

# Roman colonization, sanctuaries and cult in the middle-Adriatic area between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC

Francesco Belfiori\*

The paper focuses on materials from some sanctuaries of the Picenean area between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. The aim of the paper is to investigate their role in economic and cultural transformations during this period. The so-called ‘Etruscan-Lazio-Campanian *ex-votos*’, architectonic *terracottas* as well as pottery from these contexts show the role of these sanctuaries as centers of production and import of specific classes of materials with exclusive sacred destination. In some cases, the production of these objects takes place *in loco*, such as in the sanctuary of Monte Rinaldo. Here materials suggest the spread of cultural models through the displacement of people from the Tyrrhenian area into the middle-Adriatic region, together with the colonization of the territory. In other cases, as in the federal center of Asculum, early indirect contacts with Etruscan-Lazio culture are attested by the presence of objects imported and then reinterpreted according to local ritual practices.

## Introduction

In the aftermath of the battle of Sentinum (295 BC), the annexation of the middle-Adriatic area was a fundamental milestone for the Roman expansion towards Cisalpine Gaul. The new territories were interested by the deduction of Hadria and Castrum Novum (290–286 BC) in *ager Praetutianus*, occupied in 290 BC; of Sena Gallica (284 BC) and Ariminum (268 BC) in *ager Gallicus*, added as State property in 284 BC (by M. Curius Dentatus); and of Firmum in Picenum (264 BC), annexed in 268 BC (by P. Sempronius Sofus). The rest of the territory was distributed among Roman citizens through direct assignments, as stated in the *lex Flaminia* of 232 BC. Political and economic relationships with the two already existing cities in the area before Roman occupation, Ancona and Asculum, were regulated by alliance treaties (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup>

The enormous impact of the mid-Republican colonization on this territory can obviously be measured through various indicators, that take into account the new settlement’s reality – with the introduction of the previously unknown urban model – and the economical (centuriation, soil cultivation, infrastructural system dotation) and cultural changes (Latin language, diffusion of Roman political, civil and social institutions) brought by the event.<sup>2</sup> Among these, those relative to the sacral sphere could provide new insights of acculturation processes (i.e., the Romanization) or, better said, the cultural exchange among local populations and colonizers, for besides their spiritual value, they also carry social, civic and economical significance.<sup>3</sup>

The present contribution would then shed light on some archaeological indicators that witness these changes and characterize the sacral manifestation connected to early

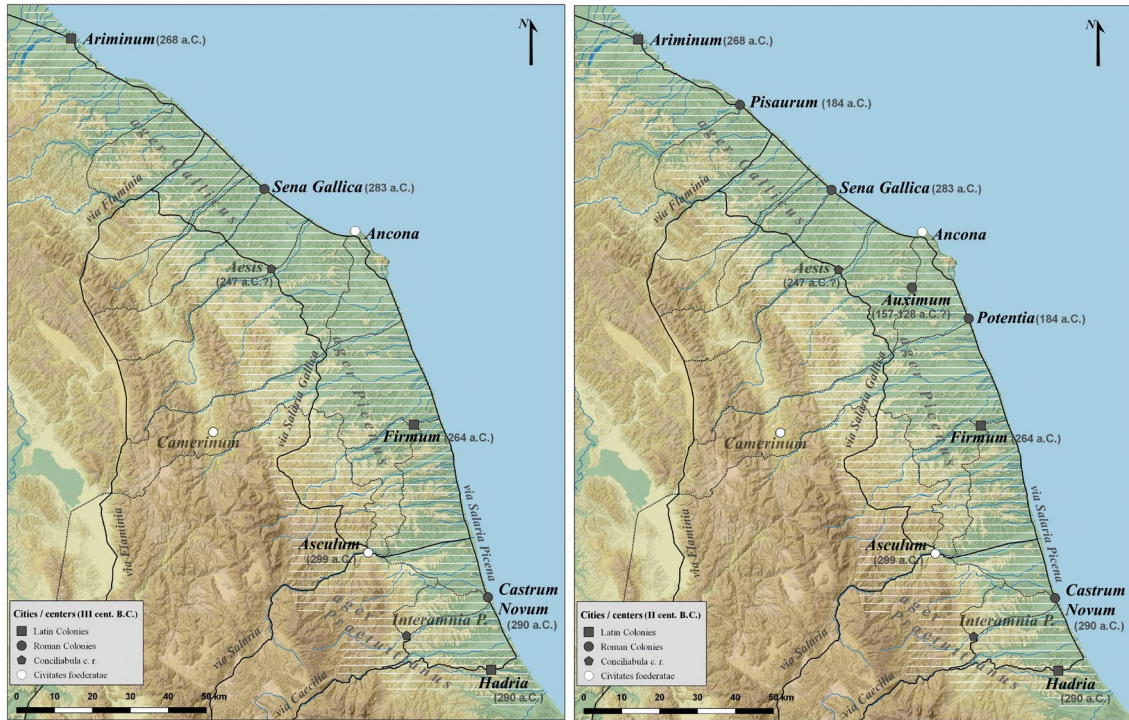


Fig. 1: Roman Republican Colonization of central-Adriatic Italy (3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C.).

phases of Roman presence in the middle-Adriatic region, which for about a century represented the northern frontier of the Republic. Therefore, I will primarily focus on the so-called ‘Etruscan-Italics’ type of architectonic terracottas (even though ‘Etruscan-Latian’ would be a more accurate definition), then on so-called ‘Etruscan-Latian-Campanian’ clay votive materials and other sacral furnishing recovered in some ritual contexts.<sup>4</sup> The importance of these materials – conceived and produced for an almost exclusive sacral, sanctuary-based destination and use – lies in their essence as cultural markers: unknown in the Adriatic area until the Hellenistic period, their production is the direct expression of the presence of Roman-Latin colonizers, and so they appear as particularly informative for the investigation of colonial religiosity, from its ritual praxis core to its monumental and architectonic expression of cultic places.<sup>5</sup> Considering that the archaeological record of the investigated area often does not date further than the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC,<sup>6</sup> these materials – normally dated between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC – can be related to a chronological horizon that is closer to the Roman-Latin colonization; in the meantime, they carry a series of questions, such as regarding the nature of the relationship among their production centers and their destination context as well as their economic incidence and that of the same sanctuaries, if put in the wider frame of Roman mid-Republican craftsmanship.

## The archaeological evidence, from old findings to new discoveries

### *Urban centers*

In urban centers such materials represent reliable indicators for the localization of cultic places. In the case of the Latin colony of Hadria, the votive deposit, which was unearthed on Maralto Hill – the *arx* of the colony – and the architectonic terracottas near the cathedral bear witness of the existence of at least two urban religious key-places, dated to the first years of life of the colony and provided with Tuscanic templar buildings (usually, they reference templar typology for ‘Etruscan-Italics’ architectonic terracottas). Moreover, the findings of clay materials (both votive and architectonic) in the *peri* or suburban area allowed to hypothesize the presence of sanctuaries from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, located on main axes of the road network to and from the city entrance.<sup>7</sup>

Similarly, architectonic terracottas retrieved from Girfalco Hill, in Firmum, should be referred to the oldest building phases of the main urban sanctuary, located on the *arx* of the Latin colony, whose ubication is also confirmed by other important findings, which could be dated up to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (coin deposits and an inscription that mentions a public donation offered by the quaestors of the colony).<sup>8</sup>

It could be likewise affirmed for the architectonic terracottas found in the area of the main urban sanctuary of the Roman colony of Potentia, dated to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, and pertinent not to the now visible temple (of Augustan or Julio-Claudian age), but rather to its original installation, possibly in relation to the interventions of 174 BC, promoted in Potentia by censor Q. Fulvius Flaccus and testified by Livius.<sup>9</sup>

Also for the Roman colony of Sena Gallica mobile materials of votive typology discovered in various locations of the urban area<sup>10</sup> could provide a clue of possible existence of *peri* urban cultic places, or by the urban entrances, as it is assumed in the case of the sanctuary of Via Baroccio, dated to the first half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>11</sup>

Even more significant is the case of Ascoli Piceno, where recent excavations on the hill of Annunziata brought to light an important urban sanctuary, possibly the main one of the city.<sup>12</sup> The first stable phase of attendance of the area is placed from the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, and consists of a building of perishable material, only conserved at the beaten earth floor level, where in its surroundings votive deposits were recovered. From the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, other archaeological indicators, such as a large number of spare bricks and a small furnace, suggest the *in situ* establishment of productive activities and a sensible mutation of devotional practices. The excavated materials consist of ‘internal slip ware’ (ceramic class of Veian matrix, with a strong connection to the sacral sphere), in basins of Etruscan-Latian production mixture – with mostly ritual destination and imported to Asculum with the same function – and in black-glazed ceramic of Etruscan-Latian importation.<sup>13</sup> From the middle to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, black-glazed ceramic is locally produced, imitating models of Campana A and B. Some of these vessel fragments present graffiti letters on the external surface, both Greek and Latin, which could refer to onomastic formulas, which indicates the nature as *ex voto* of these

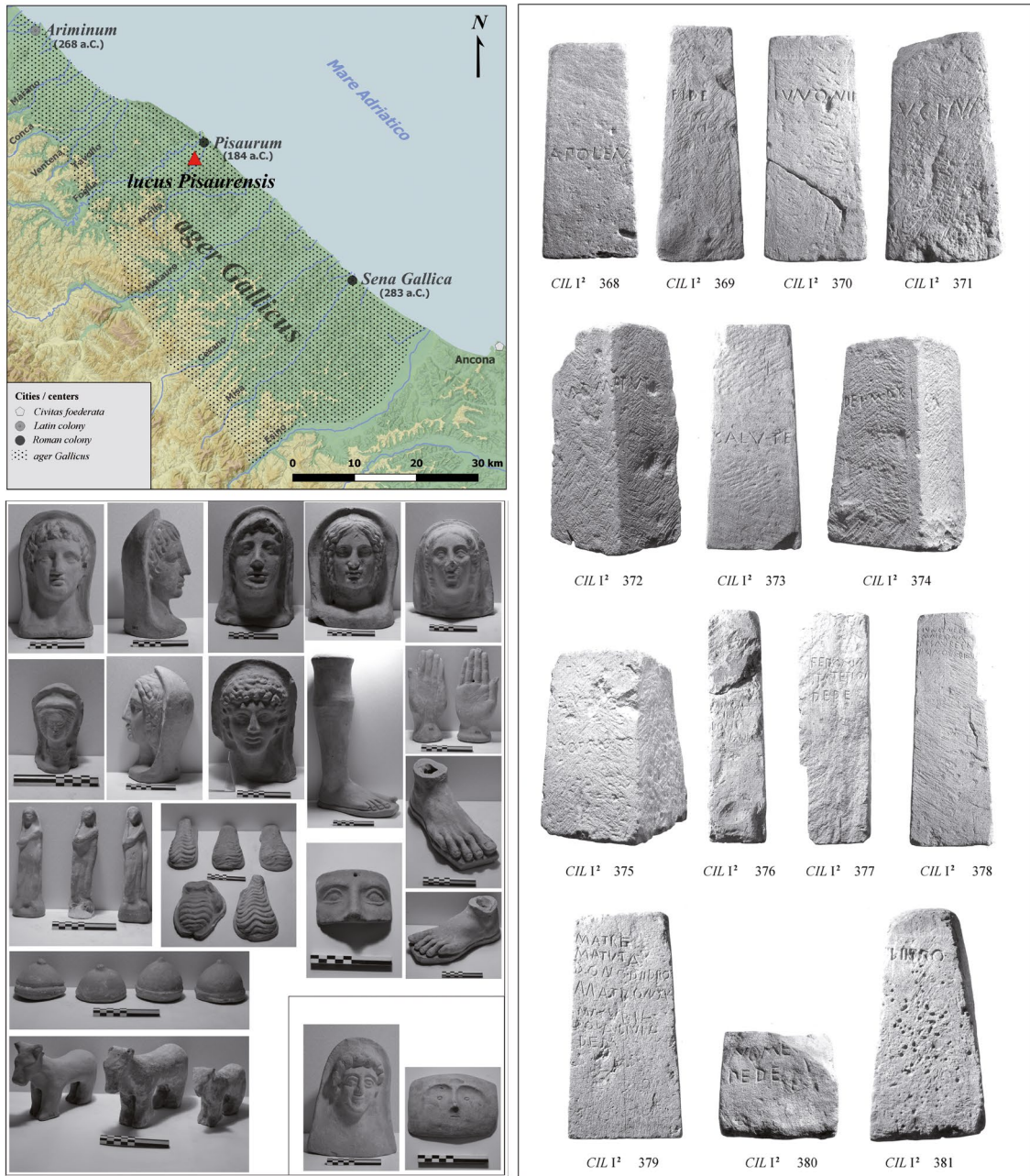


Fig. 2: The so-called lucus Pisauensis, near the Roman colony of Pisaurum (votive terracottas and sandstone altars).

objects. Local production of black-glazed ware could also be interpreted as in connection to the presence of a small crafts neighborhood, based at the sanctuary, as seems to be confirmed by the finding of the furnace, mentioned above. Also in Ascoli, then, the same situation that

H. Di Giuseppe described could have occurred, regarding the strong involvement of sacral areas in the production of black-glazed ware ceramic.<sup>14</sup> Besides, the strong involvement of the sacral key-pole in Ascoli emerges in relation to the Romanization of the territory: the archaeological evidence testifies the acquisition, by the Piceni of Asculum, of uses and religious customs that were unaccustomed to indigenous traditions, and the adoption of the Latin alphabet in religious practices. The finding of a *potnia thèron* antefix demonstrates how the monumentalization of the sanctuary during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC followed architectonic shapes which were already observable in the main sanctuaries of the Latin colonies and in the colonial area at the Asculum border.

### ***Rural and extra-urban areas***

Also in rural and extra-urban contexts – enclosed into the *agri* of colonies or inhabited by single assigned coloners and administrated by the prefecture system, established consequently due to plebiscitus Flaminius<sup>15</sup> – the votive and architectonic materials embody a valid indicator for the most ancient phases of occupation and settlement on the territory by the coloners (3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC). In such direction the votive deposits of Isola di Fano and of S. Veneranda in *ager Gallicus* should be interpreted as witnesses of the existence of sanctuaries and rural cultic places, connected to the spread rural peopling through *vici* or *conciliabula* (fig. 2).<sup>16</sup> Similarly, the architectonic terracottas from Civitalba,<sup>17</sup> Offida,<sup>18</sup> and Aesis,<sup>19</sup> dated to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, document sanctuaries on the territory, linked to minor settlements. Also in the *ager Praetutianus*, cult places such as Pagliaroli di Cortino, Colle S. Giorgio, Basciano and others – localized by their architectural decorations and votive materials – are strictly linked to colonial dynamics and rural settlements (fig. 3).

Similarly, the sanctuary of Monte Rinaldo in Picenum<sup>20</sup> seems to be pivotal not only for religiosity, but also for settling (and maybe managing) purposes of the vast rural sector of middle Valdaso, either enclosed in the *ager Firmanus*, or anyway inhabited by assigned coloners from 232 BC (fig. 4).<sup>21</sup> The sanctuary represents a unique case of a Republican sanctuary of Hellenistic tradition in the area: the Roman-Latin identity, as assumed by the typology of mobile furnishing and materials and by the cults to which the sanctuary is devoted, as attested by epigraphic sources, appears confirmed by the sacral space conception, its internal disposition, and the monumental and architectonic typology of the buildings, put in place during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. Such features, perfectly coherent with broader and up-to-date trends in sanctuary architecture of the Hellenistic *koiné*, find comparison in coeval Latian sanctuaries and their relative insular-Greek models, granting to sight a prominent role in the Italic Hellenism, as bestowed to the Adriatic area through the vector of Roman colonization. It is possible that a great part of the architectonic terracottas of the sanctuary was produced *in loco*, as is suggested by the autoptic analysis of the used clay mixture (uniform, with the exception of some differences probably due to high temperatures during baking), the presence of themes and specific, only locally diffused iconographic motives (*antepagmenta* with thunderbolt,

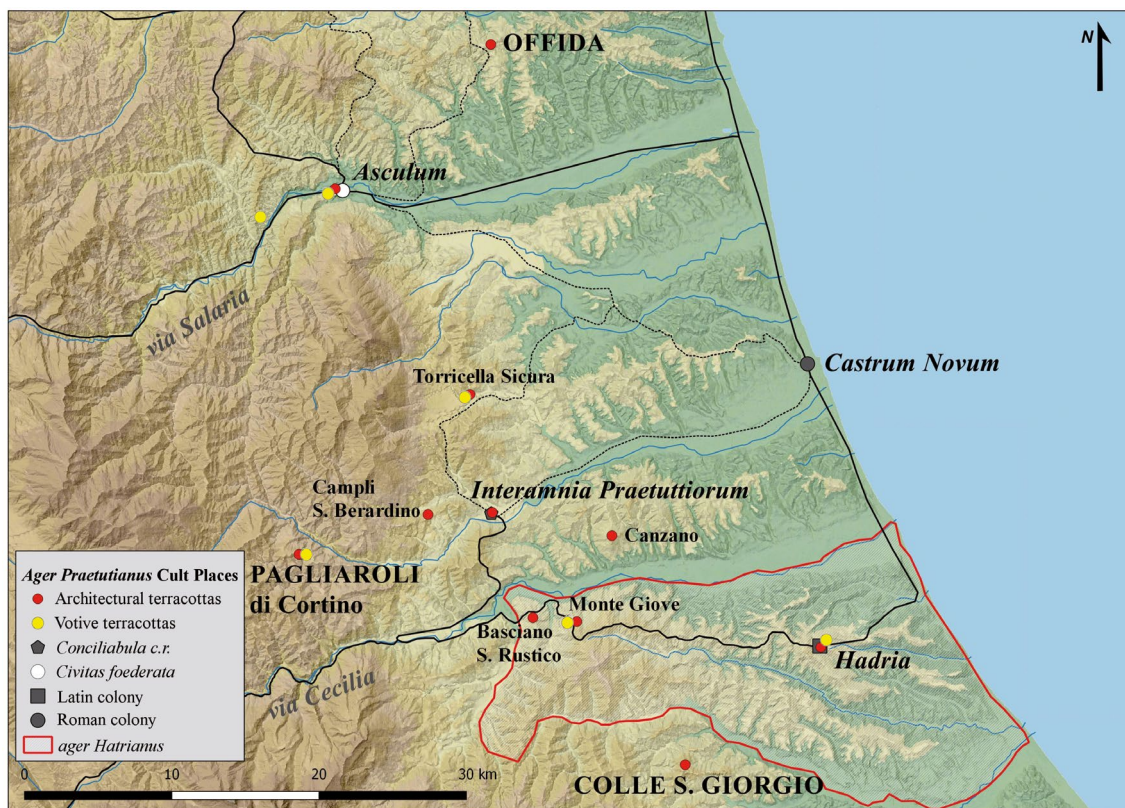


Fig. 3: Archaeological sacred evidences from ager Praetutianus.

antefixes with Hercules),<sup>22</sup> and, above all, the discovery of some matrixes, some of which probably related to antefixes with images of the *potnia theròn* (fig. 5, A–C).

The same is the case for the votive clay materials, whose mixture is comparable to that of the terracottas, and mostly for a series of black-glazed vessels with open shape, whose specific ritual destination is suggested by a series of seals, only partly known in literature. They do not find comparison outside Monte Rinaldo and therefore provide strong evidence of a production referable to the cultic place and meant for internal use. Besides the seals of the series *Iovei Sacrum Spol*, a further seal referable to a different punch cutting (*Iovei Sac(rum)*) confirms both the existence of *in loco* specific production of ritual *instrumentua* and previous hypotheses which identified Jupiter as main deity of the sanctuary (fig. 5, D).<sup>23</sup>

### Sanctuaries and productions: some hypotheses

Following the example of the sanctuary of Monte Rinaldo, if on the one hand it is therefore possible to qualify the main sanctuaries of the area as productive centers of specific materials with sacral destination, on the other hand it seems that a prominent

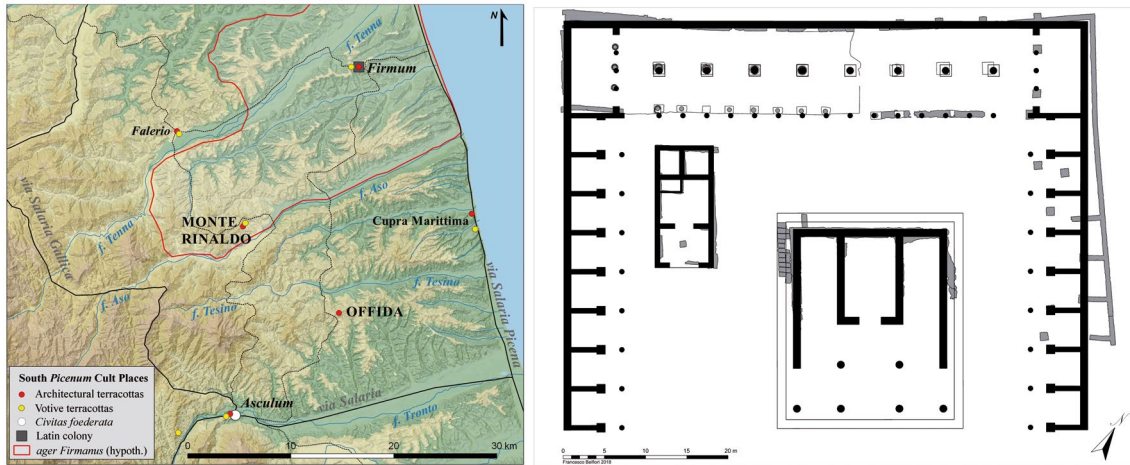


Fig. 4: The Monte Rinaldo sanctuary in southern Picenum.

role in the same productions is accorded to Latin colonies, presumably, by the same urban or suburban sanctuaries.

Towards this hypothesis seems to converge the documentation of Hadria: at the beginning of the last century, a craft neighbourhood was brought to light by Maralto Hill, identifiable, as said above, as the site of the Capitolin sanctuary of the colony. Among others, a furnace for architectural terracottas was found:<sup>24</sup> inside it, there were still some plates with cherubs mounting gryphons, attested only in Abruzzo and identical to those found in the sanctuaries of Pagliaroli, of Cortino and of Colle S. Giorgio.<sup>25</sup> It therefore seems that the Latin colony was not only a production center, but was also where original themes and iconographies could be elaborated. The same colony, likely, should have then provided the distribution of the terracottas among the main sanctuaries of *ager Praetutianus*, which could also have independently supplied part of the production of their own architectural terracottas, as suggested by the analyzed case of Monte Rinaldo.

Similarly to the case of Hadria, a matrix for antefixes from the urban center of Ariminum (fig. 6, A) indicates the presence of a production center in the Latin colony, as is reported below. This matrix presents iconographic peculiarities: even though the typical iconography of *potnia theròn* on antefixes is recalled on it, the figure on this specific matrix holds at its sides two racemes, instead of the usual lions. This particular brings this matrix close to the iconography of the so-called 'Donna-fiore' ('Rankengöttin'), typical on plates, as it is demonstrated by examples from the near locality of Riccione and from the sanctuaries of Colle S. Giorgio, Potentia, Monte Rinaldo and Offida (fig. 7).<sup>26</sup> On these plates, however, the 'Rankengöttin' is not represented with the typical turning of the lower limbs into acanthus branches, as the name implies. The persisting human-like appearance of the legs seems to derive from a commingling of the canonical iconography of the *potnia theròn* on antefixes.<sup>27</sup>

The Adriatic documentation seems to bear an underlying eclecticism and a commingling of the two iconographies and their supports (antefixes and plates):<sup>28</sup> this iconographic hybrid



Fig. 5: Architectural terracottas, antefixes moulds and *instrumentum sacrum* from Monte Rinaldo.

does not find comparison in the Latian documentation of the 3rd and 2nd century BC, that obviously constitutes the reference model for these materials, with the sole exception of the sanctuary of Diana in Nemi, where the ‘Rankengöttin’ of the plates has only human-like features (fig. 7, D).<sup>29</sup> This exception could be significant at least in the case of Ariminum, considering the deep religious nexus that ties the colony to the sanctuary of Nemi, witnessed by the inscription dated to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, that celebrates the offering to the Latian sanctuary by *C. Manlio(s) Aci(dinos) cosol* – head magistrates of the colony – *pro poplo Arimenesi*.<sup>30</sup>

The plates with the ‘Rankengöttin’ uncovered in the ager of Ariminum, in Riccione, aside from being similar to those from Nemi, could be precisely compared to those from the already mentioned sanctuary of Colle S. Giorgio (fig. 7, A, B). They are characterized not only by the same dimensions and the same iconographic theme, but above all by the identical rendering of both the general composition and the particulars, with very few variations between the two groups. This allows to argue that the plates from Ariminum and the ones from Colle S. Giorgio were obtained through matrixes from the same prototype. This observation could be read in such a light that considers not so much the existence of a commercial relationship



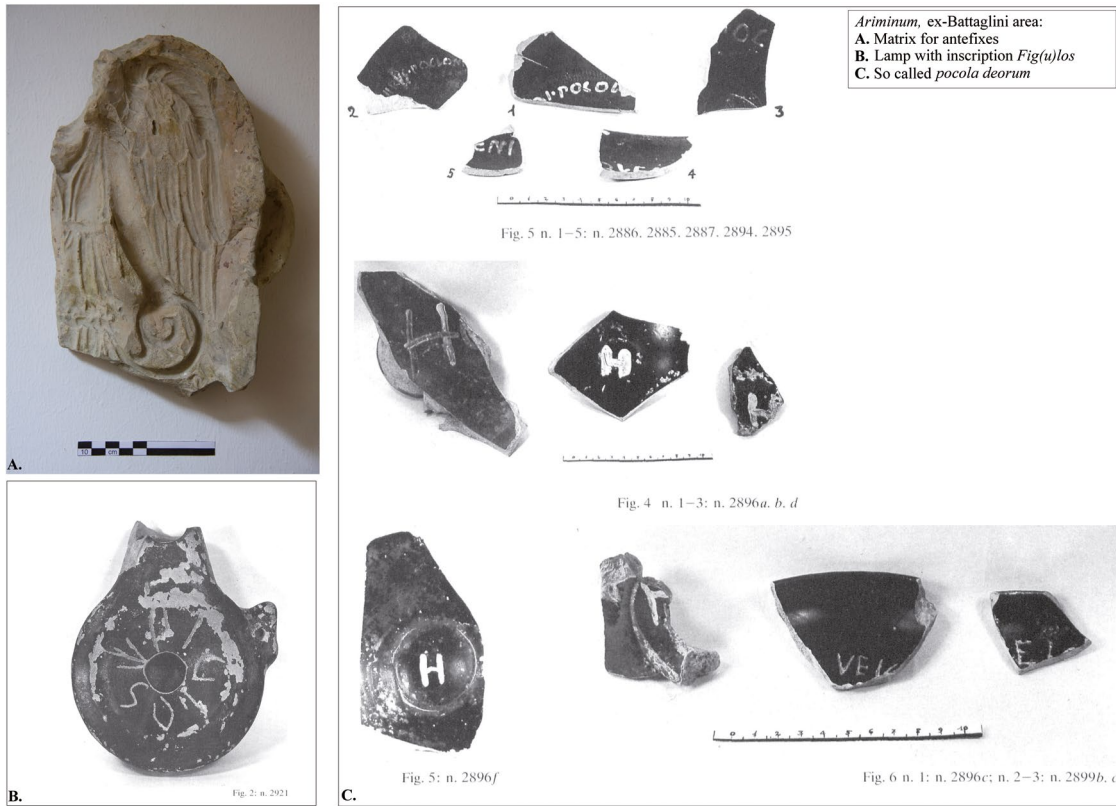


Fig. 6: Antefix mould and so-called pocola deorum from Ariminum.

between Ariminum and Colle S. Giorgio (which, as we have seen, seemed to supply their architectonic terracottas, or at least part of them, from the close Latin colony of Hadria), but that highlights the simultaneous reception of Roman models in different territories of the middle-Adriatic area, surrounding the Latin colonies (specifically, Ariminum and Hadria). This reception was probably facilitated by specialized itinerant craftsmanship, who, travelling among the main sanctuaries of colonial territories, provided the initiation of local production through their own models, as has for a long time been argued by J. M. Strazzulla.<sup>31</sup> Local productions, following their setup, feature themselves with a different degree of autonomy and variable experimentation: some of them could have elaborated new solutions and original iconographic themes, lastly becoming typical of single centers and then diffused on templar coroplastic of limited territories (such it is the case of Hadria and Monte Rinaldo); other productions were more faithful and in proximity to the initial prototypes, hence the strong similarity of materials discovered at great distance from one another, as in the case of the almost identical plates in the *ager Praetutianus* or in the area of Rimini.

The plates from Riccione, moreover, come from a locality that was long defined, together with the bordering Cattolica, as the true industrial district of Ariminum since

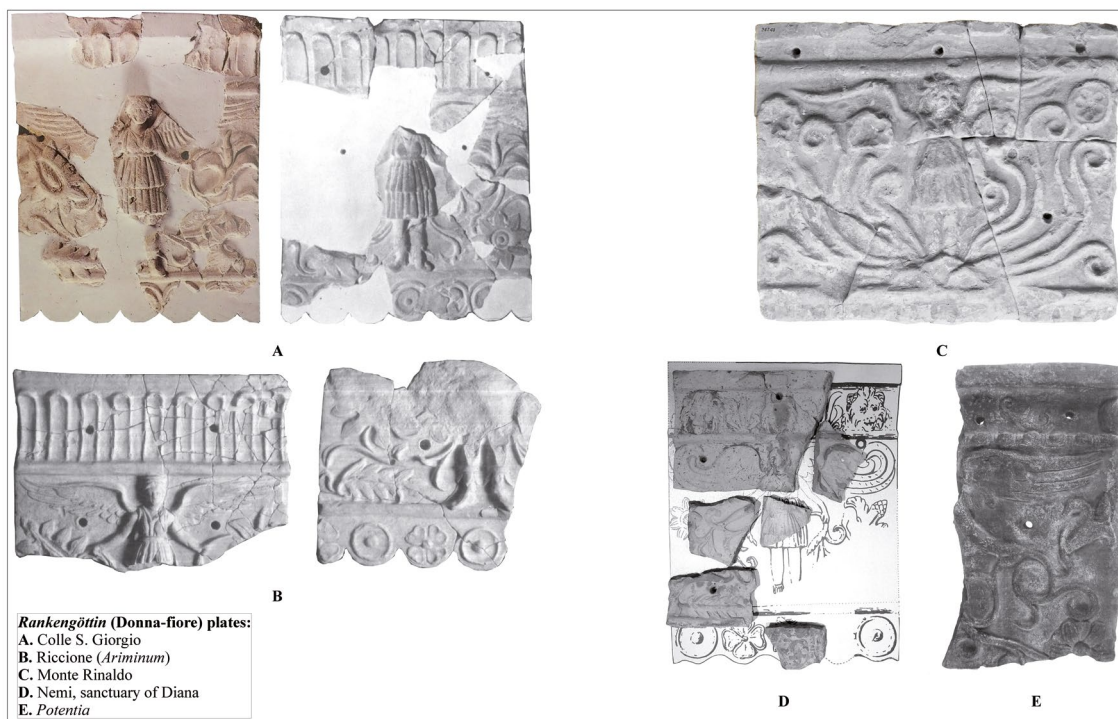


Fig. 7: 'Rankengöttin' plates from central-Adriatic Italy.

its origins. It is significant that from the same localities come the attestations of votive materials in the south area of Rimini (fig. 8); in Cattolica has brought to light a furnace dump dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, inside which, among other materials, also discarded materials relative to clay votive materials and architectonic terracottas were found.<sup>32</sup> These data could maybe support the hypothesis, partially confirmed in the cases of Hadria and Monte Rinaldo, that attests the belonging of this specific craft to a productive and commercial network, based on the main sanctuaries of Latin colonies and relative extra-urban areas.

Among the materials recovered from the dump in Cattolica, there was also a bowl, approximately dated to the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, bearing a painted inscription with a dedication to Jupiter.<sup>33</sup> This artifact could be added to the series of so-called *pocola deorum* from Rimini (fig. 6, C).<sup>34</sup> The term *pocola deorum* refers to a group of black-glazed ware vessels produced by Roman workshops (among which is the so-called 'atelier des petits estampilles') during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, with the painted inscription – simultaneously realized in the baking phase or afterwards – with a genitive-declined theonym and the general term *pocolom* / *poclom*, referring to the object and, as a callback, to its content. These artifacts were probably produced in the area of sanctuaries and meant for their internal use and consume in cultic places, as an individual form of rituality. *Pocola* represent “one of the most evident expressions of Hellenizing craft,

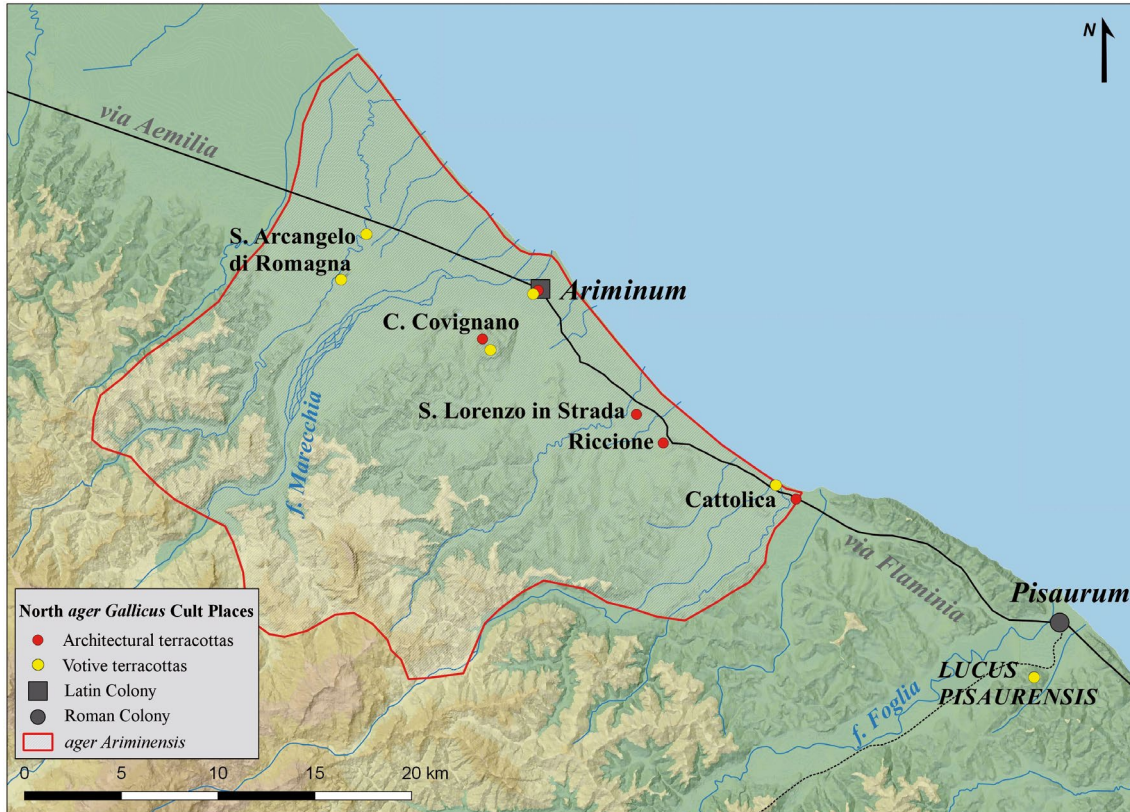


Fig. 8: Archaeological sacred evidences from ager Ariminensis.

documented in the Roman-Latian area during mid-Republican age. At the same time, they should be considered as some of the most characteristic expression of popular devotion practiced in Rome, during the same period.<sup>35</sup> The geographical distribution of *pocola*, in fact, concerns only Rome, Latium and Southern coastal Etruria. Outside this area, *pocola* witness the diffusion of ritual practices and Roman-Latian cults, linked to the physical presence of coloners.<sup>36</sup>

In the case of the artifacts from Rimini, the term *pocolom* appears only in four examples;<sup>37</sup> other inscriptions mention the dative-declined theonym, according to a known formulary of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century epigraphic sacral panorama in the middle-Adriatic area (the milestones from *lucus Pisauensis*, fig. 2), or, in the case of Hercules, the usual abbreviation of the theonym – *H(erculei)* – according to a coeval praxis, typical in Rome and Latium.<sup>38</sup> Besides these formal distinctions, the corpus of vessels from Rimini is substantially homogeneous in its dating (until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC), its writing support typology, its lexical and linguistic nature of inscription and function. Locally produced for a sacral destination, they imitate their Latian counterparts. The same rituality is underlying, after all manifested by the cults of the inscriptions, genuinely Latian and probably belonging to the original pantheon of the colony of Ariminum. The vessels were

discovered in a dump context in the ex-Battaglini area, in proximity of the northwestern limit of the city and slightly south of the Marecchia flow, not far from the finding spot of the already mentioned matrix of antefixes. The same dump also brought to light a whole lamp with an inscription, incised after baking – maybe an offering – mentioning a *Fig(u) los* (fig. 6, B).<sup>39</sup> The provenance of these artifacts from the same urban sector might lead to think of the presence of a sanctuary in the area; on the other hand, the matrix and a mention of *Figulos* make it highly suggestive to hypothesize the presence of a productive center (of architectonic materials and *pocola*) nearby. Also, the location of the findings, near the river and the city walls, could be connected to possible production workshops, normally situated in peripheral quarters of the settlement and in proximity of natural resources, necessary for production.

### **Sacral archaeology and colonial identity in the Adriatic area: preliminary reflections**

The presented dossier, with limits, not homogeneous and often erratic, does not allow the extrapolation of a clear and definite frame. Systematic review of previous documentation and new data from ongoing research seem rather useful in redefining some issues regarding Roman craftsmanship of sacral destination in the mid-Republican age, the cultural and cultic meaning of specific artifacts and their production site, as well as the link between the latter and their destination and use context in the wider landscape of Roman colonization of the middle-Adriatic area between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. On the other hand, this documentation constitutes the main source supporting an investigation of the manifestation of religiosity in the referenced historical and geographical context. A broad analysis that, far from being confined to the single object and its merely formal features, will on the contrary investigate intrinsic and cultural, specifically religious, meanings, could lead to a desirable theorization on archaeological basis of the shapes and the structures – material and conceptual – of Roman religion in the examined context, and could highlight the interaction and cultural contact dynamics among coloners and local population under religious aspects, even in terms of nexus and dialectic between epicoric and foreign cults, when these are attested through inscriptions.

In this sense, the *pocola* from Rimini, similarly to the vessels produced in Monte Rinaldo, together with the votive clay materials and architectonic terracottas, variously attested in the territory, “constitute a tangible key of interpretation of the same modalities, according to which the process of transmission and assimilation of Roman cultural and religious models was realized, in relation to the progressive extension of the Roman domain.”<sup>40</sup> This process allowed the colonial world to gain a specific, clearly Latin, imprint that vastly emerges when considering sacral practices on different degrees and levels: from individual rituality to the sacral landscape in cities and country sides. From this point of view, sanctuaries were seen as fundamental landmarks of expression and acknowledgement of colonial identity,

privileged places where religiosity was performed with main rituality, facing cults which conveyed political contents and, lastly, shared in places built according to a monumental and architectonic language that manifested the presence of Rome in peripheral areas of Republican Italy.<sup>41</sup> They also possibly functioned as places where their own sacral shapes could have been materially molded and thereby diffused outside the colonial context, among local communities.

## Notes

\* University of Bologna.

<sup>1</sup> Paci 1998a; Paci 1998b; Paci 2002; Bandelli 2002; Bandelli 2007; Bandelli 2008.

<sup>2</sup> Susini 1965/1966; Guidobaldi 1995; Sisani 2007; Giorgi 2010; Mazzeo Saracino 2013; Giorgi 2014.

<sup>3</sup> Stek 2009; Stek – Burgers 2015; Aberson et al. 2016; Lippolis – Sassu 2018.

<sup>4</sup> On the distinction among ex voto materials for destination or transformation see Morel 1992.

<sup>5</sup> Despite recent review efforts that suggest the separation of the two phenomena (Roman colonization and spreading of sacral materials, i.e. clay votive materials), this nexus is evident for the geographic area here analyzed. On this topic see Torelli 1993; Strazzulla 2006a; Strazzulla 2006b; Sisani 2007, 151–158; de Cazanove 2016. For a different interpretation see Glinister 2006.

<sup>6</sup> The moment when Italy's municipalization occurs – with subsequent urbanization of those centers as headquarters – is when the process of Republican colonization and relative Romanization of peripheral peninsular regions ends. See note 1 and Torelli 1983.

<sup>7</sup> Brizio 1901; Azzena 1987, 4 f. 17–20; Bertrand 2015, 151–158. 471–477.

<sup>8</sup> CIL I2 383; on terracottas see Stortoni 2013. The archaeological and epigraphic dossier of the *arx* of Firmum is collected now in Bertrand 2015, 164–168. 465–468.

<sup>9</sup> Percossi Serenelli 2009; Liv. 41, 27.

<sup>10</sup> Votive veiled head from Via Mastai and ceramic with graffiti of onomastic indications (Q. Gavi) from Via Armellini. See Stefanini 1994/1995, 37 f.; Lepore – Antolini – Galazzi 2015, 290–292.

<sup>11</sup> Lepore 2012.

<sup>12</sup> Archaeological investigations were conducted by the University of Bologna (Prof. Enrico Giorgi) in cooperation with the Soprintendenza Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio delle Marche. See Giorgi – Demma 2018. On Republican and Imperial Ascoli and its territory, see Paci 2014.

<sup>13</sup> This material was examined by Sara Morsiani, to whom I am grateful for considerations listed above and thankful for her help, referring to her works for a detailed picture: Morsiani 2018; Mazzeo Saracino – Morsiani 2014.

<sup>14</sup> Di Giuseppe 2012, 82–84. 157 f.

<sup>15</sup> On law and administrative institutions see Sisani 2011.

<sup>16</sup> See Belfiori 2017 on *lucus Pisauensis* and Mei 2017 on colonial presence in the Metauro valley in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.

<sup>17</sup> Landolfi 1994.

<sup>18</sup> Pignocchi 1996/1997, under my current review.

<sup>19</sup> Unedited, under my current examination. On the topic of the institutional nature of Aesis see Bandelli 2005.

<sup>20</sup> See E. Giorgi in this volume.

<sup>21</sup> Giorgi – Demma – Belfiori in press, with previous literature. Since 2016, the site is center of a new research project of the University of Bologna, directed by Prof. Enrico Giorgi.

<sup>22</sup> The only comparisons are from *ager Praetutianus*, specifically from Teramo (Cona), from Pagliaroli di Cortino and from Chieti (Civitella).

<sup>23</sup> Until recently, there was known only the seal discussed in Susini 1970; de Marinis – Paci 2012. Today, the series of *Iovei Sacrum Spol* seals count eight samples: to the one that is cited in literature, three badly preserved seals are to be added, from the survey of the materials of previous archaeological investigations (by Dr. Filippo Demma) and four, (two of which are whole and perfectly legible), found during the 2017 and 2018 archaeological fieldwork in the sanctuary by the University of Bologna.

<sup>24</sup> Azzena 1987, 60.

<sup>25</sup> Iaculli 1993.

<sup>26</sup> Riccione: Ortalli 2015; Ortalli 2017. Colle S. Giorgio: Iaculli 1993. Potentia: Percossi Serenelli 2009. Monte Rinaldo: unedited. Offida: Pignocchi 1996/1997. To the list is also added a fragment from Macerata Feltria: Monacchi 1995.

<sup>27</sup> In this sense, see Pensa 1983; Pensa 1984; Iaculli 2006.

<sup>28</sup> Among Etruscan-Italic templar coroplastic of the Hellenistic period, the two iconographic themes seem to be destined univocally to different supports: the ‘Rankengöttin’ to plates; the *potnia theròn* to antefixes. In other terms, even if in basic iconographic ambiguity, there are no plates with the *potnia theròn* or antefixes with the ‘Rankengöttin’.

<sup>29</sup> On Nemi terracottas see Diosono – Plebani 2014.

<sup>30</sup> CIL I2 40.

<sup>31</sup> Strazzulla 1981; Strazzulla 2006a.

<sup>32</sup> Malnati – Stoppioni 2008.

<sup>33</sup> Maras 2008.

<sup>34</sup> Zuffa 1962; Franchi de Bellis 1995.

<sup>35</sup> Translated from Cifarelli – Ambrosini – Nonnis 2002/2003, 296 (D. Nonnis).

<sup>36</sup> Cifarelli – Ambrosini – Nonnis 2002/2003, 280–296 (D. Nonnis).

<sup>37</sup> CIL I2 2885. 2886. 2887.

<sup>38</sup> CIL I2 2894 f.

<sup>39</sup> CIL I2 2921.

<sup>40</sup> Translated from Cifarelli – Ambrosini – Nonnis 2002/2003, 296 (D. Nonnis).

<sup>41</sup> Torelli 1993.

### Image Credits

Fig. 1–6: by author. – Fig. 7: by author; Iaculli 1993; Percossi Serenelli 2009; Diosono – Plebani 2014; Ortalli 2017. – Fig. 8: by author.

## References

### **Aberson et al. 2016**

M. Aberson – M. C. Biella – M. Di Fazio – P. Sánchez – M. Wulschleger (eds.), *L'Italia centrale e la creazione di una koiné culturale? I percorsi della "romanizzazione"* (Berne 2016).

### **Azzena 1987**

G. Azzena, *Atri. Forma e urbanistica* (Rome 1987).

### **Bandelli 2002**

G. Bandelli, *La colonizzazione medio-adriatica fino alla seconda guerra punica. Questioni preliminari*, in: M. Luni (ed.), *La battaglia del Metauro. Tradizioni e studi* (Urbino 2002) 21–54.

### **Bandelli 2005**

G. Bandelli, *La conquista dell'ager Gallicus e il problema della colonia Aesis*, *AquilNost* 76, 2005, 13–60.

### **Bandelli 2007**

G. Bandelli, *Considerazioni sulla romanizzazione del Piceno (III–I sec. a. C.)*, *Studi Maceratesi* 41, 2007, 1–26.

### **Bandelli 2008**

G. Bandelli, *Romani e Picenti dalla stipulazione del foedus (299 a. C.) alla deduzione di Firmum (264 a. C.)*, in: M. Luni – M. Sconocchia (eds.), *I Piceni e la loro riscoperta tra Settecento e Novecento* (Urbino 2008) 336–351.

### **Belfiori 2017**

F. Belfiori, *Lucum concludere romano more. Archeologia e religione del "lucus" Pisarense* (Bologna 2017).

### **Bertrand 2015**

A. Bertrand, *La religion publique des colonies dans l'Italie républicaine et impériale* (Rome 2015).

### **Brizio 1901**

E. Brizio, *Scoperta di un tempio romano e della necropoli preromana*, *NSA* 1901, 181–194.

### **F. M. Cifarelli – L. Ambrosini – D. Nonnis 2002/2003**

F. M. Cifarelli – L. Ambrosini – D. Nonnis, *Nuovi dati su Segni medio-repubblicana. A proposito di un nuovo pocolom dall'acropoli*, *RendPontAc* 75, 2002/2003, 245–325.

### **de Cazanove 2016**

O. de Cazanove, *Offerte della e dall'Italia centrale. Teste e uteri di terracotta come spie delle dinamiche di diffusione*, in: M. Aberson – M. C. Biella – M. Di Fazio – P. Sánchez – M. Wulschleger (eds.), *L'Italia centrale e la creazione di una koiné culturale? I percorsi della "romanizzazione"* (Berne 2016) 273–289.

### **de Marinis – Paci 2012**

G. de Marinis – G. Paci, *Sul bollo vascolare iscritto dal santuario di Monterinaldo*, in: G. Baratta – S. M. Marengo (eds.), *Instrumenta Inscripta III. Manufatti iscritti e vita dei santuari in età romana* (Macerata 2012) 93–104.

### **Di Giuseppe 2012**

H. Di Giuseppe, *Black-Gloss Ware in Italy. Production, management and local histories* (Oxford 2012).

**Diosono – Plebani 2014**

F. Diosono – F. R. Plebani, Le terrecotte architettoniche e la coroplastica, in: P. Braconi – F. Coarelli – F. Diosono – G. Ghini (eds.), *Il santuario di Diana a Nemi. Le terrazze e il ninfeo*. Scavi 1989–2009 (Rome 2014) 167–186.

**Franchi de Bellis 1995**

A. Franchi de Bellis, I pocola riminesi, in: A. Calbi, G. Susini (eds.), *Pro populo arimense* (Faenza 1995) 367–391.

**Giorgi 2010**

E. Giorgi, La città e il territorio. Riflessioni sulla genesi dell'abitato, in: E. Giorgi – G. Lepore (eds.), *Archeologia nella valle del Cesano da Suasa a Santa Maria in Portuno. Atti del Convegno per i venti anni di ricerche dell'Università di Bologna (Castelleone di Suasa, Corinaldo, San Lorenzo in Campo 18–19 dicembre 2008)* (Bologna 2010) 55–61.

**Giorgi 2014**

E. Giorgi, La Domus dei Coiedii. I periodi e il contesto urbano, in: L. Mazzeo Saracino (ed.) *Scavi di Suasa I. I reperti ceramici e vetri dalla Domus dei Coiedii* (Bologna 2014) 29–43.

**Giorgi – Demma 2018**

E. Giorgi – F. Demma, Riflessioni sulla genesi e lo sviluppo urbano di Asculum nel Piceno dalla città federata alla colonia romana, *Atta* 28, 2018, 53–76.

**Giorgi – Demma – Belfiori in press**

E. Giorgi – F. Demma – F. Belfiori, Monte Rinaldo. “Vecchi” dati e nuove prospettive, in: *Roma ed il Mondo Adriatico. Dalla ricerca archeologica alla pianificazione del territorio. Atti del convegno internazionale Macerata 19–20 maggio 2017* (in press).

**Guidobaldi 1995**

M. P. Guidobaldi, *La romanizzazione dell'ager Praetutianus* (Naples 1995).

**Iaculli 1993**

G. Iaculli, *Il tempio italico di Colle S. Giorgio (Castiglione Messer Raimondo)* (Penne 1993).

**Iaculli 2006**

G. Iaculli, Note sulla tecnica di esecuzione di alcune terrecotte della Civitella di Chieti, in: I. Edlund-Berry – G. Greco – J. Kenfield (eds.), *Deliciae Fictiles III. Architectural Terracottas in Ancient Italy. New Discoveries and Interpretations. Proceedings of the international conference held at the American Academy in Rome November 7–8 2002* (Exeter 2006) 164–175.

**Landolfi 1994**

M. Landolfi, *Le terrecotte architettoniche da Civitalba di Sassoferrato*, *Ostraka* 3, 1994, 73–91.

**Lepore 2012**

G. Lepore, *Il santuario dei primi coloni di Sena Gallica?*, *Picus* 32, 77–106.

**Lepore – Antolini – Galazzi 2015**

G. Lepore – S. Antolini – F. Galazzi, *Novità epigrafiche da Senigallia*, *Picus* 25, 2005, 273–295.

**Lippolis – Sassu 2018**

E. Lippolis – R. Sassu, *Il ruolo del culto nelle comunità dell'Italia antica. Strutture, funzioni e interazioni culturali* (Rome 2018).



**Malnati – Stoppioni 2008**

L. Malnati – M. L. Stoppioni (eds.), *Vetus Litus. Archeologia della foce. Una discarica di materiali ceramici del III sec. a. C. alla darsena di Cattolica lungo il Tavollo* (Florence 2008).

**Maras 2008**

D. F. Maras, *Giove in Adriatico. Novità epigrafiche medio-repubblicane*, in: L. Malnati – M. L. Stoppioni (eds.), *Vetus Litus. Archeologia della foce. Una discarica di materiali ceramici del III sec. a. C. alla darsena di Cattolica lungo il Tavollo* (Florence 2008) 73–76.

**Mazzeo Saracino 2013**

L. Mazzeo Saracino, *Indigeni e coloni nell'ager Gallicus e nel Piceno alla luce della cultura materiale*, in: G. Paci (ed.), *Epigrafia e archeologia nel territorio marchigiano. Atti del Convegno di Studi Macerata 22–23 aprile 2013* (Tivoli 2013) 357–390.

**Mazzeo Saracino – Morsiani 2014**

L. Mazzeo Saracino – S. Morsiani, *Brevi note sulla romanizzazione di Ascoli Piceno*, in: G. Baldelli – F. Lo Schiavo (eds.), *Amore per l'antico. Dal Tirreno all'Adriatico, dalla Preistoria al Medioevo e oltre. Studi di antichità in ricordo di Giuliano de Marinis* (Rome 2014) 521–529.

**Mei 2017**

O. Mei, *Il Fanum Fortunae e i luoghi di culto di età repubblicana nel territorio circostante*, in: O. Mei – P. Clini (eds.), *Fanum Fortunae e il culto della dea Fortuna* (Venice 2017) 51–66.

**Monacchi 1995**

W. Monacchi, *Il Museo Civico di Macerata Feltria* (Macerata Feltria 1995).

**Morel 1992**

J.-P. Morel, *Ex-voto par transformation, ex-voto par destination. À propos du dépôt votif de Fondo Ruozzo à Teano*, in: M.-M. Mactoux – E. Geny (eds.), *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque VI. Religion, Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* 463 (Paris 1992) 221–232.

**Morsiani 2018**

S. Morsiani, *Produzioni fini e vasellame comune da Asculum nella fase della romanizzazione*, *RCRF* 45, 2018, 383–392.

**Ortalli 2015**

J. Ortalli, *Lastre fittili da Riccione*, in: L. Malnati – V. Manzelli (eds.), *Brixia. Roma e le genti del Po. Un incontro di culture III–I sec. a. C.* (Milan 2015) 308–310.

**Ortalli 2017**

J. Ortalli, *Gaio Mario, la Cispadana e Mutina. Fonti letterarie e documentazione archeologica*, in: L. Malnati – S. Pellegrini – F. Piccinini – C. Stefani (eds.), *Mutina splendidissima. La città romana e la sua eredità* (Rome 2017) 69–73.

**Paci 1998a**

G. Paci, *Dalla prefettura al municipio nell'agro gallico e piceno*, in: A. Rodríguez Colmenero (ed.), *Los orígenes de la ciudad en el Noroeste Hispánico. Actas del Congreso Internacional Lugo 15–18 de Mayo 1996* (Lugo 1998) 55–64.

**Paci 1998b**

G. Paci, *Umbria e agro gallico a nord del fiume Esino*, *Picus* 18, 1998, 89–118.

**Paci 2002**

G. Paci, Conseguenze storico-politiche della battaglia di Sentino per i popoli a nord del fiume Esino, in: D. Poli (ed.), *La battaglia del Sentino. Scontro fra nazioni e incontro in una nazione. Atti del Convegno di Studi Camerino-Sassoferrato 10–13 giugno 1998* (Rome 2002) 81–93.

**Paci 2014**

G. Paci (ed.), *Storia di Ascoli. Dai Piceni all'età romana* (Ascoli Piceno 2014).

**Pensa 1983**

M. Pensa, La decorazione architettonica fittile in Emilia-Romagna. Aspetti e problemi, in: G. A. Mansuelli (ed.), *Studi sulla città antica. L'Emilia-Romagna* (Rome 1983) 383–398.

**Pensa 1984**

M. Pensa, Alcune terrecotte architettoniche di Ariminum e del suo territorio, in: P. Delbianco (ed.), *Culture figurative e materiali tra Emilia e Marche. Studi in memoria di Mario Zuffa* (Rimini 1984) 219–228.

**Percossi Serenelli 2009**

E. Percossi Serenelli, Su alcuni tipi di terrecotte architettoniche da Potentia, in: G. de Marinis – G. Paci (eds.), *Omaggio a Nereo Alfieri. Contributi all'archeologia marchigiana. Atti del Convegno di Studi Loreto 9–11 maggio 2005* (Tivoli 2009) 439–490.

**Pignocchi 1996/1997**

G. Pignocchi, Le terrecotte architettoniche del Colle della Guardia (Offida – AP), *Picus* 16/17, 1996/1997, 203–229.

**Sisani 2007**

S. Sisani, Fenomenologia della conquista. La romanizzazione dell'Umbria tra il IV sec. a. C. e la guerra sociale (Rome 2007).

**Sisani 2011**

S. Sisani, In pagis forisque et conciliabulis. Le strutture amministrative dei distretti rurali in Italia tra la media repubblica e l'età municipale, *MemLinc* 9, 27, 2, 2011, 551–780.

**Stefanini 1994/1995**

S. Stefanini, Rinvenimenti ceramici da Sena, *Picus* 14/15, 1994/1995, 23–52.

**Stek 2009**

T. D. Stek, *Cult Places and Cultural Change in Republican Italy. A Contextual Approach to Religious Aspects of Rural Society After the Roman Conquest* (Amsterdam 2009).

**Stek – Burgers 2015**

T. D. Stek – P. Burgers (eds.), *The impact of Rome on Cult Places and Religious Practices in Ancient Italy* (Exeter 2015).

**Strazzulla 2006a**

M. J. Strazzulla, Le terrecotte architettoniche nei territori italici, in: I. Edlund-Berry – G. Greco – J. Kenfield (eds.), *Deliciae Fictiles III. Architectural Terracottas in Ancient Italy. New Discoveries and Interpretations. Proceedings of the International Conference held at the American Academy in Rome November 7–8 2002* (Exeter 2006) 25–41.

**Strazzulla 2006b**

M. J. Strazzulla, I santuari, in: P. Di Felice – V. Torrieri (eds.), Museo civico archeologico “F. Savini” Teramo (Teramo 2006) 85–98.

**Susini 1965/1966**

G. Susini. Coloni romani dal Piceno al Po I. Le fonti monumentali, *Studia picena* 33/34, 1965/1966, 82–143.

**Susini 1970**

G. Susini, Pocola marcati. Devozione e industria, *Epigraphica* 32, 1970, 165 f.

**Torelli 1983**

M. Torelli, Edilizia pubblica in Italia centrale tra guerra sociale ed età augustea. Ideologia e classi sociali, in: *Les ‘bourgeoisies’ municipales italiennes aux IIe et Ier siècles av. J.-C. Actes du Colloque International du CNRS no. 609 Naples Centre Jean Berard Institut Français de Naples 7–10 décembre 1981 (Naples 1983) 241–250.*

**Torelli 1993**

M. Torelli, Fictiles Fabulae. Rappresentazione e romanizzazione nei cicli figurati fittili repubblicani, *Ostraka* 2, 1993, 269–299.

**Zuffa 1962**

M. Zuffa, Nuove scoperte di archeologia e storia riminese, *StRomagn* 13, 1962, 85–132.