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Votive terracotta offerings of Hellenistic period from central Adriatic Italy: re-examination of the archaeological evidence for a (renewed) *status quaestionis*.

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Title: Offerte votive in terracotta del periodo ellenistico dall'Italia centro-adriatica: riesame delle evidenze archeologiche per un (rinnovato) *status quaestionis*.

Abstract: Il contributo traccia un quadro sinottico, descrittivo e interpretativo, del fenomeno e dei significati storico-culturali sottintesi all'offerta dei votivi fittili nei santuari dell'Italia centrale adriatica tra III e II sec. a.C., con particolare riguardo al comprensorio umbro-piceno. In età ellenistica, infatti, l'offerta di votivi fittili rappresenta una delle manifestazioni di devozione tra le più peculiari presso i luoghi di culto del versante adriatico dell'Italia centrale. L'opinione prevalente lega il fiorire di tale pratica alle dinamiche demografiche che interessarono questo territorio e in particolare alla colonizzazione romano-latina, che qui determinò il sensibile e diffuso stanziamento di popolazione originaria del Lazio e dell'area medio-tirrenica. Naturalmente, assieme alle persone si spostarono oggetti, saperi artigianali, idee e più in generale i retaggi religiosi e culturali propri dei nuovi arrivati. La comparsa e la diffusione della coroplastica votiva in un comprensorio geografico dove gli usi e i costumi religiosi

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epicori si erano in precedenza espressi – tra le altre cose – ricorrendo ad altre formule materiali, dunque, rientrano appieno nel novero dei più ampi sviluppi culturali del periodo, misurabili non da ultimo anche attraverso lo studio delle modificazioni e dei mutamenti che interessarono le fisionomie e le espressioni materiali della *pietas* in un contesto territoriale dagli assetti sociopolitici ed economici sensibilmente rinnovati.

Keywords: Roman Republican Colonization; Picenum; Votive Religion; Terracotta Offerings; Roman Sanctuaries.

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1. ROMAN REPUBLICAN COLONIZATION IN CENTRAL ADRIATIC ITALY: AN OVERVIEW

The Roman expansion into central Italy during the middle-Republic (4th and 3rd cent. B.C.) turned to the Adriatic coast – *i.e.*, to the territories which are currently part of the lower Romagna, the Marche and central-northern Abruzzo regions – after the victorious battle of the *Sentinum* (295 B.C.) against a coalition of Samnites, Etruscans, Celts and Umbrians within the wider engagement of the Third Samnite War¹.

In the aftermath of that crucial victory, which represented a decisive step towards the Roman hegemony over the entire Peninsula, Rome quickly proceeded with the direct annexation of most of the territories that, at that time, were part of the *ager Gallicus* (the portion of ancient *Umbria* to the East

¹ Liv. X 29-30; Plb. II 19, 5-6.

of the Apennines) and the Picena region (*Picenum*), with its southernmost extension, *i.e.* the *ager Praetutianus*².

In a span of less than thirty years (290-264 B.C.), following their annexation into the Roman Republic, the newly acquired territories witnessed the foundation of Roman and Latin colonies in a geographical context where the urban settlements were previously almost unknown³: *Castrum Novum*, *Sena Gallica*, *Hatria*, *Ariminum* and *Firmum*, the latter founded the year of the outbreak of the First Punic War⁴. The major indigenous communities, whose settlement were perhaps the only ones that independently gained urban features before the clash with Rome, joined the Republic through alliance treaties: *Ancon*, of probable – but still debated – Greek origins (as stated by Str. V 4, 2), *Asculum caput gentis Picenae* (according to Flor. *epit.* I 14), and *Camerinum* (*foedus aequissimum* concluded in 310 B.C.)⁵.

This phase of Roman expansion into Italy can be considered completed by 268 B.C. (fig. 1), when the foundation of a Latin colony at *Ariminum* sealed the control of Rome over most of the central Peninsula and, at the same time, laid the structural and strategic groundwork for the subsequent advancement towards the Po Valley and the Cisalpine Gaul, in the second half of the 3rd cent. B.C.⁶

² Flor. *epit.* I 10 and 14; *de vir. ill.* 33; Plb. II 19, 7-13; Eutr. II 16.

³ PERNA 2012; LIPPOLIS 2016; SILANI 2017; VERMEULEN 2017.

⁴ Liv. *per.* XI and XV; Eutr. II 16; Vell. I 14, 7-8.

⁵ Liv. IX 36, 7-8 and X 10, 12 and XLI 1, 3; Plin. *Nat.* III 110; Cic. *Balb.* 46: cf. with SÁNCHEZ, SANZ 2016.

⁶ Rome pursued a complementary and contemporary strategy in southern Italy: cf. in particular the deductions of the Latin colonies at *Luceria* (314 B.C.), *Venusia* (290 B.C.), *Paestum* (273 B.C.) and *Beneventum* (268 B.C.), the latter two cities in the years immediately after the war against Pyrrhus.

During the same period, and in particular on the basis of the *lex Flaminia de agro Gallico et Piceno viritim dividundo* promoted by the *tr. pl. C. Flaminius* in 232 B.C.⁷, most of the rural territory of central Adriatic Italy (*ager Publicus p. R.*) was planned, equipped with infrastructures, divided into agricultural lots assigned to small landowners. The settlers organized into a scattered rural population – with farms and other secondary settlements such as *conciliabula* and *vici* – administrated by the *pagus-vicus* system and, for jurisdictional needs and issues, by the *praefecturae*⁸.

The Roman colonial apparatus was further strengthened during the first half of the following century, when two other Roman colonies – of the so-called ‘Latin Type’, bigger in size and in demography⁹ – were deducted in the same year 184 B.C., *Pisaurum* in the *ager Gallicus* and *Potentia* in the *Picenum*¹⁰. A few years later (157 B.C.?) was the turn of *Auximum*, in northern *Picenum*¹¹.

As Gino Bandelli pointed out¹², no other region of Roman Italy knew a higher colonial population density in Republican times than central Adriatic Italy between the 3rd and 2nd cent. B.C. Beside the first Roman-Latin colonists from *Latium* – but generally from middle-Tyrrhenian regions, including Etruria and Campania – with their future descendants, one should also note that the indigenous people (*i.e.*, Umbrians, Picentes and

⁷ *Cato ap. Varro rust. I 2, 7; Plb. II 21, 7; Cic. Brut. 57; Cic. Cato 11; Val. Max. V 4, 5.*

⁸ HUMBERT 1978, pp. 355-402; PACI 1998; SISANI 2011; GALLO 2018.

⁹ SALMON 1936, TOYNBEE 1965, pp. 142-154 and 533-540; GROS, TORELLI 2007, pp. 179-185; PELGROM, STEK 2014; STEK 2017.

¹⁰ Liv. XXXIX 44, 10.

¹¹ Vell. I 15, 3 but see also Liv. XLI 27, 10-13. The problem of the date of the deduction of the Roman colony of *Auximum* – maybe an intervention to develop and enlarge an already existing *conciliabulum* – is discussed by PACI 2015.

¹² BANDELLI 2007, pp. 16-18.

other Oscan-Sabellic people), which survived extermination or deportation (Plb. II 19, 7-13; Str. V 1, 6; V 4, 13; Plin. *nat.* III 70; III 116), were then partially distributed among the newly established colonial communities as well, where they were integrated and registered as new citizens and perhaps as *incolae*¹³.

2. CULTURAL PROCESSES AND (EX)CHANGES IN ROMAN-HELLENISTIC PERIOD

As the result of the Roman-Latin colonization of central Adriatic Italy, between the 3rd and the 2nd cent. B.C. a series of complementary economic and socio-cultural processes and transformations occurred¹⁴. For example, transformations and changes in the production and consumption of goods, dietary habits, trade networks and the exploitation and concentration of territorial resources are attested by some archaeological markers (*i.e.*, pottery and *instrumentum domesticum*)¹⁵. As already stressed above, another change occurred in the settlement patterns throughout the regions of central Adriatic Italy then colonized (both urban centres and rural territories)¹⁶, as well as in the architectural features of the buildings. Following these architectural changes, the progressive spread of the so-called 'Etruscan-Italic' or 'Tuscanic' architectures is particularly expressive, from a socio-political and ideological (also religious) standpoint, of the new political and

¹³ In Latin colonies, but also as new *Romani cives sine suffragio* in a first phase (since 268 B.C.) and *optimo iure* very soon (241-232 B.C.): cf. with footnotes 8 above and GAGLIARDI 2011; ROSELAAR 2011; GAGLIARDI 2015.

¹⁴ For ancient *Umbria* cf. SISANI 2007.

¹⁵ See the studies collected by BOSCHI, GIORGI, VERMEULEN 2020.

¹⁶ Cf. footnotes 3 and 8.

institutional framework stated by the Roman-Latin colonization¹⁷. Further aspects of these dynamics are perceptible thanks to the linguistic-epigraphic evidence: since the beginning of the 3rd cent. B.C. the sudden and widespread diffusion of the Latin language, with its exclusive utilization in both public and private spheres, coincides with the contemporary disappearance of the local idioms¹⁸.

All considered, these historical and cultural dynamics can be easily summarized into the concept of 'Romanization' of central Adriatic Italy – perhaps even 'Latinization'¹⁹ – although within the wider context of the deep and epochal transformations that parallelly interested other regions of the Hellenistic Mediterranean basin²⁰.

Certainly, one of the privileged areas for the analysis of the processes of acculturation and the cultural exchange between Roman-Latins and local 'Romanised' – or being 'Romanised' – people is, given its own nature, the religious sphere²¹. Thus, the analysis of the changes and transformations of the cultic practices and the devotional habits, observed at some local sanctuaries and cultic places, sheds light on the social and civic features of the local communities, their cultural framework, as well as the mechanisms of construction, negotiation and redefinition of their either individual or

¹⁷ In general, cf. DEMMA 2016. For sacred architecture and 'Etruscan-Italic' architectural terracottas see TORELLI 1993 and STRAZZULLA 2006, with previous references therein.

¹⁸ PACI 1995; DEL TUTTO, PROSDOCIMI, ROCCA 2002; NONNIS, SISANI 2012; MARENGO 2019. For a wider approach to the phenomenon see LANGSLOW 2012 and MARAS, VELAZA, NONNIS 2020.

¹⁹ For a synthetic overview of central Adriatic Italy cf. BELFIORI 2019.

²⁰ See for example ZEVI 2003; ROSELAAR 2012; ABERSON *ET ALII* 2016. For a recent and renewed approach to the Roman expansionism into central Italy between the 4th and the 3rd cent. B.C. cf. TERRENATO 2019.

²¹ DURKHEIM 1912; ASSMANN 1992. In the case of Rome, see at least DUMÉZIL 1974; SABBATUCCI 1988 and, most recently, SCHEID 1998; RÜPKE 2007; SCHEID 2011; RÜPKE 2011; DE SANCTIS 2012; SCHEID 2013; BETTINI 2015; RÜPKE 2018; DE SANCTIS 2021.

collective cultural identity, within a renewed political-historical reality after the Roman conquest of central Adriatic Italy²².

Regarding the topics of the conference held in Cagliari, the terracotta *ex-votos* – known as ‘Etruscan-Latinal-Campanian’-type in the literature²³ – represent one of the most eloquent archaeological markers to further detail the phenomena introduced above and, in particular, to describe some of the most characterizing sacral manifestations of the period, as well as the changes and transformations of devotional habits and ritual practices between the 3rd and the 2nd cent. B.C. in central Adriatic Italy.

3. «SIGILLA ARTE FICTILI FINGERENTUR» (MACR. SAT. I 11, 49)

The terracotta *ex-votos* represent one of the most characteristic forms of sacred craftsmanship of the middle Republican period. Designed only for votive purposes and for their exclusive employment in cultic places, these standardized artifacts were produced with serial and ‘industrial’ methods from moulds according to models created in the Etruscan-Latin area especially in the 4th cent. B.C. This is especially true in the case of the veiled votive terracotta heads²⁴.

²² On the relationship between Roman Republican Colonization and identity formation in Italy, with particular attention to religious aspects: BISPHAM, SMITH 2000; SCHULTZ, HARVEY 2006; BRADLEY 2006; BISPHAM 2006; JEHNE, LINKE, RÜPKE 2013; STEK, BURGERS 2015; LIPPOLIS, SASSU 2018. For some regional insights see: SISANI 2007 (ancient *Umbria*); STEK 2009 (*Samnium*); MURGIA 2013 (northern-eastern Italy); STRAZZULLA 2016 (*ager Praetutianus* and *Samnium*); BELFIORI 2022a (central Adriatic Italy).

²³ At least since FENELLI 1975 and COMELLA 1981.

²⁴ See especially LA REGINA 1975; LA ROCCA 1990, pp. 318-319; PENSABENE 2001, pp. 87-97 and 100-102; COARELLI 2011, pp. 131-144; DEMMA 2019, pp. 272-273; LA ROCCA 2021, pp. 371-372.

On the other hand, the terracotta anatomical *ex-votos* are usually considered as the peculiar manifestation of a pervasive religious phenomenon originated, at least in Rome, from the institution of the cult of *Aesculapius* (291 B.C.)²⁵, and following certain material devotional languages, which were already known in other parts of the Mediterranean²⁶. However, in Republican Italy these artefacts quite soon lost any specific and unique reference to the cult of the Tiber Island, to rather embrace a set of more transversal meanings, such as the generic ritual practices of the *sanatio* or the requests for healing addressed not only to *Aesculapius*, as detailed below²⁷.

Moreover, the presence of such artefacts in the Italic territories is circumscribed substantially to the 3rd cent. B.C. and to a part of the following century and is usually seen as the result of the demographic movements induced by the Roman-Latin colonization and therefore of the displacement of the population from the Tyrrhenian regions, in particular (but not only) from *Latium vetus*, towards the rest of the Peninsula²⁸. This process determined the diffusion of Tyrrhenian (Roman-Latin) devotional customs and practices²⁹ in the areas of colonial settlement and the complementary dissemination of a previously unknown specific votive material culture – *i.e.*, the so-called ‘Etruscan-Latinal-Campanian’ *ex-votos*³⁰ (fig. 2). At the same

²⁵ Val. Max. I 8, 2; Ov. *met.* XV 622-744. DEGRASSI 1993.

²⁶ DRAYCOTT, GRAHAM 2017; HUGHES 2017.

²⁷ For a general presentation of the issue cf. the most recent essays by Olivier de Cazanove: DE CAZANOVE 2015 and DE CAZANOVE 2016, with previous references therein.

²⁸ Cf. with footnotes 23 and 27.

²⁹ Now carefully described and discussed in DI FAZIO 2019.

³⁰ In pre-Roman times (6th-4th cent. B.C.) the votive and ritual practices in middle-Adriatic regions are quite different in terms of material culture (and naturally of archaeological markers as well): offerings often consist of archaic bronze figurines as well as of specific and well distinguishable pottery (see for example NASO 2000, pp. 235-250, with references;

time, this dynamic implies the circulation of artisanal models and artisans carrying technologies, knowledge, and technic skills to produce these artifacts.

Thus, veiled heads and half-veiled votive heads, reproductions of anatomical parts, large- and small-sized statues (including the so-called 'tanagrines'), attest the widespread of previously unknown ideas, ritual habits, and devotional customs, which were especially common among the Roman-Latin 'middle' and 'lower' classes, that constituted the predominant socio-economic components of the new colonial communities (*civitates*)³¹.

These objects are evidence for vows (and their subsequent dissolution) addressed to the gods (*e.g.*, nr. 6 below, paragraph 5: *CIL*, I² 368 - 381) for the maintenance of physical health (*vota pro salute et incolumitate*, attested by veiled votive heads and figurines representing the offerers) or in the context of ritual practices of the *sanatio* referring to the healing of specific body parts (*vota pro valetudine*, documented by anatomical *ex votos*)³².

However, this issue should be stressed: the *solutio votorum* (the offering made after a previously signed and granted vow, to thank the gods) was usually obtained by a gruelling sacrifice celebrated by specialized officers on behalf of the community. Instead, the terracotta *ex-votos* might have probably been offered by the single prayers next to the sacrifice. Thus, these artefacts never testify the core of a ritual action, as they are a sort of personal gift beside the *solutio votorum* itself. Indeed, these materials should be

BALDELLI 1997; STRAZZULLA 2013; DEMMA ET ALII 2018). See also DEMMA, CASCI CECCACCI 2020 for a re-examination of the entire *dossier* of the indigenous cultic places and ritual practices in the Picena area, with previous references therein. For a recent synthesis of the religions of the Italic people cf. DI FAZIO 2017.

³¹ PENSABENE 2001, pp. 67-70 and 75-78.

³² DE CAZANOVE 2008 and DE CAZANOVE 2009.

ascribed to the personal devotional spheres (*pietas*) – *i.e.*, they were offered in sanctuaries by private and single individuals – and do not imply any political or official message³³.

Generally, among the votive deposits, the anatomical *ex-votos* shaped in the form of upper and lower limbs are preponderant (*i.e.*, the most affected body parts by trauma and injuries in agricultural work): it could be considered as a sign of the wide frequentation of the sanctuaries by the ‘middle class’, such as farmers and ranchers who had served in the Roman army during the conquest of central Italy and populated the new territories as colonists during the 3rd cent. B.C. Figurines of swaddled babies could result from *vota pro partu*, while the anatomical *ex-votos* reproducing parts of the female body related to the reproduction and breastfeeding (*mammae* and *uteri*) could easily refer to the requests for prosperity and fertility (figg. 3-4-5).

However, it is not necessary to think of a unique and exclusive message behind the various types of terracotta *ex-votos*: feet and legs could have been offered to thank the deities for a happily concluded journey, for the pilgrimage to the sanctuary or perhaps even for the return from a military campaign (*ex voto pro itu et reditu*). Similarly, votive hands – usually represented fully extended with the open palm – could allude to the generic gestures of the prayer and perhaps to the same devotees, maybe as *partes pro toto*, as in the case of the veiled votive heads.

The same evaluation also emerges from the analysis of the animal-shaped figurines (whole-shaped or limited to the paws, as anatomical *ex-*

³³ As wrongly supposed in GLINISTER 2006 but *contra* cf. the more appropriate objections raised, for example, in STRAZZULLA 2013, pp. 50-52.

votos) such as oxen, sheep, and goats, which were the most common animals employed in agricultural works, breeding, and complementary agropastoralist activities³⁴. However, it cannot be excluded that sometimes these offerings were also used as symbolic substitutes of sacrificial victims or maybe to seal the personal involvement in the collective sacrifice.

To sum up, it will be appropriate and more correct to recognize a certain degree of polysemy to these (silent) objects and not to emphasize them in a one-way sociological sense. The more the data referring to the archaeological context of their discovery and recovery and to their association with other different materials (such as pottery, epigraphic evidence, etc.) in votive deposits, ritual discharges, and *favissae* will become available, the more the decipherment of the conceptual messages underlying the terracotta *ex-votos* will be precise³⁵.

Therefore, their offerings might have occurred to seal the personal involvement even in the context of more elaborate and collective ceremonies (*i.e.*, sacrifices) that could have been performed in sanctuaries only in specific and calendarized occasions (*i.e.*, festivals)³⁶. Perhaps when shared ritual services involved the entire community or, possibly, only one or more well-defined (by sex, age, role etc.) social category: *e.g.*, the so-called ‘Rites of Passage’ – as outlined by Arnold van Gennep³⁷ – which were

³⁴ Cf. DE CAZANOVE 2013 for a specific study on these *ex-votos*, possibly referring to the *vota pro bubus uti valeant* (Cato agr. 83).

³⁵ This could be verified at the so called *lucus Pisauensis* (nr. 6 below) and at the sanctuary of Monte Giove, in the *territorium* of the Latin colony of *Hatria* (nr. 35 below), given their good and heterogeneous documentation (archaeological and epigraphical sources).

³⁶ Cf. LIPPOLIS 2001; COMELLA 2005; LIPPOLIS 2013; PARISI 2016 for a comparison with other geographical and cultural contexts.

³⁷ VAN GENNEP 1909. For the discussion of the wider theoretical framework of ‘Civic Religion’ in Rome and *Latium* see at least TORELLI 1984 and SABBATUCCI 1988; more recently,

performed in Rome, *Latium* and in colonial communities to celebrate sexual maturation, *nuptiae*, childbirths, entry into the civic society and so on, renewing and strengthening internal social cohesion and the sense of belonging to the same civic body (*civitas*)³⁸.

4. ROMAN-LATIN COLONIZATION AND CULTURAL INTERCONNECTIONS IN REPUBLICAN ITALY: A CONTRIBUTE FROM THE TERRACOTTA *EX-VOTOS*

The documentary *dossier* unfortunately results from sporadic, isolated, and occasional findings or, at best, from assemblages characterized by strong uncertainties regarding their original archaeological context and exact provenance³⁹. Despite these shortcomings and rather modest quantities of available terracotta *ex-votos*, the *dossier* nevertheless allows on to validate the theoretical model summarized above: on the one hand, by comparison to other case-studies of the Italian Peninsula involved in the same cultural and historical dynamics with similar but richer documentation⁴⁰; on the other hand, by once again recalling the high density of the Roman-Latin population in the territories of central Adriatic Italy between the 3rd and the 2nd cent. B.C.⁴¹

Therefore, the concomitance between the manifestation of the 'Etruscan-Latinal-Campanian' material (and ritual) *facies* in the sacred contexts of these

SCHEID 2013 and DI FAZIO 2019. For the 'individual' religious experiences in the Roman world and on the concept of 'lived Religion' see RÜPKE 2016.

³⁸ See previous footnotes 36 and 37.

³⁹ See next paragraph below.

⁴⁰ See for example Daniela Liberatore and Riccardo Di Cesare's contribute about Latin Colony of *Alba Fecens* in these Proceedings.

⁴¹ See above, paragraph 1.

territories, and the Hellenistic (*i.e.*, Republican) chronological horizons is actually indicative of the physical presence of the Roman-Latin settlers both in urban centres (Roman and Latin colonies) as well as in the rural areas, scattered *viritim* and organized into any other kind of secondary settlement in the countryside (*fora, vici, concliliabula* and similar of the *ager publicus p. R.*; extra-urban *territoria* belonging to Latin colonies)⁴².

From this perspective, the terracotta *ex-votos*, which usually refer to votive deposits or to discharges of offerings from the sanctuaries, represent significant markers – along with others – for the preliminary, albeit approximate, localization on the ground of cultic places in this period, as well as valid, albeit indirect, indicators of the earliest Republican chronological phases of colonial settlements⁴³.

Other problems concern the dynamics of continuity and discontinuity of use and frequentation of the pre-Roman sanctuaries or the creation of new ones until the 3rd cent. B.C. onwards⁴⁴. A continuity between the pre-Roman times and the early colonial times could be hypothesized for those cultic places which show a succession of two phases of ritual attendance, each one characterized by a different votive material culture: the oldest one of 'Italic'-type and the following of 'Etruscan-Latial-Campanian'-type. However, even if admissible and substantially still valid for certain cases⁴⁵, a similar reconstruction risks to appear too schematic, incomplete, and a bit forced for other sites where the documentation lacks or is not accurate enough, since it only considers one single type of archaeological source, often found

⁴² See footnote 8 above.

⁴³ Cf. the list collected in paragraph 5: most of them became *municipia* in the 1st cent. B.C., after the Social War (91-88 B.C.).

⁴⁴ As the examples of nr. 6, 27 and 32 show below.

⁴⁵ For example, see nr. 10, 14, 34 below.

out of context⁴⁶. In this sense, a topographical continuity of the use of a sacred site could be matched by elements of deep caesura – as they could be observed considering different sources of analysis – before and after the Roman conquest. Not only expressing through the ritual and cultic practices (with their different and renewed material expressions), but especially through the political-administrative organization of the territories where the sanctuaries were located; the managing institutional authorities and bureaucratic apparatus; the coeval transformations in population and settlement patterns; societies and communities which attended the sanctuaries with different (collective but also individual) purposes; the concept, features and materiality of the sacred architecture and spaces; the deities and their official cults (etc.)⁴⁷.

Regarding the specific problems concerning the terracotta *ex-votos*, standardized and uniform offerings, such as these objects, could be assumed not to be exclusively referred to Roman-Latin offerers but, obviously, also to local and native individuals (and their descendants) which very soon adopted new devotional habits and ‘imported’ customs from the Tyrrhenian side of the Peninsula (as it happens on the linguistic level with the spread of the Latin as a common language among local people)⁴⁸. This could be verified especially in the cases where groups of ‘indigenous’ population continued to stay in their territories after the Roman conquest and joined the new colonial Latin and Roman communities (fig. 8, nr. 27 below), but it can also be observed at the formally ‘independent’ *civitates foederatae* and their territories (such as *Asculum* or

⁴⁶ Actually, in most cases listed below.

⁴⁷ See now BELFIORI 2022.

⁴⁸ See footnote 18 above.

Camerinum)⁴⁹. Thus, the clear, homogeneous, and rapid diffusion of the ‘Etruscan-Latinal-Campanian’ votive material *facies* in sanctuaries and other cultic places of central Adriatic Italy is still one of the clearest markers attesting, from a ‘religious perspective’, the stable interconnections and the integration of this portion of the Peninsula within the Roman-Latin Republican cultural network⁵⁰.

5. GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX: SANCTUARIES AND OTHER CULTIC PLACES, VOTIVE DEPOSITS, AND SPORADIC FINDINGS OF ‘ETRUSCAN-LATIAL-CAMPANIAN’ TERRACOTTA *EX-VOTOS* IN CENTRAL ADRIATIC ITALY (3RD-2ND CENT. B.C.)⁵¹

ID	Current Location (City, village etc.)	Ancient Location	Context Finding /
1	Rimini	<i>Ariminum</i> (LC), urban area	Sp ⁵²
2	Sant’Arcangelo di Romagna	<i>Ariminum</i> (LC), <i>territorium</i>	Sp ⁵³
3	Sant’Arcangelo di Romagna	<i>Ariminum</i> (LC), <i>territorium</i>	Sp ⁵⁴
4	Covignano	<i>Ariminum</i> (LC), <i>territorium</i> / suburb	Sp ⁵⁵
5	Cattolica	<i>Ager Romanus</i> vel <i>Ariminum</i> (LC), <i>territorium</i>	Sp ⁵⁶
6	Santa Veneranda – Pesaro	<i>ager Romanus</i>	VD/S ⁵⁷
7	Macerata Feltria	<i>ager Romanus</i>	Sp ⁵⁸
8	Fano	<i>ager Romanus</i>	Sp ⁵⁹
9	Fossombrone	<i>ager Romanus</i>	Sp ⁶⁰

⁴⁹ Nr. 22, 29-31 below. Cf. with STRAZZULLA 2013 and STRAZZULLA 2016, pp. 347-350.

⁵⁰ COARELLI 1973; CIFARELLI, GATTI, PALOMBI 2019; D’ALESSIO ET ALII 2021.

⁵¹ Most of the *ex-votos* listed below are published. The essential bibliographical references for each site are given by the following footnotes.

⁵² FONTEMAGGI, PIOLANTI 2000; BONDINI, CURINA, TASSINARI 2022.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ MALNATI, STOPPIONI 2008.

⁵⁷ BELFIORI 2017.

⁵⁸ SISANI 2007, pp. 186-187.

⁵⁹ GALEAZZI, GIACOMETTI 1982; SISANI 2007, p. 199.

⁶⁰ GALEAZZI, GIACOMETTI 1982; SISANI 2007, pp. 198-199.

10	Isola di Fano	<i>ager Romanus</i> :	VD ⁶¹
11	Cagli	<i>ager Romanus</i> :	Sp ⁶²
12	Senigallia	<i>Sena Gallica</i> (RC), urban area / suburb	Sp ⁶³
13	Castelleone di Suasa	<i>ager Romanus</i>	Sp ⁶⁴
14	Montefortino d'Arcevia	<i>ager Romanus</i>	Sp/S ⁶⁵
15	Civitalba	<i>ager Romanus</i>	Sp ⁶⁶
16	Sassoferrato	<i>ager Romanus</i>	Sp ⁶⁷
17	Jesi	<i>ager Romanus</i>	Sp ⁶⁸
18	San Vittore di Cingoli	<i>ager Romanus</i>	Sp ⁶⁹
19	Troviggiano	<i>ager Romanus</i>	Sp ⁷⁰
20	Treia	<i>ager Romanus</i>	Sp ⁷¹
21	Matelica	<i>ager Romanus</i>	Sp ⁷²
22	Camerino	<i>Camerinum</i> (A)	Sp ⁷³
23	Pievebovigliana	<i>ager Romanus</i>	Sp ⁷⁴
24	Fiastra	<i>ager Romanus</i>	Sp ⁷⁵
25	Falerone	<i>ager Romanus</i>	Sp ⁷⁶
26	Fermo	<i>Firmum</i> (LC)	Sp ⁷⁷
27	Monte Rinaldo	<i>ager Romanus</i> <i>vel Firmum</i> (LC), <i>territorium</i>	S ⁷⁸
28	Cupra Marittima	<i>ager Romanus</i>	Sp ⁷⁹
29	Ascoli Piceno	<i>Asculum</i> (A), <i>territorium</i>	Sp ⁸⁰

⁶¹ MEI, CARIDDI 2022.

⁶² GALEAZZI, GIACOMETTI 1982.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ SISANI 2007, p. 191.

⁶⁵ GALEAZZI, GIACOMETTI 1982; SISANI 2007, p. 191.

⁶⁶ GALEAZZI, GIACOMETTI 1982; SISANI 2007, p. 187.

⁶⁷ GALEAZZI, GIACOMETTI 1982.

⁶⁸ Two unpublished terracotta *ex-votos* at the Archaeological Civic Museum (no information available about their provenance), a fragment of female figurine (*kourotrophos*-type) and an anatomical *ex-voto* (foot).

⁶⁹ GALEAZZI, GIACOMETTI 1982; LANDOLFI, BALDELLI 1997.

⁷⁰ GALEAZZI, GIACOMETTI 1982.

⁷¹ SISANI 2006, pp. 327-357.

⁷² SISANI 2007, p. 184.

⁷³ SALVINI 2002.

⁷⁴ SISANI 2006, pp. 327-357.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ivi*, p. 363.

⁷⁷ GALEAZZI, GIACOMETTI 1982.

⁷⁸ For a short presentation of the findings cf. GIORGI, DEMMA, BELFIORI 2020, pp. 150-151. See below, *Appendix*, for details.

⁷⁹ GALEAZZI, GIACOMETTI 1982.

⁸⁰ *Ibid* and CIUCCARELLI, MENCHELLI, PASQUINUCCI 2005.

30	Ascoli Piceno	<i>Asculum (A), territorium</i>	Sp ⁸¹
31	Foce di Montemonaco	<i>ager Romanus vel Asculum (A), territorium</i>	Sp ⁸²
32	Campoli (S. Berardino)	<i>ager Romanus vel Castrum Novum (RC), territorium</i>	VD/S ⁸³
33	Cortino (Pagliaroli)	<i>ager Romanus</i>	Sp/S ⁸⁴
34	Monte Giove	<i>Hatria (LC), territorium</i>	S ⁸⁵
35	Atri	– <i>Hatria (LC), urban area / Suburb</i>	Sp/S ⁸⁶

ABBREVIATIONS: **Ancient Location**. **RC**: Roman Colony; **LC**: Latin Colony; **A**: Allied Community (*Civitas foederata*) / **Context / Finding**. **S**: Sanctuary; **VD**: Votive Deposit; **Sp**: Sporadic Findings.

6. APPENDIX: A SMALL GROUP OF 'ETRUSCAN-LATIAL-CAMPANIAN' TERRACOTTA *EX-VOTOS* FROM THE LATE-REPUBLICAN SANCTUARY NEAR MONTE RINALDO (MARCHE REGION, ANCIENT *PICENUM*)

Little-less than forty recognizable pieces from the first excavations (1957-1961) in the Roman-Latin sanctuary at Monte Rinaldo (nr. 27 above, cfr. figg. 4-6-8), including human and animal figurines (11), veiled votive heads (7), anatomical *ex-votos* (18), for which no precise information about their exact archaeological context is available⁸⁷.

1. 26390. Female figurine sitting on a throne

Misures: cm 15,5 x 6,5 x 6

⁸¹ Cf. previous footnote.

⁸² Cf. previous footnote.

⁸³ STRAZZULLA 2013, with references.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ GIORGI, DEMMA, BELFIORI 2020, with discussion on previous research and excavations and with the presentation of the new research project carried out by the 'Soprintendenza ABAP per le province di Ascoli Piceno, Fermo e Macerata' and the University of Bologna.

Mould-made. Restored. Head, the right arm and part of the legs missing. The figurine is draped; the left hand, posed over the left leg, bears an offering (perhaps a fruit?).

2. 100371. Standing female figurine

Misures: cm 12 x 4,5 x 5

Mould-made. Draped 'tanigrane'-type figurine, head missing.

3. Standing figurine (no inv.)

Misures: cm 11 x 6,5 x 4,5

Mould-made. Draped, veiled prayer, head missing.

4. Standing figurine (no inv.)

Misures: cm 13 x 6,5 x 4,5

Mould-made. Draped, veiled prayer, head missing.

5. 26164. Figurine's head

Misures: cm 3 x 2,5

Mould-made, hand-finished. Ivy leaves-crowned head from a 'tanigrane'-type figurine.

6. Standing figurine (no inv.)

Misures: cm 9,5 x 5 x 3

Mould-made. A fragment of a female draped figurine (shoulders and bust).

7. Standing female figurine (no inv.)

Misures: cm 7,5 x 5 x 3

Mould-made. A small fragment of draped 'tanigrane'-type figurine.

8. Standing figurine (no inv.)

Misures: cm 5,5 x 6

Mould-made, hollow inside. A fragment of a standing figurine (the back), with a triangular hole (blowhole?).

9. 100366. Animal figurine

Misures: cm 5.5 x 10

Mould-made, hollow inside. Only the head and the anterior portion of the body of an ox are preserved.

10. 100372. Animal figurine

Misures: cm 10 x 15 x 5,5

Mould-made, hollow inside. An ox rests on a flat parallelepiped base; the head is completely missing.

11. Animal figurine (no inv.)

Masures: cm 6,5 x 6 x 4

Mould-made, hollow inside. Only the head and the anterior portion of the body of an ox are preserved.

12. 100365. Veiled votive head

Masures: cm 17 x 6,5 x 9 (in depth) x 2,5 (thickness)

Mould-made, hollow inside. Only the left part of the face is preserved, without the nose. Male. The left eye and ear are well distinguished, while the hair under the veil is poorly characterized.

13. Veiled votive head (no inv.)

Masures: cm 9,5 x 9 x 1-1,3

Mould-made, hollow inside. Only the lower part of the face is preserved (nose, mouth, and chin). The mould is fresh, anatomical details are well rendered.

14. Veiled votive head (no inv.)

Masures: cm 17 x 13 x 8

Mould-made, hollow inside. Female. The piece is whole, but the face is completely abraded.

15. Veiled votive head (no inv.)

Masures: cm 17 x 13,5 x 6 (in depth) x 1,5 (thickness)

Mould-made, hollow inside. Female. Fragment of the veil and hair, with wavy and thin locks held by a hairband and falling along the side of the face.

16. Veiled votive head (no inv.)

Masures: cm 16 x 6 x 2

Mould-made, hollow inside. A fragment of the left part of a female veiled votive head: the left ear, a portion of the veil and of the hair with long and sinuous locks are preserved.

17. Votive head or mask? (no inv.)

Masures: cm 10 x 7,5 x 1-2

Handmade, filled inside. Approximate and raw representation of a face with a tentative indication of the physiognomic features.

18. Votive head or figurine? (no inv.)

Masures: cm 9 x 8 x 6,5

Mould-made (?), filled inside. Approximate and raw representation of a female head without any description of the physiognomic features.

19. 100369. Left hand

Masures: cm 11.5 x 7 x 1-1,5

Mould-made, hollow inside. Only four fingers preserved.

20. Left hand (no inv.)

Masures: cm 5 x 6 x 1

Mould-made. Fragmentary: only the phalanxes of four fingers of a left hand are preserved.

21. Left hand (no inv.)

Masures: cm 16 x 9 x 0,7

Mould-made, hollow inside. Fragmentary: only the wrist and the palm of a left hand are preserved.

22. 100359. Right hand

Masures: cm 11 x 8.5 x 1-2

Mould-made, hollow inside. Only the palm is preserved, the fingers are lost.

23. Right hand (no inv.)

Masures: cm 9 x 5 x 1

Mould-made. Fragmentary: only the first finger of a right hand is preserved.

24. Right hand (no inv.)

Masures: cm 6,5 x 5 x 1

Mould-made. Fragmentary: only the phalanxes of four fingers of a right hand are preserved.

25. Right arm (no inv.)

Masures: cm 16,5 + 5,5 x 6,5 (diameter)

Hollow inside. The arm is preserved at the elbow (anatomical *ex-voto*?)

26. 100364. Left foot

Masures: cm 13,5 x 7,5 x 4,5

Mould-made, hollow inside. The rear part of the ankle and heel, and the fourth and fifth fingers missing.

27. Left foot (no inv.)

Masures: cm 8 x 8,5 x 4

Mould-made, hollow inside. Fragmentary: only the toes of a left foot are preserved.

28. Left foot (no inv.)

Masures: cm 6,5 x 5 x 3

Mould-made, hollow inside. Fragmentary: only the phalanxes of four toes of a left foot are preserved.

29. Left foot (no inv.)

Masures: cm 9,5 x 8,5 x 4,5

Mould-made, hollow inside. Fragmentary: only the toes of a left foot are preserved.

30. Left foot (no inv.)

Masures: cm 7 x 7 x 4

Mould-made, hollow inside. Fragmentary: the phalanxes of three toes of a left foot are preserved.

31. Left foot (no inv.)

Masures: cm 14 x 6 x 1,5

Mould-made, hollow inside. Fragmentary: only the internal plantar portion of a left foot is preserved.

32. 100362. Right foot

Masures: cm 18,5 x 8 x 7

Mould-made, hollow inside. Almost complete foot, the rear part of the ankle and heel are missing.

33. Right foot (no inv.)

Masures: cm 7 x 4 x 4,5

Mould-made, hollow inside. Fragmentary: only the phalanxes of four toes of a right foot are preserved.

34. Right foot (no inv.)

Masures: cm 14 x 9,5 x 8,5

Mould-made, hollow inside. Fragmentary: only three toes and a part of a right foot dorsum are preserved.

35. Right foot (no inv.)

Masures: cm 6,5 x 7,5 x 5

Mould-made, hollow inside. Fragmentary: only the phalanxes of four toes of a right foot are preserved.

36. Right foot (no inv.)

Masures: cm 6,5 x 6 x 4

Mould-made, hollow inside. Fragmentary: only the first two toes of a right foot are preserved.

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Fig. 1. Roman Republican Colonization of central Italy, 4th – 3rd cent. B.C. (after HUMBERT 1978).

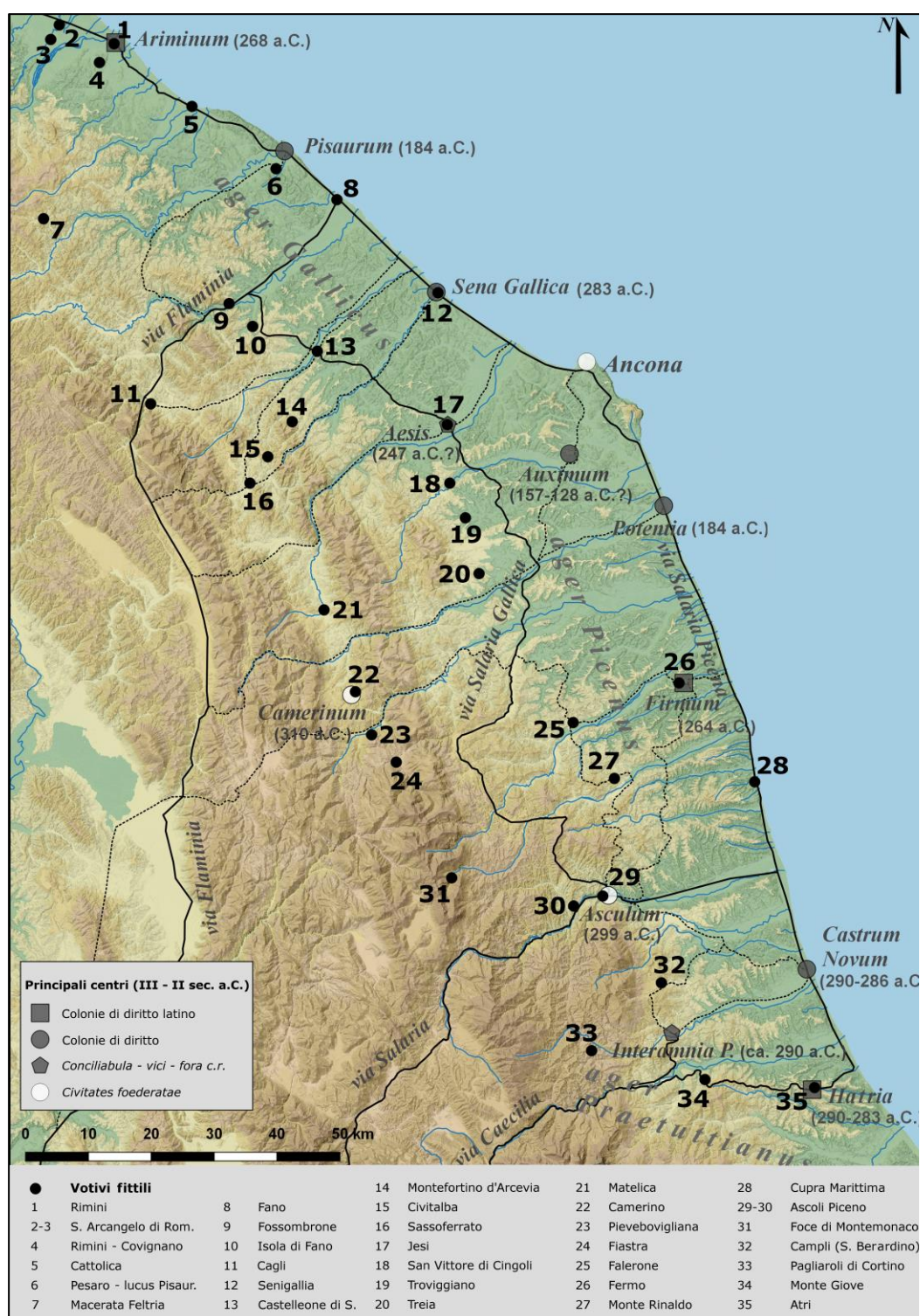


Fig. 2. The diffusion of the 'Etruscan-Latial-Campanian'-type terracotta *ex-votos* in central Adriatic Italy, 3rd – 2nd cent. B.C. (edited by the Author).



Fig. 3. Veiled votive terracotta heads, ox figurine and anatomical ex-voto (uterus) from the Latin Colony of Ariminum and its territory: geographical index nr. 1-4 (photos by the Author).

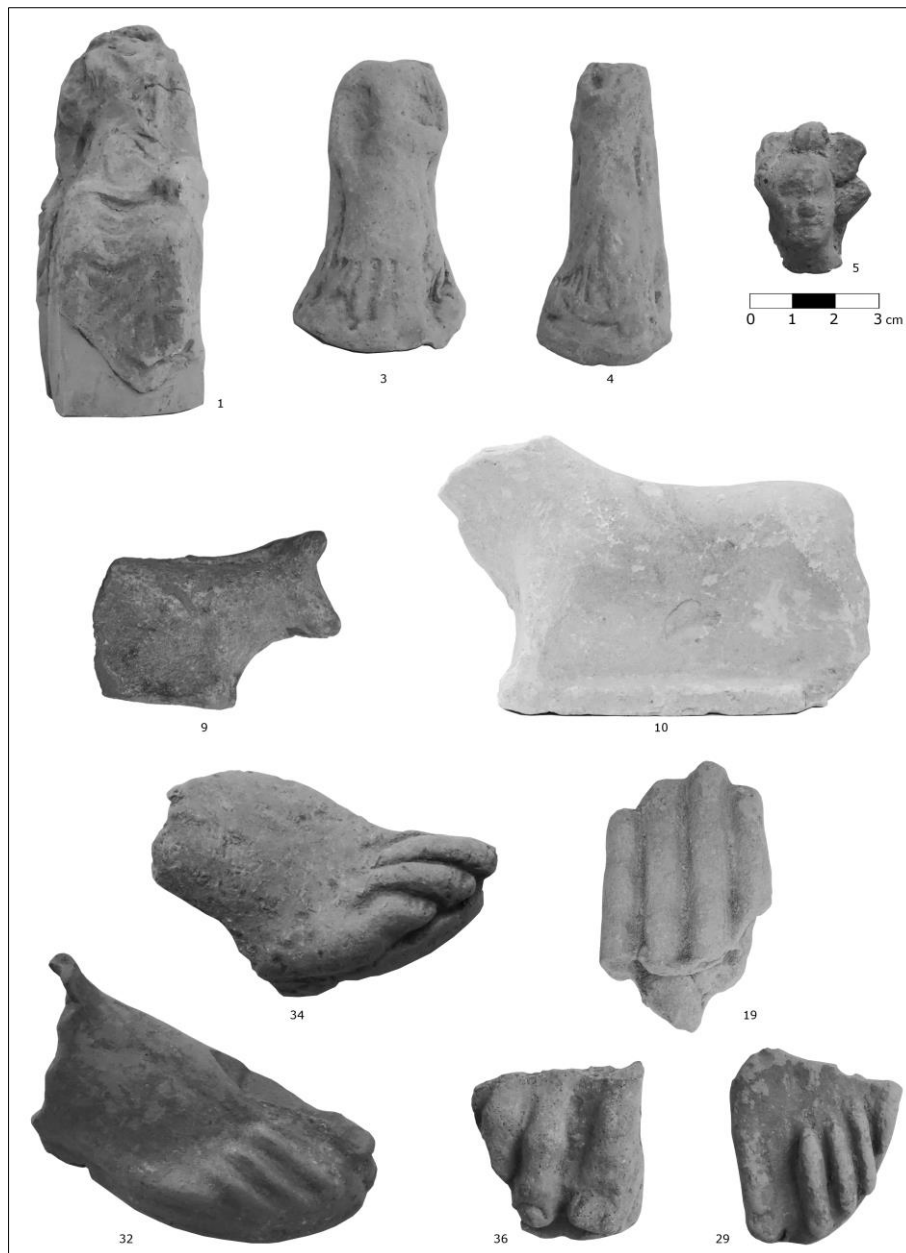


Fig. 4. Terracotta *ex-votos* (figurines and anatomical reproductions) from the Roman-Latin sanctuary of Monte Rinaldo, *Picenum* (geographical index 27): see Appendix nr. 1, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 19, 29, 32, 34, 36 (photos by the Author, not in scale).



Fig. 5. Terracotta ex-votos from the Jesi Civic Archaeological Museum: geographical index nr. 17 (photos by the Author).



Fig. 6. Veiled votive terracotta heads from the Roman-Latin sanctuary of Monte Rinaldo, *Picenum* (geographical index nr. 27): see Appendix nr. 12, 13, 15, 16 (photos by the Author).

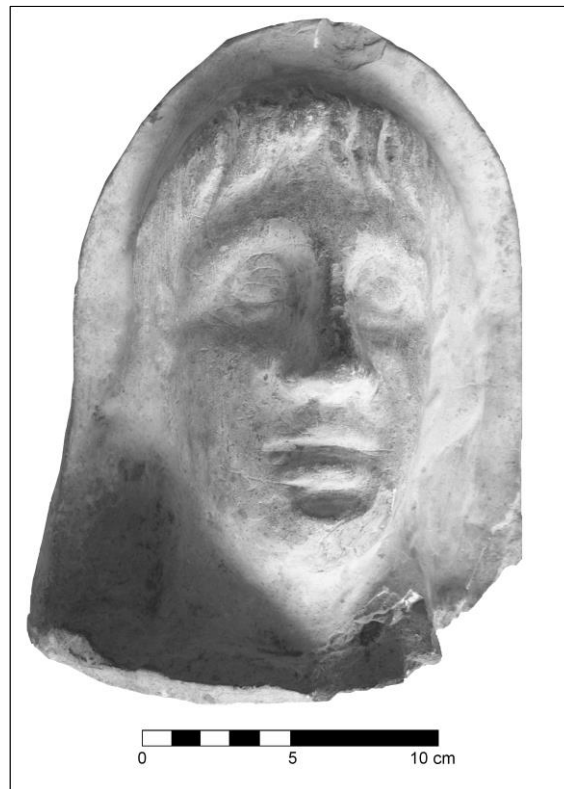


Fig. 7. Veiled votive terracotta head from the Roman Colony of *Sena Gallica*: geographical index nr. 12 (photo by the Author).

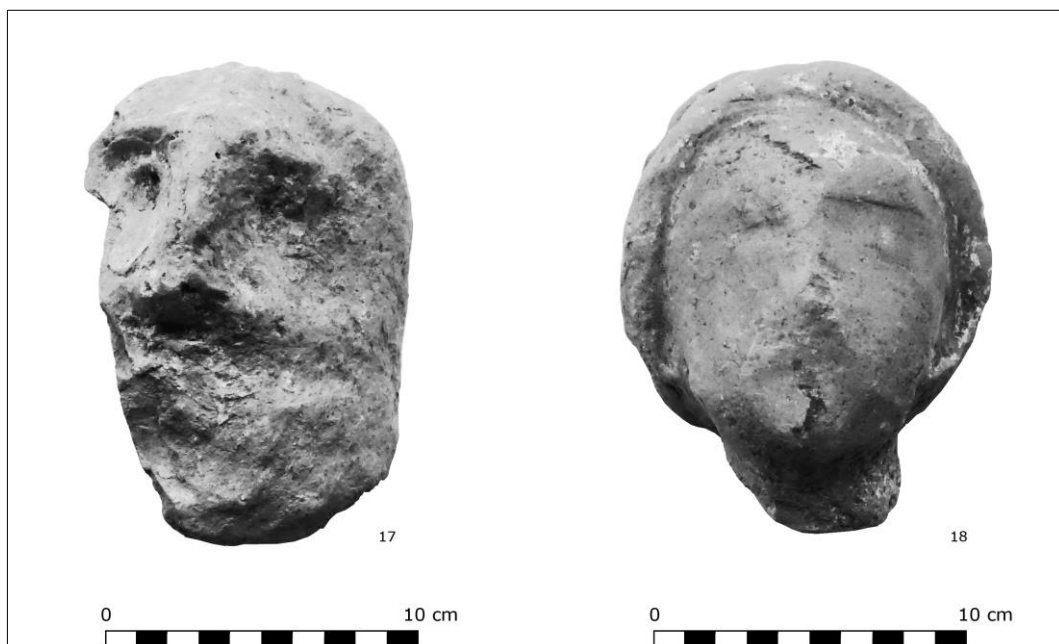


Fig. 8. Votive terracotta heads or masks from the Roman-Latin sanctuary of Monte Rinaldo, *Picenum* (geographical index nr. 27): local handmade imitations of mould-made votive objects see Appendix nr. 17, 18 (photos by the Author).