based on how successfully that culture could function with a mixed element. Roman expansion may be seen to proceed in a similar way. Elements that affected their hegemony neither negatively nor positively were likely not a matter for concern or investment. It might not matter, for example, whether a conquered society adopted Roman material culture because this alone would not instill a sense of *Romanitas* into people who did not necessarily view this foreign style as a replacement of their own way of life. More important was the symbolic communication of Roman ideology to outsiders so that they could internalize what it meant to live as members of the Roman administrative system of laws, economy, religion, politics, et cetera (Witcher 2000: 219).

Colonialism from the “Bottom-Up”

Instead, promoting a “Roman” identity relied on “malleability”²⁰³ (Hingley 2005: 50-54), so that its adoption would seem advantageous to each group Rome encountered.

²⁰³ See also Williams (2001).

The “top-down” process of colonialism, then, must respond to the “bottom-up” responses of the colonized. Different peoples experienced different scopes of contact; consequently, intensive colonial contact prompted different reactions. Thus, hegemony was differentially and reflexively promoted and correlated to the variable responses Rome experienced when asserting itself.

Gosden’s (2004) three typologies of colonialism²⁰⁴ can help to visualize how this occurred. He argues that the scope of prior contact with the conquered populations establishes certain paradigms of power control. His “middle ground” model, he argues (ibid.: 104-113), pertains to the Roman Republican period. Rome’s familiarity with foreign culture was enough to eliminate military force as the only means of sovereignty. Rome’s identity differed from that of the Other, however, and the discourse of power was not on an equal footing. Experimentation and accommodation was necessary on both sides.

His model aligns well with White’s discussed above, and I agree that creating a Middle Ground was an essential way to maintain a mutual accommodation. I also argue that assigning a single strategy unnecessarily attributes a clear agenda to Roman imperialism when it was likely much messier. Rome acted depending on the dictates of particular and varied situations. Reliance on single strategy would be self-defeating

²⁰⁴ According to Gosden (2004), there are three types of colonialism. At one end of the spectrum is the “terra nullius” model, where the total lack of prior contact and fixed cultural differences necessitate both a violent subjugation and continuous program of domination as defined by Gramsci. This model sees the indigenes responding and resisting actively in defense of their cultural and physical survival. “Middle ground” colonialism necessitates a developed understanding of others’ social relations. Accommodation and cultivated relations take the place of the violent force of the previous model. Cultural difference, and not acculturation, is standard, often with the dominant party just as affected by the heightened interaction. Local reception depends on how the occupying power is perceived; thus, resistance is not necessarily precluded. The last, “colonialism within a shared cultural milieu,” operates within understood norms of behavior, such that there may be little difference between colonizer and colonized. Incoming cultural influence is seen as new resources by the local elite and some non-elite. Inequality is heightened between the elite and non-elite as the latter face exclusion from upper-level colonial discourse.

because it was impossible to predict the reactions of the conquered peoples and many scenarios would be ill-suited for just one of Gosden's models. Instead, all three options were viable to different degrees at the same time, on a sliding-scale basis. Rome asserted its dominance within the broad spectrum of the three typologies, in different fashions, when dealing with different people because the shared cultural milieu was different from place to place. This is a necessary ambiguity if we are to stress the cultural polyvalence and ambiguity within the Roman Empire. It also highlights the need to examine the contexts of each region on a case-by-case basis and then make comparisons with other regions rather than rely on generalized cross-cultural analyses.²⁰⁵

The primary avenue through which Rome communicated their ideology to a foreign culture was the local elite. In the Archaic period, cultural interaction was mainly the province of the elite members on both sides. The situation in the final centuries of the first millennium BCE changed the nature of this contact because it was now based on unequal partners in the interaction, but the players remained the same. Roman hegemony was solidified by means of elite negotiations, whereby Roman ideology was communicated to the local aristocracy and its advantages impressed upon them. This necessarily obliged certain concessions be made on the part of the Romans. One such concession was to leave intact the elite's jurisdiction within their own community (Terrenato 1998b and 2001a).²⁰⁶ As Terrenato (2001a:5) writes, in Italy "[t]he majority of

²⁰⁵ Robert Witcher (2000) notes that there seems to be a contradiction when we attempt to look at cultural diversity in Italy. On the one hand, there is evidence that Italy was unified under Rome, on the other hand there is also evidence of diversity. The contradiction can be reconciled by adopting Keaveny's (1987: 21-35) notion of scales of identity, "national", regional, and local. The closer one looks, that is, at the local scale, the more diversity is found. At the more remote "national" scale the overarching Roman identity is more obvious (Witcher 2000: 214). Thus, both can exist side-by-side, and to argue for strict uniformity of identity is an oversight because it only takes into account the macrocosmic perspective.

²⁰⁶ It is a grave oversimplification to say that the elites from all indigenous societies enjoyed equal legal status, however. Rome's administration worked on a system of treaties or alliances ("foedera") and the

pre-Roman communities (or rather their elites) agreed to become part of the Empire precisely because they were offered, they bargained, and they struggled for the privilege of retaining the core of their cultural and social structure, their autonomy and their prerogatives." Couple this with the possibility of further political and social prestige to be had within the Roman administrative system, and cooperation could be garnered without recourse to punitive military intervention. The new role of the local aristocracy, then, had them looking two directions: at the Roman aristocracy from whom they received a new administrative system—as well as their social and economic favors—and at their own communities to whom this system was transmitted.

The local society was then unified under a new hegemony, but as this was experienced differently by the various strata of society it likely served to solidify disparate cultural identities rather than amass them under a single rubric. To a considerable extent, Romanization directly affected the elites more than the commoners due to their heightened responsibilities and more intensive contact with Rome and the fact that it was politically strategic to appear accommodating (Terrenato 1998a). This was not the case for those who had neither a role in the negotiations nor possessed equal agency to affect political change. The great changes that accompanied Roman conquest would certainly have been felt by the lower classes; however, they did not change their marginalized status. Once subject to an independent aristocracy, post-Roman conquest left them still obliged to the local aristocracy now itself functioning under the

framework of each “foedus” depended upon the intensity of the struggle for hegemony in each area. Thus, cities that acknowledged Roman hegemony through negotiation and agreement rather than by force, such as Clusium and Perugia, were beneficiaries of “foedera aequa” and enjoyed greater autonomy than those that resisted. Vulci and Volsinii, leaders of an anti-Roman faction, were slapped with more punitive “foedera iniqua”. Vulci’s autonomy was limited to a portion of its former territory, and at Volsinii, after its final conquest in 280 BCE, the “foedus” diminished their independence to the point that the local aristocracy abandoned their political enterprises and left them to the lower, and even perhaps the servile, classes (Munzi 2001).

overarching system of a new master. How Romanized these classes would have become is variable simply because Romanization was not a process of wholesale acculturation. Indeed, this was not necessary for hegemony. Hegemonic power discourse was reserved for an elite audience because it was superfluous to ensure that those not active in the administrative structure internalized the message. It was in Rome's interest that the elites cooperated, and it was for the elites to make sure that those subject to them complied with the new institution.

This generalized picture might seem to assume that Rome adopted a *laissez-faire* approach when dealing with the locals: as long as they behaved, there was no need to interfere. This was not the case. Interference was necessary to their strategy, but it was accomplished as much or more through the mediation of ideals and ideologies than material exchanges. Witcher's (2000: 219) claim that "[t]he Empire was at its most integrated, cohesive and extensive, not in terms of material culture, but through the exchange of symbols which affected meanings and values, and effected a wider notion of *Romanitas*" rightly recognizes that Roman culture was internalized through the introduction of ideas and values and not objects. They manipulated the meaning of contexts in which people acted in their daily lives and changed the discipline of life so that it conformed to an overarching ideal of what it meant to become Roman (Barrett 1997a: 52). The very notion of Gramscian hegemony rests on this foundation: the authoritarian power seeks to control controls the ideological elements of society, such as cultural identity, religion, education, and media (Scott 1985: 39), which in turn creates the lived reality for the subaltern inhabitants. At the same time, it is seen to underpin their rule: "by defining the standards of what is true, beautiful, moral, fair, and legitimate, they

build a symbolic climate that prevents subordinate from thinking their way through” (ibid.). As a part of everyday life, ideology becomes adopted gradually into the *habitus* (Forcey 1997: 19) of the actors where it is naturalized and ultimately unquestioned.

Scott (1985: 39ff.) is correct, however, to question the extent to which the non-elite populations would become indoctrinated to accept passively and wholly the messages of elite (or Roman) ideology. Responses did vary in accordance with the degree in which one’s own rules of society, religion, education and institutions coincided with the foreign (Vallat 2001: 104). In order to understand the variable responses to Romanization our approaches, lacking recourse to contemporary literary evidence, are limited to how they manifest physically. Herein lies the crucial contribution of material culture. Material culture has been seen to structure ideas and identities (Gell 1998). For objects and their style to communicate messages of identity, however, they must function in a logical and explicable context. Material culture devoid of context fails to communicate messages vis-à-vis one’s identity or place in society, and yet many archaeological studies attempt to get at identities of peoples separated by both space and time through the decontextualized artifact. To get at how artifact themselves act as agents to help shape and assert identity we must understand how an object is inserted and re-interpreted into a different context (Whitcher 2000: 220).

Context and Meaning: Agency and the Response to Romanization

Previous amendments to the topic of Romanization, I have argued, are highly centered on single objects to interpret identity and ideology. Of course, interpretations about meaning must proceed from the circumstances in which material culture is recovered, and many objects come to the discussion lacking any contextual background.

In these cases we make do with what we have . When it is possible, contextualizing the artifact, that is, explaining how it functions within an assemblage, a distinct space, a specific purpose and political milieu heightens its meaning and enhances the interpretive potential for understanding the ideology behind its manufacture and use. As Wobst (1999: 124-125) writes,

“[i]f we want to interpret why subjects interfere materially in society, we need to take the temperature of the contexts they enter and direct our interpretation at the way in which that context is likely to have been modified—and ended up being modified—by that material interference.”

Simply because a context is modified by the introduction of objects, however, should not give license to uphold an essentialist stance to interpret processes of Romanization.

Native material interference does not necessarily signify a resistant scheme to subvert a dominant context, just as Roman material culture does not always serve to promote a message of cultural dominance. Objects can, and do, interfere materially to express resistance. It must also be recognized that individuals from all sides of the cultural spectrum also could use objects of certain styles as a way of keeping things the way that they are so that the impetus for the inclusion of material culture instead emerges from a belief that its *exclusion* would modify the context in unwanted ways (Wobst 1999: 124).

The votive deposit at the sanctuary at Grasceta dei Cavallari reveals the site as a place of intersection for people and things of diverse cultural backgrounds and identities. Having traced the origins of the styles and explored the function of the objects in a specific context, is it possible to continue and interpret how these votives may have served as statements of cultural identity and whether the local visitors used them as an opportunity to express materially their reaction to the Romanization of their territory?

Meaning in context

The votive assemblage at Grasceta dei Cavallari suggests an interaction of different social groups performing in the same ritual. Jannot touches on the significance of this. He writes of the sanctuary that,

the votive deposit is most revealing. Mass-produced anatomical *ex votos* are found in great quantity in all the sanctuaries of Italy, but while the ones from Grasceta are similar to those of the same functions found elsewhere, they are executed with such awkwardness that they betray a total absence of Hellenistic aesthetic models. It is clear that worshippers from two very different social strata²⁰⁷ frequented this place, and the second category, rural or foreign, interests us more. (Jannot 2001: 87)

The direction Jannot attempts to take the study of E-L-C votives is commendable, but his observations need further unpacking to get at the identities of the members of the two social strata. Firstly, his description of the votives must be amended. In the above passage they are distinguished from other votives through their uniform awkwardness. One must assume that Jannot has in mind the four indigenous style heads, and perhaps the two indigenous style feet. However, he substitutes the whole of the votive assemblage with this one part, so that now, in contrast to other sanctuary sites, *only* hand-made, non-mass-produced, non-Hellenistic examples were dedicated here. This is clearly not the case: half of the heads and the majority of the anatomical votives are stylistically equivalent with Hellenic models from the other sanctuaries. Also implicit is the assumption that the ‘awkward’ style is unique to Grasceta dei Cavallari, further supporting the idea that they are anomalies. As I demonstrated in chapter 6, the style results from a deliberate attempt

²⁰⁷ The original French version of the book, *Devins, dieux et démons: regards sur la religion de l'Etrurie antique* (1998: 102) uses the word “couches”, which, in its generic sense, means “layers” but can be applied to a socio-economic context where it takes on the meaning of “social classes”, or “strata”.

on the part of the coroplast to create an object that conveys meaning through a local visual language and can be found in many sanctuaries around Italy.

Jannot does not come out and say that the style is symptomatic of an absence of artistic ability (even though it exhibits “awkwardness”); instead, to his credit, he links it to different socio-economic groups that worshipped at the site. How he identifies these groups and whom he identifies them as can be challenged, however. The description of the votives mentions one style, but this somehow indicates two social groups frequenting the site. Jannot is, in the end, correct about there being different groups worshipping here, but it is the presence of the different votive styles that indicates this, not a single one. He then succumbs to the same strict dichotomies that hinder many theories on Romanization: one of two homogenous and disparate groups—rural (i.e., indigenous Other) or foreign (Roman)—must have been responsible. The two options are at opposite ends of a social spectrum; they are free of the complexities and influences of regular cross-cultural communication, and are instead treated as insular, unaffected societies. Whichever group was responsible for these objects—we don’t know who—that one is the more interesting. One must assume that this is because its members hold the potential to answer more meaningful questions about ritual behavior, ethnicity and religion, or so forth, but these questions are not posed.

Although there are gaps in the conduit that leads Jannot to his recognition of different social actors at the site, the conclusion itself is shared by this dissertation. That is, different “social strata”, or ethnicities, took part in the ritual activity at the sanctuary at Grasceta dei Cavallari, and this is indeed what interests me most. There is little need to choose one stratum over the other as being a more intellectually rich source of

information. Indeed, the very fact that different social/ethnic groups engaged in ritual activities that resulted in the same archaeological signature in the same place and at the same time opens up a number of questions. Who were the different peoples and what brought them to this mountain sanctuary? In light of the indigenous participation, can we talk about a unilateral Romanization or, conversely, resistance to it? What can we learn about the locals' attitudes toward Roman occupation of the area and imported Roman traditions? How can it help us understand the discrepant responses to Roman imperialism in the Republic and the Roman conduct toward the non-Roman indigenes? What was it about this tradition that attracted the local (Etruscan) peoples to the sanctuary with E-L-C votives? What did it offer to them that their traditional religious practices perhaps did not?

As for getting at the ethnic identity of the participants, we can only take our conclusions as far as the evidence allows, which is, as in most circumstances, not as far as we might wish. Most of the evidence is grounded in style, which is an effective marker as long as the limitations are realized and set down at the outset. As was mentioned above, and as is apparent in the term "indigenous style", the schematized wheel-made heads and feet, I believe, were made by local craftsman for the local Etruscan customer base. The formal logic, I argue in chapter 6, derives from a similar style used in previous sacred contexts to convey apotropaic appeals that were understood by, and germane to, these particular actors. Their presence at the sanctuary points to an indigenous contribution to the ritual tradition and accordingly demonstrates an indigenous participation.

The users of the “Hellenic style” are difficult to isolate without becoming overly essentialist. The problem arises from a trap inherent in the term itself that must be exposed in order to be avoided. By juxtaposing this style with the indigenous style, there is the danger of polarizing the groups of actors into discrete and even incompatible cultural histories: those who use the Hellenic style are those who have been effectively Hellenized; those employing the indigenous style do so because this influence failed to reach or affect them. One style is appropriate for one group and the other for the other; this is how culture and communication shaped them. Jannot’s rural/foreign distinction in the passage above is a perfect example of pigeonholing ethnicity into contrived categories based on style: one must be responsible for one and the other for the other.

I wish to avoid this dichotomy when talking about the actors at the sanctuary. In the discussion about Romanization in this chapter, I claim that the term unnecessarily assumes a unilateral transmission of culture and influence to peripheral societies who were previously unfamiliar with and untouched by Roman society. The same can be said for ‘Hellenization’: one group was receptive to influence from the east and it is reflected in their votive offerings; the other group’s naiveté to this influence is reflected in theirs. In reality, it is difficult to talk about any major culture that was not aware of and influenced by other cultures around the Mediterranean. In the history of Caere and Tarquinia through eight centuries of the first millennium BCE, which was set out briefly in chapter 2, cross-cultural communication and exchange of goods and ideas was essential for their economic and political development. Most societies in Italy, in particular the Etruscans, were literate enough in the language of Greek aesthetics that any ‘Hellenic style’ would be immediately recognizable and meaningful to them.

This, then, is the most that can be said concerning identity and the votives. The indigenous style's venerable lineage in the Etruscan artistic repertoire gave it meaning for Etruscan agents who manufactured and used them. These votives announced the presence of worshippers who proclaimed or presented Etruscan identities, who likely lived in the neighboring valleys as small landholders or as workers on large villas. The Hellenic style's diffusion into the Etruscan repertoire made it a viable selection both for indigenous agents and for non-indigenous visitors to the site. Thus, we cannot be so certain in assigning a single ethnicity to this style, but can say simply that they are a strong indicator of the participation of Roman worshippers who arrived in the area through viratine land distributions, or were traveling through the pass along the road that connected Caere and Tarquinia.

At least two distinct groups, indigenous and Roman, were participating in the E-L-C ritual activities that were spread via the circuit of Roman imperialism. The dedication of anatomical terracotta votives was not a native component of Etruscan religious tradition and thus signifies a modification in the way the Etruscans worshipped the gods. The fact of their participation, however, does not indicate that Romanization affected their religious activities and changed their belief system. It must be remembered, as it was shown in chapter 4, that Rome did not foist religion onto the indigenous peoples; quite the opposite, local populations retained a good amount of freedom in choosing how to worship. Traditional cults, furthermore, survived, at least in the literary tradition, and likely conducted day-to-day life outside of the formal sanctuary setting. If ritual activity survived to a greater degree in the archaeological record, apart from what is found in the shrines and sanctuaries, it is likely that many diverse rituals could be

discovered in, for example, domestic, agricultural, or community contexts. The E-L-C tradition, while the most visible form of ritual in the Republican period, certainly was not the only one and did not expel all native religious practice *en masse*.

Can we identify evidence of resistance to the Romans and the E-L-C tradition through the participation of the locals, in particular with the peculiar style they introduce? The question can be responded to with another question: If they were not forced into acting a specific way, how is acting in this specific way a form of resistance? Resistance would have been carried out by ignoring the foreign traditions and refusing to participate. This non-action would, of course, be invisible in the archaeological record, which does in any case indicate that they did participate. The indicator is the style they employed. The indigenous style was not meant to be an intended juxtaposition to the more Hellenized votives in order to express a native defiance to a tradition they intended to subvert. Indeed, it seems more likely that participation was just as sincere among the indigenes as it was among the foreign settlers and visitors. Corroboration of their sincere participation is in the fact that more than one anatomical votive type appears in the indigenous style. Heads and feet are present, revealing that the indigenes approached the deities with different petitions, hoping that this procedure and these gifts would bring about their fulfillment. A dedication was not a negligible ceremony. It is apparent that the 'rules' of the ritual activity were made clear to these actors; they knew the procedures of dedicating specific anatomical votives and trusted in the efficacy of doing so.

The participation of indigenous populations in the imported cult signals neither acceptance nor resistance to Rome's presence, but instead should be seen as a more complex response. R. Bagnall's analysis of Egyptian farmers' reactions to a new

Ptolemaic agricultural contract can also make sense here. Instead of cooperating and establishing settlements, they withdrew to a temple and threatened to abandon the talks. It was not that they were opposed to the presence of the outsiders or to the idea of collaboration,

[b]ut they are willing to do it only in their own way, not with the outsiders' new management techniques.... In any case, these farmers are neither simply accepting nor simply rejecting foreign domination; these are just not the categories that appear as choices in their particular situation. (Bagnall 1997: 238)

Likewise, the local inhabitants' participation in the cult activity at Grasceta dei Cavallari should not be construed as wholesale acceptance of Roman practices. Nor does the different style indicate resistance to it. It simply shows that they were willing to participate but in a way that was redolent to them specifically. This materializes in the style, which has a more profound meaning than simply wanting to promote one's own aesthetic. It also visually articulates a belief system that is unique to the indigenous population, one that survives and is adapted to function within the foreign ritual context.

Thus, in the sanctuary, the same rituals are performed, but with different culturally construed axioms on the nature of one's relationship with the deities and the proper methods of communicating with them.²⁰⁸ The foreign tradition has not displaced the indigenous one; instead, the latter has found a way to operate within the former. This relationship most aptly follows the substance of 'bilingualism', where populations "can sustain simultaneously diverse culture systems, in full awareness of their difference, and code-switch between them" (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 27-28). In this case, indigenous styles and belief systems sustain themselves within the formal ritual of a foreign religious tradition.

²⁰⁸ See chapter 6 for interpretations concerning the indigene's relationship with the deities.

The continuation of these indigenous aspects also speaks of a healthy survival of traditional identity. If we are to believe that culture clarifies, most of all, who one is in relation to the Other (ibid: 28), then the presence of such a distinctive style visibly juxtaposed with the Hellenic votives at the sanctuary must have evoked strong allusions to one's own cultural background. They are claims of membership in a unique group of peoples, those whose cultural and historical ties to the region could be traced back to the great Etruscan civilization, whose authority was now in an inexorable decline, but whose reputation survived. Any constituent of Romanization theory that privileges the acculturative aspect of Roman domination simply does not work here.

As was argued earlier, resistance to Roman occupation or to the importation of foreign traditions appears to have played little part in the continuity of the traditional aspects of ritual and aesthetics. Participation was voluntary and performance was carried out with most likely just as much sincerity as with the foreign devotees. So what about this ritual did the indigenous populations inhabiting the Monti della Tolfa recognize to be a desirable method of worship?

One major incentive was the heightened sense of control over one's own religious affairs that many participants would have experienced. The E-L-C tradition represented a more democratized form of worship; it provided a means to develop a relationship with the divinities free from the intervention of a second party to an extent that was not so possible before. Etruscan religion was largely a revealed one; the will of the gods could be heard and made known, but this required the insight of highly trained specialists. As is apparent in ancient texts dealing with Etruscan religion (de Grummond 2006) divination by a multitude of religious officials was the essence of Etruscan religion:

[t]he metaphysical-religious vision of man and the archaic belief of being subject to the divine will, both in life and death, so rooted in Etruscan culture, necessitated the presence of a genuine priestly caste able to interpret the higher truth concealed behind each event and to encourage men to piety through the complexity of ritual.²⁰⁹ (Steingraber and Menichelli 2010: 52-53)

Priests and haruspices divined the messages from the gods by interpreting natural phenomena and by reading significance in aspects of the natural world, such as the flight of birds or the entrails of animals. Consultation of the *disciplina Etrusca*, the body of works that recorded the previously revealed will of the gods, allowed the enigmatic signs and portents to be translated into intelligible mandates.

The knowledge needed to carry out these responsibilities, above all a level of literacy necessary to read the *disciplina Etrusca*, reduced the number of viable candidates to a minute percentage of society's upper classes. Who could act as a religious official was also severely limited by the lack of separation between political office and religious appointments (Beard and North 1990: 7-8). As N.T. de Grummond (2006: 34) points out, when it came to Etruscan politics "the separation of church and state was not an issue." The priest was not bound solely to his duties as a religious official, but also held offices of political importance. Thus it was the aristocracy that controlled the religious affairs of the state alongside the political ones.

An event described by Livy (5.1) demonstrates the control the aristocracy held over sacred institutions. An aristocrat from Veii failed in his attempt to be elected to the priesthood of the Etruscan League. As reprisal for the snub, he withdrew his players from the League's festival of Games which ground them to a halt. This same figure was later elected king of Veii against the general Etruscan abhorrence of monarchies. The other

²⁰⁹ See also Beard (1990) and Beard and North (1990: 7-9) for analyses of the roles of priests during the Roman Republic.

Etruscan states responded by forgoing aid to them in their war against Rome, and Veii eventually fell (see chapter 2).

While religious specialization continued in its conventional form, the E-L-C tradition introduced a ritual practice that could be performed without the need of a mediator. It engendered a new egalitarianism in which all classes enjoyed equal opportunity to relate with the gods who were once so inaccessible. This might have been even more attractive to the local peoples during the period of change brought on by Roman imperialism. Edlund (1987a: 56) argues that the sanctuaries where the votives were placed represented “a point of stability within an otherwise politically uncertain setting.” There is much to be said in support of this view, but one must also stress how the ritual facilitated more direct relationships with one’s gods. If the locals did feel a loss of control as a result of Roman expansion into their territory, they gained, at least, a large amount of control in their religious affairs.

Two caveats must be addressed. We talk about primarily the lower classes gaining more control over their ritual activities, but one should not conclude that only the lower classes took part in the tradition (as has also been argued chapters 4 and 6). Perhaps the reason why it appears as if the lower classes dominated is that it was precisely these classes that made up the vast majority of the population. Both the Roman and indigenous poor would have been drawn to the opportunity to worship and communicate with the deities free from the interference of others; indeed, it is this that made the E-L-C tradition the most widespread ritual practice in Republican Italy. But there is nothing that can exclude upper-class participation in the tradition as well.

Nor were traditional Etruscan religious traditions and rituals excluded in favor of the new one. It is not possible to think of one as a direct replacement of all the others. The complexity of Etruscan religion was so deeply ingrained in their culture that the importation of a new method of worship could do little to change it; the new likely fit amongst the old with little disturbance. Etruscan rituals continued, as did the privileged offices of priests and prophets. We cannot speak of a takeover of religious tradition; it was just an addendum to it, increasing its richness and complexity.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

The substance of this dissertation developed gradually, shaped by the state of the current scholarship on the E-L-C tradition and by my reactions to these discourses. The essence of the scholarship takes two forms. Firstly, catalogues quantify the votives, set them within a chronological framework, and match them with typologically similar models from other sanctuaries. No work on a sanctuary, granted, would be complete without a full catalogue of the objects coming from it, and such a catalogue is a necessary addendum to this dissertation (Appendix 1). It is necessary also, however, to attempt a more profound examination concerning who dedicated the gifts and why. As it is, most catalogues now reiterate what is already accepted about the tradition—that the votives were given as requests for auspicious outcomes related to health or fertility, or thanks for those favors already received.

Secondly, wide-ranging works about the tradition attempt to interpret socio-economic background or ethnicity of the participants. For the most part such efforts are positive steps in arriving at answers concerning who took part in the ritual. They are also, however, mired in theory that, for good reason, has become obsolete in other circles. The potential of the artifacts' styles to help expose the identity and motivations of the users is hardly exploited, for example. Rather than interpreting why a particular style was made and used, and what it meant to the person dedicating it, the studies typically descend into verdicts about the aesthetic merits of the pieces, governed by a Western disposition

favoring anything resembling the classical Greek ideal and disparaging divergences from it. They are also reliant on presumptions that are simply red herrings. An example is this commonly accepted syllogism where the proposition does not follow logically from the two premises: The votives are made of terracotta; terracotta was cheap to produce and purchase; therefore only the poorer classes took part in the dedications.

Both descriptive and interpretive approaches can potentially help us understand the tradition better and those who were involved in it. The purpose of this dissertation was to pull those meaningful parts from each established approach and combine them to look at the E-L-C votive phenomenon in a new way. Just as with the catalogues, one sanctuary and the materials from it became the focus of the study. This allowed the full range of activity to be understood at a single site. The sanctuary was also inserted into the broader discussions of the votive tradition as a test case to evaluate and re-interpret, when necessary, previous debates and conclusions. To do this, it was necessary to place the sanctuary into a wide-ranging and all-inclusive “field of action” (Robb 2008: 341); in other words, to initiate a multi-scalar examination so that the historical, political, religious, and socio-cultural contexts in which the sanctuary functioned were all available to help clarify how the sanctuary was used, by whom, and for what motivation(s).

The historical narrative in chapter 2 highlighted principally Caere, Tarquinia and their adjacent territories. It stressed the broader role these centers played in both pan-Italian and pan-Mediterranean relations. From their formation as independent city-states, the Etruscan capitals interacted closely not only with one another, but also with other peoples in north, central, and southern Italy, and with cultures as far off as the eastern Mediterranean. The *status quo* of the domestic economy and politics was tied so

inextricably to cross-cultural communication that any interruption, such as blocked trade routes or changed alliances, affected drastically what was happening at home.

Such involvement in national and international affairs challenges the characterization of Etruria as a cultural backwater, or insular, as it has frequently been portrayed, implicitly and explicitly, in the E-L-C votive studies. The major international ports at Caere (Pyrgi) and Tarquinia (Gravisca) give evidence to the vast amounts of imported foreign goods that came into the two cities, as well as their central role in the distribution of these goods throughout Italy. Such prominence also galvanized the induction and accommodation of foreign traditions and ideas alongside local ones, including, for the purposes of this dissertation, aesthetic canons. The ubiquity of Greek painted vases in Etruscan settings is the most obvious attestation of this, but it also applies to the E-L-C votives. By the time this ritual practice spread around Etruria, the Etruscans were well aware of Hellenic styles and could—and did—reproduce them. A recurrence of traditional indigenous styles reflected, then, not an ignorance of things Greek, but a deliberate perpetuation of traditional form and meaning. The implications of this regarding identity and cultural memory as it pertains to participation in the votive tradition are summarized later.

Etruria's relationship with Rome is equally important for understanding the tradition. Roman imperialism resulted in the gradual occupation of the region by Romans and Roman culture. Neither, however, was previously unfamiliar to the Etruscans. Long before Rome conquered Veii in 396 BCE and began to assert itself in Etruria, relations between the Etruscans and Romans had been established through diplomatic ties and trade agreements. These culminated with the Tarquinian aristocracy heading the Roman

monarchy through most of the sixth century BCE. And yet, when we come toward the end of the fourth century BCE and the beginnings of the E-L-C distribution, suddenly ideas arise of a foreign conquering power sweeping in and replacing local ideologies and traditions with its own. The occupation of the territory then comes to represent the physical, economic and political dominance of the new inhabitants; the insertion of foreign religion becomes a marker of cultural domination.

This interpretation, I argued in chapter 4, emphasizes colonialism over imperialism and misconstrues the function of the colonies and their role in controlling the local populace. Too often the colonies are identified as the point of departure for Roman ideology and tradition to spread and consume the territories. Both sides of the E-L-C origin debate rely on this reasoning: the distribution of the votives follows that of the colonial foundations, therefore there is a correlation between the two; or, the votives appear in areas far away from colonies, therefore the tradition spread independently of Roman expansion. Both sides are limited by the premise that colonialism is the be-all and end-all of Roman imperial strategy. Colonialism, however, is merely a single manifestation of the much more wide-ranging concept and strategy of imperialism. It is perhaps the most material example and thus has received the lion's share of scholars' attention, but other, less visible, aspects of imperial strategy must also be taken into account.

This dissertation follows the line extended by previous scholars who acknowledge Rome's role in the dissemination of the anatomical votive tradition. It does, however, relieve much of the responsibility from the shoulder of the colonies. They were not designed to be centers of domination in the first place; rather, they were established

primarily out of military necessity, often protecting the Italian allies from common foreign enemies. They functioned also to keep watch over the vast territories so that Rome could maintain its control, but this is different from a deliberate policy of dominating the peoples living close-by. Chapter 4 showed that the local populations still enjoyed a large degree of autonomy in spite of living under the shadow of these “little Romes”. This is especially true for ritual behavior: no imperial policy stipulated that indigenes had to worship using only Roman rites or in some Roman manner.

The Roman imperial structure had many systems to manage their affairs with the local peoples apart from the interference of colonies. Chapter 4 looked at Abruzzo as a setting where communication and the transfer of ideas took place between Rome and the local tribes even *without* the direct influence of colonies. A common policy of the Romans was to allow local aristocrats to retain much of their prior authority to act as deputies and mediators between Rome and their communities. Through them, treaties of loyalty were ratified and upheld; trade agreements continued to promote the exchange of goods. For the non-elite indigenes, compulsory military service in the Roman army forced a large swath of the population to familiarize themselves with Roman culture and ideology. The fact, then, that the E-L-C tradition appears in Abruzzo, even though colonies do not, does not mean that the tradition and Roman expansion are unrelated, but that the many other facets of Roman imperialism helped bring it here. This is also the case in southern Etruria where broad expanses of inhabited land also separate the colonies; even in regions where the anatomical votives appear with the greatest frequency, the Roman colony is not the primary method of dissemination.

The beginnings of the E-L-C tradition can be summed up then by the following statements: it was likely imported from outside Italy (Greece seems to be the logical source); the imperial strategy that enabled Rome's expansion was the vehicle that disseminated it; the imperial strategy abstained from total intervention in the affairs of the conquered peoples and tolerated a moderate degree of cultural and political autonomy, especially in the sphere of religion. The E-L-C tradition may have arrived with the Romans, but its perpetuation was not due to mandatory participation. Not only did it perpetuate, but also it became the most widespread ritual practice for over two centuries; credit for this must be given also to the indigenous peoples who voluntarily accommodated it into their religious repertoire.

This leads to another series of questions that I address. Firstly, what meaning did this set of ritual practices hold for these peoples? Secondly, what does this say about the Romanization of Italy in the Republican period? Can we speak of a gradual homogenization of the cultures in which different peoples grow to accept and adopt Roman mores and practices as their own? Thirdly, what does this say about culture identity or cultural amnesia? How can we arrive at a clear idea of what it meant to be the Other, if, indeed, the conquered peoples themselves acknowledged any differences?

The sanctuary at Grasceta dei Cavallari is in a unique position to help answer these questions. Its survival from the Etruscan to the Roman eras provides the opportunity to trace the changing function of a sacred site during a period when the socio-political milieu of the area changed drastically. When Caere and Tarquinia were administered as Etruscan capitals, an essential yet delicate diplomatic undertaking involved maintaining and protecting the territorial boundaries and the natural resources

found in the hills within the territories. Possessions and interests had to be defended from encroachment of the other, but without fomenting outright hostilities. The sanctuary as a territorial marker in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE helped to preserve this balance. As a built structure on the height of the boundary, it not only called on the divinities to legitimize the territorial agreements, but also promoted social interaction between the two communities by providing a neutral point of contact.

With Rome's arrival in the fourth century BCE, Caere's and Tarquinia's scrutiny of each other shifted to the new southern power. The sanctuary's role as a marker and place of mediation no longer mattered because the boundary between the two centers no longer existed. As a newly Roman site, the sanctuary's message could be appropriated to announce the Roman presence, and the anatomical votives demonstrate the change in ritual that occurred here.

To better understand the worshippers frequenting the site during this period, this dissertation turned to the styles of the votives. It took as its basic premise that people, as agents in the manufacture and use of material culture, manipulate style to create objects that communicate meaning. Unfortunately, the previous literature on the indigenous style votives came to an opposite conclusion: the style was without meaning because it was informed by nothing more than either an ignorance of aesthetics or apathy. If the indigenous style was to speak again to an audience (albeit one separated from it by 2300 years) this assumption had to be cast away.

If votives exhibiting the indigenous style derived from artistic ignorance, we should expect them to be restricted to a single example or just a few examples from a single site, like at Grasceta dei Cavallari. The reality is far different: many votive heads

from other sacred sites show the same manufacturing techniques and the same style as those from Grasceta dei Cavallari. These too received similar treatment by scholars: they were rude imitations or expressions of resistance to Roman ritual. In contrast, I argue that their regularity shows that the design was no accident; they simply were informed by a visual language of a source far removed from the more familiar Hellenic style examples.

By identifying this source, I argued in chapter 6, it could be possible to translate the message that the style attempted to communicate. Comparanda were found that also shared religious meaning: face plaques, Etruscan face beakers, and gorgon temple terracottas. I argued that each example radiated apotropaic energy to protect the individual or temple for which it was made. The indigenous style heads should be read in the same way. The potential to ward off evil found expression in the style and became a visual counterpart to the worshippers' intangible requests for divine protection.

The indigenous style is an indicator that local, non-Roman, populations participated in the votive traditions and, more important, that they actually believed in the efficacy of the ritual. This can be seen in the different types of indigenous style votives that were dedicated. Heads are the most common type, and they received the most attention in this dissertation, but the examples of indigenous style feet cannot be overlooked. They, like the heads, are wheel-made rather than mould-made and the stylized and exaggerated toes recall the exaggerated facial features of the heads. While indigenous style anatomical votives are far less common than the heads, nevertheless they also appear at other sanctuaries. Local coroplasts would not have fabricated votives like these if there were not a demand for them. I suggest that this demand, while perhaps not coming exclusively from the indigenous peoples, came mainly from them, as they

were the ones for whom the style made the most sense and for whom the coroplast made most of their terracotta wares. A desire to participate in the ritual was accompanied by a need to adapt it to fit local characteristics. The axioms that accompanied the foreign ritual remained unchallenged and unchanged, but different peoples approached the ritual in their own ways to craft a unique experience from it. In other words, although the rules remained the same, the game could still be played differently.

Chapter 7 explored what it meant that indigenes and outsiders participated in the same ritual in the same built sacred space, and how scholars have approached such questions through concepts such as acculturation, homogenization, and resistance. Specifically, I considered how Romanization theory in all of its manifestations can apply to this situation. The definition of Romanization has evolved greatly since its origin in the imperialist mindset of nineteenth-century Western Europe, but the E-L-C studies, I have argued, remains largely unaffected by this dialogue. The view that a higher civilization came in and replaced the collective identity of a conquered race still finds traction. For instance, the spread of the anatomical votives is said to demonstrate an ideological superiority over the local peoples (e.g., de Cazanove 2000: 74; Torelli 1999: 41); or, the significance of the indigenous style is discounted because it goes against the expectation that an acculturated society would use anything but the Hellenic style.

Military superiority was a primary reason for Rome's successful expansion, but granting them also an intellectual or psychological advantage abrogates any collective identity or cultural memory the conquered peoples must have retained. The subaltern voice is present in the story and can be heard through the raucous din that the Roman side emits. This dissertation has attempted to sort out these two voices and draw attention to

the responses of the conquered people as it can be read in ritual behavior. The subaltern voice is also the concern of post-colonial discourse, and by inserting this study into the debate I hoped to develop a paradigm with which to read the E-L-C tradition.

Occupation did not guarantee a unilateral transfer of ideas and ideology onto the conquered peoples, nor was this a design of the Romans in the first place. Studies of imperial strategy must distinguish between domination and hegemony. Domination asserts authority, but it does little to convince the Other that this authority is legitimate. Threats of retribution may prevent resistance, but it this in itself does not give rise to pacification of the conquered. Hegemony relies on the ideological acceptance of the new power structure by the conquered people. It insinuates this authority into the collective consciousness of the conquered through means other than force and domination. These can include negotiation, and an allowance of autonomy to an extent that does not threaten the authority and yet minimizes the chances of resistance to it. If imperial strategy relied solely on domination to control ideology, it wouldn't be much of a strategy.

The Roman imperial strategy could not prevent fully the continuation of traditional culture, and any changes in the behavior of the conquered should be attributed to an adaptation of foreign traditions rather than wholesale acceptance and adoption of it. This is made clear in Terrenato's description of cultural *bricolage* and Wallace Hadrill's bilingualism. Cultures can take on foreign ways of doing or being while still cognizant of their own identity. Indeed, cross-cultural communication was a dominant phenomenon for centuries before Roman expansion; it influenced culture, but the heterogeneity of the different groups was never undermined.

There is no contradiction, therefore, in acknowledging that, on the one hand, a common ritual tradition was observed by disparate cultural groups in Republican Italy and that, on the other hand, cultural heterogeneity continued in spite of this shared adherence. Clearly there was a certain quality about the E-L-C tradition that made it equally appealing to all of these groups, Roman and non-Roman. At its very core, the E-L-C tradition enabled worship on an individual level, in dramatic contrast to the state-sponsored and aristocratically-controlled modes of worship that regulated religion both in Rome and in indigenous societies. Participation was so common because everybody *could* participate: it provided an opportunity to construct a personal relationship with the gods and communicate directly with them without the intervention of religious specialists.

Such self-determination explains the presence of Etruscan worshippers dedicating votives at Grasceta dei Cavallari, for example. Many degrees of separation stood between the gods and man in Etruscan religion; portents and signs expressed the will of the gods, but these were decipherable only by a small and specifically trained group. The ability was of fundamental importance to the health of the society and enhanced the authority of the priests and *haruspices*. The religious offices thus became the purview of the aristocratic classes who also controlled the political sphere of the communities. The lower classes, which made up the majority of the population, were shut out and dependent on specialists to negotiate the interactions between the mortal and divine realms. This changed with the introduction of the E-L-C tradition, when everybody shared the ability to reach the audience of the gods regardless of social status.

Traditional ritual behavior continued, however, even as this new form of worship appeared. The E-L-C tradition did not replace Etruscan religion, which still functioned after the Roman occupation. Nor did it promote a cultural amnesia. Going back to the styles of the votives at Grasceta dei Cavallari, I have argued that the indigenous style set alongside the Hellenic style was a visual and effective means to display the continuity of native culture. It was a direct juxtaposition of the old interacting with the new, and visitors at the site could assert their own cultural identity by dedicating a votive in the appropriate style or at least be reminded of it by viewing those already displayed.

This dissertation has attempted to re-evaluate the E-L-C tradition as it relates to the local and foreign participants. Most of the attention lay with the former because the little treatment they have received in past studies is simply inadequate. The indigenes are written off as passive recipients of foreign practices, impulsively adopting the ritual and thoughtlessly creating votives using a style that is ignorant of aesthetic awareness. Or their dedications are said to be objects of resistance against the new authority. Recognizing that the conquered peoples still were active agents in their behavior and in their manufacture of material culture allows us to interpret their motivations in more complex ways. If they participated without coercion, then the evidence of their participation should not also be attributed to resistance. Their unique style was a way in which they could involve themselves in a new manner of worship and also allowed them to maintain and assert their own identity alongside that of the occupiers.

Certainly Rome's expansion did provoke uncertainty and loss of control for those now under its yoke. Threats of violence or retribution were specters that influenced how the conquered responded. While this may have induced them to act in certain ways, it did

not extirpate individuals' agency to act selectively and deliberately. Just as Roman conquerors employed flexibility when dealing with local populations, so too did the conquered peoples employ flexibility when dealing with the by-products of imperialism. Practices and goods that seemed beneficial to accept could be adopted without supplanting the traditional practices, ideologies, or values. The E-L-C tradition should be seen as one such practice and not as a choice between the two diametric options of acceptance and resistance.

Appendix 1

Catalogue of the Finds

Criteria for Classification

The objects listed in this catalogue are separated into five categories based on function and materials. The first category deals with the terracotta votives, the heads and anatomical objects. These are further separated into six subcategories with upper-case letters (A-F) based the votive class. The subscript Arabic numerals following the letters correspond to the manufacturing techniques, either mould-made (1) or hand-made (2). Next, the Roman numerals differentiate the styles of the objects. Where style is not relevant (hands, breast, uterus, and phallus), the Roman numerals serve to enumerate the individual pieces. Where style is a factor (heads and feet) enumerating the individual pieces is accomplished by a final lower-case letter.

The remaining objects are categorized by material. Terracotta objects that are not strictly votives are all assigned the letters "TC". Bronze and iron pieces are given the letter "M"; stone, the letter "S"; and coins, the letter "C". After each letter, Arabic numerals enumerate the individual pieces.

For the sake of completeness the catalogue includes pieces that no longer are available for study. These have been lost, and no images seem to exist for all but one of them. Museum records and other previous scholarship is used to provide a record as thorough as possible.

Table 3: Classificatory system for heads and anatomical terracotta votives.

Heads	Category (A: Heads)	Technique (1: Hand/ Wheelmade; 2: Mould)	Style (I: “Indigenous”; II: “Hellenic” III: Other)	Individual arrangement of pieces
Feet	Category (B: Feet)	Technique (1: Hand/ Wheelmade; 2: Mould)	Style (I: “Indigenous”; II: “Elongated”; III: “Veristic” IV: Other	Individual arrangement of pieces
Hands/ Fingers	Category (C: Hands and Fingers)	Technique (1: Handmade; 2: Mould-made;	Individual arrangement of pieces	
Breast	Category (D: Breast)	Technique (1: Wheelmade)	Individual arrangement of pieces	
Uterus	Category (E: Uterus)	Technique (1: Mould)	Individual arrangement of pieces	
Phallus	Category (F: Phallus)	Technique (1: Mould)	Individual arrangement of pieces	
	Letter (Upper Case)	Numeral (Subscript)	Roman Numeral	Letter (Lower Case)

Heads and Anatomical Votives

Heads

A₁Ia

Figures A1.1 and 2

Head exhibits a tripartite structure consisting of a rounded cranium, cylindrical mid facial zone, and a tapered cylindrical neck that also serves as the base. The cranium is bare, lacking any detail that would suggest hair. Nor is there a defined forehead indicating a transition from the cranium to the face. The right ear exists as a semicircle applied directly onto the side of the head and extends outward perpendicular from the surface of the head. A single band of clay runs across the top of the face, which should be read as a schematic representation of eyebrows or a brow-ridge. The nose attaches directly to the center of the band and descends in high relief. The eyes are formed by cords of clay drawn into circles and applied onto the surface. Beads of clay pressed within the circles represent pupils. The mouth is rendered in the same way. A cord of clay is drawn into a semi-circle and applied onto the surface, representing a slightly parted mouth. The chin is attached directly to the lower lip from where it descends into the zone of the neck. The neck begins with a sudden tapering that eases into a cylindrical shape and swells slightly toward the bottom.

The head was produced on a potter's wheel with identical techniques used in the production of many deep vessels. It was made upside-down, with the cranium corresponding to the bottom of a vessel and the neck to that of the neck of a vessel. Once shaped, the bottom was allowed to sag to form the rounded cranium, and facial features were applied around the drum-like middle zone at the "leather-hard" stage. No vent holes are present.

Chronology: mid-third century BCE—mid-second century BCE.

The head is in a good state of preservation. The left ear is missing although a mark on the surface indicates where it was applied. The left corner of the mouth and the surface of the chin are broken. Horizontal grooves from the potter's fingers still are apparent around the neck. The clay used is *argilla rossastra*, rough with a high density of large inclusions.

Dimensions: Height: 21.3 cm. Greatest width: 13.94 cm. Distance of eyes: 11.47 cm. Inv. 70425.

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 32, fig. 24.

Gentili, M.D. 1985. Il santuario di Grasceta dei Cavallari sui Monti della Tolfa - A. Terrecotte votive. In *Santuari d'Etruria*, edited by G. Colonna. Milano: Electa Editrice: 156-157, fig. 8.3 A 1.

Gentili, M.D. 1999. I santuari territoriali in età etrusca. In *Leopoli-Cencelle: Le Preesistenze*, edited by L. Pani and S. del Lungo. Roma: Fratelli Palombi Editori: 86-87.

A₁Ib

Figures A1.3 and 4

A₁Ib, like A₁Ia, displays a tripartite structure, although less geometrically so due to more naturalistic curvatures that join one zone to the other. The cranium lacks any detail that would suggest hair. The ears were rendered by means of two semicircles applied perpendicularly onto the side of the head. The top of the face is marked by a horizontal band of clay that represents eyebrows or brow ridge. The nose descends from the center of the horizontal band, sloping outward as it descends so that its farthest projection occurs at the tip. The eyes are formed by strips of clay drawn into circles, and beads of clay in the centers represent pupils. A larger strip of clay, formed into a semicircle, represents a partially open mouth. The chin is attached directly to the bottom

lip and descends into the zone of the neck. A gentle tapering suggests the transition from the facial zone to the neck. The neck is long and cylindrical, although some pinching of the surface down the front suggests the anatomy of the throat. The neck also serves as the base.

The head was thrown on a potter's wheel. After the general form of the head was accomplished, further shaping by hand gave it a more naturalistic appearance. The rounded back of the head and the pinched front of the neck are two examples that also suggest that the 'front' and 'back' of the head were established before the facial features were applied. No vent holes are present.

Chronology: mid-third century BCE—mid-second century BCE.

The head is reconstructed from nearly thirty fragments. Despite the numerous breaks, the facial features remain in very good condition: only the ears are broken. The clay used is *argilla rosata*, smooth with very small sandy inclusions.

Dimensions: Height: 18.5 cm. Greatest width: 12.47 cm. Distance of eyes: 8.62 cm. Inv. 70426.

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 32.

Gentili, M.D. 1985. Il santuario di Grasceta dei Cavallari sui Monti della Tolfa - A. Terrecotte votive. In *Santuari d'Etruria*, edited by G. Colonna. Milano: Electa Editrice: 156-157, fig. 8.3 A 2.

Gentili, M.D. 1999. I santuari territoriali in età etrusca. In *Leopoli-Cencelle: Le Preesistenze*, edited by L. Pani and S. del Lungo. Roma: Fratelli Palombi Editori: 86-87, fig. 13.

The face is alone is preserved. The cranium terminates midway up, and there is no indication of hair. A horizontal band runs across the forehead in high relief, which should be understood as a brow-ridge or eyebrows. The nose attaches to the center of the horizontal band and descends in high relief. The right eye was formed by a strip of clay drawn into a circle, and a ball of clay at the center denotes the pupil. The mouth was rendered by means of a strip of clay drawn into a semi-circle, giving the appearance of a partially open mouth. The chin is attached directly to the lower lip and tapers slightly as it descends.

The head has previously been identified as a mask (Gentili 1985: 156; Gentili 1999: 86; Stanco 1998: 211), however hints of horizontal striations along the inside wall indicate that the fragment was wheel-made, a technique appropriate only for objects fully in the round and not for masks, which were pressed in to moulds. It is best, then, to identify this as a poorly preserved head of similar style to A₁I and A₁II.

Chronology: mid-third century BCE—mid-second century BCE.

Only a portion of the front of the face is preserved, which was reattached along a break below the nose. The cranium terminates before reaching the top of the head. The horizontal band above the eyes is broken midway over the right eye. The right eye is also broken. A round void appears where the left eye had been. Both the nose and mouth are undamaged, but an uneven plane at the base of the chin suggests that this was fractured. The sides and back of the head, as well as the ears, are absent. The clay used is *argilla rossastra*, rough with grainy inclusions.

Dimensions: Height: 13.7 cm. Greatest width: 9.89 cm. Inv. 70427.

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 32.

Gentili, M.D. 1985. Il santuario di Grasceta dei Cavallari sui Monti della Tolfa - A. Terrecotte votive. In *Santuari d'Etruria*, edited by G. Colonna. Milano: Electa Editrice: 156.

Gentili, M.D. 1999. I santuari territoriali in età etrusca. In *Leopoli-Cencelle: Le Preesistenze*, edited by L. Pani and S. del Lungo. Roma: Fratelli Palombi Editori: 86-87, fig. 14.

A₁Id (fr)

Figures A1.7 and 8

Head fragment preserving the eyes, nose and a part of the upper lip. The nose gradually protrudes as it descends to the tip. The eyes are rendered by means of strips of clay drawn into circles and applied onto the surface. Balls of clay at the center of the circles represent pupils. The left portion of the upper lip survives and provides enough evidence to conclude that the mouth was formed with the same technique as A₁Ia- A₁Ic, with a long strip of clay drawn into a semi-circle.

Previous scholarship has identified this fragment, like A₁III, as a mask (Gentili 1999: 86; Stanco 1998: 211). Horizontal striations appear rather clearly along the inside wall, however, and appear to result from its manufacture on a potter's wheel. A mask, which features only the front of a face, could not be made on a wheel, but was pressed into a mould. This fragment was made fully in the round and should be interpreted as part of a full head.

Chronology: mid-third century BCE—mid-second century BCE.

Only the lower half of the nose survives, so it is unclear whether it was attached to the center of a horizontal brow-ridge or eyebrow. The left and right sides of the face were reattached between the right eye and the nose. Both eyes appear in their full form,

save for a small break along the top of the right eye. The clay used is *argilla rosata*, smooth with very small sandy inclusions.

Dimensions: Height: 5.13 cm. Greatest width: 8.94 cm. Distance of eyes: 8.94 cm. Inv. 70428.

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 32.

Gentili, M.D. 1999. I santuari territoriali in età etrusca. In *Leopoli-Cencelle: Le Preesistenze*, edited by L. Pani and S. del Lungo. Roma: Fratelli Palombi Editori: 86-87.

These four examples of the indigenous style exhibit formal traits that appear with some frequency in other Italic sanctuaries. Comparanda can be found throughout Southern Etruria and as far south as Campania. One head from the sanctuary of Casale Pescarolo shares particularly striking stylistic and typological similarities.²¹⁰ Its tripartite structure recalls immediately the general shape of head A₁Ia. There are definite transitions between the rounded cranium, cylindrical facial zone, and lower cylindrical neck. The facial features, moreover, evoke strongly the features of A₁Ia-d. They are schematically and exaggeratedly formed. In particular, the large nose protrudes far and abuts up against an exaggerated representation of eyebrows that run across the forehead. The rounded chin also descends and projects in the same manner as A₁Ia-c.

Other heads vary typologically, but certain similarities, from the general form and schematic patterning of the features to more specific techniques in rendering the features, indicate that they were manufactured in very much the same style. Three heads, for

²¹⁰ Bellini (2004: 100, figs. 28 and 29).

example, share similar geometric forms and schematic facial details.²¹¹ Coming from Pontecagnano, Trebula Mutuesca, and Velletri, they are made by hand as opposed to a mould and their rounded forms recall the schematic forms of A₁Ia-b. The features of the face, furthermore, are exaggerated and also schematic. The head from Trebula Mutuesca corresponds typologically most closely to the heads from Grasceta dei Cavallari. In particular the nose and eyebrows are rendered as an identical single T-shaped piece in high relief. The same effect occurs on the head from Velletri, although to a slightly lesser extent, and it is also apparent on the head from Pontecagnano. The eyes and mouths of the comparanda are likewise exaggerated, although rendered differently, with balls of clay rather than strips and horizontal incisions between the lips to suggest mouths.

A head from Trifilisco, half-head from Capua, facial plaque from Corvaro, and a facial fragment from Carsoli also show ways in which similar techniques resulted in stylistically analogous pieces.²¹² Made by hand and without the use of moulds, they exhibit similar high profile noses that join at the top to conspicuous horizontal brows and eyebrows. The facial features employ other identical techniques, such as corded eyes and mouths (Trifilisco head, Capua half-head, Carsoli fragment) and strong projecting chins (Capua half-head).

A₂IIa (fr)

Figures A1.9 and 10

Fragment of head of a male, of which the forehead, right eye, nose, mouth, and chin are preserved. Large individuated comma-like locks of hair fall over a high

²¹¹ For Pontecagnano: Modesti, et. al. (2005: 486, fig. VI.e). For Trebula Muteusca: Santoro (1987: 356-358, fig. 13). For Velletri: Angle and Ghini (1999: 117, fig 11). Angle and Ghini (1999: 117) compare the Velletri head to an example from Tessennano. See also Costantini (1995: 39-40, n. A₁XXVIII, tav. 10c).

²¹² For the Trifilisco head: Napoli (1956: 386-391). For the Capua half-head: Bonghi Jovino (1971: 141: MT. O IX 1, tav. LXX.4). For the Corvaro plaque: Reggiani (1979:223-224: n. 135770, tav. XLVI.2); Reggiani Massarini (1988: 33-34, fig. 52). For the Carsoli fragment: Marinucci (1976: 147: fr. 71, tav. 80).

forehead. Small, naturally rendered nose with nostrils indicated by small indentations. Eyelids of the right eye were carved into the negative of the mould. The outer edge of the eye turns downward. Pupil is marked by a small circular engraving. Lips are full and fleshy. The mouth is closed and turns downward slightly at the outer edges. The chin is rounded and large.

The face was executed by means of a mould, and finger marks remain indented in the inner wall from when the clay was pressed into the mould. The back part of the head is absent. The worn-out features suggest that the mould had seen much use prior to the fabrication of this head.

Chronology: Second century BCE.

The head is rejoined from four fragments. One break runs across the bridge of the nose and under the right eye. Another runs down from the right eye and under the nose. A third runs down the left side of the forehead. The left eye is missing. The clay used is *argilla chiarissima*, rough with a high density of large inclusions.

Dimensions: Height: 17.5 cm. Greatest width: 8.97 cm. Inv. 70433.

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 33, fig. 25, fig. 26.

Identifying heads deriving from the same or equal moulds is made difficult by both its poor state of preservation and rough, indistinct features. The features do, however, allow for the identification of a large number of heads that exhibit similar typological properties. Most important is the hairstyle. The individual curling locks that fall over the forehead represent a particular styling found with many other examples. Two, in particular, warrant special mention. The first is a head fragment, now at the

Museo Gregoriano, with large individual comma-like locks running down across the forehead.²¹³ The well-defined facial features, furthermore, seem to correspond with those from A₁IIa, such as the drooping eyelids and mouth. The second comes from Tessennano, where two heads derive from the same mould and show very similar large and curving locks over the forehead.²¹⁴ The facial features as well present another close basis of comparison to A₁IIa. Other examples appear in a geographically broad area, from Capua, to Rome, to Tarquinia, among others.²¹⁵

A₂IIb

Figures A1.11 and 12

Round head of a male infant. A projection surrounds the head, running behind the ears and down the sides of the neck. It appears far back on the cranium, laying bare the front half of the head. There is no indication of hair either from carving into the negative of the mould or through incisions onto the head itself. Ears, schematically rendered, were applied separately, with the right ear higher than the left. The nose is small and rounded at the tip. Indentations around the orbital region indicate eyes, but they are almost wholly lacking in detail. The mouth is closed, and the upper lip projects past the lower, giving the impression of an overbite. The chin is weak, rounded and fleshy. The neck is long and is broken irregularly at the bottom.

²¹³ Hafner (1966-1967: 46, tav. 15.4).

²¹⁴ Costantini (1995: 30, ns. A₁II_A and A₁II_B, tav. 1b and 1c); Hoftner (1995: 99, 210, n. 249, Abb. 29 and 30). The two heads published by Costantini are particularly interesting because, although they originate from the same or equal moulds, one wears a veil (A₁II_A) while the other's head is bare (A₁II_B). The decision to add a veil was not dependent on the face mould. See also Pensabene (2001): 245, n. 208, tav. 45, for a nearly identical head, but this time rendered as female.

²¹⁵ For Capua: Bonghi Jovino (1971: 94-95, ns. Q VII a1 and b1, tav XLIV 3-4). For Rome: Gatti Lo Guzzo (1978: 90, n. G VII, tav. XXXV). For Tarquinia: Comella (1982: 61-62, n. B₁ XXVIII_a, tav. 21b and 64, B₁ XXXI, tav. 23b). For Carsoli: Marinucci (1976: 57, n. E XII_a2, tav. 22). For Palestrina: Pensabene (2001: n. 104, tav. 24). For Teano: Johannowsky (1962: 150, fig. 16 a/b). For Caes: Ciaghi (1993: 118, n. H VIIIa1, fig. 84).

The head consists of two pieces: the mould-made front, which terminates at the projection, and the handmade back and projection. The back is flat, only slightly indicating the curvature of the head. The mould was worn when used, causing the indistinct details of the features.

Chronology: Second century BCE.

Head rejoined from numerous fragments. Gaps in right forehead, right cheek, and chin restored. Upper part of veil is chipped. No vents holes.

Dimensions: Height: 15.54 cm. Greatest width: 11.06 cm. Distance of eyes: 5.02 cm. Inv. 70431.

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 33.

A representation of a small child, whose soft, small features and rounded head find many parallels among portrayals of children. The break along the neck makes it difficult to determine whether this was an isolated votive head or a fragment of a statuette of a swaddled infant. In order to establish patterns that could distinguish between the two head types, 206 statuettes of swaddled infants, complete and in various states of preservation, and 129 isolated infant heads were analyzed.²¹⁶ Dimensions were noted, as

²¹⁶ The statuettes "in fasce" come from 17 sanctuaries. For Falerii: Comella (1986: 46-47, ns. C I-II, tav. 25). For Garigliano: Mingazzini (1938: 790-794, n.s 57-111, tav. XVII.4, 8-10; XIX, 1-9). For Gravisca: Comella (1978: 21-24, BII 1-BII 17, tav. VI). For Lavinium: La Regina (1975: 248, n. C 233, fig. 343). For Liri: Rizzello (1980: 15, ns. C8-c11, fig. 40-43). For Lucera: Bartoccini (1940: 192-193, fig. 6-8). For Palestrina: Pensabene (2001: 254-257, ns. 226-227, tav. 51). For Rome: Lo Guzzo (1978: 145, n. Z 1, tav. LV). For Tarquinia (Ara della Regina): Comella (1982: 18-22, A4I-A4XIII, tav. 4-6). For Tessennano: Costantini (1995: 61, ns. CI-C_{fr}I, tav. 25 a-b). For Teano: Johannowsky (1962: 146, tav 12 e and 12h); Morel (1991: 21, tav. 5e). For Tevere: Breitenstein (1941: 86, n. 810, pl. 104); Pensabene (1980: 214-222, ns. 527-551, tav. 90-93). For Veii: Vagnetti (1971: 87, ns. MI₅ a-MII, tav. XLVII); Comella (1990: 41-42, ns. D II-3, tav. 11 d-e). For Vulci: Pautasso (1994: 33-44, ns. CI 1-CXX 1); Ricciardi (1992: 166-167, ns. 71-81, tav. 32, 33, 35, 36). For unknown provenance: Breitenstein (1941: 86, n. 811. Pl. 104).

well as the presence or absence of a projecting edge around the head. One pattern establishes that the heads of the statuettes are normally smaller than the votive heads. While the distance between the outer corners of the eyes averaged 5.15 cm among the statuettes, that of the votives heads averaged 5.40 cm. Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of the statuette heads appeared with a projecting edge. Of the 142 examples for which there remained evidence, 138 had the projecting edge and 4 did not. Of the 129 isolated votive heads, 28 had the projecting edge and 101 did not.²¹⁷

Both the diminutive size of A₁IIIb (5.02 cm between the outer eye corners) and the projecting edge suggest that this example is a fragment from a statuette. Numerous analogous types can be found in other sanctuaries. Pautasso's type C I from the sanctuary at *Porta Nord*, Vulci, features a similarly rounded face with finer details, when present, applied by incision.²¹⁸ The projecting edge is the swaddling cloth running up and covering the head. Other examples are found at the sanctuary at Fontanile di Legnisina, Vulci and Ara della Regina, Tarquinia.²¹⁹

The isolated votive infant heads come from 11 sources. For Caes: Ciaghi (1993: 161-168, ns. N Ia1-N IXa1, fig. 118-126). For Capua: Bonghi Jovino (1971: 133-136, ns. Y I a 1-Y X b 1, tav. LXIV-LXII). For Carsoli: Marinucci (1976: 123-125, ns. V Ia1-V IVa2, tav. 58-59). For Falerii: Comella (1986: 39-41, ns. A₃I-A₃V, tav. 20 a-21c). For Lavinium: La Regina (1975: 249, C 234, fig. 345). For Lucera: Bartoccini (1940: 195-196, fig. 9.1-3); Rossi (1980: 72, ns. CM 8-CM 9, tav. XXVI-XXVII). For Palestrina: Pensabene (2001: 254-257, ns. 221-228, tav. 50-51). For Tarquinia: Comella (1982: 91-99, ns. B₃I-B₃5, tav. 58a-60a). For Tessennano: Costantini (1995: 46-40, ns. A₃I-A₃VII, tav. 16a-17d). For Veii: Torelli (1973: 233, ns. Ac1 A-AcII, fig. 108). For unknown provenance: Breitenstein (1941: 86, n. 212, pl. 104).

²¹⁷ It should be mentioned, however, that some of the heads with projecting edges classified as votive heads could instead be heads from the statuettes of swaddled infants. See, for instance, Ciaghi (1993: 166, n. N VIa 1, fig. 123); Marinucci (1976: 124, n. V IIIa1, tav. 59); Pensabene (2001: 254-257, ns. 222-228, tav. 50-51).

²¹⁸ Pautasso (1994: 34-35,37, ns. CI 1-12, tav. 12a-15c).

²¹⁹ For the sanctuary at Fontanile di Legnisina, Vulci: Ricciardi (1992: 167, ns. 71, 73, 74, tav. 32, 33). For Ara della Regina, Tarquinia: Comella (1982: 19, A₄II, tav. 4).

Oval shaped head of a female. A diadem with a rounded projection at the apex surrounds the top of the head. Vertical incisions appear on the sides of the head and the point of the diadem. The hairstyle is parted at the center with locks, indicated by incisions in the clay, falling over both sides of the forehead and over the ears. On the back, the hair is perfunctorily indicated by a series of vertical incisions. The nose is small with a rounded tip. The orbital region is large, but the eyes lack detail except for small incisions that mark the upper eyelid. The mouth is small, barely exceeding the width of the nose, and the lips, divided by an incision, are closed. The chin is round and fleshy. The bottom of the neck flares to create a base.

The front of the head was formed by one mould, while the back and diadem were fabricated by hand. The two pieces join in front of the diadem. In profile, the back of the head behind the diadem is higher than the top of the forehead, so that most of the detail of the diadem is visible only from the front.²²⁰ A slight curvature at the back indicates the shape of the head and curves in again at the neck. The mould was worn when it was used, resulting in the indistinct details of the features. The clay used is *argilla rosa*, smooth with a small density of large sandy inclusions

Chronology: Mid-second century BCE—first half of the first century BCE.

The head is rejoined from three pieces. One break runs along the left side, from the left temple down across the face and back. Another break runs across the top of the back of the head down to the right side of the base. The third runs around the back of the

²²⁰ Martin Söderlind (2002: 45, fig.9) identifies four different modes in which the moulded front of the head and the handmade back join: the “frontal rim with vertical fronted side”, the “vertical rim with sloping frontal side”, the “projecting rims with vertical sides”, and the “projecting rims with sloping sides”. A₂Ia corresponds to the “frontal rim with vertical frontal side,” where there is “a vertical step from the top of the back to the crown.”

neck. Much of the back, the left temple, and right ear were restored. A reddish tint irregularly appears over the surface.

Dimensions: Height: 19.40 cm. Greatest width: 10.91 cm. Distance of eyes: 6.59 cm. Inv. 70430.

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 33, fig. 25.

Gentili, M.D. 1985. Il santuario di Grasceta dei Cavallari sui Monti della Tolfa - A. Terrecotte votive. In *Santuari d'Etruria*, edited by G. Colonna. Milano: Electa Editrice: 156, fig. 8.3 A 3.

Gentili, M.D. 1999. I santuari territoriali in età etrusca. In *Leopoli-Cencelle: Le Preesistenze*, edited by L. Pani and S. del Lungo. Roma: Fratelli Palombi Editori: 86, fig. 12.

Because the face of the head was moulded separately from the back and the diadem, a search for typological parallels must consider the face separately. One head from the sanctuary of Minerva Medica on the Esquiline Hill at Rome is nearly identical. Although it is a bit larger (height: twenty-two centimeters, width: thirteen centimeters), the features are so similar that the head from Grasceta dei Cavallari likely came from a later generation of the same mould.²²¹ Gatti Lo Guzzo identifies this head as a young male. Its soft lines and features create a rather androgynous overall effect which enabled the craftsman to produce a male or female head from the same mould by the addition of further details or iconography, for example, the diadem, which signals a female head.²²²

²²¹ Lo Guzzo (1978: 99-100, n. H VII, tav. XLI).

²²² Comella (1982: 41), for example, identifies two heads that came from the same mould, one female (B₂XXV_a, tav. 42a) and the other male (B₁XXVIII_b, tav 22a), identified as such by their different hairstyles. The head from Grasceta dei Cavallari was originally interpreted as a male head and is written so in the early museum inventory lists. Subsequent studies changed it to female.

Although diadems are not uncommon among the female heads, the pointed diadem occurs much less frequently. A few examples come from the Vignaccia cemetery at Cerveteri,²²³ but, while the iconography may resemble the type worn by A₂Ic, the features of the heads and faces are not analogous. More comparable is a head from the sanctuary of Scasato at Falerii.²²⁴ This is a fragment of the sculptural program from the temple's pediment. Not only is the diadem the same style, but many of the features of the face are similar to those of A₂Ic, such as the center hair part running over the forehead and temples, the small mouth, and rounded fleshy chin. Comella (1993: 110) has hypothesized that the head represents either Aphrodite or, more feasibly, Artemis based on the style of the diadem.²²⁵

Other highly analogous examples, however, come from the Thesmophorion on Thasos. The Épikratè group consists of twenty-eight fragments of statues and statuettes that share stylistic and iconographic properties, including pointed headgear.²²⁶ Two heads in particular bear striking similarities to A₂Ic. If not for the smaller size of head 200, the congruent oval shape, central hair part, large eyes, small mouth, and rounded fleshy chin might seem to have come from the same matrix.²²⁷ Head 202 is nearly the same size as A₂Ic and its features also coincide closely with this head.²²⁸

²²³ Nagy (1988: 108-109, n. IA24, pl. XXI.41 and 109, n. 1A25, pl. XXI.42; 116-117, n. IA32c, pl. XXVII).

²²⁴ Comella (1993: 110-111, n. G 4, tav. 34b, 35a).

²²⁵ Both goddesses appear with this iconography. An Aphrodite figurine at Capua wears a pointed diadem (See Della Torre and Ciaghi 1980: 14, n. A II a 1, tav III.2.), while the Artemis of Versailles wears a similar piece (See Bieber 1967: 67, fig. 201).

²²⁶ Muller (1996: 142-152, ns. 179-207, tav. 44-47). Muller refers to the headgear as headbands ("bandeaux"), but they resemble diadems closely enough to be considered diadems.

²²⁷ Muller (1996: 144, tav. 44.200).

²²⁸ Muller (1996: 145, tav. 44.202).

Oval face of a female. A veil appears far back over the head, becoming hardly discernable at the top. It runs behind the ears and projects farther out at the sides of the neck. The hair was accomplished by means of carving into the negative of the mould. The hairstyle runs over the forehead and gathers up over the ears. The bottom halves of the ears are visible as indistinct bulges under the hair. The nose is small and protrudes slightly. Indentations suggest orbital cavities, but there are no finer details to mark out the features of the eyes. Likewise, only the slightest horizontal line gives any indication of the details of the mouth. The chin is weak, without any increase of the relief. The neck terminates in an irregular break.

The front of the head was fabricated by means of a mould while the back and veil were made by hand. The back of the head is flat and a vent hole is at the center. The very indistinct features suggest a worn out mould. The clay used is *argilla ocra* with a medium density of large sandy inclusions.

Chronology: Second century BCE.

The head is rejoined from two pieces. The break runs along the seam between the front and back of the head. A break encircles the bottom of the neck and rises at the sides.

Dimensions: Height: 12.54 cm. Greatest width: 9.92 cm. Distance of eyes: 4.60 cm. Inv. 70429.

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 33.

The poor state of preservation prevents a positive identification of typologically similar heads. The general outline of the hair is the only identifying feature still visible to

some extent, and therefore is the only worthwhile tool to identify comparanda. The hair is short and begins at the center of the forehead and falls over the upper halves of the ears. Hairstyles like this are not uncommon. For example at Cales a veiled female head shares a similar style.²²⁹ At Tessennano a group of five heads is also comparable,²³⁰ and three examples come from Palestrina.²³¹

A₂IIIa (fr)

Figures A1.17 and 18

Fragment of the lower part of the face, from the nose region to the neck. The contour of the face follows a triangular form down to the chin, reminiscent of the Daedalic style of sculpture. The mouth is small, with pursed and protruding lips. The chin is fashioned by a vague bulging. There is little distinction between the face and neck regions.

The back is slightly concave and does not follow the general shape of the face as seen in the other mould-made examples. The clay used is an *impasto rossastro*, rough with a high density of large inclusions.

Chronology: Possibly late sixth century BCE.

The preservation is very poor. The top half is missing, the nose is broken off. The neck ends in an uneven break.

Dimensions: Height: 9.56 cm. Width: 6.88 cm. Inv. 70436.

Bibliography:

Stanco, E.A. 1998. Il santuario etrusco romano di Grasceta dei Cavallari. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 211.

Zifferero, A. 1995a. Economia, divinità e frontiera: sul ruolo di alcuni santuari di confine in Etruria Meridionale. *Ostraka IV* (2): 341, fig. 7.

²²⁹ Ciaghi (1993: 76-77, n. C XIXa 1, fig. 42).

²³⁰ Costantini (1995: 42-43, n. A₂VII, tav. 13).

²³¹ Pensabene (2001: 227-228, n. 180-182, tav. 40).

Andrea Zifferero (1995a: 341) has identified this piece as an antefix fragment. Its style has affinities with female antefixes from Caere from the third quarter of the sixth century BCE. Two examples are listed by Andrén.²³² The triangular faces reference the Daedalic style, the small mouths are rendered by means of simple bulging lips, and the chin bulges as well. The demarcation between the face and neck is more pronounced in these antefixes. They are assigned an earlier date than this fragment: comparanda suggest that they were manufactured in the early sixth century BCE (Andrén 1940: 21).

Feet

B₁Ia

Figure A1.19

Left foot. It is composed of two basic parts, a cylindrical ankle and heel, and a high, solid foot. It terminates at the upper ankle, which is unnaturally wide and continues to swell as it rises. The heel is rounded at the back. No anatomical details mark the ankle or heel. The foot tapers at the center and widens toward the toes. The toes are exaggerated and unnaturally splayed. They are rendered both by grooves incised between them and by separation. The big toe and second toe are joined and distinguished by a groove. The fourth and fifth toes are likewise executed. The middle toe is separated from the other two pairs. All of the toes rise slightly. Toenails are marked by round incisions. The bottom of the foot does not show evidence of a sole. No footwear.

The foot is wheel-made. The ankle and the heel are hollow, and horizontal ridges from the craftsman's fingers are still clearly visible. A projection of clay was moulded by hand to create the foot and toes. The clay used is *argilla rosata* with small sandy inclusions.

²³² Andrén (1940: 20-21, ns. 1:4 a-b, pl. 6.13-14). See also Cristofani (1987: 97 ff., figs. 4-7).

Chronology: Second century BCE.

Put together from numerous fragments and restored in some areas, including part of the right side. It terminates above the ankle by an irregular break.

Dimensions: Height: 10.15 cm. Length: 15.61 cm. Width at toes: 9.92 cm. Inv. 70453.

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 33.

B₁Ib

Figure A1.20

Right foot. Terminates at the upper part of the ankle. Ankle and heel are large and squared. No further anatomical details are present. The foot is slightly elongated and flattened. At the center it slightly tapers and widens again toward the toes. The toes are individually formed and are separated from one another. They rise slightly off of a small platform. Toenails are executed by means of incision. No indication of a sole at the bottom of the foot. No footwear.

The foot is wheel-made. The ankle and heel are hollow. A projection of clay was formed to create the foot and the toes. The clay used is *argilla rossastra*, rough with mid to large sized inclusions.

Chronology: Second century BCE.

The foot is rejoined from a break which separated the back part of the ankle from the rest of the foot. The big toe is missing and the remaining toes are not well preserved. It terminates at the upper ankle by an irregular break.

Dimensions: Height: 4.92 cm. Length: 18.20 cm. Width at toes: 7.29 cm. Inv. 70455.

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 33.

B₁Ic (fr)

Figure A1.21

The big toe and second toe from a right foot. They are attached to each other and marked by a groove in between. Toenails indicated by rounded incisions. There is no evidence of a sole beneath the toes. No footwear.

Hand-made and solid. The clay used is *argilla rosata* with small sandy inclusions.

Chronology: Second century BCE.

The piece consists of the big toe and second toe. The rest of the foot was not recovered.

Dimensions: Length: 5.27 cm. Width: 4.67 cm. Inv. 70454.

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 32.

Handmade feet, relative to mould-made ones, make up a very low percentage of examples in the sanctuaries where anatomical votives are located. The three from the sanctuary at Grasceta dei Cavallari, furthermore, display characteristics that are so unique from other handmade feet that none is typologically analogous. An analysis of the others shows a number of common techniques and typological features that are absent here.²³³

With many, the structure of the foot is a rudimentary and schematic proxy for the foot's natural shape. The feet from Cuma,²³⁴ for example, barely exceed a most basic

²³³ Hand-made feet were analyzed from 8 sites. For Abruzzo: Faustoferri (1997: 107-108, ns. 39-53); Iaculli (1997: 119-120, ns. 7-18). For Corvaro: Reggiani Massarini (1988: 44-50, ns. m. 1 and n. 12, figs. 78 and 93); Capasso (1996: 31, fig. E 0.2). For Cuma: Catucci (2002: 81-82, ns. C₄₁-C₄₆, tav. XXIVc-XXVc). For Liri: Rizzello (1980:18, ns. 114-115, figs. 126-127). For Lucera: D'Ercole (1990, 208, ns. F₃₁-2, tav. 77). For Pompeii: D'Alessio (2001:118, D₂I 1-2, D₂II, tav. 23). For Rapino: Guidobaldi (2002: 44-45, ns. D_{2fr}11-12, tav. VI).

²³⁴ Catucci (2002: 81-82, ns. C₄₂-C₄₅, tav. XXIVc-XXVb).

anatomical representation, while those from Corvaro²³⁵ and Liri²³⁶ are unnatural and flattened models. The toes, meanwhile, are summarily depicted. In the majority of cases, a series of furrows at the end of the foot approximates the profile of toes. In some cases, an extra furrow is incised, giving the foot a sixth toe.²³⁷ Toenails are rarely indicated, and usually through small indentations pressed into the tip of the toe.²³⁸

The techniques used to create the two complete handmade feet from Grasceta dei Cavallari differ greatly. Like the feet just discussed, these are schematic representations. But the comparisons end here. Rather than approximating the parts of the foot, exaggerated effects draw attention to the different parts of the foot. The tapered center, for example, not only represents a schematic translation of the foot's arch, but it also gives prominence to the anatomy of the front and back of the foot, the heel and the toes. The toes are also embellished and overstated. They are splayed apart and rise slightly, creating a focal point by elevating the widest region of the foot. They are shaped and, in the case of B₁Ib, are separated from one another rather than delineated by simple incised lines. With B₁Ia, we see the middle toe separated from the outer pairs, but even the attached pairs of toes are shaped and individuated. The toenails of B₁Ia are fully articulated by circular incisions. The fragment B₁Ic (fr) also shows precisely the same style of toenail in the two surviving toes. This detail, along with its dimensions that

²³⁵ Reggiani Massarini (1988: 44-50, ns. 1 and 12, figs. 78 and 93).

²³⁶ Rizzello (1980:18, ns. 114-115, figs. 126-127).

²³⁷ For examples of votive feet with six toes see: Reggiani Massarini (1988: 44-50, ns. m. 1 and n. 12, figs. 78 and 93); Faustoferri (1997: 107, ns. 44-46). Capasso (1996: 31) raises the possibility that feet with six toes could be reproducing a paleopathology called polidattilia, having more than five toes. He rightly argues that the majority of the feet are too perfunctorily made to read genuine medical conditions, rather than simple mistakes, in the extra toes.

²³⁸ See, for example, Reggiani Massarini (1988: 50, n. 12, fig. 93) for an example from Corvaro of a foot with toenails pressed into the tips of six toes, begging the question of whether at least some of the six-toed feet were meant to represent polidattilia.

closely match the big toe and second toe of B₁Ia make it likely that it belongs to the same production as the two complete feet.

No typologically similar pieces occur outside of the sanctuary; however, within the sanctuary there are important parallels between the handmade feet and the indigenous style heads. Many of the same techniques were used in their creation, and much of the same vocabulary is used to describe both categories of artifact. The indigenous style heads, for example, were fabricated on a wheel and have generally cylindrical shapes like the ankle of B₁Ia. The heads are schematic representations, but exaggerated effects draw close attention to the individual features of the face: the corded eyes and mouths are not accurate renderings, but are unmistakable and highly conspicuous, and the same can be said for the high-profile noses, eyebrows and ears. Likewise, the features of the feet are unmistakable and conspicuous, even if very schematic. The significance of this will be addressed at a later time, but it is enough to propose here that these similarities make it very likely that the indigenous style heads and indigenous style feet are part of the same production and came from the same workshop, if not made by the same craftsmen.

B₁IVa

Figure A1.22

Right foot. It terminates above the ankle and a rectangular hole pierces the top. Realized in a summary way, it conforms to the general shape of the foot, but lacks most anatomical detail, with the exception of slight swellings on both sides of the ankle that represent ankle bones. The toes are rendered by means of horizontal incisions. There is no indication of toenails. A groove runs around the bottom perimeter and creates the impression of a sole. The bottom is indented at the center, of equal thickness as the sole, which forms a base. No footwear.

The foot is hand-made and solid. The clay used very rough with a high density of large inclusions.

Chronology: Third century BCE—second century BCE.

The foot terminates above the ankle in an irregular beak. The rest of the foot is whole.

Dimensions: Height: 9.28 cm. Length: 16.70 cm. Width at toes: 5.83 cm. Inv. 70449.

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 33.

The foot originally was likely part of a larger statue, indicated by the irregular break at the ankle and the rectangular hole into which an attachment of the leg would be placed. The inventory list notes that the foot is in the form of a shoe, but by examining comparanda of both shod and unshod pieces, it seems more likely that this example was not meant to correspond to a foot inside a shoe. Similar pieces with shoes can be found, among other places, at Palestrina and the Tevere deposit at Rome.²³⁹ Pensabene (2001: 262) writes that these examples are wearing the calceus, a smooth leather footgear that closed over the calf. It was the classic footwear of the citizenry, Pensabene writes, worn with the toga by both men and women but prohibited for slaves.²⁴⁰ These feet are similar to our example in that that are smooth and anatomically featureless, but the differences between them argue for a different interpretation for B₁IVa. Firstly, these are mould-made and hollow pieces, while B₁IVa is made by hand and solid. Secondly, the toes are not indicated because they are covered by the calceus, while the toes are defined by

²³⁹ For Palestrina: Pensabene (2001: 261-262, n. 240, tav. 53). For Rome: Pensabene (1980: 163-164, ns. 271-276, tav. 64).

²⁴⁰ For a contemporary description of this footwear, see Serv. *Ad Aen.*, I, 282.

incision here. Thirdly, in the examples where the foot terminates high enough above the ankle, the upper edge of the footwear is visible.²⁴¹ While B₁IVa also terminates above the ankle, there is no evidence of any edge of footwear.

Instead, this piece parallels more closely other handmade examples such as have been found at Cuma, Tessennano, and Abruzzo.²⁴² The four pieces are summarily modeled and lack anatomical details, save for protruding ankle bones on the Cuma piece and impressed toenails on the Tessennano piece. All four indicate the toes by means of horizontal incisions.

B₁IVb (fr)

Figure A1.23

Left foot. It terminates halfway up the foot before the ankle. It is summarily executed, with little anatomical detail. The toes are small and short and are indicated by horizontal grooves. The big toe was separated. Toenails are not present. The bottom is flat. No sole and no footwear.

The foot is hand-made and solid. The clay used is *argilla ocra*, smooth with a low density of small inclusion.

Chronology: Third century BCE—second century BCE.

The foot terminates midway up in an irregular break. The big toe is missing. The ends of the remaining toes are highly worn.

Dimensions: Height: 3.75 cm. Length: 4.93 cm. Width at toes: 4.21 cm. Inv. 70451.

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 33.

²⁴¹ See, for example, Pensabene (1980: 163-164, ns. 271-274).

²⁴² For Abruzzo: Faustoferri (1997: 107, ns. 44-45). For Cuma: Catucci (2002: 81, n. C₄I, tav. XXIVb). For Tessennano: Costantini (1959: 88, n. E_{7fr}3, tav. 36g).

The smaller proportions of the foot indicate that it is an infant's. Infant feet are found at other sites and vary stylistically, from mould-made naturalistic examples that model their adult counterparts,²⁴³ to more stylized and schematic versions.²⁴⁴ A pair of infant feet from Trebula Mutuesca, once part of a larger statuette, closely resembles this fragment with its schematic rendering and featureless toes indicated by horizontal grooves.²⁴⁵

B₂Ia

Figure A1.24

Left foot. It terminates at the lower part of the shin in a slender cylinder. As it descends to the ankle, some swelling occurs in order to give abstract details to the anatomy of the ankle. The back of the foot protrudes, corresponding to the back of the heel, and two knobby protuberances appear faintly on either side, indicating the ankle bone. The foot begins high and descends sharply toward the toes. The toes are elongated and appear as featureless rods except for the little toe, which gives some indication of a joint. They are squared at the tips. There are no indications of toenails. At the transition between the foot and toes, grooves mark the areas between where the toes begin. The bottom is flat and the toes rest on a platform. No footwear.

The foot is mould-made and is hollow except for the toes. The clay used is *argilla rossa*, rough with a high density of medium-sized inclusions.

Chronology: Late second century BCE—early first century BCE.

²⁴³ Examples can be found at Falerii: Comella (1986: 59 and 72-73, ns. E₉I-E₉IV, tav. 37a-c), at Lucera: D'Ercole (1990: 200, ns. F₃XXII-XXIII, tav. 77), at Ponte di Nona: Potter (1989: 27-29, ns. 16.1 and 17.1), and at Tarquinia: Comella (1982:128-130, ns. D₁₂I-X, tav. 81d-h).

²⁴⁴ Examples can be found at Cuma: Catucci (2002: 77, n. C₄IX, tav. XXIb); and at Trebula Mutuesca: Santoro (1987: 363, n.1, fig. 23).

²⁴⁵ Santoro (1987: 363, n.1, fig. 23).

The foot terminates at the lower shin in an irregular break. The big toe, second toe, and the front of the base have been reattached.

Dimensions: Height: 13.45 cm. Length: 21.80 cm. Width at toes: 7.56 cm. Inv. 70450.

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 33.

Gentili, M.D. 1985. Il santuario di Grasceta dei Cavallari sui Monti della Tolfa - A. Terrecotte votive. In *Santuari d'Etruria*, edited by G. Colonna. Milano: Electa Editrice: 156, fig. 8.3 A 6.

B₂Ib (fr)

Figure A1.25

Left foot. Terminates midway up the foot. The toes are elongated. The big toe is separated from the others which are joined and defined by grooves running between them. The tip of the big toe is squared. There are no indications of toenails. The bottom is flat, and the toes rest on a platform. No footwear.

The foot is mould-made and is hollow except for the toes. The clay used is *argilla grigiastra*, rough with a medium density of medium-sized inclusions.

Chronology: Late second century BCE—early first century BCE.

The foot terminates before the ankle in an irregular break. The upper half of the second toe is missing.

Dimensions: Length: 10.24 cm. Width at toes: 3.35 cm. Inv. 70460.

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 32.

Typologically similar feet occur rather frequently at other sanctuaries. One example that derives from the same mould as B₂Ia comes from the sanctuary at Porta

Nord at Vulci.²⁴⁶ Pautasso (1994, 83) identifies the platform on which the toes sit as a sole that follows the form of the foot. Different decisions during the manufacture of the feet have resulted in different products, however. The Vulci example is an isolated foot. It terminates above the ankle in an unbroken rounded edge with a small round hole piercing the top. B₂IIa ends at the ankle in an irregular break and is hollowed out, suggesting that this foot was part of a leg which is now lost.²⁴⁷

Other changes can be made after the molding. Toenails, for example, are commonly added, usually through impression but sometimes through incision. A foot from Palestrina is typologically analogous to B₂IIa and B₂IIb, but with incised toenails.²⁴⁸ Others examples are found at Falerii, Lavinium, and Tessennano.²⁴⁹

B₂IIIa

Figure A1.26

Right foot. It terminates above the ankle and faithfully replicates the natural anatomy of the foot. The heel is rounded at the back and at the sides protuberances indicate the ankle bones. The arch is also apparent. The foot widens from the center to the toes where it levels out. The toes are sized proportionately to one another and to the rest of the foot. Toenails, which are present but worn, were part of the mould. The foot rests on a rounded sole that follows the contours of the foot. No footwear.

The piece was fabricated from a single mould created from a real human foot. The bottom is hollow. The clay used is *argilla chiara*, smooth with a medium density of medium-sized inclusions.

²⁴⁶ Pautasso (1994: 83. N. H 4, tav. 40d).

²⁴⁷ Fenelli (1975: 226) claims that we can only be sure that a foot was an isolated votive offering when its original termination point is still apparent. Those that terminate with a rough break probably came from a larger work that ended just below or above the knee.

²⁴⁸ Pensabene (2001: 262-263, n. 243, tav. 53).

²⁴⁹ For Falerii: Comella (1986: 72, n. E₉III, tav. 37b). For Lavinium: Fenelli (1975: 294, ns. 322-324, fig. 374). For Tessennano: Costantini (1995: 85, E₇IV, tav. 35d and 87, E₇X, tav. 36b).

Chronology: Third century BCE—mid-first century BCE.

The foot terminates above the ankle in an irregular break. It was reattached at the junction of the toes and foot.

Dimensions: Height: 4.95 cm. Length: 21.3 cm. Width at toes: 8.61 cm. Inv. 70452.

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 33, fig. 27.

B₂IIIb (fr)

Figure A1.27

Fragment of a left foot. It terminates before the ankle. It is a faithful recreation of the front of a foot and the toes. Part of the arch is visible. The toes are proportionate to one another. The toenail of the big toe is still visible, and there is a slight indication of the toenail of the second toe. The toenails were part of the mould and not retouches. The foot rests on a rounded sole that follows the outer contours of the foot. No footwear.

The foot derives from a mould of a real human foot. The bottom is hollow. The clay used is *argilla rossastra*, rough with a medium density of medium-sized to large inclusions.

Chronology: Third century BCE—mid-first century BCE.

The foot terminates in an irregular break across the center. The back half is missing. The ends of the toes are heavily worn.

Dimensions: Length: 10.65 cm. Width at toes: 7.58 cm. Inv. 70456.

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 33.

Fragment of a left foot. It terminates along the center before the ankle. Three toes remain visible, the big toe, and second and third toes. The surviving shape conforms to the natural form of the foot. Part of the arch is still visible. The three toes are proportionate to one another. The foot rests on a sole that runs along the remaining edge.

This piece derives from a single mould of a real human foot. Bottom is hollow. Clay used is *argilla rossastra*, rough with a high density of medium to large-sized inclusions.

Chronology: Third century BCE—mid-first century BCE.

The foot is in a highly fragmentary state. It terminates in an irregular break across the center. The left side of the foot and the fourth and fifth toes are missing. The tip of the big toe is chipped and the other two are heavily worn.

Dimensions: Length: 13.48 cm. Width at toes: 6.85 cm. Inv. 70458.

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 32.

Creating moulds with actual feet as the prototype is a common production technique for this category of votive, most likely because it was the simplest way to create authentic looking pieces, and because sources for new prototypes were always at hand (or foot). Therefore, analogous examples can be found at nearly every sanctuary where votive feet appear.

Left foot. It terminates midway up, before the ankle. The execution is schematic and anatomical details are lacking. The toes are long and rendered by means of deep horizontal grooves. There is no indication of toenails. The foot rests on a platform that follows the lines of the toes, the outer edge, and the back of the foot. The platform extends further on the inner side, suggesting that this is one half of the base of a statuette and not an isolated votive foot. No indication of footwear.

Mould-made from two pieces, the flat bottom, on which finger grooves are still visible, and the upper foot and platform. The foot is hollow. The clay is *impasto rossastro* rough, with a high density of medium-sized inclusions.

Chronology: Third century BCE—mid-first century BCE.

The foot terminates in an irregular break midway up. The break continues along the inside of the foot and platform.

Dimensions: Length: 18.00 cm. Maximum width: 12.89 cm. Inv. 70457.

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 32.

Although this piece is too fragmentary to identify definitively what the statuette represented, an examination of analogous votives from other deposits helps to isolate a likely option. On many statuettes of swaddled infants, the feet, which rest on small platforms, peek out from beneath the swaddling cloth. Generally, they are schematic and lack anatomical details, traits that also characterize B₂IVa (fr). Particularly applicable

examples come from Caere, Corvaro, Lucera, and Vulci.²⁵⁰ Deep horizontal grooves serve to distinguish and separate the toes in much the same way the toes appear on B₂IVa (fr). Toenails and details of the foot are absent. One notable difference among the feet from Corvaro, Lucera and Vulci and the fragment from Grasceta dei Cavallari is that the latter's feet must have been slightly apart, while the pairs of feet from the other three sites touch. This is typically the way feet were positioned in these statuettes in the E-L-C votive deposits. The two examples from Caere, however, are separated in a manner similar to B₂IVa (fr), showing that, although not common, statuettes of swaddled infants with separated feet did exist.

The piece should, then, be interpreted as a fragment from a statuette of a swaddled infant, and placed in the same thematic context as the other pieces identified as infants. Very significant is head A₁IIb, which was identified above as most likely coming from a larger statuette of a swaddled infant. Different clay types, however, preclude the possibility that the two pieces come from the same statuette, giving rise to the possibility that there were at least two separate examples here.

Hands

C₂I

Figure A1.30

Right hand. The hand is open and the fingers and thumbs are extended fully. It is summarily executed, with anatomical details present only on the front side. The back side is flat and featureless. The fingers are rendered by means of grooves between them, and the thumb is attached to the palm and distinguished by a similar groove. At the base of

²⁵⁰ For Caere: Gentili (1989-1990: 724-725, fig. 9-10). For Corvaro: Reggiani Massarini (1988: 51, n. o.1, fig. 96). For Lucera: D'Ercole (1990: 131, n. D_{fr}10, tav. 44 d). For Vulci: Ricciardi (1992: 169, n. 76, fig. 35).

the thumb a slight bulging provides some semblance to the shape of the palm. A cone-shaped projection descends from under the wrist.

Mould made from two pieces, a front side and back side, from which the outlines of the fingers were grooved before firing. The hand is solid. The clay used is *impasto chiaro*, rough with a medium density of large inclusions.

Chronology: Third century BCE—mid-first century BCE.

The piece is heavily worn, and it appears that the mould was worn when this example was made, but it is preserved without breaks.

Dimensions: Length: 16.3 cm. Width: 6.65 cm. Inv. 70435.

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 32.

Gentili, M.D. 1985. Il santuario di Grasceta dei Cavallari sui Monti della Tolfa - A. Terrecotte votive. In *Santuari d'Etruria*, edited by G. Colonna. Milano: Electa Editrice: 156, fig. 8.3 A 5.

C₂II (fr)

Figure A1.31

Left hand. It terminates at the ends of the four fingers, which are outlined by horizontal grooves. The thumb is attached to the palm and also is outlined by a groove.

The back is flat and featureless.

Mould made. The fingers are solid. The clay used is *argilla chiara*, smooth with a low-density of small inclusions.

Chronology: Third century BCE—mid-first century BCE.

The hand terminates in an irregular break below the four fingers. The bottom half of the thumb is missing. The extremities of the fingers are heavily worn.

Dimensions: Length: 8.30 cm. Width: 6.54 cm. Inv. 70438

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 32.

C₁I (fr)

Figure A1.32

The state of preservation makes it impossible to determine whether this is a right or left hand. The two surviving fingers appear to be the index and second fingers that were rolled individually into cylindrical shapes and attached to one another. No anatomical details like fingernails are apparent.

The two fingers are hand-rolled and were attached to a hand that was probably mould-made.²⁵¹ The clay used is *impasto rossastro*, rough with a high-density of large inclusions.

Chronology: Third century BCE—mid-first century BCE.

The hand terminates in an irregular break below the two fingers. The other two fingers, the thumb, and the palm are missing.

Dimensions: Length: 7.79 cm. Width: 3.29 cm. Inv. 70448

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 32.

The attachment found below the wrist of C₂I is evidence that the hand was part of a larger work, examples of which can be seen from many sanctuary sites, including Albano, Cuma, Garigliano, and Lavinium.²⁵² One typologically similar piece appears at

²⁵¹ This technique is described by Catucci (2002: 61) where she writes that “le dita dovevano essere accostate, modellate e distinte tra loro da solcature sulle due facce, plasmate singolarmente ed applicate al palmo in una seconda fase della lavorazione.” This technique also explains why all of the examples of hands from Cuma are missing the fingers.

²⁵² Fenelli (1975a: 225) writes that “[m]ani pertinenti a complessi maggiori: avambraccio o braccio ed avambraccio, sono chiaramente riconoscibili in quegli esemplari che presentano sotto il polso una

Velletri.²⁵³ The fingers extend straight out and are defined by horizontal grooves, and the thumb is attached to the palm. The back, meanwhile, is flat and featureless. A pin extends from the bottom of the wrist.

C₂II and C₁III are too fragmentary to determine whether they were isolated votives or parts of a larger works.

Fingers

C₁II

Figure A1.33

Thumb. The natural shape of the thumb is rendered realistically. It terminates in a break midway down. Clay used is *impasto rossastro*, rough with medium density of small-medium inclusions.

Dimensions: Length: 4.78 cm. Width: 2.23 cm. Inv. 70442.

C₁III

Figure A1.33

Unidentifiable finger. A featureless rod, it terminates before the base. Clay used is *impasto rossastro*, rough with medium density of small-medium inclusions.

Dimensions: Length: 4.29 cm. Width: 1.52 cm. Inv. 70442.

C₁IV

Figure A1.33

Unidentifiable finger. A featureless rod, it terminates before the base. The clay used is *impasto rossastro*, rough with medium density of small-medium inclusions.

Dimensions: Length: 3.76 cm. Width: 1.09 cm. Inv. 70442.

protuberanza a forma di tronco di cono, che fungeva chiaramente da perno d'innesto coll'avambraccio.” For Albano, see: Chiarucci (1993: 274, fig. 7). For Cuma: Catucci (2002: 61, ns. C₁III 1, C₁IV, tav XIV c-d). For Garigliano: Mingazzini (1938: 787, n. 22). For Lavinium: Fenelli (1975a: 225, tav. XLII 1-2); Fenelli (1975b: 271-2, n. D 132, fig. 362).

²⁵³ Melis and Quilici Gigli (1983: 35, n. 5 (80), tav, V 3-4).

C₁V

Figure A1.34

Unidentifiable finger. It is cone-shaped, tapering from the base to the tip. No anatomical detail is present. It terminates at the bottom in a break that appears only to occur around the edge, while the center is a smooth facing. The clay used is *impasto rossastro*, rough with a medium density of medium-sized inclusions.

Dimensions: Length: 6.24 cm. Width: 2.83 cm (base), 1.55 cm (tip). Inv. 70443.

C₁VI

Figure A1.35

Unidentifiable finger. Long and thin, it slightly curves in a way reminiscent of the joints of the finger. The tip is pressed, perhaps indicating a fingernail. A protruding line runs along one side, from base to tip, which is possibly a fracture point from where an adjoining finger separated. The clay used is *impasto rossastro*, rough with a high-density of large inclusions.

Dimensions: Length: 6.36 cm. Width: 1.60 cm. Inv. 70444.

C₁VII

Figure A1.36

Unidentifiable finger. It tapers from the base to the tip, which is squared. Terminates at the base in a break. A line is visible running along one side from base to tip. The clay used is *impasto rossastro*, smooth with a low-density of small inclusions.

Dimensions: Length: 4.62 cm. Width: 2.05 cm. Inv. 70445.

C₁VIII

Figure A1.37

Unidentifiable finger. Long and thin, it curves slightly. On one side, a thin line runs from base to tip, which is likely the fracture point where another finger was attached. A break runs across the middle. The clay used is *impasto rossastro*, rough with a high-density of large inclusions.

Dimensions: Length: 6.31 cm. Width: 1.63 cm. Inv. 70446.

C₁IX

Figure A1.38

Index finger of the right hand. There is a slight curvature. The break occurs below the base, which begins to swell in correspondence with the shape of the hand. A fracture line runs down the right side from base to tip, from where another finger was attached. The area around the fingernail is chipped. The clay used is *impasto rossastro*, smooth with a low-density of small inclusions.

Dimensions: Length: 7.84 cm. Width: 2.78 cm (base), 1.80 (tip). Inv. 70447.

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 32.

The state of preservation makes it difficult to tell if these were isolated votives or fragments from complete hands. The most likely isolated votive finger is C₁V simply because its cone shape would make attachments of other fingers difficult, and that its base does not appear to be a complete fracture from a hand. Fracture lines running down the sides of C₁VI, C₁VIII, and C₁IX, indicate that these were attached to other fingers and made up complete hands. The nearly identical dimensions, shapes and clay types of C₁VI and C₁VIII, furthermore, raise the possibility that these are fingers from the same hand.

Breast

D₁I

Figure A1.39

Hemispherical. The nipple is rendered in high relief. A light circular incision appears around the nipple and could represent the areola. It tapers sharply at the bottom.

Wheel-made. Solid. The clay used is an *argilla rossa*, rough with a medium density of medium-sized inclusions.

Chronology: Third century BCE—mid-first century BCE.

Good state of preservation. Two breaks have been reattached. At one side, the bottom has been restored.

Dimensions: Height: 8.81 cm. Width: 9.90 cm. Inv. 70434.

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 32.

Gentili, M.D. 1985. Il santuario di Grasceta dei Cavallari sui Monti della Tolfa - A. Terrecotte votive. In *Santuari d'Etruria*, edited by G. Colonna. Milano: Electa Editrice: 157, fig. 8.3 A 7.

The general shape of the breast, as well as the nipple in high relief, conforms to the canonical form of the votive breast. The tapered bottom indicating a base can be found at Falerii, Lanuvium, Tarquinia, and Tessennano.²⁵⁴

Uterus

E₁I

Figure A1.40

Ovoid form tapering slightly toward the top to create a rounded point. Tapering also is apparent at the bottom half as the left side closes in to join where the neck of the uterus was. The right side is too fragmentary to follow the lower half. Horizontal grooves are visible along both sides, which crossed the body of the uterus to represent musculature. The body rests on a flattened and featureless bottom, the edges of which

²⁵⁴ For Falerii: Comella (1986: 74-75, ns. E₁₂IV and E₁₂VI, tav. 39 d and f). For Lavinium: Fenelli (1975b: 256, ns. 16-17, fig. 352). For Tarquinia: Comella (1982: 132, D₁₄III, tav. 82). For Tessennano: Costantini (1995: 88, E₈I-II, tav. 37).

extend beyond the body. The state of preservation makes it impossible to tell if there was a lateral appendage.

Mould-made. Hollow. The clay used is an *argilla grigiastra*, rough with a medium density of large inclusions.

Chronology: Third century BCE—second century BCE.

The state of preservation is poor. The surface is heavily chipped. The lower right half of the body and much of the lower area of the platform is missing. The lower left side has been reattached from several breaks. Highly worn.

Dimensions: Height: 12.83 cm. Width: 8.42 cm. Inv. 70459.

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 32.

Due to the fragmentary nature of the votive, it is not possible to locate other examples from the same mould. Stylistically analogous examples, however, are found throughout the etrusco-latial-campanian area. The form of the organ corresponds closely to Ricciardi's Category II, forms 16-17, at Vulci, with an ovoid or almond shape and grooved musculature running horizontally over the body.²⁵⁵ Examples are also found at Cales, Fregellae, Lavinium, Lucera, Ponte di Nona, Rapino, Rome, and Tessennano.²⁵⁶

Phallus

F₁I

Figure A1.41

²⁵⁵ Ricciardi (1992: 180-189, fig. 45).

²⁵⁶ For Cales: Ciaghi (1993: 207, n. GII, fig. 139). For Fregellae: Ferrea (1986: 137-138, G II-III, tav. LXXXII 1-3). For Lavinium: Fenelli (1975b: 262-263, ns. D 73-86, fig. 357). For Lucera: Bartoccini (1940: 190, fig. 4). For Ponte di Nona: Potter (1989: 46-47, fig. 37.7 and 39.4-5). For Rapino: Guidobaldi (2002: 45-46, ns. D_{3fr}1-2, tav. VIIa-b). For Rome: Quilici Gigli (1981: 89, n. 29, fig. 10b). For Tessennano: Costantini (1995: 99, n. E₁₁IX, tav. 44).

The testicles are low-hanging and are attached to the surface of a fragment of terracotta. The penis descends between the testicles and is affixed completely to the surface. This is atypical in this votive class where the penis usually extends outward and away from the surface. Below the testicles, a vertical groove descends until it terminates at an irregular break. Poor preservation makes a description of the foreskin impossible.

Mould-made. On the back, finger grooves of the coroplast pressing the clay into the mould are present. The clay used is *impasto rossastro*, rough, with a high density of medium-sized inclusions.

Chronology: Third century BCE—second century BCE.

Poor state of preservation. The penis is chipped off, leaving merely a fracture line where it was attached. An irregular break surrounds the entire phallus. The testicles, though worn, are complete and in good condition.

Dimensions: Height: 9.91 cm. Width: 8.95 cm. Penis length: 6.05 cm. Testicle width: 5.23 cm. Inv. 70439.

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 32.

The nature of the break around the phallus leads to the conclusion that this piece was not originally an isolated phallus attached to a plaque, but was part of a larger work. A phallus with a similar break from Lavinium is described by Fenelli (1975b: 262) as perhaps coming from a herm.²⁵⁷ While possible, it seems more likely that this fragment and the fragment from Grasceta dei Cavallari are pieces from votives of the nude torso or

²⁵⁷ For more on this piece, see Fenelli (1975b: 261-262, n. D 70, fig. 355).

lower body (i.e., waist and legs), for which there are numerous examples.²⁵⁸ One lower body votive from Tessennano shows striking typological similarities to F₁I with long and low testicles and a penis attached down the center.²⁵⁹ This example is part of a larger group consisting of the abdominal region, waist, and upper legs, and a comparison with F₁I shows that the vertical impression found below the testicles is an indication of the upper legs pressed together.

Other Terracotta Votives and Objects

Thymiaterion

TC1

Figure A1.42 and 43

A solid cylinder slightly tapering from one end to the other. A horizontal projection runs around the tapered end. Around the top of the projection a series of incised lines begin at the cylinder's body and run out to the outer edge of the projection. At the center of the cylinder there is an inconspicuous protuberance encircling the body. The body continues past the larger projection and ends suddenly in an uneven break. The wider end is also broken.

Hand-formed. The clay used is *argilla rosata*, rough with medium-sized inclusions.

Chronology: unknown

²⁵⁸ Votive offerings of torsos appear at Lavinium (Fenelli 1975b: 255-256, ns. D 12-14, figs. 349-350), Lucera (D'Ercole 1990: 224, n. F₉I), Ponte di Nona (Potter 1989: 38-39, figs. 30-31a), and Tessennano (Costantini 1995: 82, n. E₄I, tav. 33a). Votives of the lower body appear at Fregellae (Ferrea, et. al. 1986: 139, ns. M II-III, tav. LXXXV 3-5), Lucera (D'Ercole 1990: 224, n. F₉I), Palestrina (Pensabene 2001: tav. W 3-5), and Tessennano (Costantini 1995: 82, ns. E₅I₁-E₅I₄, tav. 33 b).

²⁵⁹ Costantini (1995: 82, n. E₅I₁, tav. 33b).

Poor state of preservation; broken at both ends. The surface is highly eroded, leaving no trace of finer details apart from the incised decorative lines on the horizontal projection.

Dimensions: Length: 14.1 cm. Width (at wide end): 6.03 cm, (at tapered end): 5.02 cm, (at projection): 7.154 cm. Inv. 70465.

Bibliography: unpublished.

Although its identification is listed as unknown in the museum records, comparanda of the general form strongly suggest that it is a thymiaterion. Whole examples from other sanctuaries look like elongated chalices with a base at the bottom and small cup at the top. The stems often appear with similar projections, which served no other purpose other than aesthetic. This piece, then, should be identified as the stem of this type of cult instrument: the tapered end is the top of the stem, and the cup would be just above the projection; the wider end was the bottom.

Thymiateria are common cult objects, functioning as incense burners within the sanctuary.²⁶⁰ Therefore this object should not be interpreted as a votive offering, but as something related to the day-to-day-operation of the site. They are dispersed widely throughout the Italic sanctuaries, and occur in bronze as well as terracotta. Comparanda to our terracotta model are found at, but not only, *Tredici Are*²⁶¹ and the sanctuary of Minerva²⁶², Lavinium; the acropolis at Gela²⁶³; Tessennano²⁶⁴; and the sanctuary of Mefite, Valle d'Ansanto.²⁶⁵ A fragment from San Giuliano, Viterbo, which is listed as

²⁶⁰ For a fuller bibliography on thymiateria, see Fenelli (1989-1990: 501, n. 36).

²⁶¹ See Gianfrotta (1981: 204, n. D 98) for images of three intact examples.

²⁶² Six examples are pictured in Fenelli (1989-1990: 494, fig. 10).

²⁶³ See Panvini and Sole (2005: 85, ns. III D I and II, tav. XXXI c and d).

²⁶⁴ See Costantini (1995: 110, n. H 5, tav. 47 i).

²⁶⁵ See Bottini, et. Al. (1976: 469-470, ns. 471-489, fig. 38).

unidentifiable in the museum's catalogue, is notably similar to the Grasceta dei Cavallari model. It too consists of only the stem encircled by five projections.²⁶⁶

Lamp

TC2

Figure A1.44 and 45

Simple wheel-made lamp with no handle and a circular shoulder. The shape of the nozzle cannot be ascertained. The pour-hole is small and slightly off-center within a rather deeply recessed discus.

Chronology: mid-second century BCE—mid-first century BCE.

Restored from fragments. The nozzle is almost entirely missing. The clay used is *impasto grigio*.

Dimensions: Length: 7.44 cm. Width: 6.31 cm. Height: 3.25 cm. Inv. 70440.

Bibliography:

Toiati, P. 1985. Il santuario di Grasceta dei Cavallari sui Monti della Tolfa - B. Ceramica. In *Santuari d'Etruria*, edited by G. Colonna. Milano: Electa Editrice: 157.

The lamp corresponds most closely to C. Pavolini's (1981: 149-152 and 1987: 141) cylindrical type 'dell'Esquilino', and Marina Ricci's (1973) type H. According to Pavolini (1987: 141) it is one of the most amply documented types, and the simple production situates it within the workshops of local inhabitants. Its range of distribution is limited mainly to Latium, however some examples are also known from the Adriatic side of Italy (Pavolini 1981:152).²⁶⁷

Bowls

TC3

Figure A1.46 and 47

²⁶⁶ See Emiliozzi (1974: 88, tav. XLV 49).

²⁶⁷ For a distribution map, see Pavolini (1981: 150, tav. XXIX). For a bibliography of examples of this type, see Pavolini (1981: 180-181).

Black gloss votive bowl with base.

Chronology: Early third century BCE.

This example is complete except for a small chip in the foot. The clay used is *argilla chiara*.

Dimensions: Diameter: 6.5 cm. Height: Inv. 70437.

The bowl corresponds to Morel's (1981: 224, tav. 73) type 2784. Toiati (1985: 157) links its manufacture to Tarquinian production of the *Petites Estampilles* group.

TC4

Figure A1.48 and 49

Black gloss votive bowl with a base. The rim

Chronology: Early third century BCE.

The bowl is restored from several fragments. Most of the black gloss is gone. The clay used is *argilla rosata*.

Dimensions: Diameter: 6.5 cm. Height: Inv. 70441.

The bowl corresponds to Morel's (1981: 223, tav. 72) type 2783. Toiati (1985: 157) links its manufacture to Tarquinian production of the *Petites Estampilles* group.

Bibliography:

Toiati, P. 1985. Il santuario di Grasceta dei Cavallari sui Monti della Tolfa - B. Ceramica. In *Santuari d'Etruria*, edited by G. Colonna. Milano: Electa Editrice: 157.

Tiles

TC5-8

The museum records list four roof tiles from the site; all of them are currently missing. Two are rectangular *tegole*, two are rounded *coppi* which covered the joins between the *tegole*.

Both *tegole* were reconstructed from fragments. Clay used is *impasto rossastro*.

One *coppo* was chipped at one edge. Clay used is argilla rossastra.

Dimensions: *Tegole*: 63 x 50 cm. (Inv. 70466); 65 x 45 cm. (Inv. 70467). *Coppi*: Length: 57 cm. (Inv. 70468); 45 cm (Inv. 70469).

Bronze and Iron Objects

Bronze hand

M1

The location of this object is currently unknown. One photograph and a brief description of it in the museum's records survive.²⁶⁸ This is a fragment of what was likely a bronze statuette. The fragment consists of an intact left hand grasping a hare, which is also intact. It is broken at the wrist.

Chronology: unknown. Stanco (1998: 220, n. 72) writes that it may precede the Hellenistic period.

Dimensions: Length: 4 cm.

Bibliography:

Stanco, E.A. 1998. Il santuario etrusco romano di Grasceta dei Cavallari. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 219.

No comparanda has been located for this piece, although there is an early mention of a votive statuette at the Metropolitan Museum of Art of a statuette of a female votary holding a rabbit in one hand and a pomegranate in the other (BMMA 1920: 37). No other information of this piece can be found; however, the juxtaposition of the two objects mentioned here accords well with the symbolic valence of the rabbit from our fragment.

The pomegranate and the rabbit are closely linked to the sphere of fertility, and the rabbit

²⁶⁸ For the photograph, see Stanco (1998: 218, fig. 9).

in particular has close ties to Aphrodite. The Elder Philostratus (*Imag.* I.6) writes that the rabbit is the most appropriate gift to her, given its obvious ability for reproduction.

Bronze hand

This piece is lost and is mentioned only in the museum records where it describes a bronze votive hand broken at the wrist.

Chronology: unknown.

Dimensions: Length: 5.5 cm. Inv. 70462.

Iron finger ring with engraved gem

M2

This piece is lost. The museum records state that the engraved gemstone depicts a seated male, however its poor preservation prevents a detailed analysis. Stanco (1998: 219 and n. 62) writes that it could be related to the liberation of a slave: at the sanctuary of *Lucus Feroniae* numerous rings were found dedicated to Feronia who was the tutelary goddess of freedmen.

Chronology: unknown.

Inv. 70592

Bibliography:

Stanco, E.A. 1998. Il santuario etrusco romano di Grasceta dei Cavallari. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 219.

Iron ring

M3

Large iron ring; too large to be a finger ring. Like the other ring, Stanco (1998: 219) links this to the cult activities of a freedman.

Chronology: unknown.

Heavy corrosion.

Dimensions: Diameter: 7 cm. Inv. 70463

Bibliography:

Stanco, E.A. 1998. Il santuario etrusco romano di Grasceta dei Cavallari. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 219.

Stone

Statuette base

S1

Figure A1.50

Square nenfro base. A hole was bored into the center of the top, in which are the remains of the metal statuette attachment. The sides are carved to feature four horizontal stripes.

Chronology: unknown.

Heavily chipped around the sides, especially the bottom corners.

Dimensions: 10.13 x 9.51 cm. Height: 6.31 cm. Inv. 70432

Bibliography:

Brocato, P. 1998. Il Museo Civico di Tolfa e alcune pagine di storia dell'archeologia tolfetana. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 33.

Statuette bases appear frequently in sanctuaries where, of course, statuettes were dedicated. One similar example, also with a hole bored into the center, is found at Punta della Vipera.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁹ See Comella (2001: 113, n. M 4, tav. XXXV d).

Coins

Twenty-five coins were recovered from the site. The poor state of preservation of the majority of the coins precluded identification for all but a very few. These are described in the catalogue.

C1

Figures A1.51 and 52

Aes Grave

Obverse: Open right hand, palm up;
at left, three circles stacked vertically.

Reverse: Two wheat ears, one inverted;
between, three circles stacked vertically.

Chronology: 286-268 BCE.

Weight: 75.20 grams. Inv. 70593.1.

Bibliography:

Baglione, M.P. 1985. Il santuario di Grasceta dei Cavallari sui Monti della Tolfa - C. Monete. In *Santuari d'Etruria*, edited by G. Colonna. Milano: Electa Editrice: 157.

Stefanini, A. 1966. *Recenti scoperte archeologiche nel territorio di Tolfa*. Tolfa: Circolo di cultura di Tolfa: 40.

Haeberlin (1910: 97-98, taf. 40, 1-5) identified 136 examples of this coin. They range in weight from 106.57 grams down to 65.90 grams. The coin from Grasceta dei Cavallari falls just under the middle-range weight of 81.86 grams. A similar coin was found at Pyrgi (Comella 85 and 89, fig. 30).

C2

Figures A1:53 and 54

Litra

Obverse: Helmeted head of Minerva
facing right.

Reverse: Bust of a horse facing right;
below, [R]OMA[NO].²⁷⁰

Chronology: First half of the third century BCE.

Weight: 2.60 grams. Inv. 70593.2.

Bibliography:

Baglione, M.P. 1985. Il santuario di Grasceta dei Cavallari sui Monti della Tolfa - C. Monete. In *Santuari d'Etruria*, edited by G. Colonna. Milano: Electa Editrice: 157.

The coin corresponds to Romano-Campanian examples listed in Crawford (1974: 135, tav. I 6-17)

²⁷⁰ As described by Baglione (1985: 157). The image on the reverse is highly corroded and difficult to distinguish.

C11

Obverse: Head of a male
wearing a laurel wreath.

Figures A1.69 and 70

Reverse: Figure of a standing female
facing left.

Chronology: Early imperial (Julio-Claudian)

Weight: 13.5 grams. Inv. 70593.11.

Bibliography:

Stanco, E.A. 1998. Il santuario etrusco romano di Grasceta dei Cavallari. In *Quaderni del Museo Civico di Tolfa*, edited by P. Brocato. Tolfa: Museo Civico di Tolfa: 214.

Stanco (1998: 214, n. 19) identifies this coin as being one of the latest objects deposited at the site and dates it to the early imperial period.

C15

Oval Sextans

Obverse: Club

Figures A1.74 and 75

Reverse: Denomination sign²⁷¹

Chronology: First half of the third century BCE.

Weight: 16.2 grams. Inv. 70593.15.

Bibliography:

Baglione, M.P. 1985. Il santuario di Grasceta dei Cavallari sui Monti della Tolfa - C. Monete. In *Santuari d'Etruria*, edited by G. Colonna. Milano: Electa Editrice: 157.

Examples of similar coins are found in Haeblerlin (1910: 237, taf. 81, 36-41).

²⁷¹ The descriptions of the obverse and reverse of the sextans come from Baglione (1985: 157).



Figure A1.1: Head A₁Ia (Inv. 70425).



Figure A1.2: Head A₁Ia (Inv. 70425).



Figure A1.3: Head A₁Ib (Inv. 70426).



Figure A1.4: Head A₁Ib (Inv. 70426).



Figure A1.5: Head A₁Ic (fr) (Inv. 70427).



Figure A1.6: Head A₁Ic (fr) (Inv. 70427).



Figure A1.7: Head A₁Id (fr) (Inv.70428).



Figure A1.8: Head A₁Id (fr) (Inv.70428).



Figure A1.9: Head A₂IIa (fr) (Inv. 70433).



Figure A1.10: Head A₂IIa (fr) (Inv. 70433).



Figure A1.11: Head A₂IIb (Inv. 70431).



Figure A1.12: Head A₂IIb (Inv. 70431).



Figure A1.13: Head A₂IIc (Inv. 70430).



Figure A1.14: Head A₂IIc (Inv. 70430).



Figure A1.15: Head A₂IId (Inv. 70429).



Figure A1.16: Head A₂IId (Inv. 70429).



Figure A1.17: Head A₂IIIa (Inv. 70436).



Figure A1.18: Head A₂IIIa (Inv. 70436).



Figure A1.19: Foot B₁Ia (Inv. 70453).



Figure A1.20: Foot B₁Ib (Inv. 70455).



Figure A1.21: Foot B₁Ic (fr) (Inv. 70454).



Figure A1.22: Foot B₁IVa (fr) (Inv. 70449).



Figure A1.23: Foot B₁IVb (fr) (Inv. 70451).



Figure A1.24: Foot B₂IIa (Inv. 70450).



Figure A1.25: Foot B₂IIb (fr) (Inv. 70460).



Figure A1.26: Foot B₂IIIa (Inv. 70452).



Figure A1.27: Foot B₂IIIb (fr) (Inv. 70456).



Figure A1.28: Foot B₂IIIc (fr) (Inv. 70458).



Figure A1.29: Foot B₂IVa (fr) (Inv. 70457).



Figure A1.30: Hand C₂I (Inv. 70435).



Figure A1.31: Hand C₂II (fr) (Inv. 70438).



Figure A1.32: Hand C₁I (fr) (Inv. 70448).



Figure A1.33: Fingers C₁II-IV (top to bottom) (Inv. 70442).



Figure A1.34: Finger C₁V (Inv. 70443).



Figure A1.35: Finger C₁VI (Inv. 70444).



Figure A1.36: Finger C₁VII (Inv. 70445).



Figure A1.37: Finger C₁VIII (Inv. 70446).



Figure A1.38: Finger C₁IX (Inv. 70447).

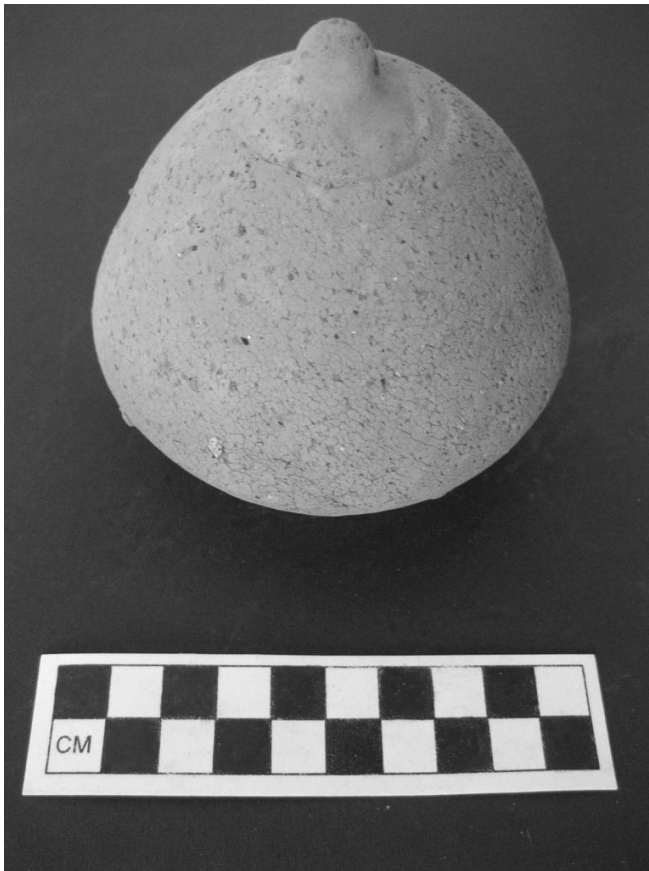


Figure A1.39: Breast D₁I (Inv. 70434).



Figure A1.40: Uterus E₁I (Inv. 70459).



Figure A1.41: Phallus F₁I (Inv. 70439).



Figure A1.42: Thymiaterion TC1 (Inv. 70465).



Figure A1.43: Thymiaterion TC1 (Inv. 70465).



Figure A1.44: Lamp TC2 (Inv. 70440).



Figure A1.45: Lamp TC2, profile.



Figure A1.46: Bowl TC3 (Inv. 70437).

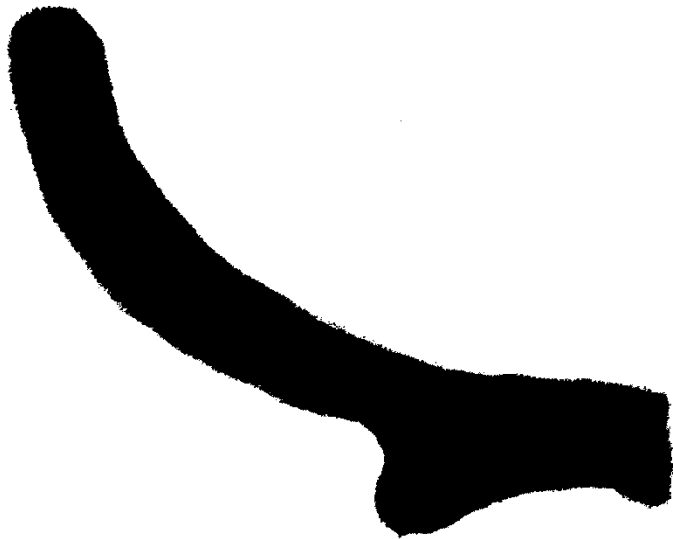


Figure A1.47: Bowl TC3, profile.



Figure A1.48: Bowl TC4 (Inv. 70441).

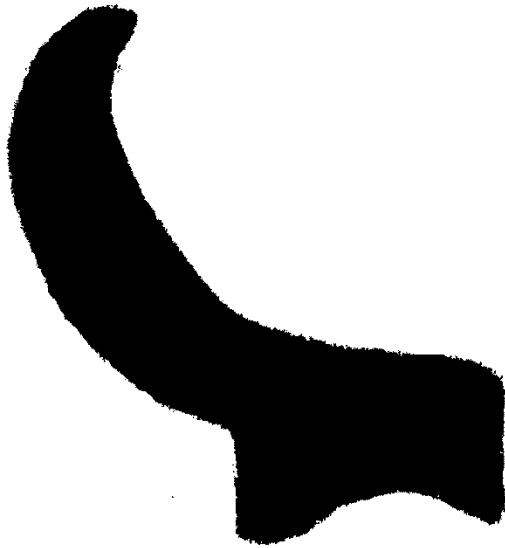


Figure A1.49: Bowl TC4, profile.



Figure A1.50: Statuette Base S1 (Inv. 70432).



Figure A1.51: C1 Obv. (Inv. 70593.1)



Figure A1.52: C1 Rev. (Inv. 70593.1)



Figure A1.53: C2 Obv. (Inv. 70593.2).

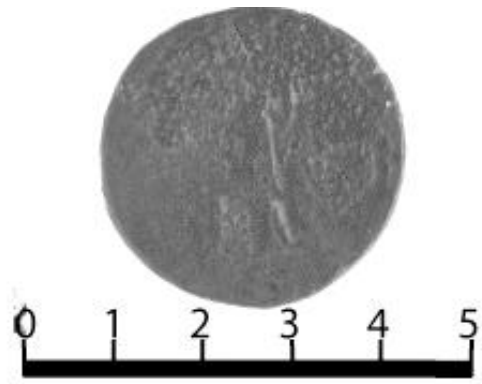


Figure A1.54: C2 Rev. (Inv. 70593.2).



Figure A1.55: C3 (Inv. 70593.3).

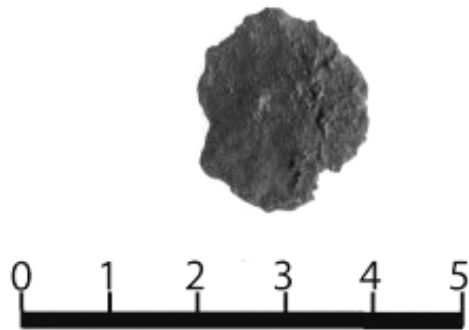


Figure A1.56: C4 (Inv. 70593.4).

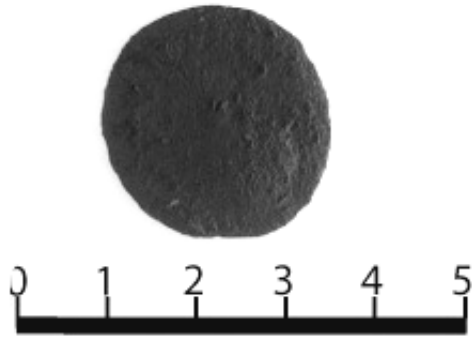


Figure A1.57: C5 (Inv. 70593.5).

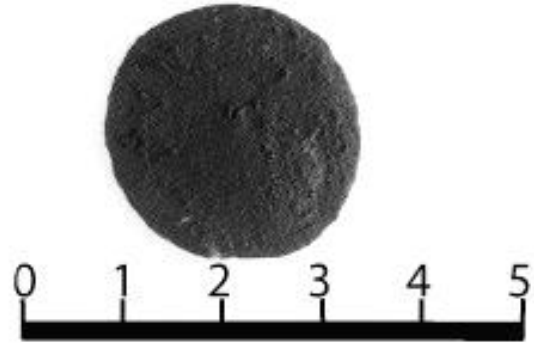


Figure A1.58: C5 (Inv. 70593.5).

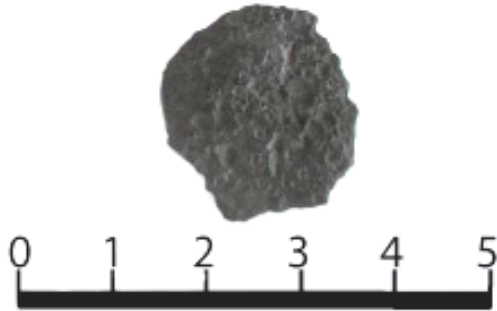


Figure A1.59: C6 (Inv. 70593.6).



Figure A1.60: C6 (Inv. 70593.6).

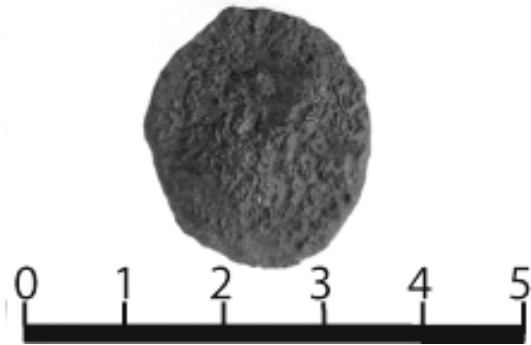


Figure A1.61: C7 (Inv. 70593.7).

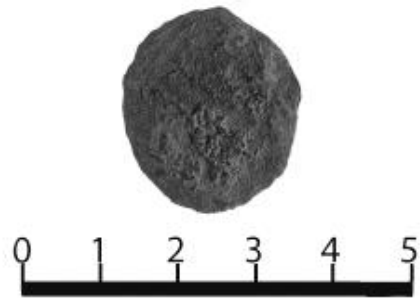


Figure A1.62: C7 (Inv. 70593.7).

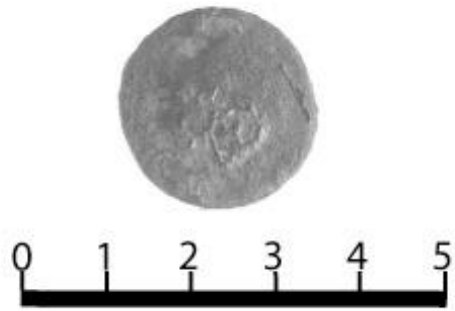


Figure A1.63: C8 Obv. (Inv. 70593.8).

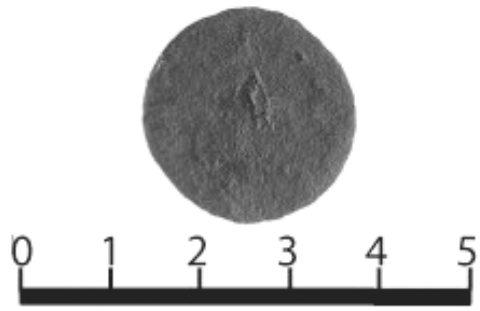


Figure A1.64: C8 Rev. (Inv. 70593.8).



Figure A1.65: C9 (Inv. 70593.9).



Figure A1.66: C9 (Inv. 70593.9).



Figure A1.67: C10 (Inv. 70593.10).

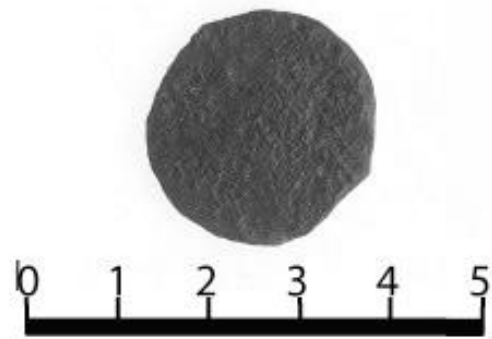


Figure A1.68: C10 (Inv. 70593.10).

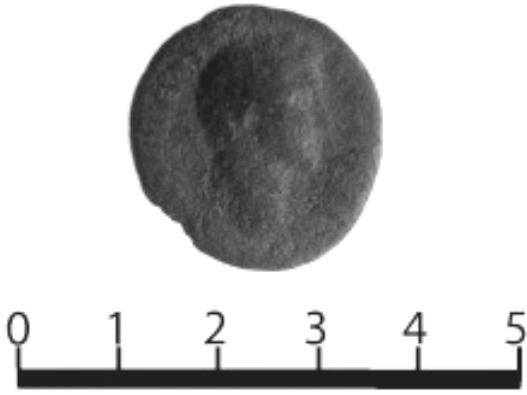


Figure A1.69: C11 Obv. (Inv. 70593.11).



Figure A1.70: C11 Obv. (Inv. 70593.11).



Figure A1.71: C12 (Inv. 70593.12).



Figure A1.72: C13 Obv. (Inv. 70593.13).



Figure A1.73: C13 Rev. (Inv. 70593.13).



Figure A1.74: C15 Obv. (Inv. 70593.15).



Figure A1.75: C15 Rev. (Inv. 70593.15).



Figure A1.76: C16 Obv. (Inv. 70593.16).

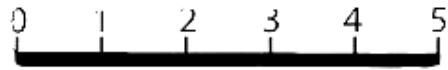


Figure A1.77: C16 Obv. (Inv. 70593.16).

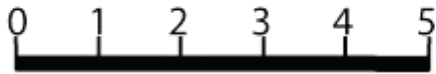
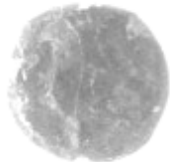


Figure A1.78: C17 (Inv. 70593.17).



Figure A1.79: C17 (Inv. 70593.17).

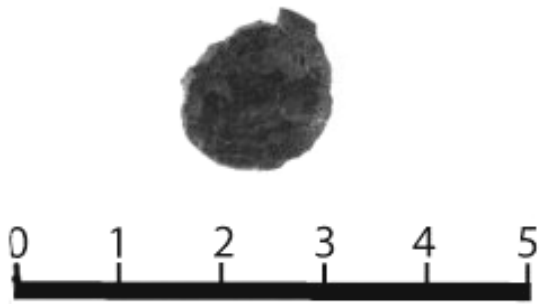


Figure A1.80: C18 (Inv. 70593.18).

Appendix 2

Catalogue of Rural Sanctuaries in and around the Monti della Tolfa

1. Bufalareccia (UTM 32 T 738647 4677044)

Figure 3.13: 8

Topography: Located on the edge of a tufa plateau near a habitation site, recognized through survey, and a series of tombs (*a camera*) (figure A2.1).

Structure: A female antefix head, an antefix mould, and a drip lintel in the form of a lioness protome give evidence for a monumental structure.²⁷² Its form is today unknown.

Materials: Fictile *ex voto* are mentioned (Perego 1995: 28), however, no objects other than the architectonic elements listed above are described in detail.

Dating: Habitation of the area goes back to the eighth and seventh centuries BCE from the evidence of the tombs. The architectonic terracottas linked to the sacred structure have been tied stylistically to examples from Falerii from the early to mid fourth century BCE (Zifferero 1995: 346-347)

Bibliography: Perego (1995: 27-28); Toti (1967: 17); Zifferero (1995: 346-347 and 1999: 128).

2. Poggio Granarolo (UTM 32 T 734300 4669200)

Figure 3.13: 11

Topography: Situated on the summit of Poggio Granarolo on the Mignone plain.

Structure: Survey resulted in the detection of a large surface scatter (80 x 50 m.) of building materials. The structure is not apparent today.

²⁷² An image of the antefix is in Zifferero (1995a: 346, fig. 11).

Materials: A small number of anatomical *ex voto* (one foot fragment is identifiable²⁷³) were found within the scatter as well as terracotta fragments of possibly a statue.

Dating: (Fourth—second centuries BCE) The anatomical votives provide a date of cult activity in the mid-Republic. One fragment of a roof tile is typologically similar to those from the late archaic, suggesting earlier use of the site.

Bibliography: Perego (1995: 153-154); Zifferero (1995a: 346 and 1999: 130).

3. Casale dell’Aretta (UTM 32 T 736416 4676690)

Figure 3.13: 9

Topography: Located on the valley floor between Poggio Camposicuro and Poggio dell’Aretta, the site came to light after plowing unearthed a large number of materials spanning an area of approximately 10,000 square meters (Fontana 1990: 132-133) (figure A2.2).

Structure: Only surface collections have taken place. There is no indication of any sub-surface structures.

Materials: One bronze statuette of a votary provides evidence of sacred activity here. It depicts a togate female wearing a diadem and holding a patera in her right hand (de Carolis and Gazzetti 1975: 45-47). The remaining material consists of a large quantity of ceramic fragments.

Dating: (Fourth—ca. first centuries BCE) The style of the statuette dates the religious activity from the late fourth to the early third centuries BCE (ibid.). The ceramics date mainly to the mid- to late Republic, with some attestation of imperial pieces. A neighboring zone contained ceramics dating as late as the sixth century CE.

²⁷³ See Zifferero (1995a: 345, fig. 9).

Bibliography: de Carolis and Gazzetti (1975: 45-47); Fontana (1990: 132-133); Perego (1995: 34); Zifferero (1995: 346 and 1999: 127).

4. Poggio Spiantacase (UTM 32T 742570 4665078)

Figure 3.13: 17

Topography: Located along the northern slope of the hill.

Structure: Large tufa blocks indicate that there was a built structure here, but all signs of it have been erased.

Materials: Fragments of bucchero; *impasto rosso-bruno* and *chiaro sabbioso*; and black-gloss were recovered. One architectonic terracotta piece of with a stylized vegetal motif and part of a nimbus of an antefix are evidence that the site had a sacred function.

Dating: (Sixth—second centuries BCE) The bucchero and impasto fragments date from the sixth century BCE. The black gloss dates to the third to second centuries BCE.

Bibliography: Benelli (1990: 438); Zifferero (1995: 341).

5. Castellina del Marangone (UTM 32 T 734072 4660376 and 32 T 733312 4660012)

Figure 3.13: 14 and 15

Topography: Two sanctuaries appear near the coast along the Marangone River. The first, referred to here as the ‘Castellina del Marangone sanctuary’, is situated just over one kilometer from the coast along the river’s southern bank. It is directly associated with an Etruscan pagus on the Castellina hill. This pagus is delimited still by a large fortification wall that surrounded the hill (Gianfrotta 1972: 134-138). The second, referred to here as the ‘Marangone temple’, is a small temple located between the ancient *via Aurelia* and the coast. Zifferero (1995: 340) and Gentili (1990b: 292-294) believe that the pagus which patronized the sanctuaries occupied a strategic place to control both the coastal point of the road leading from the Monti della Tolfa and the road that traversed the coast.

With the expansion of Caere in the late Orientalizing period, the center's role changed and it marked part of the new political frontier of the Monti della Tolfa.

Structure: The Castellina del Marangone sanctuary: Structural remains of this cult site are absent.

The Marangone temple: Rows of squared blocks provide evidence for the monumental structure, but give little in the way of its typology.

Materials: The Castellina del Marangone sanctuary: Numerous architectonic fragments survive. Gentili's (1990b: 290-292) catalogue includes fourteen fragments of decorative plaques, one sima fragment, one fragment of sculpted vegetation, two tile fragments, and four antefix fragments.

The Marangone temple: Next to the rows of blocks, a votive pit contained architectural plaques and ceramics.

Dating: (Sixth—first centuries BCE) The Castellina del Marangone sanctuary: The styles of some architectonic pieces suggest a date around the third quarter of the sixth century BCE. Included in this is an antefix head that is similar to the one found at Grasceta dei Cavallari and has been identified as a Caeretan style of this date (Zifferero 1995a: 341). Gentili (1990b: 294-296) also identifies a second phase. Many of the decorative plaques and two antefixes she places in the third century BCE.

The Marangone temple: The architectonic elements found in the votive pit have been dated also to the mid to late sixth century BCE and show many stylistic similarities with the early ones from the Castellina del Marangone sanctuary (Gentili 1990b: 294). No date for the ceramics can be found. Gianfrotta (1972: 140-141) writes, however, that the

sanctuary remained a viable cult site into the Roman period (Second—first centuries BCE).

Bibliography: Gentili (1990b: 290-296); Gianfrotta (1972: 134-138 and 140-141); Zifferero (1995).

6. Poggio dell'Asino (UTM 33 T 259240 4653450)

Figure 3.13: 23

Topography: Located next to the center of Caere about 1.5 kilometers southwest of the Banditaccia necropolis.

Structure: No structural remains were located. Recent house construction has completely covered the area (figure A2.3).

Materials: Numerous *ex voto* of the E-L-C type were recovered here. These include heads, hands, feet, and figurines.

Dating: The activity at the cult site falls within the time period assigned for the E-L-C tradition: the later fourth to first centuries BCE.

Bibliography: Enei (2001: 296, n. 913).

7. San Pietrino (UTM 33T 253076 4671208)

Figure 3.13: 12

Topography: Located in the Mignone valley approximately thirty meters from the right bank of the Mignone River. It is thought to have functioned as a monument for a funerary cult in connection with the nearby necropolis (Torelli 1985: 121) (figure A2.4).

Structure: A large tufa stone that archaeologists have identified as an Etruscan altar.²⁷⁴

One feature of it is a freestanding cut staircase with 4 stairs (length: 2.5 m., width: 1.2 m, height: .7 m.).

²⁷⁴ Arch. V.G. prot.4 Tolfa 2392 del 22.06.1957.

Materials: No votive objects or architectonic elements were reported to have been recovered.

Dating: No date is given.

Bibliography: Pergi (1961: 64); Torelli (1985: 121).

8. Monte Ianni (UTM 32 T 745797 4664623)

Figure 3:13: 18

Topography: Situated on the southeastern slope of Monte Ianni and alongside one of the ancient roads running inland from the coast.²⁷⁵

Structure: The western section of a large monumental structure is visible on the surface of the ground (figure A2.5). A row of unequal large cut blocks (from 0.3 meters long to just under one meter) runs 16.2 meters north. At the southern corner, a row of stone blocks runs east just over 1.5 meters where the ground level covers it. About 10.8 meters north of this corner another row of blocks runs east 1.5 meters where it also is buried. This row is picked up again 13.7 meters to the east, where another 5.9 meters of blocks appear. Another 4.15 meters north, another row runs east for 1.2 meters until it is buried. From this point the long N/S row continues another .65 meters.

The layout of the visible remains suggest of north-facing temple. The narrower northern room, delineated by the two northern rows of blocks may be a pronaos, while the larger space to the south may be the cella.

Materials: The site is unexcavated. No materials are available.

Dating: No date can yet be established.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

²⁷⁵ Nastasi (1990: 206-208) lists six offshoots of the *via Aurelia* between modern Santa Severa and Santa Marinella where minor roads began their crossing of the interior. Physical evidence of the road running past the Monti Ianni sanctuary is found just over three kilometers to the southwest at il Fontanile della Cignola, where a 20 meter x 2 meter stretch of cut basalt stones were uncovered (Gianfrotta 1972: 33, fig. 36). This road likely started just north of Pyrgi and continued up to the Tolfa/Allumiere region.

9. Monte Perazzeto (33 T 252336 4663217)

Figure 3.13: 19

Topography: Survey site recognition has tentatively identified the presence of a sacred site here. It is placed on the top of Mount Perazzeto and commands a wide sight over the northern Mignone valley (figure A2.6). A natural cold-water spring exits the ground about 200 meters southwest.

Structure: No remains identify a monumental structure with assurance. Large stones that appear to be laid on top of each other about an elevation of the terrain (figure A2.7). Three long rows of stones traverse the summit (figure A2.8).

Materials: The site is unexcavated. No materials are available.

Dating: No date can yet be established.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

10. Sasso di Furbara (UTM 33 T 255745 4660255)

Figure 3.13: 20

Topography: Located on the eastern edge of the mountain chain that runs next to the coastal plain approximately 7.5 kilometers northwest of Caere.

Structure: Stones of various sizes and small pebbles from a collapsed wall, paving stones of peperino, and a column base of peperino make up the building's remains.

Materials: Architectonic elements include roof tiles, fragmentary acroteria and antefixes, and moulded figures. Ceramics include black-figure Attic vases, Caeretan impasto wares, and bucchero. One inscription on the foot of an Attic kylix is the dedication *etan turuce*. One votive statuette fragment has two bronze feet attached to a lead base.

Chronology: (Late sixth/mid-fifth centuries BCE—?). The black-figure wares are linked to the end of this range. One antefix fragment is similar to Caeretan examples listed by Andr n (1940: 48, n. II.5, tav. 18) and dates to the beginning phase of the sanctuary. The

bronze statuette fragment dates from the mid-sixth to the early fifth centuries BCE (Nardi 1985: 154-155).

Bibliography: Colonna (1973a: 45-72 and 1973b: 541); Nardi (1985: 154-155).

11. Ortaccio (UTM 32 T 727904 4682038)

Figure 3.13: 4

Topography: Situated beneath the northern cliff of Monterozzi, the site of the large necropolis of Tarquinia. It is next to a natural spring, and sited at the spot of the crossroads leading in and out of Tarquinia. Its spatial relationship to these roads leads Gentili (1999: 80) to conclude that it functioned as a point of control for traffic entering and exiting Tarquinia.

Structure: Excavations brought to light evidence of an Etruscan phase of the sanctuary. Large parallelepiped blocks as well as traces of a pavement remain. Fluted columns, of which two drum fragments remain, were placed on top of this. A basin, likely used to collect spring water, was sunk next the structure. Gentili (ibid.: 79) notes an excavation report from 1833 that describes a cella spanning forty-five ‘palms’ long and twenty-five ‘palms’ wide that was discovered around the same place. Another structure was built over the first, and its wall construction techniques place it in the Roman imperial period. Little can be said about the architectural forms for either phase due to disruption brought about by agricultural activity and earlier campaigns.

Materials: Architectonic elements recovered include the fluted column fragments mentioned above; an Ionic column; two antefix fragments, one of which depicts a bearded Silenus²⁷⁶; decorative plaques of palmettes and vines; and numerous roof tiles.

²⁷⁶ See Gentili (1999: 79, fig. 2).

Votive materials include two bronze female statuettes²⁷⁷; a terracotta head and small cippus; numerous ceramic pieces—black gloss, red figure and polychrome, *terra sigillata*; bronze and iron pieces; and 8 imperial roman coins.

Chronology: (Sixth century BCE—third century CE). The decorative plaques and Ionic column have been dated stylistically to the fourth to third centuries BCE (Gentili 1999: 79; Massi 1997: 241). The red-figure and polychrome vessel fragments also can be dated to this period (Massi 1997: 241). The *terra sigillata* corresponds with the later Roman period in the second to third centuries CE.

Bibliography: AA.VV. (1971: 30, n. 71); Gentili (1999: 79-80); Massi (1997); Nardi (1972: 79); Pallottino (1937: coll. 46-47); Perego (2005: 108-110).

12. Grotta Porcina (UTM 33 T 252789 4686786)

Figure 3.13: 2

Topography: Located off of the ancient *via Claudia* and associated with a small regional necropolis. There are two areas with sacred connotations: the first comprises of two carved monuments, which have tentatively been called altars; the second, elevated on a hill to the west are the remains of a small temple.

Structure: The ‘altars’: A small plaza (12 x 15 meters) was carved out of the tufa. From one side, a tufa projection runs toward the center where it terminates in a cylinder (diameter: 6 meters) (figure A2.9). Relief carvings of animals (cats, cattle, horses) alternating with vegetal motifs run along the sides of the projection and cylinder. These figures are very eroded today. Near this is a second smaller semi-dado base (1.25 x 1.75 meters) with Hellenistic moulding around the sides.

²⁷⁷ Pallotino (1937: col. 46) identified one statuette as a divinity and wrote that it was possibly identified with the patroness of the site

The temple: Further up a hill to the west of the altar, tufa foundation blocks give the location of a small temple. Although its plan cannot be ascertained by the surviving foundation, is thought to be a simple cella (Colonna 1965: 130). Two circular bases rested in front of the temple. Too large to be column bases, they are probably altars (ibid.).

Materials: No materials were found in association with the two monuments. The temple had an antefix of a woman's head as well as various fragments of ceramics and coins.

Dating: (Sixth—third centuries BCE). The animal relief around the cylindrical monument relates stylistically with other examples dating to the first half of the sixth century BCE. The moulding of the semi-dado monument dates to the Hellenistic period. The temple's antefix follows a late Archaic style and dates to the early fifth century BCE. A layer of ash indicates that the temple was destroyed in a fire, and the ceramic and coins found within the ash date this event to the third century BCE (ibid.).

Bibliography: Comella (2005c: 171); Colonna (1965); Edlund (1987b: 71-72); Mura (1971: 71); Quilici Gigli (1976: 237-410 and 1978: 46-47); Steingraber (1982: 103-104, taf. 1).

13. Ripa Maiale (UTM 32 T 736327 4674468)

Figure 3.13: 10

Topography: Located at the northwestern extent of the Monti della Tolfa chain, the site rests below a large cliff out of which flows a natural spring (figures A2. 10 and 11). Its communication with this spring leads many scholars to propose this was the reason for the sanctuaries establishment. Less than one kilometer northeast are the medieval ruins of Cencelle, a hilltop town constructed over a large fortified Etruscan settlement and which

incorporated stretches of the Etruscan perimeter wall into its own wall (Naso 1999) (figure A2.12).

During the Late Orientalizing and Archaic periods, when the landscape was constructed around the two major centers Caere and Tarquinia, Ripa Maiale possibly functioned as a strategic political sanctuary delimiting Tarquinia's territory and Caere's. *Structures*: No structures have been identified at the site.

Materials: Many ceramic fragments were recovered from the deposits, among which include bucchero and impasto, two etrusco-corinthian aryballoi, Attic wares and black-gloss, later Republican sherds, *terra sigillata*, and medieval pieces. Many *ex voto* were also recovered, including one votive head; several anatomical votives (one hand, one leg, two phalloi, two hearts); an infant statuette; twelve fragments of statuettes, four of which may be identified as divinities; two bronze statuettes of female offerers; and a glass unguentarium.

Dating: (Sixth century BCE—Roman era). Early Etruscan activity goes back at least to the sixth century BCE, as attested by the presence of bucchero and impasto pieces and the etrusco-corinthian aryballoi, although there is evidence of much earlier (Neolithic to Bronze Age) activity (D'Ercole and et. al. 1998; D'Ercole and Zifferero 1996). The great majority of the votives date to the mid-Republican period (fourth to second centuries BCE). The *terra sigillata* indicates frequentation in the Roman period and activity seems to continue after the Roman period and into the medieval.

Bibliography: D'Ercole, et.al (1998); D'Ercole and Zifferero (1996); Gentili (1990b: 285-290 and 1999: 83-85); Perego (2005: 168-169) Zifferero (1995a: 340-341, 1998, and 1999: 129).

14. Montetosto (UTM 33 T 256382 4654229)

Figure 3.13: 21

Topography: The site is located on the coastal plain just under four kilometers northwest of Caere. A large tumulus tomb sits 150 meters to the northeast, and the road linking Caere to the port at Pyrgi runs between the two.²⁷⁸ Edlund (1987b: 70) proposes that it is an ‘extra-mural’ sanctuary for the ancient center, the function of which was to mediate traffic on the road. It’s proximity to the tumulus also leads her to believe that the people from Caere observed a funerary cult here (ibid.: 71).

Structure: Although the structure is not entirely excavated, the tufa foundation blocks brought to light indicate that it had a square plan with the four sides spanning about fifty-four meters each. Each of the four wings was separated into rooms of various dimensions. An unpaved courtyard was at the center, in which was found a small base (1.5 meters per side) which may have been an altar (Colonna 1985: 193).²⁷⁹ This is an example of a sanctuary in the form of a palazzo (ibid.: 194-195), of which comparanda have been found at Poggio Civitate, Aquarossa, and Castelnuovo Berardenga at the Ombrone (Edlund 1987b: 71 and 90). That this was a sanctuary and not an elite residence is sustained by the terracottas which match those used in temples at Caere and Pyrgi (ibid.).

Materials: Architectonic elements include a large quantity of roof tiles; tiles painted with rosettes and meander patterns, and with relief carvings of horses; and antefix fragments of maenad heads. One sculpted head is said to represent a barbarian. One votive figurine of a mantled female was also recovered. Ceramic finds are also mentioned.

Dating: (530 BCE—ca. 270 BCE). The architectonic terracottas indicated several phases to the site. The first, between 530-520 BCE, is given though the style of the tiles with

²⁷⁸ Comella (1985: 192, fig. 2) includes a plan of the sanctuary, tumulus and road.

²⁷⁹ Torelli (1981: 1-2) writes that the plan might indicate a triple-cella temple.

painted rosettes and with the horses in relief, as well as one of the maenad antefix heads. A renovation seems to have taken place in the early fifth century BCE, which is established by a new style of maenad antefix and the painted meander tiles. Gutter tiles and another antefix fragment fix a third renovation in the mid fifth century BCE. Yet another maenad antefix is dated to the fourth century BCE. Ceramic evidence places the end of the sanctuary's life to 270 BCE, the same time the temples at Pyrgi were destroyed. Perhaps they were destroyed in the same event (Colonna 1985: 194). This was merely a hiatus in activity, however. On the east side of the structure, mosaics and a pavement show a re-adaptation of the space in the Augustan era.

Bibliography: Nardi (1972: 38); Colonna (1963, 1965, 1970 and 1985); Edlund (1987b: 70-71); Torelli (1981: 1-7).

15. Selvasecca (UTM 32T 744727 4680796)

Figure 3.13: 6

Topography: Selvasecca is a hill located six kilometers southwest of Blera. Excavations in 1965 led by A. Andrén and E. Berggren of the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies in Rome revealed an extravagant *villa rustica*. Double rows of rooms on its north, east, and south sides surrounded a large central courtyard (Andrén and Berggren 1969). At the north of the villa the remains of a temple was uncovered. Two large ashlar blocks remained *in situ*. Ploughing had disturbed similar blocks and they were found at the periphery of the site. Close to the *in situ* ashlars, fragments of tufa column drums and a capital were found. All of these show fire damage, suggesting that the temple was burned and never rebuilt (van Buren 1966: 353). Ashlar blocks of the temple were then reused for the pavement of the courtyard of the *villa rustica* (*ibid.*).

Recently, some scholars have questioned whether the remains actually indicate a temple. Söderlind (2002: 249) writes that while many of the fictile architectural revetments found at the site strongly suggest a temple, there is no construction that can be linked to a temple. The presence of the revetments can be attributed to one of the functions of the villa: moulds and corresponding casts and a water basin point to a terracotta workshop at the villa (ibid. 248-249).

Structure: Little information is given about the temple structure, mainly because little of it remains *in situ*—blocks were reused after it was destroyed by fire and modern agricultural activities further disturbed the area. Van Buren (1966: 353) writes that the column and capital fragments give evidence that the temple was built with stone fluted columns of the “regular Doric fifth-century form.”

Materials: Sima revetment plaques with floral decoration were either applied to the temple (ibid.) or were manufactured at the villa’s workshop (Söderlind 2002: 248). A total of sixty architectural terracotta fragments were recovered, including at least five moulds (Söderlind 2006: 116). The most notable find is a terracotta antefix with a bearded silen’s head.²⁸⁰ The style, reminiscent of the “Group II” of the Belvedere temple at Orvieto and the original decoration of the temple of Jupiter at Cosa, places the manufacture of this antefix within the early Hellenistic period, between 240 and 220 BCE (Söderlind 2002: 248). The recovery of a terracotta mould of an antefix of a silen head suggests that the antefix itself was manufactured here and not used to adorn a sacred structure (Söderlind 2006: 118).

Dating: (Fifth century BCE—Roman period) The scholarship forwards a rather confused chronology of the site. Early works that identified a temple place it in the fifth century

²⁸⁰ An image of the antefix is found in van Buren (1966: pl. 83.3).

BCE (van Buren 1966: 353). This predated the *villa rustica* by three centuries, which has been dated to the second century BCE and which used the ruined remains of the temple for its own pavement. Later works that question the temple's existence place all of the architecture, and the material remains within the later third to second centuries BCE. A barrel vaulted cistern constructed of *opus caementicium* shows construction activity in the later Roman period (ibid.).

Bibliography: Andrén (1974: 14-16); Andrén and Berggren (1969); Ochsenschlager (1967: 246); Söderlind (2002b: 248-250 and 2006: 116-121); van Buren (1966:253).

16. Punta della Vipera (UTM 32 T 733917 4658700)

Figure 3.13: 16

Topography: The remains of Punta della Vipera are located on the coast at the northern edge of the modern city Santa Marinella. It was situated along the ancient via Aurelia and helped control the territorial boundary shared by Tarquinia and Caere (Gentili 1999).

Structure: An altar was enclosed by a temenos wall. To the west, part of the foundation of a small temple was uncovered (Torelli 1967).

Materials: A lead inscribed plaque comes from the earliest phase of the site. It is possibly a votive, but no deity is explicitly named (Colonna 1985d). Numerous E-L-C votives were also found. These include heads and masks, anatomical votives, and terracotta statuettes (Comella: 2001).

Chronology: (Sixth century BCE—first century BCE/CE). The various phases of the site have been established through an analysis of its architectonic terracottas (Torelli 1967). An early antefix of a female head provides a date for its foundation, around the mid sixth century BCE (Stopponi 1985: 149). A reconstruction took place in the mid fourth century BCE, possibly a result of the Syracusan raid on the coast in 384 BCE or the war between

Tarquinius and Rome in 358 BCE (Tomassucci 2005: 241). A third reconstruction occurred in the middle of the following century, possibly related to the foundation of nearby colony Castrum Novum (Torelli 1967: 343-344). The final phase of reconstruction was in the early second century BCE. The site remained in use until the Augustan period, when a villa was built over the structure (ibid.: 347).

Bibliography: Colonna (1985d); Comella (2001); Edlund (1987b: 77-78); Gentili (1990a); Stopponi (1985); Tomassucci (2005); Torelli (1965 and 1967).

17. Stigliano (UTM 33T 255405 4666858)

Figure 3.13: 13

Topography: Stigliano is located at the egress of a natural spring, and today it is the site of Bagni di Stigliano, a resort spa. An excavation conducted by L. Gasperini from 1970-1975 revealed a structure with votive offerings next to a bath complex (Gasperini 1976).

Three statuettes of Hercules suggest that he was one divinity worshipped here.

Structure: Gasperini interpreted the structure next to the bath complex as a prostyle temple. Modern construction did not permit the structure to be uncovered entirely.

Materials: Six bucchero fragments were found next to the structure. In a small ditch on the eastern side, there were two black-gloss votive cups and one *aes grave* coin. A small votive assemblage at the southeast and demarcated by a row of stones included a terracotta hand and phallus, three bronze statuettes of Hercules, a bronze figurine of a dog, and eight coins. Other objects include later imperial offerings, such as a Julio-Claudian head of a young girl and a second century CE marble inscription (Chellini 2002: 96-97, fig. 42).

Chronology: (Sixth century BCE—Roman period). Construction techniques of the bath complex place it in the late 1st century BCE. The sacred structure beside it cannot be

dated with certainty. Bucchero fragments demonstrate a frequentation of the site as early as the sixth century BCE; two black-gloss votive cups from the fourth to third centuries BCE, three coins from the third century BCE, bronzes, and anatomical votives strongly suggest that ritual activity continued in the mid- to late Republican period (Chellini 2002: 96-98).

Bibliography: Chellini (2002: 95-99); Gasperini (1976 and 1988).

18. San Giovenale (UTM 32 T 747533 4679051)

Figure 3.13: 7

Topography: San Giovenale was an acropolis settlement at the confluence of three rivers. Habitation sites, dating from the Neolithic period to the medieval, occupied a tufa plateau and the necropoleis surrounded it in the plains. The settlement is famous for the remains of Etruscan houses dating to the seventh and sixth centuries BCE (figure A2.13). Two sacred sites have been identified here—one a sacellum found next to an Etruscan bridge spanning the Pietrisco River and the other, on the plateau, a subterranean shrine associated with a natural spring.

Structure: The sacellum's main room had the appearance of a triclinium, with benches running along three sides and a hearth and well near the entrance (Colonna and Forsberg 1999: 78). On the plateau a semi-subterranean room was dug about two meters into the tufa stone. It was nearly square at 4.5 meters per side. About 10 meters to the east a second smaller structure, the so-called "cult-room" (Olinder and Pohl 1981) was uncovered. The immediate proximity of a natural spring leads Pohl (Olinder and Pohl 1981: 80-84) to conclude that the former structure was a spring sanctuary.

Materials: The sacellum had fifteen inscribed pottery sherds and one inscribed loom weight. The semi-subterranean spring sanctuary contained a large amount of impasto

ware, small household items such as spindle whorls and bobbins (Olinder and Pohl 1981), and animal bones and antlers (Sorrentino 1981).

Chronology: (Eighth—first centuries BCE). The pottery from the sacellum has been dated from the late seventh to the early fifth centuries BCE (Colonna and Forsberg 1999). The impasto from the semi-subterranean spring sanctuary comes from the second half of the eighth century BCE to the early seventh century BCE. Pottery found in association with the “cult-room” falls within the Hellenistic period, from the third century BCE to the first century BCE (ibid.).

Bibliography: Colonna and Forsberg (1999); Forsberg (1984); Olinder and Pohl (1981), Sorrentino (1981).



Figure A2.1: Bufalareccia.



Figure A2.2: Casale dell'Aretta.



Figure A2.3: Poggio dell'Asino.



Figure A2.4: San Pietrino.



Figure A2.5: Monte Ianni.



Figure A2.6: Monte Perazzeto.



Figure A2.7: Stacked stones at Monte Perazzeto.



Figure A2.8: Rows of stones traversing Monte Perazzeto.



Figure A2.9: The altar at Grotta Porcina.



Figure A2.10: Ripa Maiale.



Figure A2.11: The location of the spring at Ripa Maiale.



Figure A2.12: Remains of Etruscan city-wall blocks (below) built into the medieval city wall at Cencelle.



Figure A2.13: The 'borgo' at San Giovenale.



Figure A2.14: San Giovenale, site of the semi-subterranean spring sanctuary.

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